Babylonian and Hebrew Musical Terms

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IN the introduction to my Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms was derived, from early rubrics attached to Sumerian songs, the principle that the Sumerians classified their psalms and liturgical services chiefly by the names of the instruments employed in accompaniments. The Babylonians and the Assyrians adopted the Sumerian chants for their own sacred music, and throughout the history of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian temple music each psalm and liturgy was usually said to the accompaniment of a single instrument. The early Sumerian psalms usually have the title eršemma or melody to the flute. But the drum, balag, Syriac pelaggā, and the kettledrum, lîles, Babylonian lilissu,1 were freely employed in sacred music. The harp was also employed in early Sumer, as we know from a monument of Lagash, but the Sumerian and Babylonian name of the harp is unknown. The Sumerians classified their chants by the names of these instruments. I wish to call attention briefly to a remarkable catalogue of Assyrian psalms, liturgies, and popular songs which has been found at

1 The lilissu was a kettledrum. The meaning is determined by a drawing of this instrument on a Babylonian tablet, Revue d’Assyriologie, xiv, 145, reverse.
Assur and recently published by Ebeling, _Reлиgіose Keilschrifttexte aus Assur_, No. 158. This large tablet in eight columns begins by giving lists of Semitic liturgical series which were sung. Column iii of the obverse (which is fragmentary) continues with a list of Sumerian liturgies which are called _tegu_ or flute songs. Each liturgy is called a series (_iškara tu_) and contains several songs (_zamaru_). For example, the summary of one section has “three series and 15 songs”, that is each liturgy has on an average five psalms or melodies.¹ Most of the great liturgies which I have edited in my _Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms_, _Sumerian Liturgical Texts_, _Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms_, and _Babylonian Liturgies_ contain a much larger number of melodies, some attaining the high number of twenty-five.

The catalogue then gives the titles of five Sumerian psalms which comprise one liturgy (_ilītu iškara tu_).² The titles of these five psalms are as follows³:—

Col. iii, 32.  _a-an-še⁴ me-zi-da⁵ gu-num-a-ni⁶_  
Why are the steadfast rituals changed?

33.  _en-gal an-ki-eš maḫ sag-gi-in-di-ib_  
Great lord who in heaven and earth majestically advances.

¹ The titles of the liturgies sung to the flute in col. iii, 1–31, are not complete.
² Obv. iii, 37.
³ The transcription of the Sumerian is given in the list at the end of my _Sumerian Grammar_. I have changed my system with reference to a few signs for the sake of simplicity. _מ_ is rendered by _gāl_, _א_ by _gîr_, _ו_ by _gûr_, _כ_ by _kur_, and _ג_ by _kûr_. A large number of new values now known since the list was prepared will be dealt with in the second edition.
⁴ Cf. _a-na-šē_, _Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms_, 251, 27; _a-na-šē-šam_, why is it? Keiser, _Documents of the Ur Dynasty_, 116, 7. See _Sumerian Grammar_, p. 111.
⁵ _parsu kinu_, Meek, No. 75, 7, in _BA. x_. Cf. _Liturgies and Psalms_, 263, 15.
⁶ Postfixed conjugation in an interrogative sentence. See _ibid._ 294, n. 9, _gu_ for _kûr = nakūru_.

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Col. iii, 34. en-gal maq-qi-ib\(^1\) di-im-gi-ir-e-ne  
Great lord magnifier of the gods.

35. en na-an\(^2\)-su-ul-la ga\(^3\)-li-im si-ga  
Lord of power full of devastation.

36. an-nu u-ru-un-gal\(^4\) di-im-gi-ir-e-ne  
Anu high priest of the gods.

These five songs which composed a liturgy are called “Sumerian a-da-pa”, that is Sumerian melodies for the instrument adapu, probably tambourine. An antiphon in a liturgy to Libit-Ishtar is called an a-da-ap to the god Anu,
and the entire liturgy is called an a-da-ap to Anu in the final rubric.\(^6\) A similar liturgy in the cult of the deified Bur-Sin is also described as an a-da-ap to Anu.\(^7\) According to K. 4547, which restores V Raw. 32 B 61, urwd a-da-pad = adapu = mazù.\(^8\) Adapu is then a loan-word from adapad and an instrument with copper (urud) in its composition. Mazù, another name for this instrument, is a loan-word from me-zi = mešû,\(^9\) manzû.\(^10\) Once it has the determinative for leather,\(^11\) and it is associated with the flute and drum.\(^12\) The evidence points to an instrument of percussion, probably tambourine.

The titles of four Sumerian liturgies follow, but the

\(^1\) Read maq-ti-ih (?).
\(^2\) For nant: \(n > n\) before a sibilant.
\(^3\) ga for j̯a, which supports my statement that Sumerian possessed a velar sonant spirant \(j̯\); see Sumerian Grammar, § 38.
\(^4\) Probably the original of uru-gal = urigallu, great brother, a kind of priest; cf. Meissner, SAI. 4588. This melody is employed in a liturgy to the deified king Libit-Ishtar; see PSBA. 1918, 74, 9, where read u-ru-gal.
\(^5\) PSBA. 1918, 74, 8.
\(^6\) Ibid., p. 79, 7.
\(^7\) Radau, Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to NIN-IB, p. 54, 38.
\(^8\) This passage was ignored by Frank and Holma in their discussions of the mesû instrument; see ZA. 28, 159. Delitzsch cites K. 4547 on p. 27 of his Handwörterbuch.
\(^9\) Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies, 79, 17.
\(^10\) Brünnow, No. 8907.
\(^11\) Reisner, SBH. 72, R. 10.
\(^12\) Langdon, SBP. 79, 15. manzû à lišī, tambourine and kettledrum, Sharpu, iii, 79, restored from Ebeling, Religiöse Texte, No. 41, 34.
rubric which contained the name of the instrument on which they were accompanied is broken away; these four titles are well preserved, and I give a rendering of them here:

Col. iii, 40. *lu-gal dingir za-gi-na ta-al lu ra-aš-šu*

O king, bright god, wide-eared, lord of wisdom (?).

