

A NEO-ASSYRIAN LITERARY TEXT

Andrew R. GEORGE — London

Many works of Standard Babylonian literature known from Neo-Assyrian copies include isolated Assyrianisms, but the number of literary texts which employ the Neo-Assyrian dialect is a small one. With the collection of these under a single cover scheduled for early publication by the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project of the University of Helsinki, opportunity is taken to present an edition to the genre, an almost complete tablet from Ashurbanipal's libraries*.

K. 1354 came to notice as a "list of temples" in Bezold's *Catalogue* (p. 273, quoting ll. 1-3 and 12-14), but while temples — and cities, too — feature prominently in the text, their enumeration is not for any topographical or lexical purpose. The listing of cities and temples, often in a set sequence, is a well-established and recurrent feature of Sumerian-Babylonian liturgical literature. While not of the same tradition, the text preserved on K. 1354 also has the appearance of a cultic song.

The text begins with a repeated formula which presents a long list of cult-centres and their temples (ll. 1-17). Uruk is mentioned first, and then Babylon and Borsippa. These three cities are the subject of special attention, in that epithets mark them out as personal to the "voice" of the text ("my principal chamber, ... house of my pleasure, ... my ancestral home, etc."). But the repetition of Uruk, here and throughout the text, makes it clear that it is the Sumerian city which is the principal place of interest. Uruk, Babylon and Borsippa are followed by other cities of Babylonia. These lack epithets of the kind bestowed on the former, and instead the name of their respective divine patron accompanies them: Bēl-šarbe in Šapazzu, Nergal in Cuthah, Ištarān in Dēr and Šamaš in Sippar; Kiš—E-hursag-kalamma also appears, but without divine residents Zababa and Baba (an omission that is put right later). The change in formulation indicates that these

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places have a less especial significance to the text's "voice". The Babylonian cities are followed by the cult-centres of Assyria, which are also accompanied by their principal deities: Aššur in Libbi-āle-Aššur, Ninlil (Ištar) in Nineveh and Arbil, Ninurta in Kalhu and Sîn in Harran. The presence of these cities owes nothing to the traditions of the Sumero-Babylonian corpus of liturgical texts, but is entirely unsurprising given the text's Assyrian origin.

At line 18 the formulaic construction of the text is suspended: a passage of four lines introduces some variation of vocabulary and syntax, and acts as a bridge between the repetitious opening and closing passages. This is also the most damaged part of the tablet, and unfortunately what might have been a vital and informative section of the text is not completely recovered. The conclusion of the composition (ll. 22-39) reverts to a formulaic mode, in which, if we interpret correctly the scribe's marks of repetition, three phrases recur in turn, the major variation being in the substitution one for another of the cult-centres and gods already encountered. These are met in the same order as before, except for an unexplained inversion of Dēr and Kiš; but this time the litany breaks off after the first seven cities, probably leaving Sippar and the Assyrian cult-centres (and their divine residents) to be supplied by the reader, after the pattern established in the preceding lines.

Problems concerning the identity of the composition's "voice", the function of the text and the occasion of its composition will be discussed after the text itself is presented.

