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Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser **XII**, 1.

THE BABYLONIAN AKĪTU FESTIVAL

BY
SVEND AAGE PALLIS

WITH 11 PLATES



KØBENHAVN

HOVEDKOMMISSIONÆR: ANDR. FRED. HØST & SØN, KGL. HOF-BOGHANDEL
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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Copenhagen, 20th November 1923.

SVEND AAGE PALLIS.

CONTENTS

	Pages
PREFACE	III—V
CONTENTS	VI—XIV
TEXTS	XV—XX
ABBREVIATIONS	XXI—XXVII
ERRATA	XXVIII

I. INTRODUCTION..... 1—10

Nabonidus' Annals on the *akitu* festival (6th century B. C.) pp. 1—2. BM 35968 and 27859 on the *akitu* festival (11th century B. C.) pp. 2—5. The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings dating from the 7th century B. C. pp. 5—6. The Gudea texts p. 6. The period of the Seleucids p. 7. Previous treatments of the *akitu* festival in scientific literature pp. 8—10. Astral mythology and pan-Babylonism p. 9².

II. ZAGMUKU AND AKĪTU. — MONTH IN WHICH THE FESTIVAL WAS CELE- BRATED..... 11—49

isinnu pp. 11—12. *zagmuku* pp. 12—13. *akĭtu* pp. 13—16. *akĭti* in Sumerian texts pp. 16—19. Reference to the *akĭtu* festival (or to the word *akĭtu*) in other cities than Babylon (Assur, Dilbat, Harran, Milkia, Nineveh, Uruk, unknown places) pp. 19—24, in Babylon pp. 24—27.

Month in which the *akĭtu* festival was celebrated pp. 27—31. The festival takes place in Nisan p. 27. Examination of BM 35968, II 3—4 pp. 27—29. In the Sumerian period in Adar pp. 29—30, in Tišrit p. 30, after Hammurabi in Nisan pp. 30—31.

Investigation of the semasiology of the word *akĭtu* on the basis of the material adduced pp. 31—43. The chronology of the passages is of no importance for the

investigation pp. 31–32. *ūmu akītu*, the “akītu day” or “New Year’s Day” pp. 32–33. *isinnu akītu*, Neb. WB VII 30 shows that here *akītu* is a proper name p. 33. *bit akītu* (*isinnu bit akītu*) cannot be interpreted “festival temple” pp. 33–35. *akītu* alone, in such cases the preceding *bit* is often omitted pp. 35–37. *bit akītu* = *bit akītu*? pp. 37–38. EJ IV 7–13 p. 39. 81–7–1, 9, II 27–34 pp. 39–41. Previous semasiological investigations pp. 41–42. *akītu* is etymologically obscure and must be understood as a proper name in all the passages adduced, the rendering “New Year’s Feast” is possible pp. 42–43.

Thureau-Dangin’s hypothesis of Ištar’s akītu festival in Tebēt at Nineveh, in Ab and Ulûlu at Arba-ilu pp. 43–49. Processions on other occasions than the akītu festival pp. 44–45. Pictorial representations of processions pp. 45–47. Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) V 16 ff. and *kakkabu kaštu* pp. 47–48. K. 2711 p. 48.

III. THE AKĪTU FESTIVAL AT BABYLON	50–248
A. INTRODUCTION	50–54
General remarks p. 50. Relation between Babylon and the rest of the cities pp. 51–53. Review of the sources pp. 53–54.	
B. TOPOGRAPHY OF BABYLON	54–120
<i>α. Excavations at Babylon 1851–1917</i>	54–58
<i>β. The Walls (Imgur-Bêl, Nimitti-Bêl, the “North and South” Wall, the Outer City Wall)</i>	58–60
Rejection of Hommel’s interpretation of Bu 88–5–12, 75 + 76, VI 34 ff. p. 59.	
<i>γ. The Gates</i>	60–65
The Ištar, Uraš, Šamaš, Bêl gates p. 61. <i>bābu ellu</i> and <i>bāb bêlit</i> pp. 61–65. Investigation of WB VII 43 ff. and EJ V 12–20. 43–56 pp. 61–63. Hommel’s and Weissbach’s hypotheses of the two gates p. 64.	
<i>δ. The Royal Palaces</i>	65–67
The Southern Palace p. 65. The erection of the new palace and the description in EJ VIII 27 ff. pp. 65–66. <i>parak ilu marduk</i> p. 66.	

ε. <i>The Procession Streets. The Arahtu Canal. The Canals on the Kaşr</i>	67—78
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Marduk's procession street on the Kaşr, Aiburşabu pp. 67—74. WB V 31—48 and WB VII 54—63 pp. 68—69. Esagila and *bit akitu*, the two opposite termini of Aiburşabu p. 69. The Arahtu Canal and its wall pp. 69—70. VAT 9418 pp. 70—71. Marduk's *parakku* in EJ VIII 38 possibly referred to in K. 9876, Obv. 14, situated at the point of intersection of the Aiburşabu and the Arahtu Canal pp. 71—72. The archæological excavation of the procession street pp. 72—74. Determination of the topographical position of *bābu ellu* and *bāb bēlit* p. 74. Nabu's procession street pp. 74—76. Nergal's procession street, Hallab pp. 76—77. The procession street at Assur pp. 77—78.

ζ. <i>Quarters of the City. The Remaining Gates and Canals</i>	78—80
η. <i>Temples and Sanctuaries</i>	80—120
1. Esagila	81—102

Mentioned in the Sumerian period and from the time of the first Babylonian dynasty to Antiochus Soter (280—260 B. C.) p. 81. Restorations by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings p. 82. Position, George Smith's and Hommel's hypotheses pp. 82—83. Interior of temple, Smith's Tablet pp. 83—84. Gates of Esagila pp. 84—85. Courts p. 85. On the designations *papaḥu* and *parakku* p. 86. Ekuā, Ezida, and Kaduglisug pp. 87—89. *e-kar-za-gin-na* pp. 89, 89^o. *e-ud-ul* p. 90. *e-eš-maḥ* pp. 90—91. *abar-ma-ḥi-ir-tim* pp. 91, 91¹. *ina bi-rit šid-di* pp. 91—92. *ina šubti pa[-an] kakkab* p. 92.

parak šimāti pp. 92—100. "Chamber of destiny" in other cities than Babylon (especially Nippur and Uruk) pp. 93—94. Earlier hypotheses on the character and position of *parak šimāti* (Jensen, Weissbach, Hommel) pp. 94—96. Position of *parak šimāti* pp. 96—100. In Esagila according to ST and EJ II pp. 96—97. According to Nergl. IR 67, I 33—40 in Nabu's *papaḥu* Ezida pp. 97—98. Comparison of EJ II, EJ V, and IR 67 pp. 98—99. The expressions *ilu du-azag-ga*, *ilumār du-azag*, and *ilušar ilāni samē iršitim* about Nabu and Marduk pp. 99—100. The important testimony in Nergl. IR 67, I 33—40 p. 100.

papaḥāni and *parakkē* in other Assyro-Babylonian

cities (Borsippa, Kiš, Nippur, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk) pp. 100–102.

2. Etemenanki 102–110

Position and architectural character pp. 102–103. Not mentioned in the description of the cult festival pp. 103–104. The testimony of ST and in the classical authors (Herodotus and Strabo) pp. 104–105. The testimonies of 85–4–30, 1 and WB III–IV pp. 105–106. ST, Obv. 16—Rev. 6 p. 106. *kišsu*, *nu-har*, *maštaku*, and *gi-gunû* pp. 107–109. The sepulchral chamber and the bridal chamber in Etemenanki p. 109. On ziggurats at Borsippa, Ur, Uruk, Nippur, and Sippar pp. 108–109, 109³. Disagreement of principal testimonies p. 110.

3. *bît akîtu* 110–116

Various designations and names (*bît akîtu*; *bît akîl ÊDIN*; *e-sigišše-sigišše = e-zur*; *bît ik-ri-bi*; *bît ni-gu-ti*; *bît mahîr hegalli*?) pp. 110–112. Position *ina kamât bâbilam^{ki}* pp. 112–114. *bît akîtu* at Assur, the building material, the interior, the gardens pp. 114–116.

4.—17 (18). The Remainder of the Temples
at Babylon 116–120

E-mah p. 117. E-tur-kalam-ma p. 117. E-šag-(šaga)-tur-ra pp. 117³, 118. E-pa-ṭu-ti-la p. 118. Temple known as “Z” p. 118. E-?-da-ri, the Ištar temple on the Merkes p. 118. Other temples p. 119. Nabu’s temple E-^{isu}-nig-pa-kalama-sum-ma pp. 119–120. On Nabu’s two cult names p. 119¹. *bît zi-be* p. 120.

C. THE HEMEROLOGY OF THE AKÎTU FESTIVAL 120–131

VAT 9418 and K. 9876 pp. 121–122. DT 15+DT 114+DT 109+MNB 1848 p. 122. Nabu arrives from Borsippa on 5th Nisan, on Nabon. Ann. III 24–28 pp. 122–123. *e-hur-sag-ti-la* p. 123. Marduk is in *parak šîmâti* on the 8th and 11th days (EJ II 54–59) p. 124. On the 10th day the egress to *bît akîtu* takes place (Nabon. Stele IX 3–10) p. 124. The return to Esagila on the 11th Nisan (BE 13420, 78–84) pp. 124–125. The hour at which the procession took place, the use of torches p. 125. The final sacrifices pp. 125–126. Hemerology of the festival at Uruk (AO 6459; AO 6465; VAT 7849) pp. 127–129, at Harran and Borsippa (82–5–22, 96) pp. 130–131.

	Pages
D. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE FESTIVAL AND THE SACRED FURNITURE FOR THE FESTIVAL (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THAT OF THE SACRIFICES)	131—159
<i>α. The Gods</i>	131—139
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, Tašmet, Nergal, Ninib, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Maḥ, Ninurta, Gula, Ištar-Bâbili, Ištar ša Ninua, Šamaš, Sin, Nusku, Damgalnunna, Nana, Madanu, Bau, Adad, Šala pp. 131—135. Numerous deities take part at Assur and Uruk p. 135. Date of arrival of the non-Babylonian gods pp. 135—136. Nature of the participating gods (statues, or represented dramatically by men?) pp. 136—139. VR 33, I 44—II 35 pp. 137—138. VAT 7849, III 15 ff. pp. 138—139. K. 1356, Rev. 11—15 p. 139.</p>	
<i>β. The King</i>	139—143
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">The king conducts the festival pp. 139—141. Representation of the king at the festival in other cities than Babylon pp. 141—142. The Assyrian <i>limu</i> system p. 142. Time of the king's arrival pp. 142—143.</p>	
<i>γ. The Priests</i>	143—150
<p style="margin-left: 2em;"><i>amit</i>mašmašê^{pt}; <i>amit</i>kalê^{pt}; <i>amit</i>nârê^{pt} pp. 144—145. <i>amit</i>assinnu and <i>amit</i>kurgarû pp. 145—146. <i>amit</i>êrib-bîli p. 146. <i>amit</i>urigallu pp. 146—149. K. 891, Obv. 16—18 p. 146—147. ^d<i>Uri-gal</i> p. 147. Duties of the urigallu pp. 147—149. Other classes of priests and functionaries of the temple pp. 149—150.</p>	
<i>δ. The People</i>	150—152
<i>ε. The Festive Robes</i>	152—154
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">The Sippar text, VR 60—61 p. 152. The investiture of the king and priests pp. 152—153.</p>	
<i>ζ. The Chariots of the Procession</i>	154—156
<i>η. The Procession Ships</i>	156—159
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Marduk's ship pp. 156—157. Nabu's ship pp. 157—158. Procession ships at Lagaš and Uruk pp. 158—159. The theory of ship-carriages p. 159.</p>	
E. THE CULT ACTS	159—243
<i>Introduction</i>	159—160

1. *The Sacrifices and the Rest of the Ritual Ceremonies; Sacrificial Gifts; Sacrificial Meals; the Sacrificial Furniture* 160—174

Sacrifices that do not concern the *akitu* festival (*bukumu, sattukkê*) pp. 160—162. Nature of our material pp. 162—163. Sacrifices in general mentioned in the texts pp. 163—165. The sacrificial animals p. 166. Various objects employed as offerings p. 167. Gifts and stored offerings pp. 167—168. Sacrificial furniture pp. 168—169. Accompanying sacrifices 169—170. Sacrificial meals pp. 170—172. Gifts and stored offerings p. 172. The central sacrifices, the final sacrificial meals in which all take part pp. 172—174.

2. “*The Hand Ceremony*” 174—183

Winckler's theory p. 174. The Uruk texts and Thureau-Dangins opposition p. 174. The gods invest the Mesopotamian rulers with the royal power p. 175. L⁴ II 3—13 p. 176. Evidence of the Uruk texts pp. 176—178. “The king taking Bêl's hand” as mentioned in the kings' inscriptions, is no independent ceremony, and has nothing to do with the receiving of the royal dignity pp. 179—180. L⁴ II 26—32 and K. 2674, Rev. I 18—23 pp. 180—183.

3. *The Determination of the Destinies* 183—197

KAT³ p. 183. EJ II 54—65 p. 184. *puhur ilâni* p. 184. Gudea Cyl. B 4²³—5¹⁹ pp. 184—185. The fundamental problem as regards our understanding of the real nature of the *akitu* festival pp. 185—186. *Enuma eliš* concerning the determination of destinies p. 186. On the nature of the epic p. 186. Marduk's relation to the rest of the (Sumerian) deities as regards the creation and the struggle with the dragon pp. 186—188. The composite character of *Enuma eliš* pp. 188—189. *Enuma eliš* concerning the tablets of destiny pp. 189—191. The different senses of *šimtu* in the epic pp. 191—192. The two strata in *Enuma eliš* pp. 192—193. The tablets of destiny p. 193. Nabu holds the tablets of destiny p. 193. Who is the arbiter of destiny in EJ II 58? p. 194. The relation between Marduk and Nabu pp. 194—196. Two different forms of the determination of destiny, a cultural primitive one, and an urban ceremony amid the assembly of the gods in Esagila's Ezida pp. 196—197.

4. *ἔροδες γάμος* 197—200
 Texts from Babylon, ST and VATh 663 pp. 197—198.
 82—5—22, 96 p. 198. VATh 663, Obv. 14—21 pp. 198—199.
 The Gudea texts pp. 199—200.
5. *Death and Lamentation — Resurrection and Rejoicing* 200—243
 Zimmern's reference to VAT 9555 pp. 200—201. The rejoicing pp. 201—202. *bit akītu* in EJV 7—9 as "the abode of rapture and rejoicing" p. 202. The resurrection of Marduk pp. 202—206. *tibū* pp. 202—204. *tabū* pp. 204—205. The ritual death lament, *nubattu* pp. 206—208. Evidence of a ritual death festival (*gigunū*; VAT 9555) p. 208.
 Purely external character of VAT 9555 pp. 208—209. Sp I 131 pp. 209—210. K. 4245 p. 210. Nature of these two texts pp. 210—212. K. 3476 pp. 212—221. On the relation between cult and myth pp. 213—214. The king's actions are identified with those of Marduk pp. 215—216. One myth, or several myths? pp. 218—219. The problem of the relation between cult and myth pp. 219—220. K. 3476 describes part of the *akītu* cult pp. 220—221.
 Examination of VAT 9555 pp. 221—234. Cult and myth mimically identical pp. 221—222. Marduk's death pp. 222, 228, 229—230. The concept "Enuma eliš" p. 232. Contest with Zū p. 232. The cult and the myth in VAT 9555 are connected p. 235. *ina arhu nisanni* in Obv. 34 and Rev 6 pp. 235—236. The relation between cult and myth in VAT 9555 pp. 236—237. Identity p. 237. Note on the Osiris cult p. 238'. Marduk's ritual death festival was performed as a drama pp. 238—240. Where does the death festival take place? pp. 240—241. The problem of Etemenanki pp. 241—243. Probably Etemenanki is culturally understood as part of Esagila p. 243.
- F. THE ORDER AND SUCCESSION OF THE CULT ACTS IN THE RITUAL OF THE AKĪTU FESTIVAL 243—248
 Introduction pp. 243—244. The death ritual on the 5th—8th Nisan p. 245. When does the determination of destinies take place? pp. 245—246. The ritual of the festival and Enuma eliš p. 246. Two forms of the determination of destinies, a primitive one and an urban one, the latter takes place on the 11th Nisan pp. 246—247. *ἔροδες γάμος* as the concluding cult act, the agriculturist's determination of destiny pp. 247—248.

IV. THE CULT DRAMA IN BÎT AKÎTU . . . 249—306

The *akitu* festival is no common-urban sacrificial festival p. 249. Two main actions, Marduk's death and his procession to *bît akîtu* where a special ceremony takes place p. 249. Cult dramas of agricultural character in Indian, Egyptian, and Greek religion pp. 249—251. The mystery dramas of the Hellenistic period pp. 251—252.

Description of the cult drama in VAT 9555 pp. 252—253. The relation between the cult and the myth pp. 253—255. The real character of VAT 9555 p. 255. The battle and creation drama pp. 255—256. Information on this subject in K. 3476 pp. 256—257, in the Pinches text pp. 258—260. K. 1356 pp. 260—264. The battle drama in *bît akîtu*, the king acts the part of Aššur (Marduk) pp. 264—265. The divinity of the king and priesthood in the urban culture pp. 265—266. How was the battle drama performed? p. 266. According to K. 3476 a-mimetic representation; *Enuma eliš* and K. 1356 pp. 266—267. The relation between Babylon and Assur p. 267. *mušruššû* pp. 267—268.

What is the real meaning of the battle drama? p. 268. The primitive cultures in which the religious drama belongs p. 269. Vilhelm Grönbech's investigation of these pp. 269—270. Characterization of the primitive cultures pp. 270—273. *mana* pp. 270 ff. Primitive cult pp. 273—276. Examination of the Beaver Cult among the Blackfeet Indians (after McClintock) pp. 276—291. On totemism pp. 278—279.

Previous scholars on a cult drama at Babylon pp. 291—293. Rejection of the theory of a kind of Sacaean festival taking place during the *akîtu* festival pp. 292—293. The primitive agriculturist and his cult dramas, the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama pp. 293—295. The Assyro-Babylonian religion is an urban religion p. 295. In the *akîtu* festival we meet with the agricultural drama of the seasons as well as the phallos drama pp. 295—296. The determination of the destinies in Esagila's *Ezida* is the urban form of the primitive cultural creation of the cosmos pp. 296—297. A closer examination of *Enuma eliš* shows that originally there was another determination of destiny equal to the primitive creation associated with the battle drama of the *akîtu* festival p. 297. DT 15+DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 279—84 and VAT 9555, Obv. 34,

Rev. 3 are inspired by urban conceptions pp. 297—298. The pictures on Aššur's *bît akîtu* (K. 1356), on the other hand, show the intimate connection of *Enuma eliš* and the cult drama p. 298. *Enuma eliš* was originally a cult text, which developed into a cult legend in the urban culture p. 299. The numerous versions of the creation epic pp. 299—300. The character of the version employed at the *akîtu* festival pp. 300—301.

The *akîtu* festival was originally the Mesopotamian agriculturist's annual festival p. 301. The position of the agricultural cult in the urban civilization p. 301. The problem whether primitive conceptions and actions have any real life in the urban culture pp. 301—304. Two different strata in the *akîtu* festival pp. 304—305. The deities of the urban culture p. 305. The use of statues of the gods at the celebration of the annual festival p. 305. The scholar cannot gain any psychological insight into the *akîtu* festival as an entirety, but this does not mean that the entirety has not existed pp. 305—306.

SUPPLEMENT

MAP OF THE MOUNDS OF BABYLON AND THE TEMPLES EXCAVATED	Plate I
MAP OF THE KAŞR AND THE NORTHERN PART OF THE ʿAMRÂN AT THE TIME OF NEBU- CHADNEZZAR	Plate II
K. 1356	Plates III—IV
K. 3476	Plates V—VII
K. 9876	Plates VIII—XI

TEXTS

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

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

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

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

- Rm: Hormuzd Rassam Collection, BM.
 SA: Sainte-Anne, Jerusalem; cf. *RA*, IX. p. 39.
 Sm: George Smith Collection, BM.
 Sp: Spartoli Collection, BM.
 VAT(h): Vorderasiatische Abtheilung. T(h)ontafeln, (Königl.)
 Museen zu Berlin.

- Gudea Inscriptions (Stat. B, D, E, G; Cyl. A, B): *VAB*, I.
 pp. 66—140.
 Code of Hammurabi: R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*,
 2. ed. Chic., Lond. 1904.
 Hammurabi Louvre A: King, *Letters*, III. pp. 186—87.
 Agum-kakrimi: V R 33; cf. *KB*, III₁. pp. 134—53.
 Nebuchadnezzar I.: V R 55.
 Shalmaneser II. Balâwât: *BA*, VI₁. pp. 133—37.
 Sargon, Sarg.: *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* nach den Papier-
 abklatschen und Originalen neu hrsg. von Hugo Winckler,
 I. Lpz. 1889. (PJ = the Pomp Inscription; Ann. = the
 Annals; the Stele).
 Sarg. Cyl.: *KB*, II. pp. 38—51.
 Merodach-Baladan (II.): *BA*, II. pp. 258—73.
 Sennach.: Sennacherib.
 Sennach. Prism Inscription (Taylor Cyl.): *KB*, II. pp. 80—113.
 Sennach. Nebi Yûnus Inscription: I R 43—44.
 Sennach. Bavian Inscription: III R 14.
 Esarh. NY: Esarhaddon's Nebi Yûnus Inscription; cf. Esarh.
 Prism Inscription.
 Esarh. Prism Inscription: I R 45—47; cf. *KB*, II. pp. 124—141
 and *BA*, III. pp. 196—203.
 Ašurb.: Ašurbanipal.
 Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 2—91.
 Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 92—139.
 Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. C): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 138—153.
 Ašurb. Emah Cyl. (BE 5457): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 238—41.
 (Ašurb.) S³: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 244—49.

- (Ašurb.) L¹: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 226—29.
 (Ašurb.) L³ (K. 891): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 248—53.
 (Ašurb.) L⁴ (K. 3050): *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 252—71.
 (Šamaš-šum-ukîn) S¹: *AB*, VIII₂. p. 10.
 (Šamaš-šum-ukîn) L⁵: *AB*, VIII₂. p. 12.
 EJ: East India House Inscription; Neb. No. 15.
 WB: Wadi Brisa Inscription A; Neb. No. 19.
 WB, B: Wadi Brisa Inscription B; Neb. No. 19.
 Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A: Neb. No. 20.
 Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. B: Neb. No. 17.
 Nerigl. Ripley Cyl.: Nerigl. No. 2.
 Nabon. Ann. (BM 35382): *BA*, II. pp. 214—25.
 Nabon. Stele: Nabon. No. 8.
 Antiochus Soter (80—6—17): *KB*, III₂. pp. 136—39.
 The Babylonian Chronicle (84—2—11, 356): *KB*, II. pp. 274—85.
- Enuma eliš: King, *STC*, I. pp. 2—114.
 The Gilgameš Epic: *KB*, VI₁. pp. 116—264.
 Ištar's Journey to the Abyss: IV R 31.
 (The) Labartu (text): *ZA*, XVI. pp. 154—200.
 (The) Pinches (text): *PSBA*, XXX. pp. 80—82.
 Maqlû: *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû nach den Originalen im British Museum hrsg von Knut L. Tallqvist, Helsingf. 1895. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, XX₆).*
- S^a: Delitzsch, *AL*⁵, pp. 43—49.
 S^b: Delitzsch, *AL*⁵, pp. 95—112.
 ST: The Smith Tablet; *MDOG*, LIX. pp. 2—7.
 Šurpu: Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 1—51.
- I R 43—44: cf. Sennach. Nebi Yûnus Inscription.
 I R 45—47: cf. Esarh. Prism Inscription.
 I R 52 No. 3: Neb. No. 7.
 I R 52 No. 4: Neb. No. 8.
 I R 65: Neb. No. 9.
 I R 67: Nerigl. No. 1.
 I R 68 No. 1: Nabon. No. 5.

- I R 68 No. 6: Nabon. No. 14.
 II R 26 No. 1: cf. K. 5433.
 III R 14: cf. Sennach. Bavian Inscription.
 IV R 31: cf. Ištar's Journey to the Abyss.
 V R 33: cf. Agum-kakrimi.
 V R 34: Neb. No. 1.
 V R 55: cf. Nebuchadnezzar I.
 V R 64: Nabon. No. 1.
- K. 29: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 36.
 K. 38: *MVAG*, VIII₅, pp. 12—15.
 K. 133: *MVAG*, VIII₅, pp. 40—43.
 K. 174: Harper, I. No. 53.
 K. 470: Harper, VIII. No. 831.
 K. 474: Harper, V. No. 496.
 K. 499: Harper, I. No. 119.
 K. 501: Harper, I. No. 113.
 K. 623: Harper, II. No. 191.
 K. 628: Harper, V. No. 526.
 K. 629: Harper, I. No. 65.
 K. 631: Harper, II. No. 136.
 K. 673: Harper, VIII. No. 846.
 K. 822: Harper, VIII. No. 858.
 K. 891: cf. (Ašurb.) L³.
 K. 1234: Harper, II. No. 134.
 K. 1260: Johns, *Deeds*, No. 865.
 K. 1286: Craig, *RT*, Pl. 7—8.
 K. 1356: cf. Plates III—IV.
 K. 1685: Neb. No. 11.
 K. 1688: Nabon. No. 4.
 K. 2096: partly in *AV*, pp. 104, 554, and 640; parallel with K. 6308: partly in Bezold, *Cat.* II. p. 778.
 K. 2128 + K. 4098: *RS*, XIII. pp. 362—64.
 K. 2411: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 292—303.
 K. 2619 + K. 2755: *KB*, VI₁. pp. 60—69.
 K. 2637: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 320—23.
 K. 2652: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 188—95.
 K. 2674 + Sm 2010 + 82—2—4, 186: *VAB*, VII₂. pp. 323—33.
 K. 2694: cf. K. 3050.
 K. 2711: *BA*, III. pp. 264—69.
 K. 2755: cf. K. 2619.
 K. 2892: Craig, *AT*, Pl. 90.
 K. 3050 + K. 2694: cf. (Ašurb.) L⁴.
 K. 3351: *BA*, V. pp. 329—30.
 K. 3445 + Rm 396: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 24—25.
 K. 3449 a: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 23.
 K. 3454 + K. 3935: *BA*, II. pp. 409—10.
 K. 3473 + 79—7—8, 296 + Rm 615: S. A. Smith, *MT*, No. 1.
 K. 3476: cf. Plates V—VII.
 K. 3935: cf. K. 3454.
 K. 4098: cf. K. 2128.
 K. 4181: *CT*, XVIII. Pl. 26.
 K. 4210: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 43.
 K. 4245: Zimmern, *Beiträge*, Pl. 45.
 K. 4338: Landsberger, *KK*, p. 52⁵.
 K. 4397: *CT*, XVIII. Pl. 23.
 K. 5418 a + K. 5640: *KB*, VI₁. pp. 290—98.
 K. 5433 (+ II R 26 No. 1): *AV*, p. 388; cf. Bezold, *Kurzgefasstes Überblick über die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, Lpz. 1886, pp. 208, 316.
 K. 5640: cf. K. 5418 a.
 K. 6012 + K. 10684: *PSBA*, XXVI. pp. 56—57.

- K. 6308: cf. K. 2096.
 K. 7592 + K. 8717 + DT 363: BA, V. pp. 309—12.
 K. 8519: King, *STC*, I. p. 165.
 K. 8521: Delitzsch, *AL*⁵, p. 113.
 K. 8531 + Rm 126: *MVAG*, VIII₅, pp. 8—13.
 K. 8717: cf. K. 7592.
 K. 8957: Johns, *HDB*, Pl. 15.
 K. 9876: cf. Plates VIII—XI.
 K. 10684: cf. K. 6012.
- Sm 671: Bezold, *Cat.* IV. p. 1424.
 Sm 2010: cf. K. 2674.
- DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 129—146.
 DT 83: *PSBA*, XVII. pp. 33—35.
 DT 109: cf. DT 15.
 DT 114: cf. DT 15.
 DT 122: *AV*, p. 1101.
 DT 363: cf. K. 7592.
- Rm 126: cf. K. 8531.
 Rm 282: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 33.
 Rm 396: cf. K. 3445.
 Rm 610: *CT*, XXV. Pl. 35.
 Rm 615: cf. K. 3473.
 Rm 2174: Virolleaud, *AC*, Second suppl. LXVII.
- Sp I 131: *ZA*, VI. pp. 241—44.
- 79—2—1, 1: Neb. No. 5.
 79—3—22, 1: Neb. No. 4.
 79—7—8, 296: cf. K. 3473.
 80—6—17: cf. Antiochus Soter.
 81—2—1, 37: *KB*, III₂, pp. 70—75.
 81—4—28, 3 + 4: Nabon. No. 6.
 81—7—1, 9: Nabon. No. 2.
 81—7—27, 30: Harper, VII. No. 667.
- 82—2—4, 186: cf. K. 2674.
 82—5—22, 96: Harper, IV. No. 366.
 82—5—22, 168: Harper, VII. No. 656.
 82—5—22, 1048: *CT*, XIII. Pl. 35—38.
 82—7—14, 1042: Neb. No. 13.
 84—2—11, 356: cf. The Babylonian Chronicle.
 85—4—30, 1: Neb. No. 14.
 85—4—30, 2: Nabon. No. 3.
 86—7—20, 1: Nabop. No. 1.
- Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76: *BA*, III. pp. 240—58.
 Bu 89—4—26, 6: Harper, XI. No. 1164.
 Bu 91—5—9, 90: Harper, VIII. No. 807.
 Bu 91—5—9, 329: King, *Letters*, III. p. 165.
- 17298: King, *Letters*, III. p. 162.
 17334: King, *Letters*, III. p. 164.
 17416: King, *Letters*, III. p. 167.
 17531: King, *Letters*, III. p. 166.
 26472: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 3—14.
 27859: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 57—69.
 29623: *CT*, XV. Pl. 12—13.
 35382: cf. Nabon. Ann.
 35968: King, *Chron.* II. pp. 70—86.
 47406: *CT*, XXIV. Pl. 50.
 55466 + 55486 + 55627: King, *STC*, II. Pl. 67—72.
 55486: cf. 55466.
 55547: *CT*, XVII. Pl. 50.
 55627: cf. 55466.
 92691: *CT*, XII. Pl. 10—11.
 103399: *CT*, XXXII. Pl. 16.
- VATh66: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 18—20.
 VATh67: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 22—26.
 VATh73: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 46—50.
 VATh77: Peiser, *KAS*, pp. 58—60.

- VATh283 + VATh401: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 45—46.
 VATh367: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 143.
 VATh401: cf. VATh 283.
 VATh408 + VATh2179: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 73.
 VATh451: *KB*, IV. pp. 172—74.
 VATh554: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 142.
 VATh663: Reisner, *SBH*, Pl. 145.
 VATh757—758: Meissner, *Beitr.* No. 102.
 VATh2179: cf. VATh408.
 VATh2499: Reisner, *TT*, No. 276.
 VAT 7849: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 99—103.
 VAT 9304: *KTAR*, No. 16.
 VAT 9418: *KTAR*, No. 142.
 VAT 9555: *KTAR*, No. 143.
 VAT 10105: *KTAR*, No. 104.
- BE 5457: cf. Ašurb. *Emah* Cyl.
 BE 7447: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XV.
 BE 13420: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XIII.
 BE 13987: Weissbach, *BM*, No. XII.
 BE 14940: Nabop. No. 4; cf. Weissbach, *BM*, No. IX.
 BE 21211: Neb. No. 44.
- AO 3179: *VAB*, I. pp. 2—4.
 AO 3867: *VAB*, I. pp. 4—5.
 AO 5482: Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 72—73.
 AO 6444: *RA*, XI. pp. 109—13.
 AO 6451: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 75—80.
- AO 6459: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 89—90, 92—93.
 AO 6460: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 118—121.
 AO 6461: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 108—110.
 AO 6463: *TU*, No. 9.
 AO 6465: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 90—92.
 AO 6472: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 34—40.
 AO 6479: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 10—20.
 AO 7439: Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 114—15.
- MNB 1848: cf. DT 15.
- SA 47: *RA*, IX. p. 58.
 SA 217: *RA*, IX. p. 63.
- DCL: Tablets from Drehem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio; cf. *JAOS*, XXXIII. pp. 167—79.
- EAH: E. A. Hoffman Collection of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.; cf. Radau, *EBH*, pp. 319—434.
- Morg. II: A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, II. *Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era (312—65 B. C.)*, N. York, 1913.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Behrens, *ABBr.*: E. Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Lpz. 1906. (*LSSt.* II₁).
- Bezold, *Cat.*: C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Vol. I—V, Lond. 1889—99. — *Supplement*. By L. W. King, Lond. 1914.
- Brockelmann, *Grundriss*: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I.—II. Bd. Berl. 1908—13.
- Brünnow: R. E. Brünnow, *A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs*, Leyden, 1889.
- Craig, *AT*: J. A. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Lpz. 1899. (*AB*, XIV.).
- Craig, *RT*: J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Vol. I—II, Lpz. 1895—97. (*AB*, XIII.).
- Deimel, *Pantheon*: *Pantheon Babylonicum*. Nomina deorum e textibus cuneiformibus excerpta et ordine alphabetico distributa . . . edidit Antonius Deimel, Romae, 1914.
- Delitzsch, *AL*⁵: Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 5. Aufl. Lpz. 1912.
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- Harper: R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K. Collection of the British Museum*, Parts I—XIII, Lond., Chic. 1892—1913.
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- Hommel, *GGAO*: Fr. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, 1. Hälfte, Münch. 1904. (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* hrsg. von Iwan von Müller, III.).
- Jastrow, *RBA*: M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I.—II_{1—2}. Giessen, 1905—12.
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- Johns, *HDB*: C. H. W. Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book or Liber censualis of the District round Harran; in the Seventh Century B. C. copied from the Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum*, Lpz. 1901. (*AB*, XVII.).
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- King, *STC*: L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation, or the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind*, Vol. I—II, Lond. 1902. (*Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series*, Vol. XII—XIII.).
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- LSSt.: Leipziger semitistische Studien,* Lpz. 1903 ff.
- MDOG: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu
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- MDP: Délégation en Perse. Mémoires publiés sous la direction
de J. de Morgan, X: Textes élamites-sémitiques, 4.
série par V. Scheil,* Paris, 1908. (Ministère de l'In-
struction publique et des Beaux-arts).
- MVAG: Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* Berl.,
Lpz. 1896 ff.
- OLZ: Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung,* Berl. 1898 ff.
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- RA: Revue d'Assyriologie,* Paris, 1886 ff.
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chéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes . . .* publié sous la
direction de G. Maspero, Paris, 1870 ff.
- RS: Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne,* Paris,
1893 ff.
- SAJ: B. Meissner, Seltene assyrische Ideogramme,* Lpz. 1910.
(AB, XX.).
- SBAW: Sitzungsberichte der (Königlich) Preussischen Akademie
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- TU: Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du temple d'Anu
au temps des Séleucides.* Publiées par F. Thureau-
Dangin, Paris, 1922. (Musée du Louvre. — Dépar-
tement des Antiquités Orientales. Textes cunéiformes, VI.).
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- ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Lpz., Strassb. 1886 ff.
- ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Lpz. 1847 ff.

ERRATA

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

I

In the interesting Nabonidus Annals (BM 35382), discovered during Rassam's excavations in Babylonia, we hear, in a very fragmentary text, of events in the last years of the reign of Nabonidus (555—538), when the Neo-Babylonian empire was facing its doom. The brief annalistic remarks of each year give us the strongest impression of a perpetual futile struggle to keep out the foreign invaders. How great was the disintegration and confusion in the vast empire may be seen from isolated passages in the records of the renewed struggles; thus we read of the ninth year: *Šarru ana Nisanni ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku Nabû ana Bâbili lâ illi-ku Bêl¹ lâ ittaša-a i-sin-nu a-ki-tu ba-til* (II 10—11), and in almost similar words the same is recorded of the seventh, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabonidus (II 5—6. 19—20. 23—24). In the twelfth year of his reign, however, it seems that, in spite of all, Nabonidus was able to celebrate the great annual cult festival, *ab šarru ana Ê.TUR.KALAM.MA êrub. Ina^{arah} u tam-lim šaplî(?) -tum . . . -bal-ki-tum a(?)šit(?) [Nabû ana Bâbili illi-ku?] Bêl ittaša-a isinnu a-ki-tu ki šal-mu ep-šu*

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

(III 6—8). But soon after, the empire collapsed under the renewed attacks of Cyrus (*Ku-raš*), *Ūmu 14 Sippar^{ki} ba-la-ša-l-tum ša-bit. ^mNabû-na'id ihliḫ* (III 14—15), and *Araššamna ūmu 3^{kan} ^mKu-raš ana Bâbili êrub* (III 18); he did not deal as Sennacherib did with the conquered city, but *Šu-lum ana âli ša-kin ^mKu-raš šu-lum ana Bâbili gab-bi-šu ḫi-bi* (III 19—20). And the following year Cambyses (*^mKan-bu-zi-ia mâru ša ^mKu-[raš]* III 24) went as the representative of his father (?) to the temple *Ê.ŠA.PA.KALAM.MA.SUM.MU¹* (III 25) on the fourth of Nisan, in order to celebrate the great *isinnu akîtu* like a true Babylonian. In this very passage, however, the text has come down to us in a very fragmentary condition. Thus the words *ḫâtâ Nabû* in III 26 lack both subject and verb, but from related passages we learn that we may venture to supply an *aš-bat²*. Thereupon he (?) took Nabu to Esagila and made sacrifices to Marduk, *Nabû ana Ê-šak-kil usaḫḫir immerniḫê ina pân Bêl u šu* (III 28), but the succeeding text is in such a fragmentary condition that we must give up making sense of it.

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

¹ Identical with *e-nig-pa-kalama-suma biḫ ^{ilu}na-bi-um*, VR 34, II 7.

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

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

¹ King, *Chron.* I. p. 224.

² *Chron.* I. pp. 187 ff.

text that these two annals gave similar accounts of the events of the reigns of the four above-mentioned kings. The above-cited passage (Obv. 14 ff.) seems to contain a list of the years in which some *ina BARA*, and King here concludes that *ina BARA* is the same as *ina parakki*, i. e. Marduk remains in his temple or, to speak Babylonian, *ilu Bêl ul u-ša-a*. According to this statement, the great cult festival was not celebrated in the fifth and fourteenth years of Eulbar-shakin-shum's reign, in Ae-aplu-ušur's fourth year, and in Nabû-mukîn-apli's first year, nor was it probably celebrated in several succeeding years. It seems to me that King's hypothesis deserves attention even though there are several obscurities in the passage itself. That *šattu* should everywhere be implied before *ina BARA* is beyond doubt, but the interpretation of the words themselves is difficult. The character *BARA* has the ideographic value *parakku* (S^b VI 352), or preceded by *arhu*, *Nisannu*. This latter value, which it is tempting to assume because, as we have seen, the *isinnu akîtu* was celebrated in the month of Nisan, must be abandoned, because the determinative of the month is never omitted in historical texts dating from this period¹, nor does it make sense to read *ina Nisanni*. But *ina parakki*, used absolutely, is uncommon. However, we have 35968 for comparison. The situation is evidently the same in 27859. The hostile Aramean tribes over and over again disturb the peace of the realm² and amongst other things prevent the celebration of the great religious festivals. It is therefore highly probable that King is right when he thinks

¹ Cf. 35968, II 1. 19 *arhu Airu*, 6 *arhu Dûzu*, 7. 12 *arhu Abu*, 9 *arhu Tišritu*, 14 *arhu Simânu*, 17. 18 *arhu Nisannu*.

² Cf. Rev. 10 *mātu A-ra-mu ša ina Ši-gil-tu u Su-bar-tu eklē^{pl} a-šib Bābīlī^{kl} u B[ar-sī]^{p^{kl}} i-kī-mu*.

that the words *ina BARA* supply evidence that Marduk remained in the temple at the great annual festival. I should consider it proved if the years mentioned in 27859, Obv. 14 ff., coincided with the years mentioned in 35968, but the condition of the texts prevents a comparison. In 35968, we hear of the omission of the festivities in the seventh, eighth, and far later years of the reign of Nabû-mukîn-apli, but we hear nothing of his first years. Of his predecessors we hear that ⁱⁱⁱ*Bêl ul u-ša-a* in the fifteenth year of the reign of an un-named king. If this king, as conjectured above, should be Eulbar-shakin-shum, this would not, it is true, contradict 27859, Obv. 15, which mentions the fourteenth year of the reign of this king, but it would necessitate that the compiler of 27859 had only followed one of his sources in the passage in Obv. 14 ff., an explanation attempted by King¹, though neither he nor, presumably, any one else can give any grounds for it.

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

¹ *Chron.* I. p. 197.

(140 b—141), and in the Annals we read the almost identical statement: *arah Nisannu a-rah a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilâni kâtâ (ilu) bilu rabi-i (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat]ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḫ bût a-ki-ti* (309—11). Esarhaddon's son Šamaš-šum-ukîn (668—648), who tried in vain to defeat Ašurbanipal, but perished in the flames during the capture of Babylon, has recorded his participation in the cult festival in several inscriptions (S¹ 1—7; L⁵ 15—17). No direct mention is made of the festival itself, but the passages referring to the sacrifices at Esagila should be compared with the above-cited words in 35968, II 3—4, or with the passages in Nabonidus' Annals II 7—8. 12. 20—21 *niḫê ina Ê-šak-kil u Ê-zi-da ilâni šu-ut Bâbili u Bar-sap^{ki} ki šal-mu nad-nu*. That these last sacrifices took place in the month of Nisan, and hence during the *isinnu akîtu*, is rendered probable by II 13—14, where, immediately after such a passage, it says: *Nisannu ûmu* ^{5^{kan}} *ummi šarri ina Dûr-ka-ra-šu ša kišâd Purâti e-lanu Sip-par^{ki} im-tu-ut*. But it is not only the late Assyrian and late Babylonian inscriptions of the kings that record the participation of the rulers in the annual festival; in the most ancient of the more extensive texts we possess, dating from the earliest culture of Mesopotamia, in the Gudea inscriptions (abt. 2450 B. C.), the Sumerian patesi of Lagaš (Shirpurla) relates how he sent wedding gifts to the old and the new temple at Bau's festival on New Year's Day. *Ud-zag-mu ezen-dingir^{ba-u nig-sal-uš-sa ag-da} . . .* (these are mentioned) *nig-sal-uš-sa* ^{dingir^{ba-u e-IGI+ŠU ud-bi-ta-kam}} *. . .* (a number of sacrificial gifts are mentioned) *nig-sal-uš-sa* ^{dingir^{ba-u e-gibil gu-de-a pa-te-si ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-a galu e-dû-a-ge}} *ba-an-taḫ-ḫa-am* (Stat. E 5₁—7₂₁, almost identical with Stat. G 3₅—6₁₉; cf. also Stat. B 8₁₁). That the day *ud-zag-mu*

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

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

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

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

If we go to one of the current text-books¹ for information, we learn of a number of things which the festival is supposed to symbolize, or which occur in the cult, but if we look for actual facts the result is poor; the particulars given are couched in vague language carrying weight only at the first glance. The akitu festival is the Babylonian New Year's festival, and is celebrated at the vernal equinox in the month of Nisan. On that occasion Marduk leaves Esagila in a festive procession, to meet other gods coming from distant towns, the most important of these deities being Nabu from Borsippa. The latter join in the procession and together they proceed to "the chamber of destiny", where the "destiny" of the coming year is determined by the assembled deities, Nabu being their scribe. At this festival, too, the king receives his investiture as ruler of Sumer and Akkad at the hand of the god, and a Sacred Marriage takes place between the god and goddess. Cosmically the festival is interpreted to represent the victory of the spring sun (Marduk) over the winter sun (Nabu) or the victory of spring over the waters (Tiamat) that threaten to inundate the earth, or anthropologically, the death and resurrection from the dead of the god of vegetation. A few passages are cited from the Babylonian literature, Herodotus and Aelian are quoted, and parallels from the cult of Osiris, the Persian Sacaea², and the Satur-

¹ KAT³; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Lpz. 1913.

² Cf. e. g. Langdon, *JRAS* 1924, pp. 65—72.

nalía¹ are adduced. The result is that a series of hypotheses and conjectures take the place of an exposition of what we actually know about the *akitu* festival, and symbolic and astro-mythological interpretations of a pan-Babylonistic character² further obscure the question. Hence it is greatly to the credit of Heinrich Zimmern that he attempted to throw some light on the subject of this important cult festival in his two publications on the Babylonian New Year's festival (*ZBN*, Lpz. 1906, 1918), in which he made known a series of cultural texts of the greatest importance. François Thureau-Dangin has subsequently continued the work with the previously published texts, and has also brought to light important new texts, e. g. from Uruk (Erech), in his most interesting work *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921). But neither these texts nor the rest of the materials at our disposal have hitherto been studied with a view to extracting information about the *akitu* festival.

¹ Cf. Langdon, *JRAS* 1924, pp. 69—70 and Gudea Stat. B 7^{26—35}.

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

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

II

In the Assyro-Babylonian literature the chief religious festival in the city of Babylon, a festival which returns annually, is called *isinnu zagnuku* or *isinnu akitu*. *isinnu* is the common Babylonian term for a "periodical festival" in contrast to other expressions such as *ûm ili*¹, *kirêtu*², and *melultu*³, and since P. Jensen's conjecture⁴ it has generally been considered to be a Sumerian loanword *EZEN*. I, however, believe with Landsberger⁵ that *isinnu* is a genuine Akkadian word⁶, the etymology of which a study of the texts in Reisner's large collection of hymns will help us to approach. Thus in VATH 408 + VATH 2179, Obv. 5, a word *is/sinnu* occurs, which in a quite identical context, in the hymn *Ša kima ûmi šuršudu* (No. 4), 160, is replaced by the word *simânu*, "appointed time"⁷. This latter word is known to us from the familiar passage in Sennacherib's

¹ Cf. *ûm palâh ili* IVR² 60* B, Obv. 25.

² Cf. K. 2892, Rev. 10.

³ Cf. *i-na ri-kis si-pit-ti u me-lul-ti-šu* 55466 + 55486 + 55627, Obv. 14, and Jensen's remark in *KB*, VI₁. p. 395 to IVR² 28*, 68.

⁴ *KB*, III₁. p. 60², supported by a fragment of S^a, published in *ZA*, IV. p. 394.

⁵ *KK*, pp. 8 ff.

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

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

Prism Inscription, in which he describes the mutilation of his fallen enemies, *bal-ta-šu-un a-bu-ut ki-ma bi-ni kiš-ši-i si-ma-ni u-na-ak-kis ʕa-ti-šu-un* (VI 1—2); here we must translate *simānu* by the word “ripe, that which has reached its appointed time”¹, and the probability that *isinnu* and *simānu* are identical takes us back to **w-s-m* as an etymological possibility².

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

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

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

³ Leander, *SL*, p. 18 No. 133; Langdon, *SG*, p. 25⁴.

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

⁵ Amiaud, *ZA*, III, p. 41; Jensen, *KdB*, p. 87².

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

imiri ... *gi-mir ummanâti šal-lat na-ki-ri* ... *lu-up-ki-da ki-rib-ša* (VI 41—51); in this passage *zakmukku* is merely a term indicating time and “the first month” is placed in apposition to it. The first month was Nisan in which, as stated above, the great cult festival was celebrated¹. But *zagnuku* is often preceded in the texts by *isinnu*, the term then denotes the great Babylonian cult festival. This usage occurs especially in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions², which would seem to indicate that this compound is of late origin.

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

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

² Neb. EJ IV 1—2 *zag-mu-ku i-si-in-nim šu-an-na^{ki}*; VII 23 *i-na i-si-nim zag-mu-ku*.

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

⁴ Sⁿ 1 1; IIR 24, 50 c.

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

the word is always spelt with a *k*. True, Landsberger points out¹ that in two passages we have the spelling *a-ki-tu* (BE 13420, Rev. 80; K. 1260, Rev. 6), but if we look more closely at these passages, it appears that in his transcription of BE 13420, Weissbach writes *it-ki-ti*, while his autographic copy of the tablet, plate 14, quite plainly has *it-ki-ti*². The other passage, in Johns, is, however, spelt with a *k*: *I-en iršu ta-kil a-ki-tu*. But Ungnad's investigations in 1912³ gave another result, viz. [*I*]-*en iršu ša* ^{is}*a-ri-šu-tu*, the correctness of which I can confirm from my personal collation at the British Museum in the summer of 1922.

Multifarious have been the attempts to solve the etymology of this obstinate word. Hommel⁴ thought that *akītu* must be a nomen relativum from *Aku*, one of the numerous epithets of the moon god⁵, and as evidence adduced the passage in VATH 554⁶, Rev. IV—III 4 [*ka*]-*gal A-ku ši-tum bēl bīt zi-be*. He considered *bīt zi-be*, "sacrificial temple", identical with *E-siqiš-siqiš* which has *a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša* ^{ilu}*en-lil ilāni marduk* as apposition in Neb. EJ IV 7—8. Hence he drew the conclusion that, as *Aku*'s city gate in Babylon gave on to *bīt akītu*, this temple and the festival were named after it. Quite apart from the problematic proceeding of concluding from the temple to the festival, it must be emphasized that there is very little probability that special local conditions in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon should have contributed to give its name to a festival

¹ *KK*, p. 12³.

² The autographic text has been followed by Jensen in *KB*, VI₂. p. 40.

³ *ZA*, XXXI. p. 43.

⁴ *GGAO*, p. 324³.

⁵ Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 49 a.

⁶ The so-called Berlin topographical tablet of Babylon.

which is mentioned in the earliest sources from the Sumerian Ur (3000 B. C.). But furthermore, E-sigiš-sigiš is hardly identical with *bīt zi-be*. Of contemporary sources I shall mention Nabon. Stele IX 3—10 *ina arah nisanni . . . e-nu-ma . . . ^{ilu}marduk . . . i-na e-sigišše-sigišše¹ *bīt ik-ri-bi bīt a-ki-ti . . . ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti . . .*; here the temple mentioned by Hommel is called “the house of prayer”, not *bīt zi-be*. — Jensen² accepts Delitzsch’s explanation³ of the word which is quite hypothetical, viz. *akitu* < **waḳitu*, which only occurs in Assyrian in the form II₂ *utaḳḳušu* (Neb. EJ II 61), and proposes some such translation as “homage (to the gods)”⁴ or a word of a similar sense. Both Haupt and Streck have assumed that *akitu* was originally spelt with a *k*. Haupt⁵ suggests a connection between Talm. אָקִיטוּ ⁶ and Babylonian **akitu*, a parallel which was also subsequently pointed out by Streck.⁷ — Later on Haupt has, however, compared *akitu* with Arab. *ittikā*’, “accubation”, and *muttaka*’, “banquet” (Ḳorān XII 31)⁸, and under the influence of this, and from his obser-*

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

² *ZA*, VII. p. 219.

³ *BA*, II. p. 239 (quoted by Hagen); *HWB*.

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

⁵ *ZDMG*, LXI. p. 276.

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

⁷ *OLZ* 1905, p. 379; the inserted *-n-* which Streck calls “ein irr-tümlich eingedrungenener Parasit”, is naturally explained like similar forms in Mandæan, cf. Pallis, *MS*, p. 146³. It is a matter for surprise that Streck insists on a possible etymological *k*, since his ingenious observation (*OLZ* 1905, p. 378) of the possible connection between *Baudyus* (Hesych. s. v.) and *bīt akitu* would rather seem to suggest an original *k*.

⁸ *BA*, VI₂. p. 31.

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

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

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

¹ *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 34 note; *AL*⁵, p. 161 a.

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

³ Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 65 f.

are local festivals of Ur. Thus VATH 2499 mentions a [m]aš-da-ri-a, a "sacrificial gift", consisting of dates, for the *akitu* festival, dated ^{itu}a-ki-ti, with the addition šag ŠEŠ. UNUKI, "in Ur". Another text, referred to by Scheil in *MDP*, X. p. 22, is dated in the same way and mentions Ā-KI-TI ŠIS-AB(-ki) (i. e. Ur), stating that the sacrificial gifts were presented in the royal palace, Ê-GAL-LA BA-AN-TU. In the list of months from Ur the sixth (or seventh) month is called a-ki-ti, which must here be interpreted as the original name of a festival for Nannar¹, after which the month was then subsequently named². For in the same list of months the twelfth month is called še-KIN.KUD. In this month Sin's *akitu* festival was celebrated, as we learn from SA 217, Obv. 2 ff., where the following sacrifices are mentioned šag ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki}-ma: — 1) šag a-ki-ti 2) ^d[Nanna(r)] 3) ^dNin-gal. The same festival is mentioned in SA 47, Obv. 2, as a-ki-ti še-KIN.KUD, i. e. the *akitu* festival of the twelfth month. And Landsberger has rendered it probable that the name which has been replaced by *akiti* as the name of the sixth or seventh month in the Ur list, was šu-KUL-na, which various investigations³ have shown to be the name of the fourth month in the Nippur list. One of the Tello texts⁴ mentions maš-da-ri-a ^{itu}a-ki-ti šu-KUL šag ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki}-ma, and DCL VIII, Obv. 5—6 has maš-da-ri-a a-ki-ti šu-numun (i. e. šu-KUL-na) ša(g) ga-eš^{ki}. The occurrence of šu-KUL-na as the sixth month in Ur but the fourth month in Nippur (both lists have še-KIN.KUD as the twelfth month) cannot invalidate the above suggestion, as it may be due to purely local variations. Thus the pas-

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 87².

² Cf. Landsberger, *KK*, p. 71.

³ *KK*, p. 148.

⁴ *Inv. de Tello*, III². 6167, Obv. 2. — Rev. 1.

sage in 103399, Obv. Col. II 8 *a-ki-ti š[u]-KUL-na*, probably indicates the sixth month in the Ur calendar. Another passage which perhaps belongs to the Ur calendar¹ is Legr. No. 21, 9 ff., where *šag a-ki-ti* occurs in a reference to the seventh month in the Nippur list, the name of which, *du(l)-azag(-ga)*² is probably borrowed from another festival, *EZEN du(l)-azag*. — To return to the Ur list, it may seem strange that the local festival for Sin in that city did not give its name to the twelfth month, since this festival was the chief annual festival. The explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that the festival in the twelfth month was limited to Ur, while several of the other festivals we have mentioned (e. g. *a-ki-ti šu-KUL-na*) were general festivals, celebrated by a great number of cities which had adopted the Ur calendar³. — As regards the sense of the word *akiti* it must undoubtedly be regarded as a proper name, whether it is the name of a month or of a certain festival. In the expression *maš-da-ri-a a-ki-ti* this conception is rendered probable by the direct parallel *maš-da-ri-a ittu a-ki-ti*, in *Inv. de Tello*, III₂. 6167, and I see no cogent reason why we should understand *šag a-ki-ti* as meaning “(sacrifice) in the festival house”⁴. The translation “(sacrifice) for the akiti (festival)” seems to me much more reasonable for the Sumerian texts, to which we have no right to ascribe ideas from a much later period. The same is the case with two passages in a text from Ur⁵ pointed out by

¹ Cf. the dating *ittu a-ki-ti* and Landsberger, *KK*, p. 33³. — Thureau-Dangin in *Rit.* p. 87 surmises that we may perhaps infer from this that the akitu festival at Nippur was celebrated in Tišrit.

² Cf. VR 43, 34 a *ittu KI.IT | ittu DUL.AZAG*.

³ Landsberger, *KK*, p. 66.

⁴ Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 33³, 79.

⁵ Legr. No. 370, 7 f., 10 f.

Thureau-Dangin¹. In these passages sacrifices to Nannar are mentioned, *igi šu-nir-ra ša(g) a-ki-ti*, and later on, also to Nannar, *ma a-ki-ti-ta tu(r)-ra*. Thureau-Dangin translates as follows: “devant (son) emblème, dans le (temple d’) *a-ki-ti*” and “(r)entrant en barque du (temple d’) *a-ki-ti*.” But I do not think it can be shown that *akîti* means the *akîti* temple in any of these passages. The fact that at a much later period, as we shall see below, we often have *akîtu* = *bît akîtu*, should not influence our view of conditions in the Sumerian period. Important in this connection is the evidence from AO 5482, where we find a list of the sacrifices to be offered at the *akîti* festival in the sixth month at Ur and other cities. The passage mentions sacrifices in the *Gu-la* temple, in the temple to *Ur-^dŠu-^dSin*, in the palace, in the *Nin-sun* temple, in *Šubaru*, and in the temples to *^dAsaru-lu-dug* and to *^dNin-dam-an-na*, but we find no mention of an *akîti* temple.

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

¹ *Rit.* p. 88.

diatē vicinijai of Assur¹, as is attested by a building inscription² found on the site, which amongst other things contains the following words: *te-me-en bīt a-ki-ti ša i-sin-ni ki-re-ti* ^{il}Ašur.

Dilbat.³ — Two purchase deeds from the time of Darius, published by Peiser, mention *ḥarrân ša a-ki-tum mu-ta-ku (ilu) Ib* (VATh 73, 7) and *ḥarrân šarri ša a-ki-tum (ilu) Ib* (VATh 77, 2). Streck erroneously connects these passages with Babylon⁴, Landsberger, on the other hand, refers them to Dilbat without giving any grounds for his supposition⁵. In one of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions we read: *ka-ar a-ra-aḥ-ti bal-ri šit* ^{ilu}šamši *iš-tu abulli* ^{ilu}iš-tar *a-ti abulli* ^{ilu}u-ra-aš *i-na ku-up-ri u a-gu-ur-ri a-ba-am a-lī-tu ik-zu-ur-ma* (82—7—14, 1042, II 8—11); from this we learn that there was a gate in Babylon named after the god Uraš, but the latter is identical with ^{ilu}Ib⁶, a name given to the god Marduk in Dilbat where his main temple was called Imbi-Anum⁷. But the two passages from the purchase deeds mention no *abullu* ^{ilu}Ib. In Sippar there was also an "Uraš Gate"⁸, hence we have no reason not to connect the two passages in question with Dilbat. In AO 6444 Nabonidus mentions his restoration of cities and temples⁹, but the text does not show whether the *bīt akītu*

¹ W. Andrae in *MDOG*, XXXIII. pp. 24 ff.

² *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19.

³ Cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 396 ff.

⁴ *OLZ* 1905, p. 380.

⁵ *KK*, p. 13⁴.

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

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

⁸ VATh 757—758, 13.

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

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

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

Milkia. — Ašurb. K. 891, Obv. 6—7 *alu^{mil-ki-a} 3 ê-gal-edin*⁴ *mu-šab ilu^{iš-tar an-ĥu-us-su ud-diš bît-a-ki-tu ar-šip}*. The text opens with a reference to the king's restoration of Arba-ilu, which has made Hagen⁵ erroneously assume that the passage referred to this place. In spite of the masculine suffix in *bît-a-ki-tu* it is probable that this temple in K. 891 is identical with *ê-gal-edin*, and this supposition is confirmed by another Ašurb. text, K. 2674 + Sm 2010 + 82—2—4, 186, Rev. I 18—23⁶ *a-na-ku¹ ilu^{aššur-bân-aplu šar mâtu. ilu^{aššur}ki ul-tu immeru^{niĥê}meš ilu^{Kur-ri} 7 aĥ-ĥu-u e-pu-šu i-sin-ni bît a-ki-ti at-mu-ĥu mašku^{a-ša-a-ti} ilu^{iš-tar . . . e-rib alu^{arba-ilu e-pu-uš} ina ĥidâti^{meš}}}*. The passage in Obv. 45—46 in the same text, in which Milkia⁸ is specially mentioned, shows us that the passage in Rev. I 23 cannot mean that

¹ Cf. K. 1234, Obv. 7—11.

² Only four upright wedges are seen.

³ That we cannot read *Iš-ki-a* is seen from Bu 89—4—26, 6, as has been pointed out by Streck in *VAB*, VII². p. 248.

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

⁵ *BA*, II. p. 238 note.

⁶ K. 2637, 6—8 is identical with this.

⁷ Cf. the same text Obv. 45—46 *ki-rib alu^{mil-ki-a} immeru^{niĥê}meš aĥ-ĥi ĕpu^{šus} i-sin-ni ilu^{Kur-ri}*. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* pp. 112, 112³ reads *ilu^{Šat-ri}* here, which is confirmed by Bu 89—4—26, 6, 1; he points out that in this way we gain a better understanding of the parallel text K. 2637, 6 which has *ilu^{Še-ri}*, an error for *ilu^{Šat-ri}*.

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

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

Nineveh. — In Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24 ff. we read of the captive Elamite princes: *ul-tu a-na na-dan(?) immeru niĕĕ^{mes} e-lu-u ina ê-maš-maš (Ištar's main temple at Niniveh) šu-bat bêlu-ti-šu-un ma-ħar^{ilu}nin-lil ummi ilâni^{mes} rabûti^{mes} ħi-ir-tu na-ram-ti^{ilu}aššur e-pu-šu a-di ilâni^{mes} bît-a-ki-it¹ i^{isu}nîr i^{isu}ša ša-da-di u-ša-aš-bit-su-nu-li*.

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

¹ Cf. p. 15⁷.

izza-za, cf. Morg. II 22,3 *bît a-ki-tum ša iluīštar*, a legal document from Uruk from the period of the Seleucids. A third *bît akîtu* at Uruk besides those for Anu and Ištar is mentioned in a text¹ referring to the restoration of Ušur-amâtsu's² temple at that city, which reads: *a-na a-ki-ti bîli-ša ha-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša* (L. 14). Finally VAT 7849 tells us of the *akîtu* festival in Nisan in IV 6. 7. 10, where we read: *a-na* (or *ina*) *dê bît a-ki-tum êrum-ma*.

Unknown places. — Finally we have some passages in which *akîtu* is mentioned, but which do not refer to any special city. In K. 822, Obv. 9—12 we read: *ilu taš-me-tum da-at-tu lu-ša-a ina libbi bît a-ki-ti tu-u-šab*. At the beginning of the much broken text the writer mentions Nabu and Marduk, but only to invoke their blessings on his master, *ilu nabû u ilu marduk a-na šarri be-li-ia lik-ru-bu* (Obv. 5—6). Perhaps this is a reference to a local *akîtu* festival at Borsippa where Tašmet, Nabu's wife and queen, belongs. But the question must remain open since we know that by the side of Nabu she took part in the great *akîtu* festival at Babylon, even though the brief remarks in the letter can hardly be conceived to allude to some part of this festival. — In K. 474, dealing with *šubâlu lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl* and *pi-il bâbi rabûu* (Obv. 9—10) on the third and fourth day of Ulûlu, but giving no indication of place, Behrens³ thinks that we may reconstruct Rev. 8—11 as follows: *šarru i-di a-na ũe-mi-i a-na-ku man-ma ša-nam-ma [i]t-ti-ia ia²-a-nu [ana a]-ki-it lu-bu-uš-ti*. The whole question is, however, highly problematic, partly because Obv. 9 has not *a-ki-it lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl*, and partly because Behrens'

¹ Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31.

² This goddess is also mentioned in the Uruk texts (cf. VAT 7849, II 13 and Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI. p. 123, also Streck, *VAB*, VII₂. p. 186⁵).

³ *ABBr.* pp. 56, 68.

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

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

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

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

² Quoted from Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 72.

ir-ti ša ilu^uen-lil ilâni marduk; Neb. IR 65, III 7—17 *i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu¹ ra-be-tim . . . in ma-ḥa-ri-šu-nu e-le-it-ti-iḫ*; Neb. WBV 34—35 *a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-iḫ-ma*; BE 13420, 79—81 *ina arḫi BARA-ZAG-GAR ina ûmi XI KAN il^uBêl ištu it-ḫi-ti ana Ê-sag-ila ir-ru-um-ma*; Pinches, Col D 5—7 *ana Bâbili il-la-ku-nim-ma it-ti-šu ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri ina ma-ḥar-šu-nu šir-qa i-šar-raq*. In one of Nabonidus' inscriptions, 81—7—1, 9, referring to his restoration of the temple at Sippar in honour of Šamaš and Bunene, we read in II 27—34 [*kir-bu-*]uš *bi-lat-su-nu ša ka-liš kib-rat ma-ḥar ili-šu u ilu^uzar-pa-ni-tum ilu^unabû u ilu^unergal ilû^{mes}-u-a u ilâni gimir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it ša šarri ili ša-ḫu-u bêl bêlê zag-muk ri-eš šat-ti i-sin-nu a-ki-it ana ni-ḫi-e ma-as-ḥa-ṭam u pa-ḫa-du bît maḥir ḥegalli u ut-ni-en-na bêl bêlê lu sa-at-ra-ak tal-lak-tum a-na dârâ-a-tam*. The title of *bêl bêlê* and the reference to Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Nergal suggest the *akitu* festival at Babylon, and it is hardly probable that it should have been repeated at Sippar, in which we hear neither of a *bît akitu* or a *parak šimâti*², even though our inscription comes from that city and Babylon is not mentioned in it at all. Our theory is confirmed by another Nabonidus text, 81—4—28, 3+4, dealing with the restoration of Ebarra at Sippar. After a description of the building operations and the invocation of Šamaš follows a conclusion, II 42 ff., a parallel to that in 81—7—1 9, running as follows in 47 ff. *ina ḫi-rib bâbili^{ki} li-kun šu-ub-ti . . . i-na maḥ-ri be-lum ilu^una-bi-um u ilu^unergal ili^{mes}-e-a u ilê^{mes} si-ḫi-ir-ti bît a-ki-it³ ša ilu^uenlil ilâni^{mes} ili-šu a-na ni-ḫi-i*

¹ < **a-ki-ti-šu-nu*.

² Cf. VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15.

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

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

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

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

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

l[a] t[a-]a[l])-lak-u-ni . . .¹, Rev. 15^{isu} narkabtu ša a-na bit a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni . . .

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

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

¹ Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 16; in his transcription of VAT 9555 he has supplied missing parts from a duplicate VAT 9538 (cp. the long passage in round parenthesis, and see *ZNB*, II. p. 3¹).

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

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

However, we learn from several passages that the *akîtu* festival was not always celebrated in the month of Nisan in the period from the Sumerian time to the conquest of Babylon in 538 B. C. If we go back to the Sumerian time, we find nothing about the *akîtu* festival under *itubar-zag-gar(-ra)*, Nisan, in the month list from Nippur¹, while from Ur we have evidence that Nannar's *akîtu* festival took place in *itūše-KIN.KUD*, Adar (SA 47, Obv. 2, see p. 17). The passage in III R 52, 51 b *zag-muk ana ḫi-ti-šu* directly after the reference to Adar², should be compared herewith. These evidences would seem to indicate that the close of

¹ Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 24—25.

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

Adar which is followed by Nisan, was previously the time for the festival, or, in other words, that the coincidence of the new year with the beginning of spring could not always be fixed with accuracy¹, a fact which we have met with elsewhere². But we have also evidence to show that the akîtu festival was celebrated in the autumn. Thus in AO 6459 we read Obv. 1—3 *arab^htišrîtu ûmu 1^{kam} dEn-lîl dE-a u šu-ut Uruk^{ki} il-lab-biš-u³ is^hnarkabat dAni kaspi is^hnarkabat dAni ħurâši û-mu 1-šu a-di ûmi 8^{kam} it-ti qut-tin-nu ša še-rim a-na bit^ha-ki-i-tum e-lit ša dAni illa-ak^{pl}-ma*, cf. also Obv. 14; further we see from VR43, 34a, that *itu* *KI.IT* = *ituDUL.AZAG*³ under the seventh month, or that the month of akîtu is the same as Tišrît, which is the first month in the period from the beginning of autumn to the close of winter (Adar). We know, too, that in the time of Sargon of Agade, and of Gudea, and partly also in the time of Hammurabi⁴, the new year began in Tišrît⁵, and not until after that time in Nisan. —

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

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

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

³ Cf. *Legr.* No. 21, 9 ff. and above pp. 18, 18².

⁴ For the names of the months during his time see VR29 No. 1, 1—13 and King, *Letters*, III. p. XXXV³.

⁵ Cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 221².

at these different times we cannot tell. The dating of the Nippur system seems subsequently to have gained the ascendancy in several places. Under Sargon of Agade, Gudea, and Hammurabi we find Tišrît as the first month¹; perhaps, then, under the latter king the beginning of the civil year was transferred from Tišrît to Nisan. In astronomical calculations, however, the autumnal equinox was still used as the point of departure, hence the time fixed for celebrating the *akîtu* festival was Nisan, for in this month the annual festival was celebrated throughout post-Hammurabian Mesopotamia.² —

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

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

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

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

1. *ûmu akîtu*. (Gilgamesh, XI 75; 35968, II 3; K. 6012 + K. 10684, 27; VAT 9418, Obv. II 33). We learn nothing from the passage in the Gilgamesh Epic, since the words are merely used here in comparison, but most probably *ûmu akîtu* here means "the akîtu (festival) day", for, from a study of the context, the translation "festival day" seems hardly likely. Thus Behrens¹ interprets the statements of the vocabulary (K. 6012 + K. 10684), in which l. 24 has *UD.SAR = ûmu i-sin-nu* which must be translated "festival day", l. 25 *UD.EŠ.EŠ = ûmu eš-še-e-šu*, and l. 27 *UD.ID.KI.IT = ûmu a-ki-tum*. Now we see from IVR 32, I 16. 39 II 31 that the fourth, eighth, and seventeenth days of each month are an *ûmu eššēšu*, a statement which is corroborated by a number of letters from the time of the Sargonids². This seems to me to indicate that in these words we have a technical term for a festival connected with the cult of the moon³. Hence it is not very probable that *ûmu eššēšu* can be translated "festival day" or support a translation of *ûmu akîtu* as "festival day" because this term is given immediately after in the same vocabulary. Moreover, our investigation above on pp. 27—28 of 35968

¹ *ABBr.* pp. 11—12.

² Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 12.

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

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

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

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

temple”¹ or “akîtu temple”. Our answer must be that we can say nothing decisive about this until we have determined what *akîtu* means when it stands by itself, but that there is of course a possibility that *bît akîtu* might have come to mean “festival temple $\kappa\alpha\tau' \xi\xi\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ ” owing to the central position of the akîtu festival in the Mesopotamian cult, and because the ceremonies of *bît akîtu* were of predominant importance in the whole ordering of the festival. The possibility is thus present, but we must make it quite clear to ourselves that this does not in any way, either from a historical or a philological point of view, warrant the conclusion that hence *akîtu* means “festival”. True, the passage above in the Wadi Brisa Inscription (VII 30) shows this plainly enough, and it appears with even greater distinctness when we consider the expression *isinnu bît akîtu* (K. 2674, I 21—22; Nabon. Stele IX 41—42); here it would be absurd to translate it “the festival temple festival”. A much more probable translation, both here and where the expression *bît akîtu* occurs, would be, in one case, “the akîtu temple festival”, and in the other, “akîtu temple”. The temple of *bît akîtu* probably derived its name from its central importance² in the akîtu festival³, and the expression *isinnu bît akîtu*, which is a parallel to the more common expression *isinnu akîtu*, must probably be understood as a term which came into existence at a

¹ Thus Behrens, *ABBr.* pp. 32—33; Landsberger, *KK*, p. 13⁵.

² Cf. Chapter IV.

³ Cf. Streck, *OLZ* 1905, p. 375³ who even to this assumption opposes the conjecture that *akîtu* alone is an abbreviation of *isinnu akîtu* or *isinnu bît akîtu*. The latter of these possibilities I have thought it right to reject above, whereas I think that *akîtu* may possibly have come from *isinnu akîtu* by abbreviation, though this does not appear from the Sumerian material, where no *isinnu akîtu* occurs.

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

4. *akîtu* occurs alone (VATh 73, 7; VATh 77, 2; 35968, III 9; 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9; 81—7—1, 9, II 27—33; Neb. EJIV 7—8; Neb. WBV 34—35; Neb. IR 65, III 7—17; BE 13420, 79—81; Pinches, Col. D 5—7; IVR*33, III 53 f.). The investigation of these passages is of great importance, but presents many difficulties. In VATh 73,7 we may either translate “the *akîtu* road, Ib’s procession street¹”, or “the road to [*bît*] *akîtu*, Ib’s procession street”, and in VATh 77, 2 we have also two alternatives, “the king’s *akîtu* road, Ib’s”, or “the king’s road to Ib’s [*bît*] *akîtu*.” The texts are in good order, even if we assume that we must insert a *bît* in both passages; from Sargon’s Pomp Inscription 140 we see that the language does not require *ana* in such cases. That such a *bît* may not only be implied, but may even be absolutely required, may be seen from several passages where *akîtu* occurs alone. In 81—7—27, 30, Obv. 8—9 *ûmu 17^{kam} ilu^usin i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*, we see that Sin takes up his abode in *akîtu*, i. e. in *bît akîtu*, this cannot be doubted; and the correctness of this view is entirely corroborated by an inscription from Nabonassar’s reign² referring to the restoration of the *akîtu* temple to Ušur-amâtsu in Uruk, for here we read: *a-na a-ki-ti bîli-ša ha-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša*. BE 13420, 80—81 *^uBêl ištu it-ki-ti ana Ê-sag-ila ir-ru-um-ma* can therefore only be translated “B. went

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

² Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31, 14.

from [bît] *akîtu* to Esagila”¹, and in Pinches, Col D 6 we must interpret *akîtu* in the same way in the passage ... *ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri* ... In this passage *dû šarri* is an apposition to *it-ki-tum*, and it is important to get to the bottom of the meaning of *dû* in order to understand how we are to interpret *it-ki-tum* here. In Neb. EJ III 57 we have *du-u parakkê ři-ir-bi-šu* (i. e. in Ezida in Borsippa), and in Neb. BE 21211, 2—4, we read: *e-zi-da bîtu ki-nim i-na ři-rib bar-zi-pa^{ki} lu-u e-pu-uš du’-u-um mu-ša-ab^{ilu} na-bi-um ... pa-pa-ři be-lu-ti-šu ... ki-ma řa-di-i lu-u e-ir-ti-e*. I cannot agree with Langdon in his translation “Postament”²; in this last passage *papařu* is appositional to *dû*, and in the syllabarium IIR35, I 16 we have *di’|pa-rak-ku*, so that in EJ III 57 we must interpret *dû* as part of or identical with *parakku*. If now we adduce VAT 7849, IV 6. 7. 10 *a-na* (or *ina*) *dê bît a-ki-tum êrum-ma* as a parallel to the passage in Pinches, we see in the first place that *dû* must be a room, a chamber, the holy of holies in *bît akîtu*³, and further that there is an overwhelming probability that we are to imply a *bît* in the passage in Pinches, thus ... *ana [bît] it-ki-tum du-u šarri* ... — The passage in IVR* 33, III 53 f. mentioned above in pp. 24, 31² is very peculiar. The context expresses that the king of the country who

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

² *VAB*, IV. p. 326.

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

builds a temple (*bît-il ibne*) in the month of Arahšamna or *lū a-ki-tum ana ili iškun*, commits a bad act (literally "his heart, his inner man, is not good"). The passage cannot be translated "who celebrates an *akîtu* festival in honour of the god", for in such cases the verb *epêšu* is generally used¹, but this translation would also be contrary to everything we know about the date of the *akîtu* festival. The verb *šakânu* is not generally used when building operations are mentioned, but we have hardly any possibility left but to explain the expression here as a repetition of *bît-il ibne* just above (first an ordinary temple is referred to, and then the temple of the *akîtu* festival). Thus we have probably here one more passage in which *bît* has been omitted² as in 81—7—27, 30; BE 13420; the Pinches text, and several others mentioned above. On the other hand, in order to make sense, there seems to be no reason to translate [*bît*] *akîtu* in IVR* 33 as "festival temple" (instead of "akîtu temple"), as Landsberger does³, on the assumption that *akîtu* must here mean "festival" in general; the contents of the passage may be quite naturally understood as rising to a climax: in the month of Arahšamna the king should not begin the erection of a(n ordinary) temple, much less of an *akîtu* temple. — If now we return to the two passages in the Babylonian purchase deeds from Dilbat (VATh 73 and 77), we perceive that here, too, we have the possibility that a *bît* may have been omitted before *a-ki-tum*. It is also worth considering whether *bît* must not be regarded as a determina-

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

² Also Landsberger, *KK*, p. 13⁵, though he gives another reason.

³ *KK*, p. 13⁵.

tive¹ in all the passages in our texts in which it occurs in the connection *bît akîtu* (Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) X 24 f.; Morg. II 22, 3; the building inscription from Assur, *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19; VAT 7849, IV 6. 7. 10; K. 891, Obv. 7; K. 822, Obv. 9—12; K. 1234, Obv. 7—10; K. 1356, Obv. 2; K. 2674, Rev. I 18. 23; K. 2711, Rev. 20. 29; Sm 671, catch-line; 81—4—28, 3+4, II 47 ff., and Babylon D. see p. 26). Thus it would clear up the syntax in K. 891, Obv. 7, if we here read *bît-a-kit-su* instead of *bît-a-kit-su*. Further, on this assumption we should be able to explain the omission of *bît* before *akîtu* in the above-mentioned passages. In that case we must, however, assume that *akîtu* can only mean one thing, i. e. be a proper name in this place, for determinatives are not generally omitted in Assyrian. But the development of the language in this case will always remain a problem, since we have *akîtu* sometimes in the sense of “the *akîtu* festival” and sometimes in the sense of “the *akîtu* temple”. That *bît* may be omitted at a later period (though it occurs invariably in the Ammizaduga texts), may be plainly seen in the Nabonidus text 81—4—28, 3+4, II 47 ff., in which the variant of *si-ḫi-ir-ti bît a-ki-it* is *si-ḫi-ir a-ki-it*. Landsberger’s explanation², that the name of the temple was not originally *bît akîtu* but *akîtu*, is not very probable, partly owing to the evidence of the Ammizaduga letters, and partly because this view is based on his incorrect reading of one of the Sumerian Ur texts (Legr. No. 21)³. From the earliest Sumerian times the names of temples are almost without exception preceded by an *E* (*bît*).

¹ Similarly Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 33; Landsberger, *KK*, p. 12⁴; Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 86⁵.

² *KK*, p. 12⁴.

³ See above pp. 18—19.

We have still some difficult passages left in which *akitu* occurs alone. In Neb. EJ IV 7—13 we read: *bît-niķi a-ki-ti ŝi-ir-ti ŝa^{itu} en-lil ilâni marduk ŝi-kin ħi-da-a-ti u ri-ŝa-a-ti . . . ŝa-da-ni-iš e-ir-te*. In this passage Langdon¹ interprets *akitu* as a proper name and translates it “das erhabene Neujahrsfest”. The passage mentions a *bît-niķi*, an abode (*ŝi-kin*) of rejoicing and exultation which Nebuchadnezzar builds up as high as the mountains. However, there is also the possibility that *a-ki-ti ŝi-ir-ti* with *bît* omitted might be appositional to *bît-niķi*, for from the passages in Neb. WBV 31—48 and Pinches, Col. D 1—14, it appears that *bît-niķi* and *bît akitu* are identical, on which subject see further below in Chapter III B. 7. 3. We cannot, however, say anything decisive about the passage in EJ, since in Neb. WBV 34—36, we have a form parallel with the expression used in this text, *a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ŝi-ir-ti u-ŝa-aš-di-iĥ-ma*. Here as in 35968, III 9 and in the interesting passage in Neb. IR 65, III 7—8 . . . *i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu ra-be-tim . . .*, in which *akitu* in the singular is co-ordinated with *isinâti* in the plural, we quite clearly see the use of *akitu* as a proper name. — Very difficult is the long passage in Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 27—34 (see p. 25). Here the king says that at *zag-muk ri-eš ŝat-ti i-sin-nu a-ki-it* he is going to sacrifice to Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Nergal *u ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ĥir-tam a-ki-it ŝa ŝarri*. Langdon has the translation²: “welche sitzen angesichts des Festes des Königs”, but I hardly think that either *maĥirtu* or *akitu* are correctly interpreted. The first word we have in various senses, viz. 1) *e-lip ma-ĥi-ir-tum* (Brünnow 4506;

¹ VAB, IV. p. 129.

² VAB, IV. p. 235.

AV 4963), to which probably belongs the plural *maḥ-rat elippi* which comes immediately after *sik-kat elippi* in the Assyrian ship vocabulary¹. 2) *ma-ḥi-ir-tum|saniḫ-tum*, “door”². 3) In the compound *e-kal ma-ḥir-ti* (IR 44, 85), *ēkal ma-ḥir-ti* (Esarh. NJ IV 49)³. In P. Jensen’s opinion⁴ this latter expression means “Vorderpalast” in contrast to *ēkal kutalli*, but in Sennacherib’s Nebi Yūnus Inscription (IR 43—44) *ēkal maḥirti* is also called *ēkal kutalli*⁵. From the Esarhaddon inscription we see that *ēkal maḥirti* was used as an armory and treasure chamber, hence Meissner-Rost suggests the translation “Vorrathspalast”⁶. — In the passage from Nabonidus mentioned above *ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it* must probably belong together, more exactly defined as the king’s (*ša šarri*), because we cannot interpret *maḥirtam* prepositionally and parallel e. g. with *ma-ḥar* in l. 27. The whole passage is, however, very obscure, the definition *ša šarri* is unusual and does not aid us in understanding the passage, and *a-šib* connected directly with *ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it*, which otherwise we only know from such connections as *ēkal maḥirti*, is also peculiar. Even if, as warranted in some degree by our investigations above, we put *a-ki-it* = ^{bit}*a-ki-it*, it is very uncertain whether we can translate: “(the gods) sitting in the front part of *bit akitu*”, and then take this front part to be more exactly defined as the king’s. However, it is at any rate a provisional possibility which other textual evi-

¹ HWB, p. 403 b.

² Muss-Arnolt, p. 531 b.

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

⁴ ZA, IX. p. 129.

⁵ Meissner-Rost, BA, III. p. 210.

⁶ BA, III. p. 210.

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

In the above semasiological investigation of *akîtu* we have several times rejected explanations advanced by other scholars. The word has had a hard fate in Assyriological research, partly because scholars were convinced that its etymology could be determined on the basis of Semitic parallels, and partly because they attempted to translate it. Most of the semasiological attempts interpret *akîtu* as a word for “festival”; thus Peiser (1889) translates *ḥarrân ša a-ki-tum* as “Feststrasse”¹, Schrader (1892) translates *i-sin-nu a-ki-tam* as “ein isinnu Fest” or “Festfeier”², and Langdon (1912) translates *akîtu* by “festival”³. Behrens (1906) tried to prove this sense of “festival in general” from his study of the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, which he considered supported by IVR* 33 and by the passage in 81—7—27, 30 referring to the Sin festival at Harran⁴. He correctly observed that *bît* may be omitted, may perhaps even be a determinative, but from this he drew the premature conclusion that hence *akîtu* must mean “Festfeier”. We have pointed out above (p. 34) that we cannot reject the possibility that the expression *bît akîtu* at some (probably very late) period obtained the sense “festival temple”, but nothing in all

¹ KAS, p. 49, 5.

² KB, III 2. pp. 133, 131.

³ VAB, IV. p. 235.

⁴ ABBr. pp. 11—12, 32—33.

the material adduced warrants the conclusion that hence *akitu*, when it occurs alone, originally meant "festival". We have such a number of passages in which *akitu* or its compounds unquestionably refer to a particular festival that we have no reason for such an assumption. Streck (1905) points out¹ that *akitu* originally meant "Neujahrsfest" but subsequently became an appellation for the chief festival of any deity. He suggests the following senses: "eine mit einer Prozession verbundene Feier", "Hauptfest für die betreffende Gottheit", and further, in 1916², "Festfeier überhaupt". This view is adopted by Landsberger³, whose remarks on *akitu* are otherwise confusing and contradictory⁴, amongst other things he rejects the translation "Neujahrsfest"⁵ without giving any reason, though he points out that perhaps every city had one such festival once a year. —

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

¹ *OLZ* 1905, pp. 375—381.

² *VAB*, VII². p. 82⁶.

³ *KK*, p. 13.

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

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

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

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

¹ *Rit.* p. 88.

² “Ceremonies”, cf. Streck, *VAB*, VII₂. p. 82⁵.

³ Cf. p. 15⁷.

⁴ *Rit.* p. 112.

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

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

from a consideration of IV 34—36, while the passage in III 28 f. more probably refers to processions of the gods between two adjacent cities, as we know them from Babylon and Borsippa. That the passage cannot refer to an *akitu* procession appears from the date assigned to the procession. But while these passages from 84—2—11, 356 do not furnish us with conclusive evidence as regards processions of the gods independent of the *akitu* festival, we have another series of passages which leaves us in no doubt that such processions frequently took place. Thus, in a text from Warka (Uruk), AO 6460, describing a nocturnal ceremony in honour of Anu we read Rev. 8 ff. (cf. also Obv. 2—3) *dPap-sukkal dNusku dŠa u dPisangunuqu it-ti gizillî ultu ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki ka-maḥ a-na su-u-qa uššû^{pl}-nim-ma dPisangunuqu ina pa-ni-šu dPap-sukkal dNusku u dŠa it-ti-šu illa-ak^{pl}-ma bîta ilammu-u iturru^{pl}-nim-ma dPap-sukkal ina ka-maḥ dNusku ina ka-gal u dŠa ina ka-sag.* Evidence as indubitable as this of the processions of the gods is found in Nabon. Ann. III 10—12 *Adi kêt Ulûli ilâni ša mâtAkkadî^{ki} ša eli šâri u šapli šâri ana Bâbili êrubû-ni ilâni ša Bar-sip^{ki} Kûtû^{ki} u Sip-par^{ki} lâ êrubû-ni.* Other evidence occurs in the Gudea Cyl. A 18, 5—17, where the laying of a foundation stone is referred to, and in K. 629, Obv. 16; L⁴ III 5—20¹; AO 6459, Rev. 16—18 *ina namâri bâbu ippete-ma mêt^{pl} qâtê^{II} inaš-ši dAdad dSin dŠamaš dInurta dPisangunuqu dPap-sukkal dNusku dŠa u dAzag-su(g) itebbû^{pl}-nim-ma ina kisalmaḥḥi a-na dAni itarra-aš ina kisalli ina muḥḥi šu-bat^{pl} ušša-ab^{pl}-ma,* further in VAT 9304, Obv. 3—10, where Ninkarrag's procession in Nippur is referred to. — To this indubitable evidence must be added various pic-

¹ See below Chapter III C.

torial representations of processions of gods, the chief of which are the alabaster bas-reliefs found in the north-west palace of Ašurnaširpal (885—60) at Nimrūd¹. Here we see a fragment of a procession, four deities being carried each by four men², first two goddesses seated one behind the other, then a smaller deity standing, and finally a standing god carrying a weapon (the thunderweapon? Perhaps it is Adad or the foreign god Tešub). Further we may mention the large rock sculpture from Malatia in the Anti-Taurus Mountains³, and Esarhaddon's stele from Sinjerli⁴. From the place in which the two latter bas-reliefs have been found we may perhaps consider it probable that what they represent has nothing to do with the Babylonian akītu festival, but even if it seems reasonable to assume that these pictures of processions derive their details from Hittite culture (cf. the rock sculptures from Boghaz-keui), the nucleus of the representations, the procession, is undoubtedly of Assyro-Babylonian origin. On the basis of the passages and pictorial representations here adduced I am therefore of opinion that we cannot with Thureau-Dangin conclude that the Ištar procession in Tebēt mentioned in K. 1286 is identical with the akītu procession, and I do not hesitate to add to the passages mentioned above (84—2—11, 356, III 28—29; AO 6460, Rev. 8 ff.; Gudea Cyl. A 18, 5—17; K. 629, Obv. 16; L⁴ III 5—20; AO 6459, Rev. 16—18; VAT 9304, Obv. 3—10) the evidence in K. 1286 as a state-

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

² Cf. Isa. 45, 20.

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

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

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

Thureau-Dangin's opening passage when he speaks of the festival of Ištar at Arba-ilu runs as follows: — *L'akītu* (i. e. the *akītu* temple) d'Ištar d'Arbèles était située à Milkia, localité probablement voisine d'Arbèles¹, but this is saying more than we can vouch for. As mentioned above in pp. 21—22, in two Ašurb. texts, K. 891 and K. 2674, we see Ištar² as the central figure of an *akītu* festival at Milkia, but as yet we know nothing to show that this Ištar is identical with Ištar Arba-ilu. The festival of the latter is mentioned as follows in Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) V 16 ff. *ina ar^{hu}abi araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab ḫašti i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti mârât illu^{ellil} a-na pa-laḥ ša rabiti aš-ba-ak ina alu^{arba}arba-ilu al na-ram libbi^{bi}-ša . . .*³; here I find it difficult to follow Thureau-Dangin: Cette fête du mois d'Ab était probablement la fête d'*akītu*⁴, for the festival of the queen of the gods (*i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti*) is expressly mentioned in connection with *araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab ḫašti*, and we hear nothing of the *akītu* festival. The reference is no doubt to an astral festival connected with particular astronomical conditions (cf. p. 22); *kakkab ḫašti*, "the bowstar"⁵, has its heliacal rising in the month of Ab, or abt. August 10th, at the time of Ašurbanipal, and the astro-mythological

¹ *Rit.* p. 112.

² Perhaps *Kur-ru* or *Šat-ru* (see p. 21⁷) is Ištar's cultual name at Milkia (Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 113) cf. Bu 89—4—26, 6, Obv. 1—3 *i-ši-a-ri illu^{ša}at-ru illu^{ištar} ultu alu^{mi}il-ki-a ta-ḫar-ru-bu pa-an šarri te-e-rab.*

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

⁴ *Rit.* p. 114.

⁵ α in *Canis major*, name for Sirius (Kugler, *SS*, pp. 239, 248, 271 b).

connection of the star of Venus (Ištar) herewith¹ is no doubt the basis of the Ab festival at Arba-ilu. — Nor can I follow Thureau-Dangin when, after having pointed out that Ištar in K. 2049, 6 is mentioned as connected with the month of Ulûlu, he assumes that an Ištar akîtu festival in Ulûlu² is referred to in K. 2711, (one of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions which, as stated above on p. 22 mentions *bît akîtu* several times), because we read *ina (arah) Ulûli ûm XVII (KAN)* in Rev. 25. Above, where we cited the passages from K. 2711, I considered it probable that these must be referred to Milkia. True, our textual evidence of an akîtu festival there was undated, but here as in other passages where no month is given, we have assumed Nisan to be the month of the festival on account of the numerous passages from the same period attesting this. Now, the text in K. 2711 has come down to us in such a fragmentary condition that we cannot from the words in Rev. 25 gather what connection there is between the sacrificial supplies for *bît akîtu* mentioned in Rev. 29 and 32 and this dating. Our investigation above on pp. 27—29 of 35968, II 3—4, shows how cautious it is necessary to be even in the case of a well-preserved text. But as far as I understand K. 2711, Reverse, mention is here made partly of the (re)building of *bît akîtu* (Rev. 20), partly of supplies of sacrificial animals, wine, corn, etc. for the temple, but there is no reference to the celebration of a festival. — I am therefore of opinion that Thureau-Dangin's suggestion that there

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

² *Rit.* p. 113³.

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

III

A.

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

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

attempt to describe the course of the *akîtu* festival as it was celebrated in the city of Babylon. We know for certain that it was also celebrated in a great many other places. Thus we have seen in Chapter II that besides Marduk at Babylon several other deities had a *bît akîtu*, a fact which undoubtedly implies that they were central figures in an *akîtu* festival. We saw that this was the case with Aššur (Assur), Uraš (Dilbat), Sin (Harran), Bau and Ningirsu (Lagaš), Anu, Ištar, Ušur-amâtsu (Uruk), and Tašmet (?? locality uncertain), and further we know that the festival was celebrated in the Sumerian Ur, Nippur (?), and at Nineveh, the last Assyrian capital. But in the case of most of these deities and cities we are told little of the character and course of the festival, and indeed know so little beyond the mere fact that it was celebrated, that it will be impossible to describe the circumstances and ceremonies connected with it from any other place than Babylon. From the festival hemerology of this city there have probably been deviations due to local historical and religious conditions at the Mesopotamian cities above-mentioned, a fact of which we gain important knowledge from the detailed texts from Uruk. Babylon's cultural supremacy in Mesopotamia after 2000 B. C. may have been one of the causes which induced the surrounding cities to celebrate *akîtu* festivals¹ imitating that of Babylon during the later period, but we must remember that we have evidence dating as far back as the Sumerian time which attests the celebration of the *akîtu* festival independently of Babylon. Further we know that Marduk, the city god of Babylon, after his exaltation during the

¹ Each city god has his *akîtu* festival. Cf. on this an expression such as *ûm^{um} il ali* in AO 6463, Obv. 21.

Hammurabi dynasty, took over the functions of other gods, thus e. g. the rôle of creator in *Enuma eliš*. Enlil and the festival to him at Nippur have formerly been pointed out as the possible basis of the Babylonian ritual, but it is more probable that the great Anu festival at Uruk was the prototype which furnished the ceremonial of the Babylonian *akītu* festival.¹ However, as regards our texts from Uruk we must note that they date from a very late period, probably from the time of the Seleucids², so that it is possible that the ritual of Uruk may in the intervening period have been influenced by the Babylonian rites. Hence we are entitled to adduce our evidence from cities other than Babylon, partly as parallels to the texts from Babylon, partly as supplementary evidence in every case where it seems able to supply the missing link in order to reproduce the picture in its entirety. From Assur and Uruk our sources are somewhat ampler than from the rest of the cities above-mentioned, from which only scanty evidence exists, and they often aid us considerably in our investigation of many difficult points. For even though the material from Babylon is exceptionally rich compared with what has survived concerning other Babylonian festivals, and other cult festivals of Babylonia, Assyria, and Nearer Asia, yet the texts often fail us on important points owing to their fragmentary condition. In addition they are often difficult to understand as some of them (e. g. those concerning the ritual) have been intended for the use of the priesthood, who knew all about the main course of the

¹ Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 22.

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

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

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

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

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

B.

a.

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

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

The first extensive excavations in Mesopotamia, which are indissolubly linked with the names of Paul Émile Botta and Sir Henry Layard and which began in 1843, took place within the district which has been shown by subsequent historical researches to have belonged to the Neo-Assyrian kingdom. About ten years later (July 1st 1851) a French expedition conducted by Fulgence Fresnel, Jules Oppert, and Félix Thomas was sent out for the purpose of making investigations and excavations in the city from which the entire culture of Mesopotamia took its name, the capital of the south of Mesopotamia since the year 2000 B. C., the city of Babylon. Three or four years activities here furnished the basis of that reconstruction of the topography of Babylon which was published by Oppert¹, and which he had largely founded on the evidence of the inscriptions of the kings. In his plans the city walls have been sketched in, besides a series of details such as city gates, palaces, temples, canals, and streets. Valuable though these plans were, because they supplied a long-felt want and were founded on the personal inspection of the expedition of those mounds of ruins which had once constituted Babylon, they were nevertheless very unreliable.

