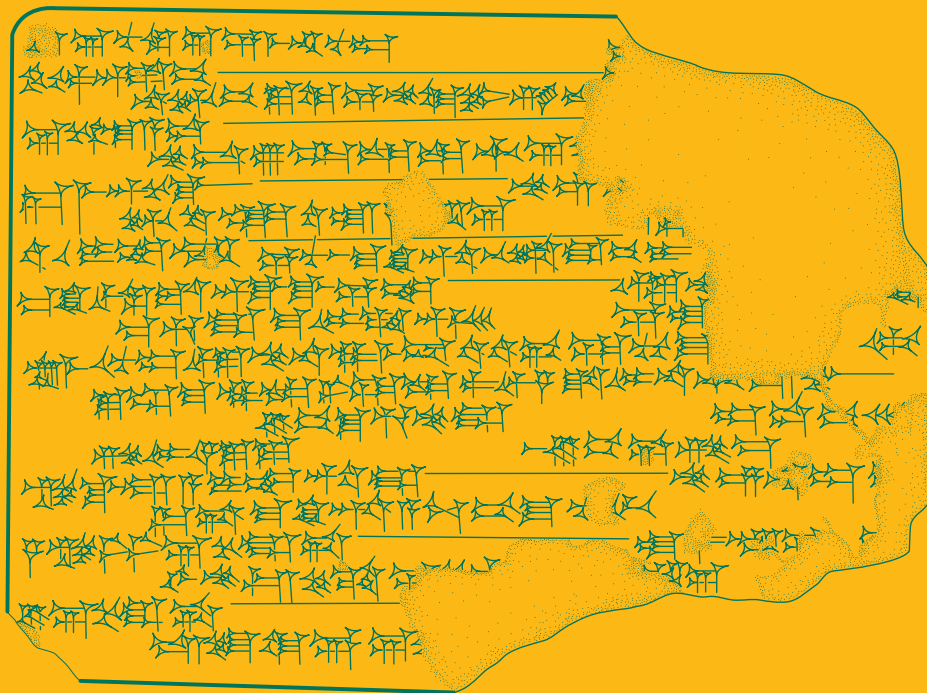


Texte und Materialien der Hilprecht Collection 13

Enrique Jiménez

Middle and Neo-Babylonian Literary Texts in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, Jena



Harrassowitz Verlag

Texte und Materialien

der Frau Professor

Hilprecht Collection

of Babylonian Antiquities

im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Herausgegeben von
Manfred Krebernik

Band 13

2022

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Enrique Jiménez

Middle and Neo-Babylonian
Literary Texts in the Frau Professor
Hilprecht Collection, Jena

2022

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Cover: HS 1948 (No. 8), drawing by E. Jiménez



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 (BY-SA) which means that the text may be used for commercial use, distribution and duplication in all media.

For details go to: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <https://www.dnb.de/>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website
<https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

© by author.

Published by Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2022

ISSN 0232-3001

eISSN 2751-7713

DOI: 10.13173/0232-3001



ISBN 978-3-447-11881-1

eISBN 978-3-447-39297-6

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811



Vorwort des Herausgebers

Der vorliegende Band erschließt eine bislang vernachlässigte und größtenteils unpublizierte Abteilung der Hilprecht-Sammlung. Dass diese Texte so lange unediert blieben, dürfte u. a. darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass sie überwiegend fragmentarisch erhalten und stellenweise sehr schwer zu lesen sind, weshalb auch die Identität der meisten unbekannt blieb.

Der Band geht auf das Interesse des Autors Enrique Jiménez an Neubabylonischen literarischen Texten zurück, die denn auch den Grundbestandteil der hier edierten Texte bilden. Im Zuge der Bearbeitung kamen sukzessive verwandte und ähnliche, auch mittelbabylonische, Texte hinzu. Enrique Jiménez, einer der besten Kenner der Babylonischen Literatur, hat sich der mühevollen, aber – wie sich zunehmend herausstellte – auch lohnenden Editionsarbeit in sorgfältigster Weise angenommen. Exemplarisch ist er dabei auch ausführlich auf die Frage der Fundstellen der Texte und auf die Vorgeschichte der Hilprecht-Sammlung eingegangen, wobei er als einer der ersten Wissenschaftler den umfangreichen Nachlass Hilprechts nutzte, dessen Jenaer Teil in den vorausgehenden Jahren mit Unterstützung des Berliner Max-Planck-Instituts für Wissenschaftsgeschichte digitalisiert und katalogisiert worden war. Ich danke Enrique Jiménez herzlich für sein großes Engagement sowie für die produktive und lehrreiche Zusammenarbeit.

Alle Texte wurden von Frau Hannah Bayer BA, Universität Jena, für die vorliegende Edition erstmals bzw. neu photographiert. Ihr sei ebenfalls an dieser Stelle nochmals herzlich für ihr Interesse an dieser Aufgabe und die gute Zusammenarbeit gedankt.

Finanziert wurde der Band zu gleichen Teilen aus Lehrstuhlmitteln des Autors und des Herausgebers.

Jena, im August 2022



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.v

© by the author

Acknowledgements

This book owes much to the initiative of M. Krebernik, who first suggested that all still unpublished first-millennium literary tablets from Jena should be edited under a yellow cover, and later persuaded the author into including also all unpublished Middle Babylonian tablets. The texts edited were selected together with Krebernik during several visits to Jena, some of them (Nos. 10, 12, and 25) had been found by him in the course of his reorganization of the Hilprecht collection over the last decades. Krebernik also made it possible for the conservator C. Gütschow to conserve every tablet in this volume, which has enabled a much more satisfactory decipherment of many of the texts. In addition, Krebernik enlisted the photographer H. Bayer, who produced the splendid photographs used in the plates of the book. Many aspects of the editions have, moreover, benefited from Krebernik's observations and corrections, as acknowledged in the textual notes.

A great debt of gratitude is due to U. Gabbay, who read every edition in this book and contributed many original ideas to some of the most obscure passages. While his suggestions on individual matters are acknowledged in the textual notes below, it must be emphasized that his influence goes beyond philological minutiae: in particular, some of the broader ideas espoused in the introduction (§§ 1–2) were developed in the course of correspondence and conversations with him.

J. Peterson was kind enough to share his collection of photographs of Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur, the fruit of many years of painstaking work, which has been extensively used for this volume. A. A. Fadhil has kindly made available many photos taken by him in the Iraq Museum and given his permission to cite some still unpublished tablets from the Sippar Library. A. Westenholz has been instrumental in guiding the author through the intricacies of the documentation of the early Nippur excavations (see §3): it is a pleasure to acknowledge the debt to his Nippur digitized platform, and to him personally for his many suggestions and corrections. M. Frazer read the volume, corrected many mistakes, and contributed to some of the ideas developed in the introductory sections.

Texts No. 1 and 3, arguably the most important in the volume, were read in two meetings of the “London Cuneiform”; the improvements made by the participants of that *congregatio pro doctrina* are acknowledged in the textual notes below. T. Mitto provided ideas for some of the bilingual texts (in particular No. 8), and Y. Cohen and H. Stadhouders commented on Nos. 31 and 1, respectively. A. Bartelmus kindly answered several queries relating to Middle Babylonian school tablets.

The work in Jena has been greatly facilitated by the hospitality of M. Krebernik, J. de Ridder, J. Hackl, and A. Heinrich. Tablets in the British Museum are published by permission of the Trustees of the same; those in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology by the consent of Steve Tinney and Philip Jones. Thanks are expressed to Grant Frame, Josh Jeffers, and Krisztián Simkó for some last-minute pho-



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.vii

© by the author

tographs and collations of tablets in the Penn Museum and the British Museum. A photograph by Jeffers is reproduced here on pl. 25 by kind permission of the author.

The book was written in the context of the “electronic Babylonian Literature” project, funded by a Sofja Kovalevskaja Award of the Humboldt Foundation. Thanks are expressed to the project’s host at LMU, K. Radner, for her unabated support. The data produced in the framework of the project, and in particular its Fragmentarium, have been key for the decipherment of many of the tablets, and instrumental for finding almost all duplicates included here. The members of the eBL project (Zs. Földi, E. Gogokhia, A. Häntinen, A. Heinrich, T. Mitto, F. Müller, J. Peterson, G. Rozzi, L. Sáenz, H. Stadhouders, and J. Taniguchi) deserve the discipline’s heartfelt gratitude: even if the nature of their contributions is such that is difficult to acknowledge in detail, every user of the eBL platform will recognize at once its usefulness for the decipherment and reconstruction of Mesopotamian literature.

Contents

Vorwort des Herausgebers	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
1. Nippur in the Course of Time.....	2
2. Nippur as a Center of Cuneiform Scholarship.....	8
3. The Nippur Excavations and the Hilprecht Collection	12
4. Social Context.....	19
5. School.....	21
Catalogue of Tablets Edited.....	31
I. Literature.....	33
No. 1: HS 1941 and Duplicates, Blessings for a King.....	35
No. 2: HS 1916, The Exaltation of Ištar III (Bilingual <i>šū'ila</i> -prayer).....	69
No. 3: HS 1919+ HS 1936, A Wisdom Monologue.....	75
II. Magic.....	95
No. 4: HS 1887, Middle Babylonian Prayer to Marduk (forerunner to <i>BMS 12</i>).....	97
No. 5: HS 1888, A List of Appurtenances for a Ritual	107
No. 6: HS 1889, Middle Babylonian Anti-witchcraft Incantation.....	113
No. 7: HS 1934+ CBS 14075, Bilingual Incantation (<i>Udughul IX</i> and <i>Zipad</i>).....	117
No. 8: HS 1948, Bilingual Incantation (Consecration of a Priest).....	125
No. 9 // 10: HS 1927 // HS 2156, Amulets	137
III. Divination	141
No. 11: HS 1923, <i>Iqqur ipuš</i> , General Series (§§ 94–96, 103–104).....	143
No. 12: HS 1951, Extispicy, Finger (Middle Assyrian)	149
No. 13: HS 2941, Extispicy, Lungs	159
No. 14: HS 1933, Enūma Anu Enlil “57” (= 60).....	163
No. 15: HS 1945, <i>Šumma kittabru</i> (ŠE) for Women	171
No. 16: HS 1947, <i>Iqqur ipuš</i> , Monthly Series (VIII Month)	175
IV. School Tablets.....	183
No. 17: HS 1890, Hymn to Ištar and Lexical Excerpt.....	185
No. 18: HS 1892, Tamarisk and Palm.....	189
No. 19: HS 1895, Bilingual School Dialogue and Lexical Excerpt.....	193
No. 20: HS 1896, Bilingual Text and Lexical Excerpt.....	201
No. 21: HS 1898, Extispicy (Front of the Pouch).....	205
No. 22: HS 1899, Extispicy (Coils).....	209



No. 23: HS 1905, Curses and Lexical Excerpt	211
No. 24: HS 1910, Sumerian Wisdom and Lexical Excerpt	217
No. 25: HS 2943, Historical Epic and Lexical Excerpt.....	221
No. 26: HS 1914, Incantation (Type 2).....	225
No. 27: HS 1921, Incantation (Type 2).....	233
No. 28: HS 1925 (Type 1)	237
No. 29: HS 1935, Incantation (Type 2).....	241
No. 30: HS 1938+ HS 1939 (Type 1)	245
No. 31: HS 1943, Incantation and <i>Šimá milka</i> (Type 2).....	249
No. 32: HS 1946, Magical and Lexical Incipits.....	257
V. Uncertain	261
No. 33: HS 1906, Ritual (?)	263
Index of Abbreviations.....	267
Bibliography	271
Glossary.....	307
<i>Proper Nouns</i>	307
<i>Sumerian Words</i>	310
<i>Akkadian Words</i>	313
Index of Tablets Copied	329
Plates	331

Introduction

The present volume contains editions of all previously unpublished Middle and Neo-Babylonian non-administrative, non-lexical tablets in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.¹ A total of thirty-three tablets are edited,² from the second (fifteen) and first (eighteen) millennia BCE, containing literary (three), magic (eight), divinatory (six), and school tablets with excerpts chiefly from lexical and magic compositions (sixteen). In addition, duplicates and parallels from other collections are also included. The book thus covers one of the most important gaps in the publication of the Hilprecht collection,³ and indeed in the textual documentation of Nippur, a city in which post-Old Babylonian literary manuscripts are still rare, in particular when compared with the scores of Old Babylonian literary tablets found there (see §2 below).

In his report of the first two Nippur campaigns, J. P. Peters predicted: “It will be many years before the immense amount of inscribed material excavated by these expeditions (...) has been published, or even rendered accessible to scholars.”⁴ The mass of tablets found during the pre-war excavations in Nippur (1888–1900), currently estimated at around 54,000,⁵ is still very far from completely published. This means that several periods in the history of Nippur are poorly known: some genres are, in fact, better attested in tablets from Nineveh or Uruk, whose colophons declare them to be copies of Nippur originals, than in the city of Enlil.⁶ The publication of the “immense amount” of already

1 Tablets of exclusively lexical contents are not included, since they are scheduled to appear in a future volume in the *TMH* series.

2 In the preliminary inventory submitted by B. Landsberger and H. Zimmern to the president of the Universität Jena on 7th June 1926 (Zimmern/Landsberger 1926), it is reported that the collection contained 64 literary texts in Neo-Babylonian script (see also Zimmern 1926, 225, who counts “rund 65 Stück” of “neubabylonische literarische Texte, Vokabulare usw.”). The number appears to be far too high, even if the lexical tablets are included. Two explanations seem possible: either some of the tablets examined by Landsberger and Zimmern were lost during World War II (see fn. 110 below), or, in their cursory examination of the contents of the collec-

tion, they classified several extraneous tablets as literary Neo-Babylonian.

3 Oelsner 1985, 50 and 1991, 64 mentions “die literarischen Texte in akkadischer Sprache” as one of the “größere[n] Gruppen” of texts from the Hilprecht collection “deren Publikation noch aussteht.”

4 Peters 1897a, viii.

5 On the exact number of tablets discovered by the Babylonian Expedition, see Hilprecht 1903, 162, 295–296; *id.* 1908, 40, 58; Tinney 2011, 368–369; and Clayden 2016, 2.

6 This is the case, for instance, of astrological tablets: while Nippur may have been known to Pliny as one of the centers of “Chaldean teaching” (so Oelsner 1971; 1982a), very few astrological tablets have been found in the city. In contrast, several astrological tablets from Nineveh declare



excavated, but still unpublished material will probably change the picture and restore Nippur to the fame it seems to have enjoyed in ancient times.

1. Nippur in the Course of Time

The goal of this section is to review the historical circumstances in which the tablets edited in this volume were produced, and the contribution of the same to the understanding of these circumstances. This contribution will be modest, since the tablets contain mostly traditional literature whose composition is notoriously difficult to date, and only a few of them contain a colophon, as studied in §4.

The volume contains chiefly tables from Nippur found in the course of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (1888–1900). A smaller group comprises tablets acquired by H. V. Hilprecht from antiquities dealers. Given the poor recording methods of the Nippur excavators, almost none of the tablets edited here can be ascribed to a clear archaeological context (§3). For this reason, both the tablets from Nippur and those acquired from dealers can only be dated on the basis of internal criteria, such as prosopographic, paleographic, and linguistic considerations. On these criteria, the following groups can be established:

1. Tablets from Nippur
 - a. Middle Babylonian: Nos. 4–6, 7–9, 11, 13,⁷ 17–25
 - b. Neo-Babylonian: Nos. 1–3, 14–15, 26–33
2. Miscellaneous Tablets
 - a. Middle Assyrian: No. 12 (Assur or Nineveh)
 - b. (Early) Neo-Babylonian: No. 16 (Northern Babylonia)
 - c. Late Babylonian: No. 10 (Babylon or Borsippa)

Only two of the tablets are dated (see also §4):

- | | |
|--------|---|
| No. 7 | 21-V-4 th year of Sargon (i.e. 706 BCE) |
| No. 16 | 30-II-2 nd /4 th /5 th year of Nabû-šumu-iškun ((760)–748 BCE) |

As is well known, the distribution of the cuneiform documentation in Nippur is rather spotty. According to the traditional view, Nippur was entirely abandoned at some point in the reign of Samsuiluna (1749–1712 BCE) due to a drastic change in the watercourses in the region.⁸ This explanation, which had already been challenged in the past,⁹ is now proven wrong thanks to the publication of the archives of Dūr-abī-Ešuḫ, the name of two fortresses that hosted some of Nippur's population, in particular some of the clergy of the Ekur, between the reigns of Abī-ešuḫ and Samsuditana (ca. 1708–1613 BCE).¹⁰ The archives show that Nippur itself and its sanctuaries were not abandoned until at least the

in their colophons to be copies of Nippur originals (see already Hilprecht 1903, 530; 1908, 182).

7 A Nippur provenance is not secured in this case.

8 Thus e.g. Stone 1977; Gibson 1992, 42–46; *id.*, 1993, 8–13; and Cole 1996, 11–12.

9 See Gabbay/Boivin 2018, 38a and Dalley 2020, 12–13, with previous literature.

10 Abraham/Van Lerberghe 2009, 2 and Charpin 2018, 185.

reign of Ammišaduqa (1646–1626 BCE).¹¹ A more nuanced view of the end of the Old Babylonian period in Nippur, in which hydrological issues still play a central role,¹² is starting to emerge. In any case, pending new discoveries, documentation in the whole of Babylonia dries out at the end of Samsuditana’s reign (1625–1595 BCE), following the fall of Babylon to the Hittites,¹³ and thus begins one of the “dark” ages in Mesopotamian history, which lasted well over a century.¹⁴ In Nippur, textual documentation starts to reappear around 1400 BCE: the overwhelming majority of the Middle Babylonian tablets from Nippur, which represent ca. 75–80% of all known Middle Babylonian tablets, come from the short period spanning the reigns of Burna-buriaš II to Kaštiliašu (IV), i.e. 1359–1225 BCE.¹⁵

The Middle Babylonian tablets edited in this volume can be dated, on epigraphical and linguistic grounds, to this “five-generation span”¹⁶ between the mid-fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷ In particular the Middle Babylonian school tablets afford us a window onto the transmission of the Old Babylonian corpus into later periods, which the scarcity of “library” manuscripts from this period (see §2) prevents us from following. Some compositions attested in the Old Babylonian period, but which are essentially unknown in the first millennium, can now be shown to have still been in circulation in the second half of the second millennium BCE: thus, the disputation *Tamarisk and Palm* (No. 18).¹⁸

Most texts excerpted, however, are Old Babylonian or older in origin, and would later be transmitted into the first millennium: in Middle Babylonian tablets, they display an intermediate form between the Old and Neo-Babylonian versions, although they are much closer to the “canonical” first-millennium version than to the Old Babylonian “fore-runners.” Thus, the excerpts of the lexical lists *Harra* and *An VIII* in No. 19 are identical, except for some spelling divergencies, to the versions known chiefly from 7th-century Nineveh; the excerpts of extispicy in Nos. 21 and 22 are very close to the “canonical” versions of *Tīrānū* and *Pān tākalti* as known in first-millennium Assyria and Babylonia,

11 Abraham/Van Lerberghe 2009, 7; George 2009, 136–142; Abraham/Van Lerberghe 2017, 166–167 no. 205.

12 Abraham/Van Lerberghe 2009, 4–6; Abraham/Van Lerberghe 2017, 4–8.

13 On the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, see van Koppen 2017, 70–74; Gabbay/Boivin 2018, 35–40; and Richardson 2019, 215–218, all with abundant references to previous literature.

14 Note, however, the archive dated to the kings of the Sealand Dynasty that reigned immediately after Samsuditana’s reign published by Dalley (2009), which probably stems from a site in the vicinity of Nippur (Dalley 2020, 16–18). Dalley 2020, 13–14 and 18–19 explains the apparent lack of textual documentation in the subsequent dark age as due to a generalized switch to perishable writing materials.

15 Brinkman 1976, 76; *id.* 2004, 287; Bartelmus 2016a, 14; Brinkman 2017, 1–3, 33–34; Paulus 2022, 805–806. The recent publication of texts from a town near Nippur, called in antiquity perhaps Dūr-Enlilē (so van Soldt 2015, 29–30 and Devecchi 2020, 17–20) has not changed this picture, since the tablets range in date between Burna-Buriaš II (1359–1333 BCE) and Meli-Šipak (1186–1172 BCE).

16 Thus Brinkman 2017, 33.

17 Note, however, that this datation can be established mainly through comparison with the known Nippur material, as excerpted in Fossey’s epigraphy (Fossey 1926) and van Soldt’s studies (in particular van Soldt 2020).

18 In some cases, the texts excerpted are otherwise unknown: thus, a few lines from the curse section of an unknown late Old Babylonian or early Kassite inscription are copied on No. 23.

although not entirely identical.¹⁹ An excerpt that might belong to the *Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sin* (No. 25) and a bilingual school dialogue (No. 19) can be added to these middle versions of Old Babylonian texts, which were transmitted into the first-millennium BCE.

The last third of the second millennium BCE is frequently regarded as a critical point in the formation of the Mesopotamian literary tradition: according to the much-cited view of W. von Soden (1953, 22), this was the “vielleicht schöpferischste Periode der babylonischen Literatur.” A great deal of the creative activities that occurred at this time seem to have taken place in Nippur. For instance, the *Uruk List of Kings and Sages* state that the two sages Gimil-Gula and Taqīš-Gula, known from other sources to hail from Nippur, lived during the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282 BCE).²⁰ The *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* ascribes to Taqīš-Gula several works, the most important of which is the epic known as the *Exaltation of Ištar*,²¹ which narrates the promotion of the goddess to the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon. This text, now attested also in a manuscript from Nippur (No. 2), its ostensible place of composition, is known only on first-millennium manuscripts, a period in which the epic became particularly popular in the city of Uruk. The creations of this period, therefore, had a long-lasting influence on the Mesopotamian literary tradition.

The new compositions of this time reflect the spirit of the period. In particular, the cult of Marduk seems to have extended to late Old Babylonian and Middle-Babylonian Nippur: as a theophoric element in the Nippur onomastics, the name is “unexpectedly common,”²² far more so than Enlil; and the topography of the Nippur region in this period frequently refers to Marduk.²³ In the first millennium, the traditions of Nippur and Babylon are strongly divided: texts with Babylon theology such as *Enūma eliš* are fundamentally unknown in Nippur, and the onomastics typically reflect the theology of the city from which the person hails. In contrast, in the second millennium Babylon and its gods often appear in Nippur texts: for instance, the “Games Text” (HS 1893; Kilmer 1991 and *TMH* NF 12, 4), a Middle Babylonian text from Nippur, contains a hymn to

19 As noted by Heeßel (2011b, 192), comparison between Middle Babylonian and first-millennium versions of extispicy omnia integrated into the first-millennium *Tirānū* subseries reveals that “spät Kassitischen Opferschau-Texte [sind] den serialisierten Texten des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. weitaus ähnlicher, als den altbabylonischen Opferschau-Texten, die sich in Aufbau, Länge und Anordnung der Omnia noch sehr voneinander unterscheiden.”

20 Jiménez 2020b. On the literary activities that took place during the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš, see also Frazer 2013 and Földi 2019a.

21 Lambert 1962, 64 §IV l. 7; see also eBL edition (Mitto 2022, c+6–c+9).

22 So Tenney 2016, 161–162; see also Sommerfeld 1982, 202–214; Cole 1996, 19 fn. 75; and Bartelmus 2017, 274.

23 See Sommerfeld 1982, 214. Hilprecht 1903, 480 thought that the Marduk-theophoric names of the walls of Nippur (Imgur-Marduk and Nemet-Marduk, so called at least since the Isin II Dynasty) could not be the original ones, since one would have expected Enlil to be named in them: “The mere fact that both names contain as an element Marduk, the supreme god of Babylon, who, in connection with the rise of the first dynasty of Babylon (...) gradually took the place of Bēl of Nippur [i.e. Enlil], indicates that they cannot represent the earliest designations of the two walls.” On the names of the walls of Babylon (Imgur-Enlil and Nemet-Enlil) and Nippur and their implications for the Marduk-Enlil syncretism, see Sommerfeld 1982, 185 fn. 1; George 1997b, 69; and Tenney 2016, 161.

the city of Babylon and the games played therein; a long and elaborate prayer to Marduk on a manuscript from Middle Babylonian Nippur is published here as text No. 4.²⁴ Both cities and their patron gods seem to have coexisted peacefully in the second millennium BCE. In fact, it has been suggested that Marduk and Enlil were syncretized in Middle Babylonian Nippur.²⁵ A bilingual text of possible Middle Babylonian origin may reflect this syncretism:

ù ĝá-e^{r^{d1}}+ [en-líl ...-ĝ]ál-la^d amar-utu-k[e₄]
^{r^{d1}}+ [en-ki ...] x-ke₄ šu-gal-an-zu tùn šu dí-m-ma
 a-na-ku-ma^{d+e} [n²-líl^f ...] nap-ĥar eršeti(KI-ti) marūtuk(^dAMAR.UTU)
^{r^{d1}}é-a pa-ti-iq nišī(UN^{mes}) [... p]a-ĥa-ru ba-nu-ú ka-la-ma

I am E[nlil, ...] of the entire earth, Marduk;
 Ea, creator of the people, [... p]otter, creator of everything.²⁶

★★

For all its influence on the formation of the canon, and on the shaping of the Nippur texts that would be incorporated into the general Mesopotamian school curriculum in the first millennium BCE, the Kassite period ended somewhat abruptly in Nippur. If the early 13th century saw Nippur at the peak of its size, for the first time outgrowing its Ur III dimensions,²⁷ the latter part of that century saw the abandonment of almost the entire city except for the temple district,²⁸ with a subsequent occupational gap that lasts until the 8th century BCE.²⁹ While the immediate cause of the abandonment may have been the Elamite and Assyrian raids in the last third of the 13th century,³⁰ the underlying, structural reason was perhaps, again, hydrological: as first suggested by Brinkman, a shift of the Euphrates may have caused a drought that made life in the city all but impossible, at least on the same scale as before.³¹ Textual documentation in the subsequent centuries is scarce:³² one of the few surviving documents is the inscription of Simbar-Šipak (1025–1008 BCE) dedicating a throne to Enlil, known only in first-millennium copies.³³ A long composition invoking the blessings of several gods upon the king (No. 1), one of whose manuscripts probably comes from the same archive as one of the manuscripts of the Simbar-Šipak inscription, may well also have originated in this period.³⁴

24 Conversely, the *Gula Hymn*, written by Bullussa-rabi, “the exorcist, scholar of Babylon” (Földi 2019a), is a text whose theology has been called “distinctly Nippurian” (Heinrich 2019, 86).

25 See e.g. Cole 1996, 19; George 1997b, 68–69; Tenney 2016, 161.

26 BM 72030 (Lambert 1992, 125–126) // K.2356 (BA 5, 388) // K.14828 // K.19548, eBL transliteration. A full edition of this text will be published by T. Mitto, who has also identified it as one of the compositions attributed to Adapa in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*.

27 Armstrong 1989, 208. As Armstrong notes, this is the extension reflected in the

famous ‘Map of Nippur’ (HS 197, on which see Oelsner/Stein 2011 and Stein 2017, with previous literature).

28 Armstrong 1989, 220–223; Cole 1996, 13.

29 See the detail description in Armstrong 1989, 177–207.

30 See Armstrong 1989, 212–220; Cole 1996, 12.

31 Brinkman 1984b, 175–176; see also Armstrong 1989, 213–219; Cole 1996, 5, 13; Clayden/Schneider 2015, 352.

32 See the survey of documents in Cole 1996, 13 and Schneider 2017.

33 Goetze 1965; Brinkman 1991; Frame 1995, 71–73 B.3.1.1.

34 As argued in the introduction of that text.

Several centuries of almost complete silence in the form of a dearth of written sources follow this period, not only in Nippur but in Babylonia at large: first-millennium literary texts from Babylonia predating or contemporary with the great Assyrian libraries of Assur and Nineveh in the 8th and 7th century BCE are very rare. A handful of them belong to a Nippur archive that dates between 755 and 732 BCE.³⁵ Another one is tablet No. 16, a tablet perhaps from Babylon or Borsippa, dated to the reign of the Nabû-šumu-iškun (*ca.* 760–748 BCE), a reign often reputed in secondary literature to be a period of intense scholarly activity.³⁶ Tablet No. 16 is, however, the only literary text hitherto known to date to the reign of that king.

In the 8th century, Nippur grew beyond the religious quarter for the first time in five hundred years, and by the second half of the 7th century the populated area again reached the Ur III and Kassite walls, thus becoming one of the largest cities in Babylonia.³⁷ This great expansion can be explained in part thanks to the patronage of the Assyrians. Nippur's relations with Assyria in the first millennium BCE were, however, far from straightforward: during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) and Sennacherib (704–681 BCE), Nippur changed allegiances several times, though remaining more or less consistently pro-Assyrian.³⁸ Tablet No. 7 is one of the earliest datable Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur, dated to the 4th year after Sargon II's conquest of Nippur (i.e., to 706/705 BCE). In the subsequent period, Nippur was the “most persistently rebellious of the Babylonian cities from 680 to 651.”³⁹ After this period, starting with the city's switch from the Babylonian to the Assyrian side at the beginning of the Šamaš-šumu-ukīn revolt (652–648 BCE), Nippur aligned itself with the Assyrians, and was in fact the last Babylonian city to continue to date texts to the reign of Assurbanipal after 646 BCE.⁴⁰ This relationship was beneficial for both parties: as discussed below (§2), Nippur, which exported tablets to Assyria already in the Middle Babylonian period, contributed decisively to Assyrian scholarship during the first millennium: a text like No. 1, a list of Nippur gods whose blessings upon the king are invoked, was copied in Assyria, as were other compositions steeped with Nippur theology,⁴¹ which were also occasionally imitated in Assyrian court literature.⁴²

During the first millennium BCE, other Southern Babylonian cities also betray a certain influence of Nippur theology, most prominently Uruk.⁴³ Conversely, while the pantheon of Nippur and Babylon were closely linked in the Middle Babylonian period, as discussed above, in the first millennium Nippur became virtually impervious to Babylon religion and religious literature: not a single manuscript of the ‘Marduk Syllabus’, i.e. the texts deeply imbued with Babylon theology included in the Babylon curriculum (such as

35 Edited by Cole 1996, nos. 114–124 (see van de Mierop 2016, 50).

36 See the introduction to No. 16.

37 Armstrong 1989, 231–232.

38 On the relationship of Nippur with the Assyrians during the Neo-Assyrian period, see Armstrong 1989, 234–240; Cole 1996, 69–80; and Pomponio 1997, 81–89.

39 So Brinkman 1984a, 107; but cf. Pomponio 1997, 87–88.

40 Brinkman 1984a, 106; Frame 1992, 192–195; Cole 1996, 79; Pomponio 1997, 83–84.

41 Such as ND 5592 = CTN 4, 190 (text [10] in the introduction to No. 1).

42 See e.g. the commentary on No. 1 l. 25.

43 On the influence of the Nippur theology upon Uruk in the first millennium BCE, see Frahm 2002, 88–94 and Gabbay 2017b, 288.

Enūma eliš, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, and the hymns *Marduk* I and II) is known from Nippur.⁴⁴ Babylon, however, had no such qualms about emulating, and occasionally appropriating, Nippur religious literature: most famously, the national Babylon epic is deeply infused with Nippur theology, and the national Babylon god, Marduk, is often equated with Enlil, or presented as a new version thereof.⁴⁵ The appropriation of the Nippur theology and its repurposing for the religion of Babylon, which seems to have taken place towards the turn of the second to the first millennium BCE, may have caused the disruption of the until then apparently peaceful coexistence of Marduk and Enlil, and the subsequent rejection in Nippur of all Babylon literary products.

The Neo-Babylonian period appears to have brought a certain contraction to the occupied area in Nippur, which would only timidly recover in the Achaemenid period.⁴⁶ Several archives were active in Nippur during the Achaemenid period, among them that of the Murašû firm (454–404 BCE).⁴⁷ Some of the archives include also non-administrative tablets: in fact, all datable commentary tablets from Nippur stem from this period.⁴⁸ This seems to have been a flourishing period for cuneiform scholarship in the city of Enlil: it is likely, but not certain, that some scholarly texts edited in this volume also date to this time, e.g. No. 15 and 33.

The Seleucid and Parthian periods witnessed the re-occupation of several neighborhoods of Nippur, in particular large sectors of the West Mounds.⁴⁹ The latest known cuneiform documents from Nippur, dated to the mid-second century BCE, indicate that the Ekur was still in use then:⁵⁰ after that date, Nippur is occasionally mentioned in astronomical diaries until probably the first century BCE.⁵¹ There seems to have been a small gap in occupation around the turn of the eras, before the arrival of the Parthians in the first century CE.⁵² In any case, the city continued to be rebuilt and inhabited after the death of cuneiform, and in fact reached one of the peaks in occupation during the Sassanian and early Abbasid eras (224–800 CE).⁵³

None of the texts from Nippur in this volume can be dated with certainty to the Hellenistic or Parthian period. The small clay amulet published as No. 10, whose pale-

44 Jiménez forthcoming. The only exception appears to be N 1868, identified by J. Peterson as a manuscript of *Marduk's Address to the Demons*, a text included in the large exorcistic series *Udughul* (see the eBL edition Peterson 2020). This aversion to Babylon literature did not exist, at least not to the same degree, in other Southern Babylonian cities such as Uruk and Ur, where manuscripts of Babylon texts are not uncommon before the Hellenistic period.

45 As shown by Lambert in two classic articles (1964; 1986)

46 Gibson 1992, 49–50.

47 On the Achaemenid archives from Nippur, see Zadok 1986; Joannès 1992;

Stolper 2001; and Jursa 2005, 110–116, all with further bibliography.

48 See Frahm 2011, 302–304 and Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 66–68.

49 See Oelsner 1986, 100–109 and Gibson 1992, 50–53

50 Compare the two documents from 154 and 152 BCE published by van der Spek 1992 (see also Oelsner 2002, 10, 21–22 and Westenholz 2007, 301).

51 See Zadok 1997a and Oelsner 2002, 17.

52 See Keall 1970, 45; Oelsner 1986, 109; and Westenholz 2007, 301–302.

53 Gibson 1992, 51–53. On Parthian-period Nippur, see also Hilprecht 1903, 501–508, 554–568; Geere 1904, 165–169; Keall 1970; Oelsner 2002, 21–22; and Westenholz 2007, 301–302.

ography suggests that it should be dated to the late Hellenistic or Parthian period, stems probably from Babylon or Borsippa.⁵⁴

2. Nippur as a Center of Cuneiform Scholarship

Many Akkadian literary works that circulated in the first millennium BCE were set in Nippur, and at least some of them were presumably composed in that city. This is the case of, for instance, the *Poor Man of Nippur*, the *Hymn to the Queen of Nippur*, and the *Series of the Fox*,⁵⁵ to name only a few emblematic examples. These texts have their Nippur setting and presumable origin in common, but they also share another feature: they are known essentially only from manuscripts found outside of Nippur, in both Assyria and Babylonia.

Many other examples of Nippur literature known chiefly in manuscripts outside of Nippur could be adduced: for instance, No. 1 in this volume, a text that calls a long list of Nippur gods to protect the king, and which is known in a single Nippur manuscript (HS 1941) and in several duplicates from Nineveh and Northern Babylonia. Another case is the *Nippur Compendium* (George 1992, 143–162), an explanatory text dealing with names, temples, and gods of Nippur, which is known in manuscripts from Uruk, Babylon/Borsippa, and Nineveh, and of which only a small, damaged piece from Nippur itself is known.⁵⁶ The wide acceptance of Nippur literature in all centers of cuneiform scholarship in the first-millennium BCE is remarkable, and starkly contrasts with the more limited circulation enjoyed by works from Babylon and Northern Babylonia, most of which were never copied in the South. The Babylon counterpart of the *Nippur Compendium*, for instance, the series *Tintir = Babylon*, is known exclusively on tablets from Northern Babylonia (Babylon, Borsippa, Kiš, Sippar) and from Assyria. In general terms, the Assyrians imported works from Northern and Southern Babylonia; the Northern Babylonians imported texts from the South; but scholarly imports to the South remained something of a rarity. Both in Assyria and Babylonia, Nippur-born literature circulated widely.

Particularly telling of the status of Nippur scholarship in first-millennium Mesopotamia are the many Nippur tablets that were found in collections outside of Nippur. Thus, the scholarly production of the Gimil-Sîn family, a family that styles itself as “Sumerian” (i.e., Nippurean),⁵⁷ and some of whose members were *něšakku*-priests of Enlil, is known from a dozen tablets, nearly all of them found outside of Nippur.⁵⁸ One of the tablets (*SpTU* 3, 67) was written by an apprentice (^{lu}šÁMAN.<LÁ>) of the Urukean Gimil-Nanāya family,

54 As discussed in the introduction to the edition.

55 The eBL Editions of these texts have the numbers L I.11, L II.10, and L III.6, respectively. Printed editions include Gurney 1956 and Ottervanger 2005 (*Poor Man*); Lambert 1982 (*Queen of Nippur*); and Lambert 1960a, 186–209 and Kienast 2003 (*Fox*; s. also Jiménez 2017a, 39–57 and text No. 3).

56 UM 55-21-41 (2NT 194; unpubl., identified by J. Peterson and E. Jiménez). Similarly the *Name Book*, known only in a tablet from Nineveh (K.4426; 5R 44), is probably also a Nippur composition (so Frazer 2016).

57 On the use of the gentilic “Sumerian” in Nippur colophons with the meaning “Nippurean,” see Oelsner 1982b; George 1992, 162; and Frahm 2011, 221 fn. 1032.

58 Gabbay/Jiménez 2019.

but owned by a member of the Nippurean Gimil-Sîn family:⁵⁹ since tablets written by apprentices and owned by senior scholars are usually interpreted as school exercises,⁶⁰ it is reasonable to assume that the tablet was produced by a young Urukian studying under a Nippurean teacher. The prestige of the scholars Nippur – a city where, according to the *Tale of Ninurta-pāqidāt*,⁶¹ even gardeners could speak Sumerian – meant that the knowledge they imparted, and the works they had created, were highly coveted.

✱

The popularity of Nippur exports in other Babylonian cities makes it all the more perplexing that so few first-millennium scholarly texts have been found in Nippur itself. R.D. Biggs, in his publication of the finds of the Eighth Post-War Nippur campaign, which focused on the Inanna temple and discovered several first-millennium manuscripts, described this paradox:

“One of the striking aspects of previous seasons’ work at Nippur, at least so far as publicly known, has been the paucity of Akkadian literary texts (as opposed to the many thousands of Sumerian literary texts, most of which came from “Tablet Hill”), so that one had the impression that Nippur was not a center of any importance for scribal activity even in Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian times. I believe that this impression is not accurate and that excavations elsewhere on the mound might well bring to light the scribal center of the late periods” (Biggs in Buccellati/Biggs 1969, 9).

As Biggs suggests, the chances of discovery, the reason so often adduced for explaining the shortcomings in our documentation, may well also explain the scarcity of first-millennium scholarship in the city of Enlil.⁶² However, two factors make this explanation singularly unlikely in the case of Nippur. First, although “Nippur has been very far from fully excavated,”⁶³ very many sectors of the city have been explored: the nineteen seasons of the Oriental Institute, together with the four pre-war Philadelphia campaigns, have unearthed so many thousands of tablets, from so many periods, genres, and loci, that it seems unlikely that any particularly important group of texts could have escaped the spade. Secondly, a particular brand of first-millennium scholarship is well represented among the Nippur documentation: school tablets. With over two hundred school tablets known,⁶⁴ Nippur ranks high among the Babylonian cities in number of surviving elementary exercises. The richness of the corpus of excerpt tablets contrasts with the scarcity of “library” manuscripts, i.e., of tablets containing an entire composition or chapter thereof, instead of a selection of excerpts. The texts excerpted on the first-millennium school tablets of the present volume (*Saġba* [Nos. 26, 31], *Uduġhul* [Nos. 26, 29], *Harra* [Nos. 26, 28, 30, 32], *Šimá milka* [No. 31], and various magical series [Nos. 27, 32]) are exceedingly popular in

59 Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 67, 75–76.

60 This is the case of tablets written by an apprentice and owned by his father, usually interpreted as an exercise given by the latter to the former: see §5 below.

61 Edited by Cavigneaux 1979, 111–117; see also George 1993b, 63–72.

62 Note, for instance, that the only Nippur “library” manuscripts of the *Nippur Compendium*, of *Saġba*, and of *Uduġhul* (cited in nn. 56 and 66) have only recently been identified.

63 So Westenholz 2007, 302.

64 See Jiménez forthcoming and §5.

Nippur elementary education,⁶⁵ but are all virtually unknown on “library” tablets from that city.⁶⁶

★

This strange situation – a city renowned for its scholarship, but largely bereft of scholarly manuscripts – is also encountered in the second half of the second millennium BCE. As was the case with first-millennium scholarship, an important portion of Kassite Nippur’s scholarly production was found outside of Nippur. Many of the scholarly tablets known from Middle-Assyrian Assur are related to Nippur: seven tablets with lexicographical and Sumerian literary texts declare in their colophons to be copies of Nippur originals,⁶⁷ and even a fragmentary duplicate from Assur of the emblematic ‘Map of Nippur’ (HS 197) has been found.⁶⁸ A dozen others are copies of Nippur compositions,⁶⁹ or of texts known elsewhere only in Old Babylonian Nippur.⁷⁰ It is also possible that at least some of the around thirty Middle Babylonian texts found in Assur,⁷¹ whose origin is unknown, may stem from Nippur:⁷² indeed, Tukulti-Ninurta I, traditionally made responsible for the presence of Middle Babylonian tablets in Assur,⁷³ looted tablets not only from Babylon and its vicinity, but also from central and Southern Babylonia;⁷⁴ and he was recognized as direct sovereign in Nippur for at least one year (1215 BCE).⁷⁵

Nippur literature and lexicography are, therefore, well represented in Middle Assyrian Assur. Conversely, few manuscripts of epic and lexicographical texts comparable to the

65 Around 100 school tablets with excerpts from *Harra* are known, some 20 with *Udughul* and 6 with *Saġba*; see Jiménez forthcoming.

66 Very few certain “library” copies of these texts from Nippur are known: (1) IM 58823 (4NT 34, unpubl., cf. Biggs 1978, 94), identified by the author as a manuscript of *Saġba* I (// ll. 37–53 and 71–105), (2) N 1868 (eBL transliteration), identified by J. Peterson as a manuscript of *Udughul* XI, and (3) CBS 14095, with *Harra* VI 111–132, 156–181 (*MSL* 6, 48 MS U).

67 See the lists in Weidner 1952/1953 (nos. 19–20, 52, 57–58); Pedersén 1985, 33; and Rutz 2016, 51b. Nippur is mentioned as the origin of the *Vorlagen* of: (I) Lexical tablets: (1) VAT 8875 (*ana ittišu*; Wagensooner 2011, 664, 684; Pedersén 1986, 25 no. 98); (2) VAT 9534 (*Aa*; Wagensooner 2011, 663, 683; Pedersén 1985, 41 no. 58); (3) VAT 9552 (*ana ittišu*; see Wagensooner 2011, 672–673, 698; Pedersén 1986, 28 no. 155); (4) A 4 (*diri*; Civil 2004, 120; Pedersén 1986, 20 no. 10); and (II) Sumerian literature: (5) VAT 9304+ (*KAR* 16; Wagensooner 2008; Pedersén 1986, 21 no. 29); (6) VAT 9308

(*KAR* 15; Wagensooner 2008; Pedersén 1986, 26 no. 117; nos. 5–6 from “Nippur and Babylon”).

68 Oelsner *apud* Stein 2017, 113.

69 Such as the epics *Lugale* and *Angim* and the lexical list *ana ittišu*, as noted by Veldhuis 2014, 340–341.

70 See e.g. Michalowski 2017.

71 See the list in Weidner 1952/1953, 200; Pedersén 1985, 34; and Heeßel 2012, ix–x and 11. See also Heeßel 2011a, 376–378.

72 As hinted by Rutz 2016, 51b, based on paleographic considerations. Because the names in VAT 9600 (*KAR* 447; *KAL* 5, 50) and VAT 10751 (*KAR* 454; *KAL* 5, 86) contain the theonym Šamaš (see Pedersén 1985, 33 and Heeßel 2012, 173–174), Weidner 1952/1953, 201 suggested that the tablets may stem from Sippar.

73 Thus Weidner 1952/1953, 199–200; Heeßel 2007, 1b; *id.* 2011a, 372–374; and Bartelmus/Schmitt 2014, 88b.

74 The *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* mentions the “Land of Sumer and Akkad” (Machinist 1978, 128 vi B 11’) as the origin of the booty.

75 See Brinkman 1976, 313, 386, and pl. 7 no. 13; see also Yamada 2003 and Bloch 2010, 65–67.

ones known in Assur have hitherto been found in Middle Babylonian Nippur;⁷⁶ and some of the genres well represented in Assur, such as epics, are rare on Middle Babylonian “library” tablets from Nippur, but excerpted on school tablets from that city (§5). The Kassite school tablets edited here afford us a small window into the literary traditions that circulated in Middle Babylonian Nippur, but which are hitherto unattested on “library” tablets: a hymn to Ištar (No. 17), *Tamarisk and Palm* (No. 18), a school dialogue (No. 19), blessings (No. 20) and curses (No. 23), historical epics (No. 25), and extispicy texts (Nos. 21–22).

✱

The scholarly activities at Nippur during the last one and a half millennia BCE are thus witnessed largely by manuscripts from Nippur borrowed or copied in other cities, and by elementary school tablets. This peculiar circumstance calls for an explanation, which will necessarily be speculative given how much of the social environment of Mesopotamian scholarship is still unknown.

As discussed above, the looting of Nippur tablets under Tukulti-Ninurta I could explain the absence of scholarly tablets in Middle-Babylonian Nippur, and their presence in Middle-Assyrian Assur. No such looting is, however, attested in other periods, in particular not in the first millennium, although the changing relations between Assyria and Nippur (§1) may have given ample occasion for it. In any case, while the occasional transfer of large quantities of tablets may have influenced the number of texts remaining in Nippur, it seems unlikely that these intermittent actions drained the city of Enlil of scholarly texts. The cause of this shortage is probably of a more structural nature.

As will be explored below (§5), the role of elementary tablets was to enable the student to memorize a text and demonstrate his mnemonic prowess. The sorts of errors encountered in them suggest that the students committed the texts to memory and only put them down in writing in the context of the classroom, perhaps precisely as a way of memorizing them. Tablets in which the copyist calls himself a junior apprentice, such as No. 33, are also likely to stem from a schooling context: in general, as has been observed by George (2003/2004, 404a) and others, most “library” manuscripts were probably *also* produced in a school setting, since “there was no living to be had in copying literary and religious texts.” They are products of the school, created for memorizing or reciting a text. Perhaps the conspicuous absence of “library” manuscript in Nippur is due to a difference in the practices involving writing: it is conceivable that the sort of advanced scribal exercise represented by “library tablets” was not as common in Nippur as it was elsewhere. Our current state of knowledge suggests that “library” tablets were produced in Nippur mostly for export, and that memory was the most common repository in which texts were stored for internal consumption. After all, a hymn to Ninurta probably produced in Nippur, particularly popular in school contexts, exalts scholars from that city as the ones who “heaped up” knowledge in their hearts.⁷⁷

76 On Middle Babylonian multi-column lexicographical tablets from Nippur, see Veldhuis 2014, 245–250. On Middle Babylonian copies of Sumerian literary texts from Nippur, see Peterson 2017b.

77 Mayer 1992b, 26 §xix and eBL edition Mitto 2022d (reference courtesy of M. Frazer).

*ummānu mūdū ša kīma šāri ana miḥilti iziqqa
u kullat ṭupšarrūti kīma gurummē ina karšīšu kamsu*

The knowledgeable scholar who (with eagerness) blows like the wind on cuneiform writing, and who has heaped up in his mind all scribal learning like a grain pile

3. The Nippur Excavations and the Hilprecht Collection

In terms of number of found objects, few archaeological expeditions in history can rival with the Philadelphia campaigns in Nippur (1888–1900).⁷⁸ However, as is well known, the archaeological methods employed by the early excavators (J. Peters, J. H. Haynes, and H. V. Hilprecht) left something to be desired, and the finds were either inadequately recorded or not recorded at all.⁷⁹ only in the case of particularly emblematic objects is there a chance that their provenance may have been recorded, and even these cases are not free of problems. Since nothing in their appearance sets the tablets in this volume apart from

78 On the first Nippur Campaign (1888–1889), see Geere 1904, 171–173; Hilprecht 1896, 8; *id.* 1903, 297–319; *id.* 1908, 279–280; Kuklick 1996, 50–55; Clayden 2016, 3–6; and Ousterhout ²2018, 120–121; and in particular Peters 1897b. On the second Nippur Campaign (1889–1890), see Geere 1904, 173–175; Hilprecht 1896, 8; *id.* 1903, 319–345; Kuklick 1996, 56; Clayden 2016, 6–9; and Ousterhout ²2018, 121; and in particular Peters 1897a. On the third Nippur Campaign (1893–1896), see Geere 1904, 175–178; Hilprecht 1896, 9–10; *id.* 1903, 345–425; Kuklick 1996, 59, 65–77; Clayden/Schneider 2015, 349–350; and Ousterhout ²2018, 121–123. On the fourth Nippur Campaign (1889–1900), see Geere 1904, 84–90, 134–228; Hilprecht 1903, 425–536; *id.* 1908, 120, 251–255, 281–287; Kuklick 1996, 78–91; Clayden 2016, 9–27; and Ousterhout ²2018, 123.

79 As noted by Westenholz 1992, 292–295, the shortcomings in the documentation

can only partially imputed to the lack of previous experience of the excavators: the ultimate cause was the constant demand of objects they received from the board of the Babylonian Expedition in Philadelphia. This situation is all the more regrettable since the declared intention of the Babylonian Expedition was to produce well-provenanced tablets, as opposed to the masses of tablets being excavated at the time in Northern Babylonia and sold to European collections: “The British Museum is the place to which antiquities are ordinarily brought, and it is able to add to its stock of Babylonian antiquities year by year through purchase. This encourages the Arabs to dig here and there in Babylonia in a very destructive and unscientific way. Such antiquities as are brought have no pedigree, so that all that can be learned about them must be learned from themselves.” (Peters 1897a, 13–14).

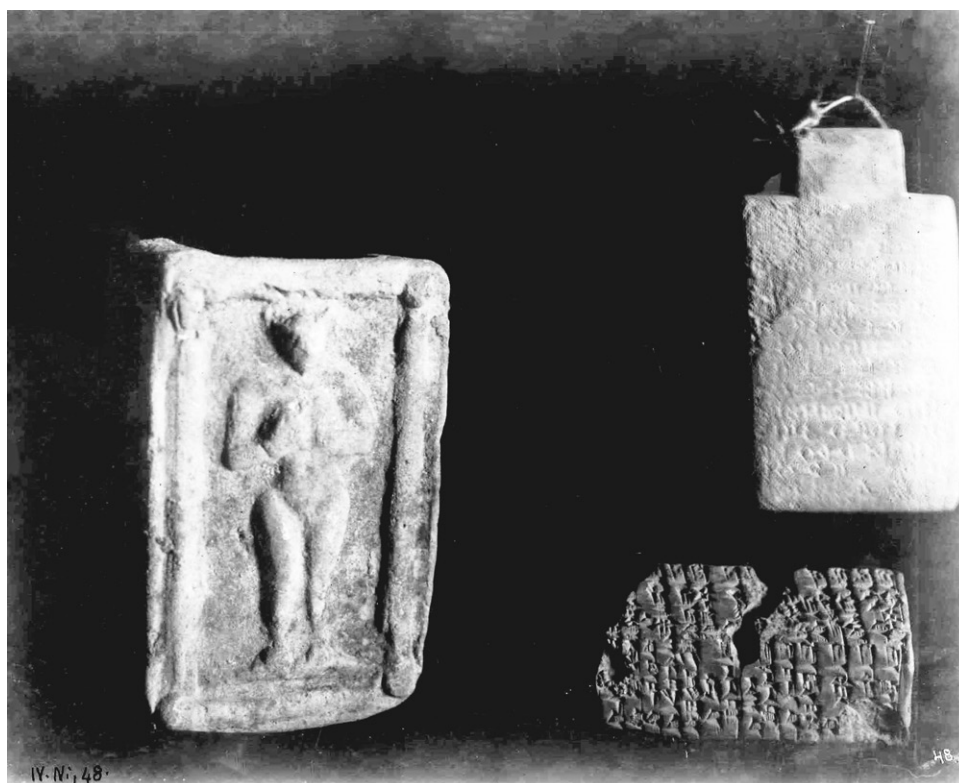


Figure 1. UPMAA Nippur Albums 31, photo IV A 48; © UPMMA

any other cuneiform tablet, not one of them can be identified with certainty in the documentation of the early Nippur campaigns.⁸⁰

The only object in this volume whose provenance can be determined is, unsurprisingly, the most peculiar one: the stone amulet HS 1927. Establishing its provenance is, however, not a straightforward process. This artefact was photographed by J. H. Haynes (UPMAA Nippur Albums 31, photo IV A 48 and 54, A 48 reproduced here) during the fourth Nippur campaign (1899–1900). The album includes the following labels:

“(…) two tablets, one of which came from Grave No. [empty] and is arranged to be hung about the neck” (IV A 48) and “tablet taken from grave No. [empty]” (IV A 54)

Although the grave number is left blank, only one of the graves excavated by the Haynes is recorded to have included a tablet: Grave 290.⁸¹ In Mrs. Haynes’s notes, Grave 290 is described as: “(May 24th, 1899) Grave of crude brick (*libben*) 9 ft below surface, 15 ft above level of plain. Head towards E.S.E. Grave 4 ft 8 in. long and about 20 inches wide. Body lay on left side with knees drawn up and bones of lower leg lay directly across foot of

80 See the very useful index of “Identified Objects,” the result of years of painstaking research by A. Westenholz and his team, on the website of the Nippur Digitized

project (<https://nippur-digitized.com/> last accessed 3 March 2022).

81 Information courtesy of A. Westenholz.

grave. Grave contained 1 jar and 1 inscribed tablet.”⁸² The location of the grave in question is – typically – again not recorded, but, as A. Westenholz notices (private communication), the level indicated (“9 ft below surface, 15 ft above level of plain”) does not fit the Ekur, extensively excavated during the Fourth Campaign. Since excavations were being conducted in Mound X (the southeasternmost section of the West Mound) at the time of discovery, the tomb was probably found there.

Mound X (in Peters’s numeration; in Hilprecht’s system, “VI”) was extensively explored during the Philadelphia Nippur campaigns: Haynes claimed to have extracted from mounds IX and X no fewer than 22,000 tablets.⁸³ The bulk of Kassite tablets found in the early Nippur excavations came from Mound X.⁸⁴ The 11th and 12th Chicago Nippur campaigns (1972/1973) explored the area again (Gibson 1978), but no other comparable amulet seems to have been found there.

★

The very extensive documentation of the early Nippur campaigns in the Archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (comprising ca. 20 linear feet) does not seem to enable the reconstruction of the context of any other tablet published here. Nevertheless, some of the tablets contain information indicating their provenance. This information is written, in Hilprecht’s characteristic handwriting, on the label of the box containing the tablet: thus, the label of HS 1887 (No. 4) reads “Nippur-17 / IV. Semitic Hymn, From Temple Library.” The roman numeral refers to the campaign in which the tablet was excavated:⁸⁵ in this case, the fourth (1899–1900). The number following the siglum “Ni” or “Nippur” is a running numeral that appears to reflect Hilprecht’s classification of his own collection. These “Ni” numbers are independent from the Ni numbers in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, which Hilprecht also partially catalogued: for instance, the “Games text” (HS 1893; *TMH* 12, 4) was published by Scheil as [Ni.]341,⁸⁶ but the number now written on the tablet is 87. Other sigla are used in Hilprecht’s collection for non-Nippur tablets: for instance, “Const.” for tablets acquired in Istanbul (like No. 12), and “Baghdad” for tablets purchased in Baghdad (No. 16).

82 “Record of Sepulchers and Graves opened at Niffer, February 6th 1899 to Feb. 26th 1900” (UPMAA Nippur 14.01), p. 44. In Mrs. Haynes’s daily report the findings of May 24th are described as “1 Fine inscribed tablet. Silver bowl, vase, &c. 5 Graves opened” (UPMAA Nippur 13.07, p. [28]).

83 See Franke *apud* Gibson 1978, 53.

84 See Peters 1897b, 208–212; Hilprecht 1903, 342–343, 416–424; and Zettler 2011, 91. Hilprecht, who describes the findings in some detail, explained the apparent lack of Kassite tablets in his “Temple Library” by hypothesizing that the Library had moved to Mound X in the Kassite period (Hilprecht 1908, 336; *id.* 1910, 13).

85 On these numbers, see Westenholz 1975, 6; Oelsner 1985, 49; *id.* 1991, 63.

86 Scheil 1897, 59 (the tablet is also mentioned in Hilprecht 1908, 289). In Hilprecht’s handwritten catalogue of the Istanbul Nippur Collection (*HSN* 44, p. 11) the tablet Ni.341 is described as “Fr[agment] de tablette en terre cuite, époque de la I^{ère} dyn. de Bab. ou après, Lettre.” Much more appropriate for this fragment is the description of Ni.351, which is classified by Hilprecht as a “Tablette en terre crue, Cassite ou Neu-Bab., sehr interessant.” Since the description fits HS 1893 much better, one should assume that Ni.351 was perhaps the correct museum number, and “Ni.341” a typo (thus Oelsner *apud* Kilmer 1991, 9 fn. 2).

Since Hilprecht apparently classified his collection in this way, it is reasonable to assume that he must have also prepared a catalogue of the same. In fact, he kept catalogues of his collection of seals and of his collection of classical antiquities,⁸⁷ and it seems plausible that he would have compiled one of the collection that was closest to his heart.⁸⁸ However, no catalogue of the tablets could be found after Hilprecht's death by the Jena representative in his widow's apartment,⁸⁹ nor in Hilprecht's *schriftlicher Nachlass*, donated by Hilprecht's sister to Jena in 1932/1933.⁹⁰ Efforts to locate this supposititious catalogue in the UPMAA, in the records of the Babylonian Section, and in the Philadelphia Museum of Art⁹¹ have proved futile: if one such catalogue existed, it seems to have vanished.

In the absence of a catalogue, only Hilprecht's laconic box labels can be used for reconstructing the provenance of the tablets. The running numbers given by Hilprecht to his collection, but not the sigla, are also written on the tablets: in the case of No. 4, the number "17" is written on the tablet, and the box label reads "Nippur-17 / IV." Some of the original tablet boxes have been misplaced and replaced by modern ones, so the information they presumably contained cannot be recovered.⁹² Moreover, some of the tablets were placed in wrong boxes, so the description on the label applies to a different tablet.⁹³ Only when the number on the box label matches that on the tablet can it be established that Hilprecht's information on the box refers in fact to the tablet in question. In some cases (Nos. 7 and 29), the original number is written on the tablet, but the box contains no label. The fol-

87 Hilprecht's catalogue of his collection of seals (now the L-29 collection in the University of Pennsylvania Museum), has the call number "UMA 1988-51." His catalogue of his collection of classical antiquities, published in Warden 1997, has been praised for its accuracy: "One of the most remarkable aspects of the Hilprecht collection is the record, a set of note cards, kept by Professor Hilprecht to document his purchases. Each of the small three-by-six-inch cards is arranged by type of metal, given a number, a description, and most important, a sometimes rather lengthy account of the provenance of the object (...). This information is invaluable, (...) the cards reveal the kind of attention that he lavished on his pieces" (Warden 1997, 4).

88 So also Oelsner 1985, 49: "Hilprecht hatte nur Teile der Tontafeln registriert. Aus Zetteln, die einigen Texten beigelegt sind, ergibt sich, daß ein Verzeichnis davon existierte. Es ist offensichtlich nicht nach Jena gelangt." S. also Oelsner 1991, 60–61, 63.

89 Dr. Karl Bauer, appointed by Jena University to inspect Hilprecht's bequest after his death, writes in his report of his visit to

Mrs. Hilprecht's apartment (dated 3 October 1925): "Eine Liste dieser Sammlung hat, laut Auskunft von Frau Dr. Hilprecht und Sohn nie existiert" (Universitätsarchiv Jena Bestand BA, Nr. 1679, Bl. 41–44). In consequence, no catalogue was ever sent to Jena together with the tablets: W. Staerk, in a letter to H. Zimmern dated 23 January 1926, describes the contents as "274 Kartons u. Schachteln voll [von Tafeln] — aber alles unkatalogisiert!! Es fehlt leider auch ein Verzeichnis der Stücke nach Zahl nur Herkunft (...) Unsere Verlegenheit ist groß, — es ist ein Danaer-Geschenk." (Nachlass Heinrich Zimmern, NL 144/S/259, Blatt 259, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig).

90 On Hilprecht's *schriftlicher Nachlass* (HSN), see Oelsner 1980.

91 Thanks are expressed to Alessandro Pezzati, Richard L. Zettler, and Margaret Huang, respectively, for their help in the quest.

92 See Westenholz 1975, 7.

93 This was the case of the box of No. 4, which was identified in a group of boxes recently restored and reunited with its tablet in 2021.

lowing tablets in this volume have a label handwritten by Hilprecht with archaeological information:

No. 4	HS 1887	Ni.17	IV Temple Library
No. 32	HS 1946	Ni.45	IV [Temple Library] ⁹⁴
No. 17	HS 1890	Ni.59	IV
No. 6	HS 1889	Ni.63	IV
No. 7	HS 1934	[Ni.] ⁸⁵	—
No. 14	HS 1933	Ni.90	III Temple Library
No. 29	HS 1935	[Ni.] ¹⁰⁰	—
No. 5	HS 1888	Ni.211	III

Two of these eight tablets (nos. 6 and 14) were published by J.-V. Scheil in the 1890s when they were still in the Istanbul Imperial Museum.⁹⁵ Of No. 6 Scheil states that it was “non numérotée en 1894” (Scheil 1925, 154–156), i.e., the tablet was in Istanbul some five years before the beginning of the fourth Nippur campaign (1899–1900), in the course of which Hilprecht claims it was found. This is also the case of the tablet HS 1781,⁹⁶ whose label reads “Ni. 135/IV,” and which was published by Scheil, without a museum number, before the start of the fourth campaign (Scheil 1897, 62).⁹⁷

No. 14, copied by Scheil (1917, 142–145) in the 1890s (“il y a une vingtaine d’années”), when the tablet “ne portait aucune indication ni numéro d’inventaire,” bears now the label “Ni. 90 / III Temple Library.” This label alone is contradictory, since the “Temple Library” (or “Tablet Hill,” Hilprecht uses both terms indistinguishably) was not excavated during the third Nippur Campaign.⁹⁸ Moreover, the tablets from the Nippur expedition published by Scheil all appear to have been found during the first two Nippur campaigns (1889–

94 While “Temple Library” is not written on the label, this provenance is implied in the letter by Hilprecht to Bezold discussed below, in the introduction to No. 32.

95 Scheil spent several summers between the 1890s and the 1900s working in the then Ottoman Imperial Museum (Jiménez 2020a, 255–256; according to Hilprecht 1908, 264, he arrived “about 1892”; according to Roques 1940, 378 he worked there “pendant huit ou dix ans,” probably until 1898, as noted by de Mecquenem 1980, 10 [the latter reference is courtesy of D. Charpin]).

96 Published in Veldhuis/Hilprecht 2003/2004, 42 no. 34, see also Bartelmus 2016a, 427–428.

97 Note that Hilprecht contradicts himself in Hilprecht 1908, 289, where he mentions this tablet (“a syllabary giving various

compositions with MU, ‘year’” published by Scheil) as having been found in “Tablet Hill” in the course of the first two Nippur campaigns.

98 According to a later statement by Hilprecht (1908, 287 fn.), Haynes confessed to him that during the third campaign he run a few trenches in the northern part of Tablet Hill for a fortnight without informing the Committee (see also Hilprecht 1910, 6). This declaration, however, contradicts his earlier statement (Hilprecht 1903, 424), as already noted by Fisher (1908). Since no reference to an exploration of Tablet Hill during this campaign can be found in the extensive documentation of the Nippur excavations in the University Museum, this excavation is probably a fabrication by Hilprecht.

1891).⁹⁹ In other words, the information written by Hilprecht on the labels is, again, wrong.

Nos. 6 and 14 are recorded by Scheil as having been unnumbered when he copied them. This was also the case of the other tablets catalogued by Hilprecht in 1894, such as HS 534 (*TMH* 2/3, 90) and HS 454 (*TMH* 2/3, 10), copied by Hilprecht in the summer of 1894.¹⁰⁰ The former bears no label; the label of HS 454 (“Ni.-84 / III. Shamash-shum-ukîn, 668-648 B.C. 8^{te} Jahr”) can also be shown to be inaccurate, since the tablet is one of the finds of the first two campaigns that Hilprecht catalogued in the Ottoman Imperial Museum. All these unnumbered tablets from the first two Philadelphia expeditions, once in Istanbul, are now in the Hilprecht collection, probably as part of the present that the Sultan offered to Hilprecht as a reward for his work in the museum.¹⁰¹

It is possible that the information on provenance given by Hilprecht about the other tablets in this volume, all of which are said to come from the third or fourth Nippur campaigns, is correct, but there is no way of checking this. In any case, the fact that only two “provenanced” tablets for which external evidence exists can be shown to be falsely recorded should alert us from taking Hilprecht’s provenance information at face value.

✱

It seems likely that Hilprecht’s “provenance” notes reflect what one may call his “archaeological awakening.” As shown by B. Kuklick,¹⁰² Hilprecht’s thought evolved from considering excavations irrelevant and indeed wanting to purchase tablets instead of digging them in the 1890s,¹⁰³ to presenting himself as a bulwark of “the modern school of exploring”¹⁰⁴ in the 1900s. Under the influence of German archaeology through his contacts with Koldewey and others, Hilprecht hyperbolically dismissed the work of Peters and Haynes in Nippur as a digging “pretty much as the Arab peasants did at Babylon.”¹⁰⁵ Hilprecht, ostensibly appalled by these methods, set himself to the daunting task of reconstructing the context for tablets which “had never been numbered to allow of their identification with certainty afterwards.”¹⁰⁶ Hilprecht’s newly acquired concern about

99 As implied also by Hilprecht, according to whom until 1893 (the date of Hilprecht’s first visit to the Ottoman Imperial Museum), Scheil had catalogued “three or four hundred of the antiquities, as far as I recollect, largely those from Nippur” (Hilprecht 1908, 265). Scheil must have copied all tablets he published in or before 1894, and they all probably stemmed from the first or second expeditions (Ni.1893 = Hilprecht 1894, 67–72 [draft copy in *HSN* no. 3 p. 117; copy dated 17 July 1894] = Scheil 1897, 61–62 was found in the second campaign, according to the publication in *BE* 20/1, no. 44).

100 These tablets were identified in Hilprecht’s notebooks (*HSN* 3, 83, and 115–116, 119–120) by A. Westenholz.

101 On this present, the object of bitter disputes during the Hilprecht-Peters

controversy, see Hilprecht 1903, 346 and 348; *id.* 1908, 17–18, 51, 73, 41–42, 231–232, 238–240, and 256–257; Ritterband/Wechsler 1981, 14–16 and 33; and Kuklick 1996, 129. Hilprecht’s collection also includes many objects found during the third and fourth campaigns, such as all tablets from the “small Babylonian museum” found, according to Hilprecht, in early 1900 (Hilprecht 1903, 516–520).

102 Kuklick 1996, 142–157.

103 Kuklick 1996, 49.

104 So Hilprecht 1908, 198.

105 Hilprecht 1903, 328; see also *ibid.*, 343–344, 350, 362, 365, 370, 446; and *id.* 1908, 164–165, 196–198.

106 Hilprecht describes his method for reconstructing the context of the tablets from

provenance also percolates his private collecting: the Greek and Roman antiquities purchased by him in 1890–1900 were given cards indicating their provenance only after 1900.¹⁰⁷ In the case of the Nippur tablets, excavated before his “archaeological awakening,” Hilprecht had regrettably little data with which to operate: his provenance indications, both in his private collection and in his catalogue of the Philadelphia tablets, are consequently extremely unreliable. In addition, after doubts were cast on the existence of his “Temple library,” Hilprecht made it his mission to demonstrate “*ad oculos*”¹⁰⁸ its existence, and consequently marked most literary tablets from Nippur as belonging to it.¹⁰⁹ Hilprecht’s indications are, therefore, in many cases fictitious, in all cases suspect.

**

The following tablets purchased by Hilprecht in Istanbul and Baghdad have an indication of provenance:

No. 16	HS 1947	Baghdad 577/1900
No. 12	HS 1951	Const. 273/1897

The first one comes in all likelihood from Northern Babylonia (see the introduction to the edition). The second probably originated in Middle Assyrian Assur, although it may have been excavated at Nineveh: the only other Assyrian tablet in the Hilprecht collection,¹¹⁰ HS 1950,¹¹¹ labelled by Hilprecht as “Const. 272/1894” (number 272 written on the tablet), certainly comes from Assurbanipal’s libraries, since it contains an Assurbanipal ‘Type b’ colophon. HS 1950 was shortly in the British Museum in 1891; until then it had been in the possession of Dr. Long in Istanbul,¹¹² whom Hilprecht must have seen in Istanbul during some of his stays in the 1890s.¹¹³ HS 1951 may also have been bought from

his “Temple Library” in Hilprecht 1908, 196–198.

107 So Warden 1997, 5a.

108 So Hilprecht in a letter to Bezold (Nachlass Carl Bezold, Hs. 1501,83, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, dated 10 March 1908): “um unsere Tempelbibliothek *ad oculos* zu demonstrieren.” See also Clayden 2016, 28: “The majority of the entries [in the *Catalogue of the Babylonian Section*] were made by Hilprecht who used the catalogue to foster his version of events and to continue his criticisms of Peters.”

109 In the *Catalogue of the Babylonian Section* (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), Hilprecht often classifies tablets as “doubtless Temple Library” (CBS 8802), or as “surely” belonging to it (CBS 11333), qualifications that show that these provenances were simple conjectures.

110 In the preliminary inventory submitted by B. Langsberger and H. Zimmern to

the president of the Universität Jena in May 1926 (Zimmern/Landsberger 1926), it is reported that the collection contains three tablets “aus der Bibliothek Assurbanipals” (see also Zimmern 1926, 225). Only two are known today in the collection. See Oelsner 1985, 52 fn. 11, who wonders whether the missing tablet was a “Kriegsverlust oder heute nicht mehr zu identifizieren?” On tablets from Jena lost during the Second World War, see Oelsner 1991, 62–63 and *id.* 2009, 25–26.

111 Edition of the tablet in Finkel 1982, 245–246, copy without the colophon in Bezold 1921, 117; a full copy of the tablet can be found in the Nachlass Bezold Folio L70 (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg); photo in Oelsner 2017, 119

112 Bezold 1921, 118.

113 Note the postcard sent by F. Hommel to Hilprecht in August 1896 with c/o “Prof. Dr. Long” (HSN 262).

the same source, and thus perhaps also come from Nineveh, like other Middle Assyrian tablets from Assur.¹¹⁴

4. Social Context

None of the Middle Babylonian tablets edited in the volume has a preserved colophon. The analysis of the script and the linguistic features,¹¹⁵ however, allow a datation of all of them to the Middle Kassite period, i.e. to the period between the accession of Kara-indaš (~1415 BCE) and Tukulti-Ninurta I's conquest of Babylon (~1225 BCE).¹¹⁶ As stated above (§1), most dated administrative texts from Kassite Nippur were produced in the period 1359–1225 BCE, which is also the most likely period to which the literary tablets in this volume should be dated.

**

Seven of the first-millennium manuscripts edited here have colophons, which are better or worse preserved:

EIGHTH CENTURY

No. 16 (not from Nippur) 30-II-2nd/4th/5th year of Nabû-šumu-iškun ((760)–748 BCE).

No. 7 Handiwork of Ta[qī]ša-Gu[la], s. Bēl-usepp[i]. Inspection of Nabû-šumu-iškun, s. Ḫanbu, the cup-bearer of Nabû (?). 21-V-4th year of Sargon (706 BCE). Tablet of Bēl-lē'i, son of Bēl-ēdu-iddin (?).

UNDATED OR DATE NOT PRESERVED

No. 1 Ninurta-ēreš s. Ninurta-aḫḫī-erība

No. 8 Ninurta-nāšir s. Ḫa[nbu]

No. 14 ^{as}Rēmūt-D[N (scribe) ...]. Tablet of Ninurta-aš[arēd ...].

No. 15 [...] ... Enlil-kāšir, s. Silim-i[lī], [...] ... of Enlil

No. 33 [...] ... chief lamentation-priest of Enlil [...] ..., the young novice, son of Bēl-tattannu-*bu*[*llissu*], [(...)] son of Bēlet-ušallim.

Although three-tier filiations (PN₁ son of PN₂ descendant of PN₃) became increasingly common in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian period,¹¹⁷ family names are rarely given in tablets from Nippur.¹¹⁸ Not a single three-tier filiation is attested in this volume: in the cases in which the name is completely preserved, the filiation is given in a two-tier fashion (PN₁ son of PN₂):

114 See the introduction to HS 1951 (No. 12).

115 See in particular the discussions in the introductions to HS 1887 (No. 4), HS 1888 (No. 5), HS 1889 (No. 6), HS 1898 (No. 21), and HS 1905 (No. 23).

116 On the Middle Kassite Period, see in particular Brinkman 2017, 10–26.

117 Wunsch 2014, 291.

118 Nielsen 2010, 179–181.

No. 1	Ninurta-ēreš	A	Ninurta-aḥḥī-erība
No. 7	Ta[qī]ša-Gu[la]	DUMU	Bēl-usepp[i] (scribe)
	Nabû-šumu-iškun	DUMU	Ḥanbu (checker)
	Bēl-lē'i	A	Bēl-ēdu-iddin (owner)
No. 8	Ninurta-nāšir	A	Ḥa[nbu]
No. 14	^{as} Rēmūt-D[N Ninurta-aš[arēd	...] ...]	(scribe) (owner)
No. 15	Enlil-kāšir	A-šú šá	Silim-i[lī]
No. 33	[...] [...]	A šá A'	Bēl-tattannu-bu[llissu] Bēlet-ušallim

When the two components of a two-tier filiation are separated by DUMU/A-šú šá, PN₂ is the name of the father; when separated by DUMU/A (šá), the filiation is ambiguous: PN₂ can be both the father's name and the family name.¹¹⁹ If the PN₂ appears elsewhere as a family name in a three-tier filiation, or else after A instead of A-šú šá as ancestor of various individuals, it is likely that it should be interpreted as a family name also in two-tier filiations. In the present corpus, only Ḥanbu (Nos. 7 and 8) can be shown to be one such family name.

The family Ḥanbu (writings of the name include Ḥa-nab, Ḥa-na-bu, or Ḥa-an-bu) is well attested in Neo-Babylonian Nippur.¹²⁰ The earliest datable document with a member of the family is HS 1934+ (No. 7), dated to Sargon II (706 BCE). The most prominent member of the family is Širikti-Ninurta, who held the *šandabakku* office of Nippur from the last year of Nabonidus to the accession year of Darius I, i.e. 539 to 521 BCE.¹²¹ Two descendants of Ḥanbu are recorded in CBS 3568 (BE 8/1, 58; dated Cyrus 1 = 538 BCE): a certain Šamaš-aḥu-iddina s. Ba'u-iqīša (ll. 10, 26, and 46) and a certain Gula-zēru-ibni s. Itti-Enlil-balātu (l. 37). A Ninurta-nāšir d. Ḥanbu, perhaps the same person mentioned in No. 8, appears in several Murašû documents dated from Artaxerxes I 27 (438 BCE) to Darius II 7 (419 BCE).¹²²

Besides the two colophons in this volume, the only evidence for the scholarly activities of the Ḥanbus is represented by a manuscript of *Anzû* I, YBC 9842 (Hallo/Moran 1979, 106–115). The colophon of that tablet was read by its first editors as [DUB x] x y ^mḥa-an-š[ir-ri ...] (Hallo/Moran 1979, 90),¹²³ and compared with the rare Neo-Babylonian personal name Hanširri (*ibid.*, 102).¹²⁴ It seems more likely, however, that the colophon should

119 See Ungnad 1935, 319–320; Lambert 1957a, 1b; Oelsner 1996, 441 fn. 9; Jursa 2005, 7 fn. 35; and Wunsch 2014, 292.

120 Nielsen 2010, 179–180 and Wunsch 2014, 305. It is uncertain whether this Ḥanbu should be connected with the name of Pazuzu's father, (Ḥ)anbu, on which see Frahm 2018, 276–277 with further references.

121 See Joannès 1982, 3; Stolper 1988, 129–130; and Zadok 1994, 153.

122 A list of documents in which Ninurta-nāšir is attested can be found in the introduction of text No. 8.

123 Followed by Vogelzang 1988, 8 and Annus 2001, xxxvi.

124 Referring to Tallqvist (1905, 66). The hypocoristic Ḥā(n)ziru is very rarely attested, and never with the writing -šir: see Tallqvist 1905, 316b. The first name recorded by Tallqvist 1905, 66 appears in *Dar* 105, 7 (Abraham 2004, 373); the sec-

be read as [x x] x ᵀAᵀ* ᵀ^mha-an-b[u:¹²⁵ if correct, YBC 9842 would stem from first-millennium Nippur, as do several other literary tablets from the YBC collection.¹²⁶

The personal name Ḫanbu is, as is typical for ancestor names, well known in Middle Babylonian times,¹²⁷ but no longer in use as a personal name in later periods. Ḫanbu is given in No. 7 the title *zabardabbû* of a temple/god,¹²⁸ the same title born by Esagil-kīn-apli, perhaps a learned writing of *āšipu*, “exorcist.”¹²⁹ The Ḫanbus, attested in tablets spanning some 300 years, can thus be added to the small cadre of families who copied literary tablets in first-millennium Nippur.

5. School

The schooling of scribes in ancient Mesopotamia can be reconstructed on the basis of tablets with certain formats. In general, they are characterized by the fact that they contain only excerpts of lexical and literary texts instead of full chapters or compositions. These excerpts are usually short (typically two lines in the Middle Babylonian period and five to ten in Neo-Babylonian tablets), so that several excerpts, normally lexical and literary, are combined in the same tablet.¹³⁰ In both the Middle and the Neo-Babylonian periods, Nippur has yielded scores of such school tablets: in the Middle Babylonian period, school tablets are known essentially only from Nippur and Babylon; in the Neo-Babylonian period, Nippur is the Southern Babylonian city that has yielded the largest number of exercise tablets.¹³¹ This volume includes 9 Middle Babylonian (Nos. 17–25) and 6 Neo-Babylonian (Nos. 26–32) school tablets.

Remarkably, the formats used in Nippur are largely identical with those used in Northern Babylonia, both in the second and in the first millennium BCE. The selection of texts copied, however, is clearly dictated by local preferences: in Nippur, the texts excerpted are usually related to the city of Nippur and its gods.¹³² The formal similarity suggests that the formats were not independent creations but rather exports from Nippur to Babylon or vice versa.¹³³

ond name should be read as Ḫabaširu, with Jursa 1995, 202.

125 The reading ᵀAᵀ* has been kindly confirmed by collation by E. Frahm.

126 Frahm 2010, 157, 167.

127 Hölscher 1996, 80b; see also van Soldt 2015, 545a and Devecchi 2020, 359a.

128 The reading is uncertain, see the commentary *ad loc.*

129 See below fn. 297.

130 Gesche 2001, 54–55 mentions the possibility that such excerpt tablets could represent notes made by advanced scribes, which she considers unlikely, “da es keinen Sinn ergäbe, sich Textpassagen zu notieren, die jedes Kontextes entbehren.”

131 Middle Babylonian school tablets from Nippur have been the subject of repeated scholarly attention: see Sassmannshausen

1997; *id.* 2002; Veldhuis 2000; van Soldt 2011; and in particular Bartelmus 2016a. The Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur have received less attention: the seminal study by P. Gesche (Gesche 2001) is overwhelmingly based on tablets from Northern Babylonia (Babylon and Sippar). Jiménez forthcoming, based on over 200 tablets, is the first study devoted to the first-millennium school tablets from Nippur.

132 See Bartelmus 2016a, 169–173; *ead.* 2018, 77 (Middle Babylonian); and Jiménez forthcoming (Neo-Babylonian).

133 Bartelmus 2016a, 184–185; *ead.* 2016b, 35; *ead.* 2018, 77 suggests that the “pillow format” of Middle Babylonian tablets was

The first stage of scribal education is known from tablets in which the student practices over and over the writing of the signs DIŠ BAD (𒀭𒀪), i.e., the three basic wedge forms. Only a small number of these exercises survives, from both the Middle Babylonian and the Neo-Babylonian periods,¹³⁴ probably because such tablets were discarded after the conclusion of the exercise. The stage that, judging from the level of complexity, should have followed this one involved the production of tablets with excerpts from lexical and literary texts. In the Neo-Babylonian period, a distinction can be established between a basic level, represented by multi-column tablets in which the same excerpts are copied several times (type 1), and an advanced level, with one-column tablets in which the excerpts are copied only once (type 2). Certain texts, such as bilingual incantations and most literature, are only attested on type 2 tablets, which has been taken to mean that the students who copied them were specializing in a certain branch of knowledge.¹³⁵ The professional literature included in the curriculum differs between the Middle Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian periods: in particular, extispicy, a popular genre on Middle Babylonian elementary tablets,¹³⁶ is all but absent from first-millennium tablets; conversely, incantations, a staple in all type 2 Neo-Babylonian exercises, are very rare in Middle Babylonian times.¹³⁷ This distribution means that stage 2 in elementary education cannot possibly represent a specialization, for such an assumption would make the absence of exorcistic excerpts in the second millennium and of extispicy excerpts in the first difficult to explain: exorcists in the second millennium and haruspices in the first would then have been skipped at this stage. One should more likely assume that bilingual incantations became the standard means of teaching the Sumerian language and were therefore copied by students who would later specialize in different branches.¹³⁸

The most advanced stage of education is probably represented by tablets copied by individuals who call themselves “junior” (*ṣehru*) or “apprentice” (*šamallû*) scribes, like the scribe of No. 33.¹³⁹ In the first millennium, tablets written by such scribes often specify that they are property of their parents, perhaps as a way of conveying that they were school assignments.¹⁴⁰ These tablets typically contain specialized texts of the art professed by the scribes: thus, junior exorcists copy incantations, junior lamentation priests copy texts pertinent to their cultic duties.¹⁴¹ Tablets written by junior scribes often contain one excerpt of a longer text, but no longer assorted excerpts, as was typical of the elementary stage.

a Northern Babylonian innovation imported into Nippur, since it is first attested in late Old Babylonian tablets from Sippar.

134 On Middle Babylonian DIŠ BAD exercise tablets, see Bartelmus 2016a, 126–127. On Neo-Babylonian tablets, see Gesche 2001, 44 (in Jiménez forthcoming 9 Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur of this type are listed).

135 Thus Gesche 2001, 172–173.

136 See Nos. 21 and 22 in this volume.

137 See Bartelmus 2016a, 199.

138 Middle Babylonian school tablets with excerpts from extispicy are not as ubiquitous as bilingual incantations are in the first millennium, so one does not necessarily have to assume that they could have been copied by students who were not destined to become extispicy specialists.

139 This phase is termed “Fachausbildung” by Gesche 2001, 213–218.

140 So George 2003, 37–38; Frame/George 2005, 266; and Veldhuis 2014, 16.

141 See, on the tablets typically copied by lamentation priests, Gabbay 2014, 236–239.

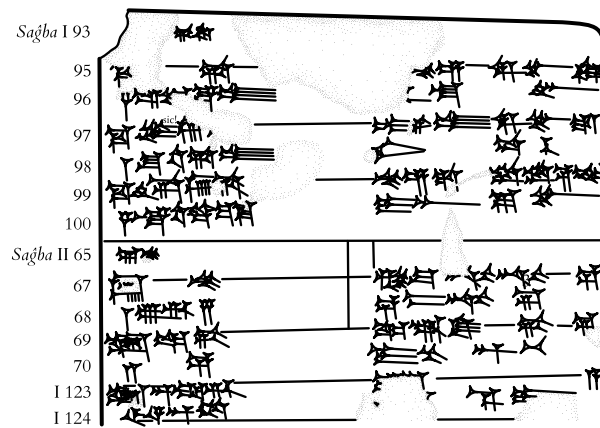


Figure 2. No. 26, cues on a Neo-Babylonian tablet

They also include complete texts or chapters: it is in fact possible that most literary tablets known in Babylonia were the work of young scribes at this stage.¹⁴²

It is uncertain how long elementary education lasted. One might perhaps assume that the first stage of education ended around the age of 17, when the Uruk scribe Anu-bēšunu may have written his first tablets as a junior lamentation-priest (*kalû šeḫru*).¹⁴³ The presence of teeth marks on an elementary tablet has led to the conclusion that scribes in the Old Babylonian period began their education at the age of 12 or 13.¹⁴⁴ If such disparate evidence can be combined, formalized education would take around four years to complete — a figure that fits the description in *Daniel* 1: 4–5, according to which education “in the writing and language of the Chaldeans” took three years.¹⁴⁵

One of the most important clues for studying the didactic methods of the Mesopotamian schools are the cues that can be observed on some excerpts in Nippur school tablets, and which indicate the lines to be copied. These cues, sometimes written in smaller script, provide one or two words of the line preceding the student’s assigned passage.¹⁴⁶ The cue appears only in bilingual passages and contains only Sumerian words, not their Akkadian translations. Thus, in No. 26, the first two words of *Saġba* I 93 are given in smaller script (see Figure 2) and are followed by an excerpt from *Saġba* I 95–100 in normal script (*Saġba* I 94 being the Akkadian translation of I 93); the excerpt *Saġba* II 67–72 is preceded by the first word of *Saġba* II 65 in smaller script. The cues were most likely provided by the instructor, who thus gave the student an assignment without giving away its first line (“copy the passage that begins after so and so”). In this manner, the student had to demon-

142 As suggested by A. R. George and discussed above, in §2.

143 See Fadhil/Jiménez 2019a, 71–76. As a way of comparison, it may be noted that, as established by Waerzeggers 2008, 9 and *ead.* 2014, 15, two men from Northern Babylonia entered prebendary service at the age of 15 or 16.

144 See Guinan/Leichty 2010.

145 The passage in *Daniel* has frequently been used for reconstructing Mesopotamian education: see Gesche 2001, 219; Finkel 2014, 251–253; and already Hilprecht 1903, 526.

146 They were presumably written by the same person who wrote the tablet, since their script is very similar to that of the main excerpt.

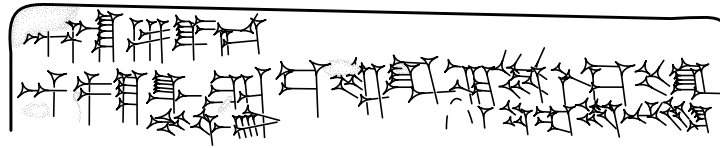


Figure 3. No. 20, cue on Middle Babylonian tablet

strate his ability to recall the text from memory. The practice of beginning excerpts on school tablets with a cue can now be shown to be attested also in Middle Babylonian school tablets: thus, the bilingual excerpts on the obverse of Nos. 19 and 20 (the latter in Figure 3) are preceded by two words in Sumerian, which are not translated and represent most likely the line preceding the first excerpted line.

Copying from memory is, of course, bound to result in many errors. Literary excerpts on type 1 tablets are, in fact, liberally bestrewn with them: in particular, grammatical and lexical substitutions are very common. Thus, an excerpt from *Sargon's Birth Legend* 55–56¹⁴⁷ in CBS 8804+ r iii replaces *illik šāru*, “the wind blew,” by *illak šāru*, “the wind blows”; and *irtappud*, “it roamed,” by *iltassum*, “it run.”¹⁴⁸ These types of errors are less common on type 2 tablets, a fact that may reflect the scribes’ higher level of education. Other mistakes caused by citing from memory do, however, occur in type 2 tablets: thus, in No. 26 ll. 13–14 (Figure 3), the scribe jumps from *Saġba* II 70 to *Saġba* I 123:¹⁴⁹

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|
| 9. | ʾùr ¹ -ĝu ₁₀ nam-ba-ʾbal ¹ -bal-e | (<i>Saġba</i> II 67) |
| 10. | ana ú-ri-ia e tab-bal-kit | (<i>Saġba</i> II 68) |
| 11. | tu ₆ dug ₄ -ga inim ^d +en-ki-ga-ke ₄ | (<i>Saġba</i> II 69 = I 121) |
| 12. | MIN-e i-mat ^d IDIM | (<i>Saġba</i> II 70 = I 122) |
| 13. | tu ₆ ^d asar-re ʾabzu ¹ -a | (<i>Saġba</i> I 123) |
| 14. | ši-pat ^d AMAR.UTU š[á a]p-si-i | (<i>Saġba</i> I 124) |

This jumping of one line to another is caused by the fact that the same line, tu₆ dug₄-ga inim^d+en-ki-ga-ke₄, “the incantation formula, the word/poison of Enki/Ea,” occurs twice in the *Saġba* series, once in the passage the scribe was assigned (*Saġba* II 65ff.) and once in tablet I:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| II 67. | ùr-ĝu ₁₀ nam-ba-bal-bal-e |
| II 68. | a-na ú-ri-ia e tab-bal-kit |
| II 69. | tu₆ dug₄-ga inim^d+en-ki-ga-ke₄ |
| II 70. | ina MIN-e a-mat ^d é-a |
| II 71. | níĝ hul-ĝál-e igi-ĝu ₁₀ nam-mu-un-gi ₁₆ -gi ₁₆ |
| II 72. | mim-ma lem-nu a-na pa-ni-ia a-a ip-rik |
| I 119. | nu-ĝál-la-aš hé-ni-ib-gi ₄ -gi ₄ -ne |
| I 120. | a-na la ba-še-e li-ter-ru-šú |
| I 121. | tu₆ dug₄-ga inim^d+en-ki-ga-ke₄ |
| I 122. | ina tu-du-qé-e a-mat ^d é-a |

147 Edition by Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 46 and Mitto 2022c.

148 These sorts of errors are called “grammatical” (change of tense) and “substitution errors” (used of a synonym instead of the

correct word) by Maguire 1996, 136–139 (quoted by Delnero 2012a, 196). See, in general, Jiménez forthcoming.

149 Cited from the edition by Schramm 2001, with additions from new manuscripts.

I 123. tu₆ d^dasar-re abzu-a

I 124. ši-pat d^dAMAR.UTU šá ap-si-i

The scribe thus jumped from II 69–70 to the identical line I 121–122, and continued his assignment with I 123–124. This error can only be explained if the scribe was citing from memory: had he used a manuscript as his *Vorlage*, the manuscript would have contained either chapter I or chapter II of *Sáġba*, but not both, and in any case the scribe would have jumped forward in the text,¹⁵⁰ not backwards. Mistakes such as this show that excerpt on school tablets were routinely copied from memory.¹⁵¹

Middle Babylonian School

Many Middle Babylonian school tablets were found in the course of regular excavations, so their archaeological context is known and can be used for determining the formats that are characteristic of the period.¹⁵² As a result, the following two basic formats can be established as typical of school exercises in the Middle Babylonian period:¹⁵³

Lenticular tablets (Civil's [1995, 2308] "Type IV"), typical of Old Babylonian education, are less common in the Middle Babylonian school. Middle Babylonian lenticular tablets differ from their Old Babylonian counterparts in that they are smaller (ca. 6–7 cm.), do not contain repeated exercises, and the reverse is offset, up to 90 degrees, from the obverse. The Hilprecht collection contains one lenticular exercise of possible Middle Babylonian origin,¹⁵⁴ which is not included in this volume as it contains no literary excerpt.

The most characteristic format of the Middle Babylonian school is the **pillow-shaped** tablet (Civil's [1986, 89] "type MB II"; *id.*'s [1995, 2308] "Type V"). Pillow-shaped tablets, which may represent a streamlined version of the lenticular format, are already attested in the late Old Babylonian period, albeit only rarely.¹⁵⁵ In these small tablets (typically ca. 4 × 7 cm) the obverse, in landscape format, and the reverse, in portrait orientation, are written perpendicularly. The landscape format is reserved for a literary excerpt, normally ranging two to four lines; whereas the portrait-oriented side is inscribed with a lexical excerpt, in average five to nine lines long. In some tablets, only one of the sides is inscribed; in general, the surfaces are hardly ever exhausted: usually the sides end with a ruling, followed by a blank section. This blank section is occasionally filled with "counting wedges" ("Zählzeichen"): a series of clusters of nine vertical wedges with a diagonal or horizontal wedge, similar to tally marks (see Figure 4). These counting wedges, known also from Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian administrative and scholarly texts, appear to be used to count something, since in some document the total sum is also given,

150 So-called parablepsis: see Delnero 2012b, 55.

151 A similar error occurs in No. 31 o 7, as discussed in the commentary *ad loc.*

152 On the archaeological context of Middle Babylonian school tablets, see Veldhuis 2000, 68–70; George 2003, 288; and Bartelmus 2016a, 13–15 and 78–84.

153 On the formats of Middle Babylonian school tablets, see the thorough study in Bartelmus 2016a, 15–48 and 87–117.

Note also Bartelmus 2016b, 31–39; *ead.* 2018, 66–72; and the pioneering studies of van Soldt 2011, 203–205; Veldhuis 2000; and Sassmannshausen 1997.

154 HS 1764 (Veldhuis/Hilprecht 2003/2004, 42–43 no. 33; identification in Oelsner 2006b; see also Bartelmus 2016a, 18 fn. 76 and 426).

155 Bartelmus 2016a, 183–184; *ead.* 2016b, 32–35; *ead.* 2018, 69–70.



Figure 4. Counting wedges: 10^U (No. 21, $12\times$; No. 23, $9\times^+$) and 10^{AS+U} (No. 22, $4\times^+$)

but what exactly they count is unclear.¹⁵⁶ In any case, the presence of these wedges enables a datation of the tablets between the 14th and the 12th centuries BCE.¹⁵⁷

The nine Middle Babylonian school tablets published in this volume have a pillow-shaped format. They can be classified as follows:

Tablets with only a literary excerpt: No. 18 (?), 21, 22

Tablets with only a lexical excerpt: HS 1781 (\approx *Harra* II)¹⁵⁸

Tablets with a literary and a lexical excerpt: No. 17, 20, 23, 24, 25

Tablets with more than one excerpt per side: No. 19

The texts excerpted in the literary excerpts include:

Akkadian Literary Texts: Curses (Inscription?, Nr. 23), Extispicy (Nos. 21 and 22)

Historical Epic (No. 25), Hymn to Ištar (No. 17), *Tamarisk and Palm* (No. 18)

Sumerian Literary Texts: Wisdom Text (No. 24)

Bilingual Texts: Hymn (No. 20), School Dialogue (No 19)

Due to the scarcity of “library” manuscripts from the Middle Babylonian period (see §2), most of the literary excerpts cannot be identified with confidence. The lexical excerpts are, almost invariably, taken from the series *Harra*, and usually bear witness to versions that are much closer to the first-millennium recension than to the Old Babylonian ones. The following excerpts from that series occur in the present corpus:¹⁵⁹

No. 25 // SB *Harra* I 169–172 No. 17 // IV 127–133

No. 24 // VI 202–218 No. 19 // XIV 42–53

No. 22 // XXII 190’–[199’]

As is often the case in Middle Babylonian school tablets, the excerpts are usually monolingual, so the tablets repeat one and the same Sumerian words without providing an Akkadian translation for them: thus, in No. 25, the Sumerian word *kankal* is repeated no

156 On these “tally marks,” see Weidner 1952/1953, 202; Kraus 1987b, 200–201; Sassmannshausen 1997, 188–189; Veldhuis 2000, 71; Oelsner 2006a; Rutz 2011, 297, 301, and 305–306; Heeßel 2012, 181–182; Bartelmus 2016a, 42–48 and 117–121; *ead.* 2016b, 35–37 and in particular *ead.* 2018, 78–92. The counting wedges have been compared to the framing wedges known from some first-millennium school colophons: see Bartelmus 2016a, 48.

157 So Bartelmus 2018, 66. Note also the following tablets with counting wedges, which should be added to the useful catalogue in Bartelmus 2018, 90–92: HE 324

(Durand 1982, pl. 118 no. 324 = Scheil 1921, 3 no. 4); SMUI 1913.14.1487 (CDLI no. P421340, see fn. 378); and perhaps also *CUSAS* 30, 449 (no copy or photo published).

158 Not included in the volume, since it contains no literary material. See the editions by Scheil 1897, 62 and Veldhuis/Hilprecht 2003/2004, 42 no. 34; see also Bartelmus 2016a, 427–428 and §3 above.

159 The line numbers correspond to the first-millennium “canonical” version of *Harra*, which is not always identical with the Middle Babylonian versions: see Veldhuis 2003, 628–630.

fewer than nine times. The repetition of the same entry would only make sense if the various Akkadian translations, known to us from first-millennium sources, were recited off by heart by the students as they copied the assignment.¹⁶⁰ The only bilingual excerpt of *Harra*, No. 19, is discussed below. In addition to *Harra*, the following lexical texts are excerpted in the present corpus:

No. 19 // *An VIII* 75–85

No. 23 // *Nabnītu* (?)

The largest school tablet included in the volume is No. 19 (9.1 × 5.2 cm), which is also the most peculiar: it is written in an excellent hand, almost free of errors, and the lexical section is remarkable for several reasons. First, it contains not one excerpt, but two, which come from two different lexical lists — a feature common in first-millennium tablets, but hitherto unattested in Middle Babylonian school manuscripts. Secondly, as opposed to most other Middle Babylonian school tablets, the lexical excerpt is cited in a bilingual fashion, not only in its Sumerian version.¹⁶¹ Finally, and even more exceptionally, the second excerpt on the reverse of the tablet represents the first hitherto known Middle Babylonian excerpt of a synonym list, a genre entirely unattested in Middle Babylonian times.¹⁶² This exceptional exercise tablet, most likely the work of an advanced scribe, provides a bridge with the Neo-Babylonian school: indeed, Middle Babylonian pillow-shaped probably developed into Neo-Babylonian type 2 tablets,¹⁶³ which include as the first excerpt normally a bilingual text and on their reverse typically two lexical excerpts, like No. 19.

Neo-Babylonian School

As is the case in the Middle Babylonian period, school tablets from Nippur have the same basic formats as school tablets from Northern Babylonia. As first described by M. Civil (1979, 156–157) and explored and refined by P. Gesche (2001, 44–52), there are two basic

160 So Veldhuis 2014, 151. Note that the still rare Middle Babylonian “library” manuscripts of *Harra* are usually bilingual (*ibid.*, 250).

161 As noted by Bartelmus 2016a, 53, only higher tablets of *Harra* appear in bilingual form in Middle Babylonian school tablets. Note that the lexical excerpt on No. 23 is also bilingual, although it could not be identified (see the introduction of No. 23, where it is suggested that it may belong to *Nabnītu*).

162 Bartelmus 2016a, 198. Although relatively common in Assyrian school tablets

(Gesche 2001, 218), synonym lists are also a rarity in first-millennium school tablets from Babylon and its vicinity (Gesche 2001, 180 and 815; see also *CTL* 2, 463), and are entirely unknown in Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur (Jiménez forthcoming). Note that the unpublished fragment HS 2778 has now been identified as a library copy of *Maliku* = *šarru V*, the first known manuscript of the series from Nippur.

163 As suggested by Veldhuis 2000, 80–81; Bartelmus 2016a, 193; and *ead.* 2018, 38–39

types of first-millennium school tablets, probably corresponding to as many successive stages in the scribe's education:¹⁶⁴

Type 1 (Civil's [1995, 2308] "Type VII"): large tablets, typically with six narrow columns per side. The most common subcategory in this type is, in Gesche's taxonomy, type 1b, with repeated lexical material on the obverse and "non-canonical" lists and excerpts from literary or administrative texts on the reverse. The lexical excerpts of Type 1b tablets are almost exclusively drawn from the lower chapters of the large lexical compendium *Harra*.¹⁶⁵ The repeated copy of the excerpt probably had the purpose of making the student learn the list by heart. Type 1b is the best attested type of school tablet in first-millennium Nippur.¹⁶⁶

In the present corpus, Nos. 28 and 30 belong to type 1b:¹⁶⁷ both contain repeated excerpts of *Harra* I on their obverse, and excerpts from the stone series *Abnu šikinšu* (No. 28) and "acrographic lists" (i.e., different spellings of the same words)¹⁶⁸ on their reverses (both).

**

Type 2 (Civil's [1995, 2308] "Type VI") are smaller, typically one-column tablets. The most common type of type 2 tablets are, in Gesche's description, type 2a: tablets beginning with several excerpts from literary texts, followed by several lexical excerpts on the lower part of the obverse and/or the reverse. Some of these tablets end with a date (day and month). Tablets of this type are also very common in Nippur.¹⁶⁹

In this volume, Nos. 26, 27, 29, and 31 are all type 2b tablets. The general sequence of excerpts is similar to the sequence in Northern Babylonian tablets, as described by Gesche (2001, 174):

1. Bilingual (incantations) No. 26 o a, b, c; No. 27 o a; No. 29 o a, b; No. 31 o a, b
2. Akkadian No. 31 o c
3. Lexical lists No. 26 r a, b; No. 31 r a, b, c

The texts excerpted in sections 1 and 3 are largely identical to those from Northern Babylonian school tablets: the bilingual incantations include Saġba (No. 26, 31), Udugġul (No. 26, 29), and other miscellaneous incantations (No. 27, 29). The lexical lists excerpted on

164 See also Jiménez forthcoming for a more nuanced presentation of the tablet types and for some additional types (Type 0 and Type 2b).

165 In Northern Babylonian, type 1b tablets excerpt almost exclusively *Harra* I–III (Gesche 2001, 77); in Nippur *Harra* IV and V also appear occasionally (Jiménez forthcoming).

166 With almost 60 exemplars (Jiménez forthcoming).

167 Another type 1 tablet, not included in the present volume because it contains exclusively lexical material, is HS 1917+,

described in the internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 43) as "dgl. [*scil.* Neubabylon.] Liste HAR-ra = *hubullu*, Taf. V. Fundort: Nippur. Join mit HS 1924+2565+1937 (Oe[lsner] 10.9.75)."

168 The use of the term "acrographic" for these lists, traditionally termed "(verbal) paradigms" (so e.g. in Jiménez 2017a, 390), was introduced by Cavigneaux 1981, 117–123 and followed, with reservations, by Gesche 2001, 103–123. See further Jiménez forthcoming.

169 Over 50 exemplars are known (Jiménez forthcoming).

the reverse of the tablets are, in all cases, higher chapters from the lexical compendium *Harra*: thus, No. 26 excerpts *Harra* VII–VIII, No. 31 *Harra* V–VII.¹⁷⁰

However, the selection of monolingual Akkadian texts (section 2) differs greatly in Nippur tablets: as discussed above (§2) and more extensively in Jiménez (forthcoming), none of the literary texts belonging to the “Marduk Syllabus,” nor the lexical series *Tintir* = *Babylon*, both ubiquitous in the Northern Babylonian curriculum, is copied once on Nippur school tablets.¹⁷¹ Instead, texts relevant to Nippur and its gods, such as *Angim*, *Anzû*, and *Lugale*, are used:¹⁷² all three texts are Old Babylonian compositions that were adapted and transmitted into the first millennium BCE. As in these cases, the Nippur curriculum includes many more texts of Old Babylonian origin than the Northern Babylonian curriculum, in which the texts excerpted are usually Kassite or later creations.¹⁷³ In fact, the only Akkadian text on a school tablet in this volume, in No. 31, is a veritable antique: an excerpt of the wisdom text *Šimâ milka*, “Hearken to the advice!”, also known as the *Instructions of Šūpê-amēli*, probably an Old Babylonian composition known almost exclusively from Ugarit and Emar.

When more than one section of the same composition is excerpted, the excerpts respect the sequence of chapters of that composition: thus, the first excerpt of the obverse of No. 31 belongs to *Saġba* I, the second to *Saġba* II; its reverse excerpts *Harra* V, then VI, then VII. The excerpts copied on tablets are independent from one another, but occasionally share words, phrases, or topics. Thus, the first and third excerpts of No. 31 include the word “pitfall,” and all non-lexical excerpts on the tablet describe dangerous situations in general. The excerpts are also frequently incomplete and meaningless on their own: some lexical excerpts begin with entries with the repetition sign MIN on the second column, and the sequence repeated is not given.¹⁷⁴

★★

No. 32 is not a tablet of excerpts, but rather a small list of magical and lexical incipits. The incantations cited in it are attested frequently in school tablets from Nippur, whereas the lexical tablets appear in sequence (*Harra* XVIII, XIX, and XX). Both the highest chapters of *Harra* and some of the incantations cited (e.g. *Mīs pī* IV 1) are only copied on a particularly sophisticated type of school tablets, termed “2d” in Jiménez forthcoming, which are remarkably long (up to 100 lines) and contain an unusually large number of excerpts (up

170 In Nos. 27 and 29 the reverse is either un-inscribed or not preserved.

171 Gesche (2001, 149–150 and 172–173) states that literary texts in type 1 tablets have “die Königsideologie zum Thema,” whereas those of type 2 tablets are all texts relevant for the art of the exorcist. This general description, fitting as it may sound, has, however, nothing to recommend it: indeed, most Mesopotamian literature has to do with the king, in one way or another; and most of the literary texts excerpted on type 2 tablets would seem to be irrelevant for the art of the exorcist (see also Bartelmus 2016a, 199).

172 See Heinrich/Jiménez 2021 and, in general, Jiménez forthcoming.

173 Rather than as a penchant for older or newer texts, this difference can probably be explained as derived from the preference for local texts: most texts copied in Babylon present Marduk as the head of the pantheon (e.g. *Enūma eliš*, *Ludlul*), and the exaltation of Marduk, having taken place in the second half of the second millennium BCE, is only recorded in texts from that period onwards.

174 See Gesche 2001, 54 and 174 and the introduction to No. 26.

to 11). No. 32 should, therefore, probably be interpreted as the syllabus of an advanced educational stage, i.e., a selection of texts that the teacher would have asked his students to copy at the final phase of their elementary education.

★★

The eleven school tablets found in the so-called Nippur Governor's archive, datable between 755 and 732 BCE (Cole 1996, 1–6) have formats similar to those described above: there are multi-column tablets with spelling exercises and excerpts from letters (cp. type 1);¹⁷⁵ and smaller, one-column tablets with single excerpts from lexical lists (cp. type 2).¹⁷⁶ However, the exercises themselves deviate greatly from those known in later school tablets: not a single one contains an excerpt from a known literary text or lexical list. Moreover, the sequence of excerpts that is otherwise standard in the first millennium (e.g. Bilingual → Akkadian → Lexical lists in type 2 tablets) is not observed in these tablets. One should assume either that these tablets represent an intermediary step in the development between the Middle and the Neo-Babylonian school,¹⁷⁷ or else an alternative curricular option for students destined to become scribes in administrative settings.

As stated above, type 2 tablets are usually dated to month and day: thus, No. 26 to 13/VII, No. 31 to 28/VIII. Type 1 tablets are not dated, but they sometimes excerpt dating formulae from contracts, which in turn provide a *terminus post quem* for the writing of the tablet itself: the only case known in Nippur is an excerpt of a contract from the 9th year of Xerxes (477/476 BCE).¹⁷⁸ None of the tablets in this volume can be dated with certainty; however, one should assume that most, if not all of them, date to the same period as other standard Neo-Babylonian school tablets from Nippur datable through their archaeological context, i.e. between the end of the 7th century and the mid-5th century BCE.¹⁷⁹ The post-war Nippur excavations have unearthed first-millennium school tablets in many sectors of the city: in the area of the North Temple, around the Inanna Temple, in Tablet Hill, and in several points of the West Mounds.¹⁸⁰ There is no particular reason to suspect that the school tablets in this volume came from a discrete place, rather than from various sectors, but nothing certain can be said about their provenance.

175 E.g. IM 77078 (12N 101) and IM 77079 (12N 102), edited in Cole 1996, no. 117 and 118, respectively.

176 Thus, IM 77140 (12N 163) and IM 77155 (12N 178), edited in Cole 1996, no. 122 and 123, respectively, and containing non-standard bilingual profession lists.

177 Thus Gesche 2001, 21.

178 N 2511 (Jiménez forthcoming). School tablets from Babylon contain excerpts of dating formulae of Nebuchadnezzar, Artaxerxes, and Philip Arrhidaeus (see Gesche 2001, 39 and 147).

179 Among the few school tablets found in context are IM 58815 (4NT 21), found in a NB level (McCown/Haines/Biggs 1978, 48), and several tablets found during the second post-war Nippur Campaign in TB 62-B (e.g. 2NT 176–178, 183, 192, 195, 199, and 210), and which may date to the Achaemenid period, like the tablet 2NT 83 found in TB 34 fill (McCown/Haines/Hansen 1967, 75).

180 See Jiménez forthcoming.

Catalogue of Tablets Edited

I. Literature

- No. 1 HS 1941 and Duplicates, Blessings for a King
- No. 2 HS 1916, The Exaltation of Ištar III (Bilingual *š'ila*-prayer)
- No. 3 HS 1919+ HS 1936, A Wisdom Monologue

II. Magic

Second Millennium

- No. 4 HS 1887, Middle Babylonian Prayer to Marduk (forerunner to BMS 12)
- No. 5 HS 1888, A List of Appurtenances for a Ritual
- No. 6 HS 1889, Middle Babylonian Anti-witchcraft Incantation

First Millennium

- No. 7 HS 1934+ CBS 14075, Bilingual Incantation (Udughul IX and Zipad Incantations)
- No. 8 HS 1948, Bilingual Incantation (Consecration of a Priest)
- No. 9 // 10 HS 1927 // HS 2156, Amulets

III. Divination

Second Millennium

- No. 11 HS 1923, *Iqqur ipuš*, General Series (§§ 94-96, 103-104)
- No. 12 HS 1951, Extispicy, Finger (Middle Assyrian)
- No. 13 HS 2941, Extispicy, Lungs

First Millennium

- No. 14 HS 1933, Enūma Anu Enlil “57” (= 60)
- No. 15 HS 1945, *Šumma kittabru*(ŠE) for Women
- No. 16 HS 1947, *Iqqur ipuš*, Monthly Series (VIII Month)

IV. School tablets

Second Millennium

- No. 17 HS 1890, Hymn to Ištar and Lexical Excerpt
- No. 18 HS 1892, Tamarisk and Palm
- No. 19 HS 1895, Bilingual School Dialogue and Lexical Excerpt
- No. 20 HS 1896, Bilingual Text and Lexical Excerpt
- No. 21 HS 1898, Extispicy (Front of the Pouch)
- No. 22 HS 1899, Extispicy (Coils)
- No. 23 HS 1905, Curses and Lexical Excerpt
- No. 24 HS 1910, Sumerian Wisdom and Lexical Excerpt
- No. 25 HS 2943, Historical Epic and Lexical Excerpt



First Millennium

- No. 26 HS 1914, Incantation (Type 2)
No. 27 HS 1921, Incantation (Type 2)
No. 28 HS 1925 (Type 1)
No. 29 HS 1935, Incantation (Type 2)
No. 30 HS 1938+ HS 1939 (Type 1)
No. 31 HS 1943, Incantation and *Šimá milka* (Type 2)
No. 32 HS 1946, Magical and Lexical Incipits

V. Uncertain

- No. 33 HS 1906, Ritual (?)

I. Literature



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.033

No. 1: HS 1941 and Duplicates, Blessings for a King

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1941

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 45): “Neubab. Hymne an Nusku (?). Fundort: Nippur.” On box (not Hilprecht’s handwriting): “neubab Hymne? (an Nusku?).”

Size: 13.5 × 8.2 × 1.5 cm

Introduction

Quintus Curtius Rufus reports that, when Alexander entered Babylon, he was received with great pomp and splendor by a party composed of “magi,” “Chaldeans,” and two types of “Babylonians”: “prophets” and “musicians.” The latter group, continues Rufus, added to the fanfare “with lyres of their own kind” (*cum fidibus sui generis*), with which they were “used to sing the praises of kings” (*laudes hi regum canere soliti*).¹⁸¹ Such musical prayers to kings are in fact known in the cuneiform documentation, in the form of two tablets from the first millennium BCE: one Assyrian ([1] BM 65217+, edited by Kilmer 1984) and one Babylonian ([2] YBC 11381, edited by Payne 2010). The latter, perhaps from Nippur,¹⁸² invokes a different colorful blessing for each of the nine strings of a lyre, soliciting each time the protection of the royal figure from an uncommon deity:

(11) *pitnu*(SA) *sebû*(IMIN) *endukuga kibis šulmi u padāna lištakkan ana šikin šēpīka*

(12) *pitnu*(SA) *samnu*(USSU) *enutila hišba tuḥda u ḥengalla lištakkan ana merit ummānīka*

(13) *pitnu*(SA) *tešû*(ILIMMU) *enmešarra illat raggīka u zāmānīka lišabbir lisappiḥ kakki zā’erīka*

(11) Seventh string: “May Endukuga always place a prosperous road and path for your footsteps!”

(12) Eighth string: “May Enutila always grant abundance, opulence and lavishness to your people’s pastures”

(13) Ninth string: “May Enmešara crush the troops of your enemies and your foes, may he scatter the weapons of your adversaries.”

As suggested by Kilmer, each of the lines may refer to a note or string “on which to start or end the pieces” (Kilmer/Civil 1986, 96). The rubric of the Neo-Assyrian tablet clearly identifies its purpose: “These are the blessings of the singer to the ki[ng]” (*annūtu ikribū [š]a nāri ana š[arri]*, see Reiner 1991, 421). One can imagine the musicians who received

181 Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander V*, 22: “Then came the magi, chanting a hymn after their manner, after them the Chaldeans, and of the Babylonians not only their prophets, but also musicians with their own kind of instruments; the

latter were accustomed to sing the praises of the kings, the Chaldeans, to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons” (Rolfe 1946, 332–333).

182 See below No. 2 commentary on l. 14.

Alexander in Babylon singing similar blessings accompanied by lyres, invoking rare Mesopotamian gods to protect their new king.

Independent compositions consisting of blessings to the king without any musical notation are known in Akkadian literature during the second and first millennia BCE. From the first-millennium parallels, one might assume that such compositions were intended to be sung, but the musical notation was not put in writing. The pairing of musical instructions with royal blessings, as attested in the two first-millennium tablets, might be a late creation.

The relatively small group of “blessing(s) to the king” (*ikrib(ū) šarri*)¹⁸³ was identified in the first place by F. R. Stummer (Stummer 1927), who noticed that the tablet HE 341 (no. [7] below), identified as a prayer to Nabû in its editio princeps, contained in fact blessings to a king that invoke the god of writing.¹⁸⁴ Although in all likelihood originating in Babylonia, the genre was virtually unknown in the South: formerly it was known on tablets from Emar (no. [3]) and from Assyria (texts nos. [4]–[10]). In Assyria such texts represented not only a scholarly exercise; they also exerted a strong influence on matters such as the wording of blessings in the Neo-Assyrian correspondence (Watanabe 1991, 381–383). The musical tablet mentioned above (no. [2]), which may stem from Nippur, constitutes the only Babylonian collection of blessings to the king hitherto published. Another tablet from Northern Babylonia, edited for the first time as no. [11], has long been known but has remained unpublished. The long text from Nippur edited in this chapter, HS 1941, for which duplicates from Assyria and Northern Babylonia have been found, is the first known tablet of blessings that seems to have been transmitted over several centuries and circulated in various scribal centers.

[3] The oldest known composition containing exclusively blessings to a king¹⁸⁵ is a bilingual text attested in two contemporary tablets from the periphery, from Emar (Msk.74243 = *Emar* IV 775, photo Arnaud 1985, 564, in Sumerian and Akkadian) and Ugarit (RS 79.25 = Arnaud 1982, 210, only a syllabic Sumerian column is preserved).¹⁸⁶ The text, clearly a copy of a Mesopotamian original,¹⁸⁷ contains a series of invocations of gods and natural elements, all of which are summoned to act in the king’s favor:

183 See Landsberger 1928, 311–312, who discusses the occurrences of the phrase *ikrib(ū) šarri* as a rubric and the references to it in other texts.

184 Stummer further compared the text with *Num.* 6: 24–26 and *Psalms* 20: 1–5, which contain blessings of a similar type, but not directed to a king. On the possible Mesopotamian background of *Num.* 6: 24–26, see Fishbane 1983 and Cohen 1993. For other possible Biblical parallels, see Dietrich 1998, 190–195.

185 Note also the unpublished Middle Assyrian tablet T96–31, from Tell Sabi Abyad, described by Wiggermann (2008, 560b)

as a tablet that “addresses the king with good wishes.”

186 The text has been edited several times: Arnaud 1987, 371–377; Watanabe 1991, 383–387; Kämmerer 1998, 216–219 (Akkadian version only); and Dietrich 1998. See also the translation by Dietrich/Loretz 1991, 819–820 and the study by Viano 2016, 285–298.

187 Viano 2016, 286–287; cf. Dietrich 1998, 196–197. Viano 2016, 295–298 assumes that the text was “composed or reworked during the Middle Babylonian period.” The Sumerian text *Hymn to Marduk for a King* (CSL 2.9.1), known from Old Bab-

(11) ^dag lugal gi-dub-ba-a u₄ gid-zu hé-ne-éb-tar-re
 [a-k]a lu-gal gi-du-ba-a [(o o)] | [(o o) na]m-tar-gi-da ta-r[i (o o)]
^dna-bi-um be-el qa-an-tup-pí ūmī(U₄^{mes})-ka | arkūti(EGIR-ku-ti) liš-ṭur

(12) ur-saĝ^d nin-urta á kala-zu kala-ga-me-en
 [ur-s]aĝ ni-nu-ur-ta^r a¹-[ka-la-zu | ka]-la-ga₅-e-ni [(o o)]
 qar-ra-dum^d nin-urta e-mu-qí-ka -dan₅ⁱ-nin

(11) Let Nabû, the owner of the stylus, write for you prolonged days!

(12) Let the warrior Ninurta reinforce your strength!¹⁸⁸

The litany begins with Enlil and Ninlil (ll. 3–6), then other great gods are mentioned (ll. 7–14), followed by elements such as water, rain, and mountains (ll. 15–22).¹⁸⁹ Each god and element grant a favor that is somehow related to his sphere of influence: thus Nabû “writes” a long life for the king on his tablet and Ninurta grants him power. In this respect, the text is similar to earlier Old Babylonian Sumerian royal hymns (Mayer 1987, 63–64; Dietrich 1998, 172–174) and to later first-millennium hymns and mythical narratives (Mayer 1987; Dietrich 1998, 174–175; *id.* 2003; Jiménez 2013a), in which each god grants an abstract present or regalia to the monarch.

[4] The small tablet K.6331 (photo and edition by Watanabe 1991, 361–366 and *ead.* 1992)⁺¹⁹⁰ contains a series of blessings invoked from the stars that are said to preside over each month in *Astrolabe* B and other astrological texts. Remarkably, the stars appear in the same order and with the same epithets in both the astrological texts and the tablet of blessings (Reiner 1991, 421; Watanabe 1992, 372). Similarly, the tablet [5] *STT* 340 (edition Reiner/Civil 1967, 194–195 and Watanabe 1991, 349–361) contains thirty blessings, one for each day of the month, addressed to the king. The blessings are occasionally preceded by the mention of a ritual that takes place on the day in question, and the blessing is often derived from it: thus, the blessing for the twentieth day, the day traditionally associated with Šamaš, is: “like the bright twentieth day, let your face always shine for all the people” (*kī ša* U₄.20.KAM *namri ana kiššat niš litanbiṭū zīmūka*).

[6] A litany known from two Neo-Assyrian tablets, K.2279+(+) (Sidersky 1920; Härtinen 2021) // IM 3246 (*TIM* 9, 55), contains blessings of an overwhelmingly agricul-

ylonian tablets from Sippar (Civil 1989, 7, Viano 2016, 288–289), represents a close parallel, but it is not the same composition. Note that the incipit *ti-la lugal-ĝu₁₀* is now attested in a fragment of a Neo-Assyrian letter K.15020 r 1 (eBL transliteration), among other texts to be “written” (r 2: [...] ^ri¹-šat-ṭu-ru). If the incipit corresponds indeed to this text, it would mean that it survived into the first millennium BCE, an idea also supported by the possible mention of the title in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (Lambert 1962, 64 iv 7', followed by the title *marūtuk bēlu rabū kīniš lippal[liska]*, which is perhaps the title of DT 135, on which

see below fn. 191, as noted by Härtinen 2021, 223). Note that two first-millennium duplicates of *ti-la lugal-ĝu₁₀*, SU-1951.136 (*STT* 186) and SU-1952.13 (*STT* 196) have now been identified by T. Mitto. An edition of the first-millennium duplicates by Mitto is forthcoming.

188 Following the edition by Dietrich 1998, 160.

189 On the structure of the text, see Dietrich 1998, 164–166.

190 The tablet was now joined by A. Härtinen to Sm.1492 (Horowitz 2014, 152–153 and pl. ix). A new edition by Härtinen is forthcoming.

tural character.¹⁹¹ While most of the lines contain general blessings without any invocation of a god, some of them do mention gods:

reverse

(68 ^r) <i>sîn</i> ^(d30) <i>šarru</i> (LUGAL) <i>lu-u</i> [<i>na</i>]- <i>šir-ka</i>	May king Sîn be your protector!
(69 ^r) <i>mu-šal-lim-ka</i> <i>lu-u</i> <i>ninurta</i> ([^d]MAŠ ⁷) <i>qar⁷-ra-du</i>	May warrior Ninurta be your benefactor!
(70 ^r) <i>mu-kil</i> <i>na-piš-ti⁷-ka</i> <i>lu⁷-u</i> <i>marūtuk</i> (^d AMAR.UTU)	May Marduk be the guardian of your life!
(71 ^r) <i>mu-^rdan-nin⁷</i> ^{7sic} <i>pi⁷-ri-ka⁷</i> <i>lu-u</i> ^d <i>ba-ú</i>	May Ba'û be the reinforcer ¹ of your body!
(16) AN.GUB.BA ^{mes} <i>ilū</i> (DINGIR ^{mes7}) <i>šir-ru-^rti⁷</i>	The Standing Gods – splendid gods,
(17) AN.TUŠ.A ^{mes} <i>ilū</i> (^r DINGIR ^{mes7}) <i>šū⁷-pu-u-^rti⁷</i>	The Sitting Gods – shining gods,
(18) <i>ina še-e-ri</i> <i>du⁷-un-qi</i>	(May they bring) in the morning kindness,
(19) [<i>in</i>] <i>a mu-uš-^rla⁷-li</i> <i>ne⁷-me-li</i>	In the afternoon profit,
(20) [<i>in</i>] <i>a</i> <i>šum⁷-še-e ku-ši-ru</i>	In the evening gain!

As noted by several scholars, the blessings in this tablet are not directed to a king, since royal protection is invoked in one of its lines,¹⁹² but rather to “ein Grosser” (Landsberger 1928, 312 fn. 1) or “a wealthy agriculturalist” (Livingstone 1999, 376). The tablet, however, is clearly a member of the group studied here, and indeed its wording is often identical to other royal blessings.¹⁹³

[7] A small tablet from Aššur, ‘Tisserant 21’ = HE 341 (Scheil 1921, 31 = Durand 1982, no. 341; edition Watanabe 1991, 366–369), contains blessings to a king that are invoked, apparently, only from the god Nabû. Its rubric reads “[...] to the king, of the temple of Nabû” ([o o o (o o)] *ana šarri*(LUGAL) *šá bīt*(^rÉ⁷) *nabū*(^dAG)).

[8] At least part of the large bilingual tablet K.2015+ (CTL 1, 315), written in tabular format, consists of blessings addressed to a second person. Identified as a “Bilingual Precept Compilation” by Gordon 1960, 148b, the tablet contains extremely artful Sumerian and equally difficult Akkadian.¹⁹⁴ Rare Nippur gods, such as Ninlilda-galdi (*An = Anu* I 265 [Litke 1998, 51]), Lamagaga and Lu-Ninlila (*An = Anu* I 279 and 359 [Litke 1998, 53 and 64]) occur. It is possible, but not certain, that the prayers are addressed to the king:

18'. [...] x	<i>be-la</i> ^d <i>lamma-ga-ga</i>
19'. [...] x	<i>ina še-pi la-ba-an appi</i> (KIR ₄)
20'. [...] i]m [?]	<i>su-ul-li-ma</i>
21'. [...] -ke ₄	<i>an qa-at</i> ^d <i>lú-d</i> ^d <i>nin-líl-lá</i>
22'. [...] é] -šár-ra	: <i>li-ši-im-ku a-di šá-ar nu-huš</i> É.ŠĀR
23'. [...] -t]uku	<i>li-šar-ši-ku</i>

(20^r) Pray⁽¹⁸⁾ to the lord Lammagaga,⁽¹⁹⁾ with *prostration* and supplication (‘stroke of the nose’),⁽²²⁾ that he may assign you⁽²¹⁾ to the care of Lu-Ninlila;⁽²³⁾ that he may endow you⁽²²⁾ profusely with the wealth of the Ešarra!

191 As noted above (fn. 187), the incipit of DT 135 is probably registered in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*.

192 In line r 6: “may they guard you on the command of god and king” (*ina amāt ili u šarri lišallimūka*).

193 See below the commentary on ll. 22, 26, and 36.

194 Borger 1964, 49b cites the tablet as one of the rare examples of wisdom literature overlooked in Lambert 1960a. Note that the fragment K.7737+ K.9583 (eBL join and transliteration) may well be part of this composition.

[9] Blessings of kings are also given in a tablet that apparently contains a description of the *legomena* of a ritual, probably associated with the New Year Festival: K.3446+(+) Sm.211(+) K.10282 (Lambert 1997, 58–59).¹⁹⁵ The blessings, which use the second and third person singular and occasionally contain etymologies of the divine names, often refer to parts of the Esagil, where they were probably recited:

(27) [i-n]a é-gúr-hur-sag m[u-kan-niš šá-d]i-i šu-bat ^dkur-gi^l(Zi)-gim-ša₅-ša₅^{šá-šá}

(28) [šá šadá(KU)R-a] [ki-m]a qané(GI-né-e) ú-ḥaṣ-ṣa-ṣu

(29) [la k]an-šu-t[i-ka] li-ḥaṣ-ṣi-ṣu qané(GI-né)-šam

(27) In Egurḥursag, which makes mountains [bow down], the seat of Kurgigimšaša,

(28) [who] breaks the mountain like a reed,

(29) may he break those who do [not] submit [to you] like reeds!

[10] A tablet from Nimrud (ND 5592 = CTN 4, 190), described as a “royal ritual (?)” (Wiseman/Black 1995, 28a; see also Mayer 1998, 270), contains a series of fragmentary blessings that are reminiscent of K.3446+(+). The tablet features several Assyrianisms (e.g. i’ 6’: *likrabūka*), speaks of “proper custom” (ii’ 11’: *ussa kīna*, compare tablet [11] o 12’) and “good conduct” (ii’ 12’: *rīda damqa*),¹⁹⁶ and refers repeatedly to Nippur temples and gods:¹⁹⁷

Column i’

1’. [...] (x) x-ṣu

2’. [...] x é-kur

3’. [...] x-lu līb-bi ^den-líl

4’. [...] é-kur lim-mir

5’. [...] i]a-ši-il-ta li-im-la

6’. [...] lik-ra-bu-ka

7’. [...] li-i]ḥ-du-ú li-ri-šú

8’. [...] ṣi]-it ^dšam-ši

9’. [...] e-r]eb ^dšam-ši

10’. [...] ^{kur²}šu-me-ri

11’. [...] x da-ád-me

12’. [...] x-en ta-pe-lu

13’. [...] x kit-tu₄

14’. [...] x amurru^{(imm)MAR.᠑TU¹}

15’. [...] x-᠑ki¹

Column ii’

1’. [^d+e]n-líl x [...]

2’. ina ik-ri-b[i ...]

3’. ^dlú-mah² x [...]¹⁹⁸

4’. qaq-qar šul-me u [...]

5’. ^dpap¹(KUR)-sukkal u ^dx [...]

6’. idi(Á)-ka lil-li-k[u ...]

7’. a-na kisalmāḥ(KISAL.MAH) é-kur [...]

8’. ^dudug-gá-gá še-ed d[um-qí ...]

9’. ^dudug-sig₅-ga ^dlamma-si[g₅-ga ...]

10’. šēdu^{(d)ALAD} lamassu^{(d)LAMMA} [...]

11’. us-sa ki-nam [...]

12’. ri-da dam-qa [...]

13’. a-na pa-ni-ka [...]

14’. a-na ar-ki-k[a ...]

15’. a-na ᠑šú¹-me-li-k[a ...]

16’. a-na ki-gal x [...]

195 Previous editions in Watanabe 1991, 378–381 and Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 240–243, 288–289, and pl. 5. Other tablets with blessings recited in ritual contexts are VAT 10282 (KAR 3, Watanabe 1991, 369–372) and *Bīt rimki* III (Watanabe 1991, 372–378).

196 The same two phrases appear in the epilogue of the *Codex Hammurapi* (xlvi 6–7, in Oelsner 2022, 262).

197 ND 5592 (CTN 4, 190) is probably part of the same tablet as ND 6200 (CTN 4, 183) and perhaps also ND 5509 (CTN 4, 148). The first two are two-column tab-

lets with decimal markers that contain Nippur theology, the latter is a fragment from the left-hand side of a tablet that also refers to Nippur and its sanctuaries. The text seems to be a large composition in praise of Nippur and its temples. One of the sections of the text (ND 6200 ii) duplicates lines that also appear in MS c₂ of the present text (see below fn. 202). The edition here has been collated thanks to photos taken by Anmar A. Fadhil in the framework of the eBL project.

198 On the “divine *lumahḫu*-priest,” see George 1993a, 118 no. 705.

- 17'. *it-ti*^{d+}*en*^l-[*lil* ...]
18'. *a-na* x [...]

[11] The only hitherto known Babylonian tablet of non-musical royal blessings is BM 64518 (82-9-18, 4498), a tablet frequently cited in secondary literature,¹⁹⁹ but published here for the first time (pl. 1). The tablet contains a series of blessings addressed to a king, and invokes both concrete objects, such as presents and regalia (ll. 2'-3', 6'), as well as abstractions, such as the protection of the royal army (l. 16') and the defeat of the king's enemies (ll. 18'-21'). The gods mentioned (Anu, Enlil, Ea, Bēlet-ilī, the Sebettu (?), and Erra) are far better known than those attested in other tablets with blessings, although two rarer divinities do appear: Narudu (l. 17') and Ma'utuša (l. 8'), the chariot of Marduk. The occurrence of the latter, together with the mention of Esagil (l. 24'), suggests that the composition is Northern Babylonian in origin:

obverse

- 1'. [...] x [o o (o)] x x x [o o o (o o)]
2'. [...] *igi-sá*^{-r}*a*^l(?)^r*u*^l*šu-u*^l-[*m*] *a-nu*^r*li-še*^l*ri-ba* *m*[*a-ḥar-ka*]
3'. [...] x *an*^r x *a*^r x *u*^r *qīšta*(NÍG.BA) *du*^r-*muq*^l x [o o]
4'. [...] x-*ši*^{-r}*na*^r*bu-us-ra*^l-*at* *ḥa-de*^{-r}*e*^l [o o o]
5'. [...] ^d*a-num*^r^d*en-lil*^r^d*é*^l-*a* ^d*be-let-ilī*(DINGIR^{mes}) *m*[*a-a*] *l*-*ku*^l-[*tú*]
6'. [...] *r* *ḥat*^{-r}*tu*^r*i*^l-*šá-ar-tú*^{gis}*še-ber-ri*^r*ki*^l-*i-n*[*u*]
7'. [...] *ana ši-ri*^k²-[*t*]^ú*li-iš*^r*ru-ku* *ga-at*^{-r}*ti*^l-*k*[*a*]²
8'. [...] ^{gis}*má-uš*^l-*tuš*^r-*a* ^{gis}*ru-ku*^l-*bu* *el*^{-r}*le*^l-*tu*⁴ *ina* *ši-it*^r *pi-i-šú-nu* *šá la ut-tak*^{-r}*ka-ru*^l
9'. [...] x-*mu du-uš-šu-ú*
10'. [...] *la n*] *a-par-ka-a* *li-še-ri-bu* *ma*^l-*ḥar-ka*
11'. [...] *i*^l-*na ub-šu-ukkin*^l(MES)-*na-ku* *šu-b*[*at*] *ši-tul*^l-*ti-šú-nu*^l
12'. [...] x *us*^l-*su dam-qa a-la*[*k-tú*] *i-šá-ar*^l-[*ti*]
13'. [...] *li*^l-*iš-te*^{-r}*u-ú-k*[*a*]

reverse

- 14'. [...] *sebettu*^{(d)IMIN.BI} *ilū*(DINGIR^m^{es}) *rabūtu*(GAL^{mes}) *mārū*(DUMU^{mes}) ^d*a-nim qar-du-tu*
15'. [...] *ina šibṭi u* *šag-ga-áš-tu*⁴ *li-ti-ru* *ga-at-ta-k*[*a*]
16'. [...] x-*ka e-li um-ma-ni-ka liš-ku-nu* *šu-lu-l*[*u*]
17'. [...] ^d*na-ru-ḥu*^r^d*u*^r *i-na ka-šu-šu* ^d*er-ra* *gaš-ri ilī*(^rDINGIR^m^{es})
18'. [...] *li-iš-šur* (?) *na*] *p-šá-tu-uk māṭ*(KUR) *a-a*^{-r}*bi*^l-*ka li-is-pu-u*[*n a-b*] *u-ba-niš*
19'. [...] *mārāt*(D)UMU.MUNUS^{mes}) ^d*a-nim* [*i-n*] *a me-lul*^{-r}*tu*⁴ *šá-áš*-[*mi qa*] *b-lu* *ù tāḥāzi*(MÈ)
20'. [...] x *li-na-i-i-r*[*a*] *za*^l-*i-i-ri-ka* *li-šá*^l-[*a*] *m-qí-ta ga-ri-ka*
21'. [...] x *li-šá-am-ri*^{-r}*ra*^l *kak-ki*^{-r}*ki*^l^{sic}
22'. [...] *ma-ḥ*] *a-zi ilī*(DINGIR^{mes}) *rabūti*(GAL^{mes}) *ina pi-it bābi*(KÁ) *ru-um*^{-r}*mi-i*^l *sikkūri*(^{gis}SAG.K[UL] o (o))
23'. [...] ^{-r}*e*^l *āli*(URU) *u bēli*(EN) *-šú a-na* *da-mi-iq*^l-*tu*⁴ *li-iḥ*^{-r}*su*^l-*s*[*u*²-*ka*]
24'. [...] x ^d*a-num*^r *šar*(LUGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR^{mes}) *a*^l-*na é-sag-il* *ēkal*(^rÉ^l[GAL] *ilī*(DINGIR^{mes})) (?)
25'. [...] x *ina*^r *bu-ni-šú nam-ru-tu li-ip-p*[*a-li-is-ka*]
26'. [...] x *kiš*^l-*šat šamē*(AN^{-r}^e) *u*^r *eršet*(^rKI-ti^l) x [o o o o o]

199 Beaulieu/Mayer 1997, 168 and 176 (11' and 19'-21'); Mayer 2012, 96 (11'); Mayer 2017b, 209 (14'-15'); Mayer 2003a, 234 (22'); Mayer 2008, 101 (22'-23'). The tablet is also mentioned by Reiner 1991, 421

and Watanabe 1992, 373. The edition presented here has profited from a draft transliteration kindly made available by Werner R. Mayer.

obverse

- 1'. [...] ... [...]
- 2'. May [...] bring to y[ou *gif*]ts and pre[se]nts!
- 3'. [...] ... an offering, the choicest ... [...]
- 4'. [May ... bring you] happy news ...!
- 5'. [(...) May] Anu, Enlil, Ea and Bēlet-ilī⁽⁷⁾ grant you⁽⁵⁾ rul[er]ship,
- 6'. [...] ... the righteous sce[pter], the virtuous rod,
- 7'. [...] of your figure ...
- 8'. [May ... (and) the Ma'u]tuša, the pure chariot, with their im[utable] utterance,
- 9–10'.⁽¹⁰⁾ [...] un]ceasingly bring [...] to your presence⁽⁹⁾ [...] abundant ...!
- 11'. [...] in the Ubšukkinaku, the res[idence of] their [del]iberation,
- 12'. [...] ... a straight course, a righte[ous] path
- 13'. [(...)] may they seek out for y[ou]!

reverse

- 14'. [(...) May the Seven,] the great [god]s, the sons of Anu, the warriors,
- 15'. [...] protect your body [from plague and] slaughter!
- 16'. [...] May ... place their aegis over your army!
- 17'. [...] Narudu, Erra, the strongest of the god[s], with the divine weapon
- 18'. [(...) May *he protect*] your [li]fe, may he flatt[en] the enemy country like the [fl]ood!
- 19'. [May the ..., the d]aughters of Anu, [in the g]ame, the ba[t]tle, the str]ife, and the combat,
- 20'. [...] ... kil[l] your [e]nemies, may they destroy your rivals!
- 21'. [...] ... may they make your (fem.) weapons bitter!
- 22'. [May the... shr]ines of the great gods, at the opening of the gate, at the unlocking of the latch,
- 23'. [at the ...] ... of the city and its lord, think well [of you]!
- 24'. [...] ... Anu, the king of the gods, to the Esagil, the *pal[ace of the gods]*,
- 25'. [...] may he loo[k at you] with a shining face!
- 26'. [...] the entirety of the heaven and earth ... [...]

[12] BM 40133 (81-2-1, 100, eBL transliteration) is a small fragment perhaps belonging to the same genre: compare ll. 2'–3': [... ^dlugal-ir₅-ra u] ^{r^d}mes-lam-ta-è-^ra¹ | [... lū mu-šak-š]i-du (?) i-zi-im-ti-ki, “[May ... Lugalirra and] Mesalmtae'a | [... *let you ach*]ieve your (fem.) desires!” and 7' [...] ^{r¹}lī u išturu(^dU.DAR) liš-mu-ú ik-ri[b-ki], “[...] may the god and the goddess listen to [your] pray[er]!”²⁰⁰ According to its colophon, the tablet belonged to a certain Bēl-uballit, of the Ilē³-Marduk family.

★★

The text published here for the first time is the longest known tablet of blessings to a king. It is, moreover, by far the most complex, and the only one attested in both Babylonian and Assyrian manuscripts. The text falls into five distinct sections, each of which consist of a series of divine names and blessings requested from them, and end with a rubric that describes the group of gods mentioned in each section. According to the rubrics, the divinities invoked in each section are the following:

- §1 Great Gods Who Determine the Destinies (*ilū rabūtu mušim šimāti*)
- §2 Attendants of the Ekur (*angubbū ša ēkur*)
- §3 Counselling Gods (*ilū mumtalkū*)

200 Compare the use of the feminine possessive suffix *-ki* in BM 64518 l. 21' (no. [11] above).

§4 Standard Bearers (*pētūtu šurinni*)

§5 Final Blessing

The gods invoked in the text become increasingly obscure as the text proceeds: if the first section lists the “great gods” of the Mesopotamian pantheon, the second and particularly the third section contains rare gods or divine pairs attested almost exclusively in lexical lists. In fact, the text contains two divine names unknown elsewhere: ^d*ūtul-gu₄-an-na* (l. 33) and ^dUG.BU (ll. 51–52). The order in which the gods appear may reflect a procession into a temple, which would begin in the outskirts of the city, with shrines of the great gods (§1), then would proceed past the attendants (§2) standing at the gates of the temple, then past the counselling gods, and then inside, perhaps at the court or entrance to the cella, where the standards (§4) would be placed, before finally reaching the cella, where the king would receive the final blessing.²⁰¹

**

The text is preserved in four manuscripts: one from Nippur (MS a), two from Northern Babylonia (MSS c and d), and one from Nineveh (MS B). The main manuscript of the text (MS a) is identified in its colophon as property of a Ninurta-ēreš son of Ninurta-aḥḥī-erība, a scribe apparently elsewhere unknown. It was no doubt produced in Nippur. The tablet, almost entirely preserved, contains 46 lines on its obverse and only 10 on its reverse. After the colophon, some three quarters of the reverse are left blank. In this respect, it is interesting to note that MS c contains additional Nippur material after the last line of the present text: the scribe of MS a may have intended to add similar material to the text, but for some reason did not do so.

The two fragments of MS c belong to the 83-1-21 consignment of the British Museum’s “Sippar Collection.” This consignment originated from Rassam’s activities in Babylonia and contains mainly tablets from Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar (Reade *apud* Leichty/Finkelstein/Walker 1988, xiii). The tablet is written in an elegant hand. In this manuscript, the last line of the present composition is followed by another text that mentions several Nippur temples, which is also known in a manuscript from Kalḫu (ND 6200 ii [CTN 4, 183]).²⁰² Since the reverse of MS c begins with l. 13 of the text, one must assume that another text appeared in that manuscript before the beginning of the blessings to the king.

MS d is a small fragment from the 76-11-17 (*olim*: S[†]) collection, bought from the dealer Marini by George Smith in Baghdad in 1876. The majority of the collection is reported to come from Babylon.²⁰³

It is particularly fortunate that a well-written Assyrian manuscript (MS B) has survived, since it enables the reading of several passages difficult to interpret in the Nippur manuscript. Four fragments of it were identified and joined by the author. It is written in a

201 As suggested by U. Gabbay (*privatim*).

202 As noted above (fn. 197), ND 6200 (CTN 4, 183) is probably part of the same tablet as ND 5509 (CTN 4, 148) and ND 5592 (CTN 4, 190), a composition in praise of Nippur and its temples. The fragment CBS 13959 (pl. 7), edited below in the

commentary to line c₂ 7', may also belong to it.

203 See the discussion by Reade *apud* Leichty/Finkelstein/Walker 1988, xiv and Leichty/Finkel/Walker 2019, 52 and 155, where the fragment is classified as “astro-nomical.”

typical “Assurbanipal hand,” but no colophon is preserved. The reverse begins with line 35, which means that the tablet probably contained only the present composition.

★★

It seems likely that the present text originated in the second half of the second millennium BCE. On the one hand, its presence in both Assyria (MS B) and northern (MS c, d) and Southern Babylonia (MS a) suggests that it is a text that was transmitted over a long period of time. On the other, the pairing of Anu and Dagan that occurs in ll. 52 and 55 of this text is first attested in texts from the Isin II dynasty onwards. It occurs for the first time in inscriptions of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu (1157–1140 BCE) and Simbar-Šipak (1025–1008 BCE), and it later only becomes popular during the Neo-Assyrian period.²⁰⁴

Interestingly, the inscription of Simbar-Šipak that mentions Anu and Dagan is only known in two late manuscripts, one of which, BM 82953 (83-1-21, 116),²⁰⁵ belongs to the same museum consignment as MS c (83-1-21, 119(+), 83-1-21, 121), and indeed their script is very similar. The fragment of the inscription was, according to its rubric, written on “a throne in Nippur” ([^{gi}G]U.ZA šá NIBRU^{ki}). Both tablets represent, therefore, probably later Northern Babylonian copies of earlier Nippur compositions.

★★

The litany of gods that forms the lion’s share of the text show close parallels with other such litanies. Section 1 is similar to the litany in *Šurpu* III 151–163 (Borger 2000, 51–53), which also lists divine pairs. The transcription below indicates the parallel lines in the text:

151. <i>māmūt anu u antu</i>	–/[1a ²]
152. <i>māmūt ellil u nillil</i>	1b
153. <i>māmūt ea u damkīna</i>	2
154. <i>māmūt šin u nikkal</i>	4
155. <i>māmūt šamaš u ayya</i>	5
156. <i>māmūt adad u šala</i>	6
157. <i>māmūt marūtuk u zarpanītu</i>	–
158. <i>māmūt nabū u tašmētu</i>	–
159. <i>māmūt ninurta u bēlet-nippuri</i>	8
160. <i>māmūt ningirsu u gula</i>	–
161. <i>māmūt nuska u sadarmuna</i>	cf. 15

Section 2 of the text is closely paralleled by K.7145 (*CT* 29, 47), a list of divine pairs, of which the fragment 81-7-27, 144 (eBL transliteration) may represent a duplicate.²⁰⁶

204 See Goetze 1965, 128; Brinkman 1968, 95; and Lambert n.d., ad I 81. Note, however, that the pair is also attested in SB *Anzū* II 58 = OB MS Ab r 14 (Vogelzang 1988, 54 and 99 and Annus 2001, 24 and 37). In the pair Anu – Dagan, Dagan stands probably for Enlil (on the equation Enlil = Dagan, see e.g. Feliu 2003, 296–298).

