Ritual Contexts and Mythological Explanations of the Emesal Šuilla-Prayers in Ancient Mesopotamia*

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The prayers designated as Šuilla comprise those belonging to the arts of the exorcist (ašipu), and those belonging to that of the cult-singer (kalū). In the present article I draw upon the latter prayers which were written in the Emesal-dialect of the Sumerian language and recited in processions, especially those from/to the Akītu-house, to investigate the purpose of their recitations in rituals, and furthermore, to seek the possible mythological explanations of the recitations in Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship.

**Keywords:** Šuilla-prayers, cult-singers (kalū), Emesal, Akītu-festivals, narrative Angin (An-gin,

I. The Emesal Šuilla-prayers of the kalūtu, art of the cult-singers
Šuilla, which literally means “lifted hand(s)” in Sumerian, belongs to well-known native genre names given to prayers in ancient Mesopotamia. The prayers designated as Šuilla comprise those belonging to the ašipūtu, the art of the ašipu “exorcist”,¹ on the one hand, and those belonging to the kalūtu, the art of the kalū “cult-singer”, on the other hand.² The Šuilla’s of the ašipūtu are mostly written in Akkadian, while some of them are written in the “main dialect” (Emegi) of Sumerian, with Akkadian translations added. Those of the kalūtu, constituting this group alongside the Balag, Eršemma and Eršaḥunga-prayers, are written in the Emesal-dialect of Sumerian, mostly with Akkadian translations added, as is the case with other prayers of the kalūtu group. The Šuilla’s of the ašipūtu and the kalūtu have entirely different structures and vocabularies, and were recited during separate ritual contexts. They are therefore regarded as two entirely different prayer groups by modern researchers, even though the same word was applied for designating them. In this short paper I will concentrate on those of the kalūtu – hereafter the genre name Šuilla refers to the prayers of the kalūtu written in Emesal and those of the ašipūtu will be referred to only with clear notice. The paper will investigate in which ritual contexts and for what purposes the Šuilla-prayers were recited, and furthermore how the recitations of

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the prayers might have been regarded in mythological explanations of rituals in Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship.

II. Structure and vocabulary of the prayers
Although the structure and vocabulary of the Šuilla-prayers vary in detail from prayer to prayer, one can offer a sketch according to “family resemblance”. Almost all the Šuilla-prayers begin with an address to a deity. The address is mostly formed in litany first, then in free style. Such address comprises the first half of the prayers.

The second half comprises very often a unit composed by temporal clauses using the Sumerian pronominal conjugation and the corresponding Akkadian infinitive construction with the preposition *ina*, and a litany of intercession, as in the following example:

É-šu-me-ša₄, ’ē-gal la₃-[a-za ḫ]ūl-[l-e-eš ku₄-ra-zu-ta/(ne)]
  *ana É.MIN É.’GAL₃ la-li-ka ḫa-diš [ina erēbika]*
ki maḥ ki ni ’dūb₃-bu-da-zu-ne ki kū tuš₃-ta/(ne)]
  *ina aš-rī sī-ri aš-rī tap-šu-uḫ-tī-ka šub-tam e[l-le-tam ina ašābi]-k[a]*
  *dA-nun-na ub₃šu-ukkin₃-na-ta bar-zu [ḥē-en-s]eđ-dē*
  *dA-nun-na-kī ina MIN-ku ka-bat-ta-ka [li-s]ap-śi-iḫ*
  *dim-me-er an-na ’dim₃-me-er ki-a ra-zu d[e]-ra-ab-bē*
  *DINGIR.MEŠ šā AN-e ’DINGIR₄.MEŠ šā KI-tim taš-li-tam [I]q-bu-ū-ka*
  *dim-me-er gal-gal an-ki-ke₄-e-ne ’umun ḫun-gā ḫu₃-mu-ra-ab-bē*
  *DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šā ’AN₃-e u ’KI-tim₃ be-lum nu₃-uḫ’ liq-bi-ka³*

[When you] joyfully [enter] Ešumeša, the palace of your happiness, [when] you sit upon the exalted place, your resting place, in the pure dwelling, [may] the Anunna (Akk. Anunnakū) pacify your mood in the Court of the Assembly! May the gods of heaven and the gods of earth say an appeal to you! May the great gods of heaven and earth say to you, “Lord, calm down!”