K. 1354

Text

- 1 [u]ruk(UNUG)^{KI} ÁG KIMIN ÁG É.AN.NA *bēt ha-mu-ti-ia*
- 2 KIMIN ÁG É *se-qu-ru-tu bēt la-le-ia*
- 3 KIMIN ÁG *bābilu*(KÁ.DINGIR.RA)^{KI} *bēt abi*(AD)-*ia*¹(AD)
- 4 KIMIN ÁG É.SAG.GÍL *bēt [is]inni*(EZEN) *lu-le-ia*
- 5 KIMIN ÁG É.HI.LI.GAR *bēt ha-du-ti-ia*
- 6 KIMIN ÁG *bár-sipa*^{KI} *bē[t š]ar-ru-ti-ia*
- 7 KIMIN ÁG É.ZI.DA *a-di* ^d*na-bi-a-¹ni¹*
- 8 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*šá-pa-zu a-di* ^d*bēl-šarbe*(LUGAL. ^{GIŠ}ÁSAL)
- 9 KIMIN ÁG *gú-du₈-a*^{KI} *a-¹di¹* ^d*nergal*(U.GUR)
- 10 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*de-ru a-di* ^d*ištarān*(¹KA¹.DI)
- 11 KIMIN ÁG *kiš*^{KI} ¹É.HUR.SAG.KALAM.MA¹
- 12 KIMIN ÁG *sippar*(ZIMBIR)^{KI} *a-di* ^d*šamaš*(UTU)
- 13 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*libbi-āle*(ŠÀ.URU) *a-di* ^d*aš-šur*
- 14 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*ni-nu-a a-¹di¹* ^d*mullissi*(¹NIN¹.LÍL)
- 15 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*arba-il¹ a-¹di¹* ^d*mullissi*(¹NIN¹.LÍL)
- 16 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*kal-ha¹ a-¹di¹* ^d*nin¹-urta*
- 17 KIMIN ÁG ^{URU}*harrān*(KASKAL) *a-¹di¹* ^d*sîn*(30)¹

- 18 *uruk*^{KI} *hi-ri* KIMIN *hi-ri* x x x *ka²-a²-a²-ma²-nu*
 19 *ša uruk*^{KI} *ta* x x x *ta-kal-an-ni*
 20 *ša É*.AN.NA *i-ša-ta-te-e-šu*
 21 *ba²* x x *É se-qur-ru-tú ta-al-ta-na-q[a²-t]a² ina libbi(ŠÀ)-iá*
 22 *ša uruk*^{KI} *issi(TA*) lib-bi-ia a-dáb-bu-u[b]*
 23 *[ša] É*.AN.NA *us-sa-né-la-a*
 24 [KIMIN] *ša bābilu(KÁ.DINGIR.RA)*^{KI} : (*ussanellâ*)
 25 *[ša^dbē]l(EN) u^dbēlet(GAŠAN*)-bāb-ili*^{KI} *i-ša-ta-te-šu e-k[a]l-a-in-ni*
 26 *[ša uruk*^{KI} *issi(TA*) lib-bi-ia a-dáb-bu-ub*
 27 *[ša É.SAG.GÍL] u É.HI.LI.GAR ul-ta-né-l[a-a]*
 28 *[ša] u[uruk*^{KI} *issi(TA*) li]b-bi-ia a-dáb-bu-ub*
 29 *[ša] b[ár-sip]a ul-ta-né-la-a*
 30 *ša É.ZI.DA a-di^dna-bi-a-ni i-ša-ta-te-šu ekkalā(GU₇)-a-[in-ni]*
 31 *ša uruk*^{KI} *issi(TA*) libbi(ŠÀ)-iá a-dáb-bu-ub*
 32 *ša^{URU}ša-pa-zu ul-ta-né-la-a*
 33 *emmar(IGI)-an-ni^dbēl(EN)-sar-be ša i-ša-ta-te-šu ek-kal-a-in-n[i]*
 34 *ša uruk*^{KI} *issi(TA*) libbi(ŠÀ)-iá a-dáb-bu-ub ša gú^d-du^g-a^{KI} us-sa-né-la-a*
 35 *ša^dnergal(U.GUR) a-di^dla-az : (išātātēšu ekkalā²inni)*
 36 KIMIN *ša kiš*^{KI} *É.HUR.SAG.KALAM.MA : (ussanellâ)*
 37 *ša^dza-ba⁴-ba⁴ u^dba-ba⁶ : (išātātēšu ekkalā²inni)*
 38 KIMIN *ša^{URU}de-ri : (ussanellâ)*
 39 *ša^dištarān(KA.DI) u^dšarrat(GAŠAN*)-de-ri i-ša-ta-te-ša ekkalā(GU₇)-a-a-in-ni*

