

THE ANGRY IŠTAR OF ETURKALAMMA: BM 32482+ AND THE CONSERVATION OF CULTIC TRADITIONS IN THE LATE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

By ROCIO DA RIVA

BM 32482 + is a Late Babylonian tablet with descriptions of rites and ceremonies held in the Eturkalamma temple of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon). The text refers to prayers and recitations to appease the goddess. Cult personnel from her temple (*išippu* priest) are also mentioned, as is music, a *nigūtu* performed by a *nadītu* priestess, a ritual involving a *sakkikuddītu*, a cultic commentary, omens involving birds, and astrological observations. Despite the fragmentary condition of the tablet, it seems that the performance of the *nigūtu* was in one way or another related to the preservation of the temple rituals, which would otherwise have been forgotten.

[I have not] made Esagila tremble, I have not forgotten its rites,

RAcc., 127-154+: 425 (Linssen 2004: 223).

Introduction

BM 32482 + BM 32621 + BM 32639+ BM 32724 (Fig. 1–4) is a large horizontal tablet with four columns, two per side, none of which is preserved in its entirety.¹ The tablet is fragmentary, but there do not appear to be any more columns missing. From columns two and three only the first half of the lines is preserved. A double vertical ruling line divides the columns on each side of the tablet. The four joined fragments of the tablet belong to the collection 1876–11–17, which was sent to the British Museum by George Smith.² Smith bought the collection in Baghdad in 1876 shortly before his death on his way back to Europe (Clancier 2009: 130). For this reason 1876–11–17 is marked S†. Most of the documents from this collection come from Babylon, and among its 2,629 tablets we find economic documents from the archives of the Kasr, documents from the Abu-ul-īde archive (277–253 B.C.E.), late chronicles and 181 astronomical texts, including texts from the family Mušēzib, astronomers of the Esagil.³ The economic documents are dated between the end of the Achaemenid Empire and the Arsacid period, and most of the astronomical diaries are dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.E. (Clancier 2009: 411–13). It is not surprising that many tablets from this collection join with fragments from collections Sp, Sp2, Sp3, 1881–06–25 and 1881–02–01 (Clancier 2009: 188): all these collections contain astronomical texts, and in particular the Sp collections contain late chronicles.⁴ The tablets of the 1876–11–17 collection have helped to establish the chronological framework for the libraries of the Esagil (Clancier 2009: 302) and the date of most of its documents can also provide an approximate chronological context for the text under discussion here: namely, the Late Achaemenid to the Parthian period.

¹ The photos published here are copyrighted by the British Museum and are published with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum (London). A comprehensive study of Babylonian temple rituals and related texts from the Babylon Collections of the British Museum is currently being carried out under the auspices of the R+D Research Project of the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness, financed by the European Regional Development Fund (FFI2016–74827–P AEI/FEDER, UE); R. Da Riva, *Late Babylonian Temple Rituals: Language and Structure*. I have also benefited from the ICREA Academia Research Award (2015–2019).

Unless indicated, the abbreviations used in this article follow the norms of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.

² The collection numbers are: 76–11–17, 2219 + 2366 + 2386 + 2494. In his first (unpublished) transliteration of the text, G. Galetti suggests that BM 41175 (81–04–28, 722) joins with this tablet, but I do not think that this is the case. BM 41175 will be published by the author.

³ For the different groups of documents, see Clancier 2009: 112 n. 448, 123, 126–28, 130 n. 545, 157: 190, 195 n. 866, 272, 411–13, 454, 457. For the Mušēzib archive, see also Jursa 2005: 75.

⁴ Clancier 2009: 447–48. For the collection see also George 2000: 270.

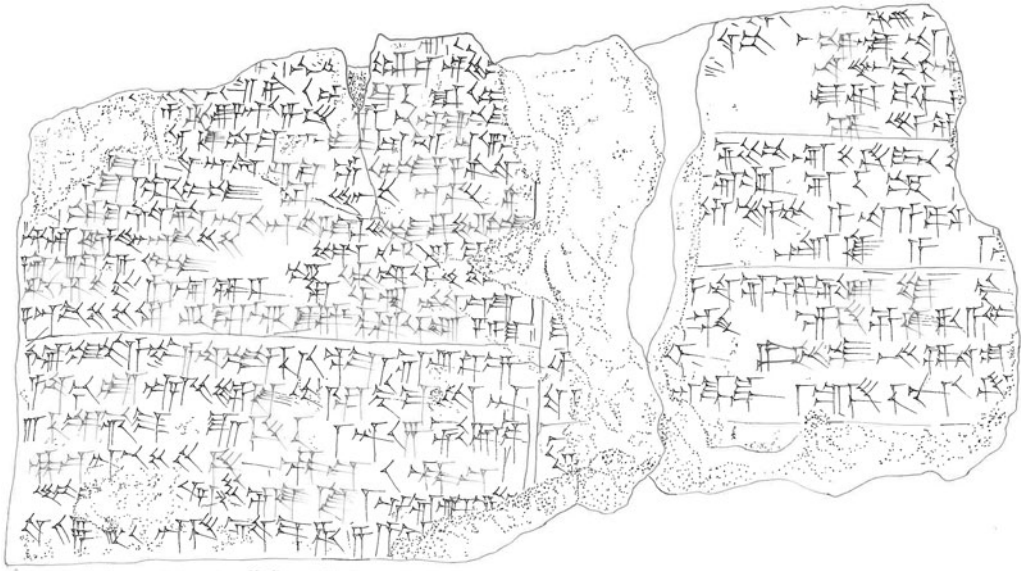


Fig. 1 Copy of BM 32482 + obverse by author

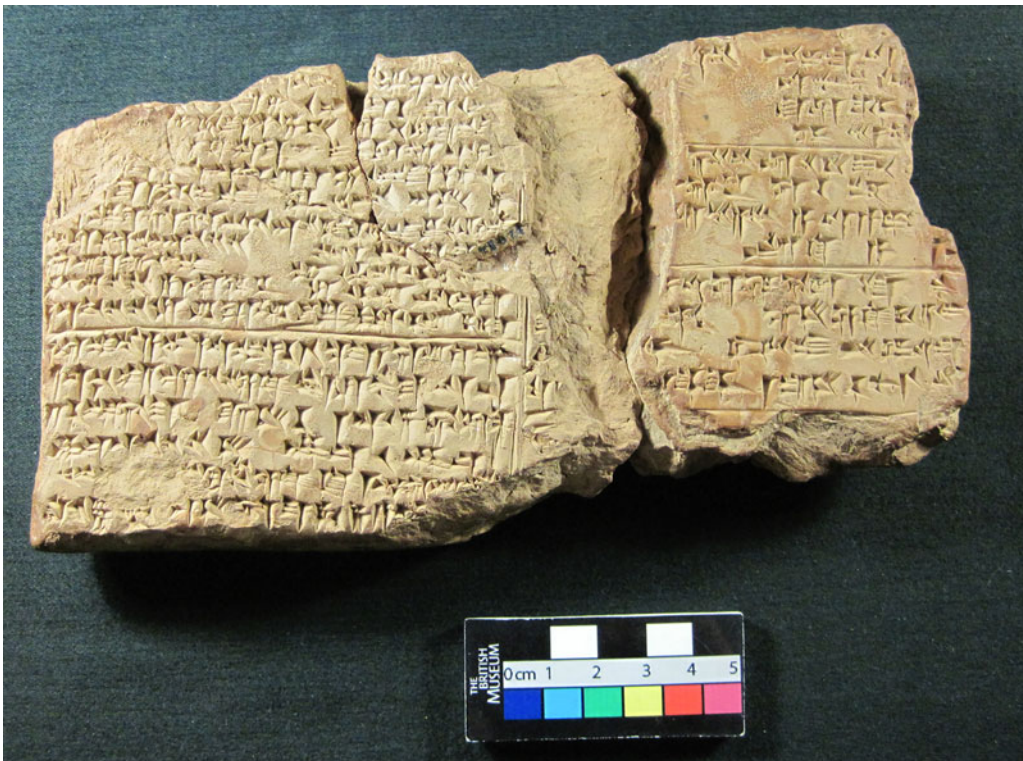


Fig. 2 Photo of BM 32482 + obverse by author

It is not easy to determine the exact contents of BM 32482 +, or its nature and function (see below). I would assume it is an administrative document that contains descriptions of rites and ceremonies held in a specific context in the Etrukalamma. Of course, the text only contains the information necessary for the execution of that precise procedure: everything else was self-

