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The End of the House of Teḫip-tilla and the Fall of Nuzi

Maynard P. Maidman

York University, Canada

Abstract Tieš-urḫe son of Takku is the last known member of a Nuzi family spanning five generations and commonly known as the House of Teḫip-tilla. This article reviews Tieš-urḫe's known activities as a private landowner in several areas of Arrapha, as a local (i.e., Nuzi) bureaucrat, and as a military leader within the kingdom of Arrapha. These last efforts were undertaken against Assyrian predations, predations which ended the House of Teḫip-tilla and Nuzi itself. Definitions of *šaknu* in the Nuzi texts and of *rākib narkabti* are also proffered.

Keywords Nuzi. Arrapha. Mittanni. Tieš-urḫe. Teḫip-tilla.

Summary 1 Methodology and Sources. – 2 The Deeds of Tieš-urḫe Son of Takku. – 2.1 Tieš-urḫe: The Private Landlord and Family Member. – 2.2 Tieš-urḫe as Administrator/Bureaucrat. – 2.2.1 The Functions of *šaknus*. – 2.2.2 Tieš-urḫe as *šaknu*. – 2.3 Tieš-urḫe as Mayor. – 2.4 Tieš-urḫe as Soldier: The Recorded Military Activities. – 2.4.1 The Functions of *rākib narkabtis*. – 2.4.2 The Functions of Tieš-urḫe as *rākib narkabti*. – 2.5 Tieš-urḫe: Miscellany. – 3 A Summary and Some Conclusions and Extrapolations.

For Hadar and Dena

1 Methodology and Sources

The focus of this article is Tieš-urḫe son of Takku, the last attested member of the house founded by Puḫi-šenni son of Tur-šenni (the Puḫi-šenni who fathered the famous Teḫip-tilla). He is the only known scion of this family going back five generations to Nuzi's very origins.

The article traces his assorted activities in the shadow of Nuzi's final days.¹ We shall see that Tieš-urḫe was conspicuous as a landlord, as a bureaucrat, and as a military man – the last perhaps to the time of his death.² He was a worthy scion of a family seemingly always in the forefront of Nuzi's economic, social, and political life.

¹ Tieš-urḫe's activities, both familial and communal, constitute a narrow focus; the deeds of neither his father nor his ancestors and other relatives will enter the discussion directly. Collateral acts of his family are noted as judged to illumine Tieš-urḫe's own story.

² See below, fn. 124.



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Only texts naming “Tieš-urḫe son of Takku” or clearly intimating his presence are considered to be appropriate sources in the present study. Thus, five documents in which this individual is directly identified (i.e., name and patronymic) constitute the core of this study. These are *JEN* 399, 668, 669; *HSS* XVI, 331, 332.³

Of these, *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 are particularly important as regards their methodological implications. Gudrun Dosch, in her magnificent work, “Zur Struktur der Gesellschaft des Königreichs Arrapha. Texte über die Streitwagenfahrer (*rākib narkabti*)”,⁴ organizes and edits the Nuzi texts pertaining to charioteers.⁵ *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 are two of those texts.⁶ Now five other texts name one Tieš-urḫe without patronymic (not effaced, but, rather, never written) in similar contexts (and are so identified by Dosch), and together with some other individuals named in *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332. It seems inevitable to conclude that the Tieš-urḫe son of Takku of *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 is the “fatherless” Tieš-urḫe of those other texts: *HSS* XV, [14],⁷ 26+, 29, 34, 40, 114, all but the first similar to each other.⁸

This deduction is supported by two important, even crucial, observations. First, there is no attested Tieš-urḫe son of anyone but Takku. Second, “Tieš-urḫe” is an extremely rare name and this rare name, as far as can be determined, appears only in the last Nuzi generation. Thus the number of texts upon which to depend for a reconstruction of the career of Tieš-urḫe son of Takku grows from five to eleven documents.

This addition of “Tieš-urḫe” texts to the corpus of “Tieš-urḫe son of Takku” tablets can be extended to other – even to all – texts mentioning Tieš-urḫe without patronymic. The observation noted above, that Tieš-urḫe is both a rare name and one confined to Nuzi’s last generation, leads to the idea that *all* instances where the name “Tieš-urḫe” appears relate to the son of Takku, whether the name appears isolated or with just a designation of profession. In short, Tieš-urḫe son of Takku, Tieš-urḫe, and Tieš-urḫe plus profession should be considered the same person. This raises the number of relevant texts to forty-four. These texts may be identified as follows.

- Tieš-urḫe son of Takku: *JEN* 399, 668, 669; *HSS* XVI, 331, 332; *LNT* 93.
- Tieš-urḫe: *JEN* 27, 294, 310, 337, 402, 573 (= 490); *HSS* XIII, 187; XIV, 130, 174, 587; XV, [14], 18, 21, 26+, 29, 34, 39,⁹ 40, 41, 107, 114, 160, 161, 237; XVI, 91, 100, 109, 352, 456; XIX, 146; *LNT* 80.
- Tieš-urḫe, other descriptors: (*ḫazannu*) *JEN* 433; (*šaknu*)¹⁰ *HSS* XIII, 498; XIV, 92, 175; XV, 160, 161, 264.

To note what should be obvious, at least some of Tieš-urḫe’s personal documents were stored in his family’s archives at Nuzi, and other texts mentioning Tieš-urḫe were found in Nuzi’s municipal archives.

2 The Deeds of Tieš-urḫe Son of Takku

Having established the corpus of texts directly pertaining to Tieš-urḫe son of Takku, we may now proceed to describe his assorted activities, those related to his private family affairs, to his administrative positions, and to his military responsibilities.

3 Regarding a possible sixth such text, *LNT* 93, see below. I have written (in Maidman 2011b, 213) that sources pertaining to the western part of Arrapha come from municipal, but mostly private, archives. Sources regarding the east derive from municipal archives alone. The first part is to be corrected. Events in the west come from private but *mostly* from municipal archives. That private texts are there at all is only because they largely reflect family real estate interests.

4 Dosch 2009.

5 Dosch’s masterful study of the *rākib narkabti* texts and the social structure of Nuzi (Dosch 1993; 2009) in fact opened up the present avenue of investigation. Dosch 1993, 12-23 is an important preliminary study and summary of this material and of Tieš-urḫe’s identification as a *rākib narkabti*. See further below, § 2.2.2. Dosch’s premature demise is mourned by all students of Nuzi.

6 The latter preserves Tieš-urḫe’s patronymic only partially but still unambiguously.

7 Dosch restores the PN in *HSS* XV, 14:19. The restoration is reasonable, but she nowhere articulates its foundation.

8 Zaccagnini (2022, 410) implicitly understands that *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 establish that the Tieš-urḫe of *HSS* XV, 26+, 29, 34, and 40 is the son of Takku.

9 The Tieš-urḫe of *HSS* XV, 39 is identified by Lacheman (*PNKA* T 279 = “Tešurḫe” [entry #6]) as a “*tarkumazu*”. But this professional designation for Tieš-urḫe is not correct. Therefore *HSS* XV, 39 belongs to the “Tieš-urḫe” list, not to the list, “Tieš-urḫe, other descriptors”. The text, at l. 5, refers to equipment of a *tarkumassu* who belongs to or who is under the authority of Tieš-urḫe. This was implicitly recognized by both Cassin (1977, 146), who does not identify Tieš-urḫe as a *tarkumassu* in this text, and Mayer (1978, 204-5), who fails to include Tieš-urḫe in his list of *tarkumassu*-men.

10 The rendering of this office as *šaknu* rather than as *šakin māti*, is discussed below, § 2.2.1.

2.1 Tieš-urḫe: The Private Landlord and Family Member

Tieš-urḫe,¹¹ son of (a first-born son) Takku, son of (a first-born son) Enna-mati, son of (a first-born son) Teḫip-tilla son of Puḫi-šenni son of Tur-šenni is, as already noted, the last attested member of a family going back to Nuzi's very beginnings – or very nearly so.¹² His life ended at the time of Nuzi's demise – or very nearly so.¹³ Tieš-urḫe fell heir to wealth in land. Land in the town of Unap-še¹⁴ (inherited from Teḫip-tilla, via Enna-mati, no doubt, according to *JEN* 399, 668)¹⁵ and land in Nuzi, described in *JEN* 669, inherited from Enna-mati¹⁶ are attested. Tieš-urḫe land in Nuzi is also otherwise described in *JEN* 310, 402, and 490/573.¹⁷ It is not known whether these plots were inherited or obtained in another, more contemporary process. All of these texts about land in Nuzi are, in one way or another, linked to Tieš-urḫe's cousin, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla. In addition, fields of Tieš-urḫe are identified as located in Zizza in *JEN* 27 and 294.¹⁸ Here too, it is not known whether or not the land described in these texts was inherited. *JEN* 27 and 294 are closely linked, and both involve directly Tieš-urḫe's cousins, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla and Wur-tešup son of Akip-tašenni. The same land of Tieš-urḫe may be involved in both texts.¹⁹ At the least, the plots were near each other. *JEN* 27 was written in Nuzi.

Finally, Tieš-urḫe is known to have held land, according to *HSS* XIX, 146 (no room number) in an unknown location during the lifetime of his obviously long-lived grandmother, Uzna. The tablet was written in Nuzi.²⁰ It seems clear that his private economic interests were concentrated at Nuzi and points west, Zizza and Unap-še especially. He seems not to have been economically active at all east of Nuzi.

Before proceeding, the background of Tieš-urḫe's real estate interests should be noted.²¹ Enna-mati, Tieš-urḫe's grandfather, inherited real estate in Nuzi, Turša,²² Zizza, Unap-še, Artiḫi, Ḫušri, Apena, and Ulamme. Enna-mati further acquired land, not through inheritance, in Nuzi, Unap-še, Zizza, Tente, and Turša. Uzna, Tieš-urḫe's grandmother, acquired land in Tente and, perhaps, Nuzi. Tieš-urḫe's father, Takku, inherited land in Turša, Nuzi, Zizza and Unap-še, and further acquired land in Turša.

What stands out especially in Tieš-urḫe's portfolio of landholdings is the absence of Turša real estate.²³

So, Nuzi, Unap-še, and Zizza are all sites of Tieš-urḫe's holdings. One may conclude that real estate whose origins may well have been in the activities of Puḫi-šenni, Winnirke (Puḫi-šenni's wife), and Teḫip-tilla were passed down through the line of Enna-mati (who himself acquired properties through his own initiative) to Takku, and are still attested, and apparently exploited, in the last generation, by Tieš-urḫe.²⁴

11 Cf. Maidman 1976a, 256-9 with notes, 507-8.

12 Nuzi's beginnings are described in Maidman 2018, 20-1.

13 Nuzi's end is discussed in Maidman 2011a, 102-4, 123-4.

14 One of the relevant texts considered here, *JEN* 668, relates closely to *JEN* 399, and *JEN* 399 mentions real estate in the *dimtu* of Tupki-tilla by Malašu Stream. These are Unap-še toponyms; see Fincke 1993, 327-8.

15 Cf. *JEN* 799. See Maidman 2009 for the edition of this text and on whether or not *JEN* 399 and 668 are directly related. The major literature on the *JEN* material is catalogued in Maidman 2005, 189-258, now updated in Maidman 2025, 396-428.

16 This seems to be a unique case in the Teḫip-tilla family archives. A member of this family, Tieš-urḫe, clears a claim against his family for legally uncleared real estate in an original real estate exchange. Why was this tablet stored in the Teḫip-tilla family archive (room 16) and not in the archive of the other, vindicated, party?

17 One or more of these three statements of Tieš-urḫe ownership involve perhaps the same land as is obtained according to *JEN* 699. PNs and other data seem to connect these several documents.

18 The land in both cases lies in the *dimti piršanni*, a Zizza toponym; see Fincke 1993, 358.

19 Certainly, whatever applies to one text applies to the other as well.

20 His name in this text is spelled, uniquely, *Ti-a-aš-ur-ḫé* (ll. 5, 9). *HSS* XIX, 146 was accidentally omitted in my initial study of the Teḫip-tilla family, Maidman 1976a.

21 For these data, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

22 Maidman 1976a, 444 fn. 1035.

23 *HSS* XV, 41:66 does mention Tieš-urḫe in connection with Turša, but real estate is not involved. He is also associated with nearby Natmani in *HSS* XIII, 187, but again without connection to real estate. Land in Artiḫi, Apena, Ulamme and other locations of his ancestors' holdings are less significant omissions from his real estate portfolio.

24 For these data and a sketch of the Teḫip-tilla family's activities down the generations, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

2.2 Tieš-urše as Administrator/Bureaucrat

With a single exception, to be considered below, Tieš-urše is attested as serving in only one administrative capacity or office: *šaknu*.²⁵ He is so described in six texts, an impressive number, considering that the total number of direct attestations of this official comes to about twenty in all.²⁶

2.2.1 The Functions of *šaknu*

However, before we can describe Tieš-urše's activities in this capacity, we must establish, in general, what the *šaknu* did. Did he exercise high authority, was he a civilian administrator or a military officer or both or something other? We shall see that Tieš-urše himself was indeed a military man. Is it clear that he did not perform his soldierly duties as *šaknu*?²⁷

In turn, the issue of the *šaknu*'s function or functions is entwined with the issue of the very name of the functionary. And it is to this vexing question that we turn first of all.

Is the office at Nuzi *šaknu* or *šakin māti* (and is the Sumerian spelling to be rendered GAR.KUR or GAR KUR)? In theory, GAR(.)KUR in the Nuzi texts may be rendered into Akkadian as *šaknu* or as *šakin māti*.²⁸ It is not immediately clear which rendering applies at Nuzi. Now, the *šaknu/šakin māti* outside Nuzi can denote more than one position in various times and places.²⁹ He can be a governor or a lower-level bureaucrat; the office involves, variously, country-wide authority or merely local administrative activity. If the former, the office may well be that of *šakin māti*. If the latter, he may be a simple, plain *šaknu*.³⁰ If the former be the case at Nuzi, then the officer would serve beneath the king (of Arrapha, of course).³¹

Four lines of evidence point to Nuzi's GAR(.)KUR being a *šaknu*, a low-level official. First, as to the rendering of the term, the phonetic spelling, *ša-ak-¹nu'* at HSS IX, 150:12³² already points to *šaknu*. This, in turn, of course points to a low-level official. The second line of evidence pointing to *šaknu* is that texts such as HSS XV, 34, where two GAR(.)KURS appear together, preclude the interpretation of a

²⁵ The decision to render GAR(.)KUR as *šaknu* rather than as *šakin māti*, implying the choice of GAR.KUR (CAD Š/I, 180a) over GAR KUR, is defended below in this section.

²⁶ To my knowledge, direct attestations of *šaknu* are limited to the following Nuzi texts (the texts marked in bold represent Tieš-urše texts): HSS IX, 9, 42, 150; XIII, 36, **498**; XIV, **92**, 135, **175**, 258; XV, 1, 34, **160**, **161** (Lion's restorations in this text render the likelihood of Tieš-urše being the *šaknu* here very likely) (Lion 2013, 134-5), **264**; XVI, 387, 398; EN 9/3, 295 (= SMN.3238, so cited in CAD Š/I, 184a); RATK 20; Rawi 31. IM.73439 is unpublished but identified as a *šaknu* text in RATK 94 and Deller 1983, 157. The copy of HSS XV, 161:20-2 is garbled. Line 20 is a ghost, a partial rendering of l. 21. Line 22 possibly reads ¹G[AR?]KUR, followed by an erasure. Indirect attestations, i.e., appearances of a PN alone where, elsewhere, the same PN is identified as a *šaknu* and where the comparative contexts are suggestive of identity, include the following. RATK 28, 30; Rawi 47, 59 - based on RATK 20. (For the use of RATK and Rawi texts, i.e., texts from Kurruḥanni, in the context of a discussion of the functions of *šaknus* at Nuzi, see below, fn. 38.) The Tieš-urše text, LNT 80, is probably to be put in this category as well. On this, see further below, § 2.2.2. On LNT 80, see below fn. 63. Mayer (1978, 123) identifies HSS XVI, 177 as another *šaknu* text. There is no evidence for this assertion. He may have confused the Akip-tašenni son of Bēl-šadūni of this text (ll. 2, 11) with the *šaknu* Akip-tašenni son of Enna-mati of HSS XIII, 36:1-2, 5, 12, 18, 22-3. The Akip-tašenni, *šaknu* of HSS XVI, 387 and 398 is to be identified with the son of Enna-mati. Mayer (1978, 123) tentatively identifies the official at HSS XIV, 258:7 as GAR MAN (i.e., *šakin šarri*). However, one must read here GAR.[K]UR. See already Mayer 1978, 123 fn. 5. This list of texts, if not exhaustive, at least strives to be. It cannot account for GAR.KUR alone, i.e., without PN, or with acephalic PNs. Some such references are picked up, *en passant*, in the literature, more or less accidentally. But I must have missed some examples. Lacheman (PNKA H 496, 19) identifies Ḫutip-apu *šaknu* at EN 9/[1], 386:19. This is not correct. That line has DUMU Ḫu-ti-pa-pu, which resumes (with a seal impression intervening) l. 18: NA₄ mUt-ḫap-ni-ra-ri. Thus, Ḫutip-apu is a patronymic. Lacheman, according to this entry, must have both ignored the initial DUMU of l. 19, and confused the subsequent PN with Ḫutip-apu the *šaknu* of JEN 321:9, 12, 22, 43; cf. l. 47. Perusal of related lemmata in PNKA supports this explanation. Since administrative documents tend only to survive at the end of a community's lifespan, and since Tieš-urše lived toward (or at) the end of Nuzi's existence, it is likely that there are many other earlier attestations of *šaknus* in tablets that were discarded before the last generation.

²⁷ The answer is reached below, at the end of § 2.2.2.

²⁸ CAD Š/I, 160b: "GAR.KUR [... at] Nuzi [is] to be read *šakin māti* or *šaknu*". CAD Š/I, 191b notes that from the Middle Assyrian period onward either rendering may apply.

²⁹ The variety of offices extends, in the perception of CAD Š/I, 180 ff (see also 191b), from high to low.

³⁰ CAD Š/I, 191b: "In the most widespread usage the *šaknu* is an official of relatively low rank". The issue is, however, not clear cut. Symptomatic of the state of affairs is CAD Š/I, 180 ff, especially 180a, with its breathtaking variety of definitions - even within same sub-corpora of texts.

³¹ And so, at one point, CAD Š/I, 183b, 184a dubs him "governor" (but "not specified geographically") in Nuzi texts.

³² See the edition of Wilhelm (1992, 139-40 [his text #270]), correcting this part of the original text publication.

unique official, presumably a *šakin māti* i.e., governor of the land.³³ He is, rather, a lower official. The third line of evidence pertains to where the *šaknu* stands in the hierarchy of authority. This is hinted at in *HSS XV*, 1.³⁴ At the head of the hierarchy stands the king (of Arrapḫa, of course; ll. [2], 48).³⁵ He is followed by the mayor (ll. 1-24) and then, perhaps indirectly, by the *šaknu* (l. 25), who himself exercises authority over a congeries of *dimtu*-owners (ll. 25-8).³⁶ Thus the *šaknu*, at least in this case, is a midlevel bureaucrat.³⁷ *HSS XIII*, 36 is ambiguous. It could argue for the status of governor or a lower position, since the king's order is transmitted to, and to be executed by, Akip-tašenni son of Enna-mati, a *šaknu*. *HSS IX*, 42 describes an individual as a *šaknu* of Šilwa-tešup (son of the king). Although the legal context of the document seems to indicate that the *šaknu* is a private agent, Šilwa-tešup is a well-known high, local bureaucrat, and so his *šaknu* may be acting as a government official – and clearly *not* a high one. *HSS IX*, 150 mentions another(!) *šaknu* of Šilwa-tešup. *RATK*³⁸ 30 twice (ll. 3, 14) notes orders to one Turariya, who is elsewhere called *šaknu*.³⁹

Fourth, the administrative contexts of GAR(.)KUR strongly suggest that *šaknu* is, first, and perhaps only, one who is merely placed, i.e., an underling appointee at Nuzi. His functions are well attested in the Nuzi texts?⁴⁰

Since most documents dealing with the *šaknu* emanate from government house, it is not surprising that he is most often associated with the activities of that institution. From the evidence available to us, i.e., texts – and this must condemn us to a certain bias – the main function of the *šaknu* was, not high administration, but, rather, the transfer of goods and people.⁴¹ Especially, the *šaknu* distributes grain. Commonly, this involves barley. This commodity is delivered to the town of Irḫaḫḫe according to *HSS XIV*, 92.⁴² In *HSS XV*, 264, the same *šaknu*, Tieš-urḫe, delivers seed barley once again to Irḫaḫḫe and, later in the same text, to Dūr-ubla.⁴³ The same *šaknu* is described in *HSS XIV*, 175 as transferring barley to the men of Dūr-ubla in Apena.⁴⁴

Apart from barley, the *šaknu* distributes stores of wheat as a month's ration according to *HSS XIII*, 498.⁴⁵ *Rawi* 47 is a letter addressed to Akip-tašenni the *šaknu* involving the delivery of cress. Finally, Wantiya the *šaknu* distributes grain in the form of beer to a variety of parties in *HSS XIV*, 135 (see especially l. 31).⁴⁶ That same *šaknu* reappears in *EN* 9/3, 295, a legal declaration. There, an individual is made to undertake the return to the *šaknu* of two donkeys taken from him. A legal document, *HSS IX*, 42 describes livestock, at one point *not* given to an individual, and now given to a *šaknu* of another

33 Lines 21 and 49. There are at least three *šaknus*, if one counts Tieš-urḫe at l. 31. However, he is not explicitly designated there as *šaknu*. Note that the same text counts three SUKKALS (ll. 2, 18, 22). (In Dosch's edition of *HSS XV*, 34 [= *GD* 49; Dosch 2009, 137-9], her l. 12 ends: [Tar-mi]-til-la. This also reflected in her translation. This is to be corrected to: [Tar-mi]-til-la DUMU Šur-ki-til-la. Further, l. 21 begins "1", not "2" as Dosch would have it.) CAD Š/I, 190b-91a at least recognizes that a Nuzi *šaknu* can be other than a governor: "[he can be a] manager in charge of huge households". Yet, this too is not correct. Cf. Postgate 2013, 36, similarly and similarly wrong: "senior administrator in the palace [i.e., the local administrative center, or 'government house'] at Nuzi". But Postgate's position is that it *is* an office lower than governor. Abrahami and Lion (2023, 304) actually posit four governors for Arrapḫa or Nuzi.

34 See, conveniently, Maidman 2010, 30-3. This issue has been addressed previously by Löhnert (2015, 338-42).

35 Maidman 2010, 236 fn. 81.

36 Löhnert 2015, 342 fn. 26.

37 Thus, Maidman's definition of GAR(.)KUR as "governor" in this text (Maidman 2010, 31-2, as well as 136, 140-1 ["regional governor"]) is wrong. This is so also the case for Zaccagnini 2020, 182 ("governor" [*šakin māti*]).

38 See also Deller 1983, 156-8. Texts labeled *RATK* and *Rawi* originate from Kurruḫanni. They are presented here based on the plausible conclusion that, from the extant documentation, Kurruḫanni presents itself as a Nuzi-like society. Thus, these data (like those from Kirkuk) are helpful in discussing issues such as bureaucratic officialdom. At the political level, note also the appearance of Muš-tešup son of the king at Nuzi in *P-S* 45:9 (= *EN* 9/1, 127:9) and King Muš-teya in *RATK* 30:21. At the lexical level, note, at Kurruḫanni and Nuzi alone, *irana* (Fadhil 1981, 369-70), *ašlu* (Abed 2023, 100), and *tidennūtu* (CAD J, 393a-96a; *Rawi* 1977, 173 and *passim*; 1980; Abed 2023).

39 *RATK* 20:20; Fadhil 1972, 94 comment on l. 20; Deller 1978, 300; 1983, 157.

40 Löhnert (2015, 339) touches on this issue.

41 However, as noted above, *HSS XV*, 1 suggests that *šaknu* responsibilities could rise above the mere moving around of stuff from one place to another. See also below for occasional judicial activities ascribed to the *šaknu*. The bureaucratic hierarchy is fluid to an extent. Löhnert (2015, 341-2) notes other officials who *sometimes* belong to the hierarchy.

42 Lewy 1959, 19 fn. Correct CAD Š/I, 184a: from Irḫa ubil to Irḫaḫḫe ubil.

43 A detailed description of the text is found in Zaccagnini 2020, 181-4. Using seed barley (as in *HSS XV*, 264) for food signifies famine or other condition resulting in a shortage of food.

44 Cf. Lewy 1959, 21; 1968, 158-9.

45 For further on this text, see Zaccagnini 1979, 13.

46 He is a sealer of this text and so, at the least, he, along with others, attests to this distribution.

person. *RATK 30* also notes the transfer of livestock as does *Rawi 59*. The latter also notes the transfer of a woman.⁴⁷

In addition to foodstuffs and animals, the *šaknu* distributes different metals, in lieu of food rations, at least in part, to palace personnel and in different locations in *HSS XV*, 160⁴⁸ and 161.⁴⁹ Another text describes the transfer of metal to the *šaknu*, *HSS XIV*, 258.⁵⁰

The transfer of horses to a *šaknu* in one town and his transfer of the same horses to another town may be described in a royal order, *HSS XIV*, 14.⁵¹ (As noted immediately above, the *šaknu* Wantiya is involved in the transfer of other animals – donkeys.) The name of the agent is Ḫutip-apu, but he is not called *šaknu* there. One Ḫutip-apu is named as *šaknu* in *JEN 321*.⁵² If the two Ḫutip-apus are the same,⁵³ then this is another instance of a *šaknu* involved in the transfer of goods (in addition to Tieš-urḫe and Akip-tašenni). A transfer of humans (constituting an escort) to a *šaknu* and transshipped by him is described in *HSS XIII*, 36. This is not a transshipment of goods such as is described above, but, rather, a royal order involving a particular series of events. *Rawi 59* has a *šaknu*, Turariya, seal a receipt for a woman and an ox.

Women (and some of their goods) are transferred to a *šaknu* (directly once, and once to his deputy) according to *HSS XVI*, 387 and 398 – closely related texts that must allude to the same sequence of events.⁵⁴ Bricks are returned to a *šaknu* in *HSS IX*, 150. In *Rawi 31*,⁵⁵ describing separate events, two *šaknus* (and others as well), receive goods. *RATK 20* is a Kurruḫanni declaration regarding a personal *tidennūtu*. The sealers of this text include a *šaknu*.⁵⁶ *RATK 28* seemingly has the same person (without title) sealing a trial document.

Overwhelmingly, it transpires, *šaknus* function mainly (according to the tablets) as distributors and conduits of mobilia, “vegetable, animal, and mineral”. This function appears predominantly in the civilian, not military, sphere. However, Tieš-urḫe *does* deliver goods during wartime to foci of battle, both as *šaknu*, in *HSS XIV*, 92 and *XV*, 264, and without title in *HSS XIV*, 174 (probably) and *LNT 80* (probably).⁵⁷

Another function of the *šaknu*, albeit one that seems *ad hoc* from the contexts at our disposal and their small number, seems to be that of a judicial intermediary or bringer of evidence in real estate disputes between the crown and the parties in dispute. *JEN 321* describes one such case.⁵⁸ Another instance is represented by *HSS IX*, 9, a case before judges involving a female slave. The text counts a *šaknu*, named ...lu, among the eight sealers. Despite the fact that the trial took place before “judges,” only one of the sealers is so designated (l. 27). Therefore, it is clear that those who judged, *šaknus* included, need not have been called judges, *per se*.⁵⁹ Apart from those sealers who are not identified as judges or by occupation at all, is one Akiya, a SUKKAL. This same person with the same descriptor seems to act as judge in *JEN 135* and *321*. (In *JEN 321*, he is one of two[!] SUKKALS who so act.)

HSS XVI, 398 states that a *šaknu* possesses a *tarkumassu*. The latter is an agent or assistant or even squire of the *šaknu* – and of others as well.⁶⁰

47 Fadhil 1981, 370.

48 For this text, see Lion 2013, 136.

49 Lion 2013, 134-5. Line 20 represents the first three signs on what is then numbered l. 21, but this does not constitute separate text. Thus, there are two sealers and two seal impressions. Lacheman's notes show that he already realized this flaw in his copy. GAR.KUR appears in l. 10. “Tieš-urḫe” is found in ll. 18 and 20, and so his identification as *šaknu* is hardly in doubt. See already Mayer 1978, 123; Lion 2013, 135. Lacheman expressed in his notes the judgement that Tieš-urḫe sealed the tablet with the seal of Teḫip-tilla.

50 Cf. Mayer 1978, 123-4.

51 For this text, see Deller, Fadhil 1972, 210-11; Negri Scafa 2009, 466-7; Löhnert 2015, 336-9 with fn. 11, 340-1.

52 Possibly, he appears as *šaknu* in *JEN 135* as well. Whether or not he is designated as *šaknu* there, his presence is certain.

53 This is the position of Jankowska 1969, 277; Mayer 1978, 123.

54 For this pair of texts, see Löhnert 2015, 339 fn. 20.

55 *Rawi 1977*, 467; *Rawi 31* = IM.73237. The text may be a series of depositions for a trial.

56 That a *šaknu* seals a private text is unattested elsewhere in Nuzi-type texts.

57 For this text, see below fn. 63.

58 See, conveniently, Maidman 2010, 135-6 (*JEN 135* = text #59 there), 138-41 (*JEN 321* = text #61 there). *JEN 135* sees him acting in the same capacity, whether or not he is dubbed *šaknu*. See also below, § 2.2.2., where Tieš-urḫe acts as, and is called, “judge”, very possibly in his capacity as *šaknu*, in *JEN 337*.

59 Were there even full-time judges at all?

60 I discuss this profession in a forthcoming study.

2.2.2 Tieš-urḫe as *šaknu*

This detailed description of the activities of the Nuzi *šaknu* serves a double purpose. It represents the fourth line of evidence for the preference for *šaknu* over *šakin māti* for GAR(.)KUR. It also points forward to establishing the bureaucratic context of Tieš-urḫe's activities in the administrative sphere. More narrowly, the question may be asked: do Tieš-urḫe's activities as *šaknu* point to one category only of all *šaknu* activities as described above? If so, then we may not extrapolate from Tieš-urḫe's acts as *šaknu* to the general picture we have drawn. If, however, a pattern of correspondence obtains between the deeds of Tieš-urḫe as *šaknu* and those of other *šaknus*, then we may safely conclude that Tieš-urḫe's bureaucratic career may substantially be viewed through the activities of all *šaknus*. Thus, the texts treated immediately above are rehearsed here, now comparing Tieš-urḫe's activities with those of other *šaknus*.

Of the six texts where Tieš-urḫe appears as *šaknu*, in four he distributes barley or wheat as rations (barley *HSS* XIV, 92, 175; XV, 264 – both military contexts; wheat: *HSS* XIII, 498);⁶¹ in two, metal (*HSS* XV, 160, 161; the latter and probably the former in lieu of food rations).

In addition, note that Tieš-urḫe, not called *šaknu*, is involved in *šaknu*-like activities, both military and possibly civilian. He takes barley of the queen for redistribution to the chariotry in Lubti in *HSS* XIV, 174.⁶² In *LNT* 80, Tieš-urḫe is involved in the transfer of military equipment.⁶³ In *HSS* XIV, 587, he takes copper from one place to be given in another.⁶⁴ In *HSS* XVI, 352, he transfers palace slaves to a scribe. Tieš-urḫe also appears in *HSS* XIII, 187, where he receives textiles on his return to Natmani. A final such text, *HSS* XV, 41, is noted below in the context of Tieš-urḫe's direct military activity.

In the other, non-Tieš-urḫe, texts, the *šaknus* are involved in the transfer/distribution of beer (*HSS* XIV, 135), cress (*Rawi* 47), metal (*HSS* XIV, 258); a horse (*HSS* IX, 42 [implicitly]; to Šilwa-tešup); *HSS* XIV, 14; a donkey (*EN* 9/3, 295); clothes (*HSS* XVI, 398); bricks (*HSS* IX, 150; to Šilwa-tešup); and people (*HSS* XVI, 387). A *šaknu* supplies an escort (*HSS* XIII, 36). *šaknus* act, *de facto*, as judges, though not named as judges (*HSS* IX, 9; *JEN* 135, 321; *RATK* 20, 28, as noted above).

It transpires that the spectrum of activities is not very broad. However, Tieš-urḫe, and the other *šaknus* do distribute, receive, and transfer foodstuffs, metals, and livestock.⁶⁵ Like other *šaknus*, Tieš-urḫe is also attested here in *JEN* 337 as having acted as judge,⁶⁶ an apparently minor function of other officials as well.⁶⁷ Given the few bits of evidence at our disposal, perfect overlap is not to be expected. However, on balance, at the level of bureaucratic function, Tieš-urḫe seems to have been a typical *šaknu*, transferring food stuffs and metals, and he judges. His acts as *šaknu* may, therefore, be viewed reasonably through the prism of the acts of *all* Nuzi *šaknus*.

He was not involved in real estate (as he was in his private capacity). He did transfer goods as a *šaknu* in what appears to be a military context. In this, he was not a typical *šaknu*. Mostly, in that domain, he – and they – had the responsibility of transferring mobilia within the jurisdiction of the regional government. But, though those activities were mostly, if not entirely, undertaken in a civilian economic and administrative context and were not dependent on military activity, this does not preclude Tieš-urḫe's direct involvement in the military. Indeed, as we shall see below, not only did Tieš-urḫe transfer military supplies, he was deeply involved in Nuzi's war, fought and lost against the Assyrians.

⁶¹ Lacheman restores [Nu-zi] in l. 1. Zaccagnini (1979, 13) restores [Zi-iz-za] – with better reason.

⁶² Maidman 2010, 73-4 (text #27).

⁶³ I believe, very tentatively, that he acts here as a *šaknu*, not as a *rākib narkabti*, because transfer of goods is involved, a typical *šaknu* activity. *LNT* 80 is unique: it is a letter from Tieš-urḫe ordering the transfer of military gear, i.e., it is a military context and one where the transfer of goods is involved; and Tieš-urḫe is not called *šaknu*. Therefore, somewhat arbitrarily, I assign this letter – as stated at the start of this note – to Tieš-urḫe the *šaknu* rather than to Tieš-urḫe the *rākib narkabti*. This transfer perhaps involves high military personnel. See l. 10, where Deller (pers. comm.) reads: *a-na é ma-ri-in-ni*, i.e., *bīt maryanni*. However, this interpretation is difficult: the lexeme would be very rare in Nuzi texts and the spelling unexpected. CAD M/I, 282, implicitly opts for this interpretation in *JEN* 256:14. However, Wilhelm (1987-90, 420b) rejects it – with good reason. Yet, note that neither Wilhelm nor CAD M/I takes into account the present text. See also Maidman 1986, 274 *sub* [BM].85557.

⁶⁴ For this text, see Fadhil 1983, 97b and, especially, Justel 2020, 347-8. As to the GN itself, Eruna or Karāna or another name, see Fadhil 1983, 97b; Fincke 1993, 132-3; Justel 2020, 347-8.

⁶⁵ The other *šaknus* deliver other goods as well, e.g., clothing in *HSS* XVI, 398.

⁶⁶ He seals the tablet (l. 34: [N]A₄ ^mTi-e-<šu-ur-ḫé, with no title), likely in his judicial capacity (ll. 4, 9, 25). Note that this could represent an activity of his in his capacity as *rākib narkabti*. *rākib narkabtis* are conspicuous as judges. See below, § 2.4.1.

⁶⁷ For example, *SUKKALS* act as judge in *JEN* 321:3, 58.

2.3 Tieš-urḫe as Mayor

In one document, *JEN* 433, Tieš-urḫe appears as a *ḫazannu*, conventionally rendered “mayor”. In this capacity, he is the single witness to the writing of the tablet (l. 37) and is one of its sealers (l. 39).⁶⁸ The contract is a tablet of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship wherein, among other features, Tieš-urḫe’s cousin, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla, purchases a woman to be given to a slave of his.⁶⁹

2.4 Tieš-urḫe as Soldier: The Recorded Military Activities⁷⁰

Tieš-urḫe appears in nine texts where he acts in a military capacity. Among these is a cluster of eight such documents included in Dosch’s study of a larger corpus of *rāḫib narkabti* texts. These eight are: *HSS* XV, 14,⁷¹ 26+, 29,⁷² 34, 40, 114; XVI, 331, 332. Also noted above, Dosch assigns to the eight of these *HSS* documents numbers internal to her article. *GD* (i.e., Gudrun Dosch) 44 (*HSS* XVI, 332), 45 (*HSS* XVI, 331), 49 (*HSS* XV, 34), 54 (*HSS* XV, 114), 56 (*HSS* XV, 26+),⁷³ 57 (*HSS* XV, 40),⁷⁴ 58 (*HSS* XV, 29), 59 (*HSS* XV, 14).⁷⁵ Here and henceforth, texts in the Dosch corpus are identified by *GD* number. Now, the documents Dosch identifies as *rāḫib narkabti* texts do not all mention *rāḫib narkabti*. (And none of the above eight does.) Rather they share either that designation or are implicitly to be considered *rāḫib narkabti* texts based on indirect evidence and prosopographical analysis.⁷⁶ Her choice of the texts in her corpus is persuasive. To Dosch’s list of eight texts where Tieš-urḫe appears (implicitly) as a *rāḫib narkabti* fulfilling military duties, the following nine less homogeneous documents should be added: *HSS* XV, 18, 21, 39, 41, 107, 237; XVI, 91, 100, 109. Yet other texts, considered here to represent *šaknu* activity, may be that of *rāḫib narkabtis*. Probably the most ambiguous of these texts is *LNT* 80.⁷⁷

Indeed, texts in which Tieš-urḫe may be acting as a *šaknu* or as a *rāḫib narkabti* raise the possibility that some of what a *rāḫib narkabti* does is in his capacity as *šaknu*. Are there *šaknus* who are not *rāḫib narkabtis*?

2.4.1 The Functions of *rāḫib narkabtis*

Unlike the situation above regarding the meaning of *šaknu*, our understanding of the sense of *rāḫib narkabti* is reasonably certain, as is reflected by the great consistency of scholarly opinion regarding the phrase.⁷⁸ The *rāḫib narkabti* (lit. ‘chariot rider’) is a high social class that retained a strong tie to the

⁶⁸ Note the two eccentric spellings of his name in this text.

⁶⁹ Implications of this text are further considered below, fn. 123.

⁷⁰ Part of this picture of the military hierarchy and its activities is captured in Zaccagnini 2021, 100-2.

⁷¹ Tieš-urḫe’s name is here reasonably restored by Dosch (2009, 155, 157 [translation at ll. 17-19, note at “26-45”]) at l. 19. See already above, fn. 7. Similarly, perhaps, l. 30’s ^mNa-an-[] (Dosch 2009, 155 restores ^mNa-an-[te-šup]) with *GD* 45:19’s [= *HSS* XVI, 331] ^mNa-an-te-šup. *GD* 45 is itself a Tieš-urḫe text. See l. 5. (For the use of *GD*, see immediately below.) The format of this text is significantly different from that of the other seven. Those texts often differ among themselves regarding the type of data being communicated. However, they are all extended bureaucratic lists of charioteers, mostly with regard to their supplies or equipment or their units in the army. However, *HSS* XV, 14 emphasizes equipment lost and, in each instance, those responsible for that equipment. This is made explicit in the superscription to this tablet. *En passant*, this text reveals elements of quartermaster-account-keeping.

⁷² For this text, see (in addition to Dosch 2009, 154) Zaccagnini 2021, 94.

⁷³ Cf. Fincke 1999, 426-8.

⁷⁴ For this text, see the very illuminating exposition in Zaccagnini 2021, 99-102 with earlier literature.

⁷⁵ Dosch’s ordering (2009, 73) reflects a rough chronological order. However, the exact juxtaposition she proposes *within* (not between) each of her two generational groupings (*GD* 1-34, 35-70) reflects a logic nowhere articulated. (This lack probably results from her poor health and consequent premature death, *not* from scholarly sloppiness.) As it stands, the text order she establishes for the texts here considered is not inevitable. The order may go from #59 to #44, rather than from #44 to #59. It might be impossible to determine the order at all, that is, if there is indeed any extended chronological dimension to these texts. I assume for purposes of this paper that Dosch’s order is correct. In point of fact, it matters little, if at all, in the present context.

⁷⁶ Dosch 2009, *passim*. See further below, § 2.4.2, on why Tieš-urḫe, though not called *rāḫib narkabti*, must certainly be so considered.

⁷⁷ For this text, see above, fn. 63.

⁷⁸ See, in chronological order, Dosch 1993, 3-17; Maidman 1993, 32-4; 1995, 941-2; Dassow 2008, 352; 2009, 612-13; Dosch 2009, 72. The following description is adapted from Maidman 1995, 941-2.

chariotry, but not primarily by virtue of ownership of hardware.⁷⁹ Rather, *rākib narkabtis* seem to have been involved in all phases of the logistics of the chariot corps. They drove the vehicles, employed their armament, maintained them, and even served as quartermasters for their depots.⁸⁰ Their military status roughly corresponds to their economic status. As a group, they appear the wealthiest and economically most active of the Nuzi social classes. They owned prime real estate and purchased slaves for personal use. They engaged in commerce for private gain and perhaps as government agents. Of all their occupations, none appears with greater frequency than the office of judge.⁸¹ Not all *rākib narkabtis* were wealthy. Some were hired scribes. They were guards at various sites, not all of them military. Some members of the class became progressively poorer in the later generations of Nuzi; some sold or mortgaged their land.

2.4.2 The Functions of Tieš-urše as *rākib narkabti*

Returning to Dosch's cluster of eight *rākib narkabti* texts in which Tieš-urše is named, although never called a *rākib narkabti*, Tieš-urše is to be considered a member of this social class based on robust circumstantial evidence marshalled by Dosch.⁸² This evidence includes *GD* 28 (= *HSS* XIII, 6:21, 28), where the sons of Tešip-tilla son of Puši-šenni are defined as *rākib narkabti*.⁸³ Tieš-urše's *rākib narkabti* status is also implied by *GD* 35:3 (= *HSS* XIII, 464), 23, where Takku (almost certainly the son of Enna-mati⁸⁴ and father of Tieš-urše⁸⁵) is named as a *rākib narkabti*. Therefore, the concatenation of texts brought together by Dosch (i.e., *GD* 44-5, 49, 54, 56-9) should be considered evidence for the activities of Tieš-urše as a *rākib narkabti*. These functions, here as a member of this class, are clearly military. What are those activities?

He is, conspicuously, a commander, exercising authority over men (*GD* 56,⁸⁶ 57, 58; *HSS* XV, 41) and their equipment (chariots: *GD* 49; horses: *GD* 54, 58, 59,⁸⁷ *HSS* XV, 107, 237; armor/equipment: *GD* 59; and barley: *HSS* XVI, 91, 100, 109). Where the records reveal any GN at all, his campaigns are attested in the vicinity of Zizza almost exclusively (*GD* 57, 58, 59; *HSS* XV, 237 [probably]). Once, Tieš-urše campaigns in the land of Ḫa-... (*GD* 54)⁸⁸ as a commander on the left wing⁸⁹ (*GD* 54, 56,⁹⁰ 57, 58; *HSS* XV, 107, XVI, 109) and, as such, experiences considerable losses of men and equipment (*GD* 56, 57, 58, 59).⁹¹ *HSS* XV, 41 names Tieš-urše as having men of Turša under his jurisdiction (ll. 61-6), certainly an allusion to military command. *HSS* XV, 39:5 notes that Tieš-urše's *tarkumassu*'s armor suffered damage, i.e., the armor of Tieš-urše's servant/aide/squire.⁹²

Note further that Tieš-urše possesses bows, according to *HSS* XV, 18:10; and bows and arrows in *HSS* XV, 21:9. These were likely part of his cohort's equipment.

79 This description is adapted from Maidman 1995, 941-2.

80 In this, they remind one of *šaknu*-like activities.

81 Tieš-urše acts as a judge. See above, fn. 58. *šaknus* also appear as judges. See above, § 2.2.1.

82 Dosch 1993, 33. See also below, § 3.

83 See also Dosch 1993, 32-5.

84 So too Dosch 1993, 33. "Takku" appears multiple times as the son of Enna-mati but only once as the son of anyone else. See Lacheman, *PNKA* T 54 "TAKKU".

85 So too Dosch 2009, 119.

86 Cf. Zaccagnini 2021, 100.

87 Armor for horses.

88 Zaccagnini (1979, 3) reconstructs 'Ḫa-lí-ka'[-ibat]. This interpretation does not persuade. But see also Zaccagnini 1979, 20-2. I choose to guess that this is a local GN. If Ḫanigalbat were meant, what would the description actually signify? And why would this GN be used only here in such a context?

89 On the left and right wings of the army, see Dosch 1993, 17-20. For an earlier appreciation of the significance of this designation, see Zaccagnini 1979, 22. Zaccagnini (2022, 410) recognizes Tieš-urše as belonging to the left wing of Nuzi's army. However, in fact, Tieš-urše probably appears in the left *and* right wings (*GD* numbers are here not employed):

Left: *HSS* XV, 26:6, 20; 29:19, 42; 40:15, 58; 107:7, 12; 114:6, 22; XVI, 109:4, 16.

Right: *HSS* XV, 18:10, 40; 39:5, 22; XVI, 91:17, 19 (right), 22 (left) (therefore ambiguously); 100:4, 10. Cf. *HSS* XV, 14:[19].

90 The number of men lost in and/or casualties of this (possibly single) action is astonishingly high: 201. Tieš-urše, it seems, did not exercise direct control of his contingent. He appears to have "lived to fight another day". In general, men (*GD* 56), horses (*GD* 58), and equipment (*GD* 59, likely) under Tieš-urše's authority who did not return do not suggest his own death. See below, fn. 124. At least this seems implied by his repeated mention in these accounts. It is possible, of course, that his own demise would simply have been left unrecorded.

91 See immediately preceding footnote.

92 See above, the discussion of *HSS* XVI, 398, at § 2.2.1.

2.5 Tieš-urḫe: Miscellany

GD 45 has Tieš-urḫe, with other men and one woman,⁹³ bringing *pišanna* to Nuzi,⁹⁴ a notoriously obscure act and object.⁹⁵ If *GD* 45 implies cultic activity by Tieš-urḫe, then perhaps one ought to note here *HSS* XIV, 130, where Tieš-urḫe (no title) takes barley of the queen(?) to the town of Anzugalli for the gods.⁹⁶ *HSS* XVI, 456 includes Tieš-urḫe in a long list of men who received (or gave) barley or emmer. This context resembles *šaknu* activity. *šaknu* does not appear. *GD* 44 has Tieš-urḫe appearing in an unspecified list of men,⁹⁷ yielding no data other than his presence implicitly as a *rākib narkabti*. *LNT* 93 (Tieš-urḫe's patronymic is now broken off, but the remaining context and the juxtaposition of this document with other BM tablets indicate that the patronymic should be "Takku"), is a broken tablet, and the remaining context is elusive. It is possibly a trial or a private transaction.

3 A Summary and Some Conclusions and Extrapolations

Let us now recapitulate, summarize, extrapolate and speculate. Above,⁹⁸ it was noted that Tieš-urḫe inherited real estate holdings in Nuzi, Zizza, and Unap-še. One may conclude that this real estate whose origins may well have been in the activities of Puḫi-šenni, Winnirke (Puḫi-šenni's wife), and Teḫip-tilla, were passed down through the line of Enna-mati (who himself acquired properties through his own initiative) to Takku, and are still attested for, and apparently exploited, in the last generation, by Tieš-urḫe.⁹⁹ He may have purchased holdings in Nuzi and Zizza as well. Also, as stated above, conspicuously absent among his attested holdings is real estate in the town of Turša. Since references to Turša appear in tablets from Tieš-urḫe's forebears going all the way back to the first-attested generation, this absence could signify deliberate disinclination to deal with Turša, whether in real estate or commercial contexts.¹⁰⁰ It follows that Nuzi and other towns where Tieš-urḫe had real estate interests were not swept away in a continuation of the same Assyrian attack that ended Turša. Tieš-urḫe and his father must have been adults at the same time at Turša. This is because *JEN* 525 and 670, practically identical texts describing the results of the successful Assyrian attack on Turša, deal, in part, with Takku's property there.¹⁰¹ And Tieš-urḫe commands men of Turša, according to *HSS* XV, 41. Thus, he could well have been disinclined to acquire Turša real estate for the simple reason that by the time he was old enough to do so, Turša was already under threat of attack. If so, then all records of Tieš-urḫe must be dated between the lead-up to the destruction of Turša and that of Nuzi, where his records are found.

Turning from Tieš-urḫe's private to his administrative and military activities, his public career in inseparable from the last stage of the kingdom of Arrapha, before its disappearance at the end of its war with Assyria. Tieš-urḫe's deeds in the military relate to that war. Those deeds in that war – including

⁹³ For this, see Zaccagnini 2022, 409-10.

⁹⁴ For another interpretation, see Zaccagnini 2022, 409. The syntax of ll. 27-33 is difficult.

⁹⁵ Zaccagnini 2022, 409 is similarly befuddled. See also CAD P, 427a-b and Maidman 1976a, 459 fn. 1171.

⁹⁶ Mayer 1978, 62, #311.

⁹⁷ *GD* 44 and 45 share many PNs. Dosch rightly juxtaposes these two texts. (Note that these are the only two Dosch texts to name Tieš-urḫe's father.)

⁹⁸ The entire documentation for the following narrative is to be found in the immediately preceding section. Some of that documentation is repeated below for the sake of narrative clarity.

⁹⁹ For these data, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

¹⁰⁰ Might this disinclination be linked to a deterioration in Assyria-Arrapha relations and/or an anticipated Assyrian invasion such as is described in *JEN* 525/670 and elsewhere? See, minimally, Maidman 2010, ch. 1. As already stated in Maidman 1976a, 257-8: "The absence of the mention of the town of Turša in the above contexts [...] suggests that he either abandoned that town for some reason (or was never associated with it) or retreated to Nuzi in the wake of the Assyrian raid (leaving any Turša tablets – of dubious value at that point – behind him). It seems clear, in either case, that, unlike his father and grandfather, Tieš-urḫe was singularly disinclined toward activity in that region". See further Maidman 1976a, 458 fn. 1166: "The [so-called] 'historical' texts, [*JEN*] 525 and [*JEN*] 670, products of Takku's initiative, must be viewed in this context [...]. [These documents] may have signified the loss of the Turša base of the activities of Enna-mati and of his family". See also Maidman 2011a, 80 fn. 16. As noted below, § 3, Tieš-urḫe may be linked to Turša in what appears to be a military context, *HSS* XV, 41:61-6. He is further linked to a town near Turša, Natmani in *HSS* XIII, 187, though not in a real estate connection.

¹⁰¹ Maidman 2013. Both tablets may well have been sealed. *JEN* 670 is certainly sealed. If unsealed, *JEN* 525 may have been a private, archival copy. *JEN* 670 might have been a sealed, official copy. If so, it was never dispatched.

his administrative acts as *šaknu* at around the same time – take place in several different places.¹⁰² In order to make sense of Tieš-urḫe’s movements in his two professional capacities, we must locate those places with which he is associated (as best we can): Apena, Dūr-ubla, Irḫaḫḫe, Lubti, Natmani, Nuzi, Teliperra, Turša, and Zizza. In the far west (of the region in which Nuzi lies), the location of Natmani is known for certain: Tell ‘Ali,¹⁰³ and that of nearby Turša, very probably known.¹⁰⁴ Moving from west to east, Apena appears next¹⁰⁵ and then Zizza,¹⁰⁶ all these before Nuzi (Yorghana Tepe) itself is reached.¹⁰⁷ East of Nuzi and relatively near the Babylonian border appear Irḫaḫḫe¹⁰⁸ and the nearby Dūr-ubla and Teliperra.¹⁰⁹ Farthest east is Lubti, at the very doorstep of Babylonia.¹¹⁰

Tieš-urḫe served the local Nuzian (not regional Arraphan) administration as a *šaknu*. In this capacity, he mostly delivered goods from one place to another. These goods consisted of foodstuffs, metals in lieu of food rations, and humans. His duties in transferring goods were performed both in peacetime¹¹¹ and later, during the Arrapha-Assyria war. This leads to the conclusion that Tieš-urḫe performed as a mid-/low-level bureaucrat at apparently the same time that he was involved in direct military activity as a *rākib narkabti*,¹¹² supervising other soldiers. In other words, Tieš-urḫe exercised military leadership as a *rākib narkabti* and performed civilian duties as a *šaknu*. However, this distinction of duties is not absolute. He is attested as having dealt with military matters several times both as *šaknu* and as bearing no title. In *HSS XIV*, 174, Tieš-urḫe (bearing no title) transfers the queen’s barley to the chariotry at Lubti (i.e., at or near Arrapha’s eastern border). *HSS XIV*, 92 identifies Tieš-urḫe as a *šaknu*, noting his delivery of barley to Irḫaḫḫe, which is near Lubti and attested almost always in connection with the eastern campaign. According to *HSS XV*, 264, Tieš-urḫe, *šaknu*, took barley from Nuzi, delivering it to Irḫaḫḫe.

At this point, we have determined, as precisely as possible, Tieš-urḫe’s functions as *šaknu* and their applicability to Nuzi at peace and at war. Now we turn to Tieš-urḫe’s position, exclusively wartime as far as our texts tell us, as *rākib narkabti*.

If Tieš-urḫe, as a *šaknu*, mostly transferred goods, as a *rākib narkabti* he had authority over (or, less likely, actually led) soldiers heading to battle. Actually, his authority was over troops *and* their equipment, provisions, and horses. He appears almost always at Zizza,¹¹³ once he appears in the land of Ḫa... as a commander of the left wing (as often at Zizza). He seems to have suffered considerable losses. He himself may well have survived the military reverses enumerated. *HSS XV*, 41:66 has him in charge of men of Turša. (This does not necessarily mean that he fought at Turša.)

Tieš-urḫe’s military activity, therefore, involved Zizza, when, as a commander, he suffered losses among his soldiers, animals, and their equipment – and possibly at Turša as well. As noted above, he delivered, as a wartime *šaknu*, food to troops located in several places.

The descriptions of Tieš-urḫe’s activities as *šaknu* and as *rākib narkabti* are confusing, in the sense that they point to no single, unambiguous reconstruction of the Assyrian advance through the Kingdom of Arrapha. There is good reason for this confusion regarding the course of the war. The spatial and chronological course of the successful Assyrian war against the kingdom of Arrapha is opaque.

102 It should here be recognized that the geographical horizon of Tieš-urḫe’s war is not coterminous with that of the war as a whole. A few examples of GNs directly involved in the war but not attested in the Tieš-urḫe texts are the towns of Anzugalli (Cassin 1962, 67-8:30 [text #6] = *GD* 46:31 [sic]), Durdurra (*JEN* 533:14), Šamšamme (*HSS XV*, 126:6), Temtena (*HSS XV*, 126:7), and Tilpašte (*HSS XV*, 61:27). The list is hardly exhaustive. Careful perusal of *all* the war-related documents (from the Dosch corpus, other *HSS XV* documents, etc.) will certainly yield structures elucidating important personnel, military formations (the “wings”), types of weapons used and where they are used, and the provisioning of the whole of the Arrapha army, among other things.

103 See Müller 2009, 325; 2012, 188; Maidman 2011a, 84. The relevant Tieš-urḫe documents are *HSS XIII*, 187 and 264. For the former text, cf. Lewy 1964, 186 fn. 2; Mayer 1978, 71, #369; Fadhil 1983, 128a; Fincke 1993, 185; Zaccagnini 2020, 184. For the latter, see most recently, Zaccagnini 2020, 181-2. *HSS XV*, 243 is a pertinent text mentioning Natmani but fails to name Tieš-urḫe.

104 Maidman 2011a, 85.

105 Maidman 2011a, 90 fn. 71; 2021, 86.

106 Maidman 2011a, 86-7 with fn. 45; and especially 2021, 78-9 with fn. 59, 85-6.

107 Tieš-urḫe takes metal from Nuzi: *HSS XV*, 161.

108 Maidman 2011a, 92.

109 For both, see Maidman 2010, 19; 2011a, 92.

110 Maidman 2011a, 92.

111 Probably. See *JEN* 433 and below, fn. 123.

112 Already noted above, § 2.4.2, though Tieš-urḫe is never explicitly named as a *rākib narkabti*.

113 Where the location of his military activity is mentioned at all, Zizza is almost always the focus. One is tempted to link this phenomenon with the fact that an important component of his private real estate holdings is Zizza. However, this linkage is not made explicit (nor should one expect it to have been); it cannot be demonstrated.

Only a few data (apart from the data contained in the tablets themselves) are indisputable or nearly so. First, several loci associated with the war may be located (as noted above): Natmani, Turša, Nuzi, and Lubti. Second, Zizza must be located west of Nuzi, not east.¹¹⁴ To the extent that Zaccagnini's reconstruction of the campaign¹¹⁵ depends on an eastern Zizza, to that extent that reconstruction is untenable.¹¹⁶ Third, it is clear that, in general, Assyria's campaign against Arrapha must have begun in western Arrapha, closest to Assyria proper. *JEN* 525 and 670 are the clearest expressions of this, as Turša suffers predation from Assyria. The war extended as far east as Lubti, near Babylonian territory, though it probably did not end there, in the east.

This is so, because, fourth, though the campaign must have started in the west, certain documents demonstrate – in light of the first datum – that the war 'proceeded' in no single direction or course. Rather, it meandered or, at least, followed no consistent pattern that one can presently discern. The following documents illustrate the retrograde features belying a simple west to east movement. *HSS* XV, 264 has Tieš-urḫe delivering barley to Irḫaḫḫe and to Dur-ūbla (in the east) and, in the same document, barley is delivered to Natmani (in the west). It would appear that supplies are required at both ends of Arraphan territory at the same time. *HSS* XV, 243 has barley being brought to the men of Lubti (far east) and to the men of Natmani (far west), among men of other places.¹¹⁷ *HSS* XIV, 175 notes the presence of men from Dūr-ubla (an eastern GN) in Apena (in the west). If those men were refugees or fleeing fighters, then it is odd that they move west, where the Assyrians would presumably have gained control earlier. Less definitive, but possibly relevant, *HSS* XIII, 187 has Tieš-urḫe returning to Natmani,¹¹⁸ possibly from action elsewhere, i.e., he goes from the east to this westernmost point.

Recognition of this reality renders Maidman's earlier reconstruction also untenable,¹¹⁹ namely that the Assyrian onslaught went from west (Turša) to east (Lubti) more or less directly, bypassing Nuzi and Arrapha City, which centers were mopped up only at or toward the end of the war.

What, then, is a plausible alternative to Zaccagnini's initial reconstruction and to Maidman's? Zaccagnini¹²⁰ has already wrestled valiantly with these documents (and others) as they affect the chronology and geography of the war. Even without accepting all his judgments and conclusions, one can readily agree unreservedly that, the records "reveal a complex scenario, tak[ing] place simultaneously in two different regions of the kingdom of Arrapha in the northwest, close to the Assyrian border, and in the southeast, more or less near the Babylonian border".¹²¹ It is, of course, also possible that, *faute de mieux*, the relevant texts are to be ordered chronologically in a way or in ways not here considered, employing principles not clear to me.¹²²

Returning to Tieš-urḫe in the world of this war, it seems to me that the following reconstruction does least violence to the data at our disposal. Tieš-urḫe held the administrative post of *šaknu* during the same time that he acted as a *rākib narkabti*, leading soldiers (and their kit). It appears that his administrative activities last through much of the Assyria-Arrapha war and involved his transferring goods at places from west (Turša, Natmani) all the way to the east (Irḫaḫḫe, Lubti). His strictly military activity perhaps started at Turša and ended with the defeat at Zizza, never to be resumed.

114 This is demonstrated in Maidman 2021, 85-6. Thus Zaccagnini's assertion to the contrary, i.e., Zizza is to be located to the east of Nuzi (2016, 54; 2020, 171-2) cannot hold.

115 Zaccagnini 2020, 182-5.

116 Zaccagnini (2020, 183-5) hazards a reconstruction of the order of events of the war dividing them into an earlier and later campaign over the course of a single year. Examining the texts Zaccagnini adduces (but only the dated ones), one notes that the mention of Zizza is confined to the former cluster of texts. Noting Zaccagnini's position of an eastern Zizza, this would mean that the start of the campaign would have taken place largely in the east. A western Zizza implies that the first of the campaigns took place, at least partially in the west, where one would expect it have taken place. The second group mentions eastern locations only, which is also what one would expect. In fact, if there were a two-part war, the places mentioned in the first campaign *do* mention both eastern and western GNs. Therefore, the conundrum remains. However, the scheme works less badly (though still badly) with a western Zizza.

