The *zukru* Festival and Its Preparatory Rituals in *Emar* VI 373: Their Schedule, Procedures and Gods

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The text *Emar* VI 373 prescribes the procedures for the *zukru* festival, which was celebrated in every “seventh” year, and the preparatory rituals held in the preceding year. This study deals with them in terms of their schedule (§ II), procedures (§ III) and the gods involved (§ IV). In § II, the present writer argues that the dates of the preparatory rituals were established in consideration of the gaps between ‘lunar years’ and solar years, and he argues further that it is not certain that the festival followed a seven-year cycle; it is also possible and, in my opinion more probable, that it was a six-year cycle. In § III, on the basis of comparison between Parts I and II of the text, the procedures of the procession rites held on the days of the preparatory rituals and on the first and last days of the festival are reconstructed. We find that those procedures are similar to each other, though not identical. In § IV, the major divine participants in the procession rites, Dagan (*bēl bukarī*), the festival god, and ^dNIN.URTA, the city god, are discussed. An analysis of when the face of Dagan (as well as of ^dNIN.URTA) is covered or uncovered during each of the rites and of the days on which ^dNIN.URTA returns to the city riding on the wagon together with Dagan shows that their different combination patterns play a significant role in building up towards a climax on the last day of the festival.

Keywords: Emar, *zukru* festival, lunar calendar and solar year, Dagan, ^dNIN.URTA

I. Introduction

Among the several festival (EZEN) texts from Late Bronze Emar,¹ the *zukru* festival (*Emar* VI 373, esp. ll. 38-168 and 186-206²) is rather unique in that the people of Emar celebrated it according to the calendar. It was held for seven days, starting with the 15th day of the first month SAG.MU (“head of the year”), i.e., the first full-moon day. In the text of another *zukru* ritual held on the same

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schedule (*Emar* VI 375³), this month is called *Zarati* (from **dr*^c for “seed” and “sowing”), suggesting that in Emar the new year starts in autumn. Both the *zukru* festival and the ritual are dedicated to Dagan (l. 2), or more accurately to Dagan *bēl bukarī*, “Lord of the Offspring” (*Emar* VI 373: 169). However, whereas the ritual was held annually, the festival was celebrated only every “seventh” year.⁴

Emar VI 373, the *zukru* festival text, shows that the celebration of the festival involves several preparatory rituals performed in the preceding year (ll. 1-37 and 169-185). In this study, firstly I will deal with these rituals by asking why they were necessary for the festival in terms of their dates. This investigation will urge us to reconsider the problem of the year cycle of the festival (§ II). Then I will try to reconstruct the procedures of those rituals and the festival to clarify their features in composition (§ III). Finally I will focus on the roles of Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) and ^dNIN.URTA in this text to show the purpose of the festival (§ IV).

II. The Preparatory Rituals in the Sixth Year

Emar VI 373 is constituted of two parts (or texts) prescribing the procedures and offerings of the preparatory rituals and the festival. The following is their schedule (note: br. = broken lines):⁵

Part I

- A. 15th(?) day, month of SAG.MU(?), year 6 (br.+ll. 1-4): first day of the annual *zukru*^a
- B. 25th day, month of SAG.MU, year 6 (ll. 5-9)^b
- C. Month of Niquali, year 6 (ll. 10-37)
 - 1. 24th day (ll. 10-16): preparatory to the ritual
 - 2. 25th day (ll. 17-37)^c
- D. Month of SAG.MU, year 7 (ll. 38-168): *zukru* festival
 - 1. 14th day (ll. 38-43): preparatory to the festival
 - 2. 15th day (ll. 44-64): first day of the festival^d
 - 3. Intervening five(?) -day period of the festival (br.+ll. 65-74)^e
 - 4. Seventh day of the festival (ll. 75-168): last day of the festival^e

Part II

- A. 15th day, month of SAG.MU, year 6 (ll. 170b-179): first day of the annual *zukru*^f
- B. 25th(?) day, month of Niquali, year 6 (ll. 180-185)^g

C. Month of SAG.MU, year 7 (ll. 186-204): *zukru* festival

- 1a. 14th day (ll. 186-187a): preparatory to the first day
- 1b. 15th day (ll. 187b-194): first day of the festival^h
- 2. Sixth day of the festival (ll. 195f.): preparatory to the last day
- 3. Seventh day of the festival (ll. 197-204): last day of the festivalⁱ

Abbreviations used below to refer to the text passages: a = AZ1/I; b = 25S/I; c = 25N/I; d = ZF1/I; e = ZF7/I; f = AZ1/II; g = 25N/II; h = ZF1/II; i = ZF7/II

Let me comment briefly on the basic structure of the *zukru* festival for the seven-day period. Its first and last days — on these days there is a ritual procession of Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) and other divine beings out of the city — constitute the axes of the festival. A preparatory day is added to each of them (see Part II) and there are five intervening days between them (see Part I).⁷

The dates of the preparatory rituals in the sixth year are:

- (1) 15th of SAG.MU (br.+ll. 1-4, 170b-179) is the date of the ritual AZ1;
- (2) 25th of SAG.MU (ll. 5-9) is the date of the ritual 25S;
- (3) 25th of Niqali⁸ (ll. 17-37, 180-185) is the date of the ritual 25N.

How can these be associated with the *zukru* festival? The case of date (1) is obvious: it is the first day of the annual *zukru* ritual, i.e., just one year before the first day of the festival in the seventh year. We see here that the ritual AZ1 is well integrated into the *zukru* festival system as the first preparatory ritual in the sixth year. Then, what about the two held on the “25th” day of the month, in the case of (2) one year minus *ten* days, and in the case of (3) one year minus one month and *ten* days before the 15th of SAG.MU in the seventh year? As for the former, seeing that the annual *zukru* ends on the 21st day of the month, one would wonder why they needed to perform another ritual only four days later. As for the latter, at first glance it is difficult to understand how the second month was connected with the festival celebrated in the first month.

Our starting point to tackle these problems is the unusual order of DNs observed in the account of preparing sheep for the gods on the 24th of Niqali in the sixth year (ll. 12-16). Let us examine them in comparison with the Emar ‘pantheon’ list (ll. 76ff.), i.e., the list of the grand offering to all the gods of Emar on the last day of the festival. The DNs mentioned in the beginning parts of these texts are as follows:

12	[^d KUR EN <i>bu-k</i>]a-ri	77	^{r^d} KUR EN <i>bu-ka-ri</i>
	^d IM	78	^d IM
	^d UTU		

13 [^dKUR]
^dé-a
^d30
^dNIN.URTA

79 ^dKUR
80 ^dé-a
81 ^d30 u ^dUTU
82 ^dNIN.URTA

For the ritual 25N, the sun-god ^dUTU is separated from the moon-god ^d30 and is put in the third position (l. 12). He is still inferior to the festival god (Dagan *bēl bukarī*) and the pantheon head(?) of Emar (the storm-god ^dIM) but somehow is superior to the regional god (Dagan proper). His ascent must be connected with the 25th day when those sheep are actually offered to the gods. Taking into account the separation of the sun(-god) and this date together, it seems likely that the above ten-day difference (2) and (3) have in common reflects the difference in length between a ‘lunar year’ (i.e., twelve lunar months) and a solar year.

