

Sources of Evil

Ancient Magic and Divination

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Sources of Evil

Studies in Mesopotamian Exorcistic Lore

Edited by

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Preface

During April 15–17, 2015, a group of ancient Near Eastern scholars gathered at the Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik, University of Würzburg, to discuss *Sources of Evil: Complexity and Systematization, Differentiation and Interdependency in Mesopotamian Exorcistic Lore*. The conference was organized within the framework of the DFG-project *Corpus babylonischer Rituale und Beschwörungen gegen Schadenzauber: Edition, lexikalische Erschließung, historische und literarische Analyse* and aimed to explore various perspectives for interpreting the lore of the exorcist beyond the editorial work on individual subgroups of texts.

The published proceedings differ partly from the papers presented at the workshop. The contributions were read and discussed by all four editors. Greta Van Buylaere liaised with the authors and took care of the preparation of the final manuscript and the printer's copy. The indices were produced by Mikko Luukko. The manuscript was read by two external reviewers and copy-edited by Gene McGarry.

We would like to thank all the authors who presented at the conference and/or submitted an article to this volume, as well as the colleagues and students who participated in the workshop. Thanks are also due to our editor at Brill, Katelyn Chin, and to Gene McGarry.

Würzburg, February 2018

Greta Van Buylaere, Mikko Luukko,
Daniel Schwemer, and Avigail Mertens-Wagschal

Abbreviations

79-7-8 etc.	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
5R	Rawlinson, H. C. – T. G. Pinches. 1888/1909. <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, V: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria</i> (London).
A	Tablets in the Aššur collection of İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.
A	Tablets in the collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
ABL	Harper, R. F. 1892–1914. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> (Chicago).
ACH	Violleaud, C. 1905–12. <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne</i> (Paris): Adad, Išt(ar); Supp(lément) 2: Šamaš.
ACT	Neugebauer, O. 1955. <i>Astronomical Cuneiform Texts</i> , 3 vols. (London).
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> (Vienna).
AHw	von Soden, W. 1958–81. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden).
AMC	Aššur Medical Catalogue.
AMT	Campbell Thompson, R. 1923. <i>Assyrian Medical Texts from the Originals in the British Museum</i> (London).
AO	Tablets in the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre.
AOAT 34	Loretz, O. – W. R. Mayer. 1978. <i>ŠU-ILA-Gebete</i> (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 34; Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn).
Ass. 2000/2001	Tablets found in Aššur in 2000 or 2001.
AUAM	Tablets in the collections of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum.
AUWE 23	Cavigneaux, A. 1996. <i>Uruk: Altbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat Pe XVI-4/5</i> (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte 23; Mainz).
b. Ber.	Babylonian Talmud, Tractate <i>Berakot</i> .
b. Eruv.	Babylonian Talmud, Tractate <i>Eruvim</i> .
b. Meg.	Babylonian Talmud, Tractate <i>Megillah</i> .
b. Pes.	Babylonian Talmud, Tractate <i>Pesaḥim</i> .

- b. Yeb. Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Yebamot*.
- BAK Hunger, H. 1968. *Babylonisch-assyrische Kolophone* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2; Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- BAM Köcher, F. 1963–80. *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*, vols. I–VI (Berlin – New York).
- BE 31 Langdon, S. 1914. *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur* (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series A: Cuneiform Texts 31; München).
- BM Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- BRM 4 Clay, A. T. 1923. *Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts* (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 4; New Haven).
- Bu Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–2010).
- CBS Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- CCP Cuneiform Commentaries Project (<http://ccp.yale.edu/>).
- CDLI Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/>).
- CLBT Campbell Thompson, R. 1927. *A Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London).
- CMAA The California Museum of Ancient Art.
- CMAwR 1 Abusch, T. – D. Schwemer. 2011. *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals*, vol. 1 (Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1; Leiden – Boston).
- CMAwR 2 Abusch, T. – D. Schwemer – M. Luukko – G. Van Buylaere. 2016. *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals*, vol. 2 (Ancient Magic and Divination 8/2; Leiden – Boston).
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London 1896ff.).
- CTMMA 2 Spar, I. – W. G. Lambert (eds.). 2005. *Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.* (Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 2; New York).
- CTN 4 Wiseman, D.J. – J. A. Black 1996. *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû* (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 4; London).
- EAE Enūma Anu Enlil.
- ETCSL The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>).

- HS Tablets in the Hilprecht Collection in Jena.
- HTS Tablets in the collections of the Hartford Theological Seminary.
- IB Ishan Bahriyat, Isin excavation sigla.
- IM Tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.
- JRL Tablets in the collections of the John Rylands Library.
- K Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- K₁₃, T₅ Tablet from Tell Barri/Kahat.
- KADP Köcher, F. 1955. *Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde* (Berlin).
- KAJ Ebeling, E. 1927. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 50; Leipzig).
- KAL 2 Schwemer, D. 2007. *Rituale und Beschwörungen gegen Schadenzauber* (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 2, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 117; Wiesbaden).
- KAL 4 Maul, S. M. – R. Strauß 2011. *Ritualbeschreibungen und Gebete I* (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 4, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 133; Wiesbaden).
- KAR Ebeling, E. 1915–19, 1920–23. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, vols. I–II (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28 and 34; Leipzig).
- KBo 1 Figulla, H. H. – E. F. Weidner 1916. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 1* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 30/1; Leipzig).
- KBo 36 Wilhelm, G. 1991. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi 36: Literarische Texte in sumerischer und akkadischer Sprache* (Berlin).
- KUB 37 Köcher, F. 1953. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi 37: Literarische Texte in akkadischer Sprache* (Berlin).
- LAS Parpola, S. 1970. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, I (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 5/1; Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn).
- LB Tablets in the de Liagre Bohll Collection (Leiden).
- LBAT Pinches, T. G. – J. N. Strassmaier – A. Sachs 1955. *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Providence).
- LKA Ebeling, E. – F. Köcher (with the collaboration of L. Rost) 1953. *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin).

- LKU Falkenstein, A. 1931. *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin).
- ms., mss. manuscript(s).
- MS Manuscript Schøyen, objects in the Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London.
- Msk Tablet siglum of texts from Meskene.
- MSL 8/2 Landsberger, B. 1962. *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, Second Part. 𒊕AR-ra = 𒄩ubullu Tablets XIV and XVIII* (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 8/2; Rome).
- MSL 9 Landsberger, B. – M. Civil 1967. *The Series 𒊕AR-ra = 𒄩ubullu. Tablet XV and Related Texts* (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 9; Rome).
- MSL 14 Civil, M. – M. W. Green – W. G. Lambert 1979. *Ea A = n̄qu, Aa A = n̄qu with their Forerunners and Related Texts* (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 14; Rome).
- MSL 16 Finkel, I. – M. Civil 1982. *The Series SIG7.ALAN = Nabnītu* (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 16; Rome).
- OECT 5 Gurney, O. R. – S. N. Kramer 1976. *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 5; Oxford).
- OECT 6 Langdon, S. 1927. *Babylonian Penitential Psalms, to which are Added Fragments of the Epic of Creation* (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts 6; Paris).
- P + number Identifier of cuneiform objects in CDLI and Oracc (the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus; <http://oracc.org/>)
- PNA Radner, K. – H. Baker (eds.) 1998–2011. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki).
- RA *Revue d'Assyriologie*.
- RIMB 2 Frame, G. 1995. *Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2; Toronto).
- Rm Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- RS Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra.
- SAA 3 Livingstone, A. 1989. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (State Archives of Assyria 3; Helsinki).
- SAA 4 Starr, I. 1990. *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria* (State Archives of Assyria 4; Helsinki).
- SAA 7 Fales, F. M. – J. N. Postgate 1992. *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration* (State Archives of Assyria 7; Helsinki).

- SAA 8 Hunger, H. 1992. *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (State Archives of Assyria 8; Helsinki).
- SAA 10 Parpola, S. 1993. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (State Archives of Assyria 10; Helsinki).
- SAA 13 Cole, S. W. – P. Machinist 1998. *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (State Archives of Assyria 13; Helsinki).
- SAA 16 Luukko, M. – G. Van Buylaere 2002. *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (State Archives of Assyria 16; Helsinki).
- SBH Reisner, G. A. 1896. *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin).
- SEAL Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (<http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de/>).
- Si Field numbers of tablets excavated at Sippar in the collections of the Archaeological Museums (Istanbul).
- SLT Chiera, F. 1929. *Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur* (Oriental Institute Publications 11; Chicago).
- Sm Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- Sp. I Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- SpTU 1 Hunger, H. 1976. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, I* (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9; Berlin).
- SpTU 2 von Weiher, E. 1983. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, II* (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 10; Berlin).
- SpTU 3 von Weiher, E. 1988. *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, III* (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 12, Berlin).
- SpTU 4 von Weiher, E. 1993. *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, IV* (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte 12; Mainz).
- SpTU 5 von Weiher, E. 1998. *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, V* (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte 13; Mainz).
- STC King, L. W. 1902. *The Seven Tablets of Creation or the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind* (London).
- STT Gurney, O. R. – J. J. Finkelstein. 1957. *The Sultantepe Tablets, I* (London); Gurney, O. R. – P. Hulin. 1964. *The Sultantepe Tablets, II* (London).

- TBP Kraus, F. R. 1939. *Texte zur Babylonischen Physiognomatik* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 3; Berlin).
- TCL 6 Thureau-Dangin, F. 1922. *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides* (Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre 6 ; Paris).
- TCL 15 de Genouillac, H. 1930. *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre, I* (Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre 15; Paris).
- Th Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum.
- U Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ur.
- UET 5 Figulla, H. H. – W. J. Martin. 1953. *Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian Period* (Ur Excavations Texts 5; London).
- UET 6/2 Gadd, C. J. – S. N. Kramer. 1966. *Literary and Religious Texts: Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia* (Ur Excavations Texts 6/2; London).
- UET 7 Gurney, O. R. 1974. *Middle Babylonian Legal Documents and Other Texts* (Ur Excavations Texts 7; London).
- UIOM Tablets in the collections of the University of Illinois Oriental Museum.
- VAS 2 Zimmern, H. 1912. *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit* (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 2; Leipzig).
- VAT Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- W Field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka.
- YBC Tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library.
- YOS 11 van Dijk, J. – A. Goetze – M. I. Hussey 1985. *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals* (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 11; New Haven – London).

Introduction

In ancient Mesopotamia as now, evil manifested itself in various ways, e.g., in a person suffering from a serious illness or other unhappy events. The assumed underlying causes of these misfortunes—the sources of evil—were manifold and included divine anger, transgressions of taboos, malignant demons, malevolent acts by warlocks and witches, ghosts of deceased people, and extraordinary astronomical phenomena. The professional exorcists (Akkadian *āšipu/mašmaššu*) and physicians (Akkadian *asû*) therefore first had to ascertain the evil that had befallen their patient before they could determine the correct ways to help him or her.

The Akkadian and Sumerian texts associated with the profession of the exorcist in ancient Mesopotamia—commonly referred to as *āšipūtu*, the lore of the exorcist—form one of the largest and most complex bodies of cuneiform texts. At the same time, the ritual instructions, prescriptions, prayers, and incantations of this corpus, often subsumed under the broad category “magic,” represent a prolific source of information on ancient Mesopotamian religious thought, intellectual concepts, ritual practice, and social structure. The definition of what actually constituted the body of exorcistic lore is, however, far from self-evident, especially when “magical” and “medical” texts (or therapeutic strategies) are transmitted together or explicitly combined.

1 Organizing Magical and Medical Knowledge

The so-called Exorcist’s Manual provides us with invaluable insights as to what the Mesopotamian exorcists considered to be *āšipūtu*. Eckart Frahm discusses its structure, language, and *Sitz im Leben*. Transmitted in Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts, the Manual still raises many questions. Especially its structure and significance are a cause of debate. Frahm argues for the Manual’s tripartite structure, comprising a “first, catalogue-like section on *āšipūtu* in a more narrow sense,” a “second section on additional realms of scholarly knowledge,” and a “short, coda-like third section with cryptographically written blessings for the educated *āšipu* and scholar.” Apart from this Manual, the Assyrian and Babylonian scholars also consulted other

similar records, like the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue, further catalogues of exorcistic texts, and the Aššur Medical Catalogue regarding the medico-magical corpus. Frahm investigates the history of the Manual's composition and notions of canonicity conveyed by it. He argues that the Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue originated in the time of Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE), when they were collected and edited by Esagil-kin-apli. The Borsippian scholar “identified traditions of particular significance, copied or rewrote many of the available texts, and organized them in new series.” Finally, Frahm considers the *Sitz im Leben* of the Manual in the first millennium BCE.

Ulrike Steinert thoroughly examines Mesopotamian catalogues as a wider phenomenon, including tablet inventories, text series catalogues, and catalogues of professional corpora. Her main focus concerns the Aššur Medical Catalogue (AMC), which, at its core, constituted the physician's lore or *asûtu*. The first part of the AMC deals with illnesses organized from head to (toe)nail(s); the sections of tablet incipits in the AMC's second part are grouped topically. According to Steinert, we may regard the AMC as an intermediate between a corpus and a series catalogue. Comparing the AMC with the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue and the Exorcist's Manual, Steinert reconsiders “the relationship between the professional domains of the healing specialists *āšīpu* ‘exorcist’ and *asû* ‘physician’, and their contributions to the medical text corpora reflected in the AMC.” While medical treatments formed the core of *asûtu*, and incantations and therapeutic rituals that of *āšīputu*, a partial overlap between both corpora shows that the actual distinction between both professions was blurry, markedly so in the first millennium BCE. Both exorcists and physicians studied and used texts from the AMC corpus and contributed to it. Nevertheless, as the exorcist not only provided “medical treatments and healthcare services for individuals and households, but also attended to the concerns of the king and society at large by mediating (through rituals) between the human and divine world and preserving wellbeing and divine order,” the *āšīpu*'s knowledge was greater than that of the *asû*. Steinert finishes her contribution with an analysis of the various functions of the catalogues.

2 Agents of Evil and Causes of Illness

The reconstruction of the corpus of *āšīpūtu* and the editorial work on the pertinent cuneiform manuscripts and compositions usually follow the lead of the organizational patterns that shaped the transmission and arrangement of

exorcistic texts in antiquity. The most pervasive of these patterns is the principle of etiology that categorizes texts according to the source of evil, or the agency (Akkadian *qātu*), that was considered to be the (potential) cause of a person's suffering or misfortune. Such "agents of evil" could be deities, demons, ghosts, or (human) warlocks and witches who brought a person into contact with a disease, causing him or her to fall ill.

In his contribution, Nils P. Heeßel treats divine agency, phrased as *qāt* + divine name ("hand of the deity so-and-so") in Mesopotamian scholarly texts. The phrase is common in medical texts but also appears in divinatory texts. When a patient's illness was caused by the "hand of a god," it was important to identify the god that had turned against him or her, so that the deity could be reconciled with the patient through the performance of the appropriate prayers. The divine agent, however, was not the ultimate cause of the illness; instead the patient might have intentionally or accidentally broken a taboo, thus provoking divine wrath. The causal agent is not always divine, but may also be a demonic being (e.g., *Lamaštu*), a ghost or a personified illness or taboo. (For the connection between paralyzed limbs and the "hand of a ghost," see also Barbara Böck's contribution in this volume.) After a short overview of the use of *qāt* + DN in medical diagnostic and therapeutic texts, Heeßel looks at the occurrences of the phrase in nonmedical texts (e.g., texts relating to extispicy and various omens) "in order to get a clearer picture of how divine agency is identified and what negative or positive value is attributed to it."

One of the demons that could be held responsible for a person's suffering was *Lamaštu*. Andrew George reveals the name of the Sumerian counterpart of the *Lamaštu* demon. Preying on women in childbirth and newborn babies, *Kamadme* was held responsible for infant mortality generally; her Sumerian name, however, eluded clarification until now.

Avigail Mertens-Wagschal treats aggressive magic and witchcraft in the Old Babylonian period. Analyzing the literary motif of the lion and wolf in Akkadian incantations and examining the context of the incantations in which the motif appears, Mertens-Wagschal observes that the qualities of these predators could be used to describe either the client of the incantation, whose power and aggression could overwhelm his opponent, or the opponent of the incantation, whose threatening powers had to be subdued.

3 Repelling Evil with Rituals, Amulets, and Incantations

Once the cause of a person's illness or misfortune was determined, the exorcist had to devise a plan to fend off the evildoers and free his client from the distress caused by deities, demons, ghosts, or (human) warlocks and witches. To this end, the exorcist could rely on rituals, amulets, magico-medical plants, and incantations.

Daniel Schwemer examines the use of evil demons and potentially dangerous ghosts to aid a bewitched patient. He discusses two cases in which "typical motifs and paraphernalia of the relevant anti-demon rituals are combined with the rites that are characteristic of ceremonies against witchcraft." In the first case, a Lamaštu rite is embedded in an anti-witchcraft ritual; as an evil helper, the demoness Lamaštu was to escort the witches to the netherworld. In the second example, the personified, anthropomorphic Any Evil demon plays a pivotal role; this demon likewise is sent off to the netherworld together with warlock and witch.

Strahil Panayotov looks at Assyrian house amulets and relates the incantations that were inscribed on them to the organic material that was to be inserted in the holes and slots in the sides of these amulets. The incantations on the amulets activated the magical power of the *maštakal*-plant, the tamarisk (*bīnu*), and the "offshoot" of the date palm (*libbi gišimmari*)—the apotropaic plants that were presumably inserted in the amulets themselves.

Tzvi Abusch examines three Maqlû incantations diachronically. He tentatively identifies the building blocks of these incantations and explores their complexities and implications in alternative ways.

4 Concepts and Therapies of Illness

The magical compendium Muššu'u (Embrocation) draws on older incantations, borrowed from manuals, incantation collections and medical texts. But why were these compiled into this compendium? And why is the compendium called Muššu'u when there are few internal references to embrocating, massaging, or rubbing? Barbara Böck looks into the complex process of the formation and systematization of Muššu'u and tries to explain the compendium's title on the basis of internal indications. She further examines the contents of the Muššu'u incantations and discusses the compendium's purpose.

Some of the illnesses that can be treated with Muššu'u incantations are *šimmatu* 'paralysis', *maškadu*, and *sagallu*. *Maškadu*, an illness affecting "especially the lower body and causing pains that were not crippling, but strong enough to be worrying" is the subject of Troels P. Arbøll's study. He analyzes the various contexts in which the illness appears in the textual record, and the origin of the motifs that were included in *maškadu* tradition(s). In the Neo-Assyrian period, *maškadu* and its related illnesses *sagallu* and *šaššaṭu* were linked with witchcraft as well as renal-rectal, leg and feet, and skin illnesses. Sometimes *maškadu* and *sagallu* were treated with the same incantations and cures. Apparently, *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* "were perceived and categorized as parts of one syndrome or as various stages of the same illness; alternatively, their particular diagnoses were less important to the healers than the appropriate treatment for the observed symptoms."

5 The Living and the Ordered World in Exorcistic Lore

Unsettling astronomical phenomena such as lunar and solar eclipses were seen "as perhaps *the* supreme indication of a deviation from the norm," an ominous sign from the gods of imminent misfortune. Even after the ancient scholars learned to predict eclipses, their manifestation remained an evil portent. Francesca Rochberg looks at the terms used in association with eclipses, several of which can have a denotative and connotative sense—attributing the darkening of sun and moon to the sun- and moon-god's changed mood. To dissolve the evil of the sign, the eclipse had to be ritually cleared. In her contribution, Rochberg shows "the multiple views of and responses to the causes of evil in lunar eclipses as represented in cuneiform texts, from Sîn deciding to make an eclipse to warn human beings of dire events, to the mourning, grief, or indeed anger of the moon-god, to the myth of the seven demons swarming the moon, or the motif of a god (Marduk, Tišpak, Nabû, or Nergal) in mortal combat with a celestial lion-serpent."

The winds are a strong image in Mesopotamian exorcistic lore. As carriers of evil, they could be used by demons or other sources of evil; however, exorcists and gods could also use the winds as carriers of good. Enrique Jiménez studies certain formulas and motifs that elaborate on the exorcistic role of the winds in incantations and other literary texts. Like the lion and wolf motif in Mertens-Wagschal's study, the purpose of the formulas and motifs concerning winds depends on their context. In Maqlû, for example, the witch is described as a cloud-maker or the south wind that piles up clouds, whereas the exorcist is a wind or, more specifically, the north(west)

wind that scatters them, blowing the evil away. Demons too have a close relationship with winds in Akkadian incantations, where the winds “carry” demons. In other literary texts, particularly in hymnic literature, the exorcistic wind is presented as originating in the breath of the gods. Whereas the “evil wind” brings darkness and ruin, the “sweet wind” brings light and prosperity. Jiménez’s contribution also includes an edition of some new fragments of *Zuburudabeda*.

In the final contribution to this volume, Frans Wiggermann explores the *Göttertypentext* as a Humanistic *Mappa Mundi*. The text describes the symbolic cosmos as a collective of twenty-seven aberrant or distorted figures, with the great gods supervising life in the *oecumene*. Combining textual and iconographic data, Wiggermann argues that the *Göttertypentext* fixes the relation of the figures in a three-dimensional space, a microcosmos representing the ordered *oecumene* at the center of the universe.

Organizing Magical and Medical Knowledge

The Exorcist's Manual: Structure, Language, *Sitz im Leben*

Eckart Frahm (Yale)¹

1 Introduction

The so-called Exorcist's Manual, as is widely recognized, is one of the most important texts for our understanding of ancient Near Eastern magic.² The treatise provides information on two key issues: the corpus of magical texts that Babylonian and Assyrian *āšipus*, i.e., exorcists, of the first millennium BCE considered fundamental to their craft; and the origins of these texts—or at least what the scribes of the first millennium thought about these origins. In several respects, the Manual can be considered the metatext *par excellence* on the Assyro-Babylonian art of *āšipūtu*.

The Exorcist's Manual has received a significant amount of scholarly attention in recent years. It is now known from six manuscripts, some of them well preserved; it has been edited several times; and its relevance for our understanding of the corpus of magical texts from ancient Mesopotamia is widely acknowledged. The need to discuss it yet again may therefore not be immediately apparent. But the Exorcist's Manual continues to pose some major problems, on philological, historical, and cultural-historical levels, and opinions among scholars about its overall structure and significance remain sharply divided. So, if nothing else, the following reassessment of the text will

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Enrique Jiménez and Ulrike Steinert for a number of important suggestions.

2 Even though I realize that defining “magic” is difficult, and despite the fact that the borders between Mesopotamian “magic,” “religion,” and “science” are somewhat porous (as emphasized, for example, by Schwemer 2007: 6–7; Schwemer 2011: 419–20), I continue to believe that the term has a certain heuristic value, referencing, as it does, the acts (*dromena*), words (*legomena*), and objects (*deiknymena*) that were employed by ritual specialists to invoke the help of—or to chase away—those supernatural powers that could not be addressed in the more “official” realm of the temple cult and the worship of “high gods.” For thoughts on the relationship between Mesopotamian “magic” and “medicine,” see the remarks further below in section 4, as well as Geller 2012.

at least put some of the contentious issues into sharper focus. The main topics to be addressed in this paper are: (1) the manuscripts of the text and their scribal contexts; (2) the structure of the Exorcist's Manual; (3) texts closely related to it; (4) the historical background of the Manual; (5) notions of canonicity conveyed by it; and (6) the various uses of the Manual in the first millennium BCE.

2 The Manuscripts and Their Scribal Contexts

The Exorcist's Manual has twice been edited in full in the past fifteen years, by Geller (2000: 242–58) and Jean (2006: 62–82).³ There is hence no need for yet another detailed presentation of the text, but a recapitulation of the manuscripts and their scribal background seems in order, not least because some new findings can be suggested here.

Copies of the Exorcist's Manual have been discovered both in Assyrian and in Babylonian cities. The earliest manuscripts, from Assyria, date to the seventh century BCE; a manuscript found at Uruk is from the mid-Achaemenid period, and the two Babylon manuscripts were probably written and studied even later, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

2.1 Assyrian Manuscripts

The best-preserved manuscript, on which all major scholarly discussions of the Exorcist's Manual have been based, is VAT 8275 (KAR 44) from Aššur (henceforth: ms. A). It was copied from an unspecified earlier tablet by the (junior?) exorcist (*āšīpu*) Kišir-Nabû, son of Šamaš-ibni, (chief) exorcist of the Aššur temple. A member of an influential family of exorcists and priests from Aššur, Assyria's religious center, Kišir-Nabû was active during the last third of the seventh century BCE (Maul 2010). From the same library comes a second

3 Geller's edition does not yet include the new manuscript from Uruk, and both editions are without the still unpublished second Aššur manuscript (see below for details). For a number of small corrections to Geller's and Jean's editions, see Bácskay – Simkó 2012. One misreading that has so far escaped detection occurs in line 13, where after NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA one should read *e-dep šāri*(IM) 'blowing of wind'. For the alternative rendering found in the same line in ms. d for ^dDIM.ME, see George's contribution to this volume. The most recent German translation of the Manual is by Hecker (2008: 76–79).

copy of the text, A 366, which remains unpublished; it is apparently rather well preserved, but its colophon seems badly damaged (Jean 2006: 63 n. 259).

The only other Assyrian text related to the Exorcist's Manual is a small fragment from Nineveh, 79-7-8, 250 (copy and edition: Geller 2000: 252), which may represent a kind of index to the text; it seems to pair the names of individual rituals mentioned in the Manual with the incipits of their (first?) incantation.⁴ The piece, albeit modest, shows that the Manual was also studied by the great scholars who created Assurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh. No colophon is preserved.

2.2 *Babylonian Manuscripts*

Four Babylonian manuscripts of the Exorcist's Manual are known. One, BM 55148+ (copy: Geller 2000: 247, henceforth ms. c), belongs to the "Sippar Collection" of the British Museum and was in all likelihood indeed found at Sippar.⁵ Its colophon is lost. Considering the chronological range of the "Sippar Collection," the tablet was probably written sometime between the seventh and the early fifth century BCE; a more specific date cannot be given.⁶

W 23293/4 = SpTU 5, 231 (ms. g)⁷ is a nearly complete copy of the Exorcist's Manual from Uruk. According to its colophon, it was written by Rimut-Anu, a son of Šamaš-iddin and member of the Šangû-Ninurta clan.⁸ The young scribe, scion of an important local family of priests and exorcists (Frahm 2002; Clancier 2009: 37–103), claims to have copied the tablet from an earlier exemplar in the month of Tishri (VII) during the reign of one of the Persian kings named Darius (the regnal year is lost). As argued most recently by Clancier (2009: 58), the monarch in question was in all likelihood neither Darius I nor Darius III, but rather Darius II, who ruled from 423 to 405 BCE.

4 Lines 1'–2' of the fragment refer to line 12 of the Manual; lines 3'–7' to line 13 (note that, *pace* Geller and Jean, line 6' should read [...] x (end of previous incantation?) *e-dep* IM ÉN [...]); lines 8'–9' refer to line 14 of the Manual; and line 10' to line 15.

5 Two of the pieces joined to BM 55148 bear accession numbers starting with 82-9-18. As pointed out by Clancier 2005: 47, all the tablets belonging to this sub-collection seem to originate from Sippar.

6 One day, a paleographical assessment of the tablet may help to finally narrow down its date. As of now, the analysis of Neo- and Late Babylonian sign forms (currently explored within a project initiated by Michael Jursa) has not proceeded sufficiently to settle the matter.

7 A new translation of the manuscript is found in Clancier 2014: 63–64.

8 Not "Šamaš-šumu, fils du grand-prêtre de Nergal d'Uruk," as claimed by Jean 2006: 72.

Finally, there are two manuscripts of the Exorcist's Manual that were apparently found in Babylon. Both require some more elaborate discussion.

The first Babylon manuscript is Rm 717 + BM 34188 (Sp. I 294) + 99677 (83-1-21, 2039) + 140684 (1987-11-3, 1) (copy: Geller 2000: 249; ms. d). Rm 717+ ends with a short colophon that I believe has not yet been properly understood. Geller, in his *editio princeps*, read it as *gi-tu* ¹*gi-im-r[a²]*, suggesting the translation "One-column tablet of Gimra." Yet as rightly pointed out by Jean (2006: 72), a personal name Gimra is otherwise not attested, which makes this interpretation doubtful. Jean read the colophon *gi-tu ina gi-im-r[a²]* (*ina* apparently being a typo for *ana*) and translated "Tablette oblongue dans sa totalité." But since such a phrase would be highly untypical for colophons, this understanding is problematic as well. I would therefore like to suggest a different interpretation of the line: *gi-tu* ¹*GI-im-^dEN¹*, "One-column tablet of Mušallim-Bel." The sign considered by Geller and Jean as a RA can easily be read as a damaged ^dEN, and, as shown further below, writings of the first element of the name Mušallim-Bel with *GI-im* are attested elsewhere.

Even though the colophon does not reveal the name of Mušallim-Bel's father or his family associations, I believe one can determine the identity of our scribe with a reasonable amount of probability. Several years ago, Clancier argued that, based on "museological" considerations, numerous tablets in the British Museum's "Rm (1)" collection, to which Rm 717 belongs, derived from a Late Babylonian library that was associated with the Esagil temple in Babylon and situated in the sector south of the Marduk temple (Clancier 2009: 105–213, esp. 186–95).⁹ One of the pieces joined to Rm 717, BM 34188 (Sp. I 294), can likewise be shown to probably come from this library. Many of the archival texts apparently found together with the scholarly and religious texts of the "Esagil library" date to the second and first centuries BCE. Others, however, including some of the documents belonging to a private archive of the Mušezib family, were written some two hundred years before this. The earliest members of the Late Babylonian branch of this family known so far to have written tablets in Babylon are two brothers, Bel-apluiddin and [...]Bel(?), who can probably be dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE (see most recently Oelsner 2000: 802–11). Their father, as revealed by colophons, was a man named Mušallim-Bel, who must have been

9 Clancier based his conclusion on the observation that of the 224 tablets labeled as "Rm (1)," all acquired in 1877, 105 were astronomical.

born around 365 BCE or slightly earlier.¹⁰ The astronomical texts BM 33552 (Britton – Walker 1991; Ossendrijver 2012, no. 9) and ACT 816 (Ossendrijver 2012, no. 5) render the name of this Mušallim-Bel as ¹GI-UMUN, but two “Astronomical Diaries” (Diaries –324 and –321) and the astronomical text LBAT 1394 (BAK 142) use the writing ¹GI-*im*-^{d1}EN, which is identical with the one found in the colophon of our manuscript, Rm 717+.

Obviously, the spelling of the name alone does not prove that the scribe who copied Rm 717+ was identical with the Mušallim-Bel associated with the aforementioned astronomical texts. There might have been other individuals named Mušallim-Bel in Late Babylonian times. But Boiy (2004: 273), in his book on Babylon in the Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, provides only one additional reference. It is found in CT 49, 181 (BM 32976 = 78-5-31, 65),¹¹ a letter addressed by the temple assembly of the Esagil to the “quartermaster” (*bēl minde*) of the astronomers (edition: Jursa 2006: 151–53). The letter mentions the death of the astronomer (*tuṣṣar Enūma Anu Enlil*) Mušallim-Bel (¹GI-^{d1}EN)¹² and discusses administrative measures that had to be taken with respect to the payments in silver that Mušallim-Bel had received from an institution called the *bīt abistāti*. Since the *bīt abistāti* is otherwise almost exclusively attested in texts from the archive of Muranu and Ea-

10 Because the dates of the astronomical events described in some of the tablets written by members of the Mušezib clan seem not always to be identical with the dates of the copies, the absolute dates of the various generations of the family are difficult to establish; but colophons reveal that Iddin-Bel, a member of the third generation after Mušallim-Bel, copied tablets at some point between 292 and 281 BCE and then again between 266 and 261; see Oelsner 2000: 806–8 and Jiménez 2016: 205. The unpublished astrological commentary BM 32215+ (for photos and metadata, see <https://ccp.yale.edu/P461120>) was copied from a tablet from Babylon by “Bel-aplu-iddin, son of Mušallim-Bel (¹GI-^{d1}EN), descendant of Mušezib,” and owned by “Mušallim (¹GI), son of Iddin-Bel, descendant of Mušezib.” The tablet has no date formula. It is tempting to consider the name of the owner, “Mušallim (¹GI)” an abbreviated (or defective) form of “Mušallim-Bel” and assume that he was the father of the scribe. If so, he would most likely have been identical with the individual who owned the Babylon copy of the Exorcist’s Manual, whose father, in this case, would have been a man by the name of Iddin-Bel. However, some uncertainty remains. For other astronomers associated with the Esagil temple who were active in Babylon during the second half of the fourth century BCE, see Beaulieu 2006.

11 The tablet belongs to one of the sub-collections associated by Clancier (2009: 190–93) with the “Esagil library.”

12 Obv. 4–5: ¹GI-^{d1}EN ^{lú}UMBISAG UD AN ^dEn-líl [šīmtu] | ub-ti-il-šú ‘[Fate] has carried away Mušallim-Bel, the astronomer’.

tabtanâ-bullit,¹³ which dates to the first half of the third century BCE,¹⁴ Jursa proposed that CT 49, 181 was written during the same period, a reasonable, albeit not entirely certain assumption.¹⁵ If correct, and if we assume that the Mušallim-Bel mentioned in the aforementioned colophons grew very old and lived into the Seleucid period, it is possible that he and the Mušallim-Bel of the letter were, in fact, one and the same person.

An additional argument strengthens the link between the Mušallim-Bel mentioned in the colophon of Rm 717+ and the one who was the father of Bel-aplu-iddin and [...]-Bel(?). The colophon of Rm 717+ renders the word *giṭtu* ‘one-column tablet’ as *gi-tu*. According to CAD G 112a and Hunger 1968: 162, there is only one other Mesopotamian tablet whose colophon uses the same writing: the procedure text ACT 811 (Ossendrijver 2012, no. 44; BAK 143), which is labeled as a “one-column tablet of Marduk-šapik-zeri (*gi-tu* ^{1d}AMAR.UTU-DUB-NUMUN), son of ...[...], descendant of Mušezib” and is said to have been written by Marduk-šapik-zeri’s son Iddin-Bel.¹⁶ The Marduk-šapik-zeri mentioned here was in all likelihood a son of Bel-aplu-iddin¹⁷ and a grandson of Mušallim-Bel, the aforementioned astronomers (Oelsner 2000: 802, 810), and the writing *gi-tu* used in ACT 811 may well have been inspired by tablets from the hand of Mušallim-Bel, of which Rm 717+, it would then seem, is the only extant example.

13 Muranu and his son Ea-tabtanâ-bullit were “income farmers” for the Esagil temple.

14 Note that Jursa (2006: 154–55) argues that the word *abistātu* goes back to the Achaemenid period.

15 The latest discussion of the question is found in the unpublished dissertation of Johannes Hackl (2013: 467 n. 1423): “In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch auf den Brief CT 49, 181 (Datum verloren, sicher seleukidisch ...) zu verweisen, den die Tempelversammlung von Esangila an den *bēl minde* der Astrologen (Name verloren) richtet.... Die Tempelversammlung unterrichtet diesen über die verwaltungstechnischen Maßnahmen, die aufgrund des Ablebens des Astrologen Mušallim-Bēl im Hinblick auf dessen Einkommen vorgenommen wurden. Ob der verstorbene Astrologe mit dem Astrologen Mušallim-Bēl aus der Mušezib-Familie identisch ist, der nur aus Kolophonen astronomischer und literarischer Texte bekannt ist ..., lässt sich nicht verifizieren, zumal sich keine genaue zeitliche Einordnung dieses Texts vornehmen lässt.” I am grateful to Michael Jursa for bringing Hackl’s assessment to my attention.

16 The same Iddin-Bel also wrote the hemerological compilation BM 34584+, published by Jiménez (2016); there the scribe uses the writing IM = *tuppu*.

17 Based on the photo of the tablet published by Ossendrijver (2012, fig. F.47), the sign after the personal name marker could be interpreted as the beginning of ^dEN, but the traces are so minimal that other readings cannot be excluded.

Van der Spek (2003: 332–34) has suggested that Mušallim-Bel's son Bel-aplu-iddin might have been identical with a certain Belephantes, a “Chaldaean” mentioned by the Greek historian Diodorus (XVII.112) as the leader of a delegation from Babylon that met with Nearchus, Alexander the Great's fleet commander, after Alexander's return in 323 BCE from his expedition to the East to warn the ruler that he should not enter the city since he would die there. Greek sources use the term “Chaldaean” to refer to Babylonian astronomers and diviners, and since Bel-aplu-iddin was undoubtedly an influential representative of these groups, as was in all likelihood his father Mušallim-Bel, van der Spek's suggestion is tempting, even though some uncertainty remains.

Mušallim-Bel's descendants served as astronomers of the Esagil temple for at least two hundred more years, and it is possible that the copy of the Exorcist's Manual written by Mušallim-Bel was handed down by them from generation to generation as a precious heirloom. This would explain why Rm 717+ was apparently found among tablets from the “Esagil library” dating to the late second and even the first century BCE. To what degree the scholars and priests associated with the late stages of the library still used and valued the information included in the Manual is not quite clear. The texts ascribed by Clancier to the “Esagil library” include very few of the exorcistic rituals and incantations listed in the Exorcist's Manual; the only well represented compendium is Uduḡ-ḫul (Clancier 2009: 452–53).¹⁸ Whether this conspicuous scarcity of exorcistic texts is due to the chances of discovery or indicative of the fact that the scholars who created the “Esagil library” focused on astronomical and mathematical texts, lexical lists, omens (astrological and others), belles-lettres, and cultic laments, but not so much on *āšipūtu* remains to be established. All things considered, it seems unlikely to me that exorcistic texts were no longer important to the scribal elite of Late Seleucid and Parthian Babylon.

To summarize, there are good reasons to assume that Rm 717+ was copied at some point in the second half of the fourth century BCE by an astronomer named Mušallim-Bel who was a member of the Mušezib family and an ancestor of several important Babylonian scribes and astronomers. His descendants seem to have handed down the tablet as a valued heirloom.

¹⁸ It may be that some Late Babylonian exemplars of Qutāru and Muššu'u—albeit written earlier, in the last decades of the fourth century BCE—were likewise associated with the library (see Clancier 2009: 209–10), but there remains some uncertainty.

The second manuscript of the Exorcist's Manual that was most likely found in Babylon is BM 36678 (copy: Geller 2000: 250; ms. e). Its acquisition number, 80-6-17, 410, suggests that it originates from the "Esagil library" as well (see Clancier 2009: 192–93). The colophon of the tablet is lost. Unlike all the other manuscripts, BM 36678 derives from a two-column tablet. When complete, its obverse seems to have contained the entire text of the Manual, yet only portions of column i, with lines 13–21, are preserved.

The reverse of the tablet is inscribed with a different and apparently unique text, so far unedited, but briefly characterized by Geller (2000: 242) as containing "astronomical esoterica." This rather vague assessment can be slightly improved, even though many questions remain; the text requires collation and further study.¹⁹ Of the right column (iii), the very beginnings of eight lines are preserved. Only two of them provide some meaningful, albeit minimal, information: line 2' reads *ár-k[i(-šú) ...]* 'After [(him) ...]', and line 3' either contains the protasis of a celestial omen (DIŠ^dI[ŠKUR/U[TU/3[0 ...] 'If Adad (the storm) / Šamaš (the sun) / Šin (the moon) [...]'')²⁰ or a personal name, possibly that of a king (^dI[ŠKUR/U[TU/3[0-...]). The left column (iv) is better preserved but difficult. The extant section begins with references to (ominous) natural phenomena on earth (rain, floods, storms, earthquakes)²¹ and in the sky (lightning, thunder, a red glow, meteors, lighting of a *šamšatu*),²² before describing a number of occurrences in the human sphere, apparently both positive (a thriving harvest, abundance of grain, cattle multiplying, pregnant women in good health)²³ and negative (lies, cattle perishing, plague).²⁴ The last legible line seems to refer to the gods abandoning the people. One possibility is that this text had its place in the tradition of the Akkadian "prophecies," especially "Prophecy B," even though there are also differences.²⁵ Alternatively, the text might represent some kind

19 A preliminary transliteration is provided in an appendix to this article.

20 A reading DIŠ AN.M[1 ...] 'If an eclipse [...]' seems less likely.

21 iv 2': DALĤAMUN ... ŠĒG ILLU A.MAĤ.MEŠ TÜR NĪGIN.MEŠ; iv 3': *me-ĥu-ú*; iv 4': *ri-bi šá ki-ti*.

22 iv 3'–4': NIM.GĪR ... *a-ku₆-ku₆-tú* ... ^{1c}*šal-lum-mu-ú u izl.gar aš.me gù an-e*.

23 iv 8': SI.SÁ-er BURU₁₄¹⁷ PEŠ₅¹⁷ dNISABA DAGAL MÁŠ.ANŠE SILIM^{mimms} PEŠ₄.MEŠ.

24 iv 7': *da-ba-ba sa-ra-a-tú*; iv 9': ZÁĤ MÁŠ.ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ.

25 For editions and discussion of most of the Akkadian Prophecies, see most recently Neujahr 2012: 13–118; for "Prophecy B," Biggs 1987. A new manuscript of this text has recently been identified in the Yale Babylonian Collection by Enrique Jiménez. Note that *arkišu*, if correctly restored, would find a parallel in the Uruk Prophecy (Neujahr 2012: 50–58, rev. 3, 9, 11, and 16).

of digest of the protases and apodoses of the Adad section of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (see, most recently, Gehlken 2012), which provides omens related to meteorological phenomena in the widest sense, including earthquakes.

The juxtaposition of the Exorcist's Manual with a text related to the celestial omen tradition is interesting, but in an intellectual environment heavily focused on the observation of the sky (the most important theme of the tablets from the "Esagil library") perhaps not that surprising.

3 The Structure of the Exorcist's Manual

One of the most debated features of the Exorcist's Manual is its structure. The key to a proper understanding of the way the text is organized is provided by a few paratextual notes and horizontal rulings. They clearly indicate that the Manual is divided into three sections (the third of which is very short and more like a coda).

3.1 *The First Section*

The first and longest section comprises lines 1–26/27.²⁶ It begins with a heading (marked in ms. A by a horizontal ruling following it), which reads:

(*Wording* of the) titles (SAG.MEŠ, lit., "incipits") of the exorcistic series (*iškār āšipūti*) that were firmly established (*kunnū*) for learning and reading (*ana iḫzi u tāmarti*), named in their entirety.

The heading introduces a list of rituals and related texts, of which many but not all are known from first-millennium libraries (Maqlû, Šurpu, Bīt mēseri, Bīt rimki, Lamaštu, etc.).²⁷ The list begins with rituals related to the temple, including rites performed on the occasion of the consecration of clergy, the building of sacred shrines, and the washing-of-the-mouth of divine statues, thus highlighting the importance of the priestly functions of the *āšipu* (Geller

²⁶ In this article, I am following the continuous line count used in Geller's edition.

²⁷ For detailed discussions of the rituals mentioned, see Bottéro 1985: 65–112, Geller 2000: 252–58, and Jean 2006: 76–82.

2012, 45–46).²⁸ Only after this list does the text present an overview of the rituals employed by the *āšipu* to ward off evil in more private contexts. Line 25 of the section points to knowledge related to signs sent by stars, birds, and cattle, but mentions no specific texts. It is indeed noteworthy that the most important omen series, especially *Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Šumma ālu*, are missing from the first section of the Manual. The only exceptions are the references in line 6 to the diagnostic treatise *Sa-gig* and the physiognomic compendium *Alamdimmû*, both of which deal with the human body. There are a few short references to physical ailments (nosebleed, etc.) and their treatment (line 18), and to actions to be taken against natural disasters (line 22). Handbooks listing magical gems and plants are included as well (line 26).

The first section of the Manual ends with a ruling written across the tablet after line 26. Line 27 is a rubric, which is followed in ms. A by another ruling, missing in mss. c and d.²⁹ The rubric is attested in two different versions:

A (Aššur):

Titles (lit., incipits) of the exorcistic series of Esagil-kin-apli.

c, d, and g (Sippar, Babylon, and Uruk):

Titles (lit., incipits) (g!?) / Total of *all* (d) the exorcistic series that Esagil-kin-apli, “son” of Asalluḫi-mansum, sage of Hammurapi, king of Babylon, descendant of (the goddess) Lisia, *pašišu/išippu*-priest of Ezida, firmly established for learning and reading.³⁰

²⁸ Read in line 2 (with Ambos 2004: 7): SUḪUŠ É DINGIR [ŠUB²]. INIM ABZU in line 3 belongs (like the previous ritual) in the context of rituals for the consecration of priests; see Löhnert 2010: 185, 189. The following ritual, GL.NU.TAG.GA-ú (*ginutaqqû*), had not been identified in other sources until recently, but now Enrique Jiménez has established that a line from an incantation in it is quoted in the *Sa-gig* 3 commentary BM 55491, written in 266 BCE; the ritual is mentioned by its title. For Jiménez’s preliminary edition of the commentary, see <http://ccp.yale.edu/P461263>.

²⁹ The Uruk manuscript g seems to have no rulings at all.

³⁰ The longer version of the rubric has been misunderstood by the previous translators (Jean 2006: 69; Clancier 2014: 63–64), who took its last part, *ana iḫzi u tāmarti kunnū* (NÍG.ZU.ŠÈ IGLDU₈.A GUB.BA), as belonging to the next section. As shown further below, this is very unlikely, even though the three words do occur at the beginning of the line in which the Manual’s second section starts.

This is the only explicit reference in the Exorcist's Manual to the famous scholar Esagil-kin-apli, to whom we will return. The big question is whether this rubric is a subscript or a heading. Several eminent scholars, starting with Bottéro and including Beaulieu, Finkel, Clancier, George, Heeßel, and Schwemer, have argued that it is a heading introducing the second section of the Manual. Finkel (1988: 150) wrote: "The following section (rev. 5–20) is, in contrast, described as the 'incipits of the series of *āšipūtu* according to Esagil-kin-apli." Al-Rawi and George (2006: 54) pointed to "the other texts associated with this scholar [scil. Esagil-kin-apli], listed in ll. 28–42 of the Exorcist's Manual." Clancier (2014: 47) stated: "The second part is attributed to Esagil-kin-apli ... who is presented as the author of the program thereafter." And in a particularly explicit statement, Heeßel argued:

Tatsächlich enthält diese Tafel aber zwei Leitfäden, einen keinem bestimmten Autor zugeschriebenen in den Zeilen 1–26 sowie eine von Esagil-kin-apli zusammengestellte Liste der Hauptwerke der Beschwörungskunst in den Zeilen 28–43. In der Zeile 27 wird Esagil-kin-apli als der Autor des nachstehenden Katalogs eingeführt (Heeßel 2010: 160).

The opposite view, that line 27 is a subscript, was taken by Jean, who called the first section of the Manual "*Ṭāšipūtu* d'Esagil-kin-apli" (2006: 72–73), and also by Lambert (2008: 94–95: "The first twenty-six lines ... are ascribed to a scholar named Esagil-kin-apli"); but neither of them provided much further discussion. Geller (2014: 44, 49) ascribed the first section to Esagil-kin-apli as well, but assumed that line 27 is, nonetheless, another heading and not a subscript.³¹ Schwemer explicitly questioned Jean's interpretation, arguing:

It seems ... more likely that the rubric at the very beginning of the text, understood by Jean to be the title of the entire text, relates to the first section, whereas the Esagil-kin-apli rubric pertains to the second section of the text (KAR 44 rev. 5ff. //), which would comprise Esagil-kin-apli's special addition to the traditional lore enumerated in the first part of the text. (Schwemer 2010: 212)

³¹ Al-Rawi and George, in the aforementioned article, seem to share this view.

Some indicators do indeed seem to suggest, at least at first glance, that line 27 represents another heading. For one thing, if there already is a heading in line 1, one wonders why there should be a need for an additional subscript to further specify the nature of the first section of the text. The fact that the last words of the rubric are found in mss. c and d in the same line in which the second section of the Manual begins seems to fit a heading better than a subscript as well.

But the evidence supporting the idea that line 27 is actually a subscript, ascribing the previously listed ritual texts to Esagil-kin-apli, seems stronger to me (see already Frahm 2011: 324–26). It should first be noted that the apparently redundant “sandwiching” of a text between a heading and a subscript is also found elsewhere in the cuneiform scholarly tradition, for example in extispicy commentaries, which usually have both headings and subscripts.³² Second, the phraseology used in the rubric in line 27 is very similar to that of line 1: both lines include the statement that the texts they refer to were “firmly established (*kunnū*) for learning and reading (*ana iḫzi u tāmarti*).” In fact, the only real difference between the two rubrics is that the second adds the name and titles of Esagil-kin-apli. This can be taken as indicating that the rubrics refer to the same set of texts. Third, as pointed out above, the first section of the Manual includes references to Sa-gig and Alamdimmû, two texts whose final edition is explicitly attributed to Esagil-kin-apli in a famous “colophon” (see Finkel 1988 and below). This supports the idea that line 27, with its mention of Esagil-kin-apli’s editorial work, refers back to the previous section of the text. Finally, if line 27 were a heading, we would expect that the following, second part of the Manual represents another, updated catalogue of exorcistic treatises. Yet even though this section does include references to a few such compendia, it seems to be an altogether different type of text, addressing the reader in the second-person singular and dealing with a number of subjects only indirectly related to *āšipūtu*.

³² Frahm 2011: 169. Another and even closer parallel is the rubric mentioning Esagil-kin-apli’s editorial work that is found halfway through a catalogue of Sa-gig and Alamdimmû tablets. The rubric clearly refers back to the preceding section (likewise introduced by a heading), but also forward to the next one. A rubric in the Aššur Medical Catalogue is similar too. Both texts are discussed below in section 4.

3.2 *The Second Section*

But what is the—apparently titleless—second section of the Manual really about? Not least because of the philological challenges of the text, there is no easy answer to this question. The section comprises lines 28 to 40 of the Manual, with its end marked by another ruling. The structure of the section, both logically and syntactically, is not quite clear. There are two lines, 36 and 38, that include second-person singular present forms, and another line, 40, that appears to include two infinitives (or could these be imperative forms?). The second-person singular forms end, in most manuscripts, with *-u*,³³ which looks like a subjunctive ending. But that would leave us without a single non-subordinated finite verb, a syntactic oddity that would be hard to explain. I therefore assume that the forms are actually non-subordinated. If this proves to be correct, the second part of the Manual would comprise three subsections: (1) lines 28–36; (2) lines 37–38; and (3) lines 39–40.

The first and longest subsection (lines 28–36) mentions a number of rituals and medical treatises together with references to more general aspects of the exorcist's craft. It ends in line 36 with the statement: “(those matters) you will master together with the complete ensemble of *išippūtu*, and you will discover the secret.”³⁴ The passage includes somewhat diverse materials. It starts off with references to a small number of actual rituals, including the obscure *šipir* GL.TAG.GA³⁵ and Namburbis against evil omens, and to secret lore associated with Ea and the Apsû. The exorcist is supposed to become familiar with “the complete collection of wisdom, the secret of *kakugallūtu*, the sealed plans of heaven and earth, and the mysteries of Lalgār” (line 30).³⁶ Lines 32–35 mention rituals and prescriptions against physical ailments, various forms of epilepsy, and the harmful effects caused by demonic forces; their overall medical character is confirmed by the use of the expression *bulṭū kal gimri* ‘recipes against everything’ in line 35.

33 An exception is the form *ta-ḫi-za* in ms. g: 39 (= line 38).

34 The translation assumes that *adi* serves as a preposition and not as a conjunction. If it were the latter (which seems less likely), the beginning of line 36 would have to be translated: “In order to help you master ...”

35 *šipir* GL.TAG.GA is reminiscent of GL.NU.TAG.GA-ú (*ginutaqqû*) in line 3 of the first section of the Manual; but note the lack of a negation.

36 That the terms *ašippūtu*, *kakugallūtu*, and *išippūtu* reference clearly distinguishable types of magic, as assumed by Jean (2006: 72–75), seems unlikely to me; but Jean may well be right that the author of the Manual uses the two fairly rare latter terms deliberately to mark the exorcist's progression towards more esoteric realms of knowledge.

The second subsection of this part of the Manual (lines 37–38) is shorter but no less difficult than the first. It seems to list various philological aids, including bilingual word lists or commentaries (*šātu*),³⁷ translations, and either Akkadian synonym lists or Emesal texts (EME.SAL.MEŠ) that helped the *āšipu* in his exploration of the Sumerian and Akkadian incantations of the rituals he performed. The passage begins with *arkānu*, indicating that this subsection denotes a more advanced stage in the formation of a full-fledged exorcist and scholar: “Later, you will learn (*taḥḥaz(u)*) how to explore (*šite”û*) (these matters).”³⁸

A short third subsection (lines 39–40) may depend on *taḥḥaz(u)* in line 38 as well. It talks about the exorcist-scholar pondering and discussing (*kitpudu* and *šutaddunu*) some of the most important branches of divination, including the celestial and terrestrial omens collected in the series Enūma Anu Enlil and Šumma ālu. What precedes the names of these two series in line 39 is difficult to establish. Earlier scholars have taken the first word of the line, ZAG.GAR(.RA)—which is followed in ms. A by ZU.DÈ.E.GIN₇—to mean “sanctuary” (*aširtu*) or “liver” (*amūtu*), with the latter conceivably pointing to the extispicy tradition.³⁹ Since AN.zag-gar(-ra) is explained in some lexical texts as *ilu ša šutti* or *ilu ša šunāti*,⁴⁰ one could also consider the possibility that ZAG.GAR(.RA) refers to the interpretation of dreams. Another reading of ZA(G).GAR.RA, attested in lexical and grammatical texts, is *šumma*.⁴¹ If the following sign were to be read as URU and not as ZU, as tentatively suggested to me by Enrique Jiménez, then the beginning of line 39 might even be thought to refer to the second tablet of the highly esoteric and poorly attested Sumerianizing terrestrial omen series Tukumbi apindua, whose *incipit* reads DIŠ zag-gàr-ra uru na-nam ‘If there is a city’;⁴² but the Babylonian manuscripts seem to have ZU and not URU. For the time being, the correct understanding of the sign sequence at the beginning of line 39 remains elusive.

37 The use of *šatus* is also recommended to the diviner (*bārû*), both in the famous “Enmeduranki text” (Lambert 1998: 149, 152, line 18) and elsewhere.

38 For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see Frahm 2011: 329–30.

39 For zag and zag-gar = *a-mu-tum*, see CT 18, 49, obv. i 31f. (collated after photo). Since the previous entries deal with *tértu*, *a-mu-tum* is probably not a mistake for *a-šir-tum* here.

40 For references, see CAD Š/3 405b.

41 The equation za(g)-gar-ra = *šum-ma* is found in Nabnitu IVa 368 and NBGT III ii 13; see Jiménez 2014: 110.

42 For this text, see most recently Jiménez 2014: 109–10. Fragments of Tukumbi apindua are known from Nineveh and Late Babylonian Uruk.

The following two words, A.ZA.AD and U₄.ŠÚ.UŠ, are known as Sumerian renderings of Akkadian *qaqqadu* 'head', listed together in the lexical series Nabnītu.⁴³ Whether they are mentioned in this line to serve as a reminder of the lexical tradition is uncertain, however. Perhaps we should rather understand the phrase as meaning that the two series named thereafter, Enūma Anu Enlil and Šumma ālu, are in some way closely aligned, standing, literally, "head to head"—which would be reminiscent of the famous statement in the Diviner's Manual (Oppenheim 1974) that terrestrial signs mirror celestial ones. Yet another solution, tentatively suggested to me by Ulrike Steinert, would be to consider the two words as renderings of *šuruppû* ("chills") and *lu'tu* ("decay"),⁴⁴ both terms for illnesses, and to assume that they refer to an unknown list of diseases.

While parts of line 39 remain obscure at the moment, the unconventional and highly erudite spellings used here seem to tell us one thing: that the author of the Exorcist's Manual considered the study of the topics referenced in the third subsection of its second part even higher in the hierarchy of scholarly pursuits than the subjects preceding them.

3.3 *The Third Section*

The beginning of the very short third and final section of the Manual (lines 41–42) is marked in mss. c and d by horizontal rulings following line 40. The section comprises a blessing for the erudite scholar and exorcist, written in an extremely cryptographic fashion. I do not really understand the beginning of line 41, but it seems the gist of the entry is, as I have argued (Frahm 2011: 327 n. 1561), that a scholar well endowed with wisdom by the deities Ea(?) and Baba/Gula(?) (whose names are rendered AN.AN PAB.PAB(-x)/^dME.ME.KE₄) will not fail to gain the support of his personal god.

3.4 *Summary*

Summing up, we can state that the Exorcist's Manual comprises the following parts:

- A first, catalogue-like section on *āšipūtu* in a more narrow sense, mostly listing temple and healing rituals, but also diagnostic and

43 MSL 16, 52, Nabnītu I 78 and 79: a-za-ad *qaqqadu*, u₄-šú-uš *qaqqadu*. Similar equations are found in HAR-ra *hubullu* XV 3, 8, 8a; see MSL 9, 6.

44 For references, see CAD Š/3 371–72 and CAD L 257 (U₄.ŠÚ.UŠ.RU).

physiognomic omen series, as well as handbooks on magical gems and plants, all ascribed to the famous scholar Esagil-kin-apli.

– A second section on additional realms of scholarly knowledge, including Namburbis, medical treatises, philological aids, and prestigious omen series.

– A short, coda-like third section with cryptographically written blessings for the educated *āšipu* and scholar.

The second and third sections of the Manual are characterized by a strong emphasis on secrecy and divine authorization; Geller (2014: 49–50) quite aptly described this part as a kind of Babylonian Kabbalah.⁴⁵ Clancier (2014, 48, 62) argues that, whereas the objective of the first part of the Manual was to make someone an *āšipu*, the goal of the second was “to produce a scholar” (*ummānu*). Whether Geller (loc. cit.) is right when he assumes that the second and third sections represent a later redactional layer of the text is a question to which we will come back.

4 Texts Closely Related to the Exorcist’s Manual

The Exorcist’s Manual is not an entirely unique composition. There are several other Mesopotamian scholarly texts whose contents, structural features, spelling conventions, and/or rubrics are, in one way or another, reminiscent of it.

4.1 *The Sa-gig/Alamdimmû Catalogue*

The most important of these texts is a catalogue with an elaborate “colophon” mentioning Esagil-kin-apli. The text is known from two first-millennium manuscripts, one from Neo-Assyrian Nimrud (CTN 4, 71 = ms. A), dating to the ninth, eighth, or seventh century BCE,⁴⁶ and one from Babylon (BM 41237+, copy: Finkel 1988: 156–57 = ms. B). Based on the pertinent British Museum accession numbers (see Clancier 2009: 190–95), the Babylon manuscript might have originated from the “Esagil library,” from which the Babylon manuscripts of the Exorcist’s Manual may derive as well, but Finkel

⁴⁵ For a thorough study of notions of secrecy in ancient Mesopotamia, see Lenzi 2008a.

⁴⁶ Some sign forms may suggest that the tablet was written before the seventh century BCE.

(1988: 144) claims that the script of the tablet is “probably Neo-Babylonian rather than later.”⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no colophon is preserved.

The text begins with a catalogue of the tablets of the diagnostic series Sa-gig, organized by subseries, continues with the aforementioned “colophon,” and ends with a catalogue of the physiognomic series Alamdimmu. The “colophon”—which is actually more like an elaborate rubric—claims that the two series, in their final form, were the result of the editorial work of the scholar Esagil-kin-apli, a contemporary of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE). Even though it has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years (Finkel 1988, Heeßel 2000: 104–10, Frahm 2011: 326–28 [with further literature]), the “colophon” deserves to be partially quoted here again:

ša ul-tu ul-la SUR.G[IBIL] [la¹ šab-tu₄ ù GIM GU.MEŠ [GIL.MEŠ-ma² GABA.RI¹ NU TUKU ina BALA-e ^{1d}IŠKUR-IBILA-MU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} GIBIL.BI.ŠÈ [x].AM¹ ÈŠ.GÚ.ZI-GIN-A DUMU ^{1d}asal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-sum ABGA[L] [ḫa-a[m]-mu-ra-pí LUGAL ... bār-sipa^{ki}-i reš-ti-i ... UM.ME.A KUR EME.GI₇ u URI^{ki} ... ina GEŠTUG^{II} ni-kil-ti šá 30 (thus A; B: 50) u PAB.PAB iš-ru-ku-šú ina ka-bat-ti-šú uš-ta-bil-ma sa-gig TA muḫ-ḫi EN ĞIR.ME[Š S]UR.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-ma ana NÍG.ZU GIN-in

Concerning that which from old time had not received an (*authoritative*) new edition (SUR.GIBIL, lit., a new plying/spinning/weaving[?]) and was tangled like threads, having no duplicates—in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, to [work it] anew, Esagil-kin-apli, “son” of Asalluḫi-mansum (= Marduk-iddinam?), the sage of King Ḫammurapi ..., a prominent citizen of Borsippa ..., the *ummānu*-scholar of Sumer and Akkad, through the incisive intelligence that Ea and Baba (or: Gula/Nisaba) had bestowed on him, deliberated with himself, produced an (*authoritative*) new edition (lit., a new plying/spinning/weaving[?]) of Sa-gig (arranged) from head to foot, and firmly established it for learning.

There are several elements that this passage and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmu catalogue as a whole share with the Exorcist's Manual. Both texts ascribe to

⁴⁷ Note, however, that it is very difficult to establish the date of a first-millennium Babylonian tablet based on the script alone.

Esagil-kin-apli (who is presented with the same ambitious genealogy) the production of a set of important (serialized) texts. Both use the expression *ana iḫzi kunnu* ‘to establish for learning’ to describe the goal of this textualization project, which in both cases includes Sa-gig and Alamdimmu. It seems, moreover, that the same two deities, Ea(?) and Baba/Gula(?), are presented in the two texts, in highly cryptographic spellings (AN.AN PAB.PAB(-x)/^dME.ME.KE₄ and 30/ 50 u PAB.PAB, respectively), as patron gods of the exorcists’ profession. And with respect to their headings⁴⁸ and the rubrics both texts include halfway through, there are even some pronounced parallels on the structural level.

4.2 *A Catalogue of Exorcistic Texts (VAT 13723+)*

Two first-millennium catalogues from Aššur share features with the Exorcist’s Manual (and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmu catalogue). The first is VAT 13723+ (Geller 2000, 226–34), which mentions Šurpu, Maqlū, Muššu’u, Udug-ḫul, Azag-gig-ga, Lamaštu, Mīs pî, and other ritual texts related to *āšipūtu*, most of them also listed in the first section of the Exorcist’s Manual. Unlike the latter, VAT 13723+ provides detailed information on individual tablets of these series, in a way reminiscent of the Sa-gig/Alamdimmu catalogue.

VAT 14093 (Geller 2000: 232), a small fragment that cannot be exactly placed but according to Köcher belongs together with VAT 13723+, has been said to provide yet another possible connection with the Exorcist’s Manual, but there is reason for some doubt. Geller, reading the first preserved line of the piece [... *lip-l*]ip-pi LUGAL ḫa-am-[mu-ra-pi], pointed to passages in the Exorcist’s Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmu catalogue identifying as Esagil-kin-apli’s ancestor a certain Asalluḫi-mansum, “sage of King Hammurapi” (*apkal Ḫammurapi šarri*) (see above). Tentatively suggesting instead a reading [...] x ABGAL[?] (NUN[?].ME[?]) LUGAL Ḫa-am-[mu-ra-pi], I earlier considered the possibility of an even closer parallel with these two texts (Frahm 2011: 328 n. 1569). But given the relatively clear PI, the lack of a personal name marker before the alleged royal name, and the unusual position of LUGAL, it may actually be more likely to read [...] x-pi LUGAL ḫa-am-[ma-’i] (“[...] ... a rebel king”). If this proves correct, VAT 14093 would not

48 Finkel restored the first line of the Sa-gig/Alamdimmu catalogue as [SAG.DUB.MEŠ u Š]U.ḤINIGIN¹ MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU x and suggested to read the broken sign at the end as B[1] or N[E]. Given that the headings of the Exorcist’s Manual and the Aššur Medical Catalogue (see below) both end with MU.NE (“their names”), the latter solution is clearly preferable.

refer to Esagil-kin-apli at all,⁴⁹ and whether it really belongs with VAT 13723+ would become rather doubtful.

The colophon of VAT 13723+ is lost, but the excavation numbers of the fragments belonging to it indicate that the text was found among the tablets from the House of the Exorcists (N4), the same findspot that produced the Aššur versions of the Exorcist's Manual; it was most likely written in the seventh century BCE.

4.3 *The Aššur Medical Catalogue*

The second text from Aššur closely related to the Exorcist's Manual is the "Aššur Medical Catalogue," which has become known only fairly recently. It comprises five fragments: four from Yale, copied by Beckman and Foster (1988, no. 9a–d) and preliminarily edited by Scurluck (2014: 295–306), and one from Chicago (see Attinger 2008: 8), to be published together with the other pieces by Geller, Panayotov, and Steinert. The text is discussed in Steinert's contribution to this volume, which means I can be brief.⁵⁰

The Aššur Medical Catalogue comprises two sections, a first, "anatomical" one listing ca. thirteen medical series organized from head to toe, and a second, "non-anatomical" one comprising eleven series on topics such as lesions, wounds, and human procreation. The treatises listed in the first section are very similar to the corpus of therapeutic texts known from Assurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh.

The findspots of the fragments belonging to the catalogue are unknown, but the text seems not to come from the library of the House of the Exorcists in Aššur. Its colophon indicates that it was copied from an earlier exemplar by a "junior-physician" (*asû šeḫru*) whose name is mostly lost, as is that of his father; but the title of the latter, "šangû-priest of (the healing goddess) Baba, who is (worshipped) in the midst of Baltil,"⁵¹ is preserved, suggesting a

49 The only possible remaining link with the Esagil-kin-apli tradition would be the reference to [t]ak-né-e ^dnisaba in line 2', which is reminiscent of KI-né-e ^dnisaba in line 21 of the Exorcist's Manual. The word *taknû* also occurs in A 59–60 of the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (Finkel 1988: 148).

50 The following remarks are to a significant extent indebted to the paper Panayotov and Steinert gave on the text on the occasion of the Würzburg conference in April 2015.

51 I confirmed the new readings of the colophon—established by Ulrike Steinert—when collating the tablet in January 2016. A *šangû Baba ša qereb Aššur* named Gula-zeru-ibni is mentioned as father of the scribe in the colophons of two Aššur manuscripts of the Erra Epic (Frankena 1957: 10 and pl. II), and it is possible that his name is to be restored, again as

connection of the scribe and his family with the Gula temple in Aššur. This sanctuary is mentioned in other texts, including some from the House of the Exorcists (see Maul 2010: 213–14), but regular excavations have so far failed to establish its exact location. Based on the sign forms, the tablet was probably written in the eighth or seventh century BCE.

As has been argued before (Frahm 2011: 328–29, Scurlock 2014: 295, and especially Panayotov’s and Steinert’s Würzburg paper), the Aššur Medical Commentary shares a number of conspicuous features with the Exorcist’s Manual. A first parallel is provided by its heading, which ends similarly with MU.NE. In fact, if one restored it as [SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GAR.MEŠ A.ZU-ti šá ana NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU₈.A kun-nu PAB] MU.†NE¹),⁵² the headings of the two texts would be virtually identical, with one introducing the text corpus related to the craft of the physician (*asû*) and the other treatises of importance to the exorcist (*āšīpu*). The idea that the respective fields of these specialists were clearly distinguished and complementary, questioned by many contemporary Assyriologists after previously having been widely accepted,⁵³ might have to be rehabilitated to some extent.

The rubric that, halfway through the text, refers back to its first section represents another parallel with the Exorcist’s Manual. In contrast to the rubric of the Manual, it has no reference to Esagil-kin-apli, whose expertise may not have included the therapeutic corpus; but the statements that the texts listed in the first section of the catalogue were organized “from head to toe” ([T]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri*) and had been “newly edited” (SUR.GIBIL *šab-tu*) are mirrored in the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (see Finkel 1988: 148, A 51–52, 61–62, and elsewhere).

4.4 Other Catalogues

Apparently, the British Museum holds a number of fragments of cuneiform catalogues copied at some point during the Middle Babylonian period and

that of the father of the scribe, in the colophon of the Aššur Medical Catalogue. The names and titles of the scribes themselves, however, *Baba-aḫu-iddina* (^{1d}*Ba-ba₆-PAB-SUM-na*) *šamallû šeḫru* in the Erra colophons and [...]x(†uš¹?) *asû šeḫru* in the colophon of the catalogue, are different.

52 “[*Wording* of the) titles (lit., “incipits”) of the medical series (*iškār asûti*) that were firmly established for learning and reading], named [in their entirety].” The restoration is uncertain, however. Panayotov and Steinert consider it, but without excluding alternative solutions.

53 This goes back primarily to an influential article by Ritter (1965).

listing *incipits* of medical texts, exorcistic treatises, and omen compendia. Establishing how they relate to the catalogues discussed in this paper will have to await their publication.

4.5 *Summary*

The Exorcist's Manual was consulted in the first millennium BCE by Babylonian and Assyrian scholars in conjunction with several other catalogue-like texts displaying similar features. All of them provide information on a medico-magical corpus of widely acknowledged and largely fixed texts. As discussed in the next section, these texts may have received their finishing touches at about the same time, in the eleventh century BCE, and within the same religious and cultural milieu.

5 When Was the Exorcist's Manual Composed?

The earliest clearly datable copies of the Exorcist's Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue were written in the seventh century BCE, but the two treatises were apparently composed much earlier. Both state that the texts they catalogue were edited by a man named Esagil-kin-apli, the scion of an illustrious family of scribes associated with the city of Borsippa. The Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue provides the additional information that he was a contemporary of the Isin II king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE) and “chief scholar of Sumer and Akkad.” These claims find a certain amount of support in a list of kings and scholars from Uruk, which states that Esagil-kin-apli was the chief scribe of a ruler possibly dating to the Isin II dynasty (van Dijk 1962). But the available copies of the Uruk list date to the Seleucid period, and the pertinent passage is characterized by a good deal of chronological confusion,⁵⁴ circumstances that cast some doubt on the historical accuracy of the information the list provides.

54 The Uruk list claims that Esagil-kin-apli served as the chief scribe under a king whose name is mostly lost, but is apparently not to be read as Adad-apla-iddina. The following section associates a certain Esagil-kin-ubbib (whose name is conspicuously similar to that of Esagil-kin-apli) with Adad-apla-iddina and Nebuchadnezzar I, who are listed in the wrong chronological sequence. All this is most likely the result of some scribal mistake, admittedly difficult to explain; for discussion, see most recently Lenzi 2008b: 141–43. A so far unpublished duplicate of the Uruk list of kings and sages has recently been discovered by

Many scholars have, nonetheless, accepted that Esagil-kin-apli was indeed a historical figure, a contemporary of Adad-apla-iddina, and the editor of the texts ascribed to him (see, for example, Finkel 1988: 144; Heeßel 2000: 104; Lambert 2008: 95). Recently, however, some have begun to question these ideas. Eleanor Robson was the first to do so, writing in 2008:

There are precious few historical actors in recent accounts of Mesopotamian medicine—except, ironically Esagil-kin-apli, who may well have been part of an invented tradition given the complete dearth of contemporary (eleventh-century) historical evidence for his existence: compare Pythagoras ... or Hippocrates himself. (Robson 2008: 477)

Matthew Rutz argued in the same vein in 2011:

Without some external confirmation it would be naïve and uncritical to simply accept the report of this later tradition as historical fact; cf. the relationship between the historical Hippocrates and the so-called Hippocratic Corpus. (Rutz 2011: 299 n. 21)

And in 2012, Mark Geller claimed:

Nous ne sommes pas sûrs de la date de rédaction de ce texte. On nous dit qu'il est dû au célèbre savant Esagil-kin-apli qui aurait vécu aux environs de 1100 avant J.-C., mais nous ne devons pas croire cette affirmation. Nos manuscrits sont bien postérieurs, ils datent des 7^{ème} et 6^{ème} siècles avant J.-C., et ils reflètent plus vraisemblablement la date de rédaction de ce document. (Geller 2012: 44)

The skepticism expressed in these statements by leading scholars of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition is of course healthy—and yet, in my view, perhaps exaggerated. There are, I believe, a number of clues suggesting that Esagil-kin-apli did exist, and that he was engaged in editorial work in the eleventh century. At first glance, one could even believe the matter settled, since A 3442, a manuscript of the twelfth tablet of Sa-gig (Labat 1951: 102–11,

Enrique Jiménez in the Yale Babylonian Collection; unfortunately, it does not restore the royal name preceding the name of Esagil-kin-apli.

XXXI), was written, according to its colophon, on the seventeenth day of an unknown year of [...-DUMU.NI]TA-SUM-*na* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}—a ruler whose name could be restored as [Adad]-apla-iddina (thus Finkel 1988: 144). Yet it must be admitted that other restorations are feasible as well, and altogether more likely—the king mentioned might have been Nabû-aplu-iddina (thus tentatively Brinkman 1964: 37) or Marduk-aplu-iddina II (thus tentatively George 1991: 138–39 n. 9, and Rutz 2011: 295 n. 5).⁵⁵ Consequently, A 3442 does not provide the final answer to our question.

Of greater significance is that Adad-apla-iddina was not a very remarkable or successful king—it seems, in fact, that Babylonia suffered significant defeats at the hand of marauding Suteans and Arameans during his reign (Radner 2007). This means it would have made little sense for the Mesopotamian *literati* of later times to invent a tradition ascribing to Adad-apla-iddina in particular the sponsorship of scholarly works that had such a tremendous impact on first-millennium Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship. Consequently, the tradition in question may well have been close to the historical truth.⁵⁶

The language and orthography of the Exorcist's Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue deserve some attention as well. As demonstrated above, both texts are full of rare words and Sumerianizing spellings, which lends them an almost cryptographic touch. Writings such as those found in lines 37–42 of the Manual seem to go beyond the logographic spelling conventions that characterize many first-millennium scholarly texts.⁵⁷ Yet when we compare them to writings attested in Adad-apla-iddina's own royal inscriptions, we do find some conspicuous parallels. Here is one of Adad-apla-iddina's Sumerian inscriptions, known from some bricks and a clay tablet from the city of Uruk (Frahm 2001):

55 A close study of the tablet's sign forms might help determine which of these solutions is the most likely one. George points out that the tablet was most likely found with a number of other texts from Uruk, and that its script seems "Neo-Babylonian" rather than "Seleucid."

56 A different issue is the claim that Esagil-kin-apli had a forefather, Asalluḫi-mansum (= Marduk-iddinam?), who served as the "sage" (*apkallu*) of King Ḫammurapi of Babylon. This may well be an "invention of tradition" to legitimize Esagil-kin-apli's authority (thus Lambert 2008: 95)—even though some Mesopotamian scholars did successfully trace back their origins over many generations.

57 For some statistics on the use of logograms in first-millennium scholarly texts, see Civil 1973: 26.

- 1 IŠKUR-IBILA-
 2 *i-din-nam*
 3 lugal KÁ.DINGIR.RA
 4 ^{ki}-ma
 5 èš-gar
 6 èš-gal-bi
 7 pi-i-in-šè-
 8 sù-ud-da
 9 ^dinanna
 10 ma-la-a-ni-ta

Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, is the one who adorned the èš-gal-sanctuary (of?) the èš-gar for Inanna/Ištar, his companion.

Especially ma-la-a-ni-ta, which corresponds to Akkadian *ana ruttišu* (“to his (female) companion”), appears almost cryptographic and is thus reminiscent of some of the writings found in the last lines of the Exorcist’s Manual. Other Sumerian inscriptions composed in the name of Adad-apla-iddina include a number of virtual cryptograms as well. In RIMB 2.8.3 (Frame 1995: 52–53), line 1, for example, the name of the Babylonian god Marduk is rendered NUN×NUN-an-ni-gal, which brings to mind the writing of the divine names Ea(?) and Baba/Gula(?) as AN.AN PAB.PAB-x in line 41 of the Manual. Of even greater interest is the spelling ÈŠ-GÚ-ZI.DA for Esagil in line 3 of the same inscription, which is the earliest clearly datable text to use it. Identical spellings are found in three manuscripts of the Exorcist’s Manual (line 27) and in both manuscripts of the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (A 54, B 20´) to render the first element of Esagil-kin-apli’s name.⁵⁸

All this makes it likely, in my view, that these two scholarly treatises do go back to the time of Adad-apla-iddina; that Esagil-kin-apli did collect and edit the texts they mention (even though at least some of them may have been slightly modified in later times); and that either he himself or one of his students⁵⁹ composed the Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue. It also seems probable that the second and third sections of the Manual were authored by Esagil-kin-apli or someone close to him, even though they are

⁵⁸ Most manuscripts omit the final DA, but this is of little importance.

⁵⁹ This latter scenario might find some support in the fact that the treatises refer to Esagil-kin-apli in the third person singular and not in the first person.

not explicitly attributed to our scholar. It is, moreover, tempting to believe that Esagil-kin-apli composed Adad-apla-iddina's royal inscriptions.⁶⁰

At this point, unequivocal proof for the scenario outlined here cannot be provided since no scholarly tablets clearly datable to eleventh-century Babylonia are available and only very few are known from the following three centuries. Perhaps such tablets will one day be found. We may then also have a chance to establish for sure whether the Aššur Medical Catalogue was likewise composed in the eleventh century and whether it originates from the same intellectual milieu that produced the Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue.⁶¹

6 Notions of Canonicity Conveyed by the Exorcist's Manual⁶²

The Exorcist's Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue provide us with two key terms that define the exact nature of Esagil-kin-apli's editorial work. The first, SUR.GIBIL *šabātu*, is attested in several rubrics of the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (see the quotation above in section 4)—and also in the Aššur Medical Commentary (see Steinert's contribution)—but not in the Manual. The term derives from the world of textiles: as established by Stol (2007, 241–42), it is based on Sumerian *sur*, which means “to ply/spin/

60 These inscriptions received a lot of attention in later tradition. A clay cone with an Adad-apla-iddina text concerning the wall of Nippur was found in Dur-Šarrukin/Khorsabad; a Neo-Babylonian copy of an Adad-apla-iddina brick inscription is known from Uruk; and two copies of an inscription written in the name of the king on a belt of the god Nabû were discovered among tablets from Late Assyrian Nineveh. One of them was written by the exorcist Urad-Gula, whose interest in Adad-apla-iddina may well have been due to the fact that he knew about the king's association with Esagil-kin-apli, the great compiler of exorcistic lore. For references and additional discussion, see Frame 1995: 50–63 and Frahm 2001.

61 It could, however, also be a later composition inspired by the two other texts.

62 Whether the corpus of scholarly texts that was in use in first-millennium Mesopotamia can be characterized as a “canon” is a question that has been much discussed in Assyriological scholarship (see Lieberman 1990, Hallo 1991, Rochberg-Halton 1984, Veldhuis 2003, and Ryholt – Barjamovic 2016, to mention just a few important contributions), with no consensus in sight. I have provided some of my own thoughts on the matter in Frahm 2011: 317–28 and therefore can be fairly brief here.

weave.”⁶³ Its Akkadian counterpart, as we know from an Assurbanipal colophon to be discussed below (see section 7), is *za-ra-a* (accusative), which I have earlier considered to mean “to winnow” (*zarû*), in the sense of sifting the chaff from the wheat (Frahm 2011: 328, with earlier literature). But this strikes me now as unlikely. *za-ra-a* is rather to be interpreted as a non-orthographic writing of *zâru* ‘to ply/twist (a thread or rope)’, which makes it a closer equivalent of *sur*.⁶⁴

As already observed by Stol, the textile connotations of *sur* bring to mind the fact that our own word “text,” which goes back to post-classical Christian Latin, is ultimately derived from *texere*, *texo* ‘to weave’ (Scheid – Svenbro 1996: 139–62, esp. 160).⁶⁵ Sumerian and Akkadian, like Greek, Hebrew, and ancient Egyptian (see Assmann 1995: 18), do not have specific words for “text,” but both languages describe the act of creating written compositions by tapping into the same semantic field from which the etymology of Latin *textus* stems.

“Textualization,” then, is what the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue apparently claims Esagil-kin-apli was engaged in. But the treatise does not state that there had been no earlier texts. SUR.GIBIL, literally “a new plying/spinning/weaving,” suggests that Esagil-kin-apli, instead of starting from scratch, rather created new texts from old ones (Heeßel 2000: 106). And this is indeed what seems to have happened. Before Esagil-kin-apli, a multitude of diverse medico-magical traditions existed in Mesopotamia, and significant numbers of rituals and medical prescriptions were recorded in writing. The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (Machinist 1978: 128–29, B rev. vi 5’ and 8’) refers explicitly to the availability in thirteenth-century Babylonia of large numbers of tablets related to exorcism (*āšipūtu*) and medicine (*malṭarāt asūti*), and to their transfer to Assyria. Some of these texts, including precursors of the diagnostic omen treatise Sa-gig (see Heeßel 2000: 97–104;

63 The use of *sur* with reference to the creation of verbal compositions seems to go back to early times. Lines 11–12 of the Keš Temple Hymn read: *inim-bi-ta sa-gin₇ im-da-an-sur / dub-ba sar-sar šu-še al-gá-gá*, translated by Kilmer (2006: 212): “with its (the hymn’s) words she wove it like a net / Written on tablets it was held in (her) hands.”

64 Lambert 2005: xix, referring to MSL 14, 250: 82: *za-ra BAD ta-mu-ú*, argues that the scribal term might be a loanword from Sumerian *zara₅(BAD) = ta₅mú* ‘to spin’. It seems, in any case, unlikely that there were two different yet highly similar verbs, *zarû* and *zâru*, that both refer to textile work. See also CT 17, 25: 24: *éš-maḥ-gim al-sur-ra = kīma ibīḫi i-za-ár*.

65 Texts and textiles are related in other languages as well. For example, Greek ῥαψωδῆν ‘to perform as a rhapsodist’ literally means “to sew songs together.”

Rutz 2011) and the anti-witchcraft compendium Maqlû (Schwemer 2010), have been found in the course of modern excavations.⁶⁶ But during the time of Tukulti-Ninurta there was not yet a very clear sense among Mesopotamian scholars of how the various versions of specific scholarly texts related to each other—they were “tangled like threads”⁶⁷ (GIM GU.MEŠ ʾGIL.MEŠ¹), to quote the Esagil-kin-apli “colophon” from the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (see above, section 4). The great achievement of the Borsippian scholar was that he identified traditions of particular significance, copied or rewrote many of the available texts, and organized them in new series.

The use of the term SUR.GIBIL alone is not enough to prove that Esagil-kin-apli's editorial work was aimed at the creation of a body of “canonical” texts—compositions that were meant to be essentially unchangeable, with nothing to be added or cut off. Another expression, however, found in the Exorcist's Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue (see above, sections 3 and 4), strongly suggests that this was exactly his ambition: the newly created texts, both treatises claim, had been “established” (*kunnū*) by Esagil-kin-apli “for learning and reading” (*ana iḫzi u tāmarti*). Especially the verb *kunnu* (*kānu* D), with its connotations of stability, permanence, and “imposed-ness,” makes it quite clear that Esagil-kin-apli, bolstered by his association with the Babylonian king and his alleged descent from a chief scribe of the famous Ḫammurapi, wanted to provide future scholars with a “fixed” body of texts to be faithfully studied and read forever after.

One can of course endlessly debate whether this corpus should be called “canonical.” Clearly, given their rather technical character, Esagil-kin-apli's texts lacked the normative and formative dimensions that canonical and “cultural” texts such as the Torah or the Homeric epics possessed.⁶⁸ But one can certainly claim that Esagil-kin-apli's new text collection represented a “canon” in the same sense in which Avicenna's encyclopedia of medicine, completed in 1025 CE and still in use in parts of Europe in the eighteenth century, was known as *al-Qānūn fī aṭ-ṭibb* in Arabic and as *Liber canonis* in

66 Note also the many Akkadian rituals and incantations found in “peripheral” locations such as Emar or Ḫattuša.

67 The translation “twisted threads,” first suggested by Finkel (1988: 148) and then adopted by many other scholars, is somewhat misleading, since the “twisting” or rather the plying of these threads into something new was the act eventually performed by Esagil-kin-apli, described in the text with the term SUR.GIBIL.

68 For reflections on the normative and formative qualities of canonical texts, see Assmann 1995: 21–22.

Latin. Even though some of the texts that had existed prior to Esagil-kin-apli's great editorial project continued to be copied in first-millennium BCE Mesopotamia and a few new ones were composed (see, for example, Heeßel 2000: 110–12), and despite the fact that one can find certain deviations among first-millennium manuscripts of several of the texts listed in the Exorcist's Manual, the exorcistic series and other texts listed in the Exorcist's Manual and the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue displayed a remarkable degree of coherence over the centuries, until the very end of cuneiform culture.

7 Uses of the Exorcist's Manual (and Related Texts) in the First Millennium

During the first millennium, the Exorcist's Manual became, in a way, a canonical text in its own right (Clancier 2014: 46). As the manuscripts described in section 2 of this essay demonstrate, it was faithfully copied over many centuries by Assyrian and Babylonian scribes. But how did scholars of this period actually use the text and engage with it? In the following, I will discuss three areas in which the Manual mattered particularly or elicited strong reactions.

7.1 *The Exorcist's Manual as Reference Work and Pedagogical Tool*

Clearly the most important function of the Manual was to serve as a tool helping Babylonian and Assyrian exorcists establish what they needed to know. The more than 130 tablets recovered from the library of the exorcist Anu-ikšur from the Šangû-Ninurta family in Late Babylonian Uruk provide a good example (Clancier 2014). One of them, SpTU 5, 231 (see above, section 2), is a copy of the Exorcist's Manual, written by Anu-ikšur's brother Rimut-Anu. This copy is the only tablet from the library that bears a date formula, suggesting that it held a special importance for the exorcists who created and used the tablets housed there. That many of these tablets turn out to be copies of the medico-magical and other texts listed in the Exorcist's Manual corroborates the impression that the program outlined in this treatise was to some extent followed by the exorcists of the Šangû-Ninurta family who lived and worked in mid-Achaemenid Uruk. The slightly later tablets from the Rēš temple, in contrast, which were mostly written by Urukean lamentation-priests (*kalû*), include far fewer of the texts mentioned in the Manual.

The Šangû-Ninurta library also housed a significant number of often very sophisticated commentaries, called *šātu*, mostly on medical and divinatory texts (Frahm 2011: 290–92). The study of these commentaries may have been inspired to some extent by a reference to *šātu*-commentaries(?) in the second section of the Exorcist's Manual (line 37).⁶⁹

BRM 4, 32 (= CCP 4.2.M.a), a commentary on a treatise concerning the medico-magical application of fumigations (*qutāru*), provides indirect support for this assumption. The commentary was written by a *nêšakku*-priest of Enlil, probably in Nippur,⁷⁰ even though it was apparently later brought to Uruk, where it seems to have been found. It is introduced by the following invocation:

ina a-mat AN-DIŠ AN-DIŠ AN.AN PAB.PAB-x^dkù-sù nin-gìrim liš-lim

May (this work) succeed in the name of Anu(?), Enlil(?), Ea(?), Baba/Gula(?), Kusu, and Ningirim.

The cryptic spelling AN.AN PAB.PAB-x is otherwise found only in the Exorcist's Manual (line 41) and may well be a nod (decipherable, of course, only to the initiate) to the great scholar and editor Esagil-kin-apli.

In the Assyrian cities in which Esagil-kin-apli's editorial work was known (see above, section 2), we find many of the texts attributed to him as well, particularly among the tablets from Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh and those from the "House of the Exorcists" in Aššur (see above, section 2). Quite a few of the texts are, moreover, mentioned in the correspondence the Late Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal exchanged with their scholars, indicating that they were used in actual rituals (Jean 2006: 83–109). At the same time, certain scholars in Aššur may have opposed the idea of adopting Esagil-kin-apli's new "canon," as will be demonstrated at the end of this section. To what extent this canon was still studied in the latest phases of cuneiform culture in Babylon is somewhat unclear (see above, section 2).

69 For some discussion of whether *šātu* here means "commentary" or "lexical list," see Frahm 2011: 329–30.

70 Pace Geller (2010: 170, 173), who assumed that the scribe was an astrologer; see Frahm 2011: 235–36.

7.2 *The Exorcist's Manual as a Model for Scholarly Work in General and for New Canonization Projects*

The Exorcist's Manual apparently also served in a more general way as a blueprint for religious, magical, and scholarly endeavors, especially in first-millennium Assyria. When Sennacherib (704–681 BCE) embarked on his great project of refashioning Nineveh as a glamorous new residence, he described the city as follows:

NINA^{ki} ... *ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e* DINGIR.MEŠ ... *ba-šu-ú qé-reb-šú ... šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša ... gi-mir pel-lu-de-e ni-šir-ti lâl-gar šu-ta-bu-lu qé-reb-šú*

Nineveh, ... where all the rituals of the gods ... are present, ... a site of secret lore, in which ... all the rituals (and) the secret(s) of the Lalgar are apprehended (RINAP 3/1, 17: 23–33).

This passage strongly resonates with the second section of the Exorcist's Manual, where we find the same emphasis on secrecy (*niširtu*, *pirištu*, lines 30–31), as well as a mention of *kidudû*-rites (line 38). Even more important is Sennacherib's reference to the secrets of the Lalgar, an otherwise rare and erudite synonym for Apsû also attested in line 31 of the Manual (see Borger 1964: 191). Nineveh, Sennacherib seems to claim, was a city whose religious and intellectual qualities lived up to Esagil-kin-apli's standards.

One of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal (668–631 BCE) may allude to the Exorcist's Manual as well, even though the parallels are less pronounced. In his famous “autobiography,” the king claims:

[š]*i-pir ap-kal-li a-da-pà a-ḫu-uz ni-šir-tú ka-tim-tú kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-tú*
[GIS]KIM.MEŠ AN-e u KI-tì *am-ra-ku šu-ta-da-na-ku ina* UKKIN *um-ma-a-ni*
šú¹-ta-bu-la-ku

I learned the craft of the sage Adapa, the secret lore of all of the scribal arts. I am able to read celestial and terrestrial signs and to discuss them in the assembly of the scholars. (Novotny 2014: 77, 96, i 18–20)

In lines 39–40, the Exorcist's Manual includes a somewhat similar statement, according to which several texts, including the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu* and the celestial series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, were to be “pondered” (*kitpudu*) and “discussed” (*šutaddunu*) “in conjunction with each other(?)” (*mithurtu*) by the exorcist. This is the only other instance in which *šutaddunu* is used in the context of celestial and terrestrial signs (see CAD Š/3 57–58), and it is

possible that the Assurbanipal passage was inspired by it. The king's claims are more wide-ranging, however. Assurbanipal's knowledge is not limited to *āšipūtu*, it comprises all scholarship (*kullat tupšarrūti*). The king, it seems, is an "Esagil-kin-apli redivivus," but one with even more impressive intellectual powers.