41. *en-ni ú-šum-gal di-im-gi-ir-e-ne*

O lord, champion of the gods.

42. *nu-un-gal silim-rāš-šu lu ga-la-ak-ki*

O sage, counsellor of prosperity (?), mighty lord.

43. *egi sukkal gal-an-zu an-na me-e eš-šu*

Prince, wise messenger of heaven, adviser of decrees.

Line 44 is Semitic and is entered in the catalogue as the title of a melody, *pa-ki-id ma-ḥar ilu a-lid ilāni A-nun-na-ki ra-bu-[ti], “He that watches before the divine begetter of the gods, the mighty Anunnaki.”*

Col. i of the reverse, which is fragmentary, contains a summary of various kinds of prayer, and ballads. This summary richly illuminates the rubrics of Babylonian and Hebrew liturgy.

The first legible section gave a number of songs for skilled workmen (*um-ma-ni*), by which the scribe probably refers to songs popular among craftsmen, not pertaining to the temple services. Then follows a number of *is-kar* or series called *maru mara imni*, “Son has recounted to son,” by which the various series of wisdom literature are probably indicated. Then a number of series for the *mur-ta-mi*, the lover. Series of love-songs were as yet unknown. The last entry in this section has “a series for the shepherd, containing five songs (ditto = *zamāru*) of the shepherd.” The three series of songs of

1 *lu ra-aš-šu* = *’amel purussi* (?).
2 For *kalaggī* = *dannnu* (?).
wisdom, of love, and the shepherd songs are described as akkadú, Akkadian, that is Semitic. From this point the text runs as follows:—

REV.

Col. i, 7. na(?)-am-bal¹ e-ţi šu-me-ru, Meditation² on education (?) in Sumerian.
8. te-gu-â¹ šu-me-ru, song to the reed flute in Sumerian.
9. (So many)¹ Sumerian songs.
10. X + 2 Semitic songs.
11. X + 4 za-ma-ru a-da-pu (pl.), songs to the tambourine.
12. [. . .¹] sir-gid-da-mes³ šu-me-ru, (so many) songs to the long flute (?) in Sumerian.
14. 3 ši-id-ru ša ibly-be⁴ Akkad-(ki), three recitations to the pipe in Semitic.
15. 2 šidru ša pi-i-te Akkad-(ki), two recitations to the pîtu in Semitic.

In lines 14 and 15 occurs for the first time the musical term šidru, which is clearly not the word šitur, "writing." The word occurs on Rev. iv, 16, at the end of a list of Semitic prayers apparently addressed to Ea the god of incantation. This is the word which occurs in the prayer, IV R. 54, 34, ši-id-ru ša "u-E-a lišapšiḫ libbuka, “May the šidru of the god Ea cause thy heart to repose.” From the same root comes the word maṣḍaru, a kind of prayer,

¹ The number of these compositions is broken away at the left of the tablet.
² The rubric bal-bal occurs at the end of several Sumerian psalms, Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies, p. 103, 55; PSBA. 1918, 82, 41; 85, 23; and an unpublished Nippur text (4589) has the rubric bal-bal-e d-Innini-kam, a meditation of Innini.
³ Since giš-sir means māšītu, wood flute, it is probable that sir-gid means long flute. The rubric occurs in Sumerian Liturgical Texts, 138, 29; 140, 54, and at the end of Ni. 11394 (unpublished).
⁴ Usually written imbubu, Syriac abbūba.
The instrument *pitu* occurs here for the first time. The word is probably derived from הָעַב, cry, wail. See also l. 48.

Col. i, 16. 5 pa-a-ru² ak-ka-du-ú, five *páru* in Semitic.
17. 1 šu-me-ru, one Sumerian (song).
18. 10 ak-ka-du-ú, ten Semitic (songs).
19. naphar 11 za-mar še-e-ri,⁵ altogether eleven songs as elegies.
20. 11 za-mar a-la-li Akkad-(ki), eleven songs as hymns⁴ in Semitic.
21. 9 šu-me-ru.
22. 1 ak-ka-du-ú.
23. naphar 10 za-mar ¹ Nin-giš-zi-da.

Nine Sumerian songs and one Semitic song, altogether ten songs to Ningišzića.⁵

¹ The passage was not comprehended by Jensen, Texte zur assyrisch-babylonische Religion, p. 102. For *ummisallû*, a kind of recitation, see also Ebeling, Religiöse Texte, No. 44, Rev. 14, eme-sal-meš, with kidudû recitations. The word *eme-sal* is commonly interpreted by woman's tongue, Zimmern in ZA. 30, 204 ff., note on Eb. 44, R. 14. Zimmern has, however, suggested that *sal* may mean *šilû*, prayer, and the root *sil* has the meaning to sing, cry out; *eme-sal* = *ummisallû* may possibly mean "tongue of prayer".  
² Cf. l. 33 pu-u-ru, same word.  
³ Hebrew רַעַשׁ, an ode of joy and praise in Hebrew and always connected with music. The Sumerian term is *ki-su-l-û*, Eb. 100, 5, usually a song of sorrow, elegy, in the Sumerian liturgies. Zamar Seri corresponds precisely to the Hebrew *mizmôr šîr* in the titles to certain Psalms (cf. Psalms lxvii and lxviii).  
⁴ Probably identical with *alâlu*, a hymn of praise, V Raw. 6, 102; King, Boundary Stones, p. 17, vi, 6; Thureau-Dangin, Sargón, 207, alâlu *tâbu*, a sweet song, and the equivalent of the Hebrew rubric כְּלִלִי in the heading of Psalm cxiv. On the other hand, from the same root alâlu or etelu = לַבֶּן, to sing a song of joy, is derived a word alâlû, a long wooden flute. Giš-gidim, giš-gi-di = alâlû, Meissner, SAI. 5521, and Berlin Assur text, 2559, iv, 44 (unpublished). See below, line 31.  
⁵ Ningišzića, a vegetation deity and form of Tammu, is not otherwise known as the subject of liturgical compositions. At present none of these ten compositions has been recovered.
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Rev.
Col. i, 24. 12 za-mar šarrī ak-ku-du-ú twelve songs of the king in Semitic.¹

(25.) 8 šu-me-ru.
(26.) 3 ak-ku-ru.
(27.) naphar 11 za-mar tuš-gu-ú (pl.).²

Altogether eleven songs as penitential psalms.

