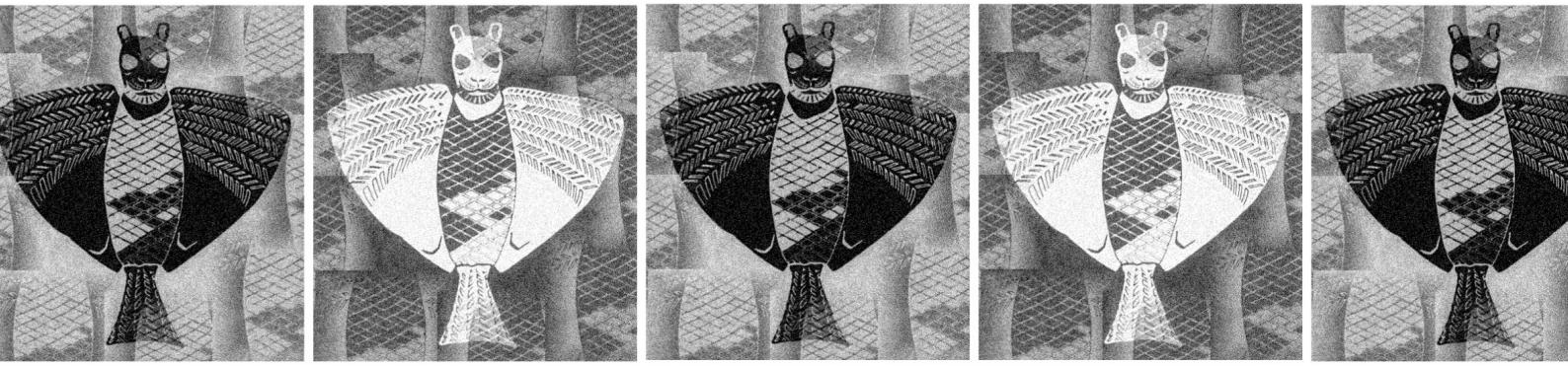


Lamaštu

An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.

Walter Farber

Lamaštu



Mesopotamian Civilizations

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Cherchez la femme!

For Gertrud

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Preface

This book is the final result of one of those projects that get started by their authors when they are still young, full of energy, and confident of being able to finish several major tasks in a few years time—but then find out that it takes the best part of their scholarly lives to finally bring to end even one of them.

In this particular case, the project can be traced back to the fall of 1969, when my teacher Wolfgang Röllig mentioned the Lamaštu corpus among other topics he thought I might want to look at while searching for a viable dissertation project. It soon became clear, however, that Franz Köcher was still officially working on these texts, and a new edition was thus not a suitable choice for a dissertation. But my interest in Lamaštu had been aroused, and in the years after 1970, I spent much of my "free" time reading these captivating incantations and rituals and collecting the pictorial material related to them. I also found time in London to collate all the published and unpublished Kuyunjik fragments I knew of, which resulted in a good number of joins not yet recognized by Köcher and their assignment to a definable set of exemplars. The plan to publish my results in a short article that was not to interfere with Köcher's work, however, never came to fruition. Instead, some of my findings found their way into Rykle Borger's *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. It must have been from there that Köcher heard about my interest in the corpus and, taking me by surprise, eventually ceded all his prior rights to me and asked me to take over and publish the full text edition, which he felt he would no longer have the time and energy to finish.

Köcher's offer brought new hope to the Assyriological community. As an example, Wolfram von Soden congratulated me, adding that now, for the first time in years, he believed that he would still live to see the much-needed new edition of the Lamaštu texts. I am deeply sorry that I disappointed him and many other colleagues who had hoped for a speedy publication. New finds in the British Museum, paired with my move to the New World, slowed down the work considerably, and the nagging devil of perfectionism did his destructive work as well. Finally, more than 44 years after my first encounter with the demon and the texts, 36 years after Köcher's offer, and 34 years after my relocation to Chicago, the deed is done, and the book is being published.

Needless to say, such a long period of gestation makes it quite difficult to remember everybody who over more than four decades helped me to reconstruct and understand these texts. I enjoyed enormous help from institutions and individuals, from friends and colleagues, and from generations of students with whom I had the pleasure to read the Lamaštu texts over the years. The help came in the form of new identifications of texts and artifacts, permissions to study and publish these materials, individual improvements of my readings, bibliographical information, or simply by giving me the encouragement to continue my work or to go back to it after some lengthy breaks.

Corporate acknowledgments go to the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, which helped finance several of my earlier stays at the British Museum; the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, for two stipends allowing me to copy many of the texts in London in 1976 and 1979; the American Philosophical Society, which in 1981 enabled me to work again in London, Istanbul, and Berlin; the National Endowment for the Humanities, for financial help and a travel grant to London during a sabbatical in 1994; and the Oriental Institute, for a special travel grant to Damascus in 1995. My thanks go to the following museums and collections and their respective staff for granting me permission to publish materials from their holdings and in most cases also for accommodating my work there: The British Museum, London, the Trustees represented by E. Sollberger†, C. B. F. Walker, and I. L. Finkel; the Vorderasiatische Museum zu Berlin, represented by L. Jakob-Rost, E. Klengel-Brandt, and J. Marzahn; the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, represented by V. Donbaz; the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia, represented by Å. Sjöberg, H. Behrens†, and S. Tinney; The National Museum, Damascus, represented by S. Muhesen; the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, represented by D. George Youkhanna†; the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, represented by W. W. Hallo and U. Kasten; the collection of the Altorientalische Seminar Tübingen, represented by K. Volk; the Rosicrucian Museum in San Jose, CA; the collection of S. Moussaieff, London; and a private collection whose owner prefers to remain anonymous. I also want to thank the Mission de Ras Shamra, represented by M. Yon, and the Assur-Projekt of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, represented by J. Renger and S. Maul, for permission to publish texts under their tutelage.

My deepest thanks go to individuals who informed me about new text identifications, often combined with the cession of their own earlier publication rights. F. Köcher†'s generous offer, which made the whole project possible, has already been mentioned. Foremost among the other friends to be given credit here is I. L. Finkel, whose contributions are almost countless. For identifications, photos, or further information about individual texts and amulets, I am also indebted to (in alphabetical order) A. Berk, R. D. Biggs, J. Black†, E. Bleibtreu, R. Borger†, P. Calmeyer†, D. Collon, S. Dalley, M. Gallery-Kovacs, M. Geller, J. Goodnick Westenholz†, O. Gurney†, N. Heeßel, C. Hess, W. G. Lambert†, W. Meinhold, W. Röllig, S. Tinney, A. Tsukimoto, E. von Weiher, and D. Wiseman†.

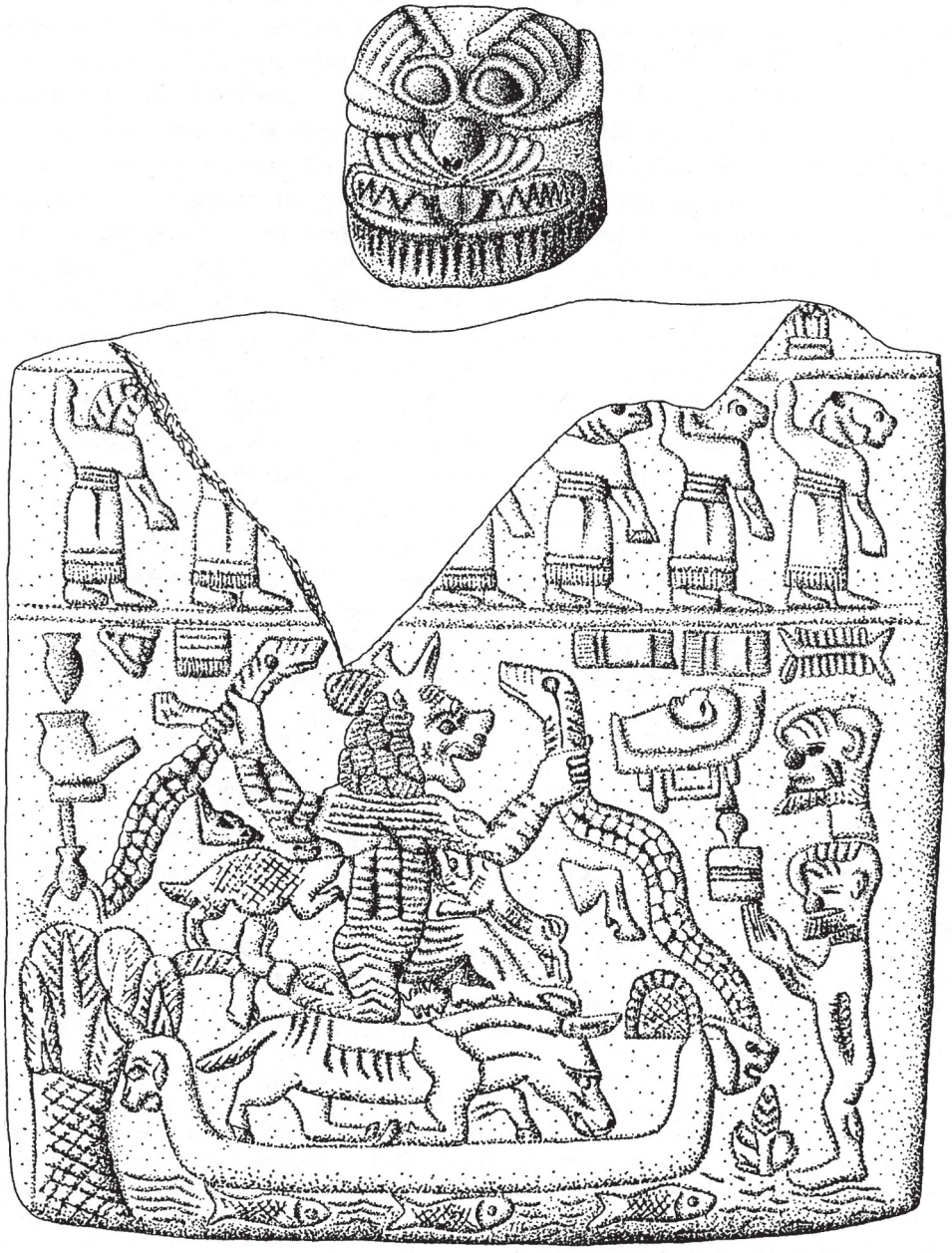
I will not even try to compile a complete list of all those colleagues who, over more than four decades, have discussed individual passages, phrases, or amulets with me, helping me to understand not only single words or lines but often also the major context of the incantations and rituals. The following few names (again in alphabetical order) of colleagues not yet mentioned above stand for all the unnamed others, to whom I want to cumulatively apologize for their omission: T. Abusch, M. Civil, K. Deller†, B. Foster, T. Frymer-Kensky†, E. Götting, S. Holloway, W. R. Mayer, E. Reiner†, M. Stol, F. A. M. Wiggermann, A. Winitzer, and I. Winter. Last, but by no means least, I want to thank all my students who read through parts or all of the Lamaštu corpus with me at one time or another. Again, the few names whose contributions I specifically recall stand for many others whose questions or answers in class also furthered my own understanding of the texts: S. Cole, T. Collins, S. Endy, J. Lauinger, A. Dix, and P. Gauthier.

Jerry Cooper and Jim Eisenbraun had suggested years ago that I should consider writing my "Lamaštu" in English and aim to have it published in the series "Mesopotamian Civilizations." I am very grateful for this offer and especially to Jerry for accepting the manuscript when it was finally finished. But the written versions of this book go back to the "good old days" of manual typewrit-

ers, pass through the period of IBM Selectric and similar tools, and then show several stages of the development of word-processing technologies. The old fonts alone would have made it a nightmare for me to transpose and reformat the manuscript into Unicode, had it not been for the invaluable help of Jim Eisenbraun, who decided to act as my personal editor and then tended to every detail and accommodated every formatting wish I came up with. Before we reached that stage, I had already received invaluable help from Andrew Dix, who read through the whole manuscript several times, editing my English and at the same time correcting innumerable factual or philological mistakes and inconsistencies. His help in proofreading was also of great value, and the final quality of the printed product is largely due to the efforts of Jim and Andrew.

To all of those whose contributions I may have forgotten to mention (and I am sure there will be many), I again give my collective heartfelt thanks.

The scholarly environment in which this work grew and finally came to fruition was provided by the Altorientalische Seminar of the Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, and by the Oriental Institute at The University of Chicago. All my teachers and colleagues past and present at these great institutions deserve my sincere thanks for the time I was able to spend and to work in them. But the main constant during all these sometimes-difficult times was the love and support of my wife Gertrud, my *spiritus rector*, and my favorite Lamaštu at many a Fasching party. To her, this book is gratefully dedicated.



Lam. amulet no. 58 obv., from Nimrud. Drawing by A. Alizadeh (from Farber 1987a: 87). Elaborate scene of Lamaštu on an equid, in a boat, holding snakes, with Pazuzu peeking over the top.

Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu: A Sketch

Lamaštu is one of the most important Mesopotamian demons, playing a dominant role in the magico-religious and magico-medical beliefs and practices of ancient Mesopotamia for nearly two millennia. Yet, she has never been the subject of a scholarly monograph dedicated to the textual and visual evidence about her, her activities, and the measures the ancient magical specialists took to counter her.[1] The volume at hand also falls short of this description, since it covers only one part of the material: it is an edition of the textual record only, which is, however, collected here as completely as seems possible today. My strong desire to see at least this text edition finally in print, a project that has been considered overdue for decades by many colleagues, prompted me some years ago to abandon my earlier plans for an overarching monograph about Lamaštu, and to concentrate on the presentation of the philological record. The task to put all the details now known about Lamaštu from the written sources together, combine them with old and new data from the pictorial record, connect them into a picture that can stand up to the methodological rigor of other disciplines like Comparative Religion, Art History, or History of Literature, and thus produce the much desired real monograph on Lamaštu, was more than I felt I could still accomplish. I do not know whether I should blame my partial mental burnout on Lamaštu herself, who might have taken revenge after I already had misrepresented her *persona* in many different publications. The task now has to be taken over by some younger colleague with a fresh outlook on the material, not obscured by a much too long period of exposure to Lamaštu's demonic aura.

Most of Lamaštu's features and misdeeds have been at least briefly described elsewhere. By far the most complete dossier covering her background, her evil personality (including some redeeming aspects), and her place in the demonology of ancient Mesopotamia and its surrounding areas, as well as the written and pictorial records pertaining to her, has been compiled by Frans Wiggermann in his essay "Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu. A Profile" (= Wiggermann 2000). Much shorter, but at the same time less interpretive and therefore also occasionally less speculative, is my own *resumé* of the magico-medical, literary, and art-historical aspects of the corpus dealing with her, in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* under the simple heading "Lamaštu" (= Farber 1983). A long overdue study of the Lamaštu amulets was recently made by Eva Götting in her M.A. thesis (= Götting 2009); unfortunately, only an excerpt that contains a rough typology of the amulets, describes the spread of these artifacts outside of Mesopotamia and to the Mediterranean

1. A splendid example of such a monograph is the book on Pazuzu, Heeßel 2002.



Fig. 1. Lam. amulet no. 1 obv. (de Clercq and Ménant 1900: pl. 34)

area, and discusses their interactions with local demonologies from the Levant to Greece, has been published to date (see Götting 2011). Most other recent authors of biblical or ancient Near Eastern handbooks, topical encyclopedias, wikipedias, etc., when talking about Lamaštu have derived their statements more or less directly from Wiggermann 2000 and Farber 1987. For the benefit of those readers who have no easy access to these publications, I repeat some of the most important features described there. This should provide at least a basic background for the understanding of the texts edited here. As a very short dossier of facts about Lamaštu, it could also be useful for recognizing her or her likes in other contexts or cultures. Figuratively speaking, this brief introduction could thus be used as a basic tool to assist in her detection and deterrence. As such, it neither preempts nor replaces the complete "Lamaštu Biography and Handbook" that remains to be written.

Already in Sumerian texts from the 3rd millennium B.C., a female spirit named Dimme[2] was mentioned as one of a group of seven similar demons, without specific individual traits or features.[3] In Sumerian and bilingual texts of a later date, she became the leading lady in a triad with two other demons whose Sumerian names shared the element *dimme (^{d}dìm.me.A and ^{d}dìm.me.ḪAB) with hers.[4] In the Akkadian versions of these texts, ^{d}dìm.me is called Lamaštu, which sounds like an Akkadian name but is still of unclear etymology;[5] the other two were known under the names of Labāṣu[6] and Aḫḫāzu.[7] Only in the 2nd millennium, and probably under the influence of the Semitic speakers of Akkadian, did Lamaštu gain in individuality and swiftly become the most

2. Written ^{d}DÌM.ME, with many variations. For the interpretation and pronounciation of this name, see most recently Wiggermann 2000: 217.

3. Wiggermann 2000: 218 n. 5, and 226.

4. See most conveniently Farber 1983: 409–10. For the possibility that earlier Sumerian *dìm could be interpreted as "ghost" (Akk. *eṭemmu*), see Geller, in van Dijk and Geller 2003: 45.

5. For an attempt to derive this name from a Sumerian word *lamar, and for a possible connection to Akkadian **lamassu*, see Wiggermann 2000: 217. A Semitic etymology was proposed by Eilers 1979: 59 (see Farber 1983: 439a), but has not found wider acceptance.

6. This name, although sounding like good Akkadian, also does not have a convincing Akkadian etymology.

7. This name has an easy Akkadian etymology and means simply "The Habitual Grabber."

well-known of all Mesopotamian demons. Already in one of the oldest surviving spells against her ("OA_1"[8]), we learn that as a misbegotten daughter of the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, Anum, and thus of unquestionable divine ancestry, she was thrown out of heaven and down to earth, either as a punishment for her previous evil deeds, or as a divine trick to control overpopulation in the future.[9] Her main goal on earth was to snatch and eat newly-born babies, which she accomplished either by trickery, posing as a midwife or a physician, or by sheer force, attacking her victims like a wolf or a lion. Naming all these bloodthirsty activities and cruel attacks makes up much of the Akkadian incantations against her, and the vividness of these descriptions has made the corpus famous well beyond the inner circle of Assyriologists. But she is not only a danger to babies and, inherently, their pregnant mothers before and during birth. Her destructive aura and scorching personality also affect adult men, old people, and even domestic animals.[10] At the same time, she is much more than just a cause or agent bringing about one or more definable diseases.[11] She is an almost satanic force, a personification of evil and aggressiveness.

Her favorite hang-outs and preferred company make her quite undesirable for most civilized humans, but also not always easy to spot before she becomes dangerous. She usually emerges from far-away mountains, swamps, thickets, or the desert. There, she lives in close contact with wild animals.[12] When we get a visual glimpse of her and her activities on amulets or in descriptions thereof, she is often associated with unclean animals like pigs and dogs whom she suckles at her breast. Quite often she holds snakes in her hands, and scorpions or poisonous centipedes[13] populate the background. At the same time, she seems to have become somewhat accustomed to the basic features of human life, as shown by her means of transportation (usually a donkey and a boat on which she is supposed to leave the civilized parts of the world), and by the gifts she gets when people are trying to send her away, which include toiletries and feminine accessories, pins, fibulas, shoes, pots and pans, and carpets.[14]

Her own appearance is also terrifying. In the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia, nobody seems to have known exactly what her head looked like, so pictures and textual descriptions vary between those of dogs or lions,[15] and of birds-of-prey.[16] Occasionally, she is even shown with two heads, like below in fig. 2. At that time, however, the main emphasis seems to have lain on her deadly claws

8. In references to Lamaštu texts edited in this book, the sigla introduced on pp. 45ff. are used. They are always enclosed in double quotation marks. For further details, see the author's note on p. 7 and the introduction to the Commentary, p. 196.

9. See Wiggermann 2000: 225f. and Farber 1983: 445a.

10. Wiggermann 2000: 231; Farber 1983: 444.

11. See Farber 2007a: 137–45, pace Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 485, who still argue for a general identification of most Lamaštu induced inflictons with typhoid fever.

12. Wiggermann 2000: 230.

13. I have to repeat here that there is a clear zoological difference between centipedes (*Chilopoda*) and millipedes (*Myriapoda*). Unfortunately, the editors of the Reallexikon at the time changed the wording of my manuscript for Farber 1987 from "Hundertfüßler" to "Tausendfüßler," and since then millipedes or "Tausendfüßler" have wrongly been accused to be associated with Lamaštu; see most recently Götting 2011: 440.

14. See most conveniently Farber 1987a, 85–105.

15. See Götting 2011: 443f.: "Typ I.1" ("variierende Kopfform") and "Typ I.3" ("löwenköpfig").

16. See Götting 2011: 443: "Typ I.2" ("vogelköpfig").



Fig. 2. Lam. amulet no. 88 (BM 132520) obv.: "Threatening Lamaštu" with double lion's head and multi-fingered claws, accompanied by two dogs. Provenience unknown. Black stone, 36 × 36mm. For the inscription on the rev., see below, Lam. text "Ao" and pl. 65.

which are usually clearly marked, while the rest of the body is depicted as more or less human-like.[17] Later, almost everybody seems to agree that she had a lion's head, a furry or scaly animal's body with big human-like breasts, human hands, and big bird-of-prey feet.

On the oldest extant amulets, some of which may date as early as the late 3rd millennium, and most of which date to the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C., Lamaštu is usually depicted in a threatening posture, with her big claws raised, while a few typical paraphernalia—usually a comb and a spindle and/or a dog and a pig—fill the empty space around her figure (for a few examples, see figs. 2, 3, 15, 16, and 19–22).[18]

Starting in the Middle Assyrian period, another type of amulet gained in popularity, showing her with big bare breasts, walking or standing in a boat while holding a comb and a spindle on strings in her hands (as an example, see fig. 6).[19]

Finally, in the first millennium these female attributes are often replaced by a pair of snakes,[20] and she herself is now shown standing on a donkey, often inside a boat, while a dog and a pig suckle at her breasts (for examples, see figs. 1, 4, 12, 14, and 18). A variant of this type has her holding the pig and dog in her hands (see, for example, figs. 13 and 23). In the boat scene, her ankle is usually tied to a tree at the water's edge, and the background of the scene is filled with further accessories of civilization, but also with harmful animals like scorpions and centipedes. As a slightly unusual feature, some of these very elaborate amulets add another demon, Pazuzu, to the scene, who peeks from the reverse over the top of the amulet like Kilroy (for examples, see figs. 1 + 5 and 18), thus forming something like a handle to the piece, where the older and less elaborate amulets used to have a simple protrusion with a hole drilled through for suspension. Pazuzu himself is an ambiguous demonic figure whose powers, at least in this context, could also be harnessed to help in the expulsion of the much more dangerous Lamaštu.[21]

Whether the aforementioned features would be enough to recognize Lamaštu before she could attack, I do not know, but they should at least be sufficient to make a positive identification if she is caught *in flagranti*. They thus could serve as the basis for a search warrant and a "Wanted" poster (see fig. 6, p. 6).

17. Wiggermann 2000: 231–33.
18. Götting 2011: "Typ I: Drohende Lamaštu."
19. Götting 2011: "Typ II: Kamm und Spindel haltende Lamaštu."
20. Götting 2011: "Typ III: Schlangen haltende Lamaštu."
21. See Heeßel 2002.



Fig. 3. Lam. amulet no. 94, from photos taken in 1982 by P. Calmeyer in Teheran; provenience, material, and present whereabouts unknown, 34 × 40 mm. "Threatening Lamaštu" with bird's head, comb, spindle, donkey's ankle(?), pig, and dog. The text on the reverse is an abbreviated version of "Lam." Inc. 10 and reads:

[é]n é.nu.ru / ^{d}dìm.me / dumu an.na / mu pà.da / dingir.re.ne.ke$_4$ / zi an.na ḫé.pà / zi ki.a ḫé.pà



Fig. 4. Lam. amulet no. 89 (IM 67882) obv., photo courtesy R. D. Biggs.
"Lamaštu with Snakes" standing on a donkey, with a pig and a dog suckling at her breasts. Provenience and material unknown; 58 × 49 mm. For the inscription on the rev., see below, Lam. text "Ab$_1$" and pl. 82.



Fig. 5. Lam. amulet no. 1 rev. (de Clercq and Ménant 1900: pl. 34).

Unfortunately, the character and pedigree of the suspect make it very unlikely, or indeed impossible, that a permanent punishment for her misdeeds—death or indefinite detention—could ever be imposed. But even so, we should follow the example of the ancient Mesopotamians and make every effort to reduce her influence as far as possible. I hope that this new edition of Lamaštu texts will raise the level of alertness for her nefarious deeds, although this can no longer be expected to have a major impact on the health of future generations of mothers and babies. Fortunately, the advancements of scientific medicine have long taken over where magico-religious methods left off in the distant past. At the same time, we have a major advantage over the people who originally composed, wrote down, and recited these texts to ward off a demon of the utmost destructive power: we can now read the incantations collected in this edition simply as literature, without having to worry that a single minor misunderstanding of the text could jeopardize the magical effectiveness of the whole ritual cure. In other words, we can enjoy the liveliness and appreciate the poetic workmanship of this unusually rich corpus of magical texts at the same time that we continue trying to define its place in the magico-medico-religious thought and practice of ancient Mesopotamia. If this book achieves this goal, my work of many years was not in vain.

WANTED!



Dead Rather Than Alive!
But Remember: She's Immortal.

Fig. 6. Lamaštu's likeness after Lam. amulet no. 9, as drawn by E. Ebeling in KAR 86 obv.

The Lamaštu Texts: Ancient History

Lamaštu Texts in the Third and Second Millennia B.C.

Early Sumerian Lamaštu Incantations

As the daughter of Anu and Antu, one of the most senior couples in the active Mesopotamian pantheon, Lamaštu must have been around since primordial time. At some point, her father and mother are said to have thrown her out of Heaven and down to Earth (see "OA_2" 12, "Lam. I" 112, etc.), but we do not know exactly when this was supposed to have happened and when her story made its first appearance in Mesopotamian mythology. Even though some traits of her demonic character may then have been known already for quite some time, possibly under other names, only this pedigree and expulsion made her the demoness we now know so well. All this may have happened relatively late and may in turn explain the fact that Lamaštu has not been identified yet as an independent demonic agent in incantations of the 3rd millennium B.C.[1] As of this writing, the oldest known texts that were specifically composed to protect humanity against her evil deeds date to the OB and OA periods. At and shortly after that time, a fair number of individual incantations against Lamaštu were written down, both in Sumerian and Akkadian. While all Akkadian texts that can safely be identified as Lamaštu incantations have been edited below in Parts I and II, I decided early on that Sumerian incantations should only be incorporated into this edition if they showed a direct relationship to known SB texts and specifically to incantations nos. 10 and 13 of the canonical series, which are in Sumerian. Although no such texts have actually been identified to date, it turns out that there is one example of a survival of OB Sumerian material into the SB series, TIM 9, 63: 17′–23′ // OECT 5, 55. This passage provides a distant Sumerian parallel to the Akkadian text

Author's note: In this edition, all references to lines of the canonical Lamaštu Series, as reconstructed here, will be quoted as "Lam. I," "Lam. II," and "Lam. III" (always in double quotation marks). Individual exemplars that have been edited as fully integrated duplicates to the series (see sections 1.1. and 1.2.1. of the list of Manuscript Sources on pp. 45–48) will be quoted by their sigla. Independent parallels (section 1.2.2., pp. 48–50), as well as all noncanonical Lamaštu texts (sections 2.1.–2.3. and 3., pp. 50–52) will be quoted by their abbreviated names (e.g., "Bo," "OB_5," or "SpTU"). In context, these abbreviated names are always enclosed in quotation marks, to make it easier to keep them apart from the sigla used for duplicate exemplars, but they are used without quotation marks in the text edition proper (transliteration, transcription, translation), where such a differentiation is not needed. For an alphabetical list of all abbreviated names, see Table IV on p. 66.

1. See Farber 1983: 439 and, in much more detail, Cunningham 1997: chapters 2, 4, and 5.

of the first incantation of the SB Lamaštu series (see commentary).[2] Other OB Sumerian Lamaštu texts safely identified as such, but not included in this edition because they show no connection to the SB series, are TIM 9, 63, "obv." 1′–5′ and 6′–16′;[3] MLVS II pp. 9f. (LB 1005);[4] YOS 11, 89; and Hallo, AMD 1, 278 and 287: MLC 1614 "obv.[?]"[5] The identifications of YOS 11, 86: 29–38;[6] YOS 11, 88;[7] and CT 42, 36 remain doubtful.[8] From later periods, only one short Sumerian text needs to be mentioned here, RS 25.457. This is a clay amulet in the shape of a barrel cylinder, of uncertain date but found in a Persian grave at Ugarit and inscribed with a duplicate to the SB Sumerian text of STT 144, 1–4. It is edited in Part II under text "STT 144" as exemplar b.

Akkadian Lamaštu Texts from the OA and OB Periods

Akkadian Lamaštu incantations from the first half of the 2nd millennium are relatively numerous, with a total of eight such spells ("$OB_{1–6}$" and "$OA_{1–2}$") identified to date. All of these are found on single-column tablets, in most cases containing just one incantation ("OB_1", "OB_2," and probably "OB_4," "OA_1," and "OA_2"). The short Akkadian spell "OB_6" is a postscript on the left edge of a tablet that otherwise contains Sumerian incantations, at least some of which were also directed against Lamaštu (TIM 9, 63; see above). "OB_3" and "OB_5" are short Lamaštu incantations written on tablets the remainders of which contain other magical texts not directed against Lamaštu.

Unfortunately, the provenience of most of the OB tablets is unknown, since they were originally acquired from different dealers at different times ("$OB_{1–3}$" and "OB_5," Yale) or confiscated by Iraqi authorities ("OB_6"). Only one tablet ("OB_4") has a reliable pedigree and is known to have come from Nippur. The script and shape of the unprovenienced tablets do not suggest a common area of origin. Of the two OA texts, "OA_1" was excavated at Kültepe in 1994, and it is safe to assume that "OA_2" also came from there before it was acquired by Yale from the antiquities market. Although not strictly provable, it thus seems reasonable to assume that in OB and OA times Lamaštu spells were widely utilized wherever Akkadian and Sumerian texts were used for magic, and there is no indication in the textual record[9] that belief in Lamaštu was not rooted in Mesopotamian culture itself. Occasional references in the texts to Lamaštu as a dangerous foreigner—i.e., as an Elamite, Sutaean,

2. I believe that the passage in question, TIM 9, 63 "obv." 17′–23′, constitutes a complete incantation and must be separated from "rev." 24′–45′. The rubric line *ka.inim.ma ^{d}dìm.me could have been lost on the lower edge of the tablet (separation lines might not have been deemed necessary there), or "obv." and "rev." may have to be exchanged. According to Michalowski (1978: 345), this Sumerian incantation might actually be a translation from a still unrecovered OB Akkadian version of "Lam. I" 1–8.

3. All of TIM 9, 63 was edited and commented by Tonietti (1979: 301–23). Whether "rev." 24′–45′ (see previous note) are also related to Lamaštu remains uncertain. Surprisingly, this interesting text does not seem to have elicited much attention since. For a few quotations and parallels, see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994: 74.

4. See Tonietti 1979: 309 and Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994: 74.

5. Mention should also be made of the entry ^{d}dìm.me an.eden.na mú.da in the OB catalogue of incantation incipits, Wilcke 1973: pl. 3 "JRL Box 25 E5/25" line 8, quoting still another unknown Sumerian Lamaštu incantation (cf. also ibid., line 9 for an incantation starting ^{d}udug ^{d}dìm.me u_4.ḫuš kalam.ma ri).

6. See van Dijk 1975: 49; Lamaštu is not mentioned!

7. Cf. Cunningham 1997: 148 no. 306, but the text is addressed to ^{d}dìm.me.a = Labāṣu!

8. Cf. van Dijk 1975: 58 n. 17.

9. I refrain here from making similar statements about the archaeological record, since a comprehensive study of Lamaštu amulets and their stylistic development in the context of Mesopotamian and neighboring art has yet to be written and remains a major desideratum. For the time being, see Götting 2011.

or Amorite woman—in my opinion reinforce this impression and are easier to explain from within Mesopotamian social and magico-religious beliefs than if her figure and character had actually been borrowed or imported from some neighboring cultures.

An interesting feature of "OB_5" is the inclusion of Akkadian *agenda*, or ritual instructions, on the tablet. These are introduced by the phrase *kikiṭṭaša* "its ritual." Although by no means unique, this is still rather uncommon for OB incantations. For examples, see the references collected by Gertrud Farber (1984: 313 with n. 10). A few other texts also add *agenda* to the incantation but lack the catch-word *kikiṭṭaša*: see, for instance, Nougayrol RA 66, 141ff.: AO 6782; YOS 11, 15 rev. 17ff.; and YOS 11, 4 obv. 3ff. Finally, a few incantation texts that seem to intersperse the *recitanda* with occasional *agenda* should also be mentioned here—e.g., Wilcke ZA 75, 198: IB 1554 obv. 23, or YOS 11, 12 rev. 31–37.

While most of these earlier Lamaštu incantations in some way or other refer to myths and motifs known to us also from the 1st-millennium texts, or use descriptions, similes, and phraseology similar to these, two of them ("OA_1" and "OB_1") are actually close enough to the later material to qualify as "earlier versions"[10] of the third incantation of the canonical series ("Lam. I" 37–45). They are thus the oldest known links in a chain of tradition that for us becomes visible only in the OB period, when such spells—which probably had been transmitted orally until then—were first written down, and then continues through early attemps at collecting and editing the genre in MB times; the establishing of the wording of the individual spells early in the first millennium; the addition of a ritual tablet and at the same time the use of many Lamaštu spells in other magico-medical contexts also in the first millennium; and ultimately the standardization of the text and even of the spelling in the 3-*pirsū* version of Aššurbanipal's library in Nineveh. This text edition is not the place to treat this story comprehensively, since doing so would delay the publication of the text corpus even more. The task should probably be tackled by a fresh mind not worn out by more than 40 years of Lamaštu's demonic presence. Many philological details that may, I hope, have a bearing on the problem, can, however, be found in the philological commentary on the relevant texts and passages.

Lamaštu Texts from the MB Period

Between the end of the OB period and the time of the MA libraries at Assur,[11] magical texts from Mesopotamia are quite scarce. This is probably due to the haphazard results of excavations and chance finds, since we have reason to assume that the Kassite period was altogether quite productive for literary and religious texts, although it is often hard to define which versions or new texts were actually composed during the period.[12] In this respect, it is very fortunate that we have at least one early MB text from Babylonia that shows how close to the SB series the wording of Inc. 12 had already come around the middle of the 2nd millennium. The text in question, which in my edition bears the name "MB,"[13] was originally deemed OB by both I. L. Finkel, who was the first to identify it as a Lamaštu text, and me, but closer scrutiny of its epigraphic and linguistic features now leads me

10. For my preference of this term over the often used "forerunner," see Farber 1993: 95–97.
11. See Pedersén 1985: 29ff. (ca. 12th/11th centuries).
12. For a succinct statement of the problems involved, see Foster 1993: 203ff.
13. BM 120022, accessioned originally as 1928-7-16, 22, of unknown provenience (possibly Sippar or Babylon).

to date it as either very late OB or more likely as early MB.[14] Unfortunately, its provenience cannot be ascertained, and the indication "Sippar oder Babylon?" (Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 257) goes back only to an educated guess by Finkel, based on the context of its museum number. The importance of this text is heightened by the fact that we have still another MB version of this incantation, which is part of the collection of Lamaštu spells from Ugarit originally published by Nougayrol (1968) and reedited here under the name "Ug." The passage that runs parallel to "MB" and Inc. 12 of the "Lam." series is found there in col. V 30′–31′ and col. VI 1′–19′. The two MB versions, although not identical to the last detail, are strikingly similar and share some interesting features, like the addition of lines "MB" I 27 // "Ug" VI 3′ and "MB" II 18 // "Ug" VI 18′, which are not present in the SB version.

The importance of the Ugarit version ("Ug") of the Lamaštu incantations for the history of magical texts in the second half of the 2nd millennium has been clear ever since its first publication by Nougayrol (1968: 393–408). Written in quite good Babylonian script, but showing a few insecurities with individual signs and a number of mistakes and misunderstandings of the Akkadian text, it seems likely to me that this text is the work of an advanced local scribe or scholar well versed but not natively fluent in Babylonian.[15] For the much more fascinating question, whether this scribe should also be credited with collecting and assembling all(?) Lamaštu incantations known to him, thus creating the oldest real Lamaštu corpus that has come down to us, I have no definitive answer. In the context of the other Akkadian texts from Ugarit, I think it more likely that our Ugaritic scholar copied someone else's compilation, but where could such a tablet have come from? Arnaud (2007: 62) argues that a second, physically unrelated Lamaštu piece from Ugarit (RS 25.513, named "RS" in my edition) is actually an import from Hattuša. Since this fragment is the upper left corner of col. I of a multicolumn tablet, and since the beginning of "Ug" col. I is lost,[16] one could speculate that "RS" actually is the only remnant of the otherwise lost original behind "Ug."[17] Arnaud's hypothesis, which is part of a larger theory of supposed imports into Ugarit from several other places, not only contradicts Nougayrol's statement (Nougayrol 1968: 405 n. 93) that basically all Akkadian *textes de tradition* found in Ugarit[18] were also written there but would at the same time simply shift my initial question to Boghazköy: from where would the Hittites have gotten such a compilation, and why do we not have any remnants of a similar Lamaštu compendium from Boghazköy?

14. The text was still translated by me as "altbabylonisch" in Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 257ff. (see also Farber 1983: 440a). It is quoted as "OB" by Wiggermann (2000: 217ff. passim); Wassermann (2003; for individual quotations, see index p. 227); and Cunningham (1997: 153 no. 362). For the MB date, see now also SEAL = Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de, last visited 02/07/2011), a website under the control of M. Streck and N. Wassermann.

15. Most of the examples for scribal dyslexia and Assyrianizing forms that D. Arnaud thought to have detected in this text (see his edition in Arnaud 2007: 10 and 63ff.) are not borne out by my readings of the tablet.

16. See below, fig. 7.

17. If this were the case, however, we would have to assume that the "Ug" parallel of Inc. 5 was much shorter than the later version in order to make space for another short spell at the beginning of the tablet. For further details, see my reconstruction of "Ug" below, with fig. 7.

18. Note that this obviously only covers texts excavated before his publication of the Lamaštu fragments—i.e., before 1969. The material has increased and the interpretation has changed significantly since then (see Arnaud 2007: 7–11).

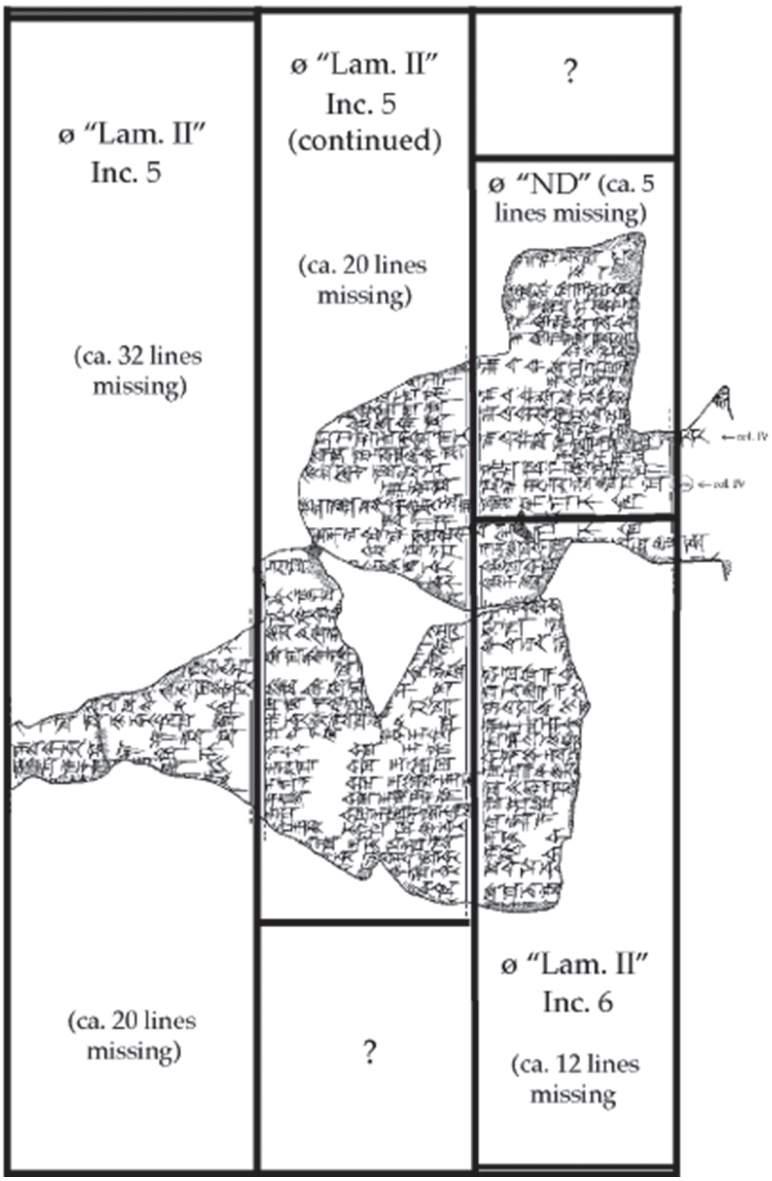


Fig. 7. Schematic sketch of the tablet RS 25.420+ (= "Ug"), obv.

Text "MB," an older version of Inc. 12 of the canonical series, is not the only 2nd-millennium Lamaštu text that has parallels both in "Ug" and in the SB series. The same is true of "OA_1" and "OB_1," described above as earlier versions of Inc. 3 of the canonical series. In this case, the text of "Ug" is much closer to SB "Lam. I" 37–45 than to the more individualistic OA and OB spells, while it is still clear that all four versions are interrelated and represent different stages in the development of one particular incantation. Beyond these parallels to Incs. 3 and 12 which bridge the gap between older Mesopotamian texts and the standard versions of the first millennium, "Ug" also contains the earliest known versions of Incs. 5 (col. I–II) and 6 (col. III 15′–36′) of the SB series, as well as a parallel to the SB incantation in "ND" 1–15 ("Ug" III 1′–14′; see under "ND" for the edition). All of col. IV and the beginning of col. V (V 1′–14′) seem to have been taken up by one or several incantations that are not otherwise known (edited here separately under the name "Ug"). Figs. 7–8 show the

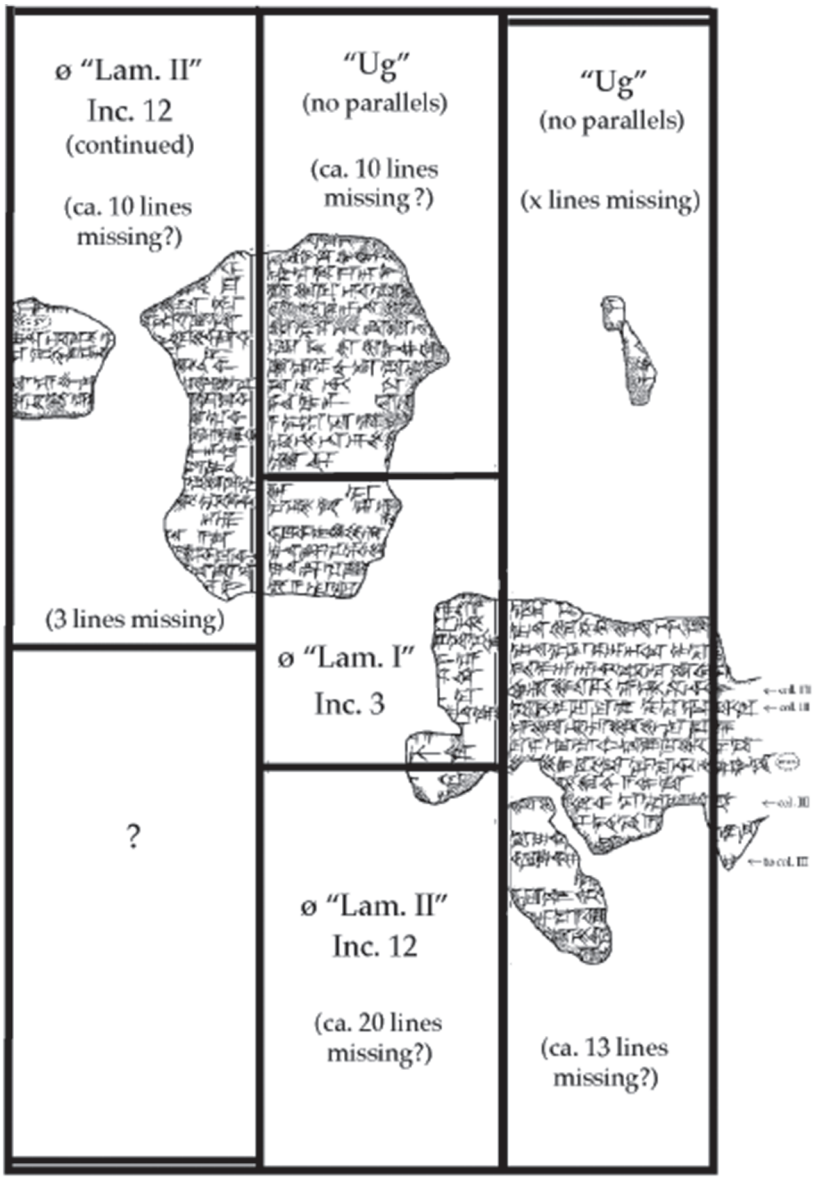


Fig. 8. Schematic sketch of the tablet RS 25.420+ (= "Ug"), rev.

distribution of text passages on "Ug" with and without known parallels in schematic sketches of both sides of the tablet. For this reconstruction, I assume that each column originally contained roughly 60 lines of text and that about the same amount of text is missing at the top and at the bottom of the original tablet. These estimates are certainly very rough but are not completely arbitrary, since they are consistent with the calculable gaps in Incs. 5 and 12 that give us some indication of the overall length of the breaks. Note, however, that the space allotted to Inc. 12 is a bit more than might have been expected from the parallels, with room for about 30 lines in "Ug," compared to 22 lines in "MB" and no more than 17 in "Lam. II." It is thus not completely impossible that "Ug" V 30′–31′, instead of giving the incipit line of Inc. 12, actually represents the beginning of another very short spell that could, however, have hardly been longer than 8–10 lines. From the SB series, only Inc. 11 would be

short enough, but the traces in 31′ do not fit well with what would have to be "Lam. II" 129.[19] My reconstruction leaves space for an additional incantation of ca. 20 lines to be inserted from the end of col. II to the beginning of col. III and still another spell of about the same length at the end of col. VI.[20]

Mention has already been made of RS 25.513 (named "RS" in my edition), another fragment from Ugarit that is, however, written in quite a different hand and cannot be part of the same original tablet as "Ug." Arnaud (2007: 11 and 62) considers this fragment to be an import from Boghazköy. His statement "il fournit le commencement d'un texte dont ["Ug"] fournit la suite" (2007: 62) is not quite unequivocal: does he suggest that we suppose a "series" of Lamaštu tablets at Ugarit, of which "RS" would be the first tablet and "Ug" the second? Or does he also consider the possibility that "RS" is actually the beginning of a tablet that served as the original for the copy now preserved as "Ug" and thus contained the same text as the latter? In any case, since the text preserved on "RS" does not really qualify as an "earlier version" of any of the known SB Lamaštu incantations (in spite of some similarities with the beginning of Inc. 7), its place in the development of the corpus cannot be viewed as certain.

Whether or not "RS" originally was written in Hattuša, there is actually one fragmentary tablet excavated at Boghazköy that might belong to the Lamaštu corpus, KUB 37, 66 (edited here under the name "Bo"). This text has often been quoted as part of a group of fragments that at one time or another were all thought to be Lamaštu rituals or at least to contain Lamaštu material.[21] Of these, it is the only one that actually contains instructions that are close enough to other Lamaštu rituals to make such an identification plausible. Some doubt is, however, still possible, since Lamaštu herself seems to be referred to in this text as **Lamas(sa)tu* (see below, commentary to "Bo" 3), leaving open the possibility of further misunderstandings by the Hittite scribes. The text has been collated and joins have been attempted by R. D. Biggs and G. Wilhelm, who both concluded that it is not part of the same tablet as KUB 37, 61+.[22] Biggs did, however, consider the possibility that nos. 65, 66, and 67 are three unjoinable fragments of one and the same tablet. Of these, no. 67 has now been joined by Wilhelm to KUB 37, 105+,[23] while nos. 65 and 66 are still separate.[24] Since none of the other fragments show any close resemblance to Lamaštu rituals, I assume here that if KUB 37, 66 is actually an indirect join to Schwemer's "Handschrift B," this ritual compendium must have contained very diverse material and that KUB 37, 66 would be the only surviving fragment that may preserve text of a portion dealing with Lamaštu. Aside from Arnaud's speculations about "RS" (see above), fragment

19. Note also that the individual length of the spells on "Ug," compared to the SB versions, can vary considerably, as does the use of line indentation on "Ug." Both of these factors add to the uncertainty of my reconstruction of the spatial distribution of text on the physical tablet. Note also that, although the columns of the reverse of "Ug" are slightly wider than those of the obverse, I have assumed the same number of lines on both sides of the tablet.

20. It is, of course, also possible that this final space was either left blank or contained a colophon-like note or even a ritual, although neither of these options seems to have parallels in comparable texts from Ugarit.

21. See, for instance, Nougayrol 1968: 405 with n. 91, and compare Borger 1975: 134 under KUB 37, 61+. For most of the fragments and a few new identifications and joins, see now KBo 36, 29 and the edition of all related texts by Schwemer (1998). KUB 37, 66 is edited there as "Fragment X_5" on pp. 134–36.

22. As assumed in Borger 1975: 134 (see now Schwemer 1998: 80f.: "Handschrift A").

23. See Schwemer 1998: 81: "Handschrift B."

24. See Schwemer 1998: 82: "Fragment X_3," leaving open the possibilities of an indirect join to "A" or "B," and "Fragment X_5," possibly belonging with "B."

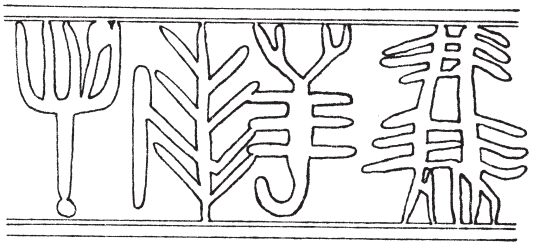


Fig. 9. Seal Impression on "Emar" (1981 composite drawing by D. Collon, reproduced here with her friendly permission).

"Bo" thus constitutes the only indication to date that any Lamaštu incantations might have formed part of the magico-medical corpus that reached the Hittite capital from Mesopotamia. In view of the existence of similar material from Ugarit and Emar, such a textual presence would not be unexpected, although the evidence is still too doubtful to constitute definitive proof.

Although the MB texts from Babylonia, Ugarit, and possibly Boghazköy provide extraordinary evidence for the development and growth of individual incantations and the corpus as a whole, a unique and most intriguing Lamaštu text from this period is a clay tablet in the shape of an amulet that is edited here under the name "Emar." It was bought by its present owner in 1981, at a time when many tablets from the vicinity of Meskene (ancient Emar) surfaced on the antiquities market, and the dealer actually specified its provenience as "Emar." This amulet tablet formed part of a group of mainly legal and economic tablets that can be prosopographically linked to other texts excavated at Meskene. This lot also contained a tablet of liver omens.[25] It is therefore reasonable to assume that the whole assemblage originated in or near Emar, although unfortunately the exact provenience and date of the individual pieces remain unknown. Our text can be compared to other amulet-shaped clay tablets like the ones discussed by Reiner (1960: 148–55), with a pierced handle that served to suspend it, most probably in the bedroom of the pregnant women to give her the much-needed protection from Lamaštu. In spite of its amulet shape, and presumably at least temporary use as a magical artifact, I have classified it with the other MB clay tablets since it does not show any pictorial scenes but instead contains the continuous text of three Lamaštu incantations. Its material (clay, not stone or metal) also defines it, I think, primarily as a text-bearing document with potential use as an amulet, rather than a physical-metaphysical tool for a given magical purpose. This differentiation may, however, be very anachronistic, especially since the arrangement of the text itself clearly follows a magical principle: the three incantations, separated by appropriate rubric lines tu_6.ú.ni.nu.ru, are subdivided into sections with horizontal blank bands in between, with each spell comprising two sections of exactly seven lines each, to which the third one adds a section of three extra lines on the reverse of the handle, to reach the magical number of seven sections altogether. Probably to further enhance its magical powers, the tablet was then (after the text had been written) sealed along the four edges, including the sides of the handle, in all the horizontal blank bands, vertically from the tip of the handle through the middle to the bottom of both obverse and reverse, and crosswise again over both obverse and reverse, using only one seal of local style (see fig. 9).

The horizontal impressions all follow the direction of the script, with the bottom of the sealing pointing to the end of the obverse or reverse, respectively. Around the edges, the bottom of the seal

25. See the publication of the group by Dalley and Teissier 1992: 83–111. The amulet (no. 8) was published, in photograph only, on pl. XIV, with a short description of the text on p. 109.

points toward the reverse of the tablet along the top, right edge, and bottom, but changes its direction (now pointing to the obverse) on the left edge. The vertical impressions also change direction between the obverse, where its bottom points to the right, and the reverse, where it points to the left. I was unable to ascertain the direction of the sealings on the very superficial diagonal impressions. As if to underline their existence and importance, the scribe has secondarily highlighted these and the vertical impressions by "framing" them with his stylus, giving them the appearance of railway tracks. In view of all these variations in application, I assume that, although the existence of all these sealings was of great magical importance, their individual layout and orientation was not.

Besides its unique physical features, the Emar tablet abounds with philological difficulties. Different from any other "earlier version," this text seems to be an assemblage of more-or-less disconnected words and phrases, many but by no means all of which can be traced to contemporary or later Akkadian incantations. A few of these are unique to or at least very typical for the Lamaštu corpus. This, together with the mention of *mārat Anim* in line 1, provides for the safe identification of our text as "Lamaštu incantations." To make things worse, the script of the tablet is very bad, full of deficient signs or extra wedges often to the point that it is impossible to decide what cuneiform sign was intended, unless a usable parallel phrase comes to mind. The scribe furthermore used many obscure phonetic values, most but not all of which are also occasionally found in other Akkadian texts from the Western periphery. At the same time, he was not familiar with mainstream use of, for instance, determinatives and phonetic complements. As a very individualistic feature, he often extends his text all the way to the right margin, and if he ends up with incomplete words, he repeats them at the beginning of the next line without erasing his first attempts. And, finally, his grasp of Akkadian is insufficient to protect him from grammatical and lexical misunderstandings and mistakes. The result is what I unhesitatingly call the most difficult Akkadian text of reasonable preservation that I have ever tried to read and understand.[26] In fact, the text is so difficult that I cannot even be sure that its three incantations are more than mumbo-jumbo-like medleys based on Akkadian phrases, which seem to lack any associative or narrative thread to hold them together. In other words, I love this text.[27]

It is difficult to place this text correctly in a reconstruction of the development of the Lamaštu corpus in MB times, given the lack of direct textual parallels. But even so, it is highly important for our knowledge of the Lamaštu tradition in the West, since it shows unequivocally that much of the pertinent phraseology was known to the Emar scribe (or author?) at the time, even though no fixed versions of three usable individual incantations of exactly the right size—remember the restriction to two × seven lines for each of them—seem to have been at hand. As things stand, and without the discovery of some library texts with Lamaštu incantations from Emar like the one we have from Ugarit, it will remain very difficult, if not impossible, to trace the diffuse material of the three

26. In some respects, this text is comparable to the infamous incantation texts from Alalaḫ (Wiseman AT nos. 448–50), where the fragmentary state of the tablets and the inadequacy of the copies have further added to the difficulties of the text (see, for instance, Farber 1990: 309f.).

27. With all the physical and textual idiosyncrasies of this tablet, the question of a possible forgery might come to mind. I categorically reject this idea, since I am convinced that no one in this world—specialist or nonspecialist, not even I myself—could have come up with a forgery so refined in its mixture of known and unknown, expected and unexpected, or understandable and not understandable.

incantations to individual sources and thus to find ways to put this unique amulet-shaped tablet into its right place within the textual tradition of the Lamaštu corpus.

On the other hand, this text prompts me to make a remark on the role of the Ugarit and Emar texts in a broader religious and cultural context. The Lamaštu texts found at Ras Shamra are so closely related to Mesopotamian traditions and beliefs that it is hard to imagine how they could have been used at Ugarit in a local religious environment, where they probably would have seemed exotic and alien. If not only copied for educational or scholarly reasons (as is not unlikely for much of the Boghazköy Akkadian ritual texts), their practical use would most likely have been restricted to a Mesopotamian-oriented religious enclave or diaspora situation, which we do not know to have existed. On the other hand, the "Emar" tablet seems to be an indigenous product of magical literature, based upon but freely reorganizing and rewriting textual material of Mesopotamian origin into a new, and newly structured, set of spells. The arrangement of the written text on the tablet, as well as its sealing, are also features not otherwise known to me from Babylonia or Assyria, while the amulet shape of the tablet has good Mesopotamian parallels. I think this is exactly the type of document, hybrid in form and contents, that one can expect as the result of secondary assimilation of foreign (in this case: Mesopotamian) motifs into a local culture and its written output. This textual artifact could hardly have been used in the setting of a traditional Mesopotamian Lamaštu ritual but was presumably made for the magico-religious conditions of Emar at the time. It is also possible that there is still a lot of non-Mesopotamian material hidden in the passages of the text that I could not understand. I thus see "Emar" as an outstanding example of magico-religious transcultural amalgamation. As such, it could eventually play a major role in discussions of how Mesopotamian culture and religion influenced and changed the perception of indigenous rites and features of "peripheral" areas and vice versa.

Lamaštu Texts in the First Millennium B.C.

The Canonical Lamaštu Series

An Early Canonical Version in the 13th Century?

From the MB period to the beginning of the first millennium, we do not have independently dateable Lamaštu texts. The only possible exception might be VAT 10353, an excerpt tablet that, among other texts, contained a Lamaštu incantation accompanied by ritual instructions; it is used in the reconstruction of the series as exemplar *Ee*. This tablet, reportedly from Assur but in Babylonian script,[28] was originally classified by Heeßel as NB, a date that would pose no problems for the fact that it contains a major excerpt from the "Lam." Series (// "Lam. I" 44–61), covering an incantation and its appropriate ritual in a wording that exacly mirrors the SB version of the text. Heeßel, in a later private communication, informs me, however, that the vast majority of Babylonian tablets found in Assur should actually be dated to the MB era, probably comprising spoils from Tukulti-Ninurta's war against Babylon,[29] and that hardly any Babylonian tablets from Assur are safely dateable to the first

28. According to Nils Heeßel, to whom I owe detailed knowledge of the piece, its photograph numbers are M 2464–2465, but no excavation or Ass.-Photo numbers are given.

29. See the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, col. vi (text B, rev.), as translated in Foster 1993: 227 (cf. p. 209).

millennium. If our exemplar *Ee* were actually part of this booty from Babylon, as an MB excerpt from the series, especially one accompanied by ritual instructions that exactly duplicate the standardized later version, it would obviously presuppose the existence of this "canonical version" already in the 13th century in Babylonia. As long as there is no other evidence, primary or secondary, for such an early version of "Lam." with standardized incantations and rituals, I prefer to assume that our text *Ee* is actually NB (a date that is also easiest to reconcile with its ductus) and that it is either not from Assur but got numbered with the Assur material by mistake, or that we actually do have to accept the rare case of a stray NB tablet from this site.

Different Recensions in the First Millennium

When we can pick up the thread of Lamaštu incantations again in the first millennium, the text of 13 Lamaštu incantations and their rituals has been standardized throughout Assyria and Babylonia into a "canonical version," which, however, has come down to us in at least two different redactional recensions. Following the ancient designations of their sections, I have called one of them the "*pirsu* recension," and the other the "*ṭuppu* recension." For a detailed discussion of the differences between them, and their respective place in the history of the Lamaštu texts, see below. A schematic juxtaposition of these two recensions can be found in fig. 10, which I reproduce here with a few adjustments from Farber 2012b: 229 fig. 1.

While the two recensions contain exactly the same text for all the incantations and for most of the rituals, it should be noted that Rituals 7 and 8 differ slightly between them, which accounts for the different number of lines assigned to these sections in the table. It should also be noted that in both versions Rituals 2 and 6 consist of two parts each that are separated by a rubric line. I refer to these as Ritual 2a or 2b and Ritual 6a or 6b, respectively. The Ritual Tablet, which was of less interest in the context of the article mentioned above and therefore described only summarily, can be subdivided into five major sections, plus a short conclusion. The sections are:

(a) the "Dog Figurines Ritual" ("Lam. III" 1–28/29),
(b) the "Stones Ritual" ("Lam. III" 30–63),[30]
(c) the "Salves and Fumigations" ("Lam. III" 64–75),[31]
(d) the "Rubbing" ("Lam. III" 76–109),[32]
(e) the "7-Day Ritual" ("Lam. III" 110–35), and
(f) the "Epilogue" ("Lam. III" 136–38, but not completely preserved)

The ṭuppu *Recension (Assur and Babylonia)*

Probably the oldest of these various arrangements, at least as far as the existing exemplars are concerned, is what I call the "*ṭuppu* recension." Here the three main chapters of the compendium were named *ṭuppū* "tablets."[33] In this arrangement, Incs. 1–4, 6, and 8–13, each followed by their

30. See "Lam. III" 63: *šitta šipāti annâti . . . ina muḫḫi abnī tamannu*.
31. See "Lam. III" 68, 73, and 75 (*napšaltu* and *qutāru*).
32. See "Lam. III" 76: *enūma šerra tumašša'u*.
33. See the colophons of LKU 33 (= exemplar *n*) rev. 37: DUB 2[?].K[ÁM[?] . . .], and CBS 13939 (exemplar *b*) IV 20: [DUB 1[?].KÁ]M ÉN ^{d}DÌM.ME.MEŠ. Note, however, that the catch line in LKU 33 rev. 36 does not lead on to other Lamaštu material, so that it remains possible that the Lamaštu corpus was here intergrated into a larger series of which it occupied the first sections numbered as *ṭuppu* / DUB.

appropriate rituals, are assembled on one tablet, presumably *DUB.1.KÁM or "Tablet I," while what was probably "Tablet II"[34] contains Incs. 5 and 7. The only extant copy of this version in Assyrian script comes from Assur (exemplar m[35] in my edition; "Tablet II"). Babylonian copies that belong to this recension come from Babylon (exemplars *a*: "Tablet I"); Uruk (exemplar *n*: "Tablet II"); Sippar (exemplar *c*: "Tablet I"); and, of unknown provenience, from the Khabaza collection in Philadelphia (exemplar *b*: "Tablet I," but without the rituals).[36]

A ritual tablet, or "Tablet III," for the Lamaštu series must also have existed in Assur, probably in connection with the *ṭuppu* series, since it is listed in the list of magical texts from the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters."[37] This inventory, which had been known from excerpts for a long time, was recently published in full by Geller (2000: 266ff., "Text A"). Geller's copy shows that the tablet was probably jotted down hastily when the owner of the library needed to take temporary stock of his holdings. The right columns of both obverse and reverse (col. II and III, respectively) are much narrower than the left ones, and erasures and secondary markings abound. According to an indirect join, col. III ends with material not related to "Lam.", while immediately after this the Lamaštu texts in the library are listed (Geller 2000: 230, col. IV 1–2):

én ^{d}dìm.⟨me⟩ dumu an.na [. . . . . ?]
e-nu-ma né-pe-ši šá ^{d}dì[m.me *teppušu*]

These lines are followed by a blank space. They seem to refer to only two Lamaštu tablets, of which the first one could have started with Inc. 1, 2, 5, 10, or 13 and thus could have been either tablet I or II of the *ṭuppu* version. The second one is clearly the "Ritual Tablet." Since what remains of the line seems already to take up all the space otherwise allotted to col. IV, it is not easy to restore a reference to the other Lamaštu incantation tablet in the gap. But with the upper right-hand corner of the reverse of this tablet missing, and all the other unusual features of the text, I wonder whether the subdivision of the reverse into two columns (III and IV) actually started right at the top of the reverse or possibly only after the blank space? If this were the case, an entry for the missing tablet, or some abbreviated indication that there were two different tablets with the same catchline, could still be restored as the second half of the first line, especially since a similar restoration of at least a few signs would also be very helpful after the second line.[38]

34. Unfortunately, the number in LKU 33 rev. 37 can no longer be read with certainty. It could be either "2" or "3," but not "1." No other colophons preserving either number "1" or "2" for any of the *ṭuppū* that are known. It is therefore remotely possible that in this recension the Ritual Tablet actually occupied the first place (see below under "Ni/Si Recension"). In this case, what I call "Tablet I" and "Tablet II" of the *ṭuppu* recension would have to be renumbered as "Tablet II" and "Tablet III," with "Tablet I" designating the Ritual Tablet (= "Lam. III").

35. Nothing is known about the exact findspot or library context of this tablet, but the script makes a relatively early NA date probable.

36. This version is also demonstrably the one from which the "Lam." passages on the Babylonian school tablets *Sb* and *Sd* have been extracted; see Farber 2012b: 231.

37. VAT 13723+, from library N 4 (see Pedersén 1986: 49 and 66, no. 291).

38. Note, however, Geller's observation (2000: 227) that this "catalogue" does not always include all known tablets of a given canonical series but only seems to enumerate those physically present in the library at the time the inventory was taken. In this case, it thus seems even remotely possible that the entry of col. IV 1 could directly correspond to the Assur exemplar m of tablet II (in spite of the fact that neither of its two fragments has been recorded as excavated in the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters"), while tablet I was simply not represented in the library at that time.

pirsu recension	*ṭuppu* recension
1st *pirsu* 1: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na *šumša ištēn* (8+2 lines) 2: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . *ušāḫizki* (11+10+5 lines) 3: *ezzet ul ilat namurrat* (9+16 lines) 4: *labšat anqulla* (31+7 lines) 5: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . *elamâti* (119+14 lines) (232 lines)	1st? *ṭuppu* 1: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na *šumša ištēn* (8+2 lines) 2: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . *ušāḫizki* (11+10+5 lines) 3: *ezzet ul ilat namurrat* (9+16 lines) 4: *labšat anqulla* (31+7 lines) 6: *anamdi šipta lazzu milikki* (26+4+3 lines) 8: *ezzet šamrat . . . ultu api īlâmma* (28+6 lines) 9: *ezzet šamrat . . . ezzet barbarat* (9+1 lines) 10: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . ^{d}in.nin nir.gál (6+1 lines) 11: *mārat Ani ša šamê anāku* (15+1 lines) 12: *šurbât mārat Ani* (40+1 lines) 13: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . dumu.munus dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ (15+5 lines) (260 lines)
2nd *pirsu* 6: *anamdi šipta lazzu milikki* (26+4+3 lines) 7: *ezzet mārat Ani mu'ammilat la'ûti* (26+24 lines) 8: *ezzet šamrat . . . ultu api īlâmma* (28+7 lines) 9: *ezzet šamrat . . . ezzet barbarat* (9+1 lines) 10: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . ^{d}in.nin nir.gál (6+1 lines) 11: *mārat Ani ša šamê anāku* (15+1 lines) 12: *šurbât mārat Ani* (40+1 lines) 13: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . dumu.munus dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ (15+5 lines) (212 lines)	2nd? *ṭuppu* 5: ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na . . . *elamâti* (119+14 lines) 7: *ezzet mārat Ani mu'ammilat la'ûti* (26+18 lines) (177 lines)
3rd *pirsu* (Ritual Tablet) Incipit: *enūma nēpešu ša* ^{d}dìm.me *teppu*[*šu*] (line 1) a: "Dog Figurines Ritual" (28 lines) b: "Stones Ritual" (34 lines) c: "Salves and Fumigations" (12 lines) d: "Rubbing" (34 lines) e: "7-Day Ritual" (26 lines) f: "Epilogue" (3+ lines)	3rd (or 1st?) *ṭuppu* (Ritual Tablet) Incipit *enūma nēpeši ša* ^{d}dì[m.me *teppušu*] attested in library catalogue from Assur. Text *x* from Sippar(?) probably belongs to this version. Although it is easiest to assume that the sequence of text is identical with that of the *pirsu* recension, it is also possible that the Ritual Tablet occupied the first place in this recension, and that the *ṭuppū* would have to be re-numbered accordingly (see above, p. 18 n. 34).

Fig. 10. Schematic Overview of Contents and Sections in the Two Main Recensions of "Lam."

Of the individual exemplars which contain nothing but the text of the "Ritual Tablet," C_3 undoubtedly belongs to the "*pirsu* recension"[39] of the series (see below), because it forms a set with C_1 and C_2, which contain the first two *pirsū* of the series. Exemplar G, although according to the colophon[40] a tablet from the Nabû temple library in Nineveh, and not from Assurbanipal's palace, was also probably copied locally and thus stands a good chance to have belonged originally to the Ninevite *pirsū* recension. On the other hand, any of the Babylonian exemplars of the ritual tablet from Kuyunjik (*E*, *F*, *H*) could theoretically equally well be imports that originally belonged with a *ṭuppu* set, although in the list of sources I have listed all of them as the third *pirsu* of the "*pirsu* recension." I did this mainly because they were excavated in Nineveh, and it somehow seemed appropriate to keep them with the other Kuyunjik material. It should also be noted that the standardized ritual sequence in "Lam. III" 77–97, which makes use of all incantations in the order of their appearance in "Lam. I–II," follows the arrangement of the incantations as fixed in the *pirsu* version, and not that of the *ṭuppu* edition, and that none of the known Babylonian exemplars deviates from this standard text to reflect an earlier(?) order of incantations. While this could be seen as an indication that the "ritual tablet" was actually a secondary addition to the *pirsu* version that was composed after the new arrangement of the incantations had been fixed, it seems more likely that the rearrangement of the incantations into the *pirsu* sequence was itself the secondary development by which Assurbanipal's scribes adjusted the first and second *pirsu* to reflect the order of events in "Lam. III" 77–97 better (see below). The surprising number of three Babylonian exemplars of "Lam. III" found at Kuyunjik (*E*, *F*, *H*), while no Babylonian exemplars of "Lam. I" or "Lam. II" have been found there, also seems to speak in favor of this second alternative. Finally, there is still another copy of "Lam. III" in Babylonian script, possibly from Sippar (*x*), which can more easily be connected with the two copies of Tablet II of the *ṭuppu* redaction from Babylon and Sippar[41] in the British Museum (*a* and *c*) than with the Ninevite *pirsu* version. I therefore have listed this text as belonging to the *ṭuppu* recension.

The pirsu *Recension (Nineveh and Sultantepe)*

The version of "Lam. I–III" that remains the best attested and that has traditionally formed the basis of full or partial editions of "Lam.," including the one presented here, is the one found—and probably created—in Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh. Here the three main chapters of the text were called *pirsū* "sections" (see n. 39). "*pirsu* I" contained Incs. 1–5 with their rituals, while "*pirsu* II" covered Incs. 6–13 and the rituals to go with them. This is followed by the Ritual Tablet as "*pirsu* III." It may well be that one particular passage of the Ritual Tablet that made use of every single incantation in the series in a fixed sequence ("Lam. III" 77–97, see above) prompted Assurbanipal's practitioner-scholars to change the textual arrangement of the *recitanda* ("Lam. I" and "Lam. II") from that of the earlier *ṭuppu* recension to the new *pirsu* sequence, so that they could be used in this overarching ritual exactly in the sequence in which they were written down on *pirsu* I and *pirsu* II. Four sets of this newly-arranged Lamaštu compendium, all written in NA script, were found in the

39. For the designation of the sections of this version as *pirsū*, see the colophon of K 2423+ (exemplar C_2) IV 31: *2-ú pir-su* ^{d}DÌM.ME.[MEŠ].

40. See Hunger 1968: 106f. no 339.

41. For a possible, but strictly hypothetical, connection of this text to the library of Bēl-rēmanni in Sippar, cf. Farber 2012b: 233 with n. 29.

royal library. Two of them combine all three "sections" of "Lam." on one physical tablet of six columns (exemplars A and B); the other two spread the same text over three tablets comprising one *pirsu* each (exemplar sets C and D). While at least parts of all three *pirsū* of set C have survived ($C_{1–3}$, all with conspicuous firing holes), no remnants have yet been found of the third *pirsu* of set D, so that at this time we only have physical tablets D_1 and D_2. The texts of three of these four sets (A, $C_{1–3}$, and $D_{1–2}$) are virtually identical, to the point that there even are no scribal variants on the graphemic level. The writing is very clear and clean, in a perfect NA "library hand." This makes it very likely that they were copied from one master copy, probably within a short time of each other and maybe even by the same scribe. Five of the tablets (A, C_1, C_2, D_1, and D_2) show more or less extensive remnants of the standard colophon "Asb. c."[42] In C_3, the colophon is completely lost, but presumably it was also "Asb. c." The text of the remaining exemplar (B), as far as it is preserved, stays close to that of the other group but shows a different, less polished hand-writing with occasional textual and graphemic variants and even some mistakes. Theoretically, it could thus qualify as the original rough copy for the others, but this is obviously pure speculation, especially since no remnants of the colophon of this tablet have been identified yet.

Another copy of the Ritual Tablet in Assyrian script (exemplar G) can, through its colophon, be attributed to the Nabû temple library in Nineveh (see above, p. 20). It should also be noted that this exemplar, as far as it is preserved, is another variant-free, exact duplicate of the Kuyunjik tablets A and C_3 and may thus possibly represent still another copy of the "Lam." series prepared by Assurbanipal's scribes at the same time as the others, but for a different library.[43] In any case, I think it highly likely that it originally belonged to a set of tablets containing the 3-*pirsū* recension of Nineveh.

Whether the additional Babylonian copies of the Ritual Tablet that were found at Nineveh (exemplars *E*, *F*, and *H*) should be understood as also representing the new *pirsu* recension, or instead as original copies of the older *ṭuppu* recension, has been discussed above in more detail. Much speaks for the latter, but a definitive answer does not seem possible. On the other hand, I think it very likely that the one remaining duplicate of "Lam. III" (examplar *x*, from Sippar?) is actually part of an original *ṭuppu* set (see above).

Outside of Assurbanipal's library, the *pirsu* recension, as a late innovation, does not seem to have found wide distribution. The only non-Kuyunjik text that can be classified with a reasonable degree of certainty as belonging to this recension comes from Sultantepe, a library that was assembled and flourished during the time of the Sargonid Dynasty of Assyria[44] and that, in addition to its close connections to the older Assur libraries,[45] also shows strong ties with Nineveh and the most "modern" canonical versions from Aššurbanipal's library there.[46] The text in question is exemplar M = STT 143. Only the lower right corner of what must have been a large tablet survives. After traces of one line from the end of a ritual, the text duplicates "Lam. II" 84–104 (= Inc. 8), with the shift from the

42. See Hunger 1968: 97f., no. 319c.

43. That exemplar G might have been the missing ritual tablet of set D, and the latter therefore the missing *pirsū* 1–2 from the Nabû temple is, unfortunately, excluded by the different wordings of their colophons.

44. Pedersén 1998: 178–80.

45. See, for instance, Lambert 1959: 123–24.

46. Another good example for this is the series *Šurpu*, where the Sultantepe texts follow the tablet order of Nineveh, while exemplars from Assur and probably also Uruk show a different arrangement. See Farber 2012a: 330b.

obverse to the reverse between lines 92 and 93. This exactly mirrors the situation in exemplar A, where the shift from obverse to reverse, coinciding with the end of col. III and beginning of col. IV, also occurs between "Lam. II" 92 and 93 and is very closely paralleled by B (shift obverse–reverse between "Lam. II" 94 and 95). The traces of the preceding ritual could thus be restored according to "Lam. II" 83 (= end of Ritual 7, according to the text sequence of the *pirsu* recension), as I have done in my edition.[47] There is, however, also another possibility which requires a bit more juggling of the text, and which I therefore consider slightly less likely: if we assume that M followed the older *ṭuppu* recension, where Inc. 8 followed immediately after Ritual 6b, the damaged ritual line could also be understood as belonging to "Lam. II" 33 (= end of Ritual 6b).[48] We then could compare the textual distribution of M with the exemplars for Tablet I of the *ṭuppu* recension, where in *c* the shift from col. III (obv.) to col. IV (rev.) takes place between "Lam. III" 30 and 31, which would be exactly 12 lines earlier than in M. In *a*, the shift would be about 12 lines later than in M, and in *b* (which is different anyway, because it does not contain the text of the rituals), it would occur more than 18 lines earlier than in M. All of this may still be close enough to make the comparison somewhat plausible. But with the striking parallels in A and B, I believe it more likely that the STT text is the lower right corner of a 6-column tablet that, like the Kuyunjik exemplars A and B, originally contained all of "Lam. I–III," in the order of the *pirsu* recension, on one physical tablet.

"Ni/Si" and Possible Other Recensions

There is at least one tablet with canonical Lamaštu incantations, exemplar *α* = Ni 2675(+)Si 883,[49] on which the order of the preserved passages is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the text sequence known from tablets that belong to the *ṭuppu* or *pirsu* versions. The left column of these two fragments contains text from Inc. 5 ("Lam. I" 148–76), while the right col. has the end of Inc. 12, followed by Inc. 13 and its ritual instructions ("Lam. II" 163–210). To judge from their appearance and rather flat curvature, the two pieces should be parts of the reverse, which becomes even more likely through calculations based on the length of Incs. 5 and 12: if text *α* were part of the obverse, and if Inc. 5 were followed on this tablet immediately by Inc. 12 (the shortest possible arrangement), we would need to postulate a gap of more then 85 lines between the end of the left and the beginning of the right column, with a total column length of well over 110 lines. If, on the other hand, the fragments belong to the reverse, only less than 50 lines have to be inserted between the end of the right and the beginning of the left column, assuming that Inc. 5 started right after the end of Rit. 13, where the right column breaks off. The total column length would then be around 75 lines, this being the median textual distance between lines in the right and left columns of *α*. This could well fit a hypothetical multi-column library tablet in the sequence of the *ṭuppu* version, where Inc. 5 (= the beginning of the 2nd *ṭuppu*) immediately would have followed Ritual 13 (= the end of the first *ṭuppu*) and on which all of "Lam. I–III" would have been written down. Since in this case the transi-

47. Reading [. . . *ana tar-ṣ*]*i*[?] K[Á[?] TUŠ-*eb*]

48. Reading [. . . *ina* N]E[?] M[Ú[?]-*šú*]

49. When I saw the two fragments next to each other in Istanbul, it became absolutely clear to me that, in spite of their museum numbers, they are part of one tablet. Similar problems concerning Ni- and Si- numbers, where there is a likelihood that Si(ppar) texts actually come from Ni(ppur) or vice versa, have been noticed elsewhere: see, for instance, Civil 2011: 222 n. 5 for Si 277 (Nippur?); Borger 1973: 50 for Si 734(+)740 (Nippur?); and Sollberger 1967–68: 51 for the confirmed join of Si 3+Ni 1288 (Sippar).

tion from "1st *ṭuppu*" to "2nd *ṭuppu*" would have happened long after the midpoint of the tablet and deep into its reverse, one would furthermore have to assume that the text of this tablet (or version) actually started with the "Ritual Tablet"[50] before moving on to "1st *ṭuppu*" and "2nd *ṭuppu*." This, on the other hand, would contradict the evidence from the Assur catalogue VAT 13723+ rev. 1–2 (see above, p. 18), where the Ritual Tablet of what I assume is the *ṭuppu* recension of "Lam." is listed *after* at least one tablet of Lamaštu incantations. At the same time, another simple calculation shows that such a textual arrangement with ca. 73–75 lines per column would call for an 8-column tablet, to accommodate all ca. 580 lines of "Lam.", plus a colophon. Based on the size of the script (ca. 10 lines per 28 mm) and width of the columns (roughly estimated at ca. 45 mm), this would yield a big tablet of ca. 210 × 180 mm. As shown by the sketch in fig. 11, the remnants of exemplar *α* would then have to be placed very close to the top of cols. VI and VII, despite the fact that Si. 883 shows no traces of an upper-edge curvature. Such a reconstruction still seems possible, but in view of the inherent difficulties (unusual 8-col. size of tablet, no visible curvature, unexpected position of text of "Ritual Tablet"), I have kept this exemplar separate from the *ṭuppu* tablets and have tentatively called it the "Ni/Si recension."

Two other fragments[51] defy my attempts to place them within a known tablet order of "Lam.", exemplars *Ψ* = SpTU V 239, and *Ω* = K 10984. *Ψ* is a small fragment from the middle of a tablet, found in Uruk. After a break of unknown length, it starts as a duplicate of Inc. 11, which in the standard version ("Lam. II" 136–51) is never accompanied by a ritual. In this case, however, the last preserved line adds a fitting ritual instruction, which is culled from the overarching ritual passage in "Lam. III" 94. Unfortunately, there is nothing left of the text that preceded the incantation or followed the ritual line, so the broader context of the fragment remains unknown. This, I think, leaves two possibilities open: either the text is the remnant of still another local(?) version of the "Lam." series, or it is an excerpt text that combined a standard incantation from "Lam. II" with an appropriate excerpt from "Lam. III" (similar to, e.g., texts *Ea* and *Eb*) in a different, and unfortunately unreconstructable ritual context. If the latter is true, the fragment should actually have been listed under "Canonical Incantations Used in Other Ritual Contexts" and been given a siglum starting with "E" for "excerpt." In either case, the text adds another piece of evidence that the canonical text of "Lam. III" was also known in Uruk, but it does not do so in a way that lets me reconstruct the wider context of the fragment itself.

The other text, *Ω*, is a small piece from the upper edge of a Kuyunjik library tablet in Assyrian script with remnants of two columns, of which only the left one preserves readable text. The fragment could belong to col. I (obv.) or IV (rev.) of a two-column tablet or to either col. I, II, V, or VI of a three-column tablet. The three lines that have survived duplicate "Lam. III" 40–42, but the piece cannot be part of exemplars A, B, C_3, or H. The textual distribution also makes it virtually inconceivable that it could be the only remnant of a hypothetical tablet *D_3. On the other hand, it is quite possible that it comes from a tablet that does not as such belong to the "Lam." series but contained

50. The commonly quoted other example for such an arrangment of a magical series is Šurpu, where, however, the definition of LKA 91 as both "Tablet I" and "Ritual Tablet" (see Reiner 1958: "Introduction" and pp. 11f.) is highly questionable (see Farber 2012a: 330f.).

51. For a third one, STT 146, see the commentary to "Lam. II" 110–11. It is impossible to say whether this tiny fragment belonged to "Lam." at all, and if so, where it should be placed in any version of the series.

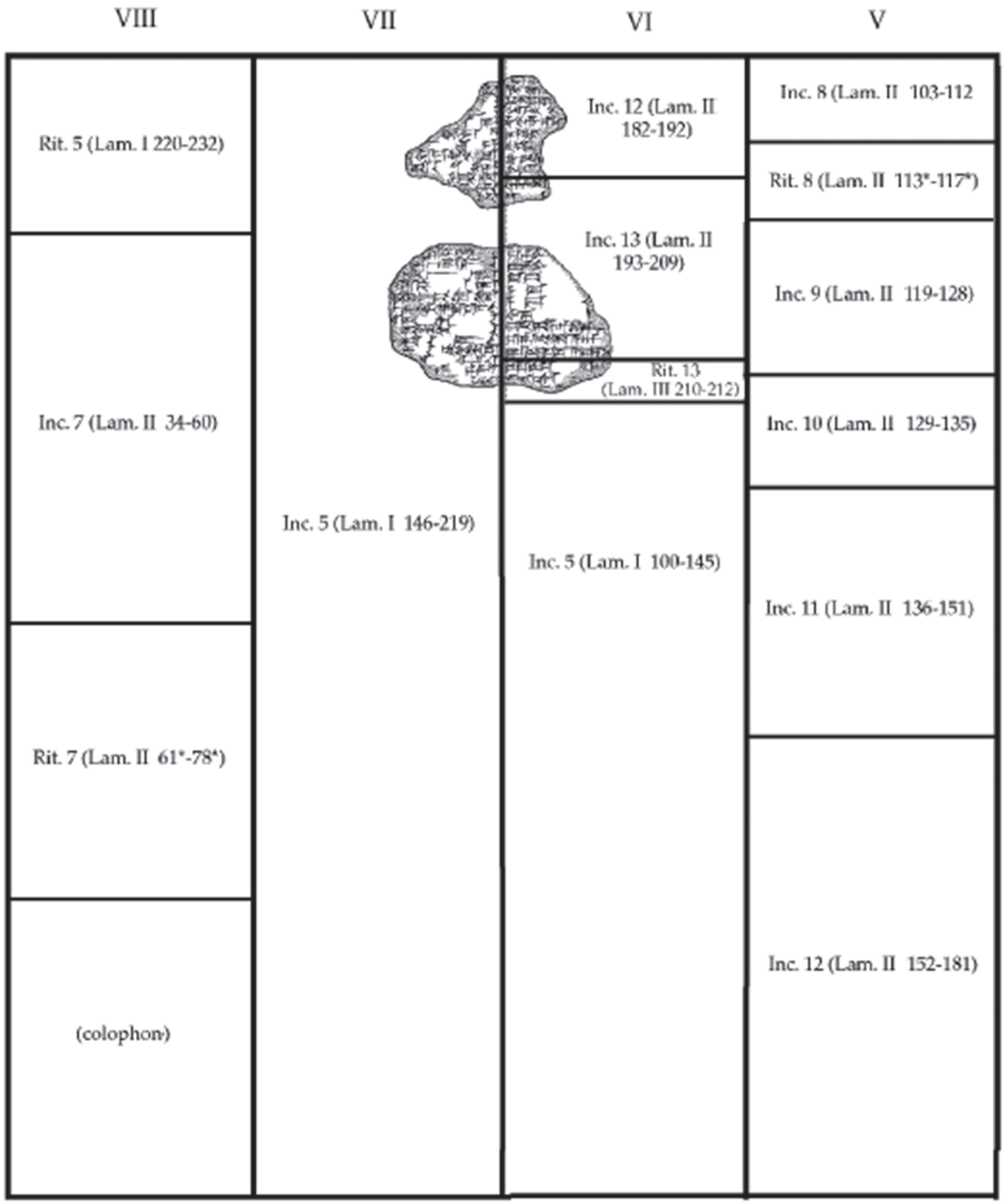


Fig. 11. Hypothetical reconstruction of the reverse of Ni/Si as belonging to the *ṭuppu* recension of "Lam.", which is probably not correct. This sketch assumes that slightly more than half of the text of "Lam." (ca. 300 lines, comprising all of "Lam. III," "Lam. I" 1–99, and "Lam. II" 1–33 + 84–107) would have been written on the obverse, to make space for a reasonably sized colophon in col. VIII.

excerpts from it like texts *Ea* or *Eb* (see below) or a parallel of the sort we also see in texts like "RC" or "FsL" in part II. If so, it should maybe have been listed and edited with those. Note, however, that the pertinent ritual passage between "Lam. III" 39 and 49 is not otherwise attested in such excerpts or parallel texts.

The Colophons of Tablets belonging to the "Lam." Series

Only a few "Lam." tablets preserve parts or all of their original colophons. These will be presented here in the sequence of their textual affiliation and sigla.

From Kuyunjik, exemplars A, C_1, C_2, D_1, and D_2 all show remnants of one of Assurbanipal's standard colophons, Hunger 1968: no. 319c, "Asb. c."[52] For exemplar C_3, we can assume the same. These are all "library copies" of the *pirsu* recension, from the royal palace. In exemplar B, also from the palace library, the colophon is completely lost. The same is the case with the Babylonian copies of "Lam. III" presumably found there (texts *E*, *F*, and *H*).

Exemplar G, another copy of "Lam. III," shows a different Assurbanipal colophon that refers to the Nabû temple (Hunger 1968: 106f. no. 339). I therefore assume that the text formed part of the temple library there.

Of the Babylonian tablets of Tablet I of the *ṭuppu* recension, the end of the tablet is preserved only in two copies. Of these, exemplar *a*, after the catch line to Tablet II (IV 33), in lieu of a colophon only has a damaged one-line note that may have read

34 [DUB.1.KÁ]M? É[N? dDÌM.ME.MEŠ] AL.TIL[53]

This can be compared to exemplar *b* IV 20ff., where we read:

20 [DUB.1?.KÁ]M ÉN dDÌM.ME.MEŠ NU[54] AL.TIL
21 [ki-ma] la-bi-ri-šu SAR-ma IGI.DÙ
22 [DUB x]x-ki?-NUMUN-šú A [S]ANGA dAK ù? dNISABA[55]

The last(?) line of the colophon, IV 23, is severely damaged and remains completely unintelligible to me.

Of the two exemplars for Tablet II, only text *n* (from Uruk) has remnants of just one line of colophon, which cannot be restored with certainty but may have read originally

DUB.2?(or 3?).K[ÁM ÉN dDÌM.ME.MEŠ . . . . .][56]

No other texts that belong to the "Lam." Series preserve any colophons. Colophons of other tablets containing Lamaštu material in different compendia have not been considered relevant to this study and have not been edited here.

52. For a transliteration and translation, see Hunger 1968: 97f. In view of the standard nature of the text, these colophons have not been copied by me.

53. A restoration [NU] AL.TIL might also be considered, since this tablet does not write out Inc. 6 but instead quotes it by incipit only (II 22). In addition, exemplar *a* does not include the ritual sections, which in the case of exemplar *b* may have lead to its description as "not complete" in the colophon (see next footnote).

54. Why the text of this tablet is described as "incomplete" I do not know for certain. It may reflect the fact that exemplar *b* does not write out the rituals, only the text of the incantations.

55. For colophons containing the statement *mār šangî (ša)* DN, see Hunger 1968: 175. The spelling A = *māru*, reminiscent of NB filiations, is also often attested in these phrases. Hunger does not, however, list any other attestations for a *šangû* of Nabû and/or Nisaba, the divine couple responsible for the scribal arts. Is this priestly title therefore only meant figuratively here, used by a devoted disciple who sees himself as a "High Priest of the Gods of Academia"?

56. See above, pp. 17–18 nn. 33–34.

Excerpt Texts and Adaptations of Passages from the Canonical Lam. Series

Canonical Incantations Used in Other Ritual Contexts

Lamaštu incantations and rituals were not always, and not exclusively, recited or performed in the settings prescribed by the "Lam." series. As a result, we have a number of texts that duplicate one or several sections of "Lam." but then integrate this passage into a different ritual setting. The situation is quite transparent in the two cases of exemplars *Ea* and *Eb*, with "E" standing for "excerpt." Here, we find Lamaštu incantations embedded in *qutāru* rituals. The incantations are literal duplicates to the text of the canonical series and thus were surely excerpted directly from there. While we do not know the exact situation in *Eb*,[57] the much better preserved 2-column tablet *Ea* allows us to see more of the story: here, four Lamaštu incantations—Incs. 2, 3, 7, and 6, in this sequence—are written out in full (I 29–II 28). The accompanying rituals from "Lam." are, however, omitted as unnecessary or unsuitable for the new ritual context, and instead, one new line (line 75 = II 29) is added: 4-TA ÉN.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ *ana* UGU KÙ.GI *šá* ^{d}DÌM.ME ŠID-*ma ina* IGI-*at* GIŠ.N[Á GAR-*an*] "These four incantations you recite over the fumigants for Lamaštu and [place] (the preparation) before the b[ed.]"[58] It is certainly no coincidence that Incs. 3 and 6 are already associated with fumigations in their setting in "Lam."[59] Why Inc. 2, which in "Lam. I" 32–36 accompanies an ointment, and Inc. 7, which in "Lam." belongs with the famous ritual of the dog figurines, have (secondarily?) also been incorporated into this *qutāru* compendium, I do not know.

In the baby ritual of text *Ec* (OECT 11, 57), the selection of Inc. 6 may at first seem a bit surprising. While the affinity between baby rituals and Lamaštu texts is well known and easily understandable, the secondary use of a Lamaštu excerpt taken directly from the canonical series in a baby ritual is not documented elsewhere. In all other cases known so far, the Lamaštu incantations used were culled from the independent traditions that coexisted with the canonical "Lam." series (see below, specifically texts "RA" and "SKS"). It should be noted, however, that in Inc. 6 lines 7–10 Lamaštu is seen as having already attacked the baby, and Asalluḫi is called upon literally to remove her from its body. This scene is vividly different from other instances where babies are mentioned mainly as potential victims, and it might well be that this particular nuance made Inc. 6 more suitable than others to the overall context of OECT 11, 57. As shown also by the *qutāru* texts, there was generally no restriction for the use of canonical "Lam." material outside its "original" ritual context, and the apparent preference for non-canonical Lamaštu incantations in baby rituals may thus be a pure coincidence.

With the lines following the text of Inc. 3 and Ritual 3 still unclear,[60] the ritual context of the fragmentary excerpt *Ee* cannot yet be reconstructed. Especially in view of the problems involving the

57. This text is a chunk out of the middle of a thick tablet that originally contained three columns on each side. Col. I is completely lost. The "Lam." excerpt, in this case Inc. 6, takes up all that is left of col. II, depriving us of the immediate context in which it stood. Col. III, as well as the three columns on the reverse, contain non-Lamaštu texts, to go with the overall purpose of the ritual to prepare *qutāru* fumigations. I. L. Finkel is planning to publish the complete texts of both *Ea* and *Eb*.

58. See Finkel 2000: 192 n. 38.

59. See "Lam. I" 60, "Lam. II" 31–33, and, combining these two passages, "Lam. III" 74–75.

60. According to Heeßel's copy and transliteration, they seem to be remnants of an unidentified Sumerian incantation that definitely does not belong to "Lam."

date of this piece (see above, pp. 16f.: "An Early Canonical Version in the 13th Century?"), it does not seem appropriate to speculate about *Ee*'s role for the use of "Lam." material outside the specific ritual purposes of the "Lam." series.

A very different—and quite interesting—situation is finally presented by the duplicate texts $Ed_{1–2}$. In this case, a complete incantation can be shown to be at the same time an integral part of two separate SB magical compendia, the Lamaštu corpus and the bilingual zi-pà-collection.[61] Although the spell is transmitted as Lamaštu Inc. 10 in a unilingual Sumerian version, the two extant duplicates of the pertinent section of §XXII of the zi-pà-collection add an Akkadian translation in a separate column, as is customary with texts of this series.[62] In a case such as this, to speak of "excerpting" texts from one corpus to the other is obviously too simplistic, although we do not know—and maybe never will know—the route the short spell took: did it first get incorporated into one compendium and was then, after being recognized as pertinent for the other as well, copied over? Or did it find its way independently into both, possibly from different sources and at different times? In our case, the question is even more complex, since by the first millennium the monolingual Sumerian version of this spell seems to have had a long history already, being inscribed on amulets that probably date back to at least MB times (see below), although it has not been found on clay tablets before the SB period. The Akkadian or bilingual version, on the other hand, does not seem to be attested anywhere outside of the zi-pà compendium, neither in the second nor in the first millennium, nor does it show up on amulets. This I see as a good indication that the Sumerian text found in "Lam." and on the amulets is actually more original than the one from $Ed_{1–2}$ and that—as somehow expected anyway—the Akkadian translation is but a late addition to the original version, probably added when the text was secondarily adapted to the format of zi-pà and incorporated into its second tablet.

School Tablets Containing Excerpts from the Lamaštu Series

A different type of excerption led to the existence of the exemplars edited under the sigla *Sa–Sf*, the "S" standing for "School Tablets." Here, the reason for the excerpt is generally not the adaptation of a given incantation to a different or new ritual context, although at a given curricular stage even an exercise of this sort might have been asked for.[63] Instead, these excerpts were made as scribal (and mnemotechnic?) exercises on different levels of the curriculum in what I see as a tripartite educational system. In addition to occasionally completing or clarifying the reconstruction of a given passage, these school tablets also show the place Lamaštu texts occupied in this educational system. I have outlined my views on the topic in a paper written in 2002.[64] I will therefore not repeat my arguments in detail but simply give a brief description of the texts involved and of their place in the "Lam." corpus.

According to the standard work by P. Gesche (2000), incantation texts, including Lamaštu texts, were not part of the first stage of education, which concentrated mainly on learning the basics of

61. See Borger 1969: 1ff. for a previous edition of the "Erste Teiltafel" of this series which on p. 12 also contains the Lamaštu incantation.

62. In spite of the fact that this Akkadian translation is thus not really a part of "Lam.", I have reedited the complete bilingual version of zi-pà §XXII as a parallel to Inc. 10.

63. For a possible example, see below, discussion of text "FsL."

64. Now published as Farber 2012b.

cuneiform script. They only appear in the curriculum of the second stage, when the scholars-to-be had not only to practice their writing skills but also to memorize the text corpora that in later praxis would mainly be needed for oral presentation. This included many incantations, prayers, and texts of similar genres. The excerpts we see on tablets from this stage therefore were probably often not copied from a teacher's original but instead written down by memory, and the reverse of such tablets was typically used for exercises based on lexical lists. Four of our texts, all of them from Babylonia, probably belong to this middle level of scribal education. A reasonably complete example of such an exercise is text *Sd*, which combines Lamaštu excerpts from Incs. 5, 7, and 12 with other magical and lexical texts in both Sumerian and Akkadian.[65] Similarly, *Sb* contains excerpts from three "Lam." incantations (5, 8, and 9) in the middle of a medley of longish Akkadian passages from other texts, but the text is altogether very atypical, and its place in the curriculum is therefore less clear.[66] *Sc* and *Se* are both too fragmentary to inform us about any other texts practiced on them. They contain one "Lam." excerpt each, from Inc. 7 on *Se* and from Inc. 5 on *Sc*.

The remaining four school tablets containing Lamaštu material are all from Bēl-rēmanni's archive[67] and thus presumably belong to the third level of scribal education, when the emphasis of learning lay on short but complete texts from a given area of specialization and showing a general familiarity with its genres. They have been published as such by Finkel (2000: 137–223). Two of them are catalogue-like lists of incipits, one (*Sf*) naming only Lamaštu incantations (Inc. 8–9 and 11–13) and the other quoting Inc. 7 among the beginning lines of other magical texts (Finkel 2000: 191f., no. 35 rev. 2′). Both of these probably were used to familiarize the student with the genre of incantations. A third text, *Sa*, is probably an example of the "short complete text" type, containing two complete short incantations from "Lam." (probably Inc. 10 on its obverse and Inc. 1 on its reverse). Finally, text "FsL" also belongs to this archive and thus is most probably a "school text." Although formally still covered by the definition of "short complete text," this exercise takes the matter one step further: here, the student was obviously asked to compose a new, abbreviated but workable ritual adaptation of a major passage from "Lam. III" 30–63. The result has reached a level of independence that prompted me to edit it as a separate non-canonical Lamaštu ritual (see below) rather than as the school exercise it actually is. Interestingly enough, the text composed by the student ended up being quite similar to "RC," which, judging from the tablet's shape, is probably neither a library text nor a school text but rather an ad hoc memorandum that was written down by an *āšipu* in preparation for a specific performance of a Lamaštu ritual similar to, or even identical with, "Lam. III" 30–63 (see below).

Excerpts and Adaptations from "Lam. III"

The process of excerption and adaptation I have just described for the school tablet "FsL" and the memorandum "RC" can also be observed in a few library texts that closely parallel certain passages from the Ritual Tablet of "Lam." and that therefore can also be used in the reconstruction of the text

65. See, in more detail, Farber 2012b: 230 fig. 2.

66. See Farber 2012b: 231 fig. 3. It is conceivable that this unusually big tablet in oblong, or "portrait" format is actually a product of the third tier of education, but it does not belong to the corpus of such texts from Bēl-rēmanni's archive (see below).

67. See the reconstruction of this dossier in Jursa 1999: 4–6, and Finkel 2000: 137ff.

of the series. In addition to this, these texts shed some interesting light on the growth and life-cycles of Akkadian rituals in general, but this aspect cannot be treated here in detail. All such excerpts presently known are parallels to sections b and c of the Ritual Tablet (see above, fig. 10, p. 19)—that is, the "Stones Ritual" ("Lam. III" 30–63) and the passage dealing with salves and fumigations ("Lam. III" 64–75). For those that parallel the "Stones Ritual," the reason for their selection is clearly that this section is very closely related to some baby rituals. All pertinent texts (see the list on p. 50, section 1.2.2.3., texts α, β, η, θ, Aa, *e*, and STT 273) have already been utilized in my edition of the baby corpus,[68] and are therefore not reedited here. Note also that §16 of the "Baby Compendium" (1989: 68–73), texts Aa and e, designates one of the two mumbo-jumbo spells of this passage specifically as KA.INIM.MA *mimma lemnu ana ṣeḫri lā* [*ṭeḫê*] *u La*[*maštu nasāḫi*], "Spell to make sure that nothing evil gets close to the baby, and to remove Lamaštu."[69]

A virtually complete parallel to the *napšaltu* passage from "Lam. III" 64–73, including the list of relevant Lamaštu incantations, is found on a tablet from Sultantepe that collects prescriptions for salves and fumigations. Again, the proximity to baby rituals seems to have been the crucial factor for the excerpt, since the purpose of this section is stated here in IV 15 as LÚ.TUR! EŠ TI = *ṣeḫra tapaššaš iballuṭ* "you apply the ointment to the baby, and it will get well." Note also that the Lamaštu incantations are listed in a different sequence, and a fourth one not included in "Lam. III" 69–72 is added, so that we now have incipits of Incs. 6, 2?, 8 or 9, and 3, instead of 2, 3, and 6, as in the canonical text of "Lam. III." A close parallel to this excerpt is offered by a Babylonian compendium to be published by I. L. Finkel and used here as "*Rb*," BM 43897+. Here, the passage with the ingredients for the salve ("Lam. III" 64–68) has been left out, while the instructions about the *recitanda* in "Lam. III" 69–73 and the short *qutāru* prescription of "Lam. III" 74–75 have been excerpted more or less literally but in reverse order, in lines 32′–35′. The *qutāru* recipe alone ("Lam. III" 74–75) is finally also included in "Rc" = BAM 183, 16–19,[70] a text that compiles short magico-medical prescriptions of different kinds and adds an inventory of stones at hand or needed for particular purposes.

Lamaštu Amulets

Lamaštu amulets deserve their own place in a history of the Lamaštu textual corpus since they combine magical, artistic, and literary traits in a group of artifacts that existed parallel to, but not necessarily in close contact with, the popular spells of earlier times and the canonical or non-canonical incantations of the first millennium. Their chronological order has to be established independently, by methods largely outside the reach of the philologist, and their philological value is often more dependent on the level of "literacy" the individual stone-cutters had achieved rather than on the observation of grammatical, lexical, or other philological details in a synchronic or diachronic comparison.

68. See Farber 1989: 68–73. See now also, with a few additional duplicates, Schuster-Brandis 2008: 145 "Kette 142" and "Kette 143."

69. Still another ritual text involving "10 Lamaštu stones" and the recitation of the Sumerian incantation ÉN an ba.gul ki ba.gul (also mentioned in the excerpt of text b) is attested in STT 275 II 8′–20′ (see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 146), but this one does not seem to have any recognizable connection to the "Lam." series.

70. According to Köcher (1963: p. xx), this exemplar could also be a school tablet. In my opinion, the tabulation of the numbers of needed stones for all kinds of magical purposes (lines 23–40, including two entries for ^{d}DÌM.ME in 23 and 38) speaks more in favor af an ad hoc memorandum of the kind we also see in text "RC." Schuster-Brandis (2008: 21 n. 80) calls it a "Steininventar."

Although a comprehensive and definitive study of the Lamaštu amulets from an archaeological and art-historical point of view is still a desideratum, a well-documented overview of the stylistic and textual development of Lamaštu amulets from the OB through the NB periods has been given by Wiggermann (2000: 219–24). This has been recently supplemented by Götting (2011), while the more extensive study on the subject by the same author (Götting 2009) unfortunately remains unpublished and will therefore not be quoted here in detail. Götting uses all the published Lamaštu amulets that had already been numbered 1–85 (see most recently Wiggermann 2000: 219 n. 11), plus two new pieces from Çatal Höyük and Poggio Civitate (Italy), to which she assigned the numbers 86 and 87, respectively. In her M.A. thesis (2009), she also uses three additional amulets, one from the Martin Schøyen collection, Oslo (MS 2779), one from the collection Moussaieff (no number), and one from an auction catalogue (Christie's 2000: 100 no. 203; genuine?). Although a photo of the obverse of the Schøyen piece is accessible on a nonscholarly internet page[71] and the third one is technically published in the auction catalogue, no numbers have been assigned to these three amulets yet, pending the publication of the thesis.

In addition to these previously published pieces, I can present new photos of Lam. amulet no. 60 (fig. 13, courtesy W. Röllig), no. 67 (fig. 21, courtesy W. G. Lambert), and no. 71 (fig. 17, courtesy E. Bleibtreu), as well as photos of another nine hitherto unpublished Lamaštu amulets, which now can be assigned the numbers 88 through 96. Nos. 90–96 are shown on pls. 90–91 at original size. Because of the small size of many of them, I have also included enlarged photos as text figures at the places indicated below:

88: BM 132520 (see fig. 2 [p. 4, obv.] and pl. 65 [obv. and rev.]), photos courtesy British Museum.
89: IM 67882 (see fig. 4 [p. 5, obv.] and pl. 82 [obv. and rev.]), photos courtesy R. D. Biggs.
90: IM 19817 (see fig. 19 [p. 194] and pl. 90), photos courtesy R. D. Biggs.
91: IM 50053 (see fig. 20 [p. 195] and pl. 90), photos courtesy R. D. Biggs.
92: IM 22127 (see fig. 15 [p. 41] and pl. 90), photos courtesy R. D. Biggs.
93: IM 22128 (see fig. 16 [p. 41] and pl. 90), photos courtesy R. D. Biggs.
94: Antiquities market Teheran (see fig. 3 [p. 5] and pl. 90), photos (1982) courtesy P. Calmeyer.
95: Private collection, Chicago[72] (see fig. 22 [p. 338] and pl. 91), photos by A. Ressman (Oriental Institute).
96: AOST[73] 124 (see fig. 23 [p. 342] and pl. 91), photos courtesy K. Volk.

Since I do not know whether the amulet from a private collection in Japan, transliterated as "An" below, shows a Lamaštu scene, I refrain from assigning the piece a "Lam. Amulet" number. I also do not assign a number to the amulet-shaped tablet from Meskene mentioned by Wiggermann (2000: 219 n. 11) and now fully edited below as text "Emar."

Wiggermann arranges the pieces into four chronologically and geographically separable groups. Götting's classification into three main groups, with some distinctive sub-groups for each of them, is somewhat similar (see already above, pp. 3–4). Both classifications are based directly on the scene depicted on any given amulet. For the textual record, amulets bearing versions of "Lam." Inc.

71. http://www.schoyencollection.com/magical.html (last visited 08-20-2012), no. MS2779.
72. Formerly collection Yondorf, purchased by M. Yondorf around 1938.
73. Collection of the Altorientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen (Germany), formerly private collection Meinecke (since ca. 1950).



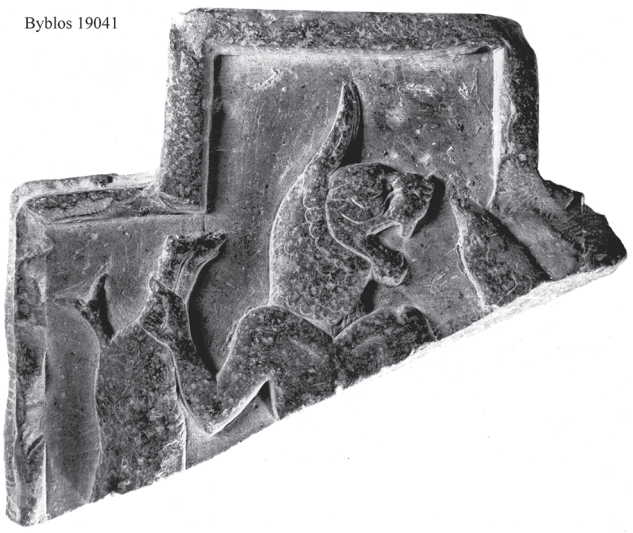


Fig. 13 (above). Lam. amulet no. 60 obverse (see Dossin 1969; new photo, courtesy W. Röllig). For the inscription on the reverse, see pl. 83.

Fig. 12 (left). Lam. amulet no. 77 (see Farber 1997: 122; new photo courtesy S. Moussaieff). For the inscription on the reverse, see pl. 64.

10 are generally older than those inscribed with "Lam." Inc. 1. It is only in the later periods that we also occasionally encounter other Lamaštu spells like "Lam." Incs. 7 and 8 on amulets. Wiggermann's groups are the following:

Group A (roughly corresponding to Götting's "Typ I.1–4") pieces are usually of OB to MB date and stem mostly from Babylonia, with at least three exemplars also from Assyria. Lamaštu does not hold paraphernalia in her hands, and her picture is usually only lightly incised. She is shown standing, in a threatening posture, with pronounced, large claws and the head of either a lion or a bird of prey (for a few examples, see figs. 2, 3, 15, 17, and 19–22). The only recognizable Lamaštu incantation found on amulets of this group is "Lam." Inc. 10 (Lam. amulets no. 18, 67 [see fig. 21], and 70F, used in this edition as exemplars "Ak"–"Am"). Other Group A amulets show truncated versions of this or a similar spell (see, for instance, the amulets shown in figs. 3 and 22) or only a pseudo-inscription (figs. 15, 17, and 19–20). They remain outside the scope of this text edition.

Group B (roughly corresponding to Götting's "Typ II.1–3"), presently known only from Assyria, is probably a bit more recent than Group A; according to Götting (2011: 444), the earliest

examples date to the MA period. These amulets are more elaborately sculpted, and Lamaštu now always has a lion's head and holds a comb and a spindle in her hands (for an example, see fig. 6). The text situation is roughly the same as with group A, but until now, no usable duplicates of "Lam." Inc. 10 on a group B amulet have been found—only truncated versions that I have not included in my text edition.

Wiggermann's *Groups C and D* comprise the NA and NB pieces, some of which have formerly been called the "elaborate Assyrian type." Götting subsumes both groups under her "Typ III.1–3." Lamaštu, again regularly with a lion's head, is now shown with snakes in both hands, standing or crouching on an equid, which itself often stands in a boat. A dog and a pig are usually shown suckling at her breasts (for examples, see figs. 1, 4, 12, 14, 16, and 18). As a variant, she can also be depicted as holding the pig and dog in her hands (see, for example, figs. 13 and 23). This central motif is often expanded into a vividly landscaped scene populated by fish, scorpions, and centipedes, while pictures of paraphernalia that are used to bribe her into leaving fill the empty spaces of the composition. Since these amulets belong to the same general period and share the same selection of texts (mostly Inc. 1, but also 7 and 8), for our purpose they also can be treated together. Pieces that duplicate "Lam." Inc. 1 are Lam. amulets nos. 5 (Bab., here used as exemplar "Ab_1"), with an unpublished duplicate "Ab_2" that shows the same variant version of the incantation; 6 (Bab., used here as "Ac"); and 61 (Bab., used here as "Ad"). To these published exemplars, the unpubl. pieces "Ad," "Ae," "Af," and "Ag" (all Assyr.) can now be added.

Special mention needs to be made of text "Aa," an alabaster tablet that contains several incantations. These include parts of the Ḫulbazizi series and "Lam." Incs. 2 + 1, in this sequence. The purpose of this artifact is not quite clear, since it does not show any features otherwise regularly associated with amulets (shape, pictorial representations, etc.). Because of its shallow inscription and heavy wear of the soft material, and because I. L. Finkel is planning to publish the piece fully in his edition of the Ḫulbazizi texts, I have refrained from copying it myself, but a photo can be found on pl. 81. Lacking a better category, I have designated it "Aa" and edited it as an amulet.

Two other amulets merit special mention as well. They are both of excellent workmanship and date to the NA/NB period. One of them surfaced on the art market (text "Ah," Babylonian script) and the other was found in Byblos (text "Ai," Assyrian script). Each of them bears the text of an incantation that otherwise had not yet been attested on amulets: "Lam." Inc. 7 on text "Ah," and "Lam." Inc. 8 on text "Ai." As another very unusual feature, both start with colophon-like introductions or owners' statements.

The "colophon" of the Byblos piece, "Ai," allows us a rather exact dating of the piece. It reads:[74]

1 *šá* $^{\text{I}}$DINGIR-*i*[*t-t*]*i*$^{\text{?}}$-*i*[*a*]
2 LÚ.SAG *šá* $^{\text{Id}}$UTU-*ši-*$^{\text{d}}$IM
3 MAN KUR *aš-šur*$^{\text{ki}}$ GAR KUR URU.BAL.TIL
4 *a-na na-ṣar* ZI-*šú*

74. After Dossin's publication (1969), the reading was significantly improved by Nougayrol (1971: 174). The identification of the owner is due to E. Reiner and J. A. Brinkman (see Brinkman 1973: 46; and cf. Baker 2000: 530 s.v. Ilu-ittīja).

5 NAM.ERÍM *a-na* SU$^{?}$*-šú* NU TE-*e*
6 [^{d}D]ÌM.ME ^{d}DÌM.ME.A ^{d}DÌM.ME.ḪAB
7 [*a-n*]*a* ^{I}DINGIR-*it-ti-ia* DUMU DINGIR-*šú* NU TE NU DIM_4
8 [zi a]n.na ḫé.pàd zi ki.a ḫé.pàd

Belonging to Ilu-ittija, *ša-rēši* official of King Šamšī-Adad of Assyria, governor of Assur: In order to safeguard his life, to avoid that a curse gets to him, (and) to avoid that Lamaštu, Labāṣu (or) Aḫḫāzu come near (or) draw close to Ilu-ittija, the protegé of his god, may the life of heaven be invoked, may the life of earth be invoked!

Ilu-ittija was a *ša-rēši* who served as eponym in 804. He was also governor of Assur under Šamšī-Adad V and Adad-nērārī III and may have been involved in the latter's military engagement in Syria. He might thus personally have taken along his own Lamaštu amulet to Byblos, the city where it eventually resurfaced almost three millennia later. In spite of its find-spot, it therefore should be seen as a true Assyrian artifact, and neither its slightly unusual relief nor the unusual selection of the text should be blamed (or credited) on its "Western" or "provincial" provenience.

The date and ownership of "Ah" is not as transparent. The "colophon" of this piece reads:

1 DUB$^{?!}$ *šá* ^{Id}*a-nu-*I$^{?}$ ME ŠÚ A ^{I}*ina-*SÙḪ-ŠUR
2 *šá* TÙM$^{?!}$*-šú* NU GUR ^{d}PA ZÀḪ*-šú*
3 *liq-bi*$^{!}$

Tablet[75] belonging to Anu-naʾid$^{?}$, the . . . . . , son of Ina-tēšê-eṭir. Whoever takes it along(?)[76] (but) does not return (it), may Nabû order his ruin![77]

Of the two names mentioned in line 1, only one (Ina-tēšê-eṭir) is safely readable. This is a relatively common name, especially in Uruk and its surroundings.[78] The name of his son, and thus the owner (or, less likely, maker?) of the amulet, is still unclear. The signs seem to be ^{d}*a-nu-*I$^{?}$(-)ME(-)ŠÚ, but it remains uncertain whether the name ends with the sign I (*Anu-naʾid$^{?}$), in which case ME.ŠÚ would have to be some appositional noun or professional title. If not, ME.ŠÚ should still be part of the PN, but I am at a loss to find a suitable NB name. In any case, these three lines, which are found on the obverse of the amulet just beneath the traditional Lamaštu scene, are written very badly, with several signs obviously misunderstood by the carver. In contrast, the text of the incantation, which starts on the lower edge and continues down the reverse all the way to the back and top of the handle, is written much cleaner and lacks major scribal mistakes. But it also has one rather curious feature: it breaks off suddenly in the middle of "Lam. III" 53, right on the top of the handle, just before the text would have become visible from the obverse, and leaves out the remaining six-and-one-half

75. No better reading than a defective DUB comes to mind in this context.

76. This reading, proposed by F. Wiggermann (2000: 241 n. 179), makes much more sense than my original suggestion (Farber 1997: 119) but is very hard to reconcile with the wedges on the amulet. If this "colophon" has, as I assume, been copied from a clay tablet, I see no reason for Wiggermann's further assumption that the verb *itabbalu* "carries away" refers to "loaning out" this amulet for the performance of a Lamaštu ritual on private order.

77. If the readings are correct, this "colophon" closely parallels lines 3–4 of no. 424 in Hunger 1968: 124, which unfortunately is also unprovenienced.

78. See, for instance, J. A. Brinkman in Baker 2000: 530.

lines of Inc. 7. The carver thus avoided having an upside-down inscription visible at the top of the amulet. If not purely coincidental, the spot for the break in the text is well selected, since it comes right after the end of the "narrative" part of the incantation and before the conventional *nīš xx* and zi-pàd invocations that bring it to an end. This might indicate that the carver fully understood the text he was writing. Another question is: from what kind of original was this text copied onto our piece? The "colophon" looks like it might be an ad hoc copy of a clay tablet written in cursive NB script, made by a stone carver not familiar with this type of text. On the other hand, the much-better-written incantation text would presuppose an original that was easier for him to read, maybe already in monumental script on stone. With no other amulet known that is inscribed with this same incantation (Inc. 7), this conclusion remains, however, purely hypothetical.

Finally, three amulets that bear Lamaštu inscriptions that are not part of the canonical "Lam." series should be mentioned. One of them is unfortunately only a modern forger's copy of a lost original. Although the reconstructed text of this artifact has been edited, as far as feasible, as duplicate d of the non-canonical text "RA," the legitimate use of this text is limited to the fact that it testifies (or at least seems to testify) to the existence of a fragment of an original amulet, now lost, that bore this inscription.

The second one is a little clay barrel cylinder found in a late grave at Ugarit, RS 25.457, which I have mentioned already above (p. 8) and which duplicates part of text "STT 144" (see below, p. 37). Since it does not have any relationship to the carved stone amulets used against Lamaštu and since its date and origin are obscure, it also cannot be assigned a place in the history of such artifacts.

The third one is the curious amulet tablet from Meskene that is edited separately as "Emar." Again, I refer the reader back to my lengthy description of this piece (above, pp. 14–16).

Other Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals

In addition to the canonical "Lam." series, twelve SB texts with Lamaštu incantations and rituals that were not included in the canonical set have been identified to date. They are all edited in Part II of this book. Seven of the texts contain non-canonical incantations specifically directed against Lamaštu, in a variety of ritual settings. The other five are rituals that either mention Lamaštu but do not require the use of specific Lamaštu incantations or contain ritual matter so specifically tied to the Lamaštu corpus that their inclusion in this edition seemed warranted.

Non-Canonical Lamaštu Incantations in a Variety of Ritual Settings

"ND": Another SB Connection to the Middle Babylonian Compendium "Ug"

Four of these texts have come down to us in more than one exemplar. For the textual history of Lamaštu texts, perhaps the most interesting of these is "ND." Two versions of the incantation edited under this text name have survived: an SB version in NA script from Nimrud published as CTN 4, 104, which also includes ritual instructions; and an MB version without ritual from Ugarit that forms part of the big Lamaštu compendium "Ug," col. III.[79] The textual interdependency between both

79. For a more detailed discussion of "Ug," see above, pp. 9ff. and figs. 7–8.

versions is very similar to what can be observed in the relationship between "Ug" and the canonical "Lam." series, with "Ug" virtually duplicating some lines, preserving recognizable parallels to others, and deviating considerably from the later version in about 25% of the text. The very broken state of the version from Nimrud as represented by exemplar ND (only the right half of the tablet has survived) makes the comparison, however, much more difficult and less fruitful than for the passages from "Ug" with parallels in "Lam. I–II" (see above, pp. 9ff.).

"SKS": Assyrian Influence in Uruk?

Another non-canonical SB Lamaštu text with several duplicates is "SKS." This incantation was fully edited, together with its ritual, in Farber 1989a (= SKS) §34. Since the ritual is specifically geared to help an ailing baby, only the incantation is repeated here in the context of Lamaštu texts. While one exemplar (e = LKU 32) comes from Uruk, the other two (k and l = SKS pls. 12–13) were both found in the NA library of the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters."[80] The Uruk "version" has a slightly longer and in some places different text than the two Assur tablets, which are almost exact duplicates. More interestingly, the Uruk text also shows several Assyrianisms not present in the Assur "version," which may prompt some speculations about their redactional and transmissional history, without allowing me any final conclusions.

"RA": A Multi-Use Lamaštu Incantation

The most famous non-canonical Lamaštu incantation is the one first published by Thureau-Dangin (RA 18, 163: rev. 13–29) and reedited here under the name "RA." Two of the duplicates known today (a and b) come from ritual texts from Uruk, one (c) is of unknown provenience,[81] and one is the modern copy of a lost ancient amulet, obviously also of unknown origin (d). Although the latter cannot be used for the history and context of this incantation,[82] exemplars a versus b and c show this spell in two different surroundings. In a, an LB ritual tablet from Uruk, it forms an appendix to rites to be performed for the benefit of a pregnant women; these rites extend over a period of more than four months (cf. rev. 9 and 12). The compendium is credited to an original from Babylon (obv. 11). The ritual uses several incantations, including a short Sumerian spell (obv. 15), an Akkadian incantation of the genre $uš_{11}$.búr.ru.da (obv. 16–25), and two spells that are only given by their titles (obv. 26–27). The second of these, obv. 27, may actually be another unknown Lamaštu spell, judging from its incipit [É]N *ez-ze-ta ša-am-ma-rat dan-na-a*[*t . . . . .],*[83] while the following one-line ritual (obv. 28) seems to refer to a bronze Pazuzu statuette. The *agenda* on this tablet also make use of wools and stones in a way reminiscent of "Lam. III" 30–56, "RC," and "FsL" but are altogether not close enough to the Lamaštu corpus to warrant inclusion here.[84]

80. See Pedersén 1985: 41ff: N 4 nos. 24 and 247.

81. BM 42327+, prov. unknown. The tablet has been accessioned under the date of 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites; see Finkel 2000: 137.

82. The fact that the text had been written on an amulet that, if we had its original, would be the only one to bear this particular incantation is, however, noteworthy.