¹ J. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, [Tables.] Paris, 1856.

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

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

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

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

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

β.

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

Bêl Cylinder, dating from the time of Ašurbanipal.¹ These two adjoining walls can hardly have been walls of enclosure in the usual sense of city walls, as an expression like *dâr bâbili^{ki}* in EJ VIII 44 would seem to denote. More probably they have been two fortification walls running immediately beside one another to the south and the north on the *Ḳašr*. Perhaps Ingur-Bêl subsequently came to be the outermost defence of Nebuchadnezzar's Southern Palace, while Nimitti-Bêl seems originally to have been a kind of inner city wall in the time of Ašurbanipal. These problems are as yet unsolved. In 1904 Hommel² advanced the conjecture, on the basis of one of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions (Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, VI 34 ff.), that these walls enclosed Etemenanki and, in consequence, Esagila, within which Etemenanki must in his opinion be sought. We shall subsequently return to his hypothesis of the situation of Esagila, but must point out here that the results of the excavations are of such a nature that nothing supports this conjecture. The excavation of Esagila on the *Amrân*, and the situation of the walls on the *Ḳašr*, renders this beyond doubt. But further, a closer examination of the Esarhaddon passage will convince us that the words in line 34 *Im-gur-(il)Bêl dâra-šu*, 42—43 *Ni-mit-(il)Bêl šal-ḥu-šu*, cannot show that the suffix for the third person refers to Etemenanki in line 28. We need only adduce some passages from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions in which the same expressions occur in order to realize that *-šu*, here as there, can only refer to an implied *bâb-il^{ki}*; thus we have identical passages in VR 34, I 17—18; 82—7—14, 1042, I 56—57; WB, B V 6—7 *im-gur-^{ilu}en-lil u ni-mi-it-ti-^{ilu}en-lil dârâni-šu*, where in lines 16, 54, and 4 we have *ba-bi-lam^{ki}*

¹ Published in *MDOG*, XI. and XIX.

² *GGAO*, p. 322, see also pp. 325 ff., 333, 336.

or *bâb-ili^{ki}* as the subject of -šu, cf. also IR 52 No. 3, II 3—4; EJ IV 66—68 *im-gur-^{ilu}en-lil u ni-mi-it-ti-^{ilu}en-lil dârâni rabûti ša bâb-ili^{ki}*. — The great expansion of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar gradually necessitated the building of large defensive walls outside the original domain of the city, and *ina kamât bâbilam^{ki}*, at the limits of the city, the king caused the north and south wall to be built, of which we find remains east of the Homera¹, and later on the large outer city wall which has probably enclosed the entire domain of the city within a square. Only parts of this have been excavated here and there, but it seems that it also enclosed the mound of Bâbil where Nebuchadnezzar's third palace, (the Northern Palace), was built, and that it extended beyond the Euphrates, towards the west. Perhaps it was when this wall was built, that Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl were reduced to the rôle of palace defences. — On the Arahtu Wall see below in *ε*.

γ.

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

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

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

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

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

² Weissbach, *SB*, p. 16.

passage, we must, however, quote the important passages from the East India House Inscription, V 12—20, in which Nebuchadnezzar describes the building operations of his father Nabopolassar in order to magnify his own in V 43—56. In EJ V 12—20 we read: *iš-tu du-azag ašar šimâti pa-ra-ak ši-ma-a-ti a-di ai-i-bur-ša-bu-um su-li-e bâb-ili^{ki} mi-ih-ra-at bâb bêlit in libitti^{abnu} dur-mi-na-ban-da ma-aš-da-ħa bêli rabî^{ilu} marduk u-ba-an-na-a ta-al-lak-ti* and in V 43—56 *i-na libitti^{abnu} dur-mi-na-ban-da u libitti^{abnu} ši-ti-ik šadi-i ai-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-u iš-tu bâb el-la a-di^{ilu} ištār-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša a-na ma-aš-da-ħa i-lu-ti-šu u-da-am-mi-iḫ-ma it-ti ša a-bi i-pu-šu e-is-ni-iḫ-ma u-ba-an-na-a ta-al-la-ak-ti^{ilu} ištār-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša*. If now we compare these three passages, which contain the only information we have of the above-mentioned two gates, we shall understand the words of the Wadi Brisa Inscription which are not quite clear in themselves. From this inscription we see that two procession streets have been repaired, one for Marduk and one for Nabu. The former extends from the Istar Gate to *bâbu ellu* which is mentioned by its real name, *ilu ištār-lamassi-ummanišu*. For this cannot be the name of Marduk's procession street in spite of the fact that the words immediately following about Nabu's street, which is called *ilu nabû-daijan-nišišu*, are syntactically in exactly the same position as *ilu ištār-lamassi-ummanišu* in the preceding sentence. For from the passages in EJ we see that Marduk's procession street which lies in the same place¹, and which has been excavated on the Kaşr with simultaneous discovery of building inscriptions², was called Aiburšabu. Consequently we are justified in interpreting *ilu ištār-lamassi-ummanišu* as

¹ Cf. EJ V 43—56.

² Published in WVD OG, II.

an apposition to *bâbu ellu*, and not as a name for *sulû rapšu*. The lack of parallelism in the descriptions of the two procession streets appears from the fact that *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar* is not a gate but probably a street in the southern quarter of the city.¹ — Thus we see from the Wadi Brisa passage that Marduk's procession street extended from the Ištar Gate to *bâbu ellu*, but the question is whether *bâbu ellu* was north or south of the Ištar Gate, and the passages in EJ give us no answer to this. They refer to the restoration by the father and son of Aiburšabu, Nabopolassar having restored the part running from Du-azag to the part near *bâb bêlit*. Nebuchadnezzar then restored the street from *bâbu ellu* to the Ištar Gate. But we cannot from these statements alone learn anything about the position of the two gates above referred to. As we shall subsequently see it is probable that Aiburšabu stretched from Esagila to the Marduk Canal north of the Ẓaṣr in the direction east-west and then south to north, but from our passages we only learn that four important points in the procession street were *bâbu ellu*, *bâb bêlit*, the Ištar Gate, and Du-azag. Of these points of orientation we only know the position of the Ištar Gate. If *bâb bêlit* was the gate to the E-maḥ temple², we should be warranted in seeking Du-azag north of the Ištar Gate and *bâbu ellu* south of it, perhaps near Esagila. It might even be one of the gates of that temple. But what is here conjectured from the name *bâb bêlit* as regards the position of the gate near

¹ Perhaps lying near the gate *abullu ina kip-šu-na(?) -kar*, which is mentioned in VATh 554, Obv. II 5; I consider it impossible to look for this as the northernmost of Imgur-Bêl's eastern gates (Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 327², 329³), even if we identify the *ina-kip-šu-na-kar* (gate) with the *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar* (gate) of the Wadi Brisa Inscription.

² As conjectured by Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 131³.

Emah, is not confirmed e. g. by the position of the Bêl Gate far from Esagila (see p. 61). Further, we must bear in mind the possibility which the name itself, "the gate of the queen of the gods", seems to suggest, that *bâb bêlit* was the same as the Istar Gate. That would leave us where we were, and all now depends on the position of Du-azag. We shall soon examine this problem more closely, but we cannot insert our enquiry here in order to settle the point, as it is one of the most complicated problems in the topography of Babylon's sacred buildings. Our subsequent investigation of the topographical conditions of the procession street will clear up these questions.¹ Hommel² adduces a badly preserved passage in the Kassite king Agum-kakrimi's inscription, VR 33, V 37, in which a *KA.SU.ŠI* is referred to, through which (?) the king proceeds to *pa-pa-ḥa-at* ^{ilu}*marduk* (in Esagila?), thereupon he compares *bâb šalummati* with *bâbu ellu*, and finally says: — Mit *bâb el-la* 'glänzendes Tor' ist vielleicht geradezu Esagilla (pars pro toto) gemeint, wie ja auch der Name der ganzen Stadt, *Ka-dingir-ra* (*Bâb-ili*) schliesslich die gleiche Vorstellung enthält, but in so doing he has proceeded so far on to the insecure ground of hypothesis that others will scarcely venture to follow him. Weissbach suggests³ that *bâbu ellu* may have belonged to Imgur-Bêl or to the palaces, but gives no reason for his suggestion. It might also be supposed that *bâbu ellu*, Sumerian **ka-azag*, was to be sought by or in Du-azag, but the passages in EJV above seem to

¹ What is mentioned in VAT 9555, Obv. 20 *ina isu^utal-li ša ilu^ube-lit bâbili* . . . has nothing to do with *bâb bêlit*, probably it is a locality somewhere in Esagila.

² *GGAO*, pp. 310 and note 2, 329.

³ *SB*, pp. 16—17.

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

δ.

As regards the royal palaces of Babylon it is probable that the old palace was from very early times situated within the part enclosed by *Imgur-Bêl* and *Nimitti-Bêl*, but it results from the nature of the case that the conquering Assyrian kings (*Sennacherib*, *Ašurbanipal*) directed their most violent attacks against this part, thus *Šamaš-šum-ukîn* met his death in his burning palace. *Nabopolassar* built a palace in the same place or, more exactly stated, in the part called *iršit bâbili*, extending on the *Ḳaṣr* from the *Euphrates* to *Aiburšabu* (east), from *Imgur-Bêl* (north) to the canal *Libilḫegalla* (south), but the inundations of the unreliable *Euphrates* seem to have destroyed it¹. *Nebuchadnezzar* rebuilt it of more solid material, the remains of which have now been excavated. This Southern Palace was divided into two sections, a smaller western part, and a larger eastern part. However, besides restoring his father's palace *Nebuchadnezzar* wished to build a palace for himself, and he tells us of this in the *East India House Inscription*, VIII 27—58 which reads as follows: *i-na bâb-ili^{ki} ku-um-mu mu-ša-bi-ia a-na si-ma-at šar-ru-ti-ia la šu-um-ša aš-šum pu-lu-uḫ-ti^{ilu} marduk bêli-ia ba-šu-u li-ib-bu-u-a i-na bâb-ili^{ki} maḫâzi ni-ši-ir-ti-šu a-na šu-un-du-lam šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia su-uḫ-šu la e-nim parakki-šu*

¹ EJ VII 34—VIII 18.

la u-ni-iš pa-la-ga-šu la e-is-ki-ir ku-um-mu ra-ap-ši-iš aš-te²-e-ma aš-šum ga-an ta-ḫa-zi a-na im-gur-^{ilu}en-lil dūr bâbili^{ki} la ṭa-ḫi-e 490 am-ma-at ga-ga-ri i-ta-at ni-mi-it-ti-^{ilu}en-lil ša-al-ḫi-e bâb-ili^{ki} a-na ki-da-a-nim 2 ka-a-ri dannû-fim i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri dūra ša-da-ni-iš e-pu-uš-ma i-na bi-e-ri-šu-nu bi-ti-ik a-gur-ri e-ip-ti-ik-ma i-na ri-e-ši-šu ku-um-mu ra-ba-a a-na šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri ša-ḫi-iš e-pu-uš-ma it-ti e-gal abi u-ra-ad-di-ma. We see from this that this new palace meant an extension of the restored Southern Palace, on to which it was joined, and a glance at the Kaşr will show us that such an extension could only be made in the part north of Imgur-Bêl. And even there the space was limited, by the Euphrates on the west, by the Marduk Canal on the north, and on the east by Aiburšabu, but within these boundaries the new palace was built as has been shown by the excavations. In addition to the Marduk Canal and Aiburšabu Marduk's *parakku* is mentioned as another obstacle to Nebuchadnezzar's plans of extension on the north side of the Kaşr. Both Weissbach and Hommel identify this with *parak šimâti*, Du-azag, but while the former places it as an independent sanctuary at the spot where Aiburšabu intersects the Marduk Canal to the north¹, the latter interprets it as a *pars pro toto* term for Esagila² in which *parak šimâti* is situated according to some texts, one of Hommel's many arguments to prove that Esagila was situated on the Kaşr. We shall subsequently discuss these theories in more detail. — A third palace was built by Nebuchadnezzar in the northern part³ where the mound

¹ *SB*, pp. 18, 24.

² *GGAO*, p. 333.

³ Cf. 85—4—30, 1, III 11—29.

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

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Before we proceed to the closer investigation of the important question of the temples and the chapels in these sanctuaries we will briefly review what we know of the streets, canals, and various quarters of Babylon. Chief among all the streets, not only in connection with our subject, but also because it is the only one of which we have detailed evidence both from the texts and the excavations, is the so-called Procession Street of Marduk. Along this the religious processions at the great *akitu* festival in the month of Nisan were conducted, with Marduk and the king at the head of them. Its sacred designation was *mašdaḥu* or *mûtaḥu*¹, we also meet with profane names such as *sûḫu* (e. g. EJ VIII 37) and *sulû*; its name was *ai-i-bur-ša-bu-um*. Arguing from the passages in EJ V and WB VII mentioned above (pp. 61—62) both Hommel² and Weissbach draw the conclusion that only part of the procession street was called Aiburšabu. The former thinks it was the part north of the Istar Gate, while the latter³ thinks that the part between this gate and *bâbu ellu* was called *ilu-istar-lamassi-ummanišu*. Above on pp. 62—63 we rejected this explanation arguing from EJ V 43—56, where it is expressly stated that the part between the Istar Gate and

¹ Cf. p. 35¹.

² *GGAO*, p. 329.

³ *SB*, p. 27.

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

We learn nothing from the passages in EJ VII 34 ff. and the parallel passage in the Neriglissar inscription IR 67, II 16—22, where the boundaries of the quarter called *iršit bâbili^{ki}* are defined or from EJ VIII 31—41, in which Nebuchadnezzar describes the building of the new palace. But two interesting passages in the Wadi Brisa Inscription supply valuable information of the further course of the procession street. In V 31—48 we read: *i-na zak-mu-kam reš šatti ilu marduk ilâni ki-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-im-ma a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-iḥ-ma i-na isuelippu rukub Ku el-li-ti ilu marduk [us]-si-im-ma ka-ar [šam-ri]-iš a-ra-aḥ-ti i-[ka-]ab-bi-is bît-niḫê a-na e-ri-bi bêt ilâni ša-ku-um bêt bêtê iš-tu ma-ka-al-li-e isuelippi rukub Ku a-di bît-niḫê ma-aš-[da-ḥi]-i bêtû rabû ilu marduk up-pa-ti ši-ib nu-uḥ-šu im-nim u [šu-me-] lu isuašuhû ši-ḥu-ti aš-tak-kan-[šu]-ma. From this we see that part of the procession street led from the wall of the Araḥtu Canal, from the landing stage of the ship Ku in which Marduk sailed at the akîtu festival, to *bît-niḫê*. Another part of the procession street is mentioned in WB VII 54—63 *li-bi-il-ḥe-gal-la palgu šit ilu šamši¹ bâbili^{ki} [ša] iš-tu [û-um]**

¹ Cf. EJ VII 43—44; IR 67, II 6—7.

ri-e-ku- [tu in-na-mu-u] *a-ša-* [ar-] *šu aš-* [te²e-ma] *i-na ku-up-ru* [u a-gur-ru] *ab-na-a* [su-uk-ki-šu] *i-na ai-* [i-bur-ša-bu-um] *su-li-e* [bâb-ili^{ki}] *a-na ma-aš-da-ḥu* [bêlu rabû ^{ilu}mar-duk] *ti-tu-ur-ru* [palgi ak-zur]; the much broken text is vouched for by the parallel text in IR 52 No. 4, I 11—II 12, from which we further learn that the canal Libilḥegalla stretches *ul-tu kišad* ^{nâru}*puratti a-di ai-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-um* (I 21—22). From the latter statement we see that south of the Ištar Gate the procession street led across Libilḥegalla over a bridge built across it. From here it must have been continued towards Esagila which was probably reached by a special larger by-road; this is entirely beyond doubt, for from BE 13420 we see that the procession street extends between Esagila and *bît-niḫê*¹.

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

¹ = *bît akitu*, see above p. 39.

² Cf. Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, II 19—25.

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 204.

parak sihir nâri is identical with the *parakku* referred to in EJ VIII 38¹.

If now, after these considerations, we turn our attention to the archæological excavations of the procession street, we can, by their aid, follow the street both north and south of the Istar Gate. It is abt. 10—12 metres broad and carefully made. First there is a substratum of burnt brick and on the top of this large slabs, either of mountain limestone or *durminabanda*², the latter have been made as early as the time of Sennacherib. Both Nabopolassar³ and Nebuchadnezzar restored the procession street, thus it has several times been raised to a higher level. On the side walls were found amongst other things coloured bas-reliefs of lions facing northwards, i. e. from Esagila to *bît akitu*, in which we may perhaps see another indication that the procession started from Esagila, and several building inscriptions have almost identical accounts as follows: (II) *Nabû-ku-dur-ru-u-šur šar TIN-TIR (ki) mâr (il) Nabû-apli-ušur šar TIN-TIR (ki) a-na-ku su-li-e Ba-bi-lu (ki) a-na ša-da-ḥa be-li rabi (il) Marduk ina libitti abnu šadi u-ban-na-a tal-la-ak-ti (il) Marduk be-li balâṭam da-er-a šur-kam*⁴. — From the different building materials employed, considered in conjunction with the important passages in EJ V, in which Nebuchadnezzar mentions partly his father's, partly his own restoration of the procession street, we can gain interesting information of the topographical conditions. Of Nabopolassar it is said that he employed *durminabanda* (V 12—20), whereas Nebu-

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

² Cf. EJ V 43 and *MDOG*, IX.

³ Cf. EJ V 12—20.

⁴ *WVDOG*, II. p. 4, a.

chadnezzar in addition used *libitti abnušī-ti-ik šadi-i* (V 43—56) for the upper layer. Now the excavations have shown us that north of the Ištār Gate we have slabs both of mountain limestone¹ and *durminabanda*, but south of the Ištār Gate to the Libilḫegalla Canal we have only the former². To the south of this canal, where the procession street is continued at a lower level, it is as broad as on the Kaṣr and runs between the Merkes and Etemenanki's peribolos in the immediate proximity of the latter at a suitable distance from the buildings of the business quarter. In this part of the procession street we find, above a foundation of burnt brick, large slabs of *durminabanda*³ with inscriptions such as the above-mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar. On the lower side of these we find Sennacherib's name, which shows us that it was he who originally built this part of the street, but his building operations are not mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar in the passage in EJ V 12—20 where he refers to his father's restoration of the procession street. And finally, as regards the part from Etemenanki's peribolos to Esagila, the excavations have revealed various layers of which only the upper ones bear Nebuchadnezzar's mark; the lower layer of burnt brick of smaller size (32 cm.) points in the direction of Nabopolassar's activities⁴. North of the Ištār Gate, however, everything bears Nebuchadnezzar's stamp exclusively. There is thus a high probability that the passage in EJ V 43—56 refers to that part of the procession street which lies north of the Ištār Gate, whereas Nabopolassar's building operations (EJ V 12—20) were done somewhere in the part south of

¹ *MDOG*, VI. pp. 3—11.

² *MDOG*, IX. p. 11.

³ Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 52—53.

⁴ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 53.

Libilḫegalla and as far as Esagila; the part south of the Iṣtar Gate to Libilḫegalla does not seem to be mentioned in the texts. From the probable conditions mentioned above we may now draw very significant conclusions as to two hitherto obscure topographical points, viz. *bābu ellu* and *bāb bēlit*. The former we must probably seek either as an entrance gate to *parak siḫir nāri* or to the landing stage of Marduk's procession ship, while *bāb bēlit* must be interpreted as the gate at the bridge over Libilḫegalla¹. And as a final consequence it follows that Du-azag must be sought to the south in Esagila or as a sanctuary in close proximity within its domains. We shall examine this supposition more closely under our subsequent investigation of the temple conditions. — Whether Marduk's procession street was called Aiburšabu in its full extent from Esagila to *bit akitu* we cannot tell. True, it is only in the description of the procession street on the Ẓaṣr that this name is mentioned², but we can show that no other name for it has come down to us³, neither on the Ẓaṣr nor to the south of it.

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

¹ See Plate II.

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

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

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

details, taking it for granted that the rest is perfectly familiar to those who are to use it, we cannot expect to learn all the particulars of Nabu's procession and arrival. It seems apparent from the text, however, that the way Nabu traversed by land was very short, which would seem to indicate that the voyage ended to the west of and just opposite Esagila¹; hence we must probably seek the street *ik-kip-šu-na-ka-ar*² near the eastern bank of the Euphrates.

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

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

² See above pp. 63 and 63¹.

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

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

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

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

ç.

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

nezzar's palaces, the constructions Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, part of the procession street with the Ištār Gate, and by the E-maḫ temple, was called *iršit bâbili^{ki}*¹, and it is probable that in the age of Hammurabi and at the height of the Assyrian power this was the heart of Babylon, where the old part of the city stood. Of other parts we may mention Ḫallab which, as we saw in pp. 76—77 was perhaps to be located to the north-east of the Araḫtu Canal inside the outer city wall. This is perhaps the quarter mentioned in a purchase deed from the time of Kandalanu (i. e. Ašurbanipal; VATh 451, 2) which does not, however, state particulars of its position. Of the quarter called *kumari* we only know that it contained Adad's temple Enamḫe², while *iršitim te-e-ki* and *alu eššu*, "the new city", are mere names to us. Finally it seems that one quarter was called *šu-an-na-ki*; this was otherwise one of the many names of Babylon, besides *e-ki*, *tin-tir-ki*, and *ka-dingir-ra-ki*, but in a purchase deed, VATh 67, 1, we read: *dup-pi šu-pil-ti bitâti ša irši-tim šu.an.na ša ki-rib Babilî*, from which we may be permitted to infer the existence of a quarter *iršit šu-an-na* parallel with the *iršit bâbili^{ki}* above. It must, however, be strongly emphasized that we know nothing of the position of this quarter, since in all other passages the natural interpretation of *šu-an-na-ki* is that it is a name for Babylon³, and the passage in BE 14940, 22 *e-pa-tu-ti-la bit [ilu nin-ib š]a ki-rib šu-an-na-ki* must no doubt be interpreted in the same way. That mention should here be made of a quarter in the city of Babylon is improbable in view of the context. But

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

² Neb. VR 34, II 8.

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

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

7.

We now come to the last, but not least important, section of our topographical investigations, which was to deal with the temples proper and other sanctuaries of Babylon. Forty-three temples in all are mentioned in the so-called Berlin topographical tablet². From the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings we know fifteen (sixteen) by name, and of these three have been excavated (Esagila, E-maḥ, Epaṭutila), besides two others (Koldewey's "Z" temple³; the Ištar temple on the Merkes)⁴ which have not as yet been identified with any of those mentioned in the inscriptions, i. e. in all seventeen (eighteen) temples. As will be seen, it is thus only a small number of the numerous temples of the metropolis that are known to us, most of them we only know by name and are quite unable to localize them. But fortunately Esagila, the chief

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

² VATH 554, Rev. IV—III 9.

³ *Babylon*, pp. 218 ff.

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

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

1. Esagila is mentioned as far back as the Sumerian time¹ in the important text BM 26472, which contains annalistic records from the period of Sargon of Agade, Narâm-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers. Here we read (Rev. 5—7): *m ilu Dun-gi* (abt. 2400 B. C.) *mâr mUr-ilu Engur Eridu^{KI} ša kišad tam-tim ra-biš iz-nun limutta iš-te²e-e-ma makkur E-sag-ila u Bâbili^{KI} ina šil-lat ušêši*, and that it must have been Marduk's temple and the chief sanctuary of Babylon from the time of the first Babylonian dynasty and in the Kassite period appears partly from an annalistic list of dates which mentions *10. mu ê-sag-il [a ba-du]*² under the tenth year of Zabum's reign, and from the Code of Hammurabi, II 12; XL 67. 93; XLI 50. 51, and partly from Agum-kakrimi's inscription VR 33, I 44; V 14; VI 42—45. That Esagila subsequently continued to hold this central position among the numerous temples of Babylon we see not only from the inscriptions of the Assyrian³ and Neo-Babylonian kings, but also from Antiochus Soter's archaic inscription from the Hellenistic period in which he records that in the forty-third year⁴ he *uš-šu ša I-sag-il . . . ad-di-i uš-ši-šu* (80—6—17, I 14—16). That it was not only the latter who rebuilt Esagila⁵, but that many previ-

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

² VAB, V. p. 585.

³ Cf. Shalmaneser II. Balâwât V 5—VI 1; Merodach-Baladan, II 2—7.

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

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

ous rulers of Assyria and Babylonia tried to repair the ravages of war from which the temples and royal palaces had especially suffered, or desired to make it larger and handsomer than before, is exemplified by Ašurbanipal's completion of the reconstruction and restoration of Esagila begun by Esarhaddon¹ after it had been destroyed by Sennacherib². This is recorded in the E-maḥ Cylinder (BE 5457), 8—9, as follows: *ši-pir ê-sag-ila ša abu ba-nu-u-a la u-ka-at-tu-u a-na-ku u-šak-lil*³, and in numerous passages in Nebuchadnezzar, e. g. EJ III 18—20 *a-na e-bi-šu e-sag-ila na-ša-an-ni li-ib-bi ga-ga-da-a bi-tu-ga-ak*.

As regards the position of Esagila the excavations have shown that it was situated south of the Kašr about midway both between Libilḥegalla and the outer city wall and between the eastern bank of the Euphrates and the Araḥtu Canal. It was excavated on the mound of 'Amrân after the 23rd of November 1900, and the efforts of the succeeding years have more and more revealed its enormous dimensions. Thus the area now excavated shows us a square block, 86 metres long and 79 metres broad⁴. Hence the conjectures advanced by previous scholars as to the position of Esagila are entirely nullified by the excavation of its site on the 'Amrân. In 1875 George Smith supposed that the temple must be sought in the mound of Bâbil⁵, while Hommel, on the other hand, assumed in 1904⁶ that

¹ Cf. Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, VI 12 ff.

² Sennach. Bavian, III R 14, 51 ff.

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

⁴ For further particulars see Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 200 ff.

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

⁶ *GGAO*, pp. 325—36.

the site of Esagila must be looked for in the northern part of the *Ḳaṣr* and adduced a series of passages, especially from the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions, in proof of his hypothesis. We shall, however, just note here that even if no excavations had taken place in Babylon, it could never have been inferred from the evidence of the texts that Esagila's site was on the *Ḳaṣr*. Hommel's conjecture is really based on two passages which form the premises of his erroneous inference, and in accordance with which he adapts, understands, and interprets all the rest. One of the passages in question is Bu 88-5-12, 75 + 76, VI 34 ff., from which he erroneously infers that *Imgur-Bêl* and *Nimitti-Bêl* were walls round *Etemenanki* and, according to his interpretation of the famous *Smith Tablet*, round Esagila too¹. The second passage is Neb. EJ VIII 38, in which he interprets *parakku* as being identical with Esagila, a conjecture which we referred to and rejected on pp. 66, 71-72 above, being of opinion that we could more exactly determine the position and character of the sanctuary mentioned in this passage.

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

¹ Cf. p. 59.

an English translation in the *Athenæum* of February 12. 1876 which became generally known by A. H. Sayce's reprint of it in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (The Hibbert Lectures 1887), Lond. 1887, pp. 437—40. The original, however, disappeared without leaving the slightest trace after Smith's death at Aleppo on August 19. 1876. But about ten years ago it was found by Vincent Scheil who published it in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XXXIX. Paris, 1914, pp. 293 ff. In *OLZ* 1914, pp. 193 ff. Weissbach has made valuable comments on it, and in *MDOG*, LIX. Koldewey has re-edited the text, using Scheil's edition as a foundation, in a paper entitled *Der babylonische Turm nach der Tontafel des Anubelschunu*. This rediscovery was of the greatest importance, and even though we are confronted with almost insoluble difficulties in some parts of the text, our possession of the original is of great value for our whole conception of the problems attaching to Esagila and Etemenanki. The theories hitherto advanced¹ on the basis of Smith's translation have, it follows, now lost their interest.

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

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

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

tion, *bâb hegalli* must have been the north gate in front of Libilhegalla, and from this we can then determine the position of the east gate. Perhaps *kâ mah* was the main gate, for by this name a main gate at Uruk is mentioned in AO 6465, Obv. 8 f.¹ through which gate the king proceeds to *parak šîmâti: šarru ... ka-maḥ irru-ub-ma ina muḥ-ḥi parak-šîmâti*^[pl] The Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions mention two other gates at Esagila, *ka-dug-lî-sug bâb ku-uz-bu u bâb e-zi-da e-sag-ila u-še-piṣ nam-ri-ri* ^{ilu}šam-ši². Is the former identical with *bâb hegalli* and the latter with *ni-rib* ^{ilu}nabû *e-sag-ila*?³ — Of courts are mentioned two in ST, Obv. 1—2, viz. *kisallu šîru*⁴ and *kisallu (an) Ištar u (an) Za-mâ-mâ*, with a statement of their dimensions; the former is also referred to in the large ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 273⁵, as the place whence the priest pronounces the blessing on Esagila towards the close of the ceremonies on the fourth of Nisan. In Uruk, too, is found a *kisalmahḥu* in which the gods and processions of the king and priests assemble at the celebration of the great *akîtu* festival⁶.

¹ Cf. AO 6460, Rev. 9. 12.

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

³ WB VII 48.

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

⁵ Cf. l. 456.

⁶ Cf. AO 6459, Obv. 16. 20. 25, Rev. 18; AO 6460, Obv. 3. 34; AO 7439, Obv. 2; VAT 7849, I 2. 7. 20. 30. In this latter text Zimmern reads *du(l)maḥḥu* (ZBN, II. pp. 28 ff.), which gives him the meaning "Gemach"; however, the first of the two characters is not *DU(L)* but *BUR*, cf. SAJ 3783 and Weissbach, *OLZ* 1914, p. 194², these characters being quite similar in the Neo-Babylonian script. In one passage, however, *kisallu* alone seems to mean "place, square", not "open space, court", viz. in Bu 88—5—12, 75 + 76, X 28 [*ina Up-šu-gin-na(ki)*] *ki-[sal puḥur ilâni] šu-bal [ši-tul-ti]*.

As in other Assyro-Babylonian temples, the sacred chambers in Esagila are called *papaḥu* or *parakku*. These two designations are apparently employed at random in the texts¹, and it is very difficult to ascertain wherein the difference between them consists. The large dimensions given for the six *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni ša nu-ḥar* in ST, Obv. 25 ff., the use of the term *bītu* about Ekua and Ezida which are always designated as *papaḥāni* in Esagila, and the passage in Nerigl. IR 67, I 33 *parak šī-ma-a-ti ša ḫi-ri-ib e-zi-da* would seem to indicate² that by *papaḥu* was meant a small sanctuary or at any rate a larger unit of space than *parakku*. On the other hand, our investigations on pp. 71—72 rendered it probable that the *parak šī-ḥir nāri* mentioned in K. 9876, Obv. 14, must be understood as a small sanctuary by the Araḥtu Canal, and above on p. 36 we saw, in addition, that two passages in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions rendered it plausible that *dū*, *parakku*, and *papaḥu* were synonymous, and perhaps even that *dū*, which is appositional to *papaḥu* in BE 21211, 2—4, was part of *parakku*. An examination of EJ III 38—64, in which Ezida, the chief temple of Borsippa, is mentioned, does not help us in this dilemma. Here we read in 44 *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ti ilu nabû*, in 48 *bâb pa-pa-ḥa*, in 54 *ta-al-la-ak-ti pa-pa-ḥa*, and in 57 *du-u parakkê ḫi-ir-bi-šu*. We cannot, however, infer from l. 57 that the suffix of the third person refers to *papaḥu* which is mentioned in the singular³ in the preceding lines 48 and 54. More probably it refers

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

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

³ In the plural we may have both *papaḥāni* and *papaḥāti*.

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

Several of these sacred chambers in Esagila are known to us by name. In EJ II 40—45 we read: *i-na e-sag-ila . . . e-ku-a*¹ *pa-pa-ḥa ilu en-lil ilâni ilu marduk u-ša-an-bi-iṭ ša-aš-ša-ni-iš*, and in III 21—32 Nebuchadnezzar further records how he decorated Marduk's *papaḥu* Ekua, *ri-e-ša-a-ti isu erini-ia ša iš-tu sadû la-ab-na-nim isu kišti el-li-tim ub-lam a-na zu-lu-lu e-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa ilu bêl-u-ti-šu aš-te²-e-ma i-ta-am libbi isu erinê dannû-tim a-na zu-lu-lu e-ku-a hurâši nam-ri u-ša-al-bi-š ši-i-bi šap-la-nu isu erini zu-lu-lu kaspi u ni-si-iḳ abni u-za²-in*. Besides Ekua two other chapels in Esagila are mentioned in other passages in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions, viz. Ezida to Nabu, and Zarpanitum's *bîtu*, a place called *ka-dug-li-sug*². WB III 35—58 has *e-sag-ila . . . e-gal šami-e u irši-tim . . . e-[ku-a pa-pa]-ḥu [ilu] en-lil [ilâni] ilu marduk hurâša rušša-a u-ša-al-bi-š-ma bîtu a-na ilu marduk bêli-ia u-ša-an-biṭ ša-aš-ša-ni-š ka-dug-li-sug bâb ku-uz-bu za-a-nu ša-ri-ri u-za-in-ma bîtu a-na [ilu] [zar-pa-ni-tu] bêlti-ia lu-lî-e uš-ma-lu e-zi-da ša e-sag-ila pa-pa-ḥu ilu nabû ša ki-sa-al-lum ša i-na zag-mu-kam ri-e-eš šatti a-na i-si-in-ni a-ki-it ilu na-bi-um aplu ši-it-lu-ṭu iš-tu bar-sip^{ki} i-ša-ad-di-ḥa-am-ma i-ra-am-mu-u ḳi-ri-ib-šu . . . hurâša ru-uš-ša-a u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma*

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

² See p. 85².

bītu a-na ^{ilu}*nabû* . . . *u-ša-an-[bi-i!]* *ša-ru-ru-u-šu*. Or in a more condensed form we read in IR 65, I 29—38 *pa-pa-ḥa šu-ba-at be-lu-ti-šu ḥurâši na-am-ra-am ša-al-la-ri-iš lu aš-ta-ak-ka-an ka-dug-li-sug ḥurâši u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma bīti a-na* ^{ilu}*šar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia ku-uz-ba-am u-za²-in e-zi-da šu-ba-at ilu šarri šar ilâni šamê iršitim pa-pa-ḥa* ^{ilu}*na-bi-um ša ḫi-ri-ib e-sag-ila . . . ḥurâši u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma bīti ki-ma ū-um lu u-na-am-mi-ir* and in VR 34, I 46—51 *i-na e-sag-ila ki-iz-zi ra-aš-ba-am e-kal ša-mi-e u ir-ši-tim šu-ba-at ta-ši-la-a-tim e-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa* ^{ilu}*enlil ilâni* ^{ilu}*marduk ka-dug-li-sug šu-ba-at* ^{ilu}*zar-pa-ni-tum e-zi-da šu-ba-at* ^{ilu}*šar ilâni šamê iršitim ḥurâšu na-am-ru u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma*.¹ In the great ritual text in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 these three chapels are likewise mentioned, though Kaduglisug is not referred to, but lines 344—45 have *ana pa-pa-ḫi ša* ^d*Bêl u* ^d*Bêl-ti-ia ul irrub*. Numerous passages mention Ekua's priest, ^{amil}*urigal e-ku-a* (ll. 34. 199. 245. 281. 364. 367. 372), and of Ezida it says partly that this same priest *ana e-zi-da ana pa-pa-ḫi* ^d*Nabû irrub-ma* (ll. 346—47), and partly that it is covered (ll. 370—71).

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

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

Zarpanitum's "abode" are called *bitu*, which would seem to indicate that these *papaḥâni* were detached sanctuaries within the great temenos of Esagila¹, a designation which renders it probable that *bit papaḥu* in VAT 9418, Obv. I 1, is Ekua. — The name Ezida for Nabu's *papaḥu* is peculiar. This was the name of Nabu's great temple at Borsippa² which seems to have been built by Hammurabi in honour of Marduk³. Ezida in Esagila must probably be interpreted as a cultual repetition of the Nabu temple at Borsippa, as the abode of the god during his stay at Babylon at the celebration of the *akîtu* festival. A similar interpretation, though without any connection with the *akîtu* festival, must be given to the Ezida found at Calah⁴ in the time of Rammân-nirari III. (812—783 B. C.), and to Ezida at Nineveh and at Assur⁵.

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

¹ Cf. above pp. 86—87.

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

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

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

⁵ Cf. Streck, *VAB*, VII s. p. 823.

⁶ Ašurb. S³ 65—67 *in[a ūme]^{me} šu-ma e-kar-za-gin-na bi[t] ilu[e-a] ša ki-rib e-sag-ila eš-šiš u-še-pi[š]; Nabon. Stele VIII 16—24 a-na ilu e-a . . . a-rat-te-e hurāši hu-uš-ša-a . . . e-pu-uš-ma ina e-kar-za-gin-na ina si-ma-ak-ki-šu u-kin; VATH 283 + VATH 401, Rev. 27 [e]-kar-za-gin-na. The *papaḥâti* mentioned in Agum-kakrimi, VR 33, II 40—41; V 10—12. 38 and VII 30, to Marduk and Zarpanitum are no doubt Ekua and Kaduglisug. On the expression *ina parakki* in 27859, Obv. 14 ff. see above on pp. 4—5.*

and cannot be used in a description of Esagila as done by Weissbach¹ and partly by Hommel². — However, in two important texts we hear of a couple of localities in Esagila which we must examine more closely. In DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 it is stated four times in the hymns which Ekua's urigallu recites to Marduk that the latter *a-šib e-ud-ul* (ll. 29. 231. 296. 375), and there is a similar statement about Zarpanitum in l. 252³. The most probable translation of the word, "the house (temple) of the radiant splendour" does not aid us very much, and what renders the matter even more difficult is that (as far as I know, at any rate) this is the only known Assyro-Babylonian text in which the locality *e-ud-ul* is mentioned. The whole character of the text renders it probable that *e-ud-ul* must either be Esagila or part of it. Should the latter view be the most probable, we may presumably suppose that *e-ud-ul* was another name for Ekua, especially when we call to mind Nebuchadnezzar's descriptions⁴ of his decoration of this sanctuary. — In another important text, K. 9876, containing directions as to what hymns are to be recited in the course of the akītu festival, it is mentioned in the first section containing the hymns that some deities (?) are seen seated in (or in) *e-eš-maḥ*⁵. The passage is, as far as I can see, unique in Assyro-Babylonian literature, yet I hardly believe that the E-maḥ temple at Babylon is here referred to⁶. But perhaps *e-eš-maḥ* may be identified with *eš-maḥ*, one of

¹ *SB*, pp. 19—20. ² *GGAO*, pp. 317 ff.

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

⁴ E. g. in *EJ* III 31—41.

⁵ *Obv. 2 ina e-eš-maḥ a-mur-ku-nu-ši.*

⁶ Thus Zimmern in *ZBN*, I. p. 137⁶.

the temples at Uruk mentioned in VAT 7849, II 16. 17, where the *akitu* festival in Nisan is described. Unfortunately the text, before and after II 16. 17, is so broken that the meaning of the context eludes our enquiry. However this may be, I do not think we are to seek *e-š-maḥ* in Esagila nor anywhere else in Babylon; in my opinion K. 9876, Obv. 2 refers to conditions in other cities than the metropolis.—We know for certain, however, that in addition to the above described *papaḥâni* there was a treasure chamber in the northern part of Esagila where the priests kept the sacrificial gifts they had received¹.—Of other localities in Esagila besides the *parak šîmâti* to which we shall return immediately, we must mention two, referred to in important texts, but the actual use and significance of which are obscure to us. In the text VAT 9418, Obv. I 1—9, which informs us of the sequence of the ceremonies at Marduk's chief festival, it is mentioned that Marduk bears his second and third cult names partly *ina bi-rit šid-di*, partly *ina šubti pa[-an] kakkab*; these two localities are mentioned after *ina bît pa-pa-ḥi* which we stated above on p. 89 we had grounds for assuming to be Ekua, and before *ina parak^{ilu} šîmâte^{te}* which is again mentioned before *ina sūḫi*, i. e. the procession through the streets which starts from Esagila, thus also passing through Aiburšabu. It is therefore highly probable that the two cult names, the second and the third, are borne by Marduk at Esagila where we find both Ekua and *parak šîmâti* as we shall immediately see. Examining more closely *ina bi-rit šid-di*, the first of the localities mentioned in VAT 9418, it is important that it also occurs in the Uruk texts describing

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

the akītu festival in Tišrit. AO 6459, Obv. 12, refers to ceremonies performed *ina bi-rit šid-di* after a reference to rites performed in ^{bit}*pa-pa-ḥu*, and before the procession to *bit akītu* takes place. AO 6465, Obv. 15¹, has the same expression in connection with *parak-šimâti^{pl}*, hence our passages from the Uruk texts agree with the information from Babylon. Finally we read in AO 6459, Obv. 29 *ki-ma ša^d Anu bi-rit šid-di ik-tal-du ina muḥ-ḥi šu-bat ḥurâši ina bi-rit šid-di ušša-ab*, from which we may perhaps infer that by *bi-rit šid-di* we are to understand a certain place in Esagila (covered? in the form of a chapel of the same kind as *papaḥu* or *parakku*). — In the second expression we have a *šubtu*, probably also in Esagila. As regards the uncertain reading, which points in the direction of a translation like “the dwelling before the star”, the reader should compare the words in Ašurb. K. 2411, IV 10—11 [ê]-*sag-ila u-šak-lil gab-ri ap-si² êkal be-lum-ti-ka [ḥur]âṣu u-za²-in u-nam-mir kīma ūme^{me}* which seem to indicate a similar mythic locality in Esagila which we may compare with the names given for several of the inner chambers of Ningirsu’s sanctuary at Lagaš in the Gudea Cyl. A 10₁₋₂₉³.

Of all the Assyro-Babylonian *parakkê*, that most frequently mentioned is the “chamber of destiny”, *parak šimâti⁴*; in this connection, where we are dealing with

¹ In Rev. 6 the context is not clear.

² Cf. Ur-ninâ’s and Gudea’s erection of an *abzu* in Ninâ’s temple at Lagaš (AO 3179, 56-7; AO 3867, 43-4; Gudea Cyl. A 10₁₅), also the fact that in the description of his decoration of Esagila in VR 33, III 33—34, Agum-kakrimi says that *ta-am-[tu?] lu-aš-ku-nu-[ma?]*.

³ On *e-ḥur-sag-ti-la* see below in section C.

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

the topographical conditions only, we shall disregard the ceremony which took place in it, the determination of the destinies, and merely try to find out where *parak šimâti* was, for on this important point scholars have been much at variance and our sources are extremely obscure. To begin with we must point out that it was not only Babylon that had a *parak šimâti*; VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15, mentions 7 *parakkê ilu šimâti*, viz. at Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Dêr¹, Uruk, *a-ga-di^{ki}* and *hur-sag-kalam-ma^{ki}*. In other words, we have evidence to show that the chief temples, besides a few others, in the Babylonian empire possessed such a *parak šimâti*. As far back as 1904, before the publication of VAT 9418, Jastrow had argued in favour of the theory that the prototype of Babylon's "chamber of destiny" must be sought in Ekur², while, from a study of the important cult text VAT 7849 describing the *akîtu* festival at Uruk in the month of Nisan, Zimmermann was under the impression, and advanced the conjecture (1918)³ that the various details of the *akîtu* festival at Babylon were copied from the festival at Uruk⁴. The evidence of VAT 9418 is confirmed by other texts as far as Nippur and Uruk are concerned, but we learn no-

"the shining chamber of the gods" (cf. 92691, Rev. b 11 *du* = *du-u ša ili*); above in pp. 18, 30 we met with the word as the name of the seventh month in the Nippur list, which may be compared with the fact that the *akîtu* festival was celebrated in Tišrit in earlier times (and as late as the time of the Seleucids at Uruk? cf. p. 31¹). For this reason amongst others Jensen's identification (*KdB*, p. 87²) of the names *itubar-zag-gar-ra* (Nisan) and *ubšu-ukkin-na* seems to me doubtful.

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

² *RBA*, I. p. 457.

³ *ZBN*, II. p. 22.

⁴ Cf. above p. 52.

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

The problems connected with *parak šimâti* (and the two Sumerian designations *du-azag* and *ubšu-ukkin-na*) were first dealt with at length by Jensen in *KdB* (1890), pp. 234—43, and his investigation contains many interesting details. Arguing chiefly from three passages (DT 122; VR 50, I 2—6; IVR 63, II 17—18) he arrives at the conclusion that *ašar šimâtum* (= *du azag*) must be sought in the mountain of the east, i. e. the mountain from which the sun (*šamaš*) rises², that *du-azag*, which according to Neb. EJ II 54—55 is a small locality in *ubšu-ukkin-na*, must from the evidence afforded by DT 122 be sought under the ground near the regions of *apsû*, that *ubšu-ukkin-na* is often mentioned as situated in *Ekur*³, and that *e-kur* is the earth as a mountain, lying in the east⁴. To summarize: *ubšu-ukkin-na* must be sought under the ground in the mountain of *Ekur* (i. e. the earth, the world) in the east. And he adds the familiar astro-mythological reflections about *Marduk* as the eastern sun, etc. To this I have little to remark. From what I know of the unpublished text DT 122 from Jensen's quotation and from *AV* 1101, I do not consider that we are forced to conclude from DT 122 that, like

¹ Nippur: for Sumerian texts see Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 27⁵, 33 f.; Agum-kakrimi, VR 33, VII 36—38; Labartu II 17; K. 8531 + Rm 126, Rev. 14 (cf. Obv. 16. 20. 22 and II R 19, 13a, according to which the Anunnaki inhabit the *ubšu-ukkin-na*); — Uruk: for the akîtu festival in Tišrit see AO 6465, Obv. 9. 14, Rev. 18; AO 6459, Rev. 11. 16; for the same festival in Nisan see VAT 7849, I 4; III 21, and AO 6460, Rev. 5. 7. 9. 20 in the description of a nocturnal festival to Anu in his temple(?) between the sixteenth and seventeenth day of an un-named month.

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

³ Cf. IVR 63, II 17—18 *ub-šu-ukkin-na^{ki} šu-bat ši-tul-ti ilâni^{mēš} ra-bûti^{mēš} ša ki-rib e-kur.*

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

apsû, *du-azag* must be sought under the ground, while I admit that Jensen's identification of Ekur and the earth¹ will no doubt hold its own, with various modifications which are without interest here. For the whole line of thought, revealed in the passages referring to *ubšu-ukkin-na* adduced by Jensen in support hereof, is alien to the *akitu* festival itself. These passages embody late cosmic speculations of the priesthood by which celestial or rather divine prototypes have been established for the entire cult festival, in accordance with the late Babylonian dogma of the priests that whatever happens on earth is only a reflection of the divine things. That these late speculations had their origin in the primitive way of thinking, nay, were simply primitive reasoning inverted, as we shall see in Chapter IV, does not preclude the fact that for our understanding of the external and internal course of the *akitu* festival they are immaterial here. And the whole of the material adduced by Jensen is therefore useless in this special connection, it being our purpose to examine *ubšu-ukkin-na*'s position in relation to Esagila. To me, at any rate, there is no doubt that the prototype of the cosmic *ubšu-ukkin-na* must be sought in the earthly *parak šimâti* and not the reverse, and that all further information to be gathered from Jensen's material will not take us one step nearer to understanding the position of the latter within the temenos of Babylon.—

Both Jastrow² and Zimmern³ take it for granted that *parak šimâti* is in Esagila. In contrast to them Weissbach pointed out in 1904⁴ that it must be understood to be an independent sanctuary, situated in the northern part of

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

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

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

Our material dealing with *parak šimâti* in Babylon itself is not very extensive. True, various texts refer to a *parak šimâti* or *ubšu-ukkin-na* in this city, but none of these texts mention where we are to seek it². However, from ST, Obv. 3, referring

¹ GGAO, pp. 330, 332¹.

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

to the size of *Ub-šu-ukkin-na*, we see that it is in Esagila; in Obv. 1—2 Esagila's *kisallu širu* is mentioned and then Zama-ma's and Ištar's court, and in Obv. 5—13 the lengths and breadths of the courts are mentioned, and the number of gates in Esagila is given, whereupon, on Obv. 16 ff., follows the description of Etemenanki. What we learn from ST is fully corroborated by EJ II; in lines 40—53 Esagila and its chapels Ekua and Kaduglisug are described, after which lines 54—65 read: *du-azag ašar šīmâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-ti ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ūmi 8^{kam} ūmi 11^{kam} ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ĩi-ri-ib-šu ilâni šu-ut šamê iršitim pa-al-ĥi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maĥ-ru-uš-šu ši-ma-at ū-um da-ir-u-tim ši-ma-at ba-la-ĥi-ia i-ši-im-mu i-na ĥi-ir-bi*. Then follows III 1—7, describing the decoration of this *parakku* and *u-nu-ti bît e-sag-ila* (III 8—12) whereupon the inscription goes on to describe the rest of the sanctuaries in Babylon, beginning with Etemenanki (III 15 ff.). Hence, at the description in II 54—65 we must probably be in Esagila. The question now arises whether we can proceed one step further and determine in what part of Esagila *parak šīmâti* was situated. Here we can quite disregard the speculations based on ST before its rediscovery¹. From EJ V 12—20 (see p. 62) we merely learn that the procession street began at (in) Du-azag in Esagila and thence ran northward to the gate at the bridge over Libilĥegalla. However, Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—40 seems to furnish more detailed information; here we read: *parak ši-ma-a-ti ša ĩi-ri-ib e-zi-da [ša i-na] za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti [a-na i-sin-ni a]-ki-ti ta-bi-e ilu^uen-lil ilâni ilu^umarduk [ištu bar-sip^{ki} i]ĥ-ĥi-ĥu a-na ĩi-ri-ib bâbili^{ki} [ilu^unabû su]-la u na-a-ri ša ba-*

¹ E. g. by Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 330.

bi-lam^{ki} [*i-ra*]-*am-mu-u* *ši-ru-uš-šu* [*ša šarru ma-aḥ-ri i-na ḥurâši ip-ti-ku*] *pi-ti-ik-šu* [*ḥurâši ru-uš-ša-a u-ša-al-bi-iš*]. The sense of this much broken passage, which may be supplemented by means of the duplicate mentioned on p. 76¹, is unquestionable; it refers to Ezida, Nabu's *papaḥu* in Esagila, to which he goes in procession at the akîtu festival, and in which there is a *parak šîmâti*.

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

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

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

¹ Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 301.

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

On p. 93 above we saw that VAT 9418 mentioned seven different cities whose temples possessed a *parak šimâti*, and that the main temples of the chief cities throughout the Assyrian and Babylonian empire were of a similar character to Esagila, possessing such *papaḥâni* and *parakkê* as Ekua, Ezida, and Kaduglisug. This is attested by numerous passages. At Borsippa *papaḥâti* in Ezida³ to Nabu

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

² See pp. 87—88.

³ EJ III 44.

are referred to; his adytum is called Emaḥtila¹, and another chapel within it is called *e-rug-ga-na*²; in another of the temples a *bît isûirši*³ is referred to, (perhaps identical with the *e-har-ša-ba* mentioned in VATh 663, Obv. 18, 20). The name of Ninib's adytum in Emete(n)ursag at Kiš⁴ was Ekišibba⁵, and a *pa-rik-ma-ḥu*⁶ at Nippur is mentioned; whether this is in Ekur we cannot see from the context, but from K. 9876, Rev. 28 we learn that at Babylon the *paramaḥḥu* was in *bît akitu*⁷. From Sippar we hear of *pa-pa-ḥi illušamši*⁸, and at Ur one of the *papahâni* at the temple of Egišširgal is called Enunmaḥ⁹. Here it is interesting to note that Enunmaḥ was originally a temple at Nippur¹⁰, since this suggests a parallel to the Ezida in Esagila at Babylon¹¹, besides rendering it probable that the *e-ul-maš* mentioned in AO 7439, Obv. 4¹², which was originally a temple at Sippar, is a chapel at the chief temple of Uruk. The texts published by Thureau-Dangin refer to a number of *bît*, *papahâni*, and *parakkê* in this city, most of them in Anu's temple and in Eanna¹³, viz.

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

² ? Neb. BE 21211, 3.

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

⁴ Code of Hammurabi, II 62.

⁵ Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. A, III 76. 80. 81. 84.

⁶ K. 133, Obv. 16.

⁷ Likewise Hommel, *GGAO*, p. 336¹, though for other reasons. Cf. also p. 102⁷.

⁸ 81-4-28, 3 + 4, I 25. 37. 38.

⁹ IR 68 No. 6, 3-4.

¹⁰ 29623, Obv. 16.

¹¹ See p. 89.

¹² The context is quite broken.

¹³ AO 7439, Obv. 10.

*bît pa-pa-ḥa*¹, *bît pa-pa-ḥa Ištar*², *bît KA-ŠER-HU-HU*³, *pa-pa-ḥa*⁴, *parakki Ani*⁵, *pa-rak-ku šar-ru-tu*⁶, and *parakki rabî*⁷, whereas it is doubtful whether *ki-aga-zî-da* and *ki-aga-azag-ga* should be interpreted as *papaḥâni*⁸, or simply as places within one or several of these, or in the courts. *E-ka-bi-du(g)-ga*⁹, on the other hand, seems to be a *bîtu* in Anu's temple; and in AO 6460, Obv. 6 *e-nir* which is mentioned but without further particulars in AO 6459, Obv. 4, is called *bît isirši hurâši*¹⁰. — The frequent use of the term (*ina*) *šub-ti-šu*¹¹ both in the Uruk texts and in the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions (in connection with Esagila) does not make us much wiser¹², since we cannot determine whether it refers to the temple in general or to one of its *papaḥâni*.

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

¹ AO 6459, Obv. 11; AO 6460, Obv. 9; AO 6465, Rev. 14; AO 7439, Rev. 11.

² VAT 7849, I 25.

³ AO 6459, Obv. 17.

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

⁵ AO 6459, Rev. 2; AO 6461, Rev. 18.

⁶ AO 6461, Obv. 8.

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

⁸ VAT 7849, I 8. 9.

⁹ AO 6459, Obv. 26.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 101³.

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

¹² Also Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 97¹.

intending to show that Etemenanki was part of Esagila¹, situated on the Kaşr, the excavations have proved² that Etemenanki was situated somewhat to the north of Esagila just where the mound of Sakhn is seen in Plate I. Sennacherib destroyed it when he captured Babylon, but Nabopolassar began to rebuild it³, and it was completed by Nebuchadnezzar⁴. In all texts this structure is called a *zikuratu*, and is thus distinct from the other temples; the excavations have uncovered the foundations, but if we attempt to form an idea of its appearance from the information furnished by the texts, the numerous reconstruction attempts⁵ show that the descriptions in the texts are too scanty to give us any distinct impression of the structure of such a *zikuratu*. The purely architectural problems do not come within the scope of this work, and in this section of our enquiry we shall merely point out what is known about Etemenanki in so far as it has any connection with the *akitu* festival. Any one who has perused the whole of the material is struck by the remarkable fact that Etemenanki is nowhere mentioned in the description of the course of the festival though numerous other sacred localities in Babylon are referred to. Nor do we meet with any reference to ceremonies performed here. Indeed, I believe I may add that beyond the constant

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

² Cf. particularly *MDOG*, LI. and LIII.

³ 86—7—20, 1, I 32—33.

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

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

reference to the building of Etemenanki or "its head" in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings, and the frequent mention made of it in hymns where it is referred to or invoked in conjunction with Esagila, Ekur, and other temples, we find nothing about Etemenanki or its religious uses in the entire Assyro-Babylonian literature. Scholars have taken it for granted that the ziggurat must have been used for astronomical observations¹, but of this we know nothing conclusive. We must frankly admit that here we are confronted with one of the most remarkable phenomena in the sacred history of Babylon. The huge structure, which, with its great peribolos², covers a much more extensive area than Esagila, though this was Babylon's chief cultual building, is a strange enigma to us. When in spite of this fact we shall now at the present stage of our enquiry proceed to a closer examination of the evidence concerning Etemenanki afforded by the texts, this is due exclusively to two circumstances. In ST *ê (giš) nâ*, "the house (temple) of the bed", is mentioned in Obv. 31, and *(giš) nâ*, "the bed", in Obv. 34 during the enumeration of *pa-pa-ḥa-a-ni ša nu-ḥar* in Etemenanki; and from several passages in the very important text VAT 9555, which we shall subsequently deal with in more detail, it appears that Marduk's ritual death³ was celebrated, quite cultually, at the akîtu festival. Now these two facts remind one

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

² Cf. Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 179 ff.

³ Cf. below in section E. 5.

partly of a cultual *ἱερὸς γάμος*¹, and partly of Strabo's reference² to *ὁ τοῦ Βήλου τέφος*³ in Etemenanki. We shall subsequently consider more closely the value of these two testimonies, and subject the whole question to a thorough discussion⁴. Here we have only referred to the accounts of the classical authors in order to show why we shall now proceed to a closer examination of the evidence about Etemenanki afforded by our sources.

Of the numerous passages in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings which we mentioned above in p. 103³⁻⁴ and in which the building of Etemenanki is referred to, only three are fairly detailed, viz. Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 38—43; WB III 59—IV 22; and Neb. Pennsylvania Cyl. B, I 44—II 11; the last of these is, however, in vague and general terms and is of less interest here. In Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 38—43 we read: *e-temen-an-ki zi-ku-ra-at bâb-ili^{ki} e-ur-*

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

² XVI. 1, 5.

³ For this expression cf. the Sum. *gigunû* (the Gudea Stat. B 5₁₈; Stat. D 2₉; Cyl. A 24₂₀ in Ningirsu's temple, *e-ninnû*, in Lagaš; the Code of Hammurabi, II 28; IV R 24 No. 2, 3—8, in which *e-kur*, *a-ra-lu*, and *gi-gun-nû*, written *GI(G)-UNU-NA*, are paralleled) and Thureau-Dangin in *ZA*, XVIII. p. 132⁵, further, below in p. 108³⁻⁴ and in section E. 5.

⁴ Cf. section E. 4. and E. 5.

imina-an-ki zi-ḫu-ra-at bar-sip^{ki} bi-ti-iḫ-ši-na ka-la-mu i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri e-pu-uš u-ša-ak-li-il-ma ki-iš-ši el-lu ma-aš-ta-ku ta-ak-ni-e i-na a-gur-ri abnuuknî el-li-tim i-na ri-e-ša-a-ši-na na-am-ri e-pu-uš, from which we see that on the top of (literally “on the head of” or “in the head of”) the two ziggurats at Babylon and Borsippa a shining *kiššu* is built which is more exactly described as an ingeniously constructed *maštaku*. The Wadi Brisa passage points in the same direction, *e-temen-an-ki zi-ḫu-ra-at bâb-ili^{ki} ša ilu nabû-apal-u-šu-ur šar bâb-ili^{ki} a-bi ba-nu-u-a te-me-en-šu u-ki-in-nu-ma 30 ammat u-za-ḫi-ru-u-ma la ul-lu-um ri-e-ša-a-ḫu-ia-a-ti a-na e-pi-ši-šu ḫatâ aš-ku-un-ma i^{šu}erinê dannu-u-tim ša i-na šadû la-ab-na-nu ḫi-iš-ti-šu-nu i-na ḫatâ-ia el-li-ti ak-ki-sa a-na ši-pi-šu aš-ta-ak-[kan] ka-nun-azu ka [lamma] ka-nun-ḫe-gal ka-u-[dî] bâbâni-šu ša-ad-[la-a-ti] i-ta-at e-temen-an-ki ki-ma ša û-um [u-nam-mir] u-ra-ki-[is-ma] i^{šu}erinê^{meš} [dannû-ti] a-na [zu-lu-li-ši-na] u-[ša-at-ri-iš] i^{šu}tal-[lu] i^{šu}ḫetti i^{šu}ḫa-[na-ku] dalâti^{meš} el-[li-e-ti] ša i^{šu}erini aš-tak-kan-šu-nu-ti*. The mighty cedars which are several times stated to have been employed in the construction of the building point in the same direction as the reference to it as a *kiššu* in 85—4—30, 1. Before we enter upon a discussion of the particulars supplied by these two passages in Nebuchadnezzar, we shall mention another important piece of evidence concerning Etemenanki found in ST, Obv. 16—Rev. 6¹. After giving the dimensions of the base of Etemenanki, its length and breadth, Obv. 25 ff. mentions six *pa-pa-ḫa-a-ni ša nu-ḫar*. In the east are Marduk’s, Nabu’s, and Tašmet’s *pa-pa-ḫa-a-ni*, in the north Ea’s and Nusku’s, in the south

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

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

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

¹ Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 13—14.

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

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

gur-ra-tum. Until further material comes to hand, we must be permitted to infer from this that *nuḥar* and *ziḫḫuratu* are semasiologically related. The fact that ST, which was composed at Uruk in the time of the Seleucids on December 12th 229 B. C.¹, employs archaic language in spite of its late date, may perhaps explain why we find such a rare word as *nuḥar* in Obv. 25 instead of the more common *ziḫḫuratu*. — In 85—4—30, 1 the word *kiššu* is appositional to *maštaku*, which is mentioned in Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 15—19 in connection with the king's building operations at Sippar, *mu-ša-ab ilušamši u ilu^aa² u zi-ḫu-ra-ti gi-gu-na-a-šu ši-i-ri ku-um-mu da-ru-u maš-ta-ku da-[ru-u?] te-mi-en-šu-un in-na-mi-ir-ma in-na-aṭ-ṭa-la u-šu-ra-ti-šu-un*. Here we see *maštaku* as an apposition to *gigunû*. Above, in p. 105³ we mentioned other passages in which we meet with this word. Further it is probable, from several reasons, that amongst other things *gigunû* had the sense of "sepulchre, sepulchral chamber"³. If now we further consider *gigunû*'s connection with *maštaku* and bear in mind the fact that the latter word is referred to in 85—4—30, 1 as a parallel to that *kiššu* in Etemenanki of which we learn in ST, Obv. 16—Rev. 6, the suggestion is obvious that there was a sepulchral chamber to Marduk in Etemenanki⁴.

¹ Cf. Koldewey, *MDOG*, LIX. p. 7.

² i. e. the temple Ebarra.

³ Cf. Leander, *SL*, p. 10; Hilprecht, *Expl.* pp. 462—66; Muss-Arnolt, p. 213; Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 237²; Streck, *VAB*, VII 2. p. 352⁴.

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

In support of our conjecture we may point out that the ziggurat at Nippur¹ was called *e-gigunû*². Possibly the ziggurat of Nippur was the prototype, both as regards its exterior and its interior, of the rest of the Babylonian ziggurats³. — All these facts summarized may perhaps warrant the conclusion that in the sanctuary found in the upper part of Etemenanki there was a chamber containing Marduk's tomb as well as a bridal chamber, *ê (giš) nâ*, but we must expressly emphasize that this result has only been arrived at by a combination of Nabon. 85—4—30, 2 and the passages in Nebuchadnezzar with the much later Seleucid tablet, ST, which again is more than two hundred years later than Herodotus who neither mentions *gigunû* or *maštaku* in his otherwise very full description of the temple in the "head" of Etemenanki. The assumption that *ê (giš) nâ* combined the sacred functions both of a sepulchral and a bridal chamber does not seem very satisfactory to me, and we dare hardly identify the sepulchral chamber with *pa-pah [(an) Marduk]* in ST, Obv. 25. We must, however, point out that in one respect the information we gather from ST is not clear, for it mentions six *pa-pa-ḥa-*

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

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

³ We know little of the ziggurats in other cities than Babylon beyond what we recorded already about those of Nippur and Sippar. In a detailed passage in K. 1685, I 27—II 15, we hear of the building of *e-ur-imin-an-ki* at Borsippa by Nebuchadnezzar, but the passage says nothing of the interior of the building. In addition it is mentioned in EJ III 67 and 85—4—30, 1, I 39. Greater interest attaches to Sir Henry Rawlinson's excavations of Euriminanki at Birs-Nimrûd (*JRAS*, XVIII. pp. 1—34), the results of which recall the information given by Herodotus in I. 98. At Ur the ziggurat was called *e-lugal-malga-si-di* (IR 68 No. 1, I 5), on a similar structure at Uruk see p. 102⁷. About other ziggurats in Mesopotamia see Moberg's survey cited on p. 103⁵.

a-ni, but in addition to six *ê* to Marduk, Nabu, Tašmet, Ea, Nusku, and Anu and Sin (ST, Obv. 25—30), three (or four?) other *ê* are mentioned in Obv. 30—33, among which is *ê (giš) nâ*. And in order to call attention to the discrepancy in the evidence afforded by our main sources we must also mention that the Nebuchadnezzar passages do not refer to any *ê (giš) nâ*, and that the names of Etemenanki's gates in the Wadi Brisa passage (III 59—IV 22) seem identical with the four gates which are mentioned as the gates of Esagila in ST and Nerigl. IR 67, I 23. 29. We cannot of course absolutely reject the possibility that for cultural reasons unknown to us the gates may have had identical names in both places, but it looks strange¹.

3. *bît akîtu*. Above, during our enquiry concerning the name of the great Babylonian cult festival, we saw that a temple, *bît akîtu*, of great importance in connection with the annual festival and perhaps deriving its name from it, was found not only at Babylon², but also in several other Mesopotamian cities³. In that connection we cited all the passages in which it was mentioned, to which we here refer the reader, pointing out at the same time that *akîtu* alone in several passages stood for *bît akîtu*⁴. Before we describe the position of this temple at Babylon and state the little we know about it, we must briefly consider the different names by which it is mentioned in our texts. Besides the simple *bît akîtu* it is referred to in some passages which mention *bît akîtu* in other cities than Babylon as *bît akîtu ÊDIN*⁵. The inter-

¹ See below in section E. 5.

² See p. 26—27.

³ See pp. 19—24.

⁴ See pp. 35—38.

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

pretation of the character *ĒDIN* is probably *šēru*¹, which would be in excellent agreement with what we shall see below concerning the position of *bīt akītu*. We must, however, point out that *ĒDIN* may also mean *šīru*², and that the passage *bīt-niḫī*³ *a-ki-ti ṣi-ir-ti* in EJ IV 7 entitles us to leave open this possibility. From the Nabon. Stele IX 3–10 we learn the Babylonian names for *bīt akītu*: *ina arah nisanni ... šar ilāni^{mes} ilu^{tu}marduk ... i-na e-sigišše-sigišše bīt ik-ri-bi bīt a-ki-ti ... ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti*. Here we see that the Akkadian rendering of *e-sigišše-sigišše* is *bīt ik-ri-bi*. The correct Sumerian reading of the three characters is probably *e-zur*⁴, cf. VATh 663, Obv. 4, where we have *e-sigišše-sigišše-ra*, i. e. *e-zur-ra*, *-ra* being merely a phonetical supplement here⁵. The passage in Nabonidus seems to me to render it beyond doubt that the Akkadian name is *bīt ik-ri-bi*, especially as Hommel's reading *bīt zi-be*⁶ must now be assumed to be due to a mistake partly on account of his erroneous identification of *bīt zi-be* in VATh 554, Rev. IV—III 4 and of *bīt akītu*⁷, and partly because the Sumerian reading *e-zur* points in the same direction as the Nabonidus passage. In addition to these three names (*bīt akītu* or *akītu* alone; *bīt akīt šēri* (non-

¹ Brünnow 4529.

² Brünnow 4531.

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

⁴ Delitzsch, *Sgl.* p. 227 (cp. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 44 and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 143 ad DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 401). Of the reading suggested by Streck who has collected all the material concerning *e-sigišše-sigišše* in *OLZ* 1905, pp. 330 ff., and to which we refer the reader, see above p. 15¹.

⁵ Cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 1905, pp. 579 f.

⁶ *GGAO*, pp. 311, 324³, 327, 336²; has Langdon been influenced by this reading in his translation of EJ IV 7 (see above note 3)?

⁷ See p. 14.

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

Owing to his erroneous theory of the position of Esagila, Hommel sought *bit akitu* on the mound of ‘Amrân⁴. We rejected this supposition (pp. 59 and 82—83), which is entirely precluded by our material and our previous investigations. In pp. 67—74 we saw that Marduk’s procession street ran from the south (Esagila) almost due north across Libilhegalla, running past the palaces on the Kaş through the Iştar Gate and thence further northward to the place where the Arahtu Canal and the Marduk Canal cut one another. From WB V 31—48 we further saw that the

¹ K. 2711, Rev. 20 (in Milkia see p. 22).

² Sum. *E. Da. Di. He. Gal* (Langdon, VAB, IV. p. 235¹).

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

⁴ GGAO, pp. 311³, 327², 331¹.

procession then proceeded along the Arahtu Canal in ships and thence to *bit akitu*. In this latter part where the procession proceeded on land Nebuchadnezzar planted an avenue of *ašuhû* cedars. And in EJ IV 7—13 Nebuchadnezzar further states the position of *bit akitu*: *bît-niḫi¹ a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša ilu^{en}-lil ilâni marduk ši-kin hi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti ša i-gi-gi u ilu^a-nun-na-ki i-na ka-ma-a-ti bâb-ili^{ki} i-na ku-up-ri u a-gu-ur-ri ša-da-ni-iš e-ir-te*. On p. 60 we saw that the inner city wall which almost runs due north to south was referred to as built *ina kamât bâbilam^{ki}*, and on p. 76 we saw that BE 7447 mentioned Nergal's procession street, no doubt to *bit akitu*, as situated in the quarter of the city called Ḫallab (or Kullab), about the position of which, however, we know nothing. But the statement *i-na ka-ma-a-ti bâb-ili^{ki}* shows us that we are outside the actual core of the city in some place east of the Arahtu Canal and near the north-south wall (the inner city wall). The analogy from Assur's *bit akitu*, the position of which we referred to in p. 77 further supports these considerations which are founded on the evidence of EJ IV 7—13. But we cannot state the exact topographical position of *bit akitu*, the excavations having revealed nothing, and the texts affording only the evidence given above². However, I cannot believe with Weissbach³ that we must look for it on the Homera, partly because the excavations there and to the south-west of it, where the Greek theatre was found, have revealed nothing, and partly because such a position would assume that the procession

¹ Cf. above p. 111³.

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

³ *SB*, p. 25.

turned off to the south on the Arahtu Canal and thence proceeded south-eastward on land, which is improbable if we consider the courses of the procession street and the Arahtu Canal. I think it more probable that we must seek *bit akītu* in the same easterly direction as the Homera but considerably more to the north, and that *kamātu* in EJ IV 11 may denote one of the quarters of Babylon or perhaps a suburb (see p. 60¹).

As we saw, Nebuchadnezzar stated in EJ IV 7—13 that he had (re)built *bit akītu*. We hear nowhere of its erection by previous kings, but most probably Nebuchadnezzar merely restored it after the ravages of Sennacherib and Ašurbanipal. Of the internal arrangement of this Babylonian temple we know hardly anything, it seems, however, as if the chief chapel was called *paramahhu*¹. Corresponding to this we hear of an important *bit papahu* called *e-dub-gal* in Assur's *bit akītu*². On the other hand, it is quite uncertain whether the *bit mahir hegalli* mentioned above in p. 112 is a chapel in *bit akītu*. The passage in Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 27—34 (cited on p. 25), however, seems to show that the front part of *bit akītu* was specially termed "the king's"³, and was used for cultural ceremonies. — That a *bit akītu* was a temple of considerable extent and of large internal dimensions is attested by the German excavations of Sennacherib's *bit akīt šēri* at Assur⁴. Presumably alterations were constantly in progress, and under the Parthian empire it seems to have been entirely rebuilt. Nevertheless we can form an idea of

¹ K. 9876, Rev. 28 *ki-ma itubēl ina bit a-ki-tum ina paramahhi itaš-bu ana tar-ši itubēl an-nu-u iḫ-ḫab-bi*; cf. pp. 101, 102⁷.

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

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

⁴ Cf. MDOG, XXXIII.

Sennacherib's old *bit akitu*. In its mode of construction this building at once seems to denote a departure from all previous Assyro-Babylonian usage. Instead of a brick building erected on a solid platform of sun-dried bricks Sennacherib had this *bit akitu* built of huge blocks of limestone resting on the rock itself, outside the actual boundaries of the city, abt. 900 metres from the temple of Aššur¹. The ground-plan is subquadrate, and the division of the inside space seems to have been asymmetrical in the earliest period, the south-western part of the square being taken up by an entrance court or a large oblong space, which may, however, have been divided into smaller parts. As regards the rest of the structure we see three (two) rooms in continuation of each other inside the entrance which lies in the direction east south-east, after which comes a large space, at the same time hall and court, ornamented with two rows of pillars. Behind this is the Assyrian *paramahhu* which, in the Parthian structure lying at a slightly lower level and occupying part of the area of the large court or hall, is 33.20 metres broad and 7.80 metres deep. Of great interest are the large gardens or plantings brought to light by the excavations in the great hall as well as outside, especially in front of the building, covering a total area of 430 and 16900 square metres respectively. The remains of small wells connected by canals for the watering of the trees have been found during the excavations. The whole of this garden territory is something quite unique which has not been found in connection with any other Assyro-Babylonian temple, but we must remember that this *bit akitu* at Assur is the only temple of this sort hitherto found in Mesopotamia. Hence

¹ See p. 77.

we may be permitted to assume that in his erection of this temple Sennacherib merely followed the old traditions. The fact that the building material is different from what we know from other parts of Mesopotamia need not show that Sennacherib's *bît akîtu* is a unique structure. For the early ground-plan shows us the usual type of Babylonian architecture employed in the erection of temples, and even though the building materials were different from those commonly used, it is not very probable that the restless soldier king should have introduced a quite revolutionary novelty in so essential a sacred act as the erection of the holy *bît akîtu*, in which the great annual cult festival reached its climax¹. The metropolis of Babylon, to which the Assyrian kings proceeded upon their accession in order to be invested and assume the name of rulers of Babylonia, was no doubt the prototype in this respect. And for the present, at any rate, we must be permitted to assume that the excavated *bît akîtu* at Assur is the type of that sort of temple buildings which we have mentioned from various Assyro-Babylonian cities, amongst others Babylon. —

As regards the numerous other temples at Babylon² we shall only very briefly enumerate them, since none of them appear to have played any part in the *akîtu* festival. We saw above how Nabu from Borsippa took up his residence in Esagila's *papaḥu* Ezida during the celebration of the annual festival. Something similar was no doubt the case with Nergal, Anu, Ea, Nusku, and Sin³, about the four last of whom we hear (ST) that they had their *papaḥâni*

¹ Cf. Chap. IV.

² See p. 80.

³ The latter also has his own temple at Babylon, see p. 119.

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

4. E-maḥ, situated on the Kaṣr between the procession street and the Araḥtu Canal almost opposite the Iṣtar Gate, was the temple of Ninmaḥ, as is shown by an Ašurbanipal cylinder¹ found by the excavation expedition in its adytum. In various texts Nebuchadnezzar records how he rebuilt it². It is uncertain whether E-maḥ is identical with (5.) E-tur-kalam-ma³, Iṣtar's *bitu* at Babylon, as conjectured by Hommel⁴, his assumption being based exclusively upon etymological interpretations of the various temple names. The fact that Nebuchadnezzar nowhere in his building inscriptions mentions Eturkalamma, and a comparison between the contents of L¹ and BE 5457, would certainly seem to point in this direction, but in IVR11, Obv. 9 and 11 we see that Eturkalamma is mentioned in connection with Esagila as Emaḥtila with Ezida (see p. 101). This would render it probable that Eturkalamma belonged to Esagila's temenos⁵, but in the last instance we must consider the question unsolved.

¹ BE 5457, 13—14.

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

³ Cf. Ašurb. L¹ 13—14 *ina ûme^{me} šu-ma ê-tur-kalam-ma bit iluīṣtar bâbiliti^{ki} eš-šiš u-še-piš*; this temple is mentioned at the time of Hammurabi and in the Annals of Nabonidus, cf. Streck, VAB, VII₂. pp. 228¹, 238⁶, where the material dealing with this subject is collected. Perhaps Eturkalamma is identical with the temple (6.) E-šag(šaga)-tur-ra (Sem. *bit šasurri*), see Weissbach, SB, p. 26; Hommel, GGAO, pp. 310—11.

⁴ GGAO, pp. 313—14.

⁵ Likewise Streck, VAB, VII₂. p. 228¹.

7. In the southern part of the Ishin-aswad Ninib's temple E-pa-ṭu-ti-la¹ has been excavated, Nabopolassar's building cylinders² having been found in it. The building dates in the main from the time of this king, and even though building material has been found bearing the stamp of Nebuchadnezzar, the latter king nowhere records his restoration of it, which, in fact, seems to have been trifling.

8. Very slightly to the west of Epaṭutila, on the same mound as the latter, between Esagila and the Ninib temple, a temple has been uncovered which Koldewey designated "Z"³. The inscription found in it is rather unintelligible and gives us no information of the builder or of the deity to which it was dedicated. Hommel suggested the possibility⁴ that it might be E-šag(šaga)-tur-ra⁵, but this is quite uncertain, and neither the results of the excavations nor the mere enumeration of the temples of Babylon in the Nebuchadnezzar texts (see below) enable us to identify the temple known as "Z" with any of these.

9. Finally a temple has been excavated on the Merkes⁶. A cylinder found in it records that it was built by Nabonidus and refers to it as a "temple to Ištar of Agade". Its name is E-?-da-ri⁷, and as regards the distribution of the sacred chapels in the interior it calls to mind Ezida at Borsippa⁸.—

The rest of the temples in Babylon we only know by

¹ Cf. *MDOG*, IX. p. 8; X. pp. 11 ff.

² Cf. e. g. BE 14940, 22.

³ *Babylon*, pp. 218 ff.

⁴ *GGAO*, p. 313.

⁵ Cf. p. 117³.

⁶ *MDOG*, XLV. pp. 26—33; XLVII, pp. 20—29.

⁷ *MDOG*, XLVII. p. 23.

⁸ Cf. Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 288—92.

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

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

16. E-^{isu}nig-pa-kalama-sum-ma (*Nabû ša ḥa-ri-ri¹*); this is also referred to in Nabon. Ann. III 24—28 as follows: *Ūmu 4^{kan} mKan-bu-zi-ia mârû ša mKu-[raš] a-na Ê. ŠA. PA. KALAM. MA. SUM. MU² ki illiku amêl³pit-ḥat(?) Nabû ša pa- illi(?) -ku ina ḫâtî dib-bu uš-bi-nim-ma ki ḫâtâ Nabû [iṣ-ba-]tu [iṣ-as-]ma-ri-e u mašak⁴iṣ-pat^{pl} ta ku mâr Uruk Nabû ana Ê-šak-kil usahḫir (or iṣhur?)* The passage is very obscure, amongst other things owing to the bad condition of the text; the fourth day is the fourth of Nisan³ and on that day Cambyses enters Nabu's temple at Babylon. The expression *ḫâtâ Nabû [iṣ-ba-]tu* in line 26 seems to indicate that Cambyses took Nabu away from here⁴, and in line 28 we hear that Nabu enters

¹ VR34, II 7 and 82—7—14, 1042, I 44; this epithet seems to denote the Nabu dwelling permanently in Babylon (cf. p. 7¹) in contradistinction to the Nabu who arrives from Borsippa at the *akitu* festival, who is in one passage called *ilu^unabû ša ki-sa-al-lum* (WB III 48), cf. Langdon, *VAB*, IV. p. 153¹.

² See p. 2¹.

³ Cf. III 23.

⁴ Cf. below in section E. 2. on the interpretation of this expression.

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

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

(18.) *bît maḥir ḥegalli*, see pp. 112, 114.¹

C.

In the preceding part we have occasionally mentioned the time at which the akîtu festival was celebrated, and our result was that it took place in Nisan and must be regarded as the Babylonian New Year's Feast². In this section we shall examine more closely what we know of the purely external sequence of the ceremonies of the festival, and on what days of Nisan they took place. We must at once admit that our material is very scanty. The highly important ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 in the specimen that has come down to us only deals with events until the fifth of Nisan inclusive.

¹ On *e-ud-ul* see p. 90, *e-eš-maḥ* pp. 90—91, and *e-ḥur-sag-ti-la* p. 92³ and below in section C.

² See pp. 27—31 and 42—49.

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

Of importance for our knowledge of the sequence of the individual ceremonies are two texts, referred to above on pp. 70—72 in another connection, when we investigated the course of the procession street. These are VAT 9418 and K. 9876. It was the evidence of these two texts amongst others which decisively influenced our determination of the extent of the procession street, and on the same occasion we referred in passing to the sequence of the ceremonies connected with the festival. The first of these texts, collated with other evidence¹ shows us that the first four names borne by Marduk are his epithets in the various parts of Esagila², the three next, on the other hand, are names borne by him outside Esagila, in the street (*ina sūki*), i. e. the procession street, in the (procession) ship (*ina gišma-HU-SI*), and *ina bit a-ki-ti*. The mention of this latter name seems to show us clearly that the first four names

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

² In Ekua, *ina bi-rit šid-di, ina šubti pa[-an] kabbab*, and *ina parak iušimâte^{te}*.

are borne by Marduk at the akītu festival during his stay in the various sacred chambers of Esagila. And as we saw during our topographical investigations that Esagila and *bīt akītu* were the two opposite termini of the procession street, we may venture to infer that the seven names mentioned in VAT 9418 are given in a definite order of succession, viz. the one used at the akītu festival in Nisan¹. These conclusions are corroborated by the liturgical text K. 9876, containing various hymns stated to have been sung (*iḫ-ḫab-bu-u*) by a priest in various places, *ina parak šīmāti*, *ina parak si-ḫir nāri*, and *ina bīt a-ki-tum ina paramaḫḫi*². That they are hymns generally sung at the akītu festival is shown by the character of the localities; and the fact that *parak si-ḫir nāri* is probably the sanctuary mentioned in EJ VIII 38, as conjectured above on pp. 71—72, shows us that the localities mentioned in the text are given in the order of succession which was followed in the ritual of the festival.

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

¹ Also Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 43.

² Obv. 4. 14, Rev. 28.

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

explanation is that Eḫursagtila is the name of one of the numerous chapels in Esagila.— We possess no particulars of the cult actions performed on the seventh and ninth of Nisan, while we have sporadic statements, partly in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings and partly in the liturgical texts, concerning the ceremonies of the eighth, tenth, and eleventh days. In Neb. EJ II 54—59 we read: *du-azag ašar šîmâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-ti ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ûmi 8^{kam} ûmi 11^{kam} ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ḫi-ri-ib-šu*. From this we see that on the eighth and eleventh of Nisan Marduk¹ is in *parak šîmâti*, which we saw above must be sought in Esagila². In Nabon. Stele IX 3—10 we hear that Marduk and the entire procession take up their residence in *bît akîtu* on the tenth of Nisan. Hence, on that day the egress takes place, *ina arah nisanni ûmu 10-kam e-nu-ma šar ilâni^{meš} ilu marduk u ilâni^{meš} šu-ut šamê iršitim i-na e-sigišše-sigišše bît ik-ri-bi bît a-ki-ti ilu^{bêl} kit-tu ra-mu-u šu-ub-ti*, and from VATh 663, Obv. 7 [*ina û*]mi 11^{kam} *ina ḫi-rib e-zur i-te-ni-ip-pu-šu i-sin-nu*, we see that on the eleventh of Nisan a (special) festival is celebrated in *bît akîtu*. But that the procession also left *bît akîtu* and returned to Esagila on the eleventh is shown not only by the evidence from EJ II 54—59 referring to Marduk's stay in *parak šîmâti* on the eleventh of Nisan, but also from the great festival liturgy, the hymn to Marduk, in BE 13420³, which has the following subscription: XXXVI A-AN MU-BI-IM *ina arḫi BARA-ZAG-GAR* (i e. Nisan) *ina ûmi XI KAN il^{bêl} ištu it-ḫi-ti⁴ ana Ê-sag-*

¹ See pp. 99—100.

² See pp. 95—100.

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

⁴ For this transcription by Weissbach see above p. 14.

ila ir-ru-um-ma ^{amel}UŠ-KU-MA(H) *it-ti* *hi-bi-eš-ši* *hi-bi-eš-[ši]* *ki-ma*
pi-i duppi U-RA ^m*Be-el-aḥ-ḥi-im-i-ri-ba* (lines 78—84)¹. — It
 is not stated at what time of the day the egress on the
 tenth and the procession back to Esagila on the eleventh
 took place. We only know that the passages with which
 we are acquainted that mention the use of torches at fes-
 tivals or processions of the gods (L⁴ III 5—20; AO 6460,
 Obv. 28, Rev. 2. 13. 15. 19. 20²) have no connection with the
 akitu festival. It is true that L⁴ IV 19 refers to ^{[i]su}*elip Ku-A*
 which we shall see in section D. is Marduk's procession
 ship at the annual festival, but if we keep in mind that
 except for the first five lines the Col. IV has come down
 to us in a quite fragmentary condition, we cannot possibly
 draw any conclusions from the mere mention of the ship.
 Col. III which seems without connection with Col. II re-
 cords that Marduk's statue is brought back from Assur to
 Esagila, but says nothing of the akitu festival. Hence it is
 possible that Col. IV may have recorded the restoration of
 Esagila and its cultual furniture (to which the procession
 ship belonged)³. — After the assembly of the gods at *parak*
šimāti the great sacrifices⁴ probably took place at Esagila
 on the eleventh or the twelfth of Nisan⁵; in Sarg. Ann. we
 read: *araḥ Nisannu a-raḥ a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilāni ḫâtâ (ilu) bilu*

¹ Cf. also the evidence from the Nabon. Stele IX 41—49.

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

³ Zimmern's conjecture concerning K. 9876, Obv. 3 (*ZBN*, I. p. 137⁴) must thus be dismissed.

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

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

*rabi-[i] (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat] ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḥ bit a-ki-ti gu(d)-maḥ-ḥi bit-ru-ti šu²-i ma-ru-u-ti kurkû(?) (iṣṣurî) paspasî(?) it-ti kad-ri-i la lib(?) -ba-a-ti u-šat-ri-ša ma-ḥar-su-un a-na ilâni ma-ḥa-zi (mâtu) Šumiri u Ak-ka-di-i niḫi [il-lu-ti?] ak-ḫi (309—14). I interpret the evidence of this text as a condensed record of the main proceedings in the akîtu festival. From Esagila the king takes Marduk and Nabu to *bit akîtu*¹ (whence the procession again returns to Esagila), and sacrifices are made there. I regard it as unquestionable that the sacrifices mentioned in the Annals do not take place at *bit akîtu*. I base this view in the first place on my investigations in Chapter IV on the cult ceremonies in this temple (to which the reader is here referred). But in addition, a comparison of the evidence of the Annals with Sarg. PJ 140 b—141; Sarg. Stele II 1—22, and Neb. IR 65, III 7—15 renders it extremely probable that Esagila was the place where the great final sacrifices were made. Below, in section E. 1., we shall see that in addition to these a number of smaller sacrifices took place almost throughout the entire course of the festival².*

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

¹ See below in section E. 2.

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

festival was celebrated on the eleventh. On the same day the procession returns to Esagila, ceremonies are performed in *parak šimāti*, and on the twelfth the great final sacrifices were probably made, after which Nabu returned to Borsippa. As will be seen from this summary, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge, and of the most important part of the festival, the part taking place from the fifth to the twelfth of Nisan, we know virtually nothing but certain main episodes. As regards these, the order of succession of the central episodes is confirmed by the important Uruk text AO 6459¹ which contains the ritual of the *akitu* festival as it was celebrated at that city in Tišrīt, though it also shows that there were great local differences. We hear of the preparations for the festival on the first and the sixth day, thus the gods are arrayed in sacred garments, Anu's chariots and the sacred vessels are prepared, etc. All this takes place in Anu's temple. Of the seventh day we have a very much condensed account in Obv. 10—15 *a-ri-bi ša dPap-sukkal u dGuškin-azag-banda a-na bitpa-pa-ḥa subātlu-bu-ša-at ša dAni u An-tum u subātlu-bu-ša-at ša dIštar ta-ra-aš ša alpi ina bi-rit šid-di zi-im-ri ša amilnāri u amilkalī gu-uq-qa-ni-e ša arki subātlu-bu-uš-tum u si-il-tum ḥu-up biti ma-la-ku su-qa^{pl} išmaqurrē^{pl} u bita-ki-ī-tum rakāsu u paṭā-ar nap-tan ša še-e-ri u li-lat ki-ma ša ūmi 7^{kam} ša arahnisanni šaniš. To bitpa-pa-ḥu in Anu's temple corresponds Ekua at Babylon, then follow ceremonies *ina bi-rit šid-di* (in Anu's temple — in Esagila); the procession in the street and onboard the ship (to *bit akitu*) concludes the sequence as at Babylon. Thus all that we hear of on the seventh of Tišrīt at Uruk corresponds to the cult acts of the tenth of Nisan at Babylon. But not only Obv. 15,*

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

from which we learn that the ceremonies on the seventh of Tišrît are identical with those performed at Uruk on the seventh of Nisan, but also the continuation in AO 6459 shows us that the ritual at Uruk was of a somewhat different character to that of Babylon. From Obv. 16 ff. it seems apparent that we are again in Anu's temple¹ on the eighth of Tišrît. This corresponds to Marduk's return to Esagila the day after his arrival at *bît akîtu* (on the eleventh of Nisan), but to all appearance the king's entrance into *parak šîmâti*, mentioned in AO 6465, Obv. 8—9 *šarru ma-aq-qu-u hurâši i-rid-di-e[-ma] ka-maḥ irru-ub-ma ina muḥ-ḥi parak-šîmâti^[p^l]*, took place on the ninth of Tišrît², for AO 6459, Rev. 10 ff. 15 ff. refers to ceremonies performed at Anu's temple on the tenth and eleventh of Tišrît.³ We cannot, however, express any conclusive opinion on this point, as the broken condition of the text leaves us at sea, but there seems to me only a slight possibility that the ceremonies in *parak šîmâti* should have taken place in both cities on the day of the return of the procession from *bît akîtu* (8th Tišrît; 11th Nisan), and that we should thus have correspondence between Uruk and Babylon. — Unfortunately the great Uruk text, VAT 7849, containing the ritual of the *akîtu* festival in Nisan, is in such a broken condition in all decisive places that it yields little of interest in this connection. On the basis of AO 6459, Obv. 15 Thureau-Dangin has conjectured⁴

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

² Which, according to the above, corresponds to the 12. Nisan at Babylon.

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

⁴ *Rit.* p. 99.

that this text (i. e. VAT 7849) contained the ritual for the seventh of Nisan, but the reference in VAT 7849, IV 13 ff. to the return of the procession to Anu's temple (see below) which is not mentioned in AO 6459 renders this improbable, and, in addition, it is at variance with our material from Babylon. From VAT 7849 we see in I 1—12 that the gods assemble in Anu's temple and that a number of cult acts are performed here, in II and III we have a very fragmentary description of the deities being ranged behind each other and on chariots. The passage in III 20—21 ... ^dŠa u šarru qât^{II} ^dA-nim ultu parak šimâli^{pl} iṣab-bat^{pl}-ma seems to show that the procession mentioned in II and III moves away from Anu's temple. In IV we are in *bît akîtu*¹, but no ceremonies here are mentioned before Anu is taken from here to *pa-pa-ḥa-šu*: ^dPap-sukkal u šarru qât^{II} ^d(A)-nim ultu parakki rabî iṣab-bat^{pl}-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu (IV 13), this can only be the *papaḥu* in Anu's temple mentioned in I². Hence it is probable that in VAT 7849 we have a ritual text, unfortunately fragmentary, for two (not specified) days in Nisan, for use at the *akîtu* festival at Uruk. These two days correspond to the tenth and eleventh of Nisan in Babylon, but we cannot settle whether the festival calendar of Uruk agreed with the hemerology of Babylon, or whether, as in Tišrît, it deviated, but had a dating identical³ with that of Tišrît.

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

¹ Cf. IV 7 *ina kisalli bît a-ki-tum*; IV 7. 13 (*ina muḥ-ḥi* or *ultu*) *parakki rabî* (= *paramaḥḥu* cf. p. 102⁷).

² Cf. IV 20 *bâbi pa-pa-ḥa* = I 11. 13.

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

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

¹ That the month not specified is Airu is seen from K. 501, Obv. 15—17 *ûmu* 4^{kam} *ša arhuairu ilûnabû ilûtaš-me-tum ina bît irši e-ru-bu*.

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

D.

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

α.

From numerous quotations we learnt above that Marduk, the city god of Babylon and supreme god of the empire, was the chief figure in the *akîtu* cult. In his temple, Esagila, the ceremonies begin, thence the procession issues, and it is he who, on the tenth day of Nisan, takes up his residence in *bît akîtu* whence he returns to Esagila on the eleventh, while the great hymn, preserved in BE 13420, is sung. The procession street, Aiburšabu, is called Marduk's sacred way and the kings again and again refer to the fact that they are going to Babylon to celebrate Marduk's Feast. Also the negative information of the annals¹ always points out *ilu Bêl la u-ša-a*. That he is accompanied by his consort Zarpanitum, who has her

¹ Cf. Chapter I.

bītu in Esagila (see pp. 87 f.), is seen from the few passages in which she is mentioned as a participant in the procession: *u bâb ilti bêlti-ia ša maš-da-ḥu iluzar-pa-ni-tum na-ra-am-ti ilumarduk mu-šar-ši-da-at išid išukussî šar-ru-ti-ia kaspi ib-bi(?) u-šal-biš* (Nabon. Stele VIII 38—43), and . . . *ma-ḥar ili-šu* (i. e. Marduk) *u iluzar-pa-ni-tum ilunabû u ilunergal ilû^{meš}-u-a u ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu a-šib ma-ḥir-tam a-ki-it ša šarri . . .* (81—7—1, 9, II 27—29). The other chief deity of the festival is Nabu from Borsippa, the neighbouring city. We saw above that on the fifth of Nisan he arrived along his own procession street at Esagila (see pp. 74—76, 122—123) where he takes up his abode in Ezida (see pp. 87—89), and as we shall soon see, there are constant references to him in the texts as a participator in the procession. He is accompanied by his consort Tašmet¹; though this is not directly stated, we see partly from ST, Obv. 27—28 that she and Nabu have their *papaḥâni* in Etemenanki, and partly, it is expressly stated in the Nabopolassar text BE 14940, 3, that the king is *ti-ri-iš ga-ti iluna-bi-um u ilutaš-me-tum*. This, as we shall subsequently see in section E. 2., refers to the special task assigned to the king during the procession, viz. that of leading the gods by the hand out of the temples, accompanying them. K. 822, Obv. 9—12 points in the same direction — even though, as pointed out above on p. 23, it is uncertain whether the events mentioned here take place in Babylon. In this passage we read: *ilutaš-me-tum da-at-tu tu-ša-a ina libbi bīt a-ki-ti tu-u-šab*. And finally it may be mentioned that, in his PJ 143; Stele II 18—19, after a description of the akītu festival, Sargon mentions sacrifices to Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, and Tašmet.