117 See Zaccagnini 2020, 182 for this text. Much less likely: barley is brought to men *from* different places, representing contingents stationed in the same place. Tieš-urḫe is not mentioned in this document.

118 See Zaccagnini 2020, 184 ("comes safely(?) to Natmani").

119 Maidman 2010, 18-19; 2011a, 89-90; 2011b, 214-16.

120 Zaccagnini 2020, 179-85.

121 Zaccagnini 2020, 181; see also 182, 183.

122 See above, fn. 75.

The foregoing study has demonstrated that Tieš-urḫe was a landowner, actively involved in his real estate holdings, probably an entrepreneur, a bureaucrat in Nuzi's government, a judge, it seems even a mayor,¹²³ and a military officer, defending his home from the Assyrian aggressor. All this leads to another – and obvious – conclusion. Tieš-urḫe had to have lived into adulthood, and a reasonably mature adulthood at that. We are ignorant regarding the events surrounding his death.¹²⁴

All the actions and positions detailed above cannot have been achieved by a very young man. This further demonstrates that the fifth, and last, generation of the Teḫip-tilla family was a full generation. And since Nuzi itself lasted some 100-125 years,¹²⁵ this span of the family's existence might point to a 125 year Nuzi period, rather than 100 years, and a generation should be reckoned at closer to twenty-five than to twenty years.

Tieš-urḫe, the last known member of the family of Teḫip-tilla son of Puḫi-šenni, was not a flickering flame of a once vigorous fire. His known activities demonstrate that he was a worthy successor to his line. He may not have been as 'important' as Teḫip-tilla, his great-grandfather, if one measures importance in terms of economic acquisitiveness and breadth of initiative, but Tieš-urḫe was an impressive member of his family in communal terms, maybe *the* most important member in that regard, during the period of Nuzi's death throes.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 20, *U* and *W* with the following additions:

GD = edited texts by, and according to the numeration of, Dosch 2009

HSAO = Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient

LNT = texts published in Müller 1998

PNKA = E.R. Lacheman unpublished

P-S = texts published in Pfeiffer, Speiser 1936

RATK = texts studied in Fadhil 1972

Rawi = texts studied in al-Rawi 1977

YNER = Yale Near Eastern Researches

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123 *JEN* 433 is curious: only here is Tieš-urḫe a mayor. Other mayors appear only once (Mayer 1978, 127-9), but Tieš-urḫe is the only one who is a conspicuous figure in other than mayoral contexts. But *JEN* 433 itself may offer a solution to this conundrum. The contents of the document likely suggest a time of peace. The transaction betrays no sense of impending crisis. It is a peaceful plan for the near and even medium future. In addition, it involves a probably much older cousin of Tieš-urḫe, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla. This is consistent with an impression that the text is at least somewhat older than Arrapḫa's (and therefore Nuzi's) feverish military activity and its final, violent end. Therefore, the text – and Tieš-urḫe's mayoralty – preceded his vigorous military activity. It may well have preceded his duties as a *šaknu*. Those activities give the impression of having been undertaken over a relatively extended period of time and certainly in more than one location. (These include Nuzi, as well as points west and east of Nuzi. See *HSS* XIII, 498 [Zizza]; XIV, 92 [Irḫaḫḫe], 175 [Apena]; XV, 160 [Nuzi], 161 [Nuzi], 264 [Irḫaḫḫe]. See also *HSS* XIII, 187, as already noted, for his activity in nearby Natmani – though *šaknu* does not appear in that text.) This would push back *JEN* 433 as far as possible, an attractive notion, given Tarmi-tilla's probable significant seniority to Tieš-urḫe and the probably peaceful atmosphere implied by the text. But the following is to be considered. *HSS* XV, 1:1-30 suggests the mayor's superior position *vis-à-vis* the *šaknu*. First, one would expect that Tieš-urḫe would have achieved the position of mayor *after* his service as *šaknu*, not before. Second, one might surmise – nothing more – that if the military crisis became acute as Tieš-urḫe was newly occupying his position as mayor, then his term of office was correspondingly truncated. That would be the reason that his attestation as mayor is limited to a single text. However, it remains troubling that, if this were the case, how does one account for the pacific impression given by *JEN* 433 and for the fact that the older Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla is still on the scene and vigorously so?

124 Nothing secure may be said of the circumstances surrounding Tieš-urḫe's death. The fact that he suffers bad losses of men and materiel in the military action at Zizza, coupled with the fact that he is never elsewhere attested as an officer, does not effectively argue for his death late in this action (after the writing of the final text in the series pertaining to this battle). Tieš-urḫe does appear, after all, as a *šaknu* at points farther east than Zizza. That means that it is at least possible that Tieš-urḫe survived his Zizza action. He may have died in the east. He may have survived the war altogether.

125 Maidman 2018, 20b.

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Gula as Ninkarrak in the Middle Babylonian Onomastics

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Abstract Through the analysis of two administrative tablets from Kassite Nippur, this paper examines variation in theophoric elements within personal names – most notably, the alternation between Gula and Ninkarrak in reference to the same individual. The close parallels in structure, content, and ductus strongly suggest that both tablets were produced by the same scribe. This observation offers rare and concrete evidence for the ongoing syncretism between these once-distinct healing goddesses during the Kassite period. Moreover, the study sheds light on scribal practices within the administrative apparatus, highlighting both deliberate stylistic variation and a rather high level of scribal education.

Keywords Gula. Ninkarrak. Middle Babylonian onomastics. Kassite Nippur. Administrative texts. Scribal practices.

Summary 1 MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106. – 2 Gula and Ninkarrak. – 3 The Scribe of MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106.

1 MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106

Recent research on the administrative texts from Kassite Nippur has revealed that the tablets published as MUN 50 (CBS 9254) and PBS 2/2 106 (CBS 3481) not only share similar content and a similar organization¹ but actually record the same information regarding amounts of barley that were either delivered or expected to be delivered by certain individuals at the city-gates of Nippur.

MUN 50 is an almost complete tablet which dates to the 20th year of Kurigalzu II (l. 1). According to its only partially preserved preamble, it records “barley, late *miksu*-payment that [...] in/at the city-gates” (l. 2). The text is organized into two columns: the first lists amounts of barley, while the second records the names of the individuals responsible for the deliveries, as well as the names of several city-gates, which are associated with subtotals. PBS 2/2 106 is a four-column text whose date, preamble, and column-headings are not preserved. Based on their content, however, it is evident that the first three columns record amounts of cereals that are interrelated: in most rows, the figure in the first column corresponds to the sum of the figures in the second and third columns (see, e.g., l. 26); sometimes the quantities in the first and second columns coincide, and the third column does not contain a quantity (see, e.g., l. 27). In her discussion of the *miksu*, Ellis suggested that “the first column shows assessments or amounts due, while the second shows amounts paid, and the third either second installments or amounts still owing”.² Like the second column of MUN 50, the fourth column of PBS 2/2 106 also records

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¹ As already noted by Ellis 1976, 156-7.

² Ellis 1976, 156.



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the names of the individuals responsible for the deliveries as well as the names of several city-gates, with subtotals. A close comparison of the two texts shows that the information recorded in PBS 2/2 106: 26-35 largely matches that in MUN 50: 3-9, 12-15, 18; it follows that PBS 2/2 106 is a contemporary of MUN 50 and also deals with the delivery of barley as a late *miksu*-payment.

Since this discovery allows for improved readings and restorations in both texts, it seems worthwhile to reproduce here the relevant passages, with new readings set in **bold**.

MUN 50: 1-18

U.E.	MU.20.KAM <i>Ku-ri-ga</i> [<i>l-zu</i>		
Obv.	ŠE NÍG.KUD.DA <i>ar-ku-ú ša i-na</i> KÁ.GAL ^{bi.a} <i>a-rna</i> ¹ x[
3	10.0.0	^{md} 30- <i>eri</i> ₄ - <i>ba</i> DUMU ^m [Hu-na-bi]	
4	9.0.0	^m Il-lu-[u]l-lu ₄ DUMU ^m Šu[m-šu-nu] ⁱ	
5		^{md} NIN.İMMA- <i>ki-pi</i> ₄ - <i>šu</i> DUMU ^m x[
6	PAP 19.0.0	KÁ.GAL A	
7	8.4.2	^m Ta- <i>qí-ša</i> - ^d Nin-kar-ra-ak DU[^mLU^mLÀL^dUTU]	
8		^m Ul-tu-DINGIR DUMU ^m Bi-x[
9	PAP	KÁ.GAL ^d iŠKU[R]	
10	1.2.2	^{md} En-líl-SIG ₅ -iq DUMU ^m LÀL-É.KU[R]	
11	2.1.4	^m ŠEŠ-SUM- ^r na- ^d AMAR.UTU ¹ DUMU ^m Sa-a[^h ?-	
12	PAP 3.4.0	KÁ.[GAL^{uru}Hí-lu-ni] [KI¹.TA]	
Rev.	PAP 2.0.3	K[Á.GAL^{uru}Hí-lu-ni] AN.TA ⁱⁱ	
14	PAP 4.4.4	K[Á.GAL IG].I.BI ŠEŠ.UNUG ^k [.ŠÈ]	
15	PAP 11.4.2	KÁ.GA[L] <i>á-ki-t</i> [e]	
16	PAP 2.3.3	É ^{lu} [M]UNU ₅ ^{meš} KÁ.GA[L]	
17	EN 1.2.1	<i>ša URU ma-ak-su</i>	
18	PAP 3.0.0	KÁ DUMU ^{meš} LU[GAL]	

i Sassmannshausen 2001, 244 hypothesized either ^mG[u or Šu[m-; the second option is now supported by parallelism with PBS 2/2 106: 29, which confirms that Illullu's patronymic is Šumšunu.

ii Cf. K[Á.GAL]¹x¹-ni-DINGIR [] in Sassmannshausen 2001, 244. The PAP at the beginning of the line is present in Sassmannshausen's copy of the tablet, but missing in his transliteration.

PBS 2/2 106: 26-35

26	PAP 3.0.0	1.4.3	1.0.3	KÁ DUMU ^{meš} LUGAL ^m TI-su- ^d AMAR.UTU
27	[11 ¹ .4.2	11.4.2	<i>a-na</i> LÚ ^{meš}	KÁ.GAL <i>á-ki-te</i>
28	[10.0.0]	[12 ² .x.x ¹	[x.x.4 ²]	^{md} 30- <i>i-ri-ba-am</i> DUMU ^m <i>Hu-na-bi</i>
29	[9.0.0]	8ⁱ.4.4	0.0.2	^m Il-lu-ul-lu DUMU ^m Šum-šu-nu ^{md} NIN-SIG ₅
30	[19.0.0]		0.0.2	KÁ.GAL A
31	[8.4.] ¹ 2 ¹	8.4.2		^m Ta- <i>qí-ša</i> - ^d Gu-la DUMU ^m LÀL ^d UTU ^m Ul-tu-[DINGIR]
32	[8.4.2]			KÁ.GAL ^d iŠKUR
33	[]		KÁ.GAL ^{uru} Hí-lu-ni KI.TA
34	[] ¹ x ¹	KÁ.GAL AN.TA
35	[KÁ].GAL I[G]. ¹ BI ¹ ŠE[Š.UNUG ^{ki} .ŠÈ]

i Clay's copy has five horizontal signs, suggesting an amount of 5 kor, but collation of the photograph clearly shows that the correct amount is 8.

2 Gula and Ninkarrak

In addition to contributing a new element to the reconstruction of the documentary chain used by scribes to track the collection of agricultural revenues, the parallelism between the two texts reveals that the individual whose name is spelled ^mTa-*qí-ša*-^dNin-kar-ra-ak in MUN 50: 7 corresponds to the person identified as ^mTa-*qí-ša*-^dGu-la in PBS 2/2 106: 31. This provides concrete evidence of the syncretism between the once-distinct healing goddesses Gula and Ninkarrak, with the former gradually absorbing

the latter's identity – a process that began in the Old Babylonian period.³ Although this phenomenon is well documented in earlier sources, it is rarely attested in the Middle Babylonian period, making this case of onomastic variation within a single individual's name particularly significant.⁴

In the Middle Babylonian onomastic repertoire, Gula is far more commonly attested than Ninkarrak. Bartelmus has identified 39 personal names from Nippur which feature Gula as a theophoric element,⁵ to which can be added at least 27 names from texts likely originating in Dūr-Enlilē, and 10 from Ur [tab. 1]. Conversely, Ninkarrak occurs very rarely in personal names:⁶ to my knowledge, the few known attestations come from the legend of a seal belonging to the diviner Luši-ana-nūr-Ninkarrak⁷ and from the colophon of the Middle Assyrian copies of *Ninisina's Journey to Nippur* that were based on “a *Vorlage* (GABA.RI) of Nippur and Babylon” written “according to the wording of the written tablet of Iqīša-Ninkarrak, son of Ninurta-bāni”.⁸

Given the predominance of Gula in both personal names and other textual contexts,⁹ it is possible that Ninkarrak was retained primarily as a learned Sumerogram used to represent the goddess's name in more formal or scholarly contexts. However, since its actual pronunciation as theophoric element in personal names cannot be determined with certainty, a phonetic rendering is preferred.

3 The Scribe of MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106

It should be noted that there are also other differences in the spelling of personal names between the two texts, such as ^{md}30-eri₄-ba in MUN 50: 3 vs. ^{md}30-i-ri-ba-am in PBS 2/2 106: 28, and ^mIl-lu-[u]l-lu₄ in MUN 50: 4 vs. ^mIl-lu-ul-lu in PBS 2/2 106: 29. It is worth noting that the old-fashioned spelling ^{md}30-i-ri-ba-am in PBS 2/2 106 is otherwise unique;¹⁰ however, for another personal name the same text uses the more common spelling ^mEN-eri₄-ba (PBS 2/2 106: 19).

On the other hand, a preliminary palaeographic analysis reveals significant similarities in the ductus: in addition to the overall appearance of the handwriting on both tablets, the sign shapes in the words KÁ.GAL and *Ta-qí-ša* are particularly noteworthy [tab. 2].¹¹

In light of these palaeographic features and the aforementioned connection between the content of the two texts, it seems quite plausible that MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106 were written by the same scribe. The alternating use of Gula and Ninkarrak, along with the different spellings of other personal names, may therefore reflect his stylistic choices, suggesting a deliberate preference for variation when drafting his texts. Moreover, the choice of Ninkarrak over Gula in MUN 50 and the archaic spelling ^{md}30-i-ri-ba-am in PBS 2/2 106 may serve as evidence of a rather high level of education for a scribe working in the administration.¹² However, the possibility that some of these variants could result from the ‘editorial history’ of the documents should also be considered. In particular, PBS 2/2 106, which is much longer and more complex than MUN 50, may have been compiled by integrating data from different tablets, thereby inheriting the varying spellings used in those sources.¹³

³ See Westenholz 2010, 385; Sibbing-Plantholt 2022, 115-23.

⁴ Cf. the alternative writings Puzur-Gula and Puzur-Ninkarrak for the same individual, attested in Old Babylonian documents from Sippar and Isin (Westenholz 2010, 385-6).

⁵ Bartelmus 2017, 310.

⁶ Bartelmus 2017, 311.

⁷ Known from impressions on several clay sealings found at Nippur, it is catalogued as seal no. 29 in Matthews 1992 and as no. 163 in Stiehler-Alegria 1996; see also Hölscher 1996, 132.

⁸ KAR 15: 14'-16' and KAR 16: 28'-30' (Wagensonner 2008).

⁹ See the attestations collected by Bartelmus 2017, 278-310, including examples from royal inscriptions, *kudurrus*, inscriptions on votive objects, and seal legends. Gula is also the most commonly attested name of the goddess in administrative texts referring to her temples (Sassmannshausen 2001, 158-61; van Soldt 2015, 585; Devecchi 2020, 387).

¹⁰ See the attestations of *Sin-erība*, and cf. also the spellings of other personal names of the type DN-erība and Erība-DN in Hölscher 1996, 187 and 259 (under *riābu/rābu*).

¹¹ These observations are based on photographs and should be confirmed through a more thorough palaeographic analysis of the original tablets.

¹² Cf. Sassmannshausen's remarks about the scribe who wrote the ration list MUN 112: although he used some rare phonetic values to write some personal names, in the rest of the tablet he adhered to spellings more frequently attested in the administrative documents (Sassmannshausen 2002, 213-14).







¹³ In this respect, note the different pairs of names in MUN 50: 5-6 (Illullu son of Šumšunu, Ninimma-kī(n)-pīšu son of ... [...]) and PBS 2/2 106: 29 (Illullu son of Šumšunu, Bēltu-mudammīq), suggesting that the two texts did not depend on each other.

Table 1 Personal names with Gula as theophoric element in Middle Babylonian texts from Nippur (see Hölscher 1996; Sassmannshausen 2001; Tenney 2011; Bartelmus 2017, 311), Dūr-Enlilē² (see van Soldt 2015; Levavi 2017; Devecchi 2020), and Ur (see Gurney 1974, 11-15; 1983, 197-9)

Personal name	Place
Amīl-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ² , Ur
Arad-Gula	Nippur
Banâ-ša-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Bīt ² -Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Bunna-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Bunni-Gula	Ur
Ēmid-ana-Gula	Nippur, Ur
Gīmil-Gula	Nippur
Gula-asāt	Nippur
Gula-balāṭa-ē/īriš	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Gula-dīninni	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Gula-ē/īriš	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ² , Ur
Gula-la-...	Nippur
Gula-(m)uballit	Nippur
Gula-mušallim	Nippur
Gula-nāširat	Nippur
Gula-pilaḥ	Nippur
Gula-rēmāni	Nippur
Gula-šarrat	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Gula-šemat	Ur
Gula-šuma-ušur	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Gula-šuma-ušarši	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Gula-šumu-lišir	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ² , Ur
Gula-zī... (?)	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Ibni-Gula	Nippur
Iddin-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Iqīša-Gula	Nippur
Irēmši-Gula	Nippur
Irība-Gula	Ur
Kidin-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Kunni-Gula	Nippur
KUR-Gula	Nippur
Libūr-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Lūši-ana-nūr-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Muballitāt-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Puzur-Gula	Nippur
Qīšat-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Rabâ-ša-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ² , Ur
Rabât-amât ² /pî ² -Gula	Nippur
Rabât-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Rabia-ša-Gula ²	Nippur
Rimūt-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ² , Ur
Rišat-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Ša-Gula	Nippur
Ša-šilli-Gula	Nippur
Šigû-Gula	Nippur
Šummak-lā-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Ṭāb-kidin-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²
Ṭāb-libbi-Gula	Ur
Taqīša-Gula	Nippur
Tarība-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Tarībti-Gula	Dūr-Enlilē ²

Personal name	Place
Tukultī-Gula	Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē ²
Usāt-Gula	Nippur
Ušur-Gula	Nippur

Table 2 Comparison of the shapes of the sign sequences KÁ.GAL and ^mTa-qí-ša in MUN 50 and PBS 2/2 106

MUN 50	PBS 2/2 106
KÁ.GAL, l. 6	KÁ.GAL, l. 30
	
KÁ.GAL, l. 9	KÁ.GAL, l. 33
	
^m Ta-qí-ša, l. 7	^m Ta-qí-ša, l. 31
	

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Black and White: A Tale of Two Gates in the Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi for Curing Genital Disorders

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Abstract This article focuses on one episode in the Hittite magical ritual CTH 409.1, authored by the female practitioner Tunnawi and meant to treat several possible genital disorders. In this episode, the ritual beneficiary passes through two makeshift gates, each made of different materials and characterized by a different color: black and white. The article investigates the medical aspects of this episode and their relation to the black and white gates.

Keywords Tunnawi's ritual. Hittite magical rituals. Folk medicine. Makeshift gates.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Tunnawi's Ritual for Curing Genital Disorders. – 3 The Extracting Hawthorn and the Purifying Oak. – 4 Black and White: A Tale of Two Gates. – 5 Conclusions.

1 Introduction

One of the better-known Hittite magical rituals, authored by the Old Woman Tunnawi – CTH 409.1 – was intended to be therapeutic, and assist in several possible cases involving genital disorders: in case a woman suffers repeated miscarriages or premature births, or in case a man's or a woman's genitals are somehow dysfunctional. Whatever the case, it was assumed to derive from a certain defilement maliciously caused to the ritual beneficiary by another person. Many scholars have studied this ritual in the past, but the present article aims to discuss certain aspects of the ritual that have hitherto been ignored, involving an episode in which two makeshift gates are constructed to allow the beneficiary to pass through them. One of these gates was made of hawthorn, and associated with the white color. The other gate was probably made of oak, and associated with the black color. Each gate was supposed to influence the beneficiary who passed through it differently. This article explores the different ways each gate might affect the beneficiary and their relation to the 'black' and 'white' characteristics of the gates.¹

¹ Abbreviations used in this article follow *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago U/W*, vii-xxix, supplemented following *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Š*, ix-xl.



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2 Tunnawi's Ritual for Curing Genital Disorders

We should begin our discussion with an illustration of the ritual outline.² As was customary in Hittite magical rituals, the text opens with an introductory paragraph that presents its authoress – an Old Woman³ named Tunnawi⁴ – and explains the ritual aim: it was to be performed in case certain defilement was maliciously cast upon a man or a woman, which caused the victim genital disorders. These disorders could be miscarriage, premature birth, or unspecified dysfunctionality of the genital organs.⁵ Next, the text details the items prepared by the practitioner for the ritual: animals for sacrifice, certain clothes, wool and several utensils; all these items were black. In addition, she prepares several food products, among which cheese, beer, cake and wine. At nightfall, the practitioner goes to a river, offers food and drink to the goddess DINGIR.MAH of-the-riverbank (*wappuwaš* DINGIR.MAH), and requests the goddess to purify the body of the ritual beneficiary. Next, she goes to a spring, offers it food and drink, and requests it to wash the beneficiary from the defilement. At the same time, a tent is built in an uninhabited place by the riverbank. The Old Woman prepares additional items for the ritual: figurines and tongues of clay she took from the riverbank, blue and red wool, meat parts, bread and figurines of dough, wax and tallow. The ritual resumes the following morning when the beneficiary enters the tent and wears the black clothes. The Old Woman wraps the blue and red wool over him/her, and then waves over him/her some of the animals, objects and figurines she prepared the day before, while uttering recitations in Hittite and Luwian. At this point the Old Woman performs a sequence of analogic magic procedures: she squashes the figurines and declares that the evil that threatens the beneficiary will be squashed just the same; she removes the colored wool strings and declares that by doing so she removes negative qualities from the beneficiary's body; she removes the beneficiary's black clothes and declares that by doing so she removes the defilement because of which the beneficiary became dark and stiff; she waves an empty vessel over him/her and declares that by doing so she takes away the negative qualities mentioned before. Once this sequence of procedures ends, the beneficiary bathes, and the Old Woman performs a symbolic act of combing the negative qualities from him/her. She throws the materials used in the ritual so far into the river and burns a piglet and a puppy. This marks the end of the first phase of the ritual. The present article focuses on the next phase, in which two makeshift gates are constructed:

KUB 12.58+KUB 7.53 rev. iii 19-57⁶

¹⁹ ... MUNUSŠU.GI-*ma* ^{GI5}ZA.LAM.GAR-*aš*

²⁰ [*pé-ra-an ša-ra*]-*az-zi-ia-az* ^{GI5}*ha-at-tal-ke-eš-na-aš*

²¹ [KÁ.GAL-*aš i-ia-zi*] *na-at še-er an-da iš-TU SÍG BABBAR*

²² [*iš-ha-a*]-*i*

²³ [*na-aš-ta ha-an-te-ez-z*]-*ia-az* 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA *me-ma-al-la-aš*

²⁴ [*ke-e-ez iš-hu*]-*u-wa-i ke-e-ez-zi-ia*

²⁵ [*iš-hu-u-wa-i kat-ta-an-ma*] ^{GI5}*a-la-an-za-na-aš* KÁ.GAL-*aš i-ia-zi*

²⁶ [*na-at še-er an-da*] ^Š*š-<TU> SÍG GE₆ iš-ha-a-i*

²⁷ [...] *x-aš-ša QA-TAM-MA da-a-i*

²⁸ [*ma-ah-ha-an-ma ki-i hu-ma-an*] *ha-an-da-an-zi*

2 The *editio princeps* of this text is Goetze, Sturtevant 1938; old as it is, it is still mostly accurate and relevant. An updated online edition, which includes duplicates and joins identified since Goetze and Sturtevant's publication, is found in HPM (available at <http://hethiter.net/>): TLHdig KUB 7.53 (2021-12-31). Previous literature on this ritual can be found in HPM's "Konkordanz" (available at https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrageF.php) and Groddek's list (available at <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/grodlist/>), under KUB 7.53. Especially relevant are Mouton's (2014) study of several of the Hittite rituals in which the beneficiary crossed through a makeshift gate (for the discussion of CTH 409.1, see pp. 443, 449) and Peled's (2026) study of using makeshift gates in Hittite magical rituals (for the discussion of CTH 409.1, see pp. 74-8).

3 MUNUSŠU.GI; this is the most frequently-attested title of a female practitioner of Hittite magical rituals; see Beckman 1993, 37; Bryce 2002, 201-3; Haas 2007, 101-2; Marcuson 2016, with previous literature.

4 For an overview of this woman and the rituals she authored, see Mouton 2015.

5 ^{UZU}ÜR^{III.A}-*ša ar-ha šar-ra-an* (KUB 7.53 obv. i 6) "the genital-organs are separated off"; while the literal meaning of this phrase is clear, it does not explain what is actually wrong with the genitals, and why they were considered to be "separated off".

6 Editions: Goetze, Sturtevant 1938, 16, 18, 20; Haas 2003, 696-7; online (available at <http://hethiter.net/>): TLHdig KUB 7.53 (2021-12-31).

²⁹ [... -w]a-a-ša-an pé-e-dí ú-wa-an-zi

³⁰ [nu^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI A-NA EN SISKUR tar-kum]-mi-i-e-eš-ki-iz-zi⁷

³¹ [...] x pá-r-ku-i^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR

³² [EN SISKUR na-aš-šu LÚ-aš na-aš-m]a MUNUS-za

³³ [na-aš-kán^{GIŠ}ha-tal-kiš-na-aš KÁ.GAL

³⁴ [kat-ta-an ar-ha pa-iz-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an m]e-ma-i

³⁵ [...] «BABBAR⁷¹

³⁶ [...] x wa-aš-ša-a-ši

³⁷ [UD]u-^ruš¹-ták-kán^rkat-ta-an ar-ha¹ pa-iz-zi

³⁸ nu-uš-<ši>-kán^rpu-^rut¹-tar hu-it-<ti>-ia-ši GU₄-u[š-ták-kán]

³⁹ kat-ta-an ar-ha pa-iz-zi

⁴⁰ nu-uš-ši-kán šu-uk-šu-ka₄-an hu-it-ti-ia-š[^r]

⁴¹ ke-e-da-ni-ia-kán A-NA EN SISKUR i-da-lu

⁴² pa-ap-ra-tar al-wa-za-tar a-aš-ta-ia-ra-tar

⁴³ DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš kar-pí-in NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM pa-an-ga-u-wa-aš EME-an

⁴⁴ ma-ni-in-ku-u-wa-an-da-an MU-an ar-ha QA-TAM-MA hu-it-ti-ia

⁴⁵ nam-ma-za-kán NINDA.SIG EGIR-pa ši-i-e-ez-zi nu^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI

⁴⁶ me-ma-i i-da-lu-uš-ši pa-ap-ra-<tar> EGIR-an ar-ha

⁴⁷ hal-ki-iš na-a-ú

⁴⁸ pa-ra-a-ma-aš-kán^{GIŠ}a-la-an-za-aš KÁ.GAL kat-ta-an ar-ha

⁴⁹ pa-iz-zi nu me-ma-i ka-a-aš^{GIŠ}a-la-an-za ma-ah-ha-an

⁵⁰ LI-IM 10,000 LÚSIPA.UDU LÚSIPA.GU₄ pá-r-ku-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi

⁵¹ ke-e-da-ni-ia-kán A-NA EN SISKUR IŠ-TU 12^{UZU}ÚR

⁵² i-da-lu pa-ap-ra-tar al-wa-^ran¹(^re⁷¹)-za-tar a-aš-ta-ia-ra-tar

⁵³ NI-<IŠ> DINGIR-LIM i-da-la-mu-uš za-aš-hi-mu-uš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš

⁵⁴ kar-pí-in ag-ga-an-ta-aš ha-tu-ga-tar a-wa-an

⁵⁵ ar-ha QA-TAM-MA pá-r-ku-nu-ut nam-ma-za-kán NINDA.SIG

⁵⁶ EGIR-pa ši-i-ia-iz-zi^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI

⁵⁷ QA-TAM-MA-pát me-ma-i

¹⁹ [...] But the Old Woman ²¹ [makes a gate] ²⁰ of hawthorn [before] ¹⁹ the tent ²⁰ on the [upper]-part. ²² [She wraps] ²¹ it with white wool. / ²³ [Then, befor]e (the gate), three coarse thick-breads ²⁴ she [scat]ters [on this side], and ²⁵ [she scatters] ²⁴ on that side. ²⁵ [But on the lower-part] she makes a gate of *alanza*-wood. ²⁶ She wraps [it w]ith black wool. ²⁷ She places [...] just the same. ²⁸ [But when] they arrange [all this], ²⁹ [...] they come to the place. ³⁰ [The Old Woman announ]ces⁷ repeatedly [to the beneficiary]. / ³¹ [...] the pure tent. ³² [The ritual beneficiary, whether man or] woman, ³³ [(s)he] ³⁴ [passes beneath] ³³ the gate of hawthorn. ³⁴ [And thus she r]ecites: / ³⁵ [...] white ³⁶ [...] you dress.⁸ ³⁷ The [shee]p passes beneath you, ³⁸ and you pull its *püttar*.⁹ The ox ³⁹ passes beneath ³⁸ [you], ⁴⁰ and you pull its *šukšuka*.¹⁰ ⁴⁴ May you pull just the same ⁴¹ for this ritual beneficiary evil, ⁴² impurity, sorcery, sin, ⁴³ anger of the gods, oath of the gods (= perjury), slander of the masses ⁴⁴ (and) short years!¹¹ ⁴⁵ Then she hurls back a thin-bread, and the Old Woman ⁴⁶ recites: ⁴⁷ “Let the grain send ⁴⁶ away from behind him the evil impurity!” / ⁴⁸ But (s)he (= the beneficiary) ⁴⁹ passes ⁴⁸ out beneath the gate of *alanza*-wood⁴⁹ and she (= the Old Woman) recites: “As this *alanza*-wood ⁵⁰ repeatedly purifies a thousand and ten thousand

7 Restoration suggested by Gary Beckman (pers. comm.).

8 Otten (1952-53, 70), followed by Haas (2003, 696), restored: “[Du bist ein Weißdorn. Im Frühling kleidest du dich weiß]; [zur Erntezeit aber] kleidest du dich [rot]” on the basis of similar wording in KUB 33.54 ii 13-17+KUB 33.47 1-5 (and duplicates). Consulting the photos of these fragments on HPM (available at <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>) confirms the high probability of this restoration of Bo 2589 = KUB 12.58 rev. iii 35-6: [zi-ga-az^{GIS}ha-tal-ki-iš-na-az ha-mi-eš-hi-ia-a] z BABBAR[-TIM wa-aš-ša-a-ši BURU₁₄-ma-az iš-har-wa-an-d]a wa-aš-ša-a-ši.

9 A hairy part of the animal’s body; cf. CHD P, 402 s.v. “^(GIS)püttar”.

10 Hair or type of hair of oxen and horses; cf. CHD Š, 567 s.v. “šukšuk(k)a-/šukšukki-”.

shepherds and cowherds,⁵⁵ may you purify just the same⁵¹ for this ritual beneficiary, from the twelve body-parts,⁵² evil, impurity, sorcery, sin,⁵³ oath of the gods (= perjury), evil dreams,⁵⁴ anger⁵³ of the gods⁵⁴ (and) terror of the dead!”⁵⁵ Then⁵⁶ she hurls back⁵⁵ a thin-bread,⁵⁶ and the Old Woman⁵⁷ recites just the same.

The Old Woman constructs a gate from hawthorn in front of the tent that was used before, and ties to it strings of white wool. She then puts three bread loaves at each side of the gate. Next, she constructs a gate from *alanza*-wood, ties to it strings of black wool, and probably puts again bread loaves at its two sides.¹¹ The ritual beneficiary passes through the two gates, and each time the practitioner pronounces a symbolic analogy that accompanies the passage. The analogy reflects how the gate through which the beneficiary passes will affect the beneficiary and contribute to his/her healing. The first analogy concerns the hawthorn gate. The Old Woman declares that just as the hawthorn thorns pluck hair from the animals that pass near it, so will the hawthorn-made gate pluck negative qualities from the beneficiary. The second analogy concerns the *alanza* gate. The Old Woman declares that just as the *alanza* tree purifies shepherds and cowherds, so will the *alanza*-made gate purify the beneficiary from the negative qualities ‘plucked’ by the hawthorn gate. In both cases, she also uses the bread as part of a magical procedure in which she declares that the grain will send the evil away from the beneficiary.

It is now assumed that the ritual has achieved its aim. The Old Woman returns to the river and offers DINGIR.MAH of-the-riverbank food and drink again, as gratitude for the deity’s assistance in curing the beneficiary. Similar offerings of gratitude are made to the spring and the Sun-god. In the final phase of the ritual, the practitioner requests the Sun-god to make the beneficiary fertile, by comparing his/her hoped situation to that of a fertile bovine (GU₄ *ušantari*-) and a fruit tree. The ritual concludes with sacrifices made by the Old Woman to the two deities, the Sun-god and DINGIR.MAH of-the-riverbank.

3 The Extracting Hawthorn and the Purifying Oak

I shall now concentrate on the episode highlighted above, in which the beneficiary passed through two makeshift gates. The purpose of the ritual was to heal its patient from genital problems. Passing through the two gates was one of the main techniques employed to this end. Combined, they reflect a two-phase healing process: the first gate was meant to extract evil from the beneficiary, and the second was meant to purify the beneficiary after the evil had been removed. We can roughly compare this two-phase process to a medical treatment of infection: first, the infectious element is removed from the body; next, the wound is sterilized. We should pay attention to the fact that in both cases, the exact functionality of the gate was related to the material from which it was made. The idea that the thorny hawthorn can symbolically ‘pluck’ defilement from people makes the analogy understandable. But the analogy which involves the *alanza* wood merits an investigation: what makes this gate suitable for symbolically purifying people?

While the identification of Hittite *hat(t)alke/išna* as ‘hawthorn’ has already been satisfactorily established,¹² the case of *alanza* is different. The first step in clarifying the analogy involving the *alanza*-wood, therefore, is to understand what ‘was’ the *alanza*-wood: from which tree did it originate? A quick review of the pertinent dictionaries reveals that only HED suggests a concrete identification of the tree – alder – mainly on account of etymological similarities with Latin *Alnus*, Lithuanian *alksnis* and East Lithuanian *aliksniš*, all meaning ‘alder’.¹³ Other dictionaries either skip the entry or do not offer a decisive identification of the term.¹⁴ However, the identification of *alanza* with oak was suggested long ago by leading Hittitologists,¹⁵ and was accepted by Haas in his authoritative survey of Hittite *materia magica*.¹⁶ One of the main reasons for preferring this suggestion, as originally noted by Hoffner and

11 The beginning of the pertinent line – 27 – is broken, and the verb that governs this sentence is *dai*- ‘to place’, while the verb that governs the earlier attestation of the placement of bread is *išhuwa*- ‘to scatter’. This makes the placement of bread at the sides of the *alanza* gate probable, but not certain.

12 See, *inter alia*, HED H, 256-7 s.v. “hat(t)alkesna-”; HEG H, 218-19 s.v. “(gis)hat(t)alkešna-”; Rieken 1999, 397-8; Zinko 2001, 751-4; Haas 2003, 297-300 with previous literature.

13 HED A, 30 s.v. “alanza(n)-”.

14 HEG and HW², for example, offer generally “(ein) Baum und dessen Holz” (HEG A, 15 s.v. “(gis)alanzan-”; HW² A, 56 s.v. “(gis)alanzan-”).

15 Hoffner 1966, 390-1; 1978, 243; accepted by Goetze 1968, 17.

16 Haas 2003, 292-3 with previous literature.

accepted by Haas and others, lies in the similarity of *alanza* to the Semitic lexemes of Akkadian *allānu*, Ugaritic *ʾaln* and Hebrew *allōn*, all meaning ‘oak’.¹⁷ Goetze, followed by Hoffner, suggested that the term was “Mediterranean”, thus emphasizing its geographical distribution rather than its Semitic origin.¹⁸ Indeed, the concurrence of Hittite and Akkadian, and the cultural coexistence of the Hittites and their Mesopotamian neighbors, probably present a stronger case than the shared Indo-European origin of Hittite and Latin, and the identification *alanza* = ‘oak’ seems highly plausible.

It should be noted that the bark of both alder and oak is known to contain antiseptic substances: salicin (alder)¹⁹ and tannic acid (oak),²⁰ which may explain the purificatory qualities ascribed to the *alanza*, whatever exact tree it was. However, if we accept the identification of *alanza* with oak, further investigation yields interesting results. To begin with, the bark of different oak species can be used for a large variety of medicinal purposes, mainly as an antiseptic and astringent. As such, it can be used for gastropathy-related disorders.²¹ But we can refine our investigation by focusing on *Quercus cerris* ‘Turkey/Austrian oak’, an oak species native to Asia Minor,²² which makes it a good candidate for the identity of the Hittite *alanza* tree. Several studies that were conducted in recent years demonstrate its use in folk medicine by people who live in areas that correspond to the Hittite heartland,²³ the land of Arzawa²⁴ and what was probably the border area between the two.²⁵

We should distinguish between two interrelated types of research: studies of folk medicine practiced in rural communities throughout present-day Turkey, which are usually based on ethnographic observations and interviews, and scientific analyses of the medicinal qualities of *Quercus cerris*. Such analyses derive from awareness of folk medicine and attempt to assess its validity by collecting tree samples and analyzing them in the laboratory. Both types of research reveal fascinating results.

Studies of folk medicine among rural communities across present-day Turkey point to recurring patterns in the use of *Quercus cerris* for therapeutic purposes. Tea made of branches of *Quercus cerris* is used in Maden county, Eastern Anatolia, to treat diarrhea and hemorrhoids.²⁶ Decoction of *Quercus cerris* acorns is used in the Afyonkarahisar region, West Turkey, to treat hemorrhoids.²⁷ In Savaştepe, West Turkey, the root of *Quercus cerris* is crushed and mixed with milk or other liquids and then used to treat abscesses; the cortex of the stem is consumed in decoction to treat diarrhea.²⁸ In Eğirdir, Isparta, Southwest Turkey, the root bark of *Quercus cerris* is used in multiherbal decoction to treat hemorrhoids.²⁹ Last but not least, tea made of fresh leaves of *Quercus cerris* is used in the villages of the Vize district in Northwest Turkey to treat prostatitis (prostate diseases).³⁰ To sum up, it seems that the different parts of *Quercus cerris* – branches, acorns, roots, stem cortex, leaves and bark – are used in folk medicine throughout various regions of present-day Turkey for treating several specific internal ailments, mostly diarrhea, hemorrhoids and prostate diseases.

How scientifically valid are these treatments? What can modern science tell us in this regard? Indeed, scientific studies investigating the medicinal qualities of *Quercus cerris* seem to supply an empirical framework to confirm the validity of the folk medicine practices described above. For example, a recent study demonstrated that a coffee-like beverage made of *Quercus cerris* seeds has high antioxidant values, and the researchers regarded the beverage as “potentially health-promoting”.³¹ Other research projects conducted outside of Turkey demonstrated that water extracts of the bark of *Quercus cerris*

17 CAD A/1, 354 s.v. “allānu” A; RIA 9, 634 s.v. “Nuss und Verwandtes”.

18 Goetze 1968, 17, repeated and clarified in Hoffner 1978, 243.

19 Henkel 1909, 18.

20 Henkel 1909, 19-20.

21 Khenouf et al. 2010, 1145, 1148.

22 Kürschner, Parolly 2012, 150, 164; Najib et al. 2021, 1.

23 See, *inter alia*, Cakilcioglu et al. 2011 (Maden county, East Anatolia); Tetik et al. 2013 (Malatya province, East Anatolia); Sen et al. 2024 (Kahramanmaraş, South-central Turkey).

24 See, *inter alia*, Kargioğlu et al. 2010 (the region of Honaz mountain, Denizli, Southwest Turkey); Erbay, Sarı 2018 (Afyonkarahisar region, West Turkey); Özdemir Nath, Kültür 2022 (Savaştepe, West Turkey).

25 See, *inter alia*, Tuzlacı, Erol 1999 (Eğirdir, Isparta, Southwest Turkey); Şöhretoğlu et al. 2012 (same region).

26 Cakilcioglu et al. 2011, 476.

27 Erbay, Sarı 2018, 122.

28 Özdemir Nath, Kültür 2022, 966.

29 Tuzlacı, Erol 1999, 600, 608.

30 Kültür 2007, 349.

31 Pinto et al. 2019, esp. 2058-9.

show cytotoxic and anticancer activity,³² and that extracts based on seeds and leaves of *Quercus cerris* exhibit antioxidant activity.³³ Such findings were explained as the potential reason for using *Quercus cerris* in folk medicine for treating ailments such as hemorrhages, dysentery and chronic diarrhea.³⁴ It has also been pointed out that *Quercus cerris* extracts are found to be effective against some pathogenic microorganisms, and that the abundance of bioactive phenolic compounds such as tannins and flavonoids can explain the antioxidant and antimicrobial qualities of organic extracts of *Quercus cerris* acorns.³⁵

Most relevant, however, are researches performed on *Quercus cerris* that grow in Turkey itself. For example, in research on water extracts of barks from *Quercus cerris* that grow in Eğirdir, Isparta, Southwest Turkey, the extracts showed antioxidative and cytotoxic activities, and the researchers concluded that the trees examined – among which *Quercus cerris* – are “very important for the antioxidative protection”.³⁶ A recent research that examined cork extracts from the barks of *Quercus cerris* that grow in Kahramanmaraş, South-central Turkey, assessed their antioxidant, antiproliferative and antimicrobial properties. This research concluded that these extracts showed “significant antioxidant, antimicrobial, and anti-proliferative properties”, and suggested that they “appear to be effective against gastric-, lung-, colon- and breast-cancer cell lines”.³⁷

4 Black and White: A Tale of Two Gates

Now that we have clarified the extracting qualities of the *hatalkešna* ‘hawthorn’ and the purificatory qualities of the *alanza* ‘oak’, we may proceed to several additional considerations concerning the two gates used in our ritual. CTH 409.1 presents the sole example in the corpus of Hittite magical rituals for using two makeshift gates simultaneously, each gate fulfilling a different purpose. This fact merits further discussion. The hawthorn gate was wrapped with white wool, while the oak gate was wrapped with black wool. These colors seem to correspond to the plants used in the construction of the gates. Hawthorn has white flowers,³⁸ to which the Old Woman probably alludes by stating, “You dress [...] white [...]”,³⁹ while the oak’s bark and acorns have a dark brown-black color.

I would like to add one final consideration concerning the gates and their respective colors. Two deities were invoked throughout the ritual by the practitioner, who requested them to assist in healing the beneficiary: the celestial Sun-god and the potentially chthonic⁴⁰ DINGIR.MAH of-the-riverbank. It can be hypothesized that the ‘bright’ Sun-god was associated with the white hawthorn gate, while the ‘dark’ DINGIR.MAH was associated with the black oak gate. The combined efforts of the ‘black’ and ‘white’ deities extracted the defilement from the beneficiary and subsequently purified him/her. By this, it is suggested, the beneficiary’s healing treatment was complete.

32 Taib et al. 2020, 14.

33 Burlacu et al. 2020, 8.

34 Najib et al. 2021, 4.

35 Vinha et al. 2016, 975-6; Najib et al. 2021, 4.

36 Şöhretoğlu et al. 2012, 145.

37 Sen et al. 2024, 9.

38 And at times red – depending on species and season.

39 [...] ‘BABBAR?’ [...] x *wa-aš-ša-a-ši* (KUB 12.58 rev. iii 35-6). See *supra*, for Otten’s (1952-53, 70) and Haas’s (2003, 696) restoration of these two lines, which portrays the hawthorn as “wearing white” in springtime.

40 Though quite speculative, since actual chthonic characteristics of this deity are not explicitly mentioned in the text. DINGIR.MAH-deities were usually associated with birth, a trait Haas (1994, 133) associated with death and the Netherworld. DINGIR.MAH of-the-riverbank was primarily associated with the river and its banks; rivers, in turn, were sometimes associated with chthonic qualities because they frequently originate from springs, hence their water stems from the underworld (see general discussion in Haas 2003, 144-5). See also in this respect Collins 2013, 108: “The remains of ancient waterworks (pools and wells, for example) and the religious structures built in and around natural water sources, such as springs and rivers, are vivid reminders of the role of water as a conduit to the world below the earth and to the beings that inhabited that world”.

5 Conclusions

This article focused on one of the procedures practiced in the Hittite magical ritual of Tunnawi CTH 409.1, which was meant to cure its beneficiaries of genital disorders: recurring miscarriages, premature births, or dysfunctional genitalia. The procedure in question involved the beneficiary's passage through two makeshift gates constructed by the ritual performer. The first gate was made of hawthorn, wrapped with white wool, and its purpose was to extract evil qualities from the beneficiary. The second gate was made of oak, wrapped with black wool, and its purpose was to purify the beneficiary.

The approach this article assumes is not necessarily based on an alleged continuity of medicinal practices from the Bronze Age into the present. The social sciences, as well as comparative historical research, are based on the understanding that human societies possess certain common denominators across space and time, and hence occasionally reach similar conclusions and solutions to similar situations and challenges independently from one another. Writing itself was invented by different cultures entirely independently from one another, and the realm of medicinal practice does not differ in this respect. The properties of the tree discussed in the article - *Quercus cerris* - are the same as they were during the Hittites' time, and so is the tree's potential use for medicinal purposes.

Scientific examinations of the properties of *Quercus cerris* 'Turkey/Austrian oak', reveal that this oak species possesses medicinal qualities that make it suitable to treat certain medical conditions. These can explain the use of this particular oak as a remedy in folk medicine throughout present-day Turkey, mostly for treating diarrhea, hemorrhoids and prostate diseases. These internal ailments bring us back to the disorders Tunnawi's ritual was meant to cure: recurring miscarriages, premature births, and women's or men's dysfunctional genitalia. Both men and women can suffer from hemorrhoids. One of the background circumstances within which hemorrhoids can develop among women is during pregnancy and childbirth; this certainly clarifies the connection between some of the aims of Tunnawi's ritual and the use of *Quercus cerris*. As to intense diarrhea, it can lead to the development of hemorrhoids. The third internal ailment mentioned was prostate illness. Extreme situations, such as prostate cancer, may lead to recurring diarrhea. In addition, prostate dysfunction impairs male productivity; such a situation could reflect the meaning of male genitals being "separated off", a phrase whose exact meaning remains obscure. All the threads considered in this article are tied here: Tunnawi's ritual, folk medicine and scientific medicinal studies, all told through a tale of two gates.

As we know, most things in life are hardly a matter of black or white. Some, however, seem to be exactly this.

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Erra's Human Form

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Abstract In *Erra and Išum* IV 3, the god Išum tells Erra, a deity of war and disease, “you changed your divinity and seemed like a man” (*ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*). Scholars have interpreted the line in two different ways. The first is that Erra came to resemble mortals in his behavior. The second is that he became human-like in his physical form. This article weighs the two positions while drawing on (1) parallel passages in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and *Enūma eliš*; (2) a revealing metaphor Išum uses elsewhere in *Erra IV* to describe Erra's slaughter of Babylon's inhabitants; and (3) a re-analysis on the meanings and uses of the word *ilūtu* (divinity), and argues that Erra is not said by Išum to have behaved like a mortal, but rather to have assumed human form. It then proposes, albeit tentatively and speculatively, that Erra's human form is implied to be that of a usurper king who rose against the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina, with him then being Erra's human avatar – the god of violence in mortal guise.

Keywords Erra and Išum. Babylonian literature. Babylonian mythology. Mesopotamian conceptions of divinity. Historical background of myths.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Human Behaviour. – 3 Divine Appearance. – 4 The Nature of *ilūtu*. – 4.1 *ilūtu* Meaning A: Being Divine. – 4.2 *ilūtu* Meaning B: Deity. – 4.3 *ilūtu* Meaning C: Anaphoric. – 4.4 *ilūtu* Meaning D: Divine Power/Nature/Form. – 4.5 *ilūtu* Meaning E: Godliness. – 4.6 Implications for *Erra IV* 3. – 5 The Usurper. – 6 Conclusion.

Next came Fraud, and he had on,
Like Eldon, an ermined gown;
His big tears, for he wept well,
Turned to mill-stones as they fell.
And the little children, who
Round his feet played to and fro,
Thinking every tear a gem,
Had their brains knocked out by them.
(Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Mask of Anarchy*)

1 Introduction

Erra and Išum tells how Erra, a god of war and pestilence, became incensed at the contempt he felt to be directed against him by humans, and nearly killed them all in blind and egotistical fury.¹ At the start of

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1 For a score edition of *Erra and Išum* with philological commentary, see Taylor 2017, 338-554. An updated edition of the poem is currently being prepared by the *eBL* (*electronic Babylonian Library*) project, and an edition of the first tablet of the text can already be found on the site (see www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/1/5/SB/I).



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the fourth tablet of the poem, the god Išum – Erra's advisor and vanguard,² a benevolent and protective deity who, later in the text, would manage to calm Erra down and thus save the world – speaks to Erra of how Erra had earlier entered the city of Babylon to wreak havoc upon it:

- IV 1 *qurādu erra ša rubê marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*
IV 2 *ša dimkurkurra āl šar ilānī rikis mātāti taptatar rikissu*
IV 3 *ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*
IV 4 *kakkīka tannediqma tēterub qerebšu*
IV 5 *ina qereb bābili kī ša šabāt āli taqtabi ḥabinniš*

- IV 1 “O warrior-Erra! You were not afraid of sovereign Marduk's name.
IV 2 “Dimkurkurra, city of the king of the gods, the bond of the lands – you have undone its bond.
IV 3 “You changed your divinity and seemed like a man,
IV 4 “You girded on your weapons, and entered Babylon.
IV 5 “In Babylon's midst, as if to seize the city, you spoke *like an agitator*”.³

This article concerns *Erra* IV 3, *ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*, translated above as “You changed your divinity and seemed like a man”. The grammar of the line is clear enough, yet its sense is less straightforward. What does it mean for Erra to ‘change his divinity’, and in what way did he ‘become like a man’?

The scholars who have commented on this question can be split into two interpretive camps. According to the first, Erra came to resemble mortals in his behavior. According to the second, he became human-like in his physical form. In the first camp are Luigi Cagni, Benjamin Foster, and Selena Wisnom. Cagni translated IV 3 as “You changed your divine nature and made yourself like a man” (1977, 48), and understood the statement as a rebuke by Išum of Erra “for having behaved like an insensate mortal” (1977, 49). Foster has “You changed your divine nature and made yourself like a mortal”, and comments “That is, by ravaging sanctuaries?” (2005, 901). And Wisnom, who has “You have changed your divine nature and become like a human” (2019, 210), proposes to understand IV 3 in light of the opening line of the poem *Atraḫasis*, *enūma ilū awilum* “when the gods were (like) man”, writing,

Erra has regressed to the divine equivalent of a primitive state, a state that the gods were in only before the flood [...]. The human-like behavior is probably twofold: the irresponsibility of such an act, and the act of rebellion itself. (Wisnom 2019, 210)

The scholars of the latter camp are Michael Roberts and Kynthia Taylor, the latter of whom translates *Erra* IV 3 as “You changed your divinity and became like a human” (2017, 227). Both of them make it clear in their summary of Erra's actions in Babylon that they take the line to mean that Erra became like a man in that he assumed human form.⁴

These two positions have not been brought into dialogue, for in advocating for one of them scholars have not acknowledged the other. Nor has evidence from elsewhere in *Erra*, or from the broader Mesopotamian textual record (apart from *Atraḫasis*), been brought to bear on this dilemma. This article seeks to do so, and thereby shed light on the meaning of *Erra* IV 3 and indicate which of the two interpretations is the correct one. It starts by asking what it would mean for Erra to behave like a human (§ 2). It then asks how Erra's human form would differ from his divine one (§ 3). This is followed by a discussion of a key question: What specifically does the phrase *ilūtka tušannīma* mean in this context? To attempt to answer that question, the meanings of *ilūtu* ‘divinity’ are re-delineated (§§ 4-4.5). The implications Sections 2-4.5 may have for the question of Erra's transformation in *Erra* IV 3 are then outlined (§ 4.6), and a new interpretation of the historical significance of *Erra* IV 3 in light of these implications is proposed (§ 5).

² On Išum, see George 2015.

³ On *ḥabinniš*, see Durand 2009.

⁴ “Erra takes on human form” (Roberts 1971, 15); “Erra [...] assumes a human form” (Taylor 2017, 227).

2 Human Behaviour

As the divergence between the opinions of Cagni, Foster, and Wisnom indicates, it is far from evident what, exactly, about Erra's behavior would be characterized as human-like by Išum. I am aware of only two other Mesopotamian sources that may shed explicit light on this question: *Atraḫasīs* and *Enūma eliš*.⁵ *Atraḫasīs*, referenced by Wisnom in her analysis of *Erra* IV 3, begins in its Old Babylonian version with the line *inūma ilū awilum* "When the gods were (like) men".⁶ Two versions of the opening line are known from the first millennium: *inū[ma] ilū kī amīlī* "When the gods like men", which opened an edition from Ashurbanipal's library;⁷ and, matching the OB edition, *inūma ilū amēlu*, the first line of a manuscript of *Atraḫasīs* I from Neo-Babylonian Sippar.⁸ Importantly for the present discussion, the humanity of the gods in the opening line of *Atraḫasīs* seems to lie specifically in their toil. This is indicated by the very next line, whether in its Old Babylonian version (*ublū dulla izbilū šupš[i]kka* "They did labor and bore drud[ger]y") or the Standard Babylonian one from the Sippar Library (*ilū nīra ibnū tupšikka* "The gods made the yoke, the carrying basket"). *Atraḫasīs* makes no explicit connection between human-like behavior and rebelliousness, nor with irresponsibility; it is only in these lines, which speak specifically of labor and drudgery, that deities are compared to (or equated with) mortals. That humanness is here connected to labor is in keeping with the later events of *Atraḫasīs*, for in this poem humans are created for one purpose only: to do the hard work required to sustain the gods and thus enable them to live in perfect leisure.⁹ The very same explanation for the existence of humankind is given in the sixth tablet of *Enūma eliš*.¹⁰ Yet Erra performs no drudgery in Babylon, and the human-like aspect of his behavior would not be the same as in *Atraḫasīs* or in *Enūma eliš*. The 'key' to Erra's humanness should therefore be sought elsewhere.

The second passage that may bear on the question of what may constitute human-like behavior on the part of Erra is found earlier in *Enūma eliš*. In that poem's first tablet, the god Ea kills Apsû, the universal progenitor, thereby saving Apsû's children from their sire's wrath (I 59-72). Ea later convinces his father Anšar that this was a good thing to do, despite Apsû's murder having led to Tiamat herself deciding to kill her children (II 65-70). After being convinced of the wisdom of Ea's previous actions, Anšar tells Ea that they were worthy of a god (II 73-5: *mārī epšētuka iliš naṭ[ām]a* "My son, your deeds are f[i]t for a god"). This statement suggests that, as one would imagine, gods were expected to do wise and great things. Could *ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*, then, mean that Erra's subsequent actions were not worthy of a god? Perhaps, yet the phrasing of *Erra* IV 3 seems a highly ambiguous and vague way for Išum to indicate that Erra behaved less well than was normally expected of a deity. In any case, without knowing more about how the poet of *Erra* conceived of human-like behavior, it is difficult to have much of an idea as to what specifically human-like, as opposed to god-like, behavior Erra might have engaged in in tablet IV.

3 Divine Appearance

The question of whether and how human-like behavior differs from god-like behavior is by no means easy to get at, yet that of gods possibly looking different from humans, and what the differences may be, seems more straightforward. If one were to go by some Mesopotamian sources, one would conclude that there would be no noticeable difference between the forms of deities and mortals, for in these texts the very gods ask their addressees, point-blank, whether they are mortal or divine.¹¹ But in other

⁵ For an edition of *Atraḫasīs*, see Lambert, Millard 1999. For an edition of *Enūma eliš*, see Heinrich 2021.

⁶ For a summary of scholarly opinions concerning the interpretation of *inūma ilū awilum*, see note on OB *Atraḫasīs* I 1 in Jiménez, Rozzi 202.

⁷ K.10604 rev. 3' (Lambert 1969, 534).

⁸ IM.124646 (Al-Rawi, George 1996, 184).

⁹ See OB *Atraḫasīs* I 182-93, paralleled almost verbatim in SB II 69-80. That the purpose of humans is to bear the gods' toil is explicit in Ea's (OB) and Anu's (SB) commissioning of their creation: *šupšik ilim awilum lišši* "Let man bear the toil of god" (OB I 186-93), *tupšikk(i) ili a[m]ēlu lišši* "May M[a]n bear the drudgery of god" (SB II 170-80).

¹⁰ Marduk, in announcing his intent to create humankind, declares, *lubnīma lullā amēla / lū emdū dulli ilīma šunu lū pašhū* "I shall create humans (lit. the human being) / let the load of the gods be imposed on them, so that they (the gods) may rest" (*Enūma eliš* VI 7-8).

¹¹ For example, in *Inanna's Descent to the Underworld* (ETCSL c.1.4.1) ll. 240-4, Ereškigal asks the kur-ġar-ra and galatur-ra whether they are human or divine, specifying the different boons she would grant them in each case.

texts the opposite is implied, namely that the appearance of the gods was different in the extreme from that of mortals. One example of such a text is *Gilgamesh*, in whose Old Babylonian version Šamhat says to Enkidu, *anaṭṭalka enkidu kīma ilim tabašši* “I regard you, Enkidu, you are like a god” (II 53).¹² In the Standard Babylonian version, she similarly tells him, *[dam]qāta enkidu kīma ili tabašši* “You are [beauti]ful, Enkidu, you are like a god” (I 207).¹³ Also in SB *Gilgamesh*, the scorpionman stationed at the gate of the twin mountains can tell from afar that Gilgamesh is more than mortal, and then the scorpionwoman does one better by ascertaining the exact shares of humanity and divinity in Gilgamesh merely from the sight of him (IX 48-51).¹⁴ That the scorpion-man announces the (partial) divinity of the approaching Gilgamesh by saying *ša illikannāši šir ilāni zumuršu* “He who has come to us - his body is the flesh of the gods”, suggests that what gave Gilgamesh’s godliness away was the god-like splendor of his physique.

Another Akkadian composition in which divinity is said to manifest visually is the poem *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*,¹⁵ whose protagonist, Šubši-mešrē-Šakkan, describes a dream in this way:

*ištēt ardatu banū zīmūša
nesiš lā tuḥḥāt iliš mašlat
šarrat niši kabitti māti*

There was a young woman - her features were fair,
While still at a distance, not having come near, she seemed like a god,
A queen of the people, honored in the land.
(*Ludlul* III 31-3)

The phrase *iliš mašlat* “She seemed like a god”, is strikingly similar to *tamtašal amēliš* “You seemed like a mortal”. Notably for the present discussion, it is clear in the context of the *Ludlul* passage that the young woman’s semblance of divinity lies in her appearance rather than her behavior. Another passage of Standard Babylonian literature containing a phrase combining *iliš* ‘like a god’ and *mašālu* ‘to seem like’ (though in the D-stem) is *Enūma eliš* I 138: *melammī uštaššā iliš umtaššil* “She (Tiamat) armed them (the monsters) with auras, making them like a god”. The word *melammu*, of which *melammī*, translated here as ‘auras’, is a plural, refers to a sublime and terrifying radiance that was thought to surround divine beings.¹⁶ Tiamat is thus said to make the monsters seem like gods by endowing them with this visual attribute.