83. For a categorization of this incipit as "Lamaštu inc.," see, for instance, CAD Š/I 314b.

84. Note, however, that the word **ḫuppu*, which otherwise has not been found yet outside the Lamaštu corpus (see commentary to "Lam. III" 3), is also used in "RA" obv. 11.

In exemplar b (SpTU 3, 84, also LB and from Uruk), a collection of rituals not quite adequately described by its first editor, E. von Weiher, as "Beschwörungsritual gegen Lamaštu," the incantation is found in the fifth of six sections, all of which seem to be designed to safeguard families from the loss of their children.[85] Most of these sections probably started with a description of "symptoms" introduced by *šumma* "if" (lines 1, 17, 24, 37, and 79). The first section (1–16) seeks to prevent stillbirth for a woman who already had experienced one failed pregnancy and includes a ritual involving a Lamaštu figurine. It has been reedited in Part II under the name "SpTU." The second section (17–23) deals with a man "who is struck by the catastrophe that his sons have died."[86] This is followed by a section (24–36 // LKA 142, 1–18) dealing with extra protection for a surviving son: "[In the case of a child] whom his (i.e., probably the father's) misfortune passed by: to avoid evil to approach (him), (or) anything bad to get close (to him)."[87] Section four (37–55) seeks to provide protection for the stricken family: "[In the case of a man] whose sons keep dying, are often ill," (etc.).[88] After this, there follows section five (56–78), with the Lamaštu incantation, which is a duplicate of the baby ritual I edited previously in Farber 1989a (= SKS) §§39a and 40.[89] This is the only section that is not separated from the following one by a double line, but the subdivision is obvious on thematic grounds. The *Sammeltafel* ends (79–100) with still another ritual against death or excessive illnesses among one's children: "[In the case of a man] whose children die [through ac]tions of Gula, of Lamaštu, of adversity, or of oath/curse, [or . . . . . .], or are often ill: to save his children."[90] Although she is mentioned with the causes of death and illness in the protasis, this ritual does not specifically address Lamaštu and is therefore also not edited here.

Exemplar c (SKS pls. 14–15, of unknown provenience) duplicates section 5 of SpTU 3, 84 (see above)—that is, the Lamaštu incantation *ezzet šamrat* embedded in a baby ritual, but this time on a separate single-column tablet. The text of lines 1–13 was edited under the siglum o in Farber 1989a (= SKS) §§39a and 40, while the Lamaštu incantation was "saved" for the current edition. The colophon of this tablet (lines 40–41) is also of interest, with what seem to be two different catch-lines starting with DIŠ MUNUS.PEŠ$_4$ [. . .], and DIŠ NA [. . .], respectively. Whether this might be seen as an indication that the ancient copyist used two different sources, which showed this ritual in two different textual settings, I do not know.[91] Another duplicate to the baby ritual (edited in SKS under the siglum p) only quotes the Lamaštu incantation, without writing out the complete text.

85. See Farber 1985: 224ff.

86. 17: [*šumma*] *amēlu miḫrī maḫir mārūšu imtūtū*.

87. 24: [*šumma ṣeḫru*] *miḫiršu ītetiqšu ana lumni lā ṭeḫê mimma lemnu lā sanāqi*.

88. 37: [*šumma amēlu*] *mārūšu imtanuttū lū murṣānūšu ma'dū*, etc. Although, in line 41, Lamaštu is mentioned as the recipient of some kind of offering, the rest of the ritual is not related to her. Similarly, the mention of a "singly growing tamarisk" in the accompanying spell (44–46) does not seem to be related to the similar phrases in "Lam. II" 47 and 146; see Farber 1989b: 228 n. 18.

89. At the end of line 57, there is still a trace of É[N] visible.— For a few readings in lines 58, 60, and 61 that can be improved, cf. the transliterations of the duplicates in Farber 1989a: 112–14.

90. 79f.: [*šumma amēlu ina q*]*āt Gula qāt Lamaštu qāt miḫri lu ina qāt māmīti* [. . . . .] *mārū*⟨*šu*⟩ *imuttū lū murṣānūšu ma'dū mārīšu* ⟨*ana*⟩ *eṭēri*.

91. Cf. already Farber 1989a: 26.

"STT 144," "STT 145," and "FsB": More Non-Canonical Lamaštu Texts from NA Libraries

The text edited here as "STT 144" is preserved on the reverse of the lower part of a relatively small tablet from Sultantepe, written by a mediocre scribe.[92] The three incantations on the obverse are still unidentified.[93] The two Lamaštu spells in rev. 1–4 and 5–11 are both in Sumerian but do not show affinities with the other Sumerian spells from canonical "Lam." (Incs. 10 and 11). The following short ritual (12–14) also does not seem to be related to other known Lamaštu rituals. The main interest of the text, however, comes again from Ugarit, where, in a Persian grave, a small amulet in the shape of a barrel cylinder (RS 25.457, exemplar b) has been found, containing a duplicate of lines 1–4. Unfortunately, this grave and its other contents have not yet been published, as far as I know, nor do I have access to a photograph of the amulet.[94] I therefore cannot say with any degree of certainty whether it was written in this late period or is a stray from an earlier period that somehow made its way into the grave when it was dug. If it actually dates from the Persian period, it constitutes the latest textual evidence for the writing down and actual use of any Lamaštu text outside of Babylonia.

Another Sultantepe tablet that contains but is not completely devoted to Lamaštu is "STT 145." A fragmentary non-canonical Lamaštu incantation fills the lower part of the obverse(?) and is preceded by a ritual. Judging mainly from the two types of shoes mentioned in line 3′, which together show up several times in Lamaštu texts, this ritual is probably also addressed to Lamaštu. The reverse(?) contains unrelated ritual instructions and an incantation to Šamaš. The text is altogether too broken to be of much use for the history of Lamaštu rituals, other than that it constitutes evidence for still another non-canonical incantation being copied and transmitted in NA times, in this case in a provincial library that seems to have had close ties to the scholarly activities in Nineveh.

Excavated in Nineveh, text "FsB" stands as the only witness to the survival of non-canonical Lamaštu incantations in Assurbanipal's library itself. Interestingly, the tablet was copied already in antiquity from a very damaged original, as shown by the frequent glosses *ḫepi* "broken." The text makes liberal use of phraseology reminiscent of the canonical "Lam." series without literally duplicating a single line from it. No duplicates or other secondary source material to enhance our understanding of it has come to light yet.

Non-Canonical Rituals With Ties to the Lamaštu Corpus

The two first texts to be mentioned here ("RC" and "FsL") have already been described above with other excerpts and adaptations from "Lam. III." Of these, "RC" is a pillow-shaped NA tablet that was probably written down in preparation for a specific performance of a Lamaštu ritual similar to, or even identical with, "Lam. III" 30–63. Its contents are very similar to that of "FsL," which—judging from the context in which it was recovered and published—is, however, a school tablet. Both texts also refer to incantations known to belong to the Lamaštu corpus: although "FsL" in line 19 quotes the two short mumbo-jumbo spells from "Lam. III" 57–60 and 61–61, "RC" line 28 prescribes the

92. See already O. R. Gurney in Gurney and Hulin 1964: 2.

93. Cf. E. Reiner in Reiner and Civil 1967: 183f., who suggests that obv. 14–18 might also have been directed against Lamaštu, a proposal that I think not very likely.

94. When I copied the Lamaštu texts from Ugarit in Damascus in 1995, this amulet was temporarily misplaced, so that I was unable to see it at that time.

use of at least one not clearly identified Lamaštu incantation.[95] Both texts thus undoubtedly stand in the tradition of canonical "Lam." but excerpt and rephrase the text as needed for their specific purposes. In this respect, they are somewhat similar to the rituals described above (p. 29), which also excerpt and partially rework text from the Ritual Tablet to embed it in other ritual contexts. At the same time, they stand apart because they do not just quote from the standard text but rather provide complete, performable rituals of their own which are then no longer bound to the context of "Lam." In the case of "FsL," it is quite surprising to see this happening on a school tablet, which makes one wonder about the place such an exercise may have had in the curriculum.[96]

"K 888," on the other hand, embeds an otherwise unknown but typical Lamaštu ritual passage in a long ritual sequence addressed to Šamaš. The reason (and purpose) for this inclusion has been discussed at length in the edition of the text by Schwemer (2006: 197ff.; and Schwemer 2007: 76f.), who also could not find a perfect solution for this intriguing question.

I also have included the initial passage of SpTU III 84 (as "SpTU") in this group of texts. This is a lengthy compendium of rituals for protection against stillbirth and death in the family,[97] and the inclusion of a Lamaštu-related passage seems to make much sense here. Quite unexpectedly, however, the text chooses not to use any of the traditional Lamaštu incantations but instead follows the patterns of other dissociative rites, while still using a "Daughter-of-Anu" figurine as the main carrier of the evil to be removed. Diction and vocabulary of this text therefore are not at all reminiscent of the rest of the Lamaštu corpus.

The last text in this group, "BM 33399," is very fragmentary. What remains on this hitherto unpublished fragment is a prescription against Lamaštu-related problems in lines 6′ff., which are preceded by a ritual of unknown purpose that is traced back to an original from the time of Ḫammurapi (line 5′). If this line should also refer to what follows, the text would be a nice illustration of the long life and history of tradition of the Lamaštu texts, from OB to LB. Alas, this cannot be proved. The rest of the obverse(?) and reverse(?) contains remnants of other magico-medical prescriptions against Lamaštu that include substances and ritual actions also known from the Lamaštu corpus. Only for this reason have I included the text in this edition, while I otherwise did not try to assemble all attestations from the medical corpus for Lamaštu herself or for illnesses related to her influence.

Unidentified Fragments

As an appendix, I have added three fragments from Kuyunjik with broken text passages the wording of which is somewhat similar to phrases in Lamaštu texts (see the commentary for details). Because of their fragmentary state, however, I can neither prove nor disprove that they really belonged to the Lamaštu corpus as defined in this edition.

95. It seems quite possible that this rubric line, if restored as [2 É]N$^{?}$ ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME, also refers to the two mumbo-jumbo spells just mentioned and that both "FsL" 19 and "RC" 28 thus represent parallels to "Lam. III" 63.

96. See also the brief discussion above (pp. 27–28) under "School Tablets."

97. See, in more detail, above, p. 36, s.v. "RA" text b.

The Lamaštu Texts: Recent History

The Beginnings in the 19th Century: Lamaštu Amulets

After almost 2,000 years of involuntary interment, Lamaštu again emerged from the Land of the Two Rivers in the middle of the 19th century. The first published record of this reappearance of which I know came shortly before 1850 in the form of a sketch of an amulet published by F. Lajard (1837–49: pl. 17). The piece disappeared later, but was numbered by F. Thureau-Dangin (1921: 179) as Lam. amulet no. 7.[1] As we know from its republication in 1926, it bears an inscription that is not part of the Lamaštu corpus but belongs to the compendium Ḫulbazizi,[2] to be edited by I. L. Finkel. In 1853, A. H. Layard published the antique mold for a second Lamaštu amulet (Lam. amulet no. 10), which does not show any inscription (1853: 597), and in 1857, a third one (Lam. amulet no. 12), inscribed with what appears to be a mock text of literally meaningless but magically powerful "cuneiform" signs, was made known by W. K. Loftus (1857: 236). Almost a quarter of a century later, in 1879, L. de Clercq and J. Ménant published what is still one of the key pieces for Lamaštu iconography and artifact-based philological work in our field, the famous *plaque d'enfer*.[3] In the following years, many additional Lamaštu amulets, with and without inscriptions, became available to scholarship (cf. above, p. 30). The first of these to duplicate an incantation from what by then had become know as the Lamaštu Series was published in 1901 (photo) and 1903 (text).[4] It is now listed as Lam. amulet no. 5, edited here under the name "Ab_1", and bears the text of "Lam." Inc. 1.

Looking ahead, it took until 1921 for the first amulet bearing the text of "Lam." Inc. 10 to be published.[5] Only relatively recently did the first amulets come to light that duplicate other incantations from the series: "Lam." Inc. 7 on amulet no. 77 (here exemplar "Ah"; Farber 1997: 116ff.), and "Lam." Inc. 8 on Lam. amulet 60 (here exemplar "Ai"; Dossin 1969: 250ff.). Two amulets with Lamaštu incantations that are not part of the canonical series also have become known since. Unfortunately,

1. For the current numbering of Lamaštu amulets, which by the year 2000 had reached no. 85, see most recently Wiggermann 2000: 219 n. 11. On. p. 30 above, I bring the list up to no. 96.

2. See Schlobies 1926: 55ff. The incantation *ša maldi eršija* is found on many Lamaštu amulets but has no other connections to the Lamaštu corpus.

3. De Clercq and Ménant 1900: pl. xxxiv (following a preliminary publication in the same year by M. Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue Archéologique* NS 38, pl. 25).

4. Photo: Koldewey and Weissbach 1901: 9 fig. 2; text: Weissbach BMisc pl. 15.

5. Thureau-Dangin 1921: 195 (amulet no. 18, edited here as "Ak"). For additional amulets that duplicate Inc. 1, see the list of Manuscript Sources, pp. 48–49, under 1.2.2.2., exemplars "Aa"–"Ag." For more amulets duplicating Inc. 10, see ibid., exemplars "Al"–"Ao."



Fig. 14. The first Lamaštu amulet to be published, Lam. Amulet no. 7 (Lajard 1837–49: pl. 17).

one of the two is a modern forgery from a lost original (see text "RA," exemplar d, on Lam. amulet no. 70F; see Nougayrol 1965: 228). The other is a small inscribed clay barrel-cylinder from Ugarit without pictorial representations (see text "STT 144," exemplar b).[6]

The First Texts

Thus, when the first edition of vol. IV of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (IV R[1], published under the name of H. C. Rawlinson, with lithograph copies by G. Smith) appeared in 1875, only two amulets and an amulet mold relating to Lamaštu were known, none of which bore a readable inscription or could otherwise be identified as referring to a particular demon. The year 1875 therefore marked the very first time that Lamaštu was resurrected from written sources[7] and made her appearance in Assyriology, which was at that time still in its baby shoes (no pun intended). Vivid testimony for this early stage of scholarly endeavor in our field is given by the first "edition" of the Lamaštu texts by J. Halévy (1882), who clumsily transcribed them into Hebrew characters but never produced his promised translation and commentary. A major step forward came with the publication of the second edition of vol. IV of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions* in 1891. IV R[2], as it is known today, was again published under the name of Rawlinson, but now the copies by G. Smith were replaced by more reliable typesets prepared by T. G. Pinches. Undoubtedly already helped by the ongoing cataloging work by C. Bezold (1889–99), Pinches also included a number of additional fragments, and the Lamaštu corpus now comprised major portions of text published on pls. 55 (formerly 62), 56 (formerly 63), and 58 (formerly 65), plus pp. 10–11 of the "Additions." For individual identifications of these pieces, which all belong to exemplars A, C_{1-3}, and D_1, see p. 56, Table I *s.v.* Pinches IV R[2]. This material eventually formed the basis of an edition by Charles Fossey (1902: 390–421).

From Myhrman to Geers

Fossey's edition remained, however, without much resonance in the field, since the year 1902 also saw the publication of David Myhrman's Leipzig dissertation "Die Labartu-Texte: Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu" (Myhrman 1902). In this work, written under the guidance of Heinrich Zimmern,[8] Myhrman also used additional pieces of

6. RS 25.457, see Nougayrol 1968: 404 "D," and Arnaud 2007: pl. XXX no. 69.

7. The Lamaštu texts included in IV R[1] were published on pls. 62, 63, and 65.

8. I cannot resist mentioning here also that Myhrman was an alumnus of the University of Chicago, where he got his B.A. in 1896 and continued his studies under W. R. Harper. He received his M.A. from Harvard under G. Reisner, before moving to Leipzig for his Ph.D.

obv. rev.



Fig. 15. Lam. amulet no. 92 (IM 22127). "Threatening Lamaštu" with lion's head, comb, and spindle. Rev.: pseudo-inscription. Stone, provenience unknown. 28×38mm. Photo courtesy R. D. Biggs.

obv. rev.



Fig. 16. Lam. amulet no. 93 (IM 22128). "Threatening Lamaštu" with lion's head, comb, snake(?), scorpion(?), and donkey's ankle(?). Reverse blank. Stone, provenience unknown. 27×33 mm. Photo courtesy R. D. Biggs.

exemplars B and D_{1-2} identified by Bezold, Weissbach, and Zimmern.[9] In what turned out to be a milestone of Assyriology and a strong contender for the record in longevity in our field, Myhrman's edition provided a reconstruction of large parts of the series and gave us a masterful rendering of its text that was, for instance, still used as the main reference in the CAD until its completion in 2011 and has formed the basis for quotations from Lamaštu texts until this very day.

Myhrman's text was utilized liberally in the following years, among others by B. Meissner in the second volume of his widely-read cultural history "Babylonien und Assyrien" (1925). This source in particular inspired a number of literary quotations, some of which V. Haas collected (2000: 523–52, esp. 543–46). Probably the most famous of them is the passage from Thomas Mann's novel *Joseph und seine Brüder* IV 337ff., in which a clay figurine of "Labartu"[10] with a piglet's heart in her mouth is smashed with a sword and then buried in a corner of the wall. This clearly reflects the rituals translated by Myhrman (1902: 193, 195) and referred to by Meissner (1925: 222ff.).

Until this time, only texts from Kuyunjik had been utilized for the reconstruction of the "Lam." series, but in 1919 H. F. Lutz published his hard-to-read and often sloppy hand-copy of a Babylonian exemplar (here *b*) of unknown provenience[11] in PBS 1/II 113. In 1922, E. Ebeling included a big

9. Still more pieces of exemplar D_1 were published later, although not recognized as "Lam." fragments, by R. C. Thompson in AMT no. 3/3 and EG pl. 28b.

10. In his edition, Myhrman kept the reading *Labartu which he calls "konventionell," and Meissner also used this form. Myhrman (1902: 5) shows that he was well aware that an alternative *Lamaštu was equally possible. Final proof for the correctness of the latter came only in 1925, when A. Ungnad drew attention to CT 2, 27, 6, an OB document that mentioned a "Lamaštu Street" and spelled this SILA ^{d}*la-ma-áš-tim*, thus removing the ambiguity of the SB spellings with a sign that could be read either *maš* or *bar*. The reading *Lamaštu has been bolstered since then by other syllabic spellings (see, for instance, Falkenstein 1931: 6 n. 1), but *Labartu can still be found occasionally in non-scholarly contexts, especially on the internet.

11. Köcher's assertion (see Köcher 1948: 30) that this tablet comes from Nippur was based on erroneous information he received from S. N. Kramer.

"Lam." fragment in his publication of religious texts from Assur (KAR 239, here exemplar m). And in 1931, A. Falkenstein published LKU 33, a Babylonian "Lam." tablet from Uruk (exemplar *n*). These new sources showed a different arrangement of the text and, at least for the time being, made the reconstruction of a "canonical text" harder rather than easier. While Lutz and Ebeling published only hand-copies of the cuneiform texts, Falkenstein also included a transliteration and translation of the passages covered by LKU 33 (see Falkenstein 1931: 8–13), but no attempt at a new edition of the now considerably enlarged corpus was made until F. Köcher's dissertation (Köcher 1948; see below). Around the same time, from 1924 to 1939, F. W. Geers, working for the Assyrian Dictionary project of the University of Chicago, copied thousands of cuneiform texts and fragments, mainly in the British Museum, London. Among these, he and his colleagues identified another 18 fragments from the Kuyunjik Collection as belonging to "Lam.", and Geers joined some of them with other known pieces. He also recognized that the Nineveh recension was preserved on several sets of tablets, with at least one of them (now exemplar A) combining all three sections of the series on one physical tablet.

Franz Köcher: Dissertation (1948) and CAD manuscript (1974)

When Köcher wrote his 1948 dissertation "Beschwörungen gegen die Dämonin Lamaštu" under the guidance of E. Ebeling at the University of Berlin, he was finally able to reconstruct a continuous text for the canonical "Lam." series correctly, based on the Kuyunjik texts, with only a few gaps remaining. This was largely due to the fact that Geers had ceded his publication rights for six of the newly identified fragments (three of them already joined together)[12] to Köcher, and he thus could fully utilize them in his work. For the remaining twelve fragments,[13] Köcher was only allowed to quote the museum numbers but could not include the texts in his edition. While he thus took a huge step forward, he was not yet able to distribute all known Nineveh fragments between the sets A, B, $C_{1–3}$, and $D_{1–2}$ correctly, as we know them now. He also could not yet understand the relationship between the Kuyunjik version of the series and the different one represented by exemplars *b*, m,[14] and *n*, and thus had to split these up into sections, which he then edited as duplicates of the corresponding incantations and/or rituals in Nineveh.

Following Myhrman's edition of the series, a few non-canonical Lamaštu texts had also been published, which Köcher included in his edition. These were, in addition to the amulet "Ab_1" mentioned already above, two spells from the OA and OB periods (here texts "OB_2," published in 1920, and "OA_2," published in 1927), which he edited for the first time;[15] and the Lamaštu incantation of text "RA," known at that time only from its main text a, as published by Thureau-Dangin in 1921. In

12. K 8092, K 8996+10968+11105, K 11300, and S 1302.

13. K 2986, K 5734, K 8138, K 8154, K 9346, K 9972, K 10468+10756, K 11814, S 1266, S 2143, and 83-1-18, 465.

14. The fragment VAT 10327, which forms an indirect join to exemplar m, was first identified by Ebeling as a duplicate to LKU 33 (margin notes in his hand-copy of LKU, today at the University of Tübingen) and then also included in Köcher's edition.

15. "OB_2" had first been identified as a Lamaštu incantation by Meissner (1925: 222 n. 6) and "OA_2" by Falkenstein (1931: 9 n. 3).

addition to this, Köcher edited the Lamaštu incantation embedded in LKU 32, with an unpublished duplicate from Assur that Ebeling had identified (see now text "SKS," exemplars e and l).[16]

Unfortunately, this dissertation, written in post-WW II Berlin under very difficult conditions and finished during the Berlin air-lift, was never published. Only a handful of carbon copies on very bad paper were made when Köcher typed it, and of these, probably not more than two or three have survived until today. I thus will not make further detailed reference to this work, which is basically an unpublished manuscript.[17] On the other hand, an acknowledgment of its importance for the reconstruction of the text and of Köcher's contributions to its understanding seems more than appropriate here, especially since I had the privilege of access to one of the surviving copies.

Another unpublished manuscript, bringing his reading of the "Lam." series up-to-date, was prepared by Köcher in 1974 for use by the CAD. In the meantime, new identifications of texts and fragments, many of them still based on Geers's copies, as well as numerous joins within the known corpus, had been made. Many of them were made available to Köcher by his colleagues, notably E. Weidner, W. G. Lambert, K. Deller, and R. Borger.[18] In 1964, the Sultantepe Lamaštu tablets were published by O. R. Gurney. In 1969, the edition of the new texts from Ugarit by J. Nougayrol appeared, and G. Dossin published the amulet "Ai" with a text duplicating "Lam." Inc. 8. This additional material, as far as it was accessible to Köcher, was integrated into his manuscript, but since this was never meant for publication and became available to me only through the kindness of E. Reiner, I will refrain from quoting it. It shows, however, that Köcher was still working on an edition of Lamaštu at the time, about three years before he suddenly, and for me quite unexpectedly, asked me to take over his old project in 1977. The fact that during the following years, when we had an ongoing very friendly correspondence about Lamaštu, he never offered me a copy of this latest version of his efforts confirms my feeling that he did not want me to quote it in detail, in what at the time was supposed to be a speedy publication of my own. Nevertheless, Köcher's name will, and indeed should, remain closely connected with the Lamaštu texts, even though neither of his successive editions of "Lam." ever got published.

New Discoveries Since 1977

When, in 1977, Köcher asked me to take over the Lamaštu project because he felt that his other work on the series BAM made it unlikely that he could finish and publish the edition himself, I gladly accepted the offer, especially since I had been working on the material intermittently since 1970 and had already made significant progress on the reconstruction of the "Lam." series (see Borger 1975: 230). At about the same time, I. L. Finkel began his survey of the Babylon collections in the British Museum. Over the next few years, he identified many "Lam." texts and other Lamaštu related

16. e = LKU 32 obv. 12–17; l = (Photo) K.4132 = A 394 = now Farber SKS pl. 12.

17. After my manuscript was finished, Jerry Cooper discovered that a scan of Köcher's dissertation is actually available on the internet, albeit in a rather unexpected context as part of the project "European Cultural Heritage Online (ECHO)," section "Cuneiform Tablets: Decipherment," of the Max-Planck-Institut Berlin: http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/ECHOdocuViewfull?mode=imagepath&url=/mpiwg/online/permanent/library/Q56UUN4X/pageimg&viewMode=images. Whether this posthumous "publication" conforms to German copyright and is therefore legally quotable, I do not know.

18. For these texts and fragments, see most conveniently Borger 1975: 229f.

material, all of which he very graciously put at my disposal. The first identifications of most of the hitherto unpublished texts with BM numbers go back to him, as does that of the amulet-shaped "Emar" tablet later published in photo by S. Dalley (Dalley and Teissier 1992: pl. xiv). M. Geller and W. G. Lambert also contributed to a steady stream of newly identified material that enlarged the corpus of texts that I could use for my edition far beyond what Köcher had used in 1974. Additionally, a good number of publications containing new Lamaštu texts, or important duplicates to known texts, have appeared since Borger's overview (1975: 229f.). They can be found in my "List of Previous Publications" on pp. 53ff. under the names of Cavigneaux, van Dijk, Finkel, Gurney, Hallo, Hussey, Michel, Schwemer, von Weiher, and Wiseman/Black.[19] Most of the authors included transliterations and translations of the new texts they were publishing, but none of them tried to present a more detailed study of the material, presumably in order not to interfere with, first, Köcher's, and then, my own work on the corpus. Mention should also be made of the reedition of the Lamaštu texts from Ras Shamra/Ugarit by D. Arnaud (2007: 62–73, 207), which, however, in several respects marks a step backward from their original publication by J. Nougayrol.

While, due to the usual distractions of academic life, my own work on the planned edition of the texts often proceeded more slowly than steadily, I was still able to identify a few more Lamaštu texts, which were then integrated into my new edition, and to produce a number of articles on individual aspects of the Lamaštu corpus. These include, among others, a general introduction to Lamaštu and the sources pertaining to her (Farber 1983; cf. also Farber 2007a), a philological and iconographic investigation of the Lamaštu amulets (1987a), and the publications and editions of "Lam." amulets "Ah" and "Al" (1989c: 98; 1997: 115ff.) and the non-canonical Lamaštu texts "SKS," "RA" exemplar c, and "FsB" (1989a: pls. 12–15; 1998: 67). At the same time, I made parts of my score transliteration of the texts available to the CAD and several other colleagues who wanted to quote specific passages or phrases from the "Lam." series. Foremost among them was F. A. M. Wiggermann, to whom we now owe a masterful introduction to Lamaštu and the demonology of which she was a part.[20] In this study, which goes well beyond the brief synthesis I had given in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, he combines textual, pictorial, and comparative information to paint a detailed picture that summarizes most of the information about Lamaštu presently available. Although concentrating mostly on the earlier periods and leaving the final evaluation of the SB texts to a later study that "must await W. Farber's re-edition of the texts" (Wiggermann 2000: 271 n. 1), this article marks a milestone also for our general understanding of the later texts and the mythology around Lamaštu in the first millennium.

More than 160 years after she reappeared from her almost 2,000 years of dormancy, 137 years after her first effect on Assyriology, and 110 years after she became more widely known through Myhrman's pioneering edition, Lamaštu is finally in for a major check-up and face-lift in the form of a new, and much more complete, text edition. I hope that this rejuvenation will not lead to a resumption of her nefarious activities. But should this be the case, I also trust that the new edition of the incantations and rituals will make it easier to ward her off again.

19. This list does not not include the authors of publications of individual amulets. For a summary account of these, see already above, p. 39 with n. 1.

20. The first version, Wiggerman 1983: 95–116, was written before the two of us were in contact with each other. For the "completely rewritten and updated" English version (Wiggermann 2000), he was able, however, to make full use of my manuscript edition.

Manuscript Sources

All tablets published here for the first time, or recopied for this edition, are quoted primarily by museum number or similar information in roman type, with previously published texts and fragments highlighted in **boldface** (e.g., **K 132)**. Lamaštu texts that have not been recopied for this edition are quoted by their original publications and in *italic* (e.g., *STT no. 145*), with museum numbers in parenthesis, when available. For detailed publication data, see Tables I and II below (pp. 53–63).

Following the usage of R. Borger's HKL, the sign ø in the following lists stands for "text (or passage) belongs with x; for further information and details see there."

For further discussion of textual affiliations and contents, see generally above, pp. 7–38, "The Lamaštu Texts: Ancient History."

Part I: The Canonical Lamaštu Series ("Lam. I–III")

1.1. Duplicate Texts to the Series

(sigla in normal type = tablets in Assyrian script; sigla in *italic* = tablets in Babylonian script)

1.1.1. Exemplars of the *pirsu* Recension

(all sigla in upper case)

1.1.1.1. Texts from Kuyunjik

1.1.1.1.1. Tablets containing *pirsu* 1–3 (Inc./Rit. 1–13 + Ritual Tablet, 3-col. tablets)

A = **K 2482**+8154 (+) K 11814 (+) Sm 1302 (+) **79-7-8,81+143** (copy pls. 1–5)

B = K 8138+**Rm 2,212** (+) S 2143 (copy pls. 6–7)

1.1.1.1.2. Tablets containing only the 1. *pirsu* (Inc./Rit. 1–5, 2-col. tablets)

C_1 = **K 2971** (+) 2986 (copy pls. 8–10; belongs to same set of library tablets as C_2 and C_3)

D_1 = K 2016[b]+**3377**+**4929**+5734+**7087**+8092+9972+**10323**+19449+Sm 1814 (+) **K 2797** (+) **K 10536**+11300+14830 (copy pls. 21–27; belongs to same set of library tablets as D_2)

1.1.1.1.3. Tablets containing only the 2. *pirsu* (Inc./Rit. 6–13, 2-col. tablets)

C_2 = **K 2423**+**3362**+9346+16673 (copy pls. 11–18; belongs to same set of library tablets as C_1 and C_3)

D_2 = **K 2543**+**3422**+10486+10765+**11572** (+) K 8996+10968+11105+19475 (+) **K 11819** (copy pls. 28–30; belongs to same set of library tablets as D_1)

1.1.1.1.4. Tablets containing only the 3. *pirsu* (Ritual Tablet, single column tablets)

C_3 = **K 132** (copy pls. 19–20; belongs to same set of library tablets as C_1 and C_2)
E = Sm 2056+83-1-18,465 (+) 80-7-19,108 (copy pls. 31–32)
F = K 8736 (copy pl. 33)
G = BM 121038+128028 (copy pl. 34)
H = K 8718+Sm 1266 (copy pl. 35)

Note that tablets *E*, *F*, and *H* are more likely to be original Babylonian imports of tablets belonging to the *ṭuppu* recension but are here kept with the other Kuyunjik material for convenience (see the discussion on p. 20).

1.1.1.2. Text from Sultantepe

Tablet containing *pirsu* 1–3 (Inc./Rit. 1–13 + Ritual Tablet)

M = *STT no. 143* (SU 52/28, Sultantepe; possibly tablet I of the *ṭuppu* recension. Published copy O. R. Gurney, not collated)

1.1.2. Exemplars of the *ṭuppu* Recension

(all sigla in lower case)

1.1.2.1. Tablets containing the 1. *ṭuppu* (Inc./Rit. 1–4, 6, 8–13; 2-col. or 3-col. tablets)

a = BM 46281+46335+46420+46460+46469 (Babylon;[1] copy pls. 36–43)
b = **CBS 13939** (prov. unknown;[2] copy pls. 44–49)
c = BM 76642+93053 (+) 82991 (Sippar;[3] copy pls. 50–51)

1.1.2.2. Tablets containing the 2. *ṭuppu* (Inc./Rit. 5 and 7; 2-col. tablets)

m = VAT 10327+**10356** (Assur; copy pls. 52–56)
n = *LKU no. 33* (VAT 14506, Uruk; published copy A. Falkenstein, collated)

1.1.2.3. Tablet containing the 3. *ṭuppu* (Ritual Tablet)

x = VAT 595 (Sippar?;[4] copy pl. 55)

Any or all of the Kuyunjik exemplars *E*, *F*, and *H* (listed above under "*pirsu* recension") might also belong here, as Babylonian imports of the *ṭuppu* redaction.

1.1.3. Exemplar of the "Ni/Si" Version

(siglum in lower case Greek letter)

α = Ni 2675 (+) Si 883 (from Nippur or Sippar?[5] Remnants of incs. 5, 12, and 13 on one tablet; copy pl. 57)

1. Accessioned 81-7-28, from Rassam's excavations at Babylon. This is the tablet referred to by Finkel 1991: 92 and Wiggermann 2000: 219 n. 10. It most probably belongs to the library of Tanittu-Bēl (see Finkel, loc. cit.).
2. The tablet is part of the Khabaza collection of unprovenienced tablets in the University Museum, Philadelphia.
3. Accessioned as AH 83-1-18, 2013+unn.
4. This fragment came to the Berlin Museum as part of the "Sammlung Maimon." When I copied the text in 1981, the box said "aus Sammlung Maimon Inv.-Nr. VII 1580 unnumeriert," and I was told that these objects had been purchased prior to 1899. For other tablets of this collection which can be shown to originally come from Sippar, see Jursa 1999: 6–7, where our text is not mentioned. See also Farber 2012b: 233 with n. 29. F. Köcher (in his 1974 transliteration of the Lamaštu series for the CAD) gave the provenience of text *x* as "Babylon ?," without further comment.
5. See discussion above, p. 22 with n. 49.

1.1.4. Fragments of Doubtful Affiliation

(sigla in upper case Greek letters)

Ψ = *SpTU V no. 239* (W 23010, Uruk; fragment containing inc. 11, plus a short ritual instruction corresponding to "Lam. III" 94. Published copy E. von Weiher, not collated)

Ω = K 10984 (Kuyunjik, Assyrian script; // "Lam. III" 40–42, but not part of exemplars A, B, C_3 or G; it remains uncertain whether this fragment belongs to the series. Copy pl. 57)

Note that both Ψ and Ω could also be fragments of excerpt texts; see below, section 1.2.1.1.

(*STT no. 146* [SU 51/213] is possibly also part of the "Lam." Series, see commentary to "Lam. II" 110–11)

1.2. Parallel Texts Used in the Reconstruction of the Canonical Series

1.2.1. Parallels Excerpted from the Canonical Text

(sigla in roman type = tablets in Assyrian script; sigla in *italics* = tablets in Babylonian script)

1.2.1.1. Canonical Incantations Used in Other Ritual Contexts

(transliterated in the score as full duplicates, but set apart by space)

Ea = BM 45393+46277+46331(Babylon;[6] *qutāru* text, to be published by I. L. Finkel. Cf. Finkel 2000: 192. Transliterated from original by me; photos pls. 78–80. Inc. 2, 3, 7, and 6)

Eb = BM 41211 I 5′ff. (Babylon;[7] *qutāru* text, to be published by I. L. Finkel. Cf. Finkel 2000: 194f. Transliterated from original by me; photo pl. 81. Inc. 6)

Ec = *OECT 11 no. 57* II 6ff. (A.M.1924.900, Kish; baby rituals. Published copy O. R. Gurney, collated; Inc. 6)

Ed_1 = **K 156+** III 59ff. (Kuyunjik; zi-pà incantations. Copy of the section col. III 59–68 pl. 58; Inc. 10 bilingual)

Ed_2 = **K 2725+** II 13ff. (Kuyunjik; zi-pà incantations. Copy of the section col. II 13–20 [including new joins: +K 17168+17265+18151] pl. 58; Inc. 10 bilingual)

Ee = VAT 10353: 1′–16′ (Assur; ritual context unidentified. Copy N. Heeßel pl. 59; Inc.+Rit. 3)

Texts Ψ and Ω, listed above under 1.1.4, might also be fragments of excerpt texts.

1.2.1.2. School Tablets Containing Excerpts from the Lamaštu Series

(transliterated in the score as partial duplicates, in smaller type and set apart by space)

Sa = BM 43550 (Sippar;[8] copy pl. 59. Incs. 10[?] and 1)

Sb = BM 41280 (Babylon[?];[9] copy pl. 60. Rev. 1–13: excerpts from Incs. 8, 9, and 5)

Sc = N 2737 (Nippur; copy pl. 59. Obv. 3–10: excerpt from Inc. 5)

6. Accessioned 81-7-28, from Rassam's excavations at Babylon. The tablet has been identified by Finkel 1991: 103, as belonging to the library of Tanittu-Bēl.

7. Accessioned 81-4-28 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar.

8. Accessioned 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites, see Finkel 2000: 137. For our text, see ibid., 140.

9. Accessioned 81-4-28 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar.

Sd = CBS 11303 (prov. unknown; copy pl. 61. Obv. 6–17: excerpts from Incs. 12, 5, and 7)

Se = BM 36668 (Babylon;[10] copy pl. 61. 1–7: excerpt from Inc. 7)

Sf = BM 42570+43619+43679+F225 (Sippar;[11] copy pl. 61. Incantation catalogue listing incipits of Incs. 8, 9, 11, 12, and 13)

For another school tablet, see below, section 2.3.2., text "FsL."

[1.2.1.3. Incantation Catalogues]

[For BM 42570+, a school tablet from Sippar, see above under siglum *Sf*. For VAT 13723+ = Geller 2000: 226ff., cf. p. 18.]

1.2.2. Independent Parallels

(transliterated in separate, indented paragraphs after the respective sections of "Lam. I–III")

1.2.2.1. Pre-Canonical Versions of Individual Incantations

"OA_1" = *Michel OrNS 66 p. 61* (kt 94/k,821, Kültepe; published copy C. Michel, not collated. Amulet shaped tablet with parallel to Inc. 3)

"OB_1" = *YOS 11 no. 20* (YBC 9846, provenience unknown;[12] published copy M. I. Hussey, collated: parallel to Inc. 3)

"MB" = BM 120022 (MB or very late OB, provenience unknown; copy pls. 62–63: parallel to Inc. 12)

"Ug" = **RS 25.420+440C+445+447+456+459C** (Ugarit; copy pls. 68–74: parallels to Incs. 5, 6, 3, and 12. For sections of this text which were not later incorporated into "Lam.", see below, section 2.2. under "Ug," and section 2.3.1. under "ND," exemplar Ug)

For the two Sumerian OB parallels to Inc. 1, see commentary to "Lam. I" 1–8.

1.2.2.2. Amulets Inscribed with Incantations also Found in the "Lam." Series

"Aa" = *Finkel Ḫulbazizi* (= Finkel 1976) *pl. 54* (Ki 1902-5-10,36, Kish; alabaster "tablet" without pictorial representations. Unpublished copy I. L. Finkel, collated; photo pl. 81. Lines 9–26 = "Lam." Incs. 2 and 1)

"Ab_1" = *Weissbach BMisc. no. 15* (VA 6959, Babylon; Lam. amulet no. 5. Published copy F. Weissbach, collated WF. "Lam." Inc. 1)

"Ab_2" = IM 67882 (Iraq Museum Baghdad, provenience unknown; Lam. amulet no. 89. Photo pl. 82. "Lam." Inc. 1)

"Ac" = *Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 198* (VA 3477, Babylon; Lam. amulet no. 6. Published in photo and copy F. Thureau-Dangin; new photo in Jakob-Rost et al. 1992: 130f. Collated. "Lam." Inc. 1)

10. Accessioned 80-6-17 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from Babylon and Borsippa.

11. Accessioned 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites, see Finkel 2000: 137. For our text, see ibid., 140.

12. Provenance given as "Larsa area?" in SEAL = Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de, last visited 02/07/2011), a website under the control of M. Streck and N. Wassermann.

"Ad" = *Abadah Sumer 28 pl. 3f.* (IM 74648, prov. unknown; Lam. amulet no. 61, collated from published photo. Lines 1–8 = "Lam." Inc. 1)[13]

"Ae" = *Finkel Ḫulbazizi* (= Finkel 1976) *pl. 53* (BM 104891, prov. unknown; unpubl. copy I. L. Finkel, collated. Lines 9–10 = "Lam." Inc. 1)

"Af" = 80-7-19,319 (Kuyunjik; unpubl., transliteration I. L. Finkel. "Lam." Inc. 1)

"Ag" = *Klengel MIO 7 pl. IV 5b* (VA 8278, Assur; Lam. amulet no. 36. Published copy H. Klengel, collated. "Lam." Inc. 1)

"Ah" = *Farber* in: *Fs. Röllig* (= Farber 1997) *pp. 115ff.* (from collection Moussaieff,[14] prov. unknown. Lam. amulet no. 77. Previously published in photo; copy pl. 64. "Lam." Inc. 7)

"Ai" = *Dossin MUSJ 45 p. 252* (Byblos no. 19041; Lam. amulet no. 60. Published in photo, new photos: obv. see fig. 13 [p. 31]; rev. see pl. 83. "Lam." Inc. 8)

"Ak" = *Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 195* (AO 8184, prov. unknown; Lam. amulet no. 18, collated from publ. photo. "Lam." Inc. 10)

"Al" = *Farber* in: *Fs. Kantor* (= Farber 1989c) *p. 98* (forgery after lost original = Lam. amulet no. 70F; published copy W. Farber. "Lam." Inc. 10)

"Am" = *Harper* in: *Notable Acquisitions (Metropolitan Museum) 1984/1985* (= Harper 1984–85) *p. 4* (MMA 1984.348, prov. unknown; Lam. amulet no. 67, published photo. "Lam." Inc. 10)

"An" = Private Collection in Japan (prov. unknown, unpubl.; transliteration A. Tsukimoto, not collated. "Lam." Inc. 10)

"Ao" = **BM 132520** (prov. unknown; Lam. amulet no. 88. Copy pl. 65, photo pl. 82. "Lam." Inc. 10)

1.2.2.3. SB Parallel Versions to Passages from the Ritual Tablet

(sigla in normal type = tablets in Assyrian script; siglum in *italics* = tablet in Babylonian script)

"Ra" = *STT no. 281* (SU 51/112, Sultantepe; published copy O. R. Gurney, not collated IV 1–15 // "Lam. III" 64–73)

"*Rb*" = BM 43897+43975+45456+46766+46978+46990 (prov. unknown;[15] transliterated by me from original. 32′–35′ // "Lam. III" 69–75)

"Rc" = *BAM no. 183* (VAT 8943 [Ass. 13955/cs], Assur; published copy F. Köcher, not collated 16–19 // "Lam. III" 74–75)

For similar parallels in RC 713 and BM 42612+, see the full editions of these texts in Part II under sigla "RC" and "FsL."

13. A twin version of the inscription on this amulet, repeating all idiosyncratic sign forms and linguistic features, and adding a few minor mistakes of its own, can be found on a piece published by Finkel 2001: 60–62 (for pictures of the obverse and edges, see Doumet-Serhal 2001: 57). In view of the similarities, I am sure one of them (probably the one published later by Finkel) is a forgery culled directly from the other, and should be designated "Lam. amulet 61F." I therefore do not include this text in my edition.

14. This piece was on exhibit as a loan in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem for several years; its present whereabouts are unknown to me.

15. Accessioned 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites, see Finkel 2000: 137.

The following passages with partial parallels to "Lam. III" 30–35 and 57–60 have not been transliterated here. For a full edition of the relevant sections, see Farber 1989a: 68–73. The sigla are taken from there:

α = K 9288 (Kuyunjik; photo Schuster-Brandis 2008, pl. 39. VII[?] 5′–11′ ~ "Lam. III" 30–35)

β = BM 56148+55925+64516 (Sippar[?], copy Schuster-Brandis 2008, pl. 9–29. VI 39–44 ~ "Lam. III" 30–35)

η = *BAM no. 356* (A 202 [Ass. 13955/ht], Assur; copy F. Köcher, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 199–203. 9–15 ~ "Lam. III" 30–32)

θ = *UET 4 no. 149* (Ur; copy H. H. Figulla. Rev. 4–7 ~ "Lam. III" 30–32)

Aa = *SKS* (= Farber 1989a) *pl. 4–5* text Aa (K 6901+, Kuyunjik; copy W. Farber, 223–33 ~ "Lam. III" 30–35 and 57–60)

e = *LKU no. 32* (VAT 14505, Uruk; copy A. Falkenstein, collated. II 4′–12′ ~ "Lam. III" 30–35 and 57–60)

STT 273 = *STT 202+273* (SU 52/132+182, Sultantepe; copy O. R. Gurney. II 2′–7′ ~ "Lam. III" 57–60)

Part II: Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals That Are Not Part of the Standard Babylonian Series ("Non-Canonical Lam.")

2.1. Non-Canonical Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations

"OA_2" = *BIN 4 no. 126* (NBC 3672, probably Kültepe. Published copy A. T. Clay, collated)

"OB_2" = *BIN 2 no. 72* (YBC 1265, prov. unknown; published copy C. E. Keiser, collated)

"OB_3" = *YOS 11 no. 19 obv.* (YBC 4601, prov. unknown;[16] published copy M. I. Hussey, collated)

"OB_4" = *Cavigneaux and al-Rawī* in: *Fs. de Meyer* (= Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994) *pp. 88f.* (CBS 10455,[17] Nippur; published copy A. Cavigneaux, not collated)

"OB_5" = *Hallo* in: *AMD 1* (= Hallo 1999) *p. 286, 1–9* (YBC 8041, prov. unknown; published copy W. W. Hallo, not collated)

"OB_6" = *TIM 9 no. 63 l.e.* (IM 21180x, prov. unknown; published copy J. J. A. van Dijk, not collated)

2.2. Middle Babylonian Lamaštu Texts from Peripheral Areas Not Directly Related to the Series

"Ug" = **RS 25.420+440C+445+447+456+459C** col. IV–V (Ugarit; copy pls. 68–74. For those passages of col. I–III and V–VI of the tablet RS 25.420+ that are paral-

16. Provenience given as "Larsa area?" in SEAL = Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de, visited 02/07/2011), a website under the control of Michael Streck and Nathan Wassermann.

17. The number is given as CBS 10454+CBS 10455+CBS 10460 on the CDLI website (http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/cdlisearch/search/index.php?SearchMode=Browse&ResultCount=1&txtID_Txt=P265667, visited 10/12/2011), but these seem to be old joins, and no new fragments have been added to the tablet since it was published by Cavigneaux (information courtesy Steven Tinney).

lel to "Lam." Incs. 5, 6, 3, and 12, see above, section 1.2.2.1., under siglum "Ug"; for col. III 1′–14′, see below, section 2.3.1. under "ND," exemplar Ug)

"RS" = **RS 25.513** (Ugarit; copy pl. 68. This fragment is not part of tablet "Ug")
(For RS 25.457 = *Arnaud Corpus* [= Arnaud 2007] *pl. XXX no. 69*, see below, section 2.3. under "STT 144," exemplar b)

"Emar" = ***Dalley Iraq 54 pl. XIV*** (Private collection in GB, no. M 8; published photo, and cf. loc. cit., p. 109 no. 8. Meskene/Emar; copy I. L. Finkel pls. 66–67, new photos pls. 84–89; amulet shaped tablet)

"Bo" = *KUB 37 no. 66* (1402/c, Boghazköy; published copy F. Köcher, collated R. D. Biggs. For possible other fragments of this same tablet see the discussion in chapter 2)

2.3. Other Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals

2.3.1. Non-Canonical Lamaštu Incantations in Various Ritual Contexts

"ND" : CTN 4 no. 104, from Nimrud, and partial parallel from Ugarit

ND = *CTN 4 no. 104* (IM 67571 = ND 4394, Nimrud/Kalaḫ; published copy J. Black, not collated. Rev. unidentified).

Ug = **RS 25.420+440C+445+447+456+459C** col. III 1′–14′ (Ugarit; copy pls. 68–74. For passages of this tablet that are parallel to "Lam." Incs. 5, 6, 3, and 12 see above, section 1.2.2.1, under siglum "Ug"; for col. IV–V see above, section 2.2 under "Ug")

"FsB" : *Farber* in: *Fs. Borger* (= Farber 1998) *p. 67*: (K 7950+, Kuyunjik, published copy W. Farber)

"RA" : Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 163, and duplicates

a = *Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 163 (= TCL 6 no. 49)*, 13–29 (AO 6473, Uruk; published copies F. Thureau-Dangin, not collated)

b = *SpTU III* (= von Weiher 1988) *no. 84*, 62–77 (W 23287, Uruk; published copy E. von Weiher, not collated

c = *SKS* (= Farber 1989a) *pl. 14f.* ll. 14–39 (BM 42327+, published copy W. Farber; prov. unknown[18])

d = *Nougayrol Syria 42 p. 228* (amulet, modern forgery after lost original; published photo)

"SKS" : SKS (= Farber 1989a) §34 (the sigla are the same as those used in SKS)

e = *LKU no. 32* Vs. 12–17 (VAT 14505, Uruk; published copy A. Falkenstein, collated)

k = *SKS pl. 13* l-17 (A 378+, Assur; published copy W. Farber)

l = *SKS pl. 12* 1–15 (A 394, Assur; published copy W. Farber)

18. Accessioned 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites, see Finkel 2000: 137.

"STT 144" : STT no. 144, and partial duplicate from Ugarit
a = *STT no. 144* (Su 51/30, Sultantepe. Published copy O. R. Gurney, not collated)
b = *Arnaud Corpus* (= Arnaud 2007) *pl. XXX no. 69* (RS 25.457, Ugarit; published copy D. Arnaud, not collated)
"STT 145" = *STT no. 145* (Su 51/55, Sultantepe. Published copy O. R. Gurney, not collated)

2.3.2. Non-Canonical Rituals Against Lamaštu Not Containing Specific Lamaštu Incantations

"RC" = RC 713 (prov. unknown; copy pl. 75)
"FsL" = *Finkel* in: *Fs. Lambert* (= Finkel 2000) *p. 211 no. 53* (BM 42612+43477+43525 [+] 43267, Sippar;[19] published copy I. L. Finkel, not collated. School tablet)
"K 888" = *Schwemer BaghM 37* (= Schwemer 2006) *pp. 211f.* = *"Taf. 1–2,"* rev. 20–27 (K 888, Kuyunjik; published copy D. Schwemer, not collated)
"SpTU" = *SpTU III* (= von Weiher 1988) *no. 84 1–16* (W 23287, Uruk; published copy E. von Weiher, not collated)
"BM 33399" = BM 33399 (Babylon;[20] copy pl. 75)

2.3.3. A Neo-Assyrian Memorandum

"Assur memo" = VAT 13605 (Assur; copy pl. 76)

Part III: Appendix

Three Unidentified Standard Babylonian Fragments with Possible Connections to the Lamaštu Corpus

"Fr.1" = K 17781 (Kuyunjik; copy pl. 77. Rituals)
"Fr.2" = 81-2-4,302 (Kuyunjik; copy pl. 77. Incantations)
"Fr.3" = K 18615 (Kuyunjik; copy pl. 77. Incantation, cf. Lambert 1992: 25)

19. Accessioned 81-7-1 as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets from various sites, see Finkel 2000: 137. For our text, see Finkel 2000: 140.
20. Accessioned as Rm. 3,76, as part of a collection excavated by Rassam, with tablets mainly from Babylon.

Table I. Previous Publications

All publications quoted here provide cuneiform copies, unless otherwise noted. Important transliterations and/or editions of individual texts have been added in parentheses and smaller print.

If I am aware that a photo of a tablet has been posted on the CDLI website (http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/) prior to July 2012, I include this general reference in Table II (below). The photo and further pertinent information can then be found through CDLI's search function.

Place of Publication		Siglum	Text covered [a]
Abadah Sumer 28 (ed.: Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 406f.)	pl. 3f. 1–8 (photo)	Ad	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
Arnaud Corpus	pl. V no. 17	RS	"RS"
	pl. VIII–XI no. "18-1" to "18-4" (for more details, see under Nougayrol Ugaritica VI)	Ug	"Ug"; ø "Lam. I" 37–45, 117–34, 176–216; ø "Lam. II" 1–17, 152, 171–88; and ø "ND"
	pl. XXX no. 69	(b)	"STT 144" 1–4
(Black CTN 4 see Wiseman/Black CTN 4)			
(Borger AOAT 1	p. 12 §XXII 204–12)	$Ed_{1–2}$	"Lam. II" 129–34
Cavigneaux/al-Rawi Fs. de Meyer pp. 88f.		OB_4	"OB_4"
(Cavigneaux/Ismail BaghMitt. 21 pp. 406f. see: Abadah Sumer 28)			
Clay BIN 4	no. 126 (ed.: von Soden 1956: 141ff.)	OA_2	"OA_2"
Dalley Iraq 54	pl. XIV, no. 8 (photo)	Emar	"Emar"
Dossin MUSJ 45 (ed.: Nougayrol 1971: 173f.)	p. 252, 9–19 (photo)	Ai	ø "Lam. II" 84–94
van Dijk TIM 9	no. 63 l.e.	OB_6	"OB_6"
Ebeling KAR	no. 239 col. I col. II col. III col. IV	m	"Lam. I" 118–148 "Lam. I" 173–206 "Lam. I" 218–232 "Lam. II" 57–75*
Falkenstein LKU	(pp. 8,1–10,48) (pp. 10,1–11,35)		"Lam. I" 100–148 "Lam. II" 48–78*
	no. 32 Vs. 12–17	(e)	"SKS" 1–18
	Rs. 4′–12′	*(e)*	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35, 57–60)
	no. 33 "Vs." = col. I	*n*	"Lam. I" 105–50
	[col. II]		["Lam. I" 201–2]
	[col. III]		[—]
	"Rs."= col. IV		"Lam. II" 48–78* + colophon

a. All references with the prefix "Lam." refer to the edition of the canonical series in Part I, all others to the editions of the non-canonical texts in Parts II and III. References in parentheses are not transliterated in the edition.

Table I (cont.)

Place of Publication		Siglum	Text covered
Farber Fs. Borger p. 67 (K 7950+)		FsB	"FsB"
Farber Fs. Kantor p. 98		Al	ø "Lam. II" 129–33
Farber Fs. Röllig pp. 115ff. (translit. + photo)		Ah	ø "Lam. II" 34–52
Farber SKS	(pp. 68, 223–37)	(Aa, *e*)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35, 57–60)
	(p. 70)	(STT 273)	(ø "Lam. III" 57–60
	(pp. 71–73)	(α, *β*, η, *θ*)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35)
	pl. 4–5 III 69′– IV 8	(Aa)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–32, 57–60)
	pl. 12 1–15	(l)	"SKS" 1–18
	pl. 13 1–17	(k)	"SKS" 1–18
	pl. 14f. 14–39	(c)	"RA" 1–24
(Farber TUAT II/2 pp. 257f., translation only)		MB	ø "Lam. II" 152–92
Figulla UET 4 no. 149 rev. 4–7		(*θ*)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–32)
Finkel Ḫulbazizi	pl. 53	Ae	ø "Lam. I" 1–2
	pl. 54	Aa	ø "Lam. I" 1–8, 11–21
	pp. 309f. (translit.)	Ao	ø "Lam. II" 129–134
Finkel Fs. Lambert	p. 196 fig. 48	*Sf*	"Lam. II" 84f., 119f., 136, 152, 193f.
	p. 196 fig. 49	*Sa*	"Lam. I" 6–7, 11–12
	p. 211 fig. 68	FsL	"FsL"
Gurney OECT 11 no. 57 II 6′–17′		*Ec*	"Lam. II" 1–17
Gurney STT	no. 143	M	"Lam. II" 83–104
	no. 144	(a)	"STT 144" 1–15
	no. 145	ee	"STT 145"
	(no. 146)	(-)	(cf. "Lam. II" 110f.)
	no. 202+273 II 2′–7′	(STT 273)	(ø "Lam. III" 57–60)
	no. 281 IV 1–15	Ra	ø "Lam. III" 64–73
Hallo AMD 1 p. 286		OB_5	"OB_5"
Harper Notable Acquisitions (Metropolitan Museum) 1984/1985	p. 4 (photo)	Am	ø "Lam. II" 129–34
Haupt ASKT	no. 11 III 59–68	Ed_1	"Lam. II" 129–34
Hussey YOS 11 (ed.: van Dijk et al. 1985: 25f.)	no. 19	OB_3	"OB_3"
(ed.: van Dijk et al. 1985: 26)	no. 20	OB_1	ø "Lam. I" 37–45
(Jakob-Rost 1992: 130f.: see Thureau-Dangin RA 18, 198)			
Keiser BIN 2 (ed.: von Soden 1954: 337ff.)	no. 72	OB_2	"OB_2"
Klengel MIO 7	pl. IV 5b	Ag	ø "Lam. I" 1–2
Köcher BAM	no. 183 16–19	Rc	ø "Lam. III" 74–75
	no. 356 9–15	(η)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–32)

Table I (cont.)

Place of Publication		Siglum	Text covered
Köcher KUB 37	no. 66	Bo	"Bo"
Lutz PBS 1/II	no. 113 col. I	*b*	"Lam. I" 7–8, 11–21, 37–45, 62–85
	col. II		"Lam. II" 4–27, 84–111, 119–21
	col. III		"Lam. II" 133–76
	col. IV		"Lam. II" 189–208 + colophon
Meek RA 17	p. 125 II 15ff.	Ed_2	"Lam. II" 129–33
Michel OrNS 66	p. 61 (ed. ibid., pp. 58–64)	OA_1	ø "Lam. I" 37–45
Myhrman ZA 16	(pp. 154,1–156,28)	(A–D)	"Lam. I" 1–29
	(pp. 156,32–160,34)	(″)	"Lam. I" 65–105
	(pp. 160,1–164,44)	(″)	"Lam. I" 170–211
	(pp. 164,2–166,11)	(″)	"Lam. I" 219–28
	(pp. 168,3–176,63)	(″)	"Lam. II" 2–123
	(pp. 178,2–180,57)	(″)	"Lam. II" 125–80
	(p. 182,1–28)	(″)	"Lam. II" 184–212
	(p. 184,1–20)	(″)	"Lam. III" 1–20
	(pp. 184,22–194,39)	(″)	"Lam. III" 33–137
	p. 196 r.col.	D_1	"Lam. I" 156–67
	p. 196 l.col.	D_1	"Lam. I" 219–28
	p. 197	B	"Lam. II" 56–75
	p. 198	D_2	"Lam. II" 109–22
	p. 199	D_2	"Lam. II" 125–39
	p. 200a	D_2	"Lam. II" 56–60
	p. 200b	D_2	"Lam. II" 26–32
(Norris II R pl. 18	see: Haupt ASKT no. 11)		
(Nougayrol RA 65 pp. 173f.	see: Dossin MUSJ 45)		
Nougayrol Syria 42	p. 227 (photo)	(d)	"RA" 1–22
Nougayrol Ugar. 6	pp. 394f. I "1′–7‴"	Ug	ø "Lam. I" 117–34
(all in translit. only)	pp. 395–97 II "1′–34‴"		ø "Lam. I" 176–216
	pp. 397f. III "1′–17‴"		ø "ND"
	pp. 398–99 III "18′–41‴"		ø "Lam. II" 1–17
	p. 400 IV "1′–19′"		"Ug" IV
	p. 401 V "1′–9′"		ø "Lam. I" 40–45
	V "10′–11‴"		ø "Lam. II" 152
	VI "1′–7‴"		ø "Lam. II" 172–75
	pp. 401f. r.col. "1′–13‴"		"Ug" V
	p. 402 r.col. "14′–20‴"		ø "Lam. I" 37–40
	pp. 402f. l.col. "1′–20‴"		ø "Lam. II" 171–88
	p. 403 "C"	RS	"RS"
	p. 404 "D"	(b)	"STT 144" 1–4

Table I (cont.)

Place of Publication		Siglum	Text covered
Pinches IV R[2]	pl. 55 no. 1	C_3	"Lam. III" 32–137
	pl. 56 col. I	C_1	"Lam. I" 1–29
	col. II		"Lam. I" 72–105
	col. II		"Lam. I" 184–205
	col. IV		colophon
	pl. 58 col. I	C_2	"Lam. II" 2–60
	col. II		"Lam. II" 67–123
	col. III		"Lam. II" 134–80
	col. IV		"Lam. II" 184–212 + colophon
	add. p. 10 to pl. 56 (a)	A/D_1	"Lam. I" 1–18
	(b)	D_1	"Lam. I" 65–71
	add. p. 11 to pl. 56 (a)	D_1	"Lam. I" 72–77
	(b)	A/D_1	"Lam. I" 170–86
	(c)	A	"Lam. I" 204–11
	(d) r.col.	A	"Lam. II" 207–"Lam. III" 21
	(d) l.col.	〃	"Lam. III" 88–111
Schuster-Brandis AOAT 46	pl. 9–29	(*β*)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35)
	pl. 39	(α)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35)
Schwemer BaghM 37,	pp. 211f. = "Taf. 1–2"	K 888	"K 888"
(von Soden OrNS 23 pp. 337ff. see: Keiser BIN 2)			
(von Soden OrNS 25 pp. 141ff. see: Clay BIN 4)			
Thompson AMT	no. 3/3	D_1	"Lam. I" 91–100
Thompson EG	pl. 28b r.col.	D_1	"Lam. I" 131–32
	l.col.	〃	"Lam. I" 198–203
Thureau-Dangin RA 18	p. 163, 13–29 (ed. pp. 166f.)	(a)	"RA" 1–23
	p. 195	Ak	ø "Lam. II" 129–134
	p. 198	Ac	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
(Thureau-Dangin TCL 6 no. 49	see: Thureau-Dangin RA 18, 163)		
von Weiher SpTU III	no. 84, 1–16, 62–77	SpTU (b)	"SpTU" "RA" 1–24
von Weiher SpTU V	no. 239	*Ψ*	ø "Lam. II" 136–50; "Lam. III" 94
Weissbach BMisc.	no. 15	Ab_1	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
Wiseman/Black CTN 4	no. 104	ND	"ND"

Table II. List of Museum and Excavation Numbers

If I am aware that a photo of a tablet has been posted on the CDLI website (http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/) prior to July 2012, I include this general reference in Table II (below). The photo and further pertinent information can then be found through CDLI's search function.

bold = texts published (or re-published) here in copy or photo.
italic = texts of other genres that contain Lamaštu-related passages.
NB: If texts are not (re-)published here, only the lead numbers of joined tablets are given in the list.
{numbers in braces} = unpublished texts used in transliteration only.

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered[a]
A 202	Köcher BAM no. 356		(η)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–32)
A 378+	Farber SKS pl. 13 1–17		(k)	"SKS" 1–18
A 394	Farber SKS pl. 12 1–15		(l)	"SKS" 1–18
A.M. 1924.900	Gurney OECT 11 no. 57		*Ec*	"Lam. II" 1–17
AO 6473	Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 163		(a)	"RA" 1–23
AO 8148	Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 195		Ak	ø "Lam. II" 129–34
Ass. 13955/cs		VAT 8943		
Ass. 13955/ht		A 202		
BM 33399	copy pl. 75		BM 33399	"BM 33399"
BM 36668	copy pl. 61		*Se*	"Lam. II" 37–47
BM 41211	photo of obv. pl. 81		*Eb*	"Lam. II" 1–20
BM 41280	copy pl. 60		*Sb*	"Lam. I" 100–105; "Lam. II" 108–11, 119–21
BM 42327+	Farber SKS pl. 14f.		(c)	"RA" 1–24
BM 42570 **+ BM 43619** **+ BM 43679** **+ F 225**	copy pl. 61 (see also Finkel Fs. Lambert p. 196 fig. 48)		*Sf*	"Lam. II" 84–85, 119–20, 136, 152, 193–94
BM 42612 + BM 43477 + BM 43525 (+) BM 43267	Finkel Fs. Lambert p. 211 fig. 68		FsL	"FsL"
BM 43477		BM 426112		
BM 43619		BM 426112		
BM 43525		BM 426112		
BM 43550	copy pl. 59 (see also Finkel Fs. Lambert p. 196 fig. 49)		*Sa*	"Lam. I" 6–7, 11–12

a. All references with the prefix "Lam." refer to the edition of the canonical series in Part I, all others to the editions of the non-canonical texts in Parts II and III. References in parentheses are not transliterated in the edition.

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
BM 43619		BM 42570		
BM 43679		BM 42570		
{BM 43897+}	–		*Rb*	ø "Lam. III" 69–75
BM 45393 **+ *BM 46277*** **+ *BM 46331***	photos of obv. pls. 78–80		*Ea*	"Lam. I" 11–21, 37–45; "Lam. II" 1–26, 34–59
BM 46277		BM 45393		
BM 46281 **+ BM 46335** **+ BM 46420** **+ BM 46460** **+ BM 46469**	copy pls. 36–43		*a*	"Lam. I" 1–52, 67–100, 103; "Lam. II" 1, 27–33, 84–112, 113*–17*, 119–62, 168–212
BM 46331		BM 45393		
BM 46335		BM 46281		
BM 46420		BM 46281		
BM 46460		BM 46281		
BM 46469		BM 46281		
BM 56148+	Schuster-Brandis AOAT 46 pls. 9–27		*(β)*	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35)
BM 76642 **+ BM 93053** **(+) BM 82991**	copy pls. 50–51		*c*	"Lam. I" 20–40, 60–83; "Lam. II" 17–33, 84–100, 126–54, 172–201
BM 82991		BM 76642		
BM 93053		BM 76642		
BM 104891	Finkel Ḫulbazizi pl. 53		Ae	ø "Lam. I" 1–2
BM 120022	copy pls. 62–63		MB	ø "Lam. II" 152–88
BM 121038 **+ BM 128028**	copy pl. 34		G	"Lam. III" 17–58, colophon
BM 128028		BM 121038		
BM 132520	copy pl. 65, photo pl. 82 (Finkel Ḫulbazizi pp. 309f.)		Ao	ø "Lam. II" 129–34
Bo 1402/c	Köcher KUB 37 no. 66		Bo	"Bo"
Byblos 19041	Dossin MUSJ 45 p. 252		Ai	ø "Lam. II" 84–94
CBS 10455	Cavigneaux Fs. de Meyer pp. 88f. (photo CDLI)		OB_4	"OB_4"
CBS 11303	copy pl. 61 (photo CDLI)		*Sd*	"Lam. I" 213–18; "Lam. II" 34, 162–67

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
CBS 13939	copy pls. 44–49 (Lutz PBS 1/II no. 113)		*b*	"Lam. I" 6–8, 11–21, 37–45, 62–87; "Lam. II" 4–27, 84–111, 119–21, 133–76, 189–208, colophon
IM 21180	van Dijk TIM 9 no. 63		OB_6	"OB_6"
IM 67571		ND 4394		
IM 67882	photo pl. 82		Ab_2	ø "Lam. I" 1–7
IM 74648	Abadah Sumer 28 pl. 3f.		Ad	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
K 132	copy pls. 19–20 (Pinches IV R^2 pl. 55)		C_3	"Lam. III" 32–138
K 156+ **+ K 3220**	copy of III 59–68 pl. 58 (Haupt ASKT no.11+ additional joins, see Borger 1969: 1ff.)		Ed_1	"Lam. II" 129–34
K 888	Schwemer BaghM 37 pp. 211f.		K 888	"K 888"
K 2016[b] **+ K 3377** **+ K 4929** **+ K 5734** **+ K 7087** **+ K 8092** **+ K 9972** **+ K 10323** **+ K 19449** **+ Sm 1814** **(+) K 2797** **(+) K 10536** **+ K 11300** **+ K 14830**	copy pls. 21–27 (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 10a, b, and p. 11a, b) (Myhrman ZA 16 p. 196) (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 10a, b, and p. 11a, b) (Thompson AMT no. 3/3) (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 10a) (Thompson EG pl. 28b)		D_1	"Lam. I" 1–23, 55–107, 119–203, 210–29, colophon
K 2423 **+ K 3362** **+ K 9346** **+ K 16673**	copy pls. 11–18 (Pinches IV R^2 pl. 58) (Pinches IV R^2 pl. 58)		C_2	"Lam. II" 2–60, 67–123, 134–181, 184–87, 191–212, colophon
K 2482 **(+) K 8154** **(+) K 11814** **(+) Sm 1302** **(+) 79-7-8,81** **+ 79-7-8,143**	copy pls. 1–5 (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 10a) (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 11b, c, e) (Pinches IV R^2 add. p. 11e)		A	"Lam. I" 1–19, 69–99, 177–211; "Lam. II" 86–105, 155–66, 207–12; "Lam. III" 1–21, 69–78, 88–111, colophon

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
K 2543 **+ K 3422** **+ K 10486** **+ K 10765** **+ K 11572** **(+) K 8996** **+ K 10968** **+ K 11105** **+ K 19475** **(+) K 11819**	copy pls. 28–30 (Myhrman ZA 16 pp. 198f.) (Myhrman ZA 16 p. 200) (Myhrman ZA 16 pp. 198f.) (Myhrman ZA 16 p. 200)		D_2	"Lam. II" 1–23, 26–32, 56–59, 100–23, 125–39, colophon
K 2725+. . . ***+ K 17168*** ***+ K 17265*** ***+ K 18151***	copy of II 13–20 pl. 58 (Meek RA 17 p. 125+ additional joins, see Borger 1969: 1ff. and 1969–70: 174)		Ed_2	"Lam. II" 129–34
K 2797		K 2016b		
K 2971 **(+) K 2986**	copy pls. 8–10 (Pinches IV R^2 pl. 56)		C_1	"Lam. I" 1–29, 72–105, 136–53, 183–205, colophon
K 2986		K 2971		
K 3220		K 156		
K 3362		K 2423		
K 3377		K 2016b		
K 3422		K 2543		
K 4929		K 2016b		
K 5734		K 2016b		
K 6901+	Farber SKS pl. 1–7		(Aa)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–31, 57–60)
K 7087		K 2016b		
K 7950 + K 9436 + K 11745 + K 13759	Farber Fs. Borger p. 67		FsB	"FsB"
K 8092		K 2016b		
K 8138 **+ Rm 2,212** **(+) Sm 2143**	copy pls. 6–7 (Myhrman ZA 16 p. 197)		B	"Lam. II" 38–76, 82–109, 131–48; "Lam. III" 28–34
K 8154		K 2482		
K 8718 **+ Sm 1266**	copy pl. 35		*H*	"Lam. III" 44–97
K 8736	copy pl. 33		*F*	"Lam. III" 1–18, colophon
K 8996		K 2543		

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
K 9288	photo: Schuster-Brandis, AOAT 46 pl. 39		(*α*)	(ø "Lam. III" 30–35)
K 9346		K 2423		
K 9436		K 7950		
K 9972		K 2016b		
K 10323		K 2016b		
K 10486		K 2543		
K 10536		K 2016b		
K 10765		K 2543		
K 10968		K 2543		
K 10984	copy pl. 57		Ω	"Lam. III" 40–42
K 11105		K 2543		
K 11300		K 2016b		
K 11572		K 2543		
K 11745		K 7950		
K 11814		K 2482		
K 11819		K 2543		
K 13759		K 7950		
K 14830		K 2016b		
K 16673		K 2423		
K 17168		K 2725		
K 17265		K 2725		
K 17781	copy pl. 77		Fr.1	"Fr.1"
K 18151		K 2725		
K 18615	copy pl. 77		Fr.3	"Fr.3"
K 19449		K 2016b		
K 19475		K 2543		
Ki 1902-5-10,36	photo pl. 81 (Finkel Ḫulbazizi pl. 54)		Aa	ø "Lam. I" 1–8, 11–21
Kt 94/k, 821	Michel OrNS 66 p. 61		OA_1	ø "Lam. I" 37–45
M 8	copy by I. L. Finkel pls. 66–87; photos pls. 84–89 (photo: Dalley Iraq 54 pl. XIV)		Emar	"Emar"
MMA 1984.348	Harper Notable Acquisitions (Metropolitan Museum) 1984/1985 p. 4		Am	ø "Lam. II" 129–134
Moussaieff	copy pl. 64 (translit. + photo Farber Fs. Röllig pp. 115ff.)		Ah	ø "Lam. II" 34–52

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
N 2737	copy pl. 59 (photo CDLI)		*Sc*	"Lam. I" 111–18
NBC 3672	Clay BIN 4 no. 126		OA_2	"OA_2"
ND 4394	Wiseman/Black CTN 4 no. 104		ND	"ND"
Ni 2675 **(+) Si 883**	copy pl. 57		*α*	"Lam. I" 148–159, 164–76; "Lam. II" 183–94, 198–210
{Priv. Coll. Japan}	–		An	ø "Lam. II" 129–34
Priv. Coll. GB		M 8		
RC 713	copy pl. 75 (photo CDLI as RC 0713)		RC	"RC"
Rm 2,212		K 8138		
RS 25.420 **+ RS 25,440C** **+ RS 25.445** **+ RS 25.447** **+ RS 25.456** **+ RS 25.459C**	copy pls. 68–74 (Nougayrol Ugar. 6 pp. 393ff. [translit.] and Arnaud Corpus pl. VIII-XI no. 18 [copy])		Ug	cols. I–III, V–VI: ø "Lam. I" 37–45, 117–34, 176–216; "Lam. II" 1–17, 152, 171–88; col. III: ø "ND" cols. IV–V: "Ug"
RS 25.440C		RS 25.420		
RS 25.445		RS 25.420		
RS 25.447		RS 25.420		
RS 25.456		RS 25.420		
RS 25.459C		RS 25.420		
RS 25.475	Arnaud, Corpus pl. XXX no. 69 (Nougayrol Ugar. 6 p. 404 [translit.])		(b)	"STT 144" 1–4
RS 25.513	copy pl. 68 (Nougayrol Ugar, 6 p. 403 [translit.] and Arnaud Corpus pl. V no. 17 [copy])		RS	"RS"
Si 883		Ni 2675		
Sm 1266		K 8718		
Sm 1302		K 2482		
Sm 1814		K 2016b		
Sm 2056 **+ 83-1-18,465** **(+) 80-7-19,108**	copy pls. 31–32		*E*	"Lam. III" 1–25, 49–94, 112–38
Sm 2143		K 8138		
SU 51/30	Gurney STT no. 144		(a)	"STT 144"
SU 51/55	Gurney STT no. 145		STT 145	"STT 145"
SU 51/112	Gurney STT no. 281		Ra	ø "Lam. III" 64–73

Table II (cont.)

Number	Publication	see under	Siglum	Text Covered
SU 51/213	Gurney STT no. 146		–	(ø "Lam. II" 110–11)
SU 52/28	Gurney STT no. 143		M	"Lam. II" 83–104
SU 52/132 + *SU 52/182*	Gurney STT no. 202 + STT no. 273		(STT 273)	(ø "Lam. III" 57–60)
SU 52/182		SU 52/132		
VA 3477	Thureau-Dangin RA 18 p. 198		Ac	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
VA 6959	Weissbach BMisc. no. 15		Ab	ø "Lam. I" 1–8
VA 8278	Klengel MIO 7 pl. IV		Ag	ø "Lam. I" 1–2
VAT 595	copy pl. 55		*x*	"Lam. III" 22–45
VAT 8943	Köcher BAM no. 183 (photo CDLI as VAT 08943)		Rc	ø "Lam. III" 74–75
VAT 10327 **+ VAT 10356**	copy pls. 52–56 (Ebeling KAR no. 239)		m	"Lam. I" 101–115, 118–48, 157–64, 173–206, 214–32; "Lam. II" 57–78*
VAT 10353	copy by N. Heeßel pl. 59		*Ee*	"Lam. I" 44–61
VAT 10356		VAT 10327		
VAT 13605	copy pl. 76		Assur memo	"Assur memo"
VAT 14505	Falkenstein LKU no. 32 (photo CDLI)		(e) *(e)*	col. I: "SKS" 1–18 (II: ø "Lam. III" 30–35, 57–60)
VAT 14506	Falkenstein LKU no. 33 (photo CDLI)		*n*	"Lam. I" 105–50, 201–2; "Lam. II" 48–78*, colophon
W 23010	von Weiher SpTU V no. 238		*Ψ*	"Lam. II" 136–50; "Lam. III" 94
W 23287	von Weiher SpTU III no. 84		SpTU (b)	1–16: "SpTU" 62–77: "RA" 1–24
YBC 1265	Keiser BIN 2 no. 72		OB_2	"OB_2"
YBC 4601	Hussey YOS 11 no. 19		OB_3	"OB_3"
YBC 8041	Hallo AMD 1 p. 286		OB_5	"OB_5"
YBC 9846	Hussey YOS 11 no. 20		OB_1	ø "Lam. I" 37–45
1402/c	Köcher KUB 37 no. 66		Bo	"Bo"
79-7-8,81		K 2482		
79-7-8,143		K 2482		
80–7-19, 108		Sm 2056		
{80-7-19,319}	–		Af	ø "Lam. I" 1–3
81-2-4,302	copy pl. 77		Fr.2	"Fr.2"
83-1-18,465		Sm 2056		

Table III. Concordance between "Lam. I–II" and "Lam. III"
(Rituals and Incipits)

Lines		Parallel Ritual	Quotation of Incipit
I 1	(= Inc. 1)		III 77
I 11+14	(= Inc. 2)		III 69–70, 79–80
I 23–31	(= Rit. 2a)	III 110–118	
I 32–36	(= Rit. 2b)	III 64–66	
I 37	(= Inc. 3)		III 71, 81, 98
I 47–57	(= Rit. 3a)	III 119–129	
I 58–59	(= Rit. 3b)	III 44–45	
I 60	(= Rit. 3c)	(ø III 74)	
I 61	(= Rit. 3d)	(ø III 67)	
I 62	(= Inc. 4)		III 82
I 94–99	(= Rit. 4)	III 130–35	
I 100+103	(= Inc. 5)		III 84–85
II 1	(= Inc. 6)		III 72, 87, 100
II 28–30	(= Rit. 6a)	III 67–68	
II 31–33	(= Rit. 6b)	III 74–75	
II 34	(= Inc. 7)		III 14, 86
II 61–83 / 61*–78*	(= Rit. 7)	III 8–28	
II 84	(= Inc. 8)		III 89
II 113–18 / 113*–17*	(= Rit. 8)	III 35–41	
II 119	(= Inc. 9)		III 90
II 129–30	(= Inc. 10)		III 91–92
II 136	(= Inc. 11)		III 93
II 152	(= Inc. 12)		III 95
II 193–94	(= Inc. 13)		III 96–97
II 212	(= Rit. 13)	(ø III 45–46)	
III 8–28		II 61–83 / 61*–78* (= Rit. 7)	
III 14			II 34 (= Inc. 7)
III 35–41		II 113–18 / 113*–17* (= Rit. 8)	
III 44–45		I 58–59 (= Rit. 3b)	
III 45–46		(ø II 212 = Rit. 13)	
III 64–66		I 32–36 (= Rit. 2b)	
III 67		(ø I 61 = Rit. 3d)	
III 67–68		II 28–30 (= Rit. 6a)	
III 69–70			I 11+14 (= Inc. 2)
III 71			I 37 (= Inc. 3)
III 72			II 1 (= Inc. 6)

Table III (cont.)

Lines	Parallel Ritual	Quotation of Incipit
III 74	(ø I 60 = Rit. 3c)	
III 74–75	II 31–33 (= Rit. 6b)	
III 77		I 1 (= Inc. 1)
III 79–80		I 11+14 (= Inc. 2)
III 81		I 37 (= Inc. 3)
III 82		I 62 (= Inc. 4)
III 84		I 100+103 (= Inc. 5)
III 86		II 34 (= Inc. 7)
III 87		II 1 (= Inc. 6)
III 89		II 84 (= Inc. 8)
III 90		II 119 (= Inc. 9)
III 91–92		II 129–30 (= Inc. 10)
III 93		II 136 (= Inc. 11)
III 95		II 152 (= Inc. 12)
III 96–97		II 193–94 (= Inc. 13)
III 98		I 37 (= Inc. 3)
III 100		II 1 (= Inc. 6)
III 110–118	I 23–31 (= Rit. 2a)	
III 119–129	I 47–57 (= Rit. 3a)	
III 130–135	I 94–99 (= Rit. 4)	



Fig. 17. Lam. amulet no. 71 (see Bleibtreu 1984: new photos courtesy E. Bleibtreu).

Table IV: Index to Separate Transliterations, Transcriptions, and Translations of Parallels and Related Texts

that have not been fully incorporated into the canonical text of "Lam. I–III."

Text	Transliteration	Transcription + Translation
Sigla, lines	*pp.*	*pp.*
"Aa" 9–18	70–72	–
"Aa" 19–26	68–70	–
"Ab_{1-2}"	68–70	144f.
"Ac"	68–70	–
"Ad"	68–70	–
"Ae"	68	–
"Af"	68	–
"Ag"	68	–
"Ah"	100–103	–
"Ai"	107–9	–
"Ak"	114–16	(177)
"Al"	114–16	(177)
"Am"	114–16	(177)
"An"	114–16	(177)
"Ao"	114–16	(177)
"Assur memo"	278–79	310–14
"BM 33399"	277f.	310f.
"Bo"	263	288f.
"Emar"	264f.	290–93
"Fr. 1"	339	340f.
"Fr. 2"	339	340f.
"Fr. 3"	340	–
"FsB"	267	296–99
"FsL"	276	306f.
"MB"	120–25	180f.
"K 888"	276	306f.

Text	Transliteration	Transcription + Translation
Sigla, lines	*pp.*	*pp.*
"ND"	266	294f.
"OA_1"	74f.	148f.
"OA_2"	259	280f.
"OB_1"	74f.	148f.
"OB_2"	260	280f.
"OB_3"	260	282f.
"OB_4"	261	282f.
"OB_5"	261	284f.
"OB_6"	261	284f.
"RA"	268–70	298f.
"Ra"	135f.	190f.
"Rb"	135–37	(190)
"Rc"	137	(190)
"RC"	275	304f.
"RS"	263	288f.
"SKS"	271f.	300f.
"SpTU"	277	308f.
"STT 144"	273	300f.
"STT 145"	274	302f.
"Ug" I–II	83–86; 88–93	160f.
"Ug" III 1′–14′	266f.	294–97
"Ug" III 15′ff.	95–98	164–67
"Ug" IV–V 14′	262f.	286–89
"Ug" V 15′–29′	74f.	150f.
"Ug" V 30′–VI	120; 122–125	181f.

The Texts: Edition

Part I:
The Canonical Lamaštu Series ("Lam. I–III")

Transliteration in Score Format*

The arrangement of the "Standard Text" of the canonical "Lam." series in Part 1 follows the Kuyunjik version and thus is subdivided into the 3 "*pirsū*," "Lam. I–III". For different textual arrangements in other first-millennium versions of the series, see above, pp. 17ff.

All texts belonging to any of these versions are transliterated as part of the main "score,"[1] followed by excerpts from the series preserved in the context of other SB genres. These are set apart by space and transliterated in smaller type. Parallel passages from amulets and other independent traditions (including earlier versions) are transliterated separately at the bottom of the page or section, indented and in smaller type.

Throughout Part I, sigla in *italic* generally indicate exemplars in Babylonian script.

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*Abbreviations and signs used in the transliteration:

1 ff. = reconstructed line numbering of edition.

I ff. = columns of individual text (single column exemplars of "Lam. I–III", and all fragments, are also quoted by column (I = obv., II = rev.). Other single-column tablets are quoted by "obv." and "rev.," with continous line numbering.

[1] ff. = line numbering of individual text and/or column.

italic indicates restorations of signs of which no traces are left, both free and from parallels (used mostly if no exemplar is preserved for the passage but also for major variants that can be safely restored from the remaining signs).

. . . . . = word(s) left out in a particular text (as a variant); also used occasionally within restored passages, if such restoration seems warranted by space.

* before transliterated sign = collated (used only with texts published elsewhere and not recopied for this edition).

ṿ (dot under vowel) marks superficially damaged signs whose general outline is still visible on the tablet.

// + line number = line in parallel version virtually duplicates line in standard version.

~ + line number = line in parallel version is similar or comparable to line in standard version.

[?] is used sparingly and is generally omitted when the traces in the copy do not contradict the reading expected from the duplicate(s), even if they would be equally consistent with different readings.

CV*m* signs have been transliterated with mimation in word-final position.

e/*i*: Signs differentiating between /*i*/ and /*e*/ (e.g., *mi* and *me*) are generally transliterated with their basic value; only in the case of BI and NI have the readings *bi*/*bé* and *ni*/*né* been adopted according to phonetic context. Signs not differentiating between the two vowels are rendered with /*e*/ wherever the context requires it.

1. Having been credited somewhat incorrectly for inventing the term "Partitur"—that is, "(musical) score" for synoptical transliterations of cuneiform texts (Borger 1991: 50 n. 14; I first heard it from Manfred Weippert)—I think it fits this notation reasonably well: the two axes for continuous / melodic / narrative development, and for synchronic / punctual / harmonic structure in a musical score compare pretty well to the two axes for individual continuous / narrative representation of the exemplars and their punctual / graphemic comparison. I therefore still prefer it over other terms that have been proposed (e.g., Shaffer and Borger: "synopsis" or "interlineare Synopse"; Civil: "textual matrix").

Lam. I (= 1. *pirsu*)

Inc. 1

1	A	I	1	ÉN ^{d}d[im$_{10}$.]
	C$_1$	I	1	[*dumu an*].na MU-šá 1-e[n]
	D$_1$	I	1	ÉN ^{d}dim$_{10}$.m[e -š]á 1-en
	a	I	1	[.n]a M[U-]
2	A	I	2	šá-nu-ú a-[ ]
	C$_1$	I	2	[.M]EŠ šá su-qa-a-t[i]
	D$_1$	I	2	šá-nu-ú a-ḫa[t]-qa-a-ti
	a	I	2	[ ] a-ḫat DINGIR.MEŠ šá s[u-]
3	A	I	3	šal-šu pat-ru [ ]
	C$_1$	I	3	[SA]G.DỤ i-lat-tu-ṷ
	D$_1$	I	3	šal-šu pat-ru š[á]-tu-u
	a	I	3	[ ] pat-ri šá SAG.DỤ ú-lat-t[u-]

Aa	19	ÉN ^{d}diṃ$_{9}$.me dumu an MU-[š]á [ ]	// 1
	20	2-ú a-ḫat [ ].MEŠ [š]á S[ILA$^{?}$.]	// 2
	21	3-šú pat-rụ šá S[AG.] i-lat-[ ]	// 3
Ab$_1$	1	ÉN ^{d}dìm.me dumu ^{d}a-ni[m] ^{2}MU-šá 1-en	// 1
	3	2-u a-ḫat DINGIR.MEŠ šá SILA.MEŠ	// 2
	4	3 GÍR šá SAG.DU i-ḫat-tú-*u	// 3
Ab$_2$	1	[dì]m.me$^{!}$ dumu ^{d}a-nim ^{2}[M]U-šá 1-en	// 1
	3	[ ]-u a-ḫat DINGIR.MEŠ šá SILA.MEŠ	// 2
	4	[ ] GÍR šá SAG.DU i-ḫat-tú$^{?}$-u$^{?}$	// 3
Ac	1	^{d}dim$_{8}$.me dumu ^{d}a-nim	// 1
	2	MU-šá 1-en 2-u ⟨a⟩-ḫat DINGIR šá SILA.MEŠ	// 2
	3	3-šú GÍR šá SAG.DU ú-lat-tu-u	// 3
Ad	1	ÉN ^{d}dìm.⟨me⟩ dumu an.na MU-šá 1-ẹn	// 1
	2	2-ú ḫa-a-a-ṭa$^{?}$ DINGIR.MEŠ šá su-qa-a-ti	// 2
	3	3-šú pat-ru šá SAG.DU i-la-tu-u	// 3
Ae	9	[d]im$_{9}$.me dumu an.[?]	// 1
	10	[*š]á$^{?}$ *SILA$^{?}$.M[EŠ]	// 2
Af	1	[du]mu ^{d}a-nim ^{2}[ ]-en	// 1
	3	[.M]EŠ šá SILA.MEŠ	// 2
	4	[.D]U ú-lat-tu-ma	// 3
Ag	1	ÉN *di[m$_{9}$.]	// 1
	2	*2-ú a-ḫ[at]	// 2

4 A I [4] re-bu-ú [ ]
C_1 I [4] [IZ]I i-nap-pa-ḫu
D_1 I [4] re-bu-ú [ ]-pa-ḫu
a I [4] [ ] -ú šá i-šá-tum i-nap-p[a-]

5 A I [5] ḫa-an-šu il-tum š[á]
C_1 I [5] [-t]u[m] šá pa-nu-šá šak-ṣu
D_1 I [5] ḫa-an-šu il-tum šá [ša]k-ṣu
a I [5] [-š]u ìl-tum šá pa-n[i]-šú [š]ak-ṣu

6 A I [6] šeš-šu pa-qid qa-t[i]
C_1 I [6] [q]a-ti le-qat [d]ir-ni-na
D_1 I [6] šeš-šu pa-qid qa-t[i]-ni-na
a I [6] [-qi]d qa-ti le-qa-a[t i]r-ni-ni
b I [1′] [ ]-n[i]-ni

Sa II [1′] [p]a[?]-q[id[?]] [2′] [-n]a →

7 A I [7] se-bu-u niš DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.M[EŠ]
C_1 I [7] se-b[u- .M]EŠ GAL.MEŠ lu-u [t]a-ma-ti
D_1 I [7] se-bu-u niš DINGIR.ME[Š -m]a-ti
a I [7] [DINGI]R.MEŠ G[AL].MEŠ l[u- -m]a-a-ta
b I [2′] [DING]IR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ lu-ú ta-mą-ą-ta

Sa II 7-ú niš [ ] [3′] lu ta-ma-ą-[ ]

Aa [22] 4-ú šá GIŠ [?] i-nap-[ ] // 4
[23] 5-šú il-tu šá pa-n[u-] šąk-[ṣ]u[?] // 5
[24] 6-šú pa-qid qa-ti lę-qąt [d]ir-ni-n[a] // 6
[25] 7-ú niš DINGIR.MEŠ GA[L.M]EŠ lu-u tą-m[at] // 7

Ab_1 [5] 4 šá GIŠ ZI-ḫu // 4
[6] 5 il-tú šá IGI-šú SIG_7 // 5
[7] 6 SUM-at ŠU *AN(=TI[!?])-at *un[!?]-ni-ni // 6
[8] 7 niš AN.AN.AN.AN *xx-[ ] ~ 7

Ab_2 [5] 4̨ šá GIŠ ZI-ḫu // 4
[6] [ ] il-tú šá IGI-šú SIG_7 // 5
[7] 6̨ SUM-at [Š]U TI-at / [8][-n]i[?]-ni // 6

Ac [4] 4-u šá i-šá-tú i-nap-pa-ḫu // 4
[5] 5-šú ìl-tum šá pa-nu-šá šak[!]-ṣu // 5
[6] 6-šú pa-qid qa-ti le-qat ir-ni-na // 6
[7] 7-u MU DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ lu ta-mat // 7

Ad [4] 4-ú šá IZI i-nap-pa-ḫu // 4
[5] 5-šú il-tum šá IGI-šá šak-ṣu // 5
[6] 6-šú pa-qid qa-ti le-qat[!] [d]ir-ni[!]-na // 6
[7] 7-u niš DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ lu-u ta-ma-tú // 7

8 A I [8] it-ti MUŠEN AN-e lu tap-par-[ ]
C_1 I [8] it-t[i]-e lu tap-par-r[a-*ši*-m]a TU_6.ÉN
D_1 I [8] it-ti MUŠEN AN-ẹ [T]U_6.ÉN
a I [8] [ ]-ú́ ta[p-].É́N
b I [3′][ ]-e lu-ú́ tap-par-ši-mạ TU_6.ÉN
Sa (caret ?)

Rub. 1

9 A I [9] KA.INIM.MA [d]D[IM$_{10}$.]
C_1 I [9] K[A.].MA [d]DIM$_{10}$.ME.KE_4
D_1 I [9] KA.INIM.MA [.K]E_4
a I [9] [DI]M_{11}.M[E.K]E_4 →
b (caret)

(no divider line in *a*)

Rit. 1

10 A I [10] DÙ.DÙ.BI ina UGU [NA$_4$]KIŠIB IM SAR-ár L[Ú.]
C_1 I [10] D[Ù. .B]I ina UGU [NA$_4$]KIŠ[IB I]M SAR-ár LÚ.TUR ina GÚ-šú́ GAR-an
D_1 I [10] DÙ.DỤ.B[I] [11]L[Ú.]
a I D[Ù.] ina mụḫ-ḫ[i] [NA$_4$]K[IŠIB] [10]SAR-ár [.TU]R ina GÚ-šú́ GAR-a[n]

Inc. 2

11 A I [11] ÉN [d]dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu p[à.]
C_1 I [11] É[N di]m$_{10}$.me dumu an.nạ mụ pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke_4
D_1 I [12] [ ].ẹ.nẹ.kẹ$_4$
a I [11] [d]im$_{11}$.me dumu an.na mu p[à.d]a dingịr.rẹ.ẹ.[n]e.k[e_4]
b I [4′][d]im$_{11}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.ẹ.nẹ.ke_4
Ea I [29] ÉN [d]dim$_{11}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.[.n]e.ke_4 →

Aa [26] KI MUŠEN AN-e *t[a-*par-*r]a-*ši *TU_6.[ ] // 8
[9] [É]N [d]dim$_9$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.n[é?].k[e_4] // 11
Ab_1 [9] GIM MUŠEN ina AN-e DAL.DAL // 8
Ac [8] KI MUŠEN AN-e lu ta-par-*ši-*ma ÉN // 8
Ad [8] KI MUŠEN.ME AN-e lu ta-par-ra-ši-ma TU_6.ÉN // 8

12 A I [12] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál [ ]
C_1 I [12] [ ].gál nin sag.gi$_6$.ga
D_1 I [13] [ ].gi$_6$.ga
a I [12] [i]n.ni[n] niṛ.gál niṇ sag.gi$_6$.g[a]
b I [5′] [ ].nin nir.gál nin sag.gi$_6$.ga
Ea I ^{d}in.nin nir.gál [30]nin sag.gi$_6$.ga →

13 A I [13] zi an.na ḫé.pà z[i]
C_1 I [13] [.p]à zi ki.a ḫé.pà
D_1 I [14] [ ] ḫé.pà
a I [z]i an.n[a .p]à z[i *MIN*?]
b I [6′] [a]n.na ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.pà
Ea I zi an.na ḫé.p[à k]i.a ḫé.pà →

14 A I [14] ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki UR.G[I$_7$]
C_1 I [14] [-k]i UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ gal-la-ki
D_1 I [15] [g]al-la-ki
a I [13] [-š]á-ḫi-i[z]-ka UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ gal-la-k[a]
b I [7′] [-ḫ]i-iz-ka UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ gal-la-ka →
Ea I ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ka [31]UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ gal-la-ka →

15 A I [15] aq-qí-ki A.MEŠ PÚ p[u-]
C_1 I [15] [ ] Ạ.MẹŠ PÚ pu-uṭ-ri at-la-ki
D_1 I [16] [a]t-la-ki
a I [14] [ ]-kạ A.MEŠ bu-ri pu-ṭur at-l[ak] →
b I aq-qí-ki A.MEŠ PÚ [8′] [-ṭu]r at-la-ku →
Ea I aq-qí-k[a P]Ú pu-ṭur at-lak →

16 A I [16] i-si-i ù r[e]-ẹ-[ ]
C_1 I [16] [-q]í ina SU LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-ni-i
D_1 I [17] [-š]ú an-ni-i
a I ị-sị u re-qa [15][S]U LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-ni-i →
b I ị-sị-i u re-e-qí [9′][.TU]R . . . . . an-n[i]-ị →
Ea I is-si ù re-qa [32]ina SU LÚ.TU[R DINGI]R-šú an-ni-i →

Aa [10] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál nin sag.gi$_6$.ga // 12
[11] zi an.na ḫé.pà zi kị.a ḫé.p[à] // 13
[12] ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki [U]R.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ gal-la-[ ] // 14
[13] aq-qí-ki A.MEŠ PÚ pu-uṭ-ri at-la-k[i?] // 15
[14] i-si-i u re-e-qí in[a S]U [L]Ú DINGIR-šú [ ] // 16

17 A I [17] ú-t[am]-m[e]-k[i] ^{d}[ ] →
C_1 I [17] [ ] ù an-tum →
D_1 I [18] [a]n-tum
a I ú-tam-[m]i-kạ ^{d}ạ-[nu]m u an-tum
b I ú-[t]am-mi-ki ^{d}a-num u an-[t]um
Ea I ú-[ ] ^{d}a-num u an-tum →

18 A I [ ]
C_1 I KIMIN ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}nin-líl
D_1 I [19] [ni]n-líl
a I [16] [K]I[M]IN ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}nin-líl →
b I [10′] [*ú-tam-mi-ki*] ^{d}[-lí]l u ^{d}nin-líl →
Ea I KIMIN ^{d}e[n-lí]l ụ ^{d}nin-líl

19 A I [18] ú-[*tam-me-ki*]
C_1 I [18] [ ] ù ^{d}a-nu-ni-tum
D_1 I [20] [-n]i-tum
a I KIMIN ^{d}AMA[R.U]TU ụ ^{d}a-nu-nị-tu[m]
b I KIMIN ^{d}AMAR.UTU u ^{d}șar-pa-ni-tum
Ea I [33] KIMIN ^{d}AMAR.[U]TU u ^{d}a-nu-ni-t[um] →

20 C_1 I [19] [G]AL.MEŠ šá AN-e u KI-tim
D_1 I [21] [ ]-tim
a I [17] [K]IMIN DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá AN-e u KI-tim →
b I [11′] [*ú-tam-mi*]-ki DINGIR.MẸŠ GẠL.MEŠ [š]á AN-ẹ u KI-tim
c I [1′] [ ]-ẹ u KI-tim
Ea I [.M]EŠ GAL.MEŠ šá AN-e u KI-tim

21 C_1 I [20] [an]a É an-ni-i ta-tur-rim-ma TU_6.ÉN
D_1 I [22] [.É]N
a I š[u]m-ma ana É an-ni-i ta-tur-rụ [T]E.ÉN
b I [12′] [ ] É ạn-ni-i GUR-ma . . . . . → (21a)
c I [2′] [a]n-[n]i-ị [G]UR-ma TU_6.ÉN
Ea I [34] [šu]m-m[a] ạ-na É an-ni-i t[a- *-ri*]-im-ma TE.ÉN

21[a] *b* I ana LÚ.TUR an-ni-i DIM_4-ma TE.ÉN

Aa [15] ú-tam-me-ki ^{d}ạ-n[u] u an-[ ] // 17
[16] MIN ^{d}*BE u ^{d}nin-l[í]l ^{d}MES u ^{d}a-n[u-] // 18/19
[17] MIN DINGIR.MEŠ GA[L].M[E]Š šá AN-e u [ ] // 20
[18] $šum_4$-ma ana É [a]n-nḗ-ẹ tạ-t[ur-] // 21

Rub. 2

22 C_1 I [21] KA.I[N]IM.MA KÚM la-az-za ù [d]DIM_{10}.ME ZI-ḫi
D_1 I [23] [ ]-ḫi
a I [18] [K]A.INI[M].MA KÚM la-az-zu u [d][D]IM_{11}.ME ZI-ḫi
b (caret)
c I [3′] [-a]z-za u [d]DIM_{11}.ME ZI-ḫi

Rit. 2a

23 C_1 I [22] DÙ.DÙ.BI la-maš-tú . . ki-ma šá É ṣi-bit-ṭi DÙ-uš
D_1 I [24] [-u]š
a I [19] [D]Ù.DỤ.BI DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim šá kị-ma . . É ṣi-bịt-tum DÙ-uš
c I [4′] [. . k]i-[m]a šá É ṣi-bit-ti DÙ-uš

24 C_1 I [23] tir-ṣa ta-tar-ra-aṣ 12 NINDA ZÌ NU SIM ana IGI-šá GAR-an
a I [20] [-ṣ]ạ [t]a-ta[r-r]a-aṣ 12̣ [ ] ZÌ NU SI[M] a[na] IG[I]-šá G[AR-a]n →
c I [5′] [Z]Ì NU SIM ana IGI-šú GAR-an

25 C_1 I [24] A.MEŠ PÚ BAL-qí-ši UR.GI_7 GI_6 tu-šaḫ-ḫas-si
a I Ạ [P]Ú BAL-qí-šú [21][ ] →
c I [6′] [.G]I_7 GI_6 tu-šaḫ-ḫas-si

26 C_1 I [25] 3 u_4-me ina SAG LÚ.GIG tu-še-šeb-ši
a I [ ] ụ$_4$-m[e] i[na S]A[G -š]eb-šú
c I [7′] [.GI]G TUŠ-ši

27 C_1 I [26] [Š]À [Š]AḪ.TUR ana KA-[š]á GAR-an ba-aḫ-ru ta-tab-bak-ši
a I [22] [ ]-ạḫ-ri ta-tab-[ ]
c I [8′] [ ]-na KA-šá GAR-an [9′][ ] ta-tab-bak-šu

28 C_1 I . . . . . [27][GIŠ.ŠAKA]N Ì×GIŠ . . . . . SUM-š[i
a I [23] [*NINDA ḪAD.DA GAR-šú* .G]IŠ’ bít-qú t[ạ’-[ ]
c I . . . . . [10′][ ]
(C_1) [t]u-ṣa-ad-de-ši
(a) [ṣ]u’-[ ]
(c) [ṣ]u-de-e tu-ṣa-ad-da-ši

29 C_1 I [28] [*NINDA.ḪÁD*.D]A G[AR-*ši še-ru AN.*BIR_9 *ši-me*]-tan
a I . . . . . [24][ ] →
c I [11′] [A]N.USAN →

30 *a* I [Š]ID-tụm Š[ID] x̣ [ ] x̣ [ ] [25][*tu*]-š[e-ṣ]e-šú-[m]a →
c I ŠID-tú ŠID-ši [12′][*ina šal-ši* u_4*-me ina UD*.GAM.M]A È-ši-ma

31 *a* I ina U[B *BÀD* t]e-[qe]b-[bi]r-šú →
c I [13′] [-bi]r-ši

(no divider line in *a*)

Rit. 2b

32 *a* I [ES]IR.UD.A ^{GIŠ}MÁ [26][*ESIR*].UD.A ^{GIŠ}ZI.GAN →
c I [14′] [.U]D.A [^{GI}]^{Š}ZI.GAN

33 *a* I ḪSIR.UD.A ^{G}[^{IŠ}*GISAL ESIR*.U]D.A ú-nu-ut ^{GIŠ}MÁ kà-la-mu
c I [15′] [ ] ú-nu-ut ^{GIŠ}MÁ k[a-l]a-ma

34 *a* I . . . . . [27][*SAḪAR* k]à-a-ri u né-bé-ri →
c I [16′] [*ÉSIR.KÚM*] u né-bé-ri

35 *a* I Ì.ŠÀḪ Ì.K[U_6] Ì.NU[N].NA ÉSIR.KÚM [28][ ] ^{Ú}an-ki-nu-tú →
c I [17′] [ ].NUN.NA . . . . ^{Ú}an-ki-nu-te

36 *a* I [^{Ú}a]k-tam ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ.[ME]Š-su-ma ina-eš
c I [18′] [ ]-ma ina-eš

Inc. 3

37 *a* I [29] [u]l i-la[t] na-mur-rat u ši-i bar-ba-rat DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim
b I [13] [*ÉN ez-ze-*e]t ul i-lat na-mur-rat u ši-i bar-ba-rat D[UM]U.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim
c I [19] [ ]-lat na-mur-rat [20][-r]at DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim
Ea I [35] [-e]t u[l] n[a]-m[ur- š]i-i [ba]r-[b]a-ra-at DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim

38 *a* I [30] [ ] G[U_4 -b]u-us-[s]u
b I [14] [*ina kib-si*] ru-bu-us-su →(39)
c I [21] [ ] ru-bu-us-su →(38^{a})
Ea I [36] [r]u-bu-u[s-s]u →(38^{a})

38^{a} *c* I [22] [ ] nar-ba-as-su
Ea I ina kib-s[u -s]u

39 *a* I i[na ki]b-si U[D]U.NÍTA man-za-as-s[u] :
b I ina kib-si UDU.NÍTA man-za-as-su
c I [23] [.NÍ]TA man-za-as-su
Ea I ina kib-su UDU.NÍTA man-za-as-s[u]

OB_1 [1] e-ze-et pa-al-ḫa-at [2]i-la-at a-mu-ra-at [3]ù ši-i ba-ar-ba-ra-tum [4][m]a-ar-ti a-ni ~ 37
[5] [*i*-n]a sa-a-sí na-ar-b[a-ṣ]ú[?]-[š]a [6][*i*-n]a ri-[*ti mu*]-ša-[*bu-ša*] [7][*i-na el*-p]a-ti ma-za-[*zu-ša*] ~ 38/39

OA_1 [1] e-za-at pu-ul-ḫa-at [2]i-lá-at na-ma[?]/ku[?]-ra-at [3]ba-ar-ba-ra-tum [4]ma-ra-at a-ni-im ~ 37
[5] i-na sà-sí-im [6]mu-ša-{MU}-bu-ša [7]i-na el-pí-tim [8]ru-{DU}-ba-sà ~ 38/39

Ug V [15′] ÉN.É.[*NU.RU*] [16′]ez-ze-et šam-rat [ ] / a-m[ur- *rat*[?]] [17′]ù ši-i [b]ir-bir-re-[et[?]] ~ 37
[18′] i-na kib-si GU_4 mu-š[a-*bu-ša*] ~ 38
[19′] i-na kib-si UDU m[a[?]-*za-as-sa*] // 39[?]

40 *a* I [31] [ ]-si-m[u *u*-pa]k-kar
b I [15] [ ]-ku i-kal-lu ANŠE la-sị-mụ ú-pak-kar
c I [24] [GU_4 *a*-l]i-ku i-kal-la [25][l]a-si-mu ú-pak-kar
Ea I [37] [-l]ị-ku i-kal-la ANŠE la-s[i-] →

41 *a* I [32] [ ] →
b I [16] [q]u-ub-bu-ru ú-qab-bar
Ea I GURUŠ.MEŠ qu-ub-bu-ru [38][-ba]r →

42 *a* I [*MUNUS.KAL*].TUR.[ME]Š nu-pu-ṣu [*u*]-nap-pa-ṣu
b I [17] [n]u-up-pu-ṣu ú-nap-pa-[ṣ]u
Ea (caret)

43 *a* I [33] [ ]-ạ[?] Ạ[?].M[EŠ?] pu-ṷš-qu →
b I [18] [.ME]Š i-šaq-qa-a A.MEŠ pu-uš-qa
Ea I TUR.MEŠ i-šaq-qa-a [.ME]Š p[u- -q]í

44 *a* I e-ki-a-am [34][-pe]š GIM z[a]p-[p]u ina kạ-lit AN-e →
b I [19] [*e-ka-a-*m]a lu-mur-šú-ma luD-peš GIM zap-pu ina [k]a-lit AN-e :
Ea I ẹ-ki-a-am lu-mur-ši-i [39][-p]ẹ[?]-eš GIM zap-pu ina BIR AN-e →
Ee 1′ [-a]m[?] [ ]

45 *a* I šu-kụn rụ-bu-ut-k[a] [d]ṬUTU T[E.É]N
b I [20] [-u]t-ka [d]UTU TE.ÉN
Ea I š[u]-kụn N[UN-u]t-ka [d]UTU TE.ÉN
Ee 2′ [ ]-kun r[u[?]-]

Rub. 3

46 *a* (caret)
Ee 3′ [*KA*.I]NIM.MA [d]D[IM_{10}.*ME*.KE_4]

OB_1 [8] [G]U_4 ạ-li-ka i-ka-a[l-*la*] [9]ị-mi-ra šu-u[r]-bu-ṣú ú-š[a[?]-*ar*[?]-*ba*[?]-*aṣ*[?]] ~ 40
[10] ṣé-ḫe-ru-tim ḫu-nu-qú [11]ú-ḫa-an-na-aq ra-ab-bu-tim[?] [12]i-ša-qí-a-am me-e BI-iš-ri ~ 41–43
[13a] TU [13b]EN.NU.RU (~ 45)

OA_1 [9] eṭ-lá-am lá-sí-ma-am [10]ta-kà-lá [11]⟨*e*[?]⟩-ma[?]-ra-am ar-ḫa-am [12]ta-na-sà-ḫa-am [13]zi-ba-sú → ~ 40
(13) ṣa-ḫu-ru-tim [14]na-pu-ṣú-um tù-na-pì-iṣ [15]ší-bu-tim ta-ša-qí-a-mì [16]me-e BI-iš-ri ~ 41–43
[17] ší-ip-tum lá ia-tum [18]ší-pá-at ni-ki-li-il_5 [19]be-el ší-pá-tim —
[20] ni-kà-ra-ak ta-dí-ší-ma [21]a-na-ku al-qé-ší —

Ug V [20′] GU_4 a-la-ka [*i*-ka]l[?]-l[u] [21′][*ú-pa*]-ak-kar // 40[?]
[22′] [*ḫubbulu ú-*ḫ]ab-bal [23′][*šuggušu*] ú-ša-ga-áš ~ 41/42
[24′] [*išaqqâ*] me-e / [*pu*-u]š-qí // 43[?]
[25′] [*ēkiam lūmur*-š]i-ma [26′][ ] i-na ka-lat // 44[?]
[27′] [*šamê*[?] x]x [d][U]TU [28′][TU_6.*ÉN É*].NU.RU // 45[?]
[29′] [*TIL*]

Rit. 3

(for restorations and line divisions, cf. Lam. III 119–126)

47 *a* I [35] [ ] ^{d}a-nim šá I[M] DÙ-uš

Ee [4′][*DÙ.DÙ*.B]I DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim ša IM [ ] →

48 *a* I [36] [*SAG.DU-sa per-ta tu-kat-tam* T]ÚG.NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁ

Ee [ ] [5′][*TÚG UD*].Ḷ.KAM ḫaš-ma-nam →

49 *a* I [37] [ ] →

Ee MU_4.MU_4-sí GIŠ.D[ÁLA *GIŠIMMAR*] [6′][t]u-naṃ-da-as-si →

50 *a* I [BA]L ^{GIŠ}ŠA[KAN] Ì.GIŠ bit-qú SUM-ši :

Ee ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}[ ]

51 *a* I [38] [ ] →

Ee [7′][*NÍG*.À]R.RA M[U]NU_5 BÁPPIR ŠE.SA.A NINDA.ḪÁD.DA →

52 *a* I [DU_{10}.*GAN.MEŠ* DI]RI-[m]a [39][ ]

Ee Ꞑ ^{K}[UŠ?] [8′]*Ꞑ [AN]ŠE ša IM DÙ-uš →

53 *Ee* ṣú-de-e an-n[u]-t[i] [9′][t]u-ṣa-ad-d[i]-ši →

54 *Ee* ina qid-da-at u_4-mi la-am [^{d}*UTU ra-bi-e*] [10′][a]na ED[I]N È-ši →

55 D_1 I [1′]pa-ni-šᾴ ạna ^{d}UT[U.Š]Ú.Ạ G[A]R-a[n MÚR]U.MEŠ-šᾴ KẸ́Š-a[s]

Ee IGI-ša ana ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A GAR-a[n] [11′][K]I ŠU.SAR MÚRU.ME[Š- t]ar-kas →

56 D_1 I [2′]KI ^{GIŠ}NIM ^{GIŠ}Ú.GÍR . . . . . KÉŠ-s[i .R]A . . . NIGIN-ši

Ee ina . . . . . ^{GIŠ}Ú.GÍR ^{GIŠ}NIM t[ar-] [12′]ZÌ.SUR.RA 3-šú [NIGI]N-š[i] →

57 D_1 I [3′][A]N-e . .KI-tim u ^{d}a-[ ] tu-tam-ma-ši

Ee [n]i-iš AN u KI . . ^{d}ạ-n[u]n-n[a-*ki*] [13′][t]u-tam-ma-ši →

58 D_1 I [4′][.NI]N_7.AN.NA ŠẸ̀ [Š]AḪ ḫạl-lu-ta-na-a

Ee IN.NI[N_7. Š]È ŠAḪ ḫal-[l]u-t[a]-n[a-] →

59 D_1 I [5′][*ṣu-lum PAP*.ḪA]L ANŠE šá 15 ina GÚ-šú GAR-an

Ee [14′][-ḫ]al-li ANŠE šá ZAG [G]Ú-šú G[A]R-an

60 D_1 I [6′][GA]ZI^{SAR} ina NE MÚ-šú

c II [1′]Š[IM.*GÚR*.*GÚR*]

Ee [15′][ŠE]M.GAZI ina NE t[u]-qa-tar-šu

61 D_1 I [7′][ ] ^{Ú}áp-r[u-š]ú i[na] Ì×GIŠ ŠÉŠ-su

c II [2′]saḫ-l[é-*e*]]

Ee [16′][ ] ^{Ú}á[p-r]u-[š]ú ina Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ-s[u]

Inc. 4

62 D_1 I 8′ [ ]-pa-a šu-ri-pu
b I 21′ [I]ZI.⟨AN⟩.NE KÚM SED ḫal-pa-a šụ-rị-pi
c II 3′ ÉN la[b-*šat*]

63 D_1 I 9′ [.N]Á.A NUMUN-šú
b I 22′ [-šu]m? [SU]ḪUŠ-s[u] šą́ GIŠŠE.NÁ.A NUMUN-šú
c II 4′ šá GIŠš[u?-]

64 D_1 I 10′ [ ]-kạ mut-ḫum-me-šá
b I 23′ [.LI]Š? bal-ta ú-šal-la it-bu-uk m[u]t-ḫum-me-šú
c II 5′ šá GIŠA.TU.G[AB.]

65 D_1 II 1 i-bir ÍD di-il-ḫạ́ iš-kun
b I 24′ [i]š-kun →
c II 6′ i-bir Í[D]

66 D_1 II 2 i-mid É.SIG$_4$ lu-ḫum-ma-a ip-ta-šá-áš
b I i-mid i-ga-ri lu-ḫum-m[a- i]p-tạ-šá-áš
c II 7′ i-mid É.[ ]

67 D_1 II 3 iṣ-bat ši-i-ba pa-su-sa-tum i-qab-bu-ši
a II 1′ [-b]a [ ]
b I 25′ [p]a-sụ-sa-tú i-qa[b-b]u-šú
c II 8′ iṣ-bat ši-ị-[ ]

68 D_1 II 4 iṣ-bat GURUŠ an-qúl-lum i-qab-bu-ši
a II 2′ [GURU]Š an-qụ-ul-lụ [ ] →
b I 26′ [ ]-gu-la i-qa[b]-bu-šú
c II 9′ iṣ-bat GUR[UŠ]

69 A I 1′ i[ṣ-]
D_1 II 5 iṣ-bat KI.SIKIL la-maš-tum i-qab-bu-ši
a II [ ]
b I 27′ [.SIKI]L la-maš-tum i-qab-bu-šú
c II 10′ iṣ-bat KI.S[IKIL]

70 A I 2′ i[ṣ-]
D_1 II 6 iṣ-bat LÚ.TUR ^{d}DIM$_{10}$.ME i-qab-bu-ši
a II 3′ [i]ṣ-bat LÚ.TUR ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME ị-[ ] →
b I 28′ [ ] ^{d}DỊM$_{11}$.ME ị-q[a]b-bu-šú
c II 11′ iṣ-bat LÚ.T[UR]

71 A I 3′ á[š- -š]ú
D_1 II 7 áš-šu tal-li-kim-ma tu-ṣab-bi-ti ši-kin pa-ni-šú
a II [ ]
b I 29′ [-l]i-k[i]m-mi tu-ṣab-bi-t[a] ši-kin pa-ni-šú
c II 12′ šum-ma tal-l[i-]

72 A I 4′ m[eš- -n]a-a-ti
C_1 II 1 [ ] tu-ṣab-bi-ti [ ]
D_1 II 8 meš-re-ti tu-ṣab-bi-ti tu-ab-bi-ti bi-na-a-ti
a II 4′ meš-[r]e-ḗ-ti tu-ṣab-bi-[ ]
b I 30′ [-t]i tu-ṣab-bi-ta tu-ab-bḭ-ta mi-na-a-tú
c II 13′ meš-re-e-ti t[u-]

73 A I 5′ t[u- -n]ḭ [t]u-kan-na-a-ni
C_1 II 2 tṵ-kàs-[s]a-si SA.MEŠ ma-n[a]-ạ-[n]i t[u-]
D_1 II 9 tu-k[à]s-sa-si SA.MEŠ ma-na-a-ni tu-kan-na-a-ni
a II 5′ tṵ-[kà]s-si-sa SA.MEŠ ma-n[a-] →
b I 31′ [-s]i SA.ME ma-na-na tu-[ ]-na-ni
c II 14′ tu-kàs-sa-si [ ]

74 A I 6′ z[i- -r]a-qḯ b[u-u]n-n[a]-an-né-e tu-uš-pe-el-li
C_1 II 3 zi-i-mi tur-ra-qí bu-un-na-an-nḗ-e tu-u[š-]
D_1 II 10 z[i- -r]a-qí bu-un-na-an-né-e tu-uš-pe-el-li
a II [ ]
b I 32′ [ ]-qí bu-un-na-an-nḗ-ẹ tṵš-[-e]l-lḭ
c II 15′ zi-mi tu-re-[ ]

75 A I 7′ a-š[u- t]a-nam-di-i ^{d}GIŠ.BAR-niš tu-kab-ba-bi zu-um-ri
C_1 II 4 a-šu-uš-tum ta-nam-di-i ^{d}GIŠ.BAR-niš tu-kab-ba-bi zu-[ ]
D_1 II 11 a-[š]u-ṷš-t[um -na]m-d[i]-i ^{d}GIŠ.BAR-niš tu-kab-ba-bi zu-um-ri
a II 6′ [-u]š-tum ta-nạ-[ ]
b I 33′ [-š]u-ṷš-tum ta-nam-d[i]-i 34′[t]u-kab-ba-bi zu-ṷm-ri
c II 16′ a-šu-uš-tum t[a-]

76 A I 8′ a-[-k]i ạ-nạ ṭa-ra-di-ki a-na la GUR-ki a-na la TE-ki . . . . . .
C_1 II 5 a-na ZI-ḫi-ki a-na ṭa-ra-di-ki a-na la GUR-ki a-na la T[E-] . . . . . .
D_1 II 12 a-na ZI-ḫi-[-k]i a-na la GUR-ki a-na la TE-ki . . . . . .
a II 7′ [ ] ZI-ḫ[i-] . . . . . →
b I 35′ [ ]-ra-di-ka ana NU GUR-ki ana N[U T]E-ki 36′[NU T]E-ki →
c II 17′ ana ZI-ka ana [ ] . . . . . .

77 A I 9′ ạ-[ ] a-na la DIM_4-ki . . . . . .
C_1 II 6 a-na SU NENNI A NENNI a-na la DIM_4-[ ] . . . . . .
D_1 II 13 a-na SU NENNI [ ]ạ-[n]a la DIM_4-ki . . . . . .
a II . . . . . [(?)] . . . . . .
b I . . . . . NU DIM_4-ki NU DIM_4-ki →
c II 18′ a-na [S]U [ ] . . . . . .

78 A I 10′ [-nu]m AD DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ : →
C_1 II 7 ú-tam-me-ki ^{d}a-num AD DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.M[EŠ]
D_1 II 14 ú-tam-me-ki ^{d}ạ-nu[m] A[D DIN]GIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
a II 8′ ú-tam-mi-k[a] →
b I ú-t[am]-me-k[i] ^{d}a-num 37′ AD DINGIR.MẸ GAL.MẸ
c II 19′ ú-tam-mi-k[a]

79 A I KIMIN ^{d}en-líl KUR-a GAL-a
C_1 II 8 KIMIN ^{d}en-líl KUR-a GAL-a
D_1 II 15 KIMIN ^{d}en-líl [ ]-ạ GAL-a
a II [ ]
b I 38′ [ ] ^{d}[5]0 KUR-a GAL-a →
c II 20′ KIMIN ^{d}en-lí[l]

80 A I 11′ [ ] LUGAL ap-si-i ba-an kul-la-ti EN gim-ri
C_1 II 9 KI[MI]N ^{d}é-a LUGAL ap-si-i ba-an kul-la-ti EN gim-ri
D_1 16 KIMIN ^{d}é-a LUGAL ap-si-i b[a- -t]ị EN gim-ri
a II 9′ K[IM]IN ^{d}BAD [LU]GAL ZỤ.AB b[a-]
b I KIMIN ^{d}BAD LUGAL ZU.AB [b]a-an kul-lat EN gi-mir :
c II 21′ KIMIN ^{d}é-a [ ]

81 A I 12′ [KIM]IN ^{d}be-le[t]-DINGIR.MEŠ šar-ra-tum GAL-tú pa-ti-qat nab-ni-te
C_1 II 10 [K]IMIN ^{d}be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ šar-ra-tum GAL-tú pa-ti-qat nab-ni-te
D_1 II 17 KIMIN ^{d}be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ šar-ra-tum GAL-[ ]-ni-te
a II 10′ KIMIN ^{d}be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ šar-r[a]-t[um]
b I 39′ [ ]-at [x]x-rat GAL-ti pa-ti-qat na[b]-ni-ti
c II 22′ KIMIN ^{d}be-let-DIN[GIR.]