The above passage proves that the šigu, tušgu, tešku, or penitential psalms, were chiefly bilingual, and, in fact, nearly all of the known psalms of this class are bilinguals, usually known by their Sumerian title ersetaggunga. Zimmern, in his Busspsalmen, included two Semitic prayers, IV R. 54 No. 1 and 59 No. 2, and he is justified by this entry in the Assur catalogue. For a Semitic šigu, see also IV R. 54, B 35. The Hebrew rubric šiggajon

¹ A number of these royal hymns to deities are known. A prayer of Ašurnasirpal to Ishtar, ZA. v, 66–80 = Tammuz and Ishtar, 65–9. A hymn of the same king to Ishtar, Ebeling, Religiöse Texte, 107 = Ebeling, Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion, i, 58–62. Two bilingual hymns of Tukulti-Ninurta, Ebeling, Nos. 128, 129 = Ebeling, Quellen, i, 62–73. The Semitic version is probably fundamental, and these two tablets are to be classified as Semitic songs of a king. A hymn of Nebuchadnezzar II to Nebo, PSBA. 1898, 154–62, edited by S. A. Strong, translated also by Jastrow, Religion, i, 510, and by Zimmern, Der Alte Orient, vii², 8–9 (only lines 9–20 of reverse). A hymn of Nebuchadnezzar I to Marduk on his victory over the Elamites, Hehn, BA. v, 326–9, and a similar hymn, CT. 13, 48 = Winckler, Forschungen, i, 542. A hymn to Nanā by Sargon, Craig, RT. 54. Here belong probably the hymns of dedication of Asurbanipal; see Streck, Assurbanipal, ii, 276–86 = Craig, RT. 10–13; Streck, ibid. 287–93 = Craig, RT. ii, 1–2; Streck, ibid. 293–303 = Craig, RT. 76–9; Streck, ibid. 343–51 = Craig, RT. 5–6. See also Jensen, KB. vi², 136–41, who mentions none of his predecessors (Strong, Pinckert, Martin, Zimmern; see Streck, ibid. i, p. 1xi). The Catalogue of Assur is earlier than the reign of Asurbanipal, and consequently these twelve hymns must refer to the older Babylonian and Assyrian kings.

² The titles of these eleven tušgu songs were given at the top of Rev. iii. This word occurs as teš-ku-u on K. 2030a, Obv. 13 (in press) = K. 11190 (CT. 19, 39), 3, akkil = škilmun ša šeri: teš-ku-u, wailing of the plain, i.e. lower world, i.e. the Tammuz wailings. K. 2030a, Rev. 23–5, has Sum. il-dig-ga and gu-duš = tešku, lamentation. The form tušgu from šigu, to lament, is original, and has the same sense as the more ordinary šigu, the Sumerian ersetaggunga, penitential psalm.
is a loan-word from šigû, and likewise denotes a liturgical penitential psalm as the contents of Psalm vii prove. In Babylonia these psalms were certainly accompanied by music and liturgical formality. They possessed more formal character than the ordinary private prayers, and hence they are sung in Sumerian ordinarily.


The titles of these songs are given on Rev. iii, 6–10:—

Rejoice, O our lady and make song.

7. e-ir-ti³ im-ki-ti am-ma-rat⁴ nisē.
O watchful wise one, overseer of peoples.

8. ra-šu-ub-tu i-na ilāni a-na-ku.
Terrible one among the gods am I.

9. su-ā-ka a-ba'-a-ma šittā zikrēte ú-ta.
I entered a street and espied two hierodules.

10. ra-šu-ub-tu i-na ilāni a-na-ku.

The title is identical with that of the song in line 8,

1 Var. Rev. iii, 11, ki-ir-rē-tu. On kirētu, kirkētu, feast, from ניבו to invite to a feast, hence the “Invitation”, see Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalendar, 14. Usually of a religious feast, RA. 12, 81, 28. A synonym is mudulu, Yale Vocabulary, 185, ŚĒS (adkin) = mu-du-lu : kir-ri-e-tu, var. K. 8284 kir-ri-e-tu. Mudulu is clearly connected with dalātu, to serve, dullu, religious service. Mudulu, religious service, feast, occurs also in Legrain, Le Temps des Rois d’Ur, 116, 2; 117, 6, sacrifices of sheep for the mudulum and ši-r-tu. Sheep are called the ši-dug, fixed offering of the mudulu, 356, 2; širtu, song service, is the cognate of Hebrew 적, song, ballad. Note also Legrain, ibid. 322, 1, fat rams for the šir nak me, song service of the pouring of water, that is, the libations for the souls of the dead. See also ibid. 323, 9; 341, 9; CT. 32, 16, 1, 6, and Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalendar, 31, n. 2.

2 Cf. Eb. 144, Rev. 1.

3 E’irtu, from ירב to be wakeful? ḫpIr* > ērin, participle? The root occurs in Eb. 58, R. 15, ana e-ri u šalli, for the waking and the sleeping. As verb eratina, ye are watching, ibid., l. 13. For the adj. fem. pl. ērati, see l. 12. A reading enitu = entu, lady, is hardly possible.

4 Ammaraṭu ; cf. the title of Ishtar ammarrat kal nisē, Eb. 158, obv. i, 26, and ii, 30, am-ma-ra-ia. The cognate at-mar-ti ãwIgigi seems to indicate a root amāru, to see, hence the observer, the overseer.
and consequently two different songs began with the same line. These five festal songs are all connected with the worship of Ishtar as patroness of love and harlotry.