205 Published by Brinkman 1991 and Frame 1995, 72–73

206 The similarity between K.7145 and HS 1941 may suggest that K.7145 is in fact part of MS B. Although small differences in the order of the lines exist between MS a and MS B (e.g. in ll. 47–49), the divergences with K.7145 with both manuscripts are far more significant. In particular, MS B preserves the sequence 19–21, which in K.7145 is interrupted by two lines out of sequence. Given that similar lists of gods are known from other

1'. [^d nuska u ^d]r ¹ sa ¹ -dār-nu[n-na ...]	15
2'. [^d nin-ìmma] r ¹ u ¹ d ¹ kù-gi-[bàn-da ...]	16
3'. [^d šul-pa]-r ¹ è ¹ u bēlet-ilī(DINGIR.[MAḪ] ...)	3
4'. [^d šu-zi-an-n]a u ^d en-zi-kal[am-ma ...]	17
5'. [^d u]raš u ^d bēlet(NIN)-ēkalli(r ¹ E ¹ .[GAL] ...)	7
6'. [^d en-n]u-gi u ^d nissaba.GAL [...]	18
7'. [^d inim-m]a-ni-zi u ^d nin-kar-nun-[na ...]	39
8'. [^d k]ù-sù u ^d [indaḡara ...]	19
9'. adad([^d]IŠKUR) u ^d ša-[la ...]	6
10'. [^d nī]n-urta u ^d gu-[la ...]	–
11'. [^d nī]n-nisig u ^d ēr-ra-[gal ...]	20
12'. [^d nin-k]a-r ¹ si ¹ u ^d [siraš ...]	21
13'. [...] x [...]	

A similar litany of divine pairs appears in the incantation BM 50658 (82–3–23, 1649), edited by Geller 1998 and Maul 2019, 193–208 No. 38–39. The relevant section reads:

iii 2. itti(KI) ^d nuska u ^d sa-dār-nun-n[a (o)]	15
3. itti(KI) ^d nin-ìmma u ^d kù-gi-bàn-da [(o)]	16
4. itti(KI) ^d šu-zi-an-na u ^d en-zi-kalam-m[a (o)]	17
5. itti(KI) ^d +r ¹ en-nu-gi ¹ r ¹ u ¹ ^d nissaba.GAL [(o)]	18
6. itti(KI) ^d 1kù-sù u ^d 1indaḡara [(o)]	19
7. itti(KI) ^d 1nīn-nisig u ^d 1ēr-ra-gal [(o)]	20
8. itti(r ¹ KI ¹) ^d 1nīn-ka-si u ^d 1siraš [(o)]	21

Sections 2 and 3 of the text follow the same order as one of the sections of the *Nippur Compendium* (§14, George 1992, 156–157 // Rm.2,216 [CTL 2, 519]), whose subscript may be restored accordingly:

2a. ^d nin-tin-ug ₅ -ga	^d gu-la	26 4b ²
2b. [^d nin-šubur] (?)	[^d ...]	27 [...]
3a. ^d en-á-nun	bēlet-ilī(DINGIR.MAḪ)	28 3b ²
3b. ^d š[ul-pa-è-dar-a]	[sīn ^{(d)30}]	29a ø
4. ^d šul-pa-è-ùdul-àm	nergal(^d U.GUR)	29b(-30) ø
5. ^d nin-amaš-kù-ga	[^d ...]	31–32 [...]
6. ^d á-súkud-kù-gi-an-na	^d n[in ² -...]	cf. 33–34 [...]
<hr/>		
7. 7.ÀM ilū(DINGIR ^{mes}) [mundalkū (?)]		35
<hr/>		
8a. ^d eres-ki-gal	^d gu-la	
8b. [^d ...]	[^d ...]	
9a. ^d nu-bàn-da	^d nuska	ø 15a
9b. [^d zi-sum-mu]	[^d nin-ìmma]	ø 16a
10a. ^d en-zi-šu-sikil-la	^d šu-z[i-an-na]	ø 17a
10b. [^d šeg ₉ -bar-ra-gim ₄ -gim ₄]	[^d en-nu-gi]	ø 18a
11a. ^d ur-bad	^d kù-sù	ø 19a
11b. ^d ur-b[ad-ḡum-ḡum]	[^d nin-nisig]	ø 20a
12a. ^d gub-ba-ga-ni-ra-r ¹ è ¹	^d n[in-ka-si]	ø 21a
12b. [^d a-bar-ra-lah ₅]	[^d nuska]	ø 15a
<hr/>		
13. 10.ÀM ilū(DINGIR ^{mes}) ub-šu-ukkin-n[a-ku ...]		
14a. ^d LAMMA	^d nin-ìmma	ø 16a

texts (e.g. BM 50658 = Geller 1998, 138–139; Maul 2019, 193–208), it is likely that

the fragment belongs to a different composition.

14b. ^d irḥan	^d [šū-zī-an-na]	∅ 17a
15a. ^d udug-ga-ga	^d en-nu-gi	∅ 18a
15b. ^d AN.lamma-ga-ga	^d k[ū-sū]	∅ 19a
16a. ^d udug-sig ₅ šā ₆ -ga	^d nin-nisig	∅ 20a
16b. ^d [am]ma-sig ₅ šā ₆ -ga	^d [nin-ka-si]	∅ 21a
17. ^d aš-dah	^d n[uska]	∅ 15a
<hr/>		
18. ʾ7.ĀMʾ angubbū(ʾDINGIR.GUB.BA ^{meš}) [šá é-kur]		22

STT 400, a list certainly connected with the Nippur Compendium (George 1992, 144–145; Van Buylaere 2011, 853), also contains a sequence of gods that is reminiscent of sections 3 and 4 of the text edited here:

1. [niširti (?)] ABZU	AD. H[AL U]M. ME. A	
2. [^d šul-pa-è]-dar-a	^d 30	29a ∅
3. [^d šū]l-pa-<è>-utùl	^d U.GUR	29b–30 ∅
4. ʾdʾ[umuš-a]n-na	^d inim ^l (UM)-ma-ni-zu ^l (SU)	43 39a
5. ʾdʾumuš-ʾkiʾ-an-na	^d nin-kar-nun-na	44 39b
6. ^d umuš-ta-ZU.NE	^d AMAR.UTU	40a ∅
7. ^d ir-ḥa-an-sún	^d zar-pa-ni-tu ₄	40b ∅
8. ^d LUM-ma	^d nuska	∅ 15a
9. ^d ḥa-tá-niš	^d sa-dār-nun-na	∅ 15b
10. ^d ig-ʾalimʾ-ma ^l (GIŠ)	^d a-nu	41a ∅
11. ^d šū[l-š]á-ga-na	an-tu ₄	41b ∅
12. ^d šul-á-zi-da	^d inim-ma-ni-zi ^l (TUM)	42a 39a
13. ^d šul-á-gùb-bu	^d nin ^l (DAM)-kar-nun-na	42b 39b

Section 4, the list of Ninurta's weapons, follows closely again the *Nippur Compendium* (§7, George 1992, 150–151 [and the parallel passage of K.4339 iv = CT 25, 14]), which reads:

17'. ^d umuš-an-na	^d EN-URU-ia š[á ^{ur}]ʾbár-sipa ^{ki} ʾ	43
18'. ^d umuš-ki-ta	^d EN-URU-ia š[á ^{uru}]x x x ^{ki}	44
19'. ^d šár-ur ₄ ^d šár-gaz	^d EN-URU-ia [šá ^{uru} šá]-lam-ʾmu-ú ^{ki} ʾ	45
20'. ^d u ₄ -ba-nu-íl-la	^d EN-URU-ia [šá ^u]ʾAN.ZA.GÁR-[NI]BR[U] ^{?ki}	46
21'. ^d [k]ur-ra-šū-ur ₄ -ur ₄	^d EN-URU-ia š[á ^u]ʾru[k]ar- ^d nin-urta	47
22'. ʾdʾérimʾ-á-bi-nu-tuku	^d EN-URU-ia [šá ^u]ʾrušá-sá-érim	48
23'. ^d [s]a-pi-in-a-a-bi	^d EN-URU-ia [šá ^u]ʾru pat-ti	–
24'. ^d písar ^{sig} -UNUG ^{ki}	^d EN-URU-i[a šá ^u]ʾru kul-ʾaba ₄ ^{ki} ʾ	–
25'. ^d u ₄ -z[ú-nin]nu	^d EN-URU-[ia šá ^u]ʾrušá ^m -en a ba pu ti	–
26'. ʾdʾ[giš]iʾukulʾ-sag-ninmu	^d EN-URU-ia šá ^{uru} BĀD.AN ^{ki}	49 and 53

Transliteration

- a** HS 1941²⁰⁷ // o 1–49, r 50–58 + Colophon
Copy: Pl. 2, 4. Photos: Pl. 3, 5.
- B** K.6248± K.9938± K.17301± K.17592 // o 19–34, r 35–58
Copy: Pl. 6.
- c₁** BM 82956 (83–1–21, 119) // r 13–22
Copy: Pl. 7.
- c₂** BM 82959 (83–1–21, 121) // r 55–58 + Additional material
Copy: Pl. 7.
- d** BM 32758 (76–11–17, 2529) // 1–7
Copy: Pl. 7.

§1 Great Gods Who Determine the Destinies (*ilū rabūtu mušim šimāti*)

1. [... ellil u n]inlil l[is̄]arbū šarrūtka
a o 1. [o o o o o o^d+en-lil u^dn]in-lil l[i-s̄]ar-b[u]-r^u LUGAL-ut-ka
d o 1'. [o o o o] r^dni[n-lil o o o o o o]
2. [e]a u da[mkīna (...) pa]é (?) ligīsūka
a o 2. [o o o o o BAL]A²-e^rli-gi-su¹-ka
d o 2'. [d^e]r^a u^dda[m-ki-na o o o o o o]
3. [šu]lpae' a u bēlet-ilī [(...) likīnū] kussāka
a o 3. [d^šul-pa]-r^e-a¹ [u DIN]GIR.^rMAH¹ (x) [o o o^{si}r]GU.ZA¹-ka
d o 3'. [d^šu]l-pa-è-a u^rDINGIR¹.[M]A[H^o o o o o o o o]
4. [s]in u nikkal a[gé (bēlūti)]līpirūka
a o 4. [d³0 u^dN]IN.^rGAL¹r^a-ge¹-[e (EN-ú-ti)]lⁱ-r^{pi}-ru-ka
d o 4'. [d³]0 u^drNIN.GAL¹ [o o o o o o o o o]
5. [šamas̄] u ayya lidāt[i (...) li...k]a
a o 5a. [d^uTU u^d]r^a-a^rlⁱ-da¹-a-t[ú o o o o o (o)-k]a : →
d o 5'a. [d^uTU] u^rd^a-a¹ [o o o o o o o o o] →
6. adad u šala mé mīli likkipūka
a o 5b. dⁱŠKUR u^dša-la A^rmes¹ ILLU lik-ki-pu-ka
d o 5'b. [o o o o o o o o o o o]
7. [uraš u b]ēlet-ēkalli ... [...] urha (?) u harrāna likillūka
a o 6. [d^uraš u^d]r^aNIN-É¹.GAL b[u²-(o o)] r^{ur}-lu¹ u KASKAL li-kil-lu-ka
d o 6'. [d^ura]š u^rd¹NI[N-É.GAL o (o o) o o o o o o o]
8. [ninu]rta u bēlet-nippuri zikrūta liššibūka
a o 7. [dⁿin-u]rta u^rd¹NIN¹-NIBRU^[ki] ø z[ik-ru-tú li-iš-ši-bu-ka
d o 7'. [o o o] r^u¹ r^d[NIN-NIBRU^{ki} o o o o o o o]

207 A small piece in a collection of fragments kept under the collective number HS 2972 was joined to the upper left hand

side of the tablet (see copy). The identification of the fragment enabled the subsequent identification of MS d.

*Translation***§1 Great Gods Who Determine the Destinies**

1. [... May Enlil and N]inlil augment your kingship!
2. [May E]a and Da[mkīna] confer upon you the [... of the rei]gn!
3. [May Šu]lpae'a and Bēlet-i[lī (...)] consolidate] your throne!
4. [May Si]n and Nikkal crown you with the [(lordly)] tia[ra]!
5. [May Šamaš] and Ayya [*grant y*]ou [...] descendan[ts]!
6. May Adad and Šala bring you the flood waters early!
7. May [Uraš and B]ēlet-ēkalli keep you (in mind) ... [...] *on the path and the road.*
8. May [Ninur]ta and Bēlet-Nippuri give you abundant strength!

9. *šarrat-nippuri lamassi šarri lū tukultaka tēliltak*
a o 8. $\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{UN}^{\text{L}}[\text{G}]\text{AL-NIBRU}^{\text{ki}^{\text{L}}}\text{dLAMMA}^{\text{L}}\text{LUGAL}^{\text{L}}\text{lu-}^{\text{r}}\text{ú}^{\text{L}}[\text{t}]\text{u-kul-ta-ka te-lil-}^{\text{r}}\text{tak}^{\text{L}}$
10. *ilū rabūtu mušim šimāti lū nābū palēka*
a o 9. $[\text{D}]\text{INGIR}^{\text{mes}}\text{GAL}^{\text{mes}}\text{mu-šim šī-ma-}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{L}}\text{-tū lu-ú na-bu-ú BALA-ka}$
11. *anunnakū ina napharišunu gimir igīgī*
a o 10a. $\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{a-nun-na-ki ina nap-}^{\text{h}}\text{a-ri-šú-nu}^{\text{L}}\text{gī-mir}^{\text{L}}\text{d}^{\text{L}}\text{-gì-gì}^{\text{L}}\text{:} \rightarrow$
12. *ēma šamū u eršetu nandurū eliš u šapliš*
a o 10b. $\text{r}^{\text{e}^{\text{L}}}\text{-ma AN-e u KI-tì na-an-du-}^{\text{r}}\text{ru}^{\text{L}}\text{r}^{\text{e}^{\text{L}}}\text{-liš u šap-liš}$
13. *u šalšu duranki markassunu ša ina ašri šaknu*
a o 11. $\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{šal-šu dur-an-ki mar-kas-}^{\text{r}}\text{su}^{\text{L}}\text{-nu šá ina d[š]-}^{\text{r}}\text{ri}^{\text{L}}\text{šak-nu}$
c r 1. $[\text{o o dur-an-k}]^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{L}}\text{mar-kas}^{\text{L}}\text{-su-nu}^{\text{L}}\text{r}^{\text{š}^{\text{L}}}\text{ina aš-r}^{\text{L}}[\text{u o o}]$
14. *[udd]akam (?) litir-ma (?) sattukkaka ... [li]štālū (?)*
a o 12. $[\text{ud-d}]^{\text{a}^{\text{L}}}\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{kam}^{\text{v}^{\text{L}}}\text{ (?) }^{\text{r}}\text{li}^{\text{L}}\text{-tir-ma SÁ.DUG}_4\text{-ka x } [\text{o (o) li}]^{\text{s}^{\text{L}}}\text{-ta-a-lu}^{\text{L}}(\text{KU})$
c r 2. $[\text{o o o li-t}]^{\text{ir-šú}^{\text{sic}}}\text{sa-an-tak-ka-ka } [\text{o (o o o) o o o}]$ (Ruling)

§2 Attendants of the Ekur (*angubbū ša ēkur*)

15. *nusku u sadarnuna [lū šāb]it abbūtika*
a o 13. $\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{NUSKA}^{\text{L}}\text{u}^{\text{d}^{\text{r}}}\text{sa}^{\text{L}}\text{-dār-nun-}^{\text{r}}\text{na}^{\text{L}}[\text{lu-ú ša-b}]^{\text{it a-}^{\text{r}}\text{bu-ti}^{\text{L}}\text{-ka}$
c r 3. $[\text{o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{sa-dār-nun-n}}[\text{a o o o o o o o}]$
16. *ninimma u kugibanda lū mudammiq egerrika*
a o 14. $[\text{d}^{\text{n}}\text{n}]\text{-imma u}^{\text{d}^{\text{k}}}\text{kù-gi-bàn-d[a]}^{\text{r}}\text{lu-ú}^{\text{L}}[\text{m}]^{\text{u-dam-}^{\text{r}}\text{mi-iq}^{\text{L}}\text{e-ger-ri-ka}$
c r 4. $[\text{o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{ku-gi-bàn-da lu-ú}^{\text{r}}\text{mu}^{\text{L}}\text{-}[\text{dam-mi-iq o o o o}]$
17. *šuzi'ana u enzikalama lipqidū šulumka*
a o 15. $\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{[šu-z]}^{\text{i-an-na u}^{\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{en-z[i-ka]lam-ma lip-}^{\text{r}}\text{qid}^{\text{L}}\text{šu-lum-ka}$
c r 5. $[\text{o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{en-zi-kalam-ma lip-q[i-du o o o o}]$
18. *[enmu]gi u nanibgal guzalū lišēnūka*
a o 16. $[\text{d}^{\text{en-nu}}\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{gi}^{\text{r}}\text{u}^{\text{L}}\text{d}^{\text{nánibgalgal gu-za-lu-ú li-še-nu-ka}$
c r 6. $[\text{o o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{nissaba-gal GU.ZA.L}[\text{Á-ú o o o o}]$
19. *k[ūsu] u indagara šipat tēlilti liššipūka*
a o 17. $\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{[kù-sù]}^{\text{u}^{\text{d}}}\text{indagara šī-pat}^{\text{r}^{\text{te}^{\text{L}}}\text{-lil-tu}_4\text{liš-šī-pu-}^{\text{r}}\text{ka}^{\text{L}}$
B o 1'. $[\text{o o o o o o o o te-l}]^{\text{il-t[i o o o o}]$
c r 7. $[\text{o o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{indagara šī-pat te-l}[\text{il-ti o o o o}]$
20. *n[inni]sig u erragal ina mākālē balāti lihsusūka*
a o 18. $\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{[nin-ni]}^{\text{sig u}^{\text{d}^{\text{èr-ra-}^{\text{r}}\text{gal}^{\text{r}}}\text{ina}^{\text{r}}\text{ma}^{\text{L}}\text{-ka-le-e ba-la-}^{\text{r}}\text{tu li}^{\text{h}}\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{su-su}^{\text{L}}\text{-ú-ka}$
B o 2'. $[\text{o o o o o o o o ma-ka-l}]^{\text{e-e TIL}[\text{A o o o o}]$
c r 8. $[\text{o o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{u}^{\text{L}}}\text{d}^{\text{èr-ra-gal ina ma-ka-l}[\text{e-e o o o o o o o}]$
21. *n[in]kasi u siraš ina kaluḥḥišunu lišallimūka*
a o 19. $\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{n[in]}^{\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{ka}^{\text{L}}\text{-si u}^{\text{d}^{\text{o}}}\text{«nin}^{\text{o}}\text{-siraš ina ka-}^{\text{r}}\text{luḥ}^{\text{L}}\text{-}^{\text{h}}\text{i-šú-nu li-šal-li-mu-ka}$
B o 3'. $[\text{o o o o o o o o ka-l}]^{\text{uḥ-}^{\text{h}}\text{i-šú-nu } [\text{i-šal-li-mu-ka}]$
c r 9. $[\text{o o o o o}]^{\text{r}^{\text{d}^{\text{L}}}\text{siraš ina ka-«šū»-luḥ-}^{\text{h}}\text{i-šú-nu o o o o o}]$

9. May the Queen-of-Nippur, the protector of the king, be your support and your *purification!*
10. May the great gods who fix the destinies be proclaimers of your reign!
11. The Anunnaki in their entirety, all of the Igigi,
12. Where Heaven and Earth are joint, above and below,
13. And, thirdly, Duranki, their bond, the well-ordered (place),
14. May *your offering grow (there) [every d]ay; [may they p]onder...!*

§2 Attendants of the Ekur

15. [May N]uska and Sadarnunna be your [in]tercessors!
16. May Ninimma and Kugibanda be improvers of your fame!
17. May Šuzi'anna and Enzikamma look after your health!
18. [May Ennu]gi and Nanibgal, the throne bearers, pile up (riches) for you!
19. May K[usu] and Indagar exorcise you with a purifying exorcism!
20. May N[inni]sig and Erragal heed you with life-restoring meals!
21. May N[ink]asi and Siraš keep you safe with their purification rites!

22. *sebetti angubbū ša ēkurri tallaktaka lirāmū*
 a o 20. $\Gamma^7 \Gamma^{\text{AN.GUB}^1} \text{BA}^{\text{mes}} \text{šá} \text{é-}^{\Gamma} \text{kur}^1 \text{tal-lak-ta-ka} \Gamma^{\text{li}^1} \text{-ra-am-}^{\Gamma} \text{ma}^1$
 B o 4'. [o o o o o é-k]ur tal-lak- $\Gamma^{\text{ta-ka}^1}$ l[i-ra-mu (?)]
 c r 10. [o o o o o é-k]ur Γ^{tal^1} -lak- $\Gamma^{\text{ta-ka}^1}$ [o o o o]
23. *ēkur u aširtašu tanittaka lizzakrū*
 a o 21. $\Gamma^{\text{é-kur}^1} \Gamma^{\text{u}^1} \Gamma^{\text{a}^1} \text{-šir-ta-sú ta-nit-ta-}^{\Gamma} \text{ka}^1 \text{li-iz-zak-ru}$
 B o 5'. [o o o a-šir-t]a-šú ta-ni[t-ta-k]a li-i[z-zak-ru]
24. *z[an]ān b[ītī]ka (?) šumguru perriš lizzizzūka*
 a o 22. z[a-n]a-an (?) $\Gamma^{\text{E}^{\text{v}}}$ - Γ^{ka^1} šum- Γ^{gu^1} -ru pe-er-riš li-iz-zi-zu- Γ^{u^1} -ka¹
 B o 6'. [o o o o o šum-g]u-ri pe-er- $\Gamma^{\text{riš}^1}$ li-iz-z[i-zu-ka]
25. *ašar i[bber]ru (?) [šīma]tka (?) puhriš liqbū šū lū zānin*
 a o 23. a-šar i[b-ber]- $\Gamma^{\text{ru}^{\text{v}}}$ [šī-ma]t²-ka pu-uh-riš liq-bu-ú $\Gamma^{\text{šu}^1}$ -ú lu-ú $\Gamma^{\text{za-nin}^1}$
 B o 7'. [o o o o o o p]u-uh-riš liq-bu-ú šu-ú lu-ú [o o]

§3 Counselling Gods (*ilū mumtalkū*)

26. *nin[tinu]ga bēltu lū mudanninat piṭrika*
 a o 24. $\text{d}^{\text{ni}}[\text{n-tin-u}] \text{g}_5\text{-}^{\Gamma} \text{ga}^1 \text{GAŠAN lu-ú} \Gamma^{\text{mu}^1} \text{-dan-ni-na-át piṭ-ri-ka}$
 B o 8'. [o o o o o o] Γ^{lu^1} -ú mu-dan-ni-na-at piṭ-r[i-ka]
27. *ninšubur māliku' lū mušēdū dumqika*
 a o 25. $\text{d}^{\text{n}}[\text{i}] \text{n-}^{\Gamma} \text{šubur}^1 \Gamma^{\text{ma}^1} \text{-la-ku} \Gamma^{\text{lu}^1}$ -ú m[u-š]e-du-ú du-um-q[i]-ka
 B o 9'. [o o o ma-l]i²-ku lu-ú mu-še-du-ú SIG₅^{me}[(s)-ka]
28. *enanun šaqūtu gattaka lišaknin tiqna*
 a o 26. $\text{d}^{\text{t}} \Gamma^{\text{en-á}^1} \text{-nun šá-qu-tu gat-ta-ka} \Gamma^{\text{li}^1}$ -š[a]k-nin t[i-i]q-ni
 B o 10'. [o o o šá-q]u-tú gat-ta-ka li-šak-nin t[i-iq-na]
29. *šulpa'edara šulpa'e udula ilū [m]urtāmū*
 a o 27. $\text{d}^{\text{šul}} \Gamma^{\text{pa}^1} \text{-è-dar-a} \text{d}^{\text{šul}} \text{-pa-è-ùdul-a} \Gamma^{\text{DINGIR}^{\text{mes}}}$ [m]uš-ta-° «x»° -[ø]-miⁱ(LUM)
 B o 11'. [$\text{d}^{\text{šul}} \text{-pa-è-dar-}^{\Gamma} \text{a}^1 \text{d}^{\text{šul}} \text{-pa-è-ùdul-a}$ DINGIR^{mes} mu[r-ta-mu]
30. *kayyāna suppéka ana šumguri ayy-i[dd]ú aha*
 a o 28. ka-a-a- Γ^{na^1} su- Γ^{pe^1} -e-ka a- Γ^{na^1} šum- Γ^{gu^1} -ru a-a [id-du]- Γ^{u^1} a- Γ^{hi}
 B o 12'. [o o o o su-pe-e-k]a a-na šum-gu-ri $\Gamma^{\text{a-a}^1}$ i[d-du-ú o o]
31. *ninamaškuḡa bēltu ša qibīssa magrat*
 a o 29a. $\text{d}^{\text{nin-amaš-}} \text{«gašan»-kù-ga}$ GAŠAN šá qí-bit-su^{sic} Γ^{ma^1} -aq-rat : →
 B o 13'. [$\text{d}^{\text{nin-amaš-kù-g}^{\text{a}}$ GAŠAN^v šá qí-bi[t-sa o o o]
32. *ina šīt p[īša ša lā n]akār līdiš (?) ...*
 a o 29b. ina ši- Γ^{it^1} p[i-i-šá o o na-k]ar $\Gamma^{\text{li-diš}^{\text{v}}}$ Γ^{ad^1} -x x x [(o o)]
 B o 14'. [o o o o o n]a- Γ^{kar} [(o)] x ad x [o-ka]
33. *utulgu'ana etpuštu ša milikša dam[q]u*
 a o 30. $\text{d}^{\text{utul-gu}_4}$ -an-na et-pur-tu₄ šá mi-l[ik-šá] Γ^{dam^1} -[q]u
 B o 15'. [o o o o o et-p]ur-t[u₄ šá] mi-lik-šá d[am-qu]
34. *ašar šipti u purussé lištariḡa rē útka*
 a o 31. a-šar šip-tu u EŠ.BAR liš-tar-ri- Γ^{hu} re- $\Gamma^{\text{é-ut}^1}$ -[ka]
 B o 16'. [o o o o o o liš-t]ar-ri- Γ^{ha} SIPA-ut- Γ^{ka^1} (end of obverse)

22. May the seven attendants of the Ekur cherish your path,
23. May the Ekur and its precinct sing your praise!
24. May p[rovi]sion for your h[ouse] and acceptance (of your prayers) be *constantly* by you,
25. Where your [*fat*]e is ch[os]en, let them all (*scil.* the gods) say in assembly: “let him be the provider!”

§3 Counselling Gods

26. May the lady Nin[tinu]ga be the strengthener of your body!
27. May Ninšubur, the counsellor, be the informer of your well-being!
28. May Enanun, the lofty one, cover your figure with the mantle,
29. Many Šulpa’edar’a (and) Šulpa’e’udula, the gods who love each other,
30. Never neglect to accept constantly your prayers!
31. May Ninamaškuga, the lady whose utterance is favourable,
32. Through her ord[ers that cannot be c]hanged ...
33. May Utulgu’anna, the competent, whose advice is swe[et],
34. At the place of judgement and decision always glorify your shepherdship!

35. *sebetti ilū mundalkū lā mupparkū idi[ka]*
 a o 32. IMIN DINGIR^{mes} *mun-dal-ku la^rmu¹-par-ku-ú i-di-[ka]*
 B r 1. [o o o mun-d]al-[ku o o o o o] x x
36. *u ilū mala šuma nabú*
 a o 33a. u DINGIR^{di} *ma-la šu-ma na-bu-ú* →
 B r 2. [ù DINGIR^{di}]^{di} *ma-la^r [o o na-b]u^r-ú^r*
37. *immu ... kašát[i d]āriš (?) l[ā naparkā (?) (...)] idāk[a ina š]ērti u līlāti [lillikū (?) (...)]*
 a o 33b–34. *im-^rmu¹ tuḥ-^rli^rka¹-ša-a-t[i d]a-ri-[iš] l[a na-par-ka-a (?) (...)] | i-da-^rka¹*
 [o o o (...)]
 B r 3–4. [o o o o (o) T]ÜN.GAM-e *ka-^rša¹-a-[ti o o o o] | [o o o o š]ēr-ti u li-la-a-^rti¹ [o o o o (o)]*

§4 Standard Bearers (*pētātu šurinni*)

38. *lugalirra u meslamtae'a lū muterrū g[imillīka]*
 a 35. ^dr *lugal^r-ir^o-ra u^r ^dmes¹-lam-ta-è-a lu-ú mu-ter-ri^d g[i-mil-li-ka]*
 B r 5. [o o o o o] ^d*mes-lam-ta-è-a lu-u mu-t[er-ru o o o o]*
39. *[in]imanizi u ninkarnuna dīn mišari lidīnū[ka]*
 a o 36. [^din] *im-ma-ni-^rzi^ru¹ [^dn]in-kar-nun¹-na di-na meš-šá-ri li-di-nu-[ka]*
 B r 6. [o o o o o ^dn] *in-kar-nun-na di-in mi-^ršá¹-[ri o o o o]*
40. *[umuš]tazune u irḥasun lū mušamqitū tēbī[ka]*
 a o 37. [^dumuš]^r *ta-ZU.NE^ru¹ ^dir¹-ḥa-sún lu-ú [m]u-šam-^rqī¹-tu te-bi-^ri¹-[ka]*
 B r 7. [o o o o o ^d] *ir-ḥa-sún lu-ú mu-ša[m-qī-tu o o o]*
41. *[i]galima u šulšagana lū hātū zāmānī[ka]*
 a o 38. [^di]g-^ralim¹-ma^ru¹ ^dšul-šā-ga-na lu-ú ḥa-tu-ú^r za¹-ma-ni-[ka]
 B r 8. [o o o o o ^dš] *ul-šā-ga-na lu-ú ḥa-tu-^rú¹ [o o o o]*
42. *šulazida u šulagubu ana rešūtīšunu ... [...]*
 a o 39. [^dšul-á-[z]i-da u ^dšul-á-gùb-bu ana^r re-šu-ti¹-šú-nu l[iD²]-lu-x [o o]
 B r 9. [o o o o o ^dš] *ul-á-gùb-bi a-na re-šu-ti-š[ú-nu o o o (o o)]*
43. *umušana meṭtu lā gāmilu lišīb immuk[ka]*
 a o 40. ^dumuš-an-na m[e-e]t-ṭi la ga-me-lu li-šīb im-[n]u-uk-[ka]
 B r 10. [o o o o o o g] *a-me-lu li-šīb i[m-nu-uk-ka]*
44. *umuškita magšara lā pādā[†] šumēlu[kka] li[šši]* ([†]...[†] MS B *pīdu*)
 a o 41. ^dumuš-ki-ta^r ma¹-ag-šá-ri la pa-da:a šu-me-lu-u[k-ka] li-i[š-šī]
 B r 11. [o o o o o o o l] *a pi-di^{erasure} šu-me-^rlu-uk¹-k[a o o o]*
45. *šarur šargaz lū mušabriqū[†] lemni[†]ka* ([†]...[†] MS B *lemnētīka*)
 a o 42. ^dšár-ur₄ ^dšár-gaz lu-ú mu-šab-ri-q[u l]em-ni-k[a]
 B r 12. [o o o o o o lu]-^ru¹ *mu-šab-ri-qu lem-né-^re¹-[ti-ka]*
46. *ubanu'ila ūmu lā pādū ayyābīka lirsīb*
 a o 43. ^du₄-ba-nu-^ri¹-la u₄-mu la pa-du-ú a-a-bi-k[a l]i-ir-si[b]
 B r 13. [o o o o o o o o] ^r*pa¹-du-ú a-a-bi-ka li-i[r-sīb]*
47. *kuršū'urur nišī māt qardāmī ligīsakka*
 a o 44. ^dkur-šū-ur₄-ur₄ [U]N^{mes} KUR qar-da-mu li-gi-sak-ka
 B r 15. [o o o o o o KU]R ^r*qar¹-da-mi li-gi-s[ak-ka]*

35. The seven counselling gods, who never abandon [your] company,
 36. And the gods whose names are mentioned,
 37. during the day, ... in the mornin[g, fo]rev[er,] wit[hout ceasing (...)] may they
 walk at] you[r] side [at d]awn and dusk [(...)]!

§4 Standard Bearers

38. May Lugalirra and Meslamtae'a be your ave[n]gers!
 39. May [In]imanizi and Ninkarnuna rule a rightful decision [for you]!
 40. May [Umuš]tazune and Irḫasun be the submitters of [your] insurgents!
 41. May [I]galima and Šulšagana be the strikers of [your] enemy!
 42. May Šulazida and Šulagubu ... to their help!
 43. May Umušana, the merciless mace, be placed in [your] right hand!
 44. May your left hand be[ar] Umuškita, the merciless axe!
 45. May the Šarur and the Šargaz be the fulminators of [your] opponents!
 46. May the Ubanu'ila, the merciless storm, smite your foes!
 47. May the Kuršu'urur deliver to you the people of the enemy land!

48. *erimabinutuku šadi nesúti likannišakka*
 a o 45. ^dérim-^Γá-bi¹-nu-tuku KUR^{mes} *né-su-ti li-kan-ni-šak-ka*
 B r 14. [o o o o o o o n]é-su-ti li-kan-ni-š[ak-ka]
49. *tukulsagninmu šākin tahté abūbi šašmi*
 a o 46. ^d[g]^{is}tukul-sag-^Γninmu¹ ^Γšá¹-kin taḥ-^Γte¹-e a-bu-bu šá-áš-mu (end of obverse)
 B r 16. [o o o o o o o o a]-^Γbu-ub¹ šá-[áš-mi]
50. *pī muštarrihīka kīma būr lāti ina napsami lipassim*
 a r 1. *pi-i muš-tar-ri-ḥi-^Γka¹ ki-ma* AMAR *la-a-ti ina nap-sa-^Γmu¹ ^Γli-pa-as-si¹-im*
 B r 17. [o o o o o o o o la]-^Γa¹-ti ina nap-sa-mi l[^Γi-pa-as-sim]
51. ^dUG.BU *mugdašru ša ḥadū kakki āni*
 a r 2. ^dUG.BU *mug-^Γda¹-áš-ri šá ḥa-du-ú* ^{gis}TUKUL ^Γd¹a-nim
 B r 18. [o o o o o o o ḥa-du]-^Γú¹ ^{gis}TUKUL ^Γd¹[a-nim]
52. *lā kansūtīka rēšišunu kīma šulpi lišid*
 a r 3. ^Γla¹ kan-šu-ti-ka SAG^{mes}-šú-nu ki-ma šul-pu li-iṣ-du
 B r 19. [o o o o o SAG^{mes}-šú]-^Γnu¹ GIM šul-p[i o o o]
53. *tukulsagninmu šaggapūru rašubbu dabru*
 a r 4. ^dgis^{is}tukul-sag-ninmu ^Γšag¹-ga-pu-ru ra-šub-ba da-ab-ru
 B r 20. [o o o o o r]a-šub-bu [o o o]
54. *kīma é sarri lištēlipa pagar gārīka*
 a r 5. *ki-ma* ŠE-im *sar-ri liš-^Γte-li-pa¹ pa-gar ga-ri-ka*
 B r 21. [o o o o o liš-te-li-p]a pa-gar g[a-ri-ka]
55. *pētātu šurinni emūq āni u daḡān narā*[m ninšik]u (?)
 a r 6. *pe-tu-tu šu-ri-in-^Γni¹ ^Γe¹-muq^d a-nim u* ^{df}da-gan¹ ^Γna¹-ra[m ^dnin-šī]-^Γku¹ (?)
 B r 22. [o o o o o o o o o o o o] ^Γd¹da-gan na-ra[m o o o o]
 c₂ 1'. [o o o] ^Γšu-ri-in¹-n[i o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
56. *lū šulūl ummānīka šunū-ma ... pānukka ... [...]*
 a r 7. [l]u-ú šu-lul um-ma-ni-ka šu-nu-ma ma^f zu¹-UB-uk pa-nu-uk-^Γka¹ ^Γbit¹-[o o]
 B r 23. [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o p]a-nu-uk-ka bit-[o o o]
 c₂ 2'. [o o šu-l]ul um-ma-ni-^Γka¹ [o o o o o o o o o o o o]

§5 Final Blessing

57. *d[un]ga (?) ana isqīka līterriška ḥetlā nigú*[ta]
 a r 8. ^Γd²[DÚNG]A ^Γa¹-na is-qí-^Γka¹ li-ter-riš-ka he-et-la-a ni-gu-[tú]
 B r 24. [o o o o o o li-ter-riš-k]a ḥe-et-la-a [o o o o]
 c₂ 3'. [o o] ^Γa¹-na is-qí-ka l[i-ter-riš-ka o o o o o o o o]
58. *lumḥa ina šakān takribti libbi āni u daḡān liḥdūka kabat*[tašunu (...)] *lims*[ú (?) ...]
 a r 9-10. ^{df}lumḥa¹ ina šá-kan ^Γtak¹-rib-ti lib-bi ^da-nim u ^dda-gan liḥ-du-ka ka-b[at-ta-šú-nu
 (...)] / lim-^Γsu¹-[ú (?) (o o o)] (Ruling)
 B r 25-29. [o o (o) o liḥ-d]u-ka ka-bat-t[^Γa-šú-nu (o o)] /
 [...] x ^d[o o] / x ḥur x [o o] / [...] x-a-ti a[k-o o] / [...] x x [o o]
 c₂ 4'. [^dlum]ḥa i-na šá-kan tak-ri-[ib-ti ...] (Ruling)

48. May Erimabinutuku make far-away mountains submit to you!
49. May the mighty Tukulsagninnu, who brings about defeat, flood, and combat
50. Co[v]er with a nose bag, like a cow's calf, the mouth of him who is arrogant against you!
51. May mighty *Ugbu*, (*over*) who(*m*) Anu's weapon rejoices,
52. Reap like stalks the heads of those who rebel against you!
53. May the mighty Tukulsagninnu, the terrifying, fierce (weapon),
54. Make the corpses of your enemies intertwine like the barley of a heap!
55. May the standard bearers – the strength of Anu and Dagan, belov[ed of *Ninšik*]u –
56. Be the aegis of your army, they ... in front of you ...

§5 Final Blessing

57. May *D[ung]a* constantly request for your patrimony happiness and jo[y]!
58. When Lumḥa performs the ritual chant, let the heart of Anu and Dagan rejoice over you, let [*their*] mind [(...)] *wipe aw[ay] (...)*

Additional section (MS c // ND 6200 ii [CTN 4, 183])

c₂ 5'. [(o) é-k]ur bīt(É) ši-ma-a-tu₄ kád-ru x [...]

c₂ 6'. [o] x-a(-)PA-aš qar-nu mu-gan-nu-^rú¹ [...]
ND 6200 ii 1'. x [...]

c₂ 7'. [é-I]M-ḥur-sag ši-na-at é-šár-r[a ...]
ND 6200 ii 2'-3'. ^ré¹-I[M-ḥur-sag ...] | x u 30 x x [...]

c₂ 8'. [é]-^rkur¹-igi-gál ša-ad-di ma-a-tu₄ [...]
ND 6200 ii 4'. é-kur-igi-gál ša-ad-^rda¹ [...]

c₂ 9'. [^égi-g]u-^rnu-ú¹ šá-ad la a-ri š[á ...]
ND 6200 ii 5'. ^égi-gu-nu-ú šá'(ZA)-ad l[a ...]

c₂ 10'. [o NIBRU^k]ⁱ pu-lu-uk ^dnu-na[m-nir ...]
ND 6200 ii 6'. BÁRA NIBRU^{ki} pu-lu-uk ^dnun^{sic}-[nam-nir ...]

c₂ 11'. [o o mu-t]a-ma-šú an-šár u ^rd¹[ki-šár ...]
ND 6200 ii 7'. ÈŠ.MAḤ mu-ta-ma-šú an-šár ^rd¹[ki-šár ...]

c₂ 12'. [o o o o o n]a-ad-x [...] (rest of tablet broken)
ND 6200 ii 8'. šá mut-ta-as-su na-ad-x [...] | šu-kut-tú ur-ki-x [...]

Colophon (MS a)

a r 11. ṭuppi(IM) ^mninurta(^dMAŠ)-ēres(^rAPIN¹-eš) mār(A) ^mninurta(^dMAŠ)-ahḫī(ŠEŠ^{mes})-
erība(SU) (rest of tablet blank)

Additional section

- c₂ 5'. [(...) the Ek]ur, the fierce house of destinies ... [...]
- c₂ 6'. [...] ... *beats*, horn that gore[s ...]
- c₂ 7'. The E'imḥursag, the equal of the Ešarr[a ...]
- c₂ 8'. The Ekurigigal, the signal of the land, [...]
- c₂ 9'. The high temple, the unapproachable mountain, *wh[ich ...]*
- c₂ 10'. The sanctuary of Nippur, the peak of Nuna[mnir (i.e. Enlil) ...]
- c₂ 11'. The exalted shrine that praises him (i.e. Enlil), Anšar and [Kišar ...]
- c₂ 12'. Who ... their halves, [...] the adornment ... [...]

Colophon (MS a)

Tablet of Ninurta-ēreš, son of Ninurta-aḥḥī-erība.

Commentary

1. Compare the opening lines of the tablet of royal blessings ‘Tisserant 21’ = HE 341 (from Aššur; Scheil 1921, 31 = Durand 1982, no. 341): [*nabû* (...) *šit-l]u-tu bu-kúr^dasar-r[e] | [...]u-šar-bi šar-ru-ut-k[a]*, “[May Nabû, whose ... is aug]ust, son of Asare | [...] magnify your kingship!” The spacing of the preserved signs suggests that there is room for at least six signs before the reconstructed [^d+*en-líl*], which means that the first line was slightly different from the following. The text began probably with some sort of introductory formula, which would have appeared before the first blessing (Enlil and Ninlil), or else with an invocation of Anu and Antu, like the similar litany from *Šurpu* III (see introduction).

2. The rare verb *gésu*, “to assign,” is also used in l. 47. Compare in another prayer to the king: [...] *ta-na-da-a-ti li-ge-su-ka*, “[...] grant you praise!” (K.3446+(+), Lambert 1997, 59–61 o 23’).

3. Šulpae’a appears as the spouse of Bēlet-ilī in *An = Anum* (Delnero 2011/2012, 284b). The end of the line has been restored after K.4449+ ii 18’–19’ (Lambert 1957/1958b, 383 and pl. xxiii; Livingstone 1989, 58 no. 25): *li-ku-un kussú^(šis)GU.ZA*-ka *li-ri-[ku] | ūmū(U₄^{mes})-ka ši-ba-a lit-tu-tu*, “may your throne be firm, may your days be [lon]g, enjoy a protracted age!”

4. The blessing has been restored after K.6331 l. 17’ (Watanabe 1992, 370): [^{mul}*is]e-e agē(AGA) ^da-nim agē(AGA) be-lu-te li-^rpir-ka¹ x (x)*, “May [the (constellation) Hya]des crown you with the crown of Anu, the lordly crown!”

5. If the reading of the first word is correct, it would represent the plural form of *littu*, “progeny”: compare *Explicit Malku = šarru* I 312–314 (Hruša 2010, 442): *littu, tu-da-a-tu, lidātu = ilittu*.

6. The “waters of the spring” (*mē nagbi*) are traditionally held responsible for the seasonal flooding in Mesopotamia (Jiménez 2017a, 178): their timely arrival (*ekēpu* D) is, therefore, a sign of prosperity. An inscription of Sargon II asks Adad to “bring in good time for him (*scil.*, Sargon) the rains from the sky and the waters from the spring” (*ukkipšū zunnī ina šamē mīlī ina nagbi*, Fuchs 1994, 282 §3.2.6 ll. 4–5 and Frame 2020, 192 Sargon II 19).

7. Compare YBC 11381 l. 11 (cited above), as well as *STT* 340 l. 5: 5 *šEš^{mes}-e li-kil-lu-ka*, “may five brothers keep you (in mind),” In the latter, the second word is emended to *šEš^{me}-ka¹* and the verb to *likillū* <SAG>-ka by Watanabe 1991, 349, following the suggestion of E. Reiner in Reiner/Civil 1967, 194.²⁰⁸

8. The name of Bēlet-Nippuri, “lady of Nippur,” is sometimes rendered in Akkadian as Šarrat-Nippuri, “queen of Nippur” (Lambert 1982, 179–180; Biggs 1998/2000, 476). In the present text, however, both deities are different, Bēlet-Nippuri appearing as Ninurta’s wife and Šarrat-Nippuri appearing alone. As noted by Lambert (1982, 179), only Nin-Nibru is commonly equated with Gula elsewhere, whereas Šarrat-Nippuri is normally associated with Ištar. This is also the case in the parallel text K.7145 (*CT* 29, 47, edited above), where Ninurta is paired with Gula (l. 10’).

9. The *lamma* of the king appears as the recipient of offerings in particular during the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (Foxvog/Heimpel/Kilmer 1980/1983, 450b; Peterson 2017a). However, in the present line *lamassi šarri* is perhaps simply an epithet of the Queen of Nippur: compare Asalluḫi’s epithet *lamassi ilī u māti*, “protector of gods and land” in *Enūma Eliš* VI 149. Ritual cleansings (*tēliltu*) of the king and members of the royal family are well attested in the cuneiform documentation, in particular during the Middle Assyrian period (*CAD* T 328–329). *tēliltak*, *si vera lectio*, would preserve the anaptyctic vowel before the abbreviated suffix, a phenomenon otherwise only common in Old Babylonian literary language (*GAG* §65j and von Soden 1931, 179).

208 Collation of the tablet on the basis of photographs kindly provided by Selim F. Adah shows that the copy is correct.

On the line, compare *ellil lū tukultašu | ninurta u nuska lū rēšūšu*, “May Enlil be his support! | May Ninurta and Nuska be his defenders!” (IM 80908 v 8–9 = Paulus 2014, 584).

12. Cf. *Bīt rimki* III 4 (Borger 1967, 3): *ki-šè an-ki téš-bi lál-la-ta an-úr-ta || ana e-ma ša-mu-ú u eršetu(KI-tu₄) ištēniš(1-niš) na-an-du-ru iš-tu i-šid šamé(AN-e)*, “(O Šamaš, when you come forth) from the horizon, where heaven and earth join each other.” In the present line Nippur appears as the “bond” of heaven and earth, a status which, according to some mythological sources, it acquired as the result of the primeval separation of heaven and earth (George 1992, 261–262). Thus, the mythical introduction of the *Song of the Hoe* recounts how Enlil fixed the cosmic axis (búlug) at Nippur immediately after sundering heaven and earth:

- (3) ^den-líl numun kalam-ma è-dè
 (4) an ki-ta bad-re₆-dè saĝ na-an-ga-ma-an-sum
 (5) ki an-ta bad-re₆-dè saĝ na-an-ga-ma-an-sum
 (6) uzu-è||mú-a saĝ mú-mú-dè
 (7) dur-an-ki-ka búlug nam-mi-in-lá

- (3) Enlil, in order to make the seed of the land sprout,
 (4) Hastened to separate heaven from earth,
 (5) He hastened to separate earth from heaven.
 (6) So that Uzumu’a (lit., “flowering flesh”) could shine,
 (7) And at Duranki he fixed the axis.

Song of the Hoe 3–7 (CSL 5.5.4, see Goodnick Westenholz 2001, 61)²⁰⁹

In the present text, the entire line is probably an etymological explanation of the noun Duranki: *ēma* = KI, *šamú* = AN, *eršetu* = KI, *nandurū* = DUR, *eliš* = AN, *šapliš* = KI. The explanation is probably also attested in the fragment K.9580 l. 5 (pl. 7):

1. [... s]a-pi-nu za[’]-i-r[i ...]
 2. [... na-ki-r]u-ti la ma-gi-ri an-x [...]
 3. [...] x te-šá-a te-d[i-...]
 4. [...] ^rku^r-lat ^rna-ki^r-ri l[u-ú (?) ...]
 5. [(...) ēma šamú u qaq-q]a-ri na-an-du-ru ^re^r-[liš u šapliš (...)]
 6. [...] x-ku šá ana ra-ma-ni-šú [...]
 7. [...] k]a-mar-šú-nu i[š[’]-kun (?) ...]
 8. [...] ^ršal^r-la-ti [...]
 9. [...] x-^rru-du^r x [...]
 10. [...] x ^rLÚ^r (x) [...]

1. [...] d]estroyer of fo[es ...]
 2. [...] rebellious [enemi]es ... [...]
 3. [...] ... confusion ... [...]
 4. [...] ... m[ay ...] all enemies [...]
 5. [(...) where Heaven and Ear]th are joint, ab[ove and below (...)]
 6. [...] ... who to himself [...]
 7. [...] c[aused] their [d]efeat [...],
 8. [...] booty [...]
 9–10. [...] ... [...]

13. The sign before *dur* looks like a *nin*, but the expected vertical at the beginning of the *ku* sequence is wanting. It is therefore understood that Duranki comes “third” (*šalšu*) after heaven and

209 The many variant readings of the manuscripts (on which see Delnero 2006,

1961–1971) are irrelevant for the present purposes.

earth. The phrase *ina ašri šaknu* (on which see CAD Š/1 148a) is attested also in the *šū'ila* 'Marduk 4' l. 28 (Mayer 2004, 204): *nišū dešātu mātu ša ina ašri(šū) šaknat*, translated by Mayer 2004, 206 as "Die sich mehrenden Menschen, das Land, das wohlgeordnet ist" and by Foster 2005, 681 as "the fruitful peoples of a well-ordered land."²¹⁰ Mayer 2004, 211 suggests that it refers to a land "das sich dort befindet, wo es sein soll, an der rechten Stelle, an seinem gebührenden Platz; das so ist, wie es sein soll; das also 'voll realisiert, in gutem Zustand, wohlgeordnet' ist o. ä."

14. The interpretation of the line is uncertain due to the damaged context. *li-tir* could also be read as *li-še-e*, and the writing *sa-an-tak-ka* of MS c may be taken as *santak(ka)*, "constantly."

16. Ninimma (*An = Anu* I 306 = Litke 1998, 56; see Focke 1998/2000) and Kugibanda (*An = Anu* I 305 = Litke 1998, 57; see Lambert 2013, 378) appear as a pair in *An = Anu* I 316 and in the *Gattung* I (*LKA* 77 vi 8–24 = Ebeling 1953, 377–378). The parallel in the incantation text BM 50658 iii 3 (Geller 1998, 139) should no doubt be read ^d*nin-ìmma*, *pace* Geller 1998, 130 (^d*nin-ti* <u>) and Krebernik 1998/2000a (^d*nin-á-gal*), with Geller's copy and with Maul 2019, 197. Nin-ìmma's name is interpreted etymologically as *bēl* (= EN) *nabnūt* (= ÌMMA = SIG₇) *bunnanné* (= ÌMMA = SIG₇) *bēl* (= EN) *mimma šumšū* (= ÌMMA ≈ NÌ.NAM), "lord of the creation of creatures, lord of everything" in K.1451 r 2 (*CT* 25, 49) // 89-4-26, 129 l. 10' (eBL transliteration).

Compare K.20122 l. 4' (eBL transliteration): [... S]IG₅-iq INIM.GAR-MU x [...].

17. Šuzianna is, according to *An = Anu* I 184–185 (Litke 1998, 41), "concubine of Enlil, wet nurse of Šin"; whereas Enzikalama appears in *An = Anu* I 186 (Litke 1998, 41) as wife of Enlil and *ibid.* 300 (Litke 1998, 55) as a name of Nissaba. Both gods appear frequently together as a divine pair, Šuzianna as the goddess and Enzikalama as the god (Krebernik 2011/2012d). Šuzianna's name is translated etymologically as *bēlet* (= AN?) *bābili* (= ŠU.AN.NA) *ētir[at* (= ŠU(.KAR)) *napišti* (= ZI)], "Lady of Babylon, sav[ior of life]" in K.1451 o 1 (*CT* 25, 49). She is occasionally equated with Gula (Krebernik 2011/2012d, 378b).

18. Ennugi is in *An = Anu* I 318 (Litke 1998, 58, see also Lambert/Millard 1969, 147–148) "throne bearer of Enlil," and Nanibgal is called "Nissaba the warrior" in *An = Anu* I 321 (Litke 1998, 59, see also Civil 1984a, 43 and McEwan 1998/2000). Note the omission of the second AN in MS c. Ennugi's name is explained etymologically in K.1451 r 3 (*CT* 25, 49) // 89-4-26, 129 l. 11' (eBL transliteration) as *bēl* (= EN) *eršeti* (= GI) *bēlu* (= EN) *lā* (= NU) *tayyāru* (= GI), "lord of the Netherworld, merciless lord."

The verb *li-ši-nu-ka* is difficult to interpret. *ešēnu*, "to smell," *šēnu*, "to load," and *šānu*, "to fill," are grammatically possible but ill suited to the context, since the king should be the direct object. One may compare the following passage from the Emar tablet of blessings to the king, where the verb used is *zānu* D, i.e., *lizīnka/liza*"*inka*:

^da-ru-ru ereš gal še-er-ga-an-zu ḥi-li ḥé-àm
a-ru-ri e-re-eš ma-aḥ | ḥi-li du-uṭ-ṭu
^dbe-le-et-ilī(DINGIR^{mes}) be-el-tu₄ ra-bi-tù ku-uz-ba li-ze-en-ka₄*

"May Bēlet-ilī, the great lady, furnish you with abundance"

Msk.74243 // RS 1979.25, edition by Dietrich 1998, 159

Faute de mieux, it is assumed here that the verb is used elliptically and that the *-ka* represents a dative suffix. It is strange that both gods should bear the same epithet, viz. "throne bearer": the

210 Compare also in the *Founding of Eridu* 23 (Ambos 2004, 202 and Lambert 2013, 372): ⁱdⁱdigna ⁱd^buranunⁱ me-dím ki-ḡar-ra dím || MIN ù MIN *ib-ni-ma ina*

aš-ri iš-ku-un, "he (*scil.*, Marduk) created the Tigris and Euphrates and put them in place."

present line is in fact the only one in the section to contain epithets. It is possible that the text is corrupt.

19. Kusu (*An = Anu I 324 = Litke 1998, 59*) and Indagar (*An = Anu I 326 = Litke 1998, 59*; see Mayer 1992b, 42–45 and Selz 2002) are often a pair, where Indagar is the husband and Kusu the wife. As in the present context, Kusu and Indagar are often associated with magic: see Mayer 1992b, 43; George/Taniguchi 2010, 103; and George 2016, 115–116. Compare *ka-inim-ma tu₆ maḥ eridu^{ki}-ga na-ri-ga-(àm) || ina šipti širti šipat eridu ša tēlilti*, “by the exalted incantation, the purifying incantation of Eridu” (*Uduḫul XIII/XV 76 [Geller 2016, 456]*).

20. Ninnisig (*An = Anu I 328 = Litke 1998, 60*; see Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998/2000a) and Erragal (*An = Anu I 332 = Litke 1998, 60*; see Wiggermann 1998/2000, 217–218) appear as a couple in *An = Anu I 332* and other texts (Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998/2000a, 486). Ninnisig is well attested as cook or butcher of the Ekur (e.g. *An = Anu I 329–330*), whence her association with “banquets” in this line.

21. Ninkasi (*An = Anu I 336 = Litke 1998, 61*) and Siraš (*An = Anu I 337 = Litke 1998, 61*; on both gods see Krebernik 1998/2000b) can both be feminine or masculine in second and first millennium sources (Krebernik 1998/2000b, 443a). Perhaps the erased NIN of Nin-siraš in MS a is intended to make him a goddess (Nin-siraš is otherwise apparently unattested, but see Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998/2000b).

As indicated by the syllabic *hi*, KA.LUḪ here is not a logogram for *mīs pi*, but rather a hitherto unattested Sumerian loanword in Akkadian, *kaluḫḫu*, “mouth-washing ritual,” analogous to *šuluḫḫu*, “hand-washing ritual.” The strange writing of MS c, *ka-«šw»-luḫ-[hi-šú-nu]*, was probably caused by the interference of the far more common word *šuluḫḫu* (a reading *ina pi(KA) šuluḫ[hišunu]* seems more difficult).

22. “Tutelary deities of the Ekur” (*angubbū ša ēkur*) appears as the rubric for a similar list of gods in §14 of the *Nippur Compendium*, as studied in the introduction. *angubbū ša ēkur* also appears in the rubric of the tablet with the ‘Ritual for Covering the Kettledrum’, O 175 (*TCL 6, 47 = Livingstone 1986, 195*): *mūdū mūdā likallim lā mūdā ayy-īmur ikkib ellil igīgī anunnakī u AN.GUB.BA^{mes} šá é-kur*. Note also the mention of AN.GUB.BA^{mes} and AN.TUŠ.A^{mes} in the passage from K.2279+ (Sidersky 1920) excerpted in the introduction.

23. *aširtu* is normally used as a synecdoche for the whole temple, but it was originally perhaps its sacred precinct or “temenos” (von Soden 1975, 140). Compare *bitu(É) ù e-šir-ta-šu ina qimīt giri lū uštalpit*, “the temple and its cella were destroyed by fire” (Grayson 1987, 189 Shalmaneser I 2 l. 12).

24. The reading at the beginning is uncertain, compare *Marduk I 162: bituška zanānašu lū kayyān*, “may the providing of your temple be constant.” On infinitives as subject of verbs in hymns, see Aro 1961, 23.

maḡāru Š, which occurs also in l. 30, is also attested in the prayer to the king K.3446+(+) ll. 31’–32’ (Lambert 1997, 59–61): [o o o (o o)-l]i-ti tas-lit-ka su-le-e-ka su-pe-e-^rka¹ | [... nīš] qāti(ŠU^{min})-ka li-šam-gi-ri ana bēl(EN) bēl(EN.EN), “may [...] ... make your petitions, your supplications, your prayers, | [...] the raising of] your hands acceptable to the lord of lords”. Compare also SA 5^d *dam-ki-an-na tés-lit-ka šu-le-e-ka u la-ban ap-pi-ka liš-tam-gi^{gi-ir} ana EN.EN*, “Fifth string: May Damkiana make your prayers, appeals, and supplications pleasing to the lords” (YBC 11381 o 5, Payne 2010, 292)

The present line contains what appears to be the first occurrence, at least in this meaning, of the word *perru* that is explained in *Malku IV 171–175* (Hrůša 2010, 389 and 247) as “instance” (*minūtu*), “without delay” (*lā egū*), “incessantly” (*lā baḡālu*), and “order” (*manzaltu*). The entries in *Malku* have hitherto been linked with *perru*, “labor” (*CAD P 409–410; AHw 855b; Hrůša 2010, 247*).

25. The place where the proclamation takes place is probably the Ubšukinnaku, “the place where the gods assembled to decree destinies” (Lambert 2013, 473). The Ubšukinnaku appears, as *šub[at*

š]itūltišunu, “the res[idence of] their [del]iberation,” in BM 64518 l. 11’ (edited in the introduction). Compare also in a prayer to the king: [ina u]bšukinnaki kisal puḫur ilī a-šar de-e-ni [māti(KUR) ib-b]er-ru, “[in the U]bšukinnaku, the court of the assembly of the gods, where the judgment [of the land is de]cided” (K.3446+(+) l. 15’, Lambert 1997, 59–61). The same expression is attested in *Ludlul* IV “1” (Lambert 1960a, 54) = “j” (Oshima 2014, 427): ina itē nāri a-šar de-en nišī(UN^{mes}) ib-ber-ru, “beside the River, where the judgement of the people is decided.” The restoration of the relative clause at the beginning, based on these two passages, remains, however, tentative.

Assurbanipal’s hymn to Aššur (Livingstone 1989, no 1) probably contains an allusion to these lines: ^(r 6) [ā]nu ellil ea bēlet-ilī u [nin]il (?) ^(r 7) [š]a aššur ina ubšukinnaki itta’dū bēlūssu | ^(r 8) iqbū aššur-bāni-apli šakkanak aššur ēdiššišu šu-u lu-u za-nin, “[A]nu, Enlil, Ea, Bēlet-ilī, and [Nin]il | heeded Aššur’s authority in the Ubšukinnaku, proclaiming: ‘May Assurbanipal, the representative of Aššur, be (our) sole provider!’”

§3 Counselling Gods (*ilū mumtalkū*)

26–37. Note the similarity with the *Nippur Compendium* iv 2–6 (§14, George 1992, 156–157), discussed above.

26. Note the parallel K.2279+(+) l. 70’ (Sidersky 1920, 567 r 15; Härtinen 2021, 226): mu-dan-nir^{ic} piṭ-ri-^rka¹ lu-ú^dba-ú. piṭru, written pi-DI-ri-ia in one text (Mayer 2008, 101), designates an as yet unidentified part of the body (see *CAD* P 450 and *AHw* 870b).²¹¹ Both Ba’u and Nintinuga are deities syncretized with Gula, whence their association with the “strengthening of the body.”

27. The second deity of the section is the only one whose name is completely broken away in the *Nippur Compendium* (see the introduction). Ninšubur, who is sometimes a god, sometimes a goddess, is usually presented as the vizier of Anu or Ištar (Wiggermann 2000): in *An = Anu* I 36 (Litke 1998, 26) he is the “counsellor of Anu” (ad-gi₄-gi₄ an-na-ke₄ || ma-lik^da-ni). One would expect also here the title *māliku*, written for reasons unknown as ma-la-ku in MS a (an interpretation of *mālaku* as a Northwest Semitic loanword seems highly unlikely). The traces in MS B are compatible with [L]I and with [L]A. The action invoked from Ninšubur, viz. to be the “informer” of the king’s well-being, fits well his role as “counsellor”: note in *An = Anu* I 95 (Litke 1998, 30) the description of two gods as “informers of Anu” (èn-tar-tar an-na-ke₄ || mu-še-du-u^da-ni).

28. Enanun is a healing goddess (Richter 2004, 121–122), equated with Gula in *An = Anu* V 124 (Litke 1998, 179). The verb *kanānu*, “to wrap” (on which see Maul 2018) was previously unattested in the Š stem. A. R. George (*privatim*) suggests that the form is a corruption of *litaqqin*, from *taqānu* D, “to decorate”

29. Šulpa’edara and Šulpa’e’udula appear consecutively in *An = Anu* II 56–57 (Litke 1998, 73; see George 1992, 412 and Krebernik 2011/2012b), as well as in the section from the *Nippur Compendium* discussed above. If the reading adopted is correct, the two gods will be described as “the gods who love each other” (*murtāmu, rāmu* Gt), an epithet elsewhere given to Šuqamuna and Šumaliya and Bēl and Bēltīya (*AHw* 677a, *CAD* M/2 227b).

MS a apparently understood the epithet as *muštālu*, “circumspect”: the writer probably interpreted that *murt-* reflected the common Neo-Babylonian shift rT > šT (on which see the commentary on l. 33), and corrected the word accordingly. Note a similar variant, *muš-ta-mu-u* for [m]ur-^rta¹-mu, in a manuscript of *Malku* III 41, where it is explained as šu-ta-mu-ú. The context in *Malku* contains several other words relating to “love,” such as “to kiss” (III 37–38), “to embrace”

211 M. J. Geller (*privatim*) compares the expression with Hebrew *petēr reḫem*, “breaking of the womb,” a term for the

first-born child (compared with Akkadian *piṭru* also in Gesenius/Meyer *et al.* 2007, 1049a).

(III 39–40), and “to have intercourse” (III 42–45), which makes it likely that the word intended was *murtāmu*, “loving each other,” and not *muštāmú*, “reflective.” Hrůša (2010, 77, 229, and 362), however, derives both *muštāmú* and its explanation *šutāmú* from *awú Št*, “to reflect,” and considers the writing *[m]ur-ᵀta¹-mu* erroneous. While that is possible, one may note that four different manuscripts preserve the reading *murtāmu*,²¹² and only one reads *muštāmú*.²¹³ Moreover, the same entry can now be found in the *Principal Commentary* to *Izbu* 418, if read as *mur-ta-mu* = ᵀšú¹-ta-*[mu]-ᵀu¹*.²¹⁴ It is, therefore, preferable to take *murtāmu*, the reading of four different manuscripts and of the quotation in the *Principal Commentary*, as the correct one, and *muštāmú* as a *lectio facillior*. The explanation of the word as *šutāmú* in *Malku* may, nevertheless, reflect a parsing of the word *murtāmu* as stemming from *muštāmú* with a Neo-Babylonian shift *rT* > *šT*.

30. On *maḡāru Š*, see l. 24 and commentary *ad loc*.

31. *Ninamaškuga* is explained in *An = Anu* I 350 (Litke 1998, 63) as one of the two goatherds of Enlil (see Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998/2000c). The writing with GAŠAN (^d*nin-amasš-GAŠAN-kù-ga*) is unique, but may be explained as a dittography.

33. The corresponding line of the *Nippur Compendium* lists a god named ^d*á-sú kud-kù-gi-an-na*, which is apparently elsewhere unattested (§14 l. 6, George 1992, 156–157). The divine name that appears here, ^d*ūtul(AMASŠ)-gu₄-an-na*, lit. “(female) herdsman of the bull of heaven,” is similarly unattested, but both her name and the action associated with her (“glorifying the shepherdship”) suggests that it is a herding divinity.²¹⁵

The word *it-Bur-ti* is also attested in the *šú'ila* ‘Ištar 2’ l. 11 (BM 26187 = King 1902, II pl. lxxv; Zgoll 2003, 42 and 62), booked in *CAD* I/J 295a as ^{*}*itburu*, “strong,” and in *AHw* 263a as *etpuru* (*apāru* Gt). The first interpretation would yield a *hapax legomenon*, whereas the second requires a hitherto not securely attested Gt stem of *apāru* (but cf. Streck 2003, 41 and Abusch/Schwemer 2009, 83). As interpreted here, *it-Bur-ti* would represent a Babylonian writing of *itpuštu*, from *itpušu*, “expert.” *itpuštu* is predicated of Ištar in *Agušaya* A viii 19 (*it-pu-ša-at*, Groneberg 1997, 82; but cf. Streck 2010, 568). The switch *rT* > *šT* is well attested in N/LB (*GAG* §35c; Jiménez/Adalı 2015, 182; and Mayer 2015, 185); but the opposite, *šT* > *rT*, is also possible: see Laessoe 1955, 46–47 fn. 113; von Soden 1959, 52; *GAG*³ §30j⁺; and K.35 l. 30 (Frazer 2018): *ir-ta-naq-qí* for *ištanaqqi*.

36. Note the parallel K.2279+(+) l. 55' (Sidersky 1920, 566 o 27'–28'; Häntinen 2021, 226) // IM 3246 ll. 29'–30' (*TIM* 9, 55): [*u ilū m*]a-la *šu-mu na-bu-u* | [*amāt dum-q*]u (?) *li-ᵀta¹-mu-ka*,²¹⁶ “[and the god]s, as many as are named, may they say to you a kind word!”

37. Much of this line eludes decipherment. The writing [... G]IN.GAM-*e* of MS C is mystifying. The only relevant lexical entry appears to be *Nabnūtu* XXI 122 (*MSL* 16 p. 195): TUN-gam = MIN (= *kepu*) *ša qanṭuppi*, “TUN-gam means ‘to be blunt,’ said of a stylus” (compare the expression *qiddat ūmi*, lit. “bending of the day,” for the “evening”). A reading [... ṭ]u-ḫe¹-*e*, to be compared with the apparent *tuḫ* of MS a, yields no good sense.

38. The sign RI resembles IH.

212 AQ: [*x-t*]a-*mu*; N: [*m*]ur-ᵀta¹-*mu*, also IM 132514 [unpubl.] i 7': [*x-t*]a-*mu*; in all cases lack of extra *u* at the end makes its parsing as *muštāmú* unlikely.

213 B: *muš-ta-mu-u*.

214 Cf. de Zorzi 2014, 720–721, who reads ᵀla¹ ta-*[mu]-ᵀu¹*, “chi non ha fatto un giuramento,” after *CAD* T 159.

215 As suggested by M. Krebernik (*privatim*), the name ^d*á-sú kud-kù-gi-an-na*, read as

^d*á-múš-kugi¹ ana*, may have been the origin of ^d*amasš-gu¹ ana*, or vice versa.

216 Restored with the *šú'ila* ‘Šamaš 1’ l. 126 (Mayer 1976, 509): *litamūka bunene sukkallu amāt(INIM) damiḡti(SIG₅-ti)*, “may Bunene the vizier say to you a kind word.” One of the manuscripts, K.2279+ o 28', reads *li-ša-mu-ka*, which yields no good sense.

39. Inimanizi and Ninkarnunna (on which see Lambert 1976/1980 and Cavigneaux/Krebernik 1998/2000d, respectively) appear in *An = Anu* I 240 and 242 (Litke 1998, 48). According to *An = Anu* I 242a, Ninkarnunna is Inimanizi's brother. Both gods appear as a couple in K.7145 l. 7' (*CT* 29, 47; see above p. 44), whereas *STT* 400 o 12–13 (Van Buylaere 2011; see above p. 45) equates Šulazida and Šulagubu (on which see l. 42 of the present text) with Inimanizi (wr. ^d*inim-ma-ni-TUM*) and Ninkarnunna (wr. ^d*DAM-kar-nun-na*), respectively. Both gods also appear together in the Nippur Compendium (George 1992, 158 no. 18 v 4–5 and *id.* 2009, 135b), as well as in a scrap of a chronicle that discusses events occurred in Nippur (79.B.57 G = Cavigneaux 2000, 224 and 226).

The writing *meš-šá-ri* for *mišari* (MS a) is also attested in LB 1323+ VAT 5060 l. 9 (Meinhold 2009, 451).

40. *An = Anu* II 74–76 (Litke 1998, 75) gives ^dKU.TA.ZU.AB, ^dKU.KI.TA.ZU.AB, and Irhansun as children of Lisi. *STT* 400 o 6–7 lists a divinity whose name is written ^dKU.TA.ZU.NE followed by Irhansun. The reading of *STT* 400 was thought to be erroneous by Lambert 1980/1983 and Van Buylaere 2011, 853, but since the present tablet also clearly writes ^dKU.TA.ZU.NE, the writing must be understood as a variant. Compare the writing ^{mul}KU.KI.SIKIL^{lum} in *KAR* 142 i 33, apparently a byname of Umuškita (see Krebernik 2017, 353). The etymology of the name remains uncertain.

41. Igalima appears in *An = Anu* V 68 (collation in Edzard/Lambert 1976/1980).²¹⁷ Šulšagana, usually a male god, is here and in *STT* 400 o 10–11 the wife of the god Igalima. The two god names appear together already in the Abū Šalābīḥ god list (Krebernik 2011/2012c).

42. Šulazida and Šulagubu are attested only in *An = Anu* V 243–244, where they appear as two of the seven children of Nin-girida, and in *STT* 400 o 12–13 (see above p. 45), where they are equated with Inimanizi and Ninkarnunna (Krebernik 2011/2012a and Van Buylaere 2011, 856). The latter pair of gods appear in l. 36 of the present tablet.

43–44. Compare the parallel passage from the *Nippur Compendium* §7, cited in the introduction. The weapons Umušanna and Umuškita appear together in that and other parallel passages (George 1992, 447), in *An = Anu* II 72–73 (Litke 1998, 75), and in *STT* 400 o 4–5 (see above l. 39 and the introduction, p. 45). The verb in l. 43 can also be analyzed as *li-me = limi < ewū*. The restoration in l. 44 is uncertain.

45. Šarur and Šargaz are the most important weapons of Ninurta (Krebernik 2009/2010). The verb *barāqu* Š, “to fulminate,” is often used with the weapons of Ninurta, e.g. in SB *Anzū* I 97 = 118 = 139.

lemnētika, “your evil ones” (written *lem-né-ti-ka*) is attested in the ritual for the substitute king: K.2600+ o³ ii 3' (Lambert 1957/1958a, 110). Reading [*l*]em-né-[*ti*]-k[*a*] in MS a does not seem possible: it is assumed, therefore, that MS a contains the variant *lemnika*, attested e.g. in the apodosis *šarru* HUL^{meš}-šú *unappaš*, “the king will crush his enemies,” in K.3780 i 3 (cited in Frahm/Jiménez 2015, 343).

46. On Ninurta's weapon Ubanu'ila, see Krebernik 2014/2016e and *id.* 2018. “Merciless storm” (*ūmu lā pādū*) is an etymological translation of the name ^d*u₄-ba-nu-il-la*; the translation is attested in *Nabnitu* XVI 132 (*MSL* 16 p. 145) and in temple lists (George 1992, 108 no. 12 l. 35' and 413 and *id.* 2008, 715–716). In *Hulbazizi* 40, Ubanu'ila is called “Ninurta's powerful weapon” (*kakku dammu ša ninurta*, see Finkel 1975, 86 and 149–150).

47. Ninurta's weapon ^d*kur-ra-šu-ur₄-ur₄* is attested in the list K.4339 iv 20 (*CT* 25, 14, see Cooper 1978, 160), as well as in *Angim* 145: *u₄-gin₇ zalag mu-un-è^d kur-ra-šu-ur₄-ur₄-ĝ^{u₁₀} mu-(e-da-gál-la-àm)] || ša kīma ūmi nūra šūpū^d kur-ra-šu-ur₄-u[r₄ MIN]*, “(I carry) that which

217 On Igalima, see further Cavigneaux 2017, 96–97 and BM 51433 l. 6' (eBL transliteration, “taboo of I.”).

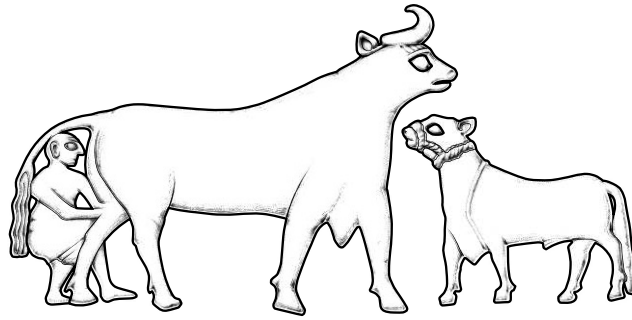


Figure 5. Detail from the Tell el-'Ubaid Freeze (scale 1:2).
Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Drawing: F. Wolter

brings forth light like the day, (my) Kurašurur” (see Cooper 1978, 82–83 and 129, see also Sjöberg 1970/1971, 159–160).

48. Ninurta’s weapon ^dérim-á-bi-nu-tuku is known from *Angim* 146: an ki ge-en-ge-na ^dérim-á-bi-nu-tuku-ĝ[_u₁₀ mu-(e-da-gál-la-àm)] || mukīn šamé u eršeti ^dérim-á-bi-nu-tuku [MIN], “(I carry) the maintainer of heaven and earth, (my) Erimabinutuku” (see Cooper 1978, 82–83 and 129). It may also be attested in K.4339 iv 27 (CT 25, 14; see Cooper 1978, 129 and 160).

49. Ninurta’s weapon ^dĝis̄₁₀tukul-saĝ-ninmu (on which see Krebernik 2014/2016c), which appears also in l. 53, is attested in *Angim* 152: ^ĝes̄₁₀tukul ^dĝira-ĝin₇ ki-bal mē-a ^ĝes̄₁₀tukul-saĝ-ninmu-ĝ_u₁₀ mu-da-gál-la-àm || kakk[*u* ša kīma g]irri māt nukuri iqammú MIN MIN, “(I carry) the weapon that consumes the enemy land like fire, my Tukulsagninmu” (see Cooper 1978, 82–83 and 129). Reading a genitive chain here, *abūb šašmi*, “flood of combat,” seems possible in view of the writing *a-bu-ub* in MS B.

50. If the verb in MS a has been correctly deciphered, this would be the only instance of *pasāmu* used in figura etymologica. The word *napsamu*, which occurs in *Ludlul* V 15 (Lambert 1960a, 56 “q”; Oshima 2014, 430), is explained in the commentary to *Ludlul* as *makšaru ša pī sīsī*, “snaffle for the mouth of the horse.” The term was previously only attested in connection with horses and lions (CAD N/1 315b; Hrůša 2010, 268). The image used here seems to be incompatible with the translations “nose bag” (CAD N/1 315b) and “Gebiß des Pferdezaums” (AHw 740b) of the term, for neither of them seems suitable for covering the mouth of a calf. In the present passage, the word probably refers to the sort of muzzle that, when used with calves being weaned, would prevent them from suckling. One such muzzle is recorded by the Greek lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (5th or 6th century CE) as the meaning of the rare word πύσσαχος, described by him as “a curved piece of wood that is put around the muzzles of calves to prevent their suckling.”²¹⁸ Muzzles of this type are used in many early societies to exploit the milk-ejection reflex in cows while preventing calves from sucking the milk: one such muzzle is, in fact, represented in the milking scene frieze of Ninḫursag at Tell el-'Ubaid, as can be seen in the adjoining image.²¹⁹

218 Ξύλον καμπύλον τοῖς μόσχοις περὶ τοὺς μυκτῆρας τιθέμενον <ὄ> κωλύει θηλάζειν (Latte/Hansen 2005, 221). The etymology of the word is obscure (Chantraine 1980, 960a), although a connection with πάσσαλος, “peg,” has been suggested (e.g. Passow 1852, 1307a).

219 As already noted by Woolley (*apud* Hall/Woolley 1927, 91): “the calf is muzzled so that it may not suck and stands facing the cow and tied to it by a halter round its neck.” See also Amoroso/Jewell 1963, 129–134 and Gouin 1993, 139–140.

51. ^dUG.BU appears to be a hitherto unattested name of a weapon.²²⁰ Among the weapons of Ninurta, the ^u^rⁱ^d^u níg-kalag-ga is usually the one called “weapon of Anu” (Cooper 1978, 150–153). If read ^dUG.SU₁₃(BU), the name could be compared with ^dUG.SÙ, attested as a name of Adad in *An = Anu* III 230a (on which see Krebernik 2014/2016a).

If the interpretation of the relative clause is correct, it is unclear why the dative pronominal suffix (*hadû<šu>*) should have been omitted.

52. MS a writes *li-iṣ-du* instead of the expected *liṣid*. On the use of VC signs for expected CV in Neo-Babylonian manuscripts, see George 2003, 827. On the image, compare *gú nu še-ga še-gin₇ gur₁₀ su-ub-bu* || *kišād lā māgiri kīma é iṣṣida*, “(Ninurta) reaps like barley the necks of the insubordinate” (*Lugale* I 6 [van Dijk 1983, 52 and al Rawi 1995, 199], line also cited in the commentary BM 47554 o 11 [Frahm/Jiménez 2015, 338]).

53. On the weapon Tukulsagninnu, see l. 49.

54. A “stack (of sheaves) of barley” is elsewhere attested only in *Ea* I 81–82 (*MSL* 14 p. 180: ^{za-ar}ZAR = *sallza-ar-ru*, MIN šá ŠE). On the image, compare SB *Gilgamesh* V 10: [*šutēl*] *up giṣṣu hitlupāt qīštu*, “[All] tangled was the thorny undergrowth, the forest a thick canopy” (al Rawi/George 2014, 76). The use of the verb *elēpu* Št with corpses is attested in *Šumma Izbu* XIX 74': *šumma alpu 2 pag-ru-šú aria šaknū-ma šu-te-lu-p[u]*, “If a bull, (his) two corpses are placed side by side and entangl[ed]” (de Zorzi 2014, 800).

55. The verb *petú*, “to open,” when used in reference to weapons has been interpreted to mean either simply “to bare, to unsheathe” (Noegel 2018), or else to refer to a ritual to consecrate a weapon in order to unleash its divine power, thus marking “l'ouverture officielle des hostilités” (Guichard 1999, 38–41; *id.* 2014, 29). Its use with *šurinnu*, “standard,” is attested in a bilingual inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (*RIMB* 2.4.1): ^ē^{is}tukul sīg-ga šu-nir silig-silig-ga diḡir gal è-a x [(...)] || *ina tišbut kakki pe-te-e šu-ri-ḡin^l-[ni ...]*, “[...] at the clash of arms and the opening of the standard, the great god going forth ... [...]” (Frame 1995, 14 iv 2; see Pongratz-Leisten/Deller/Bleibtreu 1992, 317). A very similar passage occurs in the *Exaltation of Ištar* IVb 21–22: ^din-nin ki ^ē^{is}tukul sīg-ga šu-nir gub-bu á¹(NE)-ḡál-zu lú-na-me nu mu-un-da-ab-gi₄-gi₄ || *ištar ina tišbut kakki u šu-rin-ni ina pe-te-e idiki mamman ayy-ipparku¹*, “Ištar, at the clash of arms and at the opening (Sumerian: “planting”) of the standard, your strength does not dwindle” (Hruška 1969, 488; see also Lambert 1971, 95 and Guichard 2014, 56–57).

The end of the line has been restored after SB *Anzū* II 58 = OB MS Ab r 14 (Vogelzang 1988, 54 and 99; Annus 2001, 24 and 37): *tuk-lat^a nim u^d da-gan na-ram^d nin-ši-kù* (OB ḡ^{tu-uk^l-la-at AN ù^d da-ḡgan^l [n]a-ram ni-ši-k[ī]), “hope of Anu and Dagan, beloved of Ninšiku.”}

56. Compare BM 64518 l. 16': *eli ummānīka liškunū šulūla* (see edition and translation in pp. 40–41). Lambert 1982, 208, citing the fragment K.17301 (now part of MS B), reads the signs at the end of the line as [...] x *nu-ug ka-bit-[ī]*, “joy of the hea[rt].” *kabittu*, as by-form of *kabattu*, is only sparsely attested (Borger 1975, 70–71),²²¹ and the occurrence of the regular form *kabattu* in the next line of the text makes this parsing unlikely. The correct reading of the word before *pānukka* escapes us.

57. Dunga is restored, following a suggestion by U. Gabbay, on the basis of the occurrence of Lumḡa in the following line. Dunga, patron of musicians (Krebernik 2014/2016d), and Lumḡa, patron of lamentation priests, frequently occur together in divine lists (George 1992, 413). On the meaning “royal patrimony” of *isqu*, see Charpin *apud* Arkhipov/Loesov 2015. On *ḡelū* Gt, “to be

220 The Neo-Babylonian word *serpu*, “knife,” has probably no bearing here.

15: [*linū*] *ḡ libbakā-ma ka-bit-ta-ka lips[a]ḡ* (Watanabe 1991, 349).

221 Note that a clear attestation occurs in a tablet of blessings for the king: *STT* 340 o

merry,” see Lambert 1982, 208 (citing K.17301, now part of MS B). On the phrase *nigúta erēšu*, see Jiménez 2017a, 265 (the alternative analysis as *rášu*, suggested by Streck 2020b, 34a, seems unlikely in view of the present context; compare also *li-te-riš nigú[ta]* in the *Hymn to the Queen of Nippur* D+49 [Földi 2021b = Lambert 1982, 204 IV 49]).

58. The word that opens the line is ostensibly a divine name. The sign in MS a looks like one of the constituents of the sign BALAG×BALAG in Fossey 1926, 706 no. 23335, attested in BM 60591 l. 3 (*Cyr* 235) and BM 75159 l. 4 (*Cyr* 234). The god involved is therefore probably the god Lumḫa, the god associated with the performance of lamentations (Edzard/Krebernik 1987/1990 and Gabbay 2014, 90). On the technical phrase *taKribta šakānu*, “to perform a *balag*” see Gabbay 2014, 157–158, 190. MS B contains additional lines after the last line of MS a, but they appear to be different from the additional section that appears in MS c₂.

Additional Section (MS c // ND 6200 ii [CTN 4, 183])

c₂ 5'. The epithet *bīt šīmāti* is also given to the Ekur in the *šū'ila* ‘Adad 1b’ l. 27’ (Schwemer 2001, 670; Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 320).

c₂ 6'. The context recommends parsing *mu-Kan-nu-^Γú¹* as another testimony to the still poorly attested *genú* D, “to gore” (on which see Hruš 2010, 243; Oshima 2014, 177–180; and Piccin/Worthington 2015, 115).

c₂ 7'. Lambert’s reading of this tablet as UR.SAG (*apud CAD* Š/3 48b) should be discarded. The *é-IM-^hur-sag* is a ziggurat at Nippur (George 1993a, 105 no. 529). On the wording, compare CBS 13959 o 3 (copy pl. 7):

obverse

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [... i-n]a (?) <i>é-kur šá-^Γad¹ ^Γhé¹-gál-l</i> [i ...] | 1. [... a]t the Ekur, the mountain of plent[y ²²² ...] |
| 2. [... -i]t [(o)] <i>nu-ri</i> x [...] | 2. [...] ... <i>light</i> ... [...] |
| 3. [...] <i>é¹-u₄-gal šin-na-at^Γ ^Γé¹-[šár-ra</i> (?) ...] | 3. [...] the E ¹ ugal, ²²³ the equal of the E[šarra (?) ...] |
| 4. [...-n]u <i>ka-a-a-nam-ma^Γ šú¹-</i> [...] | 4. [...] ... regularly ... [...] |
| 5. [...] <i>é¹ šar-ri šu-z</i> [u-...] | 5. [...] house that ... the king ²²⁴ [...] |
| 6. [...] <i>-tì na-</i> [...] | 6. [...] ... [...] |
| 7. [...] <i>da-šá-ti šá su-x</i> [...] | 7. [...] abundant [...], which ... [...] |
| 8. [...] <i>é²-k</i> urun-nam [...] | 8. [...] the Ek]urunam ²²⁵ [...] |

reverse

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1'. [...] x x [...] | 1'. [...] ... [...] |
| 2'. [...] <i>el-</i> [...] | 2'. [...] ... [...] |
| 3'. [...] <i>-t</i> u ² -uš u ₄ -m[i-šam ² ...] | 3'. [...] ... <i>dai</i> [ly ...] |
| 4'. [...] x-it <i>ta-šim-</i> [tí ² ...] | 4'. [...] ... <i>intelli</i> [gence ...] |
| 5'. [...] x-a <i>é¹ i-zi-za¹-m</i> [a ² ...] | 5'. [...] ... stand! [...] |

c₂ 8'. The Ekurigal is a shrine in the storehouse of the Ekur (George 1993a, 117 no. 683), mentioned in the Simbar-Šipak inscription discussed in the introduction (Goetze 1965, 121 ll. 6 and 9; see p. 43). The epithet is apparently etymological, since IGI.GÁL = *šaddu* and KUR = *mātu*.

222 On the epithet “Mountain of Plenty” (*kur hé-gál-la*), applied to several cities and temples, see Falkenstein 1959a, 50–51; Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, 59a; and Sjöberg 1973, 115.

223 The temple of Enlil in Dūr-Kurigalzu or at E-rab-riri (George 1993a, 152 no. 1127–1128).

224 Perhaps an etymology of the temple name Ešarra. At the end, perhaps *šu-z*[u-*bi*].

225 If correctly restored, it may refer to the temple of Siraš in E-rab-riri (George 1992, 107 no. 12 l. 7'; *id.* 1993a, 118 no. 695).

c₂ 9'. The understanding of *é-gi-gu-nu-ú* as *gegunnû* i.e. ^é*gi-gu-nu-ú*, follows George 1993a, 92 no. 373; the writing is also attested in Assurbanipal inscription referring to the ziggurat of Nippur (see Gerardi 1989 and Frame 1995, 220 fn. 15).

c₂ 11'. *mu-ta-ma-šúllšu* is taken as *mūtamû* (*awû* Gt).

No. 2: HS 1916, The Exaltation of Ištar III (Bilingual *šū'ila*-prayer)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1916

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 43): “dgl. [*scil. nB*] Zweisprach. religiös. Text (neubab.). Fundort: Nippur. Dupl. RA XI 149, 36ff.”

Size: 7.2 × 4.6 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

The epic known as *The Exaltation of Ištar* narrates the promotion of the goddess Inanna/Ištar to the head of the pantheon on the authority of Anu, Enlil, and Ea. The first chapter (“tablet”) of the epic must have begun with a hymn to the goddess, since the text’s incipit, as known from colophons and catalogues,²²⁶ was *égi maḥ ušu-ni ir₉-ra*, “august princess, who alone is mighty.” At the end of the first chapter the three gods, Anu, Enlil, and Ea, are said to sit in council,²²⁷ and the remaining chapters appear to contain their successive resolutions. Five chapters are known, the preserved manuscripts of which range from 46 to 50⁺ bilingual lines; but further chapters may have existed. The preserved manuscripts for each chapter are as follows:

Tablet I (incipit *égi maḥ ušu-ni ir₉-ra*, “august princess, who alone is mighty”). Probably contained a hymn to Ištar.

- IM 135199 (W.22729/2; *SpTU* 2, 28)
- K.8482 (?) and Rm.953 (?), see Lambert 1971, 92

Tablet II (incipit unknown). Probably contained a long speech of Anu, in which he grants Ištar control of heaven.

- W.20030/80 (*BagM Beih* 2, 58) (?), see McEwan 1981, 641
- 81-7-27, 115 (?), eBL transliteration)

226 The incipit appears in the rubrics of IM 135199 r 18' (W.22729/2; *SpTU* 2, 28) and AO 6458 r 44 (*TCL* 6, 51). On the catalogues that mention the epic, see below.

227 *unken ḡar-ra an^d+en-líl^d+en-ki-ke₄ zag-g[al-la DÚR] | ina pu-ḥur šak-nu^da-nu-um^d+en-líl u^dIDIM ina rab-ba-[a-ti uš-bu]*, “in the gathered assembly Anu, Enlil, and Ea [sat] on the seats of honor” (*SpTU* 2, 28 r 15'-16').

Tablet III (incipit an-kù-ga gal-bi enim ka-na nu-mu-un-til-le-e-dè, “The great Anu, the words of his mouth cannot be stopped”). The gods in the assembly approve Anu’s speech and Anu gives a new speech.

- AO 6458 (*TCL* 6, 51) // 1-92
- AO 6493 (*TCL* 6, 52) // 7-40
- VAT 14488 (*LKU* 12) // 9-32
- VAT unknown (cited in *LKU* 135 p. 27) // 26-48 (?)
- HS 1916 // 71-92

Tablet IV (incipit en ^dnu-nam-nir-ra nam-bi-šè ì-ḥúl, “Lord Nunammir rejoiced with this”). Contains a speech of Enlil in which he grants Ištar control of the earth.

- VAT 16439a(+)b (*VS* 24, 37) // 1-30, 101’-129’ (= Hruška IVb 27-56)
- BM 38166+ BM 38906 (eBL transliteration) // 31’-92’ (64’-83’ = Hruška IVb 1-10)
- 80-7-19, 281 (eBL transliteration) // 12’-83’
- Bod S 302 (Langdon 1915, 74-75) // 74’-129’ (= Hruška IVb 1-56)
- K.13459 (Lambert *apud* Hruška 1969, 522) // 77’-97’ (= Hruška IVb 14-24)
- K.15340 (eBL transliteration) // 106’-111’ (= Hruška IVb 33-39)

Tablet V (incipit nun ^dnu-dím-mud-da nam-bi-šè ì-ḥúl, “Prince Nudimmud rejoiced with this,” no manuscripts known). Probably contained a speech of Ea.

The last authoritative edition of the text was Hruška 1969; note also the corrections by Lambert 1971, 91-95. Electronic editions of it have appeared (Foxvog 2013 and Peterson 2015). Sections of the text have been translated by Furlani 1954, 26-29; Labat 1970, 240-247; and Castellino 1977, 107-114.

**

The incipit of the epic is known from colophons²²⁸ and also from the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (Lambert 1962, 64 iv 6). In the latter text one Taqīš-Gula, a lament[ation-priest], is said to be the author of the text. This Taqīš-Gula is in all likelihood the same man who, together with Gimil-Gula, is said in the *List of Kings and Scholars* to have lived during the reign of king Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282 BCE).²²⁹ Another rubric calls Taqīš-Gula “a scholar from Nippur” (K.8177,²³⁰ see Lambert 1962, 63 and 75), which means that, according to Mesopotamian tradition at least, the *Exaltation* was a product of Nippur scholarship. It is therefore significant that the present tablet is the first known manuscript of the text from that city.

All known manuscripts of the text date to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo- or Late Babylonian periods; however, the text itself is probably an earlier composition. Certain traits of the text’s Sumerian, such as the use of Emesal forms in non-Emesal contexts,²³¹ are sug-

228 IM 135199 r 18’ (W.22729/2; *SpTU* 2, 28) and AO 6458 r 44 (*TCL* 6, 51).

229 IM 65056 o 15 (W.20030/7; *BagM Beih* 2, 89). The name was formerly as [^ma-bi]-e²-šú-uh by van Dijk 1962, 44 and, following him, Wilcke 1991, 268; Charpin 1992, 212 fn. 39; *id.* 1999, 324a; and Lenzi 2008, 141. For the reading of the name as Nazi-Maruttaš, see Jiménez 2020b.

230 Now joined to K.3599+ by T. Mitto (eBL project).

231 In the present tablet, Emesal forms in non-Emesal contexts are: áĝ- and na-áĝ- for níĝ- and nam- (ll. 7a, 10a) respectively, and zé-eb for dūg (l. 10a). On the use of Emesal in non-Emesal con-

gestive of a composition date after the Old Babylonian period, which agrees with the Mesopotamian tradition about the origin of the epic. The text is therefore often regarded as a late Kassite composition that found its way into later traditions,²³² and had a particular resonance in Hellenistic Uruk one millennium after its composition.²³³

★★

The rubric of the present tablet classifies it as a *šū'ila*-prayer to Ištar. Although this is the first known manuscript of the text whose rubric classifies it as a *šū'ila*,²³⁴ the taxonomy is not altogether surprising. In fact, the incipit of the *Exaltation of Ištar* is in all likelihood quoted in the catalogue of *kalûtu*-literature 4R² 53+ iv 18,²³⁵ in the section devoted to bilingual *šū'ila*-prayers:

[égi maḥ u]šū^v ir₉-ra šá^dINANNA

In addition, the tablet IM 76861 (W.23006; *SpTU* 3, 63) cites two lines from the *Exaltation of Ištar* (ll. 9'-10' = *Exaltation* III 1-2 and 7-8) among other Emesal texts.²³⁶ Both these instances, together with the rubric of the present tablet and the fact that ancient catalogues ascribe the text to a lamentation-priest (*kalû*), show that during the first millennium the epic was considered, at least in some places, to be part of the corpus of Emesal literature, probably due to the Emesal words that frequently appear in it. It seems likely that the whole epic was taken as a single long *šū'ila*-prayer.

★★

According to the rubric (r 12), the present tablet contains 46 lines, i.e., 46 Sumerian lines with their corresponding 46 Akkadian lines, and therefore 92 lines in total. Interestingly, this figure reflects not the number of lines of the present manuscript, but rather the line numeration of the entire Tablet III of the *Exaltation of Ištar*, which contains 46 double

texts as a feature of post Old Babylonian Sumerian, see Falkenstein 1952, 91; Bartelmus 2016a, 231-233; and Veldhuis 2018, 188-191. On the features of the Sumerian used in Kassite-period texts, see Bartelmus 2016a, 203-249.

232 Thus e.g. Falkenstein 1952, 91-92; Wilcke 1965/1971, 2141; Lambert 1971, 92-93; Beaulieu 1995, 203-204; and Lambert 2013, 172. Wilcke 1976/1980, 80 and *id.* 1993, 46 suggests that the text or the myth it contains may be of Old Akkadian origin; Furlani 1954, 73-75 suggests the First Dynasty of Babylon as the composition date, whereas Landsberger 1960, 126 fn. 54 dates it to the late Old Babylonian period. Veldhuis 2018 suggests that the text might be a Neo-Assyrian creation that found its way into Babylonia.

233 Jiménez 2017a, 286-287 fn. 736. The popularity of an epic narrating Ištar's promotion starkly contrasts with the goddess's demotion in favor of Anu at Uruk in a process that began during the late Achaemenid period. On Anu's promotion, see Beaulieu 1992; Kessler 2004; and Berlejung 2009.

234 Note that the rubric of the present tablet was already cited by Edzard 1987/1990, 41, who probably obtained the information from Miguel Civil's unpublished "Index to the Corpus of Sumerian Literature", in which the present tablet is catalogued and its rubric given.

235 See the edition by Gabbay 2015b, 19 l. 139[b] and the copy by S. M. Maul *ibid.* pls. 29-30. See also Shibata 2021, 31-32.

236 On this tablet, see Gabbay 2006.

lines. The present manuscript, which begins in line 71 (i.e., double line number 36), originally contained only 22 lines, i.e., 11 double lines.²³⁷

The text is written in a clear and elegant hand, albeit one capable of malformed signs and errors (ll. 3a, 5a, 10a, and 11a). The ductus suggests an Achaemenid or Hellenistic date. The tablet exhibits a form of the sign TI formed with only one horizontal wedge instead of the normal two (ll. 9b, 10b, 11b, but cf. 6b), which has been considered a hallmark of late tablets from Uruk (George 2003, 396; see also below p. 164 No. 14).

Transliteration

Obverse²³⁸

- 1a (= 71). 𒀭diġir-re¹-e-ne-𒀭gin⁷ [lú-ki-lá-zu nu-ġál-la-ar saġ u₆ ħé-ri-in-e-še]
 1b (= 72). *ki-ma ilī*(DINGIR^{mes}) s[a-ni-qa la te-ši-i nišū(UN^{mes}) lib-ra-ki]
 2a (= 73). en dumu^d+EN.ZU-na-r[a níġ-gal-gal-la un-da-an-ġar-ra-ta]
 2b (= 74). *iš-tu be-lu ma-r[at sín^{(d)30} nar-ba-a i-ši-mu-ši]*
 3a (= 75). èš é-an-na-ra itima¹(AMA₅) kù-g[a-na ba-ra-an-na-an-sìr]
 3b (= 76). *bi-ta ayakka*(É.AN.NA) el-¹lu¹ [ki-iš-ša-šú la ik-lu-ši]
 4a (= 77). an lugal-la^din-nin-¹ra¹ níġ-gal-gal-l[a un-da-an-ġar-ra-ta]
 4b (= 78). *iš-tu^da-nu šar-ri^dM[IN nar-ba-a i-ši-mu-ši]*
 5a (= 79). èš é-an-na-ra itima¹(AMA₅) kù-ga-°na °[saġ-ġeš mu-un-riġ₇-eš]
 5b (= 80). *bi-ta ayakka*(É.AN.NA) el-lu [ki-iš-ša-šú ana ši-rik-tu₄ iš-ru-ku-ši]
 6a (= 81). ^{tu}g pála nam-uraš-a sa zálag^d+en.zu-[na-ke₄ alan-bi mi-ni-íb-sù-sù]
 6b (= 82). *ti-di-¹iq¹^da-nu-ti¹šá¹-[ru-ur sín^{(d)30} na-mi-ri gat-ta₆-šú ú-tal-liġ]*
 7a (= 83). suġ-kés¹ maġ-a¹ áġ-tag¹-[ga na-áġ-dingir-ra u₄-gin⁷ ba-ni-in-è]
 7b (= 84). *í[i-¹iq-ni ši-ru-ti su-du-ur i-lu-ti ki-ma u₄-mu uš-te-pi-ši]*

Reverse

- 9a (= 87). saġ-¹zi¹ [ka-silim-ma gú má-gur₈-ra-ke₄ zag-ġá-na ba-ni-in-ġar]
 9b (= 88). *a-ge-e taš-ri-iġ-ti¹šá¹ki-ma¹re¹-[eš^dnanna-ri ina qa-q-a-di-šá uk-tin]*
 10a (= 89). nu-gig¹(NUNUZ) an-na áġ zé-eb-bé-da-ġu₁₀ me [al nu-di-di níġ-ġu₁₀
 mu-ra-an-ġar]
 10b (= 90). *iš-ta-ri-ti ur-ti ka-bit-[ti pa-ra-aš la e-re-ši mim-me-e-a | a-šim-ki]*
 11a (= 91). ġá-e-gin₇-nam^d+en-líl lugal °x x x° kur-kur-[ra-ke₄ mí zi-dè-eš
 ħu-mu-ri-in-è]
 11b (= 92). *ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma^dMIN¹be¹-[el mā-tā-ti(KUR^{mes}) ki-niš li-kan-ni-ki]*
 12. šu-íl-lá^dinnin-ke₄ 46 ¹MU¹.[šID.BLIM (...)]
 13. en^dnu-nam-nir-ra na[m-bi-šè ì-ġúl bar-bi ul-la àm-mi-íb-za]
 14. *ana tu-ub¹na¹-[as-ġi Ø]*
 (end of tablet)

237 That the tablet only had one column is clear from the fact that only three double lines are missing between obverse and reverse.

238 The numbers in parentheses refer to the line numeration of the main manuscript

of the third chapter of the *Exaltation of Ištar*, viz. AO 6458 (TCL 6 no. 51), which is also used in the latest edition of the text (Hruška 1969, 483-486).

Translation

Obverse

1. “[May people be amazed at you as] someone who has no su[perior] among the gods!
2. “After the lord [has decreed greatness] for [Šin’s] daughter,
3. “[May she not be barred] from the temple of Eanna, [his] holy sanctuary!”
4. After king Anu (thus) [decreed] greatne[ss] for Inanna,
5. He g[ranted her] the temple of Eanna, his holy sanctuary,
6. [His figure was covered in] the dress of Anu-ship, the dazzling ray of the mo[on],
7. [They made her rise like the day] in magnificent attire, [divine] orname[nts],

Reverse

9. The glorious tiara, which (is) like that of [the moon, he set upon her head],
(while saying:)
10. “O Hierodule! My nobl[e] command, [the divine ordinances that no one (else)
should ambition, everything that I own, I decree to be yours!]
11. “May Enlil, the king of the lan[ds, look on you as benevolently] as I do!”

12. Šu'ila-prayer to Inanna, 46 are [its] lines [(...)]. (= Rubric)

13. “[Bec]ause of [this] lord Nunamnira [became happy, his heart rejoiced].”
(= *Exaltation* IVa 1, Catchline)
14. Wr[itten] for well-being.

**

Commentary

3a. Both here and in l. 5a AMA₅ (GÁ×MÍ) is used instead of ITIMA (GÁ×MÍ), the sign that appears in AO 6458 (*TCL* 6 51) and which is the reading reflected in the Akkadian translation. The alternation between AMA₅ and ITIMA is attested elsewhere in Neo-Babylonian manuscripts, e.g. in *OECT* 11, 89 o 10' (which reads ITIMA, against AMA₅ in the other manuscripts, see Schramm 2008, 134 l. 15); *SpTU* 2, 6 l. 45 (GÁ×MÍ || *maštaku*); and VAT 7826 o 12 (Gabbay 2017b, 276 and 281). The confusion of signs inscribed within other signs is typical of late manuscripts.

6. The main manuscript of the passage, AO 6458 (*TCL* 6 51), was previously read as ^{pa-al-na-mu} ^{ti}g p^{ti}ála nam-ur-a-sa, but the present manuscript suggests that it should be read as nam-uraš'(UR)-a.²³⁹ The correspondence nam-uraš-a = *anūtu*, previously unattested, derives from the common equation of the god names Uraš with Anu and/or Antu, attested e.g. in *An* = *Anum* I 4 (Litke 1998, 21; see Krebernik 2014/2016f; Oraibi/Bartelmus 2021, 184). This correspondence suggests that SA is not part of this word, as previously assumed (e.g. by *CAD* A/2 151a; Krecher 1968, 274; Hruška 1969, 507; and Klein 1981, 29 fn. 155; cf. Römer 1975, 158b), but rather the Sumerian counterpart of the word *šarūru* in the Akkadian version. The equation si = *šarūru* is very common but sa = *šarūru* was previously attested only in the *Esagil Commentary* (VAT 17115 o 16, edited in George 1992, 80 and pl. 20) and in *Idu* II 147 (DT 40 ii 46 [*CT* 11, pl. 30] // VAT 14266 ii 15 [unpubl., *non vidi*]). The Akkadian line in AO 6458 (*TCL* 6 51) reads not ALAM-šú (*pace* Hruška 1969, 485 and *CAD* N/1 240a), but (as the copy suggests) gat-KÍD-šú, i.e., perhaps *gat-ta₆-šú*.

7a. On the reading of SUḪ.KÉŠ, see Rubio 2010, 30-31.

239 As already suggested in *CAD* A/2 151a.
Thanks are expressed to Klaus Wagen-

sonner for sharing digital photos of AO
6458 (*TCL* 6 51).

14. The phrase *ana ṭubbi(š)u nashi/nasha*, “written for (his) well-being,”²⁴⁰ is attested in:

- No. 1 *ana ṭu-ub-bi-šú (ḫa-an-ṭiš) zī-ḫa*, in VAT 10105 (*KAR* 104 r 34) and VAT 10174 (*KAR* 321 r 16), both in Hunger 1968, 89 no. 289, from Assur. The latter is a school tablet with excerpts from different texts.
- No. 2 *ana ṭu-ub zī-ḫi*, VAT 298+ (*SBH* 26 l.e. 1) and VAT 219+ (*SBH* 24+ *SBH* p. 151 r 28), both in Hunger 1968, 64 nos. 174 and 176, both written by a certain Bēlšunu s. Bēl-NU in Babylon, the former is dated to 156 BCE. Also in B 158 (Schwemer 2022), from Seleucid Babylon.
- No. 3 *ana ṭu-ub-bu na-as-ḫi*, YBC 11381 r 1 (Payne 2010), probably from Neo-Babylonian Nippur or Uruk.

240 On the phrase, see Pearce 1993, 189a; Gabbay 2014, 230 fn. 11; and Schwemer 2022, 70b.

No. 3: HS 1919+ HS 1936, A Wisdom Monologue

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1919+ HS 1936

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 43): “dgl. Klage lied. Fundort: Nippur. + HS 1936 (Join Oelsner, 25.6.75)”

Size: 11.1 × 9.4 × 2.4 cm

Introduction

The tablet HS 1919+, formed by two pieces joined by J. Oelsner in 1975, preserves almost sixty verses containing what appears to be a single monologue. Frequent references to a second person occur in the text, which probably means that it was part of a dialogue, or else part of a narrative poem interspersed with sections of direct speech. No duplicates or close parallels to the tablet can be found. In fact, few comparable texts are known in first-millennium literature: outside of the epic of *Erra and Išum*, narrations or dialogues with long monologues are very rare in first-millennium Babylonian poetry.

The monologue is remarkable in many aspects. On the whole, it reads like a plea presented by a defendant, who uses analogies from the human and animal world and peppers his speech with passages from Mesopotamian literature. The speech seems to progress from one topic to another and can be divided into seven semantic sections, only the first of which is separated from the rest by means of a ruling:

§1 (ll. 1'–3'). These partially preserved lines might contain a speech introduction formula, albeit one without parallel. There is a ruling at the end of the section.

§2 (ll. 4'–12'). Professional analogies. The speaker argues that there is an action that defines each profession: he who hunts is a hunter, he who shoots arrows is an archer. No rationale seems to underlie the listed professions ([singer], *pašišu*-priest, weaver, physician, exorcist, scribe, diviner, hunter, archer, run[ne]r, warrior), but at least some of them are closely related to each other (e.g. physician and exorcist). The list ends with a punchline: he who has power becomes a professional friend, i.e., everybody wants to befriend him. One may compare *Proverbs* 19: 4 and 6:²⁴¹

*Wealth adds many friends, but the poor man is separated from his fellows
Many make entreaties to the noble, and everyone is a friend to the gift-giver*
(וְכָל־הָרֵעַ לְאִישׁ מִתֵּן)

241 Translation by Fox 2009, 649–650.

In addition, continues the text, he who says “impartial” or “judicious things” (*parsātu*) is “wise.” The last line refers probably to the speaker himself, who will immediately present his own case with “judicious” words.

§3 (ll. 13'–14'). The speaker recognizes his crime: “I have broken the order and the command,” although he claims it was simply “by oversight” (*kīma egīti*). In his defense, he quotes two pieces of wisdom: “A god alone can grant prolongation (of life)” (a quotation from the *Theodicy*)²⁴² and “he who makes amends (*muštamgiri*) is a ruler of men” (quoted from an unknown text). The first quotation probably reflects the cynicism that derives from some traditional Mesopotamian literature, according to which the divine inscrutability means that humans cannot distinguish good from evil:²⁴³ since human responsibility is limited, the speaker cannot be fully blamed; in any case, a god alone can decide whether the defendant should be sentenced to death or not. With the second quotation, the speaker shows his repentance and asks for it to be rewarded.

§4a (ll. 15'–34'). Similes from the animal world. This section is particularly difficult to understand: in addition to several very rare words (e.g. in l. 16' three of the four words are hapax legomena or nearly so), there are some errors (e.g. l. 17'a *bur-ma'(LU)-am*), which suggest that the scribe did not understand the text, or else that he worked with a faulty original. The point of the similes seems to be that, no matter how much one tries, the nature of an animal cannot be changed: “Let [nanny go]ats suckle the fawn of a gazelle — His eyes (will look) impatient for his mother's breast” (l. 19'), i.e., he will always remain a gazelle. If this interpretation is correct, the defendant would probably have used the similes to strengthen his case: not only are living beings not entirely responsible for their actions, as established in §2; in addition, animals cannot go against their nature. If he has done something wrong, he would have claimed it was not his fault, but god's and nature's.

§5 (ll. 35'–39'). Similes from the mineral and animal (?) world. This badly preserved passage, perhaps simply the conclusion of the previous section, mentions lead, iron, and bulls, but the gist is lost in the lacunae.

§6 (ll. 40'–45'). Similes about slaves. Although several key words are broken or difficult to understand, the passage refers to “insolent” and “disobedient” slaves, who are straightened out by means of the “yoke,” as if they were oxen. The rage of the accuser, says the speaker, is like that ox's forehead (*pūt alpi*, the Akkadian word for “trapezoid”): long at its base, but of short height, i.e., with a fierce onset but short lived.

§7 (ll. 46'–55'). Accusations against the accuser. The allegations hurled by the accuser have sullied the defendant's reputation: now, if he were turned to honey, nobody would lick him. Still, the defendant declares himself willing to repay evil with good: if the accuser has daubed with *g[all]* the defendant's lips, the defendant

242 See commentary on l. 13'b below.

243 E.g. in *Marduk* I 107: “Mankind fathoms not its fate, nor can it distinguish it: | Only the god can descry fair from foul.”

will sweeten his enemy's face [with honey]. The cross-examination, says the defendant, has been futile — at this point the text breaks off.

Such a carefully constructed monologue, with so many excurses contributing towards a common conclusion, viz. that the defendant should be exonerated, is unique in first-millennium Akkadian literature. The elaborate and somewhat sophisticated style of the text makes it an exceptional source for the study of Babylonian rhetoric.

While it is unclear who the speaker and the addressee are, it seems clear that the text is half-serious: on the one hand, the similes and images used (“suckle a gazelle,” “suck like honey”) are too outlandish to be taken completely seriously; on the other, the quotation of serious wisdom literature, and in particular of the *Theodicy*, is a feature of first-millennium Babylonian parodies.²⁴⁴ The style is rather baroque: on the one hand, several “hymno-epic” forms are used (see commentary to ll. 40'a, 40'b, 44', and 47'); on the other, several words are extremely recherché, attested almost exclusively in this text (e.g. l. 16' *etēqu* II, *sarāmu*, and *ūtu*; l. 20' *alāu*). The use of learned words and of literary forms is a feature both of Mesopotamian elevated literature and of Mesopotamian parodies of it.

It seems possible that the monologue belongs to a hitherto unrecovered section of the *Series of the Fox*. This text, already known in Ugarit and whose origins, therefore, probably go back to the Old Babylonian period, is “a hybrid of fable and disputation” (Jiménez 2017a, 51): in it, a series of animals (Fox, Dog, Wolf, Lion, Bull, and probably more) dispute one another in a narrative framework that is still difficult to reconstruct. The present tablet contains several phrases otherwise attested exclusively or almost exclusively in the *Series* (see commentaries to ll. 4'–12', 21'–22', 26', 40'a, 40'b, 47'), for instance, the lion cub “sucks the blood,” and the wolf cub bites “the choicest meat” (l. 23' and 26'): both phrases are only attested in HS 1919+ and the *Series*.²⁴⁵ Like the *Series*, HS 1919+ quotes from the *Theodicy* in a slightly modified form (see commentary to l. 13'b and Jiménez 2017a, 82–89). The *Series* contains, like HS 1919+, abundant forensic language (Jiménez 2017a, 48–49), and features some sections that are similar to the parables in HS 1919+. For instance, *Fox* §Z (Lambert 1960a, 207–208, Kienast 2003, 52–53; see Jiménez 2017a, 53–54 and 86–87) has a speech of Dog with opposing couplets:

- 4'. 𒌦*lu-ku*²¹-x x x [(o o o)] x *lemutta*(HUL-*tú*)
 5'. *en-qu* x [o o (o)] x-*ta uḫ-te-ra-a*
 6'. *qa-a-a-lu* x x [(o o)] 𒌦*e*¹-*piš e-ni-ti*
 7'. *ba-bil pa-ni* x [(o)] x *še-lip di-num-ma*
 8'. x x-[*b*]² *né-er-ta* x (x) *mé-ku-ú ra-ta-tu*
 9'. *ša zēra*(NUMUN) *ek-ša ig-mi-lu ši-bu-us-su ul ik-šú-ud*
 10'. 𒌦*bu-un*¹-*nu zēra*(NUMUN) *nu-ul-la-ta i-ban-ni*
 11'. x x *qa-a-a-la-a-tu i-še-'-a mi-iḫ-ša*
 12'. *ummānu*(ERÍN) *la muš-šu-ru i-saḫ-ḫur di-na*

“Let me ... [...] ... evil!

“The wise man ... excavates [...] ...

- (6) “The pious man ... [...] he who commits sin.
 “He who forgives, ... [...] ... the verdict is crooked;
 “... murder ... to neglect, to tremble.

244 See Jiménez 2017a, 69–108 and especially *id.* 2019a.

245 See the commentary below.

- (9) “He who spares an insolent offspring does not obtain his desire,
 “To treat kindly the offspring brings about turpitude.
 “The pious *people* seek *the strike*,
 (12) “The army not released strives for verdict.

Admittedly, all known speeches from the *Series of the Fox* are shorter than the one contained in this tablet: they range between 12 and 19 lines (Kienast 2003, 32; Jiménez 2017a, 46 fn. 130), as opposed to this tablet’s 60⁺. It should be born in mind, however, that we know only a small portion of the *Series*: a mere 300 very fragmentary lines of an estimated total of somewhere between 900 (Kienast 2003, 29–31) and 1,800 lines (Jiménez 2017a, 45). In fact, if HS 1919+ does indeed belong to the *Series*, it would be the second best-preserved manuscript hitherto discovered of a text that remains a “maelstrom of tablets and fragments that are difficult to put in sequence” (Jiménez 2017a, 51). The sixty lines of poetry in this fragment, in which somebody tries to defend himself from the accusations of his enemies and to escape from court with life, could well represent the trial of the Fox, which in the *Series Wolf* repeatedly demands from Šamaš, the god of Justice (Jiménez 2017a, 48–49), but which none of the known manuscripts of the *Series* describes.²⁴⁶

Be that as it may, the fact that the text cannot be identified and placed in context means that several of the interpretations given below are highly provisional. Many passages of the text are too epigrammatic to be understood with certainty, at least in the absence of context. Some of the interpretations provided will no doubt prove incorrect when the composition to which this text belongs is identified.

★★

The tablet is written in a clear Neo-Babylonian hand.²⁴⁷ It uses a large number of logograms for a first-millennium literary text: this reflects perhaps the strong status that Sumerian enjoyed in the city of Nippur. One of the logograms used is, in fact, attested only in this text: SI.MUL for *ayyalu* in l. 20’.

246 Note that, as discussed in Jiménez 2017a, 45–47, the *Series of the Fox* was probably composed in Nippur: on the one hand, the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* attributes it to a scholar of Nippur; on the other, the city is mentioned in the text on several occasions. Hitherto only one Neo-Baby-

lonian school tablet from Nippur with an excerpt of the *Series* was known (Jiménez 2017a, 390–391).

247 Note that the sign TU has sometimes three (ll. 11’, ‘33’¹, 35’, ‘36’¹), sometimes four horizontals (ll. 25’, 46’, 51’).

Transliteration

obverse

- 1'. [o o o o o o o] x-^rah^r [o (o)]-^rru^r x ^rlum^r-x
 2'. [o o o o o o o] x du-ra-ni qa-at be-li
 3'. [o o o o o (o)] a-šib a-na kam^v-ma-al
-
- 4'. [i]z-mu-ru m[a-a kalú^(líGALA)] ^rú^r-ram-me-ku ma-a ^{lí}pa-ši-šu
 5'. it-ta(-)šá(-)^ra^r [o o o (o)] ka-li-ši-na ma-a iš-pa-ra
 6'. us-su ma-a asú^(líA^r.ZU) uš-ši-pu ma-a āšip^(KA.PIRIG.GA)
 7'. ^ršá^r di-iš-šá i[l-tu-k]u^r ka-li-šú-nu ma-a tuššar^(DUB.SAR)
 8'. ^rib^r-ru ma-a bārú^(líHAL^rmes^r) [i-b]ar-ru ma-a ba-a-a-ar
 9'. ša ú-šu ú-šap-[r]i-šú ka-li-šú-nu ma-a mun-daḥ-šu
 10'. ^rip^r -nu ma-a la-as-s[i-m]u iš-ru-ḥu ma-a qar-ra-^rdu^r
 11'. ša ga-mi-ru-tu i-[p]u-šú ka-li-šú-nu ma-a it-ba-ra
 12'. ša pár-sa-ta id-bu-bu ka-li-šú-nu ma-a mun-dal-ku
 13'a. ki-ma e-gi-ta a-bu-uk ter-^rtú^r ṭè-e-mu →
 13'b. šur-ru-ku ilum^(DINGIR)-ma qa-a-a-áš
 14'. muš-tam-gi-ra i-[b]e-el eṭlūti^(líGURUŠ^{mes})
 15'a. u₄-mu la šap-ra nišū^(UN^{mes}) l[i-q]i-pu →
 15'b. ri-gim-šú kīma^(GIM) šil-le-e ú-saḥ-ḥa-a^rl^(AH) ida^(Á)
 16'. šá qātī^(ŠU^{min}) i-^rtí^r-qu šá is-ra-mu ú-ṭi
 17'a. bur-ma^(LU)-am šaḥapi^(ŠAH-GIŠ.GI) qātī^(ŠU^{min}) lu-^rú^r ḥum-mu-uṭ →
 17'b-18'. ú-la-a-bi | ú-pa-a-di ana a-pi-šu-ma
 19'a. armi^(AMAR.MAŠ.DÀ) šabīti^(MAŠ.DÀ) lu-še-ni-qa-šu [enzātu^{(Ù)Z^{mes}}] →
 19'b. a-na tulē^(UBUR) ummī^(AMA)-šú e-ta-a inā^(IGI^{min})-šú
 20'. būr^(AMAR) ayyali^(SI.MUL) li-te-^ra^r [ḥe-me]-ti (?) ṭa-ab-tú
 21'. a-na ri-gim [um-mi-š]u (?) ba-šá-a uzna^(GEŠTU^{min})-šú
 22'. mi-ra-an nēši^(UR.M[AH]) (o o) lī]-kul šīri^(UZU)-ma
 23'. da-mu li-na-a[š-ši-ib o o o eli^{(UG)U}] šērī^(EDIN)-šú-ma
 24'. mi-ra-an šēlebi^(KA₅.^rA^r) [līrub (?)] ina ēkalli^(É.GAL)
 25'. ^ršú^r-kut-tu lu ^rzu-^ru^r-[nu lu sa]-aḥ-ru bal-[tú]
 26'. mi-^rra-an^r [barbari liššuk (?) d]u-muq šīri^(UZ[U]) ∅
 27'. ana na-pa-^rli^r [o o o o (o o o)] x-uz [o]
 28'. a-tam iššūri^(MUŠEN^rmes^r) x [o o o o o o (o o o o)]
 29'. šá x [o o o o o o o (o o o o)]
 (end of obverse)

Translation

Obverse

- 1'. [...] ... [...] ...
 2'. [...] ... walls, the hand of the lord,
 3'. [...] sitting against the *adversary*:
-
- 4'. [(He who) s]ings, [*lamentation priest*]; (he who) bathes, “purification priest.”
 5'. (Who) moves [*the shuttle*²⁴⁸ *here and there*], everyone (calls him)²⁴⁹ “weaver”;
 6'. (He who) heals, “h[ea]ler”; (he who) exorcises, “exorcist.”
 7'. (He) who ch[ec]ks the wedge, everyone (calls him) “scribe”;
 8'. (He who) divines, “diviner”; [(he who) h]unts, “hunter”;
 9'. (He) who shoots an arrow, everyone (calls him) “archer.”
 10'. (He who) outstrips, “run[ne]r”; (he who) [ru]shes, “warrior.”
 11'. (He) who has power, everyone (calls him) “friend”;
 12'. (He) who says things clearly, everyone (calls him) “wise.”
- 13'a. By negligence I broke the order and the command,
 13'b. (But) “A god alone can grant prolongation (of life)” (= *Theodicy* 196),
 14'. (And) “he who makes amends²⁵⁰ is a ruler of men” (= Quotation?).
 15'a. Let people [tru]st an *unchained lion*:
 15'b. His roar shall needle the *arm* like a thorn,
 16'. (A thorn) which cut the hands, which sliced the *forearm*.
 17'a. Let a wild boar piglet be swift-footed —
 17'b–18'. He will take (nothing but) a soiled rag captive to his canebrake.
 19'a. Let [nanny go]ats suckle the fawn of a gazelle —
 19'b. His eyes (will look) impatiently for his mother's breast.
 20'. Let the calf of a deer lick fine [*but*]ter —
 21'. His ears (will) bend towards the voice of h[is mother].
 22'. [Le]t the lion cub [(...)] eat flesh —
 23'. Let him suc[k] the blood [... o]ver him.²⁵¹
 24'. [Let] the fox cub [*enter*] the palace,
 25'. Let [(*the palace*)] be adorned with the ornament, [let it be wra]pped in dign[ity],
 26'. [Let] the cub of [*the wolf bite* the cho]icest me[at],
 27'. To *forage for* [...] ... [...]
 28'. [Let] the hatchling of the bird [...]
 29'. ... [...]

248 *Scil.* “of the loom.”249 Here and *passim*, lit. “all of them (*scil.*, ‘all humans’) (say) thus: ‘a weaver’” or “all of them say: ‘he is a weaver’.”

250 Or, “he who causes people of agree,” see commentary.

251 Or, “on his steppe.”

Reverse

- 30'. [o o o o o o o o (o o o o o)]
 31'. Γe^2 -ra-a Γ [o o o o o o o o (o o o)]
 32'. *hatti*^(GIS)GIDRU) *bīni*(Γ ŠINIG Γ) [o o o o o o o (o o o)]
 33'. *bu-ša-a ma-a*^(MIN)-t[u o o o o o o o (o o o)]
 34'. *la-ab-ba-a ina ma-x* [...]
 35'. *abārā*(A.GAR₅-a) *tu-pa-aš-š*[a² o o (o o o)]- Γ zu-uš Γ [o o (o o)]
 36'. *a-na na-pa-aš ka-x* [o o (o o o)-r]a²-na- Γ tu Γ [o o o (o o)]
 37'. [*h*]u-še-e *parzilli*(AN.BAR-i) [o o o o o (o)-t]a *hu-x* [o o]
 38'. $\Gamma iš$ -še Γ -gu ri-i-[mu o o o (o o)] *ta-ri-x* [(o)]
 39'. ri- Γ tuk Γ Γ la Γ -a la $\Gamma iá$ Γ [o o o (o)] x-a a-za-mil-lu₄ x [(o)]
 40'a. *ardu*(İR) *ek-ši be-la*- Γ šu Γ x [o o] \rightarrow
 40'b. [*man-nu ina* (?)] *ki-na-at-te-e-šu šá-ni-in ina ni-i-ri*
 41'. *a-na ardi*(İR) *meš-ru-ú* [(o o) o] x- Γ su Γ *ú-pe-ši*
 42'. *la še-mu-ú li-i*[r-re-d]i (?) *i-na ap-pa-ti e-ra*
 43'a. *šá ardi*(İR) *ek-ši a-a* Γid Γ -[gu-l]u (?) *pa-ni-šu* \rightarrow
 43'b. *áš-liš liš-pil-ma la*-[a]n- Γ šu Γ *lid-gul*
 44'. *ug-gu-uk pu-ut alpi*(GU₄) a-[rik] Γ nar-ba Γ -ši *ku-ra-tu₄ ár-kát-su*
 45'. *hi-še-en ki-šad mu-u*[r a-g]a- Γ li Γ *a-na pa-te-e pak-kar-ta*
 46'. *ta-ta-ra-an*- Γ ni Γ [ø] *kab-ta-ti tu-lam-mìn*
 47'. *ar-ki-tuk lu*- Γ ú Γ [lal-l]a- Γ ra Γ *ú-na-aš-šab man*- Γ nu Γ
 48'. *pa-na-ma šap-t*[i-i]a *te-te-qi* Γmar Γ -t[i] (?)
 49'. $\Gamma ár$ Γ -ka-ti b[u-un]-na-ka *ú-dáš-šap* [lal-la-riš (?)]
 50'. *i-na pa-ni-i*[a lib-b]a² *ta-aš-ša-ra-aḥ* x [o o]
 51'. *tu-ut-tir-ra*-[(ma) t]e-bir-an-ni-ma *ši-bu-tú u*[l tak-šu-ud (?)]
 52'. Γta -at Γ -x [o (o)]- Γma Γ *túb-te-el-li* Γi Γ -[šá-tiš (?)]
 53'. [o o o (o o)] Γi Γ -šá-tam-ma Γat -ta Γ -kip [o o o]
 54'. [o o o o o]- Γra Γ -a-t[u₄ o o] x [o o (o o)]
 55'. [o o o o o o] x $\Gamma šá$ Γ [o o o o o o o]

Reverse

- 30'. [...]
- 31'. Copper [...]
- 32'. A stick of tamarisk [...]
- 33'. (Does) *the land* [...] to a hyena?
- 34'. (Does) [...] in the ... to a lion?
- 35'. Will you sinter lead [...] ... [...]
- 36'. In order to crush ... [...] ... [...]
- 37'. Scraps of iron ... [...] ... [...]
- 38'. A bu[ll] becomes infuriated, [...] ... [(...)]
- 39'. The *bull* in your hand ... [...] ... a sack ...
- 40'a. [Let] the insolent slave [*disrespect*] his master —
- 40'b. [*Who among*] his peers will rival him at the yoke?
- 41'. To a slave, riches crushed his ... [...],
- 42'. Let the disobedient *be le[d aw]ay* with a ox-goad of hard wood!
- 43'a. Of the insolent slave, let his face not be *s[ee]n!*
- 43'b. Let (only) he who goes down *sixty meters* see his figure!
- 44'. Your rage is an ox's forehead (i.e., a trapezoid): the base is wide, (but) its length is short;
- 45'. Hug the neck of a [do]nkey foa[l] to open ...
- 46'. You have insulted me, hurting my feelings,
- 47'. After you(r actions), even if (I) were [hon]ey, who would suck (me)?
- 48'. In the past you have daubed my li[ps] with *ga[ll]*.
- 49'. In the future I will sweeten your f[a]ce [*like honey*].
- 50'. Before m(y actions), you were burning (with rage in your) [*hear*]t ... [...];
- 51'. You have, again, cross-examined me, [*without achieving*] the purpose.
- 52'. You have ... [...], you kept extinguishing [*like*] f[ire].
- 53'. [...] the fire, I have gored [...]
- 54'–55'. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

3'. The reading of the last word is uncertain. *kammālu*, “adversary,” works well in the context of a diatribe, but the lack of case vowel is unparalleled in this tablet. A reading *gám'-ma-al*, “camel,” seems far-fetched.

4'–12'. The first section is structured in couplets with two alternating syntactic constructions:

1. Verb^{Subj} *mā* Noun || Verb^{Subj} *mā* Noun
2. *ša* Noun^{Acc} Verb^{Subj} || *kalīšunulkalīšina mā* Noun²⁵²

The different construction types are explicable *causa metri*, since the insertion of a direct object in type 2 would yield a three-word phrase that then requires only one extra word (*kalīšunulkalīšina*) to become a full verse. In both construction types, verbs have a subordination marker *-u*. Whereas in type 2 clauses the relative pronoun is explicit, in clauses of type 1 it is implicit:²⁵³ remarkably, the first line of the speech (l. 4') contains an implicit relative pronoun (unless *kammāl* is the antecedent, i.e. “the rival who sings”?). The verbs are in the preterite, in all likelihood in its gnomic function (Mayer 1992a), i.e., they express a timeless not a past action.²⁵⁴

A similar line appears perhaps in the *Series of the Fox* §G i' 6' (VAT 10148 [KAR 48]; Lambert 1960a, 204): [... ú]^r *ša* ¹ *mul-mul-lu₄ ka-li-ši-na šu-Bur*, [... the ar]row, the dart, everybody (says): ‘...’²⁵⁵

4'. Instead of *kalú*, “lamentation priest,” the restoration *nāru*, “singer,” seems also possible. The *pašišu*-priest appears, in the first millennium, only in literary texts (Sallaberger/Huber Vulliet 2003/2005, 640b), such as the incantations recited during the ceremony for the consecration of a priest (No. 8). In that ceremony, the *pašišu*, together with *nēšakku* and the temple barber, takes the novice to the “place of bathing” (ki a-tu₅ || *ašar ramāki*; see introduction to No. 8): according to the present line, “bathing” is the most distinctive action of the *pašišu*-priest.

5'. All other lines in which the subject *kalīšina* is expressed begin with the relative pronoun *ša* (7', 9', 11'–12'). The present line is an exception. The sequence *it-ta(-)šá(-)a¹* could be interpreted as a form of *našú* or *ešú* (the latter used with “threads,” s. *AHw* 259b s.v. *ešú* I 1), or else as a relative sentence with a proleptic object (*ittu ša ... [...]*).²⁵⁶ A derivation from *našú* Gt(n) is favored here in view of the lexical entry *lú* ^{6eš} *bala-šu-du₇ = nāš pilaqqi*, “carrier of the loom,” in *Lú* I 217 (*MSL* 12, 103; compare also *nanšú*, “lever of a loom,” in Salonen 1965, 161).

Note the *kalīšina* in this line, as opposed to the *kalīšunu* of the other lines: the alternation between the plural masculine and feminine when referring to “mankind” (presumably *nišū*) is typical

252 The writing of the nouns is ambiguous: while some of them display nom.-acc. endings (e.g. o 4': ^{li} *pa-ši-šu*; o 5': *iš-pa-ra*), others are written in the stative (o 8': *ba-a-a-ar*). Note that, in some cases, a trochaic ending is only achieved if the word is analyzed as a 3ps stative: thus o 6' *āšip* (but cf. o 4' *pašiš*, or else read *pāšiš*, with Ungnad 1909, 50–51 and Archi 1996).

253 It is clear that all verbs in type 1 lines have a subordination marker, since verbs with a strong third radical do preserve the subordination marker (4' [*i*]_z-*mu-ru*, *ú-ram-me-ku*, 6' *uš-ši-pu*, 8' [*i-b*]_{ar-ru}, 10' *iš-ru-ḥu*). However, the III-' verbs of type 1 are remarkably written with a non-plene *-u*

vowel (6' *us-su* for *ussú*, 8' *ib-ru* for *ibrú*, 10' *ip-nu* for *ipnú*), a phenomenon that would become explicable if one assumes that the particle *mā* is in some context an enclitic (i.e., *ussú-mā*, *ibrú-mā*, *ipnú-mā*), and therefore identical with the interrogative *-mā* (pace *GAG* §123b).

254 However, it cannot be ruled out that they express a past action, in the sense “he who exorcised (once), everybody (calls him) exorcist (ever since).”

255 On the possible meaning of *šu-Bur*, see *AHw* 1082a and Mayer 1992b, 34 fn. 9.

256 Note that *ittu* means in some texts “pattern (of a garment),” see *CAD* I/J 305–306 and Salonen 1965, 150 and 155.

of first-millennium texts: compare, for instance, *Palm and Vine* 39' (Jiménez 2017a, 252), where one manuscript reads *kališina* and the other *kališumu*. Note that, in late texts, *nišū* can be masculine (Mayer 1992a, 377 fn. 5).

6'. If the broken professional name has been correctly restored, the passage supports the existence of a hitherto undetected denominative verb from *asú*, “physician,” which, as is often the case of denominative verbs (Kouwenberg 1997, 301–317), would be D tantum, *ussú*, “to heal.” As studied elsewhere (Jiménez 2021, 290), the verb can now also be detected in a syncretistic hymn to Gula, in a remarkably similar context: *apkallat bārāt muššipat mu-us-sa-at kalāma*, “She is a sage, a diviner, an exorcist, an universal healer” (K.232+ r 30' = *CTL* 1, 63; see Bennett 2021, 200), erroneously booked as *esú* D in *AHw* 250b and as *mussú* D in *CAD* M/2 236a.

7'. The sign before the break is in all likelihood I[L], the one after the break is probably [T]U/[K]U/[Š]U, so *latāku* is the most likely restoration (a form of *šaṭāru* seems impossible).²⁵⁷ *latāku* means “to check” in general (Steinert 2015, 105–109); although apparently not used elsewhere with the cuneiform script as object, it is a close synonym of *barú*, “to check” (Steinert 2015, 116), a verb widely attested in colophons.

As noted elsewhere (Jiménez 2021, 290), *diššu* probably represents the name of the sign DIŠ, which, as famously formulated in *Examenstext A*, is “the beginning of the scribal art” (*sag-na-m-dub-sar santak₄* (DIŠ) || *rēš tupšarrūti santakku*, Sjöberg 1975a, 140–141 l. 12). Although the name *de-eš-šú* is attested as the Sumerian name of the cardinal number 1 (*CTN* 4, 10 o 5, 6, 20, see Hunger 1998, 181), *deššu* is in fact normally the name of the sign ÁŠ, whereas the name of DIŠ is commonly *santak* according to the lexical lists (see *Ea* I 327 [*MSL* 14 p. 193], *Ea* II 232 [*MSL* 14 p. 257], and Gong 2000, 104 and 110). Note, however, that the expression *tikip dešši* in the hymn ‘Eriš šummi’ 9 (Fadhil/Jiménez 2022) is in all likelihood an equivalent of *tikip santakki*, which appears to confirm the interpretation offered here.

8'. The –MEŠ in ^{lú}HAL^{mes} is probably simply a way to indicate that HAL is to be read logographically, and not the plural marker (see Worthington 2012, 284–287), since all other profession names in the text are singular. One would expect the preterite *ibāru* rather than the durative *i-bar-ru*, since all other verbs in the section are preterites. It is possible that the writing *i-bar-ru*, however, represents a preterite with graphic germination of the consonant at the morpheme boundary, i.e., *ibār-u*: for such spellings, particularly common in Neo-Assyrian texts, see George 2003, 351, 438, 821 and Mayer 2010.

9'. *mundaḥšu*, usually understood as a generic “fighter” (*AHw* 672b, *CAD* M/2 200b), refers in some contexts clearly to archers. Note, for instance, [*mund*]aḥšēšu *nāši qašti*, “his warriors bearing bows” (Tadmor/Yamada 2011, 59 Tiglath-Pileser III 20 l. 6') and *ūši mundaḥši išpat[a o o o]*, “the warrior’s arrow(s), the quiv[er ...]” (*Ox and Horse* A r 13', Lambert 1960a, 178). On the use of *naprušu* Š with the object *ūšu*, “arrow,” compare *tamḥāk tilpāna ūša ušapraš simat qarrādūti*, “I hold a bow, I shoot the arrow as befits a warrior” (‘Assurbanipal L⁴ i 26', Novotny 2014, 77 no. 18). Compare also the passage *Fox* §G i' 6' cited above (pp. 77–78).

10'. *ip-nu* should be analyzed as *panú*, “to move forward, to go ahead,” written defectively, as all other III-' verbs in this passage (see above fn. 253). The writing *la-as-si-mu*, instead of the most usual *la-si-mu*, is attested in *SpTU* 5, 247 v 12.

There are several homonymous verbs *šarāhu* with *u* vowel in the preterite: according to *AHw* 1083, *šarāhu* I (“schreien, klagen,” *CAD* s.v. *šarāhu* B “to sing, to sing a lamentation”), *šarāhu* II (“aufleuchten,” *CAD* s.v. *šarāhu* C “to flare up”), *šarāhu* III (“erhitzen,” *CAD* s.v. *šarāhu* A “to heat, to scorch”), and *šarāhu* IV (“schicken,” *CAD* s.v. *šarāhu* D “to dispatch quickly, to hurry”). Only

257 A reading *i[l-pu-t]u* is epigraphically also possible, but the meaning “to write down” of *lapātu* seems to be restricted to Old

Babylonian and Old Assyrian texts (*AHw* 535b, *CAD* L 86–87).

once is a verb *ṣarāḫu* used in connection with battle: *ana qerbišu ušērib-ma ú-šá-aš-ri-ḫa taḫāza*(MÈ), “(Marduk-apla-iddina) brought (several tribes) inside (a city) and readied (them) for battle” (Fuchs 1994, 227 and 350 l. 127; Frame 2020, 149). *AHw* 1083b books the passage under *ṣarāḫu* IV,²⁵⁸ the interpretation tentatively followed here.

11'. The phrase *gāmirūta epēšu*, “energisch handeln” (*AHw* 279a), “to show overpowering strength” (*CAD* G 34b), is a common apodosis in divination literature, typically predicated of kings, but also of common people (see e.g. HS 1945 o 10 [No. 15]). Compare the similar sentiment in the passage from *Proverbs* cited in the introduction to this edition (p. 75).

12'. The phrase *parsāti dabābu* is elsewhere unattested. The interpretation offered here is based on similar expressions in letters, where *parsu* seems to designate “univocal” reports (Oppenheim 1969, 119, *CAD* P 195a) such as: *dibbū p[a]rsūtu šunu*, “these are clear things,” in *SAA* 10, 168 r 1 and *parista šarru lišpura*, “the king should send clear (orders)” in *SAA* 16, 27 r 5'. The sign BAR is used for the syllable /par/ (*pár*) in late texts just as frequently as UD (*par*), no doubt because of the ambiguity of the latter.

U. Gabbay (*privatim*) suggests reading the word as *mas-sa-ta*, a plural form of *massūtu*, *malsūtu*: “he who imparts lessons” would then be “wise.”

13'a. *kīma egīti*, “like negligence,” should be interpreted as “negligently.” Compare the use of *kī* with adjective or substantives to form adverbs, such as *kī sarti*, literally “like dishonesty,” as “dishonestly” (Mayer 2009, 431–432). See also *kīma lemni*, “harshly,” and *kīma ragg[i]*, “villainously,” in Jiménez 2017a, 63 (in *Ox and Horse*).

abāku II, “to overturn,” is often used in the transferred meaning “to break” a law or an oath: see *AHw* 2b B2b, *CAD* A/1 9a, and Petschow 1974, 42.

13'b. The line contains a quotation from *Theodicy* 196, which can now be restored as:

šu-[(ur)-ru-uk (ūmī) i-lu-u]m-ma qa-a-a-áš
šu-[o o o o o išám (?)]^diš-ta-ri
šu-um-mu ul-tú u[l]-lī meš-r[u]-ú u la-pa-nu

[The go]d alone can grant pro[longing one's life],

The ... [...] the goddess (alone) [can allot].

Wealth and poverty are (equally) allotted since times of yore.

The restoration in *Theodicy* 196 is based on *Theodicy* 191 (*šu-øllur-ru-uk u₄-mu* [...]); that of *Theodicy* 197 is based on the occurrence of the word *išám* in the ancient commentary.²⁵⁹ The word *qayyāšu*, “generous,” was previously attested only in the verse from the *Theodicy*, whose commentary explains it as stemming from *qášu*, “to present.”²⁶⁰

14'. The line may represent a quotation from an unknown text. A literal translation would be: “the conciliator rules/shall rule men.” The contextual translation adopted here assumes that the speaker contrasts his present attitude with his past acts. *muštamgīru* is a participle of *magāru* Š₂. According to Streck 1994, 166, the meaning of *magāru* Š₂ is causative of reciprocal N, “miteinander in Ein-

258 *CAD* Š 99b considers the passage corrupt (but cf. *CAD* T 44a, which translates “I let enter therein (in the fortified city) and thus had a battle-force(?) readied(?)”).

259 *i-šam šá-a-mu : na-^rda¹-n[u]*, “‘she decreed’ (stems from) ‘to decree,’ which means ‘to give[e]’” (Jiménez 2017b r 7’).

260 The line of the commentary (BM 66882+ r 7’, copy in Oshima 2014, pls. 25–30 and

CTL 1, 255) is perhaps to be restored as [*šu*]-^r*ru*¹-^r*uk*¹ : *ana* ^r*a*¹-^r*ra-ku* : *qa-a*-^r*a*¹-^r*áš* : *qa-a-šú* : *na-da-nu*, “[‘To pro]long’ stems from ‘to be l[ong]; ‘pres]enting’ (stems from) ‘to present’, (which) means ‘to give’”, see Jiménez 2017b (the restoration at the beginning is very uncertain, and *šūruk* could refer to either l. 191 or l. 196).

klang bringen” (translation from *AHw* 576); according to von Soden 1950, 178 and Kouwenberg 2010, 407, it is causative of Gt, “to cause (people) to agree.” The dictionaries book only one other attestation of *šutamguru* in first-millennium texts: [*ila šar*]ra kabta rubā¹ ana šu-tam-gu-ri-šú, “to reconcile [god, kin]g, nobleman, and prince¹ with him (*scil.* the patient)” (*BAM* 446 o 6, edition in Schwemer 2010, 496 = Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 45–47 §3.8).

The participle seems to be elsewhere attested only in a hymn to Nabû in the cylinder BM 34178 7’ (see Gesche 2001, 193 fn. 735 and Jiménez 2019c, eBL transliteration): *a-na muš-tam-gi-ri-ka ta*-[...], “you [...] to your *muštamguru*.” Despite the lack of context in the cylinder, a translation “reverent to you” (lit., “he who (seeks to) make you reconcile (with him)”) seems likely.

15’a. Since the context speaks of animals, *ūmu* is here tentatively taken to mean “lion” (cf. *Malku* V 57: *u₄-mu* = *nēšu* [Hruša 2010, 254 and 399]; see *AHw* 1420a s.v. *ūmu* C). Other interpretations (e.g. “unsent/unbroken day/storm”; or *tam-mu* for *awû*, “speak,” G present 2s) are unconvincing. The line might be corrupt. *šab-ra* is difficult to parse, but it should be noted that *šapāru* occasionally has a meaning “govern” *vel sim.* and appears in parallelism with *bēlu*, “rule” (*CAD* Š/1 448a, *AHw* 1171a s.v. *šapāru* G 7), the verb used in l. 14’.

15’b. The reading of the manuscript, *ú-saḥ-ḥa-aḥ*, corresponds to the verb *saḥāḥu*, “to tremble” (*CAD* S 28b), “sich entsetzen” (*AHw* 1003b), which seems ill-suited to the context. Moreover, its D stem is poorly attested.²⁶¹ The sign SAḤ has a somewhat less common reading *šāḥ*, so the verb *šāḥāḥu* D, “to make (flesh or hair) waste away” would also be possible here. However, the simile “like a thorn” suggests emending the text to *ú-saḥ-ḥa-al¹*(AḤ) to derive it from *saḥālu*, “to prick,” a verb frequently used with “thorn” (*šillû*) and attested also in figurative sense (*CAD* S 29b, Mayer 2017a, 35–36).

On the simile “his roar shall needle the arm like a thorn”, compare perhaps *amātu an[ni]tu kī gišši ina libbīkumu lū nadāt*, “may this word lie like a thorn in your hearts,” in the *The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince* r 28 (Livingstone 1989, no. 32). The last sign in the line appears to be *Á* written with an extra diagonal; the slightly divergent shape is perhaps due to its being written over the edge. A reading *ba/ma-ḤAR* (or even *zu¹-mur*) should probably be ruled out. Given the occurrence of *qātu* and *ūtu* in the next line, *idu* is here probably the “arm.”

16’. The antecedent of *ša* could also conceivably be *rigmu*, although the syntax would then be awkward. The existence of a verb *etēqu* B, “to bend, cut, break,” is defended in *CAD* E 395b and by Landsberger 1967a, 12–13 fn. 32, as against von Soden 1955, 379 and *AHw* 86a (which books the occurrences as *atāku*). Landsberger’s contention seems to be confirmed here by the parallelism with *sarāmu*, “to cut.” Both verbs are almost exclusively attested in medical texts: see Landsberger *loc. cit.*; Labat 1954, 213 fn. 2; and Stol 2004, 75. Note that *sarāmu* was formerly attested only as *i/i* in SB medical texts; in the present text it appears to be *a/a* (note that *šarāmu*, “to cut,” usually *a/u*, becomes *i/i* in Late Babylonian, see Kouwenberg 2010, 80).