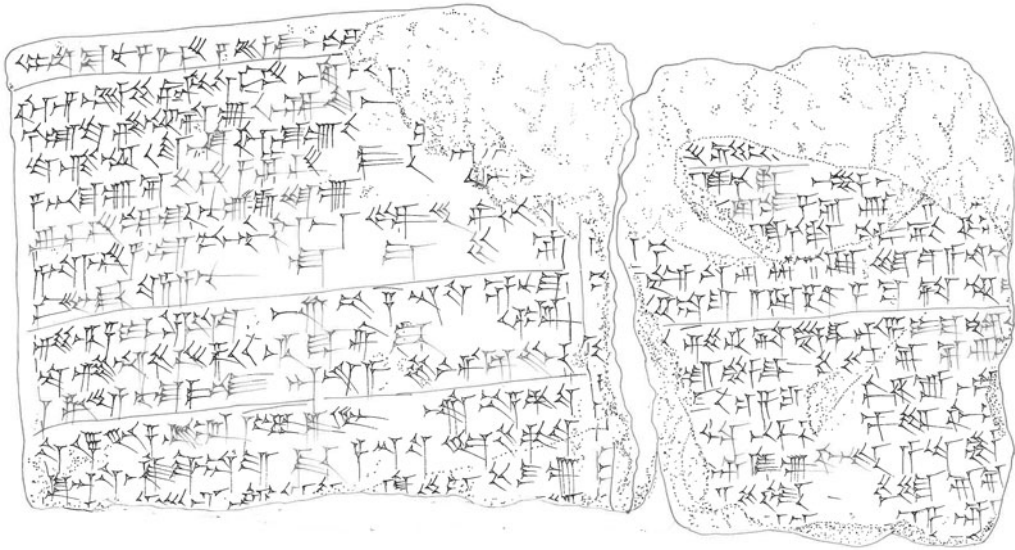


Fig. 3 Copy of BM 32482 + reverse by author

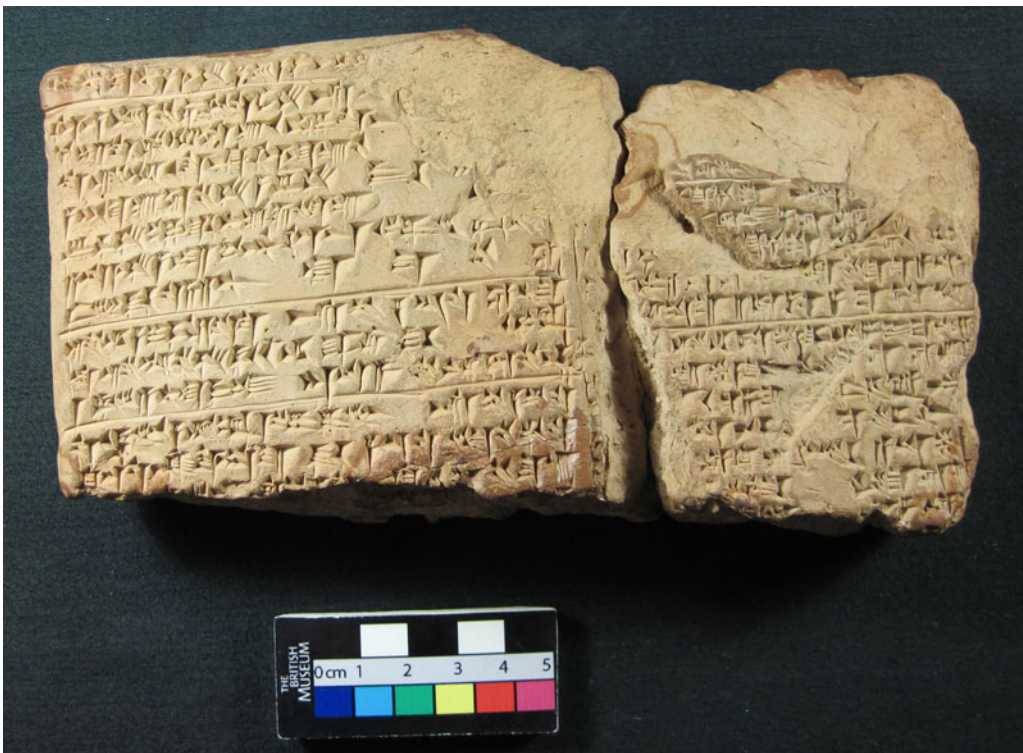


Fig. 4 Photo of BM 32482 + reverse by author

evident. This creates a certain degree of ambiguity which prevents us from fully understanding its function. However, BM 32482 + seems to contain a mixture of lamentations and ceremonial prescriptions, as well as some omens and astrological observations, and it may belong to the group of texts with interpretations of ritual acts. In this regard, BM 32482 + bears some relation to the cultic commentaries on rituals from the month of Simānu, especially BM 36595

(80–6–17, 324) + BM 37055 (80–6–17, 800)⁵ and to some extent also BM 47458 (81–11–3, 163)⁶ and 47661 (81–11–3, 366).⁷

The Eturkalamma as the setting of the text

BM 32482 + has descriptions of ritual performances and recitations held in Babylon, particularly in and around the temples Eturkalamma of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon) and Esagil of Marduk, and the text indirectly provides information on their personnel, and on the activities carried out in honour of their respective patrons. The presence of Ištar, her temple, and the god Marduk may suggest rituals or ceremonies related in one way or another to the *Divine Love Lyrics (DLL)*,⁸ for the Eturkalamma plays a crucial role in these rituals, which are known from several Late-Assyrian and Late-Babylonian fragments. From the data available we know that the rituals took place inside the temple, and also in the streets around it and in other areas of the city of Babylon; indeed, these topographical features appear in BM 32482 +. A direct connection with the *DLL*, however, is difficult to establish based solely on the evidence of the text.

In any case, the Eturkalamma and its patron seem to play an important role in this text. Eturkalamma was the temple of Bēlet-Bābili, an aspect of the goddess as *the* Ištar of the city (Tintir iv 8);⁹ it was located in the quarter of Eridu inside the Esagil temple complex (in fact, it was considered part of the Esagil)¹⁰ and it often appears mentioned in connection with a garden (Boiy 2004: 88). From the 2nd millennium onwards the Eturkalamma was a major cult-centre of Ištar and the Urukian gods in Babylon (Charpin 1980: 93), and there are documentary references to the temple up until the 1st century B.C.E.¹¹ Among the texts alluding to ceremonies in Eturkalamma and temple staff we should mention: BM 41239 (81–04–28, 787), a ritual referring to Eturkalamma and the procession of several deities from Borsippa to Kiš;¹² BM 37321 (80–06–17, 1077) and BM 48176 (81–11–03, 886);¹³ and also BM 40790 (81–04–28, 335), a tablet dealing with rituals in the Esagil temple complex, in which the Eturkalamma and its goddess Bēlet-Bābili are referred to in connection with a ceremony for the well-being of the temple.¹⁴ A ritual for Bēlet-Bābili is also described in CT 51 101 (BM 34679).¹⁵ Another parallel is BM 32656 (76–11–17, 2424), a tablet referring to rituals of the month of Simānu in Eturkalamma,¹⁶ which belongs to the same collection as the text under discussion. The temple and its garden are further referred to in the astronomical diary AD –328 (rev. 24') which confirms the existence of the building in the Hellenistic period and its location in the Esagil complex (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 190; Boiy 2004: 88).

The Eturkalamma also appears in the documents from the Raḥīm-Esu archive: in *BRM* 1: 99, in *CT* 49: 150 and in *AB* 246 (McEwan 1981: 139), which provide further data on the temple. *BRM* 1: 99, rev. 37–44 (93 B.C.E.) mentions payments of silver for several groups of persons involved in a procession on day 1 of an unknown month: among others we find *kurgarrûs*, *assimûs* and Borsippeans. According to Linssen (2004: 69), the procession may have taken place during the rituals of Ištar of Babylon in her temple Eturkalamma (the ceremonies described in the *DLL*); the reference to these categories of people indeed constitutes indirect evidence for the performance of the ritual in the Arsacid period.¹⁷

⁵ See <http://ccp.yale.edu/P469985>, the text in obv. 11 quotes a line from the *Divine Love Lyrics* (l. 11) with a radically different interpretation.

⁶ <http://ccp.yale.edu/P461230>.

⁷ <http://ccp.yale.edu/P461233>. I am indebted to U. Gabbay for drawing my attention to these texts.

⁸ The first fragments of the *DLL* were edited by Lambert in 1959 and 1975; see further Edzard 1987; Groneberg 1999; Da Riva and Frahm 1999/2000: 180–82; George 2000: 270 and n. 19; Nissinen 2001: 123–25; Groneberg 2007; Fincke 2013; Frahm and Jiménez 2015: 316, 328–29. For the forthcoming study and edition of the *DLL* (Wasserman and Da Riva) see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/lovelyrics/>.

⁹ George 1992: 307; Boiy 2004: 87–89.

¹⁰ George 1992: 308; Clancier 2009: 182.

¹¹ George 1992: 307–308; and see references in George 1993: no. 1117; Hibbert 1984; Linssen 2004: 120–22.

¹² George 2000: 289–99, no. 4; Frahm and Jiménez 2015: 326. Duplicate: BM 32516 (76–11–17, 2257).

¹³ BM 37321 and BM 48176 will be edited by the author.

¹⁴ Da Riva and Galetti 2018.

¹⁵ Da Riva 2017.

¹⁶ Published by George 2000: 270–80, no. 2.

¹⁷ For different editions of this text, see McEwan 1981: 139, 143–46; Hibbert 1984; Peled 2016: 169–70. If the ceremonies indirectly referred to in *BRM* 1: 99 are indeed the ones described in the *DLL*, the mention of day 1 is of the utmost importance, for it means that the feasts lasted from the first day of Du'uzu to at least the sixth day of the month. In the ritual tablet from the *DLL* (BM 40090 + BM 41005 + BM 41107 +) there are references to ceremonies from days 3–6 of Du'uzu. A new edition of BM 40090 + is in preparation by R. Da Riva and N. Wasserman.

An interesting feature of BM 32482 + is the reference to a street, which adds to the existing information on the topographical features of Eturkalamma known from other sources. It is tempting to identify this street with the “wide street, facing the south gate of Eturkalamma” referred to in *Camb. 431*, 5–6, a contract from the reign of Cambyses drafted in Babylon (*Camb* 14.11.x), and with the one mentioned in the rituals of the *DLL* BM 40090 + BM 41005 + BM 41107 ii 24, 35, iii 30 and iv 35 (partially edited by Lambert 1975: 104–106; collated); see also George 1992: 307–08.

From the evidence of the *DLL* it seems that the street of the temple was located next to the river and a garden, BM 40090 +:

- ii 35: *sūqi*(SILA) É.TÜR.KALAM.MA *u nāru*(ID) [(x)]
 iii 30: *sūqi*(SILA) É.TÜR.K[ALAM.MA *u nāru*(ID) (x)]
 iv 35: *sūqi*(SILA)^(tablet be) É.TÜR.KALAM.MA [*ū*] *nāru*(ID)*

A further indication in connection with the garden appears in the same text ii 24: *mál-di parak*(BÁRA) ^d*A-nun-na-ki pi-ri-k sūqi*(SILA) É.TÜR.KALAM.MA *adi*(EN) ^{gis}*kirī*(KIR[I₆ ^{sem}LI]) *burāši* (^{sem}LI?) “At the edge of the shrine of the Anunnaki, in the frontier of the Street of Eturkalamma up to the [juniper?] garden.”

If the reconstruction proposed by Hibbert (1984: 95 n. 11: ^{gis}KIR[I₆ ^{sem}LI]) is correct, this may be a reference to the “Juniper Garden” (Boiy 2004: 84, 88) which, according to our sources, was located between Esagil and Eturkalamma. From the preserved documentation we also know that Eturkalamma had two main gates: the gate of *Bēltiya* and the gate of *Madānu* (BM 40090 + Ib: 11’, 14’). The reference to the gate of *Bēltiya* (*bāb* ^d*Bēltiya* and *erēb* ^d*Bēltiya*) confirms the information provided by *BRM* 1: 99, lines 25–28 and CT 49: 150, lines 22–25 (Hibbert 1984: 93–95; see also Boiy 2004: 88–89). The entrance gate of *Madānu* (*bāb erēb* ^d*Madānu*) is also referred to in the ritual text *Çağırgan* and Lambert 1991/1993: 97 (l. 87) and in the rituals of the *DLL* (see also George 1992: 396–97).

Contents of the text

The tablet is fragmentary, and the length of the lines is difficult to determine. One of the things that makes this text so difficult is that the syntactic units, or even the semantic units, do not seem to be defined by the lines, as is the norm in ritual or administrative documents of this period; rather, they run on from one line to the next. It is therefore difficult to know when a phrase begins and when it ends.