¹ Cf. BE 13420, 45—46.

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

rabûti^{meš} ina sa[-ḫa-ri] ta-lu-ku ša arḫunis[anni] ûm a[kîti], which expression can only suggest the two processions on the tenth and eleventh of Nisan. These seven are Anu, Enlil, Ea, Maḫ, Ninurta, Gula, and Ištār-Bâbili. The latter is also referred to in VAT 9555, Obv. 20. 21. 28. 42, where Ištār ša Ninua is likewise mentioned in Obv. 33. Of the seven deities referred to in VAT 9418 the first two are mentioned in Pinches, Col. D 8—14 *aš-šu ûmi ina namari-ma itū a-num u itū en-lil ultu uruk^{ki} u nippur^{ki} ana bâb-ili^{ki} . . . il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu i-šad-di-ḫu-u ana e-zur ki-mu-šu-nu ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} gab-bi ana bâbili^{ki} il-la-ku-u-ni*. Further Enlil appears to be mentioned in K. 9876, Obv. 2, as coming from Nippur. In DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 284 his throne in Esagila is mentioned, and according to ST, Obv. 27—29 both Anu and Ea have their *papaḫâni* in Etemenanki. Finally Šamaš (VAT 9555, Obv. 10. 37; Pinches, Col. D 20) and Sin (VAT 9555, Obv. 10. 37)¹ are said to be present at the festivities. — Thus we see that all the great deities of Mesopotamia are assembled at Babylon at the akîtu festival. They come from Borsippa, Cutha, Kiš, Uruk, Nippur, and Nineveh, but in addition to these supreme gods numerous other deities took part in the procession². We see this partly from the expressions *ilâni gi-mir-šu-nu* (Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 28), *ilê^{meš}* (Nabon. 81—4—28, 3+4, II 50), and *ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} gab-bi* (Pinches, Col. D 13), and partly from the processional hymn in BE 13420, which, in addition to Marduk (Bêl) and Zarpanitum (Bêlit) and other great deities such as Ninib, Sin, Anu, Šamaš, Ea, Nabu, and Enlil, mentions Damgalnunna,

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

² The great procession of the gods referred to in L⁴ III 5—20 did not take place during the akîtu festival, cf. p. 125.

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

Above on pp. 74—76, 122—123, 132 we saw that Nabu arrived at Esagila on the fifth of Nisan, but we lack all information as to when the above mentioned non-Babylonian¹ deities join in the ritual of the *akitu* festival. From Pinches, Col. D it seems apparent that the gods from Borsippa, Cutha and Kiš, i. e. Nabu, Nergal, and Ninib, arrived simultaneously on the fifth of Nisan, while Anu and Enlil came later, *aš-šu ūmi ina namari-ma ilu a-num u ilu en-lil ultu uruk^{ki} u nippur^{ki} ana bâbili^{ki} . . . il-la-ku-nim-ma* (8—11). The meaning of *ūmu ina namari-ma* is not clear, perhaps it denotes the day on which Marduk shows himself during the procession to the population of Babylon, that is to say, the tenth of Nisan, and from this we might be tempted to assume that Anu and Enlil were not present in Babylon until that day. But as the Pinches text is not, as we shall subsequently see, actually a ritual text, having more the character of a cult text², it is risky to draw too far-reaching conclusions on this basis alone. We must thus content ourselves with establishing the fact that we can only give a definite date for the arrival in the capital of

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

² Cf. above p. 54.

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

Before we leave the subject of the gods, we must consider more closely an important question, even if we cannot sift the problem to the bottom at this stage, but must for many reasons postpone it till a later section¹. It is this: how are we to picture to ourselves this procession of gods which we have been dealing with in the preceding part? Are we to imagine that the deities figuring in the akîtu festival were images, made of stone or wood, covered with gold, silver, copper, or rare woods, or are we to believe that they were represented dramatically by the large staff of temple servants and priests disguised as gods in the sacred garments? I must here at once emphasize that such a question claiming an answer affirming either one or the other possibility is conditioned by our own culture, the Babylonians and their spiritual brethren throughout the world would not understand it being put. And that the answer from the culture we are here examining must be in the affirmative in both cases, we shall subsequently see, when we have investigated the sources describing the ceremonies of the akîtu festival. But at this stage of our enquiry, while we are as yet only occupying ourselves with the external part of the festival, we may for the moment disregard the cult actions performed in the chapels of Esagila and *bît akîtu*, and limit ourselves to the question whether the deities figuring in the procession are to be imagined as images or as people figuring as gods. — To begin with we must understand that the texts dealing with the akîtu festival tell us nothing on this subject, and that only a comparative study of the

¹ Cf. below in section E. 3., E. 5., and in Chapter IV.

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

In the passages adduced above on pp. 44—47 where processions connected with festivals other than the *akîtu* cult were mentioned, in all such as concerned the bringing home of captured gods, one or several concrete objects were the central point, namely images of the gods which were brought back to Babylon. Thus the long passage in the Ašurbanipal text L⁴ III 5—20 describes the bringing back from Assur to Babylon of the statue of Marduk, in IVR 20 No. 1 we have a hymn sung when Marduk returned from Elam to his own city¹, and in VR 33 Agum-kakrimi records how he fetched Marduk home from the land of Ḫani: *i-nu (ilu) Marduk bil (I-)sag-ila [u] Bâbili (KI) [ilân]i rabûli [i-]na pi-i-šu-nu il-lim [a-n]a Bâbili (KI) [ta]-ar-šu iḳ-bu-u . . . aḳ-pu-ud at-ta-id-ma a-na li-ki-i (ilu) Marduk a-na Bâbili (KI) pa-ni-šu aš-kun-ma tap-pu-ut (ilu) Marduk ra-im pali-i-a al-lik-ma . . . a-na mâti ruḳ-ti a-na (mātu) Ḫa-ni-i lu-u-aš-pur-ma ḳâti (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum lu-iš-ba-tu-nim-ma (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum ra-im pali-i-a a-na I-sag-ila u Bâbili (KI) lu-u-tir-šu-nu-ti*². And in the next lines we hear of how he lets artisans place the two deities in their apartments (II 22—23), *mâri um-ma-[ni] lu-u-ši-šib-šu [-nu-ti]*, and presents *arba*² *u bilat* gold *a-na lu-bu-uš[-ti] (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum*

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

² I 44—II 17.

*lu-u-ad-di-nu-ma lu-bu-uš-ta ra-bi-ta lu-bu-uš-ta hurāši šūturi (ilu) Marduk u (ilu) Šar-pa-ni-tum lu-u-lab-bi-šu-šu-nu-ti-ma*¹, having first called in a craftsman². Here the detailed text leaves us in no doubt that we are concerned with the bringing home of (wooden) statues of Marduk and Zarpanitum which are thoroughly repaired and thereupon placed in Esagila and adorned with golden garments³. But further we may point out that in the large ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, as well as in the directions for the ritual of the same festival in the Uruk texts, we find throughout the gods, the king, and the officiating priests appearing simultaneously and side by side so that in these passages we are justified in a conception of the gods agreeing with the above-mentioned Agum-kakrimi inscription, i. e. as statues. Thus we hear over and over again in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 that the urigallu recites a hymn before Marduk in the morning, [*amil*]urigallu itebbî-ma mē^{pl} nâri iram-muk [*ana*] pâni ^dBêl irrub-ma . . . ana ^dBêl ikriba annâ iqabbi⁴, and in one of the Uruk texts, VAT 7849, III 15 ff., after the enumeration of the deities placed in their chariots we read: arki-šu ^{amil}en-na ^dIl-amurri ^dAzag-su(g) ^dAsilal u ^{amil}mašmašê^[pl] imna u šumêla ša ^{amil}mašmašê^{pl} 2 ^{amil}mu-ban-nu-u GIS̄-GIR uknâ uḥḥuzu išaddadu(?) ^{išerina} ina ^{karpal}ḥuluppakki ina pa-ni-šu ušeššû^{pl}-nim-ma arki-šu mē qâtê^{II} a-na ^dAni u An-tum inaš-ši šarra u nišê^{pl} u-lap-pat.

¹ II 28—35.

² *gurgur šarpi* (?) II 24.

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

⁴ Ll. 2 ff. 217 ff. 285 ff.

Here besides the gods, various classes of priests, and the king and people are mentioned. We must conceive them as mutually differing groups, and even the position of the various participators to the right or left of the procession is indicated. To this textual evidence may finally be added K. 1356 where Sennacherib gives an account of the reliefs he has caused to be made on one of the gates admitting to the *bît akîtu* built by him at Assur. We shall subsequently, in another connection, return to this most important source, here we shall only point out that in Rev. 11—15 besides Aššur twenty-five other deities are enumerated, represented walking some before some after him, *ilušar-ur ilušar-gaz . . . iluḥa-ni ilusibitti an-nu-ti ilâni^{meš} ša ina maḥar iluaššur il-la-ku ilunin-lil . . . iluninib an-nu-ti ilâni^{meš} ša arki ilu[aššur il-la-ku]*. This corresponds exactly to the passage in the Gudea Cyl. A 18⁵⁻¹⁵, *dingirbabbar ḥe-gal mu-na-ta-e [g]u-de-a kam-aš uru-azag-[ga] im-ma -gin . . . dingirlugal-kur-dub igi-šu mu-na-gin dingirgal-alim-ge gîr mu-na-ga-ga*. Above on pp. 44—47 we noticed the chief representations of processions of the gods. These form a supplement to the textual evidence mentioned above, and on the basis of our considerations we may now venture to conclude that statues of the gods figured in great number in the procession at the great *akîtu* festival, and in various other ceremonies¹, and that it is in this form amongst others that the gods take part in the cult.

β.

We have frequently above mentioned the central position of the king in the *akîtu* festival², and in our

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

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

numerous quotations we have seen the king as the leader of the festival¹, either with the gods at the head of the procession², or as the one who arranges the festival and, at the same time, performs the ceremonies. *E-pu-šu a-di ilâni^{mes} bît-a-ḫi-it³*, says Ašurbanipal in his Annals⁴. Hence in this place we have only to add some supplementary passages to the preceding ones, and indicate the main lines of his position.

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

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

² For a fuller account see section E. 2.

³ Cf. p. 15⁷.

⁴ Rassam Cyl. X 28.

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

festival as the head of the country, in the important texts K. 3476 and K. 1356 we see him identified with Marduk and Aššur respectively, a fact which we shall examine more closely in another connection. — Above on pp. 19—24 we saw that the *akîtu* festival was celebrated not only at Babylon but at several other Mesopotamian cities. In many of these we heard that the king (as a rule the Assyrian king) was the leader, but we have other cases where the presence and participation of the king, for reasons unknown to us, seem to have been precluded. In such cases the king had to be represented by a substitute, and no doubt this is the person referred to in 81—7—27, 30, a letter from the Sin-priest *Arad-^{ilu}e-a* to the king¹, in which Sin's *akîtu* festival (?) at Harran² is mentioned, *ûmu 17^{kam} ilu^{sin} i-ta-bi ina a-ki-it u-šab*³. The text then continues: *šarru be-li ı̄e-e-mu liš-kun* [^{KU}]*gu-zip-pi lid-d[in-u-n]i [iṣ]-si-ia lu-[bi-lu-ni?] [E]R-ŠA-KU-MAL ina [muḥ-ḥi] [ip]-pa-aš a-na šarri [be-li-ia] i-kar-[rab] ba-laṭ na-p[iš-li] ša* *ûme^{me} ru-ḫ[u]ti a-na šarri be-li-[ia] i-da-an* ^{amêlu}*mutir pu-te [iṣ]-si-ia [liš]-pu-ru [ana] pa-an [r]i(?) -šu-te*⁴. Here the request for a *guzippu* and one of the king's trusted men points to the king's substitute in royal robes having impersonated him at Sin's *akîtu* festival. This conjecture is supported by a passage in one of the numerous ritual texts of the *kalû* priests, AO 6472, Obv. 25—Rev. 1, in which we read: *immer niqû rabu-u a-na ^dA-nim tanaq-ki takribta tašakka-an arki-šu takribâti^{pl} u er-šem-ša-ḥun-ga^{pl}-šu-nu ina ^{subat}sissikti šarri ina kul-lat maḥâzê^{pl} teppu-uš an-nam (-a-am) teppu-uš-ma limuttu ana šarri ul ı̄e-ḥi*. It is true

¹ Esarhaddon? Cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* pp. 24—25.

² Cf. above p. 130.

³ Obv. 8—9.

⁴ Obv. 10—Rev. 7, cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 21.

that this passage has nothing to do with the akîtu festival, but it shows us that the king was represented by a robe all over the country (in this special case at Uruk). Hence it is no unnatural inference that one of the king's trusted men, wearing this (or some similar) robe may have represented the king at the akîtu festival. — It has been conjectured that conditions at the celebration of the akîtu festival in Assyria differed from those of Babylonia, the specially Assyrian *ltmu* system, according to which the year was named after one of the highest government officials, being thought to point to this official being the leader of the akîtu festival in Assyria¹, like the king in Babylonia. This view is interesting, and it would be of the highest importance if all the material on this subject were collected, for we lack a thorough understanding of the religious significance of the Assyrian system; but we must here emphasize that a perusal of the material at our disposal for the study of the akîtu festival has revealed nothing that supported this conjecture. And from three Assyrian cities, two of which were at different times the capital of the country, we have conclusive evidence that it was the king who conducted the akîtu festival and took active part in the ceremonies², just as we see the king take part in the cult at Babylon and Uruk³. — At what stage of the festival the king arrived at Babylon (if he was not residing there) is not recorded by the texts; from the great ritual text DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we see that the king is not conducted into Esagila until the

¹ Sidney Smith (oral communication).

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

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

fifth of Nisan, shortly after the arrival of Nabu, . . . *mê^{pl} qâtê^{II} šarri ušba-²u-nim-ma [ana e-sag]-il ušerribu^{pl}-šu¹*, but we do not know whether this applies both to the Babylonian and the Assyrian king, nor whether the latter arrived at the city e. g. a few days before his entry into Esagila on the fifth of Nisan. The various inscriptions of the kings, when referring to their participation in the *akîtu* festival, lay special stress, as we saw above, on their festival procession to *bit akîtu*, we must therefore content ourselves with the knowledge that they arrived at Esagila on the fifth of Nisan, leaving open the remainder of the problems as to the more exact fixing of dates, until new texts may perhaps yield us fuller information on this point.

γ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ VAT 7849, I 18. 22. 26; III 14—16.

⁵ 340 *amil mašmaša išassî-ma bîta i-ḥap-ma*.

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

⁷ 361—63.

⁸ Cf. the quotations above note 1.

9555, Obv. 27 shows us that the same was the case at Babylon. — The functions of the class of priests called *amilkalê^{pl}*, sing. *kalû*, have been more definitely determined by various investigations by Thureau-Dangin¹. He states his views as follows: — Ce prêtre avait pour mission d'“apaiser” par ses chants “le cœur des dieux”. Il s'accompagnait, en chantant, de divers instruments de percussion dont le principal, appelé *lilissu*, avait la forme d'une timbale. While most of our passages merely mention these priests, we learn of their function as chanting priests from a single passage: *(amil)kalû izza-az-ma An-na a-gal-la mi-du(g)-ga IM-r[α-bi-šu an-ki-a] [aš-e]-ne nir-gal-la niš qâti ina muh-ḥi pa-la-ag[-gi izammur]*². In this case they recite before Anu on the eleventh of Nisan. — Of *amilnârê^{pl}*³, the third degree of priests mentioned above, we hear repeatedly in AO 6459 that they recite and chant hymns, *amilnârê^{pl} i-za-am-mu-ru*⁴, but for the rest the same applies to them as we pointed out above concerning the *amilkalê^{pl}*, that in most cases we merely hear of their presence in processions and at ceremonies. — In addition to *kalê* and *nârê* two special classes of priests seem to be connected with the vocal ritual, viz. *amilkurgarû* and *amilassinnu*⁵. As a rule we hear of them in connection with the Istar cult⁶, and they were most probably eunuchs⁷. This is not at variance with the state-

¹ Cf. *RA*, XVI. pp. 121 ff.; *Rit.* pp. 1 f.

² AO 6461, Rev. 19–20.

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

⁴ Rev. 4. 7. 8. 13. 14.

⁵ K. 3476, Obv. 28; K. 9876, Obv. 1. 11–12.

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

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

ment that at the akîtu festival they sing and play the flute, *malîlu as-sin-nu u amêlu kurgarû [e]l-li-e-a el-li-e-a-ma*.¹ — Besides these five classes of priests *amilêrib-bîti*, pl. *amilêrib-bîtâti*^{pl} are often mentioned in the texts². They are described as more active than those previously mentioned, amongst other things they pour out libations and conduct the ceremonies before the images of the gods both in the courts and in the sacred chambers. Thus we hear that [*amilê*] *rib bîti mê*^{pl} *qâtê*^{II} *a-na* ^d*Ištar inaš-ši-ma*³, that *amilêrib-bîtâti*^{pl} [*itebbu*^{pl}]-*u paršê-šu(-nu) kîma ša gi-na-a [ina pâni]* ^d*Bêl u* ^d*Bêlti-ia ippušu*^{pl}⁴, and that *amilêrib-bîti ma-aq-qu-u ħurâši i-rid-di-e-ma*⁵. They seem to be subordinate, at any rate at Babylon, to Esagila's urigallu, and are constantly described in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 as appearing after the former has recited his hymns before Marduk and Zarpanitum. They enter the temple at a sign from him, *ištu naq-bit iq-bu-u*⁶ *išdalâti*^{pl} *ipet-te amilêrib-bîtâti*^{pl} *gab-bi irrubu*^{pl}-*ma*⁷.

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

¹ K. 9876, Obv. 11—12.

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

³ VAT 7849, I 24.

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

⁵ AO 6459, Obv. 26 f.

⁶ The subject is *amilurigallu*, cf. 285.

⁷ Lines 334—35.

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

⁹ *Ibid.* 199. 245. 281. 364. 367. 372.

the king's express statement that his two younger brothers were appointed urigallus at Assur (?) and Harran, *I ilu aššur-mu-kin-pal^{meš}-ia aḫi-ia ḫud-din-ni ana amēlu urigallūtu ug-tal-lib ina pân ilu [aššur?]* *I ilu aššur-e-til-šamê-eršiti-balliṣsu aḫi-ia šihri ana amēlu urigallūtu ina pân ilu sin a-šib alu harrâni ug-tal-lib*. Though it is uncertain whether or not we are to read *ilu aššur* here¹, it is beyond doubt that an urigallu for Sin is mentioned. It is important, too, that we can see from K. 891 that this ecclesiastical office was a very high one, perhaps the highest in the case of Babylon's urigallu, or else the king's brothers would not have been appointed to this office. A fact which would seem to point in the same direction is, that several texts refer to a deity, *dUri-gal*², sometimes an epithet of Nergal, sometimes a solar god assimilated to Šamaš, though we have no further information of the relation between the name and the high priest of Marduk, Sin, and Aššur (?). From the ample ritual text, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, which unfortunately only gives us particulars for the period from the second to the fifth of Nisan, we learn what duties are incumbent on the urigallu. In the morning he recites hymns before the statues of Marduk and Zarpanitum. We hear again and again: *1 bêr mûši [amil] urigallu itebbî-ma mê^{pl} nâri iram-muk [ana] pâni dBel irrub-ma šubât kilî LAL ina pâni dBel [i]-di-ik-ku ana dBel ikriba annâ iqabbi*³, whereupon follow long hymns to the gods. He then opens the doors to the chapels and calls in the rest of the priests⁴. Further he orders the various officials of the temple to perform this or that

¹ Perhaps we are to supply *ilu [marduk]*.

² AO 7439, Obv. 8; for other passages see SAJ 4589; Deimel, *Pantheon* 1264, 1269, and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 116².

³ Ll. 1 ff. 157 ff. 217 ff. 285 ff.

⁴ *amilêrib-bitâti^{pl}*, 36 ff. 184 ff., see above p. 146.

function¹, he also sends for the *mašmašu* who is to purify Esagila before Nabu's arrival². He himself is not present during the purification ceremony as he would in that case become unclean, *hu-up-pu ša bīti amilurigal e-ku-a ul immar (-mar) šumma(-ma) i-mu-ru lâ elil*³, but after the process of purification has taken place, he is the one to pronounce the purification formula⁴. Further the urigallu blesses Esagila⁵ and makes all arrangements for the sacrifices⁶; the latter of these functions is mentioned in two other texts referring to conditions in Babylon. The Nabon. Ann. II 7—8 state under the seventh regnal year that the akītu festival is suspended, whereas *niḳê ina Ê-šak-kil u Ê-zi-da ilâni šu-ut Bâbili u Bar-sap^{ki} ki [šal-mu] nad-nu uri-gallu is-ruḳ-ma bīta ip-ḳid*, and we have almost a parallel to this in 35968, II 5 *a-di u-mi niḳê^{pl} šarru ul is-ruḳ urigallu is-ruḳ-ma bīta ip-ḳid*. None of these passages refer directly to the akītu festival, but they add substantially to our knowledge of the urigallu as a sacrificial priest, and we learn the characteristic terms by which he is designated, viz. the guardian, head, and chief of the temple, i. e. Esagila. Otherwise we might easily, by the term *amilurigal e-ku-a*, be led to think of him as Marduk's special priest in Ekua, but all the evidence in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 points away from this⁷. Finally two more very important tasks devolve upon him. He must conduct the king into

¹ Ll. 190 ff. 200 ff.

² Ll. 340 ff.

³ Ll. 364—65.

⁴ Ll. 372 ff.

⁵ Ll. 273 ff.

⁶ Ll. 385 ff. 453 ff.

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

Esagila on the fifth of Nisan shortly after Nabu's arrival¹, and on the fourth day he must recite *Enuma eliš* before Marduk's statue. After chanting two long hymns before Marduk and Zarpanitum he blesses Esagila in *kisalmahhu*, after which the text reads: [*e-nu-m*]a an-na-a i-te-ip-šu [*arki qut*]-tin-nu ša ki-iš ū-mu e-nu-ma e-liš [*ištu ri-š*]i-šu adi qîti-šu ^{amil}urigal e-ku-a [ana ^dBêl i]-na-aš-ši ma-la ša enuma e-liš ana ^dBêl [i]-na-aš-šu-u pânu ša agî ša ^dAni u šubtu ša ^dEn-lil ku-ut-tu-mu-u².

In addition to the above-mentioned classes of priests numerous others take part in the *akîtu* festival, but we know nothing of their special functions so we must limit ourselves to mentioning their names. Among the superior degrees, perhaps equal in rank to the *urigallu*, are the ^{amil}en-na³, ^{amel}UŠ-KU-MA[H]⁴, [^{amil}ka]l^{amil}amahhu⁵, the chief of the ^{amil}kalê^{pl}, and ^{amil}mahhu⁶. We likewise hear of the ^{amil}mâr bârî⁷ who seems to be a soothsayer, and the ^{amil}šangû⁸. The latter term is otherwise the common name for the Assyro-Babylonian priests, in addition to *ramku*⁹, which does not occur in the texts dealing with the *akîtu* festival. — In these texts we further hear of a number of functionaries of the temple who take part in various ways

¹ Ll. 415 ff.

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

³ VAT 7849, III 15.

⁴ BE 13420, 81.

⁵ AO 6465, Obv. 1.

⁶ AO 6465, Obv. 2; VAT 9555, Obv. 28.

⁷ AO 6459, Rev. 3.

⁸ AO 6459, Rev. 3; K. 3476, Obv. 17.

⁹ Cf. e. g. Nerigl. Ripley Cyl. II 9.

in the great cult festival. Thus the *amil* *qurqurru* makes images of the gods¹, the *amil* *nuḫatimmu* bakes and brings the sacrificial loaves², and the *amil* *mârê^{pl}*, a kind of craftsmen, take part in various ways in the arrangement and purification of the temple³. — With the exception of the *urigallu* and perhaps a few of the highest priests whose names only have come down to us and who probably played a dominant role in those parts of the ritual into which neither DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 nor the Uruk texts give us any insight, we have no ground for assuming that the other classes of priests mentioned above bore any special part at the *akîtu* festival. Thus in one of our texts from Uruk, AO 6460, which does not deal with the *akîtu* festival, we hear of a nocturnal festival to Anu attended by *amil* *êrib-bîti rabu-u*⁴, the common priests *amil* *êrib-bîtâti^{pl}*⁵, *amil* *mašmašê^{pl}*, *amil* *kalê^{pl}*, and *amil* *nârê^{pl}*⁶, besides *amil* *šangê^{pl}*⁷, and AO 6451 which refers to the daily sacrifices in Anu's temple mentions *amil* *kalê^{pl}*, *amil* *nârê^{pl}*, and *mârê^{pl}*⁸, also *amil* *nuḫatimmê^{pl}*⁹.

δ.

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

¹ DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 190. 197.

² AO 6459, Obv. 7.

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

⁴ Obv. 33.

⁵ Rev. 2. 13. 14.

⁶ Mentioned as chanting in Rev. 31.

⁷ Rev. 14.

⁸ Rev. 45.

⁹ Obv. 23. 24.

in Nisan (VAT 7849) tell us over and over again of the presence of the people together with the king and the priests. This undoubtedly warrants the conclusion that conditions at Babylon were quite parallel to those at Uruk. We must remember that the great ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, comes to an end with the ceremonies of the fifth day after the arrival of the king at Esagila, while the rest of the texts from Babylon only afford us glimpses of the course of the festival in its entirety. The Uruk texts, on the other hand, describe all the externals of the festival. In these the same words recur again and again when the people is mentioned, viz. *mê^{pl} qâtê^{II} a-na ^dAni u An-tum inaš-ši-ma šarra u nišê^{pl} u-lap-pat*¹. A ceremony with water (literally "hand-water") is here referred to, with which the king as well as the people are touched, after it has first been performed before Anu and Antum. From the various passages in which this ceremony is mentioned we can see at what stages of the festival the people was present. The ceremony is stated to take place in *kisalmahhu* in Anu's temple², and likewise before the egress from the temple to *bît akitu* takes place, while the gods are standing in their chariots³, and finally *ina kisalli bît a-ki-tum*⁴. In other words, transferring to Babylon what we have thus gathered, this means that the people assembled in the court of Esagila, thence wandering in the procession by the prescribed route to *bît akitu*, in the court of which they remained during the succeeding ceremonies in the *paramahhu*. And undoubtedly the people again

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

² AO 6459, Obv. 23. 34; AO 6465, Obv. 20, Rev. 4.

³ VAT 7849, III 18.

⁴ VAT 7849, IV 10.

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

ε.

At the great Assyro-Babylonian cult festivals the gods as well as the human participators wear a special festal robe. Thus in the important cult text from Sippar, VR60—61, we hear in V 39—VI 5 of a series of festal robes worn by Šamaš, Aia, and Bunene at various festivals, *šubātu damḫu kalāmu ša ilu šamaš ilu a-a u ilu bu-ne-ne . . . šubātu pu-ul-ḫu šubātu kar-bit šubātu še-ri²-tu šubātu ḫul-la-nu šubātu ni-bi-ḫu šipātu ta-bar-ru šipātu ta-kil-tu*, and in K. 474, in a letter in which Irašši-ilu, whose domicile we do not know, writes to the king about the Marduk festival in Ulûlu, Obv. 8—9 has it that *ûmu 3^{kam} ša arḫu ulûlu šubātu lu-bu-uš-ti ša ilu bêl*. Later on in the letter, in Rev. 4. 11 assistance is requested for this investiture of Marduk. That such an investiture, not only of Marduk but also of the other participating gods as well as the human beings took place at the akîtu festival is thus antecedently probable, and this conjecture is corroborated by various texts. Thus in the Sippar text just mentioned one of the robes is referred to, *arḫu nisannu ûmu 7^{kam} šubātu še-ri²-tu*¹, i. e. the robe worn by Šamaš on the seventh of Nisan in the morning. Now above on p. 134 we saw that this deity takes part in the akîtu festival of Babylon, and the robe referred to is probably the one he wore on that occasion. On the other hand we cannot from VR60—61, V 51—52 draw any conclusion as to when Šamaš arrived at Babylon². Further, the passage in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 190—216 points to the special robing of the gods at the akîtu

¹ VR60—61, V 51—52.

² Cf. above pp. 135—136.

festival. It refers to the making of two statuettes of gods for use at the ceremonies on the sixth of Nisan and it is said of them *šubâta sâma lab-šu-u*¹. From the celebration of the *akîtu* festival at Uruk in Tišrît we have, however, direct statements. Thus it says in AO 6459, Obv. 2 *arahlîš-rîtu ûmu 1^{kam} dEn-lîl dE-a u šu-ut Uruk^{ki} il-lab-biš-u*², Obv. 6 *ûmu 6^{kam} dAdad dŠamaš dLugal-mar-da u dNin-sun illabbašu*², and in Obv. 11 mention is made of *šubât lu-bu-ša-at ša dAni u An-tum u šubât lu-bu-ša-at ša dIštar*. — That the king and the priests too wore special garments when taking part in the *akîtu* festival is self-evident, but we have no direct statement to that effect except in the case of the *urigallu*. About him it is said repeatedly *[amil]urigallu itebbî-ma mê^{pl} nâri iram-muk [ana] pâni dBêl irrub-ma šubât kitî LAL*². Here we must probably compare *LAL* with *ša(g)-lal = labâšu*³, as suggested by Thureau-Dangin⁴. When, on the other hand, we read in AO 7439, Rev. 7 that *[amil]kurgarû amilassinnu ša be-li-e dNa-ru-du rak-su*, this refers to special conditions at the celebration of the *Ištar* festival at Uruk, and we can hardly take this statement as a proof that the classes of priests in question appeared in women's clothing at the *akîtu* festival too. In the same text, Obv. 16, we hear of the king, *šarru niš ud-en-na ippu-uš be-li-e-šu ib-bu-tu il-lab-šu*, which shows us his special investiture for taking part in this feast as well as for the *akîtu* festival. For the latter festival, however, we have no direct statement about the conduct or appearance of the king at Babylon after the fifth of Nisan, and the Uruk texts too are silent on this point. —

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

² DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 2 f. 218. 285 f.

³ Cf. SAJ 6044. ⁴ *Rit.* p. 129².

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

ζ.

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

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

¹ Ann. (Cyl. C) X 32—34.

*illa-ak^{pl}*¹. The chariots were drawn by horses². — That it was not only at the akītu festival that chariots were employed, but in all processions of the deities³ in Mesopotamia, is seen e. g. from AO 7439, Rev. 2. 12, in which mention is made of *isnarkabāti^{pl}* at Ištar's festival at Uruk, and from IVR12⁴ which describes an Enlil festival at Nippur, and where Obv. 23—24 and Rev. 10—11 give an account of the grand state chariot in which the god drove forth.

η.

Also the procession ships sailing on the Arahtu Canal are mentioned in several texts from Babylon, especially in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings. In EJ III 10 *isuelippu ku-a* is given as a name for Marduk's ship, and in WB V 19—30 Nebuchadnezzar records how magnificently he constructed and equipped Marduk's *isuelippu rukub ku-a* [mā-]gur ru-ku-bi-šu elli-lim; in V 31—48 we further read: *i-na zak-mu-kam rēš šatti ilu marduk ilâni ĩi-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-im-ma a-na i-si-nu tar-ba-a-tim a-ki-ta-šu ši-ir-ti u-ša-aš-di-iĥ-ma i-na isuelippu rukub Ku el-li-ti ilu marduk [us]-si-im-ma ka-ar [šam-ri]-iš a-ra-aĥ-ti i-[ka-]ab-bi-is bît-niĥê a-na e-ri-bi bêl ilâni ša-ku-um bêl bêlê iš-tu ma-ka-al-li-e isuelippi rukub Ku a-di bît-niĥê ma-aš-[da-ĥi]-i bêlu rabû ilu marduk up-pa-ti ši-ib nu-uh-šu im-nim u [šu-me]-lu isuašuhû ši-ĥu-ti aš-tak-kan-[šu]-ma. In the Ašurbanipal inscription L⁴ IV 19 Marduk's procession ship, *isuelip Ku-A*, is also mentioned, but the much broken text tells us nothing further about it⁵. However, this does not matter, for the above-quoted*

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

³ Cf. above pp. 44—47, 137—139 were these are mentioned.

⁴ Pointed out by Zimmern, ZBN, I. p. 153—56.

⁵ Cf. Streck, VAB, VII 2. p. 271⁸, where the material dealing with Marduk's ship is collected.

Wadi Brisa passage tells us plainly that at the *akîtu* festival Marduk crosses in this ship from the landing stage at the Arahtu Wall to the opposite bank of the canal, whereupon the procession continues on land through the avenue of slender *ašuhû* cedars to *bit akîtu*. Finally it is mentioned in VAT 9418, Obv. I 7, that Marduk bears the name *ilušulbab-ab* onboard the procession ship, *ina gis ma-HU-SI*. It is possible that this ship was kept at Esagila with the rest of the sacred furniture used at the *akîtu* festival. Whether or not its name *ku-a* has any connection with Ekuā in the temple, as conjectured by Weissbach in the notes to his edition of the Wadi Brisa inscription¹, (where he also declares, without grounds, that it was kept in Ekuā), of this we know nothing; the name itself, *gis ma ku-a*², merely means "the holy (pure) ship".

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

¹ WVDOG, V. p. 39.

² Cf. AO 6463, Obv. 1 [*gis ma ku-*] *a elip ilu marduk* and Thureau-Dangin's hesitation to adopt the reading in *RA*, XIX. p. 141².

³ DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 411.

⁴ Perhaps the *Gan.Ul* Canal is the Borsippa Canal.

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

*u abni*¹, and that this is not his procession ship during the voyage by the Arahtu Canal to *bît akîtu* is seen from WB VII 29—40² which shows us that the ship in question is the one in which Nabu comes to Babylon from Borsippa for the akîtu festival: *ina zag-mu-kam [rêš šatti] a-na i-si-nu ša a-ki-ti ša ilu-en-lil ilâni^{meš} ilu-marduk ilu-nabû aplu ši-te-lu-ți ištu bar-sip^{ki} i-ša-di-ḥu a-na ḳi-ri-ib bâbili^{ki} ina iṣu elippi^{nâru} Gan-UL ša ku-uz-ba za-na-tu la-la-a ma-la-tu u-šar-šî-id-ma za-ra-at ṣa-ri-ri u iṣuḳa-ri-e ki-lal-la-an a-na a-la-ak-ti ru-bu-ti-šu a-na tab-ra-at lu-li-e uš-ma-lu.*

We hear of the use of procession ships from other Mesopotamian cities too, but our material is too scanty for us to say whether it was merely at the local akîtu festival that these were employed or whether they came into play in other processions too. Of course purely local conditions would often determine whether or not such ships were used in the processions, but the numerous canals intersecting the whole of Mesopotamia, which were a vital condition for the prosperity of its agriculture, argue in favour of an extensive use of procession ships. In the Gudea inscriptions from Lagaš we hear the king mention the building of Bau's procession ship *kar-nun-ta-e-a*³, which in K. 4338, V 39, is called *gišma-pap-sal-uš-sa*⁴, and which was probably used at the akîtu festival, for as mentioned above in pp. 6—7 the Gudea texts refer to such a festival for Ningirsu and Bau. In the Uruk text AO 6459, Obv. 14⁵ mention is made of *išmaqurrê^{pl}* in the important context in which the festival rites for the seventh of Tišrît are

¹ EJ III 71—IV 6.

² We hear about repairs to the ship in ll. 21—28.

³ Stat. D 33—5.

⁴ L. 38 *gišma-ab-azag-ga*, see Landsberger, *KK*, p. 52⁵.

⁵ Cf. *gišma-an-na*, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XX. p. 108.

enumerated. Here we have a brief reference to *ma-la-ku su-qa^{pl} išmaqurrê^{pl} u bit^ua-ki-i-tum*, i. e. the procession (in the) streets, (onboard the) ships, and (to) *bit akitu*. — It has been conjectured¹ that the chariots and ships mentioned in the texts were identical, a kind of ship-carriages, and it has been pointed out that on his and W. Belck's journey of exploration in Armenia in 1898—99 C. F. Lehmann found a seal cylinder on which is probably seen a ship-carriage followed by a male figure and a fabulous animal². I must confess that I am not half convinced that in this representation we have what C. F. Lehmann calls "Erste Darstellung der aus babylonischen Texten bekannten Schiffsprocession (Šamašsumukîn II 71) begleitet von dem Thier des Wassergottes". The emphatic distinction made by the texts between *išu^unarkabtu* and *išu^uelippu* also points away from the possibility of the ships being ship-carriages. That *rukûbu* is used both about carriages and ships³ proves nothing, since this word here simply means "conveyance".

E.

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

¹ C. F. Lehmann, *SBAW* 1900, p. 626; Weissbach, *OLZ* 1913, p. 22; Streck, *VAB*, VII₂. p. 271⁸, cf. also Zimmern's rendering "Auf dem Schiffswagen", *ZBN*, II. p. 44, of VAT 9418, Obv. I 7.

² The seal cylinder has been published in *SBAW* 1900, p. 626.

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

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

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

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

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

stated, according to five letters from Ammizaduga, to take place in *bit akîtu*, for we hear nothing else in our texts of such an act and, what is more important, the date of this *bukumu*¹ which by the way is variable, points away from all connection with the *akîtu* festival. The cult action itself is presumably a survival from the pastoral culture which was closely akin to that of the Semitic immigrants of the first dynasty. — Further we have stated above on pp. 27—29 that in our opinion 35968, II 3—4, refers to sacrifices of a later date than and probably independent of the *akîtu* festival. — Of sacrifices offered in Esagila which do not concern us here we may mention e. g. the regular sacrifices or *sattukkê* to Marduk and other deities referred to by Ašurbanipal and several of the Neo-Babylonian rulers². — In the large ritual text from Babylon, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, in the passage referring to the purification of Esagila on the fifth of Nisan³, we have a detailed description of the sacrifice of a lamb. This act, however, forms part of the purification ritual⁴ and is therefore in principle independent of the special sacrificial acts connected with the various stages of the *akîtu* festival. — Finally we must point out that several of the ritual acts connected with certain stages of the cult festival are not, strictly speaking, peculiar to the *akîtu* festival. Merely to mention a few examples we may point out that both the ceremony with the “hand-water”, *mê^{pl}*

¹ Only the three best preserved letters are dated: “at the beginning of Adar” (17298, Rev. 1); [*ar^{hu}Šabā*]tu ūmu 10^[KAM] (17334, Rev. 2), and *ar^{hu}Šabā*tu ūmu 8^[KAM] (Bu 91—5—9, 329, Obv. 17).

² Cf. S¹ 8 *sat-tuk-ki E-saq-gil ilāni mātŠumeri u Akkadî u-kin-[nu]*; Ašurb. S³ 45—48; Neb. IR 65, I 13—28, in which the different kinds of *sattukkê* are enumerated; IR 65, II 36—39; Nabon. K. 1688, III 35.

³ Ll. 338—84.

⁴ Ll. 353—59.

qâtê^{II}, and libations are mentioned in connection with other cult festivals, thus in AO 7439, Rev. 8. 9¹, which describes an Ištar festival at Uruk, and the same applies to the use of cypress wood for incense during the sacrifices².

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

¹ [m]a-aq-qu-u ħurāši i-riid-di-ma.

² Cf. e. g. Maqlû, VIII 75.

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

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

in Ur¹, we hear of a series of sacrifices, but we get no fuller account of their nature, we merely learn that two are offered by the king, viz. the numerous offerings in the Gula temple² and those in Šubaru³. In the Cutha legend, K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 17, mention is made of *niḫī zak-mukki*, and in K. 822 we read in connection with a Tašmet festival (held in a place unknown to us), Obv. 9—14 *ilu^{tu}taš-me-tum da-at-tu tu-ša-a ina libbi bīt a-ki-ti tu-u-šab immer^{meš}niḫē^{meš} ina pa-ni-ša in-ni-ip-pa-ša*. Perhaps we are to understand this as a testimony to sacrifices offered in *bīt akītu*, but we cannot base anything on this passage alone, since it is questionable whether the festivities mentioned in K. 822 describe part of the *akītu* festival, viz. Tašmet's entry (note that Nabu is not mentioned) into *bīt akītu* at the annual festival, and since we have seen from the above-mentioned Sargon passages⁴ that sacrificial acts, mentioned after *bīt akītu* has been referred to, can tell us nothing decisive concerning the place in which these cult actions were performed. As regards the *niḫē* repeatedly mentioned in Nabon. Ann., which are performed *ki šal-mu* in Esagila though no procession takes place⁵ (which, as we saw in Chapter I, means that the *akītu* festival was suspended) it is difficult to say anything conclusive. It is hardly the offering of the regular sacrifices (*sattukke*) which is here referred to, the words *ki šal-mu* cannot show this as we see from the whole context. On the other hand, the reference to these sacrifices in Nab. Ann. bears a strong resemblance to the evidence of the Sargon passages of sacrifices

¹ Cf. Landsberger, *KK*, pp. 72—73 and above p. 19.

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

³ Rev. III *lugal-tur-ra šag HA.A^{KI}*.

⁴ Cf. above pp. 125—26.

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

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

The above-mentioned passages about sacrifices and sacrificial acts in general brought us very little information. We shall now examine what sacrificial animals were used for the sacrifices, and what objects were employed for direct sacrifice, disregarding for the present the sacrificial gifts that were stored up. Our information on this point we gather partly from the textual references to sacrificial gifts, partly from passages in which sacrificial acts are described. For the earlier period the Gudea texts are of special importance, and for the later time the long passage in IR 65, III 5—17, in which Nebuchadnezzar refers to the sacrifices he offers to Nabu and Marduk on the occasion of the *akîtu* festival, amongst others. The passage opens as follows: *a-aš-ra-at ^{ilu}na-bi-um u ^{ilu}marduk bi-e-li-e-a aš-te-ni²-a ka-a-a-nam i-si-na-a-ti-šu-nu da-am-ga-a-tim a-ki-su-nu ra-be-tim in gumahhê pa-ag-lu-ti . . . in ma-ḥa-ri-šu-nu e-te-it-ti-iḳ.*

¹ Ll. 38—39, 185—86.

Of sacrificial animals are mentioned:

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

Bulls (*gu(d)-še* Gudea Stat. E 5₁—7₂₁; Stat. G 3₅—6₁₈; *gu(d)-mah-ḫi bit-ru-ti* Sarg. Ann. 311—12; *gumahḫê* Neb. IR 65, III 9; (*immiru*) *buḫādi* K. 5418 a + K. 5640, III 20; *bīri* K. 9876, Obv. 19).

Wethers, rams, sheep, ewes (*ude-zal, ude-še, sil* Gudea Stat. E 5₁—7₂₁; Stat. G 3₅—6₁₈; *šu-²i ma-ru-u-ti* Sarg. Ann. 311—12; *kirrê* Esarh. K. 2711, Rev. 29—32; *im-mi-ir-mi-ir, gu-uk-ka-al-lam* Neb. IR 65 III 12; *šu'i* K. 9876, Obv. 19; *immirī* Gilgameš, XI 71—72; AO 6459, Obv. 8—9. 30—32, Rev. 6—7; AO 6465, Rev. 1).

Swine (*šaḫû* VAT 9555, Obv. 44).

Fowls (*kur-gil^{bu}* Gudea Stat. E 5₁—7₂₁; Stat. G 3₅—6₁₈; *kurkû* Sarg. Ann. 311—12).

Geese and ducks (*a-uz, sal-uš-sa-ge^{bu}* Gudea *ibid.*).

Pigeons (*bu^utur-tur* Gudea *ibid.*).

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

Fishes (*ba^asuḫur-a* Gudea *ibid.*; *nu-u-nim* Neb. IR 65, III 13).

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

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

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

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

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

Milk (*šizbu* AO 6459, Obv. 8—9).

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

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

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

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

These are referred to in several passages; thus Nabonidus says: *ultu e-pu-šu i-sin-nu bit a-ki-ti ilu bēli u mâr ilu bēli u mâr ilu bēli u-šar-mu-u šu-bat-su-nu ṭa-ab-ti i-gi-si-e šur-ru-ḥu u-še-rib ḳi-rib-šu-un ina ma-ḥa-zi rabûti^{meš} a-ba-lu ili u ilu ištarti¹*, and from the Sargon inscriptions we learn

¹ Stele IX 41—49.

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

Our knowledge of the objects used at the offerings and the rest of the ceremonies that took place in Esagila is very slight and is mainly based on the information gained from DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848; VAT 7849, and AO 6459. Of the actual sacrificial furniture only Marduk's and Nabu's altars¹ are mentioned and the bowls used for the libations (jars, vases), *ma-aq-qu-u hurâši*²; we have no further description of the four *šap-pi hurâši* mentioned in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 391, as placed on Marduk's altar. Perhaps incense was burned in them as in the ^{karpāt}*huluppakki* referred to in VAT 7849, III 17. Of the rest of the sacred furniture we gather various details, but what we learn does not enable us to combine these scattered details to a connected whole. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 mentions Enlil's throne, *šubtu ša dEn-lil* 284, Marduk's gold canopy, *šame-e hurâši ištu makkuri dMarduk* 369, and Anu's tiara, *agû ša dAni* 283³, while here and in other texts we hear of various sacred emblems about which it is merely stated that they stand in front of the images or are carried round by the priests and placed in *kisalmahhu* in front of the images. Thus mention is made of [*na-sap-pi*] *hurâši* (VAT 7849, I 3. 4). *ištal-lu hurâši* (AO 6459, Obv. 19; AO 6465, Obv. 12), *ma-*

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

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

³ Cf. I. 448.

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

As regards the nature and performance of the sacrifices we gain important indications from the particulars gathered in our investigation of sacrificial animals and sacrificial objects. But in the texts themselves we only find very few and unsatisfactory descriptions of the actual sacrifices. This is partly due to the circumstance that the most important ritual text, DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, only describes the introductory ceremonial during the first days of the festival, and partly to the fact that the *akītu* festival was no sacrificial festival in the more restricted sense of this word, or else the detailed Uruk texts which describe the entire course of the festival would not have been silent on this essential point. On the other hand we call to mind that both Gudea and Nebuchadnezzar refer to a large number of cattle as sacrificial gifts which we must assume to have been used during the festivities. We cannot, however, obtain a thorough insight into their use without a perusal of the texts. Such a perusal will show us that in the first place we must draw a sharp distinction between the central sacrifices and what I will call the accompanying sacrificial acts. The latter are met with all over the world in every great cult festival³, and their object is, as necessary links in the whole, to ensure the efficacy of the ceremonies performed, the inviolacy, certainty, and force of

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

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

³ Cf. the Indian Agniṣṭoma cult.

which are as it were created by these sacrificial acts. Among such accompanying sacrifices, most of which take place in the main temple, some in the court of *bit akitu*, I count the numerous libations (of wine)¹, and the "hand-water" ceremony². The latter, by virtue of the holy power of the water, serves as a purification of gods and men before and after their various tabooed spheres have been in contact with one another. Possibly the incense offerings must also be interpreted as such accompanying sacrificial acts³. Among these must also be counted the sacrifice of some few animals, thus the sacrifice of a swine on the eighth of Nisan⁴ and the (burnt?) offering of the white ox at the completion of the ceremonial on the fifth of Nisan⁵. Other such separate offerings of oxen and lambs are mentioned in AO 6459, Obv. 30—32, Rev. 6—7, but none of these passages give particulars as to the mode of execution.

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

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

² *mē^{pl} qâtē II*, AO 6459, Obv. 29. 33, Rev. 12. 16; AO 6465, Obv. 3. 20, Rev. 3; VAT 9555, Rev. 1.

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

⁴ VAT 9555, Obv. 44. Pinches has conjectured, in *PSBA*, XXX. p. 78, that the offering to Nergal mentioned in Neb. IR 65, II 36, took place on the eighth of Nisan at the *akitu* festival, but in the text we read: *ša ú-um 8 immêrê gi-ni-e il^unergal il^ula-az ilâni ša e-šid-lam u kutû^{ki} u-ki-in*, or "I fixed for each day 8 lambs as an offering to Nergal and Laz, the gods of Ešidlam and Cutha", and the preceding as well as the succeeding passages show us that cultural measures in other cities than Babylon are here in question.

⁵ DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 458 ff.

114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848 we read that on the fifth day, immediately before the purification of the temple and the arrival of Nabu, the urigallu places roast meat, sacrificial bread (?), salt and honey in front of Marduk in Esagila, while at the same time odorous woods are burnt and wine is poured out, *û-mu^{amil}urigallu ana pâni^dBêl [irrubma ina pâni^dB]êl i-di^{is}paššur hurâši [i-rak-kas^sir]šumê^pl ina muhhi išak-ka-an [ina muh]hi išakka-an 12 gi-nu-u ina muhhi išakka-an [hurâ]ši tâtta umallî-ma ina muhhi išakka-an [hur]âši dišpa umallî-ma ina muhhi išakka-an ina muh-*hi* išakka-an 4 šap-pi hurâši [ina mu]h-*hi* ^{is}paššuri išakka-an niknaq hurâši [ina] pâni ^{is}paššuri išakka-an riqqa u burâša karana i-na-aq-ki [an-n]a-a i-qab-bi¹. It is possible, since we also meet with the expression ^{sir}š^u-me-e in AO 6459, Obv. 8, that some of the offerings here alluded to, which are offered on the seventh of Tišrît, are offerings of food. These are mentioned again and again in the Reverse of the same text² as the large and the small meal in Anu's temple³, taking place in the evening⁴, the morning⁵, or the middle of the day⁶. Among the food offerings we may probably also count the baked offerings; the twelve *gi-nu-u* of DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 388 are probably baked loaves⁷, and the *ni-ki-i ma-as-qa-ti*⁸ mentioned in*

¹ LI. 385—95.

² 6. 8. 12. 13. 14. 19. 23.

³ *nap-tan rabu-u; qut-tin-nu.*

⁴ *nap-tan rabu-u ša li-lat.*

⁵ *nap-tan rabu-u ša še-e-ri.*

⁶ *rabu-u u qut-tin-nu ša bi-ru û-mu.*

⁷ This also applies to *a-kal*, AO 6459, Obv. 7, which is mentioned immediately after ^{amil}nuhatimmu.

⁸ K. 9876, Obv. 17; Nabon. 81—4—28, 3 + 4, II 51; Nabon. 81—7—1, 9, II 31; the two latter passages would seem to show that this special sacrifice took place in *bît akitu*.

several passages are finely ground meal offered at the *akitu* festival. The information we have of the latter being limited to the mere mention of them, it is, however, difficult to say anything definite about them, but perhaps they, too, were baked offerings which in the form of loaves were given to the gods as food offerings, though it is not precluded that the participants in the festival may have partaken of them. But all this is mere conjecture.

The actual gift offerings and offerings stored in the main temple, such as gold, silver, base metals, precious stones, costly materials and substances, and valuable woods have been mentioned above. They were put away after the conclusion of the festival, and did not belong to the ritual proper; they must be interpreted as an expression of the increasing might and power of the gods through the accumulation of treasures in their temples and as gifts to the priesthood and for the maintenance of the temples.

But the central sacrifices? Of these we really know nothing. In AO 6459, Obv. 7—15, we have a condensed description of the events on the seventh of *Tišrit*, the day on which, at Uruk, the egress from Anu's temple to *bit akitu* took place. Perhaps we may infer from ll. 8—9 that great sacrifices of oxen and sheep were offered, with abundant use of wine (for libations) and milk on the same occasion, but the description merely gives a series of nouns, and we may with equal right interpret it as an enumeration of the sacrificial animals for the *akitu* festival; the words *širšu-me-e* in l. 8 might indicate food offerings. As will be seen, we can say nothing conclusive, and parallels for our further information are completely wanting. We hardly think that the two passages from Nabonidus men-

tioned above, in which *ni-ki-i ma-as-ḥa-ṭi* are referred to in direct connection with *bît akîtu*, allude to the central sacrifices at the *akîtu* festival. Our sole information of these is limited to the following particulars: — 1) From the Sargon passages it seems apparent, as we saw above on pp. 125—26 that the great quantity of sacrificial cattle, mentioned in these passages and elsewhere in connection with the *akîtu* festival, was slaughtered for the sacrifice after the return of the procession from *bît akîtu* to Esagila. 2) Above on pp. 139—152 we saw that the participants in the festival were exceedingly numerous. In addition to the numerous deities, the king, and the large priesthood, also the people took part, though for various reasons we are perhaps to interpret this term as representatives of the people, elected or otherwise. 3) In a building inscription from *bît akîtu* at Assur¹ we read: *te-me-en bît a-ki-ti ša i-sin-ni ki-re-ti* ^{il}*Ašur ina pi-i-li* ^{aban}*šadi-i uššû-šu ad-di*. The *akîtu* festival is here called Aššur's *isinnu kirêti*, which may be rendered "banquet-festival", the main stress being laid on the meal connected with the gathering. That this term should refer to the regular² or accompanying³ food offerings I consider quite precluded. — If now we correlate the three points emphasized above, it seems a warrantable conclusion, at the present stage at any rate, that the *akîtu* festival was concluded by a great sacrificial meal of which all, the gods, the king, the priests, and the people partook. When we venture upon such a hypothesis — for we do not profess to call it anything else — upon such a slender foundation, it is due amongst other things to the fact that

¹ Cf. *MDOG*, XXXIII. p. 19.

² Cf. e. g. AO 6459, Rev. 24—25 *rabu-u u qut-tin-nu ša bi-ru û-mu ki-ma ša gi-ni-e*.

³ Cf. DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 385—95.

we recall analogies from the great cult festivals of other peoples¹.

2. "The hand ceremony".

Above we have occasionally alluded to a ceremony frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the kings in connection with the akîtu festival, called "to take Bêl (i. e. Marduk) by the hand"², expressed by the preterite or present of *šabātu*, the verb used in all the passages in question. Following the example of Winckler³, this ceremony is interpreted as an independent action, having its object in itself, and being an expression of the assignment of the kingship on earth to the Assyro-Babylonian rulers at the hand of Marduk, and the textbooks point out the performance of this ceremony as a main point in the celebration of the akîtu festival. To anyone who has gone over the entire material concerning the cult festival, it seems little probable, *a priori*, that it should comprise a ceremony of royal investiture of the nature in question, and if we examine more closely the passages referring to "the hand ceremony" in connection with the akîtu festival, we shall arrive at quite a different conception of the ceremony. The texts from Uruk, in particular, have thrown fresh light on the problem, and Thureau-Dangin must be mentioned as the first who, on the basis of the textual evidence, in a short note⁴ discarded the traditional conception of "the hand ceremony". Here, however, we must

¹ Cf. e. g. the Panathenaea at Athens (Schol. ad Ar. *Nub.* 386; inscription from the Acropolis, abt. 330 B. C., Dittenberger³, I. p. 271.

² Cf. Chapter I.

³ *ZA*, II. pp. 302 ff.; cf. C. Brockelmann, *ZA*, XVI. pp. 391—92; A. J. Wensinck in *Acta Orientalia*, I. Leiden, 1922, pp. 176 ff.

⁴ *Rit.* p. 146³; Zimmern too seems to depart from the traditional conception in *KAT*³, p. 515, at least he expresses himself with great caution.

consider the whole question on a wider basis, amongst other things because, in certain passages, we are confronted with difficult problems.

It is the gods who assign the royal power to the Babylonian kings. This is recorded by Nebuchadnezzar: *iš-tu ib-na-an-ni ilu marduk a-na šar-ru-u-ti ilu nabû a-bi-il-šu ki-i-nim ip-ḫi-du ba-u-la-a-tu-šu ki-ma na-ap-ša-ti a-ḫar-ti a-ra-mu ba-na-a la-an-šu-un*¹, and quite transcendently the same idea is expressed by Ašurbanipal in the introduction to the Annals: *a-na-ku I ilu aššur-bân-aplu bi-nu-tu ilu aššur u ilu bēlit mâr-šarri rabûu ša bit ri-du-u-ti ša ilu aššur u ilu sin bēl agī ul-tu ûmê^{meš} rûḫûti^{meš} ni-bit šumi-šu iz-ku-ru a-na šarru-u-ti u ina libbi ummi-šu ib-nu-u ana rê'û-ut mâtu. ilu aš-šur^{ki}*². If, keeping such passages in mind, we read the following expressions in Nabopolassar's titles, *ilu na-bi-um apal-u-šu-ur šakkanak bâb-ili^{ki} šar mâti šu-me-ra-am u akka-di-im ru-ba-a-am na²-dam ti-ri-iš ga-at ilu na-bi-um u ilu marduk . . .*³ and compare this passage with 27859, Rev. 8—9 *m Er-ba-^{ilu} Marduk mâr m ilu Marduk-šakin-šum ina šattu II^{KAN} ḫât ilu Bēl u mâr ilu Bēl iṣ-bat*, which latter passage unquestionably refers to the king's participation in the *akītu* festival⁴, we might at first sight be tempted to see in "the hand ceremony" an expression of the assignment by the gods of the royal power to the Mesopotamian rulers. The fact that the king repeats the same ceremony every year⁵ cannot of course in principle tell against such a conception, since we know from the cult festivals of other

¹ EJ VII 26—31, parallel with 85—4—30, 1, I 50—51.

² Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) I 1—5.

³ 86—7—20, 1, I 9—15, parallel with BE 14940, 3.

⁴ Cf. parallels in which the cult festival is expressly mentioned in Sarg. PJ 141; Ann. 309—10; Ašurb. L⁴ III 6—7; Nabon. Ann. III 26.

⁵ Cf. above in Chapter I and III D. β.

peoples that all central actions — and as such we must count the investiture of the king if it took place on this occasion — were repeated, renewed every year in order to obtain the necessary efficacy. On the other hand, we are led to doubt the traditional conception on reading a passage in the Ašurbanipal text L⁴. Here, in II 3—13, of which we merely quote the beginning, we have: *ina ar^{bu}aiaru arah^u iluê-a bêl te-ni-še-e-ti pa-ti-ḫ[u kal gim-ri?] e-ru-um-ma ina bît ri-du-u-ti¹ a-šar ṭe-me u mil-[ki] ina ḫi-bit ilu^{aššur} ab ilâni^{meš} ilu^{marduk} bêl bêlê šar ilâni^[meš] u-ša-ḫa-an-ni eli mârê^{meš} šarri šu-me iz-kur ana šarru-[u-ti] êkallu ina e-ri-bi-ia i(?)-ra(?)-aš gi-mir karaši ma-li ni, and further on in II 26 we read: *ina maḫ-ri-e palê-ia š[a] ilu^{marduk} šar gim-ri bêlu-ut [mâtu^{aššur} u-mal-lu?]-u ḫâtê^{II}-ia*. From this we gather the impression that the investiture of the king takes place once for all, and in *bît-ridûti*, in the palace of the ruler (at Assur) in any month demanded by the circumstances. Of course conditions attending the succession at Babylon may have been of quite a different nature, we cannot argue from the Ašurbanipal passage alone, but our confidence in the traditional conception of “the hand ceremony” has been shaken.*

After these introductory considerations we will turn to the Uruk texts. Now from the description of the ritual of the akîtu festival in Nisan we learn the following: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u ḫurâši a-na An-tum [i-r]id-di-e-ma gât^{II} An-tum ina amil^{mašmašê}pl amil^{kalê}pl amil^{nârê}pl šid-di kitî [u] ma-aq-qu ḫurâši iṣab-bat-am-ma An-tum illa-ak-ma ina man-za-zi-šu [ina k]isalmaḫḫi ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bat ḫurâši pa-ni-šu a-na šît^dŠamši iṣakka-an-ma ušša-ab², i. e. the king with the*

¹ Cf. Streck, VAB, VII₂. p. 2¹; VII₃. p. 823.

² VAT 7849, I 17—20.

priests conducts Antum into *kisalmah̄hu* and causes her to be seated there. Likewise it is said about Ištar, *šarru ma-ak-ki-tum ša na-mur-tu [a-n]a pa-ni* ^dIštar *išab-bat-ma qât^{II}* ^dIštar *u šu-bat* ^dAni *ša* ^{bît}*pa-pa-ḥa* ^dIštar ^dIštar *a-na kisalmah̄hi urrad-ma ina man-za-zi-šu*¹. And later, when the procession is ranged ready for the egress towards *bît akîtu*, we read: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u hurá[š]i a-na pa-ni* ^dA-nim *i-rid-di-e-ma* ^dPap-sukkal ^dNusku ^dŠa *u šarru qât^{II}* ^dA-nim *ultu parak šímâti^{pl} išab-bat^{pl}-ma* ^dEn-lil *ina imitti-šu u [E-a] ina šumêli-šu illa-ak^{pl}-ma*², i. e. the king and various gods at last conduct Anu out of *parak šímâti*. That the gods, too, take part in “the hand ceremony” is corroborated by another passage. In the text published by Pinches in 1908 we read: *ilu a-num u ilu en-lil . . . ana bâb-ili^{ki} ana ša-bat ḫâtâ . . . ilu bêt il-la-ku-nim-ma*³, a passage which, before the publication of the Uruk texts in 1921 aroused my doubts of the current theory of “the hand ceremony”. Finally the same ceremony is repeated after the arrival at *bît akîtu*: ^[d]*Pap-sukkal u šarru a-na* ^dA-nim *itarra-aš^{pl}-ma [qât^{II}]* ^dAni *[iṣab]batu^{pl}-ma a-na kisal* ^{bît}*a-ki-tum irrub-ma ina muḫ-ḥi [pa]rakki rabî ina kisalli* ^{bît}*a-ki-tum pa-ni-šu ana šît* ^dŠamši *išakka-an-ma ušša-ab*⁴, and further on we read: *šarru ma-aq-qu-u huráši a-na* ^dAni *u An-tum i-rid-di-e-ma* ^dPap-sukkal *u šarru qât^{II}* ^d[A]-nim *ultu parakki rabî išab-bat^{pl}-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu [ušša]-ab arki-šu* ^dEn-lil *u* ^dE-a *irrubu^{pl}-ma imna u šumêla ušša-ab*⁵. At the celebration of the *akîtu* festival in Tišrît the same is

¹ VAT 7849, I 24—30.

² *Ibid.* III 19—22.

³ Col. D 8—11; the same is said of the gods from Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš in Col. D 1—5.

⁴ VAT 7849, IV 5—7.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV 12—14.

recorded in almost the same expressions¹. From the whole context we now see clearly that "the hand ceremony" consists in the king conducting the deities from their *pa-rakku* into the temple courts where they are seated, that he likewise conducts the deities to the processions ranged for starting, and with these at the head of it begins and conducts the festival procession. The priests and other deities assist in the ceremony. Any other interpretation of the passages is precluded. And that this conception is the only one possible is confirmed by several passages in which the same ceremony is mentioned in connection with festivals that have nothing to do with the akîtu cult. In AO 7439, Rev. 9 we read in the description of the Ištar festival: *Ša u šarru qât^{II} Ištar iṣab-bat-ma irrub-ma ina pa-pa-ḥa-šu ušša-[ab]*², and Nabon. VR64, II 18—21 reads: *ga-tim ilâni^{ilu} sin^{ilu} nin-gal^{ilu} nusku u^{ilu} sa-dar-nun-na bêlê^{meš-}e-a ul-tu šu-an-na^{ki} âl šarru-u-ti-ia aṣ-ba-at-ma i-na ḥi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti šu-ba-at ḫu-ub lib-bi ki-ir-ba-šu u-še-ši-ib*. In this case it is the temple Eḫulḫul at Harran into which the king conducts the gods after its restoration. Finally we have also passages in which *ṣabātu* has another object than the hand of this or that deity, and in which *ḫât^{II} X iṣabbat* may simply be rendered "he takes X", thus, *amîl êrib-bîti rabu-u qât^{II} gizillî ina amîl mašmašê^{pl} amîl kalê^{pl} u amîl nârê^{pl} ultu ziq-qur-rat iṣab-bat-am-ma*³, and one of the directions to the *kalû* priest reads: *qât^{II} lilissi ana pâni ilâni^{pl} taṣabbat-ma ina šezerê^{pl} tukâ-an luḡal-e dim-me-ir an-ki-a takribta tašakka-an*⁴.

¹ AO 6459, Obv. 27; AO 6465, Obv. 14, Rev. 6. 9. 13.

² Cf. also the description of the nocturnal feast to Anu at Uruk, AO 6460, Rev. 33.

³ AO 6460, Obv. 33—34.

⁴ AO 6479, III 26—28. Cf. also that *ṣabātu ḫâtâ* is found in the

After these investigations we are in no doubt as to how we are to interpret the references to "the hand ceremony" in the inscriptions of the kings. Their statement that the king seizes Marduk's hand is merely another way of saying that at the *akîtu* festival the king conducts the procession and associates with the gods as his equals. And if we read two of these inscriptions more attentively, we shall see that their subject is just this leading of the procession by the king and not any special "hand ceremony". In Sargon we read: *arah Nisannu a-rah a-ši-i (ilu) bil ilâni kâtâ (ilu) bilu rabi-[i] (ilu) Marduk (ilu) Nabû šar kiš-šat šami-i irši-tim aš-[bat] ma u-šal-li-ma u-ru-uḫ bit a-ki-ti*¹. Here it is stated in so many words that in Nisan Sargon seizes the gods Marduk and Nabu by the hand and then proceeds to *bît akîtu*. In L⁴ we read of Šamaš-šum-ukîn in III 5—7 . . . VII ^I *ilu. iṣu šamaš-šum-ukîn aḫu ta-li-me-ia aš-ru VIII kâtâ^{II} ilu-ti-šu rabi-ti ša-bit-ma i-šad-di-ḫa i[dâ-šu?]* XII *ul-tu kâr aššur^{ki} a-di kâr bâb-ili^{ki} a-šar i-šak-ka-[nu-šu]* . . . Though the meaning of the figures 7, 8, and 12 is quite obscure to us in this passage², the contents of the passage are of such a nature that they leave us in no doubt on any point. L⁴ III records how Marduk's statue is transferred from Assur to Babylon, and the words . . . *kâtâ^{II} ilu-ti-šu . . . ša-bit-ma . . .* do not mean that Šamaš-šum-ukîn received the kingship at the hand of Marduk whereupon the statue was taken to Babylon. The text has no connection with the *akîtu* festival, and merely records that the king's brother conducted Marduk's procession, leading sense of "help" in the hymn to Marduk in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 269; cf. further Ašurb. Ann. (Cyl. B) IV 20, to which Streck has a reference in VAB, VII₂. pp. 262³, 264⁴.

¹ Ann. 309—11 parallel with PJ 141.

² Cf. Streck, VAB, VII₂. p. 264¹.

the journey from one capital to the other. After these investigations we must in future cease speaking of a special "hand ceremony" at the akîtu festival, whereas the passages adduced in this section correctly belong to the detailed treatment of the king's participation in and functions at the festival¹, amongst other things as the leader of the procession.

Before we leave this section we must briefly consider two Ašurbanipal passages which at first sight would seem to contain expressions parallel to those pointed out in the foregoing, but which really express something quite different. In L⁴ II 26—32 we read: *ina maḥ-ri-e patê-ia š[a] ilu^umarduk šar gim-ri bêlu-ut [mâtu^uaššur u-mal-lu?]-u ḫâtê^u-ia sissiktu ilu-ti-šu rabî-ti aṣ-bat aš-te²-a aš-ra-te-e-šu ša a-lak ilu-ti-šu bâni-a u-ša-al-la u-sa-ap-pa rabû-ut ilu-u-su ḫu-su-us bâb-ili^{ki} ša ina uq-gat libbi^{bi}-ka ta-bu-tu-šu at-ta a-na ê-sag-gil êkal bêlu-ti-ka ki-šad-ka tir-ra su-uḫ-ḫi-ra pa-[an-ka] ma-ṣi ala-ka te-e-zib a-šar la si-ma-te-ka ra-ma-ta šub-tu at-ta-ma (?) ilu^uellil ilâni^{meš} ilu^umarduk ḫi-bi a-lak šu-an-na . . .* The passage is difficult. Ašurbanipal relates that in his first regnal year, the year in which Marduk gave him the power over Assyria², he seized the deity's *sissiktu* and *aš-te²-a aš-ra-te-e-šu*. Then follows the king's request to Marduk that he will return to Esagila, that he himself will give orders for his return from Assur to Babylon. This return is subsequently effected, it is mentioned in Col. III, as referred to in p. 179. That the action of taking, or seizing, *sissiktu* should have anything to do with the king's receiving the power over Assyria from the gods, is not apparent from l. 26 which is merely an indication of date,

¹ Mentioned above in section D. β.

² That is to say, once for all, cf. above p. 176.

on the other hand we have seen above in p. 141 that *sissiktu* is referred to in AO 6472, Obv. 25—Rev. 1 as a cultural robe belonging to the king. The words in l. 27 must therefore in all probability be interpreted to mean that the king puts on his cultural robe, arrays himself in his sacred dress. I take the construction with *ṣabātu* and *sissiktu* as parallel with the passages adduced in p. 178 in which we meet with the expression *ḫât^{II} X iṣabbat*. We should then expect **ḫât^{II} sissiktu ilu-ti-šu rabî-ti aṣ-bat* here in L⁴, but possibly *ḫât^{II}* has dropped out owing to the immediately preceding *ḫâtê-ia*. I do not, however, attach much weight to textual emendations, the whole context from L⁴ being clear enough, even though certain expressions in l. 27 are difficult for us to understand¹. The situation is briefly this: the king, at some period of his first regnal year, puts on a certain cultural robe, and dressed in this he prays to Marduk to induce him to return to Esagila in Babylon.

The second passage from Ašurbanipal, which has come down to us in two parallel versions, reads as follows: *a-na-ku^I ilu aššur-bân-aplu šar^{mātu. ilu} aššur^{ki} ul-tu immeru niḫê^{meš} ilu Kur-ri aḫ-ḫu-u e-pu-šu i-sin-ni bît a-ki-ti at-mu-ḫu mašku a-ša-a-ti^{ilu} iṣ-tar ina libbi^I du-na-ni^I sa-am-gu-nu^I šuma-ia u nikis^{is} ḫaḫḫad^I te-um-man šar^{mātu} elamti^{ki} š[a] ilu iṣ-tar bêltu im-nu-u ḫa-tu-u-a e-rib^{alu} arba-ilu e-pu-uš ina ḫidâti^{meš}². According to my notions this evidence cannot be classed with that of “the hand ceremony” of the *akitu* festival³, if for a moment we took it for granted that there was any*

¹ Of other senses possible for the difficult word *sissiktu*, see Jensen, *KB*, VI.1. pp. 364 f.; Streck, *VAB*, VII.2. p. 262³, and Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.* p. 57 note 95.

² K. 2674, Rev. I 18—23 parallel with K. 2637, 5—11.

³ As e. g. Streck does in *OLZ* 1905, p. 376³ and in *VAB*, VII.2. p. 321⁷.

reality in this in accordance with the current conception. In the first place the expression in K. 2674 is quite different, the verb *tamâhu* being construed with *mašku ašatu*. Even though it is linguistically parallel with *ḫâtâ^{II} ilubêl iṣabbat*, the verb is always placed last in this latter expression. In the second place the Ašurbanipal passage quoted above refers to various cult ceremonies; the fact that these are mentioned immediately after one another is by no means a proof that they belong together to anyone familiar with the brief annalistic style of the inscriptions of the kings. These cult actions are as follows: sacrifices to *iluKurru*¹, the celebration of the akîtu festival, both in the city of Milkia², thereupon a ceremony with Ištar is mentioned, the king taking or seizing her bridle-rein, and finally we hear of the king's entry into Arba-ilu, carrying with him amongst other things the head of Teumman, king of the Elamites. As soon as we have grasped the general drift of the text, we may consider whether the ceremony of "seizing Ištar's bridle-rein" has any connection with the king's entry into Arba-ilu, or, in other words, whether *at-mu-ḫu mašku a-ša-a-ti* is parallel with *ḫâtâ^{II} ilubêl iṣabbat* and denotes that the king conducts the procession of the Ištar statue to Arba-ilu, seizing by the rein the horse drawing the chariot (or whatever is the exact meaning of *mašku ašatu*). From the succeeding description of Ašurbanipal's journey to Arba-ilu, which was Ištar's city, we might be tempted to draw this conclusion, yet it seems to me that the use of the verb *tamâhu* points away from this conception. In all the passages quoted by us above in reference to the theory of "the hand ceremony", we met

¹ A more correct reading is *ilušatru*, cf. above p. 21⁷.

² Cf. above pp. 21—22.

with the verb *ṣabātu*, and we have every reason to believe that it is used here as a technical term connected with the cult and independent of the whim of the scribe. Nor do we hear anything of Ištar's entry into Arba-ilu. Hence for the present I consider it justifiable to maintain the possibility that the ceremony *at-mu-ḥu mašku a-ša-a-lī ilu iṣ-tar* is a special ceremony connected with the Ištar cult, which we shall perhaps one day, when this most important cult has been comprehensively dealt with, understand better than now. But I venture to dismiss definitely the idea that this ceremony should have anything to do with the *akītu* festival.

3. The determination of the destinies.

If we turn to one of the current textbooks, e. g. *KAT*³, we may read there in the section on the Zagmuk festival¹: Als besonders feierlich scheinen die Tage vom 8.—11. Nisan gegolten zu haben, an welchen man sich die Götter unter dem Vorsitz Marduk's im Schicksalsgemach versammelt dachte, um die Gesicke, die Loose, für das neue Jahr zu bestimmen, and it is pointed out throughout that this determination of the destinies is the central event of the *akītu* festival, the final aim of everything. On this point, however, the textbooks depend for their knowledge on a single passage in Nebuchadnezzar — the dates there given are, however, as we shall soon see, the eighth and the eleventh of Nisan. Of the character of this determination of the destinies we only hear e. g. that Marduk leitet die Schicksalsbestimmung als *mušim šimāti*, Nabû fungiert als Schreiber². Hence it will be necessary to subject the whole question to a closer examination.

¹ p. 515, cf. also pp. 401, 494.

² A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Lpz. 1913, p. 314.

In EJ II 54—65 we read: *du-azag ašar šimâti ša ub-šu-ukkin-na parak ši-ma-a-li ša i-na zag-mu-ku ri-eš ša-at-ti ūmi 8^{kam} ūmi 11^{kam} ilu šar ilâni šamê iršitim bêlu ilu i-ra-am-mu-u ši-ri-ib-šu ilâni šu-ut šamê iršitim pa-al-ḫi-iš u-ta-ak-ku-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḫ-ru-uš-šu ši-ma-at ū-um da-ir-u-tim ši-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-ia i-ši-im-mu i-na ḫi-ir-bi*. We hear here of *du-azag*¹, the chamber of destiny in Esagila, in which Marduk and the gods assemble on the eighth and eleventh of Nisan. Further we read that the gods determine the destiny here for all eternity and for the king's life. This passage is not difficult to understand. The destiny of the new year is determined at an assembly of the gods which takes place in one of the sacred chapels of Esagila which we have described above in pp. 92—100. The fact that we hear of such a *parak šimâti* in the temples of other cities² too would seem to indicate that this was an old-established cult ceremony. But the passage from Nebuchadnezzar quoted above is the only text that supplies us with unmistakable evidence. In numerous passages we hear of an assembly of the gods, *puḫur ilâni*, but in spite of the fact that some of the texts contain directions for the ritual of the akîtu festival, we hear nothing of any determination of destinies³. True this ceremony is mentioned in the impressive passage in the Gudea Cyl. B 423—519, but however much we may admire the great poetical power of the description, we gather no certain information from it. We hear how, at the dawn of day, the king enters the temple, following Ningirsu, the mighty god of Lagaš, the

¹ Of this and its relation to *parak šimâti* see above pp. 98 f.

² Cf. VAT 9418, Obv. II 11—15 and above p. 93.

³ Cf. e. g. VATh 663, Obv. 6. 10; AO 6459; VAT 7849, I 1—12; IV. A *puḫur ilâni* having no connection with the akîtu festival is mentioned e. g. in the Gudea Cyl. A 1027—29; IV R 12, Obv. 1—2; Gilgamesh, XI 120 ff.

warrior, who enters the temple like a whirlwind. Like the sun rising over Lagaš his wife Bau goes to meet him. Like a faithful wife she approaches his couch, "and like the Tigris when its waters are high, she remains at his ear, the queen, the daughter of the pure vault of heaven." *Babbar-e-am nam-tar-ra-am* ^{dingir}*ba-u DA-gi(g)-na tu(r)-ra-am ki-ŠIR-BUR-LA*^{ki} *he-gal-la-am ud im-zal* ^{dingir}*babbar ŠIR-BUR-LA*^{ki-ge} *kalam-ma sag-mi-ni-il*. These difficult words may be rendered thus: "Like the sun, like the one who determines destiny, Bau mounted his couch; on Lagaš she bestows fruitfulness. The day began to dawn, Babbar (i. e. the sun) from Lagaš rose over the land." But this brings us no nearer to understanding the real sense of *nam-tar-ra-am*. Why is Bau compared with the power that determines destiny? Is it a poetical simile like the comparison with the sun and the Tigris, and if so, why is precisely this simile used? Or is it because Bau, by her holy nuptials with Ningirsu which, as a prototype, create fruitfulness for Lagaš in the coming year, really does determine the fate and fortunes of the city? We have no means of answering any of these questions conclusively from a consideration of this passage alone, but we strongly emphasize that we have here touched upon a fundamental problem, nay, ultimately the essential point in our investigation of the character of the *akitu* festival, which we can only return to in another connection after having worked through the whole festival. For the problem here confronting us is this: Is the determination of destinies to be interpreted as the result of the cultual acts, an immutable predetermined consequence of the entire proceedings of the cult festival, so that prosperity and fruitfulness for Babylon or another city is merely an unrolling in the sun of

what is latent in the concentration of the festival, or is the determination of destinies a ceremony associated with an urban civilization, in which a council under the leadership e. g. of Marduk determines the destiny of the year, while Nabu writes down their decisions? We shall see in Chapter IV what answer may be given to this question.

Here, however, we return to the urban train of thought revealed in the passage from Nebuchadnezzar, seeking information elsewhere as to the nature of that determination of destinies which is there referred to. Here our thoughts will naturally turn to *Enuma eliš* where we find a series of interesting details concerning this proceeding. But before we examine these more closely, we will premise two remarks. At this stage of our enquiry we deal with the creation epic exclusively as a poetical religious text according to the traditional conception, since it is of no importance to the problem touching the determination of destinies which we are here investigating how we are to interpret this text. In Chapter IV we shall examine this subject more closely. In the second place we find no occasion in this work dealing with the *akītu* festival in Babylon, or in this place, for entering upon an exhaustive historical analysis of the relation between Marduk and the rest of the great Babylonian deities on account of his supremacy in *Enuma eliš*, as this is of little or no interest for our understanding of the details of the *akītu* festival or of its fundamental character. Only where parallels are of directly instructive value will they be adduced in this connection. — Hence about Marduk's relation to the rest of the deities in the story of the creation, the struggle with Tiamat, and the determination of destinies we shall merely

point out the following:¹ Before the year 2000 B. C. historical conditions raised Babylon to pre-eminence as the capital of Southern Mesopotamia, and at the same time the city god Marduk was made the supreme deity of the empire, the other city gods, chief of which were Anu in Uruk, Enlil and Ninib² in Nippur, and Ea in Eridu, being made subject to him. In a Neo-Babylonian text³ we even see Marduk identified with Nergal, Zamama, Enlil, Nabu, Sin, Šamaš, and Adad, who are all conceived as merely one side of Marduk's essence and nature. However, we have several texts dating from a period when Marduk was not yet the only acknowledged creator. These belong especially to the Sumerian time, and in them we see Ea of Eridu as the creator of man and combating Apsu⁴, we also hear of Anšar as the creator⁵, and finally of Anu in the same capacity. Thus in a ritual for the restoration of a temple we read the command to recite a creation myth after introductory sacred ceremonies⁶: *u e-nu-ma* ^{il}*A-nu ib-nu-u šame-e ana maḥar libitti iman-nu e-nu-ma* ^{il}*A-nu ib-nu-u šame-e* ^{il}*NU-DIM-MUD ib-nu-u apsû šu-bat-su* ^{il}*E-a ina apsi iḱ-ru-ša ṭi-ṭa-[am?] ib-ni il libitti ana te-diš-ti ib-ni* ^{is}*ḱanû u* ^{is}*kištu (?) ana ši-pir nab-ni-ti (?)*. We hear of Ninib fighting against Labbu⁷, as Marduk combated Tiamat. In a frag-

¹ Cf. also M. Jastrow's valuable essay *On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story* in *Ost.* II. pp. 969—82; for the Sumerian creation myths the reader is referred to King, *Legends*.

² Cf. Hrozný, *MVAG*, VIII⁵. p. 175.

³ 47406, Obverse.

⁴ King, *Legends*, pp. 116—17, 125.

⁵ K. 3445 + Rm 396; cp. herewith that Marduk is called *an-šar ša-mu-u* in VAT 9418, Obv. I 1.

⁶ BE 13987, 23 ff., cf. also 55547.

⁷ K. 133.

ment of the Etana myth¹ the Anunnaki are mentioned as those who determine destiny², and a similar statement is made about Enlil from Nippur in IV R 12, Rev. 10, etc.³ — The priesthood of Babylon sought throughout to give Marduk the place of the formerly powerful deities. Thus he superseded Enlil and Ea in the hymns⁴, was assimilated to Ea by being made his son, and especially occupied the position of Ea and Enlil in the myths. We see three different versions, the “Eridu myth”, the “Nippur myth”, and the “Babylon myth”, the latter with Tiamat and Marduk as the central figures, worked together in *Enuma eliš* by R(edactor)⁵. Thus the Eridu version is traceable in

¹ Published by Fr. V. Scheil in *Recueil*, XXIII. pp. 18–23.

² Obv. I 1–2 *Ra-bu-tum ilu A-nun-na ša-i-mu ši-im-tim* . . . , cf. IIR 19, 13a and above p. 94¹.

³ Cf. that (*ilu*) *Bil*, who is called *ilu Dur-an-ki* (which shows us that Enlil from Nippur is here referred to, cf. Hommel, *GGAO*, pp. 118⁵, 351²), in the myth about Zû, K. 3454 + K. 3935, II 8. 10, is in possession of the tablets of destiny, of which we shall hear in more detail below.

⁴ Cf. Jastrow, *RBA*, I. pp. 495–98, 503.

⁵ Cf. Jastrow, *On the Composite Character*. Langdon in *EC*, p. 10 dates the seven tablets of *Enuma eliš* to the first Babylonian dynasty (2225–1976 B. C.), with a reference to the mention made in the Agum-kakrimi inscription (17. century B. C.) of the replacing in the sacred chambers of Esagila of the images of monsters which Marduk has defeated. Of these, six correspond to six of the eleven monsters mentioned in the epic as produced by Tiamat. Originally, he thinks, the epic only consisted of six books (tablets) — the seventh probably existed as an independent hymn to Marduk (pp. 11–12, 207¹⁷) — and he conjectures that the foundation of the epic is a Sumerian myth of Ninurta's combat with Zû (pp. 17–20) mentioned in VAT 9555, Rev. 7. In the account of Marduk's capture and death found in this text (for details see below in E. 5.) Langdon sees a transformation of the Tammuz myths to Marduk myths (pp. 50, 217). All these considerations may perhaps be right — perhaps not. The decisive point, the relation between *Enuma eliš* and the New Year's Feast, and a knowledge of what the New Year's Feast actually signifies, has escaped Langdon's attention, while the reader is put off with remarks like the following, “At any rate the Epic of Creation is also a solar myth” (p. 20), and Marduk is designated as a solar god (p. 32).

I 17. 31 f. in the antagonism between Ea and Apsu, in I 97—98, where Ea destroys Apsu, a parallel to Marduk's victory in IV 73—111¹, while the Nippur version is traceable in an expression like *be-el māṭāti* in VII 116 and in the description in tablet IV of Marduk's war accoutrements. R. has combined these particulars with the Marduk version, and we trace his activities e. g. in tablet I where Apsu and Mummu go to the aid of Tiamat, and in II 3. 49—58. 72—82 (cf. III 53—54), where Anšar in vain sends out Ea. Perhaps Mummu belongs to a fourth version². — And the fate of the great deities was shared by the less prominent ones. Probably Marduk was substituted for the Sumerian deity Gilimma³ in the Sumerian story of the creation, *En.E-azag-ga*⁴. Hence it is probable too that as the central figure in the *akītu* festival Marduk superseded an earlier deity, the thought of Enlil or more probably of Anu⁵ here suggests itself.

But we return to *Enuma eliš* and its evidence as to the determination of the destinies. We learn from this that there is something called *dupšimāti*^{pl}, "the tablets of destiny," which were originally in the hands of the rebellious powers. Tiamat solemnly presents them to Kingu, her companion in arms, *id-din-šu-ma dupšimāti*^{pl} *i-ra-[tu-uš] u-šat-mi-iḫ* (I 137; II 43; III 47. 105), and after his victory in tablet IV Marduk takes them from Kingu, *u*^{ilu} *Kin-gu ša ir-tab-bu-u ina [e-li]-šu-un ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti*^{ilu} *Dug-ga(-)e šu-a[.] im-ni-šu i-kim-šu-ma dupšimāti*^{pl} *la si-ma-ti-šu i-na ki-šib-bi*

¹ Cf. VAT 10105, 28—29, in which Marduk defeats Apsu and not Tiamat.

² Cf. Jastrow, *On the Composite Character*, p. 976 and note 1.

³ Cf. King, *Legends*, p. 124.

⁴ 82—5—22, 1048.

⁵ Cf. above p. 52.

ik-nu-kam-ma ir-tu-uš it-mu-uḫ (119—122). Further we hear that, as one of his conditions for engaging in battle with Tiamat, Marduk claims the right to determine the destiny of the year in future instead of the gods. He addresses himself to his father Ea as follows: *be-lum ilāni ši-mat ilāni rabūti^{pl} šum-ma-ma ana-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma u-bal-laṭ ka-a-šu-un šuk-na-ma pu-uḫ-ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a šim-ti ina Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tiš-ba-ma ip-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-ta lu-ši-im la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-u a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku ai i-tur ai i-in-nin-na-a se-ḫar ša-ap-ti-ia* (II 133—140, cf. III 61—66. 119—22). Our understanding of this otherwise quite clear passage is somewhat confused by the fact that in l. 133 Ea is called *ši-mat ilāni*, while Marduk in l. 136 prays to the gods to make his destiny (*šim-ti*, “my destiny”) pre-eminent. But in l. 137 we read the plain statement that Marduk is going to determine destiny in *Up-šu-ukkin-na-ki*; what he creates (literally “builds”) shall not be altered. At the exaltation of Marduk at the beginning of tablet IV it is said to him: *at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḫar-ka^{ilu} A-num^{ilu} Marduk kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni ra-bu-tum ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an se-ḫar-ka^{ilu} A-num iš-tu u-mi-in-ma la in-nin-na-a ki-bit-ka šu-uš-ḫu-u u šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-u ga-at-ka lu-u ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar se-ḫar-ka* (3—9), and further on we read: *ši-mat-ka be-lum lu-u maḫ-ra-at ilāni-ma a-ba-tum u ba-nu-u ki-bi li-ik-tu-nu* (21—22). And finally, before he goes to the fray, we read in the same tablet: *i-ši-mu-ma ša^{ilu} Bēl ši-ma-tu-uš ilāni ab-bi-e-šu u-ru-uḫ šu-ul-mu u taš-me-e uš-ta-aš-bi-tu-uš ḫar-ra-nu* (33—34). From this latter passage we learn what is understood in Enuma eliš by the determination of destinies. It is said here that the gods, before Marduk sets

out, determine his destiny, i. e. they establish, create his victory (by sacred ceremonies). We further see that this determination of destinies is not restricted to one particular occasion, in other words, it is a cultural phenomenon, something that appears as a self-evident, we may say a magical, result of sacred acts. We find the same conception in IV 3—9. 21—22; in both passages *ši-mat-ka* denotes the power possessed by Marduk to make his creation or destruction absolute and real.

If now we compare the particulars here gathered with the passage in II 133—140 (and parallels) and with the account of the tablets of destiny (I 137; II 43; III 47. 105; IV 119—122), we at once notice a difference from the material derived from the beginning of tablet IV. In II 133—140 we hear of Marduk determining destiny in an assembly of the gods in a certain place, and if we call to mind the testimonies adduced above in section B. *η*. 1. (pp. 92—100) as regards *parak šimāti* in Esagila, we can hardly avoid thinking that the passage in II 133—140 is suggested by the annually recurring ceremony, and is based on definite cultural facts. And the line of thought, associated with an urban civilization, which is implied in the account of the tablets of destiny, fits in very well with the idea of an assembly of gods in which one determines the destiny of the year while another writes it down. — And yet I am not at all sure that this is the real sense of the concept “tablets of destiny”. Two things cannot escape our notice, the fact that, as we saw above, *ši-mat-ka* must in several places in Enuma eliš be rendered “your power, your strength”, or to make things plainer and speak in the language of the history of religion, “your *mana*”, — and the fact that to begin with the rebellious powers pos-

essed the tablets of destiny, only upon their defeat did they pass into the possession of Marduk. Giving the tablets to Kingu, Tiamat says: *ka-ta kibīt-ka la in-nin-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka* (I 138; II 44; III 48. 106), and it is hardly possible to interpret these tablets as those on which Kingu inscribes the laws of the universe and its beings. On the other hand, the whole context shows that, on receiving the tablets of destiny, he gets strength, his *mana* grows, he now gets a *ši-mat la ša-na-an*, quite like Marduk in IV 3—9 (and several places in the same tablet). Hence the loss of the tablets mentioned in IV 119—122 means that Kingu has lost his strength and power, that he has been defeated.

Or, to summarize the particulars we have now gathered, *Enuma eliš*, as we shall show in more detail in Chapter IV, is a cult legend, that is to say, a free theologico-poetical treatment of the cult myth reflecting the cult acts of the *akītu* festival¹. This epic shows two conflicting lines of thought, viz. on one hand the primitive conception of the *mana* of the actors, as we see it in the reference of certain passages to “destiny” and “the determination of destinies” and in the purely cultual and magical conception of “the determination of destinies”, on the other hand, a line of thought which bears the stamp of *Enuma eliš*’ relation as cult legend to the ritual of the *akītu* festival. For, according to this, a *puḫur ilāni* takes place in *parak šimāli* in Esagila, presided over by Marduk, and “tablets of destiny” are here employed in determining the destinies. The mingling of these two lines of thought explains

¹ The secondary relation of the cult myth to the cult was first pointed out with incomparable clearness by W. Robertson Smith in the famous Introduction to his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1889).

amongst other things why, to begin with, Kingu is in possession of "the tablets of destiny", and the varying sense of the word *šîmtu* in the epic.

When we have inferred a sacred use of tablets of destiny in the determination of destinies in *parak šîmâti* in Esagila at the *akîtu* festival, it is not, as will easily be perceived from the preceding considerations, solely due to the evidence of the epic, which must probably be interpreted quite differently on this point, but also to the reference of various other texts to the tablets of destiny. Now in these we meet with the astonishing fact that it is Nabu who is throughout described as the god who holds or has the tablets of destiny. Thus in Neb. K. 1685, II 23—25 in an invocation to Nabu we read the following words: *i-na i^{su}li-u-um-ka ki-i-nim mu-ki-in pu-lu-uk ša-mi-e u ir-ši-tim i-be a-ra-ku û-mi-ja šu-du-ur li-it-tu-u-tim*, and in Bêl-Har-rân-Bêl-Utsur's stele¹ from the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. we hear in l. 3 that (*Ilu*) *Nabû, tup-šar ilâni, ša-bit qân duppi ellitu, na-ši duppu ši-mat ilâni*, to which may be compared parallel expressions about Nabu in IR 35 No. 2, 4 and in the Sarg. Cyl. 59 *dup-sar gim-ri mu-ma²-ir kul-lat ilâni*. Nabu is thus the god who holds the tablets of destiny, he is the scribe of the universe who writes on the tablets with his *qân duppi*.

We have now the following problems to consider: Who determines the destinies, what does it mean to determine destiny, and how was this ceremony performed? The first question seems at first sight superfluous, Marduk is the central figure of the *akîtu* festival, in Enuma eliš we hear that he is deputed by the other gods to determine the

¹ Published by Fr. V. Scheil in *Recueil*, XVI. pp. 176—82.

Vidensk. Selsk. Hist.-filol. Medd. XII, 1.

destinies¹, and the texts call him *mu-kin puḥri ša ilāni*², and *ilu marduk a-ša-ri-du ilāni mu-ši-im ši-ma-a-ti*³. Hence it will be most natural to interpret in accordance herewith the passages on Nabu's activities as a scribe just quoted. As Marduk's helper he holds the tablets and at his bidding writes down the destinies. However, for various reasons we cannot content ourselves with these considerations, we must briefly discuss the relation between Marduk and Nabu. We saw that in the Sargon Cylinder Nabu was called *mu-ma²-ir kul-lat ilāni*. This may of course be interpreted to mean that *kul-lat ilāni* denotes the gods with the exception of Marduk in the sacred *puḥur ilāni*, but for many reasons such interpretations are best avoided. For we cannot disregard the fact that the chief and only passage dealing with the ritual determination of destinies, EJ II 54—65⁴, only mentions *ilu šar ilāni šamê iršitim*⁵ as the arbiter of destiny while above, in pp. 99—100 we saw that this title was also assigned to Nabu and that *parak šimāti* must probably be sought in Nabu's sacred chamber Ezida in Esagila. The fact that Nabu is in several passages called *mâr ilu Bêl*⁶ or *bu-kur (ilu) Marduk riš-tu-u*⁷ cannot invalidate this. Both Zimmern⁸ and Langdon⁹ have seen that we are here confronted with a problem, but both think that Nabu is the unnamed god in EJ II 58, and that Nabu was originally the arbiter of destiny. In addition

¹ IV 3 ff.

² Enuma eliš, VII 37.

³ Nerigl. IR 67, I 6.

⁴ Quoted above p. 184.