Another group of texts from the reign of Assurbanipal is related to the Esagil-kin-apli tradition in more obvious ways. Several colophons on tablets from Nineveh inscribed with a *nishu*-version of the botanical handbook Uruanna credit the king himself with the editorial work from which the new series resulted:

nishu n-ú ^uuru-an-na : mal-ta-kal Ú.ĤI.A ša ina š[a]-a-ti u EME BÚR.MEŠ ša ul-tu ul-la za-ra-a la šab-tu ... la i-šu-ú sa-di-ru ¹aš-šur-DÛ-A 2[O kiššati 2O] KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki} is-niq

First (var.: tenth, twelfth) part (*nishu*) of Uruanna = *maštakal*. (Regarding) the plant (name)s that had (formerly) been explained in (bilingual?) *šātu*-lists and (monolingual?) *lišānu*-lists, but from old time had not received an (authoritative) new edition (*za-ra-a lā šabtū*) ... and were not *organized in sections* (*sadīru*), Assurbanipal, king [of the world, king] of Assyria, (newly) arranged them. (BAK 321: 1–6)

Whether the references to *šātu* and *lišānu* found in this passage were inspired by the Exorcist's Manual (line 37) is not entirely clear, but it seems quite certain that the use of the terms *za-ra-a šabātu* (see above, section 6) and *sadīru* goes back to their occurrence (with *za-ra-a* written SUR.GIBIL) in the two texts most closely related to the Manual: the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue and the Aššur Medical Catalogue.⁷¹ Assurbanipal, who is known to have reshaped other scholarly traditions as well, for instance in the field of extispicy,⁷² here claims that he was engaged in the same kind of editorial work for which Esagil-kin-apli had been famous.

71 In the Aššur Medical Catalogue, *sadīru* occurs in lines 58 and [122–23] (line count after the forthcoming edition by Geller, Panayotov, and Steinert). As observed and kindly communicated to me by Ulrike Steinert, the word is probably also attested in the Sa-gig/Alamdimmû catalogue, in lines [19] and 31 (read: *sa-^fdi²-ru¹* SUR.GIBIL *šab-^ftu⁴*¹).

72 Rm 2, 134 is an extispicy text from Nineveh with omens referring to Assurbanipal's war against Elam; see Starr 1985.

The aforementioned examples illustrate that Esagil-kin-apli and his editorial projects were considered as exemplary not only by later scholars, but also by Assyrian kings, who regarded it as their duty to sponsor the “arts and sciences” in the spirit of the great scholar.

7.3 *A Rejection of Esagil-kin-apli’s Work?*

In 2010, Heeßel published a tablet from Aššur that comprised several text segments containing physiognomic omens, some of them with commentary. One section, uncommented and apparently the first of the text, ends with the following subscript:

DIŠ ʾalam¹-dīm-mu-u LIBIR.RA šá É-sag-gíl-GIN-A NU DU₈.MEŠ-šú / DUB 1-KÁM alam-<dīm>-mu-ú

The old version of Alamdimmû, which Esagil-kin-apli had not ...; first tablet of Alamdimmû. (Heeßel 2010: 143–53, iii 6–7)

The text preceding this rubric is badly damaged, but clearly not identical with tablet 1 of Esagil-kin-apli’s “canonical” version of Alamdimmû. Heeßel, taking DU₈.MEŠ-šú as a writing for *lā upaṭṭirušu*, claimed the message of the rubric was that Esagil-kin-apli, despite his pretensions of having set a new standard with his well-known editorial project, had actually failed to invalidate and replace (“ablösen”) earlier versions of Alamdimmû. In other words, according to Heeßel, there were scholars in Aššur who disliked the new corpus created by Esagil-kin-apli and preferred traditional texts that might have been in use in their city for quite some time.

Shortly after Heeßel’s article appeared, I tentatively questioned his interpretation, suggesting that DU₈.MEŠ might perhaps rather be a term designating commentarial efforts (Frahm 2011: 330–31). If that were the case, the subscript would simply claim that the preceding section did not include any commentary, and would indicate a belief in Esagil-kin-apli having been, in addition to his many other accomplishments, a great exegete. I must admit, however, that DU₈.MEŠ is nowhere else used as a term for exegesis. In addition, Heeßel rightly points out (2010: 157–67) that the city of Aššur has so far failed to produce a single tablet of Esagil-kin-apli’s “canonical” version of Sa-gig,⁷³ and that the same seems to apply to the physiognomic omen series

73 Note, however, that a reference to *maš’alâte ša Sa-gig* in the catalogue tablet BAM 310: 3–4 seems to indicate the presence of commentaries on Sa-gig in Aššur; see Frahm 2011: 220.

Alamdimmû. Moreover, the “Synchronistic King List” from Aššur, which mentions a number of important chief scholars of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, conspicuously does not include Esagil-kin-apli's name, despite his undeniable prominence.

The Esagil-kin-apli tradition was not entirely suppressed in Late Assyrian Aššur. As we have seen, the Exorcist's Manual was available in the city,⁷⁴ and quite a few of the exorcistic texts listed in it, for example Maqlû and Šurpu, are represented among the tablets found at Aššur. But it may nonetheless be true that many literati in Aššur were critical of Esagil-kin-apli and his opus.

The aversion that may have existed against the Borsippean scholar in Assyria's religious capital should not, however, blind us to the fact that, all in all, Esagil-kin-apli's attempt to create a new body of medico-magical texts and establish it as a new standard was enormously successful. It shaped Mesopotamian scholarship, magic, and religion, as well as ideas about the importance of written texts, for a good one thousand years.

8 Appendix: BM 36678, rev.

BM 36678 is inscribed with the Exorcist's Manual on its obverse and a so far unidentified text on the reverse, briefly discussed above in section 2. This poorly preserved unidentified text is transliterated in the following, in order to facilitate further study. The transliteration is based on the hand copy published by Geller (2000, 250, ms. e) and a number of photos kindly provided by Jeanette Fincke, but not on a study of the original tablet, which, if undertaken, might lead to additional improvements.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ KAR 44, the well-known Aššur manuscript of the Manual, mentions Esagil-kin-apli's name, but as pointed out by Heeßel (2010: 160–61) leaves out his genealogy and titles, which provided him with the authority he needed to launch his ambitious editorial program. This could be interpreted as a distancing gesture. The case is, however, not entirely clear. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the tablet, Kišir-Nabû, used the cryptographic spelling ¹KA.KEŠDA-⁴HE.DU₇ when writing his own name in the colophon. At first glance, one might take this as a nod to the learned author of the Manual and the many erudite writings his text includes. But Kišir-Nabû's esoteric spelling could, of course, also be regarded as an attempt to show that the scribes of Aššur were in every respect Esagil-kin-apli's peers.

⁷⁵ I would like to thank the participants in the “Yale Cuneiform” for reading the text with me in February 2016 and making a number of valuable suggestions.

iii

1'	ú []
2'	ár-k[i(-šú)]]
3'	DIŠ ^d I[ŠKUR/U[TU/3[o (OR: ^{ld} I[ŠKUR/U[TU/3[o-...)]]
	Rather not: DIŠ AN.M[I ...]	
4'	a-[]
5'	a š[u [?]]
6'	a-[]
7'	u[l [?]]
8'	ᵀDIŠ/ ^R 1[]

Rest of column lost

iv

1'	[x (x) i]m x x (x) [x x x] x-ᵀšú ¹ [x x] ᵀIM [?] 1.DU[GUD [?]
2'	[x (x)] kal DALḪAMUN(IM.ŠITA) be nu ŠÈG ILLU A.MAḪ.MEŠ TÙR NÍGIN.MEŠ
3'	[x M]UL [?] NIM.GÍR GÙ u RA u SUR x im gu [?] ₄ me-ḫu-ú a-ku ₆ -ku ₆ -tú
4'	[n]i [?] -di SUR [?] tešal-lum-mu-ú u IZL.GAR AŠ.ME GÙ AN-e ri-bi šá KI-ti
5'	IZL.ŠUB ḪI.GAR KUR NU KUR zi dù ⁷⁶ KUR NU nu [?] x x x x kàd/tag ₄
6'	gi-lit-tu ₄ SILIM.MA ana DAM.GÀR pe-te [?] tu-ú-du né-me-lu
7'	ḫa-a-su šá ^{na4} KA.GI.NA da-ba-ba sa-ra-a-tú
8'	SISÁ-er BURU ₁₄ [?] PEŠ ₅ [!] dNISABA DAGAL MÁŠ.ANŠE SILIM ^{mmuus} PEŠ ₄ .MEŠ
9'	ᵀGIG [?] 1 ᵀi [?] ᵀI [?] .LA [?] SU [?] .GU [?] ZÁḪ MÁŠ.ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ GUL ik-kaš-šir ⁷⁷
10'	[x (x)] x DINGIR.MEŠ ru x x(ban ^{??}) nu UN.MEŠ GARZA DINGIR.MEŠ
11'	[x (x)] x ᵀDINGIR?.MEŠ ¹ x (x) ᵀiz [?] -zi [?] 1-bu-ši-na-a-tú

Rest of column lost

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⁷⁶ Read ZI.R?

⁷⁷ Cf. *ša kīma binūtišuma* (var.: *kīma šumišuma*) *ikširu kalu ilāni abtūti* '(Asalluḫi-Namtila), who in accordance with the form (of) his (name) (var.: in accordance with his name) restored all the ruined gods' (Enūma eliš VI 152).

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Catalogues, Texts, and Specialists: Some Thoughts on the Aššur Medical Catalogue and Mesopotamian Healing Professions

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One of the peculiarities of Mesopotamian textual scholarship is the text type of the catalogue, which is attested in a variety of forms and found on cuneiform tablets from the late third to the first millennium BCE. This study evolved from the work carried out by the author on one such document, the so-called Aššur Medical Catalogue (AMC), which forms a key source for investigating the serialization of medical texts in the first millennium BCE.¹ At the same time, the AMC provokes the simple question of what exactly it represents as a catalogue, which inevitably raises the issue of the Mesopotamian healing disciplines and their text corpora, and whose professional expertise the AMC reflects.

This paper aims to tackle these questions, based on a survey of different types of ancient Mesopotamian text catalogues. A comparison of the AMC with two other closely related texts, the catalogue of the twin series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens (Sakikkû and Alamdimmû) and the so-called Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates), leads to the conclusion that the AMC represents at its core the text corpus of the *asû* 'physician', which was shaped into serialized compendia in the first millennium BCE. On the other hand, the comparison of the three catalogues reveals links as well as differences in their structure and contents, providing an opportunity to

¹ This contribution presents some results of the research currently being carried out by the BabMed project at Freie Universität Berlin. A slightly varying version of the paper is being re-published in the forthcoming book *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic and Divination*, edited by the author (Steinert forthcoming a), which offers a comprehensive study of Mesopotamian catalogues, including an edition of AMC. The BabMed project is funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013; Project No. 323596).

reconsider the relationship between the professional domains of two healing specialists, the *āšipu* ‘conjurer, exorcist’ and *asû* ‘physician’, and their contributions to the medical text corpora reflected in the AMC.

1 Introduction

In his survey of Mesopotamian text catalogues in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Krecher (1980: 478) defined “literary” catalogues as “selbständige Verzeichnisse von literarischen Einheiten [i.e., compositions or works] ... bzw. von Teilen einer literarischen Einheit,” applying a broad usage of the term “literature,” since the kinds of texts encountered in Mesopotamian catalogues belong to various genres including myths, hymns, songs, cult laments, lexical lists, omen collections, ritual texts, and incantations.²

Within the category “catalogue,” we can generally differentiate (a) catalogues listing various compositions belonging to different text types/genres; and (b) catalogues that register the sections of one specific composition, or a group of compositions belonging to one particular text type or genre.³ In the first millennium BCE, concomitant with the development of serialized compositions within the scholarly disciplines of *āšipūtu*, *bārūtu*, *kalūtu*, and *asūtu*, catalogues also appear in two specific forms. These are the *text series catalogues*, which register the chapters or tablets making up one

2 Shorter catalogues are sometimes embedded within a text or appended as a separate section to a text of related, but differing content. For example, the so-called Diviner’s Manual (Oppenheim 1974) consists of two catalogues listing the titles of altogether twenty-four omen tablets (terrestrial and celestial), paired with a set of instructions and explanations for determining the validity of a given ominous sign by confirming the exact time on which it occurred. A similar case is the Late Babylonian tablet VAT 7847 + AO 6448 (= TCL 6, 12), which appends a list of tablet incipits and citations (from rituals, omen texts, and medical and lexical texts) to a tablet with astronomical-astrological material (including illustrations of constellations; see Weidner 1967: 15–34, esp. 28 and Tafel 7–10). Similarly, ritual texts can contain catalogue-like sections listing incantation incipits, sometimes combined with concise “liturgical” instructions (for their ritual performance); see, e.g., the Ritual Tablet of Šurpu I rev. (Reiner 1958: 12); Lamaštu III 76–109 (Farber 2014: 137–40); cf. also the ritual instructions to the incantation series Muššu’u (Böck 2003; cf. Böck 2007: 70–78).

3 See also Tinney (1996: 17), distinguishing between lists of “texts to which the ancient scribe attributed the same subscript” and lists embracing “a variety of texts grouped by the native subscript used to refer to them.”

composition (“series”) in a fixed sequence (e.g., catalogues of omen series such as *Enūma Anu Enlil*, *Šumma ālu*, or *Sakikkû*), and the *catalogues of a professional corpus*, which list the compositions/text groups used by a specific technical discipline (e.g., the catalogues of texts belonging to *āšipūtu* and *kalūtu*). These two types of catalogues are the focus of this article.

If we try to define the purposes or contexts for which text catalogues were drawn up, composed, or copied, we can differentiate several, though probably often overlapping uses to be discussed in the following sections: (a) catalogues as tablet inventories (drawn up for archival purposes); (b) catalogues as technical tools for textual scholarship; and (c) catalogues as tools in scribal education and specialist training.

2 Tablet Inventories or Registers (“Library Catalogues”)

In a recent study of the Old Babylonian catalogues of (mostly) Sumerian literary works,⁴ Delnero (2010) argues that these texts are inventories compiled for archival purposes rather than lists of school curricula, as has often been suggested.⁵ Thus, Tinney (1999) proposed on the basis of two Old Babylonian tablets with lists of Sumerian literary compositions, the Nippur catalogue and the Louvre catalogue, that the elementary scribal curriculum reconstructed by Veldhuis (1997) was followed by a more advanced phase constituted by two sets of literary compositions, which Tinney designated as the Tetrad and the Decad.⁶ One of the catalogues of literary texts, the so-

4 For examples of Old Babylonian catalogues including or consisting of Akkadian texts, see, e.g., AUAM 73.2402 (Cohen 1976: 129–33; ETCSL text 0.2.11); BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993: 209–10; SEAL text 10.1.2); MS 3391 (George 2009: 71–75, pl. 33–6; SEAL text 10.1.1). Cf. BM 59484 (a list of incipits of songs, in Middle Babylonian script; Finkel 1988a; see also SEAL text 10.3.1).

5 Other scholars, such as Wilcke (1976: 41), argued against the designation “literary catalogues” for these documents and preferred to speak of library catalogues or inventories of specific tablet collections.

6 The Tetrad forms a grouping of four hymnic compositions (“Lipit-Eštar B,” “Iddin-Dagan B,” “Enlil-bani A,” “Nisaba hymn A”). The Decad consists of two royal hymns (“Šulgi A,” “Lipit-Ištar A”), followed by “The Song of the Hoe,” “The Exaltation of Inana,” “Enlil in the Ekur,” “The Keš Temple hymn,” “Enki’s Journey to Nibru,” “Inana and Ebiḫ,” “A Hymn to Nungal” (Nungal A), and “Gilgameš and Huwawa, Version A.” For a recent discussion of the Decad as a curricular grouping, see also Delnero 2006: 22–147.

called Nippur catalogue (UM 29-15-155), lists sixty-two compositions, with the first ten entries corresponding to the compositions of the Decad.⁷

Arguments for the Nippur and Louvre catalogues as lists describing a scribal curriculum are based on the fact that they have a considerable number of entries in common, some of which occur in the same sequence. Moreover, several compositions found at the beginning of the two catalogues are also attested on Type II exercise tablets,⁸ and there are instances of tablets with compositions of the Decad bearing catchlines that reflect the sequence of compositions in the Nippur and Louvre catalogues (Delnero 2010: 34–35; cf. Civil 1976: 145 n. 36). The observation that these catalogues list nearly all of the Sumerian literary texts known today has led to the conclusion that the catalogues give complete lists of the entire corpus of Sumerian literature in the Old Babylonian period, or of compositions regarded by the ancients as “canonical.”⁹ However, Delnero’s re-examination of the Old Babylonian literary catalogues throws serious doubt on their suggested purpose as lists of school curricula. Most importantly, he points out that the text entries encountered in these catalogues are never identical. Each catalogue contains a number of entries not listed in the others; and the sequence of compositions also differs considerably in many instances.¹⁰ It is further noteworthy that the Nippur and Louvre catalogues lack a number of

7 The same ten entries probably also constitute the beginning of the Louvre catalogue (AO 5393; TCL 15, 28; see Delnero 2010: 33). For a similar interpretation of the Old Babylonian literary compositions found in a Nippur archive in terms of a curricular order, see also Robson 2001: 55–57.

8 These are single-column exercise tablets, divided into sections by horizontal rulings. Type II tablets typically contain short extracts from literary, religious, and lexical texts representing the second, advanced stage of scribal training (see Gesche 2001: 49–52, 172–98; Veldhuis 2013: 169, 171).

9 See especially Vanstiphout (2003: 10–11), who regards the Nippur and Louvre catalogues as lists of an Old Babylonian canon of Sumerian literary texts. For a broader view of the corpus of Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts transmitted from the Ur III period as a “literary canon,” defining how literature should be written, see Veldhuis 2003: 17–18. Hallo (1991) argues that those texts included in the scribal curriculum could be regarded as a kind of canon, although “classical” may be a better characterization of the Old Babylonian literary corpus than “canonical.” For the notion of “canonization” in connection with the development of technical compendia throughout the second and first millennium BCE, cf. below.

10 Note also that in the catalogues containing them, the compositions of the Decad are listed in partially diverging order or in incomplete sequences, with the exception of the Nippur and Louvre catalogues (Delnero 2010: 51).

compositions that were popular in Old Babylonian times and are known from multiple manuscripts, including the four texts of the Tetrad, which one would expect to be listed together with the Decad if the catalogues reflected the order in which they were taught in the scribal curriculum.

Almost all of the entries in the Old Babylonian text catalogues pertain to two groups of texts. They either present the incipits of various literary texts (e.g., hymns to deities, rulers, temples, narrative texts, dialogues, debate poems—texts copied as part of the scribal curriculum), or they list incipits of liturgical texts recited in a cultic setting (Emesal compositions such as Balaḡs and Eršemma, only rarely copied on exercise tablets). Occasionally, catalogues consist of texts from both groups.¹¹ In addition, there are instances of catalogues registering literary and lexical works, as well as two catalogues of incantations (“I1” = JRL, Box 24, E 5 and 25; Wilcke 1973: 14–15; ETCSL no. 0.2.11) and of letters purportedly written by local rulers (AUWE 23, 112; van Dijk 1989: 441–46; Cavigneaux 1996: 57–59; Delnero 2010: 42–43, “Uk1”).¹²

The text incipits in the Old Babylonian catalogues are grouped and listed according to recurring ordering principles (Delnero 2010: 44–49), which also feature in text catalogues from later periods. Some incipits can be preceded or followed by separate *rubrics* identifying internal groupings of texts (e.g., by naming the genre of the compositions listed, or by giving a *subtotal* of incipits/compositions registered in the previous lines). In other cases, text

11 Delnero 2010: 41–44 and Table 1. For catalogues of Emesal prayers, see also Gabbay 2007: esp. 87–88; Gadotti – Kleinerman 2011: 72–77; Peterson 2010: 169–76; Löhnert 2009: 13–17.

12 Cf. also an Ur III period catalogue listing only royal hymns (en₈-du lugal ‘royal songs’, Hallo 1963: 168; 1975: 77; ETCSL no. 0.1.2; Tinney 1996: 18). This tablet closes with the subscript pàd-da Niḡ-ú-rum ‘(tablets/texts) found/retrieved by Niḡurum’, possibly designating the person responsible for drawing up the document. A second Ur III text known from two sources (HS 1360 = TMH NF 3, 55; Ni 1905) has been interpreted as a “liturgical text outlining a ritual procedure” (Richardson 2006: 7) rather than a catalogue of literary works (cf. Kramer 1961; van Dijk – Geller 2003: 4; ETCSL no. 0.1.1; Wilcke 1976: 42; Delnero 2010: 40–41). The tablet contains four sections of incantation incipits that belong to three sub-rituals, which together form one “collection” (gìr-ḡen-na, cf. Richardson 2006: 5–7 translating “ritual procedure”). In this text, the expression dub-saḡ-ta (‘from the tablet (of incipits)’) heading the first two sections indicates that the following entries are ‘incipits’ of incantations, which may formerly have been inscribed on separate tablets. While the first two sections of HS 1360 are summed up as texts that are šà pú-dili-kam ‘in one source’ (i.e., on one tablet?), line 19 states that the third section of the collection could not be found (gìr-ḡen-na-bi lú nu-da-pà), which reminds us of similar statements in tablet inventories (cf. below). For gîr-ḡen-na as a designation for a list, catalogue or collection of texts, see also Michalowski 2006: 249 n. 7; Klein and Sefati 2014: 89 n. 30.

incipits are grouped together because they are associated through a common theme or subject, or because the compositions begin with the same sign or sign group. Furthermore, groups of incipits can also be set apart from each other by *horizontal rulings*.¹³

A few clues point to the function of the Old Babylonian literary catalogues as inventories of tablet collections. Thus, some of the documents contain explicit references to the location of groups of tablets indicated by listed incipits. For instance, in UET 5, 86 (ETCSL no. 0.2.03; Delnero 2010: 47 “U1”), we find the note “(located) in the lower/upper (reed) basket” (ša^{gi} pisan murub₄ šaplûm/elûm) after the eleventh and twenty-third incipits, referring to different storage containers that contained the tablets with the listed compositions.

Sometimes, the incipits refer to multiple compositions on collective tablets, which are stored together. BM 23771 (Kramer 1975: 141–52; Delnero 2010: 47, B2, a catalogue of Eršemma laments) features subtotals of compositions followed by the rubric šà 1 dub ‘(so-and-so many compositions) on a single tablet’, which reoccurs throughout the list. BM 23771 is thus an inventory of tablets and their contents.¹⁴ Another hint of the inventory function of the Old Babylonian catalogues can be gleaned from the size and shape of the tablets: they are small (not larger than 10 cm x 5 cm) and in some cases cylinder-shaped, which points to their use as tags for tablet containers.¹⁵ This interpretation is underscored by examples of similar tags from later

¹³ Not all Old Babylonian catalogues make use of these features, however.

¹⁴ Cf. further BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993), which registers tablets (dub and im-gíd-da) with cult songs designated by their incipit, where one composition takes up between one and eight tablets. In comparison, CBS 8086 (Michalowski 1980) enumerates the opening lines of different sections of Balağ songs as well as incipits of whole compositions. The entries probably have to be understood as an inventory of tablets, although this is not specified explicitly through numbers or designations such as dub or im-gíd-da. Cf. Peterson 2010 for another similar Old Babylonian inventory.

¹⁵ For tags and library labels, see, e.g., van Dijk 1972: 339 n. 3; Delnero 2010: 48; Michalowski 1980: 268. From the Old Babylonian period, five catalogues listing tablets with Balağ compositions or similar cult songs have been identified as labels: BM 23612, BM 23249, BM 85564, Museum Haaretz 143860 (Shaffer 2000: nos. 1–4 and fig. 6–7; previously Kramer 1982; Michalowski 1980: 268; cf. Delnero 2010: 42, 48 B5–B7) and BM 85563 (Shaffer 1993; Groneberg 2003: 56). Another Old Babylonian catalogue of Eršemmas (BM 23701) is shaped in the form of a small five-sided prism (Kramer 1975: 142, 152–57; Delnero 2010: 41 B3). Photos of these objects can also be found online, in the Research Database of the British Museum.

periods, which were inscribed with titles of compositions and placed on the shelves that contained the tablets.¹⁶

Although Old Babylonian catalogues such as the Nippur and Louvre catalogues list compositions that were regularly copied as scribal exercises, they probably did not serve primarily as curricular lists outlining a sequence of texts to be studied by scribal apprentices, but as practical inventories registering tablets and their contents, as stored in tablet collections. This is reflected first and foremost by their nonuniform character. However, a Late Babylonian school tablet from Babylon illustrates that catalogues (lists of compositions by incipit) could play a role in scribal education. The tablet CTMMA 2, 65 (Gesche 2005; Veldhuis 2013) contains on its obverse the opening lines of lexical works, listed in the order of the constituent series tablets as well as according to their sequence in the curriculum. The list presents “a complete overview of the lexical corpus of the time” (Veldhuis 2013: 169). The tablet’s reverse contains a colophon phrased as a dedicatory prayer to a manifestation of the scribal god Nabû (*Nabû ša nikkassi* ‘Nabû-of-accounting’). Such prayers are a typical feature of a group of students’ tablets from first-millennium BCE Babylonia dedicated to temples as votives and written on so-called Type 1 exercise tablets, which usually contain excerpted lines from lexical lists and are associated with the first stage of scribal education.¹⁷

An elaborate catalogue of hymnic compositions and songs dating to the late second millennium BCE is KAR 158 from Aššur, found with a group of tablets that formed part of an archive belonging to the Aššur temple.¹⁸ The

16 For shelf labels from Hattuša, see Karasu 1996: 55–59; Gordin 2008: 21. From the first millennium BCE stem examples of lozenge-shaped labels. K 1400 is inscribed with *DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR-in / liq-ta-a-te* ‘If a City is set on a Height; excerpts’ (Freedman 1998: 5 n. 6; CDLI: P393892). Similarly, K 1539 (CDLI: P393909) bears the title of Enūma Anu Enlil followed by *liqtāte*. Note further BM 57373 (CT 55, 411), an inventory of writing boards, similar to a docket. Possibly BAM 310, a very small tablet from Aššur, had a similar purpose. It registers a commentary on the diagnostic omen series (*maš’alāte ša SA.GIG*) and a *mukallimtu*-commentary on the mythological text Lugale, followed by an “*egertu*-tablet with 37 stones” and the incantation incipit *šūhī uqnū* ‘My laughter is lapis lazuli’ (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008: 344 Text 13 line 17; Stadhouders 2013: 305 Text 4).

17 For Type I exercise tablets, see the detailed study of Gesche 2001: 44–49; 61–171; for students’ tablets with dedications, see also Cavigneaux 1999; George 2010; Veldhuis 2013: 173–74 with further literature.

18 For the archival context, see Pedersén 1985: 31–38; 1986: 12–19, with 21 N1 (26). The text was edited by Ebeling (1922) and is now accessible via the SEAL website, text 10.3.2. Hecker

text contained ca. four hundred incipits of Sumerian and Akkadian songs (including much love poetry) from the Old Babylonian and post-Old Babylonian period, many of which were probably used in a cultic setting. The catalogue entries are grouped at regular intervals, through the insertion of summary lines in which subtotals of incipits are counted and classified. The songs in KAR 158 are grouped primarily according to musical categories: the obverse contains sections with incipits of *zamāru*-“songs,” divided into *iškārātu* ‘sections’ (Limet 1996; Groneberg 2003: 60–71). Thus, a group of incipits is regularly summed up in a ruled-off section as “so-and-so-many *iškārātu* (consisting of) so-and-so-many songs,” and further classified by musical, technical, thematic, geographical, or “ethnic” specifications. Sometimes, groups of songs are additionally designated as belonging to a “series” or “cycle” (GĪŠ.GÀR) indicated by title.¹⁹ A number of the summary sections contain the verbal phrase *amnu* ‘I have counted/enumerated’, followed by the formula “May Ea order life for you!” (*Ea balātka liqbi*), which forms a unique feature of this catalogue. The last column on the reverse, however, presents a table recapitulating all the preceding rubrics (i.e., subtotals of compositions) registered in cols. i–vii.²⁰

Although we cannot be certain of its exact purpose (a colophon or headline at the beginning of the tablet is unfortunately not preserved), the main interest of KAR 158 seems to lie in registering concrete numbers of compositions/songs in specific categories, some of which form “series.” In this respect, the tablet, which bears four columns of text on each side, gives the impression of being the main register to a large text collection.²¹ Possibly, KAR 158 was drawn up on a specific occasion, with the purpose of presenting

(2013) offers a German translation. For discussions, see Black 1983: 25–9; Limet 1996; Groneberg 2003; Nissinen 2001: 111–13; Klein – Sefati 2008: 619–22; for a detailed study of the song categories/genres in KAR 158 and their connection to performance practices, see Shehata 2009.

19 E.g. ii 46; cf. Worthington 2011: 395. In some cases, the summaries begin with ŠU.NIGIN ‘a total (of n compositions/songs of a specific kind)’. In others, a group of compositions is summed up in both ways (by reference to a “series” and by a total [e.g., iii 28–30 and 31]). Occasionally, a sum total is provided for several groups of compositions (see, e.g., ii 48).

20 See also Limet 1996: 152 with n. 2; Pedersén 1985: 35; 1986: 21 N1 (26). Col. viii has both horizontal and vertical rulings.

21 Groneberg (2003: 69) suggests that the person who drew up the catalogue was a musical performer and belonged either to a temple or the palace.

a list of all the song compositions assembled in a tablet collection, registered by type rather than by numbered tablets.

Likewise, from the second half of the second millennium BCE stems a group of about sixty tablets and fragments containing catalogues or shelf lists, which mostly originate from buildings on Büyükkale, the acropolis of the Hittite capital Hattuša. Most of the shelf lists date to the Late Empire Period and are of varying format (from small one-column tablets with just a few entries up to three-column tablets). They have been described as stocktaking lists or inventories of tablets in different archives. These lists record one or several of the following details for each entry in the catalogues: the title of the composition (usually by incipit), the author of the text (if applicable), the number of tablets in a given series, the physical disposition of the tablet(s) (e.g., shape, state of preservation), and whether the composition available on the shelf is complete.²² Judging from the contents of these shelf lists and the preserved textual material from Hattuša, it seems that these catalogues do not represent complete lists of the holdings of a library or of several tablet collections, but partial inventories for specific sections of tablet collections (Dardano 2006: 7–8, 11–12). This is indicated by the fact that the majority of the catalogue entries record rituals and genres such as oracles, medical texts, and some political documents, while other text genres are not included (e.g., lexical texts, laws, annals, and instructions). In addition, the catalogues provide information on the availability and actual presence (complete or incomplete) of the tablets constituting the recorded compositions within the archive.²³ Furthermore, the compositions recorded in the shelf lists are types of texts of which multiple copies are preserved, i.e., texts that were recopied or re-edited over time. Thus, Gordin (2015: 117) speculates that certain shelf lists could be “inventories of tablets removed from specific collections,” which were replaced by a new edition of the compositions in question or moved from one scribal supervisor to another.²⁴

²² See Hoffner 2002; van den Hout 2002: 860–62; Dardano 2006; Gordin 2008: 21; 2015: 115–20.

²³ There are, for instance, repeated references to missing tablets that could not be found; see Dardano 2006: 8 and *passim*.

²⁴ Further underlining their practical function, Christiansen (2008: 306–7) notes the possibility that the shelf lists were drawn up in connection with specific events and tasks, and that they represent texts that had to be relocated or rewritten, e.g., for the performance of cultic events.

A comparison of the shelf lists from Hattuša with the Mesopotamian tablet inventories indicates that the latter texts usually provide much sparser information on authorship and on the completeness of the recorded texts. Thus, only a few catalogues from first-millennium BCE Mesopotamia attribute texts to individual authors (Lambert 1957; 1962; Lenzi 2008a: 100–1, 119–20; 2008b).

Comments referring to the availability of texts or remarks about lost or lacking tablets are likewise relatively rare in Mesopotamian catalogues, but not entirely a late phenomenon.²⁵ The occurrence of such comments in the form of marginal notations in first-millennium BCE catalogues points to their continued practical use as inventories. Although most such marginal notations are attested in catalogues of ritual or incantation compendia, there is also one fragmentary catalogue from Nineveh with the incipits of the omen series *Šumma ālu* (K 9094b; Freedman 1998: 324–25) that marks some catalogue entries with numbers (either “one” or “two”).

Two catalogues with marginal notations stem from the N₄ library at Aššur (the so-called “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters”). One of them (VAT 13723+) contains a fragmentary catalogue that lists tablet incipits of ritual series, such as *Šurpu*, *Maqlû*, *Muššu’u*, *Utukkû lemnûtu* (*Udug-ḫul*), *Asakkû maršûtu* (*Asag-gig-ga*), *Lamaštu*, *Mis pî*, and *Namburbi* texts, as well as a number of other incantation incipits and text rubrics, many of which are known from the Exorcist’s Manual and from ritual texts (Geller 2000: 226–34).²⁶ The catalogue could have been used as an inventory, because several lines in columns ii and iv are accompanied by short marginal notations that probably indicate the number of copies of the same tablet available in a collection: one, two, three, or none (NU). The interpretation of VAT 13723+ as an inventory could explain why the incipits or constituent tablets for some of the series are not registered in their entirety—the compiler may have listed textual material available in one or multiple archives.²⁷

²⁵ Such statements occur already in Ur III-period catalogues (see above n. 12). In a remarkable Old Babylonian document formulated as a message, the anonymous sender lists incipits of *Balaḡ* compositions, stating that these are the compositions in his collection and requesting that the recipient send him “those that I do not have” (Gadotti – Kleinerman 2011: 73: 8–9).

²⁶ See also Pedersén 1986: 66 (291); Böck 2007: 65–66.

²⁷ This also fits in well with the observation that “it is rare to find complete sets of longer works in any collection” (Robson 2011: 570). Note that one fragment probably belonging to the same tablet may contain a passage similar to the editorial note (“*Ešagil-kin-apli*

In a second catalogue from the N4 library, which contains a list of incantations of the genre ŠĀ.ZI.GA (LKA 94), some entries are preceded by NU (Biggs 1967: 11–16, col. ii 9–12; Pedersén 1986: 65 [236]).²⁸ Although the rubric at the end of col. iii calls the listed incipits “incantations” (ÉN TU₆.MEŠ) for ŠĀ.ZI.GA (“sexual arousal”), the catalogue does not only contain incantations, but also a few incipits that indicate therapeutic instructions, beginning with DIŠ NA (“If a man (...)”), with a purpose statement, or with the names of *materia medica* (stones). This could imply that LKA 94 gives an overview of a collection of ŠĀ.ZI.GA material in the form of a list of contents that enumerates the incipits of text sections on multiple tablets. Most of the tablets not marked with NU seem to have been available to the compiler.²⁹ Biggs (1967: 11) suggested that the two ruled-off sections making up the list respectively contained older compositions and more recent material added by a second compiler.

Maul (1994: 191–95) compared the ŠĀ.ZI.GA catalogue with a catalogue of NAM.BÚR.BI rituals from Uruk (SpTU 1, 6), which likewise consists of two ruled-off parts and contains entries preceded by NU. Maul proposed that both catalogues reflect a compilation of two inventories of existing texts in multiple collections, which the compiler had drawn up and compared with the texts available to or known to him.³⁰ In his analysis of the NAM.BÚR.BI catalogues from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh, Maul (1994: 196–203)

colophon”) in the catalogue of the series Sakikkû and Alamdimmu (Geller 2000: 232), but this reading is contested (see Frahm’s contribution in this volume). In his article, Geller edited and discussed a few similar first-millennium catalogues from Nippur, Sippar, and Nineveh (Geller 2000: 234–42, Texts B, C, and D), of which B contains incipits of incantations from the series Muššu’u (corresponding to a serial order) as well as incipits of fire incantations (see also Böck 2007: 66–67), while C (from Sippar) represents a multicolumn tablet similar to VAT 13723+ enumerating incantation incipits from multiple series in sequences most likely corresponding to actual tablets in a collection.

- 28 It is interesting that all entries marked by the sign NU indicate therapeutic material, which is found at the end of the first part of the catalogue.
- 29 Only a small fraction of the catalogue entries have been identified to date in preserved tablets. The catalogue fits in with the impression that ŠĀ.ZI.GA incantations and rituals were never brought into a standard sequence. Cf. below for two chapters in the Aššur Medical Catalogue that register therapeutic material related to ŠĀ.ZI.GA.
- 30 This view is supported by the fact that NAM.BÚR.BI rituals concerned with a common topic (e.g., snakes) were not registered in one continuous sequence, but in two groups separated by entries concerned with a different topic (Maul 1994: 192, SpTU 1, 6: 1’–2’, 5’–6’).

identified two copies of a list of NAM.BÚR.BI rituals.³¹ The exact purpose of the catalogue remains elusive, although it is clear that it does not register the complete corpus of NAM.BÚR.BI rituals in Ashurbanipal's library, since the ritual series compiled at Nineveh was considerably longer. In contrast to series or corpus catalogues discussed in the next sections, the Nineveh NAM.BÚR.BI catalogue lacks a headline, and a colophon is not preserved. Further, it is unlikely that the catalogue presents the contents of the NAM.BÚR.BI series created by Ashurbanipal's scholars, since the order of NAM.BÚR.BI tablets known from incipits and catchlines does not seem to be identical with the order of entries in the catalogue. The Nineveh NAM.BÚR.BI catalogue also does not assign tablet numbers to individual entries as do other series catalogues. Maul speculates whether the Nineveh catalogue could present a combination of several partial lists registering *corpora* and tablets that were integrated into the royal library (e.g., from Babylonia), similar to the "library records" (see below). More likely in my view, however, is Maul's suggestion that the Nineveh NAM.BÚR.BI catalogue represents a preliminary stage in the creation of a series of rituals at Nineveh. The NAM.BÚR.BI catalogues also reflect the fact that NAM.BÚR.BI rituals never developed into a standard ("canonical") sequence accepted and transmitted at different places.³² Thus, the sequence of rituals known from tablets and catchlines from Aššur (N4 library) does not correspond with that of the tablets in Babylonian script from Nineveh or with that of the Nineveh NAM.BÚR.BI catalogue. Neither was the NAM.BÚR.BI series created by Ashurbanipal's scholars transmitted into later periods.³³

31 Mss. A₁ (K 2389 + 10664) (+) A₂ (Rm 2, 178) and ms. B (K 3277). The first manuscript (K 2389+) contained about eighty entries corresponding to the incipits of separate tablets. Ms. B (K 3277) forms a fragment duplicating part of ms. A.

32 The Nineveh and Uruk catalogues only share a few entries and present two completely different sequences. The Nineveh catalogue follows a certain thematic arrangement of contents, e.g., with a section grouping ominous occurrences involving animals (lines 7''–15''), a group involving ominous occurrences in the bedroom (lines 1–2), or a group concerned with occurrences connected with the practice of extispicy (lines 17–18), although the thematic groupings of rituals are not entirely consistent (Maul 1994: 196).

33 Evidence from the Late Babylonian period is sparse, but the existence of a *pīrsu*-series of NAM.BÚR.BI rituals at Uruk is indicated by the colophon of SpTU 2, 18, designated as the first *pīrsu* of a compilation whose title is identical with the incipit of this tablet (Maul 1994: 203). The creation of a series entitled NAM.BÚR.BI.MEŠ at Nineveh is implied by a few tablet colophons (Maul 1994: 216–21) that assign a number to the respective tablet. The highest number known to date (Tablet 135) is found in the colophon of K 3464 + 3554 (Maul 1994:

The marginal notations about the nonavailability of textual sources encountered in catalogues of incantations and rituals can further be compared with the Nineveh catalogue of Emesal prayers (Balaĝs, Eršemmas, and Šuilas to different deities), which according to its colophon forms “the tablet of checked incipits of the *corpus* of the lamentation priest’s craft (*kalûtu*) that were available” (K 2529+ rev. iv 30: DUB SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR NAM.GALA IGL.LÁ.MEŠ *šá ina šU^{II} šu-šu-u*). The colophon continues with the remark that “many (compositions/incipits) could not be traced and were therefore not added to the list” (rev. iv 31–32: [*ma*]-[*a*ʿ]-*du-tum ul am-ru ina lib-bi la ru-ud-du-u*).³⁴ Although the catalogue does not register the complete corpus of all Emesal compositions in existence at the time, it nonetheless reflects the attempt of a compiler, aware of an already established sequence of compositions, to record the compositions that were available to him based on this standard order.³⁵

Other catalogues of compositions reflect compilations of textual material drawn up for other purposes than to provide a tablet inventory. Thus, K 2832 + 6680 forms a fragment of a two-column tablet listing the incipits of prayers that could be used in different ritual settings. The list is headed by the titles of the rituals *Bīt rimki*, *Bīt salā’ mē*, and *im-babbar im-dadag-ga* (col. i 1–3), followed in col. i by a list of Marduk prayers, while the beginning of col. ii preserves incipits of prayers to Šamaš. The purpose of this list may have been to catalogue prayers (for use in different contexts) according to the deity addressed, rather than providing an inventory of tablets in a collection or outlining the order of prayers in the ritual series enumerated at the beginning of the tablet.³⁶

216 n. 433). So far, only tablets 9, 122, 123, and 135 of this series have been identified through a colophon on tablets from Nineveh (Maul 1994: 217–21).

34 Black 1987: 33–35; Gabbay 2014: 233–34 with n. 46; 2015: 15–20 and pl. 29–30; note also the comment *NU IGI* ‘not seen’ (i.e., could not be traced) in obv. ii 31.

35 Cf. Black 1987: 35–36; Gabbay 2014: 234. See also Maul (1994: 191 n. 298), who argues that the *kalûtu* catalogue is not an *ad hoc* tablet inventory, because it reflects an already “canonized” corpus of texts. The sequence of compositions in this Nineveh catalogue for the most part corresponds to the sequence found in catchlines of tablets with Balaĝs and Eršemmas from Nineveh (also tablets from Sultantepe and Ur follow this order), see Gabbay 2007: 89; 2014: 201–2; 2015: 2 *passim*). For additional fragments of other Nineveh catalogues concerning tablets with Emesal prayers, see Maul 1988: Kat. n. 1–8 (Eršahunĝas); Gabbay 2015: 15, mss. B and C (Eršemmas).

36 See Mayer 1976: 399, 421; Oshima 2011: 12, 111, 115–16, 125, 328–29, 337, 345 (photo of the obv.), 383, 397; CDLI: P394707.

One last text group to be mentioned in the present context comprises the so-called “library records” from Nineveh, which document Ashurbanipal’s efforts to collect scholarly tablets for his royal library.³⁷ These tablets do not constitute library inventories, but administrative lists documenting the transfer of tablets especially from Babylonia to Nineveh during Ashurbanipal’s reign. The library records list tablets and writing-boards “in the process of accession into the royal collections” (Frame – George 2005: 278), and the largest numbers of tablets listed refer to scholarly texts pertaining to exorcist’s lore (*āšipūtu*), astrological omens (Enūma Anu Enlil), teratological and terrestrial omens (*Šumma izbu*, *Šumma ālu*), medical recipes (*bultū*), dream omens, and extispicy (*bārūtu*).³⁸ The incoming tablets were recorded in groups specified as having been provided by named individuals; some of these groups came from Babylonian cities.³⁹

3 Text Series Catalogues

The second type of catalogue is attested only in the first millennium BCE, since it reflects the formation of standard, serialized compositions, which are witnessed in texts from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period onwards.⁴⁰ These catalogues provide a fixed sequence of tablets forming one composition and are primarily known for long compendia associated with the disciplines of the *āšipu* and *bārū*. They are attested for omen texts, in particular for those with the highest numbers of constituent tablets: the series of astrological omens (Enūma Anu Enlil, ca. 70 tablets), terrestrial omens (*Šumma ālu*, 120+ tablets), extispicy (*Bārūtu*, 100 tablets) and the

37 Lambert 1976; 1989: 95–96, 98; 1992: 95–96; Parpola 1983a; SAA 7, 49–56; Frame – George 2005: 277–78.

38 For an overview of the text types, see Parpola 1983a: 5.

39 See, e.g., SAA 7, 49 ii 16’–17’, iii 4’ (tablets of Aplaya and Arrabu, exorcists from Nippur), 50 ii 7’–8’ (tablet of Mušēzib-Nabū, royal scribe from Babylon), 51 ii 3’ (tablets from Bit Ibā).

40 For the history of divinatory texts, Koch (2015: 63–64) describes the seventeenth through the thirteenth century BCE as the period of serialization (with the development of serialized texts similar in content to first millennium texts), while she designates the thirteenth through the ninth century BCE as the period of standardization, during which the creation of standard series took place. However, for some texts, multiple variant recensions are attested throughout the first millennium BCE, despite the development of relatively stable compositions with only minor variants within the same recension (cf. below).

series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens (Sakikkû, 40 tablets; Alamdimmû, ca. 25 tablets).

In the cuneiform sources, the “standard” compendia of the first millennium BCE are sometimes designated as *iškāru*(ÉŠ.GÀR) ‘assignment’, which Assyriologists often translate as “series.”⁴¹ Two meanings of *iškāru* as a term to classify texts can be delimited: “composition” (“literary work”) or “collection” (of texts, compositions).⁴² In letters of scholars to the Neo-Assyrian kings, as well as in catalogues and rubrics of scholarly tablets, texts belonging to an *iškāru* are distinguished from “outsider, additional” texts (*aḥû*) and from texts marked as “oral” traditions (*ša pî ummāni* ‘from the mouth of a scholar’).⁴³ Occasionally, the ancient scholars attribute a special

41 The terms *éš-gār* (also *giš-gār*) and *iškāru* originally referred to an assigned task to be performed, as well as to materials supplied for craftsmen and to the finished products of their labor (CAD I/J 244–49). Because the first-millennium compendia and series are relatively consistent, they are often designated as “canonical” or “standard” compositions, even though such characterizations are partially problematic. For discussions of “canonicity,” see Lambert 1957; Rochberg-Halton 1984, 1987; Rochberg 2016; Lieberman 1990; Hallo 1991; Böck 2000: 20–23; Veldhuis 1998: 79–80; 2003; Frahm 2011: 317–28 and in this volume; Robson 2011: 571–72; Worthington 2011; Koch 2015: 52–54. While textual criteria (such as form, content, and degree of standardization) are often used to define canonicity, the criterium of the authority inherent in the texts has steadily gained momentum. Thus, the continued use of texts and their valuation in the eyes of scribal and scholarly communities, as well as the importance of certain texts in constituting the identity of certain disciplines and groups of specialists, is emphasized over the criterium of textual stability, since the text corpora of the first millennium BCE were not entirely fixed and closed. For the historical context of the processes of serialization and standardization, especially with regard to the omen compendia, cf. Heeßel 2011; Koch 2015: 59–66.

42 See CAD I/J 249 sub 6; Worthington 2011. The use of *iškāru* for a collection of compositions with a title as well as for units (sections) within such collections is already attested in the Old Babylonian period (Worthington 2011: 395) and in the Middle Assyrian catalogue of songs KAR 158 (see above). This usage is also found in the colophon of a Middle Assyrian medical fragment from Aššur (BAM 36), which contained a “collection on the [sick] lungs” (rev. 5’: *GIŠ.GÀR MUR.MEŠ [GIG.MEŠ]*, Köcher 1963: xvii; BAK 242). In the first millennium, the designation of literary compositions as “series” with genuine titles is attested for epics (e.g., *iškār Gūgameš* and *iškār Etana* in a Nineveh “library record,” in a list of texts and authors, and in colophons (Lambert 1962: 66 K 9717+ rev. 10–11; 1976: 314 K 13684+: 4–5; George 2003: 736–41), wisdom literature (e.g., *iškār alpi u sisē* ‘series of Ox and Horse’, *iškār šelebi* ‘series of the Fox’, Lambert 1962: 66 K 9717+, Sm. 669 rev. 12–14; 1960: 151, 164, 175, 186), lexical lists (SAA 7, 51 ii 7’; Lambert 1976: 314 K 14067+: 18), omen compendia (e.g., *iškār Ziqīqu*, Lambert 1976: 314 K 14067: 20), and rituals (e.g., SAA 10, 261: 3–4 *ÉŠ.GÀR šur[pu]*); cf. Krecher 1980: §4.

43 Cf. Frahm 2011: 45 and passim for the close links of the first millennium commentary literature to oral tradition (textual material stemming, e.g., from scholarly discussions and

status to texts designated as *iškāru*, although *ahû*-material and oral traditions likewise constituted important sources for scholarly study.⁴⁴ *Ahû*-material (groups of entries, tablets, or whole compendia) is predominantly attested or mentioned for divinatory texts (Enūma Anu Enlil,⁴⁵ Šumma ālu,⁴⁶ Iqqur ipuš,⁴⁷ Alamdimmû,⁴⁸ Šumma izbu⁴⁹) and to a lesser degree for other genres such as rituals,⁵⁰ medical texts,⁵¹ or Emesal prayers.⁵²

explanations); cf. also Elman 1975. However, the label *ša pī ummāni* ‘from the mouth of a scholar’ is occasionally also attached to text sections with medical recipes (Steinert 2015: 126–27). Moreover, the phrase *ša pī* is an expression used to indicate the authorship of a text (Lambert 1957); for the notion of “authorship” in Mesopotamia, cf. Lenzi 2015: 151–53 with further literature.

44 See, e.g., Rochberg-Halton 1984; 1987; Koch 2015: 35, 53–54 passim. For the contrast between *iškāru* and *ahû* in letters, see, e.g., SAA 10, 8 rev. 8; SAA 10, 101 obv. 1–rev. 6; cf. also the contrast between “good” (SIG₅) tablets and *ahû*-tablets of rituals in SAA 10, 245 rev. 14 and 240: 25. Sometimes, the terms *iškāru* and *ahû* are not mutually exclusive, since a library record from Nineveh mentions an *iškār ahûti* ‘series of extraneous material’ of astrological omens (Enūma Anu Enlil; Lambert 1976: 314 K 14067: 11). The AŠšur catalogue of the series Enūma Anu Enlil, which includes a list of incipits for “29 tablets of *ahû*-material,” underscores this point (Weidner 1941–44: 185 col. ii 5; Rochberg-Halton 1987: 329–30; Fincke 2001: 24–25, 34–35). I.e., *ahû*-texts can also become organized in “series.” Basically, *ahû* implies textual material not included in the standard recensions of certain compositions, and there can be close links as well as differences between both types of material. Lieberman (1990: 308) thus suggested that *ahû* has the sense of “appendix” or “excursus” (to the standard text). Robson (2011: 572) suggests that the contrast between *iškāru* and *ahû* does not involve judgments concerning canonicity vs. noncanonicity, but that *iškāru* denoted material from a series that was known to a scholarly community, while *ahû* represents parallel textual traditions that were still new to them.

45 See the references in the previous footnote. An identification of extraneous material for astrological omens is also encountered in tablet colophons (e.g., SpTU 5, 261 rev. 25–26: [n M]U.DIDL BAR.MEŠ DIŠ UD AN ^dEN.LIL.L[Á] / [šÁ ŠÁ É]Š.GĀR NU šat-ru ‘n extraneous entries of Enūma Anu Enlil, which are not written down in the (standard) series’.

46 Only a very few manuscripts of terrestrial omens contain explicit identifications of the material as extraneous; see K 217+ (Boissier 1894–99: 105; 39; CDLI: P393792), a collection of omens on dogs and bitches, excerpted from various sources, with a section identified as “17 extraneous entries from If a city is set on a height” (17 MU.MEŠ BAR.MEŠ šūt DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR-in). See further SpTU 2, 32–34; SpTU 3, 97; Koch 2015: 256.

47 A library record from Nineveh registers the series, extraneous (tablets) and commentaries (Lambert 1976: 314, Rm 150: 13–14: DIŠ iqqur ipuš adī BAR.MEŠ šātu mukallimtu).

48 A few *ahû* texts of Alamdimmû are known (Böck 2000: 21, 262–79). One Babylonian manuscript with the same incipit as Tablet 1 of the standard series describes the contents as “[a total of n entries] from Alamdimmû (pertaining to the) right and left (side), extracted from extraneous collections” (TBP 64 rev. 6’ [ŠU.NIGIN x+] 1 MU.MEŠ alamdimmû 15 u 150 TA ŠA liqtī BAR.MEŠ zi-ḥa), Böck 2000: 262). There was also an excerpt series of *ahû* omens of

On a technical level, *iškāru* entails the notion of a composition organized into a sequence of sections or tablets, connected to the original meaning of the term as (work) assignments (performed one after another). Especially the

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- alamdimmû* written on oblong tablets (Böck 2000: 280–91; see for the colophons *ibid.* 282: 21 (TBP 23); 286: 33 (TBP 24); cf. 290: 30 (TBP 25). A library record mentions “37 tablets of the series *Alamdimmû* together with (*adi*) extraneous (tablets and the series) *Nigdimdimmû* and *Kataduggû*” (SAA 7, 52: 10–12). So far, no *ahû* texts have been identified for diagnostic omens (*Sakikkû*), although recensions differing from the standard series existed (Heeßel 2010a; George 1991).
- 49 For *Šumma izbu*, *ahû* material is attested from Nineveh and Babylonia, which was collected on IM.GID.DA-type tablets (oblong one-column tablets); see de Zorzi 2014: 11–12, 236–37, 246–49. Two sequences of omens duplicated on multiple tablets from Nineveh and Aššur are summarized in rubrics of one manuscript as *ahû* omens (K 3966 = CT 28, 3 obv. 17', rev. 12). A duplicate manuscript (K 6287: 12) attributes one sequence of these omens to a “first IM.GI[D.DA]-tablet,” indicating the existence of a series of *ahû*-omens (de Zorzi 2014: 236; Leichty 1970: 199–200). Another text, K 3838+ (CT 28, 32), contains on its reverse a sequence of omens that are summarized in a rubric as “26 *ahû*-omens on malformations from a text copy from Uruk” (26 MU.ŠID.BLIM *iz-bi a-ḥu-ti* GA[BA.RI] UNUG^{ki}), while its obverse features omens from Tablet 18 of the standard series (de Zorzi 2014: 236; cf. Leichty 1970: 199). Furthermore, omens in K 4031 (CT 27, 29) are said to have been “excerpted from extraneous *Šumma izbu*” (rev. 15: *šá BE iz-bu BAR-i ZI-ḥa*). The evidence from Late Babylonian sources also attests to serialized *ahû* material as well as to the existence of commentaries on these texts (Zorzi 2014: 246–9). At least some of the *ahû* material associated with *Šumma izbu* does not differ markedly from the standard series and seems to have been extracted and arranged in a different way, although the *ahû* texts also include additional material (de Zorzi 2014: 237).
- 50 Cf. KAR 44 rev. 8 and dupl. (Geller 2000: 251: 31; Jean 2006: 69), including a genre of “extraneous incantations” (TU₆.TU₆ BAR.RA) within the *āšipūtu*-corpus. This genre is otherwise mentioned in two almanacs listing favorable months and times for various rituals, in the Neo-Assyrian STT 300: 44 and the Late Babylonian BRM 4, 20: 77 (Geller 2014: 32, 50: 66, equated with *šipātu aḥātu*).
- 51 To my knowledge, the only reference to *ahû*-material for medical texts stems from Ashurbanipal colophon q, found on several serial tablets of therapeutic texts from Nineveh (BAK 329: 4–6). The colophon speaks of *liqtī aḥūti* ‘extraneous collections’ and “remedies from head to (toe)nail(s)” (*bulṭi ištu muḥḥi adi šupri*) as sources for the material written down on the tablets, which the king claims to have collected. I do not know of any other colophon in first-millennium medical texts identifying the content as *ahû*. Cf. the discussion below.
- 52 Gabbay 2014: 198. A section of the *kalātu* catalogue that lists Balaḡ songs of Enlil includes six incipits marked as *ahû* ‘extraneous’ (K 2529+ i–ii 33–38, Gabbay 2015: 16 and pl. 29). However, as Gabbay (2014: 198) observes, it is hard to say “what the essential distinction between standard and extraneous compositions was,” since the designation *ahû* never occurs in cultic texts as a marker of specific Balaḡ compositions. This resembles the situation in the medical corpus.

long technical compendia were often divided into chapters or sub-series, as for instance Sakikkû, Enūma Anu Enlil, and the Bārûtu series. This division is reflected in the respective catalogues of these series. Furthermore, series catalogues and colophons often assign numbers to the tablets of a series according to their position in a chapter or section of the series, rather than their position in the series as a whole. The organization of serialized compendia into sub-series is linked to the term *sadīru* ‘section; chapter’.⁵³ In a few instances, the word seems to refer to the ruled-off sections on a tablet.⁵⁴ But in the Sakikkû catalogue and in the AMC, the word *sadīru* describes the arrangement of the series into chapters made up of several tablets, which are organized in a fixed sequence. In this context, we find the expression *sadīrū ša zarâ*(SUR.GIBIL) *šabtū* ‘sections that have been edited’, referring to the creation of a serial arrangement (see the discussion below).

The word *sadīru* occurs in an unusual colophon found on tablets from Nineveh inscribed with a *nishu* (excerpt, extract)-edition of the compendium of *materia medica*, Uruanna.⁵⁵ The passage describes in remarkable detail the

53 Cf. CAD S 18. The basic meanings of *sadīru* are “line” (e.g., veins in a stone), “row,” and “sequence; order.” The latter meanings are attested in a list of personal and royal names in non-Akkadian languages (Balkan 1978 [1954]: 1; K 4426+ = 5R 44 i 14; CDLI: P395542). Concerning one sequence of kings with Sumerian names, a rubric explains that “these are kings after the Flood, they are not written/listed together in a (chronological) order” (*ana sadīr aḫāmeš lā šaṭrū/sadrū*). The verb *sadāru* can mean “to do regularly,” “to array; to set in a row,” and “to do little by little, in installments” (CAD S 11–17).

54 Note the colophon of a Middle Assyrian manuscript of the series *Ana ittišu* Tablet 7 from Aššur, which is preceded by the remark *sadīrū āmur(IGI)-ma lā urri* ‘I have seen its (the tablet’s) sectional arrangement (on the original), but I have not applied it (in my copy)’ (Landsberger 1937: 104 iv 23; Weidner 1952–53: 209 no. 59; Pedersén 1986: 24 [82]). As Landsberger (1937: ix) noted, this manuscript indeed does not use the sectional layout of ruled-off textual units that is regularly found in other manuscripts of the series.

55 BAK 321: 1–17. A translation of the passage based on additional sources can also be found in Böck (2011: 692–93; 2015: 21) who is preparing an edition of Uruanna and other texts on drug lore. According to Böck’s survey there existed two other recensions of Uruanna in the first millennium beside the *nishu*-series on twelve tablets: one comprising four tablets, and a second one on only two tablets (cf. Stol 2005: 504–5; Böck 2015: 22–25). Böck further notes that the manuscripts for each recension are rarely exact duplicates and vary, e.g., in the number of lines. “Ashurbanipal’s” twelve-tablet edition also differs from the other recensions, presenting entries containing the same passages in a different order.

editorial work on the compilation, which is attributed to Ashurbanipal himself:⁵⁶

First/tenth/twelfth *nishu* of (the compendium) Uruanna = *maštakal*. (On) Plants that were (explained) in *šātu*-lists and *lišānu*-lists,⁵⁷ but which since old times had not received a (proper) edition (*ša ultu ulla zarâ lā šabtū*). Ashurbanipal, [king of the world, king] of Assyria, checked the plants (and) equivalents of (these) plants (which) had grown immensely (in number, *šamhūma*), but (which) did not have a (consistent) *order* (*lā išû sadīru*).

(Regarding) the plants and their equivalents, *he took them together as a whole* (*ana ahāmeš uqarreb*).⁵⁸ ... He did not change the title(s) of the old tablets (*rēš tuppāni labīrūti ul ušanni*), [*and he kept*³] their *order* as it was before (*kīma maḥrīmma sadīršunu* [...]). But as regards (the sections entitled) ^uGAL = [...], ^uEmubul = [...], ^uHarambi = ^uham[*baqu*]qu, including (the section) “Lion’s blood = the fluid inside the tamarisk,” he (var. I) did not *organize them* (lit. “did not call their name”) as *sections* (*ina sadīri šumšunu ul imbi/ambī*), but entered (their text) on (individual?) tablets (*ina muḥḥi tuppāni ušēli*).⁵⁹

The colophon describes the editorial activities undertaken by Ashurbanipal’s scholars through a number of different expressions. The phrase *zarâ* (= SUR.(GIBIL)) *šabātu* is generally understood in Assyriology as the *terminus technicus* for the process of creating a text from a combination of different

56 Cf. Frahm’s contribution in this volume. He regards the use of the phrase *zarâ šabātu* in the Uruanna colophon as a conscious allusion to the Sakikkû/Alamdimmû catalogue and the Exorcist’s Manual, where similar editorial achievements are intimately linked to the scholar Esagil-kīn-apli.

57 As has been elucidated by Frahm (2011: 48–49, 88–91), *šātu* is sometimes a term for a type of commentary (with word explanations), but *šātu* and *lišānu* also refer to lexical lists, the first being bilingual (e.g., HAR-ra *hubullu*), the latter monolingual lists (Akkadian synonyms, such as *Malku šarru*). Indeed, commentaries draw on such lists for their explanations. Thus, the Uruanna colophon could refer to commentaries on the series, but more likely to textual links between the compendium and lexical lists; cf. Böck 2010a: 163.

58 For *qurrubu* ‘to take (pieces of information) as a whole’, see CAD Q 239 sub 10f. Here, the expression probably means that the editor based his edition of “plants and their equivalents” on different available textual sources, which were compared or combined.

59 The translation is my own. For the text, see K 4345+ with additional joins; a photo is available via CDLI: P395492.

sources, expressed through a textile metaphor.⁶⁰ The phrases involving *sadīru* in the singular seem to refer primarily to the existence or nonexistence of a consistent organization of the textual material in thematic sections. But especially in the last sentence, *sadīrū* (plural) seems to designate sections of the compendium or groups of entries set in a particular order.⁶¹ As the colophon claims, Uruanna was not organized and had not been properly “edited,” while new material was added over time, which resulted in a lack of consistency and order in the structure of the text. Lines 7–17 seem to speak of different parts of the compendium Uruanna designated by title/tablet incipits (*rēš ʕuppāni*). As I interpret the colophon, some of the sections were not reorganized drastically in the new edition: their title/incipit remained the same, and their sequence was not reshaped. However, some sections of the compendium indicated by title did not retain their status as (ruled-off) sections on a tablet, but were split up and arranged on individual tablets.⁶² It

60 Cf. Stol 2007: 241–42; Heeßel 2000: 106; Lambert 2005: xvii, xix n. 10; Frahm 2011: 328 and his contribution in this volume; Wee 2015: 253–54. The equation SUR.GIBIL = *zarû* is not attested in lexical lists, but is suggested by the usage of either SUR.GIBIL or *zarû* with *šabātu* in identical contexts. The word *zarû* is probably derived from a Sumerian loanword *zara*, which is equated with *ʕamû* ‘to spin’ (MSL 14, 250: 82; CAD Z 70; CAD T 45; cf. also Sum. sur ‘to spin; to weave’). Alternatively, *zarû* may have to be connected with *zâru* ‘to twist’ (to thread a rope); cf. Wee 2015: 254 for further analyses of the word. It is noteworthy that the word *zarû* is sometimes used in a meaning similar to *sadīru*, to designate a text divided into ruled-off sections or verses; see the colophon of Ashurbanipal’s Acrostic Hymn to Marduk (SAA 3, 10 [no. 2] rev. 24), describing the text as consisting of a total of thirty verses (30-TA.ĀM [MU].ŠID.(BI).IM *za-ra-a*). The text indeed consists of thirty ruled-off stanzas. In contrast, two acrostic prayers of Nabû-ušebši are described as consisting of a particular number of lines (11/10 MU.MEŠ) that are not set in such a verse arrangement (*za-ra-a* NU GAR); see Oshima 2011: 312 obv. 12 and rev. 11. The textile metaphor associated with the expression *zarû šabātu* is especially emphasized in the editorial note in the Sakikkû catalogue, referring to Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial activities (Finkel 1988b: 148–49 B obv. 18’; Heeßel 2000: 104–7). In catalogue rubrics (Sakikkû catalogue and AMC), the expression SUR.GIBIL *šabātu* is used also in reference to sections that have been edited (*sadīrū ša zarû šabtū*), cf. below.

61 Note that Uruanna manuscripts are divided not only into columns, but also into ruled-off sections of entries belonging together.

62 In fact, one Neo-Assyrian tablet from the “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters” at Aššur (KADP 28, dupl. KADP 29) starts with the incipit “Lion’s [blood] = water inside the tama[risk],” but does not preserve a colophon (Köcher 1955: 7, 64–67; Pedersén 1986: 71 [502]). One of the Nineveh fragments with a duplicating passage bears a differing Ashurbanipal colophon dedicating the tablet to the Nabû temple (BAK 338 ms. B K 4199), but does not preserve a rubric or catchline. According to Böck, the section “Lion’s blood” formed an independent

seems thus that the colophon speaks of two processes in connection with the edition of Uruanna material: changes in the division of the text into constituent tablets, and changes in the arrangement of text sections (*sadīru*) on these tablets.⁶³ In fact, these processes are evident as well in the variant recensions attested for other standard series, which show differences in the order or arrangement of textual sequences on individual tablets, as well as in the division of contents between tablets.

A catalogue of the lexical series Nabnītu from Sippar (BM 65529) offers a parallel expression with the cognate verb *sadāru*, to describe the sequence of tablets within a text series.⁶⁴ The colophon (rev. 27) explains that the contents of the catalogue are presented according to the order encountered in the “tablet of incipits” (KI DUB SAG *suddurū*), based on originals from Nippur and Babylon.

In other series catalogues, the terms *sadīru* ‘section’ and *ṭuppu* ‘tablet’ are used to specify the organizational structure of a text series. In this context, however, *sadīru* refers to a sequence of multiple tablets forming a sub-series, not to ruled-off sections on individual tablets.

This use of *sadīru* is attested in the catalogue of the “twin” series of diagnostic and physiognomic omens Sakikkū and Alamdimmu, preserved on two tablets in portrait format: one is a Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Nimrud (CTN 4, 71, ca. 9th century BCE), and the other is from Babylon (BM 41237+, ca. 7th or 6th century BCE).⁶⁵ In its first part, the catalogue lists the forty tablet incipits of Sakikkū (SA.GIG.MEŠ) ordered in six chapters (or sub-series) named

composition that consists of rearranged entries extracted from the series Uruanna (as reported in Frahm 2011: 254; cf. Köcher 1955: 7). Thus, it is also possible that the sentence ‘I/he did not arrange them as sections’ in the Uruanna colophon expresses that the named entities were shaped into independent compositions instead of organising them as sections of the Uruanna compendium. Further conclusions on the formative processes and status of these texts in the light of the Uruanna colophon thus have to be waived until the announced edition of all sources related to Uruanna by Böck is available.

63 This interpretation remains provisional and has to await the publication of the Uruanna texts, which will throw more light on the arrangement of the *nishu*-series. The colophon also describes the deletion of entries from the text that appeared more than once (Böck 2011: 164; 2015: 21–22): *ù ú.Ī.A šá a-di 2-šú 3-šú šat-ru | ul-tu lib-bi ú-še-li-ma* (K 4345+: 8–9) ‘Plants that were registered (lit. written) twice or thrice, I removed from (the text)’.

64 MSL 16, 10–17; cf. Lambert 2005: XVII–XVIII with additional readings from the duplicate BM 40855.

65 See the edition by Finkel 1988b; cf. Heeßel 2000: 13–17, 104–10; Livingstone 2013: 273; Frahm 2011: 324–32; Koch 2015: 278–79; Schmidtchen forthcoming.

after the first tablet of each chapter. In addition, the number of entries (omens) in each tablet is given.⁶⁶ The last part of the catalogue lists the tablet incipits of the series Alamdimmû without providing the number of entries in each tablet, but presenting a similar division of the composition into five sub-series.⁶⁷ Both parts of the catalogue are joined by a lengthy editorial note, which claims that the renowned scholar Esagil-kîn-apli from Borsippa, who is said to have lived during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (11th century BCE), “produced an edition of the series Sakikkû, by arranging it from head to feet, and established it for learning.”⁶⁸ As has been pointed out by Heeßel (2000: 105–7), this “vertical” arrangement of the omens was probably the main innovation introduced by Esagil-kin-apli in his redaction of Sakikkû, since

66 The catalogue uses the title SA.GIG.(MEŠ) for the diagnostic omen series, while tablet colophons mostly designate the series by the first tablet of the first chapter, “When the *āšipu* goes to the patient’s house” (*Enūma ana bīt marši āšipu illaku*). Some diagnostic series tablets are not only numbered according to their place in the series as a whole, but also according to their position in the chapter to which they belong.

67 For this part of the catalogue, see also Böck 2000: 15–18; Koch 2015: 285–88. Note that although the physiognomic series as a whole is called Alamdimmû in lines 91 and 92 of the catalogue, the same title was also used as the name of the first sub-series, which is summed up in line 77 as “12 tablets of Alamdimmû, (arranged) from head to foot” (12 DUB.MEŠ *alamdīm-mu-ú TA UGU-ḫi EN ḠIR*¹). This title stems from the incipit of the last tablet of the sub-series (*šumma alamdimmû*). This naming pattern is exceptional, since sub-series are usually designated by the title of their first tablet. The other sub-series of Alamdimmû were designated Nigdimdimmû ‘Shape’, Kataduggû ‘Utterance’, Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât ‘If a woman’s head is big’, and Šumma liptu ‘If a *liptu*-mark’, comprising all together about twenty-three (or more) tablets.

68 Lines 61–62: SA.GIG TA UGU-ḫi EN ḠIR.¹MEŠ SUR¹.GIBIL DAB.MEŠ-*ma ana NIG.ZU GUB-in*. It is important to note that the catalogue does not explicitly attribute to Esagil-kin-apli a new edition of the series Alamdimmû as a whole. Some have argued that the remark later on in the editorial note, “concerning both series (i.e., Sakikkû and Alamdimmû), their arrangement (*riksu*) is one” (*šá ÉŠ.GĀR ki-lal-la-an ḠKÉŠ¹-su-nu DIŠ-ma¹*), could hint at their joint redaction by Esagil-kîn-apli, but this statement may also refer to similar organizational principles that were applied in both series and to a general perception that both series belong together because of their subject matter. Although Sakikkû and Alamdimmû are mentioned beside each other, e.g., in the Exorcist’s Manual, they were never assembled together in one consecutive series. That Esagil-kin-apli indeed contributed to the redaction of the standard series Alamdimmû is indicated by an early Neo-Assyrian manuscript of diagnostic omens containing a recension of Tablet 2 differing from the standard series (Heeßel 2007: 9–10 and no. 51; 2010a), which is designated in a rubric as “the old (version of) Alamdimmû which Esagil-kîn-apli has not resolved” (NU DU₈.MEŠ). This could hint at the scholar’s involvement in an edition of the twelve tablets of the chapter Alamdimmû, which is explicitly referred to as arranged “from head to foot.”

older diagnostic texts from the second millennium BCE are generally not ordered in this fashion.⁶⁹ The catalogue further indicates that Esagil-kīn-apli's editorial efforts were largely concentrated on Chapters 2 and 3 of Sakikkū, because only these chapters are marked in the respective summary rubrics by the comment *sadīrū* (*ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* 'sections that have received an edition'.⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that although the majority of the manuscripts of Sakikkū agree with the tablet incipits given in the catalogue, there are also some discrepancies, which suggest that the series may have undergone some changes after its redaction by Esagil-kīn-apli. The catalogue thus may preserve an earlier stage of development than most of the text witnesses extant from the first millennium BCE (Schmidtchen forthcoming).⁷¹

69 See especially the Old Babylonian texts edited in Heeßel 2000: 97–99; George 2013: no. 15; cf. Middle Babylonian texts in Heeßel 2000: 99–103; 2010d: 11–12; Rutz 2011. One Middle Babylonian text from Nippur (IM 57947, Labat 1956; Heeßel 2010d: 12–14) is designated in the colophon as Tablet 2 of a series called “When you approach the patient,” which is identical with the title of the second chapter of the standard series Sakikkū, but the text is not a duplicate of the first-millennium recension. This implies that the serialization of the diagnostic texts already started in the second half of the second millennium BCE, and that Esagil-kīn-apli drew on this older series.

70 See also Heeßel 2000: 106–7, noting that especially Chapters 1, 4 and 5 have several close links to older diagnostic material. This would imply that Esagil-kīn-apli did not reshape all the chapters of Sakikkū in a fundamental way. The fragmentary rubric for the first chapter contains the phrase GIBIL NU TIL ‘new, not finished’, possibly indicating that this chapter was a relatively new addition to the series. This chapter has many parallels to passages in Šumma ālu (cf. Heeßel 2001–2a: 26). It is also noteworthy that some tablets of Chapter 4 contain therapeutic instructions, and that some tablets of Chapter 5 have similarities in content and formulations with medical texts, pointing to the inclusion of heterogeneous material. Sakikkū Chapter 6, with observations of women and infants, contains material that bears similarities with birth omens and with material in Šumma izbu. For a discussion of the editorial remarks SUKUD.GIM and GIŠ.GIŠ.A in the catalogue's summary rubrics to Chapters 4–6, see Heeßel 2000: 107; Schmidtchen forthcoming.

71 A comparison of the catalogue with the sources for the series Alamdimmu also points to changes or to the addition of new material to the series in the Neo-Assyrian period, after Esagil-kīn-apli's edition (cf. the editorial remark GIBIL NU TIL ‘new, not finished’ qualifying the first tablet in the fourth chapter, Finkel 1988b: 152 A 83). In general, the Sakikkū manuscripts from Nineveh, Nimrud, and Babylonia follow Esagil-kīn-apli's recension outlined in the catalogue, but a variant edition is attested from Sultantepe. Moreover, Esagil-kīn-apli's recension of Sakikkū is not attested at Aššur, which fits in with evidence suggesting that the scholars at Aššur followed older versions and variant traditions rather than the newly standardized series, as is witnessed for instance in an older recension of Alamdimmu still in use in Neo-Assyrian Aššur (Böck 2000: 290–95; Heeßel 2007: 9–10 and

Deviations between catalogue and manuscripts can be detected in the designation of tablet incipits, in the numbering of tablets, and in the numbers of entries pertaining to individual tablets of *Sakikkû*.⁷²

Apart from the *Sakikkû* catalogue, the expression *sadīrū* (*ša*) SUR.GIBIL *šabtū* does not occur in other catalogues for standard omen series, i.e., *Šumma ālu*, *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and *Bārūtu*. In contrast to the latter two series, *Šumma ālu* was not divided into chapters or sub-series, although it was longer than any other omen compendium (comprising 120 tablets). Nonetheless, the series can be divided into three or four thematic sections, which are further arranged according to sub-topics, revealing systematic principles of organization that betray redactional processes.⁷³ For instance, omens on terrestrial animals observed in the city are grouped together in Tablets 22–49, and the tablets are arranged according to the animal that was observed.⁷⁴ Three tablets with a catalogue for *Šumma ālu* are known to date. The manuscript from Aššur (VAT 9438+ and KAR 394, Weidner 1941–44 pl. III; Freedman 1998: 322–23) is the best preserved one; it also contained a catalogue of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, followed by the incipits of an extraneous astrological series. The other two catalogue fragments (K 4094b and BM 68437) are probably restricted to *Šumma ālu* alone, but only preserve

no. 51; 2010a; cf. Koch 2015: 65, 94 passim). A varying version of *Sakikkû* Tablet 1 is also known from Uruk (George 1991).

72 For instance, the incipit of *Sakikkû* Tablet 9 in the catalogue probably corresponds to the second omen in some Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian exemplars of Tablet 9 (Scurlock 2014: 66, 707). The incipit for Tablet 22 in the catalogue contains an additional statement that is not found in the manuscripts of Tablet 22 (Finkel 1988b: 147 A 27 with n. 27; Heeßel 2000: 250). Moreover, two Babylonian manuscripts corresponding to Tablet 22 are designated as Tablet 23 in their colophon, which may indicate the existence of an additional tablet in some editions of the series (for a discussion, cf. Heeßel 2000: 136, 257 colophon of mss. A and D). A manuscript from Nineveh designated in its colophon as Tablet 19 contains a catchline that corresponds to Tablet 21 in the catalogue, which implies that the text that is distributed over Tablets 19 and 20 in the catalogue was collected in only one tablet in the edition used at Nineveh. The same phenomenon is found in a Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 26 (BM 47753), which is designated as Tablet '27' in its colophon. Three Late Babylonian witnesses combine the text of Tablets 27/28 on one tablet, which in one of the manuscripts is designated as Tablet 26 (cf. Stol 1993: 56, 74, 88; Heeßel 2000: 136). For a detailed discussion, see Schmidtchen forthcoming.

73 Freedman (1998: vii) suggests three segments (terrestrial omens [1–21], animal omens [22–79], human omens [80–120+]); while Koch (2015: 241) divides the series into four segments.

74 See Freedman 1998: 6 and Koch 2015: 241–56 for an overview of the organization of the series and the various ordering principles applied.

about fifteen tablet incipits.⁷⁵ The Aššur catalogue is introduced by a headline (obv. col. ii 7) and preserves the incipits of Tablets 1–26 (obv. ii 7–33) and 33–62 (rev. iii 1–30).⁷⁶ In contrast to the Enūma Anu Enlil tablets listed in col. i of the Aššur catalogue, no tablet numbers are attached to the incipits of Šumma ālu (neither do the other two catalogue fragments from Nineveh and Sippar contain tablet numbers). A comparison between the catalogue and manuscripts of Šumma ālu shows a situation resembling that described above for Sakikkū. While there are only slight discrepancies in the order and name of the tablets in the three catalogue fragments (Freedman 1998: 324 ad lines 4–5), there are considerable discrepancies between the catalogues and the preserved Šumma ālu texts, reflecting different recensions and alternative arrangements of the series.⁷⁷

A similar picture is presented by the catalogues of Enūma Anu Enlil and the first-millennium BCE manuscripts of the series. Modern reconstructions of the tablet sequence are based on two catalogues, one being the compound catalogue from Aššur, which also listed the tablet sequence of Šumma ālu, and a second catalogue from Late Babylonian Uruk (Weidner 1941–44; Fincke 2001). Both catalogues are incomplete, and their texts do not overlap (the Uruk catalogue preserves the first 29 tablets, while the Aššur catalogue covers Tablets 39–59). The extant textual material from the first millennium shows that different recensions of Enūma Anu Enlil existed and kept evolving

75 Freedman 1998: 324–25; Heeßel 2001–2b: 235. K 9094b contains numerical notations (“one/two” preceding several incipits, indicating its use as an inventory or checklist; cf. above). Another fragmentary catalogue from Late Babylonian Uruk contains incipits of a *nishu*-series of Šumma ālu (SpTU 3, 95).

76 The headline reads DUB SAG.MEŠ ša DIŠ URU ina SUKUD-e GAR ÉŠ.GĀR [MU¹.NE [(x)]; cf. Freedman 1998: 324. For parallel headlines in series catalogues, see also the Exorcist’s Manual, the Sakikkū catalogue, and the AMC.

77 For a discussion and reconstruction of the series, see Freedman 1998: 6–8, 17–23, 329–43; Koch 2015: 239–41. For instance, two copies of the same tablet can have differing tablet numbers and catchlines, and the position of tablets within the series varies. Especially tablets from Babylon often preserve numbers that do not agree with the tablet sequence of Nineveh manuscripts or with that of the catalogue. Other variations in tablet numbering can be explained through variations in tablet format. I.e., in some editions, the text of one tablet was written on a single tablet, whereas in others the text was split up into two tablets. Sometimes, the colophons of commentaries on the series likewise indicate conflicting sequences of tablets. Cf. for these problems of variation the discussion of the Neo-Assyrian Šumma ālu manuscripts from Aššur, Heeßel 2007: 7–8, e.g., no. 37; Freedman 2006: 6.

during that period.⁷⁸ Fincke (2001) concludes for the tablets listed in the Aššur catalogue that there were four different recensions of the series: one attested at Aššur (comprising ca. 63 tablets), one at Nineveh (also followed in Uruk in Late Babylonian times, with 69 tablets), a Neo-Babylonian recension at Babylon and Kiš (comprising 68 tablets), and a diverging Neo-Babylonian recension with 70 tablets, so far only attested at Nineveh, but the situation may be more complex (cf. al-Rawi – George 2006). Although the manuscripts of different recensions are far from uniform, the contents and layout of the series are quite stable between the recensions,⁷⁹ and diverging tablet numbers reflect primarily differing tablet formats and varying ways of dividing the text between tablets (Koch 2015: 165–66).⁸⁰

The last omen compendium for which we have a catalogue is the extispicy series, which gained the title *Bārîtu* ‘the Art of the Seer’ in the first millennium BCE.⁸¹ The series, which was standardized to a higher degree than the other omen series in this period, was composed of ten chapters of varying length (between four and seventeen tablets) each concerned with one or several features of the exta, totaling about one hundred tablets.⁸² A catalogue

78 See, e.g., Rochberg-Halton 1988 and al-Rawi – George 2006 for discussions of different first-millennium recensions of Tablet 20 of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and their development from earlier Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian precursors.

79 The series can be divided into four sections: lunar omens, solar omens, meteorological omens, and omens on planetary and stellar phenomena. There is evidence from rubrics of first-millennium texts and from the Uruk catalogue that the first three sections were referred to by the deity represented in them: lunar omens were referred to as *Sîn* (omens), solar and meteorological omens as *Šamaš* and *Adad* (van Soldt 1995: 103; Weidner 1941–44: 187: 23–24).

80 For the reconstruction of the series, see also Koch 2015: 163–79; Gehlken 2005; Fincke 2001. One example for discrepancies between recensions is a varying tablet number for the lunar section, which in the Uruk catalogue consists of twenty-two tablets, but in one recension from Uruk contains twenty-three tablets (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 270).

81 For an overview of the series, see Koch 2015: 94–115. The earliest evidence for the use of the term *Bārîtu* as the name of the series stems from Late Babylonian colophons (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 25–27). In the Neo-Assyrian letters and “library records,” the term *Bārîtu* is used to classify the contents of incoming tablets and seems to refer to the discipline of the diviner or to the genre of extispicy omens in general rather than to the standard series (see, e.g., Parpola 1983a: 20–21 no. 3 = SAA 7, 51 i 9', 15', ii 2', never preceded by *ÉŠ.GAR*). This usage resembles the term *āšipūtu* ‘exorcist’s lore’ as a label for tablets in the “library records.”

82 Koch 2015: 94–95. All Neo-Assyrian manuscripts number the tablets according to their place within the chapter, while Late Babylonian texts number the tablets according to their

has come down to us in two manuscripts, one of which is a tablet fragment that could have contained the incipits for the whole series.⁸³ According to its colophon, it belonged to the scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu from Kalḫu and was the copy of an original from Babylon (Koch 2005: 8, 89; ms. B = K 3041). Ms. A (K 1352 = CT 20, 1) presents a tablet in landscape format almost completely preserved but lacking a colophon or headline. This manuscript contains the tablet incipits of only the last two chapters of the Bārîtu series (*šumma ḥašû* and *šumma multābiltu*). It assigns a tablet number for each chapter and adds the number of entries (“lines”) for the chapter *šumma ḥašû* (but not for the chapter *šumma multābiltu*). The catalogue is summed up as GÚ SAG DUB KI.ḪAL NIGIN.NA.E.NE.KE₄ MU.MU.ŠID.MA.BI.KE₄ ‘the total of tablet incipits of KI.ḪAL together with line-count’ (rev. 13).⁸⁴ The unique phrase KI.ḪAL remains unclear, but ḪAL usually stands for *bārû* ‘seer’ or *bārîtu* ‘extispicy’.⁸⁵

place within the Bārîtu series as a whole. In some colophons of series tablets from Nineveh, the chapter title is preceded by ÉŠ.GĀR (Koch 2005: 137 A iv 44: DUB.3.KAM ÉŠ.GĀR BE *multābiltu*, see also 169 r14, 209 Cr15’). The Neo-Assyrian, Neo- and Late Babylonian manuscripts of the standard series are congruent to a remarkable degree, although there may have been differences in length between series tablets from Nineveh and Babylonia. Thus, although it may have a Babylonian origin and composition date prior to the library of Ashurbanipal, the text of the canonical series was fixed already in the Neo-Assyrian period, even if the series name Bārîtu only came into use later. For an overview of the history of extispicy texts, see Koch 2015: 67–94; cf. Heeßel 2012: 7–15; for further text types associated with the extispicy corpus including commentaries (*mukallimtu*) and other explanatory texts (e.g., *niširti bārîti*) as well as excerpt series (*nišlu*, *rikis gerri* ‘guide’), rituals, prayers, oracle questions, and procedure texts, see Koch 2005; 2015: 115–27.

83 Koch 2005: 7–8, 85–9; Koch 2015: 115. This tablet may have been part of a series of catalogues, possibly preserving a fragmentary catchline before its colophon.

84 SAG DUB (= *rēš ṭuppi*) ‘tablet incipit’ seems to be a variant of DUB SAG. However, the Akkadian reading of the latter is clarified in an unpublished Middle Babylonian text catalogue (BM 103690), which offers the partially syllabic rendering DUB *re-še-e-tim* in its headline, which seems to replace DUB SAG.MEŠ and can be interpreted as “tablet of incipits,” the native expression for “catalogue; inventory” (courtesy Finkel forthcoming). See further the *kalîtu* catalogue (K 2529 [4R², 53] + rev. iv 30; Gabbay 2015: 19), summed up as DUB SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR NAM.GALA. The headline of the Exorcist’s Manual presents another variant expression: KAR 44: 1 has SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti, lit. “titles of the corpus of exorcism,” while the duplicate Rm 717 + BM 34188 from Babylon (Geller 2000: 249) reads ¹KA DUB¹ SAG.MEŠ ¹ÉŠ.GĀR¹ LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-ti ‘wording of the tablet of incipits of the corpus of exorcism’; cf. CAD R 288 sub 4c; CAD P 467 sub 7c. GÚ is to be read *napharu* ‘total’.

85 Markham Geller (oral communication) suggests to read ABSIN (KLAŠ.AŠ), for *absinnu/šer’u* ‘furrow’, which he interprets as a metaphoric expression for a serialized text edition (“rows”).

Some of the series catalogues display recurring structural features reflecting the developed organization of the source text, e.g., a division into chapters and a numbering of tablets within the series/chapters. However, not all series catalogues have a uniform layout, and a comparison between catalogues and source texts often reveals discrepancies and textual variation, in the form of diverging local recensions of the series.

4 Catalogues of a Professional Corpus

The third category in our survey is the professional corpus catalogues from the first millennium BCE, which list multiple works and text groups belonging to a scholarly discipline. These catalogues are considered to comprise ideally the entire corpus of a scholarly profession (Gabbay 2014: 233). The example *par excellence* is the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates), which defines the corpus of the *āšipu* (to be discussed in comparison with AMC). A second catalogue that can be assigned to this category is the *kalûtu* catalogue from Nineveh (K 2529+).

Linked to the characterization of these catalogues is the use of the word *iškāru* in their headlines (KAR 44: 1 and duplicates) or summary rubrics (K 2529+ rev. iv 30), coupled with the professional titles *āšipūtu* and *kalûtu*, which should in this context better be understood as “corpus” rather than “series.” Thus, Gabbay (2014: 195 n. 14) prefers the notion of “corpus” and rejects the translation of *iškāru* as “series” in this specific context, because in the corpus catalogues “the term ... does not refer to the fixed sequence of the compositions but only to their collection in a group.”⁸⁶

If we compare the Exorcist's Manual with the *kalûtu* catalogue, it has to be noted that whereas the former provides an overview of very much the entire

86 Note in this regard SpTU 3, 74, a Late Babylonian manuscript of Maqlû Tablet 3, which is designated as IM 3.KAM MU *maqlû* [É]Š.GĀR *āšipūtu* ‘third tablet of Maqlû, (belonging to) the *corpus* of the exorcist's craft’ (line 185). The expressions *iškār kalûti/āšipūti* are also used in a letter of the scholar Marduk-šāpik-zēri to the Assyrian king (SAA 10, 160), where he describes the areas of expertise of scholars whom he recommends for service (rev. 6, 30). Elsewhere in the letter, Marduk-šāpik-zēri only uses professional titles to designate the scholars' specialization, indicating that *iškār kalûti*, etc., are quasi-synonymous (e.g., obv. 37, rev. 7–8, 9 *kalûtu ugdammir*; rev. 14 *āšipūtu ūpšarr[ūtu iltasi]*; rev. 31 *bārūti ile*”e”; cf. rev. 33 *asû mādiš ile*”e”). For *kalûtu* as a designation for the corpus of Emesal prayers, see also Gabbay 2014: 195 n. 15.

corpus of the profession, the *kalûtu* catalogue is rather a catalogue of compositions based on the tablets actually found in the library, as is indicated by the remarks in the catalogue and colophon (noting that many tablets were not available). Furthermore, variations in the spelling of identical incipits within the catalogue indicate that the compiler examined and copied the incipits of actual tablets in the library (Gabbay 2014: 234). However, despite some omissions the Nineveh catalogue probably includes most compositions belonging to the corpus of the lamentation priest. These are listed in a standard sequence that was in use in Nineveh, Sultantepe, and Ur, as is confirmed by catchlines of tablets. Another difference between both catalogues is that for the Exorcist's Manual, duplicating copies are attested from several places and periods (Neo-Assyrian, Neo- and Late Babylonian), whereas the *kalûtu* catalogue is so far only known from Nineveh.⁸⁷

On a formal and structural level, there are other marked differences. The *kalûtu* catalogue does not contain a reference to a compiler or editor of the corpus, as does the Exorcist's Manual with its reference to Esagil-kîn-apli. The *kalûtu* catalogue presents itself as a list of compositions divided into sections grouped by type (BALAG, ÉR.ŠĒM.MA, and ŠU.ÍL.LÁ). Each section is introduced and concluded by separate rubrics and summary lines (stating the total number of compositions in the respective section). This sectional structure with subtotals and rubrics resembles the series catalogues discussed above. One common feature of the *āšipûtu* and *kalûtu* catalogue (which they share with some series catalogues) is the occurrence of a headline and a summary line at the end of the catalogue.⁸⁸

87 From Nineveh, there is one tablet fragment, which could present a duplicate to K 2529+, while a third tablet in landscape format (K 2) contains only one section (Eršemmas) of the *kalûtu* catalogue (see Gabbay 2015: 15–20, pl. 28). Only one small Neo-Babylonian fragment of a catalogue of Emesal prayers is known so far (A 3515), which, however, seems to present a list of incipits of individual tablets making up different Balaġs or sections of Balaġs, which differs from the sequence of compositions in the Nineveh catalogue (Gabbay 2007).

88 The headline of K 2529+ is only fragmentarily preserved and restored by Gabbay (2015: 15 A 1, pl. 29) as [ÉR].MEŠ [ú ÉR.ŠĒM.MA.MEŠ M]U.NE, while the summary identifies the preceding catalogue as the tablet of incipits (DUB SAG.MEŠ) of the corpus of *kalûtu* (ibid. 29 A rev. iv 30).

5 The Aššur Medical Catalogue: Series or Corpus Catalogue?

The AMC presents a one-column tablet in portrait format. Five fragments have been identified, none of which join directly. Four fragments were copied by Beckman and Foster (1988, no. 9a–d) and partially edited by Scurlock (2014: 295–306). The fifth fragment, A 7821 from Chicago, was recognized by Irving Finkel in 1978 and mentioned by Attinger (2008: 8), but has never been edited.⁸⁹ The findspot of the fragments is unknown. The tablet's fragmentary colophon reveals that the text was copied by a young physician (*asû šeḫru*) whose father bears the title “*šangû* of the goddess Baba who is in the midst of Baltil,” referring to the Gula temple at Aššur.⁹⁰ Since neither the scribe nor his father can be identified, the exact date of the copy remains debatable; according to the sign forms, the tablet could date to the eighth or seventh century BCE. Consequently, it is not entirely certain whether the catalogue stems from the reign of Ashurbanipal and reflects the recension of a series of the medical therapeutic texts created at Nineveh during Ashurbanipal's reign, as Köcher (1978: 18–20) has argued on the basis of text incipits and catchlines from Nineveh.

