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work of several generations of scholars, their wealth is far from exhausted, and many of their texts still remain unpublished and many of the fragments unidentified.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.²

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),³ 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 Enkidu, 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.

suggestions. All remaining mistakes are the author's sole

responsibility.

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.

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

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

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195 = 264. [o o o] x [...]
196 f. = 265 f. [^{d+}e]n-ki-d\hat{u} p\hat{a}(ka)-\check{s}\hat{u} \bar{\iota}pu\check{s}(d\hat{u})-m[a\ iqabbi(dug_4-ga)\ izzakkara(mu-ra)\ ana\ ^{d}Gi\check{s}-g\acute{i}m-ma\check{s}:
                                                                                       (ib-ri) <sup>d</sup>hum-ba-ba ma-as-sar qišti(<sup>giš</sup>tir)]
198 = 267. [g]úm-mir-šu né-er-šu-^{\Gamma}ma^{\Gamma} [tè-en-šu hul-liq \varnothing (?)]
                                      caret
200 f. = 269 f. [la]-am iš-mu-u a-šá-r[e-du den-líl: lib-ba-ti-ni i-mál-lu-ú il\bar{u}(dingir meš) rabûtu(gal meš)]
202-04 = 271-72.
                                       caret
205 = 273. [iš-me-e] ^{\text{rd}_1}hum-ba-^{\text{r}}ba^{\text{l}} [šá ^{\text{d}}en-ki-dù qa-ba-a-šú]
206 = 274. [i\check{s}-\check{s}i-ma\ re]^{-r}\check{s}i^{2}-\check{s}\acute{u}^{2} [hum-ba-ba\ ana\ p\bar{a}n(igi)\ \check{s}ama\check{s}(^{d}utu)\ i-bak-ki]
195= 264. ...
196 f. = 265 f. [Enk]idu 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 forem[ost], 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.]
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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 Il. 268 and 271–72 in this fragment parallel that of I. 268 in MS dd (Uruk), and of Il. 271–72 in MS ff (Babylonia). The Nineveh 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 Ištar'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+ (Q_3 , copied in George 2003: pl. 88), one of the three known Nineveh exemplars of SB *Gilgameš* VI, duplicating the lines where Anu accedes to Ištar'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:

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113. [iš-me]-<sup>r</sup>[e¹-ma <sup>d</sup>a-nu an-[na-a] <sup>r</sup>[qa¹-[ba-a <sup>d</sup>iš-tar]
114. [ù ṣer-r]et a-lim-ma a-n[a qātī(š]u<sup>min</sup>)-šá i[š-kun]
115. [o o (o)]-ma i-red-[da-ā]š-šú <sup>d</sup>[iš-tar]
116. <sup>r</sup>a¹-n[a² ma-a-tu]m šá uruk(unug<sup>ki</sup>) ina ka-šá-d[i-šú]
117. ú-<sup>r</sup>tab-bil¹ qišta([<sup>gi</sup>]<sup>š</sup>tir) ap-pa-ra u qa-n[a-a]
118. ú-rid a-<sup>r</sup>na nāri(id)¹ [sebe(7) ammat(1.kù]š) nāru(id) [um-da-ṭi]
113. Anu [list]ened to this speech of [Ištar]
114. [then] p[ut the lead-ro]pe of the bull in her [ha]nds.
115. [Ištar departed], leading it on,
116. when [it] arrived in the [land] of Uruk,
117. it withered the forest, the marshland and the re[eds],
118. it went down to the river, the water level [dropped seven cubi]ts.
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to the second occurrence of the speech (ll. 266–72), which is preserved in two MSS (MSS 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.

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

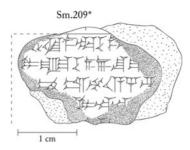


Fig. 1

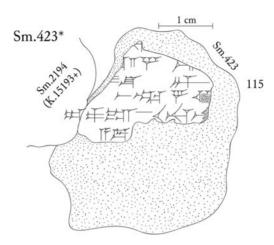


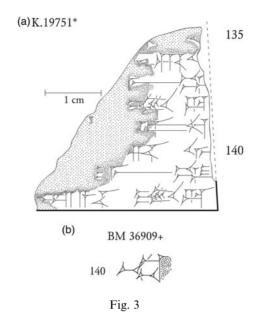
Fig. 2

3. May she accept it! (Gilgameš VIII 135–42)

A great part of the eighth tablet of *Gilgameš* consists of a list of chthonic deities whose favour Gilgameš 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, Gilgameš 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 *Gilgameš* VIII, MS V (K.8281(+) K.8565+ (+) K.8587(+) K.19549, copied in George 2003: pls. 102–03), and should therefore be termed V_5 . The lines preserved fall at the beginning of the funeral ceremony.

- 135. [ta-am-hi[?]-su (?) kal-li-re-e iṣ-ṣi] e[l]-l[im]
- 136. [a-na diš-tar šar-ra-tum rabītu(gal-tum) šamaš(dutu) u]k-tal-li[m]
- 137. [lim-hur diš-tar šar-ra-tum rabītu(g]al-tu[m])
- 138. [a-na pān(igi) ib-ri-ia lu-ú ḥa-da-at-ma i-da-a-šú] lil-lik
- 139. [o o x-na-am o o o te]-di-qa
- 140. [a-na bēlet-ilī(dingir-mah) šarratu (?) rabītu(gal-tum) šamaš(dutu) uk-t]al-lim
- 141. [lim-hur bēlet-ilī(dingir-mah) šarratu (?)] rabītu(fgal¹-tum)
- 142. [a-na pān(igi) ib-ri-ia lu-ú ha-da-at-ma] ri¹-da-a-šú lil-lik
- 135. [A throwstick of ..., the pu]re [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 Bēlet-ilī], the great [queen, he disp]layed it [to Samaš]:



142. "[May Bēlet-ilī], the great [queen, accept this]!

143. [May she rejoice at my friend and] walk at his side!"