Translation

- 1 Uruk ..., Uruk ..., E-anna, my principal chamber;
- 2 Uruk ..., *ziqurrat*, house of my pleasure;
- 3 Uruk ..., Babylon, my ancestral home;
- 4 Uruk ..., E-sagil, house of the festival of my delight;
- 5 Uruk ..., E-hiligar, house of my happiness;
- 6 Uruk ..., Borsippa, house of my kingship;
- 7 Uruk ..., E-zida, along with Little Nabû;
- 8 Uruk ..., Šapazzu, along with Bēl-šarbe;
- 9 Uruk ..., Cuthah, along with Nergal;
- 10 Uruk ..., Dēr, along with Ištarān;
- 11 Uruk ..., Kiš-E-hursag-kalamma;
- 12 Uruk ..., Sippar, along with Šamaš;
- 13 Uruk ..., Libbi-āle, along with Aššur;
- 14 Uruk ..., Nineveh, along with Ninlil;
- 15 Uruk ..., Arbil, along with Ninlil;
- 16 Uruk ..., Kalhu, along with Ninurta;
- 17 Uruk ..., Harran, along with Sîn;

- 18 Choose Uruk! choose Uruk! ... constantly(?).
 19 Of Uruk, its(?) ... consumes me!
 20 The fires of E-anna (consume me)!
 21 ... the *ziqqurra*t keeps taking away(?) from me!
 22 That of Uruk I ponder in my heart;
 23 [that of] E-anna I ever extol!
 24 [That of Uruk I ponder in my heart;] that of Babylon (I ever extol);
 25 the fires [of] Bēl and Bēlet-Bābili consume me!
 26 [That of Uruk] I ponder in my heart;
 27 [that of E-sagil] and E-hiligar I ever extol!
 28 [That of Uruk] I ponder in my heart;
 29 that of [Borsippa] I ever extol;
 30 the fires of E-zida, along with Little Nabû, consume [me]!
 31 That of Uruk I ponder in my heart;
 32 that of Šapazzu I ever extol;
 33 Bēl-šarbe sees me, whose fires consume me!
 34 That of Uruk I ponder in my heart; that of Cuthah I ever extol;
 35 (the fires) of Nergal, along with Laz, (consume me)!
 36 That of Uruk I ponder in my heart; that of Kiš-E-hursag-kalamma (I ever extol);
 37 (the fires) of Zababa and Baba (consume me)!
 38 That of Uruk I ponder in my heart; that of Dēr (I ever extol);
 39 the fires of Ištarān and the Queen of Dēr consume me!

Notes

1ff. KIMIN can hardly refer to anything but *uruk*^{KI}, which therefore must be understood to introduce each line of the opening section. ÁG is left untranslated, for the lack of certain interpretation. The beginning of line 1 may find a parallel in the beginning of line 18, *Uruk hīrī* KIMIN *hīrī*, in which we take *hīrī* to be imp. f. sg. of *hī'āru*. If so ÁG will represent the corresponding part of another verb; the obvious candidate is *ra'āmu*, "to love", for which ÁG is the common logogram in Assyria, especially (usually representing the transitive participle, *rā'imū*, but also finite parts of the verb, as in royal inscriptions: Scheil, *Tn. II*, pl. 6, 52; *AKA*, p. 205, 65; and in personal names of the type DN-*napultī-ira'am*: *ADD* 151, rev. 7; 311, rev. 14; 922, iv 5; Appendix 1, iii 31). It may be, then, that the incipit of this text should be read *Uruk rāmī Uruk rāmī*, "Love Uruk! love Uruk!"