On the obverse of the tablet, column i is divided into two sections by a horizontal line. Both sections deal with rituals, prayers, and recitations to appease the goddess Ištar of Eturkalamma. The *išippu* priest of the temple is also referred to, but the context is damaged. The recitations referred to may be texts related to the known Emesal genres of Balag and Eršema, but they do not belong to these genres, nor are they direct translations of Balag and Eršema compositions. Note, however, the *eršema an sù-ud-ág izi-gin₇* “shining heaven like fire”, which interestingly enough has the goddess’s astral aspect as its main theme (Gabbay 2015: 150–63 no. 42); and one might also mention other compositions with references to the appeasement of Ištar of Eturkalamma, e.g. Gabbay 2015: 190–97 (n. 60), 226–32 (no. 78) and 233–35 (no. 84). In our text, as in the heart pacification units of the compositions referred to and studied by Gabbay (2014: 33–34), the addressee is not the goddess, but Marduk/Bēl, who is asked to intercede in order to pacify “the thorn” of the Eturkalammītu. The recitations to appease the divine lady are somehow connected to topographical features of the temple; and at the end of the column there is a reference to gods, sanctuaries and the 28th day of a month the name of which is not preserved.

In the fragmentary column ii of the obverse, three horizontal lines divide the text into four sections. Due to the damaged state of the tablet, the contents of the sections are not clear, but the first one mentions male and female(?) musicians; the second one shrines or temples, a ritual involving a river(?), and a reference to a deity(?) from Kiš. The third section is fragmentary, but its contents are very revealing: it mentions the Esagil, a *nigūtu* performed by a *nadītu* priestess, and the return of the gods to their cities. In my opinion this could be a reference either to the

Akītu¹⁸ or to another festival involving visiting gods and processions, or maybe to the restoration of an inauspicious displacement of some deities from one cult centre to another.

On the reverse, column iii is divided into three sections, beginning with a fragmentary passage and continuing with the description of a sort of ritual involving a *sakkikuddītu*, a female occupation in the Esagil, and the receipt of silver as a fee or as a gift. The third section mentions catching a swallow, the Ištar Gate, the temple-enterer of Eturkalamma, and rituals of different kinds.

The last column of the tablet, column iv, seems to be a cultic commentary, especially in view of the use of the technical terms *šū* and *aššu*, the *Glossenkeil*, and perhaps *ina libbi ša*.¹⁹ The column begins with a rubric referring to the recitation of the *išippu* priests in the month of Šabātu. The first section is a ritual commentary referring to a *nigūtu* in the month of Addaru involving a *nadītu* priestess, and some astrological observations. The two following sections are also commentaries and contain astrological observations.

Function of the text: lamentations, the nigūtu, the nadītu and the birds of Ištar

On account of its fragmentary condition, the precise function of the tablet is as difficult to determine as its contents. The relationship between the different sections of the text is also uncertain. However, given that a goddess's fury and rage are mentioned in column i, the theological and cultic implications of the text are clear. The first passage is evidently a lament, and it refers to the need to appease the angered deity: a goddess is furious and a god has to intercede on behalf of humans in order to calm her down. The corpus of Emesal prayers (Balag and Eršema compositions) addressed to pacify the heart of angry deities and recited by the *kalū* is very well known today (Gabbay 2014; Gabbay 2015). But even if the recitations referred to here could be indirectly related to these genres, they do not belong to them. Moreover, the performer of the pacifying rites or recitations in our text is not the *kalū* but probably the *nadītu* priestess and/or the *išippu*/purification-priest, who are referred to in various places in the text. The presence of the *išippu* priest in this text demonstrates that he was alive and active in the temple cult of these late times and thus seems to disprove the previous assumptions that after the Old Babylonian period the *išippu* was an obsolete figure or that his name had been relegated to a title of 1st millennium monarchs.²⁰

Two divine characters are involved in the lamentation referred to in the first section of the column: Ištar of Eturkalamma and Bēl/Marduk of Esagil. Ištar is referred to by various epithets which reflect her rich syncretistic character: Eturkalammitu,²¹ **šašanītu*, *Akusummītu (uncertain), *ra'imat ilāni*, Šarraḥītu, *kuzbānītu*, and the well-known epithet of Ištar *Bēlet-mātāti*.²² The deity who is asked to act as intercessor and appease the angry goddess is Bēl/Marduk of Esagil. Bēl is referred to by the epithets *bēl mātāti*, in a clear parallelism to the epithet given to Ištar, *ašib Esagil*, in reference to his temple in Babylon and *parrīku*.

Why Ištar is so angry in column i, and what the consequences of such anger might be, are not clear. The reference may be to a mythical event which is not fully developed in the narrative of the text and/or which we cannot identify or reconstruct for lack of data. It is also difficult to determine whether the remaining sections of the text have to do with a ritual of appeasement of sorts related to the recitations referred to at the beginning of the tablet. There is a reference to gods who are [removed (?)] from their cult places (i 18') on the 28th day of a month (month name not preserved), and who return to their cities (ii 13') on the 1 + x day of another month (maybe the following one, but the name is not preserved either). The whole situation is unclear, but there is also a reference to music and to the people of Babylon in a fragmentary context.

¹⁸ There was a close connection between music and the New Year Festival, see Ambos 2013: 127–34 and 127 n. 659.

¹⁹ For the terms see Gabbay 2016: 75–76, 144–65, 167–70.

²⁰ Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet, 2003/2005: 631; see also Waerzeggers 2010: 40 n. 212.

²¹ For the names of the goddess and the epithets see the philological commentary below.

²² Given the fragmentary character of the text, one cannot dismiss the possibility that all these epithets reflect the presence of more than one “angry” goddess. The

implications of this multiplicity are unclear; but one might imagine an erotic triangle, with the associated frictions deriving from sexual jealousy. A similar scenario is of course found in the *DLL*, which reconstruct the “Ehedrama” (Edzard 1987: 60) of Marduk, his wife Zarpanītu, and Ištar of Babylon, who is Marduk's lover. However, Zarpanītu is not mentioned in this text and, as noted above, no direct connection between BM 32482 + and the *DLL* can be established.

In the text, the pacification seems to revolve around two key concepts: *nigûtu* and *nadîtu*. We know little about *nigûtu*, since it was not a literary genre (or sub-genre), but a kind of lament. In this text, it is performed by the *nadîtu*. This priestess, seldom mentioned in texts after the Old-Babylonian period, appears in the context of music and celebrations in other Late Babylonian temple rituals. In a ritual for Esagil dealing with ceremonies for the 3rd and 4th days of the month of Kislîmu, the *nadîtu* waits for the god Zarîqu while playing the *alû*, a string instrument, a lyre or maybe a harp,²³ and writes seven inscriptions.²⁴ I would assume that, both in the Kislîmu ritual and in our text, the priestess referred to is a *nadîtu* of the Esagil of Marduk.

In BM 32482 + the *nadîtu* is attested on four occasions: ii 12' and iv 2, 4, and 7 and in all but iv 4 she is directly related to a *nigûtu* that she performs (the verbs used are either *šakānu*: ii 12'; or *epēšu*: iv 2 and 7). The word *nigûtu* is derived from *nagû* ("to sing joyously", see CAD N/I: 123) and it has been traditionally understood as referring to a "joyful song, musical celebration, merrymaking": see CAD N/II: 217–18. The term *nigûtu* is known from Chronicle 13b: 14' of the *Babylonian Chronicles* which concerns Seleucos III and offerings related to the New Year Festival (Glassner 2004: 254, no. 35; see also Linssen 2004: 22). *nigûtu* is also often mentioned in the *Astronomical Diaries* Sachs and Hunger 1996: no. –105 (obv. B 16', 206 S.E. i.e. 142 A.E.); Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. –245 (obv. B, 5'; S.E. 66) for the third month a *nigûtu* was celebrated in a building whose name is lost (perhaps the palace of Laodike); and Sachs and Hunger 1996: no. –158 (B, rev. 18'). The mention of *nigûtu*-festivals in the *Astronomical Diaries* demonstrates that they were considered important political events in Babylonia.

In the text under discussion, the term is gendered, as it is women (*nadîtu* priestesses) who are said to make this kind of vocal or musical performance in contexts related to the cult of Ištār of Babylon and to her temple Eturkalamma. Another attestation of the term, also related to the Eturkalamma, its formidable patroness and its female cultic personnel is BM 32656 iv 9'–12' (George 2000: 270–80): U₄.9.KAM *mārāt*(DUMU.MUNUS)^{mes} *munusbi-ta-na-a-tû* É.TÜR.KALAM.MA / *i-pah-ḫu-ra-nim-ma ina āš-ruk-kāt šá* É.TÜR.KALAM.MA / *ni-gu-tû ip-pu-ša-' ana ekurrāti*(É.[KU]R)^{mes} *kal-la-su-un-nu* / ^{gis}*ḫašḫuru* (ḤAŠḪUR) *i-šal-la-a a-ga-an-num-ma* MIN *iqabbâ*(DUG₄.GA)^{mes} "The 9th day: the female members of the temple staff of Eturkalamma assemble and make *nigûtu* in the lobby of Eturkalamma. They hurl *ḫašḫuru* at all the cult-rooms. They say 'Come on now, come on now!'"

In BM 32482 + the term *nigûtu* must be considered together with the activities of the *nadîtu*. In the passages referred to above, it is always a single *nadîtu* who performs or makes (*šakānu*, *epēšu*) the *nigûtu*, and she does it in the context of a lamentation. It is difficult to imagine a single person "making merry" in such circumstances. As already demonstrated by D. Shehata, *nigûtu* is equated with the Sumerian term *i-lu* ("song, dirge, lament"), which in the Balag compositions is always a cry of lamentation (Shehata 2009: 234–36).²⁵ So *nigûtu* could be a specific type or technique of crying/calling/singing, used for both joyful and plaintive singing.

Another element that links the goddess Ištār with lamentations is the presence of birds. In 32482 + a swallow is captured at the Ištār Gate and, after the temple-enterer of Eturkalamma has performed certain rites with it, the bird is released, and observations on its behaviour are made (column iii). Swallows were common city birds in ancient Iraq, and they are often referred to in different sources (von der Osten-Sacken 2009/2011: 316–17). Some literary texts refer to their swift flight, and the act of catching swallows is associated with violence (see Black 1996: 28–29 and Veldhuis 2004: 279). Catching birds in a net occurs as a topos in Balag compositions and it is a metaphor of the deity's power (Black 1996: 26). The fact that the swallow in our text is captured at the Ištār Gate may be a direct reference to the goddess, for the swallow in a temple stands as a metaphor for the deity residing in that temple (Black 1996: 43). Note that in the Balag *úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi*

²³ For the identification of the term see Shehata 2017: 70–74.