The fragment suggests that the divinity invoked in Il. 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]IR.MA[H], i.e. Bēlet-ilī (see the adjoining copy in Fig. 3b). After the goddess's name, the epithet may have been the same one Ištar receives, viz. [šarratu] rabītu, which is Bēlet-ili's sobriquet in a number of texts.⁶

Although Bēlet-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 Gilgameš* (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:

- 48. [ak-ka-an-nu sír-ri-mu ša] it-pu-pu šu-muh šam-^rme¹
- 49. [ak-kab-ti-i pak-ki] ili(dingir-dingir) ú-zu-un-šú ib-ši
- 50. [ag-gu la-b]u šá i-tak-ka-lu du-muq [š]^ri-i-ri¹
- 51. [ak-ki-mil-t]i il-ti-i šup-ţu-ri ú-bi[l maṣ-ḥat-su]

⁸ The new fragment allows also a better understanding of the end of *Theodicy* 46, which should be read as [*zikar*] ^rš*ap*¹-[*ti-ka*], "the word of your lips" (MS I [= BM 35405] is to be read, against the copy in Lambert 1960 pl. 20, as *sì-kàr šap*-[ti-ka*], see the adjoining collation, Fig. 4b).

⁶ E.g. in a *Fire Incantation* (Lambert 1970: 43 l. 33), in SB *Lamaštu* 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.

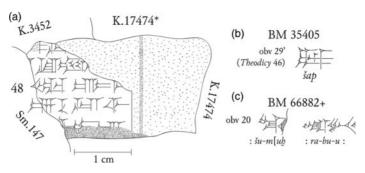


Fig. 4

- 48. The onager, the wild ass, which nibbles the lushest grass,
- 49. did he pay attention to the noble plans of a god?
- 50. The savage lion that devours the choicest meat,
- 51. did he offer flour to assuage the wrath of a goddess?

48. Only one other attestation of *šumuḥ šamme* 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 šū šumuḥ šammīšu māta ušakkal*, "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 1. 48, and that it is to be read, against the copy in Lambert 1960 pl. 26 (see the adjoining collation, Fig. 4c), as $\delta u - m[uh^*] : \delta a - ma - h]u : banû(dù-u) : min : ra^* - bu^* - u^*$, "abunda[nce' ($\delta u - uh$) (derives from the verb) 'to grow abunda]ntly' ($\delta a - uh$), (which means) 'to grow' ($\delta a - uh$); the same ($\delta c - uh$) (also means) 'to become big' ($\delta a - uh$)."

A different view of the diet of the *serrēmu* is offered in the Neo-Babylonian letter *ABL* 1000 obv 8'f. (de Vaan 1995: 292–93): *zēru ša ^úsungirti* | *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 šanātī(m]u-an-na^{meš})-ia ma-a a-na ši-bu-ti tak-šu-da tu-kul-ta-ka lu-u man-nu [Moreover, regarding m]y 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 ($ana \ \bar{s}\bar{t}b\bar{u}ti \ | \ tak\bar{s}uda \ | \ tukultaka \ | \ l\bar{u}mannu$); on the other, by the fact that it is introduced by the

represent the lengthening of the last vowel caused by interrogative intonation. On the writing <code>DINGIR-DINGIR</code> (var. <code>DINGIR, DINGIR</code> for a singular (that it is singular is shown by the parallelism with <code>il-ti-i</code> in 1. 51), see Lambert 1960: 67, <code>id. 1967b: 132</code> ad 157, George 2003: 804, and Borger 2010: 249. In this case the writing <code>DINGIR-DINGIR</code> could also be explained as a way of rendering the long vowel (<code>ili</code>) caused by the interrogative intonation of the verse.

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

10 The ending -ia is sometimes used for the genitive of

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



direct speech particle $(m\bar{a})$.¹¹ 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'. [0 0 0 0 0 0] *ša ta[q-bu-ú* (?) 0 0 0 0]
- 2'. [0 0 0 0 ta-a]t-ta-lak-ma a-n[a 0 0 0 0]
- 3'. [a-na ši-bu-ti ta]k-šu-da tu-kul-ta-ka [lu-ú man-nu]
- 4'. [o o o b]u-na-ka tu-še-mi [o o-iš]
- 5'. [o o o]-x-ka e-dil pe-ta(-)t[a o o-ka]
- 1'. [...] what you *s*[*aid* ...]
- 2'. [... you have] walked to [...].
- 3'. Once [you hav]e 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 zīmīka 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 Lambert 1998a.

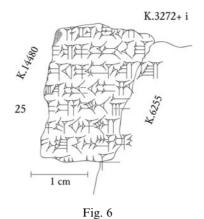
Lambert divides the treatises into six sections, which contain complementary, if not identical, information. Of these, the first (*BBR* 1–20 ll. 1–115) is the least well preserved: its manuscripts are "very incomplete" and "often break the lines at different points so that its reconstruction is especially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

[áš-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* 10 188 r 9–10, see Parpola 1983: 120; and in a Babylonian letter that mentions Mukīn-zēri, see Lambert 2002).

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



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 (BBR 2)+ K.13286+ K.17613 (both unpubl., Lambert)
- D K.3242 (BBR 7)+ K.5357 (unpubl., Walker)+ K.6209 (BBR 12)+ K.6426 (BBR 7)+ K.6502 (BBR 12)+ K.9487 (BBR 7)+ K.9500 (BBR 14)+ K.9532 (BBR 12)+ K.10786 (BBR 71) (+) K.5785 (unpubl., Lambert)+ K.10677 (unpubl., Borger) + K.11934 (BBR 10) (+) K.10917+ K.11949 (both unpubl., Lambert # 19–41) (+) K.21399 (unpubl.)