5 Coupled as it is with Marduk's E-sagil, here and in line 27, É.HI.LI.GAR is a variant writing of KÁ.HI.LI.SÛ (strictly the gate of Zarpanītum's cella in E-sagil, but a name also used for the cella itself), with which one may compare the orthography KÁ.HI.LI.GAR in one manuscript of *Ludlul* IV (*BWL*, pl. 18, VAT 9442 = MS u, 90). É.HI.LI.GAR, "House of Luxury", can now be seen to be the correct reading in

another NA literary text, *STT* 366, 1 (cf. Reiner, *JNES* 26, p. 196; Deller, *Assur* 3/4, pp. 4 and 7). There it is the starting point for a procession of the goddess Banītu to a juniper garden. Banītu, “Beautiful Lady” (or perhaps Bānītu, “Creatress”), is rather an obscure figure (see Deller, *loc. cit.*, p. 6), but the evidence of the shrine name suggests that the name Banītu, in *STT* 366 at least, is an epithet of Zarpanītum (note that the name of Marduk’s consort is often etymologized in the late period as *Zēr-Banīti*, “Seed of B.”: *CT* 46 53, ii 10: ^dze-er-ba-ni-tum; Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 12, a 10; 23, Ep. 30, 19.31; 84, 37: ^dNUMUN-DÛ^{tum/tuū}; Pinches, *Texts in Bab. Wedge-Writing*, no. 4, rev. 4: ze-er-pa-ni-tum; Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 94, 5: [^d]NUM[UN-ba]-n[i-tú]). Such an identification is supported by the presence in the procession of Madānu and Amurru, both members of the court of Marduk and Zarpanītum (respectively *guzalû*, “chamberlain”, and *mubbibu*, ritual “cleanser”, of E-sagil: *Šurpu* II 157; *An* II 242: *CAD* M/1, p. 11; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 84, 40).

7 Nabû’s name with infixed *-ān-* is characteristic of prayer and psalmody: see Pallis, *Akitu*, pl. 10, 20: ^rd^{na}-bi-ia-nu-ú-a, “my little Nabû”; *KAR* 122, obv. 9: ^dna-bi-a-[ni]; Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 116, A 16: ^dna-bi-ia-a-ni; and cf. *MIO* 12, p. 49, 15: *mu-ū’-a-ti-ni*. On the diminutive force of the infix see *GAG* § 56 r.

8 In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II the cult-centre of Bēl-šarbe is Al-Bāš, where his temple is E-dur-gina (e.g. Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368 f., ii 60: É.DÛR.GI.NA *bīt* ^dLUGAL.GIŠĀSAL *ša āl ba-aš*). His association with Šapazzu in the present text is evidence which supports R. Zadok’s proposal that “Šapazzu could be understood as a late and ‘vulgar’ form of Bāš” (*Rép. géogr.* VIII, p. 71 f., for both toponyms).

13 References to *Libbi-āle*, “Inner City”, first the centre of Aššur and then a by-name for the city as a whole, as here, are now collected by Nashef, *Rép. géogr.* V, p. 177 f.; Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* VIII, p. 33; and Deller-Postgate, *AfO* 32, p. 73.

14-15 The name of the great Ninevite goddess, Ištar of the temple E-mašmaš, is commonly written ^dNIN.LÍL in the time of the Sargonids (see Menzel, *Tempel* I, p. 117). The cult of her counterpart at Arbil centred on the temple E-gašan-kalamma (*ibid.*, p. 6 ff.), where she is at once Bēltīya, Nanāy, Irnina and Ištar (*LKA* 32, obv. 20-1: Hymn to Arbil).

16 Kalhu became a cult-centre of Ninurta only when Ashurnasirpal II made it his capital city, as his Banquet Stele records (Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, p. 33, 53-5).

22 ff. The restoration of KIMIN in l. 24 follows the example of ll. 36 and 38. We understand it to call for repetition of l. 22, unchanged, as can be expected from the pattern which then emerges in the ensuing passage. This pattern also demands that the marks of repetition (:) in ll. 24, 36 and 38 stand for *ussanellâ*, while those of ll. 35 and 37 represent the phrase *išātātēšu ekkalā’inni* (the four marks of repetition in ll. 35-38 are out of step with their lines, as the copy shows, perhaps having been inscribed as an afterthought). Accordingly the pattern of ll. 22-39 can be represented by the sequence ABABCABABCABC*ABCABCABC, where A = *ša Uruk issi libbīya adabbub*, B = *ša GN/TN ussanellâ*, and C = *ša DN išātātēšu ekkalā’inni* (C* = the variant line 33).