²⁴ See Çağırğan and Lambert 1991/1993: 91, 98 (lines 101–103). Note that this music-making may have taken place while moving, since the *alû* was frequently used in processions (see Linssen 2004: 79 and Gabbay 2014: 152).

²⁵ See also Cohen 1998 for the evidence. *i-lu* is simply an onomatopoeic word, used in Sumerian to denote the cries

or ululations in some women's songs. Depending on the context, *i-lu* may refer to a lament or to a joyful song. In lexical texts it is equated with two completely different Akkadian words: *nigûtu* ("a joyful song") and *qub(b)û* ("lamentation"; note that CAD Q: 291–92. has *qubbû*, CDA: 290 reads *qubû*, and AHw: 925 has both). For songs with onomatopoeic names, see Rubio 2009: 68.

Inanna is compared to a swallow (Volk 1989: 243 comm. to line 73). There is evidence linking the goddess Ištar with the release of birds in the context of rites and lamentations in the *Mari Ritual* (Groneberg 1997: 147–48), and in an Old Babylonian letter (AbB 10: 124) that mentions the birds of a lamentation priest being exchanged for the birds from the temple of Ištar of Lagaba (Shehata 2009: 93 n. 502). The swallow appears in some texts as the bird of the goddess Ba'u (Veldhuis 2004: 140), and it is often associated with bathing (Veldhuis 2004: 280). Observations and inspections of birds appear frequently in incantations (Maul 1994: 229–69) and omens (s. *sinuntu* CAD S: 295), such as tablets 64–79 of the series *Šumma ālu* (Maul 2003/2005: 60, 85–86; see also Heeβel 2011: 174).²⁶ In the Hittite world, birds are also frequent in oracles and rituals (Collins 2014/2016: 581–82). The ceremonies mentioned in this passage involve temple-enterers of Eturkamma, the catching of a bird, a libation (l. 10'), a procession (l. 11'), and some other rituals, which are difficult to understand due to the fragmentary condition of the tablet. In column iv in the context of the *nigūtu* performance, we find an astrological commentary on the constellation Swallow (a name for the western Fish of Pisces). Associations between astrological signs or months and animals are frequent (Reiner 1995: 117), but it is difficult to establish the connection between the swallow and the constellation in this particular context.

Text edition

BM 32482 + BM 32621 + BM 32639 + BM 32724 (76–11–17, 2219 + 2366 + 2386 + 2494) 10 x 19.1 x 3.5 cm

Transliteration

Obverse

col i

- 1'. [x x x] x x x [x x x]
 2'. [...] ¹x x¹ x x [x (x)] ¹el² ez-ze-t[um(?) x x]
 3'. [x x x x] x x bad² gur² ni u p[i-t]aš-šú ra-mi-[mi²-šá² x]
 4'. [x x x x x] ¹a¹ ik-ku²¹ šá^d ištarāti(xv)^{mes} e-ziz ina ez-zu-tum [o]
 5'. [x x x x] x² manzāzi(KI.GUB.BA) {ras.} i-šab-bi^{12d} ištarātu(xv)^{m[es]} o
 6'. [x x] x šu² ¹a¹-na¹ ^dé-tùr-kalam-mi-tum šá-šá-ni-tú [o]
 7'. [x x a-k]u²-su²-um²-mi-tum ra-'i-mat ilāni(DINGIR)^{mes.ni}
 8'. ¹x x¹ pū(KA)-šu ta-ta-bal^d šar-ra-ḫi-tum ku-uz-bānī(DÙ)-tum [o]
 9'. ti-ip-šah²-i^d Bēlet(GAŠAN)-mātāti(KUR.KUR) li-nu-ḫu ¹lib²-b[a-ki (x)]
 10'. šá é-tùr-kalam-mi-tum ^dBēl(EN) ul iš-ši kuzba(HI.L[I])-šá (x)
 11'. en-nu bēl(EN) mātāti(KUR.KUR) a-šib É.SAG.GÍL šup-ši-iḫ ug¹-gat-su
 12'. šá^d Bēlet(GAŠAN)-mātāti(KUR.KUR) šup-ri-su pár-ri-ku lu-šap-ši-iḫ šá-a-šu

- 13'. sūq(SILA) bīti(É)^{tum} šuātim(MU)^{a-tim} a-na arki(EGIR)-šú tariš(LÁ)^{is}-ma ana É.TÜR.KALAM
 14'. a-na tar-ši^d Bēlet(MÜŠ)-Bābīlī(TIN.TIR)^{ki} te-ru-ub-ma ¹pu¹-ut ili(DINGIR)
 15'. 3-šú taqabbī(DUG₄.GA)-ma {ras.} qātī(ŠU.MIN)^{mes}-šú ana ^dIštar(xv) tanaššī(IL)-ma
 16'. ag-gat ^dBēlet(¹GAŠAN¹)-mātāti(KUR.KUR)^{mes} ag-gat u ag-gat
 17'. ḫi-pī [(eš-šu)(?) x ^dBēlet(M)ūš]-Bābīlī(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ki išippu(IŠIB) šá É.TÜR.KALAM ¹ḫi-pī¹ [(x)]
 18'. ūm(U₄) 28^{kam¹} iḫ(DINGIR)^{mes} ultu(TA) ma-ḫa-za-a-¹ni¹ ¹ana¹ [x x (x)]

col ii

- 1'. [x x] ¹x¹ [x] x ¹kaskal¹ [x x (x)]
 2'. [x x x d]u² / n]a² bi ina ka la² na-x-[x x]
 3'. [x x x] x na-'ár^{munus} n[a²-'ár-tu (?) x x]

²⁶ Some Old Babylonian texts with observations of birds and divinations could be considered forerunners of this series: see Durand 1997.

- 4'. [x x x x] *la ib-ba-ši š[á' x x]*
 5'. [x x x x] *iḫiš(SAG.SUM)² r'e¹/ s[ag' x x]*
 6'. [x x x x x] *gab-bi ina ekurrāti(É.KUR)^{mesš} i-bat-t[ú-ma(?) (x)]*
-
- 7'. [x x in] *a É.DUB bīti(É)-šú il-[lak-ma(?) (x)]*
 8'. [x pag-r] *u' šuātīm(MU)^{a-tim} a-na nāri(ÍD) inaddi(š[UB]ᵀ^d [x x])*
 9'. [x x x] *ina kiš^{?ki} a-šī[b o]*
-
- 10'. [x x x x x] *ᵀa¹-na É.SAG.ÍL irrub(KU₄)^{ub}*
 11'. *š[u' x x x] x am/ís ḫi nišī(UN)^{mesš} Bābili(E)^{ki} záḫ mi*
 12'. *ᵀx¹ [x x] ᵀnadītu(LUKUR)¹ ni-gu-tum ina māti(KUR) šak-na-at*
 13'. *ām(U₄) I[(+x?)^{kám} ilū(DINGIR.DIN)GIR) rabūti(GAL.GAL) ana ālāni(URU)^{mesš}-šú-nu inahḫisū(LA)^{mesš}*
-
- 14'. *ᵀx x¹ [x x x x x x x x x x]*
- Reverse*
col iii
- 1'. [x (x) x^m]^{esš} *ᵀgab-bi¹ [x x x x]*
-
- 2'. [x (x) munus^{SA}]G.KI-KUD.DA *ina bābi(KÁ) x [x x]*
 3'. *ᵀx¹ [x x a-m]e²-lu-tum šá É.TÚ[R.KA]LAM x [x x]*
 4'. *ᵀa¹-[n]a tar-[ši ili(DINGIR)² munus^{SA}]G.KI-KUD.DA taqabbi(DUG₄.GA) munus^{SA}[AG.KI-KUD.DA]² (o)*
 5'. *šuātīm(M[U])^{a¹-tim} a-na¹ ᵀÉ.SAG.ÍL¹ terrub(KU₄)-ma a-na ta[r-ši (o)]*
 6'. [(x) ^d]Bēl(ᵀEN¹)? *tazzaz(GUB)^{zu} 2 šeḡel(GÍN) kaspa(KÜ.BABBAR) qīšta(NIG.BA) ta-maḫ-ḫ[ar (x)]*
-
- 7'. *ū[m(U₄) x^{ka}]ᵀm sinuntu(SIM)^{mušen} ultu(TA) abul(KÁ.GAL) ^dIštar(XV) i-ba-ár-ru- n[im-ma (x)]*
 8'. *ᵀa¹-[na tar]-ši abullī(KÁ.GAL) ^{lu}erib(KU₄)-bīti(É) É.TÜR.K[ALAM x x]*
 9'. *i[na' x] x u iz-za-zu-[ma u] ṭurra([DU]R) šīpāt(SÍG) sāmti(SA₅) ina Gi[R^{II}-šú irakkasū? (x)]*
 10'. *x [x x s]r²-qa² ina pāni(IGI)-ᵀšú¹ is-sar-raq-m[a' x x]*
 11'. *x [x x] x bābili(E)^{ki} ú-šal-mu-šú a-na bābi(KÁ) x [x x]*
 12'. *x [x x] ᵀú¹-še-šu-šú ^{lu}erib(KU₄)-bīti(É) É.[TÜR.KALAM² x x x]*
 13'. *[x x x] ᵀx x¹ [(x)] ᵀé²¹ šá ina bābili(E)^{?ki?} x x]*
- col iv*
There are some erased signs above the first line; the script seems smaller than the rest.
1. *mi-nu{ras.}-su-nu šá išpī(ÍŠIB)^{mesš} šá itīšabāṭi(zÍZ) ina pī(KA) [x x (x)]*
-
2. *nadītu(LUKUR) šá ina itī addari(ŠE) ni-gu-tú tteneppeš(DÜ)^{mesš} ina lib-ᵀbī¹ ᵀšá¹ [x x x]*
 3. *tar-ši šinunūtu(^{múl}ŠIM.MAḪ) ireddu(UŠ)^d u ina rēši(SAG)^{<mul>} zibbātu(ZIB.ME) [x x x]*
 4. *šinunūtu(^{múl}ŠIM.MAḪ) u ^{<mul>} zibbātu(ZIB.ME) ašar(KI)/kī nadītu(LUKUR) šu-ú : x [x x]*
 5. *šá DIL.BAD šu-ú ekurrāti(É.KUR)^{mesš} -šá ilammū(NIGIN)^{mesš} áš-šú ^d[x (x)]*
 6. *lumāšū(LU.MAŠ)^{mesš} ka-la-šú-nu ú-qát-tu-ú ᵀIGI¹? ᵀx¹ [(x)]*
 7. *a-na išpī(ÍŠIB)^{mesš} šá ina āli(URU)² ilappat(TAG)^{át} nadītu(LUKUR) ana muḫ-ḫi ni-ᵀgu-tú¹*
 8. *ippuša(DÜ)-' áš-šú par-ša-a-nu la ma-še-e*
-
9. *sinuntu(SIM)^{mušen} šá i-bar-ru-nim-ma ina lib-bi šá ^dUTU e-nu-ma*
 10. *šinunūtu(^{múl}ŠIM.MAḪ) ittanapḫu(KUR)^{mesš-ḫa} u iššūru(MUŠEN) šeḡer(TUR)^{er} áš-šú itti(ISKIM)*
 11. *ana nūnī(KU₆)^{ḫá} là la-pa-tum an-na-a in-né-ep-pu-šú {ras.}*