As is the case with the example quoted, the temporal clauses describe processes in which the addressed deity enters his/her temple and sits upon his/her dais. Such temporal clauses are followed by the litany of intercession to other deities and also “personified” entities such as temples, wishing to soothe the heart of the addressed deity. The expression *ḫun-gā ḫu₃-mu-ra-ab-bē = nāḥ līqbiṭka*
“May (DN etc.) say to you, ‘Calm down!’” is especially characteristic of the Šuilla-prayers. Some prayers contain a long litany composed of this expression.⁴ We even know a prayer, which is composed almost solely of such a unit, namely the prayer called mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta “Lord, when you enter the house”, which was devoted to Marduk and others.⁵ I quote the first lines of the prayer.

mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta é-zu ḫu-n-gá ḫu-mu-ra-ab-bé
be-lum ana É ina e-re-bi-κa É-κa nu-ul liq-bi-κa
alim-ma umun⁴ Asal-lū-ḫi é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta é-zu (vacat)
kab-tu be-lum⁴ AMAR.UTU ana É ina e-re-bi-κa É-κa (vacat)
ur-sag gal umun⁴ +En-bi-lu-lu é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta é-zu (vacat)
qar-ra-du ra-bu-ū be-lum⁴ MIN ana É ina e-re-bi-κa É-κa (vacat)

Lord, when you enter the house, may your house say to you, “Calm down!” Honoured one, lord Asalluḫi (Akk. Marduk), when you enter the house, (may) your house (say to you, “Calm down!”) Great hero, lord Enbilulu, when you enter the house, (may) your house (say to you, “Calm down!”)

While most Šuilla-prayers are composed with such structures and vocabularies, there are also those composed in a different manner. One encounters an entirely different structure and vocabulary especially in another prayer addressed to Marduk, ur-sag úru ur₄₄-ur₄ “Hero, devastating flood”.⁷ I quote lines from the latter half of the prayer, where the prayer culminates:

mu-LU sag a-ra-an-gid-da á-zu la-ba-ra-ē
ša i-i-ru-κa ina i-di-κa a-a ū-ši
mu-LU sag a-ra-an-mar-ra-āš ki-za nam-ba-an-tūm
ša i-ḫi-šu-κa it-ti-κa a-a it-bal
e-bi úru-bi du₄₄-du₄₄-da-āš un-bi lil-lā-āš ū-ba-e-mar(var. ‘dē⁴-e⁴-mar’)
Ē-su u URU-šu ana ti-li ni-ši-šu ana za-qi-qi te-er(var. ‘te³-er⁴-ma⁴’)
šu’ úru-za ū-bi-gi ka-nag-gā u₆ e-a(var. ‘ū’ [d]ē-e)
’gi³-mil-li URU-κa ter ma-ma-a-tu(var. [ma-a]-τa) li-mur
šu ’ē'-za ū-bi-gi ka-nag-gā u₆ dē-ē-a(var. ’ū dē⁴-e)
’gi³-mil-li É-κa ter ma-ma-a-tu(var. ’ma-a-ta) li-ib-ri⁸

The one who is angry with you should not escape from your arm! The one who confronted you should not deprive your place anything more! You should turn his house (i.e. temple) and city into ruin mounds, his people
into ghosts! You should avenge your city, so that the land should be impressed! You should avenge your house, so that the land should be impressed!\textsuperscript{9}

Similar phrases concerning vengeance are found also in a Šuilla-prayer to Anu (TCL VI 43, rev. 15 f.), though much more briefly.\textsuperscript{10}

Following the actual main text of a prayer, Neo-Assyrian manuscripts are often appended with a blessing upon the Assyrian king in the following fixed form, which refers to the king by his personal name.

\textsuperscript{d}A-šu\textsubscript{d}r\textsubscript{d}-ba-an-IBILA(\textsuperscript{m}d\textsuperscript{30}-MAN-GAR-un) súb ú-a-zu ḫe-en-ti-la ṣâ-ṣu-gíd-bi še-ga mu-un-da'̲-an-te\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{d}MIN re-e'-u za-nin-ka bul-liş su-up-pe-šu še-me

suḫuš\textsuperscript{g}iš-te na-âm-umun-e-bi zé-eb-ba mu-uš-šu-uš un ḫiškiri bi-in-dab-ba u\textsubscript{4} da-r[i-šê]

iš-di \textsuperscript{g}GU.ZA šar-ru-ti-šu ṣa-biš šur-ši-di šer-ret ni-ši li-kil ana u\textsubscript{4}-me d\{a-ru(-ū)-ti\}\textsuperscript{11}

May Assurbanipal(/Sin-šarru-iškun), the shepherd, your (i.e. deity addressed) provisioner, (long) live! You will consent to his supplication willingly, and graciously establish the foundation of his royal throne firmly. Then, he will hold the nose-rod of the people, for ev[er]!\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{III. Ritual contexts of the recitations of the prayers}

Let us turn to the ritual contexts in which the Šuilla-prayers were recited. We have not many but some texts prescribe a Šuilla-prayer for recitation. Such prescriptions can be found either in ritual texts or supplementary notes appended to manuscripts of prayer texts. We have attestations concerning Neo-Babylonian Babylon, Neo-Assyrian Aššur and Seleucid Uruk.

One Neo-Babylonian manuscript of the above-mentioned prayer, \textit{mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta} devoted to Marduk, \textit{BMisc} 13 is appended with a short ritual remark.

