NEW FRAGMENTS OF GILGAMEŠ AND OTHER LITERARY TEXTS FROM KUYUNJIK

By E. Jiménez

The public availability of photographs of the entire British Museum Kuyunjik collection has allowed the identification of many hitherto unplaced fragments. Some of them are particularly relevant for the reconstruction of passages in a number of ancient Mesopotamian literary texts. These are published here for the first time. They include three new fragments of the Gilgameš epic, one or two of the Theodicy, several of the Diviner’s Manual and of the Rituals of the Diviner, several prayers previously only poorly known, and fragments from the seventh tablet of the exorcistic series Muššu 'u.

Ashurbanipal’s libraries represent the single most important collection of literary tablets from first millennium Mesopotamia, and they will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Almost all genres are represented within them, and the reliability and legibility of their manuscripts have proven an invaluable touchstone when confronted with duplicates from different cities and periods. Despite the intensive work of several generations of scholars, their wealth is far from exhausted, and many of their texts still remain unpublished and many of the fragments unidentified. This makes the possibility of accessing the entirety of their contents at the click of a button, via the British Museum’s online database of photographs, particularly welcome news for the student of Babylonian literature. Such a resource has allowed the identification of many hitherto unplaced small fragments, a selection of which is published here by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Finish Humbaba! (Gilgameš V 195–206 = 264–74)

In the fifth tablet of the Standard Babylonian version of Gilgameš, Humbaba, overpowered by Gilgameš with the help of Šamaš’s fierce tempests (SB Gilg V 160–66), pleads with his captor for his life. Enkidu, however, counters Humbaba’s pleas in a series of speeches which, together with Humbaba’s rejoinders, occupy more than one hundred verses (ll. 167–284). This dialogue, in which Enkidu addresses Gilgameš, and Humbaba begs alternately Gilgameš and Šamaš, concludes with Humbaba’s defeat and his subsequent beheading (ll. 285–90).

The small fragment Sm.209 (fig. 1) preserves part of one of Enkidu’s speeches from this episode. It belongs most likely to the fourth or fifth column of the same tablet as K.3252+ (MS H1, George 2003: pls. 72–73) and K.8591 (MS H2, olim MS AA, George 2003: pl. 70 and al-Rawi & George 2014: 73), and could therefore be termed H3. The speech of Enkidu in question is repeated twice in the preserved text of Gilgameš V (ll. 196–204 = 266–72), and the fragment could conceivably belong to either occasion.

1 At http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx. Geers’ copies of tablets mainly from the Kuyunjik collection are also now publicly available at http://cdli.ucla.edu/?q=downloads.

2 Thanks are expressed A.R. George for providing a plausible placement of text no. 1, and for his comments on texts nos. 2–3. The participants of the Yale cuneiform reading group made many useful remarks on text no. 6. Prof. B.R. Foster, M. Frazer, and U.S. Koch read the manuscript carefully and provided many valuable suggestions. All remaining mistakes are the author’s sole responsibility.

3 The line numbering follows the revised numbering for Gilgameš V, established by F.N.H. al-Rawi and A.R. George in the light of a new manuscript now in the Suleimaniyah Museum (= MS ff; edited by al-Rawi & George 2014).

4 It is feasible that it could be repeated more times, since an important portion of the disputation between Enkidu and Humbaba (ll. 207–246) is still missing.
195 = 264. [o o o] x [...] 196 f. = 265 f. [*d*ʾeṯ-ki-du ṭaʔ(ka)-ša ṭuš(du)-m[a iqqabbi(diug-a-ga) ʾizzakara(mu-ra) ana ʾa-giš-gin-maš ; (ib-ri) ʾuoplan-ba ma-aš-šar qisti(tī)] 198 = 267. [g]ām-mir-šu né-eš-šar-nu [iš-en-šu hul-liq o (?)] 199 = 268. caret 200 f. = 269 f. [la]-am is-aš-a-sā-ša-[e]-da ʾen-li-ʾil : lih-ba-ti-ni i-nāl-hu-ʾū itā(dingir)mes rahātu(galmes)] 202-04 = 271-72. caret 205 = 273. [šā-me-e] ūm-ba-ba-ša-[šā en-ki-du qa-aš-a-ša] 206 = 274. [šā-shu re]-ši-ši-brī [rum-ba-ba ana pāntiša(du) i-hak-ki] 195 = 264. [...] 196 f. = 265 f. [Enkidu made ready to speak [and said, addressing Gilgameš: “(My friend), Humbaba, the guardian of the forest. 198 = 267. “[F]inish him, slay him, [destroy his power!] 200 f. = 269 f. “Before [Enlil], the foremost, learns about it [and the great gods become enraged with us.]” 205 = 273. Humbaba [listened to Enkidu’s speech]. 206 = 274. [Humbaba raised] his [head, weeping before Šamaš.] *** Two unusual aspects of this fragment call for explanation, namely the co-occurrence of two almost contiguous doubled-up lines (196 f. = 265 f. and 200 f. = 269 f.) and the omission of several lines that are preserved in other manuscripts (199 = 268 and 202–04 = 271–72). The existence of two doubled-up lines in such a small fragment becomes explicable if one considers that doubled-up lines occur only in clusters elsewhere in MS H (e.g. Gilg V 29 f., 37 f., 39 f., 46 f.; and 95 f., 100 f., 104 f.). Secondly, the absence of some lines present in the duplicates can be attributed to recensional variation when the situation of other manuscripts is examined. Indeed, the omissions of ll. 268 and 271–72 in this fragment parallel that of l. 268 in MS dd (Uruk), and of ll. 271–72 in MS ff (Babylonia). The Ninevite fragment, however, preserves the shortest known version of the speech.5

2. The marshland and the reeds (Gilgameš VI 113–18) The sixth tablet of Gilgameš narrates Istar’s failed attempt to seduce Gilgameš, and the revenge undertaken by the rejected goddess: summoning the Bull of Heaven, she brings it to Uruk, where it wreaks havoc.

Sm.423 (fig. 2) joins K.15193+ (Q2, copied in George 2003: pl. 88), one of the three known Ninevite exemplars of SB Gilgameš VI, duplicating the lines where Anu accedes to Istar’s pleas and grants her the Bull of Heaven. It contains no new text, but confirms A.R. George’s restoration of the Ninevite version of l. 117:


5 On the various recensional differences in SB Gilgameš, see George 2003: 419–31, esp. 422 on type D manuscripts (to which this fragment probably belongs) and their recensional divergences with Late Babylonian manuscripts. As opposed to the second occurrence of the speech (ll. 266–72), which is preserved in two MSS (MS dd and ff), the first one (ll. 196–204) is preserved only in MS dd, and it is therefore unknown if several versions of this speech too were in circulation.
3. May she accept it! (Gilgamesh VIII 135–42)

A great part of the eighth tablet of Gilgamesh consists of a list of chthonic deities whose favour Gilgamesh seeks to win on behalf of his recently deceased friend, Enkidu. In a complex ritual, strongly reminiscent of funerary rites described in other Babylonian texts, Gilgamesh displays an offering to each deity and beseeches that each in return welcome Enkidu into their realm.

The tiny fragment K.19751 (fig. 3) belongs to the end of the third column of one of the Kuyunjik manuscripts of Gilgamesh VIII, MS V (K.8281(+) K.8565+ (+) K.8587(+)) K.19549, copied in George 2003: pls. 102–03), and should therefore be termed V5. The lines preserved fall at the beginning of the funeral ceremony.