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-zuqup-kēna colophon according to which it was copied from "older tablets." ¹⁴

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BC
                1. [šum-ma (o o o)] mār(dumu) bārê(lúhal) nigâ(sízkur) ú-kan
                2. qaq-qar kit-ti šá šamaš(<sup>d</sup>utu) ù adad(<sup>d</sup>iškur) <sup>r</sup>i-sà-x¹-[níq]
3. [o o o ki-m]a² ušumgalli(ušumgal) ga-lit-ma ilū(dingir<sup>meš</sup>) šur-ru-šú
BC
BC
                4. [gat-ta-šú (?) o]-x-šar meš-re-e-ti lu-u šuk-lu-lat
5. zaq-ta īnī(igi<sup>min.meš</sup>) [he-s]ir šin-ni šá ubān(šu-si)-šú nak-pat
BC
BC
                6. a-šar purussė(eš-bar) barûti(nam-azu) la(nu) itehhi(te-hi) ikkib (níg-gig) dšullat u [d][haniš]
BC
                7. <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1?</sup>-pa-al šamaš(<sup>d</sup>utu) mār(dumu) bārê(<sup>lú</sup>hal) iš-ta-al i-sa-an-níq
BC
BC
                8. [o o o o o o] x immeru(udu-níta) tīrānu(šà-nigin) šamnu(ì + giš) u issūru(mušen)
                9. [0\ 0\ 0\ 0\ 0\ ] [0\ x\ x\ 0]-x^{-i^2i} i-man-nu nik-lat b\bar{a}r\hat{u}ti(nam-azu)
BC
                10. šá itti(ki) sa-a-ti šu-ta-bu-lu [ú-o o]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>?-šú ú-šal-ma-du-šú
ABC
                 11. [o o o o o o o n]i arê(a-rá-e) niṣirti(munus ùru) bārûti(nam-azu)
ABC
                 12. šá <sup>d</sup>é-a im-bu-ú abu(<sup>r</sup>ad<sup>1</sup>) māra(<sup>r</sup>dumu)-šú<sup>1</sup> šá i-ram-mu
ABC
ABC
                 13. [ú-tam-m]u-ú ú-šah-ha-zu ina tup-pi
                 14. qa-an-tup-pi i-gir-ta-šú i-nam-di-nu-šu
ABC
ABC
                15. [ha-mim (?)] sa-a-ti hi-im-mat šum-mi u mi-šá-ri
                                                                                                                           (C: AB caret)
                 16. [a-šar d]i-nim ma-har šamaš(dutu) u adad(diškur) isanniq(dim4)-ma
A[B]C
                17. [erēna(giš eren) n]a-ram ilī(dingir meš) rabûti(gal meš) ú-šaḫ-ḥa-zu im-nu-šu
ABC
                 18. [o o] ta-mit pi-riš-ti bārûti(nam-azu) [(o)]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-kar-ru pi-i-šú
ABC
                19. la ka-\check{s}id ih-zi-\check{s}u^{\dagger} [o o o (o)]-pu (x) sa-na-qu
A[BC]D
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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.

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

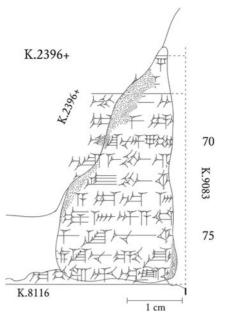


Fig. 7

ABCD ABCD A[B]CD ABCD	20. <ana> ikkibī('nig-gīg')-šú-nu ra-bi-i iṭeḫḫi(dih) 21. [o] x a-lik maḥ-ˈrī¹ x x-šú iz-zib-šú 22. ilū(dingir^{meš}) ^ři¹-šaq-qu-šú-ma x [o (o)-r]u-šu 23. ina <a>-šar di-nim su-lu-ú sur-ra-a-ti</ana>	
ACD A[C]D AD ACD ACD	24. [apkal (?)] tākalti(tùn) šum-mi ḫa-mim tākalti(tùn) têrti(^{uzu} ur ₅) 25. mu-de-e ^{uzu} er-ri bārû(^{lú} hal) šá iḫ-zi ālī(u[r]u²)-šú kaš-du 26. [ana maḫar(igi)] šamaš(^{rd1} utu) u adad(^d iškur) tu-kan-nu-šú ta-mit pi-riš-te 27. [i-pa]t-tu-šú ina ayyari(^{iti} gu ₄) simani(^{iti} sig ₄) u tašrīti(^{iti} du ₆) 28. [ina arhī(iti] ^{rmeš}) an¹-nu-ti ištene'ī(kin-kin)-ma	(C : ABD caret)
		(A.D. C)

(AD : C caret)

- (1) If the diviner 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 diviner 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 favorite son under oath with tablet (14) and stylus, 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 pl]ace 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 kn]ower of the entrails, the diviner who has mastered the lore of his *city*; (26) [to the presence of S]amaš and Adad you shall take him, (27) so that [they rev]eal to him (26) the secret oracle. (27) In the months of Ayyāru (II), Simanu (III), and Tašrītu (VII): (28) [during] these [month]s he shall search (for it).

- 2-3. These lines are duplicated in *BBR* 75-78 ll. 19-20.
- 5. On zaqta \bar{m} , "sharp of eyes," as a euphemism for "blind," see Stol 1986: 295. On [hes]ir $\bar{s}im\bar{n}$, see Lambert 1998a: 144 and n. 2. On the meaning "to stub" (said of fingers) of nakāpu, see George 2013: 163–64.
- 9. This line is paralleled in *BBR* 24+ 17–18 (Lambert 1998a: 149) (...) *pirišti ani enlil u ea* | šá itti(ki) ṣa-a-ti enūma (ud) anu(an) ^den-lil u arâ(a-rá-a) šu-ta-bu-l[u]. The most problematic part of the sentence, ša itti ṣâti, 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 *itti ṣâti*, *ša* may govern the infinitive verb, *šutābulu*. It can then be interpreted as a nominalized command, 15 "(the secrets) which (the diviner) ought to interpret with (the help) of *ṣâtu*-lists." The diviner would thus be advised not to take divinatory texts at face value, but to seek their deeper meaning with the help of *ṣâtu*-lists — which are in fact often mentioned as the source of the equations in extispicy commentaries.

"The subtleties of divination" (*nik-lat bārûti*, Lambert 1998a: 144) parallels *pirišti ani enlil u ea* in *BBR* 24+. However, *nik-mat bārûti*, "the compilation of the divination texts," also seems feasible in the light of the phrase *himmāt šummī u mīšarī* in 1. 15 (*q.v.*).