The *melammu* can emanate not only from gods, but also from mortals favored by them (the Assyrian king,¹⁷ for example), and even inanimate objects. It can overwhelm (*saḥāpu*) men, subduing them without need for battle.¹⁸ This is the case in the Assyrian *Underworld Vision* (SAA 3 32), in which the Assyrian prince Kummāya, a figure whose historical referent remains mysterious,¹⁹ beholds none other than Nergal - that is, Erra himself:

*ināya kī adkū qurādu nergal ina kussē šarrūti ašib agē šarrūti apir [... ina] abūsātiya išbatannīma ana
maḥrišu ú-qar-[ri]-ban²¹-ni [ā]muršu itarrurā išdāya melammūšu ezzūti išḥupūnni šepī ilūtīšu [rabi]ti
aššiqma akmis azziz*

When I raised my eyes: Warrior Nergal, sitting on a kingly throne, wearing a kingly crown! [...] He seized me [by] my forelock, and *dr[e]w* me towards him. When [I] saw him, my legs (lit. foundations) quaked, his furious radiance overwhelmed me. I kissed the feet of his [gre]at divinity, then came to a kneel and stood up. (SAA 3 32: rev. 11-14)

¹² For an edition of OB *Gilgamesh* II, see George 2022a.

¹³ For an edition of SB *Gilgamesh* I, see George 2022b.

¹⁴ For an edition of SB *Gilgamesh* IX, see George 2022.

¹⁵ Edition Häntinen 2022.

¹⁶ On *melammu*, see Cassin 1968 and Winter 1994, among others.

¹⁷ On the Assyrian king’s *melammu*, see Oshima 2018.

¹⁸ The (quite literally) overwhelming power of *melammu* is a recurring motif in Assyrian royal inscriptions, appearing, for instance, in Sennacherib’s narrative of his third campaign, in which he narrates that the terror induced by his *melammu* overwhelms Hezekiah into delivering vast tribute (RINAP 3/1 4: 55-8).

¹⁹ For the identity of Kummāya with references to previous literature, see Frahm 2023.

If, like the young woman in Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan's dream, Erra quite literally looks divine; if, like Tiamat's fearsome monsters and Nergal in the *Underworld Vision*, he is surrounded by divine radiance, then he could conceivably conceal his divinity by changing his appearance. For much as Tiamat makes the monsters godlike by clothing them with *melammu*, Erra may have made himself human-like by obscuring it, as well as other visible indications of his sublime nature. That this is not only possible but likely is indicated by the fact that the phrases *iliš mašlat* and *iliš umtaššil* unambiguously concern visual markers of divinity, for this points to the similarly worded *tamtašal amēliš* likewise indicating a visual transformation, though in the opposite direction. This lends support to the interpretation of Roberts and Taylor.

A second argument in favor of their position draws on the specific metaphor Išum uses to describe Erra's attack on Babylon. Išum tells Erra of how, after Erra entered Babylon and started speaking within it, Babylon's citizens flocked around him, armed themselves, rushed to battle, cursed their (i.e. Babylon's) 'governor' (*šakkanak bābili*),²⁰ barred the city gate, and set Babylon's temples aflame (IV 6-14). Išum then says the following:

IV 15 *atta ālik maḥrimma pānuššunu šabtāta*
 IV 16 *ša imgur-ellil ušša elišu tummidma ū'a libbī iqabbi*
 IV 17 *muḥra rābiš abullišu ina damī eṭli u ardati tattadi šubassu*
 IV 18 *āšib bābili šunūti šunu iššūrumma arrašunu attama*
 IV 19 *ana šēti takmissunūtīma tabīr tātabat qurādu erra*

IV 15 You were the vanguard, seizing their lead!
 IV 16 As for Imgur-Enlil - you aimed an arrow at it, "Woe, my heart!" it cried.
 IV 17 Muḥra, the guardian of its gate - you cast his seat into the blood of youth and maiden.
 IV 18 Those inhabitants of Babylon - they were the bird, and you their decoy:
 IV 19 You caught them in a net, trapped, destroyed them, warrior Erra!

Išum then tells of how Erra travelled to the royal palace (IV 20); how the soldiers, upon seeing him, girded on their weapons (IV 21); and how the 'governor' became enraged (IV 22) and ordered his general to massacre Babylon's people mercilessly and plunder the city (IV 23-30). The royal army assembled, entered Babylon, and massacred its protected citizens (*šabē kidinni*), whom Erra, pitting men against each other like a boy smashing his toys together in mock battle, had just caused to bear arms against the invading army (IV 31-9).

In IV 18, as part of Išum's metaphorical description, cited above, of Erra's attack on Babylon, he likens Erra to a 'decoy' (*arru*), likely a live and immobilized bird used to attract others of its kind so they could be hunted. Here an excursus is required: the translation 'Lockvogel', 'decoy-bird', for *arru* (argued for in Landsberger 1933, 227) may seem conspicuously and dubiously specific, and therefore bears justifying. A prayer to Marduk and the gods of Esagil declares: *kī šuškali ša bā'iri kalū saḥpa[nmi] / kī arri ša usandī kalāku ina šē[ti]* "Like confining (by) the net of a hunter, it has overwhelmed [me] / like the *arru* of a fowler, I am confined in a net!" (KAR 312 [Oshima 2011, P 7]: 13'-14'). From this couplet we can infer two things about the *arru*: that it was used by the fowler (*usandū*) as the hunter (*bā'iru*) uses a net (*šuškallu*), and that it was confined (*kalū*) in a net (*šētu*). That the *arru* was a living being we know from a Middle Babylonian administrative text, which records the disbursement of *kurummat iššūri* 'bird-fodder' along with *kurummat arri* 'arru-fodder' (PBS 2/2 34: 20). The distinction made here between bird and *arru* may lead one to conclude that the *arru* was not itself a bird. Yet another text, an administrative document written in Uruk in 606 BCE, indicates otherwise. It records a sale of *sumaktarātu*^{mušen} *ana arrūti ina pān marduk-erība u erībšu usandī* "ten *sumaktarātu*-birds for *arru*-ship to Marduk-erība and Erībšu, fowlers" (GCC 2 23: 1-4). This demonstrates that the distinction between *iššūru* and *arru* is not that the latter is not a bird, but that it is a bird set apart for a specific purpose. From these attestations, we can infer that the *arru* was a living bird used as a hunting tool by the fowler and confined by him. The translation 'Lockvogel' therefore appears likely.

Išum, then, likely compares Erra to a decoy-bird, and then to a hunter snaring the citizens of Babylon in his net and slaughtering them. These images would perfectly describe a situation in which Erra assumes human form to lure other mortals and then orchestrates their demise: the birds alight to join one who looks alike to them, unaware of the trap set by the hunter; and the Babylonians gather around

²⁰ As *šakkanak bābili* was one of the titles of the Babylonian kings - e.g. of Itti-Marduk-balātu (1135-1128; see RIMB 2 B.2.2.1: 7) and Nebuchadnezzar I (1121-1100 BCE; see RIMB 2 B.2.4.11: 3) - it is likely a king of Babylon who is referred to here.

the human-seeming Erra (IV 5), not knowing that he is, in fact, the god of violence, and that his hateful speeches are nothing more than a means to incite them against their 'governor', and thus bring about their death. The metaphor chosen by Išum is thus perfectly fitted to the scenario outlined by Roberts and Taylor, in which Erra disguises his divinity, assuming human form.

Erra changing his appearance immediately before entering Babylon would, moreover, be paralleled and echoed by an episode shortly later in tablet IV. After inciting a rebellion by Babylon's citizens against their 'governor' (*šakkanakku*), he travels to the palace and galvanizes the very same 'governor' and the royal army to massacre the same Babylonian citizens he incited to rebel. Importantly, we learn from Išum's words that, immediately before entering the palace, Erra put on a lion's face (or, understood less literally, a lion-like aspect).²¹ This makes it seem more probable that Erra likewise affected a visual, as opposed to behavioral, transformation before entering Babylon itself.

4 The Nature of *ilūtu*

The third argument for *Erra* IV 3 referring to Erra taking human form has to do specifically with the first half of the line, *ilūtkā tušannīma*. The clause, whose literal sense is "You changed your divinity", does not have any obvious sense to the modern English-speaking reader. This suggests that the Akk. *ilūtu* denotes something different than Eng. 'divinity'. And indeed, the CAD's definition of *ilūtu* (I/J: 104) – (1) divine power, divine nature (2) status of divinity, divine rank – is subtly different, and more expansive, from that of 'divinity'. To assess the accuracy of the CAD's definition of *ilūtu*, an analysis, drawing on citations of the word found in the CAD itself as well as *eBL*'s "Library", was carried out. It led to the following, alternative delineation, which attempts to be both more comprehensive and more specific than that of the CAD. It proposes five meanings for *ilūtu* (listed as A-E), given below with attestations for each.

4.1 *ilūtu* Meaning A: Being Divine

At times *ilūtu* appears to refer, as does English 'divinity', to the quality of being divine:

- (1) *ultu ūme annî šimātīka ana ilūti limmanūma*
From this day let your (the cult image's) destiny be reckoned for **divinity**. (Walker, Dick 2001, "Nineveh Ritual Tablet", 167)
- (2) *girra šitraḥ šīru nāš šalummat ilūti*
Girra the resplendent, the sublime, bearer of the radiance of **divinity**. (Walker, Dick 2001, "Incantation Tablet I/2", 16)

4.2 *ilūtu* Meaning B: Deity

At other times, *ilūtu* seems to have another sense conveyed by English 'divinity', 'deity':

- (1) *kakki aššur bēliya ana ilūtīšun aškun*
I set up the weapon of Aššur, my lord, as **their divinity**. (RINAP 2 1: 99)
- (2) *ana ilūtiya rabīte ina kalḫi lū amnūšu*
I reckoned it (a divine image of Ninurta) as **my great divinity** in Kalḫu. (RIMA 2 A.0.101.1: 132-4)

4.3 *ilūtu* Meaning C: Anaphoric

Judging by the sources, *ilūtu* can convey at least three additional senses, all of which the English 'divinity' is not generally used for. When used with the first of these senses, it is appended with a possessive suffix and used to refer, via anaphora, to an aforementioned god: Much as the English

²¹ IV 21: *zīm labbi tašakkanma tetērub ana ekalli* "You put on a lion's face and entered the palace".

'majesty' can refer to the person of the monarch, rather than the quality of being a monarch, when in the possessive (e.g. 'Her Majesty'), when *ilūtu* is appended with a possessive suffix it appears to refer to the deity itself. This usage of *ilūtu*, found in diverse sources, is well illustrated in the following excerpt from an inscription of Ashurbanipal:

tayyārat bēlūtīša tušadgila pānūya umma aššurbanipal ultu qereb elamti lemneti ušēšānīma ušērabanni qereb eanna amāt qibīt ilūtīša ša ultu ūmē ruqūti taqbū enenna tukallim nišī arkāti qāt ilūtīša rabiti atmuḥ ḥarrānu iširtu ša ulluḥ libbi tašbata ana eanna ina qereb uruk ušēribši

She (Nanāya) assigned the return of Her Lordship to me, (saying) thus: "Ashurbanipal will take me out of the evil land of Elam and bring me into the midst of Eanna". The word spoken by **Her Great Divinity**, which she spoke in (lit. from) distant days, she has now manifested (lit. revealed) to later people: I took the hand of **Her Great Divinity**, she took a straight road of joy, and I brought her into Eanna in the midst of Uruk. (RINAP 5/1 9: vi 3-9)

4.4 *ilūtu* Meaning D: Divine Power/Nature/Form

At times, and in line with the CAD's first definition of *ilūtu*, quoted above, the word seems to refer to divine power:

- (1) *ištar mārtam nāramtāšu bēltum ša ilūssa lā išannanū*
Ishtar, his beloved daughter, the lady **whose divinity** none can match. (RIME 4 E4.3.7.7: 22-5)
- (2) *anāku asalluḥi ša ina pāt gimri šurbāt ilūssu*
I am Asalluḥi, **whose divinity** is supreme everywhere. (*Marduk's Address to the Demons* 89)²²

At other times *ilūtu* seems to denote what may be termed, likewise going along with the CAD's first meaning of *ilūtu*, as a god's 'divine nature', but here more specifically defined as a divinity's individual qualities – that is, his or her form, attributes, and powers. This is the sense in which it appears to be used in the description of the Seven (*sebettu*), Seven gods of war and death,²³ in *Erra*'s first tablet:

- (3) *ša sebeti qarrād lā šanān šunnāt ilūssun*
ilittašunu aḥātma malū pulḥāti
āmīršunu uštahḥatma napīssunu mūtumma
nišū šaḥtūma ul irrū ana šāšū
As for the Seven, warrior(s) unrivaled, **their divinity** is quite another:
Their origin is strange indeed, they are full of terrors,
(Any)one who sees them is struck with fear, their very breath is death,
The people are afraid so they do not approach them (lit. him).
(*Erra* I 23-6)

This passage is of special importance for our discussion of *Erra* IV 3, because the phrase *šunnāt ilūssun* (*Erra* I 23), whose literal meaning is "Their divinity is changed" and is translated above as "Their divinity is quite another", uses language almost identical to *ilūtka tušannīma* "You changed your divinity". It may be indicative of the poet's understanding of such language that, to judge by the lines following *šunnāta ilūssun*, the Seven's unique divinity manifests in their very being – in their strange origins, the terror that fills them, their breath being death, and the people staying away in view of all these.

As noted by Cagni (1969, 150) and Taylor (2017, 403 fn. 25), a nearly identical phrase to *šunnāt ilūssun* occurs in *Enūma eliš*:

- (4) *uštāšbīšumma šunnāt ilūssu*
šušqū ma'diš elišunu atar mimmūšu

²² Edition Peterson 2020.

²³ On the *Sebettu*, see Konstantopoulos 2023 and Renzi-Sepe 2023.

lā lamdāma nukkulā minātūšu
ḥasāsīš lā naṭā amāriš pašqā
He (Anu) perfected him (Marduk): **his divinity** quite another:
He is far superior, he surpasses them (the other gods) in every way,
His form is something too ingenious to understand,
Impossible to conceive, difficult to look upon.
(*Enūma eliš* I 91-4)

The parallelism between *ilūssu* and *mimmūšu* “all of him (lit. his everything)” indicates that *ilūtu* refers to Marduk’s whole being, and as with the Seven, Marduk’s unique *ilūtu* seems to manifest in his extraordinary innate characteristics – specifically his incomprehensibly fine physical features. Marduk’s resplendent form also appears to be the referent of *ilūtu* in *Erra*’s second tablet:

(5) *enna ša itbû rubû marduk ša ummānī šunūti elāšunu ul iqbi*
šalmīšunu ša ina niši abnû ana ilūtīšu širti
ša ilu lā irrû iṭeḥḥû minu
“Now, he who has risen²⁴ (from his dwelling), Sovereign Marduk –
he did not command the ascent of these craftsmen.
“How could their images, which I created among humankind,
come near to **his** (Marduk’s) sublime **divinity**,
“Which not (even) a god can approach?”
(*Erra* II 31-3)

As Taylor also points out (2017, 403 fn. 25), language almost identical to that used to describe the ‘different’ divinity of the Seven appears in a hymn to Ninurta in his manifestation as Sirius; this is the fourth and last instance of which I am aware of a god’s divinity being described using derivations of *šunnû*:

(6) *ina kullat kala ilī šu[n]nât ilūtkā*
ina nipīḥ kakkabānī numm[u]rū zīmū[ka kīma] šamšī
Among all the totality of the gods **your divinity** is qui[te an]other:
When the stars come out, [your] features shine [like] Šamaš.
(K.128²⁵ obv. 13-14)

It may be significant that, in all three instances apart from *Erra* IV 3 in which a deity’s *ilūtu* is said to be ‘different’, this statement is followed by remarks regarding that deity or deities’ physical form: He who catches sight of the Seven is struck with fear; Marduk’s physique is too ingenious to grasp and difficult to look upon; and the features of Sirius shine like the Sun. This indicates that, in these contexts, *ilūtu* refers specifically to the concrete manifestation of divinity: the fearful and awe-striking form of a god. This may be why it is Sîn, the radiant moon god, whose godliness is manifest to all, who is identified as Marduk’s *ilūtu* in a syncretistic prayer to Marduk found at Nineveh:

(7) *sîn ilūtkā anu malkūtkā*
dagan bēlūtkā enlil šarrūtkā
adad gešrūtūka ea eršu ḥasīsīka
šābit qan ṭuppi nābu [t]ele’ūtka
ašāredūtka [n]inurta dannū[t]ka nergal
Sîn is **your divinity**, Anu your sovereignty,
Dagan your lordship, Enlil your kingship,
Adad your might, wise Ea your intelligence,
Nabû, he who grasps the reed stylus, your [a]bility,

²⁴ Foster (2005) translates *enna ša itbû* as “Even now that noble Marduk has arisen (from his dwelling)”. Taylor (2017), similarly, has “Now that prince Marduk has arisen”. However, it is more likely that *enna*, rather than indicating temporality, is used here to indicate semantic topicality, as it does in *Erra* I 149, spoken by Marduk, *enna aššu šipri šāšu ša taqbû qurādu erra* “Now, as for that task of which you spoke, Warrior Erra”.

²⁵ Edition Mayer 2005 and *eBL* (see www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.128).

[N]inurta your leadership, Nergal your streng[th].
(*Syncretistic Incantation-Prayer to Marduk 1-5*)²⁶

4.5 *ilūtu* Meaning E: Godliness

A fifth meaning that can be conveyed by *ilūtu* but not by English 'deity' seems to have to do with how much of a god – that is, how great and powerful – a god is, in the same way that 'heroism' refers to the degree to which someone is a hero rather than his or her being a hero:²⁷

(1) *anāku ana šalmāt qaqqadi ilūtki u qurdīki lušāpi*
I will praise **your divinity** and heroism to the black-headed people. (BM.26187:²⁸ 102)

(2) *ana marduk rēmēnī ana damiqti ana qātī damqāti piqdanni*
ludlul narbīka lutta'id ilūtika
Entrust me to merciful Marduk, to goodness, to good hands,
So that I may praise your greatness (and) glorify **your divinity**. (Oshima 2011, P 8: 65''-6'')

4.6 Implications for *Erra IV 3*

The analysis given above delineates five meanings for *ilūtu*:

- a. **Being divine** (as in Eng. 'divinity')
- b. **Deity** (as in Eng. 'divinity')
- c. **Anaphoric** (when appended with a possessive suffix, *ilūtu* can refer to a specific, aforementioned deity, e.g. *ilūtīša* 'Her Divinity' [cf. Eng. 'Her Majesty'])
- d. **Divine power/nature/form**
- e. **Godliness** (with 'godliness' referring to the degree to which a deity is godly rather than to the fact of his or her being divine).

Using each of these five meanings for *ilūtu* would produce the following five translations of *ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*:

- a. You changed your **being divine** and became like a man
- b. You changed your **deity** and became like a man
- c. You changed (sth.), **Your Divinity**, and became like a man
- d. You changed your **divine power/nature/form** and became like a man
- e. You changed your **godliness** and became like a man.

The translations corresponding to Meanings B-C do not seem to fit the context. We are therefore left with Meanings A, D, and E. Erra presumably did not change the fact of his divinity (Meaning A) before entering Babylon, for he was just as much a god while devastating the city as he was before doing so. In the sense that he is acting untoward, he may have conceivably changed the degree to which he is being godly (Meaning E), but the fact that the sources have *ilūtu* in parallelism specifically with *narbû* 'greatness'²⁹ and *qurdu* 'heroism',³⁰ indicates that a deity's degree of *ilūtu* was anchored in its power rather than its morals.

We remain, then, with Meaning D: divine power/nature/form. Saying that Erra changed his divine power in becoming like a man would not make sense, as he was no less powerful in decimating Babylon than he was previously. Choosing 'divine nature' would seem to bring us back, as it were, to where we started: translators have routinely translated *ilūtka tušannīma* as "You changed your divine nature",

²⁶ Edition and discussion Oshima 2011, 386-96. This prayer is classified as Marduk 19 in Mayer 1976, 397.

²⁷ On promises, often found at the ends of prayers, that the sufferer will praise divinities should they bring about his or her salvation see Mayer 1976, esp. 307-27, particularly relevant in this context since they discuss promises of the praise of *ilūtu*.

²⁸ Edition Zgoll 2003 and *eBL* (see www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/BM.26187).

²⁹ As in Meaning E, citation 2, above.

³⁰ As in Meaning E, citation 1, above.

leaving the specific nature of Erra's transformation unclear.³¹ Yet here the three contexts, apart from *Erra IV 3*, in which *ilūtu* and *šunnu* appear together – namely in descriptions of the divinity of Ninurta, of Marduk, and, earlier in *Erra*, that of the Seven – come into play, supplying a third argument in favor of the position of Roberts and Taylor. In all these three contexts, a god's 'altered' divinity does not manifest in their behavior but in their very being, and most of all in their form. These parallels indicate that, in transforming his *ilūtu* and becoming like a man, Erra put in human form rather than behaving like a man. This understanding of *Erra IV 3* would cohere with the line's translation by Jean Bottéro and Samuel Noah Kramer (1989, 241), "Après avoir modifié tes (apparences-) divines et t'être assimilé à un homme".

Two parallels to such a transformation may be noted. The first is found in a letter sent by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal to the people of Nippur. In that letter, Ashurbanipal promises them that whoever catches an unnamed fugitive will receive the criminal's weight in gold,³² and then instructs them to monitor the roads and carefully interrogate all passers-by, lest the fugitive escape the Assyrians' grasp:

mindēma sartatti ramānšu ušannēma uššā mamma ša lā ša'ali lā tumaššarāma lā ittiq u kī ina pānī gaššūte ittiq

Surely,³³ he will dishonestly change himself and (try to) escape. Do not let anyone go without questioning! (No one) should pass (uninterrogated) even if they should pass through with a *chalky*³⁴ face! (SAA 21 18: obv. 19-b.e. 3)

The phrase *ramānšu ušannēma* "He will change himself" has almost the same grammatical construction as *ilūtka tušannīma*. As with Erra's transformation, it is used to denote a physical change done in the service of disguise – though on the part of a human rather than a god.

The second parallel would be found in a text produced by a different culture entirely: the *Bacchae* of Euripides. In that play, Dionysus – whose divinity Pentheus, king of Thebes, has denied and disrespected – disguises himself as a human immediately before he begins interacting with the people of Thebes (ll. 53-4).³⁵ He then upends their lives, none more so than that of Pentheus, who would later be ripped to pieces by his own frenzied mother with the aid of other women driven mad by Dionysus. Likewise, Erra would put on a human form immediately before going into Babylon and unleashing violent chaos within it.

³¹ E.g. Cagni 1977, Foster 2005, and Wisnom 2019, quoted above.

³² On this text, see Ito 2013.

³³ As Wasserman demonstrates (2012, 43-63), the particle *minde* does not denote uncertainty (e.g. 'perhaps'), but a high degree of assurance (e.g. 'probably' or 'surely').

³⁴ The phrase *pānī gaššūte* is difficult. SAA 21 has "disfigured face", while Ito (2013, 23) translates "face of gypsum". Deriving *gaššūte* from *gaššu* 'gypsum, whitewash' (on the Mesopotamian uses of which see Firth 2011) and thus following Ito, is tempting: referring to the fugitive as having 'a gypsum-colored face' would make sense here, as this would serve, by means of hyperbole, to encompass any means of physical disguise. Yet *gaššu* is not attested as an adjective derived from *gaššu* 'gypsum, whitewash'. Rather, it is extant as meaning 'furious' (CAD G: 54), which does not fit the context, or 'trimmed, hewn' (CAD G: 54, derived from *gašāšu/kašāšu* 'to trim, cut' [CAD G: 53]). One may, aligning with SAA, opt for the second of these meanings in the sense that the fugitive 'change himself' by disfiguring his own face to avoid being recognized. Yet this would seem quite drastic and dangerous a method of disguise, certainly when compared to covering one's face with chalk. In favor of construing *gaššūte* as 'chalky', one may offer two other arguments. The first is based on a Neo-Assyrian source. The adjective *gaššānu* 'calcareous, chalky' is attested in a Neo-Assyrian letter discussing the inscription of a foundation stone with the king's name: *ša uššē karāri pūlu paniu ša nupaṭtirūni gaššānu šū* "Concerning the laying of the foundation – the former foundation stone that we loosened was (too) calcareous" (SAA 16 125: 5'-7'). Admittedly, the 3rd person masculine plural form of *gaššānu* would be *gaššānūte*, not *gaššūte* as in SAA 21 18, yet that *gaššu* could serve as an adjectival base makes it more likely that *gaššūte* is likewise derived from it. The second argument has to do with Classical sources, for they speak of covering oneself with gypsum to modify one's appearance. Herodotus (*Histories* 8.27) and Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 10.1.11) tell of a night raid carried out shortly after the Battle of Thermopylae (480 BCE) by the Phocians against the Thesalians and their allies. Before the attack, we are told, the Phocians covered themselves with gypsum, with the result that their enemies, misled by the Phocian's appearance into believing that they were under the attack of beings supernatural rather than mortal, were soundly defeated. More importantly yet for the present discussion, such authors as Harpocration (s.v. "ἀπομάττων" [Keaney 1991, 36]) and Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 6.169-73) relate that, before the titans killed and dismembered the infant Dionysus Zagreus, they covered their faces with gypsum to disguise themselves (ἐπι τῶ μὴ γινώριμοι γενέσθαι "to avoid being recognized", in Harpocration's phrasing). Based on these sources – brought to my attention thanks to R.G. Edmonds' helpful discussion of the role of chalk in the worship of Dionysus Zagreus (2013, 352-3), and for generous help in understanding which I thank John Clayton – one may argue that the author of SAA 21 18, though Neo-Assyrian, likewise associated gypsum with disguise. If so, this would mean that *gaššūte* would more likely mean 'chalky'.

³⁵ ὧν οὐνεκ' εἶδος θνητὸν ἀλλάξας ἔχω | μορφὴν τ' ἐμὴν μετέβαλον εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν "On which account I have changed my form to a mortal one and altered my shape into the nature of a man" (Murray 1909, transl. Buckley 1892).

5 The Usurper

One may also propose, building upon arguments, presented below, put forward by W.G. Lambert, William McGrath, and Peter Machinist, that Erra's putting on human form possibly reflects real historical events. Two fragmentary Neo-Babylonian chronicle tablets – Glassner 2004, 46 (here A) and 47 (here B) – narrate following concerning the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, who ruled between 1064 and 1043:

adad-apla-iddina apil itti-marduk-balātu aramû u šar ḥammā'i isḥû(šū)^Ama māḥāzī kala ša māti ušal[pitū] (agadê)^A dēr duranki sippar u parsâ iddû sutû itbēma šallat šumeri u akkadî ana mātīšu ušēši ašrāt marduk ište'ēma³⁶libbašu (A: libbi bēl u mār bēl) uṭīb paršīšu(nu)^A ušaklil

(During the reign of) Adad-apla-iddina, heir of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, Aramaeans and a usurper rebelled (against him)^A, and desec[rated] all the sanctuaries of the land, laid low (Agade)^A, Der, Duranki, Sippar, and Parsâ. The Sutean rose up, and brought out all the plunder of Sumer and Akkad to his own land. He (Adad-apla-iddina) sought the sanctuaries of Marduk and gladdened his heart (A: the heart of Bel and the son of Bel) and perfected his (A: their) rites. (Glassner 2004, no. 46: 29-34, no. 47: 6'-9'; variants in brackets)

These tablets were not yet published when W.G. Lambert wrote his review of Gössmann's edition of *Erra*; yet, based on a fragmentary duplicate tablet (now available as Glassner 2004, no. 45), he made (1957-58, 397-8) a connection between the civil strife in *Erra* IV and Adad-apla-iddina's tumultuous reign. Due to the fragmentary preservation of that tablet, he believed Adad-apla-iddina to have been an Aramean usurper (*aramû šar ḥammā'i*) rather a king against whom Arameans and a usurper (*aramû u šar ḥammā'i*) rebelled (*isḥû*). He therefore argued *Erra* IV's civil strife to reflect citizen antagonism towards the usurper Adad-apla-iddina, himself potentially allied with the hated Suteans, and his reprisals against his own rebelling people.

McGrath, working along similar lines while having access to Glassner 2004, nos 46-7, speculates as follows regarding Erra's actions in Babylon:

As for the first reported event, the civil strife in Babylon itself, one is reminded of the report of the Walker Chronicle which relates that Aramaeans and a usurper king rebelled against Adad-apla-iddina. Might the civil war of the *Erra Epic* be a distorted and exaggerated retelling of this episode? (McGrath 2024, 345)

And Machinist wrote as follows:

the poem, perhaps unique among the major works of Mesopotamian religious literature, appears to be a transparent “mythologization” of a specific historical event or period. This point is nowhere better illustrated than in Tablet IV:3, where, to describe how Erra caused a civil war and destruction in Babylon, the poet claims: *i-lu-ut-ka tu-šá-an-ni-ma tam-ta-šal a-me-liš*, “You changed out of your divinity and made yourself like a man”. (Machinist 1983, 221)

Thus, Lambert proposed that Erra's actions in Babylon are connected to Adad-apla-iddina's reign; McGrath made a connection between the civil war in Babylon and the usurper king who rose against Adad-apla-iddina; and Machinist highlighted *Erra* IV 3 specifically in construing *Erra* as a mythologization of a historical event. Combining these ideas, it may be tentatively and speculatively proposed that *Erra* IV 3 implies Erra to have taken the form of the usurper king who rose against Adad-apla-iddina and thereby sparked civil strife in Babylon. Erra's actions in tablet IV would then be a deliberate mythologization of events remembered, as shown by the chronicles quoted above, in later Babylonian historiography. Understood this way, Erra's instigation of a rebellion by Babylon's citizens would refer to an insurrection led by the *šar ḥammā'i* against Adad-apla-iddina, and Erra's subsequent driving of the *šakkanakku* into massacring the people of Babylon to Adad-apla-iddina's subsequent reprisal. That *Erra* IV is, in part, such a mythologization might help explain why it was specifically noted that Erra “changed his divinity and seemed like a mortal”.

36 A: 33 [iš-te-'e]-em, B: 9' K[IN-m]a.

6 Conclusion

In *Erra and Išum* IV 3, the god Išum tells Erra, a deity of war and disease, “You changed your divinity and seemed like a man” (*ilūtka tušannīma tamtašal amēliš*). Scholars have offered two interpretations of the nature of Erra’s transformation. According to the first, Išum means that the divine Erra behaved in a way more appropriate to a mortal than a god. According to the second, Išum meant that Erra came to seem like a man in that he took on human form. This article attempted to shed light on this question by drawing on *Erra and Išum* as well as the broader Mesopotamian textual record.

The resulting analysis has yielded three arguments in favor of the second interpretation. First, the fact that *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and *Enūma eliš* speak of a being or beings’ resemblance to deity in language strikingly similar to that of *Erra* IV 3, yet in a context showing this similarity to be visual rather than behavioral, indicates that Erra’s resemblance to a human is likewise visual in nature. Second, the metaphor of the decoy bird, which Išum uses to describe Erra’s massacre of the Babylonians, perfectly fits a scenario in which Erra pretends to be a man to draw Babylon’s citizens to violence and then brings about their demise. And third, an analysis of the attestations of *ilūtu* ‘divinity’, reveals that in Mesopotamian contexts in which a god’s divinity is said to be ‘changed’, that deity’s uniqueness lies chiefly in the power and perfection of its form rather than unusual behavior on its part. It is then hypothesized that Erra’s human form may perhaps represent a usurper-king who rose against the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina, thereby implying that he was Erra’s human avatar – the god of violence in mortal guise.

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The Prayer of Nabû-šuma-ukīn (BM.40474): An Anti-Witchcraft Prayer

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Abstract In 1999 Irving Finkel published the *editio princeps* of *The Prayer of Nabû-šuma-ukīn* and argued that the text provides historical corroboration for the imprisonment of Amēl-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) prior to his brief rule over Babylon (561-560 BCE). In this study, I evaluate Finkel's interpretation and argue *The Prayer* has nothing to do with Amēl-Marduk. It is, rather, a prayer to combat witchcraft that has plagued the supplicant in the form of gossip, slander, and character assassination.

Keywords Akkadian prayer. Gossip and reputation. Mesopotamian witchcraft. Mesopotamian slander. Amēl-Marduk.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Initial Scribal and Literary Observations. – 3 *The Prayer's* Historical and Political Context. – 4 Gleanings from the Social Sciences. – 5 Slander in Ancient Mesopotamia. – 6 An Anti-Witchcraft Prayer. – 7 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

In 1999 Irving Finkel published the *editio princeps* of *The Prayer of Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, a text known from only one manuscript in the Babylonian collection of the British Museum (BM.40474).¹ In *The Prayer*, the supplicant, one Nabû-šuma-ukīn, is overwhelmed by gossip, slander, and lies and cries out to Marduk for remedy and revenge against his slanderer. Finkel argued this supplicant is in fact Amēl-Marduk (Evil-Merodach). *The Prayer*, he claims, provides historical corroboration for his imprisonment prior to his brief rule over Babylon (561-560 BCE). Since Finkel's work, *The Prayer* has attracted philological attention² and has been recognized for shedding light on gossip and slander in ancient Mesopotamia.³ But there has been no extended interpretive study of *The Prayer* since 1999. In the present study, I evaluate Finkel's biographical and political interpretation of *The Prayer* and offer a strikingly different one. I argue *The Prayer* has nothing to do with the imprisonment of Amēl-Marduk; it is, rather, a prayer to combat witchcraft that has plagued the supplicant in the form of gossip, slander, and character assassination.

¹ BM.40474 = 1881-04-28, 13 = P499184 (CDLI) (Not, BM.40475 = 1881-04-28, 9; cf. Finkel 1999, 324 with Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 447.) The tablet is from Babylon or Borsippa (Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 446).

² Translations: Foster 2005, 852-6; Hecker 2013, 91-4. Edition: Oshima 2011, 95-6, 316-27. Study of o. 22-6: Gabbay 2004. My edition – mostly a synthesis of previous work with a few ideas of my own – is at <http://akkpm.org/P499184.html>. It was not possible to include the text here.

³ Stol 2014-16.



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2 Initial Scribal and Literary Observations

The text of *The Prayer* is inscribed on BM.40474 “in a capable although erratic Late-Babylonian hand”, though “by no means free of errors and erasures”.⁴ It occupies 86 distinct lines on the tablet: 48 on the obverse; 38 on the reverse. Four lines show a typical scribal mechanism: they are indented half the width of the tablet or more because they complete the thought of the preceding line (o. 48, r. 5, 18, 36). R. 37 is indented the space of two signs. The scribe prepared the tablet with faint horizontal lines on its surface to guide line placement. Occasionally, the scribe aligned words and phrases in adjacent lines vertically with one another, especially evident on the obverse (e.g. o. 18-23, 35-45), thereby indicating his attention to the meaning of the lines and his attempt to produce an aesthetically pleasing inscription – at least on the obverse. The rulings (single after o. 17, 34; double after r. 34) as well as the use of empty space to separate the tablet’s two subscriptions (between r. 36 and the indented r. 37) imply an understanding of the text’s structure and a recognized distinction between its initial composition and its later specific use for an individual, an idea I discuss below. Several indented lines occur on the reverse, which support Finkel’s observation that the “lay-out and clarity of the writing are noticeably inferior on the reverse”.⁵ Also conspicuous on the reverse: the inscribed lines are typically much longer than those on the obverse and often look to be double poetic lines. Given the scribe’s otherwise competent planning, this imbalance suggests he was working with a *Vorlage* already arranged in this way. These observations suggest BM.40474 is likely a copy of *The Prayer* rather than the author’s original.

The Prayer falls into three parts, indicated on BM.40474 with rulings slightly deeper than the guide lines.⁶ The text begins with a hymnic preamble (o. 1-17) thematically centered on Marduk’s unique ability to thwart the evil schemes and deceit of the wicked. A third-person narration follows (o. 18-34),⁷ which describes the supplicant’s present suffering and emphasizes his weeping. The final part of the prayer is a long first-person litany of petitions for Marduk to destroy the supplicant’s slanderer (o. 35-r. 34). Imperatives dominate. It ends with several benedictory wishes for the gods to rejoice over Marduk’s work on behalf of the supplicant (r. 33-4), which one might count as a kind of concluding praise, though the supplicant is not among the celebrants. In r. 35-8, set off from the prayer by a double ruling, there are two short, semi-parallel subscriptions, providing the scribal metadata for the document. The second of these names a certain Nabû-šuma-ukīn, an *aplu* of Nebuchadnezzar. I discuss these lines toward the end of the study. I consider the identity of Nabû-šuma-ukīn just below. But first, I survey several major literary elements in *The Prayer*.

Most obvious in *The Prayer* is the supplicant’s strong suspicion of conspiracy against him. Indeed, he seems paranoid of his adversary’s scheming tricks, complaining in o. 47, “Goodwill *may be* on his lips, *but lies are* in his heart”. This mood of conspiracy is conveyed via forms of *nakālu* (o. 27, 42, 46), along with the nouns *nikiltu* (o. 2, 3, [4] [restored], 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 24, 27, 28, [34], r. 4, 8, 15, 27) and *niklu* (o. 5, 30, 42, 46, r. 2, 12). Most instances of *nikiltu* describe the adversary in a derogatory way, but the word is also used positively to describe Marduk’s activity (o. 12, 14). The Sumerian loanword *galammû* ‘trickery’ occurs seven times near the text’s end (r. 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 30).

The perceived conspiracy has restrained the supplicant, evidenced by the vocabulary of binding in *The Prayer*. Especially noteworthy is the noun *riksu* ‘binding’ (o. 3, 6, 7, 15, [27], 28, 34, r. 1, 4, 14, 28×2, 30) and a few uses of the verb *kasû* (o. [30], 38, r. 35). Related to binding is the confinement imagery throughout the text, discussed below.

The conspiracy and binding are closely connected to illicit, malicious speech against the supplicant, typically described via forms of *dabābu* and derivatives (*dābibu/û*: o. 4, r. 9, 11, 12, 22; *mušadbibu*: r. 8, 26; *ušadbibanni*: r. 10; *ušadbab*: r. 12; *ul dabbāku*: r. 12; *dibbī*: r. 9, [11]). As the prayer ends, we find several forms of the more emotionally-charged verb *šabāru* (r. 17, 19, 26).

The supplicant casts himself as the innocent victim of an evil adversary. Indeed, their polar contrast is emphasized throughout, as the following descriptors show:

The Supplicant is:
lā mūdû ‘unknowing’ o. 11

⁴ Finkel 1999, 324. Debourse and Jursa date the tablet on palaeographical grounds to “the long sixth century BCE” (2019, 176).

⁵ Finkel 1999, 324.

⁶ Finkel 1999, 324; Oshima 2011, 316-17; Hecker 2013, 91.

⁷ The first-person pronominal suffix at the end of o. 30 is uncertain. If the reading is correct, there must be an accident or mistake.

lā nāṭīlu ‘unseeing’ o. 11, 23
enšu ‘weak’ o. 13
lā lē’û ‘powerless’ o. 13
nassu ‘wretched’ o. 22, 23
anḫu ‘weary’ o. 22, 31, r. 29, 35, 37
[dunna]mû ‘[pe]on’ o. 31
mušta[nni kē]na’ ‘who constantly re[peats tr]ue’ words’ r. 16
narāmu ‘beloved’ r. 16
ḫāsisika ‘who remembers you in prayer’ r. 29
kāsû ‘bound’ r. 35
šūnuḫu ‘exhausted’ r. 37

The Adversary is:⁸

raggu ‘wicked’ o. 1, 3
lemnu ‘evil’ o. 4, [5]
dābibi [nikilti] ‘conspirator’ o. 4
egru ‘crooked’ o. 6, 15, 27, [34]
zāmānû ‘hostile’ o. 6, 27
ša ana niklāt libbīšu takla ‘who trusts in the schemes of his heart’ o. 8, ~17
īni šapirti ‘the one with squinting eye’ o. 9
šaptān mulammināti ‘trouble-making lips’ o. 10
šēnu ‘malevolent’ o. 15
bēl lemutti ‘adversary’ r. 35

Wind (*šāru*: o. 2, 6, 8, r. 27, 28; *zāqīqū*: r. 28) and storm (*meḫû*: o. 16, r. 15, 28) are prominent in *The Prayer* and are the means by which Marduk clears away the illicit schemes/bindings of the adversary or the adversary himself, though the wind is sometimes the tool of the adversary (r. 13, 14). *Zāqīqu* is also used metaphorically to describe the insubstantiality the supplicant wishes upon the adversary’s legacy and desires (o. 17, r. 15).

Finally, the long litany of imperatives in the third section of *The Prayer* are not requests for mercy, forgiveness, or health, as is typical in prayers.⁹ Rather, as Oshima notes, the supplicant asks Marduk to destroy the adversary.¹⁰ The supplicant is engaged in a fight to the death, which raises the question: who is the person named in the prayer’s second subscription (r. 37-8), this Nabû-šuma-ukīn, *aplu* of Nebuchadnezzar?

3 *The Prayer’s Historical and Political Context*

Although Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE) did not have a son named Nabû-šuma-ukīn, Finkel argues that this was the birth name of Nebuchadnezzar II’s son Amēl-Marduk, who was imprisoned by his father and eventually released before briefly taking the throne (561-560 BCE) after his father’s death. In Finkel’s view, the prince petitioned Marduk to release him from prison in the very prayer under consideration. After his release, the prince changed his name from Nabû-šuma-ukīn to Amēl-Marduk to honor Marduk, his savior. The latest possible date for this event, according to Finkel, was the month of Ellul in the 39th year of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, about 556 BCE, based on the first appearance of Amēl-Marduk’s name and epithet as crown prince (*mār šarri*) in an administrative text, VAS 3 25: 12-13.¹¹ Many scholars have accepted this scenario.¹² But, it is implausible for several reasons and should be rejected.¹³

⁸ I omit the participial phrases in o. 35-r. 34.

⁹ Only one petition requests mercy (r. 29).

¹⁰ Oshima 2011, 316.

¹¹ Finkel 1999, 338.

¹² Foster 2005, 852; Oshima 2011, 317; Weiershäuser, Novotny 2020, 1 fn. 1. Da Riva 2008, 14 fn. 68 mentions Finkel’s view without evaluation. Hecker 2013, 91 and De Breucker 2015, 84 are skeptical.

¹³ As one reviewer noted, Alstola 2020, 74-6 also rejects Finkel’s reconstruction and cites a forthcoming article by Waerzeggers with the same conclusion.

1 The historical evidence for Amēl-Marduk's imprisonment is dubious. His jailing is only attested in late sources and lacks clear corroboration in the cuneiform record. Finkel cites passing references to the prince's imprisonment in *Leviticus Rabbah* 18:2-10, a fifth- or sixth-century CE homiletical midrash likely written in Galilee, and *The Chronicle of Jerahmeel ben Solomon*, a twelfth-century CE Italian-Jewish chronicler, whose work, as Finkel notes, is known only from a fourteenth-century CE manuscript from the Rhineland.¹⁴ A tantalizing detail in the latter source that Finkel highlights is that Amēl-Marduk's imprisonment was due to a slander campaign against him. Not mentioned but clear from the portion Finkel cites is the source's garbling of Nebuchadnezzar's family and the events surrounding his succession. The Chronicle includes an otherwise unknown son of Nebuchadnezzar II, bearing his father's name, who was the younger brother of Amēl-Marduk. He succeeded their father to the throne during Amēl-Marduk's incarceration. The older brother ascended the throne, according to The Chronicle (incorrectly), upon his younger brother's death. The cuneiform record preserves nothing about Amēl-Marduk's jailing, though Finkel claims some basis for a falling out between father and son via an extremely fragmentary historical epic (BM.34113)¹⁵ that mentions Amēl-Marduk in a context that may cast the prince in a negative light. The nature of the conflict, however, is unclear; and this source says nothing about imprisonment.¹⁶ It is not impossible that a major conflict in the royal family in the Neo-Babylonian period might only show up in the historical record in geographically distant sources a thousand years or more after the fact in contexts that get other historical details incorrect. But such an extraordinary scenario is implausible.¹⁷

2 The text's genre and the prayer itself argue against the supplicant's physical imprisonment. Since confinement and release imagery commonly depicts the suffering and relief of supplicants in prayers,¹⁸ the references to confinement, shackles, and release in *The Prayer* (*mēseru* 'confinement': o. 25, 32; *sapāru* 'net': o. 30, r. 2; *kīšū* 'fetters': o. 29; *kišukku* 'captivity': r. 22;¹⁹ *maksū* 'shackles': r. 32; *andurāru* 'freedom': o. 33) should be considered figurative expressions for the supplicant's stressful situation.²⁰ Similar imagery occurs in Akkadian *šuilā* Marduk 5 (BMS 12, o. 41-4):²¹

[tapp]allas anḥa šūnu[ḥ]a š[a inunūšu] ilšu
 [ša ū]mu² šimtu tarūšu tu[maššar šabta tu]nammar
 [tašab]bat qāssu ša ina erši [namtari nadū] tušatba
 [ša ka]lū² bīt šibitti eklēti [ussuru tu]kallam nūra

[You s]ee the tired, the exhausted, the one whose *personal* god [has punished him],
 You [release the one whom the d]ay of *death and* fate have captured; you [free] the captive.
 [You ho]ld his hand, you raise up the one [thrown down] on *his* [death]bed.
 [You] show the light to [the one he]ld in prison, the one [confined] *in* darkness.

The last phrase occurs as a petition, *nūra kullimī/anni* 'show me the light' suggesting release from prison was a common metaphor when requesting relief from suffering and a return to right standing with the deity.²² Fetters, shackles, or bonds are also used metaphorically in prayers. For example, Akkadian *šuilā* Ištar 2, ll. 82-3 (BM.26187, r. 26-7):²³

14 1999, 334-5. Finkel cites Sack, who assesses all ancient, Classical, and Medieval sources (known then) for Amēl-Marduk's reign (1972, 1-23).

15 Grayson 1976, 87-92; Schaudig 2001, 589-90. For the most recent edition, which includes several collations and new readings, see Debourse, Jursa 2019.

16 Finkel's reading is disputed. See now Debourse, Jursa 2019, who review past interpretations of the text, including Finkel's, and offer a new understanding of it in the context of what they call Late Babylonian priestly literature.

17 Sack dismisses Jerahmeel's account (1972, 22-3), characterizing it and *Leviticus Rabbah* as "a misrepresentation or misunderstanding of Jewish tradition" (26).

18 The same imagery occurs in *Ludlul* II 84-5, 95-8, a description of the protagonist's physical suffering, which comes as no surprise given that poem's use of the language of Akkadian prayers (Lenzi 2023, 300-41).

19 In r. 25, [ku]mmu² ina kamātu "he is bound in captivity" probably does not refer to the supplicant.

20 Similarly Oshima 2011, 324-5.

21 Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 234 and <http://shuilas.org/P393775.html>. I follow them for the restorations at the head of o. 42, 44 (see p. 245). Duplicates support the other restorations (<http://shuilas.org/Q006104.html>). The site shuilas.org presents the Author's on-going work of collecting, transliterating, and translating all known Akkadian *šuilā* prayers.

22 See, e.g. Akkadian *šuilā* Nabû 1 in KAR 23+25, o. i 18, 27 (<http://shuilas.org/P369009.html>) and Zarpānitu 2 in LKA 60, r. 4 (<http://shuilas.org/P413972.html>). For the idiom, CAD K, 524-5.

23 Zgoll 2003, 46, 52 and <http://shuilas.org/P208501.html>.

mēšī gillātīya ^{išīti} *leqê unnīniya*
rummī kīsīya šubarrāya šuknī

Disregard my sins {gloss: my confusion}. Accept my prayers.
Release my bonds! Set me free!

Note also Prayer to Marduk, no. 1, ll. 59-61:²⁴

lištapših šērtaka kabitta
rummi maksīšu lippuš surriš
rummi illurtašu puṭur maksīšu

May it (i.e. Marduk's wind) constantly mollify your grievous punishment.
Release his shackles that he may breathe freely at once!
Release his restraints! Undo his shackles!

And ll. 153-6:²⁵

ina pī karāšē nadi aradka
šutbī-ma šērtukka ina nāriṭi eṭraššu
ḥepi qunnabrašu illurtašu puṭur maksīšu
nummiršū-ma šalmiṣ piqissu iliš bānišu

Your servant is thrown into the mouth of catastrophe.
Lift your punishment! Rescue him from *this* devastation!
Break his fetters *and* his restraints! Undo his shackles!
Free him, and safely entrust him to the god who created him.

A net also occurs in prayers as a simile for illness, as in Marduk 5 (BMS 12, o. 48-50):²⁶

ana niš qātīya qūlam-ma [muḥur teslītī]
ša muršu mar[šāku] ilu attā [tīdū anāku lā idū]
saḥpanni kīma šēti kuttuman[ni kīma sapari]

Attend to the lifting of my hands, and [accept my prayer]!
Concerning the illness from which [I] suff[er]: You, O god, [know, I do not know].
It has enveloped me like a hunting-net; it has covered m[e like a throw-net].

In *The Prayer*, both instances of *sapāru* are used metaphorically to describe the adversary's deceptions. These nets cannot be literal as deceptions are immaterial. Moreover, the metaphorical net in o. 30 suggests the fetters in o. 29 are also metaphorical. From a thematic perspective on the prayer as a whole, the figurative use of confinement imagery seems appropriate since our prayer gives such prominence to the word *riksu*, the import of which I explore below. Finally, if the supplicant's situation involved a prison, we might expect to find it mentioned in the second subscription, where the supplicant himself is named. Instead, the supplicant's problems are described as "all these afflictions" (*kal maršī annāti*). Thus, the text's genre and *The Prayer* itself do not support a literal interpretation of the confinement imagery.

3 Nebuchadnezzar II may not be the king named in the second subscription, and thus there may be no reason to look to the Neo-Babylonian dynasty for a political situation that prompted *The Prayer*. Why not consider the named king to be Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BCE) and our Nabû-šuma-ukīn to be one of the two Babylonian kings to bear that name in the centuries following their highly-regarded and well-remembered predecessor?²⁷ They were not his sons but might still claim to be an *aplu*. In fact, one

²⁴ Oshima 2011, 147, 160-1.

²⁵ Oshima 2011, 154, 166-7.

²⁶ Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 234-5 and <http://shuilas.org/P393775.html>.

²⁷ Nielsen 2018.

of these kings, a usurper, ruled very briefly in 732 BCE before being removed from the throne.²⁸ If he survived, he could have fallen into a depression and convinced himself that slander was to blame for his political demise. There is no proof for this. But, we have at least one other historical scenario that could have prompted *The Prayer*, and it requires neither the supplicant's name change nor his literal imprisonment.

In sum, it is highly implausible that Amēl-Marduk, son of Nebuchadnezzar II, wrote *The Prayer* from a prison cell. And, there is no evidence that supports a compelling historical and political setting that prompted the *The Prayer*. Yet, there is evidence that provides the *social* context and *ritual use* of *The Prayer*. That evidence is found in the literary features described above: the supplicant's perception of conspiracy, his claims of being bound, the malicious gossip and slander against him, the contrast between him and his adversary, the prominence of the wind, and the supplicant's vindictive wish for his adversary's annihilation. This evidence, when viewed through both the lens of social scientific studies related to gossip, slander, and reputation as well as ancient Mesopotamian views of the same, brings an entirely different perspective into focus. This text is an anti-witchcraft prayer.

4 Gleanings from the Social Sciences

Social scientists define gossip as “evaluative talk about third parties in their absence”.²⁹ Or as Wickham states, “gossip is, simply, talking about other people behind their backs”. He elaborates:

it is not necessarily malicious [...] it is not gendered [...] it is not necessarily idle or arbitrary [...] it is not necessarily about secret behaviour [...] and, finally, it is certainly not necessarily untrue.³⁰

Gossip can be a positive or negative form of communication.³¹ Gossip can inform individuals about others in their network, create solidarity in the group,³² sanction violators of social norms, and deter would-be violators from acting. Gossip can be a weapon to resist and even bring down the powerful.³³ And yet the powerful can wield gossip to exert control over others.³⁴ Gossip can also be enjoyable, both fun and funny.³⁵ Still, many scholars point out that gossip is frequently negative if not exclusively so. Moreover, most people think it impolite and even morally reproachable.³⁶ And yet, people gossip ubiquitously; it is a human universal. In fact, Dunbar, who argues that gossip played a significant role in the evolution of human language, claimed gossip to be “the central plank on which human sociality is founded”.³⁷ Haviland argues that one cannot know a society until one knows its gossip.³⁸ Furthermore, he suggests that a culture's “gossip could be organized to form an encyclopedia of [...] social life; that what” a group “gossip(s) about is a good index of what they worry about”.³⁹ Space does not allow a fuller report of the literature. The following points are especially relevant for our purpose.

1 Gossip is a two-edged sword in that it helps groups enforce conformity but can also allow individuals to advance their own personal interests, sometimes at the expense of the group.⁴⁰ Finding the balance between the group and the individual is fundamental to human flourishing; and gossip is, in fact, an *essential* informational tool in this task.⁴¹ The distinction made by De Backer and colleagues between

²⁸ Grayson 1975/2000, 72, 14-18 (Chronicle 1); Grayson 1980-83, 92 (Babylonian King List A, iv 5). The accounts vary slightly.

²⁹ Giardini, Wittek 2019b, 25. Their handbook (2019) provides a “state of the art” of this interdisciplinary field and informs many generalizations here.

³⁰ Wickham 1998, 11.

³¹ Not all scholars agree; e.g. Besnier 2019, 105.

³² See Gluckman's classic study (1963) and Paine's classic rebuttal (1967).

³³ Scott 1990, 142-3.

³⁴ Brison 1992; Bresnier 2019, 110.

³⁵ Haviland 1977, 88; Ben-Ze'ev 1994, 14, 16; Morreall 1994; Taylor 1994, 38.

³⁶ Contrast de Sousa (1994), who calls it a “saintly virtue”.

³⁷ Dunbar 2004, 109.

³⁸ Haviland 1977, 66.

³⁹ Haviland 1977, 68. Likewise, Van Vleet 2003, 492.

⁴⁰ McAndrew 2019, 173.

⁴¹ Emler 2019, 50.

“strategy-learning gossip” and “reputation gossip” is useful in this regard. The former is about learning how to live in one’s society; it is essential to a person’s socialization. The latter is “focused on the traits of a person or the actions that alter the way we perceive a person”. It is “used to alter the reputations of self and other people, driven by a desire to gain personal prestige”.⁴² This function of gossip, as we see in *The Prayer*, can be very corrosive.

2 Gossip is most often (though not exclusively) an oral exchange among known associates and especially pervasive in small social networks such as, in an ancient Mesopotamian context, prebend holders of a temple, administrative officials in the royal court, a group of craftsmen, or a network of businesspeople. What Schein writes about Medieval society applies likewise to ancient Mesopotamia: “Medieval society was a ‘close’ society, and most information passed from person to person through oral communications”.⁴³ As Scurlock emphasizes, ancient Mesopotamia was much more a face-to-face society than ours.⁴⁴

3 Gossip relies on reputation just as gossip can form and re-form reputation. Reputation is not something owned by the individual and completely within one’s own control. Rather, reputation is “that set of judgments a community shares about the personal qualities of one of its members”.⁴⁵ Given the frequent tension between the group and the individual, “reputation serves as an important marker revealing an individual’s personal qualities, intentions, and past actions within the group [...]. Reputation is a ‘universal currency’ [...] providing members of a community with insight about whether an individual will behave cooperatively and in ways that align with the group norms”.⁴⁶ As Emler observes, “[t]here is an emerging consensus in disciplines as diverse as biology and economics that gossip encourages cooperation through its impact on reputation”.⁴⁷ He goes so far as to conflate reputation with personality.⁴⁸ One may attempt to influence one’s reputation, but ultimately its content is not within one’s complete control, which has strong emotional implications for individuals, as noted below and quite evident in *The Prayer*.

4 Gossip is typically a safe, low-stakes way to inject information into a social network since it is difficult to discover the originator of gossip and to hold them accountable. However, once an item of gossip is released into the network, it is exceedingly difficult to control and contain. As rumor,⁴⁹ the item takes on a life of its own with great destructive power.⁵⁰ Given this potential outcome, it is no surprise to find moral condemnation of gossip in many cultures and various attempts in the historical record to prosecute gossipers.⁵¹

5 Fear of gossip is widespread.⁵² This fear can be heightened in some cultures due to the close association of gossip-mongering and accusations of witchcraft and sorcery – accusations that can be lethal.⁵³ In Stewart and Strathern’s survey of witchcraft and gossip, they generalize in a manner easily applied to ancient Mesopotamia. They write, “Historically, in small-scale or community-level contexts, gossip about neighbors, always tinged with hostility arising from specific incidents of conflict and misfortune, or jealousy and resentment of the fortunes of others, has led to accusations of witchcraft and sorcery”.⁵⁴

6 The person targeted by negative gossip, if they learn about it, may respond with shame and/or anger,⁵⁵ the latter especially if the gossip is considered negative, false, and/or damaging to the target’s self-perception of their reputation. That, I suggest, is the basic definition of slander and the very matter

42 De Backer et al. 2019, 327.

43 Schein 1994, 137.

44 Scurlock 2020, 23.

45 Emler 2019, 48; gossip and reputation are “necessarily interdependent”.

46 Mangardich, Fitneva 2019, 82.

47 Emler 2019, 52. For the wide-ranging nature of reputation, Whitfield 2012. For reputation as *the* central heuristic in our information age, Origgi 2018.

48 Emler 2019, 57.

49 Rumor is “unauthenticated information” (Suls, Goodkin 1994, 173).

50 Brison 1992, 240.

51 E.g., Middle Assyrian Law § 19 (Roth 1997, 159).

52 Schein 1994, 152; Van Vleet 2003, 496.

53 Stewart, Strathern 2004 is a historical, cross-cultural survey. See also Brison 1992 and note Haviland 1977, 84: “Another large segment of witchcraft’s gossip is concerned to pin the blame for individual cases of sickness and death on particular witches”.

54 Stewart, Strathern 2004, xii.

55 On emotions and gossip, Besnier 2019, 112; Martinescu, Janssen, Nijstad 2019.

at issue in *The Prayer*. What does one do when gossip becomes slander and defames one's reputation, which is often beyond one's power to remedy?

5 Slander in Ancient Mesopotamia

Assyriology has studied slander and defamation much more so than gossip.⁵⁶ Slander comes up in official texts such as the laws (e.g. Code of Hammurabi §§ 127, 132),⁵⁷ loyalty oaths (e.g. M.5719),⁵⁸ and treaties (SAA 2, no. 6 §§ 28-9).⁵⁹ Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions frequently describe the king's foreign enemies as secretly conspiring against him and engaging in malicious talk.⁶⁰ Internal enemies are similarly characterized. For example, Esarhaddon, upon ascending the throne, faced opposition from his brothers, who attempted to undermine him with slander and rumors.⁶¹ Slander in second millennium epistolary texts has received scholarly attention.⁶² And a perusal of first millennium letters likely would yield many examples of slander, gossip-mongering, and rumor spreading, though there is no thematic survey of these materials.⁶³ Literary texts, too, deal with the matter, with moral injunctions in the instruction literature (e.g. *Counsels of Wisdom*, ll. A+70-3⁶⁴ and *Instructions of Šūpū-amēlu*, ll. 21-4, 75-7).⁶⁵ The most extensive description of gossip and slander in Akkadian literature occurs in Tablet I of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, where the poem's protagonist is brutalized and undermined by slander and malicious talk among colleagues, friends, and household members. We have good reason to believe gossip and slander were as widespread in ancient Mesopotamia as they are today.⁶⁶

Given the difficulties in controlling gossip and reputation, we should not be surprised that, like other unpredictable powers, the ability to cause slander was sometimes a divine attribute. For example, addressing Inana, one text states:

eme sig inim a-ša-an-ga-ra KA-e₂-gal kur₂ dug₄-ga taḥ dug₄-dug₄ d₄inana za-a-kam

slander, untruthful words, abuse, to speak inimically and to overstate are yours, Inana.⁶⁷

In *Udug-Ḫul* XI 81, Asalluḫi asserts his contrasting power over human fortunes:

anāku ^dAsalluḫi mušaššik karṣi šābit qatī naski

I am Asalluḫi, who gives rise to slander *and* takes hold of the hands of the downcast.⁶⁸

Note also Zarpānitu's description in the Hellenistic *Akītu* ritual of Nisannu:

⁵⁶ Stol 2014-16 offers a brief survey.

⁵⁷ Roth 1997, 105-6. Both cases use the idiom *ubānam tarāšu* 'to point a finger'.