135. [ta-am-šu (?) kal-li-re-e is-š] e[l]-l[im]
136. [a-na Ššar-tam rabitu(gal-tum) Šamaš(utu) uk-tal-l[im]
137. [lim-Šur Ššar-tam rabitu(gal-tum)]
138. [a-na pān(igi) i-b-ri-a łu-ū ḫa-da-at-ma ī-da-a-šū] lil-lik
139. [o o x-na-am o o te]-di-qa
140. [a-na Šelet-il(dingir-mah) Šarratu (?) rabitu(gal-tum) Šamaš(utu) uk-Šal-l[im
141. [lim-Šur Šelet-il(dingir-mah) Šarratu (?)] rabitu(gal-tum)]
142. [a-na pān(igi) i-b-ri-ia łu-ū ḫa-da-at-ma] 1P-da-a-šū lil-lik

135. [A throwstick of ..., the pu-ple [wood].
136. [for Ištar, the great queen, he displayed it to Šamaš].
137. “[May Ištar, the] great [queen, accept this]!”
138. “[May she rejoice at my friend] and walk [at his side]!”
139. [... a dr]ess.
140. “[May she rejoice at my friend and] walk at [his side]!”
141. [For Belet-il], the great [queen, he displayed it to Šamaš]:
142. “[May Belet-ilī], the great [queen, accept this]!”
143. “[May she rejoice at my friend and] walk at his side!”

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The fragment suggests that the divinity invoked in ll. 140 ff. is a feminine one, so the previous decipherment of the name as Ašim-babbar should be questioned. The only traces of the god name, preserved in BM 36909+ (MS m1, see I.L. Finkel’s copy in George 2003: pl. 104), are probably to be read as [DING]R.MA[hill], i.e. Belet-ilī (see the adjoining copy in Fig. 3b). After the goddess’s name, the epithet may have been the same one Istar receives, viz. [sarratu] rabittu, which is Belet-ilī’s sobriquet in a number of texts.6

Although Belet-ilī does not appear in any of the standard lists of Netherworld deities, Ninhursag, a goddess with similar functions, does occur among the chthonic gods in the Sumerian poem The Death of Gilgamesh (see George 2003: 489–90).

4. The onager that nibbles the lushest grass (Theodicy 46–51)
In the Theodicy the sufferer questions the righteousness of divine judgment by presenting a series of situations where evil actions are rewarded, while fair behavior is punished. These situations, he argues, are not limited to the human world: animals are also ruled by this inverted moral law.

The line of reasoning of the sufferer can now be understood better thanks to the joining of K.17474 (fig. 4) to K.3452+ (MS C+ of Theodicy, copied in Lambert 1960 pl. 20 and 25),7 which restores the end of l. 48.8 The text presented here is that of MS C+, restored by means of several published and unpublished duplicates:

49. [ak-ka-ti-i pa-k-ki li(li) (dingir-dingir) u-za-an-sū ib-zi 3
50. [a-gu la-hiš ša i-tak-ka-li du-muq] [3] i-i-ri 3
51. [ak-ki-mi]-l[i] il-ti-i šu-pu-ri ullaḫ(a) išu-šu] 3

6 E.g. in a Fire Incantation (Lambert 1970: 43 l. 33), in SB Lamaitu I 81 (Farber 2014: 79), and in a bilingual hymn to Nergal (K.5268 + = BA 5 642 ll. 7f, see CAD Š/2 72).
7 The manuscript was already joined to K.17578 (which duplicates ll. 53–57 with no new text) by W.G. Lambert in 1977.
8 The new fragment allows also a better understanding of the end of Theodicy 46, which should be read as [zi][k][u][r] ša[p]-[ti-ka], “the word of your lips” (MS l[= BM 35405] is to be read, against the copy in Lambert 1960 pl. 20, as si-kār šap-[ti-ka], see the adjoining collation, Fig. 4b).
48. The onager, the wild ass, which nibbles the lushest grass, did he pay attention to the noble plans of a god?
49. The savage lion that devours the choicest meat, did he offer flour to assuage the wrath of a goddess?

50. Only one other attestation of šumuḫ šumme is booked in the dictionaries, namely its occurrence in the Marduk Prophecy (Borger 1971: 10 Assur IV 12), which represents perhaps an allusion to the Theodicy: rubû ša šumuḫ šunnitiša màta isùkkal, “that prince will feed the land with his lushest grass.”

In the ancient commentary BM 66882+, line 20 was previously thought to refer to Theodicy 49. However, inspection of the tablet reveals that this section of the commentary refers rather to l. 48, and that it is to be read, against the copy in Lambert1960 pl. 26 (see the adjoining collation, Fig. 4c), as šu-[m]-̱ ša-ša-šu : banû(du-u) : min : ra*-bu*-a* : ‘abunda[nce] (šumuh) (derives from the verb) ‘to grow abundantly’ (šamah), (which means) ‘to grow’ (banû); the same (sc. šamah) (also means) ‘to become big’ (rabû).’

A different view of the diet of the serrēmu is offered in the Neo-Babylonian letter ABL 1000 obv 8f. (de Vaan 1995: 292–93): zēru ša’sungirti ša serrēmu ikkalu, “the seed of the sungirtu-plant, which only a wild ass would eat.”

49. The beginning of the line is here restored with BM 68589, which at this point reads ak-kab-ti-ia.10

5. Once you reach old age, who will be your support? (A fragment of a wisdom text)

Due to the fragmentary state of reconstruction of Mesopotamian literature, Assyriologists are often confronted with what G. Genette called “hypertexts of unknown hypotexts” (Genette 1982: 433). One of them occurs in a line from a famous letter addressed to Ashurbanipal, where Urad-Gula, Chief Scribe of the Assyrian court, lists the difficulties he encounters in his daily life. This “forlorn scholar” (Parpola 1987) has no change of clothes, cannot afford a pair of sandals, owes six minas of silver and, to make matters worse, is no longer a youngster:

[ù ana šanāṭ(m)u-an-na–MEC]–ia ma-a a-na ši-ba-ti tak-sa-da tu-kul-ta-ka lu-u man-nu
[Moreover, regarding my age, it is said: “once you reach old age, who will be your support?”] ABL 1285 = SAA 10 294 r 30

In this line Urad-Gula quotes from a poem, as shown, on the one hand, by the metrical structure of the line (ana šibūti takšuda || tukultaka | là mannu); on the other, by the fact that it is introduced by the

9 The first equation, šamah = banû, is also attested in a commentary on Aa 9 (Civil 1979: 269 rev 2), šam-hu : ša-"m-hu : ba-nu-u (on the meaning “to grow, be attractive” of banû in the stative, see Lambert 1998b: 193). The second equation, šumuh = rabû, albeit obvious, seems to be elsewhere unattested.

10 The ending -ia is sometimes used for the genitive of nouns ending in a contracted vowel (Lambert 1967b: 130 ad 38 and Geller 2005: 150 ad 28), but here it seems to represent the lengthening of the last vowel caused by interrogative intonation. On the writing DINGIR-DINGIR (VAR. DINGIR, DINGIR=m) for a singular (that it is singular is shown by the parallelism with il-*tu* in l. 51), see Lambert 1960: 67, id. 1967b: 132 ad 157, George 2003: 804, and Borger 2010: 249. In this case the writing DINGIR-DINGIR could also be explained as a way of rendering the long vowel (ili) caused by the interrogative intonation of the verse.
A small fragment from Kuyunjik (K.17598, fig. 5) confirms that this is an allusion and provides a context, albeit scant, for it. Although the work to which it belongs is uncertain, the phraseology is strongly reminiscent of the *Theodicy*.12

1'. [o o o o o] ša ta[q-bu-ú (?) o o o o]
2'. [o o o o ta-â]t-ta-lak-ma a-[a o o o o]
4'. [o o o b']u-na-ka tu-še-mi [o o-iš]
5'. [o o o]-x-ka e-dil pe-ta(-)[a o o-ka]

1'. [...] what you s[a'id ...]
2'. [...] you have] walked to [...].
3'. Once [you have] reached [old age, who will be] your support?
4'. [...] you have reduced your features to [...],
5'. your [...] is closed, but [your ...] is open.

4'. Compare *Theodicy* 15: namrūti zmikka ukkuliš tu-še-e-ma, “you have reduced your bright face to a scowl.”