82 A II 13′ [KIM]IN ^{d}30 EN a-ge-e KUD-is EŠ.BAR mu-kal-lim ISKIM.MEŠ
C_1 II 11 KIMIN ^{d}30 EN a-ge-e KUD-is EŠ.BAR mu-kal-lim ISKIM.MEŠ
D_1 II 18 KIMIN ^{d}30 EN a-ge-e KUD-is EŠ.[IS]KIM.MEŠ
a II 11′ KIMIN ^{d}30 EN AGA pa-ri-is EŠ.[ ]
b I 40′ [-g]ẹ-ẹ$^{?}$ [KU]D-is EŠ.BAR mu-kạl-lim IS[K]IM.BI
c II 23′ KIMIN ^{d}30 EN [ ]

83 A I 14′ [ ] ^{d}UTU ZÁLAG AN.TA.MEŠ u KI.TA.MEŠ ba-nu-ú kib-ra-a-ti
C_1 II 12 KIMIN ^{d}UTU ZÁLAG AN.TA.MEŠ u KI.TA.MEŠ ba-nu-ú kib-ra-a-ti
D_1 II 19 KIMIN ^{d}UTU ZÁLAG AN.TA.MEŠ u KI.TA.MEŠ [ ]-tị
a II 12′ KIMIN ^{d}UTU ZÁLAG AN.T[A.M]EŠ u KI.T[A.]
b I 41′ [K]I.TA.MEŠ bạ-nu-ú kib-rạ-a-tú$^{!}$/te$^{?}$
c II 24′ KIMIN ^{d}UTU EN [ ]

84 A I [15′] [ ] ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫi EN a-ši-pu-ti
C_1 II [13] KIMIN ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫi EN a-ši-pu-ti : →
D_1 II [20] KIMIN ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫi [-t]i
a II [13′] KIMIN ^{d}as[a]l-lú-ḫi EN ạ-šị-pu-tụ →
b I [42′] [-p]u-tú →

85 A I [16′] KIMIN ^{d}nin-urta SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú : →
C_1 II KIMIN ^{d}nin-urta SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú
D_1 II [21] KIMIN ^{d}nin-urta SAG.KAL DINGIR.[ ]
a II K[IMIN .ME]Š ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú
b I KIMIN ^{d}M[AŠ] ạ-šá-re[d] DINGIR.ME[Š Š]EŠ.MEŠ-šú

86 A I KIMIN ^{d}nin-gìrim be-let ÉN
C_1 II [14] KIMIN ^{d}nin-gìrim be-let ÉN
D_1 II [22] KIMIN ^{d}nin-gìrim [ ]
a II [14′] KI[MI]N [ ]ṇin-gìrim N[IN] →
b I [43′] [ ] →

87 A I [17′] KIMIN ^{d}nin-kar-ra-ak ab-rak-kàt É.KUR : →
C_1 II [15] KIMIN ^{d}nin-kar-ra-ạk ab-rak-kàt É.KUR
D_1 II [23] KIMIN ^{d}nin-kar-ra-ak ab-[ ]
a II [ ]
b I [ ]-k[àt]

88 A I KIMIN ^{d}iš-tar be-let KUR.KUR
C_1 II [16] KIMIN ^{d}iš-tar be-let KUR.KUR
D_1 II [24] KIMIN ^{d}iš-tar [ ]
a II [15′] KIMIN ^{d}iš-tạr b[e]-lẹt [ ] →

89 A I [18′] ub-šu-kin$_5$-na-ki šu-bat ši-tul-ti DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ →
C_1 II [17] ub-šu-kin$_5$-na-ki šu-bat ši-tul-ti DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
D_1 II [25] ub-šu-kin$_5$-na-ki šu-bat ši-tul-t[i]
a II [ ] →

89^{a} A I šá qé-reb É.KUR tùm-ma-ti
C_1 II [18] šá qé-reb É.KUR tùm-ma-ti
D_1 II [26] šá qé-reb É.[ ]
a II [ ]

90 A I [19′] [šu]m-ma a-na NENNI A NENNI ta-tur-riš-šú ta-sa-ni-qí-šum-ma
C_1 II [19] šum-ma a-na NENNI A NENNI ta-tur-riš-šú ta-sa-ni-qí-šum-ma
D_1 II [27] šum-m[a] ạ-n[a] N[ENNI t]a-tụr-ri[š-]
a II [16′] šum-ma ana NEN[NI] A NE[NN]I t[a-] →

91 A I [20′] [u]l ú-tu-un ši-pat ^{d}é-a ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi ši-pat ^{d}da-mu
C_1 II [20] ÉN ul ú-tu-un ši-pat ^{d}é-a ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫi ši-pat ^{d}da-mu
D_1 II [28] É[N] ul ú-tụ-u[n š]i-pat ^{d}é-a ^{d}asal*-lú-[ ]
a II [ ] [17′]ÉN ^{d}BAD u ^{d}asal-l[ú-] →

92 A I [21′] [n]in-kar-ra-ak ši-pat ^{d}nin-gìrim be-let ÉN TU_6.ÉN
C_1 II [21] u ^{d}nin-kar-ra-ak ši-pat ^{d}nin-gìrim be-let ÉN TU_6.ÉN
D II [29] u ^{d}nin-kar-ra-[a]k ši-pat ^{d}nin-gìrim be-l[et]
a II [*u* ^{d}G*u-la*$^{?}$ *ÉN*] ^{d}nịn-[gì]r[im -le]t ÉN TE.ÉN

Rub. 4

93 A I [22′] [K]Ạ.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME.KE_4
C_1 II [22] KA.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME.KE_4
D_1 II [30] KA.INIM.MA ^{d}D[IM_{10}.]
a II [18] K[A.].I[NIM.] →

(no divider line in *a*)

Rit. 4

94 A I [23′] [.GA]R tu-qad-dáš IM KI.GAR TI-qé NU $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME DÙ-uš
C_1 II [23] DÙ.DÙ.BI KI.GAR tu-qad-dáš IM KI.GAR TI-qé NU $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME DÙ-uš
D_1 II [31] DÙ.DÙ.BI KI.GAR tu-qad-dáš IM KI.GAR TI-qé NU $^{d}DIM_{10}$.[ ]
a II [ ].B[I -dá]š IM KI.GAR TI-qé [19][D]IM_{11}.ME DÙ-u[š] →

95 A I [24′] [.GI]G TUŠ-ši ^{GIŠ}BÁN di-ik-me-e[n-n]u D[IR]I-ma →
C_1 II [24] ina SAG LÚ.GIG TUŠ-ši ^{GIŠ}BÁN di-ik-me-en-nu DIRI-ma →
D_1 II [32] ina SAG LÚ.GỊG TUŠ-[š]i ^{GIŠ}BÁN di-ik-me-e[n-]
a II [-n]a SẠG L[Ú. TU]Š-ši ^{GIŠ}BÁN di-ik-me-en [20]DIRI-ma →

96 A I GÍR ina ŠÀ ta-šá-an-niš [25′][L]Ụ.G[IG] G[AR-] →
C_1 II GÍR ina ŠÀ ta-šá-an-niš [25]3 u_4-me ina SAG LÚ.GIG GAR-an →
D_1 II [33] GÍR ina ŠÀ ta-šá-an-niš 3 u_4-me ina SA[G]
a II GÍR ana lìb-bi ta-sa-an-n[iš] GAR-an →

97 A I [ ] ụ$_4$-me ina UD.GAM.MA [26′][ ] →
C_1 II ina šal-ši u_4-me ina UD.GAM.MA [26]È-ši-ma →
D_1 II [34] ina šal-ši u_4-me ina UD.GAM.M[A]
a II . . . . . ina UD.GAM.MA È-ši-ma

98 A I [-q]eb-bir-ši
C_1 II ina GÍR tu-maḫ-ḫas-si ina UB BÀD te-qeb-bir-ši
D_1 II [35] [G]ÍR tu-maḫ-ḫas-sị ina U[B]
a II [21] ina GÍR tu-ma-aḫ-ḫaṣ ina EGI[R -bi]r-šú →

99 A I [27′] [.B]AR
C_1 II [27] ZÌ.SUR.RA-a NIGIN-ši a-na EGIR-ka la IGI.BAR
D_1 II [36] [.R]A-a NIGIN-ši ạ-[n]a EG[IR-]
a II ZÌ.SUR.RA-a NIGIN-mi-šú . . . . . .

Inc. 5

100 C_1 II [28] ÉN ^{d}dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
D_1 II [37] [du]mu an.[m]u pà.d[a]
a IV [33] [d]im$_{11}$.mẹ dumụ [a]n.nạ mu p[à].d[a] dịngịr.rẹ.e.ne.ke$_4$ → l.103
m I [1] [ ]

Sb II [8] ÉN ^{d}dịm$_{11}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.dạ dingir.re.ẹ.[n]e.k[e$_4$]

101 C_1 II [29] [i]n.nin nir.gál nin sag.gi$_6$.ga
D_1 II [38] [ ] nin s[ag.]
m I [2] [ ] n[i]n s[ag.]

Sb II [9] ^{d}in.nin ni[r].gal nin sạg.gi$_6$.ga

102 C_1 II [30] [.n]a ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.pà
D_1 II [39] [ ] zi ki.a [ ]
m I [3] [ḫ]é?.[p]à [z]i ki.a ḫ[é.]

Sb II [10] zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.p[à]

103 C_1 II [31] [-t]i ra-bu-ú up-ru-u-šá
D_1 II [40] [ ]-ú ụp-r[u]-ụ-[ ]
a IV [(33)] e-la-ma-ta (catchline to 2. *ṭuppu*)
m I [4] [-b]u-ú up-r[u]-ú-[ ]

Sb II [11] ẹ-l[a]-ma-tạ ra-bu-ú ụp-ru-ú-šá

104 C_1 II [32] [-l]am-ma šá-niš uṣ-ṣa-am-ma
D_1 II [41] [-m]a šá-niš uṣ-ṣa-am-[ ]
m I [5] [G]I i-[ ]-m[a] . . . . . .

Sb II [12] ịš-tu GIŠ.GI i-lạm-ma . . . . . →

105 C_1 II [33] [g]a-aš-rat kaṣ-ṣa-at g[áp]-š[á?-] [34] [ ] n[a-]
D_1 II [42] [g]a-aš-rat kaṣ-ṣa-a[t] [43] [ ] na-mur-ra[t]
m I [6] [-r]at ka[ṣ- -ạ]t [7] [-a]t ba?-[ ]
n I [ ] [1′] [ ] k[aṣ?-]

Sb II ez-ze-ẹt šam-rat! gaš-rạt [13] [k]aṣ-ṣa-at gáp-[š]a-at ị-lạ-at na-mur-rat

106 D_1 II [44] [ ] lu-uʾ-t[i]
m I [8] [*ŠU*-s]u lu-u[ʾ-t]i
n I [2′] [G*ÌR.II*]-šá an-zụ-ú? [ ]

107 D_1 II [45] [-z]ṷ?-r[at?]
m I [9] [x]x pu-uz-zu-ra-a[t?]
n I [3′] [x]x ru ki su-q[u?]

108 m I [10] [-z]ạ-z[u-š]á [a]s-kup-pa-tu[m] mu-šá-b[u-š]á
n I [4′] [*GISSU* B]ÀD man-za-zu-šú a[s-]

109 m I [11] [-k]ạ?-ạ? ṣu-up-ra-šá [12][*gu-ul*-l]u-ba šá-ḫa-ta-šá
n I [5′] [*ar-ra*-k]ạ?-ạ? ṣu-up-ra-šú u[l]

110 m I [13] [ ] ị-šá-rat gal-lat! [14]DṶMṶ.MUNUS! [d]ạ-[ni]m x[x x]x rị tum ši b[u?]
n I [6′] [*ul*] i-šá-rat gal-lat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-[ ]

111 m I [15] [ ]ạ-num AD-[ ] ạn-tum AMA-š[á]-m[a?]
n I [7′] [ ]ạ-nụm AD-ša a[n-]
Sc I [3′ d]a-num AD-šú an-t[i?]

112 m I [16] [-š]e-ti-šá [l]a ba-na-a-t[i] [17][*iš-tu AN*]-ẹ ú-šẹ-rị-[d]u-niš-š[im-]
n I [8′] [*i*]-na ep-še-ti-šá la ba-na-a-t[ị] [9′]ú-še-ri-du-niš-šim-ma →
Sc I [4′] ina ep-še-ti-šá la ba-na-ti u[l-*tu*]

113 m I [18] [ ]-ú BÁR[A]-šá ina K[I?-*tim*?]
n I ul *i[d-]
Sc I [5′] ul id-du-ú pa-rak-k[a-]

114 m I [19] [-n]a-at-ma kị-m[a] *LÍ[L.*LÁ*?*]
n I [10′] [ka]p-pi šak-na-at-ma ki-ma li-l[i-*i*?]
Sc I [6′] [k]ap-pa šak-na-at-ma k[i-]

115 m I [20] [-n]a [k]a-ṣạ-[ ]
n I [11′] ạ-na mu-ši mu-šá a-na ka-ṣa-a-ti ka-ṣa-a-*t[i *isdir*?]
Sc I [7′] [*ana*] m[u]-ši mu-[š]á ana ka-ṣa-[ ]

116 m I [21] [ ]
n I [12′] i-tur a-na sin-niš-ti šá né-re-bu-šú pit-*r[u-*su*?]
Sc I [8′] [-tu]r ana MUN[US]-ma šá né-r[e-]

117 m I [22] [ ]
n I [13′] DṶMU.MṶNUS [d]a-nim u_4-me-šam-ma e-ra-a-ti i-man-[*ni*]
Sc I [9′] [ ]ạ-nim ụ$_4$-mẹ-[ ]

118 m I [23] [-n]a-a[l-]
n I [14′] [*ar*-k]i a-li-da-a-ti it-ta-na-al-l[ak]
Sc I [10′] (traces)

Ug I [1′] [*i-man*]-nu // 117
[2′] [i]t?-ta-na-lak // 118

119 D_1 II 1′ [I]TI-š[i-]
m I 24 [ ] ị-man-nu 25[ ] uṣ-ṣar
n I 15′ I[TI]-ši-na i-man-ni u_4-me-ši-na ina i-ga-ra uṣ-ṣ[ar]

120 D_1 II 2′ a-na ạ-[ ]
m I 26 [ ] (erasure?) xx xx xx sa
n I 16′ a-[ ] a-l[i-d]a-a-ti na-da-a-ti šip-tú

121 D_1 II 3′ bi-la-ạ-[ ]
m I 27 [-n]a lu-še-niq
n I 17′ b[i-l]a-a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-še-niq

122 D_1 II 4′ a-na K[A]
m I 28 [t]u-la-a lu-uš-tak-kan
n I 18′ ạ-[n]a KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-uš-tak-kan

123 D_1 II 5′ na-šat i-n[a]
m I 29 [ ]-uṣ-ṣa ḫur-ba-šá ma-ma-a 30ka-tim-ta
n I 19′ *n[a-*š]at ina qa-ti-šá um-ma ku-uṣ ḫur-ba-šá ma-la-ta kạ?-tịm-[ ]

124 D_1 II 6′ nab-li [ ]
m I 31 [-t]i ma-li zụ-mur-šá
n I 20′ nab-li mu-ḫa-am-me-ṭu-ti ma-li zu-mur-ša

125 D_1 II 7′ a-na z[u-]
m I 32 [-a]r-ri ịm-tú
n I 21′ az-zu-za-a i-ṣar-ri im-ta

126 D_1 II 8′ a-na [ ]
m I 33 [ ] MIN? ịm-tú
n I 22′ a-na sur-su-ru i-ṣar-ri im-ta

127 D_1 II 9′ i-[ ]
m I 34 [ ] i-mat GÍ[R].T[AB] i-mat-sa
n I 23′ ị-mat MUŠ i-mat-su i-mat GÍR.TAB i-mat-su

128 D_1 II 10′ GURUŠ.[ ]
m I 35 [ ] ú-šag-gaš
n I 24′ [GURU]Š.MEŠ šug-gu-šú ú-šag-ga-áš

129 D_1 II 11′ KI.[ ]
m I 36 [ ]-lu ú-ḫab-bal
n I 25′ KI.SIKIL.ME[Š ḫ]u-ub-bu-lu ú-ḫa-bal

Ug I 3′ [.ME]Š-[k]i-na lu-še-ni-iq // 121
4′ [-k]i-na lu-ut-tar-ru ~ 122
(for line 5′, cf. below ad 144)

130 D_1 II 12′ TUR.[ ]
m I 37 [ ] ú-nap-pa-aṣ
n I 26′ TUR.MEŠ nu-up-pu-ṣu ú-nap-p[a]-*a[ṣ]

131 D_1 III 1 MUNUS.KAL.TUR.[*MEŠ*]
m I 38 [-q]a-a A. MEŠ pu-uš-qí
n I 27′ *b[a]-*t[u]-*l[a]-*t[i] *i̯-*[ša]q-*q[a-] *Ạ?.*[M]E[Š?]

132 D_1 III 2 a[na] É̩ p[e]-t[i-] i̯-r[u-]
m I 39 [ ] ir-ru-ub
n I 28′ [ ] *p[e?-*t]i-*i̯ [ ]

133 D_1 III 3 [-u]p ṣer-rạ-niš
m I 40 [ ] ṣer-ra-niš
n I 29′ [*ana*] É̩ ed-li i-[*ḫal-lu-*]

134 D_1 III 4 [ ] ṣu-ḫa-ru
m I 41 [ ]-naq ṣu-ḫa-ra
n I 30′ [*i-ḫal-lu-**u]p ṣe-ra-niš *ú̩?-[*ḫa-an-*]

135 D_1 III 5 [ ] pa-ni-šá
m I 42 [ ] pa-ni-šu
n I 31′ [*dām?* lì]b?-bi-šú ip-ta-šá-áš pa-[ ]

136 C_1 II 1′ [ ]-ú̩-t[i]
D_1 III 6 [ ]-ú-ti
m I 43 [s]i̯?-mat mu-ú-ti
n I 32′ [-*š]ú? *u̯?-tạb?-*b[a]k? ki-ma ka-le-e s[i?-]

137 C_1 II 2′ [i]p-šu-uš
D_1 III 7 [-š]u-uš
m I 44 [i]p-šu-uš
n I 33′ [*ki-ma lu?-**u]ʾ-tum ù la-ba-ṣi pa-ni-šú ip-*š[u-]

138 C_1 II 3′ [ ] iṣ-bat
D_1 III 8 [i]ṣ-bat
m I 45 [ ] iṣ-bat
n I 34′ [*ku-**u]s-su ki-ḫu-le-e ina qa-ti-šú i[ṣ-]

139 C_1 II 4′ [-š]á iš-bu-uš
D_1 III 9 [-b]u-uš
m I 46 [-b]u-uš
n I 35′ [*e*]-pe-er ki-ḫu-le-e ina qa-ti-šú iš-bu-u[š]

Ug I 6′ a-na pe-ti-i ir-ru-ub ~ 132
7′ ed-la i-ḫal-lu-p[a? ṣ]e-ra-niš ~ 133
8′ [ú?-ḫ]a?-a[n?- -r]a?-am ~ 134?
9′ [-a]š? / [ ] ~ 135?

140 C_1 II 5′ [*PIRIG*?.T]UR du-di-na-a-šá
D_1 III 10 [ ]-ạ-šá
m I 47 [-n]i?-šá 48[ ]-d[i]-n[a]-ạ-šá
n (caret)

141 C_1 II 6′ [-p]ur e-ri-i ṣu-up-ra-a-šá
D_1 III 11 [ ]-ạ-šá
m I 49 [š]in-na-a-šá 50[ṣ]u-up-ra-a-šá
n I 36′ [*šin*-n]a UR.GI$_7$ šin-na-a-šá ṣu-up-ra a-re-e ṣu-up-ra-*ạ-[ ]

142 C_1 II 7′ [-i]t-ta-šá pe-ti tu-lu-šá
D_1 III 12 [ ]-šá
m I 51 [-t]i tu^{1}-lụ-šá
n I 37′ [*šebret*? d]u-[d]i-it-ta-šá pe-ti tu-lu-šá

143 C_1 III 1 [-u]m-mu-ú ki-rim-mu-šá
D_1 III 13 [-š]á
m I 52 [ ]-ụ́ ki-rim-mu-šá
n I 38′ [ ].MEŠ-šá ru-um-mu ki-rim-mu-šá

144 C_1 III 2 [-u]m-mu-ka ir-ta-a-šá
D_1 III 14 [-š]ą́
m I 53 [-k]a-at ir-ta-šá
n I 39′ [*šizba*? *ša mu-ú*-t]i? ru-um-mu-ka ir-ta-a-šá

145 C_1 III 3 [-tu]m i-na tu-le-e-šá
D_1 III 15 [-l]e-ẹ-šą́
m I 54 [ ] ina tu-le-šá
n I 40′ [ ](-)TUK ṣer-ti ina tu-le-e-šá

146 C_1 III 4 [ ] UGU e-ra-a-ti 5[*i*]-la-as-su-um
D_1 III 16 x[x x]x? r[u? -r]ạ-a-ti 17bur-[ ]-su-um
m I 55 [-r]a?-ti bur-rat KAS$_5$-um
n I 41′ [ ].MEŠ-šú a-na UGU *e-ra-a-tú bur-ra-tú KA[S$_4$-]

147 C_1 III 6 [ ] i-rap-pu-uš
D_1 III 18 ina KI [-r]ap-pu-uš
m I 56 [-p]u-uš
n I 42′ [x]x x[x ED]IN i-rap-pu-uš

148 C_1 III 7 [-m]a ṣu-ḫa-ri
D_1 III 19 tir-[ṣ]u-ḫa-ri
m I 57 [-r]i
n I 43′ [ ] ki-ma ṣu-ḫa-ru
α I 1′ [-r]u

Ug I 5′ š[i?]-i[z?]-ba ša mu-ti ru-KU-ka / ir-ta-ša // 144?

149 C_1 III [8] [ ] i-di-[ ]
D_1 III [20] il-[*la/ik(ū)*] ḫi-di-šá
n I [44′] [x]x š[a]r ana[?] ḫ[?]-[ ]
α I [2′] [ ] →

150 C_1 III [9] [ ] EGIR-[ ]
D_1 III [21] il-[*la/ik(ū)* *ana*[?] E]GIR-šá
n I [45′] [ ] ṭą[?] [ ]-tụ [EGI]R[?]-[ ]
α I [EGI]R-šá

151 C_1 III [10] [*ana*[?]] pa-ni-[ ]
D III [22] i[l-*la/ik(ū)* p]a-ni-šá
α I [3′] [-n]i-šá

152 C_1 III [11] [K]A/[U]R e[ṭ-]
D III [23] KI [e]ṭ-li
α I [4′] [K]A/[U]R GURUŠ

153 C_1 III [12] [x]x t[u-]
D_1 III [24] i-[x]x tu-la-a
α I [5′] [ ] tu-la-a

154 D_1 III [25] i[s[?]-*bat*[?] *lìb*[?]-b]a-šú [ ] iḫ-pi
α I [6′] [x]x iḫ-pi

155 D_1 III [26] [b]a-lu mu-tu i[t]-ṭą-ki[s] ki-šad-su
α I [7′] [-t]a-ki-is ki-šad-su

156 D_1 III [27] bą-lu GAL_5.LÁ na-piš-ta-šú ut-tir
α I [8′] [ ]-ta-šú ut-tir

157 D_1 III [28] ina [s]u-ni mu-še-niq-ti iḫ-ta-naq ṣu-ḫa-ru
m II [1′] [?] s[u[?]-]
α I [9′] [ ] ṣu-ḫa-ri

158 D_1 III [29] ul id-din-šú i-na É a-na qé-bé-ri
m II [2′] u[l[?]]
α I [10′] [q]é-bé-ri

159 D_1 III [30] ki-ma šá-pi-ik ZÌ.KASKAL a-na ^{KUŠ}LU.ÚB SA_5 [31]liš-ku-nu ṣu-ḫa-ri
α I [11′] [-ḫ]a-ri

160 D_1 III [32] liš-šú-šú-ma li[l]-qu-ú-šu a-na EDIN li-zi-bu-niš-šum-ma

161 D_1 III [33] šum-ma a-nạ mi-iḫ-ri lu-še-ṣu-ú-šú
m II [5′] šu[m-]

162 D_1 III [34] lim-ḫur MUŠEN ina AN-e lim-ḫur KU_6 ina ap-si-i
m II [6′] li[m-]

163 D_1 III [35] lim-ḫu-ra ṣe-e-ni ina ta-bi-ni
m II [7′] li[m-]

164 D_1 III [36] lim-ḫur ^{LÚ}[S]IPA ina ú-tul ru-ub-ṣi-šú
m II [8′] l[im-]
α I [16′] [r]u-ub-ṣi-[š]ú

165 D_1 III [37] lim-ḫur ka-par-ru i-na ṣe-ni-šú
α I [17′] [-r]u ina ṣe-ni-šṷ

166 D_1 III [38] lim-ḫur la-a-ti ina TÙ[R]
α I [18′] [ ]-ạ-tị ina TÙR

167 D_1 III [39] x[x-x]x la x[x] qu i-te-ru-ub a[na]
α I [19′] [-t]e-ru-ub ana É

168 D_1 III [40] [ ] Ẹ́ il-ta-ka[n]
α I [20′] [ ]-ta-kan bi-ki-tu

169 D_1 III [41] [ ] a-na a-me-lu-t[i]
α I [21′] [ ]-me-l[u]-u-ti da-ma-ma i-zib

170 D_1 III [42] kị-m[a -r]i[?]-šá [ ]
α I [22′] [*ir*-t]e-ned-de-šú

171 D_1 III [43] ki-ma x[x]
α I [23′] [*ul*/š]-ta-ad-di-šú

172 D_1 III [44] ki-ma d[u[?]-]
α I [24′] [x]x-ta-šú i-zib

173 D_1 III [45] ki-ma BU-[ ]
m II [1″] kị-[ ]
α I [25′] [ ] ʔ-šú iḫ-bu-us-su

174 D_1 III [46] i-na s[u-]
m II [2″] ina su-lị-ị[?] [ ]
α I [26′] [*i*-t]a[?]-ar

175 D_1 III [47] i-na š[á-]
m II [3″] . . . šá-ḫa-ta-tị]
α I [27′] [*it-ta*-n]a[?]-áš-šab

176 D_1 III [48] dan-na-a[t]
m II [4″] dạn-na-at šạk-ṣ[ạ[?]-*at*[?]]
α I [28′] [ ].MEŠ

Ug II [1′] [M]EŠ ~ 176[?]

177 A II 1′ [-ḫ]ar-rat u_4-mẹ [ ] →
D_1 III 49 šu-ḫar-[ ]
m II 5″ [š]u-ḫar-rat u_4-me l[a?]

178 A II [(caret?)]
D_1 III 50 ḫum-mu[ṭ -t]i? [z]u-m[ur]-šą́ [ ]
m II 6″ [ša?]-lum-maṭ ṣe-e-ti zu-mur-[ ]

179 A II 2′ im-ḫur UR.[ ]
D_1 III 51 im-ḫur [m]e-lam-ma-šá ul-ta-a[d-*di*?-*šá*?]
m II 7″ im-ḫur UR.MAḪ me-lam-me-šu uš-t[a-]

180 A II 3′ im-ḫur UR.B[AR.]
D_1 III 52 im-ḫur [ ].RA la-ḫa-ba i-[*mid*?]
m II 8″ im-ḫur UR.BAR.RA la-ḫa-ba [ ]

181 A II 4′ i-bir Í[D]
D_1 III 53 i-bir [Í]D . . . . . du-ur-ḫa-a iš-ta-[*kan*]
m II 9″ e-bir ÍD ana me du-lu-uḫ-ha-a iš-t[ạ-]

182 A II 5′ il-lik ḫa[r-]
D_1 III 54 il-lik [ḫ]ar-ra-nu a-lak-ta-šá ip-ru-u[s]
m (caret)

183 A II 6′ i-mid É.S[IG_4]
C_1 III 1′ [ ]-t[a-]
D_1 III 55 i-m[id] É.SIG_4 lu-ḫum-ma-a ip-ta-šá-[*áš*]
m II 10″ i-mid IZ.ZI lu-ḫum-ma-a ip-ta-š[á-]

184 A II 7′ i-mid ^{GIŠ}ŠINI[G]
C_1 III 2′ ị-[^{GI}]^{Š}Š[INIG] ú-r[i-]
D_1 III 56 ị-[mi]d ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG it-ta-bak ú-ri-š[á]
m II 11″ i-mid ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG it-ta-bak ú-ri-[ ]

185 A II 8′ i-mid ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR ul-tam-[ ]
C_1 III 3′ i-mid ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR ul-ta[m]-m[i-] ú-ḫi-n[i-]
D_1 III 57 ị-mid ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR ul-tam-mi-iṭ ú-ḫi-ni-šą́
m II 12″ i-mid ^{GIŠ}GIŠIMMAR ul-tam-me-ṭa u_4-ḫi-in-[ ]

Ug II 2′ [-ḫ]ar-rat ~ 177?
3′ [m]a? la kát ~ 177/178?
4′ [*UR*.M]AḪ mi-lam-ma-ša / ul-te-di-ša // 179
5′ [ ] UR.BAR.RA la-ḫa-ba i-mid // 180
6′ [*i*-bi]r ÍD i-dal-la-aḫ mi-ša ~ 181
7′ [*i*-b]ir ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG it-ta-bak / ú-ra-ša // 184
8′ [*i*-b]ir ^{GIŠ}A.TU.GAB.LIŠ ḫa-as-ḫa-la-sa / it-tap-ṣa ~ 185

186 A II 9′ i-mid GIŠal-la-nu u GIŠbu-uṭ-nu šá KUR-i ḫ[a-]
C_1 III 4′ i-mid GIŠal-la-nu u GIŠ[-u]ṭ-nu šá KUR-[ ] 5′ḫa-ma-di-ru-tu ul-ta-[ ]
D_1 III 58 i-mid GIŠal-la-nu u GIŠbu-uṭ-nu šá KUR-i 59ḫa-ma-di-ru-tu ul-ta-lik
m II 13″ i-mid GIŠal-la-nu u GIŠbu-uṭ-nu ša KUR-e ḫa-ma-di-ru-t[a]

187 A II 10′ iš-ta-na-at-ti da-mi naš-bu-[ ]
C_1 III 6′ iš-ta-na-at-ti da-mi naš-bu-ti ša a-me-lu-t[i]
D_1 III 60′ iš-ta-na-at-ti da-mi naš-bu-ti ša a-me-lu-ti
m II 14″ il-ta-na-[a]t-ti ÚŠ.MEŠ naš-bu-tim ša a-me-[ ]

188 A II 11′ UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá l[a]
C_1 III 7′ UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá la ka-ra-a-ši
D_1 III 61 UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá la ka-ra-a-š[i]
m II 15″ UZU ša la a-[ ]-li GÌR.PAD.DU ša la ga-[ ]

189 A II 12′ tal-tam-di-i DUMU.MUNUS dⁱa-nim a-kal dím-[ ]
C_1 III 8′ tal-tam-di-i DUMU.MUNUS dⁱa-nim a-kal dím-ma-te 9′ù bi-ki-ti
D_1 III 62 tal-tam-di-i DUMU.MUNUS dⁱa-nim a-kal dím-ma-te ù bi-ki-ti
m II 16″ tal-tam-de-e DUMU.MUNUS dⁱa-nim ŠA dím-ma-ti u b[i-]

190 A II 13′ tal-ta-na-at-ti-i da-mi naš-bu-t[i]
C_1 III 10′ tal-ta-na-at-ti-i da-mi naš-bu-ti ša a-me-lu-ti
D_1 III 63 tal-ta-na-at-ti-i da-mi naš-bu-ti ša a-me-lu-t[i]
m II 17″ tal-ta-na-ti-i ÚŠ.MEŠ naš-bu-tim [š]á [-m]e-l[u-]

191 A II 14′ UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá l[a]
C_1 III 11′ UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá la ka-ra-a-ši
D_1 III 64 UZU šá la a-ka-li GÌR.PAD.DU šá la ka-ra-a-š[i]
m (caret)

192 A II 15′ li-ṣad-di-ki dⁱa-num AD-ki →
C_1 III 12′ li-ṣad-di-ki dⁱa-num AD-ki
D_1 III 65 li-ṣad-di-ki dⁱa-num AD-k[i]
m II 18″ li-ṣad-di-ki dⁱa-num AD-ki : →

193 A II li-ṣad-d[i-]
C_1 III 13′ li-ṣad-di-ki an-tum ĄMA-ki
D_1 III 66 li-ṣad-di-ki an-tum AMA-k[i]
m II li-ṣad-d[i-k]i an-tum A[MA-]

Ug II 9′ [*i-mid*? GIŠa]l-la-an GIŠLAM.GAL ḫa-ma-di-r⟨u⟩-ta / ul-ta-lak ~ 186
10′ tal-ta-[*am*-d]i? Ú[Š] ạ-W[I]-lu-ti / [*na-aš*-b]u-ti // 190
11′ UZU ša la [*a-ka*-l]i 12′ UZUGÌR.PAD.DU [*ša la*] // 191

194 A II 16′ us-ḫi GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ-ki qu-ub-b[i-]
C_1 III 14′ us-ḫi GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ-ki qu-ub-bi-ri qé-e-ki
D_1 III 67 us-ḫi GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ-ki qu-ub-bi-ri qé-ẹ-[ ]
m II 19″ us-ḫi GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ-ki qu-ub-bi-ri qé-e-k[i]

195 A II 17′ ki-ma sér-rem EDIN šá-da-ki [ ]
C_1 III 15′ ki-ma sér-rem EDIN šá-da-ki ru-uk-bi
D_1 III 68 ki-ma sér-rem EDIN šá-da-ki ru-u[k-]
m II 20″ GIM sér-rem EDIN KUR-ki ru-up-d[i]

196 A II 18′ lid-din-ki MAŠ.MAŠ a-ši-p[u]
C_1 III 16′ lid-din-ki MAŠ.MAŠ a-ši-pu ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫi
D_1 III 69 lid-din-ki MAŠ.MAŠ a-ši-pu ^{d}asal*-[ ]
m II 21″ lid-din-ki MAŠ.MAŠ a-ši-pu ^{d}asal*-lú-ḫ[i]

197 A II 19′ ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}du-di-it-tú ^{GIŠ}BAL šid-d[u]
C_1 III 17′ ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}du-di-it-tú ^{GIŠ}BAL šid-du u ki-ri-is-su
D_1 III 70 [^{GI}]^{Š}G[A.R]ÍG ^{GIŠ}du-di-i[t-t]ú ^{G}[^{IŠ}] 71[ ]-d[u]
m II 22″ ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG tu-di-it-ta ^{GIŠ}BAL šid-du u ki-r[i-]

198 A II 20′ a-na pa-an nam-maš-še-e šá EDIN pa-[ ]
C_1 III 18′ a-na pa-an nam-maš-še-e šá EDIN pa-ni-ki šuk-ni
D_1 IV 1 [ ] pa-ni-ki šuk-ni
m II 23″ ana . . . na-maš-še-e . . . EDIN IGI-ki šuk-ni

199 A II 21′ lu-u pa-áš-šá-a-ti Ì+G[IŠ]
C_1 III 19′ lu-u pa-áš-šá-a-ti Ì+GIŠ mi-iḫ-ri
D_1 IV 2 [m]i-iḫ-ri
m II 24″ lu pa-áš-šá-ti Ì+GIŠ mi-iḫ-ri

200 A II 22′ lu-u šak-na-a-ti še-e-ni š[a]
C_1 III 20′ lu-u šak-na-a-ti še-e-ni ša du-ur da-a-ri
D_1 IV 3 [ ]-ur da-a-ri
m II 25″ lu-ú šak-na-a-ti še-e-ni šá du-ur da-ạ^{ʔ}-[ ]

201 A II 23′ lu-u na-šá-a-ti na-a-du [ ]
C_1 III 21′ lu-u na-šá-a-ti na-a-du ša ṣu-um-me-e-ki
D_1 IV 4 [ṣ]u-um-me-e-ki
m II 26″ lu-ú na-šá-a-ti na-a-di ana ṣum-me-k[i]
n II 1′ *l[u^{ʔ}-]

Ug II 13′ us-ḫi {ki} si-[*ka-ti-ki qú*-b]i-ri / [G]Ụ^{ʔ}-ki // 194
14′ ki-ma ANŠE.EDIN i^{ʔ}[-*na*^{ʔ} EDI]N-ki / ša-d[a^{ʔ}-*a*^{ʔ}-k]i^{ʔ} / ru-up-di ~ 195
15′ li-mur-ki é-[*a maš*]-maš-šu ~ 196

202 A II 24′ lid-din-ki ^{d}SÍRAŠ NÍG.ÀR.RA ŠE.MUN[U_6]
C_1 III 22′ lid-din-ki ^{d}SÍRAŠ NÍG.ÀR.RA ŠE.MUNU$_6$ BAPPIR pa-ti-ḫa-tú DIRI-ki
D_1 IV 5 [p]a-ti-ḫa-tú DIR[I-]
m II 27″ lid-din-ki ^{LÚ}SIRAŠ NÍG.ÀR.RA MUNU$_6$ BA[PPIR] 28″ pa-ti-ḫa-ta li-mel-[l]i-k[i]
n II 2′ *li[d-]

203 A II 25′ nar-ṭa-bu a-na l[a-]
C_1 III 23′ [n]ar-ṭa-bu a-na la-ḫa-mi lid-din-ki
D_1 IV 6 [li]d-din-[ ]
m II 29″ nar-ṭa-ba ana la-ḫ[a]-m[e] lid-di[n-]

204 A II 26′ ú-tam-me-ki . . . . . ^{d}a-n[um]
C_1 III 24′ ṷ-tam-me-ki . . . . . ^{d}a-num AD-ki . . . . . an-tum AMA-ki
m II 30″ ú-tam-me-ki DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}[*a-nim* . . . . . ^{d}D]IŠ [*ù an-tum* . . . . .]

205 A II 27′ KIMIN ^{d}en-líl . . ^{d}nin-l[íl]
C_1 III 25′ [ ] ^{d}en-líl . . ^{d}nin-líl ^{d}ḛ-ạ [*u* ^{d}*dam-ki-na*]
m II 31″ KIMIN ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}n[in-]

206 A II 28′ KIMIN ^{d}ŠÀ.ZU NUN.M[E]
m II 32″ KIMIN ^{d}ŠÀ.ZU NṲN.[ ]

207 A II 29′ KIMIN ^{d}LUGAL.Z[U.*AB*]

208 A II 30′ KIMIN ^{d}ARA ^{d}ḫ[a-*si-su*]

209 A II 31′ KIMIN ^{d}iš-tar [ ]

210 A II 32′ KIMIN ^{d}x[x]
D_1 IV 13 [*ra*$^{?}$ -k]ib ṣị-r[u]-t[u]

211 A II 33′ K[IMIN$^{?}$]
D_1 IV 14 [ ] ma-ḫa-za

212 D_1 IV 15 [*KIMIN*$^{?}$ *ÍD*$^{?}$].MEŠ ù ta-ma-a-ti

213 D_1 IV 16 [*ušeṣṣīki*$^{?}$ *DUMU.MUNUS* S]U$^{?}$ É an-ni-i
Sd I 11′ [^{d}]ạ-nim ina SU É an-ni-i

Ug II 16′ ZÌ.DA NÍG.ÀR.RA M[UN]U$_4^{?}$ BAPPIR$^{!}$(ŠIM) 17′ pa-ti-ḫa-ta lu-[u]d-din-ku ~ 202
18′ ú-tam-me-ki DUMU.MUNUS AN-nim 19′ AN-num ù an-tum ~ 204
20′ ^{d}en-líl ù ^{d}nin-líl$^{!}$(IB) 21′ ^{d}ḛ-a ù ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na ~ 205
22′ ^{d}A[MA]R.UTU ù ^{d}ṣar-pa-ni-tum ~ 206$^{?}$
23′ ^{d}MÁ$^{?}$ ù ^{d}ama-za-ka-nu-ta ~ 210$^{?}$
24′ [b]e-let DINGIR.MEŠ be-let šu-ur-bu-ti —
25′ [*Ištar*$^{?}$ *kab*-t]a-at DINGIR.MEŠ qa-rit-ta ~ 209$^{?}$

214 D_1 IV [17] [*a-na la GUR-ki la TE-*k]i a-na la KU.NU-ki [18][ ] DIM_4-ki
Sd I [12′] [ ] ana la qé-bé-ri-ki la DIM_4-ki

215 D_1 IV [19] [ṭa]r-da-a-ti [20′][-d]ạ-ạ-ti
m III [1′] n[a?-*as-ḫa-a-ti*] [2′] ṭa[r-]
Sd I [13′] [ ] šu-ṣa-a-ti ṭar-da-a-tú u kuš-šu-da-a-tú

216 D_1 IV [21] [-k]i?
m III [3′][ ]
Sd I [14′] [*dup-pu-ra-a-*t]ú? lu-u ta-at-tal-ki

217 m III [4′] [x]x [x]x [ ]
Sd I [15′] [x]x.na mu.un.zi.zi

218 m III [5′] ù [d]as[al.*lú*.ḫ]i ugụ?.ra dingir ti.l[a?]
Sd I [16′] [ug]u?.ra dingir ti.la TU_6.ÉN

Rub. 5

219 D_1 IV [24] [.INI]M.MA [d]DIM_{10}.ME.KE_4
m III [6′]KA.INIM.[M]A [d]DIM_8.[ ]

Rit. 5

220 D_1 IV [25] [D]Ù.DÙ.BI NU DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim šá IM PA_5 DÙ-uš
m III [7′]K[Ì]D.KỊD.BỊ . . . DU[MU.MU]NUS [ ]a-nim šá IM PA_5 [ ]

221 D_1 IV [26] ANŠ[E] šá IM PA_5 DÙ-uš ṣu-de-e tu-ṣa-ad-di-šú
m III [8′]AN[ŠE] šạ́ I[M P]A_5 DÙ-u[š] [9′]ṣụ-de-e [D]IRI →

222 D_1 IV [27] 14 NINDA ZÌ ŠE.$MUŠ_5$ TUR.TUR ina ŠU.SAR È
m III 14 NINDA ZÌ Š[E.M]$UŠ_5$ TỤR.[ ] [10′]ina [Š]U.SAR ta-šá-kak →

223 D_1 IV [28] ị-na GÚ-šá GAR-an ba-aḫ-ra DUB-ši
m III ina GÚ-šá GAR-[ ] [11′]bu-uḫ-ra ta-tab-bak →

224 D_1 IV [29] Ạ.MEŠ ù KAŠ.MEŠ BAL-qí-ši ŠAḪ.TUR KUD-is
m III A u KAŠ.MEŠ [ ] [12′]ŠAḪ.TU[R] KUD-is →

225 D_1 IV [30] lìb-ba i-na pi-i DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim GAR-an
m III ŠÀ a[na K]A DUMU.MUNUS [d]ạ-[ ]

Ug II [26′] [*na-as-*ḫ]a-ti ṭ[a]-ar-da-ti [27′][-t]i d[u-p]u-ra-ti // 215/216
[28′] [*ẓi an.na ḫé.pà ẓi ki.a* ḫ]é.pà —
[29′] [TU_6.*ÉN É.NU*.R]U —

226 D_1 IV [31] 3 u_4-me 3-šú ÉN kal u_4-me a-na pa-ni-šá ŠID-nu
m III [13′] . . . . . 3-šú É[N ka]l u_4-m[e]

227 D_1 IV [32] ina šal-ši u_4-me ina U[D].G[AM.M]A ana EDIN È-ši-ma
m III [14′] ina UD.Ṣ.K[ÁM qi]d-da-at u_4-[m]e a-na E[DIN]

228 D_1 IV [33] IG[I-] an[a ZÌ.SU]R.[R]A-a
m III [15′] IGI-šá [ ] ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.Ṣ [*GAR-an*] [16′] ina[?] U[D[?].*xx*[?] .R]A-a →

229 D_1 IV [34] [*ḪUR*-i]r
m III [16′] šá [Z]Ì Š[E.M]U$Š_5$ i-na I[GI-*šá*]

230 m III [17′] i[t-*ti* ^{GIŠ}NI]M ^{G}[^{I}]^{Š}Ú.GÍR tar-[*kas-si*]

231 m III [18′] (traces)

232 m III [19′] É[N[?]]

(probably nothing missing)
(divider line not preserved on any exemplar)

(for colophons, see p. 25)

Lam. II (= 2. *pirsu*)

Inc. 6

1 C_2 I [ ]
D_2 I 1 ÉN a-nam-di ÉN la-az-zi me-[ ]
a II 22 ÉN a-nam-di ÉN la-ạz-zụ m[i- E]N TIL-šú ŠID-nu (line follows, → 27ff.)
Ea II 15 ḲN ạ-n[am]-d[i] É[N l]a-az-zu m[i-l]ik-ka →
Eb I 5′ [-na]m-di ÉN la-az-zu m[i]-l[ịk-] →
Ec II 6′ ÉN a-nam-di šip-ta la-az mi-[ ]

2 C_2 I 2 [i]š-ši ŠU^{II}-ki ^{KUR}[ ]
D_2 I 2 ul iš-ši ŠU^{II}-ki ^{KUR}EN.TI KUR-ú [ ]
Ea II ul i-ši qa-at-ka ^{d}E[N$^{?}$.T]Ị$^{?}$ da]n$^{?}$-[n]u$^{?}$
Eb I [ ] 6′[^{KUR}*e-bi*-i]ḫ KUR-ú dan-nu →
Ec II (caret)

3 C_2 I 3 Ḳ.UL.MAŠ qa-áš-du . . . . . š[u-]
D_2 I 3 É.UL.MAŠ qa-áš-du . . . . . šu-bat DINGIR.MEŠ [ ]
Ea II 16 É.UL.MAŠ qá-á[š- . . . . . .ME]Š GAL.MEŠ →
Eb I É.UL.MAŠ qá-áš-d[a . . . . .] 7′DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
Ec II 7′É.U[L].MAŠ qá-aš-du el-l[um$^{?}$]

4 C_2 I 4 [a]d-di-ki ÉN š[á]
D_2 I 4 ad-di-ki ÉN šá ta-ni-[ ]
b II 1′a[t-]
Ea II at-ta-di-ki šip-tum šá ta-n[i-]
Eb I 8′[-t]a-d[i-k]i ÉN šá ta-ni-ḫi →
Ec II 8′at-ta-di-ki šip-ta [ ]

5 C_2 I 5 [-n]a qí-bi-ti šá šul-mi pu-uṭ-[ ]
D_2 I 5 i-na q[í-b]i-ti šá šul-mi pu-uṭ-ri at-[ ]
b II 2′ina qí-[ ]
Ea II 17 ina qí-bi-tum šá šul-mu p[u- a]t-[l]ak →
Eb I ina qí-bit šá šu-lum pu-ṭur at-l[ak]
Ec II 9′ina q[í]-bi-tum šá šul-mu pu-uṭ-[ ]

Ug III 15′ ÉN.É.NU.RU 16′a-nam-di$^{!}$ ši-ip-t[a l]a$^{?}$-[z]u$^{?}$ mi$^{!?}$-li-ka // 1
17′ ul iš-ši Š[U- / KU]R-ú [da]n-nụ // 2
18′ UL.MAŠ qa-á[š-*du* /] // 3
19′ [a]t-t[a]-di-k[i] // 4
20′ qí-bit š[a] 21′pu-uṭ-ri a[t-*la-ki*] ~ 5

6 C_2 I [6] [l]a ma-ṣi-tú šá lìb-bi-šá [ ]
D_2 I [6] [-t]ú šá lìb-bi-šá a[t-]
b II [3′] la ma-ṣ[i-]

Ea II la ma-ṣi-tum šá lìb-bi-ka at-ta
Eb I [9′] [m]a-ṣi-tu šá lìb-bi-šú at-ta →
Ec II [10′] [l]a ma-ṣi-ta [ ]

7 C_2 I [7] [ga]l-lu-ki a-ši-pu ^{d}asal-l[ú-]
D_2 I [7] [-k]i a-ši-pu ^{d}asal-l[ú-]
b II [4′] gal-lạ-k[i]

Ea II [18] GAL_5.LÁ-ka a-ši-pu ^{d}asal-[ ] →
Eb II gal-lu-ka ^{LÚ}MAŠ.MAŠ ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi
Ec II [11′] [-k]ị ạ-šị-pụ ^{d}asa[l- -ḫ]i →

8 C_2 I [8] ú-nak-kar i-mat-ki i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-[k]i
D_2 I [8] [ ] ị-mat-ki i-na-as-saḫ Š[U]
b II [5′] ú-nạ[k]-kar [ ] →

Ea II [-na]k-k[ar] ị-[ma]t-ka i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-ka
Eb I [10′] [-na]k-kar i-mat-ka i-na-as-saḫ [11′] [-k]a →
Ec II ú-nạk-k[ar] →

9 C_2 I [9] [ ] SU LÚ.TUR mar DINGIR-šú an-né-ẹ
D_2 I [9] [ ] S[U].TUR mar DINGIR-šú an-n[é-]
b II [ ]

Ea II [19] ina SU LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-ni-i →
Eb I ina SU LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-ni-i
Ec II [ ] [12′] [a]n-ni-i →

10 C_2 I [10] ú-ḫal-laq um-mu SED ḫal-pa-a šu-ri-[p]u . . . . . .
D_2 I [10] ú-ḫal-l[aq]-mu SED ḫal-pa-a šu-r[i-] . . . . . .
b II [6′] ú-ḫal-la[q ?]

Ea II ú-[S]ED ḫal-pu-ú šu-ri-pu u šal-gu
Eb I [12′] [-ḫa]l-liq KÚM S[E]D ḫal-pa-a [13′] [ ]-ri-pu . . . . . →
Ec II ú-ḫal-la[q] mur-ṣa ku-u[ṣ-ṣa ?]

Ug III (21′) [ ] / š[a] ~ 6
22′ gal-lu-ki a-ši-p[u] // 7
23′ ú-na-kar a-mat-[*ki*] // 8
24′ i-na zu-mur še-e[r-*ri*] // 9
25′ ú-ḫal-la-aq GI[G] // 10

11 C_2 I [-a]m ú-tam-mu-ki ši-pir ḪUL-[ ]
D_2 I [l]a-am ú-tam-mu-ki ši-pir ḪU[L-]
b II 7′ la-am ú-[t]am-mẹ-k[i]
Ea II la ú-tam-mi-ka ši-pir ḪUL-t[im] →
Eb I la ú-[t]am-mi-ki ši-pir ḪUL-tim
Ec II 13′ [-t]am-mu-ki ši-pir [ ]

12 C_2 I [-pi]r ú-ri-i . . . . . ú-la-ap áš-[ ]
D_2 I [š]i-pir ú-ri-i . . . . . ú-la-ap áš-t[am-]
b II 8′ IGI ṣab-b[u]-re-e . . . . . ú-la-pa áš-t[am-]
Ea II [ ]-ẹ . . . . . ú-la-a-pu áš-tam-mu
Eb I 14′ [ ] ru-ḫe-e ru-se-ẹ ú-la-pi 15′ [-t]am-mi →
Ec II 14′ [-r]e-e . . . . . [ ]

13 C_2 I [l]u-up-pu-tu . . . Ì ŠAḪ NÍG.GIG-ki [*ṣa*]-a]b$^{?}$-[ ]
D_2 I [l]u-up-pu-tu . . . Ì ŠAḪ NÍG.GIG-ki ṣab-[ ]
b II 9′ lụ-u[p]-p[u]-ut KA Ì.GIŠ ŠAḪ NÍG.GIG-kị ṣ[ab$^{?}$-]
Ea II 21 lu-up-p[u-u]t KA Ì ŠAḪ ik-ki[b]-k[a -t]i$^{?}$ →
Eb I lu-up-pu-ut K[A$^{?}$] x[x$^{?}$ x]x$^{?}$ . . . . . .
Ec II 15′ [ ] ŠẠḪ ik-kib-k[i]

14 C_2 I 14 tab-li-šú-nu-ti šu-ṣi-[-n]u-t[i]
D_2 I 14 [t]ab-li-šú-nu-ti šu-ṣi-šú-nu-t[i]
b II 10′ tab-lị-šú-nu-tú šu-ṣi-šú-nu-tú →
Ea II tab-li-šú-nu-tu šu-ṣi-šú-nu-tu
Eb I 16′ [ ]-li-šú-nu-ti šu-ṣi-šṷ́-nụ-tị →
Ec II 16′ [š]ụ-ṣi-šú-nu-t[i] →

15 C_2 I 15 DINGIR.MEŠ ḪUL.MEŠ MÁŠKIM.MEŠ ḪỤL.ME[Š]
D_2 I 15 [DIN]GIR.MEŠ ḪUL.ME[Š] MÁŠKIM.MEŠ ḪUL.[ ]
b II DINGIR.MEŠ ḪỤL.[ ]
Ea II 22 DINGIR.MEŠ lem-nu-tú ra-bi-ṣu lem-⟨nu⟩-tu →
Eb I DỊNGỊR.MẸŠ ḪỤL.MEŠ 17′ [M]AŠKIM ḪUL.MEŠ →
Ec II [ ]

Ug III 26′ la ú-tam-mu-ki š[i-] // 11
27′ ši-pur$^{?}$ bu-ri-ẹ$^{?}$ [ ] 28′ ú-la-a-pu(-)UZ-t[am-] ~ 12
29′ ša-man ŠAḪ ik-k[ib$^{?}$-] // 13
30′ ta-ab-li-š[u-*nu-ti*] 31′ šu-ṣi-i-š[u-*nu-ti*] // 14
32′ DINGIR.MEŠ Ḫ[UL.*MEŠ*] 33′ MAŠKIM.Ḫ[UL.*MEŠ*] // 15

16 C_2 I [16] šu-ut pa-ni-ki šá ina pa-ni-ki ù E[GI]R-ki il-la-ku
D_2 I [16] [-u]t pa-ni-ki šá ina pa-ni-k[i] ù EGIR-ki il-la-[ ]
b II [11′] šụ-ụt pạ-n[i]-kị šá ina pa-ni-ki u EGIR-ki i[l-]
Ea II šu-u[t š]á ina IGI-ka ù EGIR-ka il-la-ku
Eb I šu-ut KI-ki š[á]-šú u ĘGỊR-kị ịl-lạ-ku
Ec II [17′] [in]a IGI-ka [ ]

17 C_2 I [17] [k]i-ma na-al-ši šá MUL.MEŠ ki-[-q]í-qí šá a-pa-a-ti
D_2 I [17] [-m]a na-al-ši šá MUL.MEŠ ki-ma z[a]-qí-qí šá a-pa-ạ-[ ]
b II [12′] k[i]-ma n[a]-ạl-ši šá MU⟨L⟩.MEŠ ki-ma za-qí-q[í]
c III [1′] [-t]um
Ea II [23] ki-ma na-a[l-š]i šá MUL.MEŠ ki-ma za-qí-[ ]-ạ-tú →
Eb I [18′] ki-ma na-al-ši šá [M]UL.MEŠ [19′] ki-ma za-qí-qí šá ⟨a⟩-pa-a-tú →
Ec II [18′] [.ME]Š? k[i?-]

18 C_2 I [18] [-m]a šik-ke-e la [ ]-lu-pi ṣer-ra-niš
D_2 I [18] [-m]a šik-ke-e la ta-ḫal-lụ-pi ṣe[r-]
b II [13′] ki-ma šik-ke-e la ta-ḫal-lu-up ṣe-ra-[ ]
c III [2′] [ ]-e? [-l]u?-[-r]ạ-niš
Ea II ki-ma š[i]k-kẹ-ẹ [24] la ta-ḫal-lu-pu ṣe-ra-niš →
Eb I ki-ma šik-ke-e [20′] la i-tel-lu ṣe-rạ-[n]iš →

19 C_2 I [19] [t]a-at-ta-nab-[-t]i ḫa-aṣ-bu-ra-a-ti
D_2 I [19] [ ] ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti ḫa-a[ṣ-]
b II [14′] la ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti ḫa-ṣab ú-[ ]
c III [3′] [ ]-nab-lak-ka-ti ḫa-ṣ[ab? -r]a-a-tú
Ea II la tat-t[a- -k]a-tu ḫ[a-]-ạ-t[u]
Eb I . . it-ta-at-nạb-lạk-ka-kàt : [21′] [ḫ]a-ṣab ú-ra-ạ-[t]i →

20 C_2 I [20] [-š]ar-kab-ki IM er-bet-ti
D_2 I [20] [ ]-šar-kab-ki IM [ ]
b II [15′] ú-šar-kib-ki IM er-bet-[ ]
c III [4′] [-ka]b-ka IM e[r-be]t-ti
Ea II [25] ú-šar-kab-ka IM er-bẹt-tum →
Eb I ú-šạr-[k]ạb-ki [22′] [ẹ]r-b[ẹ]t-[ ] →

21 C_2 I [21] [ ]-la ^{GIŠ}MÁ-ki sim-ma-na-a [22] [ ]-rad-ki ka-a-ši
D_2 I [21] [ ]-ma-al-la ^{GIŠ}M[Á]-k[i] [22] a-ṭar-rad-[ ]
b II [16′] ú-ma-al-li ^{GIŠ}MÁ-ki sim-ma-na-a a-ṭ[ar-]
c III [5′] [-a]l-la ^{GIŠ}MÁ-ka ZÌ.MUNU$_5$ a-ṭar-rad-ki ka-a-šú
Ea II ú-ma-al-la [^{G}]^{IŠ}MÁ-ka s[im-] [26] a-ṭár-rad-ka ka-a-šú →
Eb I [-k]a? [23′] [ ]

Ug III [34′] šu-ut qa-ti-[*ki*] ~ 16
[35′] ki-ma na-áš-š[i] [36′] k[ị-m]a z[a]-q[í-*qí*] // 17

22 C_2 I [23] [ ] a-da-pà NUN.ME . . eri-du_{10}
D_2 I [23] [-p]eš a-d[a-]
b II [17′]e-peš a-da-pa NUN.ME . . eri-d[u_{10}]
c III [6′][-p]iš-ki a-da-pi NUN.ME šá eri-du_{10}
Ea II e-piš-ka a-da-pà NU[N.]

23 C_2 I [24] [-k]i i-na eri-du_{10} i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ki ka-a-ši
D_2 I [24] [-k]i [ ]
b II [18′]da-gíl-ki ina eri-du_{10} i-na-ṭa-al-ki ka-ạ-[ ]
c III [7′][-g]i-il-ki ina eri-du_{10} i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ki ka-a-šú
Ea II [27] da-gil-ki ina eri-du_{10} i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ka k[a-] →

24 C_2 I [25] [-n]ak-kar i-mat-ki i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-ki
D_2 I [25] [ ]
b II [19′]ú-nak-kar i-mat-ki i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-ka →
c III [8′][-n]ak-kar i-mat-ka i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-ka
Ea II [ ] [28] i-mat-ka i-na-as-saḫ $ŠU^{II}$-ka →

25 C_2 I [26] [ ] SU LÚ.TUR mar DINGIR-šú an-né-e
D_2 I [26] [ ]
b ina SU [ ]
c III [9′][L]Ú.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-ni-i →
Ea II i-na SU LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú an-n[é]-ẹ →

26 C_2 I [27] [p]u-uṭ-ri at-la-ki TU_6.ÉN
D_2 I [27] [T]U_6.É[N]
b II [20′]pu-uṭ-ri at-lak TE.[ ]
c III pu-ṭur at-la-ku TU_6.ÉN
Ea [ ]

Rub. 6

27 C_2 I [28] KA.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME.[ ]
D_2 I [28] [ ] $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME.K[E_4]
a II [23′]KA.IN[IM.M]A ^{d}D[IM_{11}].M[E.K]Ẹ$_4$ →
b II [21′]KẠ.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{11}$.ME.KÁ[M]
c III [10′][K]A.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{11}$.ME.A.KE_4

(no divider line in *a*)

Rit. 6a

28 C_2 I [29] DÙ.DÙ.BI KUŠ ANŠE kur-ru šá LÚ AŠGAB →
D_2 I [29] [AŠG]AB →
a II KỊD.KỊD.B[I K]UŠ ANŠE kur-ra šá L[Ú]
c III [11′][KÌ]D.KÌD.BI KUŠ ANŠE ku-ur-ra šá LÚ AŠGAB

29 C_2 I TÚGNÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL NUN.BAR.[ ]
D_2 I TÚGNÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL NUN.BA[R.]
a II 24′TÚGNÍG.DÁ[RA].Š[Ụ.]KU6 →
c III 12′TÚGNÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL NUN.BAR.ḪUŠKU6

30 C_2 I 30 . . . Ì ŠAḪ BABBAR-e 1-niš ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ-su-ma [ ]
D_2 I 30 [? Š]ÉŠ-su-ma [ ]
a II . . . Ì.GIŠ Š[AḪ BABBA]R? . . . . ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ-su-m[a]
c III 13′ina Ì.GIŠ ŠAḪ BABBAR 1-niš ḪI.ḪI ŠÉŠ-su-ma ina-eš

Rit. 6b

31 C_2 I 31 ZÌ NU SIM BAR SUM.SIKILSAR ina NE MÚ-šú →
D_2 I 31 [SA]R ina NE [ ]
a II 25′ZÌ NU SI[M] BAR SUM.SIK[IL]SAR ina N[E]-šú →
c IV 1 ZÌ NU SIM BAR SUM.SIKILSAR ina NE MÚ-šú

32 C_2 I BAR MUŠ NUMUN GA[DA]
D_2 I 32 [ ] ina N[E]
a II x[x] BI BI BI x[x] M[Ú]-šú
c IV 2 BAR MUŠ NUMUN GADA ina NE MÚ-šú

33 C_2 I 32 kib-rit ÚZÀ.ḪI.LISAR mu-šá-ṭ[i]
a II 26′[(erased)]-ḷé-e mu-šá-ṭ[i *xx*?] ina NE MÚ-šú
c IV 3 kib-rit ZÀ.ḪI.LISAR SÍGmu-šá-ṭu ina NE MÚ-šú

Inc. 7

34 C_2 I 33 ÉN ez-ze-et DUMU.MUNUS da-nim m[u]-a[m?-]
Ea I 40 [-e]t DUMU.MUNUS dạ-[n]im mu-um-mi-lat la-ʾu-ú-[t]u →
Sd 17′ [-n]im mu-am-mi-lat la-ʾu-ú-tú

35 C_2 I 34 ez-ze-et . . . i-lat na-mur-rat iš-t[u] ú-r[i-d]am-[m]a
Ea I ez-ze-et ul i-lat 41[i]š-tu k[ul?-*lat*? KU]R-i ú-ri-da-am-ma →

36 C_2 I 35 [ši]n-n[i] AN[ŠE ši]n-na-a-šá pa-an UR.MAḪ da-pi-ni pa-nu-šá šak-nu
Ea I š[i]n-nu ANŠE šin-na-a-šú 42[.MA]Ḫ da-pi-nu pa-nu-šú šạk-nu →

37 C_2 I 36 [ ] nim-ri tuk-ku-pa ka-la-tu-šá
Ea I GIM PIRIG.T[UR tu]k-ku-pu BIR.MEŠ-šú
Se I 1 [ ] →

Ah 4 ÉN ez-ze-et DUMU.MUNUS da-nu 5mu-um-mi-lat la-ʾu-ú-tú → // 34
ez-ze-et 6i-lat na-mur-rat iš-tu a-pi i-lam-ma 7e-ze-zi ez-ze-et → ~ 35
ZÚ ANŠE ZÚ.ME-šú 8IGI UR.MAḪ da-pi-nu IGI.MEŠ-šú → // 36
GIM nim-rum 9tuk-kup BIR.ME-šú → // 37

38 B III 1′ [ ] a[r-]
C_2 I 37 [ ] ka-le-e TE-sa ar-qat
Ea I 43 [-l]e-e TE-su ar-qát →
Se I [k]i-ma ka-le-e [ ]

39 B III 2′ [ ] ^{d}a-nim šá A[N-]
C_2 I 38 [ ]-ši-ma ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá AN-e
Ea I i-mur-šu-ma ^{d}[AMA]R.U[D] DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ 44[. . ? . .] →
Se I 2 [ ] ^{d}a-nim šá AN-ẹ →

40 B III 3′ [-l]ị-[k]a lil-l[u-]
C_2 I 39 [*ina* É]N-šú šá né-me-qí šír-a-ni-šá ú-šá-li-ka lil-lu-ta
Ea [š]ip-ti-šú šá né-me-qí S[A.ME]Š-šụ ụ́-šal-l[ịk] lil-lụ-tú
Se [ ] 3[ ]-lu-ú-tu →

41 B III 4′ [t]a-ram-me
C_2 I 40 [*at-la*]-ki a-na KUR-i šá ta-ram-mi
Ea I 45 [ ] šá ta-ra-am-mu →
Se I at-[ ] 4[ ] →

42 B III 5′ [t]u-ra-ḫi
C_2 I 41 [-t]i a-a-li u tu-ra-ḫu
Ea II ṣab-tu a-a-[l]i . . tu-ra-ḫu
Se I [ ] tu-ra-ḫu →

43 B III 6′ [ ] ṣab-ti
C_2 I 42 [*um*]-mat la-ʾi-i DÙ-ši-na ṣab-tị
Ea II 46 [-š]ị-[n]ạ [ṣ]ab-tụ →
Se I um-m[u(-)] 5[ ] →

44 B III 7′ [-l]e-ki a-na lìb-bi
C_2 I 43 [-p]u-šak-ki ^{GIŠ}MÁ.GUR$_8$ šaḫ-ḫu-tu ú-še-el-le-ki ina l[ìb-]
Ea I ep-pu-ša[k-] ^{GIŠ}MÁ.GUR$_8$ šaḫ-ḫu-tú $^{II\ 1}$ú-še-el-le-ka a-na lìb-bi →
Se I [.GU]R$_8$ šà-ḫu-tú ú-še-ẹ[l-]

45 B III 8′ [ ] 2 BABBAR.MEŠ 2 GI$_6$.MEŠ
C_2 I 44 [ ]-še-el-le it-ti-ki 4 UR.GI$_7$.MEŠ 2 BABBAR.MEŠ 2 G[I$_6$.]
Ea II ú-še-el-le [*KI*-k]a 4 UR.GI$_7$ 2 BABBAR.MEŠ ẹ GI$_6$.MEŠ
Se I 6 [ ] BABBAR.MEŠ 2 GI$_6$.MEŠ →

Ah (9) GIM IM.GÁ.LI TE-sa ár-qat // 38
10 IGI-ši-ma ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nu šá AN-e // 39
11 ina ÉN-šú šá né-me-qa SA.ME-šú ú-šá-lik lil-lu-tú // 40
12 at-lak ana KUR-i šá ta-ra-am ṣab-tú a-a-lu u DÀRA // 41/42
13 AMA.ME la-ʾi DÙ-ši-na ṣab-tú DÙ-ki ^{GIŠ}MÁ.GUR$_8$ // 43/44
14 šà-ḫu-tú E$_{11}$-ki ana lìb-bi E$_{11}$ KI-ki 4 UR.GI$_7$.ME // 44/45
15 2 BABBAR.ME 2 GI$_6$.ME → // 45

46 B III 9′ [-m]a-ta DAGAL-tim
C_2 I 45 [-š]e-eb-ber-ki ÍDú-la-a a-a-a[b-b]a ta-ma-t[ú] D[AGAL-]
Ea II 2 ú-še-eb-ber-ka ÍDú-la-a a-a-ab-ba tam-t[um DAG]AL-t[u]m
Se I [ ] 7[ ] →

47 B III 10′ [-k]i a-rak-kas
C_2 I 46 [*it*-t]i . . . . . ku-šá-ri e-di GÌR^{II}-ki a-r[ak-ka]s
Ea II 3 KI GIŠŠINIG a-ḫi-i u ku-šá-ri e-du GÌR^{II}-ka a-rak-kàs →
Se I [G]IŠŠINIG a-ḫi-i [ ]

48 B III 11′ [ ] ta-ma-a-ti
C_2 I 47 [ ].RA-a NIGIN-ki tùm-ma-ti lu ta-ma-ṭi
n IV 1 [ ]-*ạ *N[IGI]N-*[k]i *t[ù]m-ma-[ ]
Ea II ZÌ.SU[R.] 4tum$_4$-ma-a-tú lu-ú ta-ma-a-tú →

49 B III 12′ [ ] ù re-bi-tum
C_2 I 48 [-ta]m-me-ki ÍD KÁ.GAL me-šá-ri . . . re-[b]it
n IV 2 [ ]-me-ki i-ta K[Á].GAL mi-šá-ru u r[e-]
Ea II ú-tam-mi-ka dÍD KÁ.GAL dmi-šá-ri u re-bi-ṭa →

50 B III 13′ [SA]G EN KUR.KUR
C_2 I 49 [*ú*-ta]m-me-ki dšár-ur$_4$ GIŠTUKUL dan-nu šá SAG EN KUR.KUR
n IV 3 [*KIMIN*]-ur$_4$ GIŠTUKUL dan-na šá SAG EN KUR.[ ]
Ea II . . . . . dšár-u[r$_4$] 5 GIŠTUKUL dan-nu šá re-eš EN KUR.KUR →

51 B III 14′ [t]a-ma-a-ti
C_2 I 50 [-ta]m-me-ki lu ta-ma-ti
n IV 4 [ ]-me-ki lu-ú ta-*m[a-]
Ea II ú-tam-mi-ka lu-ú ta-mat →

52 B III 15′ [-š]á mi-šá-ru-um-ma
C_2 I 51 [t]a-aṭ-ḫi-i ana GIŠIG šá GIŠSAG.KUL-šá me-šá-ru-um-ma
n IV 5 [t]e-eṭ-ḫe-e a-na GIŠIG šá GIŠSA[G.] 6[m]i-šá-ra-ma →
Ea II e ta-aṭ-ḫe-ẹ-ma ana? GIŠIG 6 šá GIŠSAG.KUL-šú dmi-šá-ri-um-ma →

52a B (caret ?)
C_2 I 52 [-k]u-šá da-num . . . . . .
n IV šu-ku-šá d60 AN [ ]
Ea II šu-ku-šú da-num . . . . . →

Ah (15) BAL-ki ÍDú-la-a A.AB tam-tim DAGAL-tim // 46
16 KI ku-šá-ri AŠ GÌR-ki a-rak-kas ZÌ.SUR.RA-a NIGIN-ki // 47/48
17 tùm-mat lu-u ta-mat ú-tam-me-ki dÍD KÁ.GAL 18 dmi-šá-rum u re-bi-tú // 48/49
19 dšár-ur$_4$ GIŠTUKUL dan-nu šá re-eš 20 EN KUR.KUR ú-tam-me-ki lu ta-ma[t] // 50/51
21 ẹ TE-e ana GIŠIG šá sik-kur-šú 22 dmi-šar šu-ku-šú da-nu // 52+a

53 B III 16′ [ ] i₇-BUR-ₓtu-ra
C_2 I 53 [*ma*-a]ṣ-ṣar KÁ-šá ^{d}[p]ap-sukkal šá ta-mu-šú la i-[ ]-ra
n IV 6 [-ṣa]r KÁ-šú ^{d}pap-sukkal šá ta-mu-šú la ị-[ ]
Ea II EN.NUN KÁ-šú ^{d}pap-sukkal šá ta-mi-šú 7[l]a i-tur-ru →

54 B III 17′ [.D]U ṣal-mi
C_2 I 54 [ ]-tam-me-ki niš lìb-bi kub-bu-tú . . SA[G. ṣa]l-mi
n IV 8 [ ]-me-ki niš lìb-bi kub-bu-tú u SA[G.]
Ea II ú-tam-mi-ka niš lìb-bi kub-bu-tu u SAG.DU ṣal-mu →

55 B III 18′ [ ] ẹ-pẹ-r[i-š]á
C_2 I 55 [P]Ú u ḫi-ri-ti niš tub-ki-na-ti u e[p-*re*]-e-šá
n IV 9 [*ni*-i]š PÚ ù [ ] 10[*ni*-i]š tub-kin-nu ù [ ]
Ea II niš PÚ u ḫi-ri-tum 8ni[š t]úb-kin-du u e-pe-ri-šú →

56 B III 19′ [ ] ur-rụ-uš-t[i] 20′ [ ] u a-li-ki-š[á]
C_2 I 56 [*niš* l]u-ba-re-e šá ur-ru-uš-tú niš KASKAL u ạ-[-k]e-e-šá
D_2 I 1′ [ ] niš [K]ASKA[L] u a-lị-k[e-]
n IV 11 ni-iš lu-ba-re-e [ ] 12ni-iš ḫar-ra-an [ ]
Ea II niš ḫar-ra-an u a-li-ke-e-šú niš lu-bar-re-e 9šá u[r]-ru-uš-tum →

57 B III 21′ [.n]a ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.p[à]
C_2 I 57 [ ].dúb zi an.na ḫé.pà zi k[i. ḫ]é.pà
D_2 I 2′ [ḫ]é.pà zi ki.a ḫé.p[à]
m IV 1′ [ ].pà
n IV 13 ḫul.dúb zi an.n[a]
Ea II ḫul.dúb zi an.na ḫé.pà zi k[i].ạ ḫé.pà

58 B III 22′ [ ].e.ne.[k]e$_4$ ḫé.p[à] 23′ [ạ]n.ki.a ḫé.pà
C_2 I 58 [z]i dingir.gal.gal.e.ne.ke$_4$ ḫé.pà zi d[ingir].ạ ḫé.pà
D_2 I 3′ [ḫ]é.pà zi dingir an.ki.a ḫé.pà
m IV 2′ [.p]à 3′ [.k]i.ạ ḫ[é].pà
n IV 14 [z]i dingir.gal.gal.e.n[e.] 15[a]n.ki.a [ ]
Ea II 10 zi [ding]ir.gal.gal.e.ne.ke$_4$ ḫé.pà . . . . . .
11 zi a[n.k]i.a an.na mú.a ḫé.pà
12 zi an.na mú.a an.ki.a ḫé.pà

Ah 23 ^{LÚ}EN.NUN KÁ-šú ^{d}pap-sukkal // 53
(end of text)

59 B III 24′ [ ] ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.pà
C_2 I 59 [z]i an.na ḫé.pà z[i ḫ]é.pà
D_2 I 4′ [ ] zi ki.a ḫé.pà
m IV 4′ [ ].p[à]
n IV 16 z[i a]n.n[a] *ḫ[é].*[p]à [ ]
Ea II 13 zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.pà
14 eme ḫul.g[ál] bar.šè ḫé.[e]m.[t]a.gub

Rub. 7

60 B III 25′ [.M]A ^{d}DIṂ$_{10}$.ME.KE$_4$
C_2 I 60 [K]A.INIM.MA ^{d}[.M]E.KE$_4$
D_2 I 5′ [ ] ^{d}DIM$_{10}$.ME.KE$_4$
m IV 5′ [.K]E$_4^{?}$
n IV 17 KA.INIM.MA [ ]

Rit. 7

(Restorations from Lam. III 8–28 are given in *italics*; cf. also Lam. II 61*ff.
Length of lines 61–66 based on average number of signs in C_2)

61 B III 26′ [*DÙ.DÙ.BI SAḪAR KÁ*] É.[G]AL S[AḪ]AR KẠ É ^{d}iš-tar → (III 8)

62 B III SAḪAR KÁ É ^{d}MAŠ 27′ [*SAḪAR KÁ É.ÉŠ.DAM*] → (III 9)

63 B III [*SAḪAR* K]Á Ẹ́ [^{L}]^{Ú}KAŠ.TIN.NA SAḪAR KÁ É ^{LÚ}MUḪ[ALDIM] (III 10)

64 B III 28′ [*SAḪAR SILA.LÍMMU.BA ina*$^{?}$ ^{NA_4}*urṣi*$^{?}$ *ištēniš tasâk*] → (III 11)

65 B III [i]t-tị ỊM PA$_5$ ḪI.ḪI-ma ṭup-pu ù UR.MEŠ D[Ù] (III 12)

66 B III 29′ [*ina UGU ṭup-pi AŠ.ME UD*.SAK]AR gam-lum MUL-tu ḪUR-ir (III 13)

67 B III 30′ [*ez-ze-et* DUM]U.MUN[US] ^{d}a-nim ina UGU SAR-ár (III 14)
C_2 II 1′ ÉN [ ]

68 B III 31′ [^{GIŠ}*NÁ* tá]l-lal UR.GI$_7$.MEŠ → (III 15)
C_2 II 2′ ina S[AG]

69 B III ina IM.BABBAR u-pil-le-e tu-bar-r[am] (III 15/6)
C_2 II 3′ ina IM.BA[BBAR]

70 B III 32′ [ ] ina ab-bu-ti-šú-nu (III 16)
C_2 II 4′ SÍG UR.G[I$_7$ G*I*$_6$]

71 B III 33′ [ ].ZỤ ina KUN.MEŠ-šú-nu GAR-an (III 17)
C_2 II 5′ SÍG MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR GÌ[Š.*NU.*]

72 B III 34′[in]a MAŠ.SÌLA 150-šú-nu SAR-ár (III 18)
C_2 II 6′MU.NE.NE ina [ ]

73 B III 35′ [š]á KÁ ka-me-i → (III 19)
C_2 II 7′ AB.MEŠ 15 u 150 [ ]

74 B III šá KÁ É-a-ni-i 36′[*(u?) šá KÁ É* GIŠ*NÁ BAD-te*] → (III 20)
C_2 II 8′ša KÁ É-a-ni-ị [ ]

75 B III [K]I.TA-ma BẠD . . ana tar-ṣi K[Á B]Ạ[D]-t[e] 37′[*šá?-ru-uḫ ZI-šú*] → (III 21/2)
C_2 II 9′ina KI.TA-ma BAD šá ana tar-ṣi [ ]

76 B III [ṭ]ụ?-r[ụ?-*ud DUMU.MUNUS*] d[*a-nim*] (III 22)
C_2 II 10′ú-ṣur GI_6 ṭ[u-]

77 C_2 II 11′ina ŠÀ AB.MEŠ [*šá* K]Ạ́ k[a-*mi-i tu-šeš-šeb*] (III 23)

78 C_2 II 12′ur-ru-uḫ [*ZI-šú*] ana EN.NU[N-*ka la te-eg-gi*] (III 24)

79 C_2 II 13′ina ŠÀ AB.ME[Š *šá* K]Á É-a-n[i-*i tu-šeš-šeb*] (III 25)

80 C_2 II 14′e tam-tal-lik ẹ-[*pu-uš*] KA-ka si-kip lem-n[a . . . . (ca. 4 signs missing)] (III 26)

81 C_2 II 15′ina ŠÀ AB.[*MEŠ šá*] KÁ É GIŠNÁ [*tu-šeš-šeb*] (III 27)

82 B III 1″[BA]D? (III 28)
C_2 II 16′d3[0]-S[IPA-*UR*].GI_7.MEŠ ina Š[À]

83 B III 2″[ ]-šeb (III 28)
C_2 II 17′[K]Á tu-[*šeš-*]
M III 1′[*šá ana tar-*ṣ]i? K[Á?]

Rit. 7*

(Variant version of Rit. 7, from the *ṭuppu* recension; for restorations cf. ll. 61ff.)

61* m IV 6′[*kakkab-*t]i gam-la
n IV 18 DÙ.DÙ.BI DUB SAR-ár UD.SAKAR *AŠ.*M[E]

62* m IV 7′[t]ál-la[l]
n IV 19 ina muḫ-ḫi te-eṣ-ṣer ina SAG G[IŠ*NÁ*]

63* m IV 8′[-r]u-ud 9′[*DUMU.MUNUS* d*a-nim*] →
n IV 20 šá-ru-uḫ ZI-šú ú-ṣur mu-šú ṭu-[ ]

64* m IV [ ] →
n IV 21 2 $UR.GI_7$.ME šá KÁ [*ka-me-i*]

65* m IV [Z]I-šu 10′[*la te-*e]g?-gi
n IV 22 ur-ru-uḫ ZI-šú a-na EN.*N[UN-*ka]

66* m IV 11′[ ] →
n IV 23 2 UR.GI$_7$ [*šá KÁ É-a-ni-i*]

67* m IV [-t]a-lik e-pu-uš 12′[-x]x →
n IV 24 e tam-ta-lik e-pu-uš K[A-*ka si-kip lem-nu*]

68* m IV 2 UR.GI$_7$.MEŠ 13′[ ] →
n IV 25 2 UR.GI$_7$ [*šá KÁ É* GIŠ*NÁ*]

69* m IV [.M]EŠ UR.GI$_7$ šá ap-ti : (var:) 14′[*ina apti* t]u-š[e$^{?}$]-šẹ-eb
n IV 26 ^{d}30-re-$^{\flat}$i-i-UR.GI$_7$.[ ] . . . . . .

70* m IV 15′[^{d}i]š-tar
n IV 27 SAḪAR KÁ É.GAL SAḪAR K[Ạ́ *É*]

71* m IV 17′[^{d}ni]n$^{?}$-[ur]ta$^{?}$ (m: 72*)
n IV 28 SAḪ[AR K]Á É.ÈŠ.DAM SAḪAR [*KÁ É*]

72* m IV 16′[*SAḪAR KÁ É* ^{L}]^{Ú}MUḪALDIM (m: 71*)
n IV 29 SAḪAR KÁ É ^{LÚ}KAŠ.TIN.N[A]

73* m IV 18′[*1*-ni]š ta-sàk
n IV 30 SAḪAR SILA.LÍM.*MA ina!(*BE) ^{NA_4}[*ur-ṣi(?)*]

74* m IV 19′[ ] →
n IV 31 KI IM PA$_5$ ḪI.ḪI [*7 UR.GI$_7$.MEŠ DÙ-uš*]

75* m IV [-l]e-e 20′[*tu-bar-ram*] →
n IV 32 ina gaṣ-ṣa ú-pi[l-]

76* m IV [*ina ab-bu*-t]i$^{?}$-[*šú*-n]u$^{?}$
n IV 33 SÍG UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$ [ ]

77* m IV 21′[*ina KUN.MEŠ-šú*-n]u 22′[GA*R-an*] →
n IV 34 SÍG MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR [*GÌŠ.NU.ZU*]

78* m IV [ ] S[A]R-[*ár*]
n IV 35 MU-šú-nu ina M[AŠ.*SÌLA 150-šú-nu*]

Inc. 8

84 B III 3″ [-r]at
C_2 II 18′ [ša]m-rat i-la[t]
M III 2′ [ ] na-mur-rat
a II 27′ É[N ša]m-rat i-laṭ na-mu[r]-rat →
b II 22′ É[N e]z-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-ra[t]
c IV 4 ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat
Sf I 1 ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat →

85 B III 4″ [-e]t
C_2 II 19′ [ ]-ma e-ze-[ ]
M III 3′ [ ] ẹ-[z]e-zu ez-ze-e[t]
a II [G]IŠ.GI ị-la[m-m]a ẹ-z[e-z]u 28′ẹz-zẹ-et →
b II 23′ ul-[t]ụ GỊŠ.GỊ i-lam-ma e-ze-zi ez-ze-e[t]
c IV 5 iš-tu GIŠ.GI i-lam-ma e-ze-zi ez-ze-et
Sf I 2 ul-tu a-pi i-lam-ma

86 A III 1′ [-ụ]s-s[ạ a]b-nụ
B III 5″ [a]b-nu
C_2 II 20′ [-t]i pu-u[s-]
M III 4′ [ki]p-p[a]-ạ-[t]a$^{?}$ p[u]-sa ab-nu
a II SÍG-su kip-p[a- -u]s-su NA_4 →
b II 24′ SÍG.ÙZ-su ki[p-p]at pu-us-su ab-ni →
c IV 6 [S]ÍG-su kip-pa-a-tum pu-us-su NA_4

87 A III 2′ [ ] ụ šą́-ḫ[u Š]UB-ut l[a-k]u$^{?}$-š[á]
B III 6″ [-k]u$^{?}$-šá
C_2 II 21′ [ ] ú-ru ù [ ]
M III 5′ [ ] pa-ni-šá ú-ru u ša$^{!}$-ḫu-ú ŠUB-ut la$^{!}$-k[u$^{!?}$-]
a II ị[l-]-nị-šú ú-[r]u ụ šá-ḫ[u-]$^{?}$ . . . . . .
b II il-la-ku ina IGI-[ ]$^{?}$ . . . . . .
c IV 7 [i]l-lak ina IGI-šú ú-ru u šá-ḫu ŠUB-ut la-ku-šú

Ai 9 [e]z-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat // 84
10 [GI]Š.GỊ i-lam-ma e-ze-zu ez-ze-et // 85
11 [*kip*-p]a$^{?}$-tụm pu-us-sa ab-nu // 86
12 [*IGI*]-šá ú-ru šá-ḫu ŠUB-ut la-ku$^{?}$-šá // 87

88 A III 3′ [ ] ḫar-š[á]-ạ-te e-[t]e-né-rụ-ụb
B III 7″ [-r]u-ub
C_2 II 22′ [ ] ẹ-[ ]
M III 6′ [ḫa]r-šá-a-te TU.MEŠ-ub
a II 29′ É.ME[Š ḫa]r-šá-a-tum i-te-[-r]ụ-ụb →
b II 25′ É.MEŠ ḫar-šá-a-[t]e ị-[t]e-ner-ru-u[b]
c IV 8 [ ].MEŠ ḫar-šá-a-tum i-te-ner-ru-bu

89 A III 4′ [SA]G a-li-dạ-a-te it-ta-na-za-ạz
B III 8″ [-n]a-za-az
C_2 II 23′ [ ]-te i[t-]
M III 7′ [-l]i-da-te GUB.MEŠ-z[i]
a II ina SA[G -t]a-nam-za-zị
b II 26′ ina SAG a-li-dạ-[-t]i ịt-tạ-n[a-]
c IV 9 [SA]G a-li-da-a-tú it-ta-nam-za-zu

90 A III 5′ [ ]-ni DUMỤ.MEŠ-ki-na lu-šẹ-niq
B III 9″ [-š]e-niq
C_2 II 24′ [b]i-lạ-ạ-n[i DU]MU.MEŠ-ki-na l[ụ-]
M III 8′ [-l]a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-š[e]-n[iq]
a II 30′ bil-la-a-ni DU[MU. -k]i-n[a l]u-] →
b II 27′ bi-il-la-nu D[UM]U.MEŠ-ki-na lu-š[e-]
c IV 10 [ ]-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-še-niq

91 A III 6′ [D]UMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-uš-tạ-kan
B III 10″ [-u]š-tak-kan
C_2 II 25′ i-na pi-i DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-u[š-]
M III 9′ [DU]MU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-ụš-[ ]
a II [ ] pi-i[!] DUMU.MUNUS.ME[Š- -ta]k-kan
b II 28′ ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na UBUR lu-uš-[ ]
c IV 11 [ ] DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-uš-tak-kan

92 A III 7′ [ ] ^{d}a-nim a-na pa-an ^{d}en-líl AD-šá i-bạk-ki
B III 11″ [e]n-l[í]l AD-šá i-bak-ki
C_2 II 26′ il-lik DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim a-na pa-an ^{d}en-líl AD-šá ị-[ ]
M III 10′ [ị]l-lik DUMU[!?].MUNUS[!?] ^{d}a-nim ana pa-an ^{d}en-[l]íl [A]D-šá i-bạk-k[i]
a II 31′ il-lik-ma . . . . . ina IG[I e]n-[lí]l a-bi-šu ị-[ ] →
b II 29′ il-lik-ma . . . . . ana IGI ^{d}en-líl AD-šú i-ba[k-]
c IV 12 [. . . . . in]a IGI ^{d}en-líl a-bi-šú i-bak-ku

Ai 13 [-t]e[?] i-te-ner-ru-ub // 88
14 [-t]e[?] it-ta-na-za-zi // 89
15 [ ] lu-še-niq // 90
16 [*tu-la*]-ạ lu-uš-tak-kan // 91
17 [ ] ị-bak-ki // 92

93 A IV [1] [b]i-la ạ-b[i]
B III [12″] [b]i-[l]a AD-ú-a [d]en-l[íl]
C_2 II [27′] ša e-ri-šu-ka bi-la a-bi [d]e[n-]
M IV [1] šạ́ er-ri-šu-ka bi-lạ AD-ú-tú [d]en-líl
a II šạ́ er-r[i-] ạ-[b]i [d]ẹn-líl
b II [30′] šá er-ri-šu-ka bil-lu a-bu [d][ ]
c IV [13] [-k]a bi-la a-bi [d]en-líl

94 A IV [2] [ ] la ṭa-ạ-[b]u
B III [13″] [-l]u-ti la ṭa-b[a-]
C_2 II [28′] UZU a-me-lu-ti la ṭa-a-[ ]
M IV [2] [U]ZU a-me-lu-ti la ṭa-[b]a-ti
a II [32′] UZU.MEŠ ạ-me-lu-ut-tum la ṭ[a- -b]i →
b II [31] UZU NAM.LÚ.U_{18}.LU la ṭa-a-bi →
c IV [14] [-l]u-ti la ṭa-a-bu

95 A IV [3] [ ] naš-bu-ú-ti
B IV [1] [ ].MẸŠ a-me-lu-ti naš-bu-[ ]
C_2 II [29′] da-mi a-me-lu-ti naš-bu-ú-[ ]
M IV [3] [ ] ạ-[-t]i naš-bu-ti
a II d[a- na]š-b[u]-tú
b II ÚŠ NAM.LÚ.Ụ$_{18}$.[*LU*]
c IV [15] [-l]ụ-ti naš-bu-ti

96 A IV [4] [ ] te-ri-ši-in-ni
B IV [2] [ ]-šú at-ti an-na-a te-er-r[i-]
C_2 II [30′] áš-šú at-ti an-na-a te-ri-ši-in-[ ]
M IV [4] [ ]-na-a te-ri-ši-in-ni
a II [33′] aš-šụm ạt-tạ an-na-a te-ri-[-i]n-nị →
b II [32′] áš-šú at-ta an-na-a ter-ri-ši[n-]
c IV [16] [ ]-ạ te-ri-ši-in-ni

97 A IV [5] [-p]u-šu É-ki
B IV [3] [š]á kur-ba-né-e li-pu-šu [ ]
C_2 II [31′] šá kur-ba-né-e li-pu-šu É-[ ]
M IV [5] [ ]-ẹ li-pu-šu É-ki
a II [ ]-ki
b II [33′] šá kur-ban-né-e li-pu-šu Ẹ́-[ ]
c IV [17] [-š]u É-ki

Ai [18] [ ] [d]en-líl // 93
[19] [ṭ]a[ʾ]-bu // 94

98 A IV 6 [ ]-tu ṣe-ḫir-tum
B IV 4 [-b]il-lak-ki kal-la-tú ṣe-ḫir-tú →
C_2 II 32′ li-bil-lak-ki kal-la-tu ṣe-ḫir-t[um]
M IV 6 [ ] k[a]l-[l]a$^{!}$-tum ṣe$^{!}$-ḫir-tum
a II 34′ [l]i-b[i-l]ak-ki k[al-l]a-tum [ṣ]e-ḫir-ti →
b II 34′ li-bil-lak-ki kal-lat ṣe-ḫir-tum →
c IV 18 [-t]i ṣe-ḫir-ti

99 A IV 7 [ ] GIŠBAL šeb-ru
B IV GIŠGA.RÍG še-b[ir-]
C_2 II 33′ GIŠGA.RÍG še-bir-tum GIŠBAL šeb-r[u]
M IV 7 [ ] ši-biṛ-tú [GI]Š[ ] šeb-rụ
a II [ ] 35′[ ] →
b II GIŠGA.[ ]
c IV 19 [BA]L šeb-ra

100 A IV 8 [š]á ina gu-ra-ri ba-áš-lu
B IV 5 [-m]a-ri ba-aḫ-ru-ti šá ina gu-ra-ri [ ]
C_2 II 34′ um-ma-ri ba-aḫ-ru-ti šá ina gu-ra-ri ba-áš-l[u]
D_2 II 1′ [ ] b[a$^{?}$- g]u-r[a-]
M IV 8 [-r]i ba-aḫ-r[u- -r]a-ri ba-áš-lu
a II [-m]a-ri [b]ạ-aḫ-r[u-]
b II 35′ um-ma-ri ba-aḫ-ru-tú šá ina gu-ra-ru b[a-]
c IV 20 [b]a-ạ́š-lạ

101 A IV 9 [ ] ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}n[i]n-líl
B IV 6 [ ] ^{d}a-nim ù an-[ ] 7[]en-líl ù ^{d}[ ]
C_2 II 35′ niš ^{d}a-nim u an-tum niš ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}nin-l[íl]
D_2 II 2′ [ ] ^{d}ạ-nim u [ ] ^{d}en-líl u [ ]
M IV 9 [-ni]m u an-tum : niš [ ] u ^{d}nin-líl
a II 36′ [e]n-líl u ^{d}n[in-] →
b II 36′ niš ^{d}a-nim u an-tum niš ^{d}en-líl u ^{d}nin-lí[l] →

102 A IV 10 [ ] ụ ne-re-bé-ẹ-[š]á
B IV 8 [ ].GAL ù n[e$^{?}$-]
C_2 II 36′ niš KÁ.GAL ù ne-re-bé-e-[ ]
D_2 II 3′ niš KÁ.GAL [n]e-re-bé-[ ]
M IV 10 [.GA]L u n[é$^{!?}$-r]e-bi-šá
a II [ ] nẹ́-rẹ́-bị-šú
b II [ ]

103 A IV 11 [ ] →
B IV 9 [-k]i ḫar-bi . . . GIŠAPIN Š[E.]
C_2 II 37′ niš kak-ki ḫar-bi . . . GIŠAPIN ŠE.N[UMUN]
D_2 II 4′ niš kak-ki ḫar- GI]ŠAPIN ŠE.NU[MU]N
M IV 11 [ḫ]ar-bi uʾ G[IŠ?] ŠE.NU[MU]N
a II 37′ [.NU]MUN →
b II 37′ niš GIŠTUKUL ḫar-bi . . . GIŠAPIN ŠE.NUMUN →

104 A IV [-b]a ṷ DU[MUʾ-]
B IV 10 [ ] ù DUMU-šú ú-tam-[ ]
C_2 II 38′ e-zi-ba u DUMU-šú ú-tam-me-[ ]
D_2 II 5′ e-zi-ba u [ ] ú-tam-me-ki
M IV 12 [ ]-šṷʾ u-[ta]m-m[eʾ-]
a II e-z[i]-b[a -m]i-ka
b II e-zi-bi u DUM[U]-š[ú]

105 A IV 12 [-t]ṷʾ-r[iʾ-] . . . . . .
B IV 11 [ ] É an-ni-i ta-tur-[ ] . . . . . .
C_2 II 39′ šum-ma a-na É an-né-e ta-tu-rim-[ ] . . . . . .
D_2 II 6′ šum-ma a-na É an-[t]a-tu-rim-ma . . . . . .
a II 38′ [ ] . . . . . →
b II 38′ šum-ma ana É an-ni-i GUR-ma ana LÚ.TUR an-ni-i DIM_4-[*ma*]

106 B IV 12 [u]š-šá-bu tu-uš-[ ]
C_2 II 40′ ina GIŠGU.ZA uš-šá-bu tu-uš-šá-[ ]
D_2 II 7′ ina GIŠGU.ZA uš-šá-b[u t]u-uš-šá-bi
a II [ ] tṷ-uš-šá-bu
b II 39′ ina GIŠGU.ZA uš-šá-bu tuš-šá-bu →

107 B IV 13 [ ] ạ-[n]a-á[š]-šu-ú ana ḫạ-bṷ-n[i-]
C_2 II 41′ šèr-ru šá ana ḫa-bu-ni-ia a-na-áš-šu-u ana ḫa-bu-ni-ki ta-na-áš-š[i-]
D_2 II 8′ šèr-ru šá ana ḫa-b[u- -i]ạ a-na-áš-šu-u 9′ana ḫa-bu-ni-ki [t]a-na-áš-ši-i
a II 39′ [ ]-ka ta-na-áš-ši-i
b II šèr-ri šá ana ḫa-bu-ni-[ ] 40′a-[n]a ḫa-bu-ni-[k]i ta-nạ-áš-ši-[ ]

108 B IV 14 [ ] [ ]
C_2 II 42′ diš-tar KA UR.GI_7.MEŠ-ki ṣab-[ ]
D_2 II 10′ diš-tar KA UR.[ ]-ki ṣab-ti
a II 40′ [ ] →
b II 41′ d[ ] UR-ki ṣab-t[i]
Sb II 1 d[i]š-ta[r] KẠ kal-bi-ka [ ]

109 B IV [15] [K]Ạ m[u-]
C_2 II [43′] dna-na-a ṣu-ub-bi-ti K[A] m[u-]
D_2 II [11′] dna-na-a ṣu-ub-b[i-] KẠ mụ-ra-a-ni-k[i]
a II [-t]i KA mi-[r]a-ni-ka
b II [42′] dnạ-na-a ṣu-ub-bi-ti KA mi-ra-ni-k[a]
Sb II [2] dna-na-a ṣu-ub-bi-ti pi-i m[i-]

110 C_2 II [44′] ṣạl-[l]u [i]na KI.NÁ [ ]
D_2 II [12′] ṣal-lu ina KI.NÁ ka-[ ]-su a-a i-ni
a II [41′] [ ] →
b II [43′] ṣal-lu ina KI.NÁ BIR-su a-a i-ni
Sb II [3] ṣal-la ina ma-a-a-li ka-lit-su a-a ị-[ ]

111 C_2 II [45′] a-di i-nap-pa-ḫu dU[TU]
D_2 II [13′] a-di i-nap-pa-ḫu dUTU p[a-š]ir-šú TU_6.ÉN
a II [UT]U pa-ši-i[r]-š[ú T]E.ẸN
b II [44′] EN KUR-ḫa dUTU pa-šir-šú TE.É[N]
Sb II [4] a-di i-nap-pa-ḫu dUT[U p]a-ṣị̂r-kạ TE.A[N]sic!

Rub. 8

112 C_2 II [46′] KA.INIM.MA [ ]
D_2 II [14′] KA.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{11}$.ME.KE_4
a II [42′] [ ] →

(no line in *a*, → ll. 113*ff.)

Rit. 8

113 C_2 II [47′] DÙ.DÙ.BI 7 ṣir-pa-a-ni [ ]
D_2 II [15′] DÙ.DÙ.BI 7 ṣir-pa-a-ni TI-q[é] sap-pu ANŠE šá 15

114 C_2 II [48′] sap-pu MUNUS.ANŠE šá 150 [ ]
D_2 II [16′] sap-pu MUNUS.ANŠE šá 150 zap-p[i A]NŠEbak-ka-re-e

115 C_2 II [49′] zap-pi ŠAḪ BABBAR-e ḫa[l-]
D_2 II [17′] zap-pi ŠAḪ BABBAR-e ḫal-[l]u-la-a-a šá KASKAL.MEŠ

116 C_2 II [50′] ṣu-lum pap-ḫal-li ANŠE šá 15 →
D_2 II [18′] ṣ[u]-l[um pa]p-ḫạl[?]-[ ] ANŠE šá 15

117 C_2 II s[u-*gìn* GIŠ*kak-ki*] [51′] TI-qé →
D_2 II [19′] [ḫ]ar-bi GIŠAPIN ŠE.NUMUN TI-qé

118 C_2 II 3 kan-na-a-ti t[a-]
D_2 II [20′] [ ]-kan-na-an ina GÚ-šú GAR-an

Rit. 8*

(Variant version of Rit. 8 from *ṭuppu* recension, text *a*; restorations from ll. 113–118)

113* *a* II 42′b (42′a = l. 112) [*DÙ.DÙ.BI 7 ṣir-pa-a-ni* T]I-qé

114* *a* III 1 s[a]p-p[u] AN[ŠE *šá 15 sap*-p]u MU[NUS].AN[ŠE *šá 150* za]p?-[p]u? Š[A]Ḫ

115* *a* III 2 GIŠsun-gìn GIŠTUKUL ḫar-[*bi* GIŠ*APIN ŠE.NUMUN ḫal*-l]u-la-a-a šá KASKAL.MEŠ

116* *a* III 3 TI-qé ṣu-lum pap-ḫal-l[i *ANŠE šá 15* za]p-pi ANŠEbak-kar-ri-i

117* *a* III 4 3 kan-na-a-tú ta-k[an-*na*-a]n ina GÚ-šú GAR-an

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Inc. 9

119 C_2 II 52′ ÉN ez-ze-et šam-ra[t]
D_2 II 21′ É[N -z]e-[e]t šam-rat i-lat na-mur-ra[t]
a III 5 ÉN ẹz-zẹ-ẹt šạm-rạt [ ] →
b II 45′ [É]N [e]z-ze-e[t] šam-r[a]t i-lat na-mur-ra[t]
Sb II 5 ÉN ez-ze-e[t] š[a]m-r[a]t i-la-at [n]a-mur-[ ]
Sf I 3 ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat

120 C_2 II 53′ ez-ze-et bar-ba-ra[t]
D_2 II 22′ ez-z[e-e]t bar-b[a]-rat i-lat ḫab-ba-ta-ạ[t]
a III ez-ze-et bar-ba-rat 6i-lạt ḫạb-bạ-l/šạt →
b II 46′ [-b]ạ-r[at -la]t ḫab-ba¹-ta-[ ]
Sb II 6 ez-ze-et bar-ba-rat i-lat ḫab-bạ-tạ-[ ]
Sf I 4 ez-ze-et bar-ba-rat

121 C_2 II 54′ . . . GIŠ.GI man-za-as-sa . . . Ú.[ ]
D_2 II 23′ . . . G[IŠ.G]I man-za-ạs-sa . . . Ú.KI.KAL ru-bu-u[s-]
a III ina GỊŠ.GỊ m[an]-z[a]-ạ[s-*su ina* .K]I.KAL rụ-bu-us-su
b II 47′ [*sa-as*-s]a-a[t] r[u-]
Sb II 7 . . . GIŠ.GI man-za-as-su ina Ú.KI.KAL rụ-b[u]-ụs-[ ]

121a *a* III 7 ịš-tụ GI[Š].G[I] i-lam-mạ ẹ-[ẓe]-zi ez-ze-et →
(C_2, D_2, and *b* carent)

122 C_2 II 55′ kib-si GU_4 i-na-áš-ši [ ]
D_2 II 24′ [-s]ị G[U_4 -n]a-[á]š-ši [k]ib-si UDU.NÍTA i-l[ap-]
a III kib-su GU_4 8i-n[a-á]š-[ki]b-sụ [U]DU.NÍ[TA] ị-[-pa]t? →

123 C_2 II 56′ GU_4 a-li-ku i-kal-la [ ]
D_2 II 25′ [l]ạ-[s]i-[m]u ú-[ ]
a III al-pi a-li-ku i-kal-la 9A[NŠE]-mu ú-pak-k[a]r →

124 D_2 III 1 [ ]
a III GU[RUŠ?.ME]Š qu-ub-bu-ru ú-qa-ab-bar

125 D_2 III [2] TUR.MEŠ i-š[á-a]q-[q]a-a A.ME[Š]
a III [10] [ ]-šaq-qa-[*pu*-u]š-qa →

126 D_2 III [3] e-ki-a-am lu-mur-ši-ma luD-peš GIM zap-p[u]
a III e-ka-a-ma lu-mur-ši-ma luD-peš [11][-p]u in[a *ka-lit*] →
c V [1] e-ka-a-m[a l]uD-peš [2]k[i]-ma za[p-] AN-e

127 D_2 III [4] šu-kun ru-bu-ut-ka [d]UTU [ ]
a III [-ku]n ru-bu-ut-ka [d]UTU TE.ÉN
c V [3] [ ]-kun [T]U$_6$.ÉN

Rub. 9

128 D_2 III [5] KA.INIM.MA [d]D[IM$_{10}$.]
a III [12] [ ] [d]DIM$_{11}$.ME.KÁM
c (caret)

Inc. 10

129 D_2 III [6] ÉN [d]dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.r[e]
a III [13] [d]im$_{11}$.me dumu an.na m[u] p[à].da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
c V [4] ÉN [d]dim$_{11}$.me [.k]e$_4$
Ed$_1$ III [59] [d]dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na [60]mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
Ed$_2$ II [13] [d]dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na [14]mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
Sa I [1′] [ ] [d]dim$_{11}$.me dumu.[ ] [2′][m]u pà.da dingir.e.[ ]

129[a] Ed$_1$ III [59]la-m[aš-t]ú ma-rat [d]a-nim [60]za-k[i-*rat* š]u-mi šá DINGIR.MEŠ
Ed$_2$ II [13][ ] [d][ ] [14][ ]

Ak [1] ÉN É.NU.RU [2][d]dìm.me dumu an.na [3]mu pà.da dingir.re.ne.ke$_4$ // 129
Al [1] ÉN É.NU.[ ] [2][d]dìm[!].me dumu an.[ ] [3]mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.k[e$_4$[!]] // 129
Am [1] ÉN É.NU.RU [2][d]dìm.me dumu an.[ ] [3]mu pà.da dingir.e.ne.ke$_4$ // 129
An [1] ÉN É.NU.[ ] [2][d]dìm[?].me dumu an.[ ] [3]mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ // 129
Ao [1] ÉN É.NU.RU [2][d]dìm.me dumu an.na [3]mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ // 129

130 D_2 III [7] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál ni[n].ẹ.n[e.]
a III [14] [.gá]l nịn.e.ne.k[e_4] →
c V [5] ^{d}in.nin[.k]e_4

Ed_1 III [61] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál [62]nin.e.ne.ke_4
Ed_2 II [15] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál nin.e.ne.ke_4
Sa I [3′] ^{d}[i]n.in ir.g[ál]

130[a] Ed_1 III [61] ^{d}MIN[?] e-tel-let [62]be-l[e]-e-ti
Ed_2 II [15] [ ]

131 B IV [1′] [.d]ù [ ]
D_2 III [8] šu mu.un.dù ą.[z]ág gi[g].g[ą]
a III su mu.un.da á.zág gig.ga
c V [6] šu mu.un.[ ]

Ed_1 III [63] šu mu.un.dù á.zág gig.ga
Ed_2 II [16] šu mu.un.dù á.zág gig.ga

131[a] Ed_1 III [63] ka-[*mu-ú*] ą-sak-ku mar-ṣu
Ed_2 II [16] [ ]-ú a-s[ak-]

132 B IV [2′] [ ].da[ ]
D_2 III [9] [.l]u dugud.da n[am.l]ú.u_{18}.lu.k[e_4]
a III [15] [.d]ą nam.lú.ụ$_{18}$.lu.k[e_4] →
c V [7] u_{18}.lu dugu[d.]

Ed_1 III [64] u_{18}.l[u] dugud.da [65]nam.lú.u_{18}.lu.ke_4
Ed_2 II [17] u_{18}.lu dugud.da nam.lú.u_{18}.lu.ke_4

132[a] Ed_1 III [64] a-l[e]-ę kab-ti [65]šá ą-[*me*-l]u-ú-ti
Ed_2 II [17] ą-lu-u kab-tu šá [ ]

Ak [4] ^{d}in⟨.nin⟩ nir.gál nin.e.ne.ke_4 // 130
[5] ^{d}dìm.me íb.gu.ul // 133a
[6] šu mu.un.du_8 A gig.ga ~ 131
[7] u_{18}.lu nam.dugud.da ~ 132

Al [4] ^{d}in.nin nir.gá⟨l⟩ [5]nin.e.ne.k$e_4^{!}$ // 130
[6] šu mu.un.dù á.zág gig.ga // 131
[7] u_{18}.lu dugud.da nam.lú.u_{18}.lu.ke_4 // 132

Am [4] ^{d}in.nin nir.gàl nin.e.ne.ke_4 // 130
[5] šu mu.un.du_8 á.zág gig.ga // 131
[6] u_{18}.lu dugud.da nam.lú.u_{18}.lu.ke_4 // 132

An [4] ^{d}in.nin nir.gál ~ 130
[5] šu mu.un.dù á.zág gig.ga // 131

Ao [4] ^{d}in.nin IB.gál nin.LU.ne.⟨ke_4⟩ // 130
[5] [m]u.un.dù$^{!}$(NI) á.zág gi$_6$.ga // 131
[6] [.l]u dugud.da nam.lú.ùlu.ke_4 // 132

133 B IV 3′[d][d]im$_{10}$.me íb.gul lú.r[ạ]
D$_2$ III 10 [ ] íb.gul lú.r[a] n[am. .t]e.GÁ.e.dè
a III [d]dim$_{11}$.me íb.gul.ak.ạ 16[.d]è →
b III 1′[.r]a n[am.]
c V 8 [d]di[m$_{11}$.] 9lú.r[a]
Ed$_1$ III 66 [d] dim$_{10}$.me íb.gul lú.ra 67[ ].te.GÁ.e.dè
Ed$_2$ II 18 [d] dim$_{10}$.me íb.gul lú.ra 19[n]a[m.b]a.[t]e.GÁ.ẹ.d[ẹ]

133[a] Ed$_1$ III 66 la-[ ] šur-bu-t[i$^?$] 67ana L[Ú] la ṭe-ḫe-[*e*]
Ed$_2$ II 18 la-maš-tum š[ur-] 19ana LÚ la ṭe-[ ]

134 B IV 4′zi an.na ḫé.pà z[i]
C$_2$ III 1′[z]i an.nạ ḫ[é.]
D$_2$ III 11 [.p]à [z]i ki.a ḫẹ́.pạ
a III z[i a]n.[ḫ]é.p[à z]i k[i].ạ [ḫ]é.pà
b III 2′[z]i ạn.nạ ḫ[é].pà zi ki.[ ]
c V 10 zi an.n[a]
Ed$_1$ III 68 [.n]a ḫé.pà MIN
Ed$_2$ II 20 [ḫ]é.pà [ ]

134[a] Ed$_1$ III 68 niš [*AN*]-ẹ lu-u ta-mat [*MIN*]
Ed$_2$ II 20 (caret)

Ak 8 [n]am.ba.te.G[Á] // 133b
II 1 zi an.na ḫé.pà 2zi ki.a ḫé.pà // 134
3 zi [d]en.líl ḫ[é.] 4[ ] —

Al 8 [d]dìm[!].me íb.gul 9lú.ra nam.ba.te.GÁ.dè // 133
(10: traces) ?

Am 7 [d]dìm.me íb.gu.ul // 133a
8 [d]dìm.me nin.maḫ.a —
9 [d]dìm.me giš.tuku a.ra.zu —
10 lú.tu.ra nam.ba.te.GÁ.dè // 133b
11 zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki.a ḫé.pà // 134
(12ff./rev.: more zi-pà-formulas) —

An 7 [d]dìm[?].me íb.gul // 133
8 lú.ra nam.ba.te.GÁ.dè ″
9 [a]n.na ḫé.pà // 134a

Ao 7 [d]ìm.me íb.gu[!].ul[!] 8[l]ú.ra nam.ba.ta.GÁ.dè // 133
9 zi an.na ḫé.pà 10zi ki.a ḫé.p[à] // 134

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135 B IV 5′KA.INIM.MA ^{d}D[IM$_{10}$.]
C_2 III 2′[K]A.INIM.MA [ ]
D_2 III 12 [ ] ^{d}DIM$_{10}$.ME.KE$_4$
a III 17 K[A].IN[IM. D]IM$_{11}$.ME.[ ]
b (caret)
c V 11 KA.IN[IM.]

Inc. 11

136 B IV 6′ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá AN-e [ ]
C_2 III 3′É[N] DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-ni[m]
D_2 III 13 [ ]-e ana-[ ]
a III 18 ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-[n]im šá A[N]-e [ ] →
b III 3′ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá AN-e a-n[a-]
c V 12 ÉN DU[MU.]
ψ 1′[ ] ^{d}a-n[i]m šá AN-e a-n[a-]
Sf I 5 ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá AN-e a-na-ku

137 B IV 7′su-ta-a-ku na-gi-sa-a-ku n[a]-mu[r]-r[a-]
C_2 III 4′su-ta-a-ku na-[ ]
D_2 III 14 [n]a-mur-ra-[ ]
a III [n]a-an-gi-sa-[ ] 19na-mur-ra-ku →
b III 4′su-ta-ki nam-gi-iš$^{!}$-ša-ku na-mur-r[a-]
c V 13 su-[ ]
ψ 2′[-a]k$^{?}$ DI-ak NI-ak ra-aḫ-ḫi-sa[k . . . ? . . .]

138 B IV 8′É er-ru-ub É u[š-]
C_2 III 5′É er-ru-ub [ ]
D_2 III 15 [ ] É uš-[ ]
a III . . TU-ub-[m]a . . uš-š[i] →
b III 5′É TU É È
c V 14 É [ ]
ψ 3′[-r]u$^{?}$-[u]b É ú-šu →

139 B IV 9′bi-la-a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-še-[ ]
C_2 III 6′bi-la-a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-[ ]
D_2 III 16 [ ]-š[e-]
a III [ ] DUMU.MEŠ-[ ] 20lu-še-niq →
b III bi-la-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-š[e-]
c V 15 bi-la-a-[ ]
ψ bil-la-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-nu$^{?}$ l[u]-š[e-]

140 B IV 10′ a-na KA DU[MU].MṢNṢ.[M]EŠ-ki-na t[u-l]a-[-u]š-[ta]k-kạn
C_2 III 7′ ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-[ ]
a III ạ-nạ pị-i DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-[ ]-a lu-[-t]ak-kan
b III 6′ ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na UBUR lu-uš-tak-k[an]
c V 16 a-na pi-[ ]
ψ 4′ [D]UMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu tu-lu-ú-a lu-uš-ta-k[an]

141 B IV 11′ iš-mi-mạ ^{d}a-num ị-bạk-ki
C_2 III 8′ iš-me-e-ma ^{d}a-num ị-[ ]
a III 21 iš-mị-ẹ-mạ ^{d}a-nṵm i-bak-ku →
b III 7′ iš-me-e-ma ^{d}a-num i-bak-k[i]
c V 17 iš-m[e-]
ψ 5′ [-m]a$^{?}$ ^{d}BAD i-bak-ku →

142 B IV 12′ šá ^{d}a-rṵ-ru ^{d}[b]e-lẹt-DI[NGI]R.ME[Š i]l-l[a]-kạ [d]i-mạ-ạ-šạ́
C_2 III 9′ šá ^{d}a-ru-ru ^{d}be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ il-[ ]
a III [b]e-l[et- .M]EŠ il-la-ku dị-mạ-a-šṵ́
b III 8′ šá ^{d}a-ru-ru ^{d}be-let-DINGIR.MEŠ il-la-ku di-m[a-]
c V 18 šá ^{d}a-r[u-]
ψ šá ^{d}a-ru-ru ^{d}GAŠAN-DINGIR.[ ] :: DU-ku di-m[a-]

143 B IV 13′ ạm-mị-ni šạ́ nị-[i]b-[n]u-ṷ́ nu-ḫal-laq
C_2 III 10′ am-me-ni šá ni-ib-nu-ú [ ]
a III 22 am-me-nị š[á] nị-ịb-nu-ú nu-ḫal-laq →
b III 9′ [a]m-me-ni šá ni-ib-nu-ú nu-ḫal-l[aq]
c V 19 am-me-n[i]
ψ 6′ [ ] šá ib-nu-ú nu-ḫal-laq

144 B IV 14′ ù šá nu-š[ab-š]u-ṷ́ ub-[b]al šá-a-[r]u
C_2 III 11′ ù šá nu-šab-šu-ú ub-bal [ ]
a III ù [-ša]b-šu-ṷ́ [u]b-bal šá-a-ri
b III 10′ u š[á] n[u-š]ab-šu-ú ub-bal šá-a-r[i]
c V 20 ù šá n[u-]
ψ 7′ [*ú*-ša]b-šu-ú nu-ub-bal šá-a-[ ]

145 B IV 15′ [l]e-qé-ši-ma ạ-[n]a [t]am-tim ṣṵ-[p]ṷr KUR-i
C_2 III 12′ le-qé-ši-ma a-na tam-tim ṣu-p[ur]
a III 23 le-qé-e-šṵ-mạ ina ti-amat ṣṵ-[ ] š]á-di-i
b III 11′ le-qé-ši-mạ a[na t]am-tịm ṣu$^{?}$-⟨p⟩ur$^{?}$ KUR-i →
c V 21 le-qé-š[i-]
ψ 8′ [ ]-qé-šu-ú ana tam-tim$^{!}$ ṣu-pur KU[R-]

146 B IV 16′ [ị]t-[t]i [G]IŠŠINIG ẹ-[*di*] . . . . ù [k]u-š[á-r]i . . . ạ-ḫị-ị r[u-k]us?-[s]i?-mạ
C_2 III 13′ it-ti GIŠŠINIG . . . a-ḫi-i u ku-šá-ri e-di . . . r[u-]
a III 24 KI GIŠŠINIG . . . a-ḫi-i u ku-šá-rị [ ]-di . . . KÉŠ.DÙ-su-ma
b III KI GIŠŠINIG ẹ-[ ] . . . . 12′ù ku-šá-ri . . . a-ḫ[i]-ị [r]u-ku-us-su-m[ạ]
c V 22 KI GIŠŠINIG [ ]
ψ 9′ [GI]ŠŠINIG e-du . . . . . ku-šá-a-ri . . . a-ḫi-i! ru-ku-u[s-]

147 B IV 17′ [l]a ị-[š]u-u TI.LA
C_2 III 14′ ki-ma LÚ.UG_6 la i-šú-u [ ]
a III 25 ki-ma LÚ.UG_6 NU [T]UK-ú ba-l[a]-ṭu →
b III 13′ ki-ma LÚ.UG_6 la i-šu-ú [b]a-ḷá-ṭ[u]
c V 23 ki-ma LÚ.U[G_6]
ψ 10′ [k]i-ma UG_6 NU TUK-ú TIN →

148 B IV 18′ [š]i-zịb A[M]A-šú
C_2 III 15′ u dkù-bu la i-ni-qu ši-[ ]
a III ù [ ]-bụ NU i-ni-qa ši-zib ẠMA-šú
b III 14′ ù dkù-bu la i-ni-qu GA AMA-[ ]
c V 24 ù dkù.bu [ ]
ψ ù dkù-bu la i-n[i-]

149 C_2 III 16′ DUMU.MUNUS da-nim GIM qut-ri . . . . . ana A[N?-*e lītelli*?] →
a III 26 DỤMU.MỤNỤS da-nim ki-ma qut-ri li-[*tel(i)*?] . . . AN-e . . . . .
b III 15′ DUMU.MUNUS da-nim k[i-m]a qut-⟨ri⟩ . . . . . →
c V 25 DUMU.MUNUS da-nim GIM qut-r[i] . . . . . →
ψ 11′ [.MUN]US da-nim GIM qut-ri . . . . . →

150 C_2 III 17′ . . . . . la i-na-aḫ-ḫi-is T[U_6.]
a III 27 [UR]U? È-ma l[a] ị-nẹ́-e[ḫ- -i]s TE.ÉN
b III . . . . . È-ma la i-né-e[ḫ]-ḫ[i]-i[s]
c V . . . . . [ ]
ψ URU li-ṣi NU [ ] (line 12′ // III 94)

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151 C_2 III 18′ KA.INIM.MA [ ]
a III 28 [ ].I[NI]M.[dD]IM_{11}.ME.KẠ́M
b (caret)
c (caret)

Inc. 12

152 C_2 III [19′] [É]N [š]ur-bạ-ta DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim m[u-]
a III [29] ÉN š[ur-] DUM[U.]-tú
b III [16′] ÉN šur-bat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim mu-am-mi-lat la-ʾu-ú-[ ]
c V [26] ÉN šur-bat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim m[u-]
Sf I [6] ÉN šur-bat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim

153 C_2 III [20′] rit-ta-a-šá al-lu-ḫap-pu ki-r[im-]
a III [30] rit-tạ-ạ-šú a[l-]-ti
b III [17′] rit-ta-šú al-lu-ḫap-pu ki-rim-ma-šú mu-t[ú]
c V [27] [ri]t-[t]a-šú al-lu-ḫap-p[u]

154 C_2 III [21′] kaṣ-ṣa-at lab-[ba]bat en-ni-na-at ek-k[i-]
a III [31] [ka]ṣ-ṣa-at l[ab-]
b III [18′] kaṣ-ṣa-at lab-bat en-ni-né-et ek[!]-ki-mat nak-ki-p[at] →
c V [28] [l]ab-ba[t]

155 A IV [1′] ra-aḫ-ḫi-ṣa-at mut-tab-b[i-]
C_2 III [22′] ra-aḫ-ḫi-ṣa-at mut-tab-bi-lat DUMU.MUNUS [d][ ]
a III [32] [r]a-ḫi-ṣa-a[t] →
b III [?] [19′]mut-tab-bi-lat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim →

156 A IV [2′] i-lap-pat lìb-bu šá ḫar-šá-a-ti →
C_2 III [23′] i-lap-pat lìb-bu šá ḫar-šá-ạ-[ ]
a III [ ] [33]šá ḫa[r]-š[á-] →
b III ú-lap-pat lìb-bi šá ḫar-šá-a-t[i]

157 A IV i-[ ]
C_2 III [24′] i-šal-lup šèr-ru šá ta-ra-ạ-[ ]
a III [ ]
b III [20′] ú-šal-lap šèr-ri šá ta-ra-a-t[ú]

158 A IV [3′] ú-še-naq ú-nam-za-az [ ]
C_2 III [25′] ú-še-naq ú-nam-za-az ù it-ta-na-[ ]
a III [34] ú-še-[ ]
b III [21′] ú-šẹ-neq ú-nam-za-az u it-tan-na-š[iq?]