Parallelism suggests that the term *ūtu*, hitherto attested only as the measure of length “cubit,” has here its original meaning “forearm,” the meaning it seems to have in the lexical list *Ugumu* (Couto 2009, 281, 286).

17’. The sequence BUR LU AM at the beginning is meaningless: it needs to be emended into *bur-ma¹-am*. The word *burmāmu* was traditionally interpreted as “porcupine” (since Landsberger 1934, 103–104; see e.g. Salonen 1976, 192–193 and Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 159), an identification that has been challenged in recent years (see references in Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 159). A

261 As a variant to *ušzizu* (Sum. *bí-íb-zi-zi*) in a *Bīt rimki* incantation (Borger 1967, 4b l. 26, *id.* 1971, 85, probably to be read as *ú-šāḥ-ḥi-ḥu* [*pace AHw* 1003b] with Borger *ibid.*, since *zi* = *šāḥāḥu* is well

attested, see *CAD* Š/1 75) and in an Old Assyrian letter (Bilgiç/Günbatti 1995, 162 no. 94 l. 31, *tú-sà-ḥa-ḥa-ni*, translated as “in Schrecken versetzen”).

translation “piglet” has recently been suggested by Weszeli 2011/2013, and supported by a passage in the *Gulkišar Epic* l. 11' (Zomer 2019, 28 no. 1): *at-mi-šu-um-ma a-la-aq-qá-ta bur-ma-mi*, “I will assemble their hatchlings (as if they were) piglets.” The present passage is the first of several mentioning young animals, and thus appears to confirm the interpretation of *burmāmu* as “piglet,” in this case of a “pig of the marshes,” i.e., a wild boar, “the characteristic animal of the swamps around Nippur” (Hilprecht 1903, 331).

It is assumed that *qātī* refers to the “feet” of the pig; a literal translation would be: “let the boar piglet be swift of foot.” Alternative interpretations of LUM-*mu-ud* seem possible: *lummudu*, when used of an animal, means “trained” vel sim., compare *Harra* XIII 350 (MSL 8/1 p. 50, cf. Zomer 2019, 48): [amar-zu]-zu = *lum-mu-[du]* and, in an Achaemenid document, *ultu šatti ša lita ú-lam-ma-da*, “as of the year in which he trains the heifer” (HSM 913.2.218 l. 14, Stolper 1990, 576). An interpretation *hum-mu-ud* also seems possible, but the verb *hamādu*, “to conceal,” is poorly attested, and never in the D stem (AHw 315a, CAD H 58a; also Cole 1996, 103).

17^b–18[']. It is assumed that the verses were incorrectly divided by the copyist, who left *ú-la-a-bi* at the end of the previous line. The interpretation of the line is difficult: *ula*, “not,” or *ūla*, “or,” seem impossible, since neither is attested in Standard Babylonian texts nor give any sense in the context. *ú-la-a-bi* may be derived from the rare verb *lāpu* (CAD L 97a, AHw 548b), attested only in lexical lists, which is perhaps “roughly a synonym of *nāqu*” (Civil 1974, 136), but the verse would then be difficult to interpret. Therefore, it is assumed here that *ú-la-a-bi* represents the word *ulāpu*, “rag”: note that an omen presents a sow (*šahītu*) carrying an *ulāpu* (^{tu}gNÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL, in *Šumma Ālu* 49 l. 188' [Freedman 2017, 85]), and that several rituals relate *ulāpu* with “pig’s lard” (e.g. *Lamaštu* II 23 [Farber 2014, 97]). However, this would be the only occurrence of the word written with */bl/*.

ú-pa-a-di probably represents *pādu* D (with “overhanging vowel”), “to imprison.” The meaning would be: no matter how agile a boar may be, he makes a poor hunter.

19^a. Although AMAR.MAŠ.DÀ is equated in lexical lists with (*h*)*uzālu* (e.g. *Harra* XIV 154 [MSL 8/2, 19]), literary texts regularly present the *armū* (“gazelle” in CAD A/2 294, “Gazellenbock” in AHw 73a; see also Kogan 2004, 363 fn. 2 and Militarev/Kogan 2005, 26–28) as the kid of the gazelle: compare e.g. *lū šallāta kī(ma) ár-me-i DUMUllšá* MAŠ.DÀ, “sleep like an *armū*, (the kid) of the gazelle!” (Farber 1989, 42–43 §3 l. 48). Moreover, the logogram AMAR.MAŠ.DÀ is attested in a manuscript of *Maqlū* VII 24 as a variant of *ar-ma-šá* (Abusch 2015, 168; see Abusch 2010 and Schwemer 2017, 80b). It seems likely, therefore, that this should be its reading here as well.

Note the use of the Late Babylonian prefix *lu-* for the Š precativum instead of *li-* (GAG §81c; Woodington 1982, 98–99; Schwemer 2017, 77). The reading [ū]Z^{mes} seems certain (on the Neo-Babylonian shape of ŪZ in Nippur, see HS 1933 o 16 [No. 14]).

19^b. The verb *eṭū*, “to be dark,” is occasionally used with “eyes” (see Fincke 2000, 103), as in this line, but its literal meaning “dark” makes little sense in the context. Since other verbs with the meaning “to be dark” can also metaphorically mean “to be worried” (Khait/Nurullin 2006, 533; but see George 2009, 35), it is understood that *eṭū* means “anxious” or “impatient.” The opposite meaning (“will become estranged” vel sim.) seems also possible. In view of the apparent parallelism with *bašū* (l. 21'), one could also read the verb as *edū*, “to know,” with a meaning “to be aware of, to care for” (CAD I/J 27–28); however, the use of this verb with *ana* is restricted to Amarna letters (AHw 188b s.v. *edū* B 7), and the verb *edū* is, as is well known, not used in the stative (GAG §78b; see Krebernik 2016). A. R. George (*privatim*) suggests reading the line as a rhetorical question: “Will his eyes be troubled for his mother’s breast?”

20[']. The use of SI.MUL as a logogram is elsewhere unattested. The transcription given follows *Harra* XIV 146 (MSL 8/2, 18): *si-mul* = *a-a-lu*. AMAR may stand for a different word, since the term for the young of the deer in Akkadian is unknown; compare in Biblical Hebrew *ōfer hā-ayyālīm* (Militarev/Kogan 2005, 128).

The verb (*w*)*elē* *u* (CAD Š/3 400b s.v. *šutelū* *u*, AHw 1458a; cf. Arabic *wlġ*) was hitherto attested only in *Lugale* 260 (van Dijk 1983, 84 and Seminara 2001, 286–287): *ki-bal-a ga-gin₇ ur-ra ba-an-ús* || *māt nukurti kīma šizbi uš-te-te-li-*, “he made the dogs lick up the (blood of) the enemy land instead of milk.” The form *li-te-*¹ is probably Gtn.

The restoration [*himē*]*ti* is very uncertain. Another possibility would be [*šer*]*tu*, “sweet teat,” a phrase without parallels in Akkadian, but attested in Sumerian as *ubur dūg* (*Lipit-Eštar* D [CSL 2.5.5.4] l. 6) and as *akan*^{a-ka-an} *dūg* (*A Dog for Nintinugga* [CSL 5.7.2] l. 5).²⁶²

21'–22'. The phrases *šira akālu*, “to eat the flesh,” and *dāma našābu*, “to suck the blood,” are well attested in the *Series of the Fox*: see K.3641 iv 5' and 7' (Lambert 1960a, 200–203), K.8567 l. 2' and 9' (Lambert 1960a, 202–203) and BM 68586 r 9'–10' (Jiménez 2017a, 394–395). Although they appear only rarely elsewhere, “to suck the blood” and “to eat the flesh” also occur in the dialogue *Šimā milka* 39–40 (Arnaud 2007, 149, 165; Cohen 2013, 88–89): <*dāmī*> *ul aššub*(KA×GA) *ul aš-šuk širi*(UZU^{mes}) *ul ú-ma-al-li-iḫ¹²* [...], “I did not suck the blood, I did not bite the flesh, I did not tear out [...].” On the prepositional phrase *eli šēri-* (*si vera lectio*), attested mainly in SB *Gilgameš*, see von Soden 1933, 143 with fn. 3 and Tigay 1982, 67.

The lion cub in these lines sucks blood, just like the fawn earlier sucked milk.

24'. The palace might be the abode of the lion, who would therefore be the king of the animals, as in *Reynard Fox*.²⁶³ Compare *SP* 6.3 (Alster 1997, 147): *é-gal tir-ra-àm lugal ur-maḫ*, “the palace is a forest, the king is (its) lion.”

25'. Compare *kīma kilīli ēkallu zu' unat* (|| *zu' unāku*) *šukutta*, “As if (with) a garland the palace is decorated (var.: I am decorated) with a precious adornment” (*Series of the Poplar* Ic 20', Jiménez 2017a, 170–171). Compare also CBS 8804+ r iia (Jiménez forthcoming): *lu-ú za'-nu* | *šu'(SU)-kut-tu₄*.

bašta saḫāru, “to be wrapped in dignity,” is also attested in a Nebuchadnezzar II inscription: *ba-al-ti uzza puluḫta melammi šarrūti itātūša sa-aḫ-ra-a-ma*, “dignity, wrath, terror, (and) the aura of kingship surround it” (Langdon 1912, 118 ii 54–55 and 138 iv 33–35). The plural ending of *saḫrū* is difficult to explain, since in the line it appears to refer to the “palace.”

26'. *dumuq širi*, “the choicest meat,” is attested only in *Theodicy* 50 and in the *Series of the Fox* §Z o 13–14 and §H 7': see Jiménez 2017a, 87. The restoration follows the occurrences of the phrase in the latter.

31'. “Copper” (*erū*) and “ash wood” (*ēru*) seem equally possible, since some words in this section exhibit ultra-long vowels at the end (see below on 33'–35').

32'. A transcription of ⁶⁵PA as *artu*, “branches,” seems also possible: compare BM 54633+ o 11 (eBL transliteration): [NÍ]G.PA ŠINIG KÙ // “Aaron tablet” (Lambert Folio 8529): *ar-ti* ŠINIG KÙ.

33'–35'. Although the lack of context prevents any certainty, the plene writing in *bu-ša-a*, *la-ab-ba-a*, and *A.BAR₅-a* would be explicable if these words were part of interrogative sentences (GAG §153d; Mayer 2013, 214 fn. 5; Jiménez 2014c, 103 fn. 10).

36'. Compare *na-pa-aš imēri* | [*nik*]*pi alpi nišik kalbi nišik šēri*, “being crushed by a donkey, being butted by an ox, the bite of a dog, the bite of a snake” (Lambert 2007, 38–39 no. 1 ll. 282–283).

37'. The phrase “scraps of iron” (*ḫušē parzilli*, in this case perhaps with ultra-long vowel due to the interrogative stress) is elsewhere attested only in Neo-Babylonian economic documents (CAD H

262 The latter reading of the sign *UBUR*, *akan*, is equated in lexical lists with *šertu*, “teat”: see Kleinerman 2011, 176; Lämmerhirt 2012, 70; and Rodin 2019, 165–166.

263 On the parallels between the *Series of the Fox* and *Reynard Fox*, see Vanstiphout 1986, 9–10; *id.* 1988a; *id.* 1988b; *id.* 1999, 86–88; and Jiménez 2017a, 51.

262b; *AHw* 362a; Siegelová 1993/1995, 110b; see also BM 57187 o 1 [CT 55, 205] and BM 60380 o 1–2 [eBL transliteration, cited in Bongenaar 1997, 373]).

39'. The parsing of the word(s) at the beginning is provisional (e.g. *tal-tuk*, “you have checked,” would also be possible). The *azamillu* is a sack that appears in lexical sections that discuss nets, and is thus understood as a “string bag” *vel sim*. In other texts it is used for transporting barley, vegetables, and flour (Salonen 1965, 178; Heimpel 1998/2000, 238–239).

40'a. On the adjective *ekšu*, “fierce,” compare Rm.2,525 (*SAA* 3 51 = Jiménez 2017a, 85–86 and 385–386, *Series of the Fox*): [mi]-r¹-nu tak-šir ek-šu lem-n[u ...], “What have you achieved, you fierce fien[d ...?]” Compare also *mu-šat-li-mat áš-ta-[pi-ri] | bi-lu-di-šú mu-šak-šad ardi*(SAG.İR) *ek-šu* [o (o)] | r¹ke-e¹-nu, “(the goddess) who grants its rites to the sla[ve], (the god) who makes the just prevail over the insolent servant” (*STT* 68, 4–5, not cited in the dictionaries).

The anaptyctic vowel in *bēlašu* (or perhaps *bēlāšu*, see Fadhil/Jiménez 2022 *ad l.* 8) is a literary feature: see George 2003, 432–433 and Jiménez 2017a, 77–78. Similar lines are known in wisdom literature, e.g.: *baḷtum-ma ardu bēlašu ipallaḥ* “When alive, the servant reveres his lord,” in *Marduk I* 68 (Fadhil/Jiménez 2019b, 167). The line might represent a quotation from one such text, as yet unidentified.

40'b. The word *kinattu*, “peer,” is attested in *Fox* §b r 3 (Lambert 1960a, 194): [o o o] *ki-na-a-ti-šu muš-tāk-ši-du ka-l[u o o o]*. Compare SB *Gilgames* VI 21: [a]lapka ina nūri šānina ayy-irši, “let your ox have no rival at the yoke.” The restoration is very uncertain: it assumes that the “yoke” is a form of punishment for the “insolence” mentioned in the previous line.

41'. The last word should probably be parsed as *pa'āšu*, “to crush,” D (*upīš*). The final vowel *-i* could be interpreted as an “overhanging vowel,” typical of II-' verbs (see Jiménez 2017a, 278 with further bibliography), but that would result in a non-trochaic ending. As noted by Mayer 1992b, 38–39 fn. 18, the *-i* vowel in verbs can represent in first-millennium manuscripts of SB texts a plural form (e.g. *upīššū*): it is interpreted that “riches” (here a plural, as is occasionally the case) is the subject of the verb. Another possibility would be to parse the verb as *pešū*, “to be white,” a verb whose D stem is used in connection with metals (*CAD* P 33a: “to sinter”; *AHw* 858a: “zur Weißglut bringen”; see also l. 35').

42'. Sticks made of *ēru* wood were proverbially hard: see Jiménez 2017a, 218. In the *Series of the Poplar*, however, it is Poplar who boasts in the presence of Ash about the strength of its sticks, in a line similar to this: *ina ḥaṭṭiya ša lā māgiri inattū zumuršu | uqarrad lilla akā udannan | ša lā šēmī ša amāti upattā uznīšu*, “With my stick the body of the rebel is flogged, | (With it) I strengthen the stupid, the weakling do I fortify, | I ensure the attention of him who pays no heed” (*Poplar Ic* 12'–14', see Jiménez 2017a, 168–169 and 178–180).

The word *appatu*, usually “reins” (see Salonen 1955, 120–123; Arkhipov 2012, 6–7), is occasionally used with animals other than equids, in particular with oxen (*CAD* A/2 182a): compare the lexical entry *Antagal A* 38 (*MSL* 17, 183): [ē^{cs}d]ur-apin = *appatu ša epinni*, “reins of the plow.” In view of l. 40'b, this meaning seems appropriate. Since some lexical entries use a wood determinative for *appatu*, it has been assumed that the word describes here “not necessarily a cord, but (...) also a staff that was linked to the nose of an animal” (Poebel 1947, 37–38; see also Kraus 1970, 39–40). This is perhaps what is described by *appati ēri* in the present text, an “ox-goad of *ēru*-wood.” Alternatively, the word could represent the homonym *appatu I* (*AHw* 59b), the “iron tip of a tool” (see van Driel 1990, 231–232). The restoration is conjectural.

43'. If the restoration is correct, *pān X daqālu* would not have here its usual figurative meaning “obey somebody.”

43'b. Compare *Erra and Išum* IV 48: *a-šal bu-ru liš-pil-ma ēdu amēlu napištašu lā uballaṭ*, “Let the well be one *ašlu* (ca. 60 m) deep, not a single man should be able to save his life!” (Cagni 1969, 110–111 and 230). The tentative reading *áš-liš* is based on this passage; alternative renderings (e.g.

áš-bat, áš-mit) yield no good sense (*asliš*, “like a sheep,” seems unlikely).²⁶⁴ The use of the adverbial terminative suffix *-iš* with *ašlu*, “rope,” is not attested elsewhere, although the distributive suffix *-ā* is frequently appended to *ašlu* (“~60 m each,” see *CAD A/2* 449a and Streck 2017, 140b), and *ana ašli*, “for (a distance of) ~60 m” is also possible (*CAD A/2* 448b). On the use of *-iš* with units of measurement, compare perhaps *bēriš*, “over one double hour” (*AHw* 1548b; Charpin/Joannès *et al.* 1988, 320).

The idea is perhaps that the disobedient slave should be humbled to such an extent that only a person who descends 60 meters would be able to see him.

44’. *pūt alpi*, lit. “ox’s forehead,” usually has the derived meaning “trapezoid” (*CAD P* 552–553; Friberg 1987/1990, 556a), i.e., “[s]trictly speaking, (...) an isosceles triangle, the apex of which is truncated by a line parallel to the base” (Gadd 1922, 154; see also Lewy 1949, 58, 66). The contrast between “long” and “short” makes it likely that it is used here in its geometrical sense, though it may also allude to the “ox” mentioned in the previous lines. *ár-kát-su* is here analyzed as *ariktu*, “length” (*CAD A/2* 267–268; *AHw* 68b s.v. *ariktu* 2). *narbašu*, if correctly deciphered, would have here its etymological meaning “place for lying,” i.e. “base,” rather than “lair” *vel sim.*; although this specialized geometrical use is apparently not attested elsewhere (note that “oxen” are frequently said to be “lying down,” using *rabāšu*, see *CAD R* 11b). The meaning must be that the anger has a strong onset, but is short-lived, like Marduk’s in *Ludlul* (Lambert 1995, 32–34).

45’. Less likely readings of *ki-šad* include *ki-mat* (*kimtu*, “family”) and *ki-sat* (*kissatu*, “fodder”). *ḫi-še-en* is probably an imperative form of *ḫašānu*, “to shelter.” Like its Semitic cognates (Lambert 2013, 513), the verb *ḫašānu* occasionally has the meaning “to embrace.” One may compare the entry in a commentary: *ḫe-ra-at : ḫe-eš-né-et : ḫa-ru-u : ḫa-ša-nu lib-bu-u gú-da-ri | na-an-du-ra : e-lá : e-de-ri*, “‘beat’ (means) ‘sheltered,’ (because) ‘to beat’ (*ḫarū*) (means) ‘to give shelter’ (*ḫašānu*), as in ‘*gudari = nanduru* (‘is intertwined’)’ (*Harra* II 287); (and in) ‘*ela = edēru* (‘to embrace’)’” (11N-T3 l. 16–17, edition in Civil 1974, 332 and Jiménez 2014b). One may compare also the Sumerian Dumuzi-Inanna song HS 1486 o 7–8 (*TMH NF* 3, 25; *CSL* 4.08.08, editions in Wilcke 1970; Sefati 1998, 184–193; and Sövegjártó 2020, 83–84 and 236–238): *ù-mu-un-e šu-ni-a šu im-ma-an-dù* ^{*ih-šī-in-an-ni*} | ^{*d*}*ušumgal-an-na gú-mà-a gú-da ba-an-lá* ^{*ki-ša-di i-di-ir*}, “the lord held (*dù* || gloss *ih-šī-in-an-ni*) me in his hands; Ušumgalana hugged my neck.”

agālu, the “donkey” (Jiménez 2017a, 63–64), appears here for the first time in the text. He is the only known speaker in a fragment of a poorly preserved text known as the *Donkey Disputation* (Lambert 1960a, 210 and Jiménez 2017a, 63–64).

The second half of the line is difficult. A parsing *pa-te-e-ḫu kar-ta* seems unlikely, and *pak-kar-ta* (*si vera lectio*) is unlikely to be related to the poorly attested word *pak/gartu* (*AHw* 812a, *CAD P* 35b). Compare perhaps the first excerpt of BM 38864 (Gesche 2001, 323; new copy in Lambert 2013, pl. 14): o 2’: [...] x (x) *a-na pa-te-e* x [...]. The meaning of the line escapes us: it is unclear why somebody should “protect” or “embrace” a donkey foal.

46’. *ta-ta-ra-an-ni* is here analyzed as *tātarranni* (*arāru* G perfect), written defectively. Another option would be (*w*)*arū* G perfect or Gt preterite (*tattarānni*), “you have driven me (away).” Observe the poetic form *kabtatī* instead of *kabattī* (on these forms, see George 2003, 431–432 and Jiménez 2017a, 77–78).

47’–50’. The quatrain 47’–50’ contains opposing lines referring to the “back” and the “front” (or the “future” and the “past”):

264 U. Gabbay (*privatim*) suggests: “he will bow down like rushes” (*ašlu*, “rush”).

47'–48' *arkītuk* : *pānā-ma*
 49'–50' *arkatī* : *ina pāniya*

(The words “front” and “back” appear also in ll. 41' (?), 43'a, and 44', but apparently they are unrelated to these two couplets). The main exegetical problem of these lines concerns the interpretation of the pairs as either local or temporal: in the context, the latter would seem to yield better sense than the latter (but see next comment).

47'. The verb *našābu*, “to lick,” is attested several times in the *Series of the Fox* with *dāmu*, “blood,” as its object (see above ad ll. 21'–22'). In medical recipes, *našābu* D is frequently used for describing the “sipping” or “licking” of the medication mixed with honey (*dišpu*; see CAD N/2 33a, *AHw* 755a s.v. *našābu* D), so the restoration *lallāru* seems certain. Compare, in the *Ritual for a Flourishing Bordello* (Panayotov 2013, 293 l. 29), “may my lips be (like) honey!” (*šaptāya lū lallāru*).

A different interpretation is possible: *arkītuk* could be taken as a pseudo-adverbial-locative, referring to the “haunches” of an animal. On the meaning “haunches” of *a/urkītu*, see Weidner 1927, 83 and fn. 9, referring to the line: ^{mul}UR.G17 *kal-bu šá ina eli(UGU) ur-ki-ti-šú iṣ-[ru]*, “the ^{mul}UR.G17 constellation (is) a dog dra[wn] (sitting) on his haunches” (VAT 9428 r 10 [Weidner 1927, 76 = Beaulieu/Frahm *et al.* 2018, 23]). The meaning would then be, “even if you haunches were honey, who would lick (them)?” Although the interpretation is grammatically possible, it is unclear why any animal should lick or not lick another animal’s haunches.

48'. The restoration at the end seems epigraphically possible; in any case, a bitter substance would be expected here. Compare perhaps *ināka dāma šunnu'ā* | *dūr šinnika marta salih*, “your eyes are bloodshot; the ‘wall of your teeth’ (i.e., your gums)²⁶⁵ is sprinkled with gall” (*KAR* 43 r 8–9; Ébeling 1931, 17).

49'. If correctly restored, *b[un]nāka* would represent a dual (the ending *-ā* is in first-millennium manuscripts just as common as *-ī* for the dual gen.-acc., see GAG §63h and Jiménez 2019d, 77). The restoration at the end of the line follows the *Great Hymn to Nabú* 178 (von Soden 1971a, 58): *ahrātaš pisnuqiš lāl-la-riš ú-da-áš-š[ap]*, “in the future he will sweeten like honey (he who was) wretched.”

50'. *ta-aṣ-ša-ra-aḥ* is probably a perfect, like all other verbs in this section. If the restoration [*libb*]a is correct, the word would function as relational accusative: compare the use of *šarāḥu* A/III with body parts in *AHw* 1083 s.v. *šarāḥu* III G 4 and *CAD* s.v. *šarāḥu* A 2b. *šarāḥu* I/B, “to lament,” also seems possible in the context.

51'. *tuttirra(m)-[(ma)]* is probably *tāru* D perfect, rather than Dt(n) preterite (compare *tātarranni* in l. 46').²⁶⁶ *bēru*, “examine,” occasionally has forensic connotations, whence the translation “cross-examine”: compare e.g. *tašemme tebēršināti ša ruggugi tumassa dīnšu*, “You (*scil.* Šamaš) hear them and examine them, you decide on the case of the wicked” (*Šamaš Hymn* 127 [Lambert 1960a, 134–135; Rozzi 2021]). The restoration [*takšud*] at the end is tentative, perhaps a stative would be needed.

52'. *belú* D, “to extinguish” (here apparently for the first time in Dtn), usually said of fire, has the figurative meaning “to extinguish a quarrel.” Compare the Akkadian *Counsels of Wisdom* 37 (Lambert 1960a, 100): *lū šāltakā-ma napiḥta bulli*, “if a dispute has flared up, even if it is yours, extinguish it!” and the Sumerian *Counsels of Wisdom* 94 (Alster 2005, 247): *du₁₄-da izi-gin₇ lú*

265 On the phrase “wall of the teeth,” see Jacobson 1996; Kwasman 1999; and Stol 2018, 748.

266 Another possible analysis of *tu-ut-tir-ra-[(ma)]* would be (*w*)*atāru* D pret. (i.e. *tuttira(m)-[(ma)]*), with consonant repeated

at morpheme boundary, on which s. e.g. GAG §20g; George 2003, 821; and Mayer 2010). (*w*)*atāru* D in hendiadys has the meaning “vermehrt tun” (Kraus 1987a, 20, 28).

ba-an-gu₇-e te-en-te-en-bi ḫé-en-zu || ṣāltu kīma išāt[i ...], “A quarrel devours like fire; you should know to extinguish it.” Compare also *Theodicy* 127: [u]b-tel-li ḡi[ra ...] (Lambert 1960a, 76).

The reconstruction at the end is tentative, compare the expression izi-gin₇ te-ni-ib, “be extinguished like fire” (Michalowski 1981, 15), and note that *išātis* appears in the last position of the verse also in *Ludlul* I 68.

II. Magic



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.095

No. 4: HS 1887, Middle Babylonian Prayer to Marduk (forerunner to *BMS* 12)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1887 (old number on tablet: 17)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 40): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Hymne. Fundort: Nippur.” On box (Hilprecht’s handwriting): “Nippur-17 / IV. Semitic Hymn, From Temple Library.” Different handwriting: “kassit.”

Size: 8.9 × 4.3 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

According to Hilprecht’s label on the box, the present tablet was found during the fourth Nippur campaign (1899–1900) in the “Temple Library” (i.e., on Mound V or “Tablet Hill”).²⁶⁷ It represents one of only three known Middle Babylonian anti-witchcraft texts from Nippur, together with HS 1889 (No. 6) and CBS 11059.²⁶⁸ The tablet contains a forerunner to two incantations previously known only in their first-millennium versions, which form part of a ceremony that invoked Marduk to fight witchcraft. The long, complex first-millennium version, which amounted to 120 lines of text, describes a nocturnal ritual in which Marduk, represented by the planet Jupiter, was offered, among other magical ingredients, four representations of the *anhullû*-plant made of precious materials. The four representations were strung onto a necklace and presented to the god. After thus preparing the offering, the exorcist was to instruct the patient to recite the long incantation “Marduk, lord of the lands” (*šū’ila* ‘Marduk 5’, ll. 17–94). The recitation was followed by a short ritual section and by a second, shorter incantation, to be recited over the necklace, in which the *anhullû*-plant is addressed as “protector of the welfare of Ea and Asalluḫi”

267 Both Peters (1897b, 203) and Hilprecht (1910, 13) noted that almost no Kassite tablet was found in “Tablet Hill,” a fact that led Hilprecht to assume that his “Temple Library” was moved elsewhere during the Kassite period (Hilprecht 1908, 336; *id.* 1910, 13). However, several Kassite literary tablets were reportedly found there during the first four expeditions, such as the “Deluge Tablet” (CBS 13532, considered OB by Hilprecht but MB by most other authors, e.g. King

1911, 709a; Lambert/Millard 1969, 126–127), reportedly found in “Tablet Hill” during the fourth expedition (Hilprecht 1910, 35; Clayden 2016, 81) and the MB bilinguals CBS 3558 (Peterson 2011, 192–194 no. 170) and CBS 3832 (van Dijk 1998), both found in “Tablet Hill” during the first campaign (Clayden 2016, 48 and 50).

268 Rutz 2016; Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 307–310 text §A.24.

(ll. 105–113). The necklace was then hung around the neck of the patient (ll. 115–116), with standard rites and recitations concluding the ceremony.

The first-millennium version of the text (*BMS 12+ //*),²⁶⁹ is known from three duplicates from Nineveh and a fragment from Aššur;²⁷⁰ the latter contains some lines of the long incantation to Marduk and additional material not attested in other manuscripts.

It has been stated that “the long and complex [first-millennium version] evidently underwent changes and redaction” (Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 230a). The present manuscript affords a window into this redactional process. Most noticeably, the Nippur manuscript contains only the incantations, and none of the *dromena* of the first-millennium ceremony.²⁷¹ Remarkably, the two incantations that were recited during the first-millennium ceremony (the first addressed to Marduk and the second to the *anhullû*-plant) appear seamlessly in this manuscript: while it is possible that the second incantation was introduced by ÉN (r 19'), there is no obvious division between r 18' (end of the first) and r 19' (beginning of the second). It seems that, at least at this early stage, both incantations were closely related, if not simply one and the same.²⁷²

In his thorough study of this text, Tz. Abusch (1987, 61–75) described it as “a prayer which originally centered on a skin disease and its effects” (*ibid.* 74–75), which was “originally not used (primarily) against witchcraft” (*ibid.* 64; see also Abusch/Schwemer 2011, 18–19 and *eid.* 2016, 230b). However, the present manuscript shows that, at least in the Kassite period, witchcraft was already a central topic of both the prayer to Marduk (cp. r 3'–5') and of the incantation to the plant attached to it (r 20'–22'). Although the prayer to Marduk is particularly long and complex, and displays some similarities with the literary hymn ‘Marduk II’ (see commentary to o 6' below), it does not seem to represent a case of what has been described in a different context as the “use – possibly re-use or secondary use – of literary works for apotropaic and magic purposes” (Reiner/Güterbock 1967, 257a): at least at the early stage of development represented by HS 1887, witchcraft was already the primary goal of the text. Although small differences between the Middle Babylonian manuscript and the first-millennium version of the text are perceivable (see the commentary below), the Kassite incantation is remarkably close to the one that was integrated into the first-millennium ceremony.

**

The grammar of the text is consistent with a Middle Babylonian date. Nouns exhibit a fully triptotic declension, with mimation preserved only in CV*m* signs. Participles used as *nomen regens* regularly display a *-u* vowel: thus, *ḫa-i-ṛtù¹ ḫursānī* (o 5'), <mu>-*ta-i-ṛru¹ nārāti* (o 6'), and [*ba-n*]*u-ú ê u qê* (o 7'). This phenomenon, a literary feature of the Old Babylonian “hymno-epic dialect” (von Soden 1931, 211–213), has also been observed in

269 The text has been edited by Mayer 1993 and Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 230–246 text §8.28; see also the corrections and additions in Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 324–325 §A.2.

270 Maul/Strauß 2011, 118–119, 226 no. 62.

271 Only seven lines are missing on the obverse from the beginning of the incantation to Marduk, and only five on the reverse to the end of the address to the

anhullû-plant: in other words, it seems highly likely that the present tablet would have contained only the two incantations, of which some thirty lines are missing from the end of the obverse and beginning of the reverse.

272 Cf. Abusch 1987, 62, who describes the incantation to the *anhullû*-plant as a “short independent incantation.”

MB texts (Aro 1955, 66–57; cf. Stein 2000, 36–37) and in SB participles of III-’ verbs (GAG³ §64i*; Hess 2020, 482–483).

There is a fair number of CVC signs used in this tablet: *bit* (r 10’), *dal* (o 14’), ^r*dan*¹ (o 18’), *gim* (o 10’), *hur* (o 5’, r 20’–21’), *kab* (o 17’), [*kà*]r (o 17’), *kis* (r 7’), *lib* (r 9’), *lip* (r 1’, 5’–7’), *lul* (r 18’), *lum* (r 7’), *mar* (o 12’), ^r*mut*² (o 15’), *nam* (o 22’), [*q*]ir (r 9’), [*ra*]p (o 16’), *šir* (r 5’), *šar* (o 13’, 21’, r 13’), *šat* (r 8’), *šer* (r 13’), *šir* (r 1’), *tam* (o 16’, r 20’–21’), and ^r*tar*² (o 15’); albeit several of them are admittedly already in use in the Old Babylonian period. The aleph sign is used once (r 2’), and its form is different from AH (e.g. r 11’), an innovation already attested around the 15th century BCE (van Soldt 2020, 167).

Several post-Old Babylonian signs are used, such as *šá* (o 1’, 16’, r 3’; although *ša*₁ is also used in o 4’, 16’, 19’, 20’), *ina* (o 11’, r 10’, alongside *i+na*, e.g. r 3’–4’),²⁷³ and *šú* (only once, o 20’; *šu*₁ elsewhere, in o 9’, 20’, 21’). The latter is first attested in the reign of Burna-Buriaš II (van Soldt 2020, 170, dated to 1352 BCE or later). The special signs for emphatics, which were only completely developed during the reign of Kadašman-Turgu (1281–1264 BCE, see van Soldt 2020, 169), are not yet used in this tablet (see *tù* in o 5’²⁷⁴ and r 7’ and *qá* in r 8’). No *w* is used (o 21’: *tu-áš-šar* for *tuwaššar*): the *wV* sign is last attested in texts dating to Kurigalzu II (1332–1308 BCE).

The script of the tablet is very similar to that of HS 1889 (No. 6). Noteworthy is the sign KIŠ (r 7’) with the three slanting inscribed wedges, which is similar to the version recorded for “Kurigalzu” in Fossey 1926, 834 no. 27485 (referring to CBS 6614 o 4; cf. Rutz 2016, 51b). The shape of LUL (r 5’, 7’, 9’), with a leftmost horizontal, appears closer to Fossey 1926, 721 no. 23825 (Nazi-Maruttaš, referring to CBS 11631 o 3); RU (r 3’, 7’) with four verticals of varying height is similar (but not identical) to *ibid.*: 138 no. 4433 (Nazi-Maruttaš, referring to CBS 3721 r 3); LÚ and LUGAL (r 10’–11’, 19’) are similar to *ibid.*: 635 nos. 20902–3 (Nazi-Maruttaš, referring to CBS 3657 r 3 and CBS 12928 o 5) and *ibid.*: 370 no. 12242 (Kurigalzu [II], referring to CBS 3031 r 1), respectively. The shape of TIM with a vertical (r 4’, 18’) is known e.g. in a document from the 10th year of Burna-Buriaš (N 1305 l. 3; Sassmannshausen 2001 no. 256). In sum, the paleography is fully consistent with a Middle Kassite date, i.e., between 1415 and 1225 BCE.²⁷⁵ The combination of paleography and grammar suggests that HS 1887 was written at the end of the 14th or during the 13th century BCE.

273 The use of *ina* is already attested in undated Kassite tablets (contra Aro 1955, 92): see Kraus 1985, 154 fn. 58 and George 2013, 130 fn. 3.

274 The word is written with *tù* also in MS A of the first-millennium version (l. 28; cf.

ha-i-tu in MS C; see Mayer 1993, 316 and Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 233).

275 According to the subdivision of the Kassite period by Brinkman 2017, 10–26.

Transliteration

Obverse

0. [abūb kakki qabal lā maḥār ša tībūšu (?) ezzu] // CMAwR §8.28 l. 23
(‘Marduk 5’ l. 7)
- 1'. [bin-dūku gitmālum pa-ri]-^Γis¹ p[^Γu-ru-us-se]-^Γe¹ // l. 24a
- 2'. [mušimmu š]i-ma-a-ti[m] // l. 24b
- 3'. [binūt lugaldukuga] ^Γa¹-bu a-^Γli-id¹ ilī(^ΓDINGIR^{mes1}) rabūtīm(GAL^m[^{es}]) // l. 25
- 4'. [marūtuk bēl tuḥdim hé-gá]l-li ^Γmu¹-ša-^Γaz¹-ni-in nu-uh-[šá] // l. 27
- 5'. [bēl nagbī šadī u ta-ma]-^Γa¹-ti ḥa-i-^Γtū¹ hur-sa-ni // l. 28
- 6'. [pātū kuppī u miṭ-ra]-^Γa¹-ti <mu>-ta-i-^Γru¹ ^Γna¹-[r]a-ti // l. 29
- 7'. [ḥayyāṭu ašnan u laḥar ba-n]u-ú é(ŠE-e) u ^Γqé-e¹ // l. 30
- 8'. [āšīru igīgī ušum]gal^d a-^Γnun-na¹-ki // l. 32
- 9'. [o o o o o er]-šu bu-^Γku-ur¹ ^d+en-^Γki¹ // l. 33a
- 10'. [bāmū te-n]é-es¹ ^Γgim-ri¹ // l. 33b
- 11'. [bēl attā-ma kīma a-b]i u ^Γum-mi¹ ina pī(KA) ni-ši ta-ba-ši // l. 34
- 12'. [attā-ma ek-le-si-n]a ki-ma šamšim(^dUTU¹) ^Γtu¹-uš-na-mar // l. 35
- 13'. [ḥablam u šagšam mi-ša]r-ši-^Γna¹ ^Γta-da¹-an ú-da¹(KÁ)-kam^v // l. 36
- 14'. [tušteššer al-ma]-^Γta¹ ^Γe-ku-ta¹ [n]a-as-sa u dal-pa // l. 37
- 15'. [bišīt uz-ni-ši-n]a re-^Γé²-um¹ ^Γmu²-tar²-[r]u²-ši-na at-ta // l. 38
- 16'. [mātātum u nišū ra]p-ša-tum ^Γiš¹-tam-^Γma¹-ra // l. 39a
- 17'. [si-kā]r-ka ^Γkab-ta¹ // l. 39b
- 18'. [rēmēnāta bēl] ^Γi¹+na ^Γpu-uš-qi¹ u ^Γdan¹-na-ti // l. 40a
- 19'. [tu-še]-ze-^Γeb¹ ^Γen¹-ša // l. 40b
- 20'. [tappallas an-ḥ]a šu-um-ru-ša ^Γša¹ [i-n]i-<nu>-^Γšu¹ il(DINGIR)-šú // l. 41
- 21'. [ša ūmum (u) šīmtum ta]-ru-šu tu-áš-šar ^Γša¹-ab-tam // l. 42
- 22'. [tašabbat qāssu ša] i+na erši(^{es}NÁ) namtari(N[A]M.^ΓTAR-ri¹) // l. 43a
- 23'. [na-du]-ú te-de-e[k-ki-(šu)] // l. 43b
- 24'. [ša ina kilim] ^Γú² bit(^ΓÉ¹) [šibittim] // l. 44a
- 25'. [ussuru t]u²-[kal-lam-(šu) nūra] // l. 44b

Reverse

- 1'. [o o o o o o o]-^Γnu¹ ^Γlip¹-pa-šir ^Γia²-[šī] - //
- 2'. [ina pīka dannatī li-b]a-a²-ma qí-bi ba-la-^Γtī¹ // l. 80
- 3'. [kīma šamē lūlil] ^Γi¹+na ru-ḥe-e šá ep-še-ku ≈ l. 81
- 4'. [kīma eršetim lu-bi-i]b i+na ru-se-e lā(NU) ṭābūtīm(DÜG-tim) // l. 82
- 5'. [kīma qereb šamē lu]-na-mi-ra lip-ta-ṭi-ru ki-šir lumnī(HUL)-ia // l. 83
- 6'. [(o o o) bīnum li-il-l]a-an-ni maštakal(^uIN.NU.UŠ) lip-šu-ra-an-ni // l. 84a
- 7'. [libbi gišimmarim l]ip-tū-ru ri-kis lum-ni-ia // l. 84b
- 8'. [egubbūm ša^d asal-lú-ḥ]i li-šat-li-ma du-um-qá // l. 85
- 9'. [o o o o o o o o]-qir lib-bi-bu-ni-in-nim nignakkum(NÍG.NA) u gizillūm(GI.IZI.LÁ) ≈ l. 86
- 10'. [o o o o o o o] x-ši ina qí-bit^dé-a šar(LUGAL) apsīm(ABZU) a-bi ilī(DINGIR^{mes}) rabūtīm(GAL^{mes}) ≈ l. 87
- 11'. [ana nīs qātīya libbaka l]i-nu-uh^d asal¹-lú-ḥi // l. 88a
- 12'. [mār^d+en-k]i apkal(ABGAL) ilī(DINGIR^{mes}) marūtuk(^dAMAR.UTU) // l. 88b

Translation

Obverse

0. [Flood of a weapon, irresistible battle whose *attack* is ferocious,]
 1'. [August Bindūku, render]er of v[erdicts],
 2'. [Fixer of d]estini[es];
 3'. [Scion of Lugaldukuga], father who sired the great gods,
 4'. [Marduk, lord of wealth (and) prosperi]ty, who makes abun[dance] rain down,
 5'. [Lord of the mountain springs and the se]as, maintainer of the hills,
 6'. [Opener of wells and cana]ls, commander of the rivers,
 7'. [Controller of cereals and cattle, crea]tor of barley and flax,
 8'. [Foreman of the Igigi, great dr]agon of the Anunnaki,
 9'. [..., wi]se, offspring of Ea,
 10'. [Creator of] all [the pe]ople,
 11'. [O Lord, you alone] are present in the mouth of the people [as (their own) fat]her
 and mother,
 12'. [You alone] can, like the sun, light up [the]ir [darkness],
 13'. [To the wronged and oppressed] you provide their [justi]ce daily,
 14'. [You guide the wid]ow, the orphan girl, the wretched and the sleepless,
 15'. You are [the]ir [cynosure], the shepherd who leads them,
 16'. [The lands and wide]spread [peoples] extol
 17'. your noble [na]me.
 18'. [You are merciful, O Lord: fr]om trouble and sorrow,
 19'. [you resc]ue the weak.
 20'. [You gaze (benevolently) on the troub]led and sick one, with whom his god was upset,
 21'. [Him whom day and fate had l]ed away, the prisoner, you release,
 22'. [You take the hand of] him who ^(23') [li]es ^(22') on (his) deathb[ed],
 23'. you rai[se (him) up].
 24'. [He who is ^(25') captive ^(24') in jail] or in the h[ouse of imprisonment],
 25'. you s[how (him) light].

Reverse

- 1'. Let [...] ... be undone for m[e]!
 2'. [Let my distress go a]way [at your order], decree my life!
 3'. [May I become as pure as heaven] from the witchcraft with which I have been inflicted!
 4'. [May I become as cle]ar [as the earth] from the evil sorcery!
 5'. [May I be]come as bright [as the center of heaven], may the knots of evil around
 me be released!
 6'. [May the tamarisk puri]fy me, may the soapwort release me!
 7'. [May the palm heart und]o the bonds of evil around me!
 8'. [May the holy water vessel of Asallu]ḫi bestow upon me favor!
 9'. [...] ... Let the censer and torch purify me!
 10'. [...] ... At the command of Ea, king of the Apsû, father of the great gods,
 11'. [Le]t [your heart be soothed by my prayer], O Asalluḫi,
 12'. [Son of Enk]i, sage of the gods, Marduk!

- 13'. [amāt ea lušteppi] ^{Γd1}dam-ki-na šar-ra-tum liš-te-šer // l. 89
 14'. [o o o (o o) lu]-^Γuš¹-te-a ba-la-ṭam —
 15'. [o o o (o) kīma ilī(DI)NGIR]-ia lu-ut-ta-id-ka ki-ma ištarī(U.DAR)-ia ≈ ll. 92–93
 16'. [luštammar ilūtka ludlul d]a-li¹-li-ka // l. 91
 17'. [u anāku dalīl ilūti(DINGIR-ti)]-^Γka¹ rabītim(GAL-tim) —
 18'. [lud-lu]l a-na nišī(UN^{mes}) rapšātim(DAGAL-^Γtim¹) —
 19'. [(ÉN) anḥullūm maššar šulmim ša ea u] ^{Γd}asa¹-lú-ḥi at-ta ≈ l. 105
 20'. [ē tamḥur ru-ḥe]-^Γe¹ e tam-ḥur ru-se-e ≈ l. 106
 21'. [ē tamḥur zikurudām(ZI.KU₅.RU.D)A] e tam-ḥur zīram(ḤUL.^ΓGIG¹) ≈ l. 108
 22'. [... ē tamḥur] ^Γú¹-piš¹ k[iš²-pi] ≈ l. 109

*★

- 13'. [Let me proclaim the word of Ea], let queen [D]amkina make it succeed!
 14'. [... let me] always seek life!
 15'. [Let me ... you like] my own [go]d, let me praise you like my own goddess!
 16'. [Let me worship your divinity, let me sing] your [p]raises!
 17'. [And as for me, ⁽¹⁸⁾ let me sin]g ⁽¹⁷⁾ the praises of] your great [divinity]
 18'. to the widespread peoples!
 19'. [You, anḥullū-plant, are the protector of the welfare of Ea and A]salluḥi!
 20'. [Do not receive witchcra]ft! Do not receive sorcery!
 21'. [Do not receive black magi]c! Do not receive hate!
 22'. [... Do not receive sorcerous mac]hinations!

Commentary

0. *abūb kakki*, “a flood of a weapon,” is “an awkward phrase but one which turns up with a most innocent appearance in an Akkadian *šuilā* [*scil.* here]” (Lambert 2013, 165). As discussed by Lambert (*ibid.*), the phrase is an “etymological” interpretation of the name of Marduk (Marūtuk) as a-ma-ru tukul. It is also attested in the *Syncretistic Hymn to Ninurta* (IM 132671 o 10’): *kišādka marūtuk dayyān šamē u eršetī abūb kakki*, “Your (*scil.* Ninurta’s) neck is Marduk, the judge of heaven and earth, the flood of a weapon.”

o 3’–4’. The reading of the first two signs follows the collation by Borger 1991, [30] *ad* 2; *id.* 1998, 845a; and *id.* 2010, 307 s.v. ^dlugal-du₆-kuḡ(-ga). Line 26 from the first-millennium version, *kakkab marūtuk bēl nuḥši* (ll *hengalli*) *mudeššū hengalli* (ll *nuḥši*), “star of Marduk, lord of plenty (var.: abundance), who makes abundance (var.: plenty) flourish,” does not appear in this tablet; its similarity with l. 27 (4’) suggests that it is a later addition.

o 4’. On Marduk as “he who makes abundance rain down,” see *Muššu’u* IV 71 (*attā-ma kīma addi eli nišī tazarru nuḥša*, “you, like Adad, winnow abundance upon the people”) and the discussion in Böck 2007, 177.

o 6’. The second half of the line in the first-millennium version reads *muš-te-ši-ru* í[D^{didli}] (MS C) and *muš-te-eš-ru* íD^{didli} (MS A).²⁷⁶ The epithet *muštēšir nārāti* is also given to Marduk in ‘Marduk II’

276 The latter form was considered by von Soden 1969, 87 a mistake that had its origins in an “undeutliches *še* auf der Vorlage.” Mayer 1993, 316 *ad loc.* refers to an analogous short form [tuš]-te-eš-ru in ‘Sipazianna 2’ l. 4 MS C (Mayer 1990,

474–476 and 485). The syncope of a short syllable following a long one (*muštēš(i)ru*) is in principle contrary to the laws of Akkadian phonology (see GAG §12b and f; Huehnergard 1987, 191), but other possi-

l. 5 (Lambert 1960b, 61), as well as in the *šū'ila* ‘Marduk 1’ (l. 7, *muštēšir nagbī nārāti*, see Oshima 2014, 398). The form in the present manuscript, *ta-i-ru*, could hardly be a participle of *tāru* G, since a transitive verb is required. It is therefore assumed that it represents a mistake for *mūta'iru* ((w)āru Dtn), a form that first-millennium scribes might have changed to *muštēšir*.

o 7'–8'. The difficult line 31 (on which see Mayer 1993, 331 and Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 244–245) does not appear in this version. In l. 8', the first millennium version reads *ušumgal anunnakī āširu igīgī*.

o 10'. The first-millennium version reads *bānū te-né-šet gim-ri* (MSS A and C). The phrase *tenēšēt gimri* (‘die Menschen in aller Welt’ [von Soden 1969, 86 and Mayer 1993, 325], ‘tous les vivants’ [Seux 1976, 445], ‘tutta l’umanità’ [Castellino 1977, 677], ‘all humankind’ [Foster 2005, 683], ‘all the people’ [Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 241]) is elsewhere unattested. The form *tenīšu* is a poorly attested second-millennium byform of *tenēštu* (*CAD* T 344a and *AHw* 1347b).

o 13'. The penultimate sign could also be read as *dāk*, but the form does not fit what would be expected for NA₄, and the sign *dāk* appears to be restricted to Assyrian script (*ASy* 144).

o 14'. The standard order is *ekūtu almattu* (see *CAD* E 73a), as in the first-millennium version of the prayer, but ^r*e-ku*¹-*t[a]* seems epigraphically better than ^r*al-ma*¹-*t[a]*.

o 15'. The reading of the line is uncertain, the sign É looks different from other És in the text.

o 16'–25'. The author has now joined K.15628 (see pl. 16) to K.3151.B+(+) (copy in Loretz/Mayer 1978 no. 41, MS B in the editions by Mayer 1993 and Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 230–246). The fragment restores the beginnings of the lines (the transliteration corresponds to K.3151.B+(+)):

39. *mātātu*(KUR.KUR) *u nišū*(UN^{mes}) *rapšātu*(DAGAL^{mes}) *iš-ta*[*m-ma-ru zi-ki*]r-ka [*kabta*(DUGUD)]

40. *re-mé-na-a-ta bēl*(EN) *ina pušqi*(PAP.ĤAL) *u dannati*(BAD₄) [*tu-še-ez-zeb*] e[*n-ši*]

41. *tap-pal-la-as an-ĥu šu-nu-ĥu šá* [*i-nu-nu-š*]u il(DINGIR)-[*šú*]

42. *šá u₄-mu u šim-tu₄ ta-ru-šú* t[*u-ma-aš-ša*]r *šab*-[*tú*]

43. *ta-šab-bat qāt*(SU)-*su šá ina erši*(^{giss}NA) *namtari*(NA[M.TAR]) *nadú*(SUB)-*ú tu-ša*[*t-ba*]

44. *šá ina kīli*(KI.SU) *bīt*(E) ^r*š¹-bīt-tu₄ u ek-let* [*us-su*]-*ru tu-kal-la*[*m nūra*(ZALAG)]

45. ^r*ana*¹-*ku al-si-ka ram-ku šá qātā*(SU^{mes})-*šú eb-b*[*a ar-ku*]*s-ka ri*[*k-sa ella*(KU)]

46. [*n*]*i-qa-a aq-qí-ka ú-ma-aš-ši-ka* [*ĥuššá*(^{túg}ĤUS.A)] *ella* (?) *ina* ^r*šap*¹-[*li-ka*]

47. [*a*]-^r*na*¹ ^r*ni*¹-*iš qātīya*(SU^{min}-MU) *qu-la mu*-[*ĥur tés-li-ti*]

39. The lands and manifold peoples ex[tol] your [noble na]me,

40. You are merciful, O Lord, [you rescue] the w[eak] from trouble and sorrow,

41. You gaze (benevolently) on the troubled and wearied one, with whom [his] god [was upset],

42. Him whom day and fate²⁷⁷ have led away, the pris[oner], you r[eleas]e,²⁷⁸

43. You take his hand, you ra[ise up] him who [li]es on (his) de[athbed],

44. To him who is [capt]ive in jail or in the house of imprisonment and darkness, you sho[w light].

45. I hereby call upon you purified, with cl[ean] hands; [I have se]t up for you [a pure] offer[ing],

46. I have poured a [l]ibation for you, I have spread out a [pure red cloth] at your fe[et],

47. Give heed to my prayer, acc[ept my orison]!

o 22'–23'. On the phrase *erši namtari*, ‘deathbed,’ see Lambert 2007, 153–154 and Jiménez 2017a, 268. The phrase is attested with *tebú š* only in the first millennium manuscripts of this prayer; in all other occurrences the verb used is *dekú* G, as in HS 1887.

ble cases are discussed by Kouwenberg 2010, 47–48.

277 The new fragment confirms the restoration suggested in Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 245a. MS A reads therefore [*šá*

u₄-m]u NAM (on the alternation between genitive construction and hendiadys in the phrase *ūmu* (*u*) *šimtu*, see *ibid.*).

278 Thus confirming the first restoration suggested in Mayer 1993, 318 *ad loc.*

r 1'. In the first-millennium version, the line preceding l. 80 reads *lipšurū nīša māmīta nīš qātī zikir ilī rabūti*, “Let prayer (and) the command of the great gods undo oath (and) curse.” The present line must be a version of that line. Compare perhaps *amāssunu lippašer-ma amātī lā ippaššar*, “let their word be undone, but let my word not be undone!” (*Maqlū* I 70)

r 2'. According to Mayer 1993, 334, the first part of the two known first-millennium versions of this line (missing in this manuscript) are corrupt. The restoration follows Mayer’s interpretation.

r 3'. In the first-millennium version, the end reads *ša ep-šullšú-(u)-ni* (Mayer 1993, 320, Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 237 l. 81), “which has been performed against me.”

r 7'. The first-millennium version reads *libbi gišimmari ar-ni-MU lip-tur* (Mayer 1993, 320, Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 237 l. 84), “may the palm heart undo my sins.” Note the apparently otiose *-u* ending in the verb, perhaps suggesting a plural subject.

r 9'–10'. The first millennium version reads:

86. *libbībūninni nignakku gizillū ša girra (u) kūsu*

87. *ina qibūt ea šar apsi abi ilī ninsīku*

88. *†ana nīš qātīya linūh† libbaka asalluḫi āšip ilī rabūti apkal igīgī* (†^{MSC} *nīš qātīya likūn linūh*)

86. Let the censer and torch of Girra (and) Kusu purify me!

87. At the command of Ea, king of the Apsū, father of the gods, Ninšiku,

88. O Asalluḫi, exorcist of the great gods, sage of the Igigi, let your heart be soothed by my prayer! (var.: Let my prayer be firm, (...))!

In l. 9', the first half of the line could perhaps be restored as [*kīma uqū napištī ina pānīka li-q*]ir, “[let my life be as pre]cious [as lapis lazuli to your eyes]” (i.e., l. 70 of the first-millennium version), although the line would be out of place in this context.

r 13'. The first-millennium version reads *a-mat^dé-a* (|| ^dIDIM) *lu-ut-ta-'i-id šar-ra-tu₄* (|| [*š*]ar-rat) ^d*dam-ki-na lu-uš-te-šer*, translated by Mayer 1993, 327 as “(Dann) will ich das Wort des Ea laut rühmen, der Königin Damkina das Gebührende erweisen!” As noted by Mayer 1993, 335–337, the formula has parallels at the end of several bilingual incantations, as *inim^den-ki-ke₄ pa hē-è-a-ke₄^ddam-gal-nun-na hē-en-si-sá-e* || *amāt ea liš-te-pi damkīna liš-te-šir* (e.g. *Muššū'u* V 14–15, *Uduḫul* IV 64–65, and XIII/XV 119–120). With good reason, Mayer states that in all these contexts the subject of the verb is always the patient (“I” or “he”), and not Ea or Damkina. This interpretation seems, however, ill-suited to the text on the present tablet, since *šarratu(m)* is nominative and the other precatives (e.g. r 14'–15') are formulated in the first person. If the restoration of *lušteppi* is correct, then one should assume that there is a change in the subject: the patient should “make manifest” (*apū Štn*)²⁷⁹ the “word of Ea,” whereas Damkina should “make (it) successful” (*ešēru Št₂*).²⁸⁰ The *luštēšer* of the first-millennium version may be explained as a first millennium 3ps Š precative.²⁸¹

r 14'–18'. The end of the prayer in the first millennium is very different:

89. *amāt ea luttā'id u šarratu damkīna luštēšer*

90. *anāku aradka (annanna mār annanna) lubluḫ lušlim-ma*

91. *luštamar ilūtka †ludlula dalilika†*

(†^{MSC} *dalilika ludlul*)

279 On (*w*)*apū Štn*, see Mayer 1993, 336.

280 On *ešēru Št₂*, see Mayer 1993, 336–337; Streck 1994, 173–174; and Maul 1999, 201–202.

281 On *lu-* instead of *li-* used in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts for the third

person precative in D and Š stems, see GAG §81c; Woodington 1982, 98; Stein 2000, 43; Schaudig 2001, 300; and Schwemer 2017, 77

92. *ilī* †*lištammar*† *qurdīka* (†^{MSA} *luštam[m(ar)]*)
 93. *ištārī* *narbīka* *liqbi*
 94. *u anāku* *āšīpu* *aradka* *dalīlīka* *ludlul*

89. Let me extol the word of Ea, let queen Damkina make it succeed!
 90. I, your servant, (so-and-so son of so-and-so), may I live and be well!
 91. Let me worship your divinity, let me sing your praises!
 92. Let my god celebrate your power! (var.: Let me celebrate, my god, your power!)
 93. Let my goddess proclaim your greatness!
 94. And as for me, the exorcist, your servant, let me sign your praises!

The phrase *balāta(m) šite'’u*, “to seek life” (see *CAD* Š/2 360b) was previously unattested in *šū'ilas*, but one may compare the line *ašrāt balāti lušte'’i-ma*, “may I always seek the places of life!” in ‘Marduk 4’ l. 13 (Mayer 2004, 202; discussion *ibid.*, 207–208).

r 19’. The space available at the beginning of the line is perhaps insufficient for the restoration adopted.

No. 5: HS 1888, A List of Appurtenances for a Ritual

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1888 (old number on tablet: 211)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 40): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Liste von Stoffen, die in der Magie Verwendung fanden. Fundort: Nippur.” On box: “Ni.-211 III. Neo-Babylonische Periode. Lit.” Slip in box: “Liste v. Stoffen, die in der Magie Benutzung fanden.”

Size: 6.3 × 3.5 × 0.8 cm

Introduction

This small tablet contains a list of items including plants, *materia magica* such as dust from a tomb, instruments such as pestles and censers, various types of containers, wool, flour products, and various liquids. These miscellaneous materials would probably have been used in a ritual of some sort: although the specific ritual involved cannot be identified, some of the ingredients, such as tallow, wax, sesame pomace, and bitumen (ll. 31–33) are often listed together in magic ceremonies.²⁸²

Similar inventories of ritual appurtenances are known from the second half of the second millennium BCE. Two related Middle Assyrian inventories, one from Aššur (*KAV* 118; Schroeder 1930/1931) and one from Tell Sabi Abyad (T98–131), list utensils such as dishes, bowls, and censers that were commonly used in rituals. Since some of the items in both inventories are very similar, and since some of them are in fact known only from these two tablets, it seems likely that both tablets list the ingredients needed for the same ceremony (so Wiggermann 2008, 560), a ceremony that can be reconstructed on the basis of other texts from Tell Sabi Abyad (*ibid.*). The present tablet’s lack of context (see below) prevents any identification of the specific ritual involved.²⁸³

In the case of the present tablet, there is a similar list of cultic ingredients which may bear witness to a ritual of the same type. The list in question is contained in the tablet HS

282 See commentary *ad loc.*

283 The fact that the present tablet bears the number HS 1888, and that both HS 1887 and HS 1889 (Nos. 4 and 6, respectively) contain Middle Babylonian anti-witchcraft incantations, may suggest that the goal of the ritual involved here was also to fight witchcraft. However, the goal of the numeration of the tablets in the Hilprecht collection, which postdates their excavation by over fifty years, was precisely to group together tablets according to their

genre and date (Oelsner 1985, 49). The numeration is therefore no indication that the tablets Nos. 4–6 belong together; in fact, according to Hilprecht’s archaeological information, they were excavated during the third (No. 5) and fourth (Nos. 4 and 6) Nippur campaigns. Nevertheless, some of the ingredients listed in this tablet are commonly used in anti-witchcraft magic: see the commentary on ll. 3 and 33.

694 (*TMH* 2/3, 250), published by Krückmann as a Neo-Babylonian “Verzeichnis über Nahrungsmittel, ohne Zeugen”, but which is best described as a list of cultic appurtenances for a ritual.²⁸⁴ The tablet is no longer in the Hilprecht collection and could therefore not be collated, but Krückmann’s copy seems compatible with a Middle Babylonian date,²⁸⁵ and the vessel ^{du}g^{se}qu that appears in it (l. 12) is elsewhere attested only in another Middle Babylonian list of objects.²⁸⁶ The tablet is, moreover, similar in size to the present tablet,²⁸⁷ and it lists many of the same ingredients, which suggests that the ceremony for which they were needed was similar in character, and perhaps that the tablets stem from the same context (the parallel lines in the present tablet are given in the right-hand column):

HS 694 (*TMH* 2/3, 250)

obverse

1. [n q]a suluppu(ZÚ.LUM)	24
2. dišpu([LÀ]L) ħimētu(i.NUN)	30
3. binu(^{sig} ŠINIG) maštaka(^{du} IN.NU.UŠ)	6 8
4. gišimmaru(^{sig} GIŠIMMAR) «šá» qan—šalāli(GI.ŠUL ¹ .HI)	7 9
5. pušikku(^{sig} GA.RÍG.AG.A) uqnātu(^{sig} ZA.GÌN)	19 18
6. tabarru(^{sig} HÉ.ME.DA)	17
7. burāšu(^{sim} LI)	27

reverse

8. 2 tallu(^{du} DAL)	
9. 2 ^{du} ga-an-nu šeĥru(TUR)	
10. 10 kāsū(^{du} GÚ.ZI)	10
11. 10 pursītu(^{du} BUR.ZI)	13
12. 3 ^{du} še- ^r qu ¹	
13. 2 burzigallu(^{du} BUR.ZI.GAL)	
14. 5 ^{du} ku-[ku]-bu	11
15. 2 niġnakku(^{du} NÍG.ŠA ¹) N[U ²] x x	cf. 15
16. 2 niġnakku(^{du} NÍG.NA) lā(NU) šit-pu ¹ - ^r ru ²	
17. ^r 2 ¹ kāsū(^{du} GÚ.ZI) KI.MIN	12

end of tablet

★★

According to the label in the box of HS 1888, handwritten by Hilprecht, the tablet was found during the Third Nippur Campaign (1893–1896 BCE): as discussed above (§3), it is impossible to establish whether this information is accurate.

The ductus is compatible with a Middle Babylonian date: compare MAĦ with verticals in the first range (l. 4), which appears to be unattested after the Kassite period (Fossey 1926, 101–102); ŠA and DA with only one horizontal (l. 3, 17, 25), RU with three adjacent verticals (2, 34), and UB with a small inscribed horizontal (l. 34), the latter already rare in

284 So *CAD* B 346a, K 499b, P 542a, Š/1 195b, and T 102b; and Wiggermann 2008, 560.

285 Observe ŠIM and LI in l. 7, in each case with only one vertical, and GÚ in l. 17 with an inscribed vertical in the second range, a form common in Kassite script,

but not attested in first-millennium Babylonian script (Fossey 1926, 258–259).

286 CBS 6609 l. 12 (*PBS* 2/2 109, s. *CAD* Š/2 308a).

287 According to Krückmann (1933, 12), it measures 6 × 3.5 × 1.5 cm.

the Kassite period (Fossey 1926, 548–549). Moreover, the tablet still seems to differentiate between the forms of KU (11, 21) and ZÌ (25), which in most Kassite scripts have merged into the same sign. CVC signs are not used (except from *hal* in l. 29, already common in the OB period). The use of GA (1) for /qa/ and KU for /qu/ (21) is typical of the first half of the Middle Babylonian period (van Soldt 2020, 169). In sum, the tablet was probably written at some point between the 15th and the 13th centuries BCE.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. *qanû*(G^{meš}) *qá-al-pu-tum*
2. *ašāgu*(^{gis}KIŠ₁₆)
3. *ḫu-ha-ru ša' ēri*(^{gis}MA.NU)
4. *eper*(SAHAR) *kimahḫi*(KI.MAH) *i+na ku-du-ri*
5. 1 *a-ba-at-tum a-na ṭe₄-e-ni*
6. *bīnu*(^{gis}ŠINIG)
7. *gišimmaru*(^{gis}GIŠIMMAR)
8. *maštakal*(ⁱIN.NU.UŠ)
9. *qan—šalāli*(GI.ŠUL¹.HI)
10. 3 *aḡubbû*(^Γduḡ¹A.ΓGÚB.BA¹)
11. 10 ^Γduḡ¹ku¹-ku-^Γbu¹
12. 10 *kāsu*(^ΓduḡGÚ.ZI¹)
13. 10 *pursītu*(^ΓduḡBUR.ZI¹)
14. 3 ^Γduḡ¹ma-^Γak-ka¹-su
15. 5 *nignakku*(^ΓNÍG¹.NA) *rabû*([GA]L)

Lower edge

16. 10 *muttāqu*(^{ninda}ΓKU₇?¹.K[U₇ⁱ])
17. *tabarru*(^{sig}HÉ.ME.DA) *uqnātu*(^s[^{ig}ZA.GÌN.NA])
18. *pušikku*(^{sig}GA.RÍG.A[G.A] (o))

Reverse

19. 1 ^g[ⁱ]x [(o)]
20. 2 *masabbu*(^g[ⁱ]MA.S[Á.A]B)
21. ^Γ39²¹ [(qa) (^{ninda})]^Γmu²-ut¹-qu-ú
22. 2 ^Γqa¹ *mersu*([^{ninda}]^Γi².[D]É².^ΓA¹)
23. 2 *qa mundū*(NÍG.ÀR¹.[R]A) *kunāši*(^ΓZÍZ¹.AN.NA)
24. 2 *qa suluppu*(^ΓZÚ.LUM¹)
25. *ištēt-sūt*(BÁN) *qēmu*(^ΓZi¹.DA)
26. *šittā-sūt*(BANMIN) *ú*(^ΓŠE¹)
27. *burāšu*(^{sim}LI) *ṭābtu*(MUN)
28. *ištēt-sūt*(BÁN) *šikaru*(KAŠ.SAG)
29. *šammu*(i.GIŠ) *ḫal'-su*
30. *dišpu*(LÀL) *ḫimētu*(i.NUN)
31. *lipú*(i.UDU)
32. *iškūru*(DUḫ:ΓLÀL¹)
33. *kupsu*(^ΓDUḫ¹.ŠE.GIŠ.i)
34. ^Γku¹-up-ru

**

Translation

- (1) Peeled reeds, (2) *ašāgu*-thorn, (3) a bird trap of ash wood, (4) dust from a tomb in a basket, (5) 1 pestle for grinding, (6) tamarisk, (7) palm, (8) soapwort, (9) *šalālu*-reed, (10) 3 holy water

vessels, ⁽¹¹⁾ 10 offering vessels, ⁽¹²⁾ 10 cups, ⁽¹³⁾ 10 bowls, ⁽¹⁴⁾ 3 *makkasu*-bowls, ⁽¹⁵⁾ 5 [lar]ge censers, ⁽¹⁶⁾ 10 *muttāqu*-cakes, ⁽¹⁷⁾ red wool, [blue] w[ool], ⁽¹⁸⁾ white wool, ⁽¹⁹⁾ 1 reed ..., ⁽²⁰⁾ 2 b[a]ske[t]s, ⁽²¹⁾ 39 [(l) of] *muqtû*-cake, ⁽²²⁾ 2 l of *m[ers]u*-cake, ⁽²³⁾ 2 l of emmer groats, ⁽²⁴⁾ 2 l of dates, ⁽²⁵⁾ 10 l of flour, ⁽²⁶⁾ 20 l of grain, ⁽²⁷⁾ juniper, salt, ⁽²⁸⁾ 10 l of beer, ⁽²⁹⁾ filtered oil, ⁽³⁰⁾ syrup, ghee, ⁽³¹⁾ tallow, ⁽³²⁾ wax, ⁽³³⁾ sesame pomace, ⁽³⁴⁾ bitumen.

Commentary

3. *huhāru* is translated in the dictionaries as “bird trap” (*CAD* H 224–225) and “Vogelfalle” (*AHW* 353a and 1562a). The lexical tradition lists a “stick” as one of its components (^{ĜES}níĝ-ĝidru-ḫar-mušēn-na = *ḫaṭṭi huhāri*, in *Harra* VI 221 [*MSL* 6, 72]), used perhaps for tripping the trap (so *CAD* H 225b and von der Osten-Sacken 2015, 179–180; see also Salonen 1973, 39–43). On the identification of ^{ĜES}MA.NU with the Ash (*Fraxinus syriaca*), see Jiménez 2017a, 217–223: its hard wood is frequently used in Mesopotamia for making “sticks” (*ḫaṭṭu*), in particular in magic (see *ibid.*: 218). Some anti-witchcraft incantations refer to “traps” (*huhāru*) used against witches: see Abusch/Schwemer 2016, 73, referring to *ibid.* §7.14 l. 23 and §7.25 l. 18.

4. Dust from a tomb is a common ingredient in magic rituals: see *CAD* K 371b.

5. If correctly read, the last sign would contain a very rare instance of the use of IM with the syllabic value *ní*. *ASy*⁴ 236 mentions only another instance, in the Middle Babylonian cryptographic text BM 120960 o 7 (Gadd/Campbell Thompson 1936, 89, see Oppenheim 1970, 63): *š₇(SIG₇)-ní(IM)-š₄(U)*.²⁸⁸ An emendation *te₄-e-<ni>-im* also seems possible, but the mimation would be surprising.

13. The *makkasu* bowl is drawn on a Neo-Babylonian tablet: according to the drawing, it had the shape of a truncated cone with a decorated rim (Zawadzki/Jursa 2001, 363).

15. “Large censers” (NÍG.NA^{mes} GAL^{mes}) are attested, together with small ones (NÍG.NA^{mes} TUR^{mes}), in VAT 9859 r (*KAV* 118), the inventory of cultic containers discussed in the introduction.

16. If correctly read, the line would contain the second attestation of *muttāqu*, “sweet cake,” in a Kassite document: see Sassmannshausen 2001, 453 (referring to CBS 12898 l. 51 = *BE* 14, 148), and Llop 2009/2010, 16–17 (in a Middle Assyrian text).

18. On ^{SIG}GA.RÍG.AG.A as “white wool” see Landsberger 1967b, 145a.

21–22. *mersu*- and *mutqû*-cakes appear together, in large quantities, in *ARM* 9, 221 iii 4’–5’: 100 *qa ninda me-er-[su]* | 30 *qa ninda mu-ut-qu-ú*. The cake *mersu* is usually given in capacity measures: compare 2 PI NINDA.Ì.DÉ.ÀM (|| ^rmi¹-ir-si) in a *kudurru* of Kurigalzu I (Ku I 2 ii 6, Paulus 2014, 310); and [1 *q*]a *mersa*(NINDA.Ì.DÉ.A) in *STT* 243 r 14 (George/Taniguchi 2010, 122):

23. On emmer groats in cuneiform records, see Postgate 1984, 109, who refers to the lexical entry ^{z₁A}a^{a-si}TIR = *sa-as-qu-ú* = *mun-di kunāši*(ZÍZ.ÀM), in *Hargud to Harra* XXIII g 4 (*MSL* 11, 88 l. 56).

33. The translation of *kupsu* as “sesame pomace” follows Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 473b. Several anti-witchcraft rituals involving the creation of figurines list tallow, wax, sesame pomace, and bitumen in the same order as they appear in the present list (ll. 31–34), e.g. *Maqlû* IV 36–38 (Abusch 2015, 117) and *CMAwR* §7.6.5 ll. 9–10 (Abusch/Schwemer 2011, 135, there preceded by juniper in a censer and a beer libation, as in ll. 27–28 of the present list).

288 The reading *ní* is attested three times in that text: see Oppenheim 1970, 61, who regards the use as “unique.”

No. 6: HS 1889, Middle Babylonian Anti-witchcraft Incantation

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1889 (old number on tablet: 63)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 40): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Beschwörung. Fundort: Nippur.” On box: “Ni.-63 IV”.

Size: 5.8 × 5.6 × 0.8 cm

Introduction

The tablet represents a Middle Babylonian forerunner of two anti-witchcraft incantations otherwise known from first-millennium manuscripts only. The incantation on the obverse is a forerunner of the first incantation of *Maqlû* VII (ll. 1–10),²⁸⁹ the only difference being that the incantation in *Maqlû* is directed to a second person feminine (the witch), whereas in the present tablet the witch is addressed in the third person. The incantation on the reverse, which also describes the witch in the third person, was in the first millennium integrated into an extensive collection of *ušburruda* rituals.²⁹⁰

The tablet probably forms a set with HS 1887 (No. 4). Both tablets, HS 1887 and HS 1889, represent two of three known Middle Babylonian witchcraft texts from Nippur (see above). Moreover, their epigraphy is identical: note in particular the similar forms of signs such as LI (o 7, r 11'–13', 15'), KIŠ (o 3, 8, r 12'), DA (r 7'–8'), and RU (o 12). The same conclusions drawn above apply also here: the sign forms correspond to those attested in other Middle Kassite texts. The orthography of the tablet is also reminiscent of that of HS 1887. Mimation is only preserved in some CVm signs (*tum* [o 2] and *lum* [r 15']), but a relatively high number of CVC signs are used: *gam* (r 15'), *ḫar* (r 1') and *ḫur* (r 6', 11'), *lil* (o 12 [2×]), *pat* (o 1) and *paṭ* (r 15'), and *ter* (r 13'). *a-ma-as-sa* for *awāssa* (r 11') shows that *wV* syllables were written as *mV*; and *ina na-pa-ḫi šamši* (r 10') instead of *napāḫ*, displays an “overhanging” *i*-vowel, which according to van Soldt 2020, 173–174 is known from texts dating between 1259 BCE and ca. 1210 BCE. Both HS 1887 and HS 1889 should, therefore, be datable to the end of the 14th or to the 13th centuries BCE.

★★

289 Also known from *CTN* 4, 92(+) (Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 175–186 text 8.47 ll. 199–131).

290 Edition in Abusch/Schwemer 2011, 159–199 text 7.8, where the present tablet is

MS 0 (with a corrected transliteration in Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 389–392 text 8.47 ll. 199–131).

According to the label handwritten by Hilprecht on its box, the tablet was found during the fourth Nippur campaign of the Babylonian Expedition sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania, i.e., in 1899–1900.²⁹¹ A transliteration of the tablet was published by J.-V. Scheil (1925, 154–156), who, however, described it as “Un fragment de tablette (non numérotée en 1894) du Musée de Constantinople.” As discussed in the introduction (§3), Hilprecht’s label must be false.

Transliteration

Obverse

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| 1. | [É]N ri-it-ti an-zi-i zu-qa-qí- ^Γ pat ^Γ | ≈ Maqlú VII 1 |
| 2. | ^Γ ú ^Γ ši-i kaš-šap-tum i-na-ak-ka-ma | // 2 |
| 3. | kiš-pi-ša | |
| 4. | ^Γ lu-pu ^Γ (TE) ^Γ -ha-aš-šim-ma kīma(GIM) manzât ^(d) TIR.AN.NA) šá-me-e | ≈ 3 |
| 5. | lu-zi-qa-šim-ma kīma(GIM) šadi ^(im) KUR.RA) | ≈ 4 |
| 6. | ù amurri ^(im) MAR.TU) | |
| 7. | lu-ha-li-iq ur-pa-ta-ša lu-ha-li-iq ūm(U ₄)-ša | ≈ 5 |
| 8. | lu-sa-ap-p[i-i]h kiš-pi-ša ša i-te-né-ep-pu-ša | ≈ 6 |
| 9. | ia-ši | |
| 10. | ù na-aš- ^Γ pa ^Γ -ra- ^Γ ti ^Γ ša iš-ta- ^Γ na-pa ^Γ -ra | ≈ 7 |
| 11. | a-na ia-[ši] | |
| 12. | ša-lil ^Γ né-be ^Γ -ru ša-li[l kārū] | // 8 |
| 13. | [mārū(DUMU ^m)] ^{es} malāhi ^(lu) MÁ.LA[H ₅] kalīšumu] | // 9 |
| 14. | ^Γ ša-al ^Γ -[lu] | |
| 15. | [eli dalti ^(gis) I][G] u sikkūri nadú hargullū] | // 10 |

Reverse

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------|
| 1’. | [ina na-pa-h]i šamši(^{Γd} U[TU] dayyān niši] | // cf. CMAwR 7.8, §5 l. 13 |
| 2’. | [ša] ^Γ i+na ^Γ nāri(ĪD) im-lu- ^Γ ú ^Γ [lū fīdūša] | // l. 14 |
| 3’. | ša i+na dalti ^(gis) IG) iš-lu-p[u lū o o-ša] | // l. 15 |
| 4’. | ša i+na su-qí iš-bu-šu lu- ^Γ ú ^Γ [eper] | // l. 17 |
| 5’. | še-pi-ša | |
| 6’. | ^Γ ša ^Γ i+na hur-ri iš-du-du lu-ú mu- ^Γ ša ^Γ -[ti-ša] | // l. 16 |
| 7’. | ša i+na da-ba-ab-<ti> il-qu-ú | // l. 22 |
| 8’. | lu-ú da-ba-ab-ti pi-ša | |
| 9’. | ù lu-ú ba-al-tu ša qa-qa-di-ša | // l. 23 |
| 10’. | i+na na-pa-hi šamši(^d UTU) a-pa-šar-šu-nu-ti | // –, cf. l. 11 |
| 11’. | ^u im-hur-lim li-im-ha-ša le-es-sa | // l. 24 |
| 12’. | [^{gis}] ^s GAN.U ₅ li-pa-ši-ra kiš-pi-ša | // l. 25 |
| 13’. | maštakal(^{Γu} IN ^Γ .NU.UŠ) li-ter-ra | // l. 26 |
| 14’. | a-ma-as-sa a-na pi-ša | |
| 15’. | [g]am-lum li-paṭ-ṭi-ra [k]i-šir | // l. 27 |
| 16’. | ki-pi-id lib- ^Γ bi ^Γ -ša | |

291 As derived from Hilprecht’s handwritten label “Ni.-63 IV.” On such labels, see the introduction, §3.

Translation

Obverse

1. [Incanta]tion. The claw of Anzû is a scorpion,
2. [Bu]t she, the witch, piles up ⁽³⁾ her witchcraft.
4. Let me emerge against her like the rainbow (in) the sky,
5. Let me blow against her like the east wind ⁽⁶⁾ and the west wind.
7. Let me destroy her cloud, let me destroy her storm,
8. Let me scatter her witchcraft, which she has been practicing ⁽⁹⁾ against me.
10. And the messages that she has been sending ⁽¹¹⁾ against me.
12. Asleep is the ford, asle[ep is the quay],
13. The [s]ailors, a[ll of them, ⁽¹⁴⁾ [a]re asle[ep],
15. Upon [d]oo[r and bolt, locks are placed].

Reverse

- 1'. [At the ris]ing of Šamaš, the judge of people],
- 2'. [What she ha]s pinched from the river, [let it be her (own) clay]!
- 3'. What she has picked up from the door, [let it be her (own) ...]!
- 4'. What she has gathered in the street, let it be [dirt] of her (own) ⁽⁵⁾ foot!
- 6'. What she has dragged from the pit, let it be [her] (own) hair com[bings]!
- 7'. What she has taken from a conversation,
- 8'. Let it be the conversation of her (own) mouth!
- 9'. And the pride of her (own) head!
- 10'. At the rising of Šamaš I shall undo them!
- 11'. Let the *imhur-lim*-plant strike her cheek!
- 12'. Let the ^{gis}GAN.U₅-wood undo her witchcraft!
- 13'. Let the *maštakal*-plant return ⁽¹⁴⁾ her word to her mouth!
- 15'. Let the bent wand release the knots of ⁽¹⁶⁾ the machination of her mind!

Commentary

o 1. The incipit of the incantation reads in *Maqlû* VII 1 (*// Maqlû* RT 127') ÉN *rit-ti* (^d)*man-za-átlatliti* ᵀGÍR¹.TA[B], “My hand is the Rainbow, the Scorpion.” The version of this tablet (*ritti anzû*) is probably the original once, since the claws of Anzû (perhaps a reference to the witch) are frequently mentioned as paragon of strength or greediness (Stadhouders/Panayotov 2018, 674–675). “Rainbow” is probably a corruption caused by l. 4.

o 4. The incantation from *Maqlû* reads [*ana-ku*] *a-nallnap-pah-ḥa¹llø-kim-ma ki-ma* (ll GI[M]) ^dTIR.AN.NA *ina* AN-*e*, translated as “[*And I* (?),] I am shining forth against you like the rainbow in the heavens” (Abusch 2015, 349). In Sumerian literature, the rainbow “touches” or “leans on” (*ús*) the sky,²⁹² but a reading *luṭehhâššim-ma* (*tehû* D, “I will take (...) near to her”?) seems to make little

292 Thus, in *Enmerkar and Ensuhekešdana* (CSL 1.8.2.4) ll. 3–4: unug^{ki}-ga mu-bi ^dtir-an-na-gin₇ | an-né ús-sa-bi, “Uruk’s name, when it touches the sky like the rainbow” (a pun on Uruk’s name *tir-an-na*); and in *Enki and the World Order* (CSL 1.1.3) l. 346: nir-gam-ma-ni ^dtir-an-na-gin₇ an-šà-ge ús-sa,

“whose arch reaches up into the center of the sky like the rainbow.” One may compare *kīma manzât ina* (ll ø) *šamé ešhēta*, “you (*scil.*, horse) are assigned to the sky like the rainbow” (Lambert 2007, 80–83 No. 9 l. 17; see also Gabbay 2015a, 189–191). On the phrase, see Cavigneaux/Rawi 1995, 202.

sense here. An emendation *lu-pu'(TE)-ḥa-aš-šim-ma* (thus Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 391) seems the best solution.

o 5–6. In the first-millennium version of the incantation the winds are ^{im}SI.SÁ ^{im}MAR.TU, “the north (and) west wind(s).” The same combination of winds appears also in *Maqlû* VI 49. It has been argued that the first-millennium version refers not to two separate winds, but rather to an intermediate compass point, “the northwest wind” (thus Tallqvist 1928, 152–153; Jiménez 2013b, 88–94; *id.* 2018a, 318–322), which in modern Iraq is the wind normally associated with the scattering of clouds. The fact that HS 1889, which contains the oldest known version of the formula, refers to the “east and west winds,” and the fact that it uses a coordinator, makes this interpretation less likely.

o 10. The *Maqlû* version (*na-áš-pa-rat* ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-*a*) makes the “messages” (*na-áš-ḥpa¹-ra-ti*) more explicit.

r 1'. The first-millennium version reads *ina ma-ḥar* ^dUTU, but the traces fit *ḥi* better than *ḥar*.

r 12'. On the identification of the ^{gis}GAN.U₅-plant, see Abusch/Schwemer *et al.* 2020, 471b.

No. 7: HS 1934+ CBS 14075, Bilingual Incantation (*Udughul* IX and *Zipad*)

Catalogue Information

(HS 1934)

Tablet number: HS 1934 (old number: 85)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 45): “Neub. lit. magischer Text. Dämonenbeschwörung. Fundort: Nippur.” On tablet: “85.”

Size: 6.3 × 4.6 × 1.3 cm

(CBS 14075)

No information in registration book.

Introduction

HS 1934 joins directly the fragment CBS 14075 (a ‘long-distance’ join).²⁹³ The tablet contains an exorcistic incantation with the incipit ÉN ḫul-dúb è-ba-ra, “go out, evil!” This incantation is known as the last incantation of the ninth tablet of *Udughul* (*Udughul* IX 77’–116’, edition in Geller 2016, 314–322). It was one of the incantations that were still studied at the twilight of cuneiform script, as proven by the fact that one of the Graeco-babyloniaca contains an excerpt from it (see Geller 2008 and the commentary below).²⁹⁴

Some sections of *Udughul* IX are also known from other texts. In particular, its lines 94’–109’ appear verbatim in the exorcistic compilation known from K.156+ (*ASKT* 11) and duplicates (edition Borger 1969a, see also *id.* 1969b): as noted by Borger 1969b, 172–173, the twenty-first section of that compilation (ll. 166–202 = *Zipad* §XXI) contains a large excerpt from *Udughul* IX (ll. 166–182 = *Udughul* IX 94’–109’). Strangely, the reverse of the present tablet contains not the end of *Udughul* IX, as one would expect from its beginning, but rather the end of *Zipad* §XXI (ll. 199–203). One should assume that the tablet originally contained the following text (bold numbers mark the beginning and end of the sections in *Udughul* and *Zipad*):

Udughul IX 77’–93’

Udughul IX 94’–109’ = *Zipad* §XXI (166–182)

Zipad §XXI (183–203)

293 CBS 14075 was published in Geller 2016, pl. 76; and was previously referred to by Cavigneaux 1995b, 55 fn. 16.

294 In this respect, it is interesting to note that the tablet CAJS 57 (CDLI no. P459122) has been identified by the author as a du-

plicate of *Udughul* IX. The small collection of the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies (formerly Dropsie College) includes very late tablets probably from Babylon, including the almanac datable to 74/75 CE (Sachs 1976).

In other words, the tablet began with *Udughul* IX but, after arriving at the section attested also in *Zipad* §XXI, it continued with the latter text.²⁹⁵ If this reconstruction is correct, then the tablet would have contained fifty-one bilingual lines, of which twenty survive.

On the obverse, the Akkadian translation appears in two formats: (1) in the middle of the Sumerian lines, in a slightly lower position to avoid confusion, and (2) when the Sumerian lines are too long to accommodate internal Akkadian translations, in the next line, preceded by an indentation. The reverse, however, seems to be in tabular format, as is the case of many manuscripts of *Zipad* incantations: the Sumerian version on the left, the Akkadian version in the now lost right-hand column. The ruling between the two columns runs over into the colophon, which means that it was drawn before the scribe knew how much space his text was going to take up on the tablet.

*★

The tablet contains a well-preserved colophon, according to which it was copied from an original from Nippur by a certain Taqīša-Gula, son of Bēl-useppi. A certain Nabû-šumu-iškun, a descendant of Ḫanbu the *zabardabbû* of a temple or a god,²⁹⁶ also appears in the colophon as having performed the “collation” (*birūtu*). Ḫanbu is known elsewhere as a family name, as discussed in the introduction to this volume (§4). As in other first-millennium contexts, the title ^{lú}ZABAR.(DAB.BA) is here probably a learned writing of *āšīpu*.²⁹⁷ note that Esagil-kīn-apli famously calls himself *zabardabbû* of the Ezida (Finkel 1988, 148–149 A 57–58 // B 22'; see May 2018, 66).

The owner of the tablet was a certain Bēl-lē'i, son of Bēl-ēdu-iddin (?). The colophon dates the tablet to the 21st of month Abu (V) of the 4th year after Sargon's conquest of Nippur (i.e., to 706/705 BCE). It therefore represents the second earliest known tablet from Nippur dated to the reign of Sargon, after IM 57900 (2NT 280), a document dated to the year in which Sargon conquered Nippur (710 BCE).²⁹⁸ IM 57900 is the earliest tablet in the archive of Ninurta-uballiṭ, an archive deposited in an area with private houses of Tablet Hill when Nabopolassar was besieging Nippur.²⁹⁹ It is possible that HS 1934 also stems from Tablet Hill.

The colophon ends with an elaborated curse formula.

295 Note, however, that the text of *Udughul* IX is not as fully recovered as other *Udughul* tablets: in particular, the section 98'–109' is only attested in Geller's MS x (an “unnumbered Sippar tablet”). It is therefore conceivable that the reconstruction of *Udughul* IX will have to be revised once more manuscripts come to light, and that HS 1934 will turn out to be not an amalgamation of incantations but simply a manuscript of *Udughul* IX.

296 The reading is uncertain, see the commentary *ad loc.*

297 On the writing of *āšīpu/mašmaššu* as ^{lú}ZABAR.(DAB.BA), see Bongenaar 1997, 289; Jursa 1999, 73–74; May 2018, 65–67; and Baderschneider 2020, 155–156.

298 IM 57900 (2NT 280) is unpublished, but it is described by Brinkman 1964, 19 fn. 100; McCown/Haines/Hansen 1967, 76; and Brinkman/Kennedy 1983, 13 B.2.

299 On the (largely unpublished) archive of Ninurta-uballiṭ, see Oppenheim 1955; McCown/Haines/Hansen 1967, 146; Zadok 1986, 283; Armstrong 1989, 155; Pedersén 1998, 198; Jursa 2005, 115.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [ÉN ħul]-r dúb¹ lem-nu ši-i è-ba-r[a] (= *Udughul* IX 77')
2. [udug] ħul¹ r'ú¹-tuk-ku lem-nu ši-i è-ba-r[a] (= 78')
3. r'a¹-lá ħul¹ a-r lu¹-ú lem-nu ši-i è-ba-ra (= 79')
4. gidim ħul¹ e-tém-mu lem-nu r'š¹-i è-ba-ra (= 80')
5. gal₅-lá ħul¹ r'gal¹-[l]u-r'ú¹ lem-nu r'š¹-i è-ba-ra (= 81')
6. diġir ħul¹ r'DINGIR¹ lem-nu r'š¹-i è-ba-ra (= 82')
7. maškim ħul¹ ra-bi-[š]i lem-nu r'š¹-i è-ba-ra (= 83')
8. ^dkamad la-maš-tu₄ š[i-i] r'è-ba¹-ra (= 84')
9. ^dr dìm¹-me-a la-ba-r'š¹u¹ š[i-i] è-ba-ra (= 85')
10. ^ddìm-r'me¹-lagab aġ-ġa-z[i] š[i-i] è-ba-ra (= 86')
- 11a. lú-líl-la r'ki¹-sikil-líl-lá r'ki¹-sikil-r'ud-da-kar¹-r[a è-ba-ra] (= 87'a)
- 11b. li-lu-r'ú¹ li-li-tu₄ r'ár¹-d[a-at li-li-i ši-i] (= 87'b)
- 12a. nam-tar ħul¹-r'ġál¹ á-sàġ níġ-gig t[ra nu dùg-ga è-ba-ra] (= 88'a)
- 12b. nam-ta-r'ri¹ lem-nu a-sak-ku mar-[š¹u mur-š¹u la ta-a-bi ši-i] (= 88'b)
13. r'é¹-a-šè ana É la r'ter¹-[ru-ub-š¹u nam-ba-ku₄-ku₄-dè] (= 89')
- 14a. ká é-a-ta [nam-ba-gub-bu-dè] (= 90'a)
- 14b. r'ina¹ r'ba-ab¹ r'É¹ [la ta-az-za-zu] (= 90'b)

Reverse

- 1'. [^ġe^s nu-kú]š-r'ú¹ r'an-[ta nam-] [ina nu-ku-še-e e-li-i MIN] (= *Zipad* §XXI 199)
 - 2'. [^ġe^s n]u-kúš-ù ki-[ta nam-] [ina nu-ku-še-e šap-li-i MIN] (= 200)
 - 3'. [^ġe^s z]a-ra an-r'ta¹ [nam-] [ina šer-ri e-li-i MIN] (= 201)
 - 4'. [^ġe^s z]a-ra ki-ta r'nam[?]- [ina šer-ri šap-li-i MIN] (= 202)
 - 5'. zi r'an-na¹ ħé-r'pà¹ [nīš šamé(AN-e) lu-u ta-mat] (= 203a)
 - 6'. zi ki-a r'ġé-pà¹ [nīš eršetī(KI-ti) lu-u ta-mat] (= 203b)
-
- 7'. gabaré(GABA.rRI¹) nippūri(rNIBRU¹[^{ki}]) kīma(GIM) labīri(SUMUN)-šú
 - 8'. šá-r'ġir-ma¹ r'ba¹-[ri]
 - 9'. qāt(GIŠ) ^mr ta-qí¹-šú-^dġu-[la]
 - 10'. mār(DUMU) r'^mbēl([^d+E]N)-ú-sep-r'pi¹
 - 11'. r'bi-ru-ut¹ ^mnabú(^d+AG)-šumu(MU)-iškun(GAR-r'un¹)
 - 12'. mār([DU]MU) ^mġa-an-bi zabardab(^{lā}rZABAR¹.DAB) r'É[?].SIKIL[?]
 - 13'. nippūru(NIBRU^{ki}) abu(^{iti}NE) r'U₄.21.KAM^v
 - 14'. MU.4.KAM^v šarru(LUGAL)-ukīn(GIN) šar(LUGAL) kiššati(r'šú¹)
 - 15'. ġup-pi ^mbēl(^dEN)-lēi(DA) mār(A) ^mbēl(^dEN)-ēdu(r'AS[?])-iddin[?](AŠ)
 - 16'. šá i-tab-bal u ú-šat-bal ellil(r'^d50) ġalāq(Z)ĀĤ)-šú liq-bi
 - 17'. [l]iš-šam-ma lu-u šāru(IM) li-bi-la[m]-r'ma¹ lu-u me-ġu-u né-me-el-šú
liġ-<tal>-[iq]
 - 18'. šá ár-rat an-nit i-peš-šit ina pí(KA) ellil(^d50) bēli(EN) rabī(GA [L-(i)])
 - 19'. akli(NINDA^{hi.a}) la i-šeb-bi

Translation

Obverse

1. [Incantation]: Evil one, go out!
2. Evil *utukku*-demon, go out!
3. Evil *alû*-demon, go out!
4. Evil ghost, go out!
5. Evil *gallû*-demon, go out!
6. Evil god, go out!
7. Evil *rābiṣu*-demon, go out!
8. *Lamaštu*-demoness, go out!
9. *Labāṣu*-demon, g[o out]!
10. *Aḥḥāzu*-demon, g[o out]!
11. *Lilû*-demon, *lilitu*-demoness, *ardat lilî*-demoness, [go out]!
12. Evil *namtaru*-demon, foul *asakku*-demon, incurable disease, [go out]!
13. Do not [enter] the house!
14. [Do not stand] at the gate of the house!

Reverse

- 1'. [Do not <enter> through the] upper [po]st!
 - 2'. [Do not <enter>] through the lower post!
 - 3'. [Do not <enter>] through the upper pivot!
 - 4'. Do not [<enter>] through the lower pivot!
 - 5'. Be adjured by Heaven!
 - 6'. Be adjured by Earth!
-
- 7'. Original from Nipp[ur,]
 - 8'. Copied and co[[lated^(r7) according to its original]
 - 9'. Handiwork of Ta[qī]ša-Gu[la,]
 - 10'. Son of Bēl-usepp[i],
 - 11'. Inspection of Nabû-šumu-iškun,
 - 12'. Descendant of Ḥanbu, the cup-bearer of the *Esikil* temple (?).
 - 13'. Nippur, 21st day of the month Abu (V),
 - 14'. Fourth year of Sargon, king of the Universe.
 - 15'. Tablet of Bēl-lē'i, son of Bēl-ēdu-iddin (?).
 - 16'. Whoever carries it off or causes (someone) to carry it off, let E[nlil] decree his
[an]nihilation.
 - 17'. Should he remove (the tablet), then let either a wind carry him off, or a storm
destr[oy] his entire capital.
 - 18'. Whoever erases this curse, at the command of Enlil, the gre[at] lord,
 - 19'. Shall never be satiated with food.

Commentary

o 14. The signs *ká* | *ba-ab* are preserved only in this manuscript. The new reading provided by HS 1934 has enabled the identification of the Babylonian fragment K.7687 (see pl. 22) as a manuscript of the incantation. It is in all likelihood part of K.5237 (Geller's MS aa, copy Geller 2016, pls. 69–70), although it does not join it.³⁰⁰ The tablet K.5237(+) K.7687 reads as follows (the relevant section of the Graeco-babyloniaca tablet BM 34816, identified by Geller [2008] as a manuscript of this incantation, is edited here as well, since the Greek version of l. 91' should be revised):³⁰¹

- 88'a. [dnam-tar hul-ġál á-sàg gig-ga tu-ra nu-dùg-g]a è-ba-ra
 88'b. [dnam-i]a-^rri¹ [lem-nu a-sak-ku mar-ṣu mur-ṣu l]a ta-a-bi ṣi-i
 BM 34816 o 2a. ^rd¹nam-tar hul-ġál á-<sàg> du-ur n[u-gig-ga è-ba-ra]
 BM 34816 o 2b. ^rd¹nam-^rtar¹ lem-nu a-sak-ku GIG la [ta-a-bi ṣi-i]
 BM 34816 r 3. [ναμθ]αρ [λ]εουv ασαχ μοροσ | [λα] ^rταβ¹ σειρ
 89'. [é-a-š]è ^r:¹ ^ra¹-na bīti(É) l[^ra ter-ru-ub-šú : nam-b]a-ku₄-ku₄-dè
 BM 34816 o 3a-b. ^ré-a-šè¹ nam-ba-k[u₄-ku₄-dè] | ana bīti(É¹-ti) la ^rter¹-r[u-ub-šú]
 BM 34816 r 4. [εασε] ναμονχουχωτ | [ανα βιθ λ]α ^rθηροφοσ
 90'. [ká] ^ré¹-a-ta : ina ba-[ab bīti(É) la ta-az-za-zu : nam-b]a-gub-bu-dè
 91'. [šà] ^ré¹-a-šè : ina qé-r[eb bīti(É) la ta-tar-šú : nam-b]a-gur-dè-en
 BM 34816 o 4a-b. šà¹ é¹ (URU²) nam-mu-u[n-gub-bu-dè]
 [ina qé]-reb¹ bi-ti la t[a-za-az-zu]³⁰²
 BM 34816 r 2. [σα ε(ασε)] ^rνα¹[μ]ωγηδα (x) | [ιv χερβ β] ^rι¹θ (x) λα ^rθ¹[αζαζ]

- 92'a. [ku]n₄ é-a-ta [nam-ba-dúr]-ù-en
 92'b. [i]na as-kup-pa-[at bīti(É) la tu-šab-šú]
 93'. [ùr-š]è ^r:¹ a-na ú-r[i la tel-li-šú : ba-ra-an-da-e₁₁-dè]
 94'. [ab-t]a : i[na a]p-t[i la tu-šar-šú : gú ba-ra-lá]-^re²¹

(88) Evil *namtar*-demon, foul *asakku*-demon, incurable disease, go out!

(89) Do not enter the house!

(90) [Do not stand] at the gate of the house!

(91) [Do not return] to the middle of the house!

(92) [Do n]ot [lurk] on the staircase of the house!

(93) [Do not climb] to the roof!

(94) [Do not pee]r through the wi[nd]ow!

r 1'–4'. As in other manuscripts of *Zipad* incantations, n a m - stands for nam-m u - u n - d a - k u₄ - k u₄ - d è .

r 9'. In late colophons the sign GIŠ occupies the slot elsewhere occupied by *qātu*, “hand(iwork)” (although the sign is occasionally transliterated as *qāt*(GAD), GIŠ is different from GAD in most in Neo-Babylonian scripts, see George 1997a, 141 fn. 41). As noted by Finkel 2007, 30b (followed by Reynolds 2019, 112), this GIŠ is perhaps an abbreviation for ^{gis}UMBIN = *ṣupru*, “nail.”

300 Another unpublished fragment of the same section is K.5078+ K.15813, identified as a duplicate by Weissbach (as recorded in Borger's unfinished catalogue of the Kuyunjik collection). The fragment contains the beginnings of lines 83'–89', and is probably part of the same tablet as K.5046+ (Geller's MS Q).

301 The readings of BM 34816 follow Geller 2008. They are, however, also informed

by Westenholz 2007, 269 and Geller 2016, 317.

302 šà é is translated as *qé-reb* É also in *Uduḡhul* VI 67. Note that the sign read here as *reb*¹ (perhaps a malformed KAL; see the photo in Westenholz 2007, 270) has been unanimously read as *ri* (Sayce 1902, 124; Sollberger 1962, 69 and pl. xxvi; Geller 1997, 76; *id.* 2008; and *id.* 2016, 317).

r 11'. The first three signs of the line, which are relatively well preserved, could contain a word for “grandson,” although the mention of grandfathers in filiation is typically a later practice, attested particularly in Hellenistic times (Oelsner 1986, 422 n. 616 and *id.* 1996, 432; see also the introduction §4). Alternatively, it could be a word indicating the *Vorlage's Vorlage*, which is occasionally recorded when its author is an important figure of the past (Jiménez 2017a, 212–213 and Stadhouders 2018, 169–170).³⁰³ More likely, however, one might see here the word *birútu*, attested only in lexical lists (*AHW* 130b as “(Traum-)Gesicht,” *CAD* B 268a as “divination”), used in the sense of an “inspection,” either of the tablet or of the student who wrote it.³⁰⁴ This “proof-reader” appears occasionally in colophons (Hunger 1968, 11 and Heeßel 2017, 221–222, 226), introduced by means of the phrase IGI.KÁR PN: the present tablet shows that the logogram IGI.KÁR represents the Akkadian word *birútu*.

r 12'. Since the join between the two pieces appears to be direct, the available space does not allow a reading $\text{r}^{\text{d1}}[\text{n}]^{\text{a}^2}\text{-r}^{\text{b}^{\text{z}}}\text{-r}^{\text{um}^1}$.³⁰⁵ $\text{r}^{\text{E}^1}\text{-r}^{\text{SIKIL}^1}$ seems epigraphically more likely: E^1 *el-lu*₄ is attested in the Middle Babylonian temple list HS 194 ll. 18 and 34 (Bernhardt/Kramer 1975, 99) as a chamber in the Ešumeša temple of Ninurta and as independent temple (George 1993a, 81 no. 245); *é-sikil* is attested in a lamentation as a shrine in the Ekur (George 1993a, 141 no. 988).

r 14'. Note the use of the horizontal versions of the numbers for indicating the years, a common practice in Neo-Babylonian tablets, attested also in No. 14 (HS 1947, see there the commentary on r 24'). The epithet LUGAL ŠÚ of Sargon is also attested in the Babylonian tablet BM 75975 r 11' (Strassmaier 1893, no. 1) and in a document from Uruk dated to the 5th year of Sargon (IM 95445 = W.24405, see Kessler 1992, 465–466).

r 15'. The reading of the second name is uncertain (P[A]P-AŠ is epigraphically more difficult); on the name type DN-ēdu-iddina, see Stamm 1939, 51–52. The use of AŠ for *nadānu* in personal names is mostly restricted to Assyrian texts.

r 17'. If correctly analyzed, [L]iś-šam-ma would stem from *našú*, with a ventive suffix (*liššám-ma*). Compare the same writing in the letter *TCL* 9, 132 ll. 20–24: *hurāša (...) ultu bīt kīnāya bēlu liś-šam-ma ana ayyaki lu-še-bi-la*, “let the lord take the gold from the house of Kīnāya and have it brought to the Eanna” (Kleber 2008, 182–183). The protasis of the curse is thus formulated as a precative: compare a similar case in *SpTU* 2, 38 ll. 33–34: *lā(NU) pa-liḫ DN lit-bal-šú šá itabbalū(i-TUM)-šú DN lit-bal-šú*, “let a person who does not fear DN carry it off — he who carries it off, let DN carry him off” (see Jiménez 2015; the line is emended to <NU> *lit-bal-šú* by von Weiher 1983, 164 and 166 and de Zorzi 2014, 747, which is grammatically impossible). Conditional sentences formulated in precative have been described particularly in Old Babylonian (*GAG* §160c; Cohen 2012, 90–93 [as “concessive-conditionals”]; Mayer 2015, 213).

The uncorrected form of the last verb, *ḫalāqu* G, does not seem to make sense in the context.

r 19'. This curse appears to be elsewhere unattested.

303 If this interpretation is correct, *birútu* could here perhaps designate a stone tablet (compare its use for a “monument commémoratif” discussed by Marti 2005).

304 Building on an idea by U. Gabbay (*privatim*).

305 The title “*zabardubbú* of Nabû” is attested in the ritual tablet K.2596 iii 19', where it is given to the sage Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni (George/Taniguchi 2010, 106–113 no. 18).

No. 8: HS 1948, Bilingual Incantation (Consecration of a Priest)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1948

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Beschwörung, Neub. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 5.8 × 7.6 × 1.4 cm

Introduction

The tablet HS 1948 contains an incantation that, to judge from its contents, was recited during the ceremonies performed for the consecration of a priest. Although the incantation itself is elsewhere unattested, the wording and lexical parallels make it virtually certain that it belongs to the collection of incantations for the consecration of a “priest of Enlil and Ninlil,” as known from a group of first-millennium tablets. This first-millennium collection consists almost exclusively of incantations, and the only ritual instructions it contains are the extremely laconic indications appended to the rubrics of the incantations: if the ceremony once had a more detailed ritual tablet, it has not yet been found (Borger 1973, 163b; Löhnert 2002, 56–81; *ead.* 2010).³⁰⁶

The collection of incantations for the consecration of a priest is currently known from several large tablets, some of which originally contained up to 250 lines. The most important manuscripts were published by Borger 1973 and reedited, with use of the new manuscripts CTN 4, 93 and CTN 4, 122, by Löhnert 2002. At present, the text is known from the following manuscripts:

Double-column tablets

MS KalNA1	ND 4399 (CTN 4, 93; Löhnert 2002)
MS NinNA1	K.2856+ K.3266+ K.5014+ K.5070+ K.5103+ K.6038+ K.6406+ K.6462+ K.9416+ K.10044+ K.10180+ K.10638+ K.11633+ Sm.73 (all of them in Borger 1973) + K.17712 (eBL join)+ K.18807 (join Borger, 1988)
MS NinNB1	K.2437+ K.5177+ K.9442+ K.10518(+) K.8212(+) K.9096(+) Rm-II.242(+)Sm.350 (all of them in Borger 1973)+ K.21520+ K.21701 (the last two are eBL joins)

306 The rubric that follows the introductory section in K.2437(+) (MS NinNB1 i 45) states: “its ritual is not written” (KI.DU.DU NU A[B.SAR]), which indicates perhaps

that the Mesopotamians found the absence of ritual instructions as strange as we do.

MS SipNA1	Si.114 (Borger 1973)(+) Ni.2293 (Geller 2000a, 335) ³⁰⁷
MS BabLB1	BM 35004 (Sp.2, 530; Borger 1973)

Single-column tablet

MS KalNA2	ND 4372 (CTN 4, 122; Löhnert 2002)
-----------	------------------------------------

Excerpts

MS NinNBExc1	K.1401.B (Borger 1973)
MS NipNBSch1	CBS 6989 (see below)

The most important manuscript of the text is a large Assyrian tablet (MS NinNA1), whose colophon identifies it as a copy of a Babylonian original written in 700 BCE (K.2856+). The tablet ends with a catchline, which means that it was probably part of a series. In fact, the catchline corresponds to the incipit of the last incantation in MS NinNB1, which shows that the manuscripts apportioned the text in different ways. Moreover, it means that the series consisted of at least another tablet of incantations, hitherto unrecovered. MSS NinNB1, SipNA1 (from the Istanbul museum's Sippar collection, but written in Assyrian script), and perhaps also KalNA1 and BabLB1, belong to large, double-column tablets, although they are not as well preserved as NinNA1. One single-column tablet from Nimrud is known, which contains only the introductory section (MS KalNA2)

In addition, two tablets with excerpts from the collection are known: the first is a small but complete Babylonian tablet from Nineveh (according to Borger 1973, 163b, a "Schultafel"), which excerpts the introductory section on its obverse and an incantation addressed to the weaving goddess Uttu on its reverse (incantation §X). The second, newly identified, is a school tablet from Nippur, which contains an excerpt from the same incantation to Uttu and from another, hitherto unplaced incantation, followed by lexical excerpts (CBS 6989, edited below).

HS 1948, the tablet edited here, could belong to the third column of MS NinNA1, from which around 40 lines are missing, just enough to fit its incantation. This would place it between incantation §X (addressed to the weaving goddess Uttu) and §XI' (according to its rubric, "to cross the street"). Since, however, the incantation in HS 1948 speaks about entering the Ekur, this placement seems unlikely. Instead, the incantation should probably be ascribed to a different, hitherto unrecovered section of the ceremony.

**

The ceremony begins with an introductory incantation (MS NinNA1 and dupl. i 1–44), which, in the style of the rituals for the initiation of the diviner (Lambert 1998; Jiménez 2014c, 104–108), defines the purity requirements a priest should fulfil before being allowed into the Ekur. The introduction refers to a *néšakku*- or a *pašišu*-priest of Enlil and Ninlil who, when preparing to enter the temple, should first be taken by other priests (an *ummānu néšakku*-priest, a *pašišu*-priest, and a (temple) barber) to the "place of bathing" (*ki a-tu₅ ll ašar ramāki*), whereupon his body was scrutinized for imperfections, both physical

307 Despite the Ni siglum of Ni.2293, the fact that it is written in Neo-Assyrian script makes it likely that it should be part of Si.114: as is well known, some tablets from Sippar were erroneously registered

in the Istanbul museum as part of the Nippur collection (Çiğ/Kizilyay/Kraus 1952, 2 = 58; Lambert/Millard 1969, 37; Kraus 1972, ix; Civil 2011, 222 fn. 5; and Farber 2014, 22 fn. 49).

and moral. A few prohibitions are then given: for instance, adopted children, thieves, and murderers are not allowed to enter the Ekur (see Waerzeggers 2008, 5–14; Jursa 2013, 151–153; Still 2019, 191–195). These prohibitions are then seamlessly followed by sixteen incantations, to be recited during each of the ritual actions that took place inside the “place of bathing” and presumably elsewhere. The instructions refer to the barber’s knife (§I–VII), the clipping (?) of finger nails (§VIII), wearing ritual clothing (§IX–X), crossing the street (§XI’), entering the Ekur (§XII’), performing ritual actions therein (§XII’–XIV’) and self-purification (§XV’–XVI’; see Löhnert 2010, 185).

The incantation edited here is recited by the *ummānu nēšakku*-priest himself, like incantations §XI’–XVI’. The speaker in the present incantation presents himself as a fully initiated member of his profession, as the “guardian of the rites” and “knower of the services of the Ekur.” It seems certain, therefore, that the figure called *ummānu nēšakku* is an already consecrated priest. The same phrase, *ummānu nēšakku*, appears in the introductory section of the ceremony together with the “high priest” (*aḫu rabū*, on which see Waerzeggers 2010, 46) and the *šuginakku*-barber: the three of them direct the novices throughout the ceremony. The dromena for the incantation in HS 1948 can be deduced from the short rubric and from the incantation itself: a *gišhurru*-design is drawn on the ground, presumably with flour, in which the novices should stand while the “expert priest” recites the “instruction” (*nam-kingal*¹(GAL.URU)-a || *ūrtu*) and “every fact of the Ekur, the secret of Enlil.” A series of interdictions, similar to those found in the introductory incantation, are then formulated to prevent anyone who has perpetrated a “matter of offense, of affront” (l. 11) from entering the Ekur. A standard purification formula then concludes the incantation, here formulated in the past tense as opposed to the injunctive forms known in the other incantations of the ceremony.

Judging from the reconstructed ritual, this incantation was recited after the initial purification ceremonies at the “place of bathing” had taken place, before the novices were allowed to enter the innermost sectors of the Ekur (*šà é-kur* || *qereb ēkur*, l. 10). According to the tripartite division of the sacred space proposed by Waerzeggers 2008, 15–17,³⁰⁸ a first consecration was necessary in order to enter the courtyard (*kisallu*) of the temple. Only “temple-entering” (*ērib bīti*) priests, the highest echelon of the clergy, would then be allowed to proceed from here into the cella. The ritual described in this incantation may have been performed in the courtyard of the temple, in order to enable the novices to enter the more secluded areas of the Ekur. This reconstruction agrees with the impression that the incantation should belong to the continuation of the compendium known through MS NinNA1 and duplicates, as discussed above.

**

According to Borger 1973, 163b: “Das Sumerische unseres Textes ist so schlecht und pseudo-gelehrt, dass er kaum früher als gegen Ende des zweiten Jahrtausends entstanden sein kann.” The Sumerian of the text exhibits in fact some of the typical features of post-Old Babylonian Sumerian, such as the use of Emesal in non-Emesal contexts (e.g. l. 5) and the creation of Sumerian neologisms by retro-translations of learned Akkadian words (e.g.

308 See also Jursa 2013, 153 and Still 2019, 12–15.

ll. 7–8).³⁰⁹ Since it records the regulations for the consecration of a priest of “Enlil and Ninlil” and the protocols for entering the Ekur, it seems very likely that the text was composed in Nippur, like the *Exaltation of Ištar* (see HS 1916 [No. 2]). Together with MS NipNBSch1, the present tablet represents the first manuscript of the text from that city. As shown by MS NipNBSch1, some of the incantations from the compendium were studied even at the elementary level in Neo-Babylonian Nippur. Because of its importance for the Sitz-im-Leben of the ritual, an edition of this school tablet is given here:

CBS 6989 (pls. 24–25)

(obverse)

1. [én^duttu] ʾmunus^ʾ ʾsig₅-ga^ʾ ʾdumu^ʾ [d+en-líl-lá tu-ud-da]
 2. [dMIN] ʾsin^ʾ-niš-ʾtu₄^ʾ da-me-eq-ti mar-ʾti^ʾ ʾśá^ʾ [dMIN ul-du-śi]
 3. [du]mu ki ʾáḡ^ʾ-ḡá^ʾ d+en-ki-ga-ke₄ su^ʾ(ZU)-n[a túm-ma-a]
 4. [m]ar-ʾti^ʾ na-ram^ʾ(IM)-ti^dé-a ʾśá^ʾ ʾzu^ʾ-[mur-śá šu-lu-ku]

 5. [(én)] ʾkù^ʾ-sù sanga₇^ʾ mah^ʾ(d+EN) é-kur-ra-ke₄ x [o (o o)]
 6. [(o) o] nibru^{ki}-ke₄ si^ʾ-śá^d [o (o o)]
 7. [nid]ba^ʾ gal é-kur-ra mu-un-du [o (o o)]

 8. [dug_i]m-šu-tag-ga hu-ʾba^ʾ-[ša-tu₄] (Harra X 298)
 9. [dug_h]u-bu-u]n-ʾna-ti^ʾ šU (l. 299)
 10. [dug_h]u-ba-za-t]i šU (l. 300)
 11. [dug_g]ú-zi] k[a-a-su] (l. 301)
- (rest broken)

(reverse)

- 1'. [...] x x x [...]
- 2'. [...] x [...]

3'. ^{iir}KIN^ʾ [U₄].ʾ12^ʾ.KAM^{vʾ}

(end of tablet)

(obverse)

- (1–2) [Incantation: Utt]u, excellent daughter [begotten by Enlil],
- (3–4) Beloved daughter of Enki/Ea, whose bo[dy is befitting].

- (5) [(Incantation:)] Kusu, august vizier of the Ekur, ... [...]
- (6) [...] of Nippur, regulator of ... [...]
- (7) Provider of great [offer]ings for the Ekur [...].

(8) [dug_i]mšutaga (means) hu_{ba}[ša-tu-vessel].

(9) [dug_h]hub]umnatu (means) the same.

(10) [dug_h]hubazat]u (means) the same.

(11) [dug_g]guzi] (means) c[up].

(rest broken)

309 On Emesal used in non-Emesal contexts as a sign of post-Old Babylonian Sumerian, see the bibliography cited above (fn. 231). On the creation of Sumerian ne-

ologism on the basis of the Akkadian version as a feature of post-OB Sumerian, see Bartelmus 2016a, 233.

(reverse)
(1'-2') Traces

⁽³⁾ Month *Ki[sīmu (IX), ...]*th d[ay].

The first line of HS 1948 is written in a particular way: the Akkadian is written at the top edge of the tablet, and the first Sumerian line is therefore not followed, but preceded, by it. This practice of writing the translation of the incipit on the top edge of the tablet is already attested in Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian times³¹⁰ and is in fact attested in another Neo-Babylonian literary tablet from Nippur, dated to the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn: BM 50313+ (Weszele 2002, 350). The practice may have had an archival function (thus Gabbay 2014, 235).

The rubric of the tablet describes the incantation as the “Word of the Apsû” (INIM.MA ABZU), a rubric which is known from incantation §XIII' in the Consecration ceremony:³¹¹ KA.INIM.MA INIM ABZU 10 *šá me-e É^dkù-sù TUM*, “Incantation: ‘Word of the Apsû’, 10 (lines) for bringing water into the chapel of Kusu.”³¹² The rubric “Word of the Apsû” is attested in four other incantations, three of which are listed by Borger 1973, 176a and studied by Löhnert 2010, 189:

1. K.4806 (4R² 23/1)+ i 17' and 26', the ritual for covering the *lilissu*-drum, in which two “Word of the Apsû” incantations are to be recited in the right and left ears of the bull whose hide will be used for building the drum. The bull had already been consecrated by means of a mouth-washing ritual (see Gabbay 2015a, 193–194; one of the incantations is also known in HS 1921 [No. 27]).
2. In the “Exorcist’s Manual” (KAR 44, 3; see Geller 2018b, 296), “Word of the Apsû” appears together with the elusive series *ginutaqqû* (on which see Jiménez/Schmidtchen 2017, 224–225) and *šuluhhu*-rituals.³¹³
3. VAT 13841+ VAT 13842 (unpubl., cited by Borger 1973, 176a).
4. ROM 910.209.394 (*olim* D 926), a newly identified Middle Babylonian duplicate of a section of the *kīutu*-incantation contained in IM 60447 (W.18828; Falkenstein 1959b) // K.5970 (see *ibid.*) // Rm.2, 290 (eBL transliteration).³¹⁴ According to the first-millennium version, the ritual is to be conducted *enūma šipru ina bīt mummi šurrú*, “when one begins the service at the *bīt mummi*.”

As noted by Löhnert 2010, 189, passages 1–3 are related to purification rituals, a feature they share with the incantations from the collection for the consecration of a priest. In some cases, moreover, it seems that the formula describes incantations that are recited on

310 For more examples of this practice, see Gabbay 2014, 235; Cancik-Kirschbaum/Kahl/Wagensonner 2017, 170.

311 The rubric may also be attested in the incantation §XIV': [KA.INIM.MA 4 *šá INI*]M² [Z]U².AB *šū-ši-i* (K.2856+ and dupl. iv 26; Borger 1973, 170; Löhnert 2002, 37).

312 K.2856+ and dupl. iv 26 (Borger 1973, 170; Löhnert 2002, 35–37; *ead.* 2010, 185, 189).

313 Note also the occurrence of INIM ABZU in the small catalogue fragment VAT 14097 (Geller 2000b, 232 A₂ o 3').

314 Like many administrative documents from the ROM’s “pre-1910” collection, the tablet may stem from Nippur (see Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 83).

an already consecrated entity, such as a priest or a bull, before the final steps in the consecration can take place.

✱✱

The colophon of the tablet indicates that it was written by a certain Ninurta-nāṣir, of the Ḫ[anbu] family, as studied in the introduction (§4). A Ninurta-nāṣir son of Ḫanbu, which may or may not be the same person, appears frequently as witness in Murašû documents: e.g. Ni.536 ll. 21–22 (Donbaz/Stolper 1997, no. 66), Ni.516 l. 16 (Donbaz/Stolper 1997, no. 67), CBS 5383 l. 17 (*BE* 9, 9; all three dated to Artaxerxes I 27 = 438 BCE), CBS 5341 l. 18 (*BE* 9, 17, Artaxerxes I 29), Ni.496 l. 16 (Donbaz/Stolper 1997, no. 68, Artaxerxes I 30), CBS 5514 l. 11 (*PBS* 2/1, 73, Darius II 3), CBS 13088 l. 17 and seal (*PBS* 2/1, 82), Ni.603 l. 14 and seal (*PBS* 2/1, 204, both dated to Darius II 4), and CBS 5370 l. 12 and seal (*BE* 10, 124, Darius II 7 = 419 BCE).

Transliteration

1b. a-na-ku¹ um-ma-nu¹ né-šak-ku¹ ša¹ bé¹-[lu²-de²-e² o o o]

Obverse

- 1a. é¹ n¹-é-nu-ru¹ ḡá¹-e-me-en nu-èš x [o o o]
 2a. ùri biluda^{da}-bi x [o o o o o]
 2b. na-šir bé-lu-de-e mu-ki-in gi-i[š-ḫu-ri o o]
 3a. é-kur ereš a-rá [o o o o]
 3b. mu-du-ú al-ka-ka-ti é-k[ur o o o o]
 4a. ḡá me^d kur-gal mu-¹un¹-n[a-o o o]
 4b. muš-te-šir par-ši š[á^{d+e}]n-líl [o o (o)]
 5a. u₄ umun i-bí¹ maḫ-a¹-š[è o o]
 5b. e-nu ina ma-ḫar šamaš^{(d)UTU} be-li ra-bi-i [o o o]
 6a. ḡeš-ḫur pàd-da diḡir gal-gal-e-ne ù-m[u-e-ni]-ḫur¹
 6b. ḡiš-ḫu-ra ma-mi-it ili(DINGIR^{mes}) e-š[i-ir]
 7a. luḫša nu-èš ù mu-na-ak me-dím dadag-ga saḡ-ku¹ šu¹-du₇ |
 šà-bi-šè ḫu-mu-ra-ab-gub-ḫé-eš¹
 7b. lu-um-ma-ak-ka né-šak-ka pa-ši-šá ša mi-na-ḫu¹ eb-bu¹ |
 zi-mi šuk-lu-lu ina lib-bi li^(UŠ)-zi-iz-[(zu)]
 8a. nam-kingal^(GAL.URU)-a i-bí^d utu-ra mu-un-¹na¹-ab-b[é]
 8b. ur-ta ma-ḫar šamaš^{(d)UTU} a-qa-bi-šú-n[u-t]i [ø]
 9a. níḡ-nam dù-dù é-kur-ra-ta ad-ḫal²ḡ^{d+en}-líl-lá²
 9b. mim-mu ep-še-et¹ é-kur¹ pi²-[riš-ti]^{d+en}-líl [(o o o)]
 10a. šà é-kur-ra-ta [o o o o o o o o]
 10b. iš-tu qé-reb é-k[ur o o o o o o]

Reverse

- 11a. [i]nim šer₇-ḫa¹ in¹ úr-ta [o o o o o (o o)]
 11b. a-mat šēr-ti pi-i[l-ti o o o o o (o)]
 12a. umun^d kur-gal-la [o o o o o (o o)]
 12b. šá^{d+en}-ḫu¹ [o o o o o (o o)]
 13a. a-rá^d kur-ga[l ḫ]é-b[í-o o o o o (o o)]
 13b. al-ka-ka-[ti^{d+en}-líl o o o o o (o o)]
 14a. um-mi-a nu-èš [(o o o) šà é-kur-ra-šè nam]-ba-ra-ḫu₄-ku₄¹-[dè]
 14b. um¹-ma-nu n[é-šak-ku (o o o) ana lib-b]i é-kur la¹ te-ru¹-u[b]
 15a. i-ḫu¹-e-ḫu¹ ne¹ é-ku[r o o o o (o o o) ní]ḡ²-gig¹ dugud-da-bi¹
 15b. ina¹ pa¹-n[i-šú-nu o é-kur (o o) ik-kib-šú kab-t]u
 16a. ḫu^d kù-ḫu^s saḡa₄¹ [maḫ^{d+en}-líl-lá mu-u]n-ḫu¹ dadag¹-[g]a
 16b. ḫu^d MIN šá-ḫu¹ ga¹-[ma-ḫu šá^d MIN ub-bi-ib-š]ú-nu-ḫu¹ [ti¹ [(o o)]
 17a. ḫu^d nin-girim n[in (o o o) si]kil-la-ḫu¹ ne¹ [mu-un-ḡar]
 17b. ḫu^d MIN be-ḫu¹ el¹-[tu₄ te-lil-t]a-ḫu¹ šú¹-nu iš-ku[n]
 18. an-gin₇ : ki-gin₇ ḫu¹ : [šà an-gin₇ : eme ḫul-ḡál bar-šè ḫ]é-em-ḫu¹-[gub]
 19. KA.INIM.MA INIM.MA ḫu¹ ZU¹. [AB o o o o-t]i ḫu¹ ḡiš¹-ḫu¹-r[i ešēri(HUR)]
 20. ki-i pi-i ḫu¹-pi maš-t[àr o o o o (ul(NU)) qati(A)]L.TIL [o (o)]
 21. ḫu^m nin-urta-nāšir(ÛRI-ir) mār(A) ḫu^m [a-an-bi o o o o o o o o]
 22. išḫur([IN].SAR¹)-ma ib-ri-im [o o o o o o o o]
 (end of tablet)

Translation

Obverse

1. (Incantation): I am (the expert) *něšakku*-priest, who [...] the *r[ites]*,
2. The guardian of the rites, determiner of the pl[ans, ...],
3. Knowledgeable in the services of the Ekur, [...]
4. The regulator of the ceremonies of Enlil, ... [...]
5. When [*you are*] in the presence of the great lord, Šamaš,
6. Draw a magic circle, the oath of the (great) gods!
7. Let the *lumakku*-priest (Sumerian: *luḥša*-priest), the *něšakku*-priest (Sumerian: *nu'eš*-priest), and the *pašišu*-priest (Sumerian: *munak*-priest), whose limbs are pure, whose features are perfect, stand in it!
8. I shall proclaim the regulations to them in the presence of Šamaš!
9. Every fact of the Ekur, the *secret* of Enlil ...
10. From the center of the Ekur [...]

Reverse

11. The word of offense, of affront, in *the foundation* [...]
 12. The man of Enlil [...]
 13. The ceremonies of Enlil ... [...]
 14. An expert *něšakku*-priest, [(...)] you should not enter the [inner]most of the Ekur,
 15. In their presence the Ekur [...] its severe taboo.
 16. Kusu, the chief priest [of Enlil, has clea]nsed them;
 17. The lady Ningirim has established [(...)] their purification.
 18. (May he become pure) like heaven; [(may he become clean) like the center of heaven; so that the evil tongue] stands [aside]!
-
19. Incantation: Word of the Ap[sû, to draw] a circle [*in* ...].
 20. According to the wording of a tablet, an inscr[iption from ..., (not) fin]ished [...].
 21. Ninurta-nāšir, descendant of H[anbu ...]
 22. [Wr]ote and collated (it) [...]

Commentary

1. Equations: ḡá-e(-me-en) = *anāku* (standard), nu-èš = *něšakku* (standard). The word *ummānu* in the Akkadian version does not seem to translate any Sumerian word. A similar line can be found in K.2856+ and duplicates i 5–6 (Borger 1973, 164 // CTN 4, 122 o 4'–5'): u m - me - a nu - èš pa - šiš ù šu - gi - na - ku || um - ma - nu (|| um - man - ni) né - šak - ku a - lu (|| ŠEŠ) ra - bu - ú (|| GAL - ú) ù šu - gi - na - ku, “An expert *něšakku*-priest, a ‘big brother,’ and a *šuginakku*-barber” (on this passage, see also Sallaberger/Huber Vulliet 2003/2005, 621a). Although it is possible that nu-èš is translated by the phrase *ummānu* *něšakku*, no lexical equation can be adduced to support this idea. In view of the parallel, it seems preferable to assume that um-me-a has been erroneously omitted, or else given at the end of the line (u[m-me-a]).

Compare perhaps K.5067 r 7–8 (eBL transliteration): lú garza [...] | šá pel-[u-de-e ...].

2. ùri = *našāru* (standard), biluda^{da} = *billudû* (standard). It is unclear which function the -bi in biluda^{da}-bi serves; perhaps it should be interpreted as the coordinator, a function recorded in the Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts (see Edzard 2003, 41), although the Akkadian version has no coordinator.

3. a-rá = *alaktu* (standard equation), ereš = *mūdú* (new equation). The “services of the Ekur” are otherwise attested only in Bullussa-rabi’s *Gula Hymn* 22 (Földi 2021a; restored in Földi 2019b, 87): *alkakāt ēkur širāti uššipa*, “he added the exalted services of the Ekur.” The word order of the Sumerian line (é-kur NIN a-rá; i.e., 3, 1, 2) is mystifying. The apparent rendering of *mūdú* by NIN is also unparalleled: the equation may be based on the common equation of gašam (NUN.ME.TAG) with *mūdú*, since gašam is the Emesal equivalent of nin.³¹⁵ More likely, however, NIN should be read as ereš, which was perhaps interpreted as *eršu* and, through it, as *mūdú* (cp. also ereš₅ (GAL.^eAN^{re-es}.ZU) = *e[ršu]* in SB *Lú I* 148a [*MSL* 12, 100]): in support of this interpretation, one might note the line [inim-bi-e]-ne ereš || [si-bit]-ti-šú-nu er-šu-tu₄, “the wise seven” (*Udughul* XII 132 = Geller 2016, 424). Note that the introduction of the text for the consecration of the Enlil priest has gal-zu = *mūdú* (l. 23, Borger 1973, 164 and Löhnert 2002, 10).

4. ĝá = *ešēru* (new equation), me = *paršu* (standard equation), ^dkur-gal = *ellil* (learned equation, see e.g. Lambert 1957a, 11 and 13 l. 41). The new equation ĝá = *ešēru* may be based on the fact that the logogram GIŠ can be used for both *našú* and *ešēru*, which would mean that ĝá, which can be translated as *našú* (e.g. in *Compendium* §4 ll. 5–6, Schramm 2008, 114), would, by means of “lexical transitivity,”³¹⁶ also translate to *ešēru*.

5. u₄ = *enu* (standard), u mun = *bēlu* (Emesal), i-bí = *maḥar* (Emesal), maḥ = *rabú* (common). The word order (u mun i-bí maḥ, i.e., 2, 1, 3) is apparently arbitrary, as in l. 3. The line could also be parsed as *ina ilūti* (DINGIR-tú), but the writing would be surprising. It is, however, peculiar that Šamaš should be absent from the Sumerian line.

6. ĝeš-ḥur = *gišḥuru* (standard), pà(d-da) = *māmītu* (new), diĝir = *ilu* (standard), gal-gal = \emptyset , ḥur = *ešēru* (standard). pà(d-da) = *māmītu*, apparently elsewhere unattested, probably derives from the common equation pà(d-da) = *tamú*. On the ritual relationship between the “circle” and the “oath,” see Maul 2019, 10.

7. luḥša (AḤ.ME.U) = *lummakku* (new), nu-èš = *néšakku* (standard), mu-na-ak = *pašišu* (new), me-dím = *minītu* (new), dadag = *ebēbu* (standard), saĝ-kul = *zīmū* (new), šu-du₇ = *šuklulu* (standard), šà = *libbu*, gub = *uzuzzu* (standard). *lummakku*, a word attested here for the first time in a non-lexical context, is equated in lexical lists with gu du₄ (AḤ.ME) tur-ra (see *CAD* L 244b, *AHw* 563a), whence the present equation probably stems. In the strange equation mu-na-ak = *pašišu*, mu-na-ak might be a rendering of the term *lú-maḥ-ḥu*, which in *Malku* IV 4 (Hrůša 2010, 389) is explained as *pašišu*.³¹⁷ *lumahḥu* is probably a variant of *lum(m)akku* (see von Soden 1968b, 218, but cf. *CAD* L 244b), which would explain the writing with *k* at the end. The initial *mu* may reflect the *lú* known from *Malku*, probably through influence of the Emesal form of *lú*, mu-lu (no satisfactory explanation can be found for the use of /n/ instead of /m/ in mu-na-ak). It is also possible that *lummakku* translates mu-na-ak and *pašišu* applies to luḥša (AḤ.ME.U), since *pašišu* is normally equated with gu du₄ (AḤ.ME).

me-dím = *minītu*, elsewhere unattested, is probably based on the common equation of me-dím with *binītu*. The new equation saĝ-kul = *zīmū* is probably based on the known equation saĝ-ki = *zīmū*, although the significance of the -kul remains unclear. Known lexical lists translate (^{ĝeš}saĝ-kul as *sikkūru* (*CAD* S 256b); and the translation *kippatu* is known from a bilingual text (saĝ-kul sù-da an-na-ta | šá *kip-pat šamé rūqūti*, in K.2860 o 15–16 [4R² 19/2]).

Strangely, the Sumerian conjunctive ḥa- is translated by an indicative in the Akkadian version (*uš-zi-iz-[zu]*). Since the Š stem of *uzuzzu* does not fit the context particularly well, the text is

315 A parsing of the Sumerian line as é-kur-rak KU a-rá, i.e., a proleptic genitive of sorts, seems unlikely.

316 To use the expression coined by Pearce 1998, 335–336 by analogy with the math-

ematical principle of transitivity, according to which if a = b, and b = c, then a = c.

317 Note that *Malku* IV 2–3 explain *enu* and *edammú* as *néšakku* (for parallels, see Hrůša 2010, 238–239).

emended here *li'*(UŠ)-*zi-iz-[zu]*. One could perhaps assume that the *Vorlage* had a damaged *li* sign that was misinterpreted as an *uš* by the copyist.

8. *nam-kingal*¹(GAL.URU)-*a* = *úrtu* (new), *i-bí* = *maḥar* (Emesal), ^d*utu* = *šamaš* (standard), *du*₁₁/*e* = *qabú* (standard). *úrtu*, “command,” is usually (á-)áĝ(-ĝá) (compare above in HS 1916 [No. 2] 10: áĝ || *úrtu*); the emendation adopted here was suggested by T. Mitto, based on the well-attested translation of *kingal* as *mu'erru* (see e.g. HS 1896 [No. 20] l. 2–3). On the phrase *úrta qabú*, compare *tukum-bi á-áĝ-ĝá kur-ra mu-ra-ab-bé-en*, “If I am to tell you the regulations of the Netherworld”³¹⁸ (*Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 248 [Gadotti 2014, 221]), translated in the first-millennium version as *šumma úrti eršeti ša āmuru aqabbika* (SB *Gilgameš* XII 93 [George 2003, 732]).

9. *níĝ-nam* = *mimma* (standard), *dù-dù* = *epšētu* (standard), *é-kur* = *ēkur* (standard), *ad-ḥal*²⁷ = *p[irištu]* (standard), ^d*+en-líl* = *ellil* (standard).

10. *-ta* = *ištu* (standard), *šà* = *qerbu* (standard), *é-kur* = *ēkur* (standard).

11. *inim* = *amātu* (standard), *šer₇-da* = *šertu* (standard), *in* = *pi[štu]* (standard), *úr* = [...]. *in* could also correspond to *pi[lku]*, “boundary,” but “insult” seems more likely in the context. The phrase *KA-NIR-da* is attested in several lexical lists, where it is normally translated as *pī šērti*, “mouth of the punishment” (see Sjöberg 1966, 291; Civil 1993, 74–78; Oshima 2014, 312–313); the phrase “word of punishment” seems to be unique to this text.

12. *U* = *ša* (new), ^d*kur-gal* = *ellil* (learned, see commentary on l. 4). On the translation of *U* by means of the determinative pronoun, compare perhaps *Diri* II 123 and *NBGT* I 219: (*ú*) *ù ša-a* (*MSL* 15, 126 and *MSL* 4, 138, respectively).

13. *a-rá* = *alaktu* (standard, see l. 3).

14. *um-mi-a* = *ummānu* (standard), *nu-èš* = *nēšakku* (standard, see l. 1), *ku₄* = *erēbu* (standard). Compare K.2856+ and duplicates i 5–6 (Borger 1973, 164 // *CTN* 4, 122 o 4'–5'), cited above, commentary on l. 1.

15. *i-bí* = *pānu* (Emesal), *níĝ-gig* = *[ikkibu]* (standard), *dugud* = *[kab]u* (standard). *i-bí-e-ne* represents *ina pānīšumu*, “in their presence”: on the use of *-e-ne* for the possessive suffix in Kassite Sumerian, see Bartelmus 2016a, 241.

16–17. The word *šangammāḥu* is written with the sign *SANGA₅* = *GA.ÛZ.SIG₇*; for a similar writing, see W.25366/3 ii' 7' (Fadhil/Jiménez 2017, 167). *Kusu* and *Ningirim* occur together elsewhere in the collection of incantations: *kūsu šangammāḥu libbibannī-ma yāti | ningirim lillilannī-ma lūruba ana ēkur*, “may the great vizier Kusu cleanse me; may Ningirim purify me, so that I enter the Ekur!” and ^d*kù-sù sānga maḥ^d+en-líl-lá-[o o] |^dnin-girim nin a-gúb-ba dadag-[ga-ke₄]*, “the great vizier Kusu, Ningirim, the lady of the holy water vessel” (Löhnert 2002, 32 and 36; Borger 1973, 169–170 iii 19'–20' and iv 21–22).

20. Observe the strange use of the sign *DÀR* for *maštaru*, with which one might compare *i-na ša-tār tup-pi* [...], “, in CBS 1789 (*BE* A 8/1, no. 64, l. 21, dated to Cyrus 5). It probably represents a pseudo-logographic writing: compare ^š*maš.dàr* = *maštaru* in *Harra* IV 3 (*MSL* 5, 151; see also Klein 1986, 3). The word *maštaru* is a general word for “inscription,” which occasionally can refer to specific types or genres: as noted by Oppenheim 1969, 127–128 fn. 8, it sometimes refers to astrological reports. In the present colophon, it occupies the position normally occupied by *GABA.RI*, “original” (from *GN*).

318 On the meaning of the “regulations of the Netherworld,” see Gadotti 2014, 284–285.

No. 9 // 10: HS 1927 // HS 2156, Amulets

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1927 and HS 2156

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 44 and 67): “dgl. Neubab. religiöser Text (Amulett). Fundort: Nippur” (HS 1927) and “dgl. [*scil.* Altbabylon] in Amulettform” (HS 2156)

Size: 9.2 × 5.2 × 1.1 cm (HS 1927) and 4.8 × 4.2 × 0.6 cm (HS 2156)

Introduction

The incantation edited here, whose incipit is *ša malṭi eršīya ītiqū*, “He who crossed the environs of my bed,” is part of the collection *Hulbazizi*.³¹⁹ The text addresses any demon that may lurk around the speaker’s bed, condemns them to be sent back to the Netherworld, and proclaims to the “door and bolt” of the bedroom that the speaker is under the protection of Ninurta and Marduk, so that they prevent the demons from entering. This incantation appears very frequently on amulets, often paired on the reverse with drawings of the threatening demons and the recumbent patient.³²⁰

Two new amulets with the text of the incantation are published here. MS a (HS 1927) is made of sinter, probably formed on aragonite.³²¹ It is written in monumental, but not particularly archaizing, Neo-Babylonian script.³²² Its obverse contains the incantation *ša malṭi eršīya ītiqū*; the reverse contained another incantation, but extensive damage to its surface has made identification of the incantation impossible. The amulet has a hole of 5 mm diameter bored through its handle. As discussed in the introduction (§3), its archaeological context can be reconstructed with a degree of certainty: it was found in Nippur during the Fourth Campaign on 25 May 1899, probably on Mound X (the southeasternmost section of the West Mound), in a grave “9 feet below surface, 15 feet above plain level.” It represents the first known amulet with this incantation from Nippur, and a rare example of an amulet found in a grave.³²³

319 According to I.L. Finkel’s edition of the text (Finkel 1975), it represents the 60th incantation of the collection (ll. 326–333). For an edition, see Finkel 1975, 130–131 (and note now the duplicate *SpTU* 3, 82 iv 12–15). See the earlier editions by Frank 1908, 87–92 and Ebeling 1953, 403.

320 The incantation has been edited and discussed on multiple occasions: see Wilhelm 1979; Wiggermann 2007, 106–108; and Panayotov 2020.

321 According to the visual analysis of Dr. Birgit Kreher-Hartmann (Universität Jena).

322 The only signs written in an archaizing way are KI and DI (o 1, 6–7, 10, 14).

323 For other cases of amulets found in tombs, see Finkel 1975, 299–301, who notes: “Since it is a reasonable assumption that an amulet which had proved successful in time of sickness would be prized thereafter, and worn on the person, it is equally

MS b (HS 2156) is a small clay amulet with a pierced handle (the hole measures 3 mm). It is written in a rough, inelegant hand. Most unusually, it begins with a so-called *lišlim*-formula, written on the handle, that invokes the protection of Bēl and Nabû. These formulae are typical of Achaemenid and particularly Seleucid and later tablets,³²⁴ but the appearance of one on an amulet appears to be unique. Another strange feature can be found in lines o 8–9, where a textual variant, introduced by the adverb *šaniš*, “alternatively,” is given (see the textual commentary below).

The mention of Bēl and Nabû in the *lišlim*-formula of MS b suggests that the tablet itself stems from either Babylon or Borsippa (Roth 1988, 2). Moreover, square-shaped signs are written in this tablet without a top horizontal (e.g. NIN in r 2; LU in r 3, 4, and 8; MIS in r 4; GÍL in r 7), a feature of manuscripts from the last centuries of cuneiform culture (Frame/George 2005, 266). In sum, the clay amulet stems probably from Babylon or its vicinity and dates to the late Hellenistic or Parthian period.

Transliteration

a HS 1927 // o 1–9, r 1'–3'

b HS 2156 // o 1–4, r 5–9

b o 1–2. $\Gamma ina^1 \Gamma a^1 - mat^d + \Gamma EN^1 | u^d + \Gamma AG^1 liš - lim$

1. *šiptu ša malṭi eršīya ītiqū*

a o 1. $\Gamma \acute{E}N^1 [o ma - a] l - \Gamma \acute{t}i^1 [\text{g}is NA - i] a^1 \Gamma DIB^1$

b o 3–4. $\acute{E}N \acute{s}a \acute{m}al - \acute{t}i | \text{g}is \Gamma NA^1 - \acute{i}a i - ti - iq$

2. *upallahanni ušagrarananni*

a o 2–3. $\acute{u} - \Gamma pal - l\grave{a}h^1 - an - ni | \Gamma \acute{u} - \acute{s}ag - ra^1 - ra - an - ni$

b o 5–6. $\acute{u} - pal - l\grave{a}h - \acute{h}a - an | \acute{u} - \acute{s}a - ga - \Gamma ra^1 - ra - an$

3. *šunāti pardāti ukallimanni*

a o 4–5. $[M\acute{A}\acute{S}].G[E_6]^{mes} p\acute{a}r - da - a - ti | [\acute{u} - ka] l - lam - an - ni$

b o 7–8a. $\acute{s}u - na - a - t\acute{u} p\acute{a}r - da - a - t\acute{u} | \acute{u} - kal - lim - an - na \rightarrow$

4. *ana bīdu idugal(li) (ša) eršetī ipaqqidūš*

a o 6–7. $[o^d] b\acute{i} - du_8(GABA) \grave{i} - du_8(GABA) - gal KI \emptyset | \Gamma i^1 - paq - q\acute{i} - du - uš$

b o 8b–10. $a - na | ^d b\acute{i} - du_8(GABA) \grave{i} - du_8(GABA) - gal | \Gamma \acute{s}a^1 KI - \acute{t}i i - paq - q\acute{i} - du - uš$
(end of obverse)

5. *ina qibūt ninurta apli ašarēdi māri †rāmi†*

†...†^{MS b} *ellil šaniš māri ea*

a o 8–9. $\Gamma ina^1 \Gamma q\acute{i} - b\acute{i}t^1 ^d MA\acute{S} IBILA SAG. \Gamma KAL^1 | ma - \Gamma ri^1 ra - a - mi$

b r 1–5. $ina q\acute{i} - b\acute{i}t | ^d nin - urta | ap\acute{l} - lu | a - \acute{s}a - red ma - ri ^d + en - l\acute{i}l | \acute{s}a - niš ma - ri^d \acute{e} - a$

6. *ina qibūt marūtuk āšib ēsagil u bābili*

a o 10–11. $ina q\acute{i} - b\acute{i}t ^d AMAR.UTU a - \acute{s}i - ib | \Gamma \acute{e}^1 - sag - \acute{i}l u E^{\Gamma ki^1}$

feasible that in cases where the treatment failed, such an object might be buried with the corpse.”

324 On the so-called *lišlim*-formulae, see Hunger 1968, 12; Roth 1988; Oelsner

1996, 442 fn. 16; Rochberg 1998, 11–12; Oelsner 2002, 12 fn. 27 and 15; and *id.* 2012, 108.

b r 6–7a. *ina* ^Γ*qí-bit*^{Γ^d}AMAR^Γ.UTU *a-šib* | *é-sag-gíl* u ^ΓE^{Γ^{ki}} →

7. *daltu u sikkūru lū tīdā*

a o 12–13. ^Γ*giš*^ΓIG u ^{giš}SAG.ΓKUL^Γ | *lu-u ti-da-a*₄

b r 7b–8. ^{giš}IG | ^{giš}*sik-kur lu-ú ti-da-a*

8. *ana* †*kidin šinā bēlī*† *amtaqut šiptu* †...†^{MS b} *kidinnišunu*

a o 14–15. *ana ki-din* MIN ^ΓEN^{mes}^Γ | *am-ta-qut*^ΓTE.ÉN^Γ (end of obverse)

b r 9–10. <*ana*> *kí-din-ni-šú-nu* «*an-da-qut*^Γ» | *an-da-qut* TE.ÉN (end of reverse)

Reverse of MS a (HS 1927)

(odd traces of signs)

1'. [o] x [o (o o) SI]G₅[?]

2'. [o š]e-ep [o o o] x

3'. TE.[É]NRest blank

★★

Translation

MS a (HS 1927) // MS b (HS 2156)

1. Incantation: He who crossed the environs of my bed,
2. Terrifying me, making me tremble with fear,
3. Showing me frightening dreams,
4. He shall be entrusted to Bidu, the Great Doorkeeper of the Netherworld,
5. By the command of Ninurta, the scion, the warrior, the beloved son,³²⁵
6. By the command of Marduk, the resident of Esagil and Babylon,
7. O door and bolt, do know
8. That I fall under the protection of the two lords!³²⁶ Incantation.