6. The entrails expert (*BBR* 1–20 1–28)

Anyone wishing to become a diviner in ancient Mesopotamia had to fulfil a series of requirements. To have been born in Nippur, Sippar or Babylon, and into a family of diviners, were *sine qua non*, as was to have bodily features without blemish and, of course, a thorough command of the entire corpus of divination. Such qualifications are the object of several treatises found at Nineveh, a list of which, together with general remarks on the group, can be found in Lambert1998a.

Lambert divides the treatises into six sections, which contain complementary, if not identical, information. Of these, the first (*BBR* 1–20 ll. 1–115) is the least well preserved: its manuscripts are “very incomplete” and “often break the lines at different points so that its reconstruction is especially difficult” (Lambert 1998a: 142 n. 1).

This situation is partially amended by the discovery of a new fragment, K.14480, which joins K.3272+ (*BBR* 3) and allows a better understanding of ll. 21–28. In addition, several fragments have been identified in the course of the last fifty years by R. Borger, W.G. Lambert and C.B.F.

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11 Several other literary allusions contained within Urad-Gula’s letter have been discussed by Parpola 1987: 271–74 and Hurowitz 2008: 78–88.
12 The fragment could belong to the badly preserved strophe XVI of the *Theodicy*, if the first word of l. 3’ is reconstructed as [âšt-ši-bu-ti]. Another candidate would be the *Counsels of Wisdom*, a text much beloved of Mesopotamian correspondents (it is quoted in *ABL* 614 = *SAA* 3 130 180 r 9–10, see Parpola 1983: 120; and in a Babylonian letter that mentions Mukin-ṣerṭi, see Lambert 2002).
Walker, and as a result the only edition of the text, that of Zimmern’s (1901: 95–105), is now substantially outdated. A re-edition of the whole ritual constitutes a desideratum that would go beyond the scope of this paper, but the identification of the new material calls for a fresh reappraisal of the opening lines. The known manuscripts of this first section are as follows:13

A K.3272+ K.6255+ K.7644+ K.8001 (the four of them BBR 3)+ K.13245 (unpubl., Lambert)+ K.14101 (BBR 15, Borger)+ K.14480 (Fig. 6)(+ K.9735 (BBR 13)+ 81-2-4, 256 (BBR 5)(+ K.13270 (unpubl.))
B K.2812 (unpubl.)+ K.3282+ 83-1-18,457 (both BBR 6)(+ K.2834 (BBR 1)
C K.2541 (BBR 4)+ K.10326+ K.13286+ K.17613 (both unpubl., Lambert)

MSS B, C, and D exhibit sign forms which, while different from one another, are all probably older than the 7th century BC, whereas MS A looks like a typical Ashurbanipal copy. MSS B and C are one-column tablets, but both MS A and D have two columns per side. MS B preserves a colophon on the lower edge stating that it was copied from a wooden writing-board, while MS D has a Nabû-zuqu-pêkâna colophon according to which it was copied from “older tablets.”14

13 This list is based on Walker apud Borger 1975: 328, Lambert 1992: 61b, and id. 1998a: 142.
14 As is often the case with prose texts, the various manuscripts divide the lines in different ways, which only occasionally correspond to semantic units. The present edition takes an eclectic approach: the line division of the manuscript that corresponds best to the meaning has been chosen on a line by line basis.
(1) If the diver is to prepare a sacrifice (2) and to approach the truthful territory of Šamaš and Adad, (3) [a territory] frightful as a great dragon, (where) the gods shall descend to him, (4) [his body ...] must have perfect limbs. (5) The blind, the gap-toothed, or the finger amputee (6) shall not approach the place of the divinatory decision – it is a taboo of Šullat and Ḥaniš.

(7) The diver shall ponder and check the answer of Šamaš. (8) [Omens pertaining ...] sheep, intestines, oil, and birds (9) [...] he shall enumerate. (9) The subtleties of divination, (10) which he shall interpret with the help of the word lists, they (sc. the gods) shall [...] him and shall make him understand. (11) [...] and the mathematical tablets – secrets of extispicy (12) which Ea called into existence, the father (13) shall teach his son teacher with oath with tablet (14) and stylum, and he shall give them to him as his assignment.

(15) [He who gathers (the knowledge of)] the word lists and the collections of omens and edicts (16) may approach the place of the decision, in the presence of Šamaš and Adad. (17) Cedar – the tree beloved by the great gods – shall take in his right hand, (18) so that they [...] in his mouth the [...] the secret oracle of divination.

(19) He who has not mastered his learning, [...] to check, (20) should he draw near their great sacred (place) (sc. of Šamaš's and Adad's), (21) [...] he who walks ahead, [...] will abandon him, (22) the gods will give him [...] to drink and will [...] him; (23) in the place of the oracular decision there will be lies and falsehood.
(24) [The expert in] the omen-yielding liver, the gatherer (of the knowledge) of the oracle-yielding liver, (25) [the knjover] of the entrails, the diviner who has mastered the lore of his city; (26) [to the presence of] Šamaš and Adad you shall take him, (27) so that [they rev]eal to him (26) the secret oracle. (27) In the months of Ayyaru (II), Simanu (III), and Taṣritu (VII); (28) [during] these [months] he shall search (for it).

2-3. These lines are duplicated in BBR 75-78 ll. 19–20.


9. This line is paralleled in BBR 24+ 17–18 (Lambert 1998a: 149) (...)[pišītu am][i en][līl u e][a] ša i[tītu(ki)] sa-a-ti enūma (ud) am(an) “en-līl u arā(la-rā) šu-ta-bu-[tā].” The most problematic part of the sentence, ša štī šātī, was interpreted by Lambert 1967a: 133 (and id. 1998a: 144 with n. 4) as “that with commentary,” a phrase of uncertain meaning. This understanding was questioned by Koch-Westenholz 2000: 26, who, however, does not propose an alternative.

A different interpretation is offered here. Rather than governing the phrase štī šātī, ša may govern the infinitive verb, šutābu. It can then be interpreted as a nominalized command, “(the secrets) which (the diviner) ought to interpret with (the help) of šātu-lists.”16 The diviner would thus be advised not to take divinatory texts at face value, but to seek their deeper meaning with the help of šātu-lists — which are in fact often mentioned as the source of the explanations in extispicy commentaries.


However, nik-mat bārūti, “the compilation of the divination texts,” also seems feasible in the light of the phrase ḫimmāt šūmūti u mšārāti in l. 15 (q.v.).

11-12. The first word of l. 11 is perhaps [...] šīlāti (see n. 16). Compare the second part of the line with niširi bārūti (...) ša ina gandēs ea šubni, “the secret of extispicy, (...) which Ea created in Gandēs” (Koch 2005: 60). 12-14. The same formula can be found in BBR 24+ 20–22 (Lambert 1998a: 149) and in several niširi bārūti texts (Koch 2005: 543 ii 62f, 546 31f). The -u endings of the verbs suggest parsing them as subjunctive, but this would result in cumbersome syntax, especially in the case of inaddīnātu. For want of a better explanation it is assumed here that an attraction to the nearby subjunctive verbs (cf. l. 12 inbū and inarīnu) has happened.

14. i-gír-tu-sū has been translated by Lessoe 1953: 213 as “his commentary,” and by Lambert 1998a: 146 as “his certificate,” in both cases assuming that it represents an elsewhere unparalleled writing of egrītu, “one column table” (for this term, see Radner 1997: 60-62). AHw 897b, however, reads i-pīš-tu-sū, a term that elsewhere can mean “(tablet inscribed with a) literary work” (Finkel 1999: 332 ad 82).