\textit{i-na \textsuperscript{h}BÁRA.ZÄ.GAR ina U₄ 11.KAM\* d+EN TA Á-ki-ti ana Ė-sag-ii ir-ru-um-ma \textsuperscript{h}GALA.\textsuperscript{7}MAH\textsuperscript{7} \{\textsuperscript{vacat}\} \{\textsuperscript{vacat}\}\textsuperscript{13} \{\textsuperscript{vacat}\} \{\textsuperscript{vacat}\}}

In the month of Nisannu, on the 11\textsuperscript{th} day, Bêl (coming) from the Akku-house enters Esagil, then the chief cult-singer new break accompanied with new break.
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It is clear that this remark was copied from the original on which the present manuscript was based, together with the text of the prayer, as revealed by the scribal notation ḫepī ěššī “new break” indicating that the latter half of the remark was already unreadable on the original tablet, when the scribe of this manuscript copied it. Most probably the latter part that the scribe could not copy referred to the recitation of the present Šuilla-prayer.14 Altogether the remark attests that this prayer was recited in Babylon on the 11th Nisannu (I) at the return of Marduk’s cult image from the Akītu-house north of Babylon to his temple, Esagil. As already investigated by Maul in detail, we are dealing here with a procession at the Akītu-festival of Nisannu.15 The festival culminated in processions, accompanying the cult images of Marduk and other deities, as well as the Babylonian king himself, going from Esagil to the Akītu-house on the 8th, and then returning to Esagil on the 11th, followed by the assembly of the gods held in the Court of the Assembly located within Esagil.16 This prayer was recited in the procession returning at the late phase when the cult image of Marduk entered Esagil, before the assembly of the gods.

We have a plentiful number of attestations for the recitations of Šuilla-prayers at calendrical festivals held in the city of Aššur during the late Neo-Assyrian period. Ritual texts prescribing works of the cult-singers during the local festivals refer to Šuilla-prayers for recitation to the city-god Aššur as well as his spouse Mullissu alongside other Emesal-prayers.17 Furthermore, one ritual text instructing the works of the Assyrian king during the festivals, A. 126, makes mention of the recitation of Šuilla-prayers.18 I will summarize such attestations in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Incipits of prayers</th>
<th>Deities addressed</th>
<th>Attestations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X Šabātu (XI)(?)</td>
<td>ninu’ kur-kur-ra?9</td>
<td>Mullissu</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 1, 6’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th Šabātu (XI)</td>
<td>alim-ma umun an-ki-a20</td>
<td>Aššur</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 2, obv. 25’; Menzel 1981, T 47, no. 29, l. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th Šabātu (XI)</td>
<td>ninu’ kur-kur-ra</td>
<td>Mullissu</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 2, obv. 26’; Menzel 1981, T 47, no. 29, l. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th Addaru (XII)</td>
<td>Broken</td>
<td>Aššur(?)</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 2, rev. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th Addaru (XII)</td>
<td>égi maḥ gašan an-ki-a?21</td>
<td>Mullissu(?)</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 2, rev. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Nisannu (I)</td>
<td>ninu’ kur-kur-ra</td>
<td>Mullissu</td>
<td>Maul 2000, no. 2, rev. 26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is noteworthy that in each case the prayer was recited in a very similar situation, as follows: the cultic image of the deity addressed returned from a procession to his/her cella, and then took a seat upon his/her dais. On this occasion, cult-singers held a reception ritual performed always in the same manner. On the above-mentioned ritual texts concerning the works of the cult-singers, the reception ritual is instructed briefly as *agurr u *tukān ē šā-ab ḫun-e-ta *tazammur* “You (i.e. cult-singer) set up a baked brick. You sing (the prayer) ‘House, so that the heart be calmed’”. The baked brick was possibly set either for the sake of an Assyrian king who will stand upon it to greet the returning deity,23 or that the Assyrian king will set up offerings for the deity upon it.24 The prayer to be sung belongs to the group of Ritual Er’emma’s.25 Following this process, the above-cited Šuilla-prayers were recited for the deities, always one prayer for one deity. In the ritual texts prescribing the works of the cult-singers, the recitation of a Šuilla-prayer always marks the end of the section, as indicated by a ruling line drawn after the instruction to recite a Šuilla-prayer and followed by a new section prescribing a ritual on another date. In all cases, the termini of the processions are the cellae of Aššur and Mullissu in the Ešarra-temple. The points of departure differ, however, case by case. The procession on the 26th Šabātu came from the House of Dagan.26 That on the 11th Nisannu came from the Akktu-house outside the city wall.27 It is unfortunately unclear where the processions on the 18th Addaru came from. The ritual text prescribing the works of the Assyrian king, A. 126, reveals that also the king performed the recitation of the Šuilla-prayers referred to, surely under the guidance of cult-singers. It seems reasonable to assume that the Assyrian king also joined in the recitation of some of other Šuilla-prayers in the festivals of Aššur, although this is not yet testified by ritual texts.