12. *ām*(U₄) 17^{kam} *šá qan tuppi*(GI.DUB) *ana*^d *Nabû*(NĀ) *ba'û*(DIB¹)-'u *ina lib-bi šá Ših̄ti*(GU₄.UD)
 13. *kī*(KI)(?)^d *Šamaš*(UTU) *ina kigalli*(KI.GAL) *izzazzu*(GUB)^{zu} *áš-šú šá*^d *Šamaš*(UTU) *hi-is-sat*
Ših̄ti(GU₄.UD)
 14. x [x x x] 'x x x' 'ina lib-bi' 'x x x' [x] 'ki'? 'hi-is'-sat šu-ú
 15. [x x x x x x x] 'x'

Translation

Obverse

Column I

⁽¹⁾ [...] ... [...], [...] ... [...] furio[us(?) ...], [...] ... and (you) open it, [her(?)] roa[r(?) ...], [...] ... (because of?) the thorn(?) of the goddesses he is angry. To the fierce ones [...] ⁽⁵⁾ [...] ... he sweeps(?) the pedestal. The goddesses [...] ... for Eturkalammitu, the warrior-like one(?), [...] the Aku]summītu(?), the one who loves the gods. [...] she(?) utters: “Šarraḫītu, attractive one, appease yourself, Lady-of-the-Lands may [your] heart calm down” [...] ⁽¹⁰⁾ of Eturkalammitu, Bēl did not make [her] (sexual charm)(?) arouse. “Mercy, lord of the lands who dwells in Esagil, do pacify her rage, of the Lady of the Lands, do block!” The *parriku* should appease her.

The street of that temple is stretched to its back. She enters into Eturkamma towards the Lady of Babylon. In the presence(?) of the god ⁽¹⁵⁾ she recites three times, she lifts her(!) hands to Ištar (saying): “Furious is the Lady of the Lands, she is furious and she is furious.” *Broken* [(new?)]. The Lady of Babylon, because of / when the purification priest of Eturkamma. *Broken*. The 28th day, the gods, from the sanctuaries to [...].

Column II

⁽¹⁾ [...]... [...], [...]... [...], [...] the (male) musician and the female mu[sician(?) ...], [...] it will not occur [...] ⁽⁵⁾ [...] ... he moves quickly(?) ... [...].

[...] all of them will spe[nd the night(?) in the temples [...], [...] to] the Edub(ba), his temple, he (Nabû (?) will [go(?) (...)], [...] that [carca]ss(?) he will throw into the river [...], [...] who dwells in Kiš [...].

⁽¹⁰⁾ [...] he will enter into the Esagil, ... [...] ... the population (of) Babylon ... The *nadītu* is performing a *nigūtu* in the land. The 1 + [x?] day[...] the great gods will return to their cities.

... [...].

Reverse

Column III

⁽¹⁾ [...] the [...] the totality [...]. [...] the *sak*]kikuddītu [stands(?)/sits(?)] at the gate ... [...], [...] the [per]sonnel(?) of Eturkamma [...]. Towar[ds (the deity?) the *sak*]kikuddītu will speak, ⁽⁵⁾ that ⁽⁴⁾ *sa*]kikuddītu(?) ⁽⁵⁾ will go into the Esagil and tow[ards (...)] Bēl(?) she will stand and she will receive 2 shekels of silver as a fee.

The [x] day they will catch a swallow from the Ištar Gate [...]. Towards the gate, the temple-enterrer of Eturka[lamma (...)], I[n(?) ...] (t)he(y) will stand [and a ba]nd of red wool to [its] lim[bs (of the swallow) (t)he(y) will tie(?) (...)]. ⁽¹⁰⁾ ... [...] an offe[r]ing(?) will be poured before it [...] ... [...] Babylon they will go around it (the swallow), to the gate ... [...] ... [...] he/they will release(?) it (the swallow), the temple-enterrer of E[urkamma(?) ...]. [...] temple(?) that in Babylon(?) [...].

Column IV

⁽¹⁾ Their recitation that the purification priests of Šabātu in the mouth(?) ... [...]

The *nadītu* who regularly performs a *nigūtu* in Addaru, concerning [...]. They advance in the direction of the constellation the Swallow and in the head (i.e., beginning) of (the constellation) Pisces... [...]. It is the Swallow and the Tails (Pisces) as/where the *nadītu* (stands?) [...].⁽⁵⁾ It is ... of Venus/Ištar. They encircle (march around?) her sanctuaries concerning D[N ...]. All the constellations complete/finish ... for the purification priests who register (the text(s)) in the city, (and?) the *nadītu* for the sake of the *nigūtu* she performs, so that our rites will not be neglected.

The swallow that they will catch because of(?) Šamaš, when⁽¹⁰⁾ the Swallow has risen/becomes visible and the Bird becomes small, concerning an ominous sign, it is not bad for fish. This should be done.

The 17th day that the stylus walks along Nabû because of Mercury like(?) Šamaš stands on a socle. Because of Šamaš the mention of Mercury ... because of ... it is the mention.⁽¹⁵⁾ ... ”

Commentary²⁷

BM 32482+ displays a large, coarse, irregular cursive hand, characteristic of late Babylonian tablets. The sign forms are typically late, observed in the su, šu, ku and é. The text is well arranged, avoiding empty spaces at the end of the lines. As seen in i 17', the text is the copy of a broken original. The writing is very similar to the one in BM 32656 (George 2000: 270–80), yet the two fragments do not belong to the same tablet (although they might have been the product of the same scribe or school).

Column i

2': An alternative reconstruction for the end of the line could be *ez-zī-[z]*, cf. i 4'.

3': The end of the line has been reconstructed according to context of the lines following in this section: *ramīmu* (“roar”) or perhaps *rāmīmu* (“roaring”), s. CAD R: 126.

4': The ku in *ik-ku* is questionable; it looks like LU. In addition, the “thorn” of the goddesses is difficult to explain, but as the line is broken, the context is lost. I understand the end of the line *ina ez-zu-tum* “to the furious ones”. The noun is *ezzetu* (CAD E: 432) and *ezzūtu* here can only be the plural masculine of the adjective *ezzu* (CAD E: 432–34), but as the beginning of the following line is broken, it is uncertain to whom it refers. It might also be understood as the noun *ezzu* “wrath” (CAD E: 434). Another possible reading would be *ik-lu*, the “victim” or the “darkness” see CAD I: 61.

5': In the ritual texts, the action of sweeping the roof or the floor is often prescribed in the context of purifications to prepare a ritual performance (CAD Š/I: 9, see also Linsen 2004: 149), but, to the best of my knowledge, there are no attestations of sweeping the *manzāzu*. The line is unclear, as this entire passage deals with recitations and not with other acts. Finally, as noticed in the transliteration the last sign *biṭ* is not without problems. Contextually, one would expect some lamentful tone regarding the *manzāzu*, i.e., that the angry god disrupted or scattered the *manzāzu*, i.e., *i-sap-paḥ*, but the last sign does not look like *paḥ* (suggestion U. Gabbay).

6': The last word of the line is uncertain; in my opinion *šá-šá-ni-tú* is a possible epithet of Eturkalammītu, Ištar of Eturkalamma, from *šášmu* (*šášnu*): “battle”; another less likely alternative is to understand a feminine form of *šáššāniš* “(the one) like the sun” (CAD Š/II: 173). In any case, the word seems to be a hapax legomenon.

7': The first word could be *[a-k]u²-su²-um²-mi-tum*, even though the sign su is unclear: the second vertical is traced too far from the first one, but this feature is not uncommon in these late texts. According to this, I admit, very questionable interpretation, **akusummītu* could be an epithet of Ištar, as a variant of *Akušītu*, but I cannot explain it. The goddess *Akušītu* is the Ištar of Akus in the Edubba of Kiš (cf. George 2000: 299, comm. to l. 25) and Kiš, often referred to in the *DLL* in association with Ištar, is referred to in ii 9' of our text. The Edubba temple is also referred to in ii

²⁷ Last collation: 07/2017.

7' of our text. The list AN = ^d*a-nu-um*, iv 133, offers the equation ^d*inanna.A.ku.uz.ki = a-ku-ši-tu*. An alternative interpretation of the beginning of the line could be: *šu ana um¹²-mi-tum*, but the sign UM is unclear too. The second epithet, *ra'imat ilāni*, can be interpreted either as “the beloved of the gods” or as “the one who loves the gods”.

8': The beginning of the line is broken, but I would rule out a restoration ¹*a-na¹ pī(κA)-šu ta-ta-bal*, for *pū* with *abālu* usually appears as subject, or once as object (CAD P: 458–59), but never with a preposition. I understand the verbal form here (as in i 14' and 15' below) as the third feminine, and not as a second masculine. For the feminine verbal forms with *ta-* and *tu-*, a consequence of Aramaic influence, in these late ritual texts, see also Da Riva and Galetti 2018.

Perhaps a form of Ištar, the little known goddess Šarraḥītu was a member of the Uruk pantheon in the Hellenistic period (Linszen 2004: 15, and n. 95). Šarraḥītu is referred to in *OECT* 9: 61, obv. 7, a prebend text with a series of gods, starting with Anu, listed in connection with *eššēšu*-ceremonies; and in TU 42 +, obv. 17' (Linszen 2004: 238). Šarraḥītu is mentioned with the divine ladies at the head of Tašmētu in Çağırzan and Lambert 1991/1993: 94 ll. 15–16; 101, comm. to l. 16.

The epithet *kuzbānītu* “attractive”, in the sense of attractiveness related to abundance and sexual charm, refers to Tašmētu in KAR 122: 3.

9': The form *ti-ip-šaḥ-i* is a metathesis for the feminine imperative form *pitšahī*. For Bēlet-mātāti, cf. BM 33841, 11: *Bēlet-mātāti nādinat tašīmti šamē bānītu* “The Lady-of-the-Lands, the perfect bestower of the destiny of the Heavens” (CAD T: 289). *YOS* 1 38 i 1: [*ana^d Ištar*] *Bēlet-mātāti* (KUR.KUR) *tizqarti ilī(DINGIR)^{mes}* “[to Ištar], the Lady-of-the-Lands, the august (one) of the gods” (CAD T: 441). The last preserved signs of the line are written over an erasure.