Since the question of dating and of the “stage of textual development” reflected in the AMC is crucial for the reconstruction of a history of medical texts in Mesopotamia in the first millennium BCE, the arguments and counterarguments for attributing the catalogue to Ashurbanipal's reign and his collection of medical texts at Nineveh have to be discussed. Notably, Heeßel (2010b: 31–35) raises doubts about Köcher's claim, arguing that even though the medical texts from Nineveh currently provide the best evidence for a serialization of therapeutic material, there are indications that this

89 A first complete edition of the catalogue based on a reconstruction of the tablet as a whole is currently being prepared in the BabMed project (Steinert forthcoming a). The text has been discussed in various places; see, e.g., Geller 2005: 247; Heeßel 2008a: 169–71; 2010b: 34; Böck 2008: 296–99; Johnson 2014: 44–46.

90 For the title *asû šeḫru* ‘young/junior physician’, compare parallel expressions attested in the colophons of the Aššur exorcists from the N4 library, which allows one to reconstruct the stages of the professional exorcist's training and career, from apprentice to fully competent exorcist (see Maul 2010a). For the scribe of the AMC, see also Frahm's discussion in this volume and Steinert forthcoming a. Unfortunately, the name of the scribe is not well enough preserved for a safe reading, and the father's name is lost in the lacuna.

process started before Ashurbanipal, and possibly received input from Babylonia.⁹¹

Another datum that speaks against regarding the AMC as the catalogue of a medical series assembled at Nineveh is presented by Ashurbanipal colophon q, which is attached to the tablet manuscripts belonging to the Nineveh recension of a therapeutic series (BAK 329: 2–7). In contrast to the Uruanna colophon discussed above, which contains detailed and concrete information about editorial work on the series (including the technical expression *zarâ šabātu*), Ashurbanipal colophon q does not make such a claim, but merely refers to the copying and assembling of textual material, which is designated as follows:

*nisiq tupšarrūti ša ina šarrāni ālik maḥrīya mamma šipru šuātu lā iḥuzu
bulṭi ištu muḥḥi adi šupri liqtī aḥūti tāḥīzu nakla azugallūti Ninurta u
Gula mala bašmu ina tuppāni aštur asniq abrēma ana tāmarti šitassīya
qereb ekallīya ukīn*

The precious works of scribal lore, which nobody among the kings before me has learned to master, **remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s) (and) collections of extraneous material, elaborate lore, the great healing arts (lit. physicianship) of Ninurta and Gula, as much as was created**, I wrote on tablets, checked, collated, and set (them) up in my palace, to read (them) and have them read out to me.

It is noteworthy that the colophon identifies the texts as the professional lore of the *asû* by invoking the divine patrons of the discipline, namely by reference to the “great physicianship” (*azugallūtu*) of Ninurta and Gula. The colophon describes the corpus of medical texts that Ashurbanipal collected for his personal study using two descriptive titles. The first one occurs also in the AMC, where it is found in a rubric summarizing the first of the two parts that comprise the catalogue. This line reads as follows:

58 (YBC 7139 obv. 17') [NÍGIN X DUB.MEŠ (...) *bul-ṭi² T*]A UGU EN *šu-up-ri sa-di-ru šá SUR.GIBIL šab-tu*

⁹¹ Similarly, the Sakikkû catalogue points to an initial edition of the diagnostic series by a Babylonian scholar of the eleventh century BCE, even though the best textual evidence comes from Ashurbanipal's library.

[A total of n tablets (...) with treatments⁹²] from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s). Sections that have received an edition.

The restoration at the beginning of line 58 is based on the Ashurbanipal colophon, and the expression *bulṭī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri* in the colophon appears to be a direct reference to the serialized text corpus in AMC Part 1. Notably, notwithstanding a few discrepancies, most Nineveh tablets bearing this colophon can be correlated through incipits, catchlines, or tablet numbers with chapters of therapeutic tablets serialized and named in Part 1 of the AMC (lines 2–57).⁹³ Indeed, Part 1 of the AMC presents a sequence of 12 chapters (*sadīrū*) dealing with illnesses ordered by body part or region *de capite ad calcem* (see fig. 1). Each chapter of AMC Part 1 consists of a section listing tablet incipits, followed in most cases by a summary rubric giving a subtotal of tablets. Thus, AMC Part 1 formed a series referred to as “remedies (ordered) from head to (toe)nail(s),” which was also known and collected at Nineveh.

	1	HEADLINE	
		Part I (“remedies from the top of the head to the (toe)nail(s)”) <hr/>	
I	2–5	CRANIUM	
		Incipits	
	6–7	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	5 Tablets
II	8–9	EYES	
		Incipits	
	10	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	4

⁹² It is theoretically possible to restore the title *šumma amēlu muḥḥašu ukāl* in the gap before *bulṭī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri*, according to the name of the first tablet of the first chapter in AMC Part 1 (= CRANIUM 1). This naming pattern is also found in Part 2 of the AMC. It is not certain, however, whether there is enough space for this restoration in the gap at the beginning of line 58. Cf. also the discussion below.

⁹³ For identifications of Nineveh tablets corresponding to AMC Part 1, see Scurlock 2014: 296–306; a detailed analysis will be found in Steinert forthcoming a. See, e.g., BAM 515 iv 50' (EYES Tablet 2); BAM 530 (NOSEBLEED); BAM 538 (TEETH 1); BAM 543 (TEETH 2); BAM 547 (BRONCHIA 1); BAM 574 (STOMACH 1); BAM 575 (STOMACH 2); BAM 578 (STOMACH 3); BAM 579 (STOMACH 5). BAM 548 (BRONCHIA 5) bears Ashurbanipal colophon b instead (BAK 318), which does not contain the reference to *bulṭī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri*, but refers to tablets and wooden boards from Assyria, Sumer, and Akkad (= Babylonia), which Ashurbanipal copied in “the assembly of the scholars.”

III	11	EARS Incipits	
	12	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	1
IV	13–16	NECK Incipits	
	17–18	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	6
V	19	NOSEBLEED Incipit	1(?)
VI	20	TEETH Incipits	
	21–23	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	2
VII	24–27	BRONCHIA Incipits	
	28	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	6
VIII	29–30	STOMACH Incipits	
	31–35	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	5
IXa	36–37	EPIGASTRIUM Incipits	
	38–39	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「4」 ¹
IXb	40–42	ABDOMEN Incipits	
	43–44	<i>adi</i> -section	8+x(?)
X	45–46	KIDNEYS Incipits	
	47	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	3
XI	48–50	ANUS Incipits	
	51–52	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	5
XII	53–54	HAMSTRING Incipits	
	55–57	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「4」 ²
	58	SUBTOTAL	「54」 ¹
Part II Title: "If a lesion [... and] his [...] is <i>swollen</i> (?)"			
XIII	59–61	SKIN Incipits	
	62–69	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「?」 ¹

XIV	70	HAZARDS	
		Incipits	
	71–78	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section (?)	「1?」
XV	79	EVIL POWERS	
		Incipit	
	80–83	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	1
XVI	84–85	DIVINE ANGER	
		Incipits	
	86–88	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	4
XVII	89	ORACLES	
		Incipits	
	90	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	2
XVIII	91–92	MENTAL ILLNESS	
		Incipits	
	93–98	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	3
XIX	99–100	POTENCY	
		Incipits	
	101–2	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「3+」
XX	103	SEX	
		Incipits	
	104–8	Summary + <i>adi</i> -section	「1+?」
XXI	109–10	PREGNANCY	
		Incipits	
	111–14	Summary (+ <i>adi</i> -section)	「3+?」
XXII	115–19	BIRTH	
		Incipits	
	120	Summary (no <i>adi</i> -section)	8
XXIII	121	VETERINARY	
		Incipits	
	122	Summary (no <i>adi</i> -section)	1
	123–24	SUBTOTAL	「38 ¹ (+)」
	125	TOTAL	「92+」
	126–29	COLOPHON	

FIGURE 1 Structure of the Aššur Medical Catalogue.

The second designation in Ashurbanipal colophon q, *liqtī aḥūti* ‘extraneous collections’, seems to diverge from the AMC. One could interpret it as an apposition to the preceding title *bulṭī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri*, which would mean that this therapeutic series was considered “extraneous.” However, since *aḥū* texts are generally found in conjunction with an existing “series” (*iškāru*), we would need to ask what the corpus of “standard texts” corresponding to such “nonstandard collections” of therapeutic remedies would be. Since we do not know of such a “series,” this interpretation seems unlikely, and it could be suggested that *liqtī aḥūti* is a collective expression for existing textual material outside the serialized collection called *bulṭī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri*. Could *liqtī aḥūti*, then, refer to textual material that is listed in Part 2 of the AMC?

AMC Part 2 (lines 59–122) also consists of multiple sections of tablet incipits, which are not ordered anatomically but grouped according to different topics (including sections on skin ailments, the treatment of wounds and injuries, therapies for illnesses attributed to divine anger, witchcraft, demons, treatments for “mental” illnesses, for problems associated with sexuality and reproduction, for women’s illnesses, and veterinary prescriptions). Part 2 is designated by the incipit of its first tablet (i.e., Tablet 1 of the chapter on skin ailments), which is repeated in the summary rubric of Part 2 as follows:

- 123 (A 7821 rev. 13’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 4’) [NÍGIN X+3o²+8¹] DUB.MEŠ DIŠ GIG
[...]-ta-šú um-mu-r[a-(at)]
- 124 (A 7821 rev. 14’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 5’) [sa-di-ru] [šá¹] [SUR.GIBIL] šab-tu
[A total of n+38²¹ tablets (belonging to) “If a lesion [...] his [... i]s swollen.”⁹⁴ [Sections] that have received an [edition.]

The whole corpus of texts listed in the AMC is then summed up in line 125 as:

- 125 (A 7821 rev. 15’ (+) YBC 7123 rev. 6’) [NÍGIN X X D]UB.MEŠ [sa-di-ru šá
S]UR.GIBIL šab-tu
[A total of n tab]lets. [Sections that] have received an edition.

94 The series title/incipit cannot be restored yet, as we presently have no textual evidence for a series with this title or for a tablet with this incipit. The tablet incipit within the chapter SKIN (line 59) is likewise fragmentary.

This line shows that the text corpus of the AMC did not have an overarching title. Since the sections of AMC Part 2 consist of quite heterogeneous topics and material, it is possible that the Ashurbanipal colophon referred to texts corresponding to these sections as “extraneous collections.”⁹⁵ However, if this is the case, the colophon diverges from the AMC, since the series title of AMC Part 2 would have been unknown at Nineveh. Could AMC Part 2 reflect a series only known at Aššur?

The usage of *aḫû* in Ashurbanipal colophon q to designate medical texts is absolutely unique, since there is not the slightest evidence from other colophons of medical texts that there was medical material technically designated as *aḫû*. Moreover, while textual parallels for the material listed in AMC Part 2 can be identified in the medical texts from Nineveh, so far no Nineveh (serial) text has been found that offers an incipit or catchline matching AMC Part 2. In contrast, AMC Part 1 finds numerous attestations in corresponding Nineveh serial tablets with an identical incipit or catchline. On the other hand, relatively more textual parallels (occasionally with an identical incipit) seem to have survived from Babylonia and Aššur for Part 2 of the AMC. This could be an accident of discovery, but it could also indicate that the editions of medical texts in the AMC and those collected or compiled at Nineveh were not entirely identical. Thus, it may be concluded that *liqtī aḫûti* in the Ashurbanipal colophon probably refers to medical texts integrated into the royal library that did not belong to the “head to (toe)nail(s)”-series and that were not organized in a series corresponding to

95 Note that the term *liqtī bulṭī* ‘collection of remedies’ is found in colophons of two tablets from Aššur written by Kišir-Nabû, a member of the family of exorcists associated with the N4 library who was active in the last third of the seventh century BCE (Maul 2010a). However, the colophons of BAM 52: 102 and BAM 106 rev. 7’ refer to a *nishu*-series of a “collection of remedies,” copied according to originals from Babylonia (BAK 211–12; Maul 2010a: 213). BAM 52 presents the 6th *nishu*, and BAM 106 the [7th] *nishu*. Especially BAM 52 shares a number of passages with texts from Nineveh belonging to the sub-series “Suālu” on digestive disorders, which corresponds to the chapter STOMACH in the AMC, but the text reflects a differing recension of the material (cf. Cadelli 2000). BAM 147, another tablet written by Kišir-Nabû, with treatments for fever, is designated in rev. 27 as the “2nd *nishu* copied according to a writing board from Babylonia,” but here the phrase *liqtī bulṭī* is omitted. See above for *liqtu* collections in connection with omen series such as Šumma ālu and Alamdimmû, referring sometimes to extracts or to *aḫû* texts. In the letter SAA 16, 65, the *liqtū* of Enūma Anu Enlil, which a goldsmith’s son is said to have studied illegitimately, could refer to extracts (lit. “gleanings”) from the series.

AMC Part 2 (although we may be dealing with overlapping or parallel material).

A number of tablets from Nineveh apparently belong to a series designated by the same title as AMC Part 1. This series with remedies from head to feet was divided into chapters of multiple tablets, some of which find an exact counterpart in the AMC. But there are at the same time a few discrepancies between the catalogue's sequence and the Nineveh texts, which further supports the view that the AMC is not a catalogue of the Nineveh recension of the same series.⁹⁶

Whether the AMC reflects an edition and serialization of medical texts that took place at Aššur cannot be decisively answered either at the moment, but the series title "remedies from the head to the toe(nails)" is only attested in the AMC and in the Ashurbanipal colophon q, and the series title of AMC Part 2 has not been identified in any other source.⁹⁷ The issue is complicated by the circumstance that most Neo-Assyrian medical texts known from Aššur stem from the N4 library. Although a few tablets from this archive offer parallels to Nineveh texts corresponding to AMC Part 1, these texts often differ considerably from the Nineveh recension.⁹⁸ Some of the manuscripts in question consist of excerpts or one-column tablets offering only an extract from the series tablets identified from Nineveh, where two-column tablets

96 For a discussion of these discrepancies, see Steinert forthcoming a.

97 However, the incipit of Tablet 1 of the AMC chapter SKIN is possibly cited in the colophon of CTN 4, 116, a therapeutic text on skin ailments from Nimrud very likely related to the AMC corpus. For discussion see Steinert forthcoming a.

98 The lack of manuscripts from Aššur following the serial order of the AMC may be accidental. There are nonetheless tablets from Aššur whose incipits can be linked to incipits in the AMC. Thus, BAM 209 represents Tablet 3 of the chapter NECK according to its colophon, and its incipit corresponds to the respective incipit in the AMC. However, although BAM 209 is a partial duplicate, it contains only part of the text of the series tablet attested from Nineveh (BAM 473); see Köcher 1964: xii with n. 10; CMAwR 2, text 10.6 mss. A and B. Similar differences between Nineveh and Aššur manuscripts can be pointed out for other chapter tablets of the therapeutic series in AMC Part 1. Sometimes, an Aššur text forms the only source for a certain incipit in the AMC. For instance, BAM 156 has the same incipit as Tablet 4 of the chapter EPIGASTRIUM ([DIŠ N]A NAM.ÉRIM *šaḫ-[lú]-lu* GIG 'If a person suffers from a wasting curse'), but also contains extracts from other series chapters (see Scurlock 2014: 329–33).

form the standard format of the texts belonging to the series “remedies from head to (toe)nail(s).”⁹⁹

Let us reconsider the question of what the AMC represents by asking to which type of catalogue it belongs. It can be excluded that the catalogue was an *ad hoc* library inventory—that the AMC was the copy of an older original is hinted at by the remark *hepi* ‘broken’ in line 83 (YBC 7126 rev. 6’ (+) YBC 7139 rev. 17’) of the text. The colophon is fragmentary, but most probably referred to an original that was copied.¹⁰⁰ Several features of the AMC seem to point to a series catalogue, but I would like to approach the issue through a comparison of the characteristic features of the Sakikkû catalogue, the Exorcist’s Manual, and the AMC.

As discussed above, the series catalogues are linked to redaction processes described as serialization. They list an order of tablets belonging to a particular series known by a title, such as the Sakikkû catalogue. As in the latter catalogue, the phrase SUR.GIBIL(*zarâ*) *šabātu* ‘to produce an edition’ is used in the AMC, but here the editorial work is claimed explicitly for all “sections” (*sadīrū*) of texts listed in the catalogue. Since both the AMC and Sakikkû catalogues present a sequence of tablets and chapters designated as *sadīrū*, the AMC could be regarded as the counterpart to the Sakikkû catalogue, the former presenting a series of therapeutic texts, the latter covering diagnostic texts.

There are, however, slight differences between both catalogues. The AMC does not use an overarching series title under which all texts in the AMC are numbered and serialized (as is the case in the Sakikkû catalogue). Also in the Nineveh colophons, individual tablets from the *bultī istu muḥḥi adi šupri-*

99 A few texts found in the N4 library belong to a *nishu*-series of therapeutic material related to the AMC series (see n. 95 above). Among the *nishu*-tablets written by Kišir-Aššur, BAM 9 is called the “first *nishu*” copied from a writing board and containing sections duplicating material in Tablets 1–3 of the first chapter, CRANIUM, on illnesses of the head (*šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukâl* ‘If the patient’s skull is feverish’), found in the AMC and in Nineveh texts; BAK 200; Köcher 1963: xiii–xiv. BAM 99 is the seventh *nishu* copied from an original in the Gula temple; it concerns treatments for rectal illnesses, some of which are duplicated in Nineveh manuscripts of the series chapter ANUS (Maul 2010a: 213–14; BAK 202; Geller 2005: nos. 22, 35 with parallels in other texts from Aššur). The colophons of other tablets from this *nishu*-series found in the N4 library point to textual traditions (copied originals) coming from Babylonia.

100 Line 126 (YBC 7123 rev. 7’) probably has to be restored [*kīma labīrišu šaṭirma*] BA.AN.È [‘written according to an older original and] checked’.

series (AMC Part 1) are numbered and specified according to their place in the respective chapter, but never according to their position in the “series” as a whole. This differs from the Sakikkû series tablets, but also from Late Babylonian texts from Uruk, where a series of therapeutic texts is attested whose name is identical with that of the first tablet in the first chapter of AMC Part 1, *šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukâl* (“If the patient’s skull is feverish”). This series is known in two recensions, designated as the *tuppu*- and *pīrsu*-recensions according to the manuscript colophons, which divide the series text either into “tablets” (*tuppu*) or “sections” (*pīrsu*).¹⁰¹ The *tuppu*-recension consisted of forty-five “tablets” that were counted in a continuous sequence, i.e., it was not organized in chapters as the AMC/Nineveh texts.¹⁰² Since Tablet 41 of the Uruk series deals with women’s ailments, the *tuppu*-series seems to have included material that would correspond to Part 2 of the AMC.¹⁰³ Thus, it can be concluded that, whereas by the Late Babylonian period the therapeutic texts seem to have been organized as one continuous

¹⁰¹ For *pīrsu*-recensions of text series, see CAD P 411 sub c; Hunger 1968: 171; Farber 2014: 17–22.

¹⁰² Cf. above. A similar change is encountered in the Bārūtu series: only Late Babylonian texts count the tablets in a continuous sequence and refer to an overarching series title, whereas Neo-Assyrian manuscripts use only chapter titles and number tablets accordingly (cf. Koch-Westenholz 2000: 26–27, 79, 184, 267–68).

¹⁰³ The catchline of Tablet 41 of the Uruk *tuppu*-series (SpTU 1, 59) is not known from the AMC or from any other medical text. SpTU 1, 48 preserves merely the colophon of a text designated as the forty-fifth and final tablet of *šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukâl*. This number of constituent tablets is quite low compared with AMC Part 1 and 2, which register more than ninety tablets altogether. The Uruk series of *šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukâl* may thus have differed considerably from the Neo-Assyrian recension(s) of the therapeutic text series. For the Uruk *pīrsu*-series, the attested ninth and tenth tablets have been identified in SpTU 1, 44 and 46 (Heeßel 2010c: 55–57, 59–60). The ninth *pīrsu* shares its incipit with Tablet 1 of the BRONCHIA chapter in the AMC and with Nineveh texts, but also contains passages from Tablet 2 of chapter TEETH, duplicated in the Nineveh manuscript BAM 543 (Köcher 1980b: xx–xxi; Heeßel 2010c: 55–57; Scurlock 2014: text 2.5.6). SpTU 1, 46 is concerned with paralysis of the mouth and contains sections corresponding to material in Tablet 5 of the AMC chapter NECK (cf. Kinnier Wilson – Reynolds 2007). It is noteworthy that the sequence of the textual material in *pīrsu* 9 and 10 from Late Babylonian Uruk is reversed in comparison with the AMC and the Nineveh texts, where the chapter NECK precedes the chapters TEETH and BRONCHIA (see fig. 1). A Late Babylonian manuscript of the thirtieth *pīrsu* of *šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukâl* is further attested in BM 42272 from Babylon (Scurlock 2014: texts 2.6.2 and 2.14.1; CMAwR 1, text 7.10 ms. j; CMAwR 2, text 7.11 ms. n). This tablet deals with treatments for witchcraft-induced conditions and for fever, but it is still unclear to which chapter of the AMC corpus the treatments in BM 42272 may be related.

series, in the Neo-Assyrian period these texts could also be considered as a corpus divided into two parts, each of which is arranged in a sectional order. The AMC could thus lie somewhere between a series and a corpus catalogue.

Although AMC reflects the serialization of a text corpus, the sequence of consecutive chapters is so far only confirmed by colophons/catchlines of Nineveh therapeutic tablets corresponding to several chapters of AMC Part 1. However, the arrangement of the AMC in chapters (*sadīrū*) forming two parts with independent titles resembles the dual structure of the twin series Sakikkû and Alamdimmû in their joint catalogue.

The AMC and the Sakikkû catalogue are very similar in their structural layout: each chapter of the series is described by a list of tablet incipits usually followed by a ruled-off summary rubric giving a subtotal of tablets for the chapter. This can be exemplified with the sixth chapter of the AMC (TEETH), concerned with treatments for illnesses of the mouth and teeth. Line 20 lists the incipits of the two component tablets of the chapter. A ruling precedes a three-line summary section, which states the total number of tablets followed by the chapter title and a number of phrases, which seem to indicate some of the topics or sections on therapies included in the chapter. These phrases are introduced by the preposition *adi*(EN):

VI TEETH

- 20 A. 7821: 15' (+) YBC 7146: 4'
 [DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-š]ú ᵀGIGᵀ [: DIŠ NA] *gi-ᵀme-er*ᵀ ZÚ.ME-šú
 [*i-na-áš*]
-
- 21 YBC 7146: 5' [NÍGIN 2 DUB.MEŠ DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-šú GIG E]N KA-šú GIG-uš¹
 ZÚ-šú *na¹-di¹-a[t²]*
- 22 YBC 7146: 6' [...] x ᵀ:ᵀ¹ *ta-a-bi-i-lu* DAB-su *bu²-šá-nu* ᵀDAB¹-s[*u*]
- 23 YBC 7146: 7' *šá* LÚ.TUR

²⁰[If a man's teeth] are sore. [If] all of a [man's] teeth [become loose].

²¹[A total of two tablets (of the chapter) "If a man's teeth are sore."]
 Including (prescriptions for the case that) his mouth is sore (and) his
 tooth falls out, ²²[...] (if) "dryness" troubles him, *bu'šānu*-disease
 troubles him,²³ (including *bu'šānu*) in an infant.

If we compare this passage with Nineveh colophons of corresponding therapeutic tablets, the manuscript of TEETH Tablet 1 preserved on BAM 538 offers the catchline of Tablet 2, followed by the chapter title:

BAM 538 iv 50': DIŠ NA *gi-mer* ZÚ.MEŠ-ŠÚ 'i¹-na-áš [DUB] 1.KAM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-ŠÚ GIG

"If all of a man's teeth become loose." First [tablet] of "If a man's teeth are sore."

The chapter title of TEETH is also cited in the colophon of BAM 543 iv 60', which contains TEETH Tablet 2:

[DUB 2.K]AM DIŠ NA ZÚ.MEŠ-ŠÚ GIG 'AL¹.TIL

[Second tablet] of "If a man's teeth are sore." Finished.

The catchline of this tablet (iv 59) cites the incipit of the first tablet of the following chapter on respiratory ailments (BRONCHIA), *šumma amēlu* (*napiš*) *appišu kabit* 'If a patient has difficulties breathing through the nose'.

In some cases, such as the chapter TEETH, it can be shown that the phrases following *adi* in the summary rubrics of the AMC represent key phrases extracted from sections contained in the chapter tablets enumerated earlier. For instance, the Nineveh text BAM 543 (corresponding to TEETH Tablet 2) contains a prescription for *tābilu* 'dryness' (iv 22: [DIŠ NA (KA-ŠÚ) *t*] *a-bi-i-lu ša-ab-tú*), but also recipes for treating *bu'šānu*, corresponding to key phrases in the AMC summary rubric for the chapter (lines 21–23).¹⁰⁴

The answer to the question of what the AMC represents could have been found in its headline (unfortunately fragmentary), a feature encountered in series and corpus catalogues.¹⁰⁵ The headlines of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44) and the Sakikkû catalogue illustrate the differences between both catalogue types:

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., BAM 543 ii 11, 19, note ii 24: [...]x-šú KÚM *il-la-tu-šú DU-ku bu-u'šá-na DAB-su*; further ii 46', 50', 59', iii 53', iv 3. The first phrases after *adi* in AMC line 23 have not yet been identified in serial tablets of the chapter. They could indicate sections in TEETH Tablet 1—the manuscript BAM 538 from Nineveh is badly preserved. Similarly, no therapeutic texts are currently known that contain recipes for treating *bu'šānu* in infants (all known recipes start with *šumma amēlu*).

¹⁰⁵ The AMC only preserves the last two signs of the headline, 'MU.NE¹.

KAR 44: 1 (and duplicates):

(KA DUB) SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GĀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU₃.ĀM kun-nu
PAP MU.NE

(Wording of the tablet of) titles (“incipits”) of the **corpus** of exorcism, established for learning and reading (lit. viewing), the sum total of their names.

Sakikkû catalogue headline:

[SAG DUB.MEŠ u Š]U.NÍGIN MU.MEŠ ša SA.GIG.MEŠ MU.N[E]

[The titles (“incipits”) of the tablets and²] sum total of **lines** (entries) of (the series) *Sakikkû* (“sick cords”), their names.

The Exorcist’s Manual is defined as a list of several text series (or “genres”)¹⁰⁶ forming a professional corpus; the Sakikkû catalogue presents itself as a chart with totals of “lines” (i.e., omen entries) and tablet incipits of one text series, identified by name. In terms of text “genres” contained in the AMC, it resembles in some ways the Exorcist’s Manual, because it lists not only incipits of tablets with medical therapies, but also rubrics of incantation genres and omen collections, i.e., it is of mixed content. In contrast, Sakikkû is a specialized composition, restricted almost entirely to diagnosis and prognosis.

On the other hand, the AMC and the Sakikkû/Alamdimmû catalogue share the division of textual material into a sequence of *sadīrū* ‘sections, chapters’ reflecting a thematic arrangement of contents. Both catalogues associate this sectional arrangement with the creation of an “edition.” Moreover, both compendia make use of the “head to foot” order in some of their sections, an innovation that in the Sakikkû catalogue is attributed to the editor Esagil-kīn-apli.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Exorcist’s Manual (line 27) connects the texts listed in

¹⁰⁶ Contrary to the catalogue headline speaking of “incipits” (SAG.MEŠ), the titles listed in the Exorcist’s Manual correspond to rubrics of incantation genres or rituals, often encountered in the texts (KA.INIM.MA ...), rather than to incipits. Occasionally in ms. A (KAR 44), small explanatory glosses are attached to a genre designation, forming the actual incipit of the compendium in question.

¹⁰⁷ It should be noted that there are a few instances of similar tablet incipits in Sakikkû (Chapters 4 and 5) and AMC. For instance, Sakikkû Tablet 27 starts with the same entry as Tablet 5 of the chapter NECK (DIŠ NA *mi-šit-ti pa-ni ma-šid-ma ta-lam-ma-šú i-šam-ma-am-šú* KIN *mi-šit-ti* GIG), which is attested in AMT 77/1 i 1; and these two tablets share further diagnostic entries (Stol 1991–92: 51–52; 1993: 74–75; Heeßel 2000: 303–4, AMT 77/1 i 2–10 =

the first part of the catalogue with this scholar.¹⁰⁸ It is more striking that there is no mention of Esagil-kīn-apli in the AMC, which does not claim any authority or personal agency behind the editorial work at all. This subtle difference may indicate that the AMC (and the corresponding edition of therapeutic texts) was created in a different professional milieu, but that the compilers were aware of and influenced by Esagil-kīn-apli's innovations in his edition of Sakikkû. Following this line of thought, it can be concluded that the edition of therapeutic texts described in the AMC was most likely produced later than Esagil-kīn-apli's edition of the diagnostic series.

6 The Exorcist's Manual and the Aššur Medical Catalogue: Reconsidering the Tale of Two Healing Professions

The analysis in the preceding section has revealed structural similarities between the AMC and the Sakikkû catalogue as well as affinities with the Exorcist's Manual (in terms of contents and text genres), and I have suggested that the AMC could be regarded as intermediate between a corpus and a series catalogue. This ultimately leads to the question of the professional whose corpus the AMC represents. In my view, there are good reasons to suggest that the AMC represents the corpus of the *asû* 'physician',

SA.GIG 27: 5–13). BAM 66, a Middle Assyrian tablet from the so-called "library of Tiglath-pileser I" contains similar recipes to STOMACH Tablet 4 (*himit šēti*), but also shares some parallel entries with Sakikkû Tablet 31, which itself consists of complete recipes (cf. Finkel 1994: 87–88; Heeßel 2000: 348–49). The incipit of Sakikkû Tablet 32, *šumma (amēlu) šāru išbišsuma magal ēm*, is also found in BAM 146: 56', a therapeutic text related to the chapter STOMACH (Heeßel 2000: 352; cf. AMC lines 30, 31, 35). Likewise, Sakikkû Tablet 33 has many parallels and correspondences in therapeutic texts and AMC chapters HAMSTRING and SKIN (lines 53–58, 59–69, see Steinert forthcoming a; cf. Heeßel 2000: 365–70; Stol 1991–92: 49–52 for citations from Sakikkû in therapeutic texts). Stol (1991–92: 49) argued concerning the citations from Sakikkû in the therapeutic texts that the compilers of the therapeutic texts knew and drew on the diagnostic series.

¹⁰⁸ It is unclear whether the attribution *ša Esagil-kīn-apli* 'according to Esagil-kīn-apli' means that he was believed to have contributed to editions of the text corpus (or to have created this part of the catalogue?). Notably, the Exorcist's Manual does not explicitly claim that the scholar produced an edition (*zarâ šabātu*) of the listed texts. Cf. Frahm's discussion (in this volume) suggesting that the expression "established for learning and reading" found in both catalogues, and linked in the Sakikkû catalogue to Esagil-kīn-apli's accomplishments, could imply notions of "canonicity," in the sense that Esagil-kīn-apli could have actually contributed to creating revised editions for other texts in the *āšipu*'s corpus.

forming the counterpart to the Exorcist's Manual, which outlines the corpus of the *āšipu* 'exorcist'. In this section, I will test this hypothesis by a close comparison of both catalogues and their contents. The question of whether we can identify and differentiate the professional text corpora of *āšipu* and *asû* is tied up with the old and thorny problem regarding the definition of both disciplines.¹⁰⁹ My approach is to take the AMC and Exorcist's Manual as a point of departure to reformulate current perspectives concerning the relationship between the two fields of healing traditions in Mesopotamia.

To start with, a few general arguments speak for the attribution of the AMC and the Exorcist's Manual to *asûtu* and *āšipûtu*. As a first argument, from very early on in the textual sources, *āšipu* and *asû* are considered as distinguishable healing professions, and in the Neo-Assyrian period *asûs* belonged to the circle of scholars and disciplines employed to serve the king's needs. Thus, we can expect that like all the other disciplines (*tupšarrûtu*, *āšipûtu*, *bārûtu*, and *kalûtu*), *asûtu* also developed a definable text corpus. Whereas the corpus of the *āšipu* is well defined by the Exorcist's Manual, we still lack a corresponding corpus catalogue for *asûtu*, and the AMC looks like a good candidate.

Second, there is a strong likelihood that the AMC is linked to *asûtu*, since it was copied by a young *asû* and invokes Gula, the patron goddess of *asûtu*, in the colophon. Moreover, the Ashurbanipal colophon q designates the contents of the therapeutic series tablets corresponding to AMC Part 1 as *azugallût Ninurta u Gula*.

Third, the title of the therapeutic series in AMC Part 1 designates its contents as *bultû* 'remedies', a term very much associated with the *asû*.¹¹⁰ For instance, in the Neo-Assyrian letters of *asûs*, the senders often emphasize their medical expertise by recommending *bultus* and giving practical instructions about their application, sometimes citing directly from the therapeutic series included in AMC Part 1.¹¹¹ The focus on *bultus* in the letters

¹⁰⁹ For discussions of the relationship between *āšipu* and *asû* see, e.g., Ritter 1965; Stol 1991–92: 58–62; van Binsbergen – Wiggermann 1999: 25–32; Scurlock 1999; 2014: 2–4; Heeßel 2009: 13–15; Geller 2007; 2010: 43–55; Attinger 2008: 71–77; Schwemer 2011: 421–23; 2015a: 26–27; Böck 2014: 185–92; 2015: 31–33; Steinert 2016a: 214–19, 223–25.

¹¹⁰ The word refers predominantly to medical prescriptions, but occasionally includes ritual procedures involving offerings and prayers performed in combination with the application of drugs (Steinert 2015: 118).

¹¹¹ See especially the letters of the chief physician Urad-Nanaya (SAA 10, 314–26; cf. Parpola 1983b: no. 153, 246–57; Jean 2006: 121–22; Villard 2006: 139–40, 143–53; Geller 2010: 79–86).

of *asûs* points in my view to their connection with the therapeutic corpus in the AMC. In contrast, letters of *āšīpus* predominantly refer to texts that are included in the Exorcist's Manual, and often discuss matters connected to rituals and divination (SAA 10, 185–315; Jean 2006). Although the court *āšīpu*s regularly correspond with the king concerning the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses (including the application of remedies), occasionally co-operating with an *asû* (SAA 10, 297; Jean 2006: 101–2, 125; Villard 2006: 148), they also advise the king in many other matters (ritual, religious, internal, and political).¹¹²

The interpretation of the AMC texts as reflecting *asûtu* would at last provide this healing profession with a text corpus, which could serve as the basis for defining the discipline of *asûtu* in relation to *āšīpûtu*. Although it has previously been argued that the therapeutic texts in the AMC originate with the *āšīpu* and form the counterpart to the diagnostic series Sakikkû,¹¹³ the Exorcist's Manual provides indirect proof against this thesis, since the *āšīpûtu*

In SAA 10, 315, he writes that he was previously unable to give a diagnosis for Esarhaddon's illness and offer effective treatment (lines 9–10, citing the king's speech: *atâ šikin muršiya anniu lā tammar bulṭēšu lā teppaš* 'Why do you not see the nature of this illness of mine (and) apply remedies for it?'; line 12: *sakikkēšu lā ušahkime* '(formerly) I could not clarify his symptoms'). Then he adds instructions for remedies (lotion, medicine bags, salve) that he is sending to the king. The other letters of Urad-Nanaya have similar topics. SAA 10, 316 mentions two plants and explains their effect. SAA 10, 318 concerns the treatment of a skin rash. SAA 10, 319 discusses the treatment of an abscess, and includes a positive prognosis for the infant patient. SAA 10, 320 rev. 1–5 speaks about remedies for the teeth (*bulṭē ša šinni*) and makes a prognosis. In SAA 10, 321–22, the *asû* encloses detailed instructions (*malṭiru*) for applying remedies against nosebleed. SAA 10, 323 concerns drugs for fumigating the ears, which Urad-Nanaya sends. In SAA 10, 324: 8–10, he notifies the king that the remedy for the ears (*bulṭi ša uznī*) is ready. Last but not least, SAA 10, 326 informs the addressee that in all the recipe texts (*ina bulṭē gabbu*), the symptoms he experiences (simultaneous purging above and below) are regarded as favorable to a cure (rev. 1–3). In fact, this statement is based on the therapeutic texts and can be found in Tablet 1 of the chapter STOMACH (BAM 574 i 31: *ina pišu u šuburrišu ušeššerma ... uballuṭ*). It is striking that the Assyrian library records do not refer to the term *asûtu* as they do to *bārûtu* or *āšīpûtu* to classify textual material, but that the category *bulṭi* '(medical) remedies' is used instead (cf. Parpola 1983a).

¹¹² See also Jean 2006: 112–28, 168–70, 197–208; Villard 2006; Geller 2010: 86–88.

¹¹³ This idea has been suggested by Scurlock (2014: 295, cf. *ibid.* 2–4). However, Stol (1991–92) has previously pointed out marked differences between diagnostic and therapeutic texts, which could suggest a disciplinary divide.

catalogue does not mention the therapeutic corpus as such with a recognizable title such as “remedies from the head to the (toe)nail(s).”

A closer look at the Exorcist’s Manual will help to clarify the matter, since it forms a list of compositions, genres, and competences that the *āšipu* should master, providing a comprehensive overview of his areas of expertise and practice.¹¹⁴ The catalogue can be divided into two main sections and a short coda.¹¹⁵ The first section (lines 1–26/27) starts with a headline identifying the following list as the compositions of the exorcist’s craft. Lines 2–26 consist predominantly of rituals and incantations, presented in a hierarchical fashion. The first titles and topics (lines 2–4) pertain to the domain of the temple/gods (temple-building rituals, rituals for the induction of divine cult images, rituals for the investiture of the En-priest, and other cult-related rituals), followed by prayers to be used in various ritual settings (e.g., prayers to the sun god, Šuila prayers, prayers to soothe the anger of a deity), rituals for specific months, and rituals relating to the king (line 5).

The manual then turns to texts and genres concerned with normal human clients and their concerns. These compositions are predominantly related to healing and constitute the greater part of the main section (lines 6–20). First, the diagnostic series Sakikkû is listed together with the physiognomic and behavioral omen texts Alamdimmû, Nigdimdimmû, and Kataduggû (line 6). In lines 7–20, various series of rituals and incantations concerned with treating all kinds of illnesses and evils are enumerated (many of which are known from first-millennium BCE sources), including purification rituals (e.g., Bīt rimki, Bīt mēseri), rituals against a host of evil demons (e.g., UDUG.ḪULA.MEŠ, Á.SĀG.GIG.GA.MEŠ, *lilû* and *ardat lilû* demons), witchcraft, incantations against “the curse” resulting from a broken oath (lines 12, 14),

¹¹⁴ The text has recently been edited in Geller 2000: 242–58 and Jean 2006: 62–82; see also Hecker 2008: 76–79. For discussions, see further Bottéro 1985: 65–110; Clancier 2009b; 2014; and Frahm’s contribution in this volume and Geller forthcoming. At present, seven copies of the text have been identified. The earliest manuscripts from Assyria (Aššur and Nineveh) date to the seventh century BCE, while the Babylonian manuscripts from Uruk and Babylon (SpTU 5, 231, Rm 717+ and BM 36678) date to the Late Babylonian period (ca. fifth–fourth century BCE). One manuscript from Sippar (BM 55148+) could have been written between the seventh and fifth century BCE).

¹¹⁵ Following Frahm (in this volume), the last two lines of the catalogue (41–42) form a coda-like third part, since they are ruled off in two of the manuscripts and do not list compositions, but formulate a blessing for the scholar who has mastered the whole corpus outlined before.

and incantations for various health problems (lines 14–20). Then, the manual continues with other rituals related to aspects of daily life (lines 21–24), ranging from agriculture (field pests, floods) and animal husbandry (epidemics) to travel and warfare, followed by texts concerned with divination (line 25). The last items in line 26 are plant and stone description texts (Abnu šikinšu, Šammu šikinšu), drug compendia, and manuals on stones and amulets, which show that the *āšipu*'s corpus included so-called pharmacological texts.¹¹⁶ All the works listed up to line 26 can be designated as the core of the *āšipu*'s corpus and are explicitly connected to Esagil-kīn-apli, in the ruled-off line 27 (he “established” (*kunnu*) them “for learning and reading”).¹¹⁷

The second section of the catalogue (lines 28–40) forms in a way an appendix to the first section (cf. Jean 2006: 73–74; Clancier 2009b; 2014; Frahm, in this volume). It contains additional text genres and compositions that represent more advanced and sophisticated “realms of knowledge” to be mastered by the exorcist, such as Namburbi rituals for all ominous events (line 31), “foreign/extraneous(?)” incantations (TU₆.TU₆.BAR.RA), medical remedies, commentaries/word lists, and omens series such as Šumma ālu and Enūma Anu Enlil. In this section (lines 36–40), the reader and adept is repeatedly addressed directly and instructed about the progressive stages of

116 For DUB NA₄.MEŠ DUB Ú.ĪLA *takšīri u malāli* ‘the tablet of stones, the tablet of plants, (amulet) strings and pendants’ in line 26, cf. Köcher 1971: vii; 1980a: xi *ad* BAM 430 and 431; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 21, 60; Böck 2015: 26. These designations could refer cursorily to practical handbooks on drugs of herbal and mineral origin (sometimes called herbals), and the latter two terms could refer to collections on amulet bracelets and medicine bags. The occurrence of handbooks on drug lore and botany in the Exorcist’s Manual shows that, contrary to Scurlock (2014: 2–3), not all “pharmacological” texts pertain solely to the *asū*. It can be shown, however, that some practical drug handbooks were copied by *asūs* (see, e.g., BAM 1 [BAK 234]), while manuscripts of Uruanna were copied and owned both by exorcists and physicians (Böck 2015: 29–30; note KADP 22, compiled by “ten expert physicians” (col. iv 13) but found in the N4 library). It is noteworthy that the compendium Uruanna is not mentioned in the Exorcist’s Manual.

117 See Frahm’s contribution in this volume for a discussion of the debated question of whether this rubric forms a subscript or a heading for the second part of the catalogue. I agree with Frahm’s argumentation that the attribution to Esagil-kīn-apli (in lines 1 and 27) concerns the compositions in the first part of the catalogue.

his training toward mastery of all areas of scholarly learning, “as much as the god Ea invented” (line 28).¹¹⁸

In view of the catalogue’s instructive passages, Clancier (2009b; 2014), Geller (2012), and Frahm (in this volume) have pointed out that the Exorcist’s Manual served as a didactic tool for the training of apprentices. Although the AMC does not contain a comparable section of explicitly instructive nature, it could nonetheless have served similar functions as the Exorcist’s Manual.¹¹⁹ It may not be a coincidence that the AMC was copied by a young *asû*, which may imply that this catalogue was intended for both practitioner and adept, as a list of the contents of the discipline’s serialized text corpus (e.g., to familiarize the adept with the contents and organization of the text corpus). In addition, the catalogue could also have served practical purposes. For instance, the summary sections of the AMC with their key phrases could have helped to identify or retrieve relevant tablets and sections of recipes.

If we suppose that the Exorcist’s Manual and the AMC represent the corpora of the two healing professions *āšipūtu* and *asūtu* and compare the types of texts they contain, it is possible to delimit for each profession a core corpus of texts reflecting the focus of their traditional expertise and healing practices. This allows the following distinction:

The primary focus of the *asû*’s texts and professional lore was on *medical prescriptions (bultū) ordered by topic (illness types)*, but it also included *incantations/ritual instructions* and a few *divinatory texts*. *Asūtu* can thus primarily be connected with the *therapeutic corpus*, which includes *diagnostic sections*.

¹¹⁸ See Frahm’s analysis in this volume. As noted before, this section refers to esoteric realms and corpora of knowledge associated with the *Apsû* and referred to with the rare terms *kakugallūtu* and *išippūtu*. Clancier (2009b; 2014) similarly argues that the two parts of the Manual reflect two stages of learning, that of the *āšipu* ‘ritual specialist’ and that of the *ummānu* ‘scholar’ versed in all fields of knowledge. The Exorcist’s Manual lists most, but not all texts that can be linked to the profession or were used by *āšipus*; e.g., É.GAL.KU₄.RA incantations and the Bit salā’ mê ritual are not included (Jean 2006: 106–9), and neither are the specialized compendia Muššu’u ‘Embrocation; Massage’ and Qutāru ‘Fumigation’ (cf. above; Finkel 1991; Böck 2007: 25–29, 31–43).

¹¹⁹ Notably, the Sakikkū catalogue also contains a concluding narrative section, which describes Esagil-kīn-apli’s editorial work (Finkel 1988b; Heeßel 2000: 104–5), followed by secrecy formulae and a definition of the scholar’s/*āšipu*’s task vis-à-vis his clients, especially the king. The Exorcist’s Manual likewise refers to realms of its corpus as “secret” (*niširtu*). In contrast, we do not find such formulae in the AMC.

The primary focus of the *āšipu*'s texts and professional lore was on *incantations/rituals for various purposes*, including a separate diagnostic series for healing practice. It also included drug compendia, some medical recipes (*bultū*), and a number of divinatory texts.

Both catalogues cover many of the same healing-related topics (e.g., illness types defined according to affected body part, women's and children's illnesses, veterinary care), which means that the *āšipu* and the *asû* treated basically the same range of illnesses.¹²⁰

The therapeutic techniques employed by the two professions are at the same time complementary and overlapping, but each discipline has its own core corpus of texts and genres. While the Exorcist's Manual lists mainly incantation genres and ritual compendia, the AMC lists mainly sections of recipe collections. Yet, the Exorcist's Manual refers to collections of remedies (*bultū*) in the second section (appendix), while the AMC mentions a number of incantation genres that occur among the core texts in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual. This partial overlap between text types points to mutual borrowing and exchange between *āšipus* and *asûs*, i.e., each profession adopted and integrated some core texts or practices from the corpus of the other profession. Such intersections between the two corpora are not surprising, since there is evidence for the interdisciplinarity of specialists' interests and education, and for co-operation between *āšipus* and *asûs*, especially in the first millennium BCE (see below).¹²¹

¹²⁰ The structural principle in Part 1 of the AMC, grouping texts according to specific body parts or regions *de capite ad calcem*, is applied at times, but less consequently in the Exorcist's Manual. For instance, line 9 contains a sequence referring to incantations for diseased head (SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ) – neck (GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ) – all ailments (TU.RA.KĪLIB.BA). Lines 16–17 list spells for diseased eyes (IGL.GIG.GA.KE₄) – teeth (ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄) – *bu'šānu*-disease (KA.ĤAB.DIB.BA) – belly (ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KE₄) – lungs (MUR.GIG.GA.KE₄) – incantations for all ailments (TU₆.TU₆ GIG DÛ.A.BI). Second, the sequence of a few topics is the same in both catalogues, e.g., the grouping of texts related to sexuality and reproduction (pregnancy, birth). Other overlapping topics in both catalogues are nosebleed (KAR 44: 18 and AMC line 19), snake bite/scorpion stings (KAR 44: 19 and AMC chapter HAZARDS, lines 70–78), or purification rituals for the animal stalls (KAR 44: 24 and the VETERINARY section in AMC lines 119–20).

¹²¹ Such interdisciplinary interests were not restricted to *āšipus* and *asûs*. Although specializing in a particular field, divination and healing experts also studied texts of other disciplines (see Koch 2015: 18–24; Lenzi 2015: 147–50). Scribal and specialist training included various strands of cuneiform literature. For instance, the libraries of exorcists also

Looking at the areas of overlap between both catalogues, one notices an interesting pattern in terms of the positions of such texts and genres in the catalogues. In the AMC, incantations and genres that are found among the core texts of *āšipūtu* in the Exorcist's Manual are always mentioned in the *adi*-sections (summaries) for several chapters of the therapeutic corpus. Most instances occur in Part 2 of the AMC, which seems to include much more material reflecting healing practices typically associated with the *āšipu*.¹²² Thus, in some cases the keywords and text genres cited in the AMC's *adi*-sections could represent "additional" or peripheral material that was incorporated in a particular chapter of the text corpus but highlighted as special.¹²³ Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine whether the genres from the Exorcist's Manual in the AMC refer to specific incantations (with or without rituals) on tablets that contain mainly medical recipes, or whether the rubrics indicate smaller compilations from the *āšipūtu* incantation series/collections on separate tablets, to be added on top of the

contained some texts of disciplines such as *bārūtu* and *kalūtu* (Aššur), or astronomy and mathematics (Uruk); see Jean 2006: 149–53, 161–64; Clancier 2009a: 81–103, 400–6; 2009b: 112–13; 2014: 8–10. For collaboration between specialists of different professions (e.g., *kalū* and *āšipu/mašmaššu*, or *asū* and *bārū*), see Lenzi 2015: 177–78; for similar glimpses from the Old Babylonian period (Mari letters), see Durand 1988: no. 263: 17–23 and no. 125 (M. 7989).

122 The only example of a "genre" designation from the Exorcist's Manual in AMC Part 1 is UŠ₁₁.BÜR.RU.DA.KÁM, mentioned in the *adi*-section of the chapter ABDOMEN (line 43). However, since the label UŠ₁₁.BÜR.RU.DA is also encountered in therapeutic medical texts as a thematic marker, it remains to be investigated whether the keyword is used in the AMC merely as a rubric indicating that the chapter in question included medical remedies for witchcraft, or whether the keyword indeed signifies textual material more closely allied to the *āšipu*'s corpus (e.g., UŠ₁₁.BÜR.RU.DA-rituals also embedded in Bit rimki). For an overview of this heterogeneous material of UŠ₁₁.BÜR.RU.DA-rituals and therapies, see CMAwR 1, texts 7.1–10; CMAwR 2, texts 7.11–26.

123 As pointed out above, in some cases in Part 1 of the AMC, it can be shown that the phrases in the *adi*-sections are citations from the respective series tablets. The technique of citing a text section on a tablet with *adi*(EN) + incipit is also found in the Sakikkû catalogue, for Tablet 33 of the series, which indeed consists of two ruled-off sections with a differing formula. The catalogue cites the incipits of both text sections (lines 1 and 103) as: [x+] DIŠ [GIG] GAR-šú EN [sa¹-ma-nu šu ^dME.ME [x (entries)]: "If the characteristic(s) of the lesion/disease," including "*sāmānu* (is caused by) Hand of Gula" (Finkel 1988b: 147 A 40; Heeßel 2000: 16, 366). According to Heeßel, the two sections of Sakikkû Tablet 33 did not originally belong together, which probably was one reason why both of them are cited in the series catalogue.

chapter tablets.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, in some cases it is likely that the genres from the Exorcist's Manual in the AMC signify textual material such as incantations, rituals, and specific therapies from *āšipūtu* that have been integrated into chapters of the therapeutic corpus of *asūtu*.¹²⁵

The following genres/rubrics from the Exorcist's Manual occur also in Part 2 of the AMC:¹²⁶

1) The series/compilation of incantations known as (KA.INIM.MA) 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI.(KE₄) is listed in line 7 of the Exorcist's Manual among the core texts of *āšipūtu*, but also appears in the summary rubric for the chapter dubbed provisionally EVIL POWERS in AMC Part 2 (lines 79–83), listed there as additional or inclusive material (line 83, EN 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI *he-pi*).¹²⁷ The summary rubric (lines 80–82) mentions several key phrases, which form citations from the diagnostic section of recipes as well as incantation genres. The rubric KA.DAB.BÉ.DA.KÁM (line 82) indicates that text sections belonging

124 The partially preserved number ʿ381(+) for the tablet subtotal of AMC Part 2 (line 123) seems to be considerably higher than the number of preserved tablet incipits, which may be a clue that some material enumerated in the summary sections in Part 2 was found on separate tablets that were added to the tally.

125 A similar differentiation between core texts of one scholarly profession and peripheral texts from the corpora of other professions is elucidated in Stevens's (2013) study of protective formulae found in texts from Late Babylonian tablet collections from Uruk. While texts belonging to the tablet owner's discipline bear protective formulae, texts from other disciplines in his collection do not feature such formulae. Cf. Lenzi 2013: 36–39.

126 The occurrence of these genres in medical contexts will be discussed in detail in Steinert forthcoming a.

127 For compilations of apotropaic 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations and their use on protective amulets, see Finkel 1976: 72–73, 74–77, 245–83; Heeßel 2002. Incantations from 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI were integrated into medical therapeutic texts in several different contexts. They can be found interspersed, e.g., in tablets belonging to the AMC chapter EARS, but more often in treatments for ghost-induced illnesses and pain (e.g., headache). Only in two texts are 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI spells used against witchcraft: in STT 275 i 19'–27' (Finkel 1976: 251 spell no. 20; CMAwR 2, text 3.4 ms. B; Schuster-Brandis 2008: Kette 51), and in BAM 326 ii 2'–6' (Ebeling 1949: 202–3; Finkel 1976: 259–63 spell no. 57; cf. CMAwR 2, text 3.7 ms. C, spell šu-zi 𒄩ul-ĝál). In the medical texts, 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI incantations are almost always combined with treatments typical for *āšipūtu* texts, namely with amulet bracelets, leather pouches, and salves. Thus, these treatment types feature prominently in Sakikkû tablets that contain therapeutic sections.

to this chapter were concerned with sorcery and other evil powers as causes of illness.¹²⁸

2) The incantation genre [NAM.ÉRIM.B]ÚR.RU.DA.KÁM against the “curse” probably has to be restored in AMC line 86 among material included in the chapter dubbed DIVINE ANGER (lines 84–88). This chapter consists of four tablets, whose incipits are partially known from textual sources.¹²⁹ The label [NAM.ÉRIM.B]ÚR.RU.DA is listed in the *adi*-section beside entries relating to anti-witchcraft treatments and rituals, as is also the case in the Exorcist’s Manual line 12, where NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA is enumerated with UŠ₁₁.ĤUL.GÁL.MEŠ, ÁŠ.ĤUL.GÁL.MEŠ, and UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA.¹³⁰ But the chapter DIVINE ANGER as a whole seems to feature textual material closely associated with *āšipūtu* techniques (e.g., amulets, rituals).

3) The entry ŠĀ.ZI.GA ‘arousal’, relating to incantations and rituals to stimulate sexual desire, occurs in the Exorcist’s Manual line 14, whereas in AMC line 106 we find [KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.ZI.G]A among material in the *adi*-section for the chapter dubbed SEX, mentioned beside the genres MUNUS.GIN.NA.KÁM (“to make a woman come (to you)”) and ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KÁM, concerned with arousing female sexual desire.¹³¹ In the corpus of ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts published by

128 For KA.DAB.BÉ.DA ‘Seizing of the mouth’, a type of sorcery performed by one’s legal opponent, see Schwemer 2007a: 14–16, 63 n. 136, 95–97. Only a few medical prescriptions against KA.DAB.BÉ.DA are known to date; they are mostly found in compilations concerned with witchcraft-induced illnesses (which may be related to the AMC chapter), but also on collective tablets with recipes for diverse ailments (see CMAwR 2, texts 10.14–18).

129 The incipits are (1) *ana kimilti Anim paš[āri]* ‘To loosen the wrath of Anu’; (2) *šumma amēlu ginā šūdūr* ‘If a man is constantly frightened’; (3) *ĒN ili ul ide* ‘Incantation: My god, I do not know’ (cf. Lambert 1974); and (4) *ana amēli ilšu u ištaršu ina rešišu uzuzzi* ‘For a man’s god and goddess to stand by him’.

130 For NAM.ÉRIM as the curse activated by a broken oath, cf. Schramm 2001: 4–8. Schwemer has noted that there is a close relation and overlap between rituals/incantations and treatments for witchcraft (UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA) and NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA in the textual sources, which is reflected in the mingling of both topics in the *adi*-section of the AMC chapter under discussion (CMAwR 2, text group 7.11; Schwemer 2007a: 66, n. 151). There are examples of tablets with medical recipes (e.g., potions, but also amulets) for both purposes, which may have a connection to the AMC chapter (see, e.g., BAM 190–93 = CMAwR 1, text group 7.10 F, Q, R, O; BAM 197 = CMAwR 1, text 1.7 A).

131 This chapter probably consisted of a single tablet, whose fragmentary incipit is an incantation reminiscent of spells connected to ŠĀ.ZI.GA texts. For the genre MUNUS.GIN.NA.KAM/KÁM, cf. Biggs 1967: 70–71 KAR 61: 1–25; 74–78 KAR 69 obv. 19, rev. 1, 9, 21;

Biggs (1967), one can identify different components and therapeutic strategies, including incantations, rituals, and treatments such as ointments, amulets, or potions. Both in second- and first-millennium texts and compendia, such medical and “magical” procedures appear regularly on the same tablet or are applied in combined use. It is thus very difficult to identify components or texts that pertain exclusively to *asûtu* or *āšipûtu*. It may be that both professions employed similar texts and methods for treating problems involving sexuality and libido, although it is conspicuous that Gula does not feature in this text group at all. This points to strong *āšipûtu* components in the AMC chapter SEX.

4) The rubric following ŠĀ.ZI.GA in the Exorcist’s Manual (line 15) is MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA, a genre of incantations concerned with protecting pregnant women from miscarriage (lit. “to bind a pregnant woman”).¹³² The genre MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KÉ[Š.DA.KĀM] is mentioned in the AMC as the last entry in the *adi*-section of the chapter PREGNANCY (line 112) among a number of key phrases that all start with DIŠ MUNUS ‘if a woman ...’, indicating the incipits of text sections, probably included on the chapter tablets. It is odd that the rubric ka-inim-ma munus-kéš-d[a]-kam marking Sumerian incantations is so far only attested on tablets from the Old Babylonian period (CBS 1509 i 20, iii 25; Finkel 1980: 38–39, 42–43 text C). In the first-millennium BCE texts, we find occasional Sumerian spells concerned with “binding the mouth,” combined with instructions for amulet bracelets to protect against bleeding and miscarriage. Such texts focusing on amulets for pregnant women, designated *takšīrū/kušārū ša erīti* ‘amulet strings/knots for a pregnant woman’, are well attested in different contexts, and some of the sources can be connected with the chapter PREGNANCY.¹³³

Geller 2014: 27–68 BRM 4, 20 and STT 300). For ŠĀ.ZI.GA.MUNUS.A.KAM/KĀM, cf. Biggs 1967: 9–10, 65 K 2499 rev. 10: *ana* MUNUS [ZI-tú¹ [šur-ši-i]) ‘to [let] a woman [get] aroused’.

¹³² Notably, in the AMC, the chapter PREGNANCY (lines 107–12) also follows two chapters, which have been dubbed POTENCY and SEX, because they both deal with matters of heterosexual relations. The chapter PREGNANCY is concerned with protecting pregnant women and families from losing their offspring, be it through miscarriage or illness. The death of the offspring is attributed especially to the child-snatching demon Lamaštu, to witchcraft, and to the healing goddess Gula (who is associated with children’s illnesses; Böck 2014: 62–68), but also to the “curse.”

¹³³ For amulet compendia, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 146–50, 192–97. Note the short Sumerian spell *munus igi ka-kéš* in VAT 13629+13866 (Schwemer 2007b: no. 41): i 14–16; TCL

The chapter PREGNANCY is remarkable because it contains a reference to the healing goddess Ninkarrak (one of Gula's manifestations) in its chapter title: DIŠ NA *ana* ^dNI]N.KAR.RA.AK [pa¹-qid 'If a man is entrusted to Ninkarrak'. This incipit as well as the incipits of the other two chapter tablets can be matched with textual sources at our disposal.¹³⁴

The chapter includes heterogeneous material, some components of which can be identified as incantation genres mentioned side by side in line 15 of the Exorcist's Manual (MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA, ^dDÌM.ME.KÁM, and LÚ.TUR.ĤUN.GÁ) or as practices at home in *āšipūtu* (especially the amulets and figurine rituals), while a few components in this section could have had ties with *asūtu* as well, e.g., in view of the association with the goddess Gula/Ninkarrak. However, typical *asūtu* practices are harder to isolate within this material, and the textual contents of the chapter PREGNANCY point primarily to a major contribution or influx of *āšipūtu* material into the medical corpus in AMC Part 2. It may thus be that *asū* and *āšipu* applied the same types of therapies to treat women with pregnancy- and birth-related problems.¹³⁵

5) Line 25 of the Exorcist's Manual lists material related to divinatory texts referred to as "all oracular decisions (obtained from) stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, (from) ominous utterances (*egerrū*), stones, flour, incense (*qutrēnu*),

6, 49: 15 (Thureau-Dangin 1921; CMAwR 1, text 7.8.1 and *ibid.* Summary 12), see also *ibid.* rev. 12 *takšīru ša eriti*. For texts with ties to PREGNANCY, cf. CMAwR 1: 13; cf. Farber 2014: 35–36, especially TCL 6, 49 (from Seleucid Uruk), LKA 9 rev. i' i'–21' (from N4 library Aššur); VAT 13629+13866 (Schwemer 2007b: no. 41, from N4 library Aššur); SpTU 3, 84; BM 42327+ // BM 51246+ (see also Farber 1989: 110–15 §§ 39–40; Farber 2014: texts "RA" and "SpTU"). These texts combine spells (e.g., Lamaštu and anti-witchcraft spells) with rituals and therapeutic measures such as amulets.

134 For a discussion, see Steinert 2016b: 244–46 and Steinert *forthcoming a*. Some of the citations in the *adi*-section occur in a number of Neo-Assyrian and Neo- or Late Babylonian texts on women's healthcare, either as thematic sections of collective tablets or as the sole topic of smaller therapeutic collections (one-column tablets).

135 Some problems included in the AMC chapter PREGNANCY, such as loss of blood or amniotic fluid, were also treated with other medical therapies (e.g., potions, tampons). Prescriptions of these types are encountered in Neo-Assyrian and Neo- and Late Babylonian gynecological recipe collections, some of which do not include incantations. But the same types of therapies are in other manuscripts mixed with spells and "magical" rituals, and tablets including medical recipes for these purposes formed part of *āšipus'* text collections.

(and from) a god.”¹³⁶ Interestingly, there is a two-tablet chapter in the AMC (lines 89–90) concerned with *egerrûs*, which has the fragmentary incipit *enu-ma a-na* I₅.GAR [...] ‘When [you ...] for an oracle’.¹³⁷ Its summary section includes material designated as EŠ.BAR GU₄.MEŠ EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ, clearly reminiscent of the Exorcist’s Manual. The expressions refer to a group of texts concerned with everyday oracle techniques, which are only sparsely attested in the textual record. The divination techniques involve signs drawn from the behavior of domestic animals in one’s surroundings,¹³⁸ from the flight of birds,¹³⁹ from meteors or shooting stars,¹⁴⁰ from throwing stone dice onto a board,¹⁴¹ and from flour and incense. The latter two divination techniques involving flour and the smoke produced by burning incense are better known to have been used by the “seer” (*bārû*), who also practiced extispicy and lecanomancy.¹⁴²

136 EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU₄.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ I₅.GAR NA₄ ZÌ NA.RI DINGIR DÙ.A.BI.

137 Incipits starting with *enūma* are typical of tablets with ritual instructions, which complement incantation series and compendia. The term *egerrû* stands for oracles and signs connected to various auditory experiences, including human utterances overheard in one’s surroundings, the messages of prophets or ecstasies, animal cries, and other noises (Oppenheim 1954–56; Butler 1998: 151–58). For *egerrûs* in Šumma ālu, see Tablet 95 lines 1–33 (CT 39, 41), where the *egerrûs* are produced by various domestic animals or by birds (Butler 1998: 152–53; Koch 2015: 254). In prayers and literary texts (e.g., Ludlul bēl nēmeqi), *egerrûs* are the utterings of other people, which are interpreted as ominous signs reflecting the personal crisis of the sufferer.

138 See STT 73; Reiner 1960; 1995: 71–74.

139 For texts on augury and ornithomancy including the extispicy of birds, cf. Maul 2013: 131–53; Koch 2015: 140–42. Omens from the flight of birds were included in Šumma ālu tablets 64–79; see further K 6278+CT 40, 48 and BM 108874 (de Zorzi 2009).

140 See Koch 2015: 212.

141 See LKA 137, discussed by Finkel 1995.

142 For oracles using flour or barley ears, see Maul 2010b: 119–26; 2013: 156–62. References in Šumma ālu to a divinatory method of sprinkling flour onto water indicate that such methods were also employed by the *āšīpu* (Maul 2010b: 126–27; 2013: 160–61), as is also confirmed by a Late Babylonian text (BM 36330) that contains in addition to prescriptions for different health matters (necklaces) a set of instructions for performing aleuromancy (CMAwR 2: 704 rev. 7–u.e. 2). Two Old Babylonian tablets connected with the practice of the *bārû* describe the divinatory procedure of libanomancy, in which the smoke of flour sprinkled onto an incense burner is observed (Maul 2013: 162–67; Koch 2015: 138; see also *ibid.*: 249 for smoke omens in Šumma ālu Tablet 52). A late Old Babylonian text from the palace library of Tignūnum (George 2013: appendix No. II) describes a procedure for “asking something from a god” (*awātam itti ilim ēriš*), which reminds us of the mention of oracle decisions from a god at the end of the enumeration in line 25 of the Exorcist’s

Since we have no textual sources matching the incipit in AMC line 89, we can only speculate whether the two tablets contained omens or rituals (or a combination of both). It is quite striking, however, to find such material in a medical catalogue copied by an *asû*. Notably, all of the forms of oracular inquiry enumerated in AMC 89–90 and in line 25 of the Exorcist's Manual also occur in the omen series *Šumma ālu*, assigned to the *āšipūtu* corpus.¹⁴³ Their occurrence in the AMC may thus attest to the interest of both medical specialists in divinatory practices that were probably very widespread and popular. Both medical practitioners could have had similar texts at their disposal to provide an interpretation for ominous signs encountered by their clients, or to perform oracular inquiries in connection with illness events. Apotropaic rituals to avert such negative signs are found in the Namburbi rituals, which are listed in the second section of the Exorcist's Manual but were not known until now to have formed part of the *asû*'s practice.

7 *Asûtu* Texts in the Exorcist's Manual?

There are hints that the second section of the Exorcist's Manual (lines 28–42) contains some texts that were not regarded as part of the core *āšipūtu* corpus. Frahm (in this volume) and others have argued that the second section of this catalogue refers to an advanced level of the *āšipu*'s training, and included textual material that was studied or collected also in other scholarly disciplines, such as commentaries/word lists and the omen series *Šumma ālu* or *Enūma Anu Enlil*. In fact, the instructions given in this passage encourage the adept to investigate links and relations between different compendia he has studied.

This section of the Exorcist's Manual also features an enumeration of medical materials that could refer to texts that had some overlap with

Manual. The reference in the Exorcist's Manual to "decisions from a god" also brings to mind omens in *Šumma ālu* 94 and 96, where occurrences during prayer or on one's way to/from a temple serve to indicate whether the deity has heard the prayer (Koch 2015: 254–55).

¹⁴³ They are clustered especially in Tablets 89–96, with omens involving smoke, lights and lamps standing near the sickbed, *egerrûs*, etc. (Koch 2015: 253–55). The fact that the oracle practices are mentioned in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual, whereas *Šumma ālu* is found in the second section, seems to indicate two differing though overlapping text groups.

traditions of *asûtu*. Thus, lines 32–36 list treatments (*šipru*) and remedies (*bultû*) for a number of illnesses that are grouped according to different categories, and which are to be studied together with the corpus of the purification priest (*išippûtu*):

- 32 *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-ti u* SA.GAL SA.GIG(-ki) (GIG) *ki-sat ši-pir* TI^{II} MA.LÁĤ
 33 *bul-ṭi* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA^d LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU^d INANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA
 34 A.LÁ ĤUL.LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA SAG.ĤUL.ĤA.ZA ŠU.NAM.ÉRIM.MA ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU
 35 *u bul-ṭi kal gim-ri ri-kis lip-it* (LÚ).GIG KÚM DAB-su *u ši-pir* MUNUS
 36 EN *ri-kis i-šip-pu-ti ta-kaš-šá-du tam-ma-ru* NÍG.ŠEŠ

³²The treatment(s) for paralysis, palsy, and *sagallu*-disease, (suffering from) *sakikkû* (“sore tendon”), *kissatu* (“gnawing”), the treatment(s) for (the illness) “sailor’s rib,” ³³remedies for Fallen-from-heaven disease (epilepsy), Lord of the roof (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of a ghost, ³⁴against the evil *alû*-demon, *lilû*-spirit, Supporter of evil-demon, Hand of a curse, Hand of mankind, ³⁵and remedies for every (illness), the compilation (concerning) the affliction(s) of the patient, being seized by fever and treatment(s) for a woman,

³⁶(all this you study) until you master the (entire) corpus of the craft of the purification priest, (and) discover the secret.¹⁴⁴

The enumeration falls into groups that seem to be thematic and reflect illnesses that the *āšipu* was particularly interested in, and most of which had not been mentioned before in the first section of the catalogue. Many of the topics in the list recur in one way or another in the AMC. Thus, the illnesses *šimmatu*, *rimûtu*, *sagallu*, and *kissatu* in line 32 are prime examples of conditions of the tendons, joints, muscles, and extremities. These illnesses are also dealt with as a group in the AMC, in the chapter HAMSTRING (lines 53–57).¹⁴⁵ One of the topics of this chapter is the illness *sagallu*, as indicated

144 See also Frahm (in this volume) for a syntactical analysis of this passage. In earlier periods, *išippu*(IŠIB) referred to a priest and cult functionary, but in the first-millennium BCE texts, it appears to be an archaic term synonymous with *āšipu*. The latter seems to have taken over the functions of the *išippu*.

145 For this group of conditions, cf. Böck 2010b; 2014: 26–30. These illnesses are also dealt with in the diagnostic series, especially in Tablets 14: 170’–72’ and 33: 94–102, and a number of

by the probable title of Tablet 1 of HAMSTRING (DIŠ NA SA.GAL GIG ‘If a man suffers from *sagallu*’).¹⁴⁶ The *adi*-section of this AMC chapter also mentions *sagallu* and *kissatu* as topics included in the chapter,¹⁴⁷ and manuscripts with treatments for *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* (paralysis, palsy) can be linked with this AMC chapter as well.¹⁴⁸

The remedies in lines 33–34 of the Exorcist’s Manual concern a group of illnesses named after the supernatural entity causing them (gods, demons, ghosts, or witchcraft), as well as seizures/epilepsy. These categories occur regularly in the diagnostic texts, but also in second- and first-millennium medical texts as well as in enumerations of illnesses in incantations.¹⁴⁹ The

diagnostic entries on these illnesses also occur in therapeutic texts (Heeßel 2000: 371–73; Scurlock 2014: 243). The meaning of the illness “sailor’s rib(s)” in line 32 remains obscure, but the name could indicate that these treatments had to do with the bones in particular. An alternative reading *ši-bír-ti*¹⁴⁶ MÁ.LAḤ ‘sailor’s fracture’ is suggested by Geller (forthcoming).

146 For *sagallu* (one of the main topics of HAMSTRING Tablets 1 and 2), see, e.g., BAM 130, AMT 42/6, CT 23, 1–2 and CT 23, 3–4; CT 23, 5–14 (cf. Thompson 1908: 63–69, 145–52, 245–51; Ebeling 1921: 138–44; Böck 2010b: 104–6).

147 *Kissatu/kiššatu* is a skin ailment that occurs on the feet, but also on the head (Fincke 2011: 176–81; cf. Sakikkû Tablet 14: 30–31 and Tablet 33: 101–2; Heeßel 2000: 373), which is only rarely found in therapeutic texts; see AMT 69/5: 1 (If a man’s feet are full of *kissatu*). *Kissatu* is often mentioned in incantations; cf. CAD K 429 sub a; MSL 9, 105 sub E; Böck 2007: 155–56 Muššu’u incantation IV/a lines 28–29; cf. *ibid.* 224–45 Muššu’u Tablet VI lines 12–16; inc. VIII/k lines 137–38, 147–48.

148 The ailments *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* often occur together; cf. Böck 2010b: 98 sub 2.10.12–13. Spells used to treat ailments of the extremities and paralysis, which are encountered in therapeutic texts, were also included in the compendium Muššu’u; cf. Böck 2003: 2, 15–16; 2007: 23–24 (*Sagallu*), 49–64 for a discussion of the therapeutic passages. The reading of the logogram SA.GIG in line 32 of the Exorcist’s Manual is somewhat ambiguous, since it would be expected to stand for *maškadu*, an illness dealt with in the chapter HAMSTRING. However, one manuscript presents SA.GIG-ki, signaling that the logogram was to be read *sakikkû* ‘sick tendons’, referring to an illness, and not construed as “symptoms,” a meaning better attested for SA.GIG.(MEŠ)/*sakikkû* (on which the name of the diagnostic series Sakikkû is based). SA.GIG/*sakikkû* as an illness is a learned expression rarely attested (cf. Böck 2014: 16 n. 100). The emphasis on illnesses of the “tendons; cords” (Sum. sa) in this enumeration and the unusual appearance of SA.GIG could well have been motivated by the link to the name of the diagnostic series.

149 For a study of this group of illnesses, see Stol 1993: 7–9, 16–19, 33–38, 41–42, 46–49. For epilepsy and “Hand of mankind,” cf. also the diagnostic text STT 89 (Stol 1993: 91–98; CMAwR 1, text 12.1 A). For SAG.ḤUL.ḤA.ZA (*mukil rēš lemutti*) and “Hand of a curse” (ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA) in this context, cf. also Sakikkû Tablets 27: 4 and 28: 4, 7, 21 (Heeßel 2000: 297, 308–10).

illnesses listed in the two lines share certain features: they are regularly associated not only with physical, but also with mental/psychiatric and psychological symptoms, and they are often grouped together in therapeutic and other medical texts.¹⁵⁰

References to the illness categories listed in lines 33–34 of the Exorcist's Manual can be found in various places in the AMC corpus, in both Part 1 and Part 2. One reason for this is that the texts of AMC Part 1 are grouped according to affected body part, and not according to the disease agent causing the symptoms. Thus, references to “Hand of a ghost” can be found in numerous chapters, since various ailments and symptoms were attributed to attacks of ghosts (Scurlock 2006). A similar pattern can be apprehended for witchcraft-induced illnesses (“Hand of mankind”) or “curse” (NAM.ÉRIM), which likewise feature in multiple AMC chapters. However, there appears to be a thematic clustering of these illness entities in certain chapters of AMC Part 2, which have been dubbed DIVINE ANGER (lines 84–88) and MENTAL ILLNESS (lines 91–98; cf. also the chapter EVIL POWERS, lines 79–83). One of the chapter tablets of MENTAL ILLNESS has the incipit with *a-na AN.TA.ŠU[B.BA (...)] ZI-ḫi* ‘[To remove ‘fal]len from heaven’-disease (epilepsy), [(...)]’ (line 92), possibly forming part of an enumeration of similar related illnesses in the gap. The citations in the *adi*-section also mention the evil *alû*-demon. It is thus possible that the remedies for illnesses grouped in lines 33–34 of the Exorcist's Manual refer to collections of therapies that are clustered in AMC chapters such as MENTAL ILLNESS. One has the impression that the illnesses enumerated in lines 33–34 focus on categories in which the exorcist was particularly interested and in whose treatments he specialized.¹⁵¹ Given

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., the first section in SpTU 1, 43: 1–5, which groups AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, ŠU.DINGIR.RA, ŠU^dINNIN.NA, *bennu*, and “Lord of the roof” (^dLUGAL.ÛR.RA) beside depression as conditions coming from the heart (*libbu*); cf. Köcher 1978: 24–25; Geller 2014: 3–7; Steinert 2016a: 231–42. Chapter 4 (Tablets 26–30) of the diagnostic series focuses on this group of illnesses (Stol 1993: 55–90; Heeßel 2000: 278–340). Stol (1993: 99–113) discusses therapeutic texts and practices employed against these illnesses, consisting mainly of rituals, amulets and leather bags, ointments, and fumigations, but rarely potions. Plants against epilepsy are also registered in drug compendia (Uruanna and *vademecums*), and there is considerable evidence for compendia on stones and amulets with sections for epilepsy and related conditions (see Stol 1993: 103, 107–111; Schuster-Brandis 2008). See further the Late Babylonian therapeutic compendium Qutāru (TCL 6, 34 i 1–2; Stol 1993: 25, 106–7) with commentary (BRM 4, 32: 1–4).

¹⁵¹ For Esarhaddon's chief court exorcist performing such rituals, see, e.g., SAA 10, 238.

the predominantly ritual and magical character of most therapies for illnesses such as epilepsy in the textual record, it remains to be investigated whether the texts used by *asû* and *āšīpu* to treat such problems differed at all or whether the Exorcist's Manual and specific chapters in the AMC could refer essentially to the same corpus of texts.¹⁵²

Line 35 of the Exorcist's Manual continues with an inclusive statement ("remedies for everything"), which could be a cursory reference to the entire corpus of therapeutic texts as outlined in the AMC, which is organized by types of illnesses and includes all areas of medical care. It is not clear whether the next phrase, *rikis lipit marši* 'the compilation (of texts) on the affliction(s) of the sick man',¹⁵³ is independent from the following KÚM DAB-*su* 'fever seized him' or whether it has to be read as one long phrase.¹⁵⁴ *Rikis lipit marši (ummu išbassu)* seems to be a descriptive formulation rather than the actual title or name of a compendium. It is remarkable that texts on fever are singled out as a specific component of the recipe literature, since the AMC does not contain a chapter that deals solely with fever.¹⁵⁵

The last entry in line 35 of the Exorcist's Manual, *šipir sinništi* 'treatment(s) for a woman', is likewise remarkable. Could it refer to medical therapies for women, which are differentiated from the incantation genres for pregnant women and women in childbirth enumerated in the first section of the manual (i.e., MUNUS.PEŠ₄.KĒŠ.DA, MUNUS LA.RA.AḤ)? One may speculate whether *šipir sinništi* refers to textual material that is clustered in the PREGNANCY and BIRTH chapters of the AMC.

To summarize, lines 32–36 of the Exorcist's Manual list therapeutic material, consisting of treatments (*šipru*) and remedies (*bultū*), that was

152 For a detailed discussion of possible sources for this AMC chapter, see Steinert forthcoming a.

153 In some tablets of Sakikkû, (LÚ).GIG 'sick man' is used rather than NA or LÚ 'man', the latter of which are typical of first-millennium therapeutic texts. The word *liptu* 'touch' often assumes the meaning "affliction, illness," and is contrasted with *balātu* 'life; good health, wellbeing' (see CAD L 401–2 sub 2). For *riksu* as "collection; compilation" (of tablets), see CAD R 351 sub 4e. One can compare the present expression with the Sakikkû catalogue (Finkel 1988b: A 65–66), which describes the series Sakikkû as *rikis murši u rikis kûri* 'the compilation on illness and the compilation on depression'.

154 Opinions on this point are divided; cf. Geller 2000: 258; Jean 2006: 70; Hecker 2008: 78; Clancier 2009b: 109–10 line 14; 2014: 26. If KÚM DAB-*su* has to be read as a separate phrase, it may be a short citation reminiscent of recipes starting with DIŠ NA KÚM DAB-*su*.

155 Cf. Steinert forthcoming a.

regarded as a corpus or text corpus (*riksu*). It is possible that the manual refers to the therapeutic corpus witnessed in the AMC. The enumeration picks out certain illnesses that seem to have been of special interest to the *āšīpu*. Since the second part of the Exorcist's Manual includes texts not exclusively used by the profession, it can be asked whether lines 32–36 may allude to medical practices and texts adopted from *asûtu*. However, in line with the discussion in the previous paragraph, one can also speculate on whether the enumerated remedies may refer to domains and textual traditions of *āšīpūtu* that were incorporated into the AMC/therapeutic corpus. In many instances, the texts identified as examples of remedies (*bultū*) that are enumerated in the second section of the Exorcist's Manual and have parallels in the AMC contain many elements that appear to be typical for *āšīpūtu*. Nonetheless, with regard to the textual sources concerned, the therapeutic practices, and their users/copyists, it is still hard to disambiguate entirely which components come from which discipline.

8 Conclusions

The comparison between the Exorcist's Manual and the AMC has brought to light a partial overlap between the corpora in both catalogues, which at the same time accentuates the basic difference in orientation that distinguishes *āšīpūtu* and *asûtu* but also blurs the boundaries between them. The analysis in the preceding sections has concluded that the two catalogues represent at their core the text corpora of the two disciplines respectively, showing that both disciplines had their own traditional focus on particular genres and texts. I have suggested that *asûtu* can be connected primarily with the genre of *bultū* 'remedies' (i.e., "medical" recipes), which correlates with the evidence that *asûs* specialized in medical treatments while *āšīpūtu* focused on incantations and therapeutic rituals. But at the same time it seems that both specialists were free to apply a combination of therapeutic techniques that we would classify as "magical" and "medical": *asûs* used and transmitted incantations with their remedies (some of which are recognizable through references to the *asû's* patron deities), while the therapeutic rituals of the

āšipu often had clear medical components (e.g., in the use of pharmaceutical substances).¹⁵⁶

Especially the textual evidence from the first millennium suggests that the boundary between both disciplines was fluid in practice. The therapeutic compilations often contain a combination of genres and elements from both disciplines. The analysis of the two catalogues and the textual sources connected to them suggests that each of the professional corpora contains core components of its respective discipline, but also additional or peripheral textual material of a cross-disciplinary character.¹⁵⁷ In the Exorcist's Manual, groups of remedies/treatments that could allude to the therapeutic corpus of the AMC are listed in the second part of the catalogue, which features several

¹⁵⁶ The profile and therapeutic techniques of *asûtu* are well reflected in hymns to the healing goddess and incantations referring to her (see Böck 2014: 15–44, 78–115 with further literature). They include a range of medical treatments, surgery, midwifery, and incantations. The profile of *āšipûtu* with its primary focus on exorcistic, apotropaic, purificatory techniques and on the normalization of the patient's relationship with the divine realm is likewise reflected in descriptions of the patron deities Ea/Enki and Marduk/Asalluḫi at work, e.g., in incantations from the *āšipu*'s core text corpus such as Udug-ḫul (see Geller 2016). However, Enki/Ea's wisdom includes "practical" medical knowledge, as when he advises his son Asalluḫi about treatments in medical incantations featuring the traditional formulary of the so-called "Marduk-Ea dialogue."

¹⁵⁷ Occasionally, the origin of a therapy or a group of treatments in a discipline is marked in text rubrics. For instance, BAM 516 iv 4 (Tablet 3 of the AMC chapter EYES) refers to eye balm "from the hand of an *asû*" (Attia 2015: 77). A number of texts attribute remedies to the *āšipu*. BAM 471 = AMT 94/2 ii 18 contains the label "salves against Hand of a ghost ... a secret of the exorcist's craft"; see also the Middle Babylonian duplicate BAM 385 i 11' ("drugs for a salve against Hand of a ghost, a secret of the exorcist"). AMT 40/2: 8–9 // STT 95(+) i 11–12 preserves remedies to calm divine anger, with a section designated "a tried leather bag (*mêlu latku*), a secret of the exorcist's craft." See further BAM 199: 14 (a salve for Hand of a ghost or "curse" designated as "secret of the exorcist," in a tablet written by Kišir-Aššur); see Lenzi 2008a: 179–81 for a discussion. A few references to the lore of the *asû* are found outside the medical texts themselves. The court physician Urad-Nanaya and the exorcist Nabû-nāšir mention "potions of *asûtu*" in a joint letter to Esarhaddon (SAA 10, 297 rev. 1). The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic speaks of the tablets taken by the king from Babylonia to Assyria as spoil, enumerating texts from various disciplines (*āšipûtu*, *bārûtu*, *kalûtu*) including "texts of the *asû*'s craft (with) instructions for bandages" (*maḫarât asûti nêpeš našmadâte*, Lambert 1957–58: 44 BM 98730 rev. 8; Foster 2005: 315). The application of potions and bandages is also discussed in Middle Babylonian letters of physicians (Sibbing Plantholt 2014). Especially expertise in drugs and the application of bandages (e.g., for skin diseases) as well as the treatment of injuries and veterinary care belong to the competence of *asûs* in Old Babylonian letters from Mari, while *āšipus*/*mašmaššus* are engaged in performing purificatory rituals (Finet 1957; Durand 1988).

texts that were also used by other scholarly disciplines. Vice versa, textual genres associated with *āšipūtu* are not evenly spread over the AMC. Thus, AMC Part 1 contains mainly remedies and mentions fewer of the incantation genres found in the Exorcist's Manual, while several chapters of AMC Part 2 contain genres and contents encountered in the Exorcist's Manual; AMC Part 2 also seems to integrate more rituals in addition to medical recipes. A closer analysis of the contents of tablets belonging to AMC Part 1 may show, however, that also this part of the therapeutic corpus integrates some incantations that pertain to genres encountered among the core texts of *āšipūtu* in the first section of the Exorcist's Manual.¹⁵⁸ It is striking that several chapter tablets in the corpus of AMC Part 1 display a recurring structural layout: the first columns of the tablet feature prescriptions, whereas the last columns of the tablet often contain incantations combined with therapeutic rituals (marked by KÌD.KÌD.BI or DÙ.DÙ.BI) or with remedies, which could indicate text sections that were assembled and combined from independent sources. Furthermore, the incantations in these chapter tablets invoke the authority of the patron deities of both disciplines, often in combination. Thus, while some spells refer to Ea and Asalluḫi and others invoke Damu and Gula, numerous spells refer to both pairs of deities, including further deities of healing and exorcism such as Ningirima (see e.g., Collins 1999; Böck 2014: 78–115).

The patchwork structure of the AMC therapeutic corpus and its interdisciplinary elements indicate in my view that it ultimately forms a

¹⁵⁸ Examples can be found in incantations with the rubrics KA.INIM.MA IGI.GIG.GA.KAM in the chapter EYES (Tablet 1) (cf. IGI.GIG.GA.KE₄ in the Exorcist's Manual) and KA.INIM.MA ZÚ.GIG.GA.KAM in the chapter TEETH (Tablets 1 and 2) (cf. ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄ in the Exorcist's Manual). See for the chapter EYES: BAM 510 // 513 // 514 (Collins 1999: Eyes 1–5, 7, 9, 11, 13; Attia 2015); for the chapter TEETH: Collins 1999: Teeth 1–2 (BAM 538 //). A similar situation obtains in the first-millennium sources for the chapter STOMACH vis-à-vis the rubric ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KE₄ in the Exorcist's Manual. In the first-millennium medical texts, the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM occurs only sporadically, but one finds varying rubrics relating to the belly (ŠĀ) attached to incantations that in Old Babylonian precursors regularly bear the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM (cf. Cadelli 2000: 313 with n. 5, *ibid.* 77, 88 (BAM 574 // = STOMACH 1 ii 28, iv 41); George 2016: 127–38, especially sub II.E.6–9; Collins 1999: Belly 9 (AMT 45/5 obv. 10' // BAM 508 ii 11') and Belly 27 (AMT 52/1: 15 with duplicates); Steinert – Vacín forthcoming). Compare further the rubric KA.ḤAB.DIB.BA in the Exorcist's Manual, which is not used as an incantation rubric in the chapter TEETH (Tablet 2), where one finds descriptive rubrics instead (cf. Collins 1999: spells *bu'sānu* 1–3, namely KA.INIM.MA (DIŠ NA) *bu'sānu* DAB-su).

composite corpus integrating a core of *asûtu* lore and some *āšipûtu* healing traditions recognized as additional elements in the AMC. With regard to the incantation genres mentioned in both catalogues, the question remains of whether these keywords in the AMC refer to texts that were taken over directly from the *āšipu*'s corpus or whether they refer to independent compositions that adapted a genre of spells originating in the field of exorcism.

However, there remain many open questions. How does the evidence from the catalogues correspond with the actual expertise and practices of *asûs* and *āšipus* at the time? What conclusions can be drawn concerning the formation process of the medical corpora, especially with respect to the person(s) responsible for the compilation and serialization of the AMC corpus? On the level of healing practices, it seems that although *asûtu* and *āšipûtu* differed in their disciplinary profile, healers of each discipline often applied a similar range of therapeutic techniques and could potentially draw on the lore of both disciplines. The documentation regarding this cross-disciplinarity is lopsided, since it can be observed that *āšipus* included *asûtu* (e.g., medical prescriptions) in their therapeutic repertoire and text collections, in addition to their traditional lore, while we have much less evidence for the use of *āšipûtu* by *asûs*.¹⁵⁹ However, especially first-millennium texts indicate that both specialists sometimes worked together or offered alternative treatments.¹⁶⁰

159 Cf. Villard 2006: 143–45, 148–50. Note the Nineveh library record SAA 7, 50 iii 7'–14', registering tablets contributed by an *asû*, which include one tablet each of textual material classified as *āšipûtu* (rituals?), *šumma izbu* omens, hemerologies, and the series Zaḳiqu (dream rituals). Some *āšipûtu* texts of the first millennium (e.g., the Lamaštu series, therapies in tablets of the diagnostic series) show a predilection for certain therapeutic techniques, sometimes used together: amulet bracelets, ointments, and fumigations. Nonetheless, these techniques could also be applied by the *asû*, as the medical recipe corpus of AMC Part 1 and letters show (see, e.g., SAA 10, 323 letter of court physician Urad-Nanaya on fumigants and oils for salves, cf. Parpola 1983b: no. 253 for discussion). Note in this connection also first-millennium BCE compendia such as Muššu'u and Qutāru, which are compilations created by exorcists who drew on older incantations and therapeutic traditions from the corpora of *āšipûtu* and *asûtu* (cf. Finkel 1991; Böck 2007: 79–89 passim).

160 Cf. Stol 1991–92: 58–62, Jean 2006: 101–2 (for medical matters discussed in letters of court *āšipus*), 121–22, 125; Villard 2006. Neo-Assyrian letters throw occasional light on the cooperation between both specialists (Villard 2006: 148). For instance, SAA 10, 297 is a joint letter by the chief court physician Urad-Nanaya and the *āšipu* Nabû-nāšir concerning their successful treatment of the queen mother Naḳia. Two letters—SAA 10, 315 written by Urad-

Since the AMC reflects a hybrid of *asûtu* combined with some *āšipûtu* healing traditions, it could be argued that the compilation of the text corpus presented in the AMC was a joint venture, the work of an interdisciplinary team of specialists. It is appealing to conclude that the royal court at Nineveh offered the best conditions for such a joint project and that the AMC corpus is for this reason likely to have been created there during Ashurbanipal's reign. But this interpretation is not fully convincing. Although it is not certain who compiled the AMC text corpus, there are several indications of its fundamental connection with the discipline of *asûtu*, as discussed above. It is also clear, however, that texts from the AMC corpus were studied and used by both professions, and that each discipline contributed to it. As to the question of where and when the AMC corpus was compiled, it has to be emphasized that the chapter order of the series "remedies from the head to the (toe)nail(s)" outlined in AMC Part 1 diverges in a few places from the Nineveh manuscripts of therapeutic texts belonging to the same series, and that the edition of therapeutic material outlined in AMC Part 2 is so far unattested at Nineveh (e.g., through matching catchlines or chapter titles). Yet, the close similarities between AMC Part 1 and the Nineveh texts corresponding to it suggest that the Nineveh series "remedies from the head to the (toe)nail(s)" was closely related to AMC, but reflects some redactional differences and further development of the series.