In this case, as for the moon and the sun on the 15th of SAG.MU in a certain year, whereas the moon is the same shape, that is full, on the 15th of every month, and thus a lunar year (354 days) later (cf. the date [1]), since a solar year is 365.25 days long, the sun sets/rises at the same position on the horizon ideally only ten (actually 11.25) days after that, i.e., on the 25th (26.25th) day of the next year.⁹ The date (2) is just one lunar year before the latter date and this must have been considered when the ritual 25S was held in relation to the festival. In this respect, however, it should be noted that this is concerned only with the relationship between a year and the following year, in other words, remaining at the annual level. Based on these points, we may conclude that the preparatory ritual on (2) is understood to be established because of the sun(-god) in connection with the annual *zukru*.¹⁰

Before treating the date (3), I would like to ask a question. If the *zukru* festival was celebrated in the seventh year, in which year was the preceding *zukru* festival celebrated? Part II of the text in *Emar* VI 373 reads: [*e-nu-m*]a DUMU.MEŠ KUR *e-mar i-na* MU.7.KÁM.MEŠ EZEN.zu-uk-ra / [*a/i-na*] ^rd¹KUR EN *bu-ka-ri i-na-an-di-nu*, “[whe]n the sons of the land of Emar give the *zukru* festival [to] Dagan *bēl bukarī* in the seventh years (i.e., in every seventh year)” (ll. 169-170a), they perform rituals on the 15th of SAG.MU (ll. 170b-179) and on the 25th of Niqali (ll. 180-185) in the sixth year. This suggests the previous festival was held in the zeroth year, and the first annual *zukru* was held in the year following the previous festival.¹¹ However, it is interesting to note that the first countable year for the ritual 25N is the same year when the previous festival was celebrated (i.e., the seventh year = the first year).¹² This

suggests another possibility, that it was in the first year.

Thus there are two candidates, the zeroth and the first year. In other words, was the *zukru* festival cycle a seven-year cycle or a six-year one? When we examine them, the first question to be asked is what manipulation of calendar is theoretically conceivable behind each of them.

A) Seven-year cycle: Let us assume, for example, simply that the 15th of SAG.MU (i.e., the first full-moon day) in the zeroth year was the day of autumnal equinox.¹³ Since seven lunar years are ideally seventy (actually 78.75) days less than seven solar years, let us insert a leap month of thirty days¹⁴ at the ends of the second or third year and the sixth year. Then after the seven years, whereas the first full-moon day is again the 15th of SAG.MU, the equinox is on the 25th (33.75th) day.¹⁵ The date (3) is just one lunar year before the latter's *ideal* date (counting the leap month). This is apparently nice and can be regarded as the reason for the performance of the ritual 25N. However, note that the asynchronism between the first full-moon day, i.e., the first day of the *zukru* festival, and the equinox would cause a serious problem: when they repeat this cycle as it is, the above gap of ten (18.75) days soon multiplies, and they lose the correlation of the festival with the season. I wonder how the Emarites managed this difficulty.

B) Six-year cycle: Let us assume the same as previously (but with the first year). To make up the difference of ideally sixty (actually 67.5) days in six years, we similarly insert leap months at the ends of the third year and of the sixth year.¹⁶ Then after the six years, the day of equinox is the 15th (22.5th) of SAG.MU, the first full-moon day. This result apparently contradicts the expected 25th day, ten days later. However, if the period of ten days is an ideal one representing the *actual* gap of 7.5 days, the assumed day of the equinox would be the 25th (actually the 22.5th) of SAG.MU. In this case, the date (3) can be regarded as the day one lunar year before this date (counting the leap month), too. Although we cannot prove this,¹⁷ it is evident, if it is correct, that this cycle with the ideal synchronism between the first full-moon day and the equinox is more practical for use than the seven-year cycle.

Thus each of the above two candidates has both merits and problems. But in any case, it is quite likely that the preparatory ritual on (3) is understood to be established because of the sun(-god) in connection with the *zukru* festival.¹⁸

Then, which year cycle is preferable? One may say the seven-year cycle is, since the six-year cycle can only hypothetically explain the date (3). However, the seven-year cycle does not escape criticism either. Let us return to our starting point: the separation of ^dUTU from ^d30 in *Emar* VI 373: 12 and the pairing of

^d30 and ^dUTU in l. 81. In the seven-year cycle, the former seems to reflect well the difference of about thirty (37.5) days between a lunar year and a solar year on the 25th of Niquali in the sixth year.¹⁹ Then it is reasonable to expect that the latter would reflect their (approximate) synchronism on the 21st of SAG.MU, the last day of the festival, in the seventh year. However, the remaining gap of ten (18.75) days in this year seems to contradict this, in view of the fact that the gap of ten (11.25) days was recognized as enough time to establish the separate ritual 25S.²⁰

On the other hand, it should be noted that the six-year cycle produces a significant festival pattern of seven-year period as follows:

Sixth year	annual <i>zukru</i> ritual (esp. AZ1), 25S and 25N
Seventh = First year	<i>zukru</i> festival (and 25S)
Second to Fifth years	annual <i>zukru</i> rituals (and 25Ss)
Sixth year	annual <i>zukru</i> ritual (esp. AZ1), 25S and 25N
Seventh = First year	<i>zukru</i> festival (and 25S)

This seven-year period is exactly parallel to the seven-day period of the *zukru* festival on a grand scale. The basic structure is consistent: again the first and the seventh (= first) years constitute the axes, with the annual *zukur*s and others for the preparatory and intervening rituals.²¹ In view of the above points, particularly this structural consistency, I am inclined to posit that the six-year cycle is somewhat preferable to the seven-year cycle, although admittedly it remains only a hypothesis.

The above analyses show that the three preparatory rituals on the dates (1)-(3) are well associated with the *zukru* festival in terms of both lunar and solar years.²² The Emarites established these rituals taking into account lunar years for (1) and solar years for (2) and (3). As for the latter two, the ritual 25S was indirectly, i.e., through the annual *zukru* ritual, connected with the *zukru* festival, and the ritual 25N was directly connected with it.

III. The Procedures of the Preparatory Rituals and the Festival

1. General remarks

The text of *Emar* VI 373 describes the preparatory rituals and the festival, but ll. 1-4 (AZ1/I) and 5-9 (25S/I) are so damaged that I exclude them from the following investigations in principle. Table 1 (1. Data) shows the data for the procedures of the remaining rituals and the festival.