- 11-12. The first word of I. 11 is perhaps [... lišān]i (see n. 16). Compare the second part of the line with niṣirti bārûti (...) ša ina GÁN.Diš ea ibnû, "the secret of extispicy, (...) which Ea created in Gandiš" (Koch 2005: 60). 12-14. The same formula can be found in BBR 24+ 20–22 (Lambert 1998a: 149) and in several niṣirti bārûti texts (Koch 2005: 543 iii 62f, 546 3'f). The -u endings of the verbs suggest parsing them as subjunctive, but this would result in cumbersome syntax, especially in the case of inaddinūšu. For want of a better explanation it is assumed here that an attraction to the nearby subjunctive verbs (cf. 1. 12 imbû and irammu) has happened. 14. i-gir-ta-šú has been translated by Læssøe 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 egirtu, "one column tablet" (for this term, see Radner 1997: 60-62). AHw 897b, however, reads i-piš-ta-šu, 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 himmat šummī u mīšarī is a baffling expression. šummu 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 mīšaru makes little sense in this context. ¹⁸ mīšaru 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. dīnšu ul iššir below in the commentary to line 23).
- 18. No restoration suggests itself for the verb before $p\bar{\imath}su$; elsewhere the $t\bar{a}m\bar{\imath}t$ piristi is "revealed" (ipattusu) or "said" (itammusu) (CAD T 124b and 1. 26f below).
- 19. $\hat{r}\hat{u}^{1?}$ -sa-na-qu (sanāqu D?) is unlikely both epigraphically and grammatically, since three different manuscripts (MSS ABC) preserve the same reading (sa-na-qu) with no gemination.
- 21. Compare BBR 24+ 60-61 (Lambert 1998a: 150): [inadd]ûšu šēdūšu lamassātūšu izzibāšū-ma, "his (sc., the bad diviner's) protective gods shall forsake him, his protective goddesses shall abandon him."
- 23. On the phrase *sullû u surrātu* see Jiménez 2013: 243. Here it represents a functional equivalent of *dīnšu ul iššir*, "his judgment will be wrong," in *BBR* 24+ 47 (Lambert 1998a: 149).
- 24. The first word is tentatively restored after the phrase "an expert in oil" (ABGAL i+GIŠ), 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 δa + Infinitive, see Buccellati 1972. On the syntax of δa + Object + Infinitive, see Aro 1961: 48–57.

see Aro 1961: 48–57.

16 On the use of *šutābulu* with the meaning "to interpret," said of commentaries, see Frahm 2011: 57. As Koch-Westenholz 2000: 26 points out, it is unlikely that *sātu* here refers to *sātu*-commentaries, inasmuch as no such commentaries are known for the *Bārūtu* series in Neo-Assyrian times. However, reference to *sātu* lists, paired with *lišānu* lists, does occur in NA *Bārūtu* commentaries. In these cases Frahm 2011: 89–90 has proposed to interpret *sātu* as "bilingual (lexical) lists," and *lišānu* as "monolingual 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 *arû*-texts, another one of the common sources of explanations in commentaries (cf. e.g. Koch-Westenholz 1999: 156 ll. 49–50 *ina arî qabi* (...) *ina şâti qabi*), are also cited in *BBR* 24+ together with *şâtu*.

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 "Sammlung von Paragraphen und Rechtssätzen," wondered, "Wozu sollte [...] ein Opferschauer 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 ilī tākalta pirišti šamê u erşeti*, "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. ^rURU¹-*šú* follows Lambert 1998a: 145 n. 5, who regards ^rsu¹ and ^rzu¹ as equally possible.

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

As part of the ceremony of the $B\bar{\imath}t$ salā' $m\hat{e}$, 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 $B\bar{\imath}t$ salā' $m\hat{e}$. One of these tablets, dubbed the 8^{th} section and furnished with an Ashurbanipal Typ c-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 8^{th} pirsu of $B\bar{\imath}t$ sal \bar{a} mê has recently been edited and studied by Ambos 2013: 196–200, who kindly made his book available when it was still in proofs.

78. ka-inim-ma šu-íl-lá ^{mul}mul-kam

(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 decora]ted with the serpentine headdress, fastened with the belt,
- 72. [girded with the] ... of the weaponry that slays wild beasts,
- 73. [pacif]iers 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 d INIM-BI is attested also e.g. in *Mulapin* I i 44 (MUL-MUL d IMIN-BI DINGIR $^{me\$}$ GAL $^{me\$}$, see further Hunger 2003/2005).
- 72. The first word is perhaps a form of the verb *rakāsu*, "to tie up, to gird," or a cognate noun, such as *maksûtu*, "binding."
- 77. Restored from the end of the prayer Kaksisa 2/3 = Ninurta 4 (Mayer 1990: 471 ll. 24–25):

ina šīrīya ṭurud namtara lemna ša ana nakās napištīya izzazzu kīma mê nāri eššūti itrudū labīrūti 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 Išum*. For instance, the phrase *būla šumqutu*, "to destroy the animals" (1. 72), is elsewhere attested only in the epic, where it appears in IIc 26 and IV 147; and, as *būl šakkan šumqutu*, "to destroy the wild animals," in I 43, I 85 and III 15. Also the phrase *tâmta dalāhu*, "to roil the sea" (1. 73) appears there in I 70, IId 27 and IIId 5. The birth of the Sebetti from the sky god Anu (1. 70 and 74) is narrated in *Erra and Išum* I 28-40. All these parallels suggest that a borrowing took place, either from *Erra and Išum* 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.²⁰ Before the instructional part, however, it contains in its first section (II. 1–37) a catalogue of incipits of the tablets of two series. The first portion (II. 1–24) lists the tablets of the otherwise poorly attested series *Tukumbi Apinduata*,²¹ which in II. 22 is said to consist of "terrestrial omens" (*idāt erṣeti*). The second portion (II. 25–37) contains the incipits of the tablets of the equally unknown series *Kakkabu ša ina pānīšu ṣipru*, identified in I. 36 as consisting of "celestial omens" (*idāt šamê*). After both catalogues, the *Diviner's Manual* famously proclaims the equivalence of terrestrial and celestial signs, and instructs the astrologer 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-ta-a-t]um ḥa-ṭa-a-tum lem-né-e-tum
- 3. [šá libbū(šà) tukum-bi] ^{ĭti}apin-du₈-a-ta
- 4. (3) [diš tukum-bi gú-gal] ^rkù-babbar šám¹-šám-da
- 5. (4) [diš zag-gàr-ra] ^ruru¹ na-nam
- 6. (5) [šumma(diš) iṣṣūr(mušen) šamê(an-e) a-hu-ú