⁵⁸ Charpin 2010, 51 § 1; also Sasson 2012, 540.

⁵⁹ Parpola, Watanabe 1988, 42-3.

⁶⁰ Oded 1992, 46-50. Note, e.g. the royal inscription Sargon 65, 93, where enemies are described as <ana> *dabāb tušši nullati tišburā šaptāšu* "whose lips were nimble in speaking slanderous *and* malicious things", in contrast to Sargon, *ša ikkibšu amāt tašgerti* "for whom slander is anathema" (l. 114; Frame 2021, 284-5, his translations). See also Ashurbanipal 8 viii 30" and parallels: 11 iv 21; 106 4'; 107 ii 1'; 229 ii 11'-12' (Novotny, Jeffers 2018, 174, 243; Jeffers, Novotny 2022, 96-7, 355).

⁶¹ See Esarhaddon 1 i 8-ii 11 (Leichty 2011, 11-14).

⁶² Larsen 1971 (Old Assyrian); Sasson 2012 (OB Mari).

⁶³ A perusal of SAA 1 (Parpola 1987) yields several examples, including nos 12 (slander), 14 (gossiping while drinking), and 124, 194, 235, and 236, all of which deal with false accusations and the like that led to misunderstandings.

⁶⁴ Földi 2022. Note the phrases in A+44 introducing gossip: *lušnī-ma ša pī niši gana luqbīka* "I have to pass on to you what people are saying ..." 'Well now, I really ought to tell you that ...'.

⁶⁵ Cohen 2013, 86-7, 90-1.

⁶⁶ Likewise Sasson 2012, 526.

⁶⁷ Inana C; for an edition of the text, see ETCSL (<https://etcs1.orinst.ox.ac.uk>) 4.07.3, l. 157 (their translation).

⁶⁸ Geller 2016, 358.

^dZarpānītu ... ākilat karšī šābitat abbūti

Zarpānītu ... the one who slanders and intercedes.⁶⁹

In a Hellenistic document, a deified Slanderer appears in a list of divine names:

^dNanāya ^dGazbaba ^dKanisurra ^dTaḥāra-pī-nīši ^dĀkilat karšī ^dAbbūtānītu

Nanaya, Gazbaba, Kanisurra, Taḥāra-pī-nīši, Slanderer, and Intercessor.⁷⁰

Given the above, it is not surprising that the Mesopotamians used rituals to influence situations attributed to or likely to attract slander. Slander among humans need not always be circulated in the same way as gossip – behind the target’s back. But, gossip certainly could be circulated furtively to slander a person or to commit character assassination in a way that could not easily be traced back to the responsible party. Such suspicions about slander are often associated in ancient Mesopotamia, as elsewhere in the world, with witchcraft.⁷¹ SpTU 2, 22+: o. ii 13-21 provide a representative example of this association.⁷²

šumma amēlu bēl lemutti irši bēl amātīšu zīra dibalâ zikurudâ
kadabbedâ epīš(i) lemnūti isḥuršu ina maḥar ili šarri kabti u rubê šuškun
ginâ šūdūr urra u mūša inanziq šītu sadrassu
karšīšu ikkalū amātūšu uštanannū išdiḥšu paris
ina ēkallišu lā maḥrāšu šunātūšu pardā
ina šunātīšu mītūti idaggal ubān lemutti arkīšu taršat
īnu lemuttu irteneddīšu dīna ītanaddar itti bārī u šā’ili
dīnšu u purussūšu lā šurši amēlu šū qāt amēlūti kimilti Marduk
irteneddūšu ilu šarru kabtu u rubū ittīšu ana sullumi eli bēl amātīšu ana ušuzzi

¹If a man has acquired an adversary, his litigant ²has employed ¹hate-magic, ‘distortion-of-justice’ magic, ‘cutting-of-the-throat’ magic, ²‘seizing-of-the-mouth’ magic, evil sorcerous devices against him, from before god, king, magnate and nobleman he is dismissed, ³he is constantly frightened, he is upset day and night, he repeatedly suffers losses, ⁴(people) slander him, they constantly distort his words, his profit is cut off, ⁵in his palace he is not well received, his dreams are terrifying, ⁶he keeps seeing dead people in his dreams, (people) maliciously point at him, ⁷the evil eye constantly stalks him, he is in constant fear of a lawsuit, with diviner and seer ⁸his (oracular) judgment and decision cannot be obtained. That man: the ‘hand of mankind’ (and) the anger of Marduk ⁹constantly pursue ⁸him. So that god, king, magnate and nobleman be reconciled with him (and so that) he prevail over his opponent:

The “adversary” is *bēl lemutti*, literally, ‘lord of evil’, an epithet that occurs in the first subscription of *The Prayer* (r. 35). The malevolent magic in ll. 1-2 are forms of witchcraft that pervade the anti-witchcraft corpus. The diagnosis states this man suffers from *qāt amēlūti* ‘hand of humanity’, a term for witchcraft.⁷³ Many other examples of the association of witchcraft and gossip/slander could be produced.⁷⁴ Perhaps most illuminating for this connection is that a witch was sometimes depicted in the anti-witchcraft rituals as a model tongue,⁷⁵ a metonymic representative of the witch, and sent

⁶⁹ Debourse 2022, 123, 128.

⁷⁰ Cavigneux 1981, 138, r. 1-2 (also Watanabe 1990, #94). In addition to deified Slanderer and Intercessor, *Taḥāra-pī-nīši* is also related to effective speech. The deity’s name means “Sie bindet den Mund der Menschen auf magische Weise, um sie zu zwingen, die Wahrheit zu sprechen” (Watanabe 1990, citing CAD H, 119, which notes several uses of *ḥāru* in witchcraft contexts). Also, Kanisurra is the *bēlet kaššāpāti* “the mistress of witches” (*Maqlû* V 56; Abusch 2015, 140, 332). Given witchcraft’s widespread association with gossip and slander, the appearance of Kanisurra with other deified kinds of speech can be no accident.

⁷¹ van der Toorn 1985, 20; Abusch 1987, 101-5 fn. 35; Schwemer 2007, 67-8; Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 6; Schwemer 2011, 433.

⁷² Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 15, 25 (3.4.2, ll. 1-9). The translation is theirs.

⁷³ For *qāt amēlūti* as a term for witchcraft, see Abusch 1987, 50 and fn. 66; Schwemer 2007, 11; Zomer 2016-18, 223, and *passim* in the anti-witchcraft corpus.

⁷⁴ E.g., Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 138-9, 144-5 (7.6.7), 365-71 (8.13); 2016, 31-47 (3.5.1, 3.6.1, 3.7.1, 3.8.1).

⁷⁵ Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 6, 23.

away via a capsized boat⁷⁶ or defiled and interred.⁷⁷ This connection between slander and witchcraft is fundamental for understanding *The Prayer*.⁷⁸

6 An Anti-Witchcraft Prayer

In addition to the common connection with gossip and slander, I find several other parallels between the anti-witchcraft ritual corpus and *The Prayer* that, cumulatively considered, leave no doubt that *The Prayer* was composed to counteract the slanderous effects of witchcraft. Due to space limitations, I offer only representative examples to substantiate the parallels. Translations follow the editors.⁷⁹

1 There is a common notion of ‘binding’ (*rakāsu, riksu*). Note, e.g. SpTU 1, 13: o. i 2'-8a',⁸⁰ selected because it supports other parallels below:

*attamannu kaššāptu ša kīma mārī nāri innū ši[pta?]
irkusu rikis tībīša'
etebbīkim-ma kīma Manzāt ina tallak ḥarrānāti
rikiski apaṭṭar puḥurki usappaḥ
apaṭṭar rikisīki šāru ušabbalki?
mimmū tēpušu u tuštēpišu liṣhurū-ma liṣbatūki
kāšī-ma*

Whoever you are, witch, who like the singers recited an in[cantation]
who tied a bond of her attack:
I rise against you like the (divine) Rainbow in the course of the (heavenly) paths,
I dissolve your band, I disperse your host,
I dissolve your bindings, I let the wind carry you off.
Anything that you have done or have had done: may it turn and seize you
yourself!

Another good example is *Maqlû* VII 80-100, where the speaker enlists seven magical agents, including witches, to ensorcell the witch herself, and then states that he is breaking her bond (*riksu*). The seven lines form a litany: X *lipušūki rikiski aḥeppe* “May X ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond”.⁸¹ A final example: A rubric to an anti-witchcraft ritual shows how characteristic the witch’s bonds were to her dark art: [KA.INIM.MA *ana rik*]sī *kaššāpti paṭāri* “[Wording (of an incantation) to] undo [the bon]ds of a witch”.⁸²

2 The wind carries off (*abālu*) the witch’s evil machinations or releases her bonds in the anti-witchcraft corpus. See SpTU 1, 13 above. The imagery is not uniquely deployed against witches. However, this function of the wind occurs often enough in the corpus to justify seeing a common connection with *The Prayer*.⁸³

3 Two phrases in *The Prayer* call to mind phrases common in the anti-witchcraft corpus. The first is *nīklāti amēlūti* ‘schemes of humanity’ (o. 2, 28, r. 8), which compares to *qāt amēlūti* ‘hand of humanity’, and to *upšašū lemnūtu ša amēlūti* ‘evil machinations of humanity’, in the corpus. The latter phrase without *ša amēlūti* is ubiquitous in the corpus, occurring alongside terms for witchcraft and sorcery

⁷⁶ Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 174-83 (8.3).

⁷⁷ Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 166-8, 185-6 (7.8.2).

⁷⁸ Formative for the present study were studies of the Egalkurra texts that demonstrate those texts’ similarities to anti-witchcraft rituals. See Stadhouders, Panayotov 2018 and Scurluck 2020, 27-31. An editorial limit on word count does not permit elaboration.

⁷⁹ The anti-witchcraft corpus is available online at <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cmawro/pager> in addition to print editions (Abusch, Schwemer 2011; 2016; Abusch 2015; Abusch et al. 2020).

⁸⁰ Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 109-10 (7.26, ll. 2'-8'a).

⁸¹ Abusch 2015, 180-1, 354-5 with comments in Schwemer 2007, 145.

⁸² Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 276-7 (8.31.1, l. 40').

⁸³ Other examples: Abusch 2015, 169, 350 (*Maqlû* VII 21); Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 311 (8.5.1, l. 126"); compare the print edition with the fuller reading online); Abusch, Schwemer 2016, 373, 376 (10.7, l. 70); Abusch et al. 2020, 165, 167 (7.38, l. 43), 178, 182 (8.47, l. 93), 259-60 (A.11 [an addition to 7.14], l. 17).

(*kišpū, ruḥû, and rusû*); with the qualifier, the phrase is less common, though still found alongside other witchcraft terms.⁸⁴ These are not perfect parallels, but both phrases in corpus are suggestive for our understanding of *nīklāti amēlūti*, especially since it first occurs in o. 2, where Marduk uses the wind to carry off the schemes. (This first occurrence is surrounded by other words associated with witchcraft, i.e. *riksu* in o. 3 and, in o. 4, the second phrase discussed presently; see also my interpretation of *epšēt* in o. 1 below.)

4 The second phrase, *pī dābibi šabātu* ‘to seize the mouth of the accuser/gossiper’ (o. 4), is indisputably connected to witchcraft. Mouth-seizing is common in the anti-witchcraft corpus, as attested by *kadabbedū*, a term for a specific kind of magic that occurs dozens of times in the corpus.⁸⁵ More importantly to *The Prayer*, the act of seizing the *witch’s* mouth is a common means in the corpus to counteract her witchcraft. A great example occurs in text 8.12, which Abusch and Schwemer introduce as “a short ritual used to overcome one’s personal enemy and opponent in court (*bēl dabābi*), the stereotypical male perpetrator or instigator of witchcraft”.⁸⁶

ašbat pāki ūtabbil lišānk[i]
ašbat qātiki addi qā ana pī[ki]
aptete pāki attasaḥ lišān p[īki]
ana lā dabāba ša dibbīya ana [lā]
šunnē ša amātīya

I have seized your mouth, I have dried out you[r] tongue,
 I have seized your hands, I have put a (muzzle of) thread in [your] mouth!
 I have now opened your mouth, I have now torn out the tongue from [your] m[outh],
 so that you are not able to slander me, so that you are not able
 to distort my words

5 Girra, god of fire. In o. 10 of *The Prayer*, Marduk causes Girra to burn trouble-making lips. In the anti-witchcraft corpus, Girra is mentioned scores of times, with over a hundred instances in *Maqlû* alone, where the deity’s fire consumes the effigies of the witch.⁸⁷

6 The supplicant asserts in o. 46 that Marduk knows the identity of his slanderer, which implies the supplicant does not – a common phenomenon surrounding gossip, as noted above. This divine knowing and human ignorance occur frequently in the anti-witchcraft corpus,⁸⁸ though not exclusively so. Though a general point, it is again suggestive.

7 The use of *epēšu* in r. 6 (*ša ... ipušanni*) recalls the verb’s technical use *passim* in the anti-witchcraft corpus, often alongside *kašāpu* ‘to bewitch, to hex’.⁸⁹ In response to the adversary’s actions, the supplicant asks Marduk in r. 7 to do harm to the adversary: *Marduk attā-ma lū ēpišu lemuttīšu* ‘O Marduk, may you indeed be the one who does him harm!’. The participle of *epēšu* often designates the witch. Thus, the supplicant of *The Prayer* may be asking Marduk to become a sorcerer of sorts and return upon the adversary the evil intended for him, what I call the reversal trope.

8 The reversal trope occurs two other times in the text of *The Prayer*, providing another parallel to the anti-witchcraft corpus: first, in the opening hymn in o. 5, which characterizes Marduk as one who turns a deceitful report back upon the perpetrator, and again in r. 2, where the supplicant requests Marduk to use the adversary’s net of deceptions against the adversary himself. Although not the exclusive possession of the corpus, the reversal trope is ubiquitous and, as Schwemer notes, a structural feature in the anti-witchcraft corpus.⁹⁰

84 E.g., Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 179, 192 (7.8.6, l. 23’); 2016, 218, 225 (8.27.1, l. 37’); Maul 2019, 117, l. 101 and Abusch et al. 2020, 208-9 (8.55.1, l. 4’).

85 For the meaning of the term, Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 3 and 2016, 398.

86 Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 362-3. Also, Schwemer 2007, 129-30.

87 Girra appears mostly in *Maqlû* II-IV; note especially IV 13-35, 42-67 (Abusch 2015, 117-21, 317-23).

88 E.g., Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 278, 287 (8.3.1, l. 83); 2016, 253, 263 (8.29.1, l. 57), 421, 423 (11.4, l. 14).

89 Schwemer 2007, 8-9; Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 3; Zomer 2016-18, 223.

90 Schwemer 2007, 239 (also 115, 125, 162, 210, 215, 251). Similarly Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 20.

9 Thematically, *The Prayer's* litany of petitions for Marduk to destroy the adversary resonates strongly with the destructive intent of many anti-witchcraft rituals, in which a representation of the witch is burned or buried.⁹¹

10 The first subscription of *The Prayer* describes the adversary as a *bēl lemutti* (r. 35), which is used in the anti-witchcraft corpus for agents of witchcraft, especially a witchcraft-acquired human adversary.⁹² This final commonality returns us to *The Prayer's* subscriptions.

R. 35-6 describe the text as a prayer that an exhausted, bound (*anḫu kasû*), but unnamed supplicant can use to implore Marduk for release from an adversary (*bēl lemutti*), so the people and land may 'see' (G precativ of *amāru* 'to experience, learn, recognize') Marduk's magnificence (*tarbâtīšu*). After a blank space of about two lines, r. 37-8 describe the text as the *epišti* of a weary, exhausted (*anḫu šūnuḫu*) Nabû-šuma-ukîn. There follows a wish that 'they' (i.e. the people and the land), come to understand (Gtn precativ of *amāru*) 'all these afflictions' (*kal maršī annāti*), i.e. the supplicant's suffering described in *The Prayer*.

In Finkel's view, the first subscription is a general description of the prayer and the second is a word about its author. I think the first subscription is a description of the prayer's general use, which is then followed by a second situation-specific subscription that names the person, who like the supplicant, is suffering. He copied or had the text copied for his use. On this view, *epištu* means something generically work-related rather than something literary. Since nothing in the text suggests Nabû-šuma-ukîn was delivered from his adversary, I understand this *epištu* to have a prospective, *performative* meaning, i.e. Nabû-šuma-ukîn completed this *epištu* to *effect deliverance*. In light of the witchcraft parallels, *epištu* in r. 37 could be seen as an explicit response to the wicked's *epšētu* in o. 1, with both terms having an implicit magical connotation.⁹³ The named user of the prayer responds to the magical actions of his opponent with his own magical action, which is the entextualized prayer itself.

7 Conclusion

While my interpretation yields a new understanding of *The Prayer's* purpose, it also demonstrates the importance of making distinctions between author, user, and copyist of a text.

About the author: previous studies have all attributed the text's authorship to Nabû-šuma-ukîn, its named user. I disagree. However, all previous treatments have rightly recognized that the author was a learned scribe, well-versed in Akkadian literary texts, to which he alludes,⁹⁴ and well-stocked with rare and learned Akkadian vocabulary, upon which he draws.⁹⁵ My interpretation confirms this impression of the scribal author, who demonstrates a professional understanding of anti-witchcraft rituals. He likely hailed from the ranks of the exorcists (*āšipū*).

About the user: first, as I have argued, there is no compelling evidence to identify Nabû-šuma-ukîn as Amēl-Marduk, the short-lived Neo-Babylonian king. Rather, he may have been an earlier Babylonian king, though compelling evidence is wanting. My interpretation of the two subscriptions to *The Prayer* distinguishes between the broad purpose of the prayer as a composition (from its author) and its specific use by the named individual, Nabû-šuma-ukîn, its user. This interpretation, however, does not demand that the present tablet bearing the text of *The Prayer* is itself actually from the hand of Nabû-šuma-ukîn (whoever he was) or from the hand of the scribe he employed to inscribe it, even if *The Prayer* as we now have it - with its two subscriptions - indicates he was a user of the text sometime after its composition. BM.40474 is likely a copy of *The Prayer*, as noted earlier. It could have been that Nabû-šuma-ukîn or, more likely, a hired scribe copied the tablet at a time when Nabû-šuma-ukîn was trapped in the bonds of witch-induced slander and character assassination. But, without more certainty about the precise historical setting for the named sufferer, we should not automatically (and naively) conflate the time of *The Prayer's* use by this Nabû-šuma-ukîn with the time that the extant tablet bearing witness to its use was copied.

91 Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 23.

92 Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 5. For rituals against a witchcraft-acquired *bēl lemutti*, see, e.g. Abusch, Schwemer 2011, 138-9, 144-5 (7.6.7), 293-305 (8.4), 365-71 (8.13); 2016, 15-18, 25-6 (3.4.2).

93 The opponent's activity in r. 31 is called *pišti* 'abuse, insult', which may also be part of this wordplay.

94 Finkel 1999, 325, 331-3; Foster 2005, 852; Oshima 2011, 316; Hecker 2013, 91.

95 Finkel 1999, 324; Foster 2005, 852.

The copyist: if the time of Nabû-šuma-ukīn's use of *The Prayer* was actually distinct from the time when BM.40474 was copied, then we may posit at least two reasons for the text's copying and preservation at some chronological remove from the named user: the centrality of Marduk in *The Prayer* and the fact that this prayer was used by someone related to Nebuchadnezzar, a name that loomed large in the historical memory of the first millennium.

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One Joined Cuneiform Tablet and Two New Names for Parts of the Human Body: *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’, and *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’

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Abstract This paper presents the publication of new joins to a text source for the *umṣatu* skin mark tablet of the *alamdimmû* series (BM.52614, Böck 2000, 184-95 source C). BM.45680+45825 and BM.46091 have been joined by the author, and BM.46188 by Eric Schmidtchen. These joins not only enhance the reconstruction of the series but also reveal new anatomical terms and revise previously suggested meanings. New terms include *dūr lišāni*, the ‘wall of the tongue’ (leading to a study of all parts of the body whose names are constructed with *dūru* followed by a genitive), and *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘crook of the arm’.

Keywords Physiognomic omens. *Šumma umṣatu*. Names for parts of the human body. Anatomy of the tongue. Anatomy of the arm.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’. – 3 *ḫinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’ (*fossa cubitalis*). – 4 Edition of the Joined Tablet BM.45680+45835+BM.46091+BM.46188+BM.52614.

1 Introduction

Medical texts provide Akkadian names for numerous parts of the human body, as well as for possible diseases and treatment options. Human body parts can also be found in omen texts such as the diagnostic series SA.GIG, the physiognomic series *alamdimmû*, and the series on premature babies and births with physiognomic peculiarities, up to congenital malformations, called *šumma izbu*. Accordingly, we are well informed about the knowledge of the Mesopotamian people regarding the parts of the human body that are visible without surgical intervention and their possible pathological changes. We also understand their ideas about the spread of various diseases via the strands (SA) that run through the body, such as the blood vessels and muscles.

In everyday life, the face (IGI.MEŠ, *pānu*), with the prominent areas of and around the eyes (IGI^{II}, *inā*), the nose (KIR₄, *appu*) and the mouth (KA, *pû*), along with the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*), or more precisely, the upper lip (*šaptu elītu*) and lower lip (*šaptu šaplītu*) (NUNUN.MEŠ AN.TA u KI.TA), have special significance, as these are the first features visible in any interpersonal contact and provide insight into the thoughts and feelings of the other person. When speaking, the front areas of the inside of the mouth¹ occasionally become visible, such as a front tooth (ZÚ, *šinnu*) and the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), or rather the tip of the tongue (*appi lišāni*).

¹ The ‘opening of the mouth’ (*pīt pī*) is not an expression for opening the mouth or oral cavity of a person, but part of the ritual *mīs pī* ‘washing of the mouth’, to open the mouth of a divine statue so that the god can enter the image: see Walker, Dick 2001.



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Just like facial expressions, gestures also play an important role in interpersonal interaction. They are carried out with the arms (*aḥu*; *Á, idu*), the hands (*šU, qātu*) and the fingers (*šU.SI, ubānu*). While the names of these parts of the human body are well known in literary texts as well as in letters and legal documents, the naming of more detailed areas of these parts is more the domain of the healers, priests and diviners.

This significance of the face is reflected in the physiognomic omen series *alamdimmû*, where the first eight tablets describe all parts of the face in detail (Tablets I-VIII), while only three tablets cover the rest of the body from the neck down to the toes (Tablets IX-XI).² Many areas of body parts are mentioned in particular in the subseries relating to body marks. More than the other subseries on body marks (*pindû*; IB, *urāšu*; GE₆, *tirku*; ŠE, *kittabru*), the series *šumma umšatu* (DIŠ SAMAG) treats the parts of the head and the face in great detail. Barbara Böck³ identified four sources for this tablet: one from Nineveh (source A),⁴ two from Babylon (sources B and C) and one from Sippar (source D).⁵ Two additional sources from Babylonia have since been identified: source E (BM.42801, part of the reverse of a tablet from an unknown location in Babylonia)⁶ and source F (BM.48493, lower left part of a multicolumn tablet, probably from Babylon).⁷ One Neo-Assyrian fragment from Assur appears to be an excerpt text that begins with the first four entries of this subseries (KAL 1 no. 52),⁸ while two other Neo-Assyrian fragments from Assur may even be part of the series, though they cannot be placed due to their fragmentary state of preservation (KAL 1 nos 53-4).⁹

The sequence of body parts dealt with in the sources published to date for this still fragmentary tablet of the series *šumma umšatu* (DIŠ SAMAG) is as follows (see also § 2): head (A i: SAG.DU, *rēšu*), back part of the head (A i: GÚ.TÁL, *gutallu*), temple (A i: SAG.KI, *nakkaptu*), eyes (B ii / F i: IGI, *īnu*), nose (A ii / B ii / F i: KIR₄, *appu*), tongue (B iii / C i: EME, *lišānu*), lips (B iii / C i: NUNDUN, *šaptu*); after a break it continues with the neck (A iii: GÚ, *kišādu*). After another break, it continues with the belly (*papān libbi* ‘diaphragm, belly’) and the navel (A iv: LI.DUR, *abunnatu*); following another break, it concludes with the ankle (A v: *kišallu*), the heel (A v: *asīd* GÌR, *asīd šēpi*) and an unknown part of the foot (A v: SIG₄ / MURGU GÌR, ... / *būd šēpi*),¹⁰ while another source ends with the feet (F iv: GÌR.MEŠ, *šēpē*) and the toes (F iv: ŠU.SI GÌR, *ubān šēpi*). The fragmentary source E seems to belong to a different recension and may even be an excerpt, as its order does not follow the direction from head to toe: it begins with the penis (GÌŠ, *išaru*), followed by the testicles (ŠIR, *išku*), the thigh (*šapru*), the backbone (GÚ.SIG₄, *ešemšēru*), the shoulder (*būdu*) and the shoulder blade (MAŠ.SILA, *naglabu*), before it breaks off.¹¹

When I studied cuneiform tablets at the British Museum in April 2024, I also examined a fragment of the series *alamdimmû* concerning skin marks (BM.46091), as I had previously identified it as a new source for the subseries *šumma umšatu* (DIŠ SAMAG).¹² This fragment provided the name of a part of the nose that had been misread by Barbara Böck in another source of this subseries. At the Museum, I noticed that two more fragments physically joined to this piece: BM.45680+45835¹³ and BM.52614, the latter one being source C of Böck’s edition of this subseries. The joined fragments are part of the obverse of a tablet with three columns on each side, the third column being completely lost (Böck had only part of what is now col. ii). When I wrote to Eric Schmidtchen about my joins, he suggested yet another fragment to join physically (BM.46188), and he was correct. With these joins, we now have parts of all three columns of the obverse of this tablet (now called source C_a), which is published here courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.¹⁴ The joined, though still fragmentary, tablet adds to

² One tablet (XII) seems to consider the figure of a person as a whole, but no source has been identified yet (Böck 2000, 27a). Other tablets form sub sections of the series and refer to the way of speaking (*šumma nigdimdimmû*), to the character (*šumma kataduggû*), to the appearance of women (*šumma sinništu*), and to various skin marks.

³ Böck 2000, 184-93.

⁴ K.12548+Sm.1419+1636 (TBP 36); Nineveh; Neo-Assyrian ductus.

⁵ BM.99696 (1881-01-21, 2058) (Böck 2000, Tafel 13); Sippar; Late Babylonian ductus.

⁶ Fincke 2018, 219-22 with fig. 125.

⁷ Schmidtchen 2018, 470-4.

⁸ See Heeßel 2007, 124-5.

⁹ See Heeßel 2007, 125-6.

¹⁰ Böck (2000, 54) interprets this part as “Rand des Fußes”.

¹¹ See Fincke 2018.

¹² Böck 2000, 184-95.

¹³ I joined these two fragments in April 2013.

¹⁴ I would like to thank the staff of the Middle East Department for their support of my research, especially the Collection Managers Enrica Inversi and Sophie Strong, who tirelessly selected new fragments of cuneiform tablets for me.

the sections on the face (C_a ii) and the arms (C_a iii), provides the names of two more parts of the human body, and helps to clarify the meaning of some already known parts.

2 *dūr lišāni*, the ‘Wall of the Tongue’

In her edition of the tablet concerning the *umṣatu* mark,¹⁵ Barbara Böck¹⁶ misread a line in her source B that introduces a brief section of five lines addressing this specific part of the human body. It is fully written in entry 79 of her edition (B iii 13’): “DIŠ *ina* ab ur EME-ŠÚ” reads DIŠ *ina du-ur* EME-ŠÚ ‘If in the wall of her tongue’. This part of the tongue (*dūr lišāni*) has not yet been documented elsewhere. Column ii of the now joined source C_a covers the following facial parts (see the new edition in § 4): the lower jaw (*isu* KI.TA), the ‘wall of the teeth’ (*dūr šinni*), the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), the ‘wall of the tongue’ (*dūr lišāni*) and the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*), before it breaks off. The facial area that precedes these parts examined for the *umṣatu* skin mark was most likely the outer region of the lower jaw, right and left of the chin (*suqtu*, not named in the text).

The procedure for checking a person for *umṣatu* skin marks is as follows: after examining the upper part of the head along with the scalp (A i, see above), the diviner proceeded with an examination of the person’s face, beginning with the temples (A i), the eyes (B ii / F i), and the nose (A ii / B ii / F i), before moving from chin (C_a ii) and the ‘wall of the teeth’ (C_a ii) to the tongue (B iii / C_a ii) inside the mouth, and then exiting the oral cavity again via the lips (B iii / C_a ii), before continuing with the rest of the body (A iii-vi / C_a iii / D rev. / E iv or vi).

The sequence of *umṣatu* skin marks on the tongue in this text is as follows: ‘on the upper side of the tongue’ (*ina* UGU EME) and ‘on the underside of the tongue’, both either ‘right’ (15) or ‘left’ (150), at the ‘tip of the tongue’ (*ina appi* EME), both ‘top’ (AN.TA) and ‘bottom’ (KI.TA), at the ‘upper side of the tongue midline’ (*ina* UGU ḪA.LA EME), again ‘top’ (AN.TA) and ‘bottom’ (KI.TA), and the marks ‘filling the tongue’ (EME-ŠÚ DIRI.MEŠ). Separated by a dividing line follows the sequence related to the ‘wall of the tongue’, where an *umṣatu* mark may appear ‘top right’ (AN.TA 15), ‘top left’ (AN.TA 150), ‘bottom right’ (KI.TA 15), ‘bottom left’ (KI.TA 150), with many marks ‘filling the top’ (AN.TA DIRI.MEŠ).

At first glance, one might interpret the ‘wall of the tongue’ as a term for the freely movable part of the tongue, which could explain why this sequence of omens is separated by a line from those referring to the tongue itself. However, why are the sentences structured differently, with the *umṣatu* mark appearing on the right and left of the ‘upper’ and ‘lower side of the tongue’, while it appears on the top right/left and bottom right/left of the ‘wall of the tongue’? Perhaps one could better understand *dūr lišāni* by examining other names for parts of the body formed with *dūru*.

dūr appi (BÀD KIR₄), the ‘wall of the nose’, is a literary expression dating back to the Old Babylonian period. It appears in both the *Gilgameš epic* and *Nergal and Ereškigal*.¹⁷ Tears may run ‘over the wall of his/my nose’ (OB Gilg. III 229:¹⁸ [e-li du]-‘ri ša ap-pi-šu ...’; Gilg. XI 139:¹⁹ UGU BÀD ap-pi-ia; also Gilg. XI 309:²⁰ [UG]U BÀD ap-pi-šú) or ‘over the wall of her nose’ (*Nergal and Ereškigal*, STT I 28 iv 52’: [... UG]U ‘du’-r[i a]p-pi-šá ...),²¹ and sunlight may fall on ‘the wall of my nose’ (Gilg. XI 137: UGU BÀD ap-pi-ia).²² George translated this as “sides of his face”, while CDA 62b, following Holma (“Wange”),²³ translated it more specifically as “cheeks”. When a person cries, tears begin to run from the lacrimal gland at the inner eye, running down across the face along the side of the nose and along and over the nasal wings. This suggests that the ‘wall of the nose’ refers to the two ‘lateral sides of the nose’ (CAD D, 197a: “side of the nose”), possibly referring specifically to those ‘of the nasal wings’ or even to the ‘wings of the nose’ themselves, for which an Akkadian term has not yet been identified.

¹⁵ For an overview on the attestation of this skin mark in omen and medical texts and the suggested identifications see Salin 2019.

¹⁶ Böck 2000, 188.

¹⁷ See George 2003, 213 comment on l. 229.

¹⁸ See George 2003, 204-5.

¹⁹ See George 2003, 712-13.

²⁰ See George 2003, 722-3.

²¹ See Ponchia, Lukko 2013, 19 l. 288, 29 l. 288.

²² See George 2003, 712-13.

²³ Holma 1911, 30-1.

dūr libbi (BÀD ŠÀ), which can be translated as the ‘wall of the heart’, ‘wall of the entrails’ or ‘wall of the belly’, is mentioned in Tablet XIII of the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG. It is considered fatal for a patient if ‘the *dūr libbi* comes near his lung’ (DIŠ BÀD ŠÀ-ŠÚ *ana* MUR-ŠÚ *is-niq*).²⁴ According to an Old Babylonian extispicy text (YOS 10, 42), a sacrificial sheep might lack a heart (*libbu*, i 1-ii 6), stomach fat (*šaman libbi*, ii 7-11), *dūr libbi* (*du-ur li-bi*, ii 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23), an epigastrium (*rēš libbi*, ii 27-47) and have ‘flesh positioned like a lintel’, i.e. a paired structure within the exta²⁵ (*tallu*, ii 48³-iii 42³). Given the diviners systematic examination of a sheep’s entrails, this sequence suggests that the *dūr libbi* is situated somewhere within the abdominal region.

The *dūr libbi* was previously interpreted as the thoracic “diaphragm”,²⁶ but this interpretation was justifiably rejected, as in humans “the diaphragm would only be visible on internal examination”.²⁷ The same reasoning also argues against such interpretations as the “heart wall” (CDA 62b) or “cardiac septum”.²⁸ Other interpretations propose “the whole of the bony chest wall”²⁹ or “the abdominal wall”.³⁰ Given that there is no indication that the *dūr libbi* refers to bones, the meaning “abdominal wall” appears the most plausible, although it could also denote the costal arch, which in a slim person at first glance appears to delineate the abdomen from the rib cage and the organs therein.³¹

dūr pāni (BÀD pāni), the ‘wall of the face’, appears in Tablet II of the *Erra Epic*. In a fragmentary context, it says: ‘[... ov]er the wall of your face’ (II sect. B 50: [... UG]U BÀD *pa-ni-ka*),³² which Al-Rawi and Black translate as “on your cheek”.³³

dūr naglabi, the ‘wall of the *naglabu*’, is documented in relation to a sacrificial sheep. It appears in the sequence: tail (*zibbatu*), anus (*qinnatu*), ‘horn of the *naglabu*’ (*qaran naglabi*), ‘wall of the *naglabu*’ and ankle or knucklebone (*kišallu*), which does not clarify its exact location within the body. Other texts suggest that *naglabu*, literally ‘razor, barber’s knife’, denotes the “shoulder blade” or “scapula” when used to refer to a part of the body (see CAD N, I 119-20). The ‘wall of the shoulder blade’ has been interpreted as the “blade of the scapula” (CAD N, I 120a) or the “acromion” (CAD N, I 120b), while the ‘horn of the shoulder blade’ is thought to refer to the “ridge of the scapula” (CAD N, i 120a) or “spine” (CAD N, i 120b).

dūr šinni (BÀD ZÚ, *du-ur šin-ni*), the ‘wall of the tooth’ (where the singular ZÚ most likely represents the plural, ‘the wall of the teeth’), is attested in an incantation and in the physiognomic omen series.

Column ii of the newly joined source C_a of the tablet referring to the *umšatu* skin mark (SAMAG) provides the following sequence of facial parts (see the new edition in § 4): the lower jaw (*isu*, KI.TA), the ‘wall of the teeth’ (written *du-ur šin-ni*), the tongue (EME, *lišānu*), the ‘wall of the tongue’ (*dūr lišāni*) and the lips (NUNDUN, *šaptu*). This sequence moves from the lower jaw and chin over the ‘wall of the teeth’ to the tongue inside of the mouth, before exiting again via the lips.

Without knowledge of the evidence from the physiognomic omen series, the interpretation of the ‘wall of the teeth’ was originally based on a single piece of evidence from an early Neo-Assyrian incantation. This text states that ‘the wall of your teeth is sprinkled with bile’ (KAR 43 rev. 9: BÀD *šin-ni-ka mar-ta₅ sa-li-iḫ*). At first glance, this appears to refer to the ‘set of teeth’,³⁴ or to “those teeth that are exposed and seen when the mouth is opened”.³⁵ However, skin marks such as the *umšatu* cannot be seen on teeth themselves but only on the gums or the oral mucosa, and in the description of the incantation, the bile

²⁴ See Labat 1951, 126 l. 40; Schmidtchen 2021, 526 entry 132’.

²⁵ Translation after Koch-Westenholz 2000, 147 entry 114, where *tallu* is described or explained as ‘pair’ (*māšu*) and ‘twin’ (*tu²āmu*).

²⁶ Labat 1951, 126-7 l. 40; CAD D, 197a.

²⁷ Adamson 1993, 154.

²⁸ Durand 1988, 276-7 on ARM 26/1 109 l. 11: “la cloison du coeur”.

²⁹ Adamson 1993, 154.

³⁰ Schmidtchen 2021, 22, 63, 536.

³¹ Is this what Schmidtchen (2021, 61) meant by suggesting a translation of *dūr libbi* as “den Bauch umgebender Rippenkomplex(?)”?

³² See Cagni 1969, 86-7.

³³ Al-Rawi, Black 1991, 117. Even the new fragmentary source for Tablet II of this epic from Me-Turnat (modern Tell-Ḥaddad), published by Al-Rawi, Black 1991 (IM 121299 = TH 319), which gives the beginning of this line (ii 22), does not help to restore this sentences: see p. 116 (ii 22: x x x x []).

³⁴ Ebeling 1915, 94-5: “Gebiß”; Jacobson 1996, 115: “the wall that is the teeth”.

³⁵ Kwasman 1999, 61.

would not only flow through the oral cavity over the teeth but would continue further, filling the area between the gums and the inside of the lower lip.

CAD D, 197a interpreted the ‘wall of the teeth’ as the area of the teeth covered by the gums and translated the term as “gums”.³⁶ Still, the term *dūr šinni* probably includes not only the gums but also the part of the oral mucosa that connects the gums to the edge of the lips; specifically the inside of the lips (the *pars mucosa* of the lip) could be understood as the ‘wall of the teeth’. It is conceivable that the diviner might have gently pulled down the person’s lower lip or lifted the upper lip to inspect the entire area of the inner lips up to the teeth for the *umšatu* mark.³⁷ The term *šaptu* (NUNDUN) ‘lip’ then refers, as in contemporary usage, to the more blood-rich, reddish part of the lips (the *pars intermedia*). The expression *bītān šapti*, the ‘inside of the lips’,³⁸ likely refers only to the uppermost section of the inner lips, which is occasionally visible from the outside when speaking.

The ‘wall of the *naglabu*’ is a special case among these terms, as it appears to refer to a bone, and the only textual evidence for the ‘wall of the face’ resists understanding. Therefore, only the other three terms can be used for a plausible interpretation of this type of expression. If interpreted correctly, the ‘wall of ... (i.e. a part of the body)’ represents a larger layer of skin, tissue and/or muscle that separates the given part of the body from the outside, thus providing protection: for instance, the ‘wall of the nose’ likely refers to the outer sides of the nose, or even specifically to the nasal wings, which protect both the nasal cartilage and nostrils; the ‘wall of the intestines’ likely refers to the abdominal wall, which separates the organs of the abdominal cavity from the outside; the ‘wall of the teeth’ probably refers to the area extending from the gums to the inner side of the lips, thereby separating the teeth from the outside. If the ‘wall of the tongue’ has a similar meaning, it would refer to the inside of the cheeks that enclose the oral cavity (*hurri pi*), also known as the buccal cavity, limiting the tongue’s movements;³⁹ the cheeks themselves were called *lētu* (TE) or, if referring to the upper part of the cheek, *usukku* (TE, ÚNU). This interpretation of the ‘wall of the tongue’ would also explain why there is no distinct ‘upper’ and ‘lower side’, and that marks would only be visible at the top right/left and bottom right/left of the ‘wall of the tongue’ (see above). Another rather unusual reference to the inner sides of the cheeks is appears in the physiognomic series *alamdimmû* in a sequence of *kittabru* marks on a woman’s face: ‘[If] there is [a *kittabru*-mark] at her right and left cheek, on the inside’ (ŠE for the woman entry 28: [DIŠ ŠE ina] TE 15-šá u 150-šá *ger-bi-nu* GAR),⁴⁰ where *qerbēnu* consistently refers to the inner side of the body.

Alongside this new term, the following parts of, or related to, the tongue are attested:⁴¹

- the ‘tongue’ (*corpus linguae*): *lišānu* (EME)
- the ‘root of the tongue’⁴² (*radix linguae*): *išid lišāni* (SUĤUŠ EME)
- the ‘middle part of the tongue’: *libbi lišāni* (ŠÀ lišāni)
- the ‘tip of the tongue’⁴³ (*apex linguae*): *rēš lišāni* (SAG lišāni); *appi lišānim* (*appi* EME)
- ‘above the tongue; the upper side of the tongue’ (*dorsum linguae*): *ina muḥḥi lišāni* (*ina* UGU EME)
- ‘below the tongue; the lower side of the tongue’ (the sublaminal and subapical part of the tongue): *ina šaplān lišāni* (*ina* KI.TA EME)
- the ‘right part of the tongue’: *lišānu ša imitti*
- the ‘left part of the tongue’: *lišāni ša šumēli*
- the ‘middle line of the tongue’ (*septum linguae*):⁴⁴ *zitti lišāni* (ĤA.LA EME)
- the ‘wall of the tongue’, probably the inside of the cheeks: *dūr lišāni* (BĀD EME)

³⁶ See also Kogan 2003, 128-9, discussing the Semitic parallels.

³⁷ Skin marks on the outside of the lower lips (the *pars cutanea*), i.e. in the area that then continues into the chin, would have been described as being located ‘under the lip’ (*ina* KI.TA NUNDUN), for which see, e.g., Böck 2000, 206-7 entry 29.

³⁸ Böck 2000, 206-7 entry 31.

³⁹ Two terms are known to refer to the ‘palate’: *liq pi* (UZU.A.U.); also *aliq pi*, *elāq pi* and *lāq pi* and *šamē pi* (AN-e KA) lit. ‘sky of the mouth; the roof of the mouth, palate’.

⁴⁰ See Böck 2000, 232-3.

⁴¹ For example, one part of the tongue for which we still do not yet have an Akkadian name is the frenulum under the tongue (*frenulum linguae*).

⁴² CAD A.1, 185a: “bottom of his tongue”; CAD P, 94: “the base of the tongue”.

⁴³ CAD R, 284b: “the top of the tongue”.

⁴⁴ Böck (2000, 49) translates this as: “Mittellinie des oberen Zungenbereiches”. Böck (2000, 49) translates *ina* UGU ĤA.LA EME AN.TA / KI.TA “die Oberseite der Mittellinie des oberen / unteren Zungenbereiches”, which would establish a new part of the tongue (probably the frenulum under the tongue, for which see *supra*, fn. 41), while she correctly translates it at pp. 188-9 entries 76 and 77: “auf der Oberseite der Zungenmittellinie oben / unten”.

- the ‘tongue’ or part of it: *ma²u*, *ma²tu* ([UZU].EME)⁴⁵
- a part of the tongue:⁴⁶ *melēštu* (UZU.GIŠ.DIL, UZU.SAG.DIL, UZU.ME.DIL)
- a part of the tongue: *tattūru ša lišāni*

3 *ḥinpi ammati*, the ‘Crook of the Arm’ (*fossa cubitalis*)

Column iii of the joined source C_a refers to a possible *umšatu* mark on a person’s arm, which the diviner inspects from the upper part of the shoulder down to the forearm, distinguishing between the right and left sides. Given that in other body-mark tablets the shoulder examination is preceded by that of the shoulder blade (scapula) (MAŠ.SILA, *naḡlabu*), this should likely be restored in the first fragmentary line of this column. The lines following the preserved part of his column would then refer to the wrist (*tišīt ritti*, *šisīt ritti*) or the hand (KIŠIB.LÁ, *rittu*), followed by the finger (ŠU.SI, *ubānu*).

The first preserved part of a body in this section is the *uppi aḥi* (iii 2'-3') followed by the ‘side of the *uppi aḥi*’ (iii 4'-5'), the armpit (iii 6'-7': *suḥātu*) and the upper arm (iii 8'-9': 1-KÜŠ, see below). Following a top-to-bottom sequence (from head to toe), none of the proposed meanings for *uppi aḥi* (CAD U/W, 183-4b: “arm-socket, arm pit, upper arm”) appears to be applicable here. Instead, *uppi aḥi* must refer to the upper part of the shoulder, i.e. the upper part of the humerus covered by bursae and muscles. Thus, the meaning overlaps with *būdu*, if they are not indeed homonyms.

The scribe then refers to four parts of the arm across eight consecutive lines, all written with or in combination with the logogram KÜŠ (written with what is here transliterated 1-KÜŠ), which is commonly read as *ammatu* ‘forearm’, in Akkadian. First, 1-KÜŠ appears alone (iii 8'-9'), followed by KA.KEŠDA 1-KÜŠ for Akkadian *kišir ammati* ‘elbow’ (iii 10'-11'), *ḥinpi* 1-KÜŠ (iii 12'-13') and ending again with 1-KÜŠ alone (iii 14'-15'). It seems unlikely that the diviner examined the forearm twice, with an interruption to examine two parts of the arm connected to the forearm, including the elbow. Therefore, the logogram KÜŠ must have been used with two different meanings: first, as KÜŠ in the rarely attested reading *aḥu* ‘arm’, here specifically indicating the “upper arm”, and second, as KÜŠ in its usual reading *ammatu* ‘forearm’, which would align with the top-to-bottom sequence from head to toe.

The part of the body that is named after the elbow (*kišir ammati*) is the previously unattested *ḥinpi ammati* (written *ḥi-in-pi* 1-KÜŠ). Considering the sequence upper arm – elbow – *ḥinpu* of the forearm – forearm, *ḥinpi ammati* should correspond to an area near the elbow. The most plausible interpretation is the crook of the arm or elbow bend, also known as the elbow pit (*fossa cubitalis*), i.e. the inner side of the elbow joint. This interpretation does not conflict with any existing terms, as no Akkadian word has yet been identified for the crook of the elbow in the medical and physiognomic texts.⁴⁷ However, analysing the term itself is more challenging. A ritual for cattle from Emar refers to the ‘consecration of the *ḥenpa* of the cattle’ (Emar 394 l. 26: *i-na qa-ad-du-ši ša ḥe-en-pa* GU₄.MEŠ). It remains uncertain whether *ḥenpu* in this ritual refers to a part of the cattle’s body or something else; proposed interpretations include “prosperity”⁴⁸ and “meaning unclear”.⁴⁹

ḥinpu would be a *pirs* form of a verb *ḥanāpu*, denoting *nomina actionis* from the verb, sometimes transitioning in meaning towards the concrete (GAG § 55.b 2). CAD H, 76b lists two verbs with this root: *ḥanāpu* A meaning “to commit villainy”, attested as verbal adjective (*ḥanpa*) in one of the Amarna letters (CDA 106a translates this as “baseness”); *ḥanāpu* B with an unknown meaning, attested in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic (Gilg. P vi 4: *i-ḥa-an-ni-¹ip¹*, transliterated by AHW 320a as *i-²a₄-an-ni-ip*, and followed by George⁵⁰ as *i-²a₄-an-ni-¹ip ...*]). George translates this as “he was growing angry”, deriving it from the verb *anāpu*. None of these meanings can apply to the phrase *ḥinpi ammati*.

⁴⁵ See HAR.RA = *hubullu* XV 25-7: [UZU].EME = *li-ša-a-nu*, *ma-²u*, *ma-a²-tu*, see MSL 9, 7.

⁴⁶ See HAR.RA = *hubullu* XV 75-8: UZU.ma-²la-tum, UZU.GIŠ.DIL, UZU.SAG.DIL, UZU.ME.DIL = *mi-šil-tum* (var. *me-liš-tu*), see MSL 9, 8, 21.

⁴⁷ Following AHW 484a (“Armbeuge”), CDA 160a gives for *kirimmu* the meaning “(crook of the) arm”, while CAD K translates this more convincingly as “hold, position of the arms of a mother to cradle a small child”.

⁴⁸ Arnaud 1986, 396-7.

⁴⁹ Rutz 2013, 155-6.

⁵⁰ George 2003, 180 l. 211.

4 Edition of the Joined Tablet BM.45680+45835+BM.46091+BM.46188+BM.52614

Due to the still very fragmentary state of preservation and in the hope that someone will identify further sources for this tablet in the future that would make a new edition worthwhile, only an edition according to source C_a and the parallels in source B is presented here; there is no overlap with the other sources. To enable the reader to compare the new source with Böck's edition, I have retained her line numbering, even if this requires several lines starting with 0₁, 0₂, 0₃ etc. For the other parts of the tablet, see the editions by Barbara Böck (sources A-D),⁵¹ the present author (source E),⁵² Eric Schmidtchen (BM.48493, source F),⁵³ and Nils Heeßel (KAL 1 no. 52, and maybe also nos 53-4).⁵⁴ For an overview of the body parts examined in this tablet, see § 1.

BM.45680+45835+46091+46188+52614

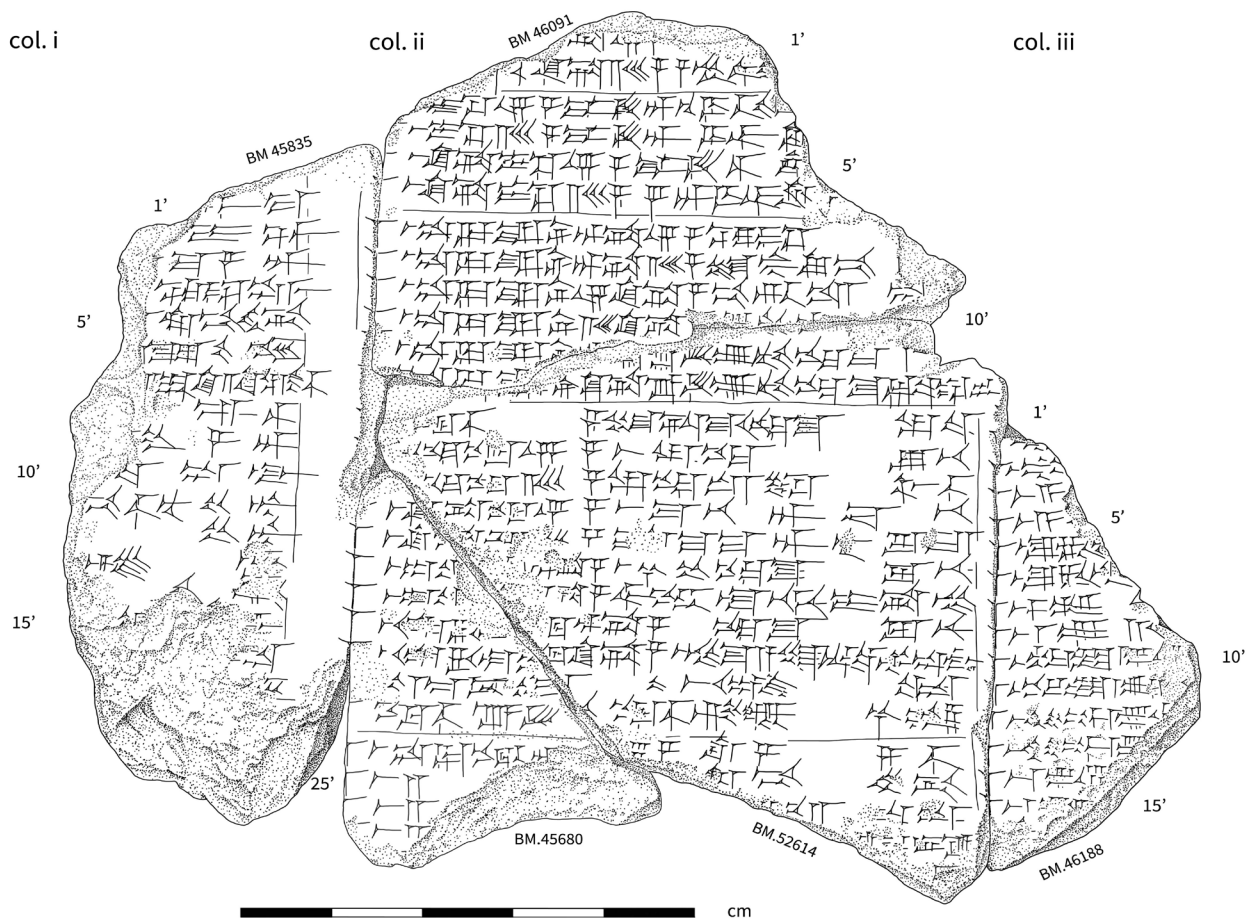


Figure 1 BM.45680+45835+46091+46188+52614

⁵¹ Böck 2000, 184-95.

⁵² Fincke 2018, 219-22.

⁵³ Schmidtchen 2018, 470-4.

⁵⁴ Heeßel 2007.

Sources

- B BM.34718 (Sp. II 207+313) (CT 51 no. 124); measurements: 105⁺ × 113⁺ × 34⁽⁺⁾ mm (width × height × thickness); Babylon;⁵⁵ Late Babylonian ductus; tablet with three columns on each side, the column width is 43 mm; edited by Böck⁵⁶ as source B.
- C_a BM.45680 (1881-07-06, 78)+45835 (1881-07-06, 258)+BM.46091 (1881-07-06, 539)+BM.52614 (1882-03-23, 3648) (joins JCF)+BM.46188 (join ES); see the new copy in [fig. 1]; the copy of BM.52614 had previously been published in Böck 2000, Tafel 13, and edited⁵⁷ as source C; measurements: 118⁺ × 99.4⁺ × 24⁺ mm; Babylon; Late Babylonian ductus; tablet with three columns on each side, the column width is 66 mm.

Transliteration

C _a i 1'	[...]	<i>i-m</i> ar-ma
C _a i 2'	[...]] <i>i-mar</i>
C _a i 3'	[...]	SIL]M.MA GAR-an
C _a i 4'	[...]	ina] SAG.PA.RIM GIN.ME
C _a i 5'	[...]] x ŠÀ BI DÙG.GA
C _a i 6'	[...]	<i>i²-n</i> a ² -mir : -ziq (or <i>ina²-a</i>)n ² -mir : -ziq
C _a i 7'	[...]] x DUMU-ŠÚ KI.MIN ¹ qé ¹ -ru-ub-šú
C _a i 8'	[...]	EN INIM-ŠÚ ú-šá]-mar-šú
C _a i 9'	[...]	bu ³ -tuq ² -ti ²]É ² LÚ GAR-an
C _a i 10'	[...]	a ¹ -ma ² -nu ²]-ta ₅ GIN-ak
C _a i 11'	[...]	(šá) šà]-bi-šú NU KUR-ád
C _a i 12'	[...]	(šá) šà]-bi-šú] KUR-ád
C _a i 13'	[...]	<i>i</i>]-nam- ¹ ziq ¹
C _a i 14'	[...]	ŠÀ BI] ¹ DÙG.GA ¹
C _a i 15'	[...]	n ² -šir ²]- ¹ ta ₅] <i>i-m</i> ar
C _a i 16'	[...]	ina MUNUS.KALAG.GA]É ¹ (U)D. ¹ DÚ ¹
C _a i 17'	[...]	<i>i-nam-z</i>]iq
		(remainder is lost)
<hr/>		
0 ₁ C _a ii 1'	[Diš ina <i>i-si</i> -šú KI]. ¹ TA 15 GAR ¹ [
0 ₂ C _a ii 2'	[Diš ina <i>i-s</i>]i- ¹ šú KI ¹ .TA 150 GAR šá mu-qa ² -/[¹ i ² -li ²	
<hr/>		
0 ₃ C _a ii 3'	[Diš <i>i</i>]na <i>i-si</i> 15 GAR DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR NU TUK-šú : Š[À BI NU DÙG.GA]	
0 ₄ C _a ii 4'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina <i>i-si</i> 150 GAR DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR TUK-š ¹ ŠÀ [BI DÙG.GA]	
0 ₅ C _a ii 5'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina KI.TA <i>i-si</i> 15 GAR DUMU.MEŠ-šú ¹ ŠÀ [BI (NU) DÙG.GA]	
0 ₆ C _a ii 6'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina KI.TA <i>i-si</i> 150 GAR >4< DINGIR TUK-š ¹ ¹ ŠÀ B[<i>i</i> DÙG.GA]	
<hr/>		
0 ₇ C _a ii 7'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin-ni AN.TA 15 GAR SAG.PA.RIM G[AR-šú]	
0 ₈ C _a ii 8'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin-ni AN.TA 150 GAR tú-ub ŠÀ.BI G[AR-šú]	
0 ₉ C _a ii 9'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin-ni 15 KI.TA GAR bi-ri-iš ¹ GIN ¹ . [GIN]	
0 ₁₀ C _a ii 10'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin-ni 150 KI.TA ¹ GAR lu-mu-ut ¹ -[tu ₄ UŠ-šú]	
67 C _a ii 11'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin- ¹ ni AN.TA SI.A.MEŠ ¹ ú-kul<-li> KA- ¹ šú LÁ ¹ -[ti]	
<hr/>		
68 B iii 1'	[s]I.A.MEŠ ú-[
C _a ii 12'	D[<i>i</i>]š ina du-ur šin ¹ -ni KI.TA SI.A.MEŠ ¹ ú-kul<-li> KA-šú ip-par-ra-as	

55 I extracted the both Registration Numbers and the origin of the tablets from the catalogue CBTBM.IV-V, edited by Leichty et al. in 2019.

56 Böck 2000, 184-93.

57 Böck 2000, 188-91.

- 69 B iii 2' [GA]R tu-uš-šú UGU-šú š[UB
C_a ii 13' D[iš ina] 'EME¹-šú GAR tu-uš-šú UGU-šú šUB-ut
- 70 B iii 3' Diš ina UGU EME 15 GAR ina šUB KA DIB-b[at]
C_a ii 14' D[iš ina] UGU EME¹ 15 GAR šUB KA DIB-bat
- 71 B iii 4' Diš ina UGU EME 150 GAR ina šUB KA iš-š[ar-
C_a ii 15' [Diš ina] UGU EME 150 GAR ina šUB KA iš-šar-rak-šú
- 72 B iii 5' Diš ina KI.TA EME 15 GAR ina ma-mit DINGIR B[A
C_a ii 16' [Di]š ina 'KI¹.TA EME 15 GAR ina ma-mit DINGIR BA.Úš
- 73 B iii 6' Diš ina KI.TA EME 150 GAR i-tam-ma-m[a
C_a ii 17' Diš ina KI.TA¹ EME 150 GAR 'i-tam¹-ma-ma DINGIR NU DIB-su
- 74 B iii 7' Diš ina ap-pi EME AN.TA GAR ina šil-lat K[A
C_a ii 18' Diš ina ap-p[i EM]E 'AN.TA¹ GAR ina šil-lat KA-šu DIB-bat
- 75 B iii 8' Diš ina ap-pi EME KI.TA GAR ši-il-l[a
C_a ii 19' Diš ina ap-p[i EME K].I.TA¹ GAR ši-il-la-ti i-ta-mu
- 76 B iii 9' Diš ina UGU 𒄩A.LA EME AN.TA GAR K[A
C_a ii 20' Diš ina 'UGU 𒄩A¹.L[A E]ME AN.TA GAR KA-šu DIB-at
- 77 B iii 10' Diš ina UGU 𒄩A.LA EME KI.TA GAR ina M[U
C_a ii 21' 'Diš ina UGU¹ 𒄩A.LA EME KI.TA GAR ina MU šu-a-tu
- B iii 11' ina SIG₅-ti GIN.MEŠ : ana GIŠ.PAN K[U₄
C_a ii 21'-22' ina SIG₅-tim GIN-ak | [0] : ana GIŠ.PAN (over erasure) 'KU₄¹ : ina GIG È
- 78 B iii 12' Diš EME-šú SA₅.MEŠ u EME-šú [
C_a ii 23' [Di]š EME-šú SA₅.MEŠ 'u EME¹-šú ZI-iḫ KU₅-as
- 79 B iii 13' Diš ina du-ur EME-šú AN.TA 15 G[AR
C_a ii 24' [D]iš ina du-ur 'EME-šú AN¹.[TA] '15¹ GAR ŠÀ.GAR GAR-šú
- 80 B iii 14' Diš MIN AN.TA 150 GAR ŠÀ.[
C_a ii 25' [D]iš ina MIN [] 'šà¹.BI DÙG.GA
- 81 B iii 15' Diš KI.TA 15 GAR bi-ri-i[š ...
C_a ii 26' [Di]š ina MIN [] -ri-iš [G]IN.¹GIN¹
- 82 B iii 16' Diš MIN KI.TA 150 GAR x [
C_a ii 27' [Di]š ina MIN [] x 'x sa¹-dir-š[ú]
- 83 B Diš MIN AN.TA SI.A.MEŠ KI.MIN EM[E
C_a ii 28' []-'šú¹
-
- 84 B Diš ina 'NUNDUN¹ GAR tu-uš-šu in[a UGU-šú šUB-ut]
C_a ii (remainder is missing)
- C_a col. iii
C_a iii 1' D[iš ina MAŠ.SÌLA 150 GAR
C_a iii 2' D[i]š 'ina up¹-p[i a-ḫi-šú 15 GAR
C_a iii 3' D[i]š ina up-p[i a-ḫi-šú i 150 GAR
C_a iii 4' D[i]š ina a-ḫ[i up-pi a-ḫi-šú 15 GAR
C_a iii 5' D[i]š ina a-ḫ[i up-pi a-ḫi-šú 150 GAR

- C_a iii 6' D[i]š ina su-ḥa-t[i]-šú 15 GAR
 C_a iii 7' D[i]š ina su-ḥa-t[i]-šú 150 GAR
 C_a iii 8' D[i]š ina 1'(½)-KÙŠ' 1[5 GAR
 C_a iii 9' D[i]š ina 1-KÙŠ 15[0 GAR
 C_a iii 10' D[i]š ina KA(over erasure).KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ '15' [GAR
 C_a iii 11' D[i]š ina KA.KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ '150' [GAR
 C_a iii 12' D[i]š ina ḥi-in-pi 1-KÙŠ 1[5 GAR
 C_a iii 13' D[i]š ina ḥi-in-pi 1-'KÙŠ' 1[50 GAR
 C_a iii 14' D[i]š ina 1-KÙŠ 15 [GAR
 C_a iii 15' D[i]š ina 1-'KÙŠ 1'[50 GAR
 C_a iii 16' D[i]š ina] x [
 (remainder is missing)

Translation

- C_a i 1' [..., he will s]ee [...] and
 C_a i 2' [...], he will see [...]
 C_a i 3' [..., reco]nciliation will occur.
 C_a i 4' [...], he will constantly walk [in] grief.
 C_a i 5' [... ..], he will be happy.
 C_a i 6' [..., he] will [sh]ine² (in joy) (var.): (have to) worry².
 C_a i 7' [..., ...]. his son, ditto, who is close to him.
 C_a i 8' [..., his opponent in court will p]lot against him.
 C_a i 9' [..., losses²] will affect the house of the man.
 C_a i 10' [...], he will become [a widow]er.
 C_a i 11' [...], he will not reach (what) he desired.
 C_a i 12' [...], he will reach [(what) he desired].
 C_a i 13' [..., he] will (have to) worry.
 C_a i 14' [...] he will be [hap]py.
 C_a i 15' [..., he will fi]nd (lit. s]ee) [a treasur]e².
 C_a i 16' [..., he will esca]pe [from peril].
 C_a i 17' [..., he will (have to) wor]ry.
 (remainder is lost)

- 0₁ [If] it is placed [at his] [lo]wer jaw right, ...]
 0₂ [If] it is placed [at] his lower [ja]w left, that of someone who beli[ttles² ...]