The syntax of this closing section presents real difficulties, which the translation makes no attempt to gloss over. Every line except one is introduced by the determinative-relative pronoun *ša*, but this governs a relative clause only in that exception (l. 33, provisionally understanding *ekkalā'inni* as a subjunctive under Babylonian influence: the expected Assyrian form should show suffix and subjunctive — *ekkalā-ninnī-ni* or, contracted, *ekkalannī-ni*, cf. *GAG* § 84 d.h.). *ša* in the regular lines of the pattern must therefore be explained as other than a relative pronoun. In lines of type C it could well be anticipatory, being resumed by what follows, and the translation takes this approach; the objection is that the pronominal suffix on *išātāte* is always singular, even though there are lines where its supposed antecedent is plural (25 and 39). In other lines *ša* stands alone with the name of a city or temple. But *ša Uruk*, “that of Uruk”, in lines of type A hardly refers to the goddess of Uruk: the convention in such matters is to use the gentilic adjective, as in the “Urukean (goddess)” (NA: *Urkittu*, NB: *Aška'itu*: *CAD* A/2, p. 272). The same difficulty attends the interpretation of *ša* GN/TN in lines of type B. It may be considered, then, that *ša* in line of types A and B probably has the abstract connotation of “(good) things pertaining to”, as in personal names of the kind *Ša-DN-damqā*, “The-(Deeds)-of-DN-are-Fine”, and *Ša-DN-dubbu*, “Speak-of-the-(Excellence)-of-DN”. Thus lines of type A, *ša Uruk issi libbīya adabbub*, give a translation “I ponder in my heart the (excellence) of Uruk” (or perhaps, reading TA* as *issu*, “I speak from my heart of the (excellence) of Uruk”).

Similarly, in lines of type B one may probably translate “I ever extol the (excellence) of GN/TN”. Although it is possible to extract from *us-sa-NI-la-a* forms of several verbs (e.g. *nālu*, *šalā'u*), the verb of these lines is understood as III/3 pres. vent. of *elû*. In Babylonian dialects this verb appears with the sense “exalt”, “extol” in the II stem, but the present interpretation of *ussanellâ* assumes that Neo-Assyrian can use the III stem in this meaning; cf. the NA letter *ABL* 85, obv. 10 ff., rev. 3, where *šēlu'u* has the similar connotation of promotion in rank (note further that “in Assyrian often Š [III] is used instead of D [II]: a good example is the technical term, Assyrian *mušašnītu*, but Babylonian *mušannītu* — see OrNS 53, p. 89 f.”, private communication of Deller). The variant writing of the word as *ul-ta-né-la-a*, ll. 27, 29 and 32, is a MA form, or one under SB influence: lapse into SB forms is a feature typical of the NA literary language (Deller, OrNS 34, p. 460 f.).

Lines of the type C, where as proposed above *ša* is anticipatory, find something of a parallel in another NA psalm, *STT* 65, 10: *i-š[a]t É.ZI.DA taq-qa-mu lib-bi*, “the fire of E-zida burns my heart” (see Lambert, RA 53, p. 130; Deller, OrNS 34, p. 458). There the phrase expresses the worshipper’s single-minded devotion to Nabû and his temple, and a similar sense is suitable in our lines. The reduplicated plural *išātātu* is hitherto found in Mari letters, with the meaning “fire signals”, and in MB letters, meaning “abscesses”. Here it will probably refer to the braziers and torches with which temples were customarily illuminated at night.