Before entering into the analysis, it should be noted that the texts of Parts I

Table 1. Compositions of the Rituals and the Festival in *Emar* VI 373

Element (Rite)	1. Data in <i>Emar</i> VI 373:							2. Reconstructed Procedures			
	17-37	44-64	75-168	170b-79	180-85	187b-94	197-204	AZ1	25N	ZF1	ZF7
	25N/I	ZF1/I	ZF7/I	AZ1/II	25N/II	ZF1/II	ZF7/II				
A Offering 1	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
B Departure	+	+	[+]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
C <i>kubadu</i> 1	–	–	[–]	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
D Offering 2	+	+	[+]	+	–	+	(+) ^a	+	+	+	+
E Feasting	+	+	[+]	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
F Burning	–	–	[+]	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
G Anointing	+	+	[+]	–	–	–	–	+ ^b	+	+	+
H Passage	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
I Joining	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
J <i>kubadu</i> 2	+	+	+	–	–	(+) ^a	(+) ^a	–	+	+	+
K Return	+	+	[+*]	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	+*

a. Account omitted in Part II, but with reference to the Part I text: e.g., *parša kī ša ūmi maḥirimma ana ilt inaddinā*, “they give the ritual requirements to the gods, just as for the day (mentioned) previously” (ll. 198b-199a; see Fleming, *Time*, 250f.) for Element D of ZF7/II.

b. See *Emar* VI 375: 14.

and II of *Emar* VI 373 are to be taken as complementary.²³ Based on this, we follow these two principles when we treat the data:

(1) In the case where there are two descriptions of a ritual and one refers to a certain component rite and the other does not (e.g., ZF1/I-II for Elements E, G and H), we assume that the rite occurs.

(2) On the other hand, if neither part refers to a certain component rite, we may safely assume that it does not occur (e.g., ZF1/I-II for Elements C and I).

In the following, we first look at the non-*zukru* ritual (= 25N: one day), then the annual *zukru* ritual (= AZ1: first day only), and then finally the *zukru* festival (= ZF1 and ZF7: first and seventh days). The order of Elements A to K in the table, when attested, follows the order in *Emar* VI 373, except for Element K* in ZF7/II (see below). All elements but A constitute the procession rites of Dagan (*bēl bukarī*)²⁴ and other divine beings going out of and returning to the city.

2. Non-*zukru* ritual on the 25th of Nīqālī in the sixth year

Based on the above principles, 25N (ll. 17-37, 180-185) is understood to be constituted of all the components but the rare Elements A, C and F. Since almost all these elements are common to AZ1, ZF1 and ZF7 as well, let me show 25N's procedure in summary as a sample:

Dagan (*bēl bukarī*),²⁵ all the gods and the *šaššabittu*-spirits²⁶ go out in procession to the gate of the *sikkānu*-stones, i.e., (two rows of) upright stones²⁷ (B: ll. 17-18a, 180-181a). The people make offerings to the gods (D: ll. 18b-33).²⁸ They eat and drink (E: l. 34a). They anoint the (*sikkānu*-)stones with oil and blood (G: l. 34b). (Dagan riding on) the wagon²⁹ passes between the *sikkānu*-stones (H: ll. 183b-184a). He proceeds to ^dNIN.URTA (and the people have ^dNIN.URTA mount the wagon with him³⁰) (I: l. 184b). On the way back to the city, they perform the *kubadu*-rite, i.e., sacrificial homage,³¹ for all the gods at the city gate of battle (J: ll. 35-37a). The breads, beverages and meat go up into the city (K: ll. 37b, 184c-185).

3. First day of the annual *zukru* ritual on the 15th of SAG.MU in the sixth year

AZ1/II (ll. 170b-179) provides us with a text for only the first day of the ritual. Although *Emar* VI 375 is the text prescribing the procedures on the first, second, and the seventh days of the annual *zukru*, the bad state of preservation of the tablet prevents us from clearly reconstructing the ritual's structure.³² Nevertheless, this text still gives additional information to the festival text,

particularly to AZ1/II, such as gathering something to the Dagan temple (ll. 19, 43) and the symbolic rite of the citizens breaking clods of earth (ll. 35f.).

The text of AZ1/II includes the following components: Elements B (l. 171), C (see below), D-E (l. 173b),³³ H (l. 174), I (l. 175) and K (l. 179b).³⁴

First to be remarked is that Element C is absent from texts other than AZ1/II, including *Emar* VI 375. Element C is: (after reaching the destination) the people perform the lesser *kubadu*-rite at the gate of *sikkānu*-stones (*Emar* VI 373: 172b-173a). In view of the fact that the common Element J, another *kubadu*-rite, is lacking in AZ1/II, we may regard this synchronous phenomenon as a feature of the annual *zukru*.

Although Element G is lacking in AZ1/II, *Emar* VI 375 refers to it (l. 14) after the people raise something to (the place) between the *sikkānu* stones (l. 13). Taking into account the fact that the Part II text never mentions Element G (see Table 1 [l. Data]; cf. also n. 38 below), we may safely include it as a component of the annual *zukru*.

Then, the fact that Element E is mentioned before Element H in AZ1/II suggests that it is to be understood as occurring also before Element G as usual. However, *Emar* VI 375 refers to it after Element G (ll. 14f.). Does this mean that in practice the procedure was more or less flexible? I leave this question open.

Note that Element I is attested in AZ1/II on the first day (l. 175)³⁵ and that at least *Emar* VI 375 does not refer to this rite on the last day. This contrast — presence on the first day vs. absence on the last day — seems to be a feature of the annual *zukru* in contrast to the festival (see below).

In conclusion, AZ1 is constituted of all the components but Elements A, F and J.

4. *zukru* festival in the seventh year

As for the components of ZF1 (ll. 44-64, 187b-194), Elements B (ll. 45-47, 187b-188), D (ll. 48-59, 189b-190a), E (l. 60a), G (ll. 60b-61a), H (ll. 191b-192a), J (ll. 62f., 193) and K (ll. 64, 194) are certain. The absence of Element I, as well as of A, C and F, is also confirmed according to the above principle (2).

Concerning ZF7 (ll. 75-168, 197-204), it is certain that Elements A (see below), B (l. 197), F (see below), H (ll. 163, 202b-203a), I (ll. 164b-165a, 203b-204a) and J (ll. 165c-167a, 204b) are its components.

The special Element A (ll. 76-162+br.) is the grand offering to all the gods of Emar on the last day of the festival.³⁶ Element F, too, is peculiar to this day: the people leave behind all the (rest of) meat, breads and whatever they consumed (*ikkalū*) and burn them up (ll. 199b-201) before Element H. This can

be regarded as a substantial reference to Element E, too. Since on this occasion it is said, “nothi[ng] goes up in[to] the city” (l. 201a), there is no doubt that they return to the city without anything unlike on the other days (K*).

On the other hand, it is most likely that Element C, which is peculiar to AZ1 (see above), is absent. The remaining Elements D (premised in ll. 198b-199a) and G³⁷ (cf. above on the feature of the Part II text), which are attested in all of 25N, AZ1 and ZF1, may be safely regarded as ZF7's components as well.

As a result, ZF7 is constituted of all the components except Element C.

