

PERSONAL RELIGION IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

AS SHOWN IN AKKADIAN TEXTS

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy

by

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Abstract.

Personal Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia as shown in
Akkadian Texts.

Maurice Noel Leon Couve de Murville.

This study aims to examine the view that in Ancient Mesopotamia the lay citizen was relatively devoid of personal religious devotion and beliefs. The first chapter sets this thesis in the context of studies in Mesopotamian religion which have appeared since the beginnings of Assyriology. A selection of the main categories of literary and epistolary texts has been examined in an effort to isolate the practices of the layman from those of kings and priests, who are the primary authors or subjects of the majority of texts.

Chapter II considers the evidence for the participation of the population at large in the liturgy and draws the conclusion that lay individuals participated in public festivals as well as in the temple worship of the gods, both in popular devotion as well as in judicial procedures.

In Chapter III religious and devotional practices occurring outside the temples are studied. The rôle of the

āšipu is shown to have been important since he acted as intermediary between the gods and individuals in various personal crises. Rituals for individuals and the accompanying prayers show belief in the concern of the gods for the individual and his welfare, and the same belief is exhibited by the practice of house-blessings, the use of seals and amulets and the recourse to omens. Rites and beliefs connected with birth, marriage and the cult of the dead are examined.

Chapter IV examines the relationship of the personal god to his devotee. It also studies the belief in protective deities, especially ^dlamassu in texts connected with lay persons.

D E I P A R A E

Q V A E

P I E T A T E M • G E N T I V M

M I R E • A D A V X I T

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Abbreviations.

The abbreviations used are those indicated in the Provisional List of Bibliographical Abbreviations of The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, vol. 9,L, (1973), pp.vi-xvii with the following alterations and additions:

ANG	J.J. Stamm, <u>Die Akkadische Namengebung</u>
BWL	W.G. Lambert, <u>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</u>
CBQ	<u>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
Hémérologies	R. Labat, <u>Hémérologies et Ménologies d'Assur</u>
KH	<u>The Laws of Hammurabi</u>
PAPS	<u>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</u>
SARG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, <u>Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete</u>
TuL	E. Ebeling, <u>Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier</u>
UAZP	M. Schorr, <u>Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts</u>

Chapter 1.a) Previous treatment of aspects of personal religion
in general histories of Mesopotamian Religion.

1. 1. Interest in religion was one of the principal motives in the researches which led to the discovery of the first written material from Ancient Mesopotamia(1), but it was mainly with a view to establishing parallels with the Bible that this interest was concerned. The first systematic publications of cuneiform texts took place in the 1850's(2) and by 1857 the decipherment of these texts was a proven fact. There is no trace of their influence in George Rawlinson's The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World(3) published in 1862 whose study on the Chaldean religion, devoted to a study of the gods and a description of the creation and flood epics, is derived entirely from Greek authors.

1. 2. However by 1874 François Lenormant could publish a study of one aspect of Mesopotamian religion called La Magie chez les Chaldéens(4) which was based on the newly deciphered texts, mainly exorcisms. He likens the attitude of the ancient Mesopotamian to that of the "Hindoo" and considers that every man knew some incantations by heart and could apply them to the

more frequent dangers of life(5). He notes that there were protector gods attached to each man(6) who could be changed into enemies by a formula of imprecation. He considers the greater antiquity of Chaldean magic in relation to Egyptian magic to be shown by its simplicity, its lack of mysticism and mythological allusions.

1. 3. A.H. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures of 1887 (7) and his Gifford Lectures of 1902 (8) attributes to Sumerian origins the magic and sorcery which "disfigured" the religion of the Babylonians, "There was no doubt a certain amount of spirituality of an individualistic sort, the sinner bewails his transgressions, and appeals for help to his deity, but of morality as an integral part of religion there is little evidence"(9).

1. 4. L.W. King's monograph on Babylonian Religion and Mythology(London 1903) is entirely based on cuneiform sources. It deals mainly with a study of the pantheon and with epics, and dismisses incantations and magical formulae as "the lower aspect of the belief of the Babylonians"(10). It treats of the belief that everyone had his own patron god or goddess and opines that a child was dedicated to them at birth. As regards

moral ideas, it surmises an evolution from an early period when offences were of a formal and ceremonial character to a later understanding that injustice and evil angered a man's god, so that "a man's duty towards his god led to a conception of the duty he owed towards his fellow men"(11).

1. 5. Morris Jastrow wrote several systematic works on ancient Mesopotamian religion(12), but his basic ideas are contained in the first of these, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria (Boston 1898). He treats of the pantheon in detail and divides religious literature into five, i) magical texts, ii) hymns and prayers, iii) omens, iv) cosmology, v) epics and legends. He considers that i) and iii) retain more trace of "primitive popular thought"(13). than the other sections. The individual is not considered ex professo but in a section on the views held about life after death he states that no doubt the fact that it is impossible for the individual to conceive of himself as forever deprived of consciousness was at the bottom of the primitive theory of the perpetuity of existence(14). Treating of the temples, Jastrow considers that they must have called forth an emotion "which can only be compared to a pious Mohammedan's enthusiasm for Mecca"(15). He sees the doctrine of guilt, which is revealed in the magical texts, as a starting

point for the development of an ethical system; so that the fear of the gods leads to obedience, as a means of securing their protection and blessing, and with this was associated a love of the divine powers(16).

1. 6. H. Zimmern in an article in the Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics(Edinburgh 1903)(17), after a treatment which is on the same lines as that of Jastrow, ends with some general statements on the character of Babylonian religion and points out how few documents of a private and individual nature exist which would give an insight into the religious ideas which people connected with the external and traditional ritual forms and doctrines. There is evidence of a simple piety and child-like trust in divine help in many deeply religious passages in hymns and prayers, and in the religious ideas expressed in proper names. But the strong predominance of magical and superstitious elements in Babylonian religion are held to have prevented the development of the "nobler germs"(18).

1. 7. B. Meissner treats in detail of Babylonian religion in the second volume of his Babylonien und Assyrien(Heidelberg, 1920 and 1925) and in the passages of the first volume which treat of family life(19). His work is descriptive and is based

closely on then known texts; he adopts an evolutionary schema according to which the oldest inhabitants of Mesopotamia worshipped in their houses the numen of the house(20). When cities were formed the ilĪ bĪti were amalgamated into a common local god; the emergence of a priesthood then meant that the private individual no longer had direct relations with the godhead, except through the intermediary of a special minister(21).

1. 8. E. Dhorme wrote two studies of Mesopotamian religion published with an interval of thirty-five years, La religion assyro-babylonienne (Paris 1910) and Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie (Paris 1945; 2nd ed. 1949). Both follow the plan, traditional by now, of a description of the gods, the cult, exorcisms and omens, and epics. Dhorme gives a definition of magic which is devoid of reproof : "la magie est l'art de combattre, par la parole sacrée et par le rite, les maux qui atteignent l'homme dans son corps, dans son esprit, dans sa famille"(22). He notes that magic practices base themselves on religious beliefs since the forces of evil are combatted by attempting to make the gods favourable to the sufferer(23). He emphasizes the closeness of the gods to their worshippers, who have affection for them and who believe that their life

comes from the gods.

1. 9. C. J. Gadd, in his Schweich Lectures of 1945 on the Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient Near East(24), is the first to devote a chapter specifically to the people and their religious ideas and practices. He states that the great gods were too remote, and that it is possible to see the gods by successive steps coming nearer to the private man in Babylonia; under the supreme gods who headed the pantheon were the city gods, more present to the devotions of the ordinary inhabitants; the "parish" gods worshipped in chapels; the domestic gods worshipped in houses, and finally the personal god and goddess of each individual(25). He considers that ritual correctitude was the motive for the performance of communal rites and that moral excellence was not considered as responsible for man's welfare. Gadd's own view appears to have been that a really pure individual morality is marked by a decision to do right without any rewards, divine or human(26), a view which, as Gadd admits, does not seem to have commended itself to the ancient Mesopotamians. Ludlul bēl nēmeqi Gadd considers as destructive of moral ideas, and the "Dialogue of Pessimism" as a "deplorable effusion" which has "levelled the moral landscape and left no incentive to action"(27).

1. 10. J. Bottéro starts his study La religion babylonienne (Paris 1952) with a definition of religion as "la prise de conscience qu'il existe un ordre de choses supérieur et irréductible à tout au monde : le sacré"(28). This intuition is accompanied by reverential awe. He devotes a chapter to the study of "le sentiment religieux" and finds many examples of this awe in the attitude of individuals to the gods, but a complete lack of the mystical element of religion, i.e. of the tendency to be united to the godhead in a sentiment of communion; the idea of a divine presence interior to man is also absent(29). He states that a man's devotion in practice was centred on one god, who was exalted above the others, and he sees the belief in a personal god as an example of this so that it illustrates the tendency of religious feeling to concentrate itself upon a single personal object(30), even when there is a whole pantheon available. Bottéro refuses to use the term "magic" of exorcisms since they are based on a theology of the gods' control of the universe which has permitted the demons to act and to which an appeal can be made against them by prayer and ritual; the practice of omens is based on a similar belief in the will of the gods controlling the correspondence of the omen and its outcome, and revealing itself by the ministry of the divination-priest.

1. 11. Beatrice L. Goff in 1956 (31) and again in Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia (New Haven/London 1963) challenges the contrast between magic and religion which was made by Frazer and which was applied to their field by many Assyriologists. Frazer distinguished magic, in which man uses rites to control the world, and religion, in which he trusts in supernatural powers(32). Such a distinction, says Miss Goff, is wholly artificial as far as Mesopotamia is concerned. Ritual texts show that magical rites were used by the religious leaders of the community invoking the aid of the great gods; as the prayers show, the rites were not believed to be automatically effective. What we now call "black magic" was condemned but "white magic" was accepted and practised by every level of the population for both the individual and the community. Unless modern scholars can discipline themselves to put aside their negative attitude to the word "magic", she suggests that they should find another word to put in its place(33). She states that the use of symbols (objects and words) in the rituals of Ancient Mesopotamia formed a highly important stabilizing factor in life since "evidently by experimentation people had discovered that designs could be used to stabilize emotion"(34).

1. 12. A. L. Oppenheim in an essay on Assyro-Babylonian

Religion which appeared in 1950 (35) considers the religion of the common man to have consisted mainly in belief in the personal god and goddess; this, Oppenheim considers, was really an awareness of the "divine spark" which makes man into a living being. Babylonian man's outlook was that of fatalistic resignation since there was no salvation. His religious experiences were collective and restricted to the extremes of mourning and joy, since individual experiences were not considered valid in official Mesopotamian religiosity. The only individual who could approach the deity in prayers and expect an answer was the king; in contradistinction to the religion of the common man without cult, priests or temple, was the Royal Religion with one adherent, the king.

1. 13. In a later article (1960), entitled Assyriology - Why and How?(36), Oppenheim criticizes previous accounts of the religion of Mesopotamia on the grounds that they use pre-conceived patterns, highlight epics, and construct an account of ceremonies from different proveniences and periods. They do not respect the "unbelievable complexity" of Mesopotamian civilization. There is in fact, says Oppenheim, no "religion" of Mesopotamia to be studied but several distinct religions, those of the king, the theologians, the city dwellers, the farmers, the South, the

North, the peripheral regions, the plains, etc. All these have their own development, their contacts and their antagonisms.

1. 14. Oppenheim returned to the subject in greater detail in a section of his book Ancient Mesopotamia : Portrait of a Dead Civilization (Chicago 1964) which he entitles "Why a 'Mesopotamian Religion' should not be written"(37). He has two objections to any attempt at a systematic presentation of Mesopotamian religion; the first one is the inadequate nature of the available evidence. Oppenheim examines four classes of evidence and rejects them for the following reasons:- i) the archaeological evidence (remnants of buildings used for cult purposes, objects of worship) is uncertain of interpretation. The mechanics and function of buildings, the meanings which motivated the cults carried out in them, these are as far removed from us as if they belonged to another dimension. the iconographic evidence is equally uncertain of interpretation since even perfectly preserved images cannot indicate what they meant to the priest and to the pious, or what their Sitz im Leben was for the community. In the case of reliefs, seals and clay plaques we find non-narrative formulations of a type which we would describe as heraldry; they do not 'tell

a story' about the gods, illustrating the myths in the way that we would expect, but rather symbolise certain aspects of the gods and of their cult in a way which is beyond our comprehension.

ii) As regards prayers, Oppenheim points out that they are always linked to ritual. Thus the prayer and the ritual are of equal importance and constitute the religious act. The stereotyped nature both of the words said and of the actions carried out by the officiating priest prevents any insight into personal religion through these texts. Hence they are of no use in any attempt to discover what the personal attitude of the worshipper may have been.

iii) Myths are entirely removed from the field of religious studies by Oppenheim on the ground that they are the work of court poets bent on exploiting the artistic possibilities of the language. As such they would be unknown to the common man and can tell us nothing about his religious experience.

iv) Rituals convey something of the activities that went on in a Mesopotamian temple, but they concerned the priests only, or at best the king as well, and so the common

man remains an unknown factor. Finally two other classes of texts are dismissed though for different reasons. The first is the corpus of exorcism and magic texts. These reveal that sympathetic magic and analogic magic were well-known and practised in Mesopotamia, but since such practices are common over a much greater area they cannot give any specific information about Mesopotamia as such. Secondly, lists which enumerate deities, and other scribal attempts to speculate about the gods and the relationships of the gods, are products of a learned theology and as such would be without influence on the religiosity of the non-initiate.

1. 15. Oppenheim's second objection to any attempt at a presentation of Mesopotamian religion is the conceptual difference between the higher polytheistic religions and revealed religion. The former are rich with a "plurality of intellectual and spiritual dimensions", multifaceted, tolerant to shifting stress, adaptable; the latter is narrow and exhibits a "one-dimensional pressure"(38). Western man is therefore unable and unwilling to understand the religions of the Ancient Near East "except from the distorting angle of antiquarian interest or apologetic pretences"(39).

1. 16. In the introduction to a later book, Letters from Mesopotamia (Chicago 1967), Oppenheim has a slightly more positive view on the question of the religion of the common man when he says :- "the common man's relation to his gods and goddesses is difficult to discern, although the extremely pious onomasticon would suggest not only a personal piety but also a wide range in the intensity and nature of the god-man relationship of Mesopotamian man. We still fail, however, to see in what, if any, cultic acts or attitudes this personal piety found expression, apart from the selection of a given name"(40).

1. 17. J. Nougayrol criticizes in an article published in the Revue d'Histoire des Religions for 1964 (41) the standpoint adopted by Oppenheim in Assyriology - Why and How? According to Nougayrol, there is no more justification for saying that there is no Mesopotamian religion which can be the object of study than there would be for saying that there is no Christianity, just because Christianity differs at different periods and in different regions and societies. He agrees that a valid history of the religious development of Mesopotamia depends on the analysis of sources by periods and that there is still much to do in studying the religious life of milieux

other than the court and the temples; but he considers that such a history is "en bonne voie". Religion is very much a question of tradition so that the "variables" should not hide the existence of the "constants" of Mesopotamian religion, such as the spirit of the religion, its theology and demonology, and the organisation of the cult.

1. 18. W.H.Ph. Römer in a chapter entitled "The Religion of Ancient Mesopotamia" in a collective volume Religions of the Past (Leiden 1969) (42) qualifies Oppenheim's judgment on the impossibility of writing a "Mesopotamian religion" as "very pessimistic" (43) and goes on to give a summary of recent work on the subject which indicates at several points the existence of evidence for the religion of the individual : the belief in the existence of a tutelary spirit for each person(44); the way in which daily life was affected by ritual prescriptions and prohibitions, especially during feast days(45); the practice of offering prayer and sacrifice by individuals(46); the use of magic in situations affecting private persons(47); the existence of the idea that ethics and religion are connected(48); the testimony of personal names as to the prayer and belief of individuals(49) and the awareness of a tragic element in life deriving from a contemplation of the predicament of the

individual in certain cases(50). Römer considers that a "tragic and pessimistic undertone, with not far away a certain cynicism"(51) is to be found in Babylonian conceptions since eschatology and mysticism, which might have offered a solution, were both absent. He speaks of the individual being redeemed(52) and understands by this the use of magical means to strengthen vitality and delay death, or the intervention of the gods to secure healing, as in Ludlul.

B). Aims and methods of the present study.

1. 18. It is evident from the previous summary that studies on Mesopotamian religion have often revealed not so much the religious views of ancient man as those of modern Assyriologists. This needs to be said firstly of Oppenheim's position which would make any study of Mesopotamian religion impossible. His reaction against systematic reconstructions which do not take into account the differences in the sources which they use is fully justified, but his strictures against any attempt to summarize the evidence in the religious field seem to be excessive. It is difficult to justify a priori that a polytheistic religion of the Mesopotamian type must be inaccessible

to Western man. Apart from the antiquarianism and the apologetic approach, which Oppenheim mentions with disapproval, another attitude is possible in the approach to the religions of the past, and that is a sympathy based on a consciousness of a shared human nature and its fundamental frailty before the mystery of the divine. Bottéro's definition of religion, based as it is on Otto's analysis of religious awe in the face of the numinous(53), would seem to be applicable to polytheism as well as to revealed religion. In that case the real barrier to the understanding of the religions of the past would be an inability to appreciate any religion at all, and this may well be a reflection on Oppenheim's approach.

1. 19. Miss Goff is surely right in attributing to the influence of late 19th century anthropology the attempt to distinguish between magic and religion, and the tendency to consider "magical" practices as evidence of a "lower" form of behaviour. In this study no such an assumption has been made. Religion has been taken to include all practices and beliefs involving recourse to the gods. Since I cannot pretend to avoid entirely the projection on the material of my own standpoint, I will try to minimise this by making my own position clear at the outset. It is summed up in the conclusions to

E.E. Evans-Pritchard's book Theories of Primitive Religion (Oxford, 1965), a critique of the way in which anthropologists have tried to discover the reason for the origins of religion in other cultures by supposing, without much evidence, that there is one single cause, such as the emotive need of the individual or the cohesion required by the group. Evans-Pritchard's conclusions, which I make my own, are firstly that religious facts must be accounted for in terms of the totality of a culture, so that it is bad method to isolate certain elements in that culture as better than others from our (supposedly superior) point of view; secondly, that it is a mistake to assume that religious ideas correspond to nothing real so that a theory must be found to explain an illusion. On the contrary "religion can be better grasped by him in whose inward consciousness religion plays a part"(54). I would add that the underlying assumption of this study has been that beneath the religious beliefs and practices of ancient Mesopotamia it is possible to reach that religious sentiment which is the proper object of study of the history of religion.

1. 20. By "personal religion" is meant all manifestations of religious practice on the part of individuals in ancient Mesopotamia, apart from kings and priests. Material relating

to kings and priests has been excluded unless it can be shown to have some bearing on the beliefs and practices of the ordinary citizen; it may be that much royal and sacerdotal material illustrates aspects of religious life which were common to other elements of society as well, but in order to make sure that what is alleged of personal religion can be demonstrated to have been a part of the citizen's world, Oppenheim's theory of several "religions" in ancient Mesopotamia has been adopted as a working hypothesis and the royal and priestly "religions" have been treated as if they were in a world apart, without influence on what the common man thought and did.

1. 21. This study is based on a sampling only of published texts in the main literary types (letters, omens, prayers, exorcisms, epics, legal and economic texts; cf. the bibliography on pp. 274-291) since it would have been impossible in the time available to complete a comprehensive study of all published material. Akkadian texts only have been studied, although the argument has been supplemented on occasion by the use of Sumerian material.

Chapter II. The individual and the temples.

a) The people and festivals : evidence that the people took part.

2. 1. The purpose of this section is to establish whether there is any evidence that people, other than priests and kings, took part in the festivals. It will also try to establish whether there is any evidence to show that the religious attitude of individuals was affected by their participation. The festivals are known to us largely by ritual texts, some of which have long been published(55), but as these are designed for the priest celebrants references to the people are rare(56). More recently studies, such as those brought together at the XVIIth Rencontre Assyriologique, have tried to use the evidence of economic texts, letters and chronicles to throw light on the way in which festivals were celebrated(57).

2. 2. That the date of festivals was of concern to the people at large is shown by a letter from Tarīm-Sakim, a civil servant, to Iasmah-Adad, vice-king of Mari during the Assyrian domination; the writer wishes to ensure due publicity for the date of a certain festival in districts of which he presumably had the charge:- aš-šum z u r . z u r . r i ša ^{giš} m a r .

g ì d . d a ša^d n è . i r i₁₁ . g a l as-sú-ur-ri
 mu-uš-ke-nu-um ša a-la-ni [i t] i e-ri-ba-am [i-š]a-ka-an
 [b]e-lí^d u t u . il₁at-sú [l]i-wa-i-ir-ma [ù] a-na a-la-ni
 [l]i-ba-ru-ma z u r . z u r . r i šu-ú li-iš-ta-an-ni
 [w]a-ar-ki-i XV li-ša-[k]i-in ù be-lí mi-ḫi-ir tup-pí-ia
 li-ša-bi-lam aš-šum ha-al-ší e-lu-tim a-ra-ga-mu(58),

"Concerning the sacrifice of the chariot of Nergal, perhaps the mushkēnum of the towns will appoint the next month. Let my lord give precise instructions to Shamash-ellasu so that the towns can be informed that this sacrifice will be changed; it will take place after (the one of) Ishtar. So, let my lord have an answer taken to my tablet so that I can inform the upper districts". Bottéro considers that the feast of the chariot of Nergal which is mentioned in this text was a moveable feast whose date was fixed by the decision of the faithful(59); what is clear is that the question of securing for the feast in question a date which was known to the population at large is the one which concerns the writer of this letter. That the festivals of the gods were times for financial transactions at Mari is shown by a letter from the same official to the vice-king concerning the redemption of a field:- Ta-ri-bu-um
 5 m a . n a k ù . b a b b a r ú-ki-il um-ma-mi 3 m a . n a
 k u . b a b b a r i-na-an-na lu-úš-qú-ul ù a-na^d i š d a r 2

m a . n a k ù . b a b b a r lu-úš-qú-ul(60), "Taribum has offered five manas of silver saying : I want to pay three manas now and I will pay two manas at (the feast of) Ishtar". The feasts of the gods were also the occasion for the repayment of loans in the Old Assyrian period as can be seen from the Cappadocian tablets collected by Hirsch(61) where the formula ana/ina ša DN "until/at (the feast) of DN" is used to indicate the period of repayment; it only appears however with the names of non-Mesopotamian deities.

2. 3. In Mesopotamia itself, the involvement of the people in the feasts is stated in a general way by a tablet containing the various names of Babylon (an extract of the first tablet of the series TIN.TIR^{ki}); one of these names is :- u r u u k ù . b i e z i n z a l . z a l^{ki} = m i n u r u ša ni-šá-a-šú uš-tab-ra-a i-sin-nu(62), "(Babylon), the city whose people are satiated with feasts". Isinnu is the word for religious festivals in general, which are generally more precisely identified by the name of the god or of the month(63); the previous lines indicate a religious context(64). That the people themselves could be said to "perform" the ceremonies is indicated in a late Assyrian letter which gives the day for their doing so, [i-na] u₄ 6 k a m u k ù^{meš} li-pu-[šú], "on the sixth day (of Tebet) let the people perform (the rites)"(65),

the same verb(66) having been used of the king and of the crown-prince.

2. 4. The actions which the people could perform on the occasion of a festival can be deduced from a variety of texts. The processions of the statues of the gods from the temples are well known(67); they were transported on chariots and ships(68), through cities and from city to city(69). Sauren, working on Sumerian material, (literary compositions and lists of offerings) considers that these processions took place with possibly a yearly or half-yearly frequency(70). The costly material of the chariots and ships would have made the event a popular spectacle(71) but did the people actually take part in these processions? A fragment from a procession psalm from Assur contains the phrase a-bar-ša e g i r ^d iš-tar i-tal-lu-ku d ù g . g a (72), "Truly, it is good to walk behind Ishtar". Unfortunately there is no indication as to who recited the words, but the existence of personal names expressing the same idea makes it probable that the experience of "walking behind the god or goddess" was shared on the occasion of a procession by the populace, and was not reserved to the classes of the temple personnel. Such names are Arkāt-ili-banā(73) and Arkāt-ili-damqā(74). These names are

best interpreted as meaning "It is good (to walk) behind the god"(75). Another name which implies participation in a procession involving the image of a god is the neo-Babylonian name ^dNabû-ina-kāri-lūmur(76), "May I see Nabû on the quay". Two names attested in the Kassite period also seem to allude to popular devotion on the occasion of a procession, Ina-niphiša-alsiš(77), "In her going out I cry to her" and Ina-isinniša-alsiš(78), "On her feast-day I cry to her". The movements of the crowd are described in the Sumerian hymn of Iddin-Dagan from Nippur which concerns a procession, not with the image of a god but in honour of the planet Venus; this takes place in the open air at the new moon when the planet is visible:-

s a g . g i . g a i g i . n i . š è ì . d i b . b e
g i š . a l . g a r k u g . g a g [i š . š] u . m u . n a .
t a g . g e k u g ^d i n n a n n a . r a i g i . n i . š e
ì . d i b . b e (79), "the black-headed people go into procession
before her; they strike the pure a l . g a r (drum ?) for her;
they go in procession before the pure Innana".

2. 5. As well as walking in procession, the people could celebrate the festivals of the gods by their singing. This is indicated by a bilingual hymn to Ninurta(80), originating probably in Babylon during the Kassite period(81). The context

is a liturgy which is described in lines 4-6 (oxen and sheep as the king's sacrifice; games) and lines 12-18 (the entry of the god into the temple); in the midst of this the participation of the populace is indicated:- š è r . z u u n .

s a g . g e₆ . g a m e . t é š i m . i . i . [x]

zi-im-ri-ka ni-šū šal-mat qaq-qa-dī ut-ta-ā-a-d[u] (82),

"the dark headed people sing ythy songs of praise". A

similar participation on the part of an individual on the

occasion of a liturgical celebration seems to be alluded to

in a Neo-Babylonian letter:- ^da m a r . u t u ... ina hi^u-du-ti

é . s a g i l a u b a b i l i^{ki} ni-is-sat qu^u-be-e g i m

zi-mir li-šat-lim-šū(83), "let Marduk bestow upon him lamentation

and wailing instead of song (even) during the joy(ous celebration)

in Esagil and Babylon".

2. 6. The practice of bathing in connection with a festival

is attested in the Neo-Sumerian period; the Lamentation on the

Destruction of Ur, addressed to the goddess Ningal, says:-

u k ù . s a g . g i₆ . g a e z e m . m a z u a

l a . b a . a n . t u₅ . t u₅ . n e (84), "the black-headed

people do not bathe themselves for your feast". The Curse of

Agade, from the same period, also connects bathing with a

festival:- s a g . a . t u₅ . a k i s a l ḫ ú l . l e . d è (85),

"the men who have bathed fill the court of the temple with joy". A royal inscription from the Neo-Assyrian period describes a feast given by Aššur-nāṣir-apli II on the occasion of the inauguration of a palace and the entry into it of Ashur and the gods of all the lands; the rejoicings involved a large number of people, since it was for the people of "all the lands" as well as those of Calah; although this was not a regular liturgical festival it had a religious motive as well as a secular one. Bathing is mentioned as part of the feast:- lú sa-si-ú-te ša k u r . k u r^{meš} kâl-li-ši-na a-di
u k ũ^{meš} ša uru kal-ḫi 10 u₄-me [k u^{meš}] -šú-nu-ti
n a g^{meš} -šú-nu-ti ú-ra-mi-ik-šú-nu-ti š e š^{meš} -šú-nu-ti ú-
d u g u d -su-nu-ti ina šul-me u ha-di a-na k u r . k u r^{meš}
-šú-nu g u r -šú-nu-ti(86), "the happy people of all the
lands together with the people of Calah for ten days I feasted,
wined, bathed, anointed and honoured them, and sent them back
to their lands in peace and joy".

2. 7. The previous text mentions anointing as well as bathing, and anointing in connection with a festival is also attested at Mari where the delivery of approximately one hundred pounds in weight of oil is recorded [a-na] pa-ša-aš
ša-bi-im i-nu-ma i-si-in ^du t u i [t] i a-bi-im u₄ 18
k á m (87), "to anoint the personnel the day of the feast of

Shamash, month of Abum, 18th day". Here the anointing is restricted to a special category of people.

2. 8. As well as bathing and anointing, the celebration of festivals seems sometimes to have involved the wearing of special attire. This seems to be referred to in the Epic of Gilgamesh a-lik-m a e n . k i . d u i na lib-bi
u r u k^{ki} su-pu-ri a-šar u k ũ^{meš} us-sar-r^a-ha
túg^t u m . l a^{meš} u₄-mⁱ-šam-ma u₄-mu ša-kin i-sin-nu(88),
 "come then, O Enkidu, to ramparted Uruk, where the people are resplendent in festal attire, (where) each day is made holiday". This would reflect the usage of the beginning of the second millenium. It is not suggested that bathing, anointing and the wearing of special attire were ritual acts on the part of the populace, but that they were called for as a natural response to the holiday atmosphere which accompanied the festivals.

2. 9. Another allusion in the Epic of Gilgamesh links the akītu-festival with the idea of unwonted plenty:-
um-ma-na n a g ki-ma a^{meš} i d -ma i-sin-na ip-pu-šu
ki-ma u₄-mi a-ki-tim-ma(89), "I provided drink for the craftsmen as though it were river water (so) that they might celebrate a festival as at the time of the akītu". If this

were a regular feature of festivals, it would explain why the image of fullness on the part of the people is used to describe the celebration of the Sacred Marriage of Iddin-dagān with the goddess Inanna in a Sumerian hymn of the Isin period, *u k ù . e n a m . ħ é . a u₄ ì . z a l . e . d è* (90), "the people spend the day in superabundant fullness".

From areas on the periphery of Mesopotamia evidence from the eighteenth century B.C. indicates the existence of banquets, apparently organised by the royal officials for the celebration of religious festivals. At Mari the issue of rations is recorded for:- *n ì . g u b l u g a l ù ṣa-bi-im i-nu-ma* *giš_m a r . g í d . d a ṣa^d n è . u n u . g a l* (91), "the meal of the king and of the personnel, the day of the chariot of Nergal". Birot estimates that the quantities of food recorded in this text would be sufficient for at least one thousand people(92). Participation in the banquet in this case is restricted to a particular class of people, the *ṣābum*, which is probably to be understood of soldiers in this context(93). At Chagar Bazar the same class are mentioned in connection with food and drink for 2,770 people on the occasion of the "day of purification", *n í g . t u m 2 lî-im 7 me 70 ṣa-bi-im l* *s ì l a . a m n i n d a l s ì l a . à m k a ṣ* *n í g . t u m ṣa-bi-im ṣa ḥa-la-aṣ qí-ir-da-ḥa-at^{ki}* *i-nu-ma te-bi-ib-tim*(94), "Contributions of 2,770 personnel.

1 sila of bread, 1 sila of beer each. Contribution for the personnel of Ġalaš Qirdaḡat, on the day of purification".

2. 10. Much later evidence of the celebration of a festival by a meal which appears to have taken place inside the temple itself is contained in a Neo-Assyrian letter from Nabû-shum-iddina to the Crown Prince Ashurbanipal. After describing the procession of the image of Nabû at Calah on the fourth day of Ayaru which involves the return of the god from the palace to the temple, he says:- šá I qa ak-li-šu ú-še-el-la-a ina
 é^d n à e-kal(95), "anybody who brings an offering of one qa of his food may eat in the temple of Nabû". The description of the celebration organised by Aššur-nāšir-apli II which included feasting and drinking has already been noted (supra 2. 6) (96). The letter of Nabû-shum-iddina seems to imply the presence of the people inside the temple during the celebration of the festival itself. The only other evidence for this is found in late texts; one from Uruk gives instructions for the celebration of the akītu of the month of Tishrit and says that in the upper courtyard where the images of the gods are assembled:- a^{meš} š u^{II} a-na d^a n
u an-tum i-naš-ši-ma l u g a l u u k ū^{meš} ú-lap-pat(97),
 "(the priest) will present the water of the hands to Anu and

Antum (and) will sprinkle the king and the people"; the other from Assur says:- u k ũ^{meš} ú-pa-su-[qú] l u g a l
a-na ma-a-a-li e-[ra-ab](98), "the people are removed, the king enters the bed-chamber".(99).

2. 11. Another late text from Uruk brings together several elements performed by the people on the occasion of a public festival, i.e. the lighting of fires, the celebration of a ritual banquet for the gods in the houses of the people and the reciting of prayers by the people. The festival was the baiātu(100) or vigil on the sixteenth day of a month which is not named in the surviving fragment. It was a feast of fire, which was lit by the chief priest (l ú . m a ḫ). The torch with which the fire was lit was then taken out into the streets, and lamps were lit for all the temples where fires were lit at the gates, then:- u k ũ^{meš} k u r ina
é^{meš}-šū-nu i z i . ḫ a . m u n i-nap-pa-aḫ s i z k u r
-ki-ri-e-ti a-na ^da n an-tum ù d i n g i r^{meš} d ù
i-naq-qu-ú naq-bit ki-ma maḫ-ri-im-ma i-qab-bu-ú(101),
 "the inhabitants of the land will light fires in their houses. They will offer to Anu, Antum and to all the gods ritual banquets. They will say the same prayer(s) as above". This is an instance of a rite which begins in the temple and is

then transported to all points of the city by the kindling of the fire in the houses of individuals.

2. 12. That the whole population of an area could be required to take part in expiatory rites, as well as the joyful festivals which have already been examined, is indicated by a letter from the Old Babylonian period concerning an outbreak of epidemic disease. The letter is from a certain Aḫum to Lipit-Ishtar and Lú-Baba:-

mu-ta-a-nu a-nu-um-ma i-na a-li-im i-ba-aš-šū-ú mu-ta-a-nu
ú-la ša ^dnè . i r i₁₁ . g a l [m]u-ta-a-nu [ša ^da]s a r u

x [x x] [na-g]i-ru[-um] [l]i-iš-si-ma ta-ap-ḫu-ri i-na
iš-ri-im a-na ^da s a r u šū-uk-na-a-ma i-la-am
su-ul-li-ma i-lu-um li-nu-úḫ a-di ta-ap-ḫu-ri-šū(102),

"there is an epidemic at the moment in the city. The epidemic (is) not of Nergal. The epidemic is of Asaru.... Let the herald proclaim:- 'Appoint reunions in the district for Asaru and appease the god'. May the god be pacified through the reunions (organised for) him". The nāgīru is mentioned in the Laws of Hammurabi as proclaiming the duty of returning runaway slaves to the palace, so that anyone who ignored his proclamation was liable to be put to death(103). His proclamations were therefore designed to ensure the

maximum publicity in relation to private householders and his use in proclaiming religious rites was presumably intended to have the same effect.

2. 13. A very much later testimony to the practice of holding a communal ceremony of appeasement is contained in a letter of King Ashurbanipal to Kudurru and the people of Uruk:- bi-ki-tu a-ga-a ša i t i s i g₄ ša u k ù
k u r gab-bu na-kal-tu ú-kal-lu ul[-tú] [d i n g i r]^{meš}
iz-nu-u(104), "this mourning ceremony of the month of Simānu concerns all the people of the land; hold a lamentation because the gods are angry". The word used for mourning, bikītu, is also employed in the case of wailing for an individual(105) but the royal letter makes it clear that it refers to a collective rite concerning the whole population.

2. 14. It is evident that the previous evidence is fragmentary and comes from widely different periods and places. It cannot be extrapolated to give a general picture valid for the whole of Ancient Mesopotamia throughout the two and a half millenia of its history. But what evidence there is points to the conclusion that the great religious festivals

were public events whose celebration was not confined to the temple precincts or to the priestly classes. In some areas and in the case of moveable feasts their date had to be fixed and advertised in advance, precisely because they concerned the populace in general, sometimes for reasons other than religious. The rôle of the people in the celebration of the festivals could be an active one, in the sense that the following actions are recorded as being performed by them in various different places and periods :

1. processions,
2. singing songs to the gods,
3. expiatory gatherings and collective mourning,
4. banquets,
5. bathing, anointing and the wearing of festal attire,
6. lighting fires,
7. saying prayers.

2. 15. C.J. Gadd asks concerning the participation of the people in festivals, "apart from the holiday, what did the people suppose they derived from any of these occasions? It can have been no more than the satisfaction of playing their part in a ceremony indispensable to the well-being of their

cities and of their own lives"(106). Before attempting to answer this question, evidence must be sought in the texts for the subjective attitude to the festivals and for any statements about their purpose.

b) The people and festivals : evidence of the attitude to the cult.

2. 16. There are frequent allusions to the rejoicing occasioned by the festivals. From the Old Babylonian period, the bilingual inscription of Samsu-iluna, when it describes the introduction of the images of the gods into the temple, states that this was accompanied by rejoicing:

^du t u ^di š k u r ù ^da-a a-na šu-ub-ti-šu-nu el-le-tim

ina re-ša-tim ù hi-da-tim ú-še-ri-ib(107), "I made Shamash,

Adad and Aya to enter into their holy dwelling amidst joy and rejoicing". The bilingual hymn to Ninurta referred to above

(2.5) which is also concerned with the entry of the god into his shrine mentions the same element as accompanying the

ceremony: s i l a . d a g a l . k á . g a l . ú . z u g .

s i l₆ . l á . g á l . l a d i b . b i . d a . z u . [d è];
ina re⁶-bit a-bu-ul ú-suk-ki šá ri-ša-ti ma-la-a-at ina
ba-i-k[a](108); "when you tread the square of the Gate of the
 Impure, which is full of rejoicing". A certain number of
 personal names, all from the Kassite period, refer to the
 joy of the liturgical feasts or places, so Išaggum-rēšašu,
 "His joy is resounding"(109); Reš-ki-nu-ni, "Joy of (the feast)
 of (the month of) Kinuni"(110); Ā-ki-tum-re-šat, "The akītu
 Festival is merry"(111); Har-ra-an-ša-ri-šat, "Her (i.e. the
 Goddess') Processional Way is Jubilant"(112); I-na-Ē-kur-
ri-ša-tum, "Jubilant in Ekur"(113).

2. 17. Renger has pointed out (112) that the festivals must
 have had a psychological impact on the population at large if
 they were the occasion of a specially rich diet, (supra 2.9).
 The emphasis on the joy and rejoicing of the event would thus
 record the impression of unwonted plenty experienced in a
 community context.

2. 18. This does not mean that the festivals were not seen
 as a religious act which the individual was conscious of
 performing in honour of a particular deity, though he may
 have been doing so in the company of the whole community.