15. The first word is restored after l. 24.17 ḫimmāt šūmūti u mšārāti is a baffling expression. šūmūti could be translated as “clause beginning with ‘if,’” i.e., “omen” (thus e.g. Oppenheim 1956: 256 n. 2, AHw 1273b, CAD Š/3 280b, and George 2013: 103); but a meaning “law” for mšārā could make little sense in this context.18 mšārā could conceivably designate an as yet unidentifiable category of extispicy text or, as B.R. Foster suggests (privatim), an “oracular response,” since legal terminology is frequently used to express the outcome of extispicy (cf. dīnū ul ʾišīr below in the commentary to line 23).

18. No restoration suggests itself for the verb before pištu; elsewhere the tinūti pišītu is “revealed” (i-pattūtu) or “said” (i-imittūtu) (CAD T 124b and 1. 26f below). 19. i-š[a]-nu-qu (santā D’) is unlikely both epigraphically and grammatically, since three different manuscripts (MSS ABC) preserve the same reading (sa-na-qu) with no germination.

20. Compare BBR 24+ 60–61 (Lambert 1998a: 150): [i-naddītišu ʾētušu ša-nas-tātā ṣižzābāšu-ma, “his (sc., the bad diviner’s) protective gods shall forsake him, his protective goddesses shall abandon him.”]


24. The first word is tentatively restored after the phrase “an expert in oil” (ABGAL i+G), said of the diviner in a series of texts (Lambert 1998a: 153). The “liver (tākaltu)"19 of the omen is probably to be interpreted as the

15 On this meaning of phrases with ša + Infinitive, see Buccellati 1972. On the syntax of ša + Object + Infinitive, see Aro 1961: 48–57.

16 On the use of šutābu with the meaning “to interpret,” said of commentaries, see Fr rhm 2011: 57. As Koch-Westenholz 2000: 26 points out, it is unlikely that šātu here refers to šātu-commentaries, inasmuch as no such commentaries are known for the Bārūtu series in Neo-Assyrian times. However, reference to šātu lists, paired with šīlitā lists, does occur in NA Bārūtu comments. In these cases Fr rhm 2011: 89–90 has proposed to interpret šātu as “bilingual (šīlitā-šātu)” and šīlitā as “mono-linguial lists,” and this meaning fits well the present context: the diviner would be urged to interpret divinatory texts with the help of lexical lists — a system that lies behind the genesis of the commentaries. This understanding is supported by the fact that arū-texts, another one of the common sources of explanations in commentaries (cf. e.g. Koch-Westenholz 1999: 156 ll. 49–50 ina arī qābi (...) ina šātī qābi), are also cited in BBR 24+ together with šātu.

17 A different restoration is proposed by Lambert 1998a: 144 and n. 3, who considers the beginning of l. 15 to be the end of the preceding clause. Note, however, that MS C preserves a ruling between 14 and 15, which suggests that l. 15 belongs with what follows, rather than with what precedes.

18 Landsberger 1939: 220 n. 5, who translated the phrase as “Sanmlung von Paragraphen und Rechtssützen,” wondered, “Wozu solte [...] die Gegenabschaffung Gesetzeskenntnis benötigen?”

19 Tākaltu is a word usually identified with the liver: see Glassner 2002 (who understands it as “les viscères dans leur ensemble”) and Stol 2006: 107–09, with further bibliography.
liver in which the gods have written the omen: compare the expression *tuppi ʾiš tākaltu pirišti šamē u erṣetī*, “the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and earth,” in *BBR* 24+ 8, 14, and 16 (Lambert 1998a: 148–49).

25. *šur* follows Lambert 1998a: 145 n. 5, who regards *šur* and *šur* as equally possible.

7. *Anu created you to destroy the wicked (BMS 8+ BMS 48+)*

As part of the ceremony of the *Bīt salāʾ ʾmeš*, literally “House of sprinkling of water,” the king had to spend a night in a cage made of reeds. During this time, he was meant to recite almost thirty incantation-prayers to sundry gods and constellations. At least in the libraries of Ashurbanipal these incantations were collected in several tablets whose subscripts identify them as “sections” (pirsu) of *Bīt salāʾ ʾmeš*. One of these tablets, dubbed the 8th section and furnished with an Ashurbanipal Typ e-e colophon, contains incantations to Madānu, Ištar, and the Sebetti.

The last incantation, addressed to the Seven Gods, can now be restored thanks to the identification of a new fragment, K.9083 (fig. 7), which joins two further pieces of this tablet, K.2396+ (BMS 8) and K.8116 (BMS 48). The text of the 8th pirsu of *Bīt salāʾ ʾmeš* has recently been edited and studied by Ambos 2013: 196–200, who kindly made his book available when it was still in proofs.

66. ka-inim-ma šu-il-lā dšinn-ki mana pān(igi) ištar(dš15)
   nignakka(nig-na) nuraša(šinni) taškanka(gar-[aň])

67. mi-il-šu išnaqtu(bal-q) na šu illakašušu-il-lā šalšēš(3)-šu āmanuš(šīd-[a]-nu)

68. ēn at-tu-nu zappā(mul-mul) šur-hu-tur ša mu-[š]-ff

69. nant-ru-ti ša ʾil(di)ngir(šīš) rabiūṭ(galšēš) zappā(mul-mul)

70. a-na ūlu-šu-šu lemu-nu-ti ib-ru-ku-nu-li ʾa-num :
   ina ša-ma-me šum(mul) ku-nu ši̇n-im-bi zappā(mul-mul)

71. [za]-ntu ki-li-lu muššāri(mušši-) ra-kišna me-sū-[l]

72. [o o o] x-su-ti ša til-le-Č mu-am-ti tum bu-[š][u]

73. [mu-pa-dš]-li-šu šer(u) da-li-šu tāmašti(ša-ab-ba-šēš)

74. [o o o] šī x-su-tum [*gal*šēš-ruš-tum *māriš(dumušēš)*] -ša-nim

75. [o o o o o o o] šī x-su-nu-šī

76. [o o o] a-na da-re-a-ti dašlši-šu-šu lūd-lūf

77. šī-[š]-m[a meš(ašēš)] nāri(ši) enšišu-ši tiš-ru-dūš laš-bi-ru-ti tu-[š][č][n]

(Catchline, rubric and colophon follow)

66. Incantation-Prayer to Ištar. Set juniper in a censer before Ištar.

67. Libate beer and recite the prayer three times.

68. Incantation: You are the splendid Pleiades of the night.

69. The luminous Pleiades of the great gods.

70. *Anu created you to destroy the wicked, in heaven your name is “Seven,” the “Pleiades”.*

71. [the ones decorated with the serpentine headdress, fastened with the belt,]

72. [girded with the] ... of the weaponry that slays wild beasts,

73. [of] the desert, roilers of seas,

74. [..] powerful scions of Anu,

75. [..] to you.

76. I shall [forever] sing your praises!

77. As the fresh [water of a river] expelled the old! Incantation.

78. Incantation-Prayer to the Pleiades.

70. If the restoration is correct, the second MUL should have been written over the edge. The appositive use of MUL-MUL and *šin-im-bi* is attested also e.g. in *Mulpāp I i 44* (MUL-MUL *šin-im-bi* dingiršēš galšēš, see further Hunger 2003/2005).

72. The first word is perhaps a form of the verb rakāsū, “to tie up, to gird,” or a cognate noun, such as maksūtu, “binding.”


*ina širtiya tarud namtara lemma ša ana nakās napāštiya izzazzu kimā meš nāri esšīti ʾīstra labīrti*
Send away from my body the evil Namtaru-demon, who stands by to cut my throat, just as the fresh water from a river expelled the old!

***

The incantation shows many phraseological parallels with the epic of *Erra and Isum*. For instance, the phrase *bülla šumqatu,* “to destroy the animals” (l. 72), is elsewhere attested only in the epic, where it appears in IIC 26 and IV 147; and, as *büll šakkan šumqatu,* “to destroy the wild animals,” in I43, I85 and III 15. Also the phrase *támta dalatu,* “to roll the sea” (l. 73) appears there in I 70, IId 27 and IIIId 5. The birth of the Sebetti from the sky god Anu (l. 70 and 74) is narrated in *Erra and Isum* 1 28-40. All these parallels suggest that a borrowing took place, either from *Erra and Isum* to this prayer or vice versa.