29. \(2 \text{ga-an-git-}tu\) (pl.) \(ki-min\). Two (songs to the) long reed\(^1\) in Semitic.

Rev. iii, 12 f., has the titles of two Semitic songs on the long reed flute:

\[
\text{da-i-is kibrati a-} \text{su-}u \quad \text{ka-} \text{lu } \text{alani}.
\]

He that treadeth out the regions, saviour (?) of all cities.

\[
\text{ga-a} \text{š-r} \text{u } \text{i} \text{la } \text{š} \text{a-r} \text{a lu-uz-za-mu-ur} \\
i-la \quad \text{da} \text{-ap-na}.
\]

The strong god, the king, will I sing of, even the conquering god.

Perhaps it can be inferred from these two titles that songs sung to “the long reed” were of an heroic character.

30. \(2 \text{nu-ú-ru } ki-min\). Two songs for youths\(^3\) in Semitic.

Rev. iii, 16 f., has the titles of these two songs for youths:

16. \(\text{ša-a-ar napis } \text{buraši la-a te-zi-ni}\).

The zephyr of the scent of the pine hast thou not smelled.

17. \(\text{ma-an-nu bél } \text{zu} \text{elippi ma-an-nu bél } \text{is} \text{a-magurri}\).

Who is the master of the ship? Who is the master of the skiff?

\(^1\) \text{Gangittu} is the loan-word from \(\text{GI(kan)}\)-\text{gid}, which is also rendered by \(\text{māšitu}\), flute. The Sumerian word for reed was \(\text{g}i(n)\) and \(\text{ga}n\), whence the loan-word \(\text{kanū}\).

\(^2\) Probably from a hitherto unidentified root in Assyrian \(\text{šušū}\), Hebrew \(\text{šemū}\).

\(^3\) \(\text{Nuru}\) is probably connected with the verb \(\text{na} \text{ār} \text{u}\), Hebrew \(\text{nēr}\), cry, shriek, whence \(\text{šērīy̱}n\), youthfulness. See the references to this root in Assyrian in Babylonian Liturgies, p. xxvii. The Sumerian value \(\text{na} \text{r} \text{u}\) of the sign \(\text{LUL} = \text{nāru}\), zammeru, singer, is a Semitic loan-word. See RA. 14, 84, 12 and \(\text{nar-gal} = \text{na-ar-gallūm}\), chief singer, Poebel, PBS. v, 141, 8.

\(^4\) Cf. \(\text{šibātū} \text{ilaku } \text{ša } \text{na-pi-} \text{šu}\), they burn sweet things of good odour, Zimmern, Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest, p. 141, 8. See also \(\text{nipšu}\), Muss-Arnolt, Lexicon, 711.
These two titles indicate popular folk-songs, and it is perhaps legitimate to infer that they were described as songs of youth in a literal sense and not because they were sung in the soprano voice of youths.

31. 2 e-li-lu šad-ru-tu\(^1\) ki-min. Two hymns of recitation in Semitic.

The first lines of these two šadrūtu hymns are given on Rev. iii, 19 f. :

Rev. iii, 19.  ši-it-tu\(^2\) at-la-ki ma-a-ra lu-ṭi-ir.\(^3\)
Come sleep, a son may I embrace.

20. a-ṣaṣ-pa-ar a-nu marat ti-e-me-ia.
I will send unto the daughter of my choice.

It may be inferred from these lines that elilu šadrūtu was applied to ballads of love.

32. 2 in-ṭu ki-min. Two lamentations in Semitic.

The first lines of these two inṭu songs occur on Rev. iii, 22 f. :

Rev. iii, 21.  ṭat Ašdar\(^4\) šur-rat niše ra'-um-tu.
Ishtar queen of peoples, the lofty.

22. ṭat Ašdar ma-an-nu ba-lu-uk-ki be-li-ti.
Ishtar who, if thou wert not, would be my queen?

\(^1\) Šadrutu is probably the true reading, not nadrutu or kurrutu, and from the same root as šidru and mašdaru discussed above, p. 6. The verb šadaru, which I take to mean "recite in a monotone", is otherwise unknown and has no Semitic cognate. A root šadāru, to command, is not proven for Assyrian, but cf. aṣṣum mimma šudduru, ZK. ii, 83, 12.

\(^2\) Or šetu, negligence, but cf. aṣṣum mimma šudduru, ZK. ii, 83, 12.

\(^3\) Or atlaki (cf. iv, R. 56, i, 15; Eb. No. 96, Rev. 26, labirūla italak, go unto decay) means "go away", šittu, disgrace, trouble, must be assumed here. On the other hand, if atlaki means "come", šittu, sleep, is certain. Cf. Eb. 58, Rev. 36, atlak ana Ekur, come unto Ekur. In either case šittu is personified, and there is one example of šittu, trouble, personified in Maštu, iii, 184.

\(^4\) This title of Ishtar usually refers to her as the planet Venus.
The titles of both of these prayers recall the appeal made in tears by Ašurbanipal to the Lady of Arbela, Streck, Assurbanipal, 112, 30–114, 46 = 190, 11–22. See also the ritual in Eb. 42, Obv. 29, inhi-šu unnah, "he shall sob his lamentation."

33. 5 pu-ú-ru ki-min, five pâru in Semitic.

These five pâru (cf. five pâru in Semitic, above l. 16) are entered by titles on Rev. iii, 25–9:

Rev.

iii, 25. ša-a-ma-ri-tu\(^1\) tu-te-e tu-te-e-ma.
O raging one, thou discernest, thou discernest.

26. it-lu iš-tu a-mu-ru-[ka ?].
O valiant one, since I behold thee (?).

26. šur-bu-ta a-na nišē a-za-am-mu-[ur].
Of her the magnified one will I sing unto the peoples.

27. zi-il-lu-lu\(^2\) ša nišē a-[dal-lal ?].
The defence of the people, will I praise (?)..