This is shown by two Sumerian prayer-letters(115) addressed by individuals to particular gods; so Sin-šamuh, "writing" to the god Enki says: e z e n . s i z k u r . z u . u š
g ì r i . m u l a . b a . n i . s i l l u l . a š
ì . d u . u n . n a (116), "I did not plunder your offerings at the festivals to which I go regularly". Etel-pi-Damu, protesting his innocence in a letter to the god Martu, says: e z e n . s i z k u r . z u . u š x x b a . g u b . b u .
đ a . g i m n ì . š a ₆ . g a . t u k u . m u l a . b a . e .
š i . k è š (117), "I observed (all) your festivals and offerings; my proper devotions (?) I have not withheld from you". A similar expression of personal devotion to the rites of the liturgical functions is found in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi and dates therefore probably from the Kassite period(118): u₄-mu pa-la-aḥ
d i n g i r^{meš} tu-ub līb-bi-ia u₄-mu ri-du-ti^d iš-tar né-me-li
ta-at-tur-ru(119), "the day for reverencing the god was joy to my heart; the day of the goddess' procession was profit and gain to me".

2. 19. The last text introduces the idea that the festivals were not only the cause of rejoicing for the individual but were also a source of well-being for him; a similar notion is expressed in a Neo-Assyrian text which prays that the observance

of the feasts may absolve the guilt of him who took part in them. It is a Šurpu-type litany which calls upon the gods individually in the first forty five lines, then upon the twelve months and, in the last section, upon the days of the month to "absolve the sin of so-and-so". Each of the days is called the day of a particular god, and many of them are associated with a festival. The section ends :- u₄ nu-bat-tum
u₄ è š . è . š u₄ 15^{kám} u₄ 19^{kám} u₄ 20^{kám} u₄ . n á . à m
u₄ 30^{kám} u₄-mu it u m u . a n . n a šá n e n n i
lip-šu-ru a-ra-an-šú(120), "may any night feast, festival, fifteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, thirtieth day or any day, month or year absolve the guilt of so-and-so". This text shows that the effect of the communal festival was considered as reaching the situation of the individual participants; it shows also the intentional link between the official communal liturgy and the rites carried out for an individual.

2. 20. One can say therefore that the festivals were an expression of communal rejoicing, apart from those which were specifically expiatory in intention, and that the individuals who took part in them with the whole community could see them also as a personal act of devotion to the god. From it they expected to derive profit as a result of the god's action; a

private ritual could be considered as "applying" the effects of the communal festival to an individual so as to absolve his guilt.

2. 21. Gadd asks what did the people suppose that they derived from the festivals. The answer would seem to lie more in an analysis of the festivals as experience than in utilitarian considerations. But, as Pallis has pointed out, "the European must relinquish the hope of a complete psychological description of how this entirety (the celebration of the akitu) was experienced, he has no means of getting to the bottom of the thoughts or feelings of the performers or participators in the cult"(121). He himself analyses it in terms of an "experience of entirety, interpreted as the most significant event of the whole annual life of the city" when by means of the rites Marduk "defeated all evil in order to create the means of existence for the new year, spiritually as well as materially"(122).

2. 22. Renger emphasizes the same aspect of the festivals as manifesting and re-inforcing the links of the community (Zusammengehörigkeit)(123) through the common experience of rich food and drink, dancing, games and the wonder caused by

the splendour of the procession; the whole experience produced an elation (Hochstimmung)(124). The festivals had political importance too since they expressed the rôle of the king as shepherd and provider for his people. Perhaps they also led to the assimilation (Akkulturation) of nomads and fringe elements through their participation in the rites(125). The passage of the travelling statues of the gods may have led to the diffusion of political influence(126).

2. 23. These considerations are important and give a partial answer to Gadd's question. It must be added however, that the festivals were also experienced as acts of personal devotion to the gods; as such they were properly religious acts, part of the religious experience of the individual, expressing and strengthening his sense of dependence on the gods and his desire to serve them by the ritual acts which he performed.

c) The people and the statues of the gods : "seeing the god".

2. 24. Is there any evidence of devotion to the statues of the gods in the temples on the part of individuals? A group of personal names from the Kassite period uses the phrase "to see the face of DN" in the cohortative, thus Pān-^dBēlit-lūmur, Pān-^dMarduk-lūmur, Pān-^dNabû-lūmur (127); and similar Neo-Assyrian names are Pān-Aššur-lāmur, Pān-Nabû-lāmur (128), Pān-Ištar-lāmur (129). How is amāru pānu to be interpreted? It could refer to the desire to see the face of the divine statue in a procession or on the occasion of a festival if crowds of worshippers were then present in the temples(130). However the phrase amāru pānu when it has as its object kings and other personages means "to visit personally"(131). It is used in a prayer to Ninurta, pa-ni-ka a-ta-mar lu-šī-ra ana-ku(132), "I have visited thee, let me have prosperity"; this occurs in the šu-ila series of prayers said for individual sufferers. They required the intervention of the ašīpu-priest(133) and are accompanied by ritual indications which show that the prayers were recited ana maḥar DN(134) or were said after the placing of a thurible ana pān DN(135); it is simpler to take the phrase literally as meaning that the patient is present before the image of the god, as in the šu-ila to Nergal, aš-šum

mu-up-pal-sa-ta a-ta-mar i g i -ka aš-šum ri-mi-ni-ta
at-ta-ziz i g i -ka(136), "because thou art graciously
inclined I came to visit thee, because thou art merciful I
stand before thee". A Neo-Assyrian letter from Tabni to the
'scribe of the land' also uses the phrase in the sense 'to
visit', a-na ^{uru} n i n a ^{ki} e-ru-ub pa-ni šá ^d n á pa-ni
šá l u g a l ina s i l i m ^{me} a-mur(137), "I entered
Niniveh and visited Nabû and the king successfully", where
the exact parallel in the description of a visit to the god
and to the king implies the entry of the visitor into the
presence of both. In view of these examples, it is better
to take names of the Pan-DN-lūmur type as evidence of
individual piety, referring to the practice of visiting the
images of the gods(138). Other names which seem to refer
to this practice are the name from the Kassite period
^d Bēl-ina-Esagila-lūmur(139), and a group of Neo-Babylonian
names of the type DN-lūmur, ^d Bel-lūmur(140), ^{fd} Banitum-
lūmur(141), ^d Ninurta-lūmur(142).

2. 25. In Old Babylonian letters references to prayer for
the recipient of the letters are frequent in which the writer
promises to pray maḥar DN; so in a letter from Rimah,

Zakura-ḫammu writing to Iltani promises if the latter grants his request ma-ḫar ^du t u ^da m a r . u t u ^di s k u r u ^dg e š t i n . a n . n a a-na be-el-ti-ia lu-uk-ta-ra-ab(143),

"in the presence of Shamash, Marduk, Adad and Geshtin-anna for my lady I mean to pray continually". The phrase also occurs in an Old Assyrian letter:- i g i a-šūr u i-li-a a-kà-ra-ba-kum(144), "in the presence of Ashur and my god will I pray for thee". The phrase may have become a stereotyped expression, but it implies that to pray to the gods for a private individual was a normal activity to which reference could be made as a matter of course in private correspondence, whether the promised prayer actually took place or not. The exact meaning of the expression maḫar DN

is made clear in a letter from Mari where the governor of Terqa writing to Zimri-Lim says ka-a-ia-an-tam I ū^{meš} š u . g i a-lim^{ki} a-na i g i ^dda-gan i-ru-bu-ma a-na be-lí-ia ū um-ma-na-tim ša be-lí-ia ū-ka-ar-ra-bu(145),

"the elders of the city are continually entering into the presence of Dagan and they are praying for my lord and for the armies of my lord". It seems therefore that the expression as found in Old Babylonian letters also refers to the practice of entering the temples so as to pray before the images of the gods for private intentions.

d) The people and the statues of the gods: "touching the god".

2. 26. A number of personal names dating from Neo-Assyrian times use the phrase 'to touch the feet' with a divine name; so

Šēpē-Aššur-ašbat (146) and the abbreviated form Šēpē-Aššur (147),

Šēpē-Ištar-ašbat(148) and the abbreviated form Šēpē-Ištar(149),

Šēpē-Ninurta-ašbat(150). Other abbreviated forms of the same

type of name from the same period are Šēpē-Adad(151),

Šēpē-ilāni(152), Šēpē-Nergal(153) and Šēpē-Šamaš(154). Similar

names occur in the Neo-Babylonian period, Šēpē-^dBēl-,^dBēlit-,

-ili-,^dNabû-ašbat(155). Since the phrase šēpē šabātu can have

a metaphorical meaning 'to be subject to' which does not in

every case imply the actual carrying out of the symbolic gesture

of submission(156) it is difficult to argue from the names alone

for the existence of the practice of touching the feet of the

image of the gods on the part of individuals. However two

passages in letters, since they refer to physical displacement

in order that the feet may be touched, are better understood as

referring to the actual carrying out of the gesture; an Old

Assyrian letter from Cappadocia written by Lamassi to her husband

concerning the religious consecration of their daughter says

a-tal-kam a-na pá-ni a-šūr šu-ku-ší ù šé-ep ì-lí-ka ša-ba-at(157),

"come, place her before Ashur and grasp the foot of thy god", and an Old Babylonian letter from a nadītu expresses the wish to be able to go and touch the foot of the goddess since good health would come of it, ḥa-aṭ-ṭum ša be-el-ti-ia e-li-ia na-di-a-at lu-ul-⟨li⟩-lik še-ep be-el-ti-ia lu-iš-ba-at-ma lu-ub-lu-uṭ(158), "The fear of my Lady (i.e. Aya) is upon me, Would that I might go to touch the feet of my Lady and (thus) get well (again)". This passage envisages the performance of a particular act of devotion as a prelude to recovery, and the general meaning "to be subject to" is therefore not adequate in this instance as a translation of šēpē šabātum; it is better understood as referring to the physical touching of the divine statue. Although these two examples are separated by a long distance in time from the evidence derived from personal names, they would offer the most natural explanation of these as witnesses to individual acts of devotion, which may have implied the symbolic meaning of the gesture, but which were actually carried out by individuals in the temples(159).

2. 27. The practice of kissing the foot of the god's statue is attested at Mari where it was done by the king and must have been done physically, since the king is invited to come

to Terqa to kiss the foot of Dagan(160); it is also attested in texts which come from Assur as occurring in the cult, where it was done either by the king or by a priest(161). The expression šēpē DN našaqu occurs in an Old Babylonian letter: i-na hu-ud li-ib-bi-im ù [...] nam-ru-tim ši-ip
^dn i n . š u b u r ù ^dn i n . s i₄ . a n . n a be-li-ia
a-na-aš-ši-iq(162), "in joy of heart and ... of face I kiss the foot of Ilabrat and Nin-si-ana, my Lord". The letter is addressed to a woman; the name of the writer is lost, but the context implies a private correspondence and the phrase seems to refer to the devotional practice of an individual. In Ludlul bēl nēmeqi the climax of the composition shows the sufferer, restored to health, entering the Esagil temple of Marduk at Babylon and performing various cultic acts; among these is the kissing of the foot of Marduk's consort ina k á ħ i . l i . s ù
še-ep ^dšar-pa-ni-tum an-na-šiq(163), "in the 'Gate of Exuberance' I kissed the foot of Šarpānītum". The poem is spoken in the name of a man of wealth and social importance, who is however not a king since he speaks of his rôle in inculcating devotion to the king among the populace(164) and of his own piety to god and king(165). Although the scale of his offerings would have been beyond the possibility of the ordinary citizen, the kissing of the feet of the god's statue may reflect popular usage.

e) The people and the statues of the gods: giving food to the god.

2. 28. The practice of "feeding" the images of the gods in the temples has frequently been analysed as an important part of Mesopotamian religion(166). Could the gift of a private individual be received for the purpose of a divine meal?

2. 29. In the Babylonian Theodicy, which Lambert dates from c. 1000 B.C.,(167) the sufferer contrasts his own behaviour with that of the "nouveau riche", the bēl pāni; he asks of the latter: [ak-k]i-mil-ti il-ti-i šup-ṭu-ri ú-bil maṣ-ḥat-s[u](168), "did he bring his roast corn to appease the goddess's anger?" and he contrasts this with his own behaviour: [ak-]la-ma-a nin-[d]a-ba-a(169) "have I held back the cereal offering?". Both maṣḥatu and nindabū are commonly used for the offerings to the gods in the temple worship(170) but the context here indicates that the person who offers them, the person in whose name the poem is uttered, is the 'common man'. Although the composer of the poem is named from the acrostic as an ašipu priest(171) the poem does not mirror his condition but sets out to express the doubts of a suffering and downtrodden orphan whose practice of religion has not led to

prosperity. It must be concluded that the offering of food to the gods could be part of the religious practice of the ordinary citizen.

2. 30. The offering of maṣḥatu in connection with a man's personal goddess is alluded to in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi where the sufferer complains that he has suffered the lot of "one who has abandoned his goddess by not bringing the roast corn", i-zib^d iṣ-tar-ta-šú maṣ-ḥa-tu la ub-la(172). In fact, he protests, his behaviour was far other since: ni-qu-u sak-ku-ú-a(173), "sacrifice was my rule". Niqu, a general word for a sacrificial offering as well as for an offering of sheep(174), is also found as the word used for the offering of a private individual in the "Counsels of Wisdom"(175); this composition consists of advice given to someone who seems likely to become of considerable importance since he is advised on how to behave if he is taken into the service of a prince, rubû(176), but by the same token he cannot have been a royal personage. His practice of religion is described as follows:
u₄-mi-šam-ma il-ka kit-rab ni-qu-u qí-bít pi-i si-mat qut-rin-ni
a-na d i n g i r -ka šâ-gi₈-gur₆-ra-a lu-u ti-i-ši
an-nu-um-ma si-mat d i n g i r -ú-ti(177), "every day worship thy god. Sacrifice and benediction are the proper accompaniment of incense. Present the

free-will offering to thy god, for this is proper toward the gods". The free-will offering is mentioned also in a wisdom text which Lambert entitles "Counsels of a Pessimist"; unfortunately there is no indication as to whom the counsels are addressed(178); they include the injunction: lu-u ka-a-a-an š à . g i_g . g u r₆ -ka a-na d i n g i r ba-ni-ka(179), "let thy free-will offering be constantly before the god who created thee". In the "Dialogue of Pessimism" the master mentions as one of the courses of action which he wants to pursue s i z k u r [niqâ] ana d i n g i r -ia lu-pu-uš(180), "I mean to sacrifice to my god". Since the other intentions which he declares concern such actions as dining and driving into the country, one can deduce that sacrifice to the god formed part of the normal activities in which he engaged.

2. 31. In Ludlul bēl nēmeqi the offering of sacrifice in the temple in the presence of the statues of Marduk and Šarpānītum forms the climax of the restoration of the righteous sufferer to health. The reasons for considering him as not a royal personage, although a person of importance, have already been given(181). Once in the presence of the divine pair he describes the following offerings as taking place: gut-rin-na ta-bu-ú-ti ma-ḫar-šú-nu ú-šá-aš-li ú-šam-ḫir ir-ba ta-ʾa-ti i g i . s á

e-ta-an-du-te ú-pal-liq le-e ma-re-e uṭ-tab-bi-ih sap-di
at-ta-naq-qi ku-ru-un-nu du-uš-šu-pá g e š t i n [i]l-lu(182),
 "choice incense I placed before them, I presented an offering, a
 gift, accumulated donations, I slaughtered fat oxen, and butchered
 fattened sheep, I repeatedly libated honey-sweet beer and pure
 wine".

2. 32. In the Shamash Hymn, to which Lambert assigns a Neo-Babylonian origin(183), the relation of a large number of classes and professions to the god is set out(184) after which it is stated: ina u₄ . 20 . k á m re-šá-ta il-la-ta ù hi-da-a-ti
tak-kal ta-šat-ti el-la ku-ru-un-ši-na ši-kar si-bi-'i-ka-a-ri
i-naq-qa-nik-ka ši-kar sa-bi-'i ta-maḫ-ḫar šá la-mu-ši-na-a-ti
dan-nu a-gu-ú tu-še-zib at-ta el-lu-ú-tum eb-bu-ú-ti sír-qí-ši-na
tam-taḫ-ḫar ta-šat-ti mi-zi-'i-ši-na ku-ru-un-n[a] su-um-mi-rat
ik-pu-du tu-šak-šad at-ta(185), "on the twentieth day thou
 exuldest with mirth and joy; thou eatest, thou drinkest their
 pure ale, the barman's beer from the market. They pour out the
 barman's beer for thee and thou acceptest. Thou deliverest
 people surrounded by mighty waves; in return thou receivest
 their pure, clear libations. Thou drinkest their mild beer and
 ale, then thou fulfillest the desires they conceive". This
 passage, implying the offer of food and drink to the god Shamash

from the large number of different categories mentioned, none of them being kings or priests, explicitly connects these offerings with the idea of thanksgiving after deliverance and the fulfilment of the desire of the worshippers. The existence of the Old Babylonian personal name Mar-Umu-20^{kám} may indicate the popular nature of the festival of Shamash on the twentieth day of the month and also the kind of request which was addressed to the god by his devotees(186).

2. 33. Evidence from texts other than wisdom texts is scarcer.

A text from Assur, which is probably a namburbi text(187), and which is entitled: [é n u₄ ěš]-ěš, "incantation for the

eššešu day", has the general injunction: [mím-m]a lim-nu ū-pi-ši

h u l^{meš} ana é-kur la t e^{meš} na-din zi-bi-šú g i m u₄^{me}

z a l^{ir} hi-tu u bar-tum ina é d i n g i r b i la

t u g^{ši} (188), "evil and malicious practices may not approach

the sanctuary; he who brings his offering must shine like the

daylight; shortcomings and rebelliousness may not exist in this

house of the god". There is no precise indication as to who the

nādin zibišu may be. Zibu is a food offering which CAD considers

to be offering of cooked meat(189); it is possible that the

offerings of private worshippers are alluded to here. A much

later text from the Seleucid period mentions in connection with

the eššešu festivals niqê kārîbi, offerings of (private) worshippers(190) which it distinguishes from the offerings of the king and which are among the income of the butcher's prebend.

2. 34. A tablet found in the gate chamber of the outer gate to the temple at Nimrud records the gift of a woman slave and seven homers of field to Nabû for the life of Sargon king of Assyria and of his queen; the gift is dated c. 614 B.C. and is made by Nabû-sakip, son of Abbe-damiq; it records that he has made the gift and s i z k u r . s i z k u r -ma(191), "he has poured out libation" or "offered sacrifice".

2. 35. In omen texts the mention of food offering to the gods is frequent. The hemerologies and menologies from Assur, which have been edited and studied by Labat(192) and which he dates from the eleventh century B.C. as copies from a Kassite original(193), frequently mention the kurummatu which is laid before various gods. The word indicates a ration of food or drink(194) and although there is no indication as to where the offering was made, it is stated that it is the person offering it who places it and that the offering is accepted. The recurring formula

is: š u k -su ana DN g a r ma-hir, "his food-offering for DN he will place, it is acceptable". The use of the expression "to bring the food-offering near" which is found in one instance in the Hemerology: [ana] ^d[u t u] š u k -su li-taḫ-ḫi(195), implies that the offering was brought to a cult-centre or sanctuary. There is one interdiction for the 26th day of Araḫsamna which forbids the depositing of the food-offering(196) but apart from that the indication of favourable days for the food-offering are numerous; they occur in nine different months and cover a total of 102 days. The number of different deities mentioned as possible recipients of the kurummatu are forty-three, including five constellations(197).

In one case the mention of the offering is followed immediately with the mention that the prayer of the offerer will be heard: k i . m i n š u k -su ana ^da-nim ^di š d a r g a r -ma ma-hir te-és-li-su š e . g a (198), "ditto, his food-offering for Anu (and) Ishtar he will place; it is acceptable; his prayer will be heard". The relation of the food-offering to the fulfilling of the prayer of the offerer is thus the same here as in the Shamash Hymn studied above. The problem in the case of the hemerologies is to determine who was envisaged as making the food-offerings to the gods. CAD takes k i . m i n as referring to the king and so would make him the subject of all the actions envisaged in the collection(199). Labat on the contrary considers

that it was for the use of the "layman" who wanted to carry out his normal activities successfully by avoiding the unfavourable days of the month and choosing the favourable ones (200). The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that the king himself is referred to several times as favourable or unfavourable on certain days(201). It is therefore likely that this is a composite text, comprising omens which could concern both the king and private individuals; as Labat points out, there was an evolutive and harmonising process at work in successive compilations, so that the later series Enbu bēl arḥim concerns only the king(202). The iqqur ḫpuš calendar from the Old Babylonian period, on which Enbu bēl arḥim drew, is similarly composite with omens about the actions performed by the king and omens which must concern a private individual(203); it mentions the food-offering in a general form which can apply to a private person: d i š ina nisanni š u g -su ana d i n g i r -šú g a r -un i -niš s i g₅-iq(204), "if in the month of Nisan his food-offering for his god he presents, (the month) is entirely favourable". But one variant inserts l u g a l before kurummašsu. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude from the omen literature that the offering of food to the gods was an act of piety which was performed both by the kings and by private persons, so that the evidence of the omen literature here corroborates a practice which is clearly attested in the wisdom texts.

- f) The people and the statues of the gods: the offering of precious metals and cloth.

2. 36. As well as gifts of food, gifts of a non-perishable nature are recorded. A number of texts from the Old Assyrian period refer to gifts of silver, gold, tin and cloth which are called ikribum. The texts are studied by Hirsch(205) who considers that in some cases at least the ikribum was a free gift to the god and points out that it could be equated with the word nīqu; however he also adduces examples where the meaning "tax" or "loan" would apply better. CAD suggests that the large amounts concerned in the Old Assyrian references to ikribum were set aside "possibly to let the deity share in the business undertaking and thus to insure its success"(206), and this view is endorsed by Veenhof who considers that the temples took part in trade by entrusting to merchants goods, called ikribum, which were produced by the temple or bought with temple money(207). If this is correct, it is clear that the ikribum was not always the outcome of personal devotion to the gods, but it remains true that it was thought of as involving the god himself, and not merely the temple administration, in the lives and concerns of the merchants. This is indicated by a letter which ascribes the illness of one of the writers to

the action of the god as a result of the non-payment of an ikribum of silver: a-šū-mi [k ū . b a b] b a r ik-ri-bi₄ ša a-bi₄-ni be-lá-tum a-na-kam ta-am-ra-aš ù i-na ú-tù-ki ù i-na e-ťá-mì ša-am-ru(text -du-)-ša-ni...a-na-kam lam-ni-iš i-lu-um bīt a-bi₄-ku-nu é-pa-aš(208), "because of the silver of the 'votive-offering' of our father, Belatum here is ill; both by utukku demons and by ghosts we are made ill...the god here is doing harm to the house of your father".

2. 37. In Babylonia, there are references in texts of the Old Babylonian period to small quantities of silver which are called ikribum and which are pledged to the gods for the recovery of named individuals(209). Harris argues that these are examples of vows formulated as loans(210) and this view is supported by the fact that objects of religious significance are also promised to the gods for the recovery of individuals, as in the following example from Larsa:

l g í n i g i 6 g á l[....] 1/3 g i n ša-am-ša
u g u d i n g i r -ta-a-a-ar ^du t u i-šu bu-ul-ťa
i-ka-aš-ša-ad-ma i-na gu-ul-ba-tim ša-am-ša-am a-na ki-ša-di-šu
i-ša-ka-an(211), "one and one-sixth shekel of (....) a sun-disk (weighing) one-third of a shekel Ilum-tařar owes to Shamash, when he regains his health he will place the sun-disk on his

(the god's) neck on the gulbātu(festival)". Literary texts also contain references to the offering of gold to the gods by individuals. In the Babylonian Theodicy the sufferer contrasts his behaviour with that of the "nouveau riche" and asks of the latter: e n pa-an šá uš-su-bu-šu na-ḫa-šú [aq-r]a-a ša-ri-ri i-ḫi-ṭa a-na ^dma-mi(212), "the 'nouveau riche' who has multiplied his wealth did he weigh out precious gold for the goddess Mami?", the implication being that this is what he could well have done. In the Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur, which is known from its presence among the Sultantepe Tablets but which Gurney considers to have formed a part of the traditional literature of the Babylonians(213), the hero comes to the mayor disguised as an important person, since he has a chariot which is described as si-mat ra-bu-te(214), "the mark of a nobleman", and he announces: ana é-kur é ^den-lil g u š k i n ub-la-am-ma(215), "I have brought gold for Ekur the temple of Enlil".

2. 38. In the Late Babylonian period the practice of offering silver by people coming into the temples and going out of them is well documented and has been studied by Oppenheim(216). These gifts were collected in a box (quppu) which was near the entrance since it is referred to sometimes as quppu ša bābi(217),

"the box of/at the gate". The gifts were differentiated since the "gifts on entering" were called irbu(218) and the "gifts on leaving" siftu(219). The "collection boxes" were in the care of the atû(220) "door-keeper", who was responsible for handing over at the end of each month the silver deposited in them to the smiths of the sanctuary for refining and smelting into ingots of standard size and quality(221). Numerous Neo-Babylonian texts refer to these operations(222); the silver used for currency was of uneven quality and numerous clauses in business documents of the period seek to guard against the use of inferior alloys(223). The need for smelting and refining the silver collected at the gates of the temples points to the fact that it came from different sources and varied in quality as well as in quantity. This is indirect evidence for the conclusion that at this period a wide variety of worshippers went into the temples and expressed their devotion to the gods by their gifts; the mention of irbu in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, immediately after the man who has been cured describes his passage through the various gates of the temple of Marduk for the purpose of giving thanks, may indicate that the practice goes back to the Kassite period at least(224). The dénouement of the episode in The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur alluded to above may also be earlier evidence of the

existence of the temple quppu, since the hero makes off in the night with the gold which he had brought for the temple and the mayor upon discovering the fact in the morning exclaims: pi-te-ma k á qup-pi ta-bíl g u š k i n (225), "the door of the (cash-)box is open, the gold has been removed".

g) The people and the statues of the gods: the placing of letters before the gods.

2. 39. Gadd in 1945 described the practice of writing letters to the gods as "one of the most curious practices of oriental antiquity"(226) but said that only one example, a Sumerian text from Ur, was known to him at the time(227). Since then Halle has collected and published the Sumerian material(228) and has established that prayers, addressed to the gods in the normal epistolary form, were actually deposited before the statues of the gods in the sanctuary of the temples. This is proved by a Sumerian prayer-letter written by Sin-šamuḫ the scribe to the god Enki in which the writer states that he has deposited the letter before the god(229). Two Neo-Assyrian prayer-letters, written by a lady of the royal household at the time of

Ashurbanipal about matters of state, also contain the statement that the writer has placed them before the god Laḫar: e-zib šá g e m e ta-aš-tu-ru-ma ina ma-ḫa-rí-ka ta-aš-ku-nu(230), "disregard (the fact) that a woman has written this and has placed it in front of thee". The purpose of the prayer-letter cannot therefore have been to send a message to a divinity whose shrine was inaccessible to the writer; it is indicated probably by two Old Babylonian tablets, written in Akkadian, and bored through with a hole from edge to edge which were evidently designed to hang or stand in a convenient position before the eyes of the god. One of these, which is pierced from top to bottom and was presumably intended to stand on a stick, is from a nadītu of Shamash and is addressed to the god who is only referred to as bēli; it begins as would an ordinary letter: a-na be-lí-ia qí-bí-ma(231), "speak thus to my lord", and goes on to seek redress against a named individual who has kept back the price of a garment and has uttered threats of violence. It ends with the plea: di-ni di-in(232), "judge my cause".

2. 40. The other Old Babylonian example is a text from Ur which has been published by Gadd(233); it is on two sides of a complete tablet, measuring 13 x 5 cms, and bored through by a hole from edge to edge. This has been carefully located for, if a rod is

inserted and held horizontally, the tablet rests with its obverse at a slope convenient for reading. Gadd supposed that it was set up on a support facing the image of the moon-god and suggested that it might have been held by a figure of the petitioner himself, which would explain the lack of any self-introduction in the text. It begins: ^dn a n n a l u g a l a n k i at-ta at-ka-al-ku-um-ma e-la-ni d u m u gir-ni-i-sà aḫ-ta-ab-la-an-ni di-ni di-in(234), "Nannâ, thou art king of heavens and earth, I trust in thee. Elani, son of Girni-isa, does me wrong; judge my cause". The sender of the letter is not identified until line 33 when his name, Kuzulum, is mentioned incidentally in the oath which his enemy, Elani, has sworn and which the letter quotes. The matter at issue between Kuzulum and Elani concerns a sum of money which the latter had borrowed from the former to pay the bride-price and never returned, though time has passed long enough for Elani to beget a son and a daughter. Elani has sworn his innocence before a number of gods and in different sacred places. Because the courts were presumably satisfied by the disculpatory oath of Elani, Kuzulum has no recourse other than this direct appeal to the gods: ^dn a n n a ù ^du t u e-la-ni it-ma-ma iḫ-ta-ab-la-an-ni ^dn i n . š u b u r l u g a l n í g . g a li-zi-iz-ma ^dn a n n a ù ^du t u di-ni li-di-nu ra-bu-ut

^dn a n n a û ^du t u lu-mu-ur-ma(235), "Elani has sworn
by Nannâ and Shamash (but nevertheless) he does me wrong.

Let Nin-shubur the king of property stand up; let Nannâ and
Shamash judge my cause; let me see the greatness of Nannâ and
Shamash". The names of both Elani and Kuzulum are found several
times in business documents of the Old Babylonian period from
Ur(236). This text, which is further studied below (2.51) in
connection with the oaths of private citizens, is important as
an example of the way that an individual could turn to the gods
for redress in his particular case. It also illustrates the way
in which this recourse to their intervention was centered on the
cult place of the gods, where the prayer of the suppliant could
be made present in a very concrete way by the device of the
prayer-letter. It should be noticed too that the final supplic-
ation, asking to "see" the greatness of Nannâ and Shamash,
equates this with the redress of the wrong done to one man. This
shows a belief in the interest and care of the gods for the
ordinary man who placed his case before them, a belief too in
the efficacy of their intervention. The beginning of the letter
is equally revealing of popular piety with its affirmation of
the universal sway of the god who is invoked ("thou art king of
heaven and earth") and its profession of trust ("I trust in thee").

- h) The people and the statues of the gods : the placing of figurines before the gods.

2. 41. The practice of making statuettes of the king, often specified as being of precious metal, and placing them before the image of the gods is attested in texts from the Old Babylonian period(237), from Mari(238) and from Assyria(239). These statues are referred to as "praying statues" in a number of Old Babylonian date-years(240) and at Mari(241); the inscription on the statue of Shalmaneser III states that it has been set up in the presence of Adad so that, when the god sees it, he may order length of days and fulness of years for the king and may daily command the removal of any affliction from his body(242).

2. 42. As well as statuettes of kings, figurines of other personages have been found. Two caches of small figurines, dating from Early Dynastic II and III were found at Tell Asmar. Frankfort surmises that they were buried when the furnishings of the temple were renewed; he concludes from the variety in size and quality of these statuettes, and also from their number, that they cannot all have represented rulers, and that therefore ordinary devotees of the god must have brought them

to the temple(243). Sollberger has studied three Old Babylonian examples which he considers to be "persons of substance" but not the kings for whose lives they were, at least in two instances, supposed to intercede(244). These figurines represent a bearded male figure kneeling on the right knee. In two cases the right hand is broken off, but the figure from the Louvre has the right forearm raised and the index finger held up to the mouth in the attitude of supplication(245). These figurines are of small size(246); two of them are made of metal and one is terra-cotta(247). The Louvre figurine has an inscription which states that it is for the life of Hammurapi king of Babylon and has been dedicated to the god Martu by Lu-nanna; it is called in the inscription $a\ l\ a\ m\ \check{s}\ \grave{a}\ .\ n\ e\ .\ \check{s}\ a_4\ u\ r\ u\ d\ u$ (248), "a suppliant statue of copper". Sollberger has also published a tablet from Sippar, which the style of the script makes him consider to be early Kassite; it reproduces an inscription in Sumerian copied from a copper statue which Gimil-Marduk, the judge, had had made for the life of Ammišaduqa, king of Babylon. This inscription states explicitly that Gimil-Marduk brought or placed the statue before Shamash(249) and that the statue was "suppliant and uttering prayers"(250).

2. 43. The foregoing evidence throws light on passages in two

Old Babylonian letters which are best understood as referring to the practice of placing figurines of individuals before the statues of the gods. The first is a letter of profuse thanks, addressed to a personage who is not named, by Habil-kēnum.

It concerns the gift of a certain number of oxen and begins with expressions of gratitude: gi-mil-lam ša e-li-ia

ta-aš-ku-nu ma-ti a-na-ku lu-te-er šum-ma ba-al-tá-ku-ma

^da n . m a r . t u ba-ni-ka ig-da-am-la-an-ni ša-al-mi-ka

i-na a-ḫi-ia lu-uq-qú-ur mu-ša-am ù ka-ša-tam ma-ḫar ^du t u

ù ^da m a r . u t u lu-uk-ta-ar-ra-ba-ak-kum ú-ul


ka-aš-da-ku(251), "when can I return the favour which thou

hast done to me? If I remain alive and Anmartu thy begetter will spare me, thy images with my(own)arms I will destroy.

Night and morning before Shamash and Marduk will I pray continually for thee and not attain (what I need to repay thee)".

This seems to mean that the writer of the letter, as an expression of gratitude, proposes to break the statuettes of his benefactor so that he himself can take their place in the presence of the gods and intercede ceaselessly for his benefactor. The expression is obviously hyperbolic; it is important as showing that the existence of figurines, presumably made of terra-cotta as in the examples studied by Sollberger, could be taken for granted. There is no suggestion that there is anything

special or unusual about their existence. The text also defines the rôle of the figurines by mentioning three characteristics which are precisely those which are referred to in the case of royal statuettes; a) they are praying figurines, since the rôle of prayer is the one which Habil-kēnum will take upon himself once he has destroyed them, b) they symbolise constant prayer (mūšam u kašâtam; I₃ form of karābu), c) and they are in the physical presence of the gods' statues (maḥar šamaš u Marduk).

2. 44. Another letter of the same period ends pa-ni-ki i-na a-ma-ri-im [š]a-la-am-ki i-na a-ḫi-ni i ni-iq-gú-ur(252), "as soon as we see thee, we want to break thy image with our (own) arms". The letter is addressed to Aḫatum, wife of Sîn-iddinam the rab amurrim, by two individuals, Tappi-wedi and Mār-Shamash who have been taken prisoner and are held in the palace of Kakmum. They beg her to give news of their fate to persons whom they describe as "our fathers" so that their ransom can be arranged. In the circumstances an expression of exaggerated gratitude is not out of place; in this case the whereabouts of the statuette of their benefactress is not stated but the exact parallel in the expression used here and in the letter previously studied indicates a similar situation(253).

2. 45. An Old Babylonian omen, text referring to the possible omens to be had if a man walks along the street on business, mentions that he may see someone carrying the image of a god(254); among the other people who are mentioned as liable to cross in front of him are a man carrying "the image of a worshipper in a praying attitude", (255) *d i š š i r šá g i . m e š .* This seems to be another reference to the practice studied in this section and would indicate that the sight of persons carrying figurines to the temples could be considered a common, though significant, sight.

2. 46. The practice of placing figurines of praying individuals before the divine statues expresses belief in the power of the gods to affect the individual for good and in the special location of that power in the statues of the gods. The references in Old Babylonian letters which have been studied, since they refer to breaking the figurines of individuals so that actual worshippers can take their place, also establish indirectly that it was possible for worshippers to go into the sanctuary of the temple to pray before the images of the gods.

i) Oath-taking in the temples

2. 47. The religious character of the oaths sworn as part of the judicial process in Ancient Mesopotamia is well established(256). This religious character resides in the sanction which the oath carries with it, so that the oath is an ordeal which a suspect is made to undergo(257). In the Laws of Hammurabi and at Rimah the taker of the oath swears his or her innocence and is then allowed to go free(258); the phrase which is commonly used "to swear(zakāru) by the life (nīš) of the god or gods, of the king, or of the king and the city" is not entirely free from obscurity. M. Munn-Rankin, studying its use at Mari, interprets it as meaning that the oath was sworn by the life of the person who swore it, a life which the gods gave and could take away(259); she reaches this conclusion from texts referring to treaties between kings and states that "the significance of the gesture of touching the throat and the animal sacrifice, performed at the ratification ceremony, was that the person swearing the oath pledged his life to keep the treaty"(260). However, as S. Page has pointed out(261), there is only one example from Mari of nīš ilim used in private litigation of the type found in Babylonia, and that example(262) dates from the Assyrian inter-regnum. Nor does Munn-Rankin apply her interpretation of

nīš ilim to the oath formulae nīš šarrim u ālim. However this uncertainty does not invalidate the conclusion that the practice of oath-taking in Mesopotamia was based on the belief that the gods punished anyone who swore falsely.

2. 48. The curses contained in certain business documents are further evidence of the same belief(263). So is a text in the form of a letter to Ninurta, which is however prefixed with the word šiptu, "incantation", and which asks the god to wipe out the alleged writer and his family because of his breaking of an oath. It has been published by Ebeling(264) who dated it paleographically to the Kassite period. The letter is in the name of Bābu-aḥ-iddina but is presumably due to the sense of grievance of Shamash-balāṭu since it states that Bābu-aḥ-iddina: la pi-i u k ù . m e š šu-ú li-qí-i ina ḥ a . l a šá
^{md}u t u -ba-la-ṭu(265), "is not like other folk taking away the portion of Shamash-balāṭu". The text specifies the goods which Bābu-aḥ-iddina has taken and continues: niš^d en-líl u^d nin-líl
^dm a š u e n š a d a n a m . e r í m l a p a-šá-ri šá
d i n g i r . m e š g a l . m e š ^{md}k á . š e š . m u a
^{md}m a š -na-din- m u z a-kir ar-nu e-nit-ta ḥi-ṭu-a-ta
qil-la-a-ta šá ma-mi-tum an-nit ^{md}k á . š e š . m u na-ša
i m . r i . a li-iz-bi-il(266), "by the life of Enlil and

Ninlil, Ninurta and Nusku, Bābu-aḥ-iddina son of Ninurta-nadin-šumi has sworn the unbreakable oath of the great gods; the sin, the crime, the mistakes, the offences (because) of this oath does Bābu-aḥ-iddina bear, let the family (also) carry (them)". This is a clear statement of the belief, expressed here by or on behalf of a private individual, that the swearing of a false oath would have dire consequences not only for the perjurer but also for his family and that these consequences would result from the action of the gods.