Although the redaction of therapeutic series in the AMC probably took place in the first centuries of the first millennium BCE, it also has to be remembered that attempts to compile collections of medical recipes in Babylonia and Assyria began already in the second half of the second millennium BCE, and that some texts from this period offer prescriptions that were integrated into the first-millennium therapeutic series.¹⁶¹ The existence

Nanaya, and SAA 10, 241 written by the chief exorcist Marduk-šakin-šumi to Esarhaddon—discuss the same medication applied to treat their royal patient. Note also entries in Sakikkû Tablet 33: 53–54 recommending that the *asû* should look at a particular diagnosed complaint. Occasional statements that an illness could not successfully be treated by an *āšipu* or *asû* indicate that patients could choose between the services of these specialists or would try different options for treatment. Cf. further the letter SAA 13, 66 rev. 11'–13', in which the sender asks the king for an *asû* and an *āšipu* so that they attend to his illness together. Competition between specialists of both fields seems to have been limited.

¹⁶¹ The fragment BAM 36, copied from an original from the Baba temple at Aššur, attests to a series/compilation (*iškāru*) on lung diseases in the Middle Assyrian period (Köcher 1963: xvii). A number of Middle Assyrian tablets from Aššur with collections of medical

of variant first-millennium redactions of medical series in Babylonia, Aššur, and Nineveh shows in my view that the AMC reflects a stage in a longer and rather complex development, characterized by multiple interrelated formations of serialized therapeutic compendia in Babylonia and Assyria, that started already in the second half of the second millennium BCE and did not end at Nineveh.

With regard to the documentation on *asûs* and *āšīpus* for the first millennium BCE, it has to be added that during this period, a change took place as far as the institutional support, integration, and respective status of the *asû* and *āšīpu* are concerned. During the Neo-Assyrian period, both *āšīpu* and *asûs* were employed by the rulers, but the *asûs* seem to have lost their institutional support base after the breakdown of local rulership beginning with the Achaemenid period, while the *āšīpus* were able to maintain their long-established links to the temples.¹⁶² Moreover, the *āšīpus* steadily gained

prescriptions offer parallels to first-millennium texts. For instance, BAM 12 belonged to the so-called “library of Tiglath-pileser I” and contains recipes for bandages applied to the head, some of which have close counterparts in the AMC chapter CRANIUM (Scurlock 2014: no. 1.3.2). Fever recipes in BAM 66, found in the same library, provide parallels to the AMC chapter STOMACH (cf. Köcher 1963: xx). The Middle Assyrian tablet fragment BAM 16 with eye recipes likewise belonged to the “library of Tiglath-pileser I” (Köcher 1963: xv). Another important piece of evidence is the Middle Babylonian tablet BAM 11, which was brought to Aššur probably in connection with Tukulti-Ninurta’s I invasion of Babylonia in ca. 1207 BCE and kept in the library of the Aššur temple (Pedersén 1986: 24 [80]; Heeßel 2009). It was written by the Babylonian physician Rabâ-ša-Marduk and contains remedies for migraine partially duplicating recipes in manuscripts of the first-millennium chapter CRANIUM (Heeßel 2009: 21–22; Scurlock 2014: no. 2.11.1). For Middle Babylonian recipe collections from Nippur with duplicate passages in first-millennium texts, see, e.g., BAM 394 (salves and poultices copied from a tablet owned by the physician Aḥu-bāni), BAM 396 (a collection on urinary tract conditions; see Geller 2005: no. 1; Scurlock 2014: no. 2.10.1), and BAM 398 (remedies for stroke and muscular illnesses; see Köcher 1971: xxix–xxx). Note also BAM 416 (provenience unknown, recipes for skin conditions; see Scurlock 2014: no. 2.11.3).

¹⁶² For connections between the *āšīpu* and temples in the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian period, see Jean 2006: 139–43 (for his roles in the temple cult); Sallaberger – Vulliet 2005: 632; Geller 2010: 183 n. 58 (*āšīpus* receiving income from temples, e.g., as prebend holders in the Late Babylonian period). For the *asû*, firm evidence for links with temples is still lacking, although connections with the Gula temples have been suggested, since *asûs* traditionally refer to Gula as their main patron deity and link their medical expertise to her (cf. Avalos 1995: 212–16, 218–31). However, *asûs* are often characterized as freelance craftsmen (cf. Geller 2010: 50–52). But there is also continuous evidence from the second and first millennium BCE for the patronage of both professions by local rulers (cf. Avalos 1995: 170–72, 220–22; Geller 2010: 62–88).

in importance over time, by employing strategies to broaden their corpus, expertise, and social prestige; by absorbing strands of knowledge from other disciplines; and by building up the professional image and identity of the *āšīpu* as a scholar who shared in the divine and secret lore originating with Ea and Asalluḫi, which was transmitted by the mythological sages (*apkallus*) and scholars (*ummānus*) of earlier periods who were claimed as ancestors.¹⁶³ The formative period for this “ideology of scribal succession” may reach back into the Middle Babylonian/Assyrian period.¹⁶⁴

163 For ideological constructions revolving around the title “scholar” (*ummānu*), the sages (*apkallū*), and the professions of *āšīpu*, *kalū*, *ṭupšarru*, *bārū*, and *asū*, see Lenzi 2008a: 67–128; 2008b; 2015: 172, 178–80; cf. Böck 2015: 31–33. One example for the use of this “ideology of scribal succession” is found in the Sakikkū catalogue, which refers to Esagil-kīn-apli, the editor of the diagnostic series, as a “scholar (*ummānu*) of Sumer and Akkad” whose ancestor was Asalluḫi-mansum, “sage (*apkallu*) of King Hammurapi” (Finkel 1988b: 148 A 55, 60 // B 18’ and 22’). The tendency to claim medical lore as part of the domain of *āšīpūtu* can be seen, for instance, in the “Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi” composed by an *āšīpu*, in which Gula receives the art of *asūtu* from Ea (Lambert 1967; Lenzi 2008a: 97–100). See further LKA 146//, a text with recipes for leather bags (*mēlu*) paired with an incantation, which attributes these remedies to Ea and to an *apkallu* brought up from the Apsū by Nabū (Lambert 1980; Lenzi 2008a: 122–25). Cf. Maul 2013: 277–91; Steinert 2016a: 225–30 concerning the development of astro-medicine and astro-magic within *āšīpūtu*, as a strategy to boost *āšīpus*’ clientele and influence in light of the rising popularity of astrology (cf. further Reiner 1995; Heeßel 2008b; Schwemer 2015b). For the *āšīpu* vis-à-vis other professions concerned with divination, cf. also Koch 2015: 18–24. The high rank of *āšīpus* in Neo-Assyrian times is reflected in a list of court scholars (SAA 7, 1) that records *ṭupšarrus* (“scribes; astrologers”) and *āšīpus* at the top of the hierarchy, followed by *bārūs*, *asūs*, *kalūs*, and augurs.

164 In the Neo-Assyrian period, the title *ummānu* was applied to scholars and experts of various professions (*āšīpu*, *kalū*, *ṭupšarru*, *bārū*, and *asū*) in the service of the king (see, e.g., SAA 10, 160), and the title “royal *ummānu*” is first attested in the early Neo-Assyrian period, referring to the chief scholarly advisor of the king, and replacing the older title “royal scribe,” which was in use in the Middle Assyrian period (Wiggermann 2008: 208–10). One of the “royal scribes” attested in the Middle Assyrian period is Ribātu (reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, 1233–1197 BCE) whose father Rišēya was “royal exorcist” (*āšīp šarri*) under Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 BCE). Sources from the first millennium such as the Synchronistic King List and the Uruk List of Kings and Sages project the connection between individual scholars and kings back to the second millennium, e.g., by identifying scholars of the Kassite and Isin II periods as *ummānus* of kings and by listing as their predecessors *apkallus* associated with kings before and after the Flood (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 75, 106–20; 2008b with further literature; compare also the role of some of these scholars in the “Catalogue of Texts and Authors,” Lambert 1962). The iconography of the *apkallus* as mythological figures (especially the fish-*apkallus*) also originates in the Kassite period (Wiggermann 1994: 224; Green 1994: 252, 262

Although first-millennium BCE therapeutic texts also contain references claiming that the origin of medical recipes goes back to *ummânu*s of older periods, it seems that *asû*s did not seek to cultivate their own status as *ummânu*s to the extent that the *āšipu* did.¹⁶⁵ The *āšipu* mastered a far greater corpus of texts than the *asû*, and his knowledge and activities were of a wider range and higher order. Not only did he focus on providing medical treatments and health care services for individuals and households, but he also attended to the concerns of the king and society at large by mediating (through rituals) between the human and divine world and preserving well-being and divine order (cf. the *āšipu*'s role in rituals for the induction of divine cult statues or in purificatory rituals for the king). Through their vast knowledge and their employment of strategies to boost their social prestige, the *āšipu*s were in a better position to preserve institutional ties and support from local temples throughout the Late Babylonian period, while the *asû*s seem to have lost these strategic ties (e.g., with the shrines of healing deities), becoming largely invisible in the written record (Robson 2011: 558). By the Late Babylonian period, the field of *asûtu* healing techniques seems largely to have been taken over and carried out by the *āšipu* as well, although the profession of the *asû* may have survived for some time, as a craft practiced outside the large institutions (cf. Finkel 2000).

In conclusion, seen from a diachronic perspective, the medical recipes (*bultû*) forming the heart of the AMC corpus reflect the traditional focus and core of *asûtu*, which was combined with incantations and developed in

§§ 3.8–9, 3.31), while before that time *abgal/apkallu* is used as the title of a human functionary associated with Enki/Ea (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 127–28).

¹⁶⁵ See Lenzi 2008a: 179–84 for medical texts designated as secret lore of the *ummânu/āšipu*. Note that a corresponding label “secret of the *asû*” is not attested, to my knowledge, but compare a number of medical prescriptions bearing the label “secret of kingship” (or “drugs for the king”), possibly alluding to patronage relations between the king and *asû*s (see Lenzi 2008a: 185–86, e.g., BAM 579 [STOMACH 5] iv 32). Note AMT 105/1 iv 21–25, a manuscript of Tablet 3 of the therapeutic series CRANIUM (*šunma amêlu muḥḥašu unna ukâl*), which claims that recipes for salves and bandages contained in the text go back to the antediluvian *apkallu*s and were transmitted by a sage from Nippur who is associated with Enlil-bāni, a nineteenth-century BCE king of Isin (cf. Lenzi 2008a: 117, 200–1; Steinert 2015: 129–31, 139). Such an elaborate attribution of origins is so far not attested in any other manuscript of the therapeutic corpus; it was very likely a late addition to the text intended to boost the authority of the remedies.

exchange with the neighboring field of *āšipūtu*.¹⁶⁶ The sources from the first millennium BCE show that *asūtu* lore was applied by *āšipus* in their professional practice and integrated into their text collections. This means that while *asūtu* and *āšipūtu* were regarded as distinguishable disciplines, the expertise and practical profile of specialists was not necessarily restricted to one field of knowledge. Despite the developments that constantly blurred the distinction between both disciplines and their corpora, the professional core of *asūtu* within the AMC should not be overlooked.

9 Epilogue: The Functions of Catalogues

Catalogues can be connected to practical concerns of Mesopotamian scribes and “librarians,” namely organizing and keeping track of tablets in a collection. They often functioned as inventories listing contents of an archive/library or of a section of a library (i.e., as shelf lists, including tags and labels for retrieving tablets from shelves or baskets). The concrete occasions and reasons that motivated the documentation of tablets in inventories often remain unknown, but it is likely that some catalogues document the process of stocktaking in tablet collections (*Inventuren*), while others were made in connection with the movement of tablets between different archives, or with tasks such as (re)editing and copying tablets and compositions.

It has often been suspected that catalogues were used in scribal training. Although the function of Old Babylonian “literary catalogues” as lists of school curricula is debated, examples of student tablets from later times show that catalogues of compositions sometimes played a role in a school

¹⁶⁶ In the Old Babylonian period, the genres of medical recipes and incantations were mostly collected on separate tablets, although some of the medical spells were very likely employed together with remedies (cf. Wasserman 1996–97: 2 n. 4; 2007: 52–55 for thematic correspondences between recipes and incantations; cf. George 2016: 5–6 Table 1 for Old Babylonian incantations with appended ritual [kid-kid-bi/*kikkittu*]). Some of the Old Babylonian spells invoking Gula link them with the *asū* (see Cunningham 1997 for references). The combination of medical recipes and spells in the textual sources increases in the Middle Babylonian period and can probably be linked to the formation of longer compendia and compilations. However, throughout the second and first millennium BCE, one can still encounter tablets of medical recipes lacking incantations. A number of such tablets were written by *asūs*; see, e.g., BAM 11 (Heeßel 2009). For a further discussion of these developments, see also Steinert forthcoming a.

context. Explicit statements in catalogues such as the Exorcist's Manual likewise underline their role in specialist training as "outlines of study programs" (Freedman 1998: 5), or as overviews of a professional corpus to be mastered by the adept by the end of his training.

Especially the series catalogues and professional corpus catalogues have been characterized as serving "theoretical" purposes rather than functioning as shelf lists or tablet inventories (Geller 2000: 227). Some of the catalogues for a particular series are attested in varying versions, reflecting different recensions of the text in different places and periods. Two catalogues, the Sakikkû catalogue and the Exorcist's Manual, are known from multiple first-millennium copies with only minor textual variants, showing that they were copied as scholarly reference works. Both catalogues contain explicit statements alluding to the purpose of the texts. The Sakikkû catalogue claims to record the efforts of a famous scholar, Esagil-kin-apli, to have produced an authoritative edition of the omen series, which the catalogue is supposed to reflect, while the Exorcist's Manual associates the core text corpus of the exorcist with the same scholar. Through instructive passages, both catalogues underline their function as tools for studying the text corpora they describe. They include admonitions to the reader concerning the texts' status (i.e., as exclusive knowledge). These statements suggest that the catalogues were tools for scholarly learning and for the instruction of the adept. But through their reference to a named scholar as the authority behind the catalogues and text corpora, they could also have played a role in the construction of professional identities and histories.

The series catalogues probably served as important cornerstones for different professions, but they had additional technical functions, namely recording text redactions and serialization processes. Individual catalogues such as the AMC document an intermediate stage in a longer process, in the course of which a text corpus eventually became a text series. Last but not least, since the series catalogues are in a way comparable to the table of contents in our books, giving an overview of an oeuvre, they could also have served practical purposes, for instance as an aid-memoire, or as a blueprint for accumulating specialist tablet collections.

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Agents of Evil and Causes of Illness

Identifying Divine Agency: The Hands of the Gods in Context

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In Akkadian texts human or divine agency is often introduced by using a phrase involving the word *qātu(m)* ‘hand’. Whereas *qātu* is used with various prepositions or pronouns in idiomatic expressions to indicate authority, possession, or control,¹ the simple phrase *qāt* + personal/divine name is almost exclusively used to designate agency. Perhaps best known is the phrase “hand of + personal name” in colophons, naming the scribe of a tablet. In addition to colophons, in divinatory texts, the simple phrase *qāt* + PN is attested with a human subject, most often the “hand of the king,” indicating that yet unspecified actions of the king will be in store for the person affected by this omen.

The “hand of the deity so-and-so” (*qāt* + divine name) appears abundantly in Mesopotamian scholarly texts, most notably in medical diagnostic texts, where the phrase is used to indicate the divine causal agent of an illness. It is less well-known that *qāt* + DN appears in various text genres, especially in divinatory texts. This paper aims to take a closer look at the occurrences of *qāt* + DN in nonmedical texts in order to get a clearer picture of how divine agency is identified and what negative or positive value is attributed to it. But first it might be worthwhile to recall the usage of the phrase *qāt* + DN in medical diagnostic texts and medical therapeutic texts.

1 Causal Agents of Illness and Disease in Medical Texts

The common usage of the phrase *qāt* + DN in medical diagnostic texts reflects the Mesopotamian etiological concept of disease and illness.² In the holistic medical conception prevalent in much of the ancient Near East, direct contact with the disease was necessary in order for a person to fall sick, and

¹ For an overview of the usage of *qātu(m)*, see CAD Q 183–98.

² For Mesopotamian beliefs on disease etiology, see Heeßel 2004.

Mesopotamians believed this contact to be most often caused by deities or demons, but also ghosts and, occasionally, witchcraft by fellow humans. Many phrases were used to describe this “touching, hitting, or striking” of the affected person by a god, but none was used as frequently as *qāt* + DN. A few examples from the Diagnostic Handbook, the series of diagnostic entries comprising forty tablets and probably created in the eleventh century BCE, may illustrate this:

šumma KI.MIN (= *ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-*ma irātu ša qātīšu ṣalmū qāt il ālīšu imât*

šumma KI.MIN (= *ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-*ma karši ubānāt qātīšu ṣalmū u iṭamme qāt eṭemmi imât*

šumma KI.MIN (= *ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-*ma šaḥassu : šaḥaššu ša imitti ikkalšu u urappad miḥra maḥiṣ imât*

šumma KI.MIN (= *ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-*ma šaḥassu : šaḥaššu ša šumēli ikkalšu u umma lā irāšši ardanān mīti iṣbassu [imât]*

šumma KI.MIN (= *ūm ištēn maruṣ*)-*ma ina irtīšu maḥiṣma dāma utabbaka u urappad qāt Nergal miḥra maḥiṣ imât*

If ditto (= he is sick for a day) and the backs of his hands are black: Hand of the god of his city, he will die.

If ditto (= he is sick for a day) and the nail beds of the fingers of his hands are black and he lurches: Hand of a ghost, he will die.

If ditto (= he is sick for a day) and his right armpit hurts him and he wanders about: He was hit on the front side, he will die.

If ditto (= he is sick for a day) and his left armpit hurts him, but he has no heat: The lookalike of a dead man afflicts him, [he will die].

If ditto (= he is sick for a day) and he was hit on his breast and therefore loses much blood and he wanders about: Hand of Nergal, he was hit on the front side, he will die.

(Sa-gig 15 lines 28'–32', edited by Heeßel 2000:152 and Scurlock 2014:141)

To heal a patient, it was important to know which deity had caused the illness so that this particular deity could be addressed in prayer and reconciled with the sick person (Heeßel 2000: 75–96). The divine or demonic agent that had placed the illness in the patient's body was, however, not considered to be the ultimate cause of the disease. Short clauses that often

follow the phrase “Hand of deity so-and-so” show that the ultimate reason for a person’s illness was the intentional or accidental breaking of taboos.

The phrase “Hand of deity so-and-so” was so common that, already early on, the hands of certain deities were associated with specific sets of symptoms and probably even whole syndromes. Some of them developed into true disease names. Thus, *šudingirakkû* ‘hand-of-the-god disease’, *šu’inninakkû* ‘hand-of-the-goddess disease’, and *šugidimmakkû* ‘hand-of-ghost disease’ are attested. But these remained exceptions; the vast majority of diseases have names of a different type and were connected with various, but always specific deities. At the end of Tablet 33 of the Diagnostic Handbook appears a list in which diseases and certain syndromes are correlated with their causal agents, e.g., the disease *sāmānū* with the hand of Gula, *šadānū* with Ninurta, or *girgiššum* with Šamaš.

It is not always a deity that is identified as the causal agent; demonic beings and personified illnesses or taboos are also mentioned. The “hand” of a ghost and of the female demon Lamaštu are especially common. Sometimes these demonic beings or personified illnesses are acting as deputies on behalf of great gods: The hand of the ghost is often said to be the deputy of Ištar: *qāt(ŠU) eṭemmi(GIDIM) šá-né-e^dIštar(XV)*;³ the “hand” of the disease *bennu*, related to epilepsy, is designated as the deputy of Šin;⁴ and the *šugidimmakkû*-disease is the deputy of Ea.⁵ A medical text containing a fair number of such “hands” of “deputies” of gods is CTN 4, 72.

3 Sa-gig 4 lines 10, 31–32 (Scurlock 2014: 29–30).

4 Sa-gig 15 line 23’ (Heeßel 2000: 151 and Scurlock 2014: 141), and also attested in a therapeutic text; see Chalendar 2013: 11 rev. 7’.

5 Sa-gig 22 line 59 (Heeßel 2000: 257 and Scurlock 2014: 191). In this entry, the word “deputy” is written in both manuscripts *šá-<né>-e*, leaving out the sign NI. This has prompted Geller (2011: 339 n. 24), who cites two further attestations of this defective writing in BAM 407, to argue that “it is unlikely to have so many erroneous or defective writings of the same expression *šanû*; an alternative interpretation would be to read ‘šá e (= *iqabbû*)’, ‘which they say’, a common expression in commentaries, i.e. ‘šēdu, which they say is a (god name)’ [suggestion courtesy Cale Johnson].” While it is certainly correct that so many defective writings of the same word *šanû* require an explanation, the alternative proposed is hardly correct, as it would be extremely unlikely for the phrase *šá e*, common in commentaries, to suddenly appear in a medical text where the word *šanû* is expected. That *šá-e* instead of *šá-né-e* is indeed a defective writing and not to be read differently is made clear by the duplicate CTN 4, 72 to the quoted text BAM 407: where BAM 407 lines 7’ and 10’ has *šá-<né>-e*, the direct duplicate CTN 4, 72 II 2’ and 6’ offers *šá-né-e*; see Stadhouders 2011: 42.

There are clear indications that the older Diagnostic Handbook⁶ was organized according to diagnoses and not symptoms, as in the later Diagnostic Handbook. The former arranged the entries so that the same diagnoses, the same “hand of the deity so-and-so” entries, were grouped together. In some tablets of the later Diagnostic Handbook, this principle survived as a lower-level organizational pattern, when many similar symptom descriptions had to be arranged.

This usage of the phrase *qāt* + DN in medical diagnostic texts to designate the causal agent of an illness is also reflected in medical therapeutic texts. Here we can sometimes observe different therapies corresponding to different “hands” in the diagnosis.

In a section of the healing ritual SpTU 3, 84 which had the purpose of saving children from the “hand of Gula, the hand of Lamaštu, the hand of an opponent, or the hand of a ‘ban,’” a figurine of an *ekkēmu* ‘robber’ is made and presented to Ninmaḫ as the evil being responsible for the sickness of the child (SpTU 3, 84: 79–97). The figurine is then put in a pot and this pot is buried. The text gives instructions as to where to put this pot depending on which “hand” had been diagnosed:

šumma qāt Gula ina tubqi dūri teqebber šumma qāt Lamašti ina šilli dūri tašakkanšu šumma qāt māmūti ina kutal utūni teqebberšu šumma qāt māḥiri ina sūq erbetti teqebberma mārūšu innetṭirū

If it is the hand of Gula you bury (the pot) in the corner of a wall; if it is the hand of Lamaštu, you put it in the shade of a wall; if it is the hand of a “ban,” you bury it behind an oven; if it is the hand of an opponent, you bury (it) at the crossroads, and then his children will be saved.

(SpTU 3, 84: 96–97)

In another text dealing with children’s diseases, the relevant diagnostic entries are directly cited from Tablet 40 of the Diagnostic Handbook:

*šumma šerru ibtan[akki u išt]anassi ekkemtu qāt Ištar mārat Anim
šumma šerru tulâ [īniqma m]iqtu imqussu qāt Ištar : Sîn
šumma šerru ina mayy[ālīšu] ina lā idû issi qāt Ištar*

6 For the older Diagnostic Handbook, see Stol 1993: 91–98; Heeßel 2000: 107–11.

[šumma] šerru ina mayy[ālišu issīma] mimma ša imuru iqabbi qāt Ištar
ikribū iṣabbatūšu

[sa]kikkū ša šerru qāt Ištar iṣbassu ultu libbi šumma šerru la'ū nasha⁷

If an infant continually wails and screams, it is the (female) robber, hand of Ištar, daughter of Anu.

If an infant sucks the breast and then a *miqtu*-seizure falls on him, it is the hand of Ištar (var. Sîn).

If an infant screams in his bed without knowing (it), it is the hand of Ištar.

If an infant screams in his bed and says whatever he sees, it is the hand of Ištar; (unfulfilled) vows afflict him.

Symptoms of (If) the hand of Ištar affects an infant, excerpted from (the tablet) "If an infant."

(K 3628 + K 4009 + Sm 1315, obv. 6'–10'; Scurlock 2014: 622)

The medical text CTN 4, 72 indicates the hands of personified powers ("gods") and names them as deputies of major deities.⁸ An example:

šumma maruṣma pāšu iptenette qātāšu šēpāšu iparrurā qāt ili munniši
šēdi šanê Anim ana ina qāt ili munniši eṭēri[šu] pa puḥatti qaran ayyāli
ankinūte ištēniš tasāk šumma zikar tišīšu šumma sinniṣ sebišu
taptanaššassuma iballuṭ

If a man is ill and constantly opens his mouth and loses all the strength in his hands and feet: Hand of the enfeebling deity, deputy of Anu. In order to release him from the hand of the enfeebling deity, you crush together female lamb's-x, stag's-horn, and "it does not reach heaven and earth"-plant, you anoint him nine times if (the patient) is male, seven

⁷ Sa-gig 40 line 19; 48 lines 49, 102, 103 (Scurlock 2014: 259–62).

⁸ For CTN 4, 72 and its duplicate BAM 407, see the edition in Stadhouders 2011: 39–51.

times if (the patient) is female, and then he/she will recover.
(Stadhouders 2011: 44)

In this text, the hands of “raging,” “tenacious,” “valiant,” and “stubborn” deities, but also Zāqīqu, are named as deputies of various great gods.

2 The Phrase “Hand of Deity So-and-so” in Nonmedical Texts

2.1 *Extispicy*

Apart from its usage in medical texts, the phrase *qāt* + DN appears fairly often in nonmedical texts, perhaps most notably in texts and reports concerning extispicy. This comes as no surprise since, in ancient Mesopotamia, extispicy was always a means to determine the causal agent of a disease, comparable to reading the symptoms on the body of the patient in diagnostic texts. In the extispicy texts, this is sometimes explicitly stated as *šumma ana qāt ili teppuš* ‘If you perform (the extispicy) in order to (identify) the hand of the god’ (Koch 2005, no. 6 omen 13, no. 26 omen 90). This tradition of ascertaining the causal agent of an illness by extispicy is already mentioned in Old Babylonian letters from Mari. Asqudum, the diviner and close confidant of King Zimrilim,⁹ writes to his lord:

According to the command of my lord, I have carried out extispicies concerning Šattam-Kiyazi. The extispicies which I carried out (indicate) the hand of Ištar-Radan of Ekallatum, because the goddess urges her about her trip to Ekallatum. Until she goes to Ekallatum her illness will not pass.¹⁰

This is probably an answer to a request made by the king after he had received a letter by Šattam-Kiyazi concerning her illness:

I have offered a sheep to Ištar-Radana and the extispicies were bad and my lord knows that the extispicies were bad. Now I went off to Saggaratum and have been sick from the day that I set out. Once, twice,

⁹ For Asqudum, see Charpin 2011. For a discussion of the letters presented here, see *ibid.*, 256.

¹⁰ Durand 1988: 222–23, no. 83; Heimpel 2003: 209; see also Stol 2016: 442, with a different translation.

I prayed. It is the hand of Ištar-Radana. My lord knows that the hand of Ištar-Radana rests heavily upon me. Now, if it is the wish of my lord, let him have this illness examined (again)....¹¹

Apparently, Asqudum was able to verify by extispicy that Šattam-Kiyazi was suffering from the “hand of Ištar-Radan(a)” and to determine the ultimate reason for the divine anger: Šattam-Kiyazi was suffering from an illness because she did not travel to Ekallatum as Ištar-Radan(a) requested of her, perhaps as a result of a vow made by Šattam-Kiyazi.

Another letter from Old Babylonian Mari provides further evidence that extispicy was used to ascertain not only the causal agent of an illness but also the ultimate reason for a deity’s ill will towards the patient. Here, Asqudum performs first an extispicy concerning the well-being of a sick boy, which turned out to be unfavorable, and then he writes:

I made extispicies concerning the hand of a deity (*qāt ilūtim*), and it indicated a(n unfulfilled) vow to Sîn. Did my lord perhaps give his word to Sîn? (The sign of) [my] lord is present (in the extispicy).¹²

A passage from an extispicy report from the seventh century BCE shows that this use of extispicy to determine the causal agent of disease is also attested in later periods:

Niq’a, the mother of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who is now ill, and on whom the hand of Iqbi-damiq was placed in extispicy—will it pass by because of (the offering) of sacrificial sheep and oxen? (SAA 4, 190: 2–4).

Here, a prior extispicy had determined that the illness was caused by the god Iqbi-damiq. The present extispicy is carried out to learn whether the offering of sacrificial sheep and oxen will appease the god and make the illness pass.

Aside from letters and extispicy reports, the phrase *qāt* + DN also appears fairly regularly in omen texts dealing with extispicy. The most comprehensive cluster of such “hands” occurs in the chapter *Multābiltu* of the *bārūtu* extispicy corpus and related *niširti bārūti* texts. In contrast to the sources discussed so far, in this text, the omen entries listing hands of deities are not

¹¹ Durand 1988: 226, no. 87; Durand 2000: 491; Stol 2016: 442–43.

¹² Durand 1988: 223–24, no. 84; Heimpel 2003: 209.

concerned with causal agents of diseases.¹³ Instead, we find in several manuscripts a long list of at least thirty-five omens each naming the hands of certain deities.¹⁴ These omens discuss the meaning of substantial anomalies found in important parts of the liver and attribute these to the hands of certain deities. In these omens parts of the liver such as the *manzāzu* ‘presence’, *padānu* ‘path’, *danānu* ‘strength’, *bāb ekalli* ‘palace gate’, or the *šulmu* ‘well-being’ are either obliterated (*kabāsu*), perforated (*šilu nadû*), or destroyed (*raḥāṣu*). Such basic damage to the most important parts of the liver could alter an otherwise favorable extispicy result and necessitate ritual action.¹⁵ The gods identified in these omens may well have been addressed directly in the ensuing rituals. The phrase *qāt* + DN in the apodoses of crucial signs is also suggested by the second/third tablet of the chapter *Multābiltu*: At the end of this tablet, the “hands” of certain deities are mentioned if any of the “special *nipḥus*”¹⁶—seven Weapons (*kakkū*), five Holes (*šilū*), or three Indentations¹⁷ (*piṭru*)—should appear in a favorable extispicy. These *nipḥus* have the power of the “joker effect,” i.e., the power to change the whole result of an extispicy:

*ina lā šalimti kakkū sebeti lū ištiššu lū šinišu šaknū Šamaš idi ummānīya
illak šalmat*

13 It is surprising that in the seventh tablet of the chapter *Multābiltu*, which according to its catchline *šumma ana šulun marši tērta teppušma ...* ‘When you perform the extispicy for the well-being of a sick person and then ...’ lists omens concerning the illness of patients, the hand of certain deities is found but rarely: The “hands” of Marduk, Ištar, and also Almu and Allamu appear in one passage (Koch 2005: 157 lines 23–28), but in the majority of the ca. sixty-six omens preserved in this fragmentary tablet (Koch: 2005 no. 6) the identification of the causal agent is not the main concern. Another fragmentarily preserved tablet concerned with predicting the fate of a sick person by extispical observations is K 4084 (Koch 2005, no. 131), in which omens are assembled that invariably have a negative outcome, always ending with *maršu šū imât* ‘this patient will die’.

14 The main list is found in K 220 // Rm 130 // K 2896 (Koch 2005, no. 58) rev. 1–35. Shorter lists of the same omens appear in K 3988 (Koch 2005, no. 59) rev. 7–20 and 81-1-18, 413 (Koch 2005, no. 60) rev. 7–15’.

15 For an example of such ritual action, see the namburbi-ritual against *ḫiliqti širi* ‘loss of flesh’ in Maul 1994: 439–42.

16 For their significance, see Koch 2005: 21.

17 For the translation “indentation” for *piṭru* instead of “split,” see Heeßel 2012: 57, following Leiderer 1990: 36.

(When) in an unfavourable (extispicy) seven Weapons occur once or twice: Šamaš will walk at the side of my army, it is favourable.

ina šalimti kakkū sebeti lū ištiššu lū šinīšu šaknū tibu qāt Šamaš lā šalmat
(When) in a favourable (extispicy) seven Weapons occur once or twice: Attack, hand of Šamaš, it is unfavourable.

ina lā šalimti šilū ḥamišti lū ištiššu lū šinīšu šaknū Ištar idi ummānīya illak šalmat

(When) in an unfavourable (extispicy) five Holes occur once or twice: Ištar will walk at the side of my army, it is favourable.

ina šalimti šilū ḥamišti lū ištiššu lū šinīšu šaknū tibu qāt Ištar lā šalmat
(When) in a favourable (extispicy) five Holes occur once or twice: Attack, hand of Ištar, it is unfavourable.

ina lā šalimti piṭrū šalašti lū ištiššu lū šinīšu šaknū Sîn idi ummānīya illak šalmat

(When) in an unfavourable (extispicy) three Indentations occur once or twice: Sîn will walk at the side of my army, it is favourable.

ina šalimti piṭrū šalašti lū ištiššu lū šinīšu šaknū tibu qāt Sîn lā šalmat
(When) in a favourable (extispicy) three Indentations occur once or twice: Attack, hand of Ištar, it is unfavourable.

(Koch 2005: 136 lines 195–200)

In the event that these “special *niphus*” change an unfavorable extispicy into a favorable one, the gods Šamaš, Ištar, and Sîn are said to walk at the side of the king’s army. If, however, a favorable extispicy result is turned into an unfavorable one, the apodosis interprets it as the “attack” and “hand” of the very same gods.

2.2 *Terrestrial Omens*

In the series Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin ‘If a city is situated on a hill’, the phrase *qāt* + DN appears more regularly than in the extispicy omens. The phrase *qāt ili* ‘hand of a god’ is attested often in single omens throughout the

series. In contrast, the “hands” of specific gods are clustered in certain tablets.¹⁸ One such cluster is in Tablets 19–21 of the series, which dwells on phenomena like demons, ghosts, and flashes of light. In Tablet 19, noises made by a ghost in a man’s house are attributed to the hands of Lugalbanda, the Anunnaki, and Šamaš (Freedman 1998: 280 lines 64’–68’).¹⁹ In Tablet 20, a flash of light seen in a bed or in the street is connected with the hand of the *mukil-rēš-lemutti* demon. A regularly occurring flash is associated with the hand of Ištar (Freedman 1998: 300 lines 39, 41, 45). The most extensive collection of “hands” appears in Tablet 21, where the majority of ominous observations are correlated with the hands of different deities, among them Asalluḫi, Damkianna, Gula, Ištar, Latarak, Lugalbanda, Lugaledinna, Lugalgirra, Ningestinanna, Ningirsu, Ninurta, and Šamas.²⁰

Another cluster of occurrences of the phrase *qāt* + DN is found in Rm 98, which contains scorpion omens.²¹ The text of this small fragment correlates a scorpion sting in specific body parts with the hands of gods. Unfortunately, the names of the gods are all broken. In addition to the diagnoses, the text also provides instructions on the treatment of the scorpion sting. For example:

šumma zuqaqīpu ina šūr īnīšu ša šumēli MIN (= *izqut*) *qāt* ^d[...] *šamna u šikara tasallah šipta tamannū*[*ma ...*]

If a scorpion ditto [= stings] his left eyebrow, it is the hand of [...]; you sprinkle oil and beer, you recite an incantation, [then ...].

(Rm 98 lines 3’–4’; see CT 40, 27 and Freedman 2006: 154 line 74’)

18 Examples of single omens with the hand of a specific god include Tablet 22 (snakes), line 15: hand of Marduk (Freedman 2006: 10); Tablet 32 (lizards), line 22’: hand of Šamaš (Freedman 2006: 174); Tablet 43 (donkeys), lines 18 and 65’: hand of Adad.

19 The five omens in Tablet 19 lines 64’–68’ actually appear again in Tablet 21 lines 88–92, though in reversed order, as noted by Freedman 1998: 281, note on 64’–68’. This repetition of the same omens in different tablets of the same(!) series is highly unusual.

20 Freedman 1998: 310–13 lines 34’–102’. For a fragment filling certain gaps in this tablet, see Heeßel 2007: 30–32, no. 7.

21 CT 40, 27. Freedman 2006: 148 assigns this “idiosyncratic” text to Tablet 31 of Šumma ālu, as the commentary K 1 (CT 41, 26–27; see also Frahm 2011, 197–98) obv. 27–rev. 7 ascribes these omens to this tablet of Šumma ālu; see Freedman 2006: 154, note on 73’–80’.

The chariot omens of Šumma ālu describe what the “hands” of gods mean for a given ominous event:²²

šumma šarru ūlū rubû narkabta irkabma ana [imittišu inqutma] magar imitti ūlū sisû ša imitti qaqqassu iš[šīma dāmu uššâ] qāt Šamaš u Ištar Šamaš u Ištar ibukūšu mēseru dannu išabbassuma ina murši² [...]

If a king or prince is riding a chariot and [falls to his right, and then] the right wheel or the right horse cuts his head [so that it bleeds]: It is the hand of Šamaš and Ištar; Šamaš and Ištar overturned it (= the chariot); severe hard times will afflict him, and in sickness [...].

(CT 40, 35: 1–4)

šumma KLMIN (= šarru ūlū rubû narkabta) irkabma ana šumēlišu inqutma magar šumēli ū [sisû] ša šumēli qaqqassu iššīma dāmu uššâ Marduk u Ištar ibukūšu ašrāt Marduk u Ištar ištene²³ma idammīq

If ditto (= a king or prince) is riding (a chariot) and falls to his left and then the left wheel or the left [horse] cuts his head so that it bleeds: Marduk and Ištar overturned it (= the chariot); he visits the shrines of Marduk and Ištar repeatedly, then he will get well.

(CT 40, 35: 8–10)

Here, Šamaš and Ištar or Marduk and Ištar overturned the chariot because they were so angered by the ruler that they did not refrain from such a drastic action as injuring the king. In the second case, showing attention to the angered gods by repeatedly visiting their shrines will appease them and make everything well again.

Another example of the usage of the phrase *qāt* + DN is found in two omens of Tablet 87 of Šumma ālu that treat a person who falls on his side:

šumma amēlu ana imittišu inqut qāt^dŠU.ZI

šumma amēlu ana šumēlišu inqut qāt Ištar

If a man falls on his right side: Hand of the deity ŠU.ZI.²³

If a man falls on his left side: Hand of Ištar.

(KMI 55: 2' and 8')

²² For the chariot omens, published in CT 40, 35–37, see the online edition by Freedman (2015) of Šumma ālu Tablet 43.

²³ ^dŠU.ZI is a short form of ^dŠU.ZI.AN.NA, an epithet of Gula; see Böck 2014: 15.

Most unusually, the two omens not only specify the number of days that the affected person has to stay in bed, but also give instructions for undoing the evil portent. These instructions include abstaining from walking outside the city, making food offerings to Išum and ẖendursag, or placing a gecko from a crossroads at the location of the fall.

2.3 *Other Divinatory Texts*

The incipit of the physiognomic text K 105+ (TBP 25; Böck 2000: 288–90) contains an interesting reference to the hand of the goddess Ištar:

*šumma qāt Ištar ša išrû ušamṭa amēla imahḥaṣ ubānātu ša qātīšu
birūtūšina šira malāma piṭrū ya’nu*

If the gaps between the fingers of his hands are filled with tissue so they are joined together: it is the hand of Ištar, it will impoverish one who has grown rich, it will afflict/strike a man.

As shown by George (2003: 245–46), this line seems to be corrupt and yields sense only if one assumes that the protasis and the apodosis have to be exchanged. The hand of Ištar is here explicitly attributed to the loss of riches. The hand of Ištar also appears once in a dream omen. It is difficult to understand why the protasis “If a man sprinkles (himself) with his urine and wipes himself clean” (Oppenheim 1956: 265b and 310; K 3980+ 8’–9’) is attributed to *qāt Ištar* ‘the hand of Ištar’. This apodosis is isolated within the dream omens.

In lecanomancy, references to the hands of named gods are rare. In the Old Babylonian oil omens, one omen refers to the “hand of the *mallu*-demons or a ghost” (Pettinato 1966: II 64 line 41). More frequently, specific deities are mentioned with the phrase *šibit* + DN, which as Pettinato (1966: I 194) noticed is a synonym for *qāt* + DN. An extispicy text from Aššur from the first millennium BCE contains two oil omens mentioning the “hand of the Anunnaki-gods” (Heeßel 2012: 232 lines 36 and 41).

A brief divinatory procedure to ascertain the causal agent of impotency is described in a Šaziga text: A figurine of a man and a woman are placed at the head of the bed of a man afflicted by loss of potency, an incantation is spoken over them seven times, and then: “you bring them near a pig, if the pig approaches (them) it is the hand of Ištar, if the pig does not approach [the figurines] then sorcery affects that man” (Biggs 1967: 46).

3 The Hand of a Deity: A Serious Sign That Is Always Negative?

In diagnostic and therapeutic medical texts the phrase *qāt* + DN serves to identify the causal agent who placed the illness inside the body of the patient. By identifying this specific deity, demon, or other agent, the exact cause of the illness can be addressed in therapy. This identification of the causal agent of illness can also be achieved by means of extispicy. However, it is mainly attested in letters. The extispicy omen texts use the phrase *qāt* + DN predominantly in omens describing serious damage of important parts of the liver and in omens dealing with special “joker signs,” which have the power to change the result of the extispicy. Probably the phrase *qāt* + DN here served to identify the causal agent responsible for the signs on the liver.

In the terrestrial omen series, the phrase *qāt* + DN appears in clusters of omens concerning the observation of extraordinary phenomena (in part associated with demons or ghosts), and of accidents involving the king’s chariot, falls, and injuries due to scorpion stings. As in the medical texts, the phrase *qāt* + DN here serves to identify the divine agent who caused the accident or injury.

Reviewing this evidence, it seems that in all these texts the diagnosis *qāt* + DN is associated with serious portents of evil that the deity had already inflicted on the person, either by placing an illness inside his body, or by having him suffer serious falls causing injuries, or stings by dangerous animals. In all these cases, the deity identified as the causal agent had attacked the physical integrity of the affected person. The specific diagnosis in the *qāt* + DN format then enabled the person to react appropriately.

The phrase *qāt* + DN was used in a retrospective manner, explaining the causal agent of an evil that was already manifest in the form of an illness, accident, or injuries. All the instances cited show that the “hand of a deity” was harmful for the affected person. Indeed, a negative result of an omen is in many cases expressed with the phrase *qāt* + DN, whereas a positive result is formulated differently. This is nicely illustrated by the extispicy text cited above concerning the special “joker signs”: If a positive extispicy is changed by the joker sign into a negative extispicy, it is the “hand of the god so-and-so”; if a negative extispicy is changed into a positive one, a different expression is used. This is, however, not universally true and *qāt* + DN can occasionally refer to a positive outcome, as the following chariot omen shows:

šumma rubû narkabta irkabma magar narkabti ša šumēli iššahḫiṭ qāt
 Ištar Ištar ina šibsāti irteneddišu KI.MIN Ištar ana damiḫti ištene”ēšu

If a prince rides a chariot and the left wheel of the chariot slips off: Hand
 of Ištar. Ištar will pursue him in anger, ditto: Ištar will seek him out for
 something good.

(CT 40, 36: 38–39)

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Kamadme, the Sumerian Counterpart of the Demon Lamaštu

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The female demon whose Sumerian name was written ^dĀIM.ME was believed to be the source of a very specific evil. She preyed mostly on women in childbirth and newborn babies and was held responsible for infant mortality generally. Her child-snatching activities have been well explored recently, and it is not the purpose of this paper to consider her history, mythology, iconography, and character (see Wiggermann 2000), nor to comment on the magic rites and spells deployed to counter her evil (see Farber 2014). The intention here is to clarify her name.

Ever since Myhrman's pioneering edition of the Standard Babylonian "Labartu" incantation series (1902), the Akkadian and Sumerian pronunciations of this demon's names have given trouble. The dispute over whether the Akkadian should be read as Lamaštu or Labartu was settled by the syllabic spelling ^dla-ma-aš-tim in an Old Babylonian legal document pointed out by Ungnad in 1925 (see further Farber 2014: 41 n. 10), and confirmed by *la-ma-aš-tam* in an Old Babylonian incantation published by Böhl in 1934 (now Geller and Wiggermann 2008: 150 line 7). However, the pronunciation of ^dĀIM.ME in Sumerian texts continued to elude definitive explication (Farber 1983: 439). Were the signs to be read phonetically ("Dimme") or did they conceal some other reality?

Farber's new edition of the Lamaštu incantations (2014) is a great step forward in the scholarly presentation of this corpus. In introducing the "female spirit named Dimme," however, he offers no new discussion of the interpretation and pronunciation of the spelling ^dĀIM.ME but refers to a previous statement of the evidence by Wiggermann (2000). Wiggermann noted that the name "Dimme" had resisted interpretation, but that the element written ME must be a phonetic indicator. This is plausible, for ĀIM appears with other additional signs to signify other demons, who often

appear in sequence: ^dDÌM.ME — ^dDÌM.(ME).A — ^dDÌM.(ME).LAGAB = Lamaštu, Labāšu, and Aḥḥāzu.

A recently published Middle Babylonian manuscript of the bilingual word-list *Ea* VII brings new evidence to the matter, for it allows for the first time the reading in full of this text's section on the Sumerian pronunciations and Akkadian meanings of the sign DÌM (there written LÚ-šeššig) (1):

84	lu-ga-am	DÌM	<i>mi-[i-tum]</i>	“dead person”
85	ka-ma	DÌM	<i>zu-u[m-rum]</i>	“body”
86	ka-ma-ad	DÌM	<i>la-m[a-aš-tum]</i>	“Lamaštu”
87	ri-in	DÌM	<i>šur-[šum]</i>	“root”
89	di-im	DÌM	<i>ma-ku-[tum]</i>	“post”

Ea VII 84–89 after Civil 2010: 10, line 85 collated from original

According to this exposition the sign DÌM, when deployed in the spelling of the Sumerian name corresponding to Lamaštu in Akkadian, has the pronunciation *kamad* (or *kamat*, with Civil). This new evidence is corroborated by two long-known texts, which it helps elucidate: (2) a Middle Assyrian copy of a syllabically written Sumerian incantation, in which, among various demonic forces, are listed ka-ma-ad-ru ḥe-mé-en ka-ma-ad ḥe-mé-en ‘be you a *kamadru*, be you a *kamad*’ (Lambert 1965: 285 line 13); and (3) a short Old Babylonian exorcistic spell that opens with a passage in an unidentified language and continues with this address to a demonic power:

^dkam¹-ma-ad-me-en
 ni-maḥ-me-en
 áb-súmun-me-en
 sis-kur zu nu-me-en
 a si-lá ḥé ḥar nu
 si-lá zi-zi-ir
 si-lá zi-zi-ir

YOS 11, 66: 22–28 (cf. Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1994: 79)

1 Van Dijk et al. (1985: 44) transliterated ^dx-ma-ad and commented that the undeciphered “sign looks more like suḥur (over erasure?).” Cavigneaux collated it and found it to be 𒄠×U.DIŠ (Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1994: 81). In the light of *Ea* VII 86, it must be a poorly executed kam(𒄠×BAD).

You are a *kamad*, you are an august queen, you are a wild cow, you know no sacrificial offering. Oh, be gone, ... ! Be gone, depart! Be gone, depart!

In both these incantations *kamad* is a type of demon whose attributes are compatible with Lamaštu.

Given that DÌM is shown by *Ea* VII (1) to have had the pronunciations *kama* and *kamad*, the variant sign forms of DÌM become newly interesting. As is well known, the sign DÌM was written LÚ-šeššig in Old Babylonian texts (Borger 2004: no. 516), but sometimes this took the form of LÚ+GAM (Mittermayer 2006: 103 no. 254).² Later scribes developed forms that looked like RAB+GAM, RAB+KÁM, and LUGAL+KÁM (Borger 2004: no. 264). It looks as if the evolution of the sign was phonetically motivated, manipulating the *šeššig* wedges to produce sign elements that could act as phonetic complements—gam and kám—and thus determine the contextually correct reading of the polyvalent sign DÌM = LÚ-šeššig. In this regard it is interesting to revisit the god-list An = *Anu ša amēli*, which ends with an exposition of the five demons whose names were originally compounded with DÌM (LÚ-šeššig). The passage is reconstructed from two Middle Assyrian manuscripts (4):

153	^d [x x x]	[^d]RAB ^{kám-me}	<i>la-maš-tu</i>
154	x [x x x]	[^d RAB ^{kám-me}].A	<i>la-ba-šu</i>
155	[x x x]	[^d RAB ^{kám-me}].LAGAB	<i>aḷ-ḷa-zu</i>
156	[x x]-tab	^d [RA]B ^{[kám-m]e} .TAB	<i>bi-bi-tu</i> , var. <i>be-be-nu</i>
157	^d MIN-gi	^d RAB ^{kám-me} .GI ₆	<i>li-li-tu</i>

CT 24, 44: 142–46, var. from Litke 1998: pl. 47 line 78

In both manuscripts the sign DÌM is written as RAB compounded with KÁM, but the latter is written smaller and in superior position, indicating that it was understood as a pronunciation gloss (that the sign ME is also so written is less easy to explain). It would seem that these manuscripts capture the evolution of the sign DÌM from LÚ-šeššig to RAB+KÁM at a time when the KÁM was functioning as a gloss rather than as a phonetic complement. Whether

² Note here the gloss lu-ga-am in *Ea* VII 84, quoted above. The value luga_m of DÌM is substantiated by the syllabic writing of the temple-name é-DÌM-ma as é-lu-ga-ma in the litany MS 3071: 6 (unpublished) // VAS 2, 25 i 10.

gloss or phonetic complement, the sign KÁM is only a partial exposition of the phonetic reality, which, as the three passages (1–3) have indicated, is *kamad*.

The evidence for DÌM = *kamad* in the names of demons can be compared with the pronunciation guides entered in two Old Babylonian lexical lists. The first such entry is UET 7, 93 rev. 18 (5): ^dGIŠ.DÌM.ME = ^rd¹x[-x]-^rx x¹-um. Tonietti's reading (1979: 308) of the broken signs as g[a-x x-q]u-um was born of a desire to harmonize it with a gloss in the incantation YOS 11, 90: 4, a gloss then thought to refer to ^dDÌM.ME, and read by van Dijk (1985: 51) as ga-ba-a[s]-ku, by Tonietti as ga-b[a-á]š²-ku. However, the signs in YOS 11, 90 were subsequently explained as an Akkadian gloss *ga-ra-bu-um* on the following word, the skin disease GIG-ḫa-ab (Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1995: 178), and can be ignored here. In any case, formal grounds make it unlikely that the entry in the right-hand column of (5) is a pronunciation gloss on the entry in the left-hand column. The rest of this list, and the format of lexical lists generally, impose on the line the structure Sumerian (left col.) = Akkadian (right col.). The broken word ending in -um should therefore be no pronunciation gloss on ^dGIŠ.DÌM.ME, but instead its counterpart in Akkadian, i.e., Lamaštu. The only signs certainly identified in the right-hand column are the divine determinative and final -um. Collation of the tablet is currently impracticable, but provisionally one may suggest ^rd¹l[a-ma]-^raš¹-t[u¹]-um.

The second list, YBC 9844, has more to offer. It is unpublished, but known to me from a hand-copy and transliteration in the *Nachlass* of the late W. G. Lambert (Folios 1680, 7504). In addition, Enrique Jiménez has kindly supplied me with several photographs of the passage. From these sources I have extracted illustrations of the relevant passage (Figs. 1–2).

The list is set out in three sub-columns, giving (a) a pronunciation gloss, (b) the standard Sumerian spelling and (c) its Akkadian equivalent. Combining all the evidence, I read in lines 20–21 (6):

(a)	(b)	(c)	
ka-ma-ad-me	^d DÌM(LÚ-šeššig).ME	la-maš-tum	“Lamaštu”
ka-ma- ^r x ¹ -ru	^d DÌM(LÚ-šeššig).A	bi-bi-tum	“Chill-demon”

Here in line 20 is a clear statement that the pronunciation of ^dDÌM.ME, when it is the counterpart of Lamaštu, is *kamadme*. It confirms Wiggermann's suggestion that ME is to be read phonetically and commends to us a reading of Lamaštu's Sumerian name as ^dkamad(DÌM)-me.

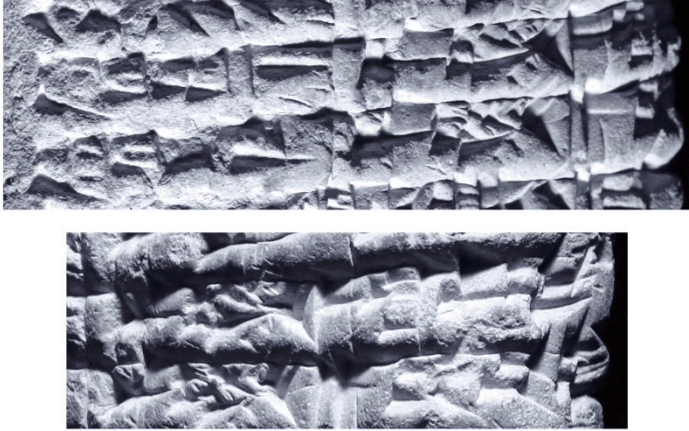


FIGURE 1. YBC 9844 obv. 20–21: (top) sub-cols. a–b, (bottom) sub-cols. b–c.
Photographs by Enrique Jiménez, courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection.



FIGURE 2. YBC 9844 obv. 20–21: detail of W. G. Lambert's pencil drawing from his Nachlass (Folio 168o).

In line 21 of YBC 9844 the pronunciation gloss (a) on ^dDÌM.A might then be expected to read ka-ma-ad-ru, in agreement with ka-ma-ad-ru in the Middle Assyrian incantation (2). The cuneiform does not yield this without emendation of the third sign, but ka-ma-^rdu¹-ru looks very possible (ka-ma-^rda¹-ru is not excluded). Since the sign A has a reading duru₅, the name written ^dDÌM.A and pronounced *kamadru* and *kamaduru* can be harmonized with the syllabic evidence by transliterating ^dkamad-duru₅ ‘wet *kamad*’, i.e., a demon of damp nature and clammy feel.

More new evidence comes from Old Babylonian incantations in the Schøyen Collection. In MS 3069 obv. 5 (George 2016: 81–82, II.B.4. no. 39), a context similar to the Middle Assyrian incantation quoted above, one encounters among well-known demons the phrase (7) ka-ma-ad ḫul-ḫul ḫe-m[e-en] ‘be you evil *kamad*-demons’. This plural evidently refers collectively to the various demons whose names were compounded with ^dDÌM, including Kamadme = Lamaštu and Kamad(u)ru = Bibitu and Labāšu.

Two manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection have the text of an Old Babylonian incantation already known from tablets now in Baghdad and

Oxford (TIM 9, 63: 17'-23' // OECT 5, 55, ed. Tonietti 1979: 304-5; Farber 2014: 196-97). The incantation's incipit on the two published tablets, and on one of the tablets in the Schøyen Collection, MS 3105/1 ii 7' (George 2016: 89, II.B.8. no. 22c), runs (8) ^dDÌM.ME mu dumu an-na 'Kamadme is (her) name, child of An'. However, on the second Schøyen tablet, MS 3067: 28 (George 2016: 89, II.B.8. no. 28c), the incipit reads (9) ^dka-^rma'-ad'-ge-^ren' mu dumu a[n-na], where the first word is obviously a syllabic spelling of the name written ^dDÌM.ME in the other three manuscripts. The spelling is clearly related to the syllabic spellings of DÌM in (1) *Ea* VII 86 (ka-ma-ad); (2) the Middle Assyrian incantation (ka-ma-ad, ka-ma-ad-ru); and the Old Babylonian texts (3) YOS 11, 66: 22 (^dkam'-ma-ad), (6) YBC 9844: 20-21 (ka-ma-ad-me, ka-ma-^rdu'-ru), and (7) MS 3069: 5 (ka-ma-ad). Probably it represents ka-ma-ad-me distorted by a corruption: me interpreted as mén, then written ge-en. Alternatively, MS 3067 is witness to a pronunciation not yet substantiated by other evidence. Alongside this Old Babylonian voice of dissent, but from a much later period, is another (less certain) syllabic spelling of ^dDÌM.ME, which occurs on a Late Babylonian manuscript of the Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44 and duplicates, ed. Geller 2000: 242-54; Jean 2006: 62-82). Where MSS Ae have: dab im u (var. om.) ^dDÌM.ME, MS d reads (10): dab im u kal(-)sa-^rx x' (Geller 2000: 249 line 13).³ This remains to be explained.⁴

In sum, while some evidence suggests that other readings may have also been current (9, 10), the authoritative lexical text *Ea* (1), other syllabic evidence for the reading of ^dDÌM.ME (2-3), the pronunciation gloss in the god-list YBC 9844 (6), and a further syllabic spelling in a tablet now in the Schøyen Collection (7) all suggest that we transliterate it ^dkamad-me. The syllabic spelling ka-ma-ad-ru and gloss ka-ma-^rdu'-ru render ^dDÌM.A = ^dkamad-duru₅. Compounds of ^dDÌM that signify other demons (4) no doubt also use the value kamad of DÌM.

3 Collation of Rm 717+ confirms Geller's copy. I am grateful to Nils Heeßel for reminding me of this attestation.

4 Daniel Schwemer proposes LAMMA²-sa²-tum², in error for Lamaštu (personal communication).

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The Lion, the Witch, and the Wolf: Aggressive Magic and Witchcraft in the Old Babylonian Period

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1 Introduction

Aggressive magic can be defined as the use of rituals and incantations for gaining advantage or control over another person, such as an opponent or lover. The effects of aggressive magic vary and can be physical, psychological, emotional, social, and/or financial.¹ Old Babylonian incantations that fall under this heading deal with love, anger, control, and victory in court.² These incantations provide a window on different aspects of interpersonal relations that concerned this ancient society. The incantations were written for a client to grant him (or her) advantage over another person in a specific situation, and thus they only reveal to us one side of the story and of the dispute.

Witchcraft, in effect, is also aggressive magic, since its goals are to control and harm human beings through magical means. The difference between witchcraft and aggressive magic is a matter of perspective. Witchcraft (Akkadian *kišpū*, Sumerian *uš_{7/11}*) was a pejorative term used to describe illegal acts of magic.³ Consequently, texts that give instructions on how to perform aggressive magic never refer to it as “witchcraft.” Thus, what we know about “witchcraft” derives from indirect sources hostile to the practice,

1 For a general description of aggressive magic in Mesopotamia and its place in the exorcist's lore, see Schwemer 2011: 431–32.

2 A comprehensive study of aggressive magic in Mesopotamia is the subject of my dissertation. I conducted an initial study of the texts from the Old Babylonian period as part of my MA thesis under the supervision of Prof. Nathan Wasserman (Hebrew University, Jerusalem).

3 For a detailed study of Akkadian and Sumerian witchcraft terminology, see Schwemer 2007: 5–21.

such as letters and laws concerning accusations of witchcraft, and anti-witchcraft rituals, incantations, and medical texts.⁴

The purpose of this article is to define the spectrum of aggressive magic in the Old Babylonian period and to observe the place of witchcraft within it. This will be achieved by analyzing the motif of the lion and the wolf as it appears in several Akkadian incantations from the Old Babylonian period and by examining the textual and physical contexts in which this motif appears.

2 The Lion and Wolf Motif

The lion and the wolf were known as two of the most aggressive and dangerous wild animals in Mesopotamia. With their power and aggression, they posed a threat to both humans and other animals.⁵ These characteristics led to the development of a literary motif that used the lion and the wolf to represent aggression and power.⁶ In this section I will examine the occurrences of this motif in six Akkadian incantations from the Old Babylonian period that can be categorized as aggressive magic.⁷ Nuances found in the texts employing this motif point to differences in the dynamic of each incantation, thus revealing different aspects of aggressive magic.

In some cases, the lion and wolf motif describes the subject of the incantation. Two incantations for soothing anger (*uzzum*) contain the following similes:

4 For the Old Babylonian sources, see Schwemer 2007: 25–28, 118–25.

5 See Maul 1995: 397; Klan 2007: 72.

6 Some incantations from later periods are directly concerned with the danger posed by the lion and wolf. For example, an incantation describes a man traveling alone in the wilderness and encamping there at night. In the incantation, the speaker wishes that his path will be shut and blocked against the lion and the wolf: *ana nēši lū edlaššu ana barbari lū pehāššu* (Th 1905–4–9, 67 obv. 11; see Schwemer 2012: 212–13). The lion and the wolf are also listed together with a robber in the rubric of an incantation designed to prevent hostile parties from approaching a man (and his house?): KA.INIM.MA *nēšu barbaru u ḥabb[ātu ana amēli (u bītīšu) lā teḥē]* ‘Incantation that lion, wolf and ro[bb]er not approach a man (and his house)’ (K 2389+ obv. 7; see Maul 1994: 197; Schwemer 2012: 215 n. 6).

7 Examples 1–4 are incantations for soothing anger, example 5 is an incantation to overpower an opponent, and example 6 is an anti-witchcraft incantation.

- 1) TIM 9, 72⁸
⁴*kīma nēšim* ⁵*ēzi alākam* Like a lion, (anger) is fierce-going,
⁶*kīma barbarim* ⁷*mali libbātīm* like a wolf, it is full of rage.
- 2) UET 6/2, 399⁹
⁴*kīma nēšim* ⁵*ēz alāka* Like a lion, (anger) is fierce-going,
⁶*kīma barbarim* ⁷*lakāta mādmi* like a wolf, it is strong-running.

In these incantations, the similes clearly describe anger itself.¹⁰ The incantations begin by describing how anger behaves like a wild bull and a dog, and continue by comparing anger with a lion and a wolf.

In other cases, the motif of lion and wolf is used to qualify certain attributes of one of the people participating in the interaction dealt with in the incantation. These attributes are dignity (*bāštum*) and radiance (*šalummatum*). Two incantations for soothing anger contain passages that seem almost identical, but one of them describes qualities of the opponent, whereas the other describes qualities of the client. The first incantation reads:

- 3) Tell Asmar 1930-T117¹¹
⁴*kīma barbarim* ⁵[*b*]*āštam* May I take away from you—
⁶[*kī*] *nēšim šalummat[am]* dignity (which is) like a wolf,
⁷[*lūt*]*erka* radiance (which is) like a lion.

In this incantation, the qualities compared to a lion and to a wolf are positive and desired qualities. The speaker wishes to take them away from his opponent. Stripped of his dignity and radiance, the opponent loses his advantage over the speaker. Dignity (*bāštum*) and radiance (*šalummatum*) are clearly marked as accusative in these lines and are the object of the verb *eṭērum*. Thus, the similes “like a wolf” and “like a lion” are to be understood as

8 Editions: Whiting 1985: 180–81; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

9 Editions: Whiting 1985: 180–81; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

10 There is another close parallel to these lines in an Old Babylonian incantation for soothing anger (IB 1554: 88–89). The relevant lines are mostly broken. The text is reconstructed by Wilcke (1985: 202–3) as follows: ⁸⁸*k[i-ma UR.MAḤ-in e-ez] a-[a²-ka-am]* ⁸⁹*k[i-ma UR.BAR.RA la-k]a-ta-am* ^r*ú²-ša-[ar²]* ‘W[ie ein Löwe] schr[eitet sie wild (einher)], w[ie ein Wolf r]ennt sie frei [dahin]’.

11 Editions: Whiting 1985: 180; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

adnominal phrases, i.e., describing dignity and radiance, and not adverbially, i.e., describing the manner in which the speaker acted.¹²

The next passage seems almost identical to the previous one, but a closer look reveals that subtle differences in the wording and the syntax of the passage change its meaning and its dynamic:

4) IB 1554¹³

⁸²[*libbaka kīma barbarim bāštum* May dignity, (which is) like a wolf,
(restrain) your heart,

⁸³[*kīma*] *nēšim š[a]l[umm]atum* may radiance, (which is) like a lion,
likl[ā]ka restrain you!

In contrast to the previous passage, in this parallel construction dignity and radiance are nominative rather than accusative forms. I understand the word *libbaka* (your heart) as a direct object of the verb *kalû* (to restrain) and parallel to the accusative suffix attached to the verb in line 83. Just as in the previous passage, the similes “like a wolf” and “like a lion” are to be understood as adnominal phrases, i.e., describing dignity and radiance. Here, however, dignity and radiance are attributes of the client, even though this is not stated explicitly, and the characteristics compared to the lion and the wolf are to be used against the opponent. The client’s dignity and radiance should restrain the opponent and his heart.

In the following example, found in an incantation to overpower an opponent in a dispute,¹⁴ the speaker, who is also the client, compares himself to a wolf and a lion:

5) RA 36, 3¹⁵

⁵*kī barbarim uštaḥḥitka* Like a wolf, I attacked you,

⁶*kī nēšim rupušti elika addi* Like a lion, I spat on you.

¹² Following Wasserman SEAL.

¹³ Editions: Wilcke 1985: 202–3; Wasserman SEAL.

¹⁴ The incantation has no identifying rubric. The purpose of the incantation is clarified by comparison to later incantations; see section 3 of this article.

¹⁵ Editions: Thureau-Dangin 1939: 110–12; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

By identifying himself as a wolf and a lion, the speaker appropriates for himself their aggression and power. Utilizing these powers enables him to overcome his rival.

The final example is found in an anti-witchcraft incantation. Here the lion and the wolf represent the opponent, that is, the person who cast the witchcraft. This passage is different from the previous examples in that it contains not similes but metaphors:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>6) YOS 11, 15 // YOS 11, 29¹⁶
 ⁵<i>ul iḥaddi barbaru imiṣīnī</i>
 ⁶<i>u nēšam šāginam idammun(?)</i>
 <i>yâtīm</i></p> | <p>The torn-eyed wolf will not rejoice,
 And regarding the roaring lion—
 he will <i>moan</i> to me.</p> |
|--|--|

The metaphor says that the wolf will not be happy and that the lion, who is known for his roaring, will moan towards the speaker. In other words, the power and the aggression of the lion and wolf will be taken away from them and they will behave submissively towards the speaker. Just as the lion and wolf will lose their powers, the opponent will lose his powers and be subdued by the speaker of the incantation.

Summary

The motif of lion and wolf appears in incantations from the Old Babylonian period that deal with different aspects of human interaction. As shown above, the lion and the wolf are a symbol of power and aggression. This motif and the qualities it represents can be understood positively or negatively depending on the person or subject to whom they refer. When the lion and wolf motif describes the opponent, the powers of the lion and wolf are perceived as threatening and dangerous. The way to overcome the opponent is by taking those powers away from him. On the other hand, when the lion and wolf represent the client of the incantation, the lion and wolf motif is positive. By being as strong and aggressive as a lion and a wolf, the client gains an advantage over his opponent and can easily overpower him.

¹⁶ Editions: CMAwR 2, text 8.19; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

3 Dynamics of the Incantations

In the previous section, I demonstrated some differences between the dynamics of several incantations by examining the different ways in which the lion and wolf motif appeared in them. Now I will take a closer look at the textual and physical context of three of these incantations. By exploring their context, we can gain a better understanding of their purpose and place in the spectrum of aggressive magic.

3.1 *IB 1554 (Example 4 and n. 10)*

The tablet IB 1554 contains a collection of incantations that are concerned with aggressive magic.¹⁷ Although not all the incantations on this tablet have the same subject (and the exact purpose of some of the incantations is disputed),¹⁸ they do have a common denominator: the attempt to control people—be it emotionally, physically, and perhaps financially—and to overpower them by strengthening the client (e.g., using the self-engenderment motif in lines 114–16) and/or weakening and subduing the opponent for the client’s own personal gain.¹⁹

This tablet is not merely a learned collection of incantations that share similar subjects. Rather, the tablet was written for a specific situation and the incantations and rituals were actually practiced.²⁰ Two men are mentioned by name in the incantations; they are apparently the people whom the incantations were meant to affect.²¹ The archeological context in which the tablet was found is illuminating. The tablet was broken, and all its sherds

¹⁷ Editions: Wilcke 1985; Wasserman SEAL. See Wasserman 2016 for further references and studies.

¹⁸ Some of the rubrics following the incantations mention the subject of the incantation. The rubrics in lines 7, 37, 41, 52, and 72 define the texts as love incantations. The rubric in line 61 defines the incantation as a loosening(?) incantation (KA.INIM.MA *pi-ti-ir-tum*). Scurlock (1989–90: 107–9) compares the incantation to ŠU.DU₈.A incantations and argues that the goal of the incantation was to gain economic control over an adversary. Wasserman (2016: 264) disagrees with Scurlock’s conclusion and thinks that this incantation too is love related. Other rubrics do not mention the subject of the incantation but refer to materia magica used in the ritual accompanying the incantation (line 77: milk(?); line 99: salt lump; line 108: *maštakal*-plant; line 124: sherd of a crossroad).

¹⁹ According to Scurlock (1989–90: 112) the tablet is “a collection of sorcerous or quasi-sorcerous spells designed to give someone control over other persons.”

²⁰ Wilcke 1985: 192–93.

²¹ Erra-bāni is mentioned in lines 30 and 117, Iddin-Damu in line 100.

were carefully laid in a jar full of sand. The jar was then buried in the corner of a wall.²² The tablet was probably broken so it could fit into the jar where it would be kept and protected. One might assume that the tablet was broken to nullify its effects,²³ but the opposite is probably true. I suggest that the burial of the tablet was part of the ritual accompanying the recitation of the incantations on the tablet and was meant to protect the tablet and even “activate” it. If the intention was to ruin the tablet, it would have been completely destroyed and not so carefully preserved. Hecker (2008: 67) assumes that the breaking of the tablet was not part of the ritual because some of the incantations have short ritual instructions and they do not mention the burial of the tablet. The last incantation on the tablet, however, seems to me to be connected to its burial. This short incantation, written on the left edge of the tablet, is written after, and not included in, the line count of the text.²⁴ This indicates that it is separate from the other incantations on the tablet and has a different purpose. The incantation reads: ¹²²an mul ki mul-mul ¹²³an mul ki mul-mul ‘Shiny sky, sparkling earth, shiny sky, sparkling earth’. The rubric of this incantation is: ¹²⁴ka-inim-ma šika-e-sír-ka-límmu ‘Incantation of a sherd of a crossroad’. The shiny earth mentioned in the incantation hints at the sand that was put in the jar together with the broken tablet. I suggest that after the incantations and rituals were performed, the tablet was ritually broken (at a crossroad?), laid in a jar full of sand, and buried in order to protect and activate its magical powers.

The lion and wolf motif appears twice in this text, both times in the section intended to calm anger. In the first appearance (lines 82–83) the motif describes characteristics of the client that he uses to overcome his opponent.²⁵ In the second appearance the motif describes the anger itself.²⁶ The dynamic of the incantations in this text is active. It would not be surprising if Erra-bāni, Iddin-Damu, and the women against whom the incantations in lines 38–40 and 48–51 are directed considered these incantations to be witchcraft.

22 Wilcke 1985: 188, 190–91.

23 Wilcke 1985: 191; Hecker 2008: 67.

24 Left edge, line 121: mu-šid 2.0;0 ‘The line number – 120’.

25 See above, Example 4.

26 See n. 10 above.

3.2 RA 36, 3 (Example 5)

In RA 36, 3 we saw that the lion and wolf motif described the speaker of the incantation as actively and violently attacking the opponent. The incantation was written on the obverse of a tablet found in Mari. It does not have any ritual instructions or a rubric defining its purpose.²⁷

The incantation shares some features with a later text (VAT 35).²⁸ Although the incantations are chronologically distant and not directly connected, a comparison of them teaches us much about the Old Babylonian incantation. VAT 35 is a Late Babylonian tablet containing a short ritual designed to overcome an adversary in court (*bēl dabābi*). An incantation is followed by detailed ritual instructions. Both RA 36, 3 and VAT 35 reflect a desire to overpower and silence the opponent: (1) Each incantation opens with a description of catching and overpowering the opponent: RA 36, 3: *'aṣbatka* (text: AT-*ba-at-ka*) *kīma a[...]* ²*uktassika kīma i[mbarim]* 'I have seized you like a ... I have enveloped you like a f[og]'²⁹; VAT 35: *'ÉN aṣbat pāki ūtabbil lišānk[i]* ²*aṣbat qātiki* 'Incantation: I have seized your mouth, I have dried out you[r] tongue, I have seized your hands'.³⁰ (2) The incantations then continue with a description of tying the mouth of the opponent: RA 36, 3: ⁴*elqe matnam uštāpu šapti[ka]* 'I have taken a bowstring, I have fastened [your] lips'³¹; VAT 35: ²*... addi qā ana p[ki]* 'I have put a (muzzle of) thread in [your] mouth!'. (3) In both incantations, the speaker explains that his goal is to gain verbal control over the opponent: RA 36, 3: ⁷*luqbīma qibīti el qibītik[a] lū e[lāt(?)]* ⁸*lutwīma tiwīti el tiwītika lū ḥabr[at]* 'Let me command, let my command be more *e[levated]* than your command! Let me speak, let my utterance be louder than your utterance!'; VAT 35: ⁴*ana lā dabāba ša dibbīya ana [lā]* ⁵*šunnē ša amātiya* 'So that you are not able to slander me, so that you are not able to distort my words'.

The last lines of RA 36, 3 seem very strange. In these lines, we read:¹³*tasnib appaka aqqinnatika* ¹⁴*akī lā amtaḥaṣ lētk[a]* 'You have tied your nose into your

27 Editions: Thureau-Dangin 1939: 10–14; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016). On the reverse of the tablet there is a Hurrian incantation not parallel to the incantation on the obverse.

28 Edited in CMAwR 1, text 8.12: "Repelling the Sorceries of an Adversary in Court."

29 The translation of this text follows Wasserman SEAL with some changes (accessed July 20, 2016).

30 The translation of this text follows CMAwR 1, text 8.12.

31 For the interpretation of this line, see Wasserman SEAL.

buttocks. Did I not strike your cheek?'.³² Again, a comparison to VAT 35 assists us in understanding these obscure lines. According to the ritual instructions of VAT 35 (lines 7–8), a clay figurine of the adversary is to be manipulated so that his right hand seizes his mouth and his left hand seizes his anus.³³ Schwemer explains that putting the figurine in this position blocks his body openings and puts him in a humiliating position.³⁴ I suggest that what we find in RA 36, 3 lines 13–14 is a literary description of the ritual act of manipulating a figurine, similar, yet not identical, to the figurine manipulation we find in VAT 35.

In conclusion, in the Old Babylonian incantation RA 36, 3, we find a dispute between two people: the first-person speaker and his opponent, who is referred to in the second-person masculine. The speaker uses the incantation to overcome his rival. The strategy for overcoming the opponent in the dispute is verbal: the speaker deprives his opponent of the ability to speak and wishes that his own words will overpower the words of his rival. The incantation was probably accompanied by the manipulation of a figurine representing the opponent. The figurine was put in a humiliating position and its body openings were blocked, thus preventing the opponent from speaking and defending himself. The dynamic of the incantation is active. The speaker communicates his intention to act aggressively and powerfully to overcome his opponent by describing himself with the lion and wolf motif.

3.3 YOS 11, 15 // YOS 11, 29 (Example 6)

The next incantation was preserved in two duplicate tablets (YOS 11, 15: 1–rev. 4 // YOS 11, 29 rev. 6–12).³⁵ The ritual instructions survive only in YOS 11, 15. According to the second set of ritual instructions that are relevant to the incantation, the incantation was meant to calm a person who was troubled and worried.³⁶ The worries were probably sent against him by his adversary,

³² I understand *akī* as an interrogative, “how?,” lending emphasis to the rhetorical question.

³³ 7DÜ.DÜ.BI *šalam bēl dabāba ša ūdi teppuṣ imittašu* {*ina*} *pāšu* ⁸*šumēlšu qinnassu tušaṣbassu*.

³⁴ CMAwR 1, text 8.12, commentary on lines 7–8 and further references there.

³⁵ Editions: CMAwR 2, text 8.19; Wasserman SEAL (accessed July 20, 2016).

³⁶ YOS 11, 15: ²¹*šumma ittanadlaḥ u dubbutum* ²²*šaknassu*. Contra CMAwR 2, text 8.19, I assume this ritual instruction is connected to the incantation. The ruling before line 21 is mostly overwritten. The same type of ruling is written before line 17, indicating two separate sets of ritual instructions. The tablet is otherwise not ruled. Although the ritual instructions are separate, they both belong to the incantation written above them.

who is mentioned in the incantation and called the evildoer (*ēpiš lemnētīm*).³⁷ We find a similar complaint in an Old Babylonian letter to Enki. In the letter, the speaker says that worries were cast upon him by a man.³⁸

Thematically this incantation belongs to the category of aggressive magic, dealing with a dispute between the client and his opponent, the evildoer. However, the dynamic of this incantation is different from that of the other incantations discussed in this article. While the dynamic in the other texts is active, and the incantation refers to aggressive magic directed against anger or a human opponent, here it is defensive. The speaker of the incantation means to counteract the effects of the aggressive magic already cast upon the client by his adversary, magic that had an emotional effect on the client. This incantation is thus a reaction to active aggressive magic. As we saw in the previous section, the lion and wolf motif in this incantation hinted at the loss of power of the opponent and his submission to the client of the incantation. Robbed of his power, the evildoer will not be able to continue causing trouble to the client. Indeed, the first set of ritual instructions attached to this incantation specifies that it was actually intended to undo witchcraft that was performed against the client's house.³⁹ This indicates that active aggressive magic performed by an opponent was perceived by the person affected by it as witchcraft.

4 Summary and Conclusions

In this article, I examined the lion and wolf motif as it appears in Old Babylonian incantations that are thematically defined as aggressive magic. Then I took a closer look at three of the incantations in which this motif appeared. The motif of lion and wolf, representing power and aggression, was associated in some of the incantations with the client (examples 4, 5), in some with the subject of the incantation (examples 1, 2), and in some with the opponent against whom the incantation was directed (examples 3, 6). When the lion and wolf motif was attributed to the client, power and aggression were used to overcome the opponent. When the motif was attributed to the opponent, these same qualities were used against the client

³⁷ YOS 11, 15: 1 // 29 rev. 6.

³⁸ YBC 6461: ²*dubbubtam elīya ittadi* (see Beckman – Foster 1996).

³⁹ YOS 11, 15: ²⁰*kišpū ša ana bītīšu innepušū pa[šrū]*.

and had to be taken away from the opponent so that he would not be able to prevail in the dispute.

The incantations reflect the perspective of one party in a human interaction, namely, the perspective of the client for whom the incantations were written. When the client uses magic to control his opponent, the dynamic of the incantation is active. When the client uses magic to defend himself from his opponent and is perceived as the victim of magical misconduct, the dynamic of the incantation is defensive. When the incantation is defensive, the magic that was performed earlier by the opponent, and that the incantation was meant to counteract, is defined as witchcraft. One may assume that, from the perspective of the opponent, the active aggressive incantations were perceived as witchcraft as well.

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Repelling Evil with Rituals, Amulets, and Incantations

Evil Helpers: Instrumentalizing Agents of Evil in Anti-witchcraft Rituals

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1 The Medusa Motif

In ancient Mesopotamia, as in many cultures, terrifying monsters, once defeated, can serve as powerful apotropaia in the service of their new masters. Just as Medusa's head bestows exceptional protective power on Athena's shield and images of the Gorgon protect people, buildings, and objects, the entrance of Marduk's temple is guarded by representations of Tīāmat's monstrous soldiers whom the god had overpowered in battle. Also Ninurta, after his victory over the monster bird Anzū, attaches the body of his slain enemy to the front of his father Enlil's temple, according to one version of the myth; this narrative is widely reflected in Mesopotamian temple architecture.¹ In the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš Epic, the victorious hero carries the severed head of Ḫumbaba, the monstrous guardian of the cedar forest, back to Nippur as a trophy, probably in order to fasten it to the gate that he will build for Enlil from cedar beams.²

Other monsters are regarded as tutelary, benevolent spirits whose origins lie at the beginning of time, and monumental representations of these protective forces guard the entrances of temples and palaces. Smaller images can be interred in the foundations of buildings, but are also used as amulets; thus an amulet in the shape of a Dog-man (*urdimmu*), which is only attested

1 See Wiggermann 1992: 145–46, 152–57, 159; Wiggermann 2011: 302–5; cf. also Lambert 2013: 224–36, and, for Anzū, George 2003: 845. For an overview of “Gorgon-like” masks and images around the world, see Wilk 2000, especially chapter 4.

2 Cf. Wiggermann 1992: 146. Note, however, that the traces preserved in ms. f, as indicated in George 2003: pl. 98, exclude Wiggermann's reconstruction of Gilgameš SB VII 53. Thus the ultimate fate of Ḫumbaba's head remains uncertain, though the use of a Ḫuwawa face as an apotropaion at the entrance of the Old Babylonian temple at Tell ar-Rimāḥ (Howard-Carter 1983) lends plausibility to Wiggermann's hypothesis.

in a ritual text prescribing its manufacture, protects its wearer against witchcraft.³

The use of the monstrous demon Pazuzu as an evil-averting amulet is documented in numerous artifacts: figurines, heads, and plaques that bear ample witness to Pazuzu's grotesque face became the most popular apotropaion of first-millennium Mesopotamia. In contrast to the protective spirits, Pazuzu is a demon that an incantation describes explicitly as a destructive force, a characterization that is matched by his frightening appearance. It would therefore seem that Babylonians and Assyrians regarded the terrifying Pazuzu, a latecomer in the world of Mesopotamian demons, as a malevolent spirit whose power could be harnessed and directed against other evils, even though an etiological Pazuzu narrative comparable to the defeats of Tīamat's army, Anzû, or Hūmbaba is unknown.⁴

2 Demons in Anti-witchcraft Rituals

Usually, malevolent demons other than Pazuzu do not figure as allies of the ritual client in Mesopotamian defensive magic, but there are specific contexts within anti-witchcraft rituals where exorcist and patient deploy creatures that are generally regarded as evil or potentially dangerous in defense against the witches that have attacked the patient.

The stereotypes associated with a witchcraft attack include the concept of witches having sent evil demons and ghosts against the patient, or of the patient having been entrusted to such agents of evil.⁵ Since standard anti-witchcraft rituals have the objective to purify, release, and heal the bewitched patient by removing the witchcraft from the patient's body, sending it back to the witches, and thus eliminating the witches by means of their own devices, the rhetoric of some incantations includes wishes for (counter)attacks of these demons against the witches.⁶ Also the witch herself can be described as a demonic being that even strikes deities, but, at the same time, an identification of the witch with one of the prominent Mesopotamian female

3 See Mayer 1999 and CMAwR 2, text 8.27, with further comments and literature.

4 On Pazuzu, see Heeßel 2002; 2011 as well as Wiggermann 2004; 2007; 2011: 316–19.

5 Cf., e.g., Maqlû I 136–38, II 52–56, IV 16–19, 42, V 60–67; CMAwR 1, text 8.4: 63; CMAwR 2, texts 7.22, 2.: 3'; 8.25: 108–11, 206–9; 8.27: 3; 8.28: 51; 10.8: 13–14, 22–24.

6 Maqlû II 209–13, III 143, V 60–67; see Schwemer 2007a: 146; cf. also Abusch 2011: 352–53.

demons (Lamaštu, Lilitu, Ardat-lilī) is rarely attested in the texts.⁷ Where sources describe the nonhuman witches in more detail, they appear as a group of seven heavenly girls associated with Ištar and her circle, in particular the goddess Kanisurra.⁸

Accordingly, crossover rituals that combine elements of anti-witchcraft therapies with those of rites directed against demons or ghosts are rare and indeed limited to symbolic acts that realize a ritual transfer of the witches to the netherworld.⁹ In order to ban the witches to the world of the dead, not only dangerous officials of the netherworld like Ereškigal, Bidu, Namtar, Gilgameš, and Ḫumuṭ-tabal may be invoked,¹⁰ but also evil demons and potentially dangerous ghosts can be integrated into the ritual proceedings. In these cases, two of which will be discussed here, typical motifs and paraphernalia of the relevant anti-demon rituals are combined with rites that are characteristic of ceremonies against witchcraft.

7 The exceptions to the rule are two Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations whose introductory sections compare the witch to a female wind demon (lil ~ *lilitu*) from the netherworld (“child of Ereškigal”); see CMAwR 2, texts 8.15, 1.:1–2 and 8.16, 1.:1–2.

8 See Schwemer 2007a: 110–18; to the references on p. 116 for *Kanisurra bélet kaššāpāti* ‘Kanisurra, lady of the witches’, add CMAwR 2, text 7.22, 1.:14–15.

9 This is not to say that anti-witchcraft rituals are an isolated text group within Mesopotamian magic. Ritual genres that are closely related to anti-witchcraft rituals include the following: rituals against adversaries (cf., e.g., CMAwR 1, text group 7.6 as well as texts 8.12 and 8.13; CMAwR 2, text 3.4–3.8); rituals for gaining success, attractiveness, and power (*egalkura*-rituals and related texts); love magic, hate magic, and other rituals for controlling people; and rituals against curse (*māmītu*). For an overview and summary discussion of these text groups, see Schwemer 2015: 32–35, 39–41.

10 Ereškigal and deities of her realm are invoked in ritual oaths that seek to enforce the banishment of the witches to the netherworld (CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 138^{'''}; CMAwR 2, text 8.25: 222). Appeals to Ereškigal and Namtar could be inscribed on amulet seals against witchcraft; see BM 49141 + 65953 + 68455: 6'–9' (Namtar), 10'–12' (Ereškigal); these short incantations refer to witchcraft as having been performed against the bearer of the amulet by entrusting him to Namtar and Ereškigal (cf. Schwemer 2007a: 99), a motif that is attested in anti-witchcraft rituals too (CMAwR 1, text 1.8: 8–9). For an edition and discussion of an *ušburruda*-ritual involving Gilgameš, Ḫumuṭ-tabal, and other netherworld deities, see Schwemer 2010; for the texts KAR 227 // and LKA 44 //, which are discussed in this context, see now CMAwR 2, texts 8.25 and 8.29.

3 Lamaštu and the Witch

The many methods of harmful figurine magic that are enumerated as having been performed against the patient in the incantation *Bišlī bišlī qidē qidē* (Maqlû IV 1–79) include the handover of figurines representing the patient to Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu (line 42), the most prominent evil demon of Mesopotamian magic, whose nefarious activities are mainly directed against newborn babies and their mothers, but who is held responsible also for attacks on men or animals as “an almost satanic force, a personification of evil and aggressiveness.”¹¹

How Babylonians and Assyrians imagined the witches to have entrusted figurines of the patient to this evil demon can be gleaned from an extensive anti-witchcraft ritual that achieves the destruction of the witches by burning on the one hand, and by a symbolic transfer to the netherworld on the other. In the course of the symbolic journey of the witches to the netherworld, the ritual employs a representation of Lamaštu as well as typical elements of rituals directed against that demon. A tabular overview of the proceedings may be drawn up as follows (line numbers according to CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1):¹²

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 1. | Symptom description, diagnosis, and (negative) prognosis: Witchcraft; water of his “cutting-of-the-throat” magic; figurines of the patient have been entrusted to Gilgameš and a ghost in the month of Abu | lines 1–18 |
| 2. | Ritual instructions: Offerings before Šamaš | line 19 |

¹¹ Farber 2014: 3; see pp. 1–6 for a general overview and relevant literature. Cf. also Farber 1983; Wiggermann 2000.

¹² The ritual was first reconstructed by Schwemer (2006) and then fully edited as CMAwR 1, text 8.7. It is known from three different texts: a Library Version, a Memorandum Version, and a Ritual Inventory. The Library Version is known from three two-column tablets found at Aššur (mss. A, B, and D; see CMAwR 1, p. 336) and a one-column Babylonian tablet of unknown provenance that included only the first part of the ritual and is probably a scribal exercise (ms. c). The Memorandum Version is represented by a Neo-Babylonian tablet from Nineveh (ms. e). The Ritual Inventory is attested on a Neo-Assyrian tablet from Aššur, which Farber edited as “a list of utensils and materials for a ritual involving Lamaštu” (2014: 278–79, 310–13, 337–38). It has now also been included, with a few modifications, in CMAwR 2 as text A.5 (pp. 451–53; see there also for a few corrections to the edition of text 8.7 in CMAwR 1).

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|
| 3. | Incantation: <i>Alsika Šamaš šimânni</i> | lines 20–28 |
| 4. | Ritual instructions: Washing the hands of Šamaš | line 29 |
| 5. | Incantation: <i>Šamaš bêlî šār bêrî</i> (with invocations of Ea and Girra) | lines 30–87 ¹³ |
| 6. | Ritual instructions: Burning of figurines of the warlock and witch made of various materials in various ovens | lines 88''–98'' |
| 7. | Incantation: <i>Šamaš bêlu rabû muštēšer elâti u šaplâti</i> | lines 99''–[?] ¹⁴ |
| 8. | Incantation: <i>Anašši dipāra šalmišunu aqallu(?)</i> | lines [?]-104 ¹⁵ |
| 9. | Ritual instructions: Fumigation | line 105''' |
| 10. | Incantation: <i>Ēpištu qumqummatu</i> | lines 106'''–15''' |
| 11. | Ritual instructions: Apotropaic rites; placing figurines in a skull | lines 116'''–[?] |
| 12. | Adjuration: Placing the ghost represented by the skull under oath | lines [?]-139''' |
| 13. | Ritual instructions: Concluding rites | [lost] |

The first core rite of the ritual is the burning of figurines representing the witches. The recitation of two Šamaš prayers—*Šamaš bêlî šār bêrî* and *Šamaš bêlu rabû muštēšer elâti u šaplâti*—accompanies the execution of the incinerations. Apparently, both texts describe in some detail the specific series of burnings for which seven different ovens and several sets of figurines were

13 Two considerable gaps remain in the text of this apparently extensive prayer. In view of the incantation sequence in the Memorandum Version it is unlikely that the fragmentary passages belonged to more than one incantation.

14 This incantation, whose use in the ritual is confirmed by the Memorandum Version (CMAwR 1, text 8.7.2: 28–29), is probably identical with the anti-witchcraft prayer *Šamaš bêlu rabû muštēšer elâti u šaplâti* (*attâma*) attested on BM 47602, BM 47939, and BM 69302. While BM 47602 is edited in CMAwR 2 as text 8.32, the two other duplicates were discovered after CMAwR 2 had been submitted to the publisher; a comprehensive edition of all manuscripts will be included in CMAwR 3. It seems that the present text had a much-expanded version of the incantation, since a number of lines that were probably part of the incantation within the present ritual (ms. A₃ rev. III²; see CMAwR 1, p. 341) have no correspondences in the parallels. But the solution of this problem very much depends on the (uncertain) placement of the fragment KAL 2, 27 (edited in CMAwR 1 as ms. A₃) within the text.

15 Only the final three lines of this incantation are preserved. Apart from the formulaic last line, they are identical to the closing lines of *Anašši dipāra šalmišunu aqallu* (Maqlû I 135–43; CMAwR 1, text 8.4: 63–67), a standard incantation for burning figurines (cf. also CMAwR 1, texts 8.8: 6', 9.2: 41, and 9.3: 16').

used.¹⁶ In KAL 2, 27 obv. II² 1'–8' (ms. A₃), a fragmentary passage that probably formed part of *Šamaš bēlī šār bēri*, the patient recounts how he fabricated the various sets of figurines. The text then continues with a description of how he defiled and pierced the representations of the witches. After a break of uncertain length, the prayer refers to funerary offerings and a silver ring in fragmentary context.¹⁷ The reverse of the same fragment preserves a short passage from a prayer (probably *Šamaš bēlu rabû muštēšer elâti u šaplâti*, but cf. n. 14 above) that details the execution of the burning rites in the different ovens (KAL 2, 27 rev. III² 1'–10'). The fragmentary lines also include references to further images of the witches and to the “Daughter of Anu.” Tentatively, these lines may be restored as follows (rev. III² 7'–8'):

[*ana eršetī*(KI-*tim*) *itti*(KI)(?)] *mārat*([DUM]U.M[UNUS]) ʾ^{d1}*a-nim ú-šèr-da-*
 ʾ*šū-nu*¹-*t*[*ī*]
šal[*am*(N[U] *ka*)]*š-ʾšá*¹-*pi* [*u*] ʾ^r*kaš-šap-ti*¹ \\
 ʾ^{e1}*pu-uš-ma mārat*(DUMU.MUNUS) ʾ^{d1}*a-nim* ʾ^r*ma*²¹-[*ḥar-šū-nu*(?)] x [...]¹⁸
 I let them descend [*to the netherworld together with*] the Daughter of
 Anu, I made figur[ines of the wa]rlock [*and*] witch, and *be[fore them*
I ...] the Daughter of Anu.