* * *

As interpreted here this text is a psalm composed to the glory of Uruk. According to the psalm's opening lines E-anna in Uruk is the speaker's *bēt hammūti* (private living quarters, or "boudoirs"), and its *ziqqurra* is the "house of my pleasure". The prominence given to Uruk and E-anna suggests that the "voice" expressing these personal associations is Ištar, the great goddess of Uruk. Though in the south the worship of this goddess was centred on Uruk, Ištar was a universal object of devotion in Mesopotamia, and the literary device of having her list her many sanctuaries and cult-centres goes back to Sumerian times¹. The enumeration of cult-centres in the present text can be seen as a late example of this tradition, although the list reflects the cultic situation of the first millennium, not the early second (significant here is the absence of the old Sumerian centres, except Uruk and Hursag-kamma — both still important, and the presence of such Babylonian cities as Borsippa and Cuthah, of growing importance in the first millennium). A second difference is that while many of the cult-centres listed here are especially associated with Ištar (Uruk and Kiš-E-hursag-kamma, of course, but also Babylon, Aššur, Nineveh and Arbil) others are not, and the list should therefore be seen as enumerating the chief cult-centres of the land whatever their divine patronage². Nevertheless, Babylon and Borsippa, as well as Uruk, are marked out by means of epithets as particular important to the speaker. If the "voice" is indeed Ištar then her invocation of Babylon and Borsippa as her principal cult-centres after Uruk needs some explanation. Ištar is an important figure in Babylon as early as the time of Apil-Sîn, Hammurapi's grandfather, who built or rebuilt there her temple E-tur-kamma³. Since Ištar came to be known in this temple as the Lady of Babylon (*Bēlet-Bābili*), it is conceivable that Babylon, as well as Uruk, could be seen as, in the words of our psalm, her "ancestral home". By referring to E-sagil as the temple of her "delightful festival" the text may allude to the ritual processions of Bēlet-Bābili that are the backdrop for the Divine Love Lyrics, in which the goddess is the mistress of Marduk of E-sagil⁴. This relationship with Marduk may also justify Ištar's claim to E-hilgar, her "house of

¹ Cf. the opening of Inanna's Descent, and the ÉŠ.DAM hymns: the lists are collected and tabulated by Wilcke, *RIA* V, p. 78, to which add G.J.P. McEwan, *RA* 76, p. 187 f.

² A similar list of the chief cult-centres (*māhāzū lā šanān*) of Babylonia is given by Tiglathpileser III: Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, Kiš, Dilbat and Uruk (*IIR* 67, 11). The psalm's additions lie outside Babylonia proper, Dēr across the Tigris and Šapazzu probably somewhere north of Sippar. The principal cult-centres of Assyria are listed as here, with the additions of Kalzu, by Esarhaddon in the Vassal Treaties (Wiseman, *Iraq* 20, p. 31, 31-36).

³ Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 177, year 13.

⁴ Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 102 ff., ritual tablet.

happiness”, which is strictly the cella in E-sagil of Marduk’s wife, Zarpanītum. Otherwise Zarpanītum’s name, “She-of-Zarpan”, suggests that Marduk’s wife is herself an Ištar figure⁵. The invocation of Borsippa as “my house of kingship” is suited to a goddess closely associated with Nabû, who succeeded his father Marduk as the city’s divine patron and in the first millennium became joint king of the gods alongside him. Ištar’s position in Borsippa is not well documented. A divine “ménage-à-trois” seems to have operated there in the later periods, according to which Nabû’s wife is Tašmētum but his mistress the altogether better-known Nanāy. As Anu’s daughter Nanāy is also an important goddess in Uruk, of course, residing along with Ištar in E-anna and E-iri-gal⁶. In Babylon Nanāy first shares E-tur-kamma with Ištar and Anu⁷, but then occupies her own temple, E-me-urur⁸. So it might be that the “voice” which expresses such strong personal associations with Uruk, Babylon and Borsippa in the psalm’s opening lines should be considered Nanāy. However, Ištar and Nanāy are not always separable in the late period, and the deity of K. 1354 very probably reflects a syncretism between them.