- 0₃ [If] it is placed [a]t (his) right jaw, (his) sons will not have a (personal) god, [he will not be] ha[ppy].
 0₄ If it is placed at his left jaw, (his) sons will get (lit. sg.) a (personal) god, [he will be] hap[py].
 0₅ If it is placed below (his) right jaw, [he will (not) be] hap[py] with his sons.
 0₆ If it is placed below (his) left jaw, he will get >4< a (personal) god, h[e will be] happy.

- 0₇ If it is placed on the *inside of (his) upper lip (or at the upper gum)* right, grief (or: depression) is pla[ced upon him].
 0₈ If it is placed on the *inside of (his) upper lip (or at the upper gum)* left, happiness is pl[aced upon him].
 0₉ If it is placed on the *inside of (his) lower lip (or at the lower gum)* right (lit. right below of ...), he will consta[ntly] be hungry.
 0₁₀ If it is placed on the *inside of (his) lower lip (or at the lower gum)* left (lit. left below of ...), misfortu[ne will always accompany him].
 67 If (his mouth) is full of them on the *inside of (his) upper lip (or at the upper gums)*, the ration for his mouth will be diminish[ed].
 68 If (his mouth) is full of them on the *inside of (his) lower lip (or at the gums)*, the ration for his mouth will be cut off.

- 69 [f] it is placed [on] his tongue, slanderous accusations will be made against the man.
 70 If it is placed on the top of (his) tongue right, he will be overwhelmed by blasphemy.
 71 If it is placed on the top of (his) tongue left, blasphemy will be granted to him (without punishment).

- 72 If it is placed on the underside of (his) tongue right, he will die as a result of a broken oath.
 73 If it is placed on the underside of (his) tongue left, he will take an oath and the god will not seize him (with disease).
 74 If it is placed at the tip of (his) tongue above, he will be seized because of his insulting utterance(s).
 75 If it is placed at the tip of (his) tongue below, he will utter insults (without consequences).
 76 If it is placed at the top of the middle line of the tongue above, his mouth will be seized (by a disease).
 77 If it is placed at the top of the middle line of the tongue below, in the same year he will go successfully (var.): he will take up the (service on the) bow (var.): he will come out of an illness (recovered).
 78 If his tongue is full of them and his tongue is torn out, he will be removed (from service ?, from society ?), he will be cut out (of service ?, of society ?).

- 79 If it is placed on the *inside of his cheek* top right, starvation is imposed on him.
 80 If it is placed on ditto top left, he will be happy.
 81 If it is placed on ditto bottom right, he will have to [const]antly go hungry.
 82 If it is placed on ditto bottom left, [...] will occur to him regularly.
 83 If (he) is full of them ditto above, ditto the tongue [...], [...] him.

- 84 If it is placed at (his) lip, slanderous accusations [will be made] aga[inst the man].
 (C_a ii remainder is missing)

C_a col. iii

- C_a iii 1' If [it is placed] at his left shoulder blade, [...]
 C_a iii 2' If [it is placed] at [(the upper part of) his right] shou[lder, ...]
 C_a iii 3' If [it is placed] at [(the upper part of) his left] shou[lder, ...]
 C_a iii 4' If [it is placed] at the sid[e of his right] shoulder, [...]
 C_a iii 5' If [it is placed] at the sid[e of his left] shoulder, [...]
 C_a iii 6' If [it is placed] in [his right] armpit, [...]
 C_a iii 7' If [it is placed] in [his left] armpit, [...]
 C_a iii 8' If [it is placed] at the rig[ht] upper arm, [...]
 C_a iii 9' If [it is placed] at the lef[t] upper arm, [...]
 C_a iii 10' If [it is placed] at the right elbow, [...]
 C_a iii 11' If [it is placed] at the left elbow, [...]
 C_a iii 12' If [it is placed] in the rig[ht] crook of the arm, [...]
 C_a iii 13' If [it is placed] in the [left] crook of the arm, [...]
 C_a iii 14' If [it is placed] at the right forearm, [...]
 C_a iii 15' If [it is placed] at the le[ft] forearm, [...]
 C_a iii 16' If [it is placed at] [...]
 (remainder is missing)

Comments

C_a i These omens correspond to what is written in col. i and possibly also in the early entries of col. ii of the other sources. Unfortunately, there is no overlap with the preserved parts of these columns in sources A (from Nineveh, see *supra*, fn. 4) and B, although individual apodoses do agree.

C_a i 6' For the apodosis *inammir* 'he will shine', see, e.g., Böck 2000, 112-13 entry 82 *ina-mir*, 136-7 entry 78 *ina-me-e[r]*. The sign ZIK following the *Glossenkeil* could be either a logogram with an unknown meaning or a variant of the final sign of the preceding word. In the physiognomic omen text, *inazziq* 'he will have to worry' is typically written *ina-an-ziq* (e.g., Böck 2000, 156-7 entry 93) or *i-nam-ziq* (see, e.g., C_a i 13', 17'). The traces are inadequate to determine whether *inammir* is written here as *ina-an-mir*, or if *inazziq* is intended, written as *i-na-ziq*.

C_a i 7' I understand *qè-ru-ub-šú* as the adjective *qerbu* 'near, relative', with the possessive suffix ('who is close to him'), rather than the stative of *qerèbum* 'to come near, close', with the pronominal suffix. Compare the list of people dear to a person in a late Old Babylonian *ikribu* prayer from Tell ed-Dēr,

- IM.80213 (Di 261)⁵⁸ ll. 21-2: [...] *ki-im-ta-šu sa-la-sú* | *qè-ru-ub-šu ra-im-šu i-na sú-qí-im* ‘[...] his family, his clan, who is close to him, who likes him in the street’.⁵⁹ The traces following the break in C_a i 7’ that end with two vertical wedges could even be read -s]ú and be reconstructed to *sa-la-s]ú*, but if so, why did the scribe not add KI.MIN before DUMU-šú?
- C_a i 8’ For the apodosis, see Böck 2000, 184-5 entry 9 *šumma umšatu*.
- C_a i 9’ For the apodosis, see, e.g., Böck 2000, 96 entry 131 *alamdimmû* III. Another option for restoring this apodosis could be: [... *qa-lá*] LÚ GAR-*an* ‘[...], defam]ation (?) will be applied to the man’; however, this phrase is typically written without GAR-*an*, see, e.g., Schmidtchen 2019, 88 entry 28’.
- C_a i 10’ For the apodosis, see, e.g., Böck 2000, 208-9 entry 66 *šumma tirku*. Another option to restore this apodosis would be: [... KAR]-*ta*₅ GIN-*ak* ‘[...], he will have to constantly [fl]ee (lit. go a [fl]ight)’, see, e.g., Schmidtchen 2019, 87 entry 27’.
- C_a i 11’-12’ In the second column of source A, twice two apodoses ending in KUR-*ád* are attested in successive lines, with the first phrased negatively and the second positively, though each has a different object (entries 36-7: *ša ušammar* ‘what he aimed for’; entries 39-40: *izzimtašu* ‘his desire’), see Böck 2000, 186-7.
- C_a i 15’ This apodosis is given, e.g., in the first omen of the skin mark tablet *šumma pindû* (written *ni-šir-ta*₅ IGI-*mar*), for which see Böck 2000, 192-3 entry 157, 195 entry 1.
- C_a i 16’ For the apodosis see Böck 2000, 184-5 entry 14 *šumma umšatu*.
- C_a ii 9’ For the apodosis see Böck 2000, 188-9 entry 81 *šumma umšatu*, which requires correction based to the wording of this new source.
- 0₂ *muqallilu*, a ‘person who belittles others’, is mentioned in the tablet on behavioural omens, *šumma kataduggû*, as the protasis of an omen, see Böck 2000, 138-9 entry 119 DIŠ *mu-qa-lil* [...].
- 0₄ The scribe mistakenly wrote the singular TUK-*ši* (*irašši*) instead of the plural TUK.MEŠ or TUK-šú (*iraššû*), which would be required for the plural subject, the sons (DUMU.MEŠ).
- 0₇₋₁₀ It is striking that the scribe wrote ‘top right/left’ (AN.TA 15/150) with the ‘top’ first here, but ‘bottom right/left’ (15/150 KI.TA) with the ‘bottom’ second. In entries 79-82, however, he maintained the word order, writing both ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ first.
- 0₈ This apodosis is often written fully logographically as ŠÀ BI DÙG.GA GAR-šú.
- 0₁₀ For the apodosis, compare the Old Babylonian omen text from Sippar, Si 33 (TBP 62) rev. 2: *ina še-li ú.GIR e-mi-tam lu-mu-tum ir-te-ni-di-šu* ‘If an *umšatu* mark is (on the skin) above (lit. on) a rib, misfortune will always accompany him’, see Böck 2000, 303 entry 26.
- 71, 75 Both translations follow the suggestion of a peer reviewer, who described the apodoses as allowing him “to get away with it”.
- 77 Unfortunately, Böck (2000, 188) misread *ina sig*₅ and transliterated it as NU sig₅ ‘unhappiness, misfortune’, thus giving this omen the opposite prediction.
- 82 The cuneiform signs at the end of source C_a are written in a slightly small script, requiring more signs to be restored in the gap between the end of source B and the beginning of source C_a than would be possible in the same space of the other lines.
- C_a iii These omens would follow, perhaps after a small gap, the omens preserved in the third column of the Neo-Assyrian tablet from Nineveh, source A col. iii, for which see Böck 2000, 190-1.
- C_a iii 1’-15’ If my reconstruction and interpretation of this section are correct (see the comments below), the sequence of the parts of the body examined from the shoulder blade to the forearm is as follows: shoulder blade, upper part of the shoulder, side of the (upper) shoulder, armpit, upper arm, outside of the elbow, crook of the arm or elbow pit and forearm. In this section, the scribe uses logograms and terms not found in the other skin mark omens.
- C_a iii 1’ The restoration of ‘shoulder blade’ (MAŠ.SILA, *naglabu*) here is based on the parts of the body given in the subsequent entries (see also the discussion under C_a iii 2’-5’). The fragment of source E, which ends with the ‘shoulder blade’, has different hand writing, so the fragments do not join.
- C_a iii 2’-5’ CAD U/W, 183-4b summarises the suggested meanings for *uppi ahi* as ‘arm-socket, arm pit, upper arm’, while Schmidtchen⁶⁰ interprets it as referring either to the upper arm joint (shoulder joint or the joint cavity) or to the entire upper arm. Since both physiognomic and medical texts examine the human body strictly from top to bottom, i.e. from head to toe, and the subsequent entries refer to the ‘armpit’ (C_a iii 6’-7’: *suhātu*) and the ‘upper arm’ (C_a iii 8’-9’: KÙŠ, *aḫu*), *uppi ahi* must refer to

58 De Meyer 1982, 272 fig. 1.

59 See De Meyer 1982, 274-5.

60 Schmidtchen 2021, 456.

the upper part of the shoulder, i.e. the upper part of the humerus covered by bursae and muscles.⁶¹ A term that was thought to refer to the same part of the body is *būdu* 'shoulder'. The physiognomic omen texts describe skin marks on the right and left of both *uppi aḫi* and *būdu*.⁶² Both terms may overlap in meaning or could even be homonyms, as the two terms are not used on the same tablets, and the usage depends on tradition. In other physiognomic skin mark tablets, the entries for *būdu* are preceded by entries for the 'shoulder blade' (MAŠ.SILA, *naḡlabu*),⁶³ which is also to be expected in this tablet.

- C_a iii 8'-15' It is striking that the scribe did not add a possessive suffix to the logogram KÙŠ, while he did to EME (see entries 69, 78 and 79). In all instances (C_a iii 8'-15'), the scribe added one vertical stroke before KÙŠ, which is transliterated as 1-KÙŠ. In the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG, the phrase *kišir ammati* 'elbow' (see also C_a iii 10'-11') is also almost always written *ki-šir* 1-KÙŠ, see Heeßel 2000, 242 comment to l. 44' with fn. 21.
- C_a iii 8'-9' The scribe used the rather uncommon reading of the logogram KÙŠ as *aḫu* '(upper) arm', while other physiognomic texts write *aḫu* syllabically (in C_a iii 10'-15', he used KÙŠ in the usual reading of *ammatu* 'forearm'). He must have recalled his study of the series AN.TA.GAL, where two subsequent entries read (source G from Nineveh, entry 218) *ku-uš* *ú a-ḫu* (219) MUD-MIN *ú up-pi a-ḫu* 'kuš (is the reading of the sign) *ú* (and reads in Akkadian) *aḫu* (219) MUD_{same (reading of the sign)} *ú* (reads in Akkadian) *uppi aḫi*' (see MSL 17, 227). In the light of this text, the meanings of KÙŠ and *aḫu* in medical texts need to be reconsidered.
- C_a iii 10'-11' The meaning of KA.KEŠDA KÙŠ (written KA.KEŠDA 1-KÙŠ, see the comment to C_a iii 8'-15'), *kišir ammati* 'joint of the forearm, elbow', has long been known.⁶⁴ This term refers to the outside of the elbow with the olecranon.
- C_a iii 12'-13' The part of the forearm called *ḫi-in-pi ammati* '[...] of the forearm' is *hapax legomenon*. As the preceding entries refer to the 'upper arm' (iii 8'-9') and the 'elbow' (iii 10'-11') and the subsequent entry pertains to the 'forearm' (iii 14'-15'), this body part should likely be located in the area of the elbow. The most probable location is the crook of the arm or elbow pit (*fossa cubitalis*), which is the inner side of the elbow joint. For a possible explanation of the term see the discussion in § 2.
- C_a iii 16' Given the order of the body parts, one would expect to find the wrist (*tišit ritti*, *šisit ritti*) here, followed by the hand (KIŠIB.LÁ, *rittu*) and finger (ŠU.SI, *ubānu*). However, the traces of the signs do not allow a clear reconstruction.

Abbreviations

- CBTBM.IV-V = Leichty, E.; Finkel, I.L.; Walker, C.B.F. (eds) (2019). *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. Münster: Zaphon. dubsar 10.
- CDA = Black, J.; George, A.; Postgate, N. (eds) (2000). *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. SANTAG 5.
- Emar = Arnaud 1986.
- GAG = von Soden, W. (1995). *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. 3. Aufl. Rom: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Analecta Orientalia 33.
- KAL 1 = Heeßel 2007.
- KAR = Ebeling, E. (1919-23). *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28, 34.
- MSL 9 = Landsberger, B. (1969). *The Series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu: Tablets XV and Related Texts*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 9.
- MSL 17 = Cavigneaux, A.; Güterbock, H.G.; Roth, M.T.; Farber, G. (1985). *The Series Erim-ḫuš = anantu and An-ta-gál = šaqū*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 17.
- STT I = Gurney, O.R.; Finkelstein, J.J. (1957). *The Sultantepe Tablets*, vol. 1. London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- TBP = Kraus, F.R. (1939). *Texte zur Babylonischen Physiognomatik*. Berlin: Selbstverlag von E.F. Weidner. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 3.
- YOS 10 = Goetze, A. (1947). *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press. Yale Oriental Series 10.

⁶¹ Böck (2000, 52, 160-1 entry 148) considered the term SAG.DU MAŠ.SILA, *qaqqad naḡlabi* 'the head of the shoulder blade', to refer to this part of the shoulder translating it "Schulterkappe". However, it is easy to feel from the outside that the shoulder blade is located further back in the upper back area and is only connected to the upper end of the humerus by a joint.

⁶² See Böck 2000, 200-1 entries 100-1 *šumma pindū*, 208-9 entry 69 *šumma tirku*.

⁶³ Böck 2000, 200-1 entries 98-101, 208-9 entries 66-8.

⁶⁴ See Holma 1911, 109-10.

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Newly Identified Joins of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43 (Equines)-Fragments A.3449+A.3640+AO.6490+/(+)W.20030/116

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Abstract The article presents an edition of three Late Babylonian fragments of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43, previously considered separate manuscripts, but now virtually joined into a single witness that preserves the most complete version of the text.

Keywords Late Babylonian. Uruk. Divination. *Šumma ālu*. Animals. Donkey. Horse.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Discussion and Edition. – 2.1 Transliteration of A.3449+ (MS a). – 2.2 Translation. – 2.3 Commentary. – 3 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

J. Van Dijk (1962, 43) argued that many of the excavated fragments from Uruk numbered between W.20030/1 to W.20030/158 represent discarded fragments of illegal lootings prior to official excavation in Uruk/Warka and that the material from the Musée du Louvre published by F. Thureau-Dangin in 1922¹ came from the same spot.

This suggestion can now be further corroborated by newly identified joins between three cuneiform fragments, housed in three different collections, which together represent an almost complete Late Babylonian manuscript of Tablet 43² of the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*.³ The fragments in question, all well known from previous publications, are as follows:

I would like to thank Prof. Kai Lämmerhirt (Universität Heidelberg), Veronique Patai (Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Susanne Paulus (University of Chicago) for providing photos of W.20030/116, AO.6490, and A.3449+A.3640.

I would also like to thank Nicla De Zorzi and Francis J.M. Simons for helpful comments and additions to the edition of *Šumma ālu* T.43. In addition, I am thankful for the efforts of Francis J.M. Simons to proofread and correct the English version of this paper and for his collation of A.3449+. This collation revealed a handwritten note, dated to the 06 November 2000, by a “J.O.” which independently identified the join between the Chicago and Paris fragments. Unfortunately, it is not clear who J.O. is and why the information on this join has not found its way into the scholarly discussion.

The starting point for the work on this material was the most recent edition of *Šumma ālu* T.43 by Craig A. Harris (2022), written as part of the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* (2018-21, Universität Wien). This paper results from research conducted under the auspices of the project REPAC *Repetition, Parallelism and Creativity: An Inquiry into the Construction of Meaning in Ancient Mesopotamian Literature and Erudition* (2019-24, Universität Wien) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 803060).

1 See TCL 6, especially fn. 88.

2 ‘Tablet’ (capital letter and subsequently abbreviated T. + number) as distinct text unit is distinguished here from ‘tablet’ (without capital letter) as the medium on which the text is written.

3 Most recent edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25.



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1. W.20030/116⁴
2. AO.6490⁵
3. A.3449+A.3640⁶

2 Discussion and Edition

There are three main arguments for the identification of the joins [fig. 1]:

1. Palaeography – the fragments share similar if not the same cuneiform character forms,
2. Text – the textual position of each fragment is complementary to the other fragments, and
3. Colophon – the colophon of A.3449+ attributes the MS to the Bīt Rēš-temple and to the individual associated with this find-spot in Planquadrat Le XVI 3, Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidinti-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir.⁷

A previous problem with identifying W.20030/116 as a potential join to AO.6490 existed in the ruling present at the bottom of the obverse after the last entry⁸ but which seemed to be absent in the witness from Paris. However, collations of AO.6490 revealed that the bottom part of the obverse does not represent the bottom of the tablet itself, and actually shows traces of said ruling directly next to the edge of the break. Whether or not AO.6490 and W.20030/116 actually join physically cannot be ascertained without bringing both fragments together [fig. 2].

The Late Babylonian text A.3449+ (MS a) represents the main witness for T.43 of the omen series *Šumma ālu* – at least according to the structure suggested by the *Assur Catalogue*.⁹

Although information gathered from sources that stem from different proveniences suggests several redactions for the series, with partly differing structure and tablet numbering,¹⁰ the structure of topics for the *Šumma ālu*-section on domesticated, wild, and domestic animals (T.41-9) mostly corroborates the structure indicated by the *Assur Catalogue* even though the actual tablet numbering may have differed. As is the case with the different tablet numbering for the late Uruk-MS a whose tally notes: ^{im}KIŠIB 40.ʽKAMʽ.MA¹ (see r. 27). The ascription “T.43” used here is thus to be seen as a conventional attribution of the content to the numbering used in the *Assur Catalogue* and not the actual tablet number of the MS itself.

Five serial Neo-Assyrian witnesses are known: K.3886+K.6819 (MS B),¹¹ K.2052 (MS C), K.19791 (MS D), K.19406 (MS E), and K.19763 (MS f). While the attribution of the first fragment is more or less without doubt, some of the other fragments are viewed as possible serial MSS only due to the lack of missing entries in the preserved text portions as well as due to the position of these passages which resemble more or less what is known from MS a and MS B. The ascription remains tentative without further evidence. In addition, two excerpts contain text belonging to T.43: Rm.2, 145 (Ex₁);¹² K.6865+K.11059(+K.6436+Rm.2, 225+1879-7-8, 128 (Ex₂)).¹³

⁴ Mayer 1980, 69; Tafel 31; last edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25, 270.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin 1922, pl. 8. The preface states the fragment was purchased in 1913. Last edition: Freedman 2017, 16-25, 264.

⁶ Previously edited in Freedman 2017, 16-25, 262-3 with incorrect reg. no. A.3447 (spotted by C.A. Harris during his work for the project *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum*, Universität Wien).

⁷ Van Dijk 1962, 43.

⁸ See Mayer 1980, pl. 31.

⁹ See KAR 394+; Weidner 1936-37, 360-1 (translation of o. and r.); 1941-44, 172-3; Freedman 1998, 322-3; Rochberg 2018, 124-31.

¹⁰ See Freedman 1998, 17. All serial MSS stem from the 1st millennium and can be ascribed either to particular redactions from Nineveh and Nimrud – closely connected with the Assyrian scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu – or Assur and Neo-Babylonian redactions and Late Babylonian sources from Uruk.

¹¹ See Freedman 2017, 20-3 and 209-10.

¹² See also Freedman 2017, 20-2, 240.

¹³ The join K.6865+K.11059 was made by Zs. Földi. K.6436 and 1879-7-8, 128 were edited as separate MSS in Freedman 2017, 20-2, 247 (1879-7-8, 128) and 35, 38. K.6436 was understood as a standard witness for *Šumma ālu* T.44 but the new joins show that it is part of an excerpt tablet.

In addition, DT.298(+)¹⁵Sm.626) – formerly understood as an excerpt of T.43¹⁴ – represents an *aḫû*-excerpt with additional material taken from collections of chariot-omens.¹⁵ It is therefore treated here as a related text, which differed considerably in terms of structure and content. Note that within *Šumma ālu*, the chariot omens are not positioned after the omens on equines (T.43) and there are some hints that these omens belong to the later parts of the series. In the so-called *Uruk Catalogue*,¹⁶ the Chariot omens-incipit is found directly after an incipit referring Sumerian phrased or bilingual omens, and in close proximity to other omens concerning the king.

The following edition is basically that of the Late Babylonian MS a,¹⁷ which is the most complete MS for *Šumma ālu* 43 and which, besides the break of the beginnings of around 12 lines on the obverse, preserves the whole text.¹⁸ A short introduction dealing with the contents and structure of T.43, together with a composite transliteration, transcription, and score of all sources will be made public via the *Bestiarium Mesopotamicum* webpage at a later time. Given the relatively late date of MS a, there are some deviations in contrast to the older MSS which will be commented upon in a brief commentary following the edition.

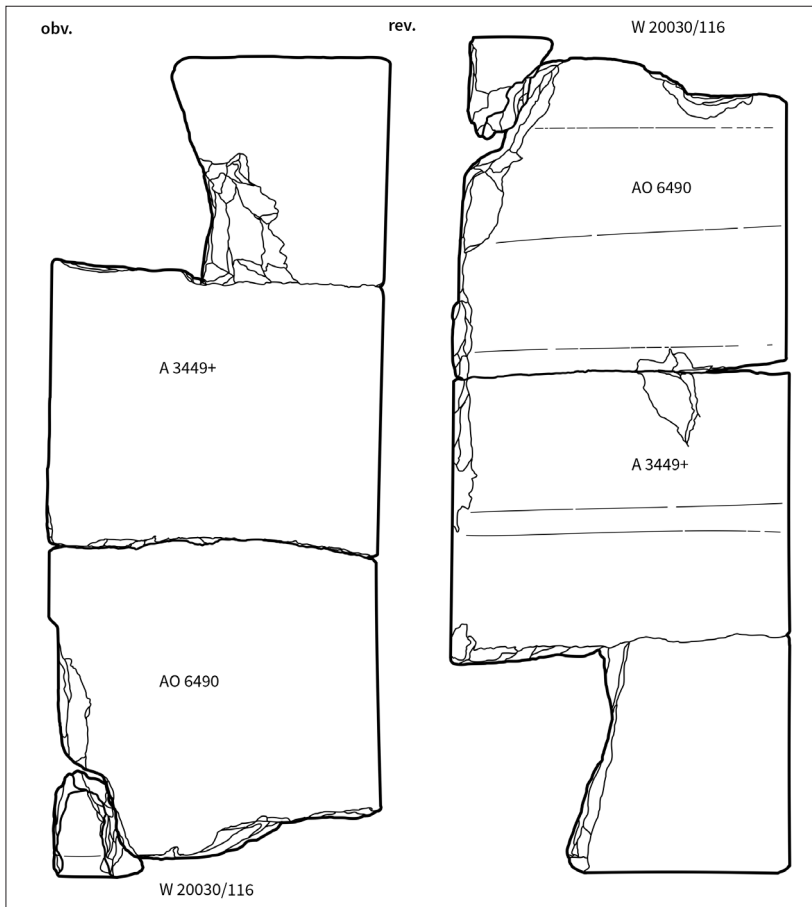


Figure 1 Overview of A.3449+A.3640+AO.6490+/(+)W.20030/116 (handcopy and copyright: E. Schmidtchen)

14 Freedman 2017, 22-3.

15 This is not only indicated by the preserved text but also by the terminology used within the colophon (ll. 5'-7': "14th ex[cerpt of 'If a city] is set [on] a height; [non-standardised?] ex[cerpt]s ... as a (written) memo[ra]ndum, ac[co]rding² to ... [...]"). However, we may also note that the excerpt mentions the catchline to T.44 (l. 4'). The respective *aḫû*-material might thus not have been fully or differently standardised in Nineveh and could, as associated material, appear together in excerpt contexts.

16 See Boddy, Huber Vulliet, Mittermayer 2022, 77-8 W.22706/2 o. 12. The instance can be transliterated with some certainty as 'Diš¹ šum₄-ma¹ LUGAL 'ù¹-lu NUN ^{9i5f}GIGIR¹ 'If the king or a prince (rides) a chariot'. Besides the unclear incipit in o. 11, the preceding l. 10 of the catalogue (Diš 'tukum'-bé 'ù-sá² EGIR¹ ud²) probably refers to a fragmentarily preserved Sumerian phrased Tablet known from the *Babylon Catalogue* (Schmidtchen 2023, 42 iii 6') and two fragments from the Nabû-zuqup-kēnu redaction of *Šumma ālu* (ND 5436+ o. 1; r. 6'-7', see CTN 4, pl. 51, and K.5905+ r. 7'-9', additional join with K.17305 by T. Mitto).

17 The other witnesses have been used for reconstructing damaged lines.

18 Cf. the previous edition by S.M. Freedman (2017, 16-25).

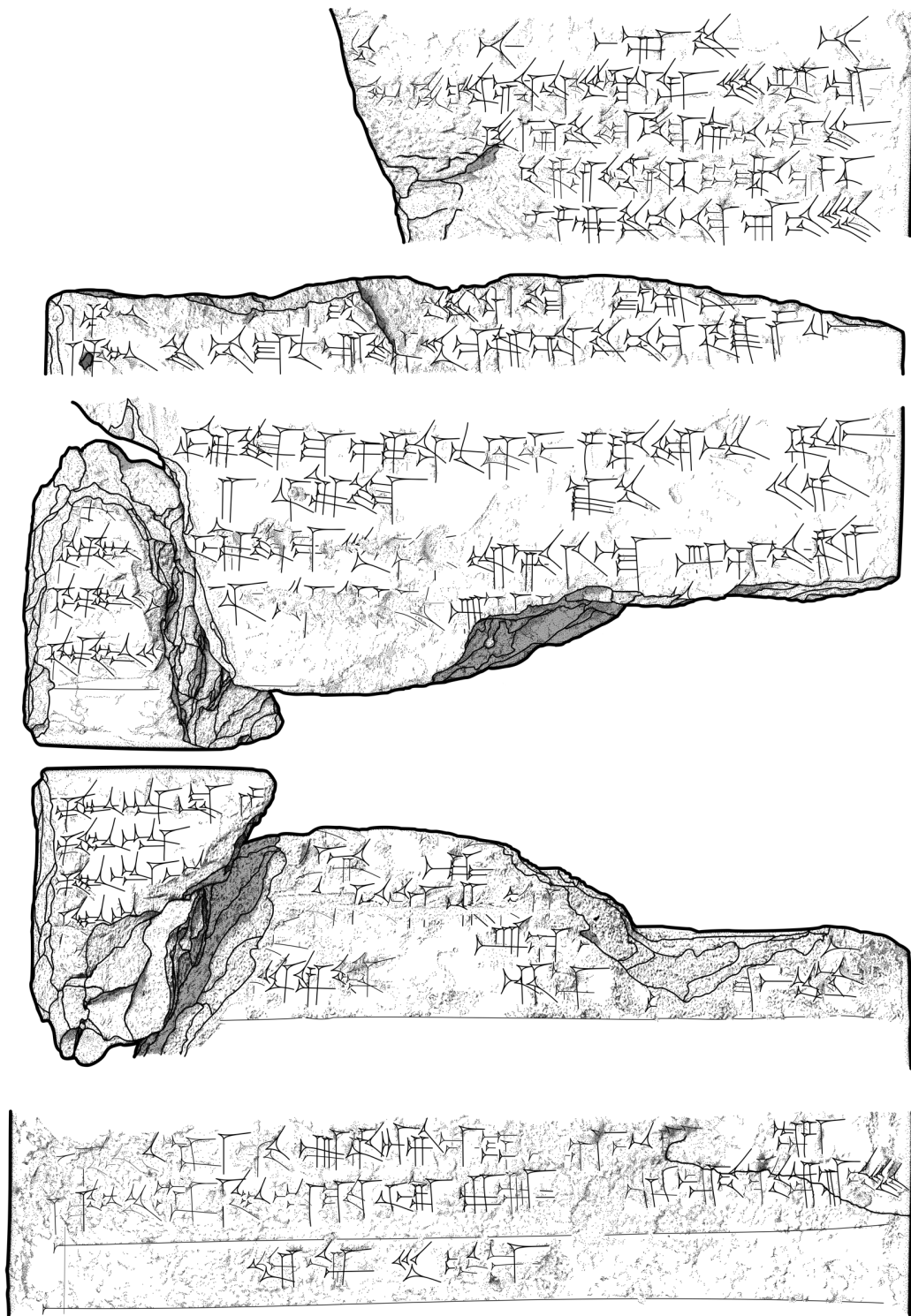


Figure 2 Collations of A.3449+, AO.6490, and W.20030/116 (handcopy and copyright: E. Schmidtchen)

2.1 Transliteration of A.3449+ (MS a)

1	o. 1	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ <i>it-ta-na-az-b</i>]a-bu BIR-aḥ URU ^{ki}
2	o. 2	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ x x x (x)] ¹ URU ¹ BI ¹⁴ KÚR KIŠ IGI
3	o. 3	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ <i>it-te-neš-g</i>]u ⁷ na-zaq {x x} URU{x} ^{ki}
4	o. 4	[DIŠ ANŠE.MEŠ x x x (x) b]i ⁷ IDIM ina É LÚ ÚŠ
5	o. 5	[DIŠ x x x x x (x x x) A]NŠE. ¹ MEŠ ¹ <i>it-ta-na⁻da-ru</i> BIR-aḥ URU
6	o. 6-7	[DIŠ (ANŠE.MEŠ ²) x x x x x (x)] ¹ x ¹ .MEŠ <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU ₄ .MEŠ- <i>ma ir-tak-ka-bu</i> [... ba] ¹ kù/za ¹⁷ ru-uq-ta-šú ¹ ¹ qer-rib-šú
7	o. 8	[DIŠ ANŠE ... ú-n]a ² -šá-ak LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR
8	o. 9	[DIŠ ANŠE ... DUM]u ² -šú BA.ÚŠ
9	o. 10	[DIŠ ANŠE ... ú]š ² -ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
10	o. 11	[DIŠ ANŠE ...] ¹ x ¹ É LÚ
11	o. 12	[DIŠ ANŠE (...) ŠIR ² .MIN ² -šú GU ₇ É BI ina ki-ri]m ² -mi-šu ZÁḤ
12	Ex ₂ 3 ¹ only:	[DIŠ ANŠE (...) ŠIR.MIN ² -šú u GIŠ-šú G]u ₇ ² li-li-da É-šú in-na-q[ar ²]
13	o. 13	¹ DIŠ ¹ A[NŠE ² (...) GIŠ-šú ² GU ₇ ² É B]I BIR-aḥ
14	o. 14a	DIŠ ANŠE ¹ KUN-su ana 15 ik-ta-na-an ¹ [x x x (x) : ...]
15	o. 14b	[DIŠ A]NŠE KUN-su ana 150 ik-ta-na-an MIN
16	o. 15	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU ₄ ni-ziq-tu ₄ ¹ si-ḥi ¹ -[il] ¹ ¹ UZU nu-kúr ² KI.TUŠ ¹
17	o. 16	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU ₄ -ma is-sí É BI ŠUB-dí
18	o. 17	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> É LÚ KU ₄ -ma GÙ.DÉ.DÉ EN É BI INIM pi<-qí> TUK-ši
19	o. 18	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ina</i> É LÚ È ŠU ¹ ŠKUR EN É BI NÍG.GÁL-šú ana KA-šú BÚR
20	o. 19	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ina</i> É LÚ IGI.MEŠ-šú GUB-za EN É BI ina la-li-šú : la u ₄ -mi-šú BA.ÚŠ
21	o. 20	DIŠ ANŠE TÚG{-šú ² } LÚ GU ₇ LÚ BI KI ¹ .ŠÚ dan-nu IGI-mar
22	o. 21	DIŠ ANŠE ¹⁴ GÚ.È LÚ GU ₇ LÚ ana ki-dí È
23	o. 22	DIŠ ANŠE ¹⁴ B.LAL LÚ GU ₇ É BI AL.BIR.RE
24	o. 23	DIŠ ANŠE ^{ku5E} .SÍR GU ₇ ina NU-URU-BI TUŠ-ab
25	o. 24	DIŠ ANŠE SÍG{-šú ² } LÚ GU ₇ mim- ¹ mu ¹ -šú {x} ¹ DUGUD ²¹ {DUGUD} È
26	o. 25	DIŠ ANŠE za-ab-bu ana IGI LÚ i-ši-ir NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
27	o. 26	DIŠ ANŠE šá ú-da-a ¹ na-šú ¹ -ú ana IGI-šú i-ši-ir GE ₆ IGI
28	o. 27	DIŠ ANŠE šá ṭa-ri-it-tu ₄ ana IGI-šú i-ši-ir GE ₆ IGI
29	o. 28	DIŠ ANŠE GEŠTU.GEŠTU-šú ana IGI-šú ip-pu-uš NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
30	o. 29	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> IGI-šú ú-zaq-qár NU KUR-ad Á.ÁŠ
31	o. 30	DIŠ ANŠE <i>ana</i> IGI-šú ¹ ṛ ² x x (x) x ¹ du ud/tú
32	o. 31	DIŠ ¹ ANŠE ¹ [<i>ana</i> É] GIBIL ¹ [š]á ² ¹ ZAG ¹ .[DU ₆] kàš-ru KU ₄ ÍBILA ¹ LÚ ¹ BA.ÚŠ
33	o. 32	DIŠ ANŠE še-pí-šu NU ¹ ú-šar ¹ -ḥi-iš ir ¹ -ta-na ¹ (lú)-bi-iš NIN ÉR
34	o. 33	DIŠ ANŠE i-na-ga-ag TÙR BI BIR-aḥ
35	o. 34	DIŠ ANŠE LÚ ir-kab ana KÙ.BABBAR SUM ù-lu-ú ^{munus} KALA.GA DAB-su
36	o. 35	DIŠ ANŠE ANŠE ir-kab EN É ¹ BAD ₄ ¹ DAB-su
37	o. 36	DIŠ ANŠE ana GU ₄ TE-ḥi ZÁḤ TÙR KI.MIN dan-nu ina URU.<BI> ZÁḤ-iq
38	o. 37	DIŠ ANŠE ana GU ₄ ú-ḥa-an-ni-iš ¹ AMAŠ ¹ TUR-ir
39	o. 38	[DIŠ È]ME iš-še-gu-ma ú-na-ásš-šak ¹ (kum) TÙR LÚ BI BIR-aḥ
40	o. 39	[DIŠ È]ME iš-še-gu-ma DÙR-ša ¹ GAZ ¹ ¹ DAM ¹ LÚ BA.ÚŠ
41	o. 40-1	[DIŠ ÈM]E iš-še-gu-ma <<ANŠE>> ¹ DÙR-ša ¹ lu ùš-su ^{sic1} GU ₇ LUGAL KUR-su BAL-su LÚ BI É.BI BIR
42	o. 42	[DIŠ ÈM]E iš-še-gu-ma ùš-šú ^{sic1} GU ₇ LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
43	o. 43	[DIŠ ÈM]E ¹ id ¹ -da-na-am-ma-[am E]N-šú ^{sic1} KÚR TI- ¹ qé ¹ -ma ¹ DAM ¹ -su id-da-nam-ma- ¹ am ¹
44	o. 44	[DIŠ ÈM]E Ù.TU-ma MIN SAG.DU-šú AŠ.TE KÚR-ir ¹
45	o. 45	[DIŠ ÈM]E Ù.TU-ma SAG.DU NU TUK-ši NÍG.ḤA.LAM.MA ina KUR GÁL-ši
46	o. 46	[DIŠ È]M[E] MIN Ù.TU UMUŠ KUR MAN-ni
47	o. 47	[DIŠ] ÈME Ù.TU-ma ¹ ŠIR.MEŠ ²¹ -šú iš-qá-lal-la TÙR BI ZÁḤ
48	o. 48	¹ DIŠ ÈME ¹ ḥ[le ² -pí ² an]a ¹ IGI KÁ EGIR-šú-nu ² TÙR[¹ IGI.MEŠ-šú-nu ² IGI.MEŠ ²] ² zi ² .GA ²¹ [ra-ma-ni-šú-n]u ²
48a	o. 49	¹ DIŠ ¹ ÈME ḥ[le-p]í ² [...]

49	r. 1	[DIŠ] DÙR GEN ₇ a- ¹ ga ² -lí ²¹ [i-na]- ¹ ga ²¹ -[ag ² TÙR BI BIR-aḥ]
50	r. 2	[DIŠ] DÙR i-n]a-ga-ag [EN-šú BA.ÚŠ]
51	r. 3	[DIŠ] DÙR ina K[Á ² É LÚ i]- ¹ dam-mu ² -um ¹ EN-šú INIM ²¹ [NÍG.GIG KUR-su]
52	r. 4	[DIŠ] DÙ[R MIN ² i-da-a]l TÙR B[¹ BI BIR]- ¹ aḥ ¹
53	r. 5	[DIŠ DÙR EN-šú i]t-ru-uk EN ¹ É i ¹ -[q]al-lil

54	r. 6	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-šu lu LÚ.MEŠ ú-na-šak LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR
55	r. 7	[DIŠ MI]N ² - ¹ ma ¹ ŠIR.MIN-šú u ĞİŠ-šú GU ₇ LÚ BI ÚŠ-ma É.BI BIR-aḥ
56	r. 8	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A ² ¹ iz ¹ -za-bi<-ib> UMUŠ KUR MAN-ni
57	r. 9	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR]. ¹ RA ¹ MIN-ma ¹ KUŠ ¹ .MEŠ-šú GU ₇ LUGAL UGU É šú-a-tu ₄ GIG-iš ĞÙ-si
58	r. 10-11	[DIŠ ANŠE.KUR.R]A ² ¹ ana ¹ É LÚ ¹ KU ₄ taq ¹ -ri-ir-tu ₄ nu-kúr ¹ KI ¹ .TUŠ É. ¹ GAL ¹ ga-mi-ir-tu ₄ É LÚ UŠ-di ni-ziq-tu ₄ TIL U ₄ -mi
59	r. 12	[DIŠ A]NŠE. ¹ KUR.RA ¹ ana É LÚ KU ₄ -ma lu ANŠE lu LÚ iš-šuk EN É ÚŠ<-ma> É.BI BIR
60	r. 13	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. ¹ RA ¹ ana É ¹ LÚ KU ₄ -ma lu im- ¹ ḥaṣ ¹ lu iš-šuk EN É ÚŠ<-ma> É BI BIR
61	r. 14	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. ¹ RA ¹ ana É LÚ KU ₄ - ¹ ma ÈME ¹ lu ¹ DAB-bat ¹ lu iš ¹ -šuk É BI ¹ BIR
62	r. 15	[DIŠ A]NŠE.KUR. ¹ RA ¹ <MIN-ma> ² ¹ EN-šú ¹ lu iš-šuk ¹ lu ¹ i[r-ḥi-i]ṣ TIL U ₄ .ME
63	r. 16	[DIŠ A]NŠE. ¹ KUR.RA ¹ EN-šú iš- ¹ ni ¹ É BI ṭa-r[i-d]u- ¹ ta ₅ ¹ DU-ak IBILA LÚ ÚŠ
64	r. 17	[DIŠ A]NŠE. ¹ KUR ¹ .RA ina É LÚ ¹ È ŠU ¹ ¹ iškur ¹ A.ŠÀ ¹ ša EDIN ¹ iškur RA-iš
65	r. 18	[DIŠ] ¹ ANŠE.KUR.RA TÚG [L]Ú ² ¹ GU ₇ LÚ ¹ BI ¹ ŠU ¹ ? ¹ SÁ.SÁ
66	r. 19	[DIŠ ANŠ]E. ¹ KUR.RA ¹ GU ₇ .È LÚ ¹ G[U ₇ ? ina DU ₁₀ .GA ¹] ¹ É ² -šú ² È ¹
67	r. 20	[DIŠ AN]ŠE. ¹ KUR.RA ¹ IB ¹ .LAL LÚ GU ₇ DA[M LÚ KI NÍT]A ¹ MAN-ma DAB<-ma> ÚŠ
68	r. 21	[DIŠ] ¹ ANŠE.KUR.RA ¹ kuš ¹ .SÍR ¹ LÚ GU ₇ [TU.RA-m]a TI-uṭ
69	r. 22	[DIŠ] AN[ŠE.KUR.R]A SÍG LÚ GU ₇ mim-m[u-šú] ¹ DUGUD ¹ È
70	r. 23	¹ DIŠ ¹ AN[ŠE.KUR.R]A ¹ ana ¹ É GIBIL ¹ (SUḤUŠ ²) šá ZAG.DU ₈ kàṣ-ru ¹ KU ₄ ¹ DAM LÚ ÚŠ
71	r. 24	¹ DIŠ ¹ ANŠE. ¹ KUR.RA ¹ ana GU ₄ ¹ TE-ḥi ¹ na- ¹ zaq ² É LÚ
72	r. 25	¹ DIŠ ANŠE.KUR ¹ .RA ana GU ₄ ¹ ḥa-an-ni-iš TUR [T]ÛR ina ¹ INIM ² -šú ² ? ¹ GU ₇
73	r. 26	¹ DIŠ ¹ <munus?>ANŠE.KUR.RA DÛR-ša ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa ² ?> ¹ GU ₇ ¹ URU BI ŠU KUR-su ² É ¹ BI ¹ BIR
tally	r. 27	¹ imKIŠIB 40. ¹ KAM ² .MA ¹

colophon

r. 28	DIŠ AM ina IGI ABUL IGI-ir URU ^{ki} NIGIN-mi
r. 29	NU ¹ up ¹ -puš ₄ {x}
r. 30	¹ im[DUB/KIŠIB ² ? ¹ m.dLX-EN-šú-nu A šá ¹ níg.šúm ¹ -ti-dLX A šá ¹ m.dEN-šú-nu ¹ šà ¹ .BAL.BAL
r. 31	¹ mÉ.KUR-za-kir ¹ ¹ MAŠ.MAŠ ¹ dLX u an-tu ₄ ¹ šEŠ.GAL-ía šá É-re-eš ¹ ¹ UMBISAG
r. 32	[U ₄ dLX dEN.LÍL.LA ...] ¹ x É ² NÍG.ŠU ² šá ² UNUG ² ? ¹
r. 33	[... ŠÀ.B]AL.BAL ¹ mÉ.KUR-za-kir
r. 34	[... š]á ² É-re-eš ¹ ¹ UMBISAG U ₄ dLX dEN.LÍL.LA
r. 35	[...] ¹ x ¹ 7 ¹ pi ² ? É SAG-eš ² É ÉŠ.GAL
r. 36	[...] kun-nu SUḤUŠ-a-a SAR-ma ú-kin
r. 37	[...] ¹ U ₄ 6- ¹ KÁM ¹ ¹ MU ¹ .AN.NA 1 ME 60+šú ¹ ?(KU ²) 2-KÁM
r. 38	[... pa- ¹]ḥ ¹ iškur ¹ ša-la u EN DINGIR.MEŠ
r. 39	[NU TÛM-šú ...] šá TÛM-šú NUMUN ina a-mat dLX u d-an-tu ₄ NU TUK-ši

2.2 Translation

- 1If donkeys are constantly agitated – scattering of the city.
 2[If donkeys ...] – that city will see a powerful enemy.
 3[If donkeys (...) are repeatedly behaving wid]ly² – worrying for the city.
 4[If donkeys ...] ... – an important person will die in the man's house.
 5[If ... don]keys are constantly becoming restless – scattering of the city.
 6[If (donkeys?) ... (and) ...?] enter a man's house and they mate with each other – [...] ...² a (female) person distant from him² will approach him (sexually²).
 7[If a donkey ... bi]tes² [...] – that man will die and his household will be scattered.
 8[If a donkey ...] – his so[n²] will die.
 9[If a donkey ... – ... will d]ie and his house will be scattered.
 10[If a donkey ... – ...] ... of the man's house.
 11[If a donkey ... eats his testicles² – that house] will slip (lit.: get lost) [from] his [gr]asp.
 Ex₂ only: 12[If a donkey ea]ts² [his testicles² and his penis²] – the offspring of his house will be pe[rish²].
 13If a d[onkey eats² his penis²] – that house will be scattered.
 14If a donkey is constantly twisting its tail to the right – [...]]
 15[If a don]key is constantly twisting its tail to the left – ditto (...²).
 16If a donkey enters a man's house – worry; stinging pain of flesh; change of residence.
 17If a donkey enters a man's house and screams – that house will be abandoned.
 18If a donkey enters a man's house and is constantly screaming – the owner of that house will have a *word of constraint* (e.g. a grave issue).
 19If a donkey leaves a man's house – hand of Adad; (concerning) the owner of that house, his property will be sold at his behest.
 20If (for) a donkey in a man's house, its eyes stand still – the owner of that house will die in his prime : before his time.
 21If a donkey eats a man's garment – the man will experience severe confinement¹.
 22If a donkey eats a man's cloak – the man will go forth into the open country.
 23If a donkey eats a man's belt – that house will be scattered.
 24If a donkey eats a man's shoe – he will settle in his prime (of life).
 25If a donkey eats a man's hair – everything of worth to him will vanish.
 26If an agitated² donkey charges forward in front of a man – non-attainment of a wish.
 27If a donkey loaded with baggage charges forward in front of him – anger.
 28If the donkey with a driving force charges forward in front of him – anger.
 29If a donkey shakes his ears in front of him – non-attainment of a wish.
 30If a donkey is rearing up in front of him – non-attainment of a wish.
 31If a donkey in front of him ...?
 32If a donkey enters [a ne]w [house who]se door frame is (already) assembled – the man's heir will die.
 33If a donkey cannot stamp²/move freely its hooves (lit.: did not let its feet trample) (and) lies constantly down – the lady will weep.
 34If a donkey is braying – that pen will be scattered.
 35If a donkey mounts a man – he will be sold for silver or hardship will seize him.
 36If a donkey mounts a(nother) donkey – hardship will seize the owner of the house.
 37If a donkey approaches an ox (sexually) – destruction (or: decline) of the pen; ditto (= If a donkey approaches an ox (sexually)) – a powerful person will disappear from <his> city.
 38If a donkey rubs (himself sexually) against an ox – the fold will be reduced.
 39[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and bites people – the man's pen will be scattered.
 40[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and kills her foal – the man's wife will die.
 41[If a jenn]y behaves wildly and eats her foal or her¹ afterbirth – (concerning) the king, his land will rebel against him; that man, his house will be scattered.
 42[If a jen]ny behaves wildly and eats her¹ afterbirth – that man will die and his house will be scattered.
 43[If a jen]ny is constantly moani[ng] – an enemy will take her¹ [o]wner and his wife will be constantly mourning.
 44[If a jen]ny gives birth and (the foal has) two heads – the throne will change (hands).
 45[If a jen]ny gives birth and (the foal) has no head – there will be destruction in the land.
 46[If a j]en[ny] gives birth to twins – the loyalty of the land will change.
 47[If a jenny] gives birth and its (viz. the foal's) testicles are hanging loose – that pen will perish.

48[If a jenny ^{br[oken]} (= gives birth and?) (the foals,) their backs (are situated) to the front of the gate, [thei]r f[aces look] (to) the pe[n – uprising of themselves?.]
 MS a only: 48a[If a jenny ^{br[oken?]} (blank) [...]

49[If] a foal [brays] like an a[*gālu*-donkey – that pen will be scattered.]
 50[If] a foal [br]ays – [his owner will die.]
 51[If] a foal moans a[t the gate?] of a man's house – [it]s owner, [bad] n[ews will reach him.]
 52[If a fo]al is w[andering ditto?] (at the gate of a man's house)] – th[at] pen [will be scatt]ered.
 53[If a foal? h]its [its owner] – the owner of the house will be despised.

54[If a hor]se behaves wildly and bites either its fellow (horse) or people – that man will die and his house will be scattered.
 55[If a ho]rse ditto (= behaves wildly and) eats his testicles and his penis – that man will die and his house will be scattered.
 56[If a ho]rse is agitated – the loyalty of the land will change.
 57[If a ho]rse is agitated and eats its (own) hide(s)? – the king will exclaim bitterly against that house.
 58[If a hors]e enters a man's house – inundation?; changing of residence; the palace will claim the entirety of the man's house; grief; end of days.

59If a horse enters a man's house and bites either a donkey or a man – the owner of the house will die <and> his house will be scattered.
 60If a horse enters a man's house and either kicks or bites – the owner of the house will die <and> his house will be scattered.
 61[If] a horse enters a man's house and either seizes or bites a jenny – that house will be scattered.
 62If a horse <enters a man's house and> either bites or tramples his owner – end of days.
 63If a horse becomes strange (towards) its owner – his house(hold members) will become fugitive; the man's heir will die.
 64If a horse departs from a man's house – hand of Adad; Adad will trample down a field in the steppe.

65[If] a horse eats [a man's] garment – someone will arrest (lit.: a hand will reach) that man.
 66[If a h]orse eats [a m]an's cloak – that man will leave the peace of his house.
 67[If a h]orse eats a man's belt – the wi[fe of the man] will be caught [with] another man and she will be put to death.
 68[If] a horse eats a man's shoe – [he will fall ill b]ut recover.
 69[If] a horse eats a man's hair – everything of worth to him will vanish.
 70If a h[ors]e enters a new¹ house whose door frame is (already) assembled – the man's wife will die.
 71If a horse approaches an ox (sexually) – worrying of the man's house.
 72If a horse rubs (himself sexually) against an ox – diminution of the pen; it will be used up on his command?
 73If a mare eats either her foal or <her afterbirth> – that city, someone will conquer (lit.: a hand will reach) it; that house will be scattered.

tally It is T.40.

catchline and colophon

“If a wild ox is seen in front of the main gate – an enemy will surround the city”. Not finished. Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendent of Ekur-zakir, incantation expert of Anu and Antu, high priest of the Bīt-Rēš, scribe of [*Enūma Anu Enlil*? ...] ...? property? of Uruk? [desc]endent of Ekur-zakir, [...] Bīt-Rēš, scribe of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, [...] ...?, Bīt-Rēš of the Ešgal, [... to] strengthen my? foundations, he wrote (it) and deposited (it). [... da]y² 6 [ye]ar² 162² [of ... whoever wo]rships Adad, Šala, and the lord of the gods [shall not take it away ...] whoever takes it away, he may have no seed by the command of Anu and Antu!

2.3 Commentary

Table 1 Parallels of *Šumma ālu* Tablet 43 (according to the Uruk MSS) in other divinatory sources

Parallels	Text position	T.43
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 19 ¹	145'-7'	45-7
	148'	43
	149'-51'	48-50
	152'-3'	51-2 (var.)
	155'	35
	157'	14
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 19 <i>aḥû</i> (LKU 124) ²	r. 14'-16', 17'-18' (var.)	48-50, 51-2 (var.)
	r. 22'	35
	r. 23'-6'	12-15
<i>Šumma izbu</i> 20 (3) ³	2-3	54(?) -5
	5-6	56-7
	9'-16'	65-72
	21'	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 5 ⁴	52	70
	53	32
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 80 ⁵	24-5	37-8 (var.)
	27 (cf. var. 25)	72
	26	71
	48	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> 94 ⁶	13-15	21-3
	16-18	65-7
	26	25
	27	69
	33	24
	34	68
	57	62
<i>Šumma ālu</i> chariot-omens K.2700 ⁷	60-1 (r. 23'-4')	54(?) -5
	iv 2'	37 (var.)
1	De Zorzi 2014, 791-811.	
2	De Zorzi 2014, 814-15.	
3	De Zorzi 2014, 834-8.	
4	Freedman 1996, 87-108.	
5	Boddy, Mittermayer 2021.	
6	Boddy 2021.	
7	Freedman 2017, 191-2.	

2-3 For the restoration cf. the comm. K.2919+: 29¹⁹ which plausibly matches the traces in MS a o. 3 [... -g]u. Note, however, the absence of the plene-spelling of the long vowel at the end of the verb (*ittenešgû*) which is otherwise suggested in the comm. text. The attribution of the comm. line with this entry is thus not entirely certain.

5 It is uncertain how many signs exactly are lost in the break before [... A]NŠE.MEŠ. Harris²⁰ proposed to restore the beginning following 42:5²¹ assuming in turn that the broken verbal form is the same as that of 43:5 (*it-ta-na-'da-ru*). The circular argumentation for the restoration of the verb notwithstanding, the space is sufficient for the assumed restoration of *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA (*ina rebīti* 'in the main square') or a similar formulation. We may also note the unusual but not exceptional position of ANŠE.MEŠ not at

19 Freedman 2017, 17-18.

20 Harris 2022, 125.

21 See Freedman 2017, 12.

the beginning of the entry but after the supposed spatial indication (e.g. [DIŠ ina SILA.DAGAL.LA AN]ŠE.MEŠ ...). Without further textual evidence, said restoration remains a possible but equally uncertain one.

6 Collations of the traces after the break do not confirm the reading for the beginning of l. 7 ([... *ip*]-*taḥ-ḥa-ru*) proposed by Freedman.²²

For the term *rūqtu* in the context of omen apodoses see BM.32589 r. 5', BM.38194 r. 4', and BM.46594 r. 17' which all belong to the same tablet of bird omens. The apodoses in these MSS have *ru-uq-ta-šú* combined with *IGI-mar* 'he will see/experience/confront something distant (fem.)'; *rūqtu* fem. of *rūqu* (adj.) 'distant, remote'; see also CAD R, 421-5 *rūqu*. Since *rūqtu* in our entry appears together with the verb *qerēbu*, cf. also expressions like *ru-qu i-qer-rib-šú* attested in *Šumma ālu* 33:49 "something distant will approach him".²³ However, the exact meaning of this expression is unclear but we may note that, due to the similarity of the verbal roots *krb (cf. the verbal form *ir-tak-ka-bu* in the protasis) and *qrb, the particular meaning of *qerēbu* as 'to approach sexually'²⁴ might indicate a semantic link between protasis and apodosis, especially since the near synonym verb *teḥū* is used more frequently than *qerēbu* in omen texts.

7 The form [... -a]z-za-ak as suggested by Freedman²⁵ seems unlikely. Besides the spelling suggested in the edition above, the traces could equally be read [... *ú-na*]š-šá-ak. Given the similar wording in protasis and apodosis of 43:39 and 54, the restoration of *iššegūma* 'the donkey behaves wildly' at the beginning is likely.

9 There are two equally plausible restorations for the first part of the apodosis: [... LÚ BI Ú]š-ma '[... that man will d]ie and ...' or [... IDIM ina É BI Ú]š-ma '[... an important person will d]ie [in that house] and ...'.

10 The traces in front of É might belong either to the end of [... BIR-a]ḥ É LÚ or [... *na-za*]q É LÚ.

11 The broken object of *GU₇* is interpreted here as ŠIR.MEŠ 'testicles' - Ex₂ o. 3' preserves [...]'MEŠ-šú'¹ *GU₇* - due to the possible reconstruction of the next entry 43:12 (attested in Ex₂) which mentions ŠIR.MEŠ-šú *u* Giš-šú '(he eats) his testicles and his penis' according to the assumed parallel instance from *Šumma izbu* 19:156' [BE ANŠE] ŠIR.MEŠ-šú *u* Giš-šú *GU₇ li-[li-da'* ...].²⁶ The entry would thus introduce the first element 'testicles' which is joined by 'penis' in 43:12. Cf. the similar entry concerning a horse in 43:55. However, a restoration of [KUS].MEŠ-šú '(the donkey eats) his [hide]', similar to the wording in 43:57, cannot be excluded.

12 It should be noted that the entry is attested in Ex₂ only and it is uncertain whether it was omitted in MS a or whether it was noted on o. 13a, against which would speak the spatial distribution of the end of the line.