28. i-na su-bat EN-\(? i-za-mu-ra \[\].
In the abode of . . . will he sing . . .

34. 2 ilat gu-ša-α-tu\(^3\) ki-min. Two songs to the goddess Gušātu in Semitic.

The titles of these two songs to the war goddess were given on the Rev. iii, 31 f., both beginning \(\text{ilat gu-ša-ia}\).

\(^1\) Cf. Šumaritu, Obv. ii, 21.

\(^2\) For sâl̃ulu cf. Keilschriftexte aus Boghazkoi, i, 42, ii, 6, 6-bad = zîllulu in a section with zîln. See also Weidner, Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft, p. 63.

\(^3\) Gu-šē-e-a, gu-ša-ja is a corruption of gu-de-a, cry, shout, and a title of Ishtar, ša tanākāti; see Tammuz and Ishtar, p. 113, n. 1, and RA. 13, 107, n. 10. Hence the Semiticized title gušātu, i.e. Ishtar, the moaning goddess, the loud crying, as queen of battle. A variant is A-gu-šē-e-a, who summons to conflict, BA. iii, 287, 11. In a long hymn to Ishtar as goddess of battle she is called Šaltu, "Hostility," and Aguṣajia, "The loud crying," Scheil and Zimmern, RA. 15, 159–82.
35. 1 ara-ah-hu ́ su-me-ru. One song Araḥhu in Sumerian.

This rubric, like the gušatu or gušēa songs, derives its name from the first word of a class of songs. Sumerian araŋ, which began all songs of this class, seems to have meant “storehouse”.

36. kat-tu-ni-du-û ki-min. One (song) to the “one string”, in Sumerian.

37. 2 ši-ka-tu su-me-ru. Two songs to the šikatu (?) in Sumerian.

38. 2 ši-ša-tu A[lek-ad-ki]. Two songs to the instrument of six strings in Semitic.

The Babylonians have the peculiarity of employing the ordinal when naming an instrument from the number of its strings. That is certainly due to the fact that each string is free as on the lyre and harp and produces only one note, and the compass of the instrument corresponds to the number of the strings. An instrument of six strings has only six notes or tone intervals, hence it would be called the instrument of the sixths. An instrument of three strings or three notes would have been named šuššan, the Babylonian word for one-third, derived from Sumerian šuš, one-sixth, and the Semitic dual ending ūn, literally “two-sixths”.

The Babylonian instrument of three notes or the šuššan, is probably the curious pipe fashioned in the form of an ox head and found at Babylon. A drawing will be found on p. 76 of Carl Engel’s The Music of the Most Ancient Nations.

1 A word araḥhu, storehouse, syn. naspaku, and probably loan-word from [a-ra]-aŋ = E-ÚŠ-GID-DA, is known from Poebel, PBS. v, 106, iv, 11.

2 Uncertain. The word is here derived on the analogy of ašaridu, from kattan, thin string (?), and ūn, one. Read šutanidda?

3 Name of an instrument? Or šikatu, triumph, victory, songs of victory?

4 This is the ordinary word for “one-third”, but the Semitic word formed regularly as a katul ordinal occurs, šatūṭ, šaluṣ.

5 Found by Captain Willock at Barsippa.
When blown open the pipe sounds the note G, when one of the upper holes is stopped the note E is produced, and when both upper holes is closed the note C is obtained. The instrument carries the three notes C, E, G or the majors of the octave C, and hence could be designated as the instrument of thirds. Šušan passed into Hebrew as ṣōšān and šūšan, a word which occurs in the musical rubrics of four psalms. The previous interpretation of this word by the Rabbis who saw in it the Semitic word šūšan, "lily," and who took it as the key-word to an old song, and Haupt's suggestion that it means "instrument of Susa" are certainly erroneous. Rabbi Raschi held that šūšan was an instrument and he was right in that respect only.

The rubric of Psalm xlv has "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds ('āl ṣōšānnim) for the sons of Qōrah, a maskāl as an ode to love". Psalm lxix has the rubric, "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds, by David." Psalm lx has the rubric, "For liturgical service upon the instrument of thirds, according to the rule of the miktam,1 by David to teach." Psalm lxxx has, "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds according to the rule of Asaph, a psalm."

The same principle obtains in case of the eight-stringed or eight-note instrument in the rubrics of Psalms vi and xii, "For liturgical service with stringed instruments upon the instrument of eighths," or simply "Liturgical service upon the instruments of eighths". The passage in 1 Chronicles xv, 21, is certainly to be interpreted in the same manner, ḫēkinnōrōth ‘al-haṣṣēmīnīth "with lyres upon the instrument of the eight", i.e. upon eight-stringed lyres. In verse 20 other musicians play with lyres ‘al-‘ālāmōth; ‘ālāmōth is also the name of a kind of lyre, but Assyrian has not yet furnished an explanation.

1 An instrument; see below on line 46.
39. 2 ri-ib-ku ki-min. Two ribku songs in Sumerian.

40. 2 šu-me-ru (pl.).

41. 3 ak-ka-du-ul.

42. naphar 5 ku-ur-du.

Two songs in Sumerian and three in Semitic, all together five songs of heroism.

Since no specimen of this class of poetry, which is definitely described as kurdu or heroic verse, has been found, it is difficult to decide concerning what the Babylonian grammarians regarded as heroic verse. Following the analogy of classical poetry it should refer to epics like the Epic of Gilgamish and the Epic of Creation in Semitic or to the Sumerian Epic of Ninurta, 

lugal-e ud me-lam-bi nir-gál, and the Epic of Paradise.