Reverse of MS a (HS 1927)

1'–3'. [...] ... Inca[nt]ation.

Commentary

1. The word *malDu* has recently been discussed by Wiggermann 2007, 106–107 fn. 3, who states that it derives from *šeú*, “to spread out” (similarly *AHW* 649a and *CAD* M/1 396b) and has the meaning “‘private space’, ‘territory’ (of the bed, the house, the river).” On the word see also Lambert 1969, 249–250 and Finkel 1975, 232. U. Gabbay (private communication) suggests connecting it with the word *malDītu*, “after, back,” attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents (Jursa 2012, Hackl 2016).

1–2. The manuscript tradition is divided between the writing of *etēqu* as a present (*it-ti-qu*) or as a preterite (*i-ti-qu*, see Finkel 1975, 232). As interpreted here, the verb chain constitutes a case of adverbial subordination, as is often the case in the combination of preterite + present: see Speiser 1964, 116; Lambert 1987, 94; Streck 1995a; George 2003, 180–181; Jiménez 2017a, 59, 92, and 262.

325 MS b reads: “the son of Enlil; variant: the son of Ea.”

326 MS b reads: “That I fall under their protection!”

4. As noted by Farber 1976, 263, the name of Bidu is regularly written in Neo-Babylonian script with the sign GABA instead of the expected DU₈.

5. MS b is the only manuscript of the incantation that contains the name of Ninurta's father: the rest of the tradition reads, with MS a, simply *māri rāmi*, "beloved son." Interestingly, the manuscript offers a variant to the father's name, preceded by the adverb *šanīš*, "alternatively," a technical term for introducing divergent readings when the scribe was confronted with multiple sources (Gabbay 2017a, 85–86). This use does not necessarily mean that the scribe of MS b had two originals at his disposal, since some of these ancient *šanīš*-glosses were misinterpreted as part of the text and thus entered the manuscript tradition (Farber 2014, 210 *ad I* 104).

8. The reading *ki-din-ni-šú-nu* of MS b is not attested in any of the known manuscripts (Finkel 1975, 130–131; Wilhelm 1979, 39; Panayotov 2020, 144), but it also appears in BM 33016 (78-7-30, 10; eBL transliteration): $\lceil a-na \lceil ki^{\text{?}}-din^{\text{?}}-ni^{\text{?}}-šú-nu \text{ }^d+\lceil EN^{\text{mes}} an-da-qut TE.ÉN.$

III. Divination



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.141

No. 11: HS 1923, *Iqqur īpuš*, General Series

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1923

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 44): “Neubabylon. literar. Text. Kalender-Omina. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 6.0 × 8.7 × 0.4 cm

Introduction

The tablet contains omens from the menological series *Iqqur īpuš*. Two main versions of the series *Iqqur īpuš* were in circulation: the *séries mensuelles* and the *série générale*. Manuscripts of the *série générale* group the twelve months of the year under the epigraph of the action for which prognoses are given. In contrast, in the *séries mensuelles* these actions are subsumed under the epigraphs of each of the twelve months.³²⁷ Whereas HS 1947 (No. 16), dated to the eighth century BCE, represents a manuscript of the *séries mensuelles*, the present tablet is a manuscript of the *série générale*.

Nippur is mentioned among the cities that provided originals for the famous hemerogical compilation of Nazi-Maruttaš (see Heeβel 2011b and Jiménez 2016, 198), but copies of calendrical divination from that city are still scarce: HS 1923 represents, in fact, the first known tablet of the *série générale* to stem from Nippur.³²⁸ It has been repeatedly observed that the series *Iqqur īpuš* “n’a jamais, une fois pour toutes, été établi ne varietur” (Labat 1965, 15–16). The various manuscripts of the text contain different recensions, which add or omit prognoses or even entire paragraphs. Two different recensions of the *série générale* co-existed in Assurbanipal’s libraries, and at least two further recensions were known in Assur (Labat 1965, 15 and Jiménez 2016, 199–200). A certain degree of variation is, therefore, to be expected in the new manuscript, since it comes from a period (Middle Babylonian) and a city (Nippur) in which the series is still poorly attested. There are, in fact, considerable discrepancies between this tablet and the other known manuscripts of *Iqqur īpuš*, which are noted in the commentary below.

Although the paleographic study is hampered by the extensive damage on the surface of the tablet, some of the sign forms point to a Middle Babylonian date. For instance, the sign AMA without any embedded verticals (ii’ 9’), DU₆ with a range of diagonal inscribed (ii’ 11’), KIN with protruding horizontal and diagonal (ii’ 12’), KU with only three horizontals (iii’ 7’), TAR with three diagonals (iii’ 12’), and BAL with three horizontals (iii’ 15’).

327 See Labat 1965, 21–22 and Fincke 2020, 226–227. As stated by Labat, the *séries mensuelles* are older than the *série générale*, in spite of the fact that the latter is much better attested.

328 Note that several Middle and Neo-Babylonian fragments of *Iqqur īpuš* from Nippur have been identified by Jeremiah Peterson in the framework of the “electronic Babylonian Literature” project: note N 3263 and N 6127+ N 6478.

All these forms are common in Middle Babylonian tablets (see e.g. the sign list in Clay 1906 nos. 107, 136, 247, 249, 271, and 5 respectively), less so during the first millennium. The present tablet represents therefore probably a Middle Babylonian forerunner of one of the first millennium versions of the text.

Transliteration

Reverse

Column i'

i' 1'– 4'. 𒀭𒀭 [...]

(rest of column broken)

Column ii'

ii' 1'. 𒀭𒀭 [ina] arahšammi(𒀭𒀭[APIN]) o o o (o o) Iqqur īpus §94

ii' 2'. 𒀭 ina kislīmi(𒀭𒀭GAN) 𒀭KIMIN¹

ii' 3'. 𒀭𒀭 [ina] tebēti(𒀭𒀭AB) KIMIN

ii' 4'. 𒀭 ina šabāti(𒀭𒀭ZÍZ) KIMIN

ii' 5'. 𒀭 ina addari(𒀭𒀭ŠE) šarru(LUGAL) imât(𒀭BA.ÚŠ¹)

ii' 6'. 𒀭 ina nisanni(𒀭𒀭BÁRA¹) šamû(AN) iznun(ŠUR) nu-ḫuš nišī(UN^{me}[Š]) Iqqur īpus §95

ii' 7'. 𒀭 ina ayyāri(𒀭𒀭GU₄) mātu(KUR) 𒀭in-na¹-bat

ii' 8'. 𒀭 ina simāni(𒀭𒀭SIG₄) ebūr(𒀭BURU₁₄¹) māti(KUR) adad(^dIŠKUR) irahḫiṣ(RA-iṣ)

ii' 9'. 𒀭 i[na] du'ūzi(𒀭𒀭ŠU¹) ma-a-a-al qu-ra-di irappiṣ(DAGAL)

ii' 10'. 𒀭 ina abi(𒀭𒀭NE¹) miqittu(RI.RI.<GA>) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-šī)

ii' 11'. 𒀭 ina elūli(𒀭𒀭KIN¹) adad(^dIŠKUR) maškanāti(KISLAH^{mes}) ina mūši(GI₆) irahḫiṣ(RA-iṣ)

ii' 12'. 𒀭 ina tašrīti(𒀭𒀭DU₆¹) šamaššammu(ŠE.GIŠ.ì) ul(NU) iššir(SI.SÁ)

ii' 13'. 𒀭 ina arahšammi(𒀭𒀭APIN) miqitti(𒀭ŠUB¹-ti) sinnišāti(MUNUS^{mes}¹)

ii' 14'. 𒀭 ina kislīmi(𒀭𒀭GAN) nišū(UN^{mes}) pa-šá-ḫa immarā(IGI^{mes}¹)

ii' 15'. 𒀭 [ina] tebēti(𒀭𒀭AB) ešēr(SI.SÁ) ebūri(𒀭BURU₁₄¹) 𒀭na¹-pa-áš¹ [^dnissaba]

ii' 16'. 𒀭 [ina] šabāti(𒀭𒀭ZÍZ) ma-te₄¹-e mahīri(𒀭KI¹.[LAM])

ii' 17'. 𒀭 ina addari(𒀭𒀭ŠE) ešēr(𒀭SI.SÁ¹) ebūri(𒀭BURU₁₄¹) [na-pa-áš^d nissaba]

ii' 18'. 𒀭 ina nisanni(𒀭𒀭BÁRA¹) U₄.29.K[AM^v šamû(AN) iznun(ŠUR-nun) mahīru(KI.LAM) ina māti(KUR) išeḫḫer(TUR)] Iqqur īpus §96

ii' 19'. 𒀭𒀭 ina ayyāri(𒀭𒀭GU₄) šarru(L[UGAL] imât(BA.ÚŠ))

ii' 20'. [𒀭 ina simāni(𒀭^{it}if SIG₄¹) [...]

(rest of column broken)

Translation

Reverse, column i'

i' 1'–4'. If [...]

Reverse, column ii'

ii' 1'. [I]f in the m[onth Araḥsamnu (VIII), ...].

ii' 2'. If in the month Kislīmu (IX), d[itto].

ii' 3'. If in the month Tebētu (X), ditto.

ii' 4'. If in the month Šabātu (XI), ditto.

ii' 5'. If in the month Addaru (XII), the king will die.

ii' 6'. If in the month Nisannu (I) rain falls, prosperity for the people.

ii' 7'. If in the month Ayyāru (II), the land will be destroyed.

ii' 8'. If in the month Simānu (III), Adad will wash away the crop of the land.

ii' 9'. If in the month Du ūzu (IV), the hero's bed will expand.

ii' 10'. If in the month Abu (V), there will be an epidemic in the land.

ii' 11'. If in the month Elūlu (VI), Adad will wash away the threshing floors at night.

ii' 12'. If in the month Tašrītu (VII), sesame will not prosper.

ii' 13'. If in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), downfall of women.

ii' 14'. If in the month Kislīmu (IX), the people will experience relief.

ii' 15'. If in the month Tebētu (X), prosperity of the crop, abundan[ce of grain].

ii' 16'. If in the month Šabātu (XI), shortage of b[usiness].

ii' 17'. If in the month Addaru (XII), prosperity of the crop, [abundance of grain].

ii' 18'. If in the month Nisannu (I) on the 29th d[ay rain falls, business will be reduced
in the land].

ii' 19'. If in the month Ayyāru (II), the k[ing will die].

ii' 20'. If in the month S[imānu (III), ...].

Column iii'

Iqqur ipuš §103

- iii' 1'. [¶ *ina tašrīti*^{(iti)DU₆}] *hengallu*(HÉ.GÁL) *ina*] *māti*(^ΓKUR¹) [*ibašši*(GÁL-šⁱ)]
 iii' 2'. [¶ *ina araḥsamni*^{(iti)APIN}] *zunnu*(ŠÈG) *izannun*(ŠUR-(*nun*)) *adad*(^dISKUR)
dūri(BÀD^{mes}) *inaqqar*(^ΓGUL¹)
 iii' 3'. [¶ *ina kislīmi*^{(iti)GAN}] *adad*(^dISKUR) *u nergal*(^dU.GU)R] *ikkalū*(^ΓGU₇¹)
miqittu(ŠUB-^Γtu₄¹) *ina māti*(KUR) *ibašši*(GÁL)
 iii' 4'. [¶ *ina ṭebēti*^{(iti)AB}] *ebūr*(BURU₁₄) *māti*(KUR) *rabīti*(GAL) *ul*(NU) *iššir*(S)I.SÁ
mātu(KUR) *šeḥertu*(TUR) *ana māti*(KUR) *rabīti*(GAL) *ana bulluṭi*(TI) *illak*(GIN)
 iii' 5'. [¶ *ina šabāti*^{(iti)ZÍZ}] *adad*(^dISKUR¹) *ḡa¹-mi-ir irahḫiṣ*(^ΓRA¹-iṣ)
 iii' 6'. [¶ *ina addari*^{(iti)ŠE}] *lib*]-*bi māti*(KUR) *iṭáb*(DÜG.GA)

iii' 7'. [¶ *ina nisanni*^{(iti)BÁRA}] *mīlu*(^ΓILLU¹) *illikam*(GIN)-*ma* <*múšu*> *kīma*(GIM)
dāmi(MÚD) *ṣar¹-pu^dēr-^Γra¹* *ikkal*(^ΓGU₇¹) Iqqur ipuš §104

- iii' 8'. [¶ *ina ayyāri*^{(iti)G]U₄}] *nišū*(UN^{mes}) *sunqa*(Ú.^ΓGUG¹) *immarā*(IGI^{mes}¹)
 iii' 9'. [¶ *ina simāni*^{(iti)S]IG₄}] *ebūr*(BURU₁₄) *māti*(KUR) *iššir*(SI.^ΓSÁ¹)
 iii' 10'. [¶ *ina du'ūzi*^{(iti)Š]U}] *mūtānū*(^ΓNAM¹.ÚŠ^{mes}) *ina māti*(KUR) *ibaššū*(GÁL^{mes})
 iii' 11'. [¶ *ina abi*^{(iti)NE}] *ešer*(S)I.^ΓSÁ¹] *ebūri*(BURU₁₄) *na-pa-ás^dr* *nissaba¹*
 iii' 12'. [¶ *ina elūli*^{(iti)KIN}] *zunnu*(I)M.^ΓŠÈG¹] *u mīlu*(ILLU) *ipparrasū*(KUD^{mes})
 iii' 13'. [¶ *ina tašrīti*^{(iti)DU₆}] *ebūru*(BURU₁₄) *iššir*(S)I.^ΓSÁ¹] *mātu*(KUR) *ut-tap-pa-ás^d*
 iii' 14'. [¶ *ina araḥsamni*^{(iti)APIN}] *zunnu*(ŠÈ)G] *ina¹ māti*(KUR) *ibašši*(GÁL-šⁱ)
 iii' 15'. [¶ *ina kislīmi*^{(iti)GAN}] *taqtūt*(TIL)] *palē*(BALA)
 iii' 16'. [¶ *ina ṭebēti*^{(iti)AB}] *mātu*(KUR) *śá ma-na-aḫ-tú imuru*(IGI) *pa-śá-ḫa immar*(I)GI-^Γmar¹)
 iii' 17'. [¶ *ina šabāti*^{(iti)ZÍZ}] *ilū*(DINGIR^{mes}) *māta*(KUR) *ik-ke-lem-m]u-^Γú¹*
 iii' 18'. [¶ *ina addari*^{(iti)ŠE}] *dèr-ra māta*(KUR)] *ikkal*(^ΓGU₇¹)

(rest of column broken)

*
*

Reverse, column iii'

- iii' 1'. [If in the month Tašrītu (VII), there will be prosperity in the] la[nd].
 iii' 2'. [If in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), it will rain, Ad]ad will destr[oy] the walls.
 iii' 3'. [If in the month Kislīmu (IX), Adad and Ner]gal will devour, there will be an epidemic in the land.
 iii' 4'. [If in the month Ṭebētu (X), the harvest of the great country will not pro]sper; the small country will go to the great country for sustenance.
 iii' 5'. [If in the month Šabātu (XI), A]dad will wash away *everything*.
 iii' 6'. [If in the month Addaru (XII),] the land's [hea]rt will rejoice.
 iii' 7'. [If in the month Nisannu (I)] the flooding comes and <its waters> are red like blood, Erra will devour.
 iii' 8'. [If in the month Ayy]āru (II), the people will experience famine.
 iii' 9'. [If in the month Sim]ānu (III) the crop of the land will prosper.
 iii' 10'. [If in the month Du']ūzu (IV), there will be plagues in the land.
 iii' 11'. [If in the month Abu (V), pr]osperity of the crop, abundance of grain.
 iii' 12'. [If in the month Elūlu (VI),] rain and flood will cease.
 iii' 13'. [If in the month Tašrītu (VII), the crop will pro]sper, the land will be expanded.
 iii' 14'. [If in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII),] there will be rain in the land.
 iii' 15'. [If in the month Kislīmu (IX), end of] a dynasty.

iii' 16'. [If in the month Ṭebētu (X), the land that experienced hardship] will experience [relief].

iii' 17'. [If in the month Šabātu (XI), the gods will look askan]ce at the land.

iii' 18'. [If in the month Addaru (XII), Erra will devo]ur [the land].

Commentary

ii' 7'. The most likely interpretation of the verb *in-na-BAD* is as an N stem of *abātu*: although *i' abbat* would be expected (see *GAG* §97j), forms with *n* are also known, perhaps due to the interference of *abātu* II, “to flee” (see *CAD* A/1 44b). Alternatively, one might read the last sign as *bīt* and the form as *immabbit*, “the land will run away,” although the meaning is less convincing. The apparently nonsensical reading *KUR uk-pat*, preserved in VAT 9821 (Labat 1965, pl. xxxi, see *ibid.* 184 *ad loc.*), is perhaps a corruption of *in-na-bat*.

ii' 9'. The apodosis “the hero’s bed will expand” is attested in astrology (e.g. Reiner/Pingree 2005, 154 r 14 and 156 o 10; *SAA* 8, 114 o 2, 143 r 4, 324 r 3, 341 o 1–2). The phrase *mayyāl qurādi*, “the hero’s bed,” appears also in *Antagal* VIII 2 (*MSL* 17 p. 170): *ki-ná-^{gu-ud}SAG×UR = mayyāl qurādi*. According to *AHw* 587a the phrase may mean that many warriors will die.

ii' 13'. The apodosis “downfall of women” appears to be attested only in K.8097 i 6' (Reiner/Pingree 2005, 102): [...] ŠUB-ti MUNUS^{meš} ina giš-TUKUL.

iii' 3'. The second part of the prognosis (*miqittu ina māti ibašši*) is not present in any of the other known manuscripts of the text (Labat 1965, 194).

iii' 4'. The prognosis (on which see the parallels collected in Fadhil/Jiménez 2019a, 80) is unique to this manuscript: the rest of the known tradition reads *ebūr*(BURU₁₄) *māti*(KUR) *rabīti*(GAL) *ul*(NU) *iššir*(SI.SÁ), “the harvest of the great land will not prosper.”

iii' 5'. Variants read here *ina gim-ri* and *ina ga-mi-ir* (Labat 1965, 194).

iii' 11'. The other manuscripts read *šá-ma-aḥ* || *šá-muḥ ebūri*, “flourishing of the harvest.”

iii' 13'. The duplicates have here *na-pa-áš^dni[saba]* (Labat 1965, 194). The omen, also attested in Sm.696 o 4' // K.12347 l. 5' (eBL transliteration), is explained in the commentary K.4387 i 18 (*CCP* 3.1.u72): *KUR ut-tap-pa-áš = KUR DAGAL-iš*.

No. 12: HS 1951, Extispicy, Finger (Middle Assyrian)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1951 (old number: 273)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Neuassy. Omentext (nur Deutungen) (Aus Assurbanipals Bibliothek). Fundort: Niniveh (im Handel Const.).” On box (in Hilprecht’s handwriting): “Const. 273; 1897.”

Size: 7.5 × 6.8 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

The tablet represents one of the few Middle Assyrian tablets in the Hilprecht Collection. It is written in a fine, clear script,³²⁹ and contains the apodoses of some fifty omens. Its ductus and appearance are reminiscent of the tablets from the so-called “Library” of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BCE).³³⁰ The whitish color of the surface is characteristic of Middle Assyrian tablets from this period,³³¹ and the forms of signs such as BA (r 8’, 12’, r 9’), SU (o 3’–5’, 7’–8’, 10’), TU (o 16’, 18’, r 2’, 12’), IN (o 5’), LÚ (o 13’), and LUGAL (r 2’) are the same as those in other tablets from the “Library.”³³² Moreover, the sign SÚḪ (= SUḪUR) is used for the word *tēšû* instead of SÚḪ (o 14’, r 9’–11’, 15’–17’), a typically Middle Assyrian practice hitherto attested only on manuscripts from Assur (see Heeßel 2012, 11 and 94).

According to the register the tablet was acquired in Istanbul from a dealer who stated that it came from Assurbanipal’s libraries. The number written on the tablet’s box (“Const. 273; 1897”) probably refers to the date of acquisition. If the tablet was indeed found in Kuyunjik,³³³ it would join the handful of Middle Assyrian tablets found at Nineveh, most of which were probably produced in Assur during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I.³³⁴ The

329 Note that some of the sign forms oscillate in the exact number of wedges: e.g., Ú in r 10’ has three verticals, elsewhere four; TU has sometimes four, sometimes three horizontals.

330 On the *vexata quaestio* of the existence of a “Library of Tiglath-Pileser I,” first posited by Weidner 1952/1953, see Lambert 1976, 85–86 fn. 2; Heeßel 2011a, 372–374 (with further bibliography); and *id.* 2012, 12.

331 On the appearance of the tablets from this period, see Weidner 1952/1953, 203; Lambert 1957b, 39–40; *id.* 1965, 283; and Heeßel 2011a, 378.

332 See the list of signs in Weidner 1952/1953, 201.

333 On tablets from Nineveh in the Hilprecht Collection, see the introduction (§3).

334 On Middle Assyrian tablets from Nineveh, see Weidner 1952/1953, 204 and 208 no. 41; Lambert 1965; Nougayrol 1973 (on an extispicy tablet); Reade 1986, 217–218; George 1988; Geller 1990, 211–212; Reade 1998/2000, 422–423; Heeßel 2012, 174–182 no. 51; and Koch 2015, 91 (the latter two on extispicy tablets). Note also 79-7-8, 131+ (eBL transliteration).

present tablet was also in all likelihood produced in Assur, and may have been brought to Nineveh at a later date.

★

The text contains prognoses derived from the observation of the “Finger” (*ubānu*), i.e., the *processus caudatus* of the liver.³³⁵ The “Finger” was an important part of the liver in Mesopotamian haruspicy, and the subject of some extensive divination treatises. The seventh subseries of the large canonical extispicy series *Bārūtu*, entitled ‘*Ubānu*’, was devoted to the appearance of the “Finger” in the liver of a sacrificial sheep. The subseries, which has never been edited, probably comprised eleven tablets, of which only a few can be partially reconstructed at present.³³⁶

The present tablet represents a compilation with at least three different excerpts, separated by double rulings. The obverse³³⁷ of the tablet duplicates K.1365+, a tablet whose colophon classifies it as the ninth chapter of the extispicy (sub)series *Ubānu* (r 17': DUB.9.KAM^v.MA ÉŠ.GÀR BE ŠU.SI). Most entries in this chapter are devoted to explaining the significance of the resemblance of the “Finger” or a part of it to several animals and objects, such as the ear of a lion, the horn of a goat, and the wings of a bat. Almost all protases in the chapter begin, therefore, with the words “If the x of the Finger is like y”. Five manuscripts of *Ubānu* IX are currently known:

A	K.1365+ K.12259 (eBL transliteration) ³³⁸	// <i>Ubānu</i> IX §§ 1–33 (obv), 1'–15' (rev)
B ₁	K.17960+ K.19566 (eBL transliteration)	// §§ 1–12
B ₂	K.11036+ K.12440 (eBL transliteration)	// §§ 8'–15'
c	BM 38365 (copy pl. 32)	// §§ 26–35
d	IM 124550 (Sippar 8, 83/2246, unpubl.)	// §§ 1–21 (obv), 4'–15' (rev)
E	HS 1951 obv	// §§ 20–41 ³³⁹

The reverse of the tablet contains two excerpts. Of the first only two fragmentary lines are preserved, followed a double ruling with a now lost subscript. The second excerpt is concerned with the significance of the presence of a cyst (*dihū*)³⁴⁰ on the “Finger” of the liver. A partial duplicate of the section can be found in the tablet A 8 (Ass 4530 = *KAL* 5, 37),³⁴¹ also from Assur, dated 1114 BCE. The tablet A 8 represents another compilation from two treatises pertaining the “Finger”, both of which are similarly divided by means of a double ruling and a subscript rubric. HS 1951 rev duplicates the second excerpt of A 8, whose incipit (*šumma ina rēš ubāni diḥū nadi*, “If there is a cyst at the top of the ‘Finger’”)

335 On the “Finger,” see Jeyes 1989, 65–71; Leiderer 1990, 115–134; and Koch-Westenholz 2000, 69–70.

336 See the useful overviews in Jeyes 1989, 10–11 and Koch 2015, 106–108.

337 Both sides of the tablet are only slightly curved, the “reverse” only slightly more so. The “obverse” may thus well represent the “reverse,” and vice versa, as the sequence of the first-millennium parallels (obv = *Ubānu* IX, rev = *Ubānu* IV) may suggest.

338 Lines 1–23 of K.1365 (without K.12259, which was joined by D. A. Kennedy in

1962) were published in printed cuneiform copy and translation by Boissier 1905, 44–48.

339 Other fragments that contain protases beginning with BE ŠU.SI GIM are K.7264, K.10775, K.15372, and K.15594 (all eBL transliterations).

340 On the *dihū*-feature, see Leiderer 1990, 79–81 and 171–172.

341 The tablet was first published, as photo with partial translation, by Tschinkowitz 1968/1969; see also the discussion by Nougayrol 1969, 149–152.

is the same as that of the canonical *Ubānu IV*.³⁴² It is unclear whether A 8 (*KAL* 5, 37) represents a forerunner (so Jeyes 1997, 62) or a recension of it (so Koch 2015, 107). The only other known manuscript with that incipit is the badly damaged tablet IM 132503 (Sippar 8, 185/, unpubl.), another compilation of at least two tablets from *Ubānu*. The second excerpt of IM 132503, which begins after a rubric almost at the end of the obverse,³⁴³ duplicates the first lines of the present tablet. It is here provisionally assumed that all three tablets represent *Ubānu IV*, although their exact status as “manuscripts,” “recensions,” “forerunners,” or “excerpts” will only be determined when more manuscripts of the text are identified. At present, therefore, omens from *Ubānu IV* are known from the following manuscripts:

A	A 8 (<i>KAL</i> 5, 37) o 56 – r 45	// <i>Ubānu IV</i> §§ 1–“52”
b	IM 132503 (Sippar 8, 185/, unpubl.) o 38’ – r 31’	// §§ 1–39 ²⁺
C	HS 1951 rev 3’–27’	// §§ 1–25

★★

HS 1951 contains, therefore, a compilation of omens concerning the “Finger”:³⁴⁴ the first section of the reverse is almost entirely lost, while the second section of the reverse and the obverse parallel the canonical fourth and ninth tablets of *Ubānu*, respectively. At least the preserved sections are very close to the canonical series *Bārūtu* as known in its first-millennium manuscripts.³⁴⁵ The text that parallels *Ubānu IX* (obverse) is virtually identical to the canonical version, known from Neo-Assyrian (MSS A and B) and Neo-Babylonian manuscripts (MSS c and d): the sequence of lines is identical, and only some small differences in the wording can be detected (see below the commentary on o 5’ and 16’). It is unclear if the section that parallels *Ubānu IV* (reverse) is also as close to the canonical version, since the text of *Ubānu IV* is only poorly known. However, small differences in the arrangement of the lines can be detected (see in particular the commentary on r 7’–11’ and 20’–21’).

342 As first noted by Nougayrol 1969, 150 fn. 1, see also Jeyes 1989, 10; Jeyes 1997, 62 fn. 21; Heeßel 2012, 14, 148–149; and Koch 2015, 107. The incipit is known only from the catchline of K.6054 (partially edited in Boissier 1905, 43–44, eBL transliteration).

343 The rubric in IM 132503 o 37’ appears to read 𐎠𐎣𐎠.3𐎠.𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 BE ŠU.S[𐎠].

344 As noted by Heeßel 2012, 10, the Middle Assyrian period was a golden age for ex-

tispicy compilations in Assur: no fewer than 68 such tablets and fragments from this period are known, whereas 16 were produced in the early Neo-Assyrian period and only 8 in Neo-Assyrian times.

345 On the difficult question of the canonization of extispicy series in this period, see the discussion by Heeßel 2011b; *id.* 2012, 12–15; and *id.* 2017.

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) qaqqad(SAG.DU) šurārī(EME.ŠID)
kakki(ḡis)ΓTUKUL⁷] [šarru-ukīn(LUGAL-GI.NA)] // Ubānu IX §20 (A o 21)
- 2'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) qaqqad(SAG.DU) al-lal-li] tēm(ΓUMUŠ⁷)
māti(KUR) [išanni(MAN-ni)] // §21 (A o 22)
-
- 3'. [šumma(BE) imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) kap-pi su-tin-ni ir-qiq]
hušahhu(SU.GU₇) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(ΓGÁL¹-š[i]) // §22 (A o 23)
- 4'. [šumma(BE) šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) kap-pi su-tin-ni ir-qiq]
hušahhu(SU.GU₇) ina māti(KUR) nakri(KÚR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) // §23 (A o 24)
- 5'. [šumma(BE) imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) u² šumēl(GÜB²) ubāni(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) kap-pi
su-tin-ni ir-qiq] hušahhi(SU.GU₇) é(ŠE-im) tibni(IN.NU) ù šammī(U^{mes}) ina
māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-š[i]) // §24 (A o 25–26)
-
- 6'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) ubān(ŠU.SI) haši(MUR) qabliti(MURUB₄) o o
iṭṭul(IG)I] ūmū(U₄^{mes}) rubé(NUN) irrikū(GID.DA^{mes}) // §25 (A o 27)
- 7'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) ubān(ŠU.SI) haši(MUR) o o o o o iṭṭul(IGI)-ma
imitta(ZAG)-šá paṭrat(D)U₈] rubá(NUN) māti(KUR)-su ibbalakkat(BALA)-su
// §26 (A o 28 // c 1')
- 8'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) ubān(ŠU.SI) haši(MUR) o o o o o iṭṭul(IGI)-ma
šumēl(GÜB)-šá paṭir(D)U₈] nakra(KÚR) māti(KUR)-su ibbalakkat(BALA)-su
// §27 (A o 29 // c 2')
-
- 9'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) kīma(GIM) ubān(ŠU.SI) haši(MUR) o o o o o o]
šībūt(AB.BA^{mes}) āli(URU) āla(URU) ana nakri(KÚR) inaddinū(SUM^{mes}-nu)
// §28 (A o 30 // c 3')
- 10'. [šumma(BE) ...] šu-ru-pu-ú ù hušahhu(SU.GU₇) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši)
// §29 (A o 31 // c 4')
- 11'. [šumma(BE) ...] rubú(NUN) gab(a)rā(GABA.RI-a) ul(NU) irašši(TUKU-ši)
// §30 (A o 32 // c 5')
- 12'. [šumma(BE) ...] tēm(UMUŠ) māti(KUR) išanni(MAN-ni) // §31 (A o 33 // c 6')
- 13'. [šumma(BE) ...] danān(KAL-an) amēli(LÚ) ilu(DINGIR) rēš(SAG) amēli(LÚ) ana
damiqti(SIG₅-ti) ú-kal // §32 (A o 34 // c 7')
- 14'. [šumma(BE) ...] tēšú(SÚH-ú) // §33 (A o 35 // c 8')
- 15'. [šumma(BE) ...] mātu(KUR) ana dannati(KI.KAL) ipahhur(NIGIN-ur)
// §34 (c 9')
- 16'. [šumma(BE) ...] x šurinni(ŠU.NIR) māti(KUR) uš-tal-pa-tu ilū(DINGIR^{mes}) ana
ki-si-šu-nu išāta(IZI) inaddū(SUB-ú) // §35 (c 11')
-
- 17'. [šumma(BE) ...] nakru(K)ÚR me-ri-iš-ka ušadda¹(ŠUB-di) // §36
- 18'. [šumma(BE) ...] nakru(K)ÚR māti(KUR) rubé(NUN) ana dannati(KI.KAL)
ušerreb(KU₄-^Γeb¹) // §37
- 19'. [šumma(BE) ...] ūmū(U₄^{me})^š rubé(NUN) iqattū(TIL^{me}[š]) // §38
- 20'. [šumma(BE) ...] x ibaššú(ΓGÁL^{1m}[ēš]) // §39
-
- 21'. [šumma(BE) ...] i+n]a libbi(ΓŠÀ⁷) māti(KUR)-šu iddāk(GAZ-[ak]) // §40
- 22'. [šumma(BE) ...] i+na libbi(ŠÀ) māti(KU)R²]-šu iqallil(L[Á-il]) // §41

Reverse

- 1'. [šumma(BE) ...] x x [o o o]
 2'. [šumma(BE) ...] x-tu šarru(LUGAL) x [o o]
 3'. [ŠU.NÍGIN n MU^{meš} ...]

**

Translation

Obverse

- 1'. If the “finger” is like the tongue of a lizard, *weap]on* [of Sargon].
 2'. [If the “finger” is like the head of an *allallu*-bird, the m]ood of the land [will change].
 3'. [If the right side of the “finger” is thin like the wings of a bat], there wi[ll be] famine in the land.
 4'. [If the left side of the “finger” is thin like the wings of a bat], there will be famine in the enemy land.
 5'. [If the right and left side of the “finger” are th]in [like the wings of a bat], there will b[e] lack (lit., “famine”) of barley, straw, and fodder in the land.
 6'. [If the “finger” (is) (...) like the middle “finger” of the lung (and poi]nts towards [...], the days of the prince will be long.
 7'. [If the “finger” (is) (...) like the ... “finger” of the lung (and) points towards ... and its right side is *sp]it*, the prince’s land will rebel against him.
 8'. [If the “finger” (is) (...) like the ... “finger” of the lung (and) points towards ... and its left side is *sp]it*, the enemy’s land will rebel against him.
 9'. [If the “finger” (is) (...) like the ... “finger” of the lung ...], the elders of the city will hand over the city to the enemy.
 10'. [If ...] there will be frost and famine in the land.
 11'. [If ...] the prince will have no rival.
 12'. [If ...], the mood of the land will change.
 13'. [If ...] strengthening of the man; the god will look after the man favourably.
 14'. [If ...], confusion.
 15'. [If ...], (the inhabitants of) the land will gather in the fortress.
 16'. [If ...] ... the emblems of the land will be desecrated, the gods will set their *supporting walls* on fire.
 17'. [If ..., the e]nemy will cause your field to be fallow.
 18'. [If ..., the ene]my will cause the prince’s land to enter the fortress.
 19'. [If ... the da]ys of the prince will come to an e[nd].
 20'. [If ...] there will be ...
 21'. [If ... *the prince*] will be killed [i]n the middle of his own land.
 22'. [If ..., the *prince*] will be de[spised in the middle of] his [own la]nd.

Reverse

- 1'. [If ...] ... [...].
 2'. [If ...] ... the king ... [...].
 3'. [Total: ... lines]

- 4'. [šumma(BE) ina rēš(SAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB-di) abnu(NA₄)]
izannun(ŠUR-^rnun¹) // Ubānu IV §1 (A o 56² // b o 38')
- 5'. [šumma(BE) ina imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB-di) miqitti(ŠUB-ti)]
ummāni(ÉRIN-ni) // §2 (A o 57² // b o 39')
- 6'. [šumma(BE) ina šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB-di) miqitti(ŠUB-ti)]
ummān(ÉRIN) nakri(KÚR) // §3 (A o 58² // b o 40')
- 7'. [šumma(BE) ... tebūt(ZI-ut)] a-ri-bi // §4
- 8'. [šumma(BE) ...] x imāt(BA.ÚŠ) // §5
-
- 9'. [šumma(BE) ... tēšú(SÚH)-^rú¹] ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) // §6 (b r 1')
- 10'. [šumma(BE) ... tēšú(SÚH)-ú] ina māti(KUR) nakri(KÚR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) // §7 (b r 2')
- 11'. [šumma(BE) ... tēšú(SÚH)-ú] ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) // §8 (b r 3')
-
- 12'. [šumma(BE) ... innamir(IGI-ir) miqitti(ŠU)B-^rti¹] ummān(ÉRIN) rubé(NUN)
bikītu(ÉR-^rtu¹) ana libbi(ŠÀ) māti(KUR) irruba(^rKU₄¹-ba) // §9 (A r 2 // b r 4')
- 13'. [šumma(BE) ina šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) ... adir²(A.AM)] rubá(NUN) a-di-rat
libbi(^rŠÀ¹)-^ršú¹ ikaššadā(KUR^rmes¹)-šú // §10 (A r 3 // b r 5')
- 14'. [šumma(BE) ubānu(ŠU.SI) ... adir²(A.AM)] nakra(KÚR) a-di-rat libbi(^rŠÀ¹)-^ršú¹
ikaššadā(KUR^{mes})-šú // §11 (A r 4 // b r 6')
-
- 15'. [šumma(BE) ina imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma ana šumēl(GÜB)
ubāni(ŠU.SI) aši(È-š)i tēšú(SÚH-ú) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši)
// §12 (A r 5 // b r 7')
- 16'. [šumma(BE) ina šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma ana imitti(ZAG)
ubāni(ŠU.SI) aši(È-š)i tēšú(SÚH-ú) ina māti(KUR) nakri(KÚR) ibašši(^rGÁL¹-ši)
// §13 (A r 6 // b r 8')
- 17'. [šumma(BE) ina šēr(EDIN) ubāni(ŠU.SI) qablīti(MURUB₄) KIMIN-ma ana šumēl(GÜB)
ubāni(ŠU.SI) aši(È-š)i tēšú(SÚH-ú) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši)
// §14 (A r 7 // b r 9')
-
- 18'. [šumma(BE) rēš(SAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) ha-a-li mūt(Ú)š-^rut¹] rubé(NUN-e)
// §15 (A r 8 // b r 10²)
- 19'. [šumma(BE) dīhu(DI) rēš(SAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) a-li-it-ma u ru-šuk rubú(NUN) ina
gerri(KASKAL) illiku(GIN-ku) ul(NU) iturra(GUR-ra) // §16 (A r 9 // b om.)
- 20'. [šumma(BE) ... ummāni(ÉRIN-n)ī²] mé(A^rmes¹) i-kal-lu-ši // §17
- 21'. [šumma(BE) ... ummān(ÉRIN) nakri(KÚR)] mé(A^rmes¹) i-kal-lu-ši // §18
-
- 22'. [šumma(BE) rēš(SAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma u nu-ru-ub šamú(AN)-^rú¹
ina rēš(^rSAG¹) arhi(^rITI¹) ^rta-ḫi-ta¹ izannun(ŠUR-n[un]) // §19 (A r 10 // b r 11')
- 23'. [šumma(BE) ina imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma KIMIN zu-un-n]u ina
māti(KUR) ibaššú(GÁL^{mes}) // §20 (A r 11 // b r 12')
- 24'. [šumma(BE) ina šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma KIMIN zu-un-n]u
ina māti(^rKUR¹) nakri(KÚR) ibaššú(GÁL^{mes}) // §21 (A r 12 // b r 13')
- 25'. [šumma(BE) ina māti(KUR) imitti(ZAG) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma KIMIN
zu-un-nu] ina māti(KUR) rubé(^rNUN¹) mithāriš(TÉŠ.BI) ibaššú(GÁL^{mes})
// §22 (A r 13 // b r 14')
- 26'. [šumma(BE) ina māti(KUR) šumēl(GÜB) ubāni(ŠU.SI) dīhu(DI) nadi(ŠUB)-ma KIMIN
zu-un-nu] ina māti(KUR) nakri(KÚR) mithāriš(TÉŠ.BI) [ibaššú(GÁL^{mes})]
// §23 (A r 14 // b r 15')

- 27'. [*šumma*(BE) *ina rapaš*(DAGAL) *imitti*(ZAG) *ubāni*(ŠU.SI) *dīhu*(DI) *nadī*(ŠUB)-*ma* KIMIN
mi-lu kabtu(DUGUD)] *illaka*(G[IN-ka]) // *Ubānu* IV §24 (A r 15 // b r 16')
- 28'. [*šumma*(BE) *ina rapaš*(DAGAL) *šumēl*(GÜB) *ubāni*(ŠU.SI) *dīhu*(DI) *nadī*(ŠUB)-*ma* KIMIN
mi-lu] ʾú-tap¹-[pal] // §25 (A r 16 // b r 17')

**

- 4'. [If there is a cyst at the top of the “finger,”] it will [h]ail.
5'. [If there is a cyst on the right of the “finger,” fall of] (my) army.
6'. [If there is a cyst on the left of the “finger,” fall of] the enemy army.
7'. [If ... attack] of locusts.
8'. [If ...] ... will die.
-
- 9'. [If ...], there will be [confu]sion in the land.
10'. [If ...], there will be [confu]sion in the enemy land.
11'. [If ...], there will be [con]fusion in the land.
-
- 12'. [If ... is seen], fall of the prince’s army, mourning will enter the land’s heart.
13'. [If the left of the “finger” ... *is covered*], deep fears will overwhelm the prince.
14'. [If the “finger” ... *is covered*], deep fears will overwhelm the enemy.
-
- 15'. [If there is a cyst on the right of the “finger” and it protr]udes [onto the left side of the “finger”], there will be confusion in the land.
16'. [If there is a cyst on the left of the “finger” and it protr]udes [onto the right side of the “finger”], there will be confusion in the enemy land.
17'. [If ditto (*scil.*, there is a cyst) in the plain of the middle “finger” and it protr]udes [onto the left side of the “finger”], there will be confusion in the land.
-
- 18'. [If the top of the “finger” dissolves a cyst, de]ath of the prince.
19'. [If a cyst swallows up and dries out the top of the “finger”], the prince will not come back from the campaign he started.
20'. [If ... *m*]y [army] will cut off the water from it (*scil.*, “the land?”).
21'. [If ... the ene]my [army] will cut off the water from it (*scil.*, “the land?”).
-
- 22'. [If there is a cyst at the top of the “finger” and it is soft, there will be abundant [rai]n at the beginning of the month.
23'. [If there is a cyst on the right of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft),] there will be [rai]n in the land.
24'. [If there is a cyst on the left of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft),] there will b[e] [rai]n in the enemy land.
25'. [If there is a cyst in the right domain of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft),] there wi[ll] be rain] in the entire land of the prince.
26'. [If there is a cyst in the left domain of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft), there will be rain] in the entire land of the enemy.
-
- 27'. [If there is a cyst in the right extension of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft), a heavy flood] will c[ome].
28'. [If there is a cyst in the left extension of the “finger” and ditto (*scil.*, it is soft), the flood] will be del[ayed].

Commentary

o 5'. The prognosis in K.1365+ o 25–26 is slightly different: SU.GU₇ ŠE-*am* Ú^{bia} Ṛ¹ ŠE IN.NU *ina* KUR GÁL-*ši* (i.e., similar to the prognosis in HS 1933 [No. 14] o 17).

o 9'. Compare the prognosis in K.6662 o 4' (eBL transliteration, mentioned by Heeßel 2012, 297): [...] x DAGAL 15 ŠU.SI ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma* SAG ŠU.SI IGI AB.BA^{mes} URU URU *ana* KÚR SUM^{me}[^š], “[...] ... to the right plain of the ‘finger’ there is a ‘weapon’ and looks towards the top of the ‘finger’, the elders of the city will hand over the city to the enemy.”

o 13'. On the prognosis, see Nougayrol 1945/1946, 67–68 and compare KAR 423 ii 26 (KAL 5, 1): DINGIR SAG LÚ *ana* ^{munus}SIG₅ *ú-kal-la*.

o 14'. On the use of the sign SÚḪ (= SUḪUR) instead of SÜḪ, see the introduction (p. 149).

o 16'. BM 38365 (pl. 32) reads ll. 10'–11' as [... M]AN-*ni* GALGA KUR BIR-*ah*-[*(ma)*] | [... *an*]a *ki-GIŠ-šú-nu* IZI ŠUB^{mes}, “[...] will change, the counsel of the land will be scattered, [...] will set their supporting walls on fire.” This parallel suggests reconstructing the line in the present tablet as [BE ... UMUŠ KUR MAN-*ni* GALGA KUR BIR-*ah*-*m*]a² ŠU.NIR KUR, etc.

The first preserved apodosis (*šurinni/ū māti uštalpatū*) is elsewhere attested only in astrological omens: see CAD L 93b and Bonnet 1995, 218–219. The second apodosis appears to be unique to this text. The difficult form *ki-si-šú-nu* is here interpreted as derived form *kisú*, “supporting wall along a building” (CAD K 429b). Alternatively, it could represent the word *kīsu*, “bonds,” and the prognosis would be a variation of the prognosis *ana nupāriya* (ll *nupār nakri*) *išāta inaddillanaddi*, “I (or “the enemy”) will set the enemy’s (or “my”) prison (or, “workhouse”) on fire” (attested e.g. in KAL 5, 43 o 7–8).

o 17'. The omen is attested in the Old Babylonian tablet BM 78241 r 18' (CT 44, 37), which according to its colophon represents the first tablet of a series entitled “Finger” (*Ubānu*, see Heeßel 2012, 15 fn. 173 and Koch 2015, 84): [BE o o o o o o]-*ni* KÚR *me-re-eš-ka ú-ša-da-ka-ma hu-ša-hu-um i-na* KUR *ib-ba-aš-ši*, “the enemy will cause you to leave your field fallow, and there will be famine in the country.”

o 21'–22'. Compare the apodosis LUGAL *ina* ŠÀ KUR-*šú i-qal-lil* (*Iqqur ipuš* §104 Du'uzu, Labat 1965, 190–191).

r 7'. The omen that appears after that of r 6 in IM 132503 (Sippar 8, 185/) o 41', the last line of the obverse, reads: [BE] *ina* NÍG.PI ŠU.SI *di-hu* ŠUB-*di* DAM LÚ (x) [o o (o)], “[If] there is a cyst on the handle of the finger, the man’s wife (...) [...]” This omen seems to be missing from the present tablet.

r 11'. The line that in A 8 (KAL 5, 37) precedes l. 12' (i.e., A 8 r 1) reads: [... G]AR NAM.RA x [...], which corresponds perhaps to *Ubānu* IV §§ 4 or 5.

r 13'–14'. On the meaning of A.AM, preserved only in A 8 (KAL 5, 37), see Heeßel 2012, 149, referring to Nougayrol 1969, 152 fn. 1 (as *adāru*, “poplar,” and hence as the verb *adāru*, “to be dark”). The first part of the line in IM 132503 is badly damaged ([...] ŠUB-*ma* x [o o o] NUN *a-di-ra-tu-šú* NU KUR^{me}[^š-*šú*]). Compare the prognosis *a-di-rat* ŠÀ-*šú* KUR^{mes} in 80-7-19, 80 o 10 (Boissier 1894, 97, eBL transliteration).

r 17'. IM 132503 r 9' reads the prognosis as Ṛ¹SÜḪ¹ *ina* KUR TĒŠ.BI Ṛ¹GÁL-*ši*¹, “there will be confusion in the entire land.”

r 19'. On *a-li-it-ma u ru-šuk*, “swallows up and dries out,” see Heeßel 2003, 281 and *id.* 2012, 149, referring to Nougayrol 1969, 151 fn. 2.

r 20'–21'. The apodoses, absent from MSS A and b, are also attested in Sm.1131 o 4 // BM 35535 r³ 6 (eBL transliteration): [... Š]UB-*dī-ma* SIG₇ ÉRIN-*nī* A^{mes} *i-kal-lu-ú||šú*. Compare also *Tirānū* IV 44 (Heeβel 2011b, 179): ÉRIN-*nī* A^{mes} *i-kal-lu-ú*.

r 22'. IM 132503 r 9' reads the prognosis as: *šá-mut* ʾina¹ SAG ʾITI¹ ʾta¹-*hu-*ʾtú¹ [ŠUR-*nun*].

r 25'. On the interpretation of KUR as *mātu*, “domain,” see Heeβel 2012, 149.

r 26'. A 8 r 14 reads: *zu-un-nu ina* KUR KÚR GABA.RI. IM 132503 r 15' seems to agree with the present manuscript, since it reads: IM ŠÈG^{mes} *ina* KUR KÚR T[ÉŠ[?].BI GÁL^{mes} (?)].

r 27'–28'. IM 132503 r 16'–17' has twice ILLU^{mes} *ina* IDIM [(NU) KUD^{mes}]

No. 13: HS 2941, Extispicy, Lungs

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 2941

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 3, fol. 51): “Literarisch. Tafel sehr bröcklig (6.12.79)”.

Size: 5.0 × 5.7 × 2.5 cm

Introduction

The tablet contains omens derived from the presence of various marks on the lung, its “plain” or “back” (*šēru*, perhaps the costal surface or a part thereof) and its “wings” (*gappū*, i.e. the lobes),³⁴⁶ as well as in a part of the respiratory system named [*pu*]*glu* (r 10′–11′).³⁴⁷ In Mesopotamian extispicy, the lungs were the most important part of the exta after the liver,³⁴⁸ and the ninth chapter of the compendium *Bārūtu* (titled *Hašū*), one of the longest of the series, was devoted to omens deriving from their observation. Although the chapter has never been published, its contents are relatively well known thanks to the existence of a catalogue from Nineveh that records the incipits of each of its fourteen tablets.³⁴⁹ The omens contained in the present tablet were probably integrated into one of the tablets from *Hašū*, but no first-millennium duplicate can currently be found.

The presence of a decimal line marker (o 4′) indicates that this is a library tablet. The epigraphy is fully compatible with a Middle Babylonian date: compare e.g. the ligature of *i+na* (o 8′–9′, r 2′, 4′–7′) and the shape of HAR with inscribed horizontals but without a full vertical (o 3′–6′, 8′–11′, r 2′–7′). The shape of the sign UG (o 10′, r 10′), with an inscribed UD, is recorded by Fossey 1926, 301a for documents from the time of Kurigalzu (II) onwards, i.e., from the second half of the 14th century BCE. The sign SA₅ is written thrice (o 4′–6′) as SI:³⁵⁰ since it is unlikely that the scribe would have committed the same mistake (SI.<A>) three times, one must assume that it represents the same short-hand writing of the logogram that is occasionally used for DIRI(SI.A) = (*w*)*atāru(m)*, “to exceed,” or (*w*)*atru(m)*, “surplus,” in some Old Babylonian tablets.³⁵¹

346 On the identification of the two terms, see Hussey 1948, 25; Starr 1983, 70; McEwan 1987/1990, 171a; and de Zorzi 2021, 203–304 (*šēru*); and McEwan 1987/1990, 170b (*g/kappu*).

347 On the identification of *pu**glu*, see the commentary.

348 McEwan 1987/1990, 170.

349 See the detailed description of the chapter in Koch 2015, 109–111.

350 Parallel passages in other texts confirm that the sign should be SA₅: see below the commentary on o 6′–7′.

351 See Wilcke 1976, 263–265; *id.* 1978 (SI.BI probably as *wataršū* in administrative documents). Compare also the use of SI for (*w*)*atāru(m)* in the mathematical tablet YBC 6504 (see Høyrup 2000, 147–148).

Transliteration

Obverse

- 1'. [o o o o (o o)] x [...]
 2'. [šumma(BE) o o o o o] x^{sar} ud-d[u²-uh ...]
 3'. 3 ᵀū²-[l]u² 4 ud-du-hu [...]
 4'. ¹⁰ šumma(BE) šēr(EDIN) hašī(MUR) imitta(ZAG) sūma(ᵀSI¹) ma-ṭi-ir [...]
 5'. šumma(BE) hašū(MUR) sūma(SI) ša-ri-ip [...]
 6'. šumma(BE) hašī(MUR) sūmī(SI^{mes}) tuk-ku-up-ma imitti(ZAG) hašī(MUR) ù
 šumēl(GÙ[B]) hašī(MUR) (...)
 7'. bu-bu-a-tu nadá(ŠUB^{mes}) [...]
 8'. šumma(BE) i+na ga-ap-pi hašī(MUR) ᵀša¹ imitti(ᵀZAG¹) [...]
 9'. šumma(BE) i+na šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(MUR) ša imitti(ZAG) bu-bu-a-ᵀtum¹
 nadá(ᵀŠUB^{1m[es]}) [...]
 10'. šumma(BE) hašū(MUR) pūša(BABBAR) ᵀtu¹-uk-ᵀku¹-up [...]
 11'. šumma(BE) šēr(EDIN) hašī(MUR) ša imitti(ZAG) še-er-ᵀše¹-ri ᵀma-li¹ [...]
 12'. šumma(ᵀBE¹) šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(ᵀMUR¹) ᵀša¹ imitti(ᵀZAG¹) x x [...]

Reverse

- 1'. šumma(ᵀBE¹) šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(ᵀMUR¹) šumēla(ᵀGÙB¹) iṭṭul(ᵀIGI¹) [...]
 2'. šumma(BE) i+ᵀna¹ šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(MUR) ša imitti(ZAG) ù šumēli(GÙB) šēpu(GÌR)
 x [...]
 3'. šumma(BE) šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(MUR) imitta(ZAG) ù šumēla(GÙB) ištēná(1.TA.ÀM)
 paṭir(DU^{8mes}) ūmū(U^{4mes}) [...]
 4'. šumma(BE) i+na šēr(EDIN) hašī(MUR) ša šumēli(GÙB) kakku(^{gis}TUKUL)
 šakin(GAR)-ma ur'uda(GÚ.MUR) iṭṭul(IGI) rubú(NU[N] ...) [...]
 5'. šumma(BE) ᵀi¹+na šēr(EDIN) hašī(MUR) ša šumēli(GÙB) kakku(^{gis}TUKUL)
 šakin(GAR)-ma appi(KIRI⁴) ruqqi(SAL) iṭṭul(IGI) x [...]
 6'. šumma(BE) i+na šēr(ᵀEDIN¹) hašī(MUR) ša imitti(ᵀZAG¹) kakku(^{gis}TUKUL)
 šakin(GAR)-ma ur'uda(GÚ.MUR) iṭṭul(IGI) [...]
 7'. šumma(BE) i+na šēr(EDIN) hašī(MUR) ᵀša¹ imitti(ZAG) kakku(^{gis}TUKUL)
 šakin(GAR)-ma appi(ᵀKIRI⁴) ruqqi(ᵀSAL¹) iṭṭul(IG[I] ...) [...]
 8'. šumma([B]E) hašī(MUR) imitti(ᵀZAG¹) ka-ší-iš [...]
 9'. šumma([B]E) hašī(ᵀMUR¹) šumēli(ᵀGÙB¹) ka-ší-iš [...]
 10'. [šumma(BE) pu]-ug-lum imitta(ᵀZAG¹) šalim(GE₆) [...]
 11'. [šumma(BE) pu-u]g-lum šumēla(ᵀGÙB¹) [šalim(GE₆?) ...]
 12'. [šumma(BE) o o o] x [...]

Translation

- 1'. [...] ... [...]
 2'–3'. [If the plain of the right lung] is cov[ered] with ... [...] ^(3') are covered by three or four [...]
 4'. If the plain of the lung to the right is wet with a red (liquid) [...]
 5'. If the lung is colored with a red spot [...]
 6'–7'. If the lung is covered with red spots and to the right of the lung and the le[ft of the lung (...)] ^(7') there ar[e pustules ...]
 8'. If in the right wing of the lung [...]
 9'. If in the plain of the right lung there ar[e pustules ...]
 10'. If the lung is covered with a white spot [...]
 11'. If the plain of the right lung is full of red globules ... [...]
 12'. If the plain of the right lung ... [...]

Reverse

- 1'. If the plain of the lung points to the left [...]
 2'. If on the plain of the right and left lungs a foot(-mark) ... [...]
 3'. If the plain of the lung is split once to the right and (once) to left, the day[s ...]
 4'. If there is a weapon on the left lung and it points towards the windpipe, the prin[ce ...]
 5'. If there is a weapon on the left lung and it points towards the tip of the “narrow part,” ... [...]
 6'. If there is a weapon on the right lung and it points towards the windpipe, [...]
 7'. If there is a weapon on the right lung and it poi[nts] towards the tip of the “narrow part,” [...]
 8'. [I]f the right lung is rubbed away [...]
 9'. [I]f the left lung is rubbed away [...]
 10'. [If the *pu*glum is black to the right [...]
 11'. [If the *pu*glum [is black] to the left [...]
 12'. [If ...] ... [...]

Commentary

o 2'. One may restore [GA]Zl^{sar} BABBAR u[d^l-du-uh], “is c[overed] with a white mustard (seed)”: compare K.4122+ i 3–4 // 82–5–22, 524 iii 2–3 (eBL transliteration): [BE] EDIN MUR šá 15 GAZl^{sar.mes} SA₅^{mes} ud-du-uh | [u]l-lu-uš lib-bi ÉRIN-ni BE MAN-ú MU-NI he-pí.³⁵²

o 4'. As noted in the introduction, SI must stand for SA₅ = *sūmu*. The plural of *sūmu*, “red spot,” is attested in YOS 10, 51 i 33 (*šū-mu-ú šina*, cp. *šū-mu-um ištēn* in YOS 10, 52 i 2). As noted by Kraus 1985, 144 fn. 42; Jeyes 1989, 133; and George 2013, 157a, the verb booked in the dictionaries as *matāru* (CAD M/1 405–406; AHw 1574b) should be corrected to *maṭāru*, as the spelling in the present text also shows. The interpretation of the verb as “to be wet” follows Jeyes 1989, 133.

352 “Red mustard seeds” appear also in an Old Babylonian omen tablet (Old Babylonian tablet RA 27, 149 o 3): BE BA *ka-si-i sa^l (“1”)-mu-tim ú-du-ḥa-at*, “if the liver is covered by red *kasû*-seeds.” See also AO 7539 o 29' (Nougayrol 1971, 70): DIŠ ʾqer-bu¹ *ka-si-i sa-mu-ti ud-du-ḥu*, “if the

intestines are covered by by red *kasû*-seeds.” On the meaning, see Nougayrol 1941, 76 (“de filaments rougeâtres,” followed by Riemschneider 1965), Nougayrol 1971, 75 and 80 (“parsemés de petites granulations rouges”), and Winitzer 2017, 356 (“red *kasû*-seeds”).

o 6'–7'. Compare VAT 8710 o 37' (KAR 422 = KAL 5, 60): [BE MUR (o)] SA₅ *ša-rip-ma ina ZAG MUR ù GÙB MUR bu-bu-a-tu ŠUB^{mes} DINGIR tu-da-[mi-qu ...]*.

o 11'. Compare VAT 8710 o 7'–9' (KAR 422 = KAL 5, 60): [BE MUR] *šèr-še-ri SA₅ (...)*, “[If the lung is] red with red paste (...).” On the meaning of the word *šeršer(r)u*, see Heeßel 2012, 208–209 (as “roter Ton, rote Paste, rote Schmiere”).

r 5' and 7'. In first-millennium texts the “narrow part” (*ruqqu*) is always written SAL.LA (e.g. Koch-Westenholz 2000, 245 no. 42 l. 141: [...] ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma* KIR₄ SAL.LA IGI). On the identification of the *ruqqu*, see Starr 1990, xlvi; Leiderer 1990, 48; and Koch-Westenholz 2000, 64.

r 8'–9'. Compare VAT 8710 o 1'–2' (KAR 422 = KAL 5, 60): [BE] MUR ZAG||GÙB *ka-šì-iš [...]* and 81-2-4, 227 o 5'–6' (eBL transliteration): [BE MAN]-^r*u*¹ MU.NI MUR 15 *ka-šìš (...)* [(o)] ù SAL.LA MUR *šá* 15 *i-kàš-ša-aš*.

r 10'–11'. The only restoration that appears possible in the context is [*pu*]*glu*. The word *puḡlu* (AHw 875a s.v. *puḡlu* 2 [“als Leberteil”], CAD P 476a s.v. *puḡlu* B [“a part of the sheep’s liver”], see also EDA P/B 160–161 P0262) was previously attested only in the extispicy compendium YOS 10, 36 iv 10–15. That text also refers to a dark *puḡlu*, e.g. 10–11: *šumma(DIŠ) pu-ug-lum imittam(Ā.ZI) ta-ri-ik ša lišānīya | ina mātīm ittanallak*, “If the *puḡlu* is dark to the right, my informer will roam the land.”³⁵³ The word also appears in a list of sheep body parts (BM 29663 iii 8, edited by Cohen 2018). Although both dictionaries relate *puḡlu* to the liver, in BM 29663 it appears together with the “trachea” and the “uvula,” which suggests locating it in their vicinity (so Cohen 2018, 145), a suggestion supported by the occurrence of the term in this text.

No. 14: HS 1933, *Enūma Anu Enlil* “57” (= 60)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1933 (old numbers: 90, HS 230, and Hm 30)³⁵⁴

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 45): “Neubab. astronomische Berechnung. betr. Venus (*Enūma Anu-Ellil*, Tafel 57). Fundort: Nippur. Vs. publ.: V. Scheil, RA 14 (1917) 142–145, s. Weidner, AfO 14 (1941–1944) 175 Nr. 9a.” Written on box (Hilprecht’s handwriting): “Ni. 90 / III. Astronomische Berechnung betreffs Venus. Temple Library.” Different handwriting: “neubab Nippur, *Enūma Anu Ellil* Tafel 57.” Written on tablet: “90.”

Size: 6.5 × 6.5 × 1.4 cm

Introduction

The obverse of this tablet was published in copy, transliteration, and translation by J.-V. Scheil over a century ago (Scheil 1917, 142–145). Scheil states that he copied it in the 1890s (“il y a une vingtaine d’années”) in the museum in Constantinople, and that at that point the tablet had no inventory number. According to the label written on its box, it was found during the third Nippur campaign, directed by John H. Haynes (1893–1896). Hilprecht’s handwritten note indicates that the tablet was found in the “Temple Library” (i.e. in “Tablet Hill”) but, as discussed in the introduction (§3), it seems certain that that sector was not excavated during the third campaign. The tablet’s obverse was re-edited, using Scheil’s copy, by Reiner/Pingree 1998, 123–125 (*Enūma Anu Enlil* 59–60 Group C, as “N unnumbered”); access to the tablet has now enabled that edition to be substantially improved upon. The reverse has remained unpublished.

The colophon declares that the tablet originally contained 74 entries, of which 21 survive (18 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse). In addition, it states that it represents the 57th chapter of the astrological series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and provides the catchline for the next chapter. As is well known, there were conflicting numeration traditions of the chapters of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, in particular of the higher numbered chapters.³⁵⁵ The incipit of the present tablet (*šumma dilbat ina tašrīti ippuḥa*, “If Venus rises in the month Tašrītu [VII]) corresponds to what in other traditions is *Enūma Anu Enlil* 60 (Group C, see Reiner/Pingree 1998, 110–141). The tablets of Group C contain monthly omens for Venus, some of which appear verbatim in the series *Iqqur īpuš*:³⁵⁶ chapter 59 covers the first

354 The number “90” is written on the tablet and on the box. Weidner 1941/1944, 175 states that the tablet has the number “Hs. 230”; see Oelsner 1986, 431 n. 660.

355 See e.g. Fincke 2001 and Koch 2015, 158–167.

356 Each monthly section usually begins and ends with “frame omens” (so Reiner/Pingree 1998, 24–27) from *Iqqur īpuš* (on the intertextuality between *Iqqur īpuš* and the Venus tablets of *Enūma Anu*

six months of the year, whereas chapter 60 covers the last six. The omens contained in the present tablet correspond to the latter section. The catchline of the tablet is attested as the first line of the so-called Group A of *Enūma Anu Enlil* 59–63 (Reiner/Pingree 1998, 40–74), which means that, at least in some traditions, Group A must have come after Group C.

Two duplicates of the present tablet are known:

MS A (Assyrian script) K.3589+ K.7629 (both as *ACh* SS 49–50)+ K.10510 (all three pieces in Reiner/Pingree 1998, 123–125)+ K.9953 (eBL join)

MS M (Babylonian script) K.12011 (Reiner/Pingree 1998, 123–125)

In addition, a commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 59/60, K.2907 (*ACh* Iš 7)+ K.12248 (*CCP* 3.1.58.A.c = Reiner/Pingree 1998, 132–135; see also Weidner 1922, 182–187 and Frahm 2011, 152) explains several of the entries of this tablet.

The colophon, which exhibits several playful writings typical of Neo-Babylonian tablets from Nippur,³⁵⁷ claims that the tablet was copied from a writing board from Nippur by a certain Rēmūt-DN, and owned by a Ninurta-aš[arēd ...].³⁵⁸ The script of the tablet is small and elegant. The sign TI is written with only one horizontal (o 12), a feature that has elsewhere been observed in first-millennium tablets from Uruk (George 2003, 396; see also above p. 72 No. 2).

Enlil, see also HS 1947 [No. 16] r 18'–21' and commentary *ad loc.*)

357 On playful writings in Nippur colophons, see Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 70–84.

358 A preliminary transliteration of these lines can be found in Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 71 fn. 73.

Transliteration

Obverse

- §1 (1). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆¹) *ippuḥa*(KUR-*ḥa*) *nukrātu*(^{munus}KÚR^m[^{es}]) *ina māti*(KUR) *ibaššá*(GÁL^{mes}) KIMIN o o o-*tú ina māti*(KUR) *ibaššá*(GÁL^{mes})
- §2 (2). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) *ultu*(TA) *a-dan sîn*(30) *šá* ^rU₄¹.2[7.KAM U₄.28.KAM 1 *arḥa*(ITI) *uḥ-ḥu-ru ana libbi*(ŠÀ) *sîn*(30) *īrub*(KU₄-*ub*) *šarru*(LUGAL) *imāt*(BA.ÚŠ)]
- §3 (3). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) 2 lu 3 *tarbaša*(TÙR) *lami*(NÍGIN) *ḥa*-[*rab*² o o (o) : *muršānū*(GIG^{mes}) *ina māti*(KUR) *ibaššū*(GÁL^{mes})
- (4). : *murša*(GIG) *immar*(IGI) : *muršu*(GIG) *be-en-ni ina māti*(KUR) *ibašši*(GÁL) : *mātu*(K[UR] *iṣḥḥer*(TUR) : ...]
- §4 (5). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) *adi*(EN) *addari*(^{iti}ŠE) *ina na-pa-ḥi-šá* *šá-r*[*u-ri-šá našát* (?) ...]
- §5 (6). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina* ^{iti}*la-lu-bé-e irbī*(ŠÚ)-*ma ina* ^{iti}*še-bu-t*[*i ippuḥ*(KUR)-*ma nipih*(KUR)-*šá né-eh mātu*(KUR) *šubta*(KI.TUŠ) *ne-eh-tú uššab*(DÚR-*ab*)]
- §6 (7). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat dapīnu*(^dUD.AL.TAR) *u tū amū*(^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA) *rabūtu*(GAL.GAL) *i[na bibbuli*(U₄.NÁ.ĀM) *šá tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) o o (o)]
- (8). *sîn*(^d30) ^{mul}*dil-bat u tū amū*(^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA) *rabūtu*(GAL^{me}) *ana šit-šamsi*(^dUTU.È) *izzizzū*(^rGUB¹[^{mes}]) *dapīnu*(^dUD.AL.TAR) *ana ereb-šamsi*(^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) *ītiq*(DIB)-*šú-nu-ti* (?)]
- (9). *šubtu*(KI.TUŠ) *ne-eh-tú šu-lum damiqti*(SIG₅-*tī*) KIMIN *salīmu*(SILIM-*mu*) *damqu*(SIG₅) KIMIN *maḥīru*(^rKI¹.[LAM] *damqu*(SIG₅) *ina māti*(KUR) *ibašši*(GÁL)]
- §7 (10). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) *ina šit-šamsi*(^dUTU.È) KIMIN *ina ereb-šamsi*(^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) *ipuhḥa*(KUR-*ḥa*)-*ma dapīna*(^dUD.^rAL.TAR¹) *ītiq*(D[IB-*iq*) KIMIN *ītiq*(DIB-*iq*)-*ši* o o o o]
- §8 (11). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina tašrīti*(^{iti}DU₆) *a-dir šeḥēr*(TUR) *māti*(^rKUR¹) ^rKIMIN¹ [*ul*(NU) *pašir*(BÚR)]
-
- §9 (12). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat* ^r*ina*¹ *araḥsamni*(^{iti}APIN) *ippuḥa*(KUR-*ḥa*) KIMIN *ina še-re-e-ti ippuḥa*(KUR-[*ḥa*) *māta*(KU)R] KIMIN *šar*(LUGAL) *māti*(KUR) KIMIN *niši*(U[N^{mes}]) *māti*(KUR) *dannatu*(^{munus}KALA) *išabbat*(DAB-*bat*)]
- §10 (13).¹⁰ *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina araḥsamni*(^{iti}APIN) *ina idi*(Á) *imitti*(ZAG)-*šú kakkabu*(MUL) *rabū*(GAL) U₄.3.KAM *izziz*(^rGUB¹)-*ma ītiq*(DIB-*iq*)-*ši* x [...]
- §11 (14). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina araḥsamni*(^{iti}APIN) *ana dapīni*(^dUD.AL.TAR) *iḥe*(TE) *palū*(BALA) *inakkir*(KÚR-*ir*) *nakru*(^rKÚR¹) ^r*ana*¹ *māti*(^rKUR¹) *iḥḥá*(TE-*am*) KIMIN x [...]
- §12 (15). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina araḥsamni*(^{iti}APIN) *sîn*(^d30) ^d*lugal-ir₉-ra u* ^d*mes-lam-ta-è ina b*[*i-rit qaran*(SI) *zuqiqīpi*(^{mul}GÍR.TAB)]
- (16). KIMIN *enzi*(^{mul}ÚZ) *innamrū*(IGI^{me})-*ma* U₄.3.KAM *izzizzū*(GUB-*zu*) KIMIN *izzizzū*(GUB^{me})-*ma ina išid*(^rSUHUŠ¹) *qaran*(^rSI¹) *imitti*(1[5²] ...]
- (17). *ḥušaḥḥi*(SU.GU₇) *é*(ŠE) *u tibni*(IN.NU) *ina* [*māti*(KUR) *ibašši*(GÁL)]
- §13 (18). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat ina araḥsamni*(^{iti}APIN) U₄.26.KAM KIMIN U₄.25.KAM KIMIN U₄.24.KAM *ana* x [...]
- (19). *ḥalāq*(^rZÁH¹) *āli*(^rURU¹) *šarri*(LUGAL) *u niši*(UN^{me})-*šú* ^r*kiš-šat*¹ *niši*(U[N^{mes}]) (?) ...]

Translation

Obverse

- §1 (1). If Venus rises in the month Tašrītu (VII), [there will be] hostilitie[s in the land.
(Variant): there will be ... in the land].
- §2 (2). If Venus in the month Tašrītu (VII), having disappeared for a month from the date of the moon, (i.e.) the 2[7th (or) the 28th, enters the moon, the king will die.]
- §3 (3). If Venus in the month Tašrītu (VII) is surrounded for two or three (months) by a halo, *de*[vastation of ... (Variant): There will be sickness in the land].
(4). (Variant): (The land) will experience disease. (Variant): There will be epilepsy in the land. (Variant): The l[and will diminish. (Variant): ...].
- §4 (5). If Venus, when it raises in the months between Tašrītu (VII) and Addaru (XII), [carries its] hal[o, ...]
- §5 (6). If Venus sets in the month Lallubû (VII) and [rises] in the month Šebût[u (VIII) and her rising is peaceful, the land will dwell in a peaceful abode].
- §6 (7). If Venus, Jupiter, and the Great Twins [...] i[n the new moon day of Tašrītu (VII)],
(8). the moon, Venus and the Great Twins sta[nd] towards the East [and Jupiter *passes them* to the West],
(9). A peaceful abode, favorable peace. (Variant): Favorable concord. (Variant): There [will be a favorable] mar[ket in the land].
- §7 (10). If Venus in the month Tašrītu (VII) rises in the east, (Variant): in the west and p[asses] Jupiter, [(Variant): (Jupiter) passes her (*scil.* Venus) ...]
- §8 (11). If Venus in the month Tašrītu (VII) is dark, decrease of the land. (Variant): [No interpretation].
-
- §9 (12). If Venus rises in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), (Variant): ris[es] in the morning, [hardship will seize the lan]d, (Variant): the king of the land, (Variant): the pe[ople of the land].
- §10 (13). If Venus in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), a great star (or, "Jupiter") stands at her (!) right side for three days and (then) passes her (*scil.* Venus), ... [...]
- §11 (14). If Venus in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII) draws near to Jupiter, the dynasty will change, the enemy will draw near to the land; (Variant): ... [...]
- §12 (15). If Venus in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), the moon, Lugalirra and Meslamtaea⁽¹⁶⁾ are seen⁽¹⁵⁾ bet[ween the horns of the Scorpion],
(16). (Variant): of the Goat and stand there for three days, (Variant): stand and at the basis of the r[ight] horn [...]
(17). [There will be] a shortage of barley and straw in [the land].
- §13 (18). If Venus in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII) on the 26th day, (Variant): on the 25th day, (Variant): on the 24th day to ... [...]
(19). Destruction of the city, the king and its people, the entirety of the pe[ople ...]

- §14 (20). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat* <ina> *araḥsamni*(^oiti^o APIN) *a-dir* [šarru(LUGAL)
massû(MAŠ.SÙ) *ibašši*(GÁL-ši)]
- §15 (21). *šumma*(^Γ¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat* ina *kislīmi*(^{iti}GAN) *ippuḥa*(KUR-ḥa) KIMIN ina *še-re-e-^Γti^Γ*
ippuḥa(^ΓKUR^Γ-[ḥa] ...)
- §16 (22). *šumma*(^Γ¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat* ina *kislīmi*(^{iti}GAN) *ana sîn*(30) *iṭhe*(TE) *ālu*(UR[U]) x x [...]
- §17 (23). [*šumma*(¶)] ^Γ*mul*^Γ*dil-bat* ina *kislīmi*(^{iti}GAN) *ana* x (x) [...]
- §18 (24). [*šumma*(¶)] ^{mul}*dil*-^Γ*bat^Γ* [ina] *kislīmi*(^{iti}Γ[GAN] ...)]

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse

- §71 (1'). *šumma*(^Γ¶) *nipih*(M[Ú]-šá ...)]
- §72 (2'). ¹⁰ *šumma*(¶) *nipih*(MÚ)-^Γ*šá^Γ* [...]
- §73 (3'). *šumma*(¶) *nipih*(MÚ)-šá [...]
-
- (4'). *šumma*(¶) ^{mul}*dil-bat* ina *še-re-^Γe^Γ*-[*ti i-kun* (?)] *nišū*(UN^{me}) *māti*(KUR)
kalāma(DÙ.A.BI) *akla*(NINDA) *nap-šá* *ikkalā*(GU^{me}) *šarrū*(LUGAL^{me})
nakrūtu(KUR^{me}) *isallimū*(SILIM^{me})]
- (5'). KIMIN *nišū*(UN^{me}) *māti*(KUR) *ma-l*[*a ba-šá-a akla*(NINDA) *ṭāba*(DÙG.GA)
ikkalā(GU^{me}) (...)]
- (6'). *sîn*(30) x x [...]
- (7'). 60-šu 13.ÀM MU.ŠID.BI DUB.57.KAM^v ¶ U₄ AN ^dEN.LÍ[L.LÁ (...)]
- (8'). *an^{sic} pī*(KA) *lēi*(^{gis}DA) *gabari*(GABA^l(DU₈).RI) *nippur*(NIBRU^{ki}) ^{as}*re-e-mu-tu-^dx* x
[...]
- (9'). *arad*(iR) ^d*ninmu-urta* u ^d*nissaba amēl*(UR) ^Γ*d**nin-kár²-rak²^Γ* [...]
- (10'). *ṭup-pi* ^m*ninurta*(^dMAŠ)-*ašarēd*(S[AG.KAL] ...)

End of reverse

✱

- §14 (20). If Venus <in> the month Araḥsamnu (VIII) is dark, [there will be a leading king].
- §15 (21). If Venus rises in the month Kislīmu (IX), (Variant): ris[es] in the morning, [...]
- §16 (22). [I]f Venus in the month Kislīmu (IX) draws near to the moon, the cit[y] ... [...]
- §17 (23). [If V]enus in the month Kislīmu (IX) to ... [...]
- §18 (24). [If Venu]s in the month [Kislīmu (IX) ...]

Reverse

- §71 (1'). If [her (*scil.* Venus')] risi[ng] ...]
- §72 (2'). If h[er] rising [...]
- §73 (3'). If her rising [...]
-
- (4'). (Catchline): If Venus [*becomes fixed*] in the morn[ing], the people of the entire
land will eat plentiful bread, enemy kings will be reconciled],
- (5'). (Variant): The people of the land, as m[any as there are], will eat fine bread (...)].
- (6'). The moon ... [...]
- (7'). 73 are its entries. 57th tablet of (the series) *Enūma Anu Enl[il* (...)].
- (8'). According to the words of a writing board, whose original was from Nippur,
Rēmūt-D[N ...],
- (9'). The servant of Ninurta and Nissaba, the man of *Ninkar[rak* (?) ...].
- (10'). Tablet of Ninurta-aš[arēd] ...].

Commentary

o 1–2. Restored from K.9953 (joined to K.3589+, MS A, see above). The first omen is also preserved in *Iqqur īpuš* §83 Tašrītu (Labat 1965, 164), where the end reads BURU₁₄ KUR GIŠ. The restoration of the second line is based on the commentary K.2907+ r 6 (Reiner/Pingree 1998, 134).

o 9. The same apodosis is attested in Rm-II.376 o 7' (eBL transliteration): SILIM-*mu* SIG₅ KI.LAM SIG₅ [...]. Compare also *Iqqur īpuš* §75 Elūlu (Labat 1965, 152) and *Enūma Anu Enlil* XXII §11 (Rochberg 1988, 261).

o 13. On the use of the masculine possessive suffix (-*šu*) instead of the feminine in Neo- and Late Babylonian texts, see Jiménez 2017a, 278 and the references cited there.

o 14. The “Great Star” here might refer to Jupiter: see Reiner/Pingree 1998, 5–6; Brown 2000, 59; and Horowitz 2014, 101.

o 11. The restoration, which follows Reiner/Pingree 1998, 125, is based on the parallel entry in *Iqqur īpuš* §86 Tašrītu (Labat 1965, 170). On the interpretation of NU BŪR, see Reiner/Pingree 1998, 154 and Gabbay 2016, 285–286.

o 12. The omen is known from *Iqqur īpuš* §83 Araḥsamnu (Labat 1965, 164, see Reiner/Pingree 1998, 27), where the apodosis reads: KUR ^{munus}KALA DAB-*bat*, “hardship will seize the land.”

o 15–16. On the restoration, see Weidner 1922, 186. A reading IGI.LÁ-*ma* (thus Scheil 1917, 144 and Reiner/Pingree 1998, 124) instead of IGI^{me}-*ma* seems less likely.

o 20. The restoration, which follows Reiner/Pingree 1998, 125, is based on the parallel entry in *Iqqur īpuš* §86 Araḥsamnu (Labat 1965, 170).

o 21. The omen is similar to §9, and might be the same one attested in *Iqqur īpuš* §83 Kislimu (Labat 1965, 166 and Reiner/Pingree 1998, 27): ŠÀ.SUD ŠE *u* IN.NU *ina* KUR GÁL, “There will be lack of barley and straw in the land.”

r 2'. According to the tally given in the colophon, this should be the 72nd line of the text. Note, however, that it strangely has a decimal marker.

r 4'–5'. The catchline is restored after the incipit of VAT 10218 (Reiner/Pingree 1998, 40–54), a compilation that represents *Enūma Anu Enlil* 59/60 Group A.

r 6'. It is possible that the number 30 is part of the colophon, and not of the catchline (the end of the apodosis is unknown).

r 8'. Note the use of the sign DINGIR for the preposition *an(a)*, typical of literary tablets. The use of the sign AŠ for the Personenkeil is a “learned archaizing [practice,] deriving ultimately from the mid-third millennium” (George/Taniguchi 2010, 112), is attested in Neo-Assyrian (Cavigneaux 1996, 11) and Neo-Babylonian tablets (*ibid.* and Finkel 2018, 267), and also in some colophons from Nippur (e.g. NBC 7832 l. 38, see Jiménez 2014a). Note that a regular Personenkeil appears in r 8'. The word could also be interpreted as *ina rēmūti*, “as a gift,” but the expected construction would be *ana rēmūti* and the phrase is, in any case, not otherwise attested in colophons. Compare the name ^m*re-e-mu-tu-d^dgu-la* in HS 479 (*TMH* 2/3 no. 35 o 1), a name that seems incompatible with the traces in the present tablet. Compare also [^m]*re-e-mu-ut-d^dnin-kar-ra-ak* in BM 38127 r 10 (eBL transliteration).

r 9'. The playful writing ^d*ninnu-urta* (on which see von Soden 1977, 86 and Frahm/Jiménez 2015, 324–325) has some theological significance, since 50 (NINNU) is Enlil's number.

As discussed in Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 73, UR appears to have in some Neo-Babylonian colophons from Nippur the reading *amēl*, “man of,” or else *pāliḫu*, “reverer.” It is attested only in the phrase UR (^d)ME.ME, “man/reverer of Gula,” which is probably a playful allusion to the famous Ur-Meme family from Nippur (Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 70–81; see also Frahm 2011, 297–300). One

would, therefore, expect the divine name after UR to be a name of Gula, whence the tentative reading offered here. Note, however, that the writing of Ninkarrak's name with KÁR and RAK seems to be elsewhere unattested.

r 10'. The reading S[AG.KAL is compatible with the traces, but uncertain (a reading like Ninurta-iqbi(𒂗𒂗) would also be possible). The name Ninurta-ašarēd is particularly well attested in Middle Babylonian Nippur (Hölscher 1996, 153–154), and is also known in the first millennium: see Baker/Fischer 2000 (9th and 7th c.), YOS 21, 125 l. 35 (Hackl/Jursa/Schmidl 2014, 310–311, ca. 6th c.? from Nippur?), McEwan 1982, no. 34 l. 17 (582 BCE, from Nippur), Farber/Farber 2018, 221–222 no. NUL 04 l. 9 (525 BCE, town of GaDDibat, in the Nippur region?).

No. 15: HS 1945, *Šumma kittabru*(ŠE) for Women

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1945

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Fragment, Neub. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 3.8 × 3.5 × 2.1 cm

Introduction

According to the famous Esagil-kīn-apli Catalogue, the great series of physiognomic omens *Alamdimmū* was divided into five subseries: *Alamdimmū* proper, *Nigdimdimmū*, *Kataduggū*, *Šumma sinništu qaqqada rabât*, and *Šumma liptu*.³⁵⁹ The latter, literally “If a Mole,” groups several miscellaneous tablets, one of which deals with the meaning of the occurrence of the ŠE-mole (in Akkadian perhaps *kittabru*)³⁶⁰ on the body of a woman.

The chapter *Šumma kittabru*(ŠE) for women was formerly known only from two tablets written in Assyrian script, K.6254+ (*TBP* 47) and BM 30424 (*TBP* 48), both edited by Böck 2000, 230–233.³⁶¹ According to the rubric of K.6254+ (MS A), the chapter originally contained 108 omens, of which only some forty have hitherto been recovered. The tablet edited here restores the beginning of the chapter but adds little else to our knowledge of the text.

☆☆

Physiognomic omens were previously almost entirely unknown in Nippur. Only two Middle Babylonian or early Neo-Babylonian forerunners of the subseries *Nigdimdimmū* were attested, CBS 4501 (Lutz 1919; Kraus 1936/1937, 222–228) and CBS 13974+ (eBL transliteration).³⁶² In addition, the colophon of the commentary on physiognomic omens BM 38597 (80–11–12,481), which was probably excavated in Northern Babylonia, states that it was copied from an Assyrian original and mentions as its owner a certain Enlil-nādin-šumi son of Ninurta-[…], both typical Nippurean names (Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 66).

The tablet was written by a certain Enlil-kāšir, son of Silim-i-[lī], a scribe apparently otherwise unattested, and contains a curse formula invoking Enlil and, perhaps, [Ninlil].

359 See Finkel 1998, 152; Böck 2000, 14–18; Schmidtchen 2018a, 319–321; *id.* 2018b, 143–147; Fincke 2018.

360 On the identification of the blemish known as *kittabru*, s. Böck 2000, 29b and Scurlock/Andersen 2005, 241.

361 K.7881 represents an additional fragment, perhaps belonging to the former manu-

script (Schmidtchen 2018c, 490–491).

Other tablets with physiognomic omens for women identified in the framework of the eBL project are BM 35173, BM 35499, BM 36136, and Sm.1547.

362 Courtesy J. Peterson and H. Stadhouders.

It is written in an elegant hand and displays frequent sequences of four wedges where other Neo-Babylonian tablets contain only three, such as in the 𐎠-sequences (o 2, 10, 13), and even in the number 15, written “16” in o 3. In addition, the sign MEŠ is written once with three diagonals (o 10), thrice with four (r 3’–5’). Ligatures in the signs A–šú+šá^m, such as the one in the present colophon, have been observed in tablets from the Murašû archive (Taylor 2012, 130), which might suggest an Achaemenid date for this tablet.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina qaqqad(SAG).𐎠DU¹ sinništi(𐎠MUNUS¹) | šakin(𐎠GAR¹)
sinništu(𐎠MUNUS¹) šī(BI) adi(EN) ūmī(𐎠U₄^{1m}[^e] o o)]
2. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina qaqqad(S)AG.DU sinništi(MUNUS) | šakin(GAR)
sinništu(MUNUS) šī(BI) ul(NU) iṭāb(DÜG.G[A] o (o))]
3. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina] x imitti(15¹) | šakin(GAR) sinništu(MUNUS) šī(BI)
bīt(É)-sa [o o o]
4. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o šumēli(1)50] | šakin(GAR) sinništu(MUNUS) šī(BI)
i-šá[r-rù]
5. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o imitti(1)5] | šakin(GAR) sinništu(MUNUS) šī(BI) bīta(É)
i-be-𐎠e¹x [o]
6. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o šumēli(150)] | šakin(GAR) nissatu(ZARAH)
iṣabbat(DAB)-[si]
7. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o imitti(15)] | šakin(GAR) pa-šá-ḥa immar(IGI-[mar])
8. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o šumēli(150)] | šakin(GAR) ana arkāt(EGIR) ūmī(U₄^{me})
akla(NINDA) i-šeb-[bi]
9. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o imitti(15)] | šakin(GAR) iṣdā(SUHUS^{mes})-šú ul(NU)
ikunnā(GI.[NA])
10. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina o šumēli(150)] | šakin(GAR) ga-me-ru-tu
ippuš(DÜ-[uš])
11. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina uruḥḥi(DİLİB) qaqqadi(SAG.DU) | šakin(GA)R]
i-nam-[ziq]
12. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina nakkapti(SAG.KI) imitti(15) | šakin(GAR) šār(I)M]
ili(DINGIR) ṭābu(DÜG.GA) i-za-aq-[šī]
13. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina nakkapti(SAG.KI) šumēli(150) | šakin(GAR)
dumqa(S)IG₅ immar(IGI-[mar])
14. [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) ina qarnāti(SI^{MIN}) šá imitti(15) u šumēli(150) | šakin(GAR)
il(DINGIR)-šá rēma(AR)ḤUŠ] [irašši(TUKU-šī)]

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse

- 1’ (= 104). [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) šaplān(KI.TA) MURGU šēpī(GİR^{min}) imitti(15)-šú
šakin(GAR) iṣdā(SU)ḤUŠ^m[^{es}]-šú ikunnā(GI.NA) NÍG o (o)]
 - 2’ (= 105). [šumma(𐎠) kittabru(ŠE) o o o šumēli(150)]-𐎠šú¹ šakin(GAR) me-se-ra
immar(I[GI-mar])
-
- 3’ (= 106). [šumma(𐎠) kittabrū(ŠE^{mes}) sāmūtu(SA₅^{me}]^š) kal(𐎠DÜ¹) zumrī(𐎠SU¹)-šú imtallū(SA₅^{mes})
sinništu(MUNUS) šī(BI) idammīq(SIG₅-[iq])
 - 4’ (= 107). [šumma(𐎠) kittabrū(ŠE^{mes}) šalmūtu(GE₆^{me}]^š) kal(DÜ) zumrī(SU)-šú imtallū(SA₅^{mes})
ūmū(U₄^{mes})-šú ikarrū(LÚGUD.DA^[mes])

5' (= 108). [*šumma*(¶) *kittabru*(ŠE^{mes}) *pešutu*(BABBAR^{mes})] *kal*(DÙ) *zumri*(SU)-*šú*
imtallú(SA₅^{mes}) *ūmū*(U₄^{mes})-*šú irrikū*(GÍD.DA^{mes})

6'. [o o o o] ^rx¹ ^d+en-lil-kāšir(KÁD) *māra*(A)-*šú+šá* ^msi-lim-ilī(DI[NGIR^{mes}])

7'. [o o o o o] x ^d+en-lil *pa-liḥ* ^d+en-lil u ^rd¹[*nin-lil* (?)]

8'. *lā*(NU) *itabbal*(TUM')

End of side

Translation

Obverse

1. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on the hea]d of a woman, that woman [will ...] until the day[s ...].
2. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on the h]ead of a woman, that woman will not fare we[ll (...)].
3. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her)] right ..., that woman, her house [...].
4. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) l]eft [...], that woman will become wea[lthy].
5. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) ri]ght [...], that woman will rule (her) house ... [...].
6. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) left ...], grief will sei[ze her].
7. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) right ...], she will expe[rience] relief.
8. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) left ...], she will be sat[ed] with bread for the rest of (her) days.
9. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) right ...], her (!) foundations will not be fi[rm].
10. [If] there is [a *kittabru*-mole on (her) left ...], she will exerc[ise] dominion.
11. [If the]re i[s a *kittabru*-mole among the hair of (her) head], she will have worr[ies].
12. [If there is a *kittabru*-mole on (her) right temple], the pleasant [wi]nd of the god will blow upon [her].
13. [If there is a *kittabru*-mole on (her) left temple, she will] expe[rience ki]ndness.
14. [If there is a *kittabru*-mole on (her) right and left “horns”, her god will take pit]y [on her].

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse

1' (= 104). [If there is a *kittabru*-mole on (her) right foot's sole, her (!) fou]ndati[ons will be firm ...]

2' (= 105). [If] there is a [*kittabru*-mole ... on] her (!) [le]ft [...], she wi[ll suffer] imprisonment.

3' (= 106). [If red *kittabru*-moles] cover her (!) entire body, that woman will do w[ell].

4' (= 107). [If bla]ck [*kittabru*-moles] cover her (!) entire body, her (!) days will be sho[rt].

5' (= 108). [If white *kittabru*-moles] cover her (!) entire body, her (!) days will be lo[ng].

6'. [...] ... Enlil-kāšir, the son of Silim-i[lī],

7'. [...] ... of Enlil. He who reveres Enlil and [*Ninlil*]

8'. should not take it away.

End of side

Commentary

o 9, r 2'–5'. On the use of the masculine suffix *-šu* instead of the feminine *-ša* in late texts, see Jiménez 2017a, 278 §C, b and the bibliography cited there.

o 10. On the expression *gāmirūta epēšu*, see above No. 2 *ad* 11'.

o 11. K.6254+ (MS A) o 5' should now be read as *i-na[m* -ziq]*.

o 12. On the apodosis, see Jiménez 2013b, 397–399.

o 14. On the meaning of “horn” in this context as “an excrescence of the head,” see *CAD* Q 139b. r 1'–2'. On the reading of MURGU(.)GİR, see Böck 2000, 54 fn. 254 (*būd šēpi*, “Rand des Fußes”?) and the bibliography cited there.

r 7'. [... ^{lu}GAL]A *ellil* and [... ^{lu}NU.È]Š *ellil* are both epigraphically possible.

r 8'. IGI'.KÁR' would be a less likely reading of the traces on the lower edge.

No. 16: HS 1947, *Iqqur īpuš*, Monthly Series (VIII Month)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1947 (old number: 577)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Omentext, Neub. Fundort: Nippur.”
On box: “Baghdad-577/1900 (762-748 B.C.) datiert im 12. (?) Jahre Königs Nabû-shum-
ishkun.” On tablet: “577.”

Size: 6.8 × 7.2 × 1.5 cm

Introduction

The tablet HS 1947 contains prognoses drawn from the menological series *Iqqur īpuš*. As noted above (No. 11), this series, concerned with calendrical divination, is known in two main formats: the *série générale* and the *séries mensuelles*. Whereas HS 1923 (No. 11) is a manuscript of the *série générale*, the present tablet belongs to the *séries mensuelles*. It contains prognoses for the eighth month of the Babylonian calendar, Araḥsamnu. The order of the entries on the tablet is the following:

Obverse §§ 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 4, 61, 62, 64,
34, 35, 36

Reverse §§ x, 91, 93, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 104a, 105

Comparison with other manuscripts of the *séries mensuelles* suggests that around fifty entries are missing between the obverse and the reverse. The present fragment therefore contains less than half of the original tablet.

As indicated by the note written in Hilprecht’s handwriting on the box, the tablet was acquired in Baghdad in 1900. Although according to the internal catalogue its findspot was Nippur, Hilprecht’s note indicates that it was purchased on the antiquities market. The tablet is cited, under the number “HS 1957,” in Oelsner 1996, 438, who states: “Babylon als Herkunftsort ist zwar nicht gesichert, aber wahrscheinlich. In Erwägung gezogen werden könnten allenfalls noch Borsippa bzw. Sippar.”

★★

The most arresting feature of the tablet is its date. According to its colophon, it was written on the 2nd, 4th, or 5th year³⁶³ of the reign of the Chaldean king Nabû-šumu-iškun (ca. 760–748 BCE), the predecessor of Nabonassar.³⁶⁴ In any of the three cases, the present tablet

363 On the uncertainty of the reading of the year, see the philological commentary below.

364 On Nabû-šumu-iškun’s reign, see Brinkman 1968, 224–226 and 355–356 and Frame 1998/2000.

would represent the earliest datable document of this king's reign.³⁶⁵ It constitutes, moreover, the only non-administrative document datable to Nabû-šumu-iškun's time yet known.³⁶⁶

The reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun is best known from two later literary texts. The first is a long poetic text on a cylinder, BM 33428, commissioned by a governor of Borsippa, which describes turmoil in that city during the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun.³⁶⁷ The cylinder probably represents a later copy of the original text (Lambert 1968, 125). The second text involving Nabû-šumu-iškun is a lengthy historical-literary text known only in one tablet from Uruk, IM 77027 (W.22660/0; *SpTU* 3, 58).³⁶⁸ In that text, the king seems to be depicted as an impious ruler who commits sacrilege against various Babylonian cult centers.³⁶⁹ It has been suggested that one of his sacrilegious actions, namely the abduction of Ištar of Uruk, triggered the composition of the epic *Erra and Išum*,³⁷⁰ and perhaps also of other Babylonian texts that found echo in later tradition.³⁷¹ The tablet edited here is, however, the sole witness to the scholarly activities that ostensibly took place during the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun.

365 Other dated documents from the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun come from the king's 8th (VA 3031 = *VŠ* 1, 36, edited by Paulus 2014, 683–688), 10th (MLC 1812 = *BRM* 1, 2 and BM 26528 = Zadok 1997b and Brinkman 2005), and 13th (MLC 1813 = *BRM* 1, 3 and BM 108527 [unpubl.]) regnal years. See Brinkman 1968, 224–226 and 355–356; Brinkman/Kennedy 1983, 63; and Everling 2013 [2000], 4.

366 The cylinder BM 33428 (discussed below) may well be a late copy, as argued by Lambert 1968, 125.

367 The text was edited by Lambert 1968, 125–130 and Frame 1995, 123–126; see also Frame 1998/2000, 33a and *id.* 2013, 105.

368 Edited by von Weiher's 1988, 7–18 and re-edited by Cole 1994. Note that most of the new readings adopted in Cole's edi-

tion are highly hypothetical and represent virtual emendations. New readings can be obtained from the published photographs, note e.g. iii 34'–35': *ina* MU.6.KAM *ana* *ēsaḡil* *ēkal* *ellil* *ilī* | *ana* *ud-du-ši-šu* *ušši*(URU₄*) *iškun-ma*. A new edition of the text, informed by collation of the original, is a desideratum.

369 See Cole 1994; Beaulieu 2001; Waerzeggers 2011, 739–740; and Zadok 2017.

370 Thus Beaulieu 2001 (modifying a previous proposal by von Soden 1971b, 255–256) and, following him, Frahm 2011, 348. See already Cole 1994, 222 and 251–252.

371 Cole 1994, 222 and 252 suggests that the *Fürstenspiegel* may have been composed as a reaction to Nabû-šumu-iškun's reign.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [šumma(𒊕) ina arahsamni(^{iti}APIN) ušši(URU₄) bīti(É) iptē(BAD)-ma libitta(SIG₄)
iddi(ŠUB-di) | mim-mu-šú ana pānī(IGI)-šú] illak(GIN-ak) // Iqqur ipuš §1
2. [šumma(𒊕) MIN uššū(URU₄) bīti(É) U₄.16.KAM^v innadū(ŠUB-ú) | kabtu(IDIM) ina bīt(É)
amēli(NA)] imât(ÚŠ) // §2
3. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīta(É) ipuš(DÙ-us)] | ulabbar(TIL-bar) // §5
4. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīta(É) iq-qur | aššat(DAM)] amēli(^rNA¹) imât(Ú[Š]) // §7
5. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bītu(É) iṣ-ṣi] | aššat(^rDAM¹) amēli(NA) imât(ÚŠ) // §8
6. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīta(É) is-suh] | aššat(DAM) amēli(NA) imât(ÚŠ) // §9
7. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīta(É) tam-la-a] imli(^rSA₅¹) | paṭār(DU₈-ár) lumni(HUL) // §10
8. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīt(É)-su ikkir(KÚR-i)r] | paṭār(DU₈-ár) lumni(HUL) // §11
9. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ana bītī(É)-šu(BI)] šānim(MAN)-ma ikkir(KÚR-ir) | paṭār(DU₈-ár)
lumni(HUL) // §12
10. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ana bītī(É)-šu(BI)] šānim(MAN)-ma ikkir(KÚR)-ma ihūt(LÁ) | bītu(É)
šū(BI) eli(UGU) bēli(EN)-šú iṭáb(DÙG-ab) // §13
11. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ana bītī(É)]-šu(BI) iṭūr(GUR-úr) | libba(ŠÀ)-šu(BI) ul(NU)
iṭáb(DÙG.GA) // §15
12. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ana bītī(É)-šu(BI)] iṭrub(KU₄-ub) | libba(ŠÀ)-šu(BI) ul(NU)
iṭáb(DÙG.GA) // §16
13. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ana bītī(É)]-šu(^rBI¹) ešši(GIBIL) iṭrub(KU₄) | bēl(EN) bīti(É) bēlet(NIN)
bīti(É) mārū(DUMU^{mes}) bīti(É) ištēniš(DIŠ-niš) imuttū(ÚŠ^{mes}) // §17
14. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bīt(É)-su] uddiš(GIBIL-is) | libba(ŠÀ)-šu(BI) ul(NU) iṭáb(DÙG.GA) // §18
15. [šumma(𒊕) MIN IDIM-BI ikkir(KÚ)R-ir] | paṭār(DU₈-ár) mūtī²(ÚŠ) // §22
16. [šumma(𒊕) MIN IDIM-BI iptē(BA)D-°te°] | kabtu(IDIM) ina bīt(É) amēli(NA) imât(ÚŠ) // §23
17. [šumma(𒊕) MIN IDIM-BI ikkir(KÚR)-m]a ihūt(LÁ) | bītu(É) šū(BI) eli(UGU) bēli(EN)-šú
iṭáb(DÙG-ab) // §24
18. [šumma(𒊕) MIN IDIM-BI i]-šur | aššat(DAM) amēli(NA) imât(ÚŠ) // §25
19. [šumma(𒊕) MIN šimda(NÍG.LAL) ikkis(K)UD-is] | paṭār(DU₈-ár) lumni(HUL) // §26
20. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ultu(TA) ūri(^{gis}ÜR) šimda(N)ÍG.LAL) ikkis(KUD-is) | nissata(ZARAḤ)
irašši(TUKU-ši) // §27
21. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bābu(KÁ) kul-]u-mu-ti šimda(NÍG.LAL) ikkis(KUD-is) | bītu(É) šū(BI)
išid(SUHUŠ)-su(BI) ul(NU) ikân(GI.NA) // §28
22. [šumma(𒊕) MIN bābu(KÁ) lā(NU) ku]l-lul-ma antallú(AN.GE₆) iššakin(GAR) |
amātu(INIM) eli(UGU) bēl(EN) bīti(É) imaqqut(ŠUB-u[I]) // §4
23. [šumma(𒊕) MIN aššata(DAM) irši(TUKU-š)i] | māḥira(GABA.RI) ul(NU) irašši(TU[KU-š)i] // §61
24. [šumma(𒊕) MIN aššat(DAM)-su an]a bītī(É)-šú ušērib(KU₄-ib) | bītu(É) šū(BI)
[ulabbar(TIL-bar)] // §62
25. [šumma(𒊕) MIN šerru(LÚ.TUR) a]-^rlid¹ | ana arkât(EGIR) u₄-mi akala(NINDA)
i-š[eb-bi] // §64
26. [šumma(𒊕) MIN ši-gu-ú] issi(GÙ-si) | libba(ŠÀ)-šu(BI) [iṭáb(DÙG.GA)] // §34

27. [šumma(𒌦) MIN šubāt(TÚG)-su] ubbib(𒄠DADAG²) | amēlu(NA) šū(𒀭BI¹) [o (o)]
// cf. *Iqqur ĩpuš* §35
28. [šumma(𒌦) MIN kurummat(ŠUK)-su ana ilī(DINGIR)-šú iškun(GAR-un)] |
rēmu(𒀭ARĤUŠ¹) [iššakkan(GAR)-šú] // §36
- Rest of obverse broken

**

Translation

Obverse

1. [If, in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII), (a man) opens the foundations of his house and lays a brick, his possessions] will [pro]sper.
 2. [If ditto (*scil.* in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII)) the foundations of a house are laid on the 16th day, a nobleman] will die [in the man's house].
 3. [If ditto he builds a house], he will grow old.
 4. [If ditto he demolishes a house, the m]an's [wife] will di[e].
 5. [If ditto the house decreases (in size)], the man's wife will die.
 6. [If ditto he tears out a house], the man's wife will die.
 7. [If ditto he fi]lls out [the fillings (in) a house], release from evil.
 8. [If ditto his house becomes host]ile, release from evil.
 9. [If ditto] he moves to another [house of his], release from evil.
 10. [If ditto] he moves to another [house of his] and inspects (it), that house will please its owner.
 12. [If ditto] he returns to [h]is [house], his heart will not rejoice.
 13. [If ditto] he enters his new [house], the man of the house, the lady of the house, (and) the children of the house will die at the same time.
 14. [If ditto] he restores [his house], his heart will not rejoice.
 15. [If ditto his *idim* becomes ho]stile, release from *death*.
 16. [If ditto he op]ens [his *idim*], a nobleman will die in the man's house.
 17. [If ditto his *idim* becomes hostile an]d he inspects (it), that house will please its owner.
 18. [If ditto he ta]kes care [of his *idim*], the man's wife will die.
 19. [If ditto he c]uts [a binding], release from evil.
 20. [If ditto] he cuts [a b]inding [from a roof], he will have lamentation.
 21. [If ditto] he cuts a binding [at the *kul*]lumūtu-[door], the foundation of that house will not be firm.
 22. [If ditto] there is an eclipse [while the gate is not yet ad]orned with a cornice, a rumor will bese[τ] the house's owner.
 23. [If ditto he tak]es [a wife], he will have no rival.
 24. [If ditto] he introduces [his wife t]o his house, that house [will grow old].
 25. [If ditto a baby is bo]rn, he will be s[ated] with bread for the rest of (his) days.
 26. [If ditto] performs [a *šigú*-lament], his heart will rejoice.
 27. [If ditto he puri]fies [his clothes], that man [...].
 28. [If ditto presents his offering to his god], merc[ly] will be set upon him].
- Rest of obverse broken

Reverse

- 1'. [šumma(¶) MIN ...] x x [...]
- 2'. [šumma(¶) MIN adad(^dIŠKUR) rigim(GÙ)-šú iddi(ŠUB) ūmu(U₄) irup(ŠÚ) šamú(AN) iznun(ŠUR)] manzát(^rd¹TIR.^rAN.NA¹) iprik(G[IL]-ma šār—erbeti(IM.LIMMU.BA) illikū(GIN^{mes})] // Iqqur ipuš §91
- 3'. [mīlu(ILLU) u bu-tuq-ti] | illikū(GIN^{mes})
- 4'. [šumma(¶) MIN adad(^dIŠKUR) rigim(GÙ)-šú iddi(ŠUB)-ma qaqqaru(KI) dišpa(L)ĀL] i-ḫi-il apa(^{gis}rGI¹) qišta(^{gis}rTIR¹) [būla(MÁŠ.ANŠE) adad(^dIŠKUR) irahḫiṣ(RA)] // §93
- 5'. [šumma(¶) MIN adad(^dIŠKUR) rigim(GÙ)-šú iddi(ŠUB)-ma qaqqaru(KI) marta(Z)Ē] i-ḫi-il bīnu(^{gis}ŠINIG) u gišimmaru(^{gis}rGIŠIMMAR¹) išširū(^rSI¹.[SÁ^{mes})] // §92
- 6'. [šumma(¶) MIN adad(^dIŠKUR) rigim(GÙ)-šú iddi(ŠUB)-ma qaqqaru(KI) l]u šamna(I.GIŠ) lu ittá(ESIR) lu nap-ṭa i-ḫi-i[l] // §94
- 7'. [a-bu-ub na-às-p]an-ti iššakkan(GAR-^ran¹)
- 8'. [šumma(¶) MIN šamú(AN(-u)) iznun(ŠUR-nun)] miqittu(ŠUB-tu₄) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL) maḫīru(KI.LAM) iššaqqal(LAL-al) // §95
- 9'. [šumma(¶) MIN lu U₄.6.KAM^v lu U₄.15.KAM^v šamú(A)N] iznun(ŠUR) mātu(KUR) me-se-ra immar(IGI) // §96
- 10'. [šumma(¶) MIN U₄.n.KAM^v šamú(AN) illik(GIN-ik)] ḫa-*rap* zunni(ŠÈG^{mes}) // §97
- 11'. [šumma(¶) MIN imbaru(MURU₉) iq-tu]r maṭé(LAL¹(ME)) šigūši(ŠE.MUŠ₅¹) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL) // §98
- 12'. [šumma(¶) MIN šūtu(^{im}U₁₈.LU) illik(GIN-i)k] šarru(LUGAL) ina bārti(ḫI.GAR) iddák(GAZ-ak) // §99
- 13'. [šumma(¶) MIN ri-i-bu] ^ri¹-ru-ub bārtu(ḫI.GAR) ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) // §100
- 14'. [šumma(¶) MIN qaqqaru(KI) i-ru-ub] ḫa-ba-lu₄ u šá-ga-šú ina māti(KUR) ibaššú(GÁL) // §101
- 15'. šumma(¶) MIN qadūtu(IM.GÚ) qaqqara(KUR) is-ḫ]up ebūr(BURU₁₄) māti(KUR) iššir(SI.SÁ) // §102
- 16'. [šumma(¶) MIN mīlu(ILLU) illikam(GIN-ka)m^v] zunnu(ŠÈG) izannun(ŠUR) adad(^dIŠKUR) dūri(BĀD^{me}) ubbat(GUL^{me}) // §103
- 17'. [šumma(¶) MIN mīlu(ILLU) illikam(GIN-kam^v)] mú(A^{mes})-šú kīma(°GIM°) dāmi(MÚD) šar-pu zunnu(ŠÈG^{me}) ina māti(KUR) ibaššú(GÁL) // §104
- 18'. [šumma(¶) MIN ^dnin-si₄-a]n-na U₄.9.KAM^v ina erēb-šamši(^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) innamir(IGI) māta(KUR) dannatu(KI.KAL) iṣabbat(DAB-bat) // §104a
- 19'. [adi(EN) U₄.13.K]AM^v šá du'ūzi(^{iti}ŠU) ina erēb-šamši(^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) izzaz(GUB) U₄.14.KAM^v šá du'ūzi(^{iti}ŠU) itabbal(TUM)-ma
- 20'. [U₄.7.KAM^v in]a šamé(AN-e) uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma U₄.21.KAM^v šá du'ūzi(^{iti}ŠU) ina šīt-šamši(^dUTU.É) inappah(KUR)-ma
- 21'. nukrātu([^{munus}KUR^m]^{es}) ina māti(KUR) ibaššá(GÁL^{mes}) ebūr(BURU₁₄) māti(KUR) iššir(SI.SÁ)
-
- 22'. [arahšammu(^{iti}APIN)] šá apkal(ABGAL) ilī(DINGIRmeš) marūtuk(^dAMAR.UTU) // §105
- 23'. [kīma(GIM) labīri(LIBIR)]-^ršú¹ šaṭir(SAR)-ma bari(IGI.KÁR) ayyāru(^{iti}GU₄) U₄.30.KAM^v
- 24'. [MU].2/^r4¹/^r5¹.KAM^v nabú(^d+AG)-šumu(MU)-iškun(GAR-un) šar(LUGAL) bābili(TIN.TIR^{ki})

End of side

Reverse

- 1'. [If ditto (*scil.* "in the month Araḥsamnu (VIII)") ...] ... [...]
- 2'. [If ditto Adad roars, the day clouds over, it rains], a rainbow arches, [and the four winds blow]:
- 3'. [there] will be [flood and inundation].
- 4'. [If ditto Adad roars and the earth] exudes [ho]ney, [Adad will wash away] reed beds, forests, (and) [cattle].
- 5'. [If ditto Adad roars and the earth] exudes [bi]le, the tamarisk and the palm will p[rosper].
- 6'. [If ditto Adad roars and the earth] exudes [eit]her oil or bitumen or naphtha,
- 7'. there will be a [destr]uctive [flood].
- 8'. [If ditto it rains,] there will be an epidemic in the land, the market will become expensive.
- 9'. [If ditto either on the 6th day or on the 15th day] it rains, the land will experience captivity.
- 10'. [If ditto on the nth rain comes], the rains will be early.
- 11'. [If ditto a fog roll]s in, there will be a shortage of *šigūšu*-barley in the land.
- 12'. [If ditto the south wind blo]ws, the king will be killed in a rebellion.
- 13'. [If ditto there] is [an earthquake], there will be a rebellion in the land.
- 14'. [If ditto the earth quakes], there will be crime and murder in the land.
- 15'. [If ditto silt cov]ers [the land], the crop of the land will prosper.
- 16'. [If ditto the flooding com]es, it will rain, Adad will destroy the walls.
- 17'. [If ditto the flooding com]es and its waters are reddened like blood, there will be rains in the land.
- 18'. [If ditto Ve]nus (lit. Ninsi'anna) is seen on the 9th in the west, hardship will seize the land.
- 19'. [Until the 13]th of the month Du'ūzu (IV) it will stand in the west, on the 14th of Du'ūzu it will disappear,
- 20'. [(and) for seven days] it will not be visible in the sky; on the 21st of Du'ūzu it will rise in the east;
- 21'. there will be [hostilit]ies in the land, (but) the crop of the land will prosper.
-
- 22'. [The month Araḥsam]nu (VIII) belongs to the sage of the gods, Marduk.
-
- 23'. Copied and collated [according to it]s [original]. Month Ayyāru (II), 30th day,
- 24'. 2nd/r 4th1/r 5th1 [year] of Nabû-šumu-iškun ((760)–748 BCE), king of Babylon.

Commentary

o 15–18. The sign IDIM represents here “ne (...) plus la maison elle-même, mais une de ses parties ou de ses dépendances” (Labat 1965, 82 fn. 1).

o 21. The hapax *kullumūtu* was understood in *AHw* 504b as “Schaustellung?” (see also Vriezen 1939, 116 fn. 9: “poort der beslissing”). The word may be corrupt, since the parallel line from the Emar version reads: *šumma*(𒌷) *bāb*(𒊕)–*šú ku-tu-mu-ti ikkis*(𒊕𒀀–*is*),³⁷² understood by Ambos (2004, 129) as “Wenn er von seinem Tor die Deckplatten abschneidet.”³⁷³

o 22. The translation of the protasis follows *CAD* K 518b. The line is preserved also on the *Iqqur ipuš* monthly series tablet Rm.296+ l. 8', although there it has been erased (see Labat 1965, 222–223 fn. 3). The apodosis is seemingly unattested elsewhere in *Iqqur ipuš*, but compare INIM *tuš-ši* UGU NA ŠUB–*ut*, “a slanderous rumor will beset the man” in §65 l. 4 (Labat 1965, 134).

o 24. The restoration at the end is based on the prognosis for Araḥsamnu preserved in YBC 9834 ii' 13'–14' (unpublished): 𒌷^{iti}DU₆ É BI LIBIR.RA | 𒌷^{iti}APIN ŠU.BI.AŠ.ÀM.

o 25. The writing *a-lid* also appears in BM 34809 (eBL transliteration) and in BM 47456 (unpublished, mentioned in Finkel 1988, 154). The end of the line has been restored after BM 47456 o 10 (the apodosis is also attested in HS 1945 o 8 [No. 15]).

r 2'. The apodosis has been restored after BE 36410 l. 25' (Labat 1965, 220 and pl. xli).

r 4'. The apodosis is elsewhere attested in *Iqqur ipuš* §93 for the month Kislīmu, not for Araḥsamnu (see Labat 1965, 180 l. 10 and 230 r 12'–13')

r 8'. On the apodosis *mahīru iššaqqal*, see Oppenheim 1956, 282 fn. 105, *CAD* K 565a, and Š/2 12a.

r 11'. The apodosis is less specific in the *série générale* §98: LAL NUMUN *ina* KUR GÁL, “there will be a shortage of seed in the land” (Labat 1965, 186).

r 18'–21'. These lines are drawn from *Enūma Anu Enlil* 63 §45 (Reiner/Pingree 1975, 45). On the borrowing of certain sections of the *Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa* in *Iqqur ipuš*, see Reiner/Pingree 1975, 7 and 10 and Hunger/Pingree 1999, 38.

r 24'. Only two parallel horizontal wedges are preserved. They may correspond to the horizontal version of the numbers 2 (MIN₆), 4 (LIMMU), or 5 (IA₉). The horizontal versions of the numbers are occasionally used in Neo-Babylonian tablets to indicate the year number (see Streck 1995b, 58). In the present corpus, a similar use can be found in HS 1934+ (No. 7), where the number 4 is written as AŠ.AŠ.AŠ.AŠ.

372 Msk.74296a o 49' and r 94' (copy in Arnaud 1985, 627 and 629), edition in Arnaud 1987, 221 and 224 no. 611 l. 49' and 187'.

373 Note, however, that the plural *-ūtu* for *kutummu*, “covering” (a substantive)

would be unexpected, and that the word *kutummu* is never attested elsewhere in relation to gates. The reading of the Emar tablet is, therefore, not necessarily better than that of the first-millennium versions.

IV. School Tablets



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.183

No. 17: HS 1890, Hymn to Ištar and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1890 (old number on tablet: 59)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 40): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Kassit. Schülertafel. Fundort: Nippur.” On box (Hilprecht’s handwriting): “Ni.-59 IV.” Different handwriting: “Liter.” Slip in box (von Soden’s handwriting): “Kass. Schülertafel.”

Size: 6.8 × 4.5 × 0.9 cm

Introduction

This pillow-shaped Kassite exercise contains, on its landscape-oriented obverse, an excerpt from a literary text; and, on its reverse an excerpt from a Middle Babylonian version of the list *Harra* = *hubullu*, written like a portrait.³⁷⁴ This is, together with HS 1781,³⁷⁵ the only Kassite school tablet in Jena whose box indicates its provenance, in Hilprecht’s handwriting, according to which it was found during the fourth Philadelphia Nippur campaign (1899–1900; see above §3). The post-war Chicago expeditions found Kassite school tablets in several sectors of Nippur (Veldhuis 2000, 68–69; Bartelmus 2016a, 14), both in the West and East mounds. Since both sets of mounds were explored by J.H. Haynes and H.V. Hilprecht during the fourth campaign, no specific archaeological context can be reconstructed for the tablet.

The text on the obverse is probably an excerpt from a hymn to Ištar in which the goddess speaks in the first person.³⁷⁶ If the signs on the overrun of l. o 1 have been correctly deciphered (*a-na-ku iš₈-tár*, “it is I, Ištar”), the refrain of the hymn would be identical with the refrain of two hymns to Ištar: the first is the only hitherto known self-laudatory hymn of the goddess from the Old Babylonian period;³⁷⁷ the second is a hymn preserved in a late Middle or early Neo-Assyrian tablet, each line of which ends with the refrain (Meinhold 2009, 313–328 no. 6):³⁷⁸

374 Note the Kassite form of the sign NE in o 3, similar to that of HS 1910 (No. 24).

375 Published by Scheil 1897, 62 and Veldhuis/Hilprecht 2003/2004, 42 no. 34; see §§ 3 and 5.

376 Note that the first line mentions the creation of mankind by Anu, Ninšiku, and Enlil, which is reminiscent of *Atrahasis*, a text particularly popular in Middle Babylonian school tablets: on Kassite school tablets with excerpts from *Atrahasis*, see Bartelmus 2016a, 164–165, 362–363 and Márquez Rowe 2016. See also the parallel in the *Sumerian Flood Story* cited below

(commentary to o 1). Note also the excerpt from *Gilgameš* in the MB school tablet A 29934 (MB Nippur₁), which mentions Aruru’s creation of mankind (Westenholz/Koch-Westenholz 2000, 445; George 2003, 289–291; and Bartelmus 2016a, 14).

377 On this text (*VS* 10, 213), see Groneberg 1971, 8; *ead.* 2003, 64 fn. 77; Streck 2020a, 664.

378 As noted by Meinhold 2009, 314 and 325, this text quotes Enheduana’s hymn *Immin šagura* (CSL 4.7.3, edition by Sjöberg

Old-Babylonian: VAT 6656 i 8' (*VS* 10, 213): [*ma-a*]/*l-ka-at ša-ma-mi a^{sic} ka-aq-qá-ri a-na-ku iš₈-tár*, “[the que]en of heaven *and* earth I am, Ištar!”

Late Middle or Early Neo-Assyrian: VAT 10395+ (*KAR* 306+, Meinhold 2009, 313–328 no. 6): every line ends with *a-na-ku iš₈-tar*.

The lines excerpted on this tablet probably belong to a similar composition, perhaps even to a hitherto unrecovered part of either of these hymns.

The text on the reverse runs mostly parallel to the first-millennium version of *Harra* IV 127–133, albeit its first three lines deviate from all known versions (Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian, and first millennium).³⁷⁹

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [o o] ᵏan¹-nu ᵏni-ši-ku ᵏen¹-líl a¹-mi-lu-ᵏta¹ ᵏib-nu¹-<u> a-na-ᵏku¹ iš₈-ᵏtár¹
2. [o] x-li di-li-li rabá(GAL-a)
3. x x-a ù ᵏè¹-e-ma ᵏri¹-ša-ti ᵏib-ba-nu¹-u MIN

Reverse

1. ḡeš¹ᵏe¹-pi-ir gu-za (—)
2. ḡeš¹eš¹kiri gu-za (*Harra* IV 128)
3. ḡeš¹erim¹ gu-za (cf. 127)
4. ḡeš¹-šÚ+A (129 = OB *Nippur giš* 204)
5. ḡeš¹-šÚ+A <du₁₀>-ús-sa¹ (130 = OB *Nippur giš* 205)
6. ḡeš¹-šÚ+A¹ šu-i (132)
7. ḡeš¹-šÚ+A kaskal (133)

★

Translation

Obverse

1. [*She who, with A*]nu, Ninšiku, (and) Enlil created mankind, it is I, Ištar!
2. [...] ... my great praise,
3. ..., and intelligence, delights, (she who) was created, ditto (*scil.* “it is I, Ištar!”).

Reverse

1. ḡeš¹*epir guza* (means “... of a chair”).
2. ḡeš¹*eškiri guza* (means “armrest of a chair”).
3. ḡeš¹*erim guza* (means “armrest of a chair”).
4. ḡeš¹*šú'a* (means “stool”).
5. ḡeš¹*šú'a dusa* (means “stool for a bathroom”).
6. ḡeš¹*šú'a šu'i* (means “stool of a barber”).
7. ḡeš¹*šú'a kaskal* (means “stool for a journey”).

1975b; see also Cavigneaux 2020, 74–81 no. 3), a text also known in two MB school tablets from Babylon (Michalowski 1998; Bartelmus 2016a, 154, 372–374; note also the unpubl. tablet SMUI

1913.14.1487 [*CDLI* no. P421340]) and in a Middle Babylonian manuscript (CBS 15203, see Viano 2016, 55–56).

379 See the commentary on ll. r 1–3.

Commentary

o 1. The writing *an-nu* (or AN-*nu*) for the god Anu is attested e.g. in the a *kudurru* of Meli-Šipak (Paulus 2014, 408 MŠ 4 v 48). On the syllabic writing ^d*ni-ši-ku* of Ninšiku, compare *ni-(iś)-ši-i-kullki* (*Agušaya* A iv 12, v 16' and 28' [Groneberg 1997, 77–79]), ^d*niš-ši-ku* (*KAR* 38 r 21, edition in Caplice 1970, 127), and *ni-ši-k[ī]* (OB *Anzū*, Sb 14683 o 14 [Scheil 1938, 22], edited in Vogelzang 1988, 99). On the name Ninšiku, see also Lambert/Millard 1969, 148–149. The normal order of the “first triad” (Meissner 1925, 4–18) is, of course, Anu → Enlil → Ea.

Compare, in the *Sumerian Flood Story*: an ^den-líl ^den-ki ^dnin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝá-ke₄ | saĝ-ĝe₆-ga mu-un-dím-eš-a-ba, “After An, Enlil, Enki and Ninḥursaĝa had created the black-headed people.”³⁸⁰

At the end, if the reading U.DAR is correct, one might compare the cursive late Old-Babylonian shapes of DAR booked by Fossey 1926, 827b nos. 27302–5. Alternative readings, such as *a-na ku-u-ri*, “for depression,” yield no good sense. Another possibility would be *a-na-ku u-dal-[-[i]i-li* (on *dalālu* II D, see Mayer 2016, 199), but line breaks in the middle of a word, possible in first-millennium school tablets of Type 1, do not seem to be attested in Kassite school tablets.

o 2. The word *di-li-li* probably represents *dalilu*, “praise”; the form *dililu* was previously known only in Neo-Assyrian (Mayer 2016, 200–201) and Old Babylonian (van Soldt 1994, 138 no. 164 l. 18 and note *ad loc.*; and Mayer 2016, 201) texts.³⁸¹

o 3. The first word could be read as ^r*a-la*¹-*a*, “drum,”³⁸² or ^rMIN¹^rKA²¹-*a*, “ditto, the order.” Compare also *Marduk's Address to the Demons* 47 (Geller 2016, 350; Peterson 2020): *ša ina tēmīšullramānišu ibbanū anāku*, “I am the one who was created on his own decision (var.: on his own).” The accusative endings in *x-x-a*, *tēma*, and *rīšāti* means that they are probably not the subject of *ibbanū*. One might consider the emendations <*ina*> *rīšāti ibbanū*, *tēma rīšāti* «IB» *banū*, or *tēma rīšāti ib-«BA»-nu-ú*, but in the absence of duplicates nothing certain can be said.

r 1–3. The recensions of the section differ considerably:

380 CSL 1.7.4 = CBS 10673 i 47–48 (*PBS* 5, 1), editions in Civil *apud* Lambert/Millard 1969, 140–141 and Kramer 1983, 117–118; see also Peterson 2018, 41 l. 1'.

381 According to GAG §55 i 10, the form *piris-* (with “Vokangleichung”) of *paris-* formations is Neo-Assyrian (but see now de Ridder/Zomer 2021).

382 If so, one may compare: [...-*ma*]_h *šubat dunga ašar n[āru]* | [*ina* (...)] *i[ni sammī* ^{gš}Ā.LÁ | [*ina* (...)] *za[māru ri-šá-a-ti u takné* | [(...)] *i[ī] ina nēmeqi ušarraḥu*, “[In the ...*ma*]_h, the abode of Dunga, where the si[nger] skilfully extols [the go]ds with [(...)] son]gs of joy and praise, [(accompanied) by (...)] the *zi*]ther, the lyre, the drum, [(...)]” (Paulus 2014, 705 MAI II 2 r 1–4).

OB	MA ³⁸³	Emar ³⁸⁴	SB (<i>Harra</i> IV)
199. bad	ii' 12'. zag	51'. sag	121. umbin
200. sag	ii' 13'. ri	52'. ri	122. kab
201. ri	ii' 14'. ʾbad ¹	53'. bad	123. bad
202. i-zi izim	ii' 15'. ʾiz-zi ¹	54'. i-izi	124. ri
203. umbin	ii' 16'. ʾumbin ¹	55'. níg.umbin	125. i(z)-zi cf. expl. <i>Malku</i> III 390: i-zi
			126. sag
			127. ERÍM cf. <i>ibid.</i> III 391: e-ri-im
			128. ŠIBIR cf. <i>ibid.</i> III 392: <eš-ke-e-ri-im>

r 1. The sign after $\hat{g}e\check{s}$ does not appear to be UD; ERIM seems possible, but the reading *pír* of ERIM is not attested in lexical lists (*MesZL* nos. 612–613), and the form of ERIM with horizontal instead of diagonal wedges is rare in Kassite texts.³⁸⁵ One may compare $\hat{g}e\check{s}.e-pi-ir$ DUG = *kannu ša mé*, “jar for water” (*Harra* VIIa 134 [*MSL* 6, 94], see also *Nabnītu* XXI 21 [*MSL* 16, 191]: $\hat{g}e\check{s}.e-pi-ir$ B1 = *kannu ša šikari*). Alternatively, the word $e^2-pi-ir$ could be a gloss to the sign ŠIBIR in the next line.

r 2. The reading of ŠIBIR(U+BURU₁₄) as eškirī (the reading of the sign e.g. in *Diri* II 262 [*MSL* 15, 130]: eš-ki-ri) is derived from the entry in expl. *Malku* III 392 (Hruša 2010, 458, restored after 377): eš-ke-e-ri-im = *amartu ša kussé*, “armrest of a chair” (the translation from *Malku* is followed here, see also Salonen 1963, 94, 150).

r 3. ERIM reflects perhaps the ERÍM of *Harra* IV 127 (see above and compare e-ri-im in expl. *Malku* III 391, followed in the translation here).

r 4. On the reading of $\hat{g}e\check{s}$ -šÚ+A, see Veldhuis 1997, 172 ad 204, who mentions the earlier spelling $\hat{g}e\check{s}\check{s}u_4-a$.

r 5. Both the Old Babylonian (Veldhuis 1997, 156 and 226 l. 205: $\hat{g}e\check{s}$ -šú-a du₁₀-sa) and the first-millennium versions (*MSL* 5, 161: $\hat{g}e\check{s}$ -šú+a du₁₀-ús-sa) of *Harra* IV read du₁₀-(ús)-sa, so the version of the present tablet ($\hat{g}e\check{s}$ -šú+a ús-sa) must be an error.

383 VAT 10219 (*LTBA* 1, 10 = *KAL* 8, 25). The sequence of entries in this tablet, a Middle Assyrian manuscript, is similar to *Harra* IV 169–173, and is therefore included here for comparison.

384 Msk.731030; copy in Arnaud 1985, 107.

385 See, however, the Kassite ERIM with horizontals instead of diagonals registered by Fossey 1926, 77a no. 25675.

No. 18: HS 1892, Tamarisk and Palm

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1892

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 40): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.]. Fundort: Nippur”.

Slip in box: “S^b. mB Schülertafel mit mehrfacher Wiederholung eines bestimmten Vokabularstücks” (the slip belongs to a different tablet).

Size: 2.7 × 3.1 × 1.5 cm

Introduction

This small fragment opens a new window in the convoluted history of the transmission of the most famous Mesopotamian disputation, the *Debate between Tamarisk and Palm*. Although certainly Babylonian in origin, the text was previously known only in the periphery of the Babylonian centers, and the quality of the known copies was rather poor: as remarked by Cavigneaux (2003, 53), “les scribes qui nous l’ont transmise, tous originaires des régions périphériques de la Mésopotamie (Šaduppu, Assur, Emar), semblent s’être acharnés à la massacrer.” This Nippur fragment brings the text back to its likely origin and bears witness to a recension of the tenson that must have been in circulation in Babylonia during the Kassite period.

Like most disputations, *Tamarisk and Palm* begins with a cosmogonic prologue, in which the origins of the rivalry between the contestants is traced back to the beginning of the Universe (Jiménez 2017a, 36–37; George 2020). In *Tamarisk and Palm*, the creation of the Universe by the gods is followed by the appointment of the primeval king Gušūrnīšī (George 2020, 86–87). This king decides to plant a specimen of each tree in his royal garden, an action that initiates the hostilities in an archetypical fashion: as noted by George (2020, 87), “[i]n the Babylonian imagination, wherever tamarisk and date-palm were planted together, the dispute between them continued.”³⁸⁶

Three different recensions of the prologue of the text were previously known: an Old Babylonian version from Šaduppûm (ca. 18th century BCE), a Middle Assyrian short version from Assur (ca. 13th century BCE; see Jiménez 2017a, 33–34 and George 2020, 76); and a roughly contemporary version from Emar. The text of the prologue was “in a relative state of flux” (Hoskisson 1991, 24), and the various recensions contain considerable differences.³⁸⁷ The newly recovered version from Nippur runs almost completely parallel to the Emar version, as can be seen in the score edition below.

386 Note the Arabic tradition recorded by Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860, II 224b (cited by Kogan 2012, 243 fn. 52 and Jiménez 2017a, 35 fn. 104), according to which the ‘ar’ar-tree (“juniper” in Arabic, but “tamarisk” in other Semitic languages), “est

réputé ennemi du palmier et tenu à distance de ce dernier.”

387 As has been repeatedly explored in secondary literature: see e.g. Wilcke 1988, 135–156; Dietrich 1995; Wilcke 2001;

The sign forms of the fragment are compatible with a Kassite date: compare e.g. the ligature *i+na* and the Neo-Babylonian-like shape of UN (l. 2).³⁸⁸ The unconfident hand suggests that the tablet is a school exercise, rather than a copy by an advanced scribe. If that is the case, the excerpt may not have been much longer than the preserved lines.

The transliteration below indicates the parallel lines from the E[mar], A[ssur] b, and T[ell] H[armal] (= Šaduppûm) versions, following the edition by George 2020 (see also Wilcke 1989).

Transliteration

1. [i-na u₄-mi ul-lu-tim^l(T)UM) i+na mu-ši r[u-qu-tim]
 TH 1a. [i-n]a ú-mi-«im» ul-lu-tim →
 E 1a. i-na u₄-mi~e[l-lu-ti] i-na mu-[ši ul]-lu-ti →
 Ab 1a. ina u₄-me~el-lu-te →
2. [i-na ša-na-tim ul-l]a-ti-ma i+na niši(U[N^{mes}]) ru-qa-ti]
 TH 1b. i-na ša-na-tim ru-qa-tim →
 E 1b. i-na MU^{mes}[š ul-la-ti-(ma) i-na] UN^{mes} ru-qè-t[i]
 Ab 1b. UN^{mes} ru-qat-«u»-te
3. [e-nu-ma ilū(DINGIR^{mes})] ú^l-kin-nu [ma-tam]
 TH 1c-2a. i-nu-ma | [i-lu] iz-zí-qú ù-ki-nu ma-tam →
 E 2a. e-nu-ma DINGIR^{mes}[ú-k]i-in-nu KUR-ta →
 Ab. caret
4. [āli(URU^{mes}) i-pu-šú-m]a šu-nu-^rma^l us^l(U[Z]-bu]
 TH 2b-3a. i-ta-an-hu i-lu a-na ^ra-we^l-lu-tim | [ú]š-bu ip-ša-hu →
 E 2b. URU^{didli} e-pu-šú [o o o o (o o o)]
 Ab. caret
5. [e-nu-ma iš^l]-ta-tap-pa-ku [hur-sa-ni]
 E 3a. e-nu-ma us^l(TA)-[ta]-^rap^l-pí-ku HUR.SAG^{mes} →
 Ab. caret
6. [na-ra-ti i_h-r]u-^rú^l ^rna^l-p[iš-ti ma-ti]
 E 3b. íD^{didli} i_h-[ru-ú na-piš-ti] KUR-ti
 Ab 2. íD^{mes} i_h-re-ú ZI KUR^{mes}

Cohen 2013, 190–193; and George 2020, 76–86.

388 The shape of KIN (l. 3) is reminiscent of certain Kassite forms, such as Fossey 1926,

976 no. 31933 (Kurigalzu) and 31950 (Nazi-Maruttaš).

Translation

1. [In thos]e [days], in f[ar-away] nights,
2. [In th]ose [years], among [far-away] pe[ople],
3. [When the gods] established [the land],
4. [(and) buil]t [the cities], they themselves *res[ted]*.³⁸⁹
5. [When] they had heaped up every [mountain],
6. [(And) d]ug [the rivers] — the lif[e of the land],

Commentary

1. The use of *tum* for *tim* is a “fairly common error in Old Babylonian writing” (George 2013, 2 fn. 3).
4. The reading of the last word is uncertain. Since a verb is expected at the end, the most likely reading of the last sign appears to be *u*[Z]. The emendation is based on the OB parallel in MS TH; one may also compare *be-la-at ili*(DINGIR^{mes}) *rabītu*(GAL) *us-^rba^l-at* in MS Ab l. 6 (George 2020, 81), listed in *ASy* 214 as one of the few cases in which the sign UZ should be read *us*₁₀ (it seems, however, simpler to explain the occurrence in MS Ab as an Assyrianism). Alternatively, one may reconstruct a form of *zāzu* D or Dt, perhaps with a reciprocal meaning, “they distributed (the cities) among themselves.”
5. The verb is understood as *šapāku* Gtn. The signs could also conceivably be read as *us*^d(TA)-*tap-piⁱ-ku* or [*us*]-*ta-apⁱ-<pi>-ku*, but neither solution is satisfactory. Arnaud’s copy of the passage (Msk.74158g o 3 [Arnaud 1985, 393]+ Msk.7480c(“j”) o 3 [Arnaud 1985, 212]) reads, in any case, ^r*ta*^l(not UŠ)-(x)-[o-*a*]*p-piⁱ-ku*, which has been tacitly emended to *us*^d-[*ta-a*]*p-piⁱ-ku* by all editors (Arnaud 1987, 391; Wilcke 1989, 171; Streck 2004, 258 [analyzed as an otherwise unattested *šapāku* Dtn]; Cohen 2013, 180; George 2020, 83).

389 Or, “settled (in them).”

No. 19: HS 1895, Bilingual School Dialogue and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1895

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 41): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Mittelbab. Schülertafel, zweisprach. Tiere, akk. Synonyme. Fundort: Nippur.“

Size: 9.1 × 5.2 × 0.6 cm

Introduction

This Kassite school tablet contains excerpts from three texts: its obverse, written in landscape format, cites six lines from a bilingual text; its reverse, written as a portrait, contains two extracts from lexical lists. The bilingual text on the obverse appears to be elsewhere unparalleled. The first line (“peak of the scribal art,” [za]g-til nam-dub-sar-ra),³⁹⁰ suggests that the text belongs to the category of school dialogues. This genre, well attested in Sumerian literature of the Old Babylonian period (Civil 1985, Ceccarelli 2020), reappears in a slightly different form in the first-millennium *Examenstexte*. The first-millennium texts do not represent later versions of the Old Babylonian dialogues, but rather independent works whose exact date of composition is disputed: some scholars view them as Old Babylonian in origin,³⁹¹ or at least, as reflecting Old Babylonian traditions;³⁹² others regard them as composed between the 12th and 9th centuries (Civil 1992, 303a), or even later (Heimpel 1982, 155a). The excerpt on HS 1895 represents a small witness to the missing link between both traditions: a Middle Babylonian group of school dialogues. The lines in HS 1895 display some similarities with the first-millennium *Examenstext* D (a.k.a. “In Praise of the Scribal Art”),³⁹³ but also with certain Old Babylonian Edubba’ dialogues.³⁹⁴

HS 1895 represents a valuable addition to the poorly attested group of Middle Babylonian school dialogues. Very few exemplars of this category are known: one may mention

390 On the interpretation of [za]g-til, see the commentary below. Since, as discussed above (§5), the tablet contains an exceptionally advanced school exercise, one may alternatively take the phrase literally: “(this tablet is) the peak of the scribal art.”

391 Landsberger 1960, 99–100; Vanstiphout 1995, 15 fn. 32; *id.* 2004, 238–239; but cf. Gesche 2001, 20.

392 Sjöberg 1974, 160; *id.* 1975a, 137; and, following him, Black 1984, 72–74 and Volk 1996, 180 and 182 fn. 34.

393 See the discussion *ad* o 3 below. On *Examenstext* D, see the edition by Sjöberg 1972; see also Maul 2010.

394 See commentary *ad* o 1 below.

(1) the Ugarit tablet RS 26.141 (Arnaud 2007, no. 28 and pl. xiv), classified by Arnaud as a “Hymne bilingue à Enki-Ea,” but whose contents seem best described as a school dialogue of sorts. For instance, its second column reads:³⁹⁵

ii 1'. <i>zīmū</i> (MÚŠ ^l)- <i>k</i> [<i>a</i> ² ...]	<i>Yo[ur] face ... [...]</i>
2'. <i>šà-zu</i> x [...]	<i>Your heart ... [...]</i>
3'. <i>libba</i> (ŠĀ)- <i>ka</i> x x [...]	
4'. <i>igi-zu</i> <i>níg</i> ² x x [...]	<i>Your eyes in ... [...]</i>
5'. <i>īmā</i> (IGI ^{min})- <i>ka</i> <i>i+n</i> [<i>a</i> ...]	
6'. <i>u₄-da-gin₇</i> [...]	<i>Like the day [...]</i>
7'. <i>ki-ma u₄-mi</i> [...]	
8'. < ^d utu-gin ₇ ¹ gub-ba x [...]	<i>Like the sun stand ... [...]</i>
9'. <i>ki-ma šamas</i> (^d UTU) x [...]	
10'. <i>egir-zu-šè</i> [...]	<i>To your back [...]</i>
11'. <i>a-na ar-ki-k</i> [<i>a</i> ...]	
12'. <i>u₄-da nu mu-un-e-x</i> [...]	<i>On that day, you will not ... [...]</i>
13'. <i>i+na u₄-mi ul ta</i> -[...]	
14'. <i>nam-dub-sar-ra</i> x [...]	<i>The scribal art ... [...]</i>
15'. <i>tup-šar-ru-t</i> [<i>u₄</i> ...]	
16'. <i>níg zu-zu</i> [...]	<i>What you have lea[rnt ...],</i>
17'. <i>ša ta-ḥu-z</i> [<i>u</i> ...]	
18'. <i>ku</i> ² <i>gub-ba</i> [...] ³⁹⁶	<i>Strive [after the scribal art!]</i>
19'. <i>ku-up-pi-i</i> [<i>d</i> ¹ ...]	
20'. <i>a-gin₇ na</i> [<i>m-dub-sar-ra</i> ...]	<i>How [...] the scribal a[rt]?</i>
21'. <i>ki tup-šar-ru-ta</i> ...]	
22'. <i>a-^rna¹-à</i> [<i>m</i> ¹ ...] ³⁹⁷	<i>Wh[at ...]?</i>
23'. <i>mi-<i>[na-a</i> ...]</i>	
24'. [(o)] x [...]	

Should the reading of the first lines suggested here be correct, HS 1895 could represent a duplicate of this tablet. In addition to the Ugarit tablet, there is (2) a small fragment from Nippur, probably of Middle Babylonian date, that contains terminology otherwise known only in *Examenstext* B (N 6064^{bis});³⁹⁸ and (3–6) three Kassite school tablets that contain excerpts with terminology elsewhere known only from the first-millennium school dialogues, two from Babylon (ROM 910x290.184 [Bab 36669,19]³⁹⁹ and VAT 21956 [Bab

395 The readings rely on Arnaud’s copy, but the tablet is in need of collation.

396 On the use of *kapādu* (= *ir-pag*) in *Examenstexte*, see below the commentary on HS 1895 o 3. If the reading is correct, the Sumerian equation (<^{g^es¹}-^{r^ug}<^{g^eštug}> *gub-ba*?) would be new.

397 Read as *a.kal* [...] | *mi-*[lu* ...]* by Arnaud 2007, 103. On the reading, compare *Examenstext* A 6–7 (Sjöberg 1975a, 140): *a-na-àm níg nu-un-zu-a* || *mì-nu-ú ša la i-du-u* | *a-na-àm i-zu* || *mì-na-a*

ti-de, “What is there that I don’t know? What do you know?”

398 Partly edited by Civil 1986, 75; see Bartelmus 2016a, 164 and Peterson 2017b, 276.

399 Edited by Bartelmus 2016a, 360–361. Bartelmus’s (2016a, 160) insightful suggestion to identify the excerpt as *Examenstext* A seems plausible in view of the parallels in *SpTU* 1, 146, identified as a manuscript of the *Examenstext* by Wilcke (1982, 144–145; see also *CAD* S 77b), as noted by Bartelmus 2016a, 361.

36669,14]],⁴⁰⁰ and one from Nippur (N 1789).⁴⁰¹ None of these texts duplicates text from the first-millennium school dialogues, yet the phraseology is so similar that it seems certain that the late second- and first-millennium texts are related. It seems, therefore, that forerunners of the first-millennium *Examenstexte* were in circulation in Nippur, Babylon, and the periphery during the second half of the second millennium BCE, and that they played a role in elementary education, as shown also by HS 1895.

★

The reverse of the present tablet contains excerpts of two lexical lists. The first (r 1–12) runs parallel to *Harra* XIV 42–54. Kassite tablets usually cite only the Sumerian column of lexical lists: the fact that the same Sumerian entries are repeated in consecutive lines means that the students were probably expected to supply the Akkadian translation from memory.⁴⁰² Exceptionally, the *Harra* section of HS 1895 is cited in its bilingual form, and not only with its Sumerian column.

Even more exceptionally, the second excerpt of HS 1895 is a synonym list, which runs parallel to the synonym list that was appended to the god list *An = Anu*, known in modern scholarship as *An* VII/VIII–X.⁴⁰³ Synonym lists are otherwise entirely unattested in Kassite-period school tablets (Bartelmus 2016a, 198).⁴⁰⁴ One of the entries of the list in HS 1895, *abūšim* = *abūbu* (r 17), is particularly interesting for the history of Mesopotamian lexicography: the word *abūšin* is attested only in a literary prayer to Marduk, whose earliest manuscript dates to the Old Babylonian period (BM 78278 [*CT* 44, 21 and *CTL* 1, 81]), and which is also excerpted in a Kassite school tablet.⁴⁰⁵ The fact that a Middle Babylonian synonym list already books and explains this strange word means that at least some Old Babylonian literature must have been excerpted by Akkadian lexicographers in the first few centuries after its composition.⁴⁰⁶

★

Although the tablet was previously unpublished, its reverse has been used by lexicographers in the past, albeit without citing the tablet directly. The first excerpt (r 1–12) was probably transliterated by von Soden during his research stay in Jena in 1954,⁴⁰⁷ and subsequently used in the *MSL* edition of *Harra* XIV (as “Jena unnumbered,” *MSL* 8/2, 6 MS S₈). The second excerpt (r 1–12), cited in several entries of *AHw*,⁴⁰⁸ was ostensibly used in Landsberger’s unpublished reconstruction of *An* VII/VIII–X. This reconstruction is used

400 Edited by Bartelmus 2016a, 357; see also *ibid.*: 163–164.

401 Edition in Bartelmus 2016a, 431; see also Civil 1986, 75 and Peterson 2017b, 276.

402 See Bartelmus 2016a, 53–55 and in general §5.

403 On this list, see Hruša 2010, 1 and 4–5 fn. 26. Several manuscripts of the list have been edited as part of the *DCCLT* project.

404 Synonym lists are also rare in first-millennium school tablets from Babylonia, and are hitherto unattested in Nippur: see fn. 162 above.

405 Bab 36657, identified by Bartelmus 2016a, 161.

406 See also the philological commentary *ad* r 17. For a similar case of a Kassite tablet with an extract of a hymn, which is then excerpted for the lexical list *Erimḫuš*, see Michalowski 1998; and also Cavigneaux/Güterbock/Roth 1985, 3; Bartelmus 2016a, 154; and Boddy 2021, 97–108.

407 On von Soden’s stay in Jena, see Oelsner 2009, 23–26

408 *AHw* 698a s.v. *nābi’u* (as “Fragm. Jena 19”), 733b s.v. *napalḫū* (as “HS o. N.”), and 1331b s.v. *tarsītu* I (as “Frgm. Jena 3”).

in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, and some of the quotations of the list there make it clear that a section of *An VIII* is only preserved in HS 1895 (see especially commentary on r 23). Several entries from the section of *An VIII* preserved in this manuscript are also known in the Nineveh manuscript K.11205 (*CT* 18, 17)+ K.13693 (here MS A).