8. Signs from the series *Tukumbi Apinduata* (*The Diviner’s Manual*)

The *Diviner’s Manual* is an astrological treatise which instructs the diviner on how to counterbalance an ominous sign with a series of ingenious manipulations, mostly peculiar to this text. Before the instructional part, however, it contains in its first section (ll. 1–37) a catalogue of incipits of the tablets of two series. The first portion (ll. 1–24) lists the tablets of the otherwise poorly attested series *Tukumbi Apinduata,* which in ll. 22 is said to consist of “terrestrial omens” (*idät erszrt*). The second portion (ll. 25–37) contains the incipits of the tablets of the equally unknown series *Kakkabu ša ina pântšu sipru,* identified in l. 36 as consisting of “celestial omens” (*idät šamē*). After both catalogues, the *Diviner’s Manual* famously proclaims the equivalence of terrestrial and celestial signs, and instructs the astrolaprist on how to annul negative prognoses.

K.7914 joins K.2847, a manuscript of the *Diviner’s Manual*. This join helps to restore almost the whole of the beginning of the text, the only part of it that was missing, and allows a better understanding of the first section of the text, the catalogue of the series *Tukumbi Apinduata*. The text offered here is the transcription of K.2847+ K.7914, restored with all the other duplicates (for which see below).22

1. (1) [diš tukum-bi ittu(giskim)] lemettu(hul-tum) ittu(giskim) a-hi-tum
2. [o o o o (2) i-ia-a-tum ha’ta-a-tum lem-nê-e-tum
3. [ši (ši) libbaša tukum-bi] īḫum-du-a-ta
4. (3) [diš tukum-bi gu-gal] īḫu-babbar šamăš-dā
5. (4) [diš zig-gār-ra] īru-um-na-nam
6. (5) [šummu diš] īšahr(muṣen) šamē(ān-e) a-hu-ū
7. ša ki-ib amēlūtum(nam-lū-uš-lu) ziqna(suwa) zaq-na-at (6) appa(ka) b₃u-un-na-āt
8. [ēli(ugu) šēpt(gir)šu] a ku-za pa(izzuzu(gub-zu)) ip-par-šam-ma
9. (7) i-na āli(uru) y na-me-e-šū innammur(i)gī
10. [pī(ka)-šū pett(bad)-ma amāti(ūn(ninmeš)-šū aši[t(e)men]-ni)]

(1) [If an] unfavorable [sign] or an abnormal sign (2) [...] the ominous and unfavorable signs (3) [which are mentioned in (the tablets)] “If from the month Arahāsamma on,” (4) “[If the king] buys silver,” (5) “If there is a city,” (6) “[If a strange bird, which is bearded like a human being, whose beak is exquisite, (7) [which (normally) stands upright on its legs] is observed fluttering about in the city or its surroundings (8), it has] its mouth opened and words are coming out from it.”

4. This omen is known from *SpTU* 1 85 o 7'–9' (see Römer 1986: 5455). Other bilingual omens are published in *SpTU* 1 86, *SpTU* 1 145 (see Cavigneaux 1988), *SpTU* 3 86 (see Geller 1991/1992: 181–182), and *CTN* 4 89. Likewise, several unpublished fragments of bilingual omens from Kuyunjik are mentioned in Borger 1975: 215; Lambert 1978/1979: 111b; and Reiner 1991: 320 n. 124. To these K.13495 should now be added.

5. diš zig-gār-ra, not translated by Oppenheim (cf. Oppenheim 1974: 203 n. 13), is probably to be taken

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21 Besides the *Diviner’s Manual,* the series is mentioned only in a ritual of the *kalī* to be performed for the reconstruction of a collapsed temple gate (*STT* 232 obv 3, see Ambos 2004: 29–31 and 196). Note that one of the manuscripts of the *Diviner’s Manual* was owned by a *kalī*-priest (see below).

22 As in the case of text no. 6, line division varies in the different manuscripts. While the line numbering offered here follows Oppenheim’s edition, the numbers in parentheses refer to the line division in K.2847+. Note that the two BM numbers mentioned in Wiseman & Black 1995: 18a as further examples of bilingual omens are in fact monolingual Sumerian manuscripts of the Laws of Urnammu, see Civil 2011: 223 MS S₂.
together with diš as the conditional conjunction, like diš tukumbi in the previous lines. Note that Nabnītu IVa 366–68 (Finkel 1982: 91) and NBGT III ii 11–13 (Hallock and Landsberger 1956: 160) equate the following words with šamma:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nabnītu IVa 366–68} & \quad \text{NBGT III ii 11–13} \\
tukum-bi & \quad \text{tukum-bi} \\
u\text{d-da} & \quad \text{u\text{d-da}} \\
z\text{a-gār-ra} & \quad \text{za-gā-ra}
\end{align*}
\]

The last word, za(g)gar(ra), is the only one with a variant orthography, so a writing za-gār-ra, like in the Diviner’s Manual, should not surprise.

uru-na-nam is the name of (a sanctuary in) Nippur (see George 1992: 316 and 446 and Michalowski 2006: 157), but this seems to have no bearing on the present text.

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Scholars have often remarked on the puzzling fact that, although the astrological contents of the Diviner’s Manual are unique, the great number of manuscripts in which it was preserved suggests that it belonged to the “stream of tradition.” However, over the last forty years the ten manuscripts used by Oppenheim in his edition have been found to belong to three basic manuscripts, one in Babylonian and two in Assyrian script, and to three further tablets which contain additional astrological material. For the reader’s convenience, an updated list of manuscripts and new sigla are given here (the letters in parentheses correspond to the sigla in Oppenheim’s edition, fragments not used by Oppenheim are in bold):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NinBab1} & \quad \text{K.2848 (A)+ Sm.1088+ Sm.1531 (both I, joins by E. Reiner and J.C. Fincke)} \\
& \quad \# 1-41, 49-82 \\
& \quad \text{Colophon: GN-šuma-ib[ni], d. of Šumu-ibni, lamentation-priest of Enlil} \\
\text{NinAss1} & \quad \text{K.2847 (B)+ K.7814 (join by E. Jiménez, copy on Fig. 8a)} \\
& \quad \# 1-11, 25-48, 49-84 \\
& \quad \text{Colophon: Asb Typ b (not copied below)} \\
\text{NinAss2} & \quad \text{K.8801+ Rm.2,589 (both C)+ Sm.131 (join by R. Borger, copy on Fig. 8b)+ Sm.1077 (G, join by E. Jiménez)} \\
& \quad \# 13-45, 46-77
\end{align*}
\]

Partial duplicates that incorporate other astrological material are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NinVar1} & \quad \text{K.9787 # 68 and 71} \\
\text{NinVar2} & \quad \text{K.6540 (E)+ K.7685 (F, join by R. Borger)+ K.6485 (H)} \\
& \quad \# 30-54 (E+ F), 59-71 (H) \\
\text{NinVar3} & \quad \text{K.6476 # 71-82}
\end{align*}
\]

As noted by Oppenheim, a hepi-gloss appears in the same place (l. 67) in MSS NinAss1, NinAss2 and NinVar2, which makes it very likely that these three MSS go back to the same Vorlage. That all six Ninevite manuscripts had the same Vorlage cannot be proven, however, inasmuch as the line in question is not preserved in NinVar1, NinVar3, and NinBab1. The last of these, NinBab1, is the only exemplar written in Babylonian script, and it was in all likelihood brought to Nineveh from a Babylonian city. The fact that it has a small lacuna at this point leaves the possibility open that this was in fact the Vorlage for all the Assyrian duplicates.