2. 49. The swearing of an oath was another of the occasions when a private individual could enter the temple. The evidence for this comes from several Old Babylonian texts. Thus the witnesses in a case of stolen barley make their statement in the temple of the goddess Maḥ: ina bi-i[t] ^dm a[h] šī-bu ki-a-a[m] i[q]-b[u-nim] (267), "in the temple of Maḥ, the witnesses have spoken thus". In a case of sedition, the witnesses first make their statement and then this is confirmed, presumably by oath, in the temple: iš-tu da-ba-bu šu-ú i-na pu-úh-ri ub-ti-ir-ru a-na é ^dia-ab-li-ia a-na bu-úr-ri il-qú-su-nu-ti iš-tu i-na é ^dia-ab-li-ia da-ba-ba an-ni-a ú-ki-in-nu a-wi-lum ^de n . z u -i-qí-ša-am a-na ma-aš-ša-ar-tim ip-qí-is-su (268), "after this statement had been testified to

in the assembly they were taken to the temple of Iablia for confirmation and after they had confirmed this statement in the temple of Iablia the lord Sîn-iqišam (the governor) handed him (the accused) over to the guard". There is also evidence from this period of the practice of taking the symbols of the gods from the temples so that disputes about property could be settled on the property itself by oaths taken before the gods; the texts have been brought together and studied by R. Harris(269).

2. 50. Old Assyrian references to legal transactions in connection with temples situate these bāb ilim(270), "in the gate of the god". The stela of Aššur-nāṣir-apli II at Nimrud refers to the establishment of the oath of the great gods in the midst of the temples; é é . k u r . m e š d i n g i r . m e š g a l . m e š ana eš-šú-te ina lib-bi ad-di ma-mit dingir . me š g a l . m e š e n . m e š -a ina ki-rib-ši-na ú-kin(271), "the temples of the great gods anew within (the city) I founded; the oath of the great gods my lords within them I established"; this Late Assyrian reference seems to concern the establishment of the symbols of the gods in the temple for the taking of oaths, as in the Old Babylonian evidence.

2. 51. The link between legal practice and the temples and symbols of the gods is clear, but is there any evidence of this practice having any impact on the religious life of individuals? Granted that the disculpatory oath depends for its effectiveness as a legal institution on the theological belief that the gods punish perjury, it might be argued that this was unlikely to strike litigants as a particularly religious experience(272). The prayer-letter to Nannâ, which has been studied above (2.40), gives valuable evidence of one particular case which throws light on the relation between current legal practice and the religious sensibility of an individual, in this case Kuzulum who claims that he has been wronged by Elani. After a summary of the case, setting out how Elani has failed to repay in full the bride price which he had borrowed from Kuzulum, the letter specifies the oaths which Elani has sworn:

i-na ki-ra-tim me-eḫ-ri-it é . k i š . n u . g á l la
a-ḫa-ba-lu-ka-ma it-ma i-na k i s a l . m a ḫ ša-pa-al
g i š . t u k u l ša ta-ra-mu it-ma š à k i s a l . m a ḫ
me-eḫ-ri-it é . k i š . n u . g a l me-eḫ-ri-it
^dn i n . g a l ša é . g a . d i i g i ^dn i n . š u b u r
š u r k i s a l . m a ḫ i g i ^da-la-mu-uš i g i
^dn a n n a i g i . d u ù ^dn a n n a á . d a ḫ it-ma-am
ka-a-ti ù ma-ru-ka la a-ḫa-ba-lu-ka-ma it-ma a n . e . n e

an-nu-tum lu ši-bu-ú-a-mi iq-bi a-pu-na-ma i-na ki-ra-tim
me-eh-ri-it é . k i š . n u . g a l i g i ^d n a n n a
i g i ^d u t u e-la-ni ku-zu-la-am la a-ḫa-ba-lu-ma
i g i ^d n a n n a i g i ^d u t u a-pi-il e-la-ni a-a
ib-ši ki-a-am it-ma ta-mi ^d n a n n a ù ^d u t u
e-ep-qa-am i-ma-al-la i-la-bi-in ù d u m u . u š ù-la
e-ra-aš-ši(273), "in the (palm-)gardens in front of

E-kish-nu-gal he swore 'I am doing thee no wrong'. In the
Great Court, beneath the Mace which thou lovest, he swore.
In the middle of the Great Court, in front of E-kish-nu-gal
before Nin-gal of the E-ga-di, before Nin-shubur, overseer(?)
of the Great Court, before Alamush, before Nannâ the Leader
and Nannâ the Helper he swore to me 'Thee and thy sons, I am
doing you no wrong' he swore, 'these gods are my witnesses'
he said. Moreover, in the (palm-)gardens in front of
E-kish-nu-gal before Nannâ, before Shamash '(I) Elani (to thee)
Kuzulum am doing no wrong; before Nannâ, before Shamash, may
there be no son (to succeed) Elani', so he swore. The oath of
Nannâ and Shamash shall fill him with leprosy, he shall be
destitute, and shall have no son(to succeed him)". It is
noticeable that the text details the places where Elani has
sworn and the gods having their images and shrines situated in
the Great Court; the obvious reason for such careful enumeration
is that for Kuzulum the binding character of the oaths

was linked in some way to the places, statues and symbols mentioned. The first oath sworn by Elani states that the gods actually present (ilāni annutum) are his witnesses; all this implies that the entry into the temple for the purpose of swearing the oaths was no formality where Kuzulum was concerned. Nor does he doubt the effect of the curses which Elani has called down upon himself in swearing the disculpatory oaths; he adds his own comment as to what the effect of the second oath will be. Finally it should be noticed that the effect of the judicial procedure followed has been to involve the gods closely in his own case as far as Kuzulum is concerned. As has been said above (2.40) he equates the redress of the injustice which he has suffered with seeing the greatness of Nannâ and Shamash(274).

Chapter III. Individual participation in religious acts
taking place elsewhere than in the temples.

a) The āšipu priest and the individual.

3. 1. In moving from a consideration of the temples to the religious life of individuals outside them, it is important to see if there was any intermediary between the temples and the wider life of Mesopotamian society who served as a link of religious significance. The āšipu was considered by Ebeling to have provided such a link and he called him the Beichtvater of Mesopotamian society(275). However this has been challenged by Landsberger(276) followed by Kinnier Wilson(277) who see the āšipu as primarily a diagnostician or expert, and not as a priest at all. To what extent can Ebeling's interpretation be substantiated?

3. 2. The Sumerogram l ú . m a š . m a š is written syllabically āšipu and mašmaš(š)u so that it is generally accepted that these two words refer to the same person(278); this surmise has been strengthened by the publication of a namburbi ritual in which what appears to be the same celebrant is referred to as m a š . m a š and āšipu in two consecutive

lines(279). In this study he will be referred to as ašipu throughout.

3. 3. The ašipu came to the fore in the Kassite period(280), but the origins of this office have not yet been studied. The rôle of the ašipu was varied. He could be a member of the temple personnel and as such is referred to as:

l ú . m a š . m a š é aš-šur(281), "ašipu of the temple of Ashur" in a series of Late Assyrian colophons. A number of Seleucid colophons from Uruk refer to the ašipu of Anu and Antu(282). He was involved in the temple liturgies, as is shown by the akītu of Ishtar at Uruk; when the image of Ishtar was in the court of the akītu, in the presence of the king, the people and the images of all the other gods: l ú . m a š . m a š
ša kap-pu ana ^dXV u d i n g i r^{meš} d ù . a í l -ši
a^{meš}(283), "the ašipu, presenting the cup to Ishtar and to all the gods, will make a libation of water". In the ritual for the akītu at Babylon, the ašipu carried out the purification of the temple(284). At ^{Assur}Assur, he is mentioned in the ritual for the oath-taking of the officials which Ebeling connects with the new-year ritual(285).

3. 4. The āšipu was also closely connected with the king. There is mention at Assur in the Middle Assyrian period of the āšipu of the king(286) and the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic includes āšipūta among the tablets brought back from Babylon by the Assyrian king(287). In Neo-Assyrian texts, there is also found mention of the āšipu of the king(288). An inscription of Sennacherib states that the king sent an āšipu and a kalû for the official opening of an aqueduct(289). There are frequent reports from the āšipu priests to the king in the royal correspondence(290). The repertoire of the āšipu, which is listed in the form of a series of incipits in KAR 44(291), includes the royal rituals bīt mēseri and bīt rimki and the ritual for the "washing of the mouth"(292). In the ritual for the substitute king several āšipu take part(293).

3. 5. However the connection between the āšipu and the class of rituals called namburbi shows him at work outside the temple and the royal ceremonies. KAR 44 lists among the ritual texts to be learned and used by the āšipu: n a m . b ú r . b i
 á . m e š a n u k i -t i m a -l a b a -š a -a(294), "namburbi (for) every portent of heaven and earth". The namburbi rituals have been studied by Ebeling(295) and Caplice(296). Some 125 namburbi texts are known, dating from the 8th to the 6th century

B.C.; most of them come from Niniveh and Assur, though seven are from other centres, namely Uruk, Sultantepe, Calah, Hama and Tarsus. The namburbi, which is usually a combination of incantation and ritual action, is intended to provide rites for dispelling the threat of evil provided by portents(297). Apart from BBR 11 in which the bārû priest performs a namburbi on his own behalf, Caplice considers it "most probable" that the namburbi was normally carried out by the āšipu(298). The signs to which these rites were a response are normally of the type listed in the omen series šumma ālu, i.e. unsolicited portents which occur in the course of daily life in a man's house or in the city. Such portents as the appearance of ants in the house of a man, the opening of a hole in his house, the settling of a bat upon a man belong to the sphere of occurrences in the life of ordinary citizens.

3. 6. The involvement of the āšipu with illness belongs to a similar sphere. Labat has attempted to reconstitute, from tablets coming from Uruk, the canonical sequence of the series of omen texts enuma ana bīt marši āšipu illiku(299), "when the āšipu goes to the house of the sick man"; the series is also referred to in a Nimrud catalogue(300) and a colophon on one of the Uruk tablets refers to an original from Babylon(301).

This series is associated in two of the Uruk tablets with the series ana marši ina teḫêka(302), "when thou approachest the sick man" which seems also to refer to the āšipu. E. Ritter has tried to distinguish the rites carried out at the side of the sick bed by the āšipu from healing practices adopted by the asû, the doctor(303) but there can be no doubt as to the close involvement of the āšipu with the patient and actually at the latter's bedside. The function of the āšipu seems to have included the observation of the veins of the patients; in KAR 44 s a . g i g -û, sakikkû is included between hemerologies and physiognomic omens and Oppenheim translates this term as ranging in meaning "from observation of the veins and diagnosis based on the observation of diseased veins to omen and omen collection based on such observation"(304). The inclusion of the šaziga incantations, which were designed to remove certain sexual deficiencies in men(305) in the repertoire of the āšipu(306) indicates another cause which would have brought him into the house of the patient and at his bedside(307). That the āšipu was thought of as the priest who was concerned with the sick and laid his hand on them is shown by an incantation to Šamash, occurring in a Neo-Assyrian private ritual against a curse, which puts his rôle in parallel with that of the šâ'ilu priest:

[ina ba-li-ka l ú] e n . m e . l i ana l u g a l
 m e . a ul g a r -an [ina ba-li-ka l ú . m a š . m a š
ana] g i g qat-su ul u[b-bal](308), "without thee the
šâ'ilu priest does not carry out the rites for the king,
 without thee the āšipu does not lay his hand on the sick".

3. 7. It is difficult to discover from the texts who the clients of the āšipu were; Caplice studied this question on the basis of the namburbi rituals, which refer to the client as l ú or n a , "the man", or as "that man", and once as l ú . t u . r a , "the sick man"(309). That namburbi were used for the king is shown by one text where a duplicate refers to "the man" and another to "the king"(310); there are also references to the use of namburbi for the king and his entourage in the correspondence of the Neo-Assyrian kings(311). One text refers to rûbû, the nobility(312). Caplice concludes that the namburbi were used by and for an aristocracy since "the suppositions they enshrine and the views they express are typical of the powerful and the literate"(313). However the namburbi also contain evidence that they could be used for those engaged in trade since they include rituals designed to further the profit of the beer-seller: i n i m . i n i m iš-di-ih sa-bi-i ka-a-ri . k a (314), "incantation for brisk

trade for the beer-seller of a harbour tavern". The second tablet of Šurpu, which lists the possible offences of the sick man for whom the exorcism is being performed, also includes several references to trade: g i š zi-ba-nit la ket-ti iṣ-[ša-bat g i š zi-ba-nit ket-ti ul] iṣ-[b]at(315), "he used an untrue balance, he did not use a true balance". Lambert has drawn attention to the similarity between this passage and the one in the Preceptive Hymn to Shamash which concerns the activities of ummanu kīnu, "the honest tradesman", where he is considered after the judge as a clearly distinguished social category(316); it seems that Šurpu envisages the possibility that a member of such a class would have recourse to its ritual.

3. 8. Leichty has argued, in connection with the apotropaic ritual linked to the omen series šumma izbu concerned with anomalous births, that the offering of gold, mentioned in the ritual, would have prevented it from being used by any but the most wealthy(317). The offering of silver, which is called kasap iptiriya, "the silver of my delivery" by the patient, who holds the balance and weighs it out as part of the ritual, is also recorded in a private ritual against a curse(318). It is however not possible to interpret all references of payment for a ritual as evidence that these could only be resorted to by

the wealthy; one namburbi, which differs from the common apotropaic character of the genre in having a positive intention, states that its purpose is to foster brisk trade for the bārû, the āšipu, the innkeeper and the baker(319). Since the two last named were dependent on their clientèle for their living and served the needs of the ordinary town or village dweller, a similar status can be inferred for the two first named professions. Although the complication and length of the rituals and prayers of Šurpu, Maqlû and the namburbi do not indicate frequent use and a widespread clientèle, the same cannot be said for the šaziga texts nor for the "Prayers to the Gods of the Night" which necessitated the presence of an āšipu and could be used for apotropaic purposes(320). Leichty has pointed out that these prayers could be used to avert the evil of an anomalous birth without the physical presence of the anomaly being required, unlike the namburbi, and he concludes that they were probably in more common use(321). Oppenheim considers that the namburbi to foster brisk trade, in mentioning together the four professions mentioned above, "represents faithfully the earliest nucleus of free professional experts on the village level... the mention of these four occupations shows that this conjuration stems from an early period"(322); he considers however that with urbanisation

the ašipu moved to the capital and attached himself to the palace. That there were ašipu attached to the service of the king does not however necessarily imply that they ceased to have a clientèle outside the palace and the evidence collected here points to another conclusion. Just as the omen series studied above (paragraph 2.35) were shown to concern both the king and other individuals, so the rôle of the ašipu seems to have been exercised both in the palace and outside it, and for the benefit of variety of clients.

3. 9. Some indication of the type of person that the ašipu were is given by literary compositions which can be attributed to their authorship. The composition usually referred to as the Babylonian Theodicy is an acrostic poem of twenty-seven stanzas of eleven lines each; the lines of each stanza begin with the same syllable and the acrostic reads: a-na-ku sa-ag-gi-il-ki-[i-na-am-u]b-bi-ib ma-áš-ma-šu ka-ri-bu ša i-li ú šar-ri(323), "I (am) Saggil-kīnam-ubbib, the mašmašu, the one who blesses the god and the king". On stylistic grounds, W.G. Lambert dates this composition from the late Kassite period; apart from the sophistication of its form, the language "shows a certain reconditeness and a measure of striving for rarity"(324). As regards the contents of the poem, it concerns the problem of

the suffering of the man who has carried out his religious duties, in contrast to those who have not and who nevertheless prosper. The sufferer voices his doubts and is answered by a friend who proposes the conventional view that piety brings prosperity. The friend ends by expressing the belief that mankind is perverse because the gods who created it endowed it with lies(325), but the sufferer, who utters the last stanza of the poem, prefers to express a prayer to his god and his goddess and his faith in Shamash in spite of his grief and distress(326). There is no doubt that the author of the poem feels to the full the objections voiced by the sufferer against the conventional views expressed by his friend. He is not satisfied by the answers of the friend, which are firstly that the pious man prospers in the end; secondly that whereas the masses cannot understand the mind of the god this can be done by the wise man; and lastly that mankind has been made perverse by the gods themselves. In answer to all these, the sufferer can only express his experience of present suffering; in that experience only prayer and faith can have their part. There is no satisfactory intellectual explanation. That such a powerfully dramatic exposition of one of the central problems of religious experience should have been written by an Āšipu is evidence of the cultural and spiritual qualities which could be found among the ancient Mesopotamian priesthood.

3. 10. Lambert has also published a hymn to Gula with syncretistic tendencies; the goddess praises herself and her spouse alternately, using a different divine name each time(327). The hymn ends with an intercession for Bulluṭsa-rabī, whom Lambert identifies with Bulluṭsa-rabī the āšipu who is mentioned in a catalogue of texts and authors from the library of Ashurbanipal(328). The conclusion of the hymn is a personal appeal on behalf of Bulluṭsa-rabī, that his prayer and ritual gesture may be heeded by the two gods and that his life may be prolonged; there is an allusion too to some form of suffering and confusion though this is not treated explicitly:

d i n g i r . m e š ki-lal-[la-an... re]-e-ma ár-du pa-liḥ
d i n g i r -ti-ku-nu[...a-n]a e-peš pi-i-šú qu-la ana ni-iš
š u^{II} -šú i-ziz-za [m]u-ug-ra un-nin-ni-šú ši-ma-a qa-ba-a-šú
[t]i-iš-ba-a-ma šu-te-še-r[a] di-in-šú [da]l-ḥu-us-su tuq-qí-na
nu-um-me-ra e-ṭu-us-[s]u [liš]-ḥu-ṭu kar-ri li-in-na-di-iq
ṣu-ba-tiš [á]r-du ša iq-du-du ki-šad-su ina a-mat d i n g i r
-ti-ku-nu g a l -ti ša la ut-tak-ka-ru t i n -su li-rik
^dgu-la g a š a n g a l -ti šá^d nin-urta re-ṣu-šú ana gaš-ru
šu-pi-i ḥa-mi-ri-ki a-bu-us-su ṣab-ti áš-šú^m bul-luṭ-su-ra-bi
li-še-si né-e-šú ud-da-kam šap-la-ki lu-ú kit-mu-uš(329),

"both gods... pity the slave who reveres your divinity...Pay

attention to what he says; be present when he raises his hand. Accept his prayer; hear his words. Be seated and judge aright his case. Bring order to his confusion and light to his darkness, that he may strip off his mourning garment, and be clothed in a cloak. May the life of the slave who bowed his neck be prolonged at the unalterable command of your great divinity. Gula, great lady, whose support is Ninurta, plead his cause with thy mighty resplendent spouse, that he may bring forth life with reference to Bulluṣsa-rabī, that the latter may bow down before thee daily". The expression of the personal relation between an āšipu and the divinity in the context of a cultic composition is also found at the conclusion of šu-ila prayers, where the celebrant adds to the plea that the patient may recover, and so continue to praise the god, the request that he too may continue to praise the divinity: da[-l]i-[-l]i-k[a] lid-[-lu]l ù ana-ku a-šī-pu è r -[ka] da-li-l[i]-ka lud-lul(330), "May he proclaim thy glory and may I (too) the āšipu, thy servant, proclaim thy glory".

3. 11. Another example of devotion and literary skill on the part of an āšipu is a text from Khorsabad consisting of a prayer of eleven lines to Marduk on the obverse and a prayer of ten lines to Nabû on the reverse. This has been published by Lambert

who dates it from the first millenium. He states of the two prayers that "they are quite different from the many short incantation prayers which served for private persons, and they have a range of vocabulary not ordinarily expended on a personal item"(331). Both prayers end with three lines of intercession for Nabû-ušebši; he is identified as an āšipu in the double acrostic which is obligingly pointed out by the author at the end of each prayer by the phrase: reš miḫilti u qīt miḫilti ana šinīšu iššassû(332), "the beginning of each line and the end of each line may be read two ways". Taking the first signs, one reads:

- I. šá na-bu-ú-ú-[še]-ib-ši a-ši-pi
- II. šá na-bu-ú-ú-šeb-ši [a-ši-pi/pu]

"(composition) of Nabû-ušebši, the āšipu".

Taking the last signs and reading downwards, one has:

- I. re-e-šu mu-šá-pu-ú bé-lu-ti-ka
- II. "the servant who proclaims thy supremacy"
- II. re-e-š[u] mut-né-nu-ú pa-liḫ-ka

"the servant given to prayer who worships thee".

3. 12. This evidence of the religious and literary quality of certain members of the āšipu class leads on to a search for evidence about the impact which their ministration made on the

faithful. It should be noted firstly that the idea that ritual and incantation are carried out at the command of the various gods is frequently stated. The formula ina qibit DN "according to the command of DN" is common in potency incantations with the names of different gods and goddesses(333); Biggs has pointed out that a similar formula: šipti ul iattun šipat DN "the incantation is not mine, it is the incantation of DN" is especially frequent in medical texts and in Lamaštu incantations, i.e. in texts for the exorcising of demons(334). These formulae were probably thought of as giving greater authority to the incantation and thus heightening its efficacy by attributing to it a divine causality in relation to which the operation of the priest was secondary; this is further emphasized in one šaziga text by the added phrase "they commanded, I performed": i[na qí-bit^d iš-tar] be-let ru-a-me^d na-na-a be-let ḫ i . l i š[i-na]a iq-ba-a ana-ku d ù -uš^v(335), "according to the command of Ishtar, goddess of feminine charms (and) Nanaya, goddess of sexual attractiveness. They commanded; I performed". In one ritual the priest attributes his approaching the patient, which the context makes clear as meaning coming to the house of the sick man, to the command of Ea: ina qi-bit^d é-a a-na-as-saḫ-ka(336), "at the command of Ea I am approaching thee".

3. 13. In the bīt mēseri series the divine causality which operates through the ritual is emphasized to such an extent that not only is the exorcism stated to be the exorcism of Marduk, but the āšipu is called the image of the god: šip-tum šī-pat ^da m a r . u t u a-šī-pu ša-lam ^da m a r . u t u (337), "the exorcism is the exorcism of Marduk, the āšipu is the image of Marduk". A similar theology is found in Ludlul bēl nēmeqi; Lambert has pointed out the similarity between this composition and the incantations (338). The arrival of the demons reads like Šurpu VII; their seizing of parts of the body is told in the same style as Maqlû I, 97-102; at the point where, if Ludlul were an incantation, the prescriptions for the ritual would be found, the sufferer sees four personages who appear to him successively in a dream. The passage is damaged and several details in the succession of events cannot be grasped but the last personage is named and identified as an āšipu priest: ina m á š . g e₆ ^Iur-nin-din-lug_x-ga d i n . t i r [....] eṭ-lu ṭar-ru a-pir a-ga-šú m a š . m a š -ma na-šī li-"u-[um] ^da m a r . u t u iš-pu-ra-an-[ni] ana ^mšub-šī-meš- re-e- ^dg ì r ú-bil-la šī-i[m-ra] ina š u^{II} -šú k u₆ . m e š ú-bil-la šī-i[m-ra] a-na mut-tab-bi-li-ia qa-tuš-šú ip-q[í-id] (339), "in the dream Urnindinlugga,

the Babylonian(?). . . . a bearded young man with a turban on his head, an ašipu carrying a tablet, 'Marduk has sent me. To Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan I have brought prosperity, from Marduk's pure hands I have brought prosperity'. He has entrusted me into the hands of the one who constantly treats me". As in the rituals, the arrival of the ašipu is attributed to the command of the god. The comment of the sufferer himself is that he has been entrusted providentially into the care of the one who constantly directs or treats him(340). The possessive implies a personal relation to the person of the ašipu, who comes as the bearer of deliverance from Marduk. Lambert proposes to see in the other three personages who appear in the dream priestly figures as well. This is especially likely in the case of the second figure since he comes to perform a purification ritual with the tamarisk wand and is said to pronounce the life(-giving) incantation: ši-pat ba-la-ti id-da-a(341). He is called ištānu eṭlu, "a unique young man" and the same term is applied to the first personage(342). The third person, appearing in the third dream, is described as: iš-te-e[t] ki . s i k i l ba-nu-ú zi-[mu-šá] ni-ši-iš la[-ab-š]a-ti i-liš ma[š-lat] šar-rat u k ù . m e š(343), "a certain young woman of shining

countenance, clad like a human being, equal to a god, queen of the peoples". Lambert suggests that this may be intended as a description of the entu-priestess(344). The passage affords evidence of the emotional impact of the coming of priestly ministrants to the bedside of a sick man. The splendour of their appearance, which is indicated in the poem by the mention of their bodily qualities, their countenance and their raiment(345), serves to convey the idea of spiritual power from the god who has sent his representatives to Šubši-mešrê-Sakkan in order to save him from his tribulations. The question may be asked why the priestly ministers are introduced into the story by the literary device of a series of dreams. Lambert suggested that it might be in order to bring to the bedside priests such as the representative of the ancient sanctuary at Nippur who could not be expected to be present in fact at the side of a patient in Babylon(346), and the same may be true of the female apparition if she is to be identified with the entu-priestess. The importance of the passage remains as evidence of the part which the idea of the priesthood could play in the Babylonian religious sensitivity.

3. 14. Whether one decides to call the Āšipu a priest or

not depends on how one defines the word priest. He was clearly a practitioner with many religious rôles and functions; and he was considered as an intermediary between his clients and the gods. As such he played a rôle which can not improperly, so it seems to me, be called a priestly one. The very fact that it was the same personage who performed both in royal and temple rituals and in those rites which were carried out for private persons makes it more difficult to accept Oppenheim's thesis (cf. paragraph 1.13 supra) that there existed several "religions" without much contact with each other, or that the religion of the common man had no cult or priest (cf. paragraph 1.12 supra). Concerning Oppenheim's dismissal of prayers as evidence for personal religion (cf. paragraph 1.14 supra), the spiritual calibre of compositions which can be attributed to certain members of the āšipu class in great centres like Babylon make it difficult to assume without further proof that the rites carried out by the āšipu were formal performances, without religious content and with no impact on those for whom they were done. The personal prayers of the priests themselves which are found in ritual texts imply the opposite and tend to show that ritual was capable of eliciting an attitude of dependence on and faith in the deities invoked. That the priesthood itself was an object of faith and devotion is

indicated in the expression of belief in the divine causality operative through the priests and in the description of the psychological impact on the patient of priestly ministrations.

b) Individual participation in exorcisms and incantations.

3. 15. The individual for whom an exorcism was performed could be required to play a part in the ritual sequence. A namburbi to avert the evil of fungus which has appeared in a man's house has the rubric: [i-n]a u d šu-a-tu₄
u d u . n i t á s a₅ ana i g i ^di-šum [be]-lu ša bi-ti
k u d -is-ma ^di-šum an-nam lim-bur-ma d u g₄ . g a -ma(347),
"on that day the owner of the house sacrifices a red sheep before Ishum; he says (thou sayest ?) 'May Ishum receive this'". A namburbi to remove the evil of sorcery involves the patient in going to the river, stripping off his garment, washing in holy water and donning another garment(348). A similar practice is found in an Assyrian ritual against the "Hand of a Ghost" where a change of clothes is prescribed at the end of the ritual(349). In a ritual for combatting the power of wizards, the removing of the patient's clothes is accompanied by the recital of a

formula: e-nu-ma t ú g . g ú . è i-šá-ḫa-tu é n
áš-ḫu-uṭ m i n 3-šú š i t a -nu(350), "when he takes
off the garment, he says (thou sayest ?) the incantation 'I
have stripped off, I have stripped off' three times". The
removal of clothes is followed by an anointing in a namburbi
against the evil signs of a snake: i . d ù g . g a š é š -su
t ú g d a d a g [m u₄ . m u₄ -su](351), "thou wilt rub him
with oil, thou wilt clothe him with a pure garment". Another
namburbi has the rubric: [l ú ḫ b i] š u^{II} m a š . m a š
i-na-'i-is(352), "(that man) kisses the hand of the ášipu".

3. 16. Because of the practice found in texts of this type
of passing from the second to the third person in rubrics
which nevertheless all seem to concern the same celebrant,
it is difficult to say in the examples quoted here whether the
formula which accompanied the ritual action was spoken by the
patient or the priest. However examples do occur in the III
theme which make it clear that the patient could be required
by the celebrant of a ritual to recite a given formula or an
incantation which is referred to by its name. In Šurpu this
follows the ritual action of setting light to a brazier on the
part of the patient: g i . i z i . l á an š u l ú . g i g

g a r -ma i z i ana nap-pa-ṭa š u b [é n] áš-ši

g i . i z i . l á pu-ṭur lim-nu [l ú] . g i g

tu-šad-bab(353), "thou settest the torch in the hand of the patient; the incantation 'I hold the torch, release from evil' thou makest the patient to say". In a ritual for the renewing of the personal god, the celebrant is instructed: é n

ta-ni-ḥat lîb-bi-iá ì-lí šî-man-ni 3-šú tu-šad-bab-šú-ma(354),

"the incantation 'the groaning of my heart hear from me, O my god' thou makest him to say three times", and in a namburbi:

l ú b i ina muḥḥi šur-pu [g u b] ki-a-am tu-šaḡ-ba-šú

ḡ u l g i s k i m an[-ni-ti] šu-ti-iq-ma(355), "this man stands over the fire, thus dost thou make him recite 'the evil of this sign do thou make to pass over'".

3. 17. As well as the recitation of a given formula or an incantation, mention is made in exorcisms of a practice which is described by the phrase mala libbašu ṣabtu dabābu "to say whatever is in his heart" or "on his mind". This practice is carried out by the patient for whom the exorcism is performed, sometimes in a kneeling position(356) and is found in namburbi rituals(357) and in the ritual for renewing the relations with the personal god(358). If the phrase refers to a confession of sins, it would certainly indicate a considerable degree of

personal involvement in the ritual; even if it does not concern a confession of sins as such, it still seems to indicate an element which is left to the initiative of the individual patient in the otherwise closely determined performance of the ritual sequence.

3. 18. I have not been able to find direct evidence of the subjective reaction of a "patient" to the experience of taking part in a ritual of the type mentioned above. In view of the belief that the ritual itself was established by the god to avert the evil portended by a sign, which could also be attributed to the divine causality, it would seem that participation in an apotropaic ritual was not likely to be a banal experience. That such was the belief is clearly stated in a Neo-Assyrian letter from the scribe Balasî to an unnamed king after the occurrence of an earthquake: e-pu-uš^d é-a ip-šur^d é-a ša ri-i-bu i-pu-šu-u-ni šu-tu-ma n a m . b ú r . b i e-ta-pa-áš(359), "Ea has done, Ea has undone. It is the very same one who caused the earthquake who also created the namburbi (against it)". The individual who was involved in the ritual sequence of an apotropaic ritual in the ways mentioned above would therefore believe that the ritual itself was a way of "salvation" granted by the god. As Miss Goff has pointed out, this is not

magic, in the sense of rites thought to be "automatically effective"(360). As an example of the religious sentiment which could be contained in the prayers which formed part of the exorcisms carried out for individuals, the following may be quoted; it is in the namburbi against the evil of a malformed birth: l ú b i d u₁₀ . g a m -ma ki-a-am
d u g₄ . g a é n ^du t u d i . k u d a n -e k i
-tim e n kit-te u me-šá-ri muš-te-šir a n . t a . m e š
u k i . t a . m e š ^du t u ú š t i ka-sa-a d u g₈
šá š u^{II} -ka-ma ^du t u a[k]-t[al-d]a-ka ^du t u
eš-te-'e-ka ^du t u as-ḫur-ka ina ḫ u l iz-bi an-ni-i
šu-ti-qa-an[-ni-ma] a-a k u r -an-ni ḫ u l -šú ina
s u . m u lis-si-ma u₄-mi-šam-ma lu-uk-tar-ab-ka a-mi-ru-ú-a
ana da-ra-a-ti da-li-li-ka [lid-lu-lu](361), "Thou makest that
man to kneel and thou recitest (he recites ?) thus 'Incantation:
Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, lord of justice and equity,
who rule over the upper and lower regions; Shamash, it is in
thy hands to bring the dead to life, to release the captive;
Shamash, I have approached thee; Shamash, I have sought thee;
Shamash, I have turned to thee; avert from me the evil of this
malformed birth. May it not affect me. May its evil be far
from my person, that I may daily bless thee, that those who

look on me may forever (sing) thy praise". It is important to notice in this prayer that, after the catalogue of epithets which rehearse the power of Shamash, the text expresses the urgent way in which the individual for whom the prayer is said, or who recites the prayer himself, has sought the god. The repetition ("Shamash, I have approached thee; Shamash, I have sought thee; Shamash, I have turned to thee") interprets the meaning which the namburbi has for the one who performs it. It is a personal démarche by which he turns to the god; if the ritual succeeds and the evil portended by the malformed birth is averted, this fact will be seen as the result of the action of the god himself. The consequence is such as to involve the patient personally; it will be a daily blessing of the god which he himself promises to carry out and he, as a sign of the god's goodness, will provoke others to praise. Whether the prayer was said by the āšipu on behalf of the "patient" or whether the latter was required to repeat it after the priest, it remains true that this text represents a truly religious attitude. The simplest conclusion would seem to be that such texts would tend to produce such an attitude in those for whom they were used.

c) Religious practices in private houses.

3. 19. Is there any evidence to show that the house of a private person in ancient Mesopotamia could be a locus of religious significance? Some evidence establishes that there existed special rites connected with the building of houses, and that these were performed by the āšipu. The incipits contained in KAR 44 list among the repertoire of the āšipu:
^dk u l l a s u ḫ u š é n[a-du-u](362), "Kulla (laying the foundations of a house)". The rôle of Kulla, the brick-god, has been studied by Ellis(363) and a ritual to be carried out at the dedication of a house has been found at Niniveh in which Kulla figures, presumably in the form of a small statue. The ritual ends with the āšipu bringing Kulla out of the house through the front door (bābu kamû), reciting a prayer to Shamash, putting Kulla into a ship (presumably also a model) on the river and sending him off with travel provisions and an abjuration never to return(364). The prayer to Shamash contained in this text expresses the belief that the god could be concerned with the well-being of a private dwelling: ana é an-ni-i
n e n n i d u m u n e n n i i-pu-[š u ku-ru-ub] š i-im-ta
da-me-iq-ta š i-[ma-š u] ...lu é ba-la-ti u gam-ma-[li] a-na

an-na-an-na e n -šú ... é i-pu-šu li[-bu-ur] a-na da-ra-a-ti
lib-luṭ ^d[u t u é an-na-a] a-na it-ti s i g₅ -tim
a-na [an-na-an-na e n -šu]šú-ku-un-šú(365), "this house
 that NN. son of NN. has built, do thou bless; a favourable
 destiny do thou appoint for it... may it be a house of life
 and kindness for NN. its owner...may the house he made be strong;
 may he live (there) for ever; O Shamash, do thou make this house
 for a good omen for NN. its owner".

3. 20. It is difficult to say to what extent a ritual for the blessing of a house such as this was actually used or for whom; but Labat has pointed out in his edition of the omen series iqqur īpuš how the omens concerned with the building and repair of houses reflect in their favourable apodoses the petitions contained in the prayer just quoted, especially in the phrases "the owner will profit fully from this house" and "this house will last a long time"(366). Since the series is a synthesis of earlier collections the earliest texts of which go back to the Kassite period at least(367), it is probable that such ideas about the necessity of divine favour in undertaking the construction of a new house and the form which that favour could take were generally diffused throughout Ancient Mesopotamia, although only a Late Assyrian recension of the actual rite of

house-blessing is now extant. The same omen series is evidence that the construction of a house by a private individual could be spoken of as approved or not by the god: [d i š] m i n g u š k i n i g i é . [b]i d ù -su k i d i n g i r ul qá-bi e n é . b i ú š(368), "If ditto (in building his house, in the old foundations) he finds gold, the building of that house is not approved of by the god; the owner of that house will die".

3. 21. A complicated ritual from Assur contains the ceremonies and prayers to be used for banishing evil spirits from the house of a man(369). The celebrant is the āšipu and the use of the passe-partout formula é n e n n i d u m u n e n n i(370), "the house of NN. son of NN." indicates that it was intended for general use. The parts of the ceremony are as follows: i) the āšipu goes to the house and erects statues on a mat of reeds, ii) four series of sacrifices consisting of roast meat and other foods are offered, firstly to Marduk, secondly to Anu, Enlil, Ea and the god of the house, thirdly to Kusig and Ninaḫakuddu and fourthly to the god of the house, the goddess of the house and the šēdu of the house, iii) the āšipu touches the corners of the rooms, the gateway, the court, the beams and the windows with

bitumen, oil, honey, the holy water vessel and seven censers, iv) the house is purified with various objects which are then taken out to the gate, v) two statues have an incantation recited before them and are then set up on either side of the gate. The incantation recited before the statue of Marduk expresses the plea that the god's protection is to be a lasting one: [maḥar^d] é-a a b -ka g u b -az [...] -bi la te-ig-gi [...] ma lu mi-ma ḫ u l [up]-ta-na-al-la-ḫa-an-ni [a-n]a ia-a-šī u é -ia a-a g i l a-a ik-šu-dan-ni(371), "before Ea thy father art thou standing, (...) shalt not grow weary, (...) be it anything evil, (th)at has frightened me, (t)o me and to my house may it not approach nor reach me". It is noteworthy that the ritual sequence in this text resembles the purification of the temple by the āšipu on the occasion of the akītu festival, especially in the use of the censer and holy water, the anointing of part of the building with oil and the purifying of it with an object which is then removed, in the case of the temple a sheep and in the ritual for the purification of the house several sheep and other animals(372). The implication of this similarity is that a house could be considered as filled with the beneficent power of the gods once such ritual had been carried out, just as was the temple after the performance of the purification at the beginning of

the new year. This beneficent power is localised and specified in an incantation for expelling demons from the house of a sick man which is known from an Assur recension, though Meier considers that the language points to a Kassite origin(373). Its title bīt mēseri, "the house surrounded (by protective figurines)" indicates the nature of the ritual and the prayer which follows assigns different gods to various parts of the house: i-na ú-ru-uš é it-ta-šab ^de n š a d a
ina ap-ti é it-ta-šab te-li-tu[m ^dXV] ina k á ka-mi-i
u r . g u . l a a-šib ... ina u g u i . l u aš-bat
^dgu-la(374), "in the inner-room of the house Nusku shall sit, at the window of the house wise Ishtar shall sit, at the outer gate the great lion is sitting, upon the threshold Gula is sitting".