**

The first line of the obverse is given only in an incomplete form (note the absence of a verb) and only in its Sumerian version, without an Akkadian translation. It seems likely that the opening line represents a memory cue, whose purpose is to tell the student that his assignment begins at the line after the one cited. These sorts of memory cues are common in Neo-Babylonian school tablets from Nippur (see §5), and some Middle Babylonian examples of this practice can now be adduced (§5, see also HS 1896 [No. 20]).

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [za]g-til nam-dub-sar-ra
- 2a. ḡú-zu¹ ḡeššudun₄-šè ḡé-en-ši-ú[s]
- 2b. ḡki¹-š[a-a]d-ḡka¹ a-ḡna¹ ḡni-i-ri¹ ú-mi-di [ø]
- 3a. a-s[ḡ-lašil]a² (?) ḡḡé¹-tuku ki-še-er-šè ba-ni-in-ri-ri-e[š]
- 3b. [(o o) tūb² li]b²-ḡbi¹ ḡri-ši-ma¹ a-ḡna¹ ḡki¹-še-er na-aš-ḡki¹-in
- 4a. ḡmúš-me-zu¹ ḡmúš-me-ḡá-gin₇
- 4b. ḡzi¹-mu-ḡka¹ ḡki¹-ma zi-mi-ia-ma
- 5a. ḡšà¹-zu [š]à-ḡmu-gin₇ ḡḡé-en-ga-na-ḡnam¹
- 5b. ḡlib-«BI»-ba-ka¹ «ḡki¹-m[a lib-bi-ia]-ḡma¹» ki-ma lib-bi-ia-ma
- 6a. ḡšà²-bal² ḡigi-ḡál-bi¹ [ø] °an^o ḡd+en¹-ki ḡḡa¹-ra-ab-šú¹m-mu
- 6b. [(o o) o o o o] ḡd¹é-ḡa¹ [li-ḡdin¹-n[a]

Reverse

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. [mu]š ḡùd | qin-n[i] | (<i>Harra</i> XIV 42) |
| 2. muš a | me-ḡe ¹ | (43; OB <i>Harra</i> III 268) ⁴⁰⁹ |
| 3. muš na ₄ | ab-ḡni ¹ | (44; OB 267) |
| 4. muš ú-gìri-mú-ḡa ¹ | kàs-si-ba-n[u-ú] | (45; OB 283) |
| 5. muš túm-ḡtúm-me ¹ | [a]s-qú-du | (46) |
| 6. ḡam ¹ | ḡri ¹ -mu | (48) |
| 7. am kur-ra | ša-di-i | (49) |
| 8. am ù-na ¹ gub-bu | ḡka ¹ -ad-rum | (50) |
| 9. am si è | qar-na-nu | (51) |
| 10. am si ḡal-ḡal-la | MIN | (52) |
| 11. am-si | pi-rum | (53; OB 319) |
| 12. am-si kur-ḡra ¹ | ša-di-i | (54; OB 320) |
| <hr/> | | |
| 13. mu-um-ḡma ¹ | mi-im-ma | (<i>An VIII</i> 75 [// A r 2]) |
| 14. at-nu | ik-ri-bu | (<i>An VIII</i> 76 [// A r 3], <i>Malku</i> V 66) |
| 15. ta-ar-si-tum | te-ès-ḡli ¹ -tum | (<i>An VIII</i> 77 [// A r 4], <i>Malku</i> V 68) |

409 The Old Babylonian version is cited after the *DCCLT* edition (no. Q000001).

16.	<i>zé-e-ru-ú</i>	<i>ba-a-nu-ú</i>	(<i>An VIII 78</i> [^{U A r 5}], cf. exp. <i>Maliku I 158</i>)
17.	<i>a-bu-ši-im</i>	<i>a-bu-bu</i>	(<i>An VIII 79</i> [^{U A r 6}], <i>Maliku II 257</i>)
18.	<i>za-wa-nu</i>	<i>le-em-nu</i>	(<i>An VIII 80</i> [^{U A r 7}], <i>Maliku I 83</i>)
19.	<i>na-bi-ḫu</i>	<i>te-bu-ú</i>	(<i>An VIII 81</i> [^{U A r 8}])
20.	<i>ga-ru-ú</i>	<i>ge-ru-ú</i>	(<i>An VIII 82</i> [²])
21.	<i>ga-ru-ú</i>	<i>nakru</i> ^(KÚR)	(<i>An VIII 83</i> [^{CAD N/1 190b}])
22.	^r <i>qar</i> ^l - <i>da-mu</i>	<i>eg-rum</i>	(<i>An VIII 84</i> [^{CAD E 47a}], <i>Maliku I 79</i>)
23.	<i>[na]-pa-al-^rtú^l-ú</i>	<i>e-te-qum</i>	(<i>An VIII 85</i> [^{CAD E 384a, N/1 272b}], <i>Maliku II 102</i>)

**

Translation

Obverse

1. “[P]eak of the scribal art” (cue)
2. Apply your neck to the yoke!
3. You will attain [*hap*]piness, you will obtain profit!
4. ⁽⁵⁾ Let ⁽⁴⁾ your face ⁽⁵⁾ be ⁽⁴⁾ like my face,
5. And your heart like my heart!
6. May Enki/Ea grant you *reputation and wi[sdom]*!

Reverse

1. *muš gud* (means) “nest (snake).”
2. *muš a* (means) “water (snake).”
3. *muš na₄* (means) “stone (snake).”
4. *muš girimu’ a* (means) “*kassibānu*-snake.”
5. *muš tumtume* (means) “*asqūdu*-snake.”
6. *am* (means) “wild bull.”
7. *am kura* (means) “(wild bull of) the mountain.”
8. *am una gubu* (means) “rampant (wild bull).”
9. *am si è* (means) “horned (wild bull).”
10. *amsi ḫalḫala* (means) “ditto.”
11. *amsi* (means) “elephant.”
12. *amsi kura* (means) “(elephant of) the mountain.”

13. *mumma* (means) “anything.”
14. *atnu* (means) “prayer.”
15. *tarsītu* (means) “orison.”
16. *zērú* (means) “begetter.”
17. *abušim* (means) “flood.”
18. *zāwānu* (means) “evil.”
19. *nābiḫu* (means) “insurgent.”
20. *gārú* (means) “rival” (*gērú*).
21. *gārú* (means) “enemy.”
22. *qardāmu* (means) “crooked.”
23. *[na]paltú* (means) “to cross.”

Commentary

o 1. Castellino 1972, 89 translates zag—(til) as “what is most important in something, the essence of it, the essentials of art and doctrine.” The phrase zag—til nam—dub—sar—ra seems to be attested only here, but one might compare zag inim—inim—ma nam—dub—sar—ra, “the peak of the words of the scribal arts,” and zag nam—šeš—gal é—dub—ba—a—šè, “until the state of ‘big brother’ of the school” in *Edubba’A* (CSL 5.1.1) ll. 45 and 46 (cited by Castellino *ibid.*; see Römer 1990, 72–73; for a different interpretation, see Attinger 2002/2019). See also *ibid.* 71: nam—dub—sar—ra saĝ—bi ús—sa zag—bi—šè til—la, “reach the pinnacle of the scribal art, master it (zag—til)!”⁴¹⁰

One may also compare the following passage in a Išme-Dagan hymn:

ᵀdubᵀ ki-en-gi ki-uri-[k]a sar-re-b[i] mu-(un)-ᵀzuᵀ-a
[é du]b-ba-a [šú mi]-ni-mul-mul-la
[o (o)] x dub nam-d[ub-sar]-ra z[ag i]m-mi-til-la

I have learnt how to write tablets in Sumerian and Akkadian,
I have made the [edu]bba’a [sh]ine forth,
I have [ma]stered (zag—til) the ... tablets of the scrib[al art].

Išme-Dagan A+V 364–366 (CSL 2.5.4.01; Ludwig 1990, 166 and 187–189; Frayne 1998, 16)

o 2. If the reading ú[s] is correct,⁴¹¹ one might compare similar shapes of UŠ in Fossey 1926, 483b 15805 (dated to Samsu-iluna) and 15819 (Kudur-Enlil), and the shapes of GÁ and GIM in the present text (e.g. o 4). ú—mi—di, a D stem imperative of *emēdu*, exhibits an otiose “overhanging” -i vowel, not uncommon in Kassite texts from the thirteenth century onwards (Aro 1955, 74–75 and van Soldt 2020, 173–174).

The line is reminiscent of the refrain of the *Song of the Plowing Oxen*, gu₄ ĝen—a ĝen—a ĝeš₈ sudun—a gú ĝar—i, “Go, oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke” (Civil 1976, 86–89 ll. 2–3, 143–144).⁴¹²

o 3. Compare: nam—dub—sar—ra ir—pag ù—bí—ak á—tuku ħa—ra—ab—taḥ—e | nam—dub—sar—ra bar—dag ù—bí—ak—(a) šu—ní—ĝ—ĝál—la a—ra—ab—tuku—(tuku) || *ana ṭupšarrūti kipid—ma nēmela liššibka | ana ṭupšarrūti tūp(u)—ma mašrā lišaršika*, “strive after the scribal art, you will gain profit; devote yourself to the scribal art, you will obtain wealth!” in *Examenstext* D 4–5 (Sjöberg 1972, 126 // BM 38703 o 7–10 [CT 58, 66] // VAT 13964 o 5’–8’ [Maul 2010]).

The restoration at the beginning is very uncertain: it assumes that a phonetic complement is used (^{a-s}[ⁱ-la^áasil]a[?]), or else that the word *asilal*, “joy,” is written syllabically as e.g. a-s[ⁱ-la-a]l[?]. Moreover, the translation by means of Akkadian [*tūb/ḥūd*] *libbi* is unusual for this word, usually translated as *rīštu*, “celebration,” in bilingual texts.⁴¹³

ki—še—er is equated in the lexical tradition with *kišdu*, “limit” (Civil 1966, 123–124), and, through confusion with ku—še—er, with *kušru*, “profit” (Civil 1994, 100). The latter sense is attested in proverbs: thus, in *UET* 6/2 380 and 381, a—na—àm ki—še—er ba—ab—ĝar || *mi—nam a—na*

410 Compare perhaps also zag nam—gala—šè ga—ne—eb—zu—zu, “I will have them learn (...) up to the lamentation corpus!” (Kleinerman 2011, 194–195 l. 20, courtesy U. Gabbay).

411 ĝá[1] does not seem possible (see the shape of IG in r 14). The equation ri = *ummudu*, *šutēmudu* (attested in *Aa* II/7 I 24–25 [MSL 14, 296], but apparently not in bilingual texts) might suggest a reading

—r[i] of the last sign, which seems, however, epigraphically more difficult.

412 The first-millennium version is preserved in K.3587 (eBL transliteration): ᵀaᵀ-la-li al—pu a—lik a—lik ana ni—ri ᵀkuᵀ-nu—uᵀš | [a-la]-ᵀapᵀ ᵀsar—ri a—lik a—lik ana ni—ri ᵀkuᵀ-nu-ᵀusᵀ.

413 Note also the equation of ^{a-s}[ⁱ-la^áasil]a with *ebēru* (a hapax) and *qū[lu]*, “silence,” in *Aa* V/1, 180–182 (MSL 14, 412).

ku-ši-ri-im aš-ku-un, “what profit did I obtain?” (Alster 1997, 325).⁴¹⁴ In the present line, *ki-še-er* is left untranslated in the Akkadian line, perhaps as a logogram or a loanword.

naškin (N stem imperative of *šakānu*) translates in grammatical lists *ġar-ba*, *ga-ba-ġar*, and *ġa-ba-ġar*.⁴¹⁵ The Sumerian version of the verb begins with the prefix *ba-*: first-millennium bilinguals often translate non-modal Sumerian forms as Akkadian imperatives (Stola 1981, 84–85). The last sign of the Sumerian line could conceivably be *d[e]*, i.e., a non-standard spelling of *-dè*, instead of *-e[š]*.

o 5. A reading ¹*lib-bé-ši*¹ (for *libbaši*, i.e. *bašú* N with unusual vowel harmony)⁴¹⁶ is tempting but appears epigraphically difficult. The solution adopted here assumes that *kīma libbīyā-ma* was written twice by mistake⁴¹⁷ (perhaps *libbī* instead of *libbaka* in ¹*lib-«BI»-ba-ka*¹ is also a mistake).

o 6. The reading of the first half of the line is very uncertain; if correct, it would reflect the phrase *ša-bal*, “to ponder” (PSD B 55b), translated in *Examenstext* A 55 as *libba šutābulu* (Sjöberg 1975a, 146 // *SpTU* 1, 146 r 16’): *ġe₆ u₄-za-l-e šà-zu ħé-(en-)bal-e || mūša u urra libbaka liš-ta-bil*.

On the phrase *igi-ġál-šúm*, “to grant wisdom,” see Sjöberg 1974, 174 and fn. 53, citing *UET* 6/1 no. 99 v 25’–27’ (now Brisch 2007, 134 and Peterson 2016, 42): ^d*nidaba* | ¹*nin*¹ *ġéštu ga[l]am-ma* | ¹*igi*¹-*ġál* *ù-mu-[u]n-na-šúm*, “After Nissaba, the queen of subtle insight, will grant wisdom to him.” On the form *i-din-na* of the preterite of *nadānu* in Middle Babylonian texts, see *GAG* §102h–i and Aro 1955, 74.

r 4. The “snake of the *kassibu*-plant” is perhaps a snake that could hide in that plant (so Landsberger 1934, 66). The manuscripts of the first-millennium version read the Sumerian name as *muš ú-nu-mú-a* (*MSL* 8/2, 9; Weiershäuser/Hrůša 2018, 145), whereas the Old Babylonian version reads *muš úġìri mú-a* (OB Nippur *Harra* III 283, edition DCCLT no. Q000001).⁴¹⁸ The present manuscript is, therefore, closer to the Old Babylonian version.

r 5–6. In the first-millennium version, the line missing here, *Harra* IV 47 (*túm-túm-me = asqūdu*), is an expansion of *Harra* IV 46 (*muš túm-túm-me = asqūdu*), see Weiershäuser/Hrůša 2018, 162 *ad loc.*

r 17. The equation is also attested in *Malku* II 257 (Hrůša 2010, 352), where the first word is written as *a-bu-ši-in* and ¹*a*¹-*bu*-[*ši*]*n*. The line probably explains the occurrence of the word in two prayers to Marduk (the second appears to be dependent upon the first):

414 Compare also K.17303 i’ 3’–5’ (eBL transliteration, proverbs?) [...] x *ninnu-gin₇ ġar-bu ù-bí-ak-ak* | [(...) *min-a-bi l*] *ú diš-gin₇ | [... k]i-še-er-šè nam-ba-ġá-ġá¹* (KID) (restored with *SP* 3.109: *min-a-bi lú-diš-gin₇-nam*, “the two of them are like one man,” Alster 1997, 99).

415 *OBGT* VI 58–60 = *MSL* 4, 81 and Black 1984, 29. See also Civil 2010, 248 l. 28 and *Lugale* 429 (van Dijk 1983, 121): *ġar-ra(-ab) || naškin*.

416 On vowel harmony in Middle Babylonian, see Aro 1955, 40–49 and van Soldt 2020, 172.

417 The first occurrence of the phrase might have been erased by the scribe, but the surface is so damaged that it is not possible to determine whether the signs have been erased.

418 N. Veldhuis’s note *ad loc.* in the DCCLT edition compares the plant’s name with ^{ġes}*KWU*459/460, a plant name attested in Ur III documents (Molina/Such-Gutiérrez 2004, 12–13).

(*marūtuk*) *ša amāruk šibbu gapuš abūšin* (wr. *a-bu-šin* || *a-bu-ši-in* || *a-bu-si-in*)⁴¹⁹

(Marduk), whose stare⁴²⁰ is a dragon, a flood overwhelming.

Marduk I 5 = 7 (see Fadhil/Jiménez 2019b, 167 and 173)

bēlu/marūtuk uggukka kī gapuš abūšin (wr. *a-bu-šin*)

(Lord/Marduk), your rage is like a flood overwhelming.

Marduk II 80 = 82

The word exhibits a non-Akkadian noun ending (*-in* or *-im*, the latter only in HS 1895). Lambert (2011; *id.* 2013, 473) suggested that an original *abūruk*, written *a-bu-ruk* and somehow derived from *abāru*, “strength,” was understood as *a-bu-šin* and corrupted into a meaningless *a-bu-ši-in* by the copyists of the prayers to Marduk and, as a consequence, by Mesopotamian lexicographers. This corruption would have occurred before the list *An* VII/VIII–X was composed, as HS 1895 now shows, i.e., at some point before the Kassite period. Since the use of the sign *-ruk* would be surprising in an Old Babylonian (see *ASy* 7) or early Kassite manuscript,⁴²¹ Lambert’s hypothesis seems unlikely. The present tablet, moreover, reads *-ši-im*, not *-šin*.

r 23. The entry [*na*]-*pa-al-tú-ú* = *e-te-qu* is cited in *CAD* E 384a and N/1 272b as belonging to *An* VIII 85. The facts that the first syllable of *napalṭū* is missing and that the old-fashion spelling of the word is used (with *pa-al* instead of *pal* and *tú* instead of *tu*) show that the *CAD* reconstruction of *An* VIII is based on this section on HS 1895 alone.

419 The latter spelling is only attested in the second occurrence of the line in BM 45746 (*CTL* 1, 85), the latest datable copy of any Mesopotamian literary text (35 BCE).

420 Several interpreters have connected the word *amāruk* in this line with the Sumerian word for “flood,” *amaru*, and with Berossos’s name for Tiamat, Omor(ō)ka

(Langdon 1907; Komoróczy 1973, 132–133; Oshima 2003; see also George 2009, 23–24), but the connection seems far-fetched in the context.

421 CVC signs only gained popularity in the so-called Second Phase of the Middle Babylonian period (1375–1225 BCE): see van Soldt 2020, 168–169.

No. 20: HS 1896, Bilingual Text and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1896

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 41): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Mittelbab. Schülertafel, z. T. 2sprach. (1 großer Satz aus ein. Werk herausgezogen). Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 8.5 × 5.0 × 1.4 cm

Introduction

This small tablet contains a Kassite school exercise with an excerpt from an unknown bilingual text on its landscape-oriented reverse and a monolingual Sumerian lexical list on its portrait-format reverse. The excerpt on the obverse displays several peculiar features. First, only the first two words of the first line are cited, and only in their Sumerian version. These words probably represent the beginning of the line that precedes l. 2 in the excerpted text: by providing the student with the first two words of the line preceding the section assigned to him, the teacher would give him a memory cue without revealing the contents of the homework. This practice is now attested in both Middle and Neo-Babylonian school tablets from Nippur, as discussed in the introduction (§5).

The excerpt itself is also most peculiar. Only one Sumerian line is quoted, and this is only partially translated into Akkadian: the proper names (which would be rendered by means of a repetition sign in first-millennium interlineal bilinguals) are left untranslated in the Akkadian version, as is the Sumerian word *saĝ-èn-tar* (Akkadian *pāqīdu*).⁴²² The two subsequent lines of text are given only in Akkadian, the Sumerian version being dispensed with. It is uncertain if the original text contained these lines also in Sumerian, or if the student left out the Sumerian version on purpose or by mistake.

The memory cue invokes Ninurta as the “first-born,” presumably of the Ekur. The quoted lines invoke Nusku, furnish him with epithets (l. 2–3, 5), and ask him to transmit “your” prayers and petitions to Enlil. The second person used throughout the text most likely refers to the king, who is probably the addressee of the text. If that is the case, the text excerpted could belong to the category of “blessings to the king,” like the text edited above as No. 1.⁴²³ The lines excerpted here, however, do not fit in the known text of the only certain bilingual composition of the genre, *ti-la lugal-gu*₁₀, which is known in Emar, Ugarit, and Sultantepe manuscripts and is cited in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*

422 This practice occurs in other Middle Babylonian bilinguals, such as VAT 8243 (*KAR* 375, in Middle Babylonian script, edited by Gabbay 2015b, 281–285).

423 The category is discussed in detail in the introduction to No. 1. As noted by U.

Gabbay (*privatim*), the sequence of gods is also reminiscent of the *Hymn of Ayadara-galama*, a royal prayer divided into sections devoted to different gods (see Gabbay/Boivin 2018).

(see above fn. 187). In any case, the sequence Ninurta — Nusku suggests that the unknown text was a Nippur composition.⁴²⁴

The text on the reverse deals with rivers and wells, and follows closely the Standard Babylonian recension of *Harra* XXII, cited after the reconstruction by Bloch/Horowitz 2015.

The Akkadian makes almost no use of CVC signs, the only clear case being *maḥ* in o 5. Some of the spellings, such as *i-la-kam^v* instead of *il-la-ka* and *ra-bi-a-tim*, are archaizing. The use of the sign *kam^v* for *ka₁₃* is only attested in the Kassite period (see commentary ad o 3). The scribe was no master in his art, and the tablet is riddled with erasures. A series of large wedges fill the bottom half of the obverse: they might represent an exercise on the use of the stylus, similar to the ones one finds, in a much neater form, in other Kassite exercise tablets (see e.g. No. 23–25 and §5).

Transliteration

Obverse

1. rdnin-urta ibila
2. ^dnuska kingal é-^ršar^r-ra saĝ-èn-tar é-kur-ra ^rsíškur^r ^{me}mèn-na-za
3. *mu-we-er* *ana te-ès-li-ti-ka₁₃(KAM^v) šu-^rum^r-gu-ri a-a ip-par₄-ku*
4. *nam-mu-ša-ra-ge*
5. ^rú^r-ul-ta^r-rab-bi ina te-re-e-tim ra-bi-a-tim al-ka-ka-tu-šú ina ^ré^r-kur maḥ-ra
i-la-ka₁₃(KAM^v)
6. *te-me-eq ta-qá-ab-bu-u gi-na-a ana ^den-líl li-ša-an-ni*

Odd traces, counting wedges (? , see §5)

Reverse

1. íd ^ršú^r-lá-lá (*Harra* XXII 190')
 2. íd ĝeš-kéš-da (191')
 3. íd-didli^r (—)
 4. ka íd-da (192')
 5. ka íd-da-didli (193')
 6. pú (194')
 7. túl (195')
 8. túl (196')
 9. túl (197')
 10. ^rtú^r ([198'])
 11. túl ([199'])
-

424 On the sequence, see Gabbay/Boivin 2018, 25–26.

Translation

Obverse

1. “Ninurta, first born” (cue).
 - 2–4. May Nuska, leader of the Ešarra, guardian of the Ekur, never cease to accept your petitions,
 5. *He is exalted* by exalted decrees, his deeds are preeminent in the Ekur,
 6. May he constantly repeat to Enlil the prayers you recite!
-

Reverse

1. *id šulala* (means “dirty river”).
 2. *id ġeškešda* (means “river of a weir”).
 3. *id didli* (means “rivers”).
 4. *ka ida* (means “shore of a river”).
 5. *ka ida didli* (means “shore of rivers”).
 6. *pu* (means “well”).
 7. *tul* (means “well”).
 8. *tul* (means “pit”).
 9. *tul* (means “ditch”).
 10. *tul* (means “pit”).
 11. *tul* (means “ditch”).
-

Commentary

o 2. The writing é-šar-ra instead of é-šár-ra is only occasionally attested: compare, for instance, the writing é-šar-ra in Old Babylonian manuscripts, but é-šár-ra in first millennium tablets, in laments (Löhnert 2009, 181 l. 19 and 410 l. 16). The title saġ-èn-tar é-kur-ra is attested also in the Old Babylonian school tablet W.20248/2 (Cavigneaux 1982, 22 and pl. 4), a dedication (?) addressed to Ni[nurta] (?).

o 3. On the equation ^{me}DU = *maġāru*, compare *me-du* KA×ME+DU = *maġā[rum]* and *mi-en* DU = *maġārum* in *Proto-Ea* (MSL 14, 138 r 12' and 139 r 8'), the latter also in *Emesal* Vocabulary III 171 (MSL 4, 44). *kam*^v in l. 3 can only be the possessive pronoun (Sum. -z(u)-a). The use of *ka*₁₃(KAM) for the possessive pronoun is attested in a Kassite seal (*ti-ri-iš* ŠU-*kam*, “extend your hand,” in de Clercq 1900, 151–152 no. 259^{er} l. 4; see Limet 1971, 96 no. 7.10; see also l. o 5).

The Sumerian verb *šara.g* means, according to Krecher 1966, 191, “beseitigen, wegnehmen”, and is translated in bilingual texts and lexical lists as *ubbulu*, “to dry out,” or *muṭṭú* “to reduce” (see *ibid.*; van Dijk 1967, 245 fn. 53; Civil 2007, 22; Attinger 2021, 955). Compare also the lament *Ašergita* b+176 (Black 1985, 27 and Cohen 1988, 713): a-la-bi mu-un-gu₇-e | la-lu-šú ik-kal-an-ni || i-si-iš-bi mu-un-ša-ra-ge | ši-[i]h-ta-šú ú-un-na-aš-an-ni, “its charm devours me, || its delight weakens me.” It is assumed that the Akkadian verb represents *naparkú*, a hitherto unattested translation of *šara.g*, since no other III-*u* verb that takes a complement with *ana* (CAD N/1 280) seems to fit the context. The penultimate sign, which looks like ŠU, is perhaps to be read as *par*₄ (a sign used very occasionally for syllabic spellings in the Old Babylonian period, see ASy 149), since in some Old Babylonian cursive scripts, the sign KISAL (*par*₄) is similar to the sign ŠU (e.g. Fossey 1926, 521–522 nos. 17131 [Damiq-ilīšu] and 17136 [Abī-ešuh]).

U. Gabbay suggests comparing the line with the *Hymn of Ayadaragalama* l. 14': [^dnuska su]kk[al[?] maḥ] ṽsaġ-èn¹-tar¹-ra u₄-šú-uš-e[?] mùš nu-túm-mu-dè | [^dnuska SUKKAL ṽi-ṽi¹-[ru ...], Nuska, the august vizier, guardian, daily, incessantly (...)] (Gabbay/Boivin 2018, 28). Since mùš—túm would fit *ayy-ipparku*, it is possible that it was present in the text from which the

present excerpt was copied, but the scribe did not copy it for some reason. In that case, *ayy-ipparku* would not be a translation of *na-m-mu-ša-ra-ge*.

o 5. The interpretation of *ú-ul-ta¹-rab-bi* as “he is exalted” is very uncertain, inasmuch as it requires: (1) an emendation of a sign (*ta¹*), (2) the interpretation of *ú-* as a *Vorschlagsvokal* (a particularly uncommon phenomenon in Middle Babylonian texts, see Aro 1955, 21–22 and Stein 2000, 18) that is used erroneously, as it occurs in NB royal inscriptions (see *GAG* §23d); (3) a shift *št > lt*, and, most importantly, (4) the existence of a *rabú Št₂* stem, hitherto unattested, with the meaning of its (equally unattested) *Št₁* stem, i.e., passive of *Š* (on this meaning of *Št₂*, see Streck 1994, 173 §3.2 and *id.* 2003, 120).⁴²⁵ Moreover, the reading of *rab* is not certain: the sign could also be *taq* and even LUGAL.

For the end, compare *ea rubûm rabium ša šimātūšu ina maḥ-ra i-la-ka*, “Ea, the great prince, whose ordinances take preference,” in *Codex Hammurapi* xlix 98–100 (Oelsner 2022, 272). Note again the use of *kam^v* for */ka/*, as in o 3.

o 6. Compare ^d*nuska* (...) *šá u₄-me-šàm-ma te-es-le-et* ^{m-giš}*tukul-ti-d¹nin-urta šarri(MAN) na-ra-mi-šú i-na pān(IGI) ^daš-šur ù ellil(^dBAD) [ú]-š[á-n]i-ú-ma*, “Nusku, (...) who daily repeats the prayers of Tukul-ti-Ninurta (I), the king, his beloved, in the presence of Aššur and Enlil” (Grayson 1987, 279–280 A.0.78.27 ll. 1–4, courtesy of U. Gabbay).

r 1. The first-millennium version (79.B.1/5 [Cavigneaux 1991, 147] ii 11'; Bloch/Horowitz 2015, 96) reads *íd šu-lál* = [MIN] *lupputtu*, “dirty [(river)].”

r 5. The first-millennium version (79.B.1/5 [Cavigneaux 1991, 147] ii 14'; Bloch/Horowitz 2015, 97) should be read as *ṛka ṛíd-da^{didi¹}* = [M]IN *nārāti*, “shore (of rivers).”

425 Note that the *rabú Štn* posited by *AHw* 940a should be deleted, since the only attestation, in an Old Babylonian tablet from *Anzú*, should be read not as *šu-ta-*

ar-bi (pace Wiggermann 1982, 418), but as *lu-ša-ar-bi*, with Wilcke 2010. A possible attestation of *rabú Št₁* is discussed in Frame 1994, 67.

No. 21: HS 1898, Extispicy (Front of the Pouch)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1898

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 41): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Kassit. Leberschautext, mit Erwähnung Sargons I. Fundort: Nippur”.

Size: 5.5 × 8.0 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

This completely preserved school tablet contains an excerpt from an extispicy text on its obverse and “counting wedges” on its lower edge and reverse. The excerpt on the obverse belongs to a treatise that investigates the meaning of the appearance of certain “Weapons,” i.e. triangular protrusions in the shape of the sign GAG,⁴²⁶ in the “Yoke,” i.e. the *impressio omasica* of the liver.⁴²⁷ In this text, weapons “point” (*naṭālu*, ll. 1–4, 6),⁴²⁸ “follow” or “point parallel” (*redū*, l. 5),⁴²⁹ and “approach” other features (*qerēbu*, l. 7); and also “protrude” (*(w)asū*, l. 8) and are “low” and “concave” (*šapālu* and *kapāšu*, respectively, ll. 9–10).

The text parallels closely tablet XV of the subseries “Front of the Pouch” (*Pān tākalti*), the fifth chapter of the extispicy compendium *Bārūtu*. That tablet, edited by Starr 1993 and Koch-Westenholz 2000, 396–402 no. 76, is currently known in the following manuscripts:

A ₁	K.3760 (CT 28, 49)+ K.5928 (eBL transliteration and join)
A ₂	K.2030.B+ Sm.127+ Sm.1185 (eBL transliteration and join) ⁴³⁰
b	BM 75224 (AH.83-1-18, 555) (copy Starr 1993, 235)
c	BM 68454+ BM 69328 (82-9-18, 8452+ 82-9-18, 9325) (copy Starr 1993, 234)

HS 1898 has enabled the identification of a number of new fragments and of a hitherto undetected overlapping between the manuscripts. A revised edition of the lines concerned is offered with the edition of HS 1898.

The tablet HS 1898 uses, instead of ŠUDUN(ŠÚ.DUN₄), the sign ŠUDUN₄(DUN₄) for the “Yoke,” as is common in extispicy texts, especially in the second millennium BCE.⁴³¹ Note, in addition, the simple shape of SÙ in l. 6, for which compare Fossey 1926, 746a no. 24678

426 On the identification of the “weapon,” Lieberman 1977, 149; Jeyes 1989, 82; and George 2013, 167.

427 On the identification of the “Yoke” as the omasal impression, see Biggs 1969, 166; Meyer 1987, 64–65 and 170–172; Jeyes 1989, 71; Leiderer 1990, 141–141; Starr 1990, xlv–xlvi; Koch-Westenholz 2000, 58; and Maul 2013, 73.

428 On “pointing” (*naṭālu*) as a feature of a Weapon, see Jeyes 1989, 82; Koch-Westenholz 2000, 48–49; and George 2013, 45b and 167.

429 Jeyes 1989, 82 and CAD R 237.

430 A₁ and A₂ are part of the same tablet.

431 See Deller/Mayer/Sommerfeld 1987, 208; *MesZL* 557; and George 2013, pl. xc no. 33 o 17.

(referring to CBS 6084 = BE 14 no. 118 o 7^l, dated to the fifth year of Kudur-Enlil [1254–1246 BCE]). Other interesting epigraphical features include EGIR in l. 7 with only one vertical at the end (compare Fossey 1926, 479a no. 15676 [Samsu-ditana]), HA with a horizontal central wedge (ll. 9–10, compare Fossey 1926, 1041a no. 34062), and SIG with a second vertical at a right slant (l. 9, compare Fossey 1926, 1045b no. 34197, referring to CBS 11521 = PBS 2/2 no. 4 o 5, dated to the sixth year of Kurigalzu [II², i.e. 1332–1308 BCE]). Mimation is preserved in *ud-di-im* (ll. 2–3) and *ti-bu-um* (l. 8).

On the “counting wedges” on the lower edge and reverse, see the introduction (§5).

Transliteration

1. *šumma*([B]E) *i+na rēš*(SAG) *nīri*(ŠUDUN₄) *kakku*(^{gis}TUKUL) *šumēl*(GÜB^l) *amūti*(BÀ) *iṭṭul*(IGI) *amūt*(BÀ-ut) *šarru-ukīn*(LUGAL-GI.NA) // *Pān tākalti* XV 20
b o 23. BE *ina* ^rMURUB₄ ^rni-ri¹ [o o o o o 1]50 BÀ IGI ^{gis}TUKUL LUGAL-GI.NA
(ruling)
c o 1'. [o o o o o o o o o o 15]0 ^rBÀ¹ I[GI o o o o o]
2. *šumma*([B]E) *i+na nīri*(ŠUDUN₄) *mehret*(IGI-et) *šibti*(MÁŠ) *kakku*(^{gis}TUKUL) *šakin*(GAR)-*ma mazzāza*(KI.GUB) *iṭṭul*(IGI) *kak*(^{gis}TUKUL) «IGI» *ud-di-im* // 21
b o 25. [...] x ^rIGI² x [o] x DU₈
c o 2'. [o o o o o] ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma* NA IGI ^{gi}[^{s2}TUKUL² o o (o)]
3. *šumma*(BE) *kak*(^{gis}TUKUL) *ud-di-im nabalkut*(BAL)-*ma abul*(KÁ.GAL) *kutum*(DUL) *libbi*(ŠÀ) *iṭṭul*(IGI) *ummāni*(ÉRIN-ni) *ina libbi*(ŠÀ) *māt*(KUR) *nakri*(KÚR) *šillata*(NAM.RA) *ušeššá*(Ē-a) // 22
A₂ 1'. [BE ^{gis}TUKUL o o (o) BA]L-^rma¹ ^rŠÀ² ^rni-ri¹ ^rIGI¹ ^rZI¹-[...]
b o 26. [...] x DU¹
c o 3'. [o o o o o (o)] BAL-*ma* ŠÀ *ni-ri* IGI Z[I-...]
4. *šumma*(BE) *i+na rēš*(SAG) *nīri*(ŠUDUN₄) *imitta*(ZAG) *kakku*(^{gis}TUKUL) *šakin*(GAR)-^rma¹ *imitta*(^rZAG¹) *iṭṭul*(IGI) *arbūt*(KAR-ut) *ummāni*(ÉRIN-ni) // 20b
A₂ caret (or earlier?)
b o 24. [...] IG]I* KAR-^rut¹ ÉRIN-ni
c. caret (or with o 1'?)
5. *šumma*(BE) *i+na rēš*(SAG) *nīri*(ŠUDUN₄) *šumēla*(GÜB^l) *kakku*(^{gis}TUKUL) *šakin*(GAR)-*ma nīra*(^{gis}ŠUDUN₄) *irdi*(UŠ-di) *niphu*(IZI.GAR) *pú*(KA) *lā*(NU) *kīnu*(GI.NA) // 23
A₂ 2'. [o o o o o] ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma* *ni-ri* UŠ-*di* ^{gis}T[UKUL IZI.GAR (?)]
b o 27. [...] IZ]I* ^rGAR¹ (manuscript breaks)
c o 4'. [o o o o o] ^{gis}TUKUL¹ GAR-*ma* *ni-ri* UŠ-*di* ^{gis}[TUKUL IZI.GAR (?)]
6. *šumma*(BE) *kak*(^{gis}TUKUL) *niphu*(IZI.GAR) *nabalkut*(BAL)-*ma šumēl*(GÜB) *ubāni*(ŠU.SI) *iṭṭul*(IGI) *ana kakki*(^{gis}TUKUL) *niphu*(IZI.GAR) *šanīš*(KÚR) *i-na ūmi*(U₄) *rīqi*(SÙ) *pú*(KA) *lā*(NU) *kīnu*(^rGI.NA¹) // 24
A₂ 3'. [o o o o o BA]L-*ma* SUḪUŠ ŠU.SI IGI ^{gis}TUKUL IZI.GAR ^rDU¹ x [...]
c o 5'. [o o o o o BAL]-*ma* SUḪUŠ^{*432} ŠU.SI IGI *ana* ^{gis}T[UKUL ...]

432 DAGAL in Starr 1993, 234; according to Koch-Westenholz 2000, 399: DAGAL or

SUḪUŠ². Collation shows the reading SUḪUŠ to be certain.

7. *šumma*(BE) *kak*^(gis̄TUKUL) *niphī*(IZI.GAR) *ana išīd*(SUHUŠ) *ubāni*(ŠU.SI) *iq-rib*^(E)
šatta(MU) *šuāti*(BI) *ālik—pāni*(IGI-DU) *a-na arkī*(EGIR)—*šu*(BI) *itār*(GUR-ár)
// Pān tākalti XV 25
 A₂ 4'. [o o o o BA]L-*ma ana* SUHUŠ ŠU.SI *iq-rib* MU BI IGI-[DU ...]
 c o 6'. [o o o o BAL-m]a* *ana* SUHUŠ* ŠU.SI *iq-rib* ʾMU*ʾ [...]
8. *šumma*(BE) *kak*^(gis̄TUKULʾ) *niphī*(ʾIZI.GARʾ) ʾa-na^ʾ *qabal*(MURUB₄) *nīri*(ŠUDUN₄) *a-ši*
ti-bu-um // 26
 A₂ 5'. [o o o] MURUB₄ *ni-ri* Á-su ZI x [...] (perhaps *nasiḫ*(ZI-i[h ...]))
 c o 7'. [o o o o o MURU]B₄* ʾni*ʾ-ri Á-su Z[I ...]
9. *šumma*(BE) *kak*^(gis̄TUKULʾ) *niphī*(ʾIZIʾ.GAR) *šapil*(KI^(GUR).TA)—*ma i+na qutun*(SIG)
nīri(ŠUDUN₄) *šakin*(GAR) *tīb*(ZI) *lemutti*(HUL-ti) *ḥa-am-tú ana bēl*(EN) *nīqi*(ʾSÍŠKURʾ)
// 27
 A₂ 6'. [o o o] ʾKI.TAʾ-nu SIG *ni-ri* GAR-in Z[I-ib^{munus}HUL (...)]
 c o 8'. [... KI.TA]-nu SIG* ni*-ri GAR-in [...]
10. *šumma*(BE) *kak*^(gis̄TUKUL) *niphī*(IZI.GAR) *rēš*([S]AG)—*su ka-pí-iš ummānī*(ÉRIN-ni)
zitta(HA.LA) *ikkal*(GU₇) // 28
 A₂ 7'. [o o o] ʾIZIʾ.GAR *ka-pí-iš*ʾ ÉRIN KÚR [o o o]
 c o 9'. [o o o o o o ka-p]í-iš ÉR[IN KÚR o o o]

Counting wedges (see §5)

★★

Translation

1. If at the top of the “yoke” a weapon points towards the left of the liver, it is the omen of Sargon.
2. If on the “yoke” there is a weapon opposite the “increment” and it points to the “station,” it is a weapon of *distress*.
3. If a weapon of *distress* is turned and looks towards the gate of the entrails’ cover, my army will bring booty from the enemy land.
4. If at the top of the “yoke,” to the right, there is a weapon and points to the right, ruin of the army.
5. If at the top of the “yoke,” to the left¹, there is a weapon and it points parallel to the “yoke,” uncertain sign, unreliable prediction.
6. If the weapon of a *niphu*-mark is turned and points to the left of the “finger,” it is an uncertain sign for battle. *Variant*: (If it is) during the new moon day, unreliable prediction.
7. If the weapon of a *niphu*-mark is close to the base of the “finger,” that year the leader (of the army) will retreat.
8. If the weapon of a *niphu*-mark sticks out towards the center of the “yoke,” attack.
9. If the weapon of a *niphu*-mark is low and placed in the narrow part of the “yoke,” sudden evil attack against the patron of the sacrifice.
10. If the weapon of a *niphu*-mark, its top is concave, my army will enjoy booty.

Commentary

1. The first-millennium version of the line replaces the “omen of Sargon” (*amūt šarru-ukīn*) with a “weapon of Sargon” (*kak šarru-ukīn*). On the apodosis “Weapon of Sargon,” see Richter 1994, 239–240, who notes that it is “nicht in Omina bezeugt, die das Vorhandensein einer *kakku*-Marke ausdeuten.” The present line, which explains the presence of a Weapon to the left of the liver, should be added to the one exception to that rule mentioned by Richter.

Compare also the first-millennium parallel in Koch 2005, 419 no. 65 l. 35: BE MIN-*ma ina SILIM-ti ina SAG ni-ri* ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma* 150 [IGI BÀ-*ut*] LUGAL-GI.NA SILIM-*at ina TAG-ti BAR-tu*₄, “If ditto and in a favorable (extispicy) there is a Weapon at the top of the Yoke and it [points] towards the left, [omen] of Sargon, it is favorable. In an unfavorable (extispicy), it is hostile.”

2–3. It is assumed that the last word, which reappears in l. 3, represents the word *ūdu/uddu/ud(d)ū*, “distress,” first described by Caplice 1964 (see also Veldhuis 2006, 493 fn. 19). Although a *kak uddi*, “weapon-mark of distress,” appears to be elsewhere unattested, one may compare the “Weapon of Sorrow” (*kak lumun libbi*)⁴³³ and the “Weapon of Confusion of DN” (*kak tēšī ša DN*).⁴³⁴ The prognosis in the first-millennium version (MS b), if correctly placed, seems to be different.

5. A similar line appears in *Pān tākalti* XV 16 (Koch-Westenholz 2000, 397: BE *ina SAG ni-ri* 150 ^{gis}TUKUL GAR-*ma ni-ra* UŠ-*di* (...) *šá-niš* ^{gis}TUKUL IZI.GAR MU-NI, see also KAR 151 o 11 [Koch 2005, 279 no. 32 and Heeßel 2012, 230 no. 70]). The interpretation of KA NU GI.NA as “unreliable prediction” follows Starr 1990, 264 no. 281 o 10 and Heeßel 2012, 126–127 no. 30 o 3 (*pu-um la ki-nu-um*, “kein verlässlicher Ausspruch”). The first-millennium apodosis seems to have been changed to the more common *kak niphī*, although the reconstruction of the line is tentative.

6. The phrase *ina ūmi rīqi*, “for the new moon day” (the interpretation follows Rutz 2016, 58a), appears often in extispicy texts introducing alternative apodoses: see CAD R 266a; Böck 2003a, 183; Heeßel 2012, 59 *ad* II 17–19, and other references cited therein. Since both the first (*ina kakki niphū*) and the second (*pū lā kīnu*) apodoses seem to be complete, the sign KÚR written between them has perhaps the function of introducing a variant: the normalization *šanúš* is based on the common lexical equation *kúr = šanú* (*Aa* I/6 l. 4 [MSL 14, 225]).⁴³⁵ One might also consider a reading *ahū*, “extraneous,” another possible rendering of *kúr* and a category of omens and compilations thereof (Rochberg 1987, 329 and Böck 2000, 21).

7. IGI-DU probably represents the word *ālik pāni*, although the phrase in extispicy texts is usually *ālik pān ummāni* (see CAD A/1 345b and Heeßel 2012, 322a).

9. On the term *qutun nīri*, “narrow part of the ‘yoke’,” see Biggs 1969, 162–163; Meyer 1987, 65; Jeyes 1989, 71; and Leiderer 1990, 141. The *šapil-ma ina qutun nīri šakin* in the Kassite version is simplified in the first-millennium version into *šaplān(u) qutun nīri šakin*.

10. On the meaning of *kapāšu* in extispicy as “to be concave,” see Jeyes 1980, 18. Compare AO 7030 l. 31–33 (Nougayrol 1941, 84; edition in Nougayrol 1945/1946, 91): *šumma ubān hašī* (...) *re-iš-ša^{sic} ik-pi-i[š-m]a*, “If the ‘Finger’ of the lung (...), its head is conc[av]e and (...).”

433 Discussed by Jeyes 1989, 82–83; Starr 1990, li; Richter 1994, 219–225; and George 2013, 158b.

434 See Richter 1994, 238–239 and Koch 2005, 105–106. See also *Multābiltu* I 118 (Koch 2005, 106), where the hapax legomenon *ud-di-su-ú* is explained as the

“Weapon of Confusion of Šamaš” (*kak tēšī ša šamaš*).

435 This function of introducing a variant, if correctly interpreted, might be related to the use of KÚR as the “Korrekturzeichen” (so *MesZL* no. 92), last discussed by Krebernik 2020, 91 and fn. 13 and Fincke 2021, 63–65.

No. 22: HS 1899, Extispicy (Coils)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1899

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 41): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.] Fragment. Fundort: Nippur”.

Size: 3.1 × 1.6 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

This small fragment belongs to a tablet with an excerpt from extispicy omens, like HS 1898 (No. 21). The preserved part corresponds to the lower left corner of the obverse, while the reverse is uninscribed. The excerpt ends with a ruling, followed by “counting wedges” (see the introduction, §5)

The four omens preserved deal with the peritoneum (? , written MUD), a membrane that lines the abdominal cavity and covers many of the abdominal organs. In the first millennium version of the extispicy series *Bārūtū*, these four lines represent the four final omens of the seventh chapter of the subseries *Šumma tīrānū*.⁴³⁶ Although the chapter has not yet been reconstructed in secondary bibliography, the following large manuscripts, both classified by a rubric as the 7th tablet of *Tīrānū*, enable its nearly complete restoration:

- | | |
|---|--|
| A | K.3691+ K.4007+ K.17689 (eBL join and transliteration) |
| b | BM 38587 (eBL transliteration) |

436 The chapter *Šumma tīrānū* has not been edited yet. For a general description and a list of manuscripts that can be identified as

belonging to the chapter, see Koch 2015, 98–100.

Transliteration

- 1'. [šumma(BE)] uppu(M[UD]) ēkal(É.GAL) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) ú-par-ri-ir-ma 16
minātū(ŠID)-šu-nu niphū(IZI.GAR) tas-ri-(ir)-ru ša nakri(KÚR)]
// Tīrānū VII 66 (A r 30 // b r 24)
- 2'. šumma(BE) uppu(ᵀMUDᵀ) eli(UG[U]) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) itiq(DIB-iq) rubá(NUN) ina
ēkallī(É.GAL)-šu ibār(HI.GAR^{mes})-šu // 67 (A r 31 // b r 25)
- 3'. šumma(BE) uppu(MUD) šaplānu(KI.T[A-nu]) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) iḫ-lu-up bar-tum]
// 68 (A r 32 // b r 26)
- 4'. šumma(BE) uppu(MUD) ᵀùᵀ S[IG-tum šaplānu(KI.TA-nu) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) iḫ-lu-pu ina
kakki(^{gis}TUKUL) aḫu(ŠEŠ) itter(DIRI) aḫu(ŠEŠ) imaqqut(ŠUB-ut)]
// 69 (A r 33 // b r 27)

Counting wedges (see §5)

**

Translation

- 1'. [If] the p[eritoneum divides the palace of the coils and their number is 16,
uncertain sign, falsehood on the side of the enemy].
- 2'. If the peritoneum [crosses] abo[ve the coils, (somebody) in his palace will rise
against the prince].
- 3'. If the peritoneum [slips] und[er the coils, revolt].
- 4'. If the peritoneum and the S[IG-tum slip under the coils, one brother will be
successful in battle, the other will fall].
-

Commentary

1'. On the transcription of MUD as *uppu*, see Heeßel 2012, 83–84; on the identification of the latter as the peritoneum, see Kilmer 1977, 133 and Heeßel 2012, 84. The “palace of the coils” (*ēkal tīrānī*) has not been identified yet (Heeßel 2012, 83), Holma’s proposal to derive the name of Troy from *ēkal tīrānī* (in Holma 1919, 13) is but a historical curiosity.

2'. Compare K.3949+ o 11 and 13 (eBL transliteration, *Šumma tīrānū VI*): *šumma(BE) uppu(MUD) eli(UGU) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) imqut(ŠUB-ut)* and *šumma(BE) uppu(MUD) eli(UGU) tīrānī(ŠÀ.NIGIN) itiq(DIB-iq)*, “If the peritoneum falls above the coils” and “If the peritoneum crosses above the coils.”

4'. Compare *Šumma tīrānū VIII 13* (Heeßel 2017, 225): *šumma(BE) uppu(MUD) u SIG-tu₄ nabalkutū(BAL^{mes})-ma qaqqar(KI) qutun(SIG) šu-uh-ḫi šaknū(GAR^{mes}) kussū(AŠ.TE) inakkir(KÚR-ir)*, “If the peritoneum and the SIG-tu₄ are dislocated and placed in the region of the small section of the caecum, the ruler will change.” On the co-occurrence of MUD *u* SIG-tu₄, see Boissier 1905, 91; Heeßel 2012, 83–84; and Koch 2015, 100. The reading of SIG-tum is uncertain, see Heeßel 2012, 84, who reads *šik-tum*. It is unlikely that the present tablet could have contained the alternative prognoses that appear in MSS A and b: *šá-niš mātu(KUR) iṣeḫḫer(TUR-er) lu-up-nu ina māti(KUR) ibašši(GÁL-ši) ú-lu ma-li-ku ina ēkallī(É.GAL) iḫalliqū(ZÁH^{mes})*, “alternatively: the land will be reduced, there will be poverty in the land; or: the counsellors will flee from the palace.”

No. 23: HS 1905, Curses and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1905

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 41): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.]. Fundort: Nippur”.

Size: 6.4 × 8.5 × 1.4 cm

Introduction

This relatively large school tablet contains a long Akkadian literary excerpt on its obverse, in the landscape format, and seventeen lines quoted from a lexical list on its reverse, oriented like a portrait. The upper edge of the tablet contains “counting wedges,” i.e. sequences of 9 vertical wedges and an oblique (on these sorts of exercises, see §5).

The text on the obverse contains a series of curses, probably excerpted from an inscription that at present cannot be identified. The text excerpted contains curses stemming from Ištar, Adad, Zarpanitu, and, probably, Nabû. Each of the sections invokes a deity and furnish him/her with epithets. The curse solicited from each deity is derived from the epithets: thus, Ištar is called “queen of the strife,” and the curse requested from her is the defeat of the army. Adad is praised for his thunder, and his thunder is then invoked to destroy the cursed person’s city. Zarpanitu, called “fertile mother,” is asked to make the person and his offspring disappear. The invoked gods, epithets and curses are:

Deity	Epithet	Curse
Ištar	Great lady, Queen of battle	Darken the day, Defeat in battle
Adad	Son of Anu, Thunder	Thunder, Destruction of temples, people, land
Zarpanitu	Fertile mother, ...	Destruction of person and offspring
Nabû	Son of Marduk	[...]

Although, as stated above, the text from which the lines are quoted seems to be unknown, similar curses are found in many *kudurru* inscriptions. One might compare, for instance, a *kudurru* of Marduk-apla-iddina I (Borger 1970; Paulus 2014, 455–459 iii 6–iv 2), whose curse section lists Ištar (the curse invoked from her is exile of the offender), Adad (drought), and Marduk and Zarpanitu (defeat), followed by Ninurta.

The reverse contains an excerpt from an unknown lexical list. The most readable section deals with the sequence [o-t]a šub-ba (r 14–17). The following lexical entries containing this sequence are currently known:

an-ta šub-ba = *miq[tu]*, *ben[nu]* (*Igituḥ* Short 168 = Landsberger/Gurney 1958, 83)
 an-ta šub-ba = *miqtu* [*ša murši*] (*Antagal* VII 160 = *MSL* 17, 166)
 ka-ta šub-ba = *miqit pi* (*Nabnītu* IV 13 = *MSL* 16, 77)
 šu-ta šub-ba = *šutašubbū* (*Nigga* Bilingual B 189 = *MSL* 13, 120)
 [inim-ka]-^ṛta^ṛ ^ṛšub-ba^ṛ (*Sag* A ii 60 = *MSL* SS 1, 21)

Of these entries, only *šutašubbū* is perhaps preserved in r 17. The excerpt might belong to an as yet unrecovered passage of the lexical list *Nabnītu*: on the one hand, the arrangement of entries with similarly sounding roots (*upuntu* → *purātu*)⁴³⁷ and the use of numerals for repeating of entries (r 3–4) are reminiscent of that text. On the other, *Nabnītu* is well attested in Kassite Nippur (Finkel 1982, 6; Veldhuis 2014, 259), and known also from at least one Middle Babylonian school tablet.⁴³⁸ If the excerpt is indeed part of *Nabnītu*, it may belong to the still unrecovered tablets VIII or X–XI, which dealt with words associated with the mouth (Finkel 1982, 25).

The tablet is written in a clear and confident hand. The obverse exhibits several remarkable archaisms, such as old-fashioned spellings (*bí* in o 1, *an-nim* for ^d*a-nim* in o 4, *pi* in o 6 and 12, *sà* in o 10). Mimation is preserved in CVM signs (*tum* in o 1 [2×], 9; *tim* in o 11) and, remarkably, also independently in ^ṛ*ka*^ṛ-*ma-ri-im* (o 7). Moreover, /w/ is expressed by means of the wV sign (*na-aw-ra* in o 2, *wa-^ṛli^ṛ-it-^ṛtum^ṛ* in o 9), a practice abandoned in Kassite documents after the reign of Kurigalzu II (1332–1308 BCE, see van Soldt 2020, 172). Although these features might suggest that the text excerpted was Old Babylonian in date, certain post-Old Babylonian CVC signs (*rat* o 1, *qit* o 3, *kun* o 7) are indicative of a Middle Babylonian date. In sum, the text excerpted probably was Old Babylonian or early Kassite, or at least was written in an archaizing style.

437 On the arrangement principles of *Nabnītu*, see Finkel 1982, 31–36 and Geller 2018a.

438 N 3701 (Sjöberg 1974/1975, 178), with an excerpt of a Hammurapi bilingual hymn on the obverse (edition Sjöberg 1974/1975, 161), and an excerpt from *Nabnītu* on the reverse (*MSL* 16, 315–

316), written at a 90° rotation from the obverse. The script of the tablet is compatible with a Middle Babylonian date (following Finkel 1982, 315, *pace* Civil *ibid.*). See also VAT 18209 (Bab 36669,16; see Bartelmus 2016a, 145 and 358), a Middle Babylonian school exercise with a list of incipits of *Nabnītu*.

Transliteration

Counting wedges (see §5)

Obverse

1. *ištar*(^{Γd}+INNIN^Γ) ^Γbe^Γ-el-tum ra-bi-tum šar-rat a-na-a[n-tim (o o)]
2. *u₄-ma na-aw-ra li-it-ṭi-šum-ma um-^Γma^Γ-[an-šu (o o)]*
3. *i+na kakkim*(^{GIS}TUKUL) *li-šam-qit šu-a-ti a-na qa-at a-^Γa^Γ-[bi o o]*
4. *adad*(^dIŠKUR) ^Γma^Γ-ru an-nim ša a-na ^Γša^Γ-gi-mi-šu ša-^Γmu^Γ-[ú i-ru-(ub)-bu]
5. *e-li ālī*(URU)-*šu ez-zi-iš li-is-si^Γ-ma li-ib-^Γna^Γ-[at]*
6. *eš-re-ti-šu a-na up-pi-ši-na li-te-er^Γ [∅]*
7. *šu-a-ti ù ni-ši-šu a-na ka-ma-ri-im liš-^Γkun^Γ*
8. *māt*(KUR)-*su a-na ti-li ù kar-mi li-im-nu [∅]*
9. ^dzar-pa-ni-tu₄ *um-mu wa-li-it-tum ša it-ti x [o (o o)]*
10. *i+na é-sag-íl pu-ru-us-sà-a ša ha-la-^Γqí^Γ-š[u li-iq-bi]*
11. *šú^Γ-a-ti ^Γú^Γ zērā*(NUMUN)-*šú^Γ i+na ma-tim a-na la ba-še-^Γe^Γ*
12. ^Γi+na^Γ *pí marūtuk*(^dAMAR.UTU) *šar-ri li-ša^Γ-aš-ki-in*
13. [^dna]-^Γbi-um^Γ [*ma-rum š*]^Γi^Γ-^Γru-um^Γ ^Γša^Γ *marūtuk*(^{Γd}AMAR.UTU^Γ) x [o o (o)] x
14. [(o)] x x [...]
15. [(o)] x x [...]

End of obverse

Reverse

1–2. Broken

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. [(o o)]- ^Γ ni ^Γ | ^Γ 3 ^Γ |
| 4. [(o o)]- ^Γ ni ^Γ | 4 |
| 5. [(o o)] x x | su/ra-x x |
| 6. [(o o)] x x [(o)] | x x x |
| 7. [(o)] x x | 2 |
| 8. [(o)] x- ^Γ šú ^Γ | [(o)] x |
| 9. [(o)]- ^Γ ta g ₄ ^Γ | ^Γ pu ^Γ -[(o)-tu]m |
| 10. [o o] | ^Γ ú-zí ^Γ -x-[tu]m |
| 11. [o o] | ^Γ i ^Γ +na ^Γ ^Γ pi-i ^Γ |
| 12. [o o] | ^Γ pu ^Γ -x-tum |
| 13. [o] x [o] | ^Γ ú-zí ^Γ -bi- ^Γ tum ^Γ |
| 14. [o-t]a ^Γ šub ^Γ -ba | na-pár- ^Γ qú ^Γ -du |
| 15. [o]- ^Γ ta ^Γ ^Γ šub-ba ^Γ | ^Γ ú-pu-un ^Γ -tum |
| 16. [ka-t]a šub-ba | pu- ^Γ ra ^Γ -tum |
| 17. [šú ^Γ -t]a šub-ba | šU-[(u)] |

Translation

Obverse

1. Let [Išt]ar, great lady, queen of the str[ife, (...)],
2. Darken for him a bright day; ⁽³⁾ let her fell ⁽⁵⁾ his ar[my]
3. In combat, and [*deliver*] him to the hand of the ene[my].
4. Let Adad, the son of Anu, at whose cry the heav[ens tremble],
5. Furiously roar over his city! ⁽⁶⁾ Let him make ⁽⁷⁾ the brick[work]
6. Of his sanctuaries turn into nothing!
7. Let him decima[te] him and his people!
8. Let him turn his land to waste and rubble!
9. Let Zarpanitu, the fertile mother, with whom ... [...]
10. [Decree] in the Esagil the decision to destroy him;
11. ⁽¹²⁾ Let her make ⁽¹¹⁾ him and his offspring disappear from the land
12. At the command of king Marduk!
13. [Nab]û, [*au*]gust [son] of Mardu[k, ...] ...
- 14–15. Traces

Reverse

- 1–2. Broken
3. [...] ... (means) the same (third time).
4. [...] ... (means) the same (fourth time).
- 5–10. [(...)] ... (means) ...
11. ... (means) “in the mouth.”
- 12–13. ... (means) ...
14. [...]a *šuba* (means) “to lie flat.”
15. [...]ta *šuba* (means) “flour.”
16. [ka]tašubba (lit. “fallen from the mouth” means) “vomit.”
17. [šut]ašubba (means) ditto (i.e., *šutašubbû*).

Commentary

o 2. Compare *a-na um-ma-an sa-am-su-di-ta-na* ¹u¹-*ta-a u₄-ma*, “I shall darken the day for Samsu-ditana’s army” (HS 1885+ o 7’, Zomer 2019, 28).

o 4. *māru* exhibits a hymno-epic ending *-u* in the bound form (see von Soden 1931, 211–213 and the introduction to HS 1887 [No. 4] above, p. 98–99) The line has been reconstructed after the “Syncretistic Hymn to Marduk” l. 33 (Fadhil/Jiménez 2022): *ana rigmišu šamû u eršetu irûbû šadû ûtarrurû iddallahû tâmāti*, “(Marduk as Adad,) at whose clamor heaven and earth shake, the mountains quake, stirring up the seas.”

o 5–6. The reading is uncertain, since *li-ib-* could also represent the beginning of another precativ. Compare the formulation in *Codex Hammurapi* xxvii 64–80 (Oelsner 2022, 276): *adad (...) eli ālišu ezziš lissī-ma māssu ana tîl abūbim litēr*, “May Adad (...) furiously roar over his city and turn his land into a flooded ruin.”

o 6. On the idiom *ana uppīšu târu*, lit. “return to his hole” (i.e., “disappear”), see *CAD* U/W 185b.

o 9. Restore perhaps *ša itti h[a-wi-ri-ša (w)asbat(u)]*, “who [dwells] with [her] hu[sband] (in the Esagil).”

o 10. Compare *ulmaššitum nābiat šumīya milik ḫalāqīšu purussé lā balāqīšu ana dār liqbi*, “May Ulmaššitu, who proclaims my name, decree for all eternity the recommendation to destroy him and the decision not to let him live” (inscription of Takil-iliššu of Malgium, Frayne 1990, 674 E.11.2.1 ll. 83–87).

r 5. Perhaps [(o o)] ¹ur¹ú r¹ = ¹su-ú²-nu².

r 9–10. Compare r 12–13. For r 9, compare also r 16.

r 12. No word *pu-x-tum* fits the second sign. *pu* alone as “mouth” seems impossible, and ¹bu-súr¹-tum is a remote possibility.

r 13. The *zibītu*-spice is ill suited to the context.

r 14. *na-par-šú¹-du* also seems epigraphically possible, and the equation ŠUB = *naparšudu* is common in lexical lists (ŠUB^{MIN(šú-ub)}.MIN(šú-ub)ŠUB = *na-par-šú-du* in *Antagal* III 151 = *MSL* 17, 155) and bilingual texts (*CAD* N/1 283b).

r 15. The reading ú-¹pu-un¹-tum seems epigraphically certain, but it is unclear how it relates to [o]-¹ta¹ ¹šub-ba¹: in lexical lists *upuntu* is equated with ŠÈ and AŠ (*CAD* P 192).

r 16. The word *purātu*, “vomit” (si vera lectio) was previously attested only in a dream omen (DİŠ *pu-ra-ti* x [o o o o o IG]I | [(o o o o o) x-š]ú, Oppenheim 1956, 318 y+ 12 = K.2266+ r ii 13’–14’, between *šumma ip-ru-ma* and *šumma ukulta ip-par-ru*). The restoration of the Sumerian word is based on the meaning. The Akkadian word in lines r 9 and 12 seems to be similar.

r 17. Compare šu-ta-šub-[ba] = [š]u-ta-šub-bu-ú-um in *Nigga* Bilingual B 189 (*MSL* 13, 120). The Akkadian word *šutašubbú* is only attested in this lexical entry (*AHw* 1291b, *CAD* Š/3 399a). One could, of course, also restore [ka-t]a-šub-ba in view of l. 16, but the word **katašubbú* is not attested in Akkadian

No. 24: HS 1910, Sumerian Wisdom and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1910

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 42): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassit.]. Fundort: Nippur”.

Size: 7.5 × 5.2 × 1.0 cm

Introduction

The small pillow-shaped Kassite tablet contains an excerpt from a Sumerian text on its landscape-format obverse and lexical material on its portrait-oriented reverse. The Sumerian text is excerpted from some wisdom composition and represents perhaps a hitherto unknown proverb. Although Sumerian proverbs are famously difficult to interpret (Kramer 1988, 129–131), the present text seems to contain a defense of stoicism: according to it, one should abstain from insulting a person who insults, and from liking a pleasant-looking person. The first part, a “Golden Rule” of sorts, has many parallels in Mesopotamian paremiology: one might compare *SP* 3.69 = 11.22: *in-dúb-dúb-bu-ra in mu-na-an-ĝar | kiri₄-ur₄-e kiri₄ mu-na-an-ur₅-re*, “He who insults is insulted, he who sneers is sneered at” (Alster 1997, 92, 192, and 384). The second part is perhaps a recommendation not to trust appearances, a common topic in Sumerian proverbs (Alster 1997, xxiv). Read as a whole, the proverb states perhaps that a blustering bully, even if good looking, should be ignored.

The section of *Harra* excerpted on the reverse deals with wooden objects, in particular traps and bolts. It is almost identical to the canonical first-millennium version of *Harra* VI. Although no Old Babylonian recension of the section is known, the manuscript NBC 10915 contains a Middle Babylonian monolingual Sumerian recension of *Harra* VI,⁴³⁹ which follows closely the first-millennium version. Some entries in the present tablet differ both from the Middle Babylonian and from the first-millennium versions, but they may represent scribal mistakes (see r 6–7 and commentary).

The script of the tablet is typically Kassite: note the peculiar form of NE (o 1–2) and GIBIL (r 7) with horizontal instead of diagonal wedges.⁴⁴⁰

439 NBC 10915 is published on the *DCCLT* portal (P250365). On the provenance of the tablet, see Jiménez 2017a, 274 fn. 696; for a photo, see Wagensonner 2019, 143

440 On the Middle Babylonian form of NE, see Peterson 2011, 154 and fn. 5, with further bibliographical references.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. lú ka nu dùg-ga ù-bí-šub áš nam-ba-ab-bala¹(TI)-en
2. lú ka dù-dù-e ù-bí-tak₄ nam-ba-ab-du₁₂-du₁₂
3. me-¹dím¹-bi hé-en-¹sa₆¹šà-zu na¹-an-ši-túm

 Rest of obverse blank

Reverse

1. ḡeš^š az-bal (NBC 10915 r ii 36 = *Harra* VI 202)
2. ḡeš^š az-bal (r ii 37 = VI 203)
3. ḡeš^š ma-nu (r ii 38 = VI 204)
4. ḡeš^š ma-nu (r ii 39 = VI 205)
5. ḡeš^š <niḡ>-si-sá (r ii 40 = VI 206)
6. ḡeš^š kúr-kúr-di¹ (cf. r ii 41 and VI 207)
7. ḡeš^š gibil-°x x(x)°-gu₇ (r iii 1, cf. VI 208)
8. ḡeš^š ḡú ḡeš^š sè¹-ki-ir¹(NI) (r iii 2 = VI 209)
9. ḡeš^š ḡú ḡeš^š sè¹-ki¹-ir¹(NI) (r iii 3 = VI 210)
10. ḡeš^š ḡú sè¹-ki-ir (r iii 4 = VI 211)
11. ḡeš^š ḡú sè¹-¹ki-ir¹ (r iii 5 = VI 212)
12. ḡeš^š ḡú sè¹-¹ki¹-ir (– = VI 213/214)
13. ḡeš^š ḡú ḡeš^š zi¹-bi-ra (r iii 6 and 7 = VI 215)
14. ḡeš^š ḡeš^š maḡ¹ (r iii 9 = VI 216)
15. ḡeš^š kád (cf. r iii 8 = VI 217)
16. ḡeš^š éš-lá °éš° (r iii 10 = VI 218)

 Rest of reverse blank

**

Translation

Obverse

1. If a man throws an unpleasant insult, you should not curse him.
2. If man utters an ugly slur, you should not berate him.
3. If his appearance is good, you should not be persuaded by him.

Reverse

1. ḡeš^š azbal (means “ladder”).
2. ḡeš^š azbal (means “neck-stock”).
3. ḡeš^š manu (means ditto).
4. ḡeš^š manu (means “door bolt”).
5. ḡeš^š <niḡ>sisá (means ditto).
6. ḡeš^š kurkurdi (means “clamp”).
7. ḡeš^š gibil gu (means ditto).
8. ḡeš^š gu sekir (means ditto).
9. ḡeš^š gu sekir (means “trap”).
10. ḡeš^š gu sekir (means “(wooden) band”).
11. ḡeš^š gu sekir (means “kindling wood”).
12. ḡeš^š gu sekir (means “stepladder”).

13. $\dot{g}e\dot{s}gu$ *zibira* (means ditto).
 14. $\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ *maḥ* (means ditto)
 15. $\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ *kaḍ* (means ditto)
 16. $\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ *ešla* (means ditto)

Commentary

o 1–3. On the formulation (x ù-... y), compare *Bilingual proverbs* iv 27–30 (Lambert 1960a, 229 // K.6494 [eBL transliteration]+ K.7638 [BWL pl. 59]): lú-tur šùd ù-bí-gi | níġ-šár-ra an-né-e | ur-tur-ra ninda ù-bí-šub | kun-da-(ra) an-gùn-gùn-nu || *šéġ-ra* [...] | *mù-ma li*-[...] | *a-na mu-ra-ni* [...] | *li-kan-[zi-ib-ku]*, “Praise a young man, he will say to you extravagant things; throw a puppy a bun, it will fawn over you.”

o 1. ka nu dùg-ga is attested in *Kagal D* §4 l. 18' (Hittite version): [ka nu dùg]-ga = qa-a [nu d]u-ka = pù lā tābu, “evil mouth.” ka—šub, literally “to throw the mouth,” means “to insult” (see Cavigneaux 1987, 53). The text is corrected here to áš—bal, “to curse” (*PSD A/2* 43a and Attinger 1993, 450–451), since áš—TI does not appear to make sense. Compare the *Instructions of Šuruppak* 50 (Alster 2005, 66): áš á-zi na-ab-bala-e šu-uš im-ši-niġin || [arrat ša]ggašti lā tarrar isahhurakka, “do not utter a violent curse, it will come back to you.”

o 2. The phrase ka dù-dù is attested in the lexical tradition with contradictory meanings: ka dù-dù = pùm waštum, “difficult mouth” (*Kagal D* §3 l. 4' = *MSL* 13, 244), and ka dù-dù = KA mu-^rtal^r-ku, “circumspect mouth” (*Izi F* 309 = *MSL* 13, 199; emended by Attinger 1993, 669 to muttallu, “proud”). The phrase is attested also in several wisdom texts (see Alster 1974, 96; Attinger 1993, 669; and Rubio 2006, 171–172), such as the *Instructions of Šuruppak* 103–104: ka sa₆-sa₆-ge inim ì-šid-e | ka dù-dù-e kišib ì-íl-íl, “the artistic mouth recites words (well); the harsh mouth brings (litigation) documents” (Alster 2005, 75, translation from Civil 1984b, 292). On ka—tak₄, “to open the mouth,” compare ka—tak₄ = pīt pí in *Sag A* 35 (*MSL* SS 1, 22).

The verb du₁₂-du₁₂ is understood here as “to insult” in view of the proverb *SP* 3, 102, which reads, in the bilingual version of HS 1461 v 5 (Krebernik 2004, 231, 236, and 244):

ḥu-ru ti-ti ur-saġ-e-ne
 a-^rḥu^r-ru-um mu-re-ši-mi qá-ra-di-im

The verb ti-ti is therefore translated as *ruššú*, “verunglimpfen” (Krebernik 2004, 236; s. also Attinger 2021, 1035). The same proverb is written in an Old Babylonian tablet (Alster/Oshima 2006, 62–63 ii 16) as:

ḥu-ru du₁₂(TUKU)-du₁₂(TUKU) ur-saġ-e-ne

o 3. -bi is interpreted here as referring to the person who is the subject of the first half of the previous lines, since -bi, already used instead of -ni in Old Babylonian Sumerian (see Falkenstein 1949, 129 and fn. 2; Bartelmus 2016a, 240), is particularly common as the personal possessive pronoun in the Kassite period (see Limet 1971, 29; Lambert 1975, 222; and Bartelmus 2016a, 239–240). Since the phrase me-dím—sa₆, “fair in appearance” is always predicated of people (Falkenstein 1949, 136; *id.* 1959a, 128; and Römer 1965, 252), it seems unlikely that the “insult” should be the referent of the pronoun -bi.

The composite šà—de₆ (on which see Zólyomi 1999, 180; Karahashi 2000, 148; and Jaques 2006, 128, 142–143), Akkadian *libbu* (*w*)*abālu*, literally means “the heart lends towards x,” i.e., “yearns for.”

r 5. Corrected according to NBC 10915 and the first-millennium version ($\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ níġ-si-sá).

r 6. NBC 10915 r ii 41 reads $\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ K_{AB}-kúr-gu; *Harra* VI 207 $\dot{g}e\dot{s}$ kab-kúr(^{ku})-gi. It is uncertain how the word should be parsed.

r 7. NBC 10915 r iii 1 reads [^{ĝeš}gib]il-gú; *Harra* VI 208 ^{ĝeš}gú-gibil (MS G [K.4403+ iv 8] reads ^{ĝeš}gibil-gi). gu₇ is a phonetic variant of gú.

r 8–13. On ^{ĝeš}gú sè-ki-ir and its variant ^{ĝeš}gú zi-bi-ra, see Veldhuis 2017, 372–373.

r 12–13. The first-millennium version has a further entry with ^{ĝeš}gú sè-ki-ir.

r 15. The first-millennium version, (preserved in MS G [K.4403+] and MS L [K.2042+]) reads ^{ĝeš}ka₅. NBC 10915 reads ^{ĝeš}ku₄.

No. 25: HS 2943, Historical Epic and Lexical Excerpt

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 2943

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 3, fol. 51): “m/nB Schülertafel”.

Size: 7.1 × 4.0 × 2.0 cm

Introduction

This small tablet contains two lines from an Akkadian text on its obverse and thirteen Sumerian lexical entries on its reverse. Although it is a school tablet, it is written in a particularly fine hand.

The excerpt on the obverse belongs to a narrative text describing military operations. A fantastically high number of troops, sixty thousand, are said to have been deployed in somebody’s “whole country” (*ana gimir mātišu*), and a city whose name is written *Supālu* is said to have been garrisoned with no fewer than thirty thousand soldiers.⁴⁴¹ The city *Supālu* is to be identified with *Zabalam*, according to the lexical entry: *za-ba-lam* ZA.MÚŠ.UNUG^{ki} = *supālu* (*Diri* III 111 = *MSL* 15, 140). The present text appears to contain the first attestation of the Akkadian rendering *Supālu* of the name of *Zabala* outside of the lexical tradition.

The city of *Zabala*, which seems to have been abandoned after the Old Babylonian period, played an important role in the politics of the Sargonic period: it was involved in the rebellion against *Rīmuš* (Westenholz 1999, 41; Molina 2017/2018, 172–173), and *Narām-Sīn* commemorates in his inscriptions building activities in the city’s temples (Foster 2016, 14, 319). For this reason, it seems plausible that the excerpt belongs to a narrative pertaining the Sargonic dynasty. The most likely text is probably the *Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sīn*, a text known in Old Babylonian, Hittite, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian manuscripts.⁴⁴² The *Cuthean Legend* makes repeated mention of fabulous numbers of troops being sent to various places. Although the excerpt cannot be fitted into the preserved text,⁴⁴³ the Middle Babylonian version of the *Legend* is known only in the fragmentary Hittite version: the present lines might, therefore, belong to a hitherto unrecovered Middle Babylonian version of the text.⁴⁴⁴

441 The same numbers of troops are given in the fragment K.2634 l. 1’–2’ (*IWA* pl. 24): 60-šu *lim* ÉRIN^{mes} ṛbir¹-ti [...] | 30 *lim* ÉRIN^{mes} *um-ma-ni* : KA-[...].

442 Edited by Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 263–368 and Mitto 2022c.

443 But compare the very broken section in the Hittite version B a+2–4 (Goodnick

Westenholz 1997, 290; Mitto 2022b): [...] *uš-te-e-ri*-[*ib*² o (o)] x ṛ¹*giš*² [o (o)] | [...] *hur-ri šum-m*[*a*² o o o] x [o] x [o] | [...] ṛ¹*a*² *uš-te*-ṛ¹*e*¹-[*ri*²-*ib*² x-m]^{es} LUG[AL^{mes?}].

444 As noted by U. Gabbay (private communication), the Middle Babylonian school tablet VAT 17166 (*VS* 24, 75; edited by

The reverse of the tablet contains lexical entries that parallel exactly the first-millennium version of *Harra I*, albeit, as is common in Kassite exercise tablets (see introduction §5) only the Sumerian column is given. The lines run also parallel to the Middle Babylonian version of *Harra I*, as known in Emar.⁴⁴⁵

Transliteration

Obverse

1. *šūšu*(60-[┐]*šu*[┐]) *lim šābī*(ÉRIN^{mes}) *a[┐]*(KAL)-*na gi-mi-ir ma-ti-šú iš-kun*
2. *šalāšā*(30) *lim šābī*(ÉRIN^{mes}) *a-na* ^{uru}*su-pa-li uš-te-ri-ib*

Rest of obverse blank

Reverse

1. *mu-un-[┐]DU[┐]* (*Harra I* 160)
2. *mu-un-DU še* (161)
3. *mu-un-DU še-ĝeš-ì* (162)
4. *mu-un-DU [┐]zú-lum[┐]-ma* (163)
5. *kisl[a]ḥ* (164)
6. *kisla[ḥ]* (165)
7. *kis[laḥ]* (166)
8. *kis[laḥ]* (167)
9. *kank[a]l* (168)
10. *kank[a]l* (169)
11. [┐]*kankal[┐]* (170)
12. [┐]*kankal[┐]* (171)
13. [┐]*kankal[┐]* (172)

Rest of reverse blank

**

Translation

Obverse

1. He placed sixty thousand troops in his whole land,
2. He stationed thirty thousand troops in Zabala.

Reverse

1. *munDU* (means “delivery”)
2. *munDU še* (means “delivery of barley”)
3. *munDU šeĝeši* (means “delivery of sesame”)
4. *munDU zulumma* (means “delivery of dates”)
5. *kislaḥ* (means “threshing floor”)
6. *kislaḥ* (means “uncultivated lot”)
7. *kislaḥ* (means “empty lot”)

Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 52–55 and Bartelmus 2016a, 384–385) contains an excerpt from a bilingual text of historical character involving Sargon.

445 In Msk.74124a (Arnaud 1987, 42–43; Gantzert 2008, 53; *DCCLT* no. Q000064 seg. 5).

8. *kislah* (means “fallow lot”)
9. *kankal* (means “waste land”)
10. *kankal* (means “uncultivated lot”)
11. *kankal* (means “empty lot”)
12. *kankal* (means “fallow lot”)
13. *kankal* (means “hard ground”)

Commentary

- o 1. The same strange mistake, *kal* instead of *a*, occurs in the Kassite school tablet HS 1890 o 1 (No. 17).
- o 2. There appears to be a gloss written over the sign LI.

No. 26: HS 1914, Incantation (Type 2)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1914

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 43): “Neubabylon. literar. Text: Schülertafel. *Ḫarra-ḫubullū*^{sic} (2sprach. Beschwörung). Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 9.0 × 6.7 × 1.2 cm

Introduction

This almost completely preserved manuscript represents a type 2 exercise tablet (see the introduction, §5). As is common in type 2 tablets, the obverse contains three excerpts from literary texts, each copied only once, whereas the reverse contains two excerpts from the lexical series *Ḫarra*. The top edge contains a series of marks probably made with the stylus, whose purpose is unclear. The tablet is dated to the 13th of Elūlu (month VI) of an ungiven year. The date itself is playfully given twice, first in its long and then in its short form, the long form in the *explananda* column and the short in the *explanantia* — as if the student had understood it as part of the exercise.

The first and second excerpts of the obverse belong to the exorcistic text *Saġba*: the first excerpt stems from its first chapter and the second from its second, as is the case in other school tablets from Nippur.⁴⁴⁶ Both excerpts partially overlap with the texts excerpted in HS 1943 (No. 31):

	HS 1914	HS 1943
obv §1	<i>Saġba</i> I 95–100	<i>Saġba</i> I 93–98 ¹
obv §2	<i>Saġba</i> II 67–72 ¹	<i>Saġba</i> II 63–66

The last lines of the second excerpt of the present tablet, which should be *Saġba* II 71–72, belong in fact to *Saġba* I 123–124. As studied above (§5), this circumstance is due to a mistake: the penultimate line of the excerpt (o 11–12 = *Saġba* II 69–70) happens to occur earlier in the same text (in *Saġba* I 121–122), which caused the student to copy the continuation of the first instance of the lines, instead of the lines he was assigned.⁴⁴⁷

As discussed in the introduction (§5), these types of errors are inexplicable if one assumes that the student had a written *Vorlage* in front of his eyes, since a written *Vorlage* would have contained either *Saġba* I or *Saġba* II, but not both. They are, however, easily explicable if we assume that the scribe was copying from memory. This impression is

446 See §5. Other examples of this distribution include (1) CBS 8801 (discussed below in the commentary to HS 1943 [No. 31] o 12), with excerpts from *Saġba* I 69–76 and II 61–66; and (2) HS 1943

(No. 31), with excerpts from I 91, 93–102 and II 61, 63–66.

447 For a similar error, see HS 1943 (No. 31) o 7 and commentary *ad loc.*

reinforced by the existence of memory prompts at the beginning of each section (ll. o 1, 8, 15), as in tablet HS 1943 (No. 31). These prompts comprise the first one or two words from the line preceding the section assigned to the student: thus, the first words from *Saġba* I 93 precede the section *Saġba* I 95–100 (o 2–7),⁴⁴⁸ the first word from *Saġba* II 65 leads the section *Saġba* II 67–72¹ (o 9–14), and *Uduġhul* X “01” introduces the section *Uduġhul* X 1’–2’ (o 16–21). These prompts, written in a smaller script, represent no doubt the assignment given by the teacher, who would thus indicate the section to copy without giving away its beginning (see §5).

The third excerpt on the obverse belongs to the beginning of *Uduġhul* X (see the details in the textual notes below), whereas the two lexical excerpts on the reverse belong to *Harra* VII/A and VIII, respectively. Interestingly, the first excerpt of *Harra* begins *in medias res* with an entry with the sign MIN (now broken), a phenomenon that is elsewhere attested in Neo-Babylonian school tablets (Gesche 2001, 54).

★★

The tablet was previously unpublished, but a photo of it was used by B. Landsberger for the reconstruction of *Harra* VII/A (MS S₁₄ in *MSL* 6, 83 and 90–92) and *Harra* VIII (MS S₄ in *MSL* 7, 4 and 7–8). Some of the readings adopted there should be corrected (see the textual notes below).

448 *Saġba* I 94 is the Akkadian translation of *Saġba* I 93.

Transliteration

Obverse

1.	[ku ₁₀ -ku ₁₀]-ga šà	(<i>Sagba</i> I 93a)
2.	ṛpú ¹ -ta [m]u-un-šub-bu-dam	(I 95)
3.	ṛšá ¹ iš-ṛtu ¹ ṛbur ¹ -tu ₄ [i]l-la-a'	(I 96)
4.	ub ₄ ḥuš ¹ -ṛsa ¹ -t[a] ḥé-ni-íb-šub-bu-da	(I 97)
5.	ana šu-ut-ta-tu ₄ lid-du-šú	(I 98)
6.	pú du ₁₀ -ús-sa-ṛta ¹ mu-un-da-gir ₅ -gir ₅ -e-ne	(I 99)
7.	šá ina bur-tú nar-ma-ku i-ḥal-lu-pu	(I 100)
<hr/>		
8.	é-ḡu ₁₀	(<i>Sagba</i> II 65)
9.	ṛur ¹ -ḡu ₁₀ nam-ba-ṛbal ¹ -bal-e	(II 67)
10.	ana ú-ri-ía e tab-bal-kit	(II 68)
11.	tu ₆ dug ₄ -ga inim ^d +en-ki-ga-ke ₄	(II 69 = I 121)
12.	MIN-e i-mat ^d IDIM	(II 70 = I 122)
13.	tu ₆ ^d asar-re ṛabzu ¹ -a	(<i>Sagba</i> I 123)
14.	šī-pat ^d AMAR.UTU š[á a]p-si-i	(I 124)
<hr/>		
15.	ur-saḡ ^d asar-lú-ḥi ṛsaḡa ²	(<i>Udughul</i> X 01)
16.	ur-saḡ ^d asar-lú-ḥi abgal abzu-ta-[me-e]n	(X 1'a)
17.	qar-ṛrad ¹ ^d AMAR-UTU ap-kal-lu ₄ ap-si-ṛi ¹ ana-ku	(X 1'b)
18.	ur-saḡ ^d asar-lú-ḥi dumu abgal abzu-ta-me-en	(X -a)
19.	MIN ^d MIN ap-kal-lu ₄ mar MIN MIN	(X -b)
20.	ur-saḡ ^d MIN lugal abzu-ta-me-ṛen ¹	(X 2'a)
21.	MIN ^d MIN šar-ri ap-si-i ana-k[u]	(X 2'b)

End of obverse

Reverse

1.	[ḡ ^e šD]U.ṛDU ¹ ṛḡú ¹ -ù-sá-ṛdi ¹ -[i]l ²	a-ra-a-tú [MIN]	(<i>Harra</i> VII/A 94 ^{var})
2.	[ḡ ^e š]MIN ṛMIN ¹	mut-ta-bi-la-ṛa ¹ -[tú MIN]	(95)
3.	[ḡ ^e]ṛzu-ra-aḥ	kal-ba-na-[a-tú]	(96)
4.	ḡ ^e šMIN	MIN	(-)
5.	ḡ ^e šmá	MIN	(102a)
6.	ḡ ^e šé-má	MIN	(103a)
7.	ḡ ^e šé-IG-a	MIN	(103b)
8.	ḡ ^e šsu-lá	MIN	(104c)
9.	ḡ ^e šsa-lá	MIN	(104b)
10.	ḡ ^e šḡeš-dù-a	MIN	(104e)
11.	ḡ ^e šigi-ḡál	MIN	(105)
<hr/>			
12.	gi	qa-nu-ú	(<i>Harra</i> VIII 1)
13.	gi gašam	MIN šip-ri	(2)
14.	gi šul-ḥi	MIN šá-la-lu	(3)
15.	ṛgi ¹ šul-ḥi má-ṛgan ¹ -na	MIN <MIN> ma-ak-ka-an	(4)
16.	gi dùg-ga	MIN ṫa-a-bi	(5)
17.	gi-zu	ki-i-su	(6)
18.	gi-zu ḥi-a	šip-pa-tú	(7)
19.	gi-izi-ḡar	MIN	(8)
20.	ḡ ⁱ sì-sì-ga	MIN	(9a)

21.	^{gi} pa gi-zu	<i>áš-tu₄ ki-i-su</i>	(10b)
22.	^{gi} pa áš-al ĝar	MIN	(11)
23.	^{Γiti} ŠE.KIN.KU ₅ U ₄ .13	ŠE 13	

End of side

Translation

Obverse

1. “In darkness in the middle” (cue).
 - 2–3. (The demon) who comes up from the cistern,
 - 4–5. Let them throw him in a trap!
 - 6–7. (The demon) who slips out of the washroom cistern.
-
8. “My house” (cue).
 - 9–10. Do not cross through my roof!
 - 11–12. The incantation formula, the word/*poison* of Enki/Ea,
 - 13–14. The incantation of Asar/Marduk of the Apsû.
-
15. “Asalluĥi, *sanga*-priest” (cue).
 - 16–17. I am warrior Asalluĥi, the sage of the Apsû.
 - 18–19. I am warrior Asalluĥi, (the sage,) son of the (sage of the) Apsû.
 - 20–21. I am warrior Asalluĥi, the king of the Apsû.

Reverse

1. [^{ĝes}D]U.DU *gu’sad[i]l* (means) “shields [of] ditto (i.e., of the battering ram).”
 2. ^{ĝes}ditto ditto (means) “*muttabbilā*[tu of] ditto (i.e., of the battering ram).”
 3. ^{ĝes}*zuraĥ* (means) “*kalbānātu* (i.e., a siege device).”
 4. ^{ĝes}ditto (means) ditto.
 5. ^{ĝes}*ma* (means) ditto.
 6. ^{ĝes}*ema* (means) ditto.
 7. ^{ĝes}*elGa* (means) ditto.
 8. ^{ĝes}*sula* (means) ditto.
 9. ^{ĝes}*sala* (means) ditto.
 10. ^{ĝes}*ĝešdu’a* (means) ditto.
 11. ^{ĝes}*igila* (means) ditto.
-
12. *gi* (means) “reed”
 13. *gi gašam* (means) ditto (i.e. “reed”) “for work.”
 14. *gi šulĥi* (means) “*šalālu*”-ditto (i.e., “*šalālu*-reed”).
 15. *gi šulĥi magana* (means) ditto “of Magan.”
 16. *gi duĝa* (means) “good” ditto.
 17. *gizu* (means) “*kīsu*-reed.”
 18. *gizuĥia* (means) “row (of reeds).”
 19. *gi iziĝar* (means) ditto.
 20. ^{gi}*sisiga* (means) ditto.
 21. ^{gi}*pa gizu* (means) “branch of the *kīsu*-reed.”
 22. ^{gi}*pa ašal ĝar* (means) ditto.
-
23. 13th day of month Elūlu (VI); 13/VI.

Commentary

o 4. The agrammatical form $\text{h}u\check{s}\text{-}r\text{sa}^1\text{-}t[a]$ probably represents a contamination by $\text{du}_{10}\text{-}u\check{s}\text{-}s\text{-}a\text{-}t\text{a}$ in l. 6. Other manuscripts read $\text{n}i\check{l}\text{ni}\check{g}\text{ll}\check{\theta}\text{-}h\check{u}\check{s}\text{-}a\text{ll}\check{\theta}\text{-}t\text{a}$ (Schramm 2001, 54).

o 12. Although one would naturally expect $\text{inim}^{\text{d}+\text{en-ki-ga}}$ to be translated as *amāt^{dea}*, the present manuscript (the only one to preserve the Akkadian translation fully) clearly writes *i-mat*. *i-mat* appears as a variant of *a-mat* in the formula *imat^{dea} šipat^{dea} ru'ut^{dea} qibīt^{dea} ša pāšira lā išū*, “the word of Ea, incantation of Ea, spittle of Ea, command of Ea, which has no relief,” in:

- a. *Muššū'u* V 21 (Böck 2007, 190); MS A (BM 46276+) $r^i\text{-}mat^1$; MS P (CTN 4, 139): *a-mat*.
- b. *Udug-hul* II 20 (Geller 2016, 67): five MSS read *i-mat*.

i-mat should, therefore, be considered a variant, and not an error.

o 13–14. The student has mistakenly copied *Saġba* I 123–124, due to the fact that the preceding lines, *Saġba* I 121–122, are identical with *Saġba* II 69–70, the lines that appear immediately before the present ones: see the introduction to the text, as well as §5 (pp. 24–25).

o 15–21. The third excerpt contains lines from the introduction of *Uduḡhul* IX (Geller 2016, 323–325), now restored thanks to an early NA version from Carchemish (Marchesi 2014). Although the sequence of lines preserved in the present school tablet differs from both the Karkemish tablet and the other known manuscripts, an unpublished early NB tablet from Uruk preserves the same sequence:⁴⁴⁹

- (o 7⁾ $r^1\text{ur}^1\text{-}sa\hat{g}^{\text{d}}\text{asar-l}\acute{u}\text{-}h\check{i}\text{ }r^1\text{sa}\hat{g}a_6^1\text{-}[\text{ma}\check{h}\text{ gaba-ri nu tuku me-en}]$
- (o 8⁾ $[q]ar\text{-}ra\text{-}du^{\text{d}}\text{AMAR.UTU } \acute{s}\acute{a}\text{-}an\text{-}gam\text{-}ma\text{-}h\check{u}\text{ }r^1\acute{s}\acute{a}^1\text{ }[ma\text{-}h\check{i}\text{-}ra\text{ la }i\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}u\text{ ana-ku}]$
- (o 9⁾ $[u]r\text{-}[sa]\hat{g}^{\text{d}1}\text{asar-l}\acute{u}\text{-}h\check{i}\text{ abgal }[abzu\text{-}ta\text{ me-en}]$
- (o 10⁾ $[qa]r\text{-}r^1\text{ra}^1\text{-}du^{\text{d}}\text{AMAR.UTU } ap\text{-}kal^1\text{ }r^1ap^1\text{-}[si\text{-}i\text{ a-na-ku}]$
- (o 11⁾ $[ur\text{-}sa\hat{g}^{\text{d}}]r^{\text{d}1}\text{asar-l}\acute{u}\text{-}h\check{i}\text{ }r^1\text{dumu}^1\text{ abgal }[abzu\text{-}ta\text{ me-en}]$
- (o 12⁾ $[qar\text{-}r]a\text{-}du\text{ }ap\text{-}kal\text{-}lu_4\text{ }[DUMU } ap\text{-}si\text{-}i\text{ a-na-ku}]$
- (o 13⁾ $[ur\text{-}sa\hat{g}^{\text{d}}]r^{\text{d}1}\text{asar-l}\acute{u}\text{-}h\check{i}\text{ lugal }[abzu\text{-}ta\text{ me-en}]$
- (o 14⁾ $[qar\text{-}ra\text{-}d]u^{\text{d}}\text{AMAR.UTU } \acute{s}ar\text{-}ri\text{ }[ap\text{-}si\text{-}i\text{ a-na-ku}]$

The duplicate shows that the student erroneously merged ll. 9'–10' with 11'–12'.

r 1. The standard reconstruction reads the line before *Harra* VII/A 95 as $\acute{g}e\acute{s}\text{DU.DU-gud-si-dili}$ = *muttallikat* MIN (= *ašubi*), “*muttalliktu*-part of a battering-ram.”⁴⁵⁰ The variant is also attested in the school tablet BM 66830+ (copied in Gesche 2001, 525, transliterated in Veldhuis 2003, 629): $[\acute{g}e\acute{s}\text{DU}].\text{DU } gud^2\text{-si}^2\text{-dili}$ = *a-ri-a-at* [MIN (= *ašubi*)]. The word *a-ri-a-at* || *a-ra-a-tú* is probably the plural of *arītu*, “shield,” which perhaps designates the wooden planks that protected the frame of the battering ram.

The writing of the Sumerian column in HS 1914 probably represents a rendering of the Sumerian term for battering ram, $\acute{g}e\acute{s}\text{gu}_4\text{-si-A}\acute{s}$, “one-horned ram.” The signs were read by Landsberger 1958, 90 *ad loc.* as “[$\acute{g}e\acute{s}$]rDU.DU¹-gú-ù^{di-l}[dīl] (error)”; however, the sign after *di* is clearly not a *li*, and neither of the two signs following *ù* looks like a gloss, since the script is the same size as the rest. It is therefore interpreted that the line contains an unusual phonetic rendering of the common Sumerian term (for other phonetic renderings of Sumerian terms, see r 3 and r 22).

449 IM 45749+ IM 45852, to be published by A.A. Fadhlil and the present author in the series *Literarische Bruchstücke aus Uruk*.

450 Note that the standard reconstruction of *Harra* VIIa, as presented in Landsberger

1958, 81–111, conflagrates several stages of the text. HS 1914 follows the standard Neo-Babylonian version of *Harra* VIIa, as far as it can be reconstructed (Veldhuis 2000, 77 and *id.* 2003, 629).

- r 2. On *muttabbiltu/muttabbilātu*, a part of the battering ram, see Scurlock 1989, 131 and Lambert 2007, 146.
- r 3–5. The sequence *Harra VII/A 96* → *Harra VII/A 101* is the standard sequence of the Neo-Babylonian recension of the tablet *Harra VII/A* (see Veldhuis 2003, 629). However, instead of writing $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{MIN} = \text{mekú}$, the student adds the meaningless entry $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{MIN} = \text{MIN}$, thus causing all following entries to be erroneously equated with *kalbānātu*, instead of with *mekú*. Note also the phonetic rendering $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{zu-r a-a ĥ}$ instead of $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{zú-r a-a ĥ}$.
- r 5–6. On $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{má}$ and $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{é-má}$ (“ship” and “ship’s cabin”) as technical terms for siege devices, see Sjöberg 1996, 112.
- r 11. On $\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{igi-ĝál}$ as a siege device, see George 2018, 29 fn. 42 ($\text{ĝ}^{\text{es}}\text{igi-ĝál}$ is occasionally used for *kalbānātu*, as in the present tablet, instead of for *mekú*).
- r 13. On *gi gašam*, “etwa gespaltenes und geklopftes S[chilf]”, see Streck 2009/2010, 184a.
- r 16. On *gi dùg-ga*, see Jursa 2009, 163–164 (the common identification with lemongrass (*Cymbopogon*) is unlikely, at least in some cases).
- r 17. On *gi-zi* (here written *gi-zu*), see Streck 2009/2010, 184a (“Frisches, grünes Futter-S[chilf] mit Blättern”), with further bibliography.
- r 18. On the identification of the plant *šippatu/šippātu*, see Mayer 2003b, 382–389 and *id.* 2017b, 202, 206–207.
- r 22. $\text{g}^{\text{i}}\text{pa áš-al ĝar}$ (not *gi-pa-sa-al-gar*, as mistakenly rendered in Landsberger 1959, 8 *ad loc.*) appears to be a phonetic rendering of $\text{g}^{\text{i}}\text{a-sal ĝar}$. The Sumerian term *a-sal* designates “une structure de roseau élevée faisant partie de la structure de la porte d’une façon générale” (Cavigneaux 1995a, 82–83 and 96).
- r 23. The date is given twice, first in the verbose system (with the ceremonial name of the month), then in the abbreviated manner. See the introduction.

No. 27: HS 1921, Incantation (Type 2)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1921

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 43): “dgl. [*scil.* Neubabylon.]. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 5.2 × 4.3 × 0.4 cm

Introduction

A famous Mesopotamian ceremony for preparing a cultic kettledrum (*lilissu*) is described in two Late Babylonian manuscripts from Uruk and one Neo-Assyrian tablet from Assur.⁴⁵¹ The ritual involves, in the first place, the selection of a suitable bull and its slaughtering in order to use his hide for covering the drum. Just before the bull is sacrificed, however, two incantations are whispered into its ears through a reed (Gabbay 2015a, 193–194). The first prescribed incantation, whose incipit is “Great Bull” (*gu₄ gal*), praises the bull as harbinger of fertility. The tablet edited below contains the first known duplicate of that incantation. The text was previously known only from the Nineveh tablet K.4806 (4R² 23 no. 1)+ K.9421, most recently edited by Linssen 2004, 275–282 and Gabbay 2015a, 193–194. In the Nineveh manuscript, the incantation is followed by a rubric that styles it as INIM ABZU, “Word of the Apsû.” This same rubric can be found in the incantations HS 1948 (No. 8) and ROM 910.204.394 (discussed in the introduction to No. 8, p. 129). The present manuscript, however, contains no such rubric.

The tablet represents a small excerpt whose obverse contains only the incantation “Great Bull” (*gu₄ gal*), but none of the other incantations prescribed in the kettledrum ritual. The reverse of the tablet is anepigraphic. The first line of the tablet contains only the first three signs of the line that immediately precedes the first line copied in full (in the present tablet, l. 2). This is a typical feature of 2a-type school tablets from Nippur, which occurs also in two tablets edited in this volume, HS 1914 (No. 26) and HS 1943 (No. 31). In these tablets, the line whose beginning was copied was in all likelihood an aide-mémoire, whose purpose was to remind the student of the passage he was meant to copy, and which he was probably expected to know by heart (see §5). This feature, together with the several malformed signs that appear in the tablet (ll. 2b, 3a, 4a), suggests that HS 1921 is a product of the school.

451 The ritual is attested in AO 6479 ii 9 (*TCL* 6, 44), IM 65053 r 19 (*W.*20030/4; *BagM* *Beih* 2, 5), and VAT 8022 o 10 (*KAR* 60).

The latest edition can be found in Linssen 2004, 252–282; see also Gabbay 2018, 9–13.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. ÉN gu₄-gal [ø]
 K.4806+ i 8'. gu₄ gal gu₄ maḥ ú ki-ús kù-ga
 K.4806+ i 9'. gu₄-gal-lu₄ gu₄-maḥ-ḥu ka-bi-is ri-te KÙ-ti
- 2a. šà-túm dib-dib-ba-a hé-¹en¹-ĝál d[aĝal-la]
 K.4806+ i 10'. šà-túm dib-dib-ba-a hé-ĝál daĝal-la
- 2b. ib¹-ta-¹a qer-bé-e¹-tú mu-kil hé-en-[ĝál-li]
 K.4806+ i 11'. ib-ta-¹a qer-bé-ti mu-kil hé-ĝál-li
- 3a. UL-šár-ra uru₄¹(URU)-a a-gàr ḥi-li-[a]
 K.4806+ i 12'. ^dUL-šár-ra uru₄-a a-gàr ḥi-li-a
- 3b. e-ri-iš^dnissaba mu-šáḥ-ḥi-lu ¹ú¹-[ga-ri]
 K.4806+ i 13'. e-ri-iš^dnissaba mu-šáḥ-li-lu A.GÀR
- 4a. igi-zu nam¹(Z1)-diĝir gu-la ¹x (x)¹ [o o]
 K.4806+. caret
- 4b. ina ma-ḥar ilūtī(DINGIR-ú-ti)-¹ka¹ [o o]
 K.4806+. caret
- 5a. šu-ĝu₁₀ dadag-ga igi-zu [bal-bal-e]
 K.4806+ i 14'. šu-ĝu₁₀ dadag-ga igi-zu bal-bal-e
- 5b. qa-ta-a-a eb-bé-t[i iq-qa-a ma-ḥar-ka]
 K.4806+ i 15'. qa-ta-a-a KÙ^{mes} iq-qa-a ma-ḥar-ka (ruling)
 K.4806+ i 16'. amāt(INIM) apsi(ABZU) šá libbi(ŠÀ) uzum(GEŠTU+^{min}) alpi(GU₄) šá imitti(ZAG) šá lilissi(LILIZ)
 siparri(ZABAR) a-ra-mi
 K.4806+ i 17'. i-na takkussi(^gSAG.KUD) qanē(GI) ṭābi(DÜG.GA) tu-lāḥ-ḥaš (ruling)

Reverse anepigraphic

**

Translation

1. “Incantation: Great bull” (cue).
2. He who walks across the meadows, who brings about abun[dance],
3. He who sows the grain, who makes the fields flourish,
4. Before your great divinity [...]
5. My pure hands [make an offering] in you[r] presence.

(K.4806+ i 16') Word of the Apsû of the middle of the bull's right ear, for covering a bronze drum.

(K.4806+ i 17') You whisper them through a tube of “sweet reed.”

Commentary

3a. On ^(d)UL-šár-ra (a name of Nissaba), see Krebernik 2014/2016b.

3b. The two manuscripts diverge in the reading of the second participle: whereas K.4806+ reads *mu-šáḫ-li-lu*, HS 1921 reads *mu-šáḫ-ḫi-lu(-)ú* [o o].⁴⁵² Neither reading is satisfactory. The former, *mu-šáḫ-li-lu*, has been interpreted as *alālu* Š, “to hail” (Tallqvist 1938, 88; *CAD* A/1 331b; and *AHw* 680b [“der jauchzen läßt”]),⁴⁵³ and variously translated as “qui réjouit les champs” (Thureau-Dangin 1923, 27), “der du die Flur jubeln (oder strotzen?) machest” (Tallqvist 1938, 88), “who causes the fields to resound with shouts of *alāla*” (*CAD* A/1 331b), “who causes the countryside to be *fertile*” (Sachs 1969, 337a), “who makes the arable tracts thrive” (*PSD* A/1 80b), “making the fields *thrive*” (Linssen 2004, 278 and Gabbay 2015a, 194), and “qui fait résonner des cris de joie” (Jaques 2006, 510). However, the Š stem of the verb *alālu* has generally an intransitive sense (“to rejoice” [*CAD* A/1 332], “jauchzen” [*AHw* 34b]), and is never booked in the dictionaries with an initial *ḫ*.⁴⁵⁴

mušahḫilu is similarly difficult to parse. No Š stem of a I-weak verb *xḫl* is attested; *šahālu* D, “to filter,” is very poorly attested, and the sense is not ideal. Neither *mušahḫilu* nor *mušahḫilulu* are, therefore, satisfactory. On the other hand, *ḫi-li-a* in the Sumerian suggests that the Akkadian translation should be *mušammehu* (*šamāhu* D, “to make flourish”): compare BM 35966 r 14 (eBL transliteration, cited in *CAD* Š/1 288b): *ḫi-li-a-ḡu₁₀-dè m á-za-ḡu₁₀-dè || ina šá-ma-ḫi-ia ina e-le-ši-ia*.⁴⁵⁵ A corruption may have happened that transformed *mu-šam-mi-iḫ* into *mu-šáḫ-li-lu* and *mu-šáḫ-ḫi-lu*, probably under the influence of the phonetic form of the Sumerian counterpart, *ḫi-li*.

4. This line does not appear in the duplicate K.4806+. The last sign might be í[L].

452 The end of the Akkadian line could be reconstructed as *mu-šáḫ-ḫi-lu* ᵀú¹-[*ga-ri*] or *mu-šáḫ-ḫi-lu*-ᵀú¹ [A.GĀR]. If the latter reconstruction is adopted, it would be theoretically possible to understand *mušahḫilú* as an ungrammatical form derived from *ḫelú*, “to be bright.” Although that verb is never equated with *ḫi-li*, the phonetic similarity might have triggered its appearance. It is also possible to emend the form in *mu-šáḫ-«ḫi»-lu-ú*, although the existence of a similarly difficult form in the duplicate discourages this solution.

453 Meissner 1898, 95a understood it as *mu-šul-li-lu*, derived from *šullulu*.

454 An exception may occur in a context not booked in the dictionaries, SB *Gilgameš* V 20 (al Rawi/George 2014, 76): [x x] x-ú *il-tam-ma-ru* ᵀx (x)-*bú¹* ᵀú-šáḫ-la[l], “[...] were singing a song, making the ... pipe loud.” However, in this case the verb probably represents a hitherto unattested Š stem of the verb *ḫalālu*, “to pipe.”

455 The lexicographical tradition shows that the equation *ḫi-li* = *šamāhu* was current: see *CAD* Š/1 288b and Jaques 2006, 510.

No. 28: HS 1925 (Type 1)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1925

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 44): “dgl. [*scil.* Neubabylon.]. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 4.5 × 3.9 × 1.8 cm

Introduction

The tablet represents an exemplar of a school exercise of the type called by Gesche “1b,” i.e., large tablets with multiple (typically five) small columns on each side (see §5). The obverse of type 1b tablets contains excerpts from lexical lists, copied multiple times; the reverse has “non-canonical lists” (Gesche 2001, 44–50). The present tablet contains an excerpt from *Harra* I *229–237* on its obverse, copied at least twice; while its reverse has an excerpt from the stone series *Abnu šikinšu* and acrographic lists with different spellings of the same verbal forms.

Type 1 tablets are frequently attested in Nippur: over fifty exemplars are listed in Jiménez forthcoming. Note in particular N 2207 (eBL transliteration), a fragment of the reverse of a type 1b tablet with a stone list and an “acrographic” list.

Transliteration

Obverse

i' 1.	[k i - t a	š a p] - l i š	ii' 1. k i - t a	š [a p - l i š]	(Harra I 229)
i' 2.	[a n - t a	e] - l i š	ii' 2. a n - t a	ᵀ e ᵀ - [l i š]	(230)
i' 3.	[k i - t a	ù š a p] - l i š	ii' 3. k i - t a	ᵀ ù ᵀ [š a p - l i š]	(231)
i' 4.	[u š	š i d] - d u	ii' 4. u š	[š i d - d u]	(232)
i' 5.	[u š	š á - d a] - d u	ii' 5. u [š	š á - d a - d u]	(233)
i' 6.	[s a ĝ	p u - ú] - t ú	ii' 6. s [a ĝ	p u - ú - t ú]	(234)
i' 7.	[b ù r	š u p] - l u			(235)
i' 8.	[s u k u d	m é - l u] - ú			(236)
i' 9.	[d a ĝ a l	r u - u p] - ᵀ š ú ᵀ			(237)

Reverse

iii' 1'.	[(o) o - m e] ᵀ	ii' 1'. q u b - [b i l]		
iii' 2'.	[o] x - m i - i ᵀ	ii' 2'. q u - u b - b i - i [l]	i' 1'. ᵀ [a ᵀ G Í R x x š u m (M U) - š ú]	
iii' 3'.	[(o) x - m e ᵀ	ii' 3'. q u b - b i l	i' 2'. a b n u (N A 4) š i k i n (G A R) - ᵀ [ú k ī m a (G I M) o (o)]	
iii' 4'.	[o o] - ᵀ m i ᵀ - i ᵀ	ii' 4'. q u - u b - b i - i l	i' 3'. ᵀ a ᵀ G Í R x [x š u m (M U) - š ú]	
		ii' 5'. q u b - b i l	i' 4'. a b n u (N A 4) š i k i n (G A R) - š ú k ī m a (G I M) x [(o)]	
		ii' 6'. [q] u - u b - b i - i l	i' 5'. ᵀ a ᵀ G Í R x x [š u m (M U) - š ú]	
		End of column	End of column	

**

Translation

Obverse

i' 1 and ii' 1.	[k i t a (means) "be]low."
i' 2 and ii' 2.	[a n t a (means) "ab]ove."
i' 3 and ii' 3.	[k i t a (means) "and be]low".
i' 4 and ii' 4.	[u š (means) "long s]ide."
i' 5 and ii' 5.	[u š (means) "to measu]re."
i' 6 and ii' 6.	[s a ĝ (means) "short s]ide."
i' 7.	[b ù r (means) "dep]th."
i' 8.	[s u k u d (means) "hei]ght."
i' 9.	[d a ĝ a l (means) "wi]dth."

Reverse

i' 2', 4'. The stone whose appearance is like ... [...]

i' 1', 3', 5'. gír-stone (?) ... [... is its name]

ii' 1'–6'. Accept!

iii' 1'–4'. [...]

Commentary

r i'. The column appears to contain an excerpt from an as yet unidentified section of *Abnu šikinšu*.⁴⁵⁶ Excerpts from *Abnu šikinšu* appear on other type 1 school tablets, such as *UET* 7, 156 and 158 (Gesche 2001, 146; Schuster-Brandis 2008, 33–34), BM 50664 and W.8921 (Schuster-Brandis 2008, 33–34). Note also N 2207, mentioned in the introduction.

r ii'. The root is here apparently *qubbulu*, “to accept” (*CAD* Q 292, *AHw* 925b), an Aramaic loan-word that appears occasionally in Neo-Babylonian documents (von Soden 1968a, 264; Cole 1996, 364; Abraham/Sokoloff 2011, 47). The verb is not attested in “acrographic lists” in Northern Babylonian school tablets (Gesche 2001, 103–123).

456 The name of the stone could not be deciphered, but U. Gabbay (*privatim*) suggests a reading of r i' 3' ^{na}h^é!-e[m?], which is difficult to reconcile with the traces but

could be compared with ^{na}h^é-em, attested in *Lugale* 623 (van Dijk 1983, 165–166).

No. 29: HS 1935, Incantation (Type 2)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1935 (old number: 100)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 45): “Zweisprach. Beschwörung (Marduk-Ea-Zwiegespräch). Fundort: Nippur.” On tablet: “100.”

Size: 3.5 × 3.6 × 1.4 cm

Introduction

The tablet’s obverse contains two excerpts from bilingual incantations, whereas its reverse is anepigraphic, at least its preserved part. The obverse is divided into two sections by means of a ruling. The first section contains a well-known exorcistic motif, viz. a dialogue between Enki (Ea in the Akkadian version) and his son Asalluḫi (Marduk), in which the latter asks for his father’s help in healing the patient.⁴⁵⁷ This dialogue always has the same structure: Asalluḫi/Marduk asks his father Enki/Ea for help; the latter initially declines out of modesty, claiming that his son knows just as much as he does, but then provides Asalluḫi/Marduk with a series of ritual instructions, formulated in the Sumerian “imperative.”⁴⁵⁸ In the present tablet, however, the section that follows the Marduk-Ea dialogue features indicative verbs (mu-ni- in ll. 4 and 5a), and not “imperatives,” which means that it does not contain Ea’s instructions to his son, but rather belongs to a second excerpt. This section can be identified as an excerpt from the exorcistic series *Udughul*. The first line of each excerpt is given only in Sumerian, as is commonly the case in school tablets from Nippur (see §5).

The reverse is blank in the preserved portion, but it contains a vertical ruling dividing the tablet into two columns, a fact that suggests that it once contained lexical extracts.

457 On the Marduk-Ea dialogue, see Falkenstein 1931, 44–76; Maul 1994, 41; Mander 2010; and George 2016, 2–4.

458 I.e., with the ù-clitic (Civil 2008) usually translated in bilinguals by means of Akkadian imperatives (Stola 1981).

Transliteration

Obverse

1. a-a-ni íb-ba-ak-[a]
 - 2a. ^d+en-ki dumu-ni ^dasar-lú-ḥ[i mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄]
 - 2b. ^rd^lé-a māra(DUMU)-šú marūtuk(^rd^l[AMAR.UTU] ip-pal]
 - 3a. dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na nu ì-íb-<zu> a^l(NÍG)-n[a a-ra-ab-taḥ-e]
 - 3b. *mar mi-na-d^l(NÍG) la ti-di m[i-na-a lu-uš-ṣib-ka]*
-
4. [u]dul(ÁB.KU) <ki> la-^ra-ta^l mu-ni-[in-ra-aš (?)] // *Udughul* VII 73
 - 5a. [s]u₈-ba ki la-a-ta ^rmu^l-[ni-in-ra-aš (?)] // 74
 - 5b. [r]e-é'(SUKKAL)-um a-s[ar o o o o (o)]
 6. [ḡuruš ki] ^rmè^l-t[a mu-ni-in-ra-aš (?)] // 75

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse blank in the preserved section

**

Translation

1. “What should I d[o?]” (cue)
 2. Enki/Ea [answered] his son Asalluḥ[i/Marduk]:
 3. My son, what do you not know? Wha[t can I add?]
-
4. “*They* [killed the he]rdsman *where...*” (cue)
 5. *Th[ey killed the she]pherd where...*
 6. [*The killed the lad in the*] battle[*field*].

Commentary

1a. The late writing a-a-ni, rather than the expected a-na, is also attested in:

1. The *Samāna* incantation l. 22 (Finkel 1998, 88 = *STT* 178 o 42 // K.2402^l+ r 16' [Finkel 1998, 105]): a-a-ni íb-ak-a a-na-bi nu-un-zu a-na mu-un-ni-^ríb^l-gi₄^l(RA.ḤI) // *mi-na-a e-pu-uš a-me-lu šu-a-tú ul i-di ana mi-né-e i-pa-šá-[ah]*.
2. *Muššū'u* III 19 (Böck 2007, 137 = BM 45395+ o 7' [Böck 2007, pl. vi]): a-a-ni íb-ba-ak-a : *mi-na-a up-šá-šu-ú ia-a-tú is-qu-lu-nu* : ḡá-e ba-an-da-lá-[e].

4–6. The section is an excerpt of *Udughul* VII 73–75. The incantation to which it belongs, which also features a Marduk–Ea dialogue, is the third incantation of the canonical *Udughul* VII (ll. 69–96). The section that parallels the present incantation was previously only attested in its second millennium version (Geller 1985, 72–75, collations in Geller 2016, 543). The first millennium version has now been identified in the fragment K.5199 (pl. 54),⁴⁵⁹ which reads:

459 The fragment belongs to the same tablet as K.166+ (MS B, Geller 2016, pl. 50).

Note now also the duplicate BM 37945(+) BM 38014 (eBL transliteration).

73. ^mūnu(ÁB.KU) k[i áb-udu¹-ka⁴⁶⁰ mu-ni-in-ra-aš]

«ina» ú-tu[l-li ašar ...]

74. su₈-ba ki ^ru¹[(u₈)-udu-ka mu-ni-in-ra-aš]

re-é-^ra¹ [ašar šēni idūkū]

75. guruš ki mē-t[a mu-ni-in-ra-aš]

eṭ-la a-šar [tāhāzi idūkū]

76. ki-sikil ^a[ma₍₅₎-ni-ta mu-ni-in-ra-aš]

a[r-da-ta ina maštakiša idūkū]

⁽⁷²⁾ They (*scil.* the demons) killed the herdsman where the cows (are kept),

⁽⁷³⁾ They killed the shepherd where the sheep (are kept),

⁽⁷⁴⁾ They killed the lad in the battlefield,

⁽⁷⁵⁾ They killed the maid in her chamber

The fragment thus confirms that in the first millennium version of *Udughul* VII, line 74 (l. 772 in the Old Babylonian forerunner, see Geller 1985, 72) appeared after line 73 (i.e., l. 773 in the Old Babylonian forerunner, see Geller 1985, 74).

5b. The archaizing writing *re-é-um* is common in first millennium texts, although the sign É is malformed in the present manuscript.

460 Read with the copy of Ni.2676+ (Geller 1985, pl. 5 = Geller 2016, pl. 152), a manuscript of the Old Babylonian forerunner. Compare K.3288 ll. 1–2 (*BL* no. 164): é-tūr ki áb-udu (...) | tar-ba-ša a-šar la-a-tu₄ (...) (edition in Cohen 1988, 148 l. 191). The parallel suggests reading ll. 4–

5 of the present text as ašar(K1) la-a-ta, but such a reading seems rather unlikely because the line is Sumerian. Compare also K.20863 (eBL transliteration): [(...) ki] áb-udu-a [...] | [(...)] ^ra¹-šar ar-ḫi ir-b[u-ú...].

No. 30: HS 1938+ HS 1939 (Type 1)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1938+ HS 1939

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 45): “Mittel- od. neubab. od. Übergangszeit: Vs. Anu-Liste, Rs: Vokabular. Fundort: Nippur” (HS 1938), “Kl. Fragment dazu. Fundort: Nippur. Gleiche Tf.” (HS 1939)

Size: 8.9 × 3.7 × 1.6 cm (HS 1938), 4.6 × 2.2 × 0.5 cm (HS 1939)

Introduction

The tablet comprises several fragments, some of which were registered as HS 1938 and some as HS 1939. Reportedly stemming from Nippur (see catalogue information above), it represents a type 1 exercise tablet. It was originally a multi-column tablet, with at least five columns per side, of which one column on the obverse and two on the reverse survive.

The obverse contains an excerpt from *Harra I* (ll. 53–69), as is common in type 1 tablets.⁴⁶¹ The excerpt was probably copied several times on the preceding columns of the obverse, now lost. The first column of the reverse contains a spelling exercise involving the name of the god Anu, which is rendered first syllabically (^d*a-nu*) and then in the conventional archaizing writing ^d*a-num* twelve times. The second column contains an unidentified excerpt⁴⁶² followed by an “acrographic list,”⁴⁶³ which consists of different spellings of the D imperative of *halāqu*, “to disappear.”

461 Almost all known excerpts from *Harra I* listed in Jiménez forthcoming come from type 1 tablets (14, around 30% of all known type 1 tablets from Nippur). The only exception are four fragments published by Peterson 2008, which contain a single excerpt from the *Weidner God List* on the obverse and one from *Harra I* on their reverse, thus resembling Gesche’s type 2.

462 In type 1 tablets from Nippur, “acrographic lists” are typically preceded by non-standard lists (Jiménez forthcoming).

463 On the use of the term “acrographic” for describing these lists, see above fn. 169. As noted by Gesche 2001, 109, some of the lists (such as the one contained in the present tablet) are not strictly acrographic.

Transliteration

Obverse

Column i'

1'. [máš ^d utu gi-na]	[MIN ^d U]TU ʾki-i ¹ -[ni]	(Harra I 53)
2'. [máš gi-na]	ʾMIN ¹ ki-i-n[i]	(54)
3'. [máš nu gi-na]	ʾMIN ¹ la [MIN]	(54a)
4'. [máš gi-na taḥ-ḥe-dam]	[MI]N ʾMIN ¹ uš ¹ -[ṣab]	(55)
5'. [máš ḡá-ḡá-dam]	[M]IN i-šak-k[an]	(56)
6'. [máš taḥ-ḥe-dam]	ʾMIN ¹ uš-ʾṣab ¹	(57)
7'. [máš šúm]-ʾmu ¹ -[da]m	MIN i-ʾnam ¹ -[din]	(58)
8'. [máš g]ur-ru-ʾdam ¹	ʾMIN ¹ ʾú ¹ -ta-[ri]	(59)
9'. [máš nu] ʾme ¹ -à m	ʾšá ¹ ʾla ¹ ṣib-ʾtu ⁴ ¹	(60)
10'. [máš an-tu]ku	MIN i-ši	(61)
11'. [máš nu an-tu]ku	MIN ul i-ši	(62)
12'. [máš ba-an-tu]ku	<MIN> i-ši	(63)
13'. [máš nu ba-an-tu]ku	MIN ul i-ši	(64)
14'. [máš iri-gi]n ₇	MIN ki-ma a-lu	(65)
15'. [máš ba-ra-bala]	ʾMIN ¹ it-ta-bal-kit	(66)
16'. [máš máš]	<MIN> ṣib-tu ⁴	(67)
17'. [máš-bi máš íb-tuku]	[MIN] ʾMIN ¹ i-ši	(68)
18'. [taḥ-ḥe-dam]	[u]ṣ-[ṣab]	(69)

Reverse

Column i'

1'. [d]ʾa-nu ¹	ʾa-num ¹
2'. ʾd ¹ a-nu	^d a-num
3'. ʾd ¹ a-nu	^d a-num
4'. ʾd ¹ a-nu	^d a-num
5'. ʾd ¹ [a-n]u	^d a-num
6'. d ¹ ʾa ¹ -n[u]	ʾa-num ¹
7'. ^d a-n[u]	[^d a-n]um
8'. ^d a-n[u]	[^d]ʾa ¹ -num
9'. ʾd ¹ [a-nu]	[^d a]-ʾnum ¹
10'. ʾd ¹ a ¹ -[nu]	[^d]ʾa-num ¹
11'. ^d a-nu	^d a-ʾnum ¹
12'. ʾd ¹ a-nu	^d a-n[um]

Rest of column broken away

Column ii'

1'. [...-a]ṫ ²
2'. [...-a]n
3'. [...-n]a ² -at
4'. [...]-ʾšat ¹
5'. [...-lu]ṫ ¹ -la
6'. [ḥul]-liq

7'. [ḥ]u-ḥul-li¹-iq8'. [ḥu]l-ḥliq¹9'. [ḥu-u]l-li¹-iq

Rest of column broken away

**

Translation

Obverse

Column i'

- 1'. [maš^dutu] (means) “just” ditto (*scil.* “interest”) “of Šamaš.”
- 2'. [maš gina] (means) “just” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 3'. [maš nu gina] (means) ditto “not” ditto (*scil.* “unjust interest”).
- 4'. [maš gina taḥedam] (means) “he will add” ditto ditto (*scil.* “a just interest”).
- 5'. [maš gagadam] (means) “he will place” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 6'. [maš taḥedam] (means) “he will add” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 7'. [maš šu]mu[da]m (means) “he will pay” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 8'. [maš g]urudam (means) “he will return” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 9'. [maš nu] me'am (means) “without interest.”
- 10'. [maš antu]ku (means) “it bears” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 11'. [maš nu antu]ku (means) “it bears no” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 12'. [maš bantu]ku (means) “it bears” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 13'. [maš nu bantu]ku (means) “it bears no” ditto (*scil.* “interest”).
- 14'. [maš irigi]n (means) ditto (*scil.* “interest”) “as (is customary in) the city.”
- 15'. [maš barabala] (means) ditto (*scil.* “interest”) “has changed.”
- 16'. [maš maš] (means) ditto (*scil.* “interest”) “on interest.”
- 17'. [mašbi maš ibtuku] (means) ditto (*scil.* “interest”) “bears” [ditto (*scil.* “interest”).]
- 18'. [taḥedam] (means) “he will” a[dd.]

Reverse

Column i'

1'–12'. Anu = Anum (different spellings).

Column ii'

1'–5'. [...] ...

6'–9'. “Destroy!” (different spellings).

Commentary

ii' 6'–9'. The root *ḥalāqu* was previously attested in “acrophonic lists” only in the first person, *a-ḥal-liq* || *a-ḥal-li-iq* (Gesche 2001, 116). See also *lu-ḥa[ḥ-liq²]* in Frazer 2016, 179 r i 15'–23'.

No. 31: HS 1943, Incantation and *Šimá milka* (Type 2)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1943

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Neubab. Schülertafel: Liste ḫarra-ḫubullū^{sic}, Tf. 3–7. (gīš-Liste und Beschwörung). Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 7.2 × 5.9 × 1.6 cm

Introduction

The tablet represents a type 2a school tablet (see §5), with excerpts from bilingual and Akkadian literary texts on its obverse and excerpts from lexical lists on its reverse. As is typical of type 2 school tablets, the tablet is dated to day and month only, and the date, 28th of month Araḫsamnu (VIII), is written on the bottom edge.

The two first excerpts of the obverse belong to the bilingual exorcistic series *Saḡba*.⁴⁶⁴ The series *Saḡba* is one of texts most frequently cited in school tablets, both in Northern Babylonia (over ten tablets recorded by Gesche 2001, 819 and Schramm 2001, 30 and 79) and also in Nippur tablets (five tablets identified in Jiménez forthcoming). As is frequently the case, the first excerpt belongs to the first tablet of *Saḡba*, the second to its second and final tablet.⁴⁶⁵

As in tablet HS 1914 (No. 26), both excerpts from *Saḡba* begin with the first two Sumerian words of the line preceding the first line of the excerpt. Thus, the first excerpt (I 93–102) has at the beginning the first two words of I 91 (I 92 being its Akkadian translation); the second (II 63–66) is preceded by the two first words of II 61. As studied in the introduction (§5), this is often the case in bilingual excerpts on 2a school tablets from Nippur. The reverse of the tablet contains excerpts from three consecutive tablets of the lexical series *Ḫarra = ḫubullu* (tablets V, VI, and VII/A), the three of which deal with objects made of wood.

★★

The most arresting feature of the tablet is the third excerpt of the obverse, which belongs to the wisdom text *Šimá milka*, “Hearken to the advice!”, also known as the *Instructions of Šūpê-amēli* and the “Sagesse syrienne.” The latter title alludes to the fact that the manu-

464 The series was edited by Schramm 2001. See the two additional manuscripts published by Worthington 2003. Many new manuscripts of the text have been identified in the framework of the *Electronic*

Babylonian Literature project; editions of them are published in the project’s *Fragmentarium*.

465 See above the introduction to HS 1914 (No. 26) above and fn. 446, as well as §5.

scripts of the text were previously known exclusively from the periphery of Babylonia: from Emar, Ugarit, and Hattuša.⁴⁶⁶ However, as first noted by Civil (1989, 7), the title is cited in an Old Babylonian catalogue (Cohen 1976, 131 l. 15; see Sallaberger 2010, 307–308), which means that the text must have existed in the first quarter of the second millennium BCE and was originally Southern Mesopotamian in origin. The present tablet represents, however, the first witness to the transmission of the text in Babylonia proper.

Šimâ milka is a wisdom dialogue between a father and his son, one of the most popular types in Mesopotamian literature: texts of this type existed since Early Dynastic III period (the *Instructions of Šuruppak*) until the first millennium (e.g. the *Counsels of Wisdom*). The instruction contained in this excerpt opens with a clause remarkably similar to the Ninth Commandment: “you shall not covet another man’s wife” (*ē tašši inī ana aššat amēli*). As noted in the philological commentary below, both the order of the verses and their contents differ considerably from the known Middle Babylonian versions of the text.

★★

It is unclear whether there was a criterium behind the selection of excerpts to be copied on school tablets (see p. 29); in any case, all three excerpts on the obverse of this tablet share the common topic of “things to avoid.” Interestingly, the first and third excerpts include the word *ub₄ | šuttatu*, “pitfall.”

466 The text was also known in Assyria in the first millennium, as demonstrated now by the identification of IM 67565 (ND 4382

= CTN 4, 204) as a manuscript of the text by R. Nurullin (2014, 178 and 184).

Transliteration

Obverse

1.	ku ₁₀ -ku ₁₀ -ga nim-ĝír-gin ₇	(Saĝba I 91a)
2.	ku ₁₀ -ku ₁₀ -ga irigal-a-ta h́é-ni-íb-kés̄- ^r e ¹ -[ne]	(93)
3.	ina ek-let ina qé-reb qab-lu lik-lu-šú	(94)
4.	pú-ta mu- ^r un ¹ -šub-bu-da[m]	(95)
5.	šá ul-tu bur-tu ₄ il- ^r la ¹ -a[^r]	(96)
6.	ub ₄ -ta <níĝ>-huš-a-ta h́é-ni-íb-šub-bu-ne	(97)
7.	a-na bur-tu ₄ la a-le-e lid-du-šú	(102)
<hr/>		
8.	ki-ĝen-na-ĝu ₁₀ -šè nam-mu-un-ši-in-ĝen-na	(Saĝba II 61)
9.	ki ku ₄ -ku ₄ -dè-ĝu ₁₀ ba-ra-an-da-ku ₄ -ku ₄ -dè	(63)
10.	a-šar ^r er ¹ -ru-bu la ter-ru-ub-šú	(64)
11.	é-ĝu ₁₀ nam-ba-te-ĝe ₂₆ - ^r e ¹ -dè	(65)
12.	^r a ¹ -[n]a bi-it ^{sic} -ia e taṭ-ḥa-a	(66)
<hr/>		
13.	[e taš-ši im̄(IG)I ^{min}] a-na aššat(DAM) a-me-lu	
14.	[(ana) šup-šur-ti] ^r a ¹ -mu-ru pa-šur-ti di-i-ni	
15.	[o o o o o o šu-ut]- ^r ta ¹ -tu ₄ e- ^r ki-il ¹ -t[i (...)]	
16.	[o o o o o o o o o] x [o o]	

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse

1'.	[ĝe ^s ig ká AŠ.A.AN]	[MIN MIN ka-me]- ^r e ¹	(Harra V 250)
2'.	[ĝe ^s ig erim _x (NUNUZ)]- ^r ma ¹	[MIN e]- ^r ri-mat ¹	(251)
<hr/>			
3'.	[ĝe ^s]BAD	sun-ĝin-nu	(Harra VI 58)
4'.	^r ĝe ^s ¹ BAD	kil-zap-pu	(59)
5'.	ĝe ^s BAD	nu-ta-pu	(60)
<hr/>			
6'.	ĝe ^s .il-lu-ur ¹ illur	til-pa-nu	(Harra VII/A 66)
7'.	ĝe ^s illur ĝen	^r a-lik ¹ -tu ₄	(67)
8'.	ĝe ^s illur zi	te-[b]i-tu ₄	(68)
9'.	ĝe ^s illur ^{su-ub} šub	ma-qit-tu ₄	(69)
10'.	ĝe ^s illur mi-it-tu ₄	a-tu-ú šá su-t[i-i]	(70)
11'.	ĝe ^s illur ĝ[eš-tag-g]a	^r la ¹ -[ab-nu]	(71)
12'.	ĝe ^s illur ^r ĝe ^s dili ¹	^r MIN ¹	(72)
13'.	ĝe ^s illur dili	^r šU ¹ -u	(73)
14'.	ĝe ^s illur ĝe ^s dili	[a]d-d[u]	(74)

Bottom edge

1. ^{iti}APIN U₄.28.KAM^v

End of tablet

Translation

Obverse

1. “In darkness like lightning” (cue).
 - 2–3. Let them hold him in darkness in the grave¹,
 - 4–5. (The demon) who comes up from the cistern,
 6. Let them throw him in a trap!
 7. Let them throw him to a cistern with no exit!
-
8. “Do not go where I go!” (cue).
 - 9–10. Where I go in, do not go in!
 - 11–12. Do not enter into my house!

-
13. [Do not raise (your) ey]es towards another man’s wife,
 14. Regard (her) [as a perilous], a dangerous case —
 15. [...] a dar[k] pit [(...)]
 16. [...] ... [...]

Reverse

- 1'. [^{ĝeš}ig ka.AŠ.A.AN (means) ditto (*scil.* “door”) “of the exte]rior” [ditto (*scil.* “gate”)].
 - 2'. [^{ĝeš}ig NUNUZ-*m*]a (means) [ditto (*scil.* “door”) “of the *er*]immatu-adornment.”
-
- 3'. [^{ĝeš}]BAD (means) “rot”.
 - 4'. ^{ĝeš}BAD (means) “footstool.”
 - 5'. ^{ĝeš}BAD (means) “old wood.”
-
- 6'. ^{ĝeš}RU, (read) *illur*, (means) “bow”.
 - 7'. ^{ĝeš}*illur ĝen* (means) “the goer” (a type of bow).
 - 8'. ^{ĝeš}*illur zi* (means) “the riser” (a type of bow).
 - 9'. ^{ĝeš}*illur RU*, (read) *šub*, (means) “the fallen one” (a type of bow).
 - 10'. ^{ĝeš}*illur mittu* (means) “atû of the Suteans.”
 - 11'. ^{ĝeš}*illur* ^ĝ[^{es}tag]a (means) “labnu-throwstick.”
 - 12'. ^{ĝeš}*illur* ^{ĝeš}*dili* (means) ditto (*scil.* “labnu-throwstick”).
 - 13'. ^{ĝeš}*illur dili* (means) the same (i.e. *illurdilû*).
 - 14'. ^{ĝeš}*illur* ^{ĝeš}*dili* (means) “[a]dd[u]-throwstick.”

Bottom edge

1. 28th day of month Araḥsamnu (VIII).

Commentary

o 2. Note the omission of šà in ku₁₀-ku₁₀-ga šà irigal-a-ta, present in most other manuscripts (Schramm 2001, 53), including HS 1914 (No. 26).

o 3. Most manuscripts of this line read *qabru* (= irigal), but the present tablet and MS D₁ (KAR 46 r 6; Schramm 2001, 53) read *qablu*. Only the former makes sense in the text. On the vacillation between *r* and *l* in Akkadian in Neo-Babylonian school tablets, see Gesche 2001, 134 and Jiménez 2018b, 155 fn. 7. Note also N 4034 (Civil *apud* Sallaberger 1996, 132–135 MS S₂₂), which reads *ma-aš-šar* mē* (collated) for *Harra* = *hubullu* X 31, against the reading *mazzal mē* of all other MSS.

o 7. Note that line 102 is erroneously copied instead of l. 98, an error no doubt caused by the fact that both lines end with the same word (*liddûšu*).

o 12. Note the writing *bi-it-ia* instead of *bi-ti-ia*, which is also attested in the school tablet CBS 8801 o 9 (*ana bi-it-ia e ta-aṭ-ha-a*).⁴⁶⁷ For other examples of CV instead of VC in Neo-Babylonian manuscripts, see George 2003, 827.

o 13–16. The lines cited here read, in the Emar and Ugarit versions, as follows:⁴⁶⁸

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 26. | Em i 2'–3'.
Ug ₁ i 24b–25a.
Ug ₂ 7'b–8'.
(HS 1943 o 15. | [... <i>hur-ru</i>]- <i>up-tu</i> ₄ ^Γ <i>šu</i> ¹ - <i>te-x</i> [...]
<i>bíl-tu</i> ₄ [<i>h</i>] <i>ur-ru-up-tu</i> ₄ <i>šu-te-tu</i> ₄ ^Γ <i>i-ki</i> ¹ - <i>il-tu</i> ₄
<i>bíl-tu</i> ₄ <i>hur-ru-up-tu</i> ₄ ¹ <i>šu-ut-ta-tù e-ki</i> ¹ - <i>tù</i>
[o o o o o <i>šu-ut</i>]- <i>ta-tu</i> ₄ <i>e-Γki-il</i> ¹ - <i>t</i> [<i>i</i> (...)] |
| 27. | Em i 5'.
Ug ₁ i 26b–27a.
Ug ₂ 10'b–11'a.
(HS 1943 o 13. | [...] DAM LÚ- <i>lim</i>
<i>e te-eš-ši</i> IGI ^{meš} - <i>ka</i> [...]
<i>e te-eš-ši</i> IGI ^{meš} - <i>ka</i> <i>a-na</i> DAM LÚ- <i>lim</i>
[<i>e taš-ši</i> IG] ^{Imin} <i>a-na</i> DAM <i>a-me-lu</i> |
| 28. | Em i 6'.
Ug ₁ i 27b–28a.
Ug ₂ 11'b–12'a.
(HS 1943 o 14. | [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o ^{ur}] ^u UNUG ^{ki}
^Γ <i>a</i> ² - <i>na</i> ² ¹ <i>šup-šu-ug-ti šá</i> ^{urru} UNUG ^{ki} [o o o o- <i>t</i>] <i>i di-i-ni</i>
<i>a-na šu-up-šu-ug-ti</i> <i>ša</i> ^{uru} <i>ú-ru-uk pa-ri-ik-ti di-ni</i> :
[<i>ana šup-šuq-ti (šá)</i>] <i>a-mu-ru pa-šuq-ti di-i-ni</i> |

The understanding of this section of *Šimá milka* has been severely hampered by two factors: first, the mention of the city of Uruk in l. 28 (written *ú-ru-uk* in MS Ug₂ and ^{uru}UNUG^{ki} in MSS Em and Ug₁) makes no sense in the context.⁴⁶⁹ Strikingly, the city of Uruk is absent from the school excerpt, which does feature, however, a word that sounds suspiciously similar: *amur(u)* (or *āmur(u)*). It is possible that the word *amur(u)/āmur(u)* was corrupted into “Uruk” in an archetype from which both the Emar and the Ugarit manuscripts would derive.

The second problem surrounding this section of *Šimá milka* is the difficulty of dividing the lines into strophes. Interestingly, the order of the lines in HS 1943 differs from the order in the Ugarit/Emar version: l. 27–28 are the first two lines in the school excerpt, followed by l. 26. Several proposals have been made for the division of the sections in the Emar/Ugarit versions:⁴⁷⁰

467 Copied in Geller 2016, pl. 28 and 138. The manuscript was not utilized by Schramm 2001, 92.

468 Em = Msk.74177a (Arnaud 1985, 450–451); Ug₁ = DO 5863 (RS 22.439; Nougayrol 1968, 437 no. 163); Ug₂ = RS 94.2544+ (Arnaud 2007, pl. xxiii–xxv no. 49). Ug₁ was collated by W. Sallaberger in Damascus in 2004 (see Sallaberger 2010); according to his collation, ^Γ*a*²-*na*² in Ug₁ i 27b is possible (personal comm.). Compare the editions by Arnaud 2007, 148–149 and Nurullin 2014, 213–224.

469 See the attempt at interpreting the line by Cohen (2013, 100), “Possibly the meaning

of this abbreviated saying is something like ‘to a woman giving birth in Uruk there was an obstacle in the way of justice,’ i.e., the stuck baby was preventing a successful outcome, like an opponent in a law case.” See also *ibid.*, 105 and 119 (stating that Uruk is not necessarily the place where *Šimá milka* was written).

470 Editions before Arnaud 2007 (e.g. Dietrich 1991, 42–43, Seminara 2000, 497–499) are not taken into account for the present comparison, since Arnaud’s new manuscript provided a key reading in l. 26.

		Line of the excerpt in HS 1943
Arnaud 2007, 148–149	§3 = 17–27 (Du danger des mauvaises fréquentations)	3
	§4 = 27 (De ne pas convoiter la femme d'autrui)	1
	§5 = 28–32 (Que le chanceux n'a rien à craindre)	2
Cohen 2013, 86–87, 104–105	§4 = 25–26	3
	§5 = 27	1
	§6 = 28	2
Nurullin 2014, 213	§4 = 24–27	3, 1
	(§5 = 28–)	2

The grouping of the lines in the excerpt suggests that, at least in the first millennium version of the text, they must have been understood as a unit. The following hypothetical understanding and scansion of the lines is proposed here:

[<i>ē tašši i</i>] <i>nī(ka)</i>	<i>ana aššat amēli</i>
[<i>ana šupšuqti</i>] <i>amur</i>	<i>pašuqti dīni</i>
[<i>biltu hurruptu</i>	<i>šut</i>] <i>tatu ekiltu</i>

[Do not raise (your) ey]es towards another man's wife,
 Regard (her) [as a perilous], a dangerous case —
 [(She is) a gain forthwith,] (but later) a dark [pi]t.

Philological notes: ⁽²⁾ The parallelism between *pašqu* (*parku* in the Emar/Ugarit version) and *šupšuqu* is attested in *Gilgameš* X 83 (*pašqat nēbertu šupšuqat uruḥša*, “the crossing is perilous, its path full of danger”). The phrase *pa-ri-ik-ti di-(i)-ni* of the Emar/Ugarit version finds a close parallel in the curse *di-i-ni pa-rik-ti li-di-n[a-na-ši ...]*, “May (Šamaš) render an unjust judgment [against us ...]!” (*SAA* 2, 9 r 9'). As interpreted here, *amur* is an imperative; the *ša* of the Emar/Ugarit version would make no sense here. *a-mu-ru* could, however, also be taken as a 1ps pret subj ([*ša*] *āmuru*, “which I have seen”), but this option makes less sense in the context. The preposition *ana* marks the predicative complement (on predicative complements in Akkadian poetry, see Stadhouders/Panayotov 2018, 650–653 and Jiménez 2019b; on the use of *ana* with such complements, see Buccellati 1996, 359). ⁽³⁾ The existence of a negative sense of the word *biltu*, “load,” has been repeatedly proposed (e.g. *CAD* B 230–231; Nurullin 2014, 213–219) and rejected (Moran 1991, 320–331; de Zorzi 2019, 168–172). As interpreted here, it has a positive connotation (a “sudden gain,” thus also Cohen 2013, 86–87 and de Zorzi 2019, 168–172).

r 2'. NUNUZ in ^Ĝ*e*^s *ig* NUNUZ-*ma* could be read as ERIM_x, as suggested by Landsberger 1958, 25 *ad loc.* and Salonen 1961, 26.

r 3'. On the word *sumkīnu/sunġīnu*, see Finkel 1999, 225 (as “something rotten,” said of both vegetable and mineral substances).

r 4'. On ^Ĝ*e*^sBAD = *kilzappu*, see Civil 1994, 95 (as a “threshing sledge”).

r 7'–9'. On the bows *āliktu*, *tēbītu*, and *maqittu*, see Mayer in Mayer/van Soldt 1991, 110–111, who understands them as “der [los]gehen kann,” “der angreifen kann,” and “[zusammen]gefallen,” respectively.

10'. On *atû*, “un arc d'honneur soutéen,” see Durand 1983, 399 and *id.* 2002, 11–12.

No. 32: HS 1946, Magical and Lexical Incipits

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1946 (old number on tablet: 45)

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 46): “Katalog von Gebetsanfängen (sum. u. akk.) (ilu ul idu, Nusku sur-bu-u). Fundort: Nippur.” On box: “Ni-45 / IV. 6 Titles of exorcisms.”

Size: 5.3 × 3.1 × 0.5 cm

Introduction

This small tablet, whose reverse is anepigraphic, contains on the first section of its obverse six incipits corresponding to as many well-known incantations. A small table with three syllabic renderings of three common logograms follows this first section. These three equations (“*ku*₆ means Fish’,” “*síg* means ‘Wool’,” and “*a.šà* means ‘Field’”) correspond to the incipits of the 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters, respectively, of the lexical series *Harra* = *hubullu*. This last section provides a crucial clue as to the function of the tablet: although some of the incantations cited in the tablet were recited together in the course of several ceremonies in ancient Mesopotamia,⁴⁷¹ the present tablet is unlikely to contain the *legomena* of one such ceremony. The fact that lexical chapters follow the incantations means that the tablet is probably a product of the school. As studied elsewhere (§5), type 2 school tablets contain excerpts from literary texts on the obverse and from lexical lists on the reverse. By far the most common types of literary excerpts on these tablets are incantations, very frequently bilingual. The lexical sections on type 2 tablets are excerpted almost exclusively from the lexical series *Harra*. The present tablet probably reflects this type of school exercise: chiefly bilingual incantations followed by *Harra*.

As discussed in the textual notes below, the incantations cited in the tablet belong to series such as *Udughul*, *Muššu’u*, and *Mis pí*, which were frequently copied down by Nippur students on type 2 tablets.⁴⁷² The three lexical chapters mentioned, viz. *Harra* XVIII–XX, are only rarely attested in school tablets, since the lower chapters of the series are by far the most popular in elementary education. There is, however, a small group of school tablets prepared by advanced apprentices, styled type “2d” in Jiménez

471 This is the case of the *Bīt rimki*-related incantations cited in ll. 1–3 of the tablet; see Lambert 1974, 268.

472 Note that several of the incipits listed, but apparently not all of them, correspond to the first incantation of a chapter (e.g. l. 2 = *Mis pí* IV 1), i.e., to its incipit.

forthcoming,⁴⁷³ that contain excerpts from the higher tablets from *Harra* combined with bilingual incantations. This is the case of, for instance, the following tablets:⁴⁷⁴

- CBS 4506 *Mis pi* (9 excerpts) — *Harra* XV (double columns)
 CBS 8802 *Mis pi* (4 exc.), *Udughul* (3 exc.) — *Harra* XVI (double columns)
 CBS 11062+ *Mis pi* (3 exc.), *Udughul* (6 exc.) — *Harra* XVI

Tablets of this group are unusually well written and very long, especially when compared to other elementary school tablets: CBS 4506, for instance, contains almost 100 lines of text. They contain a large amount of non-lexical excerpts (up to 11) and are usually the only school tablets to excerpt the higher chapters of *Harra*. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that type “2d” tablets represent the highest stage of elementary education. The present tablet, which cites texts that are only excerpted on tablets of this type, should therefore be regarded as a selection of texts – a syllabus – that a teacher would have asked his advanced students to copy.