MB I [1] ÉN.É.NU.R[U] [2]š[u-u]r-ba-a-at DUMU.MUNUS AN-n[i] // 152
[3] ri-it-ta-a-ša al-lu-ḫap-p[u k]i-r[im-*ma-ša*] // 153
[4] ka-aṣ-ṣa-at dan-na-at e[n-*ni*]-na-a[t] // 154
[5] nạ-ak-ki-pa-ạt rạ-aḫ-ḫi-ṣa-at mu-ut-tab-b[e-*la-at*] // 154/5
[6] i-la-ap-pa-at li-ib-ba ša ḫa-a[r-š]a-[*a-ti*] // 156
[7] [*i*]-ša-al-la-ap še-er-ra ša ta-ri-i-t[i] // 157
[8] ú-še-en-né-eq ú-na-an-za-az ù it-ta-na-ši-iq // 158

Ug V [30′] [*ÉN.É*.N]U.RU [31′][. . . . . *DUMU*.MUN]US A[N-*nim*] // MB I 1–2 (*152*)

(long break)

159 A IV 4′ ra-bu-ú GIŠTUKUL.MEŠ-šú n[am-]
C_2 III 26′ ra-bu-ú GIŠTUKUL.MEŠ-šú nam-ši-šu šír-a-ni-[ ]
a III 35 GA[L-]
b III 22′ GAL-ú? [GI]Š[TU]KUL.ME!-šú nam-ši-šú šír-a-ni-šú : SA.ME[Š-*šú*]

160 A IV 5′ qa-diš-tu DUMU.MUNUS dⁱ-nim [ ]
C_2 III 27′ qa-diš-tu DUMU.MUNUS dⁱ-nim šá DINGIR.MEŠ ŠE[Š.]
a III 36 qa-[ ] d[ ]
b III 23′ qa-[-t]ú DUMU.MUNUS dⁱ-[ ] 24′šá DINGIR.M[EŠ ŠE]Š.MEŠ-šú →

161 A IV 6′ SAG.DU-sa SAG.DU UR.MAḪ ši[n-]
C_2 III 28′ SAG.DU-sa SAG.DU UR.MAḪ šin-na-at ANŠE šin-n[a-]
a III 37 SAG.D[U- S]AG.DU [ ]
b III SAG.DU-su SAG.DU UR.M[AḪ] 25′šin-na-a[t A]NŠE šin-na-as-[*su*]

162 A IV 7′ šap-ta-a-šá ziq-ziq-q[u-]
C_2 III 29′ šap-ta-a-šá ziq-ziq-qu-um-ma ú-tab-ba-ka m[u-]
a III 38 NUND[UN].ME[Š]-š[á -zi]q-[ ]
b III 26′ NUNDUN.MEŠ-[z]iq-ziq-ma ú-[t]ab-ba-ka m[u-]
Sd I 6 [ ]-um-ma ú-tab-ba-ka mu-tú

163 A IV 8′ [i]š-tu kul-lat KUR-i [ ]
C_2 III 30′ iš-tu kul-lat KUR-i ú-ri-da[m-]
b III 27′ iš-tu ku[l-l]at KUR-i ú-ri-dam-ma →
Sd I 7 [ ]-dam-ma →

164 A IV 9′ [n]u-ʾu-ú-rat ki-ma U[R.] →
C_2 III 31′ nu-ʾu-ú-rat ki-ma UR.[ ]
b III na-mur-[ ]
Sd I na-mur-rat ki-ma UR.MAḪ

165 A IV [ ]
C_2 III 32′ uš-ta-na-al-ḫab ki-ma UR-b[aʾ-]
b III 28′ uš-ta-n[a-a]l-ḫab GIM kal-batʾ →
Sd I 8 [ ] ki-ma kal-ba-tum

MB I 9 qá-di-il-tum DUMU.MUNUS AN-ni ša DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ša // 160
10 ra-ab-bu-ú ka-ak-ku-ú-ša na-mu-ši-šu ši-ir-a-nu-ša // 159
11 SAG.DU-sa SAG.DU-ad né-e-ši ši-in-na-at ANŠE ši-in-na-a-[š]a // 161
12 ši-in-na-a-ša zi-iq-zi-qum i-tab-bak mu-ú-ta ~ 162
13 ul-tum kul-la-at ša-di-i ra-bu-ú-tim ú-ri-da-am-ma ~ 163
14 iš-ta-na-as-si ki-ma kal-ba-ti ú-šal-ha-ab ~ 165
15 nu-ʾu-ú-ra-at ki-ma UR.MAḪ ul-ta-la-aḫ-ḫa-ab ~ 164/5
16 an-zu pa-nu-ú-ša it-ta-na-at-ba-ak —
17 i-na mu-uṣ-la-a-li i-na šu-ḫar-ra-at u_4-mi —
18 tu-ur-ra a-na tu-ur-ri it-ta-nam-za-a-az —

166 A IV 10′ [-d]a-ạ a-na [ ]
C_2 III 33′ [ba]r-da-a a-na bar-di-i uš-ta-na-a[r]
b III bar-da-a ana b[ar-]
Sd I 9 [ ] uš-ta-NU-ár (+ incompl. erasure)

167 C_2 III 34′ i-mur-ši-ma ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi ana ^{d}é-a AD-šú INIM M[U-]
b III 29′ i-mur-šú-ma ^{d}as[al-l]ú-ḫi ana ^{d}IDIM AD-šú a-mat i-zak-[*kar*]
Sd I 10 [ ] ^{d}é-a AD-šú a-mat MU-ár

168 C_2 III 35′ ạ-bi a-mu[r D]UMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá ú-šab-ba-šá la-ʾu-ṷ-[ ]
a IV 2 [l]a-ʾụ-[-t]u
b III 30′ a-bi a-mur DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}[ ]-nim šá ú-šab-ba-šú la-ʾ[u-]

169 C_2 III 36′ ^{d}é-a DUMU-šú ^{d}AMAR.UTU ip-[ ]
a IV 3 [-pa]l →
b III 31′ ^{d}é-a DUMU-šú ^{d}A[MAR.U]TU i[p]-pa[l]

170 C_2 III 37′ ạ-lik [m]a-ri ^{d}AM[AR.]
a IV ạ-l[ik] ma-ri ^{d}AMAR.UTU
b III 32′ a-lik ma-ru ^{d}AMAR.UTU →

171 C_2 III 38′ ina ši-pat né-[*me*]-qí ṭ[i]-ḫ[i-]
a IV 4 [ ] →
b III i[na ṭ]i-ḫi-ši-ị-[*ma*]

172 C_2 III 39 [ ] rị-kis ger-[r]e-e-ti tu-š[eš-]
a IV ina ri-kịs KAS[KAL.I]I.MEŠ tu-še-šeb-ši-ma
b III 33′ ina DUR KASKAL.MEŠ tụ-š[eš-] →
c VI 1 [.ME]Š tu-še-šeb-šu-[m]a

MB 19 ba-ar-da-a a-na ba-ar-de-e ul-ta-na-a[r] // 166
20 tu-bu-uq-qá-a-ti a-na tu-bu-uq-qá-a-ti i-ṣ[a-*naʾ-ba-at*] —
21 eṭ-la da-am-qá KI.SIKIL ba-ni-ta it-ta-na-al-lạ-[*ak*] —
22 i-mu-ur-ši-i-ma ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi DUMU é-a ap-k[a]l-lị ~ 167
23 a-na é-a a-bi-šu a-ma-tam iz-za-a[k-ka]r ″
24 a-mu-ur DUMU.MUNUS AN-ni ša ú-šab-ba-šu la-a-ṷʾ-tịm // 168
25 a-lik ma-ri a-ša-re-du ^{d}asal-lṷ-ḫi ~ 170
26 i-na ši-ip-ti ù né-pe-ši ṭị-ḫa-áš-ši-im-ma ~ 171
27 ši-ir-a-an ši-ri-i-ša šu-li-ka li-il-lu-ú-tam —
28 [*i*-n]a ri-ki-is ḫar-ra-na-a-ti t[u]-še-eš-še-eb-ši-ma // 172

Ug VI 1′ [^{d}A*sal*-l]ú-[ḫ]i // MB I 25 (*170*)
2′ [*ni-pi*]-ši / [*ṭiʾ-ḫaʾ*-a]mʾ-ma // MB I 26 (*171*)
3′ ši-ir-a[n] U[ZUʾ- š]u-li-ka / [l]ị-il-lṷ-[t]a // MB I 27 (—)
4′ i-na ri-ik-s[i *ḫar-ra*-n]i tu-še-ši-ib-ši // MB I 28 (*172*)

173 C_2 III [40] [GIŠG]A.RÍG GIŠB[AL GI]ŠŠAKAN Ì×GIŠ [ ]
a IV [5] [.RÍ]G GIŠBAL ŠAKAN Ì.[GI]Š SUM-ši →
b III [ ]
c VI [2] [ ] DUGŠAKAN Ì.GIŠ SUM-ši

174 C_2 III [41] [ ]Ḫ.SÍR K[UŠŠU]ḪUB ta-[ ]
a IV KUŠE.SÍR ŠUḪUB [6][ ] →
b III [34′] [K]UŠḪ.SÍR [KU]ŠŠU[ḪUB]
c VI [3] [ŠUḪU]B ta-qiš-šá-áš-ši

175 C_2 III [42] [*ina*]-me [-n]i-i [ ]
a IV . . . [ṭ]è-mu e-de-na-a t[u]-šal-miš
b III [35′] . . . ṭ[e]-ḫ-m[u] ḫ-[ ]
c VI [4] . . . [ ] ḫ-de-en-nà-à tu-šal-mi-ši

176 C_2 III [43] [*7*] ù 7 [ ]
a IV [7] [ ]-ḫér-re-ši →
b III [36′] [ ] u 7 [ ]
c VI [5] [ ] Í[D].MEŠ tu-ḫér-re-ši

177 C_2 III [44] [ ] ù 7 [ ]
a IV 7 u 7 KUR.M[E]Š t[u]-p[à]r-rak-šú
c VI [6] [ ].MEŠ tu-šap-pak-ši

178 C_2 III [45] [*a-na* L]Ú.TUR [*an-ni-i*]
a IV [8] [ ]-ki ana NU DIM_4-ki →
c VI [7] [ ] a-na la TE-šá a-na la DIM_4-šá

179 C_2 III [46] [ ]-as-k[i]
a IV i-kab-[b]a-as-ki [d]ÀG inà ÍD [9][ ] →
c VI [8] [ ] [d]AG ina ÍD DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

MB [29] [GI]ŠGA.RÍG GIŠBAL ki-ri-is-s[a t]a-nam-din-ši ~ 173
[30] [*še*]-ḫ-ni [š]u-ḫu-up-[p]e-e-ti [*ta*-q]í-iš-šà-á[š]-ši // 174
II [1] [ṭ]e-in-[š]a e-de-ni-tà tu-ul-ta-lam-ma-[*ši*] // 175
[2] 7 u 7 ÍD.MEŠ tu-ḫar-ra-áš-ši // 176
[3] 7 u 7 ša-di-i-im tu-par_5-ra-ak-ši // 177
[4] a-na NENNI DUMU NENNI la ta-sa-an-ni-qí-iš-šu la te-ṭe-eḫ-ḫe-eš-šu ~ 178
[5] i-tab-bal-ki {AG.AG} dAG i-kab-ba-as-ki i-na ÍD i-re-eḫ-ḫi-ki ~ 179

Ug VI [5′] GIŠGA.RÍG GIŠBAL [-i]s-sa / [-n]am-din-ši // MB I 29 (*173*)
[6′] KUŠE.SÍR šu-[ ] ta-qa-as-si ~ MB I 30 (*174*)
[7′] ṭe-en-ša e-d[e- *tu-ul*-t]a-lam-ma-ši // MB II 1 (*175*)
[8′] 7 ù 7 [*tu*]-ḫar-ra-ši // MB II 2 (*176*)
[9′] [t]u-šap-pa-ak-ši ~ MB II 3 (*177*)
[13′] [ ] dAG [14′][ ] à+na ÍD ~ MB II 5 (*178* [(*179*)])

180 C_2 III [47] [-t]a DUMU.MUNUS [ ]
a IV [tù]m-ma-ta DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim S[A]G.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^{d}as[a]l-lú-ḫ[i]
c VI [9] [ ]a-nim SA[G.].MEŠ ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi

181 C_2 III [48] [ ] L[UGAL?]
a IV [10] [*i-maḫ-har*-k]a LUGAL ^{d}UTU →
c VI [10] [-k]i LUGAL ^{d}UTU

182 *a* IV i-maḫ-ḫar-k[a] ^{d}IDIM LU[GAL NA]M.MEŠ
c VI [11] [-k]i ^{d}é-a EN NAM.MEŠ

183 *a* IV [11] [-u]ṣ-ṣi-i la tẹ-r[u-b]i
c VI [12] [ ]-ṣi-i la te-ru-bu
α II [1′] [*ana*] É̩ t[u-]

184 C_2 IV [1] [*a*]-na ḫar-ra-an t[ụ-]
a IV [12] [-u]ṣ-ṣi-i la tạ-s[a-a]ḫ-ḫ[u-r]i
c VI [13] [-ṣ]i-i la ta-saḫ-ḫu-ri
α II [2′] ana KASKAL tu-[ ]

185 C_2 IV [2] [li]k-tal-lu-ki ša[m-]
a IV [13] liḳ-ta[l-l]u-ki šam-me šá ina EDI̩N mit-ḫa-riš È →
c VI [14] [*Ú*.ME]Š šá ina EDIN mit-ḫa-riš a-ṣu-ú
α II [3′] lik-tal-lu-ki [ ]

186 C_2 IV [3] ạ-ban KUR-i [ ]
a IV [ ] [14b]li[k*-] (* written after l. 187, separated by Glossenkeil)
c VI [15] [ ]-i lik-tam-mu-ka
α II [4′] NA_4.MEŠ KUR-[ ]

MB II [6] tu-um-ma-a-ti DUMU.MUNUS AN-ni a-ša-re-da ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi // 180
[7] i-ma-aḫ-ḫa!-ar-kị é-ạ [š]a-ar ⟨ši?⟩-ma-a-ti // 182
[8] i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar-kị ạ-[š]a-rẹ-dụ ^{d}nị̀n-urta —
[9] i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar-kị ^{d}AM[A]R.UTU [ù] ^{d}ṣar-pa-nị-tụm —
[10] i-ma-aḫ-ha-ar-ki ša-a[r-ru]m ^{d}UTU // 181
[11] a-na É tu-ṣi-i la tu-ša-ar-[*ri*] ~ 183
[12] ḫar-ra-an tu-ṣi-i la ta-as-sa-aḫ-[*ḫa-ri*] // 184
[13] lik-tal-lu-ú-ki šam-mu ša mi-it-ḫa-riš ạ-[*ṣú-ú*] ~ 185
[14] er-ṣẹ-tụm ù ša-mu-ú lik-tal-lu-ú-[*ki*] —
[15] ạb-na-ạt šạ-di-i-im lik-tam-m[a-*a-ki*] // 186

Ug VI [10′] [*DUMU*].MUNUS AN-nim / [^{d}a]sal-lú-ḫi // MB II 6 (*180*)
[11′] [l]ạ ta-tu-ur-ra [12′][(?) *la? ta?*-b]al-lak?-ki-ti ~ MB II 11–12 (*183*/*184*)
[15′] [*é*]-ạ šar ši-ma-ti // MB II 7 (*182*)

187 C_2 IV [ši]k-ku[r-ra]t e[l-]
a IV šiḳ-kụ-ra[t e]l-pe-tum li-saḫ-ḫi-lụ še-ep-kị : (→ l. 186)
c VI [-t]um li-saḫ-ḫi-li GÌR^{II}-ka
α II šik-kur-rat Ú.G[UG$_4$]

188 C_2 IV [ ]
a IV ẹ-[l]i-mạ [*ana KUR*]-i i-ri-šu ṭa-ạ-[ ]
c VI [ ] ị-ri-šú ṭa-a-bi
α II e-l[i-]

189 C_2 IV [. . . ? . .] →
a IV ḫi-i-li a[l-l]a-nu u ^{GIŠ}bu-ṭụ-nạ-nu . . . . . →
b IV [-l]a-nu u b[u- . . . ? . . .]
c VI [ ]-ṭu-un šá šá-di-i
α II ḫi-ịl [. . . ? . . .]

190 C_2 IV [ ]
a IV pu-uṭ-ri [ ]
b IV [ ] →
c VI [ ] at-la-ku
α II pu-ṭur a[t]

191 C_2 IV [ni]š [ ]
a IV niš AN-e lu-ú [ ]-ạ-tú niš KI-t[im] lu-ú ta-mạ-ạ-tú TẸ.ÉN
b IV [l]u-ú? ta-m[ạ-] [ ] TỤ$_6$.[É]N
c VI [ni]š KI-tim lu-ú ta-ma-a-tú . . . . . .
α II ni-iš [ ]

Rub. 12

192 C_2 IV [K]A.INIM.MA [ ]
a IV KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME.KÁM
(*b*, *c*, and *α* carent)

MB II [ši-ik-kur-ra-at el-pe-ti li-sa-aḫ-ḫi-la G[ÌR?-*ki*] // 187
[e-li-i-ma a-na ša-di-i e-ri-ši ṭa-a-[*bi*] // 188
[ṣa-ab-ti bu-ú-la sa-ar-ra-ma ṣa-bi-t[a] —
[ri-mi ar-mi a-a-li tu-ra-a-ḫ[i] —
[bu-ul ^{d}šakkán ul-li-di na-maš-ta-a ša ṣe-ẹ-[*ri*] —

Ug VI [*e*-r]i-ša ṭa-ba // MB II 17 (*188*)
[ ] MAŠ.DÀ // MB II 18 (—)
[x]x ?

Inc. 13

193 C_2 IV [É]N ^{d}dim$_{10}$.me dumu a[n.*na* m]u pà.da dingir.rẹ.ẹ.n[e.]
a IV ÉN ^{d}dim$_{11}$.[ ] pà.da dingir.re.ẹ.[n]e.kẹ$_4$
b IV [.d]a dingir.re.e.ne.k[e$_4$]
c VI [m]u pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
a II ÉN ^{d}dim$_{11}$.m[e]
Sf I ^{d}dim$_{11}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da ^{8}dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$

194 C_2 IV [du]mu.munus dingir.re.e.ne.k[e$_4$]
a IV dumu.munus dingir.r[e. .k]e$_4$ →
b IV [ ].ẹ.ne.ke$_4$
c VI [.r]e.e.ne.ke$_4$
α II dum[u].mu[nus]
Sf I dumu.munus dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$

195 C_2 IV [dum]u.munus dingir.gal.gal.e.ne.k[e$_4$ ḫ]é.e[m.d]a.an.zi.z[i]
a IV du[mu.mu]nus[.g]al.gal.e.n[e].kẹ$_4$ ^{21}ḫ[é.ẹ]m.[d]a.an.zi.zi
b IV [ ].ẹ.ne.k[e$_4$] $^{7'}$[ ] →
c VI [ ].gal.e.ne ^{24}[ ].zi.zi
α II [ ]

196 C_2 IV [du]mu nam.l[ú].ụ$_{18}$.l[ụ i]n.da[b]
a IV d[umu na]m.l[ú].ụ$_4$?.lụ ù.tu.d[a .da]b →
b IV [ ]nạm.lú.ụ$_{18}$.[.d]a in.dab
c VI [ ]in.[d]ab$_5$
α II [ ]

197 C_2 IV ig[i.d]u$_8$.a[m$_6$?].d[ab] (line in C_2 indented)
a IV igi.du$_8$.àm in.dab
b IV [ ].ạ? i[n.da]b
c VI [i]n.dab$_5$
α II [ ]

198 C_2 IV [ ]in.n[i].n[a].me egir.bi [.da]b
a IV ^{d}in.nin.na ^{d}di[m$_{11}$. eg]i[r?].b[i?] in.dab
b IV [eg]ir?.bị in.[da]b
c IV [i]n.da[b$_5$]
α II i[n.]

199 C_2 IV ị.gi lu.pa.ra i[n.da]b
a IV i.gi lu.p[à?.r]u in.d[ab] →
b IV [ ].ri in.[d]ab
c IV [i]n.[ ]
α II GIŠ.gi [ ]

200 C_2 IV [16] ị.gi lu.ús.gim in.[da]b
a IV i.gi lu.ụs.gịm in.dab
b IV [11′] [.ú]s.gi.im in.dạb
c IV [29] [i]n.[ ]
α II [17′] i.gi [ ]

201 C_2 IV [17] tu_6.bi i.gi.za.na in.dạb
a IV [25] tu_9.bi i.g[i. .n]a in.dab : →
b IV [12′] [ ].gi.za.na in.dab
c IV [30] [ị]n.[ ]
α II [18′] tu_9.bi [ ]

202 C_2 IV [18] ạ.ba.ši.ki . . . . . in.dab
a IV ạ.ba.ši.ki d[u_{11}.g]a i[n.d]ab →
b IV [13′] [ ].ki du_{10}.ga in.dab
α II [19′] a.ba.[ ]

203 C_2 IV [19] ạ.ba.ši.ki du_{11}.ga in.da[b]
a IV a.ba.ši.ki . . . . in.dab
b IV [14′] [ ].ki . . . . in.dab
α II [20′] a.ba.š[i.]

204 C_2 IV [20] ú.bur in.da[b]
a IV [26] ú.bur in.[ ] →
b IV [15′] [ ] in.dab
α II [21′] ù.b[ur]

205 C_2 IV [21] ^{GIŠ}ig.ta.a in.da[b] . . . . . .
a IV [ ]ig.ta.àm in.dab . . . . . .
b IV [16′] [ ].ta.àm in.dab . . . . . .
α II [22′] ^{GIŠ}ig.ta.àm in.dab : ^{GIŠ}[*in.dab*]

206 C_2 IV [22] [^{GI}]^{Š}sag.kul.ta.a in.da[b]
a IV [27] [^{GI}]^{Š}sag.kul.[ ].àm in.dab →
b IV [17′] [.ku]l.tạ.àm in.dab
α II [23′] ^{GIŠ}sag.kul.ta.àm [ ]

207 A V [1′] é.š[è?]
C_2 IV [23] [.š]è? dumu é.a.ke_4 nam.ba.ni.íb.ku_4.ku_4 TU_6.ÉN
a IV é.še dumu é.a.k[e_4] [28]n[a]m.ba.ni.í[b].ku_4.ku_4.dè T[E.]
b IV [18′] [ ] ẹ́.a.ke na[m.b]a.ni.íb.ku_4.ku_4.dè TE.ÉN
α II [24′] é lú dumu é.a.ke_4 nam.[ ]

Rub. 13a

208 A V 2′ KA.IN[IM.]
C_2 IV 24 KA.INIM.MA$_2$ ^{d}DIM$_{10}$.ME.KE$_4$
a IV 29 K[A].INIM.MA ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME →
b IV 19′ [.IN]IM.MA ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME.KÁM (*b* IV 20′ff. = colophon)
α II 25′ KA.INIM.MA ^{d}[ ]

(no dividing lines in *a* and *α*)

Rub. 13b

209 A V 3′ ù u[m-]
C_2 IV 25 ù um-mu [S]Ụ LÚ.TUR ZI-ḫi
a IV . . IZI šá ina SU LÚ.TU[R Z]I-[ ]
α II 26′ ụ IZI š[á]

(no dividing line in *α* ?)

Rit. 13

210 A V 4′ KÌD.KÌD.BI [ ] →
C_2 IV 26 KÌD.KÌD.BI ^{Ú}a-zal-l[á ḪÁ]D.A SÚD
a IV 30 D[Ù.D]Ù.B[I] ^{Ú}ạ-zal-lá ZỊ-ḫi ḪÁD.DU SÚD →
α II 27′ (traces)

211 A V [ ] 5′UD-ma KÚM DIB-s[u] →
C_2 IV 27 ina Ì×GIŠ BUR ḪI.ḪI UD-ma K[ÚM]-su
a IV ina [.G]IŠ BUR ḪI.ḪI 31[*e*]-nụ-m[a K]ÚM DỊB-su ŠÉŠ.MEŠ-su-m[a$^{?}$] →

212 A V . . . . [ ]
C_2 IV 28 7 u 7 ḫu-ṣab ^{Ú}a-zal-lá . . . . in[a *-ma*$^{?}$ T]I-uṭ
a IV . . . . [-ṣ]ab a.zal.lá 32ʔ u ʔ ina GÚ-šú GAR-an TIN : →

212^{a} *a* IV ina KU[Š *DÙ.DÙ-pí*] ZỊ$^{?}$-a[ḫ$^{?}$]

(in A double line, followed by 3. *pirsu*)

(for colophons, see p. 25)

Lam. III (= 3. *pirsu*)[2]

1 A V 6′ e-nu-[m]a n[é-]
E I 1 [ ] n[é]-pẹ-šú š[á] ^{d}[D]IM$_{11}$.M[E]
F I 1 [ ] te-ep-pu-[*šu*]
C$_2$ IV 29 e-nu-ma né-pe-šu šá ^{d}DI[M$_{10}$.] (catchline from Lam. II)

2 A V 7′ DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-n[im]
E I 2 [ ] ^{d}a-nim ⟨*ina*ʾ⟩ 15 KÁ 150 . . . . →
F I 2 [1]50 [K]Á →

3 A V 8′ ù ta[r-ṣ]i K[Á]
E I ù tar-ṣi K[Á]
F I u tar-ṣi KÁ É ^{GIŠ}NÁ ḪU[R-*ir*]

4 A V 9′ ina 15 KẠ 15[0]
E I 3 [K]Á u 150 . . . . DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim →
F I 3 [15]0 [K]Á DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim →

5 A V 10′ UR.GI$_7$ ŠAḪ IZ[I.]
E I UR.G[I$_7$]
F I UR.GI$_7$ ŠAḪ IZI.GAR GÍ[R.*TAB*] ^{4}[^{GIŠ}*BAL*ʾ]

6 A V 11′ ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}mu-š[á-]
E I 4 [G]A.RÍG ^{GIŠ}mu-šá-lu kur-sin-ni [ ] →
F I ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}mu-šá-lu kur-sin-ni ANŠE ḪUR-i[r]

7 A V 12′ MUŠ.MEŠ ina ŠU^{II}-[ ]
E I [ ]
F I 5 [Š]U^{II}-šá DIB-si →

8 A V 13′ SAḪAR KÁ ka-mi-ị [ ]
E I 5 [K]Á ka-mi-i SAḪAR KÁ É ^{d}[ ] →
F I SAḪAR KÁ ka-mị-ị SAḪAR KÁ É ^{d}[*iš-tar*]

9 A V 14′ SAḪAR KÁ Ẹ́ ^{d}[ ]
E I [ ] →
F I 6 [ ] Ẹ́ ^{d}MAŠ SAḪAR KÁ É.[É]Š.D[AM] →

10 A V 15′ SAḪAR KÁ Ẹ́ [ ]
E I [ ] ^{6}[SAḪ]AR [K]Á Ẹ́ ^{LÚ}MU[ḪALD]IM →
F I [SAḪ]AR KẠ É ^{LÚ}KA[Š.*TIN.NA*] ^{7}[^{L}]^{Ú}MUḪALDIM →

2. Line breaks follow A wherever possible; otherwise, lines were adjusted to contain an average of 15–20 signs. For a list of duplicating parallels between "Lam. III" and the ritual sections of "Lam. I–II," see Table III, pp. 64ff.

11 A V [16′] SAḪAR SILA.LÍMMU.[ ]
E I [SA]ḪAR SILA.LÍMMU.BA N[A_4*ur*? *-ṣa*?] →
F I SAḪAR SILA.LÍM.MA N[A_4? SÙ]D? →

12 A V [17′] KI IM P[A_5 *ḪI.ḪI-ma*]
E I [ ]
F I KI IM [ ] [8][*ṭup*-p]u u UR.GI_7.MEŠ DÙ-[*uš*] →

13 A V [18′] ina UGU ṭup-p[i]
E I [7] [in]a UGU ṭ[up- *UD*.SAK]AR kak-kab-[*tú*? AŠ.*ME*] →
F I [ ] ṭup-pi [ ] [9][g]am-lim ḪUR-ir →

14 A V [19′] ÉN ez-ze-ẹ[t]
E I [ ] [8][*ina*] muḫ-ḫi S[AR-] →
F I ÉN ez-zẹ-e[t DU]MU.MUNUS [d][*a-nim*] [10][-á]r →

15 A V [20′] ina SAG [GIŠ]N[Á]
E I ina U[GU] →
F I in[a S]AG [GIŠ]NÁ tál-lal UR.GI_7.ME ina [*IM.BABBAR*] [11][*u-pil-le-e*] →

16 A V [21′] tu-bar-ram [ ]
E I [ ] [9][SÍ]G . . . . . GI_6 ina ab-b[u-] →
F I [-ra]m SḲG UR.GI_7 GI_6 ina ab-bu-[*ti-šú-nu*]

17 A V [22′] SÍG MUNUS.ÁŠ.GẠR G[ÌŠ.]
E I [ ]
F I [12] [GA]R-ạn →
G I [1′] SÍ[G].GÀR GÌŠ.NU.Z[U *ina KUN.MEŠ-šú-nu*] →

18 A V [23′] MU.NE.N[E]
E I [10] [M]U.NE.NE ina MAŠ.[*SÌLA 150-šú-nu SAR-ár*] →
F I MỤ.N[E.]
G I [ ]

19 A V [24′] AB.ME[Š]
E I [ ]
G I [2′] AB.[M]EŠ [š]á 15 u 150 šá K[Á] k[a-*mi-i*] →

20 A V [25′] šá KÁ Ḛ-[ ]
E I [11] [K]Á bi-ta-[*ni-i u*? *šá KÁ É* GIŠ*NÁ BAT-te*] →
G I [ ]

21 A V [26′] [ ] K[I.]
E I [ ]
G I [3′] ina KI.TA-ma BAD šá ina tar-ṣi KÁ BAD-t[i?] →

22 *E* I [*šá*-r]u-uḫ Z[I-*šú ú-ṣur mūša*] →
G I [ ] 4′ṭú-ru-ud DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim →
x I 1′ (traces)

23 *E* I [ ] 13[t]u-šeš-[ ] →
G I ina lìb-bi [*AB.MEŠ šá KÁ ka-mi-i*]
x I 2′ [-š]eb →

24 *E* I [ ] →
G I 5′ṣur-ru-uḫ ZI-šú ana EN.NUN-ka la [*te-eg-gi*] →
x I ur-r[u$^{?}$-] 3′[ ] →

25 *E* I [ ] 14[ ] K[Á$^{?}$]
G I [ ]
x I [*ina lìb-bi* A]B.MEŠ šá KÁ É-[*a-ni-i tušeššeb*]

26 G I 6′e tam-tal-lik e-pu-uš pi-i-ka [ ]
x I 4′ [ ] si-kip lem-nu [ ]

27 G I 7′ina ŠÀ AB.MEŠ šá KÁ É ^{GIŠ}NÁ tu-š[eš-*šeb*] →
x I 5′ [ ] (blank) [ ]

28 B V 1′ [-še]š$^{?}$-šeb
G I [^{d}*30-re-*ʾ*i-i-UR.GI*$_7$*.MEŠ*] 8′ina ŠÀ ap-ti šá ana tar-ṣi KÁ tu-šeš-[ ] →
x I 6′ [ ] šá ana tar-ṣi KÁ [ ]

29 B V 2′ [M]E$^{?}$
G I [(second half of 8′ = ca. 12$^{?}$ signs lost)]
x I 7′ [(first half of 7′ = ca. 14$^{?}$ signs lost)]

30[3] B V 3′ [^{NA_4}*GIŠ.NU*$_{11}$.G]AL$^{?}$
G I 9′ ^{NA_4}su-u ^{NA_4}NÍG.BÙR.BÙR ^{NA_4}GUG.GAZI.[*SAR*] →
x I [N]^{A_4}su-u ^{NA_4}NÍG.BÙR.BÙR [ ] 8′[ ] →

31 B V 4′ [ ] →
G I [^{NA_4}*ŠUBA*] 10′ ^{NA_4}BABBAR.DILI ^{NA_4}PEŠ$_4$.ANŠE →
x I [^{NA_4}SA]L.LẠ ia$_4$-artu ^{NA_4}BABBAR.DILI ^{NA_4}PEŠ$_4$.A[NŠE] →

32 B V [LA]MMA 5′[ ]
C$_3$ I 1′ [ ] ^{d}L[AMM]A$^{?}$ [ ]
G I NA$_4$ ^{d}LAMMA i[a$_4$-*ni-ba* ^{NA_4}*šu-u NÍTA u MUNUS*]
x I [ ] 9′[*ina* D]UR GADA È-ak

33 B V [-l]im 6′[ ] →
C$_3$ I 2′ ^{Ú}tar-muš$_8$ ^{Ú}IGI-ḷim ^{Ú}[ ]
G I 11′ ^{Ú}tar-muš$_8$ ^{Ú}IGI-lim ^{Ú}IG[I-*20* ^{Ú}*AŠ*$^{?}$ ^{Ú}*el-kul-la* ^{Ú}*ḪAB Ú.*^{d}*UTU*]
x I ^{Ú}tar-muš ^{Ú}[ ] 10′[ ]

3. For duplicating parallels and restorations to ll. 30–35, see Farber 1989a: 71ff.

34 B V [^{d}*ME.*]ME $^{7'}$[ ]
C_3 I $^{3'}$ SAḪAR KÁ É ^{d}gu-la ina bi-ri[t] ṭ l[íp]-p[i *tál-pap*]
G I [ ] $^{12'}$[in]a [b]i-rit NA_4.MEŠ 7 líp-p[i] →
x I [K]Á É ^{d}gu-la ina bi-rit NA_4.MEŠ ṭ [ ] $^{11'}$[ ]

35 C_3 I $^{4'}$ ina GÚ-šú GAR-an 7 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 7 pa-re-e ina . . . SÍG GI_6 [*È*]
G I [ ] $^{13'}$[^{N}]^{A_4}I[GI].MEŠ 7 pa-r[e-] →
x I [ ] GAR-an 7 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 7$^{!}$ ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina D[UR$^{?}$]

36 C_3 I $^{5'}$ 7 líp-pi ḫúp-pu šá 7 ṣir-pa-a-ni tal-pap 3 kan-na-a-ti šá 7 ṣir-pa-a-ni
G I [ ] $^{14'}$[-n]a-a-ti šá 7 ṣ[ir-] →
x I $^{12'}$ [-p]a-a-ni tál-pap 3 kan-na-a-ti šá 7 ṣ[ir]

37 C_3 I $^{6'}$ ta-kan-na-an sap-pu ANŠE šá 15 sap-pu MUNUS.ANŠE šá 150
G I [ ]
x I $^{13'}$ [ANŠ]E šá 15 sap-pu RI MUNUS.ANŠE šá 150 →

38 C_3 I $^{7'}$ zap-pi ^{ANŠE}bak-kar-ri-i zap-pi ŠAḪ BABBAR-e
G I $^{15'}$ [b]ak-kar-ri-i zap-p[i] →
x I zap-pi [ ] $^{14'}$[ ] →

39 C_3 I $^{8'}$ḫal-lu-la-a-a šá KASKAL.MEŠ ṣu-lum pap-ḫal ANŠE
G I [ ] →
x I [ ]-ạ šá KASKAL.MEŠ ṣu-lum pap-ḫạl [ ]
Ω I ^{1} [?] →

40 C_3 I $^{9'}$ su-gìn ^{GIŠ}kak-ki ḫar-bi . . ^{GIŠ}APIN ŠE.NUMUN →
G I [(caret ?)] →
x I $^{15'}$ [API]N ŠE.NUMUN →
Ω I [-g]ìn-ni kak-ki ḫar-bi u ^{GIŠ}APIN ^{2}[?] →

41 C_3 I TI-qé-ma ana ŠÀ kan-na-a-ti ta-šak-kan
G I [ ] $^{16'}$[ ]-na-a-ti ta-š[ak-] →
x I TI-qé-e-ma ina lìb-bi k[an-]
Ω I [GA]R$^{?}$ →

42 C_3 I $^{10'}$ líp-pi šá . . . bi-rit ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ pa-re-e ina ŠÀ tal-pap
G I [ ]
x I $^{16'}$ [p]a-re-e ina lìb-bi tál-pap →
Ω I líp-pi šá ina bi-riṭ ^{3}[ ] lìb-bi [ ]

(42a[4] *x* I ^{NA_4}I[GI.*MEŠ* ^{NA_4}*pa-re-e*] $^{17'}$[*ka-li-ši-na ina DUR*$^{?}$ *SÍG* GI_6 *È*]) →
(42b *x* I [l]íp-pi ḫúp-pi šá 7 ṣ[ir-*pa-a-ni tál-pap*])

43 C_3 I $^{11'}$ 7 IGI.MEŠ 7 pa-re-e u kan-na-a-ti KI NA_4.MEŠ GÚ DIB-bat
G I $^{17'}$ [.ME]Š 7 pa-r[e-] →
x I $^{18'}$ [-n]a-a-ti i[t-*ti*]

4. Lines 42a–b in *x* duplicate lines 47/48 in C_3; see there.

44 C_3 I [12′] IN.NIN$_7$.AN.NA ŠÈ ŠAḪ-e ṣu-lum pap-ḫal ANŠE šá 15 →
G I [ ] [18′] p]ap-ḫal [ ] →
H I [1′] p]ap-ḫal-la A[NŠE š]á 1[5]0 →
x I [19′] -l]a ANŠ[E] š[á] →

45 C_3 I ina GÚ-šú GAR-an [13′]14 ḫu-ṣab ^{Ú}a-zal-lá →
G I [ ] →
H I ina GÚ-šú GAṘ-a[n] [2′][ ] →
x I [ ]

46 C_3 I ina DUR BABBAR tu-ka-ṣar-ma [14′]ina GÚ-šú GAR-an →
G I [ ] [19′][G]Ú-š[ú G]AR-a[n] →
H I [-k]aṣ-ṣar-ma ina GÚ-šú GAR-an

47 C_3 I IGI.MEŠ pa-re-e ka-li-ši-na ina SÍG GI$_6$ È
G I [ ]
H I [7′] [ ] DUR SÍG GI$_6$ È → (= 56^a)
x I [16′] ^{NA_4}I[GI.] [17′][ ] → (= 42^a)

48 C_3 I [15′] líp-pu ḫúp-pu šá . . ṣir-pa-a-ni tal-pap →
G I [20′] [lí]p-pu ḫúp-[ ] →
H I líp-pi ḫúp-pi šá 7 ṣir-pa-a-nu tál-pap (= 56^b)
x I [l]íp-pi ḫúp-pi šá 7 ṣ[ir-] (= 42^b)

49 C_3 I ^{NA_4}ŠUBA ina DUR SÍG BABBAR È [16′]ina SÍG BABBAR tal-pap →
E I [1′][-pa]p$^?$ →
G I [ ] [21′][i]na SÍG BABBAR t[al-] →
H I [3′] tá]l-pap →

50 C_3 I 4 IGI.MEŠ 4 pa-re-e ina ŠU 15-šú KÉŠ
E I [ ] [2′][ ]-šú K[ÉŠ] →
G I [ ]
H I 4 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina ŠU 15-šú KÉŠ

51 C_3 I [17′] ^{NA_4}KA GI$_6$ ina DUR SÍG GI$_6$ È ina SÍG GI$_6$ tal-pap
E I [^{N}]^{A_4}KA GI$_6$ ina D[U]R [ ]
G I [22′] ^{NA_4}KA GI$_6$ [ ] →
H I [4′] -pa]p →

52 C_3 I [18′] 3 IGI.MEŠ 3 pa-re-e ina ŠU 150-šú KÉŠ
E I [3′] [^{NA_4}I]GI.MEŠ 3 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina ŠU^{II} 15[0-] →
G I [ ] [23′]ina ŠU 150-šú [ ] →
H I 3 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 3 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina ŠU 150-šú KÉŠ

53 C_3 I [19′] [^{N}]^{A_4}ka-pa-ṣu ina DUR SÍG SA$_5$ È ina SÍG SA$_5$ tal-[ ]
E I [ ] [4′][SÍ]G SA$_5$ tál-pap →
G I [ ]
H I [5′]] tál-pap →

54 C_3 I [ ] IGI.MEŠ 4 pa-re-e ina GÌR 15-šú K[ÉŠ]
E I 4 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-[ ]
G I 4 IGI.MEŠ 4 [ ] →
H I 4 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina GÌR 15-šú KÉŠ

55 C_3 I [N]A_4.AN.BAR ina DUR ^{SÍG}ZA.GÌN.NA È-ak ina ^{SÍG}ZA.GÌN.NA tal-p[ap]
E I [N]A_4.AN.BAR ina . . . ^{SÍG}ZA.GÌN.NA È ina ^{SÍG}ZA.GÌN.NA [ ] →
G I [ ] ina ^{SÍG}ZA.GÌ[N.] →
H I [ ] tál-pap →

56 C_3 I [I]G[I.M]EŠ 3 pa-re-e ina GÌR 150-šú K[ÉŠ]
E I [ ] GÌ[R]^{II} 150-šú [ ]
G I [ ]
H I 3 ^{NA_4}IGI.MEŠ 3 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina GÌR 150-šú KÉŠ

56a[5] *H* I [^{NA_4}*IGI.MEŠ* ^{NA_4}*pa-re-e ka-li-ši-na ina*] DUR SÍG GI_6 È →
56b *H* I líp-pi ḫúp-pi šá 7 ṣir-pa-a-nu tál-pap ina x[x *GAR*?]

57[6] C_3 I [-l]i zur-ru-gu ki-ri ki-ri-ip ki-su
E I [ ]-gu MIN ki-li zur-ru-gu k[i-]
G I [É]N zur-r[u-]
H I [s]u-rip-pa-áš MIN ki-su

58 C_3 I [-p]a-ṣ-ni ḫụ-u[p]-pu su-up-pa-an-ni su-up-pu
E I [ḫ]u-[u]p-pu su-ụp-pa-an-ni [s]u-[ ] →
G I ḫụ-u[p]-p[a-]
H I ḫu-up-pa-a-ni ḫu-up [ ] →

59 C_3 I [l]i-nar-ku-nu-ši ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi :
E I [ ]
H I [-na]r-ku-nu-ši ^{d}asal-lú-⟨ḫi⟩ →

60 C_3 I ^{d}nin-gì[ri]m iq-ba-am-ma ana-ku ad-di TU_6.ÉN
E I [-gìri]m iq-ba-am-ma [ ]
H I ^{d}nin-A.ḪA.KU_5.UD.DU [*ú-šá-*a]n-ni ÉN

---

61 C_3 I ÉN ki-riš-ti li-bi ki-riš-ti-la li-bi kị-la-li-bi
E I [l]i-bi ki-riš-ti-lạ [ ] →?
H I [-ri]š-til-la : li-bi : ki-la-bi →

62 C_3 I piš-piš ti-šá-an-zi-iš ti-šá-an-zi-iš šu-an-zi-iš an-zi-iš ÉN
E I [ ] [ ]-ạn-zi-iš ti-šá-an-[ ]
H I piš-piš [-z]e-eš : an-ze-eš ÉN

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5. Lines 56a–b in *H* duplicate lines 47/48 in C_3; see there.
6. For further duplicating parallels to ll. 57–60, see Farber 1989a: 68, ll. °223–°228.

63 C_3 I [28′] 2-ta ÉN.MEŠ an-na-a-te . . . . . ina UGU NA_4.MEŠ ŠID-nu →
E I [12′] [a]n-na-a-ti [ ]
H I [13′] [ ] 7.TA.ÀM ana UGU NA_4.MEŠ ŠID-nu

(no line in C_3 and *E*)

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64 C_3 I ESIR.UD.A ^{GIŠ}MÁ [29′]ESIR.UD.A ^{GIŠ}ZI.GAN ESIR.UD.A ^{GIŠ}GISAL →
E I [13′] [*MIN* ^{GI}]^{Š}Z[I].G[AN] MIN [GI]S[AL$^{?}$] →
H I [14′] [*MIN*] MIN ^{GIŠ}gi-šal-lu →

65 C_3 I ESIR.UD.A ú-nu-ut ^{GIŠ}MÁ DÙ.A.BI [30′]SAḪAR ka-a-ri u né-bé-ri →
E I [*MIN*] [14′][ ] →
H I MIN ú-nu-tu ^{GIŠ}MÁ DÙ.A.BI [15′][ ] →

66 C_3 I Ì.ŠAḪ Ì KU_6 ESIR.KÚM Ì.NUN.NA ^{Ú}an-ki-nu-ti [31′]^{Ú}ak-tam →
E I Ì.ŠAḪ Ì [ ]
H I Ì.ŠAḪ Ì KU_6 ESIR.KÚM Ì.NUN.NA an-ki-nu-te [16′][ ] →

67 C_3 I ^{Ú}áp-ru-šá ^{Ú}a-zal-lá KUŠ ANŠE kur-ru šá ^{LÚ}AŠGAB
E II [1] [-l]á [KU]Š [A]NŠE kur-ra . . ^{LÚ}AŠGAB →
H I [ ] a-zal-lá KUŠ ANŠE kur-ra šá ^{LÚ}AŠGAB →

68 C_3 I [32] ^{TÚG}NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL NUN.BAR.ḪUŠ^{KU_6} Ì ŠAḪ BABBAR-e nap-šal-tú
E ^{TÚG}NÍG.D[ÁRA.] [2][ ]-e na[p]-š[al$^{?}$-]
H I ^{KUŠ}NÍG.DÁ[RA.].LÁL [17′][*na*-a]p-šal-ti →

(no line in *H*)

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69 A V [1″]ÉN ^{d}di[m_{10}.]
C_3 I [33′] ÉN ^{d}dim_{10}.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke_4 →
E II [3] [du]mu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke_4 →
H (caret)

Ra IV [1] E[SI]R$^{?}$.[U]D.A$^{?}$ [^{GIŠ}M]Á$^{?}$ MIN$^{?}$ [^{G}]$^{IŠ?}$Z[I$^{?}$.GAN$^{?}$] // 64
[2] MIN [^{G}]$^{IŠ?}$[GI]SA[L]$^{?}$ MIN ú-nu-ut ^{GIŠ}MÁ // 64/65
[3] D[Ù]$^{?}$.A.BI SAḪAR KAR SAḪAR né-ber // 65
[4] Ì.ŠAH Ì KU_6 nap-ṭu Ì.NUN.NA // 66
[5] an-ki-nu-tú ak-tam ⟨ap⟩ áp-ru-šú // 66/67
[6] KUŠ AN[ŠE] kur ša ^{LÚ*}AŠGAB NÍG.TÚG.[Š]U$^{!}$.LAL // 67/68
[7] [.ḪU]Š^{KU_6} Ì ŠAḪ pe-⟨ṣe-e⟩$^{?}$ // 68
[8] x$^{?}$ Ì šu-e Ì x[x] ÚŠ erí-nu —
[9] [2]2 nap ^{d}DIM_8.ME (~ 68)
(for line 10, see below, // 72)
[11] ÉN ^{d}dim_8.me du[mu] an.na // 69 (= Inc. 2)

Rb I [33b] ÉN ^{d}di[m_{11}.*me dumu* a]n.na mu p[à.*da*] // 69
(for lines 32′ and 33′a, see below, // 75–75)

70 A V 2″ ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki [ ] (= Inc. 2)
C_3 I ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki UR.GI$_7$ GI$_6$
E II ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki UR.G[I$_7$]
H (caret)

71 A V 3″ ÉN ez-ze-et u[l] . . . . . (= Inc. 3)
C_3 I 34′ ÉN ez-ze-et ul i-lat na-mur-rat . . . . . →
E II 4 [e]z-ze-et ul i-lat na-mur-rat . . . . . →
H I 17′ ÉN . . . . . ez-ze-et DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}[a-n]im (= Inc. 7)

72 A V 4″ ÉN a-nam-di ÉN a-na l[a-] (= Inc. 6)
C_3 I ÉN a-nam-di ÉN a-na la-az-zu me-lik-ki
E II ÉN a-nam-di ÉN la-as-si mi-lik-[ ]
H I 18′ [ ]-zi mi-lik-ki →

73 A V 5″ 3 ÉN.MEŠ an-na-a-ti 3.TA.ÀM ana [. . . . .]
C_3 I 35′ 3 ÉN.MEŠ an-na-a-ti 3.TA.ÀM ana UGU nap-šal-ti . . . . . ŠID-nu
E II 5 . . . . . [*a*-n]a [U]GU nap-šal-ti 3.TA.ÀM ŠID-[ ]
H I . . . . . 3.TA.ÀM ana UGU nap-š[al-] . . . . . ŠID-nu

(no line in *E*)

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74 A V 6″ ^{ŠIM}GÚR.GÚR GAZI^{SAR} ZÌ NU SIM B[AR]
C_3 I 36′ ^{ŠIM}GÚR.GÚR GAZI^{SAR} ZÌ NU SIM BAR SUM.SIKIL BAR MUŠ →
E II 6 [ ].GÚR GAZI^{SAR} ZÌ NU SIM BAR SUM.SIKIL^{SAR} BAR MUŠ →
H I 19′ [ ] BAR SUM.SIKIL^{SAR} BAR MUŠ →

Ra IV 10 [É]N ạ-[n]a$^{?}$-tị$^{?}$ šip-tú la-zu ⟨me⟩-lik-k[u] // 72 (= Inc. 6)
(for line 11, see above, // 69)
12 ÉN ez-zi-at [š]am-ṛạt (= Inc. 8 or 9)
13 Ḛ[z-z]i-ạt ul i-lat // 71 (= Inc. 3)
14 4̰ ÉN.MEŠ ana ŠẠ̀ nap ŠID ~ 73
15 LÚ.TUR EŠ TI —

Rb I 32′ ^{ŠIM}GÚR.GÚR GAZI^{SAR} Z[Ì B]AR SUM.SIKIL^{SAR} BAR MUŠ // 74
(for line 33′, see above, // 69, and below, // 75)
34′ ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ka UR.[g]al-la-ka → // 70 (= Inc. 2)
ÉN ez-ze-et [ ] // 71 (= Inc. 3$^{?}$)
35′ ÉN a-nam-di É[N]-za mi-lik-ku → // 72 (= Inc. 6)
3 ÉN.ME[Š] ~ 73

For Rc 16–19, see p. 137

75 A V [ ] 7″kib-rit saḫ-lu-ú SÍG.ŠAB . . . a[n-]
C_3 I NUMUN GADA kib-rit saḫ-lu-ú 37′SÍG.ŠAB . . . an-nu-ú qu-ta-ri
E II NUMUN GADA KI.A-^{d}í[t] 7[-l]u-ú SÍG.ŠAB [P]AP an-nu-ú qu-ta-ri →
H I NUMUN GADA KI.A-^{d}ít 20′[-n]u-tu qu_5-$taru_5$

(line in *H* only)

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76 A V 8″e-nu-ma LÚ.TUR t[u-]
C_3 I 38′ e-nu-ma LÚ.TUR tu-maš-šá-ʾu-ú →
E II e-nu-ma LÚ.TUR tu-maš-šá-ʾu-[ ]
H II 1 [-ʾ]u →

77 A V 9″ÉN $^{d}dim_{10}$.me dumu an.na M[U-] (= Inc. 1)
C_3 I ÉN $^{d}dim_{10}$.me dumu an.na MU-šá 1-en
E II 8 [d]im_{11}.me du[mu] an.na MU-šá 1+en
H II ÉN ⟨^{d}⟩di[m]$_{11}$.me dumu ^{d}a-nim MU-[ ] →

78 A V 10″ina UGU SAG.DU ṣ-š[ú Š]I[D-]
C_3 I 39′ ina UGU SAG.DU 3-šú ŠID-nu →
E II ṣ-nạ UGỤ SAG.DU-šú 3-šú ŠID-[ ]
H II [ ] 2[ ] →

79 C_3 I ÉN $^{d}dim_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke_4
E II 9 [di]m_{11}.me dumu an.na mu pà.[d]a dingir.re.n[e].k[e_4] →
H II [p]à.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke_4 →

80 C_3 I 40′ ú-šá-ḫi-iz-ki UR.GI_7 GI_6 ina UGU GÚ-šú ŠID-nu (= Inc. 2)
E II ṷ-šá-ḫi-iz-ki UR.GI_7 GI_6 . . . UGU G[Ú-]
H II ú-š[á-] 3[ ] →

81 C_3 II 1 ÉN ez-ze-et ul i-lat na-mur-rat ina UGU ŠU 15-šú ŠID-nu (= Inc. 3)
E II 10 [-z]e-et ul i-lat nạ-mṵr-rạt [U]GU ŠU^{II} 15-šú Š[ID-]
H II [ ] ez-ze-tú ul i-lat na-mur-rat i[na]

82 C_3 II 2 ÉN lab-šat IZI.AN.NE KÚM SED ḫal-pa-a šu-ri-pu → (= Inc. 4)
E II 11 [-š]at IZI.AN.NE KÚM S[ED]-ạ [ ] →
H II 4 [SE]D ḫal-pa-a šu-ri-pi →

Rb I 32′b NUMUN GADA [ ]-^{d}ít saḫ-l[e-*e*] // 75
33′a mu-šá-ṭu 9 Ú.ḪI.A [ ] $^{d}DIM_{11}$.ME ~ 75

Rc I 16 BAR MUŠ BAR SUM.SIKIL^{SAR} NUMUN GADA ~ 74/75
17 KI.A-ít saḫ-lí-i mu-šá-ṭi // 75
18 [^{Š}]^{IM}GÚR.GÚR GAZI^{SAR} ZÌ NU SIM // 74
19 PAP 9 SAR.MEŠ ^{d}D[IM_{10}.*ME*] (~ 75)

83 C_3 II ina UGU ŠU 150-šú ŠID-nu
E II [UG]U ŠU[II] 150-šú [ ]
H II ana UGU ŠU 15[0-]

84 C_3 II [3] ÉN $^{d}dim_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
E II [12] [d]im_{11}.me d[u]mu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.[
H II [5] [ ] pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
(C_3) e-la-ma-a-ti → (= Inc. 5)
(*E*)] →
(*H*) e-l[a-]

85 C_3 II . . . . . ina UGU GABA-šú u ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú ŠID-nu
E II . . . . . [UG]U [ ]
H II [6] [*ra-bu-ú up*-r]u-šú ana UGU GABA-šú u ŠÀ-šú [ ]

86 C_3 II [4] ÉN ez-ze-et DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim . . . . . → (= Inc. 7)
E II [13] [-z]e-[e]t DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim . . . . . →
H II [7] [m]u-am-me-lat la-ú-[*ti*]

87 C_3 II ÉN a-nam-di ÉN a-na la-az-zu me-lik-ki (= Inc. 6)
E II ÉN a-nam-di É[N] →
H II [8] [ ] mi-lik-ka →

88 A VI [1′] [ŠI]D-nu
C_3 II [5] ana UGU MAŠ.SÌLA.MEŠ-šú ŠID-nu
E II [ ]
H II ana UGU MAŠ.SÌLA.MEŠ-š[ú]

89 A VI [2′] [ ]-lam-ma (= Inc. 8)
C_3 II [6] ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat iš-tu a-pi e-lam-ma
E II [14] [ša]m-ṛat i-lat na-mur-r[at]
H II [9] [n]ạ-mur-rat ul-tu a-pi i-[ ]

90 A VI [3′] [ ] bar-ba-rat (= Inc. 9)
C_3 II [7] ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat ez-ze-et bar-ba-rat
E II [15] [ ] i-lat na-mur-[ ]
H II [10] [-b]a-rat →

91 A VI [4′] [.r]e.e.ne.ke$_4$
C_3 II [8] ÉN $^{d}dim_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ →
E II [16] [p]à.[d]a dingir.r[e.] →
H II ÉN $^{d}dim_{11}$.me dumu ^{d}a-nim m[u]

92 A VI [5′] [ ].ẹ.ne.ke$_4$ (= Inc. 10)
C_3 II ^{d}in.nin nir.gál nin.e.ne.ke$_4$
E II [ ]
H II [11] [ ] →

93 A VI 6′[ ]-ẹ ana-ku (= Inc. 11)
C_3 II 9 ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá AN-e ana-ku →
E II 17 [ ] ạ-n[a-] →
H II ÉN DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá ẠN-[ ]

94 A VI 7′[ ] ŠID-nu
C_3 II ina UGU GÌR^{II} 15-šú ŠID-nu
E II [ ]
H II 12 [ ] →
cf. *ψ* 12′ [ÉN? a]n?-[n]i?-[t]ú? [ina U]GU GÌR 15-[šú ŠID-nu]

95 A VI 8′[-m]e-lat la-ʾu-ú-ti (= Inc.12)
C_3 II 10 ÉN šur-bat DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim mu-am-me-lat la-ʾu-ú-ti
H II [š]ur-ba-ta DUMU.⟨MUNUS⟩ ^{d}a-nim ẠN? [ ]

96 A VI 9′[p]à.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ (= Inc. 13)
C_3 II 11 ÉN ^{d}dim$_{10}$.me dumu an.na mu pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.k[e$_4$]
H II 13 [ ] →

97 A VI 10′[U]GU GÌR^{II} 150-šú ŠID-nu
C_3 II 12 dumu.munus dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ ina UGU GÌR^{II} 150-šú ŠID-n[u]
H II [.mu]nus dingir.re.ẹ.n[e.]

98 A VI 11′[u]l i-[l]at na-mur-rat (= Inc. 3)
C_3 II 13 ÉN ez-ze-et ul i-lat na-mur-rat →

99 A VI 12′[Š]ID-nu-ma ina 15 KÁ GAR-an
C_3 II ina ṲGṲ 4? qu-ta-ri ŠID-nu-ma ina 15 KÁ GA[R-]

100 A VI 13′ÉN ạ-[n]am-dị ÉN ạ-na la-az-zu me-lik-ki (= Inc. 6)
C_3 II 14 ÉN a-nam-di ÉN a-na la-az-zu me-lik-ki →

101 A VI 14′ina UGU 3 qu-ta-ri ŠID-nu-ma
C_3 II ina UGU 3 qu-ta-ri ŠID-n[u-]

102 A VI 15′ina 150 KÁ ina re-eš ^{GIŠ}NÁ u še-pi-tị ^{GIŠ}NÁ GAR-an
C_3 II 15 ina 150 KÁ ina re-eš ^{GIŠ}NÁ u še-pi-ti ^{GIŠ}NÁ GAR-[ ]

103 A VI 16′^{GIŠ}MA.NU šá KIR$_4$ u SU[Ḫ̬U]Š IZI TAG
C_3 II 16 ^{GIŠ}MA.NU šá KIR$_4$ u SUḪ̬UŠ IZI TAG →

104 A VI 17′^{GIŠ}ŠÀ GIŠIMMAR ina SAG.DU-š[ú] tu-kal-ma
C_3 II ^{GIŠ}ŠÀ GIŠIMMAR ina SAG.DU-šú tu-k[al-]

105 A VI 18′ÉN udug ḫ̬ul.gál sag.ga[z z]i.da ŠID-ma
C_3 II 17 ÉN ụdụg ḫ̬ụl.gál sạg.gaz zi.da ŠID-ma →

106 A VI 19′ina SAG-šú GAR-an EGIR-šú ZÌ.SUR.RA-a [N]Á te-ṣir
C_3 II ina SAG-šú GAR-[ ] 18EGIR-šú ZÌ.SUR.RA-a ^{GIŠ}NÁ te-ṣir →

107 A VI [20′]ÉN sag.ba sag.ba ÉN tùm-[ ] É ŠID-nu
C_3 II ÉN sạg.bạ sạg.ba ÉN tụ̀m-m[u] É [ ]

108 A VI [21′]ÉN ab.ta nam.m[u. .d]a.[ ].dè
C_3 II [19] ÉN ab.ta nam.mu.un.da.ku_4.ku_4.dè →

109 A VI [22′]ÉN ^{d}en.ki lug[al *abzu*$^{?}$ . . .] ŠID
C_3 II ÉN ^{d}[ ]

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110 A VI [23′]ina u_4-me maḫ-r[e-]
C_3 II [20] ina u_4-me maḫ-re-e ina [š]e-rim la-maš-tú →

111 A VI [24′]šá É [ṣ]i-bi[t-*ti* DÙ-*uš*]
C_3 II šá É ṣ[i-] [21]tir-ṣa LÁ-aṣ →

112 C_3 II [12] NINDA ZÌ NU SIM ina IGI-[*šá*]
E II [1′][GAR-a]n →

113 C_3 II [22] A PÚ BAL-ši UR.GI_7 GI_6 tu-šá-ḫas-si →
E II Ạ P[Ú]

114 C_3 II ŠÀ ŠAḪ.TUR ina K[A-] [23]bạ-aḫ-ru ta-tab-bak-ši →
E II [2′][ ] ạ-na KA-šá GAR-an ⟨ba⟩-aḫ-r[a] →

115 C_3 II NINDA ḪÁD.DA GAR-ši ^{GIŠ}ŠAKAN Ì.[GIŠ *SUM-ši*]
E II [ ]

116 C_3 II [24] še-ru AN.BIR_9 . . ši-me-tan ŠID-tú ŠID-nu →
E II [3′][A]N.B[I]R_9 u AN.USAN ŠID-t[ú] →

117 C_3 II 3 u_4-me ina SAG LÚ.G[IG *TUŠ-ši*] [25]ina šal-ši u_4-me →
E II [ ] [4′][ ]-ši . . . . . →

118 C_3 II ina UD.GAM.MA È-ši-ma ina UB BÀD te-qeb-be[r-*ši*]
E II ina UD.GAM.MA È-š[i-]

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119 C_3 II [26] ina UD.4.KÁM DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá IM DÙ-uš →
E II [5′][DU]MU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim šá IM DÙ-uš →

120 C_3 II SAG.DU-sa per-ta t[u-*kat*$^{?}$-*tam*$^{?}$] [27]TÚG UD.1.KÁM ḫaš-ma-nu →
E II SAG.[ ]

121 C_3 II MU_4.MU_4-si ^{GIŠ}DÁLA GIŠIMMAR tu-na-da-ạs-[ ]
E II [6′][DÁ]LA GIŠIMMAR tu-nam-ta-as-s[i] →

122 C_3 II [28] ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}BAL ^{GIŠ}ŠAKAN Ì+GIŠ SUM-ši
E II [ ]

123 C_3 II [29] NÍG.ÀR.R[A] ŠE.$MUNU_6$ BAPPIR ŠE.SA.A NINDA ḪÁD.DA →
E II [7′][.R]A $MUNU_6$ BAPPI$R^{!}$(ŠIM) ŠE.SA.A [ ] →

124 C_3 II 4 $^{KUŠ}DU_{10}$.GAN.MEŠ DIRI-ma [30]4 ANŠ[E š]á IM DÙ-uš →
E II [ ] [8′][ ].MEŠ šá IM te-em-[ ] →

125 C_3 II ṣu-de-e an-nu-ti tu-ṣa-ad-de-šú-nu-ti
E II (caret?) →

126 C_3 II [31] ina [*UD*.GAM.MA? l]a-am ^{d}UTU ra-bé-e ana EDIN È-ši-ma
E II [ ]

127 C_3 II IGI.MEŠ-šá ana ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A GAR-an [32][M]ÚRU.MEŠ-šá KÉŠ-as →
E II [9′][ ] ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A GAR-an ina ŠU.SAR MÚRU.ME[Š?-] →

128 C_3 II KI ^{GIŠ}NIM ^{GIŠ}Ú.GÍR KÉŠ-si [33][ ]-ạ NIGIN-ši →
E II [ ] [10′][Z*Ì*.*SUR*.R]Ạ-a NIGIN-ši →

129 C_3 II niš AN-e KI-tim u ^{d}a-nun-na-ki . . . . . tu-tam-ma-ši
E II . . . . . ZI.PÀ.DA.MEŠ t[u-]

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130 C_3 II [34] [. . . . . ? . . . . .] tu-qad-dáš IM KI.GAR TI-qé NU ^{d}DIM$_{10}$.ME DÙ-uš
E II [11′][*ina UD*.5.*KÁM* K]I.GAR tu-qad-dáš IM KI.GAR TI-qé NU ^{d}D[IM$_{11}$.] →

131 C_3 II [35] [*ina SAG* L]Ú.GIG TUŠ-ši ^{GIŠ}BÁN di-ik-me-en-nu DIRI-ma →
E II [ ] [12′][d]i-ik-me-en-na DIRI-ma →

132 C_3 II GÍR ina ŠÀ ta-sa-an-niš [36][*3 u*$_4$-*me* i]na SAG LÚ.GIG GAR-an →
E II GÍR ina lìb-bi [ ] →

133 C_3 II ina šal-ši u$_4$-me ina UD.GAM.MA È-ši-m[a]
E II [ ] [13′][ ] ṬD.[G]AM.MA È-ši-ma →

134 C_3 II [37] [ ] tu-ma-aḫ-ḫas-si ina UB BÀD te-qeb-bir-[*ši*]
E II ina GÍR tu-ma-aḫ-ḫas-s[i]

135 C_3 II [38] [.R]A-a NIGIN-ši a-na EGIR-ka NU IGI.[*BAR*]
E II [14′] [Z]Ì.SUR.RA-a NIGIN-ši [ ]

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136 C_3 II [39] [ ] ạn-na-a te-ep-pụ-šu ^{MUNUS}mu-še-niq-tạ-šú →
E II [15′][G]IM né-pe-šu an-na-a te-ep-pu-šu [ ]

137 C_3 II tẹ-qé-ẹ-tẹ ú-k[a-] [40][ ] →
E II [16′][ ]-qé-e-ti ú-ka-li qaq-qa-ri [ ]

138 C_3 II (traces)
E II [17′][G*IM*? t]uš-te-ṣa(-)áš-šú KẠ ṾR.G[I$_7$].MEŠ [ ]

(In *E*, a very wide examplar, up to 3 lines could be lost; if this text contained neither catchline nor colophon, a maximum of 5 lines of average length could thus be missing until the end of Tablet III)

(no colophons preserved)



Fig. 18. Lam. amulet no. 2 obverse (de Clercq and Ménant 1900: pl. 34).

Transcription and Translation

The transcription follows the arrangement of the Standard Version in the score transliteration of the Series—that is, the "*pirsu* recension."

Significant grammatical, lexical, or semantic variants are marked and quoted on the same line on the right margin. Major phonetic variants are indicated in the text (e.g., **taš/sanniš*). Minor phonetic variants are not listed.

Full transcriptions of older parallel versions ("OA_1", "OB_1", "MB", and "Ug") and a few parallel texts showing major divergencies ("Ab_{1-2}", "Ak"–"Ao", "Ra", and "Rc") are given at the end of the pertinent section, set apart by a rule. The corresponding lines from the main text, whether direct duplicates, or remote parallels, are summarily indicated by "~". Restorations are indicated here only if they are not immediately apparent from the parallel line(s) in the Standard Version.

The gender of predicates and suffixes referring to Lamaštu and other feminine names and nouns has been normalized as feminine; if masculine variants are attested, the ending is given underlined; if all extant duplicates show the masculine form, the ending is doubly underlined.

Nasalized dissimilation of double-voiced consonants is indicated in the way closest to the spelling (**inamdin*) and not to the probable pronunciation (**inandin*, **naḫḫiṣṣu etc.*).

/e/ instead of */i/* has only been used where etymologically justified, even where the spelling seemed more suggestive of */e/*.

Short case endings are given in the historically expected form, whatever vowel is written. Declinable proper names are usually transcribed in the nominative case.

Sumerian is also given in a normalized transcription, although the experimental character of this has to be stressed. My main intention is to give an approximation of a phonetic rendering for those elements spelled syllabically and at the same time to avoid ambiguity for "homophonic" words written logographically. Therefore, the lexical core of every form, if written in "normal orthography" (i.e., logographically), is transliterated in roman type. Since all formatives (prefixes, suffixes, enclitics) are spelled syllabically (i.e., phonetically), they are given in a bound transcription in *italics* and set apart from the lexical core by hyphens. Whole words that are spelled "unorthographically" (i.e., again syllabically/phonetically) in at least one exemplar are also given in bound transcription and *italics*, preceded by an asterisk (*). Significant variants of logographic spellings are indicated in the same way as for Akkadian, while purely graphical variants for the phonetic spellings are not listed.

Rubric phrases, etc., are rendered in SMALL CAPS, both in transcription and in translation.

The translation follows the arrangement of the transcription of the text insofar as feasible.

For discussion and translation of individual variants, see the commentary. Parallels transcribed in full are also translated as separate texts, following the pertinent section of the main text, after a rule.

Lam. I (= 1. *pirsu*)

Inc. 1

1	ÉN[1] ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a*[2] *šumša ištēn*	[1]om. (Ac) [2]*Anu* (Ac)
2	*šanû* *aḫat*[1] *ilī ša sūqāti*	[1]*ḫajjāṭa* (Ad)
3	*šalšu* *patru ša qaqqada ilattû*[1]	[1]*ulattû* (*a*, Ac, Af)
4	*rebû* *ša išāta*[1] *inappaḫu*	[1]*girra*[?] (Aa)
5	*ḫanšu* *iltu ša panūša šakṣū*	
6	*šeššu* *paqid qāti leqât Irnina*	
7	*sebû* *nīš ilī rabûti lū tamâti*	
8	*itti iṣṣūr šamê lū*[1] *tapparrašī*[2]*-ma* TU_6[3] ÉN	[1]om. (Aa) [2]*tapparšī-* (*b*) [3]om. (Ac)

$Ab_{1–2}$:	[1]ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu *Anu* [2]*šumša ištēn*		(~ 1)
	[3]*šanû*	*aḫat ilī ša sūqāti*	(~ 2)
	[4]*šalšu*	*patru ša qaqqada iḫattû*	(~ 3)
	[5]*rebû*	*ša iṣa inassaḫu*[?]	(~ 4)
	[6]*ḫanšu*	*iltu ša panūša arqū*	(~ 5)
	[7]*šeššu*	*nadnat*[?] *qāti lēqât*[?] *unnīni*[?]	(~ 6)
	[8]*sebû*	*nīš* AN.AN.AN.AN *x*[*x* . . .]	(~ 7)
	[9]*kīma iṣṣūri ina šamê itaprašī*[?]		(~ 8)

Rub. 1

9 KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KE_4

Rit. 1

10 DÙ.DÙ.BI *ina muḫḫi kunuk ṭīdi tašaṭṭar šerru ina kišādīšu tašakkan*

Lam. I (= 1. *pirsu*)

Inc. 1

1 SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An" is her first name,
2 the second is "Sister of the Gods of the Streets,"
3 the third is "Sword that Splits the Head,"
4 the fourth is "She who Lights the Fire,"
5 the fifth is "Goddess whose Face is *Wild*,"
6 the sixth is "*Entrusted One, Adopted Daughter* of Irnina,"
7 the seventh is "By the Spell of the Great Gods May You Be Bound."
8 You should fly away with the birds of the sky, or else . . . ! MAGIC FORMULA

Ab_{1-2}:	[1] SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An" [2] is her first name,		(~ 1)
	[3] the second is	"Sister of the Gods of the Streets,"	(~ 2)
	[4] the third is	"Sword that Strikes Down the Head,"	(~ 3)
	[5] the fourth is	"She who Uproots the Tree,"	(~ 4)
	[6] the fifth is	"Goddess whose Face is Greenish,"	(~ 5)
	[7] the sixth is	"*Given One*, who *Takes Pity*,"	(~ 6)
	[8] the seventh is	"(By[?]) the . . . . Gods [. . . . .]."	(~ 7)
	[9] Like a bird in the sky fly away!		(~ 8)

Rub. 1

9 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu

Rit. 1

10 ITS RITUAL: You write (the spell) on a cylinder seal made from clay (and) place it around the neck of the baby.

Inc. 2

11 ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*
12 Innin nir.ĝál nin sağ.gig-*a*
13 zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫe*-pà
14 *ušāḫizki kalba ṣalma gallâki*
15 *aqqīki mê būri puṭrī atlakī*
16 *isî u rēqī ina zumur* ^{1}*šerri mār ilišu annî* ^{1} | $^{1–1}$*amēl ilišu* [. . .](Aa)
17 *utammīki Anu u Antu*
18 KIMIN^{1} *Enlil u Ninlil* | ^{1}MIN (Aa)
19 KIMIN^{1} *Marduk u Anunītu*^{2} | ^{1}*u*[*tammīki*] (A,) ^{2}*Ṣarpānītu* (*b*)
20 KIMIN^{1} *ilī rabûti ša šamê u erṣeti* | ^{1}[*utammī*]*ki* (*b*)
21 *šumma ana bīti annî taturrīm-ma*^{1} | ^{1}*taturru* (*a*)
21^{a} ^{1}*ana šerri annî tasanniqīm-ma*^{1} TU_6^{2} ÉN | $^{1–1}$(*b*) only; ^{2}TE (*a*, *b*, *Ea*)

Rub. 2

22 KA.INIM.MA *umma lazza u Lamaštu nasāḫi*

Rit. 2a

23 DÙ.DÙ.BI *Lamaštu*^{1} ^{2}*kīma ša*^{2} *bīt ṣibitti teppuš* | ^{1}*mārat Anu* (C_1) $^{2–2}$*ša kīma* (*a*)
24 *tirṣa tatarraṣ 12 akal qēmi lā napî ana panišu tašakkan*
25 *mê būri tanaqqīši kalba ṣalma tušaḫḫassi*
26 *šalāšat ūmī ina rēš marṣi tušeššebši*
27 [*lib*]*bi kurkizanni ana pîša tašakkan baḫra tatabbakši*
28 [^{1} *šikka*]*t šamni* ^{2} *tanaddinši ṣudê tuṣaddā/ēši* | ^{1}(*a*): here l. 29$^{1–1}$? ^{2}+ *bitqu*$^{?}$ (*a*)
29 ^{1}[*akla abl*]*a taš*[*akkanši*^{1} *šēra muṣlāla š*]*imītān* | $^{1–1}$om. (*a*)$^{?}$
30 *minûta tamannūši* [*ina šalši ūmi ina qiddat ūm*]*i tušeṣṣēši-ma*
31 *ina tub*[*qi dūri t*]*e*[*qe*]*b*[*bi*]*rši*

Rit. 2b

32 *kupur eleppi* [*ku*]*pur sikkanni*
33 *kupur g*[*išalli kup*]*ur unūt eleppi kalama*
34 [$^{1–1}$ *eper k*]*āri u nēberi* | $^{1–1}$ (*c*): here l. 35$^{1–1}$?
35 *nāḫa šaman nūni ḫimēta* ^{1}*qīra* [. . .]^{1} *ankinūta* | $^{1–1}$om. (*c*)
36 [*a*]*ktam tuballal taptanaššassu-ma inêš*

Inc. 2

11 SPELL: Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods,
12 princely Innin, who rules over the black-headed (people),
13 by the life of Heaven be conjured! By the life of Earth be conjured!
14 I have made you seize a black dog (as) your nemesis.
15 I have poured out well water for you— be off, be gone,
16 leave, go away from the body of this baby, who is under the tutelage of his god!
17 I herewith conjure you by Anu and Antu,
18 DITTO, by Enlil and Ninlil,
19 DITTO, by Marduk and Anunītu,
20 DITTO, by the great gods of heaven and earth.
21 (Woe be to you) if you (ever) return to this house and
21[a] come close to this child! MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 2

22 RECITATION to get rid of persistent fever and Lamaštu.

Rit. 2a

23 ITS RITUAL: You make a (figurine of) Lamaštu as a prisoner.
24 You arrange the layout (for the ritual). You place 12 rolls made from unsifted flour before her.
25 You libate well water for her. You make her hold a black dog.
26 You make her sit at the head of the sick person for three days.
27 You place a piglet's [hea]rt in her mouth, pour hot (soup) for her.
28 You give her a [flas]k of oil, provide her with (travel) provisions.
29 [Dr]y [bread] you pu[t down for her. In the morning, at noon, (and) in the e]vening
30 you recite the incantation to her. [On the third day, in late aftern]oon, you move her out
31 and b[ur]y her in the cor[ner of the wall].

Rit. 2b

32 Pitch from a boat, [pi]tch from a rudder,
33 pitch from an o[ar, pit]ch from any (other) equipment of a boat,
34 [dirt from em]bankment and ford,
35 lard, fish train, ghee, hot bitumen, [. . .], *ankinūtu*-plant,
36 *aktam*-plant you mix, anoint him thoroughly (with the mixture), and he will recover.

Inc. 3

37 [ÉN *ezze*]*t ul ilat namurrat u šī barbarat mārat Anu*
38 [*ina kibsi*] *al*[*pi*] *rubussa* [1]*ina kibsi* [. . . .] *narbassa*[1] [1–1] om. (*a*, *b*)
39 *ina kibsi immeri manzāssa*
40 [*alpa āl*]*ika ikalla imēra lāsima upakkar*
41 *eṭlūti qubburu uqabbar*
42 [1][*bat*]*ūl*[*āt*]*i nuppuṣu unappaṣ*(*u*)[1] [1–1]om. (*Ea*)
43 *ṣeḫrūti išaqqâ mê pušqi*
44 *ēkiam*[1] *lūmurši-ma*[2] *luDpeš kīma zappu ina kalīt šamê* [1][*ekâm*]*a* (*b*) [2]*-ma* om. (*Ea*)
45 *šukun rubûtka Šamaš* TE ÉN

OB_1: [1] *ezzet palḫat* [2]*ilat Amurrat*ʾ [3] *u šī barbaratu* [4]*mārti Ani* (~ 37)
[5] [*in*]*a sāsi narbaṣūša* [6][*in*]*a rī*[*ti mū*]*ša*[*būša*] (~ 38)
[7] [*ina elp*]*ati mazzā*[*zūša*] (~ 39)
[8] [*al*]*pa ālika ikal*[*la*] [9]*imēra šurbuṣu uš*[*arbaṣ*ʾ] (~ 40)
[10] *ṣeḫḫerūti ḫunnuqu* [11]*uḫannaq* (~ 41)
rabbûti [12]*išaqqīam mê pišri* [13]TU.EN.NU.RU (~ 43)

OA_1: [1] *ezzat pulḫat* [2]*ilat nammarat* [3]*barbaratum* [4]*mārat Anim* (~ 37)
[5] *ina sāsim* [6]*mūšabūša* [7]*ina elpitim* [8]**rubussa*ʾ (~ 38/39)
[9] *eṭlam lāsimam* [10]*takalla* [11]**emāram*ʾ *arḫam* [12]*tanassaḫam* [13]*zibbassu* → (~ 40)
ṣaḫḫurūtim [14]*nappuṣum tunappiṣ* (~ 41/42)
[15] *šībūtim tašaqqiʾam-mi* [16]*mê Bišrim* (~ 43)
[17] *šiptum lā iātum* (–)
[18] *šipat Nikkilil* [19]*bēl šipātim* (–)
[20] *Nikkarrak* [21]*taddīši-ma* [22]*anāku alqēši* (–)

Inc. 3

37 [SPELL:] She [is fierce], (*and although*) not (*being*) a goddess, she is terrifying. Indeed, she is a she-wolf, the Daughter-of-Anu.
38 Her lair is [in the (dung-filled) tracks of] ox[en], her resting place is in the (dung-filled) tracks of [. . . . .],
39 Her abode is in the (dung-filled) tracks of sheep.
40 She holds back the [ox as it mo]ves around, she blocks the donkey as it runs.
41 Young men she really sends to the grave,
42 [gi]rl[s] she really crushes,
43 the little ones she forces to "drink water of *distress*."
44 Where can I set eyes upon her, so that I might . . . . . (*her*[?]) like a *bristle* at the *kidney(s)* of the sky?
45 Exert your rulership, O Šamaš! MAGIC FORMULA

OB_1: [1–4] She is fierce, to be feared, a goddess, an Amorite woman. Indeed, she is a she-wolf, the Daughter-of-Anu. (~ 37)
[5–6] Her resting place is in the grass, [her dw]ell[ing i]n the meadow, (~ 38)
[7] [her] abo[de [in the alfal]fa grass. (~ 39)
[8–9] She hol[ds] back the [o]x while it is moving around, she forces the donkey [to lie down] completely inactive. (~ 40)
[10–11] Little ones she really strangles to death, (~ 41)
grown-ups [12–13a]she forces to drink water of *dissolution*. MAGIC FORMULA (~ 43)

OA_1: [1–2] She is fierce, (represents) fear, is a goddess, glaringly bright, [3–4]the she-wolf, the Daughter-of-Anum. (~ 37)
[5–8] Her dwelling is in the grass, her den in the alfalfa grass. (~ 38/39)
[9–13] She holds back the young man when he runs, pulls the fast donkey[?] at its tail. (~ 40)
[13–14] The little ones she really has crushed, (~ 41/42)
[15–16] the old ones she forces to drink, so they say, water of *dissolution*. (~ 43)
[17] The spell is not my own, (–)
[18–19] it is a spell of Nikkilil, the one in charge of magic spells. (–)
[20–22] Nikkarrak cast it, and I have taken it over (from her). (–)

Ug: V
15′ ÉN.É.[NU.RU]
16′ *ezzet šamrat* [. . .] *am*[*urrât*?] 17′*u šī birbirr*[*et* . . . . .] (~ 37)
18′ *ina kibsi alpi mū*[*šabūša*] (~ 38)
19′ *ina kibsi immeri m*[*azzāzūša*] (~ 39)
20′ *alpa alāka*? [*ika*]*ll*[*u*] 21′[. . . . . *up*]*akkar* (~ 40)
22′ [. . . . . *ḫubbulu uḫ*]*abbal* 23′[. . . . . *šuggušu*] *ušaggaš* (~ 41/42?)
24′ [. . . . . *išaqqâ*] *mê* [*pu*]*šqi* (~ 43)
25′ [*ēkiam lūmurš*]*i-ma* 26′[. . . . .] *ina kalât*? 27′[*šamê*?] → (~ 44)
[. . . . .] *Šamaš* 28′[TU_6.ÉN.É].NU.RU (~ 45)

29′ [TIL]

Rub. 3

46 [KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KE_4]

Rit. 3

47 [DÙ.DÙ.B]I *mārat Anu ša ṭīdi teppuš*
48 [*qaqqassa perta tukattam*?] 1*ulāpa lupputa*1 1–1[*ṣubāt ūm*]*akkal ḫašmāni* (Ee)
49 *tulabbassi ṣi*[*lli gišimmari t*]*unamdassi*
50 *mulṭâ pi*[*la*]*qqa šik*[*kat*] *šamni bitqu tanaddinši*
51 [*mu*]*nda buqla*? *bappira lapta akla abla*
52 *erbet t*[*ukkannī tum*]*allā-ma erbet* [*im*]*ērī ša ṭīdi teppuš*
53 *ṣudê annûti tuṣaddīši*
54 *ina qiddat ūmi lām* [*šamši rabê*] *ana ṣēri tušeṣṣēši*
55 *panīša ana ereb šamši tašakkan* [*it*]*ti pitilti qablīša tarakkas*
56 1*itti balti ašāgi*1 *tarakkassi zisurrâ šalāšīšu*2 *talammīši* 1–1*ina ašāgi balti* (Ee) 2om. (D_1)
57 *nīš šamê erṣeti u*1 *Anunna*[*kī*] *tutammāši* 1om. (Ee)
58 *zê Nisaba zê šahî ḫallutanâ*
59 [*ṣulum paḫ*]*alli imēri ša imitti ina kišādīšu tašakkan*
60 *k*[*ukra ka*]*sâ ina pēnti tuqattaršu*
61 *saḫl*[*ê*?] *apruša ina šamni tapaššassu*

Ug: V
15′ SPE[LL]:
16′–17′ She is fierce, violent, [. . . . .], an Am[orite woman.]
Indeed, she is a *she-wolf* [. . . . .] (~ 37)
18′ [Her] ab[ode] is in the (dung-filled) tracks of oxen, (~ 38)
19′ [Her] dw[elling is] in the (dung-filled) tracks of sheep. (~ 39)
20′–21′ [She . . . . .] the ox while it moves around,
she [bl]ocks [. . . . .] (~ 40)
22′–23′ [Against the . . . . she really commits cr]imes, [the . . . . she
really] murders, (~ 41/42)
24′ [the . . . . . she forces to "drink] water of [*di*]*stress*." (~ 43)
25′–26′ [*Where can I set eyes upon* he]r, so that [. . . . .]
at the *kidneys* [*of the sky*]? (~ 44)
27′ [. . . . .], O Šamaš! 28′[MAGIC FO]RMULA (~ 45)

29′ [COMPLETE]

Rub. 3

46 [RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.]

Rit. 3

47 [IT]S [RITUAL]: You make a Daughter-of-Anu from clay.
48 [You *cover* her head with hair]. A soiled towel
49 you give her as clothing. You *prick* her with the th[orn of a date palm.]
50 You give her a comb, a d[is]taff, (and) a half-*sūtu*? fla[sk] of oil.
51 With [gr]oats, malt, brewing mixture, roasted barley, (and) dried bread
52 you [fi]ll four [leather] b[ags]; then you make four [don]keys of clay.
53 You give them these (things) as travel provisions.
54 In late afternoon, (shortly) before [sunset], you move her (= the figurine of Lamaštu) out into the uncultivated area.
55 You have her face eastward. You fasten a rope around her waist.
56 You bind her to a *baltu* (and/or) an *ašāgu* thorn bush. You surround her three times with a magic circle.
57 You conjure her by Heaven and Earth, as well as by the Anunna[ki].
58 Chaff, pig dung, a *ḫallutanû*
59 [–(i.e.?) black (hair) from the hind l]egs of a donkey from the right side—you place around his (= the patient's) neck.
60 You fumigate him with *k*[*ukru*-plant (and) musta]rd seed on embers.
61 You anoint him with cress? (and) *aprušu*-plant in oil.

Inc. 4

62 ÉN *la*[*bšat*] *anqulla umma kuṣṣa ḫalpâ šurīpa*
63 *ša š*[*ūš*]*i*[?] [*i*]*šissu ša šunî zēršu*
64 *ša ṣarb*[*at*]*i balti ušalli itbuk mutḫummīša*
65 *ībir nāra dilḫa iškun*
66 *īmid igāra luḫummâ iptašaš*
67 *iṣbat šība Pasussatu iqabbûši*
68 *iṣbat eṭla Anqullu iqabbûši*
69 *iṣbat ardata Lamaštu iqabbûši*
70 *iṣbat šerra* [d]Dìm.me *iqabbûši*
71 *aššu*[1] *tallikīm-ma*[2] *tuṣabbitī šikin panīšu* [1]*šumma* (*c*) [2]*-mi* (*b*)
72 *mešrêti tuṣabbitī tu'abbitī binâti*
73 *tukassasī*[1] *šir'ānī manānī tukannanī* [1]*tukassisa* (*a*)
74 *zīmī turraqī bunnannê tušpellī*
75 *ašušta tanamdî girrāniš tukabbabī zumrī*
76 *ana nasāḫiki ana ṭarādiki ana lā târiki ana lā ṭehêki*[1–1] [1–1]+[*lā ṭe*]*ḫê-ki* (*b*)
77 [1]*ana zumur annanna mār annanna ana*[1] *lā sanāqiki*[2–2] [1]om. (*a*, *b*) [2–2]+*lā sanāqiki* (*b*)
78 *utammīki Anu abi ilī rabûti*
79 KIMIN *Enlil šadâ rabâ*
80 KIMIN *Ea šar apsî bān kullati bēl gimri*
81 KIMIN [1]*Bēlet-ilī šarratu*[1] *rabītu pātiqat nabnīti* [1–1]unclear (*b*)
82 KIMIN *Sîn bēl agê pāris purussê mukallim ittāti*
83 KIMIN *Šamaš* [1]*nūr elâti u šaplâti*[1] *bānû kibrāti* [1–1]*bēl* [. . .] (*c*)
84 KIMIN *Asalluḫi bēl āšipūti*
85 KIMIN *Ninurta ašarēd ilī aḫḫīšu*
86 KIMIN *Ningirim bēlet šipti*
87 KIMIN *Ninkarrak abrakkat Ekur*
88 KIMIN *Ištar bēlet mātāti*
89 *Ubšukkinakka šubat šitūlti ilī rabûti ša qereb Ekur tummāti*
90 *šumma ana annanna mār annanna taturrīššu tasanniqīšum-ma*
91 *šiptu ul* (*j*)*ûttun šipat Ea u*[1] *Asalluḫi šipat Damu* [1]om. (A, C_1, D_1)
92 *u Ninkarrak šipat Ningirim bēlet šipti* TU_6[1] ÉN [1]TE (*a*)

Rub. 4

93 KA.INIM.MA [d]DÌM.ME.KE_4

Inc. 4

62 SPELL: [She is] cl[ad] in *scorching heat*, fever, cold, frost, (and) ice.
63 The root of the licorice tree, the seed(s) of the *chaste tree*,
64 the *fruit* of the *poplar*, pride of the river meadow, she *spoiled*.
65 By crossing a river, she makes it murky.
66 By leaning against a wall, she smears (it) with mud.
67 When she has seized an old man, they call her "The Annihilator."
68 When she has seized a young man, they call her "The Scorcher."
69 When she has seized a young woman, they call her "Lamaštu."
70 When she has seized a baby, they call her "Dimme."
71 Because you (= Lamaštu) came here and attacked his face,
72 took hold of the joints, destroyed the limbs,
73 (are now) consuming the muscles, twisting the sinews,
74 make faces turn green, turn features the way they should not be,
75 cause depression, burn bodies like fire,
76 in order to remove you, to send you away, so that you will not return, will not come close (again),
77 will not approach (again) NN son of NN,
78 I herewith conjure you by Anu, the father of the great gods,
79 DITTO, by Enlil, the "Great Mountain",
80 DITTO, by Ea, the king of the Apsû, creator of everything, supreme master,
81 DITTO, by Bēlet-ilī, the great queen, who shaped (all) living beings,
82 DITTO, by Sîn, the "Lord of the Crown", who makes (all) decisions, reveals divine signs,
83 DITTO, by Šamaš, the light of regions above and below, the creator of the world,
84 DITTO, by Asalluḫi, the master of magical practice,
85 DITTO, by Ninurta, the "*primus inter pares*" of the gods,
86 DITTO, by Ningirim, who is in charge of magic spell(s),
87 DITTO, by Ninkarrak, who keeps (all) temple(s) in order,
88 DITTO, by Ištar, who rules (all) the lands!
89 You are conjured by the Counsel Chamber, the place where the great gods sit and deliberate, which is inside Ekur!
90 (Woe be to you) if you return to NN son of NN (and) draw close to him!
91 The spell is not my own, it is a spell of Ea and Asalluḫi, a spell of Damu
92 and Ninkarrak, a spell of Ningirim, who is in charge of magic spell(s).
MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 4

93 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Rit. 4

94 DÙ.DÙ.BI *kullata tuqaddaš ṭīd kullati teleqqe ṣalam Lamaštu teppuš*
95 *ina rēš marṣi tušeššebši sūta dikmenna tumallā-ma*
96 *patra ina*[1] *libbi taš/sanniš šalāšat ūmī ina rēš marṣi tašakkan* | [1]*ana* (*a*)
97 *ina šalši ūmi ina qiddat ūmi tušeṣṣēši-ma*
98 *ina patri tumaḫḫas*[1]*si*[1] *ina tubqi*[2] *dūri teqebbirši* | [1–1]om. (*a*) [2]*arki* (*a*)
99 *zisurrâ talammīši* [1]*ana arkika lā tappallas*[1] | [1–1]om. (*a*)

Inc. 5

100 ÉN [d]Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*
101 [d]In.nin nir.ĝál nin sağ.gig-*a*
102 zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫe*-pà
103 *elamâti rabû uprūša*
104 *ištu api ilâm-ma* [1]*šanîš uṣṣâm-ma*[1] | [1–1]om. (m,*Sb*)
105 *ezzet šamrat gašrat kaṣṣat gapšat ilat namurrat*[1] | [1]*ba*[?][. . .] (m)
106 [*šēpā*]*ša Anzû* [*qāss*]*a luʾtu*
107 [. . . -]*ru ki sūqu*[?] [. . .] *puzzurat*[?]
108 [*ṣilli d*]*ūri manzāzūša askuppātu mūšabūša*
109 [*arra*]*kā*[?] *ṣuprāša u*[*l*[?] *gull*]*ubā*[?] *šaḫātāša*
110 [*ul*] *īšarat gallât mārat Anu* [. . . -]*rītu*[?] *ši bu*
111 *Anu abuša Antu ummaša-ma*[?]
112 *ina epšētīša lā banâti* [*ištu*[1] *šam*]*ê ušēridūniššim-ma* | [1]*u*[*ltu*] (*Sc*)
113 *ul iddû parakkaša ina er*[*ṣeti*[?]]
114 [*k*]*appī*[1] *šaknat-ma kīma lilî* [. . . . .] | [1][*k*]*appa* (*Sc*)
115 *ana mūši mūša ana kaṣâti kaṣâti* [*isdir*[?]]
116 *itūr ana sinništi*[1] *ša nērebūša pitru*[*sū*[?]] | [1]+ -*ma* (*Sc*)
117 *mārat Anu ūmišam-ma erâti iman*[*nu*]
118 [*ark*]*i ālidāti ittanall*[*ak*]
119 *arḫīšina imannu*[1] *ūmīšina ina igāri uṣṣar* | [1]*imanni* (*n*)
120 *ana ālidāti* [1]*nadât*(*i*) *šipta*[1] | [1–1][. . .]*xxx sa* (m)
121 *bilāni mārīkina lušēniq*
122 *ana pî mārātīkina tulâ luštakkan*
123 *našât ina qātiša umma kuṣṣa ḫurbāša* [1]*mammâ*[?1] *katimta* | [1–1]*malâta* (*n*)
124 *nablī muḫammiṭūti mali zumurša*
125 *azzūzâ*[1] *iṣarri imta* | [1]*ana z*[*ūzâ*] (D_1)
126 *ana sursuru iṣarri imta*

Rit. 4

94 ITS RITUAL: You purify the clay pit, take clay from the pit, (and) make a figurine of Lamaštu.
95 You have her sit at the head of the patient. You fill a (vessel of one) *sūtu* (capacity) with ashes and
96 stick a dagger in it. For three days you place it at the head of the patient.
97 On the third day, in late afternoon, you take her outside and
98 strike her with the dagger. You bury her in a corner of the city wall.
99 You surround her with a magic circle (and return) without looking back.

Inc. 5

100 SPELL: Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods,
101 princely Innin, who rules over the black-headed (people),
102 by the life of Heaven be conjured! By the life of Earth be conjured!
103 She[!] is an Elamite woman, big is her *upru* (headgear).
104 She came up from the marshes, being— variant version: 'she emerges'—
105 fierce, violent, very strong, raging, overbearing, (of) divine (power), terrifying.
106 Her [feet] are (those of) Anzû, her [hand] (spells) decay.
107 [. . . . .] . . . . . street[?], [. . . . .] she is *completely hidden*.
108 [Dark (corners) of the w]all are her hangouts, on the threshholds she sits around.
109 [Very lo]ng[?] are her fingernails, *u*[*nsha*]*ven* her armpits.
110 She is [not] straightforward, (but rather) a she-devil, the Daughter-of-Anu [. . .] . . . .
111 It was Anu, her father, (and) Antu, her mother who,
112 in view of her unseemly deeds, forced her to step down [from hea]ven and (also)
113 denied her a place of worship on *e*[*arth*].
114 She is fitted with wing(s) and [. . . . .] like *Lilû* [. . . . .].
115 Night after night, daybreak after daybreak, she [*regularly*]
116 returns to a woman whose entrance (doors) are *bloc*[*ked (from access[?])*].
117 The Daughter-of-Anu counts the pregnant women daily,
118 keeps following [behi]nd the ones about to give birth.
119 She counts their months, marks their days on the wall.
120 Those about to give birth she puts under a spell:
121 "Bring me your sons— I want to suckle (them)!
122 In the mouth of your daughters I want to place (my) breast."
123 She holds in her hand fever, cold, chills (and) frost (as a) *katimtu*-net[?].
124 Her body is full of scorching flames.
125 She spatters venom all over the place,
126 she spatters venom quite suddenly.

127 *imat ṣerri imassa imat zuqaqīpi imassa*
128 *eṭlūti šuggušu ušaggaš*
129 *ardāti ḫubbulu uḫabbal*
130 *ṣeḫrūti nuppuṣu unappaṣ*
131 *batūlāti išaqqâ mê pušqi*
132 *ana bīti petî irrub*
133 [*ana*] *bīti edli i*[*ḫallu*]*p ṣerrāniš*
134 [*iḫallu*]*p ṣerrāniš u*[*ḫan*]*naq ṣuḫāra*
135 [*dām*ʾ *li*]*bbišu iptaššaš panīša*
136 [. . . -*š*]*u utabbak*ʾ *kīma kalê simat mūti*
137 [*kīma*ʾ *lu*]ʾ*ti u labāṣi panīšu ipšuš*
138 [*ku*]*ssu kiḫulê ina qātiša iṣbat*
139 [*e*]*per kiḫulê ina qātiša išbuš*
140 [. . . . .]-*ša* [. . . . . *nim*]*ri*ʾ *dudināša*
141 [*šinn*]*ā kalbi šinnāša ṣuprā*[1] *a*/*erî ṣuprāša* [1][*ṣup*]*ur* (C_1)
142 [*šebret*ʾ *d*]*udittaša peti tulûša*
143 [. . . . . -](*āt*)*ūša rummû kirimmūša*
144 [*šizba*ʾ *ša mūt*]*i*ʾ [1]*rummukā irtāša*[1] [1–1][. . . -]*kat irtaša* (m)
145 [. . . . . -]*tu*K *ṣertu ina tulêša*
146 *xx*[- . . . . . -]*xx-šu ana muḫḫi erâti* B*urrat*(*u*) *ilassum*
147 *ina xx*[- . . . . *ṣē*]*ru*ʾ *irappuš*
148 *tir*[- . . . .] *kīma ṣuḫāri*
149 *il*[*lak*(*ū*)ʾ . . . . -]*xx ana*ʾ *idiša*
150 *il*[*lak*(*ū*)ʾ . . .] *xx* [. . . . . -]*tu* [*ana*ʾ] *arkiša*
151 *i*[*llak*(*ū*)ʾ . . . . . *ana*ʾ] *panīša*
152 *xx*[- . . . . . -]*xx eṭli*
153 *i*[- . . . . .] *tulâ*
154 *i*[*ṣbat*ʾ *lib*]*bašu*ʾ [. . . . .] *iḫpi*
155 *balu mūti ittakis kišāssu*
156 *balu gallê napištašu uttīr*
157 *ina sūni mušēniqti iḫtanaq ṣuḫāra*
158 *ul iddinšu ina bīti ana qebēri*
159 *kīma šāpik ṣidīti ana luppi sāmi liškunū ṣuḫāra*
160 *lišš*(*m*)*ûšu-ma lilqûšu ana ṣēri līzibūniššu*(*m*)*-ma*
161 *šumma ana miḫri lū*(*-u*)*šēṣûšu*
162 *limḫur iṣṣūra ina šamê limḫur nūna ina apsî*
163 *limḫura ṣēnī ina tabīni*
164 *limḫur rēʾâ ina utūl rubṣišu*
165 *limḫur kaparra ina ṣēnīšu*
166 *limḫur lâti ina tarbaṣi*
167 *xxxxxxxxx qu īterub ana bīti*
168 [. . . . .] *bīti iltakan bikīta*

127 Snake's poison is her venom, scorpion's poison is her venom.
128 Young men she really slays,
129 to young women she really does violence,
130 little ones she really smites,
131 girls she forces to drink "water of *tightness*."
132 An open house she enters (the normal way, i.e., through the door),
133 [into] a locked house she [sli]ps by the door pivot.
134 [She sli]ps [in] like a snake, s[tran]gles the boy.
135 With *his* [h]eart [*blood*] she smears her own face.
136 [*Hi*]*s* [. . . . .] she spreads out like yellow ochre, befitting death.
137 [*(So that he looked) like (one who had) lu*]*'tu-* or *labāṣu-*disease, she daubed his face.
138 She grabbed the [st]ool for the mourning rites with her hand,
139 swept together [d]ust for the mourning rites with her hand.
140 [. . . . . *are*] her [. . . . . *-s*, ... *of a pant*]*her are* her (two) *fibulas*.
141 [Tee]th of a dog are her teeth, talons of an eagle are her talons.
142 Her fibula [is *broken*], her breast is bare.
143 Her [. . . . .]-s [are . . . . .], her bosom (hold[?]) is limp,
144 [in '*milk of dea*]*th*' her bust is bathed.
145 [. . . . .] . . . the nipple(s) on her breast.
146 [. . . . .] *her* [. . . . .]-s, *she* runs . . . . up to the pregnant women.
147 In . . . [. . . . . *the wildern*]*ess*[?] becomes wide[?]:
148 . . . [. . . . .] like a boy.
149 [. . . . .] go[(*es*[?]) [. . . . .] *to*[?] her side,
150 [. . . . .] go[(*es*[?]) [. . . . .]. . . [*to*[?]] her back,
151 [. . . . .] g[o(*es*[?]) [. . . . . *to*[?]] her front.
152 . . . [. . . . .] the young man.
153 *She* [. . . . .] the breast.
154 *She gr*[*asped*] his [*he*]*art*, broke [. . . . .].
155 (Although) not being Death, she has cut his throat,
156 (although) not being a *gallû-*demon, she has wrung his neck,
157 has strangled the boy in the wetnurse's lap.
158 (Then) she did not allow him to be buried in the house, (saying):
159 "They should place the boy in a red leather bag, as if storing provisions.
160 They should lift him up and take him to the wilderness where they should leave him."
161 If *they indeed* bring him out for *whatever might befall (him)*,
162 may it *befall* a bird in the sky, may it *befall* a fish in the freshwater ocean,
163 may it *befall* the flocks in the fold,
164 may it *befall* the shepherd resting in his camp,
165 may it *befall* the herding boy amongst his flocks,
166 may it *befall* the cattle in the cattle pen.
167 . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. . .] . . she has entered the house.
168 [. . . . . *in the*] house she has brought about wailing,

169 [. . . . .] *ana amēlūti damāma īzib*
170 *kīma* [. . . . . -]*ša* [*ir*]*teneddēšu*
171 *kīma* [. . . . . *uš*]*taddīšu*
172 *kīma* [. . . . . -]*tašu īzib*
173 *kīma xx*[. . . . .] *sebîšu iḫbussu*
174 *ina sulî* [. . . . . *it*]*âr*[?]
175 *ina*[1] *šaḫātāti* [. . . . . *ittan*]*aššab* [1]om. (m)
176 *dannat šaKÙ*[*at* . . . . .]*xx*
177 *šuḫarrat ūmi l*[*ā*[?] . . . . .]
178 [1][*ša*]*lummat*[1] *ṣēti zumurša* [. . . . .] [1–1]*ḫummuṭ* (D_1)
179 *imḫur nēša melammaša ultad*[*diša*]
180 *imḫur barbara laḫāba ī*[*mid*][?]
181 *ībir nāra* [1]*ana mê duluḫḫâ*[1] *išta*[*kan*] [1–1]*durḫâ* (D_1)
182 [1]*illik ḫarrāna alaktaša iprus*[1] [1–1]om. (m)
183 *īmid igāra luḫummâ iptašaš*
184 *īmid bīna ittabak urîša*
185 *īmid gišimmara ultammiṭ*(*a*) *uḫinnīša*
186 *īmid allāna u buṭna ša šadî ḫamadīrūta ultālik*
187 *iš/ltanatti dāmī našpūti ša amēlūti*
188 *šīra ša lā akāli eṣemta ša lā* [1]*karāṣi*[1] [1–1] *ga*[. . .] (m)
189 *taltamdī mārat Anu akal dimmati u bikīti*
190 *taltanattî dāmī našpūti ša amēlūti*
191 [1]*šīra ša lā akāli eṣemta ša lā karāṣi*[1] [1–1]om. (m)
192 *lišaddīki Anu abuki*
193 *lišaddīki Antu ummaki*
194 *usḫī sikkātīki qubbirī qêki*
195 *kīma serrem ṣēri šadâki rukbī*[1] [1]*rupdī* (m)
196 *liddinki mašmaššu āšipu Asalluḫi*
197 *mulṭâ duditta pilaqqa šidda u kirissa*
198 *ana pan*[1] *nammaššê ša*[2] *ṣēri panīki šuknī* [1,2]om. (m)
199 *lū paššāti šaman miḫri*
200 *lū šaknāti šēnī ša dūr dāri*
201 *lū našâti nāda ša*[1] *ṣummêki* [1]*ana* (m)
202 *liddinki sirašû munda buqla bappira patīḫāti limellīki*
203 *narṭaba ana laḫāmi liddinki*
204 *utammīki* [1]*Anu abaki Antu ummaki*[1] [1–1]*mārat Anu* [*An*]*u* [. . .] (m)
205 KIMIN *Enlil Ninlil Ea* [*u Damkina*]
206 KIMIN *Šazu apkal* [. . . . .]
207 KIMIN *Lugalab*[*zu* . . . . .]
208 KIMIN *Usmû Ḫ*[*asīsu* . . . . .]
209 KIMIN *Ištar* [. . . . .]
210 KIMIN *xx*[- . . . . . *rā*]*kib*[?] *ṣīrūti*[?]

169 [. . . . .] for the people she has left behind mourning.
170 Like [. . . . .] her [. . . . .] keeps [fo]llowing *him*.
171 Like [. . . . . she has cau]sed *him* to [d]rop [. . . . .].
172 Like . . . [. . . . .] she left *his* [. . . . .]. . . behind.
173 Like . . . [. . . . .] she *smashed him* seven times.
174 In the street [. . . . . *she re*]*turns*,
175 In the corners [*of* . . . . . she alway]s sits around.
176 She is mighty, [she is] *wild*, [. . . . . -]s (pl.).
177 The complete silence of midday *is n*[*ot*? . . . . .]
178 The [ra]diance of the sun's glow [. . . . .] her body.
179 By standing up to a lion, she sextu[ples] her (own) frightful splendor.
180 By standing up to a wolf, she [*imposes on him*] *whimpering*.
181 By crossing a river, she ma[kes] its water murky.
182 By travelling a road, she makes it impassable.
183 By leaning against a wall, she smeares (it) with mud.
184 By leaning against a tamarisk, she scatters its twigs.
185 By leaning against a date palm, she strips off its fresh dates.
186 By leaning against an oak and a mountain terebinth, she causes shrivelling.
187 She keeps drinking *blown*? blood of humans,
188 (eats) flesh not fit for eating, (*cracks*) bone(s) not meant for *cracking*.
189 Have you got used, O Daughter-of-Anu, to food of wailing and weeping (so much that)
190 you keep drinking *blown*? blood of humans?
191 (This) flesh not fit for eating, the bone(s) not meant for *cracking*
192 may Anu, your father, cause you to drop,
193 may Antu, your mother, cause you to drop!
194 Pull out you (tent) pegs, roll up your lines!
195 Like a wild onager ride (*to*?) your mountain!
196 May the magician, the exorcist Asalluḫi give to you
197 a comb, a fibula, a distaff, a rug and a pin.
198 Head off toward the animals of the wilderness!
199 May you be anointed with oil *befitting (your) status*,
200 may you be shod with everlasting shoes,
201 may you be carrying a waterskin for your thirst.
202 May (the brewer) Siraš give you groats, fill bags for you with malt (and) brew-mix,
203 may he give you beerwort for brewing.
204 I herewith conjure you by Anu, your father, by Antu, your mother;
205 ditto, by Enlil (and) Ninlil, Ea [and Damkina];
206 ditto, by Šazu, the wise(st) one [of . . . . .];
207 ditto, by Lugalab[zu . . . . .];
208 ditto, by Usmû, Ḫa[sīsu . . . . .];
209 ditto, by Ištar, [. . . . .];
210 ditto, by x[x . . . . . who *ri*]*des*? *on majesty*;

211 K[IMIN . . . . *u*] *māḫāza*
212 [KIMIN . . . . *nār*]*āti*[?] *u tâmāti*
213 [*ušeṣṣīki*[?] *mārat*] *Anu ina zumur bīti annî*
214 [*ana lā târiki lā ṭeḫêk*]*i ana lā qerēbiki*[1] *lā sanāqiki* [1]*qebēriki* (*Sd*)
215 *n*[*asḫāti*] *šūṣâti ṭardāti u kuššudāti*
216 [*duppurāt*]*i lū tattalkī*
217 [. . .] xx [. . . . . *n*]*a mun*-zi.zi
218 u [d]As[al.lú.ḫ]i ugu-*ra* diĝir til-*a* TU_6 ÉN

Ug: I [1′] [. . . . . *iman*]*nu* (~ 117)
[2′] [. . . . . *it*]*tanallak* (~ 118)
[3′] [. . . . . -]*kina lušēniq* (~ 121)
[4′] [. . . . . -]*kina luttarru* (~ 122)
[5′] *šizba*[?] *ša mūti ruKKukā irtāša*
(~ 144)
[6′] *ana petî irrub* (~ 132)
[7′] *edla iḫallup*[*a ṣ*]*errāniš* (~ 133)
[8′] [. . . . . *ṣuḫār*]*a*(*m*)[?] (~ 134[?])
[9′] [. . . . . *iptašš*]*aš*[?] (~ 135[?])
II [1′] [. . . . . -]*xx* (~ 176[?])
[2′] [. . . . . *šuḫ*]*arrat*[?] (~ 177[?])
[3′] [. . . . . *ušb*]*alakkat*[?] (~ 178[?])
[4′] [. . . . *nēš*]*a melammaša ulteddiša* (~ 179)
[5′] [. . . .] *barbara laḫāba īmid*[?] (~ 180)
[6′] [*ībi*]*r nāra idallaḫ mêša* (~ 181)
[7′] [*īb*]*ir bīna ittabak urâša* (~ 184)
[8′] [*īb*]*ir ṣarbata ḫasḫallassa ittapṣa* (~ 185)
[9′] [*īmid*[?] *a*]*llān*(*a*) *buṭutta ḫamadīrūta ultālak* (~ 186)
[10′] *talta*[*natt*]*î d*[*ām*] *awīlūti* [*na*]*šbūti* (~ 190)
[11′] *šīra ša lā* [*akāl*]*i* [12′]*eṣemta* [*ša lā* . . . . .] (~ 191)
[13′] *usḫī si*[*kkātīki*[?] *qub*]*birī* [*q*]*âki*[?] (~ 194)
[14′] *kīma serremi i*[*na*[?] *ṣēr*]*iki šad*[*âki*] *rupdī* (~ 195)
[15′] *līmurki E*[*a maš*]*maššu* (~ 196)
[16′] *qēma munda buqla bappira* [17′]*patīḫata luddinku* (~ 202)
[18′] *utammīki mārat Anu* [19′]*Anu u Antu* (~ 204)
[20′] *Enlil u Ninlil* [21′]*Ea u Damgalnuna* (~ 205)
[22′] *Marduk u Ṣarpānītu* (~ 206[?])
[23′] *Ma*[?] *u Amazakanuta* (~ 210[?])
[24′] *Bēlet-ilī bēlet šurbûti* (?)
[25′] [*Ištar*[?] *kab*]*tat*[?] *ilī qaritta* (~ 209[?])
[26′] [*nasḫ*]*āti ṭardāti* (~ 215)
[27′] [. . . . . -*āt*]*i d*[*upp*]*urāti* (~ 216)
[28′] [zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫ*]*e*-pà [29′][TU_6 ÉN É.NU.R]U (-)

Rub. 5

219 KA.INIM.MA [d]DÌM.ME.KE$_4$

211 d[itto, by and] sanctuary;
212 [ditto, by , ri]vers and seas.
213 [*I herewith drive you,* Daughter-of]-Anu, out of this house.
214 [So that yo]u [cannot return, nor come close], cannot come near, nor approach,
215 [you are] r[emoved], dispelled, sent away and chased away!
216 [Yo]u a[re expelled]—you have to go away!
217 [ ] *has risen,*
218 *and* As[alluḫ]i . . . . . *the god of life.* MAGIC FORMULA

Ug: I	1′	[. . . . . she cou]nts,	(~ 117)
	2′	[. . . . . she ke]eps following, (saying:)	(~ 118)
	3′	[. . . . .] your [*sons*], I want to suckle (them).	(~ 121)
	4′	[. . . . .] your [*daughters*], let me be (their) nanny.	(~ 122)
	5′	In [*mi*]*lk* of death her bust is bathed[!].	(~ 144)
	6′	What is open, she enters,	(~ 132)
	7′	into what is locked, she slips by the door pivot.	(~ 133)
	8′	[. . . . . *the bo*]y[?].	(~ 134[?])
	9′	[. . . . . *she smea*]*rs*[?]	(~ 135[?])
II	1′	[. . . . . -]*s* (pl.)	(~ 176[?])
	2′	[. . . . . *compl*]*ete silence (of*[?]*)*	(~ 177[?])
	3′	[. . . . .]	(~ 178[?])
	4′	[By *standing up to* a lio]n, she sextuples her (own) frightful splendor.	(~ 179)
	5′	[By *standing up to*] a wolf, she imposes (on him) whimpereing.	(~ 180)
	6′	[By cros]sing a river, she makes its water murky.	(~ 181)
	7′	[By *lea*]*ning*[?] *on* a tamarisk, she scatters its twig(s).	(~ 184)
	8′	[By *lea*]*ning*[?] *on* a *poplar*, she strips off its leaves.	(~ 185)
	9′	[By *leaning*[?] *on* an o]ak (or) a terebinth, she causes shrivelling.	(~ 186)
	10′	You have got u[sed] to human "[*bl*]*own*" b[lood],	(~ 190)
	11′–12′	flesh not meant for [eati]ng, bone(s) [not meant for . . . . .].	(~ 191)
	13′	Pull out [your] p[egs, ro]ll up your [li]ne[?]!	(~ 194)
	14′	Like an onager [*in*] your [*wildern*]*ess* roam [your] mountain!	(~ 195)
	15′	May E[a, the mag]ician, see you!	(~ 196)
	16′–17′	Let *me*[?] give you flour, groats, malt, brew-mix, (and) a bag.	(~ 202)
	18′–19′	I have put you, Daughter-of-Anu, under oath by Anu and Antu,	(~ 204)
	20′–21′	by Enlil and *Ninlil*, Ea and Damgalnuna,	(~ 205)
	22′	by Marduk and Ṣarpānītu,	(~ 206[?])
	23′	by Ma[?] and Amazakanuta,	(~ 210[?])
	24′	by Bēlet-ilī, the lady of greatness,	(?)
	25′	[by Ištar[?], the most po]werful one of the gods, the heroic woman.	(~ 209[?])
	26′–27′	You are [remov]ed, are sent away, are [. . . . . -e]d, are e[xpe]lled!	(~ 215–16)
	28′	[By the life of Heaven be conjured, by the life of Earth b]e conjured!	
	29′	[MAGIC FORMU]LA	(–)

Rub. 5

219 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Rit. 5

220	[1]DÙ.DÙ.BI *ṣalam*[1] *mārat Anu ša ṭīd palgi teppuš*	[1–1]KÌD.KÌD.BI (m)
221	*imēra ša ṭīd palgi teppuš ṣudê tuṣaddīšu*	
222	*14 akal qēm šegušši ṣeḫḫerūti*[?] *ina pitilti tašakkak*	
223	*ina kišādiša tašakkan* [1]*baḫra tatabbakši*[1]	[1]*buḫra tatabbak* (m)
224	*mê u šikarī tanaqqīši kurkizanna tanakkis*	
225	*libba ina*[1] *pī mārat Anu tašakkan*	[1]*ana* (m)
226	[1]*šalāšat ūmī*[1] *šalāšīšu šipta kal ūmi ana paniša tamannu*	[1–1]om. (m)
227	*ina šalši ūmi ina qiddat ūmi ana ṣēri tušeṣṣēši-ma*	
228	*panīša ana ereb šamši* [*tašakkan*] *ina* [. . .] *zisurrâ*	
229	*ša qēm še*[*guš*]*ši ina p*[*aniša teṣṣi*]*r*	
230	*i*[*tti bal*]*ti ašāgi tara*[*kkassi*]	
231	[. . . . .] *xxx* [. . . . .]	
232	*šip*[*ta . . . . .]*	

(probably nothing missing, although the final dividing line is not preserved in any exemplar)

(For colophons, see p. 25)

Rit. 5

220 ITS RITUAL: You make a figurine of the Daughter-of-Anu using clay from a ditch.
221 You make a donkey with clay from a ditch, supply him with provisions.
222 Fourteen tiny breads made of *šeguššu*-flour you string onto a twine of palm fiber,
223 place it around her (i.e., the figurine's) neck. You serve her a hot meal.
224 You pour her water and beer. You slaughter a piglet,
225 place the heart in the mouth of the Daughter-of-Anu.
226 For three days, three times, all day long, you recite the incantation before her.
227 On the third day, toward evening, you take her out into the wilderness and
228 [turn] her face toward sunset. At *xx*[*xx*, you dra]w a magic circle
229 of *še*[*guš*]*šu*-flour in fr[ont of her].
230 You t[ie her] t[o a *bal*]*tu* (and/or) an *ašāgu* thorn bush.
231 [. . . . .] *xx* [. . . . .]
232 The inca[ntation . . . . .]

(probably nothing missing, although the final dividing line is not preserved in any exemplar)

(For colophons, see p. 25)

Lam. II (= 2. *pirsu*)

Inc. 6

1	ÉN *anamdi šipta lazzu*[1] *milikki*	[1]*lāz* (*Ec*), *lazzi* (D_2)
2	*ul išši qātēki*[1] *Ebiḫ šadû dannu*	[1]*qātka* (*Ea*)
3	*E'ulmaš qašdu* [1–1] *šubat ilī rabûti*	[1–1]+ *ell*[*u*] (*Ec*)
4	*addīki*[1] *šipta ša tanīḫi*	[1]*attadīki*(*b*[?], *Ea*, *Eb*, *Ec*)
5	*ina qibīti ša šulmi puṭrī atla*[*kī*]	
6	*lā maṣītu ša libbiša*[1] *attī*	[1]*-ka* (*Ea*)
7	*gallûki*[1] *āšipu Asalluḫi*	[1]*gallāki* (*b*)
8	*unakkar imatki inassaḫ qātēki*	
9	*ina zumur šerri mār ilišu annî*	
10	*uḫallaq*[1] *umma*[2] *kuṣṣa ḫalpâ šurīpa* [3–3]	[1][*uḫa*]*lliq* (*Eb*) [2]*murṣa* (*Ec*) [3–3]+ *u šalgu* (*Ea*)
11	*lām*[1] *utammûki*[2] *šipir lemutti*	[1]*la/ā* (*Ea*, *Eb*) [2]*utammīki*(*b*, *Ea*, *Eb*)
12	*šipir* [1]*urî*[1] *ulāp aštammi*	[1–1]*burê* (*b*), *ruḫê rusê* (*Eb*)
13	*lupputu*[1] [2]*šaman šahî ikkibki ṣabtī*[2]	[1]*lupput pî* (*b*, *Ea*, *Eb*) [2–2]om.[?] (*Eb*)
14	*tablīšunūti šūṣīšunūti*	
15	*ilī lemnūti rābiṣī lemnūti*	
16	*šūt* [1]*paniki*[1] *ša ina paniki*[2] *u arkiki illakū*	[1–1]*ittiki* (*Eb*) [2][. . .]*šu* (*Eb*)
17	*kīma nalši ša kakkabī kīma zaqīqi ša apāti*	
18	*kīma šikkê lā taḫallupī*[1] *ṣerrāniš*	[1]*ītellu* (*Eb*)
19	[1]*lā tattanablakkatī*[1] *ḫaṣ*(*a*)*b*(*-*)*ūrāti*	[1–1]*ittatnablakkakat* (*Eb*)
20	*ušarkabki*[1] *šār erbetti*	[1]*ušarkibki* (*b*)
21	*umalla*[1] *eleppaki simmanâ aṭarradki kâši*	[1]*umalli* (*b*)
22	*eppēš*(*u*)[1] *Adapa apkal*[2] *Eridu*	[1]*ēpiški* (*c*, *Ea*) [2]*apkallu ša* (*c*)
23	*dāgilki ina Eridu*	*inaṭṭalki kâši*
24	*unakkar imatki inassaḫ qātīki*	
25	*ina zumur šerri mār ilišu annî*	
26	*puṭrī atlakī* TU_6[1] ÉN	[1]TE (*b*)

Ug: III [15′] ÉN.É.NU.RU [16′] *anamdi šipta lazzu milikka* (~ 1)
[17′] *ul išši qā*[*t-* . . . . . *ša*]*dû* [*dan*]*nu* (~ 2)
[18′] *Ulmaš qaš*[*du* . . . . .] (~ 3)
[19′] *attadīki* [. . . . .] (~ 4)
[20′] *qibīt*(*u*) *ša* [. . . . .] [21′] *puṭrī at*[*lakī*] → (~ 5)
[. . . . .] *š*[*a* . . . . .] (~ 6)
[22′] *gallûki āšip*[*u* . . . . .] (~ 7)
[23′] *unakkar amat*[*ki* . . . . .] (~ 8)
[24′] *ina zumur šer*[*ri* . . . . .] (~ 9)
[25′] *uḫallaq mur*[*ṣa* . . . . .] (~ 10)
[26′] *lā utammûki š*[*ipir* . . . . .] (~ 11)
[27′] *šipur*[?] *būrê*[?] [. . . . .] [28′] *ulāp*(*-*)*ust*[*ammi*[?]*-* . . . . .[?]] (~ 12)

Lam. II (= 2. *pirsu*)

Inc. 6

1 SPELL: I am casting a spell (*against*?) your persistent(*ly destructive*) counsel:
2 (*Even*) Ebiḫ, the strong mountain, was unable to remove (*the impact of*) your hands,
3 (*as was*) pure E'ulmaš, the residence of the great gods.
4 I have cast against you a *tranquilizing* spell:
5 by (this) command for well-being, be off, be g[one]!
6 You are not *one who can do whatever she pleases*.
7 Your demonic adversary, the magician Asalluḫi,
8 will render your venom ineffective, will pull away your hands (:)
9 from the body of this baby who is under the tutelage of his god (:)
10 he will make disappear fever, cold, frost (and) ice.
11 *Before I* will conjure you *on account of the evil deed,*
12 *the work of* a . . . . . , a cloth *from* a bar,
13 *soiled,* (and) pig's lard, get hold of (all these) abominable thing(s) of yours!
14 Take them away, bring them out of here,
15 the evil gods, the evil agents,
16 the ones who belong with you, who march in front of you and behind you.
17 Like dew of the stars, like a spectre of the windows,
18 like a mongoose do not slither in by the door pivot,
19 do not climb over the sherds on the roofs!
20 I will make you ride on the four winds,
21 will fill your boat with travel provisions, will send you, yes: you, off.
22 Clever Adapa, the sage of Eridu,
23 who can see you, in Eridu will have a close look at you, yes: at you.
24 He will render your venom ineffective, will pull away your hands (:)
25 from the body of this baby who is under the tutelage of his god (:)
26 be off, be gone! MAGIC FORMULA

Ug: III 15′ SPELL: 16′ I will cast a spell (*against*?) your persistent(*ly destructive*) counsel. (~ 1)
17′ Unable to remove (*the impact of*) [your] han[ds] was [. . . . . , the str]ong [mount]ain. (~ 2)
18′ (as was) pu[re] E'ulmaš, [. . . . .]. (~ 3)
19′ I have cast against you [. . . . .] (~ 4)
20′ (*by the*?) command of [. . . . .], 21′ be off, be g[one]! (~ 5)
[. . . . .] w[ho . . . . .]. (~ 6)
22′ Your demonic adversary, the magi[cian . . . . .] (~ 7)
23′ will render [your] *venom*? ineffective, [. . . . .]. (~ 8)
24′ From the body of [this] ba[by . . . . .] (~ 9)
25′ he will make disappear illn[ess, ...]. (~ 10)
26′ *Before I* will conjure you *for the* [. . .] *d*[*eed*], (~ 11)
27′–28′ the *work*? *of a pit*? [. . . . .], *a* cloth *from a b*[*ar*?. . . . .], (~ 12)

29′ *šaman šaḫî ikki*[*bki* . . . . .] (~ 13)
30′ *tablīš*[*unūti*] 31′ *šūṣīš*[*unūti*] (~ 14)
32′ *ilī le*[*mnūti*] 33′ *rābiṣī le*[*mnūti*] (~ 15)
34′ *šūt qātī*[*ki* . . . . .] (~ 16)
35′ *kīma našši* [. . . . .] 36′ *kīma zaq*[*īqi* . . . . .] (~ 17)

Rub. 6

27 KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KE$_4$[1] [1].KÁM (*b*), .A.KE$_4$ (*c*)

Rit. 6a

28 DÙ.DÙ.BI[1] *mašak imēri kurra ša aškāpi* [1]KÌD.KÌD.BI (*a*, *c*)
29 *ulāpa lupputa ziqqatâ*[?]
30 [1–1] *šaman šaḫî peṣî ištēniš*[2] *tuballal tapaššassu-ma inêš* [1–1]+*ina* (*c*) [2]om. (*a*)

Rit. 6b

31 *qēma lā napâ qilip šusikilli ina pēnti tuqattaršu*
32 *qulēpti ṣerri zēr kitê ina pēnti tuqattaršu*
33 *kibrīt*(*a*) *saḫlê*[1] *mušāṭī ina pēnti tuqattaršu* [1]om. (*a*)

29′ pig's lard, (all) the abominable thi[ng(s) of yours . . . . .]. (~ 13)
30′–31′ Take t[hem] away, bring t[hem] out of here, (~ 14)
32′–33′ the e[vil] gods, the e[vil] agents, (~ 15)
34′ the ones who belong [to you, ...]. (~ 16)
35′–36′ Like dew [. . . . .], like a spec[tre . . . . .] (~ 17)

Rub. 6

27 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Rit. 6a

28 ITS RITUAL: (A piece of) donkey's hide, fuller's paste,
29 a soiled cloth, *ziqqatû*-fish,
30 lard from a white pig— you mix all into one, rub him, and he will be well.