Ritual texts and manuscripts of Emesal-prayers, which most probably stem from a library kept in a storeroom within the Rēš-temple of Anu in Uruk, inform us about the local Akktu-festivals held in Nisannu (I) and Tašritu (VII) for Anu during the Seleucid-period.28 Some of them prescribe Šuilla-prayers for recitations. One ritual text, *KAR* 132, which concerns a procession from the Rēš-temple to the Akktu-house outside the city-wall held probably on the month of Nisannu,29 prescribes one Šuilla-prayer An-gal-e “Great An” for a recitation addressing Anu at the end of the procession in a chapel of Anu within the Akktu-house,30 apparently accompanied by a king. The exact date of the process is unfortunately not preserved on the text. Short ritual remarks noted in one manuscript of Šuilla-prayers, *TCL VI* 43,31 prescribe one Šuilla-prayer, whose text is mostly preserved on the manuscript, though its incipit is not, and another
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prayer An-na á-gál-la “An, the capable”, for recitation on the 10th and the 11th Nisannu respectively. Although TCL VI 43 mentions no detailed circumstances for the recitation of the first Šuilla-prayer, it does so for the second one on the 11th. The prayer was recited at the time when the cult image of Anu came (safely from a procession) to be placed upon its dais, most probably located within the Rēš-temple. Another ritual text, TCL VI 40, concerning the local Akttu-festival on the month of Tašritu refers to one Šuilla-prayer en nir-gál-la “Lord, majestic one” recited on the 9th day of this month. Although the poor condition of the tablet prevents us from knowing where the prayer was recited with certainty, one may suppose from its context that the prayer was recited again at the last phase of a procession, which brought the cult image of Anu from the Akttu-house outside the city-wall into the Rēš-temple.

It is striking that all the Šuilla-prayers that are attested for recitation in ritual prescriptions were recited in processions. The attestations reveal that the prayers were recited especially during the late phase of processions to the deity returning from the processions. Noteworthy is furthermore that such situations accord with those described in the temporal clauses, which are typical to the Šuilla-prayers as mentioned above, i.e. that the deity addressed enters his/her temple and sits upon his/her dais. For instance, the prayer mu-LU é-a ku-ra-zu-ta “Lord, when you enter the house” to Marduk was recited indeed when the cult image of this god returned from a procession entering his temple, Esagil, as seen above. It is reasonable to assume that such temporal clauses reflect the situation in which the relevant prayer was recited.

In this respect, worth mentioning is one Šuilla-prayer partially reconstructed from two Neo-Assyrian manuscripts stemming from Nineveh, K 5098+DT 243+83-1-18,691 // BM 128025. The prayer was devoted to the goddess Ninlil of Nippur (in K 5098+). However, in one version documented on BM 128025, which apparently derived from the remains of a library at the temple of Ištar in Nineveh, Emašmaš, it is devoted to Ištar of Nineveh, because of the syncretistic identification of both goddesses. The prayer contains extraordinary long temporal clauses, which seem refer to an Akttu-festival in Nippur, as well as Nineveh, describing a procession returning from an enemy country designated as kur nu-ša-qa d+En-lil-lá (d/Mu-ul-lil-lá) = šadū là māgīr Enlil “mountain disobedient to Enlil” and heading for the Akttu-house apparently built within/near the Ekur-temple (in the case of Nippur) and Emašmaš-temple (in the case of Nineveh), and then a feast held in the botanical garden (d/kiri₅-maḥ). Such a description especially reminds us of an Akttu-festival of Ištar in Nineveh, which obviously culminated in a triumphal procession. Although
there is no ritual text attesting the recitation of this Šuilla-prayer, we may assume the prayer was recited during the late phase of the Akītu procession in Nineveh as well as Nippur.

To sum up, the evidence available so far reveals that the Šuilla-prayers were recited in processions, especially those from and to an Akītu-house, addressing a deity, for whose sake the procession concerned was carried out. It became also clear that the prayers were recited very often during the late phase of these processions to the returning deity, although it is not excluded that some prayers might have been recited during another phase in the processions, such as the beginning, as discussed below. Apparently Šuilla-prayers were performed sometimes (if not often) in the royal presence, which is also suggested by the formal blessing upon the Assyrian king appended in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts. As was the case in Aššur, the king himself might have taken part in a recitation. Recitations of the Šuilla-prayers may have been followed by the assembly of the gods, as was the case in Babylon. Suggestions for the assembly of the gods can also be found in the words of the prayers.  

IV. Basic function of the Šuilla-prayers

For what purpose were the Šuilla-prayers recited in such circumstances? I would propose that the prayers were recited in the first place to greet a deity, especially the deity who came back from a procession. Alongside the ritual contexts summarized above, there are some further persuasive arguments for this proposal as follows.

The first argument is the above-mentioned unit composed of temporal clauses describing the move of the addressed deity and the litany of intercession to other deities as well as “personified” entities such as the temple. Such a unit can also be found in the Sumerian Kiutu-prayers recited by exorcists to the sun god Utu-Šamaš. As pointed out elsewhere, the exorcists recited the Kiutu-prayers bearing this unit either in order to welcome the sun god at sunrise or to bid farewell to him at sunset. The unit can be regarded as a greeting formula to welcome a deity and to bid farewell to a deity, that may be designated as the “greeting-unit”. Most probably this lengthy expression originated in real court greetings, with which a subject addressed his superior to welcome him and to bid farewell to him. In this respect, it seems also reasonable to suppose that some Šuilla-prayers were recited rather at the beginning of a procession to bid farewell to a deity, who was proceeding to a procession, although we have no clear evidence for this on any ritual prescriptions.