ša ki-i amēlūti(nam-lú-u₁₈-lu) ziqna(su₆) zaq-na-at (6) appa(ka) bļu-un-na-át

- 7. [eli(ugu) šēpī(gìr^{min})-šú ziq-pa izzazzu(gub-zu) ip-par-šam-ma
 - (7) i-na āli(uru) u na-m]e-e-šú innammar(igi)
- 8. [pī(ka)-šú petī(bad)-ma amâtū(inim^{meš})-šú aṣâni(è]^{meš}-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 Araḥsamna 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 ex]quisite, (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 SpTU185 o 7'-9' (see Römer 1986: 5455). Other bilingual omens are published in SpTU186, SpTU186, SpTU186, see Cavigneaux 1988), SpTU386 (see Geller 1991/1992: 181–182), and CTN489. 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 zag-gàr-ra, not translated by Oppenheim (cf. Oppenheim 1974: 203 n. 13), is probably to be taken

²⁰ On the *Diviner's Manual*, see Oppenheim 1974, Koch-Westenholz 1995: 137–51, Brown 2000: 120–22, Williams 2002, and Finkel 2014: 70–71.

²¹ Besides the *Diviner's Manual*, the series is mentioned only in a ritual of the *kalû* 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 *kalû*-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+.

²³ 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 Urnamma, see Civil 2011: 223 MS S₂.

together with dis as the conditional conjuction, like dis 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 *summa*:

Nabnītu IVa 366–68 NBGT III ii 11–13 tukum-bi tukum-bi ud-da ud-da zag-gar-ra za-ga-ra

The last word, za(g)ga(r)ra, is the only one with a variant orthography, so a writing zag-gàr-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.

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):

```
NinBab1 K.2848 (A)+ Sm.1088+ Sm.1531 (both I, joins by E. Reiner and J.C. Fincke)

# 1-41, 49-82
Colophon: GN-šuma-ib[ni], d. of Šumu-libši, lamentation-priest of Enlil<sup>25</sup>

NinAss1 K.2847 (B)+ K.7814 (join by E. Jiménez, copy on Fig. 8a)

# 1-11, 25-48, 49-84
Colophon: Asb Typ b (not copied below)

NinAss2 K.8801+ Rm.2,589 (both C)+ Sm.131 (join by R. Borger, copy on Fig. 8b)<sup>26</sup>+
Sm.1077 (G, join by E. Jiménez)

# 13-45, 46-77
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Partial duplicates that incorporate other astrological material are:

NinVar1 K.9787 # 68 and 71 NinVar2 K.6540 (E)+ K.7685 (F, join by R. Borger)(+) K.6485 (H) # 30–54 (E+ F), 59–71 (H) NinVar3 K.6476 # 71–82

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*.²⁷ 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.

Ea. "Lamentation priest of Enlil" is written playfully as $^{\text{l}\hat{u}}$ lagar $^{\text{d}}$ Kur-GAL, where $^{\text{l}\hat{u}}$ la-gar = kal \hat{u} (Malku IV 15, see Oppenheim 1974: 198 n. 7) and $^{\text{d}}$ Kur-GAL = Enlil (Lambert 1957: 11 and 13 l. 41). Gabbay 2014: 125 suggests reading this scholar's name as Ea-šumu-ibni, kal \hat{u} -priest of Ea, since the god Ea is occasionally identified with Šakkan.

This new fragment contains the following variant readings:
 tup-pu (1. 22), ¹u¹ (1. 23), ša-mu-ú (1. 25), š[ur-ma] (1. 26).
 Oppenheim 1974: 197 n. 1.

²⁴ Thus e.g. Koch-Westenholz 1995: 137 and Hunger & Pingree 1999: 23. On the possible date of composition of the *Diviner's Manual* see also Parpola 1983: 310 n. 565.

²⁵ The owner's name is written as ^{m.d}_{KU.SUD.NUN.TU-MU-D[Ū']}. ^d_{KU.SUD.NUN.TU} is equated in god lists with either Amurru or Šakkan (Litke 1998: 127 III 95, 217 VI 230, and 236 l. 106), but both gods are extremely rare in first millennium prosopography. ^d_{KU.SUD.NUN.TU} is thus probably a cryptographic writing for a more common deity, perhaps

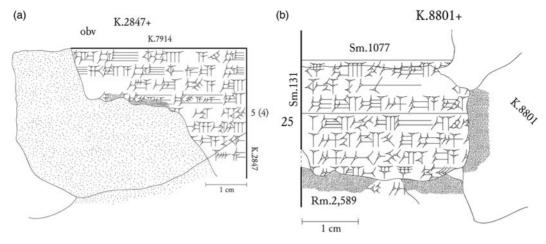


Fig. 8

9. My bed is the ground! (penitential prayer alsīka ilī)

The prayer *alsīka ilī* 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.²⁸ 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

- 1. én ši-gu-ú al-s[i-ka ì]-lí nu-[ḥa-am]
- 2. nu-ha-am-ma ì-lí [un-nin]-ni-ia [le-qé]
- 3. ši-mi ik-ri-bi-i[a] šum-ru-s[u-ú-ti]
- 4. maruštu(níg-gig) im-hur-an-n[i] li-mad á[r-hiš]
- 5. ta-ni-hi-ia ša ^rdù¹ ši-tem-[me]
- 6. dím-mat ad-mu-mu li-^rbil[†]-ku š[at mūši(gi₆) (?)]
- 7. ul-tu ūm(ud-um) be-lí te-nin-[an-ni]
- 8. *ilu*(dingir) *bānī*(dù)-*ia tas-bu-su elī*(ug[u)-*ia*]
- 9. bīta(é) taš-ku-nu ^ra¹-na ki-l[i-ia]
- 10. $erš\bar{\imath}({}^{\acute{g}i\check{s}}$ ná-mu) qaq-qa-ru mu- $[\check{s}\acute{a}b$ $m\bar{\iota}\check{s}i(gi_6)$ -i]a e[p-ru]
- 11. ek- $m\acute{e}$ -ku $\check{s}it$ - $t\acute{u}$ $[\check{s}\acute{u}m]$ -[ru-sa-k]u [u [sa]-[a]-[a]
- 12. [... e]- $\lceil \check{s}e^{\dagger}$ - $\lceil ku \rceil$ (?)

K.11682 (//K.2425)

- 1. [én é-nu-ru a]l-si-k[a ì-lí ši-ma-an-ni]
- 2. [ši-mi ik-r]i-bi-i[a šum-ru-su-ú-ti]
- 3. [ta-ni-hi-i]a šá ma-[gal da-al-pa-ka]
- 4. [dím-mat] ad-mu-mu [mūšu(gi₆) lib-lak-ka]
- 5. [ul-t]u ūm(ud-um) be-[lí te-nin-an-ni]
- 6. [*ì-l*]*i ba-ni-ia* [*tas-bu-su elī*(ugu-*ia*)]
- 7. [ek-m]é-ku šit-tú [šum-ru-ṣa-ku ṣa-lá-lá]
- 8. $[o-m]u \check{s}u-ud-lu-pa-[ku \circ x \circ o \circ e-\check{s}\acute{a}-ku]$
- 9. [an]-na áš-ta-d[a-ad na-ša-a ul e-le-'-e]
- 10. [o] ^rx x¹ [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!

²⁸ On the *šigû*-prayers, see Mayer 1976: 15 and 111–13, Seux 1981, van der Toorn 1985, Matini & Ambos 2009, and Fadhil & Hilgert 2011.

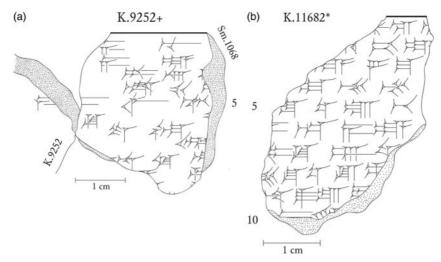


Fig. 9

- 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 DÙ-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, tānēḫīya ša ēpušu, "my laments which I have made," followed by CAD T 172a, results in awkward syntax.

A 10. Cf. (*mihī*) *cubile terra*, "my bed is the ground" (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 5, 90). The restoration of $m\bar{u}\bar{s}ab\ m\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}ya$ in the second half of the verse follows van der Toorn 1985: 137; if correct, the elsewhere unattested phrase $m\bar{u}\bar{s}ab\ m\bar{u}\bar{s}i$, "night abode," would be a synonym of $mayy\bar{a}l\ m\bar{u}\bar{s}i$, "night bed."

B 9. Cf. K.3515 (OECT 6 13) r 5', which could now be restored as [ar-n]a áš-ta-da-ad našâ ul ile"e.

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 ḫurāṣi*) or, according to one manuscript, of a golden censer (*nignak ḫurāṣi*), 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 Tugdammê, 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 numeration should be altered accordingly. In the following edition the corresponding numbers from Borger's edition are given in parentheses.