Unfortunately, the brief and, in part, fragmentary ritual instructions, as they are known from manuscripts A–D, the extensive Library Version of the text, provide no information at all on how the role of the Daughter of Anu—clearly a reference to the demon Lamaštu—within the ritual performance was conceived, nor do the ritual instructions mention funerary offerings or a silver ring. Information on these issues is, however, provided by K 888, a small Neo-Babylonian tablet from Nineveh that contains a brief overview of the agenda of the very same ritual, with the recitanda referred to only by incipit. This Memorandum Version of the ritual (CMAwR 1, text 8.7.2) shows that after the defilement and incineration of the various sets of figurines in the seven ovens, probably another pair of clay figurines representing the warlock and witch is ritually treated together with a skull and Lamaštu. The

16 Both relevant passages are preserved on the fragment KAL 2, 27 (edited in CMAwR 1 as ms. A₃), whose placement within the text is not entirely certain.

17 KAL 2, 26 (ms. A₂) obv. II 2'–4' = CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 70''–72''.

18 The trace of the last preserved sign is near the margin, but the line may have continued on the edge of the tablet.

last entry referring to the sets of figurines to be burned reads as follows (lines 15–16):

[Seven fig]urines of tallow, seven figurines of wax, seven figurines of bitumen: for the melting oven. You sprinkle them with hot bitumen.

The text then continues with prescriptions for defiling the figurines of the warlock and witch, a passage that probably refers to the sets of figurines that are burned and to the additional pair of figurines that is later used in conjunction with the figurine of Lamaštu (lines 17–19):

You clothe them with combed-out hair, you cover their faces with *cobweb* (and) bile of a sheep. You pierce them three times each with the thorn of a date palm.

At this point, after another ruling, the text gives instructions for the decoration of a skull and the placement of a clay figurine of Lamaštu therein.¹⁹ Then the text mentions two additional figurines of clay, probably representations of the warlock and witch. These are tied into the patient's or, possibly, Lamaštu's hem.²⁰ Two clay donkeys carry travel provisions for the merry party consisting of the demon Lamaštu, a ghost represented by the skull, and the warlock and witch. Lamaštu receives a funerary offering and a series of gifts and provisions, which are well known from the proper Lamaštu rituals as presents to be given to the demon before her departure to the netherworld (lines 20–27):

- 20 *gul-gul amēli*(NA) *me-e ellūti*(KÙ.MEŠ) *turammak*(TU₅¹)
 21 *šamna*(Ì.GIŠ) *tapaššaš*(ŠÉŠ) *šipāti*(SÍK) *pešēti*(BABBAR) *šipāti*(SÍK)
sāmāti(SA₅) *uqnāti*(^{sik}ZA.GÌN.NA) *tarakkas*(KÉŠ)

19 That a clay figurine representing Lamaštu is used transpires from the Ritual Inventory; see CMAwR 2, text A.5: 4–5: NU DUMU.MUNUS ^d*a-nim ša* IM KL.GAR 'A figurine of the Daughter of Anu, (made) of clay from the clay pit'.

20 If Lamaštu's hem is intended (thus Farber 2014: 306–7, 334, but cf. n. 22 below), the purpose of the gesture would be to attach the witches to the demon. The use of the patient's hem (thus CMAwR 1) is more difficult to explain, but the brief instruction may refer to a divorce rite by means of which the witches are first tied into the hem of the patient and then untied or torn off. Then, however, one has to assume that the crucial gesture of detaching the figurines from the patient would go unmentioned in the Memorandum Version.

- 22 *mārat*(DUMU.MUNUS) *Ani*(AN.NA) *tušeššeb*(TUŠ-*eb*) *šina*(2) *šalam*(NU)
ṭīd(IM) *kullati*(KI.GAR)
- 23 *ina sissiktī*(TÚG.SÍK)-*šú* (or: -*šá*¹) *tarakkas*(KÉŠ) *šina*(2) *imēri*(ANŠE)
šidīta(ZÌ.DA.KASKAL)
- 24 *te-mid muštu*(^{giš}GA.RÍG) *pilakku*(^{giš}BAL) *du-di-tú*
- 25 *šikkatu*(ŠAGAN) *šid-di ki-ri¹-is-si tanaddin*(SUM)-*ši*
- 26 *kunukku*(^{na}4KIŠIB) *tašakkan*(GAR)-*ši paršīg*(^{tiš}BAR.SI) *ḥaš-ma-nu*
- 27 *šubāt*(TÚG) *zumri*(SU) *un-qi kaspi*(KÙ.BABBAR) *za-bab kaspi*(K[Û.BABB]AR)
tanaddin(SUM)-*ši ki-is-pa \ ta-kás-sip-ši*

You bathe a human skull with pure water, you rub it with oil, you bind white, red, (and) blue (threads of) wool (on it). You have the Daughter of Anu sit (there). You tie two figurines of clay from the clay pit into his (or: her¹) hem. You load two donkeys with travel provisions. You give her a comb, a spindle, a dress-pin, a perfume flask, a rug, (and) a hairpin. You provide her with a seal, you give her a headdress of violet wool, a garment for the body, a ring of silver, (and) a piece of s[ilv]er jewelry. You make a funerary offering for her.

Then the Memorandum Version gives instructions for the recitation of *Šamaš bēlu rabū muštēšer elāti u šaplāti*, fumigations, and the recitation of *Ēpištu qumqummatu*, rites that can again be matched with the corresponding passages in the Library Version (see CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 105'''–22'''). A final adjuration of the ghost, who is represented by the decorated skull during the ritual performance, concludes the ritual in the Library Version: The warlock and witch have been entrusted to him, he must safely escort them to the netherworld and never release them (text 8.7.1: 123'''–39''').

As in many other anti-witchcraft rituals, the repeated burning rites have the objective to symbolically enact the total annihilation of the witches. The funerary display for a ghost in the form of a decorated skull establishes a link to the netherworld. The ghost is evoked so that he may arrest the witches and take them with him back to the world of the dead; this rite too is well known from other rituals.²¹ The function of the Lamaštu rite, which, as yet, is not known from any other anti-witchcraft ritual, is more difficult to explain. Three interpretations may be suggested:

21 Cf., e.g., CMAwR 2, texts 8.25 and 8.26.

1. The Lamaštu ritual segment stands on its own and is directed only against the demon Lamaštu. It is not connected to the surrounding anti-witchcraft ritual other than as an additive element.
2. The Lamaštu ritual segment is not directed against Lamaštu proper, but against the female witch who, within the ritual, is identified with the evil demon Lamaštu. Thus the rites that look, on the surface, like a Lamaštu ritual actually represent only one more ritual element that is directly addressing witchcraft.
3. The Lamaštu ritual segment is ancillary to the basic anti-witchcraft ritual. Lamaštu is sent to the netherworld together with the witches and, just like the ghost, enforces their transfer to the world of the dead as a terrifying escort.

The plausibility of these overall interpretations very much hinges on the reading of lines 20–27 of the Memorandum Version. The translation of that passage given above only admits the third interpretation, since it assumes that the two clay figurines mentioned in line 22 serve as representations of the warlock and witch. Farber, however, takes “two figurines of clay” (2 NU IM KL.GAR, line 22) as a reference to the two donkey models mentioned in the following line (2 ANŠE, line 23), an understanding of the wording that is semantically possible, but not in agreement with the usual phraseology of ritual instructions. He also interprets *ina TÚG.SÍK-šú* as a reference to Lamaštu’s hem,²² translating the whole sentence as “(you) tie two (donkey?) figurines made from potter’s clay to her’s hem.” This reading of the passage removes any reference to the witches and the patient from the Lamaštu section and thus admits the first and second potential interpretation. There are, however, three indicators in the text that exclude the first and second

²² See Farber 2014: 307–8, 334. As pointed out by Farber, -šú in Standard Babylonian texts is often found instead of expected -šá (most commonly, however, in Late Babylonian manuscripts). He also emends the unusual *šubât*(TÚG) *zumri*(SU) in line 27 to MU₄.<MU₄>-su, with -su for expected -sí. Note, however, that all other relevant forms use the correct feminine suffixed pronoun (cf. lines 25–27: three times -ší; the genitive feminine pronoun is not attested elsewhere in the text). This should caution against accepting Farber’s interpretation and emendation too readily. Further, the emendation in line 27 forces Farber to translate ^{ti}BAR.SI *haš-ma-nu* MU₄.<MU₄>-su as “with a sash of bluish wool you <cl>othe her’s.” This is possible of course, but not very likely, since *paršigu* usually refers to a sash that is used as a headdress rather than a cloak for the whole figurine.

interpretation and necessitate the assumption that anti-witchcraft and Lamaštu rites were truly interwoven (as suggested by interpretation 3):

- The fragmentary prayer passage quoted above (KAL 2, 27 rev. III² 7'–8') shows that there is a close connection between the use of a figurine of Lamaštu, the use of a pair of figurines representing the warlock and witch, and the ritual enactment of the banning to the netherworld of the evils affecting the patient. This renders interpretation 2 unlikely.
- The ritual instructions referring to the treatment of the skull explicitly refer to several figurines that are taken for the skull: *šalmī*(NU.MEŠ) *šú-nu-ti*¹ *ana gul-gul-lim te-[leq²]-q[e²]* 'You [ta]k[e] these figurines for the skull'.²³ This, one may argue, could refer to the figurine of Lamaštu and the two donkey models, but the following adjuration of the ghost, who is represented by the skull, leaves no doubt that figurines of warlock and witch are included: [*šalmī*(NU.MEŠ)] *kaš-šá-pi-ia u kaš-šap-t[i-i]á* [*ana ma-ḫ*] *ar Šamaš*(^dUTU) *ka-a-šá ap-qi[d]*¹ *su¹-<nu-ti>* '[Figurines of] my [wa]rlock and witch, I have entrusted th to you [befo]re Šamaš'.²⁴ Just like the prayer passage KAL 2, 27 rev. III² 7'–8', this section of the ritual instructions and the pertinent passage from the adjuration of the ghost militate against interpretation 2.
- The opening section of the ritual does not mention Lamaštu as a cause of the patient's ailment. The diagnosis details that *zikurudû* witchcraft has been performed against the patient and that figurines representing him have been handed over to the netherworld in the month Abu; more specifically, the text mentions Gilgameš and a ghost to whom the patient has been handed over.²⁵ This renders the assumption of an independent Lamaštu rite (interpretation 1) unlikely.

Seen together, these passages demonstrate that a pair of figurines representing the warlock and witch played a key role in the final section of the ritual, which also involved a figurine of Lamaštu, two donkey models, and a skull. If so, an identification of Lamaštu with the witch cannot be intended here, nor is it permissible to analyze the Lamaštu rite in isolation from the anti-witchcraft ritual in which it is embedded. The function of the evil demon

²³ KAL 2, 26 (ms. A₂) rev. IV 15 = CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 118'''.
²⁴ VAT 13697 (ms. B, previously BAM 332) rev. IV 8'–9' = CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 130''''–31''''.

²⁵ BAM 231 obv. I 1–18 (ms. A₁) // VAT 13697 (ms. B, previously BAM 332) obv. I 1'–3' = CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 1–18.

Lamaštu within the proceedings is nowhere explained explicitly, but it is certain that Lamaštu, together with the ghost and the witches, was sent off to the netherworld. Her most plausible function in this context is that of an evil helper who keeps a sharp eye on the witches as they travel to the world of the dead. In this sense, the present ritual is a mirror-image reflection of the accusation in Maqlû IV 42: *šalmīya ana Lamašti mārat Ani taḫqīdā tē(pušāni tušēpišāni Girra līpšur)* ‘You have entrusted figurines of me to Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu! You have (performed sorcery against me, you have had sorcery performed against me—may Girra undo!’).

4 The Witches—Causing Any Evil, Guarded by Any Evil

Akkadian *mimma lemnu* ‘any evil’ (Sumerogram: NÍG ҪUL) is used as a common noun phrase and as the proper name of an individual demon who is regarded as the personification of the sum of all kinds of evil that cannot be specified individually. An extensive anti-witchcraft ceremony whose performance enacts the killing of the witches through a symbolic transfer of them to the netherworld during Abu, the month of contact between the upper and the lower world,²⁶ exploits the ambiguity of the Akkadian phrase *mimma lemnu* for describing the evil caused by the witches on the one hand, and for a specific ritual use of the demon Any Evil within the performance on the other.

The text, which was first edited by Ebeling already in 1931,²⁷ is known from two large, Neo-Assyrian two-column tablets found at Aššur in the context of the library of Kišir-Aššur.²⁸ The two tablets, whose state of preservation is far from complete, both originally contained the full text of the ritual including all recitanda. The library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh kept copies of the text, one of them written on a series of single-column tablets.²⁹ That the text was

²⁶ See CMAwR 2, text 8.25: 5 (partially restored) with commentary; for the month of Abu more generally, see Cohen 2015: 419–21.

²⁷ See Ebeling 1931: 122–33; for a new edition with full bibliography, see CMAwR 2, text 8.25.

²⁸ VAT 8910 (ms. A) was first published as KAR 227. VAT 13656 + 13657 (ms. B), which carries a colophon of Kišir-Aššur, was first published as LKA 89 and 90 (partly only photos); for a new hand-copy, see CMAwR 2, pls. 34–43.

²⁹ Single-column tablets (probably all part of one set): K 9860 + 13272 + 13796 (ms. C); K 6793 + Sm 41 + 617 + 717 + 1371 + 1877 (ms. D); Sm 38 (ms. E). A two-column manuscript from

transmitted also in Babylonian libraries of the first millennium is shown by a small Neo-Babylonian fragment from Sippar.³⁰

The text has a straightforward structure: An initial diagnostic section and purpose clause (CMAwR 2, text 8.25: 1–4) is followed by detailed ritual instructions that cover the entire ritual setup (lines 5–48). The rest of the text consists of the ritual's recitanda, introduced by brief instructions for their recitation:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Recitation instruction | lines 49–50 |
| 2. | Prayer to Šamaš: [Šamaš ... e]lāti u šaplāti | lines 51–80 |
| 3. | Recitation instruction | line 81 |
| 4. | Prayer to Gilgameš: <i>Gilgāmeš šarru gitmālu dayyān Anunnaki</i> | lines 82–157 |
| 5. | Recitation instruction | line 158–60 |
| 6. | Prayer to the Anunnaki: <i>Attunu Anunnaki ilū rabātu</i> | lines 161–79 |
| 7. | Recitation instruction | lines 180 |
| 8. | Prayer to the family ghosts: <i>Attunu eṭem kimtīya bānū šumīya?</i> | lines 181–97 |
| 9. | Recitation instruction | line 198 |
| 10. | Adjuration of an unknown ghost: <i>Attā eṭemmu lā mammānāma</i> | lines 199–222 ³¹ |

The ritual setup includes a richly decorated figurine of Gilgameš, who is fitted out as the divine ferryman of the netherworld (lines 5–12), as well as several figurines made of clay. The exorcist obtains the clay for these latter figurines from the clay pit in the course of a ceremonial clay purchase rite, as part of which he recites an invocation addressed to the personified clay pit (lines 13–23). Then he fabricates a glaring, lion-headed figurine of Namtar, the vizier of the netherworld and the personification of death (lines 23–26). Further, he makes an apparently anthropomorphic figurine representing the demon Any

Nineveh is Th 1905-4-9, 144 = BM 98638 (ms. G). For hand-copies of these manuscripts, which are all written in Neo-Assyrian script, see CMAwR 2, pls. 44–47.

³⁰ Si 747 (ms. f), see CMAwR 2, pl. 47.

³¹ At the end of the texts, only ms. B adds one further, fragmentary incantation that follows upon the recitation of the incantation addressed to the unknown ghost. This final recitation may have been addressed to Gilgameš or Ḫumuṭ-tabal.

Evil. The exorcist equips this figurine with travel provisions and also weighs out a ransom for the release of the patient:

You make a figurine of Any Evil. You clothe him with a garment for one day (and) a cloak for one day. You furnish him with the malt flour preparation for journeys. The money of his ransom, silver, gold, copper, tin, lead, antimony, carnelian, lapis lazuli, banded agate, *muššaru*-stone, goat hair (and various kinds of) wool, white wool, red wool, blue wool, you weigh on the scales and give (it) to him. You give him a belt, sandals, a sack, (and) a waterskin.³²

Finally, the exorcist prepares a pair of clay figurines representing the warlock and witch. They are inscribed with their names and apparently also dressed (lines 33–35). This evil couple completes the lineup of figurines, and the exorcist, together with the patient, continues the ritual with offerings and invocations to Gilgameš, the Anunnaki, Šamaš, and the ghosts of the patient's family. Then the patient addresses these gods and spirits in separate prayers, asking them to effect his release and to hand over the witches to the authorities of the netherworld. The function of these various players within the ritual is clear enough: Šamaš is the supreme divine judge to whom the majority of anti-witchcraft rituals appeal for the release of the patient and a verdict against the witches. Gilgameš serves as judge in the netherworld, but is here characterized as the ferryman who takes the dead across the river Ĥubur. The Anunnaki too form an assembly of divine netherworld judges. All these chthonic authorities, together with the family ghosts, are asked to free the patient from the evil that besets him, render a verdict against the witches, and entrust them to Namtar so that he may imprison them in the netherworld. Finally, the patient speaks an incantation addressed to an

³² Lines 27–32. Here, the demon Any Evil is apparently represented by an anthropomorphic figurine. The *Underworld Vision of a Prince* describes him as a two-headed monster (Livingstone 1989: 72, no. 32 rev. 7). In a ritual against a ghost, the demon is also represented by an anthropomorphic figurine, but clad in the skin of a lion or a bull (BAM 323 obv. 4–6 //, ed. Ambos 2013: 146–52). In a ritual against illness, a figurine of Any Evil is made in the shape of a bull-man: NU *mim-ma lem-nu* GIM GU₄.LÚ.U₁₈.LU DÛ-uš (BM 41291 obv. 10' // BAM 212 rev. 41; specification of the figurine's form only in BM 41291; a full edition of the tablet is under preparation). For a drawing of Any Evil on a clay tablet, see provisionally Finkel 2011: 338, 340, fig. 6 (BM 47701); for drawings of demons on tablets, see now also Arbøll 2017: 346–52.

unknown ghost—in all likelihood represented by a skull³³—and asks him to take the witches with him down to the netherworld. The handover of the witches to Namtar and to the unknown ghost was certainly enacted by moving the relevant figurines during the ritual's performance, but the ritual text does not provide any specific instructions on this matter.

The demon Any Evil is represented by a figurine during the ritual performance, but not individually addressed in a separate recitation. But just as the various prayers repeatedly describe the role of Namtar—also present as a figurine, but not addressed individually—as the infernal incarcerator (lines 127, 150, 172, 190), these recitations provide ample information on the part of Any Evil during the proceedings. In one passage within the prayer to Gilgameš *mimma lemnu* is used as a summary for all the evil that the witches have brought on the patient (lines 106–13):

Any Evil that [resides] in my body, [in my flesh (and) in my sinews],
 “hand-of-a-god,” “hand-of-a-goddess,” [“hand-of-a-ghost,” “hand-of-a-curse”],
 “hand-of-a-human,” the *lilû*-demon, the *lilitu*-demon, [the *ardat lilû*-demon],
 Lamaštu, the *labāšu*-demon, [the *aḥḥāzu*-demon],
 “fall of heavens,” *bennu*-epilepsy, Šulak, “Lo[rd of the Roof],
dīu-disease, *dilīptu*-disease, the *asakku*-demon, ill[ness, ...],
 witchcraft, magic, sorcery, (and) evil machinations,
 which have seized me and afflict [my] b[ody]—

In most passages, however, the usage of the term *mimma lemnu* oscillates between a noun phrase and the name of an individual demon. The following passage comes from the recitation addressed to the unknown ghost in the final part of the ritual (lines 206–15):³⁴

Either an evil *utukku*-demon, or an evil *alû*-demon, or an evil ghost,
 or Lamaštu, or the *labāšu*-demon, or the *aḥḥāzu*-demon],
 or the *lilû*-demon, or the *lilitu*-demon, or the *ardat lilû*-demon,

33 Cf. the ritual edited as CMAwR 1, text 8.7, discussed here in section 3.

34 The same usage, where the semantics of the common noun phrase and the demon's name overlap, can be found in lines 97–98, 164–67.

or Any Evil, unnamed, (these evils) that have seized me and are per[secuting me],
that are fastened to my body, my flesh, (and) my sinews and will not be detached from m[e]—

I have made figurines of the warlock and witch who have per[formed] (sorcery) against me before Šamaš, (and) a figurine of Any Evil who has seized me.

Before Šamaš, Gilgameš, (and) the Anunnaki I hand th[em] over (to you).

Seize them and do not release the[m]! Take them so that they may not turn ba[ck to me]!

The prayers also contain sections that clearly reflect the concept of Any Evil as a personified anthropomorphic demon. The Gilgameš prayer describes the production of the figurine of Any Evil, the performance of a funerary offering for him, and the payment of a ransom to the demon in exchange for the release of the patient (see lines 138–50). Also a short passage in the prayer to the family ghosts refers to a personified Any Evil that is handed over to Namtar, even though its introduction as *mimma lemnu ša ina zumrīya šūrīya šerʾānīya bašū* evokes the concept of an indefinable evil that is spreading throughout the patient's body (lines 189–90):

Any Evil that resides in my body, in my flesh, (and) in my sinews,
entrust (it/him) for me into the hands of Namtar, the vizier of the netherworld!

Overall, the prayers show clearly that Any Evil, as a summary of all kinds of possible evils, is treated side by side with witchcraft as an evil force affecting the patient. Together with the warlock and witch, the demon Any Evil, provided with travel provisions, funerary offerings, and ransom money for releasing the patient, is sent off to the netherworld.³⁵ The motivation for adding the Any Evil rite to the anti-witchcraft ritual³⁶ may be sought in the

35 Cf. especially lines 171–72 (prayer to the Anunnaki): “Lead [‘Any] Evil’ from which I suffer (and) the warlock (and) witch to the Land of No Return, entrust th[em into] the hands of Namtar, the vizier of the netherworld!”

36 Note that the ritual, at least in part, uses standard base texts that are also known from other ritual contexts that involve neither witchcraft nor Any Evil. The prayer to the Anunnaki

conceptualization of witchcraft as the ultimate source of a multitude of evils affecting the patient. This idea is apparent in the fragmentary opening of the ritual text. There the diagnostic section lists a number of evils that have taken hold of the patient, and the purpose clause reads “[in order] to soothe [al]/ [...]” ([... DÛ².A².B]I² *šup-šu-ḫi*; line 4).

One section of the fragmentary Šamaš prayer, which is the first recitation of the ritual (lines 51–80), suggests that the additive function of Any Evil does not fully describe the role that was assigned to that demon within the present ritual. The final lines of the prayer, which are preceded by a very broken section, read as follows:³⁷

kaššāpu^{hi}(UŠ₁₁.ZU) ù *kaššāp*[*tu*^(munus)UŠ₁₁.Z[U] ...]
li-is-su-ú i-na zumrī(SU)-*ia* [*kiš-pu-šú-nu*(?)]
a-na kurnugī(KUR.NU.GI₄.A) *šu-kun pānī*(IGI^I)-^Išú¹-[*nu x x x*(x)]
tum₄-ma-ta lā(NU) *taturra*(GUR-ra) *tum₄-ma-ta₅ Gil*[*gāmeš*]^(d)GIŠ.[GÍN.MAŠ]
 ù *Šamaš*^(d)UTU) *dayyāni*(DI.KU₅) *šūpī*(È) *ru-uš-ši*-^Ii¹ [(x x x)]
 Warlock and wit[ch ...],
 may [*their witchcraft*] depart from my body!
 Direct th[eir] faces toward the Land of No Return [...]!
 You are adjured, do not return! You are adjured by Gil[gameš]
 and by Šamaš, the brilliant, shining judge [(...)]!

At the end of the Šamaš prayer, a male individual is adjured—i.e., put under oath—to direct the witches to the netherworld, accompany them to the realm of the dead, and not to return himself. The adjured person can be neither Šamaš nor Gilgameš, under whose divine authority the oath is placed. Also Namtar cannot be addressed here: he receives the witches in the netherworld, but does not accompany them on their journey. The unknown ghost is adjured in a separate incantation at the very end of the ritual; it seems unlikely that he is introduced here right at the beginning of the

and the prayer to the family ghosts are also used in an Ištar-Dumuzi ritual against a ghost (ed. Farber 1977, Hauptritual IIa); the adjuration of the unknown ghost contains standard formulae that are also found in CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 123^{'''}–39^{'''} (cf. section 3 above). It is therefore not surprising that the sections that introduce the specific topics of the present ritual occasionally show some compositional unevenness; cf. especially line 168 and lines 189–92. See the notes on these lines in CMAwR 2, pp. 209–10 and cf. Abusch 2014: 1–4.

37 CMAwR 2, text 8.25: 76–80 = ms. A obv. II 1–5 // ms. B obv. II 8–12.

proceedings in the context of the Šamaš prayer. A more plausible scenario, it seems to me, can be established if one assumes that the demon Any Evil is invoked here: his own expulsion to the netherworld comprises a duty of conducting the witches on their way.³⁸ Thus, the addition of Any Evil to the ritual performance would not only represent a mere addition, but enact visibly the destruction of the witches by means of the evil that they themselves brought on the patient. In this ritual scenario, the demon Any Evil would have been employed in a way that is comparable to the use of Lamaštu in the anti-witchcraft ceremony discussed here in section 3: Any Evil and Lamaštu, two evil helpers that are instrumentalized in support of the patient against the witches.

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38 No parallel rituals are known that would clarify the problem beyond doubt. CMAwR 2, text 8.26 is an anti-witchcraft ritual that employs figurines of Any Evil and of the witches and also involves the family ghosts. Unfortunately, only the opening section of the ritual is preserved. The reconstruction of the text following line 22 given in CMAwR 2 has now been confirmed by the join of K 10187 to Sm 1042 (BBR 52), which I discovered too late for inclusion in CMAwR 2. The fragment will be added to the edition at CMAwRo (<http://www.cmawro.altorientalistik.uni-wuerzburg.de>) and will also be included among the supplementary texts in CMAwR 3.

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Magico-medical Plants and Incantations on Assyrian House Amulets

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For Mark Geller

In ancient Egypt,¹ Mesopotamia, and the Greco-Roman World,² magico-medical substances could be addressed in incantations, activated, and incorporated in therapeutic and apotropaic practices. This close association between a plant and its incantation is also found in Assyrian house amulets that were used to ward off various evils.³

Each house amulet consists of a body (a normal clay tablet) and a pierced projection⁴ (Fig. 1). A rope ran through this projection for suspending the amulet. The body contains incantation(s), and the projection a short spell, including the owner's name. On the projection and/or on the body, there is a criss-cross drawing ("magical diagram").⁵ Interestingly, newly discovered evidence—namely, holes and slots on the sides of these amulets—suggests that organic material was once inserted into the body of the amulets. These holes and slots are the main subject of this paper.

1 Papyrus Ebers 3 (2,2–3), "strong is the magic-spell (*hks*) through the drug (*phr.t*), and reverse"; see Westendorf 1999: 548, Stegbauer 2010: 279 and <http://www.mezizinische-papyri.de> (accessed February 3, 2017).

2 "When he had asked me if I knew the cure for a headache ... I told him that the thing itself was a certain leaf, but there was an incantation to go with the remedy; and if one uttered the incantation at the moment of its application, the remedy made one perfectly well; but without the incantation there was no efficacy in the leaf" (Plato, Charmides, modified after Lamb 1986: 16–17: 155e; see Cruse 2004: 51).

3 See Thomsen 2001: 61; CMAwR 2, 419.

4 The pierced projection is called a "lug" by George 2016 and in CMAwR 2, text 11.4. My earlier terminology "tablets with handle" is revised in this paper; see Heeßel 2014: 57.

5 See Reiner 1960, discussed by Wasserman 1994: 54; 2014: 51, 54–56.

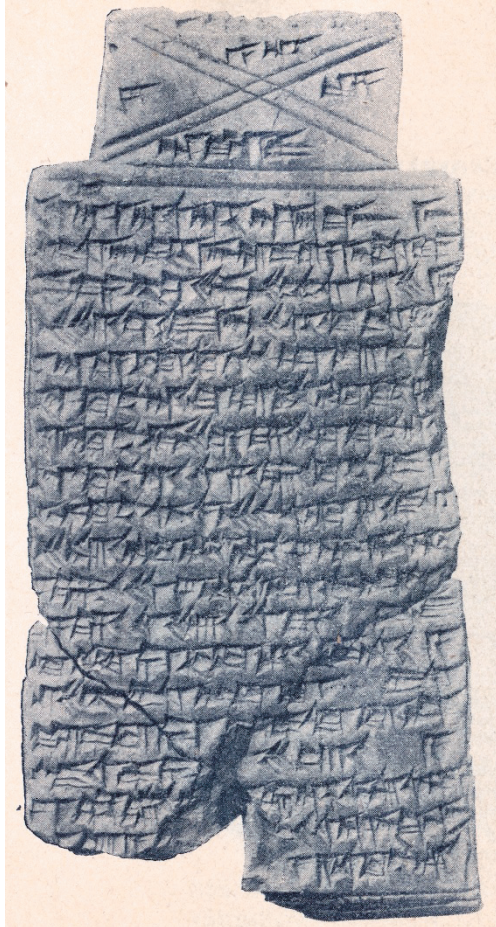


FIGURE 1 KAR 35, house amulet no. 5 (photo Unger 1921: *Abb. 31. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VAT 9730*).

1 Where Were These House Amulets Displayed?

Some scholars assert that amulet-shaped tablets were displayed at the house gate.⁶ This seems textually supported by incantations (nos. 2 and 6) that allude to an entranceway:

⁶ See Jastrow 1905: 285–86; Ebeling 1917: 176; Reiner 1960: 150–53, esp. n. 4; followed by Maul 1994: 105–6, 176, 415; see also Heeßel 2014: 62–63 n. 36, and CMAwR 2, 419. There are several Middle Assyrian legal documents on amulet-shaped tablets; see Panayotov – Llop-Radua

[May] he who enters [and leaves] this house [enjoy the best of health!]
(Amulet no. 6, George 2016: 157)

Other texts suggest that such amulets might have been displayed inside the house:

The house in which this tablet (*tuppu*) is placed, though Erra be angry and the Seven be murderous, the sword of pestilence shall not approach it, safety abides upon it. (Erra V 57–58, modified after Foster 2005: 91)

This passage from the Erra Epic refers to a house amulet. At least five manuscripts of the epic, and especially its fifth tablet, were written on such amulets.⁷ Thus, the word *tuppu* ‘tablet’ also served as a designation for an amulet-shaped tablet. In addition, some of the incantations on the house amulets were addressed to the main protagonists of the Erra Epic (nos. 1 and 2).

The fact that some house amulets were supposed to ward off bad dreams (nos. 2–4; no. 11 in § 7 below) suggests that they could have been displayed in the bedroom (*bīt erši*), where Lamaštu amulets were also displayed,⁸ as Lamaštu III 13–15 illustrates:

On the upper register of the tablet you draw [a (moon) cresce]nt, a star, [a sun disc, (and) a c]rook. The incantation “Fierce is the Daughter-[of-Anu” (*ezzet mārat Anu*)] you wr[it]e on it. You hang it up at the head of the bed ... (modified after Farber 2014: 186–87)⁹

2013. These may well have been displayed at the gate, as indicated by KAJ 104, see Deller – Saporetti 1970: 308–9 (“il cui documento nella porta di Ellil è stato appeso”). All these references, however, are restricted to the realm of legal transactions and therefore not immediately relevant to the location of the house amulets studied here.

7 A 153 (KAR 169, unpierced projection); Bu 91-5-9, 174 (pierced projection); Bu 91-5-9, 186+206 (pierced projection); U 18122 (pierced projection); VAT 8988 (KAR 166, pierced, see Fig. 10 below). See references in Cagni 1969: 54. The format of VAT 8988 (KAR 166) was correctly identified by Pedersén 1986: 56, 62 N4 (120). BM 118998 (pierced projection, with a bronze/copper wire remaining in the hole) contains Erra III, see Heeßel 2014: 59.

8 See also Farber 2014: 14. This is also illustrated by the Ḫulbazizi incantation *ša malṭi eršiya ittiqu*, and by the iconography of the sickbed on the Lamaštu and the Ḫulbazizi house amulets; see Wiggermann 2007: esp. 106–8.

9 See also Lamaštu II 66–68, Farber 2014: 170 and 14.

This instruction refers to Lamaštu amulets depicting the objects mentioned.¹⁰ Since the function of these amulets is analogous to that of the house amulets, it is possible that the latter, like the Lamaštu amulets, might have been placed in the bedroom. Nevertheless, different placements, perhaps in accord with local differences or personal preferences, are possible.

2 A Look at the Evidence: Slots and Holes on House Amulets

On the left or right side of the body of some amulets, there are traces left by something that was presumably inserted into the tablet while the clay was still soft. There are two distinctive shapes for which the technical terms slots and holes will be used. As these holes and slots do not go all the way through the house amulet, they were not used for suspending it. In addition, the holes are not to be confused with so-called “firing holes.”¹¹ Although slots and holes usually appear together they can also show up individually on a single tablet.

House Amulet no. 1: K 5984 (coll.)

Client: Šumma-Nabû

Measurements: ca. 7×3.8×1.8 cm

Museum: British Museum, London

Photo: Fig. 2 and <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P396302>

Copy: see Appendix

Provenance: Nineveh

Literature: Bezold 1891: 753; Jastrow 1912: 219;¹² Reiner 1960: 151; Huber 2005: 46; Heeßel 2014: 60.

K 5984 is a tiny amulet bearing the incantation *Marduk apkal ilāni* (edited below) and protecting the house against the destructive power of the plague god Erra. Its function is comparable to that of the house amulets inscribed

¹⁰ A crescent, a star, a sun, and so on, in different combinations, appear in the upper register on the Lamaštu and Ĥulbazizi amulets nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 (mold), 20², 29, 33, 37, 38, 41, 46, 46F, 50, 58², 61, 64, 65, 66, 70F, 80 (now MS 2819; see George 2016: no. 64), 97 (CMAA 15), 115 (Heeßel 2002: no. 16), 117 (Heeßel 2002: no. 18), and 122 (Christie’s auction, December 6, 2000, New York, 100, no. 203). For the amulet numbers, see Panayotov 2015 and add George 2016: nos. 62–65; Zomer 2016; Bácskay 2016; Panayotov 2016b. Variants of the incantation *ezzet mārat Anu* are known from amulets nos. 55, 60, and 77.

¹¹ On “firing holes,” see Panayotov 2016a.

¹² The “geometrical figure(s)” mentioned by Bezold and Jastrow refer to a “magical diagram” (see above).

with the Erra Epic. This concise incantation was sometimes combined with the *namburbû*-incantation against bad dreams (see no. 2). On the right edge of the tablet (Fig. 2), there is one long slot which is empty now and has no visible remains preserved inside. The slot probably was once filled with material which has decomposed.



FIGURE 2

Photo author; Trustees of the British Museum, London.

House Amulet no. 2: VAT 9732 (KAR 37) + VAT 11730a + VAT 11730b (KAR 282, 2) + VAT 11219 (KAL 4, 22) (coll.) **Client: Bulālu**¹³

Measurements: ca. 8.9×5.9×ca. 1 cm (of VAT 9732); slot ca. 1 cm wide, hole 2 mm wide
Museum: VAM, Berlin

Photo: Figs. 3 and 11

Provenance: Aššur, Prince's palace, 1A9II

Literature: Ebeling 1917: 176–78; Ebeling 1954: 7; Caplice 1963: 45–48, 248 XII–8 and passim; Mayer 1976: 49–50, 53, 56, 224, 264, 285, 287–89, 296, 299, 301, 305, 341, 344, 384; Lambert 1978: 197; Pedersén 1986: 80; Abusch 1987: 10, 39 n. 3, 53; Maul 1994: 178–79, 185–90; Huber 2005: 45–46; Maul – Strauß 2011: 13, 21, 51–54, 117 n. 2.

On KAL 4, 22, the incantation of no. 1 precedes a *namburbû*-incantation reinforcing the amulet's power. This tablet aimed to preserve the well-being of the house of Bulālu, securing him and his house from bad dreams and diverse other evils, including witchcraft. On the right side of the tablet there are two symmetrical slots with traces of one or more holes in between (Fig. 3). Apparently, different objects were inserted in the tablet.

FIGURE 3 Photo author; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VAT 9732.



¹³ This Bulālu should be added to PNA 1: 350–51.

House Amulet no. 3: A 1104 (coll.)

Measurements: ca. 8.5×4.8×2.1 cm

Museum: Istanbul Archaeological Museums

Photo: Figs. 4 and 11

Provenance: Aššur, N33, fD8I

Literature: Pedersén 1986: 135 (61); Radner 1999: 195–96, no. 61; Jakob-Rost et al. 2000: 9, no. 61; Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25d.

Client: Unknown

A damaged sign ÉN ‘incantation’ at the beginning of the tablet shows the genre of the artifact. The rest is completely damaged, but we can assume it contained a *namburbû*-incantation. The side of this house amulet shows similar traces as no. 2. On the left side, there are two symmetrical slots with a single hole in between. After the material was inserted into the lower slot in the tablet it was bent along its side, leaving traces on the side of the tablet. This suggests that the inserted objects were flexible (Figs. 4 and 11).



FIGURE 4 Photo author; Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

House Amulet no. 4: A 114 (LKA 128, coll.)

Measurements: 10.5×6×? cm

Museum: Istanbul Archaeological Museums

Photo: Fig. 5

Provenance: Aššur, N33

Literature: Ebeling 1954: 7; Caplice 1963: 45–48, 248, XII–2 and passim; Abusch 1987: xvi, 9–15, 16, 38, 40 nn. 3, 8, 16; Maul 1994: 179–80, 185–90; Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25d; Panayotov 2013a; George 2016: 156.

Client: Nabû-zēru-iqīša

LKA 128 is a house amulet inscribed with a *namburbû*-incantation against bad dreams and diverse other evils (cf. no. 2). Pictured here is the right side of that artifact, which has the same configuration of slots and a hole as on nos. 2 and 3. The lower slot, however, is broken off (Fig. 5).

FIGURE 5
Photo author;
Istanbul
Archaeological
Museums.

House Amulet no. 5: VAT 9730 (KAR 35, coll.) *Client: Bābu-aḫu-iddina*

Measurements: 12.1×6.1×1.5–2 cm; slot 1.6 cm; hole 2 mm

Museum: VAM, Berlin

Photo: Figs. 1 and 6; Unger 1921: Abb. 31

Provenance: Aššur, Prince's palace, 1A9II?

Literature: Schroeder 1917: 7–9¹⁴; Ebeling 1954: 7; Caplice 1963: 45–48, 248, XII–5 and passim; Pedersén 1986: 77 n. 7; Abusch 1987: 39, 61–62 n. 53 and 83; Maul 1994: 178, 181–84; Thomsen 2001: 61–62; Heeßel 2002: 111; Hecker 2008: 111–12; Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25c; CMAwR 2, text 11.4, ms. B.

KAR 35 contains the incantation *Ea Šamaš Marduk ilāni rabūti*. On the left side of the tablet there are two slots with a hole between them (Fig. 6). The slot near the projection is visible, as well as the hole in the middle of the tablet, but there are only a few traces of the lower slot.



FIGURE 6 Photo author, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VAT 9730.

House Amulet no. 6: MS 3187 (photo coll.) *Client: Nabû-zēru-iddina*

Measurements: 20.8×6.1×2.3 cm

Museum: Schøyen Collection

Photo: <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/P342653.jpg>

Provenance: Aššur?

Literature: Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25d; CMAwR 1, p. 16; George 2016: no. 61; CMAwR 2, text 11.4, ms. A.

This amulet tablet has the most elaborate incantation in this group (*Ea Šamaš Asalluḫi ilāni rabūti*). The tablet's left side shows two symmetrical slots. In between them there are two or three holes pierced next to one another. This arrangement is reminiscent of no. 2.

¹⁴ Pace Schroeder 1917: 7, the projection of no. 5 (KAR 35) is certainly perforated, see Fig. 6.

House Amulet no. 7: A 148 (LKA 129, coll.)*Client: Unknown*

Measurements: 6.9×5.9×? cm.

Museum: Istanbul Archaeological Museums; Photo: Fig. 7

Provenance: Aššur, bE71?

Literature: Caplice 1963: 45–48, 248, XII–7 and passim; Abusch 1987: 39 n. 53; Maul 1994: 180, 181–84; Heeßel 2002: 111; Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25d; Panayotov 2013b: 288 n. 23; George 2016: 155–56; CMAwR 2, text 11.4, ms. D.

Like nos. 5 and 6, this tablet contains the incantation *Ea Šamaš Marduk ilāni rabūti*. The house amulet was used against witchcraft. Only the left side of this artifact shows evidence of holes (Fig. 7). Altogether there are possibly seven¹⁵ holes. It is difficult to know what was once inside these holes since they are full of dirt now.

FIGURE 7 Photo author; Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

**House Amulet no. 8: VAT 9725 + 11722 (KAR 36 + 261, coll.)***Client: Unknown*

Measurements: ca. 8.3×5.6×1.6 cm, slot ca. 1 cm, hole 2 mm

Museum: VAM, Berlin; Photo: Fig. 8

Provenance: Aššur, IA9II?

Literature: Caplice 1963: 45–48, 248–49, XII–6, XII–9 and passim; Pedersén 1986: 77 n. 7; Abusch 1987: 39, 61–62 n. 53, 83; Maul 1994: 178, 181–84; Heeßel 2002: 111; Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25c; CMAwR 2, text 11.4, ms. C.

This house amulet parallels the preceding examples (nos. 5–7) and had the same apotropaic context, securing the house against witchcraft and other evils. On the left side of the body, there are one or more holes. They are still full of dirt. As usual, there are two slots flanking the hole(s); cf. nos. 2 and 6.

FIGURE 8 Photo author; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VAT 9725 + 11722.



15 The holes on LKA 129 are not to be confused with “firing holes.” The number seven could be interpreted as a reference to the protective Sebettu. Interestingly, collation of the Egalkura tablet LKA 104 in Istanbul shows ^dIMIN.BI inscribed on the side of the tablet.

3 Additional Evidence of “Holes” (BM 78613)

BM 78613 is a quadrangular tablet (not amulet-shaped) dating to the Neo-Babylonian period but inscribed in an archaic script (Wasserman 1994). It contains an incantation invoking Marduk. A man might have displayed it in his house to ward off evils, since the quadrangular tablet has a hole bored through its upper part from which it was likely suspended. Yet, on the bottom of the artifact there are two more holes (Fig. 9).¹⁶ Wasserman suggested that these holes might have served as points of attachment for another string or an additional means of suspension (Wasserman 1994: 53–54). However, they may well have been produced by the insertion of objects, as in the case of the house amulets discussed above.



FIGURE 9 Photo author; Trustees of the British Museum, London.

4 Tarsus Amulet and KAR 78

Tarsus House Amulet (not coll.)

Measurements: unclear; no traces of projection, no traces of slots or holes

Provenance: Tarsus

Literature: Goldman 1937: 276, 280 (Fig. 37A); Goetze 1939: 12–16, no. 8; Ebeling 1954: 7; Reiner 1960: 153b; Caplice 1963: 133–34; Wasserman 1994: 53; Maul 1994: 179–80 and passim; George 2016: 155, 158; CMAwR 2, 426.

The *namburbû*-tablet from Tarsus is classified by Maul as an *Amuletttafel*.¹⁷ The excavation photo, however, does not allow us to decide whether the tablet was in fact amulet-shaped. Goetze, who first edited the tablet, considered it a pierced quadrangular tablet.¹⁸ On the excavation photo the

16 The profile of the holes is similar to BM 48052; see Panayotov 2016a: 4. Oval Holes.

17 Maul 1994: 179–80 and passim. See also Abusch 1987: 10 n. 3.

18 The photo in Goldman (1937: 276) suggests that the tablet was only perforated through its body. Accordingly, Goetze 1939: 12–16, no. 8; Ebeling 1954: 7; Reiner 1960: 153b; and Wasserman 1994: 53 consider the artifact from Tarsus a quadrangular tablet. Caplice 1963: 133–34 refers to the tablet as an “amulet,” but without reference to its physical format.

expected pierced projection is entirely missing. In addition, part of the main body is chipped off. In other words, if the tablet is a house amulet, it might have been pierced through the body and not through the projection. It seems, however, that there are double lines on the tablet (Goldman 1937: 276), which normally separate the projection on the house amulets from the main body (see no. 5). Some amulet-shaped tablets have a hole bored where the projection meets the body. In such cases, the projection might break off at the point where the hole was bored, leaving a channel-like impression on the edge of the body of the tablet, as on KAR 166 (Fig. 10).

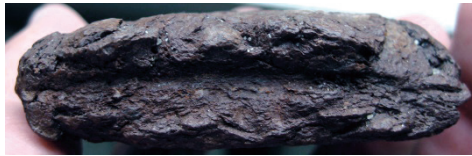


FIGURE 10 Photo author; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VAT 8988.

In this case, only collation can determine whether there was a projection, or whether there were slots and holes. Nevertheless, it is clear that the tablet was pierced and functioned as a protective house amulet, and it provides important textual evidence (see below).

KAR 78 (coll.)

Measurements: ca. 5.2×5.1×0.3 cm; no traces of projection, no traces of slots or holes

Provenance: Aššur

Literature: Abusch 1987: 10–12; CMAwR 2, text 8.20 ms. C.

The context of this house amulet is not only to be sought in *namburbû*-practices,¹⁹ but also in Maqlû I 21–24²⁰ and similar anti-witchcraft treatments.²¹ The same sequence of incantation incipits—*aktabsakka šaddakka bīna* followed by *īpuš Ea ipšur Ea*—is given in the ritual tablet of Šurpu.²² These same incantations were also recited in the ritual Bit rimki but

19 Ebeling 1954: 7.

20 Abusch 2016: 29.

21 Abusch 1987: 10–12.

22 Reiner 1958: 12: rev. II 9'–10' and p. 54; CMAwR 2, p. 157.

in an inverted sequence.²³ KAR 78 is too damaged and no holes or slots are visible, but the textual evidence is important (see below).²⁴

5 The Textual Evidence from the House Amulets

The incantations written on some house amulets activate the magico-medical power of certain plants.²⁵ The aim of these incantations was to consecrate these substances and awaken their magical powers, ensuring “their effective use.”²⁶

House Amulet no. 2

On the reverse, there is a spell addressed to the magico-medical plant *maštakal*:

May *maštakal*-plant, which undoes witchcraft, magic (and) sorcery (*mupaššer kišpi ruḥê rusê*), undo (them)! (modified after KAL 4, 22 rev. 1)

The textual evidence in this case gives us the name of one plant. Further incantations, however, illustrate that *maštakal* might be combined with *bīnu* ‘tamarisk’ and *libbi gišimmari* ‘offshoot’ of the date palm.

House Amulet no. 6

No. 6 combines the *maštakal* plant with the *bīnu*:

[May] tamarisk (*bīnu*), bone of [the gods, purify him! May] the holy sun-god [. . . cleanse him! May] soapwort (*maštakal*), which undoes [spells,

²³ Borger 1967a: 10; 1967b: 98, 101.

²⁴ According to Ebeling (1954: 7) the artifact was an amulet-shaped tablet. This cannot be determined from Ebeling’s copy (KAR 78); see Maul 1994: 178 n. 200. It is plausible, however, that Ebeling saw remains of a projection but did not consider it important enough to be copied on KAR 78, as he had done with KAR 76, 144, and 166 (Fig. 10). The correct museum number of KAR 78 is VAT 20078, provided in CMAwR 2, text 8.20.

²⁵ In German Assyriological terminology “Kultmittelbeschwörung/gebet” or “Weihungstyp”: Kunstmann 1932: 5, 45, 80–82, 114; Falkenstein 1931: 76–81, 99–100; Reiner 1958: Tablet IX; Mayer 1976: 116–18, 432–34; Cunningham 1997: 2, 27–30, 80–83; Berlejung 1998: 198–99; Lenzi 2011: 505, under Kultmittelbeschwörung; more in Stol 2004: 505–6.

²⁶ Geller 2001: 226.

witchcraft, and black magic (*mupaššer kišpī ruḥê rusê*), release him!]
(modified after George 2016: 157)

This house amulet has a very similar text to no. 2. The plant-activating incantation starts on the reverse of both nos. 6 and 2, suggesting that the two artifacts are identically formatted.

On no. 6 *maštakal* is written with the divine determinative, ^dIN₆.Úš, which can also be read ^d*dil-bat* for the planet Venus, but which is hardly meant here (differently CMAwR 2, p. 426).

House Amulets nos. 5 and 8

The phrase *mupaššer kišpī ruḥê rusê* ‘undoer of witchcraft, magic and sorcery’ also appears on nos. 5 and 8, but without *maštakal*. Yet, because nos. 5 and 8 share the evil-averting function of the other amulets, *mupaššer* must refer to the *maštakal*-plant.²⁷ Indeed, the *maštakal*-plant is qualified on house amulets nos. 2 and 6 as *mupaššer kišpī ruḥê rusê*.

Tarsus Amulet

This incantation shares textual similarities with nos. 1, 2, and 6, but mentions a typical trio of plants, *bīnu*, *maštakal*, and *libbi gišimmari*:²⁸

May the *bīnu*-tamarisk purify him! May the *maštakal*-plant cleanse him!
May the *libbi gišimmari* ‘offshoot of the date palm’ release him! (Goetze 1939: 12–14, no. 8 rev. 7–9)

KAR 78

The preserved side of the tablet consists of two incantations both mentioning *bīnu*, *maštakal*, and *libbi gišimmari*:

²⁷ Differently Maul 1994: 184 line 10.

²⁸ For attestations of these plants together, see Thompson 1949: 39–40; van Dijk 1973: 108 line 6; 111–12; Herrero 1975: 46 line 39, 53; Mayer 1976: 270; Maul 1994: 62–66. In Livingstone 1986: 176 lines 3–5 the plants are attributed to gods: *bīnu* is Anu, *libbi gišimmari* is Dumuzi, and *maštakal* is Ea. Furthermore, see Limet 1986: 84 lines 25–8, differently in idem 88 lines 19–20. For the use of the trio against ghosts, see Scurlock 2006: 35, 111, 119, nn. 374 and 495, texts nos. 58, 120: A rev. 20–21.

¹⁴Incantation: “I have stepped on you, I am bringing you in, O ta[marisk] (*bīnu*), ¹⁵pure tree, soapwort (*maštakal*) (and) ‘offshoot’ of the da[te palm] (*libbi gišimmari*)...

²²I have looked at the tamarisk—may it (i.e., the evil) be undone for me.

²³I have looked at the [soa]pwort—may it be annulled [for me]. ²⁴I have looked at [the “offshoot” of the] da[te palm] ... (modified after CMAwR 2, text 8.20 ms. C.)

6 The Slots and Holes, and the Plants *libbi gišimmari*, *bīnu*, and *maštakal*

Apparently the empty slots and holes on the sides of the amulets once contained material that has decomposed over time. The house amulets were hung in homes to ensure the well-being and protection of people living there. Therefore, the slots and holes must have been connected to the protective function of the amulets. Since magico-medical plants are mentioned on the amulets themselves, it is reasonable to suggest that apotropaic plants were inserted into such house amulets and subsequently decayed, leaving behind these empty holes and slots. Therefore, *maštakal*, *bīnu*, and presumably also *libbi gišimmari* must have been inserted into the sides of a house amulet and displayed together with their activating incantation. This seems also to be textually supported by KAR 78, which states that the owner of the amulet was actually gazing at the plants. Thus, text (incantation), magic substance (plants), and context (domestic protection) were all interlocked in the displayed house amulets.²⁹

The slots and holes on the house amulets suggest different configurations of the inserted plants. Likewise, some incantations mention only the *maštakal*, whereas others add the *bīnu*, and further incantations mention the trio *maštakal*, *bīnu*, and *libbi gišimmari*.

²⁹ Possibly the plants could be ritually replaced with new material when they were old and had lost their potency (the idea is courtesy of Andrew George).

6.1 *Libbi gišimmari*

Libbi gišimmari is a part of the date palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*.³⁰ “GIŠ.ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR is quite common in the exorcistic rituals, sometimes bordering on medical prescriptions; it occurs besides *bīnu*, *maštakal*, *arzallu* etc., as one of the plants currently used for their power to clean in the magical sense” (Landsberger 1967: 14a, e). In this context, it is vital that ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR (syllabically written ‘*lib-bi gi*¹-[*šim-ma-ri*]’ (KAR 78: 1’), or ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR [Goetze 1939: no. 8 rev. 9]) does not mean, as often translated in the Assyriological literature “heart of date palm,” which should be *uqūr gišimmari*.³¹ But, according to Landsberger (1967: 14b) ŠÀ for *libbu* ‘heart’ replaces the older writing PEŠ for *libbu* ‘offshoot, branch, or frond’ by “strictly ‘following the ear.’” Thus, we can conclude with Landsberger that *libbi gišimmari* is not the edible “heart of the date palm” (*uqūr gišimmari*) but rather means “offshoot.”³²

A comparison of palm leaves with the traces on the tablets and especially with the slots of nos. 2 and 3 shows that a small palm leaf from the offshoot may fit quite well into these slots (Fig. 11). Crucially, the traces of no. 3 illustrate that, once inserted, the material could be bent along the side of the tablet, leaving additional traces in the soft clay (Fig. 11).

A comparison of the imprints on nos. 2 and 3 shows that they are slightly different but they share a common structure. The profiles of the slots suggest that hard but flexible leaves were once inserted into the tablet. They might indeed have been leaves from the offshoot of a date palm (Fig. 11).³³

30 Thompson 1949: 308; Streck 2004: 251; Volk 2004: 283; Hooper – Field 1937: 149–50. For the families of *Arecaceae* or *Palmae* in Iraq, see Guest – Townsend 1966: 48–49. Note its usage as a medicinal plant in Al-Rawi – Chakravarty 1964: 74. In Middle Eastern herbalist shops of the late twentieth century, different palm species were recorded; see Ahmed et al. 1979: 31 (Iran), 42 (Egypt), 55 (Morocco).

31 Note that CAD U/W 205 tends to translate *uqūru* as a “shoot.” According to CAD, *uqūru* for ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR appears only in lexical texts and once in the medical commentary BAM 401. Many instances of ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR, listed under *uqūru* in CAD U/W 205, might belong to *libbu*; see CAD L 175. For the cognates of Akkadian *uqūru*, see Zimmern 1915: 54.

32 In accordance with Landsberger, this interpretation should “put an end to the nonsensical translations of *libbu* (i.e. ^{giš}ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR) as ‘palm-heart’ or ‘Vegetationskegel,’” Landsberger 1967: 1, see further 13–14, 24; Wiggermann 1992: 68–69, 84–85. Translations such as “Vegetationskegel” (Maul 1994: 63 and passim) should also be modified according to Streck 2004: 272 n. 53. Compare also Borger 1967a: 14: 6+a, 8+a; 2010: 384.

33 It should be noted, however, that we still do not have slot(s) and a clear textual reference to *libbi gišimmari* on one and the same house amulet.



above, slot of A 1104, no. 3



below, slots of KAR 37, no. 2



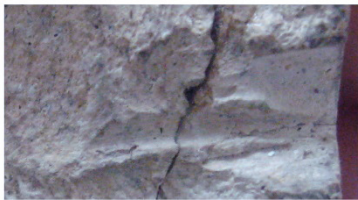
Phoenix dactylifera, Leaf. Digital Atlas of Economic Plants in Archeology, no. 28889

FIGURE 11 Slots photos author; leaf of *Phoenix dactylifera*, photo *Digital Atlas of Economic Plants in Archeology*.³⁴

³⁴ <http://depa.eldoc.ub.rug.nl/index.php?page=pict&item=396> (accessed December 15, 2016).

6.2 *Bīnu*

The identification of *bīnu*³⁵ with the tamarisk is mainly based on the etymology of Judeo-Aramaic and Syriac *bīnā* ‘tamarisk’³⁶ and has been widely accepted. Still, it remains unclear which tamarisk species is meant since there are various tamarisks in Iraq. However, they all have tiny leaves on round branches and generally look more or less the same. Therefore, I suppose that all tamarisk species in Mesopotamia could be referred to as *bīnu*.³⁷ Due to differences in habitat³⁸ some of them can develop into a shrub, or even into a tree.³⁹ The tamarisks have small round branches. These might be the origin of the round holes on the house amulets (Figs. 12–13). Indeed, the diameter of tamarisk branches corresponds to the holes, and *bīnu* is certainly mentioned on no. 6, which shows holes and slots.



Holes of KAR 37, no. 2



Hole of A 1104, no. 3



Hole of LKA 128, no. 4

FIGURE 12 *Photos author.*

35 Thompson 1949: 279; Haas 2003: 283–84. It is also a plant for cleaning; see Zawadzki 2006: 64–65. According to him, *GIŠ.NAGA* in the Neo-Babylonian texts should be equated with *bīnu*, but see Joannès 2006: 167.

36 Zimmern 1915: 53; Streck 2004: 251–52. According to Diakonoff (1972: 100 n. 41), *bīnu* could have entered Akkadian as a loanword from Hurrian *paine*.

37 Studies of other ancient plant taxonomies suggest the same idea; see Besnier et al. 2015: esp. 120–22.

38 Sometimes *bīnu* is characterized as “growing alone in the plain”; see Reiner 1995: 39.

39 Streck 2004: 251–54 suggests that *bīnu* was most probably *Tamarix aphylla*. However, *T. nilotica* can also grow as big as a tree (Reinder Neef, personal communication). Also, the iconography of the Lamaštu amulets depicts *bīnu* in various ways (in accordance with the nature of the tamarisk), but see Wiggermann 2000: 246; Farber 1987: 90–91; 1997: 117. The plant (*bīnu*?) on Lamaštu amulet no. 77 looks more like a shrub (Westenholz 2004: no. 50), but on no. 58 it appears to be a big tree (Oates – Oates 2001: 63, Fig. 35). For other tamarisk species with medicinal properties, see Hooper – Field 1937: 162, 175–76. Al-Rawi and Chakravarty (1964: 91) mention the use of *T. mannifera* and especially its *manna* as a laxative for infants. This observation is interesting since the tamarisk plays a significant role in the Lamaštu rituals; see already Myhrman 1902: 152. In Middle Eastern herbalist shops, different types of tamarisk were in use in the late twentieth century; see Ahmed et al. 1979: 45, 58, 60.



Hole of KAR 36+, no. 8



Holes of LKA 129, no. 7

Branches of *Tamarix tetrandra*FIGURE 13 *Photos author.*

6.3 *Maštakal*

Most of the amulets directly refer to or allude to the *maštakal* plant, whose name is commonly translated as “soapwort” (*Saponaria officinalis*),⁴⁰ but this is far from certain.⁴¹ Etymology seems to be of no help here.⁴² Neither the Akkadian name nor ancient texts seem to indicate anything besides the use

⁴⁰ Thompson 1949: 39–46 refers to *Struthium* or *Saponaria*. CAD M/1 391 does not translate *maštakal*; “ein Seifenkraut?” in AHw 630; Haas (2003: 304, no. 106) refers to another candidate for soapwort, ^{GIS}*karsani*-. Plants such as *Struthium* or *Saponaria* belong to the family *Caryophyllaceae* and grow in Iraq; see Guest – Townsend 1966: 48.

⁴¹ Albright (1927: 140) proposed an identification with cannabis, which is also uncertain (see Röllig 1973: 104).

⁴² *Mrtk* in Gittin 69b refers to *martakal*, one of the spellings of *maštakal*; see Geller 2000b: 28; 2004: 24.

of *maštakal* for purification.⁴³ According to Thompson (1949: 39–46), *maštakal* was a “washing plant” and such plants were widely used among the rural population of Iraq. However, there is a much better candidate for the “washing plant” than soapwort: various *Salsola* species are also used as washing plants, and they are more available in Iraq than soapwort,⁴⁴ which prefers a colder climate. The *Salsola* species have small branches that might also fit in the holes (Fig. 11).

7 House Amulets: Directions for Future Study

For a more precise identification of the plant material inserted into house amulets, Reinder Neef (personal communication) suggests using a digital microscope to observe the traces left in the slots and holes. The impressions could then be compared with plant samples to confirm or invalidate the identifications proposed above.⁴⁵

Other house amulets may have similar slots and holes. In the case of several known house amulets, photographs were not available and the artifacts could not be collated for this article. The following artifacts are suspected to have or have had holes and/or slots:⁴⁶

- 1 TM 1931-2, see appendix.
- 2 Tell Halaf II 2096, see appendix.
- 3 Bu 91-5-9, 174, see Cagni 1969: 54.
- 4 VAT 11475 (KAL 2, 40), CMAwR 2, text 11.4, ms. E.

43 Scurlock 2017: 277, col. i. 1–4; Kinnier Wilson 2005: 46. The plant’s universal cleansing feature is also expressed through the phrase *maštakal libbibanni* ‘may the *maštakal* purify me’, common in apotropaic incantations; see, e.g., Wiggermann 1992: 84: 10. Frank (1908: 66–67) proposed that the plant was dissolved in water and that it was “reizend” for the skin. This is reminiscent of plants that Galen described as astringent; see Everett 2012: 41–42.

44 I thank Reinder Neef for this observation. For *Salsola* plants, see Zohary 1966: 170–71, and especially *S. kali*, Duke et al. 2008: 413–14. On the other hand, Pappi (2010: 353) connects *S. kali* with *uḫūlu qarnānu*.

45 For similar analyses of cuneiform tablets, see Cartwright – Taylor 2011: 67–72.

46 The hole after the colophon of STT 300 (coll.) seems to have been made by a worm. On the other hand, the hole on the left side of K13.T5 (photo coll.) might originally have been filled with tiny branches (for the tablet, see Salvini 2008: 84, Fig. 3, but the hole is not visible on the photo).

- 5 Ass 2001 D-497 +, Miglus et al. 2000: 27, Abb. 11 (projection Ass 2000.D-268); Maul 2016.
- 6 Ass 2001 D-834, Frahm 2002: 52; Maul 2016.
- 7 VAT 11241 (KAR 120), Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25c.
- 8 Goetze 1939: no. 8, see the Tarsus amulet above.
- 9 KAR 78, see above.
- 10 VAT 11841, Maul – Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25f, no. 23.
- 11⁴⁷ Timeline auctions, <http://www.timelineauctions.com/lot/assyrian-tablet-for-preventive-ritual/47333/> (accessed April 22, 2015). The artifact protected against bad dreams and diverse evils. It partly parallels amulets nos. 2 and 4 and the Tarsus amulet, but also shares phraseology with Maqlû VII (Abusch 2016: 184–87, lines 118–44). The appearance of the house amulet suggests Aššur as its provenance.
- 12 In the Baghdad museum, there are additional amulets with slots and holes. Dr Anmar Fadhil is currently working on their publication.

Tentative transliteration from the photo of the auctioned tablet:

Projection: UGU ...
 A DINGIR-šú
 šuk-u[n]⁴⁸
 AN.ᵀDÙL¹

-
- 1 [N]AM.BÚR.BI ᵀḪUL¹ MÁŠ.ᵀGE₆¹.[MEŠ]
 2 ᵀÁ¹.MEŠ GISKIM.MEŠ ḪUL.MEŠ NU DÙG.[MEŠ]
 3 [Ḫ]UL UZU.MEŠ ḫaṭ-ṭu-te pá-r-du-t[e]
 4 [Ḫ]UL.MEŠ NU DÙG.MEŠ² šá TAG ŠU¹¹² ḫi-níq [UDU²]
 5 ᵀNÍTA² SISKUR²¹ SISKUR DÙ²-tí ḪAL-[te]
 6 [Ḫ]UL UŠ₁₁ UŠ₁₁ UŠ₁₁ NÍG.AK.A ᵀḪUL¹.M[EŠ]⁴⁹

-
- 7 [š]a ᵀLÚ²¹.MEŠ GÌR¹¹ ḪUL-tí ᵀNU¹ DÙ[G.MEŠ]
 8 [Ú]š².MEŠ¹ ina gi-lit-tú pi-rit-ᵀtú² ta¹-d[ir²-tú²]
 9 qu²-lu² ku²(š)u-ru NU ᵀDÙG ŠÀ NU DÙG¹ U[ZU]
 10 ᵀár-rat¹ DINGIR.MEŠ ᵀta²-zi²¹-i[m-tú]

47 The artifact was kindly made known to me by Andrew George.

48 For this syllabic writing, see below in the Appendix, line 5 (C 4) ᵀšuk²-na²¹.

49 The following dividing line is awkward since it occurs here in the middle of a sentence; in general, dividing lines are uncommon on the house amulets.

- 11 ʿ*pi-ti-é*? x [x] x x [x ...]
 12 ʿ*mi*?-š*ar-r*[*u*?] x x x [...]
 13 ʿ*ma*?-*mit* x x x [...]

The remaining lines 14–16 are too fragmentary for transliteration.

8 Appendix: Score Edition of the Incantation *Marduk apkal ilāni* (House Amulet no. 1 [K 5984])

All manuscripts date to the Late Assyrian period and come, if not from Assyria proper, from lands under the domination of the Assyrian Empire.

- A = TM 1931-2, Thompson 1940: 111, Fig. 17, no. 41; Reiner 1960: 151; Heeßel 2014: 60. A ruling follows each line.
 B = K 5984 = amulet no. 1 above. A ruling follows each line, see copy below.
 C = Tell Halaf II 2096, Weidner 1940: 46, no. 100, Taf. 17; Ebeling 1954: 7; Reiner 1960: 151; Heeßel 2014: 60. A ruling follows each line. This manuscript parallels A, B, and D but is not a duplicate.
 D = KAL 4, 22 = amulet no. 2 above (note also Heeßel 2014: 60).
 E = Goetze 1939: no. 8. Some lines include the same illnesses; they are cited here for convenience.

1	ÉN	<i>Marduk</i>	<i>apkal</i>	<i>ilāni</i>
A 1	[É]N	^d AMAR.UTU	ABGAL	DINGIR.[MEŠ]
B 1	[ÉN	^d AMAR.UTU	ABG]AL	ʿDINGIR.MÉŠ ¹
C 1	[É]N	^d ŠÚ	ABGAL	DINGIR.MEŠ
D 1'	[É]N	^d ŠÚ	ʿABGAL ¹	DIN[GIR.MEŠ]

2	<i>Erra</i>	<i>qarrād</i>	<i>ilāni</i>
A 2	^{d1} Èr-ra	<i>qar-rad</i>	DINGIR
B 2	[^d Èr-r]a	<i>qar-rad</i>	DINGIR.MÉŠ
C 1–2	^d Èr-ra	UR.SAG	DINGIR.MEŠ
D 1'	[^d Èr-ra	UR.SAG	DINGIR.MEŠ]

3	<i>Išum</i>	<i>nāgir</i>	<i>sūqi</i>
A 3	^{d1} I-šum	NÍMGIR	SILA
B 3	[^d]ʿI-šum ¹	600	SILA
C 2	^d I-šum	NÍMGIR	SILA
D 2'	^{d1} I-šum	ʿ600 ¹	SILA

4	<i>Sebettu</i>	<i>qarrād lā šanān</i>	((<i>kala</i>))
A 4	^d INIM'(NÍG).BI	<i>qar-rad la šá-na-an</i>	
B 4	[^d INIM.B]I	^r <i>qar-rad la¹ šá-na-an</i>	
C 3	^d INIM.BI	^r UR ¹ .SAG <i>la¹ šá-na-an</i>	DÛ ⁵⁰
D 2'	^r d ¹ [INIM.BI	UR.SAG <i>la šá-na-an</i>]	
5	<i>anāku</i>	PN	<i>mār ilīšu</i> (var. <i>rēme ana</i> PN <i>šuknā</i>)
A 5	<i>ana-ku</i>	^m Ḥa-pa-ti- ^r ra	DUMU ²¹⁵¹ DIN[GIR ¹ -šú]
B 5	[<i>ana-ku</i>]	^r m ¹ šum ₄ -ma- ^d MUATI	^r A DINGIR-šú ¹
C 4	<i>rém-me a-na</i>	^m ... ^r šuk ² -na ² ^r	
D 3'	[<i>ana-k</i>]	^r u Bu- ^r la ¹ -lu	A DIN[GIR-šú]
6	<i>ardu</i> (var. <i>aradku</i> [<i>nu</i>])	<i>pāliḫkunu</i>	
A 6	İR	<i>pa_x(ú)⁵²-liḫ-ku-nu</i>	
B 6	[i]R	^r pa ¹ -liḫ-ku-nu	
C 5	^r İR-k[<i>u¹-nu</i>	<i>p]a-liḫ-k[<i>u-nu</i>]</i>	
D 3'	[]
7	<i>ina</i>	<i>di'i šibbi šibṭi</i>	
A 7	<i>ina</i>	<i>di-^ri šib-bi šib-ṭi</i>	
B 7	[<i>ina</i>	<i>d]i-^ri šib-bi šib-ṭi</i>	
D 3'	[]
E 14	[<i>ina² Ḫ</i>]	UL ² ^r di- ^r i šib-bi ¹ šib- ^r ṭu ¹	
8	[<i>le</i>]	<i>mnūti ((šá²)) Erra mūtānī</i>	
A 8	[Ḫ]UL- <i>nu-ti</i>	^d Èr-ra	ÚŠ.MEŠ
B 8	[ḪU]L- ^r nu ² - <i>ti²</i>	^{d2} Èr-ra ¹	Ú[Š.MÉ]Š
D 3'	[]
E 15	[ḪU]L- ^r nu ² ^r - <i>t[i² š]a²</i>	^r d ² Èr-ra ¹	ÚŠ. ^r MÉŠ ² ^r

50 Reiner 1960: 151 n. 5, and Maul – Strauß 2011: 53, Bemerkungen 1'–2' do not read the sign. I follow Weidner 1940: no. 100.

51 Instead of DUMU, Thompson (1940: 111, Fig. 17, no. 41) copied TAB and reads ^mḤa-pa-ti-ra-tab-ba(?). I would like to follow the suggestion of Reiner (1960: 151) since the DUMU sign begins with TAB.

52 Ú for *pa_x* is not in Borger 2010. The syllabic value *pa_x(ú)* might originate from *ba₆(ú)*.

9	...	<i>Erra kašūšu</i>
A rev. 1	[x x (x)]	^d Èr-ra ka-šú-šú
B 9	[x (x) x]x	^d È[r-r]a k[a-šú-š]ú
10	<i>lū rēm(ā)nima</i>	<i>dalīlikunu((ma))</i>
A rev. 2	<i>lu rém-ni-ma</i>	<i>dà-lí-lí-ku-nu</i>
B 10–rev. 1	[<i>lu ré</i>] ^{m-r} an ⁿ -n[<i>i-m</i>]a / [<i>dà-l</i>] ^{t²-r} l ⁿ -k[<i>u</i>] ¹²]- ^r nu-ma ¹	
D 4'	[<i>lu r</i>] ^{ém⁵³-an-r} ni ⁿ -ma	<i>dà-lí-lí-k[u-nu]</i>
11	<i>ana nišī šalmāt qaqqadi</i>	
A rev. 3	<i>a-na</i> UN.MEŠ <i>šal-mat</i> SAG.DU	
B rev. 2	^r ana UN ⁿ .M[ÉŠ <i>ša</i>]l-mat ^r SAG.DU ¹	
D 4'	[]	
12	<i>ana arkat ūmī ludlul</i>	
A rev. 4	<i>a-na</i> EGIR UD.MEŠ <i>lud-lul</i>	
B rev. 3–4	<i>ana</i> ^r EGIR ¹ UD.ME / ^r <i>lud-lul</i> ¹ ÉN	
D 4'	[]	

Translation

¹Incantation: O, Marduk, expert of the gods, ²Erra, warrior of the gods, ³Išum, herald of the street, ⁴Sebettu, warriors without rival! ⁵I am PN, son of his god, ⁶a servant, who reveres you. ¹⁰Have mercy on me ⁷against ⁸the malevolent ⁷*di'u*-illness, *šibbu*-illness, *šibtu*-plague (lit. blow) ⁸of Erra, (against) pestilence ⁹... (of) Erra (and) the annihilation! ¹⁰Then, ¹²for future days, I will praise ¹⁰your glory ¹¹to the black-headed people!

Commentary

These amulets protected against Erra's misdeeds, and evils connected with the pest god: the *di'u*-illness,⁵⁴ the *šibbu*-illness,⁵⁵ the *šibtu*-epidemic (lit. "blow"),⁵⁶ as well as against the "annihilation" of humanity—*kašūšu*.⁵⁷

53 Differently Maul 1994: 179 n. 218: "Vielleicht ist [*re-m*]a²-an-ni zu lesen"; and Maul – Strauß 2011: 51: 4: [(x)] x-an-ni-ma.

54 See Kinnier Wilson – Finkel 2007: 20–22; Stol 2007a: 15–18.

55 The illness may be inflicted by an eclipse; see Geller 2014: 79. For a connection between *šibbu* and *di'u*, see the Dialogue between a Man and His God, lines 48–57 (Foster 2005: 149–50).

Apart from these amulets, one could use a salve as a protective shield against the evil trio: BM 56343 rev. 1–2: *nap-šá-al-tu₄ | šá di-ʾi šib-ṭu mu-ta-nu*.⁵⁸

Additionally, we are aware of magic rituals that were performed against these evils in the Assyrian royal house. They are mentioned in a letter from the exorcist Nabû-nāšir⁵⁹ to an Assyrian king:

[Concerning] the rites about which the ki[ng, my lord], wrote to us, in Kislev (IX) we performed “To keep ‘head-ill[ness]’ (*diʾu*), plague (*šibṭu*), and pestilence (*mūtānū*) away from a man’s house”: [in Teb]et (X) we performed “To keep illness (*murṣu*) and ‘head-illness’ (*diʾu*) away from a man’s house” and numerous rituals “to dispel sorcery” (*ušburrudû*). (modified after SAA 10, 296: 10–15)⁶⁰

The evil trio could afflict not only men but also horses during wartime, which again connects these evils with the sphere of the pest god Erra and his Sebettu warriors. In order to protect the animals of the royal cavalry a *namburbû*-ritual was performed.⁶¹ It is conceivable that such house amulets could have been used in the rituals mentioned in the royal letter, and in the *namburbû*-rituals for the army.⁶² In addition, these house amulets might have been used in therapies mentioned in the exorcistic manual, KAR 44: 20: *di-ḫu : šib-ṭa NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-qí* ‘to make *diʾu*-illness, *šibṭu*-‘epidemic’, (or) *mūtānū*-pestilence pass by’.⁶³ KAR 44 employs the verb *etēqu*,⁶⁴ often found on the projections of house amulets as in, e.g., LKA 128:

56 On the divine weapon of Erra (V 57–58), see Noegel 2011: 181–82.

57 *Kašūšu* is a divine weapon often connected with the sphere of Nergal or Enlil, as well as with the mighty flood; see CAD K 296–97.

58 Kennedy 1969: 81–82, no. 10; Stol 2005: 525; 2007b: 339.

59 See PNA 2, 856.

60 See also Wiggermann 1992: 91, 95.

61 Caplice 1970: 118–24, esp. lines 1–2. Note also the Emesal sections of the ritual; see Stol 2011: 382–83; Wiggermann 1992: 95; Strauß 2009: 645; Maul 2013: 16–37.

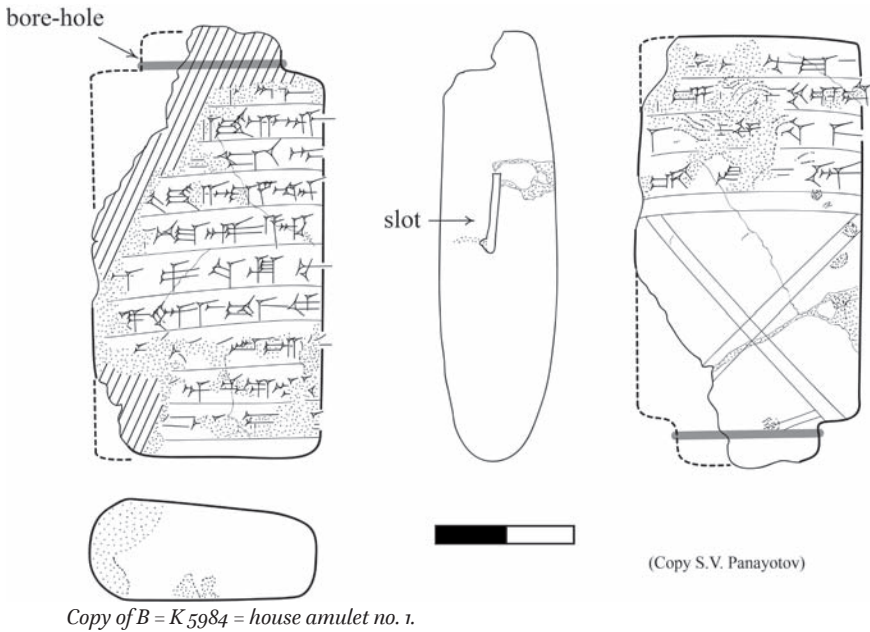
62 Thus, a house amulet could have been placed in the stall, which would have been the logical equivalent of a house.

63 Geller 2000a: 242–51.

64 See CMAwR 2, text 11.4.

The god (is) my safeguard, the safeguarding god is Marduk (and) Asalluḫi! O, Iṣum, herald of the gods, master of the street, when(ever) you pass by (*ina etēqika* (DIB¹-ka)) the street, place protection over the house of Nabû-zēru-iqīša, son of his god! (Panayotov 2013a)

Iṣum as a watchman, lighting the streets during the night with his burning torch,⁶⁵ can make *di²u*-head illness, *šibtu*-epidemic, or *mūtānū*-pestilence pass by the house of the client and protect it from evil.



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⁶⁵ See George 2015: 1–8, esp. 3, and Ponchia 2013–14: 64.

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Alternative Models for the Development of Some Incantations

Tzvi Abusch (Waltham)

1 Introduction

In this essay, I shall examine several Maqlû incantations that seem to be made up of discrete sections. I shall examine Maqlû VII 1–21, III 136–53, and II 77–103 in that order. My purpose here is to present several different, perhaps competing, modes of diachronic analysis. I begin the analysis on the presumption that the mechanism by which the aforementioned incantations were formed was the joining together of blocks of material in a linear fashion. Occasionally, this may well have been the case; but the matter here seems to have been more complex, and this will lead us to an exploration of some of these complexities and their implications. Thus, while I begin my analysis of the individual incantations by dividing them into sections that might have been joined together like beads on a string, I quickly modify this approach by arguing that the inner section of the text might actually have been an insertion. Finally, I reverse the direction of analysis and consider whether what previously had been viewed as an insertion might actually be the primary kernel of the incantation. I realize that some of the analyses in this paper are mutually exclusive and that only some of them can be correct.

2 Analysis

The text of VII 1–21 reads:¹

- 1 [ÉN ri]tti Manzât Zuqaqîpi
 2 [u(?)] ši kaššāptu unakkama k[išpiša]
 3 [x (x)]^a anappaḥkimma^b kīma Manzât ina šamê
 4 [az]iqqakkimma kīma iltāni anurri
 5 usappaḥ urpataki uḥallaq ūmki
 6 usappaḥ kišpiki ša takkimī mūša u urra
 7 u našparāt zikurrudâ ša taltappari yâši
 8 šalil nēberu šalil kâru
 9 mārū malāḥi kalīšunu šallū
 10 eli dalti u sikkūri nadû ḥargullū
 11 nadât šipassun^a ša Siris u Ningišzida
 12 ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya ipša bārtu amāt lemutti
 13 ayy-iḥūni ayy-ibā^ʾuni bāba ayy-irubūni ana bīti
 14 Ningišzida lissuḥšunūti
 15 libbalkitūma epšētīšunu^a libārū
 16 ilu šarru kabtu u rubû likkilmūšunūti
 17 ina qātī ili šarri kabti u rubê ayy-ūši kaššāpti
 18 anāku ina qibīt Marduk bēl nubatti
 19 u Asalluḥi bēl āšipūti
 20 mimmū ēpušu lū kušīru
 21 ipši tēpušāni^a lišābil^b šāru

- 1 [Incantation]. My [ha]nd is the Rainbow, the Scorpion.²
 2 [But(?)] she, the witch, piles up [her] wi[tchcraft] against me.
 3 [And I(?),] I am shining forth against you like the Rainbow in the heavens,
 4 [I am b]lowing against you like the Northwest wind,
 5 I am scattering your cloud, I am annihilating your storm,

1 I omit most textual and translation notes alongside my transcription and translation; for full textual and translation notes see Abusch 2016, part 3. Line 3: ^a Perhaps [anāku] | ^b Var.: anappaḥakkimma. Line 11: ^a Var.: šipassu. Line 15: ^a Var.: epīšātīšunu. Line 21: ^a Var.: tēpušīnni ‘you’ (sing.) | ^b Var.: [ušābil] ‘(The wind) has carried off.’

2 “Scorpion” refers to the constellation of that name; “Rainbow” probably refers to a star.

- 6 I am scattering your witchcraft that night and day you have piled up
over me
- 7 And the messages of *zikurruda*-magic that you have repeatedly sent
against me.
- 8 The ford is asleep, the quay is asleep,
9 The sailors, all of them, are asleep.
10 Upon the door and bolt, locks are placed,
11 Cast (thereupon) is the incantation³ of Siris and Ningišzida.
12 May sorcery, rebellion, an evil word of my warlock and witch
13 Not approach me, not pass the door to me, not enter the house to me.
14 May Ningišzida extirpate them,⁴
15 May their sorcery⁵ turn⁶ (on them) and capture (them),
16 May god, king, noble, and prince glower at them,
17 And may my witch not escape from the grasp of god, king, noble, and
prince.
18 As for me—by the command of Marduk, lord of the evening
ceremonies,
19 And Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism,
20 May what I do be successful;
21 May the wind carry off the sorcery that you (pl.) have performed against
me.

The incantation seems to be made up of three sections that are individually coherent. The three sections are (a) lines 1–7; (b) lines 8–17; and (c) lines 18–21. (a) The first section centers on clouds and other meteorological phenomena—here confirmation of our analysis of these lines is provided by the fact that versions of VII 1–7 exist as separate incantations in V 76–82 and

3 Or, possibly: “sealing,” in which case, the verb should be better translated “is applied.”

4 There is some uncertainty regarding the identity of the referent of the pronominal suffixes in lines 14–16. The pronominal suffix in line 14 may refer to either the sorcery or the sorcerers; the former seems more likely. In line 16, the suffix certainly refers to the sorcerers. The identity of the referent in line 15 depends on which of the two extant readings is chosen. Overall, it would appear that lines 14–15 refer to the sorcery while line 16 (in conjunction with line 17) refers to the sorcerers; this pattern is strange and calls for an explanation.

5 Var.: May they (i.e., the sorcery) turn back and capture their sorceresses. This reading is inferior.

6 Or: clamp down (on them).

VI 45–51 (compare especially VII 4–7 with V 79–82 and VI 49–51). (b) The second section is held together by its central lines, lines 10–11. The reason for locking the door in line 10 is explained in lines 12–13, and Ningišzida is introduced in line 11 and reappears in line 14. Lines 10–11 as well as the preceding 8–9 recur in I 50–60 (as lines 50–51 and 54–55).⁷ (c) Finally, in the third section, the speaker calls on the authority of Marduk and Asalluḫi and asks that the wind carry off the sorcery performed against him and that he be successful in all his undertakings.

Though the sections cohere individually, as a whole the incantation does not seem to hold together. The three sections have been joined together, but seem to have little to do with each other; in any case, I cannot provide a convincing explanation for the joining of these sections to form the incantation.

Are there other incantations where we find the same sort of phenomenon but where we can provide a reasonable explanation for the joining of sections to create the incantation, and where we can perhaps even imagine the mechanism that was operating? For the purpose of answering this question, I suggest that we examine II 77–103 and III 136–53. We begin with III 136–53, for it seems to be the simpler of the two. The text reads:⁸

- 136 ÉN *ḥaṣabtu*^{a|b} *sūqāti ammēni tugdanarrēni*
 137 *ammēni našparātūki ittanallakāni*
 138 *kaššāptu qaqdā(?)^a amât[ī]ki*
 139 *ammēni ittanakšadā ana šabātiya*
 140 *elli ana ūri aptaki aka[ttam]*
 141 *urrad ana qaqqarimma ušabbat kibi[ki]*
 142 *ina kibiški rābišu ušeššeb*
 143 *eṭem ridāti ḥarrānki ušašbat*
 144 *amaḥḥaš muḥḥaki ušanna ṭēnki*
 145 *adallaḥ libbaki tamaššî šīriki*
 146 *ēpištu u muštēpištu*
 147 *šamû anākuma ul tulappatīnni*
 148 *eṛšetu anākuma ul turaḥḥīnni*
 149 *siḥil balti anākuma ul takabbasīnni*

7 For the association of the lines in Tablets VII and I, see Abusch 1995.

8 Line 136: ^a Var.: *ḥašbatti* | ^b Var.: + *ša*. Line 138: ^a Var.: *qaqqad*.

150 *ziqit zuqaqīpi anākuma ul talappatīnni*

151 *šadû zaqru anākuma kišpūki ruḥûki*

152 *rusûki upšāšûki lemnūti*

153 *ul iṭeḥḥûni ul iqarribūni yâši* ÉN

136 Incantation. O sherd of the streets, why are you constantly hostile to me?

137 Why do your messages keep coming to me?

138 O witch, constantly(?) your words,

139 Why do they reach me again and again so as to seize me?⁹

140 I ascend the roof to co[ver] your window,

141 I descend to the ground to seize (and thereby block) [your] tracks—

142 In your tracks I set a lurker-demon,

143 I cause a pursuing ghost to seize your path.

144 I smite your skull and make you go mad,

145 I disturb your mind (lit., heart) so that you forget your flesh.¹⁰

146 O sorceress and the woman who instigates sorcery,

147 I myself am heaven: you cannot besmirch me,

148 I myself am the Netherworld: you cannot impregnate me,

149 I myself am a thorn of the *baltu*-thornbush: you cannot tread on me,

150 I myself am the sting of the scorpion: you cannot take hold of me,

151 I myself am a high mountain: your witchcraft, spittle,

152 Enchainment, evil machinations

153 Cannot approach me, cannot come close to me myself. ÉN

Seemingly, this incantation is made up of two separate sections: (a) III 136–45 and (b) III 146–53. Each of these sections is able to stand on its own, and the two sections may originally have been independent entities. (a) In the first section, the speaker addresses potsherds of the street and asks them why they are hostile to him (136–39). This attitude is similar to that of *zikurruda*-type magic, where objects in the ken of the victim are treated as if they had been sent by a witch in order to kill her victim. The very appearance of these objects informs the victim that he is being bewitched and might die. In lines 140–45, the victim takes the offensive; he attacks the witch and neutralizes

9 Or, possibly (combining lines 138 and 139): O witch, why does the head/beginning of your words reach me again and again so as to seize me?

10 That is, so that you lose control over your body.

her. (b) In the second section, the speaker identifies with various forces of nature and asserts that because he has assumed the qualities of these several forces, the witch cannot harm him.

The two sections may have been brought together because the theme in lines 146–53 provides a means of protection against the threat described in lines 136–39. But, on further reflection, lines 146–53 seem unnecessary, for the witch seems already to have been neutralized by the actions described in lines 140–45. In actuality, lines 140–45 do not seem to fit the situation described in lines 136–39 (furthermore, they seem to be atypical as descriptions of witchcraft or anti-witchcraft attacks), and the actions do not seem to fit the actual context (e.g., the street of line 136 does not seem to agree with the mention of ascending the roof to cover the window). So, perhaps a better analysis would divide the incantation into three sections: lines 136–39, 140–45, 146–53, and treat lines 136–39 + 146–53 as forming the original incantation and lines 140–45 as an insertion. In the original incantation (136–39 + 146–53), the victim would have treated objects in his ken as if they had been sent by a witch to kill him and would then have stated that she could not harm him because of his identification with various forces of nature. Lines 140–45 were (taken perhaps from an incantation against demons and) added to present the victim as one who will have acted against a demonic witch.

We turn now to II 77–103. The text reads:¹¹

- 77 ÉN *Girra āriru bukur Ani*
 78 *dā'in dīni atmê pirišti attāma*
 79 *eklēti tušnammar*
 80 *ešāti dalhāti tušteššer*
 81 *ana ilī rabūti purussâ tanamdin*
 82 *ša lā kâta ilu mamman purussâ ul^a iparras*
 83 *attāma nādin ūrti u tēme*
 84 *ēpiš lumni attāma arḥiš takammu*
 85 *lemnu u ayyāba takaššad arḥ[iš]^a*

11 Line 82: ^a Var.: *lā*. Line 85: ^a Var.: [*a*]tā 'you', instead of 'speedily'. Line 88: ^a We expect *ilī šarri kabti u rubê* 'god, king, noble, and prince'. Line 89: ^a Perhaps [*ma*]ršākuma. Line 95: ^a For a D form of the verb *abāru* with an *e*-vowel, see CH §126, line 14, cited in AHW s. *abāru* III D (and note the variant *ūtabbiri* in Borger 1979: 27). Instead, this verb might possibly be read *liddappirūma* 'may they be driven away'.