⁵ L. 58.

⁶ 27859, Rev. 9.

⁷ 80—6—17, II 5.

⁸ KAT³, pp. 399, 402.

⁹ VAB, IV. p. 126, the note to EJ II 58, cf. above p. 100¹.

Zimmern says about Nabu that he is "möglichlicherweise ursprünglich dieselbe Gestalt wie Marduk und wurde erst sekundär von diesem differenziert", and refers the reader to Hammurabi Louvre A, which, as previously mentioned on p. 89³, shows that Ezida at Borsippa was Marduk's temple in the time of Hammurabi. As to the historical and religious conditions covered by the Hammurabi passage we cannot express any opinion, at any rate Nabu is not mentioned either in the prologue or epilogue of the famous Code, but I do not believe that he is a later emanation of Marduk. The similarity between the two deities results from the fact that in principle all the Mesopotamian city gods are "dieselbe Gestalt", because they are all gods of the city and gods of fertility, of the same religious character. The vacillation we meet with in their titles, the same epithets being given to both, is to me only a proof that these two neighbouring deities had the same cultual titles, amongst other things because their cults were of the same character. Nor do I doubt that before Babylon was made the capital under the first dynasty, the situation in Babylonia was as follows: At Uruk Anu was the central figure of the *akitu* festival, the creator and arbiter of destiny, the same applied to Ea at Eridu, Enlil at Nippur, Nabu at Borsippa, Marduk at Babylon, etc. We have seen how the city god of Babylon supplanted these other deities in the myths of the creation, and it is likewise probable that Marduk assimilated numerous features of cultual significance from the cult festivals of the great gods Anu and Enlil. The relation to the neighbouring city of Borsippa may have been of a different and more special character. Perhaps it is a concession to this city that, both by his titles and by his place in the ceremonies of the determina-

tion of destinies, Nabu appears partly as the equal of Marduk and partly as the second mightiest of the gods, holding the tablets of destiny, and that the determination of destinies takes place in Ezida, Nabu's sacred chapel in Esagila. We must limit ourselves to the statement of such a general conjecture when we seek to explain Nabu's special position at the akîtu festival. The theory that Marduk as the city god of Babylon is the arbiter of destiny cannot possibly be rejected, even though, as our enquiry has shown, we nowhere find an uncontradicted statement to that effect.

What does it mean "to determine destiny", (or "the destinies", as it must more literally be rendered), and how is this ceremony performed? The answer to the first part of this question is attended by no difficulties. To determine destiny originally always meant something positive. The destinies determined at the annual festival must not be interpreted to have been originally a list of each individual phenomenon and event, evil or good, fortunate or unfortunate destined to take place in the coming year. Such a line of thought is entirely modern or belongs to the astrological theology of the priesthood, having, originally at least, no connection whatever with the real nature of the cult festival. The determination of destiny is a positive creation of fruitfulness and plenty, peace and happiness, for the coming year, the passage in the Gudea Cyl. B 4₂₃—5₁₉, upon which we dwelt above in pp. 184—185 points conclusively in this direction. But no doubt the sacerdotal conception referred to above asserted itself later; what we have learnt about a *puhur ilâni* and the tablets of destiny points in this direction. If we are here to express an opinion on how the sacred act of determining destiny was per-

formed, our answer must be twofold. A religious ceremony must have taken place in Esagila's chapel Ezida, at which Marduk, assisted by Nabu, in the midst of the assembled gods, determined the destinies of the coming year which were then inscribed on the tablets of destiny, the positive as well as the negative events, in pleno¹. But as we saw above in pp. 184—186 much speaks in favour of the assumption that this ceremonious determination of destiny was introduced at a later period as a result of the special religious conditions of Babylon. For we must take into account the possibility that formerly the determination of destiny was of a purely magic and cultual character, and that it perhaps retained this character side by side with the innovation². In Chapter IV we shall reconsider this fundamental problem on a wider basis.

4. ἱερός γάμος.

We have few but conclusive testimonies that a Sacred Marriage between Marduk and Zarpanitum took place at the *akitu* festival. Our material from Babylon is confined to two passages, which are, however, supplemented by other texts, a letter referring to events at Borsippa (?), and the Gudea inscriptions from Lagaš. Taking the material from Babylon first, we remind the reader of *ê (giš) nâ*, "the house of the bed", referred to in ST, Obv. 31. 34, in the description of Etemenanki's *papahâni*. In p. 109 we advanced the conjecture that this chapel was used for a Sacred Marriage. For that such a wedding took place at the *akitu* festival at Babylon we learn from VATH 663.

¹ The very nature of the action seems to demand that at this stage of the festival the statues have been superseded by men acting as gods, cf. above pp. 136—139 and below in section E. 5. and Chapter IV.

² Cf. the dualism, pointed out by us above pp. 191—192, in the evidence from *Enuma eliš*.

This text is a kind of calender of festivals which has unfortunately come down to us in a very fragmentary condition. Obv. 1—10 describes the *akîtu* festival in Nisan, the succeeding better preserved part gives an account of the Nabu festival in Airu. In Obv. 1—10 we read: [^{ilu}*marduk* *ša šar*] *šamê*^[e] *u iršitim*^{tim} *ni-bit-su zak-rat* *rabûti*^{meš} *te-lil-tum uš-te-šir ana bêl bêlê* [. . . .] *di-iḫ be-lu-ti-šu in-na-an-di-iḫ i-na-aš me-lam-mu* *uš-te-šir ana ḫi-rib e-zur-ra* [*a*]-*ši-ib iršitim*^{tim} *u ša-ma*² *da a ḫa* *e uš-te-nir-ru-bu ma-ḫar-šu-nu* *ûmi 11*^{kam} *ina ḫi-rib e-zur i-te-ni-ip-pu-šu i-sin-nu* *ša šu* *abkallu šad-da-nu i-ḫi-iš ana ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu* ^{ilu}*a-nim ir-mu-u ana šarru-u-tu* *ilâni*^{meš} *-nu ištu maḫ-ri-šu uš-taḫ-ma-ḫu ma-ḫar-šu ilâni*^{meš} Amidst a series of fragmentary praises of Marduk we hear that he proceeds to *e-zur*, i. e. *bît akîtu*, and that the great gods enter his presence. We hear that on the eleventh of Nisan a festival to Marduk is celebrated in *bît akîtu*, and shortly after we hear of him that *i-ḫi-iš ana ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu*, “he hastened to the wedding feast.” In a letter, 82—5—22, 96, referring to a Nabu festival in Airu (at Borsippa?), we read in Obv. 6—8 *ina ši-i-ari ûmu 4*^{kam} *a-na ba-a-di ilu nabû u ilu taš-me-tum ina bît iṣu irši ir-ru-bu*, and in Obv. 13—15 we hear further of the period when they remain in the bedchamber, *ištu libbi ûmi 5*^{kam} *a-di ûm 10*^{kam} [*il*]-*âni*ⁿⁱ *ina bît iṣu irši šu-nu*. A *ἑρῶς γάμος* is here referred to, quite similar to that mentioned in VATh 663, Obv. 14—21, to which Zimmern has a reference¹. Here we read: *ûmu 2*^{kam} . . . ^{ilu}*nabû ša ḫa-da-aš-šu-tu in-na-an-di-iḫ te-di-[iḫ]* ^{ilu}*a-nu-tu ištu ḫi-rib e-zi-da ina šat mu-ši uš-ta-pa-a na-an-na-ri-iš ki-ma ilu sin ina ni-ip-ḫi-šu u-nam-mar ek-lit ina ki-rib E.ḪAR.ŠA.BA uš-te-šir i-šad-*

¹ Cf. Behrens, *ABBr.* p. 38¹.

di-ḥu [nam]-riš *i-ru-um-ma ana ma-ḥar* ^{ilu}*NIN ka-li šit-kun-
nu ana ḥa-da-* [aš-šu-tu] *ina ḳi-rib E.ḤAR.ŠA.BA kîma ū-
mu^{mu} i-šak-kan na-mir-* [lu] *ina ma-aġa-al-tum mu-ši ʾa-a-bi
it-ta-na-aġa-lu šit-la.*

To all these indubitable statements, whether derived from Babylon or Borsippa, may finally be added those of the Gudea texts. Above in pp. 184—185 we called attention to the significant passage in Cyl. B 4₂₃—5₁₉. In an impressive description we hear that Bau, full of love, lies down to rest by the couch of her husband, Ningirsu; their union engenders the fertility of Lagaš. The sacred ceremony which took place is not referred to in connection with the *akîtu*, or Zagnuk, festival as it is called in these texts, but parallels from other Gudea texts entitle us to refer Cylinder B's statement to this. Thus in Stat. E 5₁—₃ we read: . . . *ud-zag-mu ezen-* ^{dingir}*ba-u nig-sal-uš-sa aġ-da* . . ., "on New Year's Day, Bau's festival day, when he brought the wedding gifts", whereupon these are enumerated, and after their enumeration it is said in 6₂ and 7₁₅ *nig-sal-uš-sa* ^{dingir}*ba-u* "(these were) Bau's wedding gifts"¹. In another passage it is said about Gudea: *e-PA e-ub-imin-na-ni mu-na-dū ša(g)-ba nig-sal-uš-sa* ^{dingir}*ba-u nin-a-na-ge si-ba-ni-sa-sa*, "Epa, the temple of the seven zones, has he built, and therein placed Bau's wedding gifts"². And that the holy wedding of Ningirsu and Bau is here referred to as in Cyl. B may be seen from Stat. G 2₁—₇ . . . *nig-sal-uš-sa ša(g)-ḥul-la* ^{dingir}*nin-gir-su-ge* ^{dingir}*ba-u dumu-an-na dam-ki-aġ-ni mu-na-ta-aġ-ge* . . ., "after Ningirsu had (with) a joyful heart given Bau, his beloved wife, wedding gifts . . .",

¹ Parallel passages are Stat. G 3₅—₇; 4₁₈; 6₁₈.

² Stat. D 2₁₁—₃₂.

this passage following directly upon Gudea's allusion to his erection of the Epa temple in Stat. G 111—18.

5. Death and Lamentation — Resurrection and Rejoicing.

Special interest has centred round this part of the akîtu festival, yet no one has ever attempted to give a comprehensive account of what we learn from the material. Prompted partly by Fr. Delitzsch' Babel-Bibel lecture of Jan. 13th 1902, and partly by A. Drews' *Die Christusmythe* (Jena, 1910), brief notices have appeared in the German scientific literature dealing with the Orient both by scholars¹ and laymen², stating that the Zagmuk (or akîtu) festival was Marduk's resurrection festival. The investigation of the material to which we shall now proceed will show, however, that no level-headed scholar will be led to draw any conclusions as to the death and succeeding resurrection of Marduk from the material published before VAT 9555 (in *KTAR*, I. 1915—19). With Zimmern rests the credit of having first called attention to VAT 9555 in wider circles by his transcription and translation in *ZBN*, II. (1918), but instead of subjecting this interesting text to further fruitful study, he at once becomes absorbed in the attempt, so full of interest to a former period, of drawing a parallel between its contents and the Gospel account of Jesus of Nazareth³. Even if one is convinced that the mythical account of the birth and passion of Jesus contained in the Gospels has drawn upon a common Oriental stock of legends, to which the Babylonian civilization has not added the least important

¹ Cf. e. g. H. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel nach ihrem religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang*, Berl. 1903, pp. 39—43.

² Cf. e. g. M. Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland in den orientalischen Religionen und ihr Verhältnis zum Christentum*, Tüb. 1908, p. 13 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, I. Reihe, 16. Heft).

³ *ZBN*, II. pp. 11—13.

contribution, these mechanical combinations, whether found in the works of P. Jensen, H. Winckler, E. Stucken, A. Jeremias, or H. Zimmern, always have a depressing effect on the scholar, and one declines to enter more fully upon such soulless comparisons¹.

What, then, did we know of this central cult action before Zimmern called attention in 1918 to VAT 9555? Above in section D.β. and in Chapter I we saw that the kings proceed to Babylon *i-na ħi-da-a-tu u ri-ša-a-tu*². Thus Sargon says in PJ 140—41 *a-na Babilu ma-ħa-zi (ilu) Bil ilâni i-na i-li-iṣ lib-bi nu-um-mur pa-ni ħa-diš i-ru-um-ma*, of his entry before he takes Marduk's hands and proceeds to *bît akîtu*³, but these expressions are too general for us to draw any conclusions from them. On other occasions too we hear of the rejoicing with which these festivals were attended, e. g. at Ašurbanipal's entry into Arba-ilu after the celebration of the *akîtu* festival at Milkia⁴, or when mention is made of Marduk's entry into Babylon during the reign of the same king, recorded both by himself⁵ and by Šamaš-šum-ukîn⁶. Hence, when we read in a Nabonassar inscription⁷ in l. 14 *a-na a-ki-ti bili-ša* (i. e. Ušur-amâtsu at Uruk) *ħa-diš ina e-ri-bi-ša*, or it is said in K. 9876,

¹ Cf. above p. 9². In a book entitled *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times* (Chic. 1908) Hugo Radau has set forth his theory of a complete similarity between the Babylonian religion and the Christian doctrine of the dying and resurrected Christ. The book is a queer mixture of spurious learning and devoutness. The heading of the second section: *The Essential Doctrine of Babylonian Religion. The Belief in Resurrection*, gives an idea of its character.

² 80—6—17, II 4—10.

³ A parallel passage is found in the Stele II 1—22.

⁴ K. 2674, Rev. I 23.

⁵ S³ 41—42; L⁴ III 15.

⁶ S¹ 1—8.

⁷ Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscr.* II. No. 31.

Obv. 13 [TĪ]N TIR^{ki} (i. e. Babylon) *ri-el-tu ma-la* ^{ilu}*bêlit ki-i kul-lat par-ši*, the rejoicing described in these two passages must no doubt be ascribed to the general mood of festivity of which we heard above in the inscriptions of the kings. But in EJ IV 7—9 we meet with a more definite statement. In this passage we hear that *bît akîtu* is called the abode of rapture and rejoicing, *bît-niġî a-ki-ti ši-ir-ti ša* ^{ilu}*en-lil ilâni marduk ši-kin ħi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti*, and in K. 2711, Rev. 20 it is said of the same temple: [*u*]-*ša-tir nab-niġ-sa bît A-ki-it bît ni-gu-ti*. The last word in this passage means “delight accompanied by music, jubilation or the like”, and it recurs again in DT 83, Obv. 7 in connection with the *akîtu* festival, *ar-aġ ša ba-la-ġi i-sin-ni a-ki-ti liš-ša-kin ni-gu-tu*. From the last three passages we cannot draw any conclusions as to the death and resurrection of Marduk, only this much may be said: if we know that Marduk’s death was celebrated ritually, (and as we shall see, VAT 9555 furnishes evidence to that effect), this cult action could not have been performed in *bît akîtu*, since it is called “the abode of rapture and rejoicing”. Even though our examination of the passages referring to rejoicings and similar expressions has shown us nothing about the ritual resurrection of Marduk, it has, as we shall see in section F., been of value for our knowledge of the order of succession of the individual ceremonies,

Of Marduk’s resurrection we have no evidence. In 1900 P. Jensen advanced the conjecture¹ that the real meaning of the verb *tibû* was “aufstehen, sich erheben”, connecting herewith *tabû* in the sense of a noun “Auferstehung”, while he pointed out that the Babylonian New Year’s Feast was an “Auferstehungsfest, ein Fest des Aufstehens

¹ *KB*, VI.1. p. 306.

nach vorhergehendem Schlafe oder Siechtum oder Tode" to Marduk, "die Frühlingssonne". In this he is followed by e. g. Zimmern¹, Hehn², and Langdon³, who do not, however, enter more fully into the matter. We shall therefore be obliged to examine more closely the passages in which the words occur. To begin with we will point out that the usual sense of *tibû* is "to rise, get up (from a seat), advance⁴, set out", also "to rise against", cp. the noun *tibû*, "assailant, enemy", which has also the sense "the act of rising, advance, arrival", and that we do not know with certainty whether *tabû* is derived from the same root as *tibû*⁵. Now, in the preceding part we saw in numerous passages that the verb commonly used in connection with Marduk's procession from Esagila along the procession street to *bît akîtu* is *ašû*⁶, but in the letters, as Behrens⁷ has pointed out, besides this verb⁸ we also meet with *tibû*. Thus we read in K. 174, Obv. 8—12 *iḫ-ti-bi ma-a ûmu 15^{kam} lu-ši-ib ma-a ûmu 22^{kam} li-it-bi*, "he said: on the fifteenth day he must take his seat, on the twenty-second day rise", the dating and context show that it is not the *akîtu* festival which is here referred to, and in K. 470, Obv. 5—12 we have: *ša kal-bi mi-i-ti a-na-ku šarru be-li-a u-bal-liḫ-an-ni ilâni^{mes} ša šarri it-te-bu-u i-sin-nu i-tip-šu šulmu a-na ma-aš-šar-ti ša e-kur*, "when I was a dead dog, the

¹ *KAT*³ (1902), p. 371 with some doubt; *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (1903), p. 42 without hesitation.

² *BA*, V. pp. 255 f.

³ *VAB*, IV. p. 115¹.

⁴ Cf. e. g. Nabon. 85—4—30, 2, II 10 and the expression *tibû arki*, "to follow after (some one)".

⁵ Jensen's analogy *ḫahû*, "to approach", for *ḫihû*, shows nothing.

⁶ Cf. e. g. Sarg. Ann. 309; Nabon. Ann. II 6. 11. 20.

⁷ *ABBr.* pp. 31—32.

⁸ Cf. e. g. K. 822, Obv. 10; K. 1234, Obv. 8.

king bestowed life on me; the king's gods have risen and prepared a feast. Peace be with the guardian of the temple". In the first of these two passages *tibû* merely contrasts with *ašâbu*, "to sit down", and in the second passage the plural of the subject and the verb attests that there is no question of a resurrection (from the dead), but of a general departure of the gods starting to prepare for the feast. Hence Behrens, *op. cit.* pp. 31—32 rightly rejects the sense "rise (from the dead)" for the verb *tibû*, which, in a passage in *Enuma eliš*, we find in the plural form *te-bu-u-ni* construed with *i-du-uš Ti-amat*¹ in the sense of "stand beside, accompany".

There remains the word *tabû* which we meet with in three passages in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings and in two passages in the letters. In Neb. EJ VII 23—25 we read: *i-na i-si-nim zaq-mu-ku ta-bi-e ilu^uenlil ilâni ilu^umarduk i-ru-bu a-na ki-ir-bi bâbili^{ki}*, and we read an almost identical statement in Neb. 85—4—30, 1, I 48—49. In Nerigl. IR 67, I 33—38 in a similar connection we hear the following: *parak ši-ma-a-ti ša ki-ri-ib e-zi-da [ša i-na] za-am-mu-[ku] ri-e-ša ša-at-ti [a-na i-sin-ni a]-ki-ti ta-bi-e ilu^uen-lil ilâni ilu^umarduk [ištu bar-sip^{ki} i]-t-ṭi-ḥu a-na ki-ri-ib bâbili^{ki} [ilu^unabû su]-la u na-a-ri ša ba-bi-lam^{ki} [i-ra]-am-mu-u ši-ru-uš-šu*. We see here that the akîtu festival is called *tabû ilu^umarduk*, "Marduk's *tabû*". The same appears from the letters, but the context does not further enlighten us². Nothing warrants the conclusion that *tabû* should in these five passages mean "(Marduk's) resurrection (from the

¹ I 109; III 19.

² K. 673, Rev. 13—14 ... *a-di pa-an ta-bi-e ilu^ubêl* ...; Bu 91—5—9, 90, Obv. 6 ... *[i]-ḫab-bi um-ma ša ta-bi-e ili* ... "The god" of the last passage is probably Marduk, as Babylon is mentioned further on in the text.

dead)”; from the various senses of the verb *tibû* we cannot draw any such conclusion concerning a noun that may possibly belong to it. On the other hand, if we tacitly assume that *tibû* and *tabû* are derived from the same root, there is every probability that, in the above-cited five passages, *tabû* means “arrival, advance” (in a technical, cultural sense), that is to say, “advance” (from Esagila along the procession street to *bît akîtu*), since this is the principal external action of the *akîtu* festival, the great moment when Marduk shows himself to all¹. There is, however, the possibility that *tabû* may be a special, cultural expression which must remain obscure to us because we do not know the etymology of the word. But if we maintain that it is connected with *tibû*, we must admit that our texts afford no evidence of any “resurrection (from the dead)”, but in that case the word *tabû* must refer to the event which was universally felt to be the chief event of the *akîtu* festival, viz. Marduk’s procession to *bît akîtu*. The final result from a linguistic point of view will then be that *ašû* and *tibû* (*tabû*) are parallel terms, the former being the most frequent in the texts describing Marduk’s procession.

The results of the above examination of the evidence concerning the rejoicing and Marduk’s resurrection need not, however, nullify the fact itself. And it is only necessary to have either the resurrection or the death confirmed by the texts, one being an inevitable consequence of the other. To begin with we will therefore examine more

¹ The obscure expression *ina namari-ma* in Pinches, Col. D 8–11 *aš-šu úmi ina namari-ma* ^{ilu}*a-num* u ^{ilu}*en-lil ultu uruk^{ki} u nippur^{ki} . . . ana ša-bat kâtâ^{ll} . . .* ^{ilu}*bêl ana bâbili^{ki} il-la-ku-nim-ma*, points in the same direction, presumably; the appearance here alluded to is probably Marduk’s annual appearance, in the procession, when he is visible to the whole people.

closely what we know of a ritual lamentation associated with the akîtu festival, and thereupon what evidence we have pointing to a ceremony of death with Marduk as the central figure. In the scientific literature we do not lack statements alleging that the akîtu festival is a death festival. In its broad features the Babylonian New Year's Feast is compared with the Persian Sacaea or the Jewish Purim, Berossus is quoted (after Athenaeus)¹, or parallels from the Greek Anthesteria, the Persian farwardîgân or the New Year's Feast of the Yezidis are adduced.² In the textbooks we find the statement that the akîtu festival commemorates Marduk's resurrection and death and is accompanied by a ritual lamentation³.— Now as regards the latter P. Jensen pointed out in 1900⁴ that the word *nubattu* meant "death lament"⁵. That the second character must be read *-bat-*, and not e. g. *-bit-* or *-mid-* is rendered probable by the proper name *Ardu-nu-ba-at-ti*⁶. Now in several passages Marduk is called *bêl nu-bat-ti*, thus in Maqlû, II 157; VII 19—20 *ina qi-bit^{il} [Marduk] bêl nu-bat-ti u^{il} Marduk [bêl] a-ši-pu-ti*, and in Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) IX 9—12 *ina^{arhu} abi arah^h kaḳḳab kašti ma-rat^{ilu} sin ka-rit-tu ūmu III^{kam} nu-bat-tu ša šar ilâni^{meš} ilu^{il} marduk ul-tu^{alu} di-maš-ka at-tu-muš*. From IV R* 32—33 we further see that the third, seventh and sixteenth days of Ulûlu and Arahsamna are *nubattu* days. This taken in conjunction with the reference to *nubattu* in Ab in the Ašurbanipal passage *a priori* renders it little probable that the sense of

¹ Cf. Meissner, *ZDMG*, L. p. 297.

² Cf. Brockelmann, *ZDMG*, LV. p. 390.

³ Cf. *KAT*³, p. 371.

⁴ *KB*, VI.1. p. 446.

⁵ So also Zimmern, *KAT*³, p. 371; Hehn, *BA*, V. pp. 285 f.

⁶ Cf. *BE*, XV. p. 27.

nubattu is "death lament". It is hardly probable that such a lament should take place in three other months besides in Nisan at the *akîtu* festival. It would be strange too if a death lament were mentioned in the case of other months but not in the case of Nisan if it was one of the principal events of the *akîtu* festival. Now Behrens has done the meritorious work of going through the letter material with reference to the word *nubattu*¹. We find that it occurs in two principal senses, 1) "evening", 2) "rest, quiet, festive evening, day of rest, festive day". Only in one passage, the one on which Jensen originally based his conjecture, does it seem possible to render it "day of lamentation". In K. 4397, 13—14², we read: [*ûm*] *nu-bat-ti* | *ûm i-dir-ti*, both put equal to [*ûm k*] *i-is-pi* | *bu-ub-bu-lum*. This renders it a probable assumption that the real sense of *nubattu* is "day of rest", and that it has assumed the secondary sense of "day of lamentation, death lament". It is not Marduk's title of *bêl nu-bat-ti*, nor the probable rendering of K. 4397 which induces us to draw this conclusion. It is partly the strange fact that in the vocabulary K. 6012 + K. 10684, which is a list of the holy festival days of the normal month, *nubattu* is not given, as we should have expected from the statement in IVR*32—33, and partly the circumstance that in Mandæan we have a noun *nūmbi*²*A*, and a nom. act. *n'Amb'Ai*²*A*²*A* derived from it, in the sense "lament, ritual death lament"³, which is no doubt a loanword. But this, I think, is as far as we can get. The attempts that have been made to explain the real

¹ *ABBr.* pp. 101—07.

² Parallel with II R 32, 13 ab.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *MG*, p. 266¹; Pallis, *MS*, p. 75¹.

sense of *nubattu* from its etymology¹ carry little conviction. Like Nöldeke I am not sure of the Semitic origin of the word, and the etymology suggested by Hommel would demand the celebration of a Sacred Marriage between Marduk and Zarpanitum in Ab, Ulûlu, and Arahšamna, besides at the akîtu festival, which is very improbable.

We must thus frankly admit that the investigation of the word *nubattu* has brought us no information of a ritual lament for the death of Marduk at the akîtu festival. What we know of a ritual death lament at the akîtu festival is hereafter limited to two testimonies. The first of these is rather problematic. It was touched upon above in pp. 108—110 where we saw that Marduk's *gigunû*, "sepulchre, sepulchral chamber", was probably in Etemenanki. But we strongly emphasize the fact that only the second testimony (VAT 9555) causes us to attach any weight to the statements about Marduk's *gigunû*, for alone these are unable to prove anything. Instead of confining ourselves here to quoting those passages from VAT 9555 which are of value for our argument, we consider it convenient in this place to deal with this most important text as a whole.

VAT 9555 belongs to those Assyro-Babylonian texts which are generally called commentary texts, i. e. texts having the character of commentaries, in which some of the cult actions, and in part certain cult localities, are interpreted mythologically². However, by such a name and

¹ Jensen, *KB*, VI.1. p. 446 supposes that *nubattu* derives from Piel of *nabû*, "calls": *nubbû*, "to complain"; Hommel, *OLZ* 1907, p. 482 < *mubâtu*, "Nachtlager, Hochzeit", with a reference to Arab. *bâta*, *jabîtu*, "die Nacht verbringen", likewise Streck, *VAB*, VII.2. p. 72⁵.

² Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 3, cp. *ZBN*, I. p. 127: Vielmehr haben wir einen recht eigenartigen kommentarähnlichen Text vor uns, der gewisse kultische Handlungen in engste Beziehung zu Mythen setzt.

definition of it we have merely determined the external character of the text. A more thorough perusal of VAT 9555 and a brief comparison with other commentary texts will give us a better idea of the true character of VAT 9555. As far back as 1906¹ Zimmern called attention to a text of a similar character, K. 3476, and adduced other texts which he compared with it, and the statements of which were of great significance for his view of the contents of K. 3476. The whole question being of such great importance we will examine these texts before considering VAT 9555 more closely.

In Sp I 131, Obv. 14—24, we read: *gaššu iddû ša bâba bîti amêlu marši ultappatu gaššu ilu ninib iddû a-šak-ku ilu ninib a-na a-šak-ku i-rad-da-ad zi-šur-ra-a ša irša amêlu marši i-lam-mu-u ilu lugal-gir-ra u ilu šit-lam-la-e-a 3 KU.DUB.DUB ša inaddû ilu a-num ilu en-lil u ilu e-a ušurtu ša ina maḥar irši i-š-ri-ru sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu sugugallû u urudnigkalagû ša ina rēš amêlu marši i-be-en-ni sugugallû ilu a-num urudnigkalagû ilu en-lil kanû urigallê ša ina rēš amêlu marši zu-ug-gu-pu ilu sibitti ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} mârê^{meš} ilu i-š-ḥa-ra šu-nu mašḥuldubbû ša ina rēš irši amêlu marši nadû ilu nin-amaš-azag-ga amêlu rē'u ana ilu en-lil ninkakku gibillû ša ina bîti amêlu marši šak-ni ninkakku ilu azag-šud gibillû ilu nusku.* This passage describes ceremonies performed in order to help a sick person (*amêlu maršu*). First his house-door is painted with *gaššu* and *iddû*, then his bed (*iršu*) is surrounded with *zi-šur-rû*(?) and three bundles of *KU.DUB.DUB* are laid before it. A picture (*ušurtu*) is drawn in front of the bed, probably of a net (*saparu*) with which and in which all that is evil is to be caught (*sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu*, line 18). Thereupon the skin of a bull (*sugu-*

¹ ZBN, I. pp. 127 ff.

gallû) is laid on the patient's head, and powerfully acting copper (*urudniḡkalagû*). Of other means to drive away the *ašakku* demon tormenting the patient are mentioned *kanûurigallê*, which is placed at his head (*ina rêš amêlu marši zug-gu-pu*, l. 21), a kid (*mašḡuldubbû*) which is laid in the top end of the bed (*ina rêš irši amêlu marši nadû*, l. 22), a censer (*niknakku*), and a torch (*gibillû*). Now during its progressive enumeration of the remedies against the *ašakku* demon quoted above, the text states that these are identical with this or that deity. Thus *gaššu* is Ninib, while *iddû* is the *Ašakku*, and the ceremony of painting both on the patient's house-door is said to indicate *ilu nin-ib a-na a-šak-ku i-rad-da-ad*¹. And it is further stated that the three *KU.DUB.DUB* are Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that the skin of the bull is Anu, the copper Enlil, *kanûurigallê* is *ilu sibitti ilâni meš rabûti meš mârê meš ilu iš-ḡa-ra*, the censer is *ilu azag-šud*, and the torch Nusku.

Of quite similar character is K. 4245, Obv. II, in which are mentioned a series of sacred cult objects for use in exorcism, such as cypress wood (for incense, *burâšû*), dyed cotton (*šipâti burrumâti*), a torch (*gibillû*), a censer (*niknakku*), copper (*URUDU.ŠA.KAL.GA*), a bull's skin (*sug-gallû*), *gaššu*, *iddû*, and a live lamb (*LU.TI.LA*) — as we see, partly the same things we heard about in Sp I 131 — and each of these is likewise identified with a deity (e. g. Adad, Ninib, Gibil, Nergal, and several others whose names are not clear to us).

The interpretation of these two texts does not really present any problems. No stress is in any case laid on an actual identification, e. g. of the bull's skin and Anu, and the only explanation possible is that the exorcist states that

¹ Note the Arameism. The text dates from the year 138 B. C.

this or that object is filled with the virtue of this or that god, and in consequence is no ordinary profane object but a most potent holy remedy having power to defeat the *ašakku* demon. On one point only is there any possibility of this clear and simple line of thought having received "a mythological supplement". The picture drawn before the bed in Sp I 131 is said to be a net striking down all that is evil, l. 18 *uṣūrtu ša ina maḥar irši iṣ-ši-ru sa-par-ri šu-u mim-ma lim-nu i-sa-ḥa-pu*. The use of the verb *saḥāpu* reminds one of Marduk's struggle with Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, tablet IV¹. There in ll. 41—44 we hear that Marduk *i-pu-uš-ma sa-pa-ra šul-mu-u kir-biš Ti-amat ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri uš-te-iṣ-bi-ta ana la a-ši-e mim-mi-ša šūtu illānu šadū aḥarrū i-du-uš sa-pa-ra uš-tak-ri-ba ki-iš-ti abi-šu*^{ilu} *A-nim*, and it is mainly by means of this net that Tiamat is defeated². Hence I do not consider it precluded that the drawing of the *saparu* before the bed of the sick man has a particular meaning; it is an allusion to the scene in *Enuma eliš* describing Marduk's subjugation of the evil powers, and as such has of course great magic significance. The drawing of the net possesses divine (Marduk) virtue. But there is nothing unusual in mythological scenes from *Enuma eliš* being employed as components in the magic circle which the exorcist draws round the sick person in order to further the cure. Precisely because Marduk, as recorded in *Enuma eliš*, once at the dawn of time subdued the evil demons, reduced their power, and created the world, precisely for that reason he is the chief deity always invoked by the exorcist to defeat the evil spirits plotting against men. This is best seen by a study of the

¹ L. 106.

² IV 93—106.

two great series of exorcisms, Maqlû and Šurpu¹. Thus in a text which is a spell against the demon of toothache, the object of which is a cure for the assaults of this demon on man², we find in the introduction a recitation of a creation story. Anu is the creator. And a quite similar line of thought asserts itself when, at the close of a ritual text employed at the reconstruction of a temple³, we find a recitation of a creation story⁴. It is simply a magic ceremony to keep away the disturbing influence of the demons during and after the erection of the temple, and to bear witness to the might and power of the gods. Hence we must strongly emphasize that in principle there is nothing either in Sp I 131 or K. 4245 to distinguish these texts from the other well-known magical texts, so that it will be best to give up the name "commentary texts" or the like.

Of quite a different character, on the other hand, are K. 3476 and VAT 9555. In both these texts we have a description of certain cult actions unconnected with magic spells against the demons of sickness or misfortune, and which are interpreted mythologically. None of them shows in what connection the ceremonies were performed, but as they have nothing to do with the Assyro-Babylonian ritual of exorcism, which was highly differentiated, it is true, but was nevertheless fundamentally quite uniform, it is a probable inference that these two texts describe sacred cult actions at some important festival, what festival we

¹ For a more detailed account of these two collections see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 44—46.

² 55547.

³ BE 13987.

⁴ Ll. 23—39; it opens as follows: *e-nu-ma ilu-a-nu ib-nu-u šamêe* . . .

can only attempt to conjecture after having examined more closely the contents of the texts.

Many passages in K. 3476¹ are obscure to us, partly because the text, both at the beginning and the close, has come down to us in a very fragmentary condition, but partly also because several of the expressions are difficult owing to their rare occurrence in the literature, and because the briefness and condensed style of the whole text prevent us from supplementing by associations various passages, for our better understanding of certain words. Considered as a whole K. 3476 is, however, clear enough. A series of sacred cult actions are enumerated, each of them followed by a mythological interpretation. The style of the text is, as Zimmern² has pointed out, of great antiquity, we have to go as far back as the Gudea texts to find parallels in style, and as we see from the contents of VAT 9555, we can hardly venture to call K. 3476 a unique text. No doubt Assyro-Babylonian religious literature contains several of these texts, which it would be an interesting task to collect.

The beginning, Obv. 1—2, of K. 3476 is badly preserved, and it is hardly worth while introducing too extensive conjectural emendations here. Thereupon follows, in Obv. 3, the cultual act of kindling the fire³, which is interpreted as follows, "it is Marduk who, in his childhood" ⁴, but the rest has been broken off. The text seems to have referred to some deed performed by Marduk in his early years, but this is merely a conjecture. From the cult act we gain no information that can enlighten us. This applies

¹ Cf. Plates V—VII.

² ZBN, I. p. 129.

³ [*i-ša-]tu ša i-ka-du-ni.*

⁴ *ilu marduk šu-u ša ina šiḫḫriⁱ-šu*

not only to Obv. 3, but to the whole text. On the whole there seems to be no connection between the cult action and the interpretation of it but a single association of ideas, that is to say, if culturally something is burnt, this act may be interpreted in many different ways, but in any case it must be in such a way that the central point in the mythological story indicated (the interpretation) must contain something about the powerful (burning, injuring, and destructive) effect of the fire. And if a cult act is performed in which something (some one) is broken, it may be interpreted mythologically as the destruction by one deity of another (a demon). In other words — and it is highly important for our understanding of the cult to make this clear to ourselves — the cultual acts are no mimic representation of the mythological phenomena. But before we can express any opinion on the relation between cult and myth in K. 3476, or whether or not a single myth comes into play throughout, we must acquaint ourselves more closely with the cult actions described separately in the text, and their interpretations.

In Obv. 4 it is mentioned that somebody (the subject is missing) flings burning darts high into the air¹, that is *ilâni^{meš} abê^{meš}-šu aḥê^{meš}-šu šu-nu ki-i iš[-mu-u]* Here, again, the continuation is wanting, and we hear nothing of what the gods, Marduk's fathers and brothers, heard. In Obv. 5—6 almost the entire description of the cult act is missing, we have only *ilâni^{meš} u-na-aš-ša-ḫu*, which is interpreted "Marduk, whom Bêlit in his childhood lifted up and kissed"². L. 7—8 have "the fire which leaps up before

¹ [šā]-kiš ki-la-te i-maḥ-ḫa-šu.

² *ilu marduk šu-[u] [ilubê]tit ina šiḫiriⁱ-šu inaši-ma u-na-ša-ḫu-[šu].*

Bêlit, the lamb (*šu²u*) which is laid on the brazier (*kinûnu*) and which the fire (literally [*ilu bil-gi*] burns up", that is Kingu whom the fire burns up¹. The cult action following hereupon, *išu zi-ka-a-le ša ištu libbi kinûni u-ša-an-ma-ru*, "burning darts sent out of the brazier", which perhaps merely denotes that flames lick the sides of the brazier, is explained in somewhat more detail in Obv. 9—13; merciless darts are sent from the quiver of Bêl² (or Marduk³), spreading terror (*puluhtu*) and killing the strong (*dan-nu i-ni-ru*). The gods, his fathers and brothers⁴, come out (to his aid), and the hostile gods Zû and Ašakku are bound⁵. Hereupon follow a number of ceremonies performed by the king (*šarru*). In the first (in Obv. 14) he holds something over his head and burns up a kid⁶, that is *ilu marduk šu-u ša išu bêlê^{meš}-šu⁷ ina muḥ-ḥi-šu iššû^u mârê^{meš} ilu bêl ilu ea ina girri i[k-mu-u?]* (Obv. 15). It is important

¹ *ilu kin-gu šu-u ki-i ina išâti i-ka-mu*

² *mul-mul-li la pa-du[-ti] ša išu iš-pat ilu bêl.*

³ Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 131³, supposes that *ilu bêlu* is Marduk here. It is impossible to form any conclusive opinion on this, but we call attention to the fact that in other parts of the text we have *ilu marduk* (Obv. 3. 4. 15. 16. 17. 19. 25), while *ilu bêlu* in Obv. 15 and 24 is hardly Marduk. The same may be supposed to apply to Obv. 9—13, since Zû is alluded to in Obv. 13 as one of foes of *ilu bêlu*. For above in p. 188³ in one of the Babylonian myths, we have seen that there is antagonism between Enlil (Bêl) of Nippur and Zû. The reference in Obv. 9 to *mul-mullu* which, in *Enuma eliš*, is one of Marduk's most important weapons in his contest with Tiamat, taken in conjunction with the whole description of the contest, in Obv. 9—13, in my opinion tends to show that we have here a mingling of Marduk and Enlil myths.

⁴ Cf. Obv. 4, in which the same expression probably refers to Marduk.

⁵ *ilânî^{meš} ilu zu-u ilu a-šak-ku ina libbi-šu-nu šandu*

⁶ *šarru ša DU MA KI ina muḥ-ḥi-šu inaššû^u immeru unîkê^{meš} i-ka-lu*

⁷ From this we may perhaps suppose with Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 135⁵ that *DU MA KI* is an error for *išukak-ki*.

to note here that, in this as in the succeeding ceremonies, the king's action is identified with that of Marduk, but it is less clear how we are to interpret Bêl's and Ea's children (or sons). They seem to be Marduk's antagonists here. Like his old enemy Kingu (in Obv. 8) of the creation epic, they are burnt up, but the expression is obscure, since Marduk himself is called Ea's son, e. g. in Maqlû and Šurpu. Next, in Obv. 16, we hear that the king with a certain weapon shatters a *ḥa-ri-u* vessel (?), that is *ilu marduk ša ina u-ša-ri-šu UD ŠAL HI* Unfortunately the mythological interpretation here is quite obscure, and the verb is missing¹, we must therefore withhold our conjecture² that *UD ŠAL HI* is an error for *tam-tim* or *tam-amat*. Emendations of the text convey a clear impression of the emendator's views, but will any conscientious scholar venture to support his argument with a passage in which a modern emendation has been made by himself or others?

In Obv. 17 the king performs a ceremony which is incomprehensible to us, [*šar*]ru ša akal ka-ma-nu *amêtu šangû it-ti-šu u-šar-ka-du*, that is (Obv. 17—18) *ilu marduk ilu nabû šu-[nu] ilu a-num umaṭṭi(?) -šu-ma iš-bir-šu*. Also the mythological interpretation is obscure; Marduk and Nabu, perhaps in conjunction with Anu and another god overwhelm (?) and crush "him", but who "he" is, we are not told. Then, in Obv. 18—20, comes a cultual act in which the king places himself *ina ma-za-si*³, and something, which has been broken off in our text, is laid in the king's hands⁴,

¹ From the verb *i-bat-tu-u* in the cultual part we might conjecture *ik-mu-u* here.

² Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 135⁷.

³ Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 133¹ and 82—5—22, 168, Rev. 8 *a-na amêtu ma-za-si pa-ni*.

⁴ *ina kât šarri šaknu^{uu}*.

while the priest (^{amêlu}*zammaru*) chants a hymn beginning with the words ^{ilu}*na-mur-ri-tu*. This is interpreted to signify that Marduk lies (?) before (?) Ea, while the star of Venus (^{kakabu}*dil-bat*) *ina mahri-šu*, but is quite incomprehensible to us — perhaps it refers to certain astronomical conditions ¹. After a ceremony which is very badly preserved, and the interpretation of which is obscure, follows a cult act in Obv. 22—26, the central figure of which is ^{amêlu}3.*HU.SI*; he holds in his hand a sweet fig (*tittu* ² *ṭâb-tu*) and enters the presence of the god with it ³. This would seem to indicate that the ceremonies referred to in the text take place in the *parakku* or *papaḫu* of a temple. Here he shows the fig to the god and the king ⁴; the latter, we may thus perhaps suppose, has been in the presence of the god during the performance of the ceremonies mentioned in Obv. 14—20. The mythological interpretation of this ceremony in Obv. 24—26 is not quite clear to us, as the beginning which must have referred to the acting person is missing. The interpretation implies that someone *ana* ^{ilu}*bêl i-ṭar-ra-du-šu umaṭṭi(?)*-*šu*, then (takes) Nergal's hand ⁵, and thereupon enters Esagila and shows the weapon he is holding in his hand to Marduk and Zarpanitum who kiss and bless it ⁶. The last cult action described on the Obverse, (the text on the Reverse being quite fragmentary and making no sense), deals in ll. 27—29 with a ceremony performed by the *kurgarû* priests ⁷. It is not clear

¹ Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, I. p. 133 ³.

² For the reading of *GIŠ.MA* cf. Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII. pp. 952 f.

³ *ina pân ili u-še-rab-šu*.

⁴ *tittu ṭâb-tu ana ili u šarri u-kal-lam*.

⁵ ^{ilu}*nergal ḫât-su-u(?) iṣ(?)*-

⁶ [*ana e-sa*]*k-kil êrub-ma* ^{isu}*kakku ḫâtâ^{II}-šu a-na* ^{ilu}*marduk šar ilâni^{meš}*
u ^{ilu}*šar-pa-[ni-tum]* [*u*]*kal-lim-ma u-na-aš-ša-ḫu-šu-ma i-kar-ra-[bu-šu]*.

⁷ On these, see above pp. 145—46.

where it takes place as we are not sure of the meaning of *tu-ša-ri* (Obv. 27) but it is said that they rejoice and make merry¹. Wherein their merriment consists is seen from the words [*ki-]la-te i-maḥ-ḥa-ṣu ia-ru-ra-te*, they throw burning darts, kindle fires, perhaps they also fight with each other². All this is interpreted in Obv. 30—32 to mean that they are those (here again the subject is unfortunately missing) who cried out against Bêl and Ea, and who poured out their radiance against them³. It is impossible to decide whether Bêl and Ea or the unknown persons are the subject of *it-bu-ku*, but if the mythological interpretation has referred to a contest between Bêl and Ea on one side and “they” on the other side, it is probable that the last sentence in Obv. 32, *meš-šu-nu u-bat-ti-ḫu a-na apsê [iddû]*, must be translated thus, “they (i. e. Bêl and Ea) cut off their X and cast these (or them) into the sea.”

After we have now gone through the contents of K. 3476, a number of important questions at once present themselves. On considering more closely the mythological interpretations we ask whether we are here confronted with one single myth presented in fragments or with allusions to several myths. We can answer at once that this is impossible to decide merely on the basis of the fragments with which the text acquaints us. Too much is missing here and there for us to draw any final conclusion, and a comparison with the Assyro-Babylonian myths known to us which have been preserved in their entirety does not

¹ Cf. the verb *i-ma-li-lu* and the noun *me-il-ḫu*.

² Cf. the obscure passage in Obv. 29 *ša a-ḥa-meš i-ma-taḥ-u-ma u-ša-aṣ-ba-ru*.

³ *meš-e-šu-nu-ma ša ina eli ilu^bbêl ilu^eea ri-ig-mu [me-l]-am-me-šu-nu ina muḥ-ḥi-šu-nu it-bu-ku*

help us. We may point out that contests between gods and other beings are often mentioned in K. 3476 (Obv. 9—13. 15. 16. 17. 30—32), and that Marduk bears the chief part in these while Kingu, who is Marduk's main antagonist in *Enuma eliš*, is burnt in Obv. 8¹, and several gods, called Marduk's fathers and brothers, now and then rally round him (Obv. 4. 12). But, since these features might call to mind the general plan of *Enuma eliš*, we must further point out that Tiamat is not mentioned, but Zû and Ašakku are the antagonists of Marduk and the other deities, and that the account of Ea (Obv. 18—20) and the reference to Bêl and Ea's *mârê^{mes}* as the antagonists of Marduk in Obv. 15, and the ceremony with the unknown person entering into the presence of Marduk and Zarpanitum in Esagila (Obv. 24—26) all seem to belong to quite different stories. The words at the beginning of the text alluding to certain events of Marduk's childhood also seem to point to another cycle of myths. In addition to this we must further point out that we do not know whether the order of the ceremonies given in the text is determined by the accompanying myth (provided, that is, that there is only one myth, or at any rate one connected cycle of myths with Marduk as the central figure), or whether the various cult acts have merely been interpreted mythologically at a later period. A consideration of the cultural acts mentioned in the text cannot help us, there is too little variation and connection in the ceremonies described. In other words, we are now confronted with the fundamental problem, referred to above in pp. 192,

¹ This event, which is not mentioned in *Enuma eliš*, is perhaps alluded to in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 22. Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 21¹.

213—14 of the relation in this particular case between the cult and the myth (or the cycle of myths, or perhaps the various myths). If we were dealing with a quite primitive culture, I should not hesitate to express an opinion on this relation, for in that stage of culture the myth is always subsequent to and absolutely dependent on the cult on all central points, but I never feel quite safe when confronted by the possibility of the intervention of a priesthood, thousands of years old. Even though the interpretation of such a priesthood must of course be based on the cult and be dependent on its acts, it will nevertheless be a difficult case to decide on, because in Babylon we can never, we must almost say, get behind the urban civilization. Hence we cannot, on the basis of what we have gathered from this one text, say anything conclusive about this important problem, but we shall return to the subject after we have examined the contents of VAT 9555 more closely. — Finally we may ask what cult K. 3476 describes. The text tells us nothing, we must therefore go by internal evidence. We saw above in p. 217 that certain cult acts probably took place in the *papaḫu* or *parakku* of some temple in the presence of Marduk and Zarpanitum (Obv. 23). The idea of Ekua naturally suggests itself, and as Obv. 25 mentions Esagila in the mythological interpretation of this passage, we may perhaps see in this a corroboration of our conjecture¹. When I further assume that the cult described in K. 3476 in Esagila's Ekua is a part of the akītu festival, I base this solely on the fact that the king (*šarru*) is identical in Obv. 14—19 with Marduk, taking

¹ This, however, only refers to the scene of action in Obv. 24—26, which we said above in p. 219 had no connection with the rest. The scene of the actions mentioned in Obv. 14—20 is undoubtedly *bīt akitu*, cp. Chapter IV's investigation and results.

this in conjunction with the evidence of K. 1356, but I shall deal with this in more detail in Chapter IV.

We now turn our attention to VAT 9555. This long text (abt. 76 lines) is much broken in various places, but a duplicate, VAT 9538, allows us to supplement Obv. 27—Rev. 13 on essential points¹. Several points are difficult to understand, but the principle is the same as that mentioned during our investigation of K. 3476. First a cult act is described, then follows a mythological interpretation of it. The beginning is so dilapidated that a tolerably connected text does not occur until Obv. 4. Here we are told that some person asks: *man-nu u-še-ša-aš-šu*, “who leads him out?” In Obv. 5 (of which, however, the beginning is broken off) this is interpreted as follows: [i]l-lak-u-ni u-še-ša-aš-šu-ni. In Obv. 6 most of the cult act has been broken off, we are merely told that someone goes along², that is *a-na hur-sa-an šu-u il-lak*. This is likewise the case with Obv. 7 where of the cult act we merely have il-lak-u-ni, that is “the house at the edge of the mountain in which he is questioned.”³ From these introductory passages the situation appears pretty clear; some one is kept imprisoned or confined in “the mountain”, a messenger is sent to set him free. As far as we can judge from the fragments preserved, the mimical representation of the cult action seems to cover the myth, which is the opposite of what was the case in K. 3476⁴. The person who is quest-

¹ Cf. Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 3¹ and his transcription *op. cit.* II. pp. 14—20, and above p. 27¹. Fragments of duplicates of VAT 9555 are found in the British Museum (K. 9138 and Rm 275) which shows how widely the text was spread. See Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIV. pp. 88—89; Langdon, *EC*, pp. 51—52, 212—13.

² [i]-ra-kab-u-ni.

³ *bītu šu-u ina eli šap-te ša hur-sa-an ina libbi i-ša'-u-lu-šu.*

⁴ Cf. above p. 214.

ioned at the edge of "the mountain" can only be the messenger on his way to the underworld¹. Obv. 8 is very important because it shows us clearly what cult festival VAT 9555 describes. From the description of the cult ceremony we have only the fragment^{ki} *il-lak-an-ni*, and perhaps the remains of a *sip* preceding ^{ki}, but the interpretation of the ceremony leaves us in no doubt as to what has been broken off in Obv. 8. It runs as follows: *a-na šul-me ša abi-šu ša ša-bit-u-ni šu-u il-la-ka*, "he comes on account of his father's well-being, (his father) who is kept a prisoner." The words *abi-šu* leave us in no doubt that [^{ilu}*nabû ša ištu* ^{alu}*bar-*] should be supplied before *sip*^{ki}. For, as we saw above in p. 194 Nabu is called Marduk's son, and thus in Obv. 8, which is entirely borne out by Obv. 24, we have a proof that it is the akîtu festival which is referred to here and in the following, for it is on that occasion that Nabu of Borsippa comes to Babylon².

Obv. 9 mentions somebody (the subject is missing) *ša ina su-ka-ka-a-te i-du-lu-u-ni*, they run about the streets, they seek Marduk³. Thus it is he who is kept a prisoner in "the mountain". They cry: "Where is he kept imprisoned?"⁴ Obv. 10 has: Some (women) stand with hands stretched out⁵, they are those who are praying to Sin and Šamaš, ^{ilu}*bêl bul-lî-[su]*⁶, "call Marduk to life!" Obv. 11

¹ Zimmern, *ZBN*, II. p. 12 identifies the person questioned with Marduk by which the situation becomes a parallel to the trial of Jesus before Pilate. This conception only holds good for the parallel with the New Testament, it is supported neither by the myth nor by the cultual action where the wandering is continued (*il-lak-u-ni*).

² Cf. above pp. 75—76, 122.

³ ^{ilu}*bêl u-ba²-u-ma*.

⁴ *a-a-ka ša-bit*.

⁵ . . . *ša ka-tâ¹¹-ša tar-ša-a-ni*.

⁶ < *bul-lî-šu*.

refers again to a cultual wandering, probably to some gate or door. It is "the funeral gate to which she goes, seeking him"¹, and in Obv. 12 we hear that some who are standing at [*bâb*] *ša e-sag-ila* are guards keeping watch upon Marduk. The cult ceremony in Obv. 13 is almost entirely broken off, the important interpretation reads as follows: "After the gods have imprisoned him, he has disappeared from life, into prison, away from the sun and light, they have let him descend"² (Obv. 13—14). The cult act described in Obv. 15 is obscure, we have: *ša ina šapli-šu [ik]-tar-ri-bu ša lab-bu-šu-ni*, which is interpreted: "wounds with which he has been wounded, in his blood [he lies ??]"³. Obv. 16 has: a goddess (i. e. a priestess representing a goddess, for the beginning of Obv. 16 describes the cult act) sits wailing by his side⁴, that is "for the sake of his well-being she has descended (gone there?)"⁵.

Now follows a very difficult passage in Obv. 17—19. The beginning of Obv. 17 has been broken off, but I consider it very doubtful whether, as Zimmern will have it, it has read *mâr ilu aš-šur*. For we should then have absolute identity of the person acting in the cult ceremony and in the myth, but I do not think this is supported by the context. At any rate, some person is referred to as not walking by "his" side⁶, crying amongst other things: "I am no malefactor"⁷. Then follow some cryptic words about "my right" (*[di]-na-ni*), which somebody belonging to *ilu aš-šur*

¹ *bâb ka-bu-raq šu-u tal-lak tu-[ba²]-šu*.

² *a-ki ilâni^{meš} e-si-ru-šu-ni iḫ-ti-liḫ ina lib-bi na[psāti ana bit me]-siri šam-[šu] u(?) nûru ištu lib-bi us-si-ri-du-niš-[šu]*.

³ *mī-iḫ-ši ša maḫ-ḫu-ṣu-ni šu-nu ina dāmē-šu*

⁴ *[il-]tum ša is-[si]-šu kam-mu-sa-tu-ni*.

⁵ *a-na šul-me-šu ta-ta*

⁶ *[š]a is-si-šu la il-[lak]-u-ni*.

⁷ *ma-a la bêl ḫi-iḫ-ṭi a-na-ku*.

has perhaps "explained", literally "opened", to him¹. The mythological interpretation explains that it is *mâr ilu aš-šur*² who does not walk by "his" side, and that he is the guardian who watches over "him", and protects the fortress for "him"³. If we do not, like Zimmern, want to see in Obv. 17—19 a parallel to the thief crucified with Jesus, and to Barabbas who is set free, but bear in mind that all that we have learned in Obv. 1—16 has shown fairly good correspondence between the cultual acts and the interpretation, it is perhaps possible for us to understand this difficult passage. The myth mentions someone who watches over and protects "him", i. e. Marduk, and the fortress. Corresponding to this in the cult ceremony we have that a person "who does not accompany him" says something about being (himself) just and good, perhaps adding that his rectitude is evident to all, or words to that effect. In other words, the guardian says cultually that he is pure and fitted to be the guardian of Marduk, that which *mâr ilu aš-šur* is in the mythological interpretation. In the clauses stating that a person does not accompany "him", Zimmern thinks that "him" is Marduk. I do not think this explanation can be maintained. For the present, at any rate, we must insist that all that we have hitherto learned entitles us to believe that Marduk is imprisoned in "the mountain", wounded and dead, and that this is the most probable supposition, and is confirmed by the succeeding text (cf. e. g. Obv. 23. 27). Now in the preceding part we have heard of various people wandering along,

¹ *ina pa-ni-šu ip-ti-u.*

² Must presumably be understood in a mythical sense and not read "an Assyrian".

³ *ma-šu-ru šu-u ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pa-ḫid alu bir-tu ina muḫ-ḫi-šu i-[na-aš-šar].*

thus the messenger who is questioned (in Obv. 7) before he is allowed to continue on his way, and perhaps this messenger is the "he" of the clauses referred to. Of course such an assumption is problematic, but we must remember that the cultual drama which is gradually unfolded before us, had special technical rites by means of which e. g. a distinction was made between the numerous different persons who set out to seek Marduk, and it is possible that precisely an expression such as [š]a is-si-šu la il-[lak]-u-ni has afforded sufficient explanation to the initiated where we grope in uncertainty to find the right interpretation. Our comprehension of Obv. 17—19 must always remain uncertain¹, because we lack the proper associations which made the whole drama alive to the Babylonian, but at any rate I dare strongly emphasize that this passage has no connection with the mythico-historical narratives of the New Testament, the only thing which Zimmern deals with.

Obv. 20—25 also causes us great difficulties owing to the obscurity of its contents, still I think it possible to arrive at a tolerably correct comprehension of it. Obv. 20 in which the subject is missing has: [ša] ina i^{su}tal-li ša i^{tu}be-lit bâbili^{ki} 'i-la-an-ni, that is that something (or somebody) is hanging on the fastening (or post) of Bêlit-Bâbili's door. Bêlit-Bâbili is probably Zarpanitum and not Ištar in Babylon², we must therefore be in Esagila in Kaduglisug³ or at the door to it. The mythological interpretation in Obv. 20—21 is as follows: *kaḳḳadu ša bêl hi-*

¹ Thus it is curious that we have a guardian mentioned again in Obv. 19 after guardians have been referred to in Obv. 12. Does this show that we are not in Esagila any longer?

² Cf. Ašurb. Ann. (Rassam Cyl.) VIII 98.

³ Cf. above pp. 87—88.

iṭ-ṭi ša is-si-šu i- [i-da-]ku-šu-ni šu-tu ƙaƙƙad-su ina šir [ša] ^{ilu}be-lit bâbili^{ki} e-ta-^[?]lu, “the head of the malefactor who is carried along (?) by his side, he is killed and his head hung on Bêlit-Bâbili’s X.” Because the words *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi* occur both in Obv. 17 and Obv. 20 there is no reason to connect the passage beginning in Obv. 20 with Obv. 17—19; we must recollect too that in Obv. 17 the words are used in connection with the cult, while in Obv. 20 they occur in the mythological interpretation, a difference that is not immaterial. What is cultually hung up in Obv. 20 we unfortunately do not know, but Obv. 24 which we shall soon examine perhaps tends to show that it was an offering of a swine or something similar. Corresponding to this in the myth we have the killing and suspension of something (someone), possibly that (or he) that has caused Marduk’s death. Obv. 22 is much broken, but amongst other incidents a return and wandering to Borsippa is mentioned¹, from which we see that the cultual connection with Borsippa was not limited to Nabu’s arrival from that city. The mythological interpretation in Obv. 23 reads as follows: *ša ^{ilu}bêl ina ħur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni alu ina muḫḫi-^[šu] it-ta-bal-kat ƙa-ra-bu ina libbi-šu*, “(after) Marduk has gone into “the mountain” the city is stirred up for his sake, and fighting (takes place?) in it”. Obv. 24—25 has: *UR^{mes} ša šaḫê^{mes} ša ina maḥar ħarrân ša ^{ilu}nabû ki-i bar-sip^{ki} il-la-kan-an-ni i-ka-ra-bu-ni ^{ilu}nabû ša il-lak-an-ni ina muḫ-ḫi i-za-zu-u-ni im-mar-u-ni*. This is not quite clear, but it seems to refer to part of a swine which Nabu upon his arrival from Borsippa approaches and regards. It is difficult to say how we are to interpret *i-ka-ra-bu-ni*, from the mythological

¹ *a-na bar-sip^{ki} i-sa-ħar-u-ni il-lak-u-ni*.

interpretation it seems precluded that it is the verb *karābu*. This interpretation reads as follows (Obv. 25): "it is the malefactor *ša itti illubēl*," but unfortunately the rest of the sentence (Obv. 25—26) is broken into such little bits that we dare not translate more. The words *bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi ša itti illubēl* should probably be translated as follows: "the malefactor who (is) by the side of Marduk, at Marduk's side"¹, but how are we to interpret that? We must first remember that we are now dealing with the myth, the cult ceremony has a swine in the place of the malefactor and probably (cf. Obv. 20) describes the suspension of parts of it. Since now we do not know the myth about the killing and death of Marduk except from this very text (VAT 9555), as our introductory investigation in this section has shown us², we are of course badly off when we want to understand Obv. 25—26. If we were concerned with a cultual ceremony, we should have a certain right to suppose that *bēl hi-iṭ-ṭi* was a person who was captured and killed in Marduk's place as a representative of Marduk, but we have no right to infer that the transcriber of the text has here confused cult and myth because it would suit us to think so, when we have seen in the preceding part that these two things are kept quite distinct. And Zimmern's theory that it is a criminal who is captured and killed along with Marduk is only supported by the Gospel narrative of the crucifixion of Jesus between two (!) criminals. I admit that I do not consider it possible to establish scientifically in what way or why Jesus of Nazareth was executed. It may possibly have happened simultaneously with the car-

¹ This is not certain, however, since we have an unfamiliar *ittū* in S^b 197.

² Cf. above pp. 200—208.

rying out of other death sentences, or the two thieves may belong to scriptural lore and mythology, but however that may be, I think we should be very careful about reconstructing the Babylonian legend of Marduk's death after the pattern of the New Testament. Hence when we consider Obv. 25, it seems to me most reasonable, if we bear in mind the preceding part of the text, to conceive *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi* as Marduk's slayer, reminding the reader of the fact that in the Egyptian Osiris myth Set, the brother, is the slayer, whereas in the Attis myth it is a boar that kills Attis. Marduk has been captured, wounded and killed. The latter fact is not stated in so many words, it is true, but anyone who is familiar with the mode of expression among all peoples with whom we find a myth of the death of their god, will know the shrinking from and reluctance to mentioning the word "death" in connection with the deity¹. The words referring to Marduk in Obv. 13–14, mentioned by us above, leave us in no doubt, and consequently, someone must have killed Marduk. These considerations would seem to warrant the above-stated conception of *bêl hi-iṭ-ṭi*.

Now comes a series of ceremonies representing a ritual lament for Marduk, and various proceedings with his clothes and belongings. Obv. 27 ^{[amê]lu}*mašmašê^{meš} ša ina pa-na-tu-šu il-lak-u-ni šī-īp-tu i-ma-an-nu-u-ni*, "the exorcising priests who advance before him and pronounce a spell", that is *nīšê^{meš}-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-šu u-na*, "his people wailing (?) by his side". Obv. 28 ^{[am]êlu}*maḥ-ḥu-u ša ina maḥar ilu^{be-lit} bâbili^{ki} il-la-ku-u-ni*, that is ^{amêlu}*mu-pa-si-ru*

¹ I refer the reader e. g. to the inscription on I-cher-nofret's tomb in Abydos, see H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Lpz. 1904 (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, hrsg. von K. Sethe, IV²).

šu-u a-na irtī-ša i-bak-[ki], “the messenger weeping before her”, he brings Zarpanitum the tidings of the slaying of her husband. The messenger recites (Obv. 29): *ma-a a-na ħur-sa-an ub-bu-lu-šu*, and in despair Zarpanitum answers: *ma-a aĥu-u-a aĥu-u-a*, “O my brother, my brother!” Obv. 30 *la-bu-su-šu ša a-na ilu bēlit uruk^{ki} u-še-bal-u-ni*, “his clothes which are brought to Bēlit-Uruk.” That is his robe which is taken away. Obv. 31—33 is so mutilated that we must give up making anything of it, only the first cult action is clearly seen: silver, gold, and (precious) stones belonging to Marduk are carried from Esagila to (other) temples¹. The next more connected section of Obv. 34—38 is badly preserved too, but nevertheless yields important information. In the cultual group we hear of the recitation of liturgical texts before Marduk in order to call him to life again and bring him out of “the mountain”. The first text mentioned is *Enuma eliš*, [*e*]-*nu-ma e-liš* [*ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina maĥar ilu bēl*] *ina arĥu nisanni i-zamur-u-šu-ni ina muĥĥi*, “Enuma eliš which is recited over Marduk, chanted over him in Nisan”, that is *ša ša-bit-u-ni*, “because he is captured”. Other texts mentioned are [*ma-a dam-ka-a-te ša*] *ilu aš-šur šī-na e-la-pa-aš*, “these are Aššur’s beneficent deeds that I performed”, and *ma-a mi-i-nu ĥi-[i-ṭu-a?]*, “what is my sin?” In Obv. 34 it is expressly stated that *Enuma eliš* is recited over Marduk because he is captured (and dead), presumably to reinvigorate and revive him so that he may return from his captivity and death², and in Obv. 37—38 this appears even more plainly. Here we are told that a ceremony is per-

¹ *kašpu lu-u ĥurāšu lu-u abnē^{mes}-šu ša [ištu libbi] e-sag-ila a-na ekurāti^{mes} u-še-šu-u-ni*.

² Cf. the recital among the Mandæans of *maskātās* during Hibil’s journey to the Abyss, see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 76—77.

formed while somebody looks towards the sky¹, and perhaps some formula is recited, that is [*ana illu sin*] *illu šamaš u-šal-la ma-a bul-li-[ta-an-]ni*, “to Sin and Šamaš he prays: (re)call him to life”. In Obv. 38 it is said about a corresponding ceremony consisting in somebody looking towards the ground² that it is done *ša ištu libbi hur-sa-an il-[lak-u-]ni*, “in order that he may come out of the mountain.”

Now follows a long passage very difficult to understand because of its bad state of preservation. In Obv. 39 and 40, where in both cases the beginning of the description of the cult actions is broken off, we hear that Marduk and Zarpanitum do not go to *bīt akītu*³. The corresponding mythological interpretations are disconnected and fragmentary, and where we can make out connected passages, they are unintelligible to us. It is not quite clear what it means that cultually the gods do not go to *bīt akītu*, for as we know, on the tenth of Nisan the great procession to this sanctuary took place⁴. Perhaps the express statement that Marduk and Zarpanitum do not set out, is an attempt to explain that they cannot start yet because Marduk is dead, and not until he has returned to the assembly of the gods can the central actions of the festival be performed. Obv. 42—43 seems to say that Bêlit-Bâbili, i. e. Zarpanitum, cultually carries black wool behind⁵, and in the mythological interpretation we read amongst other things *da-mu ša šur-ri [ša tab-ku-ni]*, “blood from the heart which has been shed”. From this we may perhaps infer that Zarpanitum has washed Marduk’s wounds

¹ [*ša šamê^e i-da-gal-u-ni*].

² [*kaḳ-ḳu-ru i-da-gal-u-ni*].

³ [*illu bêl a-na bīt a-ki-ti la u-šu-ni*].

⁴ Cf. above p. 124.

⁵ [. . . . *RA^{ki} ša šipâti šalmâti ina ku-tal-li-ša-]ni*.

and wiped off the blood that has flowed from them. We get no connected information from Obv. 44—51. In Obv. 44 we are told that a swine is slaughtered on the eighth of Nisan¹; the next lines (Obv. 45—46) mention a *bêl* *hi-î-ti*, and since above in Obv. 24—25 we assumed a connection between the offering of the swine and the slaying of Marduk's murderer, this does not astonish us, but the state of the text is such that we cannot say more than this.

Not until we reach Rev. 1 does the text again become fairly connected. Rev. 1—5 refers to the following ceremony: "hand-water" (*mê^{mes} kâtâ^{II}*) is brought, of which it is said that it removes all disease², and further we are told something that is unintelligible to us about a special robe (*šubâtuše-ir⁻²-i-tu*)³. The water, however, is the main factor in the ceremony. To this corresponds mythologically: [*šu-u ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš iḫ-ti-bu-u*] *ki-i šamê^e iršitim*[^{tim} *la ib-banu-ni an-šar it-tab-ši ki-i alu u bîtu ip-šu-u-ni*] *šu-u it-tab-ši mē^{mes} ša* [*ina muḫḫi an-šar šu-u-tu ša hi-ti-šu ina libbi*] *ka-dam-me šu-tu e-si-ip la mē^{mes} [la-biš]* Thus this is done because it is said in *Enuma eliš* "When heaven (and) earth were not created, Anšar came into existence; when the city and the temple were created water came into existence *ša ina muḫḫi Anšar*", then follow a number of words in which there is no connected sense to us. Thus we miss the point of the myth which must have referred to the power of the water against the evil powers, the water, which was among the first of created things, but it is interesting to see how the cult and myth correspond; the act performed in which the water plays a conspicuous part and the mythical narrative of the waters

¹ [. . . . *ša ûm ḡkam ša arḫu nisanni*] *šaḫû ina pa-ni-ša i-ṭa-[ba-ḫu-ni]*.

² [*mē^{mes} kâtâ^{II} ša u-ḫar-rab-u-ni bi-id ip-lu(?)-ni šu-u di⁻²[-a]*], cf. above p. 170. ³ Cf. above p. 152.

of primordial times are co-ordinated. Another important fact cannot escape our attention. *Enuma eliš* is no fixed concept. To us it means a certain version of the story of the creation, written on the seven tablets from Babylon, in which Marduk is the central figure. Here we see that *Enuma eliš* simply denotes a version of the creation story in general. To the one here mentioned, in which Anšar, who is a minor character in the version on the seven tablets, seems to be a central figure, we have parallels elsewhere (see above p. 187⁵). — Rev. 6 [*li-is-mu ša ina arḫunisan*]ni ina maḥar ^{ilu}bēl u ma-ḥa-za-a-ni [*gab-bu i*], “the foot-race (taking place) before (or in the presence of) Marduk and all *maḥazâni*”¹, that is “when Aššur sent out Ninurta² to capture Zû³ (Ninurta) said to Aššur: Zû has been captured. Aššur (said) to (Ninurta): Go and tell (it) to all the gods. He told (it) them and they (rejoiced) at it”⁴. In these lines (Rev. 7—9) *li-is-mu*, a foot-race, possibly a contest between two different parties in a non-specified place, is thus interpreted by an allusion to the struggle between Zû and Ninurta. The former is captured and Aššur causes this to be announced to the rest of the gods. The last part of the cult act and mythological interpretation of Rev. 6 must probably be sought in Rev. 10—11. Here we see that the talk of the *kalû* priests of robbing him (Zû?) and beating him⁵ is interpreted mythologically as an act

¹ Does this mean anything but “the larger cities”?

² = Ninib, cf. A. Ungnad, *OLZ* 1917, pp. 1 ff.

³ Cf. Langdon, *EC*, p. 19¹ and above p. 188⁵.

⁴ [*ki-i ilu aš-šur ilu nin-urta*] ina muḥḥi ka-ša-di ša ^{ilu}zi-i iš-pur-u[-ni ^{ilu} ina maḥar ^{ilu}aššur iḳ-ṭi]-bi ma-a ^{ilu}Zu-u ka-ši-id ^{ilu}aš-šur a-na ^{ilu}. [*ma-a a-lik a-na ilâ*]ni gab-bu pa-si-ir u-pa-sa-ar-šu-nū u šu-nu ina muḥ-ḥi

⁵ [*da-b*]a-bu gab-bu ša ina lib-bi ^{amēlu}kalē^{mēš} [*ša ḥa-*]ba-a-te ša i-ḥab-ba-tu-šu-ni ša u-šal-pa-tu-šu-ni.

performed by the gods mentioned in Rev. 9¹. Unfortunately the text describing the actions of these gods has been broken off. The arrival of Nusku from Esabe² (Rev. 12), Gula's temple at Babylon, which is probably interpreted as the sending out of Gula³ though we hear no more about it, perhaps belongs to the narrative of Rev. 6—11.

Rev. 13—16 deals with all the cult actions which, according to the mythological interpretation, show us that "he" is imprisoned and a captive. Keeping in mind Rev. 7—9 it might be imagined that "he" was intended to mean Zû, for otherwise the text has returned to the captured (and dead) Marduk who was referred to at the beginning (Obv. 1—29 esp.). I think, however, that this is precluded. A word like *ba-ki-su* (Rev. 16), "his wailing woman", would hardly be used about the rebel Zû, and it is quite easily understood too that the text in Rev. 13 ff. repeats the narrative of Marduk, stating that in spite of all that has taken place in the meantime, he is still kept captive (i. e. is dead). But we shall return to the subject of the cultual and mythical unity of the text later on. Rev. 13 refers to a cultual ceremony in which various objects are taken to Zarpanitum's *bîtu*. This is done because *la u-šar-u-šu-ni la u-šu-u-ni* (Rev. 14), "he is not set free, he does not go out". Rev. 15 ^{isu}*narkabtu ša a-na bît a-ki-it tal-lak-u-ni ta-la-kan-an-ni*, "the chariot dashing up to *bît akîtu*", that is because *bêl-ša la-aš-šu ša la bêli ta-sa-bu*², "its master is not there, it comes charging along without its master". Rev. 16 *u iltu šak-ku-ku-tu ša ištu ali ta-lab-ba-an-ni*, "and the goddess" (i. e. a priestess acting this part), *šakkukutu*,

¹ *šu-u ilâni^{mes} abê^{mes}-šu šu-nu*

² Cf. EJ IV 40; WB, B VI 10; Langdon, EC, p. 46⁵.

³ [*itunus*] *ku ša e-sa-be ib-bir-an-ni amêtu^{amêtu} mâr-šipri šu-u-tu itugu-la ina muh-ḫi-šu ta-šap-pa-ra.*

who out of the city *talabbanni*, that is *ba-ki-su ši-i ištu ali ta-la-bi-a*. Finally in Rev. 17—18 we have the conclusion of the text. The cultual ceremony is very briefly described: *išudaltu bir-ri ša i-ka-bu-u-ni*, “the so-called window-door”, whereas the corresponding mythological interpretation is given at great length. It states that the gods, after Marduk has been confined and has entered the house, the door of which is locked after him, bore holes in the door and cause a fight to take place inside, *ilâni^{mes} šu-nu i-ta-as-ru-šu ina bîti e-tar-ba išudaltu ina pâni-šu e-te-di-li šu-nu hu-ur-ra-a-te ina libbi išudalti up-ta-li-šu ka-ra-bu ina lib-bi up-pu-šu*. The complex myth has a very brief cultual representation at this point, probably it is limited to the presentation of the *išudaltu* referred to in the myth. As regards the myth, it must perhaps be understood as a description of a struggle of the rest of the gods to set Marduk free, presumably resulting in their victory and Marduk’s return to life, but of these last events the text says nothing. — Rev. 19—25 does not actually belong to the text but is a final formula of imprecation against anyone who destroys the tablet. The gods mentioned as the avenging powers in the formula are chiefly Assyrian deities¹, and we are reminded of the fact that VAT 9555 was found during the excavations in Assur.

Having now taken a general view of the contents of VAT 9555, we must examine more closely certain problems associated with our conception of its contents. They are mainly of the same character as those pointed out after our study of K. 3476. We must first consider whether the mythological interpretations, taken in conjunction with the cultual ceremonies, do or do not point in the direction of

¹ Cf. also Rev. 23 *ilâni^{mes} mâtu^{aš}-šur^{ki} ka-li-šu-nu*.

a coherent myth and cult. Our main impression of VAT 9555 is that there is a firm coherence in both. The myth which is most detailed and admits of the clearest insight into the problem, seems everywhere where we can follow it to refer to Marduk's capture and death and the actions of the rest of the gods caused by this; the punishment of the slayer, the lament for the dead god, and the contest with the evil powers, perhaps with the object of releasing Marduk. We have no means of deciding whether the order of the events is strictly chronological, above on pp. 225¹, 233 we have already pointed out that it seems peculiar that guardians are mentioned both in Obv. 12 and Obv. 19, and that the passage in Rev. 13—16 apparently repeats the contents of the beginning of the text; compare also the uniformity in the interpretation of Obv. 39—40 and Rev. 13—15. But we cannot attach sufficient weight to these objections to dismiss the idea of a coherent myth. We know too little, partly of the cultual conditions and the cult topography during the performance of the acts connected with the festival, partly of the special technique during the development of the ceremonial. This may have entailed a repetition of previously performed cult actions in order, amongst other things, to secure continuity throughout the festival. — The objections compelled by a closer examination of Obv. 34 and Rev. 6 are, however, of an entirely different order. In both passages we read *ina arhu nisanni* in the description of the cult ceremonies, denoting partly the time for the recital of *Enuma eliš*, and partly the performance of the *li-is-mu*. Above in p. 222 we saw that the reference to Nabu's arrival (Obv. 8. 24) tends to show beyond doubt that the action described in VAT 9555 takes

place in Babylon¹ and during the akîtu festival. But even taking for granted all these things as probable conjectures, the words *ina arbu nisanni* seem superfluous, and we wonder why precisely this is said about two of the cult actions. One would be apt to think that VAT 9555 contained cultural instructions for the Assyro-Babylonian priesthood with appertaining mythological interpretations, and that only a few (two) of these referred to the akîtu festival. This conception might further be supported by adducing the myth describing the contest between Ninurta and Zû, ending in the defeat of the latter, all according to the commands of Aššur (Rev. 6—12). In this one might see a special Assyrian “Tiamat myth”, keeping in mind the reference to the Assyrian deities in the closing passages (Rev. 19—25). — Our reply to all this must be that no doubt the words *ina arbu nisanni* seem strange, but the mythological interpretation attached to them in Obv. 34 is inseparably connected with the constant dwelling on Marduk’s capture (death) in the preceding and succeeding texts, and in these parts we have no exact indication of time. Hence, when the mythological section about Aššur, Ninurta, and Zû is expressly stated to take place in Nisan and thus presumably at the akîtu festival, we must be permitted to infer that this section of the myth with the cult ceremony corresponding to it (*li-is-mu*) constituted a permanent part of this festival. Probably the incorporation of Assyrian myths in the principal Babylonian festival was a political and religious concession to Assur.

The next question which we must here briefly consider is that of the relation between the cult and the myth. Above in pp. 213—14 we mentioned that in K. 3476 there

¹ Cf. also the reference to Esagila in Obv. 12.

did not seem to be any identity between the cult ceremonies and the accompanying interpretations, but we further pointed out (pp. 219 f.) that the extreme brevity of the descriptions did not enable us to express any well-founded opinion hereon. As already indicated on p. 221, VAT 9555 presents a different and clearer case. Here, apart from Obv. 34—35 and Rev. 17—18 we have throughout what we might, with a somewhat vague term which only claims to give a provisional explanation, call a symbolical identity between the cult action and the accompanying mythological interpretation. A ritual wandering denotes, mythologically, that someone sets out (seeking Marduk), running about the streets (looking for somebody) denotes that someone is looking for Marduk; if wailing takes place at his grave, this means that the gods linger there, lamenting, etc. Here the identity is complete in the relation of man to god. In other parts we have merely a symbolical action (e. g. the sacrifice of the swine and all relating to *bél hi-it-ti*), that is to say, an action of identical character is performed, but by non-identical performers. This part of the cult reminds us strongly of what we learnt in K. 3476, and for the present entitles us to put these two texts in the same class, always bearing in mind, however, that VAT 9555 with its marked dramatic character differs from K. 3476 in essential particulars. VAT 9555 includes large sections of the cult, its ceremonies take place partly in, around, and outside the domains of the temple, while K. 3476 seems to be enacted in a more limited space, probably in part in one of Esagila's and in part in some of *bit akitu's papahâni*. But this merely describes purely external differences between the two texts, by their contents they belong to the same category; they are both cult texts, they both

describe parts of the religious drama which is performed at the akîtu festival and on which we shall dwell at greater length in Chapter IV.

In this connection, while we are examining the Babylonian evidence of Marduk's ritual death festival, we shall merely mention the particulars which we have gathered on this subject from VAT 9555. The above detailed examination of the text has shown us the pronounced dramatic character of the festival¹. Not only has Marduk been

¹ In the Egyptian urban civilization we have also a dramatic death ritual used at the Osiris festivals, cf. A. Wiedemann, *Die Anfänge dramatischer Poesie im Alten Ägypten (Mélanges Nicole. Recueil de mémoires de philologie classique et d'archéologie offerts à Jules Nicole*, Genève, 1905, pp. 561—77, and H. Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris nach Festbräuchen und Umzügen*, Lpz. 1923 (*Der Alte Orient*, 23. Bd., 3. Heft). Already Herodotus mentions Osiris' tomb (II. 170) and I-cher-nofret's tombstone gives us important information about the dramatic cult (especially in Abydos) which was associated with Osiris' death festival. This important inscription, dating from the time of Sesostris III. (XII. dynasty) and now in Berlin, has been published by H. Schäfer in *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos* (see above p. 228¹). In its last part it refers to the ritual duties of this high functionary. He decorated Osiris' boat and dressed the god in his royal robes. He led the procession going out to defeat the enemies of Osiris, he accompanied the god, sailing with him in his ship, he conducted Osiris to his tomb in Peker, he revenged Osiris on the day of the great battle and slew all the enemies of the god at Lake Nedit. Finally I-cher-nofret fetched Osiris, sailing with him in the Neshemet boat. Hence Osiris must have risen, must have been freed out of his captivity in the tomb in Peker, but we note that the inscription does not mention the death of the god any more than VAT 9555 does (cf. above p. 228). The inscription brings to our knowledge fragments of an Osiris drama with I-cher-nofret as one of the performers, and the hieratic papyrus Nesi-Åmsu (BM Pap. Bremner-Rhind 10188), published by Sir Ernest Budge in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum with Descriptions, Translations, etc.* Lond. 1910 points in the same direction. This text contains ritual instructions for the two priestesses who, at the death festival of Osiris act the parts of Isis and Nephthys mourning at the dead body of the deity. The text states that it contains festival songs sung in the temple of Osiris in the fourth month of the inundation on the 22.—26. days.

captured and imprisoned, but that these words also cover the fact that he has been wounded and has died in consequence, is shown by numerous details on which we laid strong stress during our examination of VAT 9555 above. Neither from the cult action nor from the myth can we see why Marduk was killed or who was his slayer, nor have we the slightest idea whether or not this killing was carried out ritually. The text opens with the statement that Marduk is in "the mountain", and in my opinion this indicates the beginning of the action, it is established that Marduk has been killed, is dead. We hear nothing of his return to the assembly of the gods. Words like *tabî illu marduk* and *ina namari-ma*, referred to above¹, which are used as specific technical terms about the procession, may possibly have had a double sense. But it results from the nature of the case that the ritual death must be followed by a ritual return to life, the procession itself presumably gives expression to this. The possibility that the death ritual was performed after the procession, i. e. after the eleventh of Nisan, is precluded, for the *akitu* festival came to an end on the twelfth of Nisan, on which day Nabu left Babylon. Now it is expressly stated in VAT 9555, Obv. 8 and 24—25, that Nabu arrives on account of the capture and death of Marduk, and as we know that Nabu arrived on the fifth of Nisan by way of the Borsippa Canal, it seems reasonable to suppose that the death ritual

The temple is prepared for the festival and two women are selected. They must be pure and maidens. They are dressed in ritual robes (with wigs on their heads and timbrels in their hands), on the upper parts of their arms are written their names: Isis and Nephthys, i. e. they act as these and are to sing the dirges following in the text. Here we have a first-class testimony to the participation of persons impersonating gods in the drama of the Osiris cult.

¹ Cf. pp. 204—205 and 205¹.

began on that day. On the tenth of Nisan the return (to life) takes place, for then the egress to *bît akîtu* occurs.

Finally we must here briefly examine whether we can see from VAT 9555 where the death festival took place, where we are to seek Marduk's grave which is the goal of the cultual wanderings. The text only gives few indications of locality, but from these we can at least see where some of the ceremonies are performed. Obv. 20 refers to a suspension ceremony which is interpreted mythologically as the punishment of the slayer (*bêl hi-it-ti*). This takes place *ina i^{su}tal-li ša ilu^{be-lit} bâbili^{ki}*, and in Rev. 13 a number of objects belonging to Marduk are taken to *bît ilu^{be-lit} bâbili^{ki}*. Now, above, in pp. 87—88 we saw that Zarpanitum's sacred chapel in Esagila is never called *papaĥu* or *parakku*, but always *bîtu*, therefore there can hardly be any doubt that these expressions in Obv. 20 and Rev. 13 refer to Kaduglisug in Esagila¹. Obv. 12 further refers to some persons standing before [*bâb*] *ša e-sag-ila*, that is *amêlu mašsarê^{meš}-šu šu-nu ina muĥhi-šu paĥ-du i-na-[ša-ru-šu]*. Thus it is here stated that certain persons standing by a gate or door in Esagila mythologically speaking are the guardians watching over "him", i. e. Marduk. We hear again in Obv. 19 of a *ma-šu-ru*, without having heard in the meantime that the ritual wandering was continued so that it might be supposed that the guardians thus twice mentioned were in different places, and without being able to express any opinion on the relation between these. But the lines following Obv. 12, referring to the imprisoned, wounded, and dead Marduk at whose side a mourning goddess lingers, would seem to indicate that the *amêlu mašsarê^{meš}* must be imagined to be

¹ Cf. p. 225 above.

placed in the immediate vicinity of Marduk's grave. However, the expression *ina [bâb] ša e-sag-ila* is not very enlightening, for it might refer to a door in the interior of Esagila leading to a subterranean sepulchral chamber, or to a gate in Esagila leading out of it to Marduk's grave.

In pp. 102—10 above when we dealt with Etemenanki, we referred to the possibility that Marduk's sepulchral chamber must be sought somewhere in this temple. We based this conjecture partly on Strabo's evidence, partly on the use of the term *gigunû* for the ziggurats of Nippur and Sippar. In the case of religious conditions in Babylon, however, we can only adduce classical testimonies if they contain parallels to the testimonies of the original texts. We must never draw any inferences where we have only Greek testimonies to go by, for the information they afford is too unreliable, and the descriptions of the different authors are often at variance. We dare not attach much importance to Strabo's account since ST says nothing of Marduk's tomb in Etemenanki. — There remains the term *gigunû*, but, as we pointed out already on p. 109, no texts are preserved in which it denotes the ziggurat at Babylon. We have merely inferred, from the uniform, and at the same time unique, mode of construction of the ziggurats, that the purpose for which they were intended was the same throughout Mesopotamia. But in the same place we strongly emphasized that it is still an open question to what sacred uses the ziggurats were put.

It is true that our evidence from VAT 9555 refers to the tomb as being on the other side of a door or gate in Esagila, but this cannot enlighten us as to the position of the tomb, and the fact that Marduk's robes (?) are brought to Kaduglisug (Rev. 13) does not tell us how far they

have been brought, whether from another place in Esagila or e. g. from Etemenanki. Generally speaking it may seem peculiar to seek Marduk's tomb in the upper part of a huge structure (Etemenanki), it would seem more natural perhaps to look downwards, seeking it in the principal sanctuary, Esagila. This, however, is a modern way of arguing; in VAT 9555 we hear again and again that Marduk is imprisoned in "the mountain", in IVR 24 No. 2, 3—8 *e-kur*, *a-ra-lu*, and *gi-gun-nû* are mentioned as parallel expressions, and we recollect, besides, that Enlil's temple at Nippur was called Ekur. Hence we cannot say that it is foreign to the Babylonian way of thinking to imagine Etemenanki, that vast extent of temples, as "the mountain"¹ in which Marduk's tomb was found, that is to say, the place in which he was kept imprisoned and excluded from the land of the living. But beyond this suggestion we cannot go, and of course it is far from being a proof. — I will, however, in this place again remind the reader of a peculiar fact which was just hinted at above in p. 110. If we compare WB IV 10—11 with Nerigl. IR 67, I 23. 29 and ST, Obv. 12—13, in which passages both the gates of Etemenanki and the gates of Esagila are referred to, we are struck by the fact that at any rate three of these have the same name. The names are as follows, WB: *ka-nun-azu*, *ka* [*lamma*], *ka-nun-ḥe-gal*, *ka-u-[dî]*; IR 67: *bâb šît* ^{ilu}*šamši*, *bâb* ^{ilu}*lamassi a-ra-bi*, *bâb ḥegalli*, *bâb tabrâ*^{tam}; ST: *kâ (an) Babbar ê*, *kâ (an) Lama-r[a]*, *kâ ḥe-gal*, *kâ ū-dî-bar-ra*. Now we can hardly imagine that three gates both in Etemenanki and in Esagila should have had the same names, but on the other hand we cannot rest content with the explanation that e. g. the Wadi Brisa passage is due

¹ Cf. also A. Moberg, *Babels Torn*, Lund, 1918, pp. 72 ff.

to a slip of memory or a misscript: the gates were not Etemenanki's but Esagila's. None of these explanations are likely. I believe, however, that the three gates referred to must be sought in the peribolos which surrounded both Esagila and Etemenanki, and that the alternate use of these two names in the three passages is due to the fact that Etemenanki was regarded as part of Esagila. I know quite well that for the present both these conjectures are unproved. The excavations have brought to light a vast peribolos surrounding the foundations of Etemenanki on the Sakhn, but have shown no connection between this and Esagila. It must, however, be strongly emphasized that no really systematic excavations have been carried out on the 'Amrân outside Esagila itself, amongst other things because there was not supposed to be any connection between the two systems of temples. That Etemenanki was cultually conceived to be part of Esagila — and as such may have been "the mountain" in VAT 9555 inside which the captured, i. e. the dead, Marduk is ¹ — must of course remain a conjecture, but I consider such a supposition a sufficient explanation of the fact that we never — the word is not too strong — meet with any reference to Etemenanki in the Babylonian texts in connection with the cult. Etemenanki is only mentioned where the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings refer to its restoration, and no word is said about its sacred uses.

F.

We have now gone through everything that we learn from the texts about the *akîtu* festival at Babylon. Above

¹ Which is not contradicted by VAT 9555, Obv. 12 (cf. p. 223), but supported by our remarks on *gigunû* above.

in section C. we examined the direct evidence at our disposal concerning the hemerology of the festival. As regards several cultural acts, however, (the determination of destinies, *εεϑὸς γάμος*, the death festival of Marduk) we are left to our own conjectures when we seek to determine the order of these ceremonies in the ritual of the annual festival, conjectures which will be of no value, if they are not based on a knowledge of the actual meaning of the *akîtu* festival. The numerous sacrifices with which we dealt at length in section E. 1., were, as we saw there, mostly of the nature of accompanying offerings, the sequence of which is therefore easily determined in connection with the cult ceremonies with which they are indissolubly associated. In the same section we stated our view that the *akîtu* festival was beyond doubt brought to a conclusion with great confirmatory offerings on the eleventh and twelfth of Nisan. In consequence our present object is merely to try and place the above-mentioned three central cult ceremonies somewhere within the order of the entire sequence of cult acts as it has been established by the textual evidence. If we recapitulate this briefly, we find that we have the following definite data: from the second to the fourth of Nisan introductory ceremonies take place in Esagila, on the fifth the temple is purified and shortly after Nabu arrives from Borsippa, on the eighth ceremonies are performed in *parak šîmâti*, and on the tenth the great procession to *bît akîtu* takes place. Here a solemn festival is held on the eleventh of Nisan, and on the same day the procession returns to Esagila, in the *parak šîmâti* of which holy cultural acts are performed; the twelfth of Nisan is the last day of the festival, and Nabu returns to Borsippa.

Above on pp. 222, 239—40 we saw that the evidence of VAT 9555 rendered it extremely probable that Marduk's captivity in "the mountain", that is to say the ritual death festival, began abt. the fifth of Nisan. The possibility that the rites of death were performed after the procession had taken place on the tenth of Nisan, and therefore in *bit akîtu*, is precluded, partly by VAT 9555 which places the scene of events within the precincts of Esagila-Etemenanki, partly by the festive character of the whole procession, and finally, as pointed out already on p. 202, by EJ IV 9 in which *bit akîtu* is called *ši-kin hi-da-a-ti u ri-ša-a-ti*, "the abode of rapture and rejoicing". Besides thus being able to fix approximately the day on which the death ritual begins (the fifth of Nisan), we may also conjecture that Marduk's return to life must have taken place some time abt. the eighth of Nisan¹, for in EJ II 54—59 we are told that on that day he is in *parak šimâti*, surrounded by the gods. Now, did the determination of destinies take place on that day? I believe this is quite precluded, but we can only approach the solution of this question by calling in the aid of the myths. During our investigation of VAT 9555 we saw how intimately the cult actions and the myth were connected, further we learned from this text (Rev. 3 ff.) as well as from DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 279—84 (se p. 149), that some version of the creation story was intimately associated with the ceremonial. It will therefore be natural to turn our attention e. g. to Enuma eliš in order to supplement our knowledge of the events from the eighth to the eleventh of Nisan, about which we only know that on the eighth and the eleventh there was an

¹ Note in this connection that the last part of the death ritual takes place on the 8. Nisan as will be seen from VAT 9555, Obv. 44.

assembly of the gods in *parak šîmâti*, and on the tenth and eleventh a procession and return to Esagila from *bît akîtu*. Of the ceremonies in the latter place we know absolutely nothing as yet.

In *Enuma eliš* it is said about conditions before the creation: *šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tu la [ši-ma]* (I 8), and in tablet IV we hear of the assembly of the gods in *parak ru-bu-tim* (l. 1), in which the gods assign to Marduk the determination of destinies in return for his willingness to subjugate their enemies Tiamat and Kingu. Now *Enuma eliš* tells us nothing of an assembly of the gods in *parak šîmâti* after Marduk's victory in which he determines destiny, whereas in the fragment of K. 3449a it is mentioned in the reference to the bow-star (*kakkabu* $\frac{1}{2}$ *aštu*) that Marduk determines its place and its destiny¹. Now above in pp. 191—93 we called attention to the fact that the word *šîmtu* occurs in *Enuma eliš* in two different senses, which in our opinion sufficiently accounts for the fact that no mention is made of a cultural, local determination of destiny in *Enuma eliš*. For the victory itself over the hostile powers, and the creation following it, is the determination of destiny. This is the original primitive idea which was subsequently in the urban civilization replaced by the mechanical determination of destiny, this destiny being then written down on tablets at the assembly of the gods in some definite locality.

Now it is at any rate a fact that it was the latter form of the determination of destiny which was practised at the *akîtu* festival and that it took place under the auspices of Marduk assisted by Nabu in Esagila's *parak šîmâti*, but if we call to mind that EJ II 54—59 mentions two assem-

¹ Rev. 9—10 *u-kin-ma gi-is-gal-la-ša ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti ša*

blies of the gods here, one on the eighth and the other on the eleventh of Nisan, and that Marduk, accompanied by Nabu and the rest of the gods, has in the meantime gone in procession to *bît akîtu* where a special cult ceremony takes place, if we call to mind all these facts, I hardly think we can avoid the conclusion that the conjectures now to be set forth are the only ones possible.