```
a. (// B 5) b\bar{e}lu(en) kab-tu git^{-r}ma-lum^{-1} \check{s}[a\ i]-ta-a-\check{s}\check{u} la\ in-n\acute{e}-ti-qu x [...]
5.
             a. dsà-zu mu-de-e libbi(sà) ilī(d[ingir<sup>me</sup>]*) mu-bal-lu-u nap-har rag-gi šá [...]
6.
             E 1' (// B 6). [dšà-zu mu-bal-lu]-u nap-[har ...]
6b. (7)
              E 2' (|| B 7). [pa-qid kul-lat nap-ha]-ri ta-me-e[h ser-re-ti šamê u erseti (?) ...]
              E 5' (// B 8). [mu-kil mar-kas<sub>4</sub> šamê(an]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>) u erşeti(ki-tim) mu-[...]
6c. (8)
              a. a-pir agê(aga) bēlūti(en-ú-ti) šá ra-šub-ba-tú za-'-nu pul-ha-a-[ti lab-šu ...]
7.(\alpha)
             E 3' (// B 9). [o o o bēlūti(en]-ú-ti šá ra-šub-[ba-tú ...]
             E 4' (// B 10). [šamši(dutu-ši) ilī(dingir<sup>meš</sup>) z]i-i-me ru-uš-š[u-ti ...]
7b. (B)
             a. le-' le-'-ú-ti rap-šá uznī(geštu<sup>min</sup>) er-šú šal-ba-bu pa[l-ku-ú ...]
8.(\gamma)
             E 6' (// B 11). [o o le-'-ú-t]i rap'-šá uznī(geštu<sup>min</sup>) er-šú [...]
             E 7' (// B 12). [šad-lu sur-r]u ka-<sup>r</sup>raš<sup>1</sup> [ta-šim-ti ...]
8b. (\delta)
             E 8' (// B 13). [libbu(\check{s}\grave{a}-bu) ru]-^{\Gamma}\acute{u}^{\dagger}-qu mu\check{s}-t[a-bil n\bar{e}meqi (?) ...]
8c. (ε)
             B 14 (E caret). šá tè-em-šú la il-lam-ma-du x [...]
8d. (ζ)
             a. libbu(šà) ru-ú-qu ma-lik ra-ma-ni-šú <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> ina gi-mir NU TIL ina ta-[...]
9.
             E 9' (B caret). [o o o] ma-lik ra-ma-[ni-šú ...]
10.
             a. be-el kup-pi nag-bi e-de-e u ta-ma-a-ti x [...]
             B 15 (E caret). be-el kup-pi nag-bi e-de-e u [...]
             B 16 (E caret). ba-nu-ú ṣal-mat qaqqadi(sag-du) bēl(en) nab-n[i-ti ...]
10b. (η)
             E 10' (B caret). [o o o] la \ \acute{u}-t[a-...]
10c.
             E 11' (B caret). [o o o] ab-x [...]
10d.
11.
             a (// B 17). bēlu(en) réme-nu-ú le-qu-ú un-nin-ni še-mu-ú [...]
             a (// B 18). šar(lugal) bābili(ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>) bēl(en) é-sag-íl ēkal(é-gal) šamê(an-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>) [u erseti...]
12.
```

- 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 Univer]se, the holde[r of the lead rope of Heaven and Earth ...],
 - 6c. [Sustainer of the bond of Heavlen 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 lear[ned ...],
 - 8b. Magnanimous, of all-penetrating mind, [...],
 - 8c. Of unfathomable heart, who ponders [wisdom ...],
 - 8d. Whose intentions cannot be understood [...],

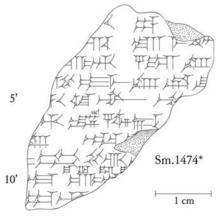


Fig. 10

- 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 crea[tion ...], 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. mamman ina ilī itukka lā ittiq* "no one among the gods can transgress his boundaries" (*Enāma Eliš* IV 10). 6. The etymological explanation of the name Šazu as *mūdê libbi ilī* appears in MS a but is absent from all the Assyrian manuscripts. Elsewhere it occurs, among other texts, in *Enāma Eliš* VII 35 (see Hurowitz 2010: 91 and Lambert 2013: 484–85).
- 7. The restoration [labšu] follows CAD Z 48a.
- 7b. On this line, see George 1992: 139 n. 37 and Hurowitz 2010: 90.
- 8c. muštābil 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 rūqu* prompted a homoeoteleuton in MSS B and E. While the scribe of MS E omitted 1. 8d and 9, and only later did he try to amend his error by copying 1. 9 in small script beneath 8c (see copy); that of MS B omitted 1. 9 altogether.

libbu rūqu, "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 šà sù, 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" (nignak hurāṣi), while the Babylonian manuscript, and one of the Assyrian ones (MS D), speaks of a "golden basket" (masab hurāṣi). 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 (II. 14–25/26) is so far attested only in the Babylonian manuscript.