Other similar catalogues of lexicography on elementary school tablets are known. For instance, the tablet BM 34234 (eBL transliteration) contains a sign exercise together with a list of incipits from sundry *Harra* chapters; *CTMMA* 2, 65 pairs a catalogue of various advanced lexical series with a prayer to Nabû (Veldhuis 2013).⁴⁷⁵ None of these tablets, however, pairs magical with lexical incipits as the present tablet does.

According to the label on the box, in Hilprecht’s handwriting, the tablet was found during the fourth Nippur campaign. The tablet is probably the one that Hilprecht describes in a letter to Bezold dated 9 March 1907 as a “Catalog zu Beschwörungstafeln,” which he had “in Copie auf meinem Schreibtisch.”⁴⁷⁶ If that is the case, one should assume that Hilprecht copied the tablet for his planned volume on school tablets,⁴⁷⁷ although his copy cannot be found at the moment.

473 See also Veldhuis 2014, 415–416, who studies some of the tablets of this group.

474 Full references and bibliographical information will be given in Jiménez forthcoming.

475 Compare also BM 65331 o 2 (eBL transliteration), which mentions the incipits of *Harra* VI–VIII in sequence.

476 Nachlass Carl Bezold, Hs. 1501,83, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, letter from 9 March 1907 (with letterhead from 1932 Locust Street, Philadelphia): “*Natürlich* sind „Cataloge“ von gewissen Werken in der Nippurbibliothek vorhanden, genau arrangiert wie die bekannten Beispiele der Kuyundshuk Sammlung. Heute erwähne ich Ihnen nur einen Catalog zu Beschwörungstafeln, weil ich denselben gerade in Copie auf meinem Schreibtisch habe.” Hilprecht thus countered an objection to the idea that the tablets found at Nippur could constitute a library, raised by Bezold in an earlier letter to him: “Aber bedenken

Sie nur: Grade alle *die* Anzeichen scheinen bei Ihrer Sammlung bis jetzt zu fehlen, die uns veranlassen, jene Bibliothek als solche anzusehen. Haben wir von den alten Gelehrten in Nippur zusammengestellte und als solche bezeichnete „Serien“? Haben wir irgend einen Bibliotheksvermerk, der der von mir sogenannten „official note“ entspräche? Haben wir überhaupt einen Colophon, in dem die betr. Tafel als zu einer *Einheit* gehörig bezeichnet wird? Und vor allem haben wir (worauf ich besonderen Wert legen möchte) *Cataloge*? Wenn Sie einmal diese Fragen zu bejahen im Stande sein werden, so will ich gerne zugeben, dass in Nippur eine „Bibliothek“ existiert hat” (*ibid.*, typewritten copy of a letter from Bezold to Hilprecht dated in Heidelberg, 24 February 1907).

477 On Hilprecht’s projected, but never realized, volume on school tablets, see Veldhuis/Hilprecht 2003/2004.

Transliteration

Obverse

1. ÉN *šamaš*(^{<d>}UTU) *dayyānu*(DI.KUD) *šīru*(MAḪ) (*Bīt rimki*, part of 1st/7th House)
2. ÉN è-a-zu-dè (*Mīs pī* IV 1)
3. ÉN *ilī*(DINGIR) *ul i-di* (*Diġiršadiba* 23)
4. ÉN ^d*nusku šur-bu-ú* (*Maqlū* II 1)
5. ÉN *saġ-gig gú sa-a* (*Muššu'u* III 1 = *Saġgig* III 1)
6. én ^d+en-ki-ne ^dnin-ki-ne (*Udughul* III 79–98; XIII–XV 232')
7. ku₆ ᵀ^{nu}¹-ú-nu (*Harra* XVIII 1)
8. síg ᵀ^{ši}¹-pa-a-tú (*Harra* XIX 1)
9. a-šà eq-lu (*Harra* XX 1)

End of obverse

Reverse anepigraphic

**

Translation

1. Incantation: “Šamaš, August Judge.”
2. Incantation: “When You Grew Up.”
3. Incantation: “My God, I Did Not Know.”
4. Incantation: “Supreme Nusku.”
5. Incantation: “Migraine, Neck Muscle Disease.”
6. Incantation: “Enkis and Ninkis.”
7. ku₆ (means) “Fish.”
8. síg (means) “Wool.”
9. a.šà (means) “Field.”

**

Commentary

1. The divine determinative before Šamaš's name is omitted through haplography (ÉN(ŠÚ.DINGIR) ~~DINGIR~~.UTU). The incantation incipit ^{<d>}UTU DI.KUD MAḪ could be taken as either Sumerian or logographic Akkadian. The line is in fact attested in Sumerian incantations, e.g. K.3025+ l. 25 (Borger 1985, 17): ^dutu di-kud maḫ || *šamaš*(^dUTU) *da-a-a-nu ṣ[i-r]u*. However, as an incipit the phrase is apparently attested only in two Akkadian incantations: the *šū'ilas* (1) ‘Šamaš 37’ and (2) ‘Šamaš 40’ (Mayer 1976, 414–415). The former, ‘Šamaš 37’, is recited as part of a ritual against ominous dreams.⁴⁷⁸ The latter, ‘Šamaš 40’, is used in *Bīt rimki* ‘First House’, as recorded in the catalogue CBS 338 l. 3 (*olim* Kh. 338, Schwemer 2019, 99–106).⁴⁷⁹ The incantation itself is preserved in K.2380 l. 1 (Gray 1901, pl. 3; *CMAwR* 2 §9.4 and pls. 70–71): [ÉN *šamaš*(^dUTU)] *dayyānu*(DI.KUD) *šīru*(¹MAḪ) *šá šamé*(AN-*e*) *u* [*erṣeti*(KI-*tī*)]. According to Schwemer 2007, 34–35, the ‘First House’ of *Bīt rimki*, and this incantation in particular, is directed against the enemy land.

478 81-2-4, 166 o 12 – r 15, most recently edited by Butler 1998, 407–410 and pl. 15.

479 See also the parallel passage in the ‘Seventh House’ in the Nineveh version of the

ritual tablet of *Bīt rimki* (Schwemer 2019, 64 l. 328).

2. This incipit corresponds to (1) *STT* 199 (*Mīs pī* I/2) o 13–40 (Walker/Dick 2001, 115–116) and (2) *Mīs pī* IV 1–20 (Walker/Dick 2001, 158–163): én è-a-zu-^rdè¹ [è-a-zu-dè] || ina šá-*hi*-k[a ina] šá-*hi*-ka. The latter incantation appears, albeit in a shorter form, in the ritual tablet K.3472 o 5'–8' (Ambos 2004, 152–154 and pl. 12). Excerpts from *Mīs pī* are common in school tablets from Nippur: 25 are known, 5 from *Mīs pī* IV alone (CBS 6059 o a [*Mīs pī* IV 13–15]; CBS 4506 o e [25–27]; CBS 11062+ o b [35–37]; CBS 8802 o b [46–48]; and CBS 11238 o e [IVa 23a–25a]).

3. Note that the possessive suffix is omitted, as often happens in logograms with underlying nominative or accusative nouns (Abusch 2015, 81 fn. 7).

The incantation *ilī ul īdi* is known from the compendium *Diġiršadiba* SB version 23–39 (Lambert 1974, 274–276; Jaques 2015, 67–71), and is also used in *Bīt rimki*⁴⁸⁰ and cited in the catalogue VAT 13723+(+) i 3' (Geller 2000b, 227–228). No excerpt of the incantation has been found so far among the school tablets from Nippur, but the text is excerpted on the pyramidal school tablet VAT 17489 (*VS* 14, 124),⁴⁸¹ along with *Ludlul bēl nēmeqī*, the *Šamaš Hymn*, and *Enūma eliš*. One may also note the tablet N 6229 (eBL transliteration), a Nippur tablet with some lines from *Diġiršadiba*.

4. This incantation can be identified with either *Maqlū* I 122–134, or else with the opening incantation of *Maqlū* II. The former is cited in the ritual tablet for *Bīt rimki*⁴⁸² (IM 76969 iii 44b = W.22730/6; *SpTU* 2, 12), the latter in the catalogue VAT 13723+(+) i 6' (Geller 2000b, 227–228). *Maqlū* is not particularly popular in school tablets from Nippur: only one tablet with two excerpts from it is known (N 3438; Schwemer 2017, pl. 75).

5. The incipit corresponds to the opening incantation of *Muššū'u* III and of *Saġġig* III (Böck 2007, 24); it is cited in the Ritual Tablet of *Muššū'u* l. 7 (VAT 13653 l. 7 // K.3996+ l. 6, see Köcher 1966, 16 and Böck 2003b, 6) and in 12N–T 657 l. 5 (Böck 2007, 66–67). *Muššū'u* is well attested in Nippur tablets: 8 excerpts from the series are known (albeit none from *Muššū'u* III).

6. On the plural of the deities Enki and Ninki in incantations, see Wiggermann 1992, 281–282; Peterson 2009; and Lambert 2013, 416–417. Two incantations with this incipit are known, *Udughul* III 79–98 and *Udughul* XIII–XV 232'–239': én ^den-ki-e-ne ^dnin-ki-e-ne || šá ^dMIN šū-nu šá ^dMIN š[ū-nu]

This incantation was also included in the series *Qutāru* (Finkel 1991, 101–104), and cited in the Ritual Tablet of *Muššū'u* l. 33 (see Köcher 1966, 16 l. 34 and Böck 2003b, 6 l. 33), as well as in the catalogue VAT 13723+(+) i 25' (Geller 2000b, 227–228). As noted by Geller 2016, 419 note *ad loc.*, the incipit also appears in the incantation *VS* 17 no. 19 (Cavigneaux 1995b, 63–67).

480 The incantation is cited in the Nineveh and Uruk versions of the ritual tablet of *Bīt Rimki* (Schwemer 2019, 68 l. 397 and 94 l. 128). On the *Diġiršadiba* section of *Bīt rimki*, see Schwemer 2019, 41.

481 The tablet derives from Koldeweys's excavations in Babylon (Pedersén 2005,

206b), not from Aššur, as implied by Jaques 2015, 64.

482 In the Nineveh and Uruk versions (Schwemer 2019, 66 l. 388 and 92 l. 118, respectively). On the '*Maqlū*-cycle' in *Bīt rimki*, see Abusch 1990 and Schwemer 2019, 39–41.

V. Uncertain



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.261

No. 33: HS 1906, Ritual (?)

Catalogue Information

Tablet number: HS 1906

Description in internal catalogue (vol. 2, fol. 42): “dgl. [*scil.* Kassitisch]. Fundort: Nippur.”

Size: 7.8 × 5.9 × 1.3 cm

Introduction

It has not been possible to identify the text preserved on this Neo-Babylonian fragment. The colophon, framed by diagonal wedges, states that the tablet belongs to a “chief lamentation priest” (*galamāhu*) of Enlil, whose name is unfortunately broken. It was written by a “young apprentice” (*šmallû šeḫru*), son of Bēl-tattannu-*bu*[*llissu*],⁴⁸³ son/descendant of Bēlet-ušallim.⁴⁸⁴ The title “Chief lamentation priest of Enlil,” previously unattested,⁴⁸⁵ may refer to the head lamentation priest of the Ekur temple.⁴⁸⁶

Since the tablet belonged to a *galamāhu*, it seems reasonable to assume that it should represent a manuscript of a ritual or an Emesal composition. Since the text appears to be monolingual,⁴⁸⁷ and since the “haunch” (*rapaštu*,^{uzu} GIŠ.KUN) mentioned in o 6 also appears in the ritual for covering the kettle drum,⁴⁸⁸ the tablet may be a manuscript of ritual.

483 The name is attested in several Achaemenid documents from Nippur; see Tavernier 2014, 301.

484 The name Bēlet-ušallim is apparently only attested in a Neo-Babylonian tablet in the Schøyen collection, referred to in Pearce/Wunsch 2014, 45b.

485 *Galāmāhus* of other gods are attested, e.g. *galāmāhu* of Anu (*BRM* 4, 21; also *TCL* 6, 44 [Anu and Antu]; see Gabbay 2014, 271–272), and of Sîn (Nabû-zēr-iddina, attested in Nineveh colophons, see Gabbay 2014, 254–255).

486 See Gabbay 2014, 64 and fn. 6, who defends that every temple had a single *galāmāhu*.

487 But note that ll. 4–5 ([...]e | [...] *li-kul*) are reminiscent of Cohen 1988, 301 l. 90: zé-eb-bi ì-ma-al-la-ta zé-eb-bi dè-en-gu₇-e || *tābiš ibašši tābiš li-kul*, “When it is prepared well, well may you eat!” (but no other line matches that text).

488 In *KAR* 60 r 9 (Linssen 2004, 263); *TCL* 6, 44 ii 18 and 30 (Linssen 2004, 253); and *BagM Beih* 2, 5 r 29 (Linssen 2004, 271). Although no instructions to “eat” or “drink” (o 5 and 7, respectively) are given in any of the manuscripts, *KAR* 60 r 14 does state that the *galāmāhu* should not eat (*lā*(NU) *ikkal*(GU₇)) the meat of the sacrificial bull (see Oppenheim 1977, 179; Linssen 2004, 97–99; and Gabbay 2014, 127).

Transliteration

Obverse

1. [...] x x [(o)]
2. [...] x-^Γgá¹ú¹-[(o)]
3. [...] x x-ul
4. [...] -e
5. [...] li-^Γku^Γ
6. [...] u rapšātu(^Γuzu¹GIŠ.^ΓKUN^{1me})
7. [...] -^Γšá²-na²-sī² liš-^Γtat-tu-ú¹
8. [...] x [o (o)] x kurunnu([KU]RUN².^ΓNAM¹)
9. [... KU]R².^ΓKUR²¹
10. [...] ^ΓUZU¹.[(o)^m]^{es}
11. [...] x šer'āni(^Γuzu¹S[A]^{Γmes})-šú
12. [...] x-^Γle¹-e
13. [...] x x^{Γmes}¹
14. [...] x^{Γmes}¹ x x x x [(o)] x
15. [...] x [o o o o]
16. [...] x [o o o]

Rest of obverse broken away

Reverse

- 1'. [...] x-^Γšī² ^Γti-i-ri¹ [(o)] x [o o o (o)]
- 2'. [...] x galamāh(^{lu}GALA.MAH) ^d+en-líl gá-aš-x [o o (o)]

Wedges

- 3'. [...] x šamallú(^{lu}ŠAMAN.MÁL'.LÁ) šeḫru(TUR) māru(A) šá
^mbēl(^dUMUN)-tat-tan-nu-bullit(^ΓDIN²)-[su]
- 4'. [(...)] mār(^ΓA¹) ^m«A»-bēlet(^dGAŠAN)-ušallim(GI-im)

Three wedges, then rest blank

Translation

Obverse

- 1–4. [...] ...
5. Let him eat [...]!
6. [...] and the haunches,
7. Let them always drink ... [...]!
8. [... b]eer,
9. [... la]nds,
10. [...] fle[s]h,
11. [...] ... his si[ne]ws,
- 12–16. [...] ...

Reverse

- 1'. [...] ... [...]
- 2'. [...] ... the chief lamentation-priest of Enlil ... [...]
- 3'. [...] ..., the young novice, son of Bēl-tattannu-bu[llissu],
- 4'. [(...)] son of Bēlet-ušallim.

Commentary

o 6 and 11. Compare Rm.376 o ii 6–7: ^{uzu}SA[^{meš} (...)] | u ^{uzu}ra-pal-te (Lambert 1965, 285 and 287; see also Zomer 2018, 270–272).

r 2'. The tablet belongs to the Neo-Babylonian texts that distinguish between É / KID and GÁ, but the correct understanding of the end of the line, perhaps a learned writing, escapes us. The obvious reading, ^d+EN.LÍL.KE₄ (compare LÚ DINGIR-BI ^dNUSKA.KE₄ in some Neo-Babylonian Nippur colophons, see Gabbay/Jiménez 2019, 71) seems here impossible.

r 3'. *mál*^f could also be read as MÁ, but the writing ŠÁMAN.MÁ.LÁ is unattested.

Index of Abbreviations

- A** Siglum of Istanbul Aššur Tablets.
- ACH** Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne: le livre intitulé «Enuma (Anu) iluBel»* (Paris, 1905–1912).
- AHw** W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1959–1981).
- AMT** R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts from the Originals in the British Museum* (London, 1923).
- AO** Siglum of tablets in the Louvre Museum (Antiquités orientales).
- ARM** *Archives royales de Mari* [series] (Paris, 1950–).
- ASKT** P. Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum* (Leipzig, 1881).
- ASy** W. von Soden/W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar. 4., durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage* (Analecta Orientalia 42; Roma, 41991).
- BA** *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und (vergleichenden) semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig/Baltimore 1889/1890–1913/1927).
- BagM Beih 2** W. R. Mayer/J. J. A. van Dijk, *Texte aus dem Reš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka* (Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft 2; Berlin, 1980).
- BAM** *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* [series] (Berlin, 1963–).
- BE** *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* [series] (Philadelphia 1893–1914).
- BL** S. H. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913).
- BBR** H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1896/1901).
- BM** Siglum of tablets in the British Museum.
- BRM** *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* [series] (New Haven, 1917–1923).
- BWL** = Lambert 1960a.
- CAD** A. L. Oppenheim/E. Reiner/M.T. Roth (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956–2010).
- CBS** Siglum of tablets in University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Babylonian Section (main collection).
- CCP** *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<http://ccp.yale.edu>). The record for each tablet can be accessed using the CCP number as the URL path, e.g. <http://ccp.yale.edu/3.5.22.A.b> for CCP 3.5.22.A.b.
- CDLI** *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/>). The records for each tablet can be accessed using the P-number as the URL path, e.g. <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P397682> for the tablet no. P397682.
- CMAwR** Tz. Abusch/D. Schwemer et al., *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals* (Ancient Magic and Divination 8; Leiden/Boston, 2010–2020).
- CSL** *Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. The numeration refers to M. Civil's catalogue of Sumerian literature; similar to the “Electronic Text Corpus of Su-



- merian Literature” (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>). A printed version of Civil’s catalogue can be found in Cunningham 2007.
- CT* *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* [series] (London, 1896–1990).
- CTL* A.R. George/J. Taniguchi, *Cuneiform Texts from the Folios of W. G. Lambert* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 24/25; University Park, 2019/2021).
- CTMMA 2* I. Spar/W.G. Lambert, *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume II: Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium BC* (New York, 2005).
- CTN* *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* [series] (London 1972–2001).
- CUSAS* Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Bethesda/University Park, 2007–).
- Cyr* J. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)* (Leipzig, 1890).
- Dar* J. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)* (Leipzig, 1892).
- DCCLT* *Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts* (<http://oracc.org/dcclt/>). The editions can be accessed with the P-number as the URL path.
- Diri* Lexical series, edited by Civil 2004.
- Ea* Lexical series, edited by Civil 1979.
- eBL* “Electronic Babylonian Literature” project (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/>).
- EDA* L. Kogan/M. Krebernik (eds.) *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian* (Berlin, 2020–).
- Harra* Lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu*, edited in *MSL* (q.v.) vols. 5–11.
- HSN* *Hilprecht Schriftlicher Nachlass* (Universität Jena, see Oelsner 1980, <https://hilprecht.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>).
- IM* Siglum of tablets in the Iraq Museum.
- IWA* Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933).
- K* Siglum of tablets in the Kuyunjik collection in the British Museum.
- KAL* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts* [series] (Wiesbaden, 2007–).
- KAR* E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1919/1923).
- KAV* O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Hinrichs: Leipzig, 1920).
- Lambert *Folio* Nachlass of W.G. Lambert, cited according to the pagination established by A.R. George, accessible at <http://oracc.org/contrib/lambert/> and <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/>.
- LKA* E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin, 1953).
- LTBA* *Die lexikalischen Tafelseries der Babylonier und Assyrer* [series] (Berlin 1933).
- SB Lú* Standard Babylonian recension of the lexical series *Lú*, cited after the edition in Landsberger 1969, 87–147.
- Lugale* Bilingual epic, cited after the edition by van Dijk 1983.
- Maqlú* Series against witchcraft, cited after the edition by Abusch 2015.
- Marduk I* Literary prayer to Marduk 1, edited by Lambert 1960b, 55–60 and Oshima 2011, 137–190, see also Fadhil/Jiménez 2019b, 162–175. Cited after new reconstruction.
- Marduk II* Literary prayer to Marduk 2, edited by Lambert 1960b, 61–68 and Oshima 2011, 216–274.
- MesZLR* R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon. Zweite, revidierte und aktualisierte Auflage* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 305; Münster, 2010).
- MSL* Landsberger, B., M. Civil, M., *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon* (Roma, 1937–2004).

- Siglum of tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Babylonian Section (Nippur fragment collection).
- NBGT* Lexical series, cited after the edition in Hallock/Landsberger 1956a.
- Ni* Siglum of tablets in the Nippur Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.
- OBGT* Lexical series, cited after the edition in Hallock/Landsberger 1956b.
- OECT* *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts* [series] (Oxford 1923–2005).
- R* (1R – 5R) Rawlinson, H., et al., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I–V [series] (London 1861–1909).
- RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* [journal] (Paris, 1886–).
- Rm* Siglum of tablets in the Rassam section of the Kuyunjik collection in the British Museum.
- Si* Siglum of tablets in the Sippar Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.
- Sm* Siglum of tablets in the Smith section of the Kuyunjik collection in the British Museum.
- SP* Sumerian Proverbs, cited after the edition by Alster 1997.
- SpTU* *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* [series] (Berlin, 1976–1998).
- STT* O. R. Gurney et al., *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London, 1957/1964).
- TBP* F. R. Kraus, *Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 3; Graz, 1939).
- TCL* *Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre* [series] (Paris, 1910–).
- TMH* *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection im Eigentum der (Friedrich-Schiller-)Universität Jena* [series] (1–5: Leipzig, 1932–1935; NF: Wiesbaden, 1937–).
- Udughul* Exorcistic series, cited after the edition by Geller 2016.
- UET* *Ur Excavations. Texts* [series] (London, 1928–2006).
- UPMAA* University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Archives.
- YOS* *Yale Oriental Series* [series] (New Haven, 1915–).
- VS* *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin* [series] (Berlin, 1907–2002).

Bibliography

- Abraham K. 2004, *Business and Politics under the Persian Empire. The Financial Dealings of Marduk-nāšir-apli of the House of Egibi (521-487 B.C.E.)*, Bethesda.
- Abraham K./Sokoloff M. 2011, "Aramaic Loanwords in Akkadian – A Reassessment of the Proposals", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 52, 22–76.
- Abraham K./Van Lerberghe K. 2009, *A Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive from Dūr-Abiešuḫ*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 8), Bethesda.
- 2017, *A Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive from Dūr-Abiešuḫ. The Sequel*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 29), Bethesda.
- Abusch T. 1987, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature. Case Studies*, (*Brown Judaic Studies* 132), Atlanta/Georgia.
- 1990, "An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony", in T. Abusch/J. Huehnergard/P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, Atlanta, 1–57.
- 2010, "Mother and Child or Sexual Mates", in W. Horowitz/U. Gabbay/F. Vukosavović (eds.), *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 8)*, Madrid, 13–17.
- 2015, *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû. A Critical Edition*, (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 10), Leiden.
- Abusch T./Schwemer D. 2009, "The Chicago *Maqlû* Fragment (A 7876)", *Iraq* 71, 53–87.
- 2011, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Volume One*, (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 8/1), Leiden.
- 2016, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Volume Two*, (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 8/2), Leiden.
- Abusch T./Schwemer D./Luukko M./Van Buylaere G. 2020, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Volume Three*, (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 8/3), Leiden.
- al Rawi F.N.H. 1995, "Tablets from the Sippar Library IV: Lugale", *Iraq* 57, 199–223.
- al Rawi F.N.H./George A.R. 2014, "Back to the Cedar Forest: The Beginning and End of Tablet V of the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66, 69–90.
- Alster B. 1974, *The Instructions of Šuruppak. A Sumerian Proverb Collection*, (*Mesopotamia CSA* 2), Copenhagen.
- 1997, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer: The World's Earliest Proverb Collections.*, Bethesda.
- 2005, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, Bethesda.
- Alster B./Oshima T. 2006, "A Sumerian Proverb Tablet in Geneva, with some Thoughts on Sumerian Proverb Collections", *Orientalia* 75, 31–72.
- Ambos C. 2004, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Dresden.
- Amoroso E.C./Jewell P.A. 1963, "The Exploitation of the Milk-Ejection Reflex by Primitive People", in A.E. Mourant/F.E. Zeuner (eds.), *Man and Cattle: Proceedings of the Symposium on Domestication at the Royal Anthropological Institute, 24–26 May 1960*, London, 126–137.
- Annus A. 2001, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*, (*State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts* 3), Helsinki.



This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

© by the author

DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.271

- Archi A. 1996, “Eblaita: *pāšišu* “colui che è addetto all’unzione; sacerdote purificatore; cameriere al servizio di una persona””, *Vicino Oriente* 10, 37–71.
- Arkhipov I. 2012, “Les véhicules terrestres dans les textes de Mari, II: le harnachement et l’équipement de chars en cuir et en tissu”, *Babel und Bibel* 6, 5–14.
- Arkhipov I./Loesov S. 2015, “Notes on A.1289””, *Nowelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2015/17.
- Armstrong J.A. 1989, *The Archaeology of Nippur from the Decline of the Kassite Kingdom until the Rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, PhD thesis.
- Arnaud D. 1982, “Les textes cunéiformes Suméro-Accadiens des campagnes 1979–1980 à Ras Shamra-Ougarit”, *Syria* 59, 199–222.
- 1985, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar VI/1–2. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Planches*, Paris.
- 1987, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar VI/4. Textes de la bibliothèque: transcriptions et traductions*, Paris.
- 2007, *Corpus des Textes de Bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*, (*Aula Orientalis Supplementa* 23), Sabadell.
- Aro J. 1955, *Studien zur mittelbabylonischen Grammatik*, (*Studia Orientalia* 20), Helsinki.
- 1961, *Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, (*Studia Orientalia* 26), Helsinki.
- Attinger P. 1993, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du₁₁/e/di «dire»*, (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Sonderband*), Fribourg.
- 2002/2019, *Edubba’a A (5.1.1)*, DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.2599583 [21/10/2020].
- 2021, *Glossaire sumérien–français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*, Wiesbaden.
- Baderschneider S. 2020, *Die Tempel von Aššur und ihr Personal. Untersuchungen zu beruflichen und institutionellen Netzwerken in der altorientalischen Kultmetropole Aššur in neuassyrischer Zeit*, Universität Heidelberg.
- Baker H.D./Fischer S. 2000, “Inūrta-ašarēd”, in H.D. Baker (ed.) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 2/I*, Helsinki, 547–548.
- Bartelmus A. 2016a, *Fragmente einer großen Sprache. Sumerisch im Kontext der Schreiberausbildung des kassitenzeitlichen Babylonien*, (*Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 12), Berlin.
- 2016b, “The Role of Babylon in Babylonian Scribal Education”, in S. Yamada/D. Shibata (eds.), *Cultures and Societies in the Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Second Millennium BC I. Scribal Education and Scribal Traditions (Studia Chaburensia 5)*, Wiesbaden, 25–43.
- 2017, “Die Götter der Kassitenzeit. Eine Analyse ihres Vorkommens in zeitgenössischen Textquellen”, in A. Bartelmus/K. Sternitzke (eds.), *Karduniaš. Babylonia Under the Kassites (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 11)*, Boston/Berlin, 245–312.
- 2018, “Formale Besonderheiten mittelbabylonischer Schülertafeln”, in E. Cancik-Kirschbaum/B. Schnitzlein (eds.), *Keilschriftartefakte: Untersuchungen zur Materialität von Keilschriftdokumenten*, Berlin, 63–94.
- Bartelmus A./Schmitt A. 2014, “Beutestücke aus Babylonien in Assyrien. Überlegungen zu einer neuen Weihinschrift Kurigalzus I. aus Assur”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 104, 74–90.
- Beaulieu P.-A. 1992, “Antiquarian Theology in Seleucid Uruk”, *Acta Sumerologica* 14, 47–75.
- 1995, “Theological and philological speculations on the names of the Goddess Antu”, *Orientalia* 64, 187–213.
- 2001, “The Abduction of Ištar from the Eanna Temple”, in T. Abusch/P.-A. Beaulieu/J. Huehnergard/P. Machinist/P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Bethesda, 29–40.
- Beaulieu P.-A./Frahm E./Horowitz W./Steele J.M. 2018, *The Cuneiform Ura-*

- nology *Texts: Drawing the Constellations*, (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 107/2), Philadelphia.
- Beaulieu P.-A./Mayer W.R. 1997, "Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD Š₂ und Š₃", *Orientalia* 66, 157–180.
- Bennett E.A. 2021, *The Meaning of Sacred Names and Babylonian Scholarship. The Gula Hymn and Other Works*, (dubsar 25), Münster.
- Berlejung A. 2009, "Innovation als Restauration in Uruk und Jehud. Überlegungen zu Transformationsprozessen in vorderorientalischen Gesellschaften", in E.-J. Waschke (ed.) *Reformen im Alten Orient und der Antike (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 2)*, Tübingen, 71–111.
- Bernhardt I./Kramer S.N. 1975, "Die Tempel und Götterschreine von Nippur", *Orientalia* 44, 96–102.
- Bezold C. 1921, "Allerlei versprengte Keilinschriften", in K. Regling/H. Reich (eds.), *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstage*, Wien, 115–118.
- Biberstein-Kazimirski A.d. 1860, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris.
- Biggs R.D. 1969, "Qutnu, maṣraḥu and related terms in Babylonian Extispicy", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 63, 159–167.
- 1978, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions", in D. McCown/R.C. Haines/R.D. Biggs (eds.), *Nippur II. The North Temple and Sounding E. Excavations of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of The University Museum of Philadelphia and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Oriental Institute Publications 97)*, Chicago, 71–96.
- 1998/2000, "Nin-Nibru", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 476–477.
- Bilgiç E./Günbatti C. 1995, *Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte III. Texte der Grabungskampagne 1970*, (*Freiburger Altorientalische Studien* 3), Stuttgart.
- Black J.A. 1984, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, (*Studia Pohl SM 12*), Rome.
- 1985, "nasāḥu 'to copy'", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 79, 92–93.
- Bloch Y. 2010, "Setting the Dates: Re-evaluation of the Chronology of Babylonia in the 14th-11th Centuries B. C. E. and Its Implications for the Reigns of Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 42, 41–95.
- Bloch Y./Horowitz W. 2015, "Ura = ḫubullu XXII: The Standard Recension", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 67, 71–125.
- Böck B. 2000, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, (*Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 27), Wien.
- 2003a, "Review of Koch-Westenholz *Babylonian Liver Omens*", *Welt des Orients* 33, 181–184.
- 2003b, "'When You Perform the Ritual of 'Rubbing'": On Medicine and Magic in Ancient Mesopotamia", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, 1–16.
- 2007, *Das Handbuch Muššu'u "Einreibung". Eine Serie sumerischer und akkadischer Beschwörungen aus dem 1. Jt. vor Chr.*, (*Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo* 7), Madrid.
- Boddy K. 2021, *The Composition and Tradition of Erimḫuš*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 52), Leiden.
- Boissier A. 1894, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*, Paris.
- 1905, *Choix des textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne, I*, Genève.
- Bongenaar A.C.V.M. 1997, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography*, (*Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul* 80), Leiden.
- Bonnet C. 1995, "Phénicien šrn = accadien šurinnu? A propos de l'inscription de Bodashtart CIS I 4", *Orientalia* 64, 214–222.
- Borger R. 1964, "Review of Lambert *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 18, 49–56.
- 1967, "Das dritte Haus der Serie Bit rimki (VR 50–51, Schollmeyer HGŠ NR. 1)", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21, 1–17.
- 1969a, "Die erste Teiltafel der zi-pà-Beschwörungen (ASKT 11)", in M. Dietrich/W. Rollig (eds.), *Lišān mithurti. Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19.VI.1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 1)*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1–22.

- 1969b, “Neues Material zu ASKT Nr. 11”, *Die Welt des Orients* 5, 172–175.
- 1970, “Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I von Babylonien”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23, 1–26.
- 1971, “Weiteres Material zu V R 50 - 51 (JCS 21, S. 1–17)”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 61, 84–88.
- 1973, “Die Weihe eines Enlil-Priesters”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30, 163–176.
- 1975, “Review of CAD K and L”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 32, 70–72.
- 1985, “Einige Texte religiösen Inhalts”, *Orientalia* 54, 14–26.
- 1991, “Ein Brief Sin-idinnams von Larsa an den Sonnengott sowie Bemerkungen über Joins und das Joinen”, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1991/2, 39–84.
- 1998, “Review of Frame *RIMB* 2”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 55, 843–849.
- 2000, “Šurpu II, III, IV und VIII in „Partitur“, in A.R. George/I.L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, 15–90.
- 2010, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon. Zweite, revidierte und aktualisierte Auflage*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 305), Münster.
- Brinkman J.A. 1964, “Merodach-Baladan II”, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago, 6–53.
- 1968, *A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.*, (*Analecta Orientalia* 43), Roma.
- 1976, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History 1. A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*, Chicago.
- 1984a, *Prelude to Empire. Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 BC*, Philadelphia.
- 1984b, “Settlement Surveys and Documentary Evidence: Regional Variation and Secular Trend in Mesopotamian Demography”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, 169–180.
- 1991, “A New Simbar-Šipak Fragment”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1991/21.
- 2004, “Administration and Society in Kassite Babylonia (Review of Sassmannshausen 2001)”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, 283–304.
- 2005, “Notes on two early Neo-Babylonian legal texts (BM 26528 and BM 114720)”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2005/49.
- 2017, “Babylonia under the Kassites: Some Aspects for Consideration”, in A. Bartelmus/K. Sternitzke (eds.), *Karduniaš. Babylonia Under the Kassites (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 11)*, Boston/Berlin, 1–44.
- Brinkman J.A./Kennedy D.A. 1983, “Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721-626 B.C.”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35, 1–90.
- Brisch N.M. 2007, *Tradition and the Poetics of Innovation. Sumerian Court Literature of the Larsa Dynasty (c. 2003-1763 BCE)*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 339), Münster.
- Brown D. 2000, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 18), Groningen.
- Buccellati G. 1996, *A Structural Grammar of Babylonian*, Wiesbaden.
- Buccellati G./Biggs R.D. 1969, *Cuneiform Texts from Nippur. The Eighth and Ninth Seasons*, (*Assyriological Studies* 17), Chicago.
- Butler S.A.L. 1998, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 258), Münster.
- Cagni L. 1969, *L'Épopée de Erra*, (*Studia Semitica* 34), Rome.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum E./Kahl J./Wagensonner K. 2017, *Erste Philologien. Archäologie einer Disziplin vom Tigris bis zum Nil*, Tübingen.
- Caplice R. 1964, “Akkadian “ud(d)ú””, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago, 62–66.
- 1970, “Namburbi Texts in the British Museum IV”, *Orientalia* 39, 111–151.

- Castellino G.R. 1972, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)*, (*Studia Semitica* 42), Rome.
- 1977, *Testi Sumerici e Accadici*, Torino.
- Cavigneaux A. 1979, “Texte und Fragmente aus Warka (32. Kampagne)”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10, 110–142.
- 1981, *Textes scolaires du Temple de Nabû ša Harê. I*, Baghdad.
- 1982, “Schultexte aus Warka”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 13, 21–30.
- 1987, “Notes Sumérologiques”, *Acta Sumerologica* 9, 45–66.
- 1991, “Uruk 33/34. Die Texte der 33. Kampagne”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 22, 33–123.
- 1995a, “La Pariade du Scorpion dans les Formules Magiques Sumériennes (Textes de Tell Haddad V)”, *Acta Sumerologica* 17, 75–99.
- 1995b, “máš-hul-dúb-ba”, in R. Dittmann/U. Finkbeiner/H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, Mainz, 53–67.
- 1996, “Miettes de l’Edubbâ”, in Ö. Tunca/D. Deheselle (eds.), *Tablettes et images aux Pays de Sumer et d’Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Liège, 11–25.
- 2000, “Neue Texte historischen Inhalts aus den irakischen Grabungen von Babylon”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 31, 213–244.
- 2003, “Fragments littéraires susiens”, in W. Sallaberger/K. Volk/A. Zgoll (eds.), *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien. Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, Wiesbaden, 53–62.
- 2017, “Portes, dieux portiers et dieux-portes”, in P.M. Michel (ed.) *Rites aux portes*, Berne, 93–99.
- 2020, “Les traditions littéraires suméro-akkadiennes à Suse. Fragments littéraires susiens (suite)”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 114, 63–102.
- Cavigneaux A./al Rawi F.N.H. 1995, “Textes Magiques de Tell Haddad II”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 85, 19–46.
- Cavigneaux A./Güterbock H.G./Roth M.T. 1985, *The Series Erim-huš = anantu and An-ta-gál = šaqû*, (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* 17), Rome.
- Cavigneaux A./Krebernik M. 1998/2000a, “Nin-SAR (Nin-nisig)”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 484–486.
- 1998/2000b, “NIN-ŠIM”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 489b.
- 1998/2000c, “Nin-amaškuga”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 327b.
- 1998/2000d, “Nin-karnuna”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 441.
- Ceccarelli M. 2020, “An Introduction to the Sumerian School Disputes”, in E. Jiménez/C. Mittermayer (eds.), *Disputation Literature in the Near East and Beyond (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 25)*, Boston/Berlin, 33–55.
- Chantraine P. 1980, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris.
- Charpin D. 1992, “Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses successeurs”, in D. Charpin/F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris, 207–218.
- 1999, “Review of Pientka, *Die spätaltbabylonische Zeit*”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 46/47, 322–324.
- 2018, “Chroniques bibliographiques 21. À l’occasion des dix ans du projet Archibab”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 112, 177–208.
- Charpin D./Joannès F./Lackenbacher S./Lafont B. 1988, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2*, (*Archives royales de Mari* 26/2), Paris.
- Çiğ M./Kizilyay H./Kraus F.R. 1952, *Eski Babil zamanına ait Nippur Hukuki vesikalari / Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur*, Istanbul.
- Civil M. 1966, “Notes on Sumerian Lexicography, I”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20, 119–124.
- 1974, “Medical Commentaries from Nippur”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33, 329–338.
- 1976, “Enlil, the Merchant: Notes to CT 15 10”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 28, 72–81.

- 1979, *Ea A = nāqu, Aa A = nāqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts*, (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* 14), Rome.
- 1984a, “Enlil and Ninlil: The marriage of Sud”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, 43–66.
- 1984b, “Notes on the ‘Instructions of Šuruppak’”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, 281–298.
- 1985, “Sur les livres d’écolier à l’époque paléo-babylonienne”, in J.-M. Durand/J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris, 67–78.
- 1986, *The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts*, (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon. Supplementary Series* 1), Roma.
- 1989, “The Texts from Meskene-Emar [Review of Arnaud Emar 6]”, *Aula Orientalis* 7, 5–25.
- 1992, “Education (Mesopotamia)”, in D.N. Freedman (ed.) *Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 2: D-G*, New York, 301–305.
- 1993, “On Mesopotamian Jails and their Lady Warden”, in M.E. Cohen/D.C. Snell/D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W.W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 72–78.
- 1994, *The Farmer’s Instructions. A Sumerian Agricultural Manual*, (*Aula Orientalis Supplementa* 5), Sabadell.
- 1995, “Ancient Lexicography”, in J.M. Sasson (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York, 2305–2314.
- 2004, *The Series DIRI = (w)atru*, (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* 15), Roma.
- 2007, “Early Semitic Loanwords in Sumerian”, in M. Roth/W. Farber/M. Stolper/P. von Bechtolsheim (eds.), *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs, 4 June 2004* (*Assyriological Studies* 27), Chicago, 11–33.
- 2008, “A Sumerian Connective Particle and its Possible Semitic Counterparts”, *Aula Orientalis* 26, 7–15.
- 2010, *The Lexical Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 12), Bethesda.
- 2011, “The Law Collection of Ur-Namma”, in A.R. George (ed.) *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 17), Bethesda, 221–286.
- Clay A.T. 1906, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania A* 14), Philadelphia.
- Clayden T. 2016, “The Archaeology of the Nippur Archive”, *Al-Rāfidān* 37, 1–87.
- Clayden T./Schneider B. 2015, “Assurbanipal and the Ziggurat at Nippur”, *Kaskal* 12, 349–382.
- de Clercq L. 1900, *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné: antiquités assyriennes, cylindres orientaux, cachets, briques, bronzes, bas-reliefs, etc.*, Paris.
- Cohen C. 1993, “The Biblical Priestly Blessing (Num. 6:24–26) in the Light of Akkadian Parallels”, *Tel Aviv* 20, 228–238.
- Cohen E. 2012, *Conditional Structures in Mesopotamian Old Babylonian*, (*Languages of the Ancient Near East* 4), Winona Lake.
- Cohen M.E. 1976, “Literary Texts from the Andrews University Archaeological Museum”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 70, 129–144.
- 1988, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Potomac.
- Cohen Y. 2013, *Wisdom from the Late Bronze Age*, (*Writings from the Ancient World* 29), Atlanta.
- 2018, “An Old Babylonian List of Sheep Body Parts (BM 29663)”, in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 14), Leiden, 131–148.
- Cole S.W. 1994, “The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabu-šuma-iškun”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 220–252.
- 1996, *Nippur IV. The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor’s Archive from Nippur*,

- (*Oriental Institute Publications* 114), Chicago.
- Cooper J.S. 1978, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur. an-gim dím-ma*, (*Analecta Orientalia* 52), Roma.
- Couto É. 2009, *Etnoanatomía y partonomía del cuerpo humano en sumerio y acadio. El léxico Ugu-mu*, PhD thesis.
- Cunningham G. 2007, “A catalogue of Sumerian literature (based on Miguel Civil’s catalogue of Sumerian literature)”, in G. Cunningham/J. Ebeling (eds.), *Analyzing Literary Sumerian: Corpus-based Approaches*, London, 351–412.
- Dalley S. 2009, *Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøyen Collection*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 9), Bethesda.
- 2020, “The First Sealand Dynasty: Literacy, Economy, and the Likely Location of Dūr-Enlil(ē) in Southern Mesopotamia at the end of the Old Babylonian Period”, in T. Clayden/S. Paulus (eds.), *Babylonia under the Sealand and Kassite Dynasties (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 24), Boston/Berlin, 9–27.
- Deller K./Mayer W.R./Sommerfeld W. 1987, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD N”, *Orientalia* 56, 176–218.
- Delnero P. 2006, *Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions. A case study based on the Decad*, PhD thesis.
- 2011/2012, “Šulpa’e”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 284–286.
- 2012a, “Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71, 189–208.
- 2012b, *The Textual Criticism of Sumerian Literature*, (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series* 3), Boston.
- Devecchi E. 2020, *Middle Babylonian Texts In the Cornell University Collections II. The Earlier Kings*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 37), University Park.
- Dietrich M. 1991, “Der Dialog zwischen Šupē-amēli und seinem ‚Vater‘. Die Tradition babylonischer Weisheits-sprüche im Westen”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23, 33–68.
- 1995, “*ina ūmi ullūti* “An jenen (fernen) Tagen“. Ein sumerisches kosmogonisches Mythologem in babylonischer Tradition”, in W. Dietrich/O. Loretz (eds.), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 240), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 57–72.
- 1998, “*buluṭ bēlī* „Lebe, mein König!“ Ein Krönungshymnus aus Emar und Ugarit und sein Verhältnis zu mesopotamischen und westlichen Inthronisationsliedern”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30, 155–200.
- 2003, “Das Ritual für die Krönung des Assurbanipal (VAT 13831)”, in K. Kiesow/T. Meurer (eds.), *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels. Festschrift für Peter Weimar (Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 294), Münster, 127–156.
- Dietrich M./Loretz O. 1991, “Lieder und Gebete aus Ugarit und Emar”, in O. Kaiser (ed.) *Lieder und Gebete II (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* 2/6), Gütersloh, 818–826.
- van Dijk J.J.A. 1962, “Die Inschriftenfunde”, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka* 18, 39–62.
- 1967, “VAT 8382: Ein zweisprachiges Königsritual”, in D.O. Edzard (ed.) *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient. Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966*, Harrassowitz, 233–268.
- 1983, *Lugal ud me-lám-bi nir-ġál. Le récit épique et didactique des Travaux de Ninurta, du Déluge et de la Nouvelle Création. Texte, traduction et introduction*, Leiden.
- 1998, “Inanna raubt den großen Himmel. Ein Mythos”, in S.M. Maul (ed.) *tikip santakki mala bašmu... Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994 (Cuneiform Monographs* 10), Groningen, 9–38.
- Donbaz V./Stolper M.W. 1997, *Istanbul Murašú Texts*, (*Publications de l’Institut*

- historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 79*), Leiden.
- van Driel G. 1990, "Neo-Babylonian Agriculture III. Cultivation", *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 5, 219–266.
- Durand J.-M. 1982, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. Tome I: Catalogue et copies cunéiformes*, Geneva/Paris.
- 1983, *Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du palais de Mari*, (*Archives royales de Mari* 21), Paris.
- 2002, *Le cult d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum*, (*Florilegium Marianum* 7), Paris.
- Ebeling E. 1931, "Aus dem Tagewerk eines assyrischen Zauberpriesters", *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 5/3, 1–52.
- 1953, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln", *Archiv Orientalní* 21, 357–423.
- Edzard D.O. 1987/1990, "Literatur", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7, 35–48.
- 2003, *Sumerian Grammar*, (*Handbuch der Orientalistik* 71), Leiden.
- Edzard D.O./Krebernik M. 1987/1990, "Lumḫa", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7, 168.
- Edzard D.O./Lambert W.G. 1976/1980, "Igalim(a)", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 5, 36.
- Everling J. 2013 [2000], *Materials for the Study of First Millennium B.C. Babylonian Texts. Volume 1. Chronological List of Babylonian Texts from the First Millennium B.C. Babylonia*, (*Specimina Electronica Antiquitatis – Libri* 3), Pécs.
- Fadhil A.A./Jiménez E. 2017, "Literarische Bruchstücke aus Uruk. Teil 1: W 25366–Tafeln", *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 10, 158–173.
- 2019a, "Literarische Bruchstücke aus Uruk. Teil 3: Fragmente astrologischer und terrestrischer Omina", *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 12, 68–106.
- 2019b, "Literary Texts from the Sippar Library I: Two Babylonian Classics", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 109, 155–176.
- 2022, "Literary Texts from the Sippar Library III: *Eriš šummi*, a Syncretistic Hymn to Marduk", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 112.
- Falkenstein A. 1931, *Die Haupttypen der Sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht*, (*Leipziger Semitistische Studien* NF 1), Leipzig.
- 1949, "Sumerische religiöse Texte. 1. Drei ‚Hymnen‘ auf Urninurta von Isin", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 49, 80–150.
- 1952, "Inannas Erhöhung", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 9, 88–92.
- 1959a, *Sumerische Götterlieder I*, Heidelberg.
- 1959b, "Zwei Rituale aus seleukidischer Zeit", *Uruk vorläufiger Bericht* 15, 36–44.
- Farber G./Farber W. 2018, "The Cuneiform Tablets at Northwestern University Library in Evanston, Illinois", in K. Kleber/G. Neumann/S. Paulus (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Hans Neumann zum 65. Geburtstag am 9. Mai 2018 (Dubsar 5)*, Münster, 195–226.
- Farber W. 1976, "'Großpfortner Nedu' und ein Problem neubabylonischer Schreibertradition", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 66, 261–275.
- 1989, *Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*, (*Mesopotamian Civilizations* 2), Winona Lake.
- 2014, *Lamaštu. An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.*, (*Mesopotamian Civilizations* 17), Winona Lake.
- Feliu L. 2003, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*, (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 19), Leiden/Boston.
- Fincke J.C. 2000, *Augenleiden nach keilschriftlichen Quellen. Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Medizin*, Würzburg.
- 2001, "Der Assur-Katalog der Serie *enūma anu enlil* (EAE)", *Orientalia* 70, 19–39.
- 2018, "Of *tirku*, Moles and Other Spots on the Skin according to the Physiognomic Omens", in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian*

- Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller (Ancient Magic and Divination 14)*, Leiden, 203–231.
- 2020, “The Series *iqqur īpuš*. Reworking a Composition to Modern Standards”, in W. Sommerfeld (ed.) *Dealing with Antiquity: Past, Present & Future. RAI Marburg (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 460)*, Münster, 225–232.
- 2021, *An Ancient Mesopotamian Herbal Handbook: The Series uru.an.na and múdur.maḥ. Volume 1: The Tablets*, Leuven.
- Finkel I.L. 1975, *HUL.BAZIZI: Ancient Mesopotamian Exorcistic Incantations*, PhD thesis.
- 1982, *The Series SIG₇-ALAN = Nabnītu*, (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 16*), Rome.
- 1988, “Adad-apla-iddina, Esagil-kīn-apli, and the series SA.GIG”, in E. Leichty/M.d. Ellis/P. Gerardi/O. Gingerich (eds.), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 9)*, Philadelphia, 143–159.
- 1991, “Muššu’u, Qutāru and the scribe Tanittu-Bēl”, in P. Michalowski/P. Steinkeller/E.C. Stone/R.L. Zettler (eds.), *Velles Paraules. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Aula Orientalis 9)*, Sabadell, 91–104.
- 1998, “A Study in Scarlet: Incantations against Samana”, in S.M. Maul (ed.) *tikip santakki mala bašmu... Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994 (Cuneiform Monographs 10)*, Groningen, 71–106.
- 1999, “On Some Dog, Snake and Scorpion Incantations”, in T. Abusch/K. van der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretive Perspectives (Ancient Magic and Divination 1)*, Groningen, 213–250.
- 2007, “On the Rules for the Royal Game of Ur”, in I.L. Finkel (ed.) *Ancient Board Games in Perspective. Papers From the 1990 British Museum Colloquium, With Additional Contributions*, London, 16–32.
- 2014, *The Ark Before Noah. Decoding the Story of the Flood*, London.
- 2018, “Amulets against Fever”, in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller (Ancient Magic and Divination 14)*, Leiden, 232–271.
- Fishbane M. 1983, “Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, 115–121.
- Fisher C.S. 1908, “U[niversity] of P[ennsylvania] Architekt Raps Hilprecht”, *Public Ledger (Philadelphia)* 24th April 1908.
- Focke K. 1998/2000, “Nin-imma”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 384–386.
- Földi Z.J. 2019a, “Bullussa-rabi, Author of the Gula Hymn”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 81–83.
- 2019b, “New Manuscripts of Bullussa-rabi’s Gula Hymn”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 86–90.
- 2021a, “Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula. With Contributions by A.C. Heinrich and E. Jiménez”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/ebl/1/3/7>, accessed 08.02.2022).
- 2021b, “Hymn to the Queen of Nippur. With Contributions by A. Häntinen, A.C. Heinrich, E. Jiménez, and T. Mitto”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/ebl/1/3/6>, accessed 08.02.2022).
- Fossey C. 1926, *Manuel d’Assyriologie. Tome deuxième: Évolution des cunéiformes*, Paris.
- Foster B.R. 2005, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3 ed., Bethesda.
- 2016, *The Age of Agade. Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia*, London.
- Fox M.V. 2009, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (*The Anchor Yale Bible 18B*), New Haven/London.
- Foxvog D./Heimpel W./Kilmer A.D. 1980/1983, “Lamma/Lamassu”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6, 446–453.
- Frahm E. 2002, “Zwischen Tradition und Neuerung: Babylonische Priestergelehrte im achämenidenzeitlichen Uruk”, in R.G.

- Kratz (ed.) *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*, Gütersloh, 74–108.
- 2010, “The latest Sumerian proverbs”, in S.C. Melville/A.C. Slotsky (eds.), *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster* (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 42), Leiden, 155–184.
- 2011, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries. Origins of Interpretation*, (*Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record* 5), Münster.
- 2018, “A Tale of Two Lands and Two Thousand Years: The Origins of Pazuzu”, in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 14), Leiden, 272–291.
- Frahm E./Jiménez E. 2015, “Myth, Ritual, and Interpretation. The Commentary on *Enūma eliš* I-VII and a Commentary on Elamite Month Names”, *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 5, 293–343.
- Frame G. 1992, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C. A Political History*, (*Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul* 69), Leiden.
- 1994, “A Bilingual Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I”, in E. Robbins/S. Sandahl (eds.), *Corolla Torontonensis. Studies in Honour of Ronald Morton Smith*, Toronto, 59–72.
- 1995, *Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 B.C.)*, (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods* 2), Toronto/Buffalo/London.
- 1998/2000, “Nabû-šuma-iškun”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 33.
- 2013, “The Political History and Historical Geography of the Aramean, Chaldean, and Arab Tribes in Babylonia in the Neo-Assyrian Period”, in A. Berlejung/M. Streck (eds.), *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.* (*Leipziger altorientalistische Studien* 3), Wiesbaden, 87–121.
- 2020, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721-705 BC)*, (*Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period* 2), University Park.
- Frame G./George A.R. 2005, “The Royal Libraries of Nineveh: New Evidence for King Ashurbanipal’s Tablet Collecting”, *Iraq* 67, 265–284.
- Frank C. 1908, *Babylonische Beschwörungserliefs. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der sog. Hadesreliefs*, (*Leipziger semitistische Studien* III/3), Leipzig.
- Frayne D.R. 1990, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods* 4), Toronto/Buffalo/London.
- 1998, “New Light on the Reign of Išme-Dagān”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 88, 6–44.
- Frazer M. 2013, “Nazi-Maruttaš in Later Mesopotamian Tradition”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 10, 187–220.
- 2016, “An Elementary Late Babylonian Scribal Exercise Featuring Nazi-Maruttaš”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 13, 175–183.
- 2018, “Commentary on *Enūma Anu Enlil* 58(59)-62(63) Group B (CCP 3.1.58.A.b)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P393722>, accessed November 22, 2019).
- Freedman S.M. 2017, *If a City Is Set On a Height. The Akkadian Omen Series šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin. Volume 3: Tablets 41-63*, (*Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 20), Philadelphia.
- Friberg J. 1987/1990, “Mathematik”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7, 531–585.
- Fuchs A. 1994, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen.
- Furlani G. 1954, *Poemetti mitologici babilonesi e assiri*, Firenze.
- Gabbay U. 2006, “Emesal passages cited in commentaries”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2006/81.
- 2014, *Pacifying the Hearts of the Gods. Sumerian Emesal Prayers of the First Millennium BC*, (*Heidelberger Emesal-Studien* 1), Wiesbaden.
- 2015a, “Ancient Mesopotamian Cultic Whispering into the Ears”, in S.

- Yona/E.L. Greenstein/M.I. Gruber/P. Machinist/S.M. Paul (eds.), *Marbeh Hokmah: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Loving Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz*, Eisenbrauns, 185–220.
- 2015b, *The Eršema Prayers of the First Millennium BC*, (Heidelberger Emesal-Studien 2), Wiesbaden.
- 2016, *The Exegetical Terminology of Akkadian Commentaries*, (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 82), Leiden/Boston.
- 2017a, “Levels of Meaning and Textual Polysemy in Akkadian and Hebrew Exegetical Texts”, in M. Popović/M. Schoonover/M. Vandenberghe (eds.), *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 178), Leiden, 76–95.
- 2017b, ““Veiled, she circles the city”: A Late Babylonian Variation on an Eršema to Inana (VAT 7826)”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 76, 275–291.
- 2018, “Drums, Hearts, Bulls, and Dead Gods: The Theology of the Ancient Mesopotamian Kettledrum”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 18, 1–47.
- Gabbay U./Boivin O. 2018, “A Hymn of Ayadaralama, King of the First Sealand Dynasty, to the Gods of Nippur: The Fate of Nippur and Its Cult during the First Sealand Dynasty”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 108, 22–47.
- Gabbay U./Jiménez E. 2019, “Cultural Imports and Local Products in the Commentaries from Uruk. The case of the Gimil-Sîn family”, in C. Proust/J.M. Steele (eds.), *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk* (Why the Sciences of the Ancient World Matter 2), Cham, 53–88.
- Gadd C.J. 1922, “Forms and Colours”, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 19, 149–159.
- Gadd C.J./Campbell Thompson R. 1936, “A Middle-Babylonian Chemical Text”, *Iraq* 3, 87–96.
- Gadotti A. 2014, ‘Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld’ and the Sumerian Gilgamesh Cycle, (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 10), Boston/Berlin.
- Gantzert M. 2008, *The Emar Lexical Texts*, Maastrich.
- Geere H.V. 1904, *By Nile and Euphrates: A Record of Discovery and Adventure*, Edinburgh.
- Geller M.J. 1985, *Forerunners to Udug-hul. Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations*, (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 12), Stuttgart.
- 1990, “Astronomy and Authorship”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53, 209–213.
- 1997, “The Last Wedge”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 87, 43–95.
- 1998, “An Incantation against Curses”, in S.M. Maul (ed.) *tikip santakki mala bašmu... Festschrift für Rykle Berger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994* (Cuneiform Monographs 10), Groningen, 127–140.
- 2000a, “Fragments of Magic, Medicine, and Mythology from Nimrud”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63, 331–339.
- 2000b, “Incipits and Rubrics”, in A.R. George/I.L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, 225–258.
- 2008, “Graeco-Babylonian *Utukkū Lemnūtu*”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2008/33.
- 2016, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons. Canonical Udug-hul Incantations*, (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin 8), Berlin/New York.
- 2018a, “The Concept of the Semitic Root in Akkadian Lexicography”, in J. Braarvig/M.J. Geller (eds.), *Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra*, Berlin, 299–306.
- 2018b, “The Exorcist’s Manual”, in U. Steinert (ed.) *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues. Medicine, Magic and Divination* (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9), Berlin, 292–312.

- George A.R. 1988, "Three Middle Assyrian Tablets in the British Museum", *Iraq* 50, 25–37.
- 1992, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 40), Leuven.
- 1993a, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, (*Mesopotamian Civilizations* 5), Winona Lake.
- 1993b, "Ninurta-Pāqidār's Dog Bite, and Notes on Other Comic Tales", *Iraq* 55, 63–75.
- 1997a, "Bond of the Lands: Babylon the cosmic capital", in G. Wilhelm (ed.) *Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch* (*Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 1), Saarbrücken, 124–145.
- 1997b, "Marduk and the cult of the gods of Nippur at Babylon", *Orientalia* 66, 65–70.
- 2003, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, Oxford.
- 2003/2004, "Review of Gesche *Schulunterricht*", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 403–406.
- 2008, "The sanctuary of Adad at Zabban? A fragment of a temple list in three sub-columns", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65, 714–717.
- 2009, *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 10), Bethesda.
- 2013, *Babylonian Divinatory Texts Chiefly in the Schøyen Collection, with an appendix of material from the papers of W. G. Lambert*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 18), Bethesda.
- 2016, *Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 32), Bethesda.
- 2018, *Old Babylonian Texts in the Schøyen Collection. Part One: Selected Letters*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 36), Bethesda.
- 2020, "The Tamarisk, the Date-Palm and the King. A Study of the Prologues of the Oldest Akkadian Disputation", in E. Jiménez/C. Mittermayer (eds.), *Disputation Literature in the Near East and Beyond* (*Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 25), Boston/Berlin, 75–90.
- George A.R./Taniguchi J. 2010, "The Dogs of Ninkilim, part two: Babylonian rituals to counter field pests", *Iraq* 72, 79–148.
- Gerardi P. 1989, "Assurbanipal and the Building of the Egigunû", in H. Behrens/D. Loding/T. Roth (eds.), *DUMU-É-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (*Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 11), Philadelphia, 207–215.
- Gesche P.D. 2001, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 275), Münster.
- Gesenius W./Meyer R.D./Renz J./Donner H. 2007, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. 4. Lieferung* 2–3, Berlin.
- Gibson M. 1978, *Excavations at Nippur. Twelfth Season*, (*Oriental Institute Communications* 23), Chicago.
- 1992, "Patterns of Occupation at Nippur", in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (*Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 14), Philadelphia, 33–54.
- 1993, "Nippur, Sacred City Of Enlil, Supreme God of Sumer and Akkad", *Al-Rāfidān* 14, 1–18.
- Goetze A. 1965, "An Inscription of Simbaršihu", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 19, 121–135.
- Gong Y. 2000, *Die Namen der Keilschriftzeichen*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 268), Münster.
- Goodnick Westenholz J. 1997, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, (*Mesopotamian Civilizations* 7), Winona Lake.
- 2001, "The Foundation Myths of Mesopotamian Cities: Divine Planners and Human Builders", in P. Azara/R. Mar/E. Subías (eds.), *Mites de fundació de ciutats al món antic* (*Mesopotàmia, Grècia i Roma*). *Actes del col·loqui*, Barcelona, 59–68.

- Gordon E.I. 1960, "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17, 122–152.
- Gouin P. 1993, "Bovins et laitages in Mésopotamie méridionale au 3^{ème} millénaire. Quelques commentaires sur la "Frise a la Laiterie" de El-'Obeid", *Iraq* 55, 135–145.
- Gray C.D. 1901, *The Šamaš Religious Texts Classified in the British Museum Catalogue as Hymns, Prayers, and Incantations*, Chicago.
- Grayson A.K. 1987, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (To 1115 BC)*, (*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods* 1), Toronto.
- Groneberg B. 1971, *Untersuchungen zum hymnisch-epischen Dialekt der altbabylonischen literarischen Texte*, PhD thesis.
- 1997, *Lob der Ištar: Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 8), Groningen.
- 2003, "Searching for Akkadian Lyrics From Old Babylonian to the Lieder katalog KAR 158", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 55, 55–74.
- Guichard M. 1999, "Les aspects religieux de la guerre à Mari", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 93, 27–56.
- 2014, *L'épopée de Zimrī-Lim*, (*Florilegium Marianum* 14), Paris.
- Guinan A.K./Leichty E. 2010, "Tasteless Tablets", in J. Stackert/B. Nevlung Porter/D.P. Wright (eds.), *Gazing on the Deep: Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tzvi Abusch*, Bethesda, 49–50.
- Gurney O.R. 1956, "The Sultantepe Tablets (Continued). V. The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur", *Anatolian Studies* 6, 145–164.
- Hackl J. 2016, "A new attestation of the term *malDitu*", *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2016/54.
- Hackl J./Jursa M./Schmidl M. 2014, *Spätbabylonische Privatbriefe*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 414/1), Münster.
- Hall H.R./Woolley L. 1927, *Ur Excavations. Volume I: Al-'Ubaid. A Report on the Work Carried Out at Al-'Ubaid for the British Museum in 1919 and for the Joint Expedition in 1922–3*, Oxford.
- Hallo W.W./Moran W.L. 1979, "The First Tablet of the SB Recension of the Anzu-Myth", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31, 65–115.
- Hallock R./Landsberger B. 1956a, "Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts", in B. Landsberger/R. Hallock/T. Jacobsen/A. Falkenstein (eds.), *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 4)*, Roma, 129–202.
- 1956b, "Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts", in B. Landsberger/R. Hallock/T. Jacobsen/A. Falkenstein (eds.), *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 4)*, Roma, 45–127.
- Hätinen A. 2021, "Benedictions for a Gentleman: DT.135+ Rm.436(+) K.2279", *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 18, 222–233.
- Heeßel N.P. 2003, "Review of Koch-Westenholz *Babylonian Liver Omens*", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 93, 278–281.
- 2007, *Divinatorische Texte I. Terrestrische, teratologische, physiognomische und oneiromantische Omina*, (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts* 1), Wiesbaden.
- 2011a, "Die Divination in Assur – Assyrische Gelehrte und babylonische Tradition", in J. Renger (ed.) *Assur – Gott, Stadt und Land (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 5)*, Wiesbaden, 371–384.
- 2011b, "„Sieben Tafeln aus sieben Städten“. Überlegungen zum Prozess der Serialisierung von Texten in Babylonien in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.", in E. Cancik-Kirschbaum/M. van Ess/J. Marzahn (eds.), *Babylon. Wissenskultur zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Berlin, 171–195.
- 2012, *Divinatorische Texte II. Opferschau-Omina*, (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts* 5), Wiesbaden.
- 2017, "Zur Standardisierung und Serialisierung von Texten während der Kassitenzeit am Beispiel der Opferschau-Omina", in A. Bartelmus/K. Sternitzke

- (eds.), *Karduniaš. Babylonia Under the Kassites (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 11)*, Boston/Berlin, 219–228.
- Heimpel W. 1982, “Review of Lieberman (ed.) *Fs Jacobsen*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, 152–156.
- 1998/2000, “Netz. A”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 235–239.
- Heinrich A.C. 2019, “The Goddess Ninmadiriga”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 83–86.
- Heinrich A.C./Jiménez E. 2021, “Ninurta Lore in Neo-Babylonian Nippur: Two Exercise Tablets with Excerpts from *Lugale*, *Angim*, and *Anzû*”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 18, 163–169.
- Hess C.W. 2020, “Standard Babylonian”, in R. Hasselbach-Andee (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages*, Hoboken, 473–488.
- Hilprecht H.V. 1894, *Assyriaca. Eine Nachlese auf dem Gebiete der Assyriologie*, Boston.
- 1896, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur. Part II, (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania A 1/2)*, Philadelphia.
- 1903, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the 19th Century*, Philadelphia.
- 1908, *The So-Called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy*, Philadelphia.
- 1910, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story, (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania D 5/1)*, Philadelphia.
- Holma H. 1919, “Labyrinthin alkuperästä”, *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 17, 1–14.
- Hölscher M. 1996, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur, (Imgula 1)*, Münster.
- Horowitz W. 2014, *The Three Stars Each: The Astrolabes and Related Texts, (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 33)*, Wien.
- Hoskisson P. 1991, “Emar as an Empirical Model of the Transmission of Canon”, in K. Lawson Younger Jr./W.W. Hallo/B.F. Batto (eds.), *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective (Scripture in Context 4)*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, 21–32.
- Høyrup J. 2000, “The Finer Structure of the Old Babylonian Mathematical Corpus. Elements of Classification, with Some Results”, in J. Marzahn/H. Neumann (eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 252)*, Münster, 117–178.
- Hruša I. 2010, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru. Eine Textedition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 50)*, Münster.
- Hruška B. 1969, “Das spätbabylonische Leergedicht ‘Inannas Erhöhung’”, *Archiv Orientalní* 37, 473–522.
- Huehnergard J. 1987, “Three Notes on Akkadian Morphology”, in D.M. Golomb/S.T. Hollis (eds.), *Working With No Data. Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin*, Winona Lake, 181–193.
- Hunger H. 1968, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2)*, Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- 1998, “Zur Lesung sumerischer Zahlwörter”, in M. Dietrich/J. Lorenz (eds.), *dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik. Festschrift für Willem H. Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 253)*, Münster, 179–183.
- Hunger H./Pingree D. 1999, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia, (Handbuch der Orientalistik 44)*, Leiden.
- Hussey M.I. 1948, “Anatomical Nomenclature in an Akkadian Omen Text”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 2, 21–32.
- Jacobson H. 1996, “Dūr šinni”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1996/132.
- Jaques M. 2006, *Le vocabulaire des sentiments dans les textes sumériens. Recherche sur le lexique sumérien et akkadien, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 332)*, Münster.
- 2015, *Mon dieu qu’ai-je fait? Les digir-ša-dab(5)-ba et la piété privée en Mésopotamie, (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 273)*, Fribourg.
- Jeyes U. 1980, “The act of extispicy in Ancient Mesopotamia: An Outline”, in B.

- Alster (ed.) *Assyriological Miscellanies 1*, Copenhagen, 13–32.
- 1989, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum*, (*Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul* 64), Leiden.
- 1997, “Assurbanipal’s *bārūtu*”, in H. Waetzoldt/H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. XXXIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.-10. Juli 1992*, Heidelberg, 61–65.
- Jiménez E. 2013a, “‘The Creation of the King’: A Reappraisal”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 10, 235–254.
- 2013b, *La imagen de los vientos en la literatura babilónica*, PhD thesis.
- 2014a, “Commentary on Aa VIII/3 (*pirsu* 41) (CCP 6.1.41)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P293337>, accessed 15.07.2019).
- 2014b, “Commentary on Therapeutic (CCP 4.2.A.a)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P459066>, accessed 29.06.2018).
- 2014c, “New Fragments of Gilgamesh and other Literary Texts from Kuyunjik”, *Iraq* 76, 99–121.
- 2015, “Commentary on Izbu 17 (CCP 3.6.3.B)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<https://ccp.yale.edu/P348643>, accessed 07.12.2020).
- 2016, “Loose Threads of Tradition. Two Late Hemerological Compilations”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 68, 197–227.
- 2017a, *The Babylonian Disputation Poems. With Editions of the Series of the Poplar, Palm and Vine, the Series of the Spider, and the Story of the Poor, Forlorn Wren*, (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 87), Leiden/Boston.
- 2017b, “Commentary on Theodicy (CCP no. 1.4)”, *Cuneiform Commentaries Project* (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P404917>, accessed 01.07.2022).
- 2018a, “Highway to Hell. The Winds as Cosmic Conveyors in Mesopotamian Incantation Texts”, in G. van Buylaere/M. Luukko/D. Schwemer/A. Mertens-Wagschal (eds.), *Sources of Evil. Studies in Mesopotamian Exorcistic Lore*, Leiden/Boston,
- 2018b, “New Fragments and Extracts of Akkadian Disputation and Fables Chiefly from Babylonian Schools”, *Orientalia* 87, 157–167.
- 2019a, “An Almost Irresistible Target. Parodying the Theodicy in Babylonian Literature”, in T. Oshima (ed.) *Teaching Morality in Antiquity: Wisdom Texts, Oral Traditions, and Images*, Tübingen,
- 2019b, “The Distant Plans of the Gods (*Ludlul* II 36–38)”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 79–81.
- 2019c, “Nomen Omen”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2019/100.
- 2019d, “Road to the Cedar Forest (*Gilgamesh* III 75–84)”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 76–77.
- 2020a, “*Non chartas perituras dat Babylonica tellus*. The Latin Poems of Jean-Vincent Scheil (1858–1940)”, in U. Gabbay/J.J. Pérennès (eds.), *Des polythéismes aux monothéismes. Mélanges d'assyriologie offerts à Marcel Sigrist*, Leuven, 251–307.
- 2020b, “Taqiš-Gula and Gimil-Gula, Scholars of Nazi-Maruttaš”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 17, 232–234.
- 2021, “Der zweite Beleg. Drei neue akkadische Wörter”, *Orientalia* 90, 289–291.
- forthcoming, “Education in Nippur During the First Millennium BCE”.
- Jiménez E./Adalı S.F. 2015, “The ‘Prostration Hemerology’ Revisited: An Everyman’s Hemerology at the King’s Court”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 105, 154–191.
- Jiménez E./Schmidtchen E. 2017, “Explaining Diagnosis. Two New Commentaries on the Diagnostic Series *Sagig*”, *Welt des Orients* 47, 216–241.
- Joannès F. 1982, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Paris.
- 1992, “Les archives de Ninurta-ahhē-bullit”, in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35e Rencontre*

- tre Assyriologique Internationale (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14)*, Philadelphia, 87–100.
- Jursa M. 1995, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, (*Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 25*), Wien.
- 1999, *Das Archiv des Bēl-Rēmāni*, (*Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 86*), Leiden.
- 2005, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives*, (*Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1*), Münster.
- 2009, “Die Krallen des Meeres und andere Aromata”, in W. Arnold/M. Jursa/W.W. Müller/S. Procházka (eds.), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica in Memoriam Alexander Sima*, Wiesbaden, 147–180.
- 2012, “*malDītu* „nach“, „nachher“ in spätbabylonischen Urkunden und Briefen”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2012/75.
- 2013, “Die babylonische Priesterschaft im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.”, in K. Kaniuth/A. Löhnert/J.L. Miller/A. Otto/M. Roaf/W. Sallaberger (eds.), *Tempel im Alten Orient. 7. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 11.–13. Oktober 2009*, Wiesbaden, 151–166.
- Kämmerer T.R. 1998, *šimā milka. Induktion und Reception der mittelbabylonischen Dichtung von Ugarit, Emār und Tell el-'Amārna*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament 251*), Münster.
- Karahashi F. 2000, *Sumerian Compound Verbs with Body-Part Terms*, Chicago.
- Keall E.J. 1970, *The Significance of Late Parthian Nippur*, PhD thesis.
- Kessler K. 1992, “Duplikate und Fragmente aus Uruk, Teil III”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 23, 464–471.
- 2004, “Urukäische Familien versus babylonische Familien. Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31, 237–262.
- Khait I./Nurullin R. 2006, “Observations on an Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Tablet from the Schøyen Collection”, *Babel und Bibel* 3, 529–534.
- Kienast B. 2003, *iškar šēlebi: Die Serie vom Fuchs*, (*Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 22*), Stuttgart.
- Kilmer A.D. 1977, “Notes on Akkadian *uppu*”, in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Essays on the Ancient Near East in memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, Hamden, 129–138.
- 1984, “A Music Tablet from Sippar(?): BM 65217 + 66616”, *Iraq* 46, 69–80.
- 1991, “An Oration on Babylon”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18, 9–22.
- Kilmer A.D./Civil M. 1986, “Old Babylonian Musical Instructions Relating to Hymnody”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 38, 94–98.
- King L.W. 1902, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, London.
- 1911, “Nippur: The Deluge Fragment”, *Encyclopedia Britannica* 19, 708–709.
- Kleber K. 2008, *Tempel und Palast. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament 358*), Münster.
- Klein J. 1981, “The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame”, *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 71/7, 1–48.
- 1986, “On Writing Monumental Inscriptions in Ur III Scribal Curriculum”, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 80, 1–7.
- Kleinerman A. 2011, *Education in Early 2nd Millennium BC Babylonia. The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany*, (*Cuneiform Monographs 42*), Leiden.
- Koch-Westenholz U.S. 2000, *Babylonian Liver Omens. The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān Tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library*, (*Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 25*), Copenhagen.
- Koch U.S. 2005, *Secrets of Extispicy. The Chapter Multābiltu of the Babylonian Extispicy Series and Niširti bārūti Texts mainly*

- from *Aššurbanipal's Library*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 326), Münster.
- 2015, *Mesopotamian Divination Texts: Conversing with the Gods. Sources from the First Millennium BCE*, (*Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record* 7), Münster.
- Köcher F. 1966, "Die Ritualtafel der magisch-medizinischen Tafelserie "Einreibung"", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21, 13–20.
- Kogan L. 2004, "Sleeping Deer in Mesopotamia and in the Bible", *Babel und Bibel* 1, 363–366.
- 2012, "Les noms de plantes akkadiens dans leur contexte sémitique", in R. Hasselbach/N. Pat-El (eds.), *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 67), Chicago, 229–267.
- Komoróczy G. 1973, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21, 125–152.
- van Koppen F. 2017, "The Early Kassite Period", in A. Bartelmus/K. Sternitzke (eds.), *Karduniaš. Babylonia Under the Kassites* (*Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11), Boston/Berlin, 45–92.
- Kouwenberg N.J.C. 1997, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, (*Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 33), Assen.
- 2010, *The Akkadian Verb and its Semitic Background*, (*Languages of the Ancient Near East* 2), Winona Lake.
- Kramer S.N. 1983, "The Sumerian Deluge Myth: Reviewed and Revised", *Anatolian Studies* 33, 115–121.
- 1988, *In the World of Sumer. An Autobiography*, Detroit.
- Kraus F.R. 1936/1937, "Babylonische Omina mit Ausdeutung der Begleiterscheinungen des Sprechens", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 11, 219–230.
- 1970, *Sumerer und Akkader. Ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*, Amsterdam/London.
- 1972, *Briefe aus dem Istanbuler Museum*, (*Altbabylonische Briefe* 5), Leiden.
- 1985, "Mittelbabylonische Opfer-schauprotokolle", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 37, 127–218.
- 1987a, *Sonderformen akkadischer Parataxe: Die Koppelungen*, (*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* 50/1), Amsterdam/Oxford/New York.
- 1987b, "Verstreute Omentexte aus Nippur im Istanbuler Museum", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 77, 194–206.
- Krebernik M. 1998/2000a, "dNin-ti", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 504–505.
- 1998/2000b, "Nin-kasi und Siraš/Siris", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 442–444.
- 2004, "Wörter und Sprichwörter der zweisprachige Schultext HS 1461", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 94, 226–249.
- 2009/2010, "Šar-ur und Šar-gaz", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12, 84–86.
- 2011/2012a, "Šul-azida, Šul-aga/ubu", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 270b.
- 2011/2012b, "Šulpa(e)-AMAŠ-a, Šulpa(e)-dara, Šulpa'etaria", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 286.
- 2011/2012c, "Šulsaga(na/i)", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 286–287.
- 2011/2012d, "Šuzi-ana", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 377–379.
- 2014/2016a, "dUg/Úg-sù", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 296.
- 2014/2016b, "dUL-šar-ra", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 401–406.
- 2014/2016c, "Tukul-saġ-ninnu, Tukul-saġ-piriġ", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 175.
- 2014/2016d, "Tumga, Dunga", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 182–183.
- 2014/2016e, "Ubanuila", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 265b.
- 2014/2016f, "Uraš", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 14, 401–406.
- 2016, "„Wissen“ im Akkadischen, Semitischen, Afroasiatischen", in H. Rechenmacher (ed.) *In Memoriam Wolfgang Richter* (*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament* 100), St. Ottilien, 205–238.
- 2017, "Zwillingsgottheiten", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 15, 351–354.

- 2018, “Ubanuila”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2018/5.
- 2020, “Eine lexikalische Liste (HS 2944) zur Anatomie des Opferschafes”, in N. Cholidis/E. Katzy/S. Kulemann-Ossen (eds.), *Zwischen Ausgrabung und Ausstellung. Beiträge zur Archäologie Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Lutz Martin (marru 9)*, Münster, 83–97.
- Krecher J. 1966, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, Wiesbaden.
- 1968, “Die sumerischen Texte in syllabischer Orthographie”, *Welt des Orients* 4, 252–277.
- Krückmann O. 1933, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte*, (Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection 2/3), Leipzig.
- Kuklick B. 1996, *Puritans in Babylon. The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880–1930*, Princeton.
- Kwasman T. 1999, “Dūr šinni”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1999/62.
- Labat R. 1954, “À propos de la chirurgie babylonienne”, *Journal asiatique* 242, 207–218.
- 1965, *Un calendrier Babylonien des travaux des signes et mois (séries iqqr ipuš)*, Paris.
- 1970, “Les grands textes de la pensée babylonienne”, in R. Labat/A. Caquot/M. Sznycer/M. Vieyra (eds.), *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique. Textes Babyloniens, Ougaritiques, Hittites*, Paris, 15–349.
- Laessoe J. 1955, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bīt rimki*, Copenhagen.
- Lambert W.G. 1957a, “Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11, 1–14.
- 1957b, “Three unpublished fragments of the Tukulti-Ninurta epic”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 38–51.
- 1957/1958a, “A Part of the Ritual for the Substitute King”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 109–112.
- 1957/1958b, “Two Texts from the Early Part of the Reign of Ashurbanipal”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 382–387.
- 1960a, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford.
- 1960b, “Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 19, 47–66.
- 1962, “A Catalogue of Texts and Authors”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 16, 59–77.
- 1964, “The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion”, in W.S. McCullough (ed.) *The Seed of Wisdom. Essays in Honour of T.J. Meek*, Toronto, 3–13.
- 1965, “A Middle Assyrian tablet of incantations”, in H.G. Güterbock/T. Jacobsen (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965 (Assyriological Studies 16)*, The University of Chicago Press, 283–288.
- 1968, “Literary Style in First Millennium Mesopotamia”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88, 123–132.
- 1969, “Review of *AHw* 7–8 [M–N]”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14, 247–251.
- 1971, “Critical Notes on Some Recent Publications”, *Orientalia* 40, 90–98.
- 1974, “Dingir.šà.dib.ba incantations”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33, 267–322.
- 1975, “Review of Limet *Les légendes des sceaux cassites*”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 32, 219–223.
- 1976, “Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian King List”, *Iraq* 30, 85–94.
- 1976/1980, “Inimmanizi”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 5, 104.
- 1980/1983, “Kuta’abzu”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6, 383a.
- 1982, “The Hymn to the Queen of Nippur”, in G. van Driel/T.J.H. Krispijn/M. Stol/K.R. Veenhof (eds.), *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological studies presented to F. R. Kraus on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leiden, 173–218.
- 1986, “Ninurta Mythology in the Babylonian Epic of Creation”, in K. Hecker/W. Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 6)*, Berlin, 55–60.

- 1987, “Review of Reiner *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part One*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, 93–96.
- 1992, “Nippur in Ancient Ideology”, in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14)*, Philadelphia, 119–126.
- 1995, “Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature”, in J. Day/R.P. Gordon/H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *Wisdom in ancient Israel. Essays in honour of J. A. Emerton*, Cambridge, 30–42.
- 1997, “Processions to the Akītu House”, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 91, 49–80.
- 1998, “The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners”, in S.M. Maul (ed.) *tikip santakki mala bašmu... Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994 (Cuneiform Monographs 10)*, Groningen, 141–158.
- 2007, *Babylonian Oracle Questions, (Mesopotamian Civilizations 13)*, Winona Lake.
- 2011, “Notes on *malku* = *šarru*”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2011/28.
- 2013, *Babylonian Creation Myths, (Mesopotamian Civilizations 16)*, Winona Lake.
- n.d., *Edition and Comentary of An = Anu*, Unpublished Manuscript.
- Lambert W.G./Millard A.R. 1969, *Atra-ḫašis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford.
- Lämmershirt K. 2012, *Die sumerische Königshymne Šulgi F, (Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection 9)*, Wiesbaden.
- Landsberger B. 1928, “Das gute Wort”, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 4, 294–321.
- 1934, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-ra = ḫubullu, (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 42/6)*, Leipzig.
- 1958, *The Series HAR-ra = ḫubullu. Tablets V-VII, (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 6)*, Roma.
- 1959, *The Series HAR-ra = ḫubullu. Tablets VIII-XII, (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 7)*, Roma.
- 1960, “Scribal Concepts of Education”, in C.H. Kraeling/R.M. Adams (eds.), *City Inevitable. A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, 94–123.
- 1967a, *The Date Palm and its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources, (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 17)*, Graz.
- 1967b, “Über Farben im Sumerisch-akkadischen”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21, 139–173.
- 1969, *The Series lú = ša and Related Texts, (Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon 12)*, Roma.
- Landsberger B./Gurney O.R. 1958, “Igituh short version”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 81–88.
- Langdon S.H. 1907, “*Abūbu* und *amāruku*”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 20, 450–452.
- 1912, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften, (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 4)*, Leipzig.
- 1915, “A Bilingual Tablet from Erech”, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 12, 73–84.
- Latte K./Hansen P.A. 2005, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen III: Π–Σ, (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 11/3)*, Berlin/New York.
- Leichty E./Finkel I.L./Walker C.B.F. 2019, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Volumes IV-V, (dubstar 10)*, Münster.
- Leichty E./Finkelstein J.J./Walker C.B.F. 1988, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Volume VIII: Tablets from Sippar 3*, London.
- Leiderer R. 1990, *Anatomie der Schafsleber im babylonischen Leberorakel. Eine makroskopisch-analytische Studie*, München.
- Lenzi A. 2008, “The Uruk List of Kings and Sages and Late Mesopotamian Scholarship”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 19, 137–169.
- Lewy J. 1949, “Studies in Assyro-Babylonian Mathematics and Metrology”, *Orientalia* 18, 40–67.

- Lieberman S.J. 1977, "The Names of the Cuneiform Graphemes in Old Babylonian Akkadian", in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Essays on the Ancient Near East in memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, Hamden, 147–154.
- Limet H. 1971, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites*, Bruxelles.
- Linssen M.J.H. 2004, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practises*, (Cuneiform Monographs 25), Leiden.
- Litke R.L. 1998, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists. AN : ^da-nu-um and AN : Anu šá amēli*, (Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3), New Haven.
- Livingstone A. 1986, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Winona Lake.
- 1989, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, (State Archives of Assyria 3), Helsinki.
- 1999, "Agriculture in Literary Calendar Texts", in H. Klengel/J. Renger (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (BBVO 18)*, Berlin, 375–379.
- Llop J. 2009/2010, "The Food of the Gods. MARV 3, 16, a Middle Assyrian Offerings List to the Great Gods of the City of Assur", *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 18, 1–46.
- Löhnert A. 2002, *Rituelle Einsetzungen von Priestern in Mesopotamien*, MA thesis.
- 2009, „Wie die Sonne tritt heraus!“ Eine Klage zum Auszug Enlils mit einer Untersuchung zu Komposition und Tradition sumerischer Klagelieder in altbabylonischer Zeit, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 365), Münster.
- 2010, "Reconsidering the Consecration of Priests in Ancient Mesopotamia", in H.D. Baker/E. Robson/G. Zólyomi (eds.), *Your Praise is Sweet – A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from students, colleagues and friends*, London, 183–191.
- Loretz O./Mayer W.R. 1978, *šū-ila Gebete. Supplement zu L. W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 34), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Ludwig M.-C. 1990, *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin*, (Santag 2), Wiesbaden.
- Lutz H.F. 1919, "An Omen Text Referring to the Action of a Dreamer", *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 35, 145–157.
- Machinist P. 1978, *The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I: A Study in Middle Assyrian Literature*, PhD thesis.
- Maguire L.E. 1996, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts. The 'Bad' Quartos and their Contexts*, Cambridge.
- Mander P. 2010, "The Mesopotamian Exorcist and his Ego", in M. Liverani/G.M. Biga (eds.), *ANA TURRI GIMILLI. Studi dedicati al Padre Werner R. Mayer, S.J. (Quaderni di Vicino Oriente 5)*, Roma, 177–196.
- Marchesi G. 2014, "A Bilingual Literary Text from Karkemish Featuring Marduk (with contributions by Werner R. Mayer and Strahil V. Panayotov)", *Orientalia* 83, 333–340.
- Márquez Rowe I. 2016, "Two Middle Babylonian Atra-ḫašīs Tablets from Babylon", *Aula Orientalis* 34, 57–70.
- Marti L. 2005, "Les monuments funéraires birūtu", in J.-M. Durand (ed.) *Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite (Florilegium Marianum 8)*, Paris, 191–200.
- Maul S.M. 1994, *Zukunftsbewältigung. Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löserituale (Namburbi)*, (Baghdader Forschungen 18), Mainz.
- 1999, "Der assyrische König – Hüter der Weltordnung", in K. Watanabe (ed.) *Priests and officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East, The City and Its Life, Held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo)*, Heidelberg, 201–214.
- 2010, "Ein Assyrer Rezitiert ein Sumerisches Preis Lied auf die »Schreibkunst« oder: von der unerwarteten Aussprache des Sumerischen", in Ş.Y. Donmez (ed.) *DUB.SAR É.DUB.BA.A. Studies Presented*

- in *Honour of Veysel Donbaz*, Istanbul, 205–210.
- 2013, *Die Wahrsagekunst im Alten Orient. Zeichen des Himmels und der Erde*, München.
- 2018, “Wie man sich eines Störenfrieds diskret entledigt. Ratschläge aus dem Alten Orient”, in K. Kleber/G. Neumann/S. Paulus (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Hans Neumann zum 65. Geburtstag am 9. Mai 2018 (Dubsar 5)*, Münster, 423–438.
- 2019, *Bannlösung (nam-érim-búr-ruda). Die Therapie eines auf eidliche Falschaussage zurückgeführten Leidens, (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 10)*, Wiesbaden.
- Maul S.M./Strauß R. 2011, *Ritualbeschreibungen und Gebete I. Mit Beiträgen von Daniel Schwemer, (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 4)*, Wiesbaden.
- May N.M. 2018, “Exorcists and Physicians at Assur: More on their Education and Interfamily and Court Connections”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 108, 63–80.
- Mayer W.R. 1976, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“*, (*Studia Pohl SM 5*), Roma.
- 1987, “Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs”, *Orientalia* 56, 55–68.
- 1990, “Sechs Šu-ila-Gebete”, *Orientalia* 59, 449–490.
- 1992a, “Das gnomische Präteritum im literarischen Akkadisch”, *Orientalia* 61, 373–399.
- 1992b, “Ein Hymnus auf Ninurta als Helfer in der Not”, *Orientalia* 61, 17–57.
- 1993, “Das Ritual BMS 12 mit dem Gebet Marduk 5”, *Orientalia* 62, 313–337.
- 1994, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD Š₁”, *Orientalia* 63, 111–120.
- 1998, “Review of Wiseman and Black CTN 4”, *Orientalia* 67, 269–271.
- 2003a, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD R”, *Orientalia* 72, 231–242.
- 2003b, “Waffen und Stricke in einer altbabylonischen Urkunde”, *Orientalia* 72, 368–389, pl. xvi.
- 2004, “Das Bußgebet an Marduk von BMS 11”, *Orientalia* 73, 198–214.
- 2008, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD P”, *Orientalia* 72, 94–105.
- 2009, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD T und Ṭ”, *Orientalia* 78, 423–439.
- 2010, “Ein Typ von Allographie in den neuassyrischen Königsinschriften”, *Orientalia* 79, 526–531.
- 2012, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD U und W”, *Orientalia* 81, 95–104.
- 2013, “Wie die Alten Babylonier und Assyrer einander Vorwürfe machten und einander beschimpften”, *Orientalia* 82, 207–271.
- 2015, “Nachlese II: zu Wolfram von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik (31995)”, *Orientalia* 84, 177–216.
- 2016, “Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: A–L”, *Orientalia* 85, 181–235.
- 2017a, “Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: M–S”, *Orientalia* 86, 1–41.
- 2017b, “Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: Š–Z”, *Orientalia* 86, 202–252.
- Mayer W.R./van Soldt W.H. 1991, “Akkadische Lexikographie: CAD S”, *Orientalia* 60, 109–120.
- McCown D./Haines R.C./Biggs R.D. 1978, *Nippur II. The North Temple and Sounding E. Excavations of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of The University Museum of Philadelphia and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, (Oriental Institute Publications 97)*, Chicago.
- McCown D./Haines R.C./Hansen D.P. 1967, *Nippur I. Temple of Enlil, Scribal Quarter, and Soundings. Excavations of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of The University Museum of Philadelphia and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, (Oriental Institute Publications 78)*, Chicago.
- McEwan G.J.P. 1981, “Review of Van Dijk & Mayer *BagM Beih 2*”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 38, 638–642.
- 1982, *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum, (Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts 2)*, Toronto.
- 1987/1990, “Lunge”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7, 170–172.

- 1998/2000, “Nanibgal”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 151.
- de Mecquenem R. 1980, “Les fouilleurs de Suse”, *Iranica Antiqua* 15, 1–48.
- Meinhold W. 2009, *Ištar in Aššur. Untersuchung eines Lokalkultes von ca. 2500 bis 614 v. Chr.*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 367), Münster.
- Meissner B. 1898, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, Leiden.
- 1925, *Babylonien und Assyrien. Zweiter Band*, Heidelberg.
- Meyer J.-W. 1987, *Untersuchungen zu den Tonlebermodellen aus dem Alten Orient*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 39), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Michalowski P. 1981, “Carminative Magic: Towards and Understanding of Sumerian Poetics”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71, 1–18.
- 1998, “Literature as a Source of Lexical Inspiration: Some Notes on a Hymn to the Goddess Inana”, in J. Braun/K. Łyczkowska/M. Popko/P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Written on Clay and Stone. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzyńska on the Occasion of her 80th Birthday*, Warszawa, 67–73.
- 2017, “Literary Journeys from Babylonia to Assyria: Second Millennium Copies of a Bilingual Poem Concerning Ninurta”, in L. Feliu/F. Karahashi/G. Rubio (eds.), *The First Ninety Years. A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil* (*Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 12), Boston/Berlin, 39–58.
- van de Mieroop M. 2016, *Philosophy before the Greeks. The Pursuit of Truth in Ancient Babylonia*, Princeton.
- Militarev A./Kogan L. 2005, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Volume II. Animal Names*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 278/2), Münster.
- Mitto T. 2022a, “Catalogue of Texts and Authors Chapter Neo-Assyrian. With Contributions by A. Häntinen, A.C. Heinrich, and E. Jiménez”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/0/0>, accessed 02.08.2022).
- 2022b, “Cuthaeen Legend of Narām-Sin Chapter Middle Babylonian B. With Contributions by Zs.J. Földi, A. Häntinen, A.C. Heinrich, and E. Jiménez”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/1/12>, accessed 02.08.2022).
- 2022c, “Cuthaeen Legend of Narām-Sin Chapter Standard Babylonian. With Contributions by Zs.J. Földi, A. Häntinen, A.C. Heinrich, and E. Jiménez”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/1/12>, accessed 02.08.2022).
- 2022d, “Hymn to Ninurta as Savior. With Contributions by A. Häntinen, A.C. Heinrich, E. Jiménez, and G. Rozzi”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/3/10>, accessed 02.08.2022).
- Molina M. 2017/2018, “Zabala”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 15, 170–174.
- Molina M./Such-Gutiérrez M. 2004, “On Terms for Cutting Plants and Noses in Ancient Sumer”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 63, 1–16.
- Moran W.L. 1991, “Assurbanipal’s Message to the Babylonians (ABL 301), with an Excursus on Figurative *biltu*”, in M. Cogan/I. Eph’al (eds.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (*Scripta Hierosolymitana* 33), Jerusalem, 20–331.
- Nielsen J.P. 2010, *Sons and Descendants. A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period, 747-626 B.C.*, (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 43), Leiden/Boston.
- Noegel S.B. 2018, “‘To Open a Lance’ in the Epic of Zimri-Lim”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2018/72.
- Nougayrol J. 1941, “Textes hépatoscopiques d’époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 38, 67–88.
- 1945/1946, “Textes hépatoscopiques d’époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre (II)”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 40, 56–97.

- 1968, “Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit”, in J. Nougayrol/E. Laroche/C. Virolleaud/C.F.A. Schaeffer (eds.), *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit (Mission de Ras Shamra 16)*, Paris, 1–447.
- 1969, “Nouveaux textes sur le *zihhu* (I)”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 63, 149–157.
- 1971, “Nouveaux textes sur le *zihhu* (II)”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 65, 67–84.
- 1973, “Note brève 4. CT 51, 152”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 67, 191.
- Novotny J.R. 2014, *Selected Royal Inscriptions of Assurbanipal: L³, L⁴, LET, Prism I, Prism T, and Related Texts*, (State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts 10), Helsinki.
- Nurullin R. 2014, “An Attempt at *Šimá milka* (Ugaritica V, 163 and Duplicates). Part I: Prologue, Instructions II, III, IV”, *Babel und Bibel* 7, 175–229.
- Oelsner J. 1971, “War Nippur Sitz einer spätbabylonischen Astronomenschule?”, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* 20, 141–149.
- 1980, “Der schriftliche Nachlaß H. V. Hilprechts in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena”, in B. Barschel (ed.) *Beiträge zur Ethnolinguistik: Gedenkschrift zum 100. Geburtstag von Ferdinand Hestermann*, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Jena, 112–123.
- 1982a, “Nochmals „Hipparenum (Plinius Nat. Hist. VI 123) = Nippur?“, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9, 259–262.
- 1982b, “Spätachämenidische Texte aus Nippur”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 76, 94–95.
- 1985, “Zur Geschichte der „Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena“, in E. Kluwe/J. Sliwa (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Klassischen Archäologie Jena-Kraków*, Jena, 46–53.
- 1986, *Materialien zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit*, Budapest.
- 1991, “Die Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena – Geschichte und Aufgaben der Publikation”, in H. Klengel/W. Sundermann (eds.), *Ägypten – Vorderasien – Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 23)*, Berlin, 58–65.
- 1996, “Die Entwicklung der Kolo-phonie im neu- und spätbabylonischen Uruk”, in M. Dubrocard/C. Kircher (eds.), *Hommage au Doyen Weiss*, Nice, 429–444.
- 2002, „*Sie ist gefallen, sie ist gefallen, Babylon, die grosse Stadt*“: vom Ende einer Kultur, (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 138/1), Stuttgart/Leipzig/Hirzel.
- 2006a, “Ein mathematischer Tabellentext aus kassitischer Zeit, gefunden in Babylon”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2006/60.
- 2006b, “Zu N. Veldhuis / H. Hilprecht †, AfO 50 (2003/04), 28–49”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2006/61.
- 2009, “Altorientalistik in Jena. Teil 3 (Schluss)”, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 141, 21–43.
- 2012, “Zur Einteilung des Kodex Hammu-rāpi im Altertum”, *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 18, 79–125.
- 2017, “Ein gelehrter König: Aus der Bibliothek Assurbanipals in Ninive”, in P. Stein/S. Köhler/M. Krebernik/K. Lämmerhirt (eds.), *Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer. Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities*, Jena, 118–119.
- 2022, *Der Kodex Hammu-rāpi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung*, (dubsar 4), Münster.
- Oelsner J./Stein P. 2011, “Der Stadtplan von Nippur (HS 197)”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 52, 104–116.
- Oppenheim A.L. 1955, ““Siege-Documents” from Nippur”, *Iraq* 17, 69–89.
- 1956, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. With a Translation*

- of an Assyrian Dream-Book, (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46), Philadelphia.
- 1969, “New Fragments of the Assyrian Dream-Book”, *Iraq* 31, 153–165.
- 1970, *Glass and glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Corning.
- 1977, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, Chicago.
- Oraibi H./Bartelmus A. 2021, “New Light on Dilbat. Kassite Building Activities on the Uraš Temple “E-Ibbi-Anum” at Tell al-Deylam”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 111, 174–190.
- Oshima T. 2003, “Some Comments on Prayer to Marduk, no. 1, lines 5/7”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2003/99.
- 2011, *Babylonian Prayers to Marduk*, (*Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* 7), Tübingen.
- 2014, *Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers. Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi and the Babylonian Theodicy*, (*Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* 14), Tübingen.
- von der Osten-Sacken E. 2015, *Untersuchungen zur Geflügelwirtschaft im Alten Orient*, (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 272), Freiburg.
- Ottervanger B. 2005, *The Poor Man of Nippur*, (*State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts* 12), Helsinki.
- Ousterhout R.G. 2018, *John Henry Haynes. A Photographer and Archaeologist in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1900*, Istanbul.
- Panayotov S. 2013, “A Ritual for a Flourishing Bordello”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 70, 285–309.
- 2020, “Healing in Images and Texts: The Sickbed Scene”, in J.C. Johnson (ed.) *Patients and Performative Identities. At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients*, University Park, 129–158.
- Passow F. 1852, *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Darmstadt.
- Paulus S. 2014, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften von der kassitischen bis zur frühneubabylonischen Zeit. Untersucht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung gesellschafts- und rechtshistorischer Fragestellungen*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 51), Münster.
- 2022, “Kassite Babylonia”, in D.T. Potts/K. Radner/N. Moeller (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East. Volume 3: From the Hyksos to the Late Second Millennium BC*, Oxford, 801–868.
- Payne E.E. 2010, “A New Addition to the Musical Corpus”, in S.C. Melville/A.C. Slotsky (eds.), *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 42)*, Leiden, 291–300.
- Pearce L.E. 1993, “Statements of Purpose: Why the Scribes Wrote”, in M.E. Cohen/D.C. Snell/D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W.W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 185–193.
- 1998, “Babylonian Commentaries and Intellectual Innovation”, in J. Prosecký (ed.) *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East. Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Prague, 331–338.
- Pearce L.E./Wunsch C. 2014, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumeroology* 28), Bethesda.
- Pedersén O. 1985, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur. A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations. Part I*, Uppsala.
- 1986, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur. A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations. Part II*, Uppsala.
- 1998, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.*, Bethesda.
- 2005, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon. Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917*, (*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 25), Saarbrücken.
- Peters J.P. 1897a, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. Volume 1. First Campaign*, New York.
- 1897b, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. Volume 2. Second Campaign*, New York.
- Peterson J. 2008, “Neo-Babylonian Exemplars of the Weidner Godlist from

- Nippur in the University Museum, Philadelphia”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2008/37.
- 2009, “A List of Ancestral Deities in the Pre-OB en₂-e₂-nu-ru Incantation CBS 13408”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2009/68.
- 2011, *Sumerian Literary Fragments in the University Museum, Philadelphia*, (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 9), Madrid.
- 2015, “The Elevation of Ishtar”, *Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship* (<http://oracc.org/blms/corpus>, accessed 06.2017).
- 2016, “The Literary Corpus of the Old Babylonian Larsa Dynasties. New Texts, New Readings, and Commentary”, *Studia Mesopotamica* 3, 1–89.
- 2017a, “A Fragmentary Attestation of the *lama* of King Ur-Ninurta of Isin”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*.
- 2017b, “A Middle Babylonian Sumerian Fragment of the Adapa Myth from Nippur and an Overview of the Middle Babylonian Sumerian Literary Corpus at Nippur”, in L. Feliu/F. Karahashi/G. Rubio (eds.), *The First Ninety Years. A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil* (*Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 12), Boston/Berlin, 255–276.
- 2018, “The Divine Appointment of the First Antediluvian King: Newly Recovered Content from the Ur Version of the Sumerian Flood Story”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 70, 37–51.
- 2020, “Marduk’s Address to the Demons. With Contributions by Zs.F. Földi, A.C. Heinrich, E. Jiménez, T.D.N. Mitto”, *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/3/3>, accessed 02.08.2022).
- Petschow H. 1974, *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurlkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung in Jena*, Berlin.
- Piccin M./Worthington M. 2015, “Schizophrenia and the Problem of Suffering in the *Ludlul* Hymn to Marduk”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 109, 113–124.
- Poebel A. 1947, *Miscellaneous Studies*, (*Assyriological Studies* 14), Chicago.
- Pomponio F. 1997, “Cuori strappati e Quisling Babilonesi”, *SEL* 14, 69–89.
- Pongratz-Leisten B. 1994, *Ina šulmi irub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Progammatik der akitu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (*Baghdader Forschungen* 16), Mainz.
- Pongratz-Leisten B./Deller K./Bleibtreu E. 1992, “Götterstreitwagen und Götterstandarten: Götter auf dem Feldzug und ihr Kult im Feldlager”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 23, 291–356.
- Postgate J.N. 1984, “Processing of Cereals in the Cuneiform Record”, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 1, 103–113.
- Reade J.E. 1986, “Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives”, in K.R. Veenhof (ed.) *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Leiden, 213–222.
- 1998/2000, “Ninive (Nineveh)”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 388–433.
- Reiner E. 1991, “Quelques vœux”, in D. Charpin/F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs. Études sur la Civilisation Mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris, 421–422.
- Reiner E./Civil M. 1967, “Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, 177–211.
- Reiner E./Güterbock H.G. 1967, “The Great Prayer to Ishtar and Its Two Versions from Boğazköy”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21, 255–266.
- Reiner E./Pingree D. 1975, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part One. Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 63: The Venus Tablet of Amiṣaduqa*, (*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 2/1), Malibu.
- 1998, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part Three*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 11), Groningen.
- 2005, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part Four*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 30), Groningen.
- Reynolds F. 2019, *A Babylonian Calendar Treatise: Scholars and Invaders in the Late*

- First Millennium BC. Edited with Introduction, Commentary, and Cuneiform Texts*, Oxford.
- Richardson S.F.C. 2019, "The Oracle BOQ 1, "Trouble," and the Dūr-Abiešuh Texts: The End of Babylon I", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78, 215–237.
- Richter T. 1994, "Untersuchungen zum Opferschauwesen. II. Zu einigen speziellen Keulenmarkierungen", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21, 212–246.
- 2004, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit (2., verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage)*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 257), Münster.
- de Ridder J.J./Zomer E. 2021, "Omen est Nomen? The Nominal Pattern PaRiS > PiRiS", *Orientalia* 90, 1–20.
- Riemschneider K.K. 1965, "Ein altbabylonischer Gallenomentext", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 57, 125–145.
- Ritterband P./Wechsler H. 1981, "A Message to Lushtamar: The Hilprecht Controversy and Semitic Scholarship in America", *History of Higher Education Annual* 1, 5–41.
- Rochberg F. 1987, "The Assumed 29th ahū-tablet of Enūma Anu Enlil", in F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.) *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner (American Oriental Series 67)*, New Haven, 327–350.
- 1988, *Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil*, (*Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 22), Horn.
- 1998, *Babylonian Horoscopes*, (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 88), Philadelphia.
- Rodin T. 2019, "The Female Breasts in Sumerian Literature: The Sign(s), the Contexts and the Akkadian Correspondences", in M. Karlsson (ed.) *The Rod and Measuring Rope. Festschrift for Olof Pedersen*, Wiesbaden, 162–183.
- Rolfe J.C. 1946, *Quintus Curtius, History of Alexander, Volume I: Books 1-5*, (*Loeb Classical Library* 368), Cambridge.
- Römer W.H.P. 1965, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit*, Leiden.
- 1975, "Beiträge zum Lexikon des Sumerischen (1)", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 32, 145–162.
- 1990, "»Weisheitstexte« und Texte mit Bezug auf den Schulbetrieb in sumerischer Sprache", in O. Kaiser (ed.) *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen. Weisheitstexte I (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments III/1)*, Gütersloh, 17–109.
- Roques M. 1940, "Éloge funèbre du R. P. Vincent Scheil, membre de l'Académie", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 84, 372–385.
- Roth M.T. 1988, "ina amat DN₁ u DN₂ lišlim", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33, 1–9.
- Rozzi G. 2021, "Great Prayer to Šamaš. With Contributions by A.C. Heinrich, E. Jiménez, and T. Mitto", *electronic Babylonian Literature* (<https://doi.org/10.5282/ebli/1/3/4>, accessed 08.02.2022).
- Rubio G. 2006, "Šulgi and the Death of Sumerian", in P. Michalowski/N. Veldhuis (eds.), *Approaches to Sumerian Literature. Studies in Honour of Stip (HLLJ. Vanstiphout) (Cuneiform Monographs 35)*, Leiden, 167–179.
- 2010, "Reading Sumerian Names, I: Ensuhkešdanna and Baba", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 62, 29–44.
- Rutz M.T. 2011, "Threads for Esagil-kīn-apli. The Medical Diagnostic-Prognostic Series in Middle Babylonian Nippur", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 101, 294–308.
- 2016, "Anti-witchcraft Prescriptions from Ḫattuša and Nippur", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 106, 42–61.
- Sachs A.J. 1969, "Akkadian Rituals", in J.B. Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton, 331–345.
- 1976, "The Latest Datable Cuneiform Tablets", in B.L. Eichler (ed.) *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform studies in honor of Samuel Noah Kramer (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 25)*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 379–398.
- Sallaberger W. 1996, *Der babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefässe, (Mesopotamian History and Environment. Series II 3)*, Ghent.

- 2010, “Skepsis gegenüber väterlicher Weisheit: zum altbabylonischen Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn”, in H.D. Baker/E. Robson/G. Zólyomi (eds.), *Your Praise is Sweet – A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from students, colleagues and friends*, London, 303–317.
- Sallaberger W./Huber Vulliet F. 2003/2005, “Priester. A. I. Mesopotamien”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10, 617–640.
- Salonen A. 1955, *Hippologica Accadica*, Helsinki.
- 1961, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Helsinki.
- 1963, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Helsinki.
- 1965, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Teil I*, Helsinki.
- 1973, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki.
- 1976, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki.
- Sassmannshausen L. 1997, “Mittelbabylonische runde Tafeln aus Nippur”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 28, 185–208.
- 2001, *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*, (Baghdader Forschungen 21), Mainz am Rhein.
- 2002, “Zur babylonischen Schreiber- ausbildung”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 33, 211–228.
- Sayce A.H. 1902, “The Greeks in Babylonia: Graeco-Cuneiform Texts”, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 24, 120–125.
- Schaudig H. 2001, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften*, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 256), Münster.
- Scheil J.-V. 1897, “Notes d’épigraphie et d’archéologie assyriennes”, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 19, 44–64.
- 1917, “Notules”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 14, 139–163.
- 1921, “Catalogue de la collection Eugène Tisserant”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 18, 1–33.
- 1925, “Passim”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 22, 141–162.
- 1938, “Fragments de la légende du dieu Zû (rédaction susienne)”, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 35, 14–25.
- Schmidtchen E. 2018a, “The Edition of Esagil-kīn-apli’s Catalogue of the Series *Sakikkū* (SA.GIG) and *Alamdimmū*”, in U. Steinert (ed.) *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues. Medicine, Magic and Divination* (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9), Berlin, 313–333.
- 2018b, “Esagil-kīn-apli’s Catalogue of *Sakikkū* and *Alamdimmū*”, in U. Steinert (ed.) *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues. Medicine, Magic and Divination* (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9), Berlin, 137–157.
- 2018c, “Simplicia and Unpublished Fragments of *Alamdimmū* from the British Museum”, in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (Ancient Magic and Divination 14), Leiden, 462–500.
- Schneider B. 2017, “Some Remarks on the Archaeology of the Ekur of Nippur during Post-Kassite Times”, in O. Drewnowska/M. Sandowicz (eds.), *Fortune and Misfortune in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Warsaw 21–25 July 2014*, Winona Lake, 409–420.
- Schramm W. 2001, *Bann! Bann! Eine sumerisch-akkadische Beschwörungsserie*, (Göttinger Arbeitshefte zur altorientalischen Literatur 2), Göttingen.
- 2008, *Ein Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, (Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 2), Göttingen.
- Schroeder O. 1930/1931, “Assyrische Gefässnamen”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 6, 111–112.
- Schuster-Brandis A. 2008, *Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel. Untersuchung zu ihrer Verwendung in der Beschwörungskunst*

- Mesopotamiens im 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 46), Münster.
- Schwemer D. 2001, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*, Wiesbaden.
- 2007, “Witchcraft and War”, *Iraq* 69, 29–42.
- 2009, “Washing, Defiling, and Burning: Two Bilingual Anti-witchcraft Incantations”, *Orientalia* 78, 44–68.
- 2010, “Fighting Witchcraft before the Moon and Sun: A Therapeutic Ritual from Neo-Babylonian Sippar”, *Orientalia* 74, 480–504.
- 2017, *The Anti-Witchcraft Ritual Maqlû. The Cuneiform Sources of a Magic Ceremony from Ancient Mesopotamia*, Wiesbaden.
- 2019, *Der kontraintuitive König. Zum babylonisch-assyrischen Badehaus-Ritual*, (*Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 2019, Nr. 3*), Mainz.
- 2022, “Nabû, the Avenger. The Second Section of the Balaġ Prayer Ukin-ta eš-bar til-la”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 112, 61–75.
- Scurlock J.A. 1989, “Assyrian Battering Rams Revisited”, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 3, 129–131.
- Scurlock J.A./Andersen B.R. 2005, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine. Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Medical Analyses*, Urbana and Chicago.
- Sefati Y. 1998, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature. Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*, Ramat Gan.
- Selz G.J. 2002, “‘Babilismus’ und die Gottheit ^dNindagar”, in O. Loretz/K.A. Metzler/H. Schaudig (eds.), *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 281), Münster, 647–684.
- Seminara S. 2000, “Le istruzioni di Šūpê-amēli. Vecchio e nuovo a confronto nella sapienza siriana del Tardo Bronzo”, *Aula Orientalis* 32, 487–530.
- 2001, *La versione accadica del Lugal-e. La tecnica babilonese della traduzione dal sumerico e le sue ‘regole’*, (*Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico* 8), Roma.
- Seux M.-J. 1976, *Hymnes et Prières aux Dieux de Babylonie et d’Assyrie*, Paris.
- Shibata D. 2021, *Die Šu’ila-Gebete im Emesal*, (*Heidelberger Emesal-Studien* 3), Harrassowitz.
- Sidersky M. 1920, “Tablet of Prayers for a King (?) (K.2279)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1920/4, 565–572.
- Siegelová J. 1993/1995, “Metalle und Metallurgie. A. I. In Mesopotamien”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8, 96–119.
- Sjöberg Å.W. 1966, “Review of Römer *Sumerische ‚Königshymnen‘ der Isin-Zeit*”, *Orientalia* 35, 286–304.
- 1970/1971, “Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbisuen (Ibbisîn) of Ur”, *Orientalia Suecana* 19/20, 140–178.
- 1972, “In Praise of the Scribal Art”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24, 126–131.
- 1973, “Hymn to Numušda with a Prayer for King Šiniqīšam of Larsa and a Hymn to Ninurta”, *Orientalia Suecana* 22, 107–121.
- 1974, “The Old Babylonian Eduba”, in S.J. Lieberman (ed.) *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday* (*Assyriological Studies* 20), Chicago, 159–179.
- 1974/1975, “Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts I”, *Orientalia Suecana* 23/24, 159–181.
- 1975a, “Der Examenstext A”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 64, 137–176.
- 1975b, “in-nin ša₃ gur₄-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 65, 161–253.
- 1996, “UET VII, 73: an Exercise Tablet Enumerating Professions”, in Ö. Tunca/D. Deheselle (eds.), *Tablettes et images aux Pays de Sumer et d’Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Liège, 117–139.
- Sjöberg Å.W./Bergmann E. 1969, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*,

- (*Texts from Cuneiform Sources* 3), Locust Valley.
- von Soden W. 1931, "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 40, 163–227.
- 1933, "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 41, 90–183.
- 1950, "Ein Zwiegespräch Hammurabis mit einer Frau", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 49, 151–194.
- 1953, "Das Problem der zeitlichen Einordnung akkadischer Literaturwerke", *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 85, 14–26.
- 1955, "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch. 67–80", *Orientalia* 24, 377–394.
- 1959, "Assyriologische Miscellen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 55, 49–61.
- 1968a, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. II", *Orientalia* 37, 261–271.
- 1968b, "Die Spirantisierung von Verschlusslauten im Akkadischen, ein Vorbericht", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27, 214–220.
- 1969, "Zur Wiederherstellung der Marduk-Gebete BMS 11 und 12", *Iraq* 31, 82–89.
- 1971a, "Der große Hymnus an Nabû", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 61, 44–71.
- 1971b, "Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon nach der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel und dem Erra-Mythos", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3, 253–263.
- 1975, "Le Temple: Terminologie lexicale. Einleitung zum Colloquium am 6. Juli 1972", *Le temple et le culte. Compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul* 37), 132–143.
- 1977, "Review of Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 22, 81–86.
- van Soldt W.H. 1994, *Letters in the British Museum. Part 2, (Altbabylonische Briefe* 13), Leiden.
- 2011, "The Role of Babylon in Western Peripheral Education", in E. Cancik-Kirschbaum/M. van Ess/J. Marzahn (eds.), *Babylon. Wissenskultur zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Berlin, 197–212.
- 2015, *Middle Babylonian Texts In the Cornell University Collections I. The Later Kings*, (*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* 30), Bethesda.
- 2020, "Grammatical Irregularities in Middle Babylonian Texts and their Chronology", in T. Clayden/S. Paulus (eds.), *Babylonia under the Seal and Kassite Dynasties (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 24), Boston/Berlin, 164–175.
- Sollberger E. 1962, "Graeco-Babyloniaca", *Iraq* 24, 63–72.
- Sommerfeld W. 1982, *Der Aufstieg Marduks. Die Stellung Marduks in der babylonischen Religion des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 254), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Sövegjártó S. 2020, *Sumerische Glossenhandschriften als Quellen des altbabylonischen hermeneutischen Denkens*, (*dubsar* 18), Münster.
- Speiser E.A. 1964, "Akkadian", in E.A. Speiser (ed.) *At the Dawn of Civilization: A Background of Biblical History*, London, 112–120.
- van der Spek R.J. 1992, "Nippur, Sippar, and Larsa in the Hellenistic Period", in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 14), Philadelphia, 235–260.
- Stadhouders H. 2018, "The Unfortunate Frog: On Animal and Human Bondage in K 2581 and Related Fragments With Excursuses on BM 64526 and YOS XI, 3", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 112, 159–176.
- Stadhouders H./Panayotov S. 2018, "From Awe to Audacity. Stratagems for Approaching Authorities Successfully: The Istanbul Egalkura Tablet A 373", in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor*

- of Markham J. Geller (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 14), Leiden, 623–697.
- Stamm J.J. 1939, *Die Akkadische Namengebung*, (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 44), Leipzig.
- Starr I. 1983, *The rituals of the diviner*, (*BiMes* 12), Malibu.
- 1990, *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, (*State Archives of Assyria* 4), Helsinki.
- 1993, “A New Omen Text Concerning the “Yoke” (nīru) of the Liver”, in M.E. Cohen/D.C. Snell/D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W.W. Hallo*, Bethesda, 230–235.
- Stein P. 2000, *Die mittel- und neubabylonischen Königsinschriften bis zum Ende der Assyrerherrschaft. Grammatische Untersuchungen*, Wiesbaden.
- 2017, “Der »älteste Stadtplan der Welt«: Ein Plan der Verteidigungsanlagen von Nippur?”, in P. Stein/S. Köhler/M. Krebernik/K. Lämmerhirt (eds.), *Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer. Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities*, Jena, 108–113.
- Steinert U. 2015, “‘Tested’ Remedies in Mesopotamian Medical Texts. A Label for Efficacy Based on Empirical Observation?”, in J.C. Johnson (ed.) *In the Wake of the Compendia: Infrastructural Contexts and the Licensing of Empiricism in Ancient and Medieval Mesopotamia (Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Cultures* 3), Boston/Berlin, 103–146.
- Still B. 2019, *The Social World of the Babylonian Priest*, (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 103), Leiden/Boston.
- Stol M. 2004, “An Assyriologist reads Hippocrates”, in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff/M. Stol (eds.), *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine (Studies in Ancient Medicine* 27), Leiden, 63–78.
- 2018, “Teeth and Toothache”, in S.V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller (Ancient Magic and Divination* 14), Leiden, 745–770.
- Stola R. 1981, “Zu den sumerischen Entsprechungen des akkadischen Imperativs in späten zweisprachigen Texten”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28, 79–91.
- Stolper M.W. 1988, “The šaknu of Nippur”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40, 127–155.
- 1990, “Late Achaemenid Legal Texts from Uruk and Larsa”, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21, 559–622.
- 2001, “Fifth Century Nippur: Texts of the Murašûs and from Their Surroundings”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 53, 83–132.
- Stone E.C. 1977, “Economic Crisis and Social Upheaval in Old Babylonian Nippur”, in L.D. Levine/T.C. Young Jr. (eds.), *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 7), Malibu, 267–289.
- Strassmaier J.N. 1893, “Einige kleinere babylonische Keilschrifttexte aus dem Britischen Museum”, *Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes: tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*, Leiden, 281–283 and pls. 1–35.
- Streck M.P. 1994, “Funktionsanalyse des akkadischen Š₂-Stamm”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 84, 161–197.
- 1995a, “ittašab ibakki ‘weinend setzte er sich’. iparras für die Vergangenheit in der akkadischen Epik”, *Orientalia* 64, 33–91.
- 1995b, *Zahl und Zeit. Grammatik der Numeralia und des Verbsystems in Spätbabylonischen*, (*Cuneiform Monographs* 5), Groningen.
- 2003, *Die akkadischen Verbalstämme mit ta-Infix*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 303), Münster.
- 2004, “Dattelpalme und Tamariske in Mesopotamien nach dem akkadischen Streitgespräch”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 94, 250–290.
- 2009/2010, “Schilf”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12, 182–189.
- 2010, “Notes on the Old Babylonian Hymns of Agušaya”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130, 561–571.

- 2017, “Review of Finkel, *The Ark Before Noah*”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 107, 140–141.
- 2020a, “Altbabylonische Hymnen – eine Gattung?“, in I. Arkhipov/L. Kogan/N. Koslova (eds.), *The Third Millennium. Studies in Early Mesopotamia and Syria in Honor of Walter Sommerfeld and Manfred Krebernik* (Cuneiform Monographs 50), Leiden, 659–674.
- 2020b, “Review of Jiménez, *Babylonian Disputation Poems*”, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 115, 33–34.
- Stummer F.R. 1927, “Ein akkadisches Segensgebet für den König”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4, 19–21.
- Tadmor H./Yamada S. 2011, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, (Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1), Winona Lake.
- Tallqvist K.L. 1905, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašumukin bis Xerxes*, Helsinki.
- 1928, “Himmelsgegenden und Winde”, *Studia Orientalia* 2, 105–185.
- 1938, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, (*Studia Orientalia* 7), Helsinki.
- Tavernier J. 2014, “Some Thoughts on the *ustarbaru*”, in M. Kozuh/W.F.M. Henkelman/C.E. Jones/C. Woods (eds.), *Extraction & Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations* 68), Chicago, 297–322.
- Taylor J. 2012, “Cuneiform Tablets from the Wiseman Collection”, *Iraq* 74, 127–136.
- Tenney J.S. 2016, “The Elevation of Marduk Revisited: Festivals and Sacrifices at Nippur during the High Kassite Period”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 68, 153–180.
- Thureau-Dangin F. 1923, *Rituel Accadiens*, Paris.
- Tigay J.H. 1982, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Wauconda.
- Tinney S. 2011, “Assessing Nippur’s Cuneiform Texts”, in R. Holod/R.G. Ousterhout (eds.), *Osman Hamdi Bey & Amerikalılar: arkeoloji, diplomasi sanat / Osman Hamdi Bey & the Americans: Archaeology, Diplomacy, Art*, Istanbul, 368–371.
- Tschinkowitz H. 1968/1969, “Ein Opferschautext aus dem Eponymenjahr Tiglathpileser I.”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22, 59–62.
- Ungnad A. 1909, *Urkunden aus Dilbat*, (Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft 6/5), Leipzig.
- 1935, “Babylonische Familiennamen”, *Analecta Orientalia* 12, 319–326.
- Van Buylaere G. 2011, “The Secret Lore of Scholars”, in G.B. Lanfranchi/D.M. Bonacossi/C. Pappi/S. Ponchia (eds.), *Leggo! Studies Presented to Prof. Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (*Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien* 2), Leipzig, 853–863.
- Vanstiphout H.L.J. 1986, “Some Thoughts on Genre in Mesopotamian Literature”, in K. Hecker/W. Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (*Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient* 6), Berlin, 1–11.
- 1988a, “Een (k)oud spoor in de vossejacht?“, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 66, 5–31.
- 1988b, “The Importance of ‘The Tale of the Fox’”, *Acta Sumerologica* 10, 191–227.
- 1995, “On the Old Babylonian Eduba Curriculum”, in H.J.W. Drijvers/A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, Leiden, 3–16.
- 1999, “‘I can put anything in its right place’. Generic and Typological Studies as Strategies for the Analysis and Evaluation of Mankind’s Oldest Literature”, in B. Roest/H.L.J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures* (*COMERS Communications* 1), Groningen.
- 2004, *Eduba. Hoe men leerde schrijven en lezen in het Oude Babylonië. Een bloemlezing van literaire teksten uit de scholen van Sumer*, Amsterdam.

- Veldhuis N. 1997, *Elementary Education at Nippur. The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects*, PhD thesis.
- 2000, “Kassite Exercises: Literary and Lexical Extracts”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 52, 67–94.
- 2003, “On the Curriculum of the Neo-Babylonian School”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, 627–633.
- 2006, “Divination: Theory and Use”, in A.K. Guinan/M.d. Ellis/A.J. Ferrara/S.M. Freedman/M.T. Rutz/L. Sassmannshausen/S. Tinney/M.W. Waters (eds.), *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty (Cuneiform Monographs 31)*, Leiden, 487–497.
- 2013, “A Catalog of Lexical Texts Dedicated to Nabû”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 65, 169–180.
- 2014, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*, (*Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record* 6), Münster.
- 2017, “Words and Grammar: Two Old Babylonian Lists”, in L. Feliu/F. Karahashi/G. Rubio (eds.), *The First Ninety Years. A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 12)*, Boston/Berlin, 363–395.
- 2018, “Translation in The Elevation of Ištar”, in C.J. Crisostomo/E.A. Escobar/T. Tanaka/N. Veldhuis (eds.), *The Scaffolding of Our Thoughts. Essays on Assyriology and the History of Science in Honor of Francesca Rochberg (Ancient Magic and Divination 13)*, Leiden/Boston, 183–206.
- Veldhuis N./Hilprecht H.V. 2003/2004, “Model Texts and Exercises from the Temple School of Nippur: BE 19”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 28–49.
- Viano M. 2016, *The Reception of Sumerian Literature in the Western Periphery*, (*Antichistica* 9), Venice.
- Vogelzang M.E. 1988, *Bin šar dadmē. Edition and Analysis of the Akkadian Anzu Poem*, Groningen.
- Volk K. 1996, “Methoden altmesopotamischer Erziehung nach Quellen der altbabylonischen Zeit”, *Saeculum* 47, 178–216.
- Vriezen T.C. 1939, “Hemerologieen. KAR Nos. 177 en 178 (+ 176 en 179)”, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 6, 114–135.
- Waerzeggers C. 2008, “On the Initiation of Babylonian Priests, with a contribution by Michael Jursa”, *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 16, 1–38.
- 2010, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa. Priesthood, Cult, Archives*, (*Achaemenid History* 15), Leiden.
- 2011, “The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples”, in K. Radner/E. Robson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, Oxford, 725–751.
- 2014, *Marduk-rēmanni. Local Networks and Imperial Politics in Achaemenid Babylonia*, (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 233), Leuven.
- Wagensonner K. 2008, “When I was going, when I was going. BM 15794 Re-visited”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 98, 277–294.
- 2011, “A Scribal Family and its Orthographic Peculiarities. On the Scientific Work of a Royal Scribe and his Sons”, in G.J. Selz/K. Wagensonner (eds.), *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies (Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6)*, Wein, 645–701.
- 2019, “Becoming a Scribe. On Aspects of Education and Apprenticeship in Ancient Mesopotamia”, in A. Lassen/E. Frahm/K. Wagensonner (eds.), *Ancient Mesopotamia Speaks: Highlights of the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven, 139–148.
- Walker C.B.F./Dick M.B. 2001, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian Mīs Pi Ritual*, (*State Archives of Assyria. Literary Texts* 1), Helsinki.
- Warden P.G. 1997, *The Hilprecht Collection of Greek, Italic, and Roman Bronzes in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, (*University Museum Monographs* 98), Philadelphia.
- Watanabe K. 1991, “Segenswünsche für den assyrischen König in der 2. Person Sg.”, *Acta Sumerologica* 13, 347–387.

- 1992, “Segenswünsche für den assyrischen König in der 2. Person Sg. (II)”, *Acta Sumerologica* 14, 369–377.
- Weidner E.F. 1922, “Vokabular-Studien”, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 38, 153–213.
- 1927, “Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4, 73–85.
- 1941/1944, “Die astrologische Serie Enûma Anu Enlil”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14, 172–195, 308–318.
- 1952/1953, “Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileasers I”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16, 197–215.
- Weiershäuser F./Hrůša I. 2018, *Lexikalische Texte I. ur₅-ra = ħubullu, mur-gud = imrú = ballu, Lú-Listen*, (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 8), Wiesbaden.
- von Weiher E. 1983, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Teil II*, (ADFU 10), Berlin.
- 1988, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Teil III*, (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 12), Berlin.
- Westenholz A. 1975, *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena. Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Documents from Nippur and Fara in the Hilprecht-Sammlung vorderasiatischer Altertümer*, Institut für Altertumswissenschaften der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, København.
- 1992, “The Early Excavators of Nippur”, in M.d. Ellis (ed.) *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14)*, Philadelphia, 291–295.
- 1999, “The Old Akkadian Period. History and Culture”, in W. Sallaberger/A. Westenholz (eds.), *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/3)*, Fribourg, 17–117.
- 2007, “The Graeco-Babyloniaca Once Again”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 97, 262–313.
- Westenholz A./Koch-Westenholz U. 2000, “Enkidu—the Noble Savage?”, in A.R. George/I.L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake, 437–451.
- Weszele M. 2002, “Du sollst nicht darüber spotten: eine Abschrift der 10. Tafel von úru àm.ma.ir.ra.bi”, in C. Wunsch (ed.) *Mining the Archives. Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the occasion of his 60th birthday (Babylonische Archive 1)*, Dresden,
- 2011/2013, “Stachelschwein”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13, 49–50.
- Wiggermann F.A.M. 1982, “On Bin Šar Dadmē, the “Anzû-myth””, in G. van Driel/T.J.H. Krispijn/M. Stol/K.R. Veenhof (eds.), *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological studies presented to F. R. Kraus on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leiden, 418–425.
- 1992, “Mythological Foundations of Nature”, in D.J.W. Meijer (ed.) *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, Amsterdam, 279–305.
- 1998/2000, “Nergal. A. Philologisch”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 215–223.
- 2000, “Nin-šubur”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, 490–500.
- 2007, “Some Demons of Time and their Functions in Mesopotamian Iconography”, in B. Groneberg/H. Spieckermann (eds.), *Die Welt der Götterbilder (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 376)*, Berlin/New York, 102–116.
- 2008, “Appendix E. Cuneiform Texts from Tell Sabi Abyad Related to Pottery”, in K. Duistermaat (ed.) *The Pots and Potters of Assyria: Technology and Organisation of Production, Ceramic Sequence and Vessel Function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria*, Turnhout, 558–564.
- Wilcke C. 1965/1971, “Sumerische Lehrgedichte”, *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon. Band VI*, Zurich, 2135–2142.
- 1970, “Die akkadischen Glossen in TMH NF 3 Nr. 25 und eine neue Interpretation des Textes”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23, 84–87.
- 1976, “Zu den spät-altbabylonischen Kaufverträgen aus Nordbabylonien”, *Welt des Orients* 8, 254–285.

- 1976/1980, “Inanna/Ištar (Mesopotamien)”, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 5, 74–87.
- 1978, “Zur Deutung der SI.BI-Klausel in den spätaltbabylonischen Kaufverträgen aus Nordbabylonien”, *Welt des Orients* 9, 206–212.
- 1982, “Review of Hunger SpTU 1”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39, 141–146.
- 1988, “Die Sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit”, in J. von Ungern-Sternberg/H. Reinau (eds.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung (Colloquium Rauricum 1)*, Stuttgart, 113–140.
- 1989, “Die Emar-Version von „Datelpalme und Tamariske“ – Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 79, 161–190.
- 1991, “Göttliche und menschliche Weisheit im Alten Orient. Magie und Wissenschaft, Mythos und Geschichte”, in A. Assmann (ed.) *Weisheit. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation III*, München, 260–270.
- 1993, “Politik im Spiegel der Literatur, Literatur als Mittel der Politik im älteren Babylonien”, in K. Raaflaub (ed.) *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike. Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen*, München, 29–75.
- 2001, “Gestaltetes Altertum in antiker Gegenwart: Königslisten und Historiographie des älteren Mesopotamien”, in D. Kuhn/H. Stahl (eds.), *Die Gegenwart des Altertums. Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, Heidelberg, 93–116.
- Wilhelm G. 1979, “Ein neues Lamaštu-Amulett”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 69, 34–40.
- Winitzer A. 2017, *Early Mesopotamian Divination Literature. Its Organizational Framework and Generative and Paradigmatic Characteristics*, (*Ancient Magic and Divination* 12), Leiden.
- Wiseman D.J./Black J.A. 1995, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, (*Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* 4), Oxford.
- Woodington N.R. 1982, *A Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian Letters of the Kuyunjik Collection*, PhD thesis.
- Worthington M. 2003, “Review of Schramm *Bann! Bann!*”, *Aula Orientalis* 21, 282–287.
- 2012, *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism*, (*Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 1), Boston/Berlin.
- Wunsch C. 2014, “Babylonische Familiennamen”, in M. Krebernik/H. Neumann (eds.), *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstags von Joachim Oelsner (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 369)*, Münster, 289–314.
- Yamada S. 2003, “Tukulti-Ninurta I’s Rule over Babylonia and Its Aftermath. A Historical Reconstruction”, *Orient* 38, 153–177.
- Zadok R. 1986, “Archives from Nippur in the First Millennium B.C.”, in K.R. Veenhof (ed.) *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 57)*, Leiden, 278–288.
- 1994, “Review of Weisberg *BiMes* 24”, *Welt des Orients* 25, 152–154.
- 1997a, “Notes on Babylonian Geography and Prosopography”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1997/6.
- 1997b, “Two N/LB documents from the British Museum”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1997/11.
- 2017, “The Account of Nabû-šumaiškun Revisited”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44, 261–267.
- Zawadzki S./Jursa M. 2001, “Šamaš-tirrikušur, a Smith Manufacturing Weapons in the Ebabbar Temple at Sippar”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 91, 347–363.
- Zettler R.L. 2011, “The University of Pennsylvania Excavations at Nippur”, in R. Holod/R.G. Ousterhout (eds.), *Osman Hamdi Bey & Amerikalılar: arkeoloji, diplomasi sanat / Osman Hamdi Bey & the*

- Americans: Archaeology, Diplomacy, Art*, Istanbul, 78–93.
- Zgoll A. 2003, *Die Kunst des Betens. Form und Funktion, Theologie und Psychagogik in babylonisch-assyrischen Handerhebungsgebeten an Ištar*, (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 308), Münster.
- Zimmern H. 1926, “Die Sammlung Hilprecht der Universität Jena”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 37, 224–226.
- Zimmern H./Landsberger B. 1926, *Bericht über die Hilprecht-Sammlung der Universität Jena*, Unpublished manuscript.
- Zólyomi G. 1999, “Review of Edzard Gudea and His Dynasty (*RIME* 3/1)”, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 94, 178–190.
- Zomer E. 2018, *Corpus of Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian Incantations*, (*Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien* 9), Wiesbaden.
- 2019, *Middle Babylonian Literary Texts from the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, Jena*, (*Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection* 12), Wiesbaden.
- de Zorzi N. 2014, *La serie teratomantica Šumma Izbu. Testo, tradizione, orizzonti culturali*, (*History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs* 15), Padova.
- 2019, “Literature as scholarship: some reflections on repetition with variation and the construction of meaning in the Šamaš Hymn 112–117”, *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16, 159–182.
- 2021, “Written on the Lungs: The Neo-Assyrian Lung Model Rm 620 and Ancient Mesopotamian Lung Divination”, *Welt des Orients* 51, 181–220.