On the eighth of Nisan the gods assemble in Esagila's *parak šîmâti* and transfer to the resurrected Marduk the leadership against the rebellious and hostile powers, and the right to determine destiny. Thereupon the procession sets out, and in the succeeding cult ceremony which takes place in *bît akîtu*, Marduk subdues his antagonists, creates heaven and earth, fruitfulness and life for the coming year. This cult ceremony is performed as a cult drama which we shall consider more closely in Chapter IV. From *bît akîtu* Marduk returns to Esagila, and here on the eleventh of Nisan a determination of destinies takes place in *parak šîmâti* in the assembly of the gods. This ceremony is simply a repetition of the act of creation in *bît akîtu*, but while the cult ceremony in the latter place is of a primitive character, the mechanical determination of destiny in Esagila is derived from the urban civilization. The presence of the two elements side by side does not argue against our provisional conjectures, for throughout the world there is hardly any religious cult in which we cannot point out different strata each denoting its separate culture or more definitely put, religion. That, as the closing ceremony of the festival, Marduk's and Zarpanitum's *ἕρως γάμος* then took place within the precincts of Esagila¹ after the second

¹ Whether the ceremony has taken place in Esagila or Etemenanki we cannot say for certain. It is true that Herod. I. 181 is strongly supported by ST's information about *ê (giš) nâ*.

determination of destiny, I regard as the only supposition possible; the Sacred Mariage is as it were a third form for the determination of destiny but like the first one, a primitive form¹. The union of the two deities is an archetypical act which has a direct effect on the fertility of meadow and field, on childbirth in the cottage of the peasant and the palace of the prince, on the calving of the cows, on the multiplication of all living things. It is the great holy act, the chief sacrament of the agriculturist, the third stratum of religion which we have traced in the akitu festival.

¹ Cf. above pp. 184—186.

IV

Our examination in the preceding chapter of the material which could enlighten us as regards the *akītu* festival in Babylon showed us that this was no sacrificial feast as ordinarily understood in connection with an urban civilization, where sacrifices or offerings of gifts to the deity play a prominent part. We saw, however, that the festival chiefly centred round two cult actions, 1) Marduk's death, and 2) Marduk's procession to *bīt akītu* where his victory over the evil powers takes place followed by the act of the creation (i. e. the primitive determination of destiny). VAT 9555 has made clear the first of these two acts to us, whereas as regards the second, we have only suggested the possibility of its existence as a mere conjecture, based especially on a consideration of the relation between the cult and *Enuma eliš*. Furthermore, our examination of the contents of VAT 9555 leaves us in no doubt that the ceremony dealing with Marduk's capture and death must have been represented dramatically. It is a religious cult drama which was probably performed by the priests.

That we have religious cult dramas in other parts of the world of the same character as those of Assyria and Babylonia, consisting not only of a death ritual but constituting an entirety similar to the *akītu* festival, is proved by unquestionable evidence from India, Egypt, and Greece. The Egyptian testimonies we mentioned above on p. 238¹

and for the Vedic-Brahmanic Agniṣṭoma cult we refer the reader to W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma. Description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte Védique*, Tome I—II, Paris, 1906—07. The entire cult festival has a highly dramatic character; thus in connection with the crushing of the Soma stalks we have allusions to Indra's struggle with and victory over Vṛtra¹, etc. As regards the Greek cult in Eleusis, I adduce three unquestionable testimonies to a dramatic cult. True, these are late, but they attest a cult drama independent of the Dionysian influence in Eleusis and of the later contents of the Eleusinian Mysteries: Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* II. 12 *Ἀγὼ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικόν, καὶ τὴν πλάην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δαδουχεῖ*; S. Asterius Amasenus, *Homilia X: Encomium in sanctos martyres* (Migne, *Patrol. graec.* XL. Paris, 1863, p. 324): *Ὄν ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσιον τὸ σκοτεινόν, καὶ αἱ σεμναὶ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς τὴν ἔρρειαν συντυχίαι, μόνου πρὸς μόνην; Ὄν αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται, καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πρατόμενα*; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* VI. 2 . . . *et inluminarum Proserpinae nubtiarum demeacula et luminum filiae inventionum remeacula et cetera, quae silentio tegit Eleusinis Atticae sacrarium* . . . Here as in Babylon and Egypt the cult drama is performed by the priests. The *Homeric Hymn* to *Demeter* must probably be understood as the Eleusinian cult legend, as *Enuma eliš* is that of Babylon, i. e. originally a cult text which has developed independently and in part become distinct from the cult. Various scholars have touched upon the idea that a cult drama of agricultural character should have been performed throughout Greece,

¹ Caland et Henry, *op. cit.* I. pp. 101, 151, cp. Marduk and Tiamat.

as in Eleusis; this point of view has especially been maintained in the discussion on the origin of the Attic tragedy¹. — The mystery dramas met with in Hellenistic times throughout the Mediterranean countries and Nearer Asia deal with quite different subjects and are of an altogether different character. They are based on anthropological dualism, and the object of the initiation of the participants, and the reason why they join the individual mystery religions, is that they hope to obtain assurance of a life after death and create a unity between themselves and the divine world already in this life by means of the cult

¹ Cf. M. Pn. Nilsson, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie in Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik*, XIV. Lpz. 1911, pp. 609 ff.; Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Camb. 1912 and Gilbert Murray, *Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy* (J. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 341—63); E. Rostrup, *Attic Tragedy in the Light of Theatrical History*, Kbhvn., Lond. 1923. In a very interesting work *Psalmstudien, II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, Kristiania, 1922 (*Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania* 1921, II: Historisk-filosofisk Klasse, No. 6) S. Mowinckel, who like Rostrup knows the primitive cult drama well, has pointed out that in certain of the Psalms of the Old Testament (47; 93; 95—100, to mention the most important) we have survivals of the old Israelitic New Year's Feast and its ritual: Jehovah's ascension of the throne with preceding entry and procession after the victory over the demons and "the determination of destiny" (i. e. the annual creation, in later times: doom)—a ritual which has probably been enacted dramatically. Of great value is the theory set forth in the same work of the origin of the Jewish eschatology, which Mowinckel considers indissolubly associated with the cult drama of the New Year's Feast. His point of view takes us on so much surer ground than that of the scholars who have hitherto dealt with the Jewish eschatology (e. g. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttg. 1895; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttg. 1905; A. J. Wensinck in *Acta Orientalia*, I. Leiden, 1923, pp. 158—199), but at the same time we must bear in mind that the relation between Jewish and Persian eschatology, the problems as to the probable cultural background of the latter should be subjected to renewed investigation before we can express any definitive opinion on the origin of the Jewish eschatology.

drama. Thus we find the new drama in Eleusis, probably side by side with the old agricultural drama which was never entirely given up. Themistius¹ gives us an important insight into the character of the Hellenistic mystery drama², *τό(τε)* (i. e. the soul) *δὲ πάσχει πάθος, οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλας κατοργιαζόμενοι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελείσθαι προσέειπε. πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεύειαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φόβη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θανμάσιον ἀπήντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητας ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελής ἤδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονὼς καὶ ἄφειτος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος δογιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὅσοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι . . .* For mystery dramas among the Mandæans and in other Gnostic circles the reader is referred to my *Mandæan Studies*, pp. 172—77, 181—82, and 194.

The action of the cult drama described in VAT 9555 is as follows: A messenger probably sent out by Zarpantim, runs about seeking Marduk who has suddenly disappeared. He sets out in the direction of "the mountain" where he has presumably been informed that Marduk must be sought. Before he can continue his way here, he is questioned *ina eli šap-te ša hur-sa-an* (Obv. 6), in the meantime Nabu arrives from Borsippa to learn what has happened to Marduk. At the same time others run about the streets of Babylon seeking Marduk who has vanished, and praying to Šamaš and Sin that he may return to the land of the living. They go to a gate called *báb ka-bu-rat*

¹ In Joannes Stobaeus, *Antholog.* IV. 52, 49.

² Cf. also Apuleius, *Metamorph.* XI. 21 ff.

(Obv. 11), at which guardians are placed. Marduk is found wounded, lying in his blood, he is dead, and a goddess mourns by his side. Thereupon that (or he) that has caused Marduk's death seems to have been killed in a series of symbolical acts which the bad state of the text renders obscure to us. In the meantime the town rises in rebellion at the news of Marduk's death, civil strife breaks out among the people, a lamentation for Marduk is held. A messenger now brings Zarpanitum the news of Marduk's death, and she wails in despair: "O my brother, my brother". Marduk's garments (?) and possessions are then brought to Bêlit-Uruk, ceremonies are performed, amongst other things *Enuma eliš* is recited in order to bring back strength to the departed, and Šamaš and Sin are implored to grant his return to the land of the living. The procession to *bît akitu* must for the time being be postponed on account of what has happened (Obv. 39—40). Zarpanitum wipes the blood from his wounds with wool (Obv. 42). On the eighth of Nisan, the last day of the drama, *m^{meš} kâtâ^{II}*, "(living, miraculous, holy) hand-water", is fetched and a long ceremony is performed with it (Obv. 44 — Rev. 5); probably these are the waters that are to recall Marduk from death¹. Preparations for slaying Marduk's enemies are made; a *li-is-mu* takes place in which Zû is captured. This is announced to the gods who rejoice that he is slain. Now all return to Marduk who is still lifeless; a wailing woman weeps over him, but the gods bore holes in the door behind which he is confined and set him free after a struggle with his guards. They recall him to life by means of the life-giving water.

There can be no doubt that the whole of this cult

¹ Cf. IV R 31, Rev. 34. 38.

action has been represented dramatically, and there is, moreover, one particular which indicates that the drama has been performed with a given myth for its text. The peculiar character of the latter only shows us that the cult and myth are indissolubly bound up with one another; but the episode with Aššur and Zû (Rev. 6—12), which in p. 236 we supposed was due to Assyrian influence, tends to show that a particular ritual text was used as the basis for the cultual actions. This circumstance does not, however, tell us anything decisive as to the mutual relation of the cult and the myth¹; there is no doubt that the cult was the original primary foundation, and that the myth was always² the text, of somewhat later origin, corresponding to the cult, to be understood in its first beginnings as the description answering to the action, without any additions, explanations, or any interpretation whatever. As soon, however, as we pass over to the forms of an urban civilization, in which the religious drama merely survives as a rudiment which has lost touch with what was formerly life and culture, the connection between the cult and the cult text becomes less intimate. By tradition they are still indissolubly bound together, but the cult text is expanded theologically and poetically, the similes are made more elaborate and often consciously artistic, and connecting links serving to explain and interpret cult acts which have now become unintelligible, are inserted in the text. We have thus no longer a cult text, but a cult myth, or in most cases merely a cult legend, that is to

¹ On this subject see also above pp. 192, 213—14, 219—20, 221, 236—38, 250.

² That is to say when it is a cult myth; the poetical and ætiological myths belong to the poetry and theology of the urban culture though they may sometimes deal with a single survival of the cult.

say, an original cult text, of whose appertaining cult acts no knowledge has come down to us, and which has been expanded during the period of the urban civilization, both artistically and theologically as described above.

In this particular case, I believe, we have in VAT 9555 a theological commentary intended to explain a ritual text known to the priests, which, as it were, contains the cue to the most important of the cult acts performed between the fifth and the eighth of Nisan at the celebration of the *akitu* festival. Each of these cult acts is accompanied by an interpretation referring to the cult myth. As I have previously pointed out, I believe it is possible to reconstruct a tolerably connected cult myth by means of the brief mention of mythological events for each cult act, but it is no cult myth which has come down to us. It is a commentary employing throughout its interpretations the cult myth belonging to the *akitu* festival, without understanding that this was originally merely the text accompanying the action, simply describing the events of the action. The original cult text which it is impossible for us to reconstruct was in the course of time expanded by a series of additions peculiar to the urban civilization. A regard to the political supremacy of Assyria thus induced the insertion of the myth about Zû and Aššur in the original cult myth, and as a result we get a cult myth used by Esagila's priesthood as a ritual text at the performance of the drama of Marduk's death at the annually returning *akitu* festival. The text which has come down to us in VAT 9555 is evidently a commentary to this ritual text as well as to the cult action.

That Marduk's struggle and victory and the creation of the world were likewise represented in a religious drama was conjectured by us above in Chapter III F., but that

we can get beyond a mere conjecture will be seen from the following. In Chapter III E. 5. we saw that K. 3476 was a text corresponding in type to VAT 9555, and containing similar allusions to an original cult text. But K. 3476 is of a less eloquent nature as a means of enlightenment, partly because the conclusion of the Obverse and the whole of the Reverse are in such a bad state of preservation that the knowledge we gather from them is fragmentary, partly because the cult acts performed are restricted to a much smaller field. They may be divided into two groups, 1) ceremonies in which fire comes into use, either in the form of a burnt offering (Obv. 7), or as a fire which is kindled (Obv. 3), or in the form of battle scenes in which burning darts or the like play a prominent part (Obv. 9. 27—32), and 2) ceremonies performed by the king (Obv. 14—20). The latter are not always clear to us, but amongst other things we see that the king breaks something with a weapon (Obv. 17). Above in Chapter III E. 5. we pointed out the great difficulties attending the interpretation of the text; here we must mention four points which are essential to us in this connection and which are also indisputably certain. In the first place we meet with Zû as one of the antagonists of the gods in Obv. 13, just as we did in VAT 9555 where we supposed that Zû's presence was due to the influence of non-Babylonian cult conditions. Further, the text of the myth in K. 3476 is of such a nature as to make us suppose, as we pointed out in p. 219, that it has been composed of several cycles of myths. In the second place, several passages in the mythological text show us a contest between the gods (among which Marduk plays the main part) and their antagonists. In the third place we are told in Obv. 8 that Kingu is

burnt, from which we may probably conclude that he has been defeated; this trait, as well as the word *mulmullu* (Obv. 9) makes us think of Marduk's struggle in Enuma eliš. In the fourth place the king represents Marduk in Obv. 14—20. From these various mythological features we are now justified in inferring a connected account of Marduk's struggle and victory over certain enemies among which we may count Kingu. Further, having seen that, considered as a text, K. 3476 was parallel with VAT 9555, the mythological part of which text we saw was represented dramatically, we may conjecture that the mythological events of K. 3476 were also performed as a religious drama. In this the king acts the part of Marduk. That this battle and creation drama must have had a much less mimic character than the drama of death in VAT 9555 can be no objection to such a conjecture, for most religious dramas will, especially after they have come under the influence of an urban civilization, in the course of time acquire a strongly a-mimetic character viewed with the eyes of the later-born who lack the necessary associations and belong to a culture in which quite different questions are raised. To the Babylonians of that time both dramas were equally mimetic or a-mimetic, the words do not matter, they merely represent the classification of the later-born, which is deeply rooted in a change of culture. To people in touch with those forms of religious cult which we, during a long period of culture, have become quite disaccustomed from regarding as religion, the dramas constituted a unity.

Now, the next question is, have we other Assyro-Babylonian texts which will support our conjecture, based on the contents of K. 3476, of a battle and creation drama answering to

the death drama? In 1908 Theophilus G. Pinches published a very interesting text in *PSBA*, XXX. pp. 80—82, which he simultaneously transcribed, translated, and annotated. Above we have cited various passages from it in different connections, especially from Col. D, which mentions how the gods from Borsippa, Cutha, and Kiš as well as Anu and Enlil from Uruk and Nippur go in a procession to Babylon in order to wander with Marduk to *bīt akītu*. Undoubtedly this refers to the great procession at the annual *akītu* festival with Marduk as its central figure. Unfortunately Col. B and C are preserved in a state which merely allows us to understand one or two words in each line so that we can make out no connected account. This makes it difficult to understand Col. A which is in an excellent state of preservation, it is true, but raises great problems. Thus we have the obscure statement that Nergal speaks to En-me-šara (l. 18—22) while in other texts these two are identical¹. To this may be added that the whole situation to which we are introduced right in the beginning is without a parallel in what we otherwise know of Babylonian mythology. Perhaps the text is merely part of a larger series of tablets; thus in Col. C 15 we read: *naphar samāntu*, “eight [tablets??] in all”. — Immediately at the beginning of Col. A we are told that “he”, probably Marduk, repairs to the prison in which he sees the captive deities. He rejoices at the sight, hence it must be his enemies he sees bound². The next passage (l. 8—23) is so difficult to understand that I give up the attempt to reconstruct the original meaning of the myth. Nergal seems to follow Marduk and

¹ Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 118 b; Jastrow, *RBA*, I. pp. 472 f.

² Ll. 2—8 *i-riid-di ki-šuk-kiš itba(?) -am-ma ik-rib ana ki-šuk-ku ip-ti bāb ki-šuk-ku i-na-aš réš-šu-nu i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma ka-la-šu-nu i-ḫi-di i-mu-ru-šu-ma ilāni^{mes} šab-tu-tu gim-mil-liš ka-la-šu-nu im-la-šu-u.*

the latter says to En-me-šara, who, as previously mentioned, cannot, according to l. 18—19, be identical with Nergal, that “he” will violently destroy “them” in the morning¹. On hearing this En-me-šara cries: Alas!² but adds that thus it must be³, or words to that effect. Thereupon Nergal speaks to En-me-šara without this further enlightening us as to the situation (l. 18—22). — It will be understood that it is impossible to gather any clear impression from the fragmentary account of Col. A of which the conclusion and probably also the beginning is missing, but the text seems to us to show us Marduk in opposition to captive deities besides referring to the killing of somebody, perhaps these very deities, Marduk’s antagonists. More than this Col. A hardly permits us to conclude. Now it is of great importance that Col. D which belongs to Col. A describes the cultual procession at Marduk’s *akitu* festival. This warrants the conclusion that the mythological fragment we have in Col. A has some connection with the annual festival. Our examination of VAT 9555 and K. 3476 has shown us how indissolubly cult and myth were linked together at the *akitu* festival, though what connection Col. A’s account had with this cult festival, we cannot say. But we must point out that in the text published by Pinches we saw a connection between the cult acts of the *akitu* festival and a myth which amongst other things told us something about Marduk in opposition to captive enemies. Or in other words, we have received one more indication of a contest, in which Marduk is the victor, for we may

¹ L. 13 *ud-diš dan-niš i-šak-kan ši-lim-šu-nu*.

² L. 15 ³-*u-a iḫ-ta-bi*.

³ L. 17 *dan-nu u šip-ḫi-šu-nu nis-mat (?) ad-mu-u-a*, literally “they are strong and their judgment (either “the judgment they pass”, or “the judgment passed on them”) is the desire of my children.”

presumably be permitted to infer that such a contest had preceded the capture and imprisonment referred to.

Our conjecture that a religious drama was performed at the *akîtu* festival in which Marduk, as in *Enuma eliš*, conquered Tiamat and Kingu, the enemies of the gods, has thus been temporarily corroborated by our examination of K. 3476 and the Pinches text. That this conjecture becomes certainty and that we may moreover establish where this drama has been enacted, will appear from a thorough examination of K. 1356. Above in Chapter II we saw that Marduk's great annual cult festival was often called by the same name, (*isinnu*) *bît akîtu*, as one of the temples in which part of the ceremonial of the festival took place. In the same chapter we stated that we could not determine what had been the original relation between the name of the temple and the festival, but the frequent phrase *isinnu (bît) akîtu* and the fact that the temple towards which the procession moved bears the same name, unquestionably tend to show that one of the culminating points of the festival must be sought within the walls of this temple. It seems all the more peculiar to us that none of the texts tell us what happened in *bît akîtu*.

A closer examination of K. 1356¹ will, however, supply us with unquestionable evidence on this subject. The text is one of Sennacherib's building inscriptions in which he records the erection of *bît a-ki-it šêri* (Obv. 2) and describes the various pictures found on its gates. — In Obv. 1—2 Sennacherib (*I ilu sin-ahê-erba*), king of Assur, relates that he has made *ša-lam ilu aššur u ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}* [and] *bît a-ki-it šêri*. By "the picture of Aššur and the great gods" must be meant the pictorial representation of the gods on the

¹ Cf. Plates III—IV.

gates described below. It is further stated in the inscription that the temple had long been falling into decay and that he rebuilt it at the command of Šamaš and Adad¹. Fire had previously destroyed it, both the adytum (*bīt pa-pa-ḥi-šu*, Obv. 4) and the outer temple (*bīt ka-mu-u*², Obv. 3). In Obv. 5 ff. Sennacherib thereupon describes how, commanded by an augury, in accordance with (the words of) Šamaš and Adad's mouth³, he caused to be engraved a picture on a gate of red copper (*abullu siparri ruššá^a*, Obv. 5), called *ši-pir ilu^uea ša nappahi*⁴, "a work of art by Ea (as god of the working of metals)", [*ina*] *nik-lat ramâni-ia u-še-piš-ma*, "which by virtue of my own skill in art I caused to be made". The remainder of the text consists of a description of these pictures; it is not quite clear whether they constitute one connected picture, probably in relief, or whether there are several pictures beside each other. The passage in Rev. 10—15 probably consists of a recapitulation of the description of the pictures given above stating the names of the persons, corresponding to what we find in Obv. 6—9, and the two lines in the Left Edge seem to form a continuation of this. But the repeated statements that this or that picture has been made at the command of Šamaš and Adad (cf. Obv. 12. 13. 16) render it difficult for us to judge of the number of the different pictures referred to in K. 1356; however, in this connection the question is of minor importance.

The picture or pictures represents or represent Aššur

¹ Cf. Obv. 3 and 8.

² Cf. Zimmern, ZBN, I. p. 145.

³ *a[-na pi]i ša ilu^ušamaš u ilu^uadad ina bir-ri i[^k-bu]-nim-ma ši-ir abulli ša-a-šu e-šir*, Obv. 8—9.

⁴ Cf. II R 58, 58 b-c *ilu^uDI = ilu^ue-a ša nap-pa-ḥi*.

setting out to fight Tiamat¹. He drives forth in his chariot, Amurru is his "bridleholder" (*mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti*) or charioteer, and Aššur is armed with a bow. The *abûbu* weapon, which is also mentioned, is known to us from Marduk's contest with Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, IV 49. 75². Aššur is preceded and followed by the gods, partly in chariots, partly on foot, arrayed in battle order³, *il[âni ša] ina mahri-šu illaku^{ku} u arki-šu illaku^{ku} ša ru-ku-bu rak-bu ša ina šêpâ-šu illaku^{ku} ša ina mahar^{ilu} aššur si-id-ru u arki^{ilu} aššur si-id-ru* (Obv. 9—11). Facing these (?) we must imagine a representation of Tiamat and her children⁴ against whom Aššur sets out to do battle, *tî-amat nab-nit [kîr-bi-šu] ša^{ilu} aššur šar ilâni^{meš} a-na lib-bi-šu šal-ti il-la-ku* (Obv. 11—12). In Obv. 13—14 mention is again made of the rest of the gods proceeding on foot who, with Aššur, conquer Tiamat and Tiamat's animals (or perhaps this refers to another picture, cf. Obv. 12 b), *si-it-ti ilâni^{meš} ša ina šêpâ-šu-nu il-la-ku . . . [a]di la-a^{ilu} aššur tî-amat i-kam-mu⁵ u u-ma-ma-a-nu ša tî-amat i-na(ba?)-aš(?)-ša-a*⁶

¹ Obv. 6 b may be supplemented as follows from Rev. 10: [*ilu* aššur ša a-na libbi tî-amat] šal-ti illaku^{ku}. The phrase *a-na libbi tî-amat* literally means "into Tiamat", and the translation "towards Tiamat" is not really permissible. Nevertheless we think it justifiable as it gives the sense approximately; the special phrase here is no doubt due to associations connected with some version of a myth which we are not able to follow.

² *isu* kaštu ki-i ša na-šu-u ina *isu* narkabti ša [ra-ak-]bu a-bu-[bu ša pa-aḱ-]du *ilu* mar-tu (cf. SAJ 4137 and Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 177) ša a-na mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti it-ti-šu rak-bu, Obv. 7—8.

³ From the Assur-fragments of *Enuma eliš* which Langdon has employed in his new edition of the epic (*EC*) we see (IV 59—70) that the gods all accompany Marduk when he sets out to do battle with Tiamat, exactly as in the pictures described in K. 1356.

⁴ Cf. *Enuma eliš*, III 73—102.

⁵ The same verb is used about Marduk's victory over Tiamat in *Enuma eliš*, IV 103.

⁶ As the rest is missing it is impossible to determine the exact

The beginning of the Reverse is unintelligible, but from Rev. 6 b the text again makes sense. The passage from Rev. 6 b to 9 as far as I can see, is a brief summary of the preceding description. We read: *ša-lam ilu aššur u ša-lam ilāni^{meš} [rabūti^{meš}] ma-la it-ti-šu a-na libbi ti-amat šal-ti il-la-ku iṣ-ru-šu pat-ka-šu-u la a-du-ku u-šap-ši-lu a-na it hu-ra-nu-ti aš-šu li-iḥ-ḥa-ḫim an-na ina lib-bi uš-ša-am-id ina libbi an-nim-ma ḥi-ḫim ki-i pat-ka-šu-u anaku^{ku} u-šap-ši-[lu]*¹. Thereupon, in Rev. 10—15, it is stated which gods precede and which follow Aššur. It will be found a likely supposition that this enumeration mentioned by name the figures in the above-described pictures, but here we meet with a new and important element, not found in the preceding part of the text, viz. the appearance of Sennacherib. We read: *ša-lam ilu aššur ša a-na libbi ti-amat šal-ti illaku^{ku} ša-lam ilu sin-aḥê-erba šar mātu aš-šur* (Rev. 10), and now follow the names of ten deities who precede, and fifteen who follow Aššur; above in Chapter III D. *a.* we mentioned the chief of these. — Finally, in the two lines in the Left Edge we read: [*ana-* or *mal-*]*ku ka-ši-du ina iṣu narkabti ša ilu aš-šur šak-nu [ti-]amat a-di nab-nit ḫir-bi-šu.* The statement made in these two lines cannot well be misunderstood, it is Sennacherib who is seen in Aššur's chariot, Sennacherib representing Aššur, placed in opposition to Tiamat and her children. Taken in conjunction with Rev. 10 this opens up the possibility that *ša-lam ilu sin-aḥê-erba* must here be understood as an apposition to *ša-lam ilu aššur*. And yet I scarcely think that this theory can be maintained; the meaning of the verb besides it being difficult to see how the four last words are to be connected.

¹ Cf. Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria*, B. C. 705—681. *The Assyrian Text edited with Transliteration, Translation, and Notes*, Lond. 1921, p. 83 (*The Eothen Series*. — II.).

repeated *ša-lam* in Rev. 10 seems to indicate the introduction of another person, but I take it that the picture has had as its last scene Sennacherib, representing Aššur, engaged in battle with Tiamat. The only other alternative is that Sennacherib represented Aššur throughout the whole of the picture. I have on the whole no objection to this supposition since it is culturally correct. As we have seen from K. 3476, Obv. 14—20¹, the king acts the part of the leading deity in the battle drama, but I do not think that, in the large picture described in K. 1356 Aššur was throughout represented by the king. This is of course a matter of opinion, and mine is in this case based on the fact that the egress of the gods to *bit akîtu* (which we mentioned above in pp. 136—139), was not carried out by men acting the part of the gods, but by the gods themselves, i. e. by their statues.

There can be no doubt as to how we are to interpret the evidence of K. 1356. We have seen that on the gates of the Assyrian *bit akîtu* there were pictures of Aššur's (in Babylon Marduk's) contest with Tiamat, and we have seen that the king was identified with Aššur. If now we connect this with the fact that K. 3476 mentioned the king's identity with Marduk in a series of cult acts alluding to Marduk's contest with the enemies of the gods, we cannot doubt that a religious battle drama took place in *bit akîtu* during the *akîtu* festival, in which the king acted the part of the divine victor. The pictures may have been of great artistic value, produced by a great artist, but that does not prevent the representation of the battle on the gates of *bit akîtu* from being inseparably bound up with the cultural events that have taken place in this temple —

¹ Cf. above pp. 215 ff.

a mere artistic decoration, independent of the cult is out of the question here. Hence, according to my idea, K. 1356 supplies us with incontrovertible proof of the correctness of the suppositions as regards the cult actions in *bit akitu* based on K. 3476, which we advanced in the latter part of Chapter III F., and which were temporarily corroborated by the Pinches text referred to above.

In what way or by whom the dead Marduk was represented in the death ritual we do not know. Probably a doll served in this case as in other cults of Nearer Asia. The rest of the characters were probably performed by the male and female members of the priesthood. In the battle drama, on the other hand, the king was identical with Marduk, and this identification is due to the special religious development in the urban civilization. In the primitive civilization the person who conducts the festival (the head of the family, the chief) as well as the participants are all without exception divinities in the religious drama, a single person cannot be identified with all the possibilities of the cosmos. In the urban civilization, on the other hand, where the priesthood multiplied simultaneously with a rapid differentiation of the cult reflected in the various domains assigned to the anthropomorphic gods, a single class obtained the prerogative of that cultual divinity which belonged to every one in the primitive culture¹. And it is a matter of course that the king, who was the religious head of the state in the urban culture, was the central figure in the cult drama², and conversely,

¹ Cf. that in the mystery dramas of the Hellenistic period which have their root in the primitive dramas though they are entirely different as to contents (cf. above pp. 251—52), the priest is the deity, see Pallis, *MS*, pp. 170—71.

² That the Egyptian Pharaoh like the Babylonian *sarru* is the chief

the conception of the king as a divinity was due to his position in the cult drama. This conception is seen in the passages referring to the temples of the Sumerian rulers in distinction from the temples of the gods¹, and from the fact that *šarru* in nomina propria was used exactly like the names of the gods².

We must now consider how we must imagine that the battle drama performed in *bit akitu* was represented. Our knowledge of this is limited to two items, viz. the relation between the cult acts performed by the king and the corresponding myth in Obv. 14—20, mentioned in K. 3476, and the pictures referred to in K. 1356. The evidence of the former text makes us suppose that the battle drama was performed a-mimetically (cf. above p. 257); how, we are unable to say, having only the fragmentary information supplied by K. 3476. On a point of this nature we dare not enter upon conjectures since we lack the necessary cultural and mythological associations. Hence we must be content to establish the fact that the drama was performed, most probably quite a-mimetically, the king taking the part of the leading character. The pictures on the gates of Aššur's *bit akitu* might for a moment suggest that Marduk's (alias Aššur's, i. e. the king's) contest with Tiamat had been mimically and dramatically represented, but though the death drama was thus performed, I think that this idea must be abandoned. For we know for certain from K. 3476 that the central events in the battle

performer in the cult drama is seen amongst other things from the material adduced by H. Kees in *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, Lpz. 1912. Cf. also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, Cambr. 1923.

¹ Cf. Thureau Dangin, *Recueil*, XIX. pp. 185—87, in which two texts of great importance are published. One of them mentions Gimil-Sin's temple, the other (*ilu*)*Na-ra-am-(ilu)Sin ilu A-ga-de(-ki)*.

² Cf. e. g. K. 8957, II 3 *Apil-šarri-il-a-a mār*

drama were represented symbolically and a-mimetically, and at the same time we cannot fail to point out that the picture described in K. 1356 from a purely artistic point of view is nearer to the poetical representation in *Enuma eliš* than to the cult drama in *bit akitu*. Of course it all depends on the view we take of *Enuma eliš*. If we believe it to be a cult text, there is no doubt that the battle drama was enacted mimically, but I am of opinion that parallels, partly from Babylonia, partly from other cultures¹, warrant the belief that *Enuma eliš* is what we designated above as a cult legend.

In the preceding part we have quoted the contents of K. 1356 as evidence in the case of the *akitu* festival in Babylon, though they refer to *bit akitu* in the capital of Assyria. Both K. 3476 and the Pinches text, which deals with the same religious battle drama, may with certainty be referred to Babylon, and the fact that the Assyrian *akitu* festival is merely a later offshoot of the Babylonian² entitles us to round off the picture with K. 1356. At Assur, Marduk is replaced by Aššur, and the myth about Zû, which was presumably originally connected with Enlil at Nippur, is interlinked with Aššur, as we have seen amongst other things from VAT 9555, Rev. 7 ff. We know nothing of corresponding pictures at Babylon; the theory has been advanced³ that the pictures of the *mušruššû*⁴ in that city could be identified with Tiamat, but I consider this extremely doubtful. This mythical animal is represented on the Ištar Gate⁵, and on the gates of Esagila⁶, and Agum-kakrimi

¹ I am here thinking of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, cf. above p. 250.

² Cf. above pp. 51—52. ³ Cf. e. g. *KAT*³, p. 504⁵. ⁴ Cf. above p. 61.

⁵ EJ VI 4—7; IR 65, I 42—45; excavations have brought these to light, see the illustrations in Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 32—49.

⁶ IR 67, I 21—32.

mentions a *mušruššû* in the interior of this temple¹, but I think it likely that these imaginative animals, like the *rîmê* represented on the Ištār Gate, are to be conceived as symbolical pictures of divine protective powers. In K. 38, Rev. 17 a *muš-rušši tam-tim* is mentioned, but the whole context, showing that the words are used in a comparative insertion, does not permit us to render them by “*mušruššû* Tiamat” even though the series of texts to which K. 38 belongs deals with the contests of Ninrag (Ninib).

And now, what is the religious meaning of the battle drama? It is connected with the preceding drama of death, but this fact alone is not enough, as we shall subsequently see, to explain its central idea. Above in p. 254 we pointed out that the mythological narratives accompanying these two dramatic cult actions must be regarded as later than the cult. Originally they accompanied the cult as a descriptive text. This text may subsequently live on independently of the cult, and at the same time theological, artistic, and urban developments may set their stamp on the myth thus evolved so that only the frailest of ties remains between the cult and the myth. We only know the religious dramas of the *akîtu* festival from late texts dating from the Neo-Assyrian empire, but we may no doubt draw the conclusion that the nucleus of these cult actions was among the earliest components of the Babylonian religion. On the other hand, the subsequent influence of the urban civilization no doubt made itself strongly felt both in the cult ceremonies and the myth because the central idea on which the cultural drama was founded was foreign to the conditions and mental development fostered by the urban culture. Hence it is out of the question that

¹ VR 33, III 13.

the religious battle drama enacted in *bît akîtu* could be an imitation of certain theological and poetical myths of the god Marduk's victory over the demons, performed as a sort of pæan in praise of the power of the god or for similar purposes. But in that case the battle drama means something different and more than the defeat of the evil powers by the deity, but what?

This will not be difficult to answer for anyone who is familiar with the cultures in which the religious drama originated, generally called the primitive cultures, though in spite of the name we do not by this mean anything primordial or incipient. It is an established term for the hunting, pastoral, and incipient agricultural civilizations, most frequently complete in themselves, often with a development of thousands of years behind them¹. Between these cultures and the urban civilization a great gulf is fixed. The urban type is characterized by the introduction of anthropomorphism into all existence, into Nature and the divine powers, and by the steadily increasing differentiation of the individuals of the community into units having their own peculiar characteristics. The whole foundation on which the primitive cultures build up their world of thought and action is of an entirely different kind. Vilhelm Grönbech, who has made a deep and comprehensive study of all primitive cultures, has given a brief account² of the underlying ideas common to them all, a survey of hitherto unequalled importance in the history of religion for the understanding of the culture of primitive peoples. He has

¹ Cf. Vilhelm Grönbech, *PR*, pp. 1—4.

² *Primitiv Religion*, Sthlm. 1915; this brief survey is supplemented by his great work on the primitive culture of the Teutons (*The Culture of the Teutons*, Vol. I—II, Lond., Copenhagen, 1925 ff.) the first volume of which is especially very important.

there attempted to penetrate to the very roots, to the spiritual life itself, which is at the bottom of their religious ideas and actions.

If I was to state in brief what are the fundamental ideas of the primitive culture, I should point out, on the basis of Vilhelm Grönbeck's work and observations derived from my own study of the manifestations in word and action of the religion of primitive peoples, that their intimate intercourse with Nature breeds in them a conception of her entirely different from that to which we, living in an urban civilization, have accustomed ourselves through thousands of years. In our type of civilization various phases may be shown, in which Nature has been regarded successively from the anthropomorphic, the economic, the esthetic, and the scientific point of view. To primitive man, on the other hand, Nature is no collective conception, but a motley mass of units, each having its own special life. Here there is no introduction of anthropomorphism, no division, as in the urban culture, between the body and the "higher" soul. Everything here has life or "a soul", (if by this, in the language of the urban or "European" civilization, we understand the unity of soul and body, without thinking of a combination, a connection of two opposite elements), a soul, or *mana*, to use a Melanesian word which precisely expresses primitive man's conception. The life (nature, "soul", *mana*) of the stone is to be heavy, to have edges, to roll down the rock, to be capable of being made into a tool¹. We find the same conception of animals, natural phenomena, human beings; the separate animal is no individual any more than e. g. each separate human being, but a representative of this or

¹ Cf. Strehlow, III 2. pp. 56—58.

that species. Individual man merely exists by virtue of his kin which represents the general fund of life manifesting itself in him amongst other individuals, just as all the separate suns that with each new day appear to the eye are different separate representatives of "the sun" (the *sun-mana*). Each species has its *mana*, but we must remember that species is not a concept employed, as in our usage, to designate human beings as opposed to animals, animals as opposed to minerals, etc.; each family in the human community constitutes a species, as distinct from other families, as e. g. the species of the raven from that of the opossum. In the conception of the *mana* of the various species we meet with no abstractive uniformity: the king's *mana* is of a different kind to that of the chief, of the peasant, whereas psychologically we invest these with the same soul.

All that lives is thus conceived as having its own distinctive character. The anthropomorphic line of thought, which makes Europeans call in the aid of child psychology to render the savage intelligible to us, merely shows how we are steeped to the neck in our own urban culture. If we were to express in one of our terms of what kind is primitive man's conception and description of the *mana* of this or that species, we must say that the *mana* of every species is determined by its "environment". In this way we can give the term "having a distinctive character" a wider application, while at the same time we have defined the peculiar character of the idea of the *mana*. The king's *mana* is his distinctive kind of vitality, the "environment" of which cannot be characterized quite generally, but is dependent on time and place, on his kin, its experience, traditions, and history, on the purely physical apparition of the king. We get on to firmer

ground when determining the *mana* "environment" of certain species of animals, because the marked variations characterizing the conception of the various groups of human beings are only found where, from a European point of view, we have different species of animals. In other words, all ravens, all eagles, all buffaloes, etc. have each their different *mana* "environment" in common, whereas the concept "all human beings" is unknown to primitive man. Various groups of human beings (i. e. the individual families) have each their different *mana* "environment", corresponding to the difference between raven and eagle, etc. This conception of the multitudinous groups (species) in life as determined by their "environment", manifests itself artistically in the descriptions of primitive man in the fact that what we conceive and reproduce impressionistically and realistically, or in the abstract or as a type, he gives us in pictures (in verse or prose, in drawings) containing more than the immediate situation presents¹. When thus, among the Arunta Australians, we have the raven and the rock inseparably associated², we must be careful not to reason esthetically as Europeans concerning this sudden introduction of the rock, the great mountain. The rock is not introduced as an effective background serving to surround the raven with a definite gloomy atmosphere of loneliness, or whatever it occurs to us to imagine, but the picture of the raven inevitably carries along with it the "environment" of the raven: the rocks, and the alknarbana trees in which it perches. Not only would the picture of the raven be incomplete but it would be quite unimaginable to primitive man if the entire "en-

¹ Cf. Grönbech, *PR*, p. 6 and *The Culture of the Teutons*, (I.) Lond., Copenhagen, 1925, pp. 184-204.

² Strehlow, III₁. pp. 50-52.

vironment" were not included in the description. This is a totally different conception of Nature and her units from that of the urban civilization. The individual groups belong together, spiritually and materially, in quite another way than with us whose development has led us to classify, differentiate, and distinguish. We have dissolved the connection determined by "environment" between the natural phenomena, which is the only way in which primitive man can conceive them.

In the primitive religious cult this line of thought reappears; it is the central idea and dominant note of all the religious ceremonies. Religious thought in its multitudinous forms, which European culture has gradually raised to eminence at the expense of action, we do not meet with. The myths and legends we find among the primitive peoples are either tribal history or merely cult texts in the sense in which we previously used the term¹. Among the primitive peoples religion is identical with religious cult. And in what, then, does this consist, what happens in it? It is of course impossible to return a general answer to this question because the forms are multitudinous in the primitive culture, and depend especially on whether we are dealing with hunting, pastoral, or agricultural peoples. And the whole is made more complicated by the fact that we very rarely find these cultures in their pure state; the agricultural civilization crops out almost everywhere, having gradually been grafted on cultures originally quite different. I am, however, of opinion that the experience gathered from the most varying cults of primitive peoples entitles us to point out the following as a characterization of primitive religious cult.

¹ Cf. above pp. 254—55.

Primitive man is placed in the midst of a world full of the most different *manas*, each having its own distinctive character determined by its "environment". In order to be able to exist, i. e. in order to possess the material necessities of life and to be spiritually in harmony with Nature which must be arranged in a cosmos, it is necessary for primitive man to enter into communication with the strange *manas*. It is dangerous to mix the *manas*, this is shown by the mutual experience of various peoples (the *taboo* of the primitive peoples takes its rise from this), only on special occasions called religious festivals or cults does this take place. Men prepare themselves for this by special initiation, well knowing that the ordinary man cannot acquit himself satisfactorily here. The religious cult denotes a mixture of *manas*; men transcend the limits of their species and identify themselves with the *manas* surrounding them in Nature and belonging to the absolutely necessary units of their cosmos. In the dramatic cult man mimically identifies himself with the sun and the fertilizing rain, with the thunder and the wind, with the waters under the earth, with all the species of animals on which his hunting depends, he fills himself with the whole of his cosmos (to Europeans it often looks a-mimetic). And then follows the culmination of the drama: the ritual creation of the conditions of life for the new year, the multiplication of the animals, the provision of sufficient quantities of rain and humidity, the suppression of dearth, disease, and other devilry, the assurance that sun and moon will keep to their orbits and that a new sun will every day follow the one that has disappeared, is dead. The religious drama of the great annual festival is thus a repeated creation and arranging of the cosmos from the beginning. Men are the

gods, to speak as Europeans, it is they who create all and through the mimic action of the drama ensure the prosperity of the coming year. The ensuing events of daily life are simply the predetermined consequence of the action of the drama, the out-let of the tensions of the culminating moments of the cult. Primitive cult knows no other god than man filled with the strange *manas*. The ordinary man, especially the chief, has a strong *mana*, it is true, but even the head of a tribe is incapable of doing anything in the religious drama. No, man must draw his strength from without, not from deities or similar inventions of the urban culture, but from all the real *manas* which his eyes show to him every day as extant powers filled with strength. And being filled in the drama with these forces, man is enabled to sustain and re-create these *manas*, the animals, the sun, the phenomena of the heavens, etc. Here thought moves in a circle, says the European, for man draws strength from without in order to create that which is outside man and give it renewed, actual existence. But if we look at it from the point of view of primitive man which we gave in outline in the preceding part, we understand that the religious cult, besides denoting the exceptional in life and at the same time its culmination, is a simple consequence of the psychological foundation of primitive culture. Precisely because the primitive idea of the *mana* is determined by "environment" as pointed out above, a mixture of different *manas* is possible. To the animal belongs not only what the European would call its nature, its appearance, and movements, but in part of the animal, in the feather of an eagle, the tip of the tail of an opossum, the whole animal is present. A man's *mana* is present too in his possessions, his cattle, his treasures,

his weapons, and his garments. Therefore an individual has power over another individual of whom he owns a part, if his *mana* is sufficiently strong. If he makes an image of some one and has sufficient strength, he may do him irreparable harm. The European calls this respectively contagious and homoeopathic magic. The whole primitive mode of thought on these points gives expression to what is contained in the idea of the *mana* determined by its "environment", viz. that the part is equal to the whole, one is equal to many. And now, in the drama, the performers identify themselves in the cult dance¹ with the units of the cosmos. He who wears part of the animal on his person, and mimically imitates the motions of the animal, he is the animal, he has identified himself with it. He who walks with the sun, from east to west in a circle, has identified himself with the sun, is the sun. The part is equal to the whole.

To illustrate what we have stated above about the primitive dramatic cult, we will now examine one of these in the following. It is derived from the culture of the North American Blackfeet Indians of which Walter McClintock has furnished us with important knowledge. In his book *The Old North Trail or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians*, London, 1910, he has, on pp. 76—102 described his participation in one of the religious cults conducted by one of the chiefs Mad Wolf, a description which Vilhelm Grönbech adduced already in 1913 in his University Lectures at Copenhagen in illustration of his conception of primitive religious cults. The account given by McClintock of what he calls the *Ceremonial of the Beaver Medicine* is, as will be understood, conceived from the European point

¹ Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, Cambr. 1923.

of view¹, but the long time he spent among the Blackfeet Indians made him an impartial observer, and therefore his account and his rendering of the cult songs must throughout be regarded as first class evidence. — The beaver cult in which he took part is no pure primitive hunting cult. Influenced by European surroundings the Blackfeet Indians have begun to cultivate the soil, forced to do so amongst other things because that which constituted the central idea in their religious as well as their material culture, the great herds of buffaloes, gradually diminishes and tends to disappear. Hence we shall on several points meet with features from the agricultural civilization in the cult, above all in the fact that women take part in it; this would be impossible in a pure hunting community. Another feature from the agricultural civilization is the stress laid on the importance of the soil to man in certain ceremonies relating to its cultivation, and, if we may trust McClintock's account, the prayers occasionally offered up to certain divine powers, which would seem to imply ideas of fixed spheres of power outside the human world, on which that world is dependent. The culture of the Blackfeet Indians is thus in a stage of transition from the primitive conditions of the hunting community to the more firmly established agricultural community. As previously mentioned this sets its stamp on the cult here and there, but its whole foundation and the central action in the drama performed is primitive throughout. We must merely distinguish the incipient agricultural ideas in order to realize the more vividly the force and peculiarity of the original ideas.

¹ Therefore, where he uses the word "medicine" I have throughout substituted the word *mana*, as this covers much better what is to be expressed in the primitive language than the word "medicine".

The participants in the festival assembled in Mad Wolf's *tipi*, i. e. the sacred tent painted with pictures on the outside in which the cult takes place and which is used only for this purpose. Upon entering the tent McClintock found Mad Wolf seated right at the back and to the left of him O-mis-tai-po-kah, White Grass, Isso-ko-yi-kinni, Stock-stchi, Medicine Wolf, Elk Chief, Bear Child, Ear Rings, and Double Runner.¹ On his right sat his wife, Gives-to-the-Sun, Natokema, wife of O-mis-tai-po-kah, and other women. — Among the Blackfeet Indians, as frequently among primitive peoples, each family is closely connected with a certain animal; some scholars designate this relation a totem relation, saying that this or that family has this or that animal for a totem. This is not the place to discuss this problem, as it does not in any way aid us in understanding the succeeding beaver cult, but we will merely point out that no "totemism" can be shown to exist among the Blackfeet Indians. On the whole this concept is a European invention which we nowhere find represented as it is given in theory in the textbooks. According to my idea the matter may be put as follows. Either "totemism" is identical with the cultual relationship of men to the surrounding cosmos (animals, the phenomena of the heavens, the vegetable and mineral world), and considered from this point of view all primitive cultures are totemistic, since this cult relationship is the centre of primitive man's religious world, and this is how I conceive "totemism". Or else it is a purely social measure characterized by a series of regulations and prescriptions concerning the protection of various species of animals which it is the duty of the various clans to superintend, and

¹ McClintock incorrectly calls all these "the priests".

concerning the division of the tribe into families, amongst other things for the purpose of regulating marriage. I think it would be convenient to keep these two things distinct. On certain points the social-economic and the cultural-religious aspects of "totemism" seem to overlap. However, this fact cannot prove their mutual interdependence, it is merely an accidental coincidence in the cultures that are more narrowly limited than our urban culture. In social-economic totemism we meet with the peculiarity that families are named after animals. This originates from the fact that these families used to superintend the protection and hunting of these animals. Though it cannot be shown that they are of any special significance to them in the cosmos in which we now find them, we must remember the frequency of their wanderings and the persistency of tradition which keeps the same families constantly associated with the same species of animals. —

Hence it will be impossible for us to ascertain why Mad Wolf, who celebrates the festival, is more closely associated with the beaver than with any other animal; we must be content to know that it is so, and during the performance of the ceremonial we shall see again and again that the beaver plays a prominent part in it besides the actual central figure of the festival, the buffalo. — The beaver cult opens with Bear Child rising and with a forked stick covered with sacred painted (probably a-mimetic) pictures taking a live coal from the fire and placing it before Mad Wolf. Thereupon he takes dried sweet grass from a buckskin bag, holding it aloft as a sign that the ceremonial is now to begin, and then placing it on the hot coal. As the smoke rises, a pleasant fragrance fills the *tipi*. Then Mad Wolf begins the cult, singing the seven

cult songs. They are sung by all in unison, each song being repeated four times. Mad Wolf leads the chant, swaying his body to and fro. The first song, dealing with Napi, i. e. the sun *mana*, runs as follows:

Behold Napi comes into the *tipi*.
 He has a strong *mana*.
 He came in.
 I see him.

The next two songs run as follows:

The Heavens provide us with food.
 The Heavens are glad to behold us.

and

The Earth loves us.
 The Earth is glad to hear us sing.
 The Earth provides us with food.

Mad Wolf ends this song with a gesture of his hands which he sweeps along the ground. The next song deals with what McClintock calls "the prongs". They are sacred sticks, forked and painted red, and they are used to take hot coals from the fire as we saw at the beginning of the cult. The song itself is not given; it was sung in unison by Mad Wolf, O-mis-tai-po-kah and their wives, who knelt beside the sacred Bundle, laying their hands on the sticks. Each in turn holds a prong against his shoulder, imitating the way in which beavers carry small sticks when building their lodge. Thereupon they extend their arms together, their hands raised and parallel, the sign of the beaver lodge, and sing together: "Pity us! Grant us your wisdom and cunning that we may escape all dangers. May our *mana* provide us with food. May all of us be blessed." From the ceremonies accompanying the prong chant we see plainly that the present use of the prongs is derived,

originally they were associated with Mad Wolf's special animal, the beaver. This animal is introduced into the cult with the fifth song dealing with the beaver, male and female. The duality calls to mind the agricultural civilization. The beaver song runs as follows:

The Old Man is coming in.
 The Old Man has come in.
 He sits down beside his *mana*.
 It is a very strong *mana*.

The Old Woman is coming in.
 The Old Woman has come in.
 She sits down and takes the *mana*.
 It is a very strong *mana*.

The sixth song is a buffalo song. While chanting this Mad Wolf and O-mis-tai-po-kah with their wives kneel by the side of the sacred Bundle, lift it slowly with deep reverence, singing in unison:

I take hold of the sacred Buffalo.
 While I am walking, I walk slowly.
 I stop with my *mana*.
 The ground where my *mana* rests is sacred.

The seventh and last song, the most detailed of them all, is also a buffalo song. It is chanted to a series of important ceremonies:

When summer comes, He will come down
 from the mountains.

Mad Wolf requests his wife to bring Koto-ki-a-nukko, i. e. buffalo raw hides, explaining to McClintock that during the ceremony to follow the participators will beat time on these hides with small rattles, imitating the way beavers drum by striking the water with their tails. Mad Wolf then

chief from the Blood Indians utters similar thoughts to those expressed in the fourth cult song. The phrases bear marks of the agricultural civilization and incipient traces of a contrast between men and the divine powers. Thereupon follow fresh cult songs. Mad Wolf sings the elk song while Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema imitate the actions of elk rubbing their horns against trees. In the next cult song of the moose four men imitate with their heads the movements of moose rubbing their horns. The antelope song is sung by Mad Wolf, O-mis-tai-po-kah, and their wives, while they make the antelope sign. They hold their hands closed, one above the other, then change their position with a quick movement, in imitation of antelope running. At this point of the cult the Blood chief's wife interrupts the action, making a long "prayer" for her own tribe and for the people among whom she is visiting.

Now Mad Wolf produces the sacred pipe, which is wrapped in red flannel. Two songs are sung while the strings are untied and the cover removed. The words of the first are as follows: "Our father, the Sun! It is now time you were rising. I want to dance with you." While the pipe is still in its cover, three pipe songs are danced, the first being danced by Mad Wolf, the second by O-mis-tai-po-kah, the third by White Grass who, with the pipe, circles the fire in the direction of the sun, i. e. from right to left. At the moment of unrolling the pipe from its cover Mad Wolf gives the cry of the beaver and imitates the movements of a swimming beaver. The participators in the cult beat the buffalo hides vigorously with their rattles. Finally O-mis-tai-po-kah concludes the pipe dances by returning the pipe to Mad Wolf, who holds it up towards the north, south, east, and west. Finally there follows a ceremony

performed by the two women Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema with an agricultural implement, a root-digger with which they imitate the action of digging roots. The cultual implement is similar to that in common use but painted with red paint with various a-mimetic figures.

Now follows one of the central actions of the cult, the opening of the sacred Bundle. Two women kneel beside the Bundle and, representing the buffalo bull, they slowly approach the Bundle. Three times the bull stops before he reaches the Bundle, the fourth time he touches the Bundle with his horns. Mad Wolf sings various songs while the women untie the strings and remove the outside cover, a large beaver skin. Mad Wolf thereupon sings another song while the women slowly unroll the beaver skin revealing the contents of the Bundle, all sorts of skins of birds and animals from the plains and the mountains. "It is difficult for one of the white race," says McClintock, "to realise the deep solemnity with which the Indians opened the sacred Bundle. To them it was a moment of deepest reverence and religious feeling".

After the opening of the sacred Bundle follows a series of cult dances, that is to say, imitations of the ways and habits of the animal whose dance is being danced. Each cult dance is accompanied by cult songs which, unfortunately, McClintock does not reproduce, but we can gain some idea of the length and elaborateness of the ceremonial when we hear that it begins early in the morning while the full moon is still visible and does not end till after sunset. Probably there is a fixed traditional order of succession for the cult dances, one by one the skin of a bird or an animal is taken out of the sacred Bundle, and the cult dance of the animal in question is performed.

It is only natural that the first dance in Mad Wolf's *tipi* should be a beaver dance. He takes a beaver skin from the Bundle and holding it up reverently he chants: "My *mana* (i. e. the beaver and its power) says, 'when I go out from the lodge and see an enemy, I dive down into the water where no one can harm me'." He then moves the beaver skin in imitation of the movements of the animal when swimming. Suddenly he blows upon a whistle, it is the beaver giving the alarm at the sight of an enemy. The other participators in the ceremonial join in the beaver song, accompanying it by the beating of the rattles. The women kneel beside the Bundle making various motions with their hands in imitation of the beaver swimming, and working, and building his lodge, swaying their bodies in time with the rhythmical beating of the rattles. Each of the performers in turn takes the beaver skin and with bowed head holds it reverently towards her breast saying: "I take you, my child, in order that my children and relatives may be free from sickness." Two other women now join Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema in the beaver dance. They cover their heads with blankets to represent the beaver in his lodge, all the time moving their bodies rhythmically. They uncover their heads to represent the beaver coming out, they take small sticks in their mouths, imitating the beaver carrying small branches. With their hands they make swimming motions. Suddenly the beaver dives under the water, Mad Wolf slowly raises the sacred beaver skin, while the four dancers continue their movements, they imitate the beaver coming to the surface and crossing the river. After a little while they sit upright, wiping their faces with their hands and looking carefully about them in all directions, like the beaver guarding against danger. Now

follows a ceremony performed by the four women standing first in single file and then dancing round the fire, the first of them receiving the skin from Mad Wolf and then handing it on to the next and so on, until all have had it. Each of the women in turn dances round the fire with the skin across her shoulders saying: "I take you, my child that my husband and children might be free from sickness and that they may live to be old."

The next dance is the dance of the weasel. Here we meet with the same features that we now know from the beaver dance. Two snow-white winter skins of the weasel are taken from the sacred Bundle, the weasel song is sung, Mad Wolf holding the skins reverently towards his breast and pronouncing a formula for happiness and fertility. He dances round the fire, blowing upon his whistle to imitate the cry of the weasel, he likewise imitates its movements when it is hunting for food. The weasel dance now develops in a peculiar way, not originally included in the cult, and which we therefore pass over, McClintock being named after the weasel and thus being culturally initiated. — Now follows the dance of the lynx. Mad Wolf hands O-mis-tai-po-kah the decorated tail of a lynx, the latter holds it aloft and all sing in unison Gives-to-the-Sun advances, holding in her hand a stick painted red. Natokema takes the tail of the lynx, imitating the movements of the lynx hunting squirrels. First it walks round the tree, then sits down, looking up at the tree (Gives-to-the-Sun's stick). Several times it runs towards the tree as if in pursuit of a squirrel, but each time it returns and sits down. Finally it runs quickly towards the tree, and Natokema carries the tail rapidly up one side of the tree and down the other. (At this point O-mis-tai-po-kah interrupts the action

because the ceremony has not been correctly performed. He concludes it himself letting the tail climb slowly up the tree and holding it for a moment at the top, before beginning the descent). — Then follow cult dances for the following animals: the badger, the wild goose, the mallard duck (here comes an interruption, a woman mourning for her dead child entering the *tipi*), and for the otter, the mink, the prairie dog, and the lizard. The tobacco dance, which comes next, is followed by the last three cult dances for the red-headed woodpecker, the buffalo, and the dog. All these cult dances are of the same kind as those for the beaver, the weasel, and the lynx described in detail above. Hence we shall only describe one of them, the buffalo dance.

Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema rise, they wear head dresses having horns and kneel beside the sacred Bundle with lowered heads, imitating the action of buffalo cows digging wallows in the autumn. They paw the ground and bellow, representing the buffalo throwing dirt upon its back and shaking itself, making the dust rise high into the air. Gives-to-the-Sun and Natokema then dance round, imitating mating buffalo; they stand before their mates, paw the ground, and hook at them with their horns. Mad Wolf and O-mis-tai-po-kah join in the dance; they follow the women round the fire as buffalo bulls follow cows. Now more and more people join in the dance, amongst others McClintock himself. — After the last dance, that of the dog, which is performed by women and enjoys such popularity that even mourning women who are not admitted to the cult festival in the *tipi* dance it outside, the participants make preparations for returning to their tents. The sun has set. They carefully take off their beautifully decorated ritual

dresses and change their dance moccasins for those of every day. This is the end of the festival, but before parting, they all partake of a meal together. A series of customs associated with this meal do not seem very primitive, and it is a peculiar fact that this meal, originally no doubt the ritual meal, is not eaten until after the conclusion of the festival when the participants have again put on their everyday clothes. This shows that the primitive beaver cult festival is in a stage of transition.

If, however, we eliminate such features as show an alienation from the primitive hunting community and recollect what has been said above of the traces of a superimposed agricultural civilization¹, the cult of the primitive hunting community is clear enough in itself. To the European mode of thought it may seem queer; there are no gods, prayers are not offered up to any deities, all that is done is to imitate the movements and habits of various animals. But seen in the light of the above brief characterization of primitive culture, the whole cult of the Blackfeet Indians is, as it were, an illustration of our highly condensed remarks on the primitive dramatic cult. One thing only is wanting, viz. the struggle against the hostile powers, for this does not belong in the hunting community while we find it both in the primitive pastoral, and especially in the primitive agricultural stage of civilization. What we learn from the beaver cult is briefly this: the sacred festival means above all that men identify themselves with the cosmos. Sun, heaven and earth, and the four quarters of the globe are brought into the *tipi*, men dance in the direction of the sun, make movements towards the north,

¹ We see these in the ceremony with the root-digger and in certain of the cult "prayers".

south, east, and west, in that way they identify themselves with the heavenly bodies and with the outer ring surrounding the cosmos. Thereupon they identify themselves with the contents of the cosmos, all the animals found in the mountains and on the plains. They take part of each of these, in that way they have the whole animal and at the same time the whole species, all the individuals belonging to it, as we should say in our European way, and through the dance in which they imitate as closely as possible the habits of the various animals, they identify themselves with these; he who imitates the movements of the animal is the animal. The person taking part in the festival has thus filled himself with *mana* gathered in from every part of the universe, and according to the primitive mode of thought he may with the strongest feeling of unity sing:

I fly high in the air.

My *mana* is very strong.

The wind is my *mana*.

The Buffalo is my *mana*.

He is a very strong *mana*.

The trees are my *mana*.

When I am among them I walk around my
own *mana*.

This is not grand cosmic poetry in the European sense, but simple primitive logic. The person who takes part in the cult is the crow or the eagle flying high in the air, and the wind, the "environment" of the one who flies high¹, is thus also the "environment" of the participator in the cult, is his *mana*. And the same is the case with the buffalo and the trees among which he wanders in the

¹ Cf. Strehlow, III.1. p. 38 f.

mountains. The cult song is merely the expression of what man experiences in the cult when identifying himself with the cosmos and its individual types. We note that the beaver, Mad Wolf's sacred animal, and the buffalo, the chief game of the Indian hunter, play the leading part throughout. Thus it is the buffalo that brings the sacred Bundle, he is the enactor of the festival, and the most elaborate cult dance and cult song is dedicated to him. The beaver, on the other hand, dances the first cult dance, and it is in his skin that all the others are enclosed. We see too by what slight aids the action is conducted; often it is only by gestures and a rhythmic movement of the upper part of the body that "the dance" is performed. Through this we get to understand that the primitive dramatic action must often seem a-mimetic to the European because by the development through the agricultural and urban civilization the original meaning of the details of the cult action is gradually consigned to oblivion.

But why does man identify himself with all the animals of the plains and the mountains? Because in this way he is the animals and can govern their multiplication and determine whether they will be willing to let themselves be hunted. These are the two most important factors in the life of the hunter, plenty of game, and success in hunting it. But another point of view asserts itself too. He must uphold the cosmos, the world will not continue to exist of itself, it is a European invention that the works of the universe have been wound up once for all, and henceforward everything in Nature will take its course as it should. Primitive man, on the other hand, must uphold the universe himself, he has no gods to do it for him, and he has no certainty that the sun will rise

again on the next day. Therefore he dances the sun dance to keep the sun in its orbit, therefore all the four quarters of the globe, i. e. the entire cosmos according to primitive ideas, are included in the cult festival, therefore all the animal dances are danced, for not only the multiplication of the animals but their very existence must be ensured. Therefore the primitive annual festival is at the same time a creation of the world in the primitive sense; man procures *mana* from the outside world in order to create anew, in the great moments of concentration in the festival, in the dramatic dance, all the *mana* upon which he draws in order to be able to create. This return to the starting point expresses profoundly, I think, what is the nucleus of the primitive mode of thought, to which the primitive cult drama gives full expression. —

We have thus seen that in the hunting communities the primitive drama is a ritual creation of the cosmos of these communities in the strict sense of the word. If now we return to the *akitu* festival of Babylon, at which we have shown that a ritual drama was enacted¹, we are better able to understand what is the real nucleus and meaning of this drama. Before us several scholars have hinted at the possibility of a cult drama at Babylon. As early as 1891 Zimmern surmised a purely cultural connection between the myth of the creation and the *akitu* festival, and advanced the theory “dass die babylonische Schöpfungslegende . . . gleichsam die Pericope des Zagnukfestes bildete”². In *ZBN*, I. pp. 127—28 (1906) he had almost dis-

¹ This drama falls into two parts, the death drama and the battle drama, see above pp. 221—43 and pp. 255—68.

² *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge des Purimfestes in Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Hrsg. von B. Stade, XI. Giessen, 1891, p. 168.

covered the true state of the case, but was prevented by drawing parallels between K. 1356 and K. 3476, and K. 4245 and Sp I 131¹. In *ZBN*, II. (1918) where he ought to have confined his interest to the contents of VAT 9555², all ends in sterile comparisons with the New Testament narratives of Jesus of Nazareth. However, on the basis of the texts published in *ZBN*, I., both Eisler (1910)³ and Fries (1910)⁴ have advanced hypotheses as to a cult drama at the akîtu festival in Babylon, but the works of both these scholars from which I have vigorously dissented in p. 9² above, are a hopeless jumble of astro-mythological explanations. Thus Fries' explanation of the origin of the cult drama⁵ is directly derived from Winckler's doctrine of the "old-Oriental" view of the world, that everything on earth is merely a reflection of heavenly events, the cult drama is merely a repetition of certain astro-mythological observations, originally a naive Naturalism, the earliest view of the world, which was subsequently systematized by the theologizing priesthood, etc.—In a paper, *Mimus en Drama op het Babylonische Nieuwjaarsfeest*⁶, Fr. Böhl has advanced the conjecture that VAT 367⁷ is a ritual text which was used for dramatic performances at the Babylonian New Year's Feast, drawing a parallel between this text and what we know from other countries of the Sacaeian festival, the Saturnalia, and similar festivals. A close examination of the text has, however,

¹ Cf. above pp. 210—12.

² In *JEA*, VIII. pp. 41—42 Sidney Smith has drawn correct conclusions on the basis hereof.

³ *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt*, I. p. 290¹.

⁴ *Studien zur Odyssee*, I. pp. 91—94, 192, 211, 233—45.

⁵ *Studien zur Odyssee*, I. pp. 91—94.

⁶ *Stemmen des Tijds. Maandschrift voor Christendom en Cultuur*, X. Utrecht, 1920—21, pp. 42 ff.

⁷ Cf. E. Ebeling in *MVAG*, XXIII². pp. 50 ff.

made me adopt the view that, provided there was a kind of Sacaean festival at Babylon, VAT 367 had no connection with it¹. But moreover, all that can be adduced in proof of a Babylonian Sacaean festival is two passages from Gudea², and there is nothing to indicate that the customs referred to in these passages were in use at the *akitu* festival. No similar ceremonies are mentioned in any text referring to the annual festival, and the Gudea texts state nothing about the ceremonies being performed at the New Year³. Hence, in this connection, we think we are justified in disregarding an explanation of the Gudea passages viewed in the light of similar customs among other peoples; the fact that we meet with such customs among these at the New Year is no proof that the same was the case at Babylon⁴.

Of course it is impossible to compare the primitive drama in the form in which we have become acquainted with it through a single example to the cult drama of the *akitu* festival, because the Babylonian drama belongs to the urban culture which again has an agricultural civilization behind it. Our brief survey of primitive culture was merely intended to show what a religious drama actually means, that we may the better understand the special character of the Babylonian drama. In short, the primitive hunting drama means a new creation of the individual *manas* of the cosmos through a ritual identification of men's *manas* with those of the world outside. With the

¹ Cf. also Zimmern in *ZA*, XXXIV. pp. 87—88.

² Stat. B 726—35 and Cyl. B 1718—21; cf. above pp. 8², 9¹.

³ Likewise *KAT*³, p. 516².

⁴ Hence I can neither agree with J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2. ed. III. Lond. 1900, pp. 151 ff., nor with Brockelmann in *ZA*, XVI. pp. 396 ff.

primitive agriculturist the drama has assumed a somewhat different character even though the fundamental idea is the same. The agriculturist introduces anthropomorphism; the *manas* of the hunting community, each having its own distinct character, each determined by its "environment", are conceived as human. Here we meet with a stage in the development towards the fixed deities of the urban culture. The cosmos is conceived as being in three stories, heaven, earth, and below the earth; down below dwell the gods of fertility, often conceived as gods of the realm of the dead. The cosmos of the agriculturist has for its main pillars sun, rain, wind, and storms, these are the powers that govern the growth of the field, and the soil and the forces therein. Into all this, anthropomorphism is introduced, and the variations are great from country to country. In some the earth is conceived as the great mother from whose lap all things originate, in others the god and goddess in the earth are the givers and protectors of fertility. The agriculturist's drama centres round the alternation of the seasons, the time of rain and germination, which gives place to the harvest season, which in turn gives place to the dry season, etc. Therefore the god of fertility dies, therefore he rises again to conquer the demons of drought who threatened fertility in its very essence. Another drama pertaining to the agricultural civilization, (probably of earlier date than the anthropomorphic drama of the alternation of the seasons, with the death and resurrection of the god, the victory of the god over the pernicious powers), is the phallos cult comprising an abundance of variations and elaborate ceremonies among the different peoples, but the chief ceremony of which is the ritual coition of the god and goddess of fertility in the field, of archetypical

significance for the happiness, fertility, and prosperity of the whole agricultural community. Both the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama are performed in a similar way to the above-described drama of the hunting community. Man identifies himself ritually with the powers of the cosmos (in the hunting community these are *manas* determined by their "environment", in the agricultural community they are anthropomorphic deities), men are the gods, and in consequence they can create anew each time all the possibilities of the year. Common to the hunting and agricultural communities is thus the central idea of the drama, that the cosmos is created anew by man every year at the great cult festival. But the contents of the drama differ in the two communities. The development of anthropomorphic deities, in particular, denotes a new departure, though in principle the performance of the two dramas is the same. It rests on the primitive conception of the world outlined above, and on the conception that in the cult drama man may transcend the limits of his species and identify himself as creator with all the powers of the cosmos.

Nowhere in the Assyro-Babylonian religion can we trace a primitive agricultural conception like the one described above. The Babylonian religion is a fruit of the urban culture, a continuation of the agricultural religion, but gradually influenced by the whole social and ethical development of the individuals as well as the community, continually liable to the interference of the priesthood and — in other countries, at any rate — of the individual. Now our investigation in this work of the *akîtu* festival of Babylon has shown beyond doubt that the chief events of the festival were in the first place the death drama

with Marduk as the leading character, enacted, probably, in the temenos of Esagila, and in the second place the battle drama in *bit akîtu* in which the resurrected Marduk defeats his enemies. We have further seen that a *ἱερόδς γάμος* between Marduk and Zarpanitum was celebrated, probably as the concluding ceremony of the akîtu festival. In other words, in the urban culture of Babylon we have seen both the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama performed at the great annual festival, exactly as in the primitive agricultural civilization. That the drama was performed on a considerably larger scale than in the primitive culture and was marked by the urban conception of fixed deities, is self-evident. As we have seen, the central idea in the primitive drama, both with the hunter and the agriculturist, was the re-creation of the cosmos, the creation of the coming year, which is inseparably bound up with the performance of the drama of the seasons as well as the phallos drama. And that this conception of the creation continued to exist under urban forms in Babylon at the akîtu festival, inseparably associated with the performance of the cult drama itself, we have certain proof. Above in Chapter III E. 3. we saw that in all the texts "the determination of destiny" is referred to as one of the chief cult actions of the akîtu festival. Presumably it takes place in Ezida in Esagila and has an urban character, having become detached from the drama itself, and assuming the form of an independent ceremony of theological character. But this is the expression which the later-born give to a matter which, instinctively and bound by tradition, they conceive to be central, and which is therefore retained as a main point of the festival. And the theologically conceived "determination of destiny" in Esagila, per-

formed by Marduk aided by Nabu who writes down his words on "the tablets of destiny" amid the great assembly of the gods, is, from the point of view of the urban culture, identical with that creation of the cosmos in its entirety which we saw above took place in the primitive drama in the hunting and agricultural community. But that this creation or "determination of destiny" was originally inseparably associated with the cult drama itself in the *akîtu* festival¹, and that it is merely the development of the urban culture which has caused a division, is implied in the origin of the Babylonian cult drama. And we can show too that this was the case; in addition to the drama of death and the struggle with and defeat of Tiamat there was originally at Babylon a creation of the universe exactly as in the primitive dramas.

We learn this from a closer examination of *Enuma eliš*. Two passages in our texts show a close connection between the creation epic and the *akîtu* festival; in DT 15 + DT 114 + DT 109 + MNB 1848, 279—84 we read: [e-nu-m]a an-na-a i-te-ip-šu [arki qut]-tin-nu ša ki-iš u-mu e-nu-ma e-liš [ištu ri-š]i-šu adi qîti-šu ^{amid}urigal e-ku-a [ana ^dBêl i]-na-aš-ši ma-la ša enuma e-liš ana ^dBêl [i]-na-aš-šu-u pânu ša aqî ša ^dAni u šubtu ša ^dEn-lil ku-ut-tu-mu-u. Thus, on the fourth day, at the conclusion of the ceremony after the small meal, the urigallu recites *Enuma eliš* before Marduk. Here there can hardly be any connection between the epic and the dramatic cult, since the latter hardly begins before the fifth of Nisan, the day on which the first part of the death drama, Marduk's imprisonment and death, takes place, and on which Nabu comes from Bor-

¹ Together with the phallos drama we have this cultural creation in the Gudea Cyl. B 423—519, see above pp. 184—185.

sippa, as we have concluded above in Chapter III F. from the evidence of VAT 9555. The recital of Enuma eliš must in this case no doubt be conceived as similar to the use of the poem, mentioned above on pp. 187, 212, as a powerful magic formula, able to exorcise all that is evil, this being the common conception of such texts in the urban civilization. — In VAT 9555, Obv. 34, Rev. 3, on the other hand, we see Enuma eliš directly connected with Marduk's death drama, but certain things, thus the words in Obv. 34 [e]-nu-ma e-liš [ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina maḥar ^{ilubē}]l ina ^{arbu}ni-sanni i-za-mur-u-šu-ni ina muḥḥi ša ša-bit-u-ni, would seem to indicate that it is the same urban mode of thought as pointed out above which asserts itself here. Enuma eliš is recited in order to strengthen and possibly revive the dead Marduk, it is used as a protective formula of exorcism, as pointed out above on p. 229. And Rev. 3 must probably be understood as a piece of exegesis, water is employed in a certain ceremony, and this is extremely powerful and healing since we are told in Enuma eliš that it was among the first things of existence.

If thus these passages are of small interest in connection with our subject, even though they are characteristic for our understanding of the urban culture of Babylon, the contents of K. 1356 do not leave us in doubt as to the central position occupied by the creation epic at the akītu festival. For the pictures on the gates to Aššur's *bit akītu* described in this text represent one of the chief scenes in Enuma eliš, Marduk's contest with Tiamat. The two leading ideas in Enuma eliš are Marduk's victory over the hostile powers, and Marduk's creation of the universe, his determination of the destiny of the individual pheno-

mena of the cosmos, as it is directly stated in the text¹. Here then we have quite a different conception of "the determination of destiny" from that with which we meet in the priesthood's mechanical determination of destiny by Marduk and Nabu amid the assembled gods in Esagila's Ezida. It is the idea of the creation as conceived in the primitive culture², as opposed to the theological speculation of the urban culture³. Hence I do not hesitate to hazard the hypothesis that *Enuma eliš* was originally simply a cult text⁴, in the sense referred to above in pp. 254—55, belonging to the primitive agricultural drama of Babylon, which was originally performed at the *akitu* festival. The creation and ordering of the universe, "the determination of its destiny", was originally inseparably associated with the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama⁵. But at the same time we must strongly emphasize that in the form in which we now know *Enuma eliš*, it is no cult text. The epic is a text influenced by the urban culture, which now appears as a cult legend of a similar character to e. g. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. It is a poetic production which has become detached from the cult, but in the sense that the poet has drawn upon the old cultural traditions. This is the very reason why the creation epic is of such interest to us; it is reminiscent of an earlier stratum of culture, in which each detail as well as the whole had a different meaning.

The creation epic was very widely known. We have several versions of the contest with Tiamat (or the dragon,

¹ Cf. above p. 246.

² Likewise Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II. pp. 74—77 (see above p. 251¹).

³ Cf. above Chapter III E. 3.

⁴ Likewise Mowinckel, *op. cit.* II. pp. 32, 40—41, 326 ff.

⁵ Cf. above p. 297¹.

i. e. the demon of drought) and the creation.¹ This is partly because the cult legends of the various larger cities have become embodied in them, and partly because the text in the urban culture was put into a freer form as a purely poetic production, a eulogy of the might and power of the god Marduk², or was used as a magic formula against sickness, or at the erection of temples, etc.³. — Above on p. 232 we touched upon the fact that we have very few means of ascertaining what version of the epic was used at the *akitu* festival, and we cannot be sure that it was the version of the seven tablets which we generally call *Enuma eliš*. This much we may say, however. The text employed must have contained the account of Marduk's victory over Tiamat, this is shown by the pictures on *bit akîtu* (K. 1356) in Assur. The chief deity of Babylon must have been the protagonist, and that the version employed must have given an account of the creation results from the nature of the case. The conquest of evil and the re-creation of the universe are merely two sides of the same action, and the purely sacerdotal ceremony of "the determination of destiny" in Esagila's *Ēzida* likewise shows us that a creation, a "determination of destiny", was originally associated with Marduk's victory over Tiamat. We may thus undoubtedly conclude that the version of the creation epic used at the *akitu* festival was of the same

¹ Cf. King, *STC*, I. pp. 116—155, 157—218, also King, *Legends*, pp. 102—70, where amongst other things the Sumerian versions are mentioned, and above pp. 187—88.

² Thus Rm 282 deals with the struggle with the dragon without any succeeding creation. The action takes place in time, and men exist, cities are found, etc. Cp. with such purely poetic myths the narrative of Thor's struggle with the Midgard Serpent in the *Elder Edda*.

³ Cf. above pp. 187, 212, 229, 298.

character, as regards the two central ideas, as the text known to us as *Enuma eliš*.

Our examination in Chapter III of the entire material concerning the *akîtu* festival showed us, before we began to investigate the cult drama, that the real central point of the *akîtu* festival must be sought in the procession and the actions, which we could not then pronounce any opinion upon, but which took place in *bît akîtu*. The succeeding examination showed us that the chief event of the festival was the performance of the cult drama in Esagila's temenos and in *bît akîtu*. And when we glance back to the original form of the *akîtu* festival in the primitive Babylonian agricultural civilization the facts are quite clear. The *akîtu* festival was originally the Mesopotamian agriculturist's great annual festival, and was presumably celebrated from city to city in almost the same form. At the annual festival the drama of the seasons and the phallos drama were performed archetypically to ensure happiness and prosperity for the ensuing year. Each time the cosmos is created anew. But while realizing this, we must at the same time strongly emphasize that the *akîtu* festival referred to in our texts is no part of a primitive agricultural civilization. We are in the midst of a highly developed and much differentiated urban culture, and we cannot get away from the fact that the agricultural drama embodied therein is probably a survival.

In the conjecture advanced above I used the word "probably" deliberately, for it is necessary to choose one's words with the greatest caution when dealing with this problem which is the most complicated in the history of religion. The facts are of course quite clear as soon as we are confronted by the pure forms, whether belonging to

what we have called the primitive, the agricultural, or the urban type of culture. But the scholar knows quite well that though this division of the cultures in strata is excellent for the purpose of obtaining a general view of the distinctive religious character of the various cultures, he very rarely, perhaps we may say never, meets with any of these cultures in the pure form. He must therefore take up for consideration the problem how long the religious conceptions of one culture will survive in another culture (at the stages with which we are dealing, conception and action are merely two aspects of the same matter). Or, to put it more concretely, how much is living substance, and how much is merely external form marked by tradition and sacerdotal interpretation when we meet with conceptions of the kind we call survivals in the urban culture? The analogies we may find on looking nearer home (Baptism, the Holy Communion, the Oriental agricultural myth of the death and resurrection of the god) are not sufficient here, for every culture has its own characteristics, its traditions and associations, which, from a religious point of view, are exactly what turn the balance in this case. Hence it will be understood that we can arrive at no general solution of the problem; every urban culture throughout the world in the past, present, and future, has had or will have its own special colour. In each particular case we must see how much the material transmitted will permit us to conclude.

Before briefly considering the akîtu festival in its entirety in order to ascertain what may be concluded as regards the survival of primitive religious forms in the Babylonian urban culture, we might imagine the following line of argument advanced. In their entire structure the

primitive cultures, whether hunting, pastoral, or agricultural, are so absolutely distinct from the urban culture that it must be possible for the scholar to state precisely what becomes rootless when the primitive religious forms of man change into urban forms. In principle we must be able to ascertain which primitive conceptions can make the passage into the new culture, what characteristic changes they undergo during this passage, and which conceptions are doomed when the primitive culture perishes. And the fact that the primitive agricultural civilization has already become anthropomorphic in its essence, and thus serves partly as a link between the primitive cultures and the urban culture, should greatly aid the scholar in his investigation. — However, all these considerations which seem quite reasonable from a historical point of view, are merely the European way of looking at the subject. They are based on the assumption that the various types of culture are fixed and delimited according to hard and fast lines. I must concede to the scholar who views the problem in this light that certain primitive modes of thought (e. g. the conception of the individual types of the cosmos as determined by their “environment”) lose all *raison d'être* in an urban culture. They cannot be transplanted but must be replaced by others. But in the case of the religious cult drama the European logical and historical way of thinking falls wide of the mark. In a pure urban culture we may say that the *raison d'être* for a dramatic identification with the gods and a herewith associated creation of the cosmos has ceased to be, and that the performance of such a drama can only be due to a custom established by tradition; but who can say whether all the participants in the cult think and feel merely as inheritors of an urban

culture? Perhaps the performers (the king and the priesthood) are completely imbued with the urban culture and merely act according to tradition, but perhaps, like certain other participants in the cult, they still feel in touch with the culture which has been left behind, and are perhaps in the great culminating moments of the cult filled with the mode of thought and action which inspired the cult drama. *Non liquet.*

The chief event of the akîtu festival, on which the whole festival turns, is the cult drama, and that this is still the case even in the Babylonian urban culture is a feature we must note. The European mode of thought distinguishes between two strata in the dramatic cult. In the dramatic representation of Marduk's death and resurrection, of his struggle with Tiamat¹ and the cultural creation or "determination of the destinies" of the cosmos, and in Marduk's and Zarpanitum's *ἱερὸς γάμος*, on the one hand, we trace remains of the primitive agricultural civilization. The urban mode of thought, on the other hand, is displayed in the theological "determination of destinies" in Esagila's Ezida, in the theological and artistic use made of the creation epic, as a magic formula or merely as a poetic myth, and above all in the fact that the chief divine performers in the festival takes part in it, amongst other things in the procession, in the form of statues². Presumably the primitive agriculturist introduced anthropomorphism; he thought of everything in the cosmos as human, and all the *manas* of the cosmos assumed human characteristics; in the cult drama men identified themselves with the gods. But he did not know our conception of

¹ With what slight means this may be illustrated we learn partly from the beaver cult among the Blackfeet Indians, partly from K. 3476.

² Cf. above pp. 136—139, 197¹, 264.

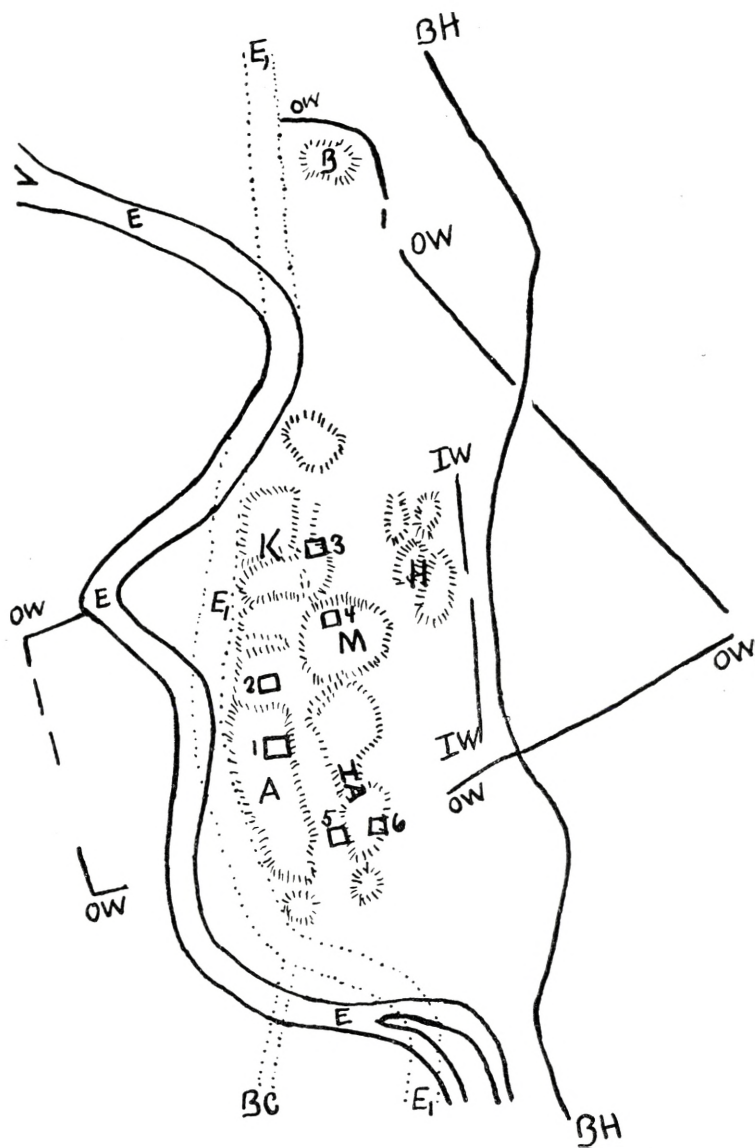
fixed deities, it was merely latent in him. In the urban culture, on the other hand, the idea of a deity becomes firmly established, it is animated and differentiated; we get one god for war, one for death, for fire, water, thunder, rain, etc., corresponding to the differentiation of life. And these gods are represented pictorially in various ways; the relation between the god and his image is most frequently conceived as a relation of identity, and it is only the reflection of a later age that looks behind the wooden image and the marble and speaks vaguely of it representing, but not being, the god.

On this point, which cannot possibly be explained away, we have the greatest contrast imaginable to the underlying idea of the cult drama. The fact that the god takes part in the cult in the form of statues testifies to a quite different mode of thought to that governing the primitive cultural conception of the drama. But at the celebration of the *akitu* festival these two sharp contrasts are found unaltered side by side. The cult drama is enacted in the primitive agricultural way; at the performance in *bît akîtu* the king, identified with Marduk, acts a part; this is seen from K. 1356 as well as K. 3476. — Marduk and the rest of the deities arrive at *bît akîtu* as statues. Confronted by this, to his mind, logical contradiction the European scholar may refuse to entertain the idea that the cult drama is a survival in the midst of the further developments of an urban culture, but he must recollect that he meets with the same dualism, contradictory in his view, in the cults of the Indian, Egyptian, and Greek urban civilizations. And at the same time he must see that the people of that time may possibly, without feeling the contradiction which the European can so clearly deduce, have moved in action

as well as in thought from what we call one stratum to another. That a time will arrive in the religious development of every culture — as is shown most clearly perhaps in the religious history of Greece — when mature reflection becomes conscious of this dualism, and when the ancient urban festivals are interpreted in a new spirit or give place to other religious forms, that is quite a different thing. But as long as we meet with the urban festivals in full vigour as is the case with the *akîtu* festival as late as the time of Nabonidus, we are justified in regarding them as entireties, viewed, felt, and experienced as such by the participants, even though two different strata, each rooted in its own culture, may be pointed out.

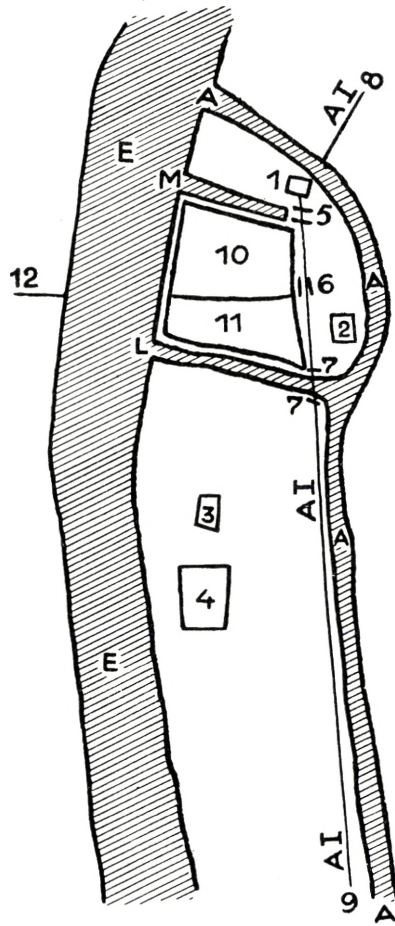
The European must relinquish the hope of a complete psychological description of how this entirety was experienced, he has no means of getting to the bottom of the thoughts or feelings of the performers or participators in the cult during the *akîtu* festival. He can only advance general considerations from a knowledge of the cultural conditions of the various strata. He lacks the associations and is out of touch with the mode of thought and feeling of which the texts only show him the external form. But I have no doubt that, both by the king and the participants in the cult, it was felt like the experience of an entirety, interpreted as the most significant event in the whole annual life of the city, when, at the *akîtu* festival of Babylon, the king, in the great procession, led Marduk's statue by the hand to *bît akîtu*, and there, as Marduk, defeated all evil in order to create the means of existence for the new year, spiritually as well as materially.

SUPPLEMENT



MAP OF THE MOUNDS OF BABYLON AND THE
TEMPLES EXCAVATED

- A: 'Amrân.
 B: Bâbil.
 BC: The Borsippa Canal.
 BH: Track from Baghdad to Hilla.
 E: The Euphrates.
 E₁: The Euphrates at the time of Nebuchadnezzar.
 H: Homera.
 IA: Ishin-aswad.
 IW: Inner city wall.
 K: Kaşr.
 M: Merkes.
 OW: Outer city wall.
 1: Esagila.
 2: Sakhn.
 3: Emaḥ.
 4: The Iştar temple on the Merkes.
 5: Temple known as "Z".
 6: Epaḫutilla.



MAP OF THE ƘAŠR AND THE NORTHERN PART OF THE
‘AMRÂN AT THE TIME OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR

- A: The Arahtu Canal.
- AI: Aiburšabu.
- E: The Euphrates.
- L: The Libilḫegalla Canal.
- M: The Marduk Canal.
- 1: *parak siḫir nâri*.
- 2: Ēmaḫ.
- 3: Etemenanki.
- 4: Esagila.
- 5: *bâbu elli*.
- 6: The Ištar Gate.
- 7: *bâb bêlit*.
- 8: Aiburšabu looking towards *bît akîtu*.
- 9: Aiburšabu looking towards Borsippa.
- 10: Nebuchadnezzar's new palace.
- 11: The Southern Palace.
- 12: Outer city wall.

7K 1356

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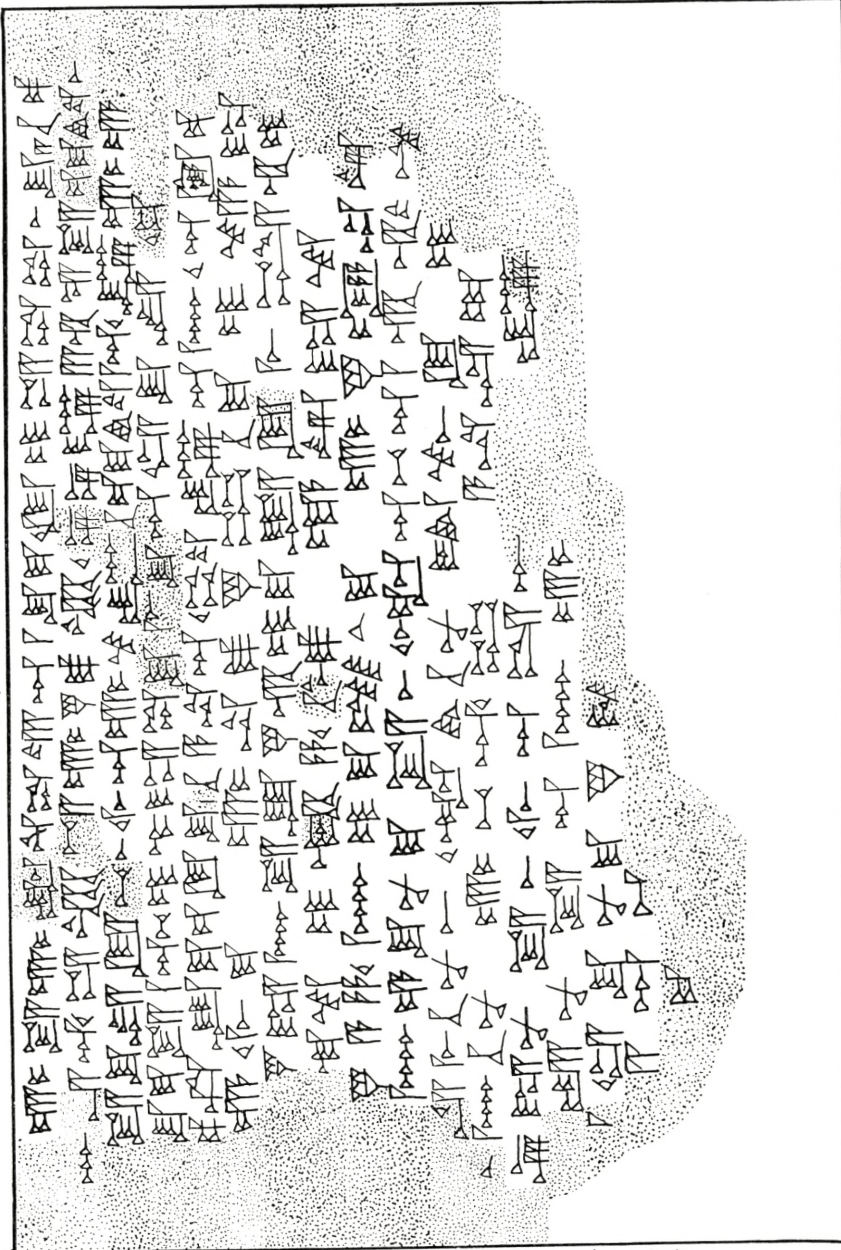
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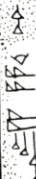






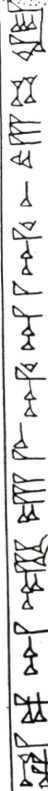

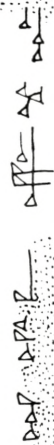

The image shows a fragment of a runic inscription on a rectangular piece of parchment or wood. The text is arranged in 20 horizontal lines, numbered 1 to 20 on the left side. The runic characters are densely packed and appear to be a form of Old Norse or Old English script. The fragment is oriented vertically on the page, with the top of the inscription at the top of the image.