If the latter halves of the lines of the opening section can thus be placed in the mouth of Ištar or Nanāy (or both), there can be less certainty with the ascription of the repeated formulaic first half, UNUG^{KI} ÁG KIMIN ÁG. In the notes we argue by analogy with *Uruk hīri Uruk hīri* in l. 18 that this phrase might be interpreted as “Love Uruk! love Uruk!”, the person addressed being feminine and singular. If so each line must be taken as divided in two parts, an entreaty by an interlocutor, probably human, for the goddess to cherish the city Uruk, and in response the goddess’ litany of cult-centres. Line 18 will then follow the same pattern, though what ought to be the response to “Choose Uruk! choose Uruk!” is mostly lost. The rest of the text, ll. 19-39, can be placed in the mouth of the interlocutor, being a repetitious affirmation of the psalmist’s zeal for Uruk and the other cult-centres of Babylonia and Assyria.

The presence of what appears to be a dialogue and the formulaic pattern of the composition suggest that this is not a personal psalm of prayer of the kind addressed, for example, to Tašmētum for Ashurbanipal (*KAR 122*). Rather, K. 1354 is considered a song for use in the cult. Much of the liturgy employed in the Assyrian cult — at least after Sennacherib’s time — belongs to the Sumero-Babylonian repertoire of Babylon and the south⁹. However, Neo-Assyrian liturgy was not excluded from the cult, as is shown by

⁵ Cf. Aška’itu, Aššurītu, Nināyītu and Dērītu? The place Zarpan is known from a topographical text, BM 66534, 9 (unpub.), and the myth K. 6794+9418, 3 and 5 (see *CAD S*, p. 112). Zarpanītum as Bēltīya is certainly seen as Ištar in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (*CT 46 45* = Lambert, *Iraq 27*, p. 6, iii 17, and p. 10).

⁶ Falkenstein, *Topographie*, pp. 35 ff., 40 f.

⁷ Hammurapi year 34: Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, p. 33.

⁸ *Tintir* = Babylon IV 30: van der Meer, *Iraq 5*, p. 64, 7 // Unger, *Babylon*, pl. 41, 15; *CT 51 90*, rev.(!) 10; *BRM IV 25*, 48 // *SBH VII*, obv. 24.

⁹ See especially the Aššur calendar, now Menzel, *Tempel II 34*.

the survival of, for example, the several versions of the *tākultu* prayer¹⁰. As a cultic song K. 1354 probably finds its nearest ally in the Neo-Assyrian dialogue of Nabû and Tašmētum, which seems to celebrate their annual wedding¹¹. Why should an Assyrian compose a psalm in praise of Uruk? Perhaps the most likely catalyst for such an exercise would be work by an Assyrian king aimed at restoring temples and cults in the city. In this connection Esarhaddon comes first to mind, for his inscriptions dealing with rebuilding work in the temple-complex of E-anna at Uruk survive in some number¹². In particular he was responsible for the restoration of E-nirgal-anna of Ištar as Bēlet-Uruk, and E-hili-anna of Nanāy. Nothing in K. 1354 would prohibit its dating to the reign of Esarhaddon; and the presence of Kalhu as a cult-centre of Ninurta gives a *terminus post quem* for the psalm's composition in the middle of the ninth century.

In closing one may observe that the text's Assyrian origin very probably accounts for the close association found within it of Uruk and Babylon. This is in marked contrast with the rivalry between the two southern cities which pervades two Babylonian texts of the late period, the Uruk Prophecy and the Tammuz Lament¹³.

¹⁰) Edited together by Menzel, *Tempel II*, p. T 143 f., and dating from the MA period to the reign of Aššur-etel-ilāni.

¹¹) *TIM IX* 54, according to van Dijk *A BAL.BAL.E* (p. xi f.; *Sumer* 13, p. 67); for the wedding of Nabû and Tašmētum, which took place annually in the month Ayyaru, see Gurney, *JSS* 7, p. 156.

¹²) Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 73 ff., Uruk A-G.