25 The owner’s name is written as “šum[a]-dKU.SUD.NUN.TU-MU-[dš]. dKU.SUD.NUN.TU is equated in god lists with either Amurru or Šakkan (Litke 1998: 127 II 95, 217 VI 230, and 236 I 106), but both gods are extremely rare in first millennium prosopography. dKU.SUD.NUN.TU is thus probably a cryptographic writing for a more common deity, perhaps Ea. “Lamentation priest of Enlil” is written playfully as šum[a]-gār šKUR-GAL, where šum[a]-gār = kalâ (Maiku IV 15, see Oppenheim 1974: 198 n. 7) and šKUR-GAL = Enlil (Lambert 1957: 11 and 13 I. 41). Gabbay 2014: 125 suggests reading this scholar’s name as Ea-šumu-ibni, kalâ-priest of Ea, since the god Ea is occasionally identified with Šakkan.
26 This new fragment contains the following variant readings: 24 tup-pu (l. 22), šum[a]-ma (l. 23), š[ur]-ma (l. 25), š[ur]-ma (l. 26).
9. My bed is the ground! (penitential prayer alṣṭa ilṭ)

The prayer alṣṭa ilṭ is one of the few extant examples of the group of the šigû-prayers, individual laments addressed to a deity in which the penitent acknowledges his sins and asks the god for absolution. Until now this prayer was known from two small Nineveh tablets preserving two different recensions: K.2425 (Babyloniaca 3 32) and K.9252 (van der Toorn 1985: pl. 2, with an Asb Typ c–e colophon). It has been edited by Seux 1981: 434–35 and, more recently, by van der Toorn 1985: 137–38.

Two new fragments have been identified: the first one, K.11682 (Fig. 9b), follows the former recension, while the second, Sm.1068 (Fig. 9a), joins the only known manuscript of the latter version, K.9252.

K.9252+ Sm.1068 K.11682 (/K.2425)

1. én ši-gu-ā al-s[e-ka ī]-li mu-[ṭa-am]
2. nu-ḫa-[am]-ma ī-li [a-ni]-ni-[a] [le-qē]
3. ši-[mi ik-ri-bi-[a] šum-ru-[u-ā]-rī
4. maršin(nig-gig) ḫur-an-n[i] li-mad īl-r[i]-ši
5. ta-[ni-ḥi]-a ša 1[da'] ṣi-[em]-[me]
6. dim-ma[t ad-ma]-mu li-ba[] ša ḫat maššat(gi₃) (?)
7. u-l[u ūm(ud-am)] he-li te-nin-[a-ni]
8. iḫ(ingir) bān(du)-iḫa ta-[si-su] el(ug[u]-iša)
9. bit(e) ša-[k]-nu-[a] lī-[ki-iš]
10. ērš(t) 6%n[a]-mu qaq-a[r-ru mu-[ṣāb maššat(gi₃)-]a
11. ek-[m]-k[u šī-šu] šu-[m]-u-[a]-lā-lā
12. [... e]-š[u]-[k]u (?)
13. 11e-p[u]
14. 7[ek-m]e-[k]u ši-tu [ṣum-ru-ša-ka ša-lā-lā]
15. 8[o-m]u šu-ad-la-pa[Ku o o o o e-ša-ku]
16. 9[an]-na aš-taq₂-a ad na-[ṣa-a ul e-l]-e-’e
17. 10[o] x³ [o o o o o o o]

1. Incantation šigû: I have called upon you. My god, relent!
2. Relent, my god! Accept my supplication!
3. Harken to my weary prayers!
4. Learn at once the disgrace that has befallen me!
5. Keep listening to my lament, which I have made!
6. May the night bring you the tears which I weep!

7. Since the day (you), my lord, punished me,
8. and (you), the god who created me, became furious with me,
9. (since the day) you turned my house into my prison,
10. my bed is the ground, my sleeping place is dust,
11. I am deprived of sleep, distressed by nightmares,
12. I am troubled [in my ...], confused [in my ...].

B 9. I have been enduring a punishment [that I cannot bear.]

A 4. This line finds a parallel in an incantation addressed to Šamaš (Abusch & Schwemer 2011: 338 l. 22).
A 5. The traces at the end of the line in K.9252+ seem to belong to the same long DU-sign as the traces at the beginning of Sm.1068. However, no likely reading suggests itself – the reading adopted by van der Toorn 1985: 137, tānēḫiya ša ēpušu, “my laments which I have made,” followed by CAD T 172a, results in awkward syntax.
A 10. Cf. (mihi) cubile terra, “my bed is the ground” (Cicero, Tusculanae disputationes 5, 90). The restoration of mūšab múšiya in the second half of the verse follows van der Toorn 1985: 137; if correct, the elsewhere unattested phrase mūšab múši, “night abode,” would be a synonym of mayyāl múši, “night bed.”
B 9. Cf. K.3515 (OECT 6 13) r 5°, which could now be restored as [ar-nša aš-ta-da-ad nāša uš ʾile’es.

10. The god of unfathomable heart (Ashurbanipal’s Dedicatory Inscription to Marduk)
A hymn whose main character is the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal records the dedication of a golden basket (masab hurāši) or, according to one manuscript, of a golden censer (nignak hurāši), to the god Marduk. Of its three parts, the first (ll. 1–13) is a hymnic introduction celebrating the god’s preeminence. The second (ll. 14–25/26), which begins with a self-introduction of the king (l. 14, anāku aššur-bāni-apli), narrates the defeat he inflicted upon Tugdammē, the king of the Cimmerians, and his son. The third section (ll. 25/26–50) describes the votive object itself. The historical character of the second part of the text motivated its inclusion in Borger’s edition of Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions (Borger 1996: 201–03), the most recent edition of the text.

The hymn is known from a long Neo-Babylonian manuscript from Kuyunjik and several smaller Neo-Assyrian fragments. Two new manuscripts have come to light since Borger’s edition, both of them from the first part of the inscription, the hymnic introduction. The first of them, K.12582 (OECT 6 5) joins the big Neo-Babylonian manuscript and restores ll. 6–12. The second, Sm.1474, is written in Neo-Assyrian script and might be part of MS C or, less likely, of MS D. The manuscripts known for the text are:
The new manuscripts, and in particular OECT 6 5, suggest a different reconstruction from that adopted by Borger, and the line numberation should be altered accordingly. In the following edition the corresponding numbers from Borger’s edition are given in parentheses.