The second argument is the gesture of hand-lifting, which the genre-name
Šuilla certainly derived from. Although the gesture well-attested in iconographies tends to be explained as a gesture of praying in archaeological literature, we conceptualize it better as a gesture of greeting, for the gesture is attested not only for persons facing a deity and a ruler but also a deity facing a person as well as a ruler facing a liegeman, as pointed out by Frechette. The gesture of the hand-lifting was certainly exchanged between (divine and human) superior and subject as a sort of greeting.

As the third argument one can refer to the Šuilla-prayers of the ašipatu. Although the Šuilla-prayers of the ašipatu contain entirely different words and were recited during distinct contexts from those of the kalatu altogether, the Šuilla-prayers of the ašipatu functioned in the first place also as a greeting to a deity, as already suggested by Maul, Zgoll and Frechette. To the enigma why two totally different types of prayers were designated by the very same name Šuilla, I would propose a solution: both types of prayers were regarded as some sort of greeting-prayers.

V. The Šuilla-prayers in the mythological explanations of rituals in the Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship

It is well known among Assyriologists that rituals became objects of elaborated exegeses in the Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship, at least in the first millennium. Texts such as cultic commentaries reveal that processes of the rituals, as well as entities, animate and inanimate, which took part in the rituals, were invested with meanings relating especially to mythology. Lastly I would like to ask how the recitation of the Šuilla-prayers might have been regarded in such scholarly discourse of the ritual exegeses. Although no clear evidence answering this question, such as a commentary referring to recitation of a Šuilla-prayer, has been found, one can offer a hypothesis based on circumstantial evidence. Since the problem is, however, too complicated to wrestle with based on scarce evidence, I would like to concentrate first on the case of the prayer mu-LU é-a ku-ru-za-ta of Marduk, which was recited on the 11th Nisannu in the procession from the Akkū-house to Esagil, as mentioned above.

The Akkū-festival of Nisannu in Babylon, which savoured the centre of attention of the Babylonian and Assyrian scholars, has attracted also a lot of attention from modern Assyriologists. As pointed out by the previous studies, especially those of Lambert, the events of 8th-11th Nisannu were explained as mirroring the narrative of Enūma eliš: the procession heading for the Akkū-house was Marduk’s campaign against monstrous Tiamat; the rituals held within the Akkū-house were Marduk’s fight and victory over Tiamat; the procession
returning was Marduk’s triumph followed by the assembly of the gods in Esagil, where kingship was granted to Marduk and also the Babylonian king. Following this mythological explanation of the ritual, the Šuilla-prayer *mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta* appears to have been recited at the end of Marduk’s triumph just before the assembly of the gods. It is, however, baffling that the Šuilla-prayer emphasizes clearly calming down the heart of Marduk. The prayer, which repeats the phrase “calm down!” (*hun-gá*) in the litany of intercession as mentioned above, culminates in the following phrase:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu-LU šilig-ga Ÿ-kur-ra ti-la bar-zu an-na-ke₄ ḥé-ri-ib-sed-dê} \\
\text{be-šum ša-ga-pu-ru ša ina Ÿ-kur aš-bu ka-bat-ti₄ a-nu-ti-ka li-nu-uḥ} \\
\text{še-er-ma-al dim-me-er-e-ne za-e-me-en dim-me-er an-ki-a} \\
\text{e-tel-li DINGIR.MEŠ at-ta DINGIR.MEŠ ša AN-e u KI-tim} \\
\text{šûr-ra-zu ṭu-mu-un-ṭun-e-ne} \\
\text{uz-za-ka li-né-eb-ḫu₄⁴⁹}
\end{align*}
\]

Mighty lord living in Ekur, may your heavenly mood (Akk. the mood of your skygodship) be pacified! You are the prince of the gods! May the gods of heaven and earth calm down your rage!

Why must Marduk be calmed down at the triumphal return from his glorious victory over the archenemy?

The narrative of *Enûma elîš* has no counterpart motif to such recitation of the prayer. However, we do find it in the Sumerian narrative compositions of Ninurta, *Lugale* and *Angin*.⁵⁰ Even though the protagonist of the compositions is not Marduk but Ninurta, and the compositions concern the theology of Nippur, not Babylon, it seems justified to compare the compositions with the festival of Marduk in Babylon. As suggested by Lambert, *Enûma elîš* inherited innumerable motifs from those compositions of Ninurta’s mythology, and the Marduk theology of Babylon owed much to the Ninurta theology of Nippur.⁵¹ Furthermore, both Sumerian compositions were, exceptionally as Sumerian narrative compositions, taken over in the first millennium and still kept offering important materials for theology, as suggested by Maul.⁵² There is no doubt that the Babylonian scholars were well informed on both Sumerian narratives of Ninurta.