¹³) Hunger, *Uruk* 3; Lambert, *JAOS* 103, p. 211 ff.

obv.

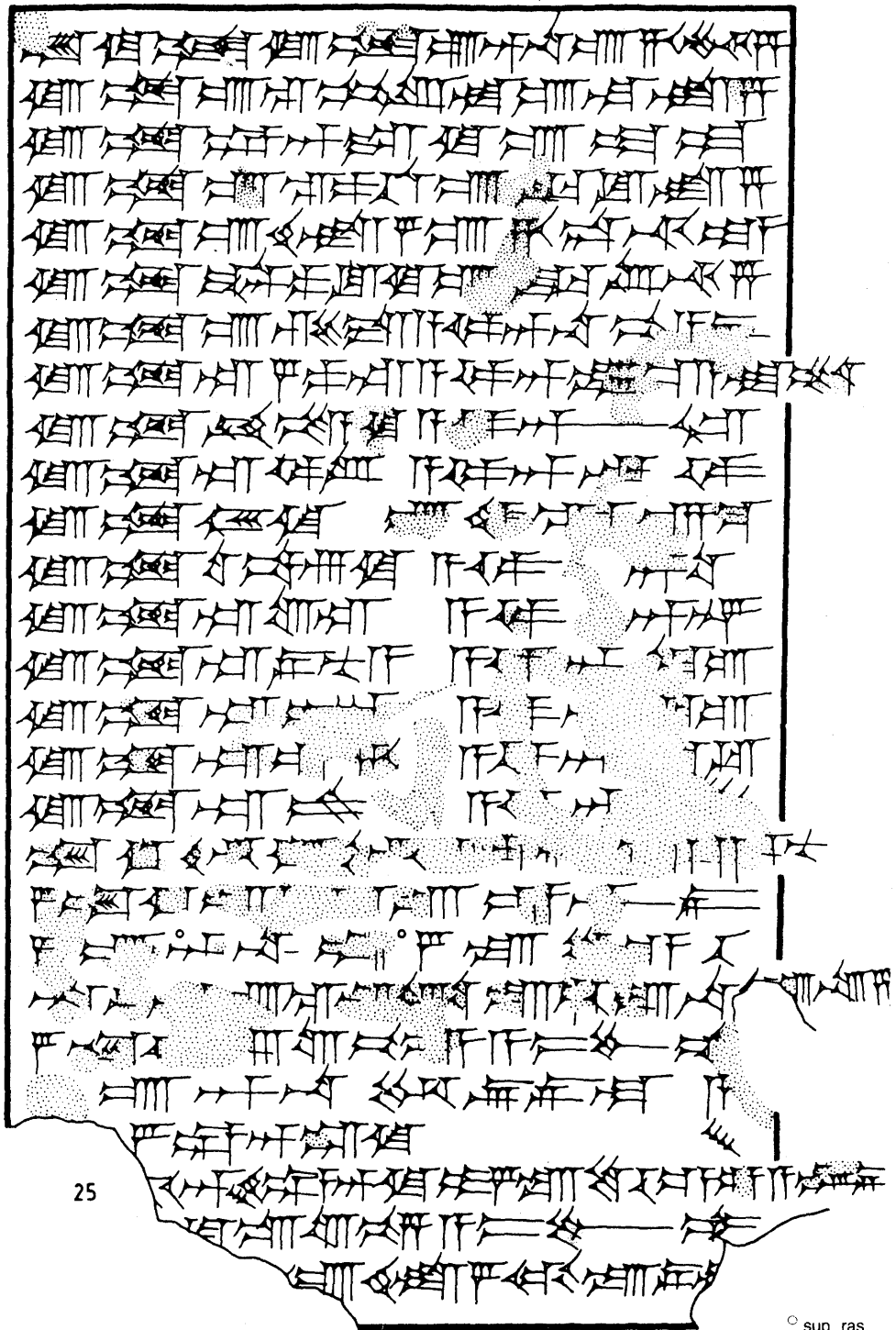
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