Rit. 6b

31 With unsifted flour (and) peel of *šusikillu* onions on embers you fumigate him.
32 With snake skin (and) linseed on embers you fumigate him.
33 With sulphur, cress (and) hair combings on embers you fumigate him.

Inc. 7

34 ÉN *ezzet mārat Anu mu(ʾa)mmilat laʾûti*
35 *ezzet* [1–1] *ilat namurrat* [2]*ištu k*[*ullat ša*]*dî ūridam-ma*[2] [1–1]+ *ul* (*Ea*) [2–2]*ištu api ilâm-ma ezēzi ezzet* (Ah)
36 *šinni imēri šinnāša pan nēši dapini panūša šaknū*
37 *kīma nimri tukkupā kalâtūša*
38 *kīma kalê lēssa arqat*
39 *īmuršī-ma Asalluḫi* [1]*mārat Anu ša šamê*[1] [1]*mārāt* [. . .] (*Ea*)
40 *ina šiptišu ša nēmeqi širʾānīša ušālika lillûta*
41 *atlakī ana šadî ša tarammī*[1] [1]*tarammu* (*Ea*), *tarâm* (Ah)
42 *ṣabtī ajjālī u*[1] *turāḫī* [1]om. (*Ea*)
43 *ummāt laʾî kališina ṣabtī*
44 *eppušakki makurra šaḫḫūta ušellēki ina*[1] *libbi* [1]*ana* (B, *Ea*)
45 *ušelle ittiki erbet kalbī šina peṣûti šina ṣalmūti*
46 *ušebberki Ulâ ajabba tâmata rapašta*
47 *itti* [1]*bīni aḫî u*[1] *kušāri ēdi šēpēki arakkas* [1–1]om. (C_2, Ah)
48 *zisurrâ alammīki tummâti lū tamâti*
49 *utammīki I/ita abulla M/mīšara u*[1] *ribīta* [1]om. (C_2)
50 [*uta*]*mmīki*[1] *Šarʾur kakka danna ša rēš bēl mātāti* [1]om. (Ah)
51 *utammīki lū tamâti*
52 *ē taṭḫî*[1] *ana dalti ša sikkūrša M/mīšarum-ma* [1]*taṭḫî-ma* (*Ea*)
52a [1]*šukûša Anu*[1] [1–1]om.[?] (B)
53 *maṣṣar bābiša Papsukkal ša tamûšu lā iturra*[1] [1]*i*-BUR_{tu}-*ra* (B)
54 *utammīki nīš libbi kubbuti u*[1] *qaqqadi ṣalmi* [1]om. (C_2)
55 *nīš būri u ḫirīti nīš tubkinnati*[1] *u ep*(*e*)*rīša* [1]*tubkinnu* (*n*), *tubkindu* (*Ea*)
56 [1]*nīš lubārī ša urrušti nīš ḫarrān*(*i*) *u ālikīša*[1] [1–1]inverse order (*Ea*)
57 ḫul.dúb zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫe*-pà
58 zi diĝir.gal.gal-*eneke ḫe*-pà [1]zi diĝir an.ki-*a ḫe*-pà[1] [1–1]zi an.ki-*a* an-*a* mú-*a ḫe*-pà zi an-*a* mú-*a* an.ki-*a ḫe*-pà (*Ea*)
59 zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫe*-pà [1–1] [1–1]+ eme ḫul.ĝ[ál] bar-še *ḫemta*-gub (*Ea*)

Rub. 7

60 KA.INIM.MA [d]DÌM.ME.KE_4

Rit. 7

61 [DÙ.DÙ.BI *eper bāb*] *e*[*ka*]*lli e*[*p*]*er bāb bīt Ištar*
62 *eper bāb bīt Ninurta* [*eper bāb aštammi*]

Inc. 7

34 SPELL: Fierce is the Daughter-of-Anu, who wreaks havoc among the babies.
35 She is fierce, (of) divine (power), terrifying. From the high[est mount]ains she came down, with
36 teeth (like) donkey's teeth, a face (like) the face of a mighty lion.
37 The small of her back is speckled like a leopard,
38 her cheek is yellowish pale like ochre.
39 When Asalluḫi saw her, the daughter of Anu from heaven,
40 he made fade away all her strength, using an ingenious spell of his own:
41 Be gone to the mountain which you love,
42 take deer and ibexes—
43 take all the mothers of (their) young!
44 I will make for you a canvas boat, will let you board it.
45 I will let get on board with you four dogs, two white (and) two black.
46 I will make you sail over the Ulâ river, the ocean, the wide sea.
47 I will bind your feet to a free-standing tamarisk and a lone reed stalk.
48 I will surround you with a magic circle of flour. You are conjured! May you be bound by the spell!
49 I have conjured you by ordeal river, city gate, justice and main square.
50 I have conjured you by the Šar'ur, the powerful weapon, the attendant of the Lord-of-the-Lands.'
51 I have conjured you— may you be bound by the spell!
52+a Do not approach the door whose bolt is Justice, whose door post is Anu,
53 whose gate guard is Papsukkal, of whom (it is known that) one bound by his spell will not return.
54 I have conjured you by the *respected* power of the heart and the "black head,"
55 by the power of the well and the ditch, by that of the garbage pile and its dirt,
56 by the power of the clothing of an unclean woman, by that of the road and those who travel it.
57 *Evil one*! By the power of Heaven be conjured, by the power of Earth be conjured!
58 By the power of the great gods be conjured! By the power of the gods of heaven and earth be conjured!
59 By the power of Heaven be conjured, by the power of Earth be conjured!

Rub. 7

60 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Rit. 7

61 [ITS RITUAL: Dust from the] p[al]ace [gate], dust from the gate of the Ištar temple,
62 dust from the gate of the Ninurta temple, [dust from the door of an *aštammu*-bar],

63 [*eper b*]*āb bīt sābî eper bāb bīt nuḫ*[*atimmi*]
64 [*eper sūq erbetti ina*ʾ *urṣi*ʾ *ištēniš tasâk*]
65 *itti ṭīd palgi tuballal-ma ṭuppa u kalbī tep*[*puš*]
66 [*ina muḫḫi ṭuppi šamšata uska*]*ra gamla kakkabta teṣṣir*
67 ÉN [*ezzet mā*]*rat Anu ina muḫḫi tašaṭṭar*
68 *ina r*[*ēš erši t*]*allal kalbī*
69 *ina gaṣṣi upillê tubarr*[*am*]
70 *šārat kalb*[*i ṣalmi*] *ina abbuttišunu*
71 *šārat unīqi* [*lā*] *petīti ina zibbātīšunu tašakkan*
72 *šumīšunu ina naglab šumēlišunu tašaṭṭar*
73 *apāt imni u šumēli ša bābi kamî*
74 *ša bābi bītānî* [*u*ʾ *ša bāb bīt erši tepette*]
75 *ina šaplim-ma*ʾ *pīta ša*[1] *ana tarṣi bā*[*bi tep*]*et*[*te Šaruḫ-tibušu*] [1]om. (B)
76 *Uṣur-mūša-ṭu*[*rud-Mārat-Anu*]
77 *ina libbi apāti* [*ša bā*]*bi k*[*amî tušeššeb*]
78 *Urruḫ-*[*tibušu*] *Ana-maṣṣar*[*tika-lā-teggi*]
79 *ina libbi apāt*[*i ša b*]*ābi bītān*[*î tušeššeb*]
80 *Ē-tamtal*(*l*)*ik-e*[*puš*]*-pīka Sikip-lemna* (*-*)[. . . . .]
81 *ina libbi ap*[*āti ša*] *bāb bīt erši* [*tušeššeb*]
82 *Sî*[*n*]*-r*[*ēʾi-ka*]*lbī ina li*[*bbi pīt*]*i*ʾ
83 [*ša ana tarṣ*]*i bābi tu*[*šeš*]*šeb*

Rit. 7*

(Alternative version from *ṭuppu* recension:)

61* DÙ.DÙ.BI *ṭuppa tašaṭṭar uskara šamša*[*ta kakkabt*]*a gamla*
62* *ina muḫḫi teṣṣir ina rēš e*[*rši t*]*alla*[*l*]
63* *Šaruḫ-tibušu Uṣur-mūša-ṭurud-*[*Mārat-Anu*]
64* *šina kalbū ša bābi* [*kamî*]
65* *Urruḫ-tibušu Ana-maṣṣa*[*rtika-lā-te*]*ggi*
66* *šina kalbū* [*ša bābi bītānî*]
67* *Ē-tamtalik-epuš-p*[*īka Sikip-lemna* . . . . .]
68* *šina kalbū* [*ša bāb bīt erši*]
69* *Sîn-rēʾi-kalbī kalbu ša apti*
69*a[1] [. . . . . *t*]*ušeššeb*ʾ [1]line in m only
70* *eper bāb ekalli eper b*[*āb bīt I*]*štar*
71* *ep*[*er b*]*āb aštammi eper* [*bāb bīt Ninu*]*rta*

63 [dust] from the door of a brew-pub, dust from the door of a bak[ery],
64 [dust from a street crossing you crush together *using a mortar*?],
65 mix it with clay from a canal, and fo[rm] a tablet and dogs.
66 [On the tablet], you draw [a sun disc, a moon cr]escent, a *crook* (and) a star.
67 You write the incantation ["Fierce is the Dau]ghter-of-Anu" on it.
68 [You] hang it up at the he[ad of the bed]. The dogs
69 you paint in different colors, using gypsum and charcoal.
70 Hair from a [black] dog (you attach) to their upper foreheads,
71 hair from a [vi]rgin kid you attach to their tails.
72 You write their names on the left sides of their backs.
73 Windows to the right and left of the outer door,
74 of the inner door [*and* of the door to the bedroom you open].
75 *Lower down*, [you o]p[en] a *hole* facing the do[or. (The dogs) "*Fast*-is-his-attack,"]
76 (and) "Watch-(all)-night, fend-off-the-Daughter-of-Anu!"
77 [you let sit] in the windows [of the] ou[ter do]or.
78 "Very-swift-is-[his-attack]" and "[Don't-be-negligent]-in-[your]-watchful[ness]"
79 [you let sit] in the windows [of] the inner door.
80 "Without-hesitation-use-your-muzzle!" (and) "Overthrow-the-wicked-one!" [. . . . .]
81 [you let sit] in the win[dows of] the bedroom door.
82 "Sîn-is-the-he[rdsman-of-the-d]ogs" you le[t s]it in [the *hol*]*e*
83 [facing] the door.

Rit. 7*

(Alternative version from *ṭuppu* recension:)

61* ITS RITUAL: You write (the incantation on) a tablet. A moon crescent, a sun dis[c, a star] (and) a *crook*
62* you draw on (it), hang it up at the head of the b[ed].
63* (The dogs named) "*Fast*-is-his-attack," (and) "Watch-(all)-night, fend-off-[the-Daughter-of-Anu!]"
64* are the two dogs of the [outer] door.
65* "Very-swift-is-his-attack" and "[Don't-be-ne]gligent-in-[your]-watchful[ness]"
66* are the two dogs [of the inner door].
67* "*Bi*[*te*]-without-hesitation!" [(and) "Overthrow-the-wicked-one!" . . . ? . . .]
68* are the two dogs [of the bedroom door].
69* "Sîn-is-the-herdsman-of-the-dogs" is the dog of the window.
69*a (text m only:) [You] set [*him/them* . . . . .].
70* Dust from the palace gate, dust from the g[ate of the I]štar [temple],
71* du[st from the d]oor of an *aštammu*-bar, dust [from the gate of the Ninu]rta [temple],

72* *eper bāb bīt sābî* [*eper bāb bīt*] *nuḫatimmi*
73* *eper sūq erbetti ina*ʾ *ur*[*ṣi*ʾ *ištēni*]*š tasâk*
74* *itti ṭīd palgi tuballal* [*7 kalbī teppuš*]
75* *ina gaṣṣi upillê* [*tubarram*]
76* *šārat kalbi ṣalmi* [*ina abbutt*]*i*[*šun*]*u*ʾ
77* *šārat unīqi* [*lā petīti ina zibbātīšun*]*u* [*tašakkan*]
78* *šumšunu ina n*[*aglab šumēlišunu*] *taša*[*ṭṭar*]

Inc. 8

84 ÉN *ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat*
85 *ultu*[1] *api īlâm-ma ezēzu ezzet* [1]*ištu* (*c*)
86 *šārassa kippātu pūssa abnu*
87 *illakū ina paniša urû u šaḫû* [1]*imaqqutʾ lākûšaʾ* [1] [1–1]om.ʾ (*a*, *b*)
88 *bītāt ḫaršāti ītenerrub*
89 *ina rēš ālidāti ittanazzaz*
90 *bil*(*l*)*āni mārīkina lušēniq*
91 *ina*[1] *pī mārātīkina tulâ luštakkan* [1]*ana* (*b*)
92 [1]*illik mārat Anu*[1] *ana pan Enlil abiša ibakki* [1–1]*illik-ma* (*a*, *b*, *c*)
93 *ša errišuka bil*(*l*)*a abī*[1] *Enlil* [1]*abu* (*b*), *abuʾa* (B), *abūtu* (M)
94 *šīr amēlūt*(*t*)*i lā ṭāba*[1] [1]*ṭābāti* (M)
95 *dāmī amēlūti našpūti*
96 *aššu attī annâ tērišinni*[1] [1]*terrišinni* (B, *b*)
97 *ša kurbannī līpušū bītki*
98 *lībil*(*l*)*akki kallatu ṣeḫirtu*
99 *mulṭâ šebirta pilaqqa šebra*
100 *ummārī baḫrūti ša ina gurāri bašlū*
101 *nīš Anu u Antu nīš Enlil u Ninlil*
102 *nīš abulli u nērebīša*
103 *nīš kakki ḫarbi* [1–1] *epin zēri* [1–1]+ *u*ʾ (M)
104 *ēziba u mārašu utammīki*
105 *šumma ana bīti annî taturrīm-ma*[1] [1]+ *ana šerri annî tasanniqī*[*m-ma*] (*b*)
106 *ina kussî uššabu tuššabī*
107 *šerra ša ana ḫabūnija anaššû ana ḫabūniki tanaššî*
108 *Ištar pī kalbīki ṣabtī*
109 *Nanâ ṣubbitī pī mīrānīki*[1] [1]*mūrānīki* (B, C_2, D_2)
110 *ṣallu ina majjāli kalīssu aj īni*
111 *adi inappaḫu Šamaš pāširšu*[1] TU_6[2] ÉN [1]*-ka* (Sb) [2]TE (*a*, *b*, Sb)

Rub. 8

112 KA.INIM.MA [d]DÌM.ME.KE_4

72* dust from the door of a brew-pub, [dust from the door of a] bake[ry],
73* (and) dust from a street crossing you crush [together] *using a mor*[*tar*?],
74* mix it with clay from a canal, [(and) form seven dogs].
75* [You paint (them) in different colors], using gypsum and charcoal.
76* (You attach) hair from a black dog [to thei]r [upper forehea]ds,
77* (and) hair from a [virgin] kid [you attach to the]ir [tails].
78* Their name(s) you wr[ite on the] left sides of their] b[acks].

Inc. 8

84 SPELL: She is fierce, violent, (of) divine (power), terrifying.
85 She came up from the marshes raging wildly.
86 Her hair is *(hanging in)* loops, her forehead is *(hard as)* stone.
87 A *team of equids*? and a pig go in front of her, whoever she suckles drops *(dead*?*)*.
88 She makes a habit of entering the houses of pregnant women
89 (and) standing at the head of women giving birth (, saying:)
90 "Bring me your sons: I want to suckle (them)!
91 In the mouth of your daughters I want to place (my) breast."
92 The Daughter-of-Anu came weeping to her father Enlil (, saying):
93 "Bring me, my father Enlil, what I request from you:
94 human meat not good (for consumption),
95 *'blown'* human blood!"
96 (Enlil answered:) "Because it was you who you requested this from me,
97 may they build a house for you from clods.
98 May a young *bride-to-be*? bring you
99 a broken comb, a broken distaff, (and)
100 some hot broth cooked on *embers*."
101 By the power of Anu and Antu, of Enlil u Ninlil,
102 by the power of the city gate and its entrances,
103 by the power of the handle of a *ḫarbu*-plow (and) a seeder plow,
104 by the *abandoner* and his child I herewith conjure you!
105 (Woe be to you,) if you return to this house,
106 sit down on the chair I am sitting on,
107 cradle the baby which I am cradling!
108 O Ištar, prevent your dogs from barking!
109 O Nanâ, make sure your puppies do not bark!
110 The one sleeping in the bed should not toss around
111 until Šamaš, the one to relieve him, rises. MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 8

112 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Rit. 8

113 DÙ.DÙ.BI *sebet ṣirpāni teleqqe sappu imēri ša imitti*
114 *sappu atāni ša šumēli zappi bakkarrî*
115 *zappi šaḫî peṣî ḫallulāja ša ḫarrānāti*
116 *ṣulum pa(p)ḫalli imēri ša imitti*
117 *s[uggin kakki ḫ]arbi epin zēri teleqqe*
118 *šalāš kannāti takannan ina kišādišu tašakkan*

Rit. 8*

(Alternative version from *ṭuppu* recension:)

113* [DÙ.DÙ.BI *sebet ṣirpāni te]leqqe*
114* *sapp[u] imē[ri ša imitti sapp]u at[āni ša šumēli zap]pi*[?] *š[a]ḫî*
115* *sungin kakki ḫar[bi epin zēri ḫall]ulāja ša ḫarrānāti*
116* *teleqqe ṣulum pa(p)ḫalli [imēri ša imitti za]ppi bakkarrî*
117* *šalāš kannāti tak[anna]n ina kišādišu tašakkan*

Inc. 9

119 ÉN *ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat*
120 *ezzet barbarat ilat ḫabbātat*[1] [1]*ḫabbāl/šat* (*a*)
121 [1–1] *apu manzassa* [2–2] *sassatu rubussa* [1–1]+*ina* (*a*) [2–2]+*ina* (Sb)
121a *ištu api ilâm-ma e[zē]zu ezzet* (line in *a* only)
122 *kibsi alpi inašši kibsi immeri il[appa]t*[?]
123 *alpa ālika ikalla im[ēra] lāsima upakkar*
124 *eṭ[lūti*[?] *] qubburu uqabbar*
125 *ṣeḫrūti išaqqâ mê [pu]šqi*
126 *ēkiam*[1] *lūmurši-ma lu*D*peš kīma zappu ina [kalīt] šamê* [1]*ekâma* (*a*, *c*)
127 *šukun rubûtka Šamaš* TU$_6$[1] ÉN [1]TE (*a*)

Rub. 9

128 KA.INIM.MA [d]DÌM.ME.KÁM *c* om. line

Rit. 8

113 ITS RITUAL: You take seven (strands of) dyed wool. A bristle of a donkey('s hair) from the right side,
114 a bristle of a she-ass from the left side, a bristle of a young donkey,
115 a bristle of a white pig, a "road centipede,"
116 black (hair) from the right hind leg of a donkey,
117 a sp[linter from the handle of a *ḫ*]*arbu*-plough (and) a seeder plough you take.
118 You twist (all this) into three coils (and) place it around his neck.

Rit. 8*

(Alternative version from *ṭuppu* recension:)

113* [ITS RITUAL: You ta]ke [seven (strands of) dyed wool].
114* A bristle of a donk[ey('s hair) from the right side, a brist]le of a sh[e-ass from the left side, a bris]tle[?] of a pig,
115* a splinter from the handle of a *ḫar*[*bu*-plough (and) a seeder plough], (and) a 'road [cent]ipede'
116* you take, (also) black (hair) from the [right] hind leg [of a donkey, a bri]stle of a young donkey.
117* You tw[ist] (all this) into three coils (and) place it around his neck.

Inc. 9

119 SPELL: She is fierce, violent, (of) divine (power), terrifying.
120 She is fierce, a she-wolf, (of) divine (power), a robber.
121 Her abode is (in) the marshes, her lair is the grass.
121a (line in a only:) She came up from the marshes and is wildly raging.
122 She lifts up cattle *dung*, *pu*[*ts her han*]*ds* on sheep *dung*.
123 She holds back the ox as it moves around, she blocks the don[key] as it runs.
124 Yo[ung men[?]] she really sends to the grave,
125 the little ones she forces to drink "water of [*tigh*]*tness*."
126 Where can I set eyes upon her, so that I might . . . . . (*her*[?]) like a *bristle* at the [*kidney(s)*] of the sky?
127 Exert your rulership, O Šamaš! MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 9

128 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Inc. 10

129	ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu an-*a* mu pàd-*a* diğir-*eneke*	
129^{a1}	*Lam*[*ašt*]*u mārat Anu zak*[*irat*] *šumi ša ilī*	^{1}line in $Ed_{1–2}$ only
130	$^{1\ d}$In.nin nir.ğál^{1} nin-*eneke*	$^{1–1d}$i[n].in ir.ğ[ál] (*Sa*)
130^{a1}	*Innin etellet bēlēti*	^{1}line in $Ed_{1–2}$ only
131	^{1}šu *mun*-dù^{1} azag.gig-*a*	$^{1–1}$ su *mun*-da (*a*)
131^{a1}	*kā*[*m*]*û asakku marṣu*	^{1}line in $Ed_{1–2}$ only
132	u_{18}.lu dugud-*a* nam.lú.u_{18}.lu-*ke*	
132^{a1}	^{2}*alû kabtu*^{2} *ša a*[*mēl*]*ūti*	^{1}line in $Ed_{1–2}$ only; $^{2–2}$ *alê kabti* (Ed_{2})
133	^{d}Dìm.me *ib*-gul $^{1–1}$ lú-*ra namba*-te(ğ)-*ede*	$^{1–1}$+ ak-*a* (*a*)
133^{a1}	*Lamaštu šurbūtu ana amēli lā ṭeḫê*	^{1}line in $Ed_{1–2}$ only
134	zi an-*a ḫe*-pà zi ki-*a ḫe*-pà	
134^{a1}	*nīš* [*šam*]*ê lū tamât*(*i*) [*nīš erṣeti lū tamâti*]	^{1}line in Ed_{1} only

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Rub. 10

135	KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KE_{4}	*b* om. line

Inc. 11

136	ÉN *mārat Anu ša šamê anā*[*ku*]	
137	^{1}*sutâku nam/n/ggiṣṣāku namurrāku*^{1}	$^{1–1}$[-*ā*]*k di*ʾ*āk ni*ʾ*āk raḫḫiṣā*[*k xx*ʾ] (Ψ)
138	^{1}*bīta errub bīta uṣṣi*^{1}	$^{1–1}$*errub-ma uṣṣi* (*a*)
139	*bilāni mārīkina lušēniq*	
140	*ana pī mārātīkina tulâ*^{1} *luštakkan*	^{1} *tulûʾa* (Ψ)
141	*išmē-ma Anu*^{1} *ibakki*	^{1}*Ea*ʾ (Ψ)
142	*ša Arūru Bēlet-ilī illakā dimāša*	
143	*ammīni ša nibnû*^{1} *nuḫallaq*	^{1}*ibnû* (Ψ)
144	*u ša nušabšû ubbal*^{1} *šāru*	^{1}*nubbal* (Ψ)
145	*leqēši-ma ana*^{1} *tâmti ṣupur šadî*	^{1}*ina* (*a*)
146	*itti bīni* 1*aḫî*^{1} *u kušāri* ^{2}*ēdi*^{2} *rukussi-ma*	$^{1–1,\ 2–2}$B, *b* and Ψ in inverse order
147	*kīma mītu lā īšû balāṭa*	
148	*u kūbu lā īniqu šizib ummišu*	
149	*mārat Anu kīma qutri* $^{1–1}$	$^{1–1}$ *a* adds *l*[*ītell*]*i šamê*; C_{2} adds *ana š*[*amê lītelli*(?)]
150	^{1}*āla*^{1} *liṣṣī-ma lā ina/eḫḫis* TU$_{6}^{2}$ ÉN	$^{1–1}$om. (C_{2}, *b*, *c*) ^{2}TE (*a*)

Rub. 11

151	KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KÁM	*b* and *c* om. line

Inc. 10

129[+a] SPELL: Oh Lamaštu, daughter of Anu, prominent one among the gods,
130[+a] Innin, most princely lady—
131[+a] (but also) 'bind*er*,' grievous *asakku*-demon,
132[+a] ghost that weighs heavily upon mankind:
133[+a] So that exalted Lamaštu should not come close to man,
134[+a] may you be bound by the spell of heaven, bound by the spell of earth!

Major variants to the Sumerian text from amulets Ak–Ao:

131: du_8 for dù (Ak, Am); a for á.zág (Ak)
132: u_{18}.lu nam.dugud-*a* (Ak)
133: ^{d}Dìm.me *ib*-gu.ul (Am, Ao); Am adds: ^{d}Dìm.me nin.maḫ-*a* / ^{d}Dìm.me ĝiš.tuku a.ra.zu; lú.tu-*ra* (Am); *namba*-te(ĝ)-*a* (Ak); *namba*-TA(ĝ)-*ede* (Ao)
134: Ak: zi ^{d}En.líl-*e* ḫ[*e*-pà . . . . .]; Am adds more zi-pà formulas (see commentary).

Rub. 10

135 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Inc. 11

136 SPELL: "I am the daughter of Anu from heaven,
137 I am a Sutaean, I am . . . . . , I am terrifying.
138 I enter the house, I leave the house (as I please).
139 Bring me your sons: I want to suckle (them).
140 In the mouth of your daughters I want to place (my) breast."
141 Anu heard (this), and immediately wept,
142 while the tears of Aruru—"Lady-of-the-Gods" were flowing:
143 "Why should we destroy what we have created,
144 and why should the wind carry away what we have produced?
145 Indeed, take her to the sea, (or) to the (highest) outcrop of the mountain!
146 Indeed, bind her to a free-standing tamarisk or a lone reed stalk!
147 As surely as a corpse does not have life
148 and a still-born child has never suckled the milk of his mother,
149 may the Daughter-of-Anu like smoke
150 leave town, and never return!" MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 11

151 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Inc. 12

152	ÉN *šurbât mārat Anu muʾammilat laʾûti*	
153	*rittaša alluḫappu kirimmaša mūtu*	
154	*kaṣṣat labbat ennina/et ekkimat nakkipat*	
155	*raḫḫiṣat muttabbilat mārat Anu*	
156	*ilappat*[1] *libba ša ḫaršāti*	[1]*ulappat* (*b*)
157	*išallup*[1] *šerrī ša tārâti*	[1]*ušallap* (*b*)
158	*ušenna/eq unamzaz u ittanaššiq*	
159	*rabû kakkūša namšišū širʾānūša*	
160	*qadištu mārat Anu ša ilī aḫḫīša*	
161	*qaqqassa qaqqad nēši šinnat imēri šinnas*[*sa*]	
162	*šaptāša ziqziqqum-ma*[1] *utabbakā mūta*	[1]*ziqziq-ma* (*b*)
163	*ištu kullat šadî ūridamma*	
164	*nuʾʾurat*[1] *kīma nēši*	[1]*namurrat* (*b*, Sd)
165	*uštanalḫab kīma kalbati*	
166	*bardâ ana bardî uštanâr*	
167	*īmurši-ma Asalluḫi ana Ea abišu amāt*(*a*) *izakkar*	
168	*abī āmur mārat Anu ša ušabbaša*[1] *laʾûti*	[1]*ušabbašu* (*b*)
169	*Ea māršu Marduk ippal*	
170	*alik mārī Marduk*	
171	*ina šipat nē*[*me*]*qi ṭiḫīši-ma*	
172	*ina rikis gerrēti tušeššebši-ma*	
173	[*mu*]*lṭâ pilaqqa šikkat šamni tanaddinši*	
174	*šēna šuḫuppata taqiššašši*	
175	[1][*ṭ*]*ēma ēdēn*(*n*)*â*[1] *tušalmīši*	[1–1][*ina ṭē*]*mi* [*ēdē*]*nî* (C_2)
176	[*sebe*] *u sebe nārāti tuḫerrēši*	
177	*sebet u sebet šadî tuparrakši*[1]	[1]*tušappakši* (*c*)
178	[*ana š*]*erri* [*annî*] *ana lā ṭeḫêki*[1] *ana lā sanāqiki*[1]	[1]*-ša* (*c*)
179	*ikabbaski Nabû ina nāri ilī aḫḫīšu*	
180	*tummâṭi mārat Anu ašarēd ilī Asalluḫi*	
181	[*imaḫḫark*]*i šarru Šamaš*	
182	*imaḫḫarki Ea šar*[1] *šīmāti*	[1]*bēl* (*c*)
183	[*ana*] *bīt tuṣṣî lā terrubī*	
184	*ana ḫarrān tuṣṣî lā tasaḫḫurī*	
185	*liktallûki šammū ša ina ṣēri miṯāriš aṣû*	
186	*aban*[1] *šadî liktammûki*	[1]*abnūʾ* (a)
187	*šikkurāt elpeti lisaḫḫilā šēpēki*[1]	[1]*šēpki* (*a*)
188	*elî-ma* [*ana šad*]*î irīši ṭābi*	
189	*ḫīl allāni u buṭunāni*[1]	[1][*bu*]*ṭun ša šadî* (*c*)
190	*puṭrī atlakī*	
191	*nīš šamê lū tamâti nīš erṣeti lū tamâti* [1]TU_6 ÉN[1]	[1–1]TE ÉN (*a*), om. (*c*)

Inc. 12

152 SPELL: She is monstrous, the Daughter-of-Anu, who wreaks havoc among the babies.
153 Her paws are a snare net, her bosom (hold[?]) spells death.
154 Cruel, raging, malicious, rapacious, violent,
155 destructive, *aggressive* is the Daughter-of-Anu.
156 She lays hands on the womb(s) of women in labor,
157 she pulls the babies from (the hold of) the nannies,
158 suckles (them), sings (to them), and covers (them) with kisses.
159 The weapons she uses are powerful, (and) her muscles are very agile.
160 The Daughter-of-Anu acts as the *wet-nursing priestess/nun* of the gods, her brothers.
161 Her head is a lion's head, donkey's teeth are [her] teeth[?].
162 Her lips are a gale and spread death.
163 From deep in the mountains she came down,
164 roaring like a lion,
165 *whimpering* all the time like a bitch.
166 She leans over one window crosspiece after the other.
167 Asalluḫi saw her, and immediately talked to his father Ea:
168 "My father, I saw the Daughter-of-Anu rounding up babies!"
169 Ea answered his son Marduk right away:
170 "Go, my son Marduk!
171 Approach her with an ing[eni]ous spell, and then
172 you shall have her sit on a bundle for travelling, and
173 hand her a [co]mb, a distaff (and) a jug of oil.
174 You make her a gift of high-topped shoe(s) and sandal(s).
175 You encircle her with a unique plot:
176 You dig [seven] and seven canals against her,
177 seven and seven mountains you pile up as a blockade against her."
178 So that you (= Lamaštu) will not approach, will not draw close [to this b]aby,
179 Nabû will step on you in the river (*of*[?]) *the gods, his brothers*.
180 You are conjured, Daughter-of-Anu, by the foremost of the gods, Asalluḫi.
181 King Šamaš [will oppose y]ou,
182 Ea, the king of fate, will oppose you.
183 [Into] the house which you left you must not enter (again),
184 to the road by which you left you must not return!
185 May the herbs which grow everywhere in the wilderness hold you back every time,
186 may the rocks of the mountains hold you back every time!
187 May the hard stalks of alfalfa grass pierce your feet!
188 Climb up [to the mounta]ins, (to) the sweet smell,
189 the resin of oak tree and terebinth!
190 Be off, be gone!
191 may you be bound by the spell of heaven, bound by the spell of earth! MAGIC FORMULA

MB: I	1 ÉN.É.NU.RU 2*šurbât mārat Ani* [. . . . .]	(~ 152)
	3 *rittaša alluḫappu kir*[*immaša* . . . . .]	(~ 153)
	4 *kaṣṣat dannat en*[*ni*]*nat* [. . . . .]	(~ 154)
	5 *nakkipat raḫḫiṣat muttabb*[*ilat*]	(~ 154/55)
	6 *ilappat libba ša ḫaršā*[*ti*]	(~ 156)
	7 [*i*]*šallap šerra ša tārīti*	(~ 157)
	8 *ušenneq unanzaz u ittanaššiq*	(~ 158)
	9 *qadiltu mārat Ani ša ilī aḫḫīša*	(~ 160)
	10 *rabbû kakkūša namušišū šir'ānūša*	(~ 159)
	11 *qaqqassa qaqqad nēši šinnāt imēri šinnāša*	(~ 161)
	12 *šinnāša ziqziqqu itabbak mūta*	(~ 162)
	13 *ultu kullat šadî rabûti ūridam-ma*	(~ 163)
	14 *ištanassi kīma kalbati ušalḫab*	(~ 165)
	15 *nu"urat kīma nēši ultalaḫḫab*	(~ 164)
	16 *Anzû panūša ittanatbak*	(–)
	17 *ina muṣlāli ina šuḫarrat ūmi*	(–)
	18 *turra ana turri ittanamzaz*	(–)
	19 *bardâ ana bardê ultanâr*	(~ 166)
	20 *tubuqqāti ana tubuqqāti iṣṣ*[*anabbat'*]	(–)
	21 *eṭla damqa ardata banīta ittanalla*[*k'*]	(–)
	22 *īmurši-ma Asalluḫi mār Ea apkalli`*	(~ 167)
	23 *ana Ea abišu amāta izzak*[*ka*]*r*	(~ 167)
	24 *āmur mārat Ani ša ušabbašu la'ûti*	(~ 168)
	25 *alik mārī ašarēdu Asalluḫi*	(~ 170)
	26 *ina šipti u nēpeši ṭiḫâššim-ma*	(~ 171)
	27 *šir'ān šīrīša šūlika lillûta*	(–)
	28 [*in*]*a rikis ḫarrānāti tušeššebši-ma*	(~ 172)
	29 *mulṭâ pilaqqa kirissa tanamdinši*	(~ 173)
	30 [*š*]*ēnī šuḫuppēti* [*taq*]*iššašši*	(~ 174)
II	1 *ṭēnša ēdēnīta tultalammāši*	(~ 175)
	2 *sebe u sebe nārāti tuḫarrâššī*	(~ 176)
	3 *sebet u sebet šadî*(m) *tuparrakši*	(~ 177)
	4 *ana annanna mār annanna lā tasanniqīššu lā teṭeḫḫêššu*	(~ 178)
	5 *itabbalki* { . . . } *Nabû ikabbaski ina nāri ireḫḫīki*	(~ 179)
	6 *tummâti mārat Ani ašarēda Asalluḫi*	(~ 180)
	7 *imaḫḫarki Ea šar* ⟨*šī*⟩*māti*	(~ 182)
	8 *imaḫḫarki ašarēdu Ninurta*	(–)
	9 *imaḫḫarki Marduk* [*u*] *Ṣarpānītu*	(–)
	10 *imaḫḫarki šarru Šamaš*	(~ 181)
	11 *ana bīt tūṣî lā tušar*[*rī*]	(~ 183)
	12 *ḫarrān tūṣî lā tassaḫ*[*ḫarī*]	(~ 184)
	13 *liktallûki šammū ša mitḫāriš a*[*ṣû*]	(~ 185)
	14 *erṣetu u šamû liktallû*[*ki*]	(–)
	15 *abnāt šadî*(m) *liktammâki*	(~ 186)
	16 *šikkurrāt elṗeti lisaḫḫilā š*[*ēṗki'*]	(~ 187)
	17 *elî-ma ana šadî erīši ṭā*[*bi*]	(~ 188)
	18 *ṣabtī būla sarrama ṣabīta*	(–)
	19 *rīmī armī ajjālī turāḫī*	(–)
	20 *būl Šakkan ullidī nammaštâ ša ṣē*[*ri*]	(–)

MB: I [1] SPELL: [2]She is monstrous, the Daughter-of-Anu, [. . . . .] (~ 152)
[3] Her paws are a snare net, [her] bo[som . . . . .] (~ 153)
[4] She is cruel, mighty, malicious, [. . . . .], (~ 154)
[5] violent, destructive, *aggre*[*ssive*] (~ 154/55)
[6] She lays hands on the womb(s) of wom[en] in labor, (~ 156)
[7] she pulls the baby from (the hold of) the nanny, (~ 157)
[8] suckles (them), sings (to them), and covers (them) with kisses. (~ 158)
[9] The Daughter-of-Anu acts as the *wet-nursing priestess* of the gods, her brothers. (~ 160)
[10] The weapons she uses are powerful, (and) her muscles are very agile. (~ 159)
[11] Her head is a lion's head, donkey's teeth are her teeth. (~ 161)
[12] Her *teeth* are a gale, she spreads death. (~ 162)
[13] From deep in the big mountains she came down, (~ 163)
[14] screaming (and) *whimpering* like a bitch, (~ 165)
[15] roaring (and) *howling* like a lion. (~ 164)
[16] Her face is (that of) Anzû. She keeps showing up (unexpectedly) all the time (–)
[17] (even) at siesta time, at the quietest time of the day (–)
[18] she keeps stopping by *time and again*, (–)
[19] keeps leaning over one window crosspiece after the other, (~ 166)
[20] [keep]s hi[ding] in one corner after the other. (–)
[21] She *runs around* (every) good-looking young man (and) pretty girl. (–)
[22] Asalluḫi, the son of Ea the Sage, saw her (~ 167)
[23] and immediately talked to his father Ea: (~ 167)
[24] "I saw the Daughter-of-Anu rounding up babies!" (~ 168)
[25] (Ea answered:) "Go, my most noble son Asalluḫi! (~ 170)
[26] Approach her with a spell and a ritual, and thus (~ 171)
[27] make (every) fiber of her body go languid! (–)
[28] You should let her sit [o]n a bundle for travelling, then (~ 172)
[29] hand her a comb, a distaff (and) a pin. (~ 173)
[30] You [mak]e her a gift of high-topped [sh]oes and sandals. (~ 174)
II [1] You cause her to get entangled by a unique plot of her own. (~ 175)
[2] You dig seven and seven canals against her, (~ 176)
[3] seven and seven mountains you pile up as a blockade against her." (~ 177)
[4] Do not come close, do not approach NN son of NN! (~ 178)
[5] { . . . } Nabû will remove you: he will trample on you, overcome you in the river. (~ 179)
[6] You are conjured, Daughter-of-Anu, by most noble Asalluḫi! (~ 180)
[7] Ea, the king of fate[!], will oppose you. (~ 182)
[8] Most noble Ninurta will oppose you. (–)
[9] Marduk [and] Ṣarpānītu will oppose you. (–)
[10] King Šamaš will oppose you, (~ 181)
[11] Do not *lea*[*n*][?] into a house which you have left, (~ 183)
[12] do not return by the road on which you have left! (~ 184)
[13] May the herbs which g[row] everywhere hold you back every time, (~ 185)
[14] may earth and heaven hold you back every time, (–)
[15] may the rocks of the mountain hold you back every time! (~ 186)
[16] May the hard stalks of alfalfa grass pierce [your] f[oot]! (~ 187)
[17] Climb up to the mountains, (to) the sw[eet] smell! (~ 188)
[18] Grab the (wild) animals, the wild ass, the gazelle, (–)
[19] wild bulls, bucks, deer (and) ibexes! (–)
[20] Act as midwife for the herds of Šakkan, the animals of the wilderness! (–)

Ug: V [ÉN.É.N]U.RU [. . . . . *mār*]*at An*[*u*] (~ 152)

(long gap)

VI [. . . . . *Asal*]*luḫi* (~ 170)
[. . . . . *nēpe*]*ši* [*ṭiḫâ*]*m*ʾ-*ma* (~ 171)
širʾān š[*īriša š*]*ūlika lillûta* (~ MB I 27)
ina riksi [*ḫarrā*]*ni tušeššebši* (~ 172)
mulṭâ pilaqqa [*kiri*]*ssa* [*tan*]*amdinši* (~ 173)
šēna šu[*ḫuppata*] *taqâssi* (~ 174)
ṭēnša ēdē[*nīta tult*]*alammāši* (~ 175)
se[*be*] *u se*[*be* . . . . . *tu*]*ḫarrāši* (~ 176)
[. . . . . *t*]*ušappakši* (~ 177)
[. . . . . *mā*]*rat Anu* [. . . . . *As*]*alluḫi* (~ 180)
[. . . . . *l*]*ā taturra* (–)
[. . . . . *laʾ tabb*]*al*(*l*)*akkitīʾ* (–)
[. . . . .] *Nabû* [. . . . .] *ana nāri* (~ 179)
[. . . . . *E*]*a šar šīmāti* (~ 182)
[. . . . . *er*]*īša ṭāba* (~ 188)
[. . . . .] *ṣabīta* (~ MB II 18)
[. . . . . *x*]*x* ?

Rub. 12

192 KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.KÁM (*b*, *c*, a) om.

Ug V 30′ [SPE]LL: 31′ [. . . . . , the Daugh]ter-of-An[u] (~ 152)

(long gap)

VI 1′ [. . . . . Asal]luḫi. (~ 170)
2′ [*With* . . . . . a ritu]al [*approa]ch*?, and (~ 171)
3′ make (every) fiber of her b[ody] go languid! (~ MB I 27)
4′ You should let her sit on a bundle [for trav]elling, (~ 172)
5′ [h]and her a comb, a distaff (and) [a p]in. (~ 173)
6′ You make her a gift of a high-topped shoe and a sa[ndal]. (~ 174)
7′ [You cause her to get en]tangled by her own uniq[ue] plot. (~ 175)
8′ Se[ven] and se[ven . . . . . you] dig against her, (~ 176)
9′ [. . . . . you] pile up against her." (~ 177)
10′ [. . . . . , Dau]ghter-of-Anu, 11′ [. . . . . As]alluḫi! (~ 180)
12′ [. . . . .] do [n]ot return! (–)
13′ [. . . . . *do not cl]imb over!* (–)
14′ [. . . . .] Nabû 15′ [. . . . .] into the river. (~ 179)
16′ [. . . . . E]a, the king of fate. (~ 182)
17′ [. . . . .] sweet [sm]ell. (~ 188)
18′ [. . . . .] gazelle. (~ MB II 18)
19′[. . . . . x]x ?

Rub. 12

192 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu.

Inc. 13

193	ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-[*a* m]u.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*	
194	dumu.munus diĝir-*eneke*	
195	dumu.munus diĝir.gal.gal-*eneke* ḫemdan-zi.zi	
196	dumu nam.lú.u$_{18}$.lu ù.tud-*a* *in*-dab^{1}	^{1}dab$_{5}$ (*c*)
197	igi.du$_{8}$-*a*(*m*) *in*-dab^{1}	^{1}dab$_{5}$ (*c*)
198	**Innin-a* ^{d}Dìm.me egir-*bi* *in*-dab^{1}	^{1}dab$_{5}$ (*c*)
199	**igi*^{1} **lupara* *in*-dab	^{1}GIŠ.gi (*α*)
200	**igi* **lusgim* *in*-dab	
201	tu$_{6}$^{1}-*bi* **igizana* *in*-dab	^{1}túg (*a*, *α*)
202	^{1}**abašiki* *in*-dab	^{1}ll. 202–3 in reverse order in *a* and *b*
203	**abašiki* dug$_{4}$^{1}-*a* *in*-dab	^{1}dùg (*b*)
204	**ubur* *in*-dab	
205	^{giš}ig-*ta*ʾ*a*(*m*) *in*-dab	
205^{a1}	^{giš}[xx *in*-dab$^{?}$]	^{1}line in *α* only
206	^{giš}sag̃.kul-*ta*ʾ*a*(*m*) *in*-dab	
207	^{1}é-*še*^{1} dumu é-*ake* *nambanib*-ku$_{4}$.ku$_{4}$-*de* TU$_{6}$^{2} ÉN	$^{1–1}$é lú (*α*) ^{2}TE (*a*, *b*)

Rub. 13a

208	KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME.^{1}KE$_{4}$^{1}	$^{1–1}$KÁM (*b*), om. (*a*)

Rub. 13b

209	*u*^{1} *umma ša ina zumur šerri nasāḫi*	^{1}om. (*a*)

Rit. 13

210	KÌD.KÌD.BI^{1} *azallâ tanassaḫ*$^{?}$ *tubbal tasâk*	^{1}DÙ.DÙ.BI (*a*)
211	*ina šaman pūri tuballal enūma*$^{?}$ *ummu iṣbassu taptanaššassu*^{1}	^{1}+ *-ma* (*a*)
212	^{1}*sebet u sebet*^{1} ^{2}*ḫuṣāb azallî*^{2} *ina kišādišu tašakkan iballuṭ*	$^{1–1}$+$^{2–2}$A, *a* in reverse order
212^{a}	^{1}*ina maš*[*ki tašappi ina*] *kišādišu* [*tašakkan*]^{1}	$^{1–1}$this line in *a* only

(For colophons, see p. 25)

Inc. 13

193 SPELL: Dimme, the Child-of-An, the famous one among the gods,
194 the daughter of the gods,
195 the daughter of the great gods— may she be removed from him!
196 She has seized the (newly) born human being,
197 has seized the *seeing one*,
198 Innina, Dimme, has seized *its*[?] *back*,
199 has seized the *eye* of the *privileged person*,
200 has seized the *eye* of the *person under divine protection*.
201 *Her*[?] *spell* has seized the *eye* of . . . . . ,
202 has seized the . . . . . ,
203 has seized the *sweet* . . . . . ,
204 has seized the *breast*,
205 has *seized each* door,
205[a] [has *seized*[?] the] . . [. . . . .],
206 has *seized each* door bolt.
207 Do not enter into the house, toward the son of the house! MAGIC FORMULA

Rub. 13a

208 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu,

Rub. 13b

209 and to remove the fever that is in the body of the baby.

Rit. 13

210 ITS RITUAL: *azallû*-plant you uproot, dry, crush,
211 mix with 'pot oil.' As soon as the fever seizes him, you rub him regularly.
212 Seven and seven pieces of *azallû*-plant you place around his neck: he will get well.
212[a] (Aternatively), [you lace-wrap] in (a piece of) leath[er, place (it) aro]und his neck.

(For colophons, see p. 25)

Lam. III (= 3. *pirsu*)

1	*enūma nēpeša ša Lamaštu teppu*[*šu*]	
2	*mārat Anu* ⟨*ina*ʾ⟩ *imitti bābi šumēli bā*[*bi*][1]	[1]om. (*E*)
3	*u tarṣi bāb bīt erši teṣṣ*[*ir*]	
4	*ina imitti*[1] *u*[2] *šumēli*[3] *mārat Anu*	[1]A and *E* add *bābi* [2]om. (*A*) [3]F adds *bā*[*bi*]
5	*kalba šaḫâ nūra zuq*[*aqīpa pilaqqa*]	
6	*mulṭâ mušāla kursinni imēri teṣṣir*	
7	*ṣerrī ina qātīša tušaṣbassi*	
8	*eper bābi kamî eper bāb bīt* [*Ištar*]	
9	*eper bāb bīt Ninurta eper bāb aštammi*	
10	*eper bāb bīt sā*[*bî ep*]*er bāb bīt nuḫatimmi*	
11	*eper sūq erbetti u*[*rṣaʾ tasâ*]*kʾ*	
12	*itti ṭīd pal*[*gi tuballal-ma ṭupp*]*a u kalbī tepp*[*uš*]	
13	*ina muḫḫi ṭuppi* [*uskar*]*a kakkab*[*ta šamšata g*]*amla teṣṣir*	
14	ÉN *ezzet mārat* [*Anu ina*] *muḫḫi taš*[*aṭṭa*]*r*	
15	*ina rēš*[1] *erši tallal kalbī ina* [*gaṣṣi upillê*]	[1]*muḫḫi* (*E*)
16	*tubarram* [1]*šārat kalbi ṣalmi*[1] *ina abbu*[*ttišunu*]	[1–1][*šip*]*āti ṣalmāti* (*E*)
17	*šārat unīqi lā petīti* [*ina zibbātīšunu tašak*]*kan*	
18	*šumīšunu ina nag*[*lab šumēlīšunu tašaṭṭar*]	
19	*apāti ša imitti u šumēli ša bābi k*[*amî*]	
20	*ša bābi bītā*[*nî uʾ ša bāb bīt erši tepette*]	
21	*ina šaplim-ma pīta ša ina tarṣi bābi tepette*	
22	[*Šar*]*uḫ-ti*[*bušu Uṣur-mūša*]*-ṭurud-Mārat-Anu*	
23	*ina libbi* [*apāti ša bābi kamî*] *tušeššeb*	
24	*Urruḫ-tibušu Ana-maṣṣartika-lā-*[*teggi*]	
25	[*ina libbi ap*]*āti ša bābi bī*[*tānî tušeššeb*]	
26	*Ē-tamtal*(*l*)*ik-epuš-pīka Sikip-lemna* [. . . . .]	
27	*ina libbi apāti ša bāb bīt erši tuš*[*eššeb*]	
28	[*Sîn-rēʾi-kalbī*] *ina libbi apti ša ana tarṣi bābi tušeššeb*	
29	[. . . . .]	
30	*sû pallišu kasānī*[*tu gišnug*]*allu*	
31	[*šubû mult*]*asḫiptu jartu pappardilû biṣṣūr atāni*	
32	*aban lamassi j*[*anibu šû ẓikar u sinniš* (:) *ina ṭ*]*urri kitê tašakkak*	
33	*tarmuš imḫur-līm imḫur-*[*ešrā ēduʾ elkulla puquttuʾ šakirûʾ*]	
34	*eper bāb bīt Gula* (:) *ina birīt abnī sebet lippī* [*talappap*]	
35	*ina kišādišu tašakkan sebe īnāti sebet parê ina ṭ*[*urri*[1]] *šipāti ṣalmāti tašakkak*	[1]om. (C_3)

Lam. III (= 3. *pirsu*)

1 When you want to perfo[rm] the ritual against Lamaštu,
2 you dr[aw] a Daughter-of-Anu ⟨at⟩ the right side of the door, the left side of the door,
3 or in the direction of the entrance to the bedroom.
4 To the right and left of the Daughter-of-Anu,
5 a dog, a pig, a lamp, a scor[pion, a distaff],
6 a comb, a mirror(-case), (and) a donkey's ankle.
7 You have her hold snakes in her hands.
8 Dust from the outer door, dust from the gate of the [Ištar] temple,
9 dust from the gate of the Ninurta temple, dust from the door to an *aštammu*-bar,
10 dust from the door of a br[ew]-pub, [du]st from the door of a bakery,
11 dust from a street crossing [you crus]h [*using a*] *mo*[*rtar*],
12 [mix it] with clay from a can[al, and for[m a tabl]et and dogs.
13 On the tablet, you draw [a (moon) cresce]nt, a star, [a sun disc, (and) a *c*]*rook*.
14 The incantation "Fierce is the Daughter-[of-Anu"] you w[rit]e on it.
15 You hang it up at the head of the bed. To the dogs, using [gypsum and charcoal],
16 you give different colors. [You atta]ch hair from a black dog to [their] upper foreh[eads],
17 (and) hair from a virgin kid [to their tails].
18 Their names [you write] on the [left side of their] bac[ks].
19 The windows to the right and left of the o[uter] door,
20 of the inn[er] door [*and* of the door to the bedroom you open].
21 *Underneath*, you open a *vent* facing the door.
22 (The dogs named) "[*Fa*]*st*-is-[his]-att[ack],"(and) "[Watch-(all)-night], fend-off-the-Daughter-of-Anu!"
23 you set in the [windows of the outer door].
24 "Very-swift-is-his-attack" and "Don't-be-[negligent]-in-your-watchfulness"
25 [you set in the win]dows [of] the inner door.
26 "Without-hesitation-give-tongue!" (and) "Overthrow-the-wicked-one!" [. . . . .]
27 you s[et] in the windows of the bedroom door.
28 "[Sîn-is-the-herdsman-of-the-dogs]" you set in the window facing the door.
29 [. . . . .].
30 *sû*-stone, *pallišu*-stone, *kasānī*[*tu*-stone, alaba]ster,
31 [*šubû*-stone, *mult*]*asḫiptu*[?]-stone, white coral[?], *pappardilû*-stone, cowrie shell[?],
32 *lamassu*-stone, *j*[*anibu*-stone, *šû*-stone (in its) male and female (varieties)—(all these) you thread [on] a linen cord.
33 *tarmuš*-plant, "*match-a-thousand*"-plant, "*match*-[*twenty*]"-plant, ["*single*"-plant, *elkulla*-plant, *puquttu*-plant, *šakirû*-plant],
34 dust from the gate of the Gula temple—(all these) you [roll into] seven wads between the stones (and)
35 place (the cord) around his (the patient's) neck. You thread seven eye-stones (and) seven *mule*-stones on a cord of black wool.

36	*sebet lippī ḫuppī ša sebet ṣirṛāni talappap šalāš kannāti ša sebet ṣirṛāni*	
37	*takannan sappu imēri ša imitti sappu atāni ša šumēli*	
38	*zappi bakkarrî zappi šaḫî peṣî*	
39	*ḫallulāja ša ḫarrānāti ṣulum pa(ṛ)ḫal imēri*	
40	*suggin kakki ḫarbi* [1] *epin zēri*	G omits line[?] [1]Ω adds *u*
41	*teleqqē-ma ana*[1] *libbi kannāti tašakkan*	[1]*ina* (X)
42	*lippī ša ina*[1] *birīt īnāti parê ina libbi talappap* [2]	[1]om. (C_3) [2]ll. 47/48 here (X)
43	*sebe īnāti sebet parê u kannāti itti abnī kišāda tušaṣbat*	
44	*zê Nisaba zê šahî ṣulum pa(ṛ)ḫal(li) imēri ša imitti* [1]	[1]*šumēli* (*H*)
45	*ina kišādišu tašakkan 14 ḫuṣāb azallî*	
46	*ina ṭurri peṣî tukaṣṣar-ma ina kišādišu tašakkan*	
47	*īnāti parê kališina ina* [1–1] *šipāti ṣalmāti tašakkak*	[1–1]*H* adds *ṭurri*
48	*lippī ḫuppī ša sebet*[1] *ṣirṛāni talappap*	[1]om. (C_3)
49	*šubâ ina ṭurri šipāti peṣêti tašakkak ina šipāti peṣêti talappap*	
50	*erbe īnāti erbet parê ina qāt imittišu tarakkas*	
51	*ṣurra ṣalma ina ṭurri šipāti ṣalmāti tašakkak ina šipāti ṣalmāti talappap*	
52	*šalāš īnāti šalāšat parê ina qāt šumēlišu tarakkas*	
53	*kapaṣa ina ṭurri šipāti sāmāti tašakkak ina šipāti sāmāti talappap*	
54	*erbe īnāti erbet parê ina šēp imittišu tarakkas*	
55	*aban parzilli ina ṭurri* [1] *uqnâti tašakkak ina uqnâti talappap*	[1]om. (*E*)
56	*šalāš īnāti šalāšat parê ina šēp šumēlišu tarakkas*[1]	[1]ll. 47/48 here (*H*)
57	ÉN *zurrugu zurrugu kili zurrugu* [1]*kiri kirip*[1] *kisu*	[1–1]*surippaš* MIN (*H*)
58	*ḫuppa(n)ni ḫuppu*[1] *suppanni suppu*	[1]*ḫup* (*H*)
59	*linārkunūši Asalluḫi*	
60	*Ningirim iqbâm-ma anāku* [1]*addi* TU_6 ÉN[1]	[1–1][*uša*]*nni* ÉN (*H*)
61	ÉN *kirišti libi kirištila libi kilalibi*	
62	*pišpiš tišanziš tišanziš šuanziš anziš* ÉN	
63	*šitta šipāti annâti sebîšu*[1] *ina*[2] *muḫḫi abnī tamannu*	[1]om.(C_3) [2]*ana* (*H*)

36 You roll seven wads, ... -s of seven (strands of) dyed wool. You twist together three coils from seven (strands of) dyed wool.
37 A bristle of a donkey from the right side, a bristle of a jenny from the left side,
38 a bristle of a young donkey, a bristle of a white pig,
39 a centipede from a road, black (hair) from the hind leg of a donkey,
40 a splinter from the handle of a *ḫarbu*-plough (and) a seeder plough—
41 (all this) you take and place (it) into the coils
42 (and use these) to wrap the wads between the eye-stones (and) the *mule*-stones.
43 You *attach* the seven eye-stones, the seven *mule*-stones, and the coils, together with the stones (mentioned before), *to the* neck.
44 Chaff, pig dung, black (hair) from the right hind legs of a donkey
45 you place around his neck. 14 pieces of *azallû*-plant
46 you knot into a white cord and place (it) around his neck.
47 All of the eye-stones and *mule*-stones you string onto black wool.
48 You roll wads, ... -s of seven (strands of) dyed wool.
49 *šubû*-stone you string onto a cord of white wool, roll (it) up in white wool,
50 tie four eye-stones (and) four *mule*-stones to his right hand.
51 Black obsidian you string onto a black woollen cord, roll (it) up in black wool,
52 tie three eye-stones (and) three *mule*-stones to his left hand.
53 *kapaṣu*-shell you string onto a cord of red wool, roll (it) up in red wool,
54 tie four eye-stones (and) four *mule*-stones to his right foot.
55 *Iron*-stone you string onto a cord of bluish wool, roll (it) up in bluish wool,
56 tie three eye-stones (and) three *mule*-stones to his left foot.

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57 SPELL: *zurrugu zurrugu kili zurrugu kiri kirip kisu*
58 *ḫuppani ḫuppu suppani suppu*
59 May Asalluḫi kill you!
60 Ningirim told (the spell) to me, and I have cast it. MAGIC FORMULA

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61 SPELL: *kirišti libi kirištila libi kilalibi*
62 *pišpiš tišanziš tišanziš šuanziš anziš* MAGIC FORMULA

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63 These two incantations you recite seven times over the stones.

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64 *kupur eleppi kupur sikkanni kupur gišalli*
65 *kupur unūt eleppi kalama eper kāri u nēberi*
66 *nāḫu šaman nūni qīru ḫimētu ankinūtu aktam*
67 *aprušu azallû mašak imēri kurru ša aškāpi*
68 *ulāpu lupputu ziqqatû šaman šaḫî peṣî* (:) *napšaltu*

Variants from Ra IV: 64–66: exact duplicate, but *napṭu* for *qīru* in 66.
67–68: *aprušu mašak imēri kur ša askāpi*
ulāpu lupputu [*ziqqa*]*tû šaman šaḫî peṣî*
šaman šu'e šaman xx[*xx*] *dām erēni*
22 nap(*šalāt*) ^{d}Dìm.me

69[1] ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke* — [1] om. (*H*)
70[1] *ušāḫizki kalba ṣalma*[2] — [1] om. (*H*) [2] + *gallâka* (*Rb*)
71 ÉN *ezzet* [1]*ul ilat namurrat*[1] — [1–1]*mārat Anu* (*H*)
72 ÉN *anamdi šipta ana lazz/ssi milikki*
73 [1]*šalāš šipāti annâti*[1] *šalāšīšu*[2] *ana muḫḫi napšalti* [3–3] *tamannu* — [1–1]om. (*E*, *H*), [2]om. (*E*) [3–3]+ *šalāšīšu* (*E*)

Ra: IV [10] ÉN *anaddi*[?] *šipta lazzu melikku* (~ 72)
[11] ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* (~ 69)
[12] ÉN *ezziat šamrat* (–)
[13] ÉN *ezziat ul ilat* (~ 71)
[14] *erbe šipāti ana libbi nap*(*šalti*) *tamannu* (~ 73)
[15] *šerra tapaššaš iballuṭ* (–)

74 *kukru kasû qēmu lā napû qilip šušikilli qulēpti ṣerri*
75 *zēr kitê kibrīt*(*u*) *saḫlû mušāṭu* (:) [1–1] [2]*annû qutāru*[2] — [1–1]+ PAP (E) [2–2]9[*ann*]*ûtu qutārū* (*H*), 9 *šammū* [*qutārū*] ^{d}Dìm.me (*Rb*)

Rc I: 74–75: same ingredients, but diff. sequence; end: PAP 9 *qutārū* ^{d}D[ìm.me]

76 *enūma šerra tumašša'u*
77 ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a*[1] *šumša ištēn* — [1]*Anu* (*H*)
78 *ina*[1] *muḫḫi qaqqadi*[2] *šalāšīšu tamannu* — [1]*ana*, [2]+ *-šu* (*E*)
79 ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*
80 *ušāḫizki kalba ṣalma* [1]*ina muḫḫi*[1] *kišādišu tamannu* — [1–1]*eli* (*E*)
81 ÉN *ezzet ul ilat namurrat ina muḫḫi qāt imittišu tamannu*
82 ÉN *labšat anqulla umma kuṣṣa ḫalpâ šurīpa*
83 *ina*[1] *muḫḫi qāt šumēlišu tamannu* — [1]*ana* (*H*)
84 ÉN ^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke elamâti* [1–1] — [1–1]+ [*rabû upr*]*ūša* (*H*)
85 *ina*[1] *muḫḫi irtišu u libbīšu*[2] *tamannu* — [1]*ana*, [2]*libbišu* (*H*)

64 Pitch from a boat, pitch from the rudder, pitch from an oar,
65 pitch from any other equipment of a boat, dirt from an embankment and a ford,
66 lard, fish train, hot bitumen, ghee, *ankinūtu*-plant, *aktam*-plant,
67 *aprušu*-plant, *azallû*-plant, a (piece of) donkey's hide, fullers paste,
68 a soiled cloth, ... -fish, lard from a white pig: (use as) ointment.

(for variants from Ra, see commentary)

69 SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods . . .
70 I have made you seize a black dog, (your demonic enemy)"
71 SPELL: "She [is fierce], (*and although*) not a goddess, she is terrifying."
72 SPELL: "I will cast a spell (*against*[?]) your persistent(*ly destructive*) spirit."
73 These three incantations you recite three times over the ointment.

Ra: IV
10 SPELL: "I will cast a spell (*against*[?]) your persistent(*ly destructive*) spirit." (~ 72)
11 SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An." (~ 69)
12 SPELL: "She is fierce, violent." (–)
13 SPELL: "She [is fierce], (*though*) not a goddess." (~ 71)
14 (Those) four incantations you recite over the ointment. (~ 73)
15 You rub the child— he will get well. (–)

74 *kukru*-plant, mustard seed, unsifted flour, peel of *šušikillu*-onions, snake skin,
75 linseed, sulfur, cress (and) hair combings: (all) this (you use for) fumigation.

(for variants from Rc, see commentary)

76 When you rub the baby:
77 THE SPELL: "'Dimme, Child-of-An' is her first 'name'"
78 you recite three times over his head.
79 THE SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods . . .
80 I have made you seize a black dog" you recite over his neck.
81 THE SPELL: "She [is fierce], (*and although*) not a goddess, she is terrifying"
you recite over his right hand.
82 THE SPELL: "She is clad in *scorching heat*, fever, cold, frost, (and) ice"
83 you recite over his left hand.
84 THE SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods . . .
She[!] is an Elamite woman(, [big is] her [*head*]*gear*)"
85 you recite over his chest and abdomen.

86	ÉN	*ezzet mārat Anu* $^{1-1}$	$^{1-1}$*+muʾammilat laʾûti* (*H*)
87	ÉN	*anamdi šipta ana lazzu milikki*	
88		*ana muḫḫi naglabīšu tamannu*	
89	ÉN	*ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat ištu*^{1} *api īlâm-ma*	^{1}*ultu* (*H*)
90	ÉN	*ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat ezzet barbarat*	
91	ÉN	^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a*^{1} mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*	^{1}*Anu* (*H*)
92		^{d}In.nin nir.ĝál nin-*eneke*	
93	ÉN	*mārat Anu ša šamê anāku*	
94		*ina muḫḫi šēp imittišu tamannu*	
95	ÉN	*šurbât mārat Anu muʾammilat*^{1} *laʾûti*	^{1}*AN*[. . .](*H*)
96	ÉN	^{d}Dìm.me dumu An-*a* mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*	
97		dumu-munus diĝir-*eneke* *ina muḫḫi šēp šumēlišu tamannu*	
98	ÉN	*ezzet ul ilat namurrat*	
99		*ina muḫḫi* {*x*} *qutāri tamannū-ma ina imitti bābi tašakkan*	
100	ÉN	*anamdi šipta ana lazzu milikki*	
101		*ina muḫḫi šalāšat qutārī tamannū-ma*	
102		*ina šumēl bābi ina rēš erši u šēpīti erši tašakkan*	
103		*eʾra ša appa u išda išāta laptu*	
104		*libbi gišimmari ina qaqqadišu tukāl-ma*	
105	ÉN	Udug ḫul.ĝál sağ.gaz zid-*a* *tamannū-ma*	
106		*ina rēšišu tašakkan* *arkišu zisurrâ erša teṣṣir*	
107	ÉN	sağ.ba sağ.ba ÉN *tummu bītu* *tamannu*	
108	ÉN	ab-*ta nammunda*-ku$_4$.ku$_4$-*de*	
109	ÉN	^{d}En.ki lug[al abzu$^{?}$ . . . . .] *tamannu*	

110	*ina ūmi maḫrî ina šēri Lamaštu*	
111	*ša bīt ṣibit*[*ti teppuš*] *tirṣa tatarraṣ*	
112	*12 akal qēmi lā napî ina pani*[*ša tašakka*]*n*	
113	*mê būri tanaqqīši kalba ṣalma tušaḫḫassi*	
114	*libbi kurkizanni ina*^{1} *pîša tašakkan baḫra tatabbakši*	^{1}*ana* (*E*)
115	*akala abla tašakkanši šikkat ša*[*mni tanaddinši*]	
116	*šēra muṣlāla* $^{1-1}$ *šimētān minûta tamannu*	^{1}*+ u* (*E*)
117	*šalāšat ūmī ina rēš ma*[*rṣi tušeššebši*] *ina šalši ūmi*^{1}	^{1}om. (*E*)
118	*ina qiddat ūmi tušeṣṣēši-ma ina tubqi dūri teqebbi*[*rši*]	

119	*ina rebî ūmi mārat Anu ša ṭīdi teppuš*	
120	*qaqqassa perta t*[*ukattam*$^{?}$] *ṣubāt ūmakkal ḫašmāni*	
121	*tulabbassi ṣilli gišimmari tunaddas*[*si*]^{1}	^{1}*tunamtassi* (*E*)
122	*mulṭâ pilaqqa šikkat šamni tanaddinši*	
123	*munda buqla bappira lapta akala abla*	

86 THE SPELL: "Fierce is the Daughter-of-Anu (, who wreaks havoc among the babies)," (and)
87 THE SPELL: "I will cast a spell (*against*[?]) your persistent(*ly destructive*) spirit"
88 you recite over his back.
89 THE SPELL: "She is fierce, violent, (of) divine (power), terrifying. She came up from the marshes and . . . ,"
90 THE SPELL: "She is fierce, violent, (of) divine (power), terrifying. She is fierce, a she-wolf,"
91 THE SPELL: "Lamaštu, daughter of Anu, famous one among the gods,
92 Innin, most princely lady," (and)
93 THE SPELL: "I am the daughter of Anu from heaven"
94 you recite over his right foot.
95 THE SPELL: "She is enormous, the Daughter-of-Anu, who wreaks havoc among the babies," (and)
96 THE SPELL: "Dimme, Child-of-An, famous one among the gods,
97 daughter of the gods" you recite over his left foot.
98 THE SPELL: "She is fierce, (*and although*) not a goddess, she is terrifying"
99 you recite over {x} fumigation and place (it) to the right of the door.
100 THE SPELL: "I will cast a spell (*against*[?]) your persistent(*ly destructive*) spirit"
101 you recite over three fumigations and
102 place (them) to the left of the door, at the head of the bed, (and) at the foot of the bed.
103 An *e'ru*-stick the tip and lower end of which has been lightly burned,
104 (and) a palm shoot you hold to his head; then
105 you recite THE SPELL: "Evil *utukku*-demon, *true head-smasher*" and
106 place (them) next to his head. After this you surround the bed with a flour circle.
107 THE SPELL: "Hex, hex," THE SPELL: "Adjured is the house" you recite.
108 THE SPELL: "Do not enter to him through the window!" (and)
109 THE SPELL: "Enki, kin[g *of the Abzu* . . . . .]" you recite.

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110 On the first day, in the evening, [you make] a (figurine of) Lamaštu
111 as a prisoner. You lay the table.
112 [You plac]e 12 rolls made from unsifted flour before [her].
113 You libate well water for her. You have her hold a black dog.
114 You place a piglet's heart in her mouth. You pour hot (soup) for her.
115 Dry bread you put down for her. [You give her] a flask of o[il].
116 In the morning, at noon, (and) in the evening you recite the text.
117 [You have her sit] at the head of the pat[ient] for three days. On the third day,
118 in late afternoon, you take her outside and bury [her] in the corner of the wall.

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119 On the fourth day you make a Daughter-of-Anu from clay.
120 Yo[u *cover*] her head with hair. A temporary garment of bluish wool
121 you give her as clothing. You *prick* her with the thorn of a date palm.
122 You give her a comb, a distaff, (and) a flask of oil.
123 With groats, malt, 'dry-brew', roasted barley, (and) dried bread

124 *erbet tukkannī tumallā-ma erbet imērī ša ṭīdi teppuš*[1] [1]*tem*[*puš*?] (*E*)
125 [1]*ṣudê annûti tuṣaddīšunūti*[1] [1–1]om.? (*E*)
126 *ina* [*qiddat ūmi l*]*ām šamaš rabê ana ṣēri tušeṣṣēši-ma*
127 *panīša ana ereb šamši tašakkan ina pitilti qablīša tarakkas*
128 *itti balti ašāgi tarakkassi* [*zisurr*]*â talammīši*

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129 [1]*nīš šamê erṣeti u Anunnakī*[1] *tutammāši* [1–1]*zipadê* (*E*)
130 [*ina ḫanši ūmi ku*]*llata tuqaddaš ṭīd kullati teleqqe ṣalam Lamaštu teppuš*
131 [*ina rēš m*]*arṣi tušeššebši sūta dikmenna tumallā-ma*
132 *patra ina libbi tasanniš* [*šalāšat ūmī i*]*na rēš marṣi tašakkan*
133 *ina šalši ūmi ina qiddat ūmi tušeṣṣēši-ma*
134 *ina patri tumaḫḫassi ina tubqi dūri teqebbir*[*ši*]
135 *zisurrâ talammīši ana arkika lā tapp*[*allas*]
136 [*k*]*īma nēpeša annâ teppušu mušēniqtašu*
137 *tēqêti ukâl*(*i*)? *qaqqari* [. . . . .]
138 [*kīma*? *t*]*uštēṣâššu bāb*(*a*?) *kalbī* [. . . . .]

(lacuna of up to 5 lines)

(no colophons preserved)

obv. rev.



Fig. 19. Lam. amulet no. 90 (IM 19817, photos courtesy R. D. Biggs). "Threatening Lamaštu" with bird's head, comb, and spindle. Rev.: pseudo-inscription. Stone, provenience unknown. 33 × 41 mm.

124 you fill four leather bags; then, you make four donkeys of clay.
125 You give them these (things) as travel provisions.
126 In [late afternoon?, (shortly) be]fore sunset, you take her (= the figurine of Lamaštu) out into the wilderness and
127 have her face eastward. You fasten a rope around her waist.
128 You bind her to a *baltu* (and/or) an *ašāgu* thorn bush. You surround her with a [magic circ]le.

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129 You conjure her by Heaven and Earth, as well as by the Anunnaki.
130 [On the fifth day] you purify the [cl]ay pit, take clay from the pit, (and) make a figurine of Lamaštu.
131 You have her sit at the head of the patient. You fill a *sūtu*-vessel with ashes and
132 stick a dagger in it. [For three days] you place it at the head of the patient.
133 On the third day, in late afternoon, you take her outside and
134 strike her with the dagger. You bury [her] in the corner of the city wall.
135 You surround her with a magic circle, (but) you must not lo[ok] back.
136 As you perform this ritual, his (i.e., the sick baby's) wet nurse
137 should keep the salves ready. The ground [. . . . .]
138 [As soon as y]ou have brought *him* out, the door *(and?)* the dogs [. . . . .]

(lacuna of up to 5 lines)

(no colophons preserved)

obv. rev.

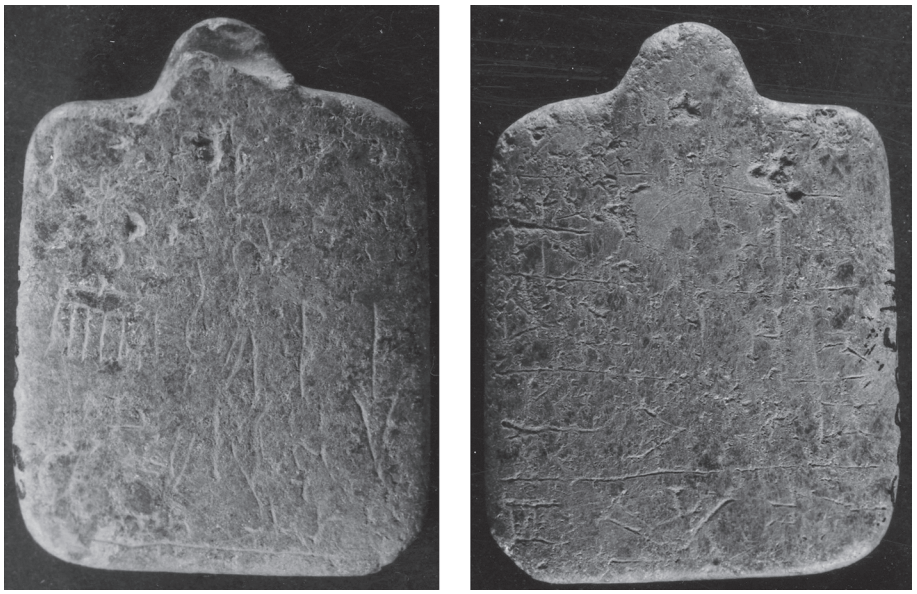


Fig. 20. Lam. amulet no. 91 (IM 50053, photos courtesy R. D. Biggs). "Threatening Lamaštu" with lion's head, comb, spindle, pig(?), and dog(?). Rev.: pseudo-inscription. Stone, provenience unknown. 30 × 42 mm.

Commentary

The commentary is based on the text as established in the transliteration of this edition; obsolete readings, even if quoted in recent Assyriological literature or dictionary entries, are generally not discussed here. On the other hand, translations of complete incantations or longer sections from the corpus and major discrepancies between them and my rendition have been noted.

All cross-references to Lamaštu texts edited in this book are marked by the sigla introduced on pp. 45ff. These are always enclosed in double quotation marks. "Lam. I", "Lam. II", and "Lam. III" refer directly to the reconstructed text of the series, as edited in Part I. "OB_1" 6, "Ah" 17, "OB_3" 5, or "SKS" 8′ are examples of designations for quotations of lines from individual texts transliterated and edited in Part I as parallels to the canonical "Lam." series or from non-canonical texts edited in Part II. For more details, see the lists and tables under "Manuscript Sources" (pp. 45ff.). References to texts and secondary literature outside this edition follow the style of Borger, HKL I–III, and are always given without quotation marks (e.g., Farber SKS 17; KAR 79, 5; or Thureau-Dangin RA 18, 35:5).

Individual variants of the exemplars are discussed whenever they seemed to be of graphemic, linguistic, stylistic, or semantic relevance.

For parallel texts that are separately transcribed and translated above, the commentary is merged with that to the appropriate lines of the main text, with line numbers of the parallel indicated in parentheses. The commentary to lines from parallel texts that have no recognizable counterpart in the main text is to be found immediately preceding that to the next line showing a parallel.

Quotations and parallels from Tablet III are discussed with the corresponding lines from Tablets I and II wherever possible. Their line numbers are also indicated in parentheses after the pertinent line numbers of "Lam. I" and "Lam. II." For a concordance of parallel passages, see above, pp. 64–65, Table III.

Lam. I (= 1. *pirsu*)

I 1–8 Inc. 1 has a remote but recognizable Sumerian parallel edited by Tonietti (1979: 301ff., esp. 314ff.);[1] cf. also Michalowski (1978: 345), who suggests that the Sumerian text is a translation from Akkadian. Unfortunately, for the most part, not even the correspondences between the lines of the OB Sumerian version and the canonical text from the first

1. Texts: TIM 9, 63, 17′–23′ (a) // OECT 5, 55 (b); both texts are OB. Other OB Lamaštu incantations in Sumerian or unknown languages have not been included in my edition. See Tonietti 1979, but cf. also, for example, Hallo AMD 1 (= Hallo 1999), 278f. and 287, MLC 1614 obv. with a rubric line *ši-pa-at* ^{d}GIŠ'.DÌM.ME.

millennium are certain. I thus refrain from a detailed discussion here and instead give only my transliteration of the Sumerian texts and a few cross-references in the commentary:

a 17′ ^{d}dìm.me MU dumu an.na
b 1 ^{d}dìm.me MU dumu an.na

a 18′ ^{d}šeš.AN.tur . . . sila ú[ri^{ki}.m]a
b 2 šeš.AN.tur.t[u]r . . . úri^{ki}.ma

a 19′ ^{d}BU.bar.re KA [ ]
b 3 ^{d}BU.bar.ra KA mu.ĝál

a 20′ ^{d}igi.la.ra šu [ ]
b 4 ^{d}igi.bi.la šu mu.un.bar

a 21′ innin šà.ge p[à$^{?}$.da$^{?}$]

a 22′ zi dingir.an.ki.k[a.*ke*$_4$.*ne ḫé.pà*]

a 23′ [k]i$^{?}$.mušen.an.na. [*ka*$^{?}$ *ḫé.dal.dal*]

Inc. 1 was also often inscribed on amulets. Those with substantial preserved text have been incorporated into the edition as texts "Aa"–"Ag." Most of these follow the wording of the series quite closely. The two amulets "Ab$_1$" // "Ab$_2$", however, diverge significantly and therefore have been transcribed and translated as a separate parallel text.

Inc. 1 has been translated by L. Jakob-Rost (Jakob-Rost et al. 1992: 131) and edited recently by Heeßel (2002: 99–100[2]), both based on amulet "Ac".

I 1 (+ "Lam. III" 77) The rendition of *šumu* as "name" is traditional for this line and the following passage. Note, however, that lines 1–8 do not contain real "names" but rather "identifying features," "things to call her," and that even the notion of *šumu* = "line of a text" or "item" could have played a role here.[3] It is also interesting that the Sumerian parallel reads ^{d}dìm-me MU dumu an.na. If the sign MU indeed represents *šumu* = "name" here, as suggested by the later Akkadian parallel, it would be in a syntactically awkward position.

In Sumerian context, Lamaštu/Dimme is always called dumu an.na, never *dumu.munus an.na. I translate this "Child-of-An," although the notion quite certainly is also "daughter" here, as in Akkadian *mārat Anu* = "Daughter-of-Anu."

In spite of the fact that three amulets ("Ab$_1$", "Ab$_2$", and "Ac") and one exemplar of "Lam. III" 77 (*H*) write ^{d}*A-num* instead of an.na, the first "name" should probably be read in Sumerian. Compare "Lam. I" 70, where Sumerian *Dimme is also found in Akkadian context and is actually used in contrast to Akkadian *Lamaštu*.

I 2 Amulet "Ad": "Watchful One of the Gods of the Streets." Wiggermann 2000: 226 with n. 48, referring to the Sumerian parallel (^{d})šeš.AN.tur sila/t[u]r urí^{ki}.ma quoted above, interprets the "Gods of the Streets" as the "evil *utukku*-spirits" but gives no further proof for this equation (cf. also Wiggermann 1983: 100 with n. 10, where he translates the Sumerian phrase as "broer [!] van de goden, de zonen van Ur").

2. For some older translations, see Heeßel 2002: 100 n. 8.
3. See already Nougayrol 1965: 229f. n. 8, and the translation "Beschwörung" in Myhrman 1902: 155.

I 3–8 Amulets "Ab_1"//"Ab_2" show some major variants here; see translation.

I 5 L. Jakob-Rost, in Jakob-Rost et al. 1992: 131, translates "deren Gesicht behaart ist." I do not know on what reading this is based; Lamaštu's face is not otherwise described or depicted as "hairy."

I 6 This line is bothersome. *pa-qid qa-ti* (no variant phonetic spellings) should refer to Lamaštu but shows the wrong gender; the meaning of the phrase also remains unclear.[4] The variant SUM-*at* ŠU ("Ab_1"//"Ab_2" 7) can either be seen as an unusual spelling for **paqdat qāti* (so most recently CAD P 115a, based on the Sumerian verb šu--sum which regularly corresponds to Akkadian **pqd*)[5] or as still another major textual variant (*nadnat* or *nādinat qāti*) of this particular text.

In the second half, D. Myhrman's (Myhrman 1902: 154) reading *leqât* ^{d}*Irnina* is still valid (see also AHw. 544b), although its meaning remains obscure.[6]

I 7 L. Jakob-Rost, obviously trying to avoid taking the seventh "name" as a precative 2.f.s., takes *sebû* with the preceding half line (**lēqât irnini*) and thus assumes two "names" in line 6. For the same reason, N. Heeßel argues that the first line contains two "names," *Lamaštu* and *Mārat Ani*. Although the change in syntax assumed in most of the older translations and my own rendering, and the resulting seventh "name" in the form of a precative, do not strike me as features of great stylistic elegance, all extant duplicates break the line right before "seven," virtually ruling out the proposed new interpretations.

F. Köcher[7] read the end of the line in "Ab_1" as ⌜*tum*⌝-[*mat*], but my collation was unable to reconcile this or any other plausible reading with the traces still visible on the amulet.

I 8 Three texts (C_1, "Aa", and "Ad") form an unusual precative of the 2.f.s. based on the present (*lū tapparrašī-ma*, cf. GAG §81e), while two others (*b* and "Ac") use a preterite (*lū tapparšī-ma*), probably under the influence of the regular precatives based on this tense. I interpret the *-ma* as marking a threat, with the same general sense as the more common expression **šumma lā* verb+subjunctive-*ma*.[8] "Ab_1" has instead of the precatives a logogram DAL.DAL (no *-ma*!), which probably represents the imperative *itapraš*ī of the non-passive Ntn stem.[9]

4. AHw. 826b: "in die Hand übergebene"; cf. CAD P 117a *paqādu* v. 1a (without translation). L. Jakob-Rost, in Jakob-Rost et al. 1992: 131, translates "die in Beschlag nimmt."

5. For further evidence regarding SUM as a logogram for an Akkadian verb ending in /d/, see Geller 1995–96: 246a.

6. For more recent attempts to reinterpret the line, see CAD L 136b, where all the texts were emended to read **lēqât unnēni*, following the badly written amulet Ab_1; Tonietti (1979: 318), who argued in favour of a by-form **irninu* to *irnittu*, while correctly rejecting the emendation proposed in CAD; Cavigneaux and Ismail (1990: 407f.), who read *le-qí* (according to the photo, the sign in question seems to be ŠU=*qat* rather than KI=*qí*), refrain from interpreting the form as an imperative (**leqe*) and instead cope with yet another mistake in gender (translation "Adoptivkind"); and L. Jakob-Rost (in Jakob-Rost et al. 1992: 131), who translates "(die) den Sieg gewinnt."

7. In Köcher's 1974 manuscript edition of "Lam.", made available to me by the CAD.

8. See, for this phrase, a "threatening curse," Farber 1975: 177ff.

9. The alleged masculine form **tap-par-ra-áš* quoted frequently for this line is based on an unsubstantiated emendation by Myhrman (1902: 154) of Pinches's incorrect copy in IV R^2 56.

I 10 With this one-line ritual, compare Farber 1989a: 116, §41: [*ana Lamaštu ana*] *ṣeḫri lā ṭeḫê kunuk ṭī*[*di teppuš šipta* Dimme dum]u An-*a šumša ištēn ana muḫḫi taš*[*aṭṭar-ma ina kišādišu tašakkan*] "[To] prevent [Lamaštu] from approaching a baby, [you make] a cylinder seal from cl[ay], wr[ite] on it [the incantation 'Dimme, Daugh]ter of An is her first name,' [and place it around his neck]." In the present edition, I have adopted the conventional reading *šerru* instead of *ṣeḫru* for LÚ.TUR (see most recently CAD Š/II 320b, and cf. below, commentary to I 43), although I still believe that my arguments (1989a: 133ff.) are valid. Note, furthermore, that syllabic *šerru* and logographic LÚ.TUR appear nowhere in our corpus as variants to each other, which speaks also in favor of a reading for LÚ.TUR that is not *šerru*.

I 11–36 For a previous translation of this passage, see W. Farber, in Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 259f.

I 11–13 (+ "Lam. III" 69, 79) The same three introductory lines in Sumerian occur in Inc. 5 ("Lam. I" 100–102). The lines seem to be an abbreviated variant of Inc. 10 ("Lam. II" 129ff.). My translation is influenced by the Akkadian version of that passage.

I 14–30 Cf. the translation of these lines by Scurlock (1991: 159).

I 14 (+ "Lam. III" 70, 80) *gallû* is found several times in the Lamaštu series. In "Lam. I" 156 and "Lam. II" 7, variant spellings GAL_5.LÁ leave no doubt about the meaning "demon, demonic counterpart" (or even "nemesis"), which is surely also correct in our line and in "Lam. I" 110 (see already Farber 1987a: 102 n. 50; W. Farber, in Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 259 n. 14a; Farber 2007b: 642f. Cf. also Wiggermann 2000: 229 with n. 76). Thus, the interpretations as *qallu* B "slave" (most recently CAD Q 66a, quoting our line) or *qallu* A "(person) of low standing" (CAD Q 63a, quoting "Lam. I" 110) are no longer plausible. For a translation "soldiers" referring to the *gallû*s in Tiamat's army, see Wiggermann 1992: 164.

The meaning of **ʾḫz* Š should be taken literally here, as shown by the corresponding ritual instruction ("Lam. I" 25). The verb, which otherwise is rarely used in its basic meaning "to take hold of something" in SB, was probably chosen here because it at the same time is the technical term for "seizing, overcoming" by a demon. The interpretation of CAD Q 66a ("to give in marriage," followed, for instance, by Wiggermann 2000: 238 with n. 162, and Scurlock 1991: 159) is unlikely.[10] Cf., in more detail, Farber 2007b: 641–44.[11]

The presence of dogs in the Lamaštu corpus, both written and pictorial, is very conspicuous (cf. briefly Farber 1987a: 89 n. 10, and more recently and in more detail, Farber 2007b: 35ff.). The topic needs to be studied in the broader context of dogs in the magico-religious life of Mesopotamia, which would lead well beyond the limits of this text edition.

10. This does not mean that demons can never magically be "married off." The setting of the "Lam." ritual, however, is significantly different from the ritual edited by Schwemer (1998: 59ff.; cf. also Farber 2001: 253ff.), where such a marriage is described in detail, as well as from the other texts quoted there.

11. In "OB_3" 9–11 and its OA parallel in Barjamovic and Larsen 2008: 145, 11–15, the synonymity of *ṣabātum* (OB) and *aḫāzum* (OA) is obvious, both meaning there "to seize, overcome."

For a survey of dogs depicted in Mesopotamian glyptic art, some of which are quite comparable to the ones on the Lamaštu amulets, see Haussperger 1994: 103–10.

I 15 In view of the syllabic variant *bu-ri* (*a*), the logogram PÚ is read as *būru* throughout this edition.

I 17–20 Text *b* (and probably also A) writes KIMIN only in the middle of the line but repeats the full form **utammīki* at the beginning of a new line, thus proving once more that KIMIN in enumerations such as this is only a graphic abbreviation and that to seek an Akkadian "reading" in these cases is futile.[12]

I 19 Cf. W. Farber in Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 259 n. 18a. The mention of Anunītu next to Marduk is a bit surprising, even if taking into account her affinity to childbirth and babies. One of the texts from Babylon (*b*) thus without much ado changes the name to Ṣarpānītu. The divine couple Marduk and Ṣarpānītu are also to be found in the earlier versions of Inc. 5 ("Ug" II 22′) and Inc. 12 ("MB" II 9) but seem to have in both places been replaced or eliminated in the 'canonical' version.

I 21+a For the interpretation of this line as a threatening curse, see Farber 1975: 178 (quoted as "Lam. I 20").

TE ÉN as a variant spelling of TU_6 ÉN = *tê šipti* is quite common in our corpus. I interpret it as a pseudo-logogram rather than a phonetic rendering **te šipti*(ÉN), in view of the consistent spelling without a plene vowel *-e*, which is otherwise usually seen on construct forms of *tû* "spell." For the meaning of the phrase, cf. also the commentary to "Lam. II" 59.

I 28 (+ "Lam. III" 115) *bitqu* (added after *šikkat šamni* in the NB text *a*, but not in the Kuyunjik duplicate C_1) could be connected with the NB measure *bitqu* "one-half of a *sūtu*" (see CAD B 278b), although this has so far not been attested with oil. *bitqu* also occurs in similar context in "Lam. I" 50 (preserved only in text *a*). In "Lam. III" 115 (// "Lam. I" 28) and "Lam. III" 122 (// "Lam. I" 50), only the Kuyunjik exemplar C_3 is preserved, which again does not have the word *bitqu*. If *bitqu* in our NB source refers to the later, smaller *sūtu* of 6 *qa*, we would be looking at about 3 liters of oil. This still seems rather high in our context but compares well with the size of *šikkatu* vessels known from OB texts.[13] See also Farber 1987a: 95f. for a brief discussion of the various kinds of pots and flasks depicted on Lamaštu amulets, which might correspond to the *šikkat šamni* of the rituals, and cf. now Sallaberger 1996: 83 and pl. 5:1–2.

In the Lamaštu corpus, the rituals ("Lam. I" 28 // "Lam. III" 115 and "Lam. I" 50 // "Lam. III" 122) spell *šikkatu*,[14] wherever preserved, with a determinative GIŠ. In the single occurrence of the word in an incantation ("Lam. II" 173), one exemplar (c) uses the otherwise more common determinative DUG, while text C_2 (from Kuyunjik) again writes GIŠ. A third examplar (*a*) has no determinative at all. Whether these spellings

12. See, however, for the slightly different situation in medical texts, Köcher 1971: xxxii *ad* no. 417 rev. 11.

13. E.g., UET 5, 636:48: 4 *qû*; Dalley, Iraq 42, 71 III 3: 1 *sūtu* (CAD Š/II 432). For a more detailed discussion, see Sallaberger 1996: 79.

14. Thus generally in SB, as opposed to earlier *šiqqatu*; see, however, BAM 234, 17: ^{GIŠ}*ši-qa-tú*.

indicate that in the rituals a wooden vessel was preferred, while the incantation refers to a "normal" ceramic flask, remains uncertain.

I 37–43 "OB_1", "OA_1", and "Ug" V 15′–28′ have interesting, and often quite different, older versions of this passage; see the translation and the commentary to individual lines for details. Inc. 9 ("Lam. II" 119–27) also shows close similarities with this passage.

An independent edition of "OB_1" (as "YOS 11, 19a") is available electronically on SEAL = Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de, last revised 02/07/2011), a Web site under the control of Michael Streck and Nathan Wassermann. I quote this edition without authors' names, by line only.

Note that "OA_1", while written in OA script and mostly showing Assyrian forms, also contains a number of Babylonianisms, as already pointed out by Michel (1997: 60). Note the following examples: line 3 *barbaratum* without vowel harmony; line 4 *ma-ra-at* instead of **me-er-(a-)at;* line 6 *mūšabūša* again without vowel harmony; line 16 *me-e* instead of **ma-e/i*.

I 37 (+ "OB_1" 1–4, "OA_1" 1–4, "Ug" V 15′–17′; "Lam. III" 71, 81, 98) For a further parallel to this line, see "RA" 1–2.

ul ilat "she is not a goddess" is an old *crux interpretum*, since Lamaštu is otherwise often descibed as *ilat* "she is a goddess." In spite of the tempting parallel to our line in "Ug" V 15′ (*ezzet šamrat* [*ilat*]; compare also "OB_1" 1: *ezzet palḫat ilat*, and "OA_1" 1: *ezzat pulḫat ilat*), as well as similar wordings in "Lam. I" 105, "Lam. II" 84, "Lam. II" 119, and "RA" 1, there is no indication that UL could ever have been used as a logogram for *šamru* (or, for that matter, *pa/ulḫum*). As a matter of fact, there is no variance in any of the spellings in any of the lines in question (compare also the quotes in "Lam. III" 89 and 90, as well as the parallel to "Lam. III" 71 in Ra IV 12–13). See, furthermore, "Lam. II" 35, where text C_2 has plain *ilat*, while text "*Ea*" adds what must be the negation *ul*. My translation of the *ul* as "(although) not being" may be over-interpretive.

palḫat "she is to be feared" ("OB_1" 1) has no parallels in the later corpus. The corresponding *pulḫat* from "OA_1" 1 shows that the OA stative/verbal adjective of this verb followed the pattern **purus-* instead of **parus-*, a phenomenon hitherto usually seen as an Assyrian idiosyncrasy of the root **qrb* (for an attempt at a phonetic explanation, see GAG §9e). Note that both **plḫ* and **qrb* have a liquid as middle radical.

amurrât "she is an Amorite woman" (thus probably in "Ug") also occurs in the other MB text from Ugarit, "RS" 1. This provides a parallel to the text "OB_1", which, however, seems to base the stative not on the nisbe adjective **amurrīum* but rather on the base form *amurrum*, which in OB is often also used for the gentilic (see CAD A/2 94b and Mayer 2008: 94f.). The SB version *namurrat* "she has an awesome aura, is terrifying" is foreshadowed by "OA_1" 2, which was read *na-ma-ra-at*[15] by its first editor, Michel (1997: 59, 62),

15. This form could be explained as based on a hitherto unattested intensifying adjective *nammarum*; for this meaning of the formation **parras*, see GAG §55m a III β.

a reading that was also adopted by K. Hecker (in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64 with n. 13).[16]

barbaratu(m) in "OB_1" 3 and "OA_1" 3 (note the lack of vowel harmony, and see already above, comm. to 37–43) is another example of the occasional lack of vowel elision in the immediate neighborhood of sonants, especially /*r*/. The form **berberret* in "Ug" V 17′ might be a mix-up with *birbirrū* "radiance," rather than a phonetic by-form of **barbartu* (cf. furthermore "RS" 3, also from Ugarit).

I 38–39 (+ "OB_1" 5–7, "OA_1" 5–8, "Ug" V 18′–19′) For my understanding of *kibsu* as "track > droppings, dung," see below, comm. to "Lam. II" 122. In line 38a, a restoration *kibsi* [*imēri*] seems plausible but unprovable.

"OB_1" and "OA_1" do not give Lamaštu's preferred resting places as "tracks" of different animals but instead use single nouns describing types of vegetation here. I understand *sassu(m)* ("OB_1" 5; "OA_1" 5), otherwise well known in the meaning "ground, bottom," as a cognate and synonym of *sassatu* "grass," which is mentioned as Lamaštu's lair in "Lam. II" 121.[17] *rītu* "meadowland, pasturage" ("OB_1" 6) and *elpatu(m)* "halfa grass(land)" ("OB_1" 7; also "OA_1" 7, with vowel harmony *elpitim*) pose no lexical problems. SEAL's restorations of lines 5 and 7 should be adjusted accordingly.

For the correct reading *ru-*{DU}*-ba-sà* (**rubas-sa*) in "OA_1" 8 see Mayer 2003: 241 (pace K. Hecker, in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64 n. 14; for the two signs to be deleted in lines 6 and 8, cf. already Michel 1997: 62).

I 40 (+ "OB_1" 8–9, "OA_1" 9–13, "Ug" V 20′–21′) Cf. also "Lam. II" 123.

The wording of the "OB_1" and "OA_1" versions is quite different from SB, although the general idea is similar in all three versions. The most striking difference is that "OA_1" introduces a human (*eṭlam lāsimam*) but the other texts all show animals as Lamaštu's targets here.

a-la-ka in "Ug" V 20′ could be understood as an adverbial accusative of the infinitive ("she hinders the ox with regard to walking"), but assuming a mistake for the participle *ālika* may be a more likely explanation of the form and would keep this text in line with the OB and later traditions.

"Ug" V 21′ furnishes the first attestation of **pkr* in a 2nd-millennium text and thus contradicts von Soden's attempts to understand this verb as a loanword from Aramaic *pkr* (von Soden 1977: 191 and AHw 812a).

In "OB_1" 9, my collation (in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 65) showed a clear *ṣú*. The resulting form *šurbuṣu* thus should probably be understood as a paronomastic infinitive, to be followed by the cognate *uš*[*arbaṣ*], rather than *imēra šurbuba up*[*akkar*$^{?}$], as

16. Another possibility was proposed by G. Kryszat apud Mayer 2008: 95, who reads *na-ku-ra-at*. While not backed by other parallels from the Lamaštu corpus, *nakkurat* "she has become strange/hostile" (D stative of **nkr*) would also lend reasonable sense to the passage. The published copy and photo do not allow me to decide whether the sign in question is MA or KU, but K. Hecker insists that the photo he used speaks in favor of *-ma-*.

17. Note that AHw. takes *sassatu* to be the *nomen unitatis* to *sassu* 4; cf. also CAD S 196a and Michel 1997: 62. The context of our line makes this suggestion quite attractive.

suggested by Hussey's copy. A crasis spelling for **šurbuṣ(a)-up*[*akkar*] or a similar phrase cannot, however, be excluded, either.

In "OA_1" 11, C. Michel, against her own copy, read **māram* "son" and based this on the apparent parallelism to *eṭlum* in the preceding phrase but subsequently could not explain the mention of *zibbatum* "tail" (Michel 1997: 63). Ford (1999: no. 56) argues for a reading *sí-ma-sú* "his proper (healthy) appearance" and retains Michel's *māram lāsimam*, which he translates "vigorous (lit., 'swift') son." K. Hecker (in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64 with n. 15) argues in favor of a reading **pá-ra-am* "mule," which would fit the context well as a semantic cognate to *emārum* "donkey" and a first direct object for the phrase **zibbatam nasāḫum*. This comes very close to my own suggestion to emend the text to ⟨*e*⟩*-ma*$^{!}$*-ra-am*. While providing the same good syntax as Hecker's reading, it also would give us a true lexical parallel to the OB and SB versions. The final decision between Hecker's and my suggestions should be based on a collation of the original tablet, since neither copy nor published photo seem to allow a safe distinction between BA and MA in this word (pace Hecker in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64 with n. 15).

I 41–42 (+ "OB_1" 9–11, "OA_1" 13b–14, "Ug" V 22′–23′) An appropriate translation of paronomastic infinitives is often difficult. Here and elsewhere, I have rather mechanically rendered this construction by adding a reinforcing "really" into the English text.

While syntactically parallel to the SB version, "Ug" uses different verbs here (**ḫbl* and **šgš* instead of **qbr* and **npṣ*). Since a similar SB passage, "Lam. I" 128–29, reads *eṭlūti šuggušu ušaggaš / ardāti ḫubbulu uḫabbal*, the direct objects in "Ug" V 22′f. cannot be restored with confidence.

I 41 *qubburu uqabbar* (see also "Lam. II" 124): although *qubburu* can also mean "to roll up," the basic meaning "to bury" (same verb?), with its connection to death and burial, seems more appropriate here.

I 42 (+ "OA_1" 14) With *nuppuṣu unappaṣ* compare "Lam. I" 130; note that "OA_1", for reasons I do not understand, has the preterite *tunappiṣ* in this phrase.

I 43 (+ "OB_1" 12–13, "OA_1" 15–16, "Ug" V 24′) See also "Lam. II" 125.

Whenever the words are not written syllabically, I have rendered TUR(.MEŠ) as *ṣeḫr(ūt)u* and LÚ.TUR as *šerru*. For a more detailed study of words for "baby, small child," etc., see Farber 1989a: 132ff. The plural forms *ṣeḫḫerūtim* ("OB_1" 10; incorrectly "normalized" to read *ṣe-eḫ-ru-tim* by Wasserman 2003: 89) and *ṣaḫḫurūtim* ("OA_1" 13), both in parallels to line 41, are also noteworthy.

The "OB_1" and "OA_1" versions both have, in lines 12 and 16, respectively, *mê* BI-IŠ*-ri*. C. Michel, with a semantic leap that is not easy to follow, connects this expression with a rare synonym **bišru* for *šerru* "baby"[18] and translates "les eaux du foetus > les eaux utérines > le liquide amniotique" (Michel 1997: 63f.).[19] The fact that, unlike "OB_1", "OA_1" does

18. Attested only once in "Explicit Malku" I 305 = CT 18, 7 II 2; see now Hruša 2010: 441 and his commentary on p. 287.

19. Michel was followed by K. Hecker (in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64); the same argumentation is repeated, without credit to Michel, by Wasserman (2003: 89 n. 126).

not allow for a reading of the sign IŠ as /íZ/, excludes a connection with *biṣru*, a by-form of *biṣṣūru* "female genitals" (see CAD B 269a *ad* KAR 466:7), which might have led in a similar direction. I thus normalize the phrase as *mê pišri* and translate it "water/liquid of dissolution," which then might mean something like "agent of complete destruction."[20] The addition of the particle of direct speach, *-mì* in "OA_1", if this interpretation of the sign is correct,[21] might also be seen as an indication that this phrase is a verbatim quotation of an idiomatic phrase presumably familiar to the native speaker from a different context.

The term used in "Ug" and in the SB version, *mê pušqi*, literally means "water of narrowness/difficulty/constriction" (see also "Lam. I" 131 and "Lam. II" 125). *pušqu* "tight, narrow place or situation" could also refer, with double allusion, to the physical "narrowness" of the mother's pelvis and the notion of difficulty, danger and "tightness" at the crucial moment of birth.[22] Note that the root **pšq* is also used as the general term for hard or difficult labor in childbirth.[23] *mê pušqi* thus could conceivably stand for the amniotic fluid (a notion that I consider unlikely for *mê* BI-IŠ-*ri* of the older versions; see above). The drinking of this could be seen as a reason for stillbirth or illness of the new-born. The parallel would, however, not fit too well with the fact that, according to "OB_1" and "OA_1", Lamaštu forces the "big ones (grown-ups)" (*rabbûtim*) or "old people" (*šībūtim*) to drink *mê pišri*.[24] Finally, the only reference to *mê pušqi* known to me outside the Lamaštu corpus, IV R^2 59/2, 24 ([*kīma*] *kurunni aštati* A.MEŠ PAP.ḪAL *u dim*[*ti*]) does not have anything to do with babies, and *mê pušqi šatû* here seems to be an idiom for "being in deep trouble and distress."[25] I thus assume that a similar meaning "to bring about distress" is also intended for *mê pušqi šaqû* in our passage.

I 44–45 (+ "Ug" V 25′–28′) See also "Lam. II" 126–27.

If the previous phrase is already hard to understand, these two lines still defy any consistent interpretation. Taking all variants from Kuyunjik and Ugarit into account ("OB_1" and "OA_1" do not contain corresponding lines), the readings of all but one word, *luDpeš*,

20. For **pšr* "to dissolve (in a liquid)," cf. for example the expression *mû pāširūtu* (AHw. 945a; see Maul 1994: 88 with n. 45) and AHw. 843a: *pašāru(m)* D 1. The only other word consistent with the spellings would be *bis/šru* "a kind of leek." In spite of the fact that the sap of plants is known as *mû* in Akkadian and the possibility that "leek juice" might have been considered unpleasant even in ancient Mesopotamia, this, I am sure, cannot be the intended meaning.

21. Michel (1997: 63) understands the spelling as a mistake for *ta-ša-qí-a-*am*, and Mayer (2003: 232), without further comment, transcribes **tašaqqiam*(*e*). For another example of */-mi/* in an OA incantation, see Farber 1996: 71f. In both cases, the use of the particle could be interpreted as a Babylonianism. For a new look at the usages and meaning of the particle *-mi* in OB, see now Wasserman 2012: 179ff.

22. An otherwise unknown term for "womb, female genitalia" that ends in /q/ seems to be attested in §55 of the MA Laws. Roth (1997: 174) has restored the word as [*puš*]*qa*(?) and translates it "womb(?)," but CAD has not followed this interpretation (see CAD P 346a, where the text remains unrestored).

23. See Stol 2000: 129.

24. For a recent discussion of the two terms, see Wiggermann 2000: 231 with n. 93; he takes the meaning of *mê pišri/pušqi* as "fluids produced during birth giving" for granted. An interpretation of *mê pušqi* as "urine" had earlier been proposed by Nougayrol (1969: 401 n. 62) and accepted by Wiggermann (1983: 105; cf. already Meissner 1932–33: 58b), but there seems to be no solid textual support for this interpretation.

25. Note that CAD P 544a actually translates *mê pušqi* in just this reference as "water of distress (amniotic fluid?)."

are unambiguous. *luDpeš* most certainly should be taken as a 1.c.s. precative, parallel to *lūmur(ši)*, but no suitable verbal root **Dpš* seems to exist in Akkadian. There remains the possibility that the final /š/ is actually an apocopated pronominal accusative and that the root thus could be a transitive III-weak verb. In this case, the form could be from **ṭpī* "to lay out/on, to make an addition," but again no plausible sense emerges.

The *tertium comparationis*, the "bristle at the kidney(s) of the sky," remains obscure. *zappu* "bristle" is, of course, also the Akkadian name of the Pleiades, while *kalītu* "kidney" is used to name or describe several heavenly bodies, including the planets Mercury and Mars, the gibbous moon, and a star or constellation yet to be identified (see CAD K 76). One text, Virolleaud AChSin 3, 7–8, actually seems to equate the Pleiades, *zappu*(MUL.MUL), with *kalītu*. The compound *kalīt šamê* seems, however, not to be otherwise attested, and I am unable at this time to come up with an explanation of our phrase based either on astronomical observation or on a figurative usage playing on the astronomical connotations of the words.

"Ug" V 25′–27′ probably contained some kind of parallel to our phrase, and the few remaining signs should fit a reconstruction of this kind. I thus take AŠ KA KUR at the end of 26′ as *ina ka-lat*, restoring [*šamê*] at the beginning of 27′ and accepting the unusual feature of a construct chain split over two lines. J. Nougayrol, reading *ina ka-šad* but facing the same difficulty (1969: 401 n. 63), also considered a reading *ina pî māti*. Van Soldt (1991: 14 and 456 n. 176) retains Nougayrol's reading *ina ka-šad*, but then takes this to be an endingless *status rectus* form of the infinitive *kašādu*. All of these renderings have to accept an unusual spelling AŠ = *ina* that is otherwise not attested in "Ug", and none of the solutions makes really good sense in the given context. One thus might also consider an ancient copying mistake (omission of *šamê*) and a subsequent reinterpretation of the line by the Ugaritic scribe to explain the confusion.

I 45 (+ "Ug" V 27′) See also "Lam. II" 127.

The exact sense of *rubûta šakānu* is not clear to me; neither of the dictionaries has attempted a translation of the phrase.[26] *šakānu* + abstract object normally means "to establish, cause, bring about, define," but in our line a meaning like "bring into action, make good use of" seems to make better sense.

"OA_1" 17–22 contains an Assyrian rendering of the traditional *šiptum ul jâttum* formula, which thus in this case could be what the other texts left out and only indicated through the abbreviative rubrics TE.ÉN, TU_6.ÉN.É.NU.RU, and TU.EN.NU.RU. Noteworthy are the phonetic renderings of Ningirima as a male god *Nikkilil* (see already Michel 1997: 64 with n. 24, with an important reference to Krebernik 1984: 293), and the phrase *anāku alqe* "I took" replacing the more common *anāku ušanni* "I repeated."[27]

I 47–52 Until recently, these lines had to be largely restored from the parallel in "Lam. III" 119–26, and the line divisions were adjusted to fit the shorter lines of "Lam. I." I have kept the hypothetical line breaks in place even after exemplar "*Ee*" virtually closed the gap and it

26. Most recently, CAD R 401b quotes the passage without translation.
27. For a close OB parallel (YOS 10, 5, 8), see again Michel 1997: 64.

became apparent that no extant duplicate divided the lines exactly as I had reconstructed them. This allowed me to avoid a complete renumbering of the lines of the remainder of "Lam. I", since I have used these line numbers for many years when quoting this text.

I 48 (+ "Lam. III" 120) For the restoration *t*[*ukattam*] in "Lam. III" 120, see the commentary there.

For the second half of the line, cf. Farber 1987a: 99 n. 41. Text "*Ee*", as well as the parallel in "Lam. III", have *ṣubāt ūmakkal ḫašmāni* "a one-day (disposable?) garment of bluish wool" instead of *ulāpu lupputu* "a soiled towel."

I 49 ("Lam. III" 121) *tunamdassi* (with variants *tunamtassi* and *tunaddassi* from "Lam. III" 121) is difficult. While AHw. posits an otherwise unattested verb *nuddušu* "hineinstechen" and takes the suffix **-ši* to refer to the garment, CAD N 41 lists our passage under *nadādu* D, with an ad hoc translation "to comb," which does not make much sense to me in the context of our ritual. If Oppenheim Dreams 329, 61 (*šumma ṣilli gišimmari nen-du-ud*) indeed contains an N stative of the same verb, the final radical should be *d*, and the form should be analyzed as an intensive D to an otherwise unattested G of the same meaning; the dream omen has, however, not been listed in CAD N 41 (but see CAD Ṣ 193b). On the other hand, final /š/ could be backed up by MSL 9, 137:685 (quoted CAD N 61a): ŠÌR = *na-da-šum*. Here, ŠÌR could be read as KIRID, and a connection between the verb and KIRID = *kirissu* "pin" could be postulated. In either case, a translation "to prick, pierce" seems conceivable but remains a guess that is possibly biased by what looks like a parallel to well-known voodoo practices. See now also Schwemer 2007b: 210–14; he quotes further evidence, both textual and archaeological, for the piercing of magical figurines with a *ṣilli gišimmari* "leaf thorn" ("Blattstachel") of the date palm, without reference to our text.

I 50 (+ "Lam. III" 122) For *bitqu*, see above, comm. to "Lam. I" 28.

I 55–56 (+ "Lam. III" 127–28) Cf. Farber 1987a: 90 n. 17 (quoted as "53f.//III 99").

I 58–59 (+ "Lam. III" 44–45) For the relationship between *ḫallutanû*, *ṣulum* PAP.ḪAL *imēri*, and *ṣulum ša* ḪAL(.LA) *imēri*, see CAD Ḫ 48a. All these expressions seem to mean more or less the same, "black (spot/hair) on/from the hind leg of a donkey." This explains why, with the exception of this one passage, they never occur side-by-side. My guess is that the compiler of our text ended up including two variants from different sources in his main text.

The Akkadian equivalent of PAP.ḪAL is not always clear. In addition to its use for *pušqu* (see above, comm. to "Lam. I" 43, and below), it usually stands for *purīdu* "leg" but on occasion must also be read *pa(p)ḫallu* "thigh," as evidenced by the spelling variants PAP($pa_4^{?}$)-*ḫal-la/li* in "Lam. II" 116 (and 116*), "Lam. III" 44, and elsewhere (see already CAD Ḫ 48a). These variants are too numerous to be brushed away as mistakes, as AHw. 880b *s.v. purīdu* tried to do, arguing for a reading **ṣulum purīd imēri*. *paḫallu* "thigh," probably a loanword from Sumerian, is also well attested in plain syllabic spellings (AHw. 810a). The difficulties in Akkadian reflect a similar problem in Sumerian, where the exact phonetics of the term and the relationship between paḫ = *purīdu* "leg," ḫa1 = *ḫallu*

"thigh," and papḫal (equated in LL with *purīdu* and *pušqu* but never with *paḫallu*) still have to be worked out in detail. The association papḫal = *pušqu* may, by the way, have also played a role in the selection of *ṣulum paḫalli imēri* as one of the ingredients of the ritual to accompany an incantation which quite prominently refers to *mê pušqi* (see above, "Lam. I" 43 and comm.).

I 60 For *ina* NE *tuqattar* (and the similar phrases *ina* NE *ašāgi/eʾri tuqattar*), several different readings and interpretations have been proposed:

1. *ina išāt(i) (ašāgi/eʾri) tuqattar* "you fumigate, using fire (of *a./e.*)" (AHw. 907b; CAD E 319b; CAD I/J 232a);
2. *ina* NE *tuqattar* "you fumigate in . . ." (CAD Q 167f.; see P 325b, where *qutri*, *qutrinni*, or *penti* are offered as possible readings of NE);
3. *ina qutrīni tuqattar* "you fumigate in an incense offering" (CAD Q 325b);
4. *ina pēnti (ašāgi) tuqattar* "you fumigate, using (*ašāgu*) embers" (CAD A/II 409f.; Mayer 1978: 453, accepted in ABZ[2] p. 423 (supplement to no. 172, see now also MZL no. 313); Stol 1998: 350; but cf. also *ina* NE *ašāgi* "in smoke[?] of *a.*" (CAD Q 322a).

With *pēnti ašāgi* attested several times in syllabic spellings and several references where NE needs to be a pourable commodity, NE should probably be read *pēntu* "embers" (and not *išātu* "fire," *qutrinnu* "incense offering," or *qutru* "smoke") in all cases, even though an entry NE/IZI/DÈ = *pēntu* seems to be absent from the lexical lists. At the same time, *ana* IZI *tanaddi*, read *ana išāti tanaddi* in CAD Q 167b and elsewhere, should probably also be understood as *ana pēnti tanaddi* "you throw onto embers." The reading NE = *qutrīnu* (and the tentative translation NE = "smoke") proposed by CAD P and Q should be abandoned.

I 61 This line should, by dint of elimination, be parallel to "Lam. III" 67, in which case the first ingredient should be *azallû*. The first sign of the line in *c* is, however, clearly *saḫ* and not *ú*, leading to a probable reading *saḫlê* "cress." This pungent herb, on the other hand, does not seem to be a fitting ingredient for a salve. Only a new duplicate can show whether its mention here is due to a scribal mistake.

I 62–92 Lines 62–80 only have been translated by Haas (1986: 144f., from F. Köcher's manuscript edition), and the whole spell by Foster (1993: 867f., from previously published sources). Foster's restoration of the beginning of the spell is, however, based on Myhrman's edition and no longer tenable.

I 62 (+ "Lam. III" 82) The beginning has been restored and emended according to "Lam. III".

The precise meaning of *anqullu* is still elusive. CAD A/II 143f. does not make it clear enough that the emphasis is specifically on the heat created by, or surrounding, the "atmospheric phenomenon," as is also shown by the equations with *akukūtu*, *išātu*, and *nablu* (see, however, the important note on p. 144a, suggesting a meaning "wildfire," which seems to fit many usages of *a.*).

I 63–68 These lines have been translated by Heeßel (2002: 74f.).

I 63–64 While spoiling (or discarding) valuable substances like the "root of the licorice tree" and the "seeds of the *šunû* (= chaste tree?)" makes sense in this context, the reference to "fruit

(*muṯṯummu*) of the *ṣarbatu* tree" is more problematic. The study announced by Nougayrol (1969: 396 n. 21), which was to prove that *ṣarbatu* is actually the maple has, as far as I know, never appeared, and I thus continue to use the traditional translation "poplar" without committing myself to any subspecies of the genus.[28] Undoubtedly, the *ṣarbatu* was a valuable tree, but its importance lay mainly in its wood, used as timber, woodworker's material, and fuel. Its sap and foliage were used in medicine, but its fruit (*zēru* and *inbu*) had little value and in fact are only attested in dream omens that have questionable relation to reality. Although *muṯṯummu* is equated with *inib kirî* "fruit of an orchard" in synonym lists, its meaning seems to be somewhat different (see, for instance, Maximilian Streck 1916: 90 X 105 = Borger 1996: 74 A X 105, where *inbu* and *muṯṯummu* complement each other). *m.* thus might have included the lush appearance of the foliage as well, the loss of which would indicate that the tree was dying.[29]

I 65–66 The use of the preterite (followed in 65 by a second preterite and in 66 by a perfect) in what otherwise would appear to be a descriptive narrative is unusual but occurs again in the structurally similar passage "Lam. I" 179–86. I take it to be a generalizing statement that literally means "when she will have done *xx*, she will have achieved *yy*," which then leads me to the translation "by doing *x*, she (always) achieves *y*." Note that "Lam. I" 181 and 183 in fact repeat our two lines almost verbatim, with 181 changing the tense from *iškun* (preterite, line 55) to the perfect *ištakan*, thus making both lines syntactically parallel.

I 67 I understand Lamaštu's descriptive name *pasus(s)atu* as an unusual usage of the nominal pattern **parussat-* from **pss* "to eradicate, eliminate," semantically based on a participle rather than an adjective. Heeßel (2002: 74f.) follows the more traditional analysis as an abstract noun "Vertilgung."[30] Wiggermann (2000: 231 n. 102), on the other hand, translates "cripple" and refers the reader to a still unpublished study proving this. As Heeßel has pointed out, the word could well be a pun on the name of Pazuzu (of still unknown etymology).

I 68 For *anqullu*, see above to line 62. The variant [. . .](*-*)*gu-la* (*b*) could be the result of a mixup between *anqullu* and ^{d}G*u-la*, although this does not seem to make much sense in our context.

I 69–70 The differentiation between *Lamaštu* and ^{d}dim$_{10–11}$.me is certainly artificial but shows that her Sumerian name (probably to be pronounced /dimme/) was still well-known and deemed magically potent, even in post-Sumerian times.

28. See Postgate 1992: 183 for the suggestion that *ṣ.* is actually *Populus alba* or *nigra*, rather than the Euphrates poplar; note that the common identification with *Populus euphratica* is based solely on an Arabic etymology and thus rather tenuous.

29. Haas's reading of these two lines, picturing Lamaštu as the destroyer of human fertility, is no longer tenable. For a similar, although badly broken, passage also using *tabāku* for the spoiling and destroying of trees and their yield, see the Pazuzu incantation Borger 1987: 17 = Heeßel 2002: 57, 10–11.

30. For earlier literature, see Heeßel 2002: 75, and cf. now also CAD P 225f. ("destruction").

I 71 The variant *šumma* for *aššu* must be a scribal mistake, prompted by curses of the form *šumma* + 2.f.s. verb so common in "Lam."

I 72 The *plene* vowel in *tu-kan-na-a-ni* (Kuyunjik texts only) might reflect secondary stress on this pausal form.

I 73 Text *a* seems to have missed the shift of tense by one line.

I 76–77 Text *b* (closely paralleled by *a*, if my reconstruction of the largely broken line *a* II 7′ is correct) leaves out the phrase "to the body of NN son of NN." In addition, at least text *b* repeats the two last verbs in the sequence, *ṭeḫû* and *sanāqu*.

I 80 For the possibility that *bān kullati* could mean "the one who created the clay pit," see Lambert 1978–79: 109f. Although I prefer to see Ea as the "creator of everything," the rare epithet might have triggered the use of *tīd kullati* in the accompanying ritual ("Lam. I" 94), or vice versa.

In our line, the consistent spelling *ba-an* (*kullati*) in all three surviving exemplars, contrasting with equally consistent *ba-nu-ú* (*kibrāti*) in line 83, both in pausal position, is noteworthy, although I am unable to explain it. Note that *bānû kullati* in Farber BID 134, 125 and 185, 37 is always spelled with final */û/* and that this is at the beginning of the lines and not in pause. A detailed study of the construct forms of III-weak participles is a desideratum.

I 87 *abrakkat* É.KUR should probably not be directly connected with the Ekur in Nippur (but cf. below, line 89), because no specific affinity of Ninkarrak with that temple or city is otherwise known: see now Goodnick Westenholz 2010a: 377–405.[31] If we take É.KUR as the logogram for Akkadian *ekurru* "temple," the epithet *abrakkat ekurri* could—with a generalizing singular, as in *bēlet šipti* and similar epithets—mean "who keeps (all) temple(s) in order." Compare also Gula's statement *abrakkāku* "I am a (female) steward" (Lambert OrNS 36: 120:65, Gula Hymn of Bulluṭsa-Rabi), without connection to any specific temple.

I 89 Following AHw. 1400b, CAD U/W 15f., and the evidence from *Enūma eliš*, I take the KI after **Ubšukkina* as an Akkadian ending (though with wrong case vowel) rather than as the determinative for place names. Whether É.KUR in this line actually refers to the famous temple in Nippur or should again be read as a generic noun *ekurru* "temple" remains unclear (see also above, line 87, with commentary).

I 90 Cf. Farber 1975: 178 (quoted as "Lam. I 78").

I 95–96 (+ Lam. III" 131–32) Cf. Farber 1987a: 95 (quoted as "Lam. I 93//III 102").

I 100–102 See commentary to "Lam. I" 11–13.

I 103 (+ "Lam. III" 84–85) All extant texts have *elamâti/a*—that is, statives 2.m./f.s.—although the context calls for a 3.f.s. **elamât*. This consistent inconsistency may be a mistake made by a compiler connecting two similar lines from different contexts. For lack of better explanation, I have emended the text in the translation.

31. For the same title *abrakkat* É.KUR as an epithet of other goddesses of healing, Amašumaḫa and Nininsina, see CAD A/I, 32a. Again, no connection to Nippur seems to be implied.