These did not, however, form part of the musical services, and the grammarians probably refer to compositions like the long hymn to Marduk, adallal zikirka, which is called a za-ra-a tanitti ḫu Marduk narbi iatZarpanitum, "a ZARA of the glory of Marduk and the greatness of Zarpanit," an acrostic.\(^1\) This hymn actually contains the words lusarriḫ kurdi-ka, "I will glorify thy heroism," and has for the most part the peculiar measure, hexameter + pentameter, for each strophe. On the other hand a prayer of the atonement, which was certainly not an heroic, ends kurud-ka ludlul, "I will sing of thy heroism," addressed to Sakut.\(^2\) A poem to Agušāja on two large tablets is more like heroic verse than any composition known to the writer composed in lines of two accents and strophes of eight lines.\(^3\)

43. 1 ḫar-su-ú Akkad-(ki). One ritualistic instruction (?) in Semitic.

\(\text{Karsú} \) is a new word and has the appearance of being

\(^1\) Hehn, BA. v, 309-119; Jensen, KB. vi, 108-17.

\(^2\) King, Magic, No. 5, 10.

\(^3\) Scheil, RA. 15, 170-82, and Zimmern, Ishtar und Saltu. Cf. the hymn to Marduk in a New Year Festival, RA. 8, 43, liðub kurdi-ku, l. 14.
a loan-word from *garzu*, *garzu* = *parsu*, ritual directions. The kind of tablet which I have in mind would be Ebeling, No. 44 = Zimmern, ZA. 30, 204 ff. This interpretation implies that the catalogue is not confined to musical compositions, but includes rituals which contain prayers and chants.

44. 5 *me-ir-ru šu-me-ru*. Five *merru* in Sumerian.

*Merru* is probably the name of an instrument, but I attempt no explanation.

45. 23 *īrātu*¹ *ša e-šir-te Akkad-(ki)*. Twenty-three “songs of the breast” for the instrument of ten (strings), in Semitic.

These twenty-three songs were catalogued at the top of Rev. ii, and the titles of the last five are partially preserved. All of the *īrātu* compositions seem to be ballads of the love of women, and *irtu* (always of the breast of man) is employed as the term descriptive of the chief motive of these licentious verses. The Hebrew name for the instrument of ten strings is the ‘āsōr. The titles of the five “songs of the breast” which remain on the tablet are:—

Rev. ii, 1. *[lup ?]-lu-us-ka-ma [    ].

I will behold (?) thee . . .

2. *dr-šu* ki-i kaḫḫabi pu (?) [ . . . ka].

Hasten thou, like a star is thy . . .

3. *i-na si-il-ti* ša *si-e² ka[a].

In longing for thy attention.


This one is the desire which makes happy my mind.

¹ *GAB-MES*, rendered *i-ra-tu*, Rev. ii, 6.

² *Ṣe‘u, šu*, from *ṯa‘iš*, Arabic *ṣu‘iša*, to incline to, give ear to, and Arb. *ṣahrun*, favour, love.
Rev. ii, 5.  ep-šu pi-i-ka at-mu balāṭi-ia nādin me ḫa-ni-ma.¹

When thou speakest it is the word of my life . . . of the inwards (?)..

46. 17 iratu ša ki-it-me. Seventeen “songs of the breast” for the kitmu.

Kitmu² occurs also in the sense of sheet, coverlet, in Maḥlu, v, 36. It stands here between eśirtu and ībbubu, both names of instruments, and kitmu is obviously an instrument also. The Hebrew rubric which occurs at the beginning of six Psalms also denotes a similar instrument. Psalm xvi is a miktam of David, i.e. a song to the miktam. The title of Psalm lx has “upon the šūšan or instrument of thirds after the rule of the miktam”. Since šūšan probably denotes a pipe, it seems necessary to see in miktam a similar wind instrument.

The titles of these seventeen ballads of love on the kitmu (pipe ?) are given on Rev. ii, 7–23 :

Rev. ii, 7.  ki-e ši-ḥa-a-lcu a-na na-ah-ši!

How do I long for pleasure!

¹ Ḥānu, part of the body and of animals a sacrificial part, certainly part of the inwards; see Holma, Körperteile, 153. But what is me ḫa-ni? Text may not be in order.

² With the root katāmu, to cover, is certainly connected the difficult Hebrew rubric naktamu. Babylonian derived a word for treasure, katimtu, from this root, precisely parallel to the Hebrew ḫeḥ gold. For katimtu, treasure, see Sargon Annals, 196, katinti šadē, and ZA. iv, 31, 28, bāʾir katinti, he that hunts for secret treasure. Hence katimtu, secret wisdom, niṣīrtu katimtu, the treasure of secret wisdom, Streck, Assurbanipal, ii, 254, 13, and niṣīrtu amur-na katimtu, the mystery I saw even the secret wisdom, Epic of Gilgamesh, i, 5. When Eben Esra connected the Hebrew miktam with the word kēthem, gold, he was at any rate inspired. Other explanations of miktam which have come down through the LXX translators, the Targums and the Latin versions only show how completely the rubric had been forgotten. Philologically miktam corresponds to the Babylonian naktamu, lid, metal cover for a vessel, and the Hebrew word may denote an instrument of percussion like the tambourine or cymbal.
Rev. ii, 8.  ú-um e-en im-ni-ja. 1  is-hi-da-an-ni.
“The day of my right eye” has mounted up unto me.

9.  il-li-ki 2 a-ma-as-si a-na ma-a-ri.
Up! take, I will come unto the son (beloved).

10. ma-te-ma be-lu te-ru-ba i-na-an-ru.
At any time, O master, thou didst enter now.

11. ḫi-i-pa-ku a-na da-di-ka.
I am pressed to thy breast.

12. it-ti šim-ta-a-at 3 mu-ši-ti.
With the hours of night.

13. mu-ū-su ma-u-ru u-šam-ša-u-ku. 4
By night the son (beloved) I . . . (?).

14. a 5 am-mar ša-ma-an ki-ti.
Ah, I will find the oil of the mattress.

15. ú-mu ub-la bu-su-ra-tu-ma hu-ud lib-bi.
O day, bring glad tidings, even joy of heart.

16. e-la-ia 6 mu-a-ru lu-na-me-ir 7 ir-ba.
Without me verily has the son (beloved) been happy? O enter!