5. Comparisons

The reconstructed procedures of the preparatory rituals and the festival are shown in Table 1 (2. Reconstructed Procedures). Since as mentioned above, 25N is constituted of all the common (i.e., non-special) components, we may use it as a criterion for comparison. AZ1 is characterized by the presence of Element C instead of Element J. Whereas ZF1 is the same as 25N except for the absence of Element I, ZF7 can be regarded as 25N with additions of Elements A and F (as well as K*).

As for AZ1 and ZF1 held on the first day of the *zukru* ritual/festival, we find two contrasts between them: (1) the presence of Element C instead of Element J in AZ1 vs. its opposite in ZF1 (cf. also 25N above); (2) the presence of Element I in AZ1 vs. its absence in ZF1.

As for ZF1 and ZF7, it is obvious that Elements A and F as well as K* are peculiar to the latter. What is interesting is the contrast in Element I: its absence in ZF1 vs. its presence in ZF7. As we will see below, this prepares for the dramatic finale of the festival.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that Elements B, D, E, G, H and K/K* are common to all the ritual processions and thus are to be regarded as indispensable for them. Observing this point, let us ask which element is their particular feature, i.e., the *core*. Among those elements, apparently B and K/K* constitute the overall framework, whereas E seems to be incidental to D (cf. n. 28 above) and G is, as Fleming noted, preparatory to H.³⁸ The remaining elements are D and H, a human performance for the gods and a nominally divine performance, respectively. These are to be regarded as the core elements of the processions. More strictly, it is H, since D is a common feature found in rituals in general.³⁹

IV. Dagan and ^dNIN.URTA

1. Dagan's Face: Covered or Uncovered?

Dagan is the head god of the middle Euphrates region and the festival god of the *zukrus* in Emar.⁴⁰ *Emar* VI 373 occasionally refers to the state of his (i.e., his statue's) face (*pānū*) whether it is "covered/veiled" (*kuttumū*) or "uncovered/unveiled" (*petū*). Although this topic has been briefly treated by Fleming,⁴¹ let us reexamine the data to find patterns for comparison. We will check the state of his face at his departure, at the passage between the *sikkānu*-stones (henceforth = passage) and at the return.

(1) AZ1 (uncovered → covered = covered): When Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) goes out of the city into procession, "hi[s] face is [unc]overed" (l. 172). But before his passage, "they cover (*ukattamū*) his face" (l. 173).⁴² After this rite, when they have ^dNIN.URTA mount his wagon with him, "their (i.e., Dagan's and ^dNIN.URTA's) faces are cove[red]" (l. 176).⁴³ Then Dagan (as well as ^dNIN.URTA) goes back to the city with his covered face.

(2) 25N (covered = covered = covered): When Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) goes out, the text reads: "[hi]s [face] is covered for (both) his departure and his return" (ll. 181f.; cf. also l. 18).⁴⁴ His face is covered all day.

(3) ZF1 (covered → uncovered → covered): When Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) goes out, "Dagan's face is covered" (l. 189). After his passage, "they cove[r] (*ukattam[ū]*) his face" (l. 192). This means that somewhere in between they uncover his face and that it is uncovered at his passage. When do they uncover his face? In comparison with ZF7 below, it is most likely just before his passage. Both at his departure and return, his face is covered, whereas it is uncovered only during this rite.

(4) ZF7 (covered → uncovered = uncovered): When Dagan goes out, "his face is covered" (l. 198). Before his passage, "they uncover (*ipettū*) Dagan's [fa]ce" (l. 202) and indeed it is written that when he performs this rite, "[hi]s [face] is uncovered" (l. 164). Then he goes back to the city with his uncovered face.

There is no case in which Dagan's face is uncovered all day, although the opposite case is found in 25N. Comparing ZF1 and ZF7, they have in common that his face is covered at his departure and that it is uncovered at his passage, but they are different with respect to his return: covered in ZF1 vs. uncovered in ZF7.

Now, it is worth noting that the above pattern of AZ1 is exactly opposite to that of ZF7. Although there is no data for the seventh and last day of the annual *zukru* (= *AZ7),⁴⁵ taking balance into consideration it seems plausible that the pattern of *AZ7 is likewise opposite to that of ZF1 in contraposition (see n. 47 below): *AZ7 (uncovered → covered → uncovered). We take this as a working

hypothesis. In this case, AZ1 and *AZ7 have in common that Dagan's face is uncovered at his departure and that it is covered at his passage, but are different in the case of his return: covered in AZ1 vs. uncovered in *AZ7.

Comparing the annual *zukru* and the *zukru* festival, the following contrasts can be discerned: (1) uncovered (AZ1 and *AZ7?) vs. covered (ZF1 and ZF7) at Dagan's departure; (2) covered (AZ1 and *AZ7?) vs. uncovered (ZF1 and ZF7) at his passage; (3) covered on the first day (AZ1 and ZF1) vs. uncovered on the last day (*AZ7? and ZF7) at his return. Among these, the contrast (3) is easily understood as the culmination at the end of the last day of the ritual/festival. The contrast (2) probably reflects the emphasis on Dagan's passage, the core rite, in the *zukru* festival. Then, can the contrast (1) be regarded as compensation for the sake of the annual *zukru*?

In any case, it should be noted that the people of Emar can see Dagan's face at his return to the city only on the last days of the annual *zukru* and the *zukru* festival, once a year. What is more significant is that Dagan with his uncovered face passes between the *sikkānu*-stones only on the first and the last days of the festival,⁴⁶ twice in six (or seven) years. Furthermore, Dagan's face is uncovered at both his passage and return only on the last day of the festival, once in six (or seven) years.

Based on the above analyses, the following hierarchy (in accordance with the degree of importance for the festival) becomes clear: non-*zukru* ritual (25N) < annual *zukru* ritual (AZ1 < *AZ7?) < *zukru* festival (ZF1 < ZF7).⁴⁷

2. ^dNIN.URTA's Joining Dagan

^dNIN.URTA is the city god and the son of Dagan in Emar.⁴⁸ In *Emar* VI 373, he is next in importance to Dagan (*bēl bukarī*). For example, the order of the gods and spirits mentioned in the procession on the first day of the festival is as this: Dagan *bēl bukarī*, ^dNIN.URTA, the *šaššabittu*-spirit of the ^dNIN.URTA temple, the three palace gods (i.e., Bēlet-ekalli, and ^d30 and ^dUTU of the palace), all the gods and the *šaššabittu*-spirits (ll. 45f.).⁴⁹ Likewise, ^dNIN.URTA (restored) and then the *šaššabittu*-spirit of his temple (ll. 52f. and 54-56) receive offerings just after Dagan (*bēl bukarī*), the festival god (ll. 48-50).⁵⁰

Further to be noted is the special role he plays in the preparatory rituals and the festival, i.e., his joining Dagan (henceforth = joining). After the rites at the gate of the *sikkānu*-stones, the people have ^dNIN.URTA mount Dagan's wagon with him and then both of them, riding on the wagon, go back together to the city. In *Emar* VI 373, we find this in three rituals, AZ1 (l. 175), 25N (l. 184b) and ZF7 (ll. 164b-165a, 203b-204a), and in the case of AZ1 ^dNIN.URTA's face

is covered (see above). With respect to the phase of the return to the city, the data on him in correlation with those on Dagan's face are in Table 2 (for the abbreviations C and U, see n. 47 above).