The headdress *upru* (also pl. *uprū*) occurs also in "STT 145" 15′ and in "SKS" 2 as worn by Lamaštu. For a possible connection of the word with the strange headgear, which looks like a little sack on a stick, depicted on some Lamaštu amulets, see Farber 1983: 444a.[32] The relationship of the noun *upru* to the verb *apāru* G/D "to put something on the head" also remains uncertain, and the fact that they are occasionally used in what looks like a *figura etymologica* may well be a result of popular etymology. To complicate matters, by-forms of *u.* seem to include a nisbe-like *uprû* and a feminine *upurtu* (see AHw. 1425f.; CAD U/W 189 and 193). The difficult passage King CCEBK 26,3, with an enigmatic reference to the Elamites(!), most recently listed in CAD U/W 17a as a separate lemma *uburtu* "(mng. unknown.)," might also belong here.

I 104 Here, the Nineveh scribes by mistake included a former editorial gloss in the main text: *uṣṣâm-ma* "she comes forth and" is to be understood as originally a variant to *īlâm-ma* "she came up and," correctly marked as such in the copied original by the word *šanîš* "otherwise" (for this, see CAD Š/I, 387a). Modern scholars followed the wrong lead of Aššurbanipal's scribes, bending over backward to make sense of this line (Falkenstein 1931: 9; AHw. 1164a) or giving up on it (CAD Š/I, 386b). The omission of the phrase in texts m and *"Sb"* proves the point.

I 104–5 The sequence "preterite + *-ma* + stative" (*īlâm-ma ezzet*, etc.) is closely related to the better-known sequence "preterite + *-ma* + present" (type *illik-ma ibakki*; see in more detail below, commentary to "Lam. II" 92). The latter means "he came (while) weeping"—that is, the present verb describes a simultaneous action defining the circumstances of the main predicate of the narrative (usually in the preterite). If, however, the circumstances are not seen as a separable action but as a state (both long-term or temporary), the stative is used istead of the present tense: "she came up being fierce." As a convenient term for the construction, "circumstantial phrase" seems appropriate.

I 105 In "*Sb*", the signs could be just as well read *kab-*[*t*]*a-at* (the traces in C_1 are even more inconclusive). Although wounds, illnesses, and punishment are often described as *kabtu* "severe," I have not yet encountered this adjective used negatively to describe humans or demons and thus prefer *gapšat* "she is overbearing."

The traces in text *m* line 7 are inconclusive and are not easily reconcilable with the text of the other duplicates.

I 106 Restored after "RA" line 3. Cf. also Farber 1989b: 230. J. Nougayrol's remarks about this line (1965: 232 n. 12) suggesting a corruption *zû* > *(an)zû*, are too speculative to be helpful.

I 107 All readings are very tentative. In the second half, text m might have to be read [*r*]*u*$^{?}$*-bu-us-su ra-*[ ] "her lair is . . . [. . .]" (compare Meier AfO 14: 144:90ff. where the sequence *sūqu – mazzāzu – rubṣu* might be compared with *sūqu*$^{?}$ *– rubṣu*$^{?}$ *– manzāzu – mūšabu* in this

32. Note, however, that there is no textual evidence suggesting that *upru/ū* (the logogram of which, ^{túg}balla, includes the determinative for textiles) had any wooden or metal parts. Without mentioning my suggestion about *upru*, Wiggermann (2000: 245 n. 192) prefers a connection between the headgear on the amulets and the word *qannu*, which occurs once in the Lamaštu corpus ("RA" 17).

and the following line, "Lam. I" 107–8). The traces in D_1, however, if read correctly, seem to argue in favor of the interpretation adopted in the transcription and translation.

I 108 For parallels to this line, a stock phrase in Akkadian literature, see most conveniently CAD M/I 237a and M/II 252a. *ṣilli dūri* "shadow of the wall" must surely have a negative connotation here, and my translation attempts to capture that nuance. Grammatically, it remains unclear whether the pre-suffixal vowel */u/* in *manzazUša* and *mūšabUša* is to be viewed as morphologically long (as in my transcription and translation), thus representing a plural ending, or simply as an epenthetic vowel for an unusual pausal(?) form of the construct before suffixes.

I 109 For the restoration of the first half of this line, cf. "OB_2" 5: *ṣuprātim arrakat*. The restoration of the second half is based on *gulibāt šaḫāti* "shavings from the armpit," attested several times in magical context (see CAD Š/I 84a).

I 110 For *gallât*, see comm. to "Lam. I" 14. The end of the line remains unrestorable.

I 111–13 Reading [*a*]*na epšētīša lā banâti* in line 112, I suggested some years ago that Lamaštu might have been *sent down from heaven in order to do mischief*, instead of having been *dispelled from heaven because of her bad behavior* (Farber 1983: 445a). Wiggermann repudiated my earlier view,[33] and the new variant *ina epšētīša* ("*Sb*") seems to prove him right.

I 112 Cf. also "SKS" 1: *Lamaštu ištu šamê urdam-ma* "Lamaštu came down from heaven."

I 113 For negated *parakka nadû* "to provide no place of worship," compare Reiner and Güterbock 1967: 259, NB16.

The restoration at the end of the line is uncertain; another option might be *ina q*[*ereb šamê*], or some similar phrase.

I 114 W. Meinhold informs me that her collation of the last sign of this line in exemplar m yielded an unequivocal, though damaged, *LÍL, thus proving Falkenstein's restoration *kīma lil*[*î/īti ipparraš*] (Falkenstein 1931: 9) to be at least partially correct. Unfortunately, *lilû* is not otherwise attested as "flying around," and I therefore still hesitate to accept his restoration of the predicate (see also the cautious remarks by Wiggermann 2000: 228 with n. 67).

I 115–16 The difference between true narrative (usually preterites) and generalizing statements (usually statives or presents) is often blurred in "Lam."; see above, comm. to "Lam. I" 65–66; below, "Lam. I" 137ff., and passim. In spite of the clear preterite *itūr* in 116 (the verb in 115 is restored as a preterite after this parallel), I thus assume that these two lines already belong to the following description of Lamaštu's nefarious actions against mothers-to-be.

I 115 The restoration of the final verb is the crux of this line. Whether *sadāru* "to place in a row," also in temporal sense "to do time and again," is close or even correct can only be demonstrated by a new duplicate.

33. First in Wiggermann 1983: 116, and more recently in Wiggermann 2000: 225.

I 116 Other options for the predicate include *bitru*[*mū*] "multicolored" and *pitru*[*dū*] "terrified." Neither of these seems really convincing, while *pitru*[*sū*] "separated (from others in the same house?)" or "blocked (from free access)" makes quite good sense. Lacking corroborative evidence, the line should, however, not be used as proof that pregnant women would normally be expected to stay in separate, and thus more vulnerable, rooms of the house or that access to their dwelling space was generally blocked. In any case, I take *itūr* as the basic verb of motion forming a hendiadys with the preceding [*isdir*] "[*doing it time and again*], she returns/ed to" (note also the word order, with the predicate of line 115 in final position and the one of 116 in initial position, which brings them even closer together). The translation of 116 in CAD N/II 176a, "she turned into? a woman whose entrance . . ." seems less attractive, especially since *nērebu* is the "(point of) entrance," not the "(act of) entrance."

I 117 (+ "Ug" I 1′) and 119 *manû* "to count" is *i*/*i*-class in text *n*, but "Ug" and m show the more common *u*/*u* vocalism.

I 120 The context makes it likely that *nadât*(*i*) should be a transitive stative with Lamaštu as the subject. An alternative rendering "a spell is cast" (**nadât šiptu*) can, however, not be excluded. The traces in text m[34] suggest a text different from *n* and do not help to clarify the phrase.[35]

I 120–21 Parallels to this couplet are "Lam. II" 90–91 and "Lam. II" 139–40; cf. also "RA" 10–11 and the remotely similar phrases in "Emar" 3f. and 29.

I 121 This line contains a classic example of a simple hinge construction, with *mārīkina* used as the direct object to the two syntactically unrelated predicates *bilāni* and *lušēniq*.

I 122 (+ "Ug" I 4′) "Ug" has the interesting variant *luttarru*, which parallels "RA" 11: *luttarra*/*i*. I understand the form as a Gtn precative of *tarû* "to lift up, cradle (a baby), to act as a nurse or babysitter *(tārītu)*" (see Farber 1989b: 230 n. 23). For the corresponding Gtn participle *muttarrû*, see "RA" 14.

I 123 The end of the line seems to be garbled in both extant duplicates (*n* and m).[36] If *katimta* is indeed the correct reading of the final word, it is tempting to see it as a reference to the rare *katimtu* net (CAD K 306f.; the use of the verb **nšī* both in our line and in BWL 216 III 43 could be seen as reinforcing this connection), but because a "net" is not easily incorporated into an enumeration of terms for hot and cold temperatures, the syntax and overall meaning of the line remain obscure.

34. Falkenstein (1931: 9 n. 8) read *x-is-sa*. The preceding signs are erased (see copy), and the last word may also have been writen over a hasty erasure, so that a reading [*ši-pa*]-{*a*}-*as*?-{*x*}-*sa* might be considered. My collation remains inconclusive.

35. I do not know on what reading J. Scurlock based her translation of the line: "For the lying-in women giving birth (this) is (her) spell" (Scurlock 1991: 156).

36. For text *n*, cf. already Falkenstein 1931: 9 nn. 11–12, and for the reading of the end of the line, most recently CAD T 26a.

I 125–26 The exact meanings of *ana zūzâ* / *azzūzâ* and *ana sursuru* are still open for discussion. I believe that both terms reflect unpredictability and randomness, with emphasis on space (**zâzu*) and time (**surri*), respectively.

I 128–31 For similar passages, see above, "Lam. I" 41–43 (with commentary), and below, "Lam. II" 124–25.

I 132–33 (+ "Ug" I 6′–7′) "Ug" leaves out *bīta*: "what is open, she enters; into what is closed, she slips by the pivot."

I 134 I assume that *ṣerrāniš* here, in a play of words with "by the door pivot" in the previous line, means "like a snake." See for these two homophonous adverbs Nougayrol 1969: 395 n. 13, 1965: 231 n. 2; AHw. 1092; Farber 1989a: 105, 1989b: 230. Note, however, that in the comparable passage in "OB_3" 6–8, *ṣerrum* occurs twice as "pivot."

It remains doubtful whether "Ug" I 8′–9′ actually contained parallels to this and the following line. If so, the mimation at the end of 8′ would be rather unusual for this text, and we also would have to assume that this text wrote *iḫallup*(*a*) *ṣerrāniš* only once in line 7′. If the trace at the end of 9′ actually is the remainder of an AŠ, another indented line would have contained the end of 135, *panīša*.

I 135–39 These lines may possibly contain allusions to funerary rites, although distorted and turned into evil demonic actions for the purpose at hand.

I 136 For a convincing identification of the yellow paste *kalû* as "(yellow) ochre," see Stol 1978: 12f., 1998: 347f.

I 140 The reading of the word preceding *dudināša* is uncertain, since only one ambiguous sign (TUR) is preserved. My restoration of *nimru* (PIRIG.TUR) "leopard" is based on the apparent parallelism of this line with the following, which compares bodily features of Lamaštu to those of animals (for another passage likening her small of the back to that of a leopard, see "Lam. II" 37). Note, however, that *dudināša* is primarily the dual of *dudittu* "fibula" (see commentary to "Lam. I" 197), and a secondary meaning as a part of the body is otherwise unattested. The apparent parallel may thus be misleading, and the restoration altogether wrong.

I 143 The exact meaning of *kirimmu* is still debatable. In spite of the discussions by Falkenstein (1931: 9 n. 29), Landsberger (1960: 113ff.), and CAD (K 406), I think that at least some occurrences of *k.* indeed refer to an area or specific part of the body, most probably the bosom;[37] this seems to be inevitable, especially in Gilg. I 180[38] and also in the context of our passage. The meaning "bosom hold, cradling position" then should be a secondary derivation from there, not the other way round (against Falkenstein 1931: 9 n. 29). Note

37. See most clearly in the omen commentary Hunger, SpTU I 41:8, where the phrase *ina kirimme ummišu* is explained as *ina tulê ummišu*.

38. See also the commentary by George (2003: 796), who sees *k.* as "the folded arm which typically cradles a nursing baby." Based on CAD D 136, he then argues for a further extension of the meaning, to include "the overgarment behind which a babe in arms might be held for shelter and nursing." A *k.* garment (written with the determinative TÚG) actually seems to be attested in an OB letter (Stud.Ebl. 2, 49:5); see CAD Š/II 59b.

also that the main support in favor of this transferred meaning comes from the lexical equation with lirum/ŠU.KAL and KÉŠ, while few if any contextual attestations unambiguously call for such an interpretation.

With the exception of the Gilgameš passage mentioned above, there is no indication that *k.* was ever seen as sexually important or attractive. In this respect, it is also interesting that in Borger 1969: 5, 35–43 the *mušēniqtu* "wet-nurse" is described by allusions to her *irtu* "breast, mammae," while the description of the *kirimmu* is tied to the *tārītu* "baby-sitter," as first noted by Falkenstein (1931: 9 n. 29). In KAR 62:13, a male adversary is said to have a *k.* (here = "arm hold"?), and most other contexts refer simply to the loving care of a mother, bringing up her child "at/in her *kirimmu*." The use of verbs like *uššuru*, *paṭāru*, and *rummû* in connection with *k.*, most recently quoted in CAD as an argument against AHw.'s "Armbeuge," does in itself not exclude a region of the body, since all these verbs are occasionally also attested with other body parts (compare, for instance, *ipṭur irta* in "FsB" 5).

I 144 The restoration [*šizba ša mūt*]*i* was first suggested to me by T. Frymer-Kensky and is partially backed by "Ug" I 5′; unfortunately, the traces of the first two signs in this text, however, remain inconclusive (Arnaud 2007: 63 reads [*ši*]*ẓ*[?]- but on p. 71 discusses the problems of this reading). Assuming a scribal error in the Ugarit text (*rukkukā* for *rummukā*,[39] see also CAD R 168), Nougayrol (1969: 395) already drew attention to the parallel between the two lines but stopped short of the reading proposed here. I am unaware of *šizbu ša mūti* (or *šizib mūti*) in any other text.[40]

I 145 "RA" 5 (*uššurat peressa buttuqā dīdāša*) might suggest a restoration [*but*]*tuq ṣertu ina tulêša* "the nipple on her breast has been [cut] off," but the general context of the two lines is quite different. To postulate such a parallel would, furthermore, hinge on the very doubtful etymology of *dīdu* as a Semitic word for "breast" (see CAD D 136a) and a reinterpretation of Gilg. I 188, where the garment(?) *dīdu* replaces *kirimmu* (cf. above, commentary to line 143), which appears in line Gilg. I 180.

I 146 The second half of the line, although now finally epigraphically clear (cf., formerly, Borger 1971: 67a, 1975: 230 for the correct reading of the verb) remains unclear. Since *lasāmu* is intransitive, *Bur-rat/ra-tú* can only be the subject of *ilassum* or an adverb qualifying it. For neither case can I offer parallels or clarification.

I 147 Cf. "OB_2" 14 *rapašk(m) ṣerrum* (wordplay on *ṣērum*!). Note, however, that the reading EDIN = *ṣēru* "steppe" in our line is not quite certain and that **rpš* is usually *i/i* class; *u/u* vocalism is otherwise only once attested in the difficult *muḫḫašu irappuš* TDP 222, 4f. A connection with the rare verb *rabāšu* (*u/u*), otherwise only attested in OA and of unclear meaning, can thus not be definitively excluded.

39. Arnaud (2007: 71) assumes a playful spelling, using the Sumerian value mu_4 for KU, and compares the same usage in the colophon of RS 23.034.

40. Wiggermann's reference to "her venomous milk" (2000: 231) seems to be based on the same reading, but our line is not quoted in the related n. 93.

I 149–51 The reading *ana* "to" in these lines is based solely on inconclusive traces in text *n* I 44′. If, on the other hand, the passage describes some kind of demonic entourage of Lamaštu, a slight emendation here and a subsequent reading *ina* "at" in all three lines seems plausible.

I 155–60 Cf. Farber 2007a: 141 with n. 25.

I 155–56 In translating *balu xx* as "(although) not being xx," I am following a suggestion by F. A. M. Wiggermann,[41] who based his understanding of this couplet on Sumerian phrases such as abgal nu.me.a síg.bar.ra "(although) not being an *apkallu*, he has long hair." My former translation of line 156 "If there is no counterdemon (to stop her)" (Farber 1987a: 102 n. 50) seems to me now less convincing. A third possibility would be "without permission of xx," a nuance of *balu* well attested in other texts. In any case, the general sense of the passage is that Lamaštu does not hesitate to overstep her "rights" by killing her victims, something otherwise reserved for death itself or for the *gallû* demons,[42] whose close affiliation with the netherworld is otherwise well attested and who are often seen leading or dragging their victims into the "Land-of-No-Return."

I 156 *napišta turru* seems to be used here as an idiom for killing, literally parallel to German "jmdm. den Hals umdrehen" = "to wring somebody's neck." The expression is also attested in ARM 14, 5:17 and 6:28, where it is figuratively used for the killing of an ox (see AHw. 1335a and CAD N/I 304 a, with slightly different interpretations).

I 158ff. These lines contrast the socially correct house burials of children, with Lamaštu ordering the plain abandonment of their dead bodies outside the range of civilization. Whether this in fact reflects specific burial customs for babies who were deemed Lamaštu victims because they died during the first few days after birth I see no way to prove.

I 159 Literally, "like one who is storing provisions."

I 160 The Akkadian text uses a hinge construction in which *ana ṣēri* connects both with *lilqû* and *līzibu*.

The apparent mimation in (*līzibū*)*šuM-ma*, where an accusative (and not a dative) suffix is warranted by syntax, may be a proleptic dittography, caused by *šumma* "if" in the following line.

I 161 This line is very difficult. Taken at face value, *lu-še-ṣu-ú-šú* should be a 1.c.s. precative in subjunctive + suffix. In a *šumma* clause, the subjunctive should indicate an oath, but the precative strongly contradicts this interpretation. I thus prefer to see the form as a sandhi writing for **lū ušēṣûšu* (or *ušeṣṣûšu*) "they indeed brought/ bring him out" (an emending transliteration of the one extant text, D_1, to *lu ⟨û⟩-še-ṣu-ú-šú* would yield practically the same result).

The second problem is posed by *miḫru*. The meaning of the noun in this context should probably correspond to the cognate precatives in lines 162–66, but with the further possibility of double entendres. The spelling *lim-ḫu-ra ṣe-e-ni* in 163 at first seems to

41. Letter of Nov. 14, 1994. Cf. now also Wiggermann 2000: 229 n. 76.
42. For the term *gallû*, see also comm. to "Lam. I" 14.

indicate that the nouns following the precatives actually are the grammatical subjects (thus interpreted in CAD T 27a; **limḫurā ṣēnu* would then be correctly construed as fem. pl.; note, however, that the form *ṣe-e-ni* appears to be oblique case!), and the objects would not be expressly stated. Another possibility, however, is to see *limḫura* as a ventive singular used in variance with the non-ventive form for stylistic reasons not apparent to me. Line 166 actually bolsters this interpretation, since *lim-ḫur la-a-ti* can only be correct if *lâti* (fem. pl., again formally an oblique case!) is the object; the evidence from the remaining lines is inconclusive. This makes it possible, and I think even probable, that lines 161–66 are all based on the idiom *miḫru xx imḫur* "an unforeseen incident/mishap/accident happened to xx / befell xx" (see CAD M/II 59f.). Thus, *miḫru* in 161 would be the grammatical subject of all the following precatives, and the nouns following them would be their objects. This interpretation, although grammatically satisfactory and semantically acceptable here, is different from the motif seen in an apparent parallel to this passage from the baby incantation corpus (Farber 1989a: 48 §5, 69–70). In the latter, the subject-object relationship is clear from the use of suffixes: *limḫurka līmu(-)*[. . .] / *limḫurka nammaššû ša ṣēri* "May . . . [. . .] receive (=take care of?) you, may the animals of the open country receive you!" The existence of this other motif might even have led to a certain level of uncertainty in our passage, as shown in the inconsistent spellings discussed above.

I 167–69 These lines might have contained a (demonically twisted?) description of common wailing rites, but their wording is not well enough preserved to prove this.

I 170–73 In this broken context, it remains unclear to whom or what the suffix *-šu* refers, although it might well resume once more *ṣuḫāru* from above, line 157.

I 173 Rather than deriving the form from *ḫabātu* "to rob, kidnap," I prefer *ḫabāšu* "to smash, chop up," attested in similar comparisons in a magical text (Lambert AfO 18: 294, 75: *kīma diqāri*) and in a curse (CH rev. xxviii 39: *kīma ṣalam ṭīdim*). I am unable to offer a convincing restoration for the first part of the comparison, which might have named the thing broken (as in the two parallel passages), a tool used for breaking, or the person doing the breaking.

sebîšu "seven times" might mean here "into seven pieces."

I 175 A plural form **šaḫātātu* to *šaḫātu* "corner"[43] is still not otherwise attested, but the newly established connection of the form with **wšb* (text *α*) strongly supports this derivation: compare CT 16, 26 iv 26 and CT 17, 3, 16 for similar passages. Note, however, that text m, by leaving out *ina*, seems to call for a transitive verb (a locative function of *šaḫātāti* seems less likely) and may have had an altogether different version of the line.

I 177 (+"Ug" II 2′?) For *šuḫarrat ūmi* "stillness of midday," used next to *muṣlalu* "high noon, siesta time," see "MB" I 17 (parallel to Inc. 12, but the SB text does not have this particular passage). Because the end of our line is still lost, the connection to "Ug" II 2′ also remains

43. See AHw. 1129b; accepted in CAD Š/I 81b (with question mark) and 82b (without question mark).

conjectural: if [. . . *-ḫ*]*ar-rat*[44] actually should be restored there as [*šuḫ*]*arrat*, either the syntax or the arrangement of the lines must have been quite different in this text.

I 178 (+ "Ug" II 3′?) The end of the line remains unrestorable, since "Ug" II 3′ (if it actually is parallel to this line; for the uncertainty of this assumption, cf. also the commentary to 177) does not yield a usable predicate: the first partially preserved sign is definitely not BA,[45] thus ruling out forms from **blkt* Š or N. The problems of the line are worsened by the inconclusive variants of the beginning. Since *ṣētu* suggests a connection with **ḫmṭ*, text D_1 should probably be read *ḫummu*[*ṭ ṣēt*]*i* "the intense burning of the sun's glow." In m, however, the space before LUM and the use of the sign KUR in [. . .].LUM.KUR *ṣe-e-ti* excludes this reading. The most likely restoration here seems to be [*ša*]*lummat ṣēti* "the radiance of the sun's glow." Without direct parallels to either phrase, my preference for the latter follows the principle of *lectio difficilior*. Copying a slightly damaged tablet, the Kuyunjik scribe could then easily have misunderstood the text, changed the reading of LUM to *ḫum*, and rephrased the line to contain a more familiar idiom.

I 179–86 For the syntax of this passage, see above, commentary to "Lam. I" 65–66.

I 179 (+ "Ug" II 4′) The suffix in text D_1 shows that Lamaštu's own *melammu* (and not that of the lion) is the object here. Thus, it is unlikely that the predicate should be the same as in line 171 (**ndī* Š perf. + acc. suff.).[46] **ʾdš* "to be new" does not qualify for a Š stem and should therefore not be considered here (contra Nougayrol 1969: 395 n. 15 and Arnaud 2007: 71). A Š stem of *idû* "to know" also seems semantically problematic and would leave the alleged suffix *-ša* in "Ug" (see n. 46) unexplained. I thus assume an otherwise unattested verb **šuddušu* based on the numeral "6" (**šdš*) with a meaning "to make six-fold, sextuple." Similar verbal derivatives are thus far attested for "2" (*šunnû*), "3" (*šullušu*), "4" (*rubbuʾu*), and "5" (*ḫummušu*).

I 180 (+ "Ug" II 5′) Only "Ug" preserves the last sign of the line which Nougayrol read NU, and understood as a form of *neʾû*.[47] The tablet, however, shows BE (which in this text is generally distinct from NU), and accordingly I read *i-mid* instead.[48] Since *emēdu* has the well-established meaning of "imposing (something unpleasant) on somebody," the line also seems to yield at least acceptable sense. For the meaning of **lḫb* G/Š, so far attested only in "Lam.", cf. below, commentary to "Lam. II" 165.

I 181 (+ "Ug" II 6′) Cf. "Lam. I" 65 (*dilḫa iškun* instead of *duluḫḫâ ištakan*). A byform *dulḫû* for *duluḫḫû* "confusion, murkiness" is attested in Oppenheim Dreams 326, 22. The spelling in

44. Note that Arnaud's copy of these signs in Arnaud 2007: pl. VIII is quite different from mine, although his reading on p. 63 (with comm. on p. 71) is neither conclusive nor convincing.

45. See also Arnaud's copy in Arnaud 2007: pl. VIII. In spite of this, on p. 63 he reads the line as [. . . *ib-b*]*a*[!]*-la-kat*.

46. Note also that in Ug II 4′ the final syllable is written *-ša*, the vowel providing another strong argument against an accusative suffix.

47. Reading *i-nu*, Nougayrol tentatively derived the form from **nēʾ* "to turn back," but left the vowel unexplained (1969: 395 n. 15). If NU were actually the correct reading, other derivational possibilities (but with similar problems of vocalism) would be from **nāʾ* "to shout," or **ʾnī* "to change."

48. Arnaud's reading *i-bat* (with translation "annihile") seems to derive the form from **ʾbt* which to me seems morphologically impossible.

text D_1 (*du*-UR-*ḫa-a*) might reflect this form, adding another example to the small list of *l*/*r* interchanges in Akkadian (see Farber 1977: 204 with n. 1). "Ug" simply writes *idallaḫ* instead of the rather stilted expression *duluḫḫâ ištakan*.

I 182 This line is omitted in text m (note that "Ug" also contains no parallels for it or the following line). *ḫarrānu* is construed as a fem. here (*-ša*).

I 183 For a literal parallel to this line, see "Lam. I" 66.

I 184–86 (+ "Ug" II 7′–9′) A very fragmentary line similar to this passage is to be found in the Pazuzu incantation edited by Heeßel (2002: 57:10): *īmid* GIŠ[. . . . . *ini*]*b*$^{?}$*-šu* [. . .]. For the use of **tbk* in similar context, see CAD T 7 s.v. *tabāku* 3c. Note that the verb denotes both the "shedding" (of one's own leaves, hair, etc.) and the "stripping off" (of someone else's attributes).

ībir in "Ug" (partially preserved in 7′–8′; lack of space precludes a similar restoration in 9′, where I tentatively restore *īmid* instead) looks like a multiple dittography from line 6′ (see already Nougayrol 1969: 396 n. 19). It is noteworthy, however, that the verbal root **ʾbr* "to cross," while restricted in Akkadian to complementation by bodies of water or the sky, in Northwest Semitic can refer to a much broader range of geographical features and very often simply means "to pass by *x*." This would make perfect sense in our passage, and the variant thus may well be traced back to the misunderstanding by a Ugaritic scribe of the proper, rather narrow, meaning of *ebēru* in Akkadian. Note also that "Ug", after a full parallel to line 184 in 7′, is very much at variance with the canonical text in 8′, while 9′ is again very close to 186.

"Ug" II 8′: For *ṣarbatu*, see the commentary on "Lam. I" 63–64. For **npṣ* "to strip off (hair, fruit, fish-scales, etc.)," compare the references collected in AHw. 735f. under *napāṣu* G2c, meaning "unkl." (cf. also CAD N/I 286b).

I 186 (+ "Ug" II 9′) Note that in the later texts ^{GIŠ}*buṭnu* replaces ^{GIŠ}LAM.GAL = *buṭuttu* of the "Ug" version. This lends additional weight to the argument that both names refer to the same tree, the terebinth, and that the conventional separate translation "pistachio" for *buṭuttu* should be given up.[49] *allānu* and **buṭnu ša šadî* (var. *buṭunānu*) are also mentioned next to each other in "Lam. II" 189.

ul-ta-lak in "Ug" II 9′ must be a faulty spelling for *ultālik*.

I 187 Cf. also "Lam. I" 190. Nougayrol (1969: 396 n. 24) was the first to correctly note that **na/ešb/pu* must be an adjective qualifying *dāmu*.[50] Etymology and meaning, however, remain uncertain.[51] The word has until now almost exclusively been attested in Lamaštu texts and is there invariably spelled with initial MAN = *niš*, which made it improbable that the relatively rare reading *naš* of this polyphonous sign was intended. Exactly this reading,

49. See the detailed discussion by Stol (1979: 8ff.), who seems, however, to have overlooked the prior remarks by Nougayrol (1969: 396 n. 22).

50. Although AHw.'s interpretation as an abstract noun **nišbûtu* "Sättigung" seems to fit our line 187, it is syntactically impossible in the similar passages "Lam. II" 95 and "Ug" II 10′.

51. For a rather speculative suggestion "dried," based on a single entry in an Ebla vocabulary, see Civil 1982: 2 n. 4, followed by Scurlock (1991: 155), who (on the same page) translates the same word in "Lam. II" 95 as "coagulated$^{?}$."

however, is now made very likely by another text from Ugarit, edited by Arnaud (2007) as no. 14. Here, in lines 5 and 6, what is most probably the same adjective is written once *na-aš-ba* (masc. sing.) and once *na-aš-bu-ti* (masc. pl.).[52] It is also tempting to connect these passages with Bezold, Cat.Suppl. pl. 4, 500 II 4: MÚD.MEŠ-*šú na-áš-Bu*, which both dictionaries list under *našāpu* "to blow (away)" (CAD N/II 56; AHw. 758b). Note also that the N stem of this verb occasionally shows *e*-vocalism ([*lin*]*nešpū*, Maqlû VI 33). Whether further connections to the well-known *našpu* type of beer are admissible, I do not know, but it should be noted that (a) *našpu* beer does not seem to have the negative connotations we expect for *na/ešpu* blood[53] in our context and that (b) there are no by-forms with *e/i*-vocalism attested for the beer variety.

I 188/191 The exact meaning of *g/karāṣu* in this context[54] still remains a bit unclear. The basic meaning of **krṣ* is "to pinch or break off small pieces (from a substance or object)," which in our case might either refer to gnawing small edible pieces off the bones[55] or, more likely, to cracking the gnawed-off hollow bones to suck out the bone marrow.

I 189 ("Ug" II 10′) The predicate of this line, *tal-tam-di-i/e*, has never been satisfactorily explained.[56] Fortunately, help now comes from a hitherto unpublished source, "Emar" 31f.: *talmadī akal dimmāti u bikīti*. Unless we assume still another major misunderstanding in this often-corrupt text, it seems to show that our form is simply a 3.f.s. perfect from **lmd* "to learn about," with the "Emar" parallel having a preterite form instead. The plene writing *tal-tam-di-i* in this case should be an indication that we are dealing with a question here[57] and not a contractional length based on a final weak radical. "To have learned about, become an expert for" could then, by extension, even have taken on the nuance "to have become used to," as assumed in my translation.

Although *akal dimmati u bikīti* does not seem to be attested elsewhere, it is fully understandable in this context, while **ša dimmati u bikīti* in text m does not make any sense. It thus seems probable that the scribe, copying from an original that wrote the logogram NINDA for *aklu*, misread the sign as a syllabogram *šá* and mistakenly replaced it with its allograph *ša*.

I 190 (+ "Ug" II 10′) Cf. above, commentary to "Lam. I" 187 and 190. The phrase *dām(ī) aWīlūti našbūti* in "Ug" is the same as in "Lam. II" 95, thus clarifying the syntax of both passages.

52. The third alleged occurrence of this word, this time as a noun written *naš*$_x$(GIŠ)-*bé*(-*ma*) at the beginning of line 5, is less certain. A simpler reading *iz-bé*(-*ma*) "fetuses" could also be considered.

53. See also Arnaud's tentative translations "corrompu" in our text (Arnaud 2007: 67) and "gonflée" in no. 14 (p. 57, with commentary pp. 57f.). His hesitation to accept a reading MAN=*naš* and instead to opt for *néš* (p. 71) are influenced by the "variant" GIŠ (see above, n. 52) and thus no longer substantial.

54. CAD K 210a translates "to break"; AHw. 448a: "(zer)nagen."

55. Note, however, that this would basically repeat the previous action of "eating (flesh not to be eaten)."

56. For a derivation from **ṣdī* Gtn, see originally Myhrman 1902: 162f. n. 9, and later, AHw. 1074a. This interpretation, however, had to cope with major morphological and syntactical difficulties and was, for instance, never adopted in the CAD.

57. "Ug," if restored correctly, instead has a plain statement *tal-ta-*[*am-d*]*i*.

I 191 (+ "Ug" II 11′–12′) See also line 188. Note that text m omits the repetition of this line. This might indicate that the Aššur version of the text took *taltamdî mārat Ani* in line 189 to function as a pivot in a construction linking *šīra ša lā akāli eṣemta ša lā karāṣi* as first object with *akal dimmati u bikīti* as second object: "To flesh not meant for eating, bone(s) not meant for *cracking* (←) have you become used (→) to food of wailing and weeping?" Such a construction, although not necessarily the older and better text (cf. "Ug"!), would eliminate the difficulty created by the lack of an appropriate verb for line 188. It also would avoid a possible misunderstanding of the passage based on a reading that would assume that line 191 contained the object of the verbs in 192–93.

I 192–93 Here again, the verbal form is somewhat difficult. Myhrman (1902: 162f. n. 9) derived it from *ṣadû* D, a verb well attested in Lamaštu and similar texts. The form *liṣaddīki* "may he supply you (with provisions)" seems to make reasonably good sense here, although the cognate object *ṣudê* "with provisions" otherwise regularly accompanies forms of *ṣuddû*. The spelling with KUR, however, would involve an otherwise unattested value *ṣad* for this sign.[58] In view of this, Myhrman's reading **li-ṣad-di-ki* was rejected by AHw.[59] but revived with a question mark in CAD N/I 100. Although AHw.'s interpretation "may (Anu/Antu) cause (someone) to throw to you (2.fem.dat.) (bones, etc., for feeding)" seems rather convoluted, a simpler translation "to cause to drop" makes better sense to me: "may (Anu/Antu) cause you (2.fem.acc.) to drop (the bones etc.)." Line 191 then becomes the centerpiece of a hinge construction, acting as direct object for both *taltamdī*/*taltanattî* in 189/190 and *lišaddīki* in 192/193, thus introducing the description of Lamaštu being forced to break up camp. Note also that, at least according to the passage in lines 196–203, it is not Anu and Antu but rather Asalluḫi and Siraš (cf. also "Ug" II 15′, where it is Ea) who actually supply Lamaštu with better travel provisions in this incantation. Other possibilities that failed to convince me in this context include *limaṭṭīki* "may he reduce (= humble?) you" (**mṭī* D) and *linaṭṭīki* "may he *beat* you" (**nṭū*, with uncertain meaning of the D stem).

I 194 (+ "Ug" II 13′) Already, D. Myhrman realized that this line mentioning pegs and ropes refers to the breaking of camp. Although the first half is basically clear ("Ug" needs a slight emendation), the second half has been subject to many different interpretations: Myhrman's translation "*schneid ab* deine Stricke" (1902: 163 with n. 10) was altered by Nougayrol without explanation to "enfouis tes excrements" (1969: 396 with n. 27). AHw. 913a, although introducing what it called a "transferred" meaning "einwickeln" for *qebēru*, translates our line "vergrabe deine Fäden," which does not make sense in the context. CAD Q 201ff. finally postulates two separate meanings for *qebēru*, "to bury" and "to roll up." I am not convinced that these two meanings, both attested for the G and D stems, really belong to one verb (see also above, comm. to "Lam. I" 41), and would rather separate

58. Cf. AS[4] no. 211 (pp. 39f. and 13*). Derivation of initial /ṣ/ values from original /š/ or /s/ values hardly ever happens within the Akkadian syllabary (cf. for the only clear case AS[4] no. 26: ŠAḪ=*šiḫ*/*ṣiḫ*, LB). Secondary development of values from /z/ to /s/ occurs occasionally, while shifts /š/ < /s/ and /z/ < /ṣ/ are common.

59. AHw. 708b, reading *li-šad-di-ki*, derives the form from **ndī* Š.

them for the time being, with the references for *qubburu* adj. "(mng. uncertain)" (CAD Q 292, cf. AHw. s.v. *qebēru* D4b) probably also belonging to "to roll up."

I 195 (+ "Ug" II 14′) In spite of the parallels, the correct restoration of "Ug" is still problematic. Instead of the version suggested in this edition, one could also assume a sizeable dittography and restore the line as *ki-ma* ANŠE.EDIN š[*a-da*]-*ạ-ki*[60] / {*ša-d*[*aʾ-a-k*]*i*} *ru-up-di* or just eliminate the final sign in 14′a for a restoration *ki-ma* ANŠE.EDIN.N[Aʾ EDI]N {*ki*} / *ša-d*[*aʾ-a-k*]*i ru-up-di*.

Texts m and "Ug" provide what I consider the original reading of the final verb, *šadâki rupdī*.[61] This phrase, "roam your mountain," is parallel to well-attested *ṣēra rapādu* "to roam the open countryside." The later change to *šadâki rukbī* "ride (*to*ʾ) your mountain, disappear,"[62] currently attested only in exemplars from Kuyunjik, may have come about under the influence of an existing idiom *šadâ* (or: *ana šadê*) *rakābu* with a meaning parallel to *šadâ(šu) emēdu* (cf. most recently CAD R 87a).

I 196–203 (+ "Ug" II 15′–17′) "Ug" has a considerably shorter version of this passage. Only *Ea mašmaššu* is invoked here, and it even remains unclear whether he, or the magician, are supposed to give Lamaštu the ingredients necessary to make her own bread and beer, since the text actually has *luddinku* (precative 1.c.s.) instead of the canonical version's *liddinki* (3.m.s.).

I 196 (+ "Ug" II 15′) The spelling MAŠ.MAŠ in this line, now further backed by "Ug" [*maš*]-*maš-šu*, in my opinion constitutes final proof (contra CAD M/I 381b, which took this to be a syllabic spelling) that *mašmaššu* is at least a viable option for the reading of the logogram (LÚ)MAŠ.MAŠ in SB texts. For LB references, see my remarks in Farber 1987b: 29 n. 11 and Oelsner 2001: 487 with n. 19.

I 197 The gifts for Lamaštu enumerated in this line also form part of the standard iconography of Lamaštu amulets; see my discussion in Farber 1987a (*mulṭû*: pp. 93–95; *dudittu* and *kirissu*: pp. 96–99; *pilaqqu*: p. 93; *šiddu*: pp. 99–100).

I 199 Both dictionaries connect our *šaman miḫri* with the *miḫru* offering, which makes little sense in the context. My translation is based on the well-known nuance of *maḫāru* as "to be on the same level, correspond." Another possible derivation of *miḫru* in this phrase could be based on *maḫāru* "to withstand," with the emphasis not so much on quality oil as a status symbol but rather on the oil's value in protective skin care (compare also the "everlasting shoes" of the following line).

I 202 (+ "Ug" II 16′–17′) Text m seems to call on a human brewer, while the Kuyunjik exemplars agree on the god of beer, Siraš/Siris, as the provider of brewing ingredients; for "Ug", cf. above, commentary to "Lam. I" 196ff. and note that, according to my restoration of line

60. Arnaud (2007: 63), assuming another dyslexic mistake and a dittography with the following line, reads [*ru-up*]-*di* here, but my notes say that the last sign is clearly a KI.

61. Both texts were formerly read **rubkī*, assuming a metathesis from *rukbī*: see Nougayrol 1969: 396 n. 28. The reading *d*[*i*] in text m was confirmed by collations by me and, independently, by W. Meinhold.

62. Wiggermann (1983: 102 n. 22) translates "bestijg je berg" = "climb your mountain."

15′, *luddinku* should be a mistake for the precative 3.m.s. **liddinki*, not a 1.c.s., as originally translated by Nougayrol (1969: 396f.).

"Ug" II 18′–28′ This passage was quoted (without its later parallels) by Dietrich (1988: 89f.) in a discussion of Marduk at Ugarit (see line 22′).

I 204 (+ "Ug" II 18′–19′) To judge from the remaining traces, m seems to preserve the older reading of "Ug", **utammīki mārat Anu Anu u Antu*. Note that text m uses the same writing for *Anu*, ^{d}DIŠ, also in line 225.

I 205 (+ "Ug" II 20′–21′) "Ug" mentions *Ninurta next to Enlil, which already Nougayrol emended to *Ninlil.

The name of Ea's spouse is preserved in "Ug" in its older form, Damgalnuna, while the later name Damkina has been restored in the texts from the first millennium.

I 206 (+ "Ug" II 22′) Šazu, a rare name for Marduk that only came into use during the Kassite period (see Sommerfeld 1982: 7 and 159), here followed by an incompletely preserved epithet, replaces the pair Marduk and Ṣarpānītu from "Ug" in the first-millennium exemplars.

I 207–8 These lines have no parallel in "Ug", and all the gods mentioned here are otherwise rarely found in magical texts. Lugalabzu, if read correctly, is another name for Enki/Ea (see Krebernik 1987–90: 110) who, however, had already been mentioned in line 205. Lugalabzu is mentioned next to Usmû and Ḫasīsu in Šurpu VIII 38, where an interesting var. from UET 6/II 408 24f. reads : . . . lugal.a.ab.ba (mistaken repetition from preceding line!) ^{d}*še-mu-ú(-)ḫa-si-su*. Usmû (^{d}ARA/ŠA) and Ḫasīsu also occur together in ABRT 56, 4. Their function in the context of incantations remains obscure to me.

I 209 (+ "Ug" II 25′?) If it is legitimate to combine the text of "Ug" II 25′ with the name Ištar in line 209 of the standard version, we gain a nice, easily understandable epithet of the latter, "Ištar, [most ho]nored[63] one of the gods, heroic woman." Unfortunately, in view of the different arrangements of the two versions, this remains unproven.

I 210 (+ "Ug" II 23′?) Nougayrol (1969: 397 n. 33) read the first divine name in this line in "Ug" as ^{d}MÁ "the divine boat" (= the moon crescent, Sîn). This does not, however, fit the traces in text A very well, and the interpretation remains unproven. The second name in "Ug" II 23′, ^{d}ama.ZA.KA.NU.TA, can, in spite of Nougayrol's efforts,[64] still not be safely identified with any female member of the pantheon. At the end of the line, *ka-nu-ta* could conceivably be understood as **kanûtu* "honored," if the name is actually reduced to ^{d}ama.ZA. Unfortunately, the canonical text does not help either: while it is almost certain that the end of the first line preserved on K 2016b (D_1) belongs to the second half of line 210, the reading of the traces as [*rāk*]*ib*$^{?}$ *ṣīrūti* is very doubtful, remains without parallels, and seems to refer to a male deity.

63. My copy would also permit a reading [*dan-n*]*a-at*, but Arnaud's rendering speaks in favor of [*ka*]*b*$^{?}$*-ta-at*.

64. Nougayrol 1969: 397 with n. 33, where he reads ^{d}ama.za.ka.nu.dá and takes this as a phonetic rendering of ^{d}ama.ša.kan.DU (or possibly ^{d}ama.ság.nu.du$_8$).

I 211–12 and "Ug" II 24′ Although "Ug" adds another goddess, Bēlet-ilī, to the list of deities invoked, the later texts, if read correctly,[65] seem to include here two lines of "oaths" by topographical features.

I 213 Following the reading of the school tablet *"Sd"*, *ina zumur*(SU) *bīti annî*, the end of this line yields a slightly unusual but perfectly understandable phrase involving the use of *ina zumur* as a compound preposition "in, from, out of" (see AHw. 1537b s.v. *zumru* D 3–4), which is well attested for localities such as *mātu*, *ālu*, and *bītu*. My restoration of the beginning fits this reading but without parallels must remain conjectural. A form of the verb **wṣī* Š would, however, nicely preempt the ritual instruction in line 227, which uses the same verb.

I 214 *qebēriki* instead of *qerēbiki* in *"Sb"* is simply a graphic metathesis (BI-RI for RI-BI) to be blamed on the student scribe.

I 215 (+ "Ug" II 26′) The same sequence of verbs (**nsḫ*, **wṣī* Š, **ṭrd*, **kšd* D) also occurs in KAR 184 rev. 14–15. Less exact parallels can be found in many exorcistic texts; see the dictionaries s.vv.

I 216 (+ "Ug" II 27′) Deriving *duppurāti* from **dpr*, I follow Moran (1981: 44–47) who (mainly on the basis of the evidence from Mari) refuted AHw.'s separation of an intransitive **duppuru* from a transitive **ṭpr* D. Although his observations are fully convincing on the graphemic level, the semantic problems involved (D-stem forms of the same verb being used both transitively and intransitively, with a passive Dt stem almost synonymous to the intransitive usage of D) remain puzzling.

For the stative of *duppuru* in similar context, see Lambert AfO 19, 118, 38f., where the preceding three verbs are unfortunately broken (*ṭ[a]r-da-tu-nu* seems possible for the second one).

I 217–18 and "Ug" II 28′ Although "Ug" ends this incantation with a standard zi-pà formula, the text of the later tradition remains largely incomprehensible. I know of no parallels, and even my assumption that these two lines are actually in Sumerian is uncertain and based mainly on what might be a Sumerian verbal form in line 217: mu.un.zi.zi. The signs preserved in line 218 are less conclusive: *ù* could just as well be Akkadian, UGU. RA might be *muḫra* (cf., from a distantly related text, KUB 37, 67, 4: *mu-uḫ-ra(-)an(-)* [. . .] *??*), and TI.LA could be a logographic spelling of *balāṭu* or *bulluṭu* (a phrase *il balāṭi/bulluṭi* "the/a god of healing" is, however, otherwise unknown to me).

I 221 Text m writes the hitherto unattested logogram DIRI for *ṣuddû*.

I 223–25 Rather than "offerings" for Lamaštu, I assume the food and drink mentioned here to represent an ordinary "meal" for her before her "travel" to the *ṣēru*. This seems to consist of a hot (or "thoroughly cooked, well done"?) dish or soup, everyday drinks, and a selected (and certainly symbolically relevant) piece of meat. For the surprisingly rare occurrences of pigs and piglets in Lamaštu's realm, see Farber 1987a: 89 with n. 11.

65. An alternative reading for line 212 could be [. . . . .]MEŠ/*meš-ši lu ta-ma-a-ti* "may you be conjured by the [xxx]x-s," but no convincing restoration of the signs preceding MEŠ-ŠI came to mind.

I 226 From the instruction "for three days, three times, all day long," it is hard to determine exactly when and how often the spell was to be used during the given period. In mathematical terms, the wording seems to be over-determined.

Lam. II (= 2. *pirsu*)

II 1–26 (+ "Ug" III 15′ff.) This incantation, although now completely reconstructed, still poses immense difficulties for translation and interpretation. The earlier version from Ugarit helps solve some *cruces* that obviously stem from ancient textual corruption, but it also adds new problems. The imagery used seems to build on many allusions and is possibly meant to be ambiguous in several places. Syntax and style are also more complex than in most other spells of the Lamaštu series.

Exemplar *a* (line II 22) quotes only the incipit of this incantation, then skips the full wording and instead adds the instruction *adi qītišu tamannu* "You recite (it) up to its end," after which this text continues directly with the rubric line and ritual ("Lam. II" 27ff.). For similar redactional notes, cf. CAD Q 285a s.v. *qītu* 1c, and Šurpu I rev. 16′ (see Reiner 1958: 12).

II 1 (+ "Lam. III" 72, 87, 100; "Ug" III 16′) The last word of this line was transliterated ME.UR-*ki* but left untranslated in AHw. 542a (see also CAD L 115b and Nougayrol 1969: 398 n. 39). Although neither AHw. nor CAD list our passage under letter M, a derivation from *milku* "counsel" seems inevitable now that "Ug" *mi*$^{?}$*-li-ka* has clarified the reading of the formerly ambiguous UR. Note, however, that **lzz* "to be persistent" is otherwise not attested with *milku* or any similar term but restricted to uses with rain and medical conditions.

Although the extant duplicates of "Lam. II" 1 do not add *ana* before *lazzu* ("Ug" is broken at the crucial point, but space also does not seem to allow the restoration of *ana*), the preposition is written in all exemplars of "Lam. III" 72, 87, and 100, which quote the incantation. Of the texts from "Lam. II" that do not write a preposition, "*Ec*" seems to make the best sense of the line by using a stative, *lāz,* which yields a translation "persistent is your counsel." The others (D_2: *lazzi*; *a*, "*Ea*", and "*Eb*": *lazzu*) remain syntactically unclear to me, and my translation is thus based solely on the somewhat simpler reading with *ana* from tablet III.

II 2–3 (+ "Ug" III 17′–18′) For these lines, see Farber 1991. The main difficulty of interpretation—the exact meaning of *qāt x našû*—is addressed there in n. 7. A connection with the standard expression "hand of god/demon xyz," most often used in a negative sense (see CAD Q 186ff. s.v. *qātu* 1e 2′–6′) seems plausible but ultimately unprovable. An additional difficulty arises from "*Ec*", which skips line 2 completely, thus leaving the passage without a predicate. The spelling *i-ši* in "*Ea*" is strange; it looks like an imperative, but the fact that the form is negated obviously rules this out as a possibility.

II 4 (+ "Ug" III 19′) *taprīs* and *taprīst* nouns are known from both **nūḫ* and **ʾnḫ*: *tanīḫ(t)u* "repose, tranquillity," and *tānīḫ(t)u* "wailing, hardship, labor" (see most recently al-Rawi and

George 1990: 156 *ad* 59). In most cases, the context will make the decision between the two options easy, but in our line a final verdict can probably not be reached without further parallels, and it is quite probable that the almost perfect homophony (and complete homography) of the two words was used here in an intentional play on words.

"Ug" and the Babylonian texts have the verb in the perfect (*attadīki* in "*Ea*", "*Eb*", and "*Ec*", and probably to be restored also in *b*), while the Kuyunjik exemplars show the preterite (*addīki*).

II 5 (+ "Ug" III 20′–21′) "Ug" seems to have had a different construction, unless the lack of *ina* is no more than a scribal mistake.

II 6 In the absence of an unambiguous spelling variant (like **šà-*) in **ša-libbiša*, and since I am unable to make any sense of this line involving a reading "unborn child, fetus," I prefer to connect the phrase with the idiom **mala libbi maṣû* "to do as one pleases" (lit., "to be equal to a wish"). This interpretation is bolstered by the variant *ša libbika* in "*Ea*", easily understandable if both *-ša* and *-ka* refer to Lamaštu but not so if reference were made to another woman's child. A first step toward this understanding was made by Nougayrol (1969: 399 n. 44).

II 7 (+ "Ug" III 22′) Cf. comm. to "Lam. I" 14 and 196.

II 8–10 These three lines function as a big hinge construction, with *ina zumur šerri mār ilīšu annî* (line 9) connecting equally to all three verbs in lines 8 and 10.

II 8 (+ "Ug" III 23′) Understanding it as a phonetic mistake (from dictation?), and not as a semantic variant "your word, utterance" (*contra* Nougayrol 1969: 399 n. 46), I take the spelling *a-mat-*[*ki*] in "Ug" to bolster a reading *i-mat-ki* "your venom" in the later texts, rather than *i-šat-ki* "the fire brought by you."

II 10 (+ "Ug" III 25′) The logogram GIG from "Ug" is reflected in the syllabic spelling *mur-ṣa* in "*Ec*". Text "*Ea*" adds an extra term for "frost," *šalgu*.

II 11 (+ "Ug" III 26′) Out of a total of seven duplicates and parallels to this line, three texts (C_2, D_2, and *b*) write *lām*, three others ("Ug", "*Ea*", and "*Eb*") write *lā*, and one is broken at the beginning ("*Ec*"). While C_2, D_2, "Ug", and "*Ec*" show the predicate (present or preterite?) in the subjunctive, the other three texts have a preterite in the indicative mood. Unfortunately, no clear distribution between Assyrian and Babylonian texts or between texts belonging to the different arrangements of the Lamaštu series is apparent here. Another text where *lā* and *lām* occur as variants is CH §278 (rev. xxiii 60, var. from the Kuyunjik exemplar e); here, both texts have the predicate in the preterite indicative. In both the Lamaštu reference and the CH lines, a meaning "x not yet having happened, before x has happened / will happen" makes good sense. The change in verbal mood remains puzzling unless we accept two different constructions, one using hypotaxis by means of the well-known subjunction *lām* (AHw. *lāma* C) with a hitherto unrecognized by-form *lā* ("Ug") "before," while in the other *lām*, again with the same variant *lā*, would have to be seen as the temporal adverb "not yet" (AHw. *lāma* B) in paratactic syntax.

tamû D + double acc. is usually construed as "to put somebody under a magical spell validated by someone/something else." With *šipir lemutti*, which can hardly refer to anything but Lamaštu's evil deeds, this does not make sense, and I thus assume an ad hoc construction with an adverbial accusative "with regard to, on account of."

II 12–13 (+ "Ug" III 27′–29′) Instead of solving the extant textual problems, every new duplicate seems to add to the obscurity of these two lines, and it is entirely possible that this reflects just as much the puzzlement of the ancient scribes as it testifies to our inability to find an obvious meaning for the seemingly unrelated words juxtaposed here. Syntactically, it seems possible that all the commodities listed in lines 12–13a are finally subsumed in 13b under *ikkibki*, which then would act as the main object of the imperative *ṣabtī*. I prefer, however, to take them as parallel to *šipir lemutti* from 11, so that Lamaštu is thus being conjured "on account of" all these unpleasant things. The concluding *ikkibki ṣabtī*, which I have translated rather literally, might also have an idiomatic meaning still unknown to us.

II 12 (+ "Ug" III 27′–28′) In the Kuyunjik texts, the first item in this list of unpleasant commodities is probably to be read *šipir urî*, as proposed in AHw. 1435b (slightly modifying Nougayrol 1969: 399 n. 50). "Ug" has *ši-pur* (*bu-re-e*[?]), most probably reflecting the reading *šipir* but exhibiting another mistake in the vowel (from dictation? Cf. above, comm. to "Lam. II" 8). On the other hand, the reading **šipir* can hardly be correct in text *b*, where the second sign is actually ERIM, which in Babylonian script should only have the value *z/ṣab/p*. Combined with the fact that the next sign in this text seems to be a BU, this suggests a variant or misreading based on a hitherto unattested noun *ṣ/zabburû*, possibly to be connected with *ṣabburītu* in Maqlû III 54, although I cannot make any sense of the resulting phrase *pan* (or: *īn*) *ṣabburê*. On the other hand, the possibility that ERIM is simply a *lapsus calami* for UD = *pir* cannot be completely ruled out; see below.

The word following **šipir* remains very difficult in the other texts as well. All texts seem to show forms of the genitive, reinforcing the notion that the preceding word, **šipir*, should indeed be a noun in construct. As already mentioned above, the two Kuyunjik texts have *šipir ú-ri-i*, and text b might have to be emended to read *šipir bu-re-e*, which would bring it close to the reading in "Ug", *ši-pur bu-re-e*[?]. Texts *"Ea"* and *"Ec"* are both broken at the beginning and thus they could have been parallel either to the Kuyunjik texts or to text *b*. Finally, *"Eb"* replaces this with *ruḫê rusê*, two terms for "witchcraft, sorcery." For *urû*, AHw. lists no less than five nouns, plus two cross-references: I = "stables," II = "stallion, team of horses," III = "palm frond," IV = "a pot," V = "fumigants," VI = *ūru* "genitalia," VII = *erûtu* "fish spawn," and CAD adds *urû* F "a bird." As a further possibility, one might think of *ūru* "stalk," which presumably has a masculine plural *urū*. Of these, none yields convincing sense after **šipir*. If we accept the emendations in texts *b* and "Ug", the situation with *b/purû* (or *būru* pl.) is not much better, with close to ten possible candidates listed in CAD B 339ff. and AHw. 881f. None of these stands out as an obvious solution to the problem nor even as a plausible variant to any of the *urû*s. In light of D. Schwemer's comments on *burû ša ašlāki* in KALI 2, 13 IV 13′ (2007a: 46), *burû* "reed mat" may be the most promising candidate, although, unfortunately, the last word

in our line is not *ašlāku* but *aštammu* (see below). In view of all these problems, I prefer to leave the passage untranslated and the interpretation open for whoever has a good idea.

The reading of the second half of the line (incorrectly restored without indication of damage in CAD L 253a) has now been clarified by texts "*Ea*" and "*Eb*". It remains, however, quite unclear what the "cloth (= towel[?], rag[?]) of the *aštammu* bar" really is. Note also that the Babylonian duplicates seem to have both nouns in status rectus, "a cloth (and) an *aštammu*," which, however, does not make sense to me. "Ug" again adds a puzzling variant by writing *ú-la-pu*-UZ-*t*[*am*-. . .], which Nougayrol (1969: 399 n. 50) tentatively explained as a crasis spelling for **ulāpu* + what he then believed to be the noun *aškāpu* "fuller." His reading of the last word is now obsolete, notwithstanding the occurrence of *aškāpu* in the accompanying ritual, line 28, but even if we now assume it is a crasis of **ulāpu* + **(a)štammu*, the spelling with the sign UZ instead of UŠ remains unexplained.

II 13 (+ "Ug" III 29′) I assume that *lupputu* at the beginning of the line should be connected to *ulāpu* in the previous line, even though the two words are separated by *aštammu*. It would then probably be the qualifying adjective well-known from TÚG.NÍG.DÁRA ŠU.LÁL = *ulāpu lupputu* (thus CAD L 253a) mentioned in the accompanying ritual, line 29. But though in the Kuyunjik texts it is just the line division before *lupputu* that looks a bit awkward, more of a problem is posed by the Babylonian duplicates (*b*, "*Ea*", "*Eb*") which all insert an extra sign KA(= *pî*[?]) after *lu-up-pu*-UD. Here, an interpretation as the substantivized infinitive D of **lpt* might be more appropriate, although an idiom **pâ lapātu/lupputu* is not otherwise known to me.

For an interpretation of *ikkibu* as "privilege," see Nougayrol 1969: 399 n. 52. Although my translation is quite different, it follows the main thrust of his argument by taking the suffix *-ki* as a subjective genitive ("your *ikkibu*" = abominable things belonging to and liked by Lamaštu), not an objective genitive ("an *ikkibu* for you" = things Lamaštu abhors).

For the syntax, see above, commentary to "Lam. II" 12, first paragraph.

II 14 (+ "Ug" III 30′–31′) The suffix *-šunūti* on the imperatives probably refers back to the "commodities" enumerated in lines 12–13, as well as forward to the "persons" mentioned in lines 15–16.

II 16 (+ "Ug" III 34′) *šūt panī-* (C_2, D_2, *b*), *šūt itti-* ("*Eb*"), and *šūt qātī-* ("Ug") are used as synonyms here; "those of someone's face" or "hands," as well as "those with someone" all stand for "the ones most closely related to, belonging with somebody."

The suffix *-šú* once used instead of *-ka* in text "*Eb*" is probably simply a mistake and not an indication of a different understanding of the passage.

II 17–19 (+ "Ug" III 35′–36′) These three lines contain several comparisons in a roughly chiastic arrangement. Although the middle line (18: *kīma šikkê lā taḫallupī ṣerrāniš*) makes sense on its own, the first line (17: *kīma nalši ša kakkabī kīma zaqīqi ša apāti*) is missing the predicate of the comparison, and the final one (19: *lā tattanablakkatī ḫaṣab ūrāti*) is lacking the noun to which the comparison refers. Unfortunately, the semantics of the passage do not allow us to complete the chiasm and combine these incomplete parts with each

other, since neither the night's dew nor specters are otherwise known to enter the house by crossing the protective arrangement of sharp sherds on the walls still well-known in the Mediterranean area today.

Note the form *našši* for **nalši* in "Ug" III 35′, attested already in OB (Atram-ḫasīs II ii 18 text B; see Lambert and Millard 1969: 74) and quite common from MB on (see GAG §34c and CAD N/I, 202f.).

II 18–19 The variant verbal forms from text "*Eb*" are obviously not correct. In line 18, *i-tel-lu* could be a mistake for **ītelli* (**ʾlī* Gt present or Gtn preterite), but even such an emendation does not yield sense. In the following line, the form must have been intended as a Ntn present of *nabalkutu* but got out of control. The change to a 3.c.s. also makes no sense.

II 19 For demons "crossing over" the roof into houses, see CAD N/I 12b and SpTU II 7, 21 (*ardat lilî*).

In another case of crasis, or sandhi spelling, *ḫaṣab ūrāti* is represented as *ḫaṣbūrāti* in the Kuyunjik texts. This solves the morphological and graphemic problems inherent in CAD's reading **ḫaṣbu rāṭi* "clay drainpipe" (N/I 12b).

II 20–21 Note that text *b* uses preterites (*ušarkib* and *umalli*) before switching to the present tense in *aṭarrad*.

II 21–26 This passage has been quoted and translated by Picchioni (1981: 92f.) after an older manuscript by F. Köcher. With new material at hand, the reading of the passage can now finally be clarified.

II 22 *e-peš* (the first sign is preserved only in text *b* but lost in both Kuyunjik exemplars) is taken here to stand for *eppēšu* "clever, expert," a well-known epithet of Ea, rather than **egir Adapa* "si interpone Adapa" (Picchioni 1981: 263) or **epēš Adapa* "the creation of Adapa" (Michalowski 1980: 78 n. 10). *eppēšu* seems to be a befitting epithet also for Adapa, the "sage from Eridu" and thus Ea's neighbor, although neither the Akkadian word nor its Sumerian counterpart gašam(NUN.ME.TAG) are elsewhere attested referring to him. On the other hand, the variants *e-piš-ki/ka* (texts *c* and "*Ea*") better fit a participle *ēpišu* "sorcerer," which is often used with a suffix referring to the person bewitched (or, in this case, "conjured"). The resulting phrase can be compared to *gallûki āšipu Asalluḫi*, line 7 (see also "Lam. I" 14), which also could have been the starting point of a reinterpretation of an original wording *eppēš(u)* in the two exemplars showing the variant; another reason for such a reinterpretation might have been a perceived parallelism to the participle at the beginning of the following line, *dāgilki*.

II 23 The hinge construction of this line is difficult to translate: "(Adapa,) when he spots you ← in Eridu → shall have a close look at you (right there in Eridu)."

II 24–26 This passage, which is parallel and in its first two lines even identical with lines 8–10 of this same incantation, forms another long hinge construction. Again, line 25 connects backward to 24 (*unakkar*, *inassaḫ*; subject Adapa) as well as forward to 26 (*puṭrī atlakī*; subject Lamaštu).

II 28 (+ "Lam. III" 67) For a full discussion of *kurru* (*ša aškāpi*), including all the variants from our passage, see Deller 1985: 327ff.

II 29 (+ "Lam. III" 68) For NUN.BAR.ḪUŠ^{KU_6} and the possibility that it is the equivalent of Akkadian *ziqqatû*, see AHw. s.v. and most recently MZL no. 143; an additional reference, AMT 63/2, 6′, is quoted by Deller (1985: 328). Whether N./*z*. is actually a species of fish—or, instead, some fish part, preparation, or product—remains unclear to me. Its magico-medical uses clearly speak in favor of the latter. The only syllabic spelling is attested in a late commentary text (SpTU I 50, 24 and 28). The use of the sign *ziq* in this text practically rules out the possibility that the term should be connected with *šiqqu* "fish sauce, paste." On the other hand, a possible etymological connection with **zqt* "to be pointed, to sting" might, if correct, point toward a fish bone or a spiny fin, while the element BAR in the logogram could also be connected to *qulēptu* "scales" (cf. Salonen 1970: 152 and 169).

II 30 (+ "Lam. III" 68) Note that text *c* prescribes the lard as the vehicle of the salve, while all other texts list it as one of the ingredients.

II 32–33 (+ "Lam. III" 74–75) Text *a* probably had a different version here, although the signs and traces at the end of col. II 25′ no longer allow a continuous reading. I saw (and copied) a sequence of three BI signs following an unclear trace that could conceivably be a ḪI. Could the enigmatic passage possibly be an ancient mistake for *ḫ*[*e*]*-pí ḫe*(BI)*-pí*? The situation is worsened by an apparent erasure in this exemplar that, extending from col. I 35 into col. II 26′, may have inadvertently deleted what had been a duplicate to the beginning of 33.

II 34–60 This spell is quoted by incipit as *ezzetu mārat Anu* in BM 42426, rev. 2 (see Finkel 2000: 192 no. 35).[66] The incantation has been translated by F. A. M. Wiggermann (1983b: 298). A translation of lines 34–53 has also been provided in my edition of the amulet "Ah" (Farber 1997: 115–28).

The remnants of "RS" show several similarities to 34–38, and that passage thus may well have contained an earlier version of Inc. 7.

II 34 (+ "Lam. III" 86) For *mu*(*ʾa*)*mmilat laʾûti*, cf. the parallels in "Lam. II" 152 and "Lam. III" 95. Note the spelling variation between broken vowel writings signifying a strong form of the participle with */uʾa/* (thus in the Kuyunjik exemplars of "Lam. II" 34 and III 95, in text "*Sd*" of II 34, and in text *b* of "Lam. II" 152), and a weak form *mummilat* (thus in texts "*Ea*" and "Ah").[67] Regarding the meaning of *ummulu* (**wml* D?), I prefer CAD's "to disturb" to AHw.'s "umfloren," although the translation still seems to be too weak in many idiomatic phrases referring to sandstorms, battle, etc. Instead of the rather general

66. Finkel also quotes four incipits from BM 45393+ "I 29–II 74[!]"(= here, text *Ed*) that refer to Incs. 2, 3, 7, and 6, respectively. As he correctly notes, *ezzetu mārat Anu* refers to the third of these, although his sloppy transliteration of the incipits makes it hard to follow his argument.

67. The form *mummilu* has made it into CAD as a separate lemma; see CAD M/II 196f. (the "weak" variants of our line were not yet known at the time), although the strong form is quoted in CAD U/W under *wamālu* v. 1b.

"to wreak havoc," a concrete meaning "to whirl around" might also be considered in some instances.

II 35–38 With this passage, compare the earlier text "RS" 1–4. The remaining lines on this fragment, however, do not seem to be parallel to the canonical version of this incantation.

II 35 For the variant *ul ilat* ("*Ea*") and more parallels to the first half line, see the commentary to "Lam. I" 37. Note that the earlier parallel "RS" 1 also shows no negation before *ilat*.

Instead of *namurrat*, "RS" 1 has *amurrât*. The same variance between second- and first-millennium texts occurs in "Lam. I" 37 and its parallels "OB_1" and "Ug" V (see the commentary to "Lam. I" 37).

A parallel clarifying the second half of this line is to be found in "Lam. II" 163: *ištu kullat šadî ūridam-ma* (cf. also "RS" 2). The traces in "*Ea*" are consistent with this reading. Since a literal rendering "totality of the mountains, all mountains" does not make much sense in this otherwise unattested expression, I assume that *kullat x* here instead reflects an intensification, "mountains par excellence, highest mountains," or the like. The amulet "Ah" has instead the relatively straightforward phrase *ištu api ilâm-ma ezēzi ezzet*, known also from "Lam. II" 85 and 121a.

II 36 The significance of donkeys' teeth (plain ugliness? Not recognizable in any of the pictorial representations!) remains unclear; see also "Lam. II" 161 with commentary. In "Lam. I" 141 (with parallel in "MB" I 11), Lamaštu's teeth are likened to those of a dog.

For the second half, see the exact parallel in "RA" 4.

II 37 This line is quoted in SpTU 1, 27: 27′, a commentary to TDP 1ff. ("Sa-gig 1") (see already Hunger 1976: 36b, and cf. Frahm 2011: 98).

The spelling *tuk-kup* ("Ah") looks intriguing but is probably nothing more than a sloppy rendering of *tukkupā*. An interpretation "(s)he is speckled with regard to/at her kidneys" is excluded since the apparent loss of morphological gender distinction seen otherwise in "Ah" will not affect the feminine ending of the stative (**tukkupat*) even though this amulet profusely uses masculine suffixes and endingless verbal forms for the feminine gender.

II 38 For parallels to this line, see "RS" 4 and "OB_4" 4′. For *kalû* "ochre," cf. commentary to "Lam. I" 136.

II 39 Lamaštu is only rarely called *mārat Anu ša šamê* (see, however, "Lam. II" 136: *mārat Anu ša šamê anāku*). This phrase usually refers to the benevolent seven "Daughters of Anu" (see Farber 1990: 301 with n. 12). It is likely that this association prompted the scribe of text "*Ea*" to slip into the plural *mārāt* [*Anu*$^{?}$] at this point.

II 40 The reading *ina šiptišu ša nēmeqi* "by means of (one of) his 'spell(s) of wisdom'" is now clarified by texts "*Ea*" and "Ah". Although Pinches' old copy in IV R^2 58 I 40 shows an undamaged RI (formerly read [*ina šip*]*-ri*) in this spot, my new copy of C_2 (re-collated) shows that there are only traces on this exemplar that are fully compatible with [É]N-*šú*. I therefore assume that Pinches, in one of his rare (and truly minor) copying errors, overinterpreted the visible wedges and incorrectly restored the sign in his copy. A *šipat nēmeqi*

is also mentioned in "Lam. II" 171 (replacing *šiptu u nēpišu* of the earlier text "MB" I 25) but, as far as I know, the phrase is not attested outside the Lamaštu corpus.

For *šir'ānū* in *pars pro toto* usage for the whole person, see CAD Š/II 310a. The phrase *šir'ānīša ušālika lillûta* literally means "he let her sinews go limp."

II 41 Once more, text "Ah" provides us with an endingless variant in a place where either the fem ending */ī/* (*tarammī*) or—if the form were based on the masculine—a subjunctive */u/* (as in *tarammu*, text "*Ea*") would be needed.

II 43 Text "Ah" clarifies the rendering of the first word as "mothers" by using the logogram AMA.ME. It remains unclear what form of *ummu* (sing. or pl.?) was used in text "*Se*": the trace after *um* is clearly not KUR/*mat*, but a scribal mistake in this otherwise very neatly written excerpt tablet can also not be ruled out. C_2 probably used the expected fem. pl. form, *ummātu*.

Note that the wording as it stands does not seem to make clear whose "mothers" Lamaštu is encouraged to prey on. The passage makes, however, perfect sense as a *constructio ad sensum*: *kališina* "all of them," although referring to the grammatically masculine animals in line 42, is in 43 used in the feminine gender for the simple reason that these same animal species are in this line specified to be "mothers."

II 44 It is a strange fact that representations or identifiable remains of sailboats are not known from ancient Mesopotamia (see Farber 1987a: 90 with n. 14 , with a reference to de Graeve 1981: 176ff.). In light of this, the traditional translation of *eleppu šaḫḫī/ūtu* might have to be reconsidered. The meaning "sailboat," based on *šahhû* "cloth, canvas," was introduced by Myhrman (1902: 171, 44 with n. 13), following a suggestion by Jensen (1901: 410), and seems to have never been questioned later (see, for instance, AHw. 1131b; Farber 1977: 182 n. 1; CAD Š/I 95f.). Jensen, however, had proposed "entweder ein Segelschiff oder ein Schiff mit Baldachin oder einer (Segel)tuchdecke?" (with a question mark later dropped by Myhrman), making the sailboat just one of several possibilities for a "boat with cloth." Furthermore, even the connection with ^{TÚG}ŠÀ.ḪA/*šaḫḫû* is not ironclad: note that the determinative TÚG is never present in the writings of the boat and that an adjectival derivation from a noun *šaḫḫû* could hardly take the form *šaḫḫūtu* (the variant **šaḫḫītu* attested in Hh could, however, well be the expected nisbe formation **šaḫḫîtu*).

The contextual evidence for the *šaḫḫī/ūtu* vessel remains rather slim:

1. Hh. IV 286 offers a context hardly suggestive of a major type or class of boats (cf. lines 284–85: *ṭebītu* "sunken," *ḫaništu* "tied up, moored;" 287ff.: *eššetu* "new," *labirtu* "old," *lupputtu* "soiled").
2. Three ritual passages use model ^{GIŠ}MÁ.ŠÀ.ḪA boats, loading them with provisions to send away unwanted demons, etc. "Bo" 8 mentions ^{MUNUS}LAMA (probably to be understood as an unusual spelling for Lamaštu) in a ritual similar to "Lam.", which gives no details about the manufacture or use of the boat. Farber BID 211, 14 dispatches ghosts downstream. Zimmern ZA 23, 374, 74, sends ^{d}SIG$_4$ afloat without further action described.

3. A fourth one—that is, our incantation—mentions the Ulâ river and the sea, also making downstream travel of Lamaštu very likely. It is the only instance where a *makurru* is described as *šaḫḫūtu*.
4. In Adapa frgm. A 19′, Adapa uses a ^{GIŠ}MÁ.ŠÀ.ḪA in which he travels without rudder (*sikkannu*) and without punting pole (*gimuššu*). The passage has been the subject of much discussion and various translations.[68] The CAD's most recent interpretation (*neqelpû* "to drift downstream" and *muḫḫuru* "to navigate upstream," see Š/I 95b) has been refuted by Izre'el, who convincingly argues that both of the expressions in this passage refer to downstream travel in the direction of Eridu. By doing so, he removes the main argument for a boat that could move upstream without being pulled or pushed, which probably would have been a sailing boat. Izre'el still translates ^{GIŠ}MÁ.ŠÀ.ḪA as "sailboat," but what would be so special about a sailboat floating downstream without needing a rudder? And why would Adapa's invention never be imitated or depicted later? Maybe he was, after all, using nothing but a plain boat, float, or even raft that he, thanks to his unusual, supernatural cleverness, was able to steer without the gear other ships needed but that also could easily be blown off course by unexpectedly shifting winds?

To sum up: There is no indication that the *šaḫḫūtu* vessels of the ritual texts are supposed to do anything but float downriver; to give them the tools to sail upstream would actually be counterproductive in the context of the magical rituals. Hh. IV suggests a somewhat accidental quality for the *š.* boat, rather than a technologically different class of vessels. Adapa may, or may not have used a sailboat. I have no new etymology for *šaḫḫū/ītu* to offer but still entertain lingering doubts about the correctness of the traditional translation "sailing boat" and, at least for the time being, prefer the non-idiomatic but also non-interpretive "canvas boat."

II 46 For the Ulâ river, a still not definitively identified watercourse near the traditional border between Mesopotamia and Elam, see most conveniently Vallat 1993: 338.

Whether A.AB in "Ah" should be taken as a defective writing of the logogram A.AB.⟨BA⟩ or as a doubly defective syllabic spelling ⟨*a*⟩-*a*-*ab*-⟨*ba*⟩ remains unclear. For *ajjabba* as an indeclinable noun attested from OB through SB, see George 1991: 2 and Charpin 1990.

II 47 For this line, cf. Farber 1987a: 90 and—for a tentative identification of *kušāru* as Giant Reed (*Arundo donax*)—1987a: 91f. with n. 20. The suggestion has, however, not been taken up by Michael Streck (2009: 182ff.), and *kušāru* is not even mentioned there. The Kuyunjik text C_2 leaves out the first plant (*bīnu aḫû*), possibly by accident. A close parallel to the line, though in the form of an imperative, is found in "Lam. II" 146.

II 49 This line enumerates public locations that are in some way or other connected with the concept of justice. The mention of *mīšaru* within this group is a bit unexpected but may ultimately have to do with the fact that the word is originally a *nomen loci* "place of rightfulness," even though it was no longer commonly used as such in Akkadian. While texts

68. See most recently Izre'el 2001: 9f. and 14 (comm.). Other treatments include, for instance, CAD M/I 68b; N/II 173b; S 246a; Picchioni 1981: 113; von Soden 1976: 429; Dalley 1989: 184.

"Ea" and "Ah" mark both ÍD and *mīšaru* (see also later in line 52) as divine by adding the determinative ^{d}, the other duplicates treat them as common nouns.

Text *n* spells the river of ordeal *i-ta*, making it even more likely that we should read the logogram $^{(d)}$ÍD as *It* instead of **Id*[69] whenever this is used for the name rather than for the common noun *nāru*.

II 50 For Šarʾur, a divine weapon mainly associated with Ninurta and earlier with Ningirsu, see most conveniently Krebernik 2009: 84–86 (our line is not mentioned there). Although not otherwise known as the "attendant" (*ša-rēši*) of "the lord of the lands" (probably = Ninurta), this epithet seems to make good sense (see, however, CAD R 283f., where the phrase is rendered "the mighty weapon at the disposal[?] of the lord of all countries"). That Ninurta is actually meant here is made even more likely by the fact that in the accompanying ritual (lines 62 and 71*) "dust from the gate of the Ninurta temple," an otherwise very unusual substance for magical rituals, is used.

II 52+52a The end of the line in text *n* remains unclear. A. Falkenstein's reconstruction *an-*[*tum*] (1931: 10) remains possible but has yet to be supported by another duplicate. It seems also conceivable that the scribe used the extra AN sign to gloss ^{d}DIŠ/60, which at this time and in this type of text is not a common spelling of *Anu* and thus might have been seen as ambiguous (see MZL no. 748 where the spelling is accepted only for LB, and compare the only other instance for ^{d}DIŠ = *Anu* in the Lamaštu series, "Lam. I" 204 text m). B seems to leave out the phrase completely, while C_2, *"Ea"* and "Ah" end the line with syllabic ^{d}*a-nu(m)*. For a rendering of this line that assumes a slightly different syntax, see Lambert 1979: 273.

II 53 A. Falkenstein's restoration of the predicate (**i-*[*tur*]*-ra*, Falkenstein 1931: 10) is now confirmed by text *"Ea"* (*i-tur-ru*) and was adopted as the main reading in my translation. An intriguing alternative is presented in text B, which shows *i-bur-ra,* with a gloss *tu* that probably reflects the reading *iturra* as a variant from a different source. Interestingly enough, CAD T 159 also restored text *n* as *i*[*bur*]*ra*, without knowing about text B. The CAD's reading was obviously based on the usage of *lā iburra/u* (G present ventive or subjunctive from **būr* "to last, be long-lived") in comparable context; see CT 23, 10, 15: *kīma erpetu ina šamê lā iburru* "as a cloud does not last long in the sky," and SpTU I 44, 67 + dupl.: *kīma mār nadīti lā iburra/u* "as the son of a *nadītu* does not live long" (for the context of both lines, see Mayer 1992: 376). As a matter of fact, text B's *iburra* would also make acceptable sense in our line, although I prefer the concept of "not returning" with regard to doors and demonic actions.

II 54 With a complete text finally established, we can now put to rest many previous attempts at reading this line. Unfortunately, this does not mean that I can also understand and translate it. I have decided against a reading *nīš libbi* "potency" in view of the repeated *nīš xx* in the following two lines, where the meaning of *nīš* as "(power of) oath" is not

69. Thus, most recently, MZL no. 839, but see already the variant spelling ^{d}*it-tu* quoted both in AHw. 364a and in CAD I/J 8, and compare also the playful use of ^{d}ÍD for the syllable */it/* in spellings of *kibrītu*, *pappasītu*, and *ruʾītu*.

in doubt. The following adjective could qualify either *nīšu* or *libbu*. It can be read either *kubbutu* "respected" or *kupputu* "compressed, compact." For the former, the use of **kbt* D with regard to oaths (CAD K 18a) could be compared. The latter is occasionally used with *libbu*, but this usage has so far been restricted to extispicy, never refers to the human heart, and therefore cannot be considered a good parallel. My translation tentatively opts for *nīšu kubbutu* but at the same time sacrifices the apparent syntactic parallelism between *libbu kupputu* and *qaqqadu ṣalmu*.

The significance of "the black head" (never else attested as such!) escapes me. It seems, however, almost inevitable that the expression is somehow related to the *(nišū) ṣalmāt qaqqadi*, the "native people" of Sumer, of still unclear semantic origin.

II 55 For *tubkinnu* "garbage pile," a pejorative(?) derivative in *-innu* from **tbk/tubku*, see now CAD T 446 (cf. also Biggs and Pardee 1984: 257b). The word seems to have a feminine by-form *tupkinnatu* (thus text C_2, where the suffix *-ša* shows that it is sing.) and probably also a fem. pl. *tupkinnātu* (see CAD s.v.), which may be meant in "Ug" IV 2. A further by-form(?) **tupkindu* (text *"Ea"*) is phonetically problematic and might actually rather be an ancient misreading (*-du* for -UŠ) from an endingless spelling **túb-kin-net*(UŠ).

II 57–59 The exact meaning of the Sumerian expression ḫul.dúb in this context remains debatable. Rather than connecting it with the magician's instrument *ḫultuppû* (AHw. *ḫ.* II), I follow Finkel (2000: 202 ad 15) and take it as referring to the demon *ḫ.* (cf. AHw. *ḫ.* I 1; Geller 1985: 78: 831, 82: 878). There is also a homophonous Elamite month name that probably has nothing to do with the Sumerian word (contra AHw. *ḫ.* II 2) but might still have influenced the use of ḫul.dúb here, adding once more a little Elamite flavor to the Lamaštu corpus (cf. my cautious remarks in Farber 1983: 439b, 440b, and 442f.).

The translation of zi x ḫé.pà follows its Akkadian equivalent, *nīš x lū tamâta/i*. The Sumerian literally means "may the life of x be implored!"

Text *"Ea"* replaces the second half of line 58 with a slightly more elaborate Sumerian formula. It also adds the phrase "May the evil tongue step aside!" after line 59.

Note that here, after a written-out zi–pà formula, the final phrase TU_6/TE ÉN (= *tê šipti*) is not used and that the same thing happens again in "Lam. II" 134. I take this as one more indication that, at least in late texts, the phrase is indeed an abbreviation for a standard ending routinely to be recited after the wording of the individual incantation. The abbreviated notation of this "standard ending" was then left out if an individually appropriate ending for a particular spell had already been incorporated in the text.

II 61–64 (70*–73*; + "Lam. III" 8–11) Although Rit. 7 and Rit. 7* only differ slightly in the arrangement of line 62=71*, "Lam. III" substitutes *eper bābi kamî* for *eper bāb ekalli*. The seven (or eight) kinds of dust used here do not seem to show a close relationship to the text of Inc. 7 nor to Lamaštu herself. A few associations within the text of "Lam." are, however, possible. For the mention of *bīt Ninurta*, see above, commentary to "Lam. II" 50. With *eper bīt aštammi*, compare above, "Lam. II" 12. The mention of the *bīt sābî* and the *bīt nuḫatimmi* might have been triggered by the recurring episode of providing travel provisions for Lamaštu (see especially "Lam. I" 202–3).

II 64 (73*; + "Lam. III" 11) *ina*$^{?}$ [*urṣi*$^{?}$] (with a hypothetical variant [*urṣa*$^{?}$]) is a rather desperate attempt to harmonize the traces in 73* (text *n*) and "Lam. III" 11 (texts *E* and *F*) in a way that is acceptable in the context, where either an eighth substance or an additional adverbial phrase (time, place, or tool of action) should be expected. With NA_4 as the only unquestionable sign in the passage, the option of tool seems most plausible. *urṣu* is attested several times with **sūk* (see CAD S 83a and U/W 249b), a verb that is construed not only with *ina* (passim) but also with an *accusativus instrumenti* (Jastrow TCPP 1913: 399, 34; BAM 3 III 44 [*ur-ṣa*!]; BAM 513 I 10; probably BAM 510 I 15; possibly also in BAM 240, 42 and AMT 11/2, 21).

II 66 (61*; + "Lam. III" 13) A combination of the three versions of the ritual allows us to read the names of the four astral symbols to be drawn on the amulet with confidence, although they are listed in a different sequence in each version. It seems clear that this description refers to the four symbols actually depicted on the upper register or the handle of a number of Lamaštu amulets: a winged sun-disc, a crescent moon, the star of Ištar, and the seven stars of the Pleiades.[70] Although the former three correspond easily with the Akkadian words *šamšatu*, *uskaru*, and *kakkabtu*, the connection between the remaining word, *gamlu* "crook, curved staff, (constellation) Auriga," and the unmistakable depiction of the Pleiades remains obscure.[71] For another enigmatic allusion to the Pleiades, this time under their common Akkadian name *zappu* "bristle," see above, commentary to "Lam. I" 44 (and "Lam. II" 126).

II 67 (+ "Lam. III" 14) To date, only one amulet inscribed with the text of Inc. 7 and thus directly corresponding to the ritual instruction of this line has been found ("Ah"). This piece is very detailed in its pictorial representations and shows outstanding workmanship but unfortunately fails to depict the astral symbols prescribed in the preceding line.

II 68–69 (75*; "+ Lam. III" 15–16) For a general discussion of dog figurines used in Lamaštu rituals, see Farber 2007b: esp. 638f. Several groups of magical figurines of dogs from the first millennium have been found buried beneath the floor or next to entrance gates in Nineveh, Nippur, Ur, Kish, Dūr-Šarrukīn, and Kalaḫ (see Rittig 1977: 116–21). Although they offer some close similarities to the dogs described in our ritual, none of these finds seems to be related directly to protection against Lamaštu. Although the dog figurines in our ritual are only to be painted in black and white (which corresponds well with line 45, where Lamaštu is to be accompanied by "black" and "white" dogs), the hoard finds typically also contained dogs of other colors. The manufacture of figurines in five different shades (white, black, red, blue, multicolored) is prescribed in detail in another ritual.[72] These parallels provide a possible explanation for the otherwise unattested use of **brm* D

70. See, for instance, amulets nos. 1, 3, 4, 37, 41, 46, 61, and 64; cf. Farber 1983: 442b.

71. See also Wiggermann 1992: 62. Wiggermann 2000: 239 with n. 168 takes *gamlu* as the "crook of Amurru" and connects this to a rather unclear passage in "Emar" 21–22 where Amurru and Martu seem to be mentioned as gods by whom Lamaštu is adjured (see below, comm. to "Emar" 21f.).

72. Wiggermann 1992: 14 lines 191–205. For the excerpt text KAR 298, rev. 17–22, see Rittig 1977: 159; Hibbert 1981: 186f. and 205; and cf. Wiggermann 1992: 45.

"to multi-color, paint in several colors" referring here solely to the contrast between black and white (see also Wiggermann 1992: 29 with n. 194b).

II 72 (78*; + "Lam. III" 18) The same location to write down the names of the dogs, *naglab šumēli*, is also prescribed in the ritual quoted above (Wiggermann 1992: 14 line 195), and many of the excavated exemplars actually bear their names on the left side of their back (see Rittig 1977: 116–21, 198–99). A literal translation "shoulder blade" for *naglabu* does not make much sense with regard to such figurines, but the word can also stand *per merismum* for the complete upper part (or, with quadrupeds, front part) of the back (as opposed to the *kalītu*, literally, "kidney" and then "lower back"). See also "Lam. III" 88, where *naglabu* is the opposite of *irtu* "chest" in line 85.

For the individual names and their parallels from the quoted ritual and the artifacts, see below, lines 75ff.

II 73–74 (+ "Lam. II" 19–20) To "open" a window in ancient Mesopotamia may seem anachronistic, and it is true that the verb has only been restored here (see, however, "Lam. III" 21). Occasional references to "open" or "pulled-out" windows (see CAD A/II 198 and P 343b) can, however, be seen as an indication that, at least occasionally, windows were closed or blocked and thus openable. Another possibility would be that *petû* actually refers to the insertion of a new window hole in a previously solid mud-brick wall, comparable to its use for "opening = digging" wells etc.

II 75 (+ "Lam. III" 21) The reading (and meaning) of the first half of the line, in which the place for the seventh dog is prepared, is uncertain. I know of no parallels for an absolute adverbial use of *ina šaplim-ma* "underneath" without a point of reference for the notion "underneath x." On the other hand, if one were to interpret **ma-*BAD as a location ("underneath the **ma-*BAD"), this would compound the problem by depriving the transitive predicate *tepette* of its needed direct object. I thus prefer to read BAD as *pītu* "hole" and to understand this to be the expected accusative object. Note that line 69* and "Lam. III" 28 refer to this seventh location as an *aptu*; the word is unfortunately broken in line 82, where either [*apt*]*i* or [*pīt*]*i* could be restored.

II 75–76,78 (+ 63*, 65*; + "Lam. III" 22, 24) The name of the second dog, *Uṣur-mūša-ṭurud-Mārat-Ani*, is self-explanatory and specifically geared to our ritual. It thus neither appears in other ritual texts nor is it attested on actual figurines.

The name of the first dog is more problematic. It is closely related to that of the third figurine (line 78/65* // "Lam. III" 24), both sharing the last two radicals of their predicate (*C_1*rḫ*) and apparentely also the noun in the second part of the name (always written ZI-*šu/šú*); the two should therefore be discussed together.

The following spellings for dog figurines' names that share these characteristics are attested:

1. *a-ri-iḫ*–ZI-*šu*: Langdon Kish I p. 91 and pl. XXVIII 1 (figurine).
2. *a-ru-uḫ*–ZI-*šú*: KAR 298 rev. 18; Wiggermann 1992: 14: 198.
3. *šá-ru-uḫ*–ZI-*šú*: "Lam. II" 63* (*n*).
4. *ur-ru-uḫ*–ZI-*šú*: "Lam. II" 78 (C_2); "Lam. II" 65* (*n*); "Lam. III" 24 (G).

Broken: [. . . *-r*]*u-uḫ*–Z[I-*šú*]: "Lam. III" 22 (*E*); [. . .—Z]I-*šu*: "Lam. II" 65* (m); *ur-r*[*u*ʾ-. . .] "Lam. III" 24 (*X*).

I see no way to derive all these forms from just one verb, *arāḫu* + direct object *napištu*, as CAD A/II 222 tried to do. Nor is it possible to understand all of them as imperatives of several verbs, which at least would keep the names in line with those of the other dog figurines in our text. Note, however, that apotropaic dogs' names in other texts (see Rittig 1977: 198–99) show more syntactical variety, including participles in construct (*ṭārid asakki*, *kāšid ajjābi*, etc.) and statives (*dān rigimšu*). If one accepts CAD's differentiation between three homophonous but semantically separate verbs *arāḫu* with at least partly different root vocalization, the forms can be analyzed as follows:

1. *ariḫ* should be the imperative of *a.* C "to attack."
2. *aruḫ* is otherwise well attested as the imperative of *a.* B "to eat, consume" but can also be the stative of *a.* A "to be fast."
3. For *šaruḫ*, the morphologically best option is again a stative but this time from the unrelated (and semantically hardly appropriate) root *šarāḫu* "to be splendid." Less convincing but still possible seems an Assyrian(!) Š stative of *a.* A "to be fast" with an elative meaning "to be exceedingly fast," but the form could also well be a mistake (see below).
4. *urruḫ* likewise must be a D stative, probably an intensive form of *a.* A "to be very fast."

In conjunction with transitive imperatives, ZI-*šu* should probably be read *napištašu* "his throat/life," while the statives call for a different reading, based on ZI = **tbī*, most likely *tibušu* "his onrush, attack" (see CAD T 388a for *tību* as "attack of wild or noxious animals," where, however, in line with CAD A/II 222, our dog figurines are not mentioned). While the name of Lamaštu's dog no. 3, *Urruḫ*-ZI-*šu*, is fully preserved in "Lam. III," the beginning of the name of the first dog is preserved neither in "Lam. II" 75 nor in "Lam. III" 22. It should be different from the name of the third dog, but my restoration [*ša-r*]*u-uḫ* in the latter place remains conjectural. If correct, the two names for Lamaštu's dogs nos. 1 and 3 would then probably both contain ZI = **tbī*, and I thus read them as *Šaruḫ-tibušu* and *Urruḫ-tibušu*, respectively.

The whole situation is rather messy and probably reflects several ancient mix-ups, including one on the level of graphemics (ZI = *napištu* ↔ ZI = **tbī*). For *šaruḫ* as a variant of *aruḫ*, see furthermore Gilg. VI 20, where *šaruḫ lasāma* "it is splendid of running" replaces (by mistake?) the expected *aruḫ lasāma* "it is fast of running." It is in view of this parallel that I also prefer to translate the dog's name *Šaruḫ-tibušu* as "fast (and not: splendid) is his attack." Note also two Š stem forms that CAD quotes s.v. *arāḫu* B "to consume" and that both have *napištu* as their direct object, *ušāriḫ napištašu* "he destroyed[?] his life" (YOS 9, 35, 122) and *šūriḫ napšassu* "destroy[?] his life!" (passim in the Anzû myth). Usages such as these might also have helped to generate confusion.

II 80 (+ 67*; + "Lam. III" 26) In spite of the spelling with /*ll*/ in the Kuyunjik texts, *ē tamtal(l) ik* must be understood as Gt vetitive. Many more similar spellings of **mlk* Gt forms can be found in the dictionaries. Whether these occasionally were intended to add an iterative sense to the Gt forms needs further investigation.

For further attestations of the names of dogs nos. 5 and 6, see Rittig 1977: 198–99. With the name *Ē-tamtal(l)ik-epuš-pīka* compare also its parallel *Ē-tamtalik-ušuk* "Without-hesitation-bite," which leads me to think that *pâ epēšu* (see CAD E 215f. and P 459a), at least when said about dogs, could also have a stronger nuance than simply "opening the muzzle = barking." With *sikip lemna* compare *sākip irat lemni*.

I have no suggestion how to restore the brief gap at the end of the line.

II 82 (+ 69*–69a*, ["Lam. III" 28]) Although all the other figurines have names closely related to their task of warding off the demon, their leader, a dog named *Sîn-rē'i-kalbē*, boasts a name that is very appropriate for his superior position and much closer to the patterns of the human onomastica. By invoking the moon-god Sîn, it furthermore emphasizes the fact that the main danger posed by Lamaštu is imminent during the night.[73]

For the restoration of the end of the line, see above, commentary to line 75.

The restoration of the full text of lines 69*–69a* of the alternative version is still problematic. Text m has a sign GAM at the end of 69*, which, if taken as a gloss indicator, could mean that all of 69a* is actually to be understood as a variant reading for 69*. This could then be restored as [*ina apti ša ana tarṣi bābi t*]*ušeššeb*, a solution adopted in my transcription and translation. Another possibility is that the GAM indicated insecurity on the part of the scribe regarding the correctness of his text (*pītu/aptu*?); for marginal marks like this, cf. Wiggermann 1992: 129f. note "a" to IV/1: 5′.

II 84–94 Cf. the translation of this portion of Inc. 8 by Nougayrol (1971: 173; edition of "Ai") which, however, can now be improved in many places, thanks to duplicates not yet known to Nougayrol.

II 84 (+ "Lam. III" 89) Inc. 9 shows an identical incipit line ("Lam. II" 119), and the two incantations are kept apart in "Lam. III" only by extending the quotations into the following line. A third incantation with exactly the same incipit is to be found in "RA". If nothing but the first line is quoted, as is the case in STT 281 (= "Ra") IV 12, it remains unclear which of the three spells is referred to.

II 85 This line is also to be found as a variant to "Lam. II" 35b (text "Ah") and as line "Lam. II" 121a (text *a*). For the first half, compare also "Lam. I" 104 and "RA" 5.

II 86 The 3.sing. suffix *-su*, although in the wrong gender, shows clearly that *šārtu* (for the two variants of the logogram, see Mayer 1988: 149f.) is construed as a singular in all extant exemplars. The plural form *kippātu* (note the plene spelling in texts M and *c*) thus cannot be a qualifying adjective, but the whole phrase must be an equating nominal clause. *kippatu* "loop" (from **kpp* "to curve, curl") is not yet otherwise attested as describing human or animal hair. While the basic meaning may refer to "curls" or "loops," in our context it seems to describe the hair as matted or untidy, inappropriate for humans, and above all wild and frightening to look at.

73. Cf. also Wiggermann 2000: 239f. with n. 174. His earlier assumption that Sîn himself serves as the herder of the dogs and that figurines of him are placed with the dogs (Wiggermann 1983: 109) was based on an incorrect restoration of the text.

Instead of *pūssa* "her forehead," a reading *būssa* "her shoulder" (compare "OB_3" 11) cannot be excluded, but next to her unkempt hair another unpleasant feature of her head seems more appropriate.

II 87 For this line, the reading of which is still far from certain, cf. Farber 1987a: 89 n. 11.[74] The biggest problem in my interpretation is that no less than 5 exemplars of different date and provenience consistently write *ú-ru* for alleged *urû* "team (of equids)," a word typically found in NA but only sparsely attested in other texts from the first millennium. Next to *šaḫû*, however, and as the subject of a verb of voluntary motion, some kind of animal is to be expected.

The other major difficulty is the second part of the line. The reading of the inconclusive traces in texts A, B, and M is based mainly on *c* as the best-preserved exemplar and its less-than-perfect duplicate "Ai". Note that the two other Babylonian exemplars (*a* and *b*) completely skip this bothersome half line.

II 90–91 For parallels to this couplet, see the commentary to "Lam. I" 121–22.

II 90 The reduplication of the final radical in G forms of **wbl* with short vowel is noteworthy. In our corpus, it occurs in the imperative (in Babylonian exemplars only: here, texts *a* and *b*; "Lam. II" 93 text *b*; "RA" 10 text *aa*) and in the precative (in both Kuyunjik and Babylonian exemplars: "Lam. II" 98 texts B, C_2, *a*, and *b*). Note that the Babylonian texts *n* and *c* seem to never use such forms (see "Lam. I" 121, "Lam. II" 93 and 139), and both *a* ("Lam. II" 98) and *b* ("Lam. II" 139) also show forms without reduplication. The phenomenon has, to my knowledge, not expressly been recognized (see, however, the paradigmatic form **ūbil(l)ū* quoted in AHw. 1450a) or explained but needs to be studied in the context of the weak and strong conjugations of the verbs I-*w*.

II 92 This is, so to speak, the "eponymic line" for what has been called the *illik-ma ibakki* construction in Akkadian syntax. This syntagm, featuring a preterite or stative (often with enclitic *-ma*) followed by a present, is used to express a coincidental clause—that is, the verb in the present tense marks an accompanying action that specifies or qualifies the main predicate of the narrative, which stands in the preterite or stative (for a variant of the syntagm, see also above, commentary to "Lam. I" 104–5; a further example is "Lam. II" 141f.). In poetry, such coincidental clauses quite often also show the features of a hinge construction in which one part of speech (subject, object, predicate, or adverbial/prepositional phrase) is placed in a pivotal position between two parallel other parts of the sentence and, without being repeated, relates both forward and backward. In our line, this pivotal phrase is *ana pan Enlil abiša*, which belongs both to *illik* (*ana . . .*) and to (*ana . . .*) *ibakki*. Note that the Assyrian texts expressly restate the subject (*mārat Anu*) but leave out the *-ma*, but the Babylonian exemplars leave out the subject (which is identical to that of the last predicate of the narrative, *ittanazzaz* in line 89) but add the enclitic copula. Note

74. CAD Š/I 108a s.v. *šaḫurru*, although published later than my article, still reflects an earlier reading of the line. CAD U/W does not list the line under *urû* B "team of equids" nor under any of its homophones or similar words.

also that the position of this copula, seemingly separating the first predicate from the prepositional phrase, is very typical for the hinge figure.

The genealogy of Lamaštu is occasionally blurred, as in this line where she seems to have two fathers (might this inconsistency be the reason why the Babylonian texts leave out the *mārat Anu* phrase altogether here?). Compare also "RA" 13 (*Ea abuša*) in contrast to "RA" 13 22 (*Anu abaki*) and the cooperative effort of all three of her "fathers" to engender and bring her up in "OB_2" 1–2. Finally, the mention of a god Nāli[?] (corrupt spelling for Enlil?) as her father in "Emar" 1 remains obscure.

II 93 For the reduplication of */l/* in *billu* (text *b*), see above, comm. to "Lam. II" 90.

Note the different forms of the vocative of *abu*: plain nominative *abu* (text *b*), diptotic construct+suffix *abī* (texts A, C_2, *a*, and *c*), triptotic construct+suffix *abu'a* (B), and what seems to be a hypocoristic (GAG §56s) form *abūtu* "daddy" (M; in view of many other irregular forms in this Sultantepe text, however, not too much weight should be placed on this variant).

II 94 Texts M (Sultantepe, an exemplar that has to be used with caution) and possibly B seem to construe *šīr amēlūti* as a feminine plural (the attested plural form is *šīrū*, which is consistently construed as a masculine). Note that *a*, although expressly writing UZU.MEŠ, shows the adjective in its singular form.

II 95 For *našpūti*, compare "Lam. I" 187 and 190 (with commentary).

II 96–100 These lines contain Enlil's answer to Lamaštu, which Wiggermann (2000: 240) takes as describing a mock ritual set in a mock temple. It remains grammatically possible but not very likely that Enlil continues to be the speaker in lines 101–4. In 105, at the very latest, the words are again those of the conjurer.

II II 97 The specific (magical? derogatory?) meaning of a "house of clods" (the "mock temple" in Wiggermann 2000: 240) remains unclear. The common use of *ki/urbannu* clods to chase away unwanted birds and other obnoxious animals may have played a role in the choice of words here. For another house built for Lamaštu by her "father" Nāli[?], see "Emar" 1f.

II 98 For the reduplication of */l/* in *libil(l)akki* see above, comm. to "Lam. II" 90.

kallatu[75] *ṣeḫirtu* is a phrase otherwise unknown. It might refer to an unmarried girl of relatively safe age (as far as dangers from Lamaštu are concerned) and thus well suited to bring her the objects mentioned: too old to be attacked as a baby or child and too young to be of interest for her as a potential mother. Another possibility might be to see this line as referring to a "bride-to-be" and to assume that little girls might customarily have made offerings of this kind to Ištar or other suitable goddesses in order to ensure a good marriage later on. Wiggermann (2000: 240), when talking about a "mock cult," may have thought along the same lines, while expressly assuming that the *kallatu ṣeḫirtu* "young bride" is a "potential victim."

75. *qallatu* "slave girl" (thus Scurlock 1991: 156) is excluded, since KAL cannot be read */qal/* in SB texts.

II 100 *gurāru*, generally considered a variant of *kurāru* "carbuncle," is spelled with /*g*/ in all five extant duplicates of our line. This spelling is only once attested for "carbuncle" (lú.gig.peš = *ša gurāri*, OB Lu A 398). The meaning "embers" is based solely on that of *kurāru* and on our line and therefore remains open for discussion. Some negative connotation seems appropriate in the context. The meat preparation *quraštu* (see CAD Q 315a, which tentatively derives the word from **q*/*grš* "to carve") might also be related to our noun (**qurartu*? Cf. the similar change between /*r*/ and /*š*/ before /*t*/ attested for *kurar*/*štu* "carbuncle").

II 103 Compare the use of wood shavings from the plows mentioned here in the accompanying ritual, line 117/115* // "Lam. III" 40. The magical meaning of this conjuration and its ritual counterpart still escapes me, but one might speculate about a connection to the "clods" in line 97.

II 104 Both dictionaries have cross-references from *ezību* to *uzību* "abandoned child," but under the latter lemma, neither one adduces evidence for a by-form **ezību*. A conjuration by "the abandoned child and his son/offspring" might have seemed intriguing, but unfortunately the equation **ezību* = *uzību* is thus not established. We therefore rather have to read a plain G participle *ēzibu* "a person who abandons a child," thus making this an oath "by abandoner and his (abandoned) child."

II 105–7 See Farber 1975: 178 (quoted as "Lam. II 102"). Note that the *-ma* at the end of the line is not the enclitic copula but the emphatic particle often used in this construction, even though in this case additional predicates follow.

Text *b* adds "(if) you draw close to this baby."

II 108–9 For dogs belonging to specific deities, see CAD K 71a. The dogs of Ištar and Nanâ mentioned in our line are not included there (cf., however, CAD M/II 106a and the figurative use of the term *kalab Ištar* in an incantation against field pests; see George and Tanaguchi 1999: 294 and 2010: 85).[76] The meaning of the couplet is most likely that the sleep of the patient (line 110), be it mother or baby, should not be disturbed by the dogs' barking. The other possibility, to understand *pī kalbi ṣabātu* as "to prevent a dog from biting," seems to me to make considerably less sense in our context.

II 110–11 A possible duplicate to these final lines of Inc. 8 is STT 146, where the copied traces might support a reading [1][LÚ.N]Á[?] *ina m*[*a-* . . . . .] [2]*ṣa-di ina-*[*p*]*a*[?]*-*[*ḫ*]*u*[?] [d][UTU . . . . .] (collation necessary!). This remains, however, very uncertain. Even if this reading were basically correct, STT 146 might still be a parallel to another incantation with a similar ending (cf. below, comm. to line 111) and has therefore not been included in the score.

II 110 For parallels to this often misunderstood line (cf., for instance, CAD E 326b and AHw. 247a) see CAD K 75a and Farber 1989a: 48 §5:72.

76. Note also that Heimpel (1975: 496b) saw our line as referring to Lamaštu's own dogs, a view that I have refuted (Farber 2007b: 640).

II 111 For parallels to this line, see Farber 1989a: 114 §40:13 and the Ḫulbazizi spell quoted there on p. 115. Note that, in our line, probably under the influence of parallels like the one from the Baby corpus, text "*Sb*" slips into the 2. person and writes *pāširka*.

II 113–15 (+ 114*/116* and "Lam. III" 37–38) For a discussion of *s/zappu* "bristle," see Farber 1989a: 80f., quoting our lines as "Lam. II 111ff." and "Lam. III 33ff." Cf. also Stol 1993: 84 with n. 110. See also above, comm. to "Lam. I" 44.

II 115 (+ 115* and "Lam. III" 39) For *ḫallulāja* "centipede" ("Hundertfüssler"),[77] see Farber 1987a: 102ff. and Edzard and Wiggermann 1990: 455.

II 119–27 Inc. 9 is very similar to Inc. 3 ("Lam. I" 37–45) and often shows identical or only minimally changed wording.

II 119 Cf. commentary to "Lam. II" 84.

II 120 The variant *ḫab-ba-*KUR in text *a* could be read either *ḫabbālat* "she is a habitual wrong-doer," or *ḫabbāšat* "she is a smasher" (for another line possibly using **ḫbš* to describe Lamaštu's activities, see "Lam. I" 173 with commentary). Either of these readings is preferable to an interpretation of the spelling as evidence for (otherwise unattested) spirantization of the final radical of **ḫbt*.

II 121a This stock phrase, inserted here only by text *a*, is identical with "Lam. II" 85.

II 122 The verb **nšī* requires a concrete substance or object to be "lifted," which in our passage excludes a translation "tracks, footprints" for *kibsu*. I therefore return to the tempting, though admittedly otherwise unprovable, idea of AHw. 472a s.v. *kibsu* 5c, to understand the word here and in similar passages as "(track >) dung, droppings." Unfortunately, the second verb of the line is damaged, but the remaining traces are consistent with a reading *ilappat*, which, next to *inašši*, would make good sense here. Note that collation excludes the reading **iredde* suggested by the parallel in "RA" 6.

II 123–24 and 125–27 Cf. commentary to lines "Lam. I" 40 and 41, and 43–45.

II 129–34 The texts from the Lamaštu series show this incantation in a unilingual Sumerian version known also from several amulets. In addition, a bilingual version of this spell was incorporated in the canonical series of zi-pà incantations edited by Borger (1969: 1–22). Texts "Ed_1" and "Ed_2" belong to that compendium (see Borger 1969: 12 §XXII, exemplars A and B). Several additional fragments have since been joined to "Ed_2" (Borger's B). The relevant passages of both "Ed_1" and "Ed_2" have been recopied for this edition of the Lamaštu texts. Translations of the incantation have been offered by Frymer-Kensky (1995: 104; with some notes at the end of her book) and by Wiggermann (2000: 242; according to text "Ak"; cf. ibid., n. 185 for text "Am").

II 130 ^{d}i[n].in ir.g̃[ál] in "*Sa*" is probably a misspelling from dictation.

II 131 The variant from text *a* (su mu.un.da instead of šu mu.un.dù) is repeated in the abbreviated version of this incantation in Lam. amulet no. 24, edited in Farber 1989c:

77. "Tausendfüssler," i.e., "millipede," in Farber 1983: 442a is an editor's *Verschlimmbesserung* of my manuscript.

95, 3. In the amulet, the phrase is followed by an interesting variant sag.gi$_6$.gá instead of a.zág gig.ga. For this second part of this line, see in more detail below, commentary to ll. 131a-132a.

II 131a–32a With the new joins, text "Ed$_2$" ([. . .]-*ú*) clearly calls for a verb IIIae inf. and thus almost certainly confirms the equation šu–du$_8$/dù = *kamû* for 131a; Wiggermann's translation "who holds . . . in a tight grip," although ostensibly based on the Sumerian text, seems also to reflect this equation. At the same time, [. . .]-*ú* rules out, at least for this exemplar, the traditional restoration **kāmât*. Unless one accepts an unusually serious mistake in gender, the masc. participle *kāmû* can, I think, only be taken as the descriptive noun "binder" as an a epithet of Lamaštu (for similar usages of this participle not followed by a noun in genitive, cf. CAD K 131 s.v. *kāmû* adj.). *asakku marṣu* at the end of the line should then also be understood as syntactically parallel to *kāmû*, and not as the genitival object of Lamaštu's actions. In the following line 132a, "Ed$_2$" once more shows a form in the nominative (*alû kabtu*), which qualifies it as a third, syntactically parallel, descriptive epithet of Lamaštu. This, however, does not work in "Ed$_1$" where the form *alê kabti* clearly suggests the traditional interpretation of the couplet as a genitive construction "the binder of the grievous *asakku* demon (and) of the 'heavy ghost of mankind'." The Akkadian versions of the two zi–pà texts "Ed$_1$" and "Ed$_2$" thus actually expose a major semantic variance, and at present I am unable to decide which one was originally intended in this spell, or stays closer to the Sumerian wording. Of further interest is also the variant in Lam. amulet no. 24 (quoted above, comm. to line 131) which is phonetically similar but gives a completely different meaning to the line: "who *binds*? (su mu.un.da) the blackheaded (people)." Is this simply a mistake from dictation, an attempt to read sense into an otherwise obscure line, or maybe even a correct rendering of an older version of the line? My translation basically follows the Akkadian version of text "Ed$_2$" and thus avoids saying too many good things about Lamaštu, even if they were only part of a ploy of adulation (maybe even with a touch of sarcasm?) in order to get rid of her more effectively (version of text "Ed$_1$").

II 133^{+a} The reading *šurbūtu*,[78] which confirms gul/gu-ul as a byform of gu-la, is now quite certain, and all earlier readings and translations can be laid to rest. Compare also the epithet *šurbât* in "Lam. II" 152 and "MB" 2.

The text of amulet "Am" (Sumerian only) adds another two flattering epithets after íb.gu.ul "eminent," these being nin maḫ.a "lofty lady" and ĝiš.tuku a.ra.zu "the one who listens to prayers." It then goes on to write lú.tu.ra (for lú.tu.ra.ra/šè?) instead of simple lú.ra, but this does not seem to make too much sense here, since Lamaštu typically approaches healthy, not sick, people.

II 134 In spite of the vowelless spelling *ta-mat* (ending preserved only in one exemplar, "Ed$_1$"), I take the form to be a 2.f.s. stative **tamâti*, since a 3.f.s. stative *tamât* "may she be conjured" would be quite unusual in this standard context. I have to admit, however, that in our

78. For the reading, see already Borger 1969: 12, who, however, still expressed doubts about the first sign.

passage, immediately following a line that mentions Lamaštu in the 3rd person, a stative 3.f.s. actually would make good sense. Maybe the whole text of lines 129–32 should therefore be understood as part of one long nominative phrase acting as subject to the infinitive of purpose *ana lā ṭeḫê* rather than as an address in vocative to the demoness. This would yield a translation "To the effect that Lamaštu, the daughter of Anu (etc. . . . . .), (i.e.,) the eminent Lamaštu, should not come close to man, may she be conjured by heaven, be conjured by earth!"

After this line, text "Am" again adds three additional lines:

[12]zi ^{d}en.líl.le lugal kur.kur.ra ḫé.pà
[13][zi] ^{d}nin.líl.le nin kur.kur.ra ḫé.pà
[14][zi] ^{d}nin.urta ibila é.kur.ra.ke$_4$ ḫé.pà

[12]May the life of Enlil, king of the lands, be implored,
[13]may the life of Ninlil, lady of the lands, be implored,
[14]may the life of Ninurta, the heir of Ekur, be implored.

Note that, after the zi-pà formulas at the end of this spell, the concluding rubric phrase TU$_6$/TE ÉN is again left out (see commentary to lines 57–59).

II 136–50 This spell has been translated by Haas (1986: 145; from F. Köcher's manuscript), Foster (1993: 866; from the previously published sources), and Frymer-Kensky (1995: 105; based on an older manuscript of mine).

II 137 Text *Ψ* from Uruk, a notoriously unreliable duplicate, differs here substantially from all the other exemplars. Most probably, it had a sequence of five instead of three 1.c.s. statives ending in *-āk*. Of these, the first, although mostly broken, was probably parallel to the standard version ([*su-ta-a-a*]*k*). Instead of the enigmatic[79] *nam/n/ggiṣṣāku* that follows in the other duplicates, *Ψ* then seems to have an equally dificult sequence *di'āk ni'āk raḫḫiṣāk*. While the first of these forms could perhaps be connected with the ailment *di'u*, I know of no lemma that would yield any understandable sense for the following **ni'āk*. I thus wonder whether these two words might be no more than a mumbo-jumbo rhyming pair **di'āk–ni'āk*. Following *raḫḫiṣāk* "I am destructive," there still seems to be sufficient space in *Ψ* to restore [*namurrāk*], parallel again to the standard version.

II 138 Text *a* is more laconic than the others: "I go in and out."

II 139–40 For parallels to this couplet, see the commentary to "Lam. I" 121–22. Note the spelling *tu-lu-ú-a* in text *Ψ*, which is the only variant to our phrase that expressly includes a possessive suffix of the 1.c.s.

II 141–44 A similar passage is "Ug" IV 3′–6′: "(Aruru[?]) went wee[ping] before Anu, before Antu her tears were flowing: 'She (= Lamaštu) has destroyed the work of our hands, what we have created the wind is carrying away!'"

II 141 The substitution of Ea for Anu (again only in text *Ψ*) is more likely a mistake than a theologically relevant variant.

79. See CAD N/I 118f.

II 143–44 The scribe of text *Ψ* confused the subjects of the verbal forms, leading to a rather nonsensical version: [*ammīni*] *ša ibnû nuḫallaq* [*u ša ušab*]*šû nubbal šā*[*ra*] "Why should we destroy what she created, and carry away the wind that she brought into existence?"

II 145–46 The enclitic *-ma* after *leqēši* and *rukussi* cannot be the connective particle and therefore has been interpreted as lending emphasis to the two imperatives.

II 145 The correct reading of the end of this line is now finally proven by text *Ψ*. The metaphor *ṣupur šadî* "fingernail of the mountain," describing the uppermost rocky outcrops, had not yet been attested but fits very nicely to the well-known *ubān šadî* "finger of the mountain = mountain peak, rock spire." Frymer-Kensky's rendering "edge of the mountain" (Frymer-Kensky 1995: 105 and notes in the back of the book) intuitively got close to the mark even before the Akkadian text had been established.

II 146 For a parallel, see "Lam. II" 47 with commentary. For the readings **ēdu* and **aḫû*, cf. Farber 1987a: 90 with n. 16.

II 149–50 The individual exemplars seem to try, with more or less success, to adapt the well-known *kīma-qutri* motif (see CAD Q 326f.) to the context of expelling Lamaštu. Unfortunately, only the rather unreliable text *Ψ* is sufficiently well preserved to yield an understandable (though otherwise unparalleled) version: *kīma qutri āla liṣṣi lā* [*inaḫḫis*] "may she leave the city like smoke (and) never return." C_2, although partially broken, most likely read *kīma qutri ana š*[*amê līteli-ma*] *lā inaḫḫis* "may she go up like smoke to the s[ky and] never return." Text *c* might have been similar to that, but in the break probably substituted simple *liṣṣi* for *ana šamê līteli*. Text *b* needs only a minor emendation (⟨*-ri*⟩) to be read *kīma qutri liṣṣī-ma lā ineḫḫis*. Text *a* is the most problematic, inserting *li-*[*?*] AN*-e* after *qut-ri* and before [*āl*]*aʾ liṣṣī-ma*. Lack of space seems to exclude a restoration *lī*[*teli*], unless we assume an otherwise unattested value **tili* for the sign BAD, which would still fit into the gap. Such a restoration would yield the most complete version of the phrase: *kīma qutri lī*[*teli*] *šamê* [*āl*]*aʾ liṣṣī-ma lā ineḫḫis* "may she [go up] like smoke to the sky, leave the [cit]y, and never return."

II 152–65 Translated by Haas 1986: 145f. (from F. Köcher's manuscript) and Foster 1993: 865 (from previously published sources).

II 152 (+ "MB" I 2; "Ug" V 31′) For *muʾammilat laʾûti*, see above, commentary to "Lam. II" 34. It is probably also to be restored at the end of the line in "MB". From the length of Inc. 12, it seems very probable that "Ug" V 30′f. contained the beginning of the very same incantation which, after a break of approximately the right size, in col. VI 1′ff. provides a parallel to lines 171ff. Unfortunately, the remaining two signs in V 31′ could belong to the beginning of almost any Lamaštu incantation, and final proof that they duplicate our line is thus not possible.

II 153 (+ "MB" I 3) Note that "MB", as well as texts C_2 and *a*, show a plene vowel indicating a dual for the first subject, *rittāša* "her (two) claws." Unfortunately, all three texts are broken at the crucial point for the second subject (*kir*[*imma/āša*]). An unambiguous dual form here might have added valuable information for the exact meaning of the word (see comm. to "Lam. I" 143).

II 154 (+ "MB" I 4) The variant *dannat* "she is mighty" in the oldest extant version ("MB") suggests a misreading **ba* for *na* somewhere in the later tradition, resulting in *labbat* as the accepted version in the first millennium texts (note that text C_2 even uses a rare CV gloss to a CVC sign, ^{ba}*bat*, to remove any lingering doubts about the reading). In this sequence of verb-derived descriptive adjectives, I prefer our form to be also from the verbal root **lbb* (see already CAD E 169b; our line is not quoted in CAD L 24a, *labbu* B), rather than translating "she is a lioness" (from substantival *labbatu*) or even "she is a bitch" (**kalbat*).

II 155 (+ "MB" I 5) The exact (negative) nuance of *muttabbilat* is hard to grasp. It may be compared to the use of the Gtn participle of **wbl*, to describe aggressiveness in battle. This is attested in STC 2, pl. 75,6 (Ištar as *muttabbilat kakkē*), and several times in the Anzu epic (Ninurta as *muttabbila/u qab(a)la anunti,* and Ningirsu as *muttabbilu sibittam qablī*),[80] although in all these instances *muttabbilu* is followed by a logical object ("weapons", "battle" etc.). Foster 1993: 865, translates: "an abductor."

II 157 (+ "MB" I 7) The root **šlp* is usually of the *a/u* class. Reading *i-šal-*LUL in C_2 as *i-šal-lup*, I assume a root variant *u/u* for the verb (variation between *a/u* and *u/u* root vocalism is not too uncommon in Akkadian). Less likely are the readings LUL=*láp* (cf. AS[4] no. 207 for a single, very questionable example for this reading) or LUL=*lip* (against CAD Š/I 230f., which postulates a much more difficult root variation *a/u* : *a/i,* based on our form only). "MB" probably had the regular *a/u* class G present *išallap*, or a D present (cf. the variant *ušallap* in text *b*).

II 158 (+ "MB" I 8) For the understanding of **unamzaz* as a form of **nss* "to sing" see Civil 1983: 50 n. 2. This is preferrable to the interpretation in CAD N/II 353 (*nussusu* "to shake, flap," with an otherwise unattested nuance "to rock a baby"). Foster's translation "she stands it up" (Foster 1993: 865) seems to derive the form from *uzuzzu* (D?) and is ostensibly based on his restoration of the final verb as **ittanallak*, now obsolete.

II 159 (+ "MB" I 10) Mighty or dangerous weapons are occasionally described simply as "big" in Akkadian literature, also in metaphoric use; see for instance En. el. IV 49 *iššīma bēlu abūba kakkašu rabâ*. I thus see no need to search for a different interpretation of ^{GIŠ}KU/TUKUL in our passage,[81] especially now that "MB" has clarified the reading *kakku* beyond doubt. "MB" shows another nice example for the (archaizing?) use of *rabbû* for the predicative plural of *rabû* (see CAD R 16b).

In the second part of the line, CAD N's interpretation, followed by Foster, also has to be rejected. Once more, "MB" offers final proof that **namšišū* of the later texts is a by-form of the stative *namuššišū,* as already recognized in AHw. 728. Our passage (quoted under *namšašu*) should thus not be separated from the adjective **nam(m)uš(š)i/ušu* "agile," regularly used as an antonymic euphemism for "stiff = dead".[82] Whether there was also an

80. See Vogelzang 1988: 31 l.14; 38 ll.184 and 186; 97 ll.38 and 40.

81. For our line, a meaning "breasts" has first been suggested "between the lines" by Reiner 1974: 233. It has then be taken up by CAD N/I 247a s.v. *namšašu*, translating "breasts(?)"; by Foster 1993: 865; and most recently by Wiggerman 2000: 230 with n. 90.

82. Cf. CAD N/I 235b; the different etymology proposed by Borger (1991: 42), deriving the word from Sumerian *nam.úš, is hardly convincing but may reflect a learned later interpretation of the term.

irregular infinitive to **nmš* of that same form, as postulated in CAD N/I 223a (with a misleading reference to "GAG Erg.-H. p. 19**"; only the well-known adjective is mentioned there!), only further texts can prove. In BWL 42, 79 (*mašâ-ma na-mu/nam-ši-ša šēpāja*, quoted CAD N/I s.v. *namāšu* 1 e), to understand the form as an infinitive is unsatisfactory since *mašû* "to forget" otherwise never takes an infinitive as direct object and the entries in OBGT XV 13 and Nigga Bil. B 254 could just as well be understood as adjectives.

II 160 (+ "MB" I 9) For *qadiš/ltu* as a priestly woman involved in wet-nursing, see Gruber 1986: 133ff. (esp. 142–46); Scurlock 1991: 142; and more recently Stol 2000: 186ff. (and Wiggerman 2000: 230 with n. 92). This fits well the use of the word to describe Lamaštu in our setting. Different and somewhat tempting, although as far as I can see lacking any outside proof, is the interpretation of Foster (1993: 865): "the one . . . with no child of her own," a description that, however, would have befitted Ardat-Lilî better than Lamaštu.