3. 22. There were in some houses special rooms set aside for cultic purposes. Oates describes two such in domestic buildings at Tell al Rimah(375); they are small rooms measuring 5.90m by 3.25m and 3.50m by 2.20m respectively. In one of them a small statuette of a seated female figure was found and the other was distinguished by a raised podium at one end of the room. They date from the Middle Assyrian period. In a house of the Ur III period at Nippur is a room with a niche in one

wall and a raised platform in front of it which appears to have been a shrine, retained in several consecutive building levels(376). These domestic shrines would seem to correspond to the aširtu referred to in texts as existing in houses. The word is used as a general designation for temples, though meaning originally the cella, but the omen series Šumma ālu refers to the aširtu of a man's house: d i s k a . t a r b a b b a r ina z a g . g a r . r a é n a it[-tab-ši](377), "if white lichen forms in the aširtu of a man's house". In a private house of the Akkadian period at Ešnunna, an alabaster group of a divinity between four worshippers has been found. Frankfort identifies the god with Ningišzida and considers that the group was probably set up in a domestic shrine(378).

3. 23. Some objects appear to have been located in private houses with an apotropaic purpose. Protective figurines have been found in houses at Dūr-Sharrukīn, Assur and Babylon(379). They are of the type described in the ritual text KAR 298 which concerns the preparation of many types of figurines and their burial in various parts of a house(380). At Nimrud a clay model of a human fist was found loose in a house and Peltenburg surmises that it was inserted into the sill of a window to prevent the

entry of evil spirits into the building; this compares with the use of clay models of fists in temples, palaces and gates(381). E. Reiner has drawn attention to two inscriptions, reproducing parts of the Era epic, which appear to have been used as amulets to protect a house from plague; one of these, consisting of Tablet V of the epic, has on a rectangular projection of the tablet the inscription: b a r á a n . š á r u
^dm e . l a m u g u é an-ni-i(382), "may the b a r á
 -sign of Ashur (i.e. the magic square) and a divine melammu (be) upon this house". The other is an amulet of black stone, pierced at the top by a small hole which still has a copper pin in it, which has on the edge the inscription: ana-ku^{md}
x -še-zib i r -ku-nu t i -uṭ(383), "May I, PN, your
 worshipper stay healthy". On the amulet are inscribed the last thirteen lines of Tablet III; the plural aradkunu makes it clear that all the protagonists of the epic are solicited by the inscription and they are in fact the gods "who could best extend their tutelage over a menaced house"(384). E. Reiner considers that the amulet was intended to be hung at the gate of a house looking on to the street.

3. 24. It seems therefore that the houses of private citizens in Mesopotamia cannot be considered as outside the sphere of

activity and concern of the gods. Rituals for the blessing and exorcism of houses could involve the priesthood; in some cases shrines existed in houses and images of the gods could be displayed there; apotropaic objects are evidence of the desire to invoke the protective power of the gods against the evils which could beset a man in his house.

d) Seals and amulets.

3. 25. The use of cylinder seals from the Uruk period onwards is generally recognized to have been a characteristic of Mesopotamian civilisation but the precise implications of the practice and the interpretation of the designs on the seals are notoriously difficult to draw out(385). Oppenheim argues that the practice of impressing cylinder seals and seal-rings on legal documents was not resorted to primarily as a means of identification but to indicate that the party who assumes an obligation through the transaction was actually present at it; he thus equates the practice with that of impressing the clay with the fingernails or with the hem of the garment(386). He also warns against interpreting the representations on seals as illustrative of epic narratives(387).

3. 26. In trying to apply to the study of personal religion the material supplied by cylinder seals, two preliminary points need to be noted. Firstly, from the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, the great increase in the number of seals, which is accompanied by a deterioration in quality, indicates that the use of seals was no longer restricted to the wealthy or to members of the professional classes but was widely diffused(388). Secondly, once this process had occurred, seals appear to have been made and stocked, the inscription being added, presumably at the time of purchase; this is indicated by the fact that seals have been found with uninscribed cartouches(389) or with the signs of the inscription inexpertly added to an already complete scene(390). It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that it is the inscriptions on the seals, rather than the scenes represented, which reflect the choice of their owner(391). The importance of the inscription to the owner is indicated by an omen in the Dream-book: $d i \check{s} \quad n a_4 . k i \check{s} i b \quad m u - \check{s} \acute{u}$
 $s u m - \underline{s u} \quad m u \quad \underline{u} \quad n u m u n \quad t u k - \check{s} i$ (392), "if a seal (bearing) his name is given to him (in a dream) he will have name and seed".

3. 27. It is often stated that seals were worn as talismans or amulets, but it is not easy to demonstrate that they were

thought of in this way. Miss Goff has assembled a number of texts which show that seals were used in rituals(393) but this is not the same thing as showing that the wearing of a seal was thought of as having a religious significance all the time. Many objects are used in rituals which must be allowed to have had a non-religious use in everyday life. That seals were worn round the neck by individuals is shown by a number of references in Late Babylonian and Late Assyrian letters(394); the lateness of these witnesses is probably accidental as there are earlier texts, such as inventories of divine clothing(395), votive texts(396) or epics(397), which show that cylinder seals were worn by the gods. That seals worn in this way were thought of as amulets is probable, but it can only be inferred from the following considerations.

3. 28. Firstly, examples occur from the prehistoric and protoliterate periods of small artefacts which are pierced, presumably to be worn on a string or pin, and which are generally taken to be amulets. But they were used as seals, since many impressions made by them in clay have been found(398). It seems therefore that when the cylinder seal appears, in level IV at Uruk, it is a special form of amulet and there is no reason to suppose that it later lost this character.

3. 29. Secondly, there is one period when cylinder seals carry inscriptions which are longer than a brief enumeration of the name and style of the owner, that is the Kassite period. The inscriptions on seals of the Kassite period have been studied by Limet who shows that, apart from those which only indicate their owner's name, all the inscriptions on Kassite seals are religious in character(399). As is shown below, some of these inscriptions express a theology of seal-wearing which is that the wearer of the seal is in a special relation to the gods, i.e. that the seal was thought of as an amulet. It is simpler to assume that "the inscriptions were merely putting into words a characteristic of seals which had been true from the very beginning"(400), in other words that what is new in the situation is the fact of longer inscriptions on seals, rather than assuming that the theology of seal-wearing also changed in Kassite times with the introduction of an entirely new way of thinking. If this assumption is granted, then it can be stated that seals were considered as amulets in ancient Mesopotamia.

3. 30. Many inscriptions on Kassite seals indicate the close relation which was thought to exist between the owner of the seal and the gods; the owner is called: s a g n í . t u k u

. z u (401), "thy slave who reveres thee" in relation to a particular god; he can claim that the god is the only one who has intimate knowledge of him: ^du t u a š a_x. m e . e n a . r á . m u z u . z u (402), "O Shamash, thou art the only one who knowest my behaviour"; ^dn a b u a š a_x. m e . e n n i . m u z u . z u (403), "O Nabû, thou art the only one who knowest my affairs"; he begs the god to have pity on him(404) and calls the god the one who created and named him: ^dn i n . é . a n . n a tab-ni-i tab-bi-i(405), "O Nin-eanna, thou who created me and named me"; wisdom themes appear in several inscriptions as a means of exalting the gods: e-te-ru ša ^du t u šu-zu-bu ša ^da m a r . u t u ki ta-a-ab pu-ú ù e m e ma-an-nu i-ša-na-an-ki ^dn i n . é . a n . n a (406), "to save (belongs) to Shamash, to deliver (belongs) to Marduk, how good are thy mouth and thy tongue, who is thy equal, O Nin-eanna?"; one inscription contrasts the reliability of Marduk with the changeable character of men: e ta-at-ka-al a-na a-mi-lu-ti ni-iš-še-a-at ni-di-a-at a-mi-lu-tu₄ ta-ta-kal a-na ^dm i s ta-ra-áš-si du-um-ga n a₄ . k i š i b i g i . ^da m a r . u t u -lu-mur(?)(407), "Do not put thy trust in mankind, mankind is (now) exalted, (now) depressed, put thy trust in Marduk, thou

wilt have good things, cylinder seal of Pān-Marduk-lūmur".

3. 31. A number of cylinder seal inscriptions from this period refer to the owner of the seal with the phrase šākin kunukki annī, "the one who is provided with this seal"; the inscriptions sometimes refer to the owner by name and sometimes not, so that the phrase does not seem to be a periphrase for a future owner as yet unknown(408). An invocation such as:

ša-kin n a₄. k i š i b an-ni-i li-bu-ur li-di-iš li-me-er
ù li-la-be-er(409), "may he who is provided with this seal be in good health, may he be young, may he shine and may he obtain long life" implies that the fact of possessing the seal is religiously significant and is a factor in procuring for the wearer the good things that are invoked for him. But this effect of the seal was thought of as operative under the general causality of the will of the gods, as is shown by

inscriptions such as: i-na i n i m ^da m a r . u t u ša-kin-šu
li-bur(410), "by the order of Marduk, may he who is provided with this (seal) be in good health". It is to be noted also that many cylinder seal inscriptions are in the form of a prayer; this is explicit in one of them which actually starts with the qibima characteristic of the prayer-letter: qi-bí-ma

e n . g a l ^da m a r . u t u ša-ki-in n a₄ . k i š i b
an-ni-i d i n g i r ù ^dl a m a li-ir-ši-im(411),

"Say thus: O great lord Marduk, may he who is provided with this seal have a god and a Lamassu".

3, 32, To say that seals were used as talismans or amulets therefore implies that they were seen as a link, and no doubt an operative one, between the gods and their owners within the context of the faith of the individual, since the inscriptions seem to be a prayer by him to the god. Seen in this light, the wearing of a seal as an amulet is not necessarily a substitute for personal religion but one more expression of it. It actualises for the wearer the belief that the gods are concerned for him, protect him and can load him with their favours.

3. 33. Apart from cylinder seals, other objects were worn as amulets(412). Wiseman has published photographs of two small gold figurines of the intercessory goddess Lama which have a loop at the back and were obviously intended to be worn as pendants on a necklace(413). Beads pierced for stringing together have been found in considerable numbers in archaeological sites(414) and they seem to be referred to in texts which enumerate

the qualities of certain stones. A text published by Yalvaç lists names of stones, including iron and marble, followed by the rubric indicating their purpose(415); these include the reconciling of one's god and goddess, the reconciling of an angry god to his man, for palace officials (presumably to make them favourable), to obtain pleasure, plenty and riches. It is not actually stated that these stones were to be worn, but this is made explicit in a text of Sennacherib who enumerates the qualities of a stone, $n a_4 . \overset{d_v}{\check{s}} e . t i r$, which he states that he had fashioned into šēdu and lamassu whereas it had until then only been used as pendants: $n a_4 . \overset{d_v}{\check{s}} e . t i r$ ša gi m nu m un qiš-še-e ga r -šu nu-su-qu ma-la $n a_4 . g \acute{u} aq-ru n a_4 n a_4 . qa-bi-e ma-ga-ri \grave{u} ri-i\check{h}-su$ šú-tu-ki mur-šu a-na l \acute{u} la nu . t e . e(416), "the stone ... which looks like cucumber seeds, choice, valued as pendants, a stone for giving orders (and) being obeyed as well as for averting a flood and to prevent sickness from approaching a man". Inscribed objects were also used as amulets, for instance the small rectangular plaques published by Nougayrol which mention the name of the person whom they protect(417). I have not found any text which makes explicit the theology behind the belief in the potency of these amulets; it is probable that, as in the case of cylinder seals, it was a

belief in the power of the gods which reached out and protected the individual by such means.

e) Omens.

3. 34. The predilection of the Assyro-Babylonian culture for omens has often been commented on(418). Oppenheim considers that the belief in ominous phenomena and the use of apotropaic rituals clashes with the concept of individual religious and moral responsibility and also with a belief in fate(419). He maintains that divination precedes belief in the existence of gods, so that omens constitute a relationship with an unindividualised divine power which is outside the normal lines of contact constituted by the temples and individual piety directed to specific gods; the result is that the individual in Mesopotamia is "entangled in a net of mutually exclusive and contradictory speculative constructions"(420). It must be asked therefore whether there is any evidence to show where the incompatibility of these constructs lay.

3. 35. Theoretical statements about omens and their relation to a general world-view cannot be expected as such, but statements

do occur in prayers which express certain beliefs about the relation of the gods to ominous phenomena. A šu-ila prayer to Ishtar says: šī-mat la dum-qí du-mu-qu ba-a-šī it-ti-k[i](421),

"it is in thy power to make a bad fate good", and a šu-ila prayer to Shamash includes the invocation: ^du t u e n

šī-mat k u r at-ta-ma šim-ti šī-im a-lak-ti du-um-mi-iq
li-šī-ra i-da-tu-ú-a lid-me-qa m á š . g e ₆ . m e š -ú[~]-a(422),

"O Shamash, thou art the lord of the fate of the land, decide my fate, make my way favourable, may my omens be correct, may my dreams be favourable". A prayer to Ea, Shamash and Asariluḫi, which is part of a namburbi, states:

n a m . t a r . m e š ša-á-mu g i š . ḫ u r . m e š
uṣ-ṣu-ru ša š u^{II}-ku-nu n a m . t a r . m e š t i . l a
at-tu-nu la-šim-[ma] g i š . ḫ u r . m e š t i . l a
at-tu-nu tu-uṣ-ša-ra(423), "it is in your hands to decide the

fates, to draw destinies, may you decide the fates of life, may you draw the destinies of life". It appears from these passages in prayers that the gods are credited with the power of control over the fate of the individual; his fate and his omens are considered together, the omens being the signs which indicate the man's fate, and both are decided by the gods.

3. 36. A theology of omens is implied in certain statements which ascribes them to the action of the gods. The Šu-ila to Shamash quoted above (3.35) says: ina šà u d u . n í t a ta-šaṭ-ṭar u z u (424), "in the inside of the sheep thou inscribest oracles". Two statements in the correspondence of Neo-Assyrian kings show how the royal advisers related the incidence of unsolicited omens to the overall causality and beneficence of the gods. An āšipu writing to an unnamed king says: ina u g u it-ti an-ni-ti l u g a l be-lí [t a līb-b]i-šú lu[1]a id-da-ab-bu-ub ^de n ù ^dp a am-mar i z k i m še-tu-uq-qi ma-su a-na l u g a l e n -iá ú-še-tu-uq-qu(425), "the king my lord should not be worried about this portent, Bēl and Nabû are well capable of making a portent pass by, (and) they will make (it) pass by the king my lord". A scribe writing to an unnamed king after an earthquake comments that Ea who caused the earthquake also created the namburbi (quoted above 3.18) and he ends with the comment: d i n g i r šu-u uz-ni šá l u g a l up-ta-at-ti(426), "the god himself (only) wanted to open the ears of the king (i.e. reveal (himself) to the king)". These passages at least do not give any evidence of contradiction in the understanding of omens and their relation to the gods;

it is clear that both the occurrence of the portent and the apotropaic ritual which could remove its danger were considered as results of the action and power of the gods. It is difficult to say how widely this theology of omens was accepted and whether it was confined to royal and priestly circles or not.

3. 37. Instances occur of omen consultations on behalf of individuals. An Old Assyrian letter from two women reports: śú-ha-ra-tum ša puzur₄-iś₈-tár ú ú-šur-ša-a-sur im-ra-ša-ma mu-a-tí-iš i-li-kà a-na ša-i-lá-tim ni-li-ik-ma um-ma i-lu-um-ma ik-ri-bé lá tù-qa-i-a(427), "the young (men) of Puzur-Ishtar and Ušur-Ša-Ashur were ill and nearing death, we went to the šā'iltu-priestess and the god (spoke) thus: do not withhold the 'votive-offerings'"(428). This text clearly equates the result of the consultation with the reply of the god. An Old Babylonian letter from Rimah contains the reply of a bārû-priest to the queen, Iltani, concerning a consultation which has been made about a sick man: aš-šum ša-ar-ti ù sí-is-sí-ik-tim ša lú_t u r ša tu-ša-bi-lim te-er-tam a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi ša-ar-tim ù sí-is-sí-ik-tim e-pu-uš-ma te-re-tum ša-al-ma lú_t u r ša qa-at d i n g i r e-li-šu

ib-ba-aš-šū-ú ma-di-iš-ma i-ta-ar-ra-aš mi-im-ma hi-ṭum

ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši(429), "concerning the hair and the fringe of the young man which thou didst send I have taken an omen about the hair and the fringe, the omen is favourable, the young man who is afflicted by 'the hand of the god' and is continually ill has done nothing wrong". Evidence from a letter from Larsa of the same period shows a landowner who is worried by the activities of marauders in the open countryside giving instructions for an omen consultation to determine the

movements of his flock: l s i l a₄ i-na u d u . ḫ i . a

a-na m á š . š u . g í d . g í d li-qí-a-ma ar-ka-at

g u d . ḫ i . a -ia ù u d u . ḫ i . a -ia pu-ur-s[a]-ma

šum-ma a-na ma-a[h-r]i-ia i-il-la-ka-nim(430), "take a lamb

from the flock for the bārû and obtain a divination concerning the cattle and the flocks, whether they should move into my neighbourhood". An Old Babylonian report on acts of liver

divination states: a-na sa-ḫi-ir-ti ša i-ša-nu₅ i-na su-qí

ši-ma-ti a-na ne-me-li in-na-ad-di-in [...] e-pu-uš(431),

"(the extispicy) was performed for (finding out whether) the merchandise which he has bought can be sold on the market at a profit". Another report in the same collection is described as having been performed: a-na šu-lu-um ^{giš}_m á ša ^mè r .

^di n n a n a a-na ka-ar ^{uru}e-mar^{ki} (432), "concerning the welfare of the boat of Warad-Ishtar (travelling) to Emar".

A liver omen, preserved in a version from Assur, has as one of the apodoses: l ú . d a m . q a r ina k a s k a l
d u -ku ki-is-su z á[h] } s u d -su g u r -ra (433), "the merchant in the journey he will undertake will lose his purse, he will return empty". The collection of oil omens which

have been edited by Pettinato(434) give evidence of widespread use since the Old Babylonian tablets of the collection come from both the North and the South of Mesopotamia; there are Middle Babylonian tablets from Boghazköi and a Middle Assyrian example has been found at Assur(435). These collections do contain omens about affairs of state but they must have been consulted by ordinary citizens since they include omens on such personal matters as marriage (cf. infra 3.48), litigation and illness(436). That the same impetrated omen might have

applications either for the king or for a "commoner" is shown by an item in a series of liver divinations: d i š na-pa-la-
aš-tum a-na 4 pu-uṭ-ṭù-ra-at ... šar-ru-um ṣa-al-ma i-pu-uš-ma
ša-nu-um ú-ši-ri-ib [a]-na mu-uš-ke-ni-im i-ma-at-ma[b]i-iz-zu
is-sà-ap-pa-aḥ (437), "if the 'blinker' is divided into four....

the king will make a statue but another will introduce it (into)

the temple), for a commoner he will die and his house will be destroyed".

3. 38. A text from Sultan^{te}pe which has been studied by Reiner(438) consists of rituals and prayers to be used for obtaining omens on behalf of individuals. The copy of this text is therefore a late one (7th century B.C.) but since it is partially identical with LKA 138 there is evidence of an older tradition for consultations of this sort. The prayer to "the divine judges", that is probably Shamash and Adad, which accompanies divination by observing the action of an ox after water has been sprinkled on its head, reads: d i -ku-nu ki-na u e š . b a r d i n g i r -ti-ku-nu g a l -ti lu-mur-ra qa-ba-a lu-uš-kun šum-ma n e n n i a n e n n i á š -su i-kaš-šá-du g u r e š . b a r l i d -d i -n a(439), "let me see your true judgment and the decision of your great divinity so that I may make a pronouncement, whether NN. son of NN. will have success let the ox give a decision". A prayer to Gula from the same source begins with a petition to discover the future of a sick man: [te-em d i n g i r] -ti-ki g a l -ti áš-šu lib-luṭ [ta-ri-man]-ni-ma ta-tè-man-ni(440), "thou has been kind enough to let me know (on previous occasions) the will of thy great divinity as to whether (the patient) would

get well"; the prayer then develops into an intercession for the particular patient for whom the consultation is being made:

[ki-i n e n n i] a n e n n i g i g an-na-a šá
mar-šu[ina g i g an-n]i-i tu-šat-bi ina maḥar
 d i n g i r . m e š g a l . m e š -ki a-bu-su ta-šab-ba-ti-ma
[ana qí-bi-ti-k]i šir-ti d i n g i r . m e š g a l . m e š
-ki i-qul-lu-ma[...]i-gam-me-lu-šu u s i l a u r u -šú ina

s i l i m -me ú-šak-ba-[su](441), "on behalf of NN. son of NN.

who is suffering from this disease, from this disease thou canst make him rise, thou canst intercede for him before thy great gods, to thy sublime words thy great gods listen, (...) they will have mercy on him and they will let him in good health walk the streets of his city". The prayer ends with a renewed

plea to discover the decision of the goddess: [ki-i šá] ta-
ri-man-ni-ma tē-em d i n g i r -ti-ki g a l -ti ta-tē-
m[an-ni] tē-em d i n g i r -ti-ki g a l -ti šup-rim-ma

k a . m u lu-še-ši(442), "since thou hast been so kind as to let me know the decision of thy great divinity (previously) do thou send me thy divine word (again) and let my mouth pronounce it". This text, which is clearly a consultation on behalf of an individual, combines the belief that an omen is an expression of the decision of a god with a prayer for the

welfare of the individual for whom the consultation is made. Both the well-being of the client and the outcome of the divination are thus considered as depending on the good-will of the deity in question.

3.39. Some indications as to the rôle of the client during an omen divination by a bārû is given by a text which gives ominal significance to certain events which could occur during the consultation itself: d i š ta-mit h a r . b a d
ana a z u ina ši-ta-si-šú ý h . m e š i-sal-l[u
h a r] . b a d lum-mu-na-at [d i š] iš-mi-ir-ma ina
s i z k u r . s i z k u r a z u g u b -iz [b e -ma ina
i n] i m d i n g i r b e -ma ina i n i m l u g a l
u g_x...[d i š ap-pa-šu ú]-lab-bi-in ^du t u an-na
ip-pal-šú(443), "if in reading the formula of consultation to the bārû he scatters spittle the consultation is very bad, if he is present on purpose at the sacrifice of the bārû either at the command of the god or at the command of the king he will die, ... if he makes a gesture of supplication Shamash will answer 'yes'". The involvement of the client could therefore include the reciting of a formula; Nougayrol notes that it is known that the bārû would draw curtains which would prevent the inauspicious presence of the client at the sacrifice(444);

the reference to the favourable character of the gesture of humble supplication and prayer called appa labānu(445) implies that this could occur as a result of the free disposition of the person seeking an oracle, and this is evidence of spontaneous devotion on such an occasion. The relative position of the client and the bārû during a consultation is indicated by an Old Babylonian series of omens derived from observing the movement of incense smoke. It is obvious from these that the client had his back to the East with the North on his right and that the bārû faced him with his back to the West(446).

3.40. It therefore seems that the belief in omens did not imply any inconsistency to the ancient Mesopotamian, since the existence of omens seemed to him to be the result of a decision of the gods. He therefore had recourse to the same gods in order to ward off the evil implications of portents, if any. The incidence of an unfavourable omen was thus one more occasion for him to experience the power of the gods and to implore their benevolence. Similarly the recourse to impetrated omens was an expression on his part of the belief that the gods would answer his request for guidance about any aspects of his life which could cause him anxiety; the

consultation which occurred seems itself to have been the occasion of acts of devotion on his part.

f) Birth.

3. 41. Is there any evidence to show that moments of importance in the life of an individual, like his birth and marriage and the end of his life itself, were accompanied by religious rites or were the object of special beliefs? As regards birth, belief in the overall causality of the gods is expressed in a general statement such as this found in an incantation to Sîn: šá d u m u . n i t a l a i-šu-ú tu-šar-sa-a d u m u . n i t a (447), "he who has no heir thou makest to get an heir". In Šurpu belief in the rôle of Marduk in connection with childbirth is expressed in the course of a litany which recounts the beneficent actions of the god: e-ri-tú ga-du ša š à -šá šul-lu-mu šu-'u-lu-du šu-mu šur-šu-u (448), "(It rests with you, Marduk) to keep the pregnant woman well, together with the child in her womb, to deliver (the child), to give an heir". A Middle Assyrian text, which combines medical prescriptions for a pregnant woman with incantations for pangs at delivery, also invokes Marduk and appears to reproduce an invocation to be said by

the mother: g u b -za-ma am-ma d u g₄. g a . m e š -si

re-ma-nu-ú ^da m a r . u t u an-nu-ú te-šu-ú

la-a-ma-ku-ma ku-ul-da-ni še-li kak-ka ša-ti bu-nu-ut

d i n g i r . m e š bu-nu-ut l ú . u_x . l u lu-ú-ša-ma

li-mur i z i . g a r(449), "be present and ... merciful

Marduk. 'Now is the battle on, I am surrounded! Reach me!'

Bring forth that sealed-up one, a creation of the gods, a

creation of man. Let him come out to see the light".

3. 42. Some indication of the rites performed by the midwife at childbirth seems to be contained in the Atra-ḫasīs

epic where it describes Nintu, the birth-goddess, presiding

at the birth of mankind: [wa-aš-ba]-at ^dnin-tu [i-ma]-an-nu

ar-ḫi [si-ma-nu] ši-ma-ti is-sú-ú eš-ra i t i eš-ru i t i

il-li-ka-am-ma [ḫ]a-lu-up pa-le-e si-li-tam ip-te [n]a-am-ru-ma

ḫa-du-ú pa-nu-ša u'-pu-ur ka-aq-qá-as-sà ša-ab-su-ta-am i-pu-uš

[q]á-ab-li-ša i-te-zi-iḫ i-ka-ar-ra-ab i-ši-ir qé-ma ù

li-bi-it-ta id-di a-na-ku-mi ab-ni i-pu-ša qá-ta-ia

ša-[ab]-sú-tum i-na bi-it qá-di-iš-ti li-iḫ-du(450), "Nintu

(sat) counting the months. (At the) destined (moment) the

tenth month was summoned, the tenth month arrived and the elapse

of the period opened the womb. With a beaming joyful face and

covered head she performed the midwifery. She girded her loins

as she pronounced the blessing, she drew a pattern in meal and placed the brick, 'I have created, my hands have made it. Let the midwife rejoice in the house of the qadištum'. As Lambert points out in the Introduction(451), this passage lays down certain norms of ancient midwifery which are introduced with the general statement: i-na é a-li-te ḡa-riš-ti
 7 u₄ . m e š li-na-di s i g₄ i tūk-ta-bit
 d i n g i r . m a ḡ e-riš-ta^d ma-mi(452), "in the house of the pregnant woman in confinement let the brick be in place for seven days that Bēlet-ilī, the wise Mami, may be honoured"; it seems therefore that the saying of a blessing and the making of lines or patterns with flour, a ritual practice which is well attested in other contexts(453), was a normal part of the midwife's duties when assisting at a birth, in Old Babylonian times. Another reference to a ritual at the time of birth is perhaps contained at the end of an incantation for a woman in labour; after a recital of the myth of Shamash and the cow, the text has the indication: šum-ma zi-ka-ar a(?) -li-da-ni
šum-ma sí-in-ni-ša-at na-ap-ṭ[á]-ar-ta-ni li-im-qú-ta-am
qá-aq-qá-ar-[šu]m(454), "if it is a boy may our alīd/tu, if it is a girl may our naptartu fall to the ground". The ritual cannot be clearly understood since alīd/tu and naptartu cannot be translated in this context, but van Dijk compares them to

other texts where the mace and the spindle are the symbols of the boy and the girl respectively, and argues that such a ritual at the moment of birth was their consecration into a religious society(455).

3. 43. Attention has often been drawn to the fact that the vast majority of personal names in Mesopotamia contain the name of one of the gods as an element but Oppenheim considers that this does not justify any conclusion about the personal piety of the people concerned; he says "to an overwhelming extent, the personal names from Mesopotamia, Sumerian and Akkadian alike, are theophorous ... Because the deity named is not necessarily the same to appear in the names of the parents or the siblings of the child, we are not able to establish what consideration - pious or whatever - determined the selection"(456). This conclusion has been strengthened by the work of R. Harris on the Old Babylonian names from Sippar(457). She collected the names of c. 18,000 different persons from the sources of that date and provenance, which gave a total of 1,083 different names; 70% of the theophoric names had as divine element a god belonging to the official pantheon of Sippar, i.e. gods known to have had a temple or shrine there. Shamash, the chief god of Sippar, had the

largest number of theophoric names, viz. 20⁰%. R. Harris concluded that the giving of names had a largely official character, determined by the desire to avoid confusion, and she takes up again the suggestion, already made by Chiera(458) and Meissner(459), that there existed an official and central register of names so that a name could only be given to a child when it was "free", in the sense of not being borne at the time by any other member of the community. As regards the link between name-giving and personal piety she says: "In a list compiled on the size of families in Sippar which included some ninety families with three or more children I found that only in thirteen instances does one god, usually Šamaš or Sin, appear in the name of all the offspring. And even in these cases this one god is usually not the god who appears in the father's theophoric name. This leads one, therefore, to doubt that the choice of name, at least in Sippar, is involved with familial piety to one particular deity"(460).

3. 44. The weakness in the line of argument followed by Oppenheim and by R. Harris is that it rests on the assumption that personal piety in name giving only existed when it was exclusive, i.e. when the name of one god was present in the names of all members of the family, to the exclusion of any

other god. But it is possible to argue that the devotion of the individual extended to several gods, so that the existence in the same family of different theophorous elements in personal names is not in itself sufficient proof of the lack of piety in name choosing. The practice of referring to individuals by a hypocoristic name would explain the desire for variety in the theophorous element in the names of the same family, so that the existence of certain families where all the siblings had the same divine name in their personal name is evidence of an extraordinary devotion in those particular cases(461). But in the more normal cases, where the theophorous elements in the names of siblings varied, it is not possible to argue conclusively either way; such a practice is compatible with a personal devotion but it does not in itself prove that such devotion existed. A better lead-in would seem to be the analysis of the other elements in personal names in an attempt to ascertain the circumstances in which the names were conferred, such as is attempted by Stamm(462). He argues from the fact that many names refer to the appearance or are nicknames or names of a profession, and also from the practice of changing a name, to the conclusion that the meaning of a name was not taken for granted. If this is the case, the fact that the great majority of names consist of a phrase of which one element is the name

of a god becomes immensely significant for a study of the mental horizon of the individual. Stamm also considers that although a normal situation would mean that a child would be given a name of a general type, perhaps taken from a list of names, an abnormal situation would call forth a name which alluded to it in some way, e.g. in the case of a particularly strong or weak child, if an heir had been awaited for a long time, if the birth occurred soon after the death of another member of the family(463). A considerable number of names are thus "situation names", i.e. they are the outcome of a particular, lived situation; as such they are able to give an insight into the mentality of the people who experienced the situation and who produced the name as a result of it. Limet, in his study of Sumerian names from the time of the third dynasty of Ur, also comes to the conclusion that many names reflect exclamations or circumstances at the time of birth(464) and he argues in favour of seeing personal names as evidence of the religiosity of private citizens because of the great variety of lesser gods whose names occur in the personal names of the period(465). Finkelstein has published an Old Babylonian document which shows that a child could be given a name on the day of its birth since the document refers to it by name and is dated on its day of birth(466).

3. 45. It seems therefore that theophoric personal names which refer to the birth of the child can be adduced as evidence of the beliefs which ordinary people held in Mesopotamia. These were that the birth of a child was due to the action of a god so that the god could be said to have given the child; the name Iddin-DN is thus common at all periods(467). More specifically, the god was seen as creating the child, as in the Old Babylonian name Ib-ni-^dé-a(468); bringing the child, as in the name ^dsin-ub-lam from the same period(469); naming the child, as in the names DN-zākir-šumi or DN-zākir which are found in all periods(470); assuring the succession as in the Assyrian names DN-šuma-ukīn(471); causing the seed or the brother to be, as in the names DN-zēra-ušabši, DN-aḫa-ušabši from all periods(472); the names thus express the same beliefs as those of the ritual texts (cf. supra 3.41) about the overall causality of the gods in relation to birth.

3. 46. A certain number of names seem to reproduce the cries of the mother during childbirth, as a-ḫu-la-ap-^du t u(473), "Enough, O Shamash"; ad-ma-at-ī-li(474), "How long, my god?"; a-ta-na-aḫ-ī-lī(475), "I am weary, O god"; am-me-ni-d i n g i r (476), "Why, O god?". These names strengthen the

evidence of the medical text quoted above (cf. supra 3.41) that invocations to the gods would occur naturally to simple people in times of stress and suffering. The evidence of the personal names thus confirms the ritual texts and indicates that the birth of an individual was considered as involving the intervention of the gods in a special way which could often be recorded throughout the life of that person by the name he bore.

g) Marriage.

3. 47. Very little is known about the way in which the inhabitants of Mesopotamia celebrated marriage. As S. Greengus says, "scholars have long recognized that marriage in ancient Mesopotamia, like marriage elsewhere, included ceremonies and rites. The difficulty however has been that the preponderance of available sources relate to the economic and legal aspects of marriage and seldom indicate other features"(477). However an Old Babylonian text, for which Greengus has provided a translation and commentary, does establish that religious rites were a part of the ceremonies involved(478). The text is in the form of a memorandum,

written for the benefit of the bride's father, recording the expenses involved over several days by the succession of events connected with the wedding of a bride from Ur to a bridegroom from Larsa. Lines 6-9 read: i-na š̃i-ni[...] x x-mi
 3 s i l a₃ k ù . b i l g í n a-na é . d i n g i r .
 r e . e . n[e i-n]a š̃ e š̃ . u n u g^{ki} ù u d . u n u g^{ki}
ub-lu ù l s i l a₃ ì . g u . l[a k ù] . b i l g í n
ana d i n g i r . r e . e . n e i-na u₄ - [mi] - im š̃[a]
b[i-i]b-la-am ub-lu-ni-im(479), "in ... , three sila worth one shekel to the temple of the gods in Ur and Larsa they brought, and one sila of perfumed oil worth one shekel for the gods on the day when they brought the marriage gift". This text establishes that in the Old Babylonian period the marriage festivities involved gifts, and probably visits, to the temples; in this particular instance it is specified that these took place in the two different towns of the two families. A later passage in the same text refers to a rite of release or expiation carried out by the mother of the bridegroom: i-na
 k á ^d e n . k i um-ma-š̃u ip-š̃u-ur-ma(480), "in the Enki gate, his mother released", and it is possible that this too involved a visit to a temple.

3. 48. Omen texts refer to marriage as one among other human activities for which certain times were propitious; the series iqqur îpuš includes the indication: d i š
ina b a r d a m-su ana é -šú t u š à . b i
d ù g . g a (481), "if in the month of Nisan he makes his wife enter into his house, his heart will be glad". The hemerologies of the Middle Assyrian period mention the days favourable for marriage: d] a m ana é -šú t u (482), "he can make (his) wife enter into his house". Pettinato has published an Old Babylonian text which consists of a series of oil divinations carried out by the bārû; one of these begins: d i š ì a-na aš-ša-tim a-ḫa-zi-im
te-ep-pe-eš(483), "if thou carriest out an oil (divination) concerning taking a wife". This instruction appears to have been originally independent of the context into which it was probably inserted(484); it continues: l ša ḡ à š l <ša>
g e m e a-ḫe ta-na-an-di-i-ma šum-ma it-te-en-mi-i-du
ši-im-tum in-na-ḫa-zu šum-ma in-ne-em-du-ma ša zi-ka-ri-im
ta-ri-ik zi-ka-ru-um i-ma-at šum-ma sí-in-ni-iš-ti-im ta-ri-ik
sí-ni-š-iš-tum i-ma-at(485), "thou pourest out one (oil drop) for the man (and) one (for) the woman separately, if (the drops of oil) always join up together; oracle, they will marry. If they join up together and then the man's is separated, the

man will die. If the woman's is separated, the woman will die".

3. 49. The existence of omens about marriage indicate that it was considered one of the human activities about which the gods were concerned. The presence of such an omen in the bārû's repertoire is particularly significant, since oil divination was resorted to especially by the poor (cf. supra 3.37) who are thus shown to have consulted the bārû in order to discover the will and decision of the gods concerning marriage.

h) Death.

3. 50. The general assumption of the ancient world to which Mesopotamia belonged was that after death a shadowy survival awaited the individual in the subterranean area controlled by chthonic deities(486). As Kramer says about the Sumerians, "by and large the Sumerians were dominated by the conviction that in death the emasculated spirit descended to a dark and dreary beyond where 'life' at best was but a dismal wretched reflection of life in earth"(487).

In view of such beliefs, was there any place for personal religion? Could the individual have considered the possibility of a personal destiny beyond death, and could he have considered the relation existing between him and the divine as capable of transcending in some way the apparent finality of the grave?

3. 51. The notion of a personal destiny after death involves the question of different states for different people; was there in Mesopotamia a belief in some sort of judgment which would issue in a different destiny for the good and for the evil? Ebeling, in his Tod und Leben nach der Vorstellungen der Babylonier (1931), brought together a number of texts which would seem to support the view that such a belief existed. Von Soden, however, in 1935 (488) stated categorically that there is no idea of judgment in the after-life and that the only judgment with which the underworld is connected is the judgment which determines whether a particular man is to live or die. Since then the publication by Kramer of two funeral dirges in Sumerian has strengthened the view that there existed a belief in some sort of differentiation between the fate of individuals in the after-life. These dirges are inscribed on a tablet written at Nippur c. 1700 B.C. (489) though their composition may have been earlier. The first one, on behalf of a deceased

man called Nannâ, says: ^{md}n a n n a . a u r₅(?) . z u
 ħ é . š a g₅ š à . z u ħ é . š i(?) . ħ u n(?) . g á(?)
^du t u . e n(?) . g a l . a . r a . l i . k e₄ k i . k u₁₀ .
 k u₁₀ u₄ . š è ù . m u . n i . i n . t u d i . k u₅ . z u
 ì . k u₅ . d è ^dn a n n a . a u₄ . n á . a n a m . z u
 ħ é . t a r . r e ... m ù š . à m d i n g i r . z u
 ħ é . e m . m e n a m . z u [ħ é(?) . t a r(?) . r e](?)(490),

"O Nannâ may thy spirit(?) be pleased, may thy heart be at rest;
 Utu, the great lord of Hades, after turning the dark places to
 light, will judge thy case (favourably); may Nannâ decree thy
 fate (favourably) on the day of sleep ... may thy god say 'enough',
 may he [decree?] thy fate (favourably)". The second dirge,

composed on behalf of the deceased woman Nawirtum, includes the
 invocation: ^du t u k u r . t a u₄ . z a l a g

ħ a . r a . t a . è (491), "may Utu bring forth for thee light
 from the nether world". Kramer remarks that it had long been
 known that the dead according to Sumerian belief were not all
 treated alike in the nether world, as is shown by the report
 which the shade of Enkidu gives in the Sumerian poem "Gilgamesh,
 Enkidu and the Nether World"(492); and from this, belief in a
 judgment after death could have been inferred. However since
 the dirges under consideration are unique and in the view of

the dearth of evidence in Akkadian on the subject, it is difficult to reach any conclusions as to how widespread belief in a judgment after death could have been(493).