Table 2. Dagan and ^dNIN.URTA on the Way to the City

	AZ1	*AZ7 ⁵¹	25N	ZF1	ZF7
Dagan's face	C	(U?)	C	C	U
Joining	+	(-?)	+	-	+
^d NIN.URTA's face	C	(U?)	U	U	U

Two points are noteworthy. Firstly, when we look at only the three days on which ^dNIN.URTA's joining occurs, the climax toward ZF7 is easily discernible in process of time: AZ1 < 25N < ZF7. Secondly, the culmination in ZF7 is intensified by the contrast with ZF1 in terms of his joining (as well as of the state of Dagan's face [see above]). These points show that ^dNIN.URTA, as well as Dagan, plays a significant role in the proceeding of these rituals and the festival.

V. Conclusions

The above analyses of *Emar* VI 373 have clarified how elaborately the schedule and the procedures of the *zukru* festival and its preparatory rituals were planned. The following points are to be remarked:

Firstly, as for the preparatory rituals in the sixth year, their schedule was determined taking into consideration not only lunar years (15th of SAG.MU) but also solar years, both annually (25th of SAG.MU) and in a six-year, if not seven-year, cycle (25th of Niqali).

Secondly, if the festival was celebrated in six-year cycle (but cf. 17 above), it would mean there was a seven-year period, exactly parallel to the seven-day period of the festival, but on a grand scale.

Thirdly, except for the special rite of the grand offering (Element A) on the last day of the festival, the procedures of the rituals and the festival are not drastically different (cf. 25N), and all include the core rite of Dagan's passage between the *sikkānu*-stones (Element H). However, several contrasts observed among them (particularly on Elements C, F, I, J and K*) characterize AZ1, ZF1 and ZF7.

Fourthly, both covering/uncovering Dagan's face and ^dNIN.URTA's joining Dagan (Element I) can be regarded as effective engines for the rituals and the

festival as they proceed toward the last day of the festival. Individually and in combination they lead to the culmination at the finale.

It is only at the finale on the last day of the festival, once in six (or seven) years, that Dagan with his uncovered face and ^dNIN.URTA, riding on the wagon together, return to the city. Saluting their return, the people of Emar must have recalled afresh the stable union between the region and the city through that between the father and his son.

APPENDIX: Participants in the Divine Processions (*Emar* VI 373)

1. General Remarks

The followings are the gods and spirits who go out of the city in the processions to the gate of the *sikkānu*-stones in *Emar* VI 373:

Part I

25N/I	all the gods, <i>šaššabittu</i> -spirits, ... Dagan <i>bēl libitti</i> (ll. 17f.)
ZF1/I	Dagan <i>bēl bukari</i> , ^d NIN.URTA, the <i>šaššabittu</i> -spirit of the ^d NIN.URTA temple, the three palace gods, all the gods, <i>šaššabittu</i> -spirits (ll. 45f.)
ZF7/I	(broken)

Part II

AZ1/II	Dagan <i>bēl bukari</i> (l. 171)
25N/II	Dagan <i>bēl bukari</i> , all the gods (l. 180)
ZF1/II	Dagan <i>bēl bukari</i> , all the gods, <i>šaššabittu</i> -spirits (ll. 187f.)
ZF7/II	Dagan, all the gods, <i>šaššabittu</i> -spirits (l. 197).

Cf. *Emar* VI 375 (annual *zuku*)

First day	Dagan, ⁵² the divine axe (ll. 4f.)
Seventh day	Dagan, the gods, the divine axe (l. 29).

At a glance, it is clear that the combination of “Dagan *bēl bukari*” and “all the gods”⁵³ (as well as “*šaššabittu*-spirits”) is the basic pattern and the referents gradually increase with time in Part II (cf. also *Emar* VI 375).⁵⁴ Although it is enigmatic that 25N/I refers to Dagan *bēl libitti* (EN SIG₄), “Lord of the Brickwork,” and in the third position, in l. 18, he is in some way to be regarded as a variant of, if not the same as, Dagan *bēl bukari*, as 25N/II shows (cf. also l. 12). The following two cases seem to me rather problematic: (1) Dagan *bēl bukari* alone in AZ1/II; (2) Dagan without *bēl bukari* in ZF7/II. We will treat

these two problems here.

2. Dagan *bēl bukarī* alone in AZ1/II

Is he really alone? Although Fleming reads *i-na u₄-mi ša-a-šu* DI[NGIR^{mes} *gáb-bá(?)*] *ú-še-šu-ú*, “on the same day, (once) they bring out [all of the] gods”⁵⁵ (*Emar* VI 373: 177; cf. ^dŠaggar in l. 178), I think the lacuna should rather be restored as ^rd[*KUR a-bu-ma*][?], “Dagan the Father(?),” on the basis of l. 190 (with ^dŠaggar; ZF1). For the first day of the annual *zukru*, *Emar* VI 375 too refers only to Dagan (l. 4). However, the text (ll. 28-30) reads this for the seventh day: *i-na [u₄]-mi 7 ki-ma u₄-^rmi* [15] / [^d*da-ga*]ⁿ⁵⁶ *ù* DINGIR.ĤÁ *ù* ^d*ha-si-in-nu ša* DINGIR / [*GU₄*][?] *UDU*[?].Ĥ]Á *ú-si-ú*, “on the seventh [d]ay just as (on) the [15th] d[a]y, Dagan and the gods and the divine axe, [the ox(?) and sheep(?)] go out (in procession).”⁵⁷ This demonstrates that Dagan *bēl bukarī* departs with the other gods on the first day of the ritual.

3. Dagan (^dKUR) without *bēl bukarī* in ZF7/II

This can be regarded as just an elliptic writing of Dagan *bēl bukarī*,⁵⁸ if not a scribal error. With this regard, note that despite the apparent escalation of referents in the Part II text, the actual participants in AZ1 and 25N must have been Dagan *bēl bukarī*, all the gods (and *šaššabittu*-spirits) as referred to in ZF1/II (see above). Then it would be reasonable to assume the same participants in ZF7/II, too.

However, it is interesting to note that the reference to Dagan without *bēl bukarī* in l. 197 is the unique case in *Emar* VI 373. In this text, the festival god is usually written using his full name at the first reference to him, and thereafter the abbreviated name is used in each section of the procession rites (e.g., ZF1/I: Dagan *bēl bukarī* in l. 45 vs. Dagan in l. 48, 50).⁵⁹ Here, although l. 197 is the first such reference in ZF7/II, his full name is not given; rather the name Dagan is consistently used in this section (see l. 202 [twice]). This suggests the possibility that the referent is Dagan proper, not his form Dagan *bēl bukarī*. In the following, let us consider what this would mean *if* this is correct.