See the comment on 43:11. The term *lillidu* mentioned in the apodosis in Ex₂ is also commented upon in the comm. K.2919+ r. 1.²⁷

13 Both entries in r. 23'-4' of the *Šumma izbu aḥū* text LKU 124 could represent parallels to 43:12-13,²⁸ which is also suggested by the following two entries r. 25'-6' paralleling 43:14-15. Note that the parallels deal principally with DÜR(*mūru*) 'foal' and not ANŠE(*imēru*) 'donkey'. We may thus sense some textual corruption or misunderstanding, which might have happened either in the process of textual transmission during the serialization of each series (viz. *Šumma ālu* and *Šumma izbu*) or during the copying process of either series in later times.

²² Freedman 2017, 19.

²³ Freedman 2006, 207.

²⁴ CAD Q, 233a *qerēbu*.

²⁵ Freedman 2017, 19.

²⁶ De Zorzi 2014, 811; cf. also the presumably same entry in the context of *Šumma izbu aḥū*-omens edited in De Zorzi 2014, 815 r. 23'.

²⁷ See Freedman 2017, 17.

²⁸ De Zorzi 2014, 815.

18 For the restoration of *pi<-qi>* cf. the comm. K.2919+ r. 3-4.²⁹ We may also note that the explanation of the comm. suggests an alternative meaning beside *amāt pīqi* ‘word of constraint (viz. a critical issue)’. For the proposed translation cf. also the comm. on *Šumma ālu* 49:80 (DT.37).³⁰

19 See also the comm. text K.2919+ r. 5-6,³¹ possibly referring to the case of a horse leaving the owner’s house (Ē in the serial MS), as well as the alternative equation of the common logogram Ē not as the usual reading (*w*)*ašû* but as *maḥû* ‘to go frenzy’.

Note also the variant NÍG.GÁL instead of NÍG.ŠU (both for *būšu* ‘property’) in Ex₂ 7’ for this entry.

20 The protasis might be identical with that commented upon in the comm. K.2919+ r. 7 ([... *š*]á IGI. MIN-ŠÚ *i-ḫal-li-qa-ma* ‘[... whose] two eyes are lost (or: escape) and’).³²

21 The variation between the apodosis KI'.ŠÚ *dan-nu* IGI-*mar* and the one in 94:13 might be based on a corrupt reading of *ina é* as *dan-nu*. The sign KAL(*dan*) resembles the sign É and -*nu* might have been added due to a misunderstanding of the previous sign as the logogram KALA.(GA) which is equated with the root **dnn*. In any case, we should also note that the main source for the omen in T.94 also stems from Late Babylonian Uruk,³³ and so it cannot be decided which of the texts provides the more original reading.

Note the omission of the otherwise unnecessary -šÚ in the protasis after TÚG.

23 The sign RI in the verbal form AL.BIR.RI likely represents an error for -*aḫ*.

24 As in the case of 43:21, it is uncertain which of the sources provides the earlier reading of the apodosis. Both formulations, *ina* NU-URU-BI TUŠ-*ab* (43:24) and *ina* NU INIM-ŠÚ DAB-*bat* ‘he will be caught in an affair that is not his’ (94:33),³⁴ are similar but their meanings differ considerably. We may note that the reading of the Late Babylonian source for T.94 is partly corroborated by another Neo-Assyrian excerpt which might be suggestive for the evaluation of the readings of our late source for T.43 which seems to have a lot of textual corruptions.

25 The same apodosis also appears in 43:69, again with the spelling *mim-mu-šú* which thus suggests *mimmû* as the likely subject of Ē (the translation follows a suggestion by N. De Zorzi concerning 43:69) and not, as would be another possible reading, DUGUD (i.e. ‘an honoured person will leave everything (belonging to) him’).

26 The verb *ešēru* can have the meanings ‘to straighten up’, ‘to charge’, and ‘to thrive’.³⁵ Within the context of 43:26, ‘to straighten up, rear up’ offers a possible meaning, but in the following entries the verb clearly refers to the circumstance of a donkey ‘going straight’, i.e. ‘charging’; note also the meaning “zugehen auf” in the AHW,³⁶ which has been chosen here as translation for the verb in the protasis for the entire section 43:26-8.

27 For the protasis see the comm. K.2919+ r. 8-9.³⁷

28 The interpretation of *ṭa-ri-it-tu₄* is uncertain, and the word – probably either a fem. sing. ptcp./adj. derived from *ṭarādu* ‘to drive away’ – is rarely attested. In the dictionaries, it is assumed to refer to a disease.³⁸ This interpretation is based on the fact that the rare word appears together with *ḫimīṭ ṣēti* ‘heat stroke (?) (lit.: burning of heat/light)’ and *riḫiṣti Adad* ‘trampling (down) of Adad’ in a *tamītu*-prayer citing illnesses or bad events from which the sufferer wishes to escape. The term has not been

29 Freedman 2017, 18.

30 Cf. Jiménez 2016.

31 Freedman 2017, 18.

32 Freedman 2017, 18.

33 See SpTU 3, no. 97.

34 Translation according to Boddy 2021, 12.

35 CAD E, 352b *ešēru*.

36 AHW 254-5 *ešēru(m)* 7.

37 Freedman 2017, 18.

38 CAD T, 62a *ṭarittu*, “persecutor (name of an illness)”; AHW 1382 “Vertreibende”, “ein Übel (Seuche?)”.

translated by Freedman³⁹ because a ‘disease’ does not seem to make sense in the context of this protasis. In accordance with the translation of the *tāmītu*-passage by Lambert⁴⁰ “driving force”, it is assumed here to refer to a driving force behind the charging of the animal.

The comm. K.2919+ r. 10-11 possibly elucidates the meaning of this omen, but unfortunately, only the right edge of the text is preserved ([...] ANŠE *ra-ad-du* | [...] SAR: *ra-da-du* ‘[...] pursued donkey | [...] SAR (means) to pursue’).⁴¹ Note further that the two verbs *ṭarādu* and *radādu* are often associated with each other in commentaries.⁴²

31 Note that Freedman⁴³ interprets A.3449+ ll. 30-1 as one entry running over two lines and assumes a gap after l. 31 until the texts continuation with AO.6490. The new join shows that ll. 30 and 31 must represent separate entries, which brings the Uruk MS a into alignment with the Neo-Assyrian witness MS B.

32 Note the erroneous connection of AO.6490 o. 1' with 43:71' by Freedman.⁴⁴

33 Concerning the difficult verbal form *ušarḥiṣ*, the CAD cites the beginning of the omen as *šumma imēru še-bi-šu ú-šar-ḥi-iṣ*⁴⁵ without translating the verb interpreted as *raḥāšu* B ‘to wash, to bathe’. However, Freedman⁴⁶ interprets *ú-šar-ḥi-iṣ* differently as of *raḥāšu* A (Š) with the meaning “to trample”⁴⁷ although no Š-stem is listed for *raḥāšu* A in the CAD.⁴⁸ In contrast, von Soden combines A and B under one lemma and suggests that the verb means “to swamp, inundate” first and, secondarily, “to trample”.⁴⁹ George⁵⁰ collected passages in omens, commentaries, and lexical texts demonstrating that *raḥāšu* (i/i) means “to trample”. He notices furthermore that in a few instances, *raḥāšu* can come to mean “to run”.⁵¹ Assuming that the preceding NU is part of a pl. pronoun suffix *-šunu*, the verb refers either to the inability of the equine to move freely or stamp its feet or hooves which thus condemns it to constantly lie down (*irtanabbiṣ*). In support of this, we may note that, with the exception of MS B o. 3', no pl. form of ANŠE is noted and MS B likely represents a hypercorrection due to a misunderstanding of the form as plural suffix.

Note the scribal error in the second verbal form *ir'-ta-na'(LÚ)-bi-iṣ* and the differences in the apodoses of Ex₂ o. 7' (ERIŠ-ti e x) and MS a (NIN ÉR). Again, it is quite possible that the apodosis of the late MS a results from a textual corruption, here, due to the similarity between the sign APIN/ERIŠ and NIN. The traces on the edge in Ex₂ might indicate to read either *e-š'i-x'* or *e 'É'*. Since the exact formulation in Ex₂ is unclear due to the damage at the edge, the meaning of the apodosis remains uncertain without further evidence.

36 Ex₁ l. 3' was erroneously attributed to omen 43:34 by Freedman.⁵²

37 The translation of *dannu* as ‘strong, powerful, reliable person’⁵³ has been chosen here instead of “despotic person” given by Boddy and Mittermayer for the parallel in T.80, in part due to the change of the following verb GÁL (*bašû* N-stem ‘will occur, appear’) in T.80 and KAL I (having either (¹⁴)KAL for *dannu* or BAD₄ for *dannatu*) to *ḥalāqu* ‘to get lost, disappear’ in T.43, and in part to the overall negative tone of the apodosis in the present text, which implies the loss of desirable things.

39 Freedman 2007.

40 Lambert 2013, 71.

41 Freedman 2017, 18.

42 CAD R, 58 *radādu*.

43 Freedman 2017, 20.

44 Freedman 2017, 264.

45 CAD R, 73-4 *raḥāšu* B.

46 Freedman 2017, 24: 33'.

47 CAD R, 69-72 *raḥāšu* A.

48 See also Freedman 2017, 24.

49 AHW 942-3 “überschwemmen; spülen”.

50 George 2013, 62-3.

51 See also AHW 943 *raḥāšu(m)* I G 3a.

52 Freedman 2017, 240.

53 In addition to the few attestations in the CAD, cf. also the use of the term in Simons 2022a, 105.

39 The spelling *ú-na-áš-kum* in MS a represents most likely a scribal mistake and not a variant. It is assumed here that the sign KUM was confused with SAG(*šak*) since the form *ú-na-áš-ku*₁₃/*qu*?, as read by Freedman, would be ungrammatical.⁵⁴

Note the variant wording of the apodosis between MS B and Ex₂ (TÜR É LÚ BIR-*aḥ*) and the Late Babylonian MS a (TÜR LÚ BI BIR-*aḥ*).

41 Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in *ùš-su* which should be fem. as in the preceding 'DÜR-*ša*'.

42 Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in *ùš-šú* (s.a.).

43 Note the wrong gender of the pronoun in [E]N-*šú* instead of the correct [E]N-*šá/ša*.

44 Note the variation between the apodoses of MS a (AŠ.TE) and MS B (^{gis}GU.ZA).

46 Although the *tēmu* may have the meaning 'derangement, insanity' when combined with *šanú*,⁵⁵ it is more likely in the present context that it refers to the mood or loyalty of the land to its ruler.⁵⁶

48 As can be seen in the var. versions in the parallels *Šumma izbu* 19 (LKU 124) and *Šumma izbu* 19:149',⁵⁷ there seems to have been some corruption in these MSS. E.g., the form ANŠE.MEŠ at the beginning of *Šumma izbu* 19:149' might be based on the non-transparent use of the plural pronoun *-šunu*, which is supposed to refer originally to the new-born foals, and the omission of *ù.TU-ma* in the standard redaction that is still present in LKU 124. The context of giving birth is clearly indicated here, and it shows the same sequence as our section, which is followed by omens concerning the new-born foal.

Note further the var. syntax between *Šumma izbu* and *Šumma ālu* 43:48 in the examples mentioned above: IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TÜR IGI.MEŠ vs. TÜR IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* IGI.MEŠ (T.43).

The present reading of the end of the line in MS a, which merges both lines of the entry attested in Neo-Assyrian sources, is tentative. Cf. the following comment on 43:48a for an alternative interpretation.

48a The entry is problematic since it is attested nowhere but MS a. Considering the spatial distribution of 43:48 in MS B, in which the second line has only ZI.GA (blank space) *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*, we may speculate that a similar distribution was used in MS a. If so, 'DIŠ' ÉME at the beginning in MS a would represent a hypercorrection of the second line of 43:48 having been understood by the Late Babylonian scribe as a separate, broken entry, marked with a *hepi*-gloss. Note that the break in this part of the original underlying MS a is already indicated by the first *hepi*-gloss at the beginning of entry 48.

The ruling following this line (in the Neo-Assyrian MSS after 43:48 and in W.20030/116 after 48a), can now be verified for AO.6490 (MS a) thanks to new coll. of the broken bottom edge (see the short discussion in the introduction above and the collations in fig. 2 below).

49 For the traces at the top of the reverse of MS a, which might belong to the verbal form [*i-na*]-*ṛga*?- [*ag*? ...], see the collations in figure 2 below.

52 Unlike MS B, the spatial distribution of the signs in the protasis of MS a suggests the use of the ditto-marker MIN after DÜR.

54 Freedman,⁵⁸ following the copy in TCL 6, suggests that MS a (there AO.6490 r. 5') preserves a different version of the omen protasis and transliterates [... L]U₂ *iš-še-gu-ma lu tap-pa-šu lu* LU₂.MEŠ *u₂-na-šak*. However, coll. of photographs rules this out [fig. 2]. The supposed [L]Ú is better understood as the end of RA in [ANŠE.KUR.R]A.

54 Freedman 2017, 264.

55 CAD T, 95b *tēmu*; see also Harris 2022, 153.

56 See CAD T, 93-4 *tēmu* 4 and Stol 2009, 2-3.

57 [BE] ANŠE.MEŠ *ana* IGI KÁ EGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu* IGI.MEŠ-*šú-nu* TÜR IGI.MEŠ [ZI.GA *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*]. Note the new join of K.10481 to MS A.

58 Freedman 2017, 264.

57 The plural of *kuš* (*mašku*) ‘hide’ is not usually attested with *GU₇*(*akālu*) ‘to eat, devour’. However, it is uncertain if the logogram *kuš* is thus to be read *SU* = *šīru* ‘flesh’, more often written *UZU*(.MEŠ).⁵⁹ Note the transferred meaning of *šīru* concerning kin and blood (viz. the family or tribe) which might have had here a particular underlying notion, although a symbolical connection between the agitation of the king in the apodosis and the agitation of the horse in the protasis is not fully certain.⁶⁰ Besides, eating the own flesh is a very curious phenomenon and eating the own skin would be much more probable, especially since it is known as peculiar behaviour of horses. The reading *kuš* has therefore been adopted here.

58 The meaning of the term *taqrirtu* is unknown but it appears more than once in omen literature,⁶¹ cf. also 42:29 (DIŠ *ana* É LÚ *GU₄* *KU₄-ma* ŠURUN-su ŠUB *taq-ri-ir²¹-[tu₄[?] ...]* x *i-qá-ru-ur*⁹¹⁵N[Á ...]; note the shared root **qrr* of *taq-ri-ir²¹-[tu₄[?]]* and *i-qá-ru-ur*). Freedman⁶² suggests a meaning similar to ‘inundation’ relating it to the verb *qarāru* ‘to overflow, to pour’. Note that **qrr* and **grr* are listed under one lemma in AHw 902-3 with the basic meaning “sich krümmen; schlängeln”⁶³ and it appears time and again in the context of proskynesis, which might give a hint to the underlying meaning.

The variation between MS a and the other sources is minimal, chiefly concerning the position of *gami/erti* ‘everything’. In MS a, it has been integrated into the apodosis’ formulation “the king will claim everything of the man’s house(hold)” but in MS B and Ex₁, it very probably represents a gloss, marked with the *Glossenkeil* (:), to É LÚ and is thus to be translated “the king will claim the man’s house(hold) var.: everything (of the man)”.

61 Note the variation from MSS B and C, which read ÈME *lu* DAB-*ma* *iš-šuk-ši* in contrast to ÈME *lu* DAB-*ma* *lu* *iš-šuk* in MS a. This reading is also found in the parallel entry in the chariot omens in K.2700+ r. 22’ (59) (‘DIŠ’ [...] *lu* *iš-šuk-ši* É BI BIR-*aḥ*).⁶⁴ The unusual use of enclitic *-ma* in combination with *lu ... lu* ‘either ... or’ suggests a textual corruption in MS a.

62 Since MSS B and C both include *ana* É LÚ *KU₄-ma* as the first part of the protasis, the phrase is probably to be understood as an accidental omission in MS a, presumably written <MIN-*ma*> or similar.

66 Freedman⁶⁵ translates “in happiness” for the formulation *ina* DU₁₀.GA É-*šu* in the apodosis, but this seems unlikely due to the genitive construction suggested by the spelling of the pronoun *-šu* (viz. *bītīšu* and not *bīssu* as would be expected without genitive) and the explicit syllabic spelling in the parallel *Šumma ālu* 94:17 (*ina* ṭu-*ub* É-*šú*).

67 The sign *úš* in the apodosis could also be read *-bat* and understood as a phonetic complement to DAB(*iššabbat*). However, the majority of manuscripts, including the parallel in *Šumma ālu* 94, have both DAB and *úš*, and more importantly, Ex₁ adds *-ma* after DAB. It is therefore most likely that the sign was meant to be read *úš* at the end of the apodosis and *-ma* after DAB has been mistakenly omitted in MS a.

68 Note that Freedman⁶⁶ mistakes the end of RA for the end of DAB, and restores the entry based on the wording of 43:67.

72 There are traces after TUR in MS a, which resemble a *Glossenkeil* (:), but the following sign is certainly TÜR and a *Glossenkeil* would be highly unusual in the middle of a genitive construction, even though not impossible.

The reading of the apodosis is not entirely certain. While the traces in front of *GU₇*, in Ex₁ r. 18 might belong to [... *ina* INI]M-*šú²¹* ‘on his word/command’, the reading of the supposed end of the protasis in

59 Cf. CAD Š/3, 114-15 *šīru* A.

60 CAD Š/3, 118 *šīru* A 2.

61 CAD T, 201b *taqrirtu*.

62 Freedman 2017, 25.

63 For a more recent discussion cf. Simons 2022b, 46-7.

64 Freedman 2017, 29.

65 Freedman 2017, 22.

66 Freedman 2017, 22.

Ex₁ r. 17 remains highly speculative. It has been interpreted here as [... ú-k]a²-an-ni-<iš>² following the reading [...]ḫa-an-ni₃-[...] by Freedman.⁶⁷ If read correctly, the form is probably to be considered corrupt.

73 Note that MS a and Ex₂ omit MUNUS before ANŠE.KUR.RA but use the female poss. suffix -ša whereas in MS B, MUNUS is written together with dittography of the cuneiform sign ANŠE. Thus, the omission of MUNUS does not necessarily imply a male horse as the subject of an omen. The protases of the Late Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian redaction differ in the spellings ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa> (MS a) and ù-lu ùš-sa (Ex₂). A textual corruption (ù-lu <ùš>-sa¹) or an omission (ù-lu-ú <ùš-sa>), as indicated in the transliteration above, are possible.

Note the difference in the apodoses of MS a (KUR-su; see the collations in fig. 2) and Ex₂ (the joined fragment 1879-7-8, 128 o. 11' reads KUR-ád).

tally Freedman⁶⁸ interprets the beginning of the tally as IM.SAR 'inscriptions'. However, the sign after IM resembles rather UM (cf. collations of 43:51 in fig. 2) or DUB (cf. collations of the tally in fig. 2; from Neo-Babylonian period on, forms like ^{im}DUB or ^{im}KIŠIB look more or less the same as each other),⁶⁹ which, in turn, suggests that the tally refers to the number of the Tablet which can therefore be read '40' in this Late Babylonian redaction.

colophon The indication "[... da]y⁷ 6, [ye]ar⁷ 162²" in MS a r. 37 refers to the year 162 SE, corresponding roughly with the years 151/150 BCE, which falls in the reign of Alexander I Balas (150-145 BCE).⁷⁰ This date corresponds well with the other dated fragments between W.20030/1-158 from the Rēš-temple,⁷¹ which stem mostly from the time between 120 and 150 SE in contrast to the Louvre texts (TCL 6), which date to an earlier time (around 90 to 100 SE).

The restoration of the form *pa-liḫ* in r. 38 and the possible beginning in the damaged first part of l. 39 (in accordance with BAK 96) has been kindly suggested to me by N. De Zorzi.

3 Conclusion

The content and positioning of the three fragments are complementary (see discussion and edition above), and the break shapes also match [fig. 1]. The ruling at the end of the obverse of the Louvre-fragment aligns with traces on the Heidelberg-fragment, and the palaeography is clearly identical [fig. 2]. Moreover, the colophon of the Chicago-fragment supports the dating of several manuscripts from the Rēš-temple, discovered at the same site as the Heidelberg-fragment. Together, these factors strongly suggest that the three fragments belong to the same manuscript.

67 Freedman 2017, 240.

68 Freedman 2017, 23.

69 See the note in Borger 2010, 301 no. 242.

70 Cf. the similar colophon BAK 94.

71 Van Dijk 1962, 43.

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From the *Electronic Babylonian Literature Lab 48-51*

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Abstract The article includes the following notes: 48. “CBS.11957: A New Manuscript of Middle Babylonian *Atraḫasis*”; 49. “More *Gilgameš* Fragments”; 50. “A New Late Babylonian Fragment of *Nergal and Ereškigal*”; 51. “New Manuscripts of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (2)”.

Keywords Babylonian. Cuneiform. Literature. Flood epic. Gilgamesh. Nergal. Ereshkigal. Gula.

Summary 48 CBS.11957: A New Manuscript of Middle Babylonian *Atraḫasis*. – 49 More *Gilgameš* Fragments. – 50 A New Late Babylonian Fragment of *Nergal and Ereškigal*. – 51 New Manuscripts of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (2).

48. “CBS.11957: A New Manuscript of Middle Babylonian *Atraḫasis*”, Geraldina Rozzi

49. “More *Gilgameš* Fragments”, Enrique Jiménez

50. “A New Late Babylonian Fragment of *Nergal and Ereškigal*”, Geraldina Rozzi

51. “New Manuscripts of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (2)”, Elizabeth Bennett

After an uncommon two-year hiatus, we are pleased to present the penultimate collection of the *eBL* series. The present installment marks a significant milestone, as it coincides with the conclusion of the funding from the Sofja Kovalevskaja Award (Alexander von Humboldt Foundation) on 30 June 2024. The platform’s development now takes place under the auspices of the “Cuneiform Artefacts of Iraq in Context” (CAIC) project at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities. This installment continues the tradition of publishing newly identified fragments and manuscripts. The final collection, slated for publication next year, will include several significant manuscripts of OB *Atraḫasis*, *Enūma eliš*, and the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*, which could not be accommodated in this volume due to time constraints.

Over the past two years, the *eBL* platform has grown substantially: its Library (formerly known as the Fragmentarium) now hosts over 31,000 text editions, comprising more than 450,000 lines. The corpus has expanded beyond its original focus on literary texts, with notable contributions such as the new edition of the higher tablets of the *Šumma Ālu* series by the Geneva team led by Catherine Mittermayer. In the literary corpus, the edition of the *Atraḫasis* epic constitutes the only major gap: work on this



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text is well advanced, and its publication will follow the release of several large new manuscripts from the Sippar Library.¹

48 CBS.11957: A New Manuscript of Middle Babylonian *Atraḫasīs*

The Middle Babylonian tablet CBS.11957 was found, according to the Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, during J. Peter's Second Expedition in Nippur (1889-90).² Though in a poor state of preservation, the text appears to be an Akkadian narrative with similarities to the *Atraḫasīs* epic.³ CBS.11957 may belong to the same tablet as CBS.13532, which has long been known as part of the Middle Babylonian version of *Atraḫasīs*.⁴ Only the obverse of CBS.13532 is preserved, and it appears to contain the portion of the myth in which Enki/Ea instructs *Atraḫasīs* to build a boat and save himself and his family from the impending flood.⁵ While CBS.13532 is undoubtedly part of the *Atraḫasīs* tradition, it exhibits few direct parallels with other known versions of the epic, suggesting a unique textual variant.⁶

Both CBS.11957 and CBS.13532 exhibit consistently traced guide lines, a feature commonly found in manuscripts of epic texts. This practice dates back to the Old Babylonian period and is particularly prevalent in manuscripts of *Atraḫasīs*.⁷ From the limited portion that can be reconstructed in CBS.11957, the tablet appears to depict an episode connected to the opening of the known Flood Myth narrative. A deity, likely Enlil, is portrayed as unable to sleep. This is followed by what seems to be a dialogue between two individuals, in which the words of one are echoed verbatim by the other. The text incorporates familiar formulaic expressions from the Akkadian epic tradition, such as *ana mārēšu izakkar* "he speaks to his children", as well as repetitions of specific verses (obv. 10'-11' and rev. 13'-16'), a hallmark of Akkadian poetic compositions [fig. 1].⁸

Few CVC signs are attested in either CBS.11957 or CBS.13532; mimation occurs though inconsistently. Plene spelling is observed for long middle and final vowels, e.g. obv. 7' *bé-e-lum*, obv. 10' *bé-e-[li?]*, obv. 12' *ma-re-e-šu* (probably a plural); obv. 11' and 14' *ʿšeʿ-ʿma¹-ʿa¹-ʿat²*, if the reconstruction is correct. The shift *št > lt* seems to occur in CBS.11957 obv. 6' *ul-ta-bal-ma*.

The digitization of previously unnumbered fragments from the British Museum collections has enabled the identification of numerous new manuscripts, some of which are included in this collection (e.g. 51 MSS 1 and 13). This effort owes much to the tireless work of J. Taylor, to whom we extend our heartfelt gratitude. Thanks are also expressed to T. Mitto for his careful revision of the articles. We also wish to acknowledge the unwavering support of the KASKAL team, whose collaboration has been invaluable as we follow them into the new, digitally born format of the journal. The tablets edited here are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

1 Fadhil, Jiménez forthcoming.

2 The catalogue adds "cf. Peters, Box 28". In Peters' List of Boxes and Contents (UPMAA Nippur 10.06, 101-4), boxes 23-34 are marked as stemming "From Library at X"; "Mound X" is Peters' designation of what Hilprecht called "Mound VI" and "Kassite library", i.e. the southeasternmost section of the West Mound (see Jiménez 2022, 14). For a summary on the archaeological location of the Nippur archive, see Clayden 2016 and Jiménez 2022, 12-19.

3 The first comprehensive edition of the epic was published by Lambert, Millard 1969; an *eBL* edition is in preparation; cf. also the recent digital edition of OB I by Wasserman and Streck at the link <https://seal.huji.ac.il/node/1515>.

4 CBS.13532, MB Nippur in the forthcoming's *eBL* edition. The tablet was first published by Hilprecht 1910, who believed it to contain "the earliest version of the Babylonian Deluge story", a statement that was challenged almost immediately by others, e.g. King 1911, 709a, who showed the tablet to be Middle Babylonian in date (see in general Kuklick 1996, 135-6). According to Hilprecht, the fragment was found in "Tablet Hill" during the Fourth Expedition (1899-1900), but this statement was put in question by several scholars (Bezold 1910; Barton 1911, 46-7), and in any case Hilprecht also claimed that no Middle Babylonian tablets were found in "Tablet Hill" (Jiménez 2022, 97 fn. 267). See the editions by Lambert, Millard 1969, 126-7 and more recently Wasserman 2020, 77-8. Certain paleographic differences may cast doubt on the proposed connection between CBS.13532 and CBS.11957: for instance, the sign *ma* in CBS.11957 o. 13' and 15' has a vertical at the onset, but towards the middle in CBS.13532 r 5'-6'. Nevertheless, a certain degree of variation in the shape of signs within the same manuscript is not without precedent in Middle Babylonian literary tablets.

5 For similar passages, compare OB *Atraḫasīs* III 25-33 (Lambert, Millard 1969, 66-7; Wasserman 2020, 77-8) and the small Neo-Assyrian fragment DT 42 (Lambert, Millard 1969, 66-7).

6 These are the clearest parallel lines noted in the forthcoming *eBL* edition: OB III 21, cf. MB Nippur a+6; OB III 29, cf. MB Nippur a+9.

7 Hess 2015, 263 with fn. 29. High-quality photographs of both CBS.11957 and CBS.13532, taken by Anna Glenn, are available on the *eBL* site.

8 Wisnom 2023, 112-53 with previous literature.

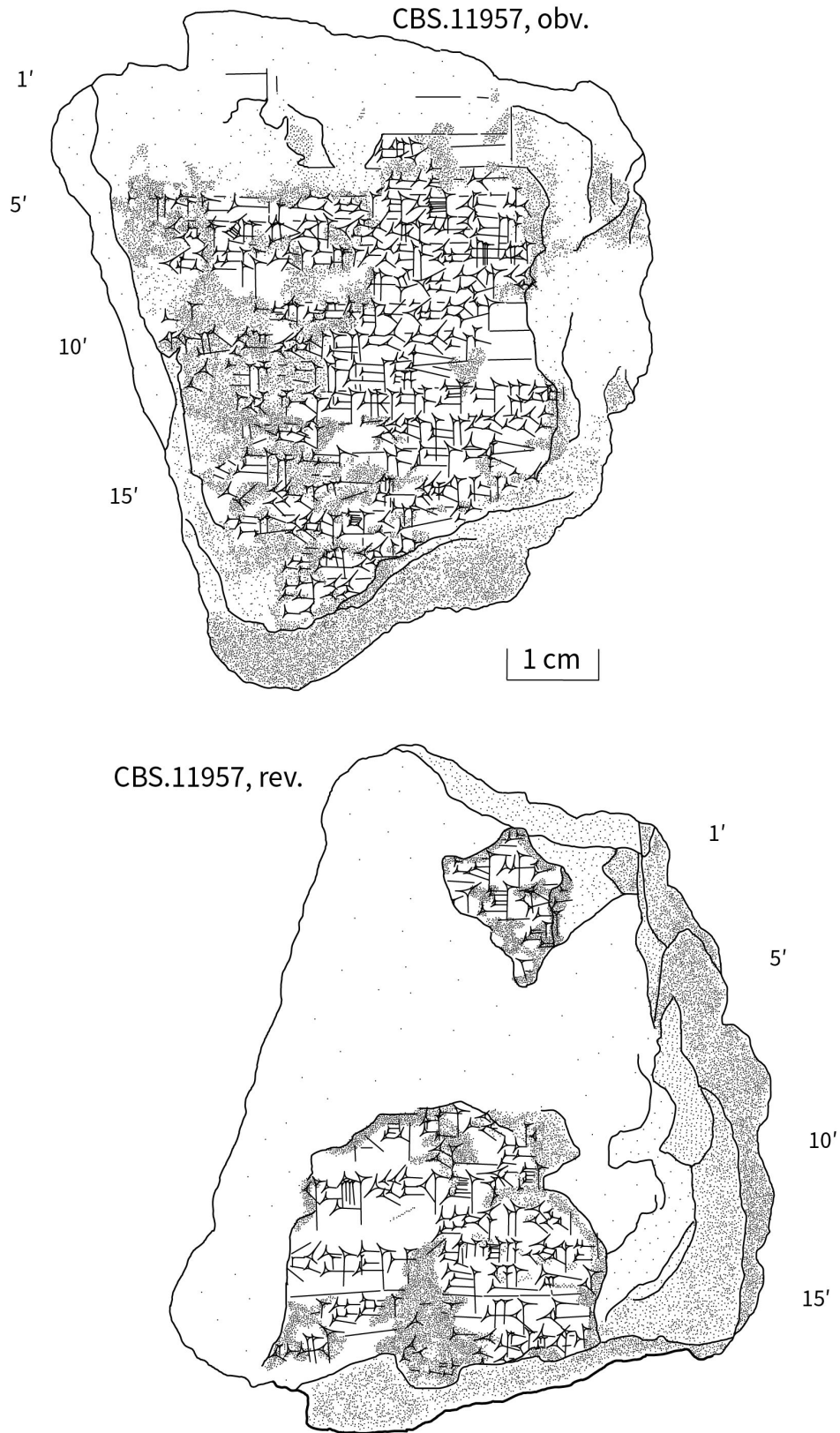


Figure 1 CBS.11957, copy by G. Rozzi

Edition

obverse

1'. [...] ^rA/^rMIN¹ [...]

2'. [...]

3'. [...] ^d+en-[^llⁱ (x)]

4'. [...] ^ri¹-^ra¹-nu [x x]

5'. [...] x (x) ^rmar¹-rum ^ra¹-bi ^ri¹+^rna¹ ba-la ši-t[i x (x)]

6'. [...] x ^rle¹-em-ni-iš ul-ta-bal(-)ma(-)a-[x x (x)]

7'-8'. [...] x ul i-ša-^ra¹-^ra¹ bé-e-lum ú-ta-[ar²] / [...] gi-mi-il-[i x]

9'. [...] x x ^ri¹-^rša¹-^rka¹-nu mi-il-[ka²]

10'. [...] ^li-^rni¹-^ri¹ ^rlⁱ-ib-bi bé-e-[^li²]

11'. [...] ^lū(?) ^rše²¹-^rma¹-^ra¹-^rat²¹ a-ma-as¹-[su²]

12'. [...] x x ^ra¹-^rna¹ ma-re-e-šú iz-za-k[a-ar]

13'. [...] -ⁿi² ^ri²¹ + ^rna²¹ ^rlⁱ-ib-bi bé-e¹-[^li²]

14'. [...] ^lū(?) š²e²-ma-a-^rat²¹ a-ma-as-[su²]

15'. [...] -^rnu²¹ ^rlⁱ-^rni¹-^ri¹ ^rlⁱ-ib-b[ⁱ bēlim]

16'. [...] ^ri²¹ ni-li-ik ni-^ri¹-[nu (x)]

17'. [...] x ^ri²¹-ru-^ru²¹ x [x x x (x)]

18'. [...] x ab-bu [...]

19'. [...] x ^rta²¹/^ru²¹ x [...]

rest of side broken

reverse

1'. [...] ^ri²¹+^rna²¹ [...]

2'. [...] AD AN-nu[m²x x x (x)]

3'. [...] x šu-ub² [x x x]

4'. [...] x ^rra¹ [x x x (x)]

5'. [...] x [x x x x]

6'. [...]

7'. [...]

8'. [...]

9'-10'. [...] x ^rša¹ ^rum¹-^rmu¹-[da² x x x x] / [...] pi-i [x x x]

11'-12'. [...] š²a² um-mu-da šu-up-šú¹-[x x x (x)] / [...] i+na a-^rlⁱ¹ [x x x]

13'-14'. [...] (x) ^rul²¹/^rbi²¹ si-ma-^rti¹ um² x a-li-i[a² x x x x] / [...] ma-ru-^ru²¹-[tum² x x (x)]

15'. [...] x i-^rda²¹ x (x) ri ši x [x x]

16'. [...] ^rar¹ x x x ri ^rta²¹ x [x x (x)]

17'. [...] x x x x [x x x x]

rest of side broken

Translation

obverse

1'-2'. *too damaged for translation*

3'. [...] En[^llⁱ ...]

4'. [...] the gods [...]

5'. “[...] ... bitter, o father, without sle[ep ...]

6'. [...] ... he considers with malice and ... [...]

7'-8'. [...] ... he cannot sleep, the lord shall [take] / [...] reven[ge for ...].

9'. [...] ... they will make a deci[sion],

10'. [...] may he appease the heart of the lo[rd],

11'. [...] may(?) [his'] word be heard?!”

12'. [...] ... say[ing] to his sons:

13'. “[...] ... in² the heart of the lo[rd],

14'. [...] may(?) [his] wor[d] [b]e heard.

15'. [...] ... may he appease the hear[t of the lord].

16'. [...] ... let us go our[selves (...)]!"

17'. [...] ... ran ... [...].

rest of obverse too fragmentary for translation

reverse

first 8 lines missing or too fragmentary for translation

9'-10'. [...] ... who reach up ... [...] / [...] mouth [...]

11'-12'. [...] reach up ... [...] / [...] in the city [...].

13'-14'. [...] ... *adornment* ... m[y] city [...] / [...] *distre[ss ...]*

rest of reverse too fragmentary for translation

Philological Notes

Obv. 5' *a-bi* may be a vocative, 'o father', or perhaps 'my father', if the line is part of a dialogue. The following signs can be interpreted as the adverbial phrase *ina bala*, meaning 'without', followed by a noun that could tentatively be derived from *šittu* 'sleep', written defectively. At the end of the line, however, there is only room for one or at most two more signs, making any restoration difficult. The form *mar-rum* at the beginning of the line could be understood as *marrum* 'spade' or as the adjective *marrum* 'bitter'.

Obv. 6' I take *ul-ta-bal* to be derived from *šutābulum*, Št-stem of *wabālu* 'to consider, to evaluate'. There is space for about two more signs after A.

Obv. 7'-8' In several passages of *Atraḫasīs*, Enlil laments his sleeplessness, tormented by the incessant clamor of humanity, e.g. OB I 359 [*i+na ḥu-bu-ri-ši*]-⁹*na*¹ ¹*ú*¹-¹*za*¹-¹*am*¹-¹*ma*¹ ¹*ši*¹-¹*it*¹-¹*ta* "[With their uproar], I am deprived of sleep";⁹ cf. also the Neo-Assyrian version: [*i-na*] *ḥu-bu-ri-ši-na la i-ša-ba-su*¹ [*ši-tu*] "[With] their uproar [sleep] did not overcome him"¹⁰ and [*i-na*] *ḥu-b[u]-ri-ši-na la i-ša-ba-ta-ni ši-tu* "[With] their uproar sleep did not overcome me".¹¹ After TA there seems to be room for one or at most two signs. The spacing in l. 8' and the lack of a guide line between ll. 7' and 8' suggest that these two lines belong together, thus forming a single verse. The occurrence of *gimilli* in l. 8' suggests restoring *utār* at the end of l. 7'.

Obv. 12' Compare, in SB *Atraḫasīs* V 47-8:¹² *ellil išanakkan puḥuršu / izzakkar ana ilī mārīšu* "Enlil reconvened the assembly / and said to the gods, his children". In the SB version, *mārīšu* replaces OB II 6 *rabūtīm*.¹³ The same substitution can be observed in other occurrences of the formula in the SB version, e.g. in OB I 357 // SB IV 2 (IM.132655 o. 2)¹⁴ and IM.132655 r 12b // Sm.292 o. 14' (CT 46, 14), in the latter written, as in this tablet, *ma-re-e-šú*.

Obv. 17' If the form is correctly reconstructed, the verb derives from *rāšu* 'to rush, to help'.

Rev. 10'-12' Like obv. ll. 7'-8', these lines seem to belong together. In l. 9' ¹*um*¹-¹*mu*¹-¹*d*[¹*a*'] and in l. 10' *um-mu-da* could derive from the D-stem of *emēdum*. The form *šu-up-šu*¹-[¹*x*] could be tentatively restored with the adverb *šu-up-šu*¹-[¹*hiš*'] 'in order to rest', cf. *Enūma eliš* I 75:¹⁵ *qerbiš kummīšu šupšuḥiṣ inūḥ-ma* "In his chamber, in profound quiet, he rested", see also CAD P 231 sub *pašāḥu* mng. 5a.

Geraldina Rozzi

⁹ Lambert, Millard 1969, 66-7.

¹⁰ Lambert, Millard 1969, 106 l. 3.

¹¹ Lambert, Millard 1969, 108 l. 41.

¹² George, al Rawi 1996, 176.

¹³ George, al Rawi 1996, 189.

¹⁴ Fadhil, Jiménez forthcoming.

¹⁵ Heinrich 2021.

49 More Gilgameš Fragments

1. BM.34153+BM.34449 (*Gilgameš* II)

The fragment BM.34153 joins BM.34449 (George’s MS e)¹⁶ and restores ll. II 238-51, bridging the gap between II 242 and 247. The newly recovered passage has parallels in the Old Babylonian versions, in particular in OB III. Moreover, it contains one of the two new occurrences of the line *iššabtū-ma qātī qātūssun* published in this article. The line, which one may style ‘joint journey formula’, was previously attested only in III 19.

In this passage, Gilgameš brushes aside Enkidu’s cautionary words in II 217-29 about the dangers that lie ahead on their journey to the Cedar Forest and the battle with its guardian. Gilgameš tells his friend to come with him to the forge, the ‘gathering place of craftsmen’, where the smiths will cast their weapons [fig. 2].

column 5, traces of column 4 are not transliterated

238 ⁽⁵⁾ . <i>ʾiṣ-ḥu-tú²-ka-ma¹ ʾla¹-[ab-bi] ʾka-la¹-[ma tīde]</i>	
239 ⁽⁶⁾ . <i>ù eṭulūtu(GURUŠ^{meš}) iḥ-mu-ʾtú¹ qa-ʾbal-ka¹</i>	// cf. OB III 153 // OB Schøyen ₁ a+5 ¹
240 ⁽⁷⁾ . <i>mu-du-ú lib-ba-ka [t]u-[q]ut-tu₄ ʾti¹-i-de</i>	
241 ⁽⁸⁾ . <i>al-ka ib-ri ana kiš-kát-te-e ʾni-il¹-lik</i>	// cf. OB III 161
242 ⁽⁹⁾ . <i>ʾana kiš¹-[kát]-ʾte-e¹ pu-ʾḥur¹ ʾum-ma¹-ni</i>	// SB II 246
243 ⁽¹⁰⁾ . <i>[ḥaššinnī li]p-ʾti-qu¹ ʾma-ḥar¹-ni</i>	// cf. OB III 162
244 ⁽¹¹⁾ . <i>[iṣšabtū-ma qa-ti] ʾqa-tu-us-su-un¹</i>	// SB III 19 // SB VII 34 (no. 2)
245 ⁽¹²⁾ . <i>[ʾaḡiṣ-gim-maš u^d+en-ki-dù] ʾa-na¹ ʾkiš-kát-te-e¹ ʾp¹-m[u²]-u[ḥ²-ḥ]u²</i>	// cf. SB III 20 // cf. SB VII 35 // cf. OB III 163
246 ⁽¹³⁾ . <i>[ana kiš-kát]-ʾte-e¹ ʾpu-ḥur¹ ʾum-ma-ni¹</i>	// SB II 243
247 ⁽¹⁴⁾ . <i>[áš-bu-m]a ʾuš-ta-nam-da¹-an amāt²(ʾINIM²) ʾum-ma-ni²</i>	// cf. OB III 164
248 ⁽¹⁵⁾ . <i>[ḥa-aš-si-ni] ʾip¹-t[i-q]u² rabūti(ʾGAL^{meš})</i>	// cf. OB III 165
249 ⁽¹⁶⁾ . <i>[pāšī sebe bilā(GUN.TA.À)M] ip-t[i-qu ma-ḥar-šu]-u[n²]</i>	
250 ⁽¹⁷⁾ . <i>[namšārīšunu sebe bilā(GU)N.ʾTA¹.À[M]]</i>	
251 ⁽¹⁸⁾ . <i>[...] x [(o)]</i>	

“Lions attacked you, [you experienced] all, “Warriors, too, fled from your battle. “With experience in your heart, you know combat well. 240 “Come, my friend, let us go to the forge, “To the forge, the gathering place of craftsmen. “Let them cast [axes] before us!” 243
[Taking each other] hand in hand, [Gilgameš and Enkidu] made their way to the forge, To the forge, the gathering place of craftsmen. 246 Seated together, they discussed the craftsmen’s task. They cast great [axes], [Hatches of seven talents] each, they cast [before them]. 249 [Their swords, seven] talents each, [...] ... [...]

Philological Notes

239 There is no place for restoring *iḥ-mu-ʾuṭ¹-[ṭu?]*,¹⁷ so perhaps the variant is best explained as a development of *iḥbutū*, where *b > m*; compare the disappearance of final *-b* in *ṭūb > ṭūw/v > ṭū*.¹⁸ *qabalka* replaces OB *maḥarka*.

16 George 2003.

17 So George 2003, 808.

18 See Mayer 1992, 51; 2017, 237.

245 In the previously known occurrence of the formula (III 20), a verb in present tense appears in the penultimate position of the line, and the destination occupies the last slot. The reading 'kiš-kát-te-e' seems, however, inescapable, so the verb should be at the end. The attempt at decipherment offered here, which adopts the hapax *māhu* from the OB version, fits the traces, but is uncertain: note that the verb is replaced by the more common *alāku* in II 241.

247 OB III 164 reads: *wašbū uštaddanū ummiānū* "(the forge, where) the craftsmen were sitting down in discussion". IM.76941 (MS bb) reads in this line *uš-ta-nam-da-nu a-na* [o o o (o o)], but *ana* does not seem to occur in this manuscript (note that *nadānu* Št₂ is otherwise not attested with an object introduced by *ana*).

248 The spacing suggests that the verb may be a 3rd person sing., instead of the 1st person pl. of IM.76941 (MS bb): *ḥa-aš-ši-nu ni-ip-ti-qu* [o o o (o o)].

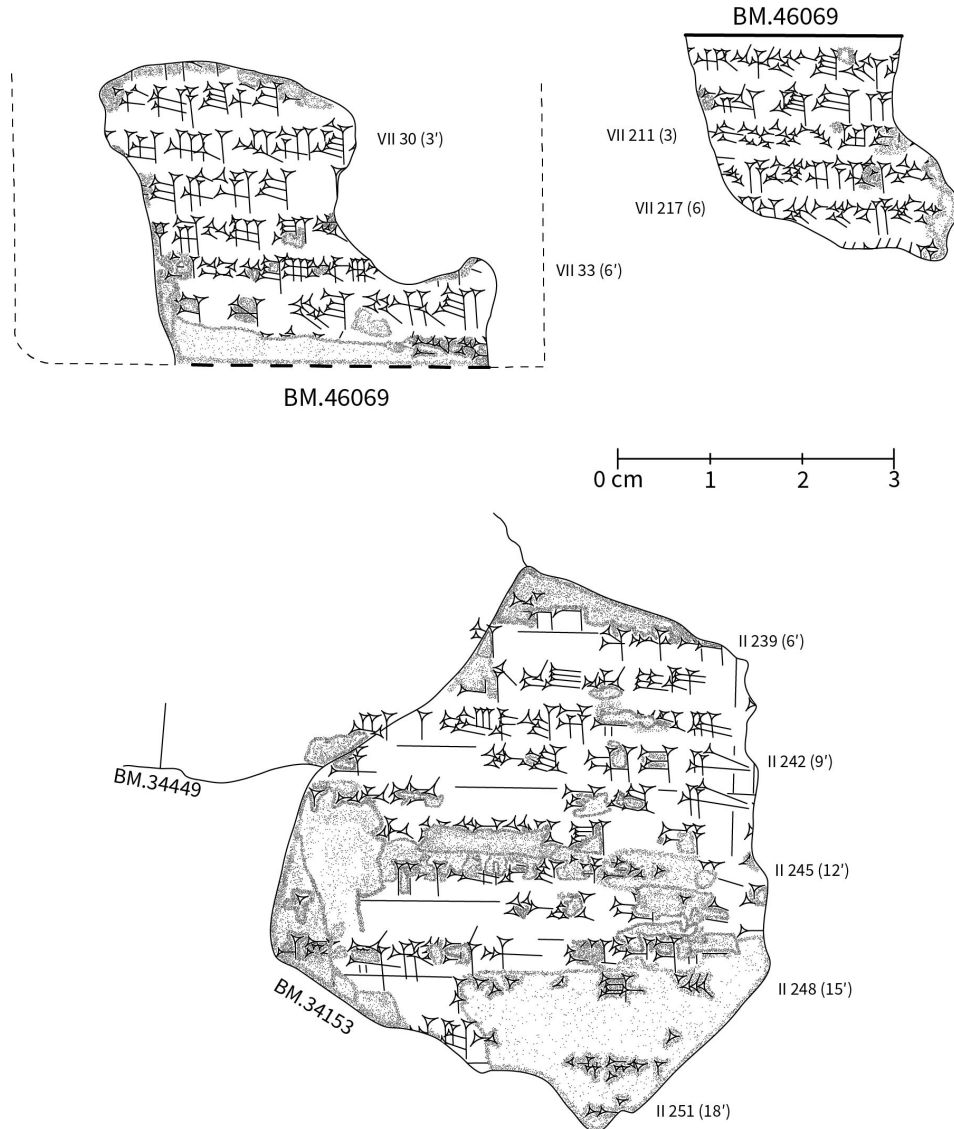


Figure 2 Copies of BM.46069 and BM.34153, by E. Jiménez

2. BM.46069 (*Gilgameš* VII)

BM.46069 is part of MS BabLB1 (George's MS g), a Late Babylonian tablet that constitutes the only known manuscript of *Gilgameš* VII from Babylonia. Several fragments of the same were published in previous installments: BM.34423,¹⁹ BM.43021, and Sp-III.895.²⁰

After slaying Humbaba, Gilgameš and Enkidu fashion a great door from the cedars they seized (V 316-17). According to V 318, this door was intended "for the house of Enlil in Nippur", and the companions cast it into the Euphrates with this destination in mind. Yet Enkidu would come to regret this offering: the opening of tablet VII likely contained a dream in which Enkidu beheld Enlil decreeing his death, as reflected in the beginning of tablet III of the Hittite version.²¹ Following a poorly preserved section, Enkidu curses the door – now, in his eyes, a symbol of ingratitude – and in an extended lament (VII 39-63), he regrets not having offered it to another deity, such as Šamaš.

The newly recovered fragment restores the episode preceding this curse. Enkidu urges Gilgameš to go with him to Nippur and stand before Enlil of their own accord (? *ina tēmīnī-ma?*), with the express intent of destroying the door of the Ekur. The two companions, 'hand in hand', set out for Nippur.²² When they arrive, Enkidu addresses the door of the Ekur and pronounces his curse: the new passage confirms that this scene takes place in Nippur, before the door itself, and is not the fevered delirium of a dying Enkidu.²³ Moreover, it clarifies that the object of the verb *nasāhu* in VII 64, which follows Enkidu's malediction, is none other than the door itself – i.e., Enkidu fulfills his declared intent to destroy it.²⁴

column 1

27⁽¹⁾. [o o] x x x [...]

28^(2a). [^d+en-k]i-dù pa-a-šu ipuš(ḏù)-ma iqabbi(ḏ[uG₄GA] :.) →

29^(2b). [izzakkar ana gilgameš]

30⁽³⁾. [al-k]a ib-ri **ana nippur(NIBRU^{ki}) n[i-il-lik]**

31⁽⁴⁾. [ina tē-mi-n]^r-ma ni-ru-ba 'ana' [maḥri ellil (?)]

32⁽⁵⁾. [dalta] 'šá' é-kur lu-su-u[ḥ] ina sippīša (?)]

33⁽⁶⁾. [aššu ina² (o)] x-qu-tu lu-še-ši-ri x [(o)] x (x) [o (o)]

34⁽⁷⁾. [iṣṣabtū-ma qa-t]u qa-tu-us-su-[un]

// SB II 244 (see no. 1) // SB III 19

35⁽⁸⁾. [gilgameš u^a+en-k]i^r-'dù^r 'a^r-na^r 'é-ku]^r 'il^r-l[i-ku-ma]

end of column

36^(K.3588 // BM.43021). **ina t[è-mi-šú-nu-ma i-ru]-'bu' [ana maḥri ellil (?)]**

[...] ... [...]

27

Enkidu prepared to speak

[Saying to Gilgameš]

"[Come], my friend, let us [go] to Nippur,

"Let us enter [before Enlil of our] own [accord].

"Let me tear [the door] of the Ekur [from its jams!]

"[Because of what] befell [...], let me set right ... [...]"

30

33

[They took each other] hand in hand,

[Gilgameš] and Enkidu went [to Nippur],

Of [their own accord, they entered before Enlil].

36

*

¹⁹ Jiménez 2020, 238-40.

²⁰ The last two in Jiménez 2023, 106-7.

²¹ George 2003, 479; Beckman 2019, 45 and 50.

²² Bottéro 1992, 136 had anticipated that the two friends travelled to Nippur (see George 2003, 479 fn. 120). He correctly restored VII 30: "Allons, afmi, [Rendons-nous à Nippur]!".

²³ Cf. Foster 1987, 36-7.

²⁴ Cf. George 2003, 845.

Gilgameš VII 162-253 contains a description of Enkidu's vision of the Netherworld during his dream, which foreshadows his death. In the lines preceding 207, Enkidu enters the "House of Dust" (*bīt epri*), and sees there, seated, a number of chthonic deities, presided over by the queen of the Underworld, Ereškigal, to whom his scribe, Bēlet-šēri, is reading a tablet. When Ereškigal sees Enkidu, she asks, "Who has brought this man here?" (207). Apparently, Ereškigal then instructs a male deity to prepare the tomb, perhaps that of Enkidu.

column 5²⁵

208^(1a). [... *ub-la* :.] →

209^(1b). [o o o o (o o o)] x-*ri ti-bu šu-te-e*[*r-si*]

210⁽²⁾. [o o o o (o o o) *e-pu-uš ki-ma-a*-[*tu*]

211^(3a). [o o (o)] ^ri⁷¹-*qu^l-up-pu* :. →

212^(3b). *iB-x* (x) [... -*a-ti*]

213^(4a). [o o o o (o o o)-*an-n*]i :. →

214^(4b). *a-lid šar-rat eršeti*(*ki-ti*) ^{rd71}[*ereš-ki-gal*]

215^(5a). [o o o o (o o o)] x ⁱis¹-*«pu»-pu-nu a-bu-^rbu* →

216^(5b). [o o o (o o o o o)]

217⁽⁶⁾. [...] x x (x)-^rni¹ [...]

"[Who was it] brought [this man] here?"

"Arise and prepare [the funerary offerings]!"

"Build a tomb [for ...]!"

210

"[...] fell down,

"... [...]"

"[...] to me!"

213

The *father* of the queen of the Netherworld, Ereškigal,

The flood flattened ... [...]

[...] ... [...]

216-17

Philological Notes

31 The restoration at the beginning is uncertain: *ina tēmīšu(nu)-ma* is attested at the beginning of the line in *Gilgameš* II 31 and 39;²⁶ as interpreted there, VII 36 is a repetition of VII 31. At the end, the restoration is inspired in SB Anzû III 45: *birdu ultēriba ana maḥri ellil* "He brought Birdu into Enlil's presence". Compare also *Gilgameš* I 272: *itbē-ma iterub ana maḥar(IGI) ištari ummīšu* "(Gilgameš) arose and entered before the goddess, his mother".

33 The line has suffered significant damage, rendering its decipherment uncertain. A comparison with the earlier occurrence of this formula in III 20 might suggest reading ***illakū ana nippur*, which, however, appears incompatible with the traces.

209 The manuscript confirms the restoration of *šutērsû* suggested by Landsberger,²⁷ albeit it shows it to be an imperative. *ti-bu* is interpreted as a Late Babylonian form of *tibe*.²⁸

214 A reading *a-na^l* (suggested by T. Mitto) at the beginning is not impossible.

25 Note the misalignment between the columns on the obverse (i) and reverse (v, and not vi). If correctly interpreted, it would mean that the tiny fragment BM.43021 (MS BabLB1d) does not belong to the bottom of the first and top of the sixth column, as stated in the first edition (Jiménez 2023, 106-7), but to the top of the second and bottom of the fifth. It is, however, strange that column 1 of the manuscript should end with VII 35: all other manuscripts of *Gilgameš* VII have around fifty lines per column (George 2003, 407).

26 As noted in Jiménez 2023, 106.

27 Landsberger 1968, 131 fn. 129.

28 On the preference for final /u/ in III-' forms in LB manuscripts, see Jiménez 2017, 346 and 352.

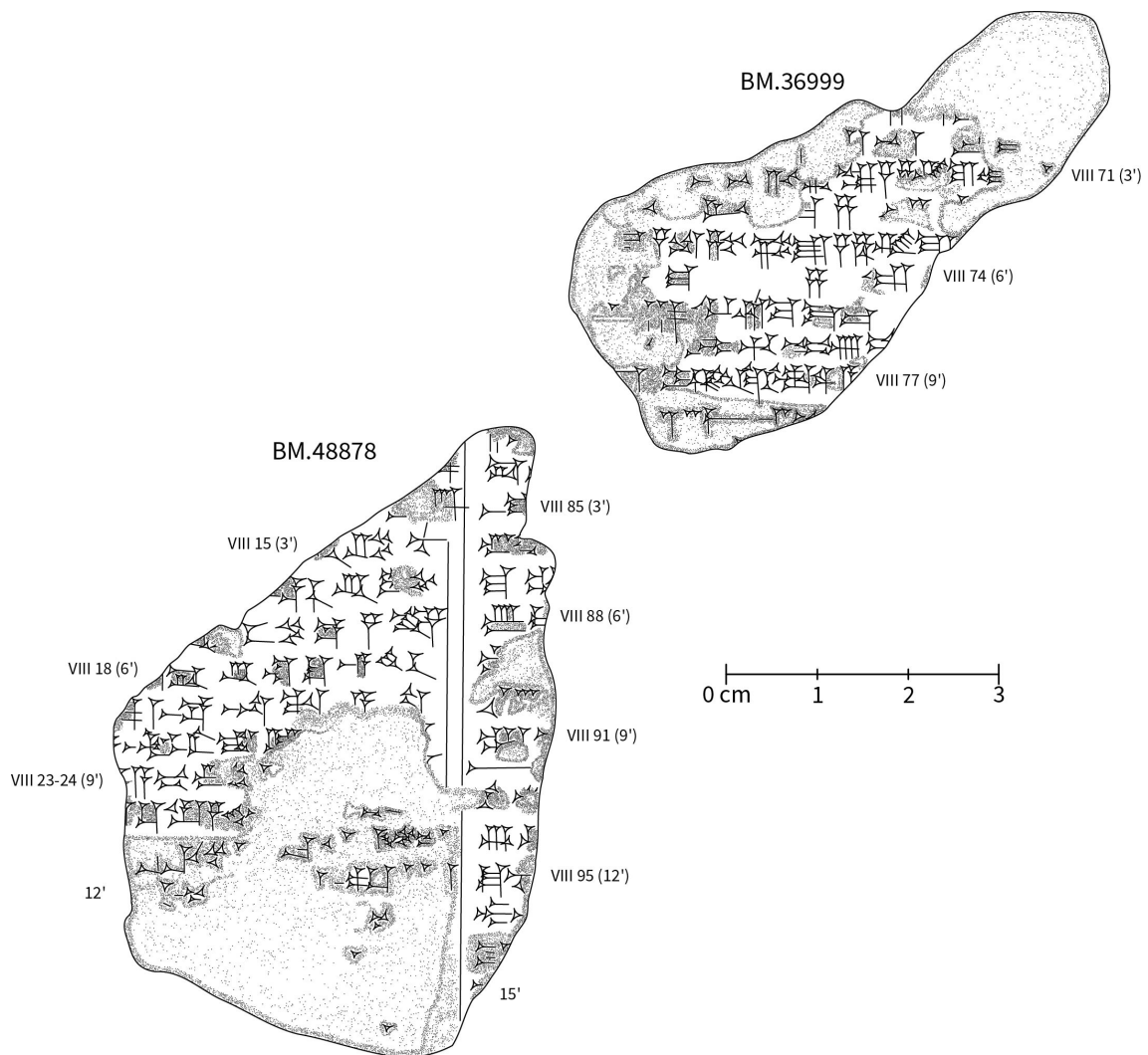


Figure 3 Copies of BM.36999 and BM.48878, by E. Jiménez

3. BM.36999 and BM.48878 (*Gilgameš* VIII)

The fragments BM.36999 (BabNB1c) and BM.48878 (BabNB1d) both belong to the obverse of the only known Babylonian manuscript of tablet VIII, MS BabNB1 (George's MS m). BM.36999 contains text from the first and second columns, while BM.48878 corresponds to the second column [fig. 3].

The eighth tablet of *Gilgameš* contains a description of the lavish funerary rituals that the hero dedicated to his friend Enkidu. The first part includes an invitation for all who loved Enkidu to mourn his death (see § A). The second, of which a new fragment allows the reading of a few new lines, calls upon the artisans of the land to create a sumptuous statue of Enkidu using all sorts of precious materials (see § C). The third part lists the offerings made to the gods of the Netherworld to ensure a safe passage for Enkidu (see § C). No translation is provided for §§ A and C, as almost the entire text was already known (but see VIII 95).