Glossary

Proper Nouns

Celestial Names

Dapīnu, “Jupiter”: ^dUD.AL.TAR 14 o 7–8, 10, 14
Dilbat, “Venus”: ^{mul}dil-bat 14 o 1–3, 5–8, 10–15, 18, 20–24, r 4’
Enzu: ^{mul}ÛZ 14 o 16
Ninsi’ana, “Venus”: [^dnin-si₄-a]n-na 16 r 18’

Sîn: 30 14 o 2, 22, r 6’; ^d30 14 o 8, 15
Tū’amu rabûtu: ^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA GAL.GAL 14 o 7; ^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA GAL^{me} 14 o 8
Zuqīqīpu: [^{mul}GÍR.TAB] 14 o 15 (s. also *zuqīqīpu*)

Divine Names

Adad: ^diŠKUR 1 6, 11 ii’ 8’, 11’, iii’ 2’–3’, 5’, 16 r 2’, 4’–6’, 16’, 23 o 4
Amašgu’anna: ^dAMAŠ-gu₄-an-na 1 33
Anu: AN 14 r 7’; *an-nim* 23 o 4; ^ran¹-nu 17 o 1; ^da-nu 2 4b, 30 r i’ 1’–12’; ^da-num 30 r i’ 1’–12’; ^da-nim 1 51, 55, 58
Anunnakkū: ^da-nun-na-ki 1 11, 4 o 8’
Anšar: *an-šár* 1 c₂ 11’
Anzû: *an-zi-i* 6 o 1
Asare: ^dasar-re 26 o 13
Asarluḫi: ^dasar-lú-ḫi 26 o 15–16, 18, 20, 29 2a; ^dasal-lú-ḫi 4 r 8’, 11’, 19’, 26 o 19
Ayya: ^da-a 1 5
Bēlet-ēkalli: [^dΓNIN-É¹.GAL] 1 7
Bēlet-ilī: DINGIR.MAḪ 1 3
Bēlet-Nippuri: ^rdNIN¹-NIBRU^[ki] 1 8 (s. also Šarrat-Nippuri)
Bidu: [^d]bī-du₈ 9 // 10 o 6–7
Dagan: ^dda-gan 1 55, 58
Damkīna: ^ddam-ki-na 1 2, 4 r 13’
E’anun: ^d+en-á-nun 1 28
Enki/Ea: ^d+en-ki 19 o 6a, 29 2a; ^d+en¹-ki-ga-ke₄ 26 o 11; ^den-ki-ne 32 6; ^d+en-ki 4 o 9’, r 12’; ^dé-a 1 2, 4 r 10’, 19 o 6b, 29 2b; ^dIDIM 26 o 12; [ea] 4 r 13’, 19’
Enlil: ^den-líl 2 11a; ^d+en-líl-lá 8 9a, 16a; ^dkur-gal 8 4a, 13a; ^dkur-gal-la 8 12a; ^d+en-líl 1 1, 8 4b, 9b, 12b–13b, 15 r 7’ (2×),

17 o 1, 20 o 6, 33 r 2’; ^dEN.LÍ[L.LÁ] 14 r 7’; ^d50 7 r 16’, 18’
Ennugi: [^den-nu]-^rgi¹ 1 18
Enzikalamma: ^den-z[i-ka]lam-ma 1 17
Erimabinutuku: ^dérim-^rá-bi¹-nu-tuku 1 48
Erra: ^dér-ra 11 iii’ 7’, 18’
Erragal: ^dér-ra-^rgal¹ 1 20
Igalima: [^di]g-^ralim¹-ma 1 41
Igīgū: ^di-gì-gì 1 11; [igīgī] 4 o 8’
Indagra: ^rd¹indagara 1 19
Inimanizi: [^din]im-ma-ni-^rzi¹ 1 39
Innin/Ištar: ^dinnin-ke₄ 2 12; ^din-nin-ra 2 4a; ^rd+INNIN¹ 23 o 1; ^{iš}g-^rtár¹ 17 o 1; U.DAR-ia 4 r 15’
Irḫasun: ^rd¹ir¹-ḫa-sún 1 40
Kugibanda: ^dkù-gi-bàn-d[a] 1 16
Kuršurur: ^dkur-šur-ur₄-ur₄ 1 47
Kusu: ^dkù-sù 8 16a; ^rd¹[kù-sù] 1 19
Lugaldukuga: [lugaldukuga] 4 o 3’
Lugal’irra: ^dlugal-ir₉-ra 1 38, 14 o 15
Lumḫa: ^rd¹lumḫa¹ 1 58
Marduk: ^dAMAR.UTU 4 o 4’, r 12’, 9 // 10 o 10–11, 16 r 22’, 23 o 12–13, 26 o 14, 17, 29 2b; [bin-dūku] 4 o 1’; ^dMIN 26 o 20–21
Meslamtae’a: ^dmes-lam-ta-è 14 o 15; ^rd¹mes¹-lam-ta-è-a 1 38
Nabû: ^dna-bi-um 23 o 13
Nanibgal: ^dnánibgal^{gal} 1 18
Nergal: [^dU].^rGUR¹ 11 iii’ 3’



Ninamaškuga: ^dnin-amaš-«gašan»-kù-ga 1 31
Ningal: [^dnin-gal¹] 1 4
Ningirim: ^dnin-girim 8 17a
Ninimma: [^dni]n-ìmma 1 16
Ninkarnunna: [^dn]in-kar-nun¹-na 1 39
Ninkarrak: ^dnin-^rkár²-rak² 14 r 9'
Ninkasi: ^rd¹n[in-k]a-si 1 21
Ninki: ^dnin-ki-ne 32 6
Ninlil: ^dnin-lil 1 1, 15 r 7'
Ninnisig: ^rd¹[nin-ni]sig 1 20
Ninšiku: [^dnin-ši]-^rkù² 1 55; ^rd¹ni-ši-ku 17 o 1
Ninšubur: ^rd¹ni[n]-^ršubur¹ 1 27
Nintinugga: ^dni[n-tin-u]g₅-ga 1 26
Ninurta: ^rd¹nin-urta 20 o 1; ^dMAŠ 9 // 10 o 8-9; [^dnin-u]rta 1 8; ^dninmu-urta 14 r 9'; ^dM[IN] 2 4b
Nissaba: [^dnissaba] 11 ii' 15', 17', iii' 11', 14 r 9', 27 3b
Nunamir: ^dnu-nam-nir-ra 2 13, ^dnu-nam-[nir] 1 c₂ 10'
Nuska: ^dnuska 20 o 2, ^dnusku 1 15, 32 4
Sadarnunna: ^dsa¹-dār-nun-^rna¹ 1 15
Sin/Suen: ^d+EN.ZU-na-r[a] 2 2a; ^d+EN.ZU-[na-ke₄] 2 6a; [^dZU.EN] 1 4; [^d30] 2 2b, 6b

Month Names

Nisannu (I): [^{iti}BÁRA] 11 i' 2', ii' 6', 18', iii' 7'
Ayyāru (II): ^{iti}GU₄ 11 ii' 7', 19', iii' 8', 16 r 23'
Simānu (III): ^{iti}SIG₄ 11 i' 4', ii' 8', 20', iii' 9'
Du'ūzu (IV): [^{iti}r]ŠU¹ 11 ii' 9', iii' 10', 16 r 19'-20'
Abu (V): ^{iti}NE 7 r 13', 11 ii' 10', iii' 11'
Ulūlu (VI): ^{iti}KIN 11 ii' 11', iii' 12'
Tašrītu (VII): ^{iti}DU₆ 11 ii' 12', iii' 1', 13', 14 o 1-3, 5, 7, 10-11

Place Names

Bābilu: E^rki¹ 9 // 10 o 10-11; TIN.TIR^{ki} 16 r 24'
Duranki: dur-an-ki 1 13

Personal Names

Bēl-ēdu-iddin: ^{m.d}EN-^rAS²-^rAS 7 r 15'

Siraš: ^d«nin»-siraš (ll ^rd¹siraš) 1 21
Šala: ^dša-la 1 6
Šamaš: ^dUTU 1 5, 4 o 12', 6 r 1', 10', 8 5b, 8b 30 o i' 1'b
Šargaz: ^dšár-gaz 1 45
Šarrat-Nippur: ^rdUN¹.[G]AL-NIBRU^{ki} 1 9 (s. also Bēlet-Nippuri)
Šarūr: ^dšár-ur₄ 1 45
Šulagubu: ^dšul-á-gùb-bu 1 42
Šulazida: [^dšul-á-[z]i-da] 1 42
Šulpa'e'a: [^dšul]l-pa-è-a 1 3
Šulpa'edar'a: ^dšul-pa-è-dar-a 1 29
Šulpa'e'udula: ^dšul-pa-è-ùdul-a 1 29
Šulšagana: ^dšul-šà-ga-na 1 41
Šuzi'anna: ^rd¹[šul-z]i-an-na 1 17
Tukulsagninnu: ^dgis^{is}tukul-saq-ninmu 1 49, 53
Ubanu'illa: ^du₄-ba-nu-íl-^rla¹ 1 46
UGBU: ^dUG-BU 1 51
Ušara: ul-šár-ra 27 3a
Umušana: ^dumuš-an-na 1 43
Umuškita: ^dumuš-ki-ta 1 44
UmuštaZUNE: [^dumuš]-^rta¹-[Z]U.NE 1 40
Uraš: [^duraš] 1 7
Utu: utu 32 1; [^dutu] 30 o i' 1'a; ^dutu-ra 8 8a
Zarpānītu: ^dzar-pa-ni-tu₄ 23 o 9

Lallubû (VII): ^{iti}la-lu-bé-e 14 o 6
Araḥsamna (VIII): ^{iti}APIN 11 ii' 1', 13' iii' 2', 14', 14 o 12-15, 18, 20, 16 o 1, r 22', 31 b 1
Šebūtu (VIII): ^{iti}še-bu-t[i] 14 o 6
Kisilīmu (IX): ^{iti}GAN 11 ii' 2', 14', iii' 3', 15', 14 o 21-24
Ṭebētu (X): ^{iti}AB 11 ii' 3', 15', iii' 4', 16'
Šabātu (XI): ^{iti}ZÍZ 11 ii' 4', 16', iii' 5', 17'
Addaru (XII): ŠE 26 r 23; ^{iti}ŠE 11 ii' 5', 17', iii' 6', 18', 14 o 5; ^riti¹ŠE.KIN.KU₅ 26 r 23

Magan: má-^rgan¹-na 26 r 15a; ma-ak-ka-an 26 r 15b

Nippur: NIBRU^{ki} 7 r 7', 13', 14 r 8'

Zabala: ^{umu}su-pa-li 25 o 2

Bēl-lē'i: ^{m.d}EN-DA 7 r 15'

Bēl-tattannu-bullissu:^{m.d}UMUN-*tat-tan-nu*-D[IN-*su*] 33 r 3'**Bēl-useppi:** ^rm¹EN-*ú-sep*-^rpi¹ 7 r 10'**Bēlet-ušallim:** ^m«A»-^dGAŠAN-GI-*im* 33 r 4'**Enlil-kāšir:** ^d+*en-lil*-KÁD 15 r 6'**Ḫanbu:** ^m*ha-an-bi* 7 r 12', 8 21**Nabû-šumu-iškun** (king of Babylon):^d+AG-MU-GAR-*un* 16 r 24'**Nabû-šumu-iškun** (a scribe):^d+AG-MU-GAR-^run¹ 7 r 11'**Temple Names****Ayaku,** “Eanna”: É.AN.NA 2 3b, 5b;*é-an-na-ra* 2 3a, 5a**E'IMḫursag:** [^é-I]M-*hur-sag* 1 c₂ 7'**Ekur:** *é-kur* 8 3a, 15a; *é-kur-ra* 20 o 2;[*é-kur-ra-šè*] 8 14a; *é-kur-ra-ta* 810a, 9a; *é-kur* 1 22–23, c₂ 5', 8 3b, 9b–10b,

14b–15b, 20 o 5

Ninurta-aš[arēd]: ^{m.d}MAŠ-S[AG.KAL] 14 r 10'**Ninurta-ahḫī-erība:** ^{m.d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ^{meš}-SU 1 60**Ninurta-ēreš:** ^{m.d}MAŠ-APIN-*eš* 1 60**Ninurta-nāšir:** ^{m.d}*nin-urta-ŪRI-ir* 8 21**Rēmūt-DN:** ^{as}*re-e-mu-tu*-^dr_x-x¹ 14 r 8'**Silim-ilī:** ^m*si-lim*-DI[NGIR^{meš}] 15 r 6'**Šar-ukīn,** “Sargon”: LUGAL-GI.NA 12 o 1',

21 1; LUGAL-GIN 7 r 14'

Taqiš-Gula: ^m*ta-qī*¹-*šú*-^dgu-[*la*] 7 r 9'**Ekurigigal:** [^é]-^rkur¹-*igi-gál* 1 c₂ 8'**Esagil:** *é-sag-il* 9 // 10 o 10–11, 23 o 10**Esikil** (?): ^rÉ[?].SIKIL[?] 7 r 12'**Ešarra:** *é*-^ršar¹-ra 20 o 2; *é-šár-r*[*a*] 1 c₂ 7'

Sumerian Words

- a**, “water”: a 19 r 2
abgal, “sage”: abgal 26 o 16, 18
abzu, “(cosmic) underground water”:
 ʽabzu¹-a 26 o 13; abzu-ta-me-en 26
 o 16, 18, 20
adh̄al, “secret”: ad-ʽh̄al¹ 8 9a
agar, “meadow”: a-gàr 27 3a
ak, “do”: ib-ba-ak-[a] 29 1
ala, “demon”: ʽa¹-lá 7 o 3a
alan, “statue”: [alan-bi] 2 6a
am, “bull”: ʽam¹ 19 r 6–10
amsi, “elephant”: am-si 19 r 11–12
an, “sky”: an 2 4a; [an-gin₇] 8 18; an-na
 2 10a, 7 r 5'; an-ta 7 r 1', 3'
ana, “what?": a-na 29 3a (2x); a-a-ni 29
 1
anta, “upper”: an-ta 28 o i' 2, ii' 2
ara, “times”: a-rá 8 3a, 13a
asag, “demon”: á-sàg 7 o 12a
asal, “an architectural term”: áš-al 26 r
 22a
aš, “curse”: áš 24 o 1'
ašag, “field”: a-šà 32 9
azbal, “neck-stock”: ʽeš^{es}az-bal 24 r 1–2
bala, “turn”: nam-ba-ab-bala¹(TI)-en
 24 o 1'; [bal-bal-e] 27 5a;
 [ba-ra-bala] 30 o i' 15'a;
 nam-ba-ʽbal¹-bal-e 26 o 9
bar, “outside”: [bar-bi] 2 13; [bar-šè] 8
 18
biluda, “rituals”: biluda^{da}-bi 8 2a
burud, “cavity”: [bùr] 28 o i' 7
dadag, “bright”: dadag-ga 8 7a, 27 5a;
 [mu-u]n-ʽdadag¹-[g]a 8 16a
daġal, “wide”: [daġal] 28 o i' 9;
 d[aġal-la] 27 2a
dib, “pass”: dib-dib-ba-a 27 2a
diġir, “deity”: diġir 7 o 6a, 8 6a;
 ʽdiġir-re¹-e-ne-ʽgin₇¹ 2 1a
dikud, “judge”: di-kud 32 1
dimmea, “demon”: ʽd¹dim¹-me-a 7 o 9a
dimmelagab, “demon”:
 ʽd¹dim-ʽme¹-lagab 7 o 10a
du, “build”: dù-dù 8 9a
dua, “instrument”: ʽeš^{es}ġeš-dù-a 26 r 10a
dudu, see s.v. TE.
ġeš^{es}DU.DU, “shield of a battering ram”:
 [ġeš^{es}D]U.ʽDU¹ 26 r 1a; [ġeš^{es}]MIN 26 r 2a
dug, “good”: dùg-ga 7 o 12a, 24 o 1', 26 r
 16a
dug, “speak”: *hamtu*: dug₄-ga 26 o 11;
marú (non-finite): [nu-di-di] 2 10a;
marú (finite): [h¹é-ri-in-e-še] 2 1a;
 mu-un-ʽna¹-ab-b[é] 8 8a
dugud, “heavy”: ʽdugud-da-bi¹ 8 15a;
 zé-eb-bé-da-ġu₁₀ 2 10a
dumu, “child”: dumu 2 2a, 26 o 18;
 dumu-ġu₁₀ 29 3a; dumu-ni 29 2a
dus, “bathroom”: <du₁₀>-ús-sa 17 r 5;
 du₁₀-ús-sa-ʽta¹ 26 o 6
e, “house”: ʽé¹-a-šè 7 o 13a; é-a-ta 7 o
 14a; é-ġu₁₀ 26 o 8, 31 o 11
e, “leave”: è 19 r 9; [ba-ni-in-è] 2 7a;
 è-ba-ra 7 o 1a–12a; è-a-zu-dè 32 2
ed, “ascend”: [h¹u-mu-ri-in-è] 2 11a
e'IGA, (unclear): ʽeš^{es}é-IG-a 26 r 7a
ema, “cabin”: ʽeš^{es}é-má 26 r 6a
eme, “tongue”: [eme] 8 18
en, “lord”: en 2 2a, 13; umun 8 5a, 12a
en, “incantation”: én 7 o 1a, 27 1, 32 1–2,
 5–6
en enuru, “incantation”: ʽén¹é-nu-ru 8
 1a
ereš, “wise”: ereš 8 3a
eš, “shrine”: èš 2 3a, 5a
eškiri, “rope”: eškiri 17 r 2
ešla, “trap”: ʽeš^{es}éš-lá 24 r 16
ġa, “make straight (?)”: ġá 8 4a
ġae, “I”: ʽġá¹-e-me-en 8 1a;
 ġá-e-gin₇-nam 2 11a
ġal, “be”: [nu-ġá-l-la-ar] 2 1a
gal, “big”: gal-gal-e-ne 8 6a, gu-la 27
 4a
galla, “policeman”: gal₅-lá 7 o 5a
ġar, “place”: ġar 26 r 22a;
 [ba-ni-in-ġar] 2 9a; [ġá-ġá-dam] 30
 o i' 5'a; [mu-ra-an-ġar] 2 10a;
 [mu-un-ġar] 8 17a;
 [un-da-an-ġar-ra-ta] 2 2a, 4a
gašam, “wise”: gašam 26 r 13a
ġen, “go”: ġen 31 r 7'a;
 ki-ġen-na-ġu₁₀-šè 31 o 8;
 nam-mu-un-ši-in-ġen-na 31 o 8

- ġešbadra**, “threshing sled”: ^ʔġeš¹BAD 31 r 4'a
ġešgu, “stock”: ġeš-gú 24 r 8–13
ġešhur, “plan”: ġeš-hur 8 6a
ġeškešda, “dam”: ġeš-kéš-da 20 r 2
ġeštaġa, “sacrifice”: ġ[eš-tag-g]a 31 r 11'a
gi, “reed”: gi 26 r 12a–16a
gi, “turn”: [mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄] 29 2a
gibil, “firewood”: ^{ġeš}gibil-gu₇ 24 r 7
gidim, “ghost”: gidim 7 o 4a
gi'iziġar, “a type of reed”: gi-izi-ġar 26 r 19a
gin, “establish”: [gi-na] 30 o i' 1'a–4'a
gir, “slip”: mu-un-da-gir₅-gir₅-e-ne 26 o 6
ġirimua, “plant”: ^uġiri-mú-^ra¹ 19 r 4
gisisiga, “a type of reed”: ^{ġi}sì-sì-ga 26 r 20a
gišulḫi, “reed”: šul-ḫi 26 r 14a–15a
gizu, “a type of reed”: gi-zu 26 r 17a, 21a; gi-zu ḫi-a 26 r 18a
gu, “neck”: gú 2 9a, 32 5; ^rgú-zu¹ 19 o 2a
gub, “stand”: gub-bu 19 r 8; [ḫ]é-em-^rta¹-[gub] 8 18; ḫu-mu-ra-ab-gub-^rbé-eš¹ 8 7a
gud, “nest”: gùd 19 r 1
gugal, “great bull”: gu₄-gal 27 1
gur, “turn”: [g]ur-ru-^rdam¹ 30 o i' 8'a
ġuruš, “male”: [ġuruš] 29 6
gusiAš, “ram”: ^rgú¹-ù-sá-^rdi¹-[i]lⁱ 26 r 1a; ^rMIN¹ 26 r 2a
guza, “chair”: ġeš-gu-za 17 r 1–3
ḫal, “divide”: ḫal-ḫal-la 19 r 10
ḫeġal, “plenty”: ḫé-en-ġál 27 2a
ḫili, “(make) luxuriant”: ḫi-li-[a] 27 3a
ḫul, “rejoice”: [i-ḫúl] 2 13
ḫuldub, “a demon”: [ḫul]-^rdúb¹ 7 o 1a
ḫulu, “bad”: ^rḫul¹ 7 o 2a–7a
ḫuluġal, “evil”: ḫul-ġál 7 o 12a, 8 18
ḫur, “to scratch”: ù-m[u-e-ni]-^rḫur¹ 8 6a
ḫuš, “reddish”: ḫuš¹-^rsa¹-t[a] 26 o 4
ibila, “heir”: ibila 20 o 1
id, “river”: id 20 r 1–5
ig, “door”: [^{ġeš}ig] 31 r 1'a–2'a
igi, “eye”: igi-zu 27 4a–5a; i-bí 8 5a, 8a; i-^rbí¹-e-^rne¹ 8 15a
igiġal, “wise”: ^rigi-ġál-bi¹ 19 o 6a
igiġal, “weapon”: ^{ġeš}igi-ġál 26 r 11a
illar, “weapon”: ^{ġeš}.il-lu-ur¹illar 31 r 6'a; ^{ġeš}illar 31 r 7'a–14'a
in, “abuse”: in 8 11a
inim, “word”: inim 8 11a, 26 o 11
iri, “city”: [iri-gi]n₇ 30 o i' 14'a
irigal, “underworld”: irigal-a-ta 31 o 2
itima, “shrine”: itima 2 3a, 5a
kad, “tie”: ^{ġeš}kád 24 r 15
kag, “mouth”: ka 20 r 4–5, 24 o 1'–2'; [ka-t]a 23 r 16
kag—du, “disrespect”: ka dù-dù-e 24 o 2'
kagsilim, “glorification”: [ka-silim-ma] 2 9a
kamad, “demon”: ^dkamad 7 o 8a
kan, “gate”: ká 7 o 14a, 31 r 1'a
kaskal, “way”: kaskal 17 r 7
kešed, “bind”: ḫé-ni-íb-kéš-^re¹-[ne] 31 o 2
ki, “place”: ki 29 4–6, 31 o 9; ^rki¹-a 7 r 6'; ki-gin₇ 8 18
ki—la, “dig”: [lú-ki-lá-zu] 2 1a
kiġal, “land”: ^rkankal¹ 25 r 9–12
kingal, “official”: kingal 20 o 2
kisikillil, “a demoness”: ^rki¹-sikil-líl-lá 7 o 11a
kisikiludakara, “a demoness”: ^rki¹-sikil-^rud-da-kar-ra¹ 7 o 11a
kislaḫ, “land”: kislaḫ 25 r 5–8
kišer, “limit”: ki-še-er-šè 19 o 3a
kita, “lower”: ki-ta 7 r 2', 4', 28 o i' 1, 3, ii' 1, 3
ku, “fish”: ku₆ 32 7
kug, “pure”: kù-ga-na 2 3a, 5a
kukku, “dark”: ku₁₀-ku₁₀-ga 26 o 1; 31 o 1–2
kur, “enter”: ku₄-ku₄-dè-gu₁₀ 31 o 9; ba-ra-an-da-ku₄-ku₄-dè 31 o 9; nam-ba-(ra)-ku₄-ku₄-dè 7 o 13a, 8 14a
kur, “mountain”: kur-ra 19 r 7, 12; kur-kur-[ra-ke₄] 2 11a
lil, “ghost”: lú-líl-la 7 o 11a
lu, “person”: lú 24 o 1'–2'
lugal, “king”: lugal 2 11a, 26 o 20; lugal-la 2 4a
luḫša, “functionary”: luḫša 8 7a
lumah, “priest”: mu-na-ak 8 7a
ma, “ship”: ^{ġeš}má 26 r 5a
magur, “barge”: [má-gur₈-ra-ke₄] 2 9a

- maḥ**, “great”: maḥ 8 16a, 32 1; ṛmaḥ-a¹ 2 7a; maḥ-ṛa¹-š[è] 8 5a
- maḥ**, “(a wooden implement)”: ḡ^{es}ṛ maḥ¹ 24 r 14
- manu**, “wood”: ḡ^{es} ma-nu 24 r 3–4
- maš**, “interest”: [máš] 30 o i’ 1’a–17’a; [máš-bi] 30 o i’ 17’a
- maškim**, “a demon”: maškim 7 o 7a
- me**, “be”: me 2 10a, 8 4a; ṛme¹-àm 30 o i’ 9’a; ḡe-en-ga-na-ṛnam¹ 19 o 5a
- me**, “battle”: ṛmè¹-t[a] 29 6
- medim**, “limbs”: me-dím 8 7a; me-ṛdím¹-bi 24 o 3’
- men**, “accept”: ^{me}mèn-na-za 20 o 2
- mitum**, “weapon”: mi-it-tu₄ 31 r 10’a
- muDU**, “delivery”: mu-un-DU 25 r 1–4
- muš**, “snake”: muš 19 r 1–5
- mušme**, “face”: múš-me-ḡá-gin₇ 19 o 4a; ṛmúš-me-zu¹ 19 o 4a
- na**, “stone”: na₄ 19 r 3
- nam**, “fate”: na[m-bi-šè] 2 13
- namdiḡir**, “divinity”: nam¹(ZI)-diḡir 27 4a; [na-áḡ-dingir-ra] 2 7a
- namdubsar**, “the scribal art”: nam-dub-sar-ra 19 o 1
- namkingala**, “rule”: nam-kingal¹(GAL.URU)-a 8 8a
- namtar**, “fate”: nam-tar 7 o 12a
- namuraša**, “Anu-ship”: nam-uraš-a 2 6a
- niḡ**, “thing”: [niḡ-ḡu₁₀] 2 10a; áḡ 2 10a
- niḡgalgal**, “greatness”: niḡ-gal-gal-l[a] 2 2a, 4a
- niḡgig**, “bad thing”: niḡ-gig 7 o 12a, 8 15a
- niḡḡuša**, “pitfall”: <niḡ>-ḡuš-a-ta 31 o 6
- niḡnam**, “anything”: niḡ-nam 8 9a
- niḡsisa**, “justice”: ḡ^{es}<niḡ>-si-sá 24 r 5
- niḡtaga**, “ornament”: ṛáḡ-tag¹-[ga] 2 7a
- nim ḡir**, “flash”: nim-ḡir-gin₇ 31 o 1
- nin**, “sister”: ṛnin¹ 8 17a
- nu**, “not”: nu 24 o 1’, 29 3a, 30 o i’ 3’a, 9’a, 11’a–13’a
- nu’ešak**, “priest”: nu-èš 8 1a, 7a, 14a
- nugig**, “priestess”: nu-gig¹(NUNUZ) 2 10a
- nukušu**, “door”: ḡ^{es} nu-kúš-ṛù¹ 7 r 1’–2’
- pa**, “branch”: ^{si}pa 26 r 21a–22a
- pad**, “find”: pàd-da 8 6a; ḡe-pà 7 r 5’–6’
- pala**, “garment”: ^{tu}g pála 2 6a
- pu**, “well”: pú 20 r 6, 26 o 6; pú-ta 26 o 2, 31 o 4
- raḥ**, “beat”: mu-ni-in-ra-aš 29 4–6
- ri**, “impose”: ba-ni-in-ri-ri-e[š] 19 o 3a
- sa**, “brilliance”: sa 2 6a
- sa**, “sinew”: sa-a 32 5
- sag**, “good”: ḡe-en-ṛsa₆¹ 24 o 3’
- saḡ**, “head”: [saḡ] 2 1a, 28 o i’ 6, ii’ 6; [zag^{sic}-ḡá-na] 2 9a
- saḡ-rig**, “bestow”: [saḡ-ḡeš mu-un-rig₇-eš] 2 5a
- saḡa**, “priest”: saḡa₄ 8 16a
- saḡentar**, “supervisor”: saḡ-èn-tar 20 o 2
- (saḡ)erim**, “(piece of furniture)”: erim¹ 17 r 3
- saḡḡa**, “official”: ṛsaḡa₆¹ 26 o 15
- saḡgig**, “headache”: saḡ-gig 32 5
- saḡki**, “forehead”: saḡ-kul^{sic} 8 7a
- saḡzi**, “diadem”: saḡ-ṛzi¹ 2 9a
- sala**, “strap”: ḡ^{es}sa-lá 26 r 9a; 26 r 8a
- seker**, “confine”: sè-ki-ir 24 r 9–12; ṛzi¹-bi-ra 24 r 13 (?)
- si**, “horn”: si 19 r 9–10
- siki**, “hair”: síg 32 8
- sikil**, “pure”: [si]kil-la-ṛne¹ 8 17a
- sir**, “bind”: [ba-ra-an-na-an-sir] 2 3a
- siškur**, “prayer”: ṛsiškur¹ 20 o 2
- su**, “sprinkle”: [mi-ni-íb-sù-sù] 2 6a
- subad**, “shepherd”: [s]u₈-ba 29 5a
- sugin**, “rot”: ḡ^{es}BAD 31 r 3’a, 5’a
- suḡGIR**, “diadem”: suḡ-KÉŠ 2 7a
- sukud**, “height”: [sukud] 28 o i’ 8
- šag**, “heart”: šà 8 10a, 14a, 18, 26 o 1; šà-bi-šè 8 7a; šà-zu 19 o 5a, 24 o 3’; [š]à-ṛmu-gin₇¹ 19 o 5a
- šag-bala**, “ponder”: ṛšà²-bal² 19 o 6a
- šagtum**, “land”: šà-túm 27 2a
- šarag**, “dry”: nam-mu-ša-ra-ge 20 o 4
- še**, “barley”: še 25 r 2
- šeḡeši**, “sesame”: še-ḡeš-i 25 r 3
- šerda**, “crime”: šer₇-da 8 11a
- šu**, “hand”: šu-ḡu₁₀ 27 5a; [š^u-t]a 23 r 17
- šu-du**, “complete”: ṛšu¹-du₇ 8 7a
- šu-la**, “defile”: ṛšu¹-lá-lá 20 r 1
- šu’a**, “stool”: ḡeš-ŠÚ+A 17 r 4–7
- šub**, “fall”: ^{su-ni}šub 31 r 9’a; šub-ba 23 r 14–17; ḡe-ni-íb-šub-bu-da 26 o 4; ḡe-ni-íb-šub-bu-ne 31 o 6;

mu-un-šub-bu-dam 26 o 2, 31 o 4;
 ù-bí-šub 24 o 1'
 šudul, “yoke”: ġeš-šudun₄-šè 19 o 2a
 šu'i, “barber”: šu-i 17 r 6
 šu'ila, “prayer”: šu-íl-lá 2 12
 šum, “give”: [šúm]-[mu¹]-[d]am 30 o i'
 7'a; ġa-ra-ab-šúm-mu 19 o 6a
 taḥ, “add”: [taḥ-ḥe-dam] 30 o i' 4'a, 6'a,
 18'a; [a-ra-ab-taḥ-e] 29 3a
 taka, “abandon”: ù-bí-tak₄ 24 o 2'
 TE, “annoy”: nam-ba-ab-du₁₂-du₁₂ 24
 o 2'.
 teġ, “approach”:
 nam-ba-te-ġe₂₆-[e¹]-dè 31 o 11
 tilla, “street”: [AŠ.A.AN] 31 r 1'a
 titi, see s.v. TE.
 tu, “incantation”: tu₆ 26 o 11, 13
 tuku, “acquire”: [an-tu]ku 30 o i' 10'a-
 13'a; [ḥé¹-tuku 19 o 3a; [íb-tuku] 30 o
 i' 17'a
 tul, “fountain”: túl 20 r 7-11
 tum, “bring”: na¹-an-ši-túm 24 o 3'
 tumtume, “rodent”: túm-[túm-me¹ 19
 r 5
 tur, “ill”: t[u-ra] 7 o 12a
 u, “and”: ù 8 7a
 u, “admiration”: [u₆] 2 1a

Akkadian Words

A

abāku, “to overturn”: G: a-bu-uk 3 13'a
 abāru, “(the metal) lead”: A.GAR₅-a 3 35'
 abattu, “river-gravel”: a-ba-at-tum 5 5
 abātu, “to destroy”: D: GUL^{me} 16 r 16'; N:
 in-na-bat 11 ii' 7'
 abbūtu, “fatherhood”: a-bu-ti-ka 1 15
 abnu, “stone”: NA₄ 12 r 4', 28 r i' 2', 4';
 ab-[ni¹] 19 r 3b
 abu, “father”: [a¹-bu 4 o 3'; a-bi 4 o 11', r 10'
 abūbu, “flood”: a-bu-bu 1 49, 19 r 17;
 [a-bu-ub] 16 r 7'; [abūb] 4 o 0
 abullu, “gate”: KÁ.GAL 21 3
 abušim, “flood?”: a-bu-ši-im 19 r 17
 adānu, “fixed date”: a-dan 14 o 2
 adāru, “to be dark”: G: a-dir 14 o 11, 20
 addu, “throwstick”: [a]d-d[u] 31 r 14'b
 adi, “until”: EN 14 o 5, 15 o 1, 16 r 19'
 adirtu, “gloominess”: a-di-rat 12 r 13'-14'

ub, “cavity”: ub₄ 26 o 4; ub₄-ta 31 o 6
 ud, “day”: u₄ 8 5a; [u₄-gin₇] 2 7a
 udug, “demon”: [udug] 7 o 2a
 udul, “herdsman”: [u]dul 29 4
 ul-za, “rejoice”: [ul-la àm-mi-íb-za]
 2 13
 ummia, “expert”: um-mi-a 8 14a
 una, “wild”: ù-na¹ 19 r 8
 ur, “base”: úr-ta 8 11a
 ur, “roof”: [úr¹-ġu₁₀] 26 o 9
 urin, “guard”: ùri 8 2a
 ursag, “hero”: ur-saġ 26 o 15-16, 18, 20
 uru, “sow”: uru₄¹(URU)-a 27 3a
 us, “follow, lean, drag”: uš 28 o i' 4-5, ii'
 4-5; ġé-en-ši-ú[s] 19 o 2a
 zagtil, “end”: [za]g-til 19 o 1
 zalag, “shine”: zálag 2 6a
 zara, “pivot”: ġe^e[šz]a-ra 7 r 3'-4'
 zi, “life”: zi 7 r 5'-6'
 zid, “right”: [zi-dè-eš] 2 11a
 zig, “rise”: zi 31 r 8'a
 zu, “know”: ì-íb-<zu> 29 3a
 zulum, “date”: [zú-lum¹-ma 25 r 4
 zuraḥ, “weapon”: [ġ]^{eš}zu-ra-aḥ 26 r 3a,
 ġ^{eš}MIN 26 r 4a

aġālu, “donkey”: [a-g]a-[li¹] 3 45'
 aġú, “tiara”: a-ge-e 1 4, 2 9b
 aġubbú, “holy water vessel”: [dug¹A.GÚB.BA¹
 5 10; [aġubbú] 4 r 8'
 aḥāru, “to be behind”: D: [uḥ-ḥu-ru] 14 o 2;
 uḥ-ḥa-ram-ma 16 r 20'
 aḥḥāzu, “(a demon)”: aḥ-ḥa-z[i] 7 o 10b
 aḥu, “arm”: a-ḥi 1 30
 ai, “not”: a-a 1 30, 3 43'a, 20 o 3; e 4 r 20'-
 22', 26 o 10, 31 o 12-13
 ak(a)lu, “bread”: NINDA 14 r 4'-5', 15 o 8, 16
 o 25; NINDA^{hi.a} 7 r 19'
 akālu, “to eat”: G: GU₇ 11 iii' 3', 7', 18', 21
 10; [GU₇^{me}] 14 r 4'-5'; li-kul 3 22', 33 o 5
 akšū, “brazen”: ek-ši 3 40'a, 43'a
 alaktu, “way”: al-ka-ka-tu-šú 20 o 5
 alāku, “to go”: G: GIN 11 iii' 4'; GIN^{meš} 16 r
 2'-3'; GIN-ak 16 o 1; GIN-ik 16 r 10', 12';
 G[IN-ka] 12 r 27'; [GIN-ka]m 16 r 16'-17';

- GIN-*ku* 12 r 19'; GIN-*ma* 11 iii' 7';
i-la-kam^v 20 o 5
alātu, “to swallow (up)”: G: [*a-li-it-ma*] 12 r 19'
āliktu, “(a kind of bow)”: ^r*a-lik¹-tu₄* 31 r 7'b
āliku, “moving”: IGI.DU 21 7
alkakātu, “ways of life”: *al-ka-ka-ti* 8 3b, 13b
allallu, “(a kind of bird)”: [*al-lal-li*] 12 o 2'
almattu, “widow”: [*al-ma*]-^r*ta¹* 4 o 14'
alpu, “bull”: GU₄ 3 44'
alū, “(an evil demon)”: *a-^rlu¹-ú* 7 o 3b
ālu, “village”: URU 12 o 9' (2×), 14 o 19, 22;
 [URU^{mes}] 18 4; URU-*šu* 23 o 5; *a-lu* 30 o i' 14'b
amāru, “to see”: G: IGI 11 iii' 16', 14 o 4, 16 r 9', 18'; IGI^{mes¹} 11 ii' 14', iii' 8'; [IGI-*ma*] 15 r 2'; IGI-*mar* 11 iii' 16', 15 o 7, 13;
^r*a¹-mu-ru* 31 o 14; N: IGI 16 r 18'; IGI^{me-}*ma* 14 o 16; [IGI-*ir*] 12 r 12'
amātu, “word”: INIM 16 o 22; INIM.MA 8 19;
a-mat 8 11b; *a-ma-as-sa* 6 r 14'; [amāt] 4 r 13'
amīlu, “man”: LÚ 12 o 13' (2×), 3 39'; NA 16 o 2, 4–6, 16, 18, 27; UR 14 r 9'; *a-me-lu* 31 o 13
amīlūtum, “humanity”: *a¹-mi-lu-^rta¹* 17 o 1
amurru, “west”: ^{im}MAR.TU 6 o 6
amūtu, “liver”: BÀ 21 1; BÀ-*ut* 21 1
ana, “at”: *an* 14 r 8'; *ana* 1 42, 2 5b, 14, 3 18', 19'b, 27', 4 r 11', 7 o 13b, 8 14b, 9 // 10 o 14–15, 11 iii' 4' (2×), 12 o 9', 13', 15'–16', 18', r 12', 15'–17', 14 o 2, 8 (2×) 14 (2×), 18, 22–23, 15 o 8, 16 o 1, 9–13, 24–25, 28, 20 o 3, 6, 21 6–7, 9–10, 26 o 5, 30 o i' 9'b, 31 o 14; *a-na* 1 30, 57, 3 3', 21', 36', 41', 45', 4 r 18', 5 5, 6 o 11, r 14', 19 o 2b–3b, 21 7–8, 23 o 3–4, 6–8, 11, 25 o 2, 31 o 7, 12–13; *a¹(KAL)-na* 25 o 1
anāku, “I”: *ana-ku* 26 o 17, 21; *a-na-ku* 8 1b, 17 o 1; MIN 26 o 19; [anāku] 4 r 17'
anantu, “battle”: *a-na-a[n-tim]* 23 o 1
angubbū, “tutelary deity”: ^rAN.GUB¹.BA^{mes} 1 22
anḫu, “tired”: [an-*ḫ*]a 4 o 20'
anḫullū, “(a plant)”: [anḫullū] 4 r 19'
annū, “this”: *an-nit* 7 r 18'
antallū, “eclipse”: AN.GE₆ 16 o 22
Anūtu, “position of An”: ^d*a-nu-ti* 2 6b
apālu, “to pay”: G: [*ip-pal*] 29 2b
apālu, “to be (too) late”: Dt: *ú-tap-[pal]* 12 r 28'
- apāru*, “to cover the head”: G: [*l*]-^r*pi¹-ru-ka* 1 4
apkallu, “wise man”: ABGAL 4 r 12', 16 r 22';
ap-kal-lu₄ 26 o 17, 19
aplu, “heir”: IBILA 9 // 10 o 8–9
appatu, “bridle”: *ap-pa-ti* 3 42'
appu, “nose”: KIRI₄ 13 r 5', 7'
apsū, “(cosmic) underground water”: ABZU 4 r 10', 8 19; *ap-si-i* 26 o 14, 17, 21
apu, “reed-bed”: ^{gis^r}GI¹ 16 r 4'; *a-pi-šu-ma* 3 18'
arāku, “to be long”: G: GÍD.DA^[mes] 12 o 6', 15 r 5'; *a-[rik]* 3 44'
arāru, “to curse”: G: *ta-ta-ra-an-^rni¹* 3 46'
arbūtu, “desolation”: KAR-*ut* 21 4
ardatu, “girl”: ^r*ár¹-d[a-at]* 7 o 11b
arīktu, “length”: *ár-kát-su* 3 44'
arītu, “shield”: *a-ra-a-tú* 26 r 1b
arratu, “curse”: *ár-rat* 7 r 18'
artu, “branches”: *ás-tu₄* 26 r 21b
armú, “male gazelle”: AMAR.MAŠ.DÀ 3 19'a
asakku, “(an evil demon)”: *a-sak-ku* 7 o 12b
asqūdu, “(a rodent)”: [*a*]-*qú-du* 19 r 5b
asū, “physician”: ^{lu^r}A¹.^r[ZU] 3 6'
ašāgu, “camelthorn”: ^{gis}KIŠI₁₆ 5 2
ašarēdu, “foremost”: SAG.K[AL] 9 // 10 o 8–9
ašāru, “to muster”: G: [*i*]-*šur* 16 o 18; [āširu] 4 o 8'
ašlu, “~ 60 m”: *ás-liš* 3 43'b
ašnan, “grain”: [ašnan] 4 o 7'
ašru, “place”: *a-šar* 1 25, 34, 29 5b, 31 o 10;
^d[š¹]-^r*ri¹* 1 13
aššatu, “wife”: DAM 16 o 4–6, 13, 18, 23;
 [DAM-*su*] 16 o 24
atnu, “prayer”: *at-nu* 19 r 14
attā, “you”: *at-ta* 4 o 15', r 19'; [attā-*ma*] 4 o 11'–12'
atú, “(a kind of bow)”: *a-tu-ú* 31 r 10'b
ayyābu, “enemy”: *a-^ra¹-[bi]* 23 o 3;
a-a-bi-k[a] 1 46
ayyalu, “stag”: SI.MUL 3 20'
azamillu, “sack”: *a-za-mil-lu₄* 3 39'

B

- bābu*, “gate”: [KÁ] 16 o 21–22; ^r*ba-ab¹* 7 o 14b
balātu, “life”: *ba-la-ṭam* 4 r 14'; *ba-la-^rṭi¹* 4 r 2'; *ba-la-tu* 1 20
balātu, “to live”: TI 11 iii' 4'

banú, “to create”: **G**: [ba-n]u-ú 4 o 7’;
ba-a-nu-ú 19 r 16; [bānū] 4 o 10’;
 ᵀib-nu¹-<u> 17 o 1; **N**: ᵀib-ba-nu¹-u 17 o 3
barāqu, “to lighten”: **Š**: mu-šab-ri-q[u] 1 45
barbaru, “wolf”: [barbari] 3 26’
bārtu, “revolt”: HI.GAR 16 r 12’–13’
bārú, “diviner”: ^{lú}HAL^{mes7} 3 8’
bāru, “to catch”: **G**: [i-b]ar-ru 3 8’
barú, “to see”: **G**: IGI.KAR 16 r 23’; ᵀba¹-[ri] 7
 r 8’; *ib-ri-im* 8 22; ᵀib¹-ru 3 8’; [lib-ra-ki] 2
 1b
bāštu, “dignity”: *ba-al-tu* 6 r 9’; *bal-[tú]* 3 25’
bašú, “to be (at hand)”: **G**: GÁL 11 iii’ 1’, 3’,
 14 o 4, 9, 17, r 8’, 11’, 14’, 17’; GÁL^{mes} 11
 iii’ 10’, 12 o 20’, r 23’–26’, 14 o 1 (2×), 3,
 16 r 21’; GÁL-ši 11 ii’ 10’, iii’ 14’, 12 o 3’–
 5’, 10’, r 9’–11’, 13’, 15’–17’, 14 o 20;
ba-šá-a 3 21’, 14 r 5’; *ba-še-^re¹* 23 o 11;
ta-ba-ši 4 o 11’
bā’u, “to go along”: **G**: *ib¹-ta-’a* 27 2b;
 [li-b]a-a¹-ma 4 r 2’
bayyāru, “hunter”: *ba-a-a-ar* 3 8’
bēltu, “lady”: GAŠAN 1 26, 31; NIN 16 o 13;
 ᵀbe-el¹-tum 23 o 1; *be-^rel¹-[tu₄]* 8 17b
bēlu, “lord”: EN 7 r 18’, 16 o 13, 22, 21 9’;
 EN-šú 16 o 10, 17; EN^{mes7} 9 // 10 o 14–15;
 ᵀbe¹-[el] 2 11b; *be-la-^ršú¹* 3 40’a; *be-li* 8 5b;
be-lí 3 2’; *be-lu* 2 2b; [bēl] 4 o 4’–5’, 11’,
 18’
belú, “to be extinguished”: **Dtn**: *túb-te-el-li*
 3 52’
bēlu, “to rule (over)”: **G**: *i-be-el* 3 14’, 15 o 5
bēlútu, “rule”: [(EN-ú-ti)] 1 4
bennu, “epilepsy”: *be-en-ni* 14 o 4
bēru, “to choose”: **G**: [i]e-bir-an-ni-ma 3 51’;
N: *i[b-ber²-r]u²* 1 25
bibbulu, “flood”: [U₄.NÁ.ÀM] 14 o 7
bikūtu, “weeping”: ÉR-tu 12 r 12’
binūtu, “creation”: [binūt] 4 o 3’
bīnu, “tamarisk”: ᵀšINIG¹ 3 32’; ^{giš}ŠINIG 5 6,
 16 r 5’; [bīnu] 4 r 6’
birīt, “between”: *b[i-rit]* 14 o 15
birūtu, “inspection”: ᵀbi-ru-ut¹ 7 r 11’
bišūtu, “property”: [bišū] 4 o 15’
bītu, “house”: É 1 c₂ 5’, 4 o 24’, 7 o 13b, 14b,
 15 o 5, 16 o 10, 13 (3×), 16–17, 21–22, 24,
 16 o 1–7; É-BI 16 o 8–14; É-ka 1 24, 56;
 É-sa 15 o 3; É-šú 16 o 24; *bi-it-ia* 31 o 12;
bi-ta 2 3b, 5b
bubu¹tu, “boil”: *bu-bu-a-tu* 13 o 7’, 9’
bukru, “son”: *bu-^rku-ur¹* 4 o 9’

būlu, “animals”: [MÁŠ.ANŠE] 16 r 4’
būnu, “goodness”: *b[u-un]-na-ka* 3 49’
burāšū, “(species of) juniper”: ^{šim}LI 5 27
burmāmu, “piglet”: *bur-ma¹(LU)-am* 3 17’
būrtu, “cistern”: *bur-tú* 26 o 7; *bur-tu₄* 26 o 3,
 31 o 5, 7
būru, “(bull) calf”: AMAR 1 50
būšu, “hyaena”: *bu-ša-a* 3 33’
butuqtu, “breach”: [bu-tuq-ti] 16 r 3’

D

dababtu, “talk”: *da-ba-ab-ti* 6 r 7’–8’
dabābu, “to speak”: **G**: *id-bu-bu* 3 12’
dabru, “aggressive”: *da-ab-ru* 1 53
daqālu, “to see”: **G**: ᵀid¹-[gu-^l]u 3 43’a;
lid-gul 3 43’b
dāku, “to kill”: **N**: GAZ-ak 12 o 21’, 16 r 12’
dalālu, “to praise”: **G**: [lud-lu] 4 r 18’;
 [ludlul] 4 r 16’
dalīlu, “praise”: [d]a-lī-li-ka 4 r 16’; *di-li-li*
 17 o 2; [dalīl] 4 r 17’
dalpu, “sleepless”: *dal-pa* 4 o 14’
daltu, “door”: ^{giš}IG 6 o 15, r 3’, 9 // 10 o 12–
 13
damāqu, “to be(come) good”: **G**: SIG₅-[iq] 15
 r 3’; **D**: [m]u-dam-mi-iq 1 16
damqu, “good”: SIG₅ 9 // 10 r 1’, 14 o 9’;
 SIG₅-ti 12 o 13’; SIG₅-tì 14 o 9’; ᵀdam¹-[q]u
 1 33
dāmu, “blood”: MÚD 11 iii’ 7’, 16 r 17’;
da-mu 3 23’
danānu, “to be(come) strong”: **G**: KAL-an 12
 o 13’; **D**: ᵀmu¹-dan-ni-na-át 1 26
dannatu, “hardship”: [munusKALA] 14 o 12’;
 KI.KAL 12 o 15’, 18’, r 18’; ᵀdan¹-na-ti 4 o
 18’; [dannatī] 4 r 2’
dānu, “to judge”: **G**: ᵀta-da¹-an 4 o 13’;
 li-di-nu-[ka] 1 39
dašāpu, “to be sweet”: **D**: *ú-dás-šap* 3 49’
dayyānu, “judge”: [dayyān] 6 r 1’
dekú, “to raise”: **G**: *te-de-e[k-ki-(šú)]* 4 o 23’
dīnu, “legal decision”: *di-na* 1 39; *di-i-ni* 31
 o 14
dišpu, “honey”: LÀL 5 30, 16 r 4’
diššū, “(cuneiform) wedge”: *di-iš-šá* 3 7’
dumqu, “goodness”: [S]IG₅ 15 o 13; [d]u-muq
 3 26’; *du-um-qá* 4 r 8’; *du-um-q[ī]-ka* 1 27
 // SIG₅^{me}[(š)-ka] 1 27
dūru, “(city) wall”: BÀD^{me} 16 r 16’; BÀD^{mes} 11
 iii’ 2’; *du-ra-ni* 3 2’

E

- ebbu*, “bright”: $\text{E}^{\text{b1}}\text{-bu}$ 8 7b; *eb-bé-[i]* 27 5b
ebēbu, “to be(come) bright”: **G**: [*lu-bi-i*]b 4 r 4’; **D**: DADAG^{21} 16 o 27;
 [*ub-bi-ib-š*]ú-nu- r^{ti} 8 16b;
lib-bi-bu-ni-in-nim 4 r 9’
ebūru, “harvest”: BURU₁₄ 11 ii’ 8’, 15’, 17’, iii’ 4’, 9’, 11’, 13’, 16 r 15’, 21’
edēhu, “to cover with patches”: **D**: *ud-du-hu* 13 o 3’; *ud-d[u’-uh]* 13 o 2’
edēru, “to embrace”: **G**: [A.AM] 12 r 13’-14’; **N**: *na-an-du- r^{ru}* 1 12
edēšu, “to be(come) new”: **D**: GIBIL-*iš* 16 o 14
edú, “to know”: **G**: *i-di* 32 3; *ti-di* 29 3b;
ti-da-a₄ 9 // 10 o 12-13
egerrú, “utterance”: *e-ger-ri-ka* 1 16
egītu, “negligence”: *e-gi-ta* 3 13’a
egru, “transverse”: *eg-rum* 19 r 22
ēkallu, “palace”: É.GAL 3 24’
ekēpu, “to come close”: **D**: *lik-ki-pu-ka* 1 6
ekletu, “darkness”: [*ek-le-si-n*]a 4 o 12’;
ek-let 31 o 3
eklu, “dark”: *e- $\text{r}^{\text{ki-il}}$ - $\text{r}^{\text{[i]}}$* 31 o 15
ekú, “orphaned”: $\text{E}^{\text{e-ku-ta}}$ 4 o 14’
elēhu, “to strew”: **D**: [*ú-tal-lih*] 2 6b (AHw 197a)
elēhu, “to be(come) pure”: **G**: [*lūlil*] 4 r 3’; **D**: [*li-il-l*]a-an-ni 4 r 6’
elēpu, “to sprout”: **Št**: *liš- $\text{r}^{\text{te-li-pa}}$* 1 54
eli, “on”: UGU 3 23’, 6 o 15, 16 o 10, 17, 22, 22 2’; *e-li* 23 o 5
eliš, “above”: *e-liš* 1 12, 28 o i’ 2, ii’ 2
ellu, “pure”: *el-lu* 2 3b, 5b
elú, “high”: [*e-li-i*] 7 r 1’b, 3’b
elú, “to go up”: **G**: *a-le-e* 31 o 7, *il-la-a’* 26 o 3, 31 o 5
ēm, “wherever”: *e-ma* 1 12
emēdu, “to lean on”: **D**: *ú-mi-di* 19 o 2b
emūqu, “strength”: $\text{E}^{\text{e¹-muq}}$ 1 55; **Á** 3 15’b
enēnu, “to punish”: **G**: $\text{E}^{\text{[i¹-[n]i-<nu>- $\text{r}^{\text{šú}}$ }}$ 4 o 20’
enēqu, “to suck”: **Š**: *lu-še-ni-qa-šu* 3 19’a
enšu, “weak”: $\text{E}^{\text{en¹-ša}}$ 4 o 19’
enzu, “goat”: [Ú]Z^{meš} 3 19’a
eperu, “earth”: SAḤAR 5 4; [*eper*] 6 r 4’
epēšu, “to do”: **G**: DÜ-uš 15 o 10, 16 o 3;
ep-še-ku 4 r 3’, *i-[p]u-šú* 3 11’,
 [*i-pu-šu-ma*] 18 4; **Gtn**: *i-te-né-ep-pu-šá* 6 o 8
epištu, “deed”: *ep-še-et* 8 9b
eqlu, “field”: *eq-lu* 32 9
eqú, “to anoint”: **G**: *te-te-qi* 3 48’
erbú, “locust”: *a-ri-bi* 12 r 7’
ereb šamši, “sunset”: $\text{d}^{\text{UTU.ŠÚ.A}}$ 14 o 8, 10, 16 r 18’-19’
erēbu, “to enter”: **G**: KU₄ 16 o 13; KU₄-*ba* 12 r 12’; KU₄-*ub* 14 o 2, 16 o 12; $\text{E}^{\text{er¹-ru-bu}}$ 31 o 10; [*lirub²*] 3 24’; $\text{E}^{\text{te-ru¹-u[b]}}$ 8 14b;
ter-ru-ub-šú 7 o 13b, 31 o 10; **Š**: KU₄- $\text{E}^{\text{eb¹}}$ 12 o 18’; KU₄-*ib* 16 o 24; *uš-te-ri-ib* 25 o 2
erēpu, “to cloud over”: **G**: [ŠÚ] 16 r 2’
erēšu, “to request”: **G**: [*e-re-ši*] 2 10b; **Gtn**: *li-ter-riš-ka* 1 57
erēšu, “to sow”: **G**: *e-ri-iš* 27 3b
erimmatu, “(egg-shaped) bead”: [*e*]- $\text{E}^{\text{ri-mat¹}}$ 31 r 2’b; [MIN] 31 r 2’b
eršetu, “earth”: KI 9 // 10 o 6-7; KI-*tì* 1 12, 7 r 6’b; [*eršeti*] 4 r 4’
eršu, “bed”: $\text{E}^{\text{isNÁ}}$ 4 o 22’; [$\text{E}^{\text{isNÁ-i}}$]a 9 // 10 o 1
eršu, “wise”: [*er*]-*šu* 4 o 9’
ēru, “(a tree)”: $\text{E}^{\text{isMA-NU}}$ 5 3; *e-ra* 3 42’
erú, “copper”: $\text{E}^{\text{e²-ra-a¹}}$ 3 31’
esēru, “to enclose”: **D**: [*ussuru*] 4 o 25’
ešēdu, “to harvest”: **G**: *li-iš-du* 1 52
ešēru, “to draw”: **G**: [HUR] 8 19; *e-š[i-ir]* 8 6b
ešertu, “chapel”: $\text{E}^{\text{a¹-šir-ta-šú}}$ 1 23; *eš-re-ti-šu* 23 o 6
ešēru, “to be/go well”: **G**: SI.SÁ 11 ii’ 12’, 15’, 17’, iii’ 4’, 9’, 11’, 13’, 16 r 15’, 21’;
 $\text{E}^{\text{SI¹.[SÁ^(meš)]}}$ 16 r 5’; **Št**₂: *liš-te-šer* 4 r 13’;
muš-te-šir 8 4b; [*tuštešer*] 4 o 14’
eššu, “new”: GIBIL 16 o 13
eṭēqu, “to cut”: **G**: *i- $\text{r}^{\text{ti¹}}$ -qu* 3 16’
eṭēqu, “to go past”: **G**: $\text{E}^{\text{DIB¹}}$ 9 // 10 o 1;
 D[*IB-iq*] 14 o 10; DIB-*iq-ši* 14 o 10, 13;
 [DIB²-*šú²-nu²- $\text{r}^{\text{ti²}}$]] 14 o 8; *e-te-qum* 19 r 23
eṭpušu, “effective”: *et-pur-tu₄* 1 33
eṭemmu, “ghost”: *e-tém-mu* 7 o 4b
eṭlu, “young man”: $\text{E}^{\text{lúGURUŠ^{meš}}}$ 3 14’
eṭú, “to be(come) dark”: **G**: *e-ṭa-a* 3 19’b; **D**: *li-iṭ-ti-šum-ma* 23 o 2
ezēbu, “to leave”: **Š**: [*tu-še*]-*ze- $\text{E}^{\text{eb¹}}$* 4 o 19’
ezziš, “furiously”: *ez-zi-iš* 23 o 5
ezzu, “furious”: [*ezzu*] 4 o 0*

G

- gabarú*, “copy”: GABA.RI 7 r 7', 14 r 8';
GABA.RI.A 12 o 11'
galamāhu, “chief lamentation-priest”:
^{lu}GALA.MAḤ 33 r 2'
gallú, “(a demon)”: ^r[gal^l-[l]u-^rú¹] 7 o 5b
gamāru, “complete”: G: *ga-mi-ir* 11 iii' 5'
gāmīlu, “merciful”: *ga-me-lu* 1 43
gāmirūtu, “strength”: *ga-mi-ru-tu* 3 11';
ga-me-ru-tu 15 o 10
gamlu, “bent stick”: [g]am-lum 6 r 15'
^gGAN.U₅, “(a tree)”: [^g]GAN.U₅ 6 r 12'
gappu, “wing”: *ga-ap-pí* 13 o 8'
gattu, “form”: *gat-ta-ka* 1 28; [gat-ta-šú] 2
6b
genú, “to thrust”: D: *mu-gan-nu-^rú¹* 1 c₂ 6'
geru, “way”: KASKAL 12 r 19'
gērú, “opponent”: *ga-ru-ú* 19 r 20–21;
ga-ri-ka 1 54; *ge-ru-ú* 19 r 20
gésu, “to assign to”: G: *li-gi-sak-ka* 1 47;
^rli^l-[g]i-su-ka 1 2
gimillu, “requital”: g[i-mil-li-ka] 1 38
gimru, “totality”: ^rgi^l-mir 1 11; *gi-mi-ir* 25 o
1; ^rgim-ri^l 4 o 10'
giná, “constantly”: *gi-na-a* 20 o 6
^{na}GÍR, “(a stone)”: ^{na}GÍR 28 r i' 5'
gišhurru, “plan”: *giš-hu-ra* 8 6b; ^rgiš^l-hu-r[i]
8 19; *gi-i[š-hu-ri]* 8 2b
gišimmaru, “date palm”: ^gGIŠIMMAR 5 7, 16 r
5'; [gišimmari] 4 r 7'
gištappu, “footstool”: *kil-zap-pu* 31 r 4'b
gitmālu, “perfect”: [gitmālu] 4 o 1'
gizillú, “torch”: GLIZILÁ 4 r 9'
guzalú, “chair-carrier”: *gu-za-lu-^rú¹* 1 18

H

- habālu*, “act of violence”: *ha-ba-lu₄* 16 r 14'
hablu, “wronged (person)”: [habla] 4 o 13'
hadú, “to be joyful”: G: *ha-du-ú* 1 51;
lih-du-ka 1 58
halāpu, “to slip into”: G: *i-hal-lu-pu* 26 o 7
halāqu, “to be lost”: G: ^rZÁḤ¹ 14 o 19;
[Z]ÁḤ-šú 7 r 16'; *ha-la-^rqí^l-š[u]* 23 o 10;
D: [hu]l-liq 30 r ii' 6', 8'; [h]u-ul-^rli^l-iq 30
r ii' 7', 9'; *lu-ha-li-iq* 6 o 7 (2×); Dtn:
lih-<tal>-li[q] 7 r 17'.
halšu, “combed”: *hal'-šú* 5 29
hālu, “to melt (away)”: G: [ha-a-li] 12 r 18'
hamātu, “to hasten”: D: *hum-mu-uṭ* 3 17'
hamtu, “quick”: *ha-am-ṭú* 21 9

- harābu*, “to be(come) deserted”: G: *ha-[rab²]*
14 o 3
harāpu, “to be early”: G: *ha-rap* 16 r 10'
hargallu, “locking ring”: [hargullū] 6 o 15
harrānu, “way”: KASKAL 1 7
hasāsu, “to be conscious”: G:
lih-^rsu-su^l-ú-ka 1 20
hašānu, “to hug”: G: *hi-še-en* 3 45'
hašú, “lung(s)”: MUR 13 o 4'-12', r 1'-9'
hatú, “to strike down”: G: *ha-tu-ú* 1 41
haṭtu, “stick”: ^gGIDRU 3 32'
hayyātu, “surveyor”: [hayyāt] 4 o 7'
helú, “to be bright”: Gt: *he-et-la-a* 1 57
hengallu, “plenty”: [HÉ.GÁL] 11 iii' 1';
[hé-gá]l-li 4 o 4'; *hé-en-[gál-li]* 27 2b
herú, “to dig”: G: [ih-r]u-^rú¹ 18 6
hiālu, “to exude”: G: *i-hi-il* 16 r 4'-6'
hiātu, “to supervise”: G: LÁ 16 o 10, 17;
ha-i-^rṭú¹ 4 o 5'
himētu, “butter”: Ì.NUN 5 30; [he²-me²]-ti 3
20'
huhāru, “bird-snare”: *hu-ha-ru* 5 3
hurru, “hole”: *hur-ri* 6 r 6'
hursānu, “river ordeal”: *hur-sa-ni* 4 o 5'; 18 5
hušahhu, “need”: SU.GU₇ 12 o 3'-5', 10', 14 o
17
hušú, “(metal) scraps”: [h]u-še-e 3 37'

I

- idu*, “arm”: Á 14 o 13; *i-da-k[a]* 1 37;
i-di-[ka] 1 35
idugallu, “head doorkeeper”: Ì-du₈-gal 9 //
10 o 6–7
ikkibu, “taboo”: [ik-kib-šú] 8 15b
ikribu, “prayer”: *ik-ri-bu* 19 r 14
illurgišdílú, “throwing stick”: ^rŠU^l-u 31 r
13'b
ilu, “god”: DINGIR 7 o 6b, 12 o 13', 15 o 12,
32 3; DINGIR^{didli} 1 36; DINGIR^{mes} 1 10, 29,
35, 2 1b, 4 o 3', r 10', 12', 8 6b, 11 iii' 17',
12 o 16', 16 r 22', 18 3; [D]INGIR-ia 4 r 15';
DINGIR-ma 3 13'b; DINGIR-šú 4 o 20', 16 o
28; [DINGIR-šá] 15 o 14
ilūtu, “divinity”: DINGIR-ú-ti-^rka¹ 27 4b;
[DINGIR-ti]-^rka¹ 4 r 17'; [ilūtka] 4 r 16';
[i-lu-ti] 2 7b
imbaru, “fog”: [MURU₉] 16 r 11'
imhur-lim, “(a plant)”: ^uim-hur-lim 6 r 11'
imittu, “right side”: 15 14 o 16, 15 o 3, 5, 7,
9, 12, 14; [15-šú] 15 r 1'; ZAG 12 o 3', 5',

- 15'-16', 23', 25', 27', r 5', 13 o 4', 6', 8'-12', r 2'-3', 6'-8', 21 4 (2x); [ZAG-šá] 12 o 7'; ZAG-šú 14 o 13
- immu*, "heat (of day)": *im-mu* 1 37
- imnu*, "right (side)": *im-n[u]-uk-[ka]* 1 43
- imtu*, "poison": *i-mat* 26 o 12
- ina*, "in": *ina* 1 11, 13, 20-21, 32, 50, 58, 2 9b, 3 24', 40'b, 4 o 11', 24', r 2', r 10', 6 r 1', 7 o 14b, r 1'b-4'b, 18', 8 5b, 7b, 15b, 9 // 10 o 8-11, 11 ii' 10'-11', 18', iii' 1', 3', 10', 14', 12 o 3'-5', 10', r 4'-6', 9'-11', 13', 15'-17', 19', 22'-28', 14 o 1-7, 9-18, 20-24, r 4', 15 o 1-14, 16 o 1-2, 16, r 8', 11'-14', 17'-21' 20 o 5, 21 3, 26 o 7, 27 4b, 31 o 3; *i-na* 3 42', 50', 18 1-2, 21 6; *i+na* 4 o 18', 22', r 3'-4', 5 4, 6 r 2'-4', 6'-7', 10', 13 o 8'-9', r 2', 4'-7', 18 1-2, 21 1-2, 4-5, 9, 23 o 3, 10-12, r 11
- inu*, "when": *e-nu* 8 5b
- īnu*, "eye": [IG]^{min} 31 o 13; IGI^{min}-šú 3 19'b
- inūma*, "when": U₄ 14 r 7'; [e-nu-ma] 18 3, 5
- isqu*, "lot": *is-qi*-[ka¹] 1 57
- iššūru*, "bird": MUŠEN^{fmes} 3 28'
- išātiš*, "like fire": [i¹]-[šā²-tiš²] 3 52'
- išātu*, "fire": IZI 12 o 16'; [i¹]-šā-tam-ma 3 53'
- išdu*, "foundation": SUHUŠ 21 7; SUHUŠ-BI 16 o 21; SUHUŠ^{mes}-šú 15 o 9, r 1'
- iškūru*, "wax": DUH:LÁL 5 32
- išparu*, "weaver": *iš-pa-ra* 3 5'
- ištarītu*, "(a priestess, hierodule)": *iš-ta-ri-ti* 2 10b
- ištēnā*, "one each": 1.TA.ĀM 13 r 3'
- ištēniš*, "together": DIŠ-niš 16 o 13
- ištu*, "from": TA 14 o 2, 16 o 20; *iš-tu* 2 2b, 4b, 8 10b, 26 o 3; *ul-tu* 31 o 5
- išú*, "to have": G: TUKU-ši 12 o 11'; *i-ši* 30 o i' 10'b-13'b, 17'b; [te-ši-i] 2 1b
- itbāru*, "friend": *it-ba-ra* 3 11'
- itti*, "with": *it-ti* 23 o 9
- ittu*, "peculiarity": *it-ta* 3 5'
- iṭṭú*, "bitumen": ESIR 16 r 6'
- izuzzu*, "to stand": G: GUB 16 r 19'; GU^[Bmes] 14 o 8; [GUB¹-ma] 14 o 13; GUB^{me}-ma 14 o 16; GUB-zu 14 o 16; li¹(UŠ)-zi-iz-[(zu)] 8 7b; li-iz-zi-zu-[ú¹]-[k]a 1 24
- K**
- kabattu*, "liver": *ka-bat-t[a-šú-nu]* 1 58; *kab-ta-ti* 3 46'
- kabtu*, "heavy": IDIM 16 o 2, 16; [DUGUD] 12 r 27'; [kab-ta¹] 4 o 17'; [kab-t]u 8 15b; *ka-bit*-[ti] 2 10b
- kadru*, "rearing up": *kád-ru* 1 c₂ 5'; [ka¹-ad-rum] 19 r 8b
- KAinima, "incantation formula": KA.INIM.MA 8 19
- kakkabu*, "star": MUL 14 o 13
- kakku*, "stick": ^{GIS}TUKUL 1 51, 12 o 1', 13 r 4'-7', 21 1-10, 23 o 3; [kakki] 4 o 0
- kalāma*, "all (of it)": [DÜ.A.BI] 14 r 4'
- kalbānātu*, "(a siege instrument)": *kal-ba-na*-[a-tú] 26 r 3b; MIN 26 r 4b-11b
- kalú*, "all": DÜ 15 r 3'-5'; *ka-li-ši-na* 3 5'; *ka-li-šú-nu* 3 7', 9', 11'-12'; 6 o 13
- kalú*, "lamentation-priest": [GALA] 3 4'
- kalú*, "to hold (back)": G: [ik-lu-ši] 2 3b; *i-kal-lu-ši* 12 r 20'-21'; *lik-lu-šú* 31 o 3
- kaluḥḥu*, "mouth washing rite": *ka-luḥ-ḥi-šú-nu* 1 21
- kamāru*, "defeat": [ka¹-ma-ri-im] 23 o 7
- kammālu*, "opponent": *kam^v-ma-al* 3 3' (?)
- kamú*, "outer": [ka-me]-[e¹] 31 r 1'b
- kanānu*, "to roll up": Š: *li*-[šak¹-nin] 1 28 (or corrupted *litaqqin*?)
- kanāšu*, "to bow down": D: *li-kan-ni-šak-ka* 1 48
- kanšu*, "submissive": *kan-šu-ti-ka* 1 52
- kanú*, "to care (for)": D: [li-kan-ni-ki] 2 11b
- kānu*, "to be(come) permanent": G: GI.NA 15 o 9, r 1', 16 o 21; [i²-kun²] 14 r 4'; D: [li-ki-nu] 1 3; *u¹-kin-nu* 18 3; [uk-tin] 2 9b; *mu-ki-in* 8 2b
- kapāšu*, "to bend back": G: *ka-pi-iš* 21 10
- kappu*, "wing": [kap-pi] 12 o 3'-5'
- karmu*, "heap": *kar-mi* 23 o 8
- kāru*, "quay": [kāru] 6 o 12
- karú*, "to be(come) short": G: LÚGUD.DA^[mes] 15 r 4'
- kassibānu*, "(a snake)": *kàs-si-ba-n[u-ú]* 19 r 4b
- kāsu*, "cup": [duGÚ¹.ZI] 5 12
- kašāšu*, "to grind": G: *ka-ši-iš* 13 r 8'-9'
- kašātu*, "early morning": *ka-ša-a-ti* 1 37
- kašādu*, "to reach": G: KUR^{mes}-šú 12 r 13'-14'; [tak-šu-ud] 3 51'
- kaššaptu*, "sorceress": *kaš-šap-tum* 6 o 2
- kayyānu*, "constant": *ka-a-a*-[na¹] 1 30
- kī*, "like": *ki-i* 8 20
- kidinnu*, "protection": *ki-din* 9 // 10 o 14-15
- kīlu*, "enclosure": [kīli] 4 o 24'

- kīma*, “like”: GIM 3 15’b, 6 o 4–5, 7 r 7’, 11 iii’ 7’, 12 o 1’–9’, 16 r 17’, 23’, 28 r i’ 2’, 4’;
ki-ma 1 50, 52, 54, 2 1b, 7b, 9b, 11b, 3 13’a, 4 o 12’, r 15’, 19 o 4b–5b, 30 o i’ 14’b; [*kīma*] 4 o 11’, r 3’–5’, 15’
- kimahḫu*, “grave”: KI.MAH 5 4
- kinattu*, “employee”: *ki-na-at-te-e-šu* 3 40’b
- kīniš*, “reliably”: [*ki-niš*] 2 11b
- kīnu*, “permanent”: GI.NA 21 5–6; *ki-i-ni* 30 o i’ 1’b–2’b; MIN 30 o i’ 3’–4’b
- kipdu*, “plan(s)”: *ki-pi-id* 6 r 16’
- kisú*, “footing”: *ki-si-šu-nu* 12 o 16’
- kīsu*, “(a kind of reed)”: *ki-i-su* 26 r 17b, 21b
- kišru*, “knot”: *ki-šir* 4 r 5’, 6 r 15’
- kiššu*, “shrine”: [*ki-iš-ša-šú*] 2 3b, 5b
- kišādu*, “neck”: *ki-šad* 3 45’; ^rki¹-š[a-a]d-^rka¹ 19 o 2b
- kišēru* (?), cf. *kušīru*, “success”: ^rki¹-še-er 19 o 3b
- kišpū*, “sorcery”: *kiš-pi-ša* 6 o 3, r 12’;
kiš-pi-šá 6 o 8; [*kišpī*] 4 r 22’
- kiššatu*, “totality”: ^rŠÚ¹ 7 r 14’; ^rkiš-šat¹ 14 o 19
- kittabru*, “(a growth)”: [ŠE] 15 o 1–3, 5–14, r 1’–5’
- kudurru*, “carrying frame”: *ku-du-ri* 5 4
- kukkubbu*, “rhyton”: ^{duḡ}ku¹-ku-bu 5 11
- kullu*, “to hold”: D: *ú-kal* 12 o 13’;
^rli-kil¹-lu-ka 1 7; *mu-kil* 27 2b
- kullulu*, “veiled”: [*ku*]l-lul-ma 16 o 22
- kullumu*, “to show”: D: ^rtu²-[kal-lam-(šú)] 4 o 25’; [*ú-ka*]l-lam-an-ni 9 // 10 o 4–5
- kullumūtu*, “exhibition”: [*kul-l*]u-mu-ti 16 o 21
- kunāšu*, “emmer”: ^rZiZ¹.AN.NA 5 23
- kuppu*, “cistern”: [*kuppi*] 4 o 6’
- kupru*, “bitumen”: ^rku¹-up-ru 5 34
- kupsu*, “husks”: ^rDUḫ¹.ŠE.GI.Š 5 33
- kurú*, “short”: *ku-ra-tu₄* 3 44’
- kurummatu*, “food allocation”: [ŠUK-su] 16 o 28
- kurunnu*, “(a kind of beer)”: [KU]RUN^r.^rNAM¹ 33 o 8
- kussú*, “chair”: [^g]GU.ZA-ka 1 3
- kušīru*, “success”: see s.v. *kišēru*.
- kutmu*, “cover”: DUL 21 3
- L
- lā*, “not”: NU 4 r 4’, 21 5–6; *la* 1 35, 43–44, 46, 52, c₂ 9’, 3 15’a, 39’, 42’, 7 o 13b, r 19’, 8 14b, 23 o 11, 29 3b, 30 o i’ 3’b, 9’b, 31 o 7, 10; [*lā*] 1 32, 2 1b, 3b, 10b, 4 o 0, 7 o 12b, 14b
- labāru*, “to be(come) old”: G: TIL-bar 16 o 3, 24
- labāšu*, “(a disease demon)”: *la-ba-^ršu¹* 7 o 9b
- labīru*, “original”: [LIBIR]-^ršú¹ 16 r 23’;
[SUMUN-šú] 7 r 7’
- labnu*, “throwstick”: ^rla¹-[ab-nu] 31 r 11’b
- lābu*, “lion”: *la-ab-ba-a* 3 34’
- laḫru*, “sheep”: [*laḫar*] 4 o 7’
- lallāriš*, “like honey”: [*lal-la-riš*] 3 49’
- lallāru*, “white honey”: [*lal-l*]a-^rra¹ 3 47’
- lamassu*, “(female) tutelary deity”: ^dLAMMA 1 9
- lamaštu*, “(a demoness)”: *la-maš-tu₄* 7 o 8b
- lamú*, “to surround”: G: NÍGIN 14 o 3
- lānu*, “form”: *la-[a]n-^ršu¹* 3 43’b
- lapātu*, “to touch”: Št₁: *uš-tal-pa-tu* 12 o 16’
- lāsīmu*, “swift”: *la-as-s[i-m]u* 3 10’
- latāku*, “to try out”: G: i[l-tu-k]u 3 7’
- lemēnu*, “to be(come) bad”: D: *tu-lam-mìn* 3 46’
- lemnu*, “bad”: *lem-nu* 7 o 1b–7b, 12b;
le-em-nu 19 r 18; [l]em-ni-k[a] 1 45;
lem-né-^re¹-[ti-ka] 1 45
- lemuttu*, “evil”: HUL-ti 21 9
- leqú*, “to take”: G: *il-qu-ú* 6 r 7’
- lētū*, “cheek”: *le-es-sa* 6 r 11’
- lēu*, “board”: ^gDA 14 r 8’
- libbu*, “inner body”: SA 12 r 12’, 14 o 2, 21 3;
SA-BI 16 o 11–12, 14, 26; SA-šu 12 r 13’–14’; [*lib-b*]a² 3 50’; *lib-bi* 1 58, 8 7b, 14b, 11 iii’ 6’; *lib-^rbi¹-šá* 6 r 16’; [l]ib²-^rbi¹ 19 o 3b; ^rlib-«BI»-ba-ka¹ 19 o 5b; *lib-bi-ia-ma* 19 o 5b; [*libbi*] 4 r 7’; [*libbaka*] 4 r 11’
- libittu*, “mudbrick”: [SIG₄] 16 o 1;
li-ib-n[a-at] 23 o 5
- lilātu*, “evening”: *li-la-a-ti* 1 37
- lilú*, “(storm demons)”: [*li-li-i*] 7 o 11b;
li-lu-^rú¹ 7 o 11b; *li-li-tu₄* 7 o 11b
- līm*, “thousand”: *lim* 25 o 1–2
- lipú*, “(animal) fat”: Ì.UDU 5 31
- lītu*, “cow”: *la-a-ti* 1 50
- līum*, “bull”: ^rla¹-a 3 39’ (?)
- lū*, “let it be”: *lu* 3 25’, 14 o 3, 16 r 6’, 9’; *lu-ú* 1 9–10, 16, 25–27, 38, 40–41, 45, 56, 3 17’, 47’, 6 r 2’–4’, 6’, 8’–9’; *lu-u* 9 // 10 o 12–13; 7 r 17’; [*lū*] 1 15, 3 25’, 7 r 5’b–6’b
- lumahḫu*, “(a priest)”: *lu-um-ma-ak-ka* 8 7b

lumnu, “evil”: HUL 16 o 7–9, 19; HUL-ia 4 r 5'; *lum-ni-ia* 4 r 7'

M

mā, “thus”: *ma-a* 3 4'–12'

maḡāru, “to consent”: G: *ma-aḡ-rat* 1 31; Š: *šum-ḡgu¹-ru* 1 24, 30; *šu-ḡum¹-gu-ri* 20 o 3; Š₂: *muš-tam-gi-ra* 3 14'

maḡšaru, “superior strength”: ḡ*ma¹-aḡ-šá-ri* 1 44

maḡāru, “to face”: G: *tam-ḡhur* 4 r 20'–22'; [*maḡār*] 4 o 0

maḡāšu, “to beat”: G: SĪG-aš 1 c₂ 6'; *li-im-ḡa-ša* 6 r 11'

maḡīru, “market”: KILAM 11 ii' 16', 18', 14 o 9, 16 r 8'

maḡīru, “opponent”: GABA.RI 16 o 23

maḡra, “in front”: *maḡ-ra* 20 o 5

maḡru, “front”: *ma-ḡar* 6 r 1', 8 5b, 8 8b, 27 4b; [*ma-ḡar-ka*] 27 5b

mākālu, “meal”: ḡ*ma¹-ka-le-e* 1 20

makkasu, “cut (dates of good quality)”: ḡ^{dig}*ma-ḡak¹-ka-su* 5 14

mala, “as much as”: *ma-la* 1 36, 14 r 5'

malāḡu, “sailor”: ^{lu}MÁ.LA[H₅] 6 o 13

malā'u, “to tear out”: G: *im-lu-ḡú¹* 6 r 2'

māliku, “adviser”: ḡ*ma¹-la-ku* 1 27

malú, “to be (come) full”: G: ḡ^{SA₅} 16 o 7; ḡ*ma-li¹* 13 o 11'; G_{tm}: SA₅^{mes} 15 r 3'–5'

māmītu, “oath”: *ma-mi-it* 8 6b

mānaḡtu, “weariness”: [*ma-na-aḡ-tú*] 11 iii' 16'

mannu, “who?": *man-nu* 3 40'b, 47'

manú, “to count”: G: *li-im-nu* 23 o 8

Manzīat, “rainbow”: ^dTIR.AN.NA 6 o 4, 16 r 2'

maqātu, “to fall”: G: ŠUB-ḡ*ut¹* 16 o 22; ḡ*am-ta-qut¹* 9 // 10 o 14–15; Š: *li-šam-qit* 23 o 3; *mu-šam-ḡq¹-tu* 1 40

maqtu, “fallen”: *ma-qit-tu₄* 31 r 9'b

markasu, “bond”: *mar-kas-su-nu* 1 13

maršu, “sick”: [GIG^{mes}] 14 o 3; *mar-š[u]* 7 o 12b

martu, “gall bladder”: [Z]É 16 r 5'; ḡ*mar¹-t[i]*? 3 48'

mārtu, “daughter”: *ma-r[at]* 2 2b

māru, “son”: A 1 60, 7 r 15', 8 21, 33 r 3'–4'; A-šú 15 r 6'; [DU]MU 7 r 10', 12'; DUMU^{mes} 6 o 13, 16 o 13; DUMU-šú 29 2b; *mar* 26 o

19, 29 3b; *ma-ḡri¹* 9 // 10 o 8–9; ḡ*ma¹-ru* 23 o 4; [*ma-rum*] 23 o 13; [*mār*] 4 r 12'

masabbu, “(a basket)”: ^s[MA.S[Á.A]B 5 20

massú, “leader”: [MAŠ.SÜ] 14 o 20

maššaru, “guard”: [*maššar*] 4 r 19'

maškanu, “threshing floor”: KISLAH^{mes} 11 ii' 11'

mašrú, “riches”: *meš-ru-ú* 3 41'

maštakal, “soapwort”: ^uIN.NU.UŠ 4 r 6', 5 8, 6 r 13'

maštaru, “inscription”: *maš-t[ār]* 8 20

mātu, “land”: KUR 1 47, 11 ii' 7'–8', 10', 18', iii' 1', 3'–4', 6', 9'–10', 13'–14', 16'–18', 12

o 2'–5', 10', 12', 15'–16', 18', r 9'–12', 15'–17', 23'–26', 14 o 1, 3–4, 6, 9, 11–12, 14,

17, r 4'–5', 16 r 8'–9', 11', 13'–15', 17'–18', 21', 21 3; KUR.KUR 33 o 9; KUR^{mes} 2 11b;

KUR-š_u 12 o 7', 21'–22'; KUR-su 12 o 8', 23 o 8; *ma-tam* 18 3; [*ma-ti*] 18 6;

ma-a¹-t[u] 3 33'; *ma-a-tu₄* 1 c₂ 8'; *ma-tim* 23 o 11; *ma-ti-šú* 25 o 1; [*mātātu*] 4 o 16'

maḡāru, “is spotted”: G: *ma-ḡi-ir* 13 o 4'

maḡú, “to be (come) little”: G: LAL¹(ME) 16 r 11'; *ma-ḡe₄¹-e* 11 ii' 16'

mātu, “to die”: G: ÚŠ 16 o 2, 4–6, 16 18; ÚŠ^{mes} 16 o 13; BA.ÚŠ 11 ii' 5', 19'; 12 r 8';

14 o 2

mazzālu, “bed”: *ma-a-a-al* 11 ii' 9'

mazzāzu, “position”: KLGUB 21 2

mehretu, “opposite side”: IGI-et 21 2

mehú, “storm”: *me-ḡu-u* 7 r 17'

mēlú, “height”: [*mē-lu*]-ú 28 o i' 8

mērešu, “cultivated land”: *me-ri-iš-ka* 12 o 17'

mersu, “little cake”: [^{ninda}ḡi¹.[D]É[?].A¹ 5 22

mēseru, “confinement”: *me-se-ra* 15 r 2', 16 r 9'

mesú, “to wash”: G: *lim-su-[ú²]* 1 59

meštú, “bedstead (?)”: [*ma-a*]l-ḡ*ti¹* 9 // 10 o 1

milku, “advice”: *mi-[ik-šá]* 1 33

mīlu, “high water”: ILLU 1 6, 11 iii' 7', 12'; 16 r 3', 16'–17'; [*mi-lu*] 12 r 27'–28'

mimma, “anything”: *mi-im-ma* 19 r 13

mimmú, “all”: *mim-mu* 8 9b; [*mim-me-e-a*] 2 10b; [*mim-mu-šú*] 16 o 1

minītu, “measure”: *mi-na-ḡti¹* 8 7b

mīnu, “what?": *mi-na-a* 29 3b (2x)

miqittu, “(down)fall”: RI.RI.<GA> 11 ii' 10'; ŠUB-ti 11 ii' 13', 12 r 5'–6', 12'; ŠUB-tu₄ 11

iii' 3', 16 r 8'

mīrānu, “young dog”: *mi-ra-an* 3 22', 24', 26'
mīšaru, “justice”: *meš-šá-ri* (|| *mi-^Γšá¹-[ri]*) 1 39; [*mi-šá*]*r-ši-^Γna¹* 4 o 13'
mīthāriš, “similarly”: TĒŠ.BI 12 r 25'–26'
mīṭirtu, “watercourse”: [*miṭ-ra*]-^Γ*a¹-ti* 4 o 6'
mīṭtu, “(a divine weapon)”: *me-^Γeṭ¹-ṭi* 1 43
mū, “water”: A^{mes} 1 6, 12 r 20'–21'; A^{mes}-šú 16 r 17'; *me-^Γe¹* 19 r 2b; <*múš*> 11 iii' 7'
mūdū, “knowing”: *mu-du-ú* 8 3b
mu'erru, “leader”: *mu-we-er* 20 o 3
mugdašru, “powerful”: *mug-da-áš-ri* 1 51
mummu, “someone”: *mu-um-^Γma¹* 19 r 13
mumtalku, “deliberate”: *mun-dal-ku* 1 35, 3 12'
mundaḥṣu, “fighting”: *mun-daḥ-ṣu* 3 9'
mundu, “(a type of flour)”: NÍG.^ΓÀR¹.[R]A 5 23
murṣu, “illness”: GIG 14 o 4 (2×); [*mur-ṣu*] 7 o 12b
murtāmu, “loving each other”:
^Γ*muš¹-ta-[ø]-mu* (|| *mu[r-ta-mu]*) 1 29
mūru, “young animal”: *mu-u[r]* 3 45'
mušahlilu, “that causes to shout with joy” (? , or corruption of *mušammelhu*):
mu-šah-ḥi-lu 27 3b
mušāṭu, “combed-out hair”: *mu-^Γša¹-[ti-ša]* 6 r 6'
mušēdú, “that informs”: *m[u-š]e-du-ú* 1 27
mūšu, “night”: GI₆ 11 ii' 11'; *mu-ši* 18 1
mūtānu, “epidemic”: NAM.ÚŠ^{mes} 11 iii' 10'
mutāqu, “sweetmeat”: NINDA.^ΓKU₇².K[U₇]² 5 16
mutqú, “sweet bread”: [(*ninda*)]^Γ*mu²-ut¹-qú-ú* 5 21
muttabbiltu, “(a slide for battering ram)”:
mut-ta-bi-la-^Γa¹-[tú] 26 r 2b
mūtu, “death”: ÚŠ 16 o 15; [Ú]š-^Γ*ut¹* 12 r 18'

N

nabalkutu, “to cross over”: N: BALA-*su* 12 o 7'–8'; BAL-*ma* 21 3, 6; *it-ta-bal-kit* 30 o i' 15'b, *tab-bal-kit* 26 o 10
nābi'u, “who rises”: *na-bi-ḥu* 19 r 19
nabú, “to name”: G: *na-bu-ú* 1 10, 36
nadānu, “to give”: G: SUM^{mes}-*nu* 12 o 9'; *i-nam-[din]* 30 o i' 7'b; [l]i-^Γ*din¹-n[a]* 19 o 6b
nādu, “to praise”: Gtn: *lu-ut-ta-id-ka* 4 r 15'

nadú, “to throw (down)”: G: [ŠUB] 16 r 2'; ^ΓŠUB^{1m}[^c] 13 o 9'; ŠUB^{mes} 13 o 7'; ŠUB-*di* 12 r 4'–6', 16 o 1; [ŠUB-*ma*] 12 r 15'–16', 22'–28', 16 r 4'–6'; ŠUB-*ú* 12 o 16', 16 o 2; [*d-du*]-^Γ*ú¹* 1 30; *lid-du-šú* 26 o 5, 31 o 7; [*na-du*]-*ú* 4 o 23'; [*nadú*] 6 o 15; Š[!]: ŠUB-*di* 12 o 17'
nagbu, “underground water”: [IDIM-BI] 16 o 15–18; [*nagbi*] 4 o 5'
nāhu, “to rest”: G: [l]i-*nu-uh* 4 r 11'; [*né-eh*] 14 o 6
nakāmu, “to heap”: G: *i-na-ak-ka-ma* 6 o 2
nakāpu, “to push”: G: ^Γ*at-ta¹-kip* 3 53'
nakāru, “to be(come) different”: G: KÚR-*ir* 14 o 14, 16 o 8–9, 15; KÚR-*ma* 16 o 10, 17; [*n*]-*a-kar* 1 32
nakkaptu, “brow”: [SAG.KI] 15 o 12–13
nakru, “enemy”: KÚR 12 o 4', 8'–9', r 6', 10', 14', 16'–18', 21', 24', 26', 14 o 14, 21 3, 6; ^{lú}KÚR 19 r 21; [KÚR^{me}] 14 r 4'
namāru, “to be(come) bright”: D:
[*lu*]-*na-mi-ra* 4 r 5'; ŠD: ^Γ*tu¹-uš-na-mar* 4 o 12'
namru, “bright”: *na-aw-ra* 23 o 2; [*na-mi-ri*] 2 6b
namtaru, “fate”: *nam-ta-^Γri¹* 4 o 22', 7 o 12b
nannāru, “light of the sky”: [^d*nanna-ri*] 2 9b
napāhu, “to blow”: G: KUR-*ḥa* 14 o 1, 12, 21; KUR-*ḥa-ma* 14 o 10; KUR-*ma* 14 o 6, 16 r 20'; ^Γ*lu-pu¹(TE)¹-ḥa-aš-šim-ma* 6 o 4; *na-pa-ḥi* 6 r 10'; *na-pa-ḥi-šá* 14 o 5
napalṭú, “to miss”: N: [*na*]-*pa-al-tú-ú* 19 r 23
napālu, “to dig out”: G: *na-pa-^Γli¹* 3 27'
naparkú, “to cease”: N: *ip-par₄-ku* 20 o 3; ^Γ*mu¹-par-ku-ú* 1 35
naparqudu, “to lie”: N: *na-pár-^Γqú¹-du* 23 r 14b
napāṣu, “to push away”: G: *na-pa-aš* 3 36'
napāšū, “to breathe”: G: *na-pa-áš* 11 ii' 15', 17', iii' 11'; Dt: *ut-tap-pa-áš* 11 iii' 13'
napharu, “total”: *nap-ḥa-ri-šú-nu* 1 11
napištu, “throat”: ^Γ*na¹-[piš-ti]* 18 6
naprušū, “to fly”: Š: *ú-šap-[r]i-šú* 3 9'
napsamu, “nose bag”: *nap-sa-^Γmu¹* 1 50
napšu, “wide”: [*nap-šá*] 14 r 4'
napṭu, “naphtha”: *nap-ṭa* 16 r 6'
naqāru, “to demolish”: G: ^ΓGUL¹ 11 iii' 2'; [*iq-qur*] 16 o 4
naqú, “to pour (a libation)”: G: [*iq-qa-a*] 27 5b
narābu, “to soften”: G: [*nu-ru-ub*] 12 r 22'

narāmu, “loved one”: $\text{na}^1\text{-ra}[m]$ 1 55
narbāšu, “lair, base”: $\text{nar-ba}^1\text{-ši}$ 3 44'
narbū, “greatness”: $[\text{nar-ba-a}]$ 2 2b, 4b
narmaku, “(cultic) washing”: *nar-ma-ku* 26 o 7
nāru, “river”: ID 6 r 2'; *na-ra-ti* 4 o 6', 18 6
nasāhu, “to tear out”: **G**: $[\text{is-suh}]$ 16 o 6
nashū, “torn”: $\text{na}^1\text{-[as-hi]}$ 2 14
naspantu, “devastation”: $[\text{na-ās-p}]an-ti$ 16 r 7'
nassu, “groaning”: $[n]a-as-sa$ 4 o 14'
našābu, “to suck”: **D**: *li-na-aš-[ši-ib]* 3 23';
ú-na-aš-šab 3 47'
našāru, “to guard”: **G**: *na-šir* 8 2b
našāku, “to bite”: **G**: $[\text{liššuk}]$ 3 26'
našpartu, “message”: *na-áš- $\text{pa}^1\text{-ra-ti}^1$* 6 o 10
našú, “to lift”: **G**: $[\text{il}^2\text{-át}^2]$ 14 o 5;
 $[\text{il}^2\text{-šam-ma}]$ 7 r 17'; *li-i[š-ši]* 1 44; $[\text{taš-ši}]$
 31 o 13
naṭālu, “to look”: **G**: IGI 12 o 6', 13 r 1', 4'-
 7', 21 1-4, 6; $[\text{IGI-ma}]$ 12 o 7'-8'
nazāqu, “to creak”: **G**: *i-nam-[ziq]* 15 o 11
nēberu, “crossing”: $\text{né-bé}^1\text{-ru}$ 6 o 12
nēhu, “calm”: *ne-eḫ-tú* 14 o 6, 9
nekelmú, “to frown at”: **N**:
 $[\text{ik-ke-lem}]^{\text{r}}\text{-mu-ú}^1$ 11 iii' 17'
nēmelu, “profit”: *né-me-el-šú* 7 r 17'
nesú, “distant”: *né-su-ti* 1 48
nēšakku, “(a priest)”: *né-šak-ku* 8 1b, 14b;
né-šak-ka 8 7b
nēšu, “lion”: UR.M[AH] 3 22'
nignakku, “censer”: NÍG.NA 4 r 9', 5 15
nigútu, “joyful song”: *ni-gu-[tú]* 1 57
niphu, “(the act of) lighting, unclear sign”:
 IZI.GAR 21 5-10; $[\text{KUR-šá}]$ 14 o 6; MÚ-šá
 14 r 1'-3'
nīqu, “offering”: SÍŠKUR^1 21 9
nīru, “yoke”: ŠUDUN₄ 21 1-2, 4-5, 8-9;
ni-i-ri 3 40'b, 19 o 2b
nissatu, “wailing”: ZARAḪ 15 o 6, 16 o 20
nišū, “people”: UN^{me} 14 r 4'-5'; UN^{me}-šú 14 o
 19; UN^{mes} 1 47, 2 1b, 3 15'a, 4 r 18', 11 ii'
 6', 14', iii' 8', 14 o 12, 19, 18 2; *ni-ši-šu* 23
 o 7; $[\text{nišī}]$ 6 r 1'; $[\text{nišū}]$ 4 o 16'
nīšu, “(oath on the) life”: $[\text{mīš}]$ 7 r 5'b-6'b
nīšu, “lifting”: *ni-ši* 4 o 11'; $[\text{mīš}]$ 4 r 11'
nuhšu, “abundance”: *nu-huš* 11 ii' 6';
nu-u[h-ša] 4 o 4'
nukurtu, “enmity”: ^{munus}KÚR^{mes} 14 o 1, 16 r
 21'
nukuššú, “(a door fitting)”: $[\text{nu-ku-še-e}]$ 7 r
 1'b-2'b

nūnu, “fish”: $\text{nu}^1\text{-ú-nu}$ 32 7
nūru, “light”: $[\text{nūra}]$ 4 o 25'
nutāpu, “(old wood)”: *nu-ta-pu* 31 r 5'b

P

pa'āšu, “to break up”: **D**: *ú-pi-ši* 3 41' (? , or
 to *pešú?*)
pādú, “forgiving”: *pa-a-da* 1 44; *pa-du-ú* 1
 46
pādu, “to confine”: **D**: *ú-pa-a-di* 3 18'
paḡru, “body”: *pa-gar* 1 54
palāhu, “to fear”: **G**: *pa-liḫ* 15 r 7'; **D**:
 $\text{ú}^1\text{-[pa]l-}^{\text{r}}\text{[lāh]}^1\text{-an-ni}$ 9 // 10 o 2-3
palāsu, “to look (at)”: **N**: $[\text{tappallas}]$ 4 o 20'
palú, “period of office”: BALA 11 iii' 15', 14 o
 14; $[\text{BA}]LA^2\text{-e}$ 1 2; *BALA-ka* 1 10
pāna, “previously”: *pa-na-ma* 3 48'
pānu, “front”: $[\text{IGI-šú}]$ 16 o 1; *pa-ni-i[a]* 3
 50'; *pa-ni-šu* 3 43'a; $\text{pa-ni}^1\text{-[šú-nu]}$ 8 15b;
pa-nu-uk-ka 1 56
panú, “to face”: **G**: $\text{ip}^1\text{-nu}$ 3 10'
paqādu, “to entrust”: **G**: $\text{i}^1\text{-paq-qí-du-uš}$ 9 //
 10 o 6-7; *lip- qíd^1* 1 17
parāku, “to lie across”: **G**: $[\text{IL-ma}]$ 16 r 2'
parāsu, “to cut (off)”: **G**: KUD-*is* 16 o 19-21;
 $[\text{pa-ri}]^{\text{r}}\text{-is}^1$ 4 o 1'; **N**: KUD^{mes} 11 iii' 12'
pardu, “afraid”: *pár-da-a-ti* 9 // 10 o 4-5
parsu, “cut off”: *pár-sa-ta* 3 12'
paršu, “office”: $[\text{pa-ra-aš}]$ 2 10b; *par-ši* 8 4b
parzillu, “iron”: AN.BAR-*i* 3 37'
pasāmu, “to veil”: **D**: $[\text{i-p}]a-a[\text{s-si}]\text{-im}$ 1 50
pašāhu, “to cool down”: **G**: *pa-šá-ḫa* 11 ii'
 14', iii' 16', 15 o 7
pašāru, “to release”: **G**: $[\text{BÚR}]$ 14 o 11;
a-pa-šar-šú-nu-ti 6 r 10'; *lip-šú-ra-an-ni* 4
 r 6'; **D**: *li-pa-ši-ra* 6 r 12'; **N**: $\text{lip}^1\text{-pa-šir}$ 4
 r 1'
pašātu, “to erase”: **G**: *i-peš-šit* 7 r 18'
paššū, “(a priest)”: *pa-ši-šá* 8 7b; ^{li}*pa-ši-šu* 3
 4'
pašqu, “narrow”: *pa-šūq-ti* 31 o 14
paṭāru, “to loosen”: **G**: $[\text{D}]U_8$ 12 o 7'-8';
 DU₈-MEŠ 13 r 3'; DU₈-ár 16 o 7-9, 15, 19;
 $[\text{lip-tù-ru}]$ 4 r 7'; **D**: *li-paṭ-ti-ra* 6 r 15'; **Dt**:
lip-ta-ti-ru 4 r 5'
pelludú, “cult(ic) rites”: *bé-lu-de-e* 8 1b-2b
perriš, “constantly (?)”: *pe-er-riš* 1 24
pešú, “to be white”: **D**: *tu-pa-aš-š[a]* 3 35';
 see also s.v. *pa'āšu*.
pešú, “white”: $[\text{BABBAR}^{\text{mes}}]$ 15 r 5' (= 108)

petú, “to open”: G: [BA]D-*te*¹ 16 o 16;
[BAD-*ma*] 16 o 1; *pa-te-e* 3 45'; *pe-tu-tu* 1
55; [*pātú*] 4 o 6'
pīdu, “pardon”: *pi-di* 1 44
pirištu, “secret”: *pi*¹-[*riš-ti*] 8 9b
pīru, “elephant”: *pi-rum* 19 r 11b
pištu, “abuse”: *pi-i*[*l-ti*] 8 11b
piṭru, “release”: *piṭ-ri-ka* 1 26
pū, “mouth”: KA 4 o 11', 7 r 18', 14 r 8', 21
5–6; *pí* 23 o 12; *pi-i* 1 50, 8 20, 23 r 11;
pi-ša 6 r 8', 14'; *p*[*i-i-šá*] 1 32; [*pika*] 4 r 2'
puglu, “(a part of the respiratory system)”:
[*pu*]-*ug-lum* 13 r 10'–11'
pulṛiš, “in assembly”: *pu-uh-riš* 1 25
pulukku, “needle”: *pu-lu-uk* 1 c₂ 10'
purātu, “vomit(ed matter)”: *pu-ra*¹-*tum* 23 r
16b
pursītu, “(offering) bowl”: *pu*¹-*ru*-*us-sa*-*a* 23 o 10; *p*[*u-ru-us-se-e*] 4 o
1'
pūšu, “whiteness”: BABBAR 13 o 10'
pušikku, “carded wool”: *pu*¹-*u*-*š*-*q*¹ 4 o 18'
pušqu, “narrowness”: *pu*¹-*u*-*š*-*q*¹ 4 o 18'
pūtu, “forehead”: *pu-ut* 3 44'; *pu-ú-tú* 28 o i'
6, ii' 6

Q

qablu, “battle”: [*qabal*] 4 o 0
qablu, “hips”: MURUB₄ 21 8
qablú, “central”: [MURUB₄] 12 o 6', r 17'
qabru, “grave”: *qab-lu* 31 o 3
qabú, “to say”: G: *a-qa-bi-šu*-*nu*¹-*ti* 8 8b;
liq-bi 7 r 16'; [*li-iq-bi*] 23 o 10; *liq-bu-ú* 1
25; *qí-bi* 4 r 2'; *ta-qá-ab-bu-u* 20 o 6
qadūtu, “silt”: [IM.GÚ] 16 r 15'
qalpu, “stripped”: *qá-al-pu-tum* 5 1
qan šalātu, “(a type of reed)”: GL[ŠUL]¹.H₁ 5 9;
MIN *šá-la-lu* 26 r 14b
qanú, “reed”: G^{mes} 5 1; MIN 26 r 13b, 15b–
16b; *qa-nu-ú* 26 r 12b
qaqqadu, “head”: SAG.DU 12 o 1'–2', 15 o 1–
2, 11; [*qaq-qa-di-šá*] 2 9b; *qa-qa-di-ša* 6 r
9'
qaqqaru, “earth”: [KI] 16 r 4'–6', 14'
qarāru, “to writhe”: Š: *ú-šag-ra*¹-*ra-an-mi* 9
// 10 o 2–3
qardamu, “enemy”: *qar-da-mu* 1 47, 19 r 22
qarnānū, “horned”: *qar-na-nu* 19 r 9b

qarnu, “horn”: SI 14 o 15–16; [SI^{min}-*šá*] 15 o
14; *qar-nu* 1 c₂ 6'
qarrādu, “warlike”: *qar-rad* 26 o 17;
qar-ra-*du*¹ 3 10'; MIN 26 o 19, 21
qatāru, “to smoke”: G: [*iq-tu*]r 16 r 11'
qatú, “to come to an end”: G: [A]L.TIL 8 20;
TIL^{me}[š] 12 o 19'
qātu, “hand”: ŠU^{min} 3 16'–17'; GIŠ 7 r 9'; *qa-at*
3 2'; *qá-at* 23 o 3; *qa-ta-a-a* 27 5b; [*qāssu*]
4 o 22'; [*qātīya*] 4 r 11'
qayyašu, “generous”: *qa-a-a-áš* 3 13'b
qēmu, “flour”: *q*¹-*Zi*¹.DA 5 25
qerbetu, “environs”: *qer-bé-e*¹-*tú* 27 2b
qerbu, “center”: *qé-reb* 8 10b, 31 o 3; [*qereb*] 4
r 5'
qerēbu, “to be/come close”: G: *iq-rib*¹(E) 21 7
qiāpu, “to (en)trust”: G: [*i-q*]*i-pu* 3 15'a
qibītu, “speech”: *qí-bit* 4 r 10', 9 // 10 o 8–11;
qí-bit-su 1 31
qinnu, “nest”: *qin-n*[*i*] 19 r 1b
qištu, “forest”: *q*¹-*i*¹-*š*¹.TIR¹ 16 r 4'
qú, “(a capacity measure)”: *q*¹-*a*¹ 5 21–24
qú, “flax”: *q*[*é*]-*e*¹ 4 o 7'
qubbulu, “to accept”: D: *qub-bil* 28 r ii' 1', 3',
5'; *qu-ub-bi-il* 28 r ii' 2', 4', 6'
qurādu, “hero”: *qu-ra-di* 11 ii' 9'
qutnu, “thinness”: SIG 21 9

R

rābišu, “lurker”: *ra-bi*-[š]*i* 7 o 7b
rabú, “big”: GAL 5 15, 11 iii' 4', 14 o 13;
GAL^{mes} 1 10, 4 o 3', r 10'; GAL-*a* 17 o 2;
GA[L-(i)] 7 r 18'; GAL-*tim* 4 r 17';
ra-bi-a-tim 20 o 5; *ra-bi-i* 8 5b; *ra-bí-tum*
23 o 1
rabú, “to be big”: Š: [*i-š*]*ar-b*[*u*]-*ú*¹ 1 1; Št
(?): *ú*¹-*ul-ta*¹-*rab-bi* 20 o 5
rābu, “to quake”: G: *i*¹-*ru-ub* 16 r 13'–14';
[*i-ru-(ub)-bu*] 23 o 4
rabú, “to set”: G: ŠÚ-*ma* 14 o 6
raḥāšu, “to flood”: G: [RA] 16 r 4'; RA-*iš* 11
ii' 8', 11', iii' 5'
ramāku, “to bathe”: D: *ú*¹-*ram-me-ku* 3 4'
rāmu, “(be)loved”: *ra-a-mi* 9 // 10 o 8–9
rāmu, “to love”: G: *li-ra-am*-*ma*¹ 1 22
rapaštu, “loin”: *ru*¹-*za*¹.GIŠ.KUN^{lme} 33 o 6
rapāšu, “to be(come) broad”: G: DAGAL 11 ii'
9', 12 r 27'–28'
rapšū, “wide”: DAGAL-*tim*¹ 4 r 18';
[*ra*]*p-ša-tum* 4 o 16'

raqāqu, “to be(come) thin”: **G**: *ir-qi* 12 o 3’–5’
rasābu, “to smite”: **G**: *li-ir-si*[*b*] 1 46
rašāku, “to dry out”: **G**: [*ru-šuk*] 12 r 19’
rašú, “to acquire”: **G**: TUKU-*ši* 15 o 14, 16 o 20, 23; ^r*ri-ši-ma*¹ 19 o 3b
rašubbu, “terrifying”: *ra-šub-ba* 1 53
redú, “to accompany”: **G**: UŠ-*di* 21 5; **N**: *li-i*[*r-re-d*]ⁱ 3 42’
rēmēnū, “merciful”: [*rēmēnāta*] 4 o 18’
rēmu, “womb”: ARHUŠ 15 o 14; 16 o 28
rēšūtu, “help”: ^r*re*¹-*šu*-^r*ti*¹-*šú-nu* 1 42
rēšú, “head”: SAG 12 o 13’, r 4’, 18’–19’, 22’; 21 1, 4–5; [S]AG-*su* 21 10; SAG^{mes}-*šú-nu* 1 52; ^r*re*¹-[*eš*] 2 9b
rēú, “shepherd”: *re-é-um*¹ 4 o 15’; [*r*]*e-é*(SUKKAL)-*um* 29 5b
rēútu, “shepherdship”: *re-é*¹-*ut*-[*ka*] 1 34
rību, “earthquake”: [*ri-i-bu*] 16 r 13’
riḡmu, “voice”: [GÜ-*šú*] 16 r 2’, 4’–6’; *ri-gim* 3 21’; *ri-gim-šú* 3 15’b
riksu, “binding”: *ri-kis* 4 r 7’
rīmu, “wild bull”: *ri-i*-[*mu*] 3 38’; ^r*ri*¹-*mu* 19 r 6b
rīqu, “empty”: SÜ 21 6
rīštu, “rejoicing”: ^r*ri*¹-*ša-ti* 17 o 3
rittu, “hand”: *ri-it-ti* 6 o 1; *ri-^rtuk*¹ 3 39’
rubú, “prince”: NUN 12 o 6’–7’, 11’, 18’–19’; r 12’–13’, 19’, 25’, 13 r 4’; NUN-*e* 12 r 18’
ruḡú, “sorcery”: *ru-ḡe-e* 4 r 3’, 20’
rupšú, “width”: [*ru-up*]-^r*šú*¹ 28 o i’ 9
ruqqu, “thinness”: SAL 13 r 5’, 7’
rūqu, “distant”: [*ru-qa-ti*] 18 2; *r*[*u-qu-tim*] 18 1
rusú, “sorcery”: *ru-se-e* 4 r 4’, 20’

S

saḡālu, “to prick”: **D**: *ú-saḡ-ḡa-al*¹(AḤ) 3 15’b
saḡāpu, “to envelop”: **G**: [*is-ḡ*]*up* 16 r 15’
saḡāru, “to go around”: **G**: NIGIN-*ur* 12 o 15’; [*sa*]-*aḡ-ru* 3 25’
salāmu, “to be(come) at peace (with s.o.)”: **G**: [SILIM^{me}] 14 r 4’
salīmu, “peace”: SILIM-*mu* 14 o 9
sāmu, “red”: [SA₅^{me}]^s 15 r 3’
sanāqu, “to control”: **G**: *s*[*a-ni-qa*] 2 1b
sapāḡu, “to scatter”: **D**: *lu-sa-ap-p*[*i-i*]^ḡ 6 o 8
sarāmu, “to cut open”: **G**: *is-ra-mu* 3 16’
sarru, “grain heap”: *sar-ri* 1 54

sattukku, “regular delivery”: SÁ.DUG₄-*ka* (ll *sa-an-tak-ka-ka*) 1 14
sikkūru, “bar”: ^{gis}SAG.^rKUL¹ 9 // 10 o 12–13, [*sikkūri*] 6 o 15
simištū, “woman”: MUNUS 15 o 1–5, r 3’, MUNUS^r^{mes}¹ 11 ii’ 13’
sudūru, “ornament”: [*su-du-ur*] 2 7b
suluppu, “date”: ^rZÚ.LUM¹ 5 24
sumkīnu, “rot”: *sun-ḡin-nu* 31 r 3’b
sūmu, “redness”: SI 13 o 4’–5’, SI^{mes} 13 o 6’
sunqu, “famine”: Ú.GUG 11 iii’ 8’
supú, “prayer”: *su-^rpe*¹-*e-ka* 1 30
sūqu, “street”: *su-ḡi* 6 r 4’
sūtu, “seah”: BÁN 5 25, 28; BANMIN 5 26
sutú, “Sutean”: *su-t*[*i-i*] 31 r 10’b

Ş

şabātu, “to seize”: **G**: DAB-*bat* 14 o 12, 16 r 18’; DAB-*[si]* 15 o 6; [*şa-b*]*it* 1 15’; [*taşabbat*] 4 o 22’
şabītu, “gazelle”: MAŠ.DÀ 3 19’a
şabtu, “captured”: ^r*şa*¹-*ab-tam* 4 o 21’
şābu, “people”: ÉRIN^{mes} 25 o 1–2 (s. also s.v. *ummānu*)
şaddu, “(wooden) signal”: *şa-ad-di* 1 c₂ 8’
şalālu, “to lie (down)”: **G**: *şa-lil* 6 o 12 (2×); ^r*şa-a*¹-[*lu*] 6 o 14
şalāmu, “to be(come) black”: **G**: GE₆ 13 r 10’–11’
şalmu, “black”: [GE₆^{me}]^s 15 r 4’ (= 107)
şarāḡu, “to heat up”: **G**: *ta-aş-şa-ra-aḡ* 3 50’
şarāḡu, “to send”: **G**: *iş-ru-ḡu* 3 10’
şarāpu, “to burn”: **G**: *şa-ri-ip* 13 o 5’; *şar-pu* 11 iii’ 7’, 16 r 17’
şehēru, “to be(come) small”: TUR 11 ii’ 18’, 14 o 4, 11
şehru, “small”: TUR 11 iii’ 4’, 33 r 3’
şēnu, “to load (up)”: **G**: *li-şe-nu-ka* 1 18
şerru, “socket for doorpost”: [*şer-ri*] 7 r 3’b–4’b
şibittu, “seizure”: [*şi-bit-ti*] 4 o 24’
şibtu, “interest”: MAS 21 2; MIN 30 o i’ 1’b–8’b, 10’b–17’b; *şib-tu*₄ 30 o i’ 9’b, 16’b
şēru, “back”: EDIN 12 r 17’; 13 o 4’, 9’, 11’–12’, r 1’–7’; EDIN-*šú-ma* 3 23’
şibūtu, “wish”: *şi-bu-tú* 3 51’
şillū, “thorn”: *şil-le-e* 3 15’b
şimdu, “binding”: NÍG.LAL 16 o 19–21
şippatu, “(a kind of reed)”: MIN 26 r 19b–20b; *şip-pa-tú* 26 r 18b

šīru, “exalted”: [š]i²-r¹-ru-um² 23 o 13;

[ši-ru-ti] 2 7b

šīt šamši, “sunrise”: ^dUTU.È 14 o 8, 10, 16 r 20'

šītu, “exit”: ši-r¹it¹ (pīša) 1 32

šubātu, “textile”: [TÚG-su] 16 o 27

šulūlu, “roof”: šu-lul 1 56

šurārū, “lizard(s)”: [EME.ŠID] 12 o 1'

Š

ša, “who(m)”: ša 3 7', 9', 11'-12', 4 o 20', 5 3, 6 o 8, 10, r 2'-4', 6'-7', 9', 8 1b, 7b, 13 o 8'-9', 11'-12', r 2', r 4'-7', 23 o 4, 9-10, 13; šá 1 13, 22, 31, 33, 51, c₂ 9', 2 9b, 3 5', 16', 43'a, 4 r 3', 7 r 16', 18', 8 4b, 12b, 14 o 2, 15 r 6', 16 r 19'-20', 22', 26 o 3, 7, 14, 31 o 5, r 3', 10'b; [šá] 4 o 0, 8', 19', 21'-22', 24', 1 32, 8 16b, 11 iii' 16', 14 o 7

šabāšu, “to gather”: G: iš-bu-šu 6 r 4'

šadādu, “to drag”: G: iš-du-du 6 r 6';

šá-da-du 28 o i' 5, ii' 5

šadú, “east”: ^{im}KUR.RA 6 o 5

šadú, “mountain(s)”: KUR^{mes} 1 48; šá-ad 1 c₂

9'; ša-di-i 19 r 7b, 12b; [šadi] 4 o 5'

šaḡapūru, “mighty”: šaḡ-ga-pu-ru 1 53

šaḡāšu, “to kill”: G: šá-ga-šú 16 r 14'

šaḡīmu, “roaring”: ša-gi-mi-šu 23 o 4

šaḡšu, “slain”: [šaḡša] 4 o 13'

šahapu, “wild boar”: ŠAH-GIŠ.GI 3 17'

šakāmu, “to put”: G: GAR 15 o 1-14, r 1'-2',

16 o 22, 21 9; GAR-r¹an¹ 16 r 7'; [GAR-un]

16 o 28; GAR-ma 13 r 4'-7', 21 2, 4-5;

[GAR-šú] 16 o 28; iš-kun 8 17b, 25 o 1;

i-šak-k[an] 30 o i' 5'b; liš-ku[n] 23 o 7;

šá-kan 1 58; šá-kin 1 49; šak-r¹nu¹ 1 13; Š:

li-ša-aš-ki-in 23 o 12; N: na-aš-r¹ki¹-in 19 o 3b

šalāmu, “to be(come) healthy”: D:

li-šal-li-mu-ka 1 21

šalāpu, “to pull out”: G: iš-lu-p[u] 6 r 3'

šalšu, “third”: šal-šu 1 13

šálu, “to ask”: Gt: [l]i²-ta-a-lu¹(KU) 1 14

šamallú, “purse-bearer”: ^{lu}ŠAMAN.MÁ.LÁ 33 r 3'

šamāru, “praise”: Gt (“Gtn,” s. Mayer 1994, 115): r¹i¹-tam-r¹ma¹-ra 4 o 16'; [luštammar] 4 r 16'

šamaššammū, “sesame”: ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 11 ii' 12'

šammu, “plant(s)”: Ú-MEŠ 12 o 5'

šammu, “oil”: Ì.GIŠ 5 29, 16 r 6'

šamú, “rain”: [AN]-r¹ú¹ 12 r 22'

šamú, “sky”: AN 11 ii' 6', 18', 16 r 2', r 9'-

10'; AN-e 1 12, 7 r 5'b, 16 r 20'; ša-m[u-ú]

23 o 4; šá-me-e 6 o 4; [AN-(ú)] 16 r 8';

[šamé] 4 r 3', 5'

šanānu, “to equal”: G: šá-ni-in 3 40'b

šaḡamāhu, “(an exorcist)”: šá-r¹ga¹-[ma-hu] 8 16b

šanú, “(an)other”: MAN-ma 16 o 9-10

šanú, “to be changed”: G: MAN-ni 12 o 2', 12'

šanú, “to do twice”: D: li-ša-an-ni 20 o 6

šapāku, “to heap up”: Gtn: [iš]-ta-tap-pa-ku 18 5

šapālu, “to be(come) deep”: G:

KI¹(GUR).TA-ma 21 9; liš-pil-ma 3 43'b

šapāru, “to send”: Gtn: iš-ta-r¹na-pa¹-ra 6 o 10

šaplānu, “underneath”: [KI.TA] 15 r 1';

KI.T[A-nu] 22 3'

šapliš, “below”: šap-liš 1 12, 28 o i' 1, 3, ii' 1, 3

šaplú, “lower”: [šap-li-i] 7 r 2'b, 4'b

šapru, “tamed (?)”: šap-ra 3 15'a

šaptu, “lip”: šap-t[i-i]a 3 48'

šaḡālu, “to weigh”: N: LAL-al 16 r 8'

šaḡú, “high”: šá-qu-tu 1 28

šarāhu, “to take pride in”: Dt (or Gtn):

muš-tar-ri-ḡi-ka 1 50; Dtn: liš-tar-ri-ḡu 1 34

šarāku, “to present”: G: [iš-ru-ku-ši] 2 5b; D:

šur-ru-ku 3 13'b

šarratu, “queen”: šar-rat 23 o 1; šar-ra-tum 4 r 13'

šarru, “king”: LUGAL 1 9, 4 r 10', 7 r 14', 11

ii' 5', 19', 12 r 2', 14 o 2, 12, 19-20, r 4', 16

r 12', 24'; šar-ri 2 4b, 23 o 12, 26 o 21

šarrūtu, “kingship”: LUGAL-ut-ka 1 1

šarú, “to be(come) rich”: G: i-šá[r-rú] 15 o 4

šāru, “wind”: IM 7 r 17', 15 o 12;

[IM.LIMMU.BA] 16 r 2'

šarūru, “brilliance”: r¹šá¹-[ru-ur] 2 6b;

šá-r[u-ri-šá] 14 o 5

šasú, “to shout”: G: GÙ-si 16 o 26;

li-is-si-ma 23 o 5

šašmu, “(single) combat”: šá-áš-mu 1 49

šattu, “year”: MU 21 7; [ša-na-tim] 18 2

šatú, “to drink”: Gtn: liš-r¹tat-tu-ú¹ 33 o 7

šaḡāru, “to write”: G: [IN].r¹SAR¹-ma 8 22;

SAR-ma 16 r 23'; šá-r¹ḡir-ma¹ 7 r 8'

šebú, “to be full”: G: *i-šeb-bi* 7 r 19', 15 o 8, 16 o 25
 šegú, “to be wild”: N: [†]*iš-še¹-gu* 3 38'
 šēlebu, “fox”: KA₅:[†]A¹ 3 24'
 šemú, “to hear”: G: *še-mu-ú* 3 42'
 šēpu, “foot”: GİR 13 r 2'; [GİR^{min}] 15 r 1';
[†]*še¹-ep* 9 // 10 r 2'; *še-pi-ša* 6 r 5'
 šer'ānu, “vein”: [†]uzu¹SA[†]mes¹-šú 33 o 11
 šeriktu, “present”: [*ši-rik-tu₄*] 2 5b
 šerru, “(young) child”: [LÚ.TUR] 16 o 25
 šeršerru, “link (in chain)”: *še-er-šē¹-ri* 13 o 11'
 šertu, “guilt”: *šēr-ti* 8 11b
 šertu, “morning”: *šēr-ti* 1 37; *še-re-e-ti* 14 o 12, 21, r 4'
 šē'u, “barley”: see s.v. *ú*
 šē'ú, “to seek (out)”: Gt: [*lu*]-[†]uš¹-te-a 4 r 14'
 šī, “she”: BI 15 o 1–5, r 3', 21 7; *ši-i* 6 o 2
 šīāmu, “to fix”: G: [*a-šim¹-ki*] 2 10b,
 [*i-ši-mu-ši*] 2 2b, 4b; D: *mu-šim* 1 10;
 [*mušim*] 4 o 2'
 šību, “old (person)”: AB.BA^{mes} 12 o 9'
 šiddu, “side”: *šid-du* 28 o i' 4, ii' 4
 šīgú, “a (ritual) lament”: [*ši-gu-ú*] 16 o 26
 šīgūšu, “(a type of barley)”: ŠE.MUŠ₅ 16 r 11'
 šīkaru, “beer”: KAŠ.SAG 5 28
 šīknu, “appearance”: GAR-šú 28 r i' 2', 4'
 šīktu, “(a part of the liver)”: S[IG-tum] 22 4'
 šīllatu, “booty”: NAM.RA 21 3
 šīmtu, “what is fixed”: [*ši-ma*][†]-ka 1 25;
ši-ma-[†]a¹-tú 1 10; *ši-ma-a-tu₄* 1 c₂ 5';
 [*š*]*i-ma-a-ti*[*m*] 4 o 2'; [*šimtu*] 4 o 21'
 šīmatu, “similarity”: *ši-na-at* 1 c₂ 7'
 šīpātu, “wool”: [†]šī¹-pa-a-tú 32 8
 šīpru, “sending”: *šip-ri* 26 r 13b
 šīptu, “incantation”: ÉN 6 o 1, 9 // 10 o 1, 32
 3–4; TE.ÉN 9 // 10 o 14–15, r 3'; *ši-pat* 1
 19, 26 o 14
 šīptu, “judgement”: *šip-tu* 1 34
 šīru, “flesh”: UZ[U] 3 26'; UZU-ma 3 22'
 šū, “he”: BI 16 o 10, 17, 21, 24, 27; [†]šū¹-ú 1
 25
 šūāti, “him”: *šu-a-ti* 23 o 3, 7, 11
 šūbtu, “seat”: KI.TUŠ 14 o 6, 9
 šūklulu, “to complete”: Š: *šuk-lu-lu* 8 7b
 šūkuttu, “adornment”: [†]šū¹-kut-tu 3 25'
 šūlmu, “completeness”: *šu-lum* 14 o 9;
šu-lum-ka 1 17; [*šulmi*] 4 r 19'
 šūlpu, “stalk”: *šul-pu* 1 52
 šūmēlu, “the left”: 150 15 o 4, 6, 8, 10, 13–
 14; [150]-[†]šū¹ 15 r 2'; GÜB 12 o 4'–6', r

13', 15'–17', 24', 26', 28', 13 o 6', r 1'–5',
 9', 11', 21 1, 5–6; [GÜB-šā] 12 o 8';
šu-me-lu-[†]uk¹-k[a] 1 44
 šumma, “if”: ¶ 11 i' 1'–4', ii' 1'–20', iii' 1'–
 18', 14 o 1–3, 5–7, 10–15, 18, 20–24, r 1'–
 4', 7'; BE 12 o 1'–22', r 1'–28', 13 o 2', 4'–
 12', r 1'–12', 15 o 1–14, r 1'–5', 16 o 1–28,
 16 r 1'–2', 4'–6', 9'–18', 21 1–10, 22 1'–4'
 šumrušu, “very painful”: *šu-um-ru-ša* 4 o 20'
 šumu, “name”: [MU-šú] 28 r i' 1', 3', 5';
šu-ma 1 36; s. also [†]MU¹.[ŠID.BI.IM] 2 12
 šunu, “they”: *šu-nu* 1 56, 18 4
 šuplu, “depth”: [*šup*]-lu 28 o i' 7
 šupšūqu, “very laborious”: [*šup-šūq-ti*] 31 o
 14
 šurbú, “very great”: *šur-bu-ú* 32 4
 šurīnu, “(divine) emblem”: ŠU.NIR 12 o 16';
šu-ri-in-[†]ni¹ 1 55
 šuršu, “root”: [†]SUHUŠ¹ 14 o 16
 šuruppú, “frost”: *šu-ru-pu-ú* 12 o 10'
 šūšī, “sixty”: 60-šú 14 r 7', 25 o 1
 šutašubbú, “(‘fallen from the hand’)”: ŠU-[(u)]
 23 r 17b
 šutlumu, “to grant”: Š: *li-šat-li-ma* 4 r 8'
 šuttatu, “(hunter's) pitfall”: *šu-ut-ta-tu₄* 26 o
 5, 31 o 15
 šuttinmu, “bat”: [*su-tin-ni*] 12 o 3'–5'
 šuttu, “dream”: [MÁŠ].G[E₆]^{mes} 9 // 10 o 4–5
 šūtu, “south”: [^{im}U₁₈.LU] 16 r 12'

T

tabālu, “to take away”: G: TUM¹ 15 r 8';
 TUM-ma 16 r 19'; *i-tab-bal* 7 r 16'; Š:
ú-šat-bal 7 r 16'
 tabarru, “red wool”: ^{sig}HÉ.ME.DA 5 17
 tahtú, “defeat”: *taḥ-[†]te¹-e* 1 49
 takāpu, “to be dotted”: D: *tuk-ku-up-ma* 13
 o 6'; *tu-uk-ku-up* 13 o 10'
 tallaktu, “walkway”: *tal-lak-ta-ka* 1 22
 tamlú, “filling”: [*tam-la-a*] 16 o 7
 tamú, “to swear”: G: [*ta-mat*] 7 r 5'b–6'b
 tanittu, “(hymn of) praise”: *ta-nit-ta-[†]ka¹* 1
 23; [*ta-n*]*a-da-a-[t]*ú 1 5
 taqānu, “to be(come) secure”: see s.v. *kanānu*.
 taqribtu, “offering”: *taq-rib-ti* 1 58
 taqtītu, “termination”: [TIL] 11 iii' 15'
 tarbašu, “animal stall”: TÜR 14 o 3
 tarsītu, “prayer”: *ta-ar-si-tum* 19 r 15
 tāru, “to turn”: G: GUR-ár 21 7; GUR-ra 12 r
 19'; GUR-úr 16 o 11; D: *li-te-er* 23 o 6;

li-ter-ra 6 r 13'; *mu-ter-ri*¹ 1 38;
tu-ut-tir-ra-[(*ma*)] 3 51'; ¹*ú*¹-*ta*-[*ri*] 30 o i'
 8'b
tašrihtu, "glorification": *taš-ri-iḫ-ti* 2 9b
tebú, "to get up": **G**: *te-bu-ú* 19 r 19;
te-[*b*]*i*-*tu*₄ 31 r 8'b; *te-bi*-¹*i*¹-[*ka*] 1 40
tēdiqu, "dress": *ti-di*-¹*iq*¹ 2 6b
tēliltu, "purification": ¹*te*¹-*lil-tu*₄ 1 19;
 [*te-lil-t*]*a*-¹*šú*¹-*nu* 8 17b; *te-lil-tak* 1 9
tēmīqu, "(deep) prayer": *te-me-eq* 20 o 6
tenišu (byform of *teneštu*), "people":
 [*te-n*]*é*-*eš* 4 o 10'
tērtu, "instruction": *ter*-¹*tú*¹ 3 13'a;
te-re-e-tim 20 o 5
teslītu, "appeal": *te-ès*-¹*li*¹-*tum* 19 r 15;
te-ès-li-ti-kam^v 20 o 3
tēšú, "confusion": *SÚḪ-ú* 12 o 14', r 9'-11',
 15'-17'
tiāmtu, "sea": [*ta-ma*]-¹*a*¹-*ti* 4 o 5'
tibnu, "straw": *IN.NU* 12 o 5', 14 o 17
tību, "arousal": *ZI* 21 9; *ti-bu-um* 21 8;
 [*tībūšú*] 4 o 0
tībútu, "rise": [*ZI-ut*] 12 r 7'
tilpānu, "bow": *til-pa-nu* 31 r 6'b
tīlu, "(ruin) mound": *ti-li* 23 o 8
tiqnu, "proper equipment": *ti-iq-ni* 1 28, 2
 7b
tú, "incantation(-formula)": *MIN-e* 26 o 12
tukultu, "trust": *tu-kul-ta-ka* 1 9
tulú, "breast": *UBUR* 3 19'b

Ṭ

ṭabtu, "salt": *MUN* 5 27
ṭābu, "good": *DÜG.GA* 11 iii' 6', 14 r 5', 15 o
 12, 16 o 11-12, 14, 26; *DÜG-tim* 4 r 4';
ṭa-a-bi 7 o 12b, 26 r 16b; *ṭa-ab-tú* 3 20'
ṭahdu, "luxuriant": *ṭa*-¹*ḫi*¹-*ta* 12 r 22'
ṭehú, "to be(come) near to": **G**: *TE* 14 o 14,
 22; *TE-am* 14 o 14; *ṭaṭ-ḫa-a* 31 o 12
ṭēmu, "(fore)thought": *UMUŠ* 12 o 2', 12';
ṭè-*e-ma* 17 o 3; *ṭè*-*e-mu* 3 13'a
ṭēnu, "to grind": **G**: *ṭe*₄-*e-ni* 5 5
ṭiābu, "to be(come) good": **G**: *DÜG-ab* 16 o
 10, 17; *DÜG.G[A]* 15 o 2
ṭūbu, "goodness": *tu-ub* 2 14; [*tūb*] 19 o 3b
ṭuḫdu, "plenty": [*ṭuḫdi*] 4 o 4'
ṭuppu, "(clay) tablet": *DUB* 14 r 7'; *IM* 1 60;
ṭup-pi 7 r 15', 8 20, 14 r 10'
ṭupšarru, "scribe": *DUB.SAR* 3 7'

U

u, "and": *u* 1 1-8, 12, 15-21, 23, 34, 36-38,
 39-42, 55, 58, c₂ 11', 4 o 5'-7', 11', 13'-
 14', 16', 18', 21', r 9', 17', 19', 6 o 15, 7 r
 16', 9 // 10 o 10-13, 11 iii' 3', 12', 12 o 5',
 r 19', 22', 14 o 7-8, 15, 17, 19, r 9', 15 o
 14, r 7', 16 r 3', 5', 14', 33 o 6; *ù* 1 13, 4 o
 24', 6 o 2, 6, 10, r 9', 12 o 5', 10', 13 o 6', r
 2'-3', 17 o 3, 22 4', 23 o 7-8, 11, 28 o i' 3,
 ii' 3
ú, "barley": *ŠE* 5 26, 14 o 17; *ŠE-e* 4 o 7';
ŠE-im 1 54, 12 o 5'
ubānu, "finger": *ŠU.SI* 12 o 1'-9', r 4'-6', 13'-
 19', 22'-28'; 21 6-7
uddakam, "all day": [*ud-d*]*a*-¹*kam*^v (?) 1 14;
*ú-da*¹(*KÁ*)-*kam*^v 4 o 13'
ūdu, "distress": *ud-di-im* 21 2-3
uḡāru, "meadow": ¹*ú*¹-[*ga-ri*] 27 3b
uḡgu, "rage": *uḡ-gu-uk* 3 44'
ul, "not": *NU* 8 20, 11 ii' 12', iii' 4', 12 o 11',
 r 19', 14 o 11, 15 o 2, 9, r 8', 16 o 11-12,
 14, 21-23; *ul* 3 51', 30 o i' 11'b, 13'b, 32 3
ulāpu, "rag": *ú-la-a-pi* 3 17'
ullú, "that": [*ul-l*]*a-ti-ma* 18 2;
 [*ul-lu-t*]*im*¹(*TUM*) 18 1
ūlū, "or": ¹*ú*¹-[*l*]*u*² 13 o 3'
ummānu, "army": *ÉRIN* 12 r 6', 12', 20'-21';
ÉRIN-ni 12 r 5', 21 3-4, 10; ¹*um-ma-nu*¹ 8
 1b; *um-m*[*a-an-šú*] 23 o 2; *um-ma-ni-ka* 1
 56 (see also s.v. *šābu*)
ummiānu, "craftsman": *um-ma-nu* 8 14b
ummu, "mother": *AMA-šú* 3 19'b; ¹*um-mi*¹ 4
 o 11'; *um-mu* 23 o 9
ūmu, "day": *U*₄ 16 r 2', 21 6; *U*₄^{me} 15 o 1, 8;
*U*₄^{mes} 12 o 6', 19'; *U*₄^{mes}-*šú* 15 r 4'-5'; *u*₄-*ma*
 23 o 2; *u*₄-*mi* 16 o 25, 18 1; *u*₄-*mu* 1 46, 2
 7b; *U*₄-[...] 13 r 3'; [*ūmu*] 4 o 21'
ūmu, "storm(-demon)": *u*₄-*mu* 3 15'a; *U*₄-*šá*
 6 o 7
upīšu, "(magical) procedures" (not plurale
 tantum, s. Schwemer 2009, 54): ¹*ú*¹-*piš* 4 r
 22'
uppu, "tube": *MUD* 22 1'-4'; *up-pi-ši-na* 23 o
 6
upumtu, "(a type of) flour": ¹*ú*-*pu-un*¹-*tum*
 23 r 15b
uqniātu, "blue(-green) wool": ¹[*g*ZA.GÌN.NA]
 5 17
urḫu, "way": ¹*ur*¹-*ḫu*¹ 1 7
urpatu, "cloud": *ur-pa-ta-šá* 6 o 7

ūru, “roof”: [(^{gis})UR] 16 o 20; *ú-ri-ia* 26 o 10
ur’udu, “windpipe”: GÚ.MUR 13 r 4’, 6’
uruhhu, “hair (of head)”: [DILIB] 15 o 11
ussú, “to heal”: D: *us-su* 3 6’
ušu, “arrow(head)”: *ú-šu* 3 9’
uššu, “foundation(s)”: [URU₄] 16 o 1–2
ušumgallu, “great dragon”: [uš]umgal 4 o 8’
utukku, “(an evil demon)”: *ú¹-tuk-ku* 7 o 2b
ūtu, “span”: *ú-ti* 3 16’
u¹urtu, “commission”: *ur-ta* 8 8b; *ur-ti* 2 10b
uznu, “ear”: GEŠTU^{min}-šu 3 21’; [uz-ni-ši-n]a
 4 o 15’

W

(w)*abālu*, “to carry”: G: *li-bi-la[m]-^Γma¹* 7 r
 17’
 (w)*akšu*, “brazen”: see s.v. *akšu*.
 (w)*alādu*, “to give birth (to)”: G: [a]-^Γlid¹ 16
 o 25
 (w)*alāu*, “to lick”: Gtn: *li-te-¹-^Γa¹* 3 20’
 (w)*ālidu*, “one who begets/begot”: a-^Γli-id¹ 4
 o 3’; wa-^Γli-it-^Γtum¹ 23 o 9
 (w)*apú*, “to be(come) visible”: Štn:
 [uš-te-pi-ši] 2 7b; [lušteppi] 4 r 13’
 (w)*ardu*, “slave”: IR 3 40’a, 41’, 43’a; 14 r 9’
 (w)*arhu*, “month”: ITI 12 r 22’, 14 o 2
 (w)*arki*, “after”: EGIR-BI 21 7
 (w)*arkītu*, “posterity”: EGIR 15 o 8, 16 o 25;
ar-ki-tuk 3 47’; *ár¹-ka-ti* 3 49’
 (w)*arú*, “to lead”: G: [ta]-ru-šu 4 o 21’; Gtn:
^Γmut-tar-ru¹-ši-na 4 o 15’
 (w)*áru*, “to go (up to)”: G: *a-ri* 1 c₂ 9’; Dtn:
 <mu>-ta-i-^Γru¹ 4 o 6’
 (w)*ašābu*, “to add”: G: *uš-šab* 30 o i’ 4’b, 6’b,
 18’b; D: [lu-uš-šib-ka] 29 3b; *li-iš-ši-bu-ka*
 1 8
 (w)*ašú*, “to go out”: G: È-a 21 3; [È-š]i 12 r
 15’–17’; *a-ši* 21 8; *ši-i* 7 o 1b–12b
 (w)*ašābu*, “to sit (down)”: G: [DÚR-ab] 14 o
 6; *a-ši-ib* 9 // 10 o 10–11; *li-šib* 1 43;
uš¹(U[Z]-bu) 18 4
 (w)*ašāpu*, “to exorcise”: D: *liš-ši-pu-ka* 1 19;
 3 6’
 (w)*ašāru*, “to sink down”: D: *tu-ás-šar* 4 o
 21’

(w)*āšīpu*, “sorcerer”: KA.PIRIG.GA 3 6’; *a-šip* 3
 3’
 (w)*atāru*, “to increase”: G: *li-tir-ma* 1 14
 (w)*atmu*, “hatchling”: AMAR 3 20’; *a-tam* 3
 28’
 (w)*iāšu*, “to be(come) too little”: G: [iš-ši] 16
 o 5

Y

yašibu, “battering-ram”: [MIN] 26 r 1b–2b
yášim, “to me”: *ia-ši* 6 o 9, 11, 4 r 1’
yāti, “me”: *ia-a-ti-ma* 2 11b

Z

za’ānu, “to be adorned”: D: *z¹u-¹-[nu]* 3 25’
zabardabbu, “(an official)”: ^{lu}r ZABAR¹.DAB 7 r
 12’
zakāru, “to speak”: Gt: *li-iz-zak-ru* 1 23
zāmānū, “hostile”: *za-wa-nu* 19 r 18;
^Γza¹-ma-ni-[ka] 1 41
zamāru, “to sing”: G: [i]z-mu-ru 3 4’
zanānu, “to rain”: G: ŠUR 11 ii’ 6’, 16 r 2’, 9’,
 16’; ŠUR-nun 11 ii’ 18’, iii’ 2’, 12 r 4’, r 22’,
 16 r 8’; Š: *mu¹-ša-^Γaz¹-ni-in* 4 o 4’
zanānu, “to provision”: G: z[a-n]a-an 1 24;
^Γza¹-nin 1 25
zārú, “begetter”: *zé-e-ru-ú* 19 r 16
zēru, “seed(s)”: NUMUN-šú¹ 23 o 11
ziāqu, “to blow”: G: *i-za-aq-[šī]* 15 o 12;
lu-zi-qa-šim-ma 6 o 5
zihhu, “(a mark on the liver)”: [DI] 12 r 4’–
 6’, 15’–16’, 18’–19’, 22’–28’
zikru, “utterance”: [si-kā]r-ka 4 o 17’
zīkrūtu, “manliness”: [z]ik-ru-tú 1 8
zikurrudú, “cutting of life”: [ZI.KU₅.RU.D]A 4
 r 21’
zīmu, “face”: *zi-mi* 8 7b; *zi-mi-ia-ma* 19 o
 4b; ^Γzi¹-mu-^Γka¹ 19 o 4b
zīru, “hate”: HUL.^ΓGIG¹ 4 r 21’
zittu, “share”: HA.LA 21 10
zumru, “body”: SU-šú 15 r 3’–5’
zunnu, “rain”: ŠÈG 11 iii’ 2’, 14’, 16 r 16’;
^ΓIM¹.ŠÈG 11 iii’ 12’; ŠÈG^{me} 16 r 17’; ŠÈG^{meš}
 16 r 10’; *zu-un-nu* 12 r 23’–26’
zuqiqīpu, “scorpion”: *zu-qa-qī-^Γpat¹* 6 o 1

Index of Tablets Copied

BM 32758	No. 1	Pl. 7	HS 1934+	No. 7	Pl. 22–23
BM 38365	No. 12	Pl. 32	HS 1935	No. 29	Pl. 54–55
BM 64518	No. 1	Pl. 1	HS 1936	See sub HS 1919+	
BM 82956	No. 1	Pl. 7	HS 1938+	No. 30	Pl. 56–57
BM 82959	No. 1	Pl. 7	HS 1939	See sub HS 1938+	
CBS 6989	No. 8	Pl. 24–25	HS 1941	No. 1	Pl. 2–5
CBS 13959	No. 1	Pl. 7	HS 1943	No. 31	Pl. 58–59
CBS 14075	See sub HS 1934+		HS 1945	No. 15	Pl. 38–39
HS 1887	No. 4	Pl. 14–17	HS 1946	No. 32	Pl. 56–57
HS 1888	No. 5	Pl. 18–19	HS 1947	No. 16	Pl. 40–41
HS 1889	No. 6	Pl. 20–21	HS 1948	No. 8	Pl. 26–27
HS 1890	No. 17	Pl. 38–39	HS 1951	No. 12	Pl. 32–33
HS 1892	No. 18	Pl. 38–39	HS 2156	No. 10	Pl. 30–31
HS 1895	No. 19	Pl. 42–43	HS 2941	No. 13	Pl. 34–35
HS 1896	No. 20	Pl. 44–45	HS 2943	No. 25	Pl. 50–51
HS 1898	No. 21	Pl. 46–47	K.166	See sub K.5199(+)	
HS 1899	No. 22	Pl. 46–47	K.3151.B	See sub K.6248+	
HS 1905	No. 23	Pl. 48–49	K.5061	See sub K.5199(+)	
HS 1906	No. 33	Pl. 60–61	K.5199(+)	No. 29	Pl. 54
HS 1910	No. 24	Pl. 50–51	K.6248+	No. 1	Pl. 6
HS 1914	No. 26	Pl. 52–53	K.7687	No. 7	Pl. 22
HS 1916	No. 2	Pl. 8–9	K.8188	See sub K.6248+	
HS 1919+	No. 3	Pl. 10–13	K.9580	No. 1	Pl. 7
HS 1921	No. 27	Pl. 54–55	K.9938	See sub K.6248+	
HS 1923	No. 11	Pl. 30–31	K.10063	See sub K.15628	
HS 1925	No. 28	Pl. 54–55	K.15628	No. 4	Pl. 16
HS 1927	No. 9	Pl. 28–29	K.17301	See sub K.6248+	
HS 1933	No. 14	Pl. 36–37	K.17592	See sub K.6248+	



Plates

The photographs of the tablets in the Hilprecht Collection were produced by H. Bayer. The photograph of CBS 6989 (pl. 25) is courtesy of J. Jeffers, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania and the Penn Museum. All autographs were produced by E. Jiménez.