The Dialogue of Pessimism has a passage in which the slave concurs with the master's whim not to perform a public benefit for the country with the words: i-li-ma ina u g u
d u₆ meš . ni l i b i r . r a^{meš} i-tal-lak a-mur gul-gul-le-e
šá e g i r^{meš} u pa-nu-u-ti a-a-u be-el li-mut-tim-ma a-a-u
be-el ú-sa-ti(494), "go up to the ancient tells and walk around, see the skulls of the later and the earlier (inhabitants). Which is the malefactor and which is the benefactor?". Since the cynical series of "second-thoughts" in this composition may well represent criticism of conventional belief, this passage may be evidence of the general belief that malefactor and benefactor were differentiated in the after-life.

3. 52. The continuing dependence of the dead upon the living for their well-being is a belief which is, on the other hand, widely documented. The spirit of the dead was called eṭemmu(495) and the eṭemmu who had no one to care for him was in a particular and unenviable situation, and constituted a danger for the living. Thus Maqlû has a passage in which the patient complains that he has been handed over:

a-na g i d i m mur-tap-pi-du ša pa-qí-da la i-šu-u(496),
 "to a roaming ghost who has no one to take care of him". The
 kind of care which was required is referred to in one of the
 curses which conclude the Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon:

[g i d i]m -ku-nu pa-qi-du na-aq a . m e š a-a ir-[ši](497),
 "may your ghost have no one to take care as a water-pourer".

An example of a libation of water for the dead members of the
 family is furnished by a namburbi for the digging of a well
 which has the instruction: t ú l te-ḫe-er-ri ki-ma me-e
ta-tam-ru a šú-nu-ti ana i g i ^du t u b a l -q i
ana ^da-nun-na-ki₄ b a l -q i ana g i d i m kim-ti-ka
 b a l -q i-ma me-e šú-nu-ti te-le-ḫi-im(498), "thou diggest
 the well, when thou hast seen the water, that water thou
 libatest before Shamash, thou libatest to the Annunaki, thou
 libatest to the ghosts of thy family, thou drinkest that
 water".

3. 53. Incantations which aim at averting the evil effect
 of neglected ghosts refer to the proper care which has been
 given to the dead; thus an incantation from Assur says: ma-la
ina k i -tim ni-lu ki-is-pa ak-sip-ku-nu-ši a . m e š
aq-qí-ku-nu-ši(499), "I have made funerary offerings for all
 of you who are lying in the nether world, I have poured out

water for you". The kispum or funerary offering appears to have been an offering of food for the ghosts of the dead. As well as being the object of concern for the royal administration (500), it is referred to in private correspondence. An Old Babylonian letter has a reference to it: [k]a-l[a š]a-at-ti a-na [k] i . s ì . g a [b]i-ib-bu-li-im ša é a-bi-ka [mi]-na-a a-na-ad-di-in(501), "how much shall I give for the whole year for the funerary offering of the day of the disappearance of the moon for thy family?", which implies that the kispum was made once a month(502); and a reference in the omen texts: d i š ina ^{iti}a b u d . 29 . k á m k á n u è k i . s ì . g a ki-sip(503), "in the month of Tebet, the 29th day, one must not go out of the door, make a funerary offering", shows that the kispum could be offered at home(504). An incantation for someone who has seen a dead person indicates that the offering of the kispum could be accompanied by the mention of the name of the dead since it directs that the patient should say: [š]u-m-ka it-ti e-ṭim-me az-kur šum-ka ina ki-is-pi az-kur(505), "I have mentioned thy name with the ghosts (of my family), I have mentioned thy name in the funerary offering". This reinforces Stamm's surmise that personal names of the type Abi-ai-amši, "I will not forget my father" and Aḫa-lā-amašši, "I will not forget my brother" refer to the carrying out of the rites for the dead members of

the family(506).

3. 54. The belief in the dependence of the dead on the living may be illustrated by the practice of burying the dead under the floor of houses(507). Strommenger utters a warning against supposing that all the dead were disposed of in this way(508) but two references in the omen series iqqur îpuš, which includes among a series of unfavourable apodoses if a man lays the foundations of a house on the sixteenth day of the month: ina é . b i n a . b i ul iq-qî-bir(509), "this man will not be buried in this house", show that such a burial could be considered as a possibility for a householder, and apparently as a desirable one.

3. 55. The evidence concerning current beliefs about the dead in ancient Mesopotamia points to the conclusion that the individual could not have hoped to maintain after death a relation with the gods who helped him during life. Whatever the state of diffusion of beliefs about a judgment after death with a consequent differentiation in the condition of the dead, it is clear that it was the attitude of living human beings, their piety and their ritual practices, rather than any action on the part of the gods which was thought of as making any difference to the state of the dead.

Chapter IV. The individual and his beliefs.

4. 1. The purpose of this chapter is to study some of the ideas which the ancient Babylonians themselves entertained about the relation of each man to the gods. Apart from the religious rites which the private person carried out in certain circumstances, are there any indications which enable us to form some idea about the beliefs which ordinary lay people had about their connection with the world of the gods? The two beliefs which will be especially investigated here are the belief that each human being had his own personal god, and the belief in the goddess Lamassu.

a) Belief in the personal god: previous treatment.

4. 2. In La religion assyro-babylonienne (Paris, 1910), E. Dhorme started from the notion of a father-son relationship between god and man which he saw exemplified in names of the mār-DN type, and he considered that the idea of a personal god was a development of this notion. Just as the gods were considered well-disposed towards mankind, meriting the love of

man who could call them father or mother, so one particular god could be designated by a human father as the "guardian god" of his child. The latter would then be considered as "son of his god" because particularly protected by him(510). Dhorme contrasted this personal relationship with the idea of šēdu and lamassu since these were "divinités générales et anonymes"(511). In a later work, Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie (Paris, 1949) he adopted the same position while being less definite about the process by which the idea of the personal god came about(512).

4. 3. E. Ebeling in Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931) accepted the idea that the personal god was attached to his protégé for life, but differentiated between this god and the great gods. He emphasized that the prosperity of the personal god was dependent in some way on the man whose god he was, and compares the relation of the two to the soul and the body(513).

4. 4. C.J. Gadd in Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East (London, 1946) saw evidence of a process by which the idea of the divine was "brought out" from the temples to the "parish" (the wayside shrines), then to houses and finally

to individuals so that, in Babylonia at least, everyone had a god or goddess of his own. He identified the god who is represented on seals as introducing the worshipper to the great gods with the personal god. Gadd also remarked on the way in which, "rather inconsistently", a man would appeal to one of the greater gods to reconcile his personal god to him when he was convinced by affliction that his personal god had turned against him(514).

4. 5. In The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (Chicago, 1946) T. Jacobsen attributed to the third millenium B.C. the view that the great gods were remote. The individual had close and personal relations only to one deity, his personal god. The personal god appears as a personification of a man's luck and success, and Jacobsen thought that this was probably the original aspect of the belief(515). He treated the question again in a later article, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 107 (1963), pp. 473-484, where he introduced the rise of the belief in a personal god into an evolutionary scheme whereby the gods in the fourth millenium B.C. were identified with the basic powers of nature; in the third millenium B.C. they are seen as kings and powers in history; in the second

millenium B.C. the fate of the individual becomes a "central concern" and there is added "a personal dimension to the relation with the divine"(516). Jacobsen stated that the origin of this new development was the emergence of the belief in the personal god, originally a personification of a man's "luck" but very early identified with a known figure of the pantheon, usually a minor deity.

4. 6. S.N. Kramer, in "Man and his God", VT Suppl. 3 (1960), edited a Sumerian text from Nippur which he described as a "poetic essay", exhorting a man to praise his god even in cases of seemingly unjustified adversity. Kramer dated the copy at about 1700 B.C. and considered that the original composition may have gone back to the Third Dynasty of Ur. He stated that the notion of a personal god was evolved by Sumerian theologians in response to the feeling that the leading deities of the pantheon were too remote from the individual. The personal god was necessary as a kind of intermediary or "good angel" to intercede for his protégé when the gods assembled, probably every New Year's Day, to judge all men and to decide their fates. He adds "just how these personal gods were selected by the individual or head of a family is uncertain"(517).

4. 7. A.L. Oppenheim in Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1964) considered that the expression "the god of an individual" refers to certain aspects of a person's endowment. He draws a parallel between the relationship of individuals to their protective spirits and the relationship of the king to certain deities of the pantheon, notably Ishtar, and advances the opinion that the formulation of the royal texts in this respect represents a secondary development, born of a wish to show the special position of the king. In Oppenheim's view the terms ilu, ištaru, lamassu and šēdu are the expression in mythological terms of a psychological experience, and he "de-mythologises" ilu as "some kind of spiritual endowment which is difficult to define but may well allude to the divine element in man" (518), whereas ištaru was man's fate, lamassu was his individual characteristics, and šēdu was his élan vital.

4. 8. It will be observed that there has not been a special study of the personal god and it will be the aim of this chapter to bring together what evidence can be found in Akkadian sources. The early evolution of the idea before the second millenium is outside the scope of this study which is primarily limited to Akkadian sources, but the views mentioned above will be subjected to a critical study for the later period.

b) Belief in the personal god: relation of the personal god to named gods.

4. 9. The idea that the great gods were considered as remote from the ordinary individual is stated by several of the authors just mentioned as explaining the genesis of the idea that each man had a personal god. It is therefore worth beginning the study of the personal god with an attempt to discover what relation was thought to exist between the personal god and the great gods. There is evidence in incantations that the personal god was expected to have a name since the passe-partout formula which requires to be filled in with the name of the patient, and sometimes of his father as well, also calls for the name of the patient's god and goddess. At the beginning of Šurpu the sick man is introduced as n e n n i a n e n n i ša d i n g i r -šu n e n n i ^dXV -šu n e n n i -tum(519), "NN, son of NN, whose god is NN, whose goddess is NN". The same formula is found in the šu-ila series(520), in namburbi texts(521), and in the series bīt-mēseri(522). Some of the copies in which the šu-ila series has been preserved carry variants where the names have been recorded: ana-ku ^mba-la-si a d i n g i r -šu ša d i n g i r -šu ^d_p a ^dXV -šu

^d_k u r n u n (523), "I, Balasi, son of his god, whose god is Nabû, whose goddess is Tashmētum"; a-na-ku áš-šur-mu-š i g -i q a d i n g i r -š u [ša] d i n g i r -š u
^d_p a ^d_{XV} -šú ^d_k u r n u n (524), "I, Ashur-mudammiq, son of his god, whose god is Nabû, whose goddess is Tashmētum". In a namburbi against the evil effects of an anomalous birth the names are also recorded: [] -sun
a ^m_n u m u n -u-ti ša [d i n g i r -šú] ^d[a g ^d_{XV} -šú]
^d_k u r n u n (525), "[]sun, the son of Zerûti, whose [god is Nabû, whose goddess is] Tash^h_^mētum". Commenting on this passage, Leichty infers that the man for whom the prayer was recited must have been a very important person since his personal god and goddess are named; he says "personal gods who are named refer almost exclusively to kings, but in this case the evidence points to a private individual"(526). As has been argued above (3.7-8) šurpu and namburbi rituals were probably used for a restricted clientèle; šaziga rituals, which may have had a wider use, do not include references to the personal god when they have the passe-partout formula but only say n e n n i a n e n n i or an-na-ni-tu-ú-a
^d_u m u . s a l an-na-ni-tú-ú-a, "NN son of NN" or "NN daughter of NN" in the fairly numerous places where names are

to be inserted(527). The evidence from the incantations which have come down to us in late recensions points, as far as it goes, to the conclusion that the personal gods of certain important people apart from the king could be the great gods themselves.

4. 10. Hirsch has made a special study of the Old Assyrian material relating to the personal god in his study of Old Assyrian religion. He concludes that the number of personal names with ilum as one element, which he takes to be the personal god, is high, almost as numerous as names with Ashur as an element. However it is only seldom that the personal god is named; gods so identified are Ilabrat, Amurru and Ishtar. In no known text is one of the great gods, such as Ashur, Shamash or Adad called "my god"(528). In one case the comparison of two letters, one sent by Inna'a which has the phrase a-šir ^dma r . t u ì-li a-bi-a(529), "Ashur and Amurru, the god of my father", and one sent to him with the phrase a-šur ^dma r . t u il₅-ka(530), "Ashur and Amurru, thy god", enables the conclusion to be drawn that in that case a man's god was the same as his father's(531).

4. 11. In Old Babylonian letters references to named gods as being the gods of particular individuals occur in the greetings formulae at the beginning of the letters:

d i n g i r -ka ^dn i n . š u b u r re-eš i-g[i]-ri-ka
da-am-qí li-ki-il(532), "may Ilabrat, thy god, prepare a good
 reputation for thee": d i n g i r -ka ^dn i n . š u b u r
li-ba-li-[i]t-ka(533), "may Ilabrat, thy god, keep thee well":
^du t u ù ^di š k u r il-ku-nu aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš
u₄-mi-im li-ba-al-li-it-ku-nu-ti(534), "may Shamash and Adad,
 your god, for my sake perpetually keep you well": ^du t u
d i n g i r nu-ú-u[m]li-ba-li-it-ka(535), "may Shamash, our
 god, keep thee well": [a-a]t-ta ù ka-at-ta [^dn] i n . š u b u r
ì-lí a-bi-ka [li-š]a-ḫi-iz(536), "may Ilabrat, the god of thy
 father, designate what is mine and what is thine". In the
 last names instance the letter is sent to someone called
 Ibbi-Ilabrat, so that the personal god of his father is the one
 whose name appears in his name. However references to a
 protecting god who is not named are much more frequent; the
 phrase ilu nāširka, "the god thy protector" seems to refer to
 the personal god, as indicated by the Old Babylonian name
Ili-nāširi(537), "My god is my protector". It occurs
 frequently, with slight variants, in the formula: d i n g i r

na-ṣir-ka re-eš-ka a-na da-mi-iq-tim li-ki-il(538), "may the god thy protector be at thy disposal", and also in the formula: d i n g i r na-ṣi-ir-ka ṣi-bu-tam a-ia ir-ši(539), "may the god thy protector have no need (unfulfilled)". The evidence of the letters from the Old Babylonian period therefore indicates that the name of a person's personal god was usually not known to his correspondent, although it seems to have been assumed that he had one. If the personal god were normally a minor deity, and if it was the normal convention for the writer of the letter to make reference to the personal god of the correspondent, then it is readily understandable that the personal god could not be named. In one case the writer employs a greeting in the name of his own god, and in that case the god is named: ^du t u ù ^de n . l i l i-li li-ba-li-tú-ku-⟨nu-ti⟩ (540), "may Shamash and Enlil, my god, keep you well". It may be that in two other cases where the writer "blesses" his correspondent in the name of a god who is little known but whose name appears as part of the writer's name, it is in fact his own personal god whom he is invoking; thus Sataran-šitmar, writing to his brother, says: ^du t u ù ^ds a t a r a n li-ba-li-tú-ka(541), "may Shamash and

Sataran keep thee well". Šāt-Damu, writing to Ilf-iqīšam, says ^d[d]a . [m] u ù ^dg u . l a aš-šum šu-m[i]-ia da-r[i-i]š u₄-mi li-ba-a[l]-li-ṭú-k[a](542), "may Damu and Gula for my sake keep thee always well". The evidence of the letters from this period thus points to the conclusion that although everyone could be considered as having a personal god, he was only very rarely one of the great gods and was in fact only rarely named.

4. 12. Personal names of the form DN-iliya/ilišu/ilka are found. The following Old Babylonian names occur: Enlil-ilišu(543), Ea-ilka(544), Šamaš-ilišu(545), Nabi-ilišu(546); Ištar-ilšu occurs as an Old Assyrian name(547); at Mari the name Ili-Dagan is found(548) and Neo-Assyrian names of the same form are Adad-iliya(549), Aššur-iliya(550), Bēl-iliya(551), Ištar-iliya(552), Šamaš-iliya(553), Šamaš-ilišu(554) and Nabû-iliya(555). These names appear to go against the evidence previously adduced and to suggest that the great gods could be considered as the personal gods of individuals. However the names Ea-kīma-iliya(556), Ištar-kīma-iliya(557) and Šamaš-kīma-iliya(558) probably indicate that the meaning behind all these names is that the divinity in question was

expected to behave like the personal god of the individual. Stamm compares them to names of the DN-lamassi type(559); the Assyrian names Adad-šamši(560) and Aššur-šamši(561) are also examples of one god being called by the name of another god without being strictly identified with him.

4. 13. The prayers in incantations frequently contain petitions to the gods asking them to intervene so as to ensure that the personal god of a man is favourable or ceases to be unfavourable. A šu-ila to Marduk asks: a-na š u^{meš} s i g₅^{meš} šá d i n g i r -ia <ana> s i g₅ -ti pi-iq-da-ni(562), "entrust me for good to the good hands of my god". Another prayer to the same god asks: d i n g i r -i₁₀ li-iz-ziz i-na im-ni-ia ^dXV -i₁₀ li-iz-ziz i-na šu-me-li-ia (563), "may my god stand at my right, may my goddess stand at my left". A namburbi to Shamash contains a prayer to be recited three times by the patient which ends with the request: a-na š u^{meš} s i g₅^{meš} šá d i n g i r . m u ana šul-mi u t i . l a pi-iq-da-nin-ni a-na d i n g i r -ia u ^de š₄ . d a r -ia pi-iq-da-nin-ni-ma lu-ud-lu-ul nar-bi-ku-nu(564), "entrust me to the good hands of my god for health and well-being, entrust me to my god and my goddess that

I may praise your greatness". Šurpu lists among the things which Marduk can do: d i n g i r u^d_{XV} kam-lu a-na l ú
tu-ur-ru d i n g i r šab-su^d iš-tar zi-ni-tú it-ti l ú
sul-lu-mu ki-šir š à d i n g i r u^d_{e š₄} . d a r
pa-ṭa-ru(565), "to make the angry god and goddess return to a man, to appease the angry god and the wrathful goddess with a man, to remove the anger of the god and the goddess". A namburbi to Shamash for the occasion when a man has had a šibit tulī(566) asks: līb-bi d i n g i r -ia₅ u^d_{XV} -ia₅
b u r -ir(567), "may the heart of my god and my goddess be appeased". A šu-ila prayer to Ninurta says: ša d i n g i r -šú
~~š~~ k i -šú zi-nu-u tu-sal-lam ár-ḥis(568), "thou swiftly reconcilest him with whom his god is angry". Reiner has studied a text from Sultantepe which contains prayers and rituals to various gods preparatory to obtaining impetrated omens; she considers them evidence of private divination techniques not found in the canonical omen literature(569). One of the prayers is addressed to the gods of the night and asks them to ensure that the client may receive a favourable omen from his own god and goddess: ia-a-ti i r -ku-nu k i d i n g i r . m u
^d_{XV} . m u šu-ud-bi-ba-nin-ni-ma(570), "me your worshipper with my god and my goddess let me speak".

4. 14. The incantations thus regularly give evidence of recourse being had to the great gods so as to change the attitude of the personal gods. There are other examples of one god being asked to affect in some way the action of some other god, as in the incantation of the Maqlû type for

combatting the power of wizards: ^du t u šur-bi a-ši-pu-tu
šá n u n . g a l d i n g i r . m e š i-pu-šú

^da m a r . u t u (571), "Shamash, magnify the work of exorcism which the sage of the gods, Marduk, performs". A

šu-ila prayer to Nusku contains the invocation: ina ma-ḥar

^den-líl ma-li-ki lu ṣa-bit a-bu-ti-ia at-ta(572), "before

Enlil the counsellor do thou intercede for me" and the

Assyrian Hemerology edited by Labat has as an apodosis after

a food offering for the 17th Nisan: ^dnin-gal ana ^db à ab-bu-su
ta-ṣa-bat(573), "Ningal will intercede for him with Šîn".

However I have not found examples of prayers to the personal gods asking them to change in some way the attitude of the great gods; at most they are asked to join the patient in praising one of the great gods, as in the namburbi to Asalluḫi against the evil portents of lightning: [d i] n g i r . l ú .

b a . k e₄ . n a m . m a ḫ . z u ḫ [é . e n . b í](574),

"may the personal god of this man extol thy greatness". This must render suspect the idea that the genesis of the notion of

the personal god was the feeling that the great gods were distant and inaccessible. Before taxing the ancient Mesopotamian with inconsistency, as does Gadd (supra 4.4), it is necessary to examine the evidence as to his ideas on his relation to the world of the gods. It appears that it was considered possible for the individual to have one of the great gods as his personal god, though this does not seem to have been the usual case; however the evidence of personal names shows that the great gods could be considered as behaving like the personal god of a man, and this suggests that they were not thought of as remote. The incantations confirm this since they show that, when something was wrong, recourse to the great gods was considered the normal remedy; the personal god and goddess of the individual were thought of as subject to the rule of the main deities, so that the existence of the belief in the personal god seems to have been one more expression of the immediacy of the world of the gods and of their concern for men.

- c) Belief in the personal god: the sphere of activity attributed to the personal god.

4. 15. The personal god was considered as the god who created his devotee; this is indicated by the greeting in an Old Babylonian letter: ana a-bi-ia ša d i n g i r -š u ba-ni-š u la-ma-ša-am da-ri-tam id-di-nu-š um(575), "to my father to whom his god who created him has given a permanent lamassu". The personal names from the Old Babylonian period Ilišu-ibniš u(576), "his god has created him" and Ilišu-bānī(577), "his god is creator", are evidence of the same belief. Prayers to named gods ask them to behave towards the suppliant like the god his creator, as in Maqlū, where the prayer to the salt to loose the spell which binds the patient says: up-š á-š e-e muḥ-ri-in-ni-ma g i m d i n g i r ba-ni-ia lul-tam-mar-ki(578), "take away from me the machinations, like the god my creator will I then venerate thee". Exactly how the personal god was considered to have created his devotee does not appear from the texts, but two proverbs in Sumerian link him with the mother's rôle at birth. They have been studied by Gordon whose translation is given here: d u m u . s i . n u . s á a m a . a . n i n a . a n . ù . t u d i n g i r . r a . n i n a . a n . d í m . d í m . e (579), "a perverse child - his

mother should never (have) give(n) birth to him, his (personal) god should never (have) fashion(ed) him"; a m a (?) . t a t u (?) . d [a?. n i?] d i n g i r . t a [...] (580), "from (one's) mother (his birth?), from (one's personal) god ...". Gordon suggests the restoration d í m . d ì m . m a . n i , "his having been fashioned", because of the similarity with the first proverb. The idea that a man was "fashioned" by his personal god may imply that he derived his personal characteristics from the personal god and that this was a result of being "created" by him(581). The idea that a man was the son of his god may also derive from the belief that his god was his creator; it is attested in the personal names Apil-ilišu(582), "(eldest) son of his god" and Mār-ilišu(583), "son of his god", and also in incantations where the patient is frequently called the son of his god; so in Šurpu: ma-mit d ù . a . b i š á l ú d u m u d i n g i r -[šú is-ba-tu](584), "any oath which has seized the man, son of his god", and in a namburbi where it is part of the introductory formula: ana-ku n e n n i d u m u d i n g i r -šu(585), "I, NN the son of his god".

4. 16. Various phrases are used to express the idea that the relations between the personal god and his protégé are

as they should be. In Šurpu an incantation which accompanied a purifying ritual ends with the parallel: a-me-lu šú-a-tú
li-[l]il [l]i-bi-ib a-na qa-at dam-[qa-a-t]i šá d i n g i r
-šú lip-pa-qid(586), "may this man be purified, cleaned, may he be entrusted into the propitious hands of his god". A
šu-ila to Nabû asks: li-iz-ziz d i n g i r -ià ina z a g
-ia li-iz-ziz [^dXV -ia] ina k a b -ia(587), "may my god stand at my right, may my goddess stand at my left" and the same request in a šu-ila, probably to Enlil, is paralleled by the phrase: d i n g i r mu-šal-lim-mu ina z a g . m e š
-ia₅ lu ka-a-a-an(588), "may the god providing welfare be ever at my side". The idea that the welfare (šulmu) of a man was linked to the action of his personal god is also indicated in the greeting formula of an Old Babylonian letter: šu-lum
ša-pí-ri-ia ma-ḫar ^du t u ù i-li-ka [l]u ka-ia-an(589),
"may the welfare of my leader be firmly established before Shamash and before thy god". The phrase d i n g i r
na-ṣir-ka re-eš-ka a-na da-mi-iq-tim li-ki-il(590), "may the god thy protector hold thy head for the good" is frequently found in Old Babylonian letters as a standard greeting with the meaning "to be at thy disposal"(591), and a similar idiom is found in oil omens of the same period: i-lu-um re-eš
a-wi-lim i-na-aš-ši(592), "the god will raise the head of the man", i.e. will comfort him(593). Another oil omen has the

apodosis: a-na be-el ì šu-lum i-lim ki-nu-um(594),
 "the favour of the god (is) lasting for the pourer/offerer
 of the oil (literally, 'for the lord of oil')". Other
 expressions in omens which indicate the favour of a man's
 god are: e n . n u . u n ð i n g i r -šú u g u -šú
 g á l -at(595), "the protection of his god will be over him"
 and: d i n g i r -šú a r h u š t u k -ši-šú(596),
 "his god will have mercy on him".

4. 17. The favour of a man's god was thought of as
 resulting in observable benefits as far as his protégé was
 concerned. In the Babylonian Theodicy, the exponent of the
 traditional view states: na-til pa-an d i n g i r -ma ra-ši
la-mas-[sa] n[a]-aq-di pa-li-iḫ ^dXV ú-kám-mar tuḫ-[da](597),
 "the one who gazes on the face of the god has a lamassu, the
 man in a critical situation who reverences the goddess
 accumulates wealth". The Dialogue of Pessimism also
 Associates the idea of devotion to one's god with the idea
 of profit: l ú ša s i z k u r ana d i n g i r -šu
ip-pu-uš š à -šú d ù g . g a -šú qip-tu u g u qip-tu
ip-pu-uš(598), "the man who sacrifices to his god is satisfied,
 he is making loan upon loan", and a similar association is also
 found in omens: n í g . t u k d a g a l d i n g i r . b i

šú-u-um(599), "his wealth will grow, his god (will be) friendly". The personal god was also thought of as the one who provided food for his protégé, as is shown by the apodosis of an Old Babylonian physiognomic omen: d i š l ú ša-ra-sú ki-ma qí-it-mi ša-al-ma-at l ú šu-ú a-ka-lum d i n g i r -šu a-na a-ka-lim i-na-di-šum(600), "if a man's hair is as black as ashes his god will give this man food to eat", and the god could also be said to build a house for his protégé, as in an omen apodosis from the series iqqur îpuš: d i n g i r -šu é -šu d ù -uš(601), "his god will build his house". The personal god was thought of as having a special rôle in relation to a man's future. A text from Sultantepe contains prayers and rituals to various gods, including one designed to elicit from a man's personal god omens about the man's future; it is entitled: i n i m . i n i m . m a k i d i n g i r -šú ^de š₄ . d a r -šú da-ba-bi-im-ma e g i r n í -šú pa-ra-si(602), "incantation to speak to one's god and goddess and thus to learn one's future". The same rôle is attributed to the personal god in a prayer to Marduk which Lambert considers to have been composed in the Kassite period: šá dam-gat ù [mas]-kât d i n g i r muš-kal-lim(603), "the god reveals what is favourable and what is bad".

4. 18. On the other hand the personal god was considered as dependent in some respects on the devotion of his devotee; a frequent greeting in Old Babylonian letters is: d i n g i r na-ši-ir-ka ši-bu-tam a-ia ir-šī(604), "may the god thy protector have no need (unfulfilled)". As argued above (4.11) ilu nāšīrka is probably the personal god. In the Dialogue of Pessimism, the master having first announced that he will sacrifice to his god changes his mind and the slave comments: la te-pu-uš be-lī la te-pu-uš d i n g i r tu-lam-mad-su-ma ki-i u r . d ú r e g i r -ka it-ta-na-lak(605), "do not do it, master, do not do it, the god thou canst teach and he will run after thee like a dog". In the Epic of Atra-ḫasīs, which has an Old Babylonian origin, the idea of transferring the devotion of the people from their own personal god to another god plays an important rôle in the story. Since it is by this means that Namtara is appeased and the plague ceases; the same technique is repeated to mollify Adad and end a drought. In each case heralds proclaim: e t[a]-ap-la-ḫa i-li-ku-un e tu-[sa]-al-li-a [i]š-ta-ar-ku-un nam-ta-r[a] šī-a ba-ab-šu bi-la e-pī-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu li-il-li-ik-šu ma-aš-ḫa-tum ni-q[ú-ú](606), "do not reverence your gods, do not pray to your goddesses, but seek the door of Namtara, bring a baked (loaf) before him, the offering of roast corn may be pleasing

to him."

4. 19. The last quoted text gives an indication of the offerings which were made to the personal god. Maṣḥatu has been discussed above (cf. 2.29-2.30) in connection with food offerings to the gods in general(607). Epīta is not found elsewhere; Lambert and Millard interpret it as a noun from epû, "bake"(608). The passage from the Dialogue of Pessimism indicates that a sacrifice to the personal god was preceded by a washing of the hands since the master says: ši-šîr di-kan-ni-ma a . m e š ana š u^{II}-ia bi-nam-ma s i z k u r ana d i n g i r -ia lu-pu-uš(609), "quickly fetch me water for my hands and give it to me so that I can sacrifice to my god". In the omen texts which have been discussed above in connection with food offerings to the gods (cf. 2.35), the offering of kurummatu, a food ration, to the personal god is frequently mentioned(610). There is no indication as to where it took place. A namburbi to take away the evil of the rites performed by a man is prefaced by a prayer to the gods of the night; it asks them to intervene: a-na d i n g i r . m e š a-ki-lu₄ ak-li-ia ša-tu-u me-e-a ma-ḥi-ru šîr-qî-ia ša šab-su kam-lu k i -ia(611), "to the gods who eat my bread, drink my water, receive my poured out

offerings, (but) who are angry (and) irate with me". The passage probably refers to the personal god and goddess of the man and thus falls into the category of prayers to the great gods asking them to change the attitude of the personal god studies above (4.13); it adds to the range of ritual offerings to the personal god the offering of water and libations.

4. 20. The fear of incurring the anger of the personal god seems to have been prevalent and is expressed in the phrases asakku akālu, "to eat the taboo" and ikkibu akālu, "to eat the forbidden thing". Although some references show that the actual eating of certain foods could be meant(612), Thureau-Dangin has shown that the phrase can also be taken metaphorically in the sense of committing a forbidden action(613). In Šurpu, the patient is described as one: n í g . g [i g] d i n g i r -šú i-ku-lu n í g . g i g ^dXV -šú i-ku-lu(614), "who has done what is an abomination to his god, who has done what is an abomination to his goddess" and Marduk is invoked to release from: n í g . g i g d i n g i r -šú a-ka-lu(615), "doing an abomination to one's god". A prayer to be released from sin against one's personal god includes the confession: ša ì-lí ba-ni-ka a-ta-kal a-s[ak-ka-šú](616), "I have done what is taboo to the god who created me". Certain references show that un-

certainty about what was displeasing to the personal god was a cause of anxiety. A namburbi against the signs connected with a wild cat begins with a prayer to Ea and Marduk: lu-ú hi-ti-t[ú šá d i n g i r . m] u lu-ú hi-t[i]-tú ša
^dXV . m u [^de-a u ^da m a r . u] t u d i n g i r . m e š
šu-pu-ti h u l á . m e š g i š k i m . m e š
h u l . m e š [šá ina é . m u g á l . m e š]-a
šu-ti-qa-an-ni-ma(617), "whether it is (because of) an offence against my god or an offence against my goddess Ea and Marduk resplendent gods avert from me the evil of evil signs (and) portents which have taken place in my house". Šurpu enumerates among the possible misdeeds of the patient: ul i-di šèr-ti
d i n g i r ul i-di en-nit ^de s₄ . d a r (618), "he does not know what is a crime against the god, he does not know what is a sin against the goddess". In Ludlul bēl nēmeqi the theme of this uncertainty is accompanied with a comment which shows resentment at the relations which are thought to result between a man and his god: lu-u i-di ki-i it-ti d i n g i r
i-ta-am-gur an-na-a-ti ša dam-qat ra-ma-nu-uš a-na d i n g i r
gul-lul-tu[m] ša ina līb-bi-šú mu-us-su-kàt u g u d i n g i r
-šú dam-qat(619), "I wish I knew that these things were pleasing to the god, what is proper to oneself is an offence to the god, what in one's heart seems despicable is proper to one's god".

The structure of the first part of Ludlul is built on the desertion of the sufferer by his god and goddess; the fact is stated at the beginning of the composition: id-dan-ni d i n g i r -i₁₄ šá-da-š^u i-[mid] ip-par-ku^d iš-tar-i₁₄ i-bé-[es](620), "my god has forsaken me and disappeared, my goddess has failed me and keeps at a distance"; then follows the description of the troubles which affect the sufferer because of the withdrawal of the king's favour and the hostility of the courtiers. He returns to the question of the relationship with the personal deities in the passage (tablet II, 12-35) which protests that he observed his god's rites scrupulously and ends with the complaint about the uncertainty of what is pleasing to one's god quoted above. Then follows the description of the troubles which affect him because the demons of disease invade his body; this is summed up with the comment: ul i-ru-ša d i n g i r ga-ti ul iš-bat ul i-ri-man-ni^d iš-ta-ri i-da-a-a il-lik(621), "(my) god has not come to the rescue in taking me by the hand, my goddess has not shown pity on me by going at my side". Since this is immediately followed by the intervention of the priests sent by Marduk which bring recovery, it may be that there is a polemical intent against the ineffectiveness and unreliability of the personal deities in contrast to Marduk. In any case, the relation between them and the great gods is as

described above (4.13) in connection with the ritual texts; an immediate recourse to the great gods is possible and is considered effective, so that it is difficult to speak of the personal god as in any real sense an intermediary between the individual and the major figures of the pantheon.

4. 21. Whatever the cause of the anger of the personal god, it was thought to have certain observable results. Among these was the incidence of disease. Speaking of various diseases and demons, Šurpu says: a-me-lu ša d i n g i r -šú it-ti-šú is-su-ú im-ḫu-ru-ma g i m su-ba-ti ik-tu-mu-šú(622), "they have encountered the man from whom his god had withdrawn (and) covered him like a cloak". The Dream Book includes an omen which equates the unfavourable action of the personal god with amnesia: d i n g i r -šú š à -šú d u g₄ . d u g₄ -šú i-maš-ši(623), "his god will remove his heart from him, they will speak to him (but) he will forget". Leprosy is equated with rejection by the personal god in an Old Babylonian omen: d i š l ú pa-ga-ar ši-ru-šu pu-ša-am ku-ul-lu-u[m]-ma ù nu-uq-di i-ta-ad-du l ú šu-ú it-ti i-lí-su sà-ki-ip it-ti a-wi-ḷ[u-t]i sà-ki-ip(624), "if the flesh of a man shows white spots and is dotted with marks this man is rejected by his god (and) is (to be) rejected by mankind".

4. 22. It is possible that the personal god was believed to be responsible for determining the day of death of his devotee. The evidence for this is not widespread but is contained in the euphemism for death found in certain Old Babylonian legal documents. In a contract from Sippar which effects the freeing of the slave Amat-Ishtar by means of her adoption it is stated: a-di ^fku-nu-tum um-[ma-ša] ba-al-^tí-at it-ta-na-[š^hi-si]-ma u₄-um ^fku-nu-tum i-lu-ša iq-te-ru-ú-š^hi ma-am-ma-an mi-im-ma e-li g e m é . ^dXV u-úl i-š^hu(625), "as long as Kunutum her mother is alive she will see to her upkeep, on the day when her god will call Kunutum away no one will have any claim on Amat-Ishtar". A similar expression occurs in a deed of sale from Alalakh: e g i r i-lu-š^hu iq-ru-[š^hu-ma](626), "after his god has called him", i.e. after his death. A later witness to the same belief is contained in a ritual text from Sultantepe which contains a prayer to Gula who is asked to manifest her will concerning a man who is mortally ill. It states: d i n g i r -š^hú u ^dXV -š^hu u₄-um-š^hu ù šim-ta-š^hu ú-maš-š^hi-ru-š^hu-ma(627), "his god and his goddess have disregarded his day and his fate". This seems to imply that the day of his natural death has been brought forward by the illness and that this state of affairs is attributed to the decision of the personal god and goddess of the man.

4. 23. The expressions ilam išû and ilam rašû, "to have a god", "to get a god", occur in omens, letters and personal names(628). They are also found in a prayer to Marduk:
šá i-šú-u il-šú [ku]š-šu-da hi-ṭa-tu-šú ša il-šú la i-šú-u
ma-'a-du ar-nu-šú(629), "sins are warded off from one who has his god, he who has no god his sins are many". These expressions are usually translated "to have luck". Can they be considered as sufficient proof of Jacobsen's surmise that the personal god was a personification of a man's luck and that this was the original aspect of the belief in a personal god (cf. supra 4.5)? The context shows that the expression had a favourable meaning: a person called ilānû, "he who has a god", was a prosperous person(630) and the expression "not to have a god" corresponds to becoming poor: é . b i ... i-lap-pin
d i n g i r n u t u k (631), "this household will become poor (and) will not have a god". However there is no evidence that the users of this phrase considered it otherwise than in a literal sense. As has been shown above the anger of the personal god was thought of as causing him to depart from his devotee and it was to this absence that misfortune was attributed (4.20-21). Similarly the presence of the personal god was thought to be the cause of prosperity(4.16-17). It does not seem necessary therefore to interpret the phrase "to have a god"

otherwise than as referring to the presence of the god which was believed to accompany his devotee. There is certainly no justification for replacing it with a notion from our thought-world, which is itself far from being without ambiguity, that of "luck". All that can be safely said is that when certain things happened to an ancient Babylonian, he would ascribe them to the presence and decision of his god, whereas certain modern Assyriologists would prefer to describe the same state of affairs by using the word "lucky". To these Assyriologists, the personal god is a personification of a man's luck; but the evidence does not allow us to say that the ancient Babylonian thought in this way. The phrases ilam rašû and ilam išû do not constitute an impersonal use of the concept of the god of a man, and Jacobsen's theory that the personification of a man's luck or success was at the origin of the belief in a personal god is not supported by the extant evidence.