1 An expression for “a lover” which is not found in any other Semitic language.

2 Apparently a clear example of the particle i with the imperative; see also Luckenbill, AJSL. 32, 270, and Knudtzon, Amarna Tafeln, p. 586, 138.

3 False plural of ŝimtu, the t being incorporated in the word. One is reminded of the expression for dying, alāku ana šimat mūši, but this idea is hardly to be expected in songs of passion. A word šimtu, evening shadows (v. R. 39, 33 and 31), exists, whereas the dual šimṭān, evening, i. R. 7, 28, and the false plural + dual šimṭān, evening. Šimtu, evening, and šimṭān are surely connected with Arabic suwaˁ’atun, moment, suwaˁ’un, first vigil of the night; see Driver’s Notes in this volume.

4 The form as a permansive is incomprehensible. Perhaps a de-nominative from a noun ʼūšamḥā. Cf. šamḥā, šumḥā, evening, JRAS. 1920, 570, n. 2.

5 Exclamation?

6 False for ela-iṭṭi; cf. CT. 15, 35, 5.

7 Apparently an example of the subjective pi’el describing the state of the subject.
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Rev. ii, 17.  la-a me-ḥi-ir-ti iš-nu-na-an-ni. Not has a rival equalled me.
18.  su-ni ib-bu-ri-ti la-ḥa-na-tu da-šu-up-tu. The bosom of a female friend is a jar of
sweetness.
20.  da-am-ša-aš-ni  ḫe-la-ni. Caress me, be my lord.
21.  sa-am-ma-ri-ti e-ri-ni ra-am-ka be-lu. The fragrance of cedar is thy love, O lord!
22.  a-na kip  ṣa  ta-ul-li-al-am-ma. Of the eyelids thou singest merrily.
23.  a-na mu-ši-ti an-ni-ti a-na li-la-ti an-na-ti. For this night, for these evenings.

All of these titles, except 1. 19, indicate songs of women addressed to a māru or lover.

47. 24 irātu ṣa ib-bu-be. Twenty-four “songs of the breast” for the flute.
48. 4 irātu ṣa pi-i-te. Four “songs of the breast” for the pitū.3
49. ? irātu ṣa nit kabli.4 “Songs of the breast” concerning the nit kabli.
50. ? irātu ṣa ni-il gap-ri. “Songs of the breast” concerning the nil gapri.5
51. [? irātu] ṣa kabli-te. “Songs of the breast” for the midnight.

1 For timSaS. The root makhšu, stroke, Arabic massa, exists in Assyrian; cf. Holma, Kleine Beiträge, 16.
2 For kippu = kappu, wing, cf. kib-be tukkat arba’i, Messefschmidt, KTA. 16, 5, and for kappi ħni, “wing of the eye,” eyelid, see Holma, Körperteile, 17.
3 See above, 1. 15.
4 Certainly identical with nit libbi, womb, Holma, Körperteile, 109.
5 Semen virilis.
52. [napḥar 68 + ? irātu  ak-ka-du-]ú.
All together 68 + ? “songs of the breast” in Semitic.

On Rev. ii, 25-55, are the titles of twenty-nine ballads
of love and passion, and the list is not complete. We
naturally expect here the twenty-four titles required by
l. 47, but the similar songs in ll. 48-50 seem to have been
included in the detailed catalogue which follows.

Rev. ii, 25. ki-e na-aḥ-ša-at ki-e nam-ra-at.
How is she delightful? How is she attractive?

26. i-se'-aš-ma1 kirā la-li-ka.
The garden of thy delights . . .

27. á-ma lib-bi me-lu-la ni-gu-ta.
“On the day of the heart,” with sport and
music.

O come down to the garden of the king
which reeks with cedar.

29. at-ta ma-a-ru ra-i-mu da-da-ni.2
Thou art a son (beloved) lover of the bosom.

30. e-bir-tu nāri a-lu me-li-li.3
On the farther shore of the river is the city
of gladness.

In the place of the grapes thou didst tread
in the month of wine pressing.4

1 Hardly the same word as isšas, it shall be plundered (?) in omens,
Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte, p. 132, 13 ; CT. 20, 31, 24 ; 32, 74 f.,
and išas, CT. 28, 3, 3 ; Boissier, Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, 358, 14.
2 Dadānu, breast, Syn. labānu, Sum. uzu-sa-gu and gu-sa, Sumerian
3 Melītu occurs also in ZA. 10, 298, 45.
4 Uncertain. Unnu from south Semitic ḫām is to be expected in
Assyrian over against the Canaanitish ḫām, grapes, wine. A root
ḇēl with the same sense as nagašu exists. Cf. guššu = alāku, CT. 18,
6, 48, and gušši, hasten unto me, Eb. 25, ii, 22. Note also the form
ḇēl gēšu, syn. of nagašu, Meissner, SAI. 2195, 97. Siḥati is here
regarded as a noun from šaḫaṭu, to press grapes.
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Rev. ii, 32.  ul-la  a-li-ik  ma-a-ru.
Come unto gladness, O son {beloved}.

33.  ki-i  za-ra-at  ša  at-ḥa-at-ti. ¹
How is she most unfriendly of sisters?

34.  is-sur  tu-li-id  ku-ur-ri  laa-la-ru  ri-gim-ki.
Like the bird . . . of honey is thy voice.

35.  ša-an-da-na-ak²  kirū  ši-ḥa-ti.
. . . ? the garden of desires.

36.  á-um-DU³  i-na  álí  La-ar-sa-an⁴  ši-ḥa-tu  i-zi-ka.⁵
Everyday in the city Larsa pleasant things are wafted

38.  ri-i-ši  datNa-na-á  i-na  kirṭ  Ebabbar⁵  ša  ta-ra-mi.
Rejoice, O Nana, in the garden of Ebabbar,
which thou lovest.