- 86 *anāku [annanna mār annan]na ša ilšu annanna ištaršu annannītu*
 87 *ina kišpi lupputākuma maḥarka azziz*
 88 *ina maḥar ili [š]arri bēl[u]^a šuzzurākuma allika ana maḥrika*
 89 *eli ām[eriy]a murrušākuma^a šapalka akmis*
 90 *[G]irra šurbû ilu ellu*
 91 *enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti*
 92 *šinā šalmī kaššāpi u kaššāpti ša siparri ēpuš qātukka*
 93 *maḥarka uggeršunūtima kâša apqidka*
 94 *šunu limūtūma anāku lubluṭ*
 95 *šunu litebbirūma^a anāku lūšir*
 96 *šunu liqtūma anāku lumīd*
 97 *šunu līnišūma anāku ludnin*
 98 *Girra šarḥu šīru ša ilī*
 99 *kāšid lemni u ayyābi kušussunūtima anāku lā aḥḥabbil*
 100 *anāku aradka lubluṭ lušlimma maḥarka luzziz*
 101 *attāma ilī attāma bēlī*
 102 *attāma dayyānī attāma rēšu'a*
 103 *attāma muterru ša gimilliya* TU₆ ÉN

- 77 Incantation. O blazing Girra, scion of Anu,
 78 It is you who renders judgment, the secret speech,
 79 You illumine darkness,
 80 You set straight confusion and disorder,
 81 You grant decisions for the great gods,
 82 Were it not for you, no god would deliver a verdict,
 83 It is you who gives instruction and direction.
 84 You alone speedily capture the evildoer
 85 (And) speedily overcome the wicked and the enemy.
 86 I, [so-and-so, the son of so-and]-so, whose god is so-and-so, whose
 goddess is so-and-so—
 87 I have been attacked by witchcraft, and so I enter into your presence
 (lit., stand before you),
 88 I have been made detestable in the presence of god, king, and lord, and
 so I come toward you,
 89 I have been made sickening in the [sight of anyone who b]eholds me,
 and so I bow down before you.
 90 Grand Girra, pure god,
 91 Now in the presence of your great godhead

- 92 Two bronze figurines of the warlock and the witch I have fashioned
with your power.
- 93 In your presence I cross them, and to you I hand them over.
- 94 May they die, but I live,
- 95 May they be bound, but I be acquitted (lit., be/go straight),
- 96 May they come to an end, but I increase,
- 97 May they weaken, but I become strong.
- 98 O splendid Girra, pre-eminent one of the gods,
- 99 Vanquisher of the wicked and the enemy, vanquish them so I not be
wronged.
- 100 May I, your servant, live and be well so that I may stand before you (and
declare):
- 101 You alone are my god, you alone are my lord,
- 102 You alone are my judge, you alone are my aid,
- 103 You alone are my avenger! TU₆ ÉN

Again, the incantation seems at first blush to be made up of two sections: lines 77–97 and 98–103, or, perhaps, lines 77–89 and 90–103. But a closer examination¹² suggests that the incantation should perhaps be divided into three sections (lines 77–89, 90–97, and 98–103), each introduced by the divine name Girra and an epithet, and that we should regard these three sections as the blocks that were brought together to form the incantation: Lines 77–89 begin with a hymnic introduction praising the fire god Girra (77–83). After identifying Girra as a god that overcomes evildoers (84–85), the speaker introduces himself (86) and states that he has come before Girra because he has been attacked by witchcraft (87–89). Lines 90–97 begin with a further invocation of the god (90). The speaker then describes the ritual action that he is performing (91–93), namely handing images of the witches over to the god so that he may destroy them, and gives expression to the wish that the witches die but that he live (94–97). Lines 98–103 begin with a further invocation of the god (98). After (again) identifying Girra as a god that

12 My examination of this incantation has benefitted from remarks by my students, especially Molly deMarco and Jared Pfof. Noting the triple invocation, deMarco argued that either line 90 or line 98 was not original and that either lines 90–97 or lines 91–98 were an insertion and that, in the latter case, “line 98 functions as a *Wiederaufnahme* for the secondary insertion of lines 91–97.” Pfof’s comments regarding the structure of the incantation convinced me that it would be wrong to treat line 98 as part of the insertion.

overcomes evildoers, the speaker requests that the god vanquish his enemies (99). Finally, the speaker asks that he live so that he may serve the god (100) and enunciates the various expressions of praise and loyalty that he will declare (101–3¹³).

But the appearance of a divine invocation to Girra at the head of each section seems to be a remarkable concurrence; in any case, the occurrence of three invocations of Girra seems anomalous. At most, we expect two invocations, one at the beginning of the incantation and the second near its end—see, e.g., II 19–75, where a second invocation occurs in the penultimate line of the incantation (line 74), or II 105–25, an incantation even more similar to ours, where a second invocation occurs in line 122.¹⁴ But, then, why are there three invocations of the god Girra in lines 77, 90, and 98? Assuming that the third invocation, line 98, is part of the original text and is not simply a secondary *Wiederaufnahme* of the second invocation, we may suggest that the original incantation was lines 77–89 + 98–103 and that lines 90–97 are an insertion that was marked by the introduction of an additional invocation at its head.¹⁵

The differing solutions suggested thus far should convey the difficulty of even delineating the separate sections that went into the formation of an oral rite.

13 For a detailed discussion of II 100–3, see Abusch 2005.

14 We do not consider examples where a series of invocations come one after the other, as in II 110–16 or IV 140–48.

15 Were we not to treat line 98 as part of the original text, we might wish to compare II 77–103 with II 1–17 and suggest that lines 77–89 + 99–103 are structurally similar to II 1–17 and may constitute an incantation. If that were the case, we might then treat lines 90–98 as an addition, that is, we might understand the second (90) and third (98) invocations of the deity and the material between them as secondary. If so, line 98 could have served as a *Wiederaufnahme* or, better, the two invocations, lines 90 and 98, would have been a secondary frame surrounding lines 91–97. (We should emphasize that a frame is the opposite of a *Wiederaufnahme*, for a *Wiederaufnahme* serves to resume the main text after an addition has been inserted, while a frame forms an *inclusio* and emphasizes the materials that it encloses, be they original or secondary.) An alternative approach might argue that the text has incorporated two endings: lines 90–97 and 98–103.

3 Alternative Analysis

Actually, the difficulty is even greater, for sometimes we are not sure of the directionality of development of an oral rite, or do not even know where to begin the analysis of the process of formation. The incantations studied here provide excellent examples of this difficulty. In the first part of our analysis, we approached the incantations under study as if they were the result of linear (or supplementary) development; but after further examination, we concluded that a part or the whole of the frame (that is, the beginning and end) of each incantation was original and reasoned our way from the outside in. However, in spite of the useful results obtained thus far, it is possible that even the second approach should be qualified, for it may sometimes be a mistake to analyze incantations as if their beginnings and ends were original and their middle sections insertions. In that case, the approach should be reversed and we should work from inside out; that is, we should start from the center of the incantation and work our way out from there to its beginning and end.

Indeed, many incantations seem originally to have focused on—and to have started out as—first-person descriptions or declarations of ritual or symbolic actions that accompanied a ritual action; only afterwards would the introductions and endings have been added. That is to say, the middle section of the incantation—the section that presents, or focuses upon, ritual and action—was primary, and the beginning and end were added in order to provide a (rhetorical or ideological) frame of reference.

Accordingly, I suggest that we now approach the three incantations taken up in this study in this manner, for they too may have been built up from their center, a center that gave expression to the action or symbol underlying the ritual. To take the incantations in the order in which they were discussed earlier in this paper, we might now wish to understand their development as follows:

1) In VII 1–21, lines (8–9)–10–17 form the original center of the incantation; here the speaker describes symbolically the ritual protection of the house and its entrances against the intrusion of witchcraft.¹⁶ The apotropaic force is then developed and expanded by the addition of an introduction (1–7) and

¹⁶ Note that this focus agrees with the ritual actions prescribed for this incantation in the Ritual Tablet of Maqlû, lines 127'–29'.

conclusion (18–21) that focus on winds as the forces that will scatter and blow away the witchcraft and thus translate ritual actions into naturalistic terms. (Note that in contrast to our earlier discussion in this paper, we are now able to make some sense of the structure of this incantation.)

2) In III 136–53, lines 140–45 form the original center of the incantation; here the speaker describes his own physical attack upon the witch. This center was secondarily enveloped by lines 136–39 and 146–53: the introduction (136–39) provides the human context and describes the witch's potential assault on the speaker (in this instance, a *zikurruda*-type magical attack); in the conclusion (146–53), the speaker identifies with various forces of nature in order to expand his own powers beyond those of the human and even the demonic and to assert that the witch's attack cannot reach him because of his identification with a series of natural entities.

3) In II 77–103, lines (86/87–89)–90–97 form the original center of the incantation; here the speaker describes the ritual action (91–93) of preparing images of the witches and handing them over to the fire god so that they may be destroyed.¹⁷ Subsequently, this description of ritual action was set into, or supplied with, a *šulla*-type prayer to Girra, the fire god, the opening lines providing a hymnic introduction praising the god (77–85) and the closing lines providing a form of the promise of praise to the god should he save the speaker (98–103).¹⁸

4 Conclusion

I should state at the conclusion that the purpose of this study—as of all or almost all of my past studies in which I drew upon literary-textual critical methods in the examination of oral rites—has not been the reconstruction of literary history, although that may be one of the results. Rather, my purpose in approaching these texts in this manner is to try to solve difficulties for which I think a diachronic explanation provides the simplest and best (if,

¹⁷ Note that this focus agrees with the ritual action prescribed for this incantation in Maqlû II 104 and in the Ritual Tablet, line 34'.

¹⁸ But note the possibility that lines 98–99 and possibly 84–85 may have been placed as a frame around the ritual center earlier than the hymnic introduction and the promise of praise, and that the present introduction and conclusion may not have been added together.

sometimes, not the only) solution. But I do acknowledge that such explanations often retain a degree of uncertainty, especially when a critical analysis is carried out without the support and direction of variant manuscripts, parallels, and forerunners. I certainly recognize the tentative nature of the analyses presented in this paper. But texts occasionally exist that attest to earlier stages of development of a composition, and thus there is evidence that many of our texts have undergone changes. Knowing this allows us to construct the textual and literary history of some of our texts; but even more important, in my judgment, it enables us to interpret the texts, discern their meanings, and understand them a bit better than we would otherwise.

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Concepts and Therapies of Illness

Reusing Incantations and Making New from Old: On the Formation and Therapeutic Objective of the Muššu'u ("Embrocation") Compendium

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1 Introduction

The compilation of incantations entitled Muššu'u 'Embrocation' offers precious insight into the complex process of the formation and systematization of magical compendia. Muššu'u seems to have been a rather late product of scribal effort. An initial *terminus post quem* is provided by the list of magical and divinatory treatises that formed part of the exorcistic lore and is said to go back to the eleventh-century BCE scholar Esagil-kīn-apli. Among the more than hundred works cited, one looks in vain for the title Muššu'u. The text in which Esagil-kīn-apli's enumeration appears was updated a couple of centuries later by adding a slightly different list. Copies of the revised list have been found in various places, but none of them include Muššu'u.¹ One of the oldest of these copies is the exemplar from Aššur, which further reduces the *terminus post quem* of the compilation of Muššu'u by more than three centuries.²

As briefly stated by Köcher (1966) and Finkel (1991) and analyzed in detail by Böck (2007: 43–65), the compiler of Muššu'u drew on a variety of sources for the compendium, viz., incantations originally belonging to other older incantation manuals as well as spells known only in medical contexts, which are accordingly termed "medical incantations." This particular combination was the reason for Köcher's 1966 characterization of Muššu'u as a "magisch-medizinische Serie." The following contribution begins with a discussion of the origin of the incantations in order to illustrate the process of compilation. Next, I shall focus on the question of whether there are internal indications

1 See the edition of Geller 2000: 242–58 and Frahm in this volume. For the scholar Esagil-kīn-apli, see Finkel 1991: 144–45; Beaulieu 2007: 477; Heeßel 2010: 140–43, 157–67.

2 See Böck 2007: 27–29. For corrections and additions to the principal text edition of Muššu'u (Böck 2007), see Böck 2009; Scurlock 2011; Jiménez 2014: 114–18; Böck 2018.

that could explain why the compendium received the title “Embrocation.” Then the contents of the incantations included in Muššu’u will be examined, and, finally, I will discuss the therapeutic objective of Muššu’u.

2 Where Do All the Muššu’u Incantations Come From?

As the colophons of copies of Muššu’u show, the compendium spanned nine tablets, eight of which are preserved. Exemplars of Muššu’u were unearthed at the ancient sites of Sultantepe, Aššur, Nineveh, Nimrud, Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, Kiš, Nippur, and Uruk; they all date to the first millennium BCE.³ Two catalogues giving the titles of each tablet confirm the extent and titles of the single sections or series tablets.⁴ As far as can be reconstructed, Muššu’u consisted probably of forty-eight incantations. Tablets I to VIII contain forty-five incantations, and the missing Tablet IX could have included at least three incantations (Böck 2007: 15–20).

The compiler of Muššu’u borrowed from four manuals and collections of incantations: his main source was *Sag-gig-ga-meš* ‘Head diseases’. The thirteen incantations Muššu’u I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IVa, IVb, IVc, IVd, IVe, IVf, IVg, IVh, and IVi come from this composition. Two more spells are taken from the *Udug-ḫul* compendium (VIIb, [IXb]), another stems from *Ḫul-ba-zi-zi* (IVi), and three further incantations belong to the collection of spells to undo the curse of a broken oath (*Nam-érim-búr-ru-da*: IVh, IVi, VI). In total, eighteen incantations come from other magical works, which amounts to 37.5% of all Muššu’u incantations (Böck 2007: 23–24).

The other main source is the corpus of medical texts, viz., healing incantations. This term refers to spells that were recited during the preparation or administration of medicines; the incantations are usually attached directly after the prescription of a medicine and are written in full or cited by incipit. Unlike the spells of magical compositions, healing incantations were not compiled into compendia with a title and a fixed number and sequence of incantations. However, the rubrics of many of the healing spells permit the reconstruction of groups of incantations that were used in the treatment of specific syndromes or particular diseases and to ensure the healing process. As far as the corpus of medical texts is preserved,

3 See Böck 2007: 33–43 and the additions and corrections of Oelsner 2012: 374–75.

4 Köcher 1966: 14; Finkel 1991: 93–94; Geller 2000: 227–28, 234–36.

the healing context of twenty-two incantations can be reconstructed (IIb–d, IIIb, IVa, IVh, IVi, Vg, VIIIa–g, VIIIk–m, VIIIo–r, [IXb⁵]). This amounts to 45.8% of all Muššu’u incantations (Böck 2007: 44–65). Taking into account the occasional overlap between magical compositions and the medical corpus, a total of thirty-two incantations or 66.7% of the Muššu’u incantations are attested in other—older—contexts (Böck 2007: 25–26). One wonders whether the remaining one-third did not come from other sources too.

The borrowings are summarized in the following table.

Muššu’u	Sag-gig	Udug-ḥul	Ḥul-ba-zi-zi	Nam-érim-búr-ru-da	Healing recipes
I	I				
IIa	III?				
IIb	IIa				SpTU 4, 129 vi 29
IIc					BM 41271+ iii 4’–5’
IId					AMT 103 ii 27–29; AMT 104 iii 6’–8’; BAM 487 iii 9’; BAM 489 rev. 14’–27’; BAM 508 i 2’–4’; K 9288 ii 13–16
IIIa	IIIa				
IIIb					BAM 508 i 26’–30’
IVa	VIIa				Tsukimoto 1999: 194 line 97
IVb	VIIb				
IVc	VIIc				
IVd	VIIId				
IVe	VIIe				
IVf	VIIIf				
IVg	VIIg				
IVh	VIIh			(x)	BAM 159 iii 32; BAM 473 iv 15’; BE 31 58 + AMT 88/1: 7–8; BM 42272: 22; K 7098+: 10–12; SpTU 1, 60 rev. 14’–15’
IVi	VIIi		No. 20	(x)	AMT 97/1: 4–7; BAM 385 iv 14–16; STT 275 i 22’
Va					
Vb					

5 Since it cannot be confirmed that this incantation belongs to Muššu’u, it is listed here but not counted.

Muššu'u	Sag-gig	Udug-ḫul	Ḫul-ba-zi-zi	Nam-érim-búr-ru-da	Healing recipes
Vc					
Vd					
Ve					
Vf					
Vg					AMT 93/3: 4'-11'; BE 31 58 + AMT 88/1: 20'-21'
VI				x	
VIIa					
VIIb		VIIId			
VIIIa					AMT 92/2 rev. 6; BAM 141: 7'-12'; BAM 398 rev. 3'-22'; K 2426 i 8'; Rm 265 ii' 9'
VIIIb					AMT 67/3: 8-11; BAM 124 iv 34; BAM 128 iv 33'-38'; BAM 197 rev. 25; Rm 265: 12'
VIIIc					AMT 58/7 iii 5-9; BAM 386 i 5'; K 2542+ iii 22'; SpTU 4, 129 vi 47-48; STT 273 ii 20', 27'; STT 281 i 34
VIIId					AMT 93/3: 15-16; BAM 194 iv' 3'; BAM 354 iv 22; K 2542+ iii 11; K 3274: 16'; SpTU 4, 129 vi 44
VIIIe					K 2542+ iii 39
VIII f					AMT 91/3: 1-6
VIIIg					STT 273 i 30'-32'
VIIIh					
VIIIi					
VIIIj					
VIIIk					BAM 543 iv 24'-38'; K 2473 (CT 23 pl. 3): 1-14
VIII l					BAM 124 iv 10'-24'; BAM 127: 9-12; BAM 128 iv 1'-24'; BAM 182: 14'-16'; BM 98584+ iv 12; K 2453+ (CT 23 pl. 11) iii 37-38; K 3209 (OECT 6 pl. 23): 4'-8'; STT 90: 15
VIII m					BAM 398: 1-8
VIII n					
VIII o					CMAwR 1, text 2.3, 1.: 63"-67"; AMT 97/1 iii 1-9; BAM 221 iii 25'-29'; BAM 385 iv 20-24; BAM 471 iii 25'-27'
VIII p					BM 98584+98589 iv 4-7; K 2453+ (CT 23 pl. 11) iii 33-34

Muššu'u	Sag-gig	Udug-ḫul	Ḫul-ba-zi-zi	Nam-érim-búr-ru-da	Healing recipes
VIIIq					AMT 58/7 i 5'; AMT 69/9: 7'; AMT 70/5 ii 2, 6; AMT 91/3: 10'; BAM 194 ii 9; BAM 350: 7'; BAM 354 iii 11, 16, 18; BM 98584+98589 iv 14; K 7964 iii 12'; Sm 1948: 7'; STT 273 i 22'; Tsukimoto 1999: 192 lines 24–26
VIIIr					AMT 70/5 ii 12–14; BAM 152 iv 11–13
VIIIs					
IXa					
IXb		included in I			BAM 354 iv 17; BAM 493 iv' 5–6; BAM 508 iv 11–17; K 3274 rev. 13'; SpTU 4, 129 i 40; STT 281 i 11', 34

The language of the Muššu'u incantations varies: the compendium contains eight Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals (I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, Va, VI, VIIa, VIIb); twenty-three incantations are written in Akkadian (IVa–h, Vb–g, VIIIa, VIIIb, VIIIc, VIIIl, VIIIm, VIII n, VIII o, VIII p, IXa) and seven in Sumerian (IIc, IId, IIIf, VIIIr, VIIIs, IXb, IXc). Furthermore, there are eight spells using mumbo-jumbo and a mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian words (IIIb), a combination of Sumerian, Akkadian, and gibberish words (VIIId), Akkadian or Sumerian terms mixed with words of an unintelligible language (IVi, VIIIj, VIIIq), and fully unintelligible spells (VIIIe, VIII f, VIII g). The state of preservation of two incantations does not permit any conclusions regarding their language (VIIIh, VIIIi).

It is interesting to note that the Sumerian of the bilingual texts shows features typical of Late Old Babylonian or post-Old Babylonian Sumerian compositions, which include, e.g., the full spelling of verbal forms.⁶ On the basis of these observations the eight incantations Muššu'u I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, Va, VI, VIIa, VIIb can be approximately dated around the middle of the second millennium BCE. There are, however, more incantations that are attested in older versions. Three Akkadian spells are known in Old Babylonian versions, four in Middle Babylonian versions, and one in a Middle Assyrian version. In total at least seventeen incantations or 35.4% of the later Muššu'u

6 Note, e.g., the spellings Muššu'u I 37, mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄; Muššu'u II 6, mu-un-na-an-te-eš; Muššu'u III 16, ba-an-na-an-gi; Muššu'u V 13, ḫé-em-ma-ab-ùr-re-eš; Muššu'u VI 67, mu-un-ši-ib-gar-ra; Muššu'u VII 32, ḫé-ni-ib-túm-mu-dè.

incantations circulated already around the second half of the second millennium BCE in written form (Böck 2007: 25–26). This feature, although not fully studied, led Köcher (1966: 15) to assume “vielleicht griff man bei der Kompilation der Serie *muššu’u* mit Bedacht auf alte bewährte magische Texte zurück, um sie—von modernen therapeutischen Behandlungsmethoden begleitet—mit neuem Leben zu erfüllen.” In addition to the argument that older or established compilations of incantations were reutilized because they are tantamount to repositories of tried and tested wisdom, there is another possible explanation, namely, that the content and purpose of the incantations themselves was the reason for their reuse or reinterpretation. The older and/or established incantations are given in the following table.

Muššu’u	Old Babylonian version	Post-Old Babylonian features	Middle Babylonian version	Middle Assyrian version
		I		
		IIa		
		IIb		
		IIIa		
IVa	CT 42 32, LB 1000 (Geller – Wiggermann 2008)		Tsukimoto 1999: 194 line 97	
IVb	CT 42 32, LB 1000 (Geller – Wiggermann 2008)			
IVi			BAM 385	
Va	John Rylands Library Box 24, E 5 and 25 line 5 (Wilcke 1973: 14)			
Vd			RS 17.155 (Márquez Rowe 2014: 49–50)	
VI	CT 4 pl. 3		KUB 37 100a+	
		VIIa		
VIIb	Geller 1985: 74–78 (lines 796–831)			
VIIIa			BAM 398, Msk 74147b+ (Arnaud 1987: 342–43); Msk 74146q (Arnaud 1987: 345)	

Muššu'ū	Old Babylonian version	Post-Old Babylonian features	Middle Babylonian version	Middle Assyrian version
VIIIk	HTS 2 (Goetze 1955: 9); UIOM 1059 (Goetze 1955: 10), YOS 11, no. 18			
VIII				Rm 376 (Lambert 1965: 287)
VIIIo			BAM 385	
VIIIq			Tsukimoto 1999: 192 lines 24–26	BAM 194
IXb ⁷			Tsukimoto 1999: 193 lines 37–40	

3 References to Embrocating, Massaging, and Touching in the Muššu'ū Incantations

Since Muššu'ū received its title from the specific therapeutic method of embrocating, one may ask whether the incantations proper contain references that would correspond to the actions of rubbing, touching, or massaging. Six incantations give a description of the appropriate healing treatment in the form of a dialogue between the god Ea/Enki and his son Asalluḫi/Marduk as part of a larger *historiola*.⁸ Presumably the exorcist performed the instructions Ea/Enki gave to his son while reciting an incantation of the so-called Marduk-Ea-type (Falkenstein 1931: 44–76). Six of these incantations are Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals (I,⁹ IIa,¹⁰ IIb, IIIa, VI, VIIb), four of which refer to massaging, touching, or rubbing, and one spell is written in Akkadian (Vd). Ea and his son are not the only actors that appear in *historiola* incantations; occasionally other deities such as Ninisina and her son Damu or Ningirim are mentioned (Va, VIIa).

7 Since it cannot be confirmed that this incantation belongs to Muššu'ū, it is listed here but not counted.

8 Called “légendes” by Bottéro 1988: 245.

9 This incantation refers to the application of a bandage to the head, I 47 (Böck 2007: 103).

10 This incantation only includes the instructions to Marduk without the introductory formula of the dialogue (II 11–17; Böck 2007: 118–19).

According to Muššu'ū Ila 17, Marduk is supposed to touch the patient with ghee and milk in order to purify him: *lú-u₁₈-lu dumu dingir-ra-na mu-un-tag-tag amēlu mār ilišu luppitma* 'he has rubbed the man, son of his god / Rub the man, son of his god' (Böck 2007: 119). The verbs used are Sumerian tag-tag and Akkadian *lupputu*. Lines 20–21, which use the stock metaphor that the patient should be as clean from (demonic) pollution as gleaming silver and as radiant as polished copper,¹¹ make clear that the action does not simply imply touching the patient with a sort of liniment and applying it presumably to his head, but a rubbing movement using pressure to create a glossy surface in a figurative sense.

The incantation Iib 47 (Böck 2007: 124) states that Asalluḫi is to salve the forehead of the patient, using the verbs Sumerian *šéš* and Akkadian *puššušu*, in order to relieve his body from pain and demons: *sag-ki-a-ni [u-m]e-né-šéš pūssu puššusma* 'salve his forehead'. The incantation IIIa uses the same ingredients as Ila, viz., ghee and milk, with which Asalluḫi has to embrocate the patient; this constitutes the first mention of the action of *muššu'ū* or Sumerian *šu ... ùr* in the series: III 28a (Böck 2007: 139) *téš-a [šu ù]r-ra-a-ni bar-ra-ni šu šed₇-da-a-[ni] mithāriš mušše'šu puššihšu* 'rub him everywhere, calm him down'.

The Sumero-Akkadian spell Va addressed to Ninisina describes how the goddess is to treat the patient: *šu šed₇-da-a-ni ḫé-em-ma-ab-ùr-re-eš ina qātišu pašḫāti limasšissu* 'May she rub them (disease demons) away with her soothing hands' (Böck 2007: 188 line 13). The verb is Sumerian *šu ... ùr* which is equated here with Akkadian *muššudu*. The unilingual Akkadian version of the "Marduk-Ea-dialogue" incorporated in incantation Vd includes an invocation of Marduk asking him to embrocate the body of the patient with water and oil, employing the verb *muššu'ū*: *ina mē u šamni mušše'* 'rub (him) with water and oil' (Böck 2007: 195 line 52). According to spell VIIa, Marduk and Ningirim are adjured to rub away with their soothing hands a host of demons. Again the verb attested is Sumerian *šu ... ùr*, equated with Akkadian *muššudu*: *šu šed₇-da-a-ni ḫé-em-ma-ab-ùr-re-eš ina qātišunu pašḫāti limasšidūka* 'may they rub you with their soothing hands' (Böck 2007: 248 line 28). To touch the patient's body with a certain pressure in order to apply cedar balm is the advice Ea gives to Asalluḫi in VIIb using the Sumerian verb

11 Böck 2007: 119–20. Note that the metaphor refers to the process of becoming a human being; for the context in education, see Volk 2000: 24–25, and, with reference to the purified state of man, see Volk 2000: 30.

tag-tag and Akkadian *lupputu*: lú-u₁₈-lu su-bi u-me-ni-tag-tag [*amēla šuātu*] *zumuršu luppitma* ‘touch this man, his body’ (Böck 2007: 251 line 42; Geller 2007: 140 line 108).

The small number of internal references to embrocating, massaging, or rubbing makes it unlikely that the compendium received its title because of the action described in the incantations. It appears, therefore, that the compiler did not choose to include these incantations in Muššu’u on account of the specific healing treatment of embrocation that they refer to.

Terms used in the incantations:

Sumerian	Akkadian	Attestation	Meaning	Object
<u>šéš</u>	<i>puššušu</i>	Iib 47	to salve	forehead
<u>šu ... ùr</u>	<i>muššu’u</i>	IIIa 28	to embrocate	everywhere
	<i>muššudu</i>	Va 13	to rub	–
<u>tag-tag</u>	<i>lupputu</i>	Iia 17	to touch with force	man
	<i>muššudu</i>	VIIb 42	to rub	body
	<i>muššu’u</i>	Vd 52	to embrocate	– (body)

As can be seen, Sumerian šu ... ùr corresponds to both Akkadian *muššu’u* and *muššudu*. The close relationship between the two Akkadian terms is also evident in the medical word commentary SpTU 1, 47 line 10, in which *muš-šu-da* is explained with *muš-šu-’u*. While the basic meaning of Sumerian ùr denotes an action on the surface (Thomsen 2001: 321), the term tag implies a movement from outside to inside, following Schuster and Landsberger’s (1955: 103) interpretation: “in etwas (mit der Hand oder mit einem Gerät) eindringen.”

4 The Contents of the Muššu’u Incantations

In his edition of the bilingual Sumero-Akkadian ritual VAT 8382, van Dijk distinguishes between two basic motivations for the formation of magical or ritual compendia. While some compositions combine incantations with similar content and purpose, other works incorporate a variety of texts that have evolved from cultic acts (van Dijk 1967: 238–49). As has been demonstrated for Maqlû and Mīs pî, the very contents of the incantations, e.g., references to specific ritual places or acts and tools or times of day,

indicate a logical course of events.¹² No such study has so far been undertaken for the incantations that were incorporated into Muššu'u. The following analysis aims at determining whether the contents of Muššu'u incantations can throw light on the motivation for the structure of the compendium and its ritual performance.

The first tablet of Muššu'u contains the incantation “‘Head disease’ has come from the Ekur,” a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual spell. Sag-gig-ga is a generic term that designates an only vaguely characterized demonic force that affects not only the head of its victim but also the whole body. We learn that “Head disease” is compared to Lamaštu in the degree of pain it causes (I 3, Böck 2007: 94); the evil force is visualized as a creature with the head of an *Alû*-demon and the body of the *Abūbu*-flood demon.¹³ According to the first incantation of Muššu'u, the demon begins its evil work by inflicting pains and fever on the muscles of the limbs; it causes aches in the intestinal tract and the back, closes up the nose and mouth, and causes pains in the chest, ribs, and belly (I 9–23, Böck 2007: 95–98). In spite of the fact that the demon does not attack the victim's head, Asalluḫi is told in the closing Marduk-Ea formula to treat only the head. After purifying the patient with water, the god bandages the head of the patient with juniper, leaves the bandage on for one day, and then throws it away. In this way the demon “Head disease” is removed (I 45–52, Böck 2007: 103–104). The treatment of the head and not of the affected body parts seems to indicate that the demon received its name not because it attacks primarily the head but because it leaves and thus consequently enters the body of its victim through the head.

The incantations of Tablet II add further information: IIa, “Someone has released ‘Head disease’ from heaven,” states that the demon causes also pain to the head (II 7, Böck 2007: 117). According to the incorporated healing ritual, *elpetu*- and *sassatu*-grass are to be bound around the victim's head and he is to be rubbed with a mixture of ghee and milk in order to purify his body. Incantation IIb “‘Head disease’ is like a meteor from heaven” adds as symptoms headaches and chills, which are said to be the work of the invisible *Asakku*-demon (II 29–30, Böck 2007: 121–22). The treatment consists first in tying an amulet to the patient's forehead and secondly in rubbing his forehead with a liniment in order to remove headache and chills (II 40–48,

¹² Abusch 1991; Walker – Dick 2001: 86–88.

¹³ For the iconography, see Seidl 1998.

Böck 2007: 123–24). The last two incantations are short spells written in the Sumerian typical of first-millennium healing incantations; they confirm that the forehead is afflicted (Böck 2007: 125–26).

Tablet III is composed of a Sumero-Akkadian bilingual incantation and a short macaronic spell that combines Sumerian and Akkadian expressions and is not well understood. The first incantation “‘Head disease’ is the disease of the muscles of the neck” explains that the evil force causes not only neck-muscle strains and sprains but also pains in women’s arms (III 1–2, 34–35, Böck 2007: 134, 139–40). It inflicts men’s limbs with *šaššaṭu*, a muscle disease.¹⁴ To relieve the patient from his pains Asalluḫi embrocates him everywhere with ghee and milk.

Tablet IV contains nine incantations of which eight are written in Akkadian; the other one mixes unintelligible words with Akkadian phrases. Incantations IVa and b are put into the mouth of the exorcist, formulated in the first-person singular. He encourages the patient not to be weary because Ninisina would bandage him, while her son Damu would exorcise headaches and the so-called *Ašû*-disease from his body, a disease that affects head and eyes.¹⁵ What follows is a long list of diseases and demons (Böck 2007: 150–58). Incantations IVf and g also use the first-person singular: IVf consists of an enumeration of diseases and demons, which the *mašmaššu* exorcises in the name of gods and other entities that are listed in the following incantation, IVg. Incantations IVc, d, and e are prayers directed to Marduk; in IVh Ea is addressed and in IVi Ninurta. These prayers have in common that they assure the patient that he will be healed.

Muššu’u V includes one Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual text and six incantations written in Akkadian. Va, a prayer directed to Ninisina, associates the healing goddess with *ša-gig-ga* ‘belly disease’ (Akkadian *kīs libbi*) and her son Damu with mending the muscles (V 3–4, Böck 2007: 184–85). The incantation concludes with the wish that the goddess massage the body of the victim so that he finds relief and diseases and demons leave his body. Vb is a short prayer to Marduk, Vc a short prayer to Marduk and Gula. In Vd diseases and demons, enumerated in a long list, are adjured; according to the concluding Marduk-Ea formula Asalluḫi frees the body of the patient from them by approaching him with tamarisk and *maštakal* plant and by

14 See Scurlock – Burton 2005: 66–68; note that the present incantation refers to the extremities.

15 See Scurlock – Burton 2005: 224.

embrocating his body with water and oil. Vc refers to a child who is assured that Marduk will heal him so that he can get up again once the demon “Any evil” is expelled. Vg addresses again Marduk, who removes the demon “Any evil” (V 126; Böck 2007: 206).

The Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual incantation of Muššu’u VI belongs to the group of spells that were recited to undo the curse of a broken oath (*nam-érim-búr-da*).¹⁶ Although the text commences with a long list of diseases and demons, the diseases that Asalluḫi actually heals are *libiš-gig-ga*, the “disease of the innards,” and *šà-dab₅-ba*, the “disease of the belly.”¹⁷

Tablet VII is composed of two Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual incantations; the first is a prayer to Enki and his son Asalluḫi who exorcises a number of diseases and demons. Together with Ningirim he embrocates the patient with his soothing hands. The second incantation describes how Marduk chases away the evil *Utukku*- and *Alû*-demons and the *Asakku*-demon by rubbing the body of the victim with cedar balm (Böck 2007: 243–55).

Tablet VIII contained nineteen incantations of various lengths. VIIIa, written in Akkadian, addresses *šimmatu*, a disease or disease demon that is said to affect knees and legs (VIII 7–8, Böck 2007: 267). According to VIIIb—written in Akkadian—*šimmatu* entered a man after hateful sorceries were performed against him.¹⁸ VIIIc, a Sumerian incantation, states that Enki has come so that the evil muscle will be relieved. Incantations VIId, e, f, and g are written in an unintelligible language. The Akkadian incantation of VIIIk is basically a list of diseases. VIIIm and n are directed against the demon *Šû* that causes the *maškadu*-disease. Incantation VIIIo is addressed to a grammatically feminine disease that is said to be torn out by Ea and Asalluḫi. According to VIIIp, *išātu kāsistu* of the hips has to be extinguished (Böck 2007: 279–96).

To resume, “Head disease” afflicts the musculoskeletal system, causing pains to the chest and the innards too. It is associated with feverish sensations of the muscles. I have suggested that the evil force could have received its name from the way it enters or leaves the body, viz., through any of the natural orifices of the head. If we combine the healing cures that are

16 For this group of incantations, see Maul 2010: 135–45.

17 I now translate Muššu’u VI 38–39 differently from Böck 2007: 235, namely: “he (Asalluḫi) heals the one who suffers from ‘binding of the belly’, he calms down the man’s disease of the belly.”

18 See Abusch – Schwemer 2011: 58–59.

incorporated in incantations I, IIa–b, and IIIa we can reconstruct the following course of action: the demon is driven away by first sprinkling purified water over the body of the patient and tying juniper to his head. Then *elpetu*- and *sassatu*-grass are tied around the head and the patient's body is rubbed with ghee and milk in order to purify him again. After these purification rites an amulet is tied to his forehead, in all likelihood to prevent any new demonic attempt to enter the body.¹⁹ His forehead is to be rubbed with a liniment made of several ingredients. In the next step the patient is embrocated everywhere with ghee and milk. The incantations Muššu'u I, IIa and b, and IIIa form a unit with regard to their structure, content, style, and language. The incantations of Tablet IV are distinguished not only by the shift to Akkadian, but also by the fact that the exorcist speaks using first-person singular verbal forms. In this section, all kinds of diseases and demons are addressed, not only "Head disease." These lists occur several times in the Muššu'u incantations but not in a standardized order. Another feature introduced in these incantations is the incorporation of prayers directed to Marduk. The topic of embrocating occurs again in Tablet V in the incantations Va and Vd. The incantation Va introduces the affliction of the innards, which is ultimately the topic of incantation VI. Although, according to the rubric, this spell belongs to the Nam-érim-búr-ru-da incantations, it begins by adjuring many diseases and demons, in accordance with the listed topic of Muššu'u IV. The incantation VIIa combines a long prayer to Marduk with a long list of diseases and demons. VIIb, an Udug-ḫul incantation, is put into the mouth of the exorcist who addresses the evil *Utukku*-, *Alû*-, and *Asakku*-demons. According to the short Marduk-Ea formula the patient is to be rubbed with cedar balm and purified with incense. The incantations of Tablet VIII deal with various afflictions of the muscles of the legs and fever in the muscles.

While there are some elements that recur among the different incantations, such as the same evil forces, prayers to Marduk, or afflictions of the muscles, they are insufficient to explain the inner structure of Muššu'u. Unlike for example Udug-ḫul, which reflects the course of a large exorcistic healing ceremony, the sequence of the Muššu'u incantations and their content does not allow us to reconstruct an order of events. The compiler of Muššu'u seems to have chosen incantations that could be used not only

¹⁹ For this interpretation, see Böck 2003: 12–14.

against one demonic force, such as the Lamaštu incantations, or against a collective of demons or a social group, such as the incantations included in the Udug-ḫul composition and in Maqlû, but against any demon and any disease. This arbitrariness is best illustrated by listing all the malevolent powers and physical ailments named in Muššu'u.

Although the transition between the personified agent and the disease induced by this agent is often fluid, I have distinguished—artificially—between demons and diseases in the following list. Since Tablets I–III of Muššu'u contain incantations directed against “Head disease,” I have not included information from these tablets in the list.

4.1 *List of Diseases and Demons That Appear in Muššu'u IV–VIII*

The first part of the list is structured according to the seat of the pain in head-to-toe order. Then come general terms and skin afflictions, followed by disease terms.

Head

ašû – IVa 7, 28; VIIIk 138, 139, 148
igi nigin-na – VI 18
muruş qaqqadi – IVa 14; Va 9; VIIa
 20
sag-gig – Va 9; VIIa 20
šidānu – IVf 73; VI 18

Eye

igi-gig – Va 10
muruş īni – Va 10

Tooth

muruş šinni – Va 9; VIIa 20
zû-gig – Va 9; VIIa 20

Jaw

me-zé-gig – VI 10

Muscle

sa-ḫul – VIIIc 97

Afflictions of the inner body

libiš-gig – VI 9; Vd 54
muruş libbi – Va 9; Vd 54
šibit libbi – IVa 31
šâ-gig – Va 9; Vd 54; VI 9

Chest

bu'šānu – VIIIk 108, 117
ki-ri-piš – VIIIk 108, 117
mur-gig – VI 9
muruş ḥašē – Vd 54

Kidney

ellag-gig – VI 9
ellag-gig-GAM – VI 9

Belly, intestinal tract

isiltu – VI 10; VIIa 22
kiširtu – VI 10
libiš-gig-ga – Va 9, VI 38
lubāṭu – IVa 33, 34

murūš kīs libbi – Va 9

šimertu – VI 10

šà-dab₅-ba – VI 10, 39

šà-maḥ – VI 10

šà-ta-ḥa-ar-ge₄ – VI 10

Afflictions of the musculoskeletal system

ḥáš-gig – VI 16

íb-gig – VI 16

maškadu – IVa 28; VI 16

rapādu – IVc 60; IVf 75

sa-sa-ad-nim – VI 16

sagallu – IVa 28

šannādu – VI 16

šaššatu – IVa 32; IVf 74; Vd 34; VI
16

šer`anu lemnu – IVa 29

Wounds

bu₅-bu₅ sim_x-ma-a – VI 7

[... G]IG-ga – VI 6

GIG-sim_x-ma – VI 6a

simmu – VI 6

simmū – VI 6a

Pains

kissatu – VI 12; VIIa 20; VIIIk 107,
115; cf. *kiššatu*

sa-gig – VIIa 20

sìg-a – VIIa 21

siḥiltu – VIIa 21

zú-muš-ì-gu₇-e – VIIa 26

zú-muš-ì-gu₇-e mud lugud dé-dé –
VI 11

Bites

nišik kalbi šerri zuqaqīpi nammaštī
– IVa 30

Afflictions of the skin

bi`āru – VIIIk 116

du₁₀-ge-eš – VI 62

ekketu – VI 12

epqēnu – VIIIk 107, 115

gag-šub-ba – VI 13

gan-šub-ba – VI 13

garābu – VI 13

gergiš – VIIIk 115; cf. *gergiššu*

gergiššu – IVa 27; Vd 34

giri-im-šub-ba – VI 15

kibbu – IVf 77; VI 14

kirigiš – VIIIk 107; cf. *gergiššu*

kissat išāti – IVa 29

kiššatu – VI 12; VIIa 20; VIIIk 107,
115

kuš-bar-ra – VI 14

kuš-gu₇-e – VI 12

li'bu – IVa 24; IVf 72, 74; VI 19

lu'tu – IVf 78

maštu – IVa 14

níg-im-šub-ba – VI 15

rāšānu – VI 15

rišūtu – Vd 38; VI 12, 62

sa-gu₇-e – VI 12

sa-ma-ná/na – Va 10, VI 8

sāmānu – IVa 27; Va 10; Vd 34;
VIIIk 108, 116

sikkatu – VI 13, 15

su-umbin-ak-ak – VI 12

šennettu – IVa 27

šadānu – Vd 35

šīqu – IVf 74

Chills and fever

a-za-ad mu – VIIa 22
ḥimiṭ šēti – Va 11; VIIa 23
ḥinṭu – IVf 77; VI 14
ḥurbāšu – IVf 73; VI 21
išāt ašī – VIIIk 109
išātu – IVa 27; VI 13; VIIIk 107, 117
 izi – VI 13
kāsistu – VIIIp 180
raʾibu – VI 17
 sag-gá-ra – VI 17
 sag-im-ta-kur-ra – VI 17
šētu – VI 14
 še₉-še₉-dè – VI 21
 šed₇-da – VIIa 22; cf. še₉-še₉-dè
šurpû – VI 17
šuruppû – IVa 19; IVf 72; VIIa 22
 táb-táb-e-dè – VI 14
 ud-da tab/táb-ba – Va 11; VI 14;
 VIIa 23
zuʾtu lā tābtu – IVa 33

Stroke

an-ta-šub-ba – VIIa 24
bennu – IVf 73; VIIa 24
^dlugal-ùr-ra – VIIa 24
^dlugal-ùr-ra an-ta-šub-ba – VI 20
miqit benni – IVa 23
miqit bēl ūri – VI 20
miqit šamē – IVa 23; VIIa 24
miqtu – IVa 27; IVf 75; VI 13, 15
mišittu – IVa 20; IVc 60; IVf 75
 šub-ba – VI 13

Plagues, epidemics, seasonal diseases

aš-gar mu – VIIa 21
bibbu – IVf 76

diʾu – IVa 7, 14, 20; IVf 72; VI 17
diʾu šattu – VIIa 21
 sag-gig – VI 17
šibṭu – IVf 77

Evil, death

ḥul dím-ma – VI 28
 kuš-bu₅-ra ḥul-gál-la – VIIa 27
lemnu – IVa 33; VIIIb 62
maruštu – Vd 55; VIIIb 35
mimma epiš lemutti – Va 11
 níg-gig – VIIIb 35
 níg-nam-ḥul dím-ma a-ni – Va 11
tirrat lemutti – VIIa 27
 úš ḥul-gál – VI 1

Social ostracism, divine rejection

arrat abi u ummi aḥi rabī bēlti
aḥati rabīti – IVa 39
 eme-ḥul – VI 29
 igi-ḥul – VI 29
 ka-ḥul – VI 29
karšu – IVa 35
lišānu lemnu – IVa 37
 (^d)*māmītu* – IVa 35; VI 55
meḥerti ili – IVa 40
miqit māmīti – VI 59
 nam-érim-ma – VI 55, 59
nullātānu – IVa 36
pû lemnu – IVa 37
šibit ili – IVa 31

Witchcraft

epiš lemutti – Va 11
epēš kišpī – IVa 16
kišpū – VI 56
kišpū zērūtu – VIIIb 81
 kù-zu – VI 56

níg-ak-a – VI 56
 rupuštu – IVa 32
 rusû – IVa 16
 ru'tu – IVa 16, 32
 ruḥû – IVa 16; VI 56
 upšašû – Vd 55
 upšašû lemnûtu – IVa 16

Depression

ašuštu – IVa 19; IVf 72; VI 21
 ašušti qaqqadi – VI 18
 en-gi-(en-)sag₉ níg-im-gig-ga – VI
 30, 57
 idirtu – IVa 40
 ní-ze-er-zé-er – VI 21
 qûlu – VI 21
 sag-du zé-er – VI 18
 šim-me-gar-ra – VI 21
 tādīru ša ana marušti – VI 57
 tašgirtu – IVa 35
 tazziṁtu – IVa 36, 40

Disease

dur₁₁-ra – VI 30, 57
 dur₁₁-ra ḥul-gál – Va 10
 gig-ga-a-ni šar-me-a-bi – VIIa 25
 muršu – IVa 20, 42; IVf 72; VI 57
 muršu lemnû – IVa 34; Va 10
 muršû mala bašû – VIIa 25
 sili'tu – IVf 74
 šibit zumri – IVa 31
 šibtu – IVf 73

Demons

a-lá ḥul – VI 22; VIIb 34, 61
^dallamu, ^dalmu – Vd 35
 alluḥappu – IVf 74, 78; Vd 36
 alû – IVf 78; Vd 36

alû lemnû – Vd 40; VI 22; VIIb 34,
 61
 ardat-lilî – IVa 22
 á-sàg – Va 10; VIIb 35
 á-sàg gig-ga – VI 20, 27
 á-sàg sìg-ga-a-ni – VIIb 59
 asakku – IVa 19; IVf 72; Va 10
 asakku maršu – VI 20
 asakku māḥissu – VIIb 59
 aḥḥāzu – IVa 19, 21; IVf 72, 81
^ddim-me – VI 28
^ddim-me-a – VI 28
^ddim-me-lagab – VI 28
 dingir ḥul – VI 29
 ekkēmtu – IVf 76
 ekkēmu – IVf 76
 eṭemmu – IVa 20; IVc 60; IVf 75;
 VIIa 25
 eṭemmu lemnû – Vd 43; VIIb 61
 ē'ilu – Vd 35
 gal₅-lá ḥul – VI 27; VIIb 61
 gallû lemnû – VIIb 61
 gallû rabûtu – Vd 44
 gedim – VIIa 25
 gedim ḥul – VIIb 60
 gedim ḥul da-ta gub-ba – VI 22
 ḥayyātu – IVc 61; IVf 86
 ḥul dúb – VIIb 62
 ilu muraggu – IVa 21
 kattellu – IVf 77
 labāšu – IVa 24; IVf 75
 lamaštu – IVa 14; IVf 75
 lilitu – IVa 22; Vd 42
 lilû – IVa 22; IVc 61; IVf 73; Vd 42,
 44
 mimma lemnû – IVa 17, 22, 31; IVf
 78; IVh 93; Ve 96, 99, 108; Vf 112;
 Vg 126; VIIb 60, 62

mukil rēš lemutti – IVg 86
muttašrabbiṭu – Vd 36
mušabbīt amēlūti – IVf 78
mūtu – IVf 77
nam-tar – VIIb 58
nam-tar siḡ-ga-a-ni – VIIb 59
namtaru māḥissu – VIIb 59
^(d)*namtar* – IVa 20; IVf 78, 113-115;
 VIIb 57
naplaštu – Vd 41
nīg-ḥul – VI 26
nīg-ḥul-gál-e – VIIb 60
pāšittu – IVa VI 11; 14; VIIa 26
rābiṣu – IVf 77; Vd 42
šaggāšu – IVa 20; IVf 77; Vd 35

šarrabtū ša lilāti – Vd 38
^d*šēdu* – IVf 75, 77
^d*šēdu lemnu* – IVc 61
šēdu ša ina šaḥāti izzuzū – VI 22
šu si-ga – VIIa 24
šu tag-ga nam-tar – VIIa 23
^d*šulak* – IVa 21; Vd 41; VIIa 24
udug – VIIa 25
udug ḥul – VI 20, 27; VI 22; VIIb 33,
 61
utukku – Vd 41; VIIa 25
utukku lemnu – VI 20, 22; VIIb 33;
 VIIb 61
zú-muš ḷ-gu₇-e – VI 11; VIIa 26

5 What was the Purpose of Muššu'u?

Since neither the internal references to the healing practice of embrocating nor the purpose of the incantations—demons and diseases—is sufficient to explain the structure of Muššu'u nor to determine the particular motivation for its creation, we turn our attention to the available external evidence. Both the ritual tablet of Muššu'u and the recitations of Muššu'u incantations in medical contexts provide valuable information about the use of the spells. It should be noted, however, that the ritual tablet of Muššu'u includes only fifteen incantations from the compendium; the other spells recited belong to the customary repertoire of opening and concluding rites in healing ceremonies (Böck 2003: 8–11). As stated above, about half of the Muššu'u incantations are attested in a medical context, namely 45.8% (twenty-two incantations). The context in which they are recited throws important light on two issues: one concerns the range of afflictions to be treated, and the other the supernatural agent responsible for the ailments.

The following table gives a summary of the evidence. Note that when the incantation appears in different healing contexts, the afflictions are presented on different lines. When various afflictions are mentioned, they are given on the same line separated by commas. The data of columns 3 and 4 come from healing recommendations that provide a description of symptoms or the names of afflictions or the evil entities responsible for the affliction.

When the causing agent is identical with the name of the affliction, the term appears in both columns 3 and 4.

Muššu`u incantation	Affliction(s) treated with Muššu`u incantation		Agent(s) causing affliction(s)	
	According to the Muššu`u ritual tablet	According to medical context	According to medical context	According to the Muššu`u incantation itself
I				sag-gig
IIb		sag-ki-dab-ba		sag-gig
IIId		sag-ki-dab-ba	šu-gedim	
IIIa				sag-gig
IIIb		sag-ki-dab-ba		
IVa		<i>šnātišu ana tabāki la ile`i</i>		
IVh		zi-ku ₅ -ru-da	<i>zikurudū</i>	<i>mimma lemnu</i>
		<i>šamāmu</i> (right arm)	šu-gedim	
IVi		šu-gedim	šu-gedim	<i>lemnu</i>
		uš ₁₁ -zu, nam-érim	<i>kišpū, māmītu</i>	
		<i>šimmatu</i>	šu-gedim	
Vg		<i>šamāmu</i> (left arm)		<i>mimma lemnu</i>
VI				nam-érim
VIIa				
VIIa		<i>šimmatu</i>		<i>šimmatu</i>
VIIIb				<i>kišpū, māmītu</i>
		<i>sagallu</i>		
VIIIc		<i>šimmatu, išātu kāsistu</i>	<i>mimma lemnu</i>	
IIIId	<i>šimmatu</i>	<i>šimmatu, rimûtu</i>		
IIIe		<i>šimmatu</i>		
IIIIf		<i>šimmatu</i>		
IIIIfg		<i>išātu kāsistu</i>		
IIIIfj		sag-ki-dab-ba	šu-gedim, šu-dingir, šu-innin	
IIIIfk		<i>sagallu</i>		
IIIIf or m	<i>sagallu</i>	<i>maškadu</i>		Šu`u
		<i>sagallu</i>		
IIIIfo			šu-gedim, <i>kišpū</i>	
IIIIfp		<i>išātu kāsistu, sagallu, maškadu</i>		

Muššu'u incantation	Affliction(s) treated with Muššu'u incantation	Agent(s) causing affliction(s)
VIIIq	<i>šer'an eqbišu ittanazzaz, maškadu,</i>	
VIIIr	<i>šēpišu itteninšillā</i>	
IXb	<i>an-ta-šub-ba, šu-gedim, šimmatu</i>	

As can be observed, *šimmatu* ‘paralysis’ is the affliction most often mentioned, followed by the inflictions *maškadu* and *sagallu*, which are closely related. Thus, for example, the incantations Muššu'u VIIIq and VIIIr, which were recited against the demon *Šu'u* that provokes the *maškadu*-ailment, belong according to the rubric in K 2453+ iii 41 (CT 23 pl. 11) to the incantations to be recited in case of *sagallu*.²⁰ The *maškadu* (sa-kéš) disease in turn is adjured in the Middle Babylonian incantation text RS 25.129 + 25.456B rev. 6–24, which was considered a formula against *šimmatu* according to its rubric.²¹ All three terms designate ailments of the musculoskeletal system.²² A number of healing cures suggest a certain connection between paralyzed limbs and the actions of the *Eṭemmu* ‘Ghost’ or the “Hand of an *Eṭemmu*.” Thus two amulets are attested for use against both the “Hand of a Ghost” and *šimmatu*.²³ Note also the abovementioned incantation against *maškadu* ÉN sa-kéš lú-bi lú-bi dab ‘*Maškadu* seized a man, a man’ in RS 25.129 + 25.456B, which belongs to the group of *šimmatu* formulas in Middle Babylonian times but is reused with a slightly different incipit as ÉN É.NU.RU sa-ḫul lú-bi lú-bi silim ‘Evil muscles are healed for the man, the man’ in the Nineveh Texts BAM 473 and 474, where it is categorized as a ŠU.GEDIM ‘Hand of a Ghost’ formula.²⁴ It is worth noting in this context that the instructions of the medical text K 2542+ iii 19–23 specify the purpose of the Muššu'u incantation VIIIc ÉN sa-ḫul du₈-ù-da ‘To loosen evil muscle’ as to heal *šimmatu* of the left arm (Böck 2007: 52). The compatibility between *šimmatu* and the “Hand of a Ghost” points to a strong connection between both concepts. Thus we can probably assume that *šimmatu* is an ailment caused by ŠU.GEDIM. The “Hand of a Ghost” was associated with two further

20 See Böck 2007: 57–58 with further references.

21 See Márquez Rowe 2014: 63–68, esp. 64–65 rev. 6–25.

22 See Scurlock – Burton 2005: 257–58 (*maškadu*, *sagallu*), 289–90 (*šimmatu*).

23 See Scurlock 2006: 481–86 (nos. 201, 202); Schuster-Brandis 2008: 142–43.

24 See Márquez Rowe 2014: 68 comment on rev. 6–30, Scurlock 2006: 431–33 (no. 169).

ailments: one is *sag-ki-dab₅-ba*, literally “seized temples,” which is usually rendered as “migraine,”²⁵ and the other is neck muscle strain or sprain.²⁶

It appears then from the table that there is a certain concentration on the “Ghost” or the “Hand of a Ghost” as the causing agent. I therefore suggest that *Muššu’u* has been created as a corollary of a healing ceremony that was meant to expel the demon.²⁷ Accordingly, healing texts would have motivated the formation of *Muššu’u*. Although tablets I to III of *Muššu’u* are directed against the demon “Head disease,” the incantations could have been easily adapted to another purpose. We know from some medical prescriptions that a ghost entered the body of his victim through the head like the demon “Head disease.”²⁸ The fact that “Head disease” was believed to cause neck muscle strain and pains in the musculoskeletal system might also have contributed to using the incantations to expel a ghost. *Muššu’u* would then have received its name from the healing action that was considered the most characteristic rite accompanying the recitation of healing incantations, namely embrocating. Finally, the ritual tablet provides the explanation for the inner structure of *Muššu’u*: the incantations are arranged according to the course of the patient’s treatment, which starts at the head and ends with the feet, following thus the common type of organization *a capite ad calcem* or *ištu muḫḫi adi šupri* ‘from the upper part of the head to the toe nails’.²⁹

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²⁵ See Böck 2007: 44–45.

²⁶ See Scurlock 2006: 198–99 (nos. 84, 85).

²⁷ Scurlock 2011: 88 argues that the *Muššu’u* ritual is a necromantic ceremony, as shown by the specific purification rites the exorcist has to perform. This argument should be questioned because these rites are common to many other ritual ceremonies such as *Ili ul ide*, *Maqlû*, *Lamaštu*, *Šurpu*, *Bit mēseri*, *Sag-ba sag-ba*, and *Šep lemutti ina bit amēli parāsu*, as discussed in Böck 2003, further elaborating on Köcher 1966.

²⁸ See Scurlock 2006: 8.

²⁹ As stated, e.g., in BAM 574 iv 56 or BAM 575 iv 59; for this type of organization in literary and lexical texts, see Böck 2000: 1.

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Tracing Mesopotamian Medical Knowledge: A Study of *maškadu* and Related Illnesses

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Tracing Mesopotamian medical knowledge requires reading and interpreting cuneiform texts without imposing a modern concept of disease on them.¹ Consequently, the medical knowledge as it is preserved in the textual corpus cannot be read at face value and must be analyzed in relation to emic cultural and social concepts in order to understand the thought processes behind its composition and use. Accordingly, numerous approaches towards interpreting magico-medical manuscripts frequently incorporate methodological caveats. An example here is retrospective diagnoses, which interpret ancient symptom descriptions of a specific illness by correlating these symptoms with those of a modern disease, thereby leaving us uninformed about ancient healers' illness conceptions. Furthermore, such a search for precursors to contemporary medicine creates an artificial divide between the concepts of "magic" and "medicine."

These pitfalls have been stressed in other studies on ancient Mesopotamian medicine (e.g., Heeßel 2004; Robson 2008; Geller 2010; Böck 2014) and the history of medicine in general (e.g., Leven 2004; van der Eijk 2005). But while numerous studies have made advances in our understanding of ancient Mesopotamian illness conception(s) and treatments, our knowledge of the hermeneutical tools behind the ancient application and use of healing in response to specific symptoms is still inadequate. This is partly due to the limited number of textual commentaries and a scarcity of "theory-to-practice" explanations in the epistolary evidence. Consequently, we often

¹ I am grateful to Nicole Brisch, Barbara Böck, and the editors of the present volume for reading and commenting on this article. The work gained much from their helpful suggestions and critical comments. Any shortcomings can and should, however, be attributed to the author alone.

do not know how healers linked illnesses to each other and, by extension, how they determined the appropriate cure.

The following represents an attempt at tracing magico-medical knowledge related to the ancient illness called *maškadu* with the goal of improving our understanding of how ancient healers analyzed and categorized magico-medical knowledge. By investigating selected manuscripts, this article will show how the illness *maškadu* was linked to other illnesses, such as those induced by witchcraft.

1 The *maškadu*-illness

Various modern identifications of the illness *maškadu* have been proposed. Von Soden translated it as “Gelenkkrankheit” (AHw 626; see also Fincke 2011: 162), while the CAD offers the vaguer translation “a disease” (CAD M/I 368). Other suggestions have ranged from modern-day brucellosis (Wasserman 2012: 426–36) to “lower back pains” caused by vertebral arthritis, slipped disks, or muscle strains (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 257–58), or more generic identifications such as “a muscular-skeletal illness” (Böck 2014: 182).

While Wasserman’s discussion of *maškadu* is the most elaborate to date, he conceded that “the notion that a modern equivalent can be found for each and every ancient disease is naïve” (Wasserman 2012: 433). Many ancient illnesses were probably described in words related to the world around them (Leven 2004: 376, 383; Collins 1999: 64). Phrases concerning livestock that Wasserman interpreted as an etiological explanation of *maškadu*’s zoonotic nature (Wasserman 2012: 429) could therefore also be regarded as phrases belonging to a common poetic sphere of Mesopotamian magic, such as the phrase “it descended from heaven” (e.g., Collins 1999: 234 obv. 9). Consequently, I will not attempt to relate *maškadu* to a modern disease, but instead examine the illness in its own context.

Furthermore, Wasserman has argued that the etymology of *maškadu* might offer clues relevant to understanding the illness in its early second-millennium BCE context and translates *maškadu* as “the strong/violent (disease)” (Wasserman 2012: 429). However, Wasserman’s observations are not applicable to the illness’s first-millennium BCE context, because any possible meaning of the term *maškadu* seems to be of no concern by this time. Yet, the peculiar writing of the word with the signs MAŠ.GAG.DÙ (where GAG/KAK = ka_{15}) in the first millennium BCE may relate to an underlying

conception of illness. I have so far observed this writing only in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts from Aššur.² While spellings such as *maš-ka-du* or *maš-ka-dù* are attested elsewhere, it seems that the writing *maš-ka₁₅-dù* must be regarded as a special spelling practice established in the scholarly circles of Neo-Assyrian Aššur. However, precisely how we should interpret the Neo-Assyrian name remains uncertain.³

2 Sources and Methodological Considerations

The sources for reconstructing the knowledge and cures of *maškadu*-illness are included in the diagnostic-prognostic handbook *Sa-gig*,⁴ in tablets containing prescriptions, treatments, and incantations,⁵ and in hemerologies.⁶ *Maškadu*-related cures were also integrated into the series *Sagallu* ‘*sagallu*-illness’ and *Muššu’u* ‘rubbing’.⁷ Chronologically, the majority of the relevant cuneiform tablets are from the first millennium BCE, particularly from the Neo-Assyrian libraries from Aššur, Nineveh, and Huzirina (Sultantepe). Most of the manuscripts treated in this study are library tablets, and thus we can assume that the arrangements of texts on them had a compositional reasoning behind them.

2 See, e.g., BAM 81 rev. 7’; BAM 182 obv. 7’, 11’, 14’, 17’.

3 The signs GAG and DÜ have the same shape in Neo-Assyrian epigraphy, and therefore this peculiar writing may have had its origins in epigraphy rather than folk etymology. Alternatively, it could be related to how the scribes read the Sumerograms. In general, the use of the same sign twice in such logographic writings deserves further study.

4 Editions and references in Labat 1951; Heeßel 2000; Scurlock – Andersen 2005; Scurlock 2014.

5 Old Babylonian: YOS 11, 14; Farber 1981: 59 (= A 663 or Collins 1999 *maškadu* 2); YOS 11, 69; YOS 11, 81(?); Middle Babylonian: KBo 1, 18; Middle Assyrian: Lambert 1965: 285–87 (= Rm 376); Neo-Assyrian: AMT 42/6; BAM 81; BAM 124; BAM 127; BAM 128; BAM 158; BAM 182; Geller 2005: no. 45; CT 23, pls. 1–15; OECT 6, 23; STT 136; Late Babylonian: BAM 390 (school text); Böck 2007, pls. 38–39 and 48; Herrero 1975. Possibly also included, though not explicitly against *maškadu*: Arnaud 2007: pl. XII and HS 1600 (= van Dijk – Geller 2003 no. 11). See Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 728 n. 41 for additional references.

6 Livingstone 2013: 169, 183, 185–87, 189, 264–65.

7 The *Sagallu* series was probably a subseries of the therapeutic handbook *Šumma amēlu muḥḥašu umma ukāl* (see Scurlock 2014: 304–5). The series (e.g., CT 23, pls. 1–15) still needs to be edited, and I plan to continue my work on *Sagallu* in the future; *Muššu’u* was published in Böck 2007.

Only five texts, all of them incantations, describe the use of cures for *maškadu* in the second millennium BCE.⁸ This study will trace the inclusion of individual sentences, often called “motifs,” in the *maškadu* tradition(s), in order to analyze the contexts from which these motifs originated.⁹ The motifs’ origins suggest how they were related to *maškadu*-illness. Though varying definitions are often applied to the term “motif” (see, for example, Farber 1990), I will use the term somewhat loosely to refer to a phrase or sentence used in a recognizable form in several incantations and across different incantation traditions.

A strict chronological analysis is, however, not viable. The Old Babylonian *maškadu* incantations form the basis of the *maškadu* tradition(s) and they are therefore not characterized by the inclusion of phrases from related, traceable illnesses. These incantations will therefore not be discussed in detail here.¹⁰

3 *Maškadu*-Illness Diagnoses

Maškadu-illness is found in four specific entries in the Standard Babylonian diagnostic-prognostic series Sa-gig:¹¹ one in Tablet 12, arranged from breast to hip region; one in Tablet 14, arranged according to hips, crotch and thigh; and two in Tablet 33, arranged according to skin lesions and skin ailments as well as body stiffness, pains, and cramps (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 613, 626, 667).

Tablet 12 rev. iv 18 and Tablet 33 line 100 state: “[If from] his thigh to his toes his ‘strings’ continually hurt him, [it is called] *maškad[u]*,”¹² and Tablet 14

8 The relevant incantations are edited in Collins 1999: 233–35, 255–58 and Wasserman 2012: 428.

9 See, e.g., Cooper 1996. Note Leven’s comments on genre and medical information (2004: 373–75).

10 See Wasserman 2012 for a detailed discussion of the Old Babylonian incantations.

11 Sa-gig’s practical use is disputed. It was never quoted in the Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence nor found in, e.g., the *āšīpus*’ library (N4) in Aššur (Robson 2008: 474; Pedersén 1986: 50–51).

12 Sa-gig 33 line 100 in Heeßel 2000: 357; Sa-gig 12 rev. iv 18 in Labat 1951: 108 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 258 no. 11.60; Scurlock 2014: 97 line 126ʹ, 234 line 100; cf. AMT 69/9 line 3ʹ): [DIŠ TA] ^uGIŠ.KUN-ŠÚ EN ŠU.SI.MEŠ GİR^{II}-ŠÚ SA.MEŠ-ŠÚ GU₇.MEŠ-ŠÚ *maš-ka-d[ù MU.NI]* (variant: SA.GIG).

rev. iii 3–4 and Tablet 33 line 99 read: “[If] his thigh hurts him from his hips to his ankles (but) he can stand and walk, [it is called] *maškad[u]*.”¹³ *Maškadu* therefore affected the muscles, ligaments, or joints from around the hips to the toes in such a way that the “strings” hurt, but the patient could still stand and walk.¹⁴

Lexical lists also provide information on how ancient healers interpreted this illness. The Middle Babylonian lexical list Erimḥuš, for example, equates SA.KÉŠ with *maškadu* (Böck 2014: 29). Böck’s interpretation of the sign SA in the general sense of the “string(s),” “cord(s),” or “net” of the body, rather than in the specific sense of “sinew, muscle, artery, vein,” therefore makes *maškadu* an illness “binding the string(s)” of the body.¹⁵ Likewise, the Middle Babylonian bilingual hemerology for the first seven days of Tašrītu equates the Sumerian ÍB.ZÉ.[GIG], possibly meaning “bile-[illness] (in/of) the hips,” with *maškadu*.¹⁶

On the basis of this, it is possible to conclude that *maškadu* was an illness affecting especially the lower body and causing pains that were not crippling, but strong enough to be worrying. However, both Sa-gig and the lexical lists place *maškadu* together with a number of related illnesses that must also be considered.

13 Sa-gig 33 line 99 in Heeßel 2000: 357; Sa-gig 14 rev. iii 37’–38’ in Labat 1951: 140 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 257 no. 11.59; Scurlock 2014: 124 lines 170’–71’, 234 line 99; cf. AMT 69/9 line 2’): [DIŠ¹³²⁰]ÚR-ŠÚ TA giš-šī-šū EN ki-šal-li-šū GU₇-šū ZI-bi u DU-[a]k maš-ka-d[ù MU.NI] (variant: SA.GIG).

14 The majority of descriptions outside Sa-gig merely specify: “If a man is ill (with)/is seized by *maškadu*” (e.g., BAM 182 obv. 7’: [DIŠ N]A maš-ka₁₅-dù DAB₅-su and obv. 11’: DIŠ NA maš-ka₁₅-dù GIG).

15 Böck 2014: 26–27, 30, 54. I translate SA (Akkadian *šer’ānu*) as the general “string(s)” throughout the present study (see, e.g., Attia 2000; Heeßel 2000: 166). SA was also paralleled with *zumru* ‘body’ (Böck 2014: 27). Other lexical lists provide additional information; see the various entries in CAD M/I 368 and the discussion below.

16 Livingstone 2013: 194, lines 13’–14’. It is uncertain how we should interpret the name; CAD (M/I 368) lists ÍB.GIG for *maškadu*. An interpretation of the name as “bile-illness (in/of) the hips” would possibly explain the use of an enema for *maškadu* (perhaps BAM 81 rev. 10’–16’), if we follow the interpretation by Böck regarding “bile” and its control of bodily fluids (Böck 2014: 127–28).

4 Related Illnesses

In Erimḫuš, *maškadu* is listed among other entries that are strikingly similar, namely SA.KÉŠ.KÉŠ = *šu'û* and SA.KÉŠ.SA = *šaššaṭu*.¹⁷ The related illnesses *maškadu*, *šu'û*, and *šaššaṭu* therefore all deal with some variant of “bound strings.”

The *maškadu* incantations show that the term *šu'û* was considered the “actual” name of *maškadu* rather than the name of a separate illness. Several *maškadu* incantations open with the phrase “*maškadu maškadu*, (it is) not *maškadu*, (it is) *šu'û*.”¹⁸ The name may refer to the illness’s demonic aspect (Böck 2014: 182; Collins 1999: 99) or represent an onomatopoeic play on the sound of a patient in pain.¹⁹ In any case, the name was clearly considered synonymous with *maškadu*.

The diagnostic series Sa-gig relates the illnesses *šaššaṭu* and *sagallu* to *maškadu*. On Tablet 14 *sagallu* is listed directly after *maškadu*, and the diagnoses on Tablet 33 follow the sequence *šaššaṭu* – *sagallu* – *maškadu* (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 626, 667). In Sa-gig a patient is considered ill with *šaššaṭu* “if he twists his neck and his eyes jerk (and) he jerks (var.: shudders) incessantly,”²⁰ “if his head, his neck, and his back all continually hurt him at

17 Böck 2014: 29. In the lexical list *malku* = *šarru* 4 line 51, *maškadu* is equated with *šaššaṭu* (Hrůša 2010: 94). This lexical work also provides information on *šu'û* on Tablet 8 line 169, and the equation reads: *m[aš-ka-du(?)]*. See the commentary to *šumma ālu*, CT 41, pl. 34 line 3, which reads *[maš]-ka-dù = šá-áš-šá-tu*. A list of illnesses equates SA.KÉŠ.SA with *maškadu* (Landsberger – Civil 1967: 93 obv. ii 73). Similarly, *šaššaṭu* was linked to the “strings” of the body by its associated name SA.DUGUD (see, e.g., n. 20 below).

18 YOS 11, 14 rev. 1: *[m]a-aš-ka-du-[um ma-aš-k]a-du-un ú-ul ma-aš-ka-du-um šu-ḫu-ú-um*; A 663 obv.² 8; Rm 376 obv. 1; BAM 124 rev. iv 10; BAM 127 obv.² 9; BAM 182 obv. 25; STT 136 rev. iv 3 and 17; CT 23, pl. 4 rev. 15; CT 23, pl. 11 rev. iii 37; OECT 6: 23 obv. 4'; BAM 390 obv. 1–4; Böck 2007: pls. 39a rev. iv 1 and 39b rev. iii 17'.

19 I would like to thank Henry Stadhouders for suggesting this idea to me. Note the Babylonian almanac’s statement concerning the 30th day of Abu: “He should not eat pork or *maškadu* will seize him” (Livingstone 2013: 38). The connection to *maškadu* could lie in the fact that *šu'û* is occasionally written *šu-ḫu-ú-u[m]* (YOS 11, 14 rev. 1), and therefore appears similar to the Akkadian word for pig (*šaḫú*; CAD Š/I 102).

20 Sa-gig 10 obv. 11 in Labat 1951: 80; Sa-gig 33 line 96 in Heeßel 2000: 357 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 67 no. 3.197; Scurlock 2014: 74 line 11, 234 line 96): DIŠ ṽGÚ¹-su i-zur-ma IGI¹¹-šú gal-ta-át pi-qam NU pi-qam LUḫ-ut (variant: MUD-u[d]) SA.DUGUD (variant: ṽšá¹-a[š-šá-tu MU.NI]).

the same time,”²¹ “if his neck, his hi[p]s, his hands, and his feet are stiff,”²² or “if his ‘strings’ are stiff from his neck to his heel, his eyebrows are knitted, (and) his jaws (feel like they) are pressured.”²³ All of these descriptions indicate that *šaššaṭu* afflicted the entire body and was related to pains in the extremities and the vertebrae alongside bodily cramps. Some scholars have proposed that *šaššaṭu* could be identified as “tetanus” (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 66–68; Attia 2000: 53–54), though this suggestion remains tentative.

Sagallu is specified in Sa-gig thus: “[If the ‘string’s’ of his thigh all hurt at once (and) he cannot stand up or walk about, [it is called] *sagallu*.”²⁴ Like *maškadu*, this is a lower body illness, where all muscles, ligaments, or joints from a patient’s thigh and below are in pain.²⁵ But unlike *maškadu* the patient cannot walk or stand. An early instance of *sagallu* can probably be observed in the Ur III incantation HS 1600 (van Dijk – Geller 2003: 42). Obv. i 2 states: “sagal has seized the man,” and line 3 associates sagal with “the man is carried off in a sadu-net.” This net was probably associated with the string-like system covering the body (SA) (ibid., 44).

5 The Symptoms in Incantations

The body parts these illnesses affected are also known from *maškadu* incantations. In the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian periods, motifs relating to the body parts that *maškadu* “seizes” (*ṣabātu*) were introduced (KBo 1, 18 i 2’–3’ and Rm 376 obv. 3–5). The terms commonly used from the second half of the second millennium BCE onwards for “seized” body parts

21 Sa-gig 3 obv. 31 in Labat 1951: 20; Sa-gig 33 line 94 in Heeßel 2000: 357 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 67 no. 3.198; Scurlock 2014: 14 line 40, 234 line 94): DIŠ SAG.DU-su ti-^fik-ka¹-šú u šá-šal-la-šú 1-niš GU₇.MEŠ-šú SA.[DUGUD] (variant: šá-aš-[šá-ṭu MU.NI]).

22 Sa-gig 10 obv. 10 in Labat 1951: 80; Sa-gig 33 line 95 in Heeßel 2000: 357 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 67 no. 3.199; Scurlock 2014: 74 line 10, 234 line 95): DIŠ GÚ-su MU[R]UB₄.MEŠ-šú ŠU^{II}-šú u ĠIR^{II}-šú aš-ṭa SA.DUGUD (variant: šá-aš-[šá-ṭu MU.NI]).

23 Sa-gig 10 obv. 27 in Labat 1951: 82; Sa-gig 33 line 97 in Heeßel 2000: 357 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 67 no. 3.196; Scurlock 2014: 75 line 27, 234 line 97): DIŠ TA SA.GÚ-šú EN ŠIL.MUD-šú SA.MEŠ-šú šag-gu šu-u’-ra-šú kaš-ra ME.ZÉ-šú hé-sa₅ SA.DUGUD (variant: [šá-aš-šá-ṭu MU.NI]).

24 Sa-gig 33 line 98 in Heeßel 2000: 357; Sa-gig 14 rev. iii 39’ in Labat 1951: 140 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 257 no. 11.58; Scurlock 2014: 124 line 172’, 234 line 98; cf. AMT 42/6 obv. 1; CT 23, pls. 1–2 obv. 1; BAM 130 obv. 19–21): [DIŠ SA.M]EŠ^{III}ÚR-šú 1-niš GU₇.MEŠ-šú ZI-a u DU.MEŠ-ka la i-le-’e SA.GAL [MU.NI].

25 Note the section of *Alamdimmû* mentioning *sagallu* (Böck 2000: 271–72).

are: *giššu/gilšu* “hip, flank” (CAD G 73); *gubgubu*, “(part of the human body)” (CAD G 118); *rapaštu* (^{uz1}ÚR.KUN/GIŠ.KUN), “loin, thigh” (CAD R 152) or “pelvis” (Borger 2010: 317); *pēmu* or *sūnu* (^{uz1}ÚR), “thigh” or “lap, crotch” (CAD S 286–89; cf. n. 63 below); *qablu* (MURUB₄), “hips, loins, waist” (CAD Q 6–11); *kappaltu*, “groin, area between thighs, thigh” (CAD K 184); *šer’ānu* (SA), “sinew, tendon, vein, muscle” (CAD Š/II 308–13), here as a cordlike part of anatomy (as opposed to the “soft” part *šīru/šēru*); *kišallu*, “ankle, anklebone” (CAD K 434–35); and *šašallu* (^{uz1}SA.SAL), “Achilles heel, thin tendon, tendon of the heel” (CAD Š/II 168–70).²⁶

It is thus evident that the incantations specify certain areas of the lower body, some in surprising detail, others as terms for overlapping areas of the thigh, crotch, and hips (Böck 2001; Heeßel 2000: 28–29). And while the interpretation of the incantations’ medical information as diagnostic statements has been deemed questionable (Geller 2007: 391–92; Collins 1999: 64), one should note that ancient healers used these overlapping terms frequently and that we do not always understand whether or not the imprecise anatomical terms were used on purpose (see Attia 2000: 55). However, overlapping words such as ÚR and ÚR.KUN could be regarded as the front and back of the thigh due to the sign KUN, meaning *zibbatu* ‘tail, rear part (of something)’.²⁷

6 The Inclusion of Motifs in the Middle Babylonian Period

The Middle Babylonian tablet KBo 1, 18 that was excavated at ancient Ḫattuša and was once a rectangular prism (Schwemer 2014: 154; Pedersén 1998: 44–54) offers a good starting point for an analysis of selected motifs pertaining to *maškadu*-illness.²⁸ The manuscript contains the earliest instance of an important motif for understanding *maškadu*’s related genres. Here the strength of *maškadu* is described metaphorically as the venom of snakes and

²⁶ See, e.g., KBo 1, 18 i 4’–5’; BAM 124 rev. iv 15’–20’; BAM 127 obv. 13; BAM 182 obv. 16’ and 29’; STT 136 rev. iv 8–13; CT 23, pls. 2–5 rev. 16–17; CT 23, pls. 5–14 rev. iii 38; OECT 6 no. 23 obv. 8’–9’.

²⁷ Scurlock – Andersen 2005 translate GIŠ.KUN/*rapaštu* as “coccyx.” Anatomical terminology and its changes over the centuries is an area in need of investigation. It is also unclear whether there is a difference between a certain affected body part and one’s SA/šer’ānu hurting in that region.

²⁸ Concerning this prism, see SEAL (accessed November 26, 2016).

scorpions. The incantation states: “[It took] half the venom o[f the snake]; [it took] half the venom o[f the scorpion].”²⁹

This venom-motif seems to allude to the reason why the illness is strong enough to “seize” various body parts (Collins 1999: 70, 99–100). However, this motif also refers indirectly to overlapping symptoms. We know that scorpion stings could cause pains or burning sensations, paralysis in the form of muscle rigidity, convulsions, vomiting, abdominal pains, involuntary eye movement (nystagmus), involuntary erection in male patients (priapism), and even respiratory failure (Sofer 1995). This fits well with individual symptoms of *maškadu* and especially *šaššaṭu* (cf. the diagnoses above).³⁰ More importantly, KBo 1, 18 contains incantations for “catching” (literally “tying up”) and “releasing” a scorpion (KBo 1, 18 iv 14’–20’ and 21’–23’).³¹

Paralysis (Akkadian *šimmatu*) is the subject of several related incantations (e.g., Arnaud 1987: 342–44) that appear for the first time in the Middle Babylonian period, and these mention “paralysis of the snake and paralysis of the scorpion.”³² In the *maškadu* incantations incorporated into the Sagallu series, *šimmatu* is also mentioned (CT 23, pl. 4 rev. 16; CT 23, pl. 11 rev. iii 38).³³ Furthermore, Muššu’u Tablet VIII contains a large *šimmatu* incantation as well as two *maškadu* incantations (Böck 2007: 266–79, 290–93).

The *maškadu* tradition shared motifs with scorpion incantations via the so-called *arahḫi*-motif (Cooper 1996). This motif occurs only once in the *maškadu* tradition incorporated into the Middle Assyrian tablet Rm 376, but several *arahḫi* incantations were transmitted alongside *maškadu* incantations in the Sagallu series (CT 23, pl. 4 rev. 9–11, pl. 10–11 rev. iii 26–28).

29 Lines 2’–3’: *ba-ma-[at] im-ti₄ š[a MUŠ il-qē] 3’ ba-ma-at im-ti₄ š[a² GÍR.TAB il-qē].*
Reconstructed from the later incantations: *mišil inti ša MUŠ ilqe (u) ša GÍR.TAB imassa ilqe* (e.g., BAM 182 obv. 14’–15’).

30 But see also a diagnosis such as Sa-gig 3 lines 13–14 for *ardat lili* (Scurlock 2014: 13 and 19).

31 KBo 1, 18 iv 20’: *ša GÍR.TAB ša-ma-dim* and line 23’: *an-nu-tum ta-pa-ša-ar GÍR.TAB.*

32 E.g., Arnaud 1985: 453 lines 1–2: [*šim-ma-tu₄ šim-ma-tu₄ šim-ma-a[t ...].MES 2šim-ma-at MUŠ šim-ma-at GÍR.TAB ... t*]; see also BAM 398, especially rev. 4’–10’ where a fertility motif with a focus on the “lap” has been incorporated: [*É*]N.É.NU.R[U] 5[*š-i*]m-ma-tu₄ 6[*š-i*]-in]-ma-tu₄ 7[*ša*]-ma-ti 8[*tu*]-az-qú-ti zu-qá-qí-pa-ni-iš 9[*tam-h*]-a-ši ina qar-ni-ki tu-še-ri-di-i ina si-im-ba-ti-ki 10[*GURUŠ*] ina su-un KI.SIKIL tu-še-li-i 11[*KI.SIKIL*] ina su-un GURUŠ tu-še-li-i. This tradition also overlaps with *maškadu* by mentioning “seized” or affected body parts (e.g., Arnaud 1985: 453 line 4). See Böck 2007: 266–79; Wasserman, SEAL (accessed November 26, 2016).

33 See Arnaud 2007: pl. 12 (edited in del Olmo Lete 2014: 63–68) rev. 6–25 concerning an incantation against *šimmatu* mentioning SA.KÉŠ.

Furthermore, the motif was used in connection with witchcraft in Maqlû (Abusch 2016: 169–70, 263, 350; Cooper 1996: 53–54). In Rm 376 it reads: “Let me cast a spell on my self and my body, let me impregnate [...]” (Cavigneaux 1999: 267).³⁴

The *arahhi*-motif was linked to a motif in which the pastoral god Šakkan inseminates his flock, thus referring to fertility and potency (e.g., Maqlû VII 23–30), and in general, the motif blends themes referring to “Animal and human sexuality, agriculture,” and “liquidity” (Cavigneaux 1999: 258–59; Cooper 1996: 51–53). These themes were associated with *maškadu* (see below). The *arahhi*-motif occurs in AMT 67/3, where the very brief ritual instruction states, “you shall cast (the spell) on oil and then anoint (yourself).”³⁵ Another *arahhi* incantation against *maškadu* in BAM 182 is to be recited while rubbing a patient’s affected body parts with oil (BAM 182 obv. 24’).

7 A Middle Assyrian Birth Compendium

Another example that offers information pertaining to *maškadu*-illness is the Middle Assyrian text Rm 376 (Lambert 1965).³⁶ The tablet, which only contained incantations, had originally four columns, though only one column on each side remains. The obverse has the remains of an incantation similar to the *maškadu* tradition, an unknown incantation in Sumerian, and a Cow of Šin incantation (for the latter, see Veldhuis 1991). The reverse includes an incantation against a “demonic power” and an unidentifiable incantation that is largely broken (Lambert 1965: 285). Though the various incantations appear to be unrelated, it is likely that there was a rationale for their compilation on a single tablet; possibly they were all related to pregnancy and birth.

The Sumerian incantation on the obverse revolves around the words KA.MA.AD.RU and KA.MA.AD (Lambert 1965: 285).³⁷ As argued by Andrew

34 Rm 376 obv. 10: ŠUB-di TU₆ ana ra-ma-ni-ia u su-um-ri-ia lu-ur-ḫi KU² x [...]; it usually appears in some form related to the standardized *arahhi ramāni arahhi pagri* (Cooper 1996).

35 AMT 67/3 obv. 7: [K]ID.KID.DA.BI ana l.GIŠ ŠUB-ma ŠÉŠ (Cavigneaux 1999: 268–69).

36 The incantations found on this tablet show grammatical and orthographic errors and peculiarities.

37 Rm 376 obv. 13: ... KA.MA.AD.RU [ḪE]¹.MÉ.EN KA.MA.AD ḪE.MÉ.[EN].

George in this volume, Kamad is a Sumerian name for Lamaštu. While a connection between Lamaštu and *maškadu*, or such illnesses in general, remains uncertain, there are other texts that indicate that this may have been the case. The Prostration Hemerology states that on the third day of Tašrītu, a man “should not stand where a donkey has rolled or (else) *sagallu* will afflict him” (Livingstone 2013: 169 line 66).³⁸ Thus a donkey, associated with Lamaštu in rituals against this demon (Wiggermann 2000: 222–23, 232, 244–45), could inflict muscle illness (Livingstone 2013: 264).³⁹ This is supported by amulets depicting Lamaštu with snakes in her hands and a scorpion between her legs, also indicating a connection to venom (Wiggermann 2000: 231 and n. 93, 234).⁴⁰

The “Cow of Sîn” incantation, in which the moon god Sîn impregnates his favorite cow, is a motif known to have played a role in childbirth (Veldhuis 1991; Stol 2000: 66–70). Motifs related to livestock are also found in the related *arahhi* tradition (e.g., Maqlû VII 23–30) and possibly in the *maškadu* tradition.⁴¹

The incantation against a “demonic power” revolves around a description of the evil that an unspecified malady has caused in various spheres of life (rev. 1–18) and the final disposal of this evil (rev. 19–26) (Lambert 1965: 286).

38 The line reads: *a-šar* ANŠE *ig-ga-ri-ru* NU GUB-az *sa-ga-lu* [DIB-su]; cf. the hemerology for Nazimaruttaš (Livingstone 2013: 177) on Tašrītu’s third day rev. ii 29–30: A.ŠA ANŠE GUR.GUR NU GUB-az ³⁹SA.GAL GIG(-uš) ‘He should not stand where a donkey has rolled or he will become ill with muscle disease’ (ibid., 183), and the seventh day rev. iii 21–22 with a variation between SA.GAL GIG and GIG MURUB₄ (Akkadian *qablu*). Also note the sixth day of Tašrītu, rev. iii 13–17: A.GĀR NU BAL-it GIG MURUB₄ GĀL-šú ¹⁴*a-šar ma-suk-ta* (var. *ur-šu*) ŠUB(-u) NU GUB ¹⁵SA.GAL GĀL-šú ¹⁶A.ŠA ANŠE GUR.GUR NU GUB-az ¹⁷GIG MURUB₄ (var. *mi-iq-tú*) GĀL-šú ‘He should not cross a meadow or he will experience *qablītu*-sickness. He should not stand where a pestle has been placed or he will become ill with muscle disease. He should not stand in a field where a donkey has rolled or there will be *miqtu*-disease for him’ (Livingstone 2013: 186).

39 Note that Lamaštu is mentioned as a diagnosis two entries below *maškadu* in Sa-gig 12 (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 613–14).

40 The scorpion was perceived as a symbol of the married woman, motherhood, and fertility (Stol 2000: 118; Pientka 2004: 396–97).

41 E.g., YOS 11, 14 rev. 4: ¹*e¹-re-eb bu-lim i-ru-u[b w]a-še-e bu-lim uš-ʿši¹* ‘It enters with the entry of the herd’. Also found in other forms in A 663 line 12 and Geller 2005: no. 45 obv. 13–14. Collins (1999: 101) was uncertain why *maškadu* was associated with livestock. Wasserman attributed this to the zoonotic nature of the illness (Wasserman 2012). Note the incantation YOS 11, 69, which concerns a “milking cow” and may allude to fertility. Also note “cow” as the opening word in several Old Assyrian birth incantations (e.g., Michel 2004).

Lambert noted that several passages indicate that this evil force is a feminine entity, and I would suggest that this evil is either a witch or Lamaštu because the incantation demands that the evil go(?) “to the mountains, forests, marshes (and) orchards” and states, “let her go to the gate of the mountain.”⁴² The mountain metaphor is well known for both Lamaštu (e.g., Farber 2014: 3, 169 incantation 7 line 41; 175 incantation 9 line 121; Wiggermann 2000: 230) and for witches.⁴³

The final incantation mentions the mother goddess Belet-ili (Ninmah) in a broken passage (rev. 31), which may indicate that it was related to pregnancy or birth (Stol 2000: 119). Therefore, the incantations on this tablet are likely connected to muscle cramps and pains suffered during pregnancy and childbirth, as well as the evils that could befall both women and children, such as Lamaštu.⁴⁴

8 *Maškadu and sagallu*

First-millennium ritual texts indicate that there was a certain amount of overlap between the diagnoses and treatments for *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu*. Consequently, one may question whether the ancient healers were concerned with providing a specific diagnosis for symptoms related to these illnesses, or if these illnesses simply overlapped to some extent.

The lexical evidence suggests that scholars from the late second millennium BCE onwards were concerned with cataloguing multiple, possibly outdated, illness names as equivalents of *maškadu* and *šaššaṭu*.⁴⁵ A list of illnesses in MSL 9 associates the names SA.KÉŠ.SA, SA.GA.KASKAL.SA, SA.AD.GAL, and SA.GIG with *maškadu*, and just as many entries refer to *šaššaṭu* (Landsberger – Civil 1967: 93–94 obv. ii 73–83). All these names attest to the

42 Rm 376 rev. 20: *ana* KUR.MEŠ^{giš}.TIR.MEŠ^{giš}.SUG.MEŠ^{giš} *ki-ra-te*.MEŠ *gi-ba i-di-i* [...]; rev. 24: *a-na* KÁ.KUR.RA *li-lik* ku li ši t[a[?] ...].

43 E.g., Schwemer 2007: 48; Abusch 2002: 132; see also Abusch – Schwemer 2011: 17, 22–23 for sending a witch to the netherworld.

44 Note Sa-gig 34 wherein the SA of a woman giving birth(?) is assessed by the *āšipu* to determine the sex of the baby (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 668; Attia 2000: 50).

45 The importance of bilingual lexical lists for scholarship is underlined by their possible place in the second part of the “*āšipu*’s curriculum” (KAR 44; Schwemer 2011: 422; Jean 2006: 71 n. 263). However, note the critique by Scurlock and Andersen (2005: 728 n. 29) regarding lexical lists as evidence for the relationship between *maškadu* and *šaššaṭu*.

relationship between these illnesses and the “strings” of the body. Likewise, other lexical lists, e.g., the lexical list *malku* = *šarru*, equate *maškadu* with *šaššaṭu* (Tablet 4 line 51; Hrůša 2010: 94; see nn. 16–17 for further references). Consequently, *maškadu* was associated with various illnesses and possibly redefined through these associations; therefore we should not be surprised to see similarities in the way *maškadu* and related illnesses were diagnosed and treated.

According to the rubrics in BAM 124 and 128, the *maškadu* incantations and the corresponding rituals were meant to treat *sagallu*.⁴⁶ A similar overlap between these two illnesses is shown by the incorporation of *maškadu* traditions into the *sagallu* series.⁴⁷ Similar incantations were also employed outside the series for treating *maškadu* (cf. BAM 182). In a list of amulet stones the difference between an amulet for *sagallu* and one for *maškadu* is the use of wool from lambs in the former and of a gazelle tendon in the latter (BAM 354 rev. iii 3–4 and 10–11; Schuster-Brandis 2008: 127–29). This must have been a different tradition from the one that can be seen in the ritual instructions in BAM 124 and 128, in which all of these items, i.e., a gazelle tendon, spring lamb wool, and stones, were prescribed together with a *maškadu* incantation for *sagallu* illness. This is yet another indication that these two illnesses overlapped.⁴⁸

It would therefore seem that *maškadu* traditions could be used against both *maškadu* and *sagallu*. However, the extent to which these two treatment traditions blended is unknown. It is therefore worth noting that the incantations employed against *maškadu* and *sagallu* in the first millennium do not mention *sagallu*. A tentative suggestion can be made that

46 BAM 124 rev. iv 28: KA.INIM.MA ¹SA¹.[GAL.LÁ.KAM]; see also BAM 128 rev. iv 25. See Scurlock 2014: 457; BAM 124 rev. iv 29–33 (and parallel ritual in BAM 128 rev. iv 26'–32'): ²⁹KID.KID.BI SÍG.ÁKA ^{munus}SILA₄.NIM¹ u ^{munus}SILA₄.NIM¹ ina [SA] MAŠ.DÀ ³⁰NU.NU ^{na4}šu-u NÍTAḤ u MUNUS ^{na4}GUG ^{na4}PA ^{na4}iá-ni-bu ³¹na4ŠUBA ^{na4}zi-bitu ^{na4}a-ba-aš-mu ^{na4}ZĀLAG ^{na4}KUR-nu DIB.BA ³²na4kak-ku-sak-ku ^{na4}PEŠ₄.A.A[B.B]A È ³kur-ka-nam ina SÍG.SA₅ ³³[x] líp-pi tál-pap ina ¹giš¹-ši-šu KEŠDA-as-ma i-šal-lim. Note ^{na4}PEŠ₄.A.A[B.B]A in BAM 124 rev. iv 32, which may allude to birth (Stol 2000: 51–52).