§ A: BM.48878, column i

- 13⁽¹⁾. [*linabbâ qerbētu kīma um-mi-k*]a
 14⁽²⁾. [*libkīka taskarinnu šurmēnu*] erēnu^{(6)EREN¹}
 15⁽³⁾. [*ša ina birissunu niḫtallupu ina u*]z-zi-nu
 16⁽⁴⁾. [*libkīku asu būšu nimru mindinu lulīmu dumāmu*] →
 17⁽⁵⁾. [*n*]é-e-šú ri-⁽¹⁾l-[*m*]u | [*ayyalu turāḫu būl(u) (u) na*]m-maš-še-e šá šēri(EDIN)
 18⁽⁶⁾. [*libkīka ulāya qadištu ša šam-ḫi-i*]š nit-tal-⁽¹⁾la-ku⁽¹⁾ ina a-ḫi-šú
 19^(7a). [*libkīku elletu purattu*] →
 20^(7b). [*ša nit-taq-qu*]-⁽¹⁾ú⁽¹⁾ me-e **ina** na-da-⁽¹⁾a-tú⁽¹⁾
 21^(8a). [*libkūnikku eṭlūtu ša uruk supūri*] →
 22^(8b). [*š*]á ina tāḫāzī^{(1)MĒ¹}-ni iṭ-⁽¹⁾tu⁽¹⁾-lu [*alā ni-na-a-r*]u
 23^(9a). [*libkīku ikkaru ina muḫḫi* ...] →
 24^(9b). [*ša (ina) alāla ṭ*]a-a-bi ⁽¹⁾ú-še⁽¹⁾-l[*u-ú šum(MU)-k*]a
 25^(10a). [*libkānikku ... āli rapši ša uruk s*]u-⁽¹⁾pú⁽¹⁾-ru →
 26^(10b-11b). **šá** ḫi-x [(o) maḫrī] ⁽¹⁾ú-še⁽¹⁾-l[*u-ú*] | ∴ šum(MU)-k[a]

only traces preserved of the following three lines

§ B: BM.36999, column ii

- 69⁽¹⁾. [o o o *ibnâ*] ⁽¹⁾ša⁽¹⁾-[*la*]m i[*b-ri-šú*]
 70⁽²⁾. [*ša ibriya minâtūka* (o)] x x x x [o (o o)]
 71⁽³⁾. [o (o o) o šá] uqnī^{(1)ma⁴ZA.GIN¹} irat(⁽¹⁾GABA¹)-ka šá ḫurāšī(⁽¹⁾KÙ.GI¹) ⁽¹⁾zu-mur⁽¹⁾-[*k*]a [(o o)]
 72⁽⁴⁾. [o (o) **b**]ṛ-⁽¹⁾ni⁽¹⁾-[*m*]a **ša-lam⁽¹⁾ i[*b-ri-ia*]** // cf. SB VIII 69
 73⁽⁵⁾. [o (o o)] x **šá** uqnī^{(1)ma⁴ZA.GIN¹} irat(⁽¹⁾GABA¹)-su šá ḫurāšī(⁽¹⁾KÙ.GI¹) ⁽¹⁾zu⁽¹⁾-[*mur-šu* (o o)] // cf. SB VIII 71-2
 74⁽⁶⁾. [*ib-na*]-⁽¹⁾a⁽¹⁾-ma (?) **ša-lam** [*ib-ri-šú*] // cf. SB VIII 69
 75⁽⁷⁾. [o o (o o)] x x x **lib-ba-⁽¹⁾šu-ma⁽¹⁾** [o o o (o o)]
 76⁽⁸⁾. [*i-baq-qa-m*]u ⁽¹⁾u⁽¹⁾ ⁽¹⁾i-tab⁽¹⁾-**bak** ⁽¹⁾qu⁽¹⁾-nun-t[*u, pe-er-tu*] // SB VIII 63
 77⁽⁹⁾. [*i-na-sa*]ḫ [*u*] ⁽¹⁾i⁽¹⁾-nam-di dam-qa-⁽¹⁾a⁽¹⁾-[*a-a-ti a-sak-kiš*] // SB VIII 64
 78⁽¹⁰⁾. [(o) ⁽¹⁾GIŠ]-⁽¹⁾gim⁽¹⁾-maš ⁽¹⁾a-na⁽¹⁾ [o o o (o o o o)]

only traces preserved of the following line

- [... they built] the statue of [his friend]. 69
 “[The limbs of my friend ...] ... [..]
 “[... of lapis lazuli, your chest of gold, your body [...],
 “[... *build* the statue [of my friend]!” 72
 [...] of lapis lazuli, his chest of gold, his body [...],
 [*They*] built the statue [of his friend],
 [...] ... his heart [...] 75
 [He was tearing out] his curls and casting them away,
 [Ripping off] his fine garments and flinging them aside [*like something accursed*].
 [...] Gilgameš to [...] 78

§ C: BM.48878, column ii

- 83⁽¹⁾. ⁽¹⁾a⁽¹⁾-x [...]
 84⁽²⁾. uš-n[*a-al-ka-ma ina mayyāli rabī*]
 85⁽³⁾. ina ⁽¹⁾ma⁽¹⁾-[*a-a-al taknī ušnālkā-ma*]
 86⁽⁴⁾. ⁽¹⁾ú⁽¹⁾-š[eš-šeb-ka šubta nēḫta šubat šumēli]
 87⁽⁵⁾. ma-a[*l-ku ša qaqqari unaššaḳū šēpika*]
 88⁽⁶⁾. ú-š[*ab-kak-ku niši ša uruk ušadmamakka*]
 89⁽⁷⁾. ša[m-ḫa-a-ti niši umallākka dulla]
 90⁽⁸⁾. ⁽¹⁾ú⁽¹⁾ [anāku arkīka ušaššā malā pagrī]
 91⁽⁹⁾. al-t[*ab-biš-ma mašak labbim-ma arappud šēra*]

- 92^(10a). ⁽¹⁾mim⁽¹⁾-m[*u-ú šēri ina namāri*] →
 93^(10b). [...]
 94⁽¹¹⁾. ri-i[*k-si-šú iṭtur šukutta imur*]
 95⁽¹²⁾. **ku-n[*u-uk* sāndi ... parūtu]**
 96⁽¹³⁾. **patru(GIR)** x [... eteppuš(u)]
 97⁽¹⁴⁾. x [... iš]takan ana ibrišu

Philological Notes

- 20** The line was previously attested, in the Sultantepe MS (HuzNA1, George's MS e), as A^{mes} *na-a-di*; the Nineveh MS NinNA1b (MS V₂) allows a reading A^{mes} [*ina na-d*]a-a-ti.
26 A reading *ú-še-l[u-ú* seems possible in K.8565+ i 26 (V₂).
71-3 No space seems available for reconstructing another material.
72 The decipherment is very uncertain, a reading -t]e-p[u-u[š]-r^{ma} cannot be ruled out (cf. VIII 68: e-pu-uš).
78 Perhaps [*gil*]gāmeš ana [*enkīdu ibrišu*], as in IX 1.
95 The newly recovered 'seal of carnelian' suggests reading MS NinNA2 (George's MS R) as [n]^{a4}ḫišib¹.

Enrique Jiménez

50 A New Late Babylonian Fragment of *Nergal and Ereškigal*

BM.39743 (1880,1112.1630) is a Late Babylonian fragment, probably originating in Babylon,²⁹ which contains a few lines of the mythical narrative *Nergal and Ereškigal*. *Nergal and Ereškigal* survives in two main versions: a Middle Babylonian short version from Tell el-Amarna preserved on two indirectly joining fragments;³⁰ and a longer, Standard Babylonian version attested in manuscripts from Ḫuzirina³¹ and Uruk.³² Ponchia and Luukko have provided a comprehensive edition of both versions,³³ incorporating all known manuscripts available at the time. A new digital edition, prepared by T. Mitto for the *eBL* Corpus, will appear soon.³⁴ The fragment edited below, BM.39743, which will also be included there, proves that this rather elusive text was known not only in Ḫuzirina and Uruk, but also in Babylon [fig. 4].³⁵

The present manuscript displays notable variations compared to the Ḫuzirina and Uruk versions, including differences in word order and specific textual variants (see commentary to ll. 7' and 8'). Overall, it appears to align more closely with the Uruk manuscript than with the Ḫuzirina version.

The fragment preserves a pivotal moment in the narrative: Ea's instructions to Nergal as he prepares to enter the netherworld. Ea warns Nergal to refuse food and water and to resist the allure of Ereškigal, setting the stage for the dramatic encounter that follows (// ll. 125-33 ca. in Ponchia, Luukko 2013).

Edition

- 1'-2'a (125)³⁶ [*ultu ullānu ina*] ¹ka²¹-[šá-di-ka] | [*kussā na-š*]u-¹nik¹-k[a (x x)]
 2'b (126) [ē ta¹-ir-ma ē tušib ina muḫḫi]
 3' (127) [*nuḫatimma akla na*]a-ši-ka ¹e¹ t[a-¹i-ir-ma akalšu ē tākul]
 4' (128) [*tābiḫu šira n*]a-ši-ka ¹e¹ t[a-¹i-ir-ma širšu ē tākul]
 5' (129) [*sirāšū šik*]ara(KAŠ.S)AG na-ši-ka ¹e¹ [ta¹-ir-ma šikaršu ē tašti]
 6' (130) [*mesit šēpī*(GIR^m)^{es}] na-ši-ka ¹e¹ ta-²[i-ir-ma šēpika ē tamsi]
 7' (131) [*u ši*]-¹i¹ ¹i¹-ru-um-ma °^o ana² n[ar²-ma²-ki²]
 8' (—) [te²-q²]-ta šamna(°x¹ī°) u lu-bu-š[ú²x x x x (x x)]
 9' (—) [(x) x] x ¹giš²ḫa¹-šur-ra ¹i¹-[a²/t[e²x x x x (x x)]
 (break)

29 See Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 381 and 425.

30 BM.E29865 and VAT.1611+ (EA 357 and 358; AmaMB1a and AmaMB1b in the forthcoming *eBL* edition).

31 SU-1951.108+ (STT 1 28; HuzNA1 in the forthcoming *eBL* edition).

32 IM.74391 (SpTU 1 1; UrkHel1 in the forthcoming *eBL* edition).

33 Ponchia, Luukko 2013.

34 Mitto forthcoming.

35 BM.32667 may represent another fragment of *Nergal and Ereškigal* (*eBL* transl.). This fragment from the left edge of a tablet contains, on its reverse, the sequence of netherworld gatekeepers also found in ll. 195-201 of *Nergal and Ereškigal* (Ponchia, Luukko 2013). On its obverse, it features a dialogue between Anu and his vizier Kaka, which may belong to the missing beginning of the composition. See also IM.45750, the fragment of a related text published by Fadhil, Jiménez 2021, 51-7 no. 2.

36 Numbers in parentheses refer to the lines in the numeration employed in Ponchia, Luukko 2013.

Translation

- 1'. [As soon as you] arr[ive, a throne will b]e brought to y[ou]:
- 2'. [Don't go and sit on it]!
- 3'. [The baker wi]ll bring [you bread]: do[n't go and eat his bread]!
- 4'. [The butcher will b]ring [you meat]: don't g[go and eat his meat]!
- 5'. [The brewer] will bring you [be]er: don't [go and drink his beer]!
- 6'. [*They*] will bring you [water for washing your feet]: don't g[go and wash your feet]!
- 7'. [Sh]e, [*however*], will step into the b[ath]
- 8'. [Ointm]ent, oil and gar[ment ...]
- 9'. [*She*] wil[l ...] with *ḥašurru*-cedar [...]

BM.39743

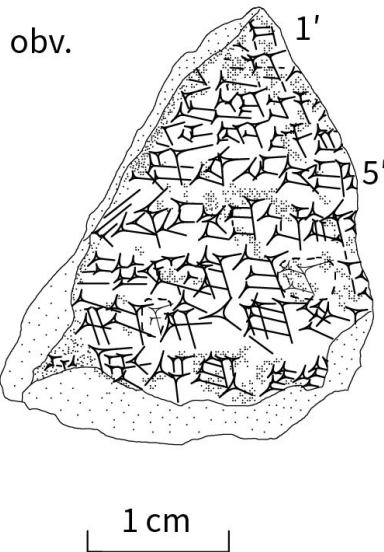


Figure 4
Copy of BM.39743, by G. Rozzi

Notes

1'-2'a L. 1' and the first half of l. 2' seem to correspond to l. 125 of *Nergal and Ereškigal*. This division of the text matches that observed in the Uruk manuscript, which also splits the verse across two lines of tablet (obv. ii 12'b-13'a), and contrasts with the manuscript from Ḥuzirina, where l. 125 occupies an entire line of tablet (obv. ii 37'). Given the limited space available before the break, it seems likely that the fragment employed the short form *ullānu* 'there' found in the Uruk manuscript rather than *ullānum-ma* as in the Ḥuzirina manuscript.

2'b-3' At first glance, l. 126 of *Nergal and Ereškigal* seems to be missing, but since l. 127 appears in l. 3' of BM.39743, it can be hypothesized that l. 126 occupied the second half of l. 2' of the fragment from Babylon.

4' It appears that the signs in this line are written in smaller script. This could either indicate a gloss variant or an error - perhaps the scribe initially skipped the line and later added it in between ll. 3' and 4'. The latter explanation is preferred here.

5' The sign after the break is partially broken, but the extant traces can be reconciled with the last part of SAG, which suggests the restoration with the logographic spelling KAŠ.SAG (suggestion by A. Hättinen). The line is emended based on parallels from the Ḥuzirina and Uruk fragments. In l. 129 of *Nergal and Ereškigal*, the Ḥuzirina manuscript (obv. ii 42') reads: ^{lú}LÚNGA¹ 'KAŠ^{meš1} 'na-šī¹-k[a] 'e¹ [t]a-'mir-ma¹ 'KAŠ^{1m[es-šú]} u[l taš²]-ti. Later in the text, in l. 213, where Nergal follows Ea's instructions, the line is repeated almost verbatim:

Ḥuzirina	obv. iii 41'	[^{lú} LÚNGA ² K]AŠ ^{m[es} na-šū-niš-š]u e ta-mir-ma KAŠ ^{[meš21-šú 'ul¹ [taš²]-ti}
Uruk	rev. iv 12	^{lú} ŠU.DU _g .A KAŠ ^{bi.a} na-šī-šú ul ir- ¹ a-ma ¹ 'KAŠ ^{[?bi?al?1]-[šú x x x]}

Note that the version of the line preserved in the Huzirina manuscript erroneously shows second person singular verbs instead of the expected third person singular forms. Considering that, in BM.39743, there is space for approximately three signs at the beginning of the line, it is likely that BM.39743 employed the variant *šāqû* (^{lú}ŠU.DU₈.A) ‘cup-bearer’ of the Uruk manuscript, instead of *sirāšû* (^{lú}LÚNGA) ‘brewer’.

7' BM.39743 appears to differ in the word order of the line from the Huzirina manuscript, which has (obv. ii 43'): [š]i-i a-na nar-^rma¹-ki ^ri-ru¹-um-ma. Note, however, that in the later parallel section (l. 215), the Uruk manuscript exhibits much the same syntax as attested in the present fragment (Uruk manuscript rev. iv 14): *u ši-ia i-ru-u[m]-m[a ana narmaki]*.

8' The reconstruction [*te²-qí[?]*]-*ta* is based on the Uruk manuscript in the parallel line later in the text (l. 216), which preserves the beginning of the line and reads as follows (rev. iv 15a): *te-^rqit¹ ^ri^{1?} [...]*. In contrast, the manuscript from Huzirina appears to differ in both of the parallel lines in question (obv. ii 44' // l. 132: [*lu*]-<<ub>>-*bu-ši* ^rBAR²¹ ^rMU^{12?}-šú *il-la-bi-^riš^{1?}*; obv. iii 44' // l. 216: [*lubūši* x (x)] x ^r*il-ta-ab-bi-^riš¹*), as well as in yet another parallel line later in the text (rev. iv 6' // l. 240: *lu-bu-ši* ^rBAR^{*1} [...]).

9' BM.39743 is the only manuscript of the text to preserve this line, which is missing in both the Huzirina and Uruk manuscripts. Note, however, that in l. 269, when Ereškigal enters the bath yet another time, the Huzirina manuscript (rev. iv 35') reads *šaman* (ⁱ*+GIŠ*) *ha[šurri* (^{giš}*HA*. [ŠUR] ...) “*hašurru*-cedar oil”. Although the present line is damaged, the text appears to mention an ointment with scented oil at this point, likely used by Ereškigal after bathing. The verb might be restored as *ilabbik* “it (sc. her body/skin) will become soft”. Compare also *Enūma eliš* V 92:³⁷ *hašurra* ... [...] *zumuršu ušal[bak]* “With cedar [oil] and [...] he anoi[nted] his body”.

Geraldina Rozzi

51 New Manuscripts of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (2)

Presented here is one new manuscript of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*,³⁸ BM.38076, and a reconstruction of the opening lines of the composition in light of the catchline identified as its incipit by Földi in the following article of this collection (no. 53) and Mitto's identification of a piece adding to its opening lines.³⁹

1. BM.38076 (1880,0617.1905)

The small fragment BM.38076 (1880,0617.1905) is from the British Museum's Babylonian collection.⁴⁰ The piece is evidently from the right-hand part of the tablet. On its obverse, it contains part of 10 lines of text; the reverse is lost [fig. 5]. The piece was identified by Jiménez as perhaps an indirect join to BM.37616 (1880,0617.1373), a tablet identified as part of the composition by W.G. Lambert. The obverse of BM.37616 supplies the opening of ll. B+10-B+20 of the hymn, providing in ll. B+10-B+15 a partial duplicate of the reverse of the Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Aššur, VAT.9670, published by Ebeling 1919 as KAR 109.

The key to the possibility that this new piece might be part of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* lay in the first fully preserved sign in l. 2', LIL, where a tentative reading *t]e²-lil-t[i[?]* was proposed by Jiménez: where BM.37616 breaks in l. B+14 with *mar-kás m[a-a-ti* ...], the duplicate KAR 109 reads *mar-kás māti*(KUR) *te-lil-ti*. A small textual variant would be required by l. 3' of the piece, but the remainder of the text seemed to work well, in particular ll. 4' and 6'. On examination, the two pieces BM.37616 and BM.38076 do in fact join, touching at ll. B+17-B+20 (ll. 5'-8' of BM.38076), although text on the face of the tablet is lost in the break.

37 Heinrich 2021.

38 Bennett 2021; 2023b.

39 Bennett 2023a, 156-8 no. 1.

40 For a description of the 80-6-17 collection and its provenance, see Leichty 1986, xxx (Reade).

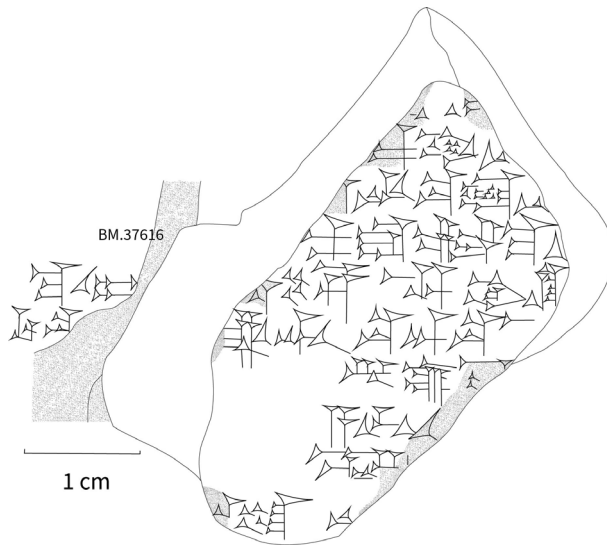


Figure 5
Copy BM.38076, by E. Bennett

BM.38076 supplies a small amount of new text. Newly recovered words and variants are set in bold type below.

- 1' (B+13) [bi-rit šip-pa-a-ti^d šar-rat-de-er]^[ki] [bīt(É)-sa gaš-rat]
 2' (B+14) [ina É.DIM.GAL.KALAM.MA mar-kás m[a-a-ti] (o o) t[e³-lil-t[i] [šá-ki-na-at ki-di-ni]
 3' (B+15) [ka-nu-ut^d ba-ú kul-lat ad-na]-^ra¹-ti **na-ram-t[i**^d (o o)]
 4' (B+16) [ina É.UL.ĪÉ.ME.ŠU.DU₇ x o o o] **pa-ra-aš ša-ma-m[i** (o o)]
 5' (B+17) [a-ši-rat as-mat šá-ma-mi x (o)] x-^ršá⁷¹-tir ina kèš^{ki} [(o o)]
 6' (B+18) [ina É.MAĤ x šik-n[a-at na]]-**piš-ti na-an-na** x [o o o]
 7' (B+19) [ina karkara(İM)^{ki} a-x o o o] **ri-kis** x [o o (o)]
 8' (B+20) [^d? x o o o o o o] **a-ši-bat** [o o o]
 9' (B+21) [o o o o o o o o] **BÀD** x [o o o o]
 10' (B+22) [o o o o o o o o] **x-tu** x [o o o o o]

Philological Notes

1' KI seems certain, duplicating the determinative which marks the toponym in the goddess' name, Šarrat-Dēr, contained in KAR 109.

2' The insertion of *bēlet* to resolve the grammatical issue presented by the apparently genitive form *tēlilti* (<*bēlet*> *tēlilti* “mistress of purification rights”) is suggested in the edition presented.⁴¹ The space between the text in BM.37616 and BM.38076 is sufficient to accommodate this.

3' The signs ^ra¹-ti are consistent with the reading in KAR 109, *kul-lat ad-na-a-ti* “all the world”. However *na-ram-t[i* ‘beloved’, presumably followed by a divine name (“beloved of [the god of the temple or town]”), presents a variant, where KAR 109 reads *rikis māti* “bond of the land” (B+15). Variants between the manuscripts of the composition (apart from orthographic variants) are very few indeed.⁴² Consequently, it might be wondered whether this different reading calls into question whether BM.37616 and BM.38076 are indeed from the same tablet. However, the physical fit of the two pieces and the thematic evidence in this small piece (cf. notes on ll. 4' and 6') are compelling.

4' *paraš šamāmī* “the ordinances of the heavens” – those divine directions which duly order the universe – form a common motif in Babylonian hymns and prayers. In the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* it is a characteristic feature that sacred place names given there are interpreted in the Akkadian text. The temple name given by BM.37616 in B+16 is É.UL.ĪÉ.ME.ŠU.DU, “House of the Firmament of Heaven

⁴¹ Bennett 2021, 325; 2023b.

⁴² See Bennett 2021, 188-90.

and Perfects *Me's*". The phrase *paraš šamāmī* is a scholarly interpretation of this temple name, in the manner of the composition, thus thematically linking the two pieces: both *paršu* and *šamāmū* have the lexical equivalence *me*.

5' Scholarly speculation on the temple named in B+16 continues in BM.37616 in B+17. With this new piece, it is now apparent that the temple (which is known only from this composition) is in Keš, not Dēr.⁴³

6' It is evident that very little is lost in the break. The stock phrase *šiknāt napišti* 'living things', spanning the break between the pieces, is now assured. In this context, *na-an-na-x* can be understood as a form of *nannābu* 'offspring, seed', a thematically related idea. If so, this would tend to indicate that É.ΜΑḪ here is the temple of the mother goddess, perhaps also at Keš,⁴⁴ rather than one of Ištar's temples listed in a geographical temple list from Khorsabad.⁴⁵

7' The bound form *rikis* 'bond' points to a dependent genitive, still lost. The image "bond of the land" is deployed commonly elsewhere in the composition, as it is in B+15 in the Neo-Assyrian manuscript KAR 109, but the traces remaining in l. 7' would not suggest this. Despite the frequency of this image in the composition, it is striking that a variant reading in l. 4' occurs where KAR 109 has *rikis māti*, prompting the question whether text has been displaced in one of these manuscripts.

8' BM.37616 breaks off here. The traces preserved there indicate that the line commenced with a divine name. The unscribed space on the new piece suggests that only a short phrase could have followed. *āšibat* 'she dwells' is clear.

9' BĀD may be logographic writing for *dūru* 'city wall'; just conceivably, it is perhaps part of a toponym (Dēr = BĀD.[AN^{ki}]?).

2. The Opening Lines of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*

The catchline revealed by the new manuscript of *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula* (BM.47756) and its join to BM.33849⁴⁶ is presented and edited by Földi in the next article of this collection (no. 53). It serves to confirm the possibility explored by Földi,⁴⁷ that, not later than the Late Babylonian period, *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula* was given an edition as part of a series of hymns. That another hymn to the healing goddess should follow *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn* in such a series is entirely appropriate. As Földi noted above, the catchline now revealed by the new manuscript BM.47756+, *mukinnat šamē(AN) eršeti(KI) bēlet kala ilat nabnīti*, appears to supply the incipit of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*, of which only the first word, [m]ukinnat, was attested to date.

For many years the first six lines the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* were known only from the Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Kuyunjik in the British Museum, K.232+K.3371+K.13776. A fragment from the British Museum's Babylon collection, BM.40298 (1881,0324.165), was identified by Mitto as containing, on its obverse, part of the opening lines of the composition (ll. 4-9) and, on its reverse, just one readable sign from the text, followed by part of a colophon.⁴⁸ As noted there, the colophon has a broken word which perhaps reflects an unusual word contained on the obverse of the piece (*hursānu* 'mountain(s)'), giving rise to the suspicion that the incipit of the composition, or a catchline, was set out there. The incidence of this unusual word, which is not used elsewhere in the extant text, might tend to favour the conclusion that it is indeed the incipit. However, until some further manuscript comes to light, it seems compelling now to suppose that the catchline in the new manuscript of *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula* is correctly identified as the incipit of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*.

From the text preserved in K.232+ it seems certain that the composition commenced with two matching couplets, adopting a Sumerian compositional technique widely used in Akkadian hymns. This formulaic opening enables the reconstruction of its first six lines, in light of the incipit and the text on the fragment BM.40298. Only one short phrase in the passage is incomplete, *ba-na-at* [o o o], which is partially preserved in K.232+ l. 4, undoubtedly replicating the same phrase in l. 2 (from which it

43 As tentatively suggested by George 1993, 155 no. 1171, where the temple name is given as É.UL.ŠĀR.ME.ŠU.DU₇. For the scholarly speculation and this temple name respectively, see Bennett 2021, 383-4 and 328.

44 Cf. George 1993, 119 no. 713.

45 George 1993, 120 no. 726; Bennett 2021, 328.

46 Lambert 1967, Ms. b.

47 Földi 2022.

48 Bennett 2023a, 156-8 no. 1.

is almost entirely lost). In the edition presented⁴⁹ *ba-na-at* was understood as *banât* ‘she is beautiful’, paralleling the goddess’ physical and intellectual qualities. With the context now clearly set by the newly discovered incipit, it seems best understood as *bānât*, the feminine participle of *banû* ‘to create’: ‘she who creates/created (the) ...’. Words newly recovered from the manuscripts of *Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula* are set in **bold** type below.

- 1 *mukinnat šamê(AN) eršeti(κI) bēlet kala i’lat¹ [na]bnīti*
- 2 *rapšat uzni b[ānât o o o mušširat giššuri]*
- 3 *ninisin [mukinnat šamê(AN) eršeti(κI) bēlet kala ilat nabnīti]*
- 4 *rapšat uzni bānât[t o o o] mušširat giššur[ī]*
- 5 *ibnī-ma šamû(AN)^ú u eršeta(κI)^{ti} gimir ḥursāni⁷*
- 6 *mimma mala šuma nabû ba’ulāt ellil*

Translation

- 1 She who makes firm heaven and earth, lady of all things, goddess of creation,
- 2 She is of profound intelligence, [she who created ..., she (is the one who) draws the (divine) plan].
- 3 Ninisinna, [she who makes firm heaven and earth, lady of all things, goddess of creation,]
- 4 She is of profound intelligence, she who created [...], she (is the one who) draws the (divine) plan.
- 5 It was she who created heaven and earth, all of the mountains,
- 6 Everything that has a name, Enlil’s subjects.

Philological Commentary

With the newly identified incipit, it can be seen with confidence that, as might be expected, the first name given to the goddess in this hymn is interpreted by its scholar-composer at its outset, in the manner developed at length in later passages. Etymological correspondences between elements of the divine name Ninisinna (^dnin-ì-si-in^{ki}) can be understood in l. 1: *šamû* ‘heaven’ may interpret the marker which precedes the divine name, read not as dingir, but as an, as occurs elsewhere in this kind of speculative scholarship; *bēltu* ‘lady’ translates NIN, and perhaps *iltu* ‘goddess’ too may be so understood; *nabnītu* ‘creation’, derived from *banû* ‘to create’, can be understood to interpret both ì and si; *mukinnat*, from *kānu* ‘to be firm’, may also interpret si. Thus the name ^dnin-ì-si-in^{ki} is proclaimed in its first line and the goddess’ character explained and celebrated. These etymological correspondences (which can be detected also in ll. 2-6) and the flexible interchange of *banû* ‘to grow, be beautiful’ and *banû* ‘to create’ are features of this type of scholarship.⁵⁰

Elizabeth Bennett

⁴⁹ Bennett 2021; 2023b.

⁵⁰ See Bennett 2021, 339-40.

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From the *Electronic Babylonian Literature Lab 52-3*

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Abstract The article includes the following notes: 52. “More Fragments of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*”; 53. “*Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula: More of MS b*”.

Keywords Babylonian Literature. Cuneiform. *Ludlul*. *Bullussa-rabi*. Hymn. Wisdom literature.

Summary 52 More Fragments of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. – 53 *Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula: More of MS b*.

52. “More Fragments of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*”, Aino Häätinen
53. “*Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula: More of MS b*”, Zsombor J. Földi

52 More Fragments of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

This contribution presents editions and copies of seventeen new fragments for *Ludlul* I, II, III and IV, belonging to fifteen distinct, previously known or completely new manuscripts. These new pieces add considerably to the text by confirming previous reconstructions, providing reliable sources for debated readings, and including completely new – albeit fragmentary – lines of the text. The new content is marked with **bold** typeface in the editions below.

Table 1 Overview of the new *Ludlul* fragments

No.	Museum number	Lines in <i>Ludlul</i>	Place of origin	Tablet type	Joins to previously published MSS
1	2024,6004.183	I 15-20	Sippar?	Library	(+?)BM.66345
2	BM.55019	I 15-23	Sippar	School	–
3	K.22794	I 39-42	Nineveh	Library	+K.10503+
4	K.18929	I 44-50	Nineveh	Library?	(+)K.1757+
5	Bab.35834	I 58-62 II 51-5	Babylon	School	–
6	1880,0617.2642	I 93-7	Babylon	Library	(+?)BM.36320+



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No.	Museum number	Lines in <i>Ludlul</i>	Place of origin	Tablet type	Joins to previously published MSS
7	1880,0617.2549(+)BM.43144	II 42-50 II 87-97	Babylon	Library	+BM.38067
8	Rm-IV.729	II 47-50	Babylon	School	-
9	BM.48732(+)BM.49089	III 5-17 III 21-33 III 113-20	Babylon	Library	-
10	1880,1112.2566	III 31-8	Babylon	Library	(+)BM.39523+(+)BM.55481
11	BM.46826	III 43-57	Babylon	Library	-
12	Rm-IV.776	III 54-9	Babylon	Library	-
13	2024,6004.283	III 84-8	Babylon	Library	-
14	BM.45732	III 100-11	Babylon	Library	-
15	BM.46282	IV a+13-21 IV 23	Babylon	School	-

1. 2024,6004.183 (*Ludlul* I 15-20)

2024,6004.183 is a small fragment with so-called ‘firing-holes’ [fig. 1]. In the case of *Ludlul* I, two such Babylonian MSS are known thus far: Birmingham.1982.A,3115¹ (BabaLB1 in the *eBL* edition)² and BM.66345³ (SipNB2a in the *eBL* edition). Out of these options, an indirect join to BM.66345 seems possible, but it remains conjectural.

Transliteration

- o 1'. [ikkelemmū-ma inessū lamassu u] šēdu^(1dALAD¹) (l 15)
- o 2'. [ippallas-ma ana ša iskipūšu ilšu i-s]aḫ-ḫur-šú (l 16)
- o 3'. [akṣat ana surri ennettašu k]a-bit-tu₄ (l 17)
- o 4'. [ikkarriṭ-ma zamar-ma itâr] a¹-lit-tuš (l 18)
- o 5'. [iddud-ma rīmāniš ū]-¹gan¹-nu (l 19)
- o 6'. [(u) kī araḫ būri ittanashaḫara ár-ki]-¹šú¹ (l 20)

2024,6004.183

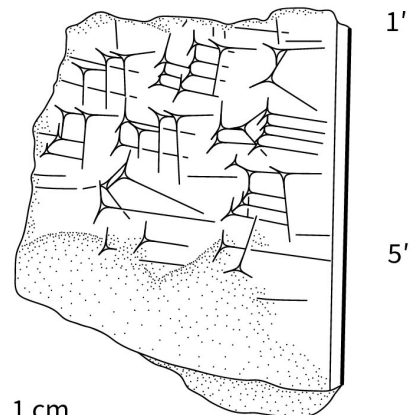


Figure 1
Copy of 2024,6004.183, by A. Hättinen

¹ Horowitz, Lambert 2002, 241.
² Hättinen 2022b.
³ George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 146.

2. BM.55019 (*Ludlul I 15-23*)

BM.55019 is a Late Babylonian school tablet fragment with eight excerpts. On the obverse, § 2 excerpts *Ludlul I 15-23*, and § 3 quotes *Nigdimdimû*. In the lexical section, only § 7 can be securely identified as *Ura XII*; the rest of the excerpts remain unidentified [fig. 2].

Transliteration

§ 1': literary, unidentified

o 1'. [...] x [x (x x)]

§ 2': *Ludlul I 15-23*

o 2'. [ikkelemmû-ma inessû lamassu] ^rú²¹ šēdu(^{rad}[ALAD])

o 3'. [ippallas-ma ana ša iskipūšu il(DINGIR)-š]ú² ^rí²-saḥ²¹-ḥu[r²-šú]

o 4'. [akṣat ana surri en-net-t]a-šú ka-bi[t-ti]

o 5'. [ikkarriṭ-ma zamar-ma itâr a]-lit-[tuš]

o 6'. [iddud-ma ri-m]a²-^rkiš²¹ ú-gan-n[a]

o 7'. [(u) kī arah būri it-t]a-na-as-^rḥa-ru¹ arki(^rEGIR¹)-š[ú]

o 8'. [zaqtā niṭâtūšu usahḥalā z]u-^rum¹-ri

o 9'. [pašḥū šindūšu ú-bal-la]-^rtu¹ ^rnam¹-tar

o 10'. [iqabbî-ma gillata uš-r]a-[á]š-^ox\šú^o

§ 3': *Nigdimdimû*

o 11'. [D]iš [...] -ma² nu-^ox\ul^o-[l]a-a-ti pî(KA)-šú šu-ul-qu

o 12'. [D]iš (amēlu ina dabābīšu) lā šalāta idabbub amēlu šū(B)l ^rár-ki¹ ilī(^rDINGIR¹)-^ršú¹ ^riṣ¹-ša-bat

o 13'. [D]iš (amēlu ina dabābīšu) sarrāti idabbub ina kakkī(⁶⁵TUKUL) iddâk(^rGAZ¹)

o 14'. [D]iš (amēlu ina dabābīšu) parāti idabbub ina kakkī(⁶⁵TUKUL) iddâk(^rGAZ¹)

o 15'. [D]iš (amēlu ina dabābīšu) kimāti idabbub balāṭa(TI.L)A³ ur-rak

o 16'. [D]iš (amēlu ina dabābīšu) ūtabbak išarru iballaṭ M]u.^r1¹. [KAM]

(one or two lines broken)

(end of obverse)

§ 4': unidentified

r 1'. [...] ^ra²¹ [x (x x)]

§ 5': lexical, unidentified

r 2'. [...] -^rú¹

r 3'. [...] g]e²-en-^rnu-ú¹

r 4'. [...] n]u-^rum¹

§ 6': lexical, compare *Diri III 62-6*

r 5'. [...] neš²]-mu-^rú¹

r 6'. [...] ḥa²]-si-^rsu¹

r 7'. [...] neš²]-mu-ú

r 8'. [...] ḥa²]-^rsi¹-su-^rum¹-ma

§ 7': *Ura XII*, Seg. 1: 114-16

r 9'. [šem^{še-em.zabar} ḥal]-ḥal-la-tu⁴

r 10'. [meze^{me-zé.zabar} ma]-an-zu-ú

r 11'. [liliz^{li-li-š.zabar} li-]i-su

§ 8': lexical, unidentified

r 12'. [...] si²-[l]i-^rtu⁴

r 13'. [...] s]e-^rke¹-ru šá mē(A^{meš}) : pa-šá-ḥu

r 14'. [...] -^ršú²¹ : e-de-pu

r 15'. [...] x x x

r 16'. [...] x

Notes

o 6' The traces in this line suggest [... *ri-m*]a-kiš instead of *ri-ma-niš*_x(MU) or *ri-ma-niš*(GIŠ) that are attested in other MSS. Thus, either the sign kiš is used here incorrectly, or it should have the otherwise unattested phonetic value /niš/.

o 11'-16' These lines duplicate BM.47462 o 20'-6' (eBL transliteration).

r 9'-11' The reconstruction is based on the DCCLT-edition of *Ura 12*, Seg. 1: 114-16 (access the website of the *Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts* at <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/Q000087>). This section duplicates SpTU 3 111, o iii 9-11 where these three lines form a distinct section, separated from the previous and following lines by single rulings.

r 12'-13' Although *sekēru ša mē* is attested in various lexical texts (see CAD S, 210b s.v. "sekēru" lex.), no direct parallels for this excerpt can be found. Note that the verbs *sekēru* 'to shut off, block up' and *edēpu* 'to blow (away)' are given (as antonyms?) in the omen fragment Sm.962 o 10': [...] ? *se-ke-ru e-de-pu šá-niš e-le-pu bu-uq-ú²-ru* (eBL transliteration).

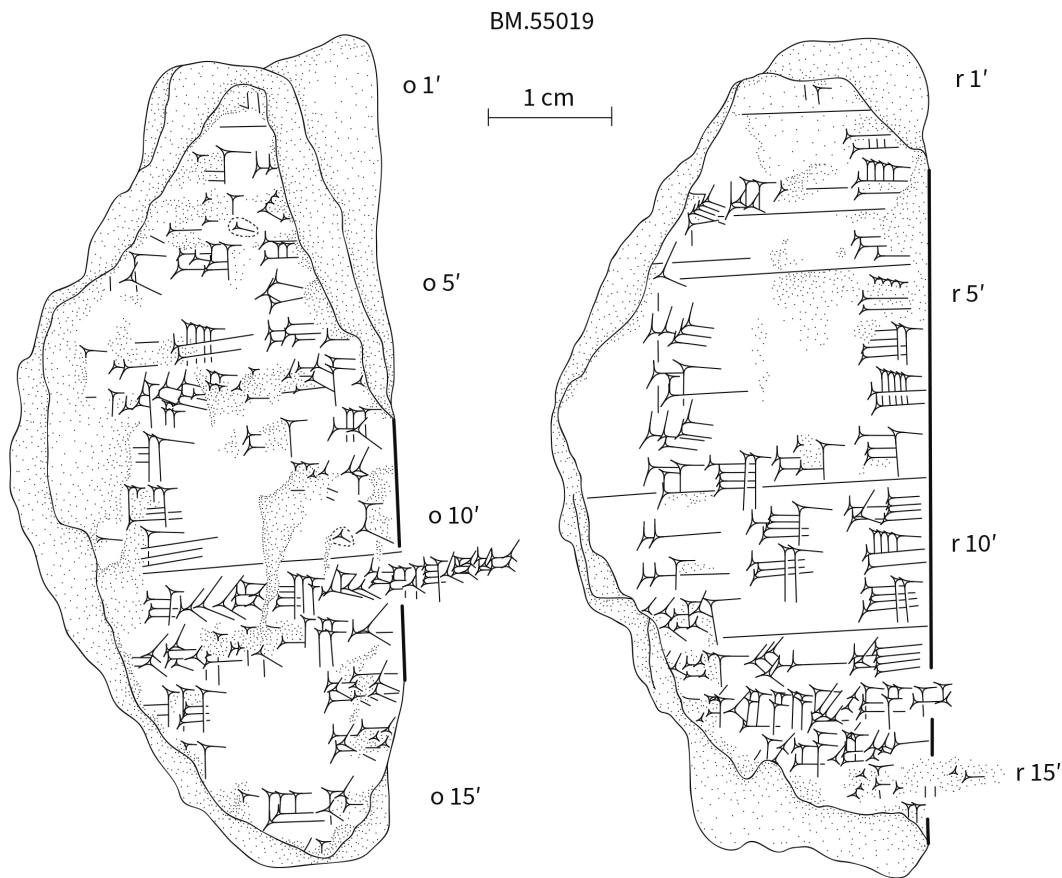


Figure 2 Copy of BM.55019, by A. Hättinen

3. (K.10503+)K.22794 (*Ludlul* I 39-42)

Judging from the 'firing-holes' that form a distinctive shape, the small fragment K.22794 joins K.10503+Sm.2139 [fig. 3]. Note that there was only one set of *Ludlul* tablets with 'firing-holes' in Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh.⁴

⁴ Hättinen 2024.

Transliteration

- o 1'. [lušalmid-ma nišī qit-ru]-¹ba¹ g[a-mal-šin] (l 39)
o 2'. [ḥissassu damiqtu lem]-¹na¹ lit-[bal] (l 40)
o 3'. [ištu ūm bēlu] ¹i¹-nu-na-[an-ni] (l 41)
o 4'. [u qarrādu marduk is-bu-s]u itti(κ*i*)-ia² (l 42)

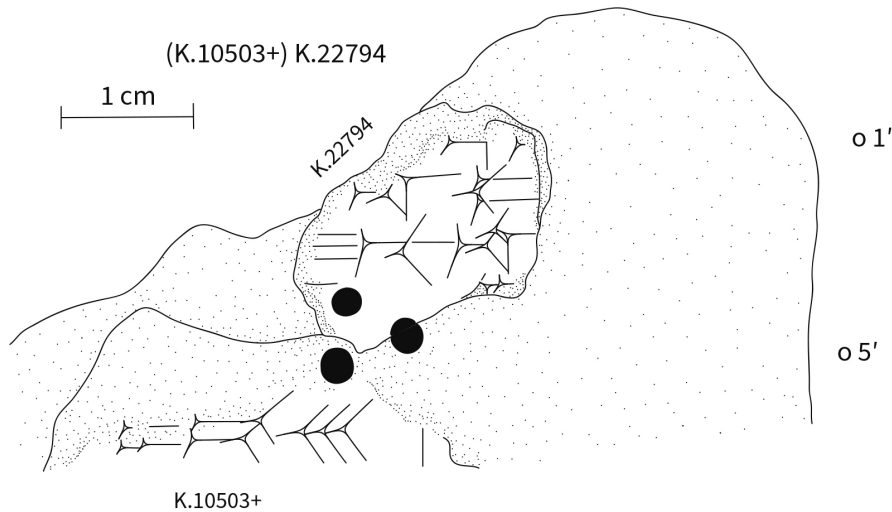


Figure 3
Copy of (K.10503+)
K.22794, by A.
Hättinen

4. K.18929 (*Ludlul* I 44-50)

This Nineveh fragment, written in a distinctive script, indirectly joins to K.1757+ [fig. 4]. The fragment K.17700⁵ may also belong to the same MS, but that indirect join remains uncertain.⁶

Transliteration

- o 1'. [ipparku ^di]š²-¹tar²¹ [ibēš aḥīta] (l 44)
o 2'. [islit šēd dum]-¹qī¹ [ša idiya] (l 45)
o 3'. [iprud la-mas-s]i-¹ma¹ 'šá¹-na[m-ma iše'e] (l 46)
o 4'. [inneṭir bal]-¹tj¹ ¹du¹-u-t[i² ūtammil] (l 47)
o 5'. [simtī] ¹ip¹-pa-¹ri¹-is t[a-ra-ni išḥit] (l 48)
o 6'. [iš-šak-n]a-¹nim-ma¹ i-¹da¹-[a-ti piritti] (l 49)
o 7'. [uštēši bitu'a] ¹ana²¹ ka-m[a-a-ti arpud] (l 50)

Notes

o 7' The single vertical wedge before *ka* is clear on the fragment. It is interpreted here to represent a textual variant with the preposition *ana*; note however that the idiom *kamāti rapādu* should not include it (see CAD R, 147-9 s.v. “rapādu”).

⁵ Hättinen 2022a, 139-40.

⁶ For proposed sets of *Ludlul* tablets in the royal tablet collection in Nineveh, see Hättinen 2024.

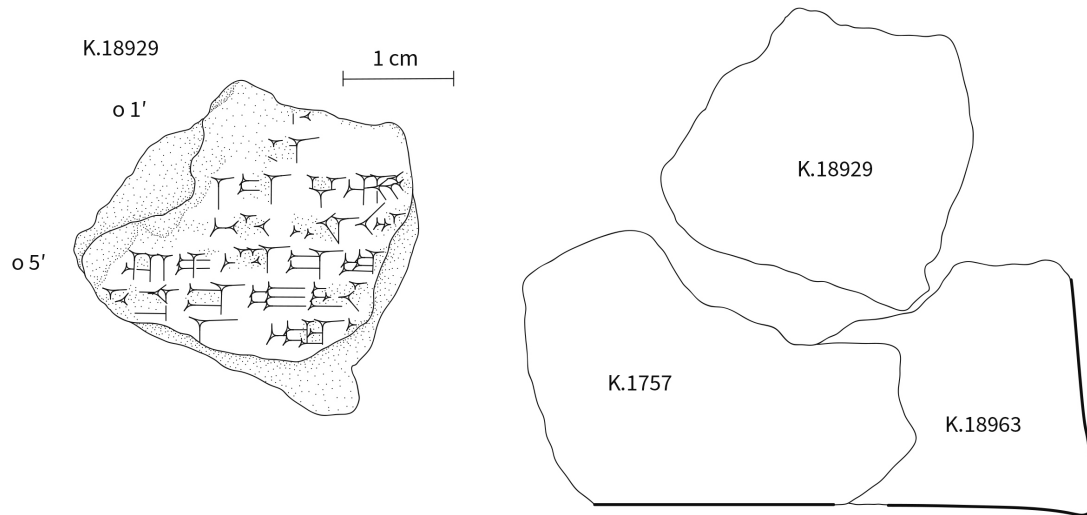


Figure 4 Copy of K.18929 and a join sketch of K.1757+(+)K.18929, by A. Hättinen

5. Bab.35834 = PhBab 1497-8 (*Ludlul* I 58-62, II 51-5)

Bab.35834 is a Neo-Babylonian school tablet from the archive/library N10 from Babylon, found at Merkes in Koldewey's excavations in May 1908.⁷ Only excavation photographs of the tablet are available (PhBab 1497-8), which is the reason for not presenting a copy of the tablet here.⁸ A copy of the lexical sections §§ 9-10, based on the excavation photo, has been published by L. Matouš.⁹ The full extent of this school tablet is preserved, with 30 lines on both the obverse and the reverse. Comprised of two joining fragments, there are parts missing in the section where the tablet had broken. Moreover, the obverse is extensively either damaged or covered in dirt. Out of the six excerpts of literary texts on the obverse, four cite major works of literature: *Enūma eliš* VI 61-5 (§ 1), *Aluzinnu* 96-100 (§ 2), and *Ludlul* I 58-62 & II 51-5 (§§ 5-6). While § 4 excerpts a prayer or hymn to a goddess (parallel to Rm-285//), § 3 remains unidentified. On the reverse, § 7 seems to include a list of shrine names, whereas no parallels can be found for § 8. The lexical sections excerpt *Ura* III 26-37 (§ 9) and *Ura* IV 20-7 (§ 10).¹⁰ The concluding section (§ 11) contains multiplications of the numbers 1, 5 and 8. See the transliteration of the other sections on the *eBL*.

Transliteration

§ 5: *Ludlul* I 58-62

- | | |
|--|--------|
| o 21. ¹ paḥ ¹ -[ru-ma ramānšunu ú-šá-aḥ-ḥa]- ¹ zu ¹ nu-ul-la-tú ² | (I 58) |
| o 22. [šumma ištēn-ma na-pi]š- ¹ ta-šú ¹ ¹ ú ¹ -šat-bak | (I 59) |
| o 23. [iḡabbi šá-nu]- ¹ ú ¹ ¹ ú ¹ -šat-bi ter-tuš | (I 60) |
| o 24. [ša kīma šalši qip-t]a-šú [a]-ta-am-muḥ | (I 61) |
| o 25. [errub bituššu re-b]u-ú i-ta-mi | (I 62) |

§ 6: *Ludlul* II 51-5

- | | |
|--|---------|
| o 26. [im-ḥu]l-lu iš- ¹ tu ¹ i- ¹ šid ¹ šamê(AN-e) i-zi-qu ² | (II 51) |
| o 27. ¹ iš-tu ¹ ¹ i-rat ¹ eršeti(¹ ki ¹) i-šī-ḥu di- ² -i | (II 52) |

⁷ See Pedersén 2005, 198-202: N10, no. 170.

⁸ For the disappeared objects from the Babylon excavation, see Pedersén 2005, 6-7.

⁹ Matouš 1933, no. 63.

¹⁰ See Landsberger 1957, 94-6 and 152, respectively.

- o 28. ¹š¹-ú-¹lu¹ lem-nu ¹it¹-ta-ša-a ap-su-uš-šú (II 53)
o 29. ú-tuk-ku la ne-²ú ú-ša-a iš-tu é-kur (II 54)
o 30. ¹la¹-maš-ti ¹ur¹-du iš-tu qé-reb šadī(KUR-i) (II 55)
(end of obverse)

Notes

o 24 The spelling *a-ta-am-muḥ* for *atammaḥ* shows vowel indifference in CVC signs, attested from the Neo-Assyrian period onward.¹¹ This suggests that the partially preserved verbal form in BM.32208+ i 14' (BabLB1) should also be understood as [*a-ta*]m-muḥ (cf. the reconstructed variant [*lu-u*]t-muḥ).¹²

6. 1880,0617.2642 (*Ludlul* I 93-7)

The script in this small fragment suggests that it may be an indirect join to BM.36320+.¹³ Since both pieces were unavailable for collation in March 2024, this suggestion remains tentative [fig. 5].

Transliteration

- r 1'. ana ¹qa¹-a-a[b damiqtīya petāssu ḥaštu] (I 93)
r 2'. mu-ta-mu [¹tapiltīya šakin ana rēši] (I 94)
r 3'. da-bi-ba [¹nullātīya ilu rēšūšu] (I 95)
r 4'. ana ¹šá¹ ¹iq¹-b[u-u aḥulap ḥamussu mūtu] (I 96)
r 5'. ana [¹ša lā kâšim-ma iteme balāssu šēduš] (I 97)

1880,0617.2642

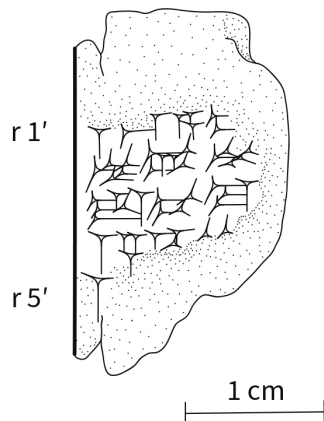


Figure 5
Copy of 1880,0617.2642, by A. Hättinen

7. 1880,0617.2549+BM.38067(+BM.43144 (*Ludlul* II 42-50, 87-97)

1880,0617.2549 joins BM.38067, a Neo-Babylonian MS of *Ludlul* II.¹⁴ The joining new fragment solves the debate on the restoration of verb in II 48 and provides a clear attestation of *iqūpa* in II 49 (see also

¹¹ See Streck 2001, 81-2.

¹² In Hättinen 2022a.

¹³ Fincke 2021.

¹⁴ Published in Oshima 2014, pl. VIII and George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 152.

the edition of Rm-IV.729 below). It seems likely that the Neo-Babylonian fragment BM.43144 belongs to the same tablet as BM.38067+1880,0617.2549 [fig. 6].

Transliteration

(BM.38067+1880,0617.2549 (*Ludlul* II 42-50))

o 12'. [ina pīt purīdi ū]- ^r šar ¹ -ra-pu lal-la-riš	(II 42)
o 13'. [kī petē u ka-t]a-mu [t]è-em-ši-na šīt-ni	(II 43)
o 14'. [immušā-ma] im-ma-a šā-lam-tiš	(II 44)
o 15'. [išebbâ-ma i-š]á-an-na- ^r na ¹ i-la-ši-ī[n]	(II 45)
o 16'. [ina ṭābi i]-tam-ma-a ^r e ¹ -la-a šā-ma-m[i]	(II 46)
o 17'. [ūtaššāšā-ma i-dab]-bu-bu a- ^r ra ¹ -du ^r er ¹ -[ka]l-[[a]	(II 47)
o 18'. [ana an-na]- ^r a ⁷¹ uš-ta- ^r di ¹ -ru ^r qé ¹ -r[eb-ši-na lā altamda]	(II 48)
o 19'. [(u) yāti šu-nu-ḥ]u i- qu-pu [meḥū]	(II 49)
o 20'. [muršu munnišu eliya(u)gu- ^r ia ¹] [innešra]	(II 50)

BM.43144 (*Ludlul* II 87-97))

r 1'. [arkat] b[u-bu-ti ⁷ katim ur'udī]	(II 87)
r 2'. [áš-na-a]n šu[m-ma daddariš ala"ut]	(II 88)
r 3'. [^d sir]aš nap-ša[t nišī elīya imtarša]	(II 89)
r 4'. [ap-pu]-na-ma i- ^r te ¹ -[ri-ik silītu]	(II 90)
r 5'. [ina lā m]a-ka- ^r le ¹ -[e zīmū'a ittakrū]	(II 91)
r 6'. [ši-ri-i]š iš-taḥ-[ḥa dāmī izzūba]	(II 92)
r 7'. [e-še-e]n- ^r ti ¹ us- ^r su ¹ -[qat ₆ arimat maškī]	(II 93)
r 8'. [šer'anū'a] nu-up- ^r pu ¹ -ḥ[u urīqta maḥšāku]	(II 94)
r 9'. [āḥuz] erša([G1š.N]Á) me-se-r[i mūšē tănēḥu]	(II 95)
r 10'. [ana ki-šuk-k]i-i[a itūra bītu]	(II 96)
r 11'. [illurti] širi([Uz]u ^r mešī)- ^r ia ¹ [nadā idāya]	(II 97)

Notes

o 18' The preserved signs in 1880,0617.2549 confirm that the verb in *Ludlul* II 48 is *uštādir* (from *šutāduru* 'to become harassed, worried'; see CAD A/2, 105b s.v. "adāru" A 6). The same verb is used in *Ludlul* II 40: *surriš uštādir zamar uḥtabbar* "For a moment one is downcast, in an instant full of cheer" (transl. B.R. Foster). The resulting translation for II 48 is 'I've become worried about these things, but I have made no sense of them'. Note that Lambert's translation of the incomplete verbal form *uš-ta-x* was very close to this ("I am *appalled* at these things; I do not understand their significance").¹⁵ In the beginning of the line, the plural pronoun *annāti* attested in other MSS seems to be replaced with a form in the singular, *annā* (see also Rm-IV.729 o 3' below).

o 19' The clearly preserved sign *qu* in this fragment allows the re-evaluation of the traces in the other two MSS preserving the verbal form in question. This results in *i-^rqu¹-pa* in STT 1 33, 49 (HuzNA1) and ^ri-*qu-pa¹* in K.8396 o 6' (NinNA2b). Compare the previously proposed *i-ri-i[d-d]i*,¹⁶ *i-ri-i[d¹-di]*,¹⁷ *i-^rred¹-di*,¹⁸ *i-n[a-s]ak*,¹⁹ and *i-^rre²¹-^rdi²¹* (STT 1 33, 49) / ^ri²¹-^rrad²¹-[d]i²¹ (K.8396 o 6').²⁰ The verb *qāpu* 'to buckle, to cave in' is usually attested in relation to buildings, but it can also be used to describe a demonic attack; see CAD Q, 98 s.v. "qāpu" B lex. with reference to CT 16, 27: 4 f. = *Uduḡḡul* 8, 3: a-lā

¹⁵ Lambert 1960, 41. For the other previous suggestions on how to interpret the then incompletely preserved verbal form, see the note on II 48 in Hättinen 2022a and the discussions in Oshima 2014, 249; Lenzi 2023, 123.

¹⁶ Lambert, Gurney 1954, 84.

¹⁷ Lambert 1960, 40.

¹⁸ Annus, Lenzi 2010, 20.

¹⁹ Oshima 2014, 403.

²⁰ Hättinen 2022b.

ḫul é-gar₈ diri-ga-gin, lú-ra in-gu[l]-u₈-a ḫé-me-en | MIN šá ki-ma i-ga-ri i-qup-pu-ma UGU
L[ú in-n]a-ba-tu at-ta₅ “(Sum.) whether you are the evil *alû*-demon who collapses upon the man like a buckling wall | (Akk.) whether you are the evil *alû*-demon who buckles like a wall and collapses upon the man”.²¹ Thus, after revision, *Ludlul* II 49 is: (u²) yâti šūnu[h]a iqūpa meḫû ‘But as for me, in despair, a whirlwind fell down on me’.

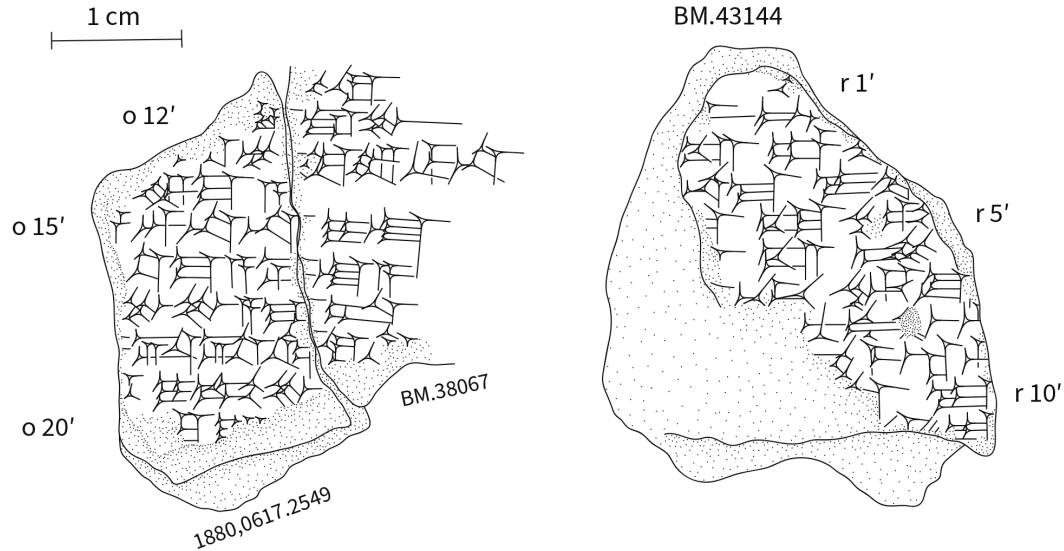


Figure 6 Copy of 1880,0617.2549+BM.38067(+BM.43144, by A. Hättinen

8. Rm-IV.729 (*Ludlul* II 47-50)

Rm-IV.729 is a fragment of a Neo-Babylonian school tablet whose § 2' excerpts *Ludlul* II 47-50. Like 1880,0617.2549+, edited above, this small fragment restores the problematic verb in *Ludlul* II 49 [fig. 7].

Transliteration

§ 1': unidentified

o 1'. [x x x (x x x)] 'sar²¹ x [x x x x (x x x)]

§ 2': *Ludlul* II 47-50

o 2'. [ūtaššašā-ma i-dab-bu-b]u a-ra-d[u erkalla] (II 47)

o 3'. [ana an-na]-'a¹ uš-ta-[di-ru qerebšina lā altamda] (II 48)

o 4'. [(u²) yâti šūnuḫa] i-qu-p[u meḫû] (II 49)

o 5'. [muršu munnišu elī(uḫ)u]-'ia¹ i[n-né-eš-ra] (II 50)

Notes

o 3'-4' See the notes on 1880,0617.2549+ o 18' and 19' above.

²¹ My translation after Geller 2016, 288-9.

Rm-IV.729

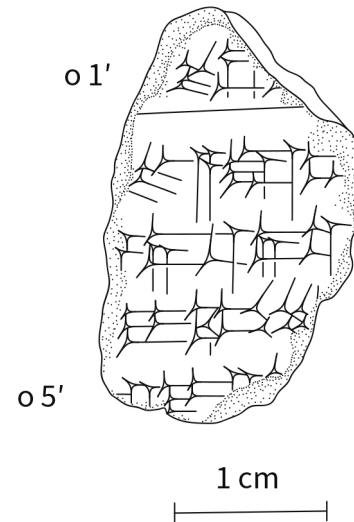


Figure 7
Copy of Rm-IV.729, by A. Hättinen

9. BM.48732(+)BM.49089 (*Ludlul* III 5-17, 21-33, 113-20)

The fragments BM.48732(+)BM.49089 belong to a Neo-Babylonian library tablet, and although small, they reveal information essential for the reconstruction of the poorly known section at the end of *Ludlul* III and the beginning of *Ludlul* IV. With BM.48732, the incipit of *Ludlul* IV can now be established. Moreover, that fragment also contains the endings for the previously completely unknown lines *Ludlul* III 113-20 [fig. 8].