39.  me-ir-tu  ub-la  lib-ba-ša  šu-a-ru.
The maiden whose heart was stirred to sing.⁷

40.  ka-ia-nam-ma  ki-i  sak-ta-ku-ma.
How am I ever silent?

41.  a  ši-iḥ-ku  ma-an  mārē.
Yea, I long for the couch of sons (lovers).

42.  maš-ma-a-tu  ena-ia  im-da-la-a  ši-it-ta.
In the gloaming (?) my eyes are filled with sleep.

¹  Athāti > athātī? by analogy with athā, brothers, v, R. 31, 34; Creat. i, 21.
²  An adverb?
³  Error for us? ⁴ Locative ending? of, ebārtan, elān, matītan.
⁵  For the idea cf. Thureau-Dangin, Sargon, 246, and for iṣîk, present,
Boissier, DA. 232, 40.
⁶  Temple of Shamash at Elassar.
⁷  Literally "her heart bore song". Merti, maiden, refers to the
virgin Ishtar, Obv. ii, 22, as patroness of love ballads. šu'a is probably
the same word that occurs in Creation i, 24, ina šu'aru lu? . . . a
šaKingu, with shouting Kingu . . . . , restored from Ebeling, No. 118,
Obv. 23 ; šu'aru is derived from ṣaKu the middle ncu form of ṣaKu, šaru,
strophe.

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Rev. ii, 43. ra-am-ka lu-ú aban-ka ści-ḥa-tu-ka lu-ú un-gi.
Thy love verily is thy jewel, thy longing verily is my ring.
45. ra-a-mi ni-i-ru muš-na-me-ru  şilli.
My love is a lamp illuminating the shadows.
46. mu-ú-ša  aḥ-su-us-ka-ma.
By night I thought of thee.
47. ip-šu  pi-i-ka.
When thou speakest.
48. iš-tu ṣa-al-la-ku i-na su-un ma-ā-ri.
After I reposed in the bosom of the son (beloved).
49. ri-bi-ka \(^1\)  ṣa  abanukmi  ṣadi.
Thy passion is of the lapis lazuli of the mountain.
50. ḥa-di-iš ak-ṣa  šar-ru.\(^2\)
Gladly hasten hither, O king.
51. mi-ig-ru ḥa-am-ru.\(^3\)
Affection (is) blind.
52. i-na la-li-ki  ḥu-un-bi.
In thy lusciousness is my fruit.
53. u-ka-ā-al  ra-am-[ka ?].
I will retain thy love.
54. i-na ṣa-a-ar [    ].
In the breath of . . .

This great catalogue, about half of which has been preserved, contained on the obverse only formal prayers and liturgies, which were composed in series of melodies (zamaru). Cols. i and ii of the obverse prove contrary to all our published texts that formal liturgies, each composed of several songs, existed in Semitic. For

\(^1\) Cf. Arabic raḡab, love, from raḡiba, to hunger for.
\(^2\) “King” is employed in ll. 28 and 50 in the sense of lover.
\(^3\) For ḫamāru = ḫul, be blind see Holma, Personennamen, 56 (after Landsberger); and so this famous saying is Assyrian!
example, i, 12-16, has the titles of four Semitic series which contained sixteen songs, or an average of four songs to each liturgy. They are all addressed to a goddess. i, 20-4 has the first lines of five series addressed to the Fire God. Line 25 gives the total “five series and twenty-one songs”. Obv. 28-33 has the titles of five series addressed to Ramman and these contain twenty-six songs. i, 37-41 has five series addressed to Shamash with thirty-one songs.

Col. ii, as far as line 48, carries only the titles of series to Ishtar, and at the end of this section the scribe enters the figure for the total of all the songs of the various Ishtar series. On Obv. iii, where the titles of various canonical Sumerian liturgies are given, the résumé under each section names the instrument employed to accompany the recitation; only the flute tegû and tambourine or drum (adapa) occur in the section which has been preserved. Since the sections of the catalogue devoted to Semitic series of songs contain no rubrics with the names of instruments, it seems apparent that these Semitic song services did not obtain recognition as strictly canonical liturgies.

The four columns of the reverse are devoted to prayers of the private services and to popular songs and ballads. The numerous prayers of the lifting of the hand or prayers of the magic rituals of atonement do not appear to have come within the scope of the catalogue. The scribe has confined himself severely to public worship, popular songs, and formal prayers of penance, which were chiefly Sumerian. It is, strictly speaking, a catalogue of musical compositions. Col. i of the reverse has an analysis of sacred and profane compositions which were accompanied by instruments. Cols. ii–iv contained the titles of all the prayers and songs given in the analysis of Rev. i. A great portion of these lines are lost. These titles seem to have begun on col. iv instead of col. ii as
one would expect. The remnants of the titles of thirteen sidru or recitations on col. iv were probably referred to in the epitome at the top of col. i now broken away. The titles of all the songs of workmen, shepherd songs, wisdom songs, penitential Sumerian prayers to the tegû (flute), tambourine and similar Semitic prayers listed in col. i, 1–27, have been lost at the end of col. iv and the top of col. iii. The various Semitic songs of the feast, to the reed flute, songs of youth, and other ballads listed in col. i, 28–34, are fortunately preserved. The interesting ballads listed on col. i, 35–44, containing songs of victory, of heroism, and to various instruments have all been lost at the end of col. iii. The love ballads listed in col. i, 45–51, accompanied by the instrument of ten strings, the pipe, the flute, and the pitû are preserved on col. ii.

This remarkable text confirms the distinction between public and private worship which the writer has ever maintained, and it proves also that the penitential prayers of the private services were accompanied by an instrument. They were formal and canonical, and hence they are for the most part Sumerian. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the new information is the existence of a large number of popular ballads in Semitic. Unfortunately, not one has been found. Only the titles translated in this paper remain. But the value of this new text is not confined to Assyriology. Hebrew studies claim also a large profit, and not a few of the cryptic rubrics of the Psalms, whose meanings were unknown to the Rabbis as early as the second century B.C., are at last explained.