5. a. \((\text{B} 5)\) bēlu(ēn) kab-tu git\(^5\)mu-lum\(^1\) ša-ta-ašša la in-nē-ti-qa x [...]
   b. \((\text{B} 6)\) ša-zi mu-bal-ḫu-ša išt\((\text{ingir}^{\text{min}})\) mu-bal-ša-ḫu-ša zamb-izi [...]
   c. E 1’ \((\text{B} 6)\) ša-zi mu-bal-ša-ḫu-ša zamb-izi [...]
5b. (7) E 2’ \((\text{B} 7)\) [pa-qid kul-lat na-pa-ḫa]-ri ta-me-eḫ šer-re-ti šamū u erṣetī (?) [...]
5c. (8) E 5’ \((\text{B} 8)\) mu-kīl mar-kāz šame(\text{an}^{-1} \text{e}^{3}) u erṣetī(ki-tim) mu- [...]
6. (a) a. a-pir ageṭ(āqag) bēlu(ēn)-u-ti ša ra-šub-ba-ti zai-ma-pul-ha-at-ti lab-šu- [...]
   b. E 3’ \((\text{B} 9)\) [o o o bēlu(ēn)-u-ti ša ra-šub-ba-ti- [...]
6b. (7) E 4’ \((\text{B} 10)\) šamāš\((\text{tu}-nī)-ša līlim\((\text{ingir}^{\text{min}})\) ) [ṣ-i-me ra-ar-ši-[a-ti- [...]
6c. (8) E 6’ \((\text{B} 11)\) [o o o le-ṣi-[i]-ti rip-šā uzn\((\text{geštu}^{\text{min}})\) er-šā šal-ba-bu pa-[le-ka-ū- [...]
7. (γ) a. le-ṣi-[i]-ti rip-šā uzn\((\text{geštu}^{\text{min}})\) er-šā šal-ba-bu pa-[le-ka-ū- [...]
   b. \((\text{B} 12)\) [ṣad-lu su-ṣa irāt\(^3\) [ṣa-ṣum-ti- [...]
   c. \((\text{B} 13)\) [libbušuša-bu uši-ša-[u]-ma-šat-[a]-bil nēmeqi (?) [...]
8. (Ω) B 14 \((\text{E} \text{caret})\) ša teg-ensuša la il-lam-ma-du x [...]
9. a. libbuša-ša ra-šu-qa ma-liš ra-ma-ni-ša ša₃ inu gi-mir NU TIL ina ta-[ [...]]
   b. E 9’ \((\text{B} \text{caret})\) [o o o ma-liš ra-ma-ni-ša [...]
   c. B 15 \((\text{E} \text{caret})\) be-el kup-pi nag-bi e-de-e u ta-ma-a-ti x [...]
10. a. be-el kup-pi nag-bi e-de-e u ta-ma-a-ti x [...]
    b. B 16 \((\text{E} \text{caret})\) ba-ma-ša saqqad\(i\) saq-qad\(i\) bēlu(ēn) na-br[i- [...]
   c. E 10’ \((\text{B} \text{caret})\) [o o o la-ši-a- [...]
10d. E 11’ \((\text{B} \text{caret})\) [o o o ab-x [...]
11. a \((\text{B} 17)\) bēlu(ēn) réme-nu-ša le-šu-qa un-nin-ni še-nu-ū- [...]
   b. \((\text{B} 18)\) šar\((\text{lugal})\) bēlu(ēn) kiši-ni-dingir-ra-[a]-ša-ša(\(a\)-gal) šamē(\text{an}^{-1} \text{e}^{3}) [u erṣetī- [...]

5. Noble, perfect lord, whose boundaries cannot be transgressed, [...].
6. Šazu, who knows the heart of the gods, who destroys all enemies, who [...].
6b. [Guardian of the Universe], the holder of the lead rope of Heaven and Earth [...].
6c. [Sustainer of the bond of Heaven and Earth, the [...].
7. Who is crowned with the lordly tiara, adorned with terror and clad with fearsome aura [...].
7b. [Sun-god of the gods], whose features are fiery [...].
8. Most capable of the capable, wise and expert, ingenious and learn[ed [...].
8b. Magnanimous, of all-penetrating mind, [...].
8c. Of unfathomable heart, who ponders [wisdom [...].
8d. Whose intentions cannot be understood [...].
9. (The god) of unfathomable heart, the counselor of himself, who in all […]
10. The lord of springs, floods and seas, […]
   10b. Creator of the black-headed people, the lord of the creation [...],
   10c–d. …
11. Merciful lord who accepts prayers and heeds [supplications, ...].
12. King of Babylon, lord of Esagil – the palace of Heaven [and Earth ...]

5. Cf. mammam ina ʾil ittikka la ʾittīq “no one among the gods can transgress his boundaries” (Enûma Ŕiš IV 10).
6. The etymological explanation of the name Šazu as mûdē lībbī ilī appears in MS a but is absent from all the Assyrian manuscripts. Elsewhere it occurs, among other texts, in Enûma Ŕiš VII 35 (see Hurowitz 2010: 91 and Lambert 2013: 484–85).
7b. On this line, see George 1992: 139 n. 37 and Hurowitz 2010: 90.
8c. mašṭābil nēmeqi is restored after a prayer to Marduk edited by Mayer 1990: 456 l. 3.
8c–9. The fact that both lines 8c and 9 begin with libbu rāgu prompted a homoeoteleuton in MSS B and E. While the scribe of MS E omitted l. 8d and 9, and only later did he try to amend his error by copying l. 9 in small script beneath 8c (see copy); that of MS B omitted l. 9 altogether.
   libbu rāgu, “distant (i.e., unfathomable) heart” is a common epithet of Marduk (CAD R 425a). According to Lambert 1990: 215b and 2013: 484–485, it is a literal translation from the Sumerian ša sū, whence its occasional use as a playful translation of the divine name Šazu.
   10c–d. The text in MS E seems not to be duplicated by either MS a or MS B.

***

The Babylonian (MS a) and the Assyrian versions (all other MSS) of this text exhibit profound divergences. However, the tablets written in Assyrian script, which preserve longer versions of the poem, also disagree with one another in detail. As already mentioned, one of the Assyrian manuscripts (MS B) states that the hymn was accompanied by the offering of a “golden censer” (nîgınak ḫurâṣī), while the Babylonian manuscript, and one of the Assyrian ones (MS D), speaks of a “golden basket” (mânas ìrâṣī). Moreover, the subscript of the Babylonian tablet states that the tablet has a total of 50 lines, while one of the Assyrian fragments, MS D preserves the number 55. The other Assyrian manuscripts might have been even longer, since the portion of the text that they preserve contains no fewer than nine lines absent from the Babylonian version.

It is obvious from this that there existed not only two versions of this hymn — one Babylonian and one Assyrian — but rather a spectrum of them, adapted on different occasions to accompany different offerings. It is conceivable that these different versions also recorded different historical events, not only the Elamite defeat by Ashurbanipal, but this is as yet difficult to ascertain, since the historical section of the inscription (ll. 14–25/26) is so far attested only in the Babylonian manuscript.

11. The caring hands of the god (Muššū’u VII)

The seventh tablet of the exorcistic series Muššū’u opens with a long and elaborate bilingual incantation that aims at exorcizing whatever disease is affecting the patient. It is divided into three parts: the first one (ll. 1–19) is a long list of god names, some of them only poorly attested elsewhere. This is seamlessly followed by a list of diseases (ll. 20–26), which is combined with the list of gods in the final part of the incantation (ll. 27–32), where the gods from the former list are invoked to expel the diseases mentioned in the latter.29

This incantation is preserved in tablets from Babylon, Uruk, Sippar, and Kuyunjik. Two Ninevite manuscripts of it are known: the small fragment Sm.1668+ Sm.2181 (MS C+ E, now rejoined), and K.4918+ (MS D). The latter is a very broken tablet: when first copied by B. Böck (2007: pls.

29 In some manuscripts of Muššū’u VII, this incantation is followed by another one, Udayghul edina re’a, borrowed from the series Udayghul Udayghul VII 98–127 = edited by Geller 2007: 139–41). In others, among them the one dealt with here, Muššū’u VII consists of only this incantation, and Udayghul edina re’a represents the beginning of a different tablet. On this question see further Finkel 1991: 98–99, Böck 2007: 65–66, and ead. 2009: 133.
xxxiv–xxxv), it consisted of 12 fragments; now three more fragments have been identified, so this small tablet currently consists of 15 rejoined pieces.30


10. [²ibur-nun-sa₅] lú [hul-ḡal sḥag⁻²ke₅]
11. [³gan]-dim-me-kū ṭer[m-ma-bi śu-zaq-saq] o [²min₃ mu-ra-[³i-bat a-a-bi o o o o] x [²min₄]
12. [³gada-lā-āb]zu ka-ba-a-ni [u₃₁₁izu o o o o] [³pap-sukkal] [ṣa ina e-pīš [p'i-išā kīš-pī o o o o] [³ensi-ḡal]-abzu niğ-[zi niğ-si-sá kī ağ-ga (?)
13. traces