In *Emar* VI 373, Dagan proper is also referred to as Dagan *abuma*, “the Father,”⁶⁰ in l. 190 (ZF1/II) and probably also in l. 177 (AZ1/II; see above). In both cases his bringing out by the people, as well as Šaggar’s bringing out, is separately mentioned in the midst of the procedure prescriptions. It is not clear whether this indicates his later departure (as in the case of Šaggar in ll. 177b-179a) or his original participation in the divine procession. But in any case his participation can be confirmed. On the other hand, no explicit reference to

Dagan proper is found in the non-*zukru* 25N. However, his name (^dKUR) most likely occurred in the lacuna in l. 13 as one of the gods who will receive sheep in this ritual (cf. l. 79).⁶¹ This suggests his participation as one of “all the gods” in the procession headed by Dagan *bēl bukari* as in the cases of ZF1 and AZ1.

Based on these observations, the degree of Dagan proper’s involvement in the procession rites can be summarized as follows:

- (1) AZ1, 25N and ZF1: participation in the procession;
- (2) ZF7: leading the procession.

Can we see here another indication of the culmination established for the last day of the festival? On this day, Dagan proper himself leads the procession instead of Dagan *bēl bukari*. If so, it can be suggested that Dagan *bēl bukari* may play the role of the festival god only as a substitute for the regional god Dagan and that the latter actually takes the initiative only on the last day.⁶² This mechanism would explain well why Dagan *bēl bukari* is called also Dagan in *Emar* VI 373 and why the festival god is consistently called Dagan in *Emar* VI 375 (cf. once Dagan *rēš zukri*, “Head of the *zukru*,” in l. 17). The people were seeing the image of Dagan proper, the ultimate festival god, through his form Dagan *bēl bukari*.

Notes

¹ The abbreviations used in this article follow the system of the *Cuneiform Digital Library* (http://cdli.ucla.edu/wiki/doku.php/abbreviations_for_assyriology), with the following exceptions in reference to texts from Emar: *Emar* VI = D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar* VI.1-4, Paris, 1985-87; *TS* = idem, *Textes syriens de l’âge du Bronze récent*, Sabadell, 1991.

For festivals in Emar, see D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal’s High Priestess at Emar: A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion*, Atlanta, Ga., 1992, 199-263; idem, “The Emar Festivals: City Unity and Syrian Identity under Hittite Hegemony,” in M. W. Chavalas (ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda, Md., 1996, 81-121.

² Reedited with collation in: D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner’s Archive*, Winona Lake, Ind., 2000, 234-251. I follow his lineation when referring to this text below. For the word *zukru*, “remembrance, memorial,” see E. J. Penttiuc, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar*, Winona Lake, Ind., 2001, 197f. Cf. “invocation” (Fleming, op. cit., 113-126, esp. 123).

³ Reedited with collation in: Fleming, *Time*, 258-265. I follow his lineation when referring to this text below.

⁴ For these general features of the *zukur*, see Fleming, in *Emar*, 91-93; idem, *Time*, 48f. The equation between SAG.MU and Zarati is supported by the references to the date of the first day of the annual *zukru* ritual in the two texts: the 15th day of SAG.MU (*Emar* VI 373: 170f.) and the 15th day of Zarati (375: 3).

⁵ This schedule is based on M. Yamada, “The *zukru* Festival in Emar: On Royal Cooperation with the City,” *Orient* 45 (2010), 114f. Fig. 1; cf. Fleming, *Time*, 55 Fig. 7.

⁶ This part is probably divided into the following three sections: a. Second(?) day of the festival (br.+ll. 65-67); b. Five(?) intervening days of the festival (ll. 68-72); c. Sixth(?) day of the festival (ll. 73f.). See Yamada, *Orient* 45, 116.

- ⁷ Note that the sixth day is functionally bilateral. It can be considered both as one of the five intervening days (II. 73f.; I.D.3.c in the above schedule with the preceding footnote) and as the preparatory day to the seventh and last day (II. 195f.; II.C.2). Cf. Yamada, *ibid.*
- ⁸ I.e., the second month (see Fleming, *Time*, 63 and n. 49, 200, 213).
- ⁹ The ideal difference of ten days between a lunar year and a solar year is reflected in the 364-day year in late Mesopotamia and Israel. See W. Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JANES* 24 (1996), 35f. n. 2, 40f.; also Fleming, *Time*, 215 n. 52, for further literature on the debate over this Mesopotamian year.
- ¹⁰ I.e., 25S was annually held with the annual *zukru*. The fact that it is omitted in Part II suggests its secondary importance for the festival proper.
- ¹¹ Fleming is of the opinion that the festival was held on a seven-year cycle (e.g., *Time*, 63-68). This means in terms of my discussion that the previous festival was celebrated in the zeroth year.
- ¹² This would be certain if the above ritual 25S was held annually. Note that the dates of both 25S and 25N are set after the last day of the festival (21st of SAG.MU).
- ¹³ Any time setting is possible concerning the first new/full-moon day and the day of equinox. On our setting, cf. n. 20 below.
- ¹⁴ Although no evidence of leap months has been found in the Emar texts, some intercalation of them must have been required to adjust the lunar calendar to the seasons (Fleming, *Time*, 217f.). On this issue, cf. n. 18 below.
- ¹⁵ For convenience, ignoring the slight difference caused after entering the seventh year.
- ¹⁶ This way of intercalation is more practical, though not perfect. In Mesopotamia, as it has been noted, already in the Ur III period "an intercalation of the so-called *diri* month was necessary, on average, every three years" in the cultic calendars (see R. K. Englund, "Administrative Timekeeping in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JESHO* 31 [1988], 123 and n. 3). Note also a reference to the accounting period of "37 months" (i.e., three years and one month) in an archaic administrative text (*MSVO* 3 29), although each month consisted of thirty days (see H. J. Nissen et. al., *Archaic Bookkeeping*, Chicago, Ill., 1993, 36f.).
- ¹⁷ I.e., that (1) the Emarites were conscious of the actual gap (of 7.5 days) after the six years; and (2) they estimated it to be approximately ten days.
- ¹⁸ In this connection, it is worth noting that "the consecration day" (*ūmi qadduši*) in *Emar* VI 373: 193 refers to the 25th of Nīqali (cf. *qadduši* in I. 33) in the sixth year (Fleming, *Time*, 53 and n. 16, 65 and n. 59, 257). We know that 25N is the final preparatory ritual to the festival. As the "consecration day" usually denotes the day of preparation immediately before an Emarite festival (e.g., *Emar* VI 369: 6, 22; see *ibid.*, 64 and n. 52), here it would denote the day immediately one year before the festival. In this case, the fact that the month of this ritual is not SAG.MU but Nīqali, i.e., eleven months before the festival on calendar, can be regarded as indirect evidence of inserting a leap month in the sixth year.
- ¹⁹ Cf. about twenty (26.25) days in the six-year cycle.
- ²⁰ This suggests that the period of the *zukru* festival and the autumnal equinox are relatively close in date; or more precisely that after seven or six years the 21st of SAG.MU and the equinox are to be approximately synchronous within a time span of no more than ten days. The above model of a six-year cycle meets this condition, whereas no model of seven-year cycle does, due to the above gap, when repeating the cycle without any adjustment.
- ²¹ In this case, again the sixth year is functionally bilateral both as a component of the five intervening years (i.e., the second to the sixth years) and as the preparatory year to the seventh year (cf. n. 7 above).
- ²² This may explain why both ^d30 and ^dUTU, besides Bēlet-ekalli, are featured among the palace gods (cf. II. 91, 108) in the preparatory ritual(s) (I. 29 for 25N) and the festival (II. 46, 58; cf. II. 89f.). Can we see here some connection between royal timekeeping and the cyclic celebration of the *zukru* festival?
- ²³ See Yamada, *Orient* 45, 116.