10': This line is puzzling, but I would understand *ul išši kuzba[ša]* as an allusion to some kind of “erotic crisis” between Bēl and Ištar, whereby the god is unable to sexually excite her, which might be the reason for Ištar's anger.

12': The term *parrīku*, from *parāku* (“to obstruct, to lie across, to hinder”), is an epithet of gods and kings, and it is documented in connection with Marduk; the term also refers to a weapon (CAD P: 189–90; AHW: 834).

14': The signs at the end of the line are unclear; after *ma* there is an erasure and what looks like a *na*, and then there is a *ud*.

17': *ḥi-pī* is in both cases written in a smaller script, and the second *ḥi-pī* is written on top of KALAM and in TIN.TIR^{ki} the sign TIN is written on top of TIR.

18': The end of the line is not preserved, so it is uncertain why the gods are moving(?) from their sanctuaries and where they are going. This movement may be explained in the context of a procession, or perhaps the displacement of the statues of the gods is the negative result of the Ištar's rage.

Column ii.

3': The sign after *munus* is unclear.

5': For the verb *ḥāšu*, see CAD Ḥ: 146, but I admit that my interpretation is uncertain.

6': This is not the first attestation of *ibattū* for *ibittū*: see George 2000: 289, comm. to l. 24.

7': I think this is a reference to the Edubba, the temple of Zababa in Kish, for the city is mentioned in ii 9' below. For the temple, see George 1992: 471 and George 1993: no. 200.

8': In rituals performed by the exorcist, the carcass (*pagru*) of a sheep is often used and then thrown into the river: see Linszen 2004: 81–82, 149.

9': Ištar of Akus had a seat in Edubba, Kiš (see above i 7').

10'ff.: This section probably refers to a literary recitation (as in col. i above) regarding the population of Babylon, a *nigūtu* performed by the *nadītu* priestess and the mention of the movement of some deities returning to their cities: a procession, perhaps, or maybe the restoration of an altered divine order (i 18').

11': I do not know what to do with the last two signs of the line. The logogram *zāḥ* could indicate either the verb *ḥalāqu* or *nābutu*, but the lack of a phonetic indicator is difficult to explain. The sign *mi* at the end, if it is a *mi* at all, may be the particle for direct speech, but this would be very unusual here.

12': It is uncertain whether the rubric *ina māti* “in the land” means something more specific than simply Babylon.

Column iii.

2’f.: The term *sakkikuddītu* (^{munus}SAG.KI-KUD.DA) designates a female occupation in the Hellenistic Esagil temple at Babylon (Waerzeggers 2010: 50–51). The term is attested with the hapax *pirsātānītu* in BM 80711, a letter from the Esagil (Jursa 2002: 107–109 text no. 1: 7). According to Jursa, the word does not seem to be of Akkadian or Aramaic origin; perhaps it is a logogram for a Sumerian word which could be explained as formed by SAG.KI = *sakkū* (“rites) and KUD(DA) = *parāsu* “to cut, to separate” = “a female official who is separated for (certain) rites.” In the text published by Jursa, the temple-enterers of Esagil, the *pirsātānītu* and the chief female singer of the temple send a letter to the scribes and the *bēl piqitti* of Esagil requesting two linen cloths and a *gammidatu*-cloth for the ^{munus}SAG.KI-KUD.DA. The document has the seals of a temple-enterer, the chief female singer and of two other ladies who were also probably *pirsātānītu*. The term *pirsātānītu* is translated by Jursa using etymological criteria as “a woman who has to do with secrets”, a sort of “initiate”, a female equivalent of the *ērib bīt pirišti*, “the temple-enterer of the secret room”, the place where the ornaments, garments and jewellery of the gods were stored (see Da Riva and Galetti 2018, comm. to BM 40790 ii 25’).

The whole paragraph here (lines 2’–6’) refers to actions performed by and around the *sakkikuddītu*. The last line of the section is of particular interest, as it seems to refer to the payment for services performed by this female temple official. Considering the erotic and festive aspect of the cults of Eturkalamma, confirmed both by the *DLL* (Nissinen 2001: 123–25) and by the presence of the sexually ambiguous officials *kurgarrū* and *assinnu* in the cult of the temple of Ištār of Babylon,²⁸ it is tempting (though perhaps a little far-fetched) to link this passage with the famous account of sacred prostitution in the Babylonian temples recorded by Herodotus in 1.199.1–5: “Surely the most disgusting of all Babylonian customs is the following. Once in her life, every woman of the country must sit down in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and have intercourse with a stranger.... the majority sit in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite wearing wreaths made of cord on their heads.... she may not return home until one of the strangers has tossed silver into her lap and has had intercourse with her outside the sanctuary. When he tosses the silver, he must say, “I call on you in the name of the goddess Mylitta.” (The Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta.) ... the women cannot refuse, and the silver then becomes sacred property.... Then, after they have had intercourse and she has thus discharged her duty to the goddess, she returns home. But after this event, no matter how much you give her, she will refuse you...”. (Translation of A. Purvis in Strassler 2007: 107).²⁹

There is no specification in our text about what the *sakkikuddītu* “standing in front of Bēl” actually did to obtain the two shekels of silver “as honorarium”, and there is no indication that any kind of sexual service was involved. However, when Ištār is involved, sex is always possible, and the sum of two shekels is suspiciously close to other indications of prices either for prostitutes or in connection with temple prostitution in the Mesopotamian literature. In the Sumerian hymn *Inanna H* the prices oscillate between one and one and a half shekels depending on whether she was “standing” or “bending over” (see Wasserman 2016: 149 comm. to l. 14, with literature; see also Charpin 2017: 146–47). According to Cooper (2016: 213–14), this distinction does not refer to the sexual position but more probably to the fact that the service could be performed either out in the streets or indoors in the tavern. I agree with Charpin (2017: 147) that the “basic tariff” of one shekel is very high: it is indeed the price of a sheep in the Old Babylonian period. Moreover, as Cooper (2016: 213) reminds us, one shekel was the salary of a hired man in that period. In my opinion the figures of one and one and a half shekels do not represent real

²⁸ The latest discussion of these figures is Peled 2016: 155–202 (with bibliography); cf. also George 2000: 270 n. 21; Linssen 2004: 120–22; George 2006: 175. *kurgarrū* and *assinnu* are both well known in temple ritual texts from the 1st millennium, cf. Peled 2016: 175–88 for *k.* and *a.* in cultic contexts. See also Da Riva and Galetti 2018, comm. to BM 40790 i 18’, 21’, 26’.

²⁹ On Herodotus’ passage, see also Budin 2008: 58–92; on the controversial issue of sacred prostitution, especially in the Neo-Babylonian period, see Ragen 2006: 548–68; on prostitution in Akkadian literature, see Wasserman 2016: 30–31; and as a general study of prostitution, one could refer to Assante 2003 and Cooper 2006/2008.

honoraria, for this information is taken from a literary text: they should be understood as symbolic prices.³⁰

Let us get closer to the period of our text: in the Neo- and Late-Babylonian period, sexual transactions did not leave any trace in the written records (Jursa 2010: 31), there are however glimpses of the organization of sexual activities in some economic texts regarding the establishment of taverns.³¹ Despite the economic potential of taverns and bordellos, it was not a bad idea to enlist some supernatural assistance for the business, as shown in the text from the 1st millennium B.C.E. describing a ritual for increasing the innkeeper's profits (Panayotov 2013). Coming back to the sum of two shekels the *sakkikudditu* receives as a fee, in my opinion this would be an incredibly high sum of money for the services of a prostitute. We could take some examples to compare the cost of living in Babylonia at the end of the 1st millennium: in 6th century B.C.E. Babylonia, one silver shekel could buy either 144 kg of dates, 111.6 kg of barley or 99 kg of sesame (Jursa 2014: 120 n. 13). If our *sakkikudditu* was indeed selling sexual services, which is something that we do not know but are assuming from the context, she would be extremely expensive. In the Hellenistic and Parthian periods (3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.E.) the average wages were two shekels per month (van der Spek 2014: 239). But we know prices were unpredictable and fluctuated considerably in those times, as is amply demonstrated by the Astronomical Diaries, but this fluctuation particularly affected common staples and abundant products, such as barley and dates, while rare products as a rule had more stable prices (van der Spek 2014). It is uncertain whether commercial sex was considered a basic necessity or a rarity. Finally, prices were particularly volatile in the Parthian period due to political instability, social unrest and warfare (van der Spek 2014: 245).

6': The first sign after the break at the beginning of the line is uncertain: it could be either [m]ah[?] or [d]Bēl(EN¹)[?]. The reading of the god's name makes sense in this context, for the *sakkikudditu* (if she is indeed the subject of the action) enters the temple of Bēl.

7': The Istar Gate was not far from the Esagil temple complex, to which the Eturkalamma belonged (George 1992: 307–308). It is interesting to see the parallel between the swallow in this line and the constellation Great Swallow mentioned in iv 3, 4, 9, 10 below, but I do not really know how one passage relates to the other, if they relate at all.

9': The logogram dur can be read either as *turru* or *riksu*, and both terms fit in this context. In some rituals there is evidence for the use of a band of coloured wool: see CAD S: 123–24. In some texts the presence of a red spot in birds was considered an ill omen (Durand 1997: 275).

12': In my opinion one would not use the verb *šūšū* to indicate the release of a bird (CADA/II: 373–77), but I am not completely certain that the swallow is the subject here. For other idioms to express the action of releasing birds in hemerologies, see Livingstone 2000; Cavigneaux and Donbaz 2007: 321–31. From the context one could also understand “to escape” (CAD A/II: 383 *šūšū* 9.).

Column iv

1: I understand the heading as *minūtu* “recitation”, even though the writing of the word is uncertain: the nu is written on an erasure and the su is actually a šu. Besides, *minūtu* usually refers to incantations (CAD M/II: 99), and not to rites or rituals (CAD P: 196–99). The verbal form at the end of the rubric *ina pī* is not preserved but it may refer to an idiomatic expression with *ašū*, *qabū* or *šasū* (CAD P: 459–60), indicating “to speak” or “to make an utterance”.

2: This section is not a ritual itself but a ritual commentary and *ina libbi* is an exegetical technical term (Gabbay 2016: 167–68). In my opinion the form DÜ^{mes} stands for a Gtn, and not for a plural, because the subject is in the singular. The whole section (iv 2–8) seems to refer to a kind of astronomical observation and a lamentation performed by the *nadītu* priestess.

3: This section may refer to a procession. *šimunūtu*(^{miil}ŠIM.MAH): the Swallow is a constellation in the western fish of Pisces with some of the western part of Pegasus (Bobrova and Militarev 1993:

³⁰ On the wages of prostitutes in wisdom literature, see Cohen 2015.