K. 3476



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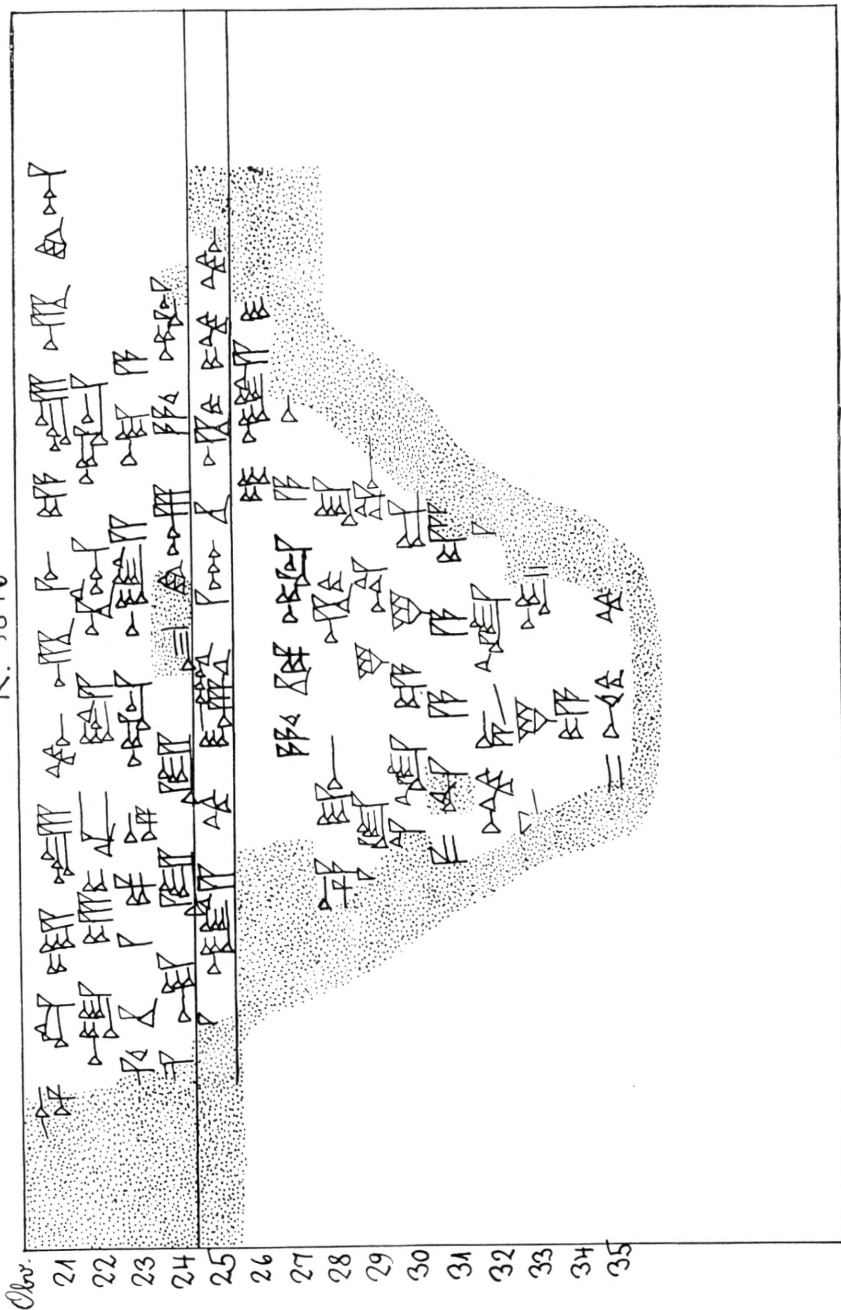
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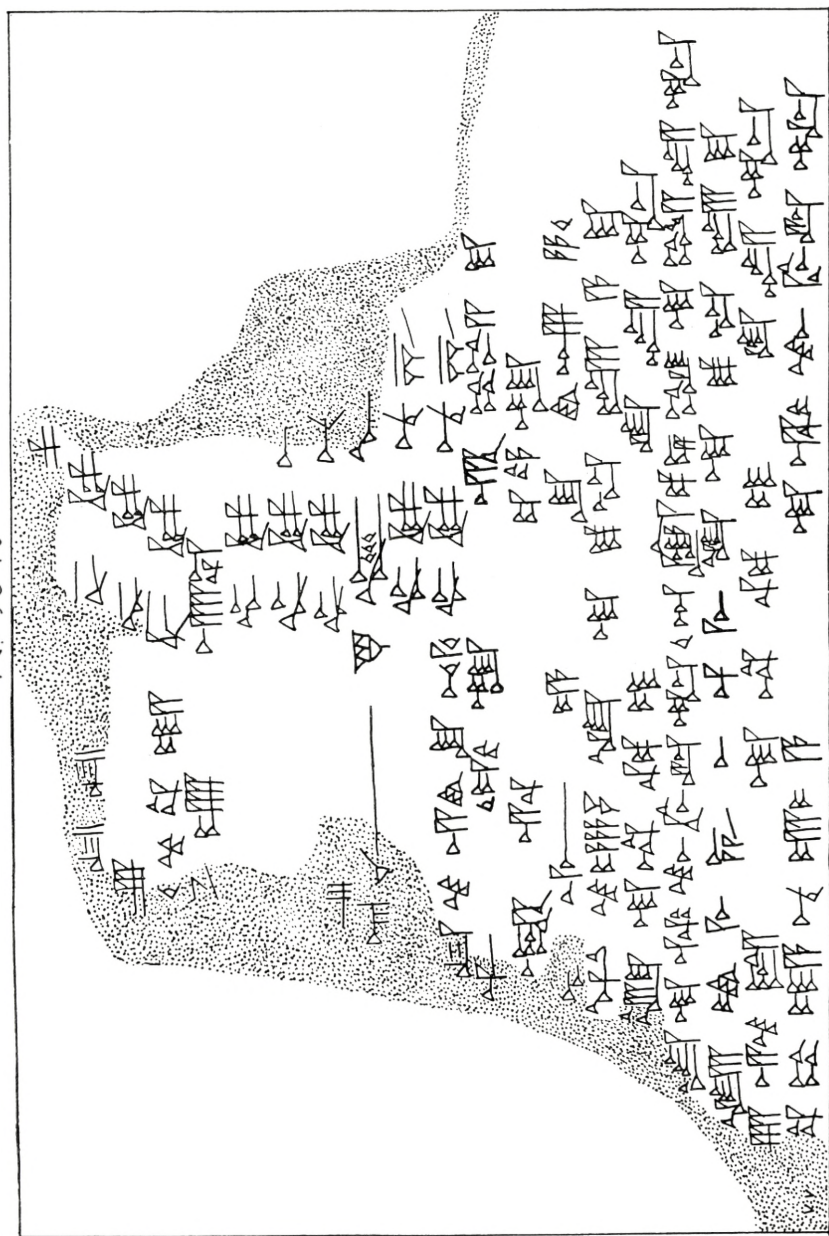
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K. 9876



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K. 9876



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K. 9876

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Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser **XII**, 2.

ÉTUDES DE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE

(24. NOTES LEXICOGRAPHIQUES ET MORPHOLOGIQUES.
25. FOLIE, MAISON DE PLAISANCE. 26. PRÉPOSITION ET
RÉGIME. 27. LA LOCUTION AVEC ÇA.
28. LA PRÉPOSITION EN)

PAR

KR. NYROP



KØBENHAVN

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

1927

Pris: Kr. 2,25.

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs videnskabelige Meddelelser udkommer fra 1917 indtil videre i følgende Rækker:

Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser,
Filosofiske Meddelelser,
Mathematisk-fysiske Meddelelser,
Biologiske Meddelelser.

Hele Bind af disse Rækker sælges 25 pCt. billigere end Summen af Bogladepriserne for de enkelte Hefter.

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

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.

Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser **XII**, 2.

ÉTUDES DE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE

(24. NOTES. LEXICOGRAPHIQUES ET MORPHOLOGIQUES.
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KØBENHAVN

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

1927

24. Notes lexicographiques et morphologiques.

Aspi. Ex.: Attention aux aspics! fit l'un des hommes, courbé vers la terre, sans lever les yeux. — Hé oui, ça mord. Alban ne prit pas garde, mais après quelques mètres, comme son regard s'arrêtait sur le visage de son ami, il y vit une ombre; les yeux étaient moins clairs, les coins de la bouche un peu tombés. Il se souvint de sa parole: »Tu sauras vite nos déceptions«. Il se souvint de la parole du soldat. Y aurait-il une corrélation entre *aspic* et *aspi*, diminutif familier d'aspirant? Un jeu de mots blessant pour lui?

(Henry de Montherlant, *Le Songe*.

Paris, 1922. P. 74).

Avoir besoin. La construction ordinaire de cette locution se trouve dans une phrase telle que: J'ai besoin de cela. Mais dans la langue parlée les deux mots forment souvent groupe, ils deviennent une sorte d'unité et fonctionnent comme un verbe transitif ordinaire; j'ai souvent entendu dire: *C'est tout ce que j'ai besoin* (comp. c'est tout ce que je demande). Dans »Le Pénitencier« de Roger Martin du Gard, le jeune Jacques dit à Mademoiselle Jenny: Une fille en sait toujours assez pour ce qu'elle a besoin (p. 265). Il faut bien remarquer qu'il s'agit ici d'une proposition relative, et que le tour *tout ce que* est une formule fixe, plus fixe que *tout ce dont*. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus

que, dans la langue parlée, *que* fonctionne comme une sorte de particule relative générale qui remplace tous les pronoms relatifs de la langue littéraire régis ou non par une préposition; on dit ainsi *ce neveu que tu m'as parlé, laisser traîner ce qu'on a envie*, etc.; pour d'autres exemples, voir *Gr. hist.*, V, § 320. M. Kr. Sandfeld¹, qui a étudié le même phénomène, me rappelle qu'il s'observe également en ancien espagnol.

Barbrière. A propos de ce féminin que j'ai signalé dans une chanson populaire et dans un conte de Jean Richepin (voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 426 et § 405), M. E. Philipot m'envoie une note détaillée et intéressante sur l'emploi de tels féminins dans la vieille langue. Je communique ici l'extrait suivant de sa lettre: »J'ai trouvé, au cours de mes lectures récentes, le mot *barbrière* dans une pièce qui remonte au moins au milieu du XVI^e siècle et qui est intitulée: Le Blason des Barbes de maintenant (publiée dans Méon, *Blasons*, 1807, p. 169 et dans: Montaiglon, *Anc. poésies fr.*, II, p. 221). Au reste, dans ce passage, le mot *barbrière* signifie tout simplement celle qui rase la barbe et coupe les cheveux (j'ai vu moi-même autrefois de ces barbrières et perruquières); mais il est infiniment probable que le mot *barbrière* a dû être employé aussi avec le sens de »chirurgienne«; je dois dire cependant que je n'ai pas d'exemple à apporter. D'une façon générale, l'ancienne France avait plus de confiance que la France actuelle dans l'habileté de la femme à manier des rasoirs et des instruments de chirurgie. Aujourd'hui nous avons beaucoup de *doctoresses*, mais très peu de *chirurgiennes*: on ne s'y fie pas. Voici par ex. un texte que j'ai découpé l'autre jour à votre intention dans un journal et qui vous prouvera qu'on recule

¹ *Bisætningerne i moderne fransk*, § 37.

devant l'emploi du mot *chirurgienne*: »Le service général médical est assuré par M^{me} la doctoresse Houdré, chimiste et chirurgien de talent«. Comp. plus loin une note sur *chevalière*.

Bec de gaz s'emploie dans la langue familière actuelle au sens de: déveine, malchance, guignon, four. M. Niels Th. Thomsen me signale les deux passages suivants: La main du destin est sur toi, et elle te présente un bec de gaz (Jacques Devals, *La Beauté du Diable*, p. 37). C'est ce qu'on appelle tomber sur un bec de gaz (Birabeau, *Un Déjeuner de Soleil*, I, sc. 7). Il y a quelque trente ans, *bec de gaz* se disait, dans l'argot de Paris, pour: sergent de ville¹. Pourquoi? Peut-être parce qu'il est planté comme un réverbère dans la rue pour guider et protéger le passant. Mais où trouver un pont qui conduise à »guignon«?

Bonhomme. Nous avons examiné dans notre »Grammaire historique« (IV, § 576) les différentes significations du mot *bonhomme*. A propos de notre remarque sur *un bon bonhomme* (V, § 2, Rem.), M. E. Philipot m'envoie la note supplémentaire suivante: »J'ai entendu dès mon enfance la locution »C'est un bon bonhomme«, très répandue partout. Les peintres ont depuis longtemps employé *bonhomme* au sens d'homme, individu: *Poser son bonhomme sur la toile. Un tel ne sait pas bien poser son bonhomme*. Il n'y a de spécial au régiment que le pluriel *des bonhommes* (= des soldats). Dans mon pays (Haute-Bretagne) j'entends assez souvent *bonne femme* appliqué à des femmes de tout âge. J'ai entendu *une bonne bonne femme*, mais exclusivement (ou presque exclusivement) en parlant d'une vieille (*en god gumma*, en suédois). Il va sans dire qu'en parlant d'un vieux, *un bon bonhomme* est courant.«

¹ Georges Delesalle, Dictionnaire Argot-Français. Paris, 1896.

Chauffard, forme péjorative de *chauffeur*. En voici un exemple suisse: Quand donc ces chauffards cesseront-ils leurs stupides et dangereux exploits. Et où se protégeront les piétons, si les automobiles montent maintenant sur les refuges (*Feuille d'avis de Lausanne*, 30 oct. 1924). Pour la formation de *chauffard*, comparez plus loin un autre néologisme péjoratif *musicard*. Ce sont les nombreux accidents d'automobile qui ont provoqué la création de la nouvelle appellation péjorative, très employée maintenant aussi en France. Je cite à tout hasard un article publié dans un récent numéro de »l'illustration« (30 oct. 1926) sous le titre de: Les »chauffards« à New-York. Il s'agit d'une stèle, érigée en plein New-York, par les soins d'une ligue de défense des piétons, à la mémoire de 613 personnes tuées par des conducteurs insoucians. L'inscription anglaise porte *reckless drivers*, et le journal ajoute: »*Reckless...* est difficilement traduisible. Il signifie à la fois 'téméraire' et 'insouciant des conséquences'. Nous avons créé le mot *chauffard* qui est plus expressif«. Il existe toute une série de formations en *-ard*, qu'on pourrait appeler historiques. Toutes les fois qu'un événement d'une gravité exceptionnelle émeut les esprits, il se présente inévitablement un mot en *-ard* par lequel la voix du peuple exprime sa critique ou son mépris; rappelons *chicard* (vers 1840), *décembraillard* (partisan du coup d'État du 2 déc. 1851; nom donné aux partisans de la dynastie napoléonienne par leurs adversaires politiques), *capitulard* (sobriquet créé en 1870 et donné à tout général qui capitulait; Bazaine fut appelé: Roi des capitulards), *communard* (créé en 1871), *chéquard* (sobriquet, créé en l'hiver de 1892 et appliqué aux »panamistes«), *dreyfusard*. A cette série vient maintenant s'ajouter *chauffard*.

Cheffesse. Ce féminin populaire, d'abord employé dans la combinaison *cheffesse de rayon*, gagne du terrain. Ex.: La cheffesse de gare assure les deux services (Charles Rivière, *Sous le Manteau de Fourrière*, p. 177).

Chevalière. Ce féminin a été employé par Victor Hugo:

Oh! la Bretagne antique!
 Quelque roc écumant!
 Dans la forêt celtique
 Quelque donjon gothique!
 Pourvu que seulement

La tour hospitalière
 Où je prendrai mon nid,
 Ait, vieille chevalière,
 Un panache de lierre
 Sur son front de granit!

(*Odes*, V, 25).

La forme *chevalière* ne paraît pas exister hors du langage poétique. Une dame est nommée *chevalier* de la Légion d'honneur. La vieille forme *chevaleresse* a disparu depuis longtemps (voir *Gr. hist.* II², § 405 et § 426). A propos des mots en *-ier* et de leurs féminins, M. E. Philipot m'adresse la note suivante: »Les féminins en *-ière* me paraissent beaucoup plus nombreux dans l'ancienne langue. Ils représentaient: 1) comme aujourd'hui, des professions réellement exercées par des femmes: *dentelière*, *gantière*, etc. . . . J'ai vu dans mon enfance fonctionner, à la campagne et dans les petites villes, des *barbières* qui barbifiaient: aujourd'hui ce métier paraît complètement masculinisé.

2) On désignait normalement (les documents d'archives en font foi) la femme par le métier du mari mis au féminin. Aujourd'hui cela ne se fait plus que populairement

et par plaisanterie (ex. Madame *la notairesse* = la femme du notaire), sauf dans quelques cas consacrés (*la générale*, *la préfète*). *La belle heaumière*, immortalisée par Fr. Villon, et qui paraît identique à une certaine »belle armurière« mentionnée dans des documents d'archives, ne devait pas exercer ce métier de heaumier qui était un métier d'homme; elle devait être la femme d'un heaumier; elle gagnait sa vie autrement. Voir dans la Ballade de Villon (Testam. v. 533—556) *la Savetière* (mot qu'on ne retrouve plus aujourd'hui), *la Saulsisière* (mot disparu), *la Chapperonnière* (mot disparu), *la Boursière* (disparu en ce sens de fabricante de bourses; vivant au sens de bénéficiaire d'une bourse d'études). — Pour tous ces noms, qui désignaient des métiers réels, ou fictifs, ou appartenant en propre aux maris de ces dames, voir P. Champion, *Fr. Villon*, Index alphabétique (t. II, p. 402, col. 1): *belle cadranrière*, *belle herbière*, *belle saunière*, etc. etc. Dans une pièce de 1570 (B. N. fr. 22. 561) énumérant des femmes galantes de Paris, je trouve entre autres: *L'Huissière* (féminin que je n'ai jamais entendu), *la Bonnetière*, *l'Espinglière* (hors d'usage), *la Chasublière* (hors d'usage), *la Barbière*, etc.

Cinéaste, auteur de film. M. Erik Langer, professeur au lycée de Hørsholm, a bien voulu m'envoyer la citation suivante:

»Nous étions convoqués jeudi dernier en Assemblée Extraordinaire pour étudier la grave question de savoir si oui ou non on doit admettre comme sociétaires des cinéastes. Certains vont dire: »Qui est cette bête-la?« Renseignements pris, ce n'est pas forcément une bête. C'est simplement un fichu mot, composé par des entrepreneurs, alors que tous les mots devraient être l'œuvre des poètes. Et ce mot veut dire »auteur de films« (René Benjamin:

Bernstein ou l'Homme-Tempête, dans *Candide* 27 nov. 1924). C'est à une réunion extraordinaire de la Société des auteurs dramatiques que l'article de René Benjamin fait allusion dans le passage cité. Dans *cinéaste* on retrouve *ciné-*, pour *cinéma*, forme abrégée de *cinématographe*, et la terminaison savante *-aste* (cf. *gymnaste*, *dynaste*, *scoliaсте*). Le mot est maintenant d'un emploi général. Comp.: Beaucoup de cinéastes sont, m'a-t-on dit, des ratés du théâtre (Clément Vautel, *Je suis un affreux bourgeois*, p. 76). Le cinéma aux cinéastes, telle est ma devise (*ib.*, p. 81).

Cinégraphiste. Ex.: Les restaurateurs et commerçants de la ville firent les plus larges crédits aux cinégraphistes (Le Matin, 23 oct. 1926). On dit aussi *opérateur*.

Ciné-roman. Ex.: Le Stigmate, nouveau ciné-roman dû à l'imagination de M. Louis Feuillade (*Candide*, 22 janv. 1925, p. 6).

Compagnonne. J'ai signalé dans *Gr. hist.*, II², § 403, l'emploi péjoratif de ce féminin qu'on trouve chez les romantiques. M. E. Philipot a bien voulu m'envoyer à ce sujet la note complémentaire suivante: »Dans V. Hugo et Th. Gautier, le mot *compagnonne* est nettement péjoratif. V. Hugo l'applique à une affreuse duègne. Th. Gautier désigne ainsi la misère: »La misère est une *compagnonne* dont le commerce n'a rien d'attrayant« (Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires*, II, 70). Stapfer (*Récréations grammaticales*, p. 28) note (d'après Huguët) que *compagnonne* est déjà dans Charron. Je vous le signale aussi, en 1598, dans la XXXVI^e serée de Guill. Bouchet (éd. Roybet, t. V, p. 127): »Car ces dames estans jalouzes . . . estouffoient des stellions ou lezards dans les fards dont elles estoient assurees que leurs *compagnones* d'amour se fardoient le visage«. Par une déviation de sens très curieuse, *compagnonne* signifie

ici »rivale«. *Compagne* eût été un contre-sens. *Compagnonnes* veut dire ici: collègues femmes remplissant auprès du mari les mêmes fonctions que les femmes légitimes jalouses, — collègues détestées.»

Concluer. A propos de ce barbarisme, un ami me communique les renseignements suivants: »A l'époque où je vous ai dit que je m'attendais à rencontrer *concluer* un jour prochain dans les devoirs de mes élèves d'université qui écrivaient déjà des *je concluerai*, j'ai totalement oublié de vous dire que le dit barbarisme avait été commis, — ou dû être commis — au XVI^e siècle, vers 1537, car Marot et ses amis ont fait des gorges chaudes d'un *concluer* qui aurait été employé par Sagon. Or, voici ce qui m'arrive: je possède une édition fac-simile, photographique, du fameux »Coup d'Essay« de François Sagon. Eh bien! dans cette édition fidèle, sans retouches, je n'ai pas pu dénicher *concluer*; et, qui plus est, j'y ai trouvé *conclure*. Comme il est inadmissible que Marot et ses amis aient imaginé de toutes pièces ce barbarisme, j'en viens à me demander si le »Coup d'Essay« n'a pas eu une première édition, qu'aucun bibliographe n'a signalée«. Quelqu'un de mes lecteurs serait-il capable de répondre à la question posée par mon ami? Pour le problème morphologique, je constate que, dans la langue de tous les jours et surtout dans la langue vulgaire, il y a une tendance à remplacer *conclure* par *concluer*. Ce développement s'est effectué sous l'influence d'un verbe tel que *tuer*. Jusqu'à présent les puristes et les grammairiens ont été assez forts pour empêcher l'entrée de *concluer* dans la langue cultivée. Mais, combien de temps pourra-t-on maintenir ce bannissement? On a bien été obligé d'ouvrir les portes à *poigner*, doublet récent de *poindre*; pour les détails, voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 64, 6.

Débarquer. Ex.: A cette heure avancée du soir, dans un conciliabule merveilleusement secret, quelques ministres se réunissaient en hâte. Ils jugèrent que la situation imposait des sacrifices. Responsables du salut commun, ils décidèrent de livrer quelques camarades. La langue française qui possédait depuis un mois le substantif *chéquard* venait de s'enrichir du verbe *débarquer* (M. Barrès, *Leurs figures*, p. 172).

Des. Dans la langue actuelle, *des* fait parfois fonction d'un pronom indéfini absolu, et a le sens de «quelques-uns». Aux exemples de cet emploi que nous avons donnés dans *Gr. hist.*, V, § 118, Rem., il faut ajouter le passage suivant: Il avait ce nez allongé que je connais bien, depuis cinquante et des, que je l'endure (R. Martin du Gard, *Les Thibault*, III, p. 155). De la même manière s'emploie *quelques*; on dit: *Il est mort en dix-huit cent quatre-vingts et quelques.*

Dor. Ce mot, dû à une agglutination (*Gr. hist.*, I, § 489), a été employé deux fois par Molière:

Il faut que ce soit queuque gros, gros Monsieur. car il a du dor à son habit (*Don Juan*, II, sc. 1).

Il porte une jaquette à grand'basques plissées
Avec du dor dessus.

(*Le Misanthrope*, II, sc. 5).

Le mot appartenait au parler vulgaire; Molière l'a mis dans la bouche de Pierrot et de Basque. De nos jours, un grand poète s'en est servi de nouveau:

puis revinrent siéger au Louvre sur des lys, toutes ailes ouvertes, avec du dor dessus, offert par le soleil — le soleil d'Austerlitz, qu'ils avaient rencontré quelque part dans les nues.

(Paul Fort, *Poèmes de France*, n° 4).

Il s'agit ici probablement d'une réminiscence littéraire, et la teinte de vulgarité qui se rattachait autrefois au mot, a disparu.

Ersatz. Ex.: Nous avons à plusieurs reprises signalé les conséquences linguistiques de la grande guerre, et nous avons attiré l'attention sur quelques vocables allemands adoptés ou employés en français après 1914. Voici le titre d'un roman récemment publié: *L'Ersatz d'Amour*, par Willy et Menalkas (Paris, 1925). Ce qui est intéressant, c'est de constater que le mot *Ersatz* est compris immédiatement du public français et presque entré dans la langue. Son succès date des nombreux succédanés que les chimistes et industriels allemands s'ingénierent à inventer pour corser les menus trop maigres des Allemands bloqués. Les journaux français ont vulgarisé ce terme.

Flap, expression onomatopéique qui cherche à imiter le bruit claquant que produisent les pieds nus marchant sur un plancher. Ex.: Puis le plancher du gaillard d'avant disparut sous des hommes sautés de leurs couchettes avec un flap! de pieds nus (J. Conrad, *Le nègre du Narcisse*. Paris, 1924. P. 21). Des formations analogues se retrouvent dans d'autres langues; en danois nous avons le substantif *flap* et les verbes *flappe* et *flapse* (pour les exemples, voir »Ordbog over det danske Sprog«, IV, 1159); les Allemands disent *flappen*. Ordinairement les formations onomatopéiques des différentes langues sont assez divergentes, comme nous l'avons montré ailleurs; le coq dit *cocorico* en France, et *kykeliky* en Danemark; le bruit désigné par *cliquetis*, se dit *raslen* en danois. Pour *flap*, il est intéressant de constater la parfaite identité de la formation française avec la formation danoise.

Gendeletrie. Ex.: Rien n'agace autant les innombrables

envieux de la gendelettrie (Clément Vautel dans *Les nouv. litt.*, 5 sept. 1925). Ce nouveau dérivé est curieux et digne d'attention; il achève, pour ainsi dire, le développement de *gens de lettres*. On a dit d'abord *des gens de lettres*; ensuite, on a tiré de ce pluriel le singulier *un gendelettre(s)*, comparable à des mots tels que *un bout-rimé*, *un gendarme*, *un fait divers*, etc. (voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 363). Le dérivé que nous venons de citer montre clairement que *gendelettre(s)* est devenu une unité, un bloc, et qu'il n'est plus à regarder comme un mot composé. Nous avons cité dans *Gr. hist.* (III, § 44) un grand nombre de dérivés modernes de même nature que *gendelettrie*; comp. *champ-de-marsiste*, *feu-d'artificier*, *fortengueuliste*, *jusquauboutien*, etc. Il faut enfin remarquer l'emploi du suffixe *-ie* pour *-erie*; dans un fascicule précédent de ces Études nous avons examiné sous le n° 14 le rôle très modeste que joue *-ie* dans la langue moderne comme élément de dérivation.

Gueux. Le féminin moderne est *gueuse*; mais on avait au XVI^e siècle *gueue*, et le verbe dérivé était *gueutter* (voir E. Philipot, *Essai sur le style et la langue de Noël du Fail*. Paris, 1914. P. 124). Ainsi, on n'était pas bien sûr de la consonne finale du mot, et *gueux* est à citer à côté de *preux*, qui avait autrefois au féminin *preuse*, *preude* et *preue*.

Ille, forme dialectale pour *il*, probablement créé sur le modèle de *elle*; elle s'employait surtout en normand. Au renvoi que j'ai donné dans *Gr. hist.*, II², § 528, 1, il faut ajouter les suivants: *Ancien théâtre français* I, 320, 321, 251; *Recueil Picot-Nyrop*, p. 129, v. 200; *Mistère de l'Incarnation et Nativité*, éd. Le Verdier II, p. 424.

Intégrer. A propos de ce néologisme philosophique, nous réimprimons ci-dessous une notice curieuse trouvée récemment dans un journal de Paris sous cette rubrique:

»l'Académie française prie M. Bergson de définir un verbe nouveau«. Voici la notice:

»Il s'agit du verbe *intégrer*.

A vrai dire, il existe déjà. *Intégrer*, c'est, en mathématiques, déterminer l'intégrale d'une quantité différentielle. L'Académie française veut y ajouter aujourd'hui une acception philosophique et, dans sa dernière séance, elle a chargé M. Bergson de la définition.

Là-dessus, gros émoi dans la jeune littérature. Comment M. Bergson peut-il prétendre fixer l'acception nouvelle s'il n'en réfère à M. Adolphe Lacuzon, le poète d'*Éternité* et de *l'Élévation sur le siècle*? Or, M. Lacuzon exposa dès 1904 la doctrine de *l'intégralisme* qu'il venait de fonder. Même il en avait fortement discuté avec M. Ferdinand Brunetière, qui lui dénia brutalement le droit d'employer le verbe *intégrer* dans le sens philosophique que voulait lui donner notre poète.

Le père de *l'intégralisme*, l'auteur réel de l'acception philosophique du verbe *intégrer* qu'agrée si tardivement l'Académie, n'aura-t-il pas voix au chapitre? Et M. Bergson n'aura-t-il pas le bon esprit de convier M. Lacuzon à s'asseoir, pendant quelques instants, dans le quarante et unième fauteuil?«

Minuette. M. Niels Th. Thomsen vient de me signaler les exemples suivants de ce néologisme littéraire: Encore quelques minutes et Mlle. Pimprenette de Folligny allait apparaître dans le premier de ses trois rôles: la Minuette (Willy, *Un petit vieux bien propre*, p. 81).

Mais Évariste-Anselme n'écoutait plus. Les douze coups de minuit, de minces chorus girls, souples dans leurs maillots noirs, rentraient dans la coulisse, haletantes de

leurs gesticulations désossées; le compère avait prononcé la phrase fatidique: »C'est l'heure où la grâce du Paris nocturne s'incarne dans la charmante minuïnette«.

(*ib.*, p. 91).

Cependant, après avoir échangé avec le compère quelques répliques d'une malpropreté laborieuse, Pimprenette vint à la rampe et entonna les couplets de la Minuïnette:

Dans leurs gouttières les minettes
S'en font conter par le matou.
Et l'on voit sortir de partout
Le gai troupeau des minuïnettes.

(*ib.*, p. 92).

Minuïnette, dont le sens est suffisamment expliqué dans les passages cités, a été formé sur le modèle de *midinette* (voir *Gr. hist.*, I³, § 514, Rem. 2; II², § 375, Rem.).

Moto, abréviation de *motocyclette*, est un terme très employé actuellement; il ne se trouve pas encore dans les dictionnaires. On a formé *une moto* sur le modèle de *une auto*. Du reste, *moto* est aussi à regarder comme une sorte de préfixe; à côté de *motocycle* ou *motocyclette* (pour *bicyclette à moteur*), on dit aussi *motoculture* (application du moteur à l'agriculture).

Mouton. La langue parlée actuelle connaît le féminin *moutonne* que ne mentionnent pas les grammaires. On entend par exemple: *Cette chatte est tout à fait moutonne* (= douce et caressante). M. E. Philipot m'écrit: »J'ai entendu des enfants dire, par instinct d'unification: une *moutonne* pour une brebis«.

Musicâtre. Ex.: Votre fils est musicien? Hélas non! Madame — proteste en souriant M. Gilbert Terrien — Musicâtre à peine. (Farrère, *Mademoiselle Dax jeune fille*, p. 77).

Nous avons signalé dans un fascicule précédent le néologisme *musicolâtre* (n° 8) qui est un dérivé de *musique*. *Musicâtre*, au contraire, a été tiré de *musicien* avec suppression de la partie finale comme dans *surard* (de *sureau*), *violâtre* (de *violet*), *lapereau* (de *lapin*), *garnisaire* (de *garnison*), *pudibard* (de *pudibond*), *marmaille* (de *marmot*), etc.

Œil de perdrix. Littré, dans son grand dictionnaire (s. v. *œil*, n° 30), a soigneusement énuméré les différents emplois de ce terme. Il faut ajouter que *œil de perdrix* sert aussi à indiquer une certaine nuance de la couleur des vins. Dans »The Wines of France« (Londres 1924) par H. Warner Allen, on trouve les observations suivantes: »There are some connoisseurs who assert that it is one of the many weaknesses of our age to pay an excessive attention to the colour of the wine it drinks. Our forefathers were content with claret in the literal meaning of the word »clairrets«, light-coloured wines of the hue that is sometimes called *œil de perdrix* (p. 14). »Claret« (vinum clarum) and Burgunds were once *œil de perdrix* colour, thanks to a mixture of red and white grapes« (p. 200). C'est M. Edvard Wolf qui a attiré mon attention sur ces passages.

Poigner. Le point de départ principal de ce nouveau verbe, qui est en train de remplacer *poindre* au sens de »piquer«, est sans doute à chercher dans l'impératif *poignez* employé dans un proverbe bien connu; à côté de *soignez* (*soignant*, *soignais*) on a *soigner*, et c'est pourquoi *poignez* (*poignant*, *poignais*) a amené *poigner*. Si au régiment on dit toujours: *vous pouvez romper*, c'est certainement parce que l'impératif *rompez* est un commandement militaire souvent répété. J'en appelle aussi à la citation suivante que je dois à l'obligeance de M. E. Philipot:

Il faut avouer que les pauvres Anglais n'ont pas de veine avec les Boches... Qu'ils nous aident contre ces derniers ou ne nous aident pas, c'est le même prix... Dans ces conditions, nos alliés feraient mieux d'y aller franc jeu, et de se joindre à nous pour »poigner le vilain«, afin d'éviter que le vilain les poigne.

(*L'Ouest-Éclair*, 1923.)

Protescul. L'explication de ce terme injurieux nous a déjà occupé deux fois dans les fascicules précédents (n° 11 et n° 19). J'ai supposé que nous avions là une formation propre au jargon des écoliers, et cette supposition a été pleinement approuvée et confirmée par M. Georges Recoura, archiviste-paléographe. L'aimable bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale m'écrit: »Vous n'ignorez point, M. le Professeur, que les lycéens de France se croient souvent obligés de parler un argot assez cynique et grossier, habitude fâcheuse dont ni leurs parents ni leurs maîtres ne peuvent les détourner. J'ai parlé cet argot moi-même, lorsque j'étais lycéen, quelques années avant la guerre, et j'ai le souvenir très net d'une période où il était de mode parmi mes camarades d'affubler un assez grand nombre de mots de ce suffixe *-cul*, dont le seul attrait résidait en sa grossièreté même. C'est ainsi que j'ai entendu, — et dit, — nombre de fois: *le protocul* pour le proviseur (dit *proto* dans la langue des écoliers), *l'aumocul* pour l'aumônier, *le profcul* pour le professeur, etc., etc. Je penserais donc volontiers qu'une déformation analogue était rituelle chez les lycéens de Montpellier au temps de Gide et il me semble fort probable que, dans le clan adverse, les catholiques devaient être *les cathoculs*... Il n'y aurait donc pas lieu, peut-être, de considérer le cas de *protescul* comme isolé et d'ajouter le mot à la liste des termes de mépris

antiprotestants». Après cette explication de M. Recoura, aucun doute n'est plus possible sur l'origine de *protescul*. J'ajoute que le terme grossier mentionné sert dans l'argot des lycéens non seulement à former un suffixe, mais s'emploie aussi, à l'état indépendant, pour désigner un professeur de lycée quelconque. J'ajoute à l'appui le passage suivant d'un roman moderne contenant le commencement d'une lettre d'un lycéen à son camarade: Paris, Lycée Amyot, en classe de troisième A, sous l'œil soupçonneux du QQ', dit Poil-de-Cochon, le lundi dix-septième jour de mars à 3 h. 31 min. 15 sec. (R. Martin du Gard, *Les Thibault*, I, 89). Dans une lettre suivante on lit cette phrase: Méfie-toi, QQ' nous a fait un sale œil (*ib.*, p. 102).

Radicaillon. Ex.: Les radicaillons sont des radicaux jeunes, espoirs ou désespoirs du parti (*Candide*, 1^{er} janv. 1925, p. 1). Ce néologisme est à ajouter aux quelques dérivés formés à l'aide du suffixe péjoratif *-aillon*, tels que *écrivailion*, *peintraillon*, *poétaillon* ou *poétraillon*, etc.

Réaliser. Nous avons signalé précédemment le nouveau sens qu'a pris ce mot sous l'influence de l'anglais *realize*: comprendre, se rendre compte de quelque chose, s'aviser ou, comme dit M. Léon Clédat, reconstituer en quelque sorte dans son esprit la forme réelle, matérielle, d'une chose; on dit ainsi *réaliser la gravité d'une situation*, *réaliser un événement*, etc. En voici quelques nouveaux exemples littéraires: Elle dit vite bonsoir pour s'en aller, penaudes, coucher dans son débarras, sans même réaliser qu'elle a donné son lit et sa chambre à celle qui la méprise si royalement (Delarue-Mardrus, *La Cigale*, p. 117). Marion ne réalisait pas que cette pauvre anecdote répétait le drame de sa propre vie (*ib.*, p. 122). Cependant l'emploi de ce néologisme n'est pas sans présenter parfois certains in-

convénients. Mon excellent ami, M. Emmanuel Philipot, m'a signalé, il y a quelque temps, un souvenir de guerre curieux se rapportant à notre verbe. Voici ce qu'il m'écrivait dans une lettre datée du 21 novembre 1924: »Un ancien collègue à la Maison de la Presse (où j'ai tenu le porte-plume pendant une partie de la guerre) m'a rappelé le monumental contre-sens commis par l'un des nôtres, traducteur sommeillant et passif: »*L'État-Major français a pleinement réalisé les intentions de l'ennemi*«. Cette traduction absurde, imprimée par mégarde dans notre Journal de la Presse Étrangère, causa un petit scandale. Tout le monde comprit que notre État-Major avait lamentablement servi la volonté de l'ennemi et agi conformément aux plans allemands, alors que le texte anglais voulait dire que notre État-Major avait au contraire pénétré complètement toutes les intentions de l'ennemi«.

Régate. Dans »la Beauté du Diable« par Jacques Devals figure un pauvre photographe qui porte une *régate faite à la machine*. Il est évident que le mot signifie ici: cravate; mais comment a-t-il eu ce sens qui ne figure dans aucun dictionnaire? On pourrait penser que le mot et le sens sont le résultat d'une influence anglaise.

Reste-assis, terme injurieux, synonyme de 'fainéant'. Dans »Deux Hommes« de Georges Duhamel, Sautier s'est fâché contre ses camarades et lâche le paquet d'injures suivant: Vous êtes des »va-te-faire-foutre«, des »jean-fesse«. Vous êtes incapables d'initiative. Vous êtes tous des »reste-assis«, des »laisse-moi-me-gratter«, des »faucheurs de brouillard«, des »briseurs de courants d'air« (p. 55). Les dernières de ces injures sont pleines de lyrisme et on se demande si elles sont des créations individuelles de Sautier.

Sans-filiste. Ce mot me paraît tout à fait sûr de faire son chemin. Je l'ai trouvé dans une annonce insérée dans »Le Matin« (11 juin 1924). La voici: »Sans-filistes. Notez sur vos tablettes que notre prochain concert de T. S. F. aura lieu samedi 14 juin à 9 heures du soir. Voir en deuxième page le programme du concert.« Il serait facile d'améliorer l'orthographe du mot; au lieu de *sans-filiste*, pourquoi ne pas écrire *sanfiliste*? On écrit sans inconvénient aucun *toujours*, *plupart*, *plutôt*, *soucoupe*, *sourire*, *soulever*, *bavoler*.

Tatillon. Ce mot est de plus en plus adjectif; on dit: *Elle est très tatillonne.* Comme substantif, il paraît actuellement inusité au féminin; on ne dit ni *une tatillon* ni *une tatillonne*.

Thuit. Ex.: Il ne disait, par coquetterie, jamais son âge. Lorsqu'on le lui demandait, il répondait: »*thuit*«! en dévorant la première moitié du chiffre. On l'appelait *Thuit* (P. Morand, *Lewis et Irène.* Paris, 1924. P. 30). Comp. *Gr. hist.* IV, § 285.

Vainqueur. Ce mot n'a pas de féminin dans la langue actuelle; la vieille forme *vainqueresse* a disparu depuis longtemps (voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 436). J'ajoute que Corrozet dans ses »Fables« emploie au masculin *victeur* (fable LXXVII, antépénultième vers), à côté de *victorieux* (par ex. même fable, plus haut) et au féminin *victrice* (fable XXXI). C'était un essai curieux qui n'a pas abouti.

Voyages de nocés. Ex.: Là, chaque figure — hormis celles des bons petits voyages de nocés et de quelques curieux . . . — résume une vie singulière et accidentée (H. Bordeaux, *La Fée de Port-Cros*, p. 16). Ce passage nous montre *voyages de nocés* employé au sens personnel; ce phénomène est fréquent avec les mots abstraits: *assistance*,

chasse, garde, direction, entourage, recrue, caution, etc. (*Gr. hist.*, IV, § 299 ss.). Dans »Tartarin sur les Alpes«, A. Dau-det en parlant des huit petites Péruviennes les qualifie de *pauvres petits pays-chauds*.

25. *Folie, maison de plaisance.*

1. Le mot *folie* servait autrefois à désigner une maison de campagne, une sorte de maison de plaisance où l'on se réunissait, surtout le dimanche, pour se reposer et se divertir. Ce sens est encore vivant pour beaucoup de Français; il est indiqué même dans le petit Larousse.

Employé de la dite manière, *folie* se présentait souvent accompagné d'un nom propre qui indiquait soit le nom de celui qui avait construit la maison, soit la localité où elle était située. Ordinairement le nom propre suivait *folie*; on trouve ainsi *la Folie-Méricourt, la Folie-Beaujon, la Folie-Lambert*. Mais tout comme on disait alternativement *al mostier saint Denis*, et *al saint Denis mostier*, le nom propre pouvait aussi, quoique rarement, précéder *folie*; dans le Calvados se trouve le nom de lieu *Hubert-Folie*, et Godefroy, dans son Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française (IV, 171, 2), rappelle l'existence d'un lieu intitulé *la terre de Renaut-folie*.

Notre mot, qui naturellement appartient à la campagne, se retrouve également à Paris, dans deux noms de rues du XI^e arrondissement: *rue de la Folie-Méricourt, rue (et passage) de la Folie-Regnault*. Ces deux noms nous conservent sans doute le souvenir d'anciennes campagnes datant de l'époque où le quartier en question n'était pas incorporé dans Paris. M. Adigard des Gautries, lecteur de français à l'Université de Copenhague, a bien voulu me

rappeler qu'il existait, il y a une quinzaine d'années, à l'angle du boulevard Blanqui et de la rue Corvisart, sur les bords de la Bièvre, un pavillon du XVII^e ou XVIII^e siècle qui passait pour avoir été une *folie*.

Il faut enfin signaler *Les Folies Dramatiques*, nom d'un théâtre bien connu (boulevard Saint-Martin, près de la place de la République), et *Les Folies-Bergère*, sorte de café-concert ou music-hall, comme on dit maintenant. Selon toute probabilité, c'est bien notre mot *folie* qui se trouve dans les deux noms cités. Il se présente au pluriel, particularité dont nous trouverons plus tard beaucoup d'exemples. J'ajoute que, dans la combinaison *Folies-Bergère*, ce dernier mot, qui est au singulier, paraît fonctionner comme un nom propre (comp. *Folie-Méricourt*).

2. Il s'agit maintenant de savoir si *folie*, maison de plaisance, est bien le même mot que *folie*, déraison. Pour le sens linguistique actuel, l'identité des deux mots paraît incontestable, et elle est admise dans l'excellent Dictionnaire Général qui ne reconnaît l'existence que d'un seul mot *folie*. Les savants auteurs du D. G. ont divisé les différents sens de *folie* en trois groupes; le troisième de ces groupes étudie *folie* au sens de: acte, parole d'une gaieté un peu extravagante (*dire des folies, faire des folies*), et passe ensuite à ses divers emplois au figuré: c'est ici qu'on trouve mentionné le sens de »maison de plaisance«. Le Dictionnaire de Larousse regarde également ce dernier sens comme dérivé du sens général et n'enregistre par conséquent qu'un seul mot *folie*.

Cette manière de voir ne me paraît pas très convaincante. Je me demande vainement pourquoi une simple habitation sous l'ombrage, même si l'on s'y est diverti quelquefois, aurait été appelée *folie*? Pour une maison de

campagne, *Sanssouci* me paraît un nom excellent, mais *Folie*? Il faut aussi se rappeler que notre mot se retrouve comme nom de lieu un peu partout au Nord de la France; et ce fait paraît de prime abord compromettre sérieusement l'identité de *folie*, maison de plaisance, avec *folie*, déraison.

3. Littré a le premier émis l'hypothèse que *folie*, maison de plaisance, serait un mot indépendant et tout à fait différent de *folie*, déraison. Selon lui, le premier des deux mots *folie* serait une forme altérée de *feuillée*. Voici les propres termes du grand lexicographe: »On y voit d'ordinaire le mot *folie*. Mais cela devient douteux quand on trouve dans les textes du moyen âge: *foleia quae erat ante domum*, et *domum folegae*, et *folia Johannes Morelli*; le soupçon naît qu'on a là une altération du mot *feuillie* ou *feuillée*«. Conformément à sa manière de voir, Littré a admis dans son dictionnaire deux mots *folie*.

L'hypothèse intéressante de Littré a été mentionnée par Scheler dans son »Dictionnaire étymologique« (1888), mais il donne arbitrairement à *folie* le sens de »maison de tolérance«, ce qui jette une lumière curieuse sur sa manière de voir. Körting dans son »Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch« pense comme Littré; il cite sous la rubrique **foliata* la forme *feuillée* en ajoutant: »woraus volksetymologisch *folia*, Lusthaus. Vgl. Littré s. v.« L'explication de Littré a aussi été adoptée par C. Fass, *Beiträge zur französischen Volksetymologie* (p. 37) et O. Roll, *Über den Einfluss der Volksetymologie* etc. (p. 26). Comme on le voit, les savants allemands se sont empressés d'adopter l'explication de Littré, tandis qu'elle ne paraît pas avoir convaincu ses compatriotes; on serait tenté de rappeler que nul n'est prophète en son pays.

4. Examinons maintenant l'hypothèse de Littré. Il invoque l'existence dans la vieille langue d'un mot *feuillie* qui aurait été confondu avec *folie* (dérivé de *fol*).

L'ancien mot *feuillie* est bien connu. Il signifie: cabane de feuillage, baraque en feuillage, loge construite avec des branches d'arbres¹, et s'écrit *fuëillie*, *fuëllie*, *foillie*, *fuillie*, *foellye*, *fullie*, etc. et même parfois *folie*. En voici quelques exemples:

Sa loge fait: au brant qu'il tient
Les rains tranche, fait la fullie.

(Béroul, *Tristan*, v. 1291.)

Tristan gesoit en sa fullie:
Estroitement ot enbrachie
La roïne por qu'il estoit
Mis en tel peine, en tel destroit.

(*Ib.*, v. 1673.)

Murgafier d'Arablois ou tant ot de fierté,
Avoit une fuëllie et ung lit bien paré,
Et devant la fuëllie sont ly feu alumé.

(*Chevalier au cygne*, v. 33297.)

Et voit illuec une folie
Molt gentiument aparillie.

(*Fergus*, v. 3252.)

Pour d'autres exemples, je renvoie au Dictionnaire de Godefroy (IV, 171).

¹ A côté de *feuillie* il faut rappeler *loge*, dont l'origine est assez similaire. *Loge* continue le germanique *laubja* (comp. all. mod. *Laube*) et le sens primitif est 'abri de feuillage'. Il était donc synonyme de *feuillie*, comme le montre le passage suivant:

Sa loige a fait
Del ramill k'il i ad atreit.

(*Vie de St. Gilles* v. 1484.)

5. Godefroy observe que le mot *feuilleie* vit encore dans le nom de lieu *La Feuilleie* (Seine-Inférieure). Cette observation est très juste et pourtant tout à fait insuffisante. Notre mot a été employé, de très bonne heure, comme nom propre, et il a servi à dénommer un grand nombre de localités situées surtout au Nord de la France. En voici un relevé sommaire dû à l'obligeance de M. Adigard des Gautries, qui a bien voulu dépouiller pour moi le grand Dictionnaire topographique de la France comprenant les lieux anciens et modernes (Paris. Imprimerie Nationale, in-4°). Ce dictionnaire est publié par départements; mais il n'y a, à l'heure actuelle, que 25 volumes de parus.

Eure-et-Loir (Lucien Merlet, 1861): *La Folie*, 17 exemples (noter, pour l'un d'eux, la référence *Loculus Stultitiae*, 1080 env. [Charte du chapitre de Chartres]). *La Folie-Bouvet*. *La Folie-Herbault* (*Stullitia Herlebaldi* 1123 env. [Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Josaphat]; *Folia Herbaldi* XIII^e, XIV^e siècles).

Meurthe (Henri Lepage, 1862): *La Folie*, 16 exemples. *La Folie-Gomien*. *La Folie-Midot*.

Yonne (Max, Quantin, 1862): *La Folie*, 12 exemples. *La Folie-Marotté*.

Nièvre (Georges de Soultrait, 1865): *La Folie*, 13 exemples.

Gard (E. Gerner-Durand, 1868): *La Folie*, 1 exemple (*Follia*, 1031; *Folia*, 1308).

Morbihan (M. Rosenzweig, 1870): *La Folie*, 3 exemples.

Aisne (Auguste Matton, 1871): *La Folie*, 22 exemples. *La Folie-l'Abbé*.

Meuse (Félix Liénard, 1872): *La Folie*, 12 exemples. *La Folie-Marianne*. *La Folie-Schmidt*. *La Folie-Thomas*.

Aube (Théophile Boutiot et Émile Socard, 1874): *La*

Folie, 12 exemples. *La Folie-Gayot*. *La Folie-Godot*. *La Feuille*.

Moselle (De Bouteillier, 1874): *La Folie*, 10 exemples.

Eure (Marquis de Blossville, 1877): *La Folie*, 12 exemples. *La Folie-au-Gris*. *La Folie-aux-Coings*. *La Folie-Lebrun*. *La Folie-Marcel*. *La Folie-Masse*. *La Folie-Mare*.

Mayenne (Léon Maitre, 1878): *La Folie*, 6 exemples.

Vienne (L. Rédet, 1881): *La Folie*, 19 exemples. *La Folie-à-Poisson*.

Calvados (C. Hippeau, 1883): *La Folie*, 9 exemples (*Folia*, 1231). *Les Folies*. *Hubert-Folie* (*Foubertfolia*, 1159, *Fulbertifolia* 1172, *Fubertifolia* 1230, *Fouberfolie* 1234).

Hautes-Alpes (J. Roman, 1884): *La Folie*, 1 exemple.

Marne (Aug. Longnon, 1891): *La Folie*, 59 exemples. *La Folie-Coquebert*, *La Folie de Paris*, *La Folie des Bœufs*, *La Folie Doucet*, etc. *Les Folies*, 15 exemples.

Drôme (J. Brun-Durand, 1891): *La Folie*, 1 exemple. *Les Folies*, 1 exemple.

Haute-Marne (Alphonse Roserot, 1903): *La Folie*, 42 exemples, *Les Folies*, 4 exemples.

Pas-de-Calais (Comte de Loisne, 1907): *La Folie*, 18 exemples (1 avec référence *stultissia* [sic] 1270).

Haute-Loire (A. Chassin et A. Jacobin, 1907): *Les Feuilles* (*las Foliás*, 1281).

Ain (E. Philipon, 1911): *La Folie*, 3 exemples. *Les Feuilles* ou *Les Feuillées* (*les Follies*, etc., etc.).

Aude (Abbé Sabarthès, 1912): *La Folie*, 1 exemple. *Feuille-Raymond* (*Folia Raymundi* XIII^e siècle).

Côte-d'Or (Alphonse Roserot, 1924): *La Folie*, 20 exemples. *La Folie-Verdin*, également dénommée: *le Clos-Verdin*. *La Feuillée*, 2 exemples (1 avec référence *la Folye* 1583, 1 avec référence *la Folie* 1424, *la Feuillée* 1500).

Aucun exemple dans les volumes suivants : Basses-Pyrénées, Dordogne, Cantal, Haut-Rhin. Le nom n'apparaît qu'exceptionnellement dans les départements de langue d'oc. Pourtant, on peut en rapprocher le nom de lieu méridional *la Feuillade*, dont il existe 11 exemples dans la Dordogne (1 avec les références suivantes : *la Folhada* XIII^e siècle, *Foliata* 1365).

6. Il est évident que le nom commun et le nom propre étudiés dans les deux paragraphes précédents sont identiques. Il est également évident que c'est le nom commun qui a été employé comme nom propre, et non pas vice-versa. Ceci reconnu, l'origine du mot me paraît mise hors de doute. L'hypothèse de Littré me paraît non seulement acceptable, mais la seule explication possible. Il s'agit, bien entendu, d'un dérivé de *folium*, lequel a eu les formes *fuellie*, *foellie*. Ce mot a été confondu avec le paronyme *folie*, dérivé de *follis*. La confusion remonte très haut. Nous avons vu que déjà au XI^e siècle le mot se traduisait par *stultitia*. On s'est toujours servi des paronymes pour faire des jeux de mots, et l'antiquité de cette traduction plaisante ou baroque n'appuie en rien l'identification étymologique des philologues modernes de *folie*, maison de plaisance, avec *folie*, déraison. La forme provençale *folhada*, les formes latines médiévales *folia* et *foliata*, l'existence du nom *Clos-Verdin* (à côté de *La Folie-Verdin*) sont des faits qui argumentent d'une manière absolument probante pour *folia* comme point de départ. Il paraît presque superflu d'ajouter qu'on s'expliquerait difficilement l'emploi d'un nom tel que *folie*, déraison, pour dénommer un si grand nombre de localités rustiques; une telle dénomination serait absurde, et elle ne peut pas être discutée sérieusement.

7. L'ancien mot *feuille* disparaît, après la Renaissance, de la langue. Le paronyme *folie* l'emporte, excepté dans quelques noms de lieu qui gardent, dans ce cas comme dans tant d'autres, la forme primitive (voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 581, 1). Les anciennes feuilles disparaissent; elles cèdent la place à des constructions sans doute plus compliquées que demande une civilisation plus développée. Avec la victoire de la forme *folie*, le lien étymologique, qui rattachait le mot à *feuille*, est rompu. Les lexicographes, convaincus de l'identité des deux mots *folie*, cherchent à expliquer l'origine du sens »maison de campagne«, et ils y arrivent de la manière la plus simple. Tout comme on expliquait autrefois l'identité des deux verbes *louer* (*laudare* et *locare*) par l'observation naïve que »pour louer une maison, il faut la louer«, on soutenait également que, si une maison de campagne a reçu le nom de *folie*, c'est qu'on a dû y dépenser des sommes folles. Voici l'explication que donne le Dictionnaire de Furetière de notre mot:

»Il y a plusieurs maisons que le public a baptisées du nom de la *folie*, quand quelcun y a fait plus de dépense qu'il ne pouvoit, ou quand il a bâti de quelque manière extravagante« (Édition de 1725).

Il est hors de doute que la victoire de la seule forme *folie* a fait naître l'idée d'une maison extravagante; non seulement les lexicographes, mais tout le monde, le *profanum vulgus*, demande qu'une chose réponde à son nom. Je cite à l'appui le passage suivant concernant le financier Baudard de Saint-James: »Dans son hôtel de la place Vendôme, dont les salons immenses étaient entièrement tapissés de glaces, il donnait des dîners de cinquante couverts où la noblesse et les lettres étaient brillamment représentées. Sa magnifique propriété de Neuilly reçut du

peuple le nom de »Folie-Saint-James«, à cause du luxe inouï» (F. Funck-Brentano, *L'affaire du collier*. Paris, 1906. P. 221). C'est cette conception que Littré, en parlant de *folie*, maison de campagne, a exprimée dans les mots suivants: »On y attache d'ordinaire l'idée qu'elles sont construites d'une manière bizarre ou qu'elles ont coûté beaucoup d'argent«. Mais cette idée est à l'origine l'effet de l'absorption de *feuillie* par *folie*, elle nous montre en fait l'influence de la langue sur la pensée.

8. C'est un fait bien connu que les mots qui se ressemblent phonétiquement se confondent très facilement; beaucoup de Français confondent ou ont confondu autrefois *consumer* et *consommer*, *éminent* et *imminent*, *éruption* et *irruption*, *flairer* et *fleurer*, etc.

Actuellement, grâce aux efforts des grammairiens et des maîtres d'école, les paronymes continuent d'exister l'un à côté de l'autre; mais autrefois l'hésitation entre deux paronymes a souvent eu pour résultat la disparition de l'un d'eux. Ainsi *escavage* (anglais *scavage*) a été absorbé par *esclavage*; *bourbeter* par *barboter*; *poçon* (ancienne mesure pour les liquides) par *poisson*, etc. De la même manière, *feuillie* a disparu devant *folie*. L'absorption d'un paronyme par un autre est un phénomène qui n'est pas rare dans le développement des langues et auquel on n'a pas toujours prêté toute l'attention qu'il mérite. Nous l'avons étudié sommairement dans *Gr. hist.*, IV, § 42—43 et § 462—69.

Il faut désormais dans les dictionnaires du français moderne citer deux mots *folie* et avoir pour ce mot deux rubriques, tout comme il en faut deux pour *bière*, *cousin*, *fraise*, *greffe*, *louer*, *maille*, *poule*, *sacre*, etc., etc.

26. Préposition et régime.

1. Une préposition introduit toujours un régime. Ce régime peut être un nom (nom de nombre, pronom): *travailler pour sa famille*, ou un infinitif: *travailler pour vivre*, rarement un gérondif: *dès en arrivant*. Le régime peut aussi être plus compliqué; il peut être un groupe prépositionnel: *pour dans quinze jours*, et il peut être toute une phrase: *pour quand vous serez grand*.

2. NOM. La préposition et son régime forment ordinairement une unité phonétique et sémantique (comp. *Gr. hist.*, V, § 125). Nous citerons comme exemples les groupes suivants: *à outrance*, *en prison*, *par hasard*, *au petit bonheur*, *de nous tous*, *à bras ouverts*, *dans une heure*, *sans appui*, *en été*, *chez eux*, *sous une lampe*; la liaison de la consonne finale qui a lieu dans les derniers exemples souligne fortement l'unité phonétique des groupes. Dans beaucoup de cas la préposition et son complément se sont soudés si étroitement qu'ils forment un tout absolument indivisible; ils fonctionnent comme exclamations et comme adverbes. Ex.: *Au secours*, *au feu*, *pour cause*, *avec ça*, *par exemple*, *à d'autres*, *en effet*, *au fur et à mesure*, *en fin de compte*. Comme on le voit, toutes ces locutions ont gardé, malgré leur unité indéniable, l'orthographe traditionnelle; il serait peut-être plus pratique d'écrire quelques-unes d'entre elles en un mot (comp. *pourtant*, *debout*, *partout*, *surtout*, *dorénavant*).

3. Une fusion peut avoir lieu entre une préposition (*de*, *à*, *en*) et le mot suivant: *plus d'une heure*, *l'atelier d'Antoine*, *le repentir du criminel*, etc. (voir *Gr. hist.*, II², § 500 ss.). Cependant la fusion n'a pas lieu dans le cas où l'on veut garder intact le complément de la préposition; dès les plus

anciens textes, l'hiatus est toléré surtout devant un nom propre. Ex.: De Hostedun evesque en fist (*St. Léger*, v. 48). La langue moderne connaît aussi de tels hiatus d'ordre logique. Nous avons noté: *Les ateliers de Édouard Guillaume. Prologue de »Un Aventurier«. De une heure à deux. La messe de une heure. Les écoles primaires avaient plus de un million d'élèves. Il se sentit brusquement délivré de il ne put dire quelle obsession. Un nouvel emploi de »on«.*

Exemples littéraires: Ce fut donc aux cris de Vive la Commune! de: A bas Trochu! . . . que fut faite la journée du 31 octobre (D'Hérisson, *Journal d'un officier d'ordonnance*, p. 219). Les soldats se rangent, le caporal, de la main, fait signe de »en avant« (Porché, *Les Butors et la Finette*, p. 98).

Cet usage est devenu assez général aujourd'hui; on l'observe dans les annonces, sur les affiches et les placards. Ex.: M. X, auteur de »Le Coupable«. Une adaptation cinématographique de »Le Ventre de Paris«. Le succès de »Les Corbeaux«.

REMARQUE. Beaucoup de grammairiens protestent énergiquement contre l'usage indiqué; ils demandent qu'on ne regarde pas un titre comme un corps étranger dans la syntaxe de la phrase où il se trouve, et ils veulent qu'on dise: Une adaptation théâtrale des »Dieux ont soif«, et: Je me suis délecté aux »Oiseaux s'envolent«. Il est peu utile, croyons-nous, de donner des règles absolues; c'est le tact linguistique qui doit, dans chaque cas, trancher la question. Il est indéniable que la fusion de la préposition avec le complément peut parfois offrir des inconvénients; c'est pourquoi il faut préférer *adaptation cinégraphique* de »*Le Ventre de Paris*«, qui conserve le titre intégral, à *adaptation du Ventre de Paris*.

4. Il est curieux d'observer que l'usage moderne admet parfois l'intercalation d'un adverbe ou d'un complément circonstanciel entre la préposition et le mot qu'elle régit; cet adverbe ou ce complément peuvent ou bien souligner le régime prépositionnel (*après surtout la manière dont il s'est conduit*), ou bien lui apporter une détermination particulière (lieu, temps, etc.).

5. Nous examinerons d'abord la préposition *avec* qui, dans la langue moderne, est souvent séparée de son régime, non seulement par un simple adverbe, mais aussi par toute une longue série de mots, et même une proposition. Voici des exemples de ce tour qui remonte au milieu du siècle passé: Avec, au préalable, excuse publique devant le portrait de Son Altesse (Stendhal, *La Chartreuse de Parme*, II, 16).

Le château, tout blanc, Avec, à son flanc, Le soleil couché (P. Verlaine, *Œuvres complètes*, I, 172; poème de 1872). Restant en somme dans une moyenne acceptable, avec toujours, à la fin de l'année, les prix de version (P. Loti, *Le Roman d'un enfant*, p. 216). Le pas [de danse] était compliqué singulièrement avec, de temps à autre, des bonds d'une vigueur prodigieuse (*id.*, *Figures et choses*, p. 145).

Avec déjà tes yeux un peu étranges (H. Bataille, *La Marche nuptiale*, I, sc. 3). J'ai été heureuse de la retrouver avec un peu l'apparence de son rang et quelque égalité (*ib.*, III, sc. 4).

Les quatre grands murs sont restés debout, rouillés, avec, de place en place, des éboulements (Daudet, *Robert Helmont*, p. 28). Avec, de temps à autre, une exclamation de M. Joyeuse (*id.*, *Le Nabab*, p. 102).

Avec enfin ce charme inexplicable (P. Bourget, *Voyageuses*, p. 91). Le fait est qu'elle avait une invraisemblable

robe jaune, terriblement jaune, d'un jaune d'œuf lamé d'or, avec, en travers, coupant l'épaule nue et se perdant à la taille, une énorme guirlande de coquelicots. (Gyp, *La Fée surprise*, p. 68). Il avait un costume trop jeune avec, à la boutonnière, un bouquet trop gros (*ead.*, *Leurs âmes*, p. 126). Elle a un petit paletot avec, au coin, la couronne de baron en pierreries et au cou un collier de chien avec alternativement un rubis un grelot, un rubis un grelot (*ead.*, *Monseigneur le duc*, p. 178). Avec, aux joues, un peu plus de rose que de coutume (*ead.*, *Tante Joujou*, p. 60). Avec encore du lait au bout du nez (*ib.*, p. 18).

Je ne sortirais pas avec, par négligence, un affront pas très bien lavé (Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, I, sc. 4). Un cadet, entrant avec, enfilés à son épée, des chapeaux aux plumets miteux (*ib.*, II, sc. 7).

Deux verres à boire, représentant en or sur cristal le château de Chambord avec, gravée la mention »importé« (Bondy, *Framboise Pépin*. Paris, 1923. P. 116).

Avec, assis en face de moi, un brave petit être rose (Gaston Roupnel, *Nono*, p. 107).

Tout était ou même semblait prévu, avec même une case vide pour des phénomènes inobservés (*Romania*, XXXVII, 287).

Hélène, avec, soudain, sur son visage en larmes, une sorte d'éclairement joyeux (Géraldy, *Aimer*, III, sc. 2).

C. Mendès a écrit en exagérant cette particularité: Des ténèbres vaguement azurées avec, eût-on dit, aux quatre coins, à la même hauteur et également distantes, quatre étoiles d'azur presque éteintes.

Ce phénomène s'observe parallèlement dans l'italien moderne, où l'on peut dire: *Un ritratto con sotto il suo nome, una colonna con sopra una croce, con in cuore quella*

solita tristezza, con sulle labbra un sorriso, i capi dei Malcontenti, con alla testa il Giafferi e gli altri tre, etc.

L'intercalation d'une détermination après les prépositions *avec* et *it. con* et leur régime s'explique aisément par l'analogie: dans la phrase *avec, aux joues, un peu de rose*, la préposition a presque le sens d'une forme verbale (*ayant*), et la détermination intercalée se placerait très facilement dans la proposition ordinaire avant *un peu de rose*. Ajoutons que l'intercalation a aussi souvent lieu avec la préposition *sans* (= *n'ayant pas*).

REMARQUE 1. Le nouvel usage représenté par *avec, aux joues, un peu de rose* ne manqua pas de choquer et d'irriter les puristes (comp. *Gr. hist.*, III, § 9). En 1896, un collaborateur de la »Revue Bleue« (I, p. 351) donna aux jeunes auteurs le conseil ironique suivant: »Quand vous employez le mot *avec*, n'oubliez jamais de le séparer, par une proposition incidente quelconque, du complément qui l'accompagne. Ainsi: *avec, à leurs fronts bas, des lueurs de sang!* Si vous disiez: *avec des lueurs de sang*, vous témoigneriez par là que vous n'avez aucun sentiment de l'harmonie et du pittoresque modernes. Mais *avec à, avec sur, avec devant* est la marque irrécusable de votre originalité. Avec dans votre phrase, cela, vous pouvez vous présenter partout; vous êtes sacré et consacré maître«.

REMARQUE 2. En danois, le complément doit suivre immédiatement la préposition (*med to Perlerader om Halsen*) et il est impossible de les séparer par un déterminatif adverbial (*med om Halsen to Perlerader*). Cependant cet ordre des mots se trouve parfois dans le style de chancellerie; je renvoie au passage suivant: For at kunne indstille sig til Prøven skal vedkommende, medmindre Ministeriet efter indhentet Erklæring fra Kommissionen gør

Undtagelse herfra, være indstillet af en statsautoriseret Translatør og Tolk i det paagældende Sprog eller af Personer med, efter Kommissionens Skøn, tilsvarende Kvalifikationer (*Betænkning om Revision af Næringslovgivningen*. København, 1926, P. 45).

6. Le phénomène que nous venons d'étudier s'observe aussi avec les prépositions *à, après, dans, depuis, en, malgré, parmi, sans*.

A. Ex.: Son appel à toujours plus de documents. (BSL, XXI, 260). Dans cette tournure, qui appartient au langage parlé, *toujours plus* peut être considéré comme une sorte de superlatif indécomposable.

Après. Ex.: Après le silence outrageux où Pauline s'enfermait, après surtout la manière inexpiable dont il l'avait exécutée (Bourget, *La terre promise*, p. 107).

Dans. Ex.: Tantôt il consiste dans, chez un homme, le désir d'être agréable à une femme, tantôt dans, chez une femme, le désir de ne pas être indifférente à un gentleman; et cela fait deux flirts très différents (Faguet, dans la *Revue Bleue*, 1902, 4 oct., p. 417).

Depuis. Ex.: Depuis à peine cinq années (P. Loti, *Les désenchantées*, p. 101). Depuis déjà une semaine, la fièvre ne l'a pas quitté (J. et J. Tharaud, *L'ombre de la croix*, p. 196). Depuis déjà quelque temps (Daudet, *L'évangéliste*, p. 194). Depuis surtout le commencement du siècle (*Journal des Débats*). Surtout le tour *depuis déjà* est fréquent.

En. Ex.: En à peine un peu plus de deux ans (A. Gide, *L'immoraliste*, p. 243).

Malgré. Ex.: Malgré, ici et là, un peu trop d'insistance (A. François, dans les *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, 1909, p. 236).

Parmi. Ex.: Tandis que, seul, parmi, à jamais, la nuit sombre, Je maudissais l'aurore et je pleurais vers l'ombre (Henri de Régnier, *Le vase*). Cet emploi semble tout poétique.

Sans. Ex.: On ne peut vivre ensemble, du matin jusqu'au soir, sans, au bout de quelque temps, se montrer comme on est (R. Rolland, *Annette et Sylvie*, p. 225). Lorsque je relis Flaubert aujourd'hui, sans plus autant de révérence (A. Gide, dans *La nouvelle Revue française*, 1922, p. 319). Sans pour eux de danger (Paul Bonnetain, *L'Impasse*, p. 112). La présence de la préposition *de* semble s'expliquer ici par l'influence d'une idée négative comprise dans *sans* et de l'analogie avec des tours comme *sans faire de fautes* (cf. *Gr. hist.*, V, § 146).

REMARQUE. Une intercalation peut avoir lieu au milieu d'une locution prépositionnelle. Ex.: A cause, un jour, d'une continuité sonore (C. Mendès). Comp.: Afin, si je tombais dans mes accès habituels, de n'être pas enterré (*id.*).

7. *Groupe prépositionnel.* Le régime introduit par la préposition peut être un nom, régi lui-même par une autre préposition, ce qui amène la juxtaposition de deux prépositions qui, pourtant, ne forment pas encore un mot composé; tout comme on dit *c'est pour demain*, on dit aussi *c'est pour dans huit jours*; comp. *dès l'aube* et *dès avant l'aube*. Cet usage existait déjà dans la vieille langue, où l'on disait par ex.: *une fille d'entor douze ans d'aaigne*; mais il était peu commun. Des exemples isolés s'observent chez les classiques: Ils ont vu tout cela de sur une éminence (Corneille, *Suite du Menteur*, III, sc. 4). Et les sergents et les procès Et les créanciers à la porte Dès devant la pointe du jour (La Fontaine, *Fables*, XII, 7).

8. La construction que nous venons de signaler est actuellement plus générale qu'autrefois et s'observe surtout avec *pour*; elle semble issue de la langue parlée: le nom prépositionnel formant une unité phonétique (§ 2), peut être, à son tour, introduit par une autre préposition. En voici quelques exemples:

A. Ex.: Je vous dis: à dans vingt-huit jours, puisque je pars ce soir pour Rouen (G. Feydeau, *Occupe-toi d'Amélie*, I, sc. 7).

De. Ex.: Il est venu dans la maison ici en quittant de chez un vieux maître (Tristan Bernard, *On naît esclave*, I, sc. 2). Sur *quitter de*, voir *Gr. hist.* V, § 33, 5. Joseph ne lève pas les yeux de sur les miens (O. Mirbeau, *Journal d'une femme de chambre*, p. 234). La combinaison *de sur* existait déjà au XVII^e siècle (voir § 7), et elle est restée dans la langue familière; on entend de nos jours *les maisons de sur la place*. La guerre mondiale a fait naître les deux combinaisons *d'avant-guerre* et *d'après-guerre*.

REMARQUE. Il faut bien distinguer les combinaisons citées des prépositions composées *d'après*, *depuis*, *derrière*, *dessous*, *dessus*, vfr. *dessus* dans lesquelles *de* est à regarder comme une sorte d'intensif. Ainsi *d'après* s'analyse d'une tout autre manière dans *peindre d'après nature* que dans *la France d'après-guerre*.

Dès. Ex.: Le développement a commencé dès avant la période historique du latin (A. Meillet). Le vœu... formé dès avant le berceau (Sully-Prudhomme, *Le Signe*).

Devant. Ex.: Or, comme un jour je remontais la rue des Martyrs, et passais devant chez le bottier (Xanrof, *Juju*, p. 129).

Par. Ex.: Si, en vous en allant, vous passiez par chez ma mère (P. Hervieu, *La course du flambeau*, III, sc. 7).

Pour. On rencontre souvent dans la langue écrite, aussi

bien que dans la langue parlée, des constructions comme les suivantes : *C'est pour dans quinze jours. On prépare pour après la guerre une manifestation éclatante. J'ai du dévouement pour jusqu'à la mort.* Exemples littéraires : Un pécule . . . que Guilhem plaça . . . pour jusqu'à son retour (Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *Contes cruels*, p. 104). Si c'est . . . la fortune qui vient à vous pour dans un laps de temps assez court (Hervieu, *La course du flambeau*, IV, sc. 5). Nous étions en route pour chez nos cousins inconnus (P. Loti, *Le roman d'un enfant*, p. 175). Je leur avais remis, pour jusqu'à la fin de chaque bail, toutes leurs redevances en volailles (G. de Maupassant, *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, p. 303). C'est pour dans huit jours (P. Bourget, *Nouveaux pastels*, p. 150). C'est pour après mon mariage, ces petites fêtes (*id.*, *Cosmopolis*, p. 186).

REMARQUE. Des constructions analogues se trouvent souvent chez les auteurs espagnols modernes : *Se escurrió de entre los brazos de su amigo. Se escabulló por entre los dedos. Venía un hombre de hacia la ciudad. Su conducta para con sus hijos es muy paternal.*

9. *Infinitif.* Dans le cas où la préposition introduit un infinitif, celui-ci doit suivre immédiatement la préposition : *Il est revenu pour défendre ses droits.* Un pronom personnel atone peut, bien entendu, précéder l'infinitif : *Je suis revenu pour le défendre* ; il en est de même de la négation : *J'ai promis de ne pas le dire.* Autrefois un nom pouvait précéder l'infinitif, s'il était le régime direct ; on disait dans la vieille langue *pour ses brebis garder, pour home garder de damage*, etc. Au temps de la Renaissance encore, on trouve *pour son pays défendre, pour un vers allonger*, etc. La langue moderne a gardé *geler à pierre fendre, sans coup férir, sans*

mot dire, sans bourse délier, à vrai dire, une bonne (un bon) à tout faire.

10. On constate parfois, dès le moyen âge et jusqu'à nos jours, l'intercalation d'un adverbe, d'une locution adverbiale ou d'une incidente entre la préposition et l'infinitif. Dans son »*Traité de versification française*«, L. Quicherat a recueilli un certain nombre d'exemples de notre phénomène qu'il regarde comme une licence poétique. Pour la vieille langue, il cite des phrases telles que *Pour à Saint-Jacque aller*. L'intercalation se retrouve chez les poètes de la Renaissance, qui risquent *pour sur mon dos la prendre*. Voici une série chronologique de passages principalement en prose qui montrent tous la même intercalation: Ex.: M. de Boutieres cuida perdre Turin, pour, estant en bonne compagnie à souper, avoir remis à lire un advertisement (Montaigne, II, chap. 4). Pour sous ton etendart rompre les Sarasins (Garnier, *Bradamante*, v. 32). Nous voulions courir ... pour au moins lui dire adieu (P. Loti, *Aziyadé*, p. 37). Pour brusquement surgir en plein ciel (Lavedan, *Sire*, p. 178). Pour, de là, me rendre en Palestine (C. Mendès). L'ingrat vous reviendra. Il est vrai que ce sera pour, après quelque repos, repartir (F. de Miomandre, *Écrit sur de l'eau*, p. 12). Désormais il suffira de demander pour, dans l'instant, obtenir (P. Chak, dans *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1^{er} janvier 1926, p. 149). J'ajoute un exemple trouvé dans une chanson populaire, »Le soulier déchiré«: Faut aller trouver le curé Pour dans un an nous marier (Ulrich, *Französische Volkslieder*, n° 144).

11. Le tour étudié s'observe surtout, comme nous venons de le voir, avec *pour*; mais il se rencontre aussi avec d'autres prépositions:

A. Ex.: Elle a été un jour ... à presque me demander le nom de ... (R. Boylesve, *Analogie*).

De. On dit couramment *le désir de toujours réussir, la satisfaction de mieux comprendre*, etc. Une telle intercalation n'a lieu que dans quelques cas isolés. F. Brunot observe que *la joie de sans peine comprendre* serait du petit nègre.

Sans. Ex.: Napoléon, qui, peut-être sans absolument le vouloir, a trop demandé à la France (É. Faguet, *Le Culte de l'Incompétence*, p. 9). Mon père cherchait à interpréter mon silence sans naturellement pouvoir y parvenir (C. Santelli, *L'adieu à l'enfance*, p. 22).

12. Dans la vieille langue, on aimait à faire précéder de à l'infinitif régi par une préposition, dans le cas où cet infinitif était précédé d'un régime ou d'un adverbe. On trouve ainsi *por la teste à trenchier*, et de même en provençal *per nos a salvar*. Cet usage s'observe dans les cas suivants:

De ... à. Ex.: De son corps à ochirre fu chascuns desirans (*Bastart de Buillon*, v. 4263). Mais dessus le bastart en i avoit tel cent, Qui de lui à destruire avoient grant talent (*ib.*, v. 4677). Tos sera recreans et las De jone dame à donoyer (Jean de Condé, I, v. 241).

Por ... à. Ex.: Ne fust por vos a corocier (Béroul, *Tristan*, v. 789). Por li à honorer son hiaume rosta (*Bastart de Buillon*, v. 2061). Pour l'amour de Dieu à conquerer (*Enfances Ogier*, v. 9). Pour les membres à trenchier (Froissart). On trouve dans ce dernier auteur les deux prépositions réunies, sans mot intercalé: Pour à morir, vous ne me faurrés. Pour à perdre grant partie de son royaulme.

Sans ... à. Ex.: Sans lui à detrier (*Bastart de Buillon*, v. 695). Sans moi a espargnier (*ib.*, v. 3286).

Sur (sus) . . . à. Ex.: *Sus la teste à perdre* (Froissart). On trouve aussi: *Sus à perdre le royaume. Sus à estre en le indignation du roy.*

L'usage étudié ne se maintient pas après le moyen âge. Pour la langue moderne, on trouve dans le parler populaire et familier la combinaison *pour de* dans *pour de rire*. Ex.: *Tu m'as tapée — C'est pour de rire* (Brazier, *Les bonnes d'enfant*. Paris, 1820. P. 27). Ce tour semble analogique de son contraire, lui aussi très fréquent: *pour de bon*. On trouve aussi *pour de vrai*. Ex.: *On fait semblant, avec les cahiers, les leçons; mais on ne fait rien pour de vrai* (R. M. du Gard, *Les Thibault*, II, 87).

13. *Proposition.* Une préposition peut enfin introduire toute une proposition. Ce phénomène est pourtant peu général, et il faut ordinairement que les membres de phrase forment une entité bien déterminée comme dans les passages suivants, où la proposition est devenue une locution figée. Ex.: *Vêtu d'on ne sait quoi, mais propre sous ses hardes* (J. Richepin, *Le mot de Gillioury*). *Il venait d'on ne savait où, il émergeait d'on ne savait quelles ténèbres* (H. Bordeaux, dans *Revue Bleue*, 1902, I, 14). En dehors de ce cas spécial il faut noter ce qui suit:

1° *Pour* introduit parfois, dans la langue moderne, une proposition de temps, commençant souvent par *quand*. Ex.: *Sœur Marie-Bernard, vous me garderez une petite place près de vous, pour quand je mourrai* (Zola, *Lourdes*, p. 585). *La Marmara paraissait aujourd'hui doucereusement tranquille et pensive, au soleil de ces derniers beaux jours d'été, comme si elle méditait déjà ses continuelles fureurs et son tapage de l'hiver, pour quand recommencerait à se lever le terrible vent de Russie* (P. Loti, *Les désenchantées*,

p. 259). Je réservais ça pour quand tu serais grand (H. Lavedan, *Les beaux dimanches*, p. 288). Il y en a [des chansons] pour tout. Il y en a pour quand tu es triste, et pour quand tu es gai; pour quand tu es fatigué, et que tu penses à la maison qui est loin (R. Rolland, *Jean-Christophe. L'aube*, p. 176). N'oubliez pas de mettre vos pantoufles sur votre couverture, pour quand vous descendrez de votre lit (F. de Croisset, dans *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1^{er} avril 1926).

Ce tour, très employé dans la langue parlée, se rencontre déjà au grand siècle. Ex.: Est-ce que vous voulez apprendre à danser pour quand vous n'aurez plus de jambes (Molière, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, III, sc. 3). Pour quand j'irai à la campagne (M^{me} de Sévigné). En Suisse, on entend *voilà, pour s'il vient* (= en cas qu'il vienne).

2^o *Selon*. On lit dans A. Dumas fils: Ils n'ont pu l'empêcher de se maintenir: c'est selon comment ils ont été élevés (*Les Idées de M^{me} Aubray*, I, sc. 5). Ce tour semble rare.

3^o Une préposition peut introduire une proposition relative: *Être puni par où on a péché*. Comp.: *A qui venge son père il n'est rien impossible*.

REMARQUE. Des constructions analogues s'emploient beaucoup en espagnol moderne, surtout dans la langue parlée: *Tomo mis disposiciones para cuando llegue la muerte. Estoy incierto de que manera debo hacerlo. Pienso en si la vieja me habría visto. Una calderetilla con agua por si acostumbraba afeitarse. Me alegro de que haya convalecido*.

27. La locution *avec ça*.

La locution adverbiale *avec ça*, qui au point de vue formel rappelle l'ancien composé populaire *apud hoc*, s'em-

ploi dans la langue moderne de plusieurs manières que nous allons étudier sommairement ¹:

1° Sens propre. L'employé de magasin dit à la dame qui vient de choisir son objet : *Avec ça, madame?* La cliente : *C'est tout, merci, monsieur.* Cet emploi est très général; en voici un exemple littéraire : De l'honneur, du sang-froid et des muscles, quand avec cela on aime bien la France, tout va (P. Bourget, *Le Disciple*, p. 175). *Avec ça* est souvent synonyme de 'par-dessus le marché'. Ex. : Avec tout ça, je n'ai pas déjeuné (H. Bataille, *L'Enfant de l'amour* III, sc. 4). Ce n'est rien, un petit étourdissement, à cause de l'air qui est très vif. Avec ça, les rues sont si drôles dans cette sacrée ville (É. Zola, *La Conquête de Plassans*).

2° A côté de *avec ça*, on trouve aussi *avec ça que* (analogique de *sûrement que*, *peut-être que*, *non que*) : *Avec ça que je m'ennuie* (= et puis, je m'ennuie). Exemples littéraires : Le comte. Fichu temps, hein, Edmond? — Le maître d'hôtel. En effet, monsieur le comte. Avec ça qu'on ne soupe déjà plus beaucoup. Ah! c'était autre chose sous l'Empire (H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, II, sc. 2). Littré, dans son Dictionnaire (*s. v. ça*) qualifie cette locution de vicieuse; mais il ajoute qu'à la rigueur elle est » très-familière « et qu'elle » pourrait être acceptée s'expliquant par : mettez avec ça, joignez avec ça que . . . ». Il existe actuellement, à côté de *avec ça que*, la conjonction synonyme *même que*. Ex. : Même qu'elle a eu un grand, grand succès dans les journaux (R. Martin du Gard, *Les Thibault*, I, p. 151).

3° *Avec ça* s'emploie surtout après une phrase négative, comme une sorte de formule familière de protestation; elle exprime le doute et l'incrédulité et sert à détruire la phrase

¹ Nous avons emprunté quelques-uns des exemples cités à un article de C.-M. Robert (*Études d'Idiome et de Syntaxe*, p. 165).

qui précède; elle signifie tantôt: mais si, tantôt: pardon, bah, à d'autres, chansons que tout cela! Ex.: *Vous ne m'avez pas reconnu dans ce déguisement? — Avec ça! Vous ne savez pas vous y prendre. — Avec ça!* Exemples littéraires: C: C'est impossible . . . Ils n'oseraient pas. — L'abbé: Ils n'oseraient pas? Avec ça: Ils ne respectent plus rien (O. Mirbeau, *Le Foyer*, II, sc. 11). Mais Georges, tu te trompes! Le petit Jésus n'achète rien dans les magasins! — Georges. Avec ça! J'ai vu la petite automobile de ma tante! Même qu'elle est rouge et j'avais écrit sur le papier que je la voulais bleue (H. Bernstein, *Le Bercaïl*, III, sc. 3).

4° On trouve aussi *avec ça que*, et cette conjonction, exprimant surtout une opposition, est ordinairement suivie d'une proposition négative. Ex.: *Vous ne m'avez pas reconnu. — Avec ça que je ne vous ai pas reconnu. Vous ne savez pas vous y prendre. — Avec ça que je ne sais pas m'y prendre.* Moins souvent avec une proposition affirmative: *Avec ça que je t'ai fait du tort* (= je ne t'ai pas fait de tort).

5° *Avec ça que* s'emploie enfin d'une manière ironique et railleuse et acquiert à peu près le sens de »il ne manquerait plus que cela«. Exemples littéraires: Eh bien! vous me faites une belle réputation! — Avec ça que Monsieur ne la connaît pas, sa réputation (T. Bernard, *Un Perdreau de l'année*, I, sc. 1). Avec ça que tu n'es pas de mon avis, troubadour (A. Birabeau et R. Wachthausen, *Plaire*, III. Œuvres libres, tome 63, p. 211). Avec ça que tu n'es pas heureuse . . . quand tu apprends par les journaux que ton enfant a conduit dans son automobile . . . à Ostende . . . le Jockey-Club (O. Mirbeau, *Les Affaires sont les affaires*, I, sc. 5). Il y a eu là-bas des soldats massacrés . . . une colonne va partir pour les venger. — Avec ça qu'on n'a pas besoin de toi, pour cela (Brieux, *La couvée*, p. 97). Et pourquoi pas?

reprenait le concierge clignant derrière ses lunettes un œil égrillard; avec cela qu'il n'a pas pu galipander tout comme un autre en son jeune temps (Bourget, *Le Disciple*, p. 323). On dit couramment: *Avec ça que tu ne m'as pas fait du tort* (= mais si, certainement, tu m'as fait du tort). Exemple littéraire: C'est vous qui avez excité le chien! Comment, non? Avec ça que je ne l'ai pas vu (P. Margueritte, *Simple histoire*, p. 275)¹.

6° L'origine des emplois spéciaux du tour étudié (n^{os} 3, 4 et 5) est peu claire. Comme point de départ, on pourrait peut-être admettre l'emploi particulier de *avec* dans les phrases négatives ou à sens négatif et qui lui donnent la valeur de » malgré « : *Avec toutes ses qualités il n'a pas réussi. Avec toutes ses qualités il a échoué.* Cet emploi étudié par Littré dans son Dictionnaire (s. v. n^o 7) est assez général. Il remonte au moins au XVII^e siècle. En voici un exemple trouvé chez Molière: Je me suis acquis dans les armes l'honneur de six ans de service, et je me trouve assez de bien pour tenir dans le monde un rang assez passable; mais avec tout cela, je ne veux pas me donner un nom où d'autres en ma place croiraient pouvoir prétendre, et je vous dirai franchement que je ne suis point gentilhomme (*Bourgeois gentilhomme*, III, sc. 12). La réponse *avec ça*, indiquant à la fois une protestation et une affirmation, a peut-être primitivement le sens de: malgré cela, malgré tout ce que vous dites. *Vous ne m'avez pas reconnu?* — *Avec ça* (= je vous ai reconnu malgré tout ce que vous dites, tout ce que vous pensez). En tout cas, *avec ça* est à regarder comme une formule elliptique (tout comme *sans ça*).

¹ Voir Kr. Sandfeld Jensen, *Bisætningerne i moderne Fransk*, § 19.

28. La préposition *en*.

Nous allons donner dans les paragraphes suivants un exposé sommaire des emplois les plus importants de la préposition *en*, dont l'histoire syntaxique a été soigneusement examinée dans les études de M. Hans Gerdan¹ et de M. Eugen Lerch².

1. *En* continue le lat. *in*. Il était d'un emploi très général au moyen âge, et on le renforçait à l'aide de l'adverbe *enz* (lat. *intus*). Ex. *Enz enl fou la getterent com arde tost* (*Ste Eulalie*, v. 19). *Ains ou moustier s'an fut, s'a sa teste anclinee* (*Orson de Beauvais*, v. 3571). Vers la fin du moyen âge, le domaine de *en* commence à se restreindre, et, dans un certain nombre de cas, il est remplacé par *à* ou par *dans*; ainsi *à ma place* se substitue à *en ma place*, *à Rome* à *en Rome*, etc. La restriction va toujours en augmentant, de sorte que dans la langue moderne *en* figure surtout dans des locutions toutes faites, dans des membres de phrases figées et revêt presque un caractère archaïque à côté de *dans*. Remarquez, par exemple, la différence entre *en prison* et *dans la prison*. On lit dans la Bible: Jésus ayant appris que Jean avait été mis en prison (*Évangile selon saint Mathieu*, IV, 12). Jean ayant ouï parler dans la prison de ce que Jésus faisait (*ib.*, IX, 2). Ainsi *en* s'est surtout maintenu dans de vieilles locutions dépourvues d'article et qui ont souvent la valeur d'un adverbe.

REMARQUE. Quelques écrivains modernes se sont épris de *en* et ils s'en servent à toute occasion; c'est chez eux

¹ *Die französische Präposition »en«*. Göttingen 1909.

² *Warum en été (automne, hiver) — aber au printemps?* (*Zeitschrift für französische und englische Unterricht*, 1923, p. 81—96).

comme un parti pris de ne jamais employer *dans*. Je cite au hasard une étude de Maurice Spronck publiée dans le »Correspondant« le 12 oct. 1902. On y lit *en cette recherche, son action politique en ces quatre dernières années, l'épisode dreyfusiste en sa carrière, en une manifestation, en une de ces descriptions poétiques, en cette triple formule*, etc. Jean Jaurès dans un article sur Étienne Dolet écrit »*en de magnifiques volumes, en ce grand style, en de belles planches, en ces imprimeries (l'Humanité, 7 août 1904)*. Ce sont là des fantaisies individuelles qui n'influencent en rien l'usage ordinaire. Mais il y a des cas où *en* et *dans* s'emploient indifféremment. A. de Musset a écrit: Le phalène doré, dans sa course légère. Cependant dans la petite et la grande édition de Musset (1876 et 1884) données chez Lemerre, on lit: La phalène dorée, en sa course légère. *Phalène* est du féminin; le changement de *doré* en *dorée* a exigé que le mot suivant commençât par une voyelle, et le sens du vers est resté le même (Comp. G. Paris, *Penseurs et poètes*, p. 255).

2. *En* et l'article. Dans la langue moderne, on rencontre parfois *en l'* et *en la*, mais jamais ou presque jamais *en le* et *en les*. Cette particularité est due au fait que la vieille langue ne tolérait pas ces combinaisons, pas plus que à *le*, à *les*, de *le*, de *les*. Voici maintenant quelques détails:

1° *En* suivi de *l'*. Cette combinaison s'est maintenue jusqu'à nos jours: *En l'honneur de, en l'air, en l'absence de, en l'espèce, en l'an, en l'état où je suis, en l'église Notre-Dame*, etc.; plusieurs de ces tours présentent un caractère quelque peu archaïque ou littéraire.

2° *En* suivi de *la*. Cette combinaison s'est maintenue jusqu'à nos jours: *il y a péril en la demeure* (cf. *Gr. hist.*, IV, § 111), *en la compagnie de, en la présence de Dieu*,

en la personne de, en la circonstance, etc. En dehors de ces locutions toutes faites, *en* est, dans la langue actuelle, rarement suivi de *la*. Ex.: *L'Église catholique croit que le pain est réellement changé en la chair de Jésus-Christ.*

3° *En* suivi de *le*. Dans la vieille langue, *en le* se contractait en *el* (*Gr. hist.*, II², § 502, 1), d'où *eu* et plus tard *ou*. On disait ainsi *el paradis, eu paradis, ou paradis*: Ce *ou* se confondait avec *au*, d'où *au paradis*. De cette manière, *à* est entré en concurrence avec *en* et l'a remplacé dans beaucoup de cas. Nous citerons *jeter au feu, mettre au monde, au temps de, au nom de, au moins, au ciel, au lit*. Dans plusieurs cas, *à* alterne avec *en*, selon que le substantif est accompagné ou non de l'article: *En mon nom et au vôtre. Croire en Dieu, mais croire au Christ. Voyager en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, mais voyager au Portugal, au Japon, au Brésil. En été, en automne, en hiver, mais au printemps* (primitivement *prin tens*; cf. *Gr. hist.*, V, § 153). Pascal écrit dans »les Provinciales«: Vous avez mis vostre espérance en la calomnie et au tumulte.

4° *En* suivi de *les* se contractait dans la vieille langue en *es* (comp. *de + les > des*). Cette forme n'existe plus que dans quelques expressions toutes faites: *docteur ès lettres*; aujourd'hui, on méconnaît tout à fait sa valeur primitive et on la regarde comme une sorte de préposition (pour les détails, voir *Gr. hist.* II, § 502, 2). A partir du XVI^e siècle, *ès* est remplacé par *aux* (ou *dans les, entre les*), remplacement parallèle à celui qui a eu lieu pour le singulier. On dit ainsi *tomber aux (dans les, entre les) mains des ennemis, mais tomber en leurs mains*.

5° L'article partitif ne s'emploie guère après *en* (cf. *Gr. hist.*, V, § 125). On dit: *payer en or, en argent, en billets, écrire en grosses lettres; une chaîne en or, un collier en perles;*

une dalle en marbre; s'épuiser en efforts; s'exprimer en bon français; gronder en termes bien durs, être en bons termes avec quelqu'un, etc. Quand le substantif est accompagné d'un adjectif, on trouve quelquefois l'article partitif: *s'épuiser en d'inutiles efforts, en de vains efforts; s'expliquer en de nombreuses pages; se trouver en des nécessités pressantes*. Cette particularité se rencontre par exemple chez G. Flaubert et les frères de Goncourt. Ex.: La médiocrité la poussait à des fantaisies luxueuses, la tendresse matrimoniale en des désirs adultères (*M^{me} Bovary*, p. 151). [Léon] se maintenait en de bons termes avec ses professeurs (*ib.*, p. 139). On dirait aujourd'hui *en bons termes*.

6° Ainsi, *en* s'emploie rarement avec l'article. Si l'article est demandé, *en* est remplacé par *dans*. On dit: *Voyager en France*, mais *voyager dans la belle France*. *En Amérique*, mais *dans l'Amérique du Nord*. *Vivre en liberté*, mais *vivre dans une entière liberté*. *Il est mort en guerre*, mais *il est mort dans la guerre de trente ans*. *Dîner en ville*, mais *dîner dans une ville bombardée*. Remarquez qu'on dit *en Asie Mineure* (comp. *dans l'Amérique Centrale*).

3. A partir du milieu du siècle passé, quelques auteurs se sont émancipés des règles officielles et ont risqué *en* devant *le* et *les* (comp. *Gr. hist.* II², § 504). Cette innovation se rencontre surtout chez certains poètes; voici les exemples trouvés dans un seul petit poème de Stuart Merrill (»Voix«): *En les soirs de désir, en le clair-obscur des allées, en les vallées, en le silence, en le jardin* (voir: *Poèmes*, 1887—97. Paris, 1897. P. 66—67). Quelques romanciers présentent le même tour: Une plaine convertie en le misérable jardin d'un maraîcher (J.-K. Huysmans, *Là-bas*, p. 161). Le seigneur qui inspire une telle confiance en les prières

de sa petite servante (*id.*, *Sainte Lydwine*, p. 189). Dans l'un et l'autre cas, c'est un procédé qui ne va pas sans quelque affectation.