II 161 (+ "MB" I 11) "MB" clearly refers to Lamaštu's teeth (*šinnāša* in the dual reflecting both jaws) and compares them to those of a donkey (*šinnāt* now in fem. pl.; cf. also "Lam. II" 36, where the constr. sing. *šinni* is used). The later text *b* seems to have reinterpreted the two references to teeth as *šinnatu* "likeness," as first recognized in AHw. 1243a. This does not make much sense right before the mention of Lamaštu's lips in line 162. The other SB duplicates are broken at the crucial point, and so it remains unclear whether this was an individual mistake of this text *b*, or reflects an authoritative version of the first millennium. In view of this, I decided to follow the older, and in my opinion better version in the translation.

II 162 (+ "MB" I 12) Note the spelling *ziq-ziq-ma* for *ziqziqum-ma* in text *b*, which almost looks like a pseudo-logogram (*ZIQ.ZIQ-*ma*). "MB", in what is probably simply a dittography, repeats *šinnāša* (the last word of the preceding line) at the beginning of this line, instead of *šaptāša* in the later texts. "MB" also changes the grammatical subject for the second half of the line to a singular (*itabbak*), more likely referring to Lamaštu herself than to *ziqziqu* "gale." The later texts continue instead with a dual/fem.pl. form *utabbakā* and the teeth as the subject, unless we assume a semantically unwarranted ventive here.

II 163 (+ "MB" I 13) For a parallel, see above, "Lam. II" 35.

II 164–165 (+ "MB" I 14–15) The stative *nu"urat* (**n'r* D), attested in "MB" and in the Kuyunjik texts, fits the comparison with a roaring lion, but for reasons unknown to me has been reinterpreted to read *namurrat* "she is terrifying" in texts *b* and "*Sd*".

Based on the earlier copy of C_2, the end of line 164 has been read UR.IDIM by F. Köcher (unpubl. manuscript), CAD L 38a, and Wiggermann 1992: 174. Text "*Sd*" now shows unequivocal *kal-ba-tum* (see also "MB" I 14, *kal-ba-ti*); in *b*, KAL.BE should accordingly be read *kal-bat*. C_2 remains problematic, with a clear UR followed by an inconclusive trace.

The attestations of **lḫb* Š ("MB" I 14) and its derivative stems, Štn (164) and $Št_2$ ("MB" I 15), all seem to be intransitive here, and thus do not qualify for causative meanings. Intransitive Š stems are usually derived from verbs of state and tend to express elative meaning, the basic forms being statives and verbal adjectives (*šurbû*, *šūquru* etc.). Starting

from these, finite Š forms often intrude into the realm of factitives for these same verbs, replacing or intensifying existent D forms. Beyond this, intransitive Š forms are very uncommon, and their derivational meaning is hard to grasp. My translation "to whimper" for both G and Š (intensified to "howling" in $Št_2$) is a guess based on context and following the suggestion of CAD L 38a; note that AHw. 527b translates the Štn as a true causative, sacrificing much of the expected sense of the line. For $Št_2$ as a further intensification of Š see Michael Streck 1994: 173ff.; the pair *ušalḫab—ultalaḫḫab* in "MB" yields a prime example for this function.

"MB", showing lines 164 and 165 in reverse order and adding an extra verbal form in each line, produces a couplet consisting of two hinge constructions. In both lines, the prepositional phrase *kīma x* connects backward and forward with both predicates. In addition, the poetic finesse of the passage is heightened by the increase in syllable numbers ("Ehelolfsches Wortfolgeprinzip") and intensity (stems!) of the two line-final predicates, *ušalḫab* and *ultalaḫḫab* (see above).

"MB" I 16 Lamaštu is also described as having the head of Anzû, the mythical lion-eagle, in "FsB" 18.

"MB" I 16b–18 The second half of the line leads into a six line passage characterized by iterative tn-stems which is reduced to one single line in the later tradition (166). Syntactically, *ittanatbak* seems to form another hinge construction with *ittanamzaz* (line 18), with line 17 indicating the time for both verbal actions.

For the idiomatic meaning of **tbk* Ntn as "to show up (unexpectedly)," see the references collected in AHw. 1296b (cf. also CAD T 9f. under 11.b "to spill out, in transferred mng.").

"MB" I 17 For *šuḫarrat ūmi*, cf. comm. to "Lam. I" 177.

"MB" I 18 My rendering of *turra ana turri* as an adverbial expression "time and again" is based on the well attested meaning of idiomatic verbal "Koppelungen" connecting **tūr* with other verbs in the sense of "to do xx again" (see Kraus 1987: 12 and 36), and on the hapax legomenon *turra(m)* "again" (BAM 396 II 12, also MB). The phrase seems not to be attested elsewhere.

166 (+ "MB" I 19) With the reading *bardâ/î* now clarified by "MB", the translation "crosspiece (of a window)," and the restoration of the verb as *šurru* Dtn "to lean over" is no longer in doubt.

"MB" I 20 Reduplication of */q/* in the fem. pl. of *tub(u)q(t)u* "corner" is occasionally attested in 2nd-millennium texts from varied proveniences; see, for instance, YOS 10, 54, 15f. (OB), here below, "Emar" 36 (MB), and, as Akkadogram in Hittite, KBo 3, 9:12. Compare also the hybrid singular *tubuqqatu* from Nuzi (e.g., HSS 5, 39, 9), which CAD T 449a lists separately under *tubuqtu* B "(mng. uncert.)", but then still translates as "corner(?)."

The restoration of the predicate of this line remains somewhat tentative. The context of lines 16–20 would make a tn-form likely, but the spelling with a single vowel sign *i-* does not support this, unless it were from a I-weak root. In view of the attested idiom

tubqa ṣabātu "to hide in a corner" (CAD T 448a), the most likely restoration of the traces is *i-ṣ*[*a-*. . .]. This fits best to a plain G present **iṣabbat*, but could also be a somewhat unusual spelling ignoring the reduplication of /ṣ/ in **iṣṣanabbat*. My transcription and translation assumes the latter.

"MB" I 21 The restoration of the verb remains difficult. Since a transitive predicate is needed, an Ntn stem of a verb I-*l* is excluded. At the same time, none of the transitive verbs of the structure **ʾ/n/t-l-*C which might have a Gtn makes any sense in our context. I thus hesitantly opt for **ʾlk* Gtn which is attested several times with a direct object, although this tends to be a geographical feature (wilderness, mountains, etc.), and the meaning thus is "to roam about in xx." For a possible parallel, where *xx atalluku* might also mean "to run around xx," see Etana II 82 and 109 (see Novotny 2001: 18): *sa-da-a-ti ittanallak*.[83]

II 171 (+ "MB" I 26f., "Ug" VI 2′f.) Cf. above, "Lam. II" 40. The canonical version leaves out the second half of the parallel. Instead of *šipat nēmeqi*, "MB" (and also "Ug"?) has *ina šipti u nēpeši*.

II 172 (+ "MB" I 28; "Ug" VI 4′) *rikis gerrēti* ("MB": *rikis ḫarrānāti*; "Ug": *riksi ḫarrāni*) literally means "bundle for the roads, luggage"; the expression is not otherwise known (a similar but semantically unrelated phrase, *rikis gerri*, has long been known to designate a certain kind of omen excerpt tablets, with the underlying meaning of the Akkadian idiom still debatable).

II 173 (+ "MB" I 29; "Ug" VI 5′) While the two older versions have *kirissu* "pin" here, the later version replaces this with *šikkat šamni* "a jug of oil"; for the significance of this, see Farber 1987a: 99 (our passage quoted there as "Lam. II 170"), and compare furthermore BAM 234, 16–17. For the different determinatives preceding *šikkatu* (GIŠ and DUG) see comm. to "Lam. I" 37.

II 174 (+ "MB" I 30; "Ug" VI 6′) For this line (quoted as "Lam. II 171"), see Farber 1987a: 100.

II 175 (+ "MB" II 1; "Ug" VI 7′) The earlier texts show **lwī* $Št_2$ present here, yielding another impeccable example for M. Streck's group 2.2 (Michael Streck 1994: 166ff.) in which the $Št_2$ expresses the causative of a passive N. The underlying notion is **ṭēnša ēdēnīta illammi* "she gets encircled by her own unique plot," which then is put into causative, with Asalluḫi as secondary agent: "You (= A.) cause her to get encircled by . . ." The later texts simplify this by using a plain Š stem: "You (= Marduk) encircle her with a unique plot." The apparent use of the pret. *tušalmīši* within a long passage of present tenses (172–77) makes no sense to me, but I also hesitate to understand the form as exhibiting an otherwise unattested *e*-vocalism, without regressive vowel assimilation, for a present **tušalmēši*.

83. In the given context, a physical feature of the bull's carcass around which the eagle is running would yield the best sense. Unfortunately, there is no fitting such noun, and the meaning of the hapax legomenon **sadāti* remains unclear (Novotny 2001: 48). Interpretations include AHw. 1002: pl. of *sādu* "meadow(?)"; CAD S 17a: adv.(?); Foster 1993: 453f.: "outside(?)"; Kinnier-Wilson 1985: 96ff.: "*area*."

Note that in "MB" *ṭēmu* is construed as feminine (in "Ug", the defining adjective is broken), while in the first-millennium texts it is masculine.

II 177 (+ "MB" II 3; "Ug" VI 9′) The variance between texts *a* and *b* (*tuparrakši* vs. *tušappaksi*) can also be traced back to the earlier versions, where "MB" is siding with *a*, and "Ug" with *b*.

"MB" neatly spells out a singular *šadîm*, to follow the numeral "seven," see GAG §139h for similar examples also from the second millennium. Note also that it is only here and in the same word in II 15 that our text expressly uses mimation, ostensibly to distinguish the singular *šadî(m)* from its otherwise homophonous plural, *šadî*, as in I 13 and II 17. In the same exemplar "MB", the spelling ÍD.MEŠ in the parallel phrase of the preceding line makes it probable that a regular plural *nārāti*(*m*) was intended there, giving us two different number constructions within one couplet, for whatever grammatical or stylistical reasons,.

II 178–80 (+ "MB" II 4–6; "Ug" VI 10′–15′) "Ug" shows a different arrangement of these lines, and also some major textual variants. It starts in 10′ (second half indented?) with the conjuration by Asalluḫi; continues in 11′–12′ with an order for Lamaštu not to return and not to step over something, which is different from both other versions by negating **tūr* and **blkt* N instead of **snq* and **ṭḫī*; and in 13′–14′ probably changes the word order of Nabû's intervention.

"MB" II 4 has prohibitives (*lā* + present) of **snq* and **ṭḫī*, which the later version in 178 replaces by negated final infinitives (*ana lā ṭeḫê/sanāqi*). Note that text *c* in this line continues to speak of Lamaštu in the 3.f.s. (*-šá*; for line179 see below), while *a* and (probably) C_2 shift here to the 2.f.s. (*-ki*).

"MB" II 5 is difficult. A spelling AK.AK (or KÌD.KÌD), plain and without any phonetic complementation, for *kikkiṭṭû* in non-ritual context is not otherwise attested. Also, Nabû is not otherwise known as a god specifically connected with rituals. Furthermore, the two signs are written more superficially than the surrounding signs, with the second AK leaning to the left and showing an unwarranted extra vertical wedge. It thus seems likely to me that we should ignore the AK.AK altogether as an aborted attempt to write a ligature DINGIR+AK, and that the beginning of the line should thus simply be read as *itabbalki Nabû* "Nabû will take you away." Whether or not the second half of the line contains an allusion to the river ordeal, I cannot tell.

The beginning of "Lam. II" 179 is closely parallel to "MB", but the second half (DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*; only preserved in text *c*) does not seem to make any sense, as can be seen from my very literal translation of the line. Maybe this phrase was simply an acoustical misunderstanding involving a change from */r/* to */l/*: *iraḫḫīšu* > **ilaḫḫīšu*, reinterpreted as *ilī aḫḫīšu*?

180 and "MB" II 6 are virtually identical and pose no additional problems.

II 181–82 (+ "MB" II 7–10; "Ug" VI 15′) This section is most elaborate in "MB", where Ea, Ninurta, Marduk, Ṣarpānītu, and Šamaš are named. "Ug" invokes only Ea, while the later version shows Šamaš and Ea. Since "Ug" and the later version both agree on Ea's epithet

to read *šar šīmāti*,[84] "MB", which seems to have a variant **šar māti*, has been emended accordingly.

II 183 (+ "MB" II 11) "MB" has *lā tušar*[*rī*] "do not lean over/into!" which in the given context does not make good sense and probably should be emended to *lā tutar*[*rī*] "do not return!" Note that, in general, ŠA an TA are well kept apart in this text, but the misunderstanding may have originated with a less neatly written source tablet. The later version has "do not enter!"

II 184 (+ "MB" II 12) *tassaḫ*[*ḫarī*] (**sḫr* N) from "MB" is replaced in the later version by the G stem form *tasaḫḫurī*.

II 186 (+ "MB" II 15) "MB" shows a fem.pl. of *abnu* which, according to CAD A/I 54b, is otherwise only used as the plural for individual and countable stones or stone objects (jewelry, weighing stones, etc.). Our line, referring to natural rocks, may make it necessary to reconsider this position and go back to the less specific statement of AHw. 6a: "m. u. f. . . . Pl. *abnū* u. *abnātu*." Note also that "MB" first wrote the predicate as a precative masc. pl. *lik-tam-mu-*, then erased the *-tam-mu-*, wrote a new UD(=*tam*) over the erasure, and continued with *-ma* for fem.pl., exposing a certain insecurity about the gender on the side of the scribe.

II 187 (+ "MB" II 16) The use of **sḫl* with *šikkurrāt elpeti* clarifies the meaning of *šikkurratu* as a hard, piercing part of reeds and sturdy grasses; cf. already CAD Š/II 435[85] which, however, takes *š.* as a variety, and not a part of reeds to be used for pickets and fences. The Sumerian equivalents (especially gi.sumun "old reed", and gi.úš "dead reed") seem to show that *š.* actually should mean the dry, hardened stalks of cut reeds etc., and not, for instance, the pointed young shoots. The spelling of "foot" or "feet" in "MB" is not absolutely certain. The traces seem to fit best to G[ÌR-*ki*] or G[ÌR.II-*ki*], but collation could also not rule out a syllabic spelling starting with *š*[*i*] or even *š*[*e*].

II 188 (+ "MB" II 17; "Ug" VI 16′) Rather than assuming a double construct chain, I take *e/irīšu ṭābi* as a descriptive apposition to *šadî*. "Ug", although too broken to prove the point, makes it even more likely by showing an accusative [*ir*]*īša ṭāba* (note that **ʾlī* can be construed with *ana* + genitive like in "MB" and probably in the canonical texts, or with an accusative of direction, as presumably in "Ug").

II 189 and "MB" II 18–20 (+ "Ug" VI 17′?) In both older versions, Lamaštu seems to be urged to apply her destructive activities to the animals of the wild, while the later version simply sends her away to the realm of the aromatic trees high up in the mountains and thus unreachably far away.

To understand *ḫi-il* (var. *ḫi-i-li*) in 189 as an imperative, parallel to *ṣabtī* and *ullidī* in "MB" II 18/20, is difficult, since no transitive verb **ḫīl* is otherwise attested in Akkadian.

84. This phrase was misread by van Soldt 1991: 420.

85. The only non-lexical attestation quoted there (STT 280 IV 33) can now also be safely read *šik-kur-rat ḫel-pu-ti* (for **elpeti*).

I therefore prefer a nominal construct *ḫīl allāni u buṭunāni*, still in apposition to *(ana) šadî irīši ṭābi*.

II 193–207 Much of this incantation is written in unorthographic Sumerian, and in addition seems to be often garbled. With the exception of the rather formulaic lines 193–95 and 207, most of the text therefore remains obscure. My translation is thus often based more on guesswork than on provable philological understanding.

II 196–206 My reading *dab "to seize" is backed by the variant KU = dab_5 in 196–98, text *c*. Unfortunately, most of what is being seized remains largely incomprehensible, while the general concept of a demon "seizing" persons or things is certainly also well known otherwise.

II 199–200 lu.pa/pà.rV could conceivably be a phonetic spelling of *lú.ubara "privileged person" (Akk. **ša kidinni*?). Another option might be *lú.bar.ra "foreigner," although I know of no parallel for either expression in magical texts.

lu.us/ús.gim/gi.im might likewise be understood as representing *lú.iskim "person enjoying divine protection" (Akk. **ša tukulti*?), which would give us two roughly comparable nouns in this couplet.

*igi--dab could correspond to Akkadian *pan xx ṣabātu* "to take the lead," but this seems to me to make little sense in the given context, and I thus prefer to see the demon taking hold of the eye, a particularly vulnerable part of the body of her victim. Note also that text *a* shows a variant GIŠ.gi for i.gi in line 199, but not in line 200.

II 201 Note that only the Kuyunjik text has tu_6 "spell," while both *a* and α show the sign tu_9(TÚG) instead. My translation is thus based on C_2 alone, while it remains quite possible that both spellings (tu_6 and tu_9) are non-orthographic renderings of still another word pronounced /tu/.

I am at a loss to explain i.gi.za.na, other than assuming that i.gi once more stands for "eye."

II 202–3 a.ba.ši.ki, qualified by /duga/ (du_{10}.ga in *b*, du_{11}.ga in C_2 and *a*) remains completely incomprehensible to me.

II 204 ù/ú.bur can be understood as a phonetic spelling for *ubur "breast," which seems to make reasonably good sense here (cf. Falkenstein 1959: 98 n. 3, quoting the spellings ù.bu.ur and ù.bur, and Cohen 1981: 63, 5 for a gloss ú.bi.ur to ubur in the Eršemma text CT 15, pl. 23).

II 205–6 Door (^{giš}ig) and bolt (^{giš}sag̃.kul) are written in conventional orthography, so there is no doubt about the reading. I cannot, however, explain the distributive marker(?) -ta.a/àm on both of these nouns.

In connection with locked doors, one might consider reading the verb here as dib = *etēqu* "to pass by, cross over," rather than dab "to seize," although again I know of no comparable passages in the magical corpus.

II 210 Note that the Kuyunjik texts A and C_2 both write KÌD.KÌD.BI (for *kikiṭṭašu* ?) here, although the same exemplars otherwise use the rubric DÙ.DÙ.BI for "its ritual."[86]

The reading of ZI-*ḫi* as a finite verbal form **tanassaḫ(i)* is likely from the prescriptive format of this magico-medical ritual, but an adjectival **azallâ nasḫa* "(freshly) pulled-out *a.*-plant" is also possible. For the uprooting of medicinal plants as the first step in prescriptions see CAD N/II 6b and, in the phrase *arqūssu tanassaḫ*, BAM 533 rev. 68.

II 211 If UD-*ma* in texts A and C_2 stands for *enūma*, which is likely from the context, and also the only reading for the spelling otherwise attested, one should expect the predicate to show the form **iṣbatušu* for the subjunctive, not the indicative form DIB-*su* = *iṣbassu*.[87] Both texts A and *a* show, however, a clear *-su*. The traces in *a* corresponding to UD-*ma* of the Kuyunjik texts seem to corroborate the reading **enūma*, although [*šu*]*m-m*[*a*] cannot be absolutely ruled out; if this were the correct reading, the indicative *iṣbassu* would certainly be appropriate, and an otherwise unattested spelling UD-*ma* = *šumma* might be considered.

Lam. III (= 3. *pirsu*)

III 1 For this line introducing the ritual tablet, compare Šurpu I 1, KAR 90 1 (ritual *ilī ul ide*), and the similar lines collected in CAD N/II 169a.

III 2–4 I am still unable to harmonize all extant duplicates for this passage. The scribes of all exemplars seem to have added unwarranted KÁ signs at several places. Unfortunately, the library text A is also broken at some of the crucial spots. My translation, especially in line 4, thus relies heavily on emendations and is based primarily on the pictorial record of the Lamaštu amulets (see Farber 1987a: 85ff).

III 5–6 For readings, restorations, and individual interpretations of the paraphernalia mentioned here and regularly depicted on Lamaštu amulets, see Farber 1987a: 92–95. For *ma/ušālu*, cf. now also Westenholz 2010b: 463ff., which, however, does not change my view of the OB and post-OB evidence for this word. The mention of a dog and a piglet have been convincingly explained by Wiggermann 2010: 407–14. For the lamp, cf. now also Holloway 1996: 27–32. The significance of the donkey's ankle has been discussed by Wiggermann 2000: 239f.

III 8–28 See "Lam. II" 61–83, and the commentary.

III 29 It remains unclear what might have been contained in this sizeable gap of 12–14 signs. The end of line 28 coincides with the end of Rit. 7, and the beginning of line 30 duplicates the start of the parallel ritual from Farber 1989a: 68ff. §§16 and 16A.

III 30–35(a) For parallels to this section, see Farber 1989a: 68–73; for a full edition of RC 713 see below, part II text "RC".

86. See Maul 2009 for a thorough discussion of these two terms, most likely to be understood as traditional Sumerian catchwords that only occasionally were morphologically adapted into Akkadian as loanwords.

87. A comparison with *enūma* + indicative in SB building inscriptions, probably to be analyzed as an adverb rather than a subjunction, seems unwarranted in a magico-medical text.

III 31 A reading *muš/ltasḫiptu* for ^{NA_4}SAL.LA was deemed likely by ABZ^2 no. 554 and MZL p. 574; final proof that this equation from ḪḪ and Uruanna is indeed the reading of the logogram in magico-medical texts, however, is still lacking (cf. CAD S 268 s.v. *sīlu* A and MZL no. 883).

My translation of the two types of "sea-stones" mentioned here, *jartu* and *biṣṣūr atāni*, is based on their physical appearance ("rosette" for corals, and "she-ass genitals" for the cowrie shell) only, and is probably worth no more than other guesses found in the literature.[88]

III 34 For *lippu* and the clarifying spelling *lip-pu* in "RC" 6 and 8 see already Farber 1989a: 83.[89]

III 35–56 A translation of this ritual, based on older readings by F. Köcher, has been provided by Haas 1986: 210f.

III 35(b)–37(a) and 42–43 See "RC" 5–11 for a similar passage, which partially clarifies the text.

III 35 While eye-stones are a well-known commodity, both as gemstones and in magical use, occurrences of *parû*-stones (or rather stone *parû*'s, "mule-stones" or "stone mules"?) are strangely restricted to this Lamaštu ritual and its parallels. At least for the time being, it remains impossible to prove or disprove the interpretation as mule figurines (AHw. 837a).[90]

III 36 The meaning (as well as the syntactical connection) of **ḫuppī* (or *kappī*? Cf. AHw. 444b) remains unclear. Not showing an adjectival plural, it seems to qualify *lippu* as an apposition, but none of the respective nouns[91] makes any persuasive sense. CAD's assumption that *ḫúp-pu* should be in singular, next to a plural *lap-pi* (CAD L 200) is not borne out by the variant spellings *ḫúp-pi*. My decision to read **ḫuppu* rather than **kappu* is based mainly on the possibility that the sound of the word is somehow reflected in the phrase *ḫuppani ḫuppu* in the non-Akkadian mumbo-jumbo line 58.

III 36(b)–41 With this passage, compare Rit. 8 = "Lam. II" 113–118 with comm.

III 43 The end of this line, KI // *i*[*t-ti*] NA_4.MEŠ GÚ DIB-*bat*, is cumbersome. The logographic spellings leave much leeway for different readings, and no parallels that would clarify the action involved are known to me. An alternative reading **itti abnī kišādi taṣabbat* "you grasp (the coils etc.) together with the neck stones" would necessitate an immediately following further action ("and place them somewhere," or the like), which is not mentioned (note also that *ina kišādīšu tašakkan* in l. 45 has only the substances in l. 44 as its direct objects and does not connect further back). The spelling NA_4.MEŠ GÚ instead of *NA_4.GÚ.MEŠ, the latter well attested for "neck stones" or necklaces (see CAD K 448f.), speaks, I think, also in favor of my interpretation of the phrase as containing a Š stem **tušaṣbat*, literally "you let (the stones etc.) grab/surround (the neck)."

III 44–45(a) See "Lam. I" 58f. (with comm.).

88. Cf. the convenient article "Muscheln" by Röllig (1995: 450f.).

89. Whether the OA term ^{TÚG}*li-pu/i* (Donbaz 1991: 79 ad I.5) also belongs to *lippu* remains uncertain.

90. See now also CAD P 207f. and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 202f.; **parê ša abni* (VAB 2, 14 III 49, quoted in CAD) may or may not belong here.

91. See AHw. 356b for two alleged homophones *ḫuppu* with a rather disparate array of meanings and 444 for *kappu* "wing" and "hand, palm."

III 45(b)–46 Compare "Lam. II" 212.

III 47–56 The instructions of these lines are closely paralleled in "RC" 12–27 and "FsL". The section I 7–II 10 of the latter has also been incorporated into the edition of "Lam. III" as text *Re*. For variants, see the commentary to the full edition of these texts in the Appendix.

III 47–48 Note that the text of lines 47–48 was inserted at different points in the Babylonian exemplars *H* (after III 56) and *x* (after III 42), attesting to some confusion during the compilation of the canonical series. The phrase "all the eye-stones and *parû* stones" thus occurs at a different point of the ritual in each text. When one tries to read III 30–63 as a continuous ritual that should make sense in itself, it does not seem very likely that this phrase should refer back to the stones mentioned in ll. 35, 42 and 43, since these should not be used for a second time but rather stay in their place. The irritating phrase might thus have originally crept into the canonical compilation(s) from a text similar to "RC" 12–27 which contained a parallel to our lines 47–56 as a separate ritual, but had already indicated the total number of stones needed at its beginning. In fact, just such a text has now been identified in "FsL" (see "FsL"). This school tablet from Babylon thus may not actually be an excerpt from "Lam.", but rather a late exemplar of one of the rituals which were used to make up the ritual tablet in Nineveh.

III 49, 51, 53, 55 Note that the color of the stones mentioned here, and the wool they are to be threaded on, seem to match: *šubû* > white wool, *ṣurru ṣalmu* > black wool, *kapaṣu* > red wool, and *aban parzilli* > bluish wool. While the colors of *ṣurru ṣalmu* (black) and *kapaṣu* (red) had been known before, and a bluish, shining or iridescent quality of *aban parzilli* "iron stone" is very plausible, the correct identification of *šubû* (usually translated, if at all, as "agate") is still open to discussion and should take this indication of color (white, or translucent?), into consideration.

III 57–60 For this spell, see the parallel in the compendium of baby incantations Farber 1989a: 68 ll. 223–228, and the preliminary edition of our passage (1989a: 70).

III 61–62 For these lines, compare the similar spell in Farber 1989a: 74 ll. 255–257, with commentary on pp. 75f.

III 66–68 The parallel "Ra" IV 5–9 replaces *qīru* "hot bitumen"[92] with the very similar *napṭu* "naphtha," puts some of the ingredients in a different order, omits *azallû*, and adds "mutton lard, [. . .]-fat, (and) cedar resin" before adding the ingredients up as "22 ointments against Lamaštu."

III 69–73 Text *H*, instead of giving the incipits to Inc. 2, 3, and 6, quotes only Inc. 7 ("Fierce is the Daughter-of-Anu") and 6, and leaves out the phrase "These three incantations" in l. 73.

92. In spite of my own translation "frischer Asphalt" (Farber 1987: 260) and the new questions raised by Stol (2012: 57a), I am convinced that ÉSIR.KÚM = *qīru* refers to hot, liquid bitumen, as already argued by CAD, and not to "new/fresh bitumen (ÉSIR.GIBIL_4)." Maybe the clearest example for *qīru* to be hot, K 888, 16 (still quoted as unpubl. in CAD K 416a) has now been published and edited by Schwemer (2006; see also Schwemer 2007a: 76).

The parallel "Ra" IV 10–15 adds a reference to Inc. 8 or 9 (identical incipit, "She is fierce, violent"), adjusts the instruction in l. 73 accordingly, and adds an extra line promising the success of the ointment..

III 74–75 The parallel "Rc" I 16–19 changes the order of the ingredients and ends with a summation "altogether nine fumigations against D[imme]." "Ra" I 33 adds after the two lines "nine herbs, [fumigations] against Dimme."

III 76–102 For discussion and commentary to the incipits quoted here, cf. the commentary to the corresponding lines of "Lam. I–II" (see also the concordance in Table III, pp. 64–65).

III 85 For the occasional use of a plural **libbū*(ŠÀ.MEŠ) "abdomen, belly" see CAD L 166b and the Asb. passages cited there, p. 166a. A reading *qerbū* "intestines" would make no sense in our passage which calls for an external region of the body on the same side as *irtu* "chest," and opposite of *naglabu* "back."

III 94 The instruction to recite Inc. 11 over the patient's right foot is also preserved in text *Ψ* 12, where it follows the text of the incantation as an independent ritual.

III 99 In C_3, just before *qu-ta-ri*, two heads of vertical wedges remain visible which seem to be left over from an erasure. Compared with ll. 101f. (three fumigations, three locations), our line should have mentioned only one fumigation, since there is only one location. I therefore assume that a numeral ($3^?$, possibly a presumptive dittography from l. 101) has been incompletely erased when the clay was already starting to dry.

III 103–9 For similar passages, often using the same incantations to conclude other apotropaic texts or sections thereof, see Abusch 1974: 254 with n. 10.

III 103–4 For the use of *e'ru* and *libbi gišimmari* in apotropaic rites, see most recently Wiggermann 1992: 79–85; our passage (103–6) is quoted there as no. 3. For still another incantation addressed to ^{giš}ma.nu, accompanied by a ritual using *e'ru* sticks, see Farber 1989a: 60ff. §13 ll. 186–203.[93]

III 105 This incantation is also quoted in von Weiher SpTU III 69 §9 col. VI, to be recited over 2 figurines of "twins" (cf. Wiggermann 1992: 110 no. 13+*h*, who chose not to include the Uruk text in his edition). Unfortunately, the reading and meaning of the incipit is still uncertain; note that Wiggermann 1992: 80 (quoting our line) provides a different segmentation of the Sumerian signs (*udug ḫul.gál sag gaz.ze.da) but at the same time refrains from a translation.

III 106(b)–9 For similar sections introduced by *arkišu* which conclude specific rituals with more general apotropaic rites, see Abusch 1974: 254f.

III 107–18 These three incantations are also quoted in the same sequence in lines 38–41 of the ritual tablet of *mušš'u* (see most recently Böck 2003: 1–16). It is thus probably no coincidence that they are used here at the end of a section which starts ("Lam. III" 76) *enūma šerra tumašša'u*.

93. Note that KA-*šú* in l. 203 is possibly to be read *appašu*, and *talappat* then might refer to the stick and not to the baby; cf. also ibid. l. 216.

III 107 For an edition of the short incantation series *sağba see Schramm 2001. After Römer (1989: 465b) had proved the existence of at least two spells with the incipit sag.ba sag.ba (cf. also Köcher 1966: 21b), Schramm could now reconstruct two tablets which both contain just one bilingual incantation starting with these words. Since these two incantations, however, belong to different types and serve different purposes, Schramm could make a valid point that his Tablet I (CT 17, 34–36 and dupl.) is actually the one to be used here (see Schramm 2001: 12).

For the incantation *tummu bītu*, still only partially known, and its use in different ritual contexts, see most recently Wiggermann 1992: 111–12; Finkel 1991: 102 ad no. 30, who argues for the existence of more than one incantation with this incipit; and Schramm 2001: 8f. with nn. 47 and 53. An incantation of this title seems also to be mentioned in the ritual KAR 144 to improve the profits of an innkeeper; see Farber in Farber, Kümmel, and Römer 1987: 278 (only in duplicate B = ABRT 66, 1).

III 108 For the complete text of the incantation ab.ta nam.mu.un.da.ku_4.ku_4.(e.)NE, see Borger 1969: 10–12 §XXI and cf. Schramm 2001: 8 with n. 48. The spell is also used in the series *šēp lemutti* (Wiggermann 1992, text I 258–59, with the additional duplicate Beckman and Foster 1988: 23 obv. 13). Cf. also Finkel 1991: 102 and Böck 2003: 11.

III 109 An incantation with this beginning is not otherwise known to me.

III 110–35 See "Lam. I" 23–31, 47–57, and 94–99. "Lam. I" treats these three sections as individual rituals, each of which accompanies a specific incantation. In "Lam. III," they are slightly rearranged to form a complex seven-day ritual that stretches all the way to line 135. Line 110 specifically marks the starting point as the evening (i.e., the beginning) of the first day, "Lam. III" 119 specifies the fourth day for the second section, and "Lam. III" 130 probably contained a similar indication for the fifth day, which is now lost. In contrast, no specific days are mentioned in "Lam. I" 23, 47, and 94. Besides that, the wording of the three ritual sections from "Lam. I" and the continuous ritual of "Lam. III" is virtually the same.

III 120 The restoration *t*[*ukattam*] in C_3 is purely conjectural, especially since **ktm* G and D usually refer to covering something in order to make it invisible or decent. Other possibilities could include *t*[*umalli*] "you make (her head) full (of hair)" or *t*[*u'appar*] "you arrange (hair) as an *upru* (on her head)."

III 121 For *tunamtassi* see above, commentary to "Lam. I" 49, and below, to ll. 124f.

III 124–25 The variant *te-em-*[. . .] in text *E* seems to reflect a rare dissimilation of reduplicated voiceless /*p*/ (**teppuš* > *tempuš*; cf. GAG §32c). Note that the same exemplar also shows a variant *tunamtassi* for **tunam/dassi* (line 121), a spelling that also might imply a dissimilation involving voiceless /*t*/ (cf., however, the commentary to "Lam. I" 49 explaining the difficulties of deriving this form from any known verb). The same text, *E*, skips line 125 altogether.

III 129 The Babylonian text *E* uses *zipadê* **tmā* instead of the more common formula *nīš xx* **tmā* found in the Assyrian duplicates D_1 ("Lam. I" 57) and C_3.

III 130 Although my restoration of [UD.5.KÁM] is admittedly conjectural, I prefer it to Wiggermann's "zesde dag," ostensibly based on the insertion of an extra day in l. 126 (Wiggermann 1983: 107). A seven-day ritual seems to me to be magically more appropriate than an eight day sequence.

III 137–39 Unfortunately, no parallels for this concluding passage are to be found in "Lam. I–II," and the general sense remains obscure. For *tēqītu*, see most recently CAD T 347f., where our line is quoted under meaning c), "salve for the eyes," although it certainly has nothing to do with eyes. Cf. also Wiggermann (1992: 27), who proposed a more general "liquid paste."

Starting in line 138, there might have followed some instructions to remove(?) the dog figurines described at the beginning of "Lam. III", if *kalbū* is indeed the correct reading. Closing the circle in this way could well be an appropriate ending to the complex activities prescribed in our ritual tablet.



Fig. 21. Lam. amulet no. 67 (see Harper 1984–85; photo from 1982 courtesy W. G. Lambert).

The Texts: Edition

Part II:
Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals That Are Not Part of the Standard Babylonian Series ("Non-Canonical Lam.")

Transliteration
(Wherever Applicable, in Score Format)

The transliteration follows the same rules and principles, as applicable, that are described for Part I (p. 67).

Individual Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations

"OA_2": A Lamaštu Incantation from Kültepe on a Single Tablet

Obv. [1] iš-tí-a-a-t e-lá-at
[2] a-pu-la-at
[3] mu-uš-ta-ba-ba-at!
[4] ù-tù-kà-at
[5] lam-na-at bu-un-tù
[6] i-li-im
[7] ma-ar-tù ′ a-ni-im
[8] a-na ṭé-mì-ša lá dam-qí-[i]m
l.e. [9] ma-al-ki-ša
[10] pá-ru-im a-nu-um
Rev. [11] a-bu-ša ′ iš-tù
[12] ša-ma-e ′ i-pu-ṣa-ši
[13] qá-qá-ar-šu-um
[14] a-na ṭé-mì-ša lá dam-qí-im
[15] ma-al-ki-ša sà-aḫ-i-im
[16] pè-ra-sà ′ wa-ša-ra-at
[17] da-du-ša ša-aḫ-ṭù
[18] a-na be-el lá i-li-im
u.e. [19] i-ša-ru-um
[20] té-šé-er ′ šé-er-ʾa_4-an
l. e. [21] lá-áb-i-im tù-ra-mì
[22] šé-er-ʾa_4-an ṣú-ḫa-ri-im
[23] wa lá-i-im
[24] ta áš šu ku

"OB_2": An OB Lamaštu Incantation on a Single Tablet

Obv. [1] AN ib-ni-ši ^{d}é-a ú-ra-ab-bi-ši
[2] pa-ni kal-ba-tim i-ši-im-ši ^{d}en-líl
[3] i-ṣa-at ri-ti-in ṣ-[r]a-ka-at
[4] ú-ba-na-tim ṣú-up-ra-tim
[5] ar-ra-ka-at a-mṣ-šṣ [e]ʾ-e-la
[6] KÁ bi-ti i-ru-u[b . . . . . t]i
[7] i-ḫa-lu-up ṣé-ra-n[i]$^{?}$
[8] iḫ-lu-up ṣé-ra-am i-[t]a-m[a]r
LÚ.TUR
[9] i-na im-ši-šu a-di 7 iṣ-ba-sú
l.e. [10] ús-ḫi ṣú-up-ri-ki
[11] ru-um-mi i-di-ki

Rev. [12] la-ma ik-šu-da-ki
[13] ap-kal-lam ši-pí-ir é-a qàr-du
[14] ra-pa-aš-ki ṣé-rum pu-ta-a IG.MEŠ
[15] al-ki-ma a-ta-la-ki i-na ṣé-ri
[16] ep-ra-am pí-ki
[17] ta-ar-bu-ʾa$_4$-am pa-ni-ki
[18] ZÀ.HI$^{!}$(AḪ).LI.A da-qa-tim
[19] ú-ma-lu i-ni-ki
[20] ú-ta-mi-ki ma-mi-it é-a
[21] lu$^{!}$ ta-at-ta-la-ki

"OB_3": An OB Incantation on a Tablet with an Unrelated Spell

Obv. [1] [e]z-ze-et [b]i$^{?}$-ša-at x[x]-x[x -ḫ]a$^{?}$-[a]t
[2] mu-ut-ta-ad-ri-ra-at TUR x[x]
[3] ú-ul a-sà-a-at ú-ra-ak-k[a-*as*]
[4] ú-ul ta-ab-sà-at ú-ka-ap-pa-ar [š]e-er-ra-am
[5] wa-ra-aḫ e-ri-a-tim im-ta-na-ṇn-nu
[6] ba-ba-am ša wa-li-da-tim sa-an-da-a[k] pa-ṛi-ka-at
[7] ki-ib-sà-at MÁŠ.ANŠE ir-te-ne-di
[8] i-na uz-zi-im ša li-li-im / i-ḫi-a-ar ma-tam
[9] i-ṣa-ab-ba-at eṭ-lam i-na *sụ-lị-im
[10] KI.SIKIL i-na me-lu-li-im
[11] ṣe-eḫ-ra-am i-na bu-ud ta-ri-tim
[12] i-mu-ra-ši-ma i-la-an ki-la-al-la-an
[13] ú-še-ṣi-a-ši a-pa-ni
[14] ú-ša-aḫ-li-pa-aš-ši ṣẹ-er-re-[N]IM
[15] ir-ku-su-ni-iš-ši i-na ^{GIŠ}[Š]I[NI]G$^{?}$ / [i-n]a qá-ba-al ta-a[m-*tim*]
[16] [*i*$^{?}$-*na*$^{?}$ ^{ÍD}]ạ-rạ-[a]ḫ-tim [/]-ši

l.e. [17] [K]A.INIM.MA ^{d}D[ÌM$^{?}$.ME] / [ù$^{?}$] še-ẹr-[ri-im]

(Rev. contains a snake incantation unrelated to Lamaštu)

"OB$_4$": A Fragmentary Incantation on an OB Tablet

I
1′ da-d[u]-š[aʾ]
2′ e-en-zu ba-x[x]
3′ ki-ma nu-nim tu-uk-k[u-*pa*]
4′ ki-ma še-er-še-ri-im le-e[s-*sa*] / wa-ar-qá-a[t]
5′ qá-qá-as-sà qá-qá-ad ka-[*al-bi*/*ba-tim*]
6′ [ši-i]n-na-ša ši-in-na-at ṭ-[*me-ri-m*]
7′ [uḫʾ]-ri ka-al-bi-im e-l[a-*miʾ-imʾ*] / i-na uḫʾ-ri-[*šaʾ*]
8′ [ ] x[x]

II
1′ [-n]i-ša IGI [ ]
2′ [ḫu-u]r-ba-ša-am x[x-x]x-x[x]
3′ e ⟨taʾ⟩-tu-ur-ri-ma x[x-]
4′ i-me-ra-am MAŠKIMʾ a [ ]
5′ ša iṣ-ba-tu u[š]ʾ x[x]
6′ ṣa-ab-ti x[x]
7′ ri-x[x-]
8′ AḪʾ [ ]

"OB$_5$": An OB Lamaštu Incantation with Ritual

Obv.
1 [x]x
2 [x]x-ma
3 ki x[x x]x
4 TU.Ú.Ḷ.[N]I.IN.NU.RI
5 ši-pa-at ^{d}DÌM.ME

---

6 ki-ki-ṭa-ša ki-ir-ba-an MUN
7 i-na lu-ba-ri-im ta-ra-ak-ka-as!-ma!
8 i-na ki-ša-di-šu ta-ra-ak-ka-a[s-m]a
9 ba-li-iṭ

(Obv. 10ff. unclear. Text mentions ^{d}DÌM.ME in rev. 1, and ends with ši-pa-at ur-ši in rev. 11)

"OB$_6$": A Fragmentary Akkadian Lamaštu Incantation as a Postscript to a Tablet with Sumerian Spells

l.e. (beginning of left edge broken)
I′ 1 [ana bītʾ aʾ]-tu-ru
2 [^{d}DÌM].ME a-a i-tu-ur
3 [x]x TIʾ [x]x

———— (vertical dividing line) ————

II′ 4 KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME

Middle Babylonian Lamaštu Texts from Peripheral Areas Not Directly Related to the Series

"Ug": The Remaining Text of the Ugarit Compendium, Containing Lamaštu Incantations without SB Parallels

For passages of **"Ug"** that parallel the Canonical Series ("Ug" I–II, "Ug" III 15′–36′, "Ug" V–VI), see above, Part I. For "Ug" III 1′–14′, see below under "ND."

"Ug" IV and V 1′–14′

(beginning of column IV broken)

Ug IV 1–6′ (traces of six lines, with not more than one sign preserved per line; not identified)

(gap of ca. 10 lines)

Ug IV 1″ BÀD.MEŠ x[x]
2″ i-na tu-ub-k[i]-i[n]-na-ti ṭ-[*ta-na-ša-ab(?)*]
3″ i-na i-lik pa-an AN-nim i-ba-a[k-*ki*]
4″ a-na pa-an an-ti il-la-ka di-ma-[*aʾ-ša*]
5″ uḫ-tal-li-iq e-piš qa-ti-ni
6″ ša nu-šab-šu-ú ub-ba-al ša-ru
7″ e-le-en URU li-pu-šu É-sa
8″ šu-pa-la(-)URU lid-du-ú ku-us-sa-ša
9″ l[i]-še-ni-iq ša kal-ba-ti mu-ra-ni-ša
10″ [*ša en*]-zi tu-ʾ-a-mi-ša
11″ [l]i-še-[b]i-ru-ši ma-ra-a[tʾ] xʾ [t]amʾ-ta / [ÍD]IDIGINA Íʾ[DBURANUNʾ]
12″ ša i-na r[uʾ-p]uʾ-ušʾ-t[i *meʾ*-s]uʾ-ú ŠUIIIʾ-[ ]
13″ ù i-na mi-[ ] / m[a]ʾ-x[x]
14″ [š]i-ip-tum ul [*ia-at-tu-un*]
15″ [É]N dé-a ù [d*asal-lú-ḫi*]
16″ [*ÉN* dd]a-mu ù [d*nin-kar-ra-ak*]
17″ [*ÉN* d] ù d[ ]

(remainder of column IV and and beginning of column V broken)

Ug V 1′ [x]x laʾ b[iʾ] x[x]
2′ x[x] in šu bu-luṃʾ n[aʾ-*maš-tu-úʾ*]
3′ šum-ma a-na É an-ni-[*i*]
4′ ta-tu-ur-ri ta-s[a-*ḫa-ri*]
5′ ù t[a]-sa-an-na-qí-i[m-*maʾ*]
6′ tu-ub-qa-ti ta-at-⟨ta⟩ʾ-na-a[sʾ-*ba-ti*]
7′ BÀD.MEŠ te-te-né-mi-di x[x]
8′ suk-ka pa-rak-ka ta-x[x-]
9′ a-na en-ti qa-d[iʾ-*ilʾ-tiʾ*]

10′ a-na DUMU DINGIR su-r[i?-]
11′ a sa ab su ta l[ú?]
12′ am mu na zi x[x]
13′ TU_6.ÉN.Ḛ.[*NU.RU*]

14′ TIL

"RS": An Independent Lamaštu Incantation from Ugarit

1 [. . . . .] a-mur-ra-at i-la-ạ?-[*at* . . . . .]
2 [*ištu šadî ú-ri*-d]am-ma gaš-ra-at šin?-n[a?-*at*? *ANŠE šinnāša*(?)]
3 [. . . . . ka]ṣ?-ṣa-at bar-bar-tum da?-[*ik*?-*tum* . . . . .]
4 [. . . . . *kīma*] ka-le-e le-et-s[a *arqat* . . . .]
5 [. . . . . *a*-n]a? É ir?-ru-u[b? . . . . .]
6 [. . . . . d]u-ri ib-ba[l?-*lak*?-*kat*? . . . . .]
7 [. . . . .] ạ?-na e[d?-*li*? . . . . .]
8 [. . . . . p]a?-ni [. . . . .]
9 [. . . . . x]x x[x . . . . .]

"Bo": A Lamaštu Ritual from Boghazköy?

1′ (traces only)

2′ [x]x LÚ GIDIM DIB-sú lu x[x . . . . DIB-sú]
3′ KÌD.KÌD.BI MUNUS.LAMA šá I[M . . . . . DÙ-uš]
4′ [N]^{A_4}GUG i+na GÚ-šá GAR-an-*š[i . . . . .]
5′ i+na ap-ti TI TUŠ.A-ši [. . . . .]
6′ ṣu-de-e tu-ṣa-ad-d[a-ši . . . . .]
7′ [G]^{IŠ}GA.RÍG ^{DUG}ŠAGAN Ì?.[GIŠ? . . . . .]
8′ [i+n]a [GI]^{Š}[*M]Á ŠÀ.Ḫ̱A GAR-[an-ši . . . . .]
9′ [. . . . .] ma? [. . . . .]

"Emar": A Tablet in Amulet Shape Containing Three Lamaštu Incantations

Obv. 1 DUMU.MUNUS a-nim DUMU.MUNUS a-nim ša $^{i\text{-}li\text{-}DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$na-a-li a-bu-ša
2 *e-pu-ú-ša É-sà za-ab-bi zí-ib-bi im$^{!?}$-la-a {e na}
3 IGI.IG$^{e\text{-}na}$ ÍR bi-la-a-nim DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu lu-ra-ab-bi-i
4 ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu a-na ^{LÚ}mu-ú-ti li-din pa$^{!?}$-ni-ma DUMU.MEŠ-*k[i]-na
5 ru-ub-ba-a na-ši-ʾ ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na a-na ^{LÚ}mu-ú-*[t]i
6 na-dá-a-na na-š[i]-ʾ ta$^{?}$-ti-ṣi l[a]-ạ ta-ta-la$^{?}$-ak$^{?}$
7 [k]i-ma UR.MA[Ḫ x]x za$^{?}$ x[x l]a$^{?}$-a$^{?}$ x[x-x]x-[x]x {*ki ma bi t⟨i⟩}

(seal)

8 ki-ma pí-ti-il-ti pe-ʾ la-a ti-pá-ti-il kị-ma ỊG$^{?}$
9 la ta-ṣú-ud-dì *ap-ti la-a ta-[x]x-[x]x a-na KÁ-bi-ia
10 la-a ta-tù-ur-ri la ta-na-[ḫ]i-sí ^{d}é-a EN DUGUD
11 ù$^{!}$ ^{d}AMAR.UD ^{d}AK qa-ta-ku-nu š[a] TI.LA TU_6-[k]u-nu
12 ša ša-la-a-mi a-na KÁ-bi-ia la *ta-*a-tu_4-ur-ri
13 la ta-na-ḫa-si_{20} zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki ḫé.pà.da.aš
14 TU_6.Ú.NI.NU.RU

(seal)

15 tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti BÀD($dur_8^{?}$)-ri dá-a-ru ru-ú-tum ki-ib-sà
16 ma-la-a-ka ma-za-zí$^{?}$ tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti e-ṣu-ra-a-ti
17 ra-ab-ba-ti {GAL-ti} tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti ḫa-ia$^{?}$-aṭ-ṭum {mu}
18 mu-ut-ta-li-ka ša$^{!?}$ re-eš ITU tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti {a bi il}
19 a-pí-il la ni iḫ ri pi da ši tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti mu-uḫ-ra
20 ma-ḫé$^{?}$-ra ša dan-ni tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti {DINGIR LIM i li}
21 $^{DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$a-mu-ur-ri ra-*šub$^{?}$-ba tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti {DỊNGỊR L[IM$^{?}$] MA[R]$^{?}$}

(seal)

Rev. 22 $^{DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$MAR.TU tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti ^{d}ku-*bu a-*nu$^{?}$-na-ki $^{i\text{-}li\text{-}d}$ị$^{?}$-[gi-gi ?]
23 qa-⟨aš$^{?}$⟩-du-ti tu_{18}-um-ma-a-ti a-na GUD ka-ab-ru-{ri}-ti {a na UDU}
24 a-na UDU.UDU me-ru-ú-ti al-qé-e-ki a-na-ku NENNI DUMU NENNI {ị$^{?}$ n[a]$^{?}$}
25 i-na É-ti ša a-na-ku e-*ru-*ú-*bu at-ti la-a te-ru-ú-bi
26 ^{d}é-a u ^{d}dam-ki-an-na ^{d}AMAR.UTU u ^{d}ṣar-pa-ni-tum ^{d}AK
27 u ^{d}taš-me-ni-tum ŠU.MEŠ-ku-nu ⟨ša⟩ TI.LA TU_6-ku-nu ša ša-la-a-mi
28 zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki ḫé.pà TU_6.Ú.NI.NU.RU

(seal)

29 li-dì-na-ni-ma DINGIR-LIM bì$^{?}$-e-la-ni ku$^{?}$-du-ur-ra TUR-ú-tum m[i$^{?}$] u$^{?}$
30 ù i-ra-ba-a-*aṣ ta-a-ri-tum lu-uš-ta-bi-ka {i na}
31 i-na maḫ-ri-ka iš-tu-ú-ma tal-ma-dì a-ka-al

32 *de$_4$-ma-a-ti u bi-kí-i-ti ṣa-al-mi e-ši-e-pí {ù?}
33 ù ḫul-dub-ba-a lu-ú ta-rí?-tu$_4$? ša i-li GAL-t[i].M[E]Š?
34 lu-ú ta-ri-i-tum ša ^{d}U EN *te$_6$-*me at-ti i-na [p]u-uḫ-ri
35 *i-*li DINGIR-LIM e tu-uš-bi i-na pu-uḫ-ri ^{d}INANNA.MEŠ-ti {la}

(seal)

36 e ta-zí-iz-zi tu-bu-qa-at BÀD-ri lu šu-ba-at-*ki
37 ús?-ḫí? ṭù-ur-ki? xx xx xx at-ti šu?-uk-na ka-ak-kà?-ki?
38 im-tu$_{18}$ ša ḫa-a-ḫa-ki ḪUL? ṣe-ri zí-i-ra ze-ra-na
39 íṣ?-ṣa-bu-ur it-ta?-bal *iš?-ta-[x]x ka pap xx
40 tu še za? i ta? ri? ú? di? ta ^{d}é-a u ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi
41 ki? x[x] aḫ? ^{d}UTU DI.KU$_5$-nu ni-ka-al ṣí-i TA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA-[k]a?
42 ri? ú? ti [xx x]x ti? x[x]? tu$_{18}$-um-mi-šu?-nu BÀD-ru a-nu-na-k[i]

(seal)

43 *D[ING]IR-*LIM^{*i-*li} $^{LÚ?}$ši/IGI.ME-bu-ú-ti zi-qú-ur-rat?(ME) DINGIR.ME ^{d}INANNA?-ti
44 [xx x]x ma-du-ti ša is ni a-pá-ti ki-ma zí-qì?-qì? x[x]
45 TU$_6$.Ú.NI.NU.RU

(seal)

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations in Various Ritual Contexts

"ND": An SB Lamaštu Ritual from Nimrud with a Partial Parallel from "Ug" III 1′–14′

ND obv.

ND 1 [x]x ni [i]š? ba? x im? ma?-a-t[i?]
2 [x]x-ši?-ma ú-da-[p]a-ra ka-ša
3 [ ] UN.MEŠ šá ka-li-ši-na KUR.KUR
4 [ ] ta-aṣ-ba-ti-šú-ma
5 [e?]-zi?-Bu-ú ana a-bi u um-mi
6 [-t]i? ta-aṣ-ba-ti-šu-ma ul tu-maš-šá-ri [x]x [x]x ti
7 [-k]il? : šá šar-bu(-)ú ṣe-e-tum ú-na-as-sa-[ḫ]u? I[GI?].M[E]Š-šú
8 [*ú-sa-ḫar pa-ni-ki ana* IM]SI.SÁ IMKUR.RA IMMAR.TU ú-sa-ḫar pa-ni-ki ana IM$Ṷ_{19}$.L[U]
9 [*ú-tam-me-ki* KIM]IN? AN-e ù KI-tim
10 [*ú-tam-me-ki*] ú-tam-me-ki sip-pí ba-bi u né-re-bi
11 [*ú-tam-me-ki* d*UTU da-a-a-nu (?) ú*-ta]m-me-ki dkù-bi e-né-ti
12 [dk]ù-bi na-da-ti
13 [*ú-tam-me-ki* dk]ù-bi na-ra-am-d30 LUGAL.GI.NA
14 [ ] dEN U_4.TI.LA
15 [*šum-ma ana bīti annî te-*]ṣ-ru-bi-im-ma TU_6.ÉN
16 [KA.*INIM*.MA] dDIM_9.ME.KÁM

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17 [*DÙ.DÙ.BI*] xx 2? TÚGGÚ.LÁ MU_4.MU_4-si
18 [*ÉN an-ni-*t]i? ʔ-š[ú] ŠID-nu GIŠxx ḪAR.RA
19 [x]x MAḪ ù ra-b[u?-*u*?]
20 [*ana* x]x-šú GAR-an

(the reverse of ND is almost completely broken; text not identified)

"Ug" III 1′–14′

Ug III 1′ [ ] m[u?] (?)
2′ [*ta*?-a]ṣ?-ṣ[a]-ab-ti-šu ba-x[x(-xx)] / MU DIŠ [ ] (~ ND 4/6?)
3′ [-]li-di-ki a-ra-kàs [ ] (–)
4′ [*i*?-n]a? ṣal-li GIŠŠINIG ṭ[a-*a*?-*bi*?] (–)
5′ [*ú*]-sa-ḫar pa-ni-ki a-na IM[$Ṷ_{19}$.*LU*] (~ ND 8)
6′ [*ú*]-sa-ḫar pa-ni-ki a-na IM[*SI.SA*] / IMKUR.RA IM[*MAR.TU*] (~ ND 8)
7′ ú-tam-mi-ki GIŠsi-ip-pa [ ] / dUTU da-a-a-n[a] (// ND 10–11a)
8′ ú-tam-mi-ki kù-bi NIN.DING[IR.*MEŠ LUKUR.MEŠ ù NU*].GI[G.*MEŠ*] (~ ND 11b–12)
9′ ú-tam-mi-ki kù-bi Na-ra-a[m-] / ù LUGAL-G[I.] (// ND 13)

10′ ú-tam-mi-ki ni-iš e-ni ụ [e]n-ti / AN-num BAR NI KU	(–)
11′ šum-ma a-na É tu-ṣi-i	(~ ND 15)
12′ ta-sa-ḫa-ri ta-tu-rim-ma	″
13′ TU_6.ÉN.É.NU.RU	″
14′ TIL	

"FsB": An Independent SB Lamaštu Incantation

1 ÉN ḫe-pí eš-šú [ ]
2 ḫe-pí eš-šú [ ]
3 ḫe-pí eš-šú r[u$^{?}$]
4 ḫe-pí eš-šú [ ]
5 ki MUŠ ip-ṭur ir-ta-am-[*ma*]
6 ù ši-i bar-bar-tum [*mārat Ani*]
7 zar-ri-qa i-na-a-šá [ ]
8 ki-ma as-qu-di [ ]
9 ki-ma SA.A i-[ ]
10 k[i-m]a [ḫ]ar-ri-ri ú-gan-na-ṣa U[GU$^{?}$]
11 [ ]-at tu-la-a-šá ul-ta-nak-k[a-*al*]
12 [*ú-pa*(*k*)-k]ar bu-lam nam-maš-šá-a š[á *ṣēri*]
13 [-x]x-[a]t DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nim mu-šam-ri-ṣa-a[t *la'ûti*$^{?}$]
14 [*ú-šab*-k]a$^{?}$ na-re-e ú-šal-ba š[e$^{?}$-*er-ri*]
15 [u]l-ta-nag-la-at$^{?}$ nam-ri-ru-ša ma-lu-ú p[u$^{?}$-*luḫ-tú*]
16 [t]u$^{?}$ RU BAD SA IZ ZI k[a$^{?}$] ạ$^{?}$-na ḫa pa ri x[x]
17 [*me*-l]am-mu-šá ki-ma ḫu-um-ba-b[a *x* (*x*) u]p-ta-na-l[a-*ḫu*]
18 [a]n$^{?}$-zu-ú pa-nu-šá kal-$^{ḫe\text{-}pí}$ re-e-e[s$^{?}$-*sa* u]l$^{?}$ i-lat BU [*xx xx*]
19 [a]r-ki la-'u-ú-ti i[l-t]a-na-a[s$^{?}$-*su-um*]
20 [*ana*$^{?}$ ṣ]eh$^{?}$-ḫe-ru-ti ša ŠÀ.URU [ ]
21 [l]i-še-li-ki a-na BÀD ù [ ] ẋ ẋ [ ]
22 [*di*]-ig-lu-ki lit-ta-ṭa-lu ka-lu kib-r[a-*a*$^{?}$-*ti*(*m*)]
23 [*ina lìb*]-bi na-me-e ta-ṣa-nun-d[i(-*ma*)]
24 [ ] GÍR il-tu[ḫ$^{?}$]-ḫa ki BI ŠIM i-Z[A-]
25 [ ] ẋ (ẋ) [ ]PA$^{?}$-ri e ta-ḫi-iṭ ṭe$_4$-ma$^{?}$ [ ]
26 [*a*/*i*-n]a$^{?}$ qa-ti-ki-ma paq-da(-)[*xx*-(*xx*)]
27 [x]x qaq-qa-ri nam-maš-šá-a šá [*ṣēri*]
28 [ ] DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-n[im]
29 [ ] ṣú-up-[*ra-a-ki*]
30 [ ]-šá-a-ti ṣe-e-ni(-)[ ]
31 [x]x MU$^{?}$ ŠEM ME KUR A SUR x[x(-*x*)]
32 [x]x ša né-bi-ri ú $^{ḫe\text{-}pí}$[ ]
33 [x]x NÍG.ḪAR.R[A (xx)]
34 [ ] ẋ [x]x $^{ḫe\text{-}p}$[í]

"RA": The Incantation Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 163 rev. 13–29 and Its Duplicates

(NB: Text d is a modern fake copied from a damaged ancient amulet; strange and irregular sign forms are therefore not marked here. The passages in pointed brackets ⟨. . .⟩ were presumably already lost when the forger copied his original.)

1 a [13] ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat i-lat na-mur-rat →
b [62] ÉN ez-ze-et šam-rat DINGIR-at na-mur-rat →
c [14] É[N] e[z-z]e-[ ] šam-rat i-lat na-mur-[ ]
d [1] [É]N SAL.LA-et šam-rat DINGIR-a[t] ⟨ ⟩ →

2 a u ši-i bar-bar-rat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nu
b u ši-i bar-ba-rat DU[MU.]
c [15] [-b]a-rat DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-n[im]
d ⟨ ⟩[2] bar-bar-at DUMU.MUNUS [d]ạ-[n]im →

3 a [14] GÌR[II]-šú an-zu-ú ŠU[II]-šá [l]u-ʾ-tú →
b [63] GÌR-šá an-z[ụ]-ú ŠU[II]-šá lu-ʾ-tú →
c [16] [ ]-ú ŠU[II]-šá lu-ʾ-[ ]
d G[ÌR-] ⟨ ⟩ [3]ŠU[II]-šá mu-tum

4 a IGI UR.MAḪ da-pi-nu IGI.ME-šú GAR-an
b pa-an UR.MAḪ da-pi-nu pa-n[u-]
c [17] [-p]i-ni pa-nu-šá šak-[*nu*]
d pa-ạ[n] ⟨ ⟩ [4]ša-ak-nu →

5 a [15] iš-tu a-pi i-lam-ma uš-šu-rat pe-ret-su bu-ut-tu-qa di-da-a-šú
b [64] iš-tu a-pi i-lam-ma uš-šu-rat pe-ret-su bu-ut-tu-qa d[i-]
c [18] i[š- -l]am-ma uš-šu-rat pe-ret-[ ] [19]bu-[-d]a-a-šá →
d TA GIŠ.[*GI*] ⟨ ⟩ [5]KUD.MEŠ di[!]-da-šá →

6 a [16] kib-su GU_4 il-lak kib-su UDU.NÍTA i-red-de →
b [65] kib-si GU_4 il-lak kib-si UDU.NÍTA UŠ-de →
c ki-bis GU_4.MEŠ i[l-] [20]ki-bis [-d]e →
d (caret)

7 a i-na UZU u ÚŠ ŠU[II]-šú : šak-nu
b ina UZU u ÚŠ ŠU[II]-[ ]
c ina UZU ù ÚŠ ŠU[II]-šá [-n]a
d i[na[?]] ⟨ ša[?]-⟩ [6]GAR[?]/-ak[?]-nu[?] →

8 a [17] a-pa-niš ir-ru-bu ṣe-ra-niš i-ḫal-lu-up
b [66] a-pa-niš TU-ub ṣe-ra-niš i-ḫal-lu-up →
c [21] a-pa-niš [ṣ]e-ra-niš i-ḫal-lu-[u]p
d a-pa-niš TU-b[u[?]] ⟨ ⟩ →

9 a [18] bi-i-tú ir-ru-ub bi-i-tú uṣ-ṣu
b É TU É È →
c [22] É ir-r[u- u]ṣ-ṣa →
d ⟨ ⟩ [7]É È →

10 a [19] bil-la-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-še-niq
b bi-[ ] [67]DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-še-niq →
c bi-la-a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na [23]lu-še-ni-i[q] →
d bi-la-n[i] ⟨ ⟩

11 a u DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na lu-ut-tar-ra
b u DUMU.⟨ ⟩.MEŠ-ki-na lut-t[ar-]
c [ ].MEŠ-ki-na lu-tar-ri
d [8] ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na lu-ut-tar-ri →

12 a [20] a-na pi-i DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na lu-uš-tak-ka-na tu-la-a
b [68] ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na lu-uš-tak-ka-nu tu-la-a →
c [24] ana pi-i DUMU.M[UNUS. -n]a lu-uš-ti-kan tu-la-a
d ⟨ ⟩ [9]lu-uš-tak-na UBUR[II]-a-a →

13 a [21] iš-me-ši-ma [d]IDIM AD-šú . . . . . .
b iš-mi-ši-ma [d]é-[*a*]
c [25] iš-mi-ši-ma [A]D-šá . . . . . →
d iš-me-ši-ma ⟨ *i-bak*⟩-[10]ki →

14 a am-ma-ki DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim mut-tar-ra-tú LÚ-tú tal-ma-[d]i-ma
b [69] am-ma-ki DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nu mu-ut-tar-ra-at LÚ-ut-tum tal-ma-di-[ ]
c am-ma-ku DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim [26]mu-tar-ra-ta L[Ú-tu]m tal-ma-di-ma
d am-ma-ku DUMU.MUNUS [d]a-nim ⟨ ⟩ a-mi-[11]lu-⟨ ⟩ →

15 a [22] am-ma-ki ina UZU u ÚŠ ŠU[II]-ki šak-nu
b [70] am-ma-ki ina UZU u ÚŠ ŠU[II]-ki šak-na →
c [27] am-ma-ki ina UZU [ ]-ka šak-na
d KIMIN i-na UZU ù ÚŠ [12]ŠU-⟨ ⟩

16 a [23] am-ma-ki É ter-ru-bu É tu-ṣi-i
b am-ma-ki É TU-bi É È-[ ]
c [28] am-ma-ki É ter-[ ] É tu-ṣi-i
d KIMIN É TU-bi É È(UD.⟨*DU*⟩)

17 a [24] mu-uḫ-ri šá [LÚ]DAM.GÀR qa-an-na-šú u ṣi-di-ṢI-su
b [71] mu-uḫ-ri šá [LÚ]DAM.GÀR qá-an-na-šú u ṣi-di-is-[ ]
c [29] mu-úḫ-ri šá [LÚ]DA[M.]-šú ṣi-di-is-su
d [13] mu-uḫ-ri šá DAM.⟨ ⟩

18 a [25] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}SIMUG se-me-ri si-mat $ŠU^{II}$-ki u $GÌR^{II}$-ki
b [72] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}SIMUG se-mer si-mat $ŠU^{II}$-ki u $GÌR^{II}$-k[i]
c [30] mu-úḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}SIMUG se-mi-ri si-mat $ŠU^{II}$-ki [31]u $GÌR^{II}$-ki →
d KIMIN šá [14][ʟ]$^{Ú?}$SIMUG$^{?}$ ⟨ ⟩

19 a [26] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}KÙ.DIM in-ṣa-ab-tú si-mat $GÉŠTU^{II}$-ki
b [73] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}KÙ.DIM in-ṣab-ti si-mat $GÉŠTU^{II}$-ki
c mu-úḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}KÙ.DÍM [32]in-ṣab-tum si-mat $GÉŠTU^{II}$-k[i]
d KI⟨MIN⟩ šá ^{LÚ}ku$^{?}$-⟨ ⟩-[15][ ] →

20 a [27] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL ^{NA_4}GUG si-mat GÚ-ki
b [74] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL ^{NA_4}GUG si-mat GÚ-ki
c [33] mu-úḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL ^{NA_4}GUG si-mat GÚ-ki
d [K]IMIN šá ^{LÚ}BUR.GUL ⟨ ⟩ →

21 a [28] mu-uḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}NAGAR ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}BAL u du-di-it-ti-ki
b [75] [-u]ḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}NAGAR ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}BAL du-di-it-ti
c [34] mu-úḫ-ri šá ^{LÚ}NAGAR ^{GIŠ}[G]A.RÍG ^{GIŠ}pi-laq-qu [35]ù . . . . . .
d KIMIN [16][NAGA]R$^{?}$ ⟨ ⟩$^{?}$ →

a . . . . . (caret) . . . . . .
b šid-di [76][-ri]s$^{?}$-su$^{?}$ si-mat qé-e-ki : →
c . . . . . ki-ri-is-su si-ma[t] qé-e-ki
d . . . . . (caret$^{?}$) . . . . . →

22 a [29] ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}60 AD-ka . . . . . an-tum AMA-ka →
b ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}a-nu AD-ki [77][AM]A-ki →
c [36] ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}a-num AD-ki [37]ú-tam-mi-ki an-t[um] AMA-ki
d ú-tám-mi-k[i] ⟨ ⟩ [17][ ] (traces)

23 a ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}IDIM ba-nu-ú MU-k[i]$^{?}$
b ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}é-a DÙ-ki . . . . . TU_6.ÉN
c [38] ú-tam-mi-ki ^{d}[-k]i$^{?}$ ÉN
d ⟨ ⟩

---

24 a (caret)
b [78] [ ]-ti ana UGU nap-šal-ti ŠID-nu
c [39] ÉN an-ni-[-t]i ŠID-nu

"SKS": A Lamaštu Incantation To Pacify Crying Babies

(Of this text, only the Lamaštu incantation is reedited here. For a full transliteration of the incantation and its accompanying LÚ.TUR ritual, see Farber 1998a: 102ff., §34)

1 e [12] ÉN la-maš-ti iš-tu AN-e ur-dam-ma →
k [1] ÉN la-maš-tu iš-tú AN-e u[r-]
l [1] EN la-maš-tum iš-tu AN-e ur-dam-ma

2 e up-ri-šá up-pu-ra[t]
k [2] ap-re-e-šá up-pu-rat AGA-š[á]
l [2] up-ru-šá up-pu-rat [3]a-ga-šá ap-rat

3 e [13] a-pa-niš iḫ-ta-na-lu-up →
k [3] a-pa-niš iḫ-ta-na-a[l-]
l [4] a-pa-niš iḫ-ta-na-lu-up

4 e du-ra-niš uš-ta-na-ár →
k [4] ṣe-ra-niš ut-ta-[*na-šak*ʔ]
l [5] du-ra-niš ṣš-ta-na-ár

5 e . . . b[i-]
k [5] ina bi-rit GUD.MEŠ it-ta-na-a[l-*la-ak*]
l [6] ina bi-ṛit GṢD.NITÁ.MEŠ DU.DU-ak →

6 e (caret)
k [6] ina bi-rit ANŠE.MEŠ it-ta-n[aʔ-*an*ʔ-*gag*ʔ]
l (caret)

7 e (caret)
k [7] ina bi-rit GUD.MEŠ it-ta-na-an-[*gi*ʔ-*iš*ʔ]
l (caret)

8 e [14] . . . bi-rit ANŠE iš-ta-na-ḫi-iṭ →
k [8] ina bi-rit ANŠE.MEŠ iš-ta-na-a[ḫ-]
l [7] ina bi-rit A[N]ŠE.NITÁ.MEŠ GU_4.UD-iṭ

9 e bi-la-ni DUMU. [ ]
k [9] bi-la-a-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ki-na lu-šẹ-n[iq]
l [8] bi-la-ni DUM[U.M]EŠ-ki-na lu-še-niq

10 e [15] ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*ki-na UBUR GAR.GAR-an →
k [10] ina pi-i DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na tu-la-a lu-u[š]-ta[k-*kan*]
l [9] ana KA DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-k[i]-na UBUR GAR.GAR-an

11 e u ni-i-ni *NU [ ]
k [11] ù ni-i-nu NU UR.G[I_7]
l [10] ù ni-i-nu NU [UR].GI_7 →

12 e [ ]
k [12] UR.GI$_7$.MEŠ šá ^{d}g[u-la]
l UR.GI$_7$.UR.GI$_7$ šá ^{d}ME.ME

13 e [16] ana ka-ṣi šá pa-ni-ki →
k [13] ana ka-a-ṣi šá pa-ni-k[i]
l [11] ana ka-ṣi šá pa-ni-k[i]

14 e . . . nu-uk-ku-su šá ár-ki-ki →
k [14] a-na na-ak-ku-si šá EGIR-k[i]
l [12] ana nu-uk-kụ-si šá ár-ki-k[i]

15 e a-na kur-r[u-]
k [15] ạ-na kur-ru-ti ša eq-bi-[ ]
l [13] ana kur-ru-ti šá eq-bi-ki

16 e [17] [É]N ul ia-tu-un →
k [16] É[N] ul [i]u-ú-[ ]
l [14] ÉN ul ia-a-tu-un

17 e ÉN ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi u ^{d}[?]
k [17] ḖN ^{d}a[s]al-lú-ḫi ụ ^{d}ME.ME T[U$_6$.*ÉN*]
l [15] ÉN ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi u ^{d}ME.ME . . . . . .

---

18 e (caret)

---

k [18] a[n]-n[a]m 3[?]-[š]u ina UGU (x[?]) q]u-ta-ri ụ[?] NA$_4$.ME[Š *ŠID-nu*]

---

l [16] KA.INIM.MA L[Ú].TUR ḪUN.GÁ.KE$_4$

(Text l ends here. In exemplars e and k, the incantation is followed by a short LÚ.TUR ritual not concerned with Lamaštu.)

"STT 144": A Tablet Containing Two Sumerian Lamaštu Incantations, One with a Duplicate from Ugarit

(Of STT 144, only the passage rev. 19′–33′ is related to Lamaštu; for the obv., cf. E. Reiner in Reiner and Civil 1976: 183f.)

1 a 19′ ÉN ^{d}dìm.me dumu an.na
b 1 ÉN ^{d}dìm$^{!}$.me$^{!}$ dumu ^{d}a-nim$^{!}$

2 a 20′ mu.pà.da dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$
b 2 mu.pad.da dingir.ra.ne.ke$_4$

3 a 21′ ki.sikil líl.lá dumu a.rá du$_{10}$.ga
b 3 nin ki.sikil ^{d}en.líl.le$^{?}$ ^{4}dumu$^{!}$ a.rá du$_{10}$.ga

4 a 22′ dumu a.rá du$_{10}$.ga ÉN.É.NU.RU
b 5 dumu$^{!}$ a.rá du$_{10}$.ga ^{6}TU$^{?}$ ÉN

---

5 a 23′ ÉN ^{d}dìm.me [du]mu an.na
6 a 24′ ^{d}ḫendur.sag.gá t[a]r$^{?}$.t[a]r$^{?}$.e.dè
7 a 25′ [.g]í.gíd a.ŠID$^{?}$ g[á]$^{?}$.gá$^{?}$.da$^{?}$
8 a 26′ [^{d}*ḫendur*.s]ag.gá tar.t[a]r nam$^{?}$.zu$^{?}$
9 a 27′ [x]x nam.x[x].bi
10 a 28′ [x]x ^{d}n[i]n$^{?}$.x[x.x]x.šár.ra
11 a 29′ [x]x ba$^{?}$.a[n$^{?}$. [x]x TU$_6^{?}$.ÉN

---

12 a 30′ [*DÙ.DÙ.BI*] x[x] SUR$^{?}$ [*ina* m]e-e ḪI.ḪI
13 a 31′ [*ina* G]Ú-šú GAR
14 a 32′ [x]x.M[E]Š$^{?}$ ŠEŠ$^{?}$
15 a 33′ [ ] GAR-[*an*$^{?}$]

(unidentified traces of two more lines)

"STT 145": A Lamaštu Ritual with Incantation

(Only the obv.? is clearly related to Lamaštu, while the rev.? contains unrelated ritual instructions, and an incantation addressed to Šamaš.)

Obv. 1′ [ ] nạ? ina? [ ]
2′ 4? x[x g]i ina k[a]
3′ KUŠE.SÍR KUŠŠ[UḪUB]
4′ 7 NA4GUG.MEŠ ina U[GU?]
5′ Ì.DU10.GA ina muḫ-ḫi-šú x[x]
6′ tir-ṣi 7 u4-me x[x]
7′ 8 NINDA ZÌ NU SIM ana IGI x[x]
8′ um-ma-ri! ana UZU.MEŠ-šú [ ]
9′ Ú[R? x]x? [N]I? GA ina PÚ A [ ]
10′ KI.LAL-šá ina KÁ-šú SAR? x[x]
11′ SÍG ina IM.BABBAR ḪUR-ir ŠE [*ki-is-pa*]
12′ ta-kás-sip-ši?(PI) e-nu-ma [ ]

13′ ÉN ez-ze-et DUMU.MUNUS [d*a-nim*]
14′ ša MURUB4-šú la im-ma[ḫ-*ḫa-ru*]
15′ up-ru-šá up-pu-rat [ ]
16′ GIM bi-ib-bi-i EGI[R]
17′ IZ.ZI i-nar-ru-ṭ[a]
18′ ul-ta-nap-sa-qa(-)a(-)[ ]
19′ GIM bu-uq-li ŠE [ ]
20′ DU[MU.MU]NUS da-nim TA [ ]
21′ [G]ÌRII-šú e-l[i]
22′ [ ] a-a-li [ ]
23′ [l]i-i[m-]

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Rituals against Lamaštu Not Containing Specific Lamaštu Incantations

"RC": A Late Ritual Text Related to "Lam. III" 30–63

Obv.	1 ^{NA_4}su-ú ^{NA_4}GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL ^{NA_4}ŠUBA SIG$_7$	~ 30/31
	2 ^{NA_4} BABBAR.DIL ^{NA_4}PEŠ$_4$.ANŠE ^{NA_4}SAL.LA ia$_4$-artu	~ 31
	3 ia$_4$-ni-bi ^{NA_4}šu-ú NITA ^{NA_4}šu MUNUS	~ 32
	4 10 NA$_4$.ME ^{d}DIM$_3$.ME ina DUR GADA È	〃
	5 7 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ ù 7 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e	~ 35
	6 ina GI$_6$.MEŠ È 14 [l]ip-pi ḫúp-pi	〃
	7 ina bi-ri-šú-nu t[á]l-[p]ap	
	8 ina DUR SÍG BABBAR 14 lip-pi ḫúp-pi ina SÍG BABBAR	
	9 tál-pap ina muḫ-ḫi a-ḫa-a-meš ta-kan:SI(ša⟨k⟩?)	
	10 ina 1+en ki-ṣir ta-kàṣ-ṣar	
	11 ina GÚ-šú GAR-an	
	12 ^{NA_4}ŠUBA ina {D⟨UR⟩} SÍG BABBAR È 4 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ	~ 49/50
	13 ù 3 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ina GI$_6$.MEŠ È	~ 50
	14 lip-pi ina SAG-šú-nu tál-pap ina lìb-bi	
	15 ta-pan-nik ŠU^{II} 15-šú KÉŠ	~ 50
Rev.	16 ^{NA_4}KA GI$_6$ ina G[I]$_6$.MEŠ È	~ 51
	17 4 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ ù 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e	~ 52
	18 ina GI$_6$.MEŠ È ina KI.MIN ta-pan-nik	
	19 ŠU^{II} 150-šú KÉŠ	~ 52
	20 ^{NA_4}ka-pa-ṣa ina ^{SÍG}ḪÉ.ME.DA È	~ 53
	21 3 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ ù 2 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e	~ 54
	22 ina GI$_6$.MEŠ ana KI.MIN-ma ta-pan-ni[k]	
	23 ina GÌR^{II} 15-šú KÉŠ	~ 54
	24 NA$_4$ AN.[B]AR ina [S]ÍG.ZA.GÍN.NA È	~ 55
	25 3 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ ù 3 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e	~ 56
	26 ina GI$_6$.MEŠ È ina KI.MIN-ma ta-pan-nik	
	27 ina GÌR^{II} 1[5]0-šú [K]ÉŠ	~ 56
	28 [*x*$^{?}$ É]N$^{?}$ ^{d}DIM$_{11}$.ME ŠID-nu	~ 63
	29 ina-eš	
	30 PAP 19 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e	
	31 PAP 21 ^{NA_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ	

"FsL": A School Tablet with a Ritual Related to "Lam. III" 49–63

Obv. [1] 31 IGI^{II}.M[EŠ *u*$^{?}$] ^{NA_4}pa-re-e
[2] ina$^{?}$ SÍG tál-pap (in smaller script)
[3] [*ina*] GU$^{?}$ SÍG BABBAR È$^{?}$-[a]k ina GÚ-šú GAR-an

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[4] [^{N}]^{A_4}MUŠ.[G*ÍR* ^{NA_4}S]AG.GIL.MUD
[5] [N]A$_4$ AN.[*BAR ina* (*SÍG*) *ba-ru*-u]n-du È-a[k]
[6] ina SAG.DU-šú [G*AR-an*]

---

[7] ^{NA_4}Š[UB]A ina GU BABBAR È SÍG [*BABBAR tál-pap*] ~ 49
[8] 4 ^{NA_4}I[GI^{II}.ME]Š 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ~ 50
[9] ina ŠU^{II} 15-šú tar-kas ″

Rev. [10] ^{NA_4}KA GI$_6$ ina GU GI$_6$ È-a[k] ~ 51
[11] SÍG GI$_6$ tál-pap 4 IGI^{II}.MEŠ 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ~ 51/52
[12] ina ŠU^{II}{-šú} GÙB-šú tar-kas ~ 52

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[13] ^{NA_4}ka-pa-ṣi ina GU S[ÍG].SA$_5$ È-[*ak*$^{?}$] ~ 53
[14] [(*SÍG*.)$^{?}$]SA$_5^{!?}$(ŠID) tál-p[ap *4* ^{NA_4}*IGI^{II}*.M]EŠ 3 ^{NA_4}pa-r[e-*e*] ~ 55/54
[15] ina GÌR^{II} 15-[*šú* ta]r-kas ~ 54

---

[16] NA$_4$ AN.BAR ina G[U *SÍ*G.Z]A.GÍN.NA È-ak ~ 55
[17] SÍG.ZA.GÍN tál-pap [*4* ^{N}]^{A_4}IGI^{II}.MEŠ 4 ^{NA_4}pa-re-e ~ 55/56
[18] ina GÌR^{II} G[ÙB-*šú* t]ar-kas ~ 56

---

[19] ÉN zur-ru-[*gu zur-ru-gu* É]N ki-riš-ti l[i]-bi : ~ 57/61

"K 888": A Short Lamaštu Ritual Embedded in a Šamaš Ritual

Rev. [20] GUL.GUL NA me-e KÙ.MEŠ TU$_5^{!}$(ŠU.ŠINIG)
[21] Ì.GIŠ ŠÉŠ SÍG.BABBAR SÍG.SA$_5$ SÍG.ZA.GÍN.NA KÉŠ
[22] DUMU.MUNUS AN.NA TUŠ-eb 2 NU IM.KI.GAR
[23] ina TÚG.SÍG-šú KÉŠ 2 ANŠE ZÌ.DA.KASKAL
[24] te-mid ^{GIŠ}GA.RÍG ^{GIŠ}BAL du-di-tú
[25] ŠAKAN šid-di ki-ri-is-si SUM-*ši*
[26] ^{NA_4}KIŠIB GAR-ši TÚG.BAR.SI ḫaš-ma-nu
[27] MU$_4$.⟨MU$_4$⟩-su un-qí KÙ.BABBAR sà-bab K[Ù$^{?}$.BAB]BAR$^{?}$ SUM-ši ki-is-pa ta-kas-sip-ši

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"SpTU": A Lamaštu Ritual to Prevent Repeated Stillbirth, from a "Sammeltafel" to Avert Fatalities in the Family

1 [*DIŠ MUNUS*ʔ . . . . .] $PEŠ_4$ʔ.MEŠ ana KAR NITA ùʔ SAL [x]x-ma
2 [. . . . . *NU DUMU.MUNUS* ^{d}*a-nim šá*] IM ú-šalˡ-li ÍD DÙ-u[šˡʔ]
3 [. . . . .] ana ŠU-šáʔ GAR ^{DUG}BUR.ZI.GAL I[M] DIRI-ma GAR-an
4 [. . . . . GAR]-an-šiˡʔ $SILA_4$ ta-ḫa-naq-ma SAG.DU-su NU KUD-is
5 [. . . . . k]i-ma LÚ.TUR TÚG.ḪI.A tu-kar-rak-šú 1-niš ḫi-ši-iḫ-tú
6 [. . . . .]-ma ina GÚ ÍD GAR-an NÍG.NA ŠEM.LI
7 [*GAR-an ana IGI* ^{d}*UTU*ʔ] UR_5.GIM DU_{10}.GA

---

8 [*mu-šap-ši*-i]ḫ ŠÀ.ḪUL mu-paṭ-ṭir ár-ni at-ta am-me-ni ŠÀ.ḪUL-⟨iaʔ⟩ ta-ba-an-ni am-me-ni
la DU_8.DU_8 an-ni-ia

---

9 ṣ-šú DU_{10}.GA-ma MUNUS BI KAŠ BAL-qí $SILA_4$ ana bi-rit tu-le-šú ŠUB-di UR_5.GIM
DU_{10}.GA

---

10 e-ri ul ú-šal-lim ú-lid ul ab-ni mu-šal-lim-tu lim-ḫu-ra-an-ni
11 u ba-ni-ti li-iš-šu-ra E.LIˡʔ-iá ana-ku lu-ši-ir u lu-še-ši-ir anàʔ É áš:ba(BA.ÁŠ)-ku

---

12 3-šú DU_{10}.GA-ma KAŠ SAG anàʔ ZÌ ŠE.SA.A ana IGI ^{d}UTU BAL-qí $SILA_4$ UR_4ʔ-šá
i-maḫ-ḫar-ši-ma
13 ana ÚR-šá GAR-an-ma ana KU_4 šam-ši DU-ma NU DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}a-nu u mim-ma
ma-la taš-ku-nu
14 ana ŠÀ GIŠ.MÁ GAR-an-ma ana e-bir-ti ÍD tu-še-ber ZÌ.SUR.RA-a NIGIN-ši u ÉN
an-ni-ti ŠID-nu

---

15 KUR u ÍD ta-ma-ti u NA_4 zaq-ra-ti AN u KI DINGIR A [x]x [x]x šá AN-e [x]x AD šú
TU UD DA KUR SU BI (?)

---

16 [*DIŠ*ʔ i]š-tu i-na-an-ni ana NENNI-tum DUMU.MUNUS NENNI-tum DU-ki-ma ana É
áš-ba-t[u_4] T[U]-maʔ ZIʔ an-nu-tim tum-ma-ta

"BM 33399": A Fragment with Magico-Medical Prescriptions against Lamaštu

I 1′ [x]x x[x]
2′ [x]x riʔ na x[x]

3′ [x]x UD ana UGU Ì ERINʔ uʔ [ ]
4′ [*ina* G]Ú-šá GAR-an [ ]

5′ [*šá*ʔ] Éʔ.GAL Ḫa-am-mu-[*ra-pí*]

6′ [*ana* dD]IM$_{11}$.ME ZI-ḫi ù ina x[x]
7′ [*x*ʔ] ÚšU-mut-tú ÚU.xx Ú[ ]
8′ [Ú m]ur-ra GAZ SIM x[x]

9′ (traces, then ca. 2 lines missing)

II 1 [I]Nʔ.NUʔ.UŠ LA NUNUZ G[A.*ŠIR*^{MUŠEN}]
2 [SAḪAR] E.SÍR LÍM.MA SAḪAR ḫal-lu-l[a-*a-a*]

---

3 [*ana* dDI]M$_{11}$.ME ZI-ḫi ^{GIŠ}MÚD ERIN ṣ [ ]
4 [x]x ŠE.GIŠ.Ì TÚG.NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL I[Mʔ.]

---

5 [ ] e-nu-ma i-ḫi-iṭ-ṭa-šu [ ]
6 [i]na Ì.NUN.NA [ ]

---

7 [ ] IM PA$_5$ TI-qé 4 NU.MEŠ D[Ù-*uš*]
8 [ ] x[x x]x kuʔ ib šu u ạnʔ [ ]

A Neo-Assyrian Memorandum

"Assur Memo": A List of Utensils and Materials for a Ritual Involving Lamaštu

Obv. 1 ša 1-en GI.DU$_8$
2 a-nu-ut BAḪÁR
3 i-si-iḫ-tú gab-bu

---

4 NU DUMU.MUNUS dạ-nim
5 ša IM KI.GAR
6 3ʔ ANŠE.NITÁ.MEŠ ša IM
7 [T]ÚG ḫaš-ma-nu
8 3ʔ ^{KUŠ}DU$_{10}$.GAN.MEŠ-e ṣ[i-*di*-t]ú DIRI
9 [xʔ i]tʔ-qur KÙ.BABBAR 4 PAP K[Ùʔ.BABBA]Rʔ
10 [1ʔ N]^{A_4}KIŠIB ḫal-ti ma-[-x]x
11 [1ʔ iṣʔ] qa-a-ti GÚ x[-]-ẹʔ
12 [1ʔ t]i-nu-ru A S[EDʔ.ME]Š
13 [-š]eʔ-KI-ru KAL inaʔ x[x x]x
14 [I]ZI/[N]E ^{ŠEM}Ḫ[ABʔ]

---

15 [7ʔ] NU GIŠ[ ]
16 [7ʔ] NU GIŠ[ ]
17 [7ʔ] NU [ ]
l.e. 18 [7ʔ] NU GIŠx[x(-xx)]
19 [7ʔ] NU AN. [ ]
20 [7ʔ N]U [ ]
rev. 21 [7ʔ N]U [ ]
22 7ʔ [N]U IMʔ.BA[BBARʔ]
23 ša ESIR [*ḪI.ḪI*]
24 7 NU IM K[I.GA*R*]
25 7 NU NÍG.SILAG.G[Á]
26 7 NU AGARIN$_5$
27 7 NU BAPPIR
28 7 NU ŠIMḪABʔ
29 7 NU ku-up-si
30 7 NU Ì.UDU
31 ša KI saḫ-lé-e ḪI.ḪI
32 7 NU Ì.UDU
33 7 NU DUḪ.LÀL
34 7 NU ESIR
35 ÚIG[Iʔ-l]imʔ GIS.BÚR
u.e. 36 GIŠE[MEʔ.U]Rʔ.GI$_7$ ÚIN$_6$.ÚŠ
37 1-en D[U]Gʔ UD.KA.BAR

---

left e. 38 [(-)B]U-su
39 [*isiḫtu*ʔ ga]b-bu

Transcription

The transcriptions follow the same rules and principles, as applicable, that are described above for Part I (p. 143).

Individual Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations

"OA_2": A Lamaštu Incantation from Kültepe on a Single Tablet

1 *išti'at ellat* 2 *appulat*
3 *muštabbabbat* 4 *utukkat*
5 *lamnat* 6 *buntu ilim* 7 *mārtu Anim*
8 *ana ṭēmiša lā damqim* 9 *malkiša* 10 *parru'im*
Anum 11 *abuša ištu* 12 *šamā'ē ippuṣašši* 13 *qaqqaršum*
14 *ana ṭēmiša lā damqim* 15 *malkiša saḫ'im*
16 *perassa waššarat* 17 *dādūša šaḫṭū*
18 *ana bēl lā ilim* 19 *išārum* 20 *tēšir*
šer'ān 21 *lab'im turammi*
22 *šer'ān ṣuḫārim* (-) *wa la'îm* 23 *ta . . . . -ma*?

"OB_2": An OB Lamaštu Incantation on a Single Tablet

1 *Anum ibnīši Ea urabbīši*
panī kalbatim išīmši Enlil
3 *īṣat rittīn ar(a)kat*? 4 *ubānātim*
ṣuprātim 5 *arrakat amāša*? *e''ēlā*?
6 *bāb bīti irrub* [. . .]*ti*? 7 *iḫallup ṣērāni*
8 *iḫlup ṣerram ītamar šerram*
9 *ina imšišu adi sebî⟨šu⟩ iṣbassu*
10 *usḫī ṣuprīki* 11 *rummī īdīki*
12 *lāma ikšudakki* 13 *apkallam šipir Ea qardu*
14 *rapaški ṣerrum puttâ dalātum*
15 *alkī-ma atallakī ina ṣēri*
16 *epram pīki* 17 *tarbu'am panīki*
18 *saḫlê daqqātim* 19 *umallû īnīki*
20 *utammīki māmīt Ea*
21 *lū tattal(la)kī*

Translation

The translations follow the same rules and principles, as applicable, that are described above for Part I (p. 143).

Individual Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations

"OA$_2$": A Lamaštu Incantation from Kültepe on a Single Tablet

[1] There is a certain female one, she is "clean," [2] (a) late (child to her parents).
[3] She is a parching force, [4] a (female) *utukku*-demon.
[5] She is evil, [6] (although) of divine descent, [7] the daughter of Anu.
[8] For her malicious ideas, [9] her [10] improper [9] spirit
[11] her father [10] Anum [12] threw her [11] out of [12] heaven, [13] (threw her down) to earth
[14] for her malicious ideas, [15] her chaotic spirit.
[16] Her hair is hanging loose, [17] her *underwear* is stripped off.
[20] She went [19] straight [18] for anybody lacking divine protection.
[21] (As) she made limp [20] the muscles of (even) a lion,
[24] she . . . . . [22] the sinews of youth and infant.

"OB$_2$": An OB Lamaštu Incantation on a Single Tablet

[1] Anum begot her, Ea raised her,
[2] Enlil fitted her with a dog's face.
[3] She has hardly any palms (but) *long* [4] fingers
[5] (and) very long [4] claws, [5] her *forearms are "binders demons*."
[6] She enters the house through the door, [. . . . . (?)], [7] slithers in like a snake.
[8] After slithering in by the pivot, she saw the baby:
[9] she grabbed him at his belly seven times.
[10] Pull out your claws, [11] loosen (the grip of) your arms,
[12] before [13] a valiant wizard with regard to Ea's craft [12] will overcome you!
[14] The pivot is wide (enough) for you, the doors are wide open!
[15] Go and roam about in the wilderness!
[19] (I swear that) I will fill [16] your mouth with dust, [17] your face with drifting sand,
[18] your eyes with tiny cress (seeds)!
[20] I herewith conjure you by the curse of Ea:
[21] Be gone!

"OB_3": An OB Incantation on a Tablet with an Unrelated Other Spell

1 *ezzet bīšat*ʾ *x*[*x . . . . . -*]*ḫat*ʾ
2 *muttadrirat xxxx*[*x . . .*]
3 *ul asât urakka*[*s*]
4 *ul tabsât ukappar šerram*
5 *waraḫ eriātim imtanannu*
6 *bābam ša wālidātim sandak par*(*i*)*kat*
7 *kibsāt būlim irteneddi*
8 *ina uzzim ša lilîm iḫīar mātam*
9 *iṣabbat eṭlam ina sullîm*
10 *ardatam ina mēlulim*
11 *ṣeḫram ina būd tārītim*
12 *īmurāši-ma ilān kilallān*
13 *ušēṣiāši apāni*
14 *ušaḫlipā*(*š*)*ši ṣerrēni*
15 *irkusūnišši ina b*[*īnimʾ in*]*a qabal tâ*[*mtimʾ*]
16 [*inaʾ*] *Araḫtim* [ ]*ši*

17 [K]A.INIM.MA ^{d}D[ÌMʾ.ME.KAM *uʾ*] *šer*[*rimʾ*]

(Rev. contains a snake incantation unrelated to Lamaštu)

"OB_4": A Fragmentary Incantation on an OB Tablet

I 1′ *dādūš*[*aʾ . . . . . .*]
2′ *enzuʾ x*[*x . . . . . .*]
3′ *kīma nūnim tukk*[*upāʾ kalâtūšaʾ*]
4′ *kīma šeršerrim lē*[*ssa*] *warqa*[*t*]
5′ *qaqqassa qaqqad ka*[*lbim*]
6′ [*ši*]*nnāša šinnāt i*[*mērim*]
7′ [*uḫ*]*riʾ kalbim e*[*lamîmʾ*] *ina uḫri*[*šaʾ*]
8′ (traces only)

II 1′ (traces only)
2′ [*ḫu*]*rbāšam xx* [. . . . .]
3′ *ē* ⟨*ta*⟩*turrī-ma* [. . . . .]
4′ *imēram rābiṣamʾ* [. . . . .]
5′ *ša iṣbatu x*[*x . . . . . .*]
6′ *ṣabtī x*[*x . . . . . .*]
7′–8′ (traces only)

"OB_3": An OB Incantation on a Tablet with an Unrelated Other Spell

1 She is fierce, she is *evil*[?], she is [. . . . .],
2 she is constantly on the move, ... [. . . . .].
3 Although not a physician, she (still) puts on banda[ges],
4 although not a midwife, she (still) wipes the baby clean.
5 She keeps count of the months of the pregnant women,
6 constantly blocking the doors of women about to give birth.
7 She keeps following the tracks of livestock,
8 spies out the land with the wrath of a *lilû* demon.
9 She grabs the young man in prayer,
10 the girl at play,
11 the youngster from the shoulder of the nanny.
12 When seeing her, the "two gods"
13 made her go out by the window,
14 made her slither (out) by the door pivot.
15 They bound her to a ta[marisk[?] i]n the midst of the s[ea[?]],
16 [on[?]] the Araḫtum river [they . . . . . -d] her.

---

17 [RE]CITATION (to use against) La[maštu[?], *and for a*] chi[ld[?]].

(Rev. contains a snake incantation unrelated to Lamaštu)

"OB_4": A Fragmentary Incantation on an OB Tablet

I 1′ H[er[?]] underwear[?] [. . . . .].
2′ A she-goat[?] [. . . . .].
3′ Like a fish, [the small of her back[?]] is speck[led].
4′ Like *šeršerrum*-paste, [her] che[ek] is pale.
5′ Her head is the head of a d[og],
6′ Her [te]eth are do[nkeys'] teeth.
7′ [The *be*]*hind*[?] of an e[lamite[?]] dog is at [her] *behind*[?] .
8′ (traces only)

II 1′ (traces only)
2′ [Ch]ills xx [. . . . .].
3′ Do not return[?], and [. . . . .]!
4′ The *resting*[?] donkey [. . . . .].
5′ The one who seized x[x . . . . .]
6′ seize! x[x . . . . .]
7′–8′ (traces only)

"OB$_5$": An OB Lamaštu Incantation with Ritual

Obv. 1–3 (traces only)
4 TU.É.Ḷ.[N]I.IN.NU.RI

5 *šipat* ^{d}DÌM.ME

6 *kikiṭṭaša kirbān ṭābtim*
7 *ina lubārim tarakkas-ma*
8 *ina kišādišu tarakkas-ma*
9 *baliṭ*

(10ff. unclear. Text mentions *Lamaštu*/^{d}DÌM.ME in rev. 1 and ends with *šipat urši* in rev. 11)

"OB$_6$": A Fragmentary Akkadian Lamaštu Incantation as a Postscript to a Tablet with Sumerian Spells

l.e. (beginning of left edge broken)

I′ 1 [*ana bīt*$^{?}$ *a*]*tūru*
2 [^{d}DÌM].ME *aj itūr*
3 [x]x TI$^{?}$ [x]x

——————— (vertical dividing line) ———————

II′ 4 KA.INIM.MA ^{d}DÌM.ME

"OB_5": An OB Lamaštu Incantation with Ritual

1–3 (traces only)
4 MAGIC FORMULA

5 INCANTATION against Lamaštu.

6 ITS RITUAL: A lump of salt
7 you wrap in a piece of cloth and
8 bind it around his (the patient's) neck, and
9 he will get well.

(10ff. unclear. Text mentions Lamaštu once more in rev. 1, and ends with the phrase "Incantation for the bedroom" in rev. 11)

"OB_6": A Fragmentary Akkadian Lamaštu Incantation as a Postscript to a Tablet with Sumerian Spells

l.e. (beginning of left edge broken)

I′ 1 [*Into a house*$^{?}$ *to which I*$^{?}$ *have*] returned
2 may [Lama]štu not return!
3 [x]x TI$^{?}$ [x]x

——————— (vertical dividing line) ———————

II′ 4 RECITATION (to use against) Lamaštu

Middle Babylonian Lamaštu Texts from Peripheral Areas Not Directly Related to the Series

"Ug": The Remaining Text of the Ugarit Compendium, Containing Lamaštu Incantations without SB Parallels

For passages of "Ug" that parallel the Canonical Series ("Ug" I–II, "Ug" III 15′–36′, "Ug" V–VI) see above, Part I. For "Ug" III 1′–14′, see below under "ND."

"Ug" IV and V 1′–14′

(beginning of incantation broken)

Ug IV 1–6′ (traces of six lines, with not more than one sign preserved per line; not identified)

(gap of ca. 10 lines)

Ug IV 1″ *dūrānī* [. . . . .]
2″ *ina tubkinnāti it*[*tanaššab*ʔ]
3″ 1**illik-ma ina*1 *pan Anu iba*[*kki*] 1–1text: *ina illik*
4″ *ana pan Antu illakā dimā*[*ša*]
5″ *uḫtalliq epiš qātīni*
6″ *ša nušabšû ubbal šāru*
7″ *elēn āli līpušū bīssa*
8″ *šupāl*(*a*)*-āli liddû kussâša*
9″ *lišēniq ša kalbati murānīša*
10″ [*ša en*]*zi tuʾāmīša*
11″ *lišēbirūši marra*[*taʔ t*]*âmtaʔ Idiglat* [*Puratta*]
12″ *ša ina r*[*up*]*ušt*[*iʔ mes*]*ûʔ qātā*[. . .]
13″ *u ša ina mi*[*-*. . . . .] *ma*[. . . . .]
14″ *šiptu ul* [*iâttun*]
15″ [*šipa*]*t Ea u* [*Asalluḫi*]
16″ [*šipat D*]*amu u* [*Ninkarrak*]
17″ [*šipat* . . . . .] *u* [. . . . .]

(End of this incantation, and beginning of next incantation broken)

Ug V 1′ [. . .] *xx* [. . . . .]
2′ [. . .] *xx xx xx xx* [. . . . .]
3′ *šumma ana bīti annî*
4′ *taturrī tasa*[*ḫḫarī*]
5′ *u tasannaqīm*[*-maʔ*]
6′ *tubqāti ta-* . . . [. . .]
7′ *dūrānī tētenemmedī* [. . . . .]
8′ *sukka parakka ta*[*-* . . . . .]

Middle Babylonian Lamaštu Texts from Peripheral Areas Not Directly Related to the Series

"Ug": The Remaining Text of the Ugarit Compendium, Containing Lamaštu Incantations without SB Parallels

For passages of "Ug" that parallel the Canonical Series ("Ug" I–II, "Ug" III 15′–36′, "Ug" V–VI) see above, Part I. For "Ug" III 1′–14′, see below under "ND."

"Ug" IV and V 1′–14′

(beginning of incantation broken)

Ug IV 1–6′ (traces of six lines, with not more than one sign preserved per line; not identified)

(gap of ca. 10 lines)

Ug IV 1″ The walls [. . . . .]
2″ She (=Lamaštu) [keeps] s[itting?] on the garbage heaps.
3″ She (= who?) went, we[eping] before Anu,
4″ before Antu [her] tea[rs] were flowing:
5″ "She has destroyed what our hands created,
6″ what we have brought about, the wind is carrying away!"
7″ May they build a house for her (far) upstream from the city,
8″ May they set up her seat (far) downstream from the city.
9″ May she suckle the puppies of the bitch,
10″ the twin (kid)s of [the go]at!
11″ May they have her cross the ocean?, the sea?, Tigris (and) [Euphrates].
12″ The one whose hands are [bath]ed? in s[pit]tle,
13″ and whose [. . . . .] is/are . . . [. . .] of [. . . . .].
14″ The incantation is not [mine],
15″ [it is a spel]l of Ea and [Asalluḫi],
16″ [a spell of D]amu and [Ninkarrak],
17″ [a spell of . . . . .] and [. . . . .]

(End of this incantation, and beginning of next incantation broken)

Ug V 1′ [. . .] xx [. . . . .]
2′ [. . .] xx xx xx xx [. . . . .]
3′ (Woe be to you), if to this house
4′ you will (ever) return, (ever) come b[ack]
5′ and (ever again) draw close,
6′ (if) you [. . . . .] the corners,
7′ continue to lean against the walls [. . . . .],
8′ (if) you [. . . . .] shrine (and) place of worship,

9′ *ana enti qa*[*dilti*? . . . . .]
10′ *ana mār ili xx*[*xx* . . . . .]
11′ *asaB sutaB* [. . . . .]
12′ *am mu na zi* [. . . . .]
13′ TU_6.ÉN.É.[NU.RU]

14′ TIL

"RS": An Independent Lamaštu Incantation from Ugarit

1 [. . . . .] *amurrât ila*[*t* . . . . .]
2 [*ištu šadî ūri*]*dam-ma gašrat šinn*[*aša*? *šinnāt imēri*(?)]
3 [. . . . . *ka*]*ṣṣat barbartu dā*[*'iktu*? . . . . .]
4 [. . . . . *kīma*] *kalê lēssa* [*arqat*. . . . .]
5 [. . . . . *an*]*a bīti irru*[*b* . . . . .]
6 [. . . . . *d*]*ūri ibba*[*lakkat*? . . . . .]
7 [. . . . .] *ana ed*[*li* . . . . .]
8–9 (traces only)

"Bo": A Lamaštu Ritual from Boghazköy?

1′ (traces only)

2′ [*šu*]*mma*? *amēlu eṭemmu iṣbassu lū x*[*x* . . . . . *iṣbassu*]
3′ KÌD.KÌD.BI *Lamas*(*sa*)*tu*? *ša ṭī*[*di* . . . . . *teppuš*]
4′ *sāmta ina kišādiša tašakkanš*[*i* . . . . .]
5′ *ina apti ṣēli tušeššebši* [. . . . .]
6′ *ṣudê tuṣadd*[*āši* . . . . .]
7′ *mulṭâ šikkat š*[*amni*? . . . . .]
8′ [*in*]*a eleppi šaḫḫūti tašakka*[*n* . . . . .]
9′ (traces only)

9′ to the high priestess (and) the *qa*[*dištu*-woman? . . . . .],
10′ to the son of a god xx[xx . . . . .]!
11′–12′ (not understandable, mumbo-jumbo?)
13′ MAGIC [FORMULA]

14′ COMPLETE.

"RS": An Independent Lamaštu Incantation from Ugarit

1 [. . . . .], she is an Amorite woman, a godde[ss, ...].
2 [*From the mountains* she cam]e down, being very strong. [Donkeys'] tee[th are her teeth].
3 [. . . . . she is ra]ging, the ki[ller] she-wolf, [. . . . .]
4 [. . . . . , like] ochre her cheek [is pale, ...]
5 [. . . . .] she ente[rs] a house [. . . . .]
6 [. . . . . of the] wall she cros[ses . . . . .]
7–9 (remainder of text too fragmentary for translation)

"Bo": A Lamaštu Ritual from Boghazköy?

1′ (traces only)

2′ [I]f? a ghost has seized a person, or a [. . . . . has seized him]:
3′ ITS RITUAL: [You make] a Lamaštu? (figurine) of [. . . . .] cl[ay].
4′ You place carnelian (beads) around her neck, [. . . . .].
5′ You have her sit in the window of the side wing. [. . . . .].
6′ You prov[ide] her with travel provisions, [. . . . .].
7′ A comb, a flask with o[il?, ...]
8′ you plac[e i]n a '*canvas* riverboat', [. . . . .]
9′ (traces only)

"Emar": A Tablet in Amulet Shape Containing Three Lamaštu Incantations

In view of the many difficulties and uncertainties involved in the reading and interpretation of this amulet, as well as the presence of many presumably Akkadian words and phrases whose spelling deviates widely from traditional conventions and standard grammar, to include a bound transcription for this text hardly seems appropriate and probably is more confusing than helpful. I therefore instead repeat the transliteration.

Obv. 1 DUMU.MUNUS a-nim DUMU.MUNUS a-nim ša $^{i\text{-}li\text{-}DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$na-a-li a-bu-ša
2 *e-pu-ú-ša É-sà za-ab-bi zí-ib-bi im$^{!?}$-la-a {e na}
3 IGI.IGI$^{e\text{-}na}$ ÍR bi-la-a-nim DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu lu-ra-ab-bi-i
4 ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ku-nu a-na ^{LÚ}mu-ú-ti li-din pa$^{!?}$-ni-ma DUMU.MEŠ-*k[i]-na
5 ru-ub-ba-a na-ši-ʾ ù DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-ki-na a-na ^{LÚ}mu-ú-*[t]i
6 na-dá-a-na na-š[i]-ʾ ta$^{?}$-ti-ṣi l[a]-ạ ta-ta-la$^{?}$-ak$^{?}$
7 [k]i-ma UR.MA[Ḫ x]x za$^{?}$ x[x l]a$^{?}$-a$^{?}$ x[x-x]x-[x]x {*ki ma bi t⟨i⟩}

(seal)

8 ki-ma pí-ti-il-ti pe-ʾ la-a ti-pá-ti-il kị-ma ỊG$^{?}$
9 la ta-ṣú-ud-dì *ap-ti la-a ta-[x]x-[x]x a-na KÁ-bi-ia
10 la-a ta-tù-ur-ri la ta-na-[ḫ]i-sí ^{d}é-a EN DUGUD
11 ù$^{!}$ ^{d}AMAR.UD ^{d}AK qa-ta-ku-nu š[a] TI.LA TU$_6$-[k]u-nu
12 ša ša-la-a-mi a-na KÁ-bi-ia la *ta-*a-tu$_4$-ur-ri
13 la ta-na-ḫa-si$_{20}$ zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki ḫé.pà.da.aš
14 TU$_6$.Ú.NI.NU.RU

(seal)

15 tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti BÀD(dur$_8$$^{?}$)-ri dá-a-ru ru-ú-tum ki-ib-sà
16 ma-la-a-ka ma-za-zí$^{?}$ tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti e-ṣu-ra-a-ti
17 ra-ab-ba-ti {GAL-ti} tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti ḫa-ia$^{?}$-aṭ-ṭum {mu}
18 mu-ut-ta-li-ka ša$^{!?}$ re-eš ITU tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti {a bi il}
19 a-pí-il la ni iḫ ri pi da ši tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti mu-uḫ-ra
20 ma-ḫé$^{?}$-ra ša dan-ni tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti {DINGIR LIM i li}
21 $^{DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$a-mu-ur-ri ra-*šub$^{?}$-ba tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti {DỊNGỊR L[IM$^{?}$] MA[R]$^{?}$}

(seal)

Rev. 22 $^{DINGIR\text{-}LIM}$MAR.TU tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti ^{d}ku-*bu a-*nu$^{?}$-na-ki $^{i\text{-}li\text{-}d}$ị$^{?}$-[gi-gi ?]
23 qa-⟨aš$^{?}$⟩-du-ti tu$_{18}$-um-ma-a-ti a-na GUD ka-ab-ru-{ri}-ti {a na UDU}
24 a-na UDU.UDU me-ru-ú-ti al-qé-e-ki a-na-ku NENNI DUMU NENNI {ị$^{?}$ n[a]$^{?}$}
25 i-na É-ti ša a-na-ku e-*ru-*ú-*bu at-ti la-a te-ru-ú-bi
26 ^{d}é-a u ^{d}dam-ki-an-na ^{d}AMAR.UTU u ^{d}ṣar-pa-ni-tum ^{d}AK
27 u ^{d}taš-me-ni-tum ŠU.MEŠ-ku-nu ⟨ša⟩ TI.LA TU$_6$-ku-nu ša ša-la-a-mi
28 zi an.na ḫé.pà zi ki ḫé.pà TU$_6$.Ú.NI.NU.RU

"Emar": A Tablet in Amulet Shape
Containing Three Lamaštu Incantations

In view of the immense difficulties of this text, the translation of numerous passages remains doubtful or simply impossible. Even where I offer a translation without question marks, it should be kept in mind that many readings are very tentative and much of the text remains obscure.

Obv. 1 Daughter-of-Anu, Daughter-of-Anu, whose father is (god) Nāli (= Enlil?)!
2 I/He? built a house for her . . . . . .
3 (Her) eyes 2were full? 3of tear(s): "Bring me your masc. sons! I want to raise (them),
4 and your masc. daughters I! want to give to a husband. My mind?
5 is set? to raise 4your fem. sons, 5and 6set to give 5your fem. daughters to a husband."
6 You have gone away! Do not walk around!
7 Like a lion . . . . . do not [. . . . .],

(seal)

8 Like twined chaff do not become a (strong) rope! Like a door?
9 do not swing out, do not [. . . . .] my window, to my gate
10 do not come back, do not return! (By) Ea, honored? lord,
11 and? Marduk, (and) Nabû— your hands are those of life, your spell
12 is that of well-being! To my gate do not come back,
13 do not return! By the life of heaven be conjured, by the life of earth be conjured!
14 MAGIC FORMULA

(seal)

15 You are conjured for ever and ever! By spittle, (animal) track,
16 passage, (and) standing place? are you conjured! By the 17great {great} 18plans
17 are you conjured! By the 18roaming 17*ḫajjaṭṭu*-demon
18 of? the beginning of the month are you conjured!
19 By the heir without . . . . . , the . . . . . , are you conjured! By the . . . . . .
20 that is pleasing? to? the mighty are you conjured!
21 By the god Amurru, the awsome one are you conjured!

(seal)

Rev. 22 By the god Martu are you conjured! By Kubu, the Anunnaki, (and) the I[gigi?] gods,
23 the holy? ones, are you conjured! 24I have taken you 23to well-fed cattle,
24 to fattened sheep. I am NN, son of NN.
25 In(to) a house which I entered you must not enter!
26 Oh Ea and Damkina, Marduk and Ṣarpānītu, Nabû
27 and Tašmē{nī}tu, your hands ⟨lead to⟩ life, your spell leads to well-being!
28 By the life of heaven be conjured, by the life of earth be conjured! MAGIC FORMULA

(seal)

29 li-dì-na-ni-ma DINGIR-LIM bì?-e-la-ni ku?-du-ur-ra TUR-ú-tum m[i?] u?
30 ù i-ra-ba-a-*aṣ ta-a-ri-tum lu-uš-ta-bi-ka {i na}
31 i-na maḫ-ri-ka iš-tu-ú-ma tal-ma-dì a-ka-al
32 *de$_4$-ma-a-ti u bi-kí-i-ti ṣa-al-mi e-ši-e-pí {ù?}
33 ù ḫul-dub-ba-a lu-ú ta-rí?-tu$_4$? ša i-li GAL-t[i].M[E]Š?
34 lu-ú ta-ri-i-tum ša ^{d}U EN *ṭe$_6$-*me at-ti i-na [p]u-uḫ-ri
35 *i-*li^{i}DINGIR-LIM e tu-uš-bi i-na pu-uḫ-ri ^{d}INANNA.MEŠ-ti {la}

(seal)

36 e ta-zí-iz-zi tu-bu-qa-at BÀD-ri lu šu-ba-at-*ki
37 ús?-ḫí? ṭù-ur-ki? xx xx xx at-ti šu?-uk-na ka-ak-kà?-ki?
38 im-tu$_{18}$ ša ḫa-a-ḫa-ki ḪUL? ṣe-ri zí-i-ra ze-ra-na
39 íṣ?-ṣa-bu-ur it-ta?-bal *iš?-ta-[x]x ka pap xx
40 tu še za? i ta? ri? ú? di? ta ^{d}é-a u ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi
41 ki? x[x] aḫ? ^{d}UTU DI.KU$_5$-nu ni-ka-al ṣí-i TA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA-[k]a?
42 ri? ú? ti [xx x]x ti? x[x]? tu$_{18}$-um-mi-šu?-nu BÀD-ru a-nu-na-k[i]

(seal)

43 *D[ING]IR-*LIM^{*i-*li} LÚ?ši/IGI.ME-bu-ú-ti zi-qú-ur-rat?(ME) DINGIR.ME ^{d}INANNA?-ti
44 [xx x]x ma-du-ti ša is ni a-pá-ti ki-ma zí-qì?-qì? x[x]
45 TU$_6$.Ú.NI.NU.RU

(seal)

(seal)

29 May my[?] god render judgment[?] upon me! "Bring[?] me a son[?]. The little ones[?] . . . . . ,
30 and the nurse is taking a rest. Let me feed you regularly."
31 In your presence they drank, but you became an expert about food
32 of tears and weeping, of[?] the figurine of the exorcist[?],
33 and of[?] the exorcist's rod. May you be nurse[?] to the great[?] gods,
34 may you be nurse to Adad[?], the one who gives orders[?]! In the assembly
35 of the gods you should not sit, in the assembly of the goddesses

(seal)

36 you should not take a place. May the corners of the wall be your abode.
37 Pull out[?] your[?] yarn[?], ... you[?], place your "weapon"!
38 Venom[?] of your spittle[?], evil[?] of a snake[?], hate[?], seeds[?].
39 (S)he has made noises[?], has carried away[?], has . . . . . .
40 . . . . . Ea and Asalluḫi
41 . . . . . Šamaš the judge, Nikkal[?]. Get up[?] from your[?] seat!
42 Shepherdship[?] . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . Conjure them[?] by the wall, the Anunnaki,

(seal)

43 the gods, the witnesses[?], the temple towers[?] of the gods[?] (and) the goddesses[?],
44 the many[?] [. . . . .] . . . . . windows[?] like a spectre[?] . . . . . .
45 MAGIC FORMULA

(seal)

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations in Various Ritual Contexts

"ND": An SB Lamaštu Ritual from Nimrud with a Partial Parallel from "Ug" III 1′–14′.

ND obv.

ND 1 [. . . . .] *xx xx xx māti*ʔ
2 [. . . . . *x*]*x-ši-ma udappara kāša*
3 [. . . . .] *nišī ša kališina mātāti*
4 [. . . . .] *taṣbatīšu-ma*
5 [. . . . . *ē*]*zibû*ʔ *ana abi u ummi*
6 [. . . . . *x*]*x taṣbatīšu-ma ul tumaššarī xx xx xx-ti*
7 [. . . . . *x*]*x ša šarbu u*ʔ *ṣētu unassaḫū īnīšu*ʔ
8 [*usaḫḫar panīki ana il*]*tāni šadî amurri usaḫḫar panīki ana šūti*
9 [*utammīki*ʔ . . . . . KIM]INʔ *šamê u erṣeti*
10 [*utammīki* . . . . .] *utammīki sippī bābī u nērebī*
11 [*utammīki Šamaš dajjāna uta*]*mmīki kūbī enēti*
12 [. . . . . *k*]*ūbī nadâti*
13 [*utammīki k*]*ūbī Narām-Sîn Šarru-kīn*
14 [. . . . .] ^{d}*En-utila*
15 [*šumma* . . . . . *t*]*errubīm-ma* TU_6.ÉN

16 [KA.INIM.MA] ^{d}DÌM.ME.KÁM

17 [DÙ.DÙ.BI . . . . .] *xx šina ḫullānī tulabbassi*
18 [. . . . . *šipta annīt*]*a*ʔ *sebîšu tamannu xxxx*
19 [. . . . .] *ṣīru*ʔ *u rab*[*û*ʔ]
20 [. . . . . *ana xx*]*xxšu tašakkan*

(the reverse of ND is almost completely broken; text not identified)

"Ug" III 1′–14′

Ug III	1′ [. . . . .] *x* [. . .]	?
	2′ [*ta*]*ṣṣabtīšu ba-*[(*?*)] MU.1[*-?*]	(~ ND 4/6?)
	3′ [. . . *-*]*lidiki arakkas* [. . .]	(–)
	4′ [*in*]*a*ʔ *ṣalli* (sic) *bīni ṭ*[*ābi*ʔ]	(–)
	5′ [*u*]*saḫḫar panīki ana* [*šūti*]	(~ ND 8)
	6′ [*u*]*saḫḫar panīki ana* [*iltāni*] *šadî* [*amurri*]	(~ ND 8)

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations in Various Ritual Contexts

"ND": An SB Lamaštu Ritual from Nimrud with a Partial Parallel from "Ug" III 1′–14′.

ND obv.

ND 1 [. . . . .] xx xx xx of the land[?].
2 [. . . . .] her[?] and I will expel you!
3 [. . . . .] the people of all the lands.
4 [. . . . .] you grabbed him and
5 [. . . . . x]xxx to mother and father.
6 [. . . . . x]x. You grabbed and did not release him, xx xx xx.
7 [. . . . . x]x whose *eyes* the cold *and* hot air are *pulling out*.
8 [I turn your face toward the Nor]th (wind), the East, the West, I turn your face toward the South (wind).
9 [I herewith conjure you by . . . *(and[?])* x]x, by heaven and earth,
10 [I conjure you by . . . . .], I conjure you by door jambs, gates and entryways.
11 [I conjure you by Šamaš, the judge, I con]jure you by the stillborn child(ren) of the high priestesses,
12 [. . . . . the st]illborn child(ren) of the *nadītu* women,
13 [I conjure you by the st]illborn child(ren) of Narām-Sîn and Šarru-kīn.
14 [. . . . .] *En-utila*[?].
15 [(Woe be to you) if . . . . . y]ou enter! MAGIC FORMULA

16 [RECITATION] (to use against) Lamaštu.

17 [ITS RITUAL: . . . . .], you clothe her in two blankets.
18 [. . . . . Thi]s [incantation] you recite seven times, xxxxx,
19 [. . . . .] *lofty and bi*[*g*]
20 [. . . . .] you put [*on*] his [xx]xx.