Transliteration

(BM.48732)

o 1'. [dannu muršu kabtu ramānī lā x (x)] x	(III 5)
o 2'. [ērūtī mašâku ušarpadū šal-lu]- ti ¹	(III 6)
o 3'. [urra u mūša ištēniš a(n)-na-šâ-ri	(III 7)
o 4'. [šuttu munattu malmališ šum-ru-ša ²]- nu	(III 8)
o 5'. [ištānu eṭlu atar ši-kit]-tu ₄	(III 9)
o 6'. [minâti šurruḥ lubušta ud-du]- uq ¹	(III 10)
o 7'. [aššu ina munatti idûšu gatta zu-uq-qu]-ur	(III 11)
o 8'. [melammī ḫalip labiš pu-ul-ḫa-a]-ti	(III 12)
o 9'. [irubam-ma ittaiz elī(UGU)]-ia	(III 13)
o 10'. [āmuršū-ma iḫḫamû širū(uzu)-ú]-a	(III 14)
o 11'. [šū ² -ma bêlka iš-pur-an]-ni	(III 15)
o 12'. [(x) x x šumrušu liqa ² a šu-lum]-šú	(III 16)
o 13'. [a ² uram-ma atammâ ana mukil re-ši-i]a	(III 17)

(BM.49089)

o 1'. [dš-ni-m]a šunata(MÁ[Š.G ₆]) ¹ a-na ²¹ -a[ṭ-ṭal]	(III 21)
o 2'. [ina šunat aṭṭulu mu-š]i-[ti-ia]	(III 22)
o 3'. [ištānu ramku nāš mē š]ip-[ti]	(III 23)
o 4'. [bīna (u) mullila ta-m]e- ¹ eḫ ¹ rit-tuš-[šu]	(III 24)
o 5'. [laluralima ašip] nippuri(NIBRU ^[ki])	(III 25)
o 6'. [ana ubbubika iš-pu-ra]-an-[ni]	(III 26)
o 7'. [mê našû eliya i]d ² -[di]	(III 27)

o 8'. [šīpat balāṭi iddâ ú-maš-ši]-i ¹ zu-u[m-ri]	(III 28)
o 9'. [ašluš-ma šunata a-na-a]ṭ ² -[ṭal]	(III 29)
o 10'. [ina šunat aṭṭulu mu-ši-ti]-[ia]	(III 30)
o 11'. [ištêṭ ardatu banû zi-mu]-[šú]	(III 31)
o 12'. [nesiš lā ṭuḥḥât iliš maš]-[lat]	(III 32)
o 13'. [šarrat nišī kabitti ma]-a ¹ -[ti]	(III 33)
(BM.48732)	
r 1'. [...]-k[a-x]-x	(III 113)
r 2'. [...]-gu im-[l]a-a ¹ i-ḥu-zu ²¹	(III 114)
r 3'. [...] ^o x\ ^o -az	(III 115)
r 4'. [...]-x-šur/pad	(III 116)
r 5'. [...]u iš áš	(III 117)
r 6'. [kīma nakimti šūš ^u ušappira] šu-pur'(nīG)-a-a	(IV c+1 → III 118)
r 7'. [...]-x-nu pi ³ -ia	(III 119)
r 8'. [...]i k ² -ri-iš	(III 120)
<hr/>	
r 9'. [itbuk mānaḥtašin ruššašin u]š-ṭi-ib	(IV d+1 → IV 1)
r 10'. [...]x (x)	

Notes

o 2' The preserved *-ti* at the end of the line seems to confirm the suggestion *ú-šar-pa-du šal-[lu-ti]* in CAD R, 149b s.v. “rapādu” 5. It also rules out the previously proposed reconstructions:

ʿe¹-ru-ti ma-šá-ku ú-šar-pa-du-ni-[in-ni ...]
I (had) forgotten my *consciousness*, they made me wander [...]²²

ʿe¹-ru-ti ma-šá-ku ú-šar-pa-du-ni-[in-ni dalpiš[?]]
Je ne pouvais rester éveillé, ils m'ont fait errer [*sans sommeil?*]²³

In addition to the epigraphical evidence, the reconstruction with *šallūtu* ‘state of sleep’ fits the content, being the opposite of *ērūtu* ‘state of being awake’. This results in verse *ērūti mašáku ušarpadū šal[lū]tī* ‘I forgot my wakefulness, they made my sleep stray’, describing the protagonist’s delirious state both awake and sleeping. It is assumed here that the verbal form in the plural refers to the negative effects of Marduk’s wrath mentioned in the preceding lines.

o 3' The sign *ri* shows that the previous restoration *anassus*²⁴ does not hold. Following a suggestion by E. Jiménez, the verb is understood here as *annaššar* ‘I am diminished’ (see CAD N/2, 60-4 s.v. “našāru” A). The traces visible in VAT.9954 could be read *a-na-š[ar]*.

o 4' The preserved NU rules out the restoration *šum-r[u-ša-ku]*.²⁵ Moreover, it seems to confirm W. von Soden’s suggestion to read here *šumrušāni*,²⁶ provided that we understand the sign NU to be vowel indifferent (= /ni/) – a phenomenon that is well-attested in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian cuneiform sources.²⁷

o 6' This line shows that the verb at the end of the verse is *udduq* (from *edēqu* ‘to dress, clothe’), presenting a variant to the recently reconstructed *udduḥ*²⁸ and reflecting the alternation of *ḥ* and *q* (GAG § 25d).

²² Oshima 2014, 94-5; followed in Lenzi 2023, 78-9: *ērūti mašáku ušarpadūni[inni]* ‘I forgot alertness, [I] became delirious’.

²³ Oshima 2023, 106-7.

²⁴ See Ebeling 1926, 277 and Lambert 1960, 48-9.

²⁵ See Lambert 1960, 48-9; Oshima 2014, 94-5; Oshima 2023, 106-7.

²⁶ von Soden 1990, 127.

²⁷ See Streck 2001, 81-2 and Jiménez 2017, 278.

²⁸ Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 159.

r6' This line proves that this verse, previously attested only in the commentary (K.3291 r 21-2), should be identified as *Ludlul* III 118. The preceding lines in BM.48732 do not contain any of the three verses attested in K.3291 r 16-20, which shows that that material belongs to the lacuna in *Ludlul* III 107-12.

r9' This catchline suggests that this verse, previously attested only in the commentary (K.3291 r 23-4), should be identified as *Ludlul* IV 1.

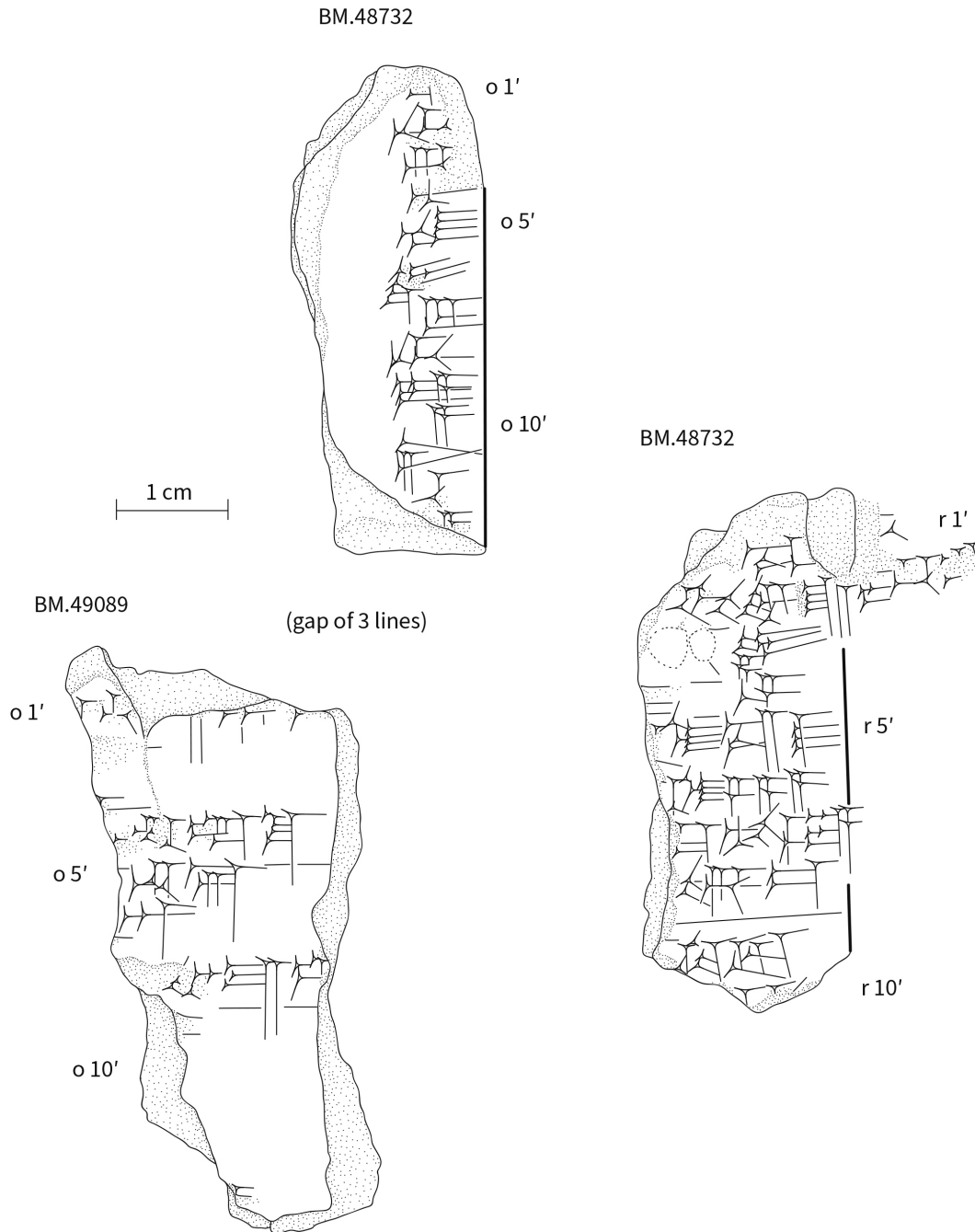


Figure 8 Copy of BM.48732(+)/BM.49089, by A. Hättinen

10. 1880,1112.2566 (*Ludlul* III 31-8)

This small fragment may or may not belong to the same tablet as BM.39523+BM.39584 (BabNB1b)²⁹ and BM.55481 (BabNB1a). Since 1880,1112.2566 was unavailable for collation in March 2024, this suggestion remains tentative [fig. 9].

Transliteration

1'. 'iš-ta¹-[at ardatu banû zīmūša]	(III 31)
2'. né-siš [a tuḥḥat iliš mašlat]	(III 32)
3'. šar-ra[t nišī kabitti māti]	(III 33)
4'. i-[ru-ba-am-ma ittašab ...]	(III 34)
5'. iq-ba¹ [aḥulap maḡal šūnuḥ-ma]	(III 35)
6'. la ta-[pal-laḥ iqbâ ušaškin ...]	(III 36)
7'. 'û¹ ina [mimma šutti itṭul ...]	(III 37)
8'. [i]q-b[u-u aḥulap maḡal šumruš-ma]	(III 38)

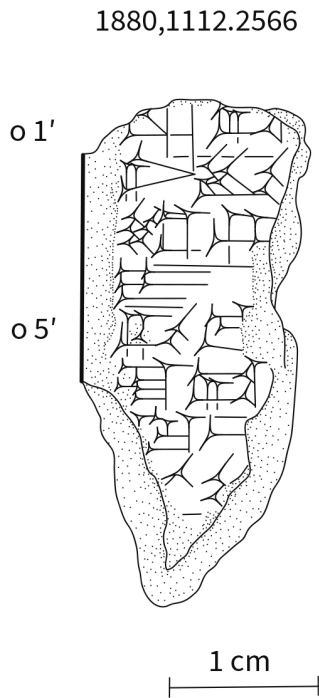


Figure 9
Copy of 1880,1112.2566, by A. Hättinen

11. BM.46826 (*Ludlul* III 43-57)

The large Neo-Babylonian fragment BM.46826 duplicates several lines of *Ludlul* III on its obverse [fig. 10]. It confirms the previously reconstructed word at the beginning of III 54 and disproves the proposed reconstruction for III 56. The few signs that are preserved on the reverse must belong to the poorly preserved section in III 63-8 [fig. 11].

²⁹ See Fadhil, Jiménez 2019, 160-1 and Hättinen 2022a, 146-8.

Transliteration

o 1'. [marduk-ma iš-p]u-[ra-an-ni]	(III 43)
o 2'. [ana šubši-me]š- ^r ra-a ¹ -[šakkan ubilla šimda]	(III 44)
o 3'. [ina qātīšu ellēti(κù) ^{rmeš1}] ú-bal-[la šimda]	(III 45)
o 4'. [ana mu]t-tab-bi-li-ia [qātuššu ipqid]	(III 46)
o 5'. [ina mu-n]a-at-ti iš-pu-[ra šipirta]	(III 47)
o 6'. [i]t-[t]u-uš damqata(SIG ₅ -ti) nišī(UN ^m [eš-ia) uk-tal-lim]	(III 48)
o 7'. [i]- ^r na ¹ si-li-ti i-ri-k[u x x x x]	(III 49)
o 8'. muršiya([G]IG-MU) ár- ^h iš ig-ga-mir [iḫḫepi x x x]	(III 50)
o 9'. [u]l-tu šá be-lí-ia lîb- ^r bi ¹ -š[ú inūḫu]	(III 51)
o 10'. [š]á marduk(^r d)AMAR.UTU re-mé-ni-i ka-bat-[ta-šú ippašru]	(III 52)
o 11'. [i]l- ^r qu ¹ -ú un- ^r nin-ni ¹ -ia ₅ [iršâ x x x x (x x)]	(III 53)
o 12'. ^r na-as ¹ -ḫur-šú ṭa-a-b[a ukallimanni ^r]	(III 54)
o 13'. ^r iq ¹ -ba-a a- ^r ḫu ¹ -[lap magal šūnuḫ-ma]	(III 55)
o 14'. [šē ² -r]et-su a-n[a šūpê igmil napišta]	(III 56)
o 15'. [nar]- ^r bi-šú ¹ [ana dulluli x x x x x x]	(III 57)

r 1'. [(x x)] x [...]
r 2'. [(x)] x-^rba^r(-)[...]
r 3'. [(x) x-l]uḫ²-[...]

Notes

o 12' The preserved *na* in the beginning of the line proves that the reconstruction *nashuršu* suggested by R. Borger³⁰ was correct.

o 14' The clearly preserved *MES* as the second sign in the line shows that my suggestion³¹ to reconstruct [ilū]ssu ana šūpê 'To extol his divinity' in III 56 does not hold. Considering the very limited space for a single missing sign before *MES*, the only plausible reading here seems to be [šē-r]et-su, referring to the punishment meted out by Marduk that is the cause of the protagonist's suffering (see CAD Š/2, 324-6 s.v. "šērtu" B 2). For the reconstruction of the second half of III 56, see the edition of Rm-IV.776 below. Reading [šēr]essu ana šūpê igmil napišta 'He spared (my) life so that his punishment would be extolled' together with the second line in the couplet, possibly [nar]bīšu ana dulluli 'to acclaim his greatness', underlines the coexistence and dependency of punishment and salvation by Marduk.

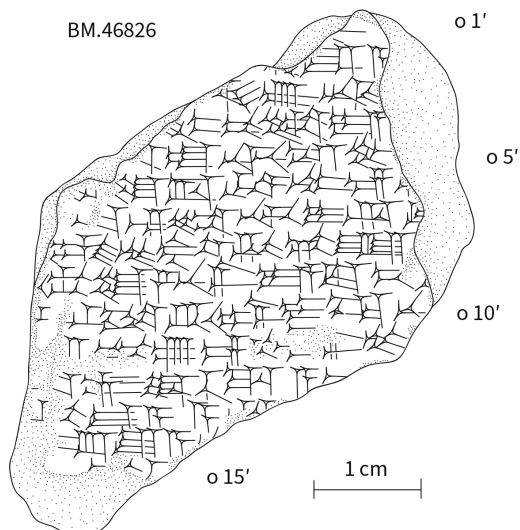


Figure 10
Copy of BM.46826, obverse, by A. Hättinen

30 Borger 1964, 52.

31 Hättinen 2022a, 148-9.

BM.46826

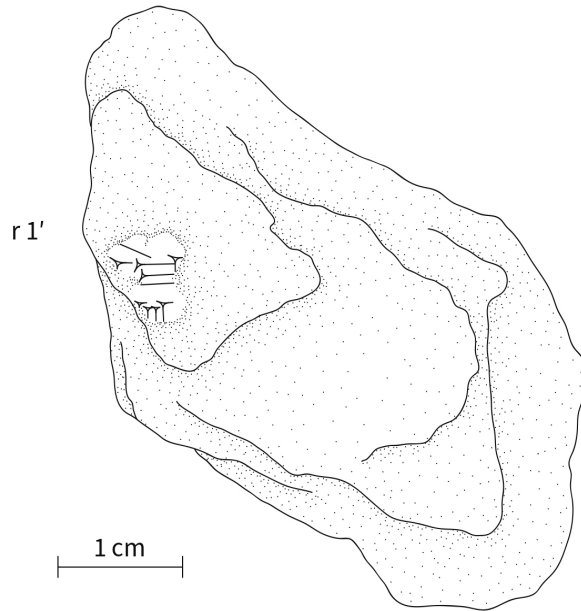


Figure 11
Copy of BM.46826, reverse, by A. Hättinen

12. Rm-IV.776 (*Ludlul* III 54-9)

Rm-IV.776 is a small fragment that helps to restore *Ludlul* III 56 [fig. 12].

Transliteration

- | | |
|---|----------|
| o 1'. [nasḫuršu ṭa-a-b]i ² ṛú ²¹ -[kal ² -lim ² -an ² -ni ²] | (III 54) |
| o 2'. [iqbû aḫulap m]a-gal ṛšū ¹ -[nu-uh-ma] | (III 55) |
| o 3'. [šēressu ana šu]-pi-i ig-m[i-il napišta] | (III 56) |
| o 4'. [narbīšu ana du]l-lu-[i ² x x x x (x)] | (III 57) |
| o 5'. [imēš arnī (x)] x bad² [x x x x (x)] | (III 58) |
| o 6'. [ukkiš en-net-t]a ² [gillatī x x x (x)] | (III 59) |

Notes

o 3' The traces after IG enable the reconstruction of *igmil* 'he spared'. The reading is supported by *ig-m[e-x]* in BM.77093³² o 15'. Moreover, the traces preserved at the end of VAT.9954 r 24' suggest that [na-pi]š-²te¹ should be restored in that MS.³³ Consequently, the full line *Ludlul* III 56 is [šē]ressu ana šūpē *igm[i]l napišta* 'He spa[red (my) li]fe so that his divinity would be extolled'. *gamālu* is commonly used in the plea section of Akkadian prayers. Based on Mayer's overview,³⁴ the verb *eṭēru* or *šūzubu* would be expected as the equivalent of *gamālu* in the second line of the couplet (*Ludlul* III 57). For the reconstructed [šē]ressu at the beginning of the line, see the edition of BM.46826 above.

³² George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 157.

³³ See the hand-copies KAR 175 and Lambert 1960, pl. 12.

³⁴ See Mayer 1976, 226-7.

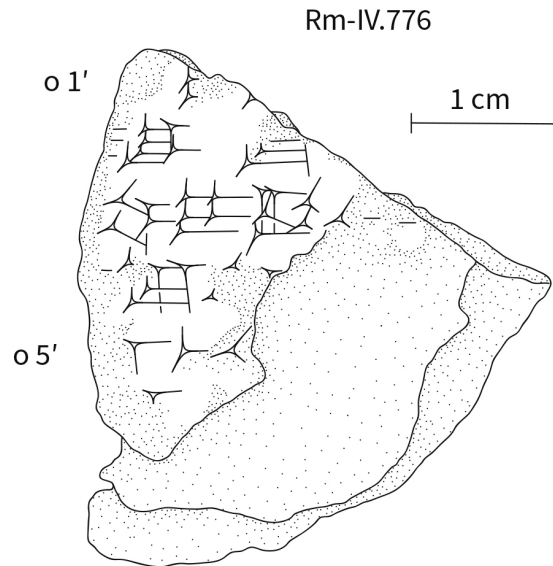


Figure 12
Copy of Rm-IV.776, by A. Hättinen

13. 2024,6004.283 (*Ludlul* III 84-8)

2024,6004.283 is a small fragment of *Ludlul* III that seems to belong to a MS in which the poetic caesura is indicated with an empty space in the middle of the tablet. Unfortunately, no indirect join to any of the *Ludlul* III fragments from the same collection edited here can be established [fig. 13].

Transliteration

r 1'. [uznāya ša uṭṭammimā ú-sa]k- ¹ ki ¹ -k[a ḥašikkiš]	(III 84)
r 2'. [itbal amīr(a)šin(a) i]p- ¹ te ¹ -ti [nešmāya]	(III 85)
r 3'. [appī ša ina rīdi um-m]i ú- ¹ nap ¹ -pi-q[u nipissu]	(III 86)
r 4'. [upašših miḥštašu-m]a a-nap-pu-u[š surriš ²]	(III 87)
r 5'. [šaptāya ša il-lab-b]a ² ¹ il-qa ¹ -[a x x x (x)]	(III 88)

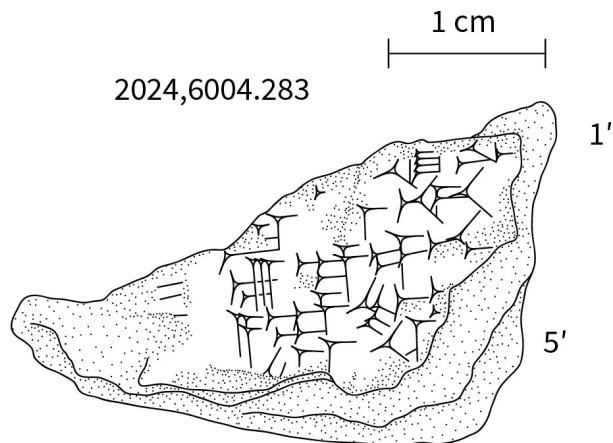


Figure 13
Copy of 2024,6004.283, by A. Hättinen

14. BM.45732 (*Ludlul* III 99-110)

BM.45732 is a Neo-Babylonian fragment with so-called ‘firing-holes’, resembling the fragments BM.55481 and BM.39523+ (BabNB1a and BabNB1b in the *eBL* edition,³⁵ respectively). However, it cannot belong to the same tablet since it preserves lines also present in BM.55481 (overlap of *Ludlul* III 100-8). Moreover, the lack of a caesura separating the two half-verses in BM.45732 speaks against an indirect join with BM.39523+. Although this fragment continues into the lacuna in *Ludlul* III 108 ff., the couple of new signs for III 109-10 do not allow for a better understanding of that section [fig. 14].

Transliteration

r 1'. [...] x [...]	(III 99)
r 2'. [...] x x x x [...]	(III 100)
r 3'. [... <i>kitmurta eliš</i>] 'ú-šap-pi ¹ -i[k ...]	(III 101)
r 4'. [... <i>ša ú-tam-mi-l</i>] u ² 'ḥa-ra ¹ -ri-[iš ...]	(III 102)
r 5'. [... <i>ša</i>]-'ba-ru ¹ [...]	(III 103)
r 6'. [<i>šammāḥu ša ina un</i>]-šu ut-'ta-ru-ú ¹ [<i>kīma pisanni irraksu</i>]	(III 104)
r 7'. [... <i>saḥ-ḥ</i>] a-šú [...]	(III 105)
r 8'. [<i>imaḥḥar iptenna</i>] ú-'bal ¹ -la [<i>mašqīta</i>]	(III 106)
r 9'. [... <i>ú-za</i>]-'i ¹ -i-'zu ¹ at-ḥ[u-ú-a ...]	(III 107)
r 10'. [...] l[u ² ...]	(III 108)
r 11'. [... (x x)-e]n-na-'a ¹ [...]	(III 119)
r 12'. [...] x [...]	(III 110)

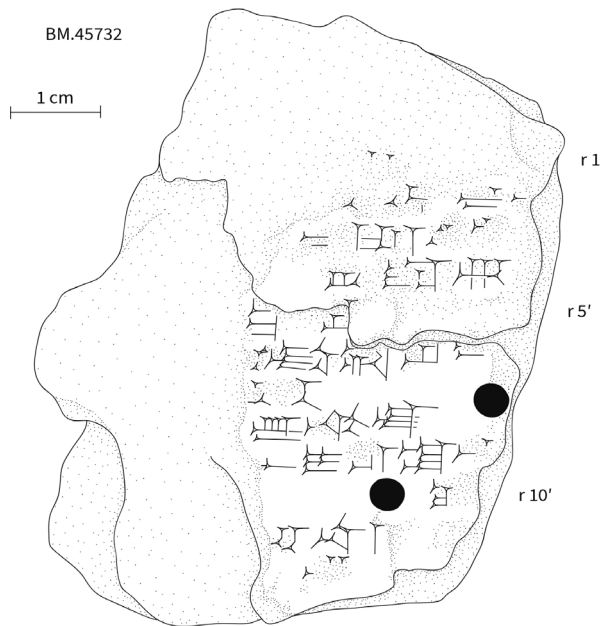


Figure 14
 Copy of BM.45732, by A. Häätinen

15. BM.46282 (*Ludlul* IV a + 13-21, 23)

BM.46282 is a large school tablet fragment preserving two literary and four lexical excerpts. Only the lexical section on the reverse (§§ 4''-6'') has been previously copied³⁶ and edited.³⁷ The lexical section in § 3' (o 13'-23') contains a 'lexical god list' similar to CT 20, 45: 7-15.³⁸ Since there is no previous copy of the complete tablet, hand-copies of both obverse and reverse are published here [figs 15-16].

The line numbers for *Ludlul* IV presented here are based on Si.123, a new, still unpublished fragment from the Sippar Collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum,³⁹ which most likely is a direct join to the previously known fragment Si.728.⁴⁰ Thus, Si.728 would include lines IV a+1-12, and the new fragment Si.123 expands the section in 20 lines (a+13-33). The fragment BM.48732, which preserves the end of *Ludlul* III and the first line of *Ludlul* IV (see the edition above), also influences the new numbering: that fragment shows that the commentary line that previously was IV d+1 should be identified as *Ludlul* IV 1, after which comes section A (Si.728 and the unpublished join).

Transliteration

§ 1': unidentified

o 1'. [...] x (x) 'ur/ib¹ 'šú¹ x x x [...]

o 2'. [...] bi saġ-ġá x x [...]

§ 2': *Ludlul* IV a + 13-22, 23

o 3'-4'. (traces)

(IV a+13-14)

o 5'. [(x)] x x k[i-l]i še-e-[t]u₄ 'i²¹-x [x x (x x)]

(IV a+15)

o 6'. [e]k-le-[t]u₄ 'iš-ku¹-n[ā a]-'na¹ [n]a-[mir²-ti²]

(IV a+16)

o 7'. [u]š-par-'di¹ e-'tu¹-ti [d]šamšī 'i²¹-ri-[x (x)]

(IV a+17)

o 8'. ak-lu 'si¹-mat nišī(UN^{meš}) 'ú¹-[tib] eli('UGU¹) pī(KA)-i[ā]

(IV a+18)

o 9'. ú-da-[ā]š-šī-'ip¹ eli('UGU¹) 'šap-ti-ia¹ [lal-l]a-'riš¹ na-rat/hu-'an²¹

(IV a+19)

o 10'. [i]m-š[u-u]š 'ma-am¹-m[é-e ru-uš²]-šá-šu ú-'zak-ki¹¹

(IV f+1 → IV a+20)

o 11'. [ú-šá]-an-'bi¹ [šuh¹ti] kīma('GIM¹) 'si-par¹-ri

(IV a+21)

o 12'. [(x) x] x [x (x)] x [u]b-'bi¹-i[b²-a]n-ni

(IV a+22)

Translation

§ 2': *Ludlul* IV a + 13-22, 23

o 3'-4'. (traces)

o 5'. [(...)] he [...] an exit (from²) the confinement,

o 6'. he turned darkness into l[ight],

o 7'. he illuminated the darkness, he ... [the sun].

o 8'. He made bread, what befits people, pleasing to my mouth,

o 9'. he made ... sweet like honey to my lips.

o 10'. He wiped off the grime, he cleared up its redness,

o 11'. he made [patina] shine like bronze.

o 12'. [...] ..., he cleansed me.

36 See George, Taniguchi 2021, no. 466.

37 See the sections *Ea* I 149-52 [§ 4'' r 1'-3'] in Civil 1979, 184; *Ea* II 111-25 [§ 5'' r 4'-14'] in Civil 1979, 252; *Ea* III 36-9 [§ 6'' r 15'-18'] in Civil 1979, 305.

38 See George, Taniguchi 2021, 9.

39 Courtesy of Selim F. Adah, co-editor in the Istanbul Sippar Project's catalogue which will publish Si.123.

40 George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 159; MS SipNB1 in Hättinen 2022b.

Notes

o 9' Compare the only other registered attestation of the adverb *lallāriš* in CAD L, 47: *lallāriš udašš[ap]* 'he makes sweet like honey' (*Great Prayer to Nabû* 178).⁴¹ The last word in the verse remains unclear, but it can be expected that it refers to either food or drink, or perhaps an object associated with them.

o 10'-11' The first line in this couplet duplicates the verse previously only known from the commentary tablet (K.3291 r 27). The second line continues with the theme of making a bronze object shiny again, employing the noun *šuhtu* (here restored from the unpublished fragment Si.123) that is given as a synonym of *mammû* in K.3291 r 28.

o 11'-12' Si.123, the new, unpublished join to the MS SipNB1 (see the discussion above) includes a further verse about purification between these two lines.

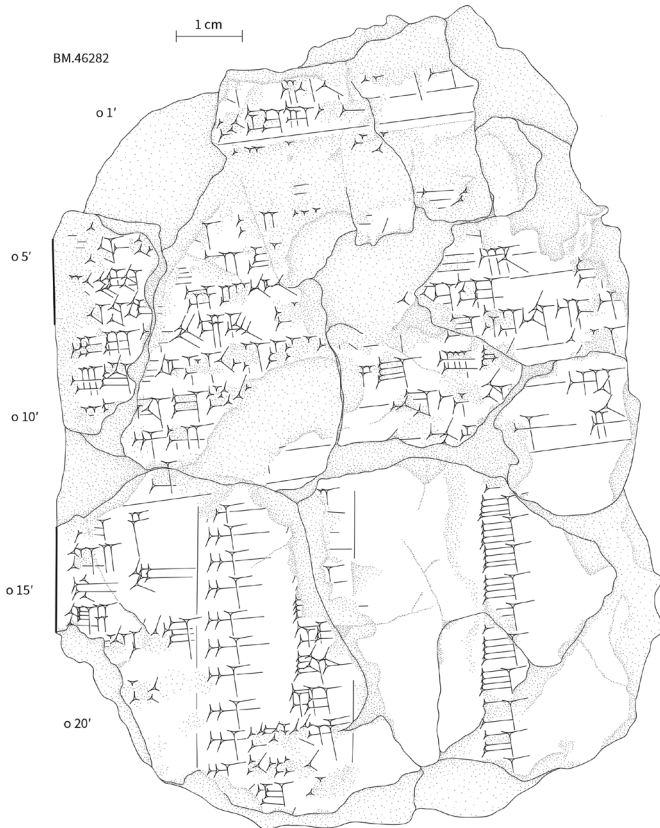


Figure 15 Copy of BM.46282, obverse, by A. Hättinen

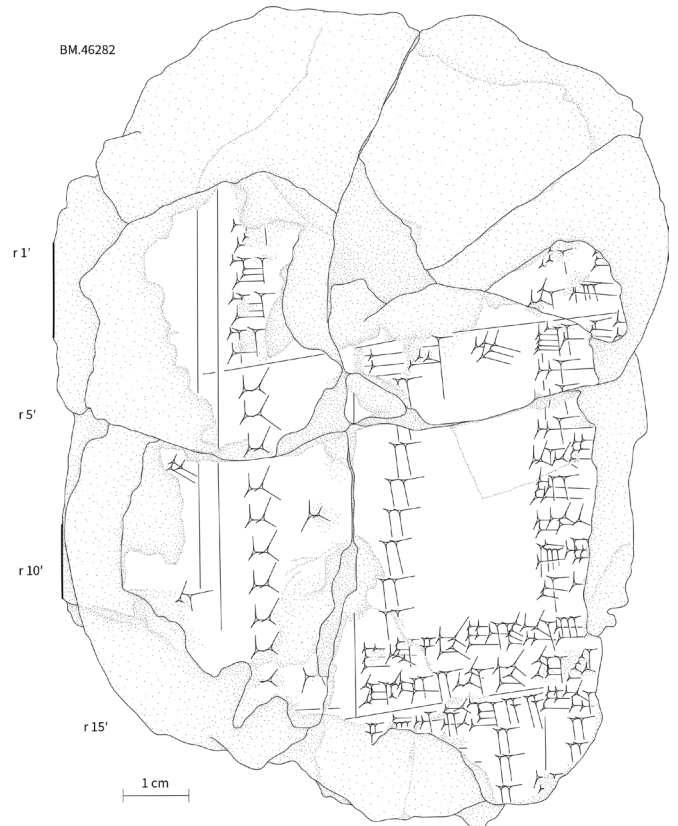


Figure 16 Copy of BM.46282, reverse, by A. Hättinen

Aino Hättinen

⁴¹ See the edition in Rozzi 2022.

53 *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula: More of MS b*

Two new fragments of *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula* have been identified since the last corresponding contribution in the *eBL* Lab series.

1. BM.33849⁴²+BM.49157⁴³+BM.47756

BM.47756 consists of four pieces. They were registered under one BM number, revealing that the joins between them go back to the early days of Assyriology. This circumstance finds further corroboration in their consistently greyish colour, suggesting that they were baked together. Some of them are in a rather poor state of preservation and in need of cleaning, which is why the copy below must be considered of preliminary nature.

BM.47756, described as “Prayer; prayer on upper edge” in the catalogue of the Babylon Collection,⁴⁴ preserves a large section of *Bullussa-rabi's Hymn to Gula*. It was joined by the author to two already published pieces, BM.33849⁴⁵ (MS b) and BM.49157.⁴⁶ The join with the latter fragment means that BM.49157 is not Neo-Babylonian (as claimed in the first edition⁴⁷) but Late Babylonian and further underscores the need for palaeographic research. While BM.33849 was registered as part of the Rm-IV collection, BM.47756 and BM.49157 belong to the 81-11-3 collection; both collections result from H. Rassam's activities in Babylonia.⁴⁸

The following edition of MS b is limited to the lines fully or partially preserved on the new fragment; newly recovered words and variants are set in **bold type** [figs 17-18].

0. *ina a-mat bēlī^d+EN u bēltī^dGAŠAN-ia liš-lim*

Column I

1. (1) *il-tu₄ le-²-a-at <ina> gi-mir ilī(DINGIR^{me5}) [āšib(at)] parakkī(BÁRA)*
2. (2) *e-tel-le-^oek^o be-le-ki šu-pa-ki [u ši]-ra-ka*
3. (3) *šī-ih¹-ḫa-ak na-an-za-za sin-ni-šá-ki [bāltu] ṛi¹-ši*
4. (4) *šu-tu-ra-ki i-na [i-la-a]-ti*
5. (5) *ina šamē(AN-e) kak-ka-bi i-na eršetī(ki-t[i]) rabi z]ik-ri*
6. (6) *ṭa-bat ḫi-is-sa-^oti^o šu-lum b[a-l]a^{*}-ṭu*
7. (7) *lip-ti šul-mu uš-ta-nam-da-na [te-né-še]-¹e¹-tu₄*
8. (8) *šu-mu ra-bu-ú^dn[in-tin-u]g₅-ga*

9. (9) *qar-ra-du ḫa-¹ri-[i-ri mār^d+e]n-líl gaš-ri*
10. (10) *da-pi-nu mu-d[a-²iš za]-¹ri*
11. (11) *ḫa-tu-ú a-a-b[i mušziz k]i-i-ni*
12. (12) *ka-šid er-nit-<ti>^d+en-líl ṛum²¹-m[a²-x š]i²-ra-a-tú*
13. (13) *bēl(EN) a-ba-ri na-¹ri-[i-ri an]-zi-i*
14. (14) *ṛḫa¹-mi-im pa-ra-aš^{1d1}+e[n-lí]l-tu*
15. (15) *ṛtu¹-kul-tú^oé^o-ṛninnu¹ ṛbi-šit¹ ṛuz¹-[ni ša^dnin-lí]l*
16. (16) *^dnin-ṛurta¹ ṛkun-nu¹-[(ú)] i-lit-tu₄ šamē(AN-e¹)*
17. (17) *ṛri-ḫu-tu¹ elletu([kù]-ṛtu₄) apil(ṛBILA¹) [é]-šár-ra*
18. (18) *le-²-a-ku-ṛma¹ ^d+en-líl i-na ṛi¹-[a-t]u₄ i-su-qa-an-ni*

⁴² Lambert 1967, pls 17-19.

⁴³ Földi 2019b, 90.

⁴⁴ Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 670.

⁴⁵ Lambert 1967, pls 17-19.

⁴⁶ Földi 2019b, 90. The aforementioned four pieces of BM.47756 must be taken apart to make a physical join with the previously published pieces possible.

⁴⁷ Földi 2019b, 86.

⁴⁸ Leichty, Finkel, Walker 2019, 208 and 656, respectively.

19. (19) *ul-li re-šī¹-ia i-ra-man-ni*
 20. (20) *a-na kal-lu-ti-šū¹ i-ḫi-r[a]-an-ni*
 21. (21) *te-ret é-šár-ra¹ pa-ra¹-a[s]-su¹ a-na [qa-ti]-ia¹ ú¹-man-ni*
 22. (22) *al-ka-ka-tu⁴*¹ [kur] šī-ra¹-t[i] uš-šip*
 23. (23) *[a]-na¹ ilī(DINGIR^{1meš}) x x [(x)] ú-ma¹-ir¹-an-ni*
 24. (24) *[ú-šar-b]i zik¹-[ri] i¹-na ištarāti(š⁸-tár^{meš})*
 25. (25) *[dⁿⁱ]n²-má-dirī-ga¹ šumī(M[U-ia²]) im¹-bi šá-ni-nu ul¹ [rši]*

26. (26) *[iš-ša]k-ku¹ rabû(GAL-ú¹) be¹-e[l] is-qé-e¹-[ti]*
 27. (27) *[el²-l]u² kak¹-ka-bi na-b[u-ú] a-[la-la]*
 28. (28) *[mu-še]-šī¹ ú-ga-r[e]-e¹ a[r-bu-ti]*
 29. (29) *[re]-du-ú re-e¹-me šá-qu¹-[ú rēšu]*
 30. (30) *[ša-b]it el¹-lu ka¹-(x) x-ḫa¹ p[á²-ši-du abnī mu'allid ašnan]*
 31. (31) *[mu]-gar-ri-i[n binû¹ karê šākin isinni rabī ana enlil]*
 32. (32) *[mu-ṭ]a²-ḫi¹-[id nišī apāti muššib tīlī nadûti]*

rest of column broken

(column II begins on BM.33849 with l. 52; column I must hence end with l. 51)

Column II

15. (66) *al-ti¹ ašarēdi(SAG.KAL) dpa-bil-sag*
 16. (67) *dgu-la¹ be-let mil-°ki° a-na-ku¹-ma*
 17. (68) *šá-qu-ú mi-gir ilī(DINGIR^{meš}) mār(DUMU) da-nim*
 18. (69) *ašarēdu(SAG.KAL) šu-tu-qu nap-ḫar¹ bēlī(EN^{meš})*
 19. (70) *nē-bu¹-ú gap²-šū¹ šá šamê(AN-e) rabûti(GAL^{meš}) uš-ta¹-nam-da-na d^f-gì-gì*
 20. (71) *ra¹-bat-ta pul-ḫat-su¹ eli(UGU) ilī(DINGIR^{meš}) kul-lat ka-li-šú-nu ni-bit šá²-ah²-ṭu¹*
 21. (72) *a-na¹ zik-ri-šú ú-taq-qu-[ú]*
 22. (73) *qar²-rad¹ x x (x) šī-r¹-[ḫ]u e-tel-lu¹ zi-kar¹ na¹-[mir (u) šūpu]*

rest of column broken

Column III

- 1'. (131) *n[am-ri-ir-ru-šú šurbû gimir mātāti]*
 2'. (132) *pul-ḫat-su šul¹-[bu-šat šadâni]*
 3'. (133-4) *a-pir!(NA) šamê(AN-e) ki-^fma¹ a-ge^{*1} še^{*1}-[e-nu eršeta kīma šēni]*
 4'. (135) *ša¹-bit ina qātī(šU^{min})-šú te-né-še-e¹-ti šá la i-du¹-[ú ilu² mamman?]*
 5'. (136) *i¹-na ni-ši i-ni-šú la mi-°na° ip¹-[pa²-li²-is²]*
 6'. (137) *e¹-ziz lu-ú²-tu¹ a¹-ru-uḫ du-uš-šú nu-uḫ-šú^{*1}*
 7'. (138) *ana gaš-ri ma-ri da-²-i-šú šá-qu-ú d^futa-u¹⁸-lu*
 8'. (139) *ul-dan-nu an¹-tu⁴ ki-niš ú-kan-na-an-ni*
 9'. (140) *ú-šá-ḫi-za-an¹-ni mil-ki dam-qa ú-za-i-na-an-ni ku-uz-bi*
 10'. (141) *ú¹-šū šá ar-da-a-tú mim-ma šum-šú ul¹-taq-ta-a*

(column III ends on BM.33849 with l. 155; column IV must hence begin with l. 156)

Column IV

- 1'. (179) [mīta u]l-tu¹ eršetī(κ¹-t[ī]) utarra
2'. (180) [ezḫēku tu-k]an-nu nag-la-b[i qup]-¹pa¹-[a atrāku]
3'. (181) [aḫâṭ an]-¹ḫi¹ a-¹bar¹-ri mar-ša¹ a-pét¹-ti s[i-im-mu]
4'. (182) [bēltu š]á ba-¹la-¹tu¹ [anākū-ma]
5'. (183) [asâku b]a-ra-¹ku¹ ¹a-šī¹-pa-ku **nikkassī**(NIG.KA₉) a-¹re-e¹ [ḫi]-¹ṭa-ku¹
6'. (184) [sa-an-tak-k]u/k¹i² mam-¹ma¹ ul uš-t[a]-¹pi¹
7'. (185) [kullat ka-li-š]u/¹šú¹-nu ú-paq-¹qu-ni¹
8'. (186) [ina² te²-e²]-¹a¹ bul-lu-¹tu i-¹ba¹-áš-¹šú¹
9'. (187) [iltu² reme-ni]-tu₄ ^dnin-líl ana-ku-¹ma¹

- 10'. (188) [x x x x x] ilū(DINGIR^{mes}) ki-la[l-l]a-an
11'. (189) [rēmā ar-d]u² pa-liḫ ilū(DINGIR)-ti-ku-nu rabīti(GAL-ti)
12'. (190) [x x x x x] x-**an**² **ilī**(DINGIR^{mes}) qu-¹lu¹ a-na ni-iš qātī(šU^{min})-š[ú-m]a iz-ziz-zu
13'. (191) ¹mu¹-[ug-ra un-ni-ni]-šú šī-¹ma¹-a ¹qa-ba¹-šú
14'. (192) tíš-¹ba¹-[šum-ma] ¹šu-te-še-ra¹ ^odi-i[n]-šú
15'. (193) dal-¹ḫu¹-[us]-¹su¹ ¹tu-qí¹-(x)-¹na¹ ¹nu¹-um-mi-<ra> ¹i-¹tu-us-su¹
16'. (194) liš-ḫu-uṭ ¹kar¹-ri li-in-¹na-dī¹-iq šu-bat-¹su¹
17'. (195) **li-iz-[q]up** ana šá iq-¹du-du¹ ki-¹šad-su¹
18'. (196) i-na a-ma-ti ilū(DINGIR)-ti-ku¹-nu rabūti(GAL-ti) šá la¹ut¹-ta[k-k]a-ru ba-laṭ-¹su¹ [l]i-rik
19'. (197) ^dgu-la **'ba|ma¹-ba-a-ti** šá ^dnin-urta [r]e-šu-šú
20'. (198) a-na gaš-ri šu-pu-¹ú¹ ¹ḫa¹-i-ri-ki a-[b]u-us-su šab-tu
21'. (199) aš-šum ¹bul-luṭ¹-su-ra-bi li-še-eš-šil!(¹SU¹) né-e-šú
22'. (200) ud-da-¹kam¹ **šá-pal-¹ka¹** lu-ú kit-mu-us

catchline

23'. mu-kin-na-¹tú¹ šamê(AN) eršetī(κ¹) be-let ka-la i-¹lat¹ ¹nab¹-ni-tu₄

colophon

- 24'. kīma(GIM) labirī(SUMUN)-šú šaṭīr(SAR)-ma ba-ár up-pu-u[š tuppi(IM) ¹muš]allim(G₁)-bēl(^d+EN)
25'. DUMU+šá ¹iddin(MU)-bēl(^d+EN) DUMU ¹mu-še-zib qāt(šU^{min}) ¹bēl[^d+E(N)-apla(EDURU)-iddina(MU) DUMU+šá ¹muš]allim(G₁)-bēl(^d+EN)
26'. ¹DUMU¹ ¹mu-še-zib pa-liḫ bēl(^d+EN¹) u bēltī(^dGAŠAN)-ia in[^a ḫubti²(SAR-tú) lā(NU) inaš]šī²(í)l¹-šú
27'. ina mé-reš-tu₄ lā(NU) lib-bi lā(NU) šel-šu [ø ø]

end of column

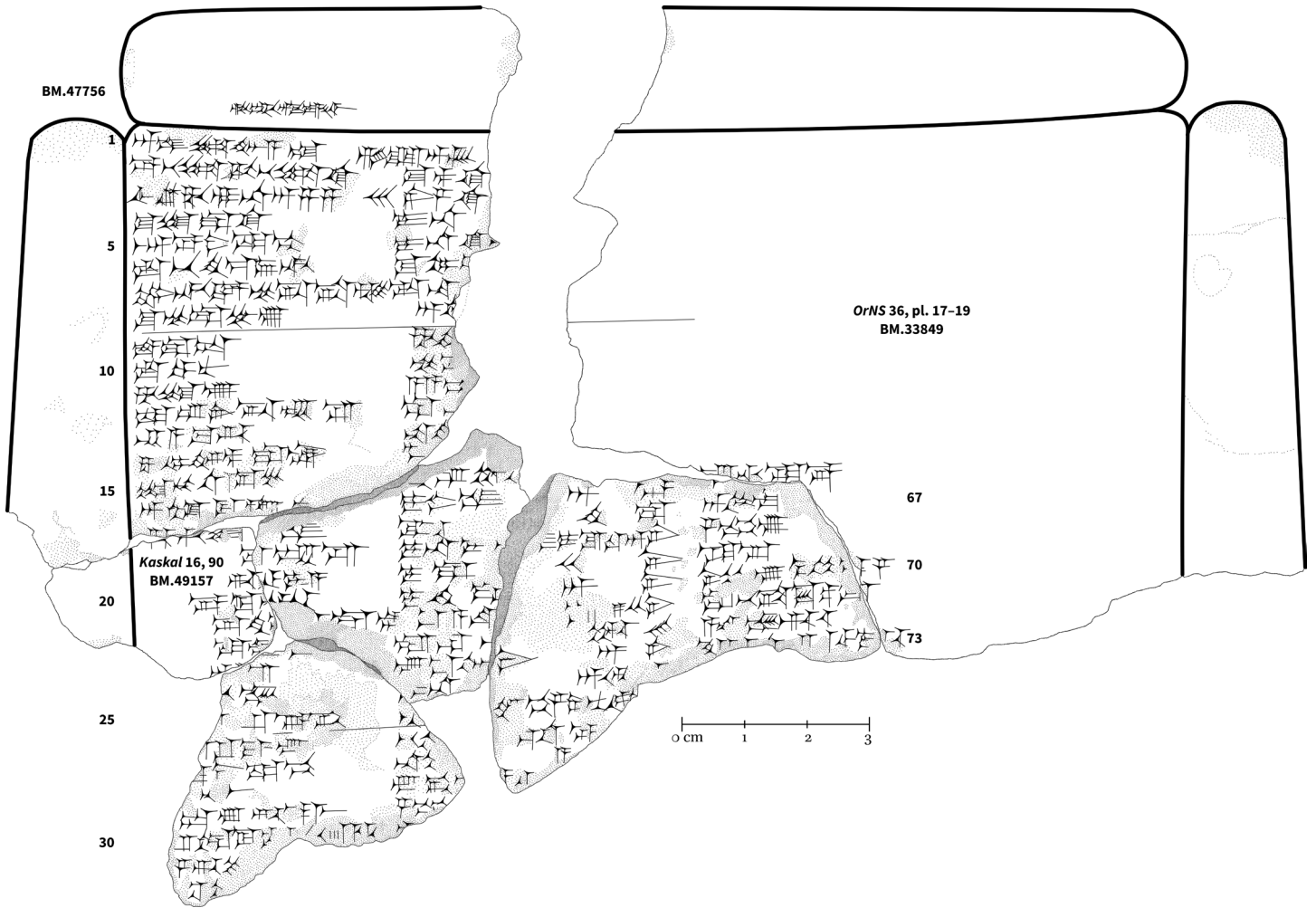


Figure 17 Copy of BM.47756, obverse, by Z.J. Földi



Figure 18 Copy of BM.47756, reverse, by Z.J. Földi

Notes

- 1 The omission of *ina* before *gimir* is thus not limited to MS a.
- 2 The erased traces suggest that the scribe first wrote *e-tel-le-ki* and changed it to *e-tel-le-ek*.
- 3 Note *šihhāk* for the expected *šihāk(u)*; cf. l. 63 where the same MS has *ši-ḫa-ak*.
- 6 According to the traces of an erased sign, the scribe possibly wrote *ḫi-is-sa-tú* first and modified its ending to *-ti*.
- 8 The new fragment confirms that a single ruling follows this line.⁴⁹ This is the first MS with *šu-mu* for the previously attested *šu-ú*, confirming Lambert's understanding as "name".⁵⁰
- 9, 11 One might expect the caesura after *ḫā'iri* and *ayyābi*, respectively.
- 12 BM.38078⁵¹ offers the same form *er-nit-<ti>*. For the penultimate word, MS a has *e-mu-qan* and CTL 1, 58 [*e-mu-qa*]-*an*, but the traces preserved on BM.47756 discourage reading *emūq(US[U'])* ...].

49 Földi 2022b, 162.
 50 Lambert 1967, 130.
 51 Földi 2022b, 166.

- 13** The new MS confirms the restoration to *bēl abāri* ‘possessor of might’, suggested by Lambert⁵² and paralleled since then by BM.43042 i 8’.
- 14-15** The new MS thus confirms the restorations of *ḥāmim* and *tukulti* (respectively)⁵³ in BM.38078.⁵⁴
- 16** BM.47756 thus supports reading *kunnū* rather than *rēmēnū*.⁵⁵
- 17** Note the lack of a ruling.
- 19** The new MS corrects MS a’s *rēšīšu* to *rēšīya*. It confirms, furthermore, that there is no word between *rēšīya* and *irāmāni*.
- 20** The new MS confirms that there is no word between *kallūtīšu* and *īḥirāni*.
- 21** The new MS provides the word *parassu* in the middle,⁵⁶ resulting in the following translation: ‘He entrusted the management of Esharra and its rites into my hands’.
- 23** At the beginning, space seems enough for [a]- but not for [i]- (compare F.50 below). The signs that follow DINGIR can hardly be reconciled with *gim²-ri²-[šú-nu]* (restored in MS a); the second one rather resembles SU or ZI.
- 24** The new MS discourages restoring any additional sign between *zīkrī* and *ina*.
- 26** The new MS supports the reading *iššakku*, based on BM.37519.⁵⁷
- 27** Instead of the expected *nūr šamē*, this MS has *kakkabi*, like the related text BM.37519.⁵⁸
- 67** Note the lack of a ruling. This MS, unlike the other Babylonian ones, has Gula and not Ninkarrak.
- 70** It is unclear how to parse the second word, written in the other MSS as *gab-šá* or *gab-ši*, perhaps *gapšū*, ‘proud’?
- 71** Note *ra-bat-ta* for *rabātu*.
- 73** It is difficult to reconcile the traces with the expected *ašarēd qarrād*. The first word might nevertheless be *qarrādu*.
- 133-4** The emendation of *a-na* to *a-pir* is based on MS a and 1883,0118.470.⁵⁹ The join with BM.47756 reveals that the traces on BM.33849 must represent the end of l. 133 and the beginning of l. 134.
- 135** *tenēšēti* is in all likelihood a mistake for *têrēti*, attested in MS a and 1883,0118.470.⁶⁰
- 137** The new piece provides the variant *eziz* to *ezzu* in 1883,0118.470;⁶¹ note the parallel *eziz : aruḥ*. The traces of the second word in 1883,0118.470 can be reconciled with those on BM.47756 if one reads *‘lu-ú-tu’* and *lu-‘ú-tu’* (respectively), but the meaning remains elusive. Collation shows the remains of *-šú* at the end of the line.
- 138** Unlike 1883,0118.470⁶² and MS a, MS b thus begins the line with *ana*. It also recovers *māru* ‘son’ as a further epithet between *gašru* and *dā’išu*.
- 183** BM.47756 allows an improved reading of a line formerly read, following MS a, as *šá ina a-a-re-e ḥi-ṭa-‘ku’*⁶³ ‘I am expert with numbers’ to *nikkassī arē ḥiṭāku* ‘I am expert in doing calculations’, nicely paralleled in the healing goddess’s epithet *ēpišat nikkassī arē* ‘she who makes calculations’ attested in the *Synchretistic Hymn to Gula* l. 32⁶⁴ and the explanatory god list 1889,0426.129: 8’; the title *ēpišat nikkassī* occurs also in l. 42 of *Bullussa-rabi’s Hymn to Gula*. As for the further manuscripts, the preserved traces in MS c allow for restoring *nikkassī*(ní[G.κ]A₉*). Collation of MS F shows traces of ŠID and makes one prefer Lambert’s early copy over his posthumously published one.⁶⁵
- 185** BM.47756 thus confirms the reading *[ú]-paq-‘qu-ú¹-ni* in 1883,0118.470;⁶⁶ in MS a read *ú-paq-‘qu*¹-nu*.⁶⁷

52 Lambert 1967, 116-17.

53 See Földi 2022b, 163.

54 Földi 2022b, 166.

55 See Földi 2022b, 163.

56 This reading is based on a suggestion by E. Jiménez (pers. comm.).

57 Földi 2022b, 166; see 165-6 and now F.50 below.

58 Földi 2022b, 166.

59 Földi 2022b, 158-62.

60 Földi 2022b, 158-62.

61 Földi 2022b, 158-62. The reading follows a suggestion of E. Jiménez (pers. comm.).

62 Földi 2022b, 158-62.

63 Lambert 1967, 128; Földi 2022b, 160. MS a can perhaps be read as NÍG.KA₉’.

64 See Bennett 2023.

65 Lambert 1967, pl. 16 and George, Taniguchi 2019, no. 59, respectively.

66 Földi 2022b, 158-62.

67 As suggested by G. Rozzi (pers. comm.).

190 The beginning of the line represents a new variant to [an]a epēš pišu qūlā ‘pay heed to what he says’, attested in MSS a and E. Its last sign might also be UKKIN⁶⁸ or similar. The -ma particle following nīš qātīšu does not occur in other manuscripts either.

191 The uneven placement of the signs indicates that the scribe may have been uncertain about whether to combine two compositional lines into a single manuscript line.

194 The new MS confirms the restoration of [liš]huṭ by Lambert.⁶⁹ šu-bat-^fsu¹ differs only slightly from MS a’s šu-ba-tiš.

195 Lambert restored the beginning of MS a as [á]r-du and understood this line as an introduction of the following one, translating them as follows: “Of the slave who bowed his neck / May his life be prolonged at the unalterable command of your great divinity”.⁷⁰ The presence of lizqup makes it clear that this line, like those preceding and following, expresses a wish with a precative, ‘Set him who bowed his neck upright’. MS a should be read accordingly as [li]z-qup.

197 MSS a and E offer bēltu rabītu as the goddess’s epithet. Emendations into ru¹-ba-a-ti or - with an unexpected spelling - GAL¹-ba-a-ti seem highly unlikely; derivations from šubtu ‘seat, dwelling’⁷¹ or bābtu ‘city quarter, district’ are not supported by further evidence. The epithet labbatu, lābatu ‘lioness’ is attested only as an epithet of Ištar.⁷²

198 BM.47756 suggests that the omission of nara-me-ki, attested also in MS a, is original to the text, while its inclusion in MS E represents a later addition.

199 The name Bullussa-rabi occurs here with the same spelling as in MS E,⁷³ but without a Personenkeil.

200 Note šapalka for the previously attested šaplāki.

Catchline The catchline contains the incipit of the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula*;⁷⁴ see E. Bennett’s contribution in the present volume.

Colophon The colophon confirms most of what has already been expected;⁷⁵ the formulas⁷⁶ and the prosopographical evidence suggest a dating to the late Achaemenid or early Hellenistic periods. Note that the writing ú-še-el-šú for the expected ušellēš(u) is attested in BM.45634 l. 40 (CT 41, 42). The omission of u- probably represents a playful writing and not a mistake, as it occurs also in the formula NU (i)-paš_x(GÍN)-šit:⁷⁷ it may reflect the crasis of lā + u-.⁷⁸

2. F.50

F.50 is a tiny fragment of a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet that preserves the beginning of ll. 18-26. It cannot be established which collection it originally belonged to [fig. 19].

- 1'. (18) ^fle⁷¹-[-a-ku-ma enlil ina ilāti issuqanni]
2'. (19) ul-l[ī rēšīya irāmanni]
3'. (20) a-na k[al²-lu-ti-šú iḥiranni]
4'. (21) te-re[^tešarra parassu ana qātīya umanni]
5'. (22) al-[ka-ka-at ekur širāti uššipa]
6'. (23) **i-n[a** ilī gimrīšunu⁷ uma⁷iranni]
7'. (24) ú-š[ar-bi zikrī ina ištarāti]
8'. (25) ^d[nin-má-diri-ga šumī ibbi šānina ul iši]

68 As suggested by T. Mitto (pers. comm.).

69 Lambert 1967, 128.

70 Lambert 1967, 128-9.

71 As suggested by A. Hättinen (pers. comm.).

72 CAD L (1973), 23a.

73 On the different spellings attested so far see Földi 2019a, 83.

74 Földi 2022b expected *ilat nabniti* to be an epithet of Zarpanitu.

75 See Földi 2022a, 168 fn. 61. To the evidence discussed there add now BM.47930.

76 See other occurrences collected in Jiménez 2016, 232-3.

77 Jiménez 2016, 233 fn. 15.

78 Suggested by E. Jiménez (pers. comm.).

9'. (26) *iššakku*(^rPA¹.[TE.SI] *rabû bēl isqēti*)
(rest of side broken)

Notes

- 23 F.50 has *ina* instead of the *a-na* preserved in MS a and restored in MS b (see above).
26 The traces corroborate the restoration of *iššiakku* at the beginning of this line.⁷⁹

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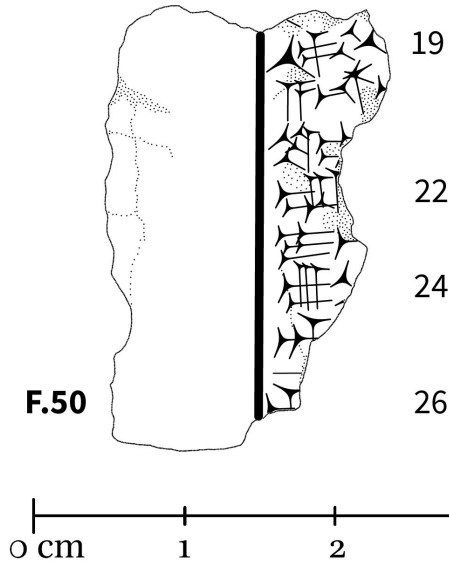


Figure 19
Copy of F.50, by Z.J. Földi

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⁷⁹ See Földi 2022b, 165-6 and now BM.47756 above.

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