4. *En* s'emploie dans la langue moderne surtout pour indiquer le lieu. Il exprime soit le séjour, soit le mouvement. Voici une série d'exemples de ces deux acceptions qui ne sont pas toujours bien distinctes l'une de l'autre; nous examinons d'abord les noms communs, ensuite les noms propres.

1° Séjour. Ex.: *Être en prison, en enfer. Vivre en province. Se promener en voiture, en bateau, en auto. Un figre en cage. Dix francs en caisse. Nul n'est prophète en son pays. Vivre comme un coq en pâte. Ne pas pouvoir tenir en place. En habit noir, en robe de chambre, en pantoufles. Des paroles en l'air. Naviguer en pleine mer. La cure par le voyage en mer.* Ajoutons que *en* indique aussi le temps, le moment: *en été, en hiver, en février, en l'an*; autrefois on disait aussi *hui en cest jor, en lonc tens*, etc.; voir plus loin, § 6, 3.

2° Mouvement. Ex.: *Courir de ville en ville. On a poursuivi les cambrioleurs d'étage en étage. Tirer de but en blanc.* On dit couramment: *J'ai envoyé ma petite fille en face chercher du pain* (cf. le sens de séjour dans: *Il demeure en face*).

3° Au figuré. Ex.: *Adorer en esprit et en vérité. Vivre en Dieu, mourir en Dieu. Être en progrès. En réponse à votre lettre. Les choses sont en bon train. En cette circonstance.*

4° Signalons aussi des verbes tels que *croire, espérer, avoir confiance*, qui demandent généralement la préposition *en*. On dit *croire en Dieu, espérer en Jésus-Christ, avoir confiance en soi*; donc l'action de croire est regardée comme un mouvement vers un lieu. Pour la vieille langue, il faut

ajouter quelques locutions exprimant l'amour. Ex.: Son cuer et s'antante Metre an pucele bele et jante (*Ivain*, v. 5726). Ajoutons les tours *penser en*, *songer en* qui s'emploient encore au XVII^e siècle.

REMARQUE. Dans plusieurs des locutions indiquées, il y a concurrence entre *en* et *à*. Le Père Bouhours fait une distinction entre *penser en* et *penser à*. Selon lui *penser en*, signifiant »être l'objet des pensées et des rêveries du cœur«, est le terme le plus fort; tandis que *penser à* exprimant »un procédé purement intellectuel est beaucoup plus faible et plus superficiel«. C'est pourtant le premier tour qui a disparu. *Croire* admet encore les deux constructions; mais *croire en* est réservé à quelques termes consacrés, où le complément se présente sans article: *croire en Dieu*, *croire en Jésus-Christ*, *croire en soi*. Comp.: *croire à un seul dieu*, *au Saint-Esprit*, *au paradis*, *à l'enfer*, *au diable*, *aux miracles*, *aux revenants*, *aux sorciers*, *à la vie éternelle*, *à la vertu*.

5. Quand il s'agit de noms géographiques, l'usage a varié et varie encore. Nous allons, dans ce paragraphe, examiner les principaux noms, et nous verrons qu'il y a concurrence entre *en*, *à* et *dans*.

1^o Noms de pays. *En* s'emploie, si le nom est du féminin; on dit ainsi *en France*, *en Angleterre*, *en Norvège*, *en Serbie*, *en Algérie*, *en Mongolie*, *en Sibérie*, *en Chine*; *en Europe*, *en Asie*, *en Afrique*, *en Amérique*, *en Australie*. Si le nom est du masculin, l'usage a hésité et hésite encore. A côté de *en Portugal* et *en Danemark*, on emploie de plus *au Portugal* et *au Danemark*. Constatons aussi que *en Mexique* et *en Canada* ont disparu devant *au Mexique* et *au Canada*, et qu'avec *Afghanistan* on se sert toujours de *en* ou *dans*, jamais de *à*. Les noms composés *Terre-*

Sainte et *Extrême-Orient* sont devenus des noms propres et ne prennent pas l'article; on dit *aller en Terre-Sainte*, *vivre en Extrême-Orient*.

2° Noms de provinces. Devant les noms des anciennes provinces de France et d'autres pays, on emploie toujours *en*, sans égard au genre: *En Bretagne*, *en Normandie*, *en Picardie*, *en Anjou*, *en Savoie*, *en Aragon*, *en Saxe*, *en Styrie*, *en Lombardie*.

3° Noms d'îles. *En* s'emploie devant les noms des grandes îles, tout comme devant les noms de pays. On dit ainsi *en Sardaigne*, *en Corse*, *en Sicile*, *en Crète*, *en Islande*, *en Fionie*, *en Nouvelle-Calédonie*.

4° Noms de départements. *En* s'emploie dans quelques cas qu'il paraît impossible de classer sous des règles générales: On dit *en Savoie*, parce qu'il s'agit du nom d'une ancienne province; mais on dit également *en Charente*, *en Vaucluse*, *en Eure-et-Loir*, *en Saône-et-Loire*, *en Seine-et-Oise*, *en Seine-et-Marne*. Pourtant le plus souvent on se sert de *dans*; on dit ainsi *dans l'Ain*, *l'Aisne*, *l'Allier*, *les Alpes-Maritimes*, *l'Aube*, *l'Aveyron*, *les Bouches-du-Rhône*, *le Calvados*, *le Cantal*, *la Charente*, *la Corrèze*, *la Côte-d'Or*, *l'Eure*, *l'Ille-et-Vilaine*, *les Landes*, *l'Orne*, *le Pas-de-Calais*, *la Haute-Savoie*, *la Seine*, *le Var*, *le Vaucluse*. Parfois les deux prépositions s'emploient concurremment: on hésite entre *dans la Savoie* et *en Savoie*, *dans la Côte-d'Or* et *en Côte-d'Or*, *dans la Vendée* et *en Vendée*, *dans la Lozère* et *en Lozère*, *dans la Gironde* et *en Gironde*, etc. Il semble que l'emploi de *en* se constate surtout chez les habitants du département et, d'une façon générale, chez les personnes qui font un usage fréquent de son nom; ainsi, *en Gironde* est une expression courante dans la bouche d'un Bordelais, mais un Parisien dira *dans la Gironde*.

5° Noms de villes. L'emploi de *en* devant un nom de ville est propre à la vieille langue. Ex.: Le cors *en* gist en Rome (*St. Alexis*, v. 543). Ensi s'en ala li cuens Loeys et li autre baron *en* Venise (Villehardouin, § 56). Il s'en ala *en* Antioche (Joinville, § 524). Après le moyen âge, *en* perd du terrain; il est en partie remplacé par *à*. Les grammairiens du grand siècle discutent d'une manière détaillée la question de la préposition à employer devant un nom de ville. Ménage proteste contre *en Gerusalem, en Belléem*, et il n'accepte que la préposition *à*. Il observe que »pour éviter le baaillement des deux voyelles« on a dit longtemps *en Anvers, en Arles, en Avignon, en Orléans, en Angers, en Alençon*; mais il ajoute qu'à la fin »on a dit partout *à*, tant devant les noms de Villes qui commencent par une consone, que devant ceux qui commencent par une voyelle: *à* la reserve neanmoins d'*Avignon* et d'*Arles*: car on dit encore *en Arles, en Avignon*. Depuis quelques années on commence pourtant à dire *à Arles, à Avignon*; comme on dit *à Angers, à Alençon, à Orleans*« (*Observations*, p. 212). Ainsi c'est *à* qui l'emporte après bien des hésitations.

Voici quelques exemples de *en*, trouvés dans les auteurs classiques: Je serai marié, si l'on veut, *en* Alger (*Corneille, Le Menteur*, v. 1712). J'écrivis *en* Argos pour hâter ce voyage (*Racine, Iphigénie*, v. 94). Il va vous emmener votre fils *en* Alger (*Molière, Fourberies de Scapin*, II, sc. 7). A propos de ce dernier passage, il faut noter que l'édition de 1734 porte *à Alger*.

L'ancien usage se retrouve encore dans plusieurs parlars provinciaux. Nous rappellerons celui d'Alençon où l'on dit par ex. *en Damignié*, et surtout le provençal. E. Lintilhac a écrit: Sa vie . . . s'écoule *en* Avignon — comme on dit là-bas (*Les Félibres*, p. 79). Cette particularité se retrouve

parfois dans la langue d'Alphonse Daudet: Arrivé en Arles par le train de Paris (*Le Trésor d'Arlatan*, p. 11). Que de larmes on a versées en Avignon quand il est mort (*Lettres de mon moulin*, p. 74).

6. En dehors du sens local que nous venons d'étudier, *en* s'emploie de beaucoup de manières différentes qu'il est très difficile de classer, et dont nous indiquerons sommairement quelques-unes. *En* sert surtout à désigner l'état, la matière et le temps.

1° État. Ex.: *Mourir en couches, être en larmes, une personne en deuil, un arbre en fleurs, être en bonne santé, être en vacances, les fusils mis en faisceaux, être en lambeaux, un ouvrage en prose, mettre en vers, mettre en morceaux*. C'est ici qu'il faut aussi rappeler l'emploi de *en* devant un gérondif.

2° Matière. Ex.: *Une construction en fer (bois, pierre), une table en bois de chêne, des semelles en cuir, un poêle en fonte, un petit soldat en plomb*. Exemples littéraires: Ces Américaines! en quoi sont-elles? (Sardou, *L'Oncle Sam*). Vous ne comprenez pas ça, vous autres gens du Nord, vous êtes en bois! (Pailleron, *Cabotins*). Des carrosses tout en glaces (Daudet, *Contes du Lundi*, p. 260). Le point de départ de cet emploi de *en* est à chercher dans un tour tel que *payer en or, qui a amené une boîte en or*.

3° Temps. Ex.: *En hiver (été, automne), en l'an de grâce 1350, en moins d'un an, en peu de temps, en octobre, en quinze jours, d'aujourd'hui en huit (= dans huit jours), en temps de pluie, en temps et lieu*, etc. Exemple littéraire: Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour, un seul fait accompli Tienne jusqu'à la fin le théâtre rempli (Boileau, *Art poétique*, III, v. 45—46).

7. Il est hors de doute que le domaine de notre préposition était plus étendu autrefois que dans la langue moderne. Nous avons déjà vu que, dans certains cas, *en* a été remplacé vers la fin du moyen âge par *à*, et nous avons déjà indiqué les causes qui ont amené ce remplacement. Mais en dehors de ces cas particuliers, la vieille langue fait un usage très étendu et très varié de *en*. Nous en examinerons comme preuve un seul emploi. On lit dans la Chanson de Roland : Lur esperuns unt en lur piez calciez, Vestent osbercs blancs e forz e legiers, Lur helmes clers unt fermez en lur chiefs (v. 3863—65). On dirait actuellement : Ils ont chaussé les éperons *à* leurs pieds, et : Ils ont assujetti leurs heaumes *sur* leur tête. Comp. : Quant l'ot Marsilies, si l'ad baisiet el col (*ib.*, v. 601). Pois se baisièrent es vis e es mentuns (*ib.*, v. 626). Cil qui l'anel an son doi a (*Ivain*, v. 1033). Ces passages nous montrent qu'on se servait régulièrement de *en* quand il s'agissait d'une partie du corps humain. Cet usage vit encore au XVI^e siècle. Marguerite de Navarre écrit *des souliers en ses pieds, un anneau d'or en son doigt, armes en dos*. Ainsi la vieille langue attribuait parfois à *en* le sens de *sur*, sens que possédait *in* en latin : *sedere in equo*. La langue moderne a conservé non seulement *casque en tête* mais aussi *mourir en croix, un portrait en pied*. On ne dirait plus avec Regnard : Elle mit *en* mon cou ses bras.

REMARQUE. Ajoutons que, dans la vieille langue, *en* s'employait devant un infinitif. Ex. : Tot son sens met *en* acuser (Béroul, *Tristan*, v. 3489).

Additions et Corrections.

P. 4, l. 1. A propos de l'élimination de *dont* par *que*, M. E. Philipot observe: »D'une façon générale, *dont* est en train de sortir de la conscience populaire, surtout dans ses fonctions de génitif. Des tournures comme »l'homme dont je connais le fils« ne sont plus employées que par des gens d'une certaine culture (»l'homme que tu connais son fils«). Le langage réagit une fois de plus contre la déclinaison, contre la bizarrerie d'un génitif de *qui*«.

P. 5, l. 5. A propos de mon article sur *bec de gaz* M. E. Philipot m'adresse la note suivante: »J'ai surtout entendu *bec* tout seul et *de gaz* pourrait bien être une fioriture. Étant soldat, quand je jouais à la sacro-sainte manille, il m'arrivait (comme à tout le monde) de »tomber sur un bec«, quand, me croyant sûr de gagner, je rencontrais un atout inattendu que jetais l'adversaire, et qui renversait mes espérances. Un »bec« est quelque chose d'imprévu à quoi on se heurte. Si *bec* tout seul est à l'origine, on peut comprendre: angle auquel on vient se heurter inopinément, et invoquer le n° 8 de l'article *Bec* de Littré. Si on pose en principe *bec de gaz*, on peut évoquer la scène classique de l'ivrogne venant se cogner contre l'objet en question. Au total, l'origine de l'expression reste obscure — malgré le pouvoir éclairant du gaz . . . Si le mot a fait partie de

l'argot autrefois au sens de sergent de ville, il serait facile de penser que quand un apache argotier se heurte à un sergot il n'a vraiment pas de chance; c'est du guignon pour lui s'il n'a pas la conscience tranquille«.

P. 10, l. 6 d'en bas. La création d'un infinitif *concluer* paraît provoquée surtout par l'impératif fréquemment employé au pluriel: *Avocat, concluez*; un tel emploi ne se constate pas pour *exclure*, qui garde son infinitif. Sur le rôle joué par l'impératif dans la formation d'un nouvel infinitif, voir la note sur *poigner* p. 16.

P. 19. *Régate*. M. E. Philipot ne croit pas qu'il soit nécessaire de recourir à une influence anglaise pour expliquer le sens moderne de ce mot. Voici son explication: »*Régate*, comme beaucoup d'articles de modes et de chemiserie, doit être dénommée d'après l'occasion (saison, heure, fête, solennité) où elle était censée devoir être portée particulièrement. Donc: cravate pour régates. Cf. *matinée* = robe du matin. Je n'ai qu'à ouvrir un catalogue de Nouveautés. J'y trouve: *Tennis*, flanelle pour chemises et lingerie, bonne qualité; *sortie de bal* = sorte de manteau; *derby* = sorte de chaussures; *saut-de-lit* = sorte de peignoir«.

P. 19. *Briseurs de courants d'air*. On me signale l'existence d'un terme parallèle dans le langage argotique danois, *flække Vind* (faire la bombe).

P. 21, l. 7 d'en bas. Aux exemples cités on pourrait, selon M. E. Philipot, en ajouter encore un. Voici ce qu'il m'écrit: »Je vous signale à Paris un cas spécial que vous n'avez pas cité. C'est la *rue Hautefeuille* qui aboutit au boulevard St. Michel près de la Librairie Hachette et longe l'École de Médecine. Bien que *feuille* (au lieu de *feuillée* ou *feuillie*) soit bizarre et unique dans les dénominations que vous citez, cela me paraît bien être le même mot. Il

y a encore dans cette rue des vestiges d'une ancienne demeure seigneuriale à poivrière».

P. 24, note. J'ai oublié de mentionner que le mot *loge* joue dans l'onomastique française un rôle comparable à celui de *feullie*, *folie*. Je relève dans le Petit Dictionnaire Géographique de la France par Adolphe Joanne les noms de lieu suivants: *La Loge* (Aube; Manche; Pas-de-Calais), *La Loge-aux-Chèvres* (Aube), *La Loge-Forgeuse* (Vendée), *La Loge-Pomblin* (Aube), *La Loge-Rivière* (Vendée). *Les Loges* (Calvados; Haute-Marne; Nièvre; Seine-et-Oise; Seine-Inférieure; Vendée; Haute-Vienne), *Les Loges-en-Josas* (Seine-et-Oise), *Les Loges-Marchis* (Manche), *Les Loges-Margueron* (Aube), *Les Loges-Pontenats* (Allier), *Les Loges-Saulces* (Calvados), *Les Loges-sur-Brecey* (Manche).

P. 25. Dans les montagnes d'Arrée (Finistère) se trouve une commune, intitulée *La Feuillée*. Il y a des noms français même en pays bretonnant.

P. 25. Pour expliquer d'une manière tout à fait satisfaisante la disparition de *feullie*, *feuillée* devant *folie* il faudrait aussi examiner la question dialectale que j'ai eu tort de laisser de côté. La forme francienne de notre mot est *feuillée* tandis que la forme *feullie* est dialectale et appartient surtout au picard et au wallon (sur la réduction de *ie* à *i*, voir *Gr. hist.* I³, § 166, Rem.). L'expression *chère lie* chez La Fontaine contient un souvenir de cette simplification; il s'agit pourtant là d'une locution dialectale toute faite (*lie* est pour *liée* < *læta*). Mais comment expliquer que les dialectes du Nord-Est aient imposé au francien leur *feullie* à l'exclusion de *feuillée*? Je pense que *folie*, qui est commun aux dialectes en question, a pu se substituer aussi bien à *feuillée* qu'à *feullie*. Pour élucider tous les détails

de la question, il faudrait la collaboration d'un grammairien, d'un historien, d'un archéologue, etc.

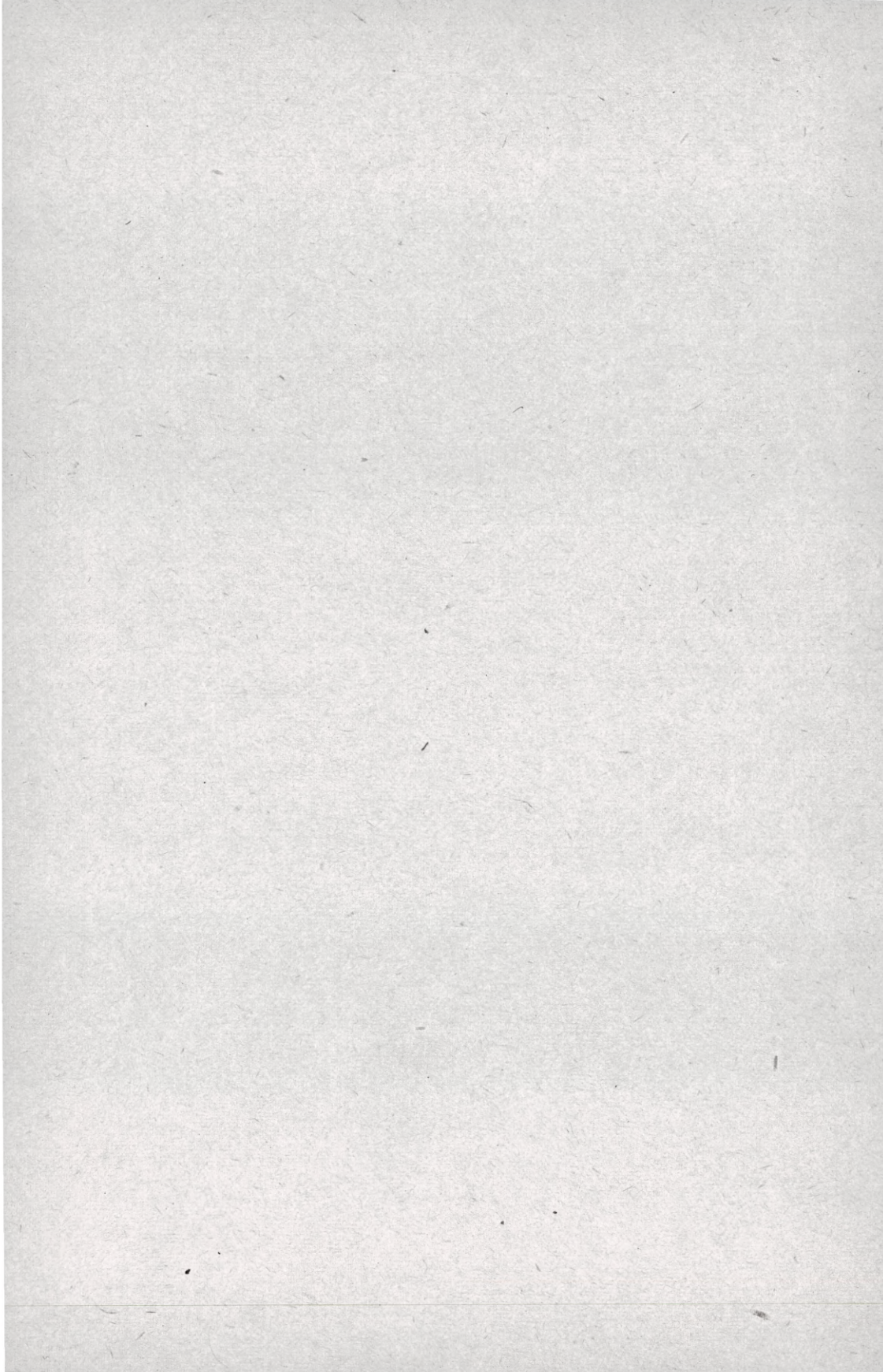
P. 35, l. 16. A propos du passage cité, M. E. Philipot observe: »La tournure *il consiste dans, chez un homme* est une pure cacographie. Faguet, tout puriste qu'il fût par moments, en a commis bien d'autres«. Il regarde également la tournure *en à peine* d'André Gide comme du français plus que douteux.

P. 39, l. 2. A propos des exemples cités, M. Pierre Laurent appelle mon attention sur la locution curieuse *à son corps défendant*.

P. 42. *Avec ça*. M. Th. Kalepky c'est occupé de cette locution dans un article intéressant publié dans la *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXI (1907), p. 468—472.

P. 43, l. 16. M. Pierre Laurent observe que *avec ça que* présente ordinairement un sens ironique quand la proposition subordonnée est affirmative. Il écrit: »*Avec ça que je m'ennuie* signifie actuellement le plus souvent: vous vous trompez, je ne m'ennuie pas.

P. 45. Dans une lettre datée du 19 déc. 1926, M. E. Philipot ajoute à mon explication de *avec ça* la remarque suivante: »Votre explication de *avec ça* ironique me paraît à la fois juste et prudente. Il y a là une ironie comparable à *plus souvent*. On fait semblant d'ajouter à l'idée exprimée par son interlocuteur, d'abonder et de surabonder dans son sens, alors qu'en réalité on se sépare de lui. Mais je me demande vraiment si en partant de *avec toutes ses qualités il n'a pas réussi* on peut arriver à *avec cela qu'il n'a pas réussi*, qui a une signification entièrement opposée. C'est un véritable casse-tête«.



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AUS EINER
ALTEN ETRUSKERSTADT

VON

FREDERIK POULSEN

MIT 51 TAFELN



KØBENHAVN

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Das Jahr 1924 war für die Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek seit dem Tode ihres Stifters, Carl Jacobsen das an Erwerbungen reichste. Ausser drei interessanten Porträts, welche in dem Bruckmannschen Porträtwerk bald veröffentlicht werden sollen,¹ ist eine reiche Sammlung schöner griechischer Vasen und etruskischer Bronzen, gefunden in einer der alten ruhmreichen Etruskerstädte, in unser Museum gelangt.

Ich zähle zunächst die Vasen auf, die in dem »Tillæg til Katalog 1925« schon verzeichnet sind.² Ich gebe die Katalog-Nummer der Vase (V.) und Inventarnr. derselben (Inv.-Nr.) bei jedem Stück in Parenthese an.

Bei der Bestimmung der Vasenmaler hat Beazley mir vielfach geholfen, und ich möchte ihm hier meinen wärmsten Dank dafür aussprechen.

I.

Schwarzfigurige Amphora,

Stil des »affektierten Meisters«.

(V. 11. Inv. Nr. 2692). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift 1925 S. 351 und fig. 1.

Abb. 1—5.

H. 0,525. Ungefähr intakt und nie zerbrochen. Schöner, gelbroter Ton, reichliche Verwendung von kirschroter Malfarbe.

¹ Vgl. vorläufig Tillæg til Katalog 1925 nr. 450 b, 733 a und 733 b und Nordisk Tidsskrift 1925, I S. 351 ff.

² S. 150 ff.

Auf beiden Seiten ausgespartes Bildfeld mit oberem Lotosstreifen. Motiv: kämpfendes Kriegerpaar mit Zuschauern. Die Abweichungen der Details sind nur nebensächlich: auf der Vorderseite (Abb. 1—3) sind die Zuschauer nackt; der Zuschauer links trägt den Chlamys zusammengefaltet über dem linken Arm; auf der Rückseite (Abb. 4—5) trägt der rechte Zuschauer einen kurzen Chiton mit Schulter Schlag, der linke einen Mantel. Auch die Gesten variieren; der linke Zuschauer der Rückseite macht einen übelabwehrenden Gestus (Abb. 5). Die kämpfenden Krieger der Vorderseite stehen fest auf dem Boden; auf der Rückseite berühren sie den Boden nur flüchtig. Der rechte Krieger der Rückseite (Abb. 4) hat einen Schild ohne Schildzeichen, und unterhalb seiner Rüstung fehlen die herabhängenden, dünnen Bandenden der anderen Krieger, welche in Wirklichkeit die Beine der über dem Chiton getragenen, hier vom Harnisch gedeckten Nebris sein sollen. Dieses missverstandene Attribut gibt unser Vasenmaler gewöhnlich seinen Kriegern, bisweilen auch dem Hermes.

Der Stil ist leicht zu erkennen als der des sogenannten »affektierten schwarzfigurigen Meisters«, dessen Eigenart Karo zum ersten Mal scharf gefasst und geschildert hat,¹ während man früher im Allgemeinen von einer »affektierten tyrrhenischen Vasengruppe« sprach.² Es sind jetzt ungefähr 50 Gefässe von ihm bekannt, aber teilweise in sehr ungenügenden Abbildungen.³ Die Vasen sind alle Amphoren und alle in Italien, zum grössten Teil in Etrurien gefunden.

¹ Journ. of hell. stud. XIX 1899 S. 147 ff.

² Torlonia et Gsell: Fouilles dans la nécropole de Vulci S. 502 und Taf. VII—VIII.

³ Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen I S. 262—265, III fig. 223—225. Pottier: Vases du Louvre II F. 19, 20, 24 und Taf. 64—65. Burlington Exhibition Catal. 1904, Taf. 92, 18.

Die Amphoren zerfallen formell in zwei Gruppen, von denen unsere Amphora der ersteren gehört: Amphora mit kantiger Mündung, ohne Absatz des Halses; der Fuss wie ein umgekehrter Echinus, der Körper schwarz gefirnisst mit ausgespartem Bildfeld und zwei Strahlenreihen am Fuss. Das Bildfeld pflegt oben zwei Lotosstreifen zu haben; unsere Vase hat jedoch nur einen.

Der affektierte Meister beschränkt sich auf 7 Motive, die Karo zusammenstellt; unsere Amphora stellt Motiv IV dar: zwei lanzenkämpfende Krieger mit zwei Zuschauern.¹

Während alles Technische — Ton, Brennung, Firnis, Malfarben, Sicherheit der Linienführung — vorzüglich ist, bedeutet die Formgebung ein Aeusserstes an Starrheit und Manierismus. Die Details werden stupide wiederholt, die anatomischen Kenntnisse sind gering, die Bewegungen eckig, bisweilen grotesk.

An den Bildern unserer Amphora hebe ich einige für diesen Maler besonders charakterische Einzelheiten hervor. Die Silene als Schildzeichen sind fast ebenso häufig wie die grossen, aus der Schildmitte herausfahrenden Schlangen, die sich wie lebend von der Schildfläche lösen. Der Zuschauer der Rückseite rechts (Abb. 4) trägt das Haarband mit der wunderlichen Schleife und um die Schulter gelegt das in der attischen Vasenmalerei sonst unbekannt Tüchlein: *περιάρμα*. Die Gewänder sind wenig gefaltet, mit roten Details. Die Schlüsselbeine werden durch mehrere grobe Ritzlinien, der Brustmuskel durch einen eizigen Bogen gegeben. Das Profil ist langnasig, die Köpfe klein, Arme und Unterschenkel dürr, der Rumpf und die Oberschenkel

¹ Vgl. Gerhard: Auserlesene Vasenbilder 117, wo eine Frau unter den Zuschauern vorkommt, was sonst selten ist. Die Vase, München 79 (jetzt 1440) habe ich persönlich untersucht; sie steht unserer Vase sehr nahe. Besonders die Schlangen der Schilde sind ganz ähnlich.

dagegen schwer und plump, das Gesäss rund ausspringend. Die Innen- und Aussenseiten der Beine werden gleich gezeichnet. Das Laufen ist knickebeinig.

Jonische und attische Einflüsse kreuzen sich, und Karo hält deshalb diese Vasen für Erzeugnisse einer ionischen Stadt, während Pfuhl sich den Maler als einen im Kerameikos ansässigen Jonier vorstellt, der nur für Export arbeitete. Denn die Attiker haben ihn offenbar formell zu gering gefunden; nicht einmal der Perserschutt enthält eine einzige Scherbe dieses Meisters. Die Italiker dagegen haben seine Technik bewundert und an seinem geringen Formensinn keinen Anstoss genommen. Kurz gesagt: der affektierte Meister bietet uns künstlerisch wenig, ist aber kulturgeschichtlich eine sehr interessante Erscheinung.

II.

Rotfigurige Kylix.

Von Oltos.

(V. 21. Inv. Nr. 2700). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 353 fig. 2—4.

Abb. 6—8.

Diam. 0,335; mit den Henkeln 0,42. Die Vase war zerbrochen, und einige Stücke fehlen.

Innenbild: laufende nackte Hetaere mit Kastagnetten. Aussenbilder: A. Dionysos auf einem Felsen gelagert, von Ziegenböcken flankiert. Dionysos hält in der vorgestreckten rechten Hand eine winzige Blume. Über ihm an der Wand hängt ein Filzhut mit aufgekrempelem Rand. Darunter läuft die Inschrift: *ὁ παῖς καλός*.

B. Maenade mit Krotalen, auf einem Kissen gelagert. Sie trägt Kekryphalos, Chiton und Himation und wird von

Widdern flankiert (der Kopf des linken Widders verloren).
Inscription $\epsilon\zeta \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$; links neben der Palmette ein H.

Die Bildfelder werden durch Palmetten, welche die Henkel umgeben, getrennt.

Am nächsten verwandt ist eine Kylix im Ashmoleanmuseum.¹ Innenbild: laufender Jüngling mit Trinkhorn, ganz in der Stellung unserer Hetaere; Aussenbild: gelagerter Jüngling mit Diener, rechts ein Ziegenbock auf den Hinterbeinen, Typus und Stellung wie die Ziegenböcke des Dionysos. Auf dieser Oxford-Kylix, die sicher von derselben Hand gemalt ist wie unsere Vase, steht der Lieblingsname: Memnon, der eben nur auf den Vasen des Oltos vorkommt.² Mit diesem Vasenmaler des epiktetischen Kreises, von dem wir drei signierte Vasen besitzen, dessen Stil aber so ausgeprägt ist, dass Beazley in seinem letzten Buch 82 Vasen und Fragmente von ihm verzeichnen kann,³ verbinden auch andere Züge unsere Schale. Die winzige Blume in der Hand des Dionysos ähnelt den Blumen in den Händen von Hermes und Aphrodite auf der signierten Vase in Corneto.⁴ Auf der Brüsseler Vase mit dem Lieblingsnamen Memnon zeigt das Innenbild⁵ eine bekleidete Frau mit Kastagnetten. Es ist dasselbe Laufschemata, dieselben parataktischen Bewegungen,

¹ Journ. of hell. stud. XXIV 1904 S. 303 nr. 516, abgeb. S. 304.

² Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils. Tübingen 1925. S. 12 ff. Die Vase in Compiègne, Beazley nr. 55, ist jetzt Corpus Vasorum, Compiègne, Taf. 14, 1, 2, 5 abgebildet.

³ Attische Vasenmaler S. 10—17. Vgl. Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen I S. 431. Die Florentinerschale 81601, Beazley nr. 54, wird bald von Minto selbst veröffentlicht werden. Der laufende Jüngling derselben ähnelt sehr der Hetaere unserer Vase.

⁴ Beazley nr. 49. P. Ducati: Storia della ceramica greca II S. 295 fig. 228. Hoppin: Handbook of redfigured vases II 251. Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen III Abb. 360.

⁵ R. 253. Beazley a. o. O. nr. 54. idem: Vases in America S. 12 nr. 39. Corpus Vasorum, Belgique, Bruxelles III 1 c Taf. 2, 2 b.

dieselben Konturen von Gesicht und Körper wie im Innenbild unserer Schale.

Das Profil der Hetaere lässt sich vergleichen mit demjenigen des sitzenden Jünglings im Innenbild der Münchener Schale nr. 2618,¹ oder mit demjenigen der Hetaere der anderen Münchener-Schale, nr. 2606²: es ist dieselbe zugespitzte Nase, und der Mund wird als krummer Strich gezeichnet. Oder man vergleiche die Zeichnung der Schlüsselbeine, der Brustlinie und der Mantelfalten des gelagerten Achilleus der Münchener Schale 2618 mit denselben Zügen des gelagerten Dionysos unserer Schale. In der Oltoschale im Nationalmuseum von Kopenhagen (Abb. 9)³ hat Theseus wiederum Schlüsselbeine und Brustmuskel wie der gelagerte Dionysos. Endlich habe ich die Berliner Schalen geprüft, nr. 2263,⁴ deren Jüngling mit Beinschienen im Innenbild das Profil unserer Hetaere hat, und 4220,⁵ wo der Jüngling mit Kissen im Innenbild denselben Körperbau wie die Hetaere aufweist.

Somit ist die Zuteilung der Schale an Oltos, den Meister der dekorativen Monumentalität unter den frühen rotfigurigen Malern, gesichert.⁶ Laufende Jünglinge und laufende Maenaden oder Hetaeren mit Kastagnetten gehören zu den Lieblingsmotiven dieses Malers.⁷

¹ Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 83. Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 14 nr. 40.

² Beazley a. o. O. nr. 52.

³ Ich verdanke Herrn Friis Johansen die Photographie und die Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung. Inv. nr. 3877. Beazley nr. 45. Mit Memnon-signatur. Diam. 0,353; mit den Henkeln 0,445.

⁴ Auch mit Memnon-signatur. Beazley nr. 43.

⁵ Beazley nr. 50.

⁶ Näheres seiner Datierung bei E. Langlotz: Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei S. 32.

⁷ Beazley: Vases in America S. 7 ff.; vgl. nr. 47 und 48 dort.

Unsere Schale gehört der älteren Stilstufe des Malers an, wie die Staffelung der Falten des Dionysos zeigt. Künstlerisch ist das Stück hervorragend.

III.

Rotfigurige Hydria,

Stil des »Berliner Amphora Malers«.

(V. 24. Inv. Nr. 2696). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 354 ff. und fig. 5—6.

H. 0,425. Die Vase zerbrochen. Kleine Stücke fehlen.

Abb. 10—13.

Im Schulterfeld, auf einem mit schrägen Palmetten geschmückten Streifen steht in der Mitte ein Altar, links hält Triptolemos auf seinem Flügelwagen, Aehren in der erhobenen linken Hand. Er trägt Lorbeerkranz, Chiton und Himation und streckt die rechte Hand mit der flachen Trinkschale gegen Persephone aus, die jenseits des Altares mit der rechten Hand die Kanne hält, während ihre linke die gesenkte, brennende Fackel trägt. Sie hat im Haar ein Diadem mit Spitzblättern, im Ohr einen kreisrunden Schmuck mit mittlerem Punkt und trägt den Chiton und den schrägen Mantel mit flatternden Faltenenden.¹

Die Form und die Dekoration des Altares kehren genau wieder auf einer Hydria im Cabinet des Medailles,² die Beazley der Schule des Berliner Malers zuschreibt.³

Das Profil und die doppelte Kymationdekoration der Mündung unserer Hydria lassen sich mit den entsprechenden Teilen der Vivenziovase vergleichen,⁴ und wir finden

¹ Vgl. für das Motiv Hoppin: Handbook II 61.

² De Ridder: Catalogue des vases de la Bibl. Nat. S. 333 fig. 73 (nr. 441).

³ Attische Vasenmaler S. 85 nr. 109.

⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 34.

sie wieder an einer monochronen Oinochoë im Britischen Museum¹ und — ohne Dekoration — an einer Hydria im Museo Gregoriano, die Beazley ebenfalls dem Berliner Meister zuschreibt.² Auch die schräg gestellten Palmetten unter der Bildfläche gehören zum Repertoire dieses Meisters.³

Damit ist schon der Kreis gegeben, und es fragt sich nun, ob die neue Hydria ein Werk des Berliner Malers selbst oder eines seiner Schüler ist. Vergleicht man mit dem Hauptstück dieses von Beazley zuerst entdeckten Meisters,⁴ der Berliner Amphora mit Hermes und musizierenden Silenen,⁵ »diesem Wunder in Glanz und Goldschimmer«, so erkennt man eine Reihe von gleichartigen Zügen: die kleinen Schnörkel, womit der Nasenflügel der Persephone gezeichnet ist, stimmen genau mit demselben Detail beim Hermes der Berliner Vase überein; die Blätter des Diadems der Persephone sind ganz so gezeichnet wie diejenigen der Kränze der Silene. Die Schläfenlocken des Triptolemos gleichen Zug um Zug denen des Silens auf der Rückseite u. v. a.

Grade solche Kleinigkeiten, die der Maler fast unbewusst zeichnet, bedeuten bei der Identifizierung sehr viel. Aber es gibt auch andere Kriterien grösseren Stiles.

Die Form der Vase: die Hydria-Kalpis mit Schulterbild,

¹ Inv. Nr. 1035.

² Museo Gregoriano II Taf. 15, 1. Photo Alinari 37778—9. Hoppin: Handbook I 66 nr. 51. Overbeck: Apollon Taf. 20, 12. Beazley a. a. O. S. 84 nr. 100.

³ Beazley, Journ. of hell. stud. XXXI 1911 S. 279 nr. 12.

⁴ Journ. of hell. stud. XXXI 1911 S. 276 ff. und Taf. 8—17. Beazley: Vases in America S. 40; idem: Attische Vasenmaler S. 76 ff. Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen S. 487, § 524.

⁵ Pfuhl a. o. O. III Abb. 473. Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 159,2. Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 76 nr. 1. Ich habe die Vase im Original geprüft und verglichen.

die schon am Schlusse des schwarzfigurigen Stiles eingeführt wurde,¹ ist unter den grossen Vasen des Berliner Meisters durch 8 Beispiele vertreten.² Auch der sogenannte Nereusmaler, der dem Berliner Maler nahe steht, verwendete diese Form und zwar mit ganz übereinstimmender Dekoration: Schulterbild auf einem dekorierten Streifen, der lange vor den Henkeln aufhört.³ Auch der doppelt profilierte Fuss gehört hierher als gemeinsamer Zug des Berliner- und des Nereusmalers.⁴ Die Zeichnung der Gewandfalten entspricht genau der Weise des Berliner Meisters selbst.⁵

Um dessen Stil weiter zu verdeutlichen geben wir hier zwei Amazonen der Florentiner Amphora panathenäischen Stiles nach Zeichnungen, die ich der Güte Herrn Mintos verdanke, wieder (Abb. 14—15)⁶. Man erkennt die frappante Aehnlichkeit, sobald man diese Köpfe mit denjenigen der Kopenhagener Hydria vergleicht: die schnörkelartige Bildung der Nasenflügel, die Zeichnung des Auges noch in Profil, aber doch schon ohne Schliessen des inneren Augenwinkels, die Bildung von Mund und Kinn (besonders die Zeichnung der Unterlippe ist typisch und ähnlich).

Die Malerei der Florentiner Vase ist flüchtiger und geringer als die der Ny Carlsberg Hydria, welche in ausgezeichneter Weise die monumentale Kraft und Sicherheit

¹ Beazley: Vases in America S. 35.

² Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 84 nr. 102—109.

³ Beazley a. o. S. 121. Besonders gutes Beispiel die Vase in Wien, Karl Masner: Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten. Taf. VII nr. 331.

⁴ Beazley; Journ. of hell. stud. 1911. S. 285 fig. 7 und Taf. IX.

⁵ Vgl. den fragmentierten Stamnos, der aus dem Besitz Warrens ins Ashmoleanmuseum gelangt ist, Hoppin: Handbook I 63 nr. 33. Vgl. auch Brit. Museum. E. 268.

⁶ Nr. 3989 des Museums. Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 77 nr. 13 und Journ. of hell. stud. 1911 S. 281 nr. 10.

dieses hervorragenden Meisters verdeutlicht, der in Linienführung und Komposition dem Euthymides, in Geist dem Epiktet verwandt ist und zeitlich mit dem Kleophradesmaler zusammenfällt.¹ Die letzte Liste seiner Werke durch Beazley umfasst 148 Stücke, von denen jedoch nicht wenige Schülerarbeiten sind.² Die Ny Carlsberg Hydria dürfen wir dann wohl dem Meister selbst zuschreiben.

IV.

Rotfigurige Lekythos,

Stil des »Berliner Amphora Malers«.

(V. 25. Inv. Nr. 2701). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 356 f und fig. 7.

H. 0,34. Zerbrochen. Einige Splitter fehlen, aber in der Hauptzeichnung fast nichts.

Abb. 16.

Am Hals Kymation, auf der Schulter Palmettenstreifen, darunter Mäanderstreifen, der unter der Bildfläche wiederholt, dort aber seitlich abgeschnitten wird.

In der Bildfläche eine Einzelfigur: eine singende und leierspielende Frau. An der Leier hängt ein geteiltes Tuch, wahrscheinlich das Futteral zur Verhüllung der Saiten, wenn das Instrument nicht gebraucht wird.³ Die Frau trägt den Chiton und den schrägen Mantel.

Die Disposition dieses Mantels ist für den Berliner Maler

¹ Hoppin: Handbook I S. 58. Dadurch erklärt sich die formelle Uebereinstimmung unserer Hydria mit der Vivenziovase, die Pfuhl (Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen S. 436 f) dem Kleophradesmaler zuschreibt, eine Ansicht, der sich Beazley anschliesst. Attische Vasenmaler S. 774 nr. 50.

² Attische Vasenmaler S. 76—87.

³ Vgl. Bulletin of Mus. of Fine Arts Boston XXIV 1926 S. 39.

charakteristisch: unten neben der gestauchten Mittelfalte finden wir glatte Gewandflächen, die mit Kreuzsternchen geschmückt sind. Die klassischen Beispiele dieser Naturwidrigkeit des auf das rein Dekorative abzielenden Berliner Malers sind die fliegende Gorgone der Münchener Gorgonen-vasse und die Athena des Münchener Stamnos.¹ Will man aber eine genau entsprechende Parallele zu der ganzen Figur, so vergleiche man die Athena der Halsamphora der Yale University (Fig. 17).² Hier ist alles gleich: die Mittelfalte und die zurückfliegenden Faltenenden des schrägen Mantels, die Paryféfalte, die Punktierung und der doppelte untere Saum des Chitons. Die Yale-Amphora wird von Beazley dem Berliner Amphora Maler selbst zugeschrieben. Auf der Rückseite des eben genannten Münchener Stamnos hat der Jüngling, der sich die Beinschienen anlegt, dasselbe Profil mit kurzer Nase ohne Profilstrich und dieselbe Augenbildung wie die Frau unserer Lekythos. Die Form und Zeichnung der Leier der singenden Frau stimmen genau mit der Leier eines Jünglings auf einer Oinochoë in New York³ und derjenigen des Silens auf der Münchener Amphora panathenäischer Form, deren eine Seite wir deshalb hier abbilden (Abb. 18).⁴

Lekythen gehören zum Repertoire des Berliner Malers

¹ Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 134 und 106, 2.

² Paul Baur: Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University. 1922. S. 89 (133) und Taf. VIII (133 a).

³ G. Richter in Amer. Journ. of Arch. XXX 1926 S. 6 fig. 6.

⁴ Ich verdanke Herrn Sieveking die Photographie. Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 77 nr. 15. Dagegen bin ich nicht überzeugt, dass die beiden Münchener Amphoren, Beazley nr. 5—6, Inv. Nr. 2310 und 2313 von dem Meister selbst bemalt sind. Die sind zu gering, und nur die Bildung der Augen stimmt; Schädelform, Gesichtsprofil, Zeichnung des Ohres zeigen dagegen Abweichungen vom gewöhnlichen Typus.

und seiner Schüler.¹ Ich glaube, wie oben angedeutet, dass unsere Lekythos zu den Originalwerken des Meisters gehört. Die Zeichnung ist nicht nur dekorativ vorzüglich, sondern wir spüren in der Bewegung ein bei diesem Vasenmaler ungewöhnliches Feingefühl: obwohl die Füße eng zusammenstehen, wird durch den schrägen Flug der Faltenenden hinter dem Rücken und durch die leichte Biegung der Knie ein Eindruck von leiser Hin- und Herbewegung geschaffen, welcher dem Motiv: dem begeisterten Singen mit zurückgelehntem Kopf sehr schön entspricht. Da die schräge fliegenden Faltenenden ein bei diesem Maler geläufiges Motiv ist (vgl. Abb. 17), liegt das Neue in dem zurückgeworfenen Kopf und den gebogenen Knien. Die Frau singt wirklich. Sonst zieht dieser Maler das ruhige Nachdenken, wobei die Leier horizontal gehalten wird, dem Singen vor.² Die Frau unserer Lekythos hat die Leier hoch genommen und hält sie ungefähr wie der Silene der berühmten Berliner Amphora, der im Singen gestört zu werden scheint.³

V.

Rotfigurige Lekythos,

Schule des »Berliner Amphora Malers«.

(V. 26. Inv. Nr. 2702).

H. 0,34. Ungebrochen, vorzüglich erhalten.

Abb. 19.

Diese Lekythos, die nur ornamentiert ist, aber mit IV zusammengefunden und von genau derselben Grösse ist,

¹ Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 85 nr. 110—119 und 120—132. Nr. 131 ist jetzt abgeb. Corpus Vasorum, Compiègne Taf. 14,7. Hoppin: Handbook I S. 65. Beazley: Vases in America S. 38.

² Vgl. Abb. 18 und Amer. Journ. of Arch, XXX 1926 S. 6 fig. 6.

³ Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung III. S. 168 Abb. 473. Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 159, 2.

gehört kunstgeschichtlich demselben Kreis an und ist offenbar als Gegenstück zu der anderen Lekythos gearbeitet. Die Dekoration besteht aus einem Halsstreifen mit Kyma, Schulterstreifen mit spiralverbundenen Palmetten und Mäanderborte, sowie einem Palmettenstreifen auf dem Bauche.

Die Abwechslung in den Mäanderformen des Schulterstreifens ist auch von anderen Vasen aus der Schule des Berliner Malers her bekannt.¹

Beazley, dem ich die Photographie zeigte, teilte mir freundlich mit, dass eine ähnliche Lekythos sich im Museum von Syrakus befinde, und durch die Güte des Herrn R. Carta erhielt ich von dieser gleich grossen Lekythos eine Photographie, die ich hier reproduziere (Abb. 20).

Die Vase in Syrakus ist in der Tat der in der alten Etruskerstadt gefundenen so ähnlich, dass man, wenn sie nicht Brüche und kleine Abweichungen der Palmettenblätter zeigte, an Identität glauben könnte. Selbst der kleine Wulst oberhalb des hohen Fussprofils ist in beiden Vasen der gleiche. So ähnlich können zwei Vasen derselben Hand sein, und so weit ist die Vasenkunde durch den unermüdlichen Fleiss und die scharfen Beobachtungen von Beazley gediehen, dass die Uebereinstimmung sogar ausschliesslich ornamentierter Vasen in weit auseinander liegenden Museen sogleich festgestellt werden kann.

VI.

Rotfigurige Pelike mit Triptolemos und Theseus.

(V. 27. Inv. Nr. 2695).

H. 0,37. Ungebrochen. Die Rückseite etwas verblasst.

Abb. 21–25.

¹ Walters: Ancient Pottery I Taf. 36, 2. Brit. Mus. E. 574. Collection Lambros-Dattari Taf. 7 nr. 55.

Vorderseite: bärtiger Triptolemos (mit beigeschriebenem Namen) mit Szepter und Schale, auf einem von einem Fell bedeckten Stuhl sitzend. Links von ihm (Abb. 23) Kora, stehend, mit Kanne und Aehren. Rechts (Abb. 22) die Demeter, die stehend einen guirlandenartigen Kranz mit beiden Händen hält. Alle drei Gestalten tragen Chiton und Himation, Triptolemos Kranz im Haar, die beiden Frauen gemusterte Kekryphalen und runden Ohrschmuck.

Rückseite: (Abb. 24) Theseus auf einem ähnlichen Stuhl wie Triptolemos sitzend, links Poseidon mit Dreizack und Delphin, rechts Amphitrite mit erhobener Hand, die ein verblasstes Attribut, wohl den für Theseus bestimmten goldenen Kranz hielt.¹ Die Amphitrite hat die ganze linke Seite und den linken Arm vom Himation verhüllt. Die Einrahmung des Bildfeldes ist auf beiden Seiten die gleiche und aus den Abbildungen erkennbar.

Der bärtige Triptolemos ist in der schwarzfigurigen Vasenmalerei häufiger als der jugendlich bartlose.² Da aber der Triptolemos schon in der frührotfigurigen Malerei, schon im Kreis des Andokides und des Epiktet bartlos ist, wirkt dieser bärtige Triptolemos als ein sehr eigenartiges Rudiment. Ganz singulär ist es auch, dass er auf einem fellbekleideten Stuhl sitzt. Hat die Darstellung eines langbärtigen, eleusinischen Königs, z. B. des Keleos den Maler beeinflusst, irreführt?

Man könnte versucht sein denselben bärtigen Triptolemos

¹ Vgl. hierüber Furtwängler-Reichhold I S. 28.

² Vgl. Overbeck: Kunstmythologie III Taf. XV 1—6 und S. 530. Pringsheim: Archäol. Beiträge zur Geschichte der eleusinischen Kulte S. 4 und 97. Malten, Arch. für Religionswiss. XII 1909 S. 441 Anm. 3. Furtwängler: Gemmen III S. 208 fig. 133. Graef: Vasen von der Akropolis I Taf. 45, 675 e. Arch. Anz. XXXII 1917 S. 106 f, nr. 37. Minto, Atene e Roma 1923 S. 1 ff, Taf. I—II.

mit einschenkender Kora auf einem Fragment in Petrograd zu erkennen, das Buschor zum Ausgangspunkt einer stilistischen Untersuchung gemacht hat (Abb. 26).¹ Aber der Kopf einer niedriger sitzenden Figur unterhalb des Armes der männlichen Gottheit macht diese Erklärung unmöglich und weist eher auf die Trias Zeus, Hera und vielleicht Nike. Formell stimmt die Zeichnung des Zeus und des bärtigen Triptolemos: man vergleiche die Form des Krobylos und des Bartes, die Bildung von Augen und Lippen. Ebenso bei den beiden einschenkenden Frauen die eigenartige Zeichnung der Brüste, welche straff gespannt von harten, senkrechten Linien oben und unten begrenzt werden. Auch die andere Seite der Pelike in Petrograd entspricht merkwürdig der Rückseite unserer Vase: wir sehen einen sitzenden Jüngling (Theseus?) und eine stehende Frau mit Guirlandenkranz (Amphitrite?).

Buschor verbindet² die Petrograder Fragmente mit dem Stamnos im Louvre, welcher ebenfalls den Abschied des Triptolemos wiedergibt.³ Hier sitzt der jugendliche, bartlose Gott auf dem richtigen, schlangengeschmückten Flügelwagen, mit Szepter und Schale, wieder von den beiden grossen Göttinnen mit Kanne und mit Kranz bedient. Die Gewandung der Frauen und die Zeichnung der Brüste ist wie in unserer Vase, und auf der Rückseite des Louvre Stamnos zeigt der kranztragende Kopf des opfernden Keleos genaue Uebereinstimmung mit dem bärtigen Triptolemos unserer Pelike.

Die Hand desselben Malers fand Buschor mit Recht wieder in einer Berliner Schale mit Symposion, und wegen

¹ Arch. Jahr. XXXI 1916 S. 76 f, fig. 1—2.

² L. c. S. 82 f, fig. 5—6.

³ Corpus Vasorum, France, Fasc. 2, Groupe III 1 c, pl. 20, 3 et 6 (G. 187).

der Signatur derselben schrieb er die ganze Gruppe dem Vasenmaler Duris zu.¹ Dagegen vertrat Beazley die Ansicht, dass die Berliner Schale trotz der Signatur nicht von Duris gemalt sein könnte, und benannte die ganze Gruppe Werke des Louvre-Triptolemos-Stamnos-Malers.² Ueber diese scheinbare Willkürlichkeit sprach sich Pfuhl in strengen Worten aus, als er neulich Buschor zustimmte.³ Darauf antwortet nun Beazley, dass Buschor, der gleichzeitig und unabhängig von ihm die eigenartige Gruppe zusammengestellt hatte, sich inzwischen seiner Meinung angeschlossen habe und jetzt auch die Durissignatur der Berliner Schale als Kriterium verwerfe.⁴ Diese Behauptung hält Buschor, wie er mir mündlich versichert, mit Rücksicht auf die stilistischen Tatsachen aufrecht; die fragliche Gruppe könne unmöglich mit den sonstigen Durisvasen zusammengehören. Antik ist die Inschrift der Berliner Schale nun aber ganz unzweifelhaft, und Zahn teilt mir freundlich mit, dass er nach einer Untersuchung mit Lupe die gewöhnliche Handschrift des Duris wiedererkenne, besonders die charakteristischen Formen von Δ ($\mathbf{\Delta}$) und P (\mathbf{P}).⁵ Dann müsste also der Triptolemosmaler um seiner Vase einen höheren Preis zu verschaffen die Inschrift des Duris gefälscht haben und zwar so gewissenhaft genau, dass kein Moderner unter der Lupe den Unterschied entdecken könnte. Oder sollte Duris vielleicht signieren ohne gemalt zu haben? Beide Fälle wären gleich merkwürdig, wenn man den geringen Wert, den der antike Käufer auf die Meistersignatur eines Vasen-

¹ Arch. Jahrb. XXXI 1916 S. 74 ff. und Taf. 2.

² Beazley: Vases in America S. 98 Anm. 1. Idem, Journ. of hell. stud. XXXIX 1919 S. 84 f. Hoppin: Handbook II S. 159 ff.

³ Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen S. 480 § 518.

⁴ Attische Vasenmaler S. 151.

⁵ Auch deutlich in der Abbildung, Arch. Jahrb. XXXI 1916 S. 74 Taf. 2.

malers zu legen scheint, beachtet. Denn wie würde sich sonst die Tatsache erklären, dass eine ganze Reihe der allerbesten attischen Vasen unsigniert geblieben ist? Danach müssten wir also den Triptolemosmaler, dem Beazley in seinem letzten Buch 37 Stücke gibt,¹ mit Duris identifizieren.² Wir könnten das mit gutem Gewissen tun, wenn wir das Problem folgendermassen erfassten: es ist nicht unsere Sache vorzuschreiben, wie viele und wie grosse Metamorphosen ein antiker Vasenmaler unter dem Einfluss seiner Zeitgenossen erlebt haben darf. Würde man etwa nach Beazleys Verfahren Rafaëls Hand immer wiedererkennen, wenn man die umbrischen Jugendwerke mit den reiferen der Florentiner und den ganz reifen der römischen Jahre verglich. So könnte auch Duris die etwas trockenere Art der Stufe des »Triptolemosmalers« zugunsten einer durch Makron beeinflussten Malweise aufgegeben haben, ohne dass wir mit unserem spärlichen Material die Uebergangsstufe nachzuweisen im Stande wären. Ebenso möchte man die Epiktetosinschrift einer Pelike in Berlin und die Polygnotosinschrift auf einer Scherbe in Tübingen, die Beazley ebenfalls alle verwirft,³ lieber als echt aufrechterhalten. Beazley gibt das erste Gefäss dem Kleophradesmaler. Wie soll aber dieser Maler, der nie seinen Namen nennt, auf die Idee verfallen sein dieses einzige Mal zu signieren und dabei die Signatur eines alten Genossen zu fälschen? Das wäre im Stil des modernen Gemäldehandels, nicht altattische Weise.

Da tritt nun aber die Inschrift unserer Vase hinzu und erregt wieder den alten Zweifel. Vor dem Gesicht des sitzenden

¹ o. c. S. 152—54.

² So auch Lippold, Berl. philol. Wochenschrift 1926 S. 1014.

³ o. c. S. 71 und 478.

Triptolemos steht von rechts nach links der Name des Heros, und wie die Abbildung 25 (Taf. 14) zeigt, hat das *P* keine Hasta, ist also ganz gegen den Gebrauch des Duris. Auch die Schreibweise des zweiten *T* mit Trennung zwischen Strich und Querstrich wäre bei ihm ungewöhnlich. Mit anderen Worten, die Triptolemosinschrift der Vase der Glyptothek spricht gegen Duris und für einen von ihm verschiedenen Maler, also zu Gunsten einer Erklärung im Sinne Beazleys. Wie man sich dann mit der unzweifelhaften Durissignatur auf der Berliner Schale abfinden soll, bleibt nach wie vor rätselhaft.

VII.

Rotfigurige Kylix des Makron.

(V. 28. Inv. Nr. 2699).

Diam. 0,228; mit den Henkeln 0,298. Die Vase ist zerbrochen, ein grösseres und ein kleines Stück fehlen. Die Oberfläche der Figuren der Aussenseite ist hie und da zerfressen.

Abb. 27—29.

Innenbild mit Mäanderstreifen. Dargestellt ist ein nackter Komast, mit dem grossen, über dem linken Arm geworfenen Himation als Hintergrund; ein Knotenstock fällt aus seiner rechten Hand, während die linke eine tiefe Schale (Skyphos) balanciert.

Aussenbilder: je drei Männer bilden eine Gruppe. Auf der einen Seite drei Epheben: der Jüngling links stützt sich auf seinen Stab, der mittlere hält einen Hasen, nach dem der junge Mann rechts greift. Zwischen ihnen hängt an der Wand ein Badeschwamm in einem Netz. Auf der anderen Seite steht rechts ein härtiger Mann, auf den Stock

gelehnt, und greift sich, offenbar betrunken, mit der rechten Hand nach der Stirn. Ein Ephebe in der Mitte läuft nach links mit der Leier in der ausgestreckten linken Hand, wie es scheint voll Abscheu vor dem Betrunkenen, während der bärtige Mann links seinem Altersgenossen zu Hilfe zu eilen scheint. An der Wand wiederum der Schwamm im Netz.

Die Hand des Makron lässt sich an vielen Einzelheiten erkennen: an den grossen Mänteln, die den Hintergrund für die Körper bildend zum ersten Mal den Einfluss der grossen farbigen Wandmalerei auf die rotfigurigen Vasenbilder erkennen lassen, und gegen deren Linien sich die Konturen der Körper verlieren. Auch die Faltenbildung der Mäntel ist für Makron charakteristisch, ebenso die verhältnismässig grossen Köpfe mit dem etwas hängenden Kinn, die kurzen, unschönen Füsse und die ebenfalls unschönen Hände mit gespreizten Fingern.

Makron,¹ der besonders für den Töpfer Hieron gearbeitet hat, und von dem Beazley jetzt 182 Vasen und Fragmente zusammenstellt², hat mit Vorliebe Kylikes gemalt, und die unsrige gehört zu einer Gattung von kleineren, meistens etwas flüchtig gemalten Schalen, die im Inneren eine Figur und auswendig sechs, auf zwei Gruppen verteilt, zu haben pflegen.³ Selbst unter diesen Kylikes nimmt

¹ Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen S. 468 f., 471 § 507 und Abb. 435 ff. Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 85. Hoppin: Handbook II S. 38 ff. Hartwig: Meisterschalen S. 270 ff., 421 ff., 686 f., 689. Langlotz: Zur Zeitbestimmung S. 85 f. und 110. Jacobsthal: Göttinger Vasen S. 19 fig. 31. de Ridder: Catalogue des vases de la Bibl. Nat. II S. 421 fig. 103 (verwandt mit der Kopenhagener Schale). Pottier: Catal. du Louvre III Taf. 119.

² Attische Vasenmaler S. 211—221. Vgl. Vases in America S. 101 ff. Ich füge der Liste das schöne Fragment von Ampurias zu, das Rhys Carpenter veröffentlicht hat. (The Greeks in Spain S. 104 und Taf. XXI).

³ Beazley: Vases in America S. 101.

unsere Vase keinen sehr hohen Rang ein, wie z. B. ein Vergleich mit einer verwandten Makronschale in München zeigt (Abb. 30—31¹).

VIII.

Rotfigurige Halsamphora.

(V. 29. Inv. Nr. 2698).

H. 0,485. Zerbrochen. Kleinigkeiten fehlen.

Abb. 32—36.

Am Hals und unter den Henkeln Palmetten; unter dem Bilde Mäanderstreifen.

Vorderseite: ein junger Mann verlässt das Haus. Er trägt Chiton und Chlaina, stützt die linke Hand auf einen hohen Wanderstab (Abb. 32) und reicht mit der rechten eine flache Schale einem jungen Mädchen in Chiton und Himation hin, das die Kanne in der rechten haltend mit der linken Hand gestikuliert (Abb. 34).

Die Rückseite zeigt den Abschied eines behelmten und geharnischten Kriegers (Abb. 36). Das junge, diademgeschmückte Mädchen vor ihm erhebt mit der rechten Hand die Kanne, während die linke einen Speer schultert (Abb. 33).

Die Vase gehört schon dem frühklassischen oder strengschönen Stil an, und die Figuren auf beiden Seiten kehren auf anderen Vasen wieder: der Krieger mit fast demselben Harnisch und der Jüngling in derselben Tracht auf einem Kelchkrater in Petrograd² und auf einer Amphora im Vatikan³; der Krieger allein steht auf einer Halsamphora im Britischen Museum einer Nike gegenüber,⁴ der Jüngling

¹ Nr. 2658. Hoppin II S. 101 nr. 72. Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 219 nr. 122. Ich verdanke Herrn Sieveking die beiden Photographien.

² Comptes-rendu de la Comm. impér. 1874 Taf. 5—6.

³ Museo Gregoriano II. Taf. 56, 2.

⁴ E. 174. Vgl. Beazley: Vases in America S. 151 fig. 91.

erscheint in derselben Tracht als Orpheus auf einer Vase derselben Form im Vatikan.¹

Damit ist der Kreis bestimmt, und Beazley hat diese Vasen mit anderen, im Ganzen 10, zu einer Gruppe vereinigt, als deren Hauptwerk er die Berliner Nike-Hydria bezeichnet.²

Die Halsamphoren dieses Malers pflegen Strickhenkel zu haben; hier bildet die Amphora der Glyptothek die einzige bekannte Ausnahme.

IX.

Rotfigurige Oinochoë.

(V. 32. Inv. Nr. 2697).

H. 0,35. Zerbrochen. Viele Details fehlen. Das Gesicht der Kora ist zerstört.

Abb. 37—38.

In der Mitte ein Altar mit Palmettenakroter. Links Triptolemos mit Szepter und Schale auf seinem Flügelwagen. Rechts die Kora mit Fackel und Kanne.

Der Stil ist der strengschöne von ungefähr 470 v. Chr. Näher lässt sich das Stück nicht bestimmen. Auch Beazleys Kenntnisse versagten hier.

X.

Rotfigurige Kylix mit Epheben.

(V. 33. Inv. Nr. 2715).

Diameter 0,28. Zerbrochen. Nur Kleinigkeiten fehlen.

Abb. 39—41.

Innenbild mit Maeanderstreifen: Zwei Epheben, ein

¹ Museo Gregoriano II. Taf. 60, 1. Gerhard: Trinkschalen und Vasen Taf. J, 1.

² Vases in America S. 150 ff. Attische Vasenmaler S. 344 f. Die Hauptvase abgebildet im Arch. Jahrb. XXVI 1911 S. 160 fig. 70.

sitzender und einer, der sich auf den Stock lehnt, im Gespräch. Aussenbilder: Epheben im Gespräch. An den Wänden Palästrageräte: Strigilen und ein Diskos; an einer Stelle (Abb. 40 oben rechts) sind Partien der Oberfläche abgeblättert. Geringe und flüchtige Arbeit. Stilistisch um 470 v. Chr. anzusetzen und den Schalen des sogenannten Sabouroffmalers nahe verwandt.¹

XI.

Rotfiguriger Stamnos mit Amazonomachie.

(V. 30. Inv. Nr. 2694).

H. 0,40. Zerbrochen. Es fehlen Stücke der Rückseite.

Abb. 42—43.

An der Mündung und auf der Schulter Kymatien. Unter der Bildfläche Maeanderstreifen. An den Henkeln Palmetten. Vorderseite: Eine Amazone zu Pferde kämpft mit der Lanze gegen einen schild- und speerbewaffneten Krieger in Chiton und Lederkoller, dem ein junger Krieger in Mantel und mit Petasos im Nacken mit geschwungener Lanze zu Hilfe eilt. Rückseite: Bärtiger Mann mit Szepter und Himation im Gespräch mit einer himationverhüllten Frau; hinter ihm eilt eine Frau in Chiton und Himation herzu, einen als Palmettenranke stilisierten Zweig in der rechten Hand haltend.

Die nächste Parallele — verwandt durch Gefässform und Dekoration, durch die bildliche Darstellung und die Zeichnung der Figuren — ist ein Stamnos im Britischen Museum². Auch da sehen wir die drei kämpfenden Figuren der Vorderseite, von denen die berittene weniger eingehend

¹ Beazley: Attische Vasenmaler S. 262 ff.

² Journ. of hell. stud. XLI 1921 S. 130 und Taf. VII nr. IV 1.

als Amazone charakterisiert ist, während die beiden anderen in Bewegung und Gewandung fast identisch sind.¹ Die andere Seite der Londoner Vase zeigt eine Libationsszene: wieder steht ein bärtiger Mann zwischen zwei Frauen.

Während Walters den Maler dieses Gefäßes mit dem Altamuramaler und dem Lykaonmaler verglich,² bezeichnet Beazley ihn als einen dem sogenannten Christiemaler verwandten.³ Wie richtig die Bezeichnung ist, zeigt ein Vergleich der drei Figuren auf der Rückseite unseres Stamnos mit den drei Frauenfiguren eines Glockenkraters im Louvre, der demselben Meister zugeschrieben wird.⁴ Man vergleiche bei den beiden Mittelfiguren die durch das Standmotiv bedingten einzigartigen Faltenmassen im Rücken, ferner die Schulterfalten und die unteren Falten der Himatien bei den beiden Frauen rechts. Um die Bedeutung dieser Ähnlichkeiten zu schätzen, vergleiche man weiter die verwandte Komposition und die verwandte, aber doch in der Wiedergabe sehr verschiedene Gewanddarstellung des gleichzeitigen Kraters in Berlin, der von Beazley dem »Kleiomaler« als Hauptwerk gegeben wird.⁵

Unabhängig von Beazley hatte schon Tillyard drei Vasen dieses Vasenmalers zusammengestellt und zitierte drei weitere nach Beazley.⁶ Die Benennung Beazleys geht von einem Glockenkrater aus Deepdene in der Christie Sammlung aus. Beazley zählt jetzt 19 Vasen des Christie Malers auf. Er gehört schon der polygnotischen Zeit an.

¹ Nur springt der Krieger in der Mitte im Angriff empor. Auch dort trägt der Jüngling den Petasos und denselben gesäumten Mantel.

² Vgl. Beazley: Vases in America S. 144 und 172.

³ Attische Vasenmaler S. 401.

⁴ Corpus Vasorum, Louvre III I d Taf. 14. fig. 6.

⁵ o. c. S. 402 nr. 1.

⁶ Hope Vases S. 69 nr. 117. Vgl. Taf. 19 und 23 (nr. 138).

XII.

Rotfiguriger Stamnos des Kleophonmalers.

(V. 38. Inv. Nr. 2693). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 359 fig. 8.

H. 0,385. Bis zur Spitze des erhaltenen Deckels 0,46. Die Vase war zerbrochen, aber nur Kleinigkeiten fehlen.

Abb. 44—47.

Auf der Vorderseite vier, auf der Rückseite drei Komasten. Die Einzelheiten der Darstellung sowie Form und Ornamentierung des Gefäßes gehen aus den Abbildungen genügend hervor.

Diese Vase, die ein sehr schönes Beispiel der klassischen Vasenmalerei der Parthenonzeit ist, ähnelt, als ob es ein Gegenstück wäre, einem Stamnos in Petrograd mit dem Lieblingsnamen Kleophon, von dem ich durch die Güte von Herrn Direktor Waldhauer zwei Abbildungen bringen kann (Abb. 48—49).¹ Die Abweichungen sind geringfügig: auf dem Vorderbild kreuzen sich die Beine des zweiten Jünglings von rechts auf der Petrograder Vase, des dritten auf der Kopenhagener; auf dem Rückbild ist der Komast links in Kopenhagen unbärtig, in Petrograd kurzbartig.

Beazley zählt in seinem letzten Buch 23 Vasen und Fragmente von diesem Maler auf, dessen berühmtestes Werk der Stamnos in München mit dem Abschied eines Kriegers ist, von dem in Petrograd eine Wiederholung existiert.²

In München befindet sich ebenfalls ein Stamnos, den Beazley unrichtig als Replik des Petrograder Kleophon-Stamnos bezeichnet¹, der aber in Motiven und Details sich

¹ Beazley: *Vases in America* S. 181 mit fig. 113. idem: *Attische Vasenmalerei* S. 419 ff. (nr. 3). Ueber die Vasenmalerei der perikleischen Zeit vgl. Pfuhl: *Malerei und Zeichnung* II S. 564 ff.

² Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 35 (I S. 189). Hoppin: *Handbook* II S. 132 ff.

mit den beiden Hauptstücken in Petrograd und Kopenhagen sehr nahe berührt. Wir sind durch das Entgegenkommen von Herrn Direktor Sieveking im Stande, zur Kontrolle Abbildungen von beiden Seiten zu bringen (Abb. 50—51). Hier tritt neben den drei Komasten der Vorderseite als vierte Figur eine flötenblasende Frau auf. Das Profil des bärtigen Mannes ganz rechts ähnelt sehr dem des Mannes rechts auf der Rückseite unserer Vase (Abb. 47) und dem Kopf des Dionysos auf der schönen Münchener Pelike mit der Zurückführung des Hephaistos.² Man vergleiche auch den Fall und die Linienführung der Mantelfalten des Jünglings links auf Abb. 51 und der Jünglinge links Abb. 47 und Abb. 49, und sofort wird jeder dieselbe Hand erkennen.

Um die Beispiele der Komosdarstellungen des Kleophon-Meisters zu vermehren bringen wir endlich eine Wiedergabe des bisher nur in Zeichnung veröffentlichten Glockenkraters in Petrograd, in dessen Figuren man leicht die für diesen Maler charakteristischen Kopf- und Körperformen und Gewandfalten wiederfindet (Abb. 52).³

Diese Gefässe sind die wichtigsten griechischen Vasen aus unserem grossen Funde, und wir wenden uns jetzt zu den Werken lokaler Arbeit.

Etruskische Bronzen.

Wie gewöhnlich in Etrurien waren auch in diesen Gräbern einheimische Bronzegeräte neben den oben aufge-

¹ Attische Vasenmaler S. 420 nr. 4. München nr. 2414. Lützwow: Münchener Antiken Taf. 11—12.

² Beazley nr. 16. Furtwängler-Reichhold Taf. 29.

³ Beazley nr. 12. Comptes-rendu 1868 Taf. 5, 3—4. Der Güte des Herrn Waldhauer verdanke ich die Photographie.

zählten griechischen Vasen als Weihgaben den Toten mitgegeben worden. Wir bilden nur die bedeutendsten und schönsten dieser Werke ab, welche den Ruf der etruskischen Bronzekunst rechtfertigen.¹ Um die Vortrefflichkeit der Bronzen der Glyptothek richtig zu würdigen muss man sie mit ähnlichen, früheren Funden auf etruskischem Boden vergleichen, etwa mit dem Inhalt eines Kammergrabes in Podere di S. Cerbone, in der Nähe von Porto Baratti im Gebiete von Populonia² oder mit einem Grabfund aus Falerii, der jetzt in der Villa Giulia aufgestellt ist.³

Die Bronzen sind aufgezählt im Katalog der Helbig-sammlung in der neuen Auflage (1925; deutsche Ausgabe 1927). Die Nummern dieses Kataloges werden hier mit H, die Inventarnummern mit H. I. N. angeführt.

Bei der Reinigung und Zusammensetzung der Stücke hat der Konservator der Glyptothek, Bildhauer Elo, eine ausgezeichnete Arbeit geleistet.

1.

Etruskischer Helm.

(H. 229. H. I. N. 451). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 360 fig. 9.

H. 0,31.

Abb. 53—54.⁴ Die Attachen Abb. 55—58.

Es ist ein Helm der sogenannten attischen Form mit Nackenschirm, Nasenschutz und zwei Wangenschirmen;

¹ Ueber etruskische Bronzen vgl. R. A. L. Fell: *Etruria and Rome*. Cambridge 1924. S. 33 ff. Walters: *Catalogue of bronzes of Brit. Mus.* S. XV ff.

² Notizie degli scavi 1921 S. 320.

³ della Seta: *Italia antica* S. 235 fig. 263.

⁴ Der Helm ist — vielleicht etwas frivol — dem Gipsabguss des Aristoteleskopfes der Glyptothek aufgesetzt worden.

die letzteren sind durch bewegliche Scharniere an dem Hauptstück befestigt. Der gerundete Oberteil des Helmes trug nie einen Helmbusch. Der Bau des Helmes ist zu zart für einen Kriegerhelm; es ist ganz offenbar ein Paradehelm oder vielleicht ein eigens für den Totengebrauch gefertigter.

An dem Rande des linken Wangenschirmes sind noch zwei schmale gezackte silberne Platten erhalten (Abb. 54). Jeder Wangenschirm war mit einem übelabwehrenden Auge aus Silber, mit einem kleinen schwarzen Stein als Augapfel versehen. Das Auge des rechten Wangenschirmes ist noch ganz erhalten (Abb. 53). Spuren und erhaltene Fragmente zeigen, dass ein ganz schmaler Silberstreifen am Rande der Wangenschirme entlang lief.

Der Helm war mit vier Attachen aus Bronze geschmückt, deren Verteilung durch Spuren an der Oberfläche des Helmes gesichert ist. Es sind flach gearbeitete Reliefs à jour, und wir bilden sie alle vier einzeln ab.

1. Hoch oben, oberhalb der Stirn sass die Attache mit den zwei galloppierenden Kentauren, welche den König der Lapithen, Kaineus, mit schweren Felsensteinen bewerfen (Abb. 55). Kaineus, welcher der Sage nach nicht einfach getötet werden konnte, weshalb die Angreifer ihn unter Felsen begruben,¹ trägt in unserer Darstellung einen Helm mit hohem Kamm und einen Harnisch mit scharf abgesetztem unterem Rande und volutenartigem Brustschmuck; er bricht unter dem Angriff der Kentauren zusammen. Der eine Kentaur fasst ihn an der Kehle, während Kaineus mit der linken Hand dessen Oberarm packt. Der Kentaur links vom Beschauer legt seine Hand auf die Schulter des Lapithen, welcher mit der rechten Hand sein Schwert so

¹ Ueber die Sage vgl. Roschers Lexikon s. v. Kaineus.

kräftig in die Brust des Ungeheuers stösst, dass dessen Spitze am Kreuz wieder erscheint. Die ganze Gruppe wird von zwei Hippalektryonen getragen, welche die Köpfe nach vorne drehen. Diese Komposition erinnert an süditalische Arbeiten, wie z. B. das schöne Mittelakroter aus einem lokrischen Tempel in Syrakus, in dem eine liegende Sphinx einen galoppierenden Reiter trägt.¹ Die beiden Kentauren haben langbärtige Gesichter, das Gesicht des linken Kentaurs ist wohl erhalten und sehr ausdrucksvoll. Auch das Gesicht des Kaineus war vollbärtig. Der Kentaure rechts trägt über Schultern und Rücken eine Chlaina. Höhe der ganzen Komposition 0,033.

2. An der Stirn selbst war die Attache mit Herakles im Kampfe mit dem Flussgott Acheloos befestigt (Abb. 56)². Der Held hat sich nach vorne geworfen und den langbärtigen Menschenstier an beiden Hörnern gepackt, so dass er dessen Kopf nach vorne dreht. Das linke Vorderbein des Flussgottes ist zusammengebrochen, und die beiden Hinterbeine gleiten auseinander, während der gehobene Schwanz die Flanken peitscht. Herakles ist bartlos, hat das Haar wulstartig um den Kopf gelegt und trägt im Nacken einen Krobylos. Die lebhaft kleine Gruppe ruht auf spiralartig aufgerollten Stäbchen; unter den mittleren Spiralen sitzt eine Palmette. H. des ganzen 0,035.

3—4. Die beiden Attachen mit den Reitern, die über einen gefallenen Feind sprengen, sassen seitlich am Helme. (Vgl. Abb. 53—54 und Abb. 57—58). Der Reiter jeder

¹ E. Douglas van Buren: *Archaic fictile revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*. S. 154 nr. 13 und Taf. XVII fig. 73.

² Für das Motiv vgl. Daremberg-Saglio s. v. Achelous und Roscher s. v. Herakles Sp. 2209. Preller-Robert: *Griechische Mythologie II* 2 (Berlin 1921) S. 570 ff. Der Kampf war dargestellt am amykläischen Thron. Pausanias III 18, 16. Vgl. auch *Monumenti del Istit.* VI Taf. LXIX 2—2 d.

Attache, dessen Visierhelm mit Helmkamm vor dem Gefallenen liegt, ist nackt und bärtig, sitzt auf einem Pferd im Hintergrund und führt am Zügel das vordere Pferd. Der gefallene Gegner dreht das bartlose Gesicht gegen den Beschauer und greift mit beiden Händen abwehrend um die Vorderbeine des vorderen Pferdes. Diese beiden Attachen sind im Gegensatz zu den beiden erst besprochenen abgerundet und auch auf der Rückseite plastisch durchgearbeitet, weil ihre schräge Stellung eine solche Ausarbeitung erforderte. Die Gruppen ruhen auf profilierten Sockeln, welche von zwei zierlichen Kelchpalmetten getragen werden. Die ganze Höhe beträgt 0,06.

Um den vollen Wert dieses wundervollen spätarchaischen Helmes zu begreifen müssen wir von der rohen Urform ausgehen, welche durch einen Helm aus dem eben erwähnten Funde von Podere di S. Cerbone vertreten wird.¹ Die nächste Stufe mag ein Helm aus Ruvo in Karlsruhe veranschaulichen.² Näher kommen wir durch den schönen Helm aus Vulci in der Nationalbibliothek von Paris, der an der Stirn eine Attache mit Herakles und Apollon im Kampfe trägt.³ Ganz ebenbürtig ist aber nur ein einziger Helm, der 1915 in Todi gefundene und jetzt in der Villa Giulia befindliche, dessen Wangenschirme mit Reliefs von kämpfenden Kriegern geschmückt sind.⁴ Auch dieser ist spätarchaisch und verrät, wie die Attachen unseres Helmes, den Einfluss der grossgriechischen Kunst. Neuge-

¹ Notizie degli scavi 1921 S. 330 fig. 24 a.

² K. Schumacher: Beschreibung antiker Bronzen in Karlsruhe. Taf. XX (nr. 695).

³ Babelon-Blanchet: Catal. des bronzes antiques de la Bibl. Nat. nr. 2013 (vgl. auch 2008 aus Olympia als Urform). Joh. Sieveking: Antike Metallgeräte S. 10 und Taf. 24.

⁴ Bandinelli, Monumenti dei Lincei XXIV 1918 S. 841 ff. und Taf. I—II.

bauer vergleicht ihn mit den berühmten Terrakottastatuen aus Veji und möchte den Fabrikationsort im südwestlichen Etrurien suchen.¹

2.

Etruskisches Thymiaterion.

(H. 223. H. I. N. 447). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 361 fig. 10.

H. 0.26. Diameter der Schale 0,11. H. der Frauenfigur 0,157.

Abb. 59 (vor der Reinigung aufgenommen), **Abb. 60—63**. Unten dreifussartiges Gestell, drei Raubtierfüsse auf scheibenförmigen Fussplatten, kräftig geschwungen und oben durch einen Lotuspalmettenkelch verbunden. Darüber ein feingedrehter kurzer Schaft, von einer Frauenfigur von archaischem Typus gekrönt. Die Wülste des Schaftes werden durch Kymatien geschmückt. Die hübsche, zierliche Karyatide trägt über einem runden Zwischenstück mit Rundstäbchen den kleinen, flachen Opferkessel, in dem Weihrauch verbrannt werden könnte. Die kleine Frau hat scheibenförmige Ohrgehänge, Chiton mit Halbärmeln, dessen Zipfel sie mit der linken Hand graziös emporzieht, während die rechte Hand mit Daumen und Zeigefinger eine Blütenknospe nach vorne hält. Auf den Schultern liegt ein Epiblema. Während Chiton, Gesten und die spitzen Schuhe ganz von griechischem Typus sind, ist die Form und die Drapierung des Epiblemas echt etruskisch.² Auch in den schwerfälligen Gesichtszügen und in den anatomischen Fehlern des Körperbaues verrät sich der etruskische

¹ Arch. Anz. 38/39 1923—24 S. 324 f.

² Neugebauer: Führer durch das Antiquarium zu Berlin. Taf. 13. Fr. 2155 (S. 28).

Künstler. Aber die Linienführung der Figur und des Gewandes zeigt griechische Anmut, und die technische Sicherheit ist nicht geringer als in den guten archaisch-griechischen Bronzen.

Künstlerisch gehört diese Frauenfigur zu den besten etruskischen Kleinbronzen, vergleichbar etwa einer Jünglingsstatuette im Louvre¹ und einer Frauenfigur in New York.² Durchweg sind ja sonst die etruskischen Bronzen, selbst die Motivbronzen künstlerisch ziemlich gering.³ Das Vorbild unserer Figur mag süditalisch sein, vom Typus etwa der Frauenfigur eines Kandelabers aus Lokri.⁴

Für das ganze Gerät liegen die nächsten Parallelen in Mitteletrurien vor.⁵ Die Gliederung der Füße und des Schaftes erinnert an das Räuchergestell (nicht Kandelaber) von la Boncia, jetzt in Florenz,⁶ und schon vor Jahren hat man richtig die Formen dieser Geräte aus dem Orient hergeleitet, wo man besonders an assyrischen Dreifüßen, die ebenfalls oft Thymiaterien trugen, den Aufbau und die Einzelheiten klar vorgezeichnet findet.⁷ So ist unser Thymiaterion mit der griechisch betonten Figur ein schönes Beispiel von glücklicher Mischung orientalischer und hel-lenischer Formenelemente in etruskischer Plastik.

¹ della Seta: Italia antica S. 209 fig. 222.

² Gisela Richter: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes S. 34 nr. 56.

³ Vgl. die Bronzen aus Monte Guragazza, P. Ducati: Guida del Museo di Bologna S. 144 mit Abb.

⁴ Arch. Anz. 36, 1921, S. 152 fig. 31.

⁵ Neugebauer, Amtliche Berichte der Berl. Museen XLV 1924 S. 28 ff.

⁶ Milani: Museo Archeol. di Firenze Taf. LXXXVIII, 1. Notizie degli scavi 1882 S. 51 ff.

⁷ L. Curtius in Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst 1913 S. 17 ff.

3.

Etruskischer Kandelaber. Oben Widderträger.

(H. 222. H. I. N. 449).

H. 1,23. H. des Widderträgers 0,088.

Abb. 64 links und Abb. 65—66.

Drei Raubtierfüsse werden durch feingeschwungene Beine mit einem kymationgeschmückten Wulst verbunden, in den der achteckige Schaft eingelassen ist. Auf zwei profilierte Tori folgen die vier von Lilienpalmetten flankierten Spitzen, an denen die Kerzen befestigt waren. Zwischen ihnen steht auf einem fein profilierten Sockel ein schwebgebauter, nackter Mann mit Tanie im Haar und schneckenartigen Locken über der Stirn; er trägt auf den Schultern einen Widder mit erhobenem Kopfe. Die Wolle des Widders wird durch feine Ciselierung charakterisiert.

Auch dieser Kandelabertypus stammt aus dem Orient¹ und erfreute sich in Etrurien einer grossen Beliebtheit.² Der Widderträger gehört ebenfalls sowohl dem griechischen als auch dem etruskischen Typenvorrat an.³

4.

Etruskischer Kandelaber. Oben Tänzerin.

(H. 226. H. I. N. 450). Vgl. Nordisk Tidsskrift I 1925 S. 362 fig. 11.

H. 1,03. Höhe der Tänzerin 0,08.

Abb. 64 rechts. Abb. 67—68.

¹ Vgl. den Kandelaber aus Van, Curtius l. c. S. 17 Abb. 11.

² Martha: L'Art Étrusque S. 527 ff (vgl. S. 443 fig. 292). Vgl. den Kandelaber, der mit dem Helm von Todi gefunden wurde, Monum. dei Lincei XXIV 1918 S. 865 fig. 20—22.

³ Vgl. Furtwängler: Sammlung Saboureff Taf. CXLVI mit Text. Arch. Anz. XXV 1910 S. 479 und Abb. 6.

Die drei unteren Füsse sind hier als Pferdehufe geformt. Zwischen ihnen Epheupalmetten. Der Sockel unter dem Schaft hat vier Kymationreihen, der Schaft selbst hat 12 Kanelluren und wird oben durch eine breite Scheibe mit Kymationornament abgeschlossen. Zwischen den vier Armen, die ähnliche Spitzen haben wie 3, steht eine Tänzerin in Chiton und Himation, welche durch die Haltung des Oberkörpers und der beiden Hände den echt etruskischen Kankan veranschaulicht, den wir von den Wandfresken der Cornetaner Gräber, besonders von der Tomba del Triclinio her gut kennen.¹

Die Tänzerin als Kandelaberfigur ist auch sonst bekannt;² auch männliche Tänzer kommen vor.³ Einen kankantanzenden Satyr finden wir auf einem Kottabos aus Vetulonia, und dadurch werden wir daran erinnert, dass das Kottabosgerät und der Kandelaber sich formal sehr nahe berühren.⁴ Die Scheibe oben an unserem Kandelaber ist einfach aus dem Kottabosgerät übernommen.⁵ Und wenn man weiss, dass der Kandelaber von diesem Typus einfach aus dem Kottabosgestell entwickelt worden ist, versteht man besser die Vorliebe für Bekrönung der Geräte durch Tänzer oder lustige Tänzerinnen, welche ebenso wie das Kottabosspiel selbst zum Symposion gehören.⁶

¹ Vgl. Fr. Poulsen: *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* S. 16 f. fig. 10.

² A. Grénier: *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* S. 350 f. fig. 114. Zannoni: *Scavi della Certosa* S. 407, Taf. CXLIV fig. 1—3.

³ Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. L und LI und LIV 2.

⁴ Milani: *Museo Archeol. di Firenze* Taf. LXXII. *Ausonia* IX 1919 S. 27 fig. 13 und Taf. II.

⁵ Vgl. auch Gisela Richter: *Bronzes* S. 372 nr. 1299. Neugebauer: *Führer durch das Antiquarium*. Taf. 30, Fr. 704 und 697. In einem Grab von Montepulciano sind beide Formen nebeneinander gefunden. *Notizie degli scavi* 1894 S. 238 ff. *Rendiconti dei Lincei* 1894 S. 268 ff. Milani o. c. Taf. LXXXVIII 2.

⁶ Daremberg-Saglio s. v. Kottabos.

5.

Diskosträger.

(H. 227. H. I. N. 448).

Abb. 69.

H. 0,086. Die Figur steht auf einer scheibenförmigen Basis und hat wahrscheinlich als Kandelaberschmuck gedient. In der rechten, gesenkten Hand hält er einen Diskos. Das fein geriefelte Haar ist hinten in einen Krobylos aufgenommen.

Der Stil dieser gut ausgeführten Kleinfigur ist spätarchaisch, und der Jüngling hebt schon die Ferse des zurückgesetzten Fusses vom Boden wie die griechischen Figuren der Uebergangszeit.¹

Der Diskosträger ist als Kandelaberfigur sehr gewöhnlich,² wie ja überhaupt ruhig stehende Athleten auf Kandelabern beliebt sind.³

6.

Sirene.

(H. 228. H. I. N. 455).

H. 0,085. Die Figur diente wie die vorige wahrscheinlich als Kandelaberbekrönung.

Abb. 70—71.

Ein wunderbares Stück! Vorzüglich und sorgfältig ist die Ciselierung von Haar und Gefieder, während die schwereren Federn der beiden Flügel durch kräftige Modellierung charakterisiert werden! Im Haar trägt die kleine Sirene

¹ Vgl. die Heilbuth-Bronze, die jetzt in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ist. Bull. de corr. hell. XLIV 1920 S. 101 ff. Ch. Picard: La sculpture antique I S. 333 fig. 91.

² A. Grénier o. c. S. 350. Neugebauer: Führer S. 30 nr. 8570.

³ Zahlreiche Beispiele im Bologneser Museum.

ein Diadem mit Rosetten, in den Ohren scheibenförmigen Ohrschmuck. Von der Mitte des Scheitels erhebt sich die bei Sirenen gewöhnliche Haarzier, ursprünglich ein ägyptischer Lotosstengel.¹

Im Berliner Museum befindet sich eine hübsche, ebenfalls spätarchaische Bronzesirene.²

7.

Thymiaterion.

(H. 221. H. I. N. 458).

Abb. 72. Detail Abb. 73—74.

Die ganze Höhe des aus vielen Fragmenten zusammengesetzten Gerätes ist ungefähr 61 cm. Am besten erhalten sind die drei tragenden Füße, deren Höhe je 11 cm. beträgt.

Wir bilden der Deutlichkeit wegen einen der Raubtierfüsse ab (Abb. 73—74). Die geflügelte Raubtiertatze ruht auf einer profilierten Basis und trägt oben einen nackten Jüngling mit langem, frei wallendem Haar, der beide Hände auf die Hüften stützt und mit weit gespreizten Beinen reitet.

Ähnliche Reiter auf ähnlichen Flügeltatzen zeigen ein Dreifuss aus Vulci im Berliner Museum³ und ein schönes Thymiaterion im Vatikan, ebenfalls in einer südetruskischen Stadt gefunden.⁴ Dieses letztere Stück bezeichnet Neugebauer als ein charakteristisches Beispiel des grossgriechischen Einflusses auf etruskische Bronzekunst.⁵ Das Motiv der von

¹ Roscher s. v. Sirenen S. 611.

² Fr. 2287.

³ Neugebauer: Führer Taf. 30 Fr. 697.

⁴ Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. LI 3. Alinari 35526. Helbig: Führer I 378 nr. 672.

⁵ Arch. Anzeiger 1923—24 S. 326.

den Raubtierbeinen ausgehenden Flügel kommt auch am Mainzer Thymiaterion vor,¹ das ebenfalls süditalisch-griechischen Einfluss verrät.

8.

Thymiaterion.

(H. 222. H. I. N. 457).

Abb. 75.

Sehr zerstört, aber durch sorgfältige Anpassung richtig zusammengesetzt. Höhe 54 cm. Diameter der Scheiben ca. 15 cm. Höhe der Greifenfüsse 7 cm.

Drei geflügelte Greifenfüsse tragen ein dreieckiges Gestell, auf dem sich der runde Oberteil erhebt.

9.

Fragmentierte Cista.

(H. 230. H. I. N. 456).

Abb. 76. Details Abb. 77 und 78—79.

Das ganze Gerät besteht aus drei Raubtiertatzen, die an dem unteren Bronzestreifen der Cista befestigt waren. Wir dürfen uns dazu ein Mittelstück aus Holz denken, das wir in Gips ergänzt haben, und das oben durch einen ebenfalls teilweise erhaltenen Bronzestreifen eingefasst wurde. Beide Streifen hatten gegeneinander gekehrte Hakenspiralen. Die Höhe der Raubtiertatzen beträgt 8 cm. Vom Boden bis zum oberen Rande des unteren Streifens war die Höhe 10 cm. Die Höhe der beiden bronzenen Streifen ist je 6 cm., der Durchmesser derselben beträgt 28 cm. In der jetzigen Ergänzung ist die Cista 0,305 hoch.

Die geflügelten Raubtiertatzen mit oben abschliessender

¹ Arch. Anz. 1923—24 S. 311 Abb. 4.

Federpalmette kennen wir auch sonst von etruskischen Geräten her.¹ Vom Deckel der Cista, der aus Holz war, ist ein Fragment eines schmalen Streifens Bronzeblech, ebenfalls mit Hakenspiralen, und der bronzene Henkel der Mitte erhalten. Der Griff stellt einen nach hinten gebeugten Akrobaten von 0,045 Höhe und 0,075 Länge dar (Abb. 78—79). Die Stilisierung der Haarsträhnen, die Form der Augen und die detaillierte Muskulatur des Körpers weisen auf spätarchaische Zeit hin, etwa 480 v. Chr. Das Motiv ist sowohl bei griechischen als bei etruskischen Bronzehenkeln beliebt;² auch nackte Frauen sind in dieser Akrobatenstellung dargestellt.³

10.

Flache Schale mit zwei Henkeln.

(H. 235. H. I. N. 459).

Diam. 0,36.

Abb. 80 (Detail am Henkel).

Die schöne getriebene Bronzeschale hat feine gepunzelte Hakenspiralen am Rande. Die Henkel sind angelötet, von schönem Profil und unten mit eigenartigen, epheublattähnlichen Palmetten versehen, zu denen ich nur eine genaue Parallele kenne,⁴ während dieselbe Palmettenform in unserem Funde nochmals auf einer Kanne wiederkehrt.⁵ (Vgl. unten 11 und 12).

¹ Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. LXI, 10. Vgl. die Federpalmetten am Henkel des Kraters im Louvre, Arch. Anz. 1923—24 S. 323. Abb. 12.

² Martha: L'Art Étrusque S. 521 f. fig. 348 und 351. Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. VI 3 a und LVIII b. Neugebauer: Führer Taf. 26 (8467).