- ²⁴ On the equation of Dagan *bēl bukarī* with Dagan in the description of the procession rites, see n. 43 below.
- ²⁵ Cf. Dagan *bēl libitti* (l. 18), for whom see Appendix § 1 below.
- ²⁶ For *šaššabittu*, probably a protective spirit, see Pentiuć, *Vocabulary* (n. 2), 167f.; Fleming, *Time*, 78-82; also M. Dietrich, "Die Parhedra im Pantheon von Emar: Miscellanea Emariāna (I)," *UF* 29 (1997), 115-122.
- ²⁷ For *sikkānu* see Fleming, *Time*, 82-87 (with previous literature); Pentiuć, *Vocabulary*, 156-159; J.-M. Durand, *Florilegium marianum* VIII: *Le Culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*, Paris, 2005, 1-91.
- ²⁸ The provision of food and drink for the people is embedded in ll. 22a, 32. These texts rather anticipate the following Element E.
- ²⁹ Lit. "the wagon (of Dagan)"; cf. ll. 163 (restored), 174, 202f. with "of Dagan." Note also: "Dagan passes between the *sikkānu*-stones" (l. 192).
- ³⁰ For this omission of ^dNIN.URTA's joining Dagan, see ll. 164f., 175; cf. also ll. 203f. (restored). This ^dNIN.URTA must be the god, i.e., his statue, participating in the procession, who is referred to in l. 24 (cf. also ll. 45, 53 [restored] in ZF1/I). Note that he has a face, which is covered together with Dagan's face in l. 176 (AZ1/II). This indicates that the ^dNIN.URTA is to be distinguished from "the [*s*]ikkānu-stone of ^dNIN.URTA" (*Emar* VI 375: 16), which is one of the upright stones outside of the city.
- ³¹ For *kubadu* see Fleming, *Installation* (n. 1), 162-169; idem, *Time*, 95f.; cf. also Pentiuć, *Vocabulary*, 106f.
- ³² This text is apparently constituted of the following four parts: 1. Heading (ll. 1f.); 2. 15th day, month of Zarati (ll. 3-27); 3. Seventh day of the annual *zuku* ritual (ll. 28-44; cf. ll. 45f.); 4. 16th day, month of Zarati (ll. 47-56). Cf. Fleming, *Time*, 100-102 with Fig. 11.
- ³³ The text reads: *ki-i-me-e SISKUR KÚ NAG*, "after they (i.e., people of Emar) offer, eat (and) drink." I take this SISKUR as Element D, not C, seeing that most probably offerings from the king are made to Dagan in AZ1/I (ll. 1-3; see Yamada, *Orient* 45, 119). Note that the *kubadu*-rite is always offered to all the gods, never to a particular deity, in *Emar* VI 373 (see ll. 35-37a, 62f., 165c-167a).
- ³⁴ In addition, it is prescribed that the people bring out Šaggar, the full-moon god, before the evening (ll. 177b-179a). Although his bringing out is also mentioned in l. 190 (ZF1), it is not indicated when they do so. Cf. Appendix § 3 below.
- ³⁵ Although *Emar* VI 373: 171 refers to the departure of Dagan (*bēl bukarī*) only, *Emar* VI 375: 28-30 shows that other gods also, no doubt including ^dNIN.URTA, go out in procession with him (see Appendix § 2 below).
- ³⁶ See Yamada, *Orient* 45, 116f.; cf. Fleming, *Time*, 68-70, 72, 243.
- ³⁷ Although ZF7/I may refer to anointing the stones (l. 167b; NA]₄.MEŠ according to Fleming, *Time*, 248) after Element J at the city gate of battle, this anointing must be different from that of Element G.
- ³⁸ *Time*, 82f. In view of the distribution pattern of the references to Elements G and H (see Table 1 [1. Data]), they look like a pair: a reference to G presupposes H and vice versa.
- ³⁹ The same conclusion was reached by Fleming (*Time*, 92f.) in a different approach to the text of *Emar* VI 373.
- ⁴⁰ As seen above (§ I), the accurate name of the festival god is Dagan *bēl bukarī*. He and Dagan proper are treated as different divinities in a strict sense (e.g., *Emar* VI 373: 77, 79 in the list of grand offering [see § II above]). However, in the description of the procession rites the former is also called "Dagan" and then equated with the latter in a general sense (see n. 43 and Appendix § 3 below). Note that when referring below to "Dagan" only, this equation is presupposed as in the case of "Dagan (*bēl bukarī*). On a possible exception to this in ZF7, see Appendix § 3.
- ⁴¹ *Time*, 92f. and n. 191. On this topic, a valuable source for comparison is the omen text concerning various states of (the statue of) Marduk on the occasion of the *akitu* festival in Babylon, which has most recently been reedited and treated in: W. Sallaberger, "Das Erscheinen

Marduks als Vorzeichen: Kultstatue und Neujahrsfest in der Omenserie Šumma ālu,” *ZA* 90 (2000), 227-262; cf. also B. Pongratz-Leisten, *ina šulmi īrub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akitu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Mainz, 1994, 257-265, Nr. 18. In this text, we find the state of Marduk’s face in his procession is one of the topics (ll. 19-25, 33). For example, l. 20 reads: “If ditto (i.e., as for Marduk) at his departure his face is covered (*pānūšu katmū*), the lands will be destroyed; the kings will get angry with each other” — thus unfavorable (cf. also ll. 19, 21-23). Sallaberger noted that “covered” probably denotes “covered with dust” here (ibid., 250). On the other hand, although there is no case reading, “if his face is uncovered,” in its stead we read, for example, in l. 25: “If ditto at his departure his face is bright (*pānūšu namrū*), Ellil will brighten this land forever” — thus favorable (cf. also ll. 24, 33). In view of these occurrences, no doubt it is presupposed that Marduk’s face is normally uncovered in his procession.