The following episode in *Angin* especially attracts our attention: after his victory Ninurta returned to his hometown, Nippur. However, being in a fighting mood through his battle, he still remained so furious after the victory that he
even devastated his own country without discrimination, and that terrified his colleague deities. In order for him to stop his vandalism and furthermore, to agree to the grant of a kingship to a human king, he must be calmed down. Therefore Ninkarnunna, a liege god of Ninurta, implored Ninurta for this, in terms of a prayer including the above-discussed greeting-unit.

The narrative of Angin, Ninkarnunna devoted a prayer, whose words parallel the Šuilla-prayers, in order to calm down the fighting mood of Ninurta and let him agree with the grant of kingship to human king. The prayer did not miss the target. The narrative of Lugale contains comparable motifs too, though rather briefly. This motif, namely that of the fighting mood of Ninurta persisting after his victory, is found also in a cultic commentary to the Akītu-festival of Ninurta held in Nippur in the month of Ayyaru (II), OECT XI 69+70. The commentary refers to Ninurta, who returned “furiously” (aggiš; ina ezēšiu) to his temple, Ešumeša, during processions on the 15th and 19th Ayyaru. The narrative context suggests that Marduk was also regarded as being in a fighting mood after his battle with Tiamat during his procession returning in Babylon, even if no cultic commentary proving this has been found so far. If Marduk would have kept this furious fighting mood even after the procession to
Esagil, all the following programmes, especially the assembly of the gods, would have been affected, and most importantly the Babylonian king could not have been granted kingship. Coping with this difficulty, one needed to calm down the fighting mood of Marduk and let cult-singers (and possibly also the Babylonian king himself) recite the prayer \textit{mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta} as an effective measure.

The appeasing of the fighting mood of the deity at the triumphal return using a Šuilla-prayer was most probably not peculiar only to the examined case of \textit{mu-LU é-a ku₄-ra-zu-ta} in Babylon, but was rather shared in festivals for deities in other cities, if not all other festivals. As pointed out above, the cultic commentary, OECT XI 69+70, reveals that Ninurta was explained clearly as being in a fighting mood during the processions returning to his temple Ešumeša, which were held in the course of his \textit{Akku}-festival. It is certainly reasonable to assume that other Šuilla-prayers of Ninurta, which are known from manuscripts and a catalogue,\textsuperscript{60} were recited on these occasions to calm down his fighting mood, just as the prayer by Ninkarnunna was in \textit{Angin}, even though no ritual text prescribing a Šuilla-prayer for recitation on such an occasion has been found so far. As for the prayer to Ninlil/Ištar of Nineveh mentioned above, which seems to have been recited during the procession of the \textit{Akku}-festival in Nippur and Nineveh, the procession in the latter city was explained as a triumphal return, as pointed out by researchers.\textsuperscript{61} I wonder if the prayer might have been recited to calm down the fighting mood of this warlike goddess, Ištar of Nineveh, on this occasion.\textsuperscript{62} Therefore, it seems possible to assume that some (or many?) Šuilla-prayers were explained in the Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship as a measure to calm down the fighting mood of the addressed deity.

However, it is very unlikely that all Šuilla-prayers were explained in the same manner in Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship. As pointed out above, some Šuilla-prayers contain words imploring vengeance and appeal to the addressed deity to annihilate his enemies instead. Those prayers could not have logically been a measure to calm down the fighting mood. Rather they appear to have been a measure to \textit{inflame} the fighting mood. As mentioned above, the genre of the Kiutu-prayers, whose structure and vocabularies are similar to those of the Šuilla-prayers, comprises not only those welcoming the sun god, but also those bidding farewell to the sun god. It would be no wonder if the genre of the Šuilla-prayers, whose basic function was certainly greeting, were to contain not only the prayers to welcome a deity, calming down his/her fighting mood, but also those to “bid farewell” to a deity inflaming his/her fighting mood. In this respect, one inclines to suppose that the above mentioned prayer \textit{ur-sag úru}
ur₄-ur₄ addressed to Marduk, which comprises the long plea for vengeance, might have been recited in the procession on the 8th Nisannu in Babylon, when Marduk marched to battle with Tiamat, in order to inflame his fighting mood, although this has not yet been proved by a clear attestation.63

VI. Conclusion
The Emesal Šuilla-prayers of the kalûtu group were recited mostly in processions and can be characterized as greeting-prayers, as is the case of the Šuilla-prayers of the ašipûtu group. Furthermore the recitations of some prayers appear to have been regarded in mythological explanation by Babylonian and Assyrian scholars as a measure to calm down the fighting mood of the deity returning from battle. One can also speculate that other prayers might have been regarded as a measure to inflame the fighting mood for battle.