11. The caring hands of the god (Muššu'u VII)

The seventh tablet of the exorcistic series $Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ 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 (II. 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 (II. 20–26), which is combined with the list of gods in the final part of the incantation (II. 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.

here, *Muššu'u* VII consists of only this incantation, and *Udughul 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.

²⁹ In some manuscripts of *Muššu'u* VII, this incantation is followed by another one, *Udughul edina re'a*, borrowed from the series *Udughul* (*Udughul* VII 98–127 = edited by Geller 2007: 139–41). In others, among them the one dealt with

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

The text has been recently edited in Böck 2007: 241–60, with updates in Böck 2009: 133–37 and Lambert 2013: 157–58. A recent translation can be found in Böck 2010: 149–50.

- 10. [d b]ur-nun-sa $_{5}$ lú [hul-ĝál s]ág- $^{\Gamma}$ ke $_{4}$ ¹ min sa-k[ip ø I]em-[n]i
- 11. [dgan]-dìm-me-kù lúér[im-ma-bi šu-zag-ság o] x [d]rmin mu-ra-[i-bat a-a-bi o o o]
- 12. [dgada-lá-ab]zu ka-ba-a-ni u[š₁₁-zu o o o o] [dpap-sukkal *š*]*a ina e-piš p[i-i-šú kiš-pi* o o o o]
- 13. [densí-ĝál]-abzu níĝ-[zi níĝ-si-sá ki áĝ-ĝá (?)] traces

- 19. ^dnin-gìrim nin a-gúb-ba dadda[g-ga] ^dmin *be-let a-gub-bé-e e*[*l-lî*]
- 20. saĝ-gig zú-gig sa-gig s[u-gig] mu-ru-uṣ qaq-qa-di min šin-ni ki-is-sa-tú e[k-ke-tú]
- 21. aš-gar mu-^rú¹*-a te-a [zé-zé (?)] di-'i š[at-t]i si-hi-il-ti s[i-rip-tú (?)]
- 22. a-za-ad mu-^rú-a¹ ^ra šed₇¹-da [diri-ga] *šu-ru-up-p*[*a-a šat-t*]*i šá hur-ba-šá m*[*a-lu-u*]
- 23. ud-da-tab-ba i[m-ri-a] šu-tag-ga na[m-tar-ra] hi-mit se-[e-ti ši-bit šá]-a-ri li-pit na[m-ta-ri]
- 24. udug ĝar [(o o) ^dsìg-g]a (?) ^dlugal-ùr-ra a[n-ta-šu]b-^rba¹ *ši-kin š*[e-e-di ^d*š*]u-lak be-en-nu mi-qit šamê(an-e)
- 25. udug gedi[m gi]g-ga a-na-me-a-bi ú-tuk-ku ^re¹-t[em-mu] mur-su ma-la ba-šu-u
- 26. zú-muš-ì-gu₇-e s[u l]ú-u₁₉-lu-^rke₄¹ ì-ĝál-la pa-šit-tum ša ina zu-mur ^ra¹-me-li ba-šá-tu₄
- 27. su-bu₅-ra hul-ĝál-la-^rbi-ta¹ zi-ge-eš ina tir-rat le-mut-ti [l]i-is-su-ḫu-ka

- 30. [ninda a-me]š ka-zu [hé-ni-í]b-dùg-ga-e-ne [a]-ka-lu ù mu-^rú¹ [ina pi-i-k]a li-ṭib-bu
- 31. ki nam-ti-la-ke₄ ĝìri-[zu gu]b-^rbu-dè¹ *i-na qaq-qar ba-la-t*[*i še-ep-ka li-iz-zi-zu*]
- 32. šu sig₅-ga diĝir-ra-na-šè nam-ti-la si[lim-ma-(mu) hé]-^rni-íb-túm-mu¹-n[e] a-na qa-at dam-qa-a-ti šá ilī(dingir)-ka ana š[ul-mi ù b]a²-<lá>-ti lip-qi-du-k[a én]

Catchline and rubric. én udug-hul an-edin-na r[e₆-a dub 7-k]am *muš-šu-*[*u*] Colophon. Asb Typ q (Hunger 1968: 103 no. 329)

- 10. Burnunsa, he who overthrows the enemy,
- 11. Gandimmeku, she who makes the foe [...] tremble,
- 12. Gadalabzu / Papsukkal, at whose command witchcraft [is destroyed],
- 13. Ensigalabzu, he who loves truth and justice, (...)
- 19. (and) Ningirim, the lady of the holy water vessel.
- 20. Head disease, tooth disease, muscle disease and b[ody disease] (Akk. skin disease and itching),

³⁰ K.4918+ K.5004+ K.5029+ **K.5125** (joined by R. Borger in 2009)+ K.5145+ K.5233+ K.5275+ K.5342+ K.6046+ (see Fig. 11a).

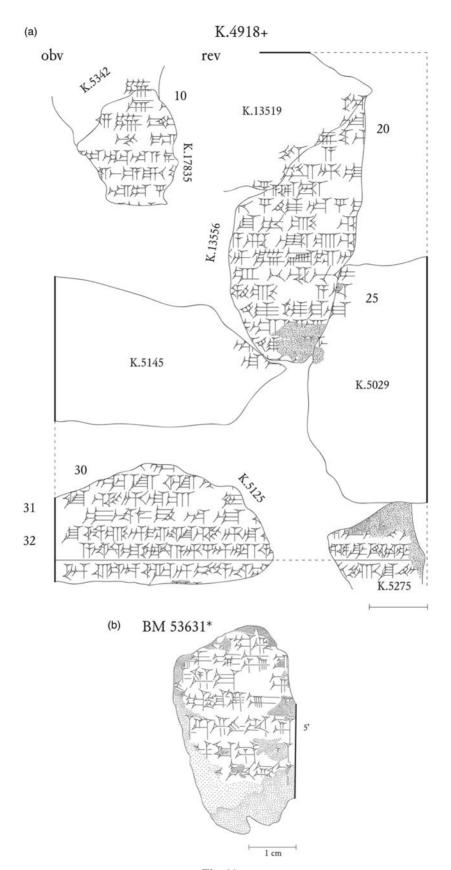


Fig. 11

- 21. Seasonal headache, puncture wound, di[scoloration],
- 22. Seasonal cold, [full of cold water] (Akk. which is full of shivers),
- 23. Heat stroke, wind burn, deathly plague, 24. "Appearance of the *šēdu*-spirit," Šulak, "lord of the roof" (Akk. epilepsy), and "falling sickness,"
- 25. demons, ghosts and diseases, as many as there are,
- 26. "obliterator," who is in a person's body,