4. 24. The same comment must be made about Oppenheim's theory that the personal god is an expression which refers to certain aspects of a person's endowment or to the "divine element" in man(4.7). There is no evidence that the ancient Babylonian was conscious of having isolated certain phenomena of a man's psychology and that he referred to these as the

man's personal god faute de mieux. It seems simpler to maintain that the belief in the personal god came first, and that a great variety of events were ascribed to the decision of that god; some we would describe as contagious diseases, others as fortuitous events, others as personal qualities or faults. But it does not seem helpful to identify these events with the personal god and then to use the process of "de-mythologisation" in order to translate them into concepts of our own(632). It should be noted that the ancient Babylonians did not identify these events and the personal gods, but that they considered that the events occurred as a result of the decision and action of the personal gods. As such, the belief in the existence of personal gods is one more piece of evidence which shows to what extent the ancient Babylonians believed that individuals were surrounded by the world of the gods and in close contact with it; but the belief in a personal deity was compatible with the belief in the nearness and efficacy of the great gods, so that theories which ascribe the origin of the belief in the personal god to the feeling of distance in relation to the major deities are not confirmed by the material studied here. On the basis of that material it is not possible to construct a theory as to how the belief in the existence of personal deities originated.

d) Belief in the goddess Lamassu : previous treatment.

4. 25. Landsberger and Bauer writing in 1927 summed up what was then known about lamassu. Each man and each building and town had its šēdu and lamassu. In the Sumerian period, udug is often found mentioned with lama and šēdu; it is only later that šēdu is systematically associated with lamassu. šēdu is always masculine; lamassu is in principle feminine but appears to have been thought of as a sexless angel or genie. Its function was that of messenger and helper of mankind. They surmised that it must have been represented in the same way as the introductory deities which are represented on seal cylinders(633).

4. 26. A Kassite stela discovered at Warka in 1953-1954 enabled A. Spycket to identify the representation of the goddess Lama who is shown in profile, crowned with the horned tiara and with both hands lifted in a gesture of supplication. The accompanying inscription indicates that it is Lama whose rôle it is to intercede for ever before Inanna for the life of the king. Spycket was thus able to equate the representation of intercessory goddesses on seals with Lama, and to confirm the surmise of Landsberger and

Bauer. She brought together and studied a series of Sumerian royal inscriptions from the pre-Sargonid and Old Babylonian periods which show that the rôle of the goddess was to intercede for the life of the king in the sanctuary of the major deities. She notes that after the Old Babylonian period representation of Lama cease to be frequent, so that the Kassite stela is an isolated example of the theme(634).

4. 27. In 1960 Wiseman published a study of a wayside shrine at Ur excavated by Woolley in 1930-1931(635). The shrine dates from the Larsa period; associated with the statue of a "mother-goddess", probably Nin-gal of Ur, was a small bronze statue of an intercessory goddess which Wiseman identifies, with a high degree of probability, with Lama. He considers that "its proximity to the larger statue of a goddess may suggest that it had been set as close as possible to it so that her prayers might be heard"(636), and points to the evidence from smaller finds in the chapel which indicate that it was frequented mainly by female worshippers(637).

4. 28. In 1964 von Soden published an investigation of lamassu and šēdu which challenged the identification of

lamassu with lama(638). He took up again the point made by Falkenstein(639) and Schneider(640) that lama is derived from an original form *lamar, which reappears in names such as ^dl a m a . r a . i . s a g, and he concluded that the word lamassu must therefore have a Semitic origin. He put forward the theory that the original meaning of lamassu was an abstract one, something like "life strength" or "achievement", and pointed to its use in Old Babylonian texts in combination with dūtu, "potency" and bāštu, "life strength" as a confirmation of this(641). He considered that the identification of lamassu with lama and šēdu with alād is a secondary one which took place in translations from the Akkadian to the Sumerian because abstract terms for lamassu and šēdu were not available. The prevalence of Old Babylonian personal names such as Ea-, Marduk-, Nabium-, Sîn-, Šamaš-la-ma-sí/la-ma-sà-šū, in which male deities are mentioned, shows that lamassu is not the equivalent of the goddess Lama in these names but is used in a similar way to bāštu in a name such as Ea-bāšti. However von Soden considered that the identification of lama and lamassu was made very early, since the Babylonians did not readily distinguish between an idea and its incarnation as a god or demon; the two uses of lamassu were parallel(642) and šēdu and lamassu were treated as a pair, of which the first was masculine and the second feminine.

Von Soden pointed to the Old Babylonian name la-ma-ša, "her lama", as evidence that *lamā'um was the term originally used to render lama in Akkadian and he was prepared to posit a form *lamārum which has not yet been found(643).

4. 29. Oppenheim in Ancient Mesopotamia(1964) suggests that the "soul manifestation" lamassu may be related to the female demon Lamaštu(644) and translates the term as a man's individual characteristics(645). The CAD L (1973) translates lamassu as "protective spirit (representing and protecting the good fortune, spiritual health and physical appearance of human beings, temples cities and countries)"(646). It considers that the existence of *lama'um is not proved by the name La-ma-ša.

e) Belief in the goddess Lamassu.

4.30. The present study will not enter into the controversy on the question of the relation between lama and lamassu. Since obscurity still envelops the origin of lamassu, it will limit itself to examining the actual use of the term in Akkadian documents which throw light on personal beliefs. The

types of texts which mention lamassu in connection with private individuals are Old Babylonian letters, exorcisms, omens and Wisdom texts. The letters refer to lamassu in the introductory greetings formulae; thus one letter written by an anonymous correspondent which has an unusually long introduction begins: la-ma-as-sú ša bi-ia-ti-ia i-na li-it-tim ù šu-mi
dam-qí-im i-na é . g a l ta-at-ta-na-al-ku a-bi ka-ta
li-la-ab-bi-ru a-bi at-ta lu ša-al-ma-ta lu ba-al-ša-ta
la-ma-as-sí bi-ia-ti-ia li-iš-šú-ur-ka(647), "may the protective deities of my little father allow thee, my father, to grow old in strength and good reputation in the palace where thou goest in and out; may the protective deity of my little father protect thee". Another letter with a long greeting to a father is from Lamassani and includes the wish: [b]a-la-ša-am tú-ub li-ib-bi-im
[l]a-ma-as-si qá-bé-e ù ma-ga-ri-im i-na é . g a l su-mu-la-
d i n g i r be-lí ù be-el-ti a-na da-ri-a-tim a-na a-bi-ia
ka-ta li-iš-ru-ku(648), "health, well being and a protective deity for speaking and consent in the palace of Sumu-la-el may my lord and my lady perpetually send to thee, my father". A third greeting to a father runs: a-na a-bi-ia ša il-šu ba-ni-šu
la-ma-sà-am da-ri-tam id-di-nu-šum(649), "to my father to whom his god who created him gave a permanent lamassu". A letter written about the movements of a flock of sheep ends:

m u l . k a m šī-na li-zi-z[a]-ma ^d a m a r . u t u -ma
la-ma-sà-k[a] li-ša-al-li-im-šī-na-ti(650), "may they stay
 (there) for one year, and may Marduk thy lamassu keep them
 safe". These examples from letters show different usages of
 the term. The first two quoted here seem to envisage a rôle
 for the lamassu linked with the palace which corresponds to
 the rôle of the intercessory goddess in royal inscriptions.
 The formula lamassu qabê u magārim, "a lamassu for speaking
 and consent", i.e. for speaking and obtaining consent", is
 also found in exorcisms (*infra* 4.31). The task of recommending
 their protégé, which is here assigned to the protective deities
 is very similar to the one which šēdu and lamassu exercise on
 behalf of Hammurabi in relation to Marduk and Šarpānītum(651).
 On the other hand the use of lamassu as an epithet of a major
 deity cannot imply that Marduk is considered as in any way
 intercessory in relation to another god. It seems to mean
 that Marduk is considered as the guardian god of the corres-
 pondent and as such likely to take an interest in his sheep.
 This usage is paralleled by numerous Old Babylonian names:
Marduk-lamassašu(652), Ea-lamassi(653), Nergal-lamassašu(654),
Šamaš-lamassašu(655), Ištar-lamassi(656), Nanā-lamassi(657),
Zamama-lamassu(658); the names Šamaš-lamassi(659),
Ištar-lamassi(660) and Bēli-lamassi(661) occur at Mari;

Aššur-lamassi(662) and Ištar-lamassi(663) are found in Old Assyrian sources and names of this type from the Kassite period are Ea-lamassi(664), Ea-lamassi-šū(665), and Nabû-lamassi-šū(666). The giving of a permanent lamassu by the personal god is yet a third way of using the term since it seems to be equated with the personal endowment of the individual for which the personal god was considered responsible (cf. supra 4.15). But the greeting formula which groups together health, well-being and a lamassu for speaking and obtaining consent shows how easily it was to pass from the notion of personal endowments to that of a divine being responsible for these.

4. 31. Incantation references to lamassu are frequent and are connected with the desirable state of affairs which the exorcisms are designed to achieve. In the exorcism for a house bīt mēseri, the permanent presence of šēdu and lamassu in the house is asked for: d i n g i r . a l a d s i g₅
d i n g i r . l a m a s i g₅ -t u m i n a é l u k a - a - a - a n (667),
"may the good šēdu and the good lamassu remain in the house".
In the incantation utukku limnūtu the prayer for the patient asks: [še-e-du] d u m - q í ù l a - m a s - s i d u m - q í g i m d i n g i r
b a - n i - š ú i n a r e - š e - š u l u - u k a - a - a - a n (668), "may the good šēdu

and the good lamassu perpetually assist him like the god his creator", and a similar petition without the reference to the personal god is: še-du dum-qí la-mas-si dum-qí i-da-šú lu-u ka-a-a-an(669), "may the good šēdu, the good lamassu be perpetually at his side". In the prayers included in the šu-ila series, references to lamassu are frequent; the very fine prayer which accompanies the entry of a light into the house of a sick man and its setting at his head enumerates the qualities and virtues which are to enter with the light, which is addressed as the god Nūru; although there is no evidence of a response to the invocations, the prayer has the form of a litany and is so set out here:

k i -ka li-ru-bu mit-gu-ru

k i -ka li-ru-bu šu-šu-ru

k i -ka li-ru-bu bal-tum

k i -ka li-ru-bu la-mas-si

k i -ka li-ru-bu nu-uḫ-šu

k i -ka li-ru-bu tuḫ-du

k i -ka li-ru-bu ḫé-gál-lum

k i -ka li-ru-bu meš-ru-u

k i -ka li-ru-bu taš-mu-ú

k i -ka li-ru-bu ma-ga-ru

k i -ka li-ru-bu sa-li-mu(670)

May conciliation enter with thee,
 may success enter with thee,
 may strength enter with thee,
 may my lamassu enter with thee,
 may plenty enter with thee,
 may richness enter with thee,
 may abundance enter with thee,
 may wealth enter with thee,
 may favourable hearing enter with thee,
 may consent enter with thee,
 may peace enter with thee.

Lamassu seems to be equated here with the ten other abstract terms enumerated, and is coupled with bāl/štum, "strength" or "sexual potency". A similar inclusion of lamassu in a series of qualities is found in a šu-ila prayer to Nabû: ri-e-ma un-ni-na bal-ta ^d₁ a m a qa-ba-a še-ma-a šuk-na ia-ši(671), "do thou establish for me mercy, favour, strength, a lamassu, calling (and) hearing". The fact that the signs d i n g i r . l a m a are used here is plainly not significant as regards the

meaning of the term. On the other hand, examples occur in the šu-ila prayers where lamassu is coupled with the personal deities of the individual and seems to be thought of as a distinct hypostasis: d i n g i r u^d l a m a qa-bi-e še-mi-i u ma-ga-[ru] u₄-me-šam-ma lit-tal-la-ku it-ti-ia(672), "may a god and a lamassu for speaking, being heard and approved daily walk by my side". The same expression is found in a šu-ila prayer to Enlil: ^dl a m a qa-bi-e se-me-e u ma-ga-ru u₄-me-šam-ma g i n . g i n -ma it-ti-ia(673), "may a lamassu for speaking, being heard and approved daily walk by my side"; the personal god and goddess are referred to in the next line. When šēdu and lamassu are mentioned together, they seem to be thought of as divine beings accompanying the patient; a šu-ila prayer to Nabû has the petition: li-iz-ziz d i n g i r -i₁₀ ana z a g -ia₅ li-iz-ziz^dXV -i₁₀ ana g ù b -ia₅ ^da l à d s i g₅ ^dl a m a s i g₅ -tum [lu ra]-kis itti-ia₅(674), "may my god stand at my right, may my goddess stand at my left, may the good šēdu, the good lamassu be bound to me". A šu-ila to Nusku asks: ^da l à d s i g₅ ^dl a m a u₄-me-šam-ma lit-tal-ka i-da-a-a(675), "may the good šēdu, the good lamassu walk daily at my side". An exorcism on a plant used for apotropaic purposes includes the invocation: ^da l à d s i g₅ ^dl a m a s i g₅-tú

g a r -na d i n g i r zi-na-a ^dXV zi-ni-ta ù a-me-lu-ta
sul-li-ma-am-ma(676), "establish the good šēdu, the good
lamassu, do thou reconcile the angry god, the angry goddess
and mankind". However a šu-ila prayer to Ishtar shows that
other qualities can be personified and imagined as accompanying
the goddess, as are the šēdu and the lamassu: pa-an-uk-ki
^da l à d ar-ka-tuk ^dl a m a im-nu-uk mi-šá-ri šu-mi-lu-uk
dum-qu(677), "before thee (is) a šēdu, behind thee a lamassu,
at thy right justice, at thy left goodness", and the enumeration
continues: kun-nu ina ri-ši-ki taš-mu-u ma-ga-ru sa-li-mu
i-ta-tu-ki šu-tas-hu-ra t i . l a šul-ma(678), "established
at thy head (are) favourable hearing, consent, peace, thy sides
are surrounded by life and health". The examples from incan-
tations thus confirms the conclusion derived from letters, and
show that the lamassu was seen both as a divine hypostasis
and as a quality, and that it was very easy to pass from one
notion to the other.

4. 32. In omens, references to lamassu occur in the
apodoses, usually linked to the šēdu or the personal god. An
Old Babylonian omen has the expression "to bind the lamassu
and šēdu to the body of someone" which also occurs in the
incantations (cf. supra 4.31): d i š l ù i-nu-ma

ga-al-lu a-lum im-ta-na-qú-ta-šum ù i-ḥa-az-zu-ma la
i-šī-im-mu-šu l ú šu-ú ^dl a m a ù še-e-du i-na
zu-um-r[i-š]u ra-ki-is(679), "if a man while he sleeps (dreams
 that) the town falls again and again upon him and he groans
 and no one hears him, the lamassu and šēdu are attached to
 that man's body". Usually the expression used is "to get a
lamassu", as in the liver omen: a-wi-lum šī-da-am ù la-ma-[s]à-am
i-ra-aš-šī(680), "the man will get a šēdu and lamassu", and in
 the expression: d i n g i r u ^dl a m a t u k -šī,
 "he will get a god and a lamassu" which occurs in Šumma āzbu(681)
 and in the omen series iqqur īpuš(682). ^dl a m a t u k -šī
 is also found by itself(683). In one instance, the personal
 use of lamassu is clearly intended since a liver omen envisages
 the departure of the guardian deity to another person:
^dl a m a l ú ana m ì n -ma n i g i n -úr(684), "the
lamassu of the man will turn to another". The laconic
 indications of the omen series do not allow much of an
 insight into the area of meaning which they attach to lamassu;
 it can only be noted that the term is usually linked to one
 denoting another divine being and that, by reference to the
 usage in letters and incantations, the personal meaning seems
 to be implied rather than the use of the term which implies a
 quality or state.

4. 33. References to the lamassu in Wisdom literature also range from one aspect of the term to the other. In the Babylonian Theodicy the comforter says: n[a]-ṭil pa-an d i n g i r -ma ra-šī la-mas-[sa] n[a]-ak-di pa-li-ih ^d_{XV} ú-kám-mar tuḥ-[da](685), "he who waits on (his) god has a lamassu, the humble man who fears (his) goddess accumulates wealth", a statement which equates the lamassu with the benefits bestowed by the personal deities. In Ludlul bēl nēmeqi the sufferer prepares the way for a description of his misfortunes by saying: id-dan-ni d i n g i r -i₁₄ šá-da-šu i-[mid] ip-par-ku ^diš-tar-i₁₄ i-bé-[es] [i]s-li-it še- <ed> dum-qí šá i-di-[ia] ip-ru-ud la-mas-si-ma šá-nam-ma i-še-'[e] [i]n-ni-ṭir ba-al-ti du-ú-ti ú-tam-mil si-im-ti ip-pa-ri-iš ta-ra-na iš-ḫi-iṭ(686), "my god has forsaken me and disappeared, my goddess has failed me and keeps at a distance, the šēdu who (walked) beside me has departed, my lamassu has taken to flight and is seeking another, my strength is gone, my manliness is dimmed, my dignity has flown away, my protection made off". Here the šēdu and lamassu are mid-way between the personal deities and the qualities which the man has lost. Although the expression "my lamassu ... is seeking another" implies a personified concept (as in the omen quoted above, 4.32), it is clear

that the thought of the author moves immediately from the šēdu and lamassu to the qualities which are closely associated with them. At the end of the poem, the rehabilitation of the sufferer is signified by his return to the temple. Here the lamassu is twice mentioned; the first of these is clearly suggested by the name of one of the temple gates: [ina k] á ^dl a m a . r a . b i la-mas-si iṭ-ṭe-ḥ[a-an-ni](687), "in the Gate of the ... Lamassu, my lamassu drew near to me", but it provides a fitting pendant to the description of the departure of the lamassu at the beginning of the poem. In describing the sacrifices which he then offers, he says: ^da l à d ^dl a m a a n . g u b . b a . m e š li-bit é-sag-i[l ...] tam-qi-ti ka-bat-ta-šú-un uš-par-di(688), "the šēdu, the lamassu, the angubbu-deities, (even) the bricks of Esagila (...) libation I made their hearts glow". The expression here used is reminiscent of the passage in the postscript to the Laws of Hammurabi(689) and considers the lamassu in the role of introductory goddess in the temple, as in the passages in letters quoted above (4.30).

4. 34. A cylinder seal, dating from the Kassite period, has an inscription of unusual length which is distinctive

also in starting with the introductory formula for a letter.

Limet considers that it is drawn up in the form of a prayer-

letter(690). It begins: qi-bí-ma e n . g a l ^da m a r . u t u

ša-ki-in n a₄ . k i š ì b an-ni-i d i n g i r ù

^dl a m a li-ir-ši-im maš-ra-a dum-qa li-is₆-bà ^dl a m a

ù d i n g i r a r ḫ u š . t u k u -nu d u₁₀(691), "say

thus: O great lord Marduk, may the wearer of this seal obtain

a god and a lamassu, may he be sated with wealth and goodness,

may he satisfy the lamassu and the god". Here again the thought

of the prayer moves from the mention of the personal god and the

lamassu to a consideration of the benefits they bestow, and

returns to a consideration of them as personal entities since

the wearer of the seal states that he hopes to continue his

satisfactory relations with them.

4. 35. The evidence from material connected with private citizens thus gives a picture of the conception of the lamassu which differs from that of the royal texts. Allusions to it as an introductory goddess to the great gods are rare. It was seen more as connected with the personal god of the individual and especially with the good effects of the action of this god. The concept of lamassu was often identified with the benefits and personal qualities which were thought to be

the result of the action of the personal god, but it cannot in every case be simply identified with them since it was often thought of as a distinct entity, similar to the personal god. It is clear that the thought of the writers ranged easily between the two notions and tended to confuse them.

Chapter V. Conclusions.

5. 1. The starting point in the attempt here made to describe the personal religion of the layman in Ancient Mesopotamia has been the religious life of the community to which he belonged. It has been shown, from evidence of varying provenance and different periods, that the festivals of the gods were the occasion for communal rejoicing, that they were sometimes advertised(2.2) and that their celebration involved more than the priests and the king. The populace could walk in the processions(2.4) and join in the singing(2.5). The lighting of ritual fires and the saying of prayers by the people are attested(2.11). The atmosphere of celebration seems to have involved actions such as bathing, anointing oneself and wearing festive clothing, which were not part of the liturgy but which seem to have been expressions at the individual level of the sentiment of celebration(2.6-8). Although feasting and anointing were restricted to certain classes of people in certain cases(2.9-10), they bear witness to the practice of celebrating a festival by the experience of well-being in a community context. Collective rites of expiation and mourning are also attested(2.12-13).

5. 2. The sentiment of joy which accompanied participation in the liturgical celebrations is well attested(2.16-17). This participation was seen as a religious act which the individual was conscious of performing in honour of a particular deity. He saw the festivals not only as the source of rejoicing, but also as the cause of well-being for the individual and of the forgiveness of faults(2.18-19). The ordinary citizen therefore, far from having been excluded from an official religion, centered exclusively on the temple and the palace, seems to have participated in the religious rites of a community, which were also seen as putting him in contact with the gods and affecting his personal prosperity and standing with them. It would seem to be creating a false problem to imagine a dichotomy between the "official" religion of the city or state and that of the ordinary citizen, and then to ask how the individual managed to bridge the gap. The evidence shows a whole community taking part on occasion in religious activities, and the normal supposition must be that the religious beliefs and practices of individuals grew out of this.

5. 3. The evidence points to the fact that the cult statues of the gods were of importance in the religious life of the ordinary citizen. Although it is scattered in time and place of origin, it shows that entry to the temples was

not restricted to the cultic personnel and to the king. The personal devotion of individuals centered on the statues of the gods which they wanted to see and in whose presence they wanted to pray(2.24-25). They were able to touch the statues(2.26) and to kiss them(2.27). The providing of food and drink for the gods was also a practice in which private persons could share(2.29-35). Other gifts, such as gold and silver were made, and in the late period there was a practice of regular offerings of silver by those who visited the temples(2.36-38). Belief in the importance of a permanent presence of the suppliant before the divine statues inspired the device of placing prayer-letters and figurines in the sanctuaries(2.39-46). Entry into the temples was not only the result of private devotion but was required by judicial procedure so that oaths could be sworn before the statues or symbols of the gods; this was seen by some litigants at least as involving the gods in the affairs of the persons concerned(2.47-51). The images of the gods in the temples are thus seen to have had considerable importance for the religious life of private citizens and to have played a part in many personal devotional practices.

5. 4. There is evidence for the performance of religious actions by individuals outside the temples. The rôle of the āšipu is of importance as showing that the religious world of lay citizens was not an isolated one. The āšipu operated both in the temples and the royal entourage, and for a wider clientèle which included tradespeople(3.1-8). The āšipu was considered as an intermediary between the gods and mankind and there is evidence of the theology of the priesthood which saw him as the representative and emissary of the gods(3.12-13). Several literary and religious compositions which can be attributed to āšipu show that it is impossible to write off the Mesopotamian priesthood as merely purveyors of an inferior shamanism. Some of them were highly cultivated men capable of making use of a complex literary tradition and sensitive to human problems of suffering and doubt(3.9-11).

5. 5. It is difficult to find evidence for the impact of ritual on individuals, but it should be noted that the "patients" in an exorcism did not have a purely passive rôle. They performed ritual actions, such as offering sacrifice, changing their clothes, being anointed and kissing the hand of the āšipu(3.15). They had to recite certain parts of the prayers(3.16), and they may have been required to give

utterance to a personal confession of sin(3.17). Modern psychological insights have made us sensitive to the therapeutic character of such rituals; it should be remembered that this therapy depends for its effectiveness on the belief of the patient in the power of the ritual to change his situation. It is clear from the prayers which accompanied the rituals in Mesopotamia that the rituals were not thought of as automatically effective. It was believed that their power came from the gods to whom the prayers in the rituals were addressed. Although direct evidence of the impact of such therapy on individuals has not been found, the prayers contained in the namburbi rituals present the use of the ritual as a personal démarche on the part of the patient in approaching the god and express the idea that a cure would be seen as the result of the action of the god himself and not as an automatic effect of the rite. As such it would involve the patient in daily prayer to the god(3.18). The simplest conclusion is that these prayers would tend to inculcate such a religious attitude in those for whom they were used.

5. 6. The house of a citizen could be the subject of complicated rites for blessing a new house(3.19) and for

exorcising an existing house(3.21). These include prayers asking for the blessing and protection of the gods on the house; it is difficult to know how widely these rituals were used but it is significant that the petitions and mentality of these prayers are echoed by the omen texts(3.20).

Archaeological evidence shows that rooms set aside for cultic purposes existed in private houses, and cultic objects, such as statues, figurines and amulets have also been found in them(3.22-23). This evidence points to the conclusion that the layman was conscious of the need for placing his house under the protection of the gods and that the inhabitants would have been reminded of this in their daily lives by various religious objects present around them.

5. 7. Religious objects, in the form of seals and amulets, also adorned the person of the individual. The inscriptions on seals of the Kassite period are practically all religious in character, and it is argued that these express beliefs about seal-wearing which were common to all periods even though they did not find expression at times when long inscriptions on seals were not fashionable, as they were in the Kassite period(3.25-29). The inscriptions on Kassite seals imply a theology which sees the wearer of the

seal as being in a special relation to the gods but which considers that the favours, such as health, life and wealth which the wearer expects, are due to the decision of the gods whom he invokes(3.30-31). The wearing of a seal or an amulet, seen in this light, does not seem to have been a substitute for personal religion but to have been a concrete expression of the personal faith of the individual, acting as a constant reminder of his dependence on the gods and his prayer to them.

5. 8. Statements in prayers show that the gods were considered as able to change the fate of an individual from bad to good. Since fate and omens were considered together, the omens being the signs which were thought to indicate a man's fate, it was thought that the omens were sent by the gods, and that the apotropaic rituals were also provided by them to nullify their evil import(3.35-36). Solicited omens were available for the individual who wished to consult the gods about his future. There is evidence of recourse to the bārû by private individuals and of the use of liver omens, oil omens and incense omens on their behalf(3.37-38). The actual position and behaviour of the client in an omen consultation can be inferred and it appears that he could be

required to recite a formula of consultation and that spontaneous gestures of supplication to the gods occurred (and were themselves of ominous significance)(3.39-40).

5. 9. Evidence has been sought for the religious connotations of birth, marriage and death in Mesopotamia. Ritual texts express the belief that the gods had a special rôle in giving a child and the cries of the mother at the moment of delivery appear to have included invocations to them(3.41). There is evidence of the ritual performed by the midwife at the moment of birth(3.42). The analysis of personal names, many of which appear to have been given at the time of birth as the result of a special situation, strengthens the conclusion that the gods were believed to be especially involved in the birth of an offspring and that the cries of the mother at childbirth could be invocations to the gods(3.43-46). The fact that names with such religious connotations were borne by an individual throughout his life affords more evidence of the religious elements which surrounded him.

5. 10. Very little evidence can be adduced to show how marriage was celebrated, but one text shows that in the Old Babylonian period gifts to the temples, and probably visits

to them were involved(3.47). The mention of marriage in omens shows that the will of the gods was sought concerning marriages(3.48).

5. 11. Evidence for the existence of a belief in a judgment after death is uncertain, but the belief that the ghosts of the dead were dependent on the living for their well-being is widely attested. Individuals were expected to offer funerary offerings and also to mention the names of the dead members of their family during the offering (3.50-53). It may be that the practice of burying the dead under the floor of private houses strengthened the sense of the responsibility of the living for the care of the dead members of their family(3.54).

5. 12. The belief that each person had his own god is a striking example of the way in which the divine world was close to the individual in Mesopotamia. Although it is not possible to say from the evidence here studied how this belief originated, it does not seem to have been because of the feeling that the great gods were distant from the ordinary man. The evidence from the incantations shows that the personal god of certain important people, apart from the

king, could be the great gods themselves. Letters from Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian period show that, although everyone could be considered as having a personal god, he was only rarely one of the great gods and was only rarely named(4.10-11). Personal names of the DN-iliya form frequently occur but the meaning of these names is probably to be interpreted as implying that the gods in question were expected to behave like the personal god of the individual, as shown by names of the DN-kīma-iliya type(4.12). Many prayers in incantations are addressed to the great gods asking them to make the personal god and goddess favourable, or to reconcile them to the devotee when they are angry with him. There is no evidence of the personal god being asked to change the attitude of the great gods, and this, it is argued, makes it unlikely that a feeling of distance between the layman and the great gods was at the origin of the belief in the personal god(4.13-14).

5. 13. The texts give an idea of the sphere of activity which was attributed to the personal gods. They were called the creator of their devotee, though exactly how this was thought to have happened is not clear; the personal

characteristics of individuals were perhaps attributed to the action of his god, and the expression "son of his god" may be a consequence of this belief(4.15). The idea that the welfare of a man was due to the action of his god is frequently expressed and several expressions are found which indicate this(4.16). The observable results of this favour were wealth and food; the personal god was also thought to have a rôle in revealing the future of a man(4.17). On the other hand the personal god was considered to be dependent in some respects on his devotee and the need of providing for him was felt to be an urgent one; offerings of food and water are recorded(4.18-19). The fear of incurring the anger of the personal god seems to have been prevalent and the incantation texts give evidence of uncertainty as to what action on the part of the devotee was likely to cause this anger, a theme which is taken up by the Wisdom literature, perhaps with a polemical intent against the unreliability of the personal deities, compared with the great gods(4.20). The withdrawal of a man's god was thought to be responsible for the incidence of disease(4.21) and there is some evidence that the personal god was thought to be responsible for determining the day of death of his devotee(4.22). It seems unnecessary to posit an impersonal use of the phrase "to have

a god" which would equate it with "to have luck" in the minds of the ancient Babylonians. Although the results of "having a god" include what we call luck, the distinctive aspect of the belief in the personal god of each man is that it was the decision and action of a god which was considered responsible for what happened to his devotee(4.23-24).

5. 14. The notion of lamassu in texts connected with lay persons is, on the other hand, a comprehensive one. It ranges from the notion of a divine entity, like the personal god, to that of a quality or benefit which was the result of the action of the personal god. Although there are a few cases where it seems to have been thought of as an introductory goddess, on the lines of the goddess Lama in royal texts, the references quoted from letters, omens, incantations and Wisdom literature show a great facility in passing from one notion to another, so that the concept of lamassu appears as an indeterminate one(4.30-35).

5. 15. It must be emphasized again (cf. 1.21 supra) that it is not claimed that the evidence adduced in this study is exhaustive. Not all the published material could be consulted; the gaps in the evidence, due as it is to damaged tablets and

to the hazard which has determined which ancient sites have been excavated and which have not, to say nothing of the destructions which have occurred, make it impossible to present anything like a complete picture of the chosen field of study, viz. the personal religion of the layman in ancient Mesopotamia. Assyriologists will be familiar with these considerations, to which should be added incomplete knowledge of the language which often makes the interpretation of texts uncertain. It should also be said that the type of compositions which were committed to writing in Mesopotamia are not such as readily to afford insights into the personal life of the private individual, since official and economic texts preponderate. In spite of all these considerations, it is claimed that enough evidence has been collected to allow two conclusions to be drawn: firstly, that any general presentation of Mesopotamian religion which states that religious activities were limited to the king or to the priests and which supposes that ordinary citizens were without religious beliefs or practices has been shown to be false; secondly, that evidence from different places and periods allows us to glimpse many beliefs and practices of private individuals and to infer, behind these, a religious

sentiment of devotion towards and dependence on the unseen world of the gods which is not without value.

Notes.

1. E.g. Austen H. Layard, Discoveries in the Ruins of Niniveh and Babylon (London, 1853): "the discoveries ... had been universally received as fresh illustrations of Scripture and prophecy", p.2. George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries (London, 1875): "in 1866 seeing the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of those parts of Assyrian history which bore upon the history of the Bible, I felt anxious to do something towards settling a few of the questions involved", p.9.
2. Starting with P.E. Botta and E. Flandin, Monuments de Ninive (Paris, 1849-1850); A.H. Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments (London, 1851).
3. George Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World (London, 1862), pp.110-148. The second edition of 1871 made use of the Assyrian inscriptions published by his brother, Sir Henry Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia I (1861) and II (1866).
4. English translation published in 1877 under the title Chaldean Magic: Its origin and development, (references here to the English edition).
5. Ib., p.40.
6. Ib., p.64.
7. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the religion of the Ancient Babylonians (London, 1888).

Notes (continued).

8. The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia (Edinburgh, 1902).
9. Ib., pp.487-488.
10. Ib., p.202.
11. Ib., p.216.
12. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria (Boston, 1898); Aspect s
of the Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria
(American Lectures on the History of Religion, New York 1911);
and the uncompleted Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens in
3 vols. (Giessen, 1905-1912); cf. also his article in the
Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th ed., (1910-1911), vol.3, pp.112-115.
13. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, vol.1, p.254.
14. Ib., p.556.
15. Ib., p.649.
16. Ib., p.694.
17. Vol.2, pp.309-319.
18. Ib., p.319.
19. Vol.1, pp.389-429.
20. Vol.II, p.1.
21. Ib., p.52.
22. Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie, p.260.
23. Ib., p.271.
24. C.J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East (London, 1948).
25. Ib., pp.64-66.

Notes (continued)

26. Ib., p.83.
27. Ib., pp.86-87.
28. J. Bottéro, La religion babylonienne (Paris, 1952), p23.
He refers to R. Otto's notion of "the sacred", p.48.
29. Ib., pp.49-51.
30. Ib., pp.51-53.
31. Beatrice L. Goff, "The Rôle of Amulets in Mesopotamian Ritual Texts", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 19 (London, 1956), pp.1-39.
32. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (London, 1890), I, pp.220-225
in the 3rd ed. of 1911.
33. Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia pp. 164-165, 211.
34. The Rôle of Amulets ... B.L. Goff, op.cit., p.39.
35. A.L. Oppenheim, "Assyro-Babylonian Religion" in Forgotten Religions, ed. V. Ferm (New York, 1950), pp.65-79.
36. A.L. Oppenheim, "Assyriology - Why and How?", Current Anthropology I (1960), pp.409-423.
37. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization (Chicago, 1964), pp.172-183.
38. Ib., p.182.
39. Ib., p.183.
40. A.L. Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1967),
p.29.

Notes (continued).

41. J. Nougayrol, "Recherches Nouvelles sur la religion babylonienne", RHR 165 (1964), pp.123-129.
42. Volume 1 of Historia Religionum : Handbook for the History of Religions (Leiden, 1969), ed. C.J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, pp. 115-194.
43. Ib., p.115.
44. Ib., p.141-142.
45. Ib., p.145.
46. Ib., p.150.
47. Ib., pp.151-153.
48. Ib., p.155.
49. Ib., pp.166-167.
50. Ib., pp.169-171.
51. Ib., p.169.
52. Ib., p.169.
53. R. Otto, Das Heilige (Breslau, 1917); English translation The Idea of the Holy (Oxford, 1923), tr. J.W. Harvey, pp.12-30.
54. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion (Oxford, 1965), p.120.
55. E.g. S. Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies (Paris, 1913); F. Thureau-Dangin, Rituels accadiens (Paris, 1921); R. Frankena, Takultu. De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel (Leiden, 1953).

Notes (continued).

56. Similarly the Roman Ritual of 1570 and the Roman Missal of 1573, which are designed for the use of the priest-celebrant, rarely refer to the people, but it would be incorrect to infer from this that they were absent or not involved in the liturgy.
57. Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre assyriologique internationale (Bruxelles, 1970); e.g. H. Limet, "L'organisation de quelques fêtes mensuelles à l'époque néo-sumérienne", ib., pp.59-74; J. Renger, "isinnam epěšum : Überlegungen zur Funktion des Festes in der Gesellschaft", ib., pp.74-89; P.R. Berger, "Das Neujahrsfest nach den Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches", ib., pp.155-159.
58. ARM V,25,5-22.
59. ARMT VII, p.198: "on la transfère sur l'avis des fidèles".
60. ARM V,28,32-35.
61. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, pp.51-53.
62. P.E. van der Meer, "A Topography of Babylon", Iraq 5 (1938), p.57,9.
63. CAD I/J, pp. 195-197.
64. P.E. van der Meer, "A Topography of Babylon", Iraq⁵(1938), p.56.
10-11: u r u par-šu-šú šu-qu-ru u r u šá pil-lu-du-šú
nu-us-su-qu, "the city whose rites are precious, the city of which the cult is splendid".
65. ABL 18, r.12-13.

Notes (continued)

66. For epēšū with the meaning "to perform (a ritual)"
cf. CAD E, p.229.
67. A. Salonen, "Prozessionswagen der babylonischer Götter",
StOr 13(1946), pp.1-10.
68. Ib.; p.4.
69. H. Sauren, "Besuchsfahrten der Götter in Sumer", OrNS 38(1969),
p.234.
70. Ib., p.216. Cf. G. van Driel, Cult of Aššur, p.167: "the
sight of a travelling god must have been fairly common".
71. A. Salonen, "Prozessionswagen der babylonischer Götter",
StOr 13(1946), p.6; id., Landfahrzeuge, pp.147-150.
72. LKA, 29d,8.
73. A.T. Clay, PN, p.58b, f. I have been unable to obtain access
to this book. References to it are taken from J.J. Stamm, ANG.
74. Ib., p.59a; A. Ungnad, NRV Glossar, p.51; K. Tallqvist, APN, p.30.
75. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.236.
76. K. Tallqvist, NBN, p.132b.
77. A.L. Oppenheim, "Die akkadischen Personennamen der Kassitenzeit",
Anthropos 31(1936), p.473.
78. Ib., p.473.
79. R. Jestin, "Textes religieux sumériens", RA 44(1950), p.52,
33,35-36; cf. A. Spycket, Les statues de culte, pp.103-104.

Notes (continued)

The Epistle of Jeremy, dating from the Macedonian period (cf. R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1913), pp.596-597), describes the gods of Babylon carried on men's shoulders in procession, vv.3,25, while crowds before and behind bow down to them, v.5.

80. BWL, pp.119-120.

81. E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileser I.", AfO 16(1952-1953), pp.199-200, considers that this tablet was an importation from Babylon in use at Assur in the Middle Assyrian period; it would have been composed in the Kassite period.

82. BWL, p.120,10-11. Throughout this study, I have used the English second person singular in translating the second person singular in Akkadian. Although this has the disadvantage of imparting an archaic flavour to the translations, it seems to me to be justified because it throws into relief passages where the plural is used.

83. ABL,1169, r10; cf. CAD Z, p.119a, sub zimru.

84. S.N. Kramer, "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur", AS 12,357. It is possible that there is a reference to this practice in Šurpu VIII, 43 which mentions, in a list of holy days, ūm rimki, "the day of washing".