47 *Maškadu* incantations in the *Sagallu* series can be found in CT 23, pl. 4 rev. 15–18 and CT 23, pl. 11 rev. iii 37–40.

48 The list of stones used for amulets against *maškadu* appears to overlap with the list of stones used against *sagallu*. The prescriptions in BAM 124 and 128 both call for ingredients that in other amulet prescriptions are associated exclusively with either *maškadu* or *sagallu*; see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 127–29. See Geller 2005 no. 45 rev. 3'–6' for the use of wool in an amulet against *maškadu*.

various ancient practitioners used different criteria for diagnosing illnesses such as *maškadu*, *sagallu*, or *šaššaṭu*. The different ways in which these illnesses could be categorized may have continued to change later on under the influence of Greek scholarship (Geller 2001–2).⁴⁹

9 Contextualizing *maškadu*

Several Neo-Assyrian manuscripts are useful for our understanding of the relationship between *maškadu*-illness and other illnesses described within the same text. In the following I will discuss three examples in order to examine the connection between the described symptoms and the *maškadu* diagnoses more closely.

9.1 *Skin, Leg, and Feet Illnesses and maškadu*

BAM 124 is a two-column manuscript with many diagnoses, symptom descriptions, and prescriptions (Scurlock 2014: 443–60; Pedersén 1986: 61 no. 82). The tablet only contains one *maškadu*-themed incantation and a ritual instruction (discussed in the previous section).⁵⁰ The incantation and the pertinent instruction are directed against *sagallu* and fill the entire fourth column.⁵¹

The first column is concerned with *murūš kabarti* ‘(lower part of the) foot illness’, with further specifications such as “the appearance of his flesh is white dotted with black” (obv. i 1) and “the muscles of his feet are stiff” (obv. i 28) (Scurlock 2014: 449–50; see Eypper 2017; Böck 2001: 172).⁵² The second column continues with diagnoses of *murūš kabarti* but has different specifications, such as: “it penetrates as far as the bone” (Scurlock 2014: 451–

49 In later traditions, *maškadu* was associated with the stomach and *sagallu* with the kidneys (Geller 2001–2: 61–62; cf. Geller 2014: 3–6). Though not clearly understood, note that in the “Aššur Medical Compendium” treatments for *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* are enumerated and preceded by, e.g., hip problems and anus-illness, and followed by knees with *mungu*-stiffness (Scurlock 2014: 304). See also n. 55 below.

50 For an edition of the first part of the incantation, see Böck 2014: 79–82.

51 Parallel in BAM 127 obv.² 1–14; cf. Böck 2014: 80–82; Böck 2003: 3–6; BAM 128 rev. iv 1’–32’; Geller 2005: no. 45 rev. 5’–6’.

52 Obv. i 1: [... *ši-kìn* UZU].MEŠ-*šú* BABBAR GI₆ ŠUB; obv. i 28: ... SA GI₁₁R^{II}-*šú šàg-gu* ...

52).⁵³ The third column provides prescriptions with a short notice at the end, for example, “Nine (plants): a bandage for stiffness” (ibid., 458–59).⁵⁴

It is possible that this tablet included a *maškadu* incantation and a ritual against *sagallu* because many of the symptoms associated with these illnesses, e.g., *šaggu* ‘stiffness’, were also indicative of other illnesses on this tablet. Furthermore, Sa-gig 33 and the “*āšipu*’s curriculum” support a connection between *maškadu* and skin illnesses. Both list *kiššatu*, a skin illness, directly after illnesses related to *maškadu*.⁵⁵

9.2 Witchcraft and *maškadu*

The colophon of BAM 124, after the *maškadu* incantation and its corresponding ritual against *sagallu*, contains an incipit of the incantation at the beginning of the next tablet: “Odious [sorc]eries, get out to the countryside.”⁵⁶ This incantation is the catchline in BAM 128 rev. iv after a *maškadu* incantation and was recited in Rm 265 obv. 12’ against paralysis (*šimmatu*; Abusch – Schwemer 2011: 57). It was included in the series Muššu’u on Tablet VIII alongside *maškadu* incantations, and contains the phrase: “Paralysis [(was) ...]ed in(to) a person. [It snatch]ed the girl from her

53 Obv. ii 11: ... EN.GIR.PAD.DU i[r-te-ḫi].

54 Rev. iii 5: 9 NIG.LÁ šig-ga₁₄-[te].

55 Sa-gig 33 lines 94–102: *šaššatu*, *sagallu*, *maškadu*, *kiššatu* (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 666–67); KAR 44 rev. 32: *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-ti u SA.GAL SA.GIG.GIG ki-sat* ... (Geller 2000: 251; see Jean 2006: 70 and Bottéro 1985: 82–83). The *āšipu*’s curriculum focuses on some of the same connections discussed here, e.g., between *maškadu*-like illnesses and *kiššatu* (Fincke 2011: 176–81), although it uses different terms, such as *šimmatu* ‘paralysis’ and *rimātu* ‘numbness, paralysis’ (CAD R 363). SA.GIG.GIG may be related to *maškadu*-like illnesses via lexical lists that equate SA.GIG with *maškadu* (e.g., Landsberger – Civil 1967: 94 obv. ii 76). The *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššatu* illnesses are also listed after each other in the so-called “Aššur Medical Catalogue” alongside *kiššatu* of the feet (Scurlock 2014: 303–4; see Steinert in this volume). The connection between skin illnesses and the “strings” of the body is corroborated by the *Antagal* lexical list that identifies several skin illnesses as variations of SA.GU₇ ‘painful string’ (Böck 2014: 29–30; Fincke 2011: 176). Geller also discusses a commentary that relates *kiššatu* to *maškadu* (Geller 2010: 149).

56 BAM 124 rev. iv 34: [ÉN kiš-pu ze-r]u-tum it-ta-šu-ú ana ki-di; BAM 128 rev. iv 33’: [ÉN kiš]-pu ze-ru-tum it-ta-šu-u ana ki-di; *kišpū zērūtu* is the second incantation of Muššu’u VIII (Böck 2007: 279–81). For this incantation, see also Abusch – Schwemer 2011: 57–58 with further references. Another motif derived from witchcraft in the *maškadu* tradition includes EME.ḪUL.GAL BAR.ŠĒ ḪĒ.EM.TA.GUB ‘may the evil tongue stand aside’ (e.g., BAM 124 rev. iv 26 and BAM 128 rev. iv 24’).

husband's lap, [it snatche]d the young man from the girl's lap ..."⁵⁷ This motif is also used in a *šimmatu* incantation, which is likewise included in the Muššu'u series.⁵⁸ This thematic parallel fits well with witchcraft as discussed above.⁵⁹

9.3 *Renal-Rectal Illnesses and maškadu*

Maškadu also had some connections to renal-rectal illnesses, as visible in BAM 182, a single-column manuscript from Aššur (edited by Geller 2005: 188–193). The obverse is concerned with renal illnesses, e.g., “if a man's penis stings him,” “if a man's penis drips blood,” and also contains descriptions of *maškadu*, as well as three incantations specifically against *maškadu*.⁶⁰

The reverse of the tablet deals with anal maladies, such as “if a man is ill in the rectum and his anus stings him,” but does not contain incantations.⁶¹ The rationale for grouping together the *maškadu* prescriptions and incantations with texts dealing with renal-rectal illnesses is probably the use of the verb *zaqātu* ‘to sting’ (CAD Z 56–57) to describe the muscle spasms and stinging pains renal and rectal problems can cause (e.g., kidney stones, Coe et al. 2005).⁶² Furthermore, this verb is also generally used to describe the sting of a scorpion, and the *arahhi* incantation in obv. 18'–21' underlines the rationale

57 AMT 67/3 obv.² 9'–11': [x x]x x *šim-ma-tu₄ a-na lib-bi a'-mi-li* ^{10'} [uš-te-l]i ar-da-tú ina su-un mu-ti-šá ^{11'} [uš-te-l]i GURUŠ [...]; BAM 128 rev. iv 35'–36': [... KI].SİKIL ina UR DAM-šá ^{36'} [... GURUŠ] ina UR KI.SİKIL. See Abusch – Schwemer 2011: 58; Böck 2007: 279–81; Cavigneaux 1999: 268.

58 BAM 398 rev. 9'–10'. For the *šimmatu* incantation, see the first incantation of Muššu'u VIII (Böck 2007: 272).

59 Note “stiffness” and “twisted strings” in Bit rimki (CMAwR 1, text 8.3, 2.: 21, 23). A second-millennium BCE bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian anti-witchcraft incantation relates to a feminine entity that causes SA.AD.NIM (*šaššaṭu*); see CMAwR 2, text 8.15, 1.: 11.

60 Obv. 5': [D]IŠ NA GIŠ-šú ú-zaq-qat-su; obv. 6': [DIŠ N]A ina GIŠ-šú MÚD ú-tab-ba-kam; obv. 7': [DIŠ N]A maš-ka₁₅-dù DAB₅-su; obv. 14'–16': maš-ka₁₅-dù; 18'–21': a-re-eh-ḫi ra-ma-ni; 25'–30': [x (x)] bu-uḫ-ru bu-ḫa-ru. The spelling a-re-eh-ḫi is a variant that also occurs in three manuscripts of Maqlû VII line 22 (Abusch 2016: 169).

61 Rev. 11': DIŠ NA DÚR GIG DÚR-šú ú-zaq-qat-su. Note the connection between birth and constipation (Stol 2000: 203–4), which is also attested in Mesopotamia on a Middle Assyrian tablet, published by Lambert (1969).

62 Another connection may be the relationship between anus illness and bodily fluids. Thus the relationship to *maškadu* could be explained by its name ÍB.ZÉ.GIG, as suggested in n. 16 above.

for grouping these illnesses together. The fact that all these illnesses also occurred in the lap area could have influenced this relationship.⁶³

10 *Maškadu* as Part of the *Muššu'u* Series

Muššu'u literally means “to rub” and the verbal form is often used in connection to ailments concerning muscle pains and the birth of children (Böck 2007: 13; Stol 2000: 124; BAM 248 rev. iii 9 and 53). The series consisted of 48 incantations on 9 tablets (Böck 2007: 15–20; see Böck in this volume) and was gathered from many genres with the overall purpose of treating illnesses affecting the bodily “strings” (Scurlock 2011: 88). Consequently, 18 of the 48 incantations are derived from other series (Böck 2007: 23–24; see Böck in this volume). Tablet 8 is the most interesting in the current context and includes a *šimmatu* incantation (Muššu'u VIIIa), a witchcraft incantation (Muššu'u VIIIb), and two *maškadu* incantations (Muššu'u VIII and VIIIIm).

The ritual tablet, however, was not serialized (Böck 2003: 2–3; Köcher 1966), and this part of *Muššu'u* shows differences between the few extant manuscripts (Böck 2003: 3–6). Nevertheless, the sources of the ritual tablet provide us with information on how the incantations were used. In BAM 215 only one *maškadu* incantation is recited while fastening a magical stone against *sagallu* to the right and left hip-area (*giššu*) (ibid., 6 line 23). After the *Muššu'u* ritual proper, an incantation connected to a ritual for seeing a ghost is recited (Böck 2007: 74–76). The presence of this incantation at the end of *Muššu'u* may be connected to headaches, a malady for which *Muššu'u* could be used (ibid., 71–78; Böck 2003: 16; for ghosts and headaches see Scurlock 2006: 12). It is noteworthy that *maškadu* and SAG.KI.DAB.BA (“headache”; see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 312) interchange between different manuscripts of the Prostration Hemerology (Livingstone 2013: 169 line 71; for this text, see now Jiménez and Adalı 2015).

63 The Sumerogram *úr* can be read in various ways in relation to zones in the lap, e.g., *sūnu* ‘lap, crotch’ or *pēmu* ‘thigh’, and was used in several illness diagnoses (Geller 2004: 1–2). *Maškadu* and *sagallu* also affected body parts in this area, e.g., “if the ‘string(s)’ of a man’s thigh hu[rt] (lit.: eat) him at once [...]” (AMT 42/6 obv. 1: DIŠ NA SA ^{uzi}ÚR-šú 1-niš G[U₇.MEŠ-šú ...]; see nn. 13 and 24 above for references). Thus, it is possible that illnesses affecting zones covered by this Sumerogram were hermeneutically associated. This hypothesis should, however, be subjected to further scrutiny.

In general, massages, such as those in the Muššu'u series, could soothe a number of symptoms related to a variety of illnesses, including *maškadu/sagallu* (Böck 2003: 16). Rubbing and anointing cures were also known in relation to *maškadu* treatments outside of Muššu'u.⁶⁴ The evidence therefore suggests that the Muššu'u ritual, including its *maškadu* content, could be used as a cure in relation to a variety of illnesses where the actual diagnosis may not have been as important as the symptoms.

11 An Ancient Illness Syndrome?

As the study above has shown, the illnesses *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* were closely related, yet it remains unclear how we should understand the relationship between these overlapping illnesses.⁶⁵ In the following, I will present three different hypotheses regarding the relationship between these illnesses.

Scurlock and Andersen regarded *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* as examples of “specially named syndromes” (Scurlock – Andersen 2005: 504–5; cf. the general critical remarks in Böck 2014: 67–68). Slightly simplified, a syndrome can be regarded as a group of distinct symptoms, possibly indicative of one or several underlying diseases with a known or unknown cause (e.g., Holmes et al. 1988; Wessely et al. 1999; Rigoli et al. 2011; Benyamini 2011: 290; cf. critique in Walters 1996). Taking Scurlock and Andersen’s idea further, we could regard *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* as part of a single overlapping ancient illness syndrome. These individual illnesses all concern the “strings” of the body, especially of the lower body, and their individual diagnosis possibly depended on the addition of various symptoms and the influence of other factors on these “strings” or other body parts (or organs?).

As an alternative, I would like to suggest that the overlap between the three illnesses could also be explained by assuming that they all describe the same underlying illness in various stages of progression (e.g., stage I, II, III). Thus, *maškadu* (body pains and “string” problems in the thigh from the hips to the ankle) could progress into *sagallu* (pain in the greater thigh area and the inability of the patient to stand up), which finally becomes *šaššaṭu* (the

64 See, e.g., BAM 182 obv. 24: [ÉN É.N]U.RU ŠID-*ma* GİR^{II}-šú GIG ŠU^{II} *tu-maš-šá-a'* [...].

65 This study has not discussed the unresolved debate of how a Mesopotamian illness, i.e., the experience of suffering, was culturally and socially constructed (see van der Toorn 1985).

body is stiff and paralyzed with muscle spasms and severe pains). The fact that the ancient healers were mainly concerned with adapting healing methods to the various symptoms that the patient presented (rather than elaborating on methods of diagnosis) lends this hypothesis plausibility. Incantations and cures against *maškadu* and *sagallu* were apparently used interchangeably without much concern for the specifics.⁶⁶ The use of *maškadu* treatments in cases of *sagallu*, alongside the equations between *maškadu* and *šaššaṭu* in lexical lists, is a clear indication of a lack in specificity regarding the relationship between these diagnoses.

A third possibility is that these diagnoses were simply not that important to the practitioners of medicine. Possibly it was of little importance whether an illness was diagnosed as *maškadu* or *sagallu* as long as the symptoms were related to both illnesses and could be relieved with the right treatment.

12 Conclusion

The analysis of the various contexts in which the *maškadu*-illness appears in the Mesopotamian textual record demonstrates the need to take all evidence into consideration when investigating ancient illnesses. Leaving behind our preconceived notions of modern medicine, we can explore ancient illness conceptions on their own terms and begin to understand the underlying rationale for their pertinent diagnoses and cures. In the case of *maškadu*, the sources indicate that this illness was related to and partially overlapped with other ancient illnesses, like *sagallu* and *šaššaṭu*.

My examination of *maškadu* together with these related illnesses shows that the *maškadu* traditions from the second millennium BCE onwards were infused with motifs from scorpion and *arahḫi* incantations, and that *maškadu* incantations were used in relation to birth, witchcraft, and Lamaštu-induced illnesses. The manuscripts from the Neo-Assyrian period show a connection between *maškadu*, *sagallu*, *šaššaṭu*, and witchcraft, renal-rectal illnesses, leg and feet illnesses, and skin illnesses—illnesses that are associated with one another because they share similar symptoms and/or are described with comparable metaphors. Apparently the healers struggled to make sense of the various traditions connected directly to *maškadu*. The

⁶⁶ Due to the confines of this paper, this study has not treated several related symptoms in depth, e.g., *šaggu*.

ancient experts occasionally treated *maškadu* and *sagallu* in similar ways despite their individual diagnoses in Sa-gig, reciting *maškadu* incantations to heal both illnesses. It is possible that *maškadu*, *sagallu*, and *šaššaṭu* were perceived and categorized as parts of one syndrome or as various stages of the same illness; alternatively, their particular diagnoses were less important to the healers than the appropriate treatment for the observed symptoms.

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**The Living and the Ordered World
in Exorcistic Lore**

Ina lumun attalî Sîn: On Evil and Lunar Eclipses

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1 Introduction

Whether viewed as the stunning image of a disturbance in the normal course of world order, or as a regularly occurring and predictable celestial spectacle, eclipses rank with some of the most wondrous and unsettling of sights. From the evidence of calamitous predictions attached to these phenomena in *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and the ritual responses to them, it is clear that Assyrian and Babylonian scholars who studied eclipses, both lunar and solar, took them as perhaps *the* supreme indication of a deviation from the norm, and consequently of dire portent, signaling pestilence, the end of a dynasty, war between states, the death of a monarch, the fall of commerce, the drying up of rivers, the disappearance of bounty, the dispersal of a people.

The cuneiform scribes who composed and compiled omens concerning lunar and solar eclipses did not have a conception of their physical causality or geometry. At the time of the composition of the omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* the scribes did not think in terms of the sun's travel in the ecliptic and the moon's travel in its own path at a slight angle of inclination to the ecliptic. The conception of the lunar nodes would come later in Babylonian astronomy, but still not dependent upon a geometrical geocentric cosmology. The darkening of the moon could not yet have been imagined as the result of the earth's shadow blocking the light of the sun as the moon passes behind the earth, nor of the darkening of the sun as a result of the moon's blotting out the visible disk of the sun. Neither of these physical causes had any relevance for the Babylonian, or Assyro-Babylonian, understanding of eclipses, in which the first and foremost interest in those phenomena was as signs from the gods of impending misfortune.

The eclipse as the representation of an ominous sign provides the context for the woeful statement: "I am afraid, I am upset, (I am) terrified—of the evil of the lunar eclipse, the evil of the solar eclipse, of the evil of the stars of (the Paths of) Ea, Anu, and Enlil, (and of) the evil of a planet that has approached

the stars of the Paths.”¹ Here it is the introduction to an incantation addressed to Ea, Šamaš, and Asalluhi, the gods responsible for the designs, the fates, the lots, and the case judgments of heaven and earth, and who could intervene to annul evil signs and omens (*mupassisū idāti ittāti lemnēti*, line 14). The incantation places evil (*lumnu*) in heaven with the moon and sun in eclipse, or indeed with the stars of the entire heaven from the north in the Path of Enlil to the south in the Path of Ea, or with a planet appearing in one of those Paths. Within that broad attribution of evil to the heavens, lunar eclipses are perhaps attested more often than any other celestial phenomenon as “evil signs and omens” (*idāti ittāti lemnēti*) with incantations and rituals designed to annul their effects.

Both omen and ritual texts provide evidence for an understanding that the evil of eclipses, the baleful deviation from the norm of the brilliant luminaries, was attributable to the “mind,” or rather emotional state of the deity (expressed with *libbu*). This is perhaps clearest in reference to the moon-god Šin, who is said to cry *ū’a libbī* ‘woe my heart’ at the time of an eclipse.² Fewer anthropomorphic tropes refer to the other planets, or the fixed stars. The terminology of lunar eclipses gives us access to some of the aspects of the anthropological, as opposed to the empirical or mathematical, dimension of the Assyro-Babylonian understanding of eclipses, and no term is more suggestive of this than *lumun libbi*, to which I will return.

Eclipses in cuneiform texts are a matter both for astronomical and cultural analysis. But mathematical and cultural dimensions of the response to eclipses in Assyria and Babylonia were always interdependent. That is to say, the development of an understanding of the periodicity of eclipses and the eventual establishment of the Saros relation were no doubt motivated by a desire to understand better when such a dangerous sign might occur. Even in the seventh century BCE the periodicity of eclipses was sufficiently known to permit short-term prediction. The expectation of an eclipse was cause for performance of a ritual to dispel it, as illustrated in a report from the scholar Munnabitu. He wrote:

Within one month the moon and sun will make an eclipse ... the king must not become negligent about these observations of the mo[on]; let

1 LKA 109: 20–23; see Maul 1994: 469, 477–78, mss. A and B.

2 BRM 4, 6: 11 and CLBT pl.1 col. B 14; see Linssen 2004: 306, 310, 318–19.

the king perform either a namburbi or [so]me ritual which is pertinent to it. (SAA 8, 320: 8 and rev. 6–9)

Nor did the eventual working out of the Saros period (38 eclipse possibilities and five 5-month intervals between eclipses every 223 months or about 18 years) countermand the idea that the darkening of the luminaries was a portentous and often particularly evil phenomenon. The exigencies of visibility, however, only encouraged the watch for, and even apotropaic action against, expected eclipses.³ In two depositions before the highest officials of Uruk in the time of Cyrus, for example, *kalû* priests reported that the kettledrum ritual against the evil of a lunar eclipse was performed, once in Larsa and once in Uruk, although no eclipse can have occurred. Beaulieu – Britton (1994: 78) suggested that

an eclipse was expected and the *kalû* priests began to perform the appropriate rituals after sunset, but the eclipse did not happen after all, thereby precipitating some controversy of sufficient gravity to prompt the recorded proceedings.... [T]he rituals were performed on the eve of the full moon in a month in which an eclipse would have been expected from the use of the Saros eclipse cycle.

The Saros provided the dates of anticipated eclipses, or eclipse possibilities, but in the period of the texts from the reign of Cyrus, Britton suggested, the dates produced by the Saros had begun to be out of phase with actual eclipses, affecting the timing of the eclipse rituals. Such discrepancies between the results of mathematical prediction and the actual visibility of eclipses no doubt intensified the watch for these ominous phenomena. What is relevant here is the evidence for the continued assumption that eclipses were evil omens even after their prediction was possible.

Many epithets of the moon god, including “great light of heaven and earth” (*nûru rabû ša šamê u eršeti*), “light of the distant heaven” (*nûr šamê nesût*), “light of mankind” (*nûr tēnēšēti*), and the god “whose light is brilliant” (*ša šēssu namrat*), stem from his character as a great luminary.⁴ Šamaš, even more so, manifested light par excellence and was called “light of the gods”

³ Brown – Linssen 1997: 155.

⁴ Tallqvist 1938: 444.

(*nūr ilāni*), “light of the upper and lower world” (*nūr elāti u šaplāti*), “brilliant god” (*ilu namru*), “the one who irradiates the darkness” (*mušpardû eṭūti/eklēti*), and “who brightens the darkness/the four quarters” (*munammir eklēti/kibrāti*).⁵ For each of the luminaries, darkness was obviously counter to the norm. The binary interpretive scheme that correlated the norm with “good” and deviation from the norm with “evil” was held in common throughout Babylonian and Assyrian divination by omens, and was applied in the case of signs from the luminaries. Good, therefore, was represented by the normative or healthy state of lightness and brightness, evil by deviation from that norm as darkness and dimness. Not every eclipse, however, portended terrible events for the homeland; sometimes evil would strike the enemy in a foreign land. All depended upon the ominous features of eclipses: the date, the time, where the shadow began, or in which direction it moved in reference to the four sectors of the lunar disk. Another report from Munnabitu explains:

The evil of an eclipse affects the one identified by (lit., “the lord of”) the month, the one identified by the day, the one identified by the watch, the one identified by the starting point, where it (the eclipse) begins and where the moon casts off its eclipse (*ašar Šin attalâšu išahḥaṭuma*) and discards it; these (people or lands) will receive its evil. (SAA 8, 316: 3–5)

Of special interest for this paper, then, is not how eclipses were calculated and predicted, or explained mathematically, but how the scholars understood their meaning—in particular, the way in which eclipses were construed in relation to evil, and how evil in turn could be construed in relation to the experiential world. These questions revolve around the nature of the deviation represented by eclipses and how the conception of the source of that deviation related to the idea of evil. To explore this terrain I propose to look at how eclipses were explained by a variety of connotative anthropomorphic tropes or narrative motifs, and how eclipses figured in the ritual life of the scholars and their times. The following discussion has three parts: the first on eclipse terminology, the second on ritual texts and their connection to the conceptual landscape of that terminology, and the third on

⁵ Ibid., 456.

the role of demons as explanatory of eclipses, providing another perspective on the evil associated with eclipses.

1.1 *Eclipse Terminology*

Two senses are inherent to several of the terms associated with eclipses: First is the denotative sense of the darkening of the heaven's two great luminaries; second is the connotative sense that darkness of the moon or sun was a sign of a change in the psychological state of the gods Sîn or Šamaš, namely from normal happy brightness to the darkness of mourning, grief, or distress. Attributing eclipses to the changed mood of the moon- or sun-god opens up an interesting relation between the idea of deviation from the (empirical) norm on the one hand and the divine causality of evil on the other. This perception of eclipses, and the terminology that refers explicitly to "the god" (*ilu*) as the eclipsed moon, in omen texts from both the Old Babylonian and the Neo-Assyrian periods, also serves to show that what we see as separate divine and phenomenal worlds were in the cuneiform cultural imagination one undifferentiated world.

Illustrating the denotative and connotative meanings of eclipse terms is the verb *adāru* (CAD *adāru* A), which means first "to be worried" or "disturbed," and second "to be dark or obscured." This dual meaning is exploited to powerful effect in a hymn to Sîn as the eclipsed moon (VAT 13832).⁶ The text addresses the god and asks "why has your face become dark (eclipsed)/anxious (*īdurū*), (why are) the Igigi worried (*īdurū*), the heavens upset (*ilmenū*), (why do) the Anunnaki cry (*ibakkū*)?"⁷ Throughout this hymn *adāru* is also used to mean "disturbed" or "saddened" in reference to temples, temple administrators, and farmers, all of whose routines are disrupted by the eclipse.

The hymn makes a plea for Sîn to renew his debilitation or weakness (*anḫūtu*) and brighten the sky again, so that offerings can be made, songs of joy can be sung, the farmer can sow again, and the Igigi and Anunnaki can stop their lamentations and crying.⁸ The abstract *anḫūtu* (from *anāḫu* A) here connotes weakness, even infirmity, and certainly refers to the moon's light

6 Ebeling 1948.

7 Ibid., lines 2, 4, 5, cited in CAD s.v. *adāru* A.

8 Note that CAD, s.v. *anḫūtu* meaning 2 c "disrepair, dilapidation," simply translates this passage "renew yourself" without addressing the implication of *anḫūtu* here as "disrepair" or the like.

being weak, thus representing the devitalization of the moon-god. It is this devitalization that is meant to be rectified by ritual and incantation.

Omen texts also employ *adāru* in the expression *Sîn* (or *Šamaš*) *adir*, usually taken to mean “the moon (or sun) is dark.” One expects denotative use of terms in omen texts because what is ominous is something observed, or observable, but the connotative aspect of *adāru* to represent the psychological condition of the moon-god (or sun-god), even in omen texts, cannot be ruled out. For describing rising and setting eclipses other forms of *adāru* are used: the adverb *adriš* for a rising eclipse (*Sîn adriš ušīma*), and an adverb *adrussu* (written KAXMI-*su*) posited from the adjective *adru* for a setting eclipse (*adrussu īrub*, written KAXMI-*su TU*).⁹ Both words *adriš* and *adrussu* have the senses of “dark” and “sad.” The description of the lunar eclipse in Evil Demons (Udug-ḫul) Tablet 16 also uses *adāru* in a passage where Enlil tells Nusku of the terrible event:

- 45 Enlil cast an observant eye over the eclipse of the lad *Sîn*,
 46 and the Lord called to his vizier, Nusku.
 47 “My vizier, Nusku, bring my message to the Abzu,
 48 and news of my son *Sîn*, who is being cruelly darkened in heaven” ([*Sî*]*n*
ša ina šamê marsiš i’ad[ru]).¹⁰

Similarly, the passage (line 68) that conveys the state of mind of the people, who are “confused” and “bitterly grieved” at the eclipse, repeats the phrase *marsiš i’adri*.

Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 20 makes regular use of the (N-stem) verbal adjective *na’duru/nanduru* for “eclipse,” as in “the moon in his eclipse (*ilu ina nandurišu* [written KAXMI-*šú*]) becomes dark on the side (*idu*) x and clears on the side y.”¹¹ Here again, *na’duru/nanduru* comprehends both the denotative

9 Rochberg-Halton 1988: 48. A *tamītu* text, K 2884 = Lambert 2007: 44–45 Text 2, also refers to *adrussu*, where it looks to be the suffixed form from an otherwise unattested abstract substantive *adrūtu*; see also Koch-Westenholz 2001: 78 and n. 37.

10 Geller 2007: 180 (transliteration) and 252 (translation) and cf. line 58. I thank Mark Geller for kindly making his new translation available to me before publication; see Geller 2016: 511–12.

11 Rochberg-Halton 1988: 46, 48, 163 n. 4, and chapter 10 passim. Tablet 20 concludes with the formula “Observe his eclipse (*nanduršu tammarma*), that of the god who, in his eclipse (*ina nandurišu*) became dark on side x and cleared on side y.” Rochberg-Halton 1988, chapter 10 passim.

and the connotative, i.e., both “to be eclipsed” (CAD s.v. meaning 8) and “to become apprehensive” (CAD s.v. meaning 7) or even “angry.”¹² This is also the word used in Udug-ḫul Tablet 16: 59, where Ea instructs Marduk to go and dispatch the evil Sibitti causing *nanduru*, or lunar eclipse, in heaven.¹³

To draw on the connection between becoming dark and crying in distress Stol adduced the following passage in a late commentary to the incantation for Geme-Sîn, the wild cow of the moon-god, who was said to be in distress because of her pregnancy. The commentary is directed to the verbal adjective *nanduru*:¹⁴

darkened (*nanduru*) means carrying water, means to embrace, means pure of water, means crown of splendor (i.e., the full moon), because É.LAM₄.MA means house of four.

The adjective *nanduru* is elucidated based on the homophony of the various roots from which it can be derived. The form *nanduru* from *adāru* can mean “darkened” or “worried,” but from *edēru* it can mean “to be embraced,” in which case it could be a reference to the sexual union of Sîn and Geme-Sîn leading to her pregnancy. The commentary gives *nanduru* the equivalent *e-lal*, perhaps Akkadian *elallu*, a poetic word for one who carries water, said of clouds, from the Sumerian E₄ ‘water’ and LAL ‘to carry’, perhaps a reference to the appearance of the moon in eclipse as covered by a cloud, hence carrying the water that was the source of his tears. Indeed, a commented text of *Enūma Anu Enlil* explains the expression “covered with a cloud” (*arāmu*, see CAD s.v. 1d) to mean “to be eclipsed.”¹⁵ Stol’s interpretation leaned toward the image of the weeping moon in an eclipse, and suggests that the rationale for relating the expression “pure of water” (*ellammê*) here to an eclipse has to do with its tears.¹⁶ It should be noted in this context as well that the Hellenistic ritual for an eclipse (BRM 4, 6) also accounts for the eclipse as the

12 CAD does not consider the dimension of anger in its entry s.v. *adāru* A.

13 See Geller 2007: 180 (transliteration) and 253 (translation); 2016: 515.

14 Stol 1992: 257–58. For the text, see Civil 1974: 332 lines 17–20.

15 ACh Adad 33: 13, and cited sub *arāmu* meaning 1 d.

16 Ibid. What the commentary does not entertain is *nanduru* from *nadāru* ‘to go on a rampage’, also spelled the same as *na’duru/nanduru* ‘to be apprehensive’ (*adāru* meaning 7), or *na’duru/nanduru* ‘to become eclipsed’ (*adāru* meaning 8).

consequence of the moon-god's sorrow at the departure of Ningal, "the wild cow" of Šîn. Thereupon, Šîn, who calls himself "your [lord(?)]," says

I am your [lord(?)], who wanders around in despair and cannot sleep. I am [one who] did not eat bread [during] his [ha]rdship, I am one, who did not drink water during his hardship.... [In mourn]ing about his city the prince squats down on the ground; a storm arose, covered the face with dust.¹⁷

Similarly, the mourning, or grief, of the sun is known as an expression for the state of being in eclipse, attested in an omen where Šamaš cries at the time of the decision of the Anunnaki, perhaps meaning at the end of the month.¹⁸

Consistent with the two senses of *adāru*, to be dark and also to be disturbed, the construct *lumun libbi* encompasses both denotative and connotative meanings, that is, as the state of being "eclipsed" and of the moon being stricken with "grief, sorrow, or distress."¹⁹ The moon(-god) in eclipse is in a bad mental state. The goal of ritual apotropaism in the event of an eclipse is precisely to rid the moon(-god) of the evil manifested by the darkness that results from his distress. As to the nature of this distress, both grief and anger are plausible in this context, although translations have tended to favor grief and mourning over anger, probably without too much consideration for the entire complex of tropes employed for eclipses. Whether grief or anger, when darkness is removed and the moon clears, the god returns to his normal condition and evil is simultaneously undone and removed. The expression *lumun libbi* is attested from the earliest stratum of our evidence in Old Babylonian omens concerning lunar eclipses, as in

17 Linssen 2004: 310, lines 6'–8', *ibid.*, 318 (CLBT 1 col. B 8) adds *ša d₃₀ iqbû* 'of Šîn they said' ("a storm arose, covered the face with dust").

18 ACh Supp. 2 Šamas 40: 6.

19 It is not surprising that terms relating to the inner state, or mind, of a person, or an anthropomorphic deity, should be constructed with *libbu*, which has a basic sense of "inside," or "inside part," and a usage "mind" (CAD meaning 3). Although the mind and the heart are more fully disambiguated in English, something of the same ambiguity applies in Akkadian, as in the expression *īdi libbīya*, literally "I know in my heart," or "I am aware" [CAD s.v. *libbu*, meaning 3]. In the context of lunar eclipses *lumun libbi*, literally "evil of the heart/mind," is said of the moon to mean "the state of being eclipsed."

DIŠ/šumma ina Nisanni UD.16.KAM ilu ina lumun libbi itbal u kakkabu rabû inqut 'If on the 16th of the month Nisannu, the god sets (while still) in an eclipsed state and a meteor (or shooting star) falls.'²⁰

This is correlated with the prediction

someone will conquer a powerful city, (its) king and his people, and Mars will rise and destroy the herds.²¹

Here *lumun libbi* is constructed with *tabālu*, an early usage of the verb in its astronomical meaning (CAD s.v.), "to disappear" or "to enter into a period of invisibility."²² The same omen is later incorporated into the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 20, where an eclipse is described as ending in the last watch when the moon sets while still eclipsed.²³ There the setting is expressed with *rabû* 'to set' instead of *tabālu* 'to disappear', with the same meaning "he (the moon) set while still eclipsed" (*ina lumun libbi irbi*). Speculating as to why *lumun libbi* only occurs in passages where the moon sets while eclipsed, it seems a particularly fearful situation if clearing is not observed and the "mental" state of the moon-god consequently is not seen to recover.²⁴

If it were not for *lumun libbi*, it would not be as clear from omen texts that *adāru* too could carry connotative weight. But the combination of these terms suggests that eclipse terminology not only described what was seen, but also painted with an emotional palette. Insofar as the terminology applied to eclipses reflects the negative emotional associations that were projected onto these external phenomena and attributed to the emotions or mind (*libbu*) of the god, it has something of the character of the so-called objective correlative, commonly used as a literary device in modern fiction, whereby inner emotions are mirrored in external phenomena. Here is where the connection is forged between the idea of evil and the way in which it is thought to be manifested in the material world.

²⁰ See George 2013: 77, line § I.16.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The later series preserves this line in EAE 17 § I G 11, D ii 3 and 5; see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 124–35 and discussion on p. 115. Cf. EAE 21 § I.2, *ibid.*, 233.

²³ Rochberg-Halton 1988: 179–80 EAE 20 § I (3) and (8).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

Undoubtedly related is the use of the logographic writing *ír*, literally “weeping,” to refer to the duration of darkness in Late Babylonian eclipse reports. Eclipse reports note, among other details, the time of the eclipse’s onset in terms of a culminating or *ziqpu* star, the direction where the shadow entered, the time to maximal phase, the magnitude of the maximal phase in fingers or fractions of the disk, duration of maximal phase, and the time from the end of the maximal phase to the end of the eclipse. Thus:

6 GE₆ *ír ana z[ÁLAG-ri (namāri) ki-i TAB-ú (ušarrú)]* “6 degrees of night maximal phase when it began (to become bright),” lit. “weeping to clearing when it began (to clear).”²⁵

The duration of the eclipse in its entirety is given as literally “onset, weeping, and clearing” (*GAR ír u ZÁLAG-ru*), thus 40 *GAR ír u ZÁLAG-ru* ‘40 degrees total duration’.²⁶

If *ír* is to be understood as *bikītu* ‘mourning’, the weeping phase of the eclipse could relate to *lumun libbi* and refer to the state of mind of the god. Alternatively it could refer to the performance of ritual mourning during the maximal phase of darkness, an interpretation backed up by the Hellenistic eclipse ritual from Uruk and favored by Brown and Linssen (1997) in their study of that text. Accordingly, the moon, in its darkness, was to be mourned until it cleared, but of course the two senses are interconnected. We know that such mourning was a central feature of the late eclipse ritual, which says that when the eclipse of the moon begins, the *kalū* priests don linen garments, cover their heads with torn *lubāru*-garments, and raise a “lamentation, wailing, and mourning towards the moon in eclipse” (*širīhtu nissatu u bikītu ana* ^d30 *ina AN.MI našū*).²⁷ Such mourning is referred to in a *tamītu* text, where the question is posed: “Will (Šin) not rise eclipsed (*adrussu*) such that the people of the land will not see him and will mourn?”²⁸ It may also be noted that *ír* can be read as *taqribtu*, a ritual accompanied by

25 LBAT 1441: 6.

26 LBAT 1441: 8.

27 BM 134701: 3–4 and dupl. BRM 4, 6: 44’–45’; see Linssen 2004: 307–8.

28 Lambert 2007: 44–45 Text 2 *lū adrussu lā uššamma*. See also Koch-Westenholz 2001: 78 and CAD s.v. *sapādu* ‘to mourn’.

lamentation, and in one instance, at least, associated with the release of divine anger against a man.²⁹

If *adāru* was used for the darkening of the moon in an eclipse, the clearing of the shadow was expressed with the verbs *zakû* ‘to become clear, clean, or light’, *namāru* ‘to shine brightly’ or ‘to clear (said of an eclipse)’, and *šahātu* ‘to cast off, or strip off (as a garment)’. Of particular interest in the present context, *šahātu* can also mean “to remove (evil)” in both G and D stems, as seen in the Neo-Assyrian report from Munnabitu, part of which was quoted earlier, which explains that the evil of the eclipse is to be bad for Elam and the Westland, but good for Subartu and Akkad:

The beginning, where it (the eclipse shadow) began, we do not know. (The moon) cast off (*iltaḥaṭ*) the extent of his eclipse toward the south and west (i.e., SW).³⁰

Because connotatively the term *šahātu* for describing the clearing of the eclipse shadow also means the removal of evil,³¹ the moon’s return to brightness signified that evil was removed, restoring the moon to “normal.” What is cast off, or stripped off, is at once the darkness (as a cover, or garment) in a denotative sense, and evil in a connotative sense.³²

The use of *šahātu* for the removal of the eclipse shadow is of further interest in light of a later Manichean tradition preserved in Coptic and Parthian, wherein the Syriac term *ātālyā* ‘eclipse’ is used in an expression that the sun “wore” *ātālyā*.³³ The Syriac term *ātālyā* is otherwise known from the seventh-century CE bishop of Qenneshrē, Severus Sebokht of Nisibis, for whom *ātālyā* is a hypostatization of the lunar nodes as the head and tail of a

29 Labat 1965: 34–35 lines 26 and 27.

30 SAA 8, 316: 7–10 *ašar ušerru ul nidu minītu attalūšu ana muḥḥi šūti u amurri iltahāṭ*.

31 See for example [*lū šahātā*] *lū šuḥḥuṭā lemnētūa u maskātūa* ‘may the misfortune and evil affecting me be removed and cast away’, CT 51 195: 6, cited CAD *šahātu* B meaning 5.

32 We may also note the use of the garment metaphor for the manner in which a demon afflicts a man, in Ludlul II 71: *alū zumrī ūtediq šubāti*, in Alan Lenzi’s translation, “a malevolent demon clothed my body as a garment” (Annus – Lenzi 2010: 36), but note that CAD s.v. *šubātu* meaning 1b2’ translates “the *alū*-demon clad himself with my body (as with) a garment.”

33 Pirtea 2017: 535.

celestial snake that caused eclipses. Nau translated Sebokht in 1910, noting the similarity between Syriac *ātālyā* and Akkadian *antalû/attalû*.³⁴

Akkadian *antalû/attalû*, however, is etymologically enigmatic; its OB form *(n)amtallûm* is considered to be an “unexplained” variant,³⁵ and *antalû/attalû* is regarded as a foreign term in Akkadian.³⁶ Akkadian *antalû* is written either syllabically or with the learned writing AN.TA.LÛ, explained as a “disturbance above,” but more often with the logogram AN.MI (i.e., AN.GE₆ or AN.KU₁₀) to mean, presumably, a darkening in heaven. As far as the learned orthography AN.TA.LÛ is concerned, it is explained in the lexical text Antagal as *adāru ša Sîn*, which brings us back to “darkness” or “(emotional) disturbance, grief” of the moon,³⁷ and was either based on, or gave rise to, Akkadian *antalû/attalû*.

While the word *ātālyā* and the cognate *talia* in Mandaic in the meaning “eclipse” are clearly survivals from Akkadian,³⁸ the meaning “dragon,” or light-devouring serpent that eats the moon and causes its eclipse, and whose head and tail are positioned on the lunar nodes on opposite sides of the zodiac, seems rather removed from Babylonian accounts, where *antalû/attalû* does not have the meaning “dragon/serpent” in Akkadian. Other ideas of a demonic cause of the moon’s eclipse, including a tradition relevant to the celestial dragon-serpent, will be taken up in section 1.3, below.

1.2 *Ritual Texts Concerning Lunar Eclipses*

The Late Babylonian ritual performed during a lunar eclipse represents the last of a number of rituals against the evil of lunar eclipses that reach back, possibly, into the early second millennium. In the historiographical Chronicle of Early Kings, the account is given of the fabled Erra-imitti, whose gardener, Enlil-bāni, inherited the kingship after having been placed on the throne as a substitute.³⁹ Edzard cautioned against the historicity of the Chronicle of Early

³⁴ Nau 1910b: 230, n. 1, and see Pirtea 2017.

³⁵ Although Goetze (1947: 251–52) speculated on an etymology from Sumerian *nam.talla*.

³⁶ See CAD s.v. *attalû*; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 22 and n. 29; Rochberg 2010: 310.

³⁷ See CAD s.v. *adāru* A lexical section.

³⁸ For Mandaic *talia* see Drower 1949: 62 n. 2, where she states that “the *talia* of the Mandaeans (Jews, *talī*, Syrians *atalia*, Assyrians *attalia*, and Greek Αθήλια) refers to a fictive dragon which causes eclipse” and cites Furlani 1947.

³⁹ Grayson 1975: 155, Chronicle 20: 31–36; also King 1907: 12.

Kings,⁴⁰ and Grayson noted the parallels elsewhere in that chronicle to omen literature.⁴¹

Neo-Assyrian letters and reports from scholars, on the other hand, reflect explicitly on the connection between eclipses, both lunar and solar, and the substitute king.⁴² Although a good number of letters allude in some way to the ritual, few shed specific light on how often or how common the *šar pūhi* ritual really was. Available sources give the impression that the performance of the ritual was something of a rarity, though Berossus, referring to a later time, might be read as implying that at Babylon it was an annual institution. He described five festival days in which “it is the custom for masters to be ruled by their slaves; and that one of the slaves puts on a robe similar to that of the king and manages the affairs of the house.”⁴³ The connection between the substitute king ritual and eclipses could argue for regular performance of the *šar pūhi*, but we do not know all the criteria that prompted the ritual, making its regularity difficult to substantiate.⁴⁴

Lambert’s ritual tablet⁴⁵ is clear on the connection between the substitute king ritual and eclipses, not only of the moon and sun, but also the planets (i.e., of planetary occultations), in a section giving the times for the ritual with the following five broken lines:

[...] the evil of untoward omens and bad signs ([*l*]umun idāti ittāti
lemnēti lā ṭābāti),
 [... in] heaven and earth, which stand in my way,⁴⁶
 [... an ec]lipse of the Moon, an eclipse of the Sun, an eclipse of Jupiter,
 [... an eclip]se of Venus, an eclipse of (one of the) planets,
 [which ...] happened in such-and-such a month on such-and-such a
 day.⁴⁷

40 Edzard 1957: 140–41, apud Grayson 1975: 48.

41 Grayson 1975: 47.

42 LAS 4, 25–28, 30–31, 77, 134–40, 166–67, 171, 179, 185, 205, 235–36, 249, 257, 278–80, 292, 298–99, 317, 334; ABL 735, 1006.

43 Berossus, *Babyloniaca* I 15; see Burstein 1978: 17; Labat 1945–46: 125.

44 See Ambos 2013.

45 K 2600+; see Lambert 1958: 109–12 and Tafel X.

46 Note the similar use of *parāku* in the concluding section of EAE 22, line 4; see Rochberg-Halton 1988, 270.

The text also makes clear that the purpose of the ritual of substitution is so that “the bad omens will not affect that [ki]ng” (p. 110 line 7), and to ensure that “things will go well with that [king] and his land will prosper” (p. 110 line 8). To this context surely belongs what King called the “*attalû*-formula,” introduced into *šulla* prayers:

*ina lumun attalî Sîn ša ina araḥ NN ūm NN iššakna ina lumun idāti ittāti
lemnēti lā ṭābāti ša ina ekallīya u mātiya ibšā*

On account of the evil of the lunar eclipse that occurred in month such-and-such on day such-and-such, against the evil of untoward signs and bad omens that occur in my palace and in my land ...⁴⁸

A hemerology gives a list of ritual actions against the evil of eclipses on the 12th, 13th or 14th of each of the twelve months to prevent evil from approaching the king (*lumnu šuātu šarra ul isanniḳ* ‘that evil will not approach the king’, obv. 2).⁴⁹ In the case of the first month the text states that from the time the eclipse begins to clear (*ultu attalû uttammeru*, obv. 7) the king will prostrate himself and the evil will be dispelled (*lumnu ippaṭṭar*, obv. 8). Thereafter in each month the king has other ritual acts to perform, including bathing with juniper water, or well water, anointing himself with “myrrh” oil,⁵⁰ butter, or cypress-scented oil, pouring flour, praying to Ninurta, releasing a prisoner, making *niqû*- and *meḥri*-offerings, drinking beer and wine, or milk, dressing in fine linen, and kissing an old woman. The goal is to rejuvenate the king, to make his days long, to have Sîn and Ištar, Marduk and Šakkan, look upon him favorably, to prolong his life, to conquer his enemies, and to have his land live by his commands (*māssu ina qībišu uššab*, rev. 15). The procedures are meant to release the evil (ḪUL DU₈-ár)⁵¹ of eclipses from approaching the king and ensure prosperity for him, his reign, and his land.

In addition to the protection offered by substitution, the king was further cleansed and purified of the evil signaled by an eclipse through performance of the “Bath House” (Bīt rimki) ritual.⁵² Koch-Westenholz pointed out that the

47 Lambert 1958: 110: 9–13.

48 King 1896: xxv. For further attestations see Mayer 1976: 100–3.

49 CT 4, 5–6 obv. 1–2; see Livingstone 2013: 195–98.

50 See Farber 1997; Jursa 2009: 163, n. 78.

51 Ibid., 195 obv. 7–8.

52 See Ambos 2013.

attalû-formula, discussed above, was inserted into its prayers and incantations, thus adapting Bit rimki for the occasion of an eclipse.⁵³ She also noted that the *šuilla* prayers into which the *attalû*-formula was integrated were directed to many gods, though not to Sîn, the moon-god.⁵⁴

Another form of ritual response to eclipses was the performance of a *namburbi*, designed to “undo” or “release” (*pašāru*) evil (ḪUL/*lumnu*),⁵⁵ and to “make this evil pass by” (*ana ḪUL šuātu šūtuqimma*)⁵⁶—*šūtuqu* is used as well in the context of expected eclipses that do not occur, where Sîn (or Šamaš) lets the eclipse pass by⁵⁷—or “so that the evil not approach (the man and his house)” (*ana LÚ u É-šú NU TE-ḫi*).⁵⁸ The undoing of evil by the performance of a *namburbi* is compared to the untangling or unraveling of reed matting, as in a passage from the series Šurpû (V–VI 57) “that (the disturbing evil) may be unraveled like (this) palm-fiber twine” (*kīma pitilti lippašir*).⁵⁹ In the case of an eclipse, as for certain other signs, such as an *izbu*, what exactly is being untangled or set to rights is both the evil portended by the sign and the sign itself. The phenomenon of the eclipse and the evil it embodied were conceptually interrelated, and the clearing of the eclipse was simultaneously confirmation of the release of evil, much as casting an *izbu* into the river to destroy it simultaneously destroyed its evil.

In a *namburbi* for undoing the evil of an eclipse, the afflicted person was required to set up altars to the moon-god, present offerings, and, while prostrated, recite a prayer three times “before the moon, Sîn, glorious Nannar.”⁶⁰ For the purpose of the ritual, the celestial body and the god are one and the same. The supplicant is to say

May the great gods make you bright! May they calm your heart (*libbaka linihhū*)! May Nannar of the heavenly gods, Sîn the exorcist, look (hither)! May the evil of eclipse not approach me or my house, may it

53 Koch-Westenholz 2001: 75; also mentioned by Læssøe 1955: 48.

54 Koch-Westenholz 2001: 75.

55 CAD s.v. and Maul 1994.

56 LKA 114: 5.

57 Rochberg-Halton 1988: 16 and n. 62. See also CAD s.v. *etēqu* A meaning 4.2’.

58 LKA 120: 17.

59 Cf. Reiner 1958: 31.

60 For a *namburbi* against an eclipse, see Caplice 1971: 166–68, Text No. 65, photo pl.13, copy CT 51 67 no. 190, most recently edited by Maul 1994: 458–60.

not come near or be close by, may it not affect me, that I may sing your praises and those who see me may forever sing your praises!⁶¹

In light of the term *lumun libbi* for eclipse, the exhortation for quieting of the moon-god's heart (with the verb *nuḥḥu*) seems to point in the direction of the connotative meaning of that term, although not in the meaning "grief," but rather "anger," in accordance with the idiomatic *lemēnu* with *libbu* meaning "to become angry." Whether the conceptualization of *lumun libbi* has to do with crying and mourning or anger probably cannot be decided when it comes to the ritual for dispelling the eclipse; that is, it is unclear what is being dispelled: anger or sorrow. Admittedly, the connotation of *lumun libbi* in astrological contexts has always been understood to reflect the moon's grief, not his anger, but the exhortation "May they calm your heart!" can apply equally to an angry or a sorrowful god.

If rituals and/or incantations are meant to restore the moon to its normal state of brightness, the sinking of the moon below the horizon in mid-eclipse does not allow for the completion of certain actions required when the moon clears, such as are found in the Hellenistic eclipse ritual, as follows:

As soon as the eclipse begins, a temple enterer will kindle a torch and light the *garakku*-brazier. The lamentation priest will sit and perform the ritual procedure of the lamentation priest, until (the moon) has cleared up the eclipse (again). Until he clears up the eclipse, the fire on the *garakku*-brazier must not go out... Until he clears up the eclipse, the people of the land will remain with their headdresses removed, (and) they will keep their heads covered with their *lubāru*-clothing.⁶²

Furthermore, the Hellenistic eclipse ritual specifies that the people should cry out "loudly in the manner of a lamentation" (*ana širiḫti rigimšunu inamdū*, BRM 4, 6 obv. 23'), thus:

They will cry "May hardship, murder, rebellion and (the evil predicted by) the eclipse not reach Uruk, Reš, Ešgal, Baramaḥ, Eanna, and the (other) temples of Tiranna," calling loudly in lamentation. Until the

61 Caplice 1971: 168, rev. 1–8, most recently edited by Maul 1994: 458–59 (= BM 121037).

62 BRM 4, 6: 16'–18' and 21'; see Linssen 2004: 310: 16'–18' and 21'.

eclipse becomes (totally) clear, they will cry (this). As soon as the moon clears up the eclipse, you will extinguish the fire on the *garakku*-brazier with *kurunnu*-beer.⁶³

Without ritually effecting the clearing of the eclipse, the sign, and thus also the evil, is not dissolved. Perhaps we can conjecture that this unhappy circumstance lies behind the idea of *lumun libbi*'s association with the moon that sets while still eclipsed and whose clearing is consequently not observed.

Finally, another reference that might pertain to an altogether different ritual action in the event of eclipse warrants mention. In the latest extant eclipse report of a solar eclipse, from the year 10 BCE, it is said, in broken context, that during the eclipse the “people broke pots” (UN.MEŠ^{dig}SILÀ.GAZ.MEŠ [...] GAZ.MEŠ), namely the ½ sila disposable pot.⁶⁴ The report continues with the time and direction of the eclipse shadow, its total duration expressed as “48° onset, [maximal phase (lit. “crying”),]” and clearing.⁶⁵ Whether the breaking of pots was meant to send up a racket is pure speculation, but if it were the case, perhaps this action fits with other noisemaking ritual acts to drive away the evil of eclipses, already noted by Stol.⁶⁶ As he said,

the shouting is apotropaic and making noise is an almost universal mode of behavior when the moon has darkened. This is known of Arabic tribes, and the Romans were beating on brass objects. In the early Middle Ages the Christians, still half-heathens, shouted “Overcome, o Moon” (*vince Luna*).⁶⁷

Indeed, the description of the reaction of the Macedonian troops to the occurrence of an eclipse on the night before the Battle of Pydna (168 BCE, where general Sulpicius Gallus defeated the Macedonians) was related by Pliny in his *Natural History* 2.53–55,⁶⁸ and by Livy in *Ab urbe condita* (44.37.8–9). The passage in Livy reads as follows, as translated by Bowen:

63 Ibid., 26'–29'.

64 LBAT 1456: 8'; see Huber – de Meis 2004: 174–75; Hunger 2001, Text 31; Schwemer 2009: 64.

65 LBAT 1456: 10'–11' 48 GAR [IR] u ZĀLAG.

66 Stol 1992: 258–59. Also noted by Koch-Westenholz 2001: 82.

67 Stol 1992: 258–59.

68 Goldstein – Bowen 1995: 155–58.

On the night before daytime came on the day before the Nones of September ..., when the moon was eclipsed at the stated hour, Gallus' wisdom seemed almost divine to the Roman soldiers. But no diviner caused the Macedonians to change their belief that it was a portent signifying the downfall of a kingdom and the ruin of a nation. There was shouting and howling in the Macedonians' camp until the moon came forth into its own light.⁶⁹

The Greek account of the same eclipse is found in Plutarch's life of Aemilius Paulus, where the Romans, not the Macedonians, are said to have produced the apotropaic noise. Again, in Bowen's translation (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 17.7–8):

When night had come and after supper when [the soldiers] were taking recourse to rest and sleep, suddenly the moon, which was full and on high, became dark and as the light left it turned all sorts of colours in succession and disappeared. While the Romans, as is their custom, were calling back the moon's light by the clashing of bronze and holding up many lights to the heavens in the form of firebrands and torches, the Macedonians did nothing of the sort; but astonishment and terror seized their camp, and word that the phenomenon signified the eclipse of a king spread quietly among many.⁷⁰

Apotropaic ritual behavior in the Babylonian and Assyrian context, in light of Akkadian eclipse terminology, stems from causal thinking about the evil of eclipses that was tied to the deity's grief or anger, namely, that the observable darkness, the dimming of the great light of the luminaries, was the external manifestation of internal distress and had to be repaired. But among the great and principal causes of evil in cuneiform texts, the activity of demons also has a role to play in accounting for eclipses, as discussed in the following section.

69 Bowen 2002: 83.

70 Ibid., 103.

1.3 *Demons as a Source of the Evil of Eclipses*

The question of a Mesopotamian background to the later widespread astrological motif of a moon-eating snake-dragon has been entertained for more than a hundred years, ever since Nau's association of Syriac *ātālyā* with Akkadian *attalû*, mentioned before.⁷¹ Subsequently, a number of Assyriologists have discussed the potential causal connection between eclipses and the idea of a dragon/snake-demon or demons in various cuneiform texts. It must be said, however, that Akkadian *attalû* at no time seems to have been a term for such a dragon or demon, but the association between eclipses and demons is certainly there in cuneiform texts.

The image on the late Uruk tablet VAT 7851 of the "Man in the Moon" slaying a leonine dragon is one important piece of this complex of associations. Weidner identified the hero as Marduk,⁷² but did not interpret the image as referring to a mythology about eclipses. Instead, he related the image to an omen from a Neo-Assyrian report that refers to the moon setting "with unwashed feet" (*gadu šēpēšu lā masûti*),⁷³ reading this as a reference to a setting eclipse that darkened the feet of the "Man in the Moon." A more explicit connection was proposed by Kilmer, who adduced the text of Udug-ḫul Tablet 16 in the same context of VAT 7851's image of the hero grasping the snake-like lion (or demon) inside the lunar disk, and suggested that the hero was "rescuing the moon," presumably from one of the eclipse demons.⁷⁴ The narrative of the seven demons encircling the moon causing it to be eclipsed in Udug-ḫul Tablet 16 has parallels both in EAE 22 and in the Hellenistic eclipse ritual text.⁷⁵ In Geller's translation, the opening passage (lines 1–22) reads:

- 1 They are the butting storm-demons, evil gods,
- 2 unsparing spirits, who were born in the base of heaven.
- 3 They are the agent(s) of harm (and)
- 4 accessories to evil, maliciously ready to commit murder every day.
- 5 Among the Seven of them, the first one is the furious South Wind,

⁷¹ See n. 36.

⁷² Weidner 1967: 8, and see Beaulieu 1999: 93.

⁷³ SAA 8, 103: 7.

⁷⁴ Azarpay – Kilmer 1978: 374.

⁷⁵ See Brown – Linssen 1997: 157, rev. 10'–14'; also Linssen 2004: 312 and discussion on p. 113.

- 6 and the second is a predator whose mouth is open, whom no one dares approach.
- 7 The third one is a furious panther, whom the work force encountered.
- 8 The fourth one is a fearful serpent,
- 9 the fifth one is a raging lion, which no one is [able] to turn back.
- 10 The sixth one is a rising wave which [overwhelms] both god and lord.
- 11 The seventh one is a storm, a harmful gale wreaking vengeance.
- 12 The Seven of them (act as) messenger of Lord Anu.
- 13 In city after city it is they who bring the dusk.
- 14 They are the dust storms which roam about furiously in heaven,
- 15 they are billowing clouds which cause gloom in Heaven.
- 16 They are the blast of the rising winds which cause darkness on a bright day.
- 17 They are the harmful gales which whirl around with the tempests.
- 18 They are the flood-storm, heroic melees,
- 19 they walk on the right side of Adad (the storm god),
- 20 and constantly flash like lightning on the horizon.
- 21 They are the ones who go in front, in order to commit murder.
- 22 They are ready for evil and without rival in the broad heaven, the dwelling of Lord Anu.⁷⁶

In lines 29–30, the seven demons, the evil gods, whirl around the base of heaven and begin “circling furiously in front of the crescent moon.”⁷⁷ The final paragraph of EAE 22, in what is effectively the conclusion to the lunar eclipse section of the series as a whole, enumerates the terrible things that can happen to humankind, that is, “eclipse, deluge, sickness, death, the great demons, the Seven (who) stand always in the way of (obstruct or block) Sîn.”⁷⁸ These seven “great demons” seem to be the same as the seven “accessories to evil” of Udug-ḫul. In his study of the Uruk ritual for the lunar eclipse, Linssen drew attention to the instructions for the performer of the ritual to say “Verily, by the life of Anu and Enlil they (i.e., the seven monsters) are conjured,” to be followed by the exorcist’s recitation of the Sumerian

76 Geller 2007: 178 (transliteration) and 251 (translation).

77 *Ibid.*, 179, 252.

78 Rochberg-Halton 1988: 270.

incantation “Evil *utukku*-demons.”⁷⁹ Wee has also adduced Udug-ḫul Tablet 16 in an examination of the relationship between the Neo-Assyrian king, that is to say, his guilt or his divine disfavor, as reflected in bad celestial omens such as those of the lunar eclipse.⁸⁰

Stol was skeptical about the relationship between VAT 7851’s “Man in the Moon” and later mythological tradition seeking to explain the etiology of eclipses,⁸¹ but Beaulieu took it “as an allegorical representation of a lunar eclipse.”⁸² Adducing the cosmological text KAR 307 rev. 4–6,⁸³ which states that the god Nabû is “inside” the moon (*ša libbi* ^d30 ^dAG), Beaulieu identified the hero as Nabû, and the creature in the grip of the hero as Labbu,⁸⁴ drawing the connection between an eclipse and the combat myth of the divine hero (whose identity varies from one tradition to another) and the lion-serpent Labbu. A narrative text of combat with the Labbu creature comes from a seventh-century BCE Standard Babylonian tale about vanquishing the “Raging One,” Labbu, the lionine(?)—serpent, an account that Wiggermann has argued may originate in a third-millennium myth concerning Tišpak and the Mušḫuššu, in which *labbu* is an epithet.⁸⁵ The Labbu story begins as follows:

The cities have fallen into ruin, the lands [are disturbed].⁸⁶
 The people have been diminished o[n the earth(?)⁸⁷
 To their clamor, [Labbu⁸⁸] does not [pay heed.⁸⁹
 He pities not their howling.
 Who [created] the serpent⁹⁰?
 The sea [created] the serpent!
 Enlil drew [its image] in heaven:

79 Linssen 2004: 113.

80 Wee 2014.

81 Stol 1992: 257–63, especially 260–63.

82 Beaulieu 1999: 91–99, especially 92.

83 SAA 3, 39.

84 Ibid., 94.

85 Wiggermann 1989: 118, meaning “Raging One” (with CAD *labbu* B) rather than “lion.”

86 Reading (with Lewis 1996: 30 with n. 17) *d[a-al-ḫa]*.

87 Reading (with Wiggermann 1989: 117) *e-[li er-še-ti]*.

88 Wiggermann supplies *mušḫuššu* in the break; see Wiggermann 1989: 117 line 3 [MUŠ.ḪUŠ].

89 With Wiggermann’s very plausible restoration from *qâlu* ‘to listen’, restoring [*i-qa-al*], *ibid.*, 117 line 3.

90 Wiggermann 1989: 116 translates “Furious-Snake.”

Its length fifty leagues, [its height] one league,
 Its mouth six cubits, [its ...] twelve cubits
 12 cubits is the circumference of [his ear]s(?)

...

All the gods of heaven ...

The gods knelt before [Šin] in heaven,

And Šin's [face(?)] was darken[ed] by the edge of his garment.⁹¹

"Who will go [and kill] the Lion-serpent (*Labbu*)?"

"[Who] will sa[ve] the vast land ..."⁹²

Beaulieu brought further sources to bear (including KAR 6 ii 21 and ACh Išt 28 42) that reflect upon the dimensions both of the solar and lunar disks as well as of the serpent creature (*Labbu* or *bašmu*). KAR 307 and ACh Išt 28 both give the solar and lunar disks the sizes 40 and 60 double hours respectively. In his Table 1 (p. 98) Beaulieu summarized the interrelations among the sources, from which he concluded that the dimensions of *Labbu* (and of *bašmu* in KAR 6) of 50 (and 60) *bēru* are to be understood as commensurate with the size of the lunar disk. The fact that *Labbu* is 50 and *Šin* is 60 *bēru* is to be viewed as a consequence of textual variants. Livingstone too discussed these texts, primarily to investigate the reading, etymology, and meaning of the term NÍGIN-, or ḪAB-, or *ḫap-rat*, which seems to mean "disk" (*ḫap-rātu*) or "circumference" (*siḫirtu*).⁹³ The term ḪAB or ḪAB-*rat* occurs regularly in Late Babylonian eclipse reports in the meaning "disk," as a way to denote the magnitude or size of the eclipse in terms of the fraction of the disc that was eclipsed, e.g.,

[A]PIN 15 15 GE₆ GIN *ina* KUR ÛLU TAB 4-ú ḪAB ŠÚ *ana* DIR KU₄ *ina* ZÁLAG NU
 E "[M]onth VIII 15, 15° after sunset; beginning on the southeast; a quarter

91 Following CAD s.v. *sissiktu* usage e in restoring *ur-ru-[pu]*. Note other translations, such as Wiggermann 1989: 19, "has[t]ily grasped] the hem of Nannaru ..."; Lewis 1996: 31, "And [they gra]sped(?) Šin's [robe] by its hem"; Foster 2005: 581, "And [seized] the hem of Šin in has[te]."

92 CT 13 33–34: 1–18. My translation has taken into account previously published translations in Wiggermann 1989, the comments in Stol 1992, Lewis 1996, CAD passim, and Foster 2005.

93 Livingstone 1986/2007: 90.

of the disk was eclipsed, (then) it entered a cloud; during clearing it did not come out."⁹⁴

Out of context the Labbu passage is far from clear as to its reference to an eclipse. Indeed, Stol noted that “scholars are very reluctant to see an eclipse myth in this tale,” and further observed that “the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary recently rekindled this dying fire by translating Sîn’s behavior at the threat as follows: ‘the gods bowed in heaven before Sîn and Sîn’s [face(?)] was darkened with the edge of his garment.’”⁹⁵ Like Stol, I retain a healthy skepticism about the interpretation of this line, yet at the same time think it is worth pointing out, again, that the association of the *sissiktu* with darkening (from *erēpu*) the face of the moon is reminiscent of the later Manichean trope of the luminary “wearing” *ātālyā*, as discussed in section 1.1, above. It might also be noted that the elements of the text’s first lines referring to the disruption of the land and the diminution of the people are events associated in omen literature with lunar eclipses, and following this, the reference to the people’s din and clamor, using the words *ikkillu* ‘clamor, din, uproar’ and *rimmatu* ‘roar, howl’, may be read as referring to the noise-making and wailing in rituals to chase away the demonic agents of eclipse. These are all, admittedly, highly speculative associations. Based on the Labbu story alone, therefore, one might be reluctant to attribute the origins of the late astronomical and astrological conception of the snake-dragon as the cause of eclipses to Mesopotamia, but the combined weight of the other sources adduced by Beaulieu, namely KAR 307 and KAR 6, both of which refer to snake-dragons created in or by the sea, alongside VAT 7851, 7847 and STC II pls. 67–68,⁹⁶ make it equally difficult to dismiss the possibility out of hand.

Beaulieu’s argument is important in the context of Nau, Azarpay, and Kilmer’s question of a Mesopotamian background for the Syriac account of the eclipse dragon *ātālyā* (also known in Pahlavī as *gōčihr* and in Arabic as *jawzahr*). In this late conception the lunar nodes were hypostatized as the head and tail of a celestial snake. For example, in the ninth century CE, the Pahlavī *Bundahišn*, which bears traces of a Zoroastrian astrology, says:

94 Huber – de Meis 2004: 103, LBAT 1427 obv. 10’, and passim. See also the discussion of the term in Rochberg-Halton 1988: 20, 42, 50–51, and 288.

95 Stol 1992: 260 with n. 147.

96 Ibid., 98, Table 1.

The Dragon stood in the middle of the sky like a serpent (*mār*), its Head in the Two Images and its Tail in the Centaur, so that at all times there are six constellations between its Head and Tail; and its running is retrograde (so that) every ten years the Tail reverts to where the Head (was) and the Head to where the Tail (was).⁹⁷

Hartner explained that the

gao-čithra, originally the light and fecundity attribute of the moon, was subjected to such a modification of meaning that it finally—probably in the late Sasanian period—became a denomination of the eclipse demon, the personified dark principle par excellence and direct antagonist of the celestial luminaries.⁹⁸

By Hellenistic times, even in cuneiform astronomical texts, it was well known that when the moon was positioned at a node an eclipse was possible. By late antiquity the occurrence of eclipses was indeed sometimes attributed to the motion of the celestial serpent around the zodiac, reflecting the retrograde motion (to the west) of the lunar nodes around the zodiac. The Syriac term *ātālyā* in this meaning is attested in Severus Sebokht, a writer who was clearly aware of Indian astronomical tradition, from whence the idea came of the nodes as the head and tail of a snake via an earlier Sasanian source.⁹⁹ Indian astronomy classified the nodes with planets, and thus altogether the nine planets were called Navagrahas or “The Nine Demons.”¹⁰⁰ The eclipse dragon’s head in Sanskrit texts was called Rāhu, the tail Ketu. The tail of the dragon, Ketu, as the descending lunar node, was taken over into Arabic, as known from Abu Ma’shar, as a name for the pseudo-planet *kayd*, with a parameter used in Islamic astronomical tables (*zījes*) of a dodecatemoron ($2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$)-per-year retrograde nodal motion.¹⁰¹ Less certain is Beck’s interpretation of the image of the snake on the Mithraic Ponza zodiac in

97 MacKenzie 1964: 515–16. See also Hartner 1938: 151–52, on the relationship of the Persian *gōčīhr* and Arabic *jawzahr* to the Indian myth of the lunar nodes Rāhu (as the head) and Ketu (the tail).

98 Hartner 1938: 153.

99 Hartner 1938: 153–54; Pingree 1976: 399.

100 Neugebauer 1975: 387 and n. 12.

101 Pingree 1976: 171, reprinted in 2014: 423.

terms of the concept of the eclipse dragon that carried six zodiacal signs on its back.¹⁰²

Already in Babylonian astronomy, the nodes were calculated to recede almost once around the ecliptic each Saros cycle (223 months), exceeding its starting point by only 11° . The idea of the eclipse dragon is retained in the modern term for the eclipse month, i.e., the “draconitic” month, and is the interval between successive passages of the moon through the same node, whether ascending or descending. The length of the draconitic month of 27;12,44 mean solar days is a parameter quite close to one of the derived parameters for the draconitic month in Babylonian astronomy of 27;12,43,56,... days (or 27.212220 mean solar days, or 27 days 5 hours 5 minutes 35.8 seconds).

2 Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to show the multiple views of and responses to the causes of evil in lunar eclipses as represented in cuneiform texts, from Sîn deciding to make an eclipse to warn human beings of dire events, to the mourning, grief, or indeed anger of the moon-god, to the myth of the seven demons swarming the moon, or the motif of a god (Marduk, Tišpak, Nabû, or Nergal) in mortal combat with a celestial lion-serpent. Later traditions that explain eclipses by the action of a celestial serpent-dragon may be distantly related to the Mesopotamian motif of a combat between a divine hero and a snake-demon that was large enough to cover the entire disk of the moon, although lines of transmission are of a highly speculative nature. Developments within astronomical and astrological traditions elsewhere in the Near East (in Syria and Persia) and the Mediterranean (with the Greeks and Romans), some deriving from India, took on other characteristics not known in Babylonia, such as the explicit hypostatization of the lunar nodes as the head and tail of the lunar eclipse dragon.¹⁰³

Additionally, the material concerning lunar (and solar) eclipses reflects a particular perspective on the theological “problem of evil,” commensurate with Assyro-Babylonian polytheism. On the basis of the eclipse material (as

102 Beck 1976: 9–13; cf. Pirtea 2017: 541, n. 22.

103 For details, see Pirtea 2017.

well as that of other ominous signs), evil appears to have been seen as fully embodied in the world, manifested in physical phenomena, and as something within the power of the gods to produce as well as to resolve. The phenomenon of eclipse was certainly one such exemplification of this idea.

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Highway to Hell: The Winds as Cosmic Conveyors in Mesopotamian Incantation Texts

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Inasmuch as they were produced by exorcists for their own professional use, incantations provide us with an incomparable tool for the study of the way in which Mesopotamian exorcists conceptualized their own *métier*, and of the role they assigned to themselves and to their enemies in their cosmic struggle.¹ The formulas that riddle incantations are a particularly fertile ground for studying this imagery, since they contain images that percolated down the millennia and influenced the way in which generations of exorcists perceived themselves.² The purpose of this contribution is to study a series of such formulas, according to which the exorcists portrayed themselves and their rivals as different types of winds. The present study is first and foremost a study of literary motifs; whether or not these literary motifs reflect a widespread underlying theological conception is a difficult question to

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- ¹ Thanks are expressed to Mary Frazer, who read this paper and made numerous suggestions. Many of the texts and opinions presented here receive a more detailed discussion in the author's dissertation (Jiménez 2013a), which is being prepared for publication. The quotations from Maqlû follow the recent edition by Abusch 2016. Translations of the Babylonian Talmud follow *The Schottenstein Edition* (Goldwurm – Scherman 1990/2005); the superscript numbers given in the references to the Talmud refer to the subdivision of folios in that edition.
 - ² To mention but one example, in the so-called Marduk-Ea formula Ea instructs Asalluḫi how to perform a ritual action; the ritual action, however, is not performed by Asalluḫi, but by the exorcist himself, acting as Asalluḫi's vicar. The formula is attested in Mesopotamian incantations from the Early Dynastic period (see George 2016: 2–4) until the very end of cuneiform culture, and reflects a concept that is at the heart of Mesopotamian exorcism, namely that the exorcist has the gods on his side when fighting evil. This formula expresses more explicitly than any other text this fundamental concept of exorcism, and was perhaps the most important channel for the transmission of the idea over a period of more than two thousand years. See the classic study on incantations of the Marduk-Ea type by Falkenstein 1931: 44–76. See also Maul 1994: 41; Mander 2010.

answer. According to the anthropologist Horton, the use of metaphoric language in religious discourse fulfils a double, and perhaps contradictory, function: first, it alludes obliquely to things that cannot be said directly; secondly, it serves to “underline, emphasize and give greater impact to things that can be said literally.”³ Thus, the use of the formulas studied below, according to which the exorcist blows like the wind to scatter the witch’s evil, need not mean that exorcists thought themselves, literally, to be winds—nor that they did not. The bridge between the text and the belief, which in some other cultures is provided by the metatext, is not available in the case of ancient Mesopotamia: no theoretical discussion can be found in Mesopotamian texts, and the modern reader has to surmise it from a myriad of passages in various texts, seasoned by the occasional use of theoretical discussions from neighboring literatures.⁴

One such passage comes from the newly recovered Prostration Hemerology, a short hemerological manual that contains ritual instructions for certain dates of the year and prognoses that these ritual actions are meant to enable. The prognoses usually relate in some way or another to the ritual actions prescribed.⁵ An entry in this text exemplifies better than any other text the central role that winds are given in the ritual of exorcism:

(ina Nisanni) ūmi 20 ana Sîn liškēn ana šārī mē liqqi ipšū u kišpū ul iṭeḥḥûšu ernitta ikaššad lumunšu ippaṭṭar[šu]

On the 20th day (of Nisannu) he should prostrate himself to Sîn and pour a libation of water to the winds. Then sorcery and witchcraft will

3 Horton 1993: 234.

4 As stated by Michalowski 1990: 387, “In Mesopotamia there was no metalanguage; reflexivity was part of the construction of the text itself.” See also Reiner 1995: 45–46; Michalowski 1999: 74.

5 For instance, one of the entries (line 33) urges the practitioner to receive “hot bread” (*emmetu*) from a cook on a given date, an action that is intended to protect him against a “curse” (*māmītu*): the association is based on the phonetic similarity between the two words. Other entries prescribe kissing maids or impregnating a “street woman” (*sinništa ša sūqi*) to obtain Ištar’s favor (lines 32 and 35): the goddess’s patronage of love is the reason behind the association. Some of the entries refer to witchcraft. Thus, one of them prescribes kissing an old woman to keep sorcery away (line 30): as discussed by Schwemer 2007: 117–18, by doing that the practitioner would in fact be rejecting the allure of the witch, who in Mesopotamian tradition is usually portrayed as a young, attractive woman. For a study of these and other “horizontal relationships” between ritual prescriptions and prognoses in the Prostration Hemerology, see Jiménez – Adah 2015: 184–85.

not approach him; he will achieve his desire and his evil will be dissolved for him.

Prostration Hemerology line 4 (Jiménez – Adali 2015: 159 and 175)

An offering to the winds is prescribed to keep witchcraft away. This paper aims to show that there is a rationale behind the association of the winds of the ritual action with the witchcraft of the prognosis: in fact, in the imagery of Mesopotamian incantations, winds are presented as one of the most important cosmic exorcistic elements.

1 Witches and Winds

Like other types of evil, such as demons or ghosts, witchcraft is, to use Maul's expression, "feinstoffliche Materie"—a "subtle element."⁶ This subtlety is by no means unique to the imagery of Mesopotamian incantations: in many cultures throughout the world, witches are conceived as entities that make use of nonphysical means to harm their enemies. The historian Hutton has called the ethereality of the witch the first of a total of five "universals of witchcraft," applicable to all cultures of the world.⁷ Since witches make use of nonphysical means, it is only natural that witchcraft is described as clouds, dreams, or smoke. As such, it is liable to be tossed around by the winds: this is the reason why the exorcist tries to enlist the winds in his fight.

Several formulas involving winds are used in anti-witchcraft literature, but not all of them have the same purpose.⁸ For the present study, the most

6 Maul 2004: 88.

7 Hutton 2004: 420–23: "The first [characteristic of the term "witch"] is that it defines a person who uses non-physical means to cause misfortune or injury to other humans. These means fall within the category that English-speakers have traditionally described as 'uncanny,' 'mystical,' or 'supernatural.' This is the bottom-line definition to which all scholars who employ the word 'witch' seem to subscribe."

8 In some formulas of Maqlû and other anti-witchcraft texts the "wind" appears as an image of "nothingness." Normally the word "wind" is paired with other words meaning "nothingness," such as *pû* 'chaff'. This formula appears, e.g., in Maqlû VIII 59'–60' (*kišpūša lū šāru kišpūša lū meḥ[û] | kišpūša lū pû*, "May her sorcery be a wind! May her sorcery be a storm! | May her sorcery be chaff!"). Alternatively, in this kind of formula one finds the phrase *ana šāri turru* 'to turn into wind', i.e., 'to erase'; as in K 72+ rev. 14 (4R² 59/1) and dupls. (edited as CMAwR 2, text 10.7: 69, *tirrā kišpūša ana meḥē amātiša ana šāri* "Turn her

interesting anti-witchcraft formulas are those in which the winds are invoked to remove witchcraft. This occurs in several passages of Maqlû that describe the witch as a cloud, or rather as a cloud-maker, and the exorcist as a wind. This imagery, which seems to be peculiar to Maqlû, is best exemplified in a formula that appears three times in the series:

<i>aziqqakkim-ma</i>	<i>kīma iltāni</i> ^{(im)SL.SÁ} <i>amurri</i> ^{(im)MAR.TU}
<i>usappaḥ urpataki</i>	<i>uḥallaq ūmki</i>
<i>usappaḥ kišpiki</i>	<i>ša takkimī mūša u urra</i>
<i>u našparāt zikurudê</i>	<i>ša taltappari yâši</i>

I shall blow against you like the northwest wind,

I shall scatter your cloud, I shall destroy your storm,

I shall scatter your sorcery, which you have accumulated day and night,

And the deathly messages that you have been sending against me.

Maqlû VI 49–51 and VII 4–7; cf. also V 80–82⁹

In this formula the witch is described as accumulating clouds against the bewitched man. The man then wants to “blow” against those clouds *kīma iltāni amurri* to disperse them. The phrase *kīma iltāni amurri* has traditionally been interpreted as representing two different winds, north and west. However, it would be surprising to have them both mentioned seamlessly in the same simile, without any conjunction and using only one comparative preposition. It seems possible, therefore, that the phrase *iltānu amurru* represents an intermediate point of the compass, “the northwest wind.”¹⁰ In fact, modern climatology assigns the function of scattering the clouds to the most usual of the winds in modern Iraq, the Shamal—the northwest wind: according to Kendrew, the northwest winds in southern Iraq “are cold for the latitude and very dry, and they usually give clear bright skies.”¹¹ In the Babylonian Talmud, the north wind (designated with the Akkadian loanword

sorcery into a storm, her words into a wind!). In these types of formulas the word “wind” appears in a metaphorical sense, and they are thus of only marginal interest here.

9 The only appearance of the formula outside the series Maqlû appears to be the *ušburruda*-incantation RA 22, 154–56 (CMAwR 1, text 7.8, 11).

10 This translation has now been adopted also by Abusch 2016, following this author’s suggestion. The translation of *iltānu amurru* as “northwest wind” was already proposed by Tallqvist 1928: 152–53, but this study found very little echo in later publications.

11 Kendrew 1947: 177. On Shamal winds in modern Iraq, see also Normand 1919: 374; During-Caspers 1972: 168; Darwish – Sayigh 1988: 215; Ali 1994.

*'istānā'*¹² is also described as a wind that clears the sky: thus Abaye (fourth century CE) states that a certain blessing should be recited only “if rain streamed forth the entire night, and in the morning the northern wind came and revealed the heavens (*'ātā' 'istānā' ūmgall'yyā' l'hū lišmayyā'*)” (b. Ber. 59a⁴). Similarly, Abba Arikka (third century CE) explains that the pillar of cloud that guided Israel through the desert did not clear because God, in his rage, did not allow the north wind (*rū^{ah} š'fōnīt*) to blow.¹³ Another passage in the Talmud explains that the Amora Mar Ukva “on a day of a south wind (*b^eyōmā' d^e šūtā'*) did not go out to serve on the court,” a fact explained by Rav Nachman bar Yitzchak (fourth century CE) thus: “the rendering of legal decisions requires the clarity of a day of north wind (*šillūtā' k^eyōmā' d^e'istānā'*)” (b. Eruv. 65a²).

¹² Kaufman 1974: 60, 141–42; Sokoloff 2002: 123b. The fact that the word is borrowed into Aramaic with a sibilant is surprising, since *iltānu* is the most common form during the Old Babylonian period, whereas the rarer *istānu* seems to have been a secondary development. The etymology of the word *iltānu* is unclear (compare the suggestions made by Delitzsch 1874: 140; Tallqvist 1928: 144–47; Lutz 1951: 297; Rosén 1991: 1340; Horowitz 1998: 197; Jean 2006: 6), and the existence of a by-form *istānu* is difficult to explain (see Reiner 1973: 35 and n. 1; Keetman 2006: 368; 2009: 449–50): the latter is attested already in the Old Babylonian period, in Nuzi texts, in Neo-Assyrian (see CAD I/J 270), and in the Aramaic loanword. This strange distribution, and the phonetic similarity of the noun *istānu* with the numeral “one” (*istēn*), suggest that the form *istānu* originated as a folk etymology of an older form *iltānu*, as a result of its assimilation with the numeral “one.” The derivation of *iltānu* from the root *elū* ‘to go up’, as several authors have suggested, may therefore be correct. The occasional use of the expressions *šāru elū* ‘upper direction’ and *šāru šaplū* ‘lower direction’, as well as UGU IM, lit. ‘on top’, and K.L.T.A IM ‘below the direction’ (on which see Grayson 1972: 71 n. 140; 1987: 155 no. 19 line 7’ and 174 no. 42 line 4–5; de Vaan 1995: 243 line 9; Hunger – van der Spek 2006: 4 and 14 rev. 4’; Payne 2008: 103; Zawadzki 2012: 48 n. 7), seems to support this etymology, although it is not clear that any of these expressions is used to designate specifically the north or the south.

¹³ “All those forty years that the Israelites were in the wilderness the north wind did not blow for them. What is the reason that the north wind did not blow? (...) Or if you prefer, say that the north wind did not blow (*lō' nošbāh lahem rū^{ah} š'fōnīt*) so that the Clouds of Glory, which surrounded the Israelites, would not disperse” (b. Yeb. 72a¹). See also b. Meg. 28b²: “As [Ravina and Rav Adda bar Masnah] were speaking a downpour of rain came, and they entered a synagogue to escape from being drenched. They said in justification of their actions: ‘That we have entered a synagogue was not because of the rain, but because a halachic discussion requires the clarity of a day of the north wind (*šillūtā' k^eyōmā' d^e'istānā'*).”

As can be seen in the last cited passage, the south wind (designated by another Akkadian loanword, *šūtā*)¹⁴ is the meteorological antagonist of the north(west) wind: this same contrast can be observed in another incantation from Maqlû, in which the sorceress is described as the south wind that piles up clouds, and the exorcists as the north(west) wind that scatters them. In this text, a wind whose name is lost, but which has always been restored as “the north,”¹⁵ is called “the barber of the sky”; the clouds are compared with a man’s beard, and the wind with his barber.

attimannu kaššaptu ša kīma šūti ikkimu šapatta
tilti ūmē imbari šanat nalši
urpata ikšuram-ma izziza ana yā[ši]
atebbâkkim-ma kīma gallāb šamē^{im}[x (x)]
usappaḥ urpataki uḥallaq [ūmki]
usappaḥ kišpiki [ša takkimī mūša u urra]
u našparāt zi[kurudē ša taltappari yāši]

Whoever you are, O witch, who like the south wind has gathered for fifteen days

Nine days of storm cloud and one year of dew,

(Who) has formed a cloud and stood against me;

I shall raise against you like the barber of the sky, the [...] wind;

I shall scatter your cloud, I shall destroy [your storm],

I shall scatter your sorcery, [which you have accumulated day and night],

And the de[athly] messages [that you have been sending against me].

Maqlû V 76–82

14 The rare loanword *šūtā* (for which see Kaufman 1974: 105, and already Delitzsch 1874: 140) is only attested two other times in the Babylonian Talmud (see Sokoloff 2002: 1126a). The Akkadian loanwords for the east (*šadyā*) and probably also the west wind (*ʿawryā*) are even rarer (see Sokoloff 2002: 112a and 95). Note that three Akkadian loanwords for the winds from the cardinal points (all except the east) are mentioned in a formula in a Syriac magic bowl from Mesopotamia, which can perhaps be dated to the fourth or fifth century CE (YBC 2357, edited in Moriggi 2014: 23 lines 7–8 and 24–25): “Judgment upon you, | north wind and west wind, south wind and east wind (*gʾr dyn’ ʿlykwn | ʾst’n’ wʾwry šwt’ wgʾbl’*), whose bonds are bronze halters and stakes of iron and are sealed by the signet ring of Šamḥiza, the Lord Bagdana.”

15 This restoration has been taken for granted by a number of scholars, and used to study iconographical (Wiggermann 2007: 129), literary (Oppenheim 1978: 640a), or meteorological (Reiner 1985: 66) aspects of the image of the north wind. It is, however, a restoration, and should therefore be taken with caution.

Witchcraft appears to be similar to other agents of evil, most noticeably demons, in that it can be “blown away.”¹⁶ It is therefore understandable that the most common of all formulas that mention the winds in Babylonian incantations applies equally to all sorts of evil: witches, demons, ghosts, and so on. It is the following formula (with its variations):

šūtu lizīqa attunu lā teziqqāni (iltānu, šadū, amurru)

May the south wind blow towards me, but you not blow towards me!
(north, east, west winds ditto)

KBo 36, 29 and dupls. (edited by Schwemer 1998: 99 lines 183'–85')

šūtu lizīqam-ma lumuššunu lā iziqa | iltānu KIMIN | šadū KIMIN | amurru KIMIN

May the south wind blow towards me, but their evil not blow towards me!
(north, east, west winds ditto)

K 2535+ rev. 20–21 (AMT 71–72/1, collated)

šūtu iltānu šadū amurru lizīqāni[m-ma] | šāršunu ayy izīqa

May the south, north, east, and west winds blow towards me, but their wind not blow towards me!

LKA 90 ii 18–19 (edited as CMAwR 2, text 8.25: 133–34)

These sorts of formulas are first attested in the Akkadian incantation from Boğazköy cited in the first example, and they do not appear in Sumerian literature. The third example contains the longer version of the formula, which opposes one type of wind (namely the cardinal winds) to a different type of wind, which comes from the evil agent. This raises the question, What exactly does “may their wind not blow towards me” mean?

16 A close parallel to the Babylonian imagery can be found in a passage from the Babylonian Talmud, which contains a spell one should recite on encountering a witch: “Ameimar [ca. fifth century CE] said: The madam of the sorceresses (*rēštīnī d' našīm kašpaniyōt*) told me: One who encounters sorceresses should say as follows: (...) May your bread crumbs fly away! May your spices be scattered! May the wind blow away (*parhā' zīqā'*) the fresh saffron that you are holding in your hands, o sorceresses!” (b. Pes. 110a³–10b¹).

2 *Daemones aëria sunt animalia*

In his “Literal Commentary” on the book of Genesis, Augustine reports that, according to philosophers, “demons are airy creatures” (*daemones aëria sunt animalia*),¹⁷ and in *The City of God* he states that demons (*daemones*) live in the intermediate space between men and God. Augustine reflects an idea common in Late Antiquity, most relevantly reflected in Apuleius’s *On the God of Socrates* (second century CE), namely that demons live between men and gods because they are intermediaries (in Apuleius’s words, *interpretes et salutigeri*) between them.¹⁸ That they are *aëria* means simply that they inhabit the air, just like birds.¹⁹

Demons are airy creatures in many cultures around the world, including Mesopotamia. In Akkadian incantations, demons and winds have a close relationship: the series *Ḫulbazizi*, for instance, calls the demons “offspring of the wind” (*ilitti šāri*).²⁰ The idea that underlies this designation is that winds “bear” demons, i.e., they carry demons within themselves. This concept is more or less explicitly formulated in a number of texts. For instance, the first entry of the Tašrītu Hemerology states that a man should avoid encountering a dust devil on the first day of the seventh month:

U₄ 1.KÁM ^{im}*a-šam-šu-ta ina šēri(EDIN) la ú-ma-ḫar ḫa-lu-li-ia i-ḫar-šú*

On the 1st (of Tašrītu), he should not face a dust devil in the desert, lest Ḫallulāya marry him.

Tašrītu Hemerology 1 (Casaburi 2000: 16, 23; Livingstone 2013: 168)

17 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 3.10 (translation in Taylor 1982: 82–83).

18 Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 132–40 (translation in Baltes et al. 2004); see Cancik 2003: 448–50 and Baltes et al. 2004: 162–89 (on Augustine’s refutation of Apuleius’s conception of the demons as intermediaries).

19 In fact, Augustine specifies that this does not mean that demons are more important than humans, since by the same rule men would consider birds more important than themselves: “As for the fact that demons dwell aloft in the lower air, whereas we live on earth, it is quite absurd that this should induce us to think that for this reason they are to be ranked above us. On this assumption we are to regard all creatures that fly as superior to us” (*De Civitate Dei* 8.15, translation from Walsh 2013: 56–57).

20 *ilitti šāri attā-ma* ‘you are the offspring of the wind’ in SpTU 3 82 i 14, 17 (// STT 214–17 i 33), and ii 6 (// STT 214–17 ii 10).