Notes
* The present paper is a revised and expanded version of the paper I read at a workshop organized by A. Tsukimoto during the 19th World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in Tokyo in March 2005. My sincere gratitude goes to S. M. Maul and U. Gabbay, who read a draft of the paper and gave me numerous useful comments. I am also grateful to G. Cunningham for English correction. This study was financially supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Ministry of Education, Sciences, Sports and Culture (Japan).

1 No modern comprehensive critical edition of the prayer texts has been published since Ebeling 1953, which is, however, entirely obsolete. The structure and the vocabulary of the Akkadian Šuilla-prayers of the ašipûtu are studied exhaustively in Mayer 1976. Zgoll 2003B edits and studies those devoted to Ihtar. Further studies and editions of the prayers are listed at Zgoll 2003B. My translation “exorcist” is merely conventional.

2 All identified Emesal Šuilla-prayers are edited and studied in my dissertation submitted at the University of Heidelberg (2005), which is to be published as a monographic volume in the forthcoming series Heidelberger Emesal Studien edited by S. M. Maul. On the cult-singers see most recently Gabbay 2008. A comprehensive study on the works of the cult-singers is now being prepared by U. Gabbay. My translation “cult-singer” is merely conventional.


4 E.g. K 2861+, rev. 25-36 // K 5162, 1'-9' (ed. Sjöberg 1960, 169); 80-7-19.121, obv. 1'-16'; K 5325+K 10598+yK 4445, 6'-13'; K 3259, rev. 3-11. New editions and hand-copies of the texts will be offered in my forthcoming monograph of the Emesal Šuilla-prayers.

5 Ed. Maul 1998B, 160-176. Alongside the version devoted to Marduk, there are those devoted to Enlil, Aššur and Nabû. A new edition and hand-copies of the text, including newly identified manuscripts, will be offered in my forthcoming monograph of the Emesal Šuilla-prayers.


7 BM 59569 // BM 34813+BM 35731 // KAR 310 (= 337a) (ed. Cooper 1988). A new edition of the text, which is based on collation of all manuscripts, will be published together with hand-copies of the manuscripts in my forthcoming monograph of Šuilla-prayers.

8 BM 59569, rev. 9'-18' // BM 34813+, rev. 1'-8' (ed. Cooper 1988, 87. II. 5'-9').

9 The Akkadian translation differs slightly as follows: “The one who confronted you should not escape your arm. The one who dashed against you should not deprive you of anything. Turn his
house (i.e. temple) and city into ruin mounds, his people into ghosts! Avenge your city, so that the land should look at (it)! Avenge your house, so that the land should behold (it)!

Comparable motifs of vengeance are found also in other genres of the Emesal-prayers, especially those of Ninurta, See Gabbay 2007, 29 f., chapter II.1.5 and 40 f., chapter II.2.4, and Maul 1991.

10 Comparable motifs of vengeance are found also in other genres of the Emesal-prayers, especially those of Ninurta, See Gabbay 2007, 29 f., chapter II.1.5 and 40 f., chapter II.2.4, and Maul 1991.

11 IVR 2 18, no. 2, rev. 11'-14' and duplicates (ed. Maul 1998B, 169 f., ll. 37 f.).

12 The Akkadian translation differs slightly as follows: “Keep Assurbanipal, the shepherd, your provisioner, alive! Consent to his supplication willingly! Establish the foundations of his royal throne firmly! May he hold the nose-rope of people for [ever]!” On the interpretation of the word ˇgiseskiri = ˇserretu, I profited from a discussion with K. Maekawa.


14 Cf. a comparable remark to a ritual in a manuscript of a Šuilla-prayer to Anu, TCL VI 43, rev. 19 f.


17 The rituals were published and carefully studied by Maul (2000).

18 Ed. Menzel 1981, T 47, no. 29, ll. 20 f.

19 The incipit of the same prayer can be restored in the Nineveh-catalogue of Emesal-prayers, IVR 2 53+ iv 14. Manuscripts of the prayer cannot yet be identified with certainty, though it seems possible that a Šuilla-prayer to Ninlil (and Istar of Nineveh) written on K 5098+DT 243+83-1-18,691 // BM 128025 belongs to this prayer.

20 The incipit of the prayer is mentioned in the catalogue IVR 2 53+ iii 45 as addressed to Enlil. Four manuscripts of the prayer have been identified: OECT XI 16(+17) // BM 62922 // K 4898//K 4979(+K 10261 // VAT 14127(+Ass. A 4197 (1st tablet on the 1st row)(+)Ass. A 4241(1st tablet on the 1st row). An edition and hand-copies of the text will be offered in my forthcoming monograph of the Emesal Šuilla-prayers.

21 Two identical incipits of Šuilla-prayers are mentioned in the catalogue IVR 2 53+, iv 20 and 27, both addressed to Inanna-Istar. No manuscript of the prayer has been identified.

22 The incipit of the prayer is mentioned in the catalogue IVR 2 53+ iii 46 as addressed to Enlil. Two manuscripts of the prayer have been identified: K 13544 // K 4659(+K 17600. An edition and hand-copies of the text will be offered in my forthcoming monograph of the Emesal Šuilla-prayers.