85. A. Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade", ZA 57(1965),p.51,15.

86. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-nāšir-pal II", Iraq 14(1952),p.35,150-154.

Notes (continued)

87. ARM, VII,13,7-10; cf. ARMT, VII,p.198.
88. Gilg., I,v,6-8.
89. Gilg., XI,73-74.
90. W. Römer, Königshymnen, p.134, 211; quoted J. Renger, "isinnam epēšum: Überlegungen zur Funktion des Festes in der Gesellschaft", Rencontre Assyriologique XVII, p.78.
91. ARM, IX,212,v,2-5.
92. ARMT, p.277.
93. Cf. ARMT, IX,p.276 and M. Birot, "Le sens de NÍG.DU dans les textes de Mari et de Chagar-Bazar", RA 52(1958), pp.177-182.
94. C.J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-1938", Iraq 7(1940), p.48 (A926). Pl. I, 4-8.
95. ABL, 65,r8-9. Cf. the translation in A.L. Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia, no. 113 and the commentary in J.V. Kinnier Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists, pp.30-31.
96. Cf. 2 Sam.6:19 for a distribution of food to all the people by the king on the occasion of a religious festival, the entry of the ark into the city of David.
97. RAcc., p.90,22-23.S. Pallis, Akītu, p.151, understands these texts as indicating the presence of the people in the temple and in the bīt akītu as well as in the processions from one to the other.

Notes (continued)

98. E. Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Aššur", OrNS 21(1952), p.143
= KAR 146.
99. The archaeological evidence that there were near the temple of Ishtar of Akkad at Babylon a large number of lavatories, dating from the Neo-Babylonian period (cf. V. Müller, art. "Abort", RLA I, p.10), corroborates the evidence of the texts concerning the influx of visitors to the temples; this may have been on the occasion of the festivals or for private visits.
100. Cf. CAD B, ad loc., p.34.
101. RAcc., pp.120-121, r22-24.
102. AbB II,118,5-20.
103. KH VIII,37-48; cf. G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, II,p.156.
104. ABL, 518,5-8.
105. Cf. CAD B, ad loc., p.224b.
106. C.J. Gadd, Ideas, p.71.
107. F. Thureau-Dangin, "L'inscription bilingue B de Samsu-Iluna", RA 39(1942-1944), p.9,87-90.
108. BWL, p.120,16-17.
109. A.T. Clay, PN, p.93b; cf. J.J. Stamm, ANG, pp.185-186.
110. Ib., p.121b.

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111. Ib., p.84b; cf. CAD A I, p.271b, sub akītu.
112. Ib., p.79b; cf. CAD H, p.108a, sub harrānu
113. Ib., p.88b; cf. the name of Babylon in the TIN.TIR^{ki} series:
i-sin-nu hi-du-tú u ul-lul-ti, "a festival of joy and mirth",
P.E. van der Meer, "A Topography of Babylon", Iraq 5(1938), p.57,8.
114. J. Renger, "isinnam epēšum: Überlegungen zur Funktion des Festes
in der Gesellschaft", Rencontre Assyriologique XVII, p.78.
115. For the Literary genre of the prayer-letter cf. W.W. Hallo,
"Individual Prayer in Sumerian: the Continuity of a Tradition",
JAOS 88(1968), pp.71-89, and infra 3.39-40. Throughout this
study I have used the phrase "prayer-letter" rather than the
commonly used "letter-prayer" because it seems to me that the
examples of the genre are special sorts of letters rather than
special sorts of prayers. As Hallo says "formally, our genre
belongs to the category of Sumerian letters", ib., p.76. As
such, what specifies them is that they are letters written to
a god; the prayers that these letters contain were probably the
same as other prayers which were not written down, as Hallo
indicates when he seeks to show the continuity of the genre
with the post-Sumerian penitential psalm, ib., pp.80-81; and
so the fact that they are prayers is less specific than the
fact that they are letters.
116. Ib., p.85.

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117. Ib., p.79
118. For the date of Ludlul bēl nemēqi, see W.G. Lambert's introduction in BWL, p.26.
119. BWL, p.38,25-26.
120. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud", Iraq 31(1969), p.179,90'-92'. Cf. J. Nougayrol, "Un texte inédit du genre šurpu", JCS 1(1947), p.334,r15'.
121. S. Pallis, Akītu, p.306.
122. Ib., p.306.
123. J. Renger, "Isinam epēšum: Überlegungen zur Funktion des Festes in der Gesellschaft", Rencontre Assyriologique XVII, p.79.
124. Ib., p.778.
125. Ib., p.80.
126. Ib., p.79. H. Sauren, "Besuchsfahrten der Götter in Sumer", OrNS 38(1969), p.214, asks whether the passage of the statues across political boundaries, as e.g. that of Dumuzi into Elam, implies the existence of a "peace of the gods".
127. A.T. Clay, PN, p.116a.
128. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.179b.
129. Ib., and D.J. Wiseman, "The Nimrud Tablets 1953", Iraq 15(1953), p.158.
130. According to A. Spycket, Les statues de culte, p.10, the change of temple construction from the bent axis to the straight axis

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disposition of the cella meant that from the time of the third dynasty of Ur it was possible for a large assembly in the courtyard of the temple to see what was happening in the sanctuary.

131. Cf. CAD A II, p.21b, sub amāru 5.

132. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.26,36.

133. Ib., p.40,51; p.82,94.

134. Ib., p.40,51; p.84,13; p.86,12.

135. Ib., p.24,10; p.62,39; p.74,42.

136. Ib., p.114,17-18.

137. ABL, 221,6-10.

138. As does J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.87, who considers that they express the desire to be near to the god. On the question of the relation of the god to his statue, W.G. Lambert, art. "Gott", RLA III, pp.544-545, considers that "the statues were the place where an extention of the divine personality resided, but this projection of the divine into the statues was only at the god's will, and could be revoked for special reasons so that the statue would then become a mere piece of human craftsmanship". He refers to his review of Gössman's edition of the Era Epic (Afo 18(1958), pp.398-399) for further discussion of this point, and to the rites for the vivification of divine statues as evidence of the distinction. A further example of this could be ITT, 2,i,4499, from the Agade period, where sheep and other animals are offered to Ningirsu, his chariot and his

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- statue (quoted by A. Salonen, Landfahrzeuge, pp.69-70).
139. A.L. Oppenheim, "Die akkadischen Personennamen der Kassitenzeit", Anthropos 31(1936), p.481. Cf. the Neo-Babylonian name Nabû-ina-Esaggil-lûmur, K. Tallqvist, NBN, p.132b.
140. K. Tallqvist, NBN, p.40a.
141. Ib., p.21b.
142. Cf. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.203.
143. S. Page, Old Babylonian Texts from Rimah (unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1970), text 106,20. Cf. also AbB I,116,4'-8'; I,119,11'-13'; I,128,13; II,82,35; II,88,34'; III,60,16-17; V,166,14-15; V,239,20-21.
144. KTS, p.30,17-18; quoted with other references by H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.69, n.372.
145. ARM III,17,17-20.
146. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.220a.
147. Ib., p.220a.
148. J.N. Postgate, "More 'Assyrian Deeds and Documents'", Iraq 32(1970), p.143.
149. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.220a.
150. B. Parker, "The Nimrud Tablets 1952: Business Documents", Iraq 16(1954), p.51.
151. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.220a.
152. Ib., p.220a.

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153. Ib., p.220a.

154. Ib., p.220a.

155. K. Tallqvist, NBN, p.202a.

156. Cf. CAD §, p.17a sub šabatu, 3g.

157. P. Garelli, "Tablettes cappadociennes de collections diverses",
RA 59(1965), p.157 = CT,3,20,39-40 (no.113283).

158. AbB II,108,8-12. The double triangular brackets indicate a superfluous/^{sign.}

159. It may be asked whether the grasping of the hem of the garment of the divine statues was not another act of personal piety, carried out by the worshipper in the temples. The phrase sissiktam šabātum is used in Šu-ila prayers to various goddesses in the expression sissiktaki ašbat kīma sissikti iliya u ištariya, "I grasped thy hem as if it were the hem of my god and my goddess", E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.30,7; p.46,73; p.54,11. It is also used in a royal namburbi to Shamash, IV R 60 35⁼ E. Ebeling "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955),p.40. References to texts which use the expression of an action done by the king are grouped in CAD §, p.18a. It is known that the images of the gods were in fact clothed; Leemans has published an Old Babylonian inventory of the clothes and ornaments of Ishtar, W.F. Leemans, "Ishtar of Lagaba and Her Dress", SLB 1/I; there are allusions to the clothing of the gods in Šurpu V-VI 96,116; in Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence there

Notes (continued)

are references to the clothes of the statue of the goddess Ušur-amātsa, ABL 476,15-16 = S. Parpola LAS, 277; to the dressing of Bēl for a festival, ABL 956, r 3-4 = S. Parpola LAS, 190; and to the twice-yearly undressing of Nabû, ABL 951, r2-6, discussed in A.L. Oppenheim, "Studies in Akkadian Lexicography II", OrNS 14(1945),p.239; the disposal of the old clothes of Ashur is the concern of a text studied by G. van Driel, Cult of Aššur, p.92; a Neo-Babylonian letter concerns the renewal of the mantle of "the Lady of Larsa", BIN 1,10, translation in A.L. Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia, no. 138; I am indebted to Professor Wiseman for showing me his transcriptions of Neo-Babylonian texts of various provenance in the British Museum which appear to be delivery dockets recording the delivery of cloth, clothes, metals etc. from the royal administration to the temples; several of the items concern clothing for the gods, e.g. 5 t ú g n í g . í b . l a l . m e š sa^dbu-ne-ne, "the five cinctures of Bunene" (BM 56702, unpublished); t ú g t u m . l a l . m e š ša^dgu-la, "the vestment of Gula" (BM 56938, unpublished); Jewish polemic against idolatry refers to the clothing of the statues, cf. Jer. 10,9 (which is generally taken to be an exilic composition) and as late as the 4th century B.C. the Epistle of Jeremy instances the dressing of the statues of the gods in Babylon, v.10, and the

Notes (continued)

use to which these robes were put by the priests, v.32, as special points of criticism against the cult of idols. For a general discussion of the clothing of the gods, see A.L. Oppenheim, "The Golden Garments of the Gods", JNES 8(1949), pp.172-193. However the phrases sissiktam šabātum and qarnam šabātum have a symbolic meaning "to enter into a vassal relationship in relation to a suzerain", cf. J.M. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millenium B.C.", Iraq 18(1956),p.80; D.J. Wiseman, "Abban and Alalah", JCS 12(1958),pp.126-128; A. Finet, "Adalšenni, roi de Hurundum", RA 60(1966),p.19. It is therefore difficult to establish whether the use of sissiktam šabātum in prayers implies a symbolic expression of vassalship in relation to the god or refers to the actual performance of the gesture.

160. ARM III, 8,27; 17,16.

161. E. Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur", OrNS 20(1951), p.402, V,11, and OrNS 21(1952), p.132,r 20.

162. AbB V,172,14-17.

163. BWL, p.60,90.

164. BWL, p.40,31-32.

165. BWL, p.40,27-30.

166. E.g. in A.L. Oppenheim's Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.183-193.

167. BWL, pp.66-67.

168. Ib., p.74,51.

Notes (continued)

169. Ib., p.74,54.
170. For maṣṣatu see F. Blome, Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel, p.350,n.19; also G. Dossin, "Un Rituel du culte d'Ištar provenant de Mari", RA 35(1938), p.5,20,25 and p.9,n.7. Cf. also AHw, p.620a. For nindabû cf. AHw, p.790b.
171. Cf. BWL, p.63, and p.65: "there are objections to supposing that the writer mirrors his own life. The downtrodden orphan cannot have been the learned author and incantation priest".
172. BWL, p.38,20.
173. Ib., p.38,24.
174. AHw, p.793, sub nīqu(m).
175. BWL., p.96. Kassite or Late Babylonian, see ib., p.97
176. Ib., p.102,81-94.
177. Ib., p.104,135-138.
178. Ib., pp.107-109.
179. Ib., p.108,12.
180. Ib., p.146,55.
181. Cf. supra 2.27.
182. BWL., p.60,92-95.
183. Ib., p.123.
184. Ib., p.134,128-146: the humble, the weak, the afflicted, the poor, she whose son is captive, he whose family is remote, the shepherd, the herdsman, the travelling merchant, the fisherman,

Notes (continued)

the hunter, the bowman, the fowler.

185. Ib., p.136,156-162.

186. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.271; cf. B. Landsberger, Kult. Kalender, pp.137-138.

187. Cf. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bewchwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), p.135 n. For a discussion of the namburbi texts, see below 3.5; for their clientèle, see 3.7-8.

188. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), p.134,15-18.

189. CAD Z, p.106a sub zību.

190. F. Peiser, Verträge, no.107,5.

191. B. Parker, "The Nimrud Tablets 1956", Iraq 19(1957), p.135,13.

192. R. Labat, Hémérologies et Ménologies d'Assur (Paris,1939).

193. Ib., pp.33-34.

194. Cf. B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort'", MAOG 4(1928-1929), p.303, where he takes it that the offering was made in private houses, and "Lexicographical Contributions", JCS 4(1950), p.26, where he translates "offering of an individual"; also AHw, p.513a and CAD K, p.578b-579b, both sub kurummatu.

195. R. Labat, Hémérologies, p.58,34.

196. Ib., p.126,63.

Notes (continued)

197. The gods to whom food-offerings are considered as acceptable are disposed over the calendar as follows:-

Nisan 1. Bēl, Ninlil, Shamash, Nusku.

3. Sîn, Shamash.

4. Marduk, Šarpanitum, Nabû, Tashmetum.

5. Sîn.

6. Nabû, Tashmetum.

7. Sîn, Shamash.

8. ili-šû.

9. [....]

10. Ninlil.

11. Sîn, Shamash.

12. Enlil, Ninlil.

14. Sîn, Shamash, Ningal.

15. Sîn.

16. Shulpae.

17. Sîn, Ningal, Gula, il ališû, ištar ališû.

18. kakkab zappi.

19. kakkab s i b . z i . a n . n a .

20. Shamash, Aia, ^dal-tu, Bunene.

21. Shamash, Baba.

26. Shamash.

27. Anu.

29. Anu, Nergal, ^d[...].

Notes (continued)

Aiar 1. Bēl.

2. Ea, Damkina.

3. ili-š̄u.

4. Anu, Ishtar.

Siwan 2. ili-š̄u

3. Bēl.

7. il āli-š̄u, išt̄ar āli-š̄u.

8. [.....]

11. Anu.

12. ^{kakkab} d i l . b a t

14. Anu, Ishtar.

15. Enmesharra, Gula.

16. Marduk, Gula, ^{kakkab} d i l . b a t.

17. Marduk, Papsukkal.

19. Anu.

20. Ishtar.

21. Shamash.

Tammuz 1. ili-š̄u.

2. "

3. "

4. "

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16. Gula.
 17. ^d[Nergal bēl] gú . d u _g . a
 18. kakkab_g í r
 21. Shamash.

- Elul 6. ili-šú
 7. [^dza-ba₄]-ba₄
 8. ^d[.....].
 9. Ea, [ilat] nāri.
 10. Ishtar, Papsukkal.
 11. [.....].
 12. Anu, Ishtar.
 13. " "
 14. " "
 15. " "
 16. Shulpae, Ishtar.
 17. il ālišū, ištar āli-šū.
 20. ili-šū, ištari-šū.
 27. Ishtar.

- Teshrit 1. Enlil, Ninlil, Nusku.
 2. Bēl, ili-šū.
 3. " "

Notes (continued)

4. Bēl, ili-š̄u.
5. " "
6. ili-š̄u, ištari-š̄u.
7. Enlil.
8. [.....]
9. [.....]
10. Nusku.
11. Shamash.
12. Ishtar.
13. Anu, Ishtar.
14. Šulpae, Nisaba, ili-š̄u.
15. Marduk.
22. ^d[.....], [.....]
23. [Amur]ru.
24. Šîn, Adad amurri
25. Amurru.
26. il ali-š̄u, [ištar a]li-š̄u.
27. Amurru.
28. "
29. ^dl u g a l . d u ₆ . k ù . g a , Enki, Enmeshar ra, Amurru.
30. Amurru, ^dš̄ala-š̄abtāt-libbi.

Notes (continued)

Tebet 9. Zababa.

10. ^{kakkab} s i b . z i . a n . n a .

14. ^{kakkab} zappi.

18. [...]

26. Enmesharra.

29. ^{kakkab} nūni.

30. Ishtar.

Shebat 16. ^d [...]

Adar 10. ili-š^u, ištari-š^u.

14. " "

19. Ea, Damkina.

20. Enlil, Ninlil.

24. Zababa.

26. [...]

29. ^d n i n . ú r .

30. ili-š^u, ištari-š^u.

198. R. Labat, Hémérologies, p.96,68-70.

199. CAD K, p.579b, sub kurummatu.

Notes (continued)

200. "Les hémérologies constituent en quelque sorte un bréviaire de dévotion privée à l'usage des laïcs", R. Labat, Hémérologies, pp.13-14
201. ilu u šarru magir, ib., p.86,53. šarru magir, p.90,18; p.94,48; p.126,56; p.128,71. šarru lā magir, p.126,57.
202. Ib., p.38. Cf. B. Landsberger, Kult. Kalender, pp.101-105.
203. Such are omens with the apodosis "the king will inherit that man's house", R. Labat, Calendrier, p.90,31,6; "the Palace will seize him and despoil him of his goods", ib., p.90,30,11.
204. R. Labat, ib., p.100,36,6.
205. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, pp.59-61.
206. CAD I/J, p.66, sub ikribu. Cf. P. Garelli, Les Assyriens, pp.252-257.
207. K.R. Veenhof, Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology, p.350,n.466.
208. P. Garelli, "Tablettes cappadociennes de collections diverses", RA 59(1965), pp.165-167,9-24.
209. CAD I/J, p.64b sub ikribu, referring to RA 13, p.128,2 and 8;
I have not been able to gain access to this number of the review to check the reference.
210. R. Harris, "Old Babylonian Temple Loans", JCS 14(1960), pp. 133 ff.
211. Ib., p.135,1-10.
212. BWL, p.74,52-53. Cf. above 2.29 for the date of this text and for evidence that it is written in the name of a "commoner".

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213. O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets: V. The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur", AnSt 6(1956), p.148.
214. Ib., p.154,83 = STT 38.
215. Ib., p.154,91.
216. A.L. Oppenheim, "A Fiscal Practice in the Ancient Near East", JNES 6(1947), pp.116-120.
217. YOS 6,220,31; quoted CAD E, p.266b, sub erēbu.
218. Cf. CAD I/J, p.175 sub irbu.
219. Cf. CAD S, p.221a sub sītu.
220. Cf. CAD A II, p.517b sub atû and p.522 sub atûtu. Cf. also A. Salonen, Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien, pp.126-128.
221. A.L. Oppenheim, "A Fiscal Practice in the Ancient Near East", JNES 6(1947), p.117.
222. Cf. the references in CAD I/J, p.175, sub irbu.
223. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, "A Fiscal Practice in the Ancient Near East", JNES 6(1947), p.116.
224. BWL, p.60,93.
225. O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets: V. The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur", AnSt 6(1956), p.154,99. The practice of collecting the offerings of the people at a cult-centre is paralleled in Israel, cf. II Kings 22,4.

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226. C.J. Gadd, Ideas p.27.
227. Ib., n.3.
228. W.W. Hallo, "Individual Prayer in Sumerian: the Continuity of a Tradition", JAOS 88(1968), pp.71-89. Cf. also A. Falkenstein, "Ein sumerische 'Gottesbrief'", ZA 10(1938), pp.1-25; F.R. Kraus, "Ein altbabylonische Privatbrief an eine Gottheit", RA 65(1971), pp.27-36 and R. Borger, art. "Gottesbrief", RLA III, pp.575-576.
229. W.W. Hallo, "Individual Prayer in Sumerian: the Continuity of a Tradition", JAOS 88(1968), p.86: d i n g i r . m u
n í . t e . g á . z u g á . m e . e n ù . n a . a . d u₁₁
m u . r a . g u b . b a . m u a r ħ u š t u k . m a . r [a],
"O my god, I am the one who reveres thee, have pity on the
letter which I have deposited before thee".
230. ABL 1367,r 4-5. The same in ABL 1368,r 6-7.
231. AbB I,34,1.
232. Ib., line 25.
233. C.J. Gadd, "Two sketches of Life at Ur", Iraq 25(1963),
pp.177-188.
234. Ib., p.178,1-4.
235. Ib., p.179,39-43.
236. Ib., p.178.
237. Cf. CAD Š, p.80; references collected under šalmu.

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238. G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du Palais de Mari", Syria 19(1938), p.125.
239. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-nāṣir-pal II", Iraq 14(1952), p.34,76; J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III", Iraq 24(1962), p.94,36-41.
240. a l a m š u d_x (. š u d_x) . d è ; references collected by E. Sollberger, "Old Babylonian Worshipper Figurines", Iraq 31(1969), p.93,n.21.
241. ša-la-am be-lí-ia ka-ri-bu; G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du Palais de Mari", Syria 19(1938), p.125.
242. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III", Iraq 24(1962), pp.94-95: ša-lam...ina i g i ^di m e n -ia uš-zi-iz e-nu-ma ^di m e n šal-mu šú-a-tú ina i g i . l á -šú ke-niš lip-par-da-a e g i r u₄ . m e š -ia liq-bi šúm-ud m u . m e š -ia lit-taz-kàr z i si-li-i'-ti šá k u š -ia li-ta-am u₄-me-šam, "the statue ...I have made to stand before Adad my lord (that) when Adad the lord looks at this statue he may order and ordain for me length of days and fulness of years and may daily command the removal of any affliction from my body".
243. H. Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millenium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafājah, p.11.
244. E. Sollberger, "Old-Babylonian Worshipper Figurines", Iraq 31(1969), p.93.

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245. Cf. M. Falkner, art. "Gebetgesten", RLA III, pp.175-177.
246. Louvre, AO 15704, 154 mm.; BM 134962, 129 mm.; BM 117886, 75 mm.
247. The Louvre example and BM 117886 are made of metal; BM 134962 is terra-cotta.
248. E. Sollberger, "Old-Babylonian Worshipper Figurines", Iraq 31(1969) p.92,8.
249. Ib., p.90, 24,28: i g i ^du t u ... m u . n i .
[g u b / k u₄].
250. Ib., p.90,18: ^{urudu}a l a m š a . n e . š a₄ ;21:
š u d u [i] n . n a . a n . [n é] . a . n i .
251. AbB III,22,6-11.
252. AbB II,46,19-21.
253. It is possible that there is an allusion to a figurine in AbB II,89,7-8: is-ḫa-ka i-na é . b a b b a r š a
ta-ra-am-mu lu-ú da-ri-a, "may thy arms be perpetually (present) in E-babbar which thou lovest", but the expression is obscure since ishu is a rare word, cf. CAD I/J, p.189b.
254. F. Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525", AfO 18(1957-1958), p.76, section 5,rl2.
255. Ib., p.75, section 5.

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256. M. San Nicolò, art. "Eid", RLA II, pp.306-312; G.R. Driver and J. Miles, The Babylonian Laws I, pp.466-469; H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, pp.68-69.
257. Cf. M. San Nicolò, ib., p.305, "der in den Rechtskreisen des Zweistromlandes dem Eid zu allen Zeiten inliegende Fluchcharacter..."; G.R. Driver and J. Miles, ib., pp.468-469, "the taking of an oath was a form of ordeal and the sanction was of a religious character".
258. So KH, sections 20,103,131,249; S. Page, Old Babylonian Texts from Rimah (unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1970), text 21,8-10.
259. J.M. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millenium B.C.", Iraq 18(1956), pp.68-110.
260. Ib., p.88.
261. S. Page, Old Babylonian Texts from Rimah, text 21, note.
262. ARM I,30.
263. Cf. H.H. Figulla, "Business Documents of the New Babylonian Period", UET IV,200, lines 19-22,rl-4: šá da-ba-bu an-na-a in(?) -nu-u [...] ^den-líl u ^dé-a d i n g i r . m e š [...] ar-rat la nap-šu-ru ma-ru[-uš-ta ... li-ru]-ru-šu [...] la i-gam-mi-lu [... li-ir-bi], "may Enlil and Ea, the gods ... curse whoever would alter this agreement with an unalterable, evil curse ... may they not spare him ...

Notes (continued)

may he disappear", (following the transcription and translation proposed by D. Cocquerillat in her review of UET IV in RA 48(1954), p.157. Cf. also the Neo-Babylonian contract for the sale of a house published by E. Weidner, "Keilschrifttexte nach Kopien von T.G. Pinches", AfO 16(1952-1953), p.43: ša da-ba-ba an-n[a-a b a l
-u^d a-num^d en-lil] u^d n i m i n d i n g i r . m e š
 g a l . m e š ar-rat la nap-šur n i . g i g
li-r[u-ru-su-ma], "may Anum, Enlil and Ea^{the great gods} curse whoever
 would alter this agreement with an unalterable evil curse".

264. E. Ebeling, "Ein babylonisches Beispiel schwarzer Magie", OrNS 20(1951), pp.167-170 = KAR 373.
265. Ib., p.169, 6-7.
266. Ib., p.169, r 5-10.
267. AbB III,70,16-17.
268. AbB II,88,21-24.
269. R. Harris, "The Journey of the Divine Weapon", AS 16(1965), pp.217-224. They concern a field, an orchard and a garden.
270. K. Balkan, "Contributions to the understanding of the Idiom of the Old Assyrian Merchants of Kanish", OrNS 36(1967), pp.409-410: i-lí-a-[lum] e-ra-dí a-na g [í r] ša a-šur
ú-šé-r[i-id-ma] ba-áb d i n g i r i-lí-á-lum ru-gu₅-ma-e
a-na e-ra-dí i-dí-i, "Ili-a(lum) has made Erra-(i)di

Notes (continued)

go down to the sword) of Ashur and(in) the gate of the god Ili-alum has made claims to Erra-(i)di"; P. Garelli, "Tablettes cappadociennes de Collections Diverses", RA 60(1966), p.107: k á d i n g i r tup-pá-am hi-ri-im, "enclose the tablet (in a clay case) at the gate of the god". Cf. also H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.65.

271. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-nāṣir-pal II" Iraq 14(1962), p.34,58-60.
272. Similarly two questions could be asked by the historian of religion concerning the current English legal practice of requiring witnesses to swear on the Bible:-
- i) does this reflect a belief that God punishes those who bear false witness?
 - ii) what evidence is there that any particular individuals who were required to testify in this way were conscious of the religious connotations of the requirement?
273. C.J. Gadd, "Two Sketches from the Life at Ur", Iraq 25(1963), p.179,16-38.
274. Cf. I Kings 8,31-32 for a reference to the swearing of a disculpatory oath before the altar of Yahweh at Jerusalem by an individual accused of wrongdoing against his neighbour.
275. E. Ebeling, Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Zauberpriesters, p.3.

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276. B. Landsberger, Brief, p.14.

277. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists, p.74.

278. So W. Schrank, Babylonische Sühnriten, pp.1-14 and

CAD A II, p.435a, "the parallelism in contexts indicates that LU.MAŠ.MAŠ represents the same person as the āšipu, and most likely is to be read as āšipu, except in a few literary texts where mašmašu occurs as a learned word". With reservations W. von Soden, AHW, p.628 sub mašmaš(š)u, "zum Teil (w)āšipu(m) zu lesen?", and W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors", JCS 16(1962), p.69, "in some, as yet undefined, way the two terms overlap". Cf. also E. Ritter, "Magical Expert (āšipu) and Physician (asû). Notes on two complementary professions in Babylonian Medicine", AS 16(1965), pp.299-321. For the various Sumerian terms used, cf. A. Ungnad, "Besprechungskunst und Astrologie in Babylonien", Afo 14(1941-1944), pp.251-284.

279. Sm 810, VI,13-14 in R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.34 and note on p.37.

280. Cf. CAD A II, p.431 for references from the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian periods. There is a reference to what is probably Old Assyrian Evidence for the existence of the āšipu in H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.58,n.304. See also J. Renger,

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"Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit", ZA 59(1969), pp.223-230.

281. H. Hunger, Kolophone, nos. 197,198,199,200,201,202,203,204, 205,206,207,208,209,210,212,214,217,218,265. Cf. ib.,

no.192: m a š . m a š é kiš-šú-ti, and no. 213:

l ú . m a š . m a š é . š á r . r a .

282. Ib., nos. 87,88,90,93,94,95,96,99,103,104,105,107,116:

l ú . m a š . m a š ^d d i š u^dan-tu₄.

283. RAcc., p.115,12-13.

284. Ib., p.140,340; p.141,354.

285. E. Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur", OrNS 22(1953), p.45.

286. H. Hunger, Kolophone, no.64.

287. W.G. Lambert, "Three Unpublished Fragments of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic", Afo 18(1957-1958), p.44,5; cf. W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors", JCS 16(1962), p.69.

288. H. Hunger, Kolophone, no.231.

289. OIP II, p.81,27: a-na pa-te-e í d šú-a-tu l ú .

m a š . m a š l ú . g a l a ú-ma-'i-ir-ma, "for the (ceremonial) opening of that aqueduct I sent an āšipu (and) a kalû".

290. Cf. references in S. Parpola, LAS, p.317 and the collection of letters from āšipu on pp.88-185.

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291. H. Zimmern, "Zu den 'Keilschrifttexten aus Assur religiösen Inhalts'", ZA 30(1915-1916), pp.204-229.
292. Cf. G. Meier, "Die Ritualtafel der Serie 'Mundwaschung'", Afo 12(1937-1939), p.43 and "Die Zweite Tafel der serie bīt mēseri", Afo 14(1941-1944), p.146.
293. Cf. E.F. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs", Afo 10(1935-1936), p.19 where five āšipu are names, and W.G. Lambert, "A Part of a Ritual for a Substitute King", Afo 18(1957-1958), col.B,9:
 l ú . m a š . m a š ana é . g a l i-lak, "the āšipu will go to the palace".
294. KAR 44 r6; H. Zimmern, "Zu den 'Keilschrifttexten aus Assur religiösen Inhalts'", ZA 30(1915-1916), p.210.
295. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), pp.1-15, pp.76-85, pp.130-141, pp.178-191; 49(1955), pp.32-41, pp.137-148, pp.178-192; 50(1956), pp.22-33, pp.86-94.
296. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 34(1965), pp.105-131; 36(1967), pp.1-38, pp.273-298; 39(1970), pp.111-151; 40(1971), pp.133-183.
297. But three texts have a positive rather than an apotropaic purpose; cf. R. Caplice, OrNS 34(1965), p.105.

Notes (continued)

298. R. Caplice, "Participants in the Namburbi Ritual",
CBQ 29(1967), p.349.
299. R. Labat, "Un traité médical akkadien, essai de
reconstitution de la série enuma ana bît marši âšipu
illiku", RA 40(1945-1946), pp.27-45.
300. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Nimrud Catalogue of Medical and
Physiognomical Omina", Iraq 24(1962), p.55,2,5.
301. H. Hunger, Kolophone, no.84 = LKU 65, r3.
302. Ib., no.81,5-6 = LKU 85; and no. 84,11,12 = LKU 65.
303. E. Ritter, "Magical Expert (âšipu) and Physician (asû).
Notes on two complementary professions in Babylonian
Medicine", AS 16(1965), pp.299-321.
304. A.L. Oppenheim, "On the Observation of the Pulse in
Mesopotamian Medicine", OrNS 31(1962), p.31.
305. Collected and edited by R. Biggs, Šaziga.
306. KAR 44,14.
307. The Bed of the patient is mentioned in a ritual, R. Biggs,
Šaziga, p.29,11-12; and in an incantation, ib., p.30,17.
308. E. Ebeling, "Ein neuassyrisches Beschwörungsritual gegen
Bann und Tod", ZA 51(1955), p.172.
309. R. Caplice, "Participants in the Namburbi Rituals", CBQ
29(1967), p.350.

Notes (continued)

310. Id., "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.24.
311. S. Parpola, LAS, nos. 16,6-7; 35,12; 67,7; 104,8; 185,14-15; 203,9,r3; 204,6; 218,18; 278,r18; 279,13; 280,r4; 289,18; 298,15; 334,r5.
312. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 40(1971), p.170,1.
313. Id., "Participants in the Namburbi Rituals", CBQ 29(1967), p.352.
314. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955), p.182,9. Cf. ib., p.180,13 and p.178,1 which explicitly mentions the āšipu: ana iš-di-ih sa-bi-i lu l ú . h a l lu l ú . a . z u lu l ú . m a š . m a š [é n tum]-mu é [š i d -ma i-ra]-aš-ši-i, "for brisk trade for the beer-seller, either the bārû or the asû or the āšipu will recite the incantation 'tummu bîti', he will obtain (it)". There is also a reference to the muškēnum in a namburbi which is too fragmentary to allow any conclusions to be drawn about the context and the client of the ritual: û m a š . e n . d û ħ u l -šú d u g, "and the muškēnu's evil will be dissipated", R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 40(1971), p.164,no.63,6.

Notes (continued)

315. Šurpu, II,42; cf. 37,43, and VIII,64,65,66,67.
316. BWL, p.132,105-121; Lambert's remarks are on p.123.
317. E. Leichty, Izbu, p.11.
318. E. Ebeling, "Ein neuassyrisches Beschwörungsritual gegen Bann und Tod", ZA 51(1955), p.174,r28-30.
319. KAR 144. Cf. H. Zimmern, "Der Schenkenliebeszauber", ZA 32(1919), pp.164-184.
320. A.L. Oppenheim, "Prayers to the 'Gods of the Night'", AnBi 12(1959), pp.282-301.
321. E. Leichty, Izbu, pp.13-14.
322. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p.303.
323. BWL, pp.70-88.
324. Ib., p.67.
325. Ib., p.88,278-280.
326. Ib., p.88,287-297.
327. W.G. Lambert, "The Gula Hymn of Bulluṣsa-rabī", OrNS 36(1967), pp.105-132.
328. W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors", JCS 16(1962), p.66,VI,2: [a-nu-tum šá] pi-i^m bul-luṣ-sa-ra-bi
 l ú . m a š . m a š l ú . u [m . m e . a] d i n .
 t i r . k i , "(these are) by Bulluṣsa-rabī the āšipu,
 (scholar) of Babylon".

Notes (continued)

329. Id., "The Gula Hymn of Bulluṭsa-rabī", OrNS 36(1967), p.128,188-200.
330. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.18,10-11. Cf. ib.p.82,94:
ù ana-ku m a š . m a š è r -ka dà-lí-lí-ka lud-lul,
 "and may I (too) the āšipu thy servant proclaim thy glory".
331. W.G. Lambert, "Literary Style in First Millenium Mesopotamia", JAOS 88(1968), p.130.
332. Ib., obv. 12 ff.; rev. 11 ff. Cf. R.F.G. Sweet, "A Pair of Double Acrostics in Akkadian", OrNS 38(1969), pp.459-460.
333. R.D. Biggs, Šaziga, no.6 with the names of Kanišurra and Išhara; no.10 with Ishtar, Nanaya, Gazbaba and Kanišurra; no.12 with Ishtar and Nanaya; no.13 and no.19 with Ishtar, Ea, Shamash and Asalluḫi; no.20 with Ishtar; no.21 with Ishtar, Shamash, Ea and Asalluḫi; no.24 (probably) with Tutu, Sazu and Ningirim; no.25 with Ishtar, Nanaya, Gazbaba and Išhara.
334. Ib., p.38,n.21.
335. Ib., p.31,22-23.
336. E. Ebeling, TuL, p.121,r5.
337. G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri", Afo 14(1941-1944), p.151,226.
338. BWL, pp.26-27.

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339. Ib., p.50,39-45.
340. Ib., p.50,45: muttabilia, participle of the I/3 of (w)abālu. Cf. CAD A I,p.23a for the meaning "direct", "manage", "organize".
341. BWL, p.48,68.
342. Ib., p.48,9.
343. Ib., p.345; with the reading nišiš labšati, "clad like a human being" proposed in AHw, p.796a sub nišiš.
344. BWL, p.23
345. G. Meier has published a commentary from Assur on the "Self-Praise of Marduk" which explains the passages on the appearance of the god as references to the vestments of the āšipu, "Ein Kommentar zu einer Selbstprädikation des Marduk aus Assur", ZA 13(1942), p.242,4-6. Cf. Eccli. 50,1-23 for a similar expression of devotion to the priesthood in the description of the appearance and raiment of the Jewish high priest.
346. BWL, p.24; cf. p.49,25-26.
347. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 40(1971), p.141,29'-30'.
348. Ib., OrNS 39(1970), p.135,26-29.
349. R. Campbell Thompson, "Assyrian Prescriptions for the 'Hand of a Ghost'", JRAS (1929), p.819.

Notes (continued)

350. W.G. Lambert, "An Incantation of the Maqlû Type", AfO 18(1957-1958), p.297,12.
351. J. Nougayrol, "Textes Religieux I", RA 65(1971), p.164,38'-39'.
352. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 40(1971), p.154,12.
353. Šurpu, I,7-9.
354. E. Ebeling, TuL, p.118,17 = KAR 90. Cf. ib p.118,r4.
355. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), p.184,18-20 = KAR 72. Cf. also references in CAD D,p.13a sub dabābu and G. Meier, "Ein akkadisches Heilungsritual aus Boğazköy", ZA 11(1939), p.202,II,25.
356. E. Ebeling, TuL, p.119,r13.
357. Id., "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), p.184,r2; R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.34,11-12.
358. E. Ebeling, TuL, p.119,13, and references in CAD S,p.23a sub šabātu.
359. S. Parpola, LAS, I,35,9-12 = ABL, 355.
360. B.L. Goff, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, p.163.
361. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 34(1965), p.126,14-22.

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362. KAR, 44,2. The words in brackets are written with smaller signs in the cuneiform text.
363. R.S. Ellis, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.18-19.
364. H.A. Zimmern, "Ein babylonisches Ritual für eine Hausweihe", ZA 23(1909), pp.370-375, and R.S. Ellis, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.185-186.
365. H. Zimmern, ib., p.370,22-23,25-26,32-35. Cf. also the house blessing preserved in a Neo-Babylonian copy, in J. Nougayrol, "Textes religieux I", RA 65(1971), pp.159-160.
366. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.23,n.1.
367. Ib., pp.6-21 for a discussion of the way the collection is composed.
368. Ib., p.62,6,3-4. The fact that the omens about building a house on old foundations are concerned with the enterprise of a private citizen is indicated by one of the apodoses in the same section, line 2: hi-ših-ti é -šú é . g a l i-tab-bal, "the Palace will appropriate the (material) necessary for his house".
369. O.R. Gurney, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals", AAA 22(1935), pp.31-96.
370. Ib., p.45,12.
371. Ib., pp.60-61,51-56.