The demoness is portrayed as residing inside the *ašamšūtu*, a term that designates the “dust devil,”²¹ a strong but ephemeral type of whirlwind that raises the sand in the form of a pillar and is very common in southern Iraq. In world folk literature these whirlwinds are frequently portrayed as transporting threatening demons.²² For instance, in nineteenth-century CE Egypt jinns were portrayed as “riding” the whirlwinds, and spells were prescribed to counter them.²³ The clearest Mesopotamian formulation of the idea of a demon using the wind as a vehicle occurs in a Pazuzu incantation, in the so-called Standardinschrift A:

én ġá-e^d pà-zu-zu dumu^d ħa-an-bu lugal^{líl} líl-lá-e-ne ħul-a-meš
 ana-ku^d pà-zu-zu mār(DUMU)^d ħa-an-bi šar(LUGAL) lîlê(LÍL.LÁ^{meš})
 lem-nu-ti

(...)

im-e-ne-ne lú šà ġen-na^{im} mar-tu igi-a-ni-šè ba-an-ġar
 šá-a-ri šá ina lib-bi-šú at-tal-ku (|| al-la-ku) ana a-mur-ri pa-ni-šú
 šak-nu

dili-e-ne pa-e-ne-ne ba-an-ħaš

il-tén-nu-u (|| *e-diš-ši-ia*) *iz-ri-šú-nu ú-šab-bir*

I am Pazuzu, son of Ĥanbi, king of the evil *lîlû*-demons.

(...)

The winds in whose interior I blew (|| I blow) are due west:
 one by one (|| all by myself) I broke their wings.

Pazuzu Standardinschrift A lines 102–3, 106–9 (Borger 1987: 17)²⁴

Wiggermann has demonstrated that Pazuzu’s physical form is derived from that of the West Wind,²⁵ and this development may lie behind the difficult phrase “winds that are directed towards the west.” This rare expression—which appears to be the only occasion in Akkadian literature in which the

21 The identification was made by Saggs 1973. On dust devils and sandstorms in southern Iraq, see Naval Intelligence Division 1944: 177–80.

22 This is motif F411.1 (“Demon travels in whirlwind”) in Thompson’s *Motif-Index* (Thompson 1955/1958). Compare also motif G307.1.1 (“Jinn always appears out of strong wind”).

23 See Lane 1836: 229–30 (cited by Saggs 1986: 11b); El-Shamy 2009: 118.

24 One of the manuscripts of the text, K 2547+ (copied by Borger 1987: 30–31), has now been joined to the fragment K 17530, which duplicates some lines in the present incantation. A copy of the fragment is published here *ne pereat*.

25 Wiggermann 2007.

winds are designated by the direction they blow towards—probably served to characterize an exorcistic wind, infested by demons, going back to the netherworld, a place usually associated with the west in Mesopotamian literature.²⁶ Pazuzu states that he “goes” (*alāku*) “inside” (*ina libbi*) these winds.

Demons that use the wind for transportation are attested in texts from many cultures around the world. An airy demon that appears to be particularly similar to Pazuzu appears in the so-called *Testament of Solomon*, a sort of magical-theological compendium from the fourth century CE, which involves a demon in Arabia by the name of Ehippas:²⁷

There is a spirit (πνεῦμα) in Arabia. Early in the morning a fresh gust of wind (αὔρα ἀνέμου) blows until the third hour. Its terrible blast even kills man and beast and no (counter-)blast is ever able to withstand the demon. (...) Load up your camel, take a leather flask and this seal, and go off to Arabia to the place where the spirit is blowing. Then take hold of the wineskin and (place) the ring in front of the neck of the flask (against the wind). As the flask is being filled with air, you will discover that it is the demon who is filling it up. Carefully, then, tie up the flask tightly and when you have sealed (it) with the ring, load up the camel and come back here.

Testament of Solomon §22, 2–3

(edited by McCown 1922: 65*; translation by Duling 1983: 983–84)

Solomon captures Ehippas in a wineskin, and the story ends with Ehippas helping Solomon move gigantic stones to build the Temple. The tradition of the wise king as seizer of the wind demon is widespread: a local tradition has

26 E.g., in Uduġ-ħul IV 6 it is said that demons have “emerged from the western gate” (abul ^dutu-šú-a-šè ní-te è-a-meš | *ina a-bu-ul e-reb šamši*^d[UTU] *it-ta]-šu-n[i šú-nu]*, see the edition in Geller 2016: 135). On the western location of the netherworld, see also Wiggermann 1996: 212–13; Steinkeller 2005: 20–22; Maul 2010: 120–21.

27 The etymology of the name is debated; Busch 2006: 261–63 suggests a Greek etymology (and also provides Koranic parallels to the image of Solomon taming the winds, suggesting that it is a pre-Islamic tradition). The similarity between the last element of Ehippas's name and the names of Pazuzu and the Egyptian demon Bes is remarkable, but it is probably coincidental. Already McCown 1922: 53–55 commented on the similarity of Ehippas with Babylonian demons, citing Asag-gig-ga.

it that the hunting occurred in Istakhr, near Persepolis.²⁸ Be that as it may, the demon is described in terms that are very similar to the Mesopotamian demons: using the wind as a means of transport.

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The place of origin of the wind infested with demons is explicitly stated in a passage of the poem *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, in which the sufferer enumerates his diseases and specifies their origins. Most of them come from the netherworld:

<i>muršu munnišu</i>	<i>elīya innešra</i>	A weakening disease set off against me,
<i>imhullu</i>	[<i>ištu</i>] <i>išid šamê</i>	an evil wind blew against me from the
	<i>izīqa</i>	horizon,
<i>ištu irat eršeti</i>	<i>išīha di'u</i>	from the bosom of hell migraine gusted
		against me.
<i>šūlu lemnu</i>	<i>ittašâ apsûššu</i>	An evil <i>šūlu</i> -demon came out from his Apsû,
<i>utukku lā [nê]’i</i>	<i>ušâ ultu ēkur</i>	a relentless <i>utukku</i> -demon escaped from
		the Ēkur.
<i>lamaštu urda</i>	<i>ultu qereb šadī</i>	Lamaštu came down from her mountain.
<i>itti mīli</i>	<i>šuruppû inūš</i>	With the flood came the flu,
<i>itti urqīti eršeta</i>	<i>ipêš lu’tu</i>	with the plants, debility broke through the
		ground.

Ludlul II 50–57

Several of these diseases exit from the netherworld using natural conveyors: thus in line 56 the “flu” “comes forth” with the flood (which in Mesopotamian cosmogony is portrayed as originating from the *mê nagbu* ‘spring waters’ and is thus connected with the undersoil); in line 57 “debility” takes advantage of the roots of the plants to break through the ground and emerge from the netherworld.²⁹ Similarly, an evil wind “blows” from the horizon, which in this

²⁸ As recorded by Mousavi 2012: 84: “These ruins are located at the foot of a mountain, where the wind blows day and night with impetuosity, a fact that makes Muslims of the area say that the place is wherein Solomon used to imprison the wind.”

²⁹ On demons escaping from the netherworld by climbing the roots of plants, see Lambert 1974: 296.

case is probably the netherworld, in line 52. Migraine also “gusts” (using the rare verb *šīāhu*, not recorded in the dictionaries)³⁰ from the bosom of hell.

In Ludlul bēl nēmeqi the wind brings diseases and demons from the netherworld. According to an unpublished Neo-Babylonian dream ritual, the winds bring an oracular dream—another “subtle element”—from the netherworld.³¹ The netherworld is also the place whither the exorcist tries to send evil back with the help of the winds. The expulsion formula discussed above sometimes mentions the infernal doorkeepers that receive the demon. For instance, an incantation addressed to the Sebetti expresses the desire that the demons be “harnessed” to the winds, so that they can be led back to the netherworld:

[^d nam-tar] sukkal(^f SUKKAL ¹) erṣeti(^f KI-ti ¹)	^f li-iṣ-bat-su ¹ -nu-ti
idugallu([^l .D]U ₈ .GAL) gaš-ru ^d bí-du ₈	bābī(KA ^{meš})-šú-nu li-dil
[it-t]i šāri(1M) lu ṣa-an-du	[it-t]i me-ḥe-e lu rak-su
lirēqū([SUD] ^{meš})-ma(?) a-a itūrū(GUR ^{meš})-ni	lissū([BAD] ^{meš})-ma(?) a-a
	isḥurū(NIGIN ^{meš})-ni

May Namtar, vizier of the netherworld, seize them!

May Bidu, the mighty doorkeeper, close their door (behind them)!

May they be harnessed to the wind! | May they be tied to the storm!

May they go away and not come back! | May they depart and not return!

Incantation-prayer Sebettu 4 lines 1'–6' (Sm 1025 = AOAT 34, 82)

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In Mesopotamian incantations, not only are winds able to blow “subtle elements” back to the netherworld, they can also dispel threats of a more physical nature. Such is their function in the recently published series Zuburudabeda.³² This text, whose title means literally “To Seize the Locust’s Tooth,” aims to expel different sorts of vermin affecting the harvest by means of spells and ritual actions. The series is poorly preserved: some thirty

³⁰ On this verb, see Jiménez 2013a: 287–89.

³¹ See the description of the ritual in Finkel 2014: 112. On the role of the winds as conveyors of oracular responses from the netherworld, see also Steinkeller 2005: 43–45; Schwemer 2008: 150.

³² Published by George – Taniguchi 2010. See also the edition of four new fragments in the appendix to this article.

fragments are known, but it is difficult to arrange them in sequence. The second tablet of the series contains, among others, four incantation-prayers addressed to each of the winds. The four incantations display a high degree of standardization: as can be seen in the table below, each begins by invoking the wind and mentioning an epithet related to an agricultural labor. Then the incantation states that the wind is the son of this or that god. This is followed by a standardized presentation of the exorcist—always with the same formula—and a description of the cultic arrangements, which is also very homogenous: the winds are offered figurines such as a golden stag or, in one of the new fragments, a golden locust. The winds are asked to accept the offering, and then to carry off the plague, with a similar phraseology in all cases.

	S	N	E	W
a. Invocation of wind, epithets	[...]	II'd 2'-9'	II'e 3'-9'	[II'e-f 30'-37']
a ₁ . Filiation of the wind	[...]	ʾII'd 10' ¹	II'e 10'	[II'f 38']
b. Presentation of the exorcist	[...]	II'd 11'	II'e 11'	[II'f 39']
c. Description of cultic dispositions	[...]	II'd 12'-[15']	II'e 12'-15'	II'f [40']-44'
c ₁ . Appeal for acceptance	[...]	[...]	II'e 16'-17'	II'f 45'-46'
d. Expulsion of plague	[...]	[...]	II'e 18'-25'	II'f 47'-54'
e. Conclusion formula	[...]	II'e [x]-1'	II'e 26'-28'	II'g [1]-3

Other incantations from the series Zuburudabeda (addressed to gods such as Ninurta, Marduk, or Ninkilim) follow a scheme similar to that of the incantations to the four winds, except for two points: they do not contain the filiation of the wind (a₁) and they omit the section on the expulsion of the plague (section d). It thus seems reasonable to assume that these two sections are applicable only to the winds.

The reason why the filiation (a₁) is only mentioned in the incantations to the winds seems clear: they are not gods, so they have to be integrated somehow into the theological system. The reason why the section on the expulsion of the plague (d) only appears in the four wind incantations is also explicable. All the other gods are asked to return “the dogs of Ninkilim” (i.e.,

the vermin) to his lord, Ninkilim, who will then take care of them. The winds, however, are asked to “drive off” the plague:³³

<i>purus kalbī rabūti ša</i> [<i>ninkilim</i>]	Keep away the great dogs [of Ninkilim]!
<i>erebē ša pīšunu ab</i> [<i>ūbu meḥū</i>]	Locusts, whose jaws are a flood [and a tempest]!
<i>ḥamašīrī ša pīšunu ab</i> [<i>ūbu meḥū</i>]	Mice, whose jaws are a flood [and a tempest]!
<i>eli eqlī ugāri annē suḥ</i> ₄ [<i>ra-am-ma</i> (?)]	Co[me around] to this plot of land!
<i>urūšunūti</i> [x x x x x x]	Drive them off [...]!
<i>qāssunu ša</i> [<i>bat šūlišunūti</i>]	Take their hands [and expel them]!
<i>ana ḥandūḥ šamē</i> [x x x x x x]	To the latch of heaven [...]!
<i>šemīšunū</i> [<i>ti</i> x x x x x x]	Roast them [...]!

Zuburudabeda II'e 18'-25' = II'f 47'-54'
(eclectic text; see George – Taniguchi 2010: 91–92)

The winds apparently blow the plague to the “latch³⁴ of heaven” (*ḥandūḥ šamē*), a very rare expression that refers to the “gates of the sky” from which the sun emerges and where it sets.³⁵ Since the netherworld is associated with the sunset in many contexts, as discussed above, it stands to reason that this *ḥandūḥ šamē* could refer to it. The winds would then have the task of driving

33 Note that the exorcistic formula invoking the winds of the four cardinal points consecutively, studied above, also appears in Zuburudabeda, in BM 45686+ ii 12–16 (Zuburudabeda no. 24, edited by George – Taniguchi 2010: 129). In these lines the names of the winds are apparently omitted; however, since in this tablet there is enjambment in all the lines whose ends are preserved (e.g., ii 21–22, 28–29, and 29–30), it seems preferable to assume that the names of the winds were written at the end of the preceding lines (e.g., (ii 12) [... *šūtu*^(im1)] | (13) *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu l*[*a ta-zi-qa iltānu*^(im2)] | (14) *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu la* [*ta-zi-qa šadū*^(im3)]).

34 The rare word *ḥandūḥu* designates a small part of the mechanism of a bolt, but its exact identification is debated: see van Koppen 2001: 219–22.

35 The expression is also attested in K 20166, a new manuscript of Zuburudabeda edited below (5.4). Outside Zuburudabeda, the phrase is attested only in two omens that forecast “rebellions” (*bārtu*) if the “latch of heaven” “becomes loose” (*ippaṭir, šalpat*): the text is VAT 9436 (AfO 14 pl. xvi) iii 8'–14' // K 6174: 18'–20' (unpubl., cited in CAD Š/1 231a). The next omen in that text speaks of the *sikkat šamē* ‘bolt of heaven’, another unique phrase. See also Rochberg 1983: 214, who notes that in poetic texts “the opening of the locked doors of heaven [is] a poetic metaphor for the breaking of day.”

the plague off to the netherworld. Other parts of the series Zuburudabeda confirm this idea by their use of some of the standard formulas for expelling demons to the netherworld. Thus, the following incantation describes how the plagues arrive in the netherworld, where they are received by Ereškigal, Namtar, and Bidu:

[ana ^dnin-kilim bēl(E)N) nam-maš-ti pi-qid-su-n[u-ti]
 [ana er-še-t]i li še-ri-su-n[u-ti]
 [maḥar(IGI) ^dereš-ki-ga]l(?) li-šak-ši-su-[nu-ti]
 [ana ^dnam-tar] ^rsukalli(SUKKAL)¹ lip-^rqid-su¹-[nu-ti]
 [idugallu(Ī.DU₈.GAL)] ^rgaš-ru¹ ^db[^l-du₈ bābī(KĀ^{mes})-šú-nu li-dil]
 Entrust t[hem to Ninkilim, lo]rd of the creatures!
 May he drive th[em down to the netherwor]ld!
 May he take th[em] to [the presence of Ereškig]al!
 May he entrust them to [Namtar], the vizier!
 [May] Bi[du], the mighty [doorkeeper, close their door (behind them)]!

K 6945 lines 5'–9'

(Zuburudabeda no. 11, edited in George – Taniguchi 2010: 98)³⁶

Compared to winds in other incantations, the winds in Zuburudabeda have a much more central role. This is probably the result of the superimposition of two different elaborations on how the winds sweep away plagues. As discussed by George, there are records of modern plagues that have been blown away by a wind.³⁷ The Babylonians were probably aware of this role of wind in the migratory patterns of plagues, just as the Israelites were: in the book of Exodus, it is an “east wind” (*rû^{ah} qādîm*) that “brings the locust” (*nāšā' 'et-hā'arbeh*) over Egypt and a “very strong west wind” (*rû^{ah}-yām ḥāzāq m^od*) that blows it away (*wayyisšā'*) to the Red Sea.³⁸ The first explanation would thus result from the direct observation of winds actually blowing away plagues. The second explanation attempts to provide a theoretical background to the plague-sweeping wind: according to it, the

³⁶ Line 9' has been restored after the similar formulation in the incantation-prayer *Sebettu* 4 (see above).

³⁷ George 1999: 299.

³⁸ Exod 10:13, 19. See also Hurowitz 1993: 598–99 n. 9 and passim for a possible reference to the winds transporting plagues in a hymn to Nanāya by Sargon.

winds would be acting in their exorcistic role also when blowing away plagues.

3 The Sweet Breath of the Gods

Further elaborations on the exorcistic role of the winds can be found in literary texts other than incantations. One such elaboration, which is particularly widespread in hymnic literature, presents the exorcistic wind as ultimately originating in the breath of the gods. As is always the case in Mesopotamia, however, these elaborations are not systematically presented in a treatise, and one has to deduce them from the comparative study of formulas in different types of texts.

As a variation of the anti-witchcraft formula studied above, incantations sometimes portray “exorcistic winds” as controlled by certain gods. For instance, in an incantation from Maqlû it is said that Asalluḫi will “unknot” the witch’s sorcery and make the wind carry it off:

<i>ÉN kišrîki kušsurûti</i>	<i>epšêtiiki lemnêti</i>
<i>upšâšêki ayyâbûti</i>	<i>našparâtûki ša lemutti</i>
<i>asalluḫi âšip ili upaṭṭer-ma</i>	<i>ušâbil šâra</i>

Your intricate knots, your evil spells,
Your foul sorceries, your malicious messages,
Asalluḫi, the exorcist of the gods, has undone and made the wind carry
(them) off.

Maqlû VII 107–10

Other passages from Maqlû present other gods, most noticeably Šamaš and Girra,³⁹ as using the winds in this way. A similar passage opens the hymn to Marduk called by Finkel the Lament of Nabû-šuma-ukîn, which begins with a couplet stating that Marduk will send a wind that will blow away the plans of the wicked:

39 In (1) Maqlû IV 114: *epša bârta [am]ât lemutti ušabbal ana šâri* ‘he will make the wind carry off the sorcery, offences, and evil words’ (with *nota accusativi* to mark the second accusative; note that the verb’s subject is probably Šamaš, the addressee of the incantation, rather than the first person, as it is understood by Abusch 2016: 323); and (2) Maqlû V 92: *Gira ârîru ušâbil šâra* ‘the blazing (god), Girra, will make the wind carry it off’.

[us]appaḥ epšēt raggi ina ilī Marduk
niklāt amēlūti ušabbal šāra

(...)

upattar rikis egri u zāmānê ušabbal[šū š]āra

Among the gods, it is Marduk who thwarts the actions of the wicked,
He makes the wind carry off the tricks of mankind.

(...)

He undoes the snare of opponent and foe, and makes the wind carry [it]
off.

Lament of Nabû-šuma-ukīn 1–2, 6 (Finkel 1999: 325)

As in the passages from Maqlû, in this case the verb *babālu* ‘to carry off’ is used in the Š stem with Marduk as its subject: he uses the wind to carry off the evil. Marduk also “unknots” and “makes the wind” carry off the witch’s “knots”: thus, in both cases the formulation is very similar to the passage in Maqlû. As opposed to the formulas studied above (which are far more frequent), in these formulas the wind is not portrayed as an autonomous entity, but rather as a tool at the beck and call of a god.

*
**

There is another formula involving the winds as purifying elements in which they always appear ascribed to a god, never as autonomous entities. It is the formula that invokes the “favorable” or “sweet wind” (*šāru ṭābu*), in the form “may the sweet wind of DN blow towards me.” This formula appears in hymns, prayers, and incantations. It is first attested in Old Babylonian hymns,⁴⁰ and it appears only twice in Sumerian, in both cases in first-millennium bilingual texts:⁴¹ one can therefore safely conclude that it is an Akkadian formula that is rarely borrowed into Sumerian. Occasionally, the “favorable” or “sweet wind” has the same role as the “exorcistic winds,” namely to sweep away evil. For instance, in the prayer to Marduk cited below, which is part of an anti-witchcraft ritual, the wind causes the disease to depart:

40 In the prayer Ištar Baghdad lines 81–83 (Groneberg 1997: 97–120; Streck 2003).

41 In two *eršaḥungas* (Maul 1988: 151 line 36 and *ibid.* 219–29 line 17’ [note now the join of K 5815 to K 4899+]). See also the *eršemma* SBH 22 and duplicates (edited by Gabbay 2015: 95 line a+19), and the references cited by Gabbay 2015: 98 *ad loc.*

palhākū-ma *adrāku u šutaddurāku*
šārka ṭābu lizīqam-ma *linē'a muršī*
naplisannī-ma bēlu *rišā rēma*

I am frightened, scared and constantly terrified.

Let your sweet wind blow towards me, may my disease take off!

Look upon me, lord, and have mercy!

STT 134(+) and duplicates (CMAwR 1, text 8.6), lines 54'–56'

However, this “sweet wind” has many more functions than just expelling disease. First and foremost, when a person perceives the “sweet wind” of a god, it means that the god is paying attention to him. The attention of the gods, inasmuch as it is represented by their breath, can be “smelled.” Two texts refer to the scent of the gods’ breath as a harbinger of salvation for people in distress:

(tutu-zikug ša) ina pušqi danni nīšinu šāršu ṭāba
 (Tutuzikug, whose) sweet breath we smelled in dire straits

Enūma eliš VII 23

kī naḥiṣ ša ina dannati agâ ešenu šārka ṭāba

Blessed is he who, in this calamity, smells your sweet breath!

Koch-Westenholz 2000: 440 and 445 nos. 90 and 93 colophon
 (readings after Jiménez 2013b)

The functions of the “sweet wind” are usually the exact opposite of those of the “evil wind.” Thus the “sweet wind” brings light and the “evil wind” brings darkness. The “sweet wind” brings prosperity, whereas the “evil winds” bring ruin. The sweet wind of the gods is also invoked in personal names, in three forms: (1) (Ṭāb)-šār-DN, lit. “sweet is the breath of DN,” attested from the Ur III period onwards; (2) Ina-šār-DN-allak, “I walk in the breath of DN,” first attested in the Kassite period; and (3) Zīqa-(šār)-DN, “Blow towards me, breath of DN!,” which appears only in Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian documents.⁴² Incidentally, the first of the types, (Ṭāb)-šār-DN, survived the death of Akkadian, and was the name of a Maronite Christian martyr from the second century CE (St. Charbel), in whose honor the name

⁴² Jiménez 2013a: 405–9.

Charbel is still popular among Maronite Christians.⁴³ As is well known, Mesopotamian personal names are sometimes short prayers, and these three name-types probably originated in a prayer formula.⁴⁴ These names invoke the “breath” of the gods, some sort of emanation that helps people in need: just like winds in exorcisms, it can expel a threat and bring purification.

In Akkadian, *šāru* means both “wind” and “breath,” and it is difficult to decide how to translate it in each instance of the formula that invokes the *šāru tābu*. On some occasions this *šāru* is clearly a wind: for instance, when it blows away threats. In other instances, it is clearly the “breath” of the gods— one text speaks of the *šār appi*, literally the “wind of the nose.”⁴⁵ We must assume that it can have both meanings in most cases, or else suppose that according to the Mesopotamians the “wind” comes from the “breath” of the gods—although this is never explicitly stated.

4 Conclusions

The winds are presented as cosmic conveyors in Mesopotamian incantations. As such, they are used by demons as well as by other sources of evil, but they

43 On the name, see Harrak 1992: 321. Since “[o]riginally the name was borne by a pagan priest said to have converted to Christianity in Arbela during the second century” (ibid.), it is possible that it derives from (Tāb)-šār-Arba’il, rather than (Tāb)-šār-Bēl.

44 According to Stamm 1980: 94–95, the existence of prayer-names in Mesopotamia is due to “die Einwirkung der Gebetsliteratur auf die Namengebung.” See also Stol 1991: 198–99 and Edzard 1998: 111a.

45 The “wind of the nose” appears in an incantation addressed against several evils provoked by witchcraft. The last lines of this text state that the sick man will recover and that “the breath of his nose will be sweet to god, king, nobleman, and prince” (*šār(IM)||e-piš appi(KIR₄)-šú eli ili šarri kabti u rabē itāb*). The text is CBS 14161 (edited by Leichty 1988: 261–63, re-edited as CMAwR 2, text 10.15, partially duplicated by BAM 161 ii 8’–10’, as discovered by Stol 1990: 374; see the edition of the latter text in CMAwR 1, text 1.8, 2). The latter manuscript reads *e-piš KA-šú*, which Stol 1990: 374 suggests to emend into *e-riš² pišu* ‘the smell of his mouth’, but *epiš pišu* also seems possible, in view of similar expressions such as *atmūšu eli ili u šarri itāb* ‘his speech will be pleasant to god and king’ (Böck 2000: 226 line 114). The phrase *šār KA*, however, should probably be interpreted as *šār appi* ‘wind of the nose’ rather than *šār pi* ‘wind of the mouth’: this is suggested, first, by the common expression *napiš KIR₄-šú* in medical texts (to be transcribed as *napiš appišu* ‘breathing of the nose’; see Köcher 1980: xxi n. 37); and secondly by the entry im kir₄-ġu₁₀ = *šār ap-pi-ia* in Bilingual Ugumu line 10 (Couto 2009: 155). Note the close biblical parallel *rū^h ’appékā* ‘the wind of your nose’ in Exod 15:8 and Job 4:9.

can also be used by exorcists (and, ultimately, the gods) for the contrary, to expel that evil. In ancient Mesopotamia, it was therefore important to make sure that the winds were one's ally, and that they were not being used by one's enemy. If one wanted to protect oneself against witches or demons, then it made sense to offer them libations, as in the passage from the Prostration Hemerology cited above.

At least on some occasions the winds are ascribed to the gods: they are the gods' messengers of prosperity or destruction. However, the fact that a theological elaboration on the exorcistic role of the winds exists does not entail (1) that the same theological system is explicitly expressed in each and every occurrence of the motif; or (2) that the same theological concept clearly underlies all these instances. In the same manner, when we speak about wind we do not necessarily think of the different patterns of atmospheric pressure that cause it, aware of them though we may be. In both cases, different levels of conceptualization seem to be at play: the "evil wind" may have been explained first using common sense, as the attack of an evil wind demon. Only at a second stage, when for whatever reason common sense alone is not enough, are theoretical elaborations considered.⁴⁶ In this way, by ascribing the winds to the gods, the exorcists obtain a suitable theological framework for their actions.

The idea that winds carry both good and evil, and that in both cases they ultimately emanate from the gods, is not unique to Mesopotamia. A very

⁴⁶ These two levels of explanation may be styled "commonsensical" and "theoretical," following the terminology of Robin Horton. That author illustrates the divide with an example from his own field work: "Kalabari [a people from the Niger Delta region] recognize many different kinds of diseases, and have an array of herbal specifics with which to treat them. Sometimes a sick person will be treated by ordinary members of his family who recognize the disease and know these specifics. Sometimes the treatment will be carried out on the instructions of a native doctor. When sickness and treatment follow these lines the atmosphere is basically commonsensical. Often, there is little or no reference to spiritual agencies. Sometimes, however, the sickness does not respond to treatment and it becomes evident that the herbal specific used does not provide the whole answer. The native doctor may re-diagnose and try another specific. But if this produces no result the suspicion will arise that 'there is something else in this sickness.' In other words, the perspective provided by common sense is too limited. It is at this stage that a diviner is likely to be called in (it may be the native doctor who started the treatment). Using ideas about various spiritual agencies, he will relate the sickness to a wider range of circumstances—often to disturbances in the sick man's general social life" (Horton 1993: 209).

similar theological development can be observed in the following Arabic hadith, in which the belief in “evil winds” is subsumed under the monotheistic faith:

*The wind (rīḥ) comes from God’s spirit (rūḥ) and it brings (His) mercy as well as (His) punishment. Do not curse it when you behold it, but ask God to grant you mercy and protect you against the evil it carries.*⁴⁷

5 Appendix: New Fragments of Zuburudabeda

The recent publication of more than thirty manuscripts belonging to or related to Zuburudabeda (George – Taniguchi 2010) belies the still rather limited nature of our knowledge of the series. Only a handful of these manuscripts can be arranged sequentially, and the location of most of them within the series is unknown. Only the identification of new material—particular from Kuyunjik, the findspot of most of the known manuscripts—will improve our understanding of the structure of the series and of the anti-plague ceremony described in it. The editio princeps of the text has triggered the identification of several small fragments, published below with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.⁴⁸

5.1 *The Wind that Makes the Flood Relent (Rituals and Incantations Pertaining to Zuburudabeda II)*

K 8950 (AMT 33/2) rev. 5’–6’ contains a duplicate of an incantation attested thrice in the series, whose incipit is *én tu-tu-an-na*. Moreover, the obverse of the tablet contains the ritual that accompanies the incantation addressed to

⁴⁷ Hadith transmitted by Abu Hurairah (died in 681 CE). On the hadith, see Canaan 1935: 236–37 n. 8; Masliyah 2001: 269.

⁴⁸ The still very fragmentary state of the series makes it difficult to decide whether small fragments belong to it or not. A decisive argument is the presence of Ninkilim, but when this god does not appear the attribution has to be based on the similarity of the content with the known text of the series, particularly with the highly standardized formulas of the series. Ninkilim is also mentioned in K 17994 (Lambert 1992: 17a), a fragment that otherwise shows no congruence with any of the known manuscripts of the series. Several scraps of commentaries mention Ninkilim (or, “the mongoose”) or field mice: BM 38684 (CCP 7.2.u109), BM 40739 (CCP 3.5.34, a previously unpublished commentary on *Šumma Ālu* 34), and BM 40978 (CCP 7.2.u44).

the east wind (Zuburudabeda II'e = no. 6). The place of this manuscript within the series is uncertain. It is clear, however, that it does not belong to Zuburudabeda II', since only a few lines at the end of that tablet seem to contain ritual instructions (II'g = no. 8 iv 9–21). The tablet has been collated, and deviations from the published copy are marked with an asterisk.⁴⁹

Obverse

-
- 1' [x x x x x x x *tašakkan*(GAR)-*an*](?) *qilip*(BAR) *suluppê*(ZÚ.LUM.MA)
 2' [x x x x x x x *tukān*(GUB-*a*)]*n*](?) *adagurra*(^{du}A.DA.GUR₅)
 3' [x x x x x x x] *ulušinnu*(ULUŠIN)
 4' [x x x x x x x *ta*]-*sa-dir nīqa*(^{du}SISKUR) *ūmu*(UD) *magru*(ŠE)
tanaqqi(BAL-*qî*)
 5' [x x x x x x x x] x *burāša*(^{sim}LI) *mašhata*(ZÌ.MAD*.GÁ) *tasarraq*(DUB)
 6' [ÉN x x x x x x x *taqabbi*(D)]UG₄.GA *šizba*(GA) *šikara*(KAŠ.SAG)
 7' [x x x x x x x 1.T]A.ÀM *tattanaddi*(ŠUB.ŠUB-*di*)
 8' [*ina pān*(IGI) *šadê*(^{im}KUR.RA) *ayyal*(DÀRA.BAR) *kaspi*(K]Û.BABBAR) *lu-lim*
hurāši(KÛ.GI) *taqâš*(NÍG.BA)
 9' [(x x) *mu-hur šadû*(^{im}KUR.R]A*) [*m*]u-*še-ti-iq riḥši*(GÌR.BAL)
 10' [x x x x x x x x] ^ršá¹ *qilip*(BAR) *suluppê*(ZÚ.LUM.MA)
 11' [x x x x x x x t]a-^rsal¹-*la-ma*
 12' [x x x x x x x *ta*]-*sal-la-ma*
 13' [x x x x x x x x x]-x-šú

Reverse

- 1' [x x x x x x x x x x x x] x-*ta*
 2' [^dnin-*kilim ki-is-sat-ka maḥ-r*]a*-*ta*(?)
 3' [*kalbî*(UR.GI₇^{meš})-*ka ši-is-si-ma at-la-a* T]U₆.ÉN(?)

-
- 4' [*kīma*(GIM) *an-na-a taqtabû*(DUG₄-ú) *kiam*(UR₅.G]IM*) *šalāšî*(3)-šú
tamannu(ŠID-*nu*)

-
- 5' [én tu-tu-an-na hur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ ḡá-e a-da-an-ni ^dnin-k]ilim-ke₄

49 According to CAD S 11a and U/W 91a, the face identified as the obverse by Thompson in his copy in AMT would actually be the reverse, and vice versa. This seems to have been deduced from the fact that the obverse preserves a ritual, while the reverse presents incantations: examination of the tablet supports Thompson's identification.

6' [kalbū(UR.G17^{meš}) rabūtu(GAL^{meš}) šá^d nin-kilim ki-is-sat-ku-nu
maḥ-ra-tu-n]u at-la-a

7' [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX]-x-an^d be-let-šēri(EDIN)

8' [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX]-^rx¹-da la ta-tur*-ra

9' [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX]ḥ-za

Translation

¹[... you pu]t skin of dates, ²[... you se]t up an *adagurra*-vessel, ³[...] emmer-beer, ⁴[... you] set them in a row (and) make an offering on a propitious day. ⁵You strew [...], ... *burāsu*-juniper and *maṣḥatu*-flour. ⁶You recite [the incantation ...], and milk, beer, ⁷[...] you cast repeatedly in each [*one*]. ⁸[Facing east], you present a silver [deer] and a golden stag, ⁹[and ... "Accept, O East Win]d, who makes the flood pass by!" ¹⁰[...] ... skin of dates, ¹¹[... yo]u will sprinkle. ¹²[... you will] sprinkle. ¹³...

rev. ¹[...] ... you are [...], ²[Ninkilim:] you have rec[eived your fodder]!
³[Summon your dogs and be off! Inc]antation formula.

⁴[Once you have said this], repeat three times as follows:

⁵[Incantation: *Tutu'ana* of the mountains! I am the *adanni*] of [Nink]ilim, ⁶[O great dogs of Ninkilim! Y]ou [have received your fodder!] (Now,) be off!

⁷[...] ... Bēlet-šēri, ⁸[...], ... and do not come back! ⁹[...] take [...]!

Notes: **obv. 9'** *šadû mušētiq riḥši* is the incipit of the incantation-prayer addressed to the east wind, but it is also repeated in the section after the description of the offering ("section c₁"). The present line probably refers to the latter instance. **obv. 11'** *tasallā-ma* probably from *salāḥ/ʾu*. **rev. 2'–3'**. Provisional restoration following Zuburudabeda II' g [= no. 8] 18–19. **rev. 5'–6'**. Restored following Zuburudabeda II' g [= no. 8] 5–7, no. 23 [= STT 243] rev. 6–9, and Zuburudabeda no. 24 iii 8'–10', 25'–26'. **rev. 7'–9'**. This incantation seems not to be duplicated elsewhere in the series. Also, Bēlet-šēri does not feature in any of the other known incantations of Zuburudabeda.

5.2 *A Silver Locust (Zuburudabeda III' = K 2783 + K 13746)*

The small fragment K 13746 joins K 2783 (Zuburudabeda no. 9, edited by George – Taniguchi 2010: 94–95, copy on page 96), the only remaining fragment of Zuburudabeda III'. The new fragment restores a series of sobriquets given to the god Ninkilim, some of them rather intriguing (see line 6). Moreover, it contains the beginning of the lines in which the exorcist presents himself and describes the ritual arrangements. According to the last two lines of the new fragment, an altar was erected to Ninkilim, and two locust figurines, one of silver and one of gold, were offered to the goddess. Ninkilim's altar is mentioned in the last section of Zuburudabeda II' (Zuburudabeda no. 8 iv 13), but the locust figurines were previously unattested.

- 1 ÉN^d *nin-kilim bēl*(EN) ᵀ *nammaštê*(ÛZ.LU) *qaq-qa*¹-r[*i ba-nu-u mim-ma šum-šú*]
- 2 *be-el eqli*(A.ŠÀ) *ugāri*(A.GĀR) ᵀ *ta*¹-[*mīr-ti* x x x x x x x]
- 3 *pa-qí-du tuš-te-š*[*ir* x x x x x x x x]
- 4 *mu-ma-ir eršetí*(KI-t[*i*] x x x x x x]
- 5 *mu-kil šer-ret* [*šamê*(AN-e) *u eršetí*(KI-ti) x x x x]
- 6 *pu-uš-ki*^d *be-let-UŠ* [x x x x x x (x)]
- 7 *ša-bit ú-ri*-[*i* x x x x x x x x (x)]
- 8 *bēl*(EN) *šib-ti* [*me-ḥe-e šá-a-ri* x x x x]
- 9 *ana-ku āšipu*(^{hit}(LUGAL)[MAS.MAŠ]) *šá*^d *é-a* *u*^d *asar-lú-ḥi*]
- 10 *al-si-ka* [*aq-ri-ka ina ūmi anné* (x x)]
- 11 *parakka*(BĀRA)-*ka ad*-[*di* x x x x x x]
- 12 *ereb*([B]URU₅) *kaspi*(KÛ.B[ABBAR]) *ereb ḥurāši*(?)]

Remainder lost

Translation

¹Incantation: O Ninkilim, lord of the creatures of the eart[h, creator of everything]!

²Lord of the field, the farmland, and the me[adow ...],

³Protector, you dire[ct the ...],

⁴Commander of the eart[h ...],

⁵Sustainer of the nose-rope of [heaven and earth ...],

⁶*Vermin* of the Lady of ... [...]

⁷Seizer of the bar[n, ...]

⁸Lord of the gale, [the storm, the wind, ...].

⁹I am the exo[rcist of Ea and Asalluḫi],

¹⁰I have summoned you, [I have invited you; on this day]

¹¹I have s[et up] your altar, [*I have given you a present worthy of your divinity*]:

¹²A silv[er] locust, [*a golden locust*],

Remainder lost

Notes: 6. The interpretation of the line is based on the assumption that *puški* represents the same word as the obscure *pu-uš-ḫu*, equated with *ḫu-li-i* (*ḫulū* ‘shrew’) in the commentary STT 402 rev. i 20’ (CCP 3.9.u5). See also CAD P 541b. 7. Compare Zuburudabeda no. 3 i 4’: *ša-b[it(?) ...]*. 8. The restoration is based on the epithet of Nabû: *bēl(EN) šib-tu šá-a-ru r[a*-a-d]i u’ mé-ḫe-e* in the hymn CBS 733+ line 9 (Lambert 1957/1958: 385–87 and Frame 1995: 256–57 no. 6:33.5, collated). See also 5.4 line 3’ below. The epithet is probably an etymological translation of the name of Ninkilim ^dNIN.IM^{mu-ru}.KI (An = Anu V 38, edited by Litke 1998: 172). 11. The end of the line might be restored as *parakkaka ad[di aqtīška qīšta simat ilūtika]*, “I have given you a present worthy of your divinity,” as in “section c” of the prayers addressed to the winds (see the table above). 12. “Silver locusts” are mentioned in Hargud (MSL 8/2 46 B 3, *buru₅-kū-babbar-a-šā-ga*). Parallel passages in Zuburudabeda suggest that the line refers to an offering (see Zuburudabeda no. 6 line 15’: *ayyal kaspi* and *lulīm ḫurāši*; and Zuburudabeda no. 22 line 10: *še kaspi* and *še ḫurāši*). **Reverse.** Ashurbanipal type c colophon (see BAK 319).

5.3 Weevil and Horse-fly (A Fragment Pertaining to Zuburudabeda III’)

K 14004 is a small fragment containing the end of a ritual and the beginning of an incantation. Line 6’ appears to quote the incipit of Zuburudabeda III’. Line 4’, quoted in CAD K 568b, contains the names of several field insects.

1’ [...] x x [...]

2’ [...] *u šelēbu*(KA₅.A) *amēla*(LÚ) x [...]

3’ [...] x x-*lul be-e*[l ...]

4’ [... *ta*]l-*a-šú kur-ṣip-tú i[š-qip-pu(?) ...]*

5’ [... *qāt*(š)U^{II})-*su* ^d*nin-ki*[*lim ...*]

6’ [... ^d*nin-kilim b*]e-*e^l nam-maš-te ki-i* x [...]

7’ [...] x *nāri*(ÍD) [...]

8’ [...] x *ki-i e-la-a a*-[...]

9' [...] x ¹[*lu-u*] x [...]

Translation

¹ ...

² [...] ... *a fox*, a man [...],

³ [...] ... the Lor[d ...]

⁴ [... wee]vil, horse-fly, ea[rthworm ...],

⁵ [...] his hand Ninki[lim ...].

⁶ [... Ninkilim, L]ord of the Creatures, as ... [...]

⁷ [...] ... river [...],

⁸ [...] ... *after* he goes up ... [...]

⁹ [...] ... or ... [...]

Notes: 3'. Perhaps [*lu*]^d-*lul*. 4'. On *kursiptu* as a “blutsaugende Bremse,” see Mayer 2003: 378 n. 18. 5'. A reading *šU-e*, rather than KA₅.A, also seems possible (see copy). 6'. Perhaps *ki-i taqbû*(D[UG₄-*û*](?)) ‘when he says’. If so, the section would contain a ritual.

5.4 Lord of the Gale (An Incantation to Adad)

The incantation-prayers of Zuburudabeda share several features unique to this series. One of them is the formula *anāku āšipu ša Ea u Asalluḫi* ‘I am the exorcist of Ea and Asalluḫi’ (called “section b” above), which occurs at the end of the hymnic portion of the incantations.⁵⁰ K 20166, the fragment edited here, contains this formula.

⁵⁰ All the instances of the formula mentioned by Mayer 1976: 61 belong to the series: K 4456 = nos. 4–5; K 5315 = no. 2; K 5897 has been joined to K 4456 (nos. 4–5); K 8072 = no. 10; K 8113 and K 8123 (+) K 3270+ = nos. 3, 6, and 8. The only other instance of the formula occurs in K 9902, also cited by Mayer (edited by Oshima 2011: 100–1), which probably also belongs to Zuburudabeda. Note the following corrections to Oshima’s edition: (1') [DUMU/ana/EN] ¹[*é**-*a** LU[GAL* ...]; (6') *mu-ad-d*[*u**-*u ešrēti*] ‘the one who allocates [sanctuaries]’; (10') read *nārāti n*[*a**-*piš-ti māti*] (?) ‘the rivers, the life of the land’ (as in Wilcke 1989: 171 line 3); (12') read *mu-na-piš qer-bé-tú* [...] ‘fertilizer of the fields’; (13') *a-za-r*[*i**]; (14') *m*[*u**-...]; (17'–19') *ana-ku āšipu*(MAŠ.MAŠ) *arad*(IR) [^d*é-a u* ^d*asar-lú-ḫi*] | *ultu šamê*(AN-[*e*] *šá* ^d*a-nim al-si-ka* (*aq-ri-ka*)) | *ar-kus-ka r*[*ik**-*sa el-lu ni-qu-u eb-bu*] ‘I am the exorcist, the servant of [Ea and Asalluḫi,] I have called upon you, I have summoned you from the sky of Anu. I have arranged for you a [sacred] ri[tual, a pure offering]’. The formula ‘I have summoned you

- ii' 1' [x x]-bu-t[i' ...]
 2' [x x] ina ha-an-[duḥ šamê(AN-e)(?) x x x x x x x x]
 3' [bēl(EN) š]ib -ti me-ḥe-e ṣá¹-[a-ri x x x x x x x x]
 4' [ana-ku] āšipu(MAŠ.MAŠ) šá^dé-a u^da[sar-lú-ḥi al-si-ka aq-ri-ka]
 5' [ad-d]i-ka barasiggâ(BÁRA.SIG₅.GA) ú-x-[x x x x x x x x]
 6' [ú-š]e₂₀-šib-ka šub-tu né-eḥ-tú [x x x x x x x x]
 7' [x x]-[su¹ x x [x] x [...]

Translation

ii' 1' ...

2' [...] in the lat[ch of heaven ...],

3' [the lord of the g]ale, the storm, the wi[nd ...].

4' [I am] the exorcist of Ea and A[salluhi: I have called upon you, I have summoned you,]

5' [I have s]et up for you a *barasiggû*-altar, I have [...],

6' [I have se]ttled you in a peaceful abode [...]. 7' ...

Notes: 2'. See n. 35. 3'. See 5.2 line 8 above.

*
**

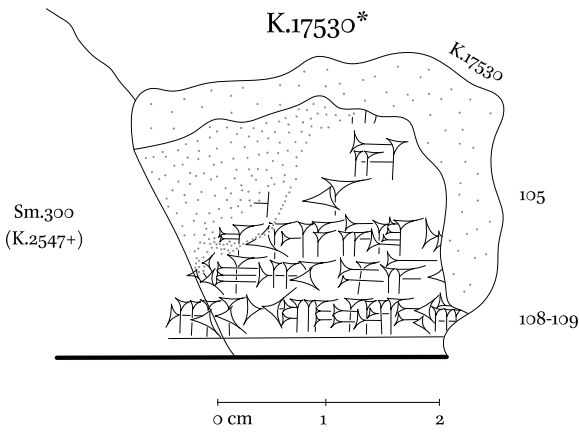
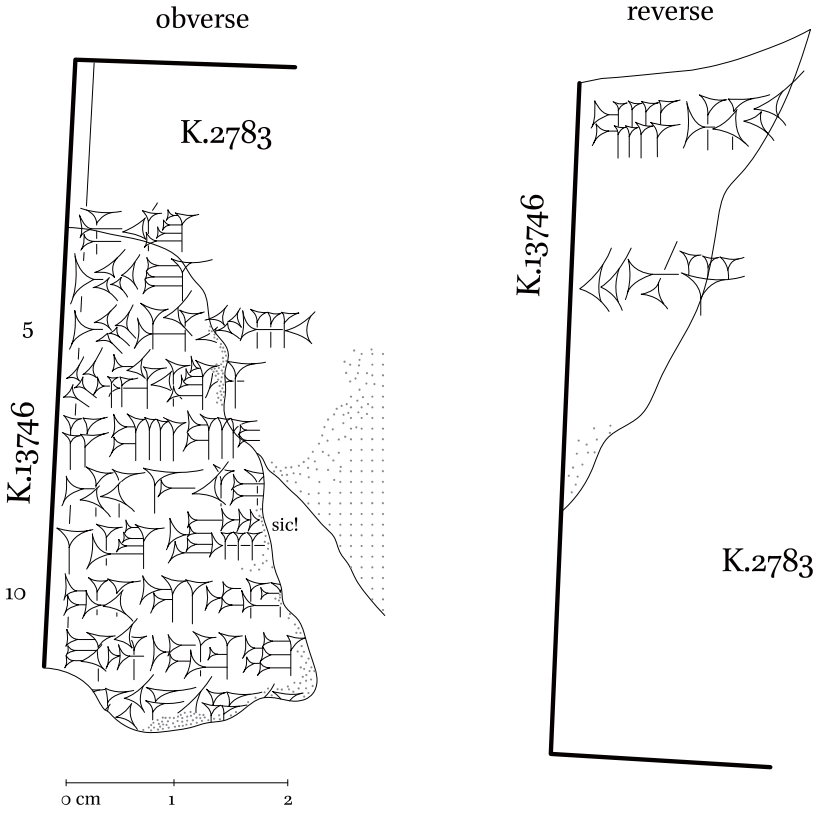
The structure of this incantation is the same as in other Zuburudabeda incantations: the self-introduction of the exorcist (line 4') is followed by a description of the cultic arrangements (lines 5'–6'). The fragment mentions the “latch of heaven” (line 2'), discussed above (n. 35). If line 3' is correctly restored, the fragment would be part of one of the incantation-prayers addressed to a god: the same epithet (“lord of the gale, the storm, the wind”) is given to Ninkilim in 5.2 above, but also to Nabû in the Neo-Babylonian hymn mentioned *ad loc.* Since the only instance of a *barasiggû*-altar (line 5') in Zuburudabeda is a ritual section that mentions the incipit of an incantation addressed to Adad,⁵¹ it seems reasonable to understand this fragment as a manuscript of one of the several incantations addressed to this god in the series.

from the sky of Anu” also appears in K 8072 (Zuburudabeda no. 10), but that fragment does not seem to belong to the same tablet as K 9902.

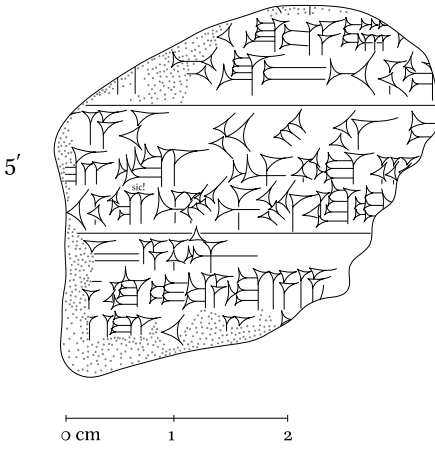
51 In Sm 1277 line 6' (Zuburudabeda no. 28): *ina muḥḥi(UGU) barasiggê(BÁRA.SIG₅.GA) tušzās(GUB)-su* ‘put it on a *barasiggû*’ (reading after Schwemer 2008: 44).

6 Copies

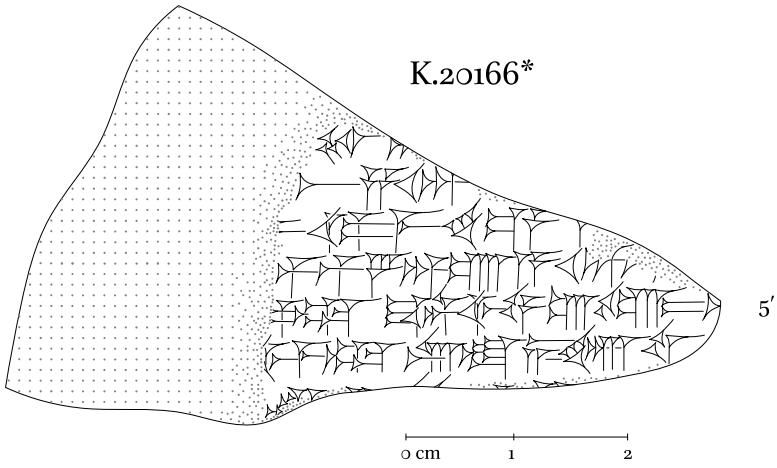
K.13746 (K.2783+)



K.14004*



K.20166*



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The Göttertypentext as a Humanistic Mappa Mundi: An Essay

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Mesopotamian religion is polytheistic, with a growing tendency to monotheism; it is also polydemonic, but without a corresponding tendency to monodemonism; on the contrary, while the gods became fewer, mightier, and more distant, the demons proliferated. Thus order and chaos, good and evil, god and demon were not simple opposing entities whose push and pull held the cosmos in an eternal equilibrium, but ever-changing alliances of opportunistic gods, demons, and monsters with their equally opportunistic human subjects and adversaries.

Our sources on the construction and development of the Mesopotamian panthea and pandemonia are unbalanced and difficult to date. Myths and god-lists describe and organize the pantheon, but there are no matching demon-lists to describe and organize the pandemonium and clarify the interplay between the various types of supernatural powers—the “good” ones and the “evil” ones. The datable source or sources we are looking for should combine those supernatural powers in a meaningful whole and open a window on their iconographies, another potentially rich but one-sided source for Mesopotamian religion. In fact we do have one such source in the often quoted but still poorly understood Middle Babylonian Göttertypentext.

The Göttertypentext, at least in the view presented here, promotes gods, spirits, and concepts to abstract supernatural forces that define the conditions of life in an oecumene enclosed by walls and protected by doormen: Birth (Sassūr and Sassūrinnu), Death (Mūtu) and entry into the netherworld (Amma[kur]), the maintenance of Law and Order (Ninurta and Tišpak), Agriculture (Enkimdu) and Herding (Ensimah), Strife (Adammû) and Struggle (Ippiru), Zeal (Ĥimṭu) and Grief (Niziqtu), and, most remarkably, a human baby that represents the fate of the human individual. The symbolic cosmos of the Göttertypentext is visualized by a collective of twenty-seven aberrant or distorted figures described in detail.

1 The Göttertypentext: A Mystical-Mythological Explanatory Work

The Göttertypentext¹ describes in sequence twenty-seven “images” (ALAM.MEŠ) of known and unknown deities and spirits, which are summarized in one of the colophons (LKU 47 rev. 5') as:

Twenty-seven images, distortions²; [copied] in accordance with [its original].²

The other two colophons add that the text goes back to an original from Babylon; the extant manuscripts stem from Nineveh, Aššur, Nimrud, Uruk, and perhaps from yet another city in the south (BM 57736 unpublished). Details of spelling, grammar, theology, and iconography date the original to the Late Bronze Age.³ The use of rare words such as *adammû*, *ippiru*, *burzišagallû*, *kissugu*, *agasisû*, *kantappu*, *qumāru*, and *apparitu* shows that the author of the text was well versed in the learned traditions.

The manuscript quoted above (LKU 47 rev. 6') continues after the colophon of the Göttertypentext with what seems to be the title of a fragmentary explanatory list:

[A]LAM.DÍM.MA *ma-at-[ta-lat i-lí]*
the (bodily) form is (is equated with) the ima[ges of the gods]

The first three partly preserved lines equate the ALAM ‘image’ of the title with playful variant spellings of the word for “god” (*ilum*), also from the title: ^d*i-lu-*

1 Edition and discussion in Köcher 1953. Relevant additional material: CT 51, 209 (19, 20, 27, colophon; joins ms. B [CT 17, pl. 42–45]); K 9447 = Geers Heft A p. 55 (8, 9, 10; joins ms. D [K 10164 CT 17, pl. 30]); CTN 4, 141 (8², 13, 14, 15; cf. Biggs 1996: no. 134); BM 57736 (82-7-14, 2144) related? I thank Dr. Strahil Panayotov for collations and photos from London and Berlin.

2 Reading [2]7 ALAM.MEŠ *šal-pát* GIM [SUMUN-BI (AB.)SAR]. The other two manuscripts are broken at this point, and thus the reading and interpretation of NI BAD (*šalpātu*, pl. of *šaliptu*) remain open for discussion. As an alternative reading one might consider: [2]7 ALAM.MEŠ-*ni* TIL GIM [SUMUN-BI (AB.)SAR]; cf. TIL ‘complete’ (*qati*) at the end of the MA god list CT 24, 45, but the normal spelling in colophons is AL.TIL.

3 Cf. Lambert 1985: 197. Especially the presence of Anzû and Bašmu as cosmic evils defeated by Ninurta and Tišpak points to a theology current before the composition of Enūma Eliš, in which they were replaced by Tiamat and Marduk.

[*um*], ^d*e-lu[m]*, and ^[d]*alam*.⁴ The same title occurs above a list⁵ of body parts equated with various gods and goddesses, but due to gaps the precise relation between the two texts with the same title cannot yet be established.

The purpose of *Alamdimmû maṭṭalāt ilī* must have been to equate the members of the pantheon and their functions with the parts of a single anthropomorphic body, a speculative monotheistic model that is attested elsewhere in the learned literature of Mesopotamia.⁶ As we will see, the Göttertypentext equates deities and monsters not with the parts of a single body, but with their complementary functions inside and outside a walled space, a microcosm representing a comparably coherent and well-organized world view. Thus both compositions can be qualified as theologies, or, in more flowery language, as mystical-mythological explanatory works.⁷

2 List or Registration of Figures in a Three-Dimensional Space

W. G. Lambert, the last to discuss the Göttertypentext, and the first to outline a coherent interpretation, thought that the text described a “single set of representations somewhere in Babylonia”; that the images, although exotic, were real, not imaginary; and that the “creatures were standing on two legs, probably in a long frieze.”⁸

For the interpretation of the text, it makes no difference whether the described images were real and presented to the public somewhere, or imaginary and confined to the schools; for the status of the theology expressed, however, visibility does make a difference. Since anything can be imagined, the descriptions of the images by themselves cannot solve the question of their mode of existence: real, i.e., visible, or imaginary, i.e., invisible. The fact, however, that the iconography described was not emulated in regular iconography anywhere, points either to low visibility or

4 The preserved mimation points to the Old Babylonian origin of this list.

5 CT 24, pl. 45: 49–68, cf. George 1992: pl. 55 no. 60 (similar, but not identical).

6 Livingstone 1986: 101–11; Pongratz-Leisten 2015.

7 Although it is not made explicit, it cannot be excluded that the Göttertypentext belongs to the text-type riddles, in which the descriptions pose the questions of the teacher, and the MU-BI/NI phrases formulate the answers of the student. After having learned the names, the student still would have to establish the meaning of the tableau as a whole.

8 Lambert 1985: 197–98.

to a very special status, with the latter implying either rejection, or such high esteem that it could not and should not be emulated. The qualification of the figures as *šalpātu* ‘distortions/lies’, if correctly read and understood, may suggest rejection, whereas the existence of the text itself suggests a measure of esteem, at least in scribal circles.

For the interpretation of the text it makes a major difference if it is read as a scholarly list of disconnected iconographic *curiosa*, or as the registration of an underlying reality that connects the figures in space. Apparently thinking of a list, Lambert went halfway and placed the creatures in a linear space, a long frieze of statues standing in a row.⁹ Placing the figures in a row, however, leads to the same unsatisfactory results as a scholarly reading: in both cases the individual figures cannot and do not interact, while the sequence remains without meaningful beginning, progression, or end.

There is no good reason, however, to accept a two-dimensional space and reject a three-dimensional one, the more so since deities and monsters are more naturally at home in a three-dimensional rectangular¹⁰ space where they can freely interact, than in a two-dimensional linear one where they can interact only with their immediate neighbors. Especially important in this context is the greeting gesture made by a number of figures, which needs reciprocity in space, and makes sense only if it is not restricted to immediate neighbors greeting each other.

Rectangular spaces such as temples, palaces, and houses are common in the architecture of Mesopotamia, and we will see that the assumption of a rectangular space as background for the sequence of figures in fact succeeds in giving the text a coherent reading.

The Göttertext then does three things: it supplies the odd creatures and their odd iconographies with a description, it fixes their relations in three-dimensional space, and it names them. The space that accommodated this web of supernatural creatures can be viewed as a temple, and ultimately as a model of the symbolic space in which the beings in question acted out their various symbolic roles: a microcosm. A more precise definition of the

9 Lambert based his idea of a row on the two figures that are “fighting” each other, Adammū ‘Strife’ (19) and Ippiru ‘Struggle’ (20).

10 Not that it would make any difference, but a circular space can be safely excluded, since circular spaces in fact did not exist in second- and first-millennium BCE Mesopotamia; in the third millennium BCE, Inanna temples of the type *eb-gal* were circular, or rather oval.

functions of the figures will allow a more precise definition of the nature of this microcosm.

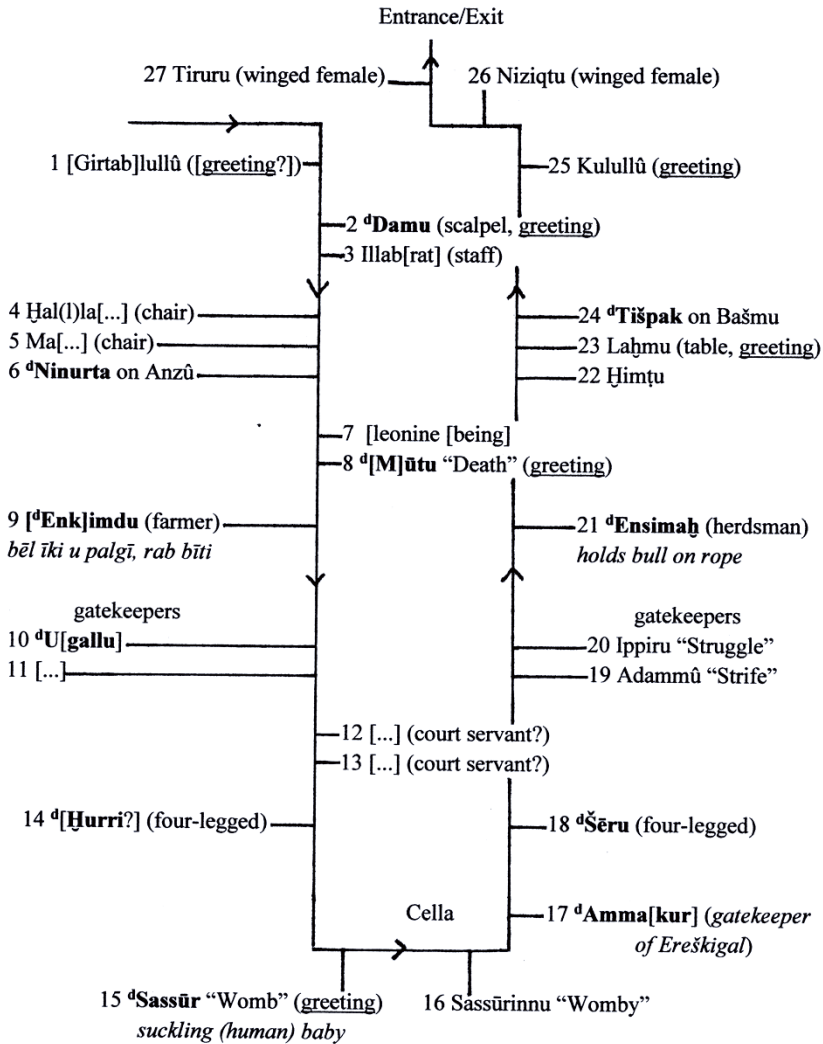


FIGURE 1 Enter the room, follow the arrows, and observe the figures on your right and your left.

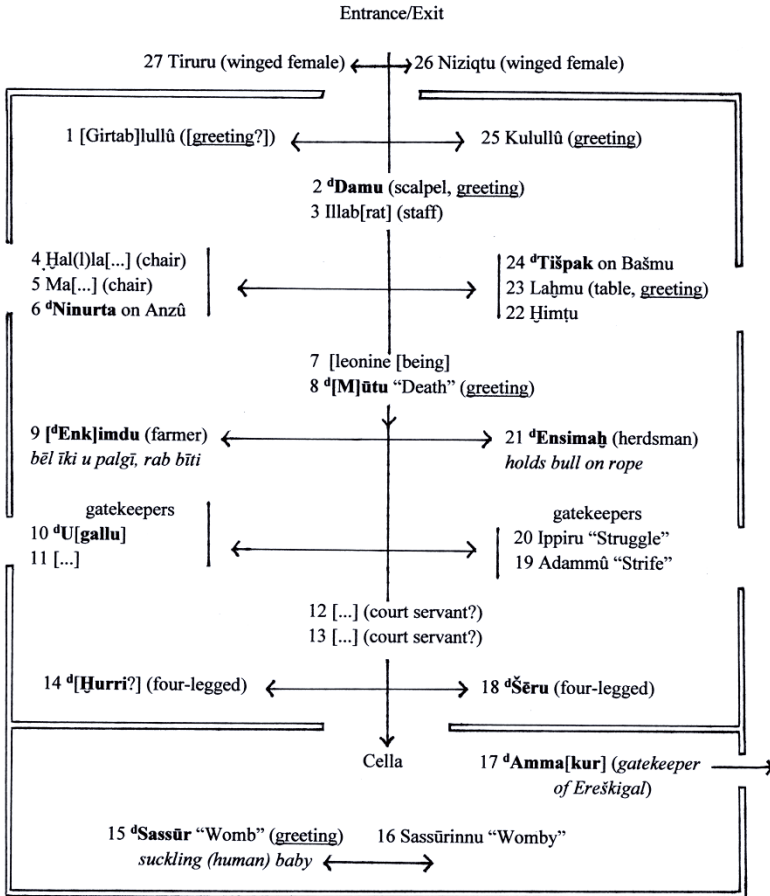


FIGURE 2. Observe the matching figures on the walls right and left, and the audience developing through the middle; then identify yourself with the only other human in the room, the baby on Sassūr's lap, and see its and your life lined out in front of you: birth, work, a measure of divine support, inescapable death, and an eternity in the netherworld.

3 A Simple Rule

A list detailing the positions of divine figures in a three-dimensional rectangular space, a temple, could start the sequence at one specific spot, the entrance, follow the wall to a turning point at the opposite side, the cella, and go back from there along the other wall to the start, which is also the end of the sequence of figures. The Göttertext can be related to the sequence

of figures in two different ways: either as a guidebook, or less likely, as an instruction manual.

Read as a guidebook, the space, the figures, their positions, and their iconographies are given, while the text adds the names of the outlandish creatures and explanatory descriptions of their deviant iconographies. The descriptions and the names are a necessary condition for deciphering the meaning of the tableau, especially if the original, the one on which the text was based, went out of existence (as it probably did), and the guidebook (the GöttertYPentext) is all there is left.

Read as an instruction manual for creating or recreating the tableau, the text is incomplete, lacking as it does instructions for which figures are to be placed on the middle axis of the temple (2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 13 on the left), and which in or near the cella at the turning point (15, 16; this will become clear below). With a little trouble, however, the ancient reader could have solved these problems by observing the parallelism between the figures on the left and right sides, and the nature of the scene through the middle (an audience). In fact, since the modern student lacks the original setup as well as the required additional instructions, such observations have to form the basis for the spatial interpretation of the text by him too.

In the guidebook interpretation, which is easier to handle, the relation between the list and the rectangular space follows one simple rule (Fig. 1): start counting the figures right and left as you pass them by, and match them one by one with the names and descriptions in your guidebook.

At the main entrance/exit the situation is a bit irregular, but the first item at the right must be [Girtab]lullû, matching Kulullû (25) at the opposite side. From there one enters the walled space and continues with the figures at one's left (2 and 3) and right (4, 5, and 6), and so on until the space opposite the entrance (15 and 16) is reached. Up to there the figures at your left followed the middle axis, where an audience could be seen in progress. After 16 at the right, one turns back and proceeds along the other wall to observe the remainder of the figures, which now are all at one's right, except 27 (matching 26) at the exit. The location of 17 (Amma[kur]) in or near the cella is uncertain, because this figure does not correspond to a matching item at the other side of the room; the singular position of Amma[kur] must be related to her role as doorwoman of Ereškigal at the exit from the world, which is matched by Sassūr's equally singular role as the entry into the world.

The resulting regularities support the three-dimensional reading: single figures forming an audience in progress through the middle axis; gods

(marked by determinatives) and spirits (not so marked) forming matching pairs on opposite points of the flanking walls. Only ^dU[*gallu*] (with determinative) at the left lower gate breaks the regularity.

It is revealing to see how the greeting gesture now functions in a less restricted space (Fig. 2): at the entrance to the room *Kulullû* (25) and presumably [*Girtab*]*lullû* (1) (the text is broken at this point) greet the new arrivals, who turn out to be *Sassûr*'s guests *Damu* (2) and *Mûtu* (8); the two guests greet their host (*Sassûr*, 15), who reciprocates the gesture from her cella. Inside the room the servant spirit *Laḥmu* (23) at the right wall carries a table with his left hand, and greets the visitors with his right, while his two peers (4, 5) at the opposite wall each carry a chair with both hands, and are clearly unable to make the expected greeting gesture.

4 Iconographic Themes

From the names of the figures, their status as deities or spirits, their attributes, and their locations, two iconographic themes can be isolated: the protection of exits and entrances by guardian figures, and an audience involving a host, two guests, a master of ceremonies, and a banquet. Together the players and the themes define the nature of the stage as a microcosm, and the ultimate subject as a humanistic *mappa mundi* (Fig. 2).

At what must be the main gate in the middle of the upper¹¹ wall one meets two winged female spirits, *Niziqtu*¹² 'Grief' (26) and *Tiruru* (27), the former unique, the latter rare, but probably identical with the South Wind,¹³ and as such apotropaic. The next pair at the entrance to the room are the two most common *lullû* types, [*Girtab*]*lullû* '[Scorpion]-man'¹⁴ (1) and *Kulullû* 'Fish-man' (25), both probably greeting an arriving guest, but the Scorpion-man's

¹¹ Henceforth up, down, right, and left as seen by the viewer.

¹² Personified emotions like Grief move from their source to their victim, which is why they can be winged and why they can function as apotropaic beings. Comparable are the Fears of *Ḫuwawa* in the Epic of Gilgamesh, which are deactivated by clipping their wings (Sumerian *pa—kud*).

¹³ In *Atrahasis* III iii 40 (*ki-ma ti-ru-ru šu-a-t[i]*); cf. Shehata 2001: 149), *šūati* makes more sense as a poetical variant of *šūti* than as the pronoun *šūati* 'that'; explained as *Ištar ša BI-ŠUL-ti*, associated with *Siduri*. See also Schwemer 2012: 212 line 25, where ^d*Tiruru r[ubāt ḫarrān]āti* fits her nature as the south wind.

¹⁴ An alternative restoration is [*Urmah*]*lullû* 'Lion-man', another apotropaic doorman.

description is broken at this point. These *lullû* types are well-known inhabitants of the periphery, here and elsewhere functioning as doormen.

At the first pair of secondary gates, to the left and right a matching pair of warrior gods is shown victorious over a matching pair of cosmic adversaries, Ninurta (6) over Anzû, and Tišpak (24) over Bašmu. Since the sight of evil defeated scared off other evil, these images at the gate may have had an apotropaic value, but they expressed something more general as well: the ultimate victory of divine rule, and the futility of resistance. A comparable generality is expressed by the gods of agriculture and herding in the next slot, a little bit further along the walls.

Because the two spirits 4 and 5 (names broken) at the left each carry a chair, and the spirit Laḥmu (23) at the right a table, they must be court servants making preparations for a banquet. With his free right hand Laḥmu is able to make a greeting gesture, while 4 and 5 have both hands busy with the chairs. The chairs and the table must have been stored in side rooms, consistories, to which these gates gave access. The nature and function of Ḫimṭu¹⁵ 'Zeal' (22) at the same gate as Tišpak and the servant spirit Laḥmu remain unclear, but he should be another doorman, and have something to do with the waters outside, since his lower body, like that of the water spirits Kulullû and Sassūrinu, is that of a carp.

Between the gates on either side are the figures of two minor gods, the divine farmer Enkimdu (9) and the divine herdsman Ensimaḷ (21). The first, the *rab bīti* 'steward of the domain' and the *bēl ikī u palgī* 'lord of dikes and ditches',¹⁶ holds [*t*]iqnu² insignia, perhaps the tools or products of his trade, while the other has a bull on a rope, perhaps meant to be slaughtered and served at the banquet that is being prepared. Standing inactively along the walls they belong to the background of the scene, and as such express a general property of the irrigated (*ikū and palgū*) "domain" (*bītu*) of which Enkimdu is lord (*bēlu*) and steward (*rabû*): the importance of farming and herding for making a living there.

At the next pair of secondary gates the right entrance is guarded by a pair of servants of Ea (Fig. 3), Strife (19) and Struggle (20), and the left entrance by an U[*gallu*] (10) lion-demon, accompanied perhaps by the guardian god

¹⁵ Spelled *ḫi-in-du*.

¹⁶ The epithet is attested elsewhere; see Cohen 1988 1:309: 220.

[Lulal] (11), with whom he is paired more often; the four of them are well-known guardians against the entry of Evil.

The audience takes place through the middle axis of the building. Illabrat (3), the vizier with his staff, is commonly known as the *bēl paršī*, the “master of ceremonies,” the one who receives guests at the gate and leads them to his divine superior; the additional dog features (ears, [lower body?]) and the dog’s collar attributed here to him aptly express his watchful nature. In the first millennium, figurines of a fully anthropomorphic Illabrat are inscribed with his functions and buried beneath the floors of temples to enforce divine rules and regulations.

The guests introduced by Illabrat to his mistress are Damu (2), a god of healing holding his mother Gula’s scalpel, and Mūtu¹⁷ ‘Death’ (8), who is accompanied by a (partly) leonine being (7). Damu and Mūtu are greeting their host, the Womb Goddess Sassūr (15), who reciprocates their greeting gesture from her cella.

The two chairs and the table carried by servant spirits clearly point to a banquet being prepared, at which the host would be Sassūr, and the guests Damu and Mūtu, or at least one of them. The bull held by Ensimaḥ on a rope could be slaughtered and consumed, further food could be served from Illabrat’s *burzišagallū* ‘plate filled with life’, drinks could be poured from Fishman’s flowing vase *hengallu* ‘plenty’ (Fig. 5), while fumigants could be burned in Tiruru’s (27) censer. The festive occasion, no doubt, is the birth of a baby, the one that is being suckled by Sassūr while she receives her guests.

Near the cella there are two further figures (12, 13) whose names are broken; they may be some sort of court servants. In her cella Sassūr is paired

17 Reading from Köcher 1953: 98 ii 38 (remains of DING[IR], collated) and K 9447+: 8 [^dm]u-tum (collated). Even without K 9447+ the restoration [^dmu]-tum was indicated by the fact that the being in question is male (Köcher 1953: 68 25’–32’: -šū, DIB-it, la-biš), which in Litke’s index of divine names (Litke 1958) leaves only one option open for [x]-tum, and that is *mūtu*. Köcher 1953: 68 ii 26’ restores him with a “naked female body” ([pag-ru me-re-n]u MUNUS-tum), which is contradicted by the *gadamahḥu*-dress he wears four lines later; in an alternative reading Death “has a female face” ([... pa-n]u MUNUS-tum), meaning that he is without beard. Although, according to the SB Gilgamesh Epic, “no one sees death” and “they cannot draw the picture of Death” (George 2003 vol. I 697: 304, 317), Death is depicted in the Netherworld Vision (Livingstone 1989: 71 rev. 3:), while figurines of Death are used in magical and medical rituals (ABL 977 rev. 4, AMT 2/5: 9), and “Death has the face of Anzū” in a commentary on a medical text (SpTU 1, 32 rev. 11–13). Death may be frightening, but it is a legal power, the “ruler of man” (TCL 17, 29: 17 OB).

with Sassūrinnu¹⁸ ‘Womby’ (16), a part snake, part carp hybrid, who, in view of his name and position, may be Sassūr’s symbolic animal and personal servant. Amma[kur]¹⁹ (17) is a female monster-monkey on a stand who, as “doorwoman of Ereškigal,” guards the passage to the world of the dead. Since one could enter there but never leave, she did not have to bother with travelers going the other way. The cella is protected by two four-legged colossi, ^d[Ḫurri] ‘[Dusk]’ (14) and ^dŠēru²⁰ ‘Dawn’ (18), meant to mark, perhaps, the East, the West, and the path of the heavenly bodies, which are otherwise absent.

5 Inside and Outside

A symbolic reading of the Göttertypentext reveals its spatial setting as an irrigated agricultural “domain” (*bītu*) with “dikes and ditches” (*ikū u palgū*), which is enclosed by “walls” with guarded gates. As the abode of deities and spirits it must be sacred.

The gates imply entry and exit, or, stated differently, an inside and an outside, separated from each other by a wall. The fact that the gates are guarded, moreover, implies a contrast between the safe domain inside, the realm of order and agriculture, and the unsafe domain outside, the realm of chaos and its representatives Anzû and Bašmu, who, defeated, reappear inside as the trophies of Ninurta and Tišpak.

Inside, Ninurta and Tišpak represent order and the rule of law, Enkimdu and Ensimaḫ hard work and where it gets you, while Damu, supervised by his mother Gula, postpones the dominion of Death by nursing the non-lethally ill back to health. Emotional emanations of the struggle for life keep watch at

18 I understand Sassūrinnu as composed out of *sassūru* ‘womb (goddess)’, and the ending *-innu* (GAG § 58b). The creation of this curious neologism suggests that Sassūrinnu is closely related to the main subject of the text, which is birth and the legality of death.

19 Doorwoman (*utūtu*) of Ereškigal; equated with ^dEršetu and ^dIrkalla in CT 25, pl. 8: 10–11, cited by Köcher 1953: 62 (there seems to be no room for Köcher’s ^dAm-ma-[kur-kur]).

20 “Morning Star,” “Dawn,” known as “throne bearer of Šin”; see Ebeling 1953: 396 line 43 (Gattung III), Weidner List 193 (Weidner 1924–25: 78 line 13a; Cavigneaux 1981: 95), Nippur List 243 (SLT 122 vi 18, 125 iii 7’ ^d<še>-ru-um, Richter 1999: 437 n. 1807; Galter 1987: 19 with previous literature; CAD *šēru* A discussion section). The winged lion-bull quadruped described in the Göttertypentext is reminiscent of Šin’s similar Neo-Assyrian mount (Maltai no. 3).

the gates to scare off intruders from beyond: the unruly twins “Struggle” and “Strife,” the winged female spirit Niziqtu “Grief,” and Himṭu “Zeal.” This protected but not uniformly pleasant agricultural domain is a representation of the ordered oecumene at the center of the universe, the opposite of the lawless periphery where the likes of Anzû and Bašmu once hatched their rebellious plans.

Two of the three main protagonists on this symbolic stage reveal themselves at a glance, not only by their complementary roles and positions as host and guest, but also by their complementary characters: Sassūr, the “Womb (Goddess)” with her baby, and Mūtu ‘Death’. Sassūrinnu ‘Womby’, situated right next to Sassūr, is qualified as a *laḥmi Tâmti*, a servant spirit of the Ocean (Tâmtu), and as such may have facilitated the baby’s journey from the Quay of Death, through the Ocean, to the Quay of Life, a well-known metaphor for the development of the foetus in the fluids of the womb, and for its ultimate arrival, birth, in the world of the living (Stol 2000: 10–11, 125). For his journey through the Ocean, Sassūrinnu is equipped with the lower body of a carp, a feature he shares with the guardian figures Fish-man (Kulullû) and Himṭu.

The next figure in the sequence confirms the space inside the walls as a symbolic representation of the world of the living. Amma[kur] is the doorwoman of Ereškigal, and as such lets the shades of the newly dead out of this world and into Hades, but never vice versa. The presence of a guarded gate between the netherworld outside and some other realm inside instantly identifies that other realm as that of the living. Amma[kur] has the lower body of an unspecified fish, perhaps because of a connection with the cosmic waters of Ocean and Apsû, which border on, or are identical with the netherworld.

The gated “wall” recurs in the descriptions of Strife and Struggle, the twin “servant spirits (*laḥmū*) of Heaven and Earth, and of Apsû, (who stand under supervision) of Ea” (19, 20, text conflated).²¹ From the descriptions of the two spirits it appears that they bar the passage they guard at the same time that they create it by separating Heaven and Earth (Fig. 3). Outside cosmological contexts, any separation of Heaven and Earth must take place at the horizon, the place where, for all to see, they are normally joined. Apsû refers to a

²¹ For a detailed discussion see Lambert 1985.

cosmic domain, the abode of Ea, and it is possible that the same word named, among others, this mythological horizon.

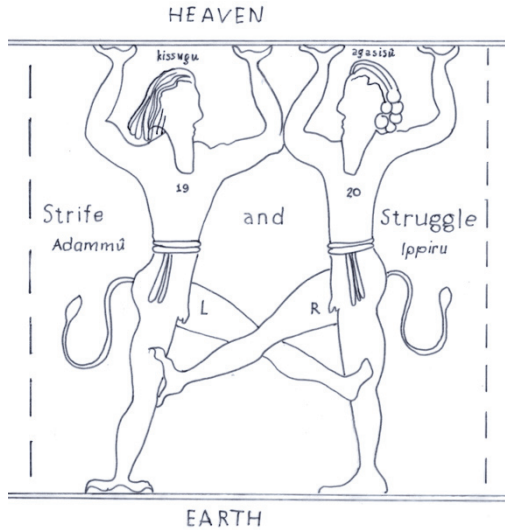


FIGURE 3 *The two servant spirits Strife (19) and Struggle (20) barring a gate while separating Heaven and Earth. Drawing abstracted from the descriptions, but not all details are accounted for.*

If the location of the quadrupeds [Dusk] and Dawn (14 and 18) has a bearing on the location of the gates, the gate of Strife and Struggle as well as the second gate in this “wall” are on the eastern horizon, while the gates in the opposite “wall” are on the western horizon.

On the symbolic stage sketched above, the baby being suckled by Sassūr the “Womb (goddess)” is the third and most important protagonist. Among the whole cabal of assorted gods, spirits, and miscreants, the baby is the only human around, and as such imposes itself on the human viewer as a model for identification.²² Looking at the tableau (or studying the text, as we do),

²² Some of the more elaborate Lamaštu amulets (like nos. 1 and 2) show a three-tier world: above, the symbols of the distant gods supervising the proceedings from afar; in the middle, the evil to be expelled and the human sufferer in his sick room; and below, the landscape through which the demoness travels back to the netherworld. The only human figure on the amulets immediately offers itself for identification with the real sick man in his real sickroom. By identifying himself with the sick man on the amulet, the sufferer is able to

the human viewer sees the baby's life and his own laid out in front of him: Sassūr facilitates the journey through Ocean and entry into this world, but she also receives Death at the baby shower, and thus accepts his legality. Her acts illustrate the dictum that "when the gods created mankind, for mankind they established death, life they kept for themselves" (George 2003: 279, iii 3–5). The viewer has no choice but to accept the conditions of life as they are offered to him, which includes Death.

6 The Separation Wall, the Horizon, and the Location of the Human Viewer

If the space inside the realm's gated walls represents the ordered oecumene with the human viewer projected in the middle, and if, moreover, the space outside its walls represents the lawless periphery against which he is protected by warrior gods and supernatural doormen, then the separation wall itself symbolizes the circle of mountains at the horizon, the ends of the earth in mythological geography, which was named, possibly, *Apsû*.²³

One temple has horizon imagery along its outer walls, the Kassite Ištar temple of Karaindaš in Uruk,²⁴ with its alternating mountain gods and spring goddesses executed in brick. For a visitor to this temple the space inside would transform into a symbolic oecumene, the center of the universe, and the enclosing walls into an image of the mythological horizon (Fig. 4).

The mountains and springs on this temple's walls are seen face to face in a horizontal plane, but what would a Mesopotamian draughtsman do with mountains if he wanted to picture the world from above? In the one example that we have, he did what could be expected and pushed the mountains into a horizontal plane.²⁵ The eight triangles in or on the Ocean of the *Mappa Mundi*²⁶ are usually viewed as eight triangular pieces of flat land, but the

understand his situation as a consequence of the supernatural interventions visualized in the images.

23 Reference could be made to the basin from the Assur temple in Assur (Ornan 2005: Abb. 102) featuring stream gods, and fish-*apkallu* drawing purification water from the sacred springs.

24 Jordan 1930: fig. 17 and fig. 15 (drawings); cf. Strommenger – Hirmer 1962: Abb. 170 (photo), and see also Heinrich 1982: Abb. 288, 297 (drawings).

25 Röllig 1983: 464 Abb. 1.

26 Horowitz 1998: 20–42.

present context suggests that they are rather eight mountains (or mountain districts) in or beyond the Ocean, together forming the “big wall” (*dūru rabû*) enclosing the oecumene, the “four banks” (*kibrāt erbetti*), two elements of cosmic geography mentioned in the text accompanying the map.

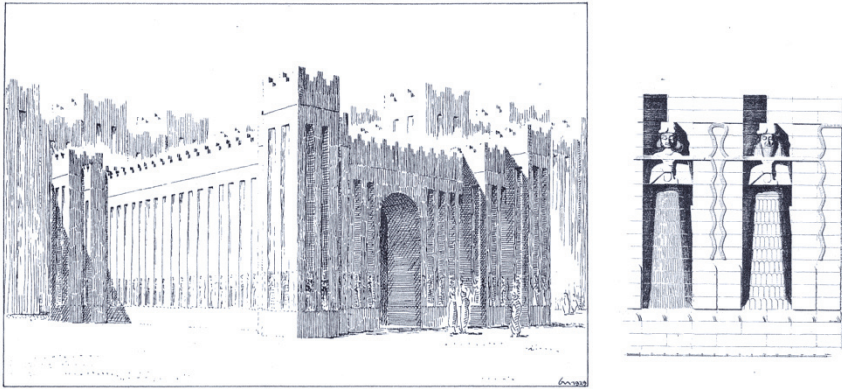


FIGURE 4 *Horizon landscape on the walls of a Kassite temple: a never-ending sequence of mountain gods and stream goddesses encircling the visitor and the sacred space inside the temple.*

(Jordan 1930: figs. 17 and 15, cf. photo Strommenger – Hirmer 1962: 170).

In temples the visitor is represented by himself, while his relation to the images is defined by the three-dimensional space accommodating him and them; in the flat world of the seals, the seal owner is often absent among the images, but in actual reality he is always present as himself, the “bearer of the seal,” and as such may be relatable to the imagery in which he is absent. Mountains and springs occur on a number of Kassite seals on which, unlike the GöttertYPentext, no human being offers himself to the viewer for identification. A mountains-and-springs scene like that on a late Kassite seal from Thebes (Fig. 5) cannot be cut up to form a single finite landscape seen as if through a window, but, to become complete, must be rolled on and on continuously until the end reaches the beginning, until the circle is full, and the viewer is enclosed by the circular shield of the mythological horizon, as he was in the world of the GöttertYPentext, the temple of Ištar in Uruk, and on the Mappa Mundi.



FIGURE 5 *Horizon landscape on a Kassite seal: a never ending sequence of mountain gods, sacred trees, and fish-men encircling the seal owner and his world.*
(Drawing Wiggermann, cf. photo Porada 1981: 51–53 no. 27).

7 Inventory of Figures and Provisional Classification

Name and gender		Horned polos or Hair knot		Wings	Form	Classification			
1	[Girtab]lullû	m	[...]	[x]	[mixed]	monster-spirit			
2	^d Damu	šût ^d Gula	m	polos	knot	–	human	major deity	
3	Illab[rat]	m	–	–	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit	
4	Hala[...]	m	cap	knot	–	–	human	?	
5	Ma[...]	m	cap	–	–	–	human	?	
6	^d Ninurta	m	polos	knot	–	–	human	major deity	
7	[...]	m	–	–	[x]	–	mixed	monster-spirit	
8	^d [M]ütum	m	polos	[knot?]	[x]	–	human	major deity	
9	[^d Enk]imdu	m	cap	knot	–	–	mixed	minor deity	
10	^d U[gall]u	m	–	–	–	–	mixed	minor deity	
11	[...]	[x]	–	–	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit	
12	[...]	[x]	[x]	–	–	–	[x]	?	
13	[...]-a-[...]	m	[x]	–	–	–	mixed	?	
14	^d [Ḫurri?]	m	–	–	[x]	–	mixed	minor deity	
15	^d Šassur	šût Dingirmaḫ	f	cap	knot	–	–	mixed	minor deity
16	Sassurinnu	šût ^d Ea	m	horns (like <i>bašmu</i>)	–	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit

	Name and gender		Horned polos or cap Hair knot	Wings	Form	Classification
17	^d Amma[kur] Ereškigal	šüt f	cap, gazelle's horns	–	mixed	minor deity
18	^d Šeru	m	cap, bull's horns	+	mixed	minor deity
19	Adammû laḥmu	šüt ^d Ea m	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit (abstraction)
20	Ippiru laḥmu	šüt ^d Ea m	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit (abstraction)
21	^d Ensimaḥ	m	polos knot	–	mixed	minor deity
22	Ḫimṭu	šüt ^d Ea m	horns (like <i>bašmu</i>)	–	mixed	monster-spirit (abstraction)
23	Laḥmu	šüt ^d Gula m	–	+	mixed	monster-spirit
24	^d Tišpak	m	polos knot	–	human	major deity
25	Kulullû	šüt ^d Ea m	–	–	mixed	monster-spirit
26	Niziqtu	f	cap, but bull's horns	+	mixed	monster-spirit (abstraction)
27	Tiruru	f	cap	+	mixed	monster-spirit

Four groups of supernatural beings can be distinguished: great gods, major deities, minor deities, and monster-spirits. Six supernatural beings remain unclassified.

1. Four great gods are mentioned in the description of other deities or spirits as their supervisors (DN₁ šüt DN₂ 'DN₁ from among those of DN₂'), but not themselves represented by an image. Ea, Gula, and Dingirmaḥ may or may not have been represented by their regular symbols, the ram-staff, the dog, and the omega-symbol respectively. Ereškigal does not have a symbol, is never depicted in any form, and is not normally venerated on earth, so presumably she was where she belonged, in the netherworld.

- Five or six šüt ^dEa:²⁷ Sassürinnu (16, *laḥmi tâmti*), Adammû (19, *laḥmu*, *kissugu* head), Ippiru (20, *laḥmu* with *agasisû*), Ḫimṭu (22, *laḥmu*),

²⁷ Except Kulullû (25) and perhaps Illab[rat], all beings working under ^dEa are called *laḥmu*. The Laḥmu (23) working under ^dGula is a dog-man hybrid (similar to the Uridimmu), and thus has a special relation with his mistress, the dog Goddess; neither Damu, also working under Gula, nor the beings working under Dingirmaḥ or ^dEreškigal are called *laḥmu*. The conclusion must be that the term *laḥmu* in this text does not describe a being's appearance ("hairy one"), but his function as a special kind of servant of a higher deity, especially ^dEa, but also (once) Gula. I suspect that the neologism *kissugu* denotes both the naked male

Kullullû (25, *kissugu* head, not called *laḥmu*), Illabrat (3, *kissugu* head with additional dog's ears [not called *laḥmu*]; might be among the *šūt* Ea, but the available space seems too small for the restoration).

- Two *šūt* ^dGula: ^dDamu (2), *Laḥmu* (23).
- One *šūt* Dingirmaḥ: ^dSassūr(NIN.TU) (15).
- One *šūt* ^dEreškigal: ^dAmma[kur] (17).

2. Four major deities are defined by the divine determinative, the horned polos (*šukūsu*), and human form.

3. Seven minor deities are defined by the divine determinative (in one case restored), the horned cap (*kubšu*), and a mixed animal-human form. ^dEnsimah (21) must be placed in between the major and the minor deities because he has the divine determinative and wears the horned polos like the major deities, but has a mixed animal-human form like the minor gods; ^dU[gallu] (10) and ^d[Ḫurri?]²⁸ (14) have the divine determinative but lack the horned cap, and must be placed in between the minor deities and the monster-spirits.

4. Twelve monster-spirits are defined by lacking the divine determinative, and having an animal-human form; four among them are personified abstractions that do not occur elsewhere as such (*Adammû*, *Ippiru*, *Himṭu*, *Niziqtu*).

8 Order and Disorder

The supervision of the great gods, Ea, Gula, Dingirmaḥ, and Ereškigal, shows that the gods and spirits of the Göttertypentext did not operate in a void. The pantheon is far from complete, however, the most conspicuous absentees being the seniors Anu and Enlil; the heavenly bodies Šin, Šamaš, and Ištar; and the weather god Adad. There is an oblique reference to Enlil in Ninurta's defeat of his challenger Anzû, and another, perhaps, to the passage of the heavenly bodies in the names of the two colossi [Dusk] (West) and Dawn (East) (14, 18).

upper body with a human head and thick flowing hair, *and* just the human head with thick flowing hair, while a second neologism, *agasisû*, denotes the traditional *laḥmu* hairdo with six curls, named his "regular (si-sá) crown" (*aga*).

²⁸ Köcher 1953: 100 iii 37'; duplicate CTN 4, 141, iii' 10'-13'.

Only the oecumene is treated in detail, but all other cosmic realms are accounted for: Heaven and Earth, the Netherworld, Apsû (Horizon²), and Tâmtu. The great gods supervise life in the oecumene: entry into the world is made possible by Dingirmaḥ's supervision of the womb goddess; exit to the netherworld by Ereškigal's supervision of her doorwoman Amma[kur]; cure of diseases by Gula's supervision of her son, the healing god Damu. Ea's contributions to human life should be white magic, the complement of healing, but the role of his servants is not exactly clear.

Evil, or rather disorder, is represented by Anzû and Bašmu, who are named, but not described. They are kept in check by the warriors of the gods of order, Ninurta and Tišpak, while the great god of order himself is absent.

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