23 Suggested by Seidl (2001). She refers to one relief stemming from the city of Aššur, which represents a king greeting a deity upon a baked brick. I am grateful to U. Gabbay for turning my attention to this article.

24 See Maul 2000, 396. See also Gabbay 2007, 124, footnote 498.

25 Unfortunately no manuscript of the prayer has been identified so far, even though the prayer is referred to in catalogues as well as some further ritual texts. See Gabbay 2007, 406, chapter VII.10. Cf. also ibid., 89 with footnote 282, 123 f. with footnotes 490 and 497, and 133 with footnote 590. On the interpretation of the meaning of this incipit see ibid., 416 f. On the prayer genre of the Ritual Eršemma (Eršemma kidudê) see ibid., 6-8, chapter I.2.2. and 12, chapter I.3.3. All identified Ritual Eršemma’s are edited in ibid. 379-479, chapter VII.

26 On the rituals concerning the House of Dagan see Maul 2000, 394-397.

27 On the Akkhu-house of Aššur see Frahm 1997, esp. 173-177, 222-224 and 285-287; George
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On the festivals see Thureau-Dangin 1921, 86-111; Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 42 f. and Linssen 2004, 72-78 and 184-214. Editions of the tablets stemming from this Seleucid library of the Rēš-temple are now being prepared as part of a project on Geography and Knowledge in Assyria and Babylonia, led by E. Robson and S. Tinney. See http://cdl.museum.upenn.edu/gkab.

Just following the recitation of the Šuilla-prayer, the cult image of Anu entered the Rēš-temple through its main gate ("exalted gate") and then took seat upon the dais, "the Dais of the Destiny" (TCL IV 40, obv. 9; ed. Linssen 2004, 186). Cf. Linssen, ibid., p. 75.

The text will be published with an edition and hand-copies in my forthcoming monograph of the Emesal Šuilla-prayers.

On the rest of a library of Emasnaš see Read 1986, 216 f.

On the Akītu-house in Nineveh see Frahm 2000.

E.g. the above quoted line, SBH 74+CTMMA II 15, rev. 6' f.

See Shibata 2008, 191-195, and texts and studies referred to there.

E.g. Falkner 1957-71.

Frechette 2008, esp. 44-47. However, we must be aware that it would not be appropriate if we would project modern concepts such as "praying", "greeting" and "blessing" in ancient Mesopotamian naively. Such concepts were rather not distinct clearly from each other in Mesopotamian native category, as pointed out by Landsberger in 1928. I prefer to designate the gesture of hand-lifting as a gesture of greeting only because it is a better analytical concept, which offers us more accurate understanding.


See publications referred to above in the note 15.


BMisc, rev. 13-18 and duplicates (ed. Maul 1998B, 166 f., ll. 29 f.).


Lambert 1986.


Cooper 1978, 68-93, ll. 75-176, esp. ll. 75-77; ETCSL 1.6.1, ll.76-174, esp. ll. 76-78.

Cooper 1978, 94-97, ll. 182-188; ETCSL 1.6.1, ll. 180-186. The Sumerian text is of the later
version (following after Cooper, op. cit.). That of the Old Babylonian version is omitted here.

55 This sentence in the Sumerian text of the first millennium version literally means: “You will say that which is in your heart to her. You [will say] that which is in your mood to her[r]. You [will say] a good word for a king to her for eternity”.

56 Cooper 1978, 96-99, ll. 189-200; ETCSL 1.6.1., ll. 187-198.

57 van Dijk 1983, pp. 172 f., II. 679-683; ETCSL 1.6.2., II. 676-680.


59 OECT XI 69-70, col. i 19' and 23' f.

60 Incipits of the Suilla-prayers to Ninurta can be restored in the catalogue IVR 2 53+, at least on the lines, iv 1-6. Alongside SBH 74+CTMMA II 15, CTN IV 173 is identified as a manuscript of a Suilla-prayer to Ninurta.

61 See literature referred to above in the note 40.

62 On the other hand, one must be astonished that Ninil, who had no warlike character, needed to be calmed down.

63 The possibility that the prayer was recited on the 8th Nisannu has already been pointed out by Maul (1998B, 178, footnote 70). The mythological motif inflaming the fighting mood of a deity is attested in Erra Tablet I 46-91 (ed. Cagni 1969, 62-67; suggestion of E. Frahm and P. Machinist) and also Lugal-e (van Dijk 1983, 44-49, II. 48-69; ETCSL 1.6.2., II. 48-69).

Abbreviations

BMisc = Weissbach 1903; CTMMA II = Spar and Lambert 2005; CTN IV = Wiseman and Black 1996; ETCSL = Black et. al. 2003-06; KAR = Ebeling 1919-23; OECT XI = Gurney 1989; SBH = Reisner 1896; TCL VI = Thureau-Dangin 1922; IVR 2 = Rawlinson and Pinches 1891.

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