³ Gisela Richter: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes S. 60 nr. 90.

⁴ Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. LX a. Vgl. auch XLVII 1 und 6 und XLIX 1, 2, 5.

⁵ Die Form dieser Kanne (H. 239) ist wie die in New York, Gisela Richter o. c. S. 187 nr. 488. Die Zahl der Kannen in unserem Funde ist 5.

11.

Schöpfkelle (Simpulum; *κύαθος*).

(H. 217. H. I. N. 466).

L. 0,315.

Abb. 81. Ausgeführt nach Zeichnungen von Frau Helvig Kinch. **Abb. 82.** Detail nach Photographie nach der Reinigung.

Der Schaft ist wie ein Pilaster mit profiliertem Fuss und mit epheublattgeschmücktem Kapitell gebildet und endet in zwei seitwärts gebogene Spitzen, die als Pferdeköpfe geformt sind. Unten verbindet eine reliefgeschmückte Platte den Schaft mit dem Löffel. Das Relief (Abb. 82) stellt Peleus und Thetis dar; Peleus, klein und schwächlig und mit Kopf und Körper in Profil, hat die Nereide um den Leib und mit der rechten Hand am Aermel gepackt, während sie, den Kopf klagend erhebend, mit der linken sein Handgelenk fasst und den rechten Arm um seinen Körper schlingt um sich zu befreien.¹

An der Unterseite des Löffels ist ein Medusenkopf, von einem Streifen mit Spiralen umgeben, dargestellt. Am Rande läuft ein Flechtband.

Der Stil ist archaisch, die Arbeit vorzüglich.²

12.

Schöpfkelle (Simpulum, *κύαθος*).

(H. 218. H. I. N. 467).

L. 0,30.

Abb. 83 nach einer Zeichnung von Frau Kinch.

¹ Für das Motiv vgl. Roscher s. v. Thetis Sp. 78 ff und Graef, Arch. Jahrb. I 1886 S. 200 ff.

² Vgl. Martha: L'Art Étrusque S. 95 fig. 90. Daremberg-Saglio s. v. cyathus S. 1677 fig. 2238. Besonders nahe verwandt ist ein Simpulium in New York, Gisela Richter o. c. S. 233. nr. 645.

Offenbar Gegenstück zu 11. Der Schaft hat nur eine pferdeköpfige Spitze, sonst ist sein Bau wie bei 11. Auch die Dekoration des Löffels ist dieselbe. Aber das Relief zwischen Schaft und Löffel stellt nur eine Figur dar, offenbar einen nackten Faustkämpfer. Die Arbeit ist ebenso gut wie bei 11, aber die Erhaltung des ganzen Stückes ist leider nur fragmentarisch.

13.

Bronzegerät (*αρράγα* oder *ἀρράγη*; lat. harpago).

(H. 234. H. I. N. 460).

L. 0,325.

Abb. 84.

Der Stiel des Gerätes ist hohl zur Befestigung eines hölzernen Handgriffes. Um einen kreisrunden Reifen gruppieren sich fünf gebogene Zinken, und ein sechster ist an einem kleineren, senkrecht stehenden Reifen befestigt.

Ein solches Gerät wurde, wie die Vasenbilder und eine praenestiner Cista zeigen, teils beim Rösten der Fleischstücke über dem Feuer, teils um Fleischstücke aus dem kochenden Wasser herauszuholen verwendet, war also ein typisches Küchengerät, das aber natürlich auch zum Sengen des Opferfleisches gebraucht werden konnte.¹ Schon im alten Testament wird ein solches Gerät erwähnt:² »So oft nämlich jemand ein Opfer schlachtete, kam, während das Fleisch noch kochte, der Bursche des Priesters mit einer dreizackigen Gabel in der Hand und stach damit in den Kessel; was dann irgend die Gabel heraufbrachte, nahm der Priester für sich.« Nach Chron. II 4,16 hatte der phönikische König

¹ Daremberg-Saglio s. v. harpago.

² I Sam. 2, 13—14.

solche Gabeln aus poliertem Erz für den salomonischen Tempel verfertigen lassen.

Die Form des Gerätes ist also offenbar orientalisches, und die Zahl der Zinken war ursprünglich auf drei beschränkt. Die ältesten auf etruskischem Boden gefundenen, noch dem 7ten Jahrh. angehörig haben im ganzen nur fünf Zinken.¹ Dann entwickelt sich das Gerät, vielleicht beim Opfergebrauch, und weist 5, 6 oder 7 Zinken um den grossen, 1 oder 2 an dem senkrechten kleinen Streifen auf.² Dass solche Geräte, mit Werg oder anderem brennbaren Stoff zwischen den Zinken, auch gegebenen Falles zur Beleuchtung dienen konnten, hat Astrid Wentzel erwiesen, aber daraus mit Unrecht den allgemeinen Schluss gezogen, dass die entwickelteren Stücke nur als Fackeln, nicht als Fleischgabeln verwendet wurden. Das heisst meines Erachtens einem einzigen Beispiel, einem Bild auf einem etruskischen Spiegel allzu viel Bedeutung beizulegen.³

Etruskische Terrakotten.

Nicht in den Gräbern, sondern an verschiedenen Stellen der Stadt wurden einige Terrakotten gefunden, von denen wir die vier interessantesten abbilden und besprechen.

¹ A. Minto: Marsiliana d'Albegna (Firenze 1921) S. 53, 276 und Taf. XLII. Montelius: Vorklassische Chronologie Italiens Taf. XLIII 5—6 und S. 79. Helbig: Homerisches Epos² S. 353. Helbigs Gleichsetzung mit Pempobola hat sich als irrig erwiesen.

² Furtwängler: Olympia IV S. 189 nr. 1197. Museo Gregoriano B I Taf. 47. Babelon-Blanchet: Catalogue nr. 1496—1499. Auch im Grabe mit dem schönen Helm von Todi (oben S. 31) wurde eine *κράγχα* gefunden; Monum. dei Lincei XXIV 1918 S. 864 fig. 19. Gute, kurze Uebersicht in Gisela Richter: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes S. 236 nr. 665.

³ Arch. Anz. 40, 1925 S. 282 f.

1.

Kopfloose männliche Figur.

(H. 215. H. I. N. 445).

H. 0,77. Der Kopf, die Arme, das linke Knie, die Ferse und die grosse Zehe am rechten Fusse fehlen.

Abb. 85—86.

Der Altar, auf dem die Figur in Abb. 85 gestellt ist, gehört nicht zur Figur. Es ist ein 47 cm. hoher, unruhig profilierter Altar, offenbar für ein Motiv und trägt die Inschrift: () chas Arnth, vermutlich Velchas Arnth, einen gewöhnlichen Familiennamen im alten Etrurien.¹

Stellung und Gewandung der Figur ist archaisch; der Mann ruht fest auf beiden Füßen, und die Falten des schrägen Mantels zeigen die archaische Paryphe vorne und hinten und archaische Zickzacklinien seitlich und auf dem Rücken. Der Chiton hat einen hohen Saum am Halse und ist rot bemalt, ebenso sind die Füße rot, während die Falten der Gewänder von schwarzen Linien begleitet werden. Aber alle Farben sind etwas verblasst.

Diese schöne, halblebensgrosse Figur wird künftig eine ehrenvolle Stellung innerhalb der etruskischen Plastik einnehmen. Die nächste Parallele ist eine 2 Fuss hohe Bronze-
statuette einer Adorantin im Britischen Museum, von der ich durch das Entgegenkommen von Professor Amelung drei Abbildungen nach Photographien des deutschen Instituts in Rom geben darf (Abb. 87—89).² Die Abweichungen in der Gewandung gehen aus den Abbildungen hervor. An den Füßen trägt die Londoner Statuette Schnabelschuhe. Aber das glatte Anschmiegen des Gewandes, besonders im

¹ Katalog H 272 (H. I. N. 446).

² Catalogue of bronzes of Brit. Mus. nr. 447. Photographie des Instituts 3867—69.

Rücken, und die sparsame Detaillierung der Falten nähern, wie Stil und Typus, die beiden Figuren an einander.

2—3.

Zwei Antefixe mit Frauenköpfen.

(H. 193 und 194. H. I. N. 452—453.)

Abb. 90—91.

Die beiden Stücke sind in derselben Form gepresst.

H. 0,37.

Die Köpfe werden durch einen palmettengeschmückten Rahmen und ein an beiden Enden spiralgerolltes Band eingefasst und tragen ein durch Rosetten und Perlen verziertes Diadem. Das Haar ist fein onduliert. Am Halse hängt ein gewundener Halsring, der sich vorne zu einer mondsichelförmigen Platte verbreitet, von der drei Perlen und zwei Stäbchen herabhängen, während die Oberfläche der Platte einen gefesselten, kauern Menschen (Kriegsgefangenen) und ein nach rechts fliehendes Tier in Relief zeigt. Die Farben dieser schönen Antefixe, die der klassischen Kunst, wahrscheinlich dem 4ten Jahrh. angehören, sind vorzüglich erhalten und variieren etwas in den beiden Köpfen: an dem einen ist Rot, an dem anderen Schwarz überwiegend verwendet. Die Palmetten des Rahmens sind in Rot und Dunkelviolett ausgeführt. Alle Farben sind auf einem hellen Ueberzug gemalt.

Der Typus der Köpfe ist im Museo dell' Opera in Orvieto vertreten und zwar durch mehrere Antefixe und Fragmente, die alle aus dem Apollotempel über dem Pozzo di San Patrizio herkommen (Abb. 92).¹ Wie mir der Ver-

¹ Nach Photographie Alinari 25995. Ueber diesen Tempel Pernier in *Dedalo VI* 1925 S. 144 ff, besonders S. 153. Pernier nennt die Frauen ohne Grund Maenaden.

käufer nachträglich versichert, sind die Antefixe der Glyptothek von einem anderen Tempel, und das kann bei der Massenherstellung von solchem Tempelschmuck ganz wohl glaublich erscheinen.¹ Aber wir dürfen wohl demnach als Herstellungsort unserer Antefixe Orvieto nennen, was für die Lokalisierung der anderen Funde vielleicht auch massgebend werden könnte.

4.

Fragment eines Terrakottareliefs.

(H. 216. H. I. N. 470).

H. 0,35. Die Erhaltung geht aus der Abbildung hervor.

Abb. 93.

Das Relief ist auf der Rückseite flach und hat dort eine gerauhte Oberfläche zur Befestigung an einer Mauer; zu demselben Zweck sind die beiden kleinen seitlichen Löcher gebohrt, während das grössere mittlere, das mit Rücksicht auf die Brennung hergerichtet war, von einem angestückten Gegenstand verdeckt wurde, wie die eckige Vertiefung rings herum beweist.

In der Mitte ist eine Frau dargestellt, mit Chiton und schrägem Mantel bekleidet und mit aufgemaltem Halsband geschmückt. Auf jeder Seite trägt sie, wie die noch erhaltene rechte Hand zeigt, zwei nackte sitzende Jünglinge oder Knaben, deren rote Hautfarbe sich deutlich von der gelben Haut der Frau abhebt. Jeder Jüngling streckt einen Arm vor, und beide haben vielleicht in den Händen das Gerät gehalten, dessen Ansatzspuren vor der Mitte des Frauenkörpers sichtbar sind.

Einzelheiten wie das flatternde Haar der Frau und die seitwärts fliegenden Faltenenden unten an dieser Haupt-

¹ Vgl. die ähnlichen Verhältnisse in Veji, Arch. Anz. XLI 1926 S. 63.

figur weisen darauf hin, dass die Frau schwebend dargestellt war, und damit ist die Deutung gegeben: eine Harpye, die in ihren Armen die knabenartig kleinen Seelen zweier Männer trägt. Ein ähnliches Terrakottarelief befindet sich in der Villa Papa Giulio, leider auch mit abgebrochenen Köpfen aller Figuren.¹ A. Reinach beschrieb es seinerzeit folgendermassen:²

»Une sorte de Gorgone vêtue de l'égide, qui tient un petit homme nu sous chaque bras, à la façon dont Hérakles enlève les Kerkopes.«

Mrs. Douglas van Buren hat dagegen für die Hauptgestalt die richtigere Bezeichnung: Harpye gebraucht.³

Nach der Beschreibung dieser Gelehrten schlingt die Harpye ihre Arme um die beiden Knaben und fasst gleichzeitig deren Beine mit den Krallen; die Knaben greifen ihrerseits nach den langen Brustlocken der Harpye. Leider war es mir trotz eindringlicher Bitte nicht möglich von dem Relief in der Villa Giulia eine Photographie zu erhalten.

Unser Relief gehört unzweifelhaft der ersten Hälfte des 5ten Jahrh. an. Reichliche Farbspuren sind noch erhalten.

Fundumstände.

Ohne der Aussage eines Kunsthändlers allzu viel Gewicht beilegen zu wollen scheint es mir doch am Platze einige seiner Angaben über die Fundumstände hier mitzuteilen.

¹ Nr. 18002 (Della Seta).

² Bulletin du Musée historique de Mulhouse XXXVII 1913. S. 37 (nicht 67, wie Mrs. van Buren zitiert).

³ Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium S. 27, type II.

In einem grossen Grabe sollen folgende Gegenstände zusammen gefunden sein:

- 1) Die sf. Amphora des affektierten Meisters (Abb. 1—5 S. 3 nr. I).
- 2) Die Oltoschale (Abb. 6—8. S. 6 nr. II).
- 3) Die Hydria des Berliner Meisters (Abb. 10—13. S. 9 nr. III).
- 4) Das etruskische Thymiaterion mit der schönen Karyatide. (Abb. 59—63. S. 22 nr. 2).
- 5) Die fünf Bronzekannen (erwähnt S. 39 Anm. 5).
- 6) Einige Goldsachen, die sich jetzt im Nationalmuseum von Kopenhagen befinden.

In einem anderen, ebenfalls reich ausgestatteten Grabe wurden angeblich folgende Sachen gefunden:

- 1) Die Halsamphora des Berliner Nike-Hydria Malers. (Abb. 32—36. S. 22 nr. VIII).
- 2) Der schöne Bronzehelm (Abb. 53—58. S. 28 nr. 1).
- 3-4) Die beiden Kandelaber mit Widderträger und Tänzerin. (Abb. 64—66 und 67—68. S. 34 nr. 3 und 4).
- 5) Die grosse, flache Bronzeschale (Abb. 80. S. 39 nr. 10).
- 6) Einige Elfenbeinsachen, jetzt im Nationalmuseum von Kopenhagen.

In einem Grabe wurden die beiden Stamnoi aus der polygnotischen und der Parthenonzeit zusammen gefunden (Abb. 42—43 und 44—47. S. 24 nr. XI und S. 26 nr. XII).

Die merkwürdige Pelike des »Triptolemosmalers« wurde als einzige Vase eines Grabes gefunden (Abb. 21—24. S. 15 nr. VI).

Die Kleinbronze des Diskosträgers (Abb. 69. S. 36 nr. 5)

wurde in keinem Grabe, sondern in einer Tempelruine ausserhalb der Stadt aufgefunden.

Die beiden Antefixe mit Frauenköpfen und das Harpyenrelief gehören dagegen einem Tempel im Inneren der jetzigen Stadt an (Abb. 90—91 und 93. S. 44 nr. 2—3 und S. 45 nr. 4).



Abb. 1. (S. 3).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

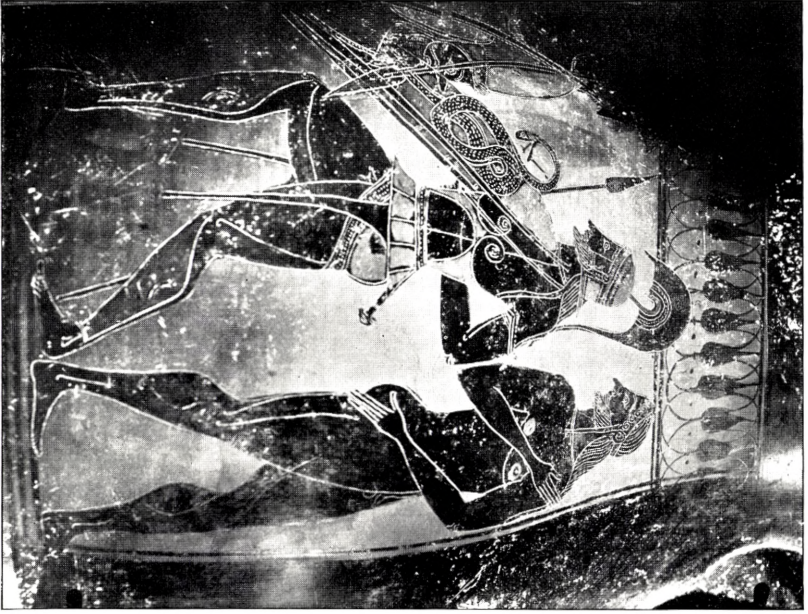


Abb. 2. (S. 4).



Abb. 3. (S. 4).

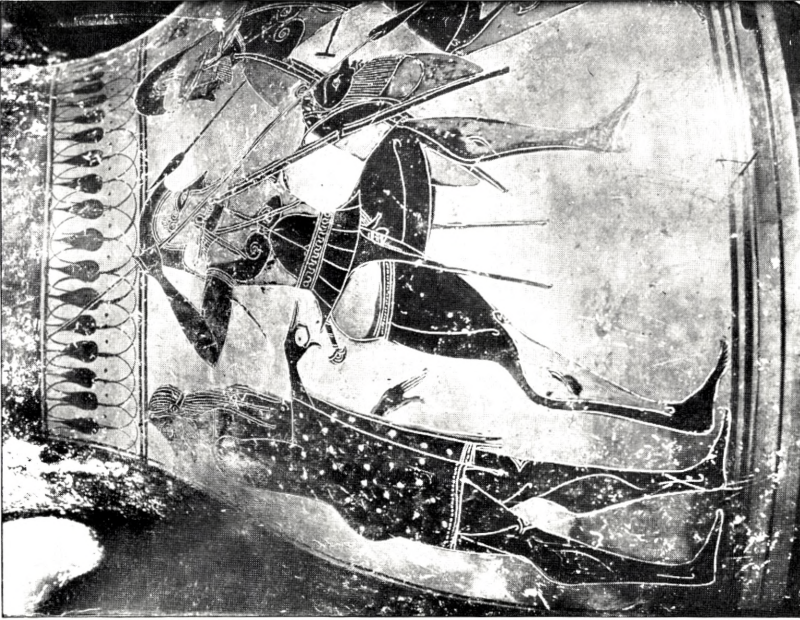


Abb. 5. (S. 4).

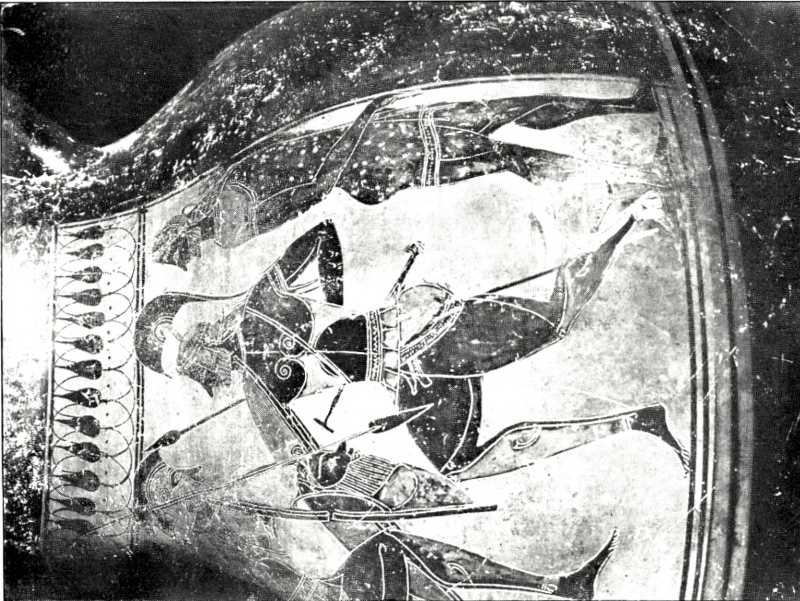


Abb. 4. (S. 4).



Abb. 6. (S. 6).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 9. (S. 8).
Nationalmuseum. Kopenhagen.



Abb. 7. (S. 6).



Abb. 8. (S. 6).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

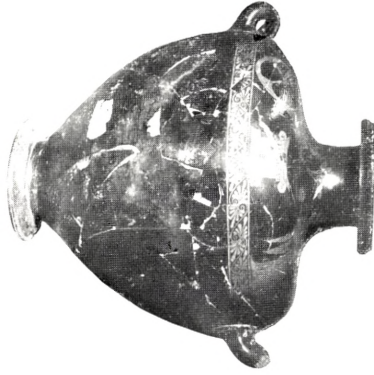


Abb. 10. (S. 9).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 11. (S. 9).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

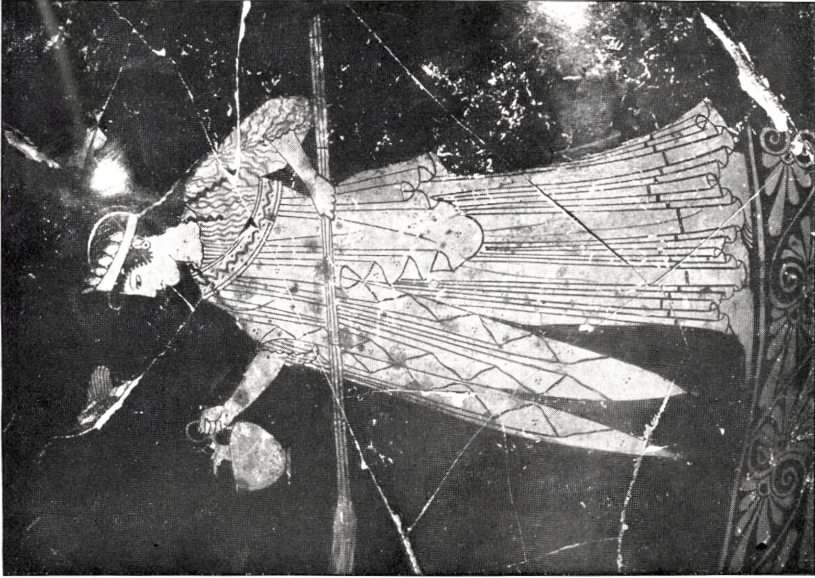


Abb. 13. (S. 9).

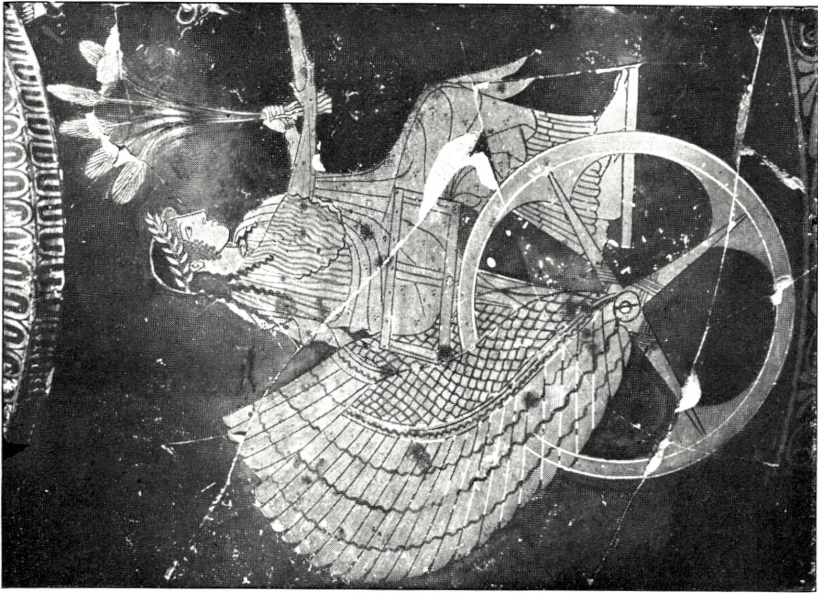


Abb. 12. (S. 9).

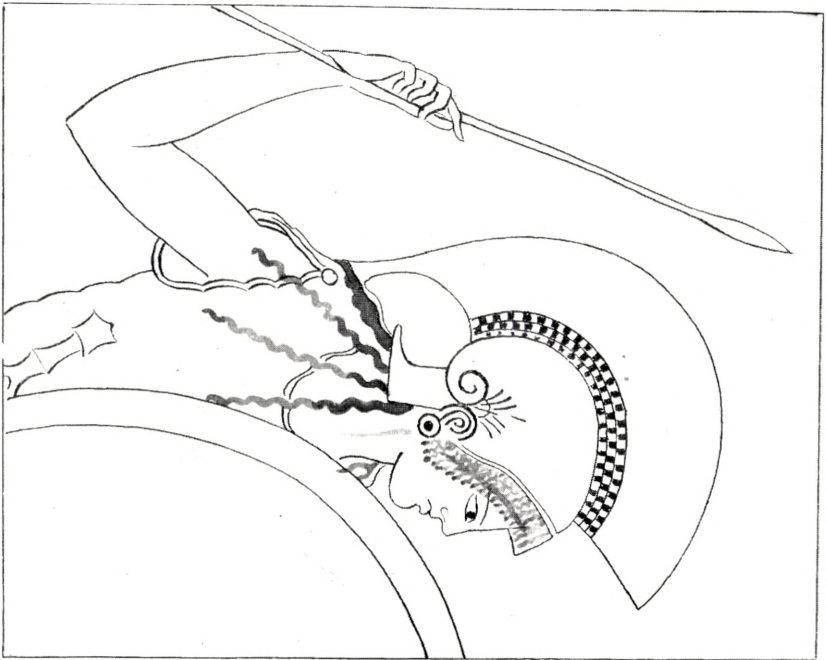


Abb. 14. (S. 11).
Museo Archeologico. Firenze.

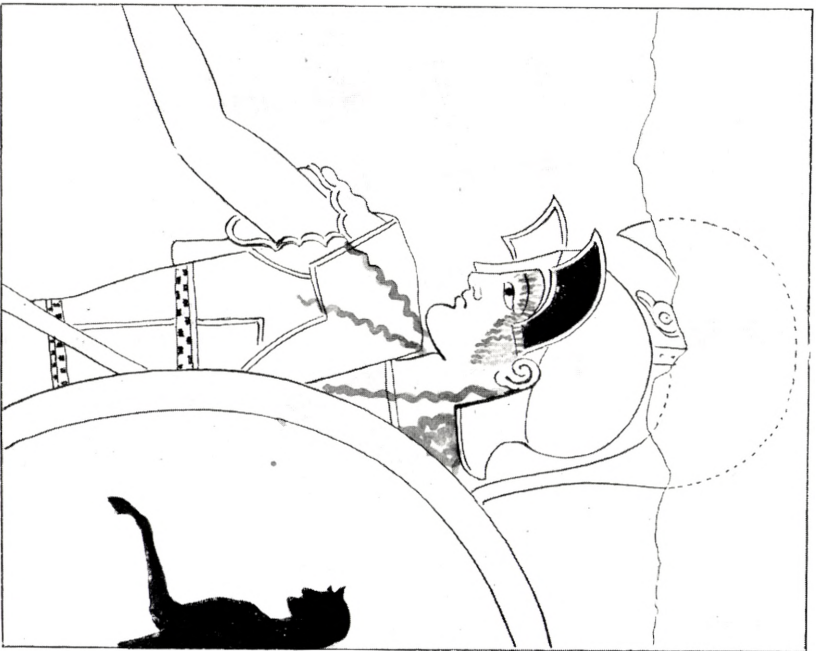


Abb. 15. (S. 11).



Abb. 16. (S. 12).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

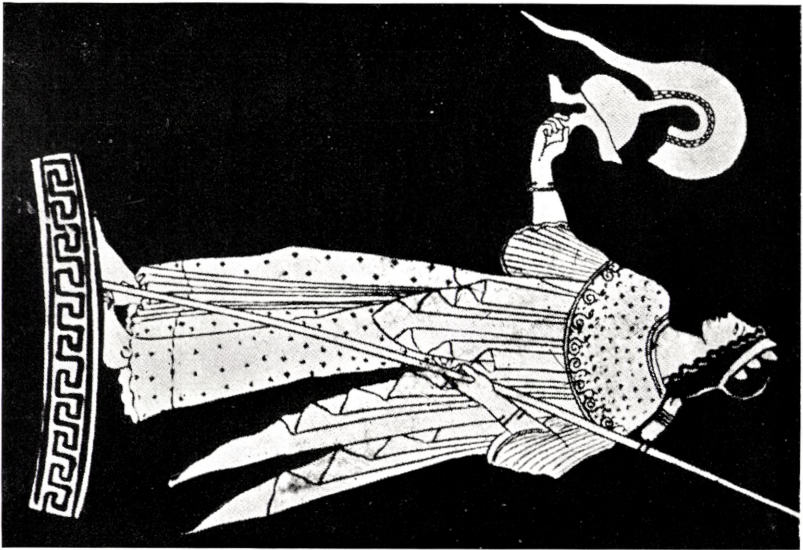


Abb. 17. (S. 13).
Sammlung der Yale University.

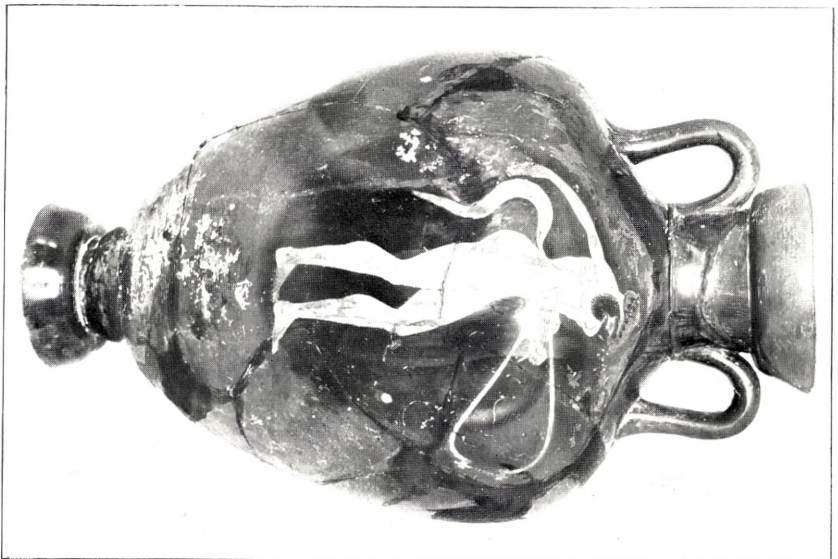


Abb. 18. (S. 13).
München.



Abb. 19. (S. 14).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 20. (S. 15).
Syrakus.



Abb. 21. (S. 15).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 24. (S. 15).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 23. (S. 16).

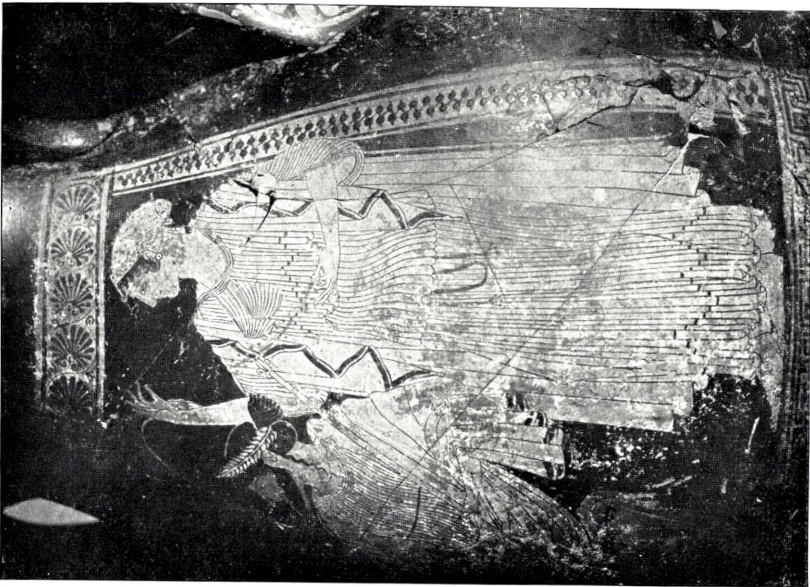


Abb. 22. (S. 16).



Abb. 25. (S. 20). Die Triptolemosinschrift.



Abb. 26. (S. 17). Vasenfragment in Petrograd



Abb. 27 (S. 20).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 28. (S. 20).



Abb. 29. (S. 20).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 30. (S. 22).
München.



Abb. 31. (S. 22).
München.

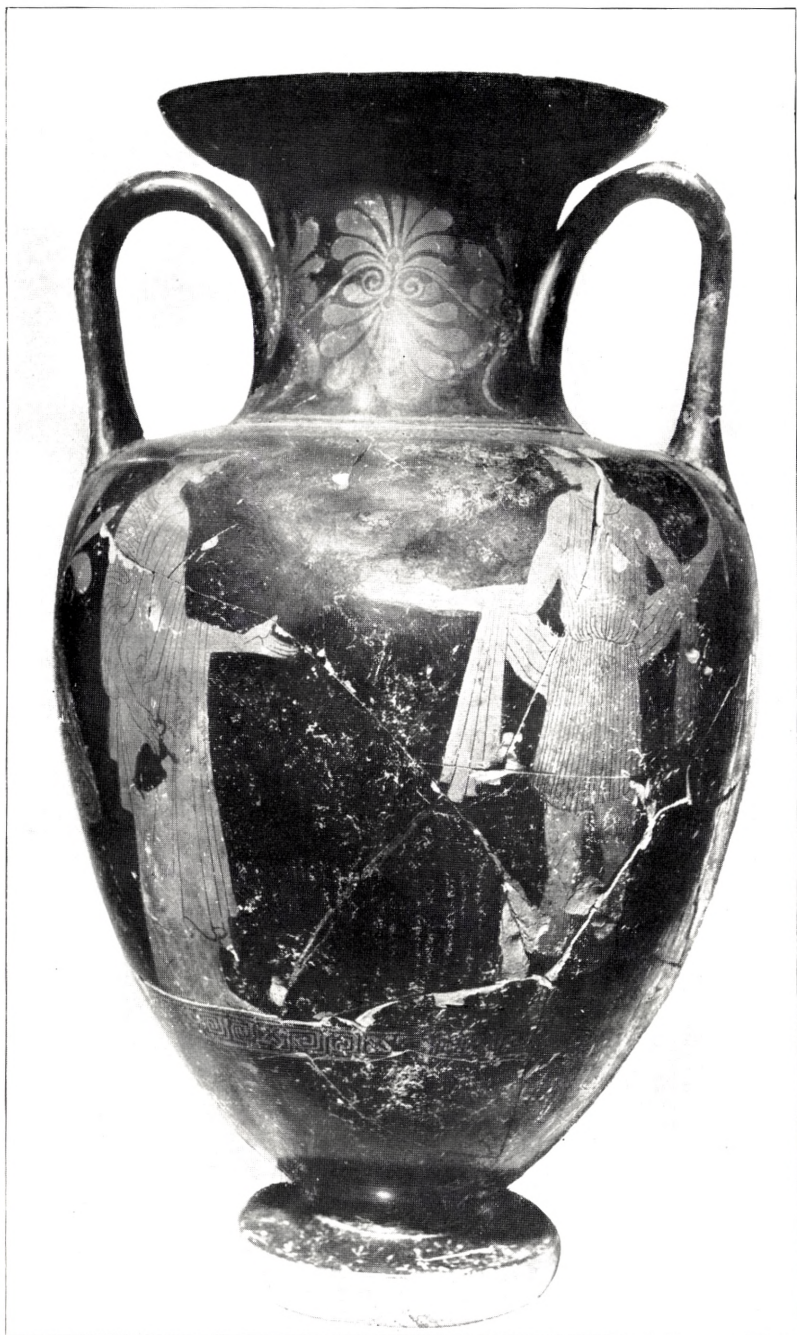


Abb. 32. (S. 22).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

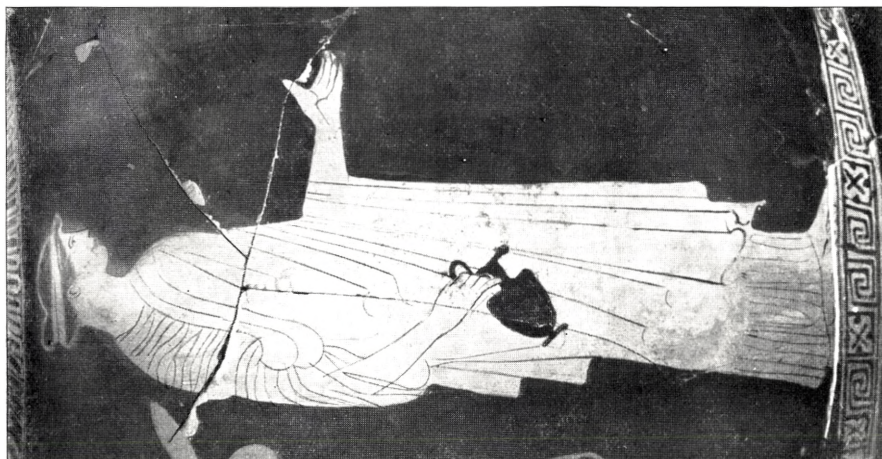


Abb. 34. (S. 22).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

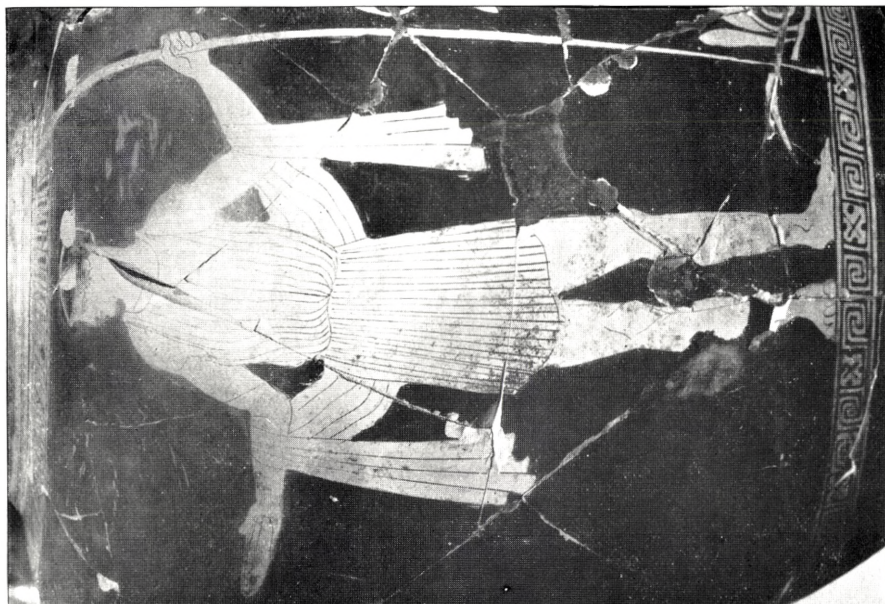


Abb. 33. (S. 22).

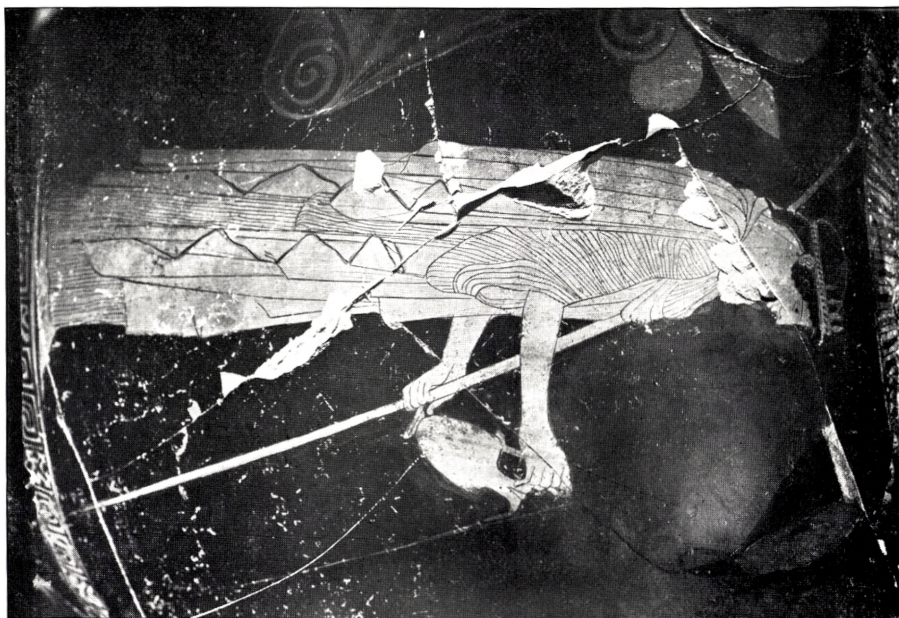


Abb. 35. (S. 22).

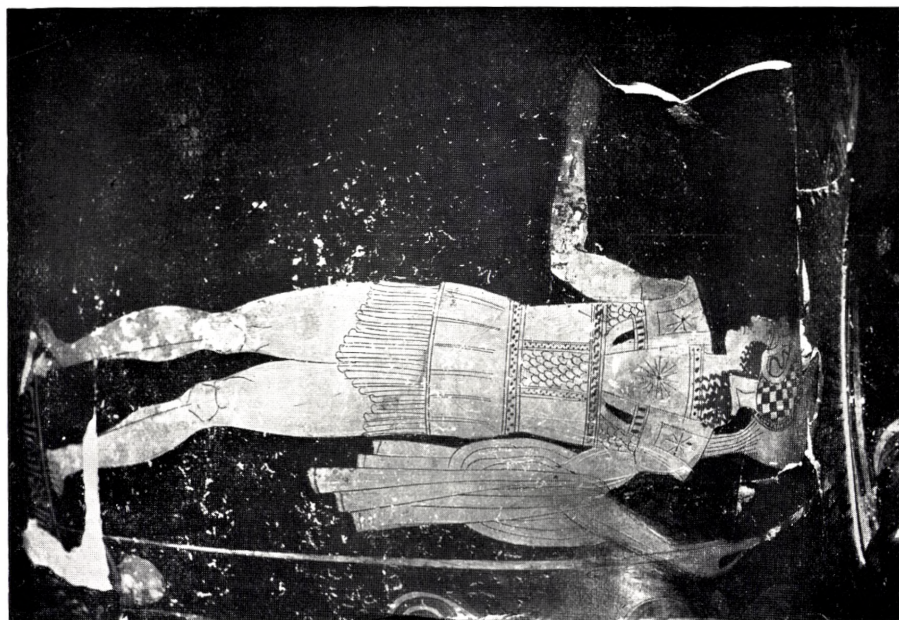


Abb. 36. (S. 22).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 38. (S. 23).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

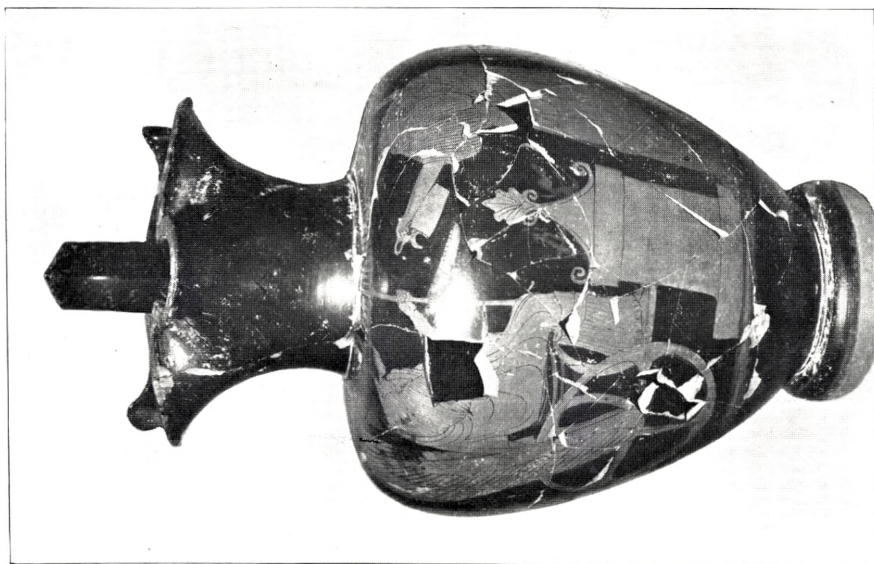


Abb. 37. (S. 23).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

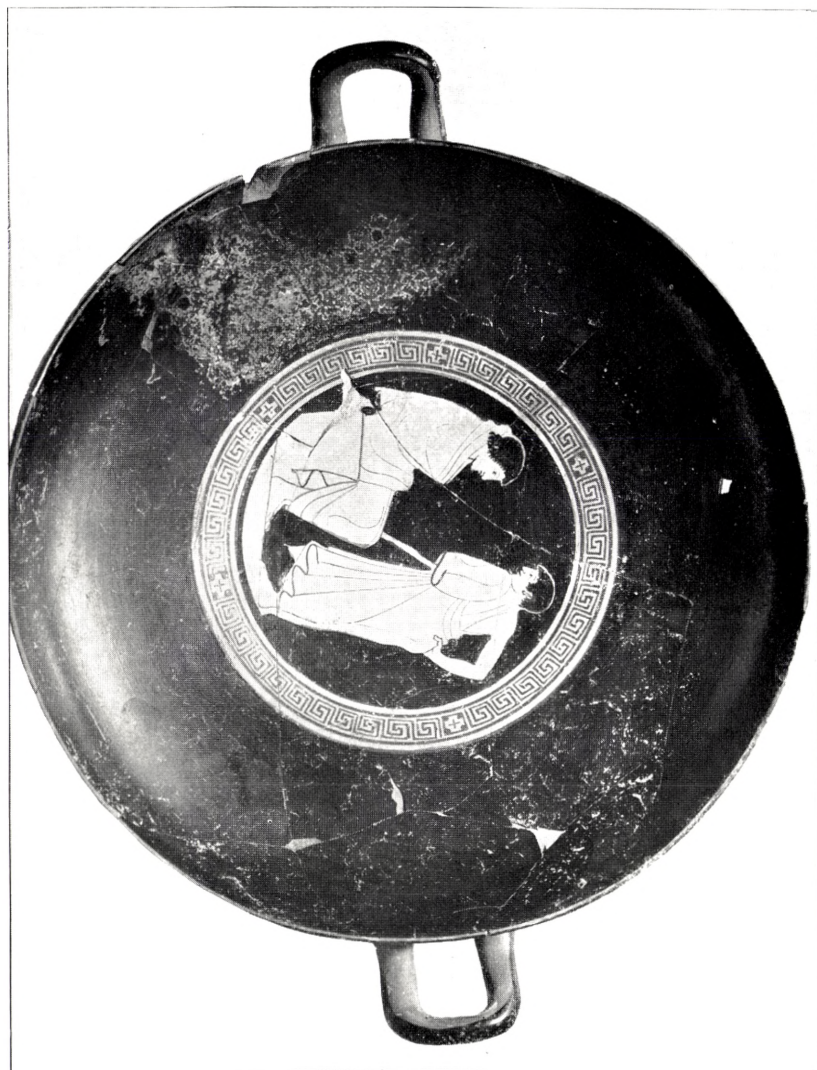


Abb. 39. (S. 23).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 40. (S. 23 f.).



Abb. 41. (S. 23 f.).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

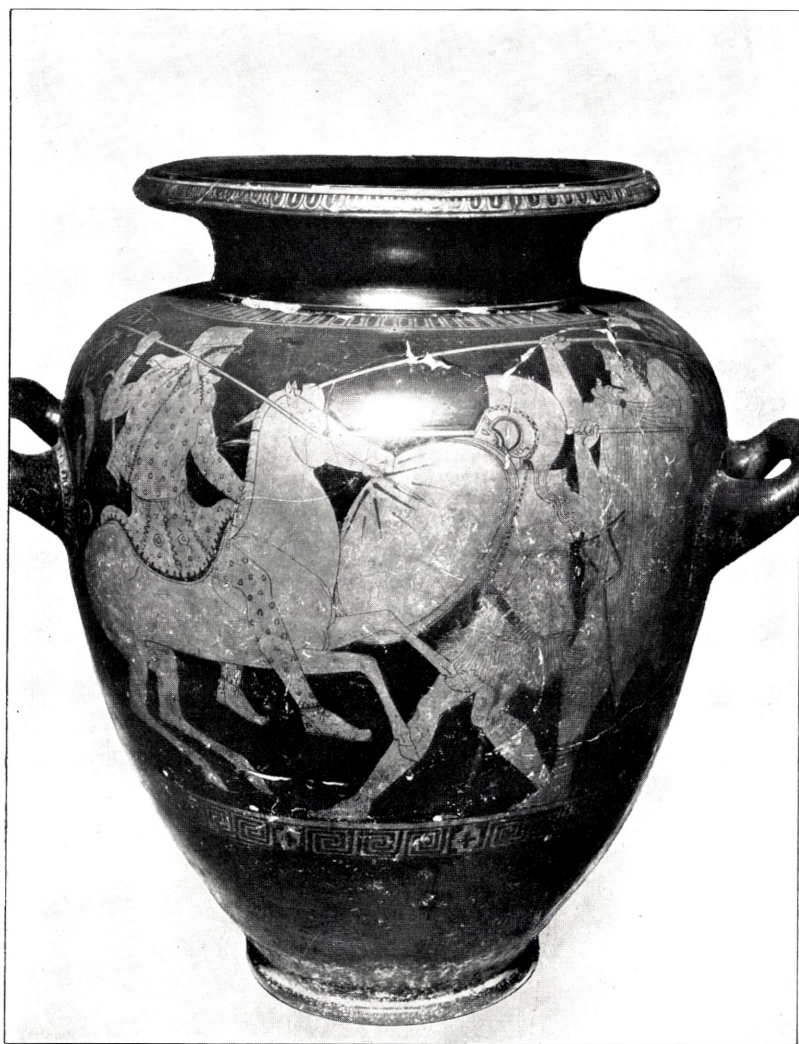


Abb. 42. (S. 24).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 43. (S. 24).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

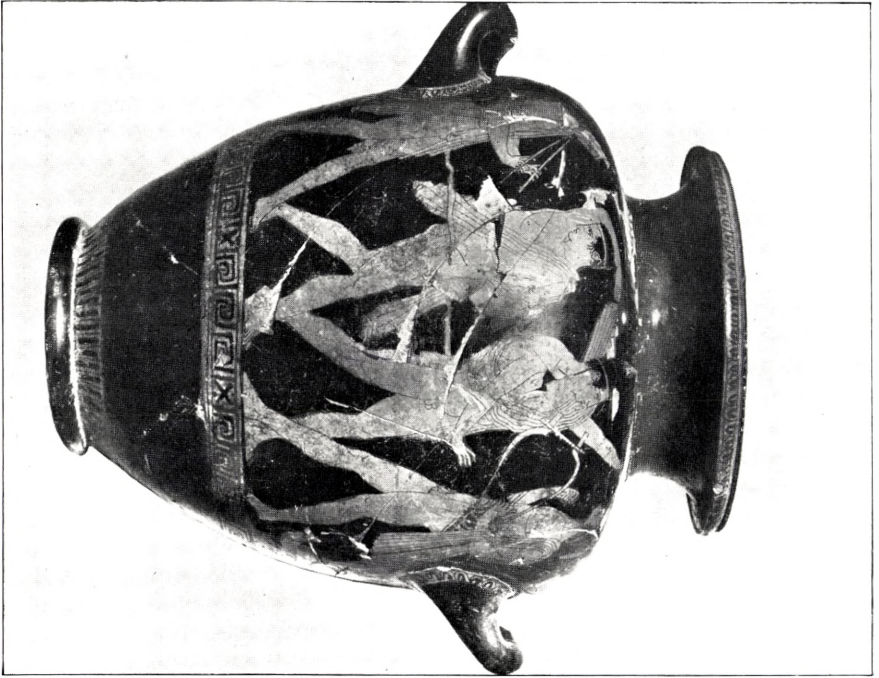


Abb. 44. (S. 26).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 46. (S. 26).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 45. (S. 26).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 47. (S. 26).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

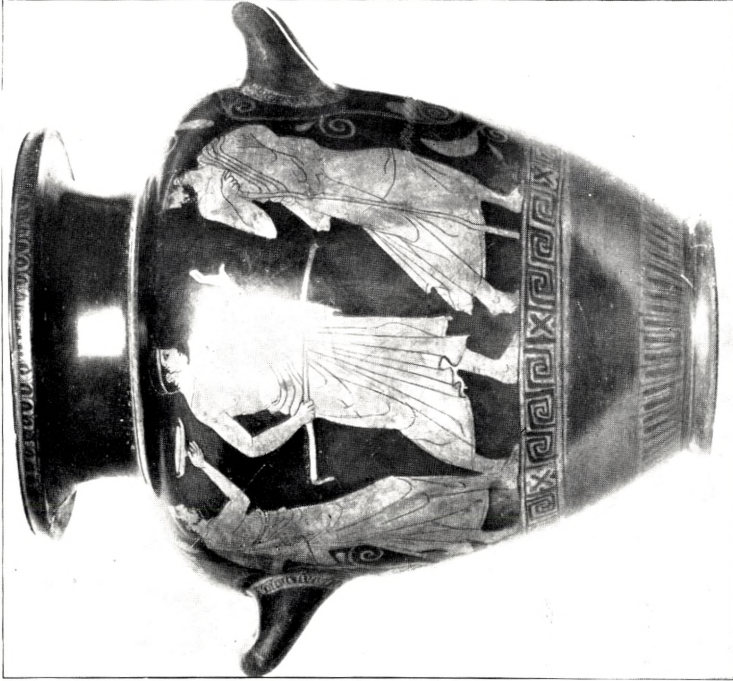


Abb. 49. (S. 26).
Petrograd.



Abb. 48. (S. 26).
Petrograd, Eremitage.



Abb. 50. (S. 27).
München.

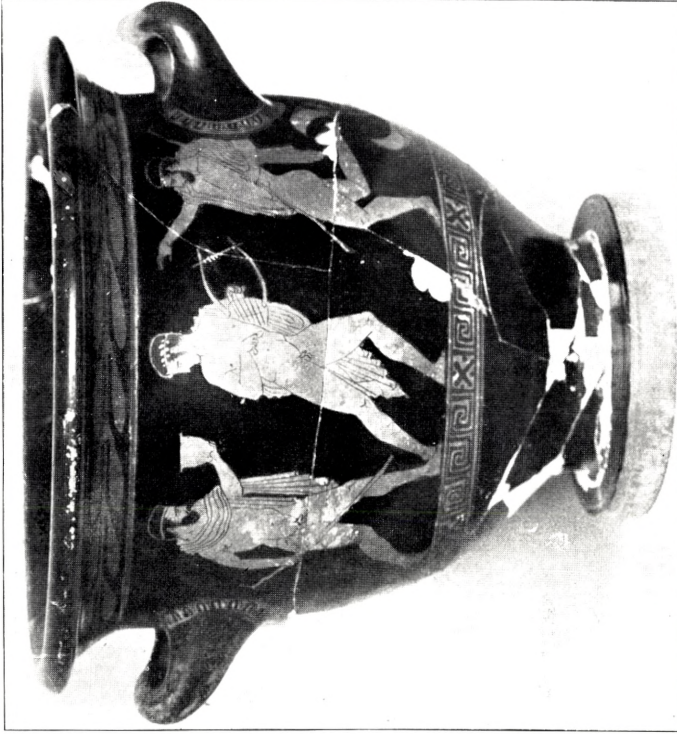


Abb. 52. (S. 27).
Petrograd, Eremitage.

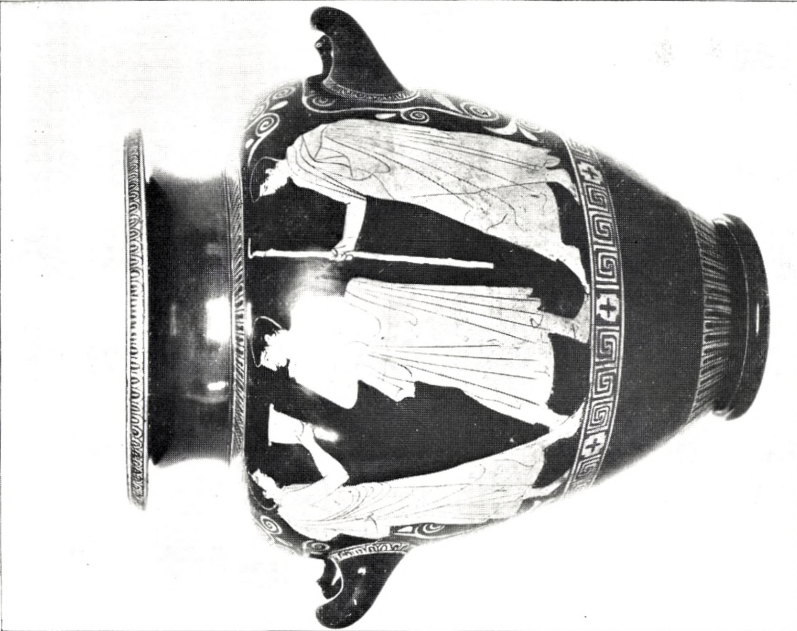


Abb. 51. (S. 27).
München.

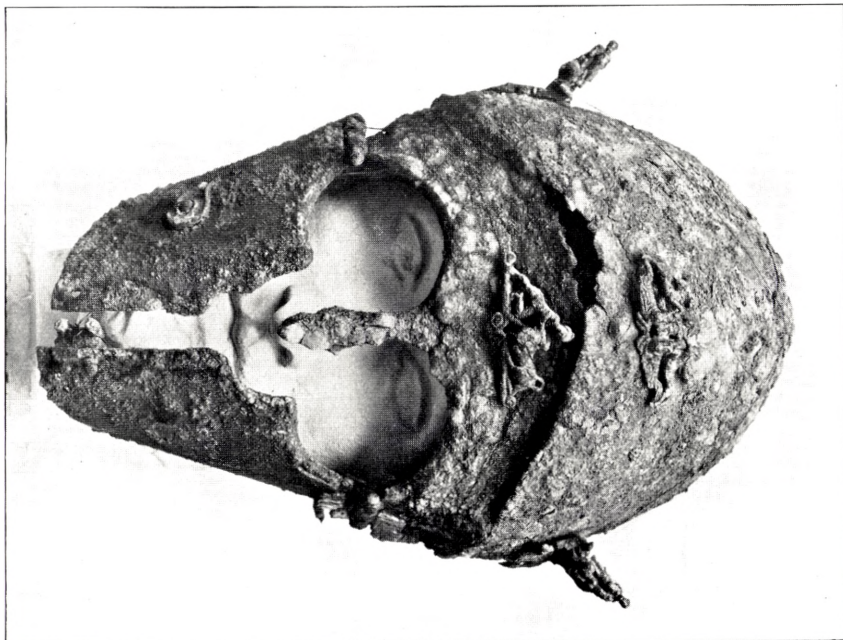


Abb. 53. (S. 28).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

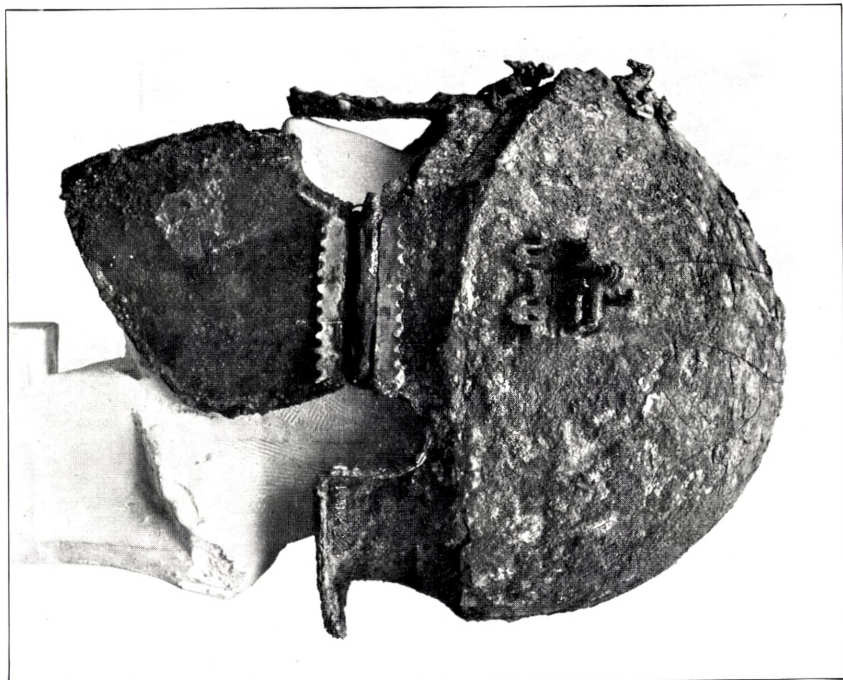


Abb. 54. (S. 28).



Abb. 56. (S. 30).

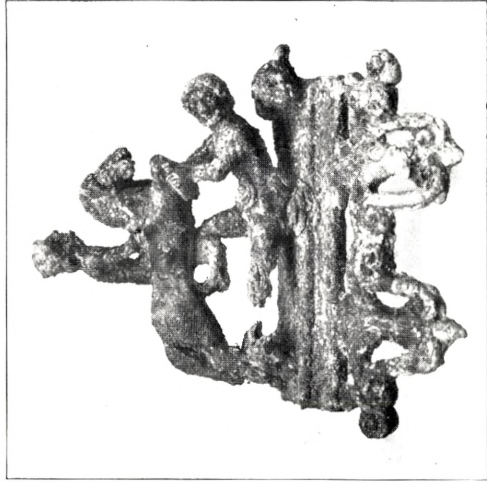


Abb. 58. (S. 30 f.).



Abb. 55. (S. 29).

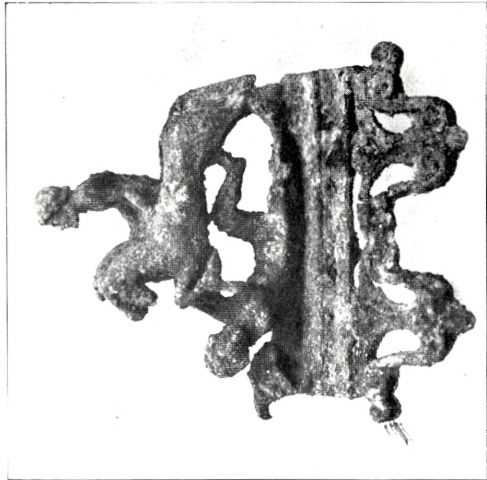


Abb. 57. (S. 30 f.).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

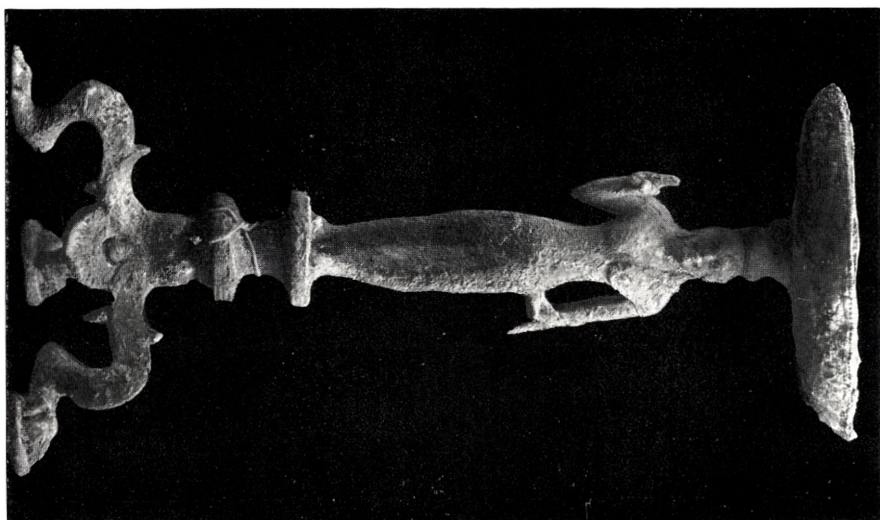


Abb. 59. (S. 32).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

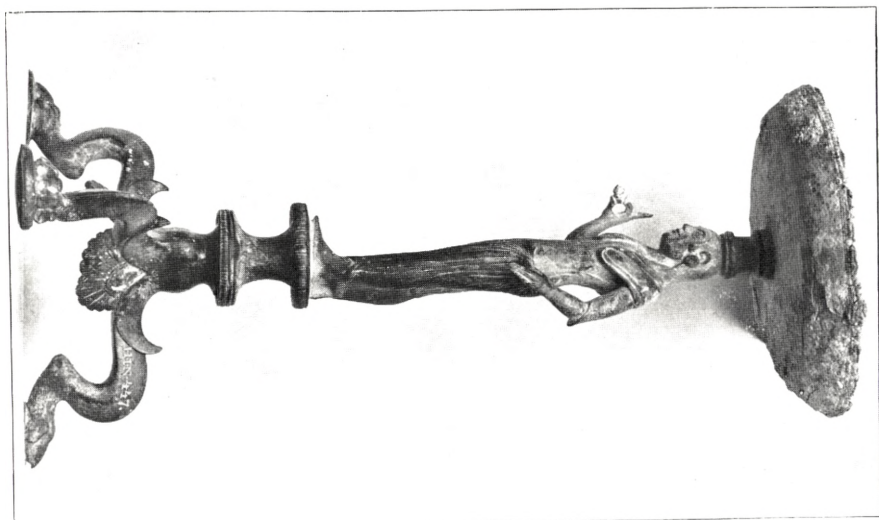


Abb. 61. (S. 32).



Abb. 60. (S. 32).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

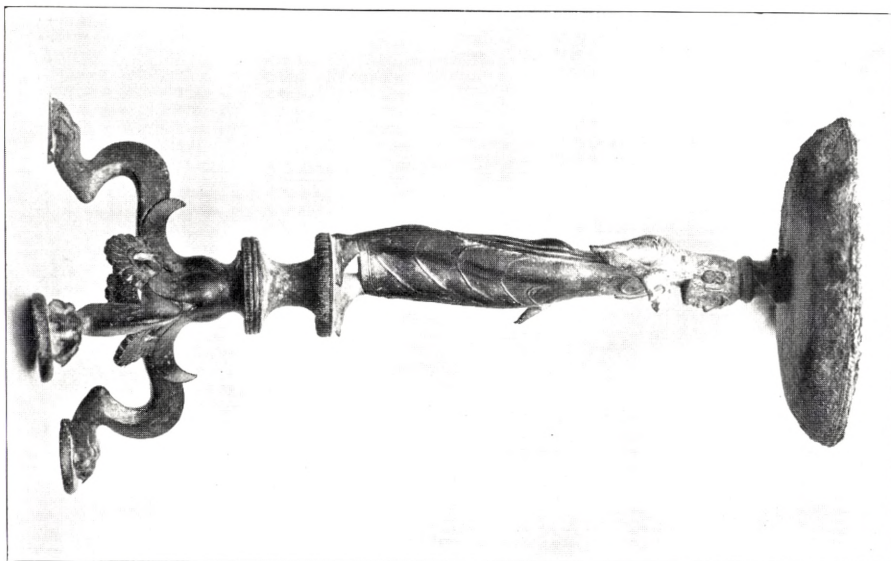


Abb. 62. (S. 32 f.).

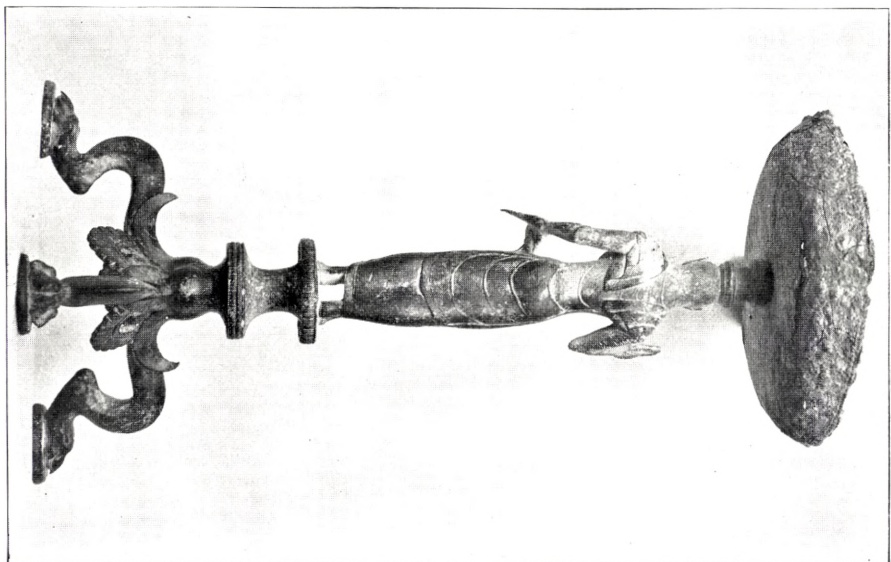


Abb. 63. (S. 32 f.).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

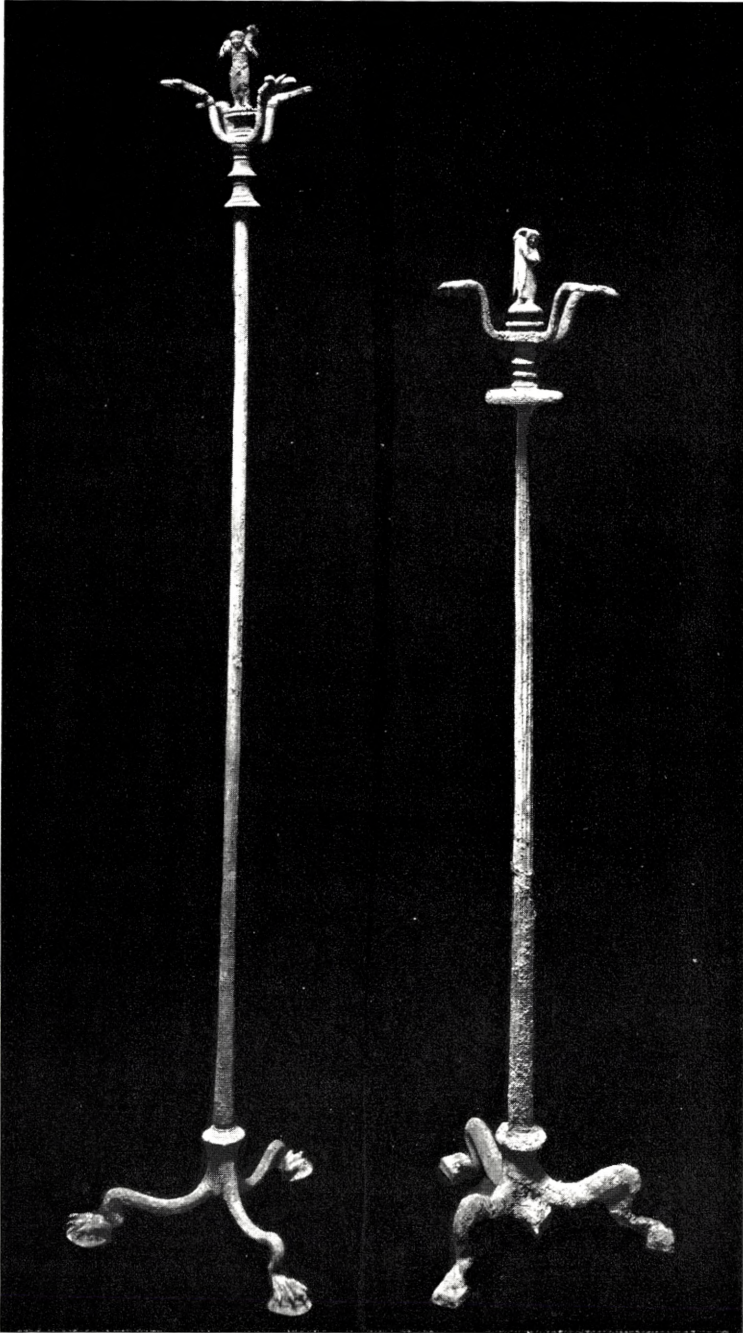


Abb. 64. (S. 34).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

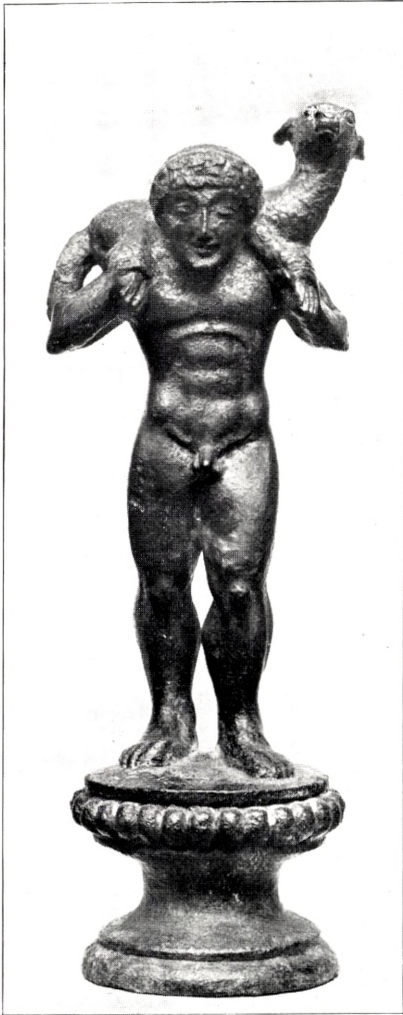


Abb. 65. (S. 34).



Abb. 66. (S. 34).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

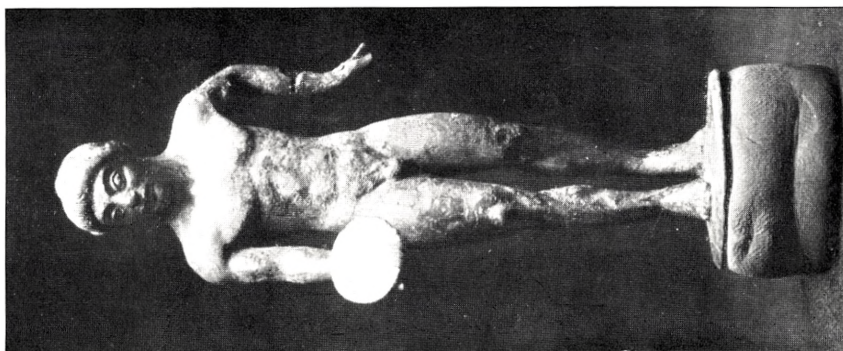


Abb. 69. (S. 36).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 68. (S. 35).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

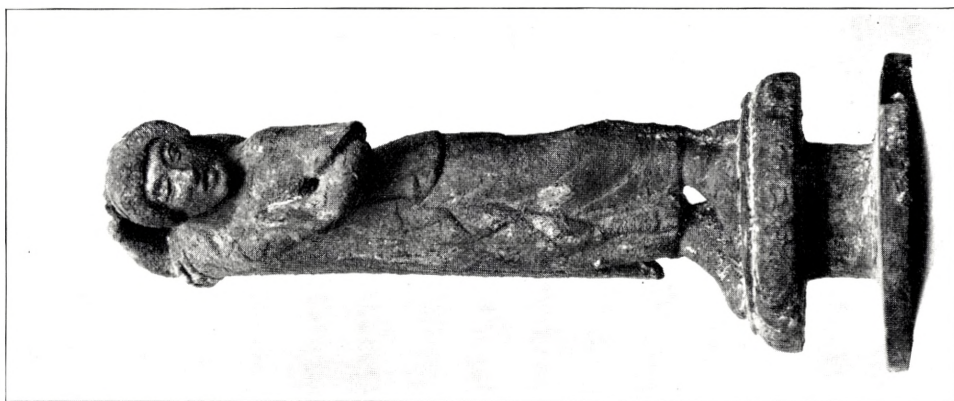


Abb. 67. (S. 35).

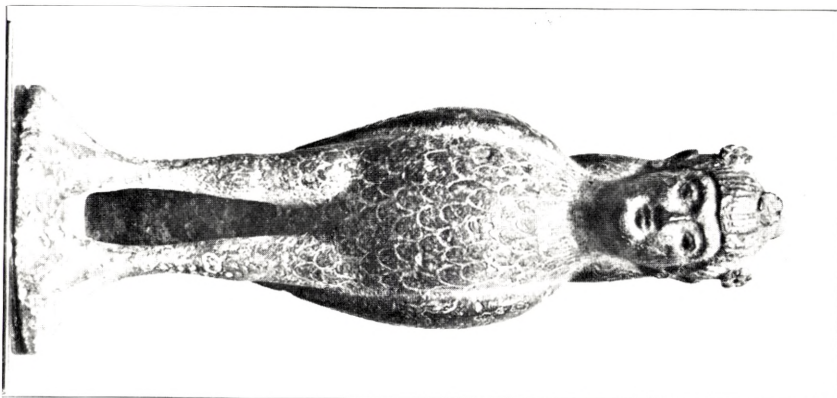


Abb. 70. (S. 36).

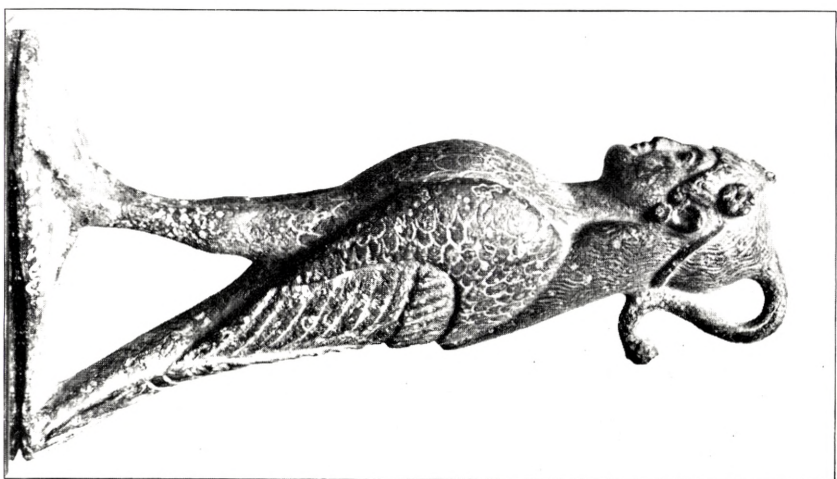


Abb. 71. (S. 36).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

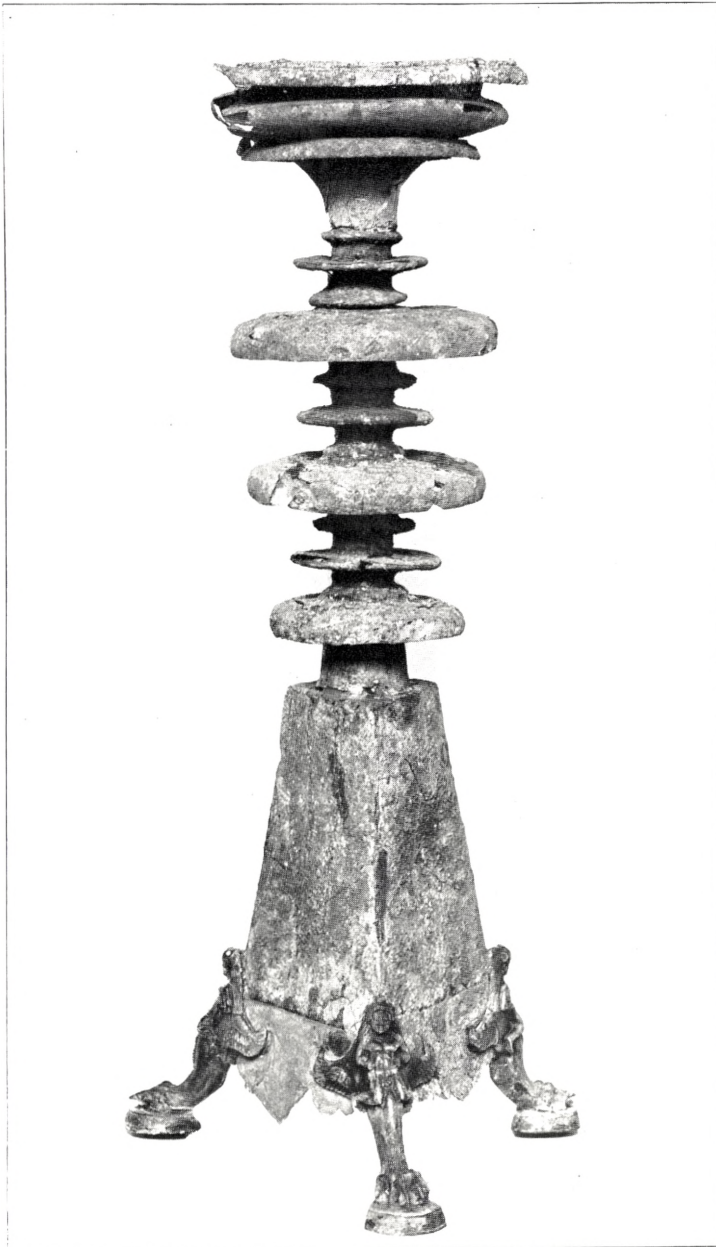


Abb. 72. (S. 37).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

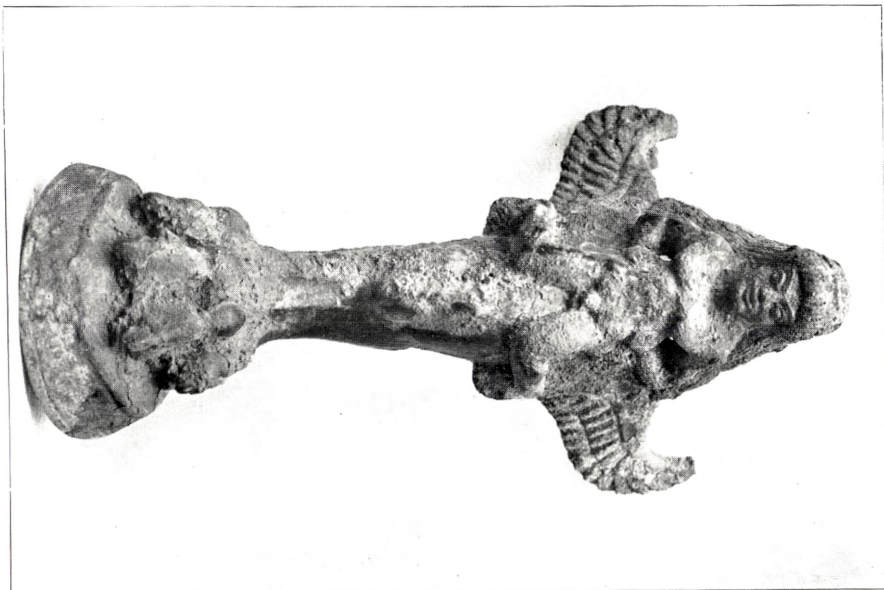


Abb. 73. (S. 37).



Abb. 74. (S. 37).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 76. (S. 38).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

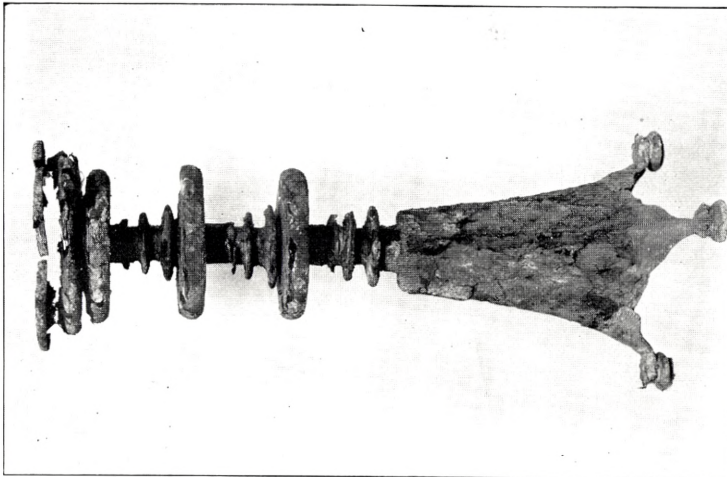


Abb. 75. (S. 38).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 77. (S. 38).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 78. (S. 39).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

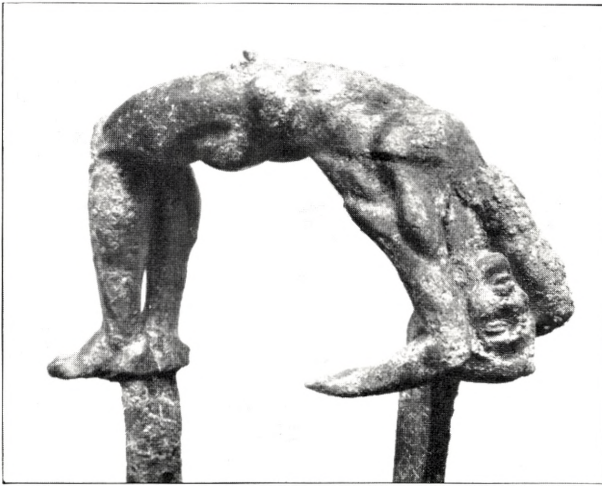


Abb. 79. (S. 39).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 80. (S. 39).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 81. (S. 40).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 82. (S. 40).
Detail von Abb. 81.

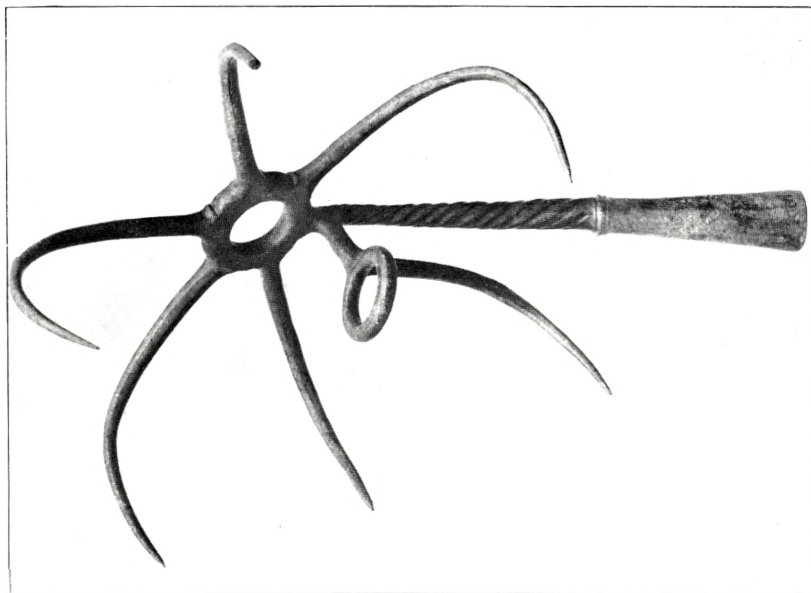


Abb. 84. (S. 41).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

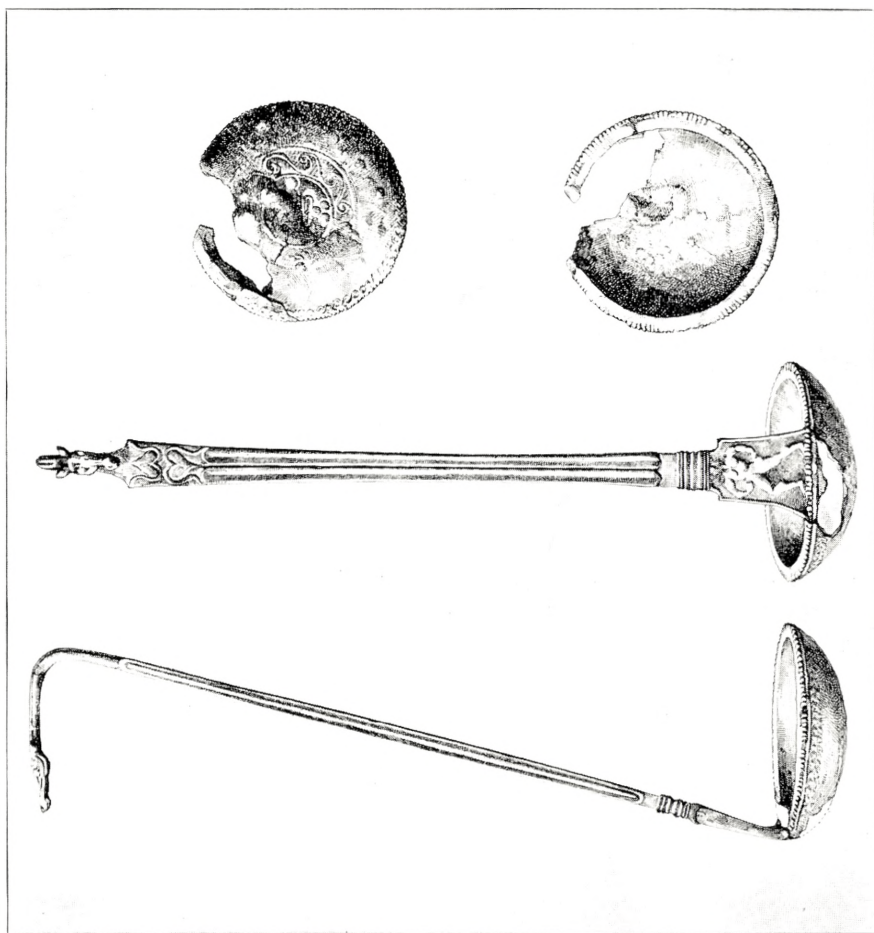


Abb. 83. (S. 40).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

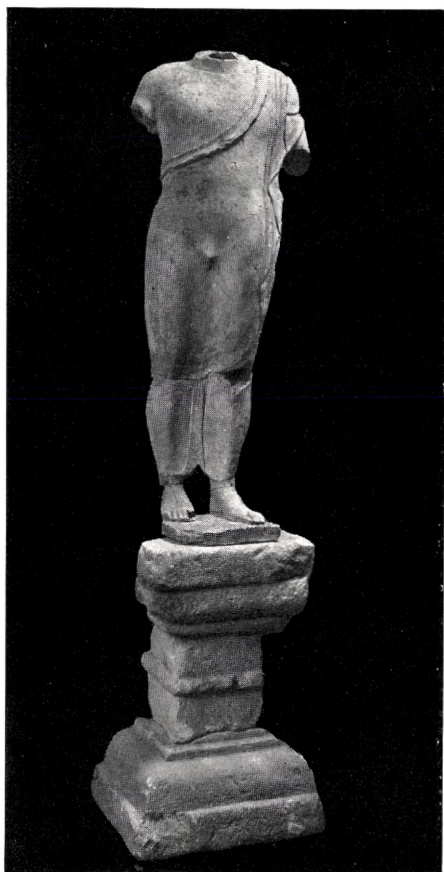


Abb. 85. (S. 43).



Abb. 86. (S. 43).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

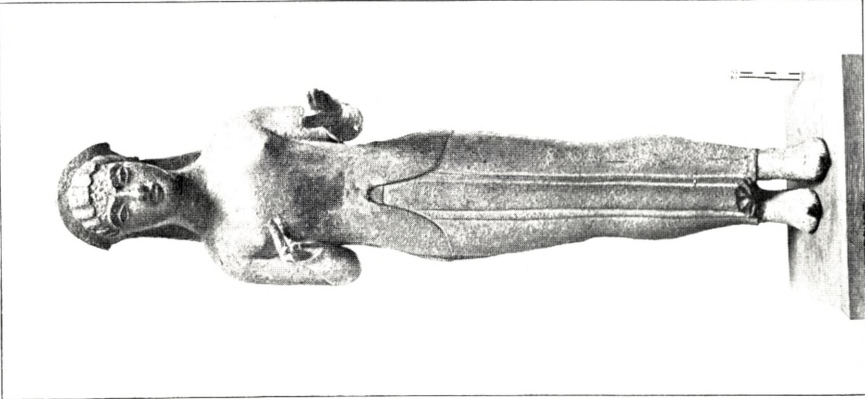
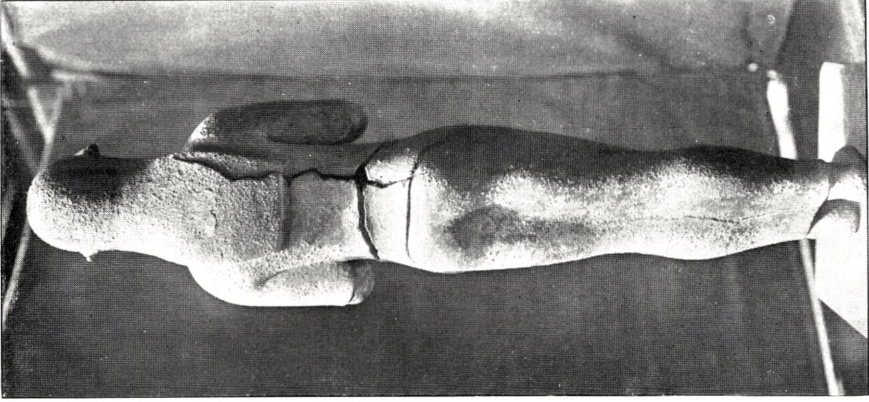
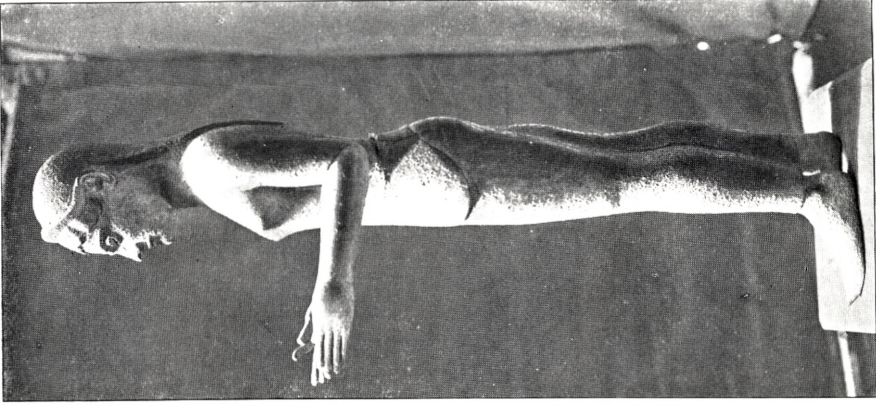


Abb. 88—89. (S. 43).

Carlsberg Glyptotek.

British Museum

Abb. 87. (S. 43).



Abb. 90. (S. 44).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 91. (S. 44).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.



Abb. 92. (S. 44).
Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.



Abb. 93. (S. 45).
Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek.