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372. RAcc., pp.140-141,340-361.
373. G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri",
Afo 14,(1941-1944), pp.139-152.
374. Ib., p.146,111-114, and S. Langdon, "An Incantation for
expelling demons from a house", ZA 36(1925), p.210.
375. D. Oates, "The Excavations at Tell al Rimah 1964", Iraq
27(1965), p.77 and Plate XXc; id. "The Excavations at
Tell al Rimah 1968", Iraq 32(1970), p.2.
376. D. McCown and R. Haines, Nippur I, pp.39-40.
377. CT, 40,15,9. Cf. for other references CAD A II, p.439a
and D.J. Wiseman, "A Babylonian Architect?", AnSt
22(1972), p.145.
378. H. Frankfort, More Sculptures from the Diyala Region,
pp.19-20, Plates 70 and 71.
379. In five houses in all. The list is given in R.S. Ellis,
Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia, p.164,n.23.
380. Studied by O.R. Gurney, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures
and their Rituals", AAA 22(1935), pp.64 ff. Cf. also
C.L. Woolley, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures", JRAS
(1926), pp.689-713, and R.S. Ellis, "'Papsukkal' Figures
beneath the Daises of Mesopotamian Temples", RA 61(1967),
pp.57-59.

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381. E.J. Peltenburg, "Assyrian Clay Fists", Oriens Antiquus 7 (1968), pp.57-62. Cf. M.E.L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu) 1953", Iraq 16(1954), p.143 for a description of the excavation of the house at Nimrud.
382. E. Reiner, "Plague Amulets and House Blessings", JNES 19(1960), p.153.
383. Ib., p.149.
384. Ib., p.150, "the epic was qualified to serve as a plague amulet since the gods around whom the story is woven were those who could best extend their tutelage over a menaced house: Marduk - or Asalluhi - as patron god of magic; Era, whose sovereignty decides who shall be afflicted with the plague and who shall not; the seven gods who are charged with administering the scourge (I 23-27); and above all Isum who as the night watchman and the envoy of the gods had jurisdiction over the streets ... and will, upon seeing the amulet suspended at the gate, mark the house as one which the plague should pass by".
385. Cf. on the subject especially H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East, and U. Moortgat-Correns, art. "Glyptik", RLA III, pp.440-462.

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386. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.281-282.
387. Ib., p.174.
388. Ib., p.8 and U. Moortgat-Correns, art. "Glyptik", RLA III, pp.441-462.
389. H.H. von der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell, no. 103; and M.F. Williams, "The Collection of Western Asiatic Seals in the Haskell Oriental Museum", AJSL 44(1927-1928), no.17; H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p.9 and note about Plate XXI i.
390. G. Dossin, "Sceau-cylindre agadéen inscrit", RA 65(1971), p.90.
391. This is the conclusion reached by E. Porada and F. Basmachi, "Nergal in the Old Babylonian Period", Sumer 7(1951), p.66; J. Nougayrol, "Documents du Habur, 2. Le sceau de Daguna", Syria 37(1960), p.209; J.R. Kupper, L'iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la 1re dynastie babylonienne, pp.11-12.
392. Dream-book, p.322,24. D.K.M. Bayliss comments "the symbolic connection of the cylinder seal, the sign of individual identity, with heirs ... is very interesting", Ancestry and Descent in Mesopotamia from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Assyrian period (Unpublished M. Phil. thesis of the University of London, 1971), p.123.

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393. B. Goff, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, pp.195-210.
394. Cf. references in CAD K, pp.447-448, sub kišadu, and p.544, sub kunukku.
395. W.F. Leemans, Ištar of Lagaba and Her Dress, SLB 1,1, p.1,9 (Old Babylonian), p.29,20 (Ur III).
396. E.D. van Buren, "Amulets in Ancient Mesopotamia", OrNS 14(1945), p.21 (Kassite, seal offered to the goddess Ušura-mâtsu to be part of her necklace).
397. CT 13,34 r3,6 (Enūma eliš).
398. Cf. U. Moortgat-Correns, art. "Glyptik", RLA III, pp.442-444.
399. H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites, p.51. Cf. also E.D. van Buren, "Esoteric Significance of Kassite Glyptic Art", OrNS 23(1954), pp.1-39.
400. B. Goff, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, p.207.
401. H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites, pp.63-66; 3-0 to 3-8.
402. Ib., p.67;3-9.
403. Ib., p.73;4-21.
404. Ib., pp.67-75;4-0 to 4-25. Various gods are addressed with the invocation: a r h u š t u k . a , "have pity"; a r h u š t u k u . m à , "have pity on him"; a r h u š t u k u . m a . a b , "have pity on me".

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405. Ib., pp.77-78;5-1,5-4,5-5.
406. Ib., p.106;8-11. Cf. 8-12 to 8-14;8-19;8-21;8-22.
407. J. Nougayrol, "Deux types de légendes de sceaux cassites", RA 65(1971), p.89, and H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites, p.118;9-8.
408. For šākin kunukki annī with personal names cf. H. Limet, ib., 7-6;7-12;7-17. Without personal names 7-1;7-2;7-4;7-13; to 7-16;7-18;7-19;7-23;7-25 to 7-28;11-2. For a discussion of šakānu in this context, cf. B. Goff, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, pp.205-206. CAD K, p.544b accepts the meaning "wearer" for šākin.
409. H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites, 7-4.
410. Ib., 7-1. Other inscriptions combining the phrase šākin kunukki annī with an allusion to the command of a god are 7-12; to 7-14;7-16 to 7-18.
411. Ib., 11-2. Cf. H. Limet and M. Trokay, "Un sceau cassite du musée de Téhéran", RA 63(1969), pp.75-78.
412. These are figurines, stones and small inscribed plaques. Cf. E. Ebeling, art. "Apotropäen", RLA I, pp.120-122; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et amulettes contre 'Labartu'", RA 18(1921), pp.161-198; P.R.S. Moorey, "A Bronze 'Pazuzu' Statuette from Egypt", Iraq 27(1965), pp.33-41.

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413. D.J. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur", Iraq 22(1960), plate XXIII and p.168. One of these is BM 103057 of unknown provenance, and the other is one of a pair belonging to the Dilbat necklace in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Western Asiatic Jewellery, pp.88-90 gives the reasons for dating this necklace to the First Dynasty of Babylon. Cf. H.W.F. Saggs, "Pazuzu", AfO 19(1959-1960), pp.123-127 for a plaque of the demon Pazuzu small enough to have been worn as an amulet.
414. B.L. Goff has brought together references to beads and their location in sites of different periods, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, pp.18-19, 41, 72, 112, 132-133, 147-148.
415. K. Yalvaç, "Eine Liste von Amulettsteinen im Museum zu Istanbul", AS 16(1965), pp.329-336. This list is found in KAR 213 and Istanbul A231 (unpublished) from Assur, and K6282 and fragments (unpublished) from Niniveh.
416. OIP 2,132,72-73. Cf. 127d,2-5.
417. J. Nougayrol, "Une amulette de Syrie et un nouvel 'oeil'", RA 64(1970), pp.67-68; id., "La Lamaštu à Byblos", RA 65(1971), pp.173-174.
418. E.g. A.L. Oppenheim, "Zur keilschriftliches Omenliteratur", OrNS 5(1936), pp.199-228.

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419. Dream-book, p.239.
420. A.L. Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Divination" in Rencontre Assyriologique XIV, pp.35-43.
421. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.128,12.
422. Ib., p.48,112-115.
423. Id., "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 48(1954), p.6,5-7.
424. Id., Handerhebung, p.48,110.
425. S. Parpola, LAS I, 204,12-r6 = ABL 51.
426. Ib., 35,18-20 = ABL 355. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian", JAOS 61(1941), p.263 for the expression uznâ pêtû, "to reveal".
427. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.72,n.389 = KTS 25a,7.
428. Cf. supra 2.36 for a discussion of ikribum in Old Assyrian sources.
429. S. Page, Old Babylonian Texts from Rimah, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1970), no.49,4-12.
430. E. Ebeling, Altbabylonische Briefe der Louvre-Sammlung aus Larsa, 27, 10-15 = TCL 17,27. Trans. A.L. Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia, no.23.
431. A. Goetze, "Reports on acts of extispicy from Old Babylonian and Kassite times", JCS 11(1957), p.91,2-4 = YBS 11056.

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432. Ib., p.93, lines 13-15 (CUA101). Cf. p.95,n.37.
433. J. Nougayrol, "Le Foie 'd'Orientation'", RA 62(1968), p.46,n. = KAR 423,iii,22.
434. G. Pettinate, Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern, 2 vols. Rome, 1966.
435. Ib., I, p.79.
436. Ib., I, pp.201-204; "die Sorgen des kleinen Mannes, seines Bemühungen das Schicksal zu überwinden, und die Schwierigkeiten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens spiegeln sich dagegen oft in dem Omenbedeutungen", I,p.171.
437. J. Nougayrol, "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre", RA 44(1950), p.23,47.
438. E. Reiner, "Fortune-telling in Mesopotamia", JNES 19(1960), pp.23-35.
439. Ib., p.35,116-117 = STT 73.
440. Ib., p.31,13-14.
441. Ib., pp.31-32,15-18.
442. Ib., p.32,19-20.
443. J. Nougayrol, "'Oiseau' ou Oiseau?", RA 61(1967), p.35, 14-17,19.
444. Ib., p.35,n.3. Nougayrol gives no reference for this statement. The drawing of curtains is mentioned in a namburbi, R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British

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- Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.287,8'. Caplice considers that the meaning of the ritual act was to assure privacy for the divine repast because it occurs in close conjunction with the presentation of offerings, ib., pp.30-31.
445. Cf. CAD L, p.12a, sub labānu.
446. E. Ebeling, Weissagung aus Weihrauch im alten Babylonien, p.6.
447. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.45,46 = STT 57,64.
448. Šurpu IV,24,25.
449. W.G. Lambert, "A Middle Assyrian Medical Text", Iraq 31(1969), p.31,46-49.
450. Atra-ḫasīs, p.62,278-290. W. von Soden, "Die Hebamme in Babylonien und Assyrien", AfO 18(1957-1958), pp.119-121, put forward the suggestion that the gadištum in Old Babylonian times played the rôle of wet nurse and took the child over from the midwife; his other suggestions have been confirmed by the publication of the Atra-ḫasīs material in CT 46(1965), viz. that the Akkadian form of the Sumerian ^{mí} š à / š á b . z u was t/šabsūtum and that the midwife, like the gadištum, had a religious rôle and performed rites at birth. Cf. also J. van Dijk, "Une incantation accompagnant la naissance de l'homme", OrNS 42(1973), p.507.

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451. Atra-ḫasīs, pp.22-23.
452. Ib., p.62,15-16.
453. Cf. references sub qēmu, AHw, p.913, and sub eṣēru, AHw, p.252 and CAD E, pp.346-347.
454. J. van Dijk, "Une variante du thème de 'l'Esclave de la Lune'", OrNS 41(1972), p.344,17-18.
455. Ib., p.346: "le rite sur l'enfant qui vient de naître est donc quelque chose de plus que du folklore: c'est le sacre de l'enfant, un rite qui voue l'enfant à la déesse ou au dieu et qui lui assigne sa place dans cette société religieuse".
456. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p.198.
457. Rivkah Harris, "Notes on the Nomenclature of Old Babylonian Sippar", JCS 24(1972), pp.102-104.
458. E. Chiera, Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur, p.35.
459. B. Meissner, BuA,I, p.123.
460. R. Harris, "Notes on the Nomenclature of Old Babylonian Sippar", JCS 24(1972), p.103.
461. Similarly, in contemporary Roman Catholic practice, the existence of different saints' names in one family is not in itself evidence of piety or lack of it. It shows a normal desire for variety which is quite compatible with

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real devotion to the saints concerned. An extra-ordinary devotion would be implied if all the names of the siblings contained the name of the same saint, as in the French practice of combining the name of Our Lady with other names to form composite names, applicable in some cases to boys as well as girls, e.g. Jean-Marie, Pierre-Marie (boys' names), and a great variety of girls' names, Marie-Alix, Marie-Beatrice, Marie-Claude, Marie-France etc.

462. J.J. Stamm, ANG, pp.8-15.

463. Ib., p.14.

464. H. Limet, L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3e dynastie d'Ur, p.32; e.g. m í . à m , "It is a girl"; g i š . à m , "It is a boy"; l ú . à m , "It is a man"; š e š . à m , "It is a brother"; n i n . à m , "It is a sister"; e š . à m , "It is the third one"; ù r . r e . b a . d u₇ , "He (the father) jumped as high as the ceiling".

465. Ib., p.114. "Il faut prendre à la lettre les noms propres, car ils sont assurément l'émanation très authentique d'un élan sentimental".

466. J. Finkelstein, Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters, no.192 and pp.14-15. The document is dated on the 8th day of Ab in the 5th year of King Samsuditana and records the birth^{of}/Amat-eššeššim, daughter of Amat-Bau, on that day.

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467. Cf. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.136.
468. H. Ranke, PN, p.92b. Cf. ib., pp.92-94: Ibni-bēl; Ibni-Girru, Ibni-ilu; Ibni-Marduk; Ibni-Šamaš; Ibni-Sîn, and the names collected by J.J. Stamm, ANG, pp.139-140.
469. H. Ranke, PN, p.165a. Cf. ib., p.102b, Ili-ublam.
470. Examples collected by J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.218.
471. Cf. ib., p.143.
472. Cf. ib., p.145.
473. H. Ranke, PN, p.63a. Cf. J.J. Stamm, ANG, pp.162 ff.
474. A.T. Clay, PN, p.49b. Cf. H. Ranke, PN, p.62a.
475. H. Ranke, PN, p.68a.
476. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.22a; id., NBN, p.6a.
477. S. Greengus, "Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites", JCS 20(1966), p.55. Cf. E. Ebeling and V. Korošec, art. "Ehe", RLA II, pp.281-293; also S. Greengus, "The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract", JAOS 89(1969), pp.505-532. J. Mervin Breneman, Nuzi Marriage Tablets, (Ph.D.thesis of Brandeis University, 1971; University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan), pp.3-4, 272-273, confirms the lack of any evidence for religious rites at Nuzi.
478. S. Greengus, "Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites", JCS 20(1966), pp.55-72 = UET 5,636.

Notes (continued)

479. Ib., p.56,6-9.
480. Ib., p.57,29.
481. R. Labat, Calendrier, pp.130-132, section 62; cf. section 61: (d i š) ina b a r d a m t u k -š*ī*, "if in the month of Nisan he takes a wife".
482. Id., Hémérologies, p.140,19. Cf. p.142,37; p.160,27; p.158,25: d a m t u k -š*ī*, "he can take a wife".
483. G. Pettinato, Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern, II, p.62,14 = CT, 3,1 (BM 22447).
484. The three previous omens, ib., 11-13, concern a sick man and are in the first person: d i š ì ana a i-na na-de-ia iṭ-bu, "if the oil when I pour it on the water sinks". The following omen is about the army in the field, ib., 15.
485. Ib., 14.
486. Cf. E. Dhorme, "Le séjour des morts chez les Babyloniens et les Hébreux", RB 4(1907), pp.59-78.
487. S.N. Kramer, "Death and the Nether World according to the Sumerian literary texts", Iraq 22(1960), p.65.
488. W. von Soden, "Religion und Sittlichkeit nach den Anschauungen der Babylonier", ZDMG nf. 14(1935), p.163.
Cf. also A. Kleveta, "Le jugement infernal dans les

Notes (continued)

- croyances babyloniennes", ArOr 17(1949), I, pp.374-385 and J.M. Aynard, "Le jugement des Morts chez les Assyro-Babyloniens" in Le Jugement des Morts, (Paris, 1961), pp.81-102.
489. S.N. Kramer, Two Elegies in a Pushkin Museum Tablet: A New Sumerian Literary Genre, (Moscow, 1960).
490. Ib., p.54,87-90,99.
491. Ib., p.57,174.
492. Ib., p.72,n.18; referring to S.N. Kramer, From the Tablets of Sumer, p.226.
493. In an unpublished paper, "The Sumerian After-life", given to the Society for O.T. Study on January 4, 1950, C.J. Gadd put forward the theory that the Sumerian beliefs about after-life differed from those of later Babylonians. The Sumerians believed in a judgment and the possibility of a certain enjoyment in the after-life, whereas this ceased to be the case later on. The manuscript of this lecture was communicated to me by Professor D.J. Wiseman.
494. W.G. Lambert, BWL, p.148,76-78.
495. Cf. CAD E, p.397, sub eĝemmu.
496. Maqlû IV,21.
497. D.J. Wiseman, Treaties, 452. Cf. 476-477: šap-liš ina k i -tim e-ĝim-ma-ku-nu a . m e š li-ša-mu-u, "in the underworld may they make your ghost thirst for water".

Notes (continued)

498. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum",
OrNS 40(1971), p.150,33-35.
499. E. Ebeling, TuL, p.131,11-12 = KAR 227.
500. Cf. references sub kispum in CAD K, pp.425-426 and AHw,
p.487a. Also G. Van Driel, Cult of Aššur, pp.168-169.
501. AbB I,106,17-19.
502. At Mari the kispum for deceased kings was offered twice
monthly, on the first and the 16th, cf. ARMT XII, p.13;
but a royal text of the time of Nabonidus speaks of
monthly offerings; E. Dhorme, "La mère de Nabonide",
RA 41(1947), p.20.
503. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.129,10.
504. There are also references to the kispum being offered in
other places, as the kispum in the steppe for the Ardat-
lilî, cf. S. Lachenbacher, "Note sur l'Ardat-lilî",
RA 65(1971), p.127, and the kispum ina rapiqātim at
Mari, for which M.L. Burke proposes the translation "in
the gardens", ARMT XI, p.136.
505. LKA 83,4-5.
506. J.J. Stamm, ANG, pp.291-292.
507. Cf. E. Strommenger, art. "Grab", RLA III, pp.581-593.
508. Ib., p.591.

Notes (continued)

509. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.61,7 (Tishrit); 9 (Kislev).

There is a reference to the sale of a house with a grave within it: k i . m a ḫ ina š à . b i , in ADD I, no.326,7.

510. E. Dhorme, La religion assyro-babylonienne, pp.195-198.

511. Ib., p.200.

512. E. Dhorme, Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie, p.15.

513. E. Ebeling, TuL, pp.114-115.

514. C.J. Gadd, Ideas, p.66.

515. T. Jacobsen, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, pp.205-207. = Before Philosophy pp.218 ff.

516. T. Jacobsen, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns", PAPS 107(1963), p.482.

517. S.N. Kramer, "Man and His God", VT Suppl. 3 (1955), p.171,n.3.

518. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p.206.

519. Šurpu II,3.

520. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.16,14(variants); p.26,26; p.38,33; p.78,45; p.84,5.

521. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 34(1965), p.125,131.

522. G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri", AfO 14(1941-1944), p.142,48-49; p.150,227-229.

Notes (continued)

523. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.16,14.
524. Ib., p.38,33,n.12.
525. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum",
OrNS 34(1965), p.127,r2-3 = LKA 114.
526. E. Leichty, Izbu, p.13.
527. R. Biggs, Šaziga, p.20,26-27; p.36,9; p.39,6'; p.41,28-29;
p.42,10; p.44,14; p.48,24; p.74,11; p.76,5.
528. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, pp.35-37, p.81.
529. CCT 5,1a,31.
530. BIN 6,97,20.
531. Cf. H. Hirsch, "Gott der Väter", AfO 21(1966), p.57.
532. AbB I,142,1-2.
533. AbB II,96,1.
534. AbB II,136,5-7.
535. AbB IV,144,4-5.
536. AbB V,39,7-9. Cf. the letter from the Kassite period:
d i n g i r . k a ^de n š a d a ša z i meš-ka
i-na-ša-ra, "thy god Nusku, who protects thy life",
O.R. Gurney, "Texts from Dur-kurigalzu", Iraq 11(1949),
p.141,8-9.
537. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.216.

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538. AbB I, 3, 7-9; 6, 7; 7, 7-8; 8, 6-7; 11, 6-7; 13, 6-7; 17, 7-8; 18, 7-8; 19, 3'-4'; 21, 7-9; 24, 5-6; 38, 8-9; 100, 7-8; 131, 7-8; AbB II, 81, 7-8; 82, 6-7; 85, 7-8; 92, 6-7; 96, 3; 159, 6-7. AbB III, 11, 3'-4'.
539. AbB I, 5, 9; 16, 8; 20, 6'; 45, 8; 72, 8; 80, 7.
AbB II, 113, 6-7.
AbB III, 52, 5; 61, 8-9.
AbB V, 146, 4'; 174, 5'; 239, 10-11; 257, 7; 266, 6.
540. AbB II, 162, 4.
541. AbB II, 170, 4-5. Cf. S. Dalley, "Old Babylonian Greetings Formulae and the Iltani Archive from Rimah, JCS 25(1973), pp. 82-83.
542. AbB V, 277, 4-6.
543. A. Goetze, "The Archive of Altā from Nippur", JCS 18(1964), p. 110.
544. S.D. Simmons, "Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere", JCS 15(1961), p. 52, 120, 24.
545. A. Goetze, "Old Babylonian Documents from Sippar in the Collection of the Catholic University of America", JCS 11(1957), p. 21, 2.
546. Ib., p. 30, 6 and S.D. Simmons, "Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere", JCS 14(1960), p. 123, 102, 17.
547. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p. 19.

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548. ARM VII,185,i,17'; XV,p.149.
549. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.8a.
550. Ib., p.40b.
551. Ib., p.58b and D.J. Wiseman, "The Nimrud Tablets 1949",
Iraq 12(1950), p.190.
552. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.106b.
553. Ib., p.210b and D.J. Wiseman, "The Nimrud Tablets 1949",
Iraq 12(1950), p.200.
554. B. Parker, "Economic Tablets from the Temple of Mamu at
Balawat", Iraq 25(1963), p.100, BT 138,12.
555. K. Tallqvist, APN, p.150b.
556. AbB IV,14,4, and J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.210.
557. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.210.
558. AbB IV,56,8 and AbB V,238,8. Also H.H. von der Osten,
Ancient Oriental Seals, OIP 22,no.268.
559. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.210.
560. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.3.
561. Ib., p.11.
562. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.74,26.
563. Ib., p.64,16-17; cf. p.22,2-6 to Enlil(?).
564. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum",
OrNS 36(1967), p.11,11'-12'.
565. Šurpu IV,11-13.

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566. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955), p.147, takes šibit tulī as meaning an attack of the chest (Angriff an meine Brust). But cf. CAD S, pp.165-166, sub šibtu B, which gives the meaning "(oath performed by) touching the breast (of the partner)" and translates the passage as referring to a seizure caused by breaking the oath".
567. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955), p.146,12-13. Cf. ib., 50(1956), p.32,23-26, prayer to Ea and Marduk to remove the effect of sin against a man's god and goddess.
568. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.26,24. Cf. ib., p.22,10-14 (Šu-ila to Enlil); p.80,71 (Šu-ila to Marduk).
569. E. Reiner, "Fortune-telling in Mesopotamia", JNES 19(1960), pp.23-35.
570. Ib., p.26,46-47 = STT 73.
571. W.G. Lambert, "An Incantation of the Maqlû Type", AfO 18 (1957-1958), p.294,84.
572. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.38,35.
573. R. Labat, Hémérologies, p.60,38-39. Cf. other references to the phrase abbūtam šabātu in CAD S, p.24b, sub šabātu; and B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort'", MAOG 4,1/2

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(1928-1929), pp.309-310: "im akkadischen Gebet aller Zeiten wie auch in den Fluchformeln findet sich häufig die Bitte um Intervention eines niederen Gottes beim höheren".

574. E. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.289,171.
575. TCL 17,37,2, quoted CAD I/J, p.95b sub ilu.
576. H. Ranke, PN, p.107a, and A. Goetze, "The Archive of Alṭā from Nippur", JCS 18(1964), p.11. Cf. J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.139.
577. AbB I,34,3; H. Klengel, "Drei altbabylonische Urkunden betreffend Felder von Ugbabtum-Priesterinnen", JCS 23 (1970), p.128,24, and H. Ranke, PN, p.105b. Cf. Ili-bānī, H. Ranke, PN, p.99b and J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.215.
578. Maqlû VI,118-119.
579. E.I. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, I, p.124,257.
580. Ib., I,p.126,161. Cf. I,p.113,145 for another proverb which connects the mother and the personal god, but Gordon gives his translation of it as "not quite certain":
 g i š . š u b ú s . s a . a b a m a . z u ḫ u l .
 l a . a b k a š₄ d u g₄ . g a . a b d i n g i r .
 z u ḫ u l . l a . a b , "accept thy lot (and) make thy mother happy, act promptly(?) and make thy (personal) god

Notes (continued)

happy". Cf. the prayer addressed to his god by a man who says: [tu-š]e-li-da-an-ni, "thou madest me to be born", J. Nougayrol, "Une version ancienne du 'Juste Souffrant'", RB 59(1952), p.244.

581. The idea that creation implies an enduring relation, imparting a certain value to the creature, is contained in an animal fable published by E.I. Gordon, "Sumerian Animal Proverbs and Fables 'Collection Five'", JCS 12 (1958), p.10, proverb 5: a m . s i n í . t e . a . n i g [ú...] n í g . m à(?) . g i . n a m n u . g á l ... a n (?). t i . r í . k ú^{mušen} . e m u . n a . n [i . . i b . g i₄ . g i₄] u m à . e i g i . e n . m u . š è z a(?) . a . g i₁₈ . n a m(?) a l . d í m . m e . e n . e . š e, "the elephant boasted about himself ... 'there is nothing like me in existence' ... the wren(?) then answered him 'but I in my (own) small way was created just as you were' (translation by Gordon). An incantation designed to be recited at the same time as a bird was released, as part of the royal ritual mis pî, is also based on the idea that man shares the quality of being a creature with the animal kingdom: at-ta m u š e n a n^e bi-nu-ut [...] ana-ku a-mi-lu-tu bi-nu-ut d [i n g i r...] aš-sur

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z i -ka-ma ú-kal-lim-k[a nûra] at-ta ^du t u ^ši ú-šur

z [i -ia] ki-i šá m u š e n an-ni-i na-piš-ta

[qa-šu] ia-a-ši na-piš-ti qí-šá, "thou art a bird creature

of ... I am a man creature of the god ... I preserve thy

life and let thee see the light; thou, O Shamash,

preserve my life. As I spare the life of this bird,

do thou spare my life", G. Meier, "Die Ritualtafel der

Serie 'Mundwaschung'", AfO 12(1937-1939), p.43, 17-23.

It is possible that the practice of releasing birds,

which is referred to succinctly in the Hemerology

published by Labat under the rubric: m u š e n g í d^{tum}

lu-maš-šèr (R. Labat, Hémérolgies p.90,12; p.112,22; p.170,

35), "let him release a captive bird", is based on the same

idea of shared creatureliness; see above 2:35 the reasons

for attributing the actions contained in this collection

to private individuals as well as to the king.

582. Cf. AHw, p.58b; AbB I,108,7; and A. Goetze, "The Archive of Altā from Nippur", JCS 18(1964), p.110 (three times); also J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.39 and p.260. Cf. CAD A II, p.176b for a discussion of the semantics of the word aplu.

583. Cf. AHw p.616a and J.J. Stamm, ANG, p.260.

584. Šurpu II,1. Cf. m à . e n e n n i d u m u d i n g i r -šú, "I, NN, son of his god", Maqlû II,85.

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585. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955), p.40,39. Cf. ib., RA 48(1954), p.82,17 and id., Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Zauberpriesters, p.26,8; also the incantations where the phrase occurs in Sumerian: d u m u d i n g i r . r a . n a ; R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 39(1970), p.113,4; A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische Beschwörungen aus Boğazköy", ZA 11(1939), p.15,19; G.R. Castellino, "Incantation to Utu", Oriens Antiquus 8(1969), p.16,109,117; S. Lachenbacher, "Note sur l'Ardat-lilî", RA 65(1971), p.128,II,18'; E.E. Knudsen, "Two Nimrud Incantations of the Utukku type", Iraq 27(1965), p.166,70; J. Nougayrol, "Une amulette de Syrie et un nouvel 'oeu/il'", RA 64(1970), p.68.
586. Šurpu V-VI,169,171. Cf. the invocation in a Šu-ila to Marduk: ana š u^{II} . m e š s i g₅ . m e š š a d i n g i r i a₅ <ana> s i g₅ -ti pi-iq-da-ni, "entrust me for good to the favourable hands of my god", E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.74,26.
587. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.106,17-18. Cf. the same phrase in the bīt mēseri exorcism: d i n g i r i a l i - i z - z i z i n a i m - n i - a^d XV -ia li-iz-ziz ina Šu-me-li-ia, G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri", AfO 14(1941-1944), p.142,12-13.

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588. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.22, 7.
589. AbB I,18,9.
590. Cf. note 538 supra for references.
591. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian", JAOS 61(1941), p.251 and AHw, p.503.
592. G. Pettinato, Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern, II, p.23,69.
593. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, "Idiomatic Accadian", JAOS 61(1941), p.251, and AHw pp.762-763.
594. G. Pettinato, Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern, II, p.63,29.
595. E. Leichty, Izbu, p.193,18'.
596. Dream-book, p.323,y+10.
597. BWL, p.70,21-22.
598. BWL, p.146,56-57. Cf. also the "Precepts and Admonitions" which recommend daily acts of devotion to the personal god and conclude i-rib-ka bi-lat, "thy income will be (measured in) talent(s)", BWL, p.104,140 (reading proposed by CAD I/J, p.174b, sub irbu).
599. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.108,9; p.229,7. Cf. p.92,11: d i n g i r -šú šu-u.
600. F. Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen text VAT 7525", Afo 18(1957-1958), p.66,II,37-38.

Notes (continued)

601. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.106,11.
602. E. Reiner, "Fortune-telling in Mesopotamia", JNES 19(1960), p.33,56 = STT 73.
603. W.G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians", AfO 19(1959-1960), p.57,108. That the god mentioned is the personal god is indicated by the next line: šá i-šú-u d i n g i r -šú [ku] š-šu-da hi-ta-tu-šú, "sins are warded off from the one who has his god".
604. AbB I,5,9; 16,8; 20,6; 45,8; 72,8; 80,7.
AbB II,113,6-7.
AbB III,52,5; 61,8-9.
AbB V,146,4'; 174,5'; 239,10-11; 257,7; 266,6.
605. BWL, pp.146-148,49-60.
606. W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, Atra-hasIs, p.68,378-382.
 Similar passages on p.68,393-397; pp.68-70,405-409;
 p.74,9-13; pp.74-76,23-27.
607. Cf. also note 170 supra.
608. W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, Atra-hasIs, p.155.
609. BWL, p.146,54-55. Cf. W.G. Lambert, art. "Handwaschung", RLA IV, pp.97-98.
610. R. Labat, Hémérologies, p.54,59; p.74,47; p.82,14; p.90,9, 11,14; p.104,18; p.180,38. Offering for his god and his

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- goddess, p.108,64; p.114,30; p.140,32,33; p.144,60,61.
- R. Labat, Calendrier, p.101,1-11.
611. E. Ebeling, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Beschwörungsserie Namburbi", RA 49(1955), p.184,16-17 = KAR 38.
612. Cf. references in CAD I/J, p.55b sub ikkibu.
613. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Asakku", RA 38(1941), pp.41-43.
614. Šurpu,II,5.
615. Ib., IV,4.
616. KAR 45,411,10 = W. von Soden, SAHG, p.272.
617. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum", OrNS 36(1967), p.15,23-27.
618. Šurpu,II,32.
619. BWL, p.40,33-35.
620. Ib., p.32,43-44.
621. Ib., p.46,112-113.
622. Šurpu,VII,20.
623. Dream-book, p.325, tablet B,r x + 10.
624. F. Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525", Afo 18(1957-1958), p.66,II,42-45. Cf. J.V. Kinnier Wilson, "Leprosy in Ancient Mesopotamia", RA 60(1966), pp.49-50.
625. M. Schorr, UAZP, p.48,no.25,9-14. Cf. ib., no.18,15-18; no.209,28-29.

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626. D.J. Wiseman, Alalakh, 57,6 according to CAD I/J, p.97a, sub ilu.
627. E. Reiner, "Fortune-telling in Mesopotamia", JNES 19(1960), p.32,37-38 = STT 73.
628. References in CAD I/J, pp.101-102 sub ilu 5.
629. W.G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians", AfO 19(1959-1960), p.57,109-110.
630. Cf. references in CAD I/J, p.70a, sub ilānû.
631. CT 38,17,95; quoted CAD I/J, p.101b sub ilu.
632. Oppenheim does not use the term "de-mythologisation" but he says "the four protective 'spirits' in Mesopotamia are the individualized and mythologized carriers of certain specific psychological aspects of one basic phenomenon, the realisation of the self, the personality, as it relates the ego to the outside world and, at the same time, separates one from the other", Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.199-200. This seems to me to be an attempt at de-mythologisation. It also seems to me to be unhelpful, since it tells us nothing about the ancient Babylonians and interprets their beliefs in terms which are far from clear and which would be challenged by many Western thinkers. Obscurum per obscurius is not a good method. It is significant that the term and concept of "de-mythologisation" were evolved by Rudolf

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Bultmann in an attempt to distinguish valid from invalid elements in the expression of Christian belief for those who stand within the Christian tradition and are committed to its foundation documents and credal expressions, cf.

E.M. Good, "The Meaning of Demythologisation", in The Theology of Rudolf Bultmann, ed. C.W. Kegley (London, 1966), p.22. If one is prepared to examine Mesopotamian religion without feeling either committed to it or repelled by it, I do not see why one should feel impelled to de-mythologize its beliefs. The attempt to do so is in any case especially surprising in the case of Oppenheim in view of what he says about the impossibility of crossing the conceptual barrier between Western concepts and Mesopotamian polytheism, Ancient Mesopotamia, pp.182-183; cf. supra 1.15.

633. B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, "Nachträge zu dem Artikel betr. Asarhaddon, Assurbanipal usw.", ZA 37(1927), pp.215-222.

634. A. Spycket, "La déesse Lama", RA 54(1960), pp.73-84.

635. D.J. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur", Iraq 22(1960), pp.166-171.

636. Ib., pp.167-168.

637. Ib., p.170.

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638. W. von Soden, "Die Schutzgenien Lamassu und Schedu in der Babylonisch-Assyrischen Literatur", Bagh.Mitt. 3(1964), pp.148-156.
639. A. Falkenstein, OLZ 46(1943), 353, review of N. Schneider, Die Götternamen von Ur III.
640. N. Schneider, "Zu einige theophorischen Götternamen der Ur III-Urkunden", OrNS 14(1945), p.9. Cf. also H. Limet, L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3e dynastie d'Ur, pp.129-131.
641. W. von Soden, "Die Schutzgenien Lamassu und Schedu in der Babylonisch-Assyrischen Literatur", Bagh.Mitt., p.149.
642. Ib., p.151. "Wir dürfen also in allen diesen Fällen nicht nach einem Entweder-Oder fragen, wo für die Babyloniern ein Sowohl-Als auch selbstverständlich war".
643. Ib., p.152.
644. A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p.201.
645. Ib., p.206.
646. CAD L, p.61a sub lamassu.
647. AbB, I, 15,1-6.
648. AbB, I, 61,6-10.
649. TCL, 17,37,1-2.
650. AbB, I,7,23-25.
651. Cf. KU, 25,48-58, and note 689 below.

Notes (continued)

652. AbB I,2,2; 20,12'; II,169,5. H. Klengel, "Drei altbabylonische Urkunden betreffend Felder von Ugbabtum-Priesterinnen", JCS 23(1970), p.127,6.
653. S. Greengus, "Old-Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites", JCS 20(1966), p.56; C.J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-1938", Iraq 7(1940), no.999; no.1001.
654. AbB III, 59,7.
655. AbB III, 48,12.
656. C.J. Gadd, "Tablets from Ghagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-1938", Iraq 7(1940), no.992.
657. AbB V, 180,1.
658. AbB V, 233,4.
659. ARM IX, 24,52; 27,24.
660. ARM XIII, 1,i,69; ii,56.
661. ARM IX, 24,28; 27,14; XIII, 1,i,74.
662. Cf. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.10; G. Eisser and J. Lewy, Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe, 9,78.
663. Cf. H. Hirsch, Untersuchungen, p.18.
664. A.T. Clay, Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur dated in the reign of Cassite Rulers, XV, 163,38.
665. Ib., II, no.2,106,13.

Notes (continued)

666. Ib., II, no.2,25,3.
667. G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri",
Afo 14(1941-1944), p.147,130.
668. E. Ebeling, "Zwei Tafeln der Serie utukku limnūtu",
Afo 16(1952-1953), p.299,28.
669. Ib., p.303,19. Cf. p.299,38; p.301,27.
670. E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p.36b,8-18.
671. Ib., p.108,20-21.
672. Ib., p.18,33-34; following the variants of D,n.14 and 15.
673. Ib., p.22,n.12.
674. Ib., p.106,17-19.
675. Ib., p.38,37.
676. Ib., p.82,110-111.
677. Ib., p.60,16-17.
678. Ib., p.60,18-19.etc.
679. F. Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen
Text VAT 7525", Afo 18(1957-1958), p.67,iii,28-30.
680. J. Nougayrol, "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne
conservés au Musée du Louvre", RA 44(1950), p.27,33.
681. E. Leichty, Izbu, p.173,117.
682. R. Labat, Calendrier, p.74,7a; p.76,7a; p.80,7b; p.114,4.
683. E.g. Ib., p.132,8(variant); A.L. Oppenheim, Dream Book,
p.325,II,r ii, x + 9.

Notes (continued)

684. A. Boissier, Choix, I, p.46, 11.
685. BWL, p.70, 21-22.
686. Ib., p.32, 43-48.
687. Ib., p.60, 80.
688. Ib., p.60, 96-97.
689. KH, xli, 48-58: še-du-um la-ma-súm d i n g i r . d i n g i r
e-ri-bu-ut é . s a g . i l a s i g₄ é . s a g . i l a
i-gi-ir-ri-e u₄-mi-ša-am i-na ma-ḥar ^da m a r . u t u
be-lá-ia ṣar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia li-dam-mi-qú; "may the
šēdu and the lamassu, the deities entering Esagila, (even)
the bricks of Esagila give me daily a good report before
Marduk my lord and Ṣarpānītum my lady".
690. H. Limet and M. Trokay, "Un sceau cassite au Musée de
Téhéran", RA 63(1969), p.75.
691. Ib., p.75, 1-5.

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