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19. [³nin-girim] a-gūb-ba dadda[ ḡ-ga]
20. saḡ-gig zū-gig sa-gig [ṣu-gig]
21. mu-ra-ṣu qaqq-a-di min šīn-ni ki-is-sa-tū e[k-ke-tā] [a-ṣa-gar mu₅⁻⁴a te-a [zē-zē (?)]
di-š [at-t] ši-hi-il-ti ši-[i-rip-tū (?)]
22. a-za-ad mu₅⁻¹a₁ fš ṣed₁-d[a [diri-ga]
šu-ru-up-[a-sat-t] šā hur-bu-šā m[a-la-u]
23. ud-da-tab-ba [m-m-ri-a] šu-tag-ga na[m-ta-ra]
hi-mit še-[e-ti ši-bit šā]-a-rī li-pit na[m-ta-rī]
24. udug ḡar (o o) [ṣag-ga] (?) [lugal-ūr-ra a[n-ta-šu]b⁻³ba³ ṣi-kiš še-[e-di š]a-lak he-en-mu mi-qit šameš-an-e]
25. udug ḡedi[₃m-gi-ga a-na-me-a-bi]
26. zū-muš-i-ğu⁻²-e š[u l]u₃₁₉lu⁻⁴ke₅ iḡal-la
paši-tum šā ina zu-mur ṣa₅-me-li ba-šā-tu₄
27. su-bu₅-ra hal-ḡal-la-bi-ta³ zi-ge-ē
ina tir-rat le-mut-ti [fi]-i-su-[ḫu-ka

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31. [a]-ka-lu u mu₅⁰₃[ina pi-i-k]š li-tib-bu
32. šu sig₅-ga ḡidir-ra-na-še nam-ti-la ši[jim-ma-(mu) hē]-⁴ni-lib-tūm-mu⁵n[e]
a-na qa-at dam-qa-a-ti šā i[l(dingir)-ka ama šu₅mi u ḡ][a₅]<lₗ₇₆⁻tî>-ti lip-qī-di-k[la] én


10. Burnumusa, he who overthrows the enemy,
11. Gandimmeku, she who makes the foe [...] tremble,
12. Gadalabzu / Papsukkal, at whose command witchcraft [is destroyed],
13. Ensagalabzu, he who loves truth and justice, (...)
19. (and) Ningirim, the lady of the holy water vessel.
Fig. 11
NEW FRAGMENTS OF GILGAMESH AND OTHER LITERARY TEXTS FROM KUYUNJIK

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21. Seasonal headache, puncture wound, d[scoloration].
22. Seasonal cold, [full of cold water] (Akk. which is full of shivers),
24. “Appearance of the ūdù-spirit,” Šulak, “lord of the roof” (Akk. epilepsy), and “falling sickness,”
25. demons, ghosts and diseases, as many as there are,
27. May they (sc., the gods mentioned in ll. 1–19) expel them
   (the above mentioned diseases) with the lash of evil!

(…)
28. May they make food and drink agreeable to your taste!
29. Your foot shall stand on a land of life! (Akk. May your feet stand on a land of life!)
30. May they entrust you, sound and safe, to the caring hands of your god! [Incantation].

[Seven]th tablet of Muššu’a.

20. For the sequence of diseases su-gù sa-gù || kissatu ekketu cf. the medical commentaries SpTU 1 51 r 5 and
   52 6–7. Compare also Muššu’a VI 12: su-gù,–e sa-gù,–e || kissatu ekketu, after which the end of this line is
tentatively restored.
21. mu-ú-a is assumed to represent mu, “year,” with a genitive ending. On the orthography, cf. mu-ú-a, “in
   (this) year,” in MSL 12 511. 511 and in the proverb SP 5 A 72 (see Gordon 1958: 53b and Alster 1997: I 133
   and II 405, note that a similar bilingual proverb from Kuyunjik cited ibid. reads mu-ām). BM 46297+ (MS A)
   reads perhaps mu-ū-u-a at this point.

The restoration at the end is tentative. The equation zé-zé = širipatu would be otherwise unattested, but
compare zé-zé = šurappu in Nabittu XXIII 156 (Finkel 1982: 216).
22. BM 46297+ (MS A) reads šu-ra-up-pe-e šat*--[iun ...]. On “seasonal” dī u and šurappā diseases, see Stol
27. su-bū-ra || tirratu is an unknown equation, where neither the Sumerian nor the Akkadian is clear (cf.
31. On the interpretation of this line see Schramm 2008: 225 ad 37/38.
32. Compare the similar line in Šerpu V–VI 170 f.: šu šā-ga dingir-r[a-na-šē ū][en-šin-gi4-gi4 || a-na qa-at
   dam-qa-a-ti šā ilt(dingir)-šū lip-pa-qid, and in Saggig (CT 17 22 u 145 f., SpTU 3 65 r 15 f. = Muššu’a II 50,
   and SpTU 2 2 104 f.). Sm.1668+ Sm.2181 (MS C+ E) reads [...] b-á-lá-ti kip*-qi-du-ka ...].

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A new manuscript of this incantation was identified while studying literary fragments from the
British Museum’s “Sippar Collection,” after the above was submitted. BM 53631 (82-3-23,4669, here
Fig. 11b) preserves the line ends of Muššu’a VII 7–10. It could be part of the same
manuscript as BM 69903 (AH 82-9-18,9903), a small fragment from Sippar published by Böck
2009: 135, but the script of the new fragment is considerably less slanted.

The new fragment adds little to the known text, but it contains some remarkable spellings, such as
ab-tu-lu-ū-t4, (cf. ab-tu-lu-u-t4 in K.4918+), or zag-ga-k[e4] (cf. šlag-[k=e4] in K.4918+).

1. (7) “[tu-tu šir-kā-ga-bi uš1,]-r[i]-a ab-zı-[ir-zi-ir]
2. (7) [marduk ša ina kerkugēšu ruḫe] ši3-pa-as-sa-su
3. (8) “[Šā–zu di ġur suh ējrim-ma-ke4,
   [marduk iš na-baššū a-a-b]i]
4. (8a) “[en-bi-lu lu gaba ūl-gal] ab-tu-lu-kū-t4,
   [marduk muq-ẹ ere iiri lēmm]
5. (9) “[hamma šu “nam-tar-r[a] gā-ge-da-ke4
   [MIN ša ina qāt namtari iγamemlu]
6. (9a) “[šanše šu tag-ga-bi urı-e (?) a]k’-ke-e-[k]e4
   [MIN ša lipit qattušu nāšru]
7. (10) “[bur-nun-sa3 ħul-ğal] zag-ga-k[e4]
   [MIN sakip lēmmi]
As is often the case, the first edition of a text facilitates the identification of additional manuscripts. In the case of the series Muššu/u, several small pieces have been identified by the author, which are cursorily listed here for the convenience of a future editor: BM 37243 (Muššu/u I 49–55 and II 1), K.13821 (Muššu/u IV 67–73), BM 38066 (Muššu/u V 112-119), K.16347 (Muššu/u V 123-128), UM 55-21-29 (obv b = Muššu/u VIII 44–50).

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Enrique Jiménez
Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations
Yale University
P.O. Box 208236
New Haven,
CT 06520-8236
enrique.jimenez@yale.edu

KUYUNJIK

كسرات جديدة من جلجامش ونصوص أدبية أخرى من قيونج

إي. جيمينيز

توفر مجموعة صور قيونج في المتحف البريطاني للإطلال العام سماح للتعرف على الكثير من الكسر المجهولة الأصل. بعض هذه الكسر لها أهمية خاصة بالنسبة لإعادة ترميم مقاطع جديدة في عدد من النصوص الأدبية القديمة لبلاد ما بين النهرين ونشرها لأول مرة. هذا، وهي تشمل ثلاثة كسر من ملحمة جلجامش، وكسرة أو أثنتين من النرويجية (سماح الزبيب التي يعود تأثير السمر)، وشطرانين مزدوج من نقوش الجزائر ورسامين

عراقيين، وعدد من الصور لا يعثر على عينهما إلا القليل، وكسرة مقتطع من سجل سانتو متوسط

طورت الأرواح الشعبية Muššatu.