Then, what about Dagan’s face in the *zukru* festival in Emar? Fleming correctly noted: “Veiling ... would not have expressed grief” here, though admitting that the “covered” face usually expresses death and desolation (*Time*, 92f.). Moreover, in view of the data below, I would suggest that “covered” is the normal state in *Emar* VI 373, since it is hardly conceivable that the people would have ended the rituals with sad feeling (AZ1, ZF1 and esp. 25N). Seeing Dagan’s face must have been a rare and all the more special experience for them.

⁴² See also *Emar* VI 375: 4, 10.

⁴³ Note: the face of “Dagan *bēl bukarī*” (l. 171) is uncovered at the departure, whereas the face of “Dagan” (l. 174) is covered at the return. It is obvious that Dagan *bēl bukarī* is called just Dagan here.

⁴⁴ In 25/I, the state of Dagan’s face is only once described as “covered” at his departure (l. 18). In comparison with ll. 181f. in 25N/II above, this suggests the following rule: if a reference to its state is made and thereafter we find no reference to its new state, this means that its state is unchanged.

⁴⁵ For this day, the preserved text in *Emar* VI 375 does not refer to Dagan’s face.

⁴⁶ As remarked by Fleming (*Time*, 92).

⁴⁷ The states of Dagan’s face can be summarized as follows (arranged in the order of departure, passage and return; note: C = covered or no reference to uncovering; U = uncovered or no reference to covering):

25N: C = C = C

AZ1: U → C = C

*AZ7: (U? → C? → U?)

ZF1: C → U → C

ZF7: C → U = U

⁴⁸ The official seal of the urban authority, i.e., ^dNIN.URTA and the city elders, was known as “the seal of ^dNIN.URTA” in Emar (*Emar* VI 123: 9; 194: 14; 202: 18; *TS* 95: 9). Its seal impressions on documents have been published by D. Beyer (*Emar* IV: *Les sceaux*, Fribourg, Suisse, 2001, 206f., E1a-b). Note that the seal has the following legend: *ra-ab ša-da-d[i]?* / DUMU ^dda-g[an] / LUGAL *da-ad-m[i]* / *ka-ši-id*(DA) *za-wa-n[i]*, “*rab šadad[i]?*”, son of Dag[an], king of the inhabited wo[rld], conqueror of enemi[es]” (cf. ibid.). Although l. 1 is problematic (epithet of ^dNIN.URTA?), l. 2 clearly shows his filiation. On readings and interpretations of l. 1, see S. Dalley and B. Teissier, “Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere,” *Iraq* 54 (1992), 85 and n. 22 (*ra-ab ša-da-^rdi*, “Long-suffering(?)”); J. G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Emar Texts*, Groningen, 2000, 91f. (*rapša dādi*, “All-loving”); Fleming, *Time*, 94f. (*rapša dādi*, “Expansive of Affection”); Beyer, ibid. (*Rab-ša-dādi*, “Grand est ce qui concerne [le dieu qui est] l’oncle maternel,” following D. Arnaud); cf. M. Yamada, “The Eponymous Years and Ninurta’s Seal: Thoughts about the Urban Authority of Emar,” *BMECCJ* 9 (1996), 302f.; J.-M. Durand and L. Marti, “Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate 2. Relecture de documents d’Ekalte, Émar et Tuttul,” *RA* 97 (2003), 157 n. 82.

⁴⁹ Although also other major gods (e.g., ^dIM and Ea as seen above in § II) must have been participating in the procession, they are incorporated into “all the gods.”

⁵⁰ However, it is curious that the amount of offerings which ^dNIN.URTA receives is the least

among these divine beings. Let us look at the text of 25N/I (ll. 18b-33), instead of the damaged one of ZF1/I (ll. 48-59). As for the animals provided by the king/by the city, ^dNIN.URTA receives only two sheep/one sheep (l. 23), whereas Dagan receives two calves and six sheep/[five] sheep (ll. 18f.; see Yamada, *Orient* 45, 125 n. 24), the *šaššabittu*-spirit receives one calf and six sheep/one sheep (l. 26) and the three palace gods receive one calf and ten sheep/nothing (l. 30). Why is the city god treated like this?

With this regard, it is interesting to note that other *šaššabittu*-spirits do not receive offerings and that the total of the offerings for ^dNIN.URTA and the *šaššabittu*-spirit is equal to those for the three palace gods: one calf and ten sheep. Therefore there is no doubt that the king was ready to pay homage to the ^dNIN.URTA side. Perhaps is it that he consciously restrained himself from making offerings directly to him that much exceeded that (one sheep) made by the city and, in its stead, offered much to the *šaššabittu*-spirit? If so, we may see here an aspect of the royal intention not to interfere with the ritual initiative of the urban authority (cf. Yamada, *Orient* 45, 120).

⁵¹ For Dagan's face see above. With regard to Joining, it is difficult to assume that it occurs on two days in the annual *zukru*, seeing that even in the festival it occurs only once. As for ^dNIN.URTA's face, note that the uncovered state seems to be normal (cf. 25N, ZF1 and ZF7); and there is no necessity to suppose that it is covered at the finale of the ritual. If these considerations are correct, the patterns of these elements in AZ1 and *AZ7 are contrastive.

⁵² Although the DN is broken, it may be safely restored as ^d[*da-gan*], in view of the text, "his face is uncovered," following in the same line. Cf. Dagan in *Emar* VI 373: 2f. (AZ1/I).

⁵³ In view of the total number of "forty" sheep offered to divine beings in 25N/I (l. 33) in comparison with "seventy pure lambs" (l. 39) prepared for "all seventy gods [of the land of] Emar" (l. 40) in ZF1/I, it seems likely that "all the gods" (l. 17 and elsewhere) does not necessarily mean all the gods of Emar, but all the gods participating in the procession.

⁵⁴ Although there is no reference to *šaššabittu*-spirits in 25N/II, that they actually participated in the procession is indicated by 25N/I.

⁵⁵ *Time*, 248f.

⁵⁶ Text A, restored on the basis of ^d*da-gan* in Text D. See Fleming, *Time*, 262.

⁵⁷ Reading and translation follow Fleming, *Time*, 262f., with slight modifications. He is certainly correct in restoring "15" in l. 28, since in view of the schedule of this text (see n. 32 above), only the 15th of Zarati (l. 3) is an appropriate candidate for the referent here, i.e., the day mentioned before the seventh day of the ritual.

⁵⁸ Fleming, *Time*, 88 n. 171 ("perhaps out of concern for space").

⁵⁹ See Fleming, *Time*, 88 and n. 171; Yamada, *Orient* 45, 123f. n. 12.

⁶⁰ In my opinion, of his forms such as Dagan *bēl bukari*. See Yamada, *ibid.*; cf. Fleming, *Time*, 90f. and n. 178.

⁶¹ As cited in § II above. For the restoration of his name, see Fleming, *Time*, 252 note on l. 13.

⁶² Although it is written that the people of Emar dedicate the *zukru* festival to Dagan *bēl bukari* (*Emar* VI 373: 169f.). However, if that were correct, it would be Dagan proper himself who actually comes back to the city with ^dNIN.URTA, riding with him on the wagon, at the finale of the festival.