³¹ One can consult the archaeological evidence in Trümpelmann 1981, and the textual evidence in Joannès

1992 and Tolini 2013. See also Cooper 2016: 218 and *ibid.* 219–20 for the association of sex and taverns with music (in Mari).

324–25; Horowitz 1998: 171; Hunger and Pingree 1999: passim; Rochberg 2004: 128; Rochberg 2010: 280). It is uncertain whether this passage is related to the reference to a swallow in the third section of the preceding column. I understand *rēšu* here as the head of celestial bodies (CAD R: 282).

4: For the reading ZIB.ME see Rochberg 2010: 152 n. 32, 289. The *šū* here is a technical term referring to an equation; note also the following Glossenkeil (Gabbay 2016: 85–88).

5: Apart from the city, *dil-bad* may stand for the goddess Ištar or for the planet Venus. Here, without a determinative (^{uru}, ^{mul}, ^d) it is difficult to know. Considering the context I would propose that it refers to the goddess, but a reading as Venus is also an option.

6: *lumāšu* in this period refers to a constellation, but also to a zodiacal sign, see Rochberg 2010: 305 and 418 n. 19. It is unclear if the plene writing on the verb *qatû* may indicate the plural or perhaps also subjunctive (“which complete”).

7: As C. Ambos correctly points out to me, *lapātu* not only means “to write down” but also “to touch (a sacrificial animal)”, see CAD L: 84–85, and this makes also sense in this context.

7–8: For other instances in which rites or specific characteristics of religious objects or buildings should not be forgotten or neglected, see CAD M/I: 399–400 and CAD P: 196–99.

9f.: For similar omens see Rochberg 2004: 259–61.

12: The “reed stylus” *qan tuppi*(GI.DUB) is the emblem of Nabû, but also a gnomon set on a slab as part of the sundial (Rochberg 2010: 185–86).

Conclusion

The *sitz im leben* of this interesting but challenging document, its contents and its purpose are difficult to clarify. The evidence presented here suggests that despite its fragmentary condition and the presence of many sections of difficult interpretation, the obverse of the tablet refers to a ceremony in which a *nadītu* priestess and a purification priest perform a type of lamentation or special dirge (*nigūtu*). The performance is in honour of Ištar of Babylon, who is referred to by several epithets. The ceremony seems to take place in the temple of the goddess, the Eturkamma, though the Esagil of Marduk is also referred to as a setting for the cultic performances. The reverse of the tablet probably deals with the same event, for personnel of the Eturkamma, the purification priest and the *nadītu* performing the *nigūtu* are again mentioned, but in the context of a cultic commentary and astrological omens and observations. The reasons behind these ceremonies are not clearly specified in the text, however, in the last column of the tablet we might find an explanation of why is a *nadītu* priestess performing a *nigūtu*, iv 7–8:

a-na išippī(İŠIB)^{mes} šá ina āli(URU³) ilappat(TAG)^{át} nadītu(LUKUR) ana muḫ-ḫi ni-ḫ-gu-tú¹ / ippušā(DÜ)-¹ áš-šú par-ša-a-nu la ma-še-e
 (...) for the purification priests who register (the text(s)) in the city, (and?) the *nadītu* for the sake of the *nigūtu* she performs, so that our rites not be neglected.

This passage suggests that the performance of the *nigūtu* was in one way or another related to the recording and safekeeping of the rites that otherwise would have been forgotten.

The maintenance and protection of cultic rites, and particularly their recording in writing, was an issue of the utmost importance for monarchs, priests and cities; it could also be a source of conflict, as seen the 7th century B.C.E. letter from Nippur SAA 18: 170–71 no. 204 (= ABL 1215) rev. 5–10:

par-ṣi² šá² ina DUB.SAR-ú-tu / šaṭ-ru par-ḫi-ḫi-šú²-nu² AD²mes¹-ni i-pu-šú / u a-na ši-bu-tú šá¹ LUGAL¹ šak-nu 1-me 1-lim / šá áš-šá at-tu-ú-a a-na ku-pa-ar-ti / šá LUGAL^{mes} EN^{mes}-e-a lil-lik-ú u áš-šá / la par-ḫi-ḫi-šú-nu ina DUB.SAR-ú-tu la šaṭ-ru

(Only) [rites that] are set down in writing are our rit[e]s. They have been performed by our forefathers, and they meet the needs of the ki[ng]. (There are) a hundred, (nay,) a thousand (rites) which, as far as I am concerned, would be suitable for the purification of the kings, my lords. But, because they are not our rites, they are not set down in writing.³²

³² See also Nielsen 2011: 287 n. 239 and Oshima 2014: 230–31. Of course, as kindly noted to me by C. Ambos, the passage of the Assyrian letter may not refer to the writing down of rituals in general, but to rites specifically written down in

cuneiform and Akkadian or Sumerian, as opposed to foreign rites drafted in other languages and writing systems (Ambos 2007: 25–47, esp. 37–38).

If, as argued in this article, the main object of the performance of the *nigûtu* was the pacification of Ištar's raging heart, one would conclude that the anger of the goddess threatened the conservation of the rites. As a rule, Balag and Eršema lamentations are performed to appease the destructive consequences of divine anger. However, these destructions usually have a material objective: temples, lands, cities, people, etc. are destroyed or killed by divine rage (Gabbay 2014: 21–27 has some examples); they are not intangible assets like rites or ceremonies. Of course, the destruction of temples could affect their library collections, where tablets with rituals and instructions for the performance of specific ceremonies were stored.

In my opinion, the passage in iv 7–8 may reflect the fact that some priests in the Late Babylonian period needed to write down their cultic instructions in order to remember them. The corpus of the so-called Late Babylonian temple rituals (Linssen 2004; Da Riva [in preparation]) represents a new genre of texts in which different aspects of the ceremonies and rites are described in a detailed manner: recitations, performances, setting and timing, participants, and so on, and they are especially relevant for studying the Babylonian cults, since they provide us with a wealth of data on public cult activities in the sanctuaries. Yet, these texts are not prescriptive; they do not record what happened in the temple before the events in question in the form of a manual of ritual procedure, but rather they depict the whole ceremony as seen from a distant, general perspective. For their part, the priests, or at least some of them, were perhaps aware that their world (religious but also material), was in gradual decline, and that they were losing royal support.³³ It is difficult to say how widespread this notion was, but the recording of their rituals in writing may well have been an attempt to hold back a process that was threatening their very existence.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following colleagues for their assistance and encouragement: C. Ambos, J. Brinkman, I.L. Finkel, U. Gabbay, A.R. George, Sh. Gordin, E. Jiménez, M.-Ch. Ludwig, M. Luukko, F. Rochberg, G. Rubio, D. Schwemer, D. Shehata, G. van Buylaere, C.B.F. Walker and N. Wasserman. Of course, errors and shortcomings to be found herein are the responsibility of the author.

Bibliography

- Ambos, C. 2007. "Types of Ritual Failure and Mistakes in Ritual in Cuneiform Sources" in U. Hüsken, ed., *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Rituals*. Numen Book Series 115. Leiden: Brill, pp. 25–47.
- 2013. *Der König im Gefängnis und das Neujahrsfest im Herbst. Mechanismen der Legitimation des babylonischen Herrschers im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. und ihre Geschichte*. Dresden: ISLET.
- Assante, J. 2003. "From Whores to Hierodules: The Historiographic Invention of Mesopotamian Female Sex Professionals" in A.A. Donohue, and M.D. Fullerton, eds, *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 13–47.
- Black, J.A. 1996. "The Imagery of Birds in Sumerian Poetry" in M.E. Vogelzang, and H.L.J. Vanstiphout, eds, *Mesopotamian Poetic language: Sumerian and Akkadian*. Cuneiform Monographs 6. Groningen: Styx Publications. pp. 23–46.
- Bobrova, L. and A. Militarev. 1993. "From Mesopotamia to Greece: On the Origin of Semitic and Greek Star Names" in H.D. Galter, ed., *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens. Beiträge zum 3. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposium (23.–27. September 1991)*. Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3. Graz: Graz Kult, pp. 307–29.
- Boiy, T. 2004. *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 136. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Budin, S. 2008. *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Çağırhan, G. and W.G. Lambert 1991/1993. "The Late Babylonian *Kistîmu* Ritual for Esagil". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 43/45: 89–106.
- Charpin, D. 1980. "A propos de l'an 34 de Hammurapi". *Revue d'Assyriologie* 74: 93.

³³ See Clancier and Monerie 2014; Monerie 2018: 360–369. On the question about the time of composition, whether these texts copies of old texts or new texts, it is worthwhile to see the recent article by Jursa and Debourse 2017 on priestly literature. See also Krul 2018, who discusses this issue in

her recent book on the Anu cult in Uruk and the night vigil ceremony. On Late Babylonian priestly literature see specially De Breucker 2015. On the historiographical interests of the temple community in Babylon, see Waerzeggers 2015.