- 27. May they (sc., the gods mentioned in ll. 1–19) expel them

(the above mentioned diseases) with the *lash* of evil!

(...)

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

Catchline and rubric. "Incantation: The evil demon who walks in the steppe." [Seven]th tablet of Muššu'u.

- 11. In An = Anu Gandimmeku is a daughter of Ea or Namtar (Lambert 1972/1975). The reading of her name here follows Selz apud Jursa 2001/2002: 85a.
- 20. For the sequence of diseases su-gú sa-gú || kissatu ekketu cf. the medical commentaries SpTU 1 51 r 5 and 52 6–7. Compare also Muššu'u VI 12: su-gu₇-e sa-gu₇-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 51 1. 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-àm). BM 46297+ (MS A) reads perhaps mu-u₈-ú-a at this point.

The restoration at the end is tentative. The equation zé-zé = siriptu would be otherwise unattested, but compare zé-zé = şurrupu in Nabnītu XXIII 156 (Finkel 1982: 216).

- 22. BM 46297+ (MS A) reads šu-ru-up-pe-e šat*-t[um ...]. On "seasonal" di'u and šuruppû diseases, see Stol 2007: 15–16 and Lambert 2007: 36-37 ll. 245–46.
- 27. su-bu₅-ra || tirratu is an unknown equation, where neither the Sumerian nor the Akkadian is clear (cf. Scurlock 2011: 101).
- 31. On the interpretation of this line see Schramm 2008: 225 ad 37/38.
- 32. Compare the similar line in Šurpu V–VI 170 f.: šu sa₆-ga dingir-r[a-na-šè hé]-en-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄ || a-na qa-at dam-[qa-a-t]i šá il \overline{t} (dingir)-sú lip-pa-qid, and in Saggig (CT 17 22 ii 145 f., SpTU 3 65 r 15 f. = Muššú'u II 50, and SpTU 2 2 104 f.). Sm.1668+ Sm.2181 (MS C+ E) reads [... b]a-lá-ti [[ip*-qi-du-ka ...].

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'u 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- \dot{u} - $^{r}a^{1}$ (cf. ab-tu-lu- u_{8} -a in K.4918+), or zag-ga- $k[e_{4}]$ (cf. [s]ág- $^{r}ke_{4}$ in K.4918+).

- 1'. (7) [dtu-tu šìr-kù-ga-bi uš₁₁-r]i-a ab-zi-[ir-zi-ir]
- 2'. (7) [marduk ša ina šerkugėšu ruhė] [ú]-pa-as-sa-su
- 3'. (8) [ašà-zu diĝir suḥ é]rim-ma-ke₄

[marduk ilu muballû a-a-b]i

- 4'. (8a) [den-bi-lu-lu gaba hul-ĝá]l ab-tu-lu-ú-ra [marduk mune"e irti lemni]
- 5' (9). [dnamma šu dnam-tar-r]a? gá-ge-da-ke4
 - [dmin ša ina qāt namtari igammelu]
- 6'. (9a) [dnanše šu tag-ga-bi uri-e (?) a]k?-ke-e-[k]e₄ [dmin ša lipit qātīšu nāṣiru]
- 7'. (10) [dbur-nun-sa5 lú hul-ĝá]l zag-ga-k[e4] [amin sākip lemni]

As is often the case, the first edition of a text facilitates the identification of additional manuscripts. In the case of the series $Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$, several small pieces have been identified by the author, which are cursorily listed here for the convenience of a future editor: BM 37243 ($Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ I 49–55 and II 1), K.13821 ($Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ IV 67–73), BM 38066 ($Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ V 112-119), K.16347 ($Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ V 123-128), UM 55-21-29 (obv b = $Mu\check{s}\check{s}u'u$ VIII 44–50).

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كسرات جديدة من جلجامش ونصوص أدبية أخرى من قيونجق KUYUNJIK كسرات جديدة إي جيمينيز

توفر مجموعة صور قيونجق KUYUNJIK في المتحف البريطاني للإطلاع العام سمح للتعرف على الكثير من الكسر المجهولة الأصله بعض هذه الكسر لها أهمية خاصة بالنسبة لإعادة ترميم مقاطع عديدة في عدد من النصوص الأدبية القديمة لبلاد ما بين النهرين وتنشر هنا لأول مرة. هذا، وهي تشمل ثلاثة كسر من ملحمة جلجامش، وكسرة أو إثنتين من الثيوديسيا (سماح الرب الطيب بوجود الشر)، وشظايا عديدة من دليل العراف ومراسيم العراف، وعدد من الصلوات لم يكن هناك علم بها الا القليل، وكسر من اللوح السابع من سلسلة ماسيّو Muššu'u لطرد الأرواح الشريرة.