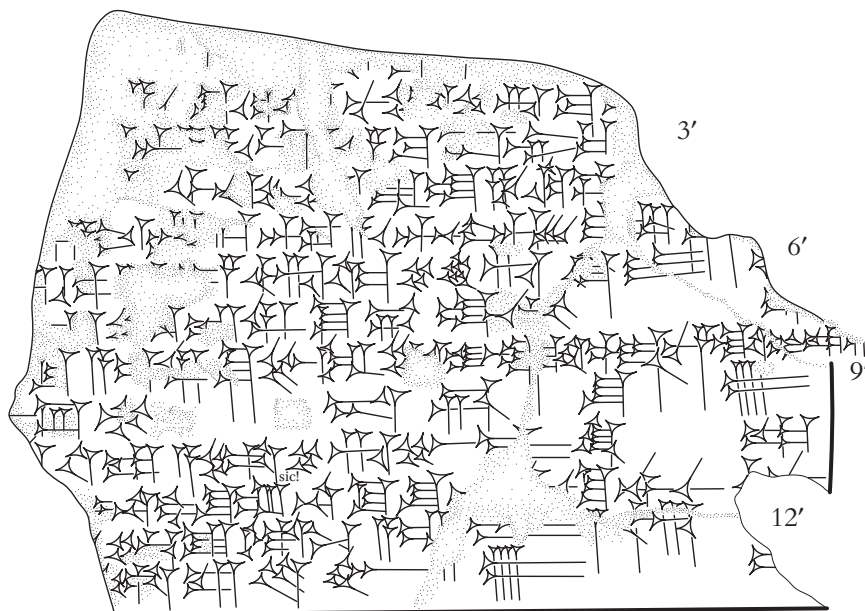


This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

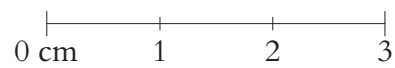
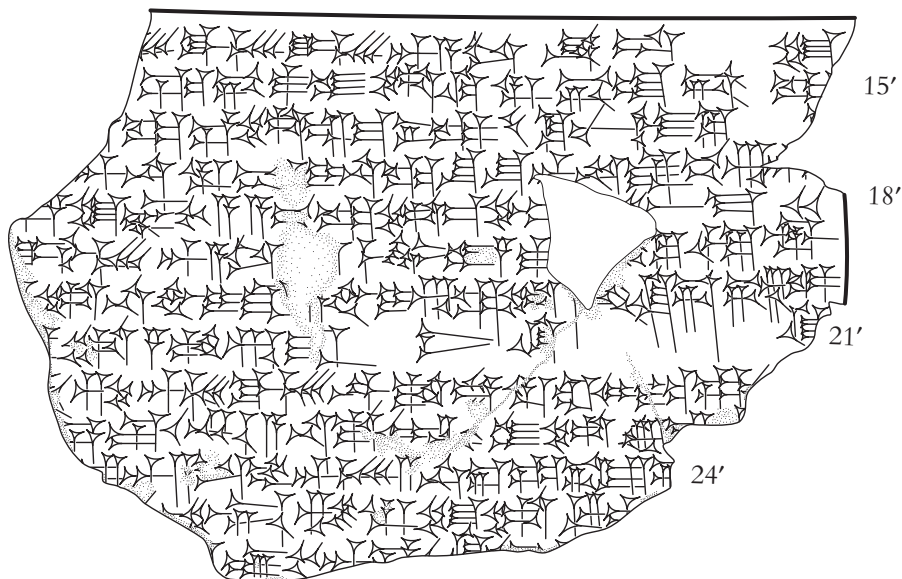
DOI: 10.13173/9783447118811.331

© by the author

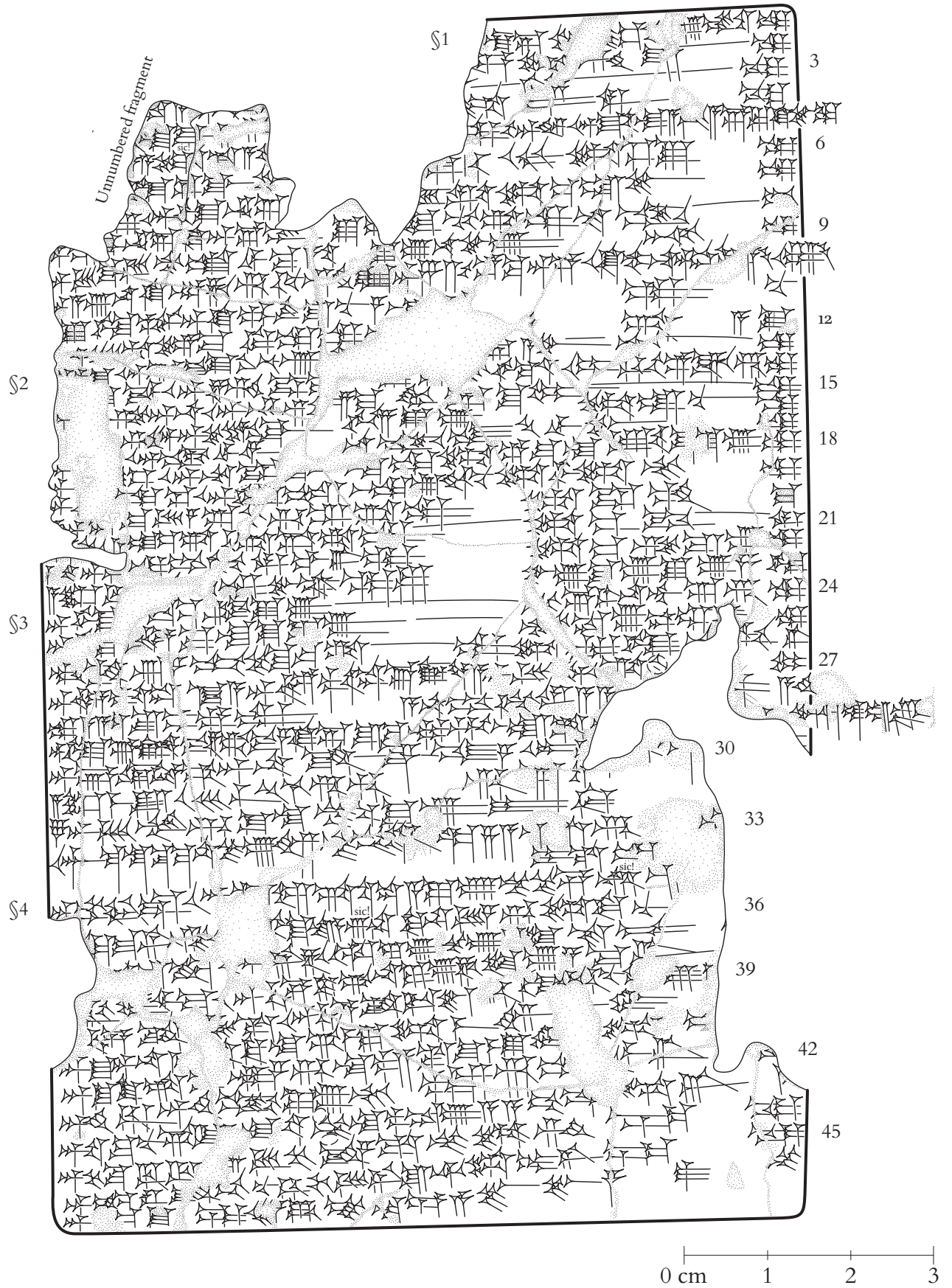
BM 64518
obverse



reverse



HS 1941
obverse

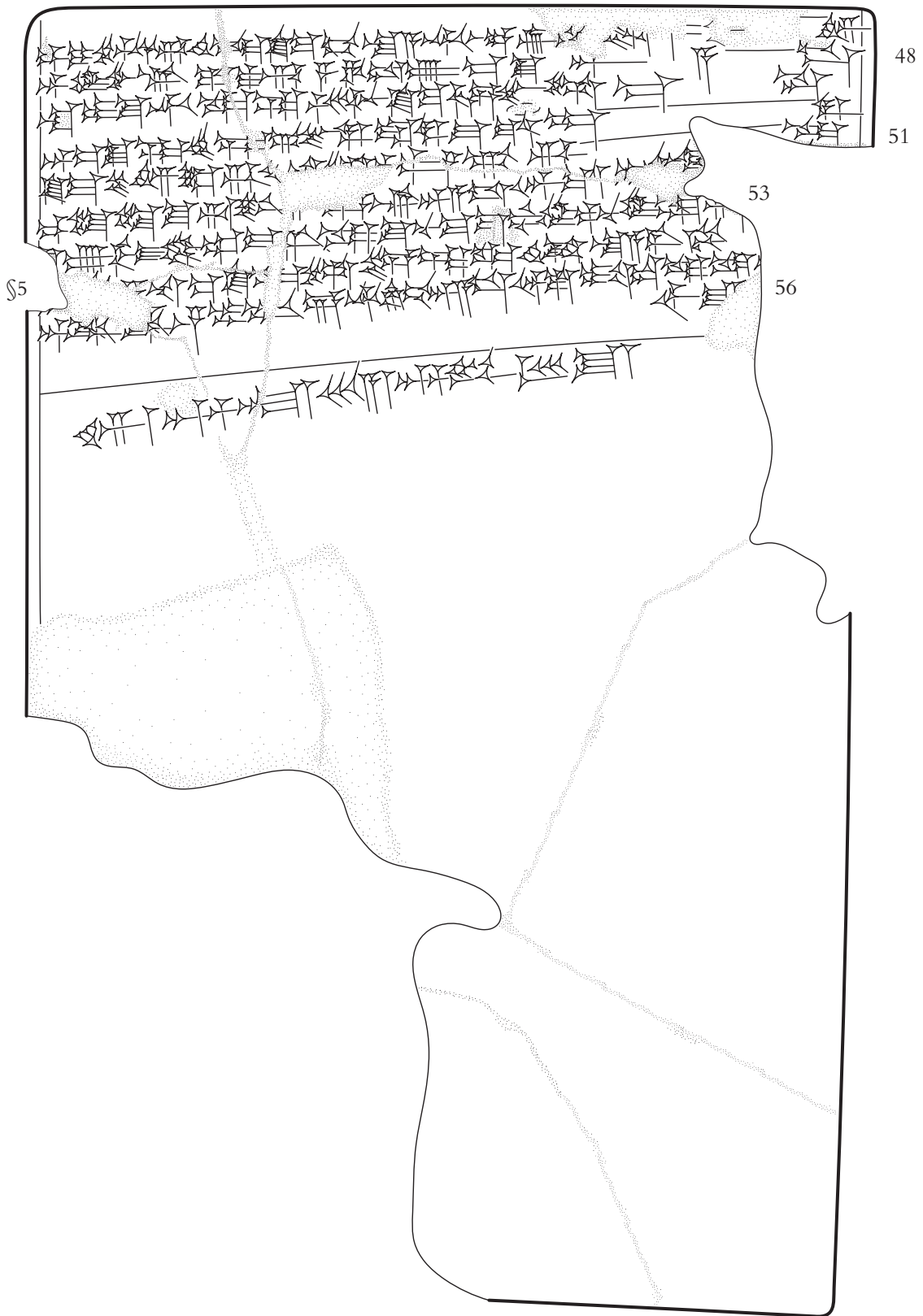


No. 1 — MS a



No. 1 — MS a

HS 1941
reverse

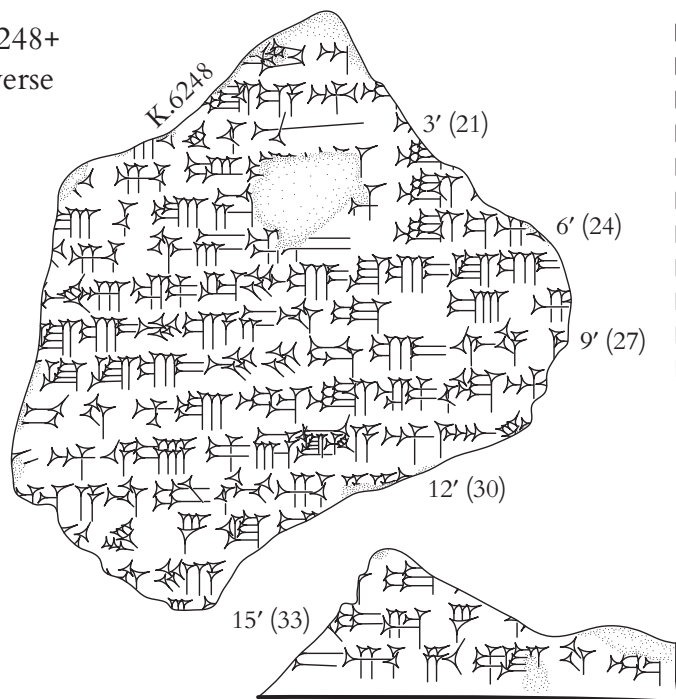


0 cm 1 2 3

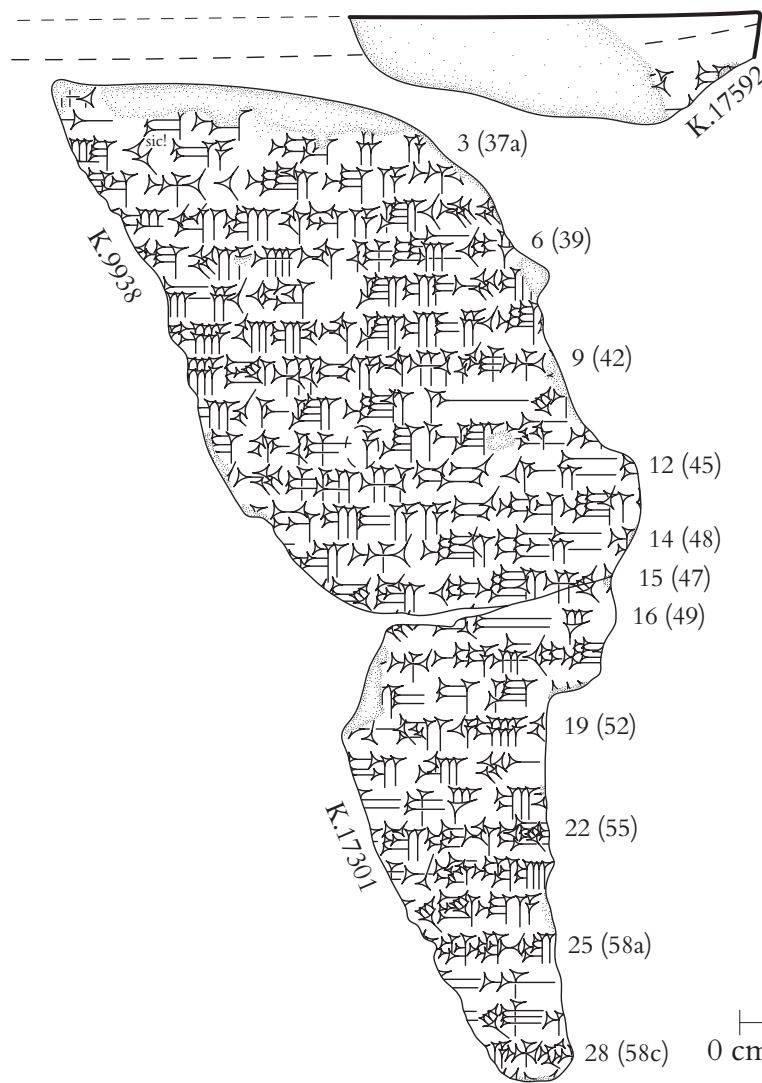


No. 1 — MS a

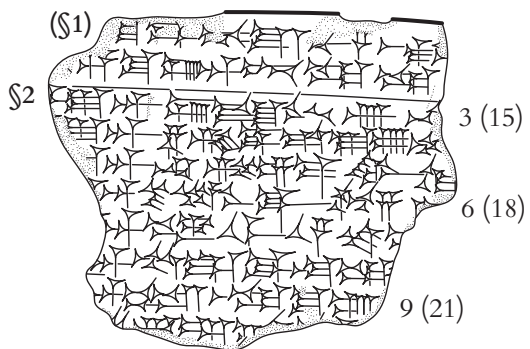
K.6248+
obverse



reverse



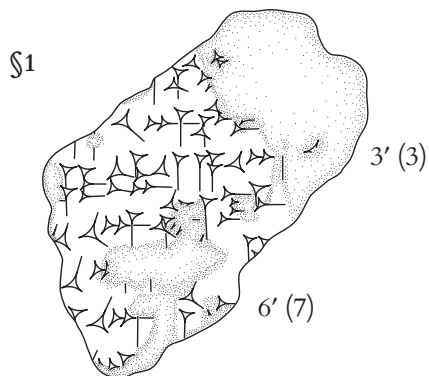
BM 82956 (MS c₁)



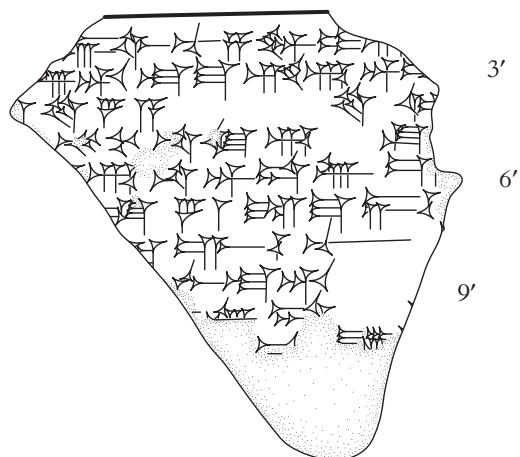
BM 82959 (MS c₂)



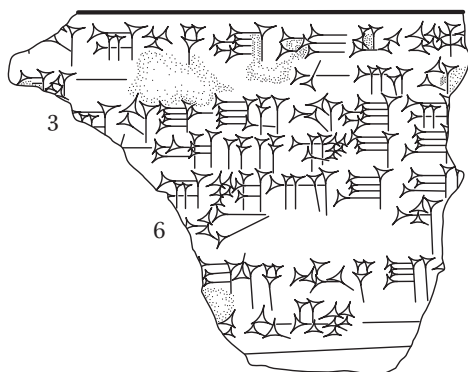
BM 32758 (MS d)



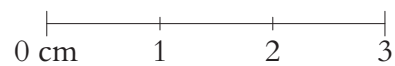
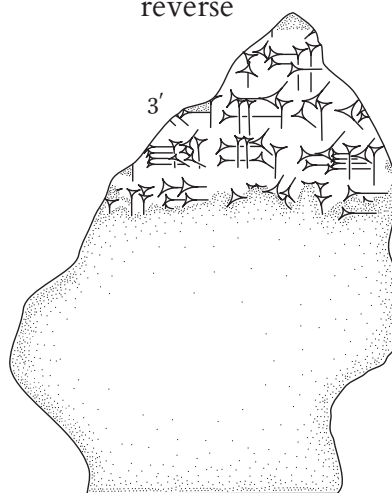
K.9580

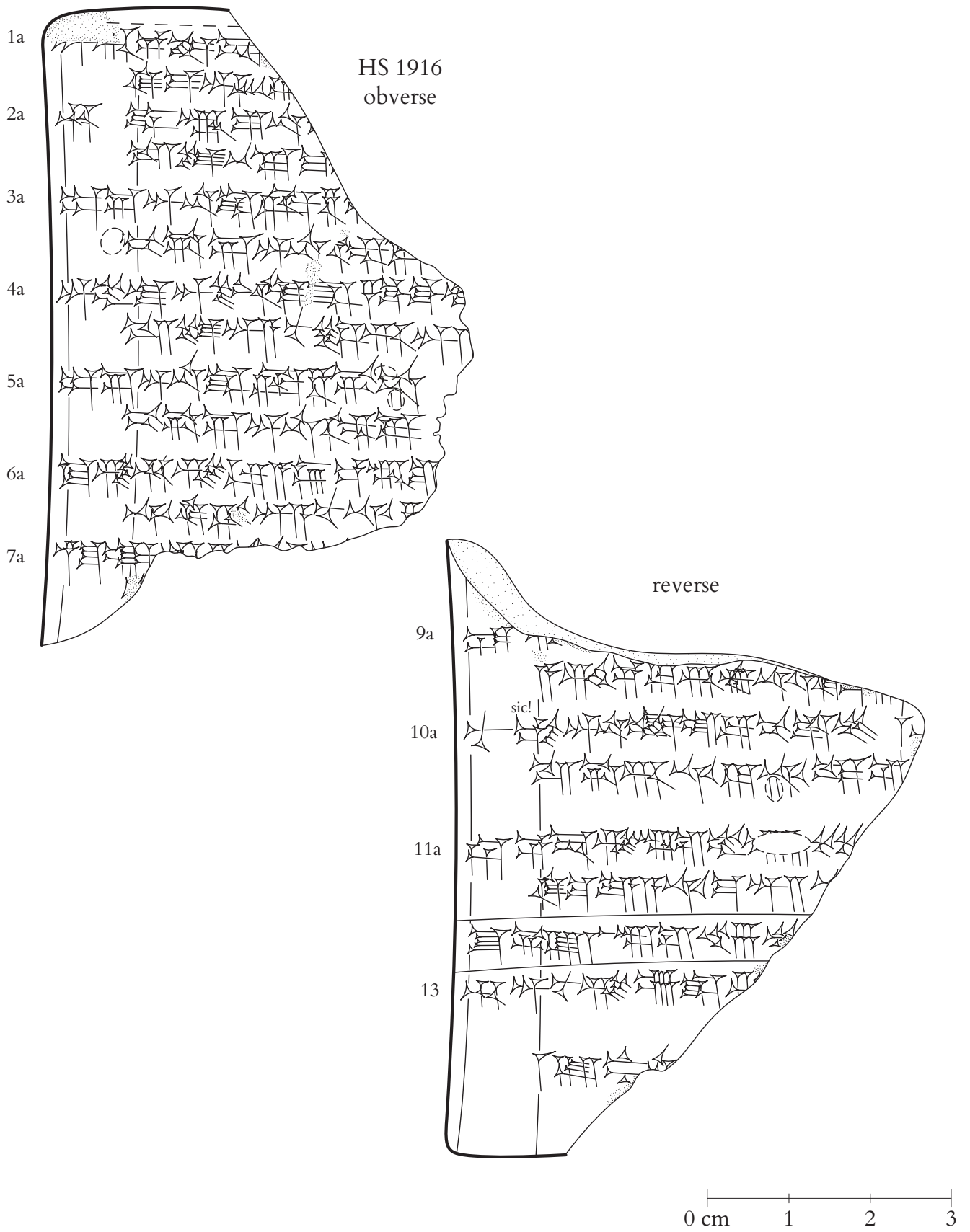


CBS 13959
obverse



CBS 13959
reverse

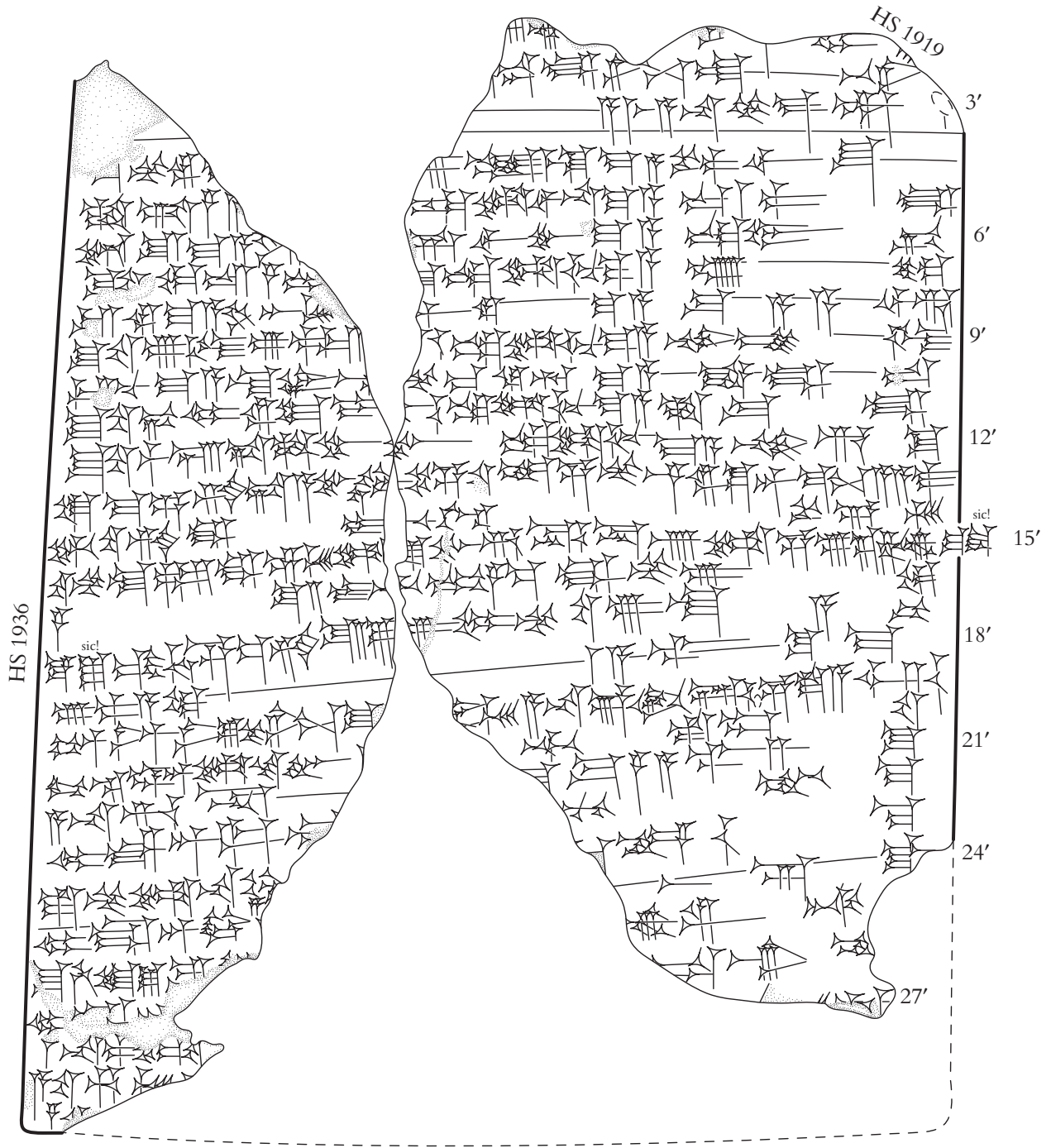






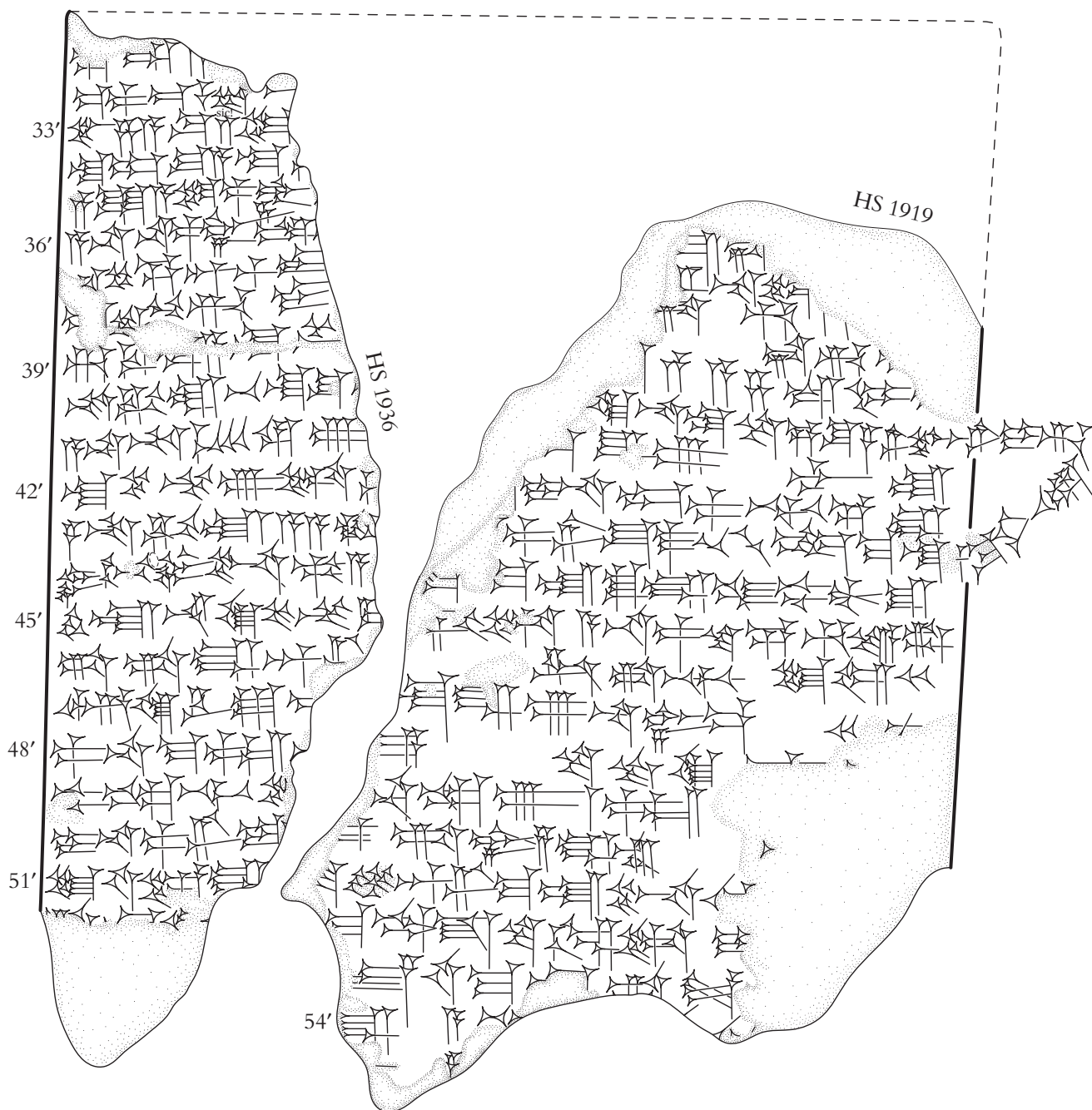
No. 2

HS 1919+
obverse



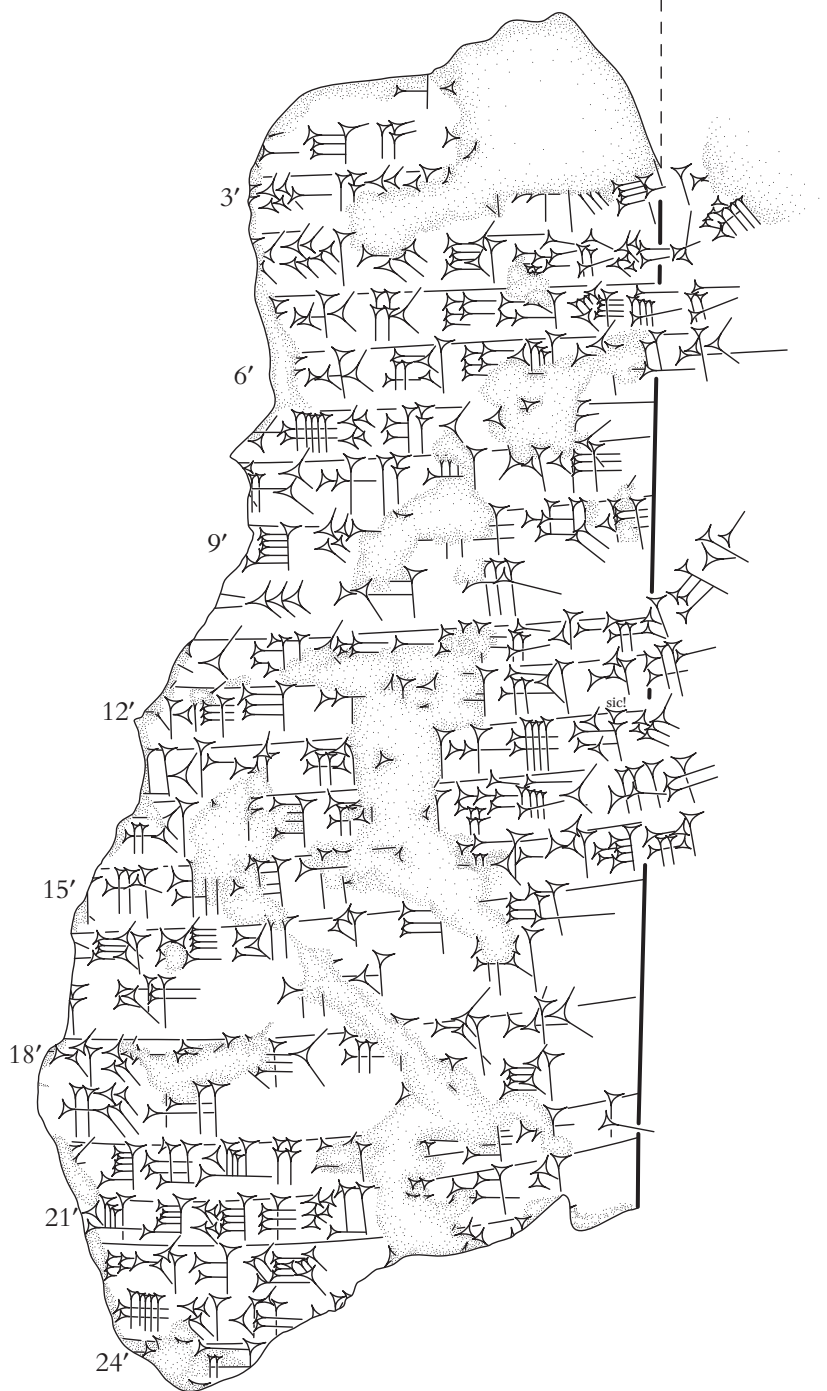


HS 1919+
reverse





HS 1887
obverse

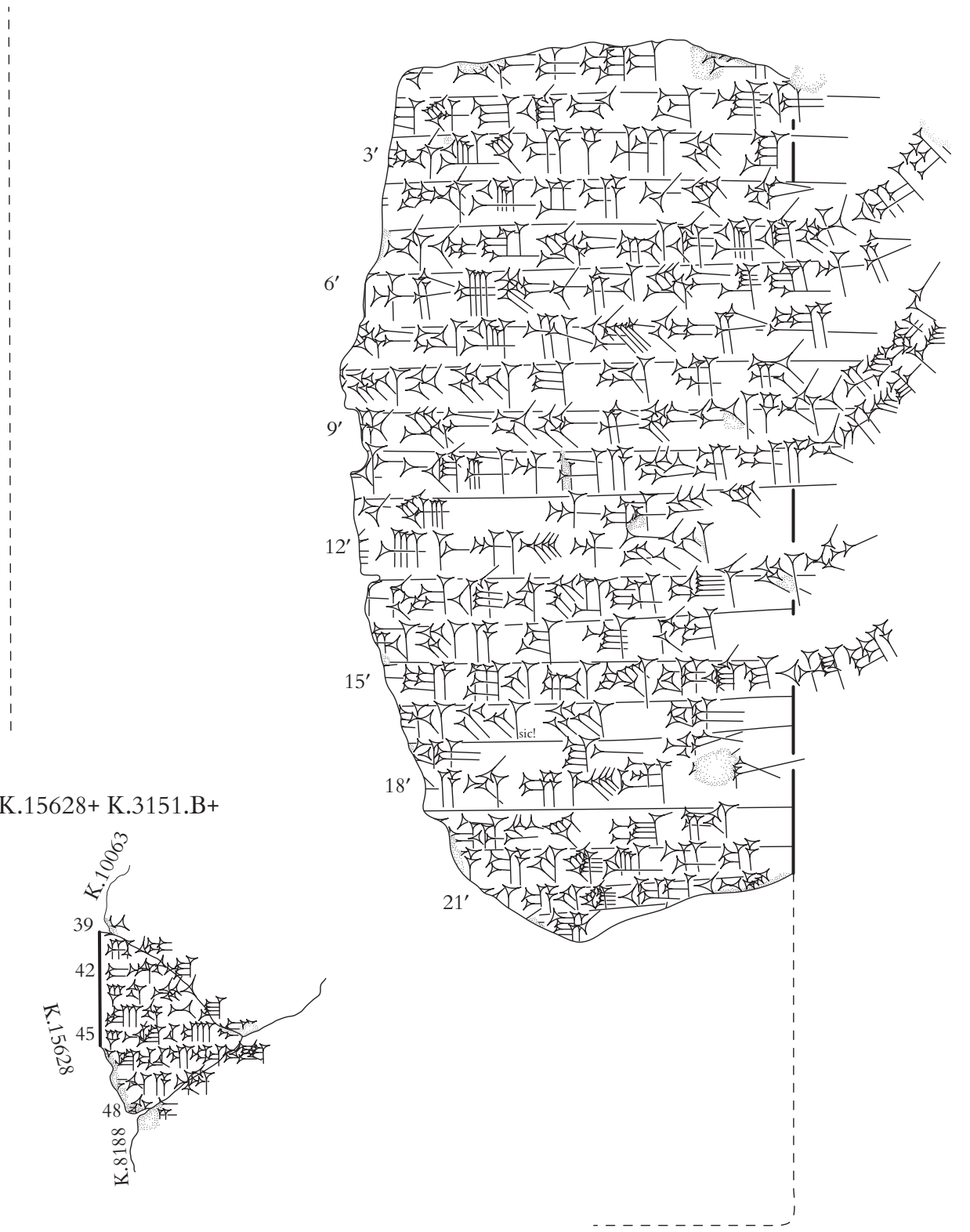


No. 4



No. 4

HS 1887
reverse



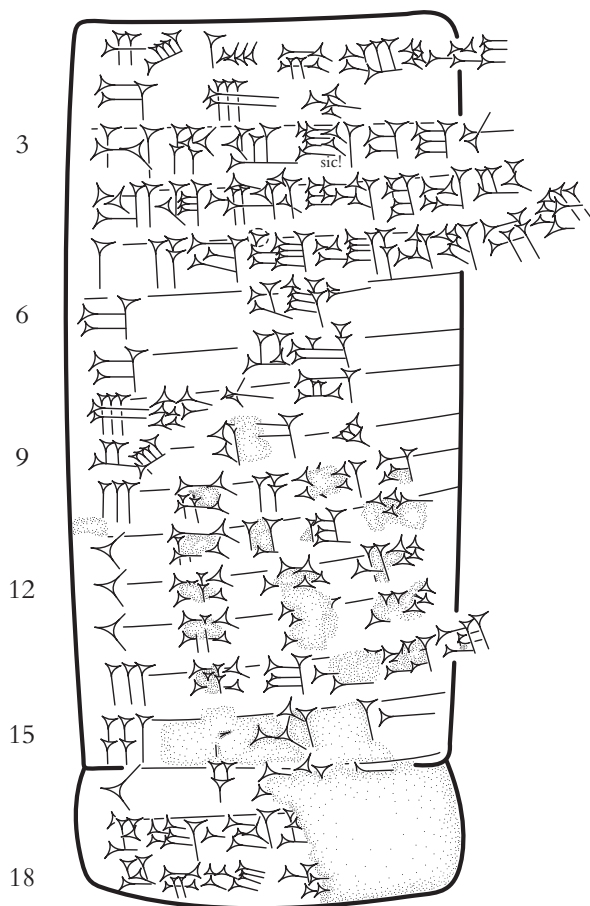
K.15628+ K.3151.B+

0 cm 1 2 3

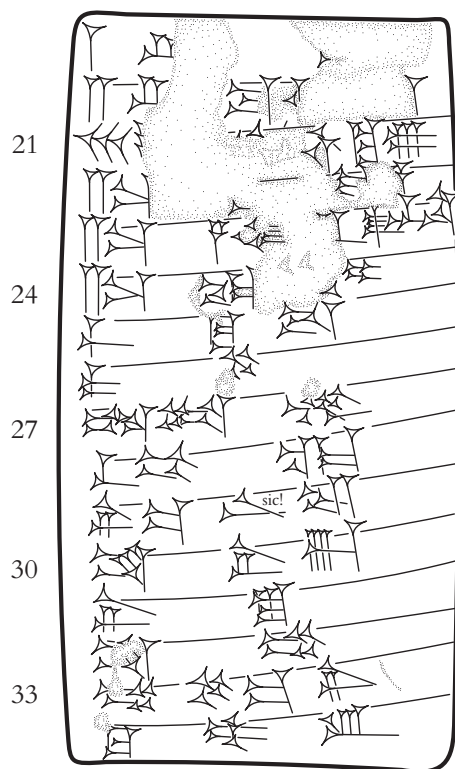


No. 4

HS 1888
obverse



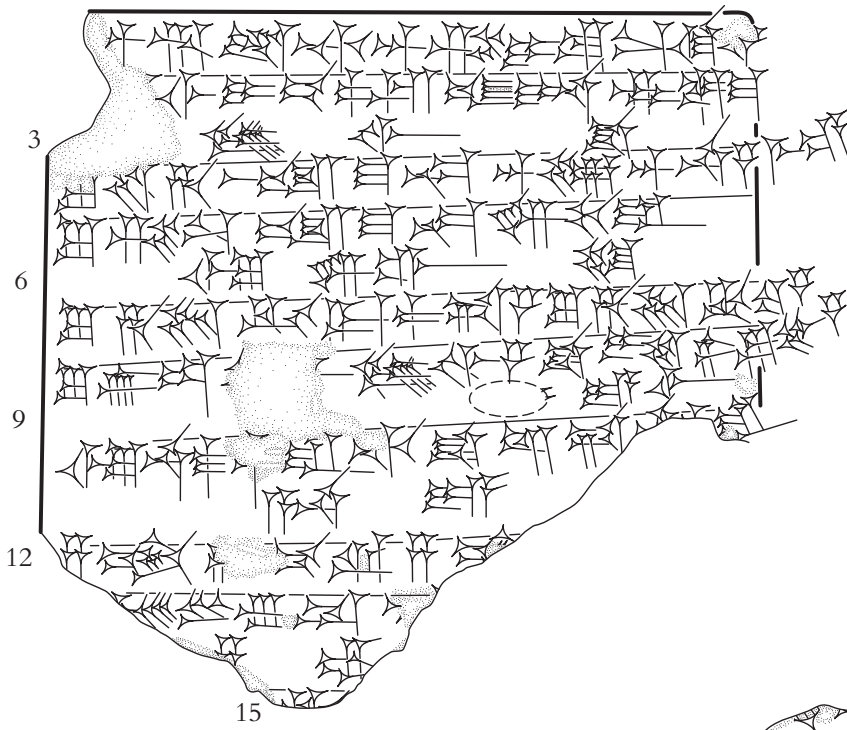
reverse



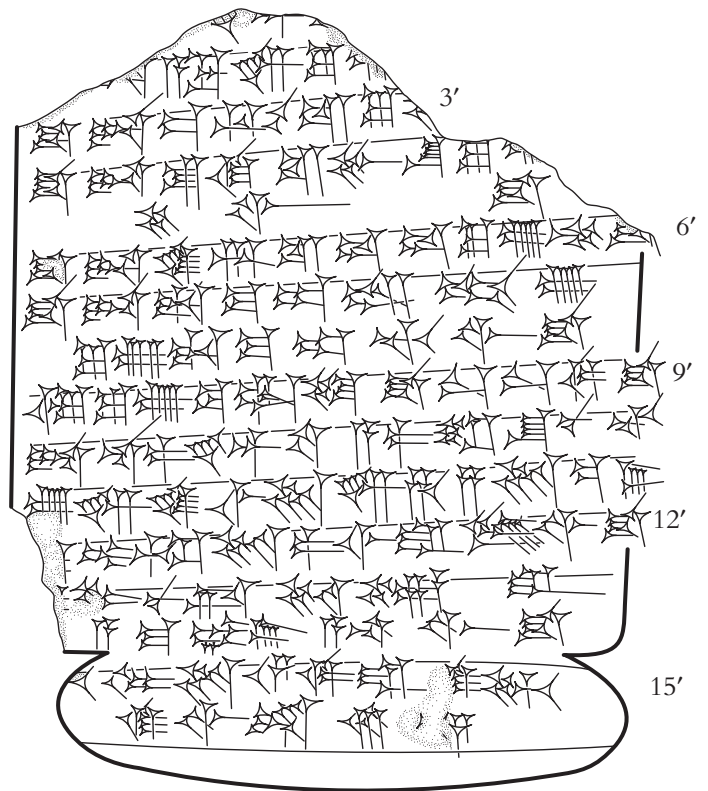


No. 5

HS 1889
obverse



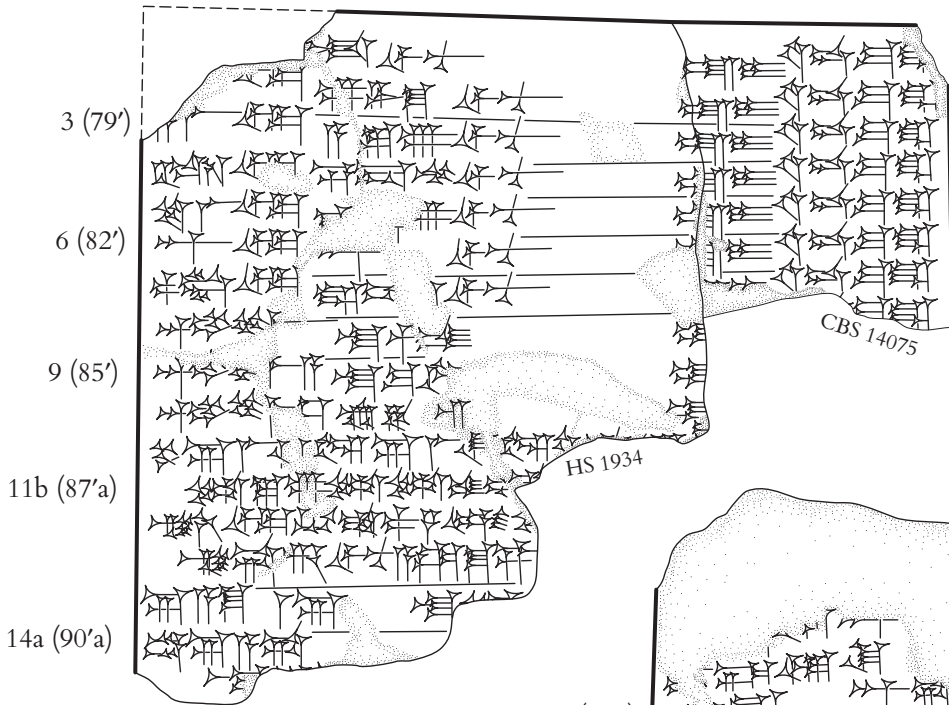
reverse



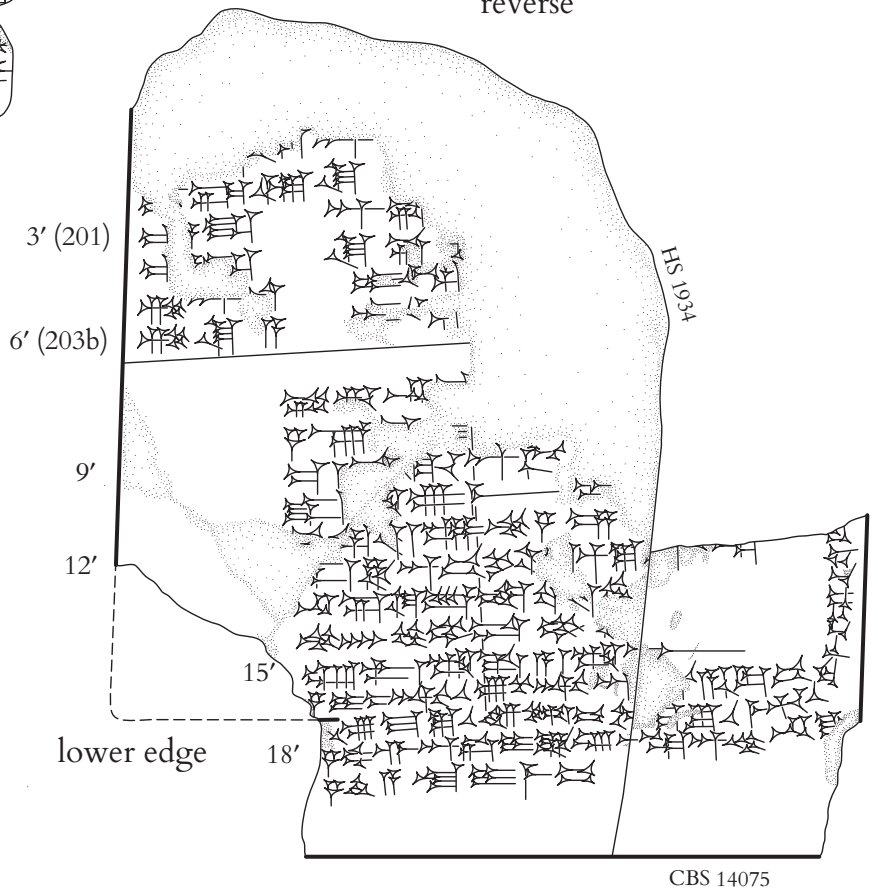


No. 6

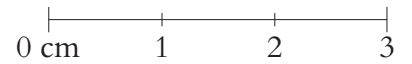
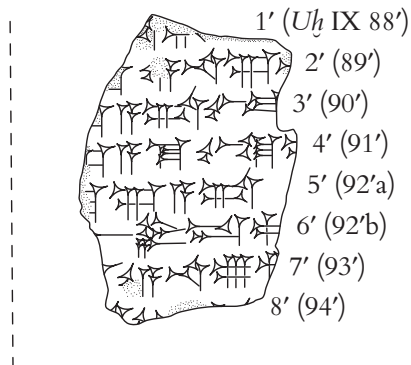
HS 1934 + CBS 14075
obverse

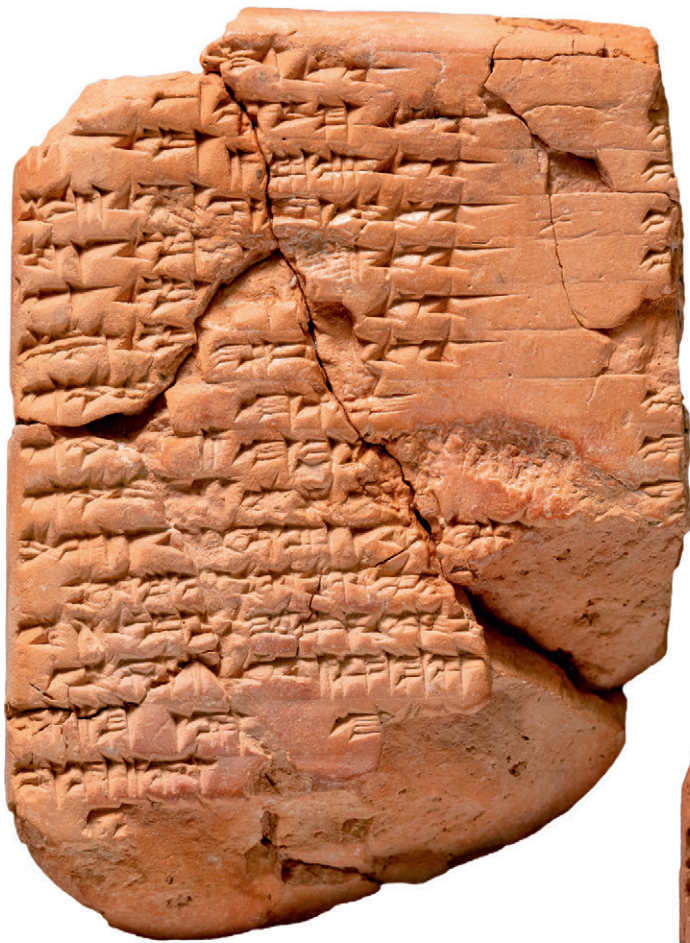


reverse



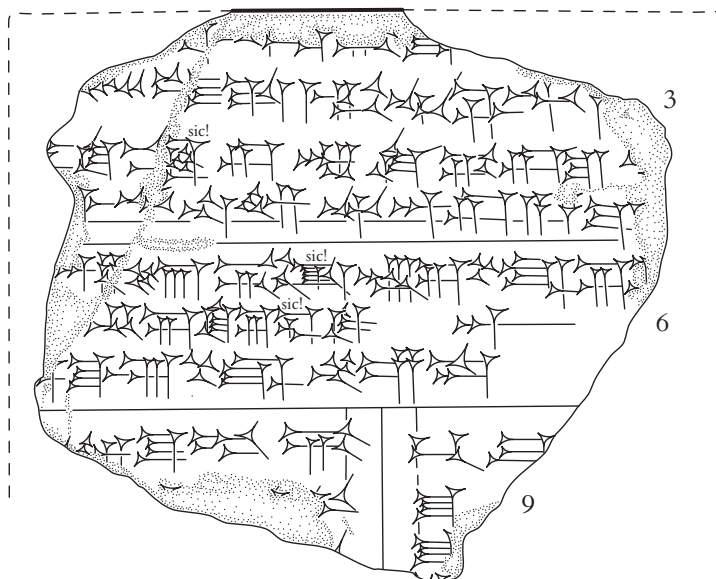
K.7687



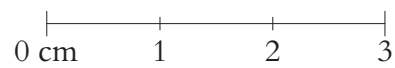
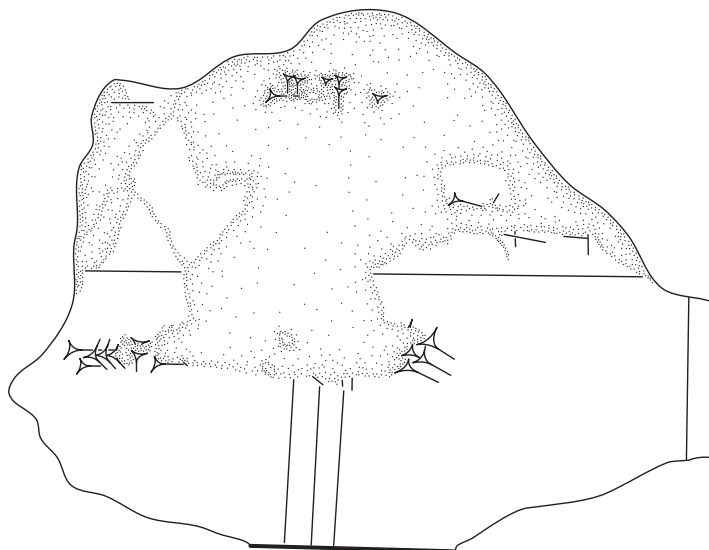


No. 7

CBS 6989
obverse



reverse

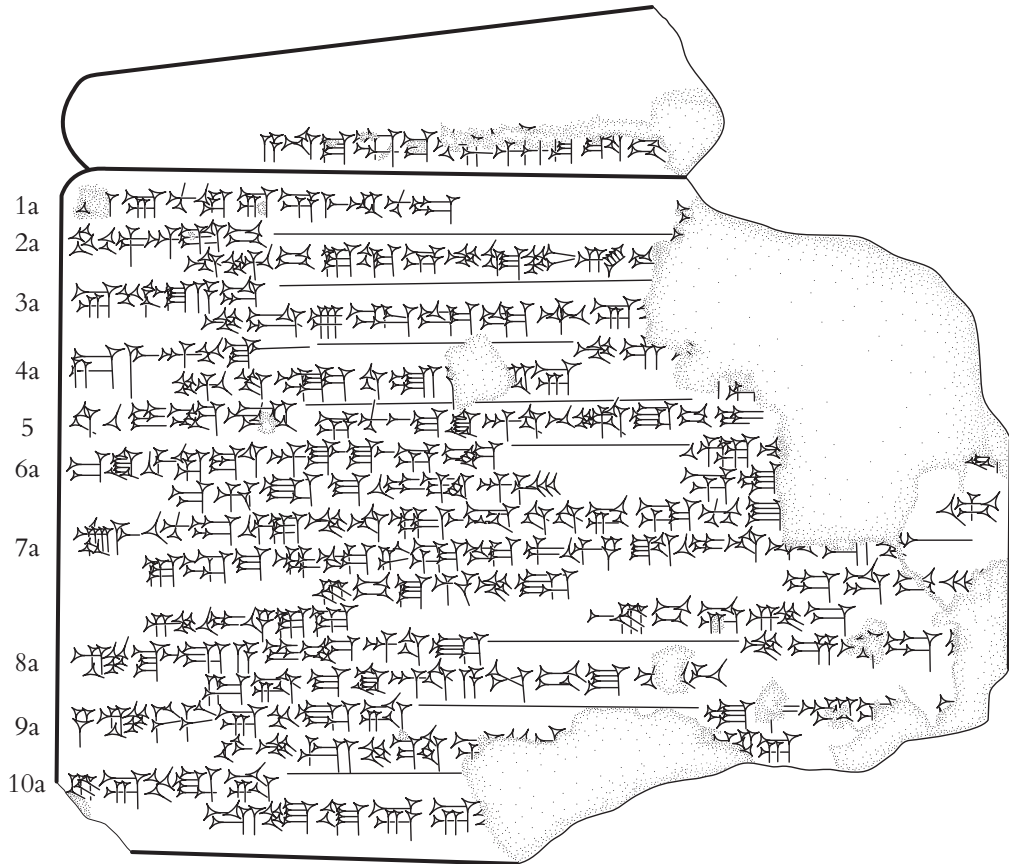




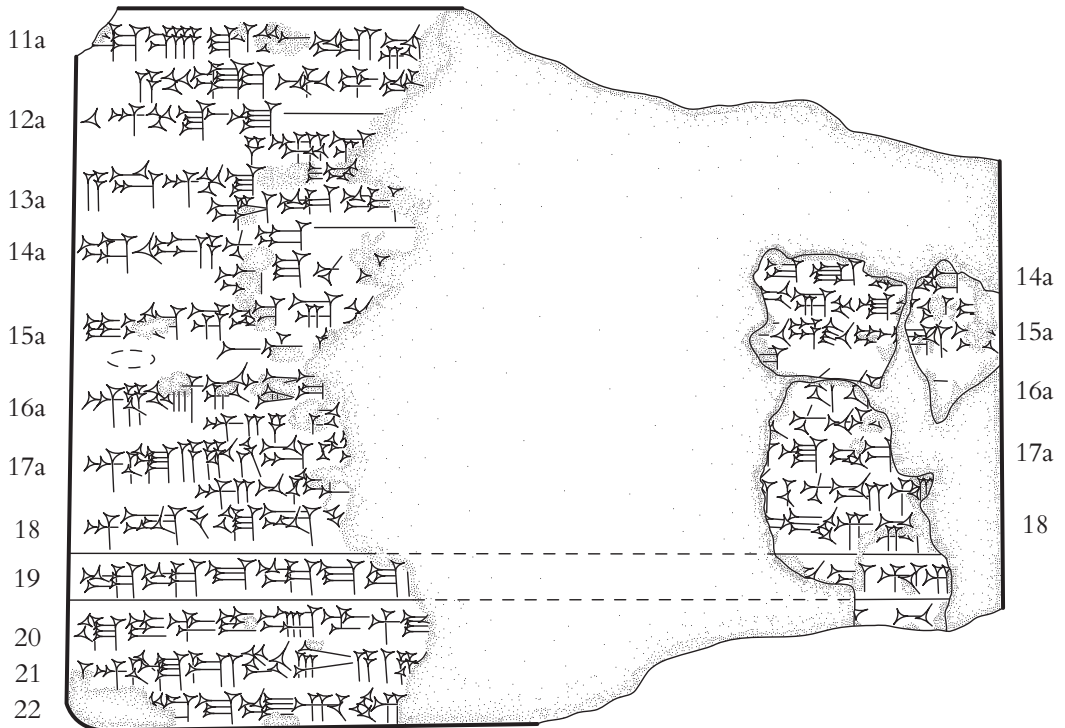
No. 8 — Introduction

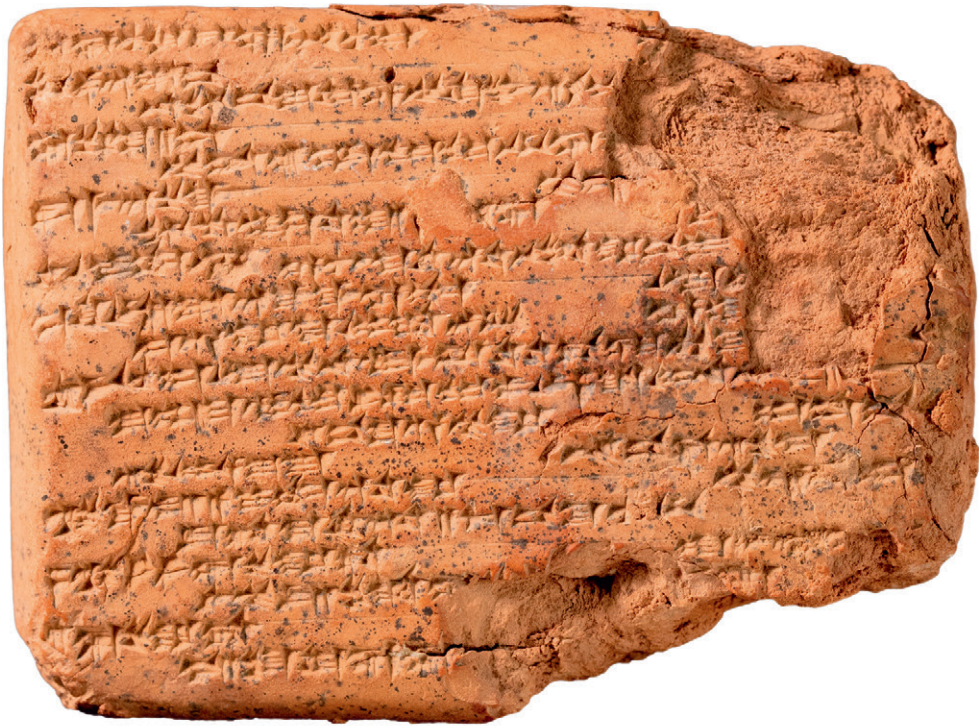
HS 1948
top edge

obverse



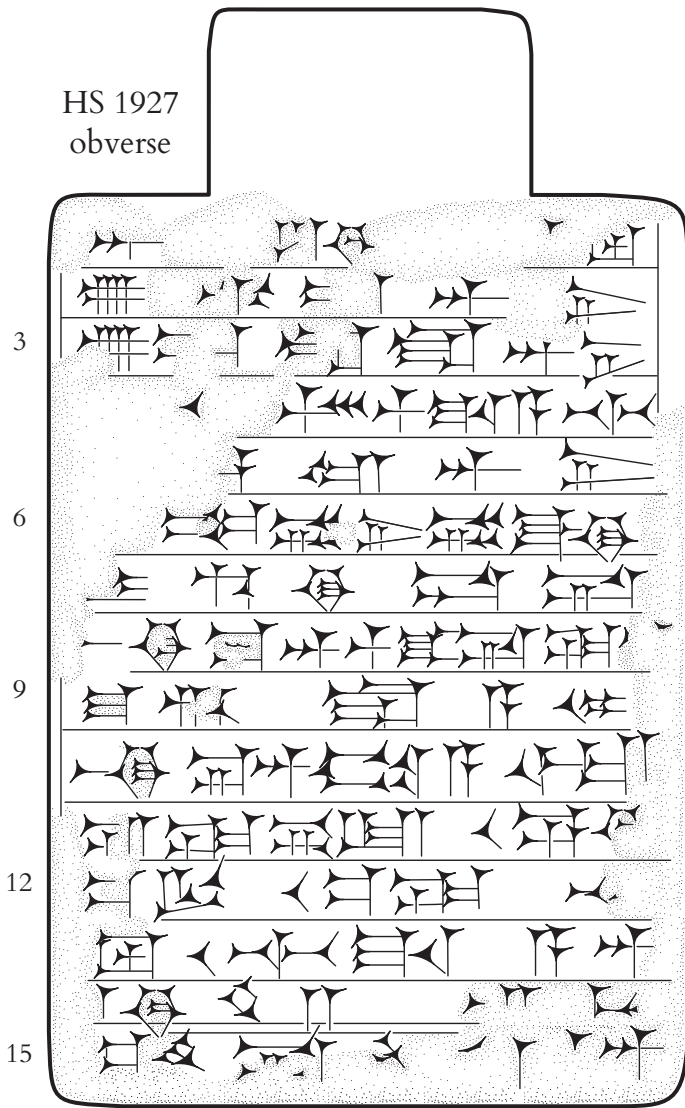
reverse



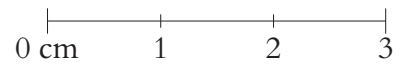
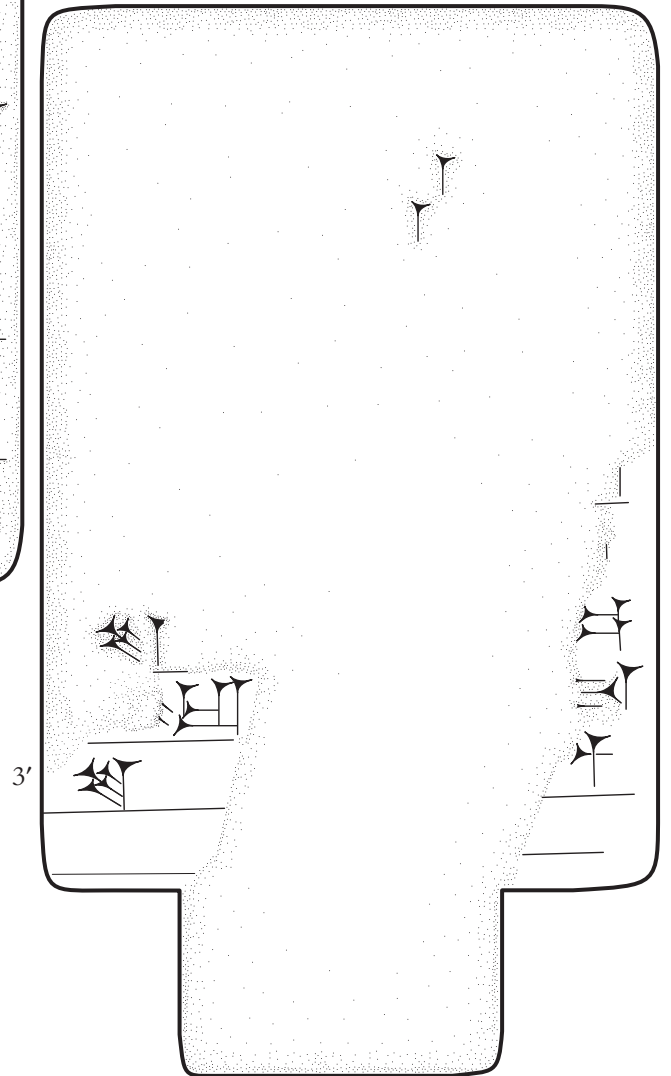


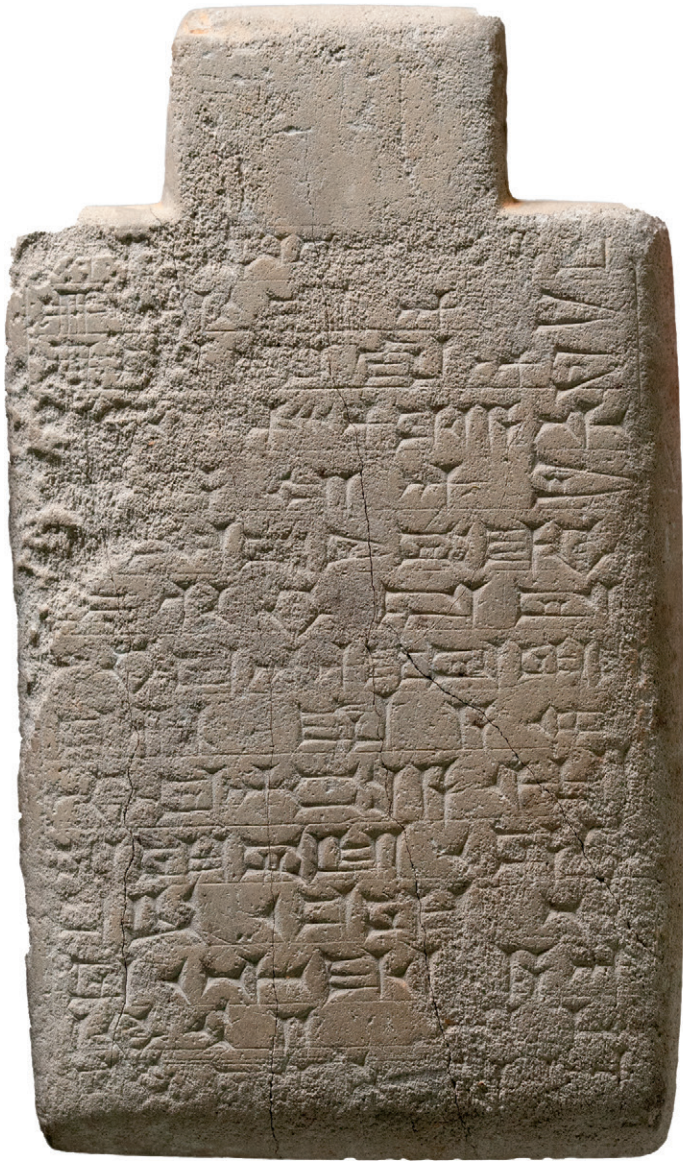
No. 8

HS 1927
obverse



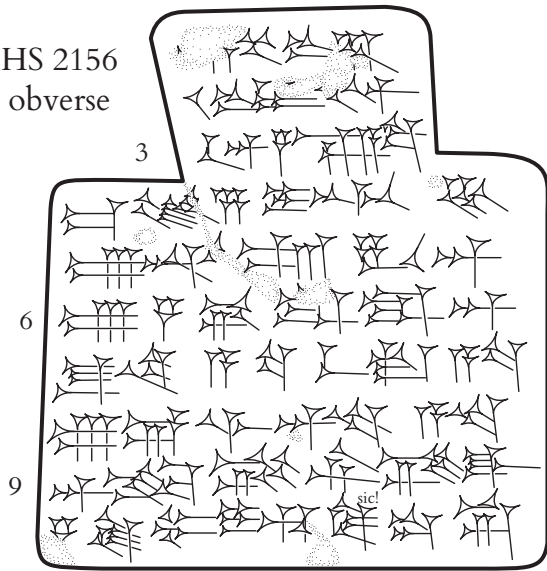
reverse



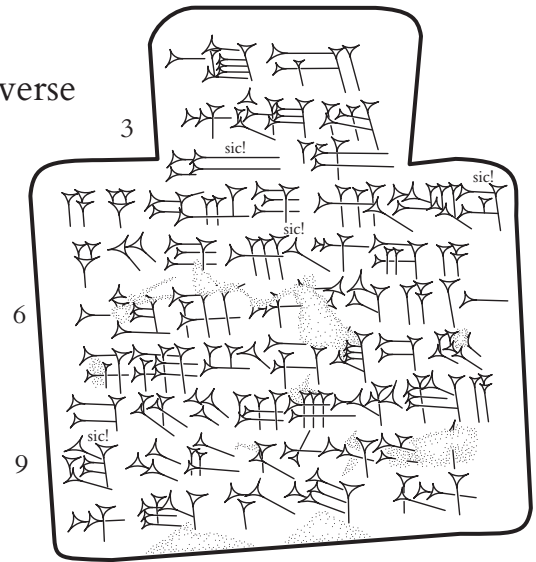


No. 9

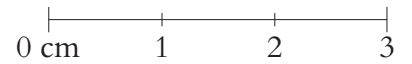
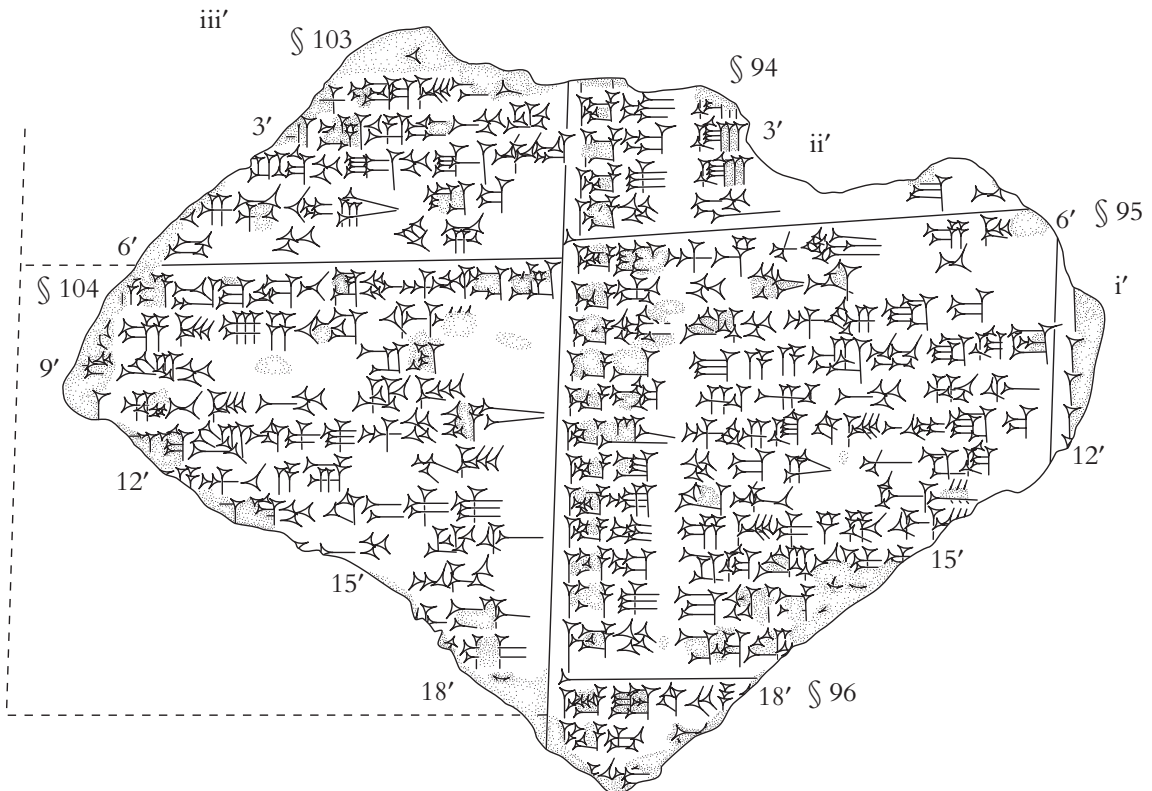
HS 2156
obverse



reverse



HS 1923

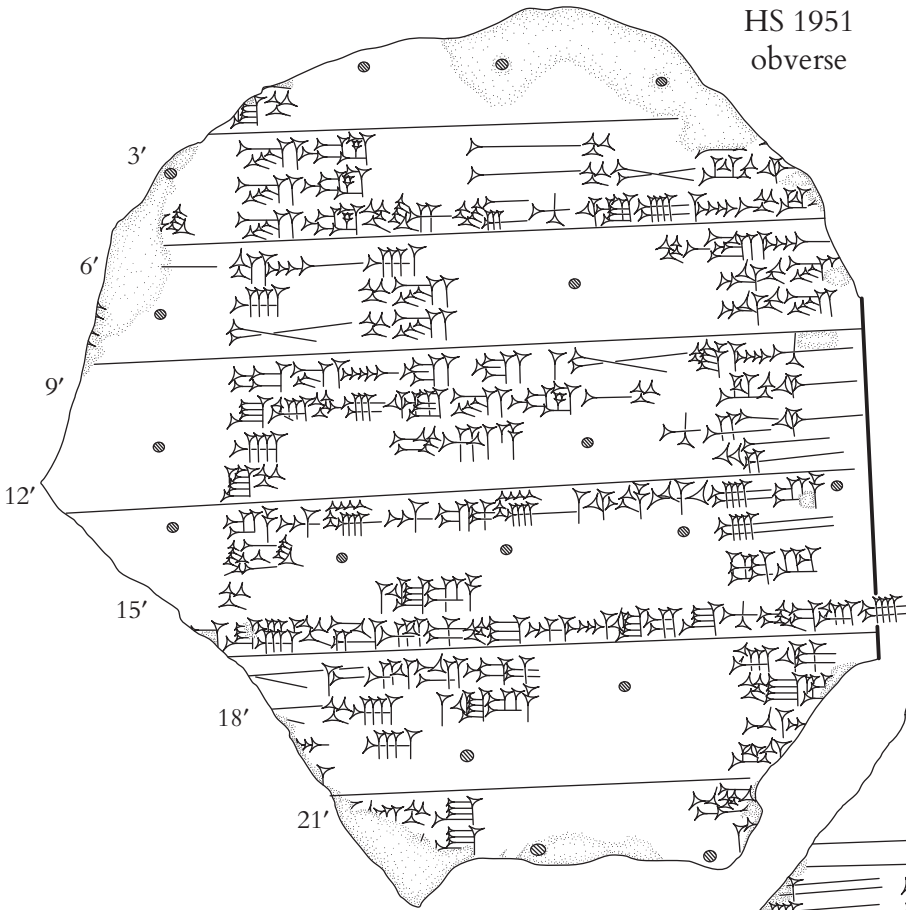


Nos. 10 and 11

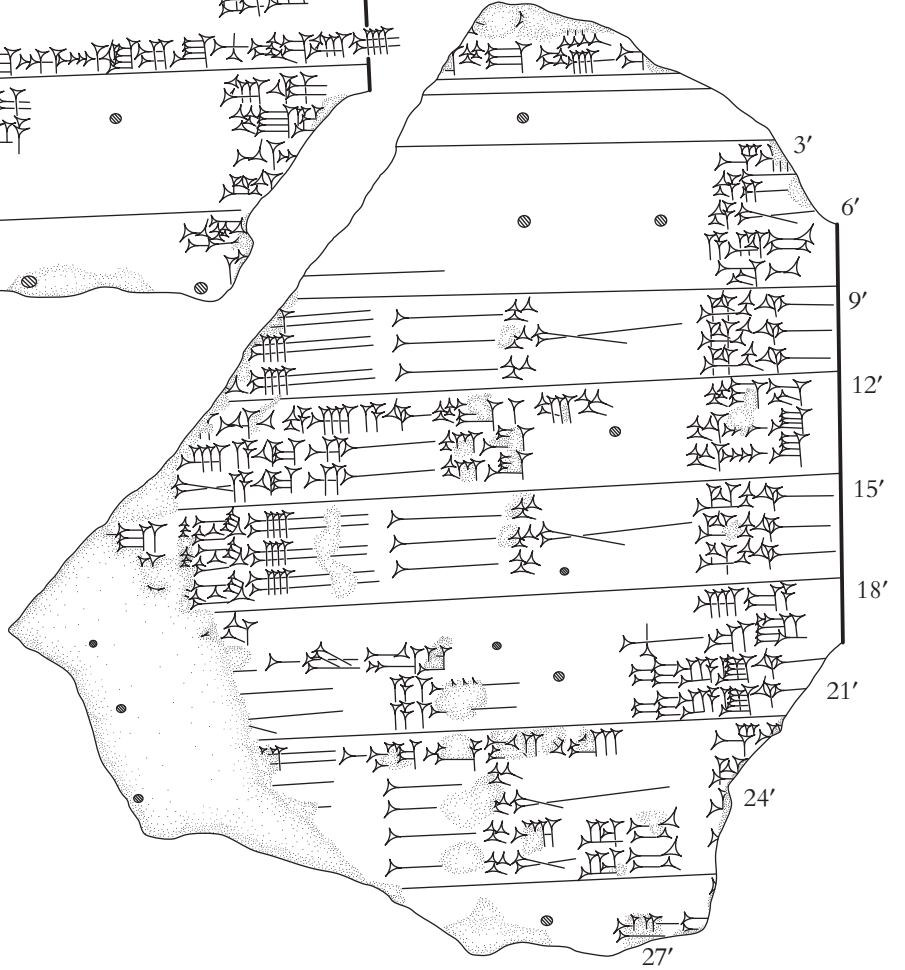


Nos. 10 and 11

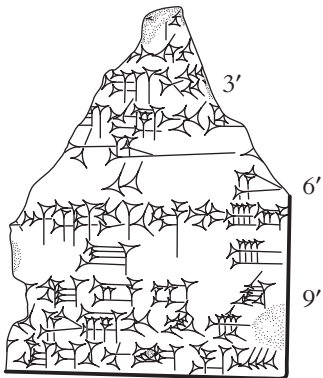
HS 1951
obverse



reverse

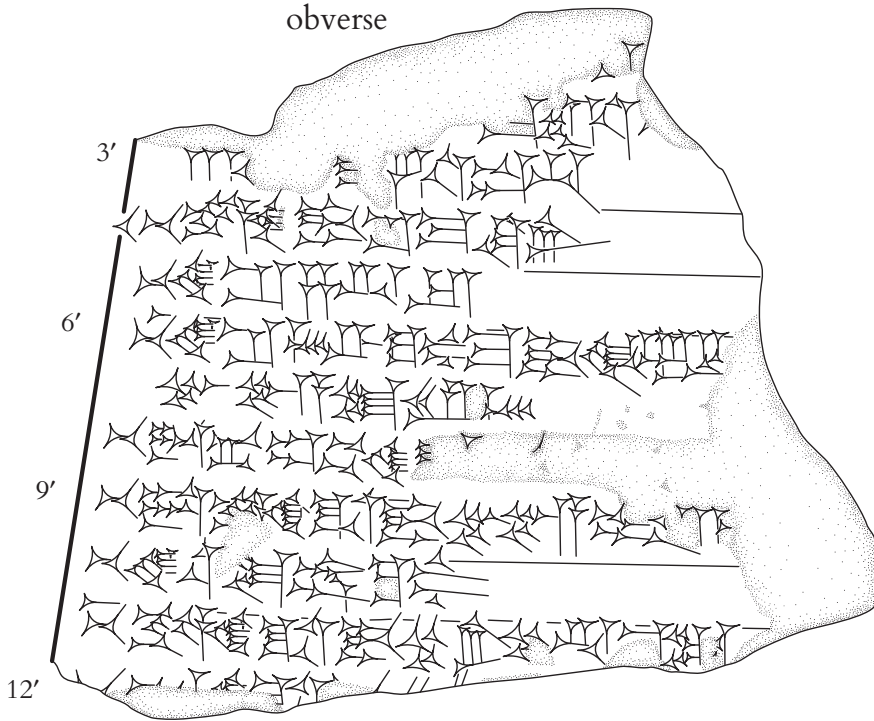


BM 38365

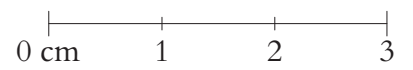
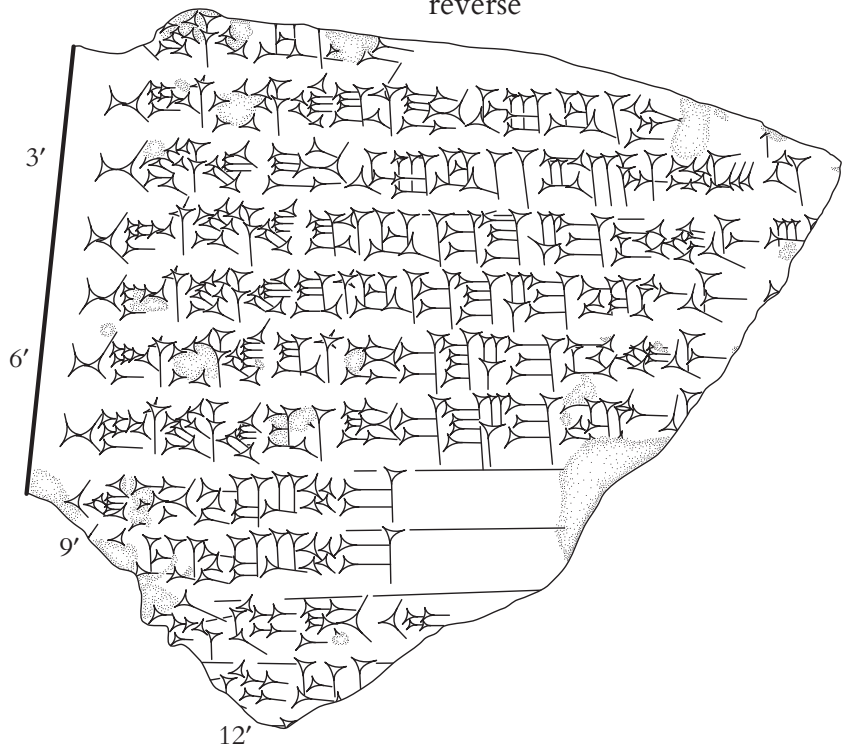




HS 2941
obverse



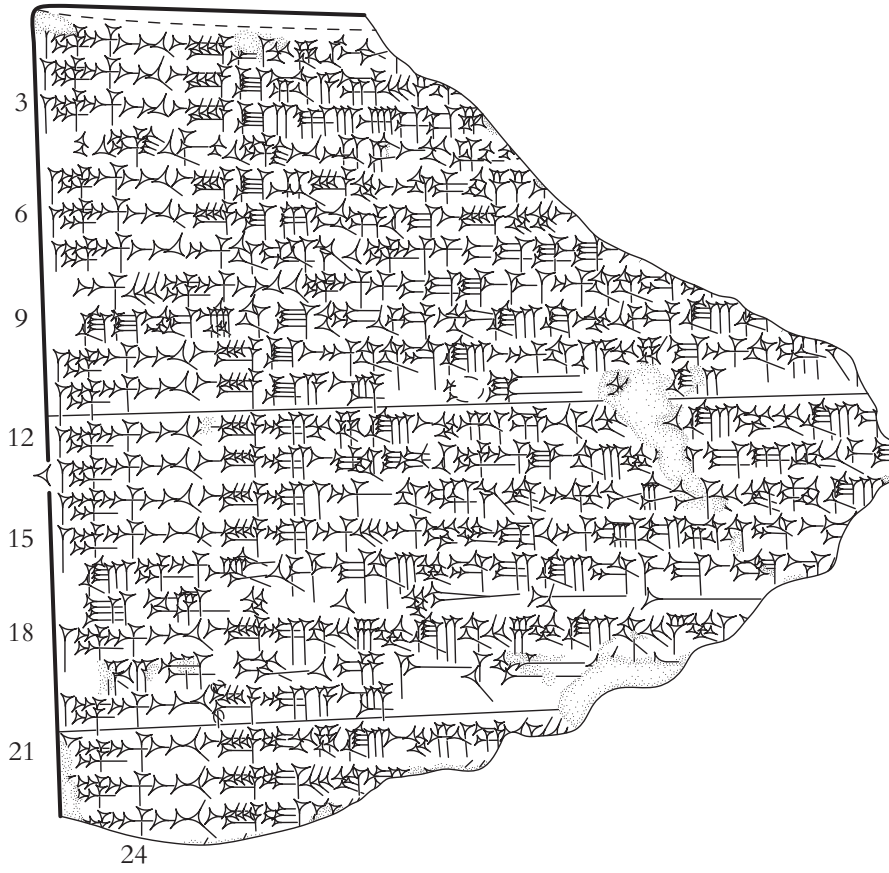
reverse



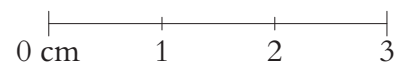
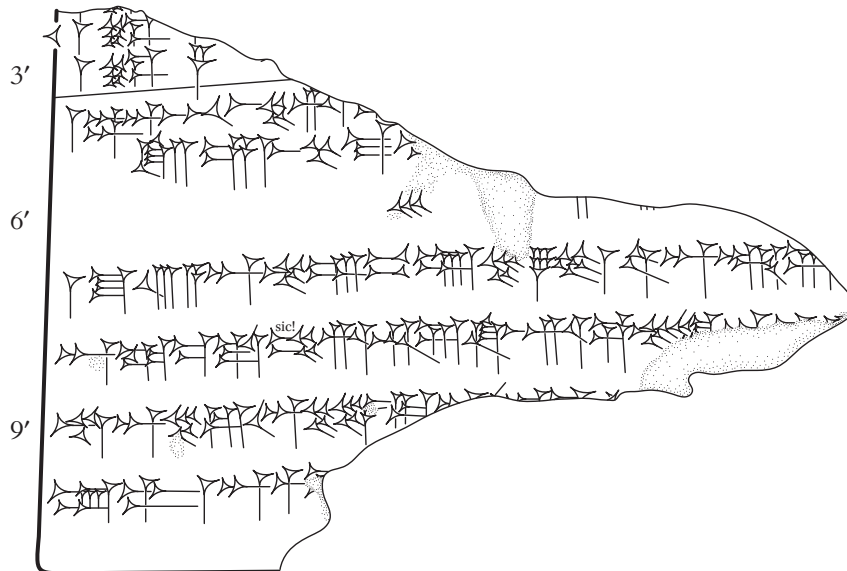


No. 13

HS 1933
obverse



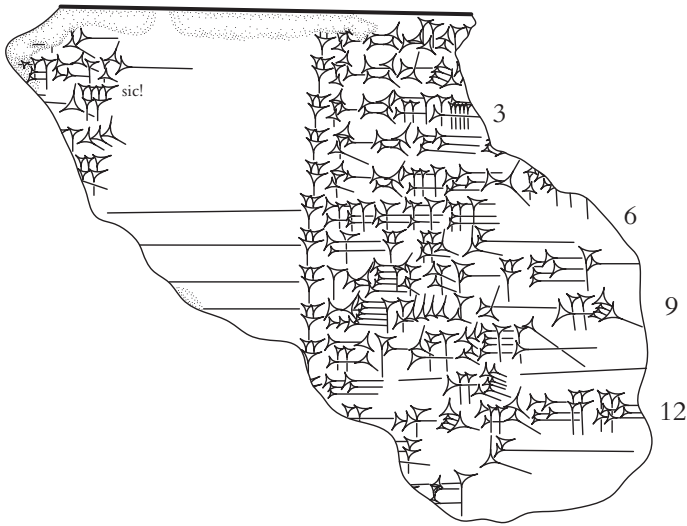
reverse



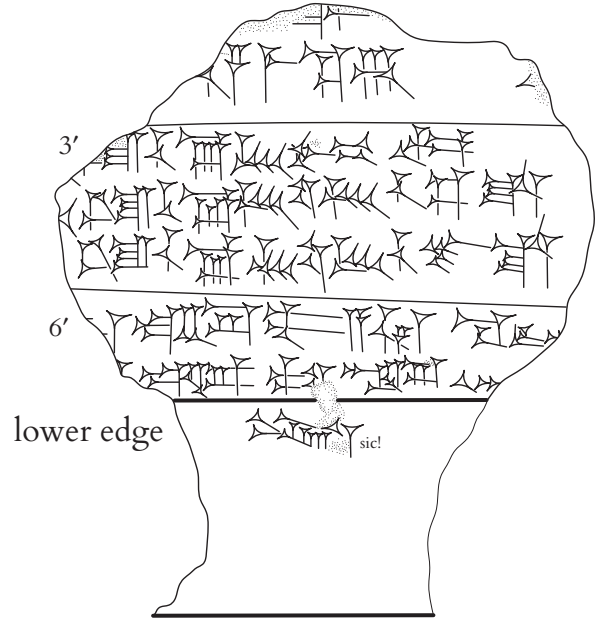


No. 14

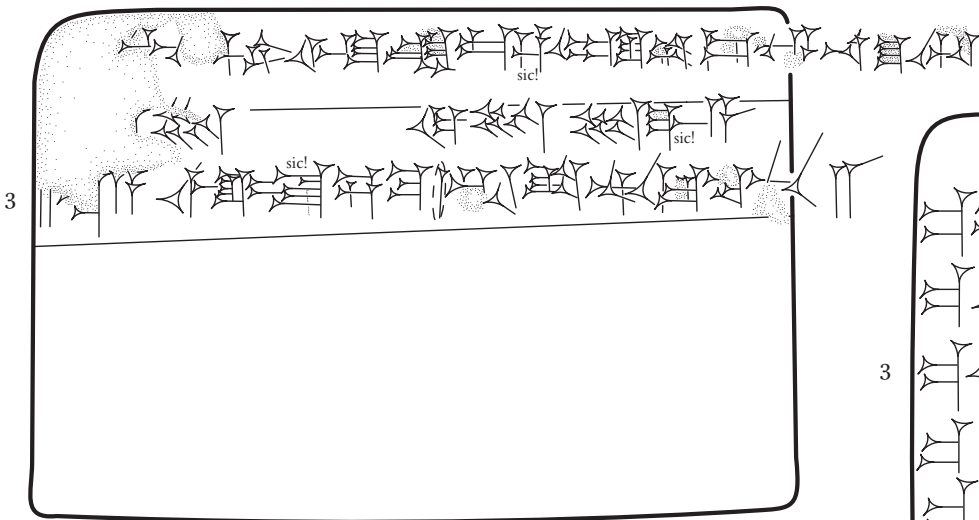
HS 1945
obverse



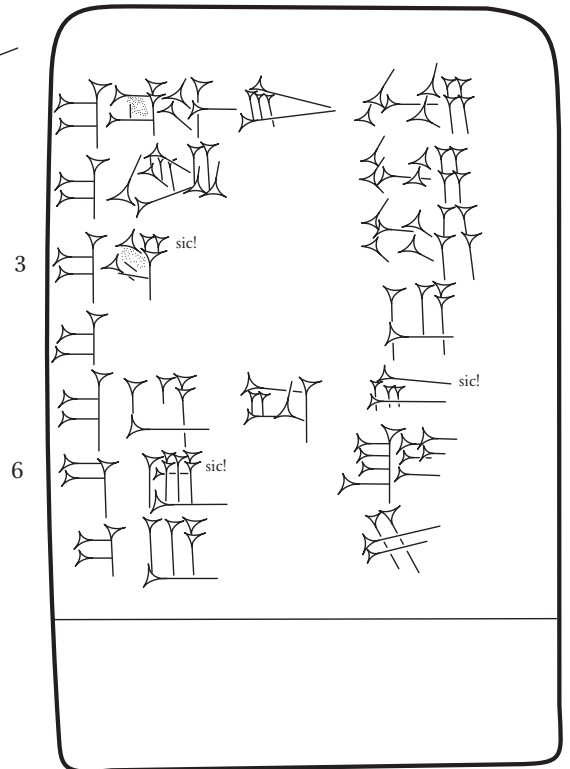
reverse



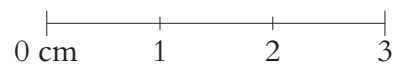
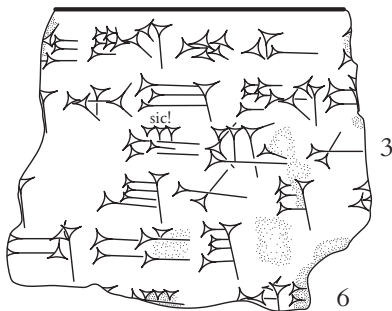
HS 1890
obverse



reverse



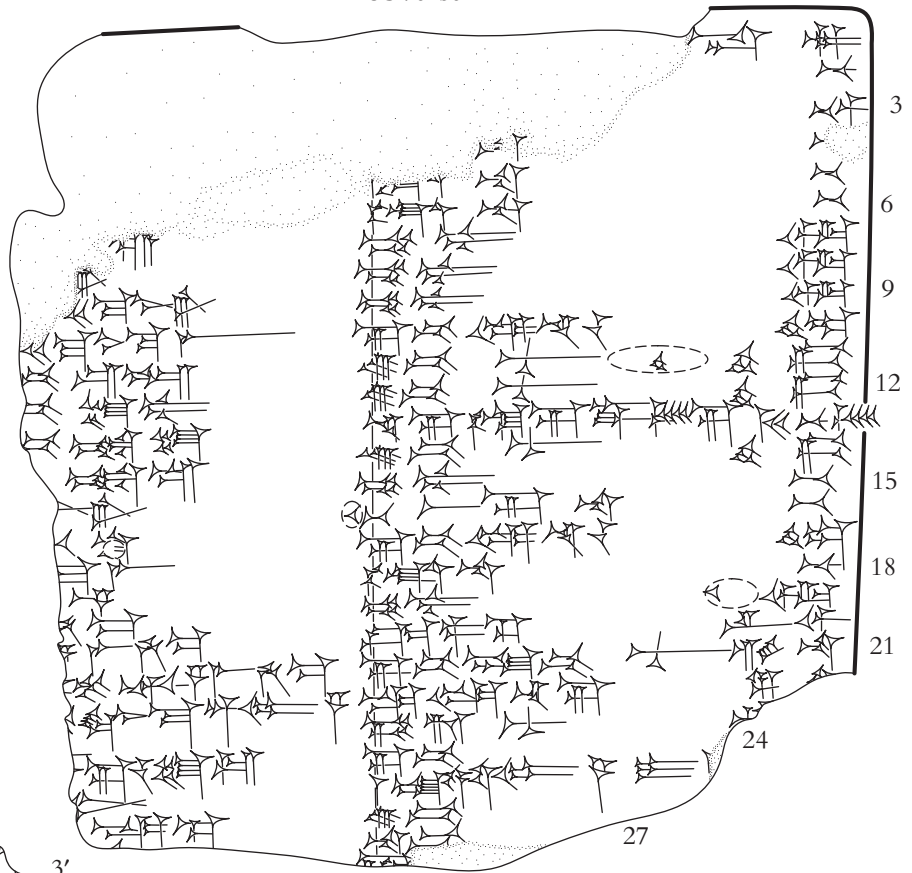
HS 1892



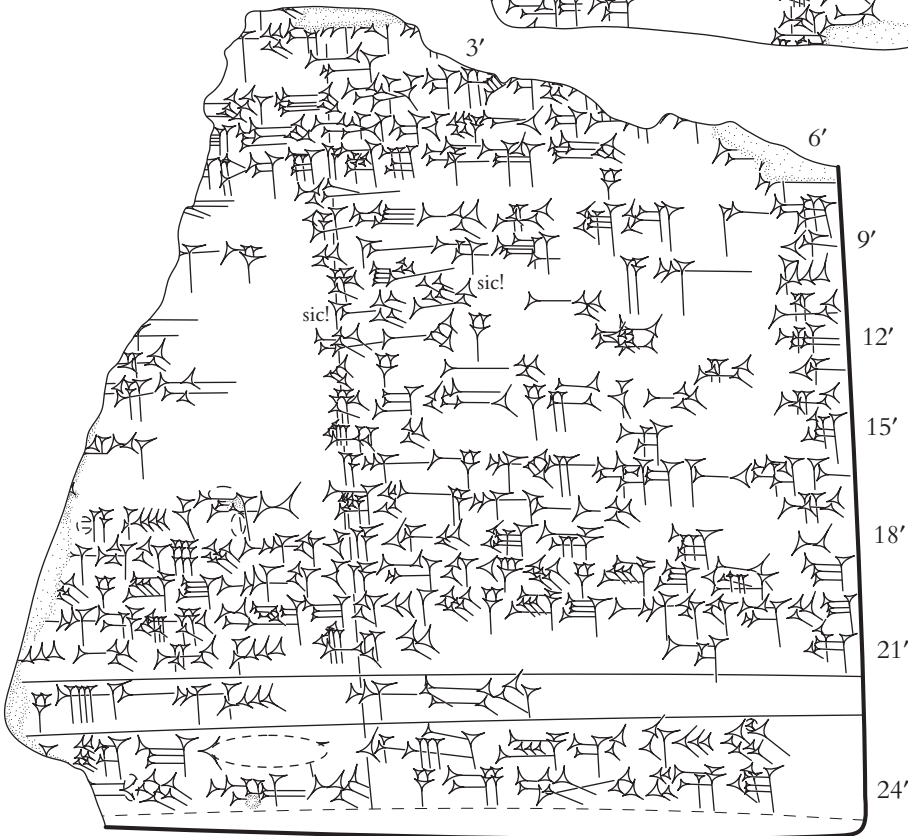


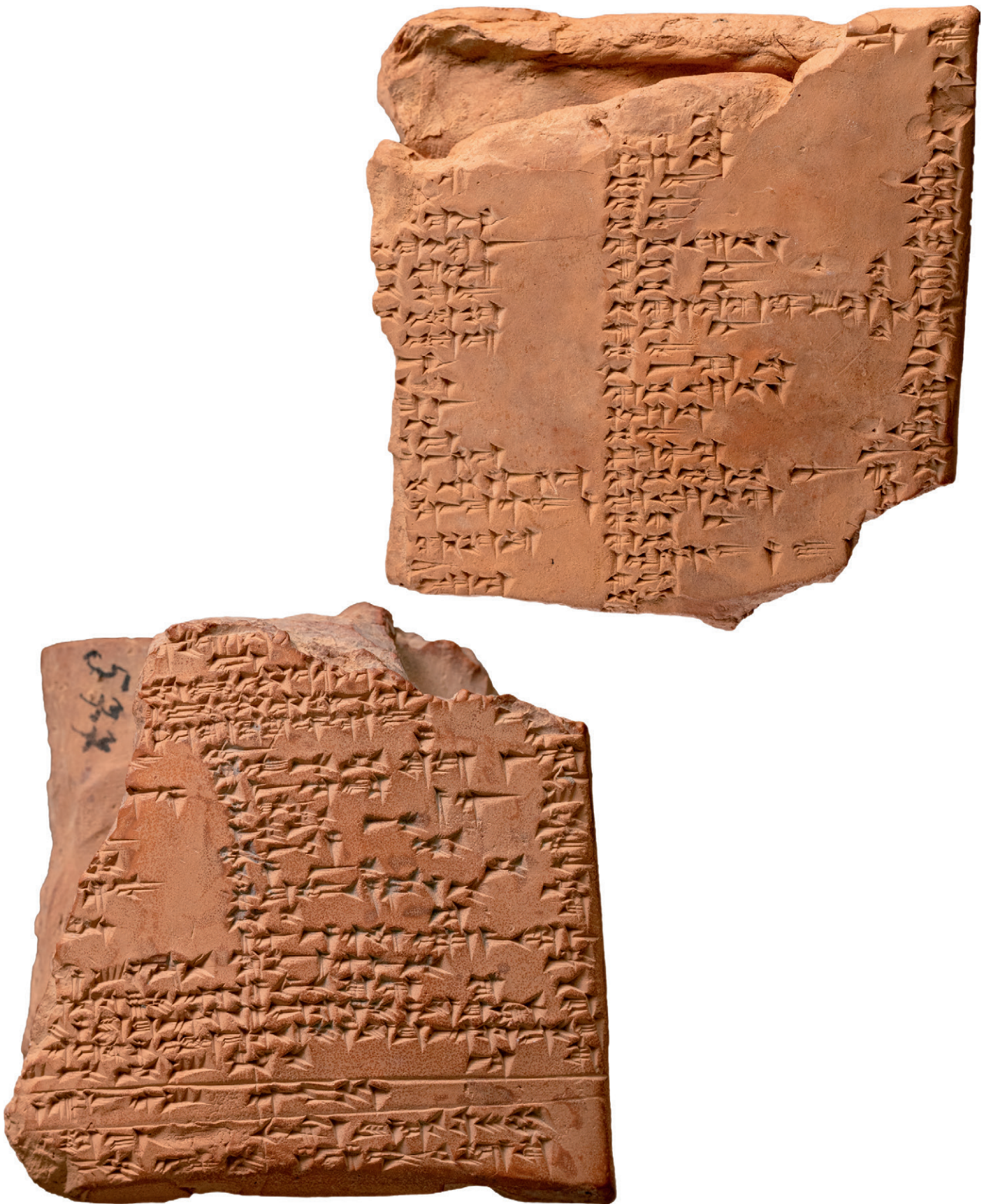
Nos. 15, 17, and 18

HS 1947
obverse



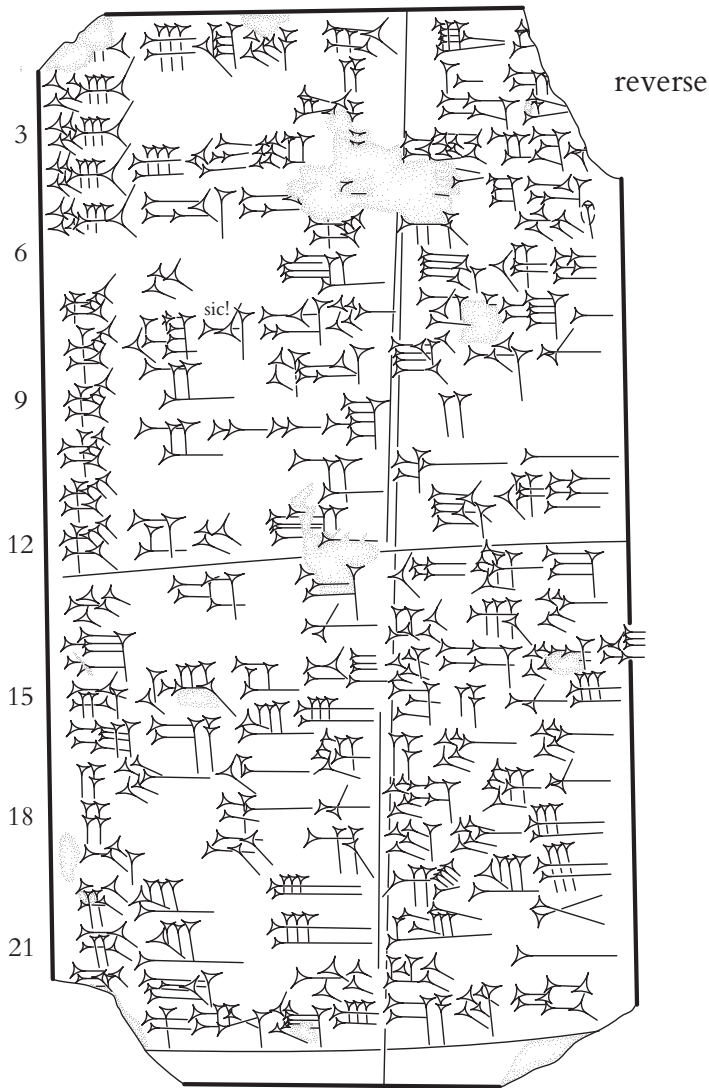
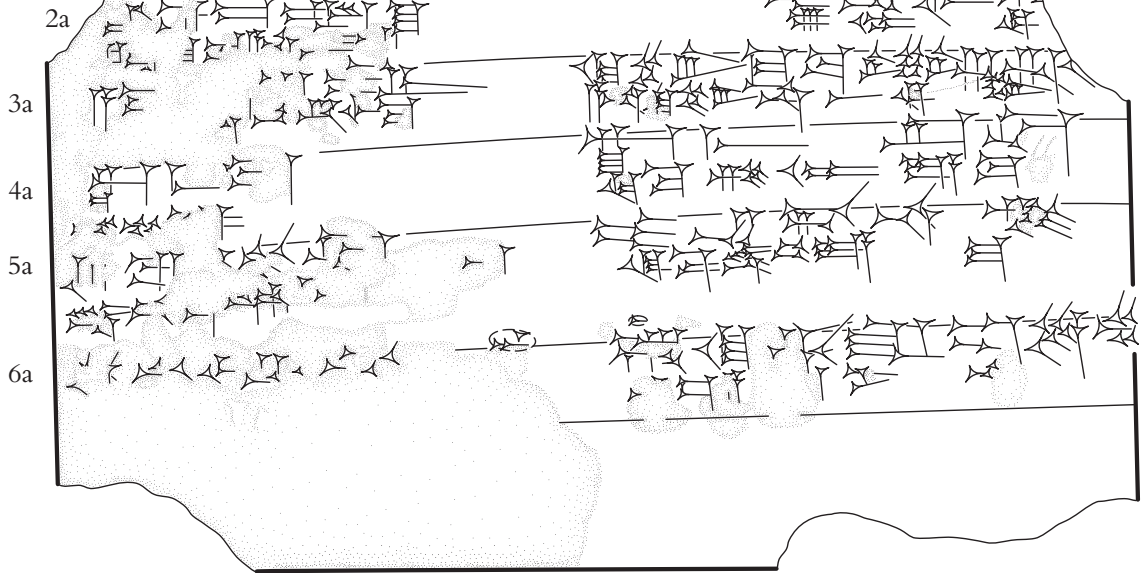
reverse





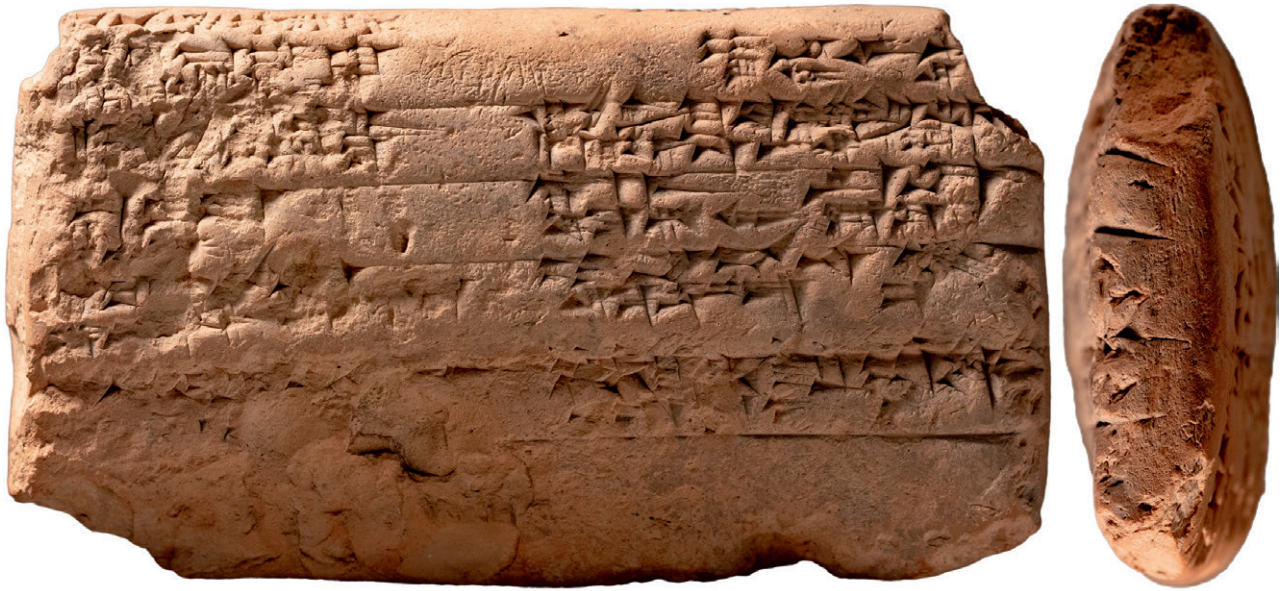
No. 16

HS 1895
obverse

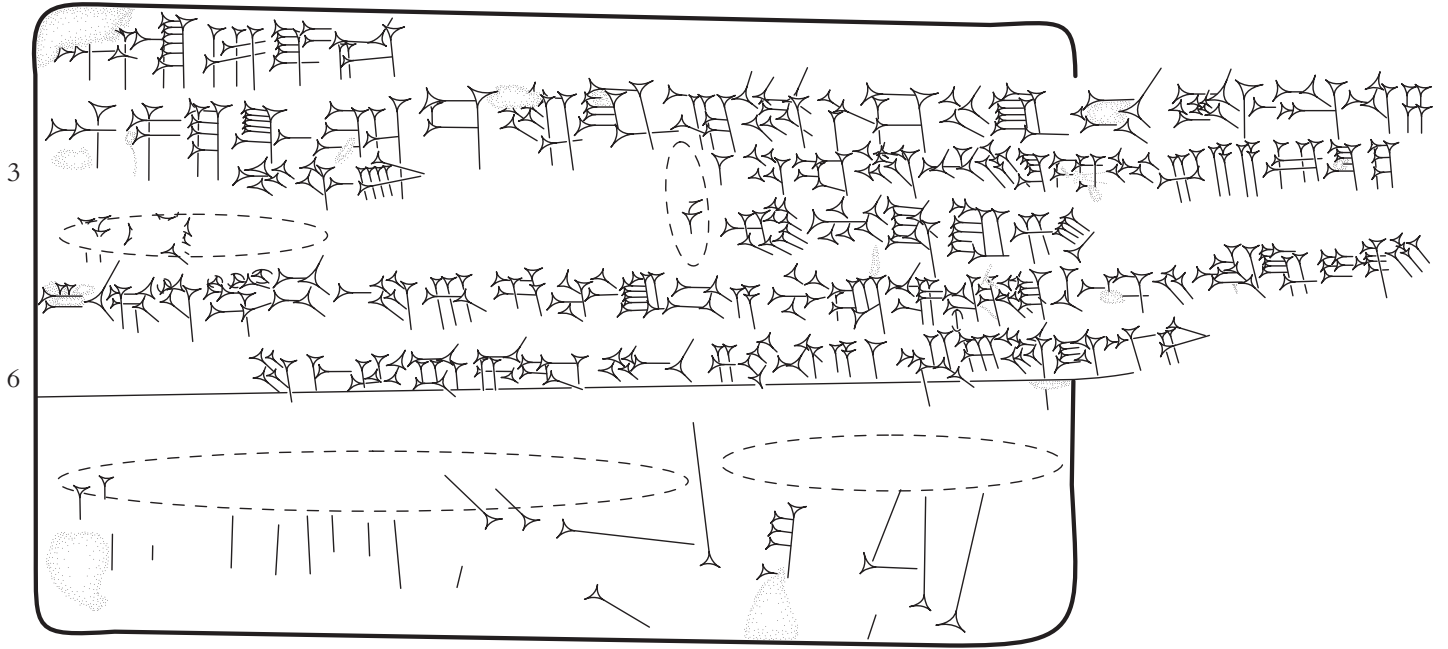


reverse

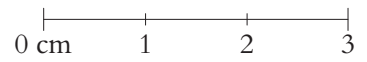
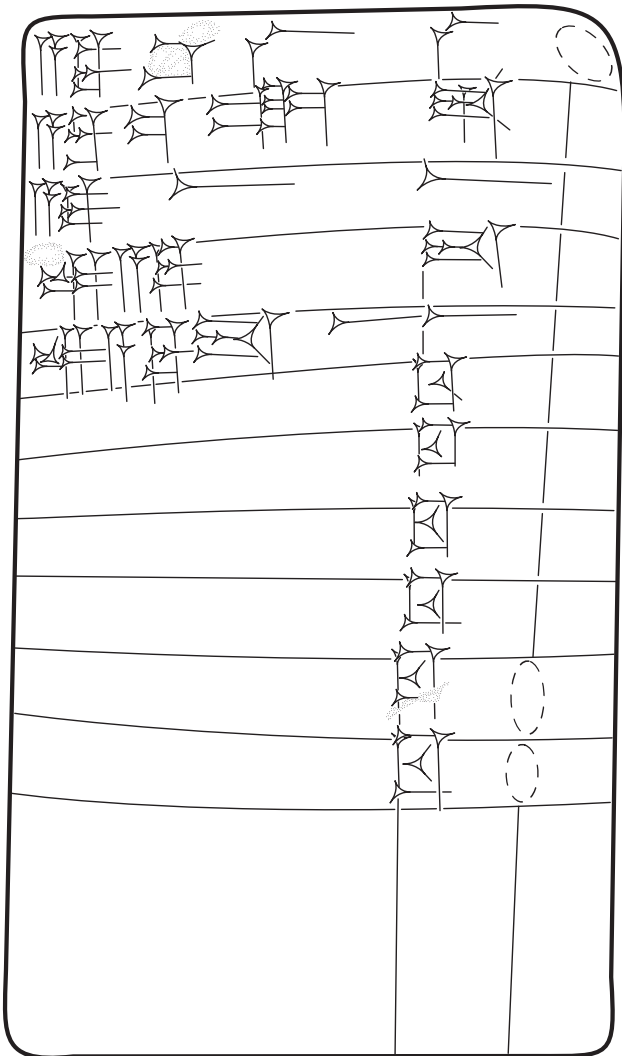




No. 19



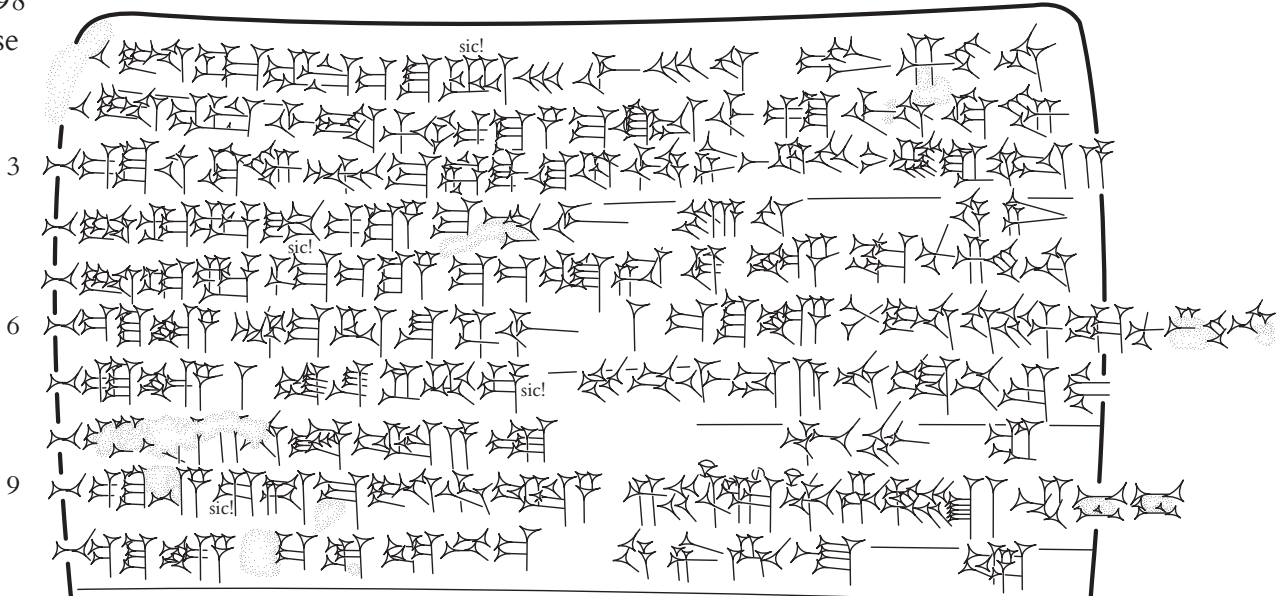
reverse



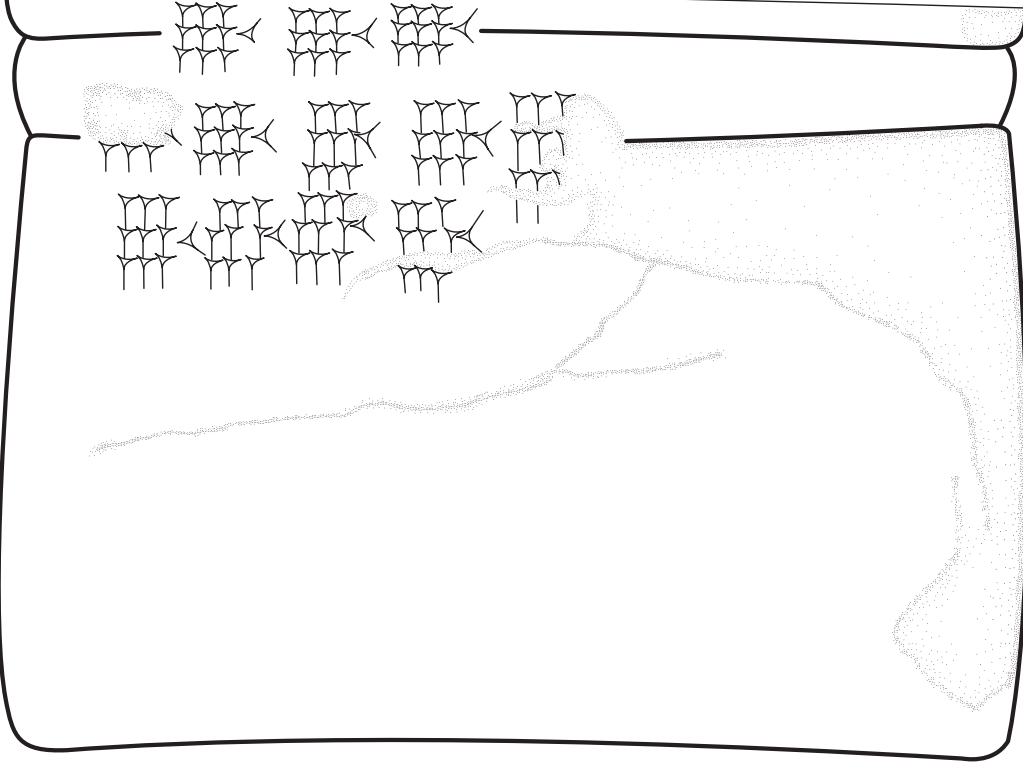


No. 20

HS 1898
obverse

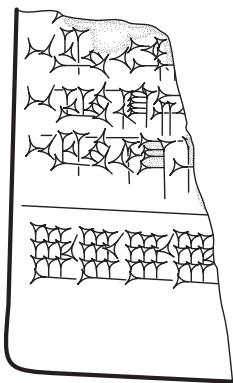


reverse

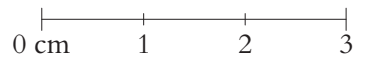
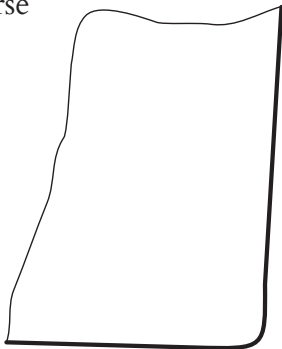


HS 1899
obverse

3'



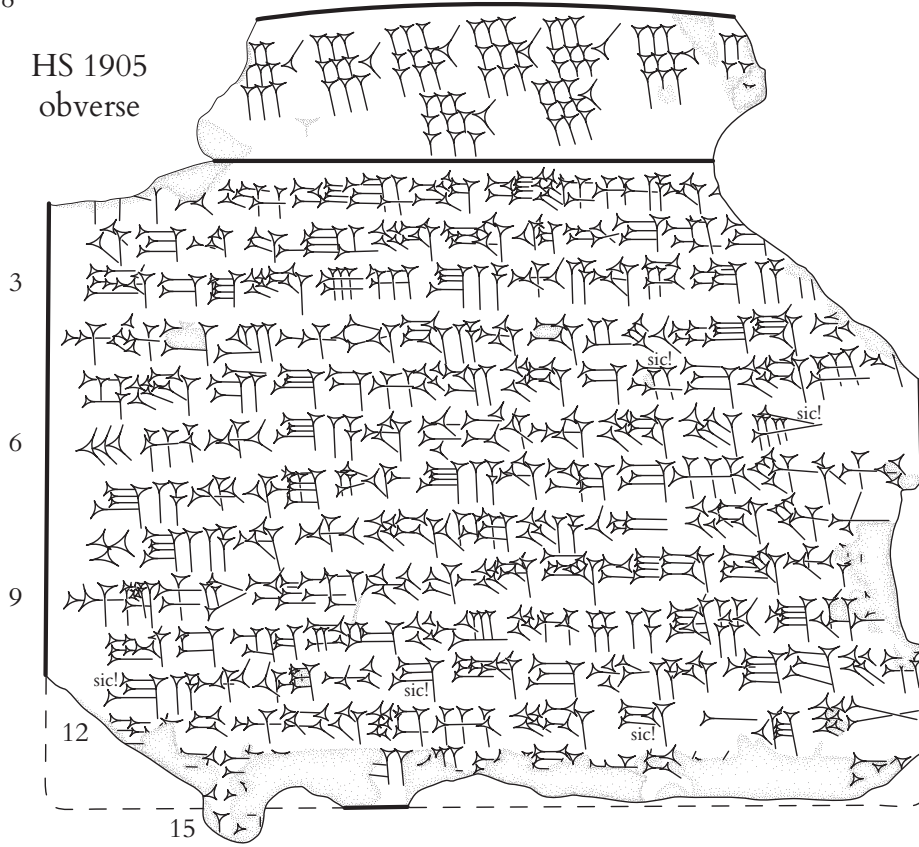
reverse



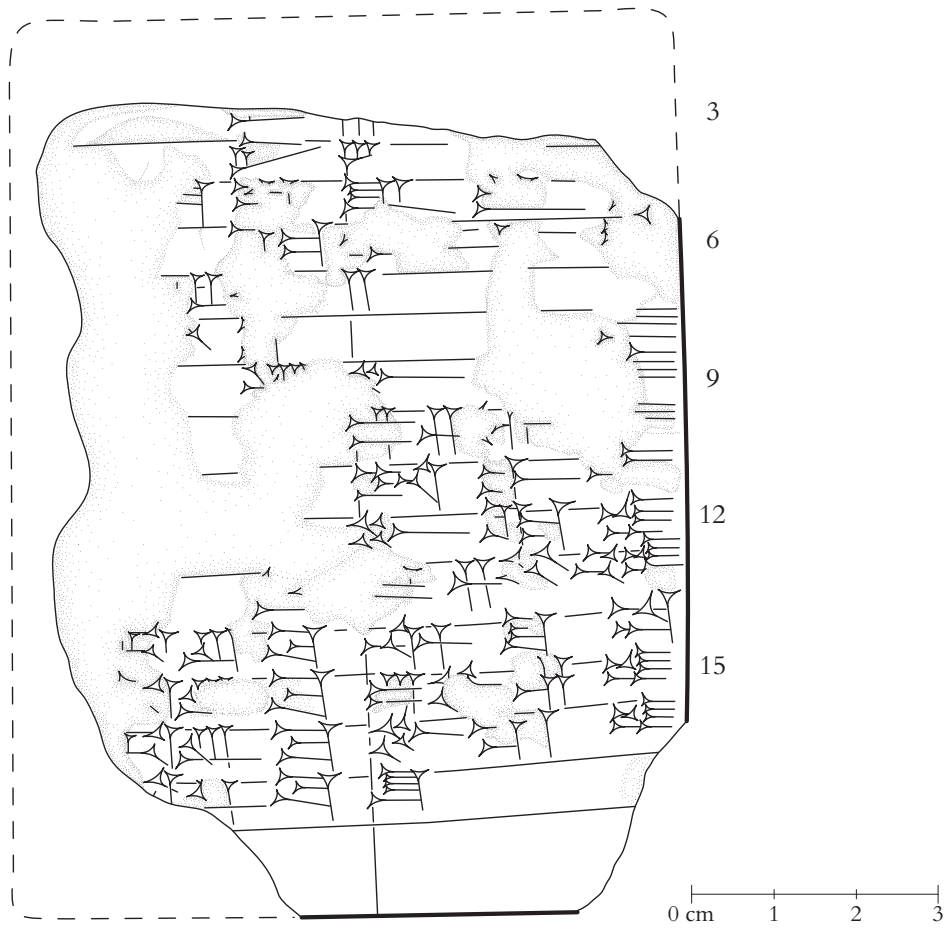


Nos. 21 and 22

HS 1905
obverse



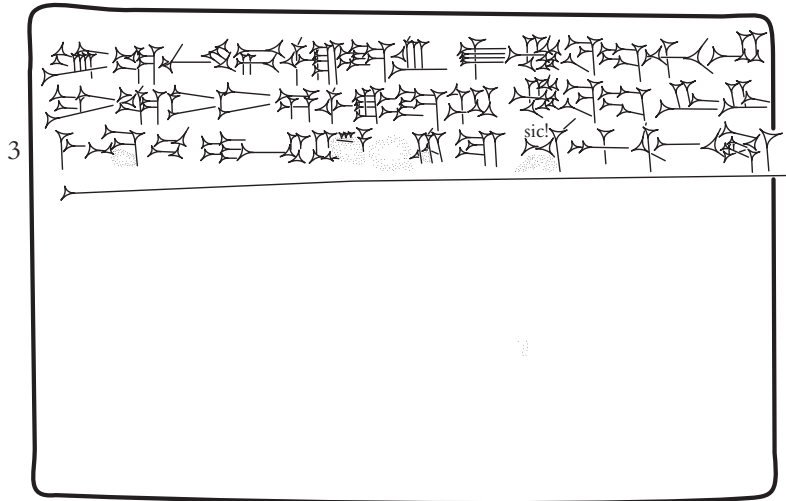
reverse



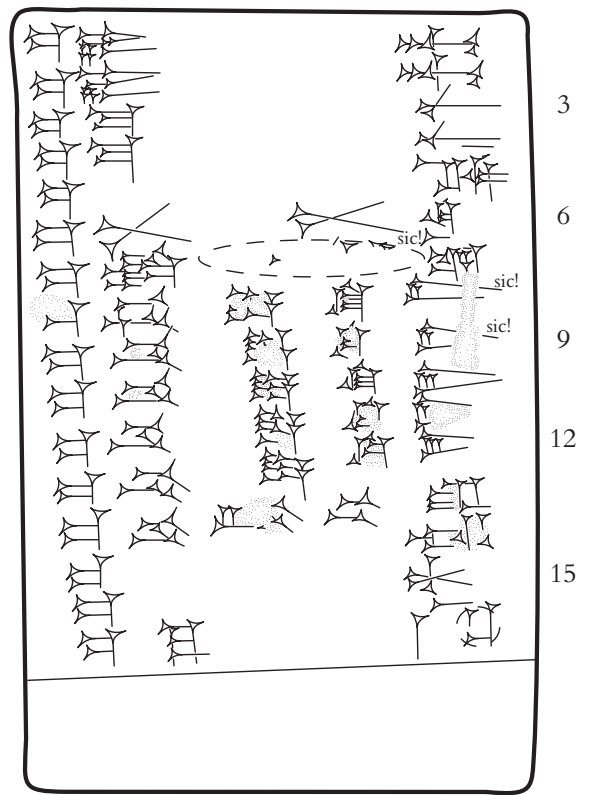


No. 23

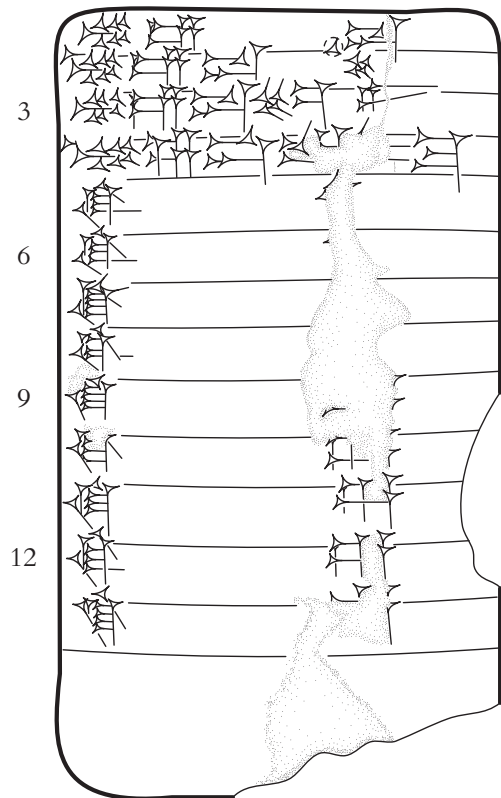
HS 1910
obverse



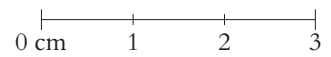
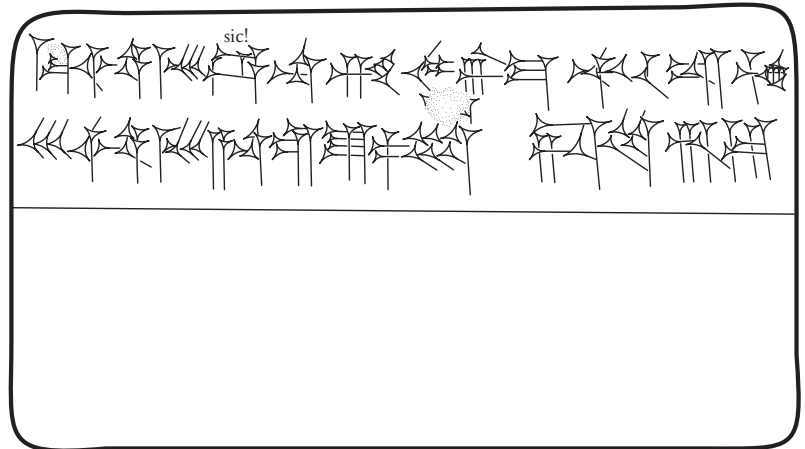
HS 1910
reverse

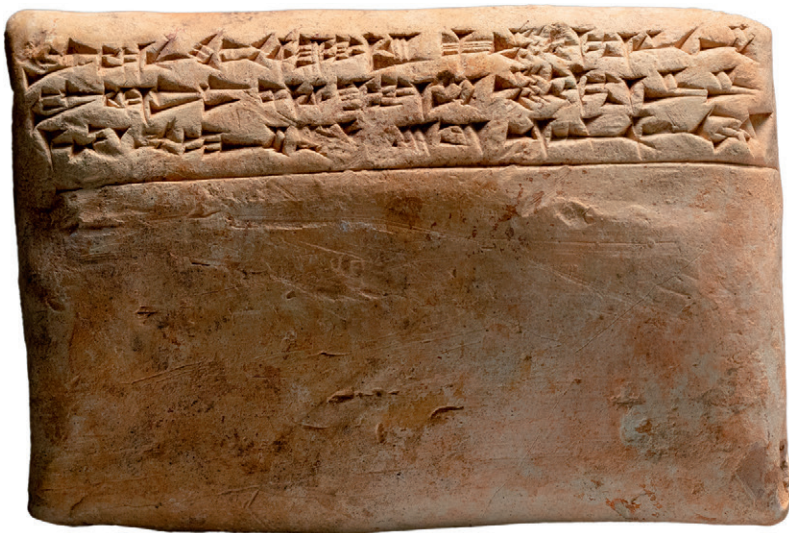


HS 2943
reverse

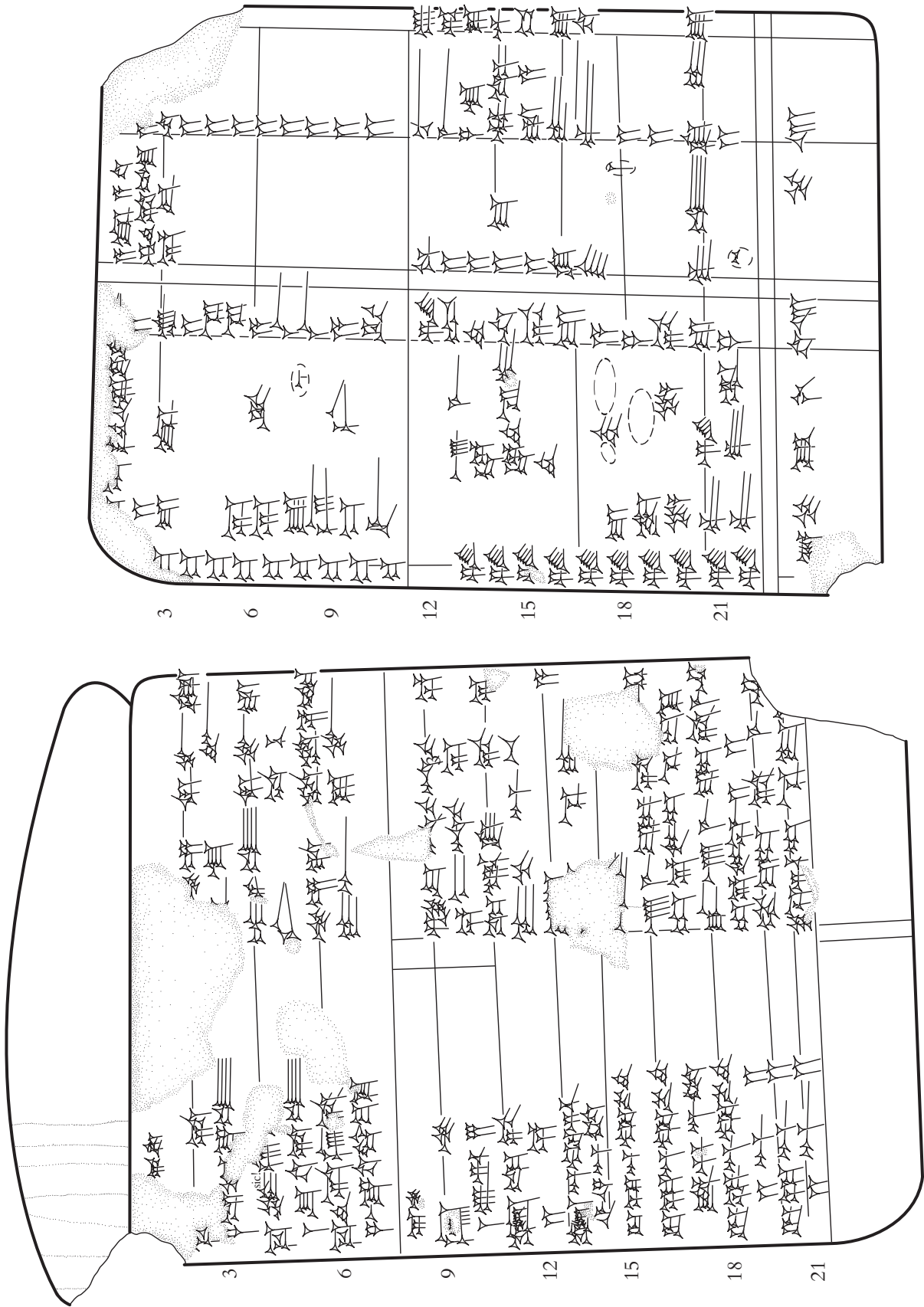


HS 2943
obverse





Nos. 24 and 25



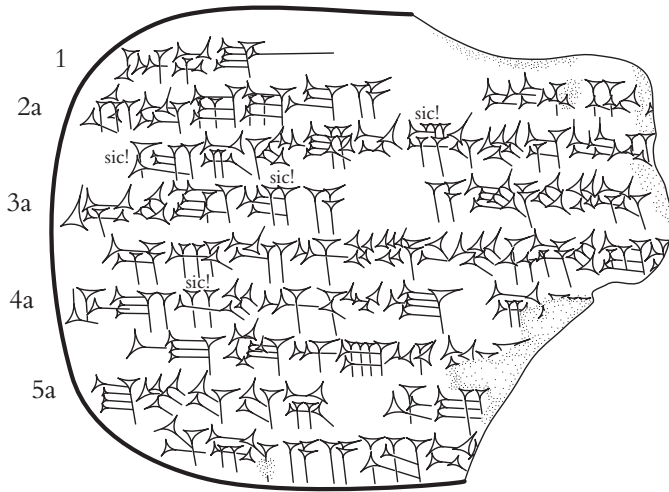
HS 1914
obverse

reverse



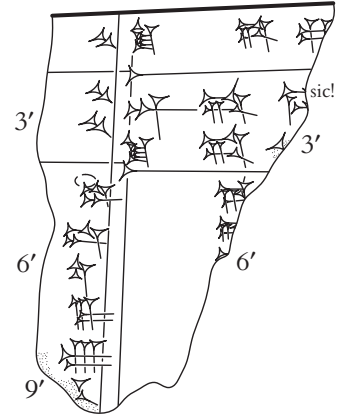
No. 26

HS 1921
obverse

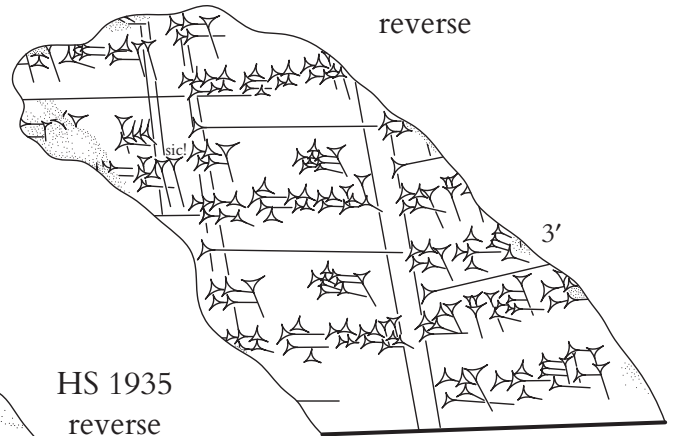


Reverse anepigraphic

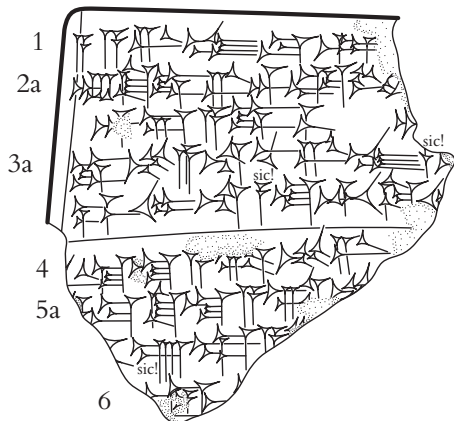
HS 1925
obverse



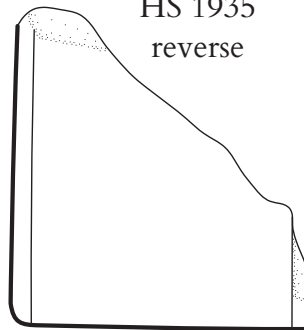
HS 1925
reverse



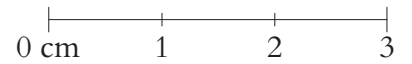
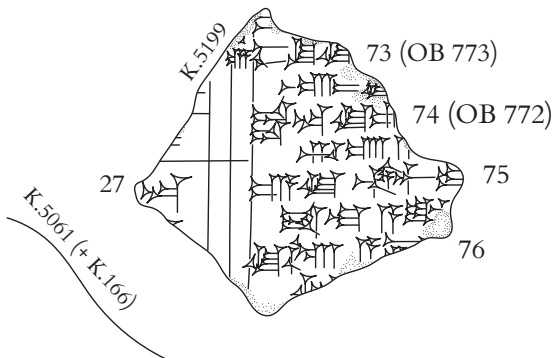
HS 1935
obverse



HS 1935
reverse



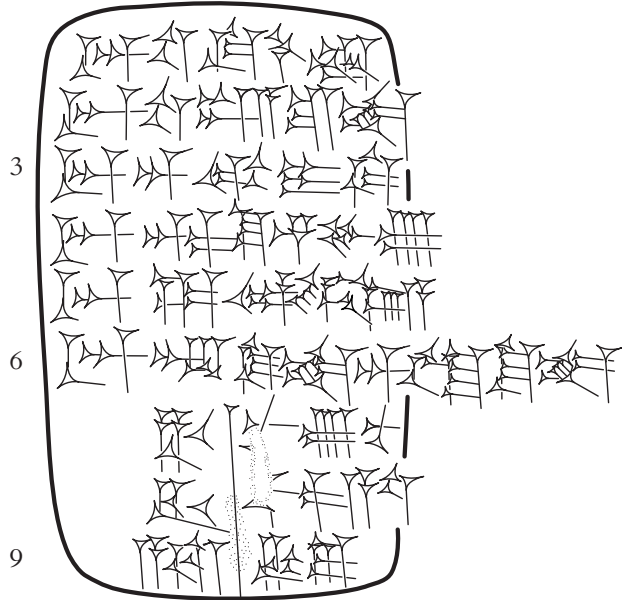
K.5199(+) K.166(+)





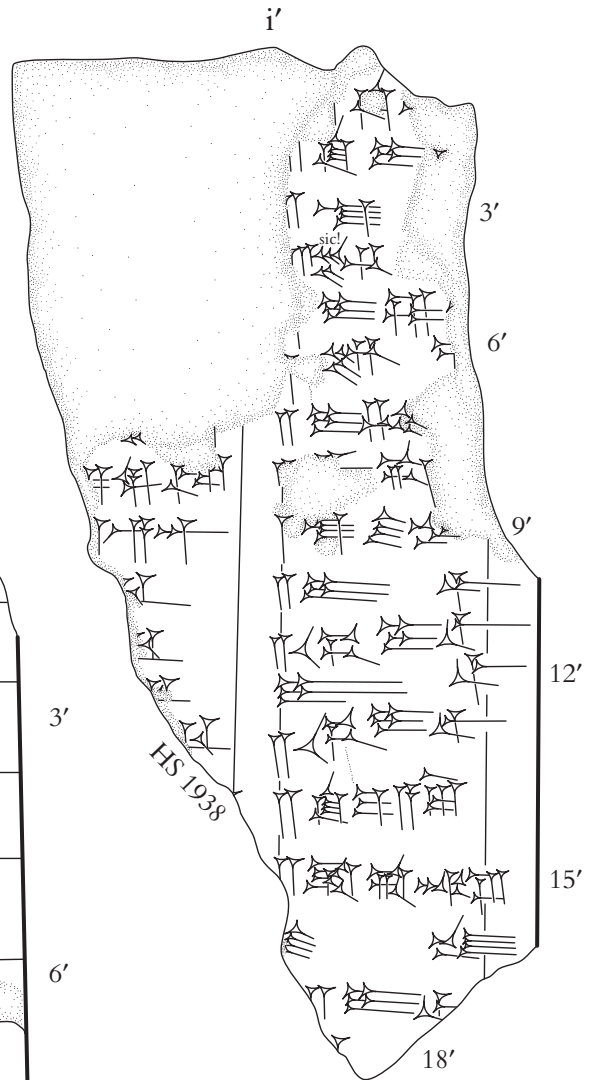
Nos. 27, 28, and 29

HS 1946

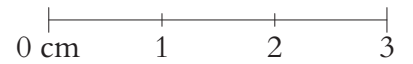
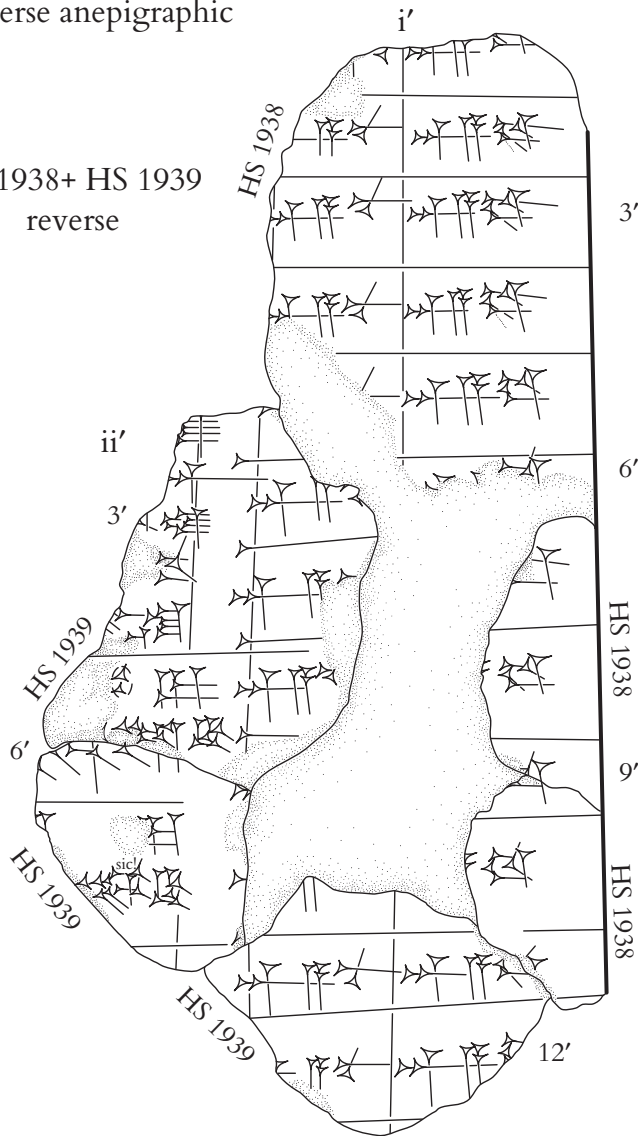


Reverse anepigraphic

HS 1938+ HS 1939
obverse

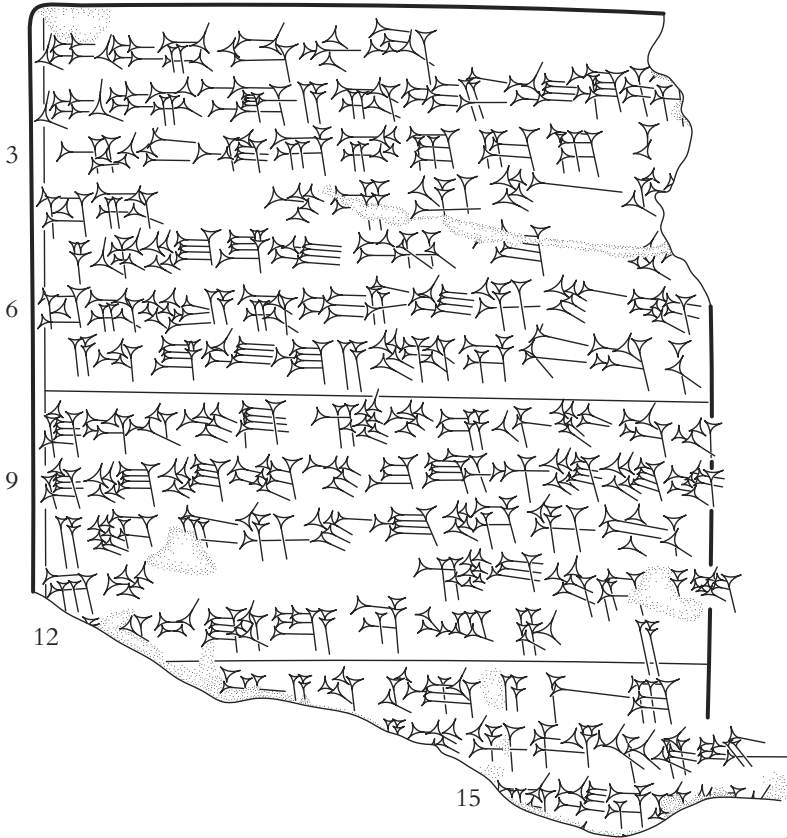


HS 1938+ HS 1939
reverse

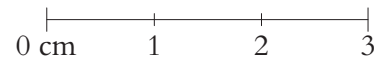
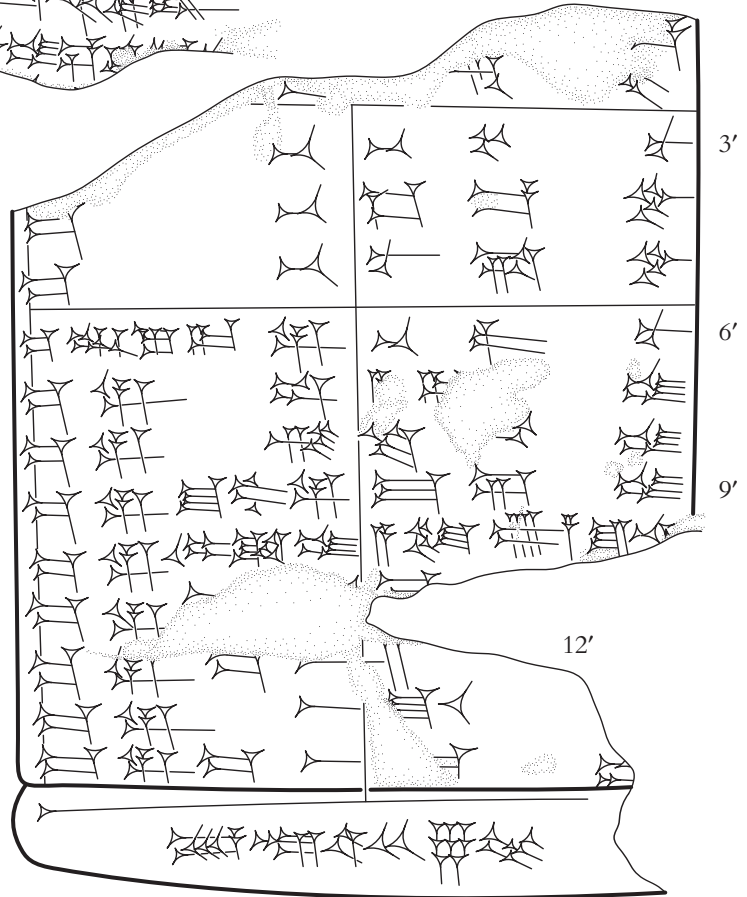




Nos. 30 and 32



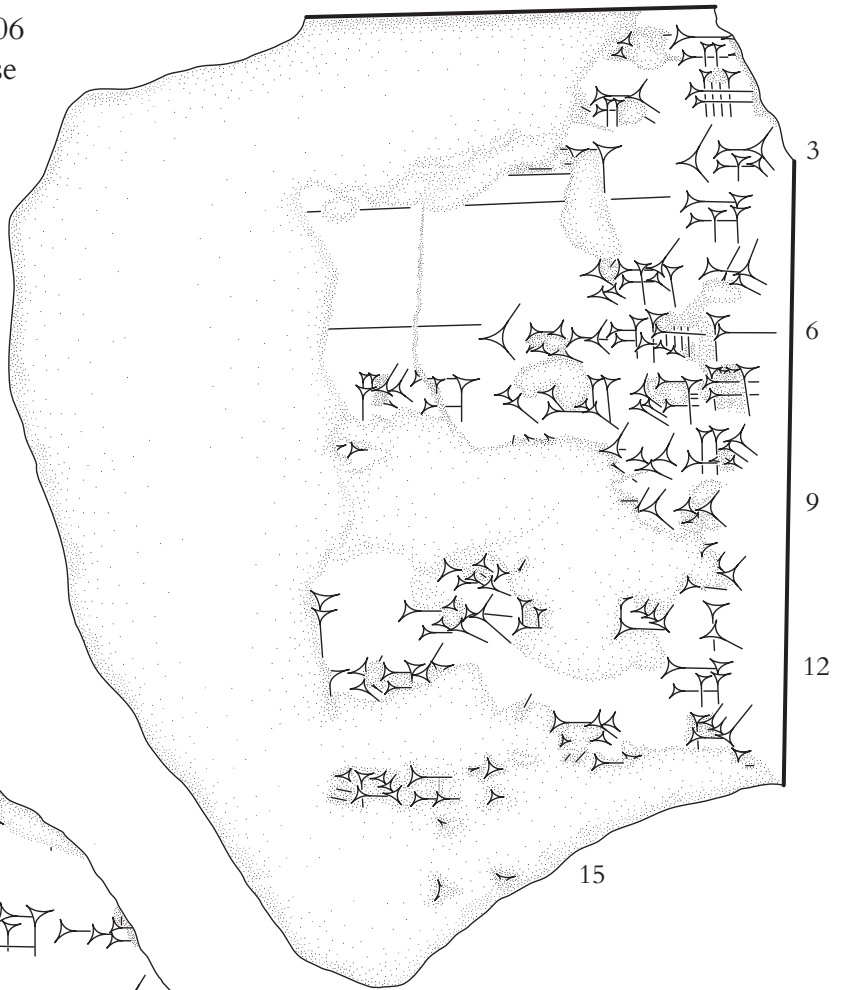
reverse



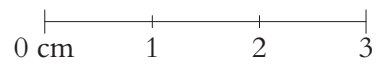
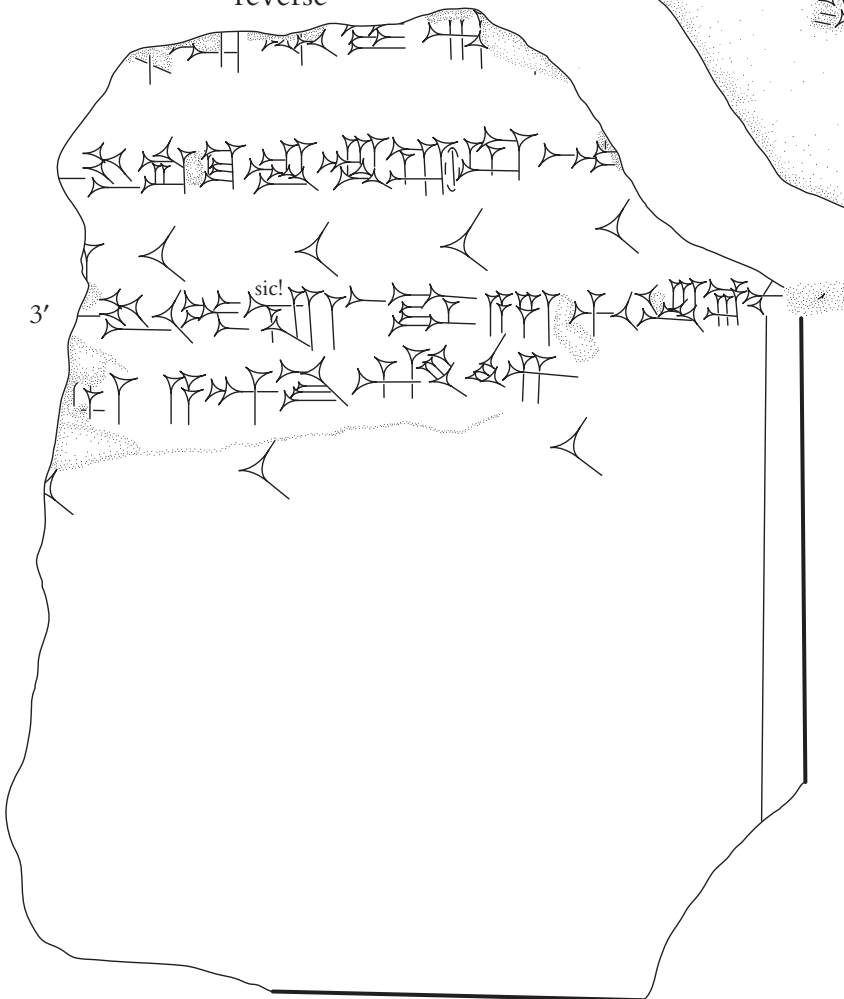


No. 31

HS 1906
obverse



reverse





No. 33