- 2017. *La vie méconnue des temples mésopotamiens*. Paris: Collège de France, Les Belles Lettres.
- Clancier, Ph. 2009. *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.* *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 363. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Clancier, Ph., and J. Monerie. 2014. “Les sanctuaires babyloniens à l’époque hellénistique: évolution d’un relais de pouvoir”. *TOPOI* 19: 181–237.
- Cavigneaux, A., and V. Donbaz. 2007. “Le mythe du 7.VII. Les jours fatidiques et le Kippour mésopotamiens”. *Orientalia Nova Series* 76: 293–335.
- Cohen, M. E. 1988. *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Maryland: Capital Decisions Limited.
- Cohen, Y. 2015. “The Wages of a Prostitute: Two Instructions from the Wisdom Composition ‘Hear the Advice’ and an Excursus on Ezekiel 16,331”. *Semitica* 57: 43–55.
- Collins, B.J. 2014/2016. “Vogel (bird). B. Bei den Hethitern”. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 14: 580–83.
- Cooper, J.S. 2006/2008. “Prostitution”. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11: 12–21.
- 2016. “The Job of Sex: The social and economic role of prostitutes in ancient Mesopotamia” in B. Lion and C. Michel, eds. *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 13. Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 209–27.
- Da Riva, R. 2017. “A new attestation of Ḫanigalbat in Late Babylonian sources”. *Welt des Orients* 47 (2): 259–64.
- Da Riva, R. [in preparation]. *The Late Babylonian Temple Rituals Texts from Babylon: Structure, Language and Function*.
- Da Riva, R., and E. Frahm. 1999/2000. “Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, die Herrin von Ninive und das babylonische Königssiegel”. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 46/47: 156–82.
- Da Riva, R., and G. Galetti. 2018. “Two Temple Rituals from Babylon”. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 70: 189–227.
- Da Riva, R. and N. Wasserman. [forthcoming]. *The Divine Love Lyrics*.
- De Breucker, G. 2015. “Heroes and Sinners: Babylonian Kings in Cuneiform Historiography of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods” in J.M. Silverman and C. Waerzeggers (eds), *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*. Ancient Near East Monographs (Book 13). Atlanta: SBL Press, pp. 75–94.
- Durand, J.-M. 1997. “La divination par les oiseaux”. *MARI* 8. *Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, pp. 273–82.
- Edzard, D.O. 1987. “Zur Ritualtafel der sog. ‘Love Lyrics’” in F. Rochberg-Halton, ed. *Language, Literature, and History. Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner*. American Oriental Series 67. New Haven: American Oriental Society, pp. 57–69.
- Fincke, J. 2013. “Another fragment of the ‘Love Lyrics’ from Babylon (BM 47032)”. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2013/76.
- Frahm, E., and E. Jiménez. 2015. “Myth, Ritual, and Interpretation. The Commentary on *Enūma eliš* I–VII and a Commentary on Elamite, Month Names”. *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 4/3: *Interpreting the Interpreters: Hermeneutics in Ancient Israel and Mesopotamia*: 293–343.
- Freedman, S.M. 1998. *If a city is set on a height: the Akkadian omen series Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 17. Philadelphia: The Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, The University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Gabbay, U. 2014. *Pacifying the Hearts of the Gods: Sumerian Emesal Prayers of the First Millennium BC*. Heidelberger Emesal Studien 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2015. *The Eršema Prayers of the First Millennium BC*. Heidelberger Emesal Studien 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2016. *The Exegetical Terminology of Akkadian Commentaries*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- George, A.R. 1992. *Babylonian Topographical Texts*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 40. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1993. *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2000. “Four Temple Rituals from Babylon” in A.R. George, and I.L. Finkel, eds, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, pp. 259–99.
- 2006. “Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part Three: A Commentary on a Ritual of the Month Nisan” in A. K. Guinan, ed. *If a man builds a joyful house: Assyriological studies in honor of Erle Verdum Leichty*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, pp. 173–85.
- Glassner, J.-J. 2004. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Groneberg, B. 1997. *Lob der Ištar. Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin. Tanatti Ištar*. Cuneiform Monographs 8. Groningen: Styx Publications.
- Groneberg, B. 1999. “Brust(irtum)-Gesänge” in B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, and T. Richter, eds, *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 267. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 169–95.
- 2007. “Liebes- und Hundebeschwörungen im Kontext” in M.T. Roth, ed., *Studies presented to Robert D. Biggs*. *Assyriological Studies* 27. Chicago: Oriental Institute, pp. 91–108.

- Heeßel, N. 2011. “‘Sieben Tafeln aus sieben Städten.’ Überlegungen zum Prozess der Serialisierung von Texten in Babylonien in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.” In E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, M. van Ess, and J. Marzahn, eds, *Babylon. Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 171–95.
- Hibbert, Ph.M. 1984. “Liebeslyrik in der arsakidischen Zeit”. *Welt des Orients* 15: 93–95.
- Horowitz, W. 1998. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hunger, H. and D. Pingree. 1999. *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Joannès, F. 1992. Inventaire d’un cabaret. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1992/64 and 89.
- Jursa, M. 2002. “Florilegium babiloniacum: neue Texte aus hellenistischer und spätachämenidischer Zeit” in C. Wunsch, ed., *Mining the Archives*. Babylonische Archive 1. Dresden: ISLET, pp. 107–30.
- 2010. *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 377. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- 2014. “Economic Development in Babylonia from the Late 7th to the Late 4th Century BC: Economic Growth and Economic Crises in Imperial Contexts” in H. D. Baker, and M. Jursa, eds. *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History: Methodology and Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow. pp. 113–38.
- Jursa, M. and C. Debourse 2017. “A Babylonian Priestly Martyr, a King-like Priest, and the Nature of Late Babylonian Priestly Literature”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 107: 77–98.
- Krul, J. 2018. *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 95. Leiden: Brill.
- Lambert, W.G. 1959. “Divine Love Lyrics from Babylon”. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 4: 1–15.
- 1975. “The Problem of the Love Lyrics” in H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts, eds, *Unity and Diversity: essays in the history, literature, and religion of the ancient Near East*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 98–135.
- 1992. “Prostitution” in V. Haas, ed., *Außenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients*. XENIA 32. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, pp. 127–61.
- Linssen, M.J.H. 2004. *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practice*. Cuneiform Monographs 25. Leiden and Boston: Brill and Styx Publications.
- Livingstone, A. 2000. “On the Organized Release of Doves to Secure Compliance of a Higher Authority” in A.R. George, and I. L. Finkel, eds. *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, pp. 375–87.
- Maul, S.M. 1992. “*kurgarrû* und *assinnu* und ihr Stand in der babylonischen Gesellschaft” in V. Haas, ed., *Außenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients*. XENIA 32. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, pp. 159–71.
- 1994. *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonischassyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*. Baghdader Forschungen 18. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- 2003/2005. “Omina und Orakel. A. In Mesopotamien”. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 10: 69–88.
- McEwan, G.J.P. 1981. “Arsacid Temple Records”. *Iraq* 43: 131–43.
- Mirelman, S. 2014. “The Ala-Instrument: Its Identification and Role” in J. Goodnick Westenholz, Y. Maurey, and E. Seroussi, eds. *Music in Antiquity: The Near East and the Mediterranean*. Yuval 8. Berlin/Boston and Jerusalem: Walter de Gruyter GmbH and Hebrew University Magnes Press, pp. 148–71.
- Monerie, J. 2018. *L’économie de la Babylonie à l’époque hellénistique (IV^eme – II^eme siècle avant J.C.)*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 14. Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Nielsen, J.P. 2011. *Sons and Descendants. A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period, 747–626 B.C.* Leiden: Brill.
- Nissinen, M. 2001. “Akkadian Rituals and Poetry of Divine Love” in R.M. Whiting, ed. *Mythology and Mythologies. Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences*. Melammu Symposia 2. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, pp. 93–136.
- Osten-Sacken, E. von der. 2009/2011. “Schwalbe”. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 12: 316–17.
- Oshima, T. 2014. *Babylonian Poems of Righteous Sufferers: Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi and the Babylonian Theodicy*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Panayotov, S.V. 2013. “A Ritual for a Flourishing Bordello”. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 70: 285–309.
- Peled, I. 2016. *Masculinities and Third Gender: The Origins and Nature of an Institutionalized Gender Otherness in the Ancient Near East*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 435. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Ragen, A. 2006. *The Shirku of Babylonia. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern “Temple Slavery”*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Reiner, E. 1995. *Astral Magic in Babylonia*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, 85/4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

- Reiner, E. and D. Pingree 1985. *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Part Two. Enūma Anu Enlil Tablets 50–51*. Malibu: Undena Publications.
- Rochberg, F. 2004. *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2010. *In the Path of the Moon. Babylonian Celestial Divination and Its Legacy*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rubio, G. 2009. "Sumerian Literature" in C. S. Ehrlich, ed. *From an Antique Land: An Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Literature*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. pp. 11–75.
- Sachs, A. and H. Hunger. 1988. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. I: *Diaries from 652 BC to 262 BC*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1989. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. II: *Diaries from 261 BC to 165 BC*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1996. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. III: *Diaries from 164 BC to 61 BC*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sallaberger, W. and E. Huber Vulliet. 2003/2005. "Priester. A. 1. Mesopotamien". *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 10: 617–40.
- Shehata, D. 2009. *Musiker und ihr vokales Repertoire. Untersuchungen zu Inhalt und Organisation von Musikerberufen und Liedgattungen in altbabylonischer Zeit*. Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 3. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.
- 2017. "Eine mannshohe Leier im altbabylonischen Ištar-Ritual aus Mari (FM 3, no. 2)". *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44(1): 68–81.
- Strassler, R. 2007. *The Landmark Herodotus*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Streck, M.P. and N. Wasserman. [forthcoming]. "The Man is Like a Woman, the Maiden is a Young Man: A new edition of Ištar-Louvre". *Orientalia*.
- Tolini, G. 2013. "The Economic Activities of Išunnatu, a Slave Woman of the Egibi Family". *Carnet de REFEMA*. refema.hypotheses.org/766
- Trümpelmann, L. 1981. "Eine Kneipe in Susa". *Iranica Antiqua* 16: 35–44.
- Van der Spek, R.J. 2014. "The Volatility of Prices of Barley and Dates in Babylon in the Third and Second Centuries BC" in H.D. Baker and M. Jursa, eds. *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History: Methodology and Practice*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 234–59.
- Veldhuis, N. 2004. *Religion, literature, and scholarship: the Sumerian composition Nanshe and the Birds*. Cuneiform Monographs 22. Leiden and Boston: Brill and Styx Publications.
- Volk, K. 1989. *Die Balag-Komposition ūru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi. Rekonstruktion und Bearbeitung der Tafeln 18 (19ff.) 19, 20 und 21 der späten, kanonischen Version*. Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 18. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH.
- Waerzeggers, C. 2010. *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa. Priesthood, Cult, Archives*. Achaemenid History 15. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- 2011. "The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples" in K. Radner and E. Robson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 725–51.
- 2015. "Facts, Propaganda or History? Shaping Political Memory in the Nabonidus Chronicle" in J. M. Silverman and C. Waerzeggers, eds. *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*. Ancient Near East Monographs (Book 13). Atlanta: SBL Press. pp. 95–124.
- Wasserman, N. 2016. *Akkadian Love Literature of the Third and Second Millennium BCE*. Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rocío Da Riva

Department of History and Archaeology

University of Barcelona

mrदारिवام@ub.edu

عشتار أتركالاما الغاضبة. الرقم BM 32482 والحفاظ على الطقوس التقليدية في الفترة البابلية المتأخرة
بقلم : روسيو دا ريفا

الرقم BM 32482 هو من الفترة البابلية المتأخرة يحتوي على وصف للطقوس والاحتفالات الدينية التي كانت تقام في معبد أتركالاما الغاضبة في بيليتة بابلي (عشتار بابل). يشير النص إلى الصلوات والابتهاالات لاسترضاء الإلهة. كما ترد في النص أسماء كهنة معبدها بالإضافة إلى الموسيقى، وهي نيجوتو *nigûtu* تؤديها كاهنة ناديتو *nadîtu* وطقوس تنطوي على ساكيكوديتو *sakkikuddîtu* بالإضافة إلى تعليقات تعبدية وطوالع تتعلق بالطيور وملاحظات فلكية. وعلى الرغم من الحالة التجزئية للرقم يبدو أن أداء النيجوتو *nigûtu* يتعلق بطريقة أو أخرى بالمحافظة على طقوس المعبد ولولاه لكنت ستنتسى.