(rev. of ND is almost completely broken; text not identified)

"Ug" III 1′–14′

Ug III	1′ [. . . . .] xx [. . . . .]	?
	2′ [You] have grabbed him and [. . . . .] one year [. . .]	(~ 6)
	3′ I will bind your [xxx] xxx	(–)
	4′ [i]n[?] the sw[eet] shade[?] of a tamarisk.	(–)
	5′ [I t]urn your face toward the [South (wind)]	(~ 8)
	6′ [I t]urn your face toward the [North], the East, [the West (wind)].	(~ 8)

7′	*utammīki sippa* [. . . . .] *Šamaš dajjā*[*na*]	(// ND 10–11a)
8′	*utammīki kūbī en*[*ē*]*ti* [*nadâti u qa*]*šdā*[*ti*]	(~ ND 11b-12)
9′	*utammīki kūbī Narā*[*m-Sîn*] *u Šarru-k*[*īn*]	(// ND 13)
10′	*utammīki nīš eni u enti Anu*ʾ *xxxx*	(–)
11′	*šumma ana bīt tuṣî*	(~ ND 15)
12′	*tasaḫḫarī taturrīm-ma*	″
13′	TU_6.ÉN.É.NU.RU	″
14′	TIL	

"FsB": An Independent SB Lamaštu Incantation

1 ÉN *ḫepi eššu* [ ]
2 *ḫepi eššu* [ ]
3 *ḫepi eššu* *x*[x]
4 *ḫepi eššu* [ ]
5 *kī ṣerri ipṭur irtam*[*-ma*]
6 *u šī barbartu* [ ]
7 *zarriqā īnāša* [ ]
8 *kīma asqūdi* [ ]
9 *kīma šurāni i*[*xxxx*]
10 *k*[*ī*]*ma ḫarriri ugannaṣa e*[*li*ʾ]
11 [. . . . -]*at tulâša ultanakk*[*al*]
12 [*upakk*]*ar būla nammaššâ š*[*a ṣēri*]
13 [. . . . . -]*at mārat Anu mušamriṣat* [*laʾûti*ʾ]
14 [*ušabk*]*a nārē ušalba š*[*errī*ʾ]
15 [*u*]*ltanaglat namrirrūša malû p*[*uluḫta*]
16 *xxxx xxxx xx*[*xx x*]*xxx* [ ]
17 [*me*]*lammūša kīma Ḫumbaba* [*u*]*ptanall*[*aḫu*]
18 [A]*nzû*ʾ *panūša kal*⟨*bu*⟩ʾ *rē*[*ssa u*]*l ilat xx*[ ]
19 [*a*]*rki laʾûti i*[*lt*]*anas*[*sum*ʾ]
20 [*ana ṣ*]*eḫḫerūti ša libbi-āli* [ ]
21 [*l*]*išēlīki ana dūri u* [ ]
22 [*d*]*iglūki littaṭṭalū kalu kibr*[*āti*]
23 [*ina lib*]*bi namê taṣṣanund*[*ī-ma*ʾ]
24 [ ] *patra iltuḫḫa kī xxx iz*[*a-*]
25 [ ]*xxx ē taḫīṭ ṭēma* [ ]
26 [*a/in*]*a qātiki-ma paqdā*[ ]
27 [ ] *qaqqari nammaššâ ša* [*ṣēri*]
28 [ ] *mārat An*[*u*]
29 [ ] *ṣup*[*rāki*]

7′	I conjure you by door-jamb [and . . . . .], by Šamaš, the jud[ge],	(~ 10–11a)
8′	I conjure you by the stillborn child(ren) of high priestess[es, *nadītu* women and *q*]*adiš*[*tu*-women].	(~ 11b–12)
9′	I conjure you by the stillborn child(ren) of Narā[m-Sîn] and Sarg[on].	(~ 13)
10′	I conjure you by the life of the high priest and the high priestess. Anu[?] xxxxx.	(–)
11′	(Woe be to you) if to a house from which you have left	(~ 15)
12′	you will (ever) come back, will (ever) return!	(~ 15)
13′	MAGIC FORMULA	(~ 15)
14′	COMPLETE	

"FsB": An Independent SB Lamaštu Incantation

1–4 SPELL: ⟨recently broken⟩ [. . . . .]. (lines marked as already broken in antiquity)
5 *Like a snake she opened the breast* [*and* . . . . .];
6 Indeed, she is a she-wolf, [. . . . .].
7 Her eyes are scintillating, [. . . . .].
8 Like a *hamster* [. . . . .],
9 like a cat she [. . . . . *-s* . . . . .],
10 like a *vole* she *wrinkles her nose o*[*ver* . . . . .].
11 She is [. . .], nouris[hes . . . . .] *at* her bosom.
12 [She puts] the animals, the wildlife o[f the wilderness, in fett]ers.
13 She is [. . . . .], the Daughter-of-Anu who brings illness [*upon infants*].
14 [She *makes the*] boys [*wee*]*p*, makes the *b*[*abies*] groan.
15 [She] spreads fear, her aura is filled with t[error].
16 (untranslatable word fragments)
17 Her [terrifying] splendor is like (that of) Ḫumbaba, frighte[ns . . . . .].
18 Her face is (that of) Anzu[?], (that of) a do⟨g⟩[?] is her head; (although) not a goddess, [. . . . .].
19 She keeps r[unn]ing around [be]hind the infants,
20 [*To* ch]ildren from downtown [. . . . .].
21 [Ma]y [. . . . .] let you go up to the city wall and [. . . . .],
22 may your [gl]ances view the whole unive[rse]!
23 You keep roaming around [in] the steppe [*and*]
24 [. . .], *knife, whip, like*[. . . . .] *she* [. . . . . *-s*].
25 [. . . . .], do not review the plan [. . .]!
26 [. . . . .] *are* entrusted *to* your hand [. . . . .].
27 [. . . . .] of the ground, the wildlife of [the *wilderness*].
28 [. . . . .] Daughter-of-An[u].
29 [. . . . . *your*] *cla*[*ws*].

30 [*xxx*]*šāti ṣēni* [ ]
31 [ ] *xxxx xxxx xxxx* [ ]
32 [ ] *ša nēberi u* ḫepi [ ]
33 [ ] *mund*[*a*?]
34 [ ] *xxx* ḫepi [ ]

"RA": The Incantation Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 163 rev. 13–29 and Its Duplicates

(variants from d, a modern fake copied from a lost original, are not included here)

1 ÉN *ezzet šamrat ilat namurrat*
2 *u šī barbarat mārat Anu*
3 *šēpāša Anzû qātāša luʾtu*
4 *pan nēši dapini panūša šak*[*nū*]1 1GAR-*an* (a)
5 *ištu api īlâm-ma uššurat peressa buttuqā dīdāša*
6 *kibis*1 *alpī*2 *illak kibis*1 *immeri iredde* 1*kibsu*/*i* (a, b), 2*alpi* (a,b)
7 *ina šīri u dāmi qātāša šaknā*1 1*šaknū* (a)
8 *apāniš irrub ṣerrāniš iḫallup*
9 *bīta irrub bīta uṣṣi*
10 *bil*(*l*)*āni mārīkina lušēniq*
11 *u mārātīkina luttarri*
12 *ana pî mārātīkina luštakkan*(*a*) *tulâ*
13 *išmēši-ma Ea abuša*
14 *ammaki mārat Anu muttarrâta amēlūta talmadī-ma*
15 *ammaki ina šīri u dāmi qātāki šaknā*1 1*šaknū* (a)
16 *ammaki bīta terrubī bīta tuṣṣî*
17 *muḫrī ša tamkāri qannašu u ṣidīssu*
18 *muḫrī ša nappāḫi semerī simat qātīki u šēpīki*
19 *muḫrī ša kutimmi inṣabta simat uznīki*
20 *muḫrī ša purkulli sāmta simat kišādiki*
21 *muḫrī ša naggāri mulṭâ pilaqqa* 1*u kirissa sīmat qêki*1 1–1thus c; a: *u dudittiki*; b: *duditta šidda* [*kiri*]*ssa sīmat qêki*
22 *utammīki Anu abaki utammīki*1 *Antu ummaki* 1a om.
23 *utammīki Ea* 1*bānû šumiki*1 2TU$_6$ ÉN2 1–1*bāniki* (b) 2–2ÉN (c), a om.

---

24 1*šipta annīta ana muḫḫi napšalti tamannu*1 1–1a om.

30 You are [. . . . .], *the flocks* [. . . . .].
31 [. . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . .].
32 [. . . . .] of the fords, and ⟨broken⟩ [. . . . .].
33 [. . . . .] *groa*[*ts* . . .].
34 [. . . . . x]x ⟨broken⟩ [. . . . .].

"RA": The Incantation Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 163 rev. 13–29 and Its Duplicates

1 SPELL: She is fierce, violent, (of) divine (power), terrifying.
2 Indeed, she is a she-wolf, the Daughter-of-Anu.
3 Her feet are (those of) Anzû, her hands (spell) decay.
4 As her face she has the face of a mighty lion.
5 She came up from the marshes, with her hair hanging loose, her underwear clipped off.
6 She walks in the (dung-filled) track(s) of cattle, she follows the track(s) of sheep.
7 Her hands are immersed in flesh and blood.
8 The comes in by the window, slithers in by the door pivot.
9 She enters the house (and) leaves the house (as she pleases, saying:)
10 "Bring me your sons: I want to suckle (them),
11 and for your daughters I want to be (their) nanny.
12 In the mouth of your daughters I want to place my breast!"
13 But Ea, her father, heard her (and said:)
14 "Instead of, O Daughter-of-Anu, playing the nurse, you should have learned human behavior!
15 Instead of having your hands immersed in flesh and blood,
16 instead of running in and out of (other people's) houses,
17 accept from the merchant his *purse* and his travel provisions,
18 accept from the smith rings befitting your hands and feet,
19 accept from the jeweller eardrops befitting your ears,
20 accept from the gem-cutter carnelian befitting your neck,
21 accept from the woodworker a comb, a distaff, and a needle for your sewing needs!"
22 I herewith conjure you by Anu, your father, I conjure you by Antu, your mother.
23 I conjure you by Ea, your creator. MAGIC FORMULA

---

24 This incantation you recite over a salve.

"SKS": A Lamaštu Incantation Used to Pacify Crying Babies

1 ÉN *Lamaštu ištu šamê urdam-ma*	
2 *uprīša*[1] *uppurat agâša aprat*	[1]*aprēša* (k)
3 *apāniš iḫtanallup*	
4 [1]*dūrāniš uštanār*[1]	[1–1]*ṣerrāniš utta*[*naššak*?] (k)
5 *ina*1 *birīt alpī ittanallak*	[1]om. (e)
6 [1]*ina birīt imērī ittan*[*angag*?][1]	[1–1]om. (l, e)
7 [1]*ina birīt alpī ittanan*[*giš*?][1]	[1–1]om. (l,e)
8 *ina*[1] *birīt imērī ištanaḫḫiṭ*	[1]om. (e)
9 *bilāni mārīkina lušēniq*	
10 *ana*[1] *pī mārātīkina tulâ luštakkan*	[1]*ina* (k)
11 *u nīnu lā kalbu*	
12 *kalbū ša Gula*	
13 *ana kâṣi ša panīki*	
14 *ana*[1] *nukkusi*[2] *ša arkiki*	[1]om. (e) [2]*nakkusi* (k)
15 *ana kurruti ša eqbīki*	
16 *šiptu ul iâttun*[1]	[1]*iûttun* (e)
17 *šipat Asalluḫi u Gula* T[U_6 ÉN][1]	[1]om. (l)

(for the different versions of the rubric and ritual, see Farber 1989a: §34 with comm.)

"STT 144": A Tablet Containing Two Sumerian Lamaštu Incantations, one of them with a Duplicate from Ugarit

1 ÉN [d]Dìm.me dumu [1]An-*a*[1]	[1–1] b: [d]a-nim
2 mu.pàd-*a* diĝir-*eneke*	
3 [1]ki.sikil líl-*a*[1] dumu a.rá dùg-*a*	[1–1] b: nin ki.sikil [d]En.líl-*e*?
4 dumu a.rá dùg-*a* [1]ÉN.É.NU.RU[1]	[1–1] b: TU? ÉN

5 ÉN [d]Dìm.me dumu An-*a*
6 [d]Hendur.sag.gá tar.tar-*ede*

(7–11 too broken for a meaningful transcription)

12 [DÙ.DÙ.BI] *teṭerri*? [*ina m*]*ê tuballal*
13 [*ina kiš*]*ādišu*? *tašakkan*
14 [ ] *annûti*?
15 [ ] *tašakk*[*an*?]

(unidentified traces of two more lines)

"SKS": A Lamaštu Incantation Used to Pacify Crying Babies

1 SPELL: Lamaštu came down from Heaven,
2 wearing her *uprū*-headgear, with her crown on her head.
3 She keeps slithering in by the window,
4 keeps leaning over the wall(s of the house).
5 She moves about between the oxen,
6 [roars] all the time between the donkeys,
7 ru[ns] around between the oxen,
8 jumps up and down between the donkeys, (shouting:)
9 "Bring me your sons: I want to suckle (them),
10 in the mouth of your daughters I want to place my breast!"
11 But we, although not real dog(s),
12 act as the dogs of Gula,
13 (poised) to flay your face,
14 to mince your behind,
15 to break your heels to pieces!
16 The incantation is not my own,
17 it is a spell of Asalluḫi and Gula. MA[GIC FORMULA]

(for the different versions of the rubric and ritual, see Farber 1989a: §34 with comm.)

"STT 144": A Tablet Containing Two Sumerian Lamaštu Incantations, one of them with a Duplicate from Ugarit

1 SPELL: Dimme, Child-of-An,
2 famous one among the gods,
3 "Maiden-of-the-Wind," child of good behavior,
4 child of good behavior! MAGIC FORMULA

---

5 SPELL: Dimme, Child-of-An!
6 So that Hendursanga can *decide*,

(7–11 too broken for a meaningful translation)

---

12 [ITS RITUAL: From xxx] you extract[?] (the liquid), mix it [with wa]ter,
13 [. . . . .], place (it) around his [ne]ck.
14 These[?] [ ]
15 [ ] you place[?].

(unidentified traces of two more lines)

"STT 145": A Lamaštu Ritual with Incantation

Obv. 1′–2′ (traces only)
3′ *šēna šu*[*ḫuppata* . . . . .]
4′ *sebe sāmāti ina mu*[*ḫḫi* . . . . .]
5′ *šamna ṭāba ina muḫḫi xx*[*xx* . . . . .]
6′ *tirṣī sebet ūmī xx*[*xx* . . . . .]
7′ *samānet*ʔ *akal qēmi lā napî ana pani x*[*x* . . . . .]
8′ *ummārī ana šīrīšu* [. . . . .]
9′ *xxxxx ina būri mê*ʔ [. . . . .]
10 *šuqultaša*ʔ *ina bābišu tašaṭṭar*ʔ [. . . . .]
11′ *šārta ina gaṣṣi teṣṣir xx*[*xx . . . . kispa*]
12′ *takassipši*ʔ *enūma* [. . . . .]

13′ ÉN *ezzet mārat* [*Anu* . . . . .]
14′ *ša qabalša lā imma*[*ḫḫaru* . . . . .]
15′ *uprūša uppurat* [. . . . .]
16′ *kīma bibbī arki* [. . . . .]
17′ *igāru inarruṭa* [. . . . .]
18′ *ultanapsaqā* [. . . . .]
19′ *kīma buqli še'i*ʔ [. . . . .]
20′ *mā*[*r*]*at Anu ištu*ʔ [. . . . .]
21′ [. . . *š*]*ēpīšu eli*ʔ [. . . . .]
22′ [. . . . .] *ajjāli*ʔ [. . . . .]
23′ (traces only)

(rev. not Lamaštu)

"STT 145": A Lamaštu Ritual with Incantation

Obv. 1′–2′ (traces only)
3′ A high-topped shoe, a sa[ndal . . . . .]
4′ Seven (pieces of) carnelian on to[p of . . . . .]
5′ Good oil over (it) x[x . . . . .]
6′ The arrangements for seven days x[x . . . . .]
7′ Eight pieces of bread made from unsifted flour [*you place*] before x[x . . . . .]
8′ Soups for[?] his[?] flesh [. . . . .]
9′ xxxxx, from the well [you *draw*] water[?] [. . . . .]
10′ Its[?] weight you write on his[?] door [. . . . .]
11′ The hair you draw with gypsum, xx[xx . . . . . You make]
12′ a funerary offering for her. As soon as [. . . . .]

13′ SPELL: She is fierce, the Daughter [of-Anu, ...]
14′ who cannot be over[come] in battle, [. . . . .]
15′ She is wearing her *uprū*-headgear, [. . . . .]
16′ like *the plague* after [. . . . .]
17′ The wall is quivering, [. . . . .]
18′ [. . . . .] *get into serious trouble*.
19′ Like barley malt [. . . . .]
20′ The Daughter-of Anu *from* [. . . . .]
21′ [. . . . .] his feet *abo*[*ve* . . . . .]
22′ [. . . . .] *stags*[?] [. . . . .]
23′ (traces only)

(rev. not Lamaštu)

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Rituals Against Lamaštu Not Containing Specific Lamaštu Incantations

"RC": A Late Ritual Text Related to "Lam. III" 30–63

Obv.	1 *sû gišnugallu šubû arqu*	1–4 ~ 30–32
	2 *pappardilû biṣṣūr atāni multaṯḫiptu jartu*	
	3 *janibu šû zikaru šû sinnišu*	
	4 *ešeret? aban Lamaštu ina ṭurri kitê tašakkak*	
	5 *sebe īnāti u sebet parê*	5–6 ~ 35
	6 *ina ṣalmāti tašakkak 14 lippī huppī*	
	7 *ina bīrišunu talappap*	
	8 *ina ṭurri šipāti peṣêti 14 lippī ḫuppī ina šipāti peṣêti*	
	9 *talappap ina muḫḫi aḫāmiš tašakkan?*	
	10 *ina ištēn kiṣir takaṣṣar*	
	11 *ina kišādišu tašakkan*	
	12 *šubâ ina šipāti peṣêti tašakkak erbe īnāti*	12–15 ~ 49/50
	13 *u šalāšat parê ina ṣalmāti tašakkak*	
	14 *lippī ina rēšišunu talappap ina libbi*	
	15 *tapannik qāt imittišu tarakkas*	
Rev.	16 *ṣurra ṣalma ina ṣalmāti tašakkak*	16–19 ~ 51/52
	17 *erbe īnāti u erbet parê*	
	18 *ina ṣalmāti tašakkak ina* KIMIN *tapannik*	
	19 *qāt šumēlišu tarakkas*	
	20 *kapaṣa ina nabāsi tašakkak*	20–23 ~ 53/54
	21 *šalāš īnāti u šina parê*	
	22 *ina ṣalmāti ana* KIMIN*-ma tapannik*	
	23 *ina šēp imittišu tarakkas*	
	24 *aban parzilli? ina uqnâti tašakkak*	24–27 ~ 55/56
	25 *šalāš īnāti u šalāšat parê*	
	26 *ina ṣalmāti tašakkak ina* KIMIN*-ma tapannik*	
	27 *ina šēp šumēlišu tarakkas*	
	28 [(*?*) *ši*]*pat Lamaštu tamannu*	28 ~ 63
	29 *ina"eš*	
	15 *napḫar 19 parê*	
	16 *napḫar 21 īnāti*	

Non-Canonical SB Rituals Against Lamaštu not Containing Specific Lamaštu Incantations

"RC": A Late Ritual Text Related to "Lam. III" 30–63

Obv. [1] *sû*-stone, alabaster, greenish *šubû*-stone,
[2] *pappardilû*-stone, cowrie shell[?], *multaṣḫiptu*-stone, white coral[?],
[3] *janibu*-stone, male *šû*-stone, female *šû*-stone—
[4] 10 stones (against) Lamaštu: you thread (them) on a linen cord.
[5] Seven eye-stones and seven *mule*-stones
[6] you string onto black wool. 14 wads, ... -s,
[7] you wind between them (i.e., the stones).
[8] Using a cord of white wool, you [9]wind [8]14 wads, ... -s, onto white wool,
[9] you place[?] them on top of each other,
[10] knot them into one knot,
[11] place (it) around his (the patient's) neck.

---

[12] *šubû*-stone you string onto white wool; four eye-stones
[13] and three *mule*-stones you string onto black wool,
[14] roll wads at their upper ends. Using these,
[15] you put a cap on (the strings and) bind (them to) his right hand.

Rev. [16] Black obsidian you string onto black wool;
[17] four eye-stones and four *mule*-stones
[18] you string onto black wool, put a cap on (them) in the same way,
[19] bind (them to) his left hand.

---

[20] *kapaṣu*-shell you string onto (red) *nabāsu*-wool;
[21] on three eye-stones and two *mule*-stones
[22] (strung) on black wool you put a cap in still the same way,
[23] bind (them) to his right foot.

---

[24] *Iron (ore)* you string onto bluish wool;
[25] three eye-stones and three *mule*-stones
[26] you string onto black wool, put a cap on (them) in still the same way,
[27] bind (them) to his left foot.

---

[28] [A[?] sp]ell (against) Lamaštu you recite;
[29] he will be well.
[30] (Needed:) a total of 19 *mule*-stones,
[31] a total of 21 eye-stones.

"FsL": A School Tablet with a Ritual Related to "Lam. III" 49–63

Obv. 1 *31 īnāti* [*u*ʾ] *parê*
2 *ina šipāti talappap*
3 [*ina*] *qê*ʾ *šipāti peṣâti taš*[*akk*]*ak ina kišādišu tašakkan*

---

4 *mušš*[*āra s*]*angilmud*
5 *aban parz*[*illi ina bar*]*undi tašakkak*
6 *ina qaqqadišu* [*tašakkan*]

---

7 *šubâ ina qê peṣāti tašakkak šipāti* [*peṣāti talappap*] 7–9 ~ 49/50
8 *erbe ī*[*nāt*]*i erbet parê*
9 *ina qāt imittišu tarakkas*

Rev. 10 *ṣurra ṣalma ina qê ṣalmāti tašakkak* 10–12 ~ 51/52
11 *ṣalmāti talappap erbe īnāti erbet parê*
12 *ina qāt šumēlišu tarakkas*

---

13 *kapaṣa ina qê sāmāti tašakk*[*ak*] 13–15 ~ 53/54
14 *sāmāti*ʾ *talap*[*pap erbe īnāt*]*i šalāšat parê*
15 *ina šēp imittišu tarakkas*

---

16 *aban parzilli ina q*[*ê uq*]*nâti tašakkak* 16–18 ~ 55/56
17 *uqnâti talappap* [*erbe*] *īnāti erbet parê*
18 *ina šēp šu*[*mēlišu t*]*arakkas*

---

19 ÉN *zurru*[*gu zurrugu* É]N *kirišti libi* ~ 57/61

"K 888": A Short Lamaštu Ritual Embedded in a Šamaš Ritual

Rev. 20 *gulgul amēli mê ellūti turammak*
21 *šamna tapaššaš (šipāti) peṣâti sāmāti uqnâti tarakkas*
22 *mārat Anu tušeššeb šina ṣalam ṭīd kullati*
23 *ina sissiktiša tarakkas šina imērī ṣidīta*
24 *temmid mulṭâ pilakka duditta*
25 *šikkata šidda kirissa tanaddinši*
26 *kunukka tašakkanši paršīg ḫašmāni*
27 *tu*⟨*lab*⟩*bassi unqi kaspi sabab kaspi*ʾ *tanaddinši kispa takassipši*

"FsL": A School Tablet with a Ritual Related to "Lam. III" 49–63

Obv. [1] 31 eye-stones [and?] *mule*-stones
[2] you wind on wool,
[3] string [on] a thread of white wool, (and) place (it) around his (the patient's) neck.

---

[4] *mušš*ā*r*u-stone, *sangilmud*-stone,
[5] (and) *Iron (ore)* you string on multicolored (wool),
[6] [place (it)] on his head.

---

[7] *šubû*-stone you string on a thread of white (wool), [wind (it)] on [black] wool.
[8] Four eye-stones (and) four *mule*-stones
[9] you tie to his right hand.

Rev. [10] Black *ṣurru*-stone you string on a thread of black (wool),
[11] wind (it) on black (wool). Four eye-stones (and) four *mule*-stones
[12] you tie to his left hand.

---

[13] *kapāṣu*-stone you string on a thread of red (wool),
[14] win[d (it)] on red? (wool). [Four eye-stone]s (and) three *mule*-stones
[15] [you] tie to his right foot.

---

[16] *Iron (ore)* you string on a thre[ad of bl]ue (wool),
[17] wind (it) on blue (wool). [Four] eye-stones (and) four *mule*-stones
[18] you tie to [his] le[ft] foot.

---

[19] SPELL: *zurru*[*gu zurrugu* SP]ELL: *kirišti libi*

"K 888": A Short Lamaštu Ritual Embedded in a Šamaš Ritual

Rev. [20] A human skull you wash with clean water,
[21] rub (it) with oil, attach white, red, and blue wool (to it).
[22] You seat a "Daughter-of-Anu" (figurine) and [23] tie [22] two (donkey?) figurines made from potter's clay
[23] to her? hem. (The?) two donkeys [24] you load [23] with travel provisions.
[24] A comb, a spindle, a fibula,
[25] a flask, a rug, (and) a pin you give to her,
[26] place a cylinder seal on her. With a sash of bluish wool
[27] you ⟨cl⟩othe her?. You give her a silver ring (and) silver? *sababu* jewelry, (and) make her a funerary offering.

"SpTU": A Lamaštu Ritual to Prevent Repeated Stillbirth, from a "Sammeltafel" to Avert Fatalities in the Family

1 [*šumma sinništu*ʾ . . . . .] *erâti ana eṭēri*ʾ *zikar u sinniš* [. . .]*-ma*
2 [. . . . . *ṣalam mārat Anu ša*] *ṭīd ušalli nāri teppuš*
3 [. . . . .] *ana qātiša tašakkan burzigalla ṭīda tumallī-ma tašakkan*
4 [. . . . . *tašakk*]*anši*ʾ *puḫāda taḫannaq qaqqassu lā tanakkis*
5 [. . . . . *k*]*īma ṣeḫri lubāra tukarrakšu ištēniš ḫišiḫta*
6 [. . . . . ..]*-ma ina kišād nāri tašakkan nignak burāši*
7 [*tašakkan ana pan Šamaš*ʾ] *kīam taqabbi*

---

8 [*mušapši*]*ḫ lumun libbi mupaṭṭir arni ammēni lumun libbi*⟨*ja*ʾ⟩ *tabanni ammēni lā tupaṭṭar annīja*

---

9 *šalāšīšu taqabbīma sinništu šī šikara inaqqi puḫāda ana birīt tulêša inaddi kīam iqabbi*

---

10 *ēri ul ušallim ūlid ul abni mušallimtu limhuranni*
11 *u bānītu liššura xxx-ia anāku lūšir u lušēšir i*/*ana*ʾ *bīt ašbāku*

---

12 *šalāšīšu iqabbīma šikara rēštâ i*/*ana*ʾ *qēm lapti ana pan Šamaš inaqqi puḫādu xx-ša imaḫharši-ma*
13 *ana sūniša tašakkan-ma ana ereb šamši tallak-ma ṣalam mārat Anu u mimma mala taškunu*
14 *ana libbi eleppi tašakkan-ma ana ebirti nāri tušebber-ma zisurrâ talammīši u šipta annīta tamannu*

---

15 *šadû u nāru tâmātu u abnū zaqrātu šamû u erṣetu ilu*ʾ [. . . . .] *ša šamê* . . . . . .
16 [*šumma*ʾ *iš*]*tu inanna ana annannītu mārat annannīti tallakī-ma ana bīt ašbat(u) terrubī-ma nīšī*ʾ *annûti tummâta*

"SpTU": A Lamaštu Ritual to Prevent Repeated Stillbirth, from a "Sammeltafel" to Avert Fatalities in the Family

[1] [If a woman . . . . . ,] to save [the . . . . .] of pregnant women[?]: [You . . .] a man and a woman and
[2] [. . . . . You] make [a figurine of the Daughter-of-Anu from] clay from a riverine meadow.
[3] You place [. . . . .] into her hand. You fill a (large) *burzigal*-bowl with clay and set it up.
[4] [You se]t up [a . . . . .] for her[?]. You strangle a lamb, (but) do not cut of its head.
[5] [You . . . . . (and)] wrap it in a piece of cloth like a baby. The needed things, all at one time,
[6] [you . . . . .] and set (them) down at the bank of the river. A censer with juniper
[7] [you set up. To Šamaš[?]] you speak thus:

---

[8] ["Oh sooth]er of distress, releaser from sin: why are you creating distress ⟨for me[?]⟩, why do you not remove my sins?"

---

[9] Three times you say (this), and then this woman libates beer, drops the lamb between her breasts, (and) says the following:

---

[10] "I was pregnant, but unable to bring (my fetus) to term; I gave birth but did not bring (a child) to life. May a woman who can grant success release me,
[11] and may a woman who can create diminish my . . . . . ! May I have a straightforward pregnancy, and may I be able to go straight to the house where I live!"

---

[12] Three times she says this, and libates premium beer over[?] flour made of roasted barley. The lamb receives her . . . . . from her, and
[13] you place (it) in her lap. Then you go toward sunset and [14]put [13]the figurine of the "Daughter-of-Anu" and all the things that you had set up
[14] onto a boat and let (it) cross over to the other bank of the river. Then you surround (it) with a magic circle and recite the following incantation:

---

[15] "Mountain and river, seas and steep rocks, heaven and earth, god[?] [and . . . .] of heaven, ... !
[16] [(Woe to you,) if from now on you go toward NN, the daughter of NN and enter the house where she lives! You are conjured by these powers!"

"BM 33399": A Fragment with Magico-Medical Prescriptions against Lamaštu

(I 1′–5′ probably not concerned with Lamaštu)

I 6′ [*ana L*]*amaštu nasāḫi u ina*]
7′ [ ] *šumuttu xxx xxx* [ ]
8′ [*m*]*urra taḫaššal tanappi xx* [ ]

9′ (traces)

II 1 [*maš*]*takal*[?] *ḫaṣab pēl lu*[*rmi*]
2 [*eper*] *sūq erbetti eper ḫallul*[*āja*]

---

3 [*ana La*]*maštu nasāḫi dām erēni* [ ]
4 [ ] *šammaššammī ulāpa lupputa* [ ]

---

5 [ ] *enūma iḫiṭṭaššu* [ ]
6 *ina ḫimēti* [ ]

---

7 [ ] *ṭīd palgi teleqqe erbet ṣalmī te*[*ppuš*]
8 (traces)

A Neo-Assyrian Memorandum

"Assur Memo": A List of Utensils and Materials for a Ritual Involving Lamaštu

obv. 1 *ša ištēn paṭīri*
2 *anūt paḫāri*
3 *isiḫtu gabbu*

---

4 *ṣalam mārat Anu*
5 *ša ṭīd kullati*
6 *3*[?] *imērī ša ṭīdi*
7 [*ṣu*]*bātu ḫašmānu*
8 *3*[?] *tukkannē ṣidītu malû*[?]
9 [*x i*]*tqur kaspi 4* PAP *k*[*asp*]*i*[?]
10 [*1*[?] *k*]*unuk ḫalti ma*[*x*]*x*
11 [*1*[?] *iṣ*] *qāti* GÚ *x*[*x*]-*ẹ*[?]
12 [*1*[?] *t*]*inūru mê*[?] *k*[*aṣūt*]*i*[?]
13 [ ] . . . . . [*x*]*x*

"BM 33399": A Fragment with Magico-Medical Prescriptions against Lamaštu

(I 1′–5′ probably not concerned with Lamaštu)

I 6′ [In order to] remove Lamaštu and in/from [. . . . .]
7′ [ ] *šumuttu*-plant xxx xxx [. . . . .]
8′ [m]yrrh you crush, sift xx[. . . . .]

9′ (traces)

II 1 [. . . . . *maš*]*takal*[?]-plant, ost[rich] egg shell, [. . . . .]
2 [dust] from a crossroad, "dust" of a centip[ede, ...]

---

3 [In order to] remove [La]maštu: cedar resin, [. . . . .]
4 [. . . .], sesame, a soiled towel, [. . . . .]

---

5 [. . . . .], as soon as she "checks on him," [. . . . .]
6 [i]n ghee [. . . . .]

---

7 [*If ditto*], you take clay from a ditch, fo[rm] four figurines, [. . . . .]
8 (traces)

A Neo-Assyrian Memorandum

"Assur Memo": A List of Utensils and Materials for a Ritual Involving Lamaštu

obv. 1 For one altar table,
2 potter's utensils,
3 everything that was assigned:

---

4 A figurine of the "Daughter-of-Anu"
5 made of potter's clay.
6 3[?] clay donkeys.
7 [Blu]eish-green cloth.
8 3[?] leather bags—full of provisions.
9 [x] silver [s]poon(s), 4 s[ilve]r[?] PAP utensils.
10 [1[?] s]eal made of *ḫaltu* stone, xx[ ]xx.
11 [1[?] (set of) fe]tters, xx[ ]xx.
12 [1[?] k]iln, c[old[?]] water[?].
13 [ ] . . . . . [ ]xx.

14 [*p*]*ēnti*/[*i*]*šāt ṭ*[*ūri*?]

---

15 [7?] *ṣalam* GIŠ[ ]
16 [7?] *ṣalam* GIŠ[ ]
17 [7?] *ṣalam* [ ]
l.e. 18 [7?] *ṣalam* GIŠ*x*[*x*(-*xx*)]
19 [7?] *ṣalam* AN.[. . .]
20 [7? *ṣa*]*lam* [ ]
rev. 21 [7? *ṣa*]*lam* [ ]
22 *7*? [*ṣa*]*lam gaṣ*[*ṣi*?]
23 *ša iṭṭâ* [*bullulu*]
24 *7 ṣalam ṭīd k*[*ullati*]
25 *7 ṣalam līš*[*i*]
26 *7 ṣalam agarinni*
27 *7 ṣalam bappiri*
28 *7 ṣalam ṭūri*?
29 *7 ṣalam kupsi*
30 *7 ṣalam lipî*
31 *ša itti saḫlê bullulu*
32 *7 ṣalam lipî*
33 *7 ṣalam iškūri*
34 *7 ṣalam iṭṭî*
35 *imḫ*[*ur-l*]*īm*? *iṣi pišri*
u.e. 36 *l*[*išān-k*]*albi*? *maštakal*
37 *ištēn karpat*? *siparri*

---

left e. 38 [*-B*]*ussu*
39 [*isiḫtu*? *ga*]*bbu*

[14] [As]hes/[A f]ire of *ṭ*[*ūru*ʾ] herbs.

---

[15] [7ʾ] figurines made of [ ]-wood.
[16] [7ʾ] figurines made of [ ]-wood.
[17] [7ʾ] figurines [made of]
l.e. [18] [7ʾ] figurines made of [ ]-wood
[19] [7ʾ] figurines (madeʾ) of xx[xx]
[20] [7ʾ fig]urines [made of]
rev. [21] [7ʾ fig]urines [made of]
[22] 7ʾ [figu]rines made of gyp[sum]
[23] [mixed] with bitumen.
[24] 7 figurines made of p[otter's] clay.
[25] 7 figurines made of doug[h].
[26] 7 figurines made withʾ *beer mash*.
[27] 7 figurines made of "beer bread."
[28] 7 figurines made withʾ *ṭ*[*ū*]*ru*ʾ] herbs.
[29] 7 figurines made of sesame residues.
[30] 7 figurines made of tallow
[31] mixed with cress seeds.
[32] 7 figurines made of tallow.
[33] 7 figurines made of wax.
[34] 7 figurines made of bitumen.
[35] *imḫ*[*ur-l*]*īm*ʾ plant, *iṣi-pišri* wood,
u.e. [36] *l*[*išān-k*]*albi*ʾ plant, *maštakal* plant.
[37] 1 bronze potʾ.

---

left e. [38] [ ] its [ ]xx,
[39] [ever]ything [that was assigned].

Commentary

The commentary follows the same rules and principles, as applicable, that are described above for Part I (p. 196).

Individual Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations

"OA_2": A Lamaštu Incantation from Kültepe on a Single Tablet

The *editio princeps* of this text was prepared by von Soden (1956: 141ff.). Since then, the text has been quoted extensively in both dictionaries and translated by Wiggermann (1983b: 297); Foster (1993: 59); and K. Hecker (in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 64f.). It was also reedited, although somewhat sloppily, by Wilson (1994: 72–74). For some collations, see Farber 1981: 72.

1 By translating "er is een godin," Wiggermann (1983b: 297) brushes aside von Soden's still valid arguments for the reading adopted here, *ellat* "she is clean," which K. Hecker (in Janowski and Wilhelm 2008: 65) interprets as "ungebunden = free, unrestrained." A discussion of the concept of *ellu* in this context is offered by Wilson (1994, specifically on p. 74).

2 I follow von Soden in taking *appulat* as an Assyrian form of **uppulu*, but this interpretation is by no means certain. CAD M 282b refrained from translating the line, which is also not quoted in vols. A or U/W. Wilson translates "she is an heiress," which is certainly not correct. Most recently, Hecker derived the form from **'bl* and translated "ganz vertrocknet = completely dried out," which is not very convincing either.

5 For the reading *lamnat*, see Landsberger 1958: 57 n. 7 and Farber 1981: 72.

8–15 I take this passage as one long hinge construction centered around *ippuṣaššī* (see already Foster 1993, note to line 7). The preposition *ana* leaves it open whether the expulsion of Lamaštu served as punishment for her past misdeeds or as a passport to future destructive actions. The rendering of the passage by Wilson shows some involuntary humor in depicting Lamaštu (against all rules of grammar) as a stupid nymphomaniac.

16 For the stative D *waššarat* instead of expected **waššurat*, see Hecker 1968: §9a. An analysis as a stative G of **(w)ašāru(m)* (thus CAD A/II 422b s.v. **ašāru* C, repeated in CAD U/W 312a; and AHw. 1484a) could phonetically be possible in view of the occasional non-elision of short vowels before /r/ (see GAG §12b). Since, however, no G stem forms corresponding to the D *(w)uššuru(m)* otherwise exist,[1] I consider this highly unlikely.

1. All context references for the G stem quoted in AHw. 1484a should be interpreted differently: OB **wašrū sikkūrū* (ZA 43: 306:2, with an SB parallel *ašrū s.*) is probably a hypercorrection of a form without initial /w/, belongs

17 Cf. commentary to "RA" 5.

21 I have not adopted the emendation proposed by Wiggermann (1983b: 297 note c) to read here *lá-ki*$^{!}$*-i-im* "zuigeling" instead of the tablet's *la-áb-i-im*, especially in view of the occurrence of *lá-i-im* in line 23. For dialectal differences in the forms of **laʾûm* "baby," see Farber 1989a: 136–38.

22 For this line, cf. Farber 1989a: 138.

24 This line remains unclear. Against my collation (in Farber 1981: 72), CAD lately[2] returned to the suggestion by von Soden (1956: 143) to read *ta-ra*(?)*-šu*(?) and now translates "she will weaken(?)." The traces in the copy look more like *ta-áš-šu-ku*, but this text nowhere else writes reduplicated consonants, and thus any tempting connection to **nšk* "to bite" should probably also be ruled out. Note that Wilson, according to lines 24–26 of his transliteration, seems to give three alternative renderings and translations for this single line, none of them convincing.

"OB$_2$": An OB Lamaštu Incantation on a Single Tablet

For the *editio princeps*, see von Soden 1954: 337ff. (for collations, see Farber 1981: 72). The text has been quoted extensively in both dictionaries. It also has been translated by Haas (1986: 143),[3] Wiggermann (1983b: 296); Foster (1993: 130; repeated with some changes in the third edition, Foster 2005: 173–74). It was studied in detail by D. O. Edzard (in Charpin, Edzard, and Stol 2004: 542–44) and Veldhuis (1999: 41–45). The most recent edition is available only electronically on SEAL = Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de, last revised 02/07/2011), a web site under the control of Michael Streck and Nathan Wassermann. I quote this edition without authors' names as SEAL, by text and line only.

1–2 SEAL assumes that the mention of Anu, Ea, and Enlil could be taken as a reference to the three paths of the sky and thus tentatively dates our text to late OB or even Kassite times. Especially because the order of the three deities does not follow the later canon, I am not convinced that this is true.

2 Wiggermann (1983b: 296) translated "leeuwinnenkop" (followed by Veldhuis 1999; Foster 2005; and SEAL), but more recently (Wiggermann 2000: 232 with n. 108–109) leaves the reading of KAL-*ba-tim* open again. Among the numerous representations of Lamaštu with a lion's head, not one shows her with the head of a *female* lion, **labbatu*. Given the additional problems involved in a reading KAL=*lab* in OB, I thus continue to believe

to *ašāru* "to muster, check, take care of," and should thus be moved in CAD A/II from *ašāru* D (hapax!) to *ašāru* A; similarly, OB **ul wašrāta* (AbB 6, 96:6) probably belongs to (*w*)*ašru*(*m*) "humble"; see CAD A/II 455f. Finally, OA *tuppi* PN *wa-ša-ra-am ul imuʾa* (VAT 9223:12, unpubl.), the linguistically closest parallel for our OA text that is cited in CAD as further evidence for the G stem (CAD A/II 422b), should be seen as just another example of the phenomenon described by Hecker (1968: §9a) and quoted above for **waššarat*. This also makes the emendation to **wa-šu*$^{!?}$*-ra-am* in AHw. 1484a–b unnecessary.

2. CAD R s.v. *rašû* C "(mng. uncertain)," a lemma that combines unclear references from Mari with our line and in doing so postulates a verb with root vocalism of *u/i*.

3. His rendering, which is quite different from mine and largely based on obsolete readings, is taken almost literally from Köcher 1948: 14.

that the correct reading is *panī kalbatim*, as originally proposed by von Soden, followed by Foster (1993) and also accepted in both dictionaries.

3–5 For an interesting translation, based on Köcher's different segmentation of the text, which follows the tablet more closely than von Soden's, see Haas 1986: 143: "Sie ist winzig, zwei Handbreit gross ist sie. Finger und Klauen sind lang, . . ."

3 While most translators agree that *i*-ZA-*at* stands for *īṣat* "she is lacking, too small," Wiggerman (2000: 231f. with n. 107), followed by Foster (2005), returns to the earlier interpretation of CAD (see E 433a) **ezzat* "she is fierce," which has since been given up (see most recently CAD R 385a).

If the reading **arakat* is correct and the variation with **arrakat* in line 5 is intended, this seems to be another example of non-elision of short vowels after /r/ (see below, comm. to "OB_3" 6). See also SEAL, comm. to lines 3–5.

5 See Farber 1981: 72 for inconclusive collations that, however, ruled out the former reading **bullulā* (thus still in SEAL). The suggestion adopted here (**eʾʾēlā* as a stative 3.pl.f. of a habitative **parrās* form "habitual binder" derived from the demonic activity *eʾēlu*) was originally made to me by W. Sallaberger (private communication).

6 Again, my collations are inconclusive. While KÁ at the beginning of the line seems possible, there are traces of signs both before and after the break, with the expected *u*[*b*] compatible with the former, and [*t*]*i* (but definitely not [*a*]*m*) the most likely reading of the latter. I have no idea what to do with this at the end of a line, which would otherwise be perfectly understandable.

SEAL argues in favor of a sequence preterite—present here (**īrub – iḫallup*), but this is not convincing, since in the postulated modal clause the second verb (in the present) should be circumstantial to the first (in preterite, stative, or even another present), and this ideally should also show a connective *-ma*. The resulting translation "she entered while at the same time slipping in" is rather nonsensical. I therefore continue to believe that a present **irrub* is meant here.

7–8 Note the plays on words and sounds using *ṣerrum* "snake," *ṣerrum* "door pivot," and later also *ṣērum* "steppe," to eventually rhyme with *šerrum* "child." Since it is not always clear which meaning is "correct" (and some of the phrases may intentionally leave open several interpretations), my translation has to be taken with a grain of salt. For more details, see also comm. to lines 14–15

7 My reading *ṣé-ra-n*[*i*] tries to accommodate the trace after the break by combining it with the slightly slanted wedge preceding the break. It is, however, also possible that the trace at the end is nothing but the dislocated end of the line divider between lines 7 and 8. For more adverbs in *-āni*, see below, comm. to "OB_3" 13–14.

8 The reading *ītamar*, originally proposed by Landsberger (1958: 57 n. 7), has been confirmed through my collation.

9 For a discussion of the emendation and the meaning of this line, see Farber 2007a: 143 with n. 29.

12–13 Against CAD Q 130a, I take this phrase, an old *crux interpretum*, to refer to Asalluḫi (or possibly the exorcist? See also Wiggermann 1983b: 296 note c), who is described as *apkallam šipir Ea* "a wise one with regard to the work of Ea," followed by an additional apposition *qardu* "a valiant one."

14–15 In reading *ṣērum* "pivot" in line 14 and *ṣērum* "wilderness" in line 15, I assume that our text again makes full use of their phonetic similarities with *ṣerrum* "snake" (see above, ll. 7–8) and its rhyme word *šerrum* "baby" (line 8). Foster translates "(door)post casing" in 7–8 and 14–15; Wiggermann, Edzard, Veldhuis, and SEAL also think of the door pivot in 7–8 and 14 but translate "steppe, desert" in line 15.

15 See comm. to line 21.

17 The final traces of this line were left standing by mistake when the scribe erased his earlier efforts, after probably writing *pa-ni-*(*ki*) for a second time. Incidentally, the puzzling BU copied at the end of line 18 is almost invisibly marked as a modern copyists's comment to the *-bu-* in *ta-ar-bu-*$'a_4$*-am* of line 17 and thus not part of the text.

18 I see no compelling reason for an *ad hoc* translation "finely ground" for *daqqu* here, even though ground cress seeds are certainly more pungent than uncracked ones.

20 The correct interpretation of this line as an oath in the 1.c.s. "I indeed will . . ." was first proposed by Wassermann (2003: 163) and has since been adopted by Foster (2005) and SEAL.

21 Although a juxtaposition of two imperatives *alkī* "go!" (G) and *atallakī* "roam about!" (Gtn) in line 15 makes good sense, it is difficult to attach an iterative Gtn meaning instead of the expected separative nuance that would have to be expressed by a Gt stem to *lū tattallakī* in our line. Although the written form allows no other analysis, I am tempted to assume a mistake here and translate the form as a Gt precative **lū tattalkī* "may you go away, be gone!"

"OB_3": An OB Incantation on a Tablet with an Unrelated Other Spell

For a partial edition, see J. J. A. van Dijk (in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 25f.). Collations: W. Farber in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 64. The text has also been translated by Foster (1993: 131; 2005: 174). The most recent edition is available only electronically on SEAL (see above, introduction to the comm. to "OB_2"). I quote this edition without authors' names, by text and line only.

1 The reading [*b*]*i*$^{?}$*-ša-at* is very uncertain (see also my collation in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 64) but has, for lack of a better solution, been retained here. SEAL's arguments for reading *[*g*]*a-ša-at* and deriving the form from an otherwise nonexistent verb *gašûm*[4] are unconvincing. Wiggerman's tempting suggestion to read [*n*]*am-*[*r*]*a-at* (2000: 218 n. 3) does not fit the traces I saw on the original and on a photo made available to me by C. Hess.

4. The reference to VS 10, 214 II 1 (Agušāja A) is misleading, since the verb there is *gâšum* (**gūš*), and a derivation as a stative from this root would be both semantically odd (stative of a verb of motion!) and morphologically wrong.

2 Van Dijk's reading *i⁷-l*[*a-at*], followed by Foster, is epigraphically difficult (see my collation) and at this point of the introduction not really expected. Unable to make sense of TUR and the following trace (Ḫ[U]/R[I]⁷),[5] I therefore prefer to leave the word uninterpreted.

3–6 For these lines, see Stol 2000: 177 n. 30, with a slightly different interpretation.

4 The text seems to show the more common OB form **tabsūtum* for *šabsūtu* (OB and later).

6 *sandak* as an OB form of *santak* "all the time" is a bit unexpected since the voicing of plosives after /*n*/ is otherwise a phenomenon considered typical for MB and later. Another indication of a relatively late OB date of our text may be seen in the use of the sign NIM in the mimationless adverbial ending *-āni* in line 14; see below.

Since there is not enough space for *pa-*ar-ka-at*, we have the choice of three possibilities:

1. simple scribal mistake of RI for AR (reading ⟨*a*⟩*r*);
2. derivation from a habitual adjective **parrikum* for which the *i*/*i* verb *parākum* might qualify (cf. GAG §55m).
3. non-elision of /*i*/ after /*r*/ (see GAG §12b for the same phenomenon before /*r*/ and before and after /*l*/).

I opt for the latter.

8 For a different rendering of this line, see Foster 1993: 131: *ina uzzim šālilim* "with plundering fierceness"—that is, with a wrath poised on pillaging. Without a clarifying parallel, I return to van Dijk's reading[6] and Groneberg's interpretation of the line (see Groneberg 1997: 48 to line 124; Wiggerman 2000: 228 n. 65; Foster 2005: 174 "with demonic fierceness"; and most recently CAD U/W 394a).

9 For my interpretation of this line (reading *sullûm* "prayer" instead of *sulûm* "street"[7]), and indeed of the whole passage 9–11, I refer to the close parallel in the OA incantation against the Evil Eye, published by Barjamovic and Larsen (2008; kt 94/k 520). The respective lines (11–15) read: *tāḫuz eṭlam ina suppu'im tāḫuz wardatam iš-šuwārim tāḫuz ṣuḫram ib-būd tārītim* "It (the Eye) grabbed the young man in prayer, grabbed the young girl while dancing, grabbed the child from the shoulder of the nanny."

12–15 *ilān kilallān*, the "two gods," are presumably Asalluḫi and Ea. Note the inconsistency of the following four verbal predicates. While the first two are also in dual (*imurāši*, *ušēṣiāši*), the third verb, *ušaḫlipašši*, appears to be a singular in ventive, which might be considered a scribal error for the dual *ušaḫlipāši*. Finally, the last form, *irkusūnišši*, is a 3.m.pl. ventive.

13–14 These lines provide two additional examples of OB adverbial forms in *-āni*, with the second one (*ṣerrēni*) showing progressive vowel assimilation and a spelling NIM for /*ni*/ (to

5. Unfortunately, a restoration of *mārat Anim*, in any conceivable spelling, does not fit the traces either, although this would have made perefect sense at this point of the incantation. SEAL's interpretation as a participle in construct (*muttadrirat ṣeḫrī* "she is roaming around the *little ones*") is grammatically untenable, since neither **drr* nor its N cognate *nadarruru* are ever construed with a direct accusative object and the semantically required plural of *ṣeḫrum* would be *ṣeḫrūtim*.

6. See George 1987: 360 for parallels.

7. Renewed collation makes a reading *su-* more likely than *šu-*. I do not know on what Akkadian word van Dijk's rendering of *i-na šu-li-im* as "in battle" (in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 25f.) is based.

be read *ni*$_7$?) which in this period is not normally expected (see also above, note to line 6: *sandak*). For other adverbs in *-ā/ēni*, see "OB$_2$" 7; Farber 1982: 37–47; Shaffer 1993: 209f. (in ll. 1 and 7); and Mayer 1995: 163f. and 184.

15–17 These lines were not included in van Dijk's edition; for my readings, cf. my collations in van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: 64.

17 The reading of KA.INIM.MA in OB incantation texts is probably *šiptum*, as shown by the parallel *ši-pa-at* ^{d}DÌM.ME in "OB$_5$" 5, which is (against Hallo's transliteration) resumed by the feminine suffix on *ki-ki-ṭa-ša*. Corroborating evidence is provided by VS 17, 33: 28, where KA.INIM.MA *a-ru-úḫ-tum* is also resumed by *ki-ki-ṭá-ša*, which needs a feminine antecedent.[8] This, however, does not affect the reading of the phrase in later texts, where a masculine noun (regularly resumed by a 3.m.sing. suffix, as in *kikiṭṭa-šu*) is required and an interpretation as a learned Akkadian loanword **kainimmakku*[9] has been proposed.

"OB$_4$": A Fragmentary Incantation on an OB Tablet

For a previous edition, see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 1994: 88f.; their comments have not been repeated here unless further discussion seemed appropriate. The most recent edition is available only electronically on SEAL (see above, introduction to the comm. to "OB$_2$"). I quote this edition without authors' names, by text and line only.

I 2′ Cavigneaux suggests reading *e-en-zu* as a strange spelling for **ezzu* "furious." If this were true, in our context, one would rather expect a feminine form **ezzet*, describing Lamaštu. I thus prefer the more literal reading "goat" (also in SEAL's edition), although it remains unclear why a goat should be mentioned here.

I 3′ My restoration is based on "Lam. II" 37 (already quoted by Cavigneaux, who, however, opted for a slightly different restoration).

I 4′ Cavigneaux already noted that *ša/eršerrum* is actually a reddish paste and thus not really suitable for the predicate *warqat* "is yellowish/greenish," which, however, fits perfectly the *kalû* paste ("ochre") replacing it in the later parallels in "RS" 4 and "Lam. II" 38 (*kīma kalê lēssa arqat* "yellowish pale like ochre is her cheek").

I 5′ I see no compelling reason for the emendation proposed in SEAL (**ne*$^{!}$*-*[*e-ši-im*] instead of *ka-*[*al-bi-im*], which seems absolutely clear in the copy), in spite of the tempting parallel in "Lam. II" 161 // "MB" I 11 and the similar passage "Lam. II" 36 // "Ah" 7–8. For another OB text where Lamaštu's head/face is compared to a dog, see "OB$_2$" 2 (with comm.).

I 6′ For the restoration, compare "Lam. II" 36 and 161.

8. *aruḫtum*, although in the nominative case, can hardly qualify as such.

9. See CAD K 36a. For strong arguments against an alternative reading **inim.inim.ma* for the underlying Sumerian noun, see Schramm 1981: 90, with additional evidence from two phonetic spellings in OB Sumerian texts adduced by Finkel (1999: 230). See also Maul 2009: 80, who, while accepting Schramm's and Finkel's reading, inherently argues for an interpretation as a traditional Sumerian term that is only occasionally contextualized as a loanword.

I 7′ If I am right in assuming another indented line here, a word AḪ-ri should be expected in both parts, most probably denoting a body part or feature of the animal. No good candidate comes to mind, and my reading **uḫru* "rear" is a remote possibility at best.

II 2′ I prefer to restore *ḫurbāšam* instead of Cavigneaux's **libbaša am*[. . .], because the word is also attested in "Lam. I" 123, and in view of the short break at the beginning, hardly enough room exists for a long sign like *li*.

II 3′ Instead of an unattested factitive D stem of *êrum* "to make naked" (thus Cavigneaux), I prefer to assume a scribal mistake and thus restore the well-known form **e ⟨ta⟩turri* "do not return!"[10]

II 4′ The two signs after *imēram* that Cavigneaux read as "*pa ta*" closely resemble the composite sign MAŠKIM. Since a donkey is also connected with the root **rbṣ* in "OB_1" 9 (*imēram šurbuṣu uš*[*arbaṣ*], see comm. to "Lam. I" 40), I wonder whether the OB scribe might have inadvertently written *rābiṣum*(MAŠKIM) when the text called for an adjective **rabṣum* (or even a participle **rābiṣum*, since **rbṣ* is not considered a state verb in Akkadian) from **rbṣ*?

"OB_5": An OB Lamaštu Incantation with Ritual

For a previous edition, see Hallo 1999: 276–78. The most recent edition is available only electronically on SEAL (see above, introduction to the comm. to "OB_2"). Other than the rubric line *šipat* ^{d}DÌM.ME (line 5;[11] cf. also the unclear ŠU.PU ^{d}DÌM.ME, following two incomprehensible lines of Akkadian? text), nothing in this text is reminiscent of other Lamaštu material. It is, however, worthy of attention, because incantations accompanied by rituals (introduced by *kikiṭṭa-ša*, ll. 6–9 and 13ff.; see above, comm. to OB_3 17) are rarely attested from the OB period.

"OB_6": A Fragmentary Akkadian Lamaštu Incantation as a Postscript to a Tablet with Sumerian Spells

Only the end of this Akkadian incantation is preserved on the left edge of TIM 9, 63. The rest of the tablet seems to have contained Sumerian spells against Lamaštu. For a previous edition, see Tonietti 1979: 305, 322f. The most recent edition is available only electronically on SEAL (see above, introduction to the comm. to "OB_2").

I′ 1′–2′ My restorations are free but follow the general gist of similar endings of apotropaic incantations.

I′ 3′ Following Tonietti, SEAL read the end of this line as TI?.LA?. Although Tonietti had translated this as "viva" (= he lives), SEAL changed the rendering to "life," thus avoiding a verbal logogram in an OB text. The reading of the traces copied by van Dijk is very uncertain, and neither of the translations is convincing. I would expect some form of the rubric *tuennenuri here, but cannot reconcile this with the copy either.

10. The same translation, although with an unemended transliteration, is also given in SEAL.
11. See above, commentary to "OB_3", 17.

Middle Babylonian Lamaštu Texts from Peripheral Areas Not Directly Related to the Series

"Ug": The Remaining Text of the Ugarit Compendium, Containing Lamaštu Incantations without SB Parallels

For the passages of "Ug" that parallel the Canonical Series ("Ug" I–II, "Ug" III 15′–36′, "Ug" V–VI) see above, Part I. For "Ug" III 1′–14′, see below under "ND".

"Ug" IV and V 1′–13′

IV 3′ff. Although lines 1′–2′ seem to describe Lamaštu's activities, the subject of 3ff. must be a (probably female, *-ša* in line 4′ restored accordingly) deity like Aruru (cf. "Lam. II" 142 and comm.) trying to avoid the destruction of mankind at the hands of Lamaštu. Her name might have been lost in the course of the textual corruption obvious at the beginning of line 3′.

IV 6′ For the image for permanent loss used here, see most conveniently CAD A/I 17a and the additional references in CAD Š/II 135a.

IV 8′ Arnaud (2007: 73) is probably right to explain the beginning of this line as a sandhi spelling **šupal-āli*.

The phrase *kussâ nadû* is not otherwise attested but can be compared with *parakka nadû* (see above, "Lam. I" 113 and commentary).

IV 10′ This line reflects the well-known fact that goats have an average litter of two kids (= twins, *tu'āmī*).[12] The same observation is behind Gilg. VI 18 (see George 2003: 618) and the Sumerian text Laḫar and Ašnan lines 8–9 (quoted by George 2003: 831 from the edition by Alster and Vanstiphout 1987: 14). In these two texts, however, cases of unusual productivity are described in which ewes (who have an average reproduction rate of ca. 1.5 per birth) produce twins, and nanny-goats (with an average reproduction rate of ca. 2 per birth) produce triplets.

IV 11′ No convincing reading of the traces following *ma-ra-* has been found yet. According to my copy, they are neither consistent with *marratu*, another crossable body of water, nor with *māraku* "length." Arnaud's copy (Arnaud 2007: pl. X) seems to allow a reading *ma-ra-tù* [*t*]*am-ta*, but the use of *tù*(DU) would be very unusual.

V 2′ For a different interpretaion of the traces, see Arnaud 2007: 65 and his copy, pl. X.

V 3′ff. These lines contain still another instance of the threatening curse with *šumma*, to be added to the references in Farber 1975: 177–79.

V 4′ For the form *tasaḫḫarī*, here restored after "Ug" III 12′ (see under "ND"), see the commentary to "ND" 15 ("Ug" III 11′–12′).

12. Arnaud's reading of the line (2007: 65) and Wiggermann's interpretation based on it (2010: 408) are incorrect.

V 8′ Arnaud's copy (Arnaud 2007: pl. X) backs his reading of the end of this line as *ta-ṣa-bat*. Unfortunately, this reading makes no sense in my understanding of the context, which I otherwise consider consistent and plausible. I could not see these signs when I copied the text, nor can I identify them on my (admittedly bad) photo.

V 9′ A less likely possibility would be to understand EN.TI *qa-*[*ar-du*] as "heroic Mount Ebiḫ" (cf. "Lam. II" 2).

For other references to the *ēntu* priestess in the Ugarit Lamaštu text, see "Ug" III 8′ and 10′.

V 11′ In spite of W. van Soldt's effort to make Akkadian sense out of this line (van Soldt 1991: 420), and Arnaud's attempt to understand it as syllabic Sumerian (Arnaud 2007: 73), I strongly suspect that the last two lines of our text are plain gibberish.

"RS": An Independent Lamaštu Incantation from Ugarit

This fragment excavated at Ras Šamra does not belong to the big tablet RS 25.420+ containing the Ugarit compendium ("Ug"). Its first four lines are loosely parallel to the beginning of Inc. 7 ("Lam. II" 35–38). The text is much harder to read than RS 25.420+, and my edition freely uses both my own copy and Arnaud's (2007: pl. 5 no. 17), which do not always agree. A final collation after the publication of Arnaud's edition was unfortunately not possible.

1 In view of the two other pre-SB attestations for *amurrât* "Amorite woman" to describe Lamaštu ("OB_1" 2 and "Ug" V 16′, both parallels to "Lam. I" 37), there is no reason to restore the younger version's **namurrat* here.

2 Restored after "Lam. II" 35b–36a; the trace of *-dam* and the reading *šin-* are, however, not certain from my copy. Arnaud's copy and transliteration suggest a reading *kun-n*[*a-at*], which, however, has no parallel in other Lamaštu texts.

3 *kaṣṣat* (which is epigraphically more likely than Nougayrol's and Arnaud's **ezzat*) is restored from "Lam. I" 105 and "Lam. II" 154 with its parallel "MB" I 4.

At the end of the line, Arnaud's reading *da-*[*ik-tum*] has been adopted here against my own copy, for lack of a better alternative.

4 This line is parallel to "Lam. II" 38 and thus poses no problems.

5 At the beginning of the line, I read, following my own copy, [*a-n*]*a* É but prefer Arnaud's *ir-ru-u*[*b*] for the continuation.

"Bo": A Lamaštu Ritual from Boghazköy?

For a discussion of this fragment and the question whether it actually belongs to the Lamaštu corpus or not, see above, p. 13. The text has recently been edited as "Fragment X_5" by Schwemer (1998: 134–36), who did not consider it to be a Lamaštu ritual.

2′ The first sign is unclear, and according to a collation by R. D. Biggs it is neither DIŠ nor BE. It seems to end in a double vertical, possibly suggesting a reading [DIŠ Z]A LÚ with something like a dittography, spelling *amīlu* twice but using two different logograms.

3′ The reading of SAL.KAL as MUNUS.LAMA = **Lamas(sa)tu* remains somewhat uncertain. I take it as a misspelling based on a local pronunciation of the name *Lamaštu*, which can easily be explained by the Anatolian speakers' lack of differentiation between /s/ and /š/. Note that CAD A/II 199a also assumes that the text is dealing with a "figurine of Lamaštu." In spite of the mention of an *eṭemmu* in line 1, all the ritual instructions of this fragment show quite close resemblances to passages from "Lam.", although they do not form a continuous parallel to any passage from the later canonical text.[13] This similarity makes the proposed reading, and thus the definition of our fragment as part of our corpus, quite tempting, although it may ultimately have been an unrelated text that was only secondarily associated with Lamaštu through a mistaken reading of *Lamassatu.

5′ The *apti ṣēli* "window of the side" is not attested elsewhere in "Lam." but is otherwise well known as an entry way for demons into the house (cf. CAD Ṣ 126a and A/II 199a).

Rather than looking for a rarely attested garment *^{TÚG}*aššiannu*(Schwemer 1998: 134f.), I understand the sequence of signs KU A ŠI as a slightly unusual spelling TUŠ.A-*ši* for **tušeššebši*. TUŠ.A = *ašābu* is not only occasionally used in SB texts such as KAR 377 rev. 46 or CT 39, 42c II 7 but also occurs in a roughly contemporary omen text from Nuzi (Lacheman RA 34, 6:13 and 8:38), although I cannot remember having seen the spelling in other Boghazköy Akkadian texts.

"Emar": A Tablet in Amulet Shape Containing Three Lamaštu Incantations

This rather unusual piece surfaced on the antiquities market in 1981 in a group of tablets demonstrably from Emar (see Dalley and Teissier 1992: 83ff.; for our piece, see specifically p. 109 no. 8 and the photographs on pl. XIV). Although the peculiarities of the handwriting and spelling of the Lamaštu tablet also point in the direction of Syrian peripheral Akkadian, its provenience from Emar is only suggested by the other tablets in the group but not strictly proven.

I saw the amulet-shaped tablet myself during a brief stay at the British Museum in 1981, when it was brought to the Students' Room by its then-owner for an opinion, but I had no time to copy it myself. The copy published here was prepared later that year by Irving Finkel, who originally planned to publish the text himself but graciously ceded his rights, his copy, and a drawing of the seal by Dominique Collon to me later. His rendering of this difficult-to-read text is admirable, and only in a few spots, after thoroughly studying the whole text, was I able to improve on the copy by collations (marked *) from excellent photographs sent to me by Stephanie Dalley in 1990. To all of these colleagues go my warmest thanks.

The text is a clay tablet in the shape of an amulet, inscribed with three incantations addressed to Lamaštu. They are arranged into seven sections, the first six of which have seven lines each. Between those sections, and on the protruding handle at the top of the tablet, an uninscribed seal has been rolled all around the amulet. In addition, both the obverse and the reverse are "crossed out" by diagonal lines forming a St. Andrew's Cross. They are, however, obviously not meant to obliterate

13. Note, however, that very similar instructions can also accompany the manufacture of other female figurines, as, for instance, the one of *māmītu* in BAM 234, 13–21. For similarities between lines 6 and 8 and the other ritual texts from Boghazköy to which the fragment might be physically and textually related, see Schwemer 1998: 136.

(or invalidate) the text but must have some unknown magical function. The text is extremely difficult to read, and my attempts to understand it are often no more than a first guess, hopefully to be improved by scholars more conversant with the intricacies and pitfalls involved in tablets from the Syrian "peripheral" area.

1 If the four signs *i-li*-DINGIR-*lim* actually represent no more than the determinative ^{d} of traditional orthography (cf. the similar writings in ll. 20–22, 35, and 43), *na-a-li* should be the name of the god described as Lamaštu's "father." It thus could represent a garbled form of the name Enlil, who, in "Lam. II" 92f., is also described, in a somewhat similar context, as her "father."

2 For a "house" to be built for Lamaštu, see "Lam. II" 97 (cf. also "Lam. I" 113, where Anu and Antu deny her a sanctuary, *parakku*, on earth).

In the remainder of the line, *za-ab-bi zí-ib-bi* defies interpretation; several Akkadian words could be hidden under this spelling, but none of them seems to make any sense in this context. P. Gauthier suggested to me a simple play on sounds with the preceding *bīssa* "her house."

2f. My emendation of an epigraphically clear *te* to *im*$^{!}$ is a desperate effort to gain a feminine plural verbal form (*imlâ* "they became full") to go with the apparent subject *ēnā* and an adverbial *dimta* at the beginning of line 3. The final two signs of line 2, *e* and *na*, I take as a dittography; for similar cases where our tablet starts a word or phrase in one line, only to repeat the signs on the next line, see ll. 7–8, 17–19, 20–21, and 30–31. If this emendation and my reading of *ēnā dimta* (IGI.IGI.*e-na* A.IGI/ÍR, rather than morphologically difficult IGI.IGI.*e-na-a-ši* = *ēnāši*) in l. 3 are correct, one might again compare "Lam. II" 92, where Lamaštu approaches her 'father' Enlil in tears.

3f. This variation on a well-known theme (see "Lam. I" 121–122, with commentary), Lamaštu asking for the babies to be handed over to her, is unique in that it talks about raising the children to adulthood. *li-din* in this context must be taken as a mistake for the 1.c.s. **luddin*.

4–6 By emending an irregularly shaped *ni* sign to *pa*$^{!}$ (note that the two horizontals are parallel and not angled!), I tentatively take this phrase to be an idiom (possibly a West Semitism) **panī naši* "my front (or: face, although sing.?) is lifted" = "I intend (to do something)." No parallels from Akkadian texts are known to me, and the spelling *na-ši-ʾ* is definitely strange for second-millennium Akkadian (cf. below, line 8: *pe-ʾ* for *pê*). An alternative reading of the first sign(s) would be *šum*$^{!}$*-ma*, but this does not seem to yield any recognizable syntax for the remainder of the sentence.

6 **tattiṣī*, if read correctly, seems to show vowel harmony and thus could be another example of an Assyrianism in "Emar" (see the preliminary remarks by Huehnergard 1983: 42). *lā tattallak*, if read correctly, substitutes an endingless 2.m.s. form for the expected 2.f.s in *-ī* (see also the 2.f.s. form **tippattil* in line 8!).

8 Cf. Maqlû V 11 and IX 77, where the emphasis is on the fact that chaff cannot be twisted into a strong rope; accordingly, I interpret *ti-pa-ti-il* as an N stem **tippattil*. For a different

possible interpretation compare Maqlû II 165 and 176, where *kīma pitilti patālu* means "to tie (somebody) as with a rope." *pi-ʾ* then would have to stand for *pî*—that is, the object of the action: "do not tie my mouth as with a rope."

For the prefix *ti-* on forms of the 3.f.s. in Western peripheral Akkadian, see most conveniently Huehnergard 1989: 158f. and, specifically for Emar, 1983: 39f. I am not aware of this prefix otherwise also being used for the 2.f.s., although a mixup between the third- and second-person forms seems conceivable (note the absence of the fem. marker for the second-person *-ī* on our form).

8–9 For *ṣâdu* "to swing," said of a door, see LKA 135, 13ff. (cf. CAD Ṣ 58a). The emendation of the final sign in line 8 is based on this parallel.

For the next phrase (**aptī lā ta*[. . .]), a form of *šurru* "to lean (into a window)" could have been expected, but neither the G-stem prefix *ta-* nor the following traces support such a reading.

10 *bēlu kabtu* is not a regular epithet of Ea. I wonder whether we have here a case of switched logogram for **bēl nagbi*, with DUGUD = *nakbatu* being misunderstood as also standing for *nagbu*, which might have been perceived as a masculine cognate (for the opposite direction, the logogram for *naqbu*, BAD, used for *nakbatu* in SB omens, see the evidence gathered in CAD N/I 181a).

13 Note that line 10 shows the expected vocalism for **nḫs i/i*, while in line 13 we see an otherwise unattested *a*-vocalism: hypercorrection into "Babylonian" of a form erroneously thought to show Assyrian vowel harmony?

15 The spelling BÀD-*ri* leaves some doubt whether the phrase *dūr(i) dāri* is actually meant here, although no interpretation using *dūru* "wall" seems to make much sense. An interpretive phonetic reading dur_8 for BÀD might also be considered.

16 The photo seems to allow a reading of the seventh sign ṢI, making it unnecessary to see a reference to *manzât*, the rainbow, here. *manzāzu* seems to make better sense in the neighborhood of *kibsu* and *mālaku*.

I understand *e-ṣu-ra-a-ti* as a mistake for **uṣrāti*, the plural of *uṣurtu*, rather than as *iṣṣūrāti* "female birds" (cf., however, "Lam. I" 8?). A derivation from **jsr* "to enclose, take captive" (*e-su*$_{14}$*-ra-a-ti*) might seem tempting but would lead to major morphological problems.

17 I take *ra-ab-ba-ti* GAL-*ti* as a repetitive writing or pseudo-dittography and thus translate it only once.

17f. *ḫajjaṭṭu muttalliku* is not otherwise attested but yields reasonably good sense. The mention of *rēš arḫi* next to it, however, remains unclear to me. My tentative emendation of a clear TA to *ša*ʾ seems syntactically possible but also lacks any parallels.

19f. These lines are largely incomprehensible and, even where a phrase seems to yield distinguishable Akkadian words (like *muḫra māhiraʾ ša danni*), the text makes no sense at all to me.

20 Instead of *ma-ḫé-ra*, the photo also might allow a reading ^{ma}DUMU^{ra} "son."

21f. Note the mention of two separate DNs, *A-mu-ur-ri* and MAR.TU, each preceded by an array of signs representing the determinative ^{d} (see above, comm. to line 1). The two lines are quoted (from the largely unreadable photo in Dalley and Teissier 1992, pl. XIV?) by Wiggermann (2000: 239 n. 168).

23f. I take *ka-ab-ru-ri-ti* and *me-ru-ú-ti* to stand for **kabrūti* and **marûti*, respectively, two synonymous adjectives appropriate for domestic animals. The reading *alqēki* for the following verb was suggested to me by P. Gauthier and makes more sense than my former reading **alkī sūqi* "travel (imp.f.) the road."

26f. Note the uncertainty of our scribe regarding the names of the well-known Mesopotamian goddesses Damkina and Tašmētu. For another example of the spelling ^{d}*taš-me-*NI(ì$^{?}$)*-tum*, see Moortgat 1940: 556, 1.

29–30 **lidīnanni-ma ilu/ī*: No similar opening line of an incantation is known to me, but other options seem even less convincing.

The rest of line 29 and the following line seem to be spoken by Lamaštu but remain very unclear, and I am fully aware of the inconsistencies in my tentative translation.

30 I have been led to derive **luštaBBīka* from **šbī* Dtn "to regularly satiate, give (enough) to eat or drink" by the mention of drinking(?) and "food of wailing and weeping" in the next two lines. **wpī* Š and **špī* D seem to be excluded, since these verbs never take a person as their direct object, but **špū* Dtn "let me continuously subdue you" might well be an acceptable alternative.

31 The derivation of *iš-tu-ú-ma* from **štī* "to drink" is very uncertain, especially in view of the lack of an appropriate subject in masculine plural. Other options may exist but are not more convincing (*ištu* "since" as subjunction would require a subjunctive predicate; *ištu ūma* "starting today" seems absurd in the context).

31f. *talmadī akal dimāti u bikīti* clarifies the much debated reading of "Lam. I" 189 (*taltamdī . . . akal dimmati u bikīti*), but the attested nuances of **lmd* "to learn, become knowledgeable about" do not fully remove the semantic problems of the two passages.

The remainder of line 32 seems to make reference to a figurine (*ṣalmu*), maybe of the exorcist, if *e-ši-e-ṗí* can be taken as a strange spelling for **āšipi*. Parallels to such a phrase are not known to me.

33 The reading *ta-rí-tu*$_4$ is based on what seems to be a parallel in the following line but is rather shaky on epigraphic grounds.

34 *bēl ṭēmi* is not otherwise attested as an epithet of Adad (or of any other god, for that matter) but only as an unclear term for a human participant in extispicy (see AHw. 1387b). The reading of the signs as EN TI-ME, though epigraphically probable, thus remains open for discussion.

35 *la* at the end of line 35 I understand as the negation, to be followed by a present, for a prohibitive predicate. The scribe then repeated the unfinished phrase in line 36 (as he did so

often with dittographies) but on second thought replaced the *lā* by *ē*, to write the expected vetitive form.

37 DU-UR-*ki* could stand for *dūrki* "your wall," which makes little sense. I therefore also consider it possible that the scribe used DU.UR as a replacement for the logogram DUR = *ṭurru* "yarn, string," or even wrote an irregular st.constr. form *ṭù-ur-ki* for **ṭurra-ki* "your string, yarn," a reading that would be much easier to reconcile with the verb **nsḫ*.

38ff. Only occasional words are understandable to me for the rest of this incantation. They do not combine into a recognizable sequence of events or into known phrases. All transliterations and translations are therefore extremely tentative, and I believe that only a better-written parallel will eventually enable us to understand what the scribe rather ineptly tried to convey.

43 I tentatively understand $^{LÚ?}$*ši*/IGI.ME-*bu-ú-ti* as **šībūti* and assume a hybrid mixture between a logographic (^{LÚ}IGI.ME) and phonetic (**ši-bu-ú-ti*) spelling. Unfortunately, the context provides no proof that I am right.

Non-Canonical Standard Babylonian Lamaštu Incantations in Various Ritual Contexts

"ND": An SB Lamaštu Ritual from Nimrud with a Partial Parallel from "Ug" III 1′–14′.

"ND" 1–5 No parallels from other magical texts or otherwise plausible restorations come to mind.

"Ug" III 2′ The use of verb **ṣbt* is reminiscent of "ND" 4 and 6, although no further parallels between these lines seem apparent.

At the end of the line (indented), the phrase MU.1.[KAM] possibly relates to the victim's age (cf. also Arnaud 2007: 64, 68, and 72; Arnaud's reading of the remainder of the line I do find unconvincing), although a syllabic spelling *mu-diš-*[. . .] cannot be ruled out either.

"ND" 7 and "Ug" III 3′–4′ Although "Ug" describes counteractions in the 1.p.s. (*arakkas*, resuming the theme from "ND" 2, *uṭappara kāša?*), the context of "ND" remains largely obscure. For the pair *šarbu u ṣētu*, see most recently CAD Š/II 60; the curious *ú* after *šar-bu* is most likely a misspelling for *u* "and" (for other occurrences of this, cf. AHw. 1397a).

The reading [*in*]*a ṣal-li* (for **ṣilli*) *bīni t*[*ābi*] in "Ug" III 4′ is tentative but at least yields an understandable phrase, even though the context remains unclear. For a different suggestion, see Arnaud 2007: 64 and 68.

"ND" 8 ("Ug" III 5′–6′) These lines are again clearly parallel, though "Ug" shows a slightly different arrangement of the text than "ND", including a different sequence of the four winds. My restoration assumes here the standard sequence S–N–E–W.

"ND" 10–11a ("Ug" III 7′) The two texts are closely parallel here, and restorations can be made accordingly. Note, however, that "Ug" shows a singular GIŠ*sippa* where "ND" has a plural (*sippī*) and probably skipped one of the two following nouns (*bābī, nērebī*). For the determinative GIŠ, not otherwise attested for *sippu*, see the Sumerian equations giš.ká.na = *sippu* and giš.zag.du$_8$ = *iṣṣi sippi* quoted in CAD S 300b.[14]

"Ug" III 8′–12′ This passage was quoted in full (incorporating his collations but without translation) by van Soldt (in Mayer and van Soldt 1991: 117).

"ND" 11b-13 ("Ug" III 8′–9′) These lines from "ND" are quoted in CAD K 487f., with some relevant parallels (see also Römer 1973: 310ff., and add CT 51, 142, 27, quoted CAD N/I 64b). "Ug", while quite similar in wording,[15] does little to clarify the meaning of this intriguing passage. Although the special regulations concerning marriage and children of priestesses and *nadītu* women may have something to do with the magical powers of their stillborn[16] children, the mention of *kūbu* fetuses of the (male) earlier rulers Narām-Sîn and Šarru-kīn goes beyond my understanding.

"ND" 14 and "Ug" III 10′ A god's name **En'utila* is not otherwise known to me. Although the second part, UD.TI.LA, reminds one of the name of Utnapištim, this association remains speculative in view of the initial ^{d}EN. Note also that the parallel line in "Ug" has *utammīki nīš e-ni ụ̀* [*e*]*n-ti* and that the final *en-ti* consists of two signs also occurring in the enigmatic name in "ND", EN and TI: coincidence? Or textual interference and corruption?

The end of the line in "Ug", which seems to mention Anu, remains incomprehensible and is probably corrupt.[17]

"ND" 15 ("Ug" III 11′–12′) Although the passage is shorter in "ND", both texts ended this incantation with another example of the threatening curse introduced by *šumma* (the final *-ma* in "ND" makes this clear enough, in spite of a major break at the beginning of the line); the reference should be added to those collected by me (Farber 1975: 177–79). In reading *bīt tuṣî* as an asyndetic relative clause, I differ from van Soldt (1991: 443), who understood the phrase as *šumma ana bīti tuṣî* "if you go out into the house." Arnaud (2007: 72) gives a correct analysis of the phrase but fails to understand its meaning in the context.

Note the vowel in "Ug" III 12′, *tasaḫḫarī* (the same form has been restored below, col. V 4′, and preserved in KUB 37, 70, 8′). Unless this is a defective spelling for the N stem (see above, comm. to "Lam. II" 184 and "MB" II 12), **sḫr* must have been understood here as *a/a* class.

14. The different but hardly correct interpretations of "Ug" III 7 of van Soldt (1991: 258 n. 28) and Arnaud (2007: 64, 68, and 74) both were proposed before "ND" was published or without taking the parallel into account.

15. According to the space available, "Ug" seems to have mentioned three classes of priestesses here (NIN.DINGIR, [LUKUR], and NU.GIG). This makes the correct restoration of "ND" 12 somewhat uncertain: simply [*utammēki k*]*ūbī nadâti*, resulting in an omission of the *qašdāti* women, or [*kūbī qašdāti k*]*ūbī nadâti* for a complete parallel but in different order?

16. Or: aborted? Cf. Römer 1973: 314 n. 31.

17. The reading *Anu *An⌈ni⌋tu* (first suggested by J. Nougayrol and repeated by Arnaud [2007: 64]) is not consistent with my copy of the passage (cf., however, Arnaud's quite different rendering of the cuneiform signs) and also fails to convince me, because an "oath" by Anu and Antu usually precedes the other conjurations instead of following them.

"ND" 18 The phrase *ṣīru u rabû* seems out of place in a ritual, unless it is part of the incipit of another incantation, this time addressed to a male divine helper.

"FsB": An Independent SB Lamaštu Incantation

See the philological commentary in Farber 1998: 59–63. Additional notes:

18 The correct restoration of KAL$^{ḫe\text{-}pí}$ *re-e-e*[$s^{?}$*-sa*] still remains doubtful. In view of "OB$_2$" 2 and "OB$_4$" 5′, I now prefer a reading **kal*⟨*bu*⟩ "dog" or **kal*⟨*batu*⟩ "bitch" to **lab*⟨*bu*⟩ "lion" (see also Wiggerman 2000: 232 n. 108). Note that in similar phrases ("Lam. II" 36, 161, and "RA" 14) the Lamaštu texts always use *nēšu* instead of *labbu*.

19 I now restore the end of the line as **lsm* Gtn, which seems to fit the traces equally well and makes a bit more sense then my earlier attempt with **šgm* Gtn.

"RA": The Incantation Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 163 rev. 13–29 and Its Duplicates

This incantation has been edited by von Weiher (1988: 118ff.), based on texts a and b; my remarks on his edition (in Farber 1989b: 229f.) are individually quoted below. His translation was repeated by Nasrabadi (1999: 55f.). See also the translations by Haas (1986: 146); F. A. M. Wiggermann (1983b: 297f.); and Foster (1993: 864; also Foster 2005, with minimal changes).

Note: Exemplar d is a modern forgery, demonstrably copied from an already damaged original amulet that has not been found yet. For an attempt to reconstruct this original text, see Nougayrol 1965: 227ff. Since the cuneiform signs of the fake copy are very badly copied and often not safely readable, I generally do not refer to it in the commentary (exceptions: lines 1 and 3, where the forged amulet seems to reflect viable variant readings in the lost original).

1 Line identical with "Lam. II" 84 and 119; see commentary to "Lam. II" 84. I have been unable to find a plausible suggestion to explain the "variant" SAL.LA-*et* created by the forger of d (cf. also Nougayrol 1965: 233 n. 2).

2 Line identical with "Lam. I" 37(b); see there.

3 This line is almost identical with "Lam. I" 106; cf. commentary. For the translation of *qātāša luʾtu*, see Farber 1989b: 230 (contra E. von Weiher and B. Foster). The apparent variant from d (*qātāša mūtu* "her hands spell death"; compare "Lam. II" 153: *kirimmaša mūtu*) makes good sense and was probably correctly copied from the original.

4 For an exact parallel, see "Lam. II" 36(b).

5 Cf. the very similar statement in "OA$_2$" 16–17: *perassa waššarat dādūša šaḫṭū*. The exact identity of the piece of clothing or apparel mentioned here, *dī/ādu*, remains elusive; see the discussion in CAD D 135f. and Durand 1989: no. 55d. Some recent translations include "loincloth" (Foster 1993); "borstkleed" (Wiggermann 1983b: 297 note a); "culotte" (Durand 1989); "skirts" (George 2003: 188); and "straps holding the breasts" (CAD R 130a). More paraphrase than translation is the most recent rendering of our line in CAD P 415b: "Her breasts are uncovered."

6 For *kibsu*, see commentary to "Lam. II" 122.

8 For *ṣerrāniš* "by the pivot," see above, commentary to "Lam. I" 133 and, specifically for our line, Farber 1989b: 230 (contra von Weiher 1988 and Foster 1993, 2005).

9 Cf. the similar line (phrased in the first person) "Lam. II" 138 and below, line 16.

10–11 For further parallels to this couplet, see the commentary to "Lam. I" 121–22.

10 For the reduplication of /*l*/ in forms of **wbl*, see the commentary to "Lam. II" 90.

11 A close parallel to this line is to be found in "Ug" I 4′; see commentary to "Lam. I" 122. For the interpretation of the form as **trū* Gtn, see also Farber 1989b: 230 with n. 23.

14 For this line, see my remarks in Farber 1989b: 230. The different rendering proposed by Scurlock (1991: 156) is based on a derivation of *talmadī* from **ṣdī*, allegedly "to take as provisions," which goes beyond my morphological grasp and lexical understanding.

17 For the difficulties in interpreting *qannu* in this context, see Farber 1989b: 230 (Foster 1993 translates "cloak").

21 Texts a, b, and c have different versions of the end of this line (see Farber 1987a: 98 and, somewhat more recently, 1989b: 229). My translation follows exemplar c; b adds *dudittu* and *šiddu* between *pilaqqu* and *kirissu*, thus reading "a comb, a distaff, a pin, a roll of cloth [and? a ne]edle, befitting your sewing needs (lit., befitting your thread)." **dudittiki* "your fibula" in text a makes little sense, and I assume that the scribe mistakenly skipped the phrase *sīmat qê* here; one might thus consider an emendation to *duditti/a* ⟨*sīmat qê*⟩*ki* ". . . and a fibula/pin ⟨befitting⟩ your ⟨thread/sewing needs⟩."

23 The reading of text a (**bānû šumiki* "the creator of your name/offspring"?) remains uncertain.

"SKS": A Lamaštu Incantation Used to Pacify Crying Babies

See the philological commentary in Farber 1989a: 102–6. Additional notes:

4 For the variant in text k ("she keeps b[iting?] like a snake?") and its implications, see Farber 1989a: 105.

11–15 For the—I hope—improved interpretation of these lines, see already Farber 2007b: 640f. Although it remains unclear who the newly introduced 1.pl. subject in line 11 actually is, two different interpretations of the end of the line seem possible, depending on whether NU should be read *ul* or *lā*. A reading *ul kalbu* would assume a declarative nominal sentence with a singular predicate for a plural subject, replacing an expected stative **ul kalbānu* "we are not dog(s)," and *lā kalb*⟨*ū*⟩, unless taken as another Assyrianism, should mean "we are non-dog(s), not real dog(s)." Contrasting it with the positive statement "we are the dogs of Gula," I prefer the latter.

"STT 144": A Tablet Containing Two Sumerian Lamaštu Incantations, One of Them with a Duplicate from Ugarit

RS 25.457, a clay amulet in the shape of a barrel cylinder, was found in a Persian grave at Ugarit and was identified by Nougayrol (1967: 95) as a duplicate of STT 144, rev. 19′–22′. The full text was published by him in transliteration (Nougayrol 1969: 404). When I was in Damascus in 1995, it had been temporarily misplaced, so I could not collate or copy it. It has been copied and reedited, however, by D. Arnaud, in his publication of all the library texts from Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: no. 69 on p. 207 and pl. XXX). Surprisingly, he ignores both previous studies by Nougayrol[18] and subsequently misreads and misinterprets the short text in several crucial places. My transliteration is based on Nougayrol's, and differences from Arnaud's copy and readings are discussed in the commentary.

1 Nougayrol's transliteration en (for én) is clearly a misprint, as shown by Arnaud's copy. In general, A.'s copy can, with only a few adjustments, be reconciled with Nougayrol's correct readings, but his own rendering (^{d}amar.ud dumu ^{d}íd) and his comments on this line should be ignored.

2 Note the phonetic spelling with pad instead of pà(-d) in text b.

3 With the exception of the last sign of line 3 in text b, where Arnaud's copy suggests LI instead of the KI read by Nougayrol (an improvement I have followed in my transliteration), N.'s readings correspond very well with Arnaud's copy— actually, much better so than A.'s own, which again are off the point. The direct connection of Lamaštu with ki.sikil.líl.lá / *ardat lilî* in this line is noteworthy,[19] although I wonder whether the phrase is used here as a descriptive epithet rather than as a reference to a "real" demonic figure.

The meaning of the phrase TUR/dumu A.DU du_{10}.ga, which is repeated in the following line, remains somewhat doubtful. Following Nougayrol's lead in reading A.DU as a.rá = *alaktu*, I assume that Lamaštu is still being addressed here in an adulatory way reminiscent of the positive phraseology that starts several of the Lamaštu incantations. I do not know on what evidence Arnaud's rendering of the phrase as *aplu gitmālu* is based, which leads him to another unwarrented speculation about the protagonist of our text.

4 If Arnaud's copy of line 6 in b is correct, Nougayrol's reading *te.én (Nougayrol 1969: 404 with n. 85) should be corrected into *tu.én, still another phonetic rendering of the phrase *tu_6.én(.é.nu.ru).

5–11 With the exception of the first line, which leaves no doubt about the demonic force against whom this spell is directed, and the double mention of Ḫendursanga, a god who does not play a prominent role in Mesopotamian magic, hardly anything of this damaged incantation is understandable to me. Accordingly, my transliteration is mainly guesswork on a text that may have been corrupt already in antiquity.

18. Note, however, that he once quotes "J. Nougayrol (Ugaritica 6, Paris, 1969, p. 404)" in his commentary to line 2 and he therefore must have known N.'s previous edition. Even so, he states on p. 207 that he has been unable to find a parallel to the text.

19. See also Wiggermann 2000: 228 with n. 67.

12–15 My edition is based on the assumption that this section contained ritual instructions and thus tries to make sense of a few readable signs in this kind of context.

"STT 145": A Lamaštu Ritual with Incantation

3′ *šēnu* and *šuḫuppatu*, two different kinds of shoes, are several times mentioned together in Lamaštu incantations. This provides a welcome clue that the ritual in ll. 1′–12′ is actually concerned with Lamaštu and thus probably belongs to the Lamaštu incantation immediately following (ll. 13′ff.).

8′ This seems an awkward line for a ritual, but no better reading comes to mind. Whether the suffix on UZU.MEŠ-*šú* refers to the patient, somebody else, or even the demon (**ana šīrīša ṭubbi*?) remains unclear.

10′ I know no parallels for such a ritual instruction; if the lost context mentioned a container (for the well water?), *bābu* might also refer to its opening rather than "his" (= the patient's?) door.

11′ The use of *gaṣṣu* for drawing and painting is well known, although I know of no other instance where it is specified that the hair of a certain figure should be drawn in white.

12′ Assuming that the signs are identified correctly, both *ta-kaš-šip-ši*? "you perform sorcery on/against her" and *ta-kás-sip-ši*? "you make a funeral offering for her" seem to be possible readings. Since **kšp* is, however, never used as an act of protection against demonic forces and since we now also have another unambiguous parallel for funeral offerings being made (*kispa takassip*) to Lamaštu in "K 888" 27 (first published in Schwemer 2006: pl. 2; cf. 2006: 205; and Schwemer 2007a: 77, for his editions of the corresponding ritual), I prefer the latter reading and restore [*kispa*] at the end of the preceding line.

15′ Cf. *a/uprīša uppurat*, "SKS" 2. See also "Lam. I" 103, with commentary.

16′ *bibbu*, the wild sheep, is otherwise not considered a dangerous animal (see, for instance, Farber 1977: 164f. line 80). I therefore prefer to see Lamaštu compared with the demonic force *bibbu*, possibly the plague (see CAD B 218f.); the plene vowel of the ending (with *b.* = "plague" hardly a plural) remains unexplained.

18′ Deriving *ultanapsaqā* from **pšq* Štn, I follow AHw. 842a, although the meaning is anything but clear (CAD P 236a also quotes the line under **pšq*, marks it as uncertain, and leaves it untranslated).

22′ Another possible restoration would be [*i/ana (bīt) ma*]*-a-a-li* "[in/to the b]ed(*room*)."

Non-Canonical SB Rituals against Lamaštu Not Containing Specific Lamaštu Incantations

"RC": A Late Ritual Text Related to "Lam. III" 30–63

1–4 For this section, see the rough parallel in "Lam. III" 30–35a, with commentary, and cf. also Farber 1989a: 68–73.

5–11 For this section, compare the somewhat similar passage in "Lam. III" 35b–37a, with commentary.

9 The final predicate remains unclear. The signs seem to be ta-SAR or *ta-kan*-SI, with the KAN slanted downward like an NA form of KÁM. A verbal form like **takannan* might be acceptable here, but no usable value /*nan*/ exists for SI. Another possibility might be that the form is a mistake for **tašakkan*, interpreting the SI as an incomplete SAG and, assuming an anagraphy, reading *ta-kan*:*ša*⟨*k*⟩. Since this would fit well with the phrase *ana muḫḫi aḫāmiš*, I have adopted this solution.

12–27 For a similar passage, see "Lam. III" 47–56, with commentary. Another close parallel is preserved in BM 42612+; see below, text "FsL.".

14, 18, 22, and 26 For **pnk*,[20] cf. most recently CAD P s.v. *panāgu* and *pingu*. CAD's and my interpretation "to cap, put a cap over something" follows the suggestion in AHw. 818a and fits our passages better than my previous rendering "to roll into a skein" (Farber 1989a: 81).

18, 22 and 26 The reading of KIMIN remains unclear; the prepositions *ina* and *ana*, as well as the enclitic *-ma* in ll. 7 and 11, might indicate that in this context it is more than just a shorthand notation (see comm. to "Lam. I" 17–20) and that it stands for a real word or phrase. Note that *-ma* is used on the second and third occurrence only, which prompts me to translate these as "still (the same)." See also comm. to line 14.

28 In spite of the extra space available, it may be best to assume that nothing is missing before the damaged sign ÉN and that the recitation of any Lamaštu incantation would have been appropriate here. Note that the text BM 42612+ ("FsL") specifically prescribes the recitation of the two mumbo-jumbo incantations "Lam. III" 57–60 and 61–62 at this point.

"FsL": A School Tablet with a Ritual Related to "Lam. III" 49–63

1 Finkel, who did not yet recognize the proximity of this ritual to "Lam. III," was unable to make sense of the numeral 31 in this line. Note, however, that although, according to his transliteration, a total of 32 (4×4×2) eye- and mule(?)-stones would have been needed, his copy shows in one instance only three wedges (line II 5). These might easily

20. For this form of the root, rather than **png*, see von Soden 1990: 137; the form **pinkum* in the only known pre-MB attestations (OB Mari) proves his point and shows that the change /nk/>/ng/ as attested in MB and later texts was a regular phonetical development.

be interpreted as a numeral "3" of slightly irregular shape. If this reading is adopted, "31" ends up being the correct total for the ritual.

14 At the beginning of the line, Finkel read [(*ina*) SÍG].ÀKA. Context, limitations of space, and the basic resemblance of the signs ŠID and SA_5 in NB script make it likely that the phrase should be read [SÍG].SA_5 or even simply SA_5, given the fact that the scribe skipped the sign SÍG several times when writing the different color varieties of his wools.

For the reading 3 ^{NA_4}*pa-r*[*e-e*], see above, commentary to line 1.

19 The complete wording of the two incantations quoted here by their incipits is preserved in "Lam. III" 57–60 and 61–62, respectively, where it is also prescribed to be recited over the stones used in the previous ritual. Note that in the similar ritual "RC" 28 the more general statement "you recite a spell against Lamaštu" seems to replace the requirement of those two specific mumbo-jumbo incantations.

"K 888": A Short Lamaštu Ritual Embedded in a Šamaš Ritual

K 888, long known to the privileged few through an unpublished Geers copy and to others through extensive quotation in both dictionaries, has finally been published by Schwemer (2006: 197ff.; see also 2007a: 76f.). I refer to his splendid edition only where I think I can further the understanding of the passage or where I disagree with his readings.

22f. I assume that the two figurines mentioned in line 22 are actually the two donkeys referred to in the following line and that these in turn should be tied to Lamaštu's garment (line 23, taking the suffix *-šú* to stand for /*ša*/, as it so often does in SB texts). This, I admit, is purely hypothetical and would lend the whole passage a different twist than Schwemer's rendition; he assumes that the travel provisions that are loaded onto two donkey figurines in ll. 23–24 are provided for two human figurines (line 22) that were to be tied into the hem of the patient's garment (Schwemer 2006: 201).

23f. **ʾmd* with double accusative "to load x onto y" (see AHw. 211b) is surprisingly rare and, as far as I know, not known from any other ritual context, but the sense of the passage seems to exclude any different interpretation.

26f. As already noted by Schwemer, "Lam. III" 120 also prescribes the clothing of a Lamaštu figurine with a garment of *ḫašmānu* wool (*ṣubat ūmakkal ḫašmāni tulabbassi*). I thus do not hesitate to emend line 27 from Schwemer's TÚG SU (read as *ṣubāt zumri*) to MU_4. ⟨MU_4⟩*-su* = *tulabbassi*, again with a masculine suffix replacing the feminine /*si*/.

27 Schwemer is certainly right to connect ZA-*bab kaspi* with NA **sab*U*bu* (CAD S 2a). His attempt to etymologize this piece of jewelry by reference to *zibû*/*zibibânu* "black cumin" (following AHw. 1000b and Black, George, and Postgate 2000: 309b) is, however, unconvincing.

"SpTU": A Lamaštu Ritual to Prevent Repeated Stillbirth, from a "Sammeltafel" to Avert Fatalities in the Family

This prescription is the first one on a tablet that combines different rites to safeguard families from the loss of their children. For a brief overview of the text, see above, text "RA" (p. 36) and, for a more detailed analysis, Farber 1989b: 224ff.[21] The ritual has no similarities or direct textual relationship to other Lamaštu rituals, canonical or non-canonical. It is included here—against my promise (1989b: 225)—because of the fact that it uses a Lamaštu figurine, although in the otherwise unknown context of a rite of dissociation for a woman who seems to have experienced a premature stillbirth and now is trying to avoid similar problems in her next pregnancy. No duplicates or parallels for this section have yet been identified.

1–2 What remains of these introductory lines is very hard to understand and restore. No direct parallels are known to me. My readings and emendations[22] of the copied traces are often highly conjectural and, I am afraid, not always very convincing. Even the restoration of [*ṣalam mārat Anu*], and thus in a way the interpretation of the whole passage as a Lamaštu ritual, remains unprovable, but is very likely in view of line 13.

5 This line is final proof that **krk* D in Akkadian can have the meaning "to wrap," as suggested by the Middle Hebrew/Aramaic etymology quoted in AHw. 446a (see already Farber 1989b: 225 with n. 5). This is probably also the basis for the SB and NA attestations of the G and N stems "to (be) intertwine(d)." The single other reference for the D stem, from a Boghazköy bilingual translated in CAD K 199 as "to gag," probably also belongs here. If this is true, it speaks in favor of this original meaning in Akkadian, rather than merely being a late loan from Aramaic.

7 The restoration of [^{d}UTU] in this line is conjectural and solely based on the fact that a follow-up libation (line 12) is performed *ana pani Šamaš*.

10–11 What makes these lines almost untranslatable is that they are based on double meanings of **šlm* "and **jšr*[23] which, in addition to their basic meanings "to be well" and "to be straight(forward), go straight toward something," both have idiomatic meanings related to pregnancy and childbirth: **šlm* D also means "to bring a pregnancy to term," and **jšr* can mean in the G "to have a normal pregnancy," and in the Št "to give birth easily."[24]

Although my translations of *mušallimtu* and *bānītu* are based on the most general level of meaning (lit., "a woman who brings well-being," and "a creatrix"), it is obvious that

21. Philological arguments for my translation that were already given there on pp. 225f. will not be repeated here in detail.

22. For the correct reading *ú-šal*$^{!}$*-li*, instead of the copy's *ú-ṣal-li*, see already von Weiher 1988: 116. Miscopied? Or ancient mistake?

23. Von Weiher instead assumed wordplays between **šlm* and **slm* and **bnī* A and *bnī* B, but his translation and interpretation of the lines makes little sense.

24. Note also the derived elliptical meaning of the Š stem "to straighten (the way) to something > to head for something," which our scribe used in line 11 in *lušēšir ana bīt ašbāku* "may I go straight home," a form that closely rhymes with Št **luštēšir* "may I give birth easily." This rhyme may also have played a role in the multiple-level wordplay, especially since the Š stem occasionally seems to replace the standard Št forms for "to give birth easily" (see Farber 1989b: 226 n. 7).

again the background of the idiomatic meanings is on the mind of the author ("a woman who can bring her pregnacy to term" and "a woman who brings children to life").

11 It seems morphologically inevitable to derive *li-iš-šu-ra* from **nšr* "to diminish," which in turn renders a reading *e-li*$^{!}$*-iá* "over me" for the following word unacceptable.[25] Unable to reconcile the signs with a word that could be used to describe the deplorable condition of the pregnant woman, I therefore assume that the wording here is just as corrupt as the form of the alleged sign LI and the order of the signs at the end of the line.

Since many LB tablets do not reliably differentiate between the graphemes for *ina* (= AŠ) and *ana* (= DIŠ), and since *lušēšir* "to head somewhere" calls for a directional phrase with *ana* "toward," I feel justified to interpret AŠ here (and possibly also in line 12) as /*ana*/, a reading otherwise typical for NA (*àna*). Note, however, that the rhyming form **luštēšir* (see p. 335 n. 24) would have called for the preposition *ina* instead, maybe giving the scribe a reason for using the slightly ambiguous sign AŠ.

12 The end of the line is troublesome.[26] Von Weiher's rendering **buqāmu*(SILA$_4$.UR$_4$) *ša imaḫḫarši* "a shorn lamb which she receives$^{?}$" not only newly introduces a "shorn lamb"[27] into the ritual but at the same time has to grapple with the fact that the predicate of the subordinate clause shows no subjunctive ending. The suffix *-ši* also remains untranslated.[28] Syntactically, the only way out seems to be to assume that the sign UR$_4$ is actually an independent noun followed by the possessive *-ša* and that it constitutes an object that the lamb receives[29] from the woman, *-ši*. A possible solution could then be to read SÍG$^{!}$ instead of UR$_4$, ignoring the final vertical wedge, and to assume that by "receiving her hair," the lamb actually became the carrier of the woman's misfortune and therefore was disposed of as part of the paraphernalia (*mimma mala taškunu*) that went onto the boat with Lamaštu in line 14.

15 I cannot read the end of the line, even though the copy seems to indicate a reasonably well-preserved text. One expects a continuation of the forces mentioned at the beginning of the line and then used to conjure Lamaštu.

16 If my restoration of [*šumma*] is correct, this line is another example of the "Drohfluch," or threatening curse, that I have treated (Farber 1975: 177–79). My reading ZI (for the plural *nīšū*) later on in the line is very tentative, but the final phrase **nīšī annûti tummâta* could then refer to all the natural and supernatural forces enumerated in line 15.

25. *elija* would, on the other hand, make perfect sense if the form could in any way be derived from **šurru* "to lean (over something)," but I see no way to get from *li-iš-šu-ra* to **liširra*. Von Weiher's translation "möge vermindern gegen mich (das Unheil$^{?}$)" assumes an ellipsis, but without parallels this does not sound convincing to me. Note also that there is probably another play on words involved here, connecting *liššura* with the etymologically unrelated forms *lūšir* and *lušēšir*.

26. See already Farber 1989b: 226 n. 10.

27. Note that *buqāmu* is otherwise never attested as a ritual accessory.

28. The German translation "das sie empfängt" could also be rendered in English as "which receives her," to include the suffix *-ši*. This, however, does not make much sense and was probably not intended in von Weiher's translation.

29. Yet another possible play on words between the spell and the ritual might be noted here, with *imaḫḫarši* referring back to *limḫuranni* in line 10.

"BM 33399": A Fragment with Magico-Medical Prescriptions against Lamaštu

This fragment of a magico-medical text contains several prescriptions against Lamaštu-related illness. Note the rubric line in col. I 5′ that traces the preceding prescriptions (also related to Lamaštu?) to an original from the palace of king Hammurapi. Several ingredients and phrases in the following six sections of the text (I 6′–II 8) are reminiscent of the Lamaštu series (e.g., *ḫallulāja*, *ulāpu lupputu*, and the making of clay figurines), but no direct parallels seem to exist. *iḫiṭṭaššu* in II 5 is probably related to the well-known demonic activity of *ḫiāṭu* (cf. also *ḫajjāṭu*), although this is not otherwise attested for Lamaštu.

A Neo-Assyrian Memorandum

"Assur Memo": A List of Utensils and Materials for a Ritual Involving Lamaštu

For my edition of this text, which I had copied in 1981, I also was able to use a more recent hand-copy and some notes by Wiebke Meinhold, who had been assigned its publication under the auspices of the Aššur project but graciously stepped aside when she heard of my older rights of publication.

3 The spelling *a-nu-ut* is the only clearly Assyrian form in this text. It thus seems appropriate to assume that the NA vernacular was only used in the introductory lines 1–3 (and maybe also in the broken closing rubric on the left edge, lines 38–39), and the rest of the text reflects the SB usage of the contemporary ritual texts. I therefore did not attempt to Assyrianize the main part of the text in my transcription.

4–8 For an elaborate ritual using a Lamaštu figurine, *ḫašmānu* cloth, and four donkeys with provisions, see Rit. 3 ("Lam. I" 47–53 // "Lam. III" 119–125).

6 Although my copy seems compatible with the reading "4" for the number of donkey figurines, which would make a fine parallel to "Lam. I" 52 // "Lam. III" 124,[30] Meinhold's copy and attached notes show the heads of three vertical wedges and thus speak in favor of a reading 3, unless "4" would have been written in the less common style of ŠÁ. Unfortunately, the number in line 8, which presumably should be the same, is even less well preserved.

8 The complement *-e* after $^{KUŠ}DU_{10}$.GAN.MEŠ is somewhat puzzling, both because the graphemically expected form after */tukkann/* should have been *-né/i*, and because the other ingredients seem to be enumerated in the nominative form. Could this be another Neo-Assyrianism, where the plural had lost its diptotic forms in favor of a single case-ending in /i/ (see Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 78f.)?

9 The use of a spoon is not otherwise attested in Lamaštu texts, and the second silver[?] implement mentioned here (sign PAP or KÚR) remains enigmatic to me.

10 For a seal made of *ḫaltu* stone and used in a Lamaštu-related ritual, see also Thureau-Dangin 1921: 162, 2.

30. If the broken numeral were "2," one could also consider a parallel to "K 888", 22–23, where one Lamaštu figurine and two donkeys are mentioned.

11ff. No parallels from other Lamaštu texts come to mind for the rest of this memorandum, and it may well be that the initial passage (lines 4–8) refers to the use of a Lamaštu figurine in an otherwise unrelated ritual (as, for instance, "K 888").

11–14 Without the help of parallels, many of my readings remain extremely tentative.

15–34 This list of 18×7 = 126 (if the restorations are correct) "figurines" made of sometimes very strange and seemingly unsuitable materials (e.g., lines 26–27) is curious and quite unique. It is hard to imagine that whoever was making preparations for a ritual here (according to line 2, the person seems to have been a potter) had to keep such a large stock of ready-made figurines at hand, even if they were only very small. I am also not aware of any other ritual that would call for an army of magical figurines, but the sign NU leaves us hardly any other interpretive choice. As far as preserved, the materials mentioned pose few epigraphical or philological problems, with the exception of line 28, where my reading $^{\text{ŠIM}}$ḪAB$^{?}$ = *ṭūru* remains very tentative and hardly convincing and was retained only for lack of a better idea.

35–37 Although *imḫur-līm* and *maštakal* are occasionally mentioned (see index of words), none of the four plants listed here nor the bronze pot$^{?}$ play a major role in the Lamaštu texts.



Fig. 22. Lam. amulet no. 95 (private collection Chicago; photos by A. Ressman, Oriental Institute).

"Threatening" Lamaštu with bird's head, spindle, comb, pig, dog, a donkey's ankle, and an unidentified object in the upper left corner. Black stone (obsidian?), 39×25×5mm. Provenience unknown. The amulet, formerly part of the collection of M. S. Yondorf, was acquired around 1938, and has since been in private possession. The inscription is a truncated version of "Lam." Inc. 11 and reads:

$^{\text{obv}}$[t]u$_6$.én é.nu.ru $^{\text{rev.}}$én é.nu.ru / $^{\text{d}}$dìm.me / dumu an.na / bí.íb$^{?}$.gu.la / dingir.re.e.ne.ke$_4$ / zi an.na ḫé.p[à] (written over to end of next line) / zi ki.a$^{!}$ ⟨ḫé⟩.pà

The Texts: Edition

Part III:
Three Unidentified Standard Babylonian Fragments with Possible Connections to the Lamaštu Corpus

Transliteration

"Fr. 1": A Ritual Fragment (K 17781)

1′ ana GAB x[x]
2′ pa-ni-šá [*abunnata*ʔ]
3′ u SAL.LA t[e-*eṣ-ṣir*]
4′ GIŠ.IGI.DÙ GI[ŠIMMAR]
5′ Ì.DU$_{10}$.GA Š[ÉŠʔ]
6′ ana IGI-[ ]
7′ ṣu-de-[*e tu-ṣa-ad-di-ši*]
8′ mu-ši(-)[ ]
9′ ZÌ.MAʔ. [*AD*.GÁ (?)]
10′ KU[Š]
11′ ZÌʔ [ ]
12′ K[UŠʔ]
13′ K[Iʔ]
14′ x[x]

"Fr. 2": Fragment of an Incantation (81-2-4,302)

I 1′–5′ [ ] (traces)
6′ [ ] anaʔ ḫa-ạ-ri
7′ [m]aʔ-laʔ-ạ-kụʔ
8′ [ ] (traces)

II 1′ [ ] x[x]
2′ [ ] ị-qab-bụ-š[i]
3′ [ ] ị-qab-bu-ši
4′ [ ] na-ra-a-ti
5′ [uʔ-š/z]u-uz-zu ina maḫ-ri-šá
6′ [-t]uʔ na-šu-ni a-na pa-ni-šá
7′ [x]x ri bi ud da aK Kiʔ

(remainder blank)

"Fr. 3": Fragment of an Incantation (K 18615)

I	1′ [	]x	II	1′ š[á] A[N?	]
	2′ [	] u		2′ KAL x[x	]
	3′ [	x]x šú-u		3′ šèr-ra [	]
	4′ [	]p/ši? ši		4′ ṣab-ti [	]
	5′ [	e]p?-še-tim		5′ la i-[	]
	6′ [	x]x-tu		6′ ana e-pe[š	]
	7′ [	-g]a?-a		7′ ka-ma-[	]
				8′ x[x	]

Transcription

"Fr. 1": A Ritual Fragment (K 17781)

1′ *ana xxx*[. . . . .]
2′ *panīša* [. . . . . *abunnata*?]
3′ *u ūra t*[*eṣṣir* . . . . .]
4′ *ṣilli gi*[*šimmari* . . . . .]
5′ *šamna ṭāba taṗ*[*aššaš* . . . . .]
6′ *ana ṗani* [. . . . .]
7′ *ṣudê* [*tuṣaddīši* . . . . .]
8′ *mūši*? [. . . . .]
9′ *maṣ*[*ḫata*? . . . . .]
10′–14′ (traces)

"Fr. 2": Fragment of an Incantation (81-2-4,302)

I (traces only)

II	1′ [	] *xx*
	2′ [	] *iqabbûši*
	3′ [	] *iqabbûši*
	4′ [	] *nārāti*
	5′ [	*uš*/*z*]*uzzū ina maḫriša*
	6′ [	] *našûni*? *ana paniša*
	7′ [	] *xxxxxx*

(blank)

"Fr. 3": Fragment of an Incantation (K 18615)

(Only a few isolated words in col. II are discernible, e.g., 3′ *šerra*; 4′ *ṣabtī*)

Translation

"Fr. 1": A Ritual Fragment (K 17781)

1′ To xxx[. . . . .]
2′ Her face [. . . . . A *navel*ʾ]
3′ and a vulva you [*paint (on her)*. . . . .]
4′ The thorn of a da[te palm . . . . .]
5′ With good oil you ru[b . . . . .]
6′ Toward [. . . . .]
7′ With travel provisions [you provide her . . . . .]
8′ Nightʾ [. . . . .]
9′ *maṣ*[*ḫatu*ʾ-flour . . . . .]
10′–14′ (traces)

"Fr. 2": Fragment of an Incantation (81-2-4,302)

(col. I: traces only)

II 1′ [ ] xx
2′ [ ] they call her.
3′ [ ] they call her.
4′ [ ] rivers.
5′ [ ] they [st]and in front of her.
6′ [ ] they hold up before her.
7′ [ ] xxxxxx

(blank)

"Fr. 3": Fragment of an Incantation (K 18615)

(Only a few isolated words in col. II are discernible, e.g., 3′ "baby" and 4′ "grasp!")

Commentary

"Fr. 1": A Ritual Fragment (K 17781)

This fragment was included here because of the feminine suffix in line 2′ and the mention of *ṣilli gišimmari* and the phrase *ṣudê tuṣaddīši*, both occurring prominently in "Lam." but also in other apotropaic rituals. It remains therefore abolutely unclear whether this fragment belongs here or not.

2–3 My restoration is based on Schwemer 1998: 63, where the painting of a navel and a vulva on a female figurine is prescribed (**abunnata ūra teṣṣir*). If this reading is correct, it makes it even less likely that our text refers to Lamaštu.

"Fr. 2": Fragment of an Incantation (81-2-4,302)

The reference to a demon in the 3.f.s., in connection with the twice repeated form *iqabbûši* (cf. "Lam. I" 67ff.), makes it possible—but by no means certain—that this incantation was directed against Lamaštu.

"Fr. 3": Fragment of an Incantation (K 18615)

The mention of a baby next to an imperative 2.f.s. (*ṣabtī*) prompted the identification of this tiny fragment as possibly belonging to an otherwise unknown Lamaštu incantation.

obv. rev.



Fig. 23. Lam. amulet no. 96 (AOST 124, photos courtesy K. Volk).

Lamaštu with pig, dog(?), and scorpion, standing on a donkey (fragm., only lower part preserved). Red stone with marble-like banding. 85 × 56 mm. Provenience unknown (acquired in the 1950s in Anatolia and given to the collection of the Altorientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen in 2011 by W. Röllig).

The inscription of the reverse is unidentified but does not seem to belong to the "Lam." corpus.

Glossary to the Lamaštu Texts

Akkadian Word Index

This index includes all verbs, nouns, adjectives, numbers, and a selection of particles and pronouns found in the incantations and rituals edited here. Words discussed in the commentary are also included. Separate indices for divine, proper, and geographical names are added below.

References from the Lamaštu Series ("Lam. I–III", edited above in Part I) are quoted first. Parallel sections between "Lam. I–II" and "Lam. III" are quoted together and marked with an = sign (e.g., *I 29 = III 115)*. Lines from "OB_1", "MB", and from the passages of "Ug" that are directly parallel to the later series are cited with the pertinent references to "Lam. I–II", joined to them by a + sign (e.g., II 167+MB I 23). Quotations from lines of "OB_1", "MB", and "Ug" that do not literally duplicate the canonical text are listed after the references from the pertinent tablet from "Lam." and are immediately followed by the line number of their closest parallel in the canonical series in parentheses, for example, 'MB II 4(II 178)' or 'Ug VI 3(after II 171)'. References from the non-canonical Lamaštu texts edited in Part II and Part III follow in separate paragraphs. They are generally listed in the same sequence in which the texts are edited above.

All lexical variants are included and marked "(xyz)var." Quotations from incantations (recitanda) are given in roman type and those from rituals and ritual sections are in *italic*. Substantial discussions of words in the commentary are marked by **boldface** of the appropriate quotation. References in boldface and parentheses—for example, **(I 103)**—refer to words not actually found in that line but discussed in the commentary to it. Some important references to restored words are included, with the location given in brackets—for example, [I 178].

Sumerian rubric lines, such as KA.INIM.MA $^{d}DIM_{10}$.ME.KE_4, as well as Sumerian rubric words at the beginnings and ends of sections (ÉN, TU_6.ÉN, DÙ.DÙ.BI, etc.) are not included in the glossary.[1] Words from Sumerian incantations and Sumerian phrases found in otherwise Akkadian incantations are also not included. For Sumerian words and logograms discussed, see the separate index on pp. 378–79.

For better readability, I have left out all "prime" markings (′ and ″) for line numbers from damaged text columns, since simple numbers are unambiguous for all identifications of lines in our corpus.

1. For the likelihood that they represent frozen Sumerian rubric terms, some of which may have also occasionally been used as learned loanwords in Akkadian, see most recently Maul 2009.

abālu "to carry" I 121; **II 90**, 93, 98, 139, 144
Part II: Ug IV 6; Emar 3, 29, 39; RA 10; SKS 9
abālu **D** "to dry" I 72; *II 210*
abbuttu *II 70(+76*) = III 16*
ablu *I 29 = III 115, I 51 = III 123*
abnu II 86, 186*(a. šadî)*+**MB II 15**(pl. *abnātu)*; *III 32(a. lamassi), 34, 43(a. kišādi), 55(a. parzilli), 63*
Part II: *RC 4(a. parzilli)*; *FsL 5, 16*(both *a. parzilli)*; SpTU 15
abrakkatu **I 87**
abu I 78, 111, 192, 204; II 92, **93**, 167+MB I 23, 168
Part II: OA_2 11; Emar 1; ND 5; RA 13, *22*
abullu II 49, 102
abūtu "daddy?" **II 93**var.
agarinnu Part II: *Assur memo 26*
agû I 82
Part II: SKS 2
aḫāmiš Part II: *RC 9*
aḫatu I *2(a. ilī)*
aḫāzu **Š** ***I 14*** *= III 70 = III 80, I 25 = III 113*
aḫu I 85; II 160+MB I 9, 179
aḫû II 47var., II 146
ajjabba **II 46**
ajjālu II 42, MB II 19(after II 188*)*
Part II: STT 145 22?
ak(a)lu *I 24 = III 112, [I 29] = III 115(a. ablu), 51 = III 123(a. ablu)*, **189**(var. ŠA), *222*
Part II: Emar 31; *STT 145 7*
akālu I 188, 191+Ug II 11?
—**Štn** Part II: FsB 11
aktam *I 36 = III 66*
alādu Part II: SpTU 10
—**D** MB II 20(after II 188*)*
alaktu I 182
alāku I 40+OB_1 8+Ug V 20*(āliku)*, 71, 149–151?, 182, 216; II 16, 56*(āliku)*, 87, 92, 123*(āliku)*, 142, 170+MB I 25
Part II: OB_2 15; Ug IV 3, 4; RA 6; *SpTU 13*, 16
—**Gt** I 15, II 5+Ug III 21; II 26, 41, 190
Part II: OB_2 21; Emar 6
—**Gtn** I 118+Ug I 2; MB I 21?(after II 166*)*
Part II: OB_2 15; SKS 5
—**Š** I 186 = Ug II 9; II 40, MB I 27+Ug VI 3(after II 171*)*
alālu *II 68(62*) = III 15*
ālittu I 118, 120; II 89
allānu I 186+Ug II 9; II 189
alluḫappu II 153+MB I 3
alpu I 38+Ug V 18, [I 40]+OB_1 8+Ug V 20; II 122–123; Ug III 27?(II 12)
Part II: Emar 23; RA 6; SKS 5, 7
alû II 132a
ālu II 150
Part II: Ug IV 7, 8
amālu **D** **II 34** = III 86var. *(mu'ammilu, mummilu)*, 152 = III 95*(mu'ammilu)*
amāru I 44, Ug II 15(I 196*)*; II 39, 126, 167+MB I 22, 168+MB I 24
Part II: OB_2 8; OB_3 12
amātu II 167+MB I 23, **Ug III 23**?*(= imtu?)*(II 8*)*
amēlu II 133a
Part II: *Bo 2*; *K 888 20(gulgul a.)*
amēlūtu I 169, 187, 190+Ug II 10*(awīlūtu)*; II 94, 95, 132a,
Part II: RA 14
ammaki Part II: RA 14, 15, 16
ammīni II 143
Part II: SpTU 8
amurru Part II: ND 8+Ug III [6]
amurrû **OB_1 2**+Ug V 16**(I 37)**
Part II: **RS 1**
anāku OA_1 22(after I 43); II 136 = III 93; III 60
Part II: Emar 24, 25
ankinūtu *I 35 = III 66*
annanna mār annanna I 77, 90; MB II 4(II 178*)*
Part II: Emar 24; SpTU 16*(annannītu mārat annannīti)*
annu "sin" see *arnu*
annû I 16, 21, 21a, *53 = III 125*, 213; II 9, 25, 96, 109+var., [178]; *III 63, 73, 75, 136*
Part II: Ug V 3; *ND 18*; *RA 24*; *STT 144 14*; *SpTU 14*, 16
anqullu **I 62** = III 82, 68
anūtu see *unūtu*
apālu II 169
apāniš Part II: OB_3 13 *(apāni)*; RA 8; SKS 3
apāru **(I 103)**
Part II: SKS 2
—**D** Part II: SKS 2; STT 145 15
apkallu I 206; II 22, MB I 22(II 167*)*
Part II: OB_2 13
aplu Part II: Emar 19?
appu *III 103*

*apru (*upru)* Part II: SKS 2var.
aprušu *I 61*; *III 67*
apsû I 80, 162
aptu II 17, *73 = III 19*; *77 = [III 23]*, *79 = III 25*, *81 = III 27*, 69* = *III 27*
Part II: *Bo 5 (a. ṣēli)*; Emar 9, 44[?]
apu I 104; II 35var., 85 = III 89, 121, 121a
Part II: RA 5
arādu II 35, 163+MB I 13
Part II: RS 2; SKS 1
—**Š** I 112
arāḫu **D** ***II 78****(65*) = III 24*
arāqu **D** I 74
ardatu I 69, 129; MB I 21(after II 166)
Part II: OB_3 10
arḫu "month" I 119
Part II: Emar 18
arḫu "swift" OA_1 11(I 40)
*arku (*araku)* "long" Part II: OB_2 3
arku "back" *I 99 = III 135*, 150; II 16
Part II: SKS 14 *(ša arki)*
armu MB II 19(after II 188)
ar/nnu Part II: SpTU 8
arqu I 5var.; II 38,
Part II: OB_4 I 4
arraku I 109[?]
Part II: OB_2 5
arû I 141
asakku II 131a
askuppātu I 108
asqūdu Part II: FsB 8
asû Part II: OB_3 3
aṣû I 104; II 138, 150, 183+MB II 11, 184+MB II 12, 185+MB II 13
Part II: Ug III 11 (see ND); Emar 41; RA 9, 16
—**Gt** Part II: **Emar 6**
—**Š** *I 30 = III 118*, *54 = III 126*, *97 = III 133*, 161, [213[?]], 215, *227*; II 14+Ug III 31; *III 138*
Part II: OB_3 13
ašābu *II 83(69*) = III 27*, 106
Part II: Emar 35; SpTU 11, 16
—**Gtn** I 175[?]
Part II: Ug IV 2[?]
—**Š** *I 26 = [III 117]*, *95 = III 13*; *[II 77] = III 23*, *[79 = III 25]*, *[81] = III 27*, 172+MB I 28+Ug VI 4
Part II: *Bo 5*; *K 888 22*
ašāgu *I 56 = III 128*, *230*
ašarēdu I 85; II 180+MB II 6; MB I 25(II 170), MB II 8(after II 182)
āšipu I 196; II 7+Ug III 22
Part II: Emar 32[?](*ēšepu*[?])
āšipūtu I 84
aškāpu *II 28 = III 67*
aššu I 71; II 96
aštammu **II 12**+Ug III 28[?](*ustammu*[?]), *62(71*) = III 9*
ašuštu I 75
atānu *II 114(114*) = III 37*; *III 31(biṣṣūr a.)*
Part II: *RC 2(biṣṣūr a.)*
attā/ī II 6, 96
Part II: Emar 25, 34
azallû *II 210*, *212*; *III 45*, *67*
azzūzâ **I 125**

bābu II 53, *61(+70*)(b. ekalli)*, *62(+71*) = III 9*, *63(+72*) = III 10*, *73 = III 19(b. kamû)*, *74r = III 20*, *75 = III 21*, *77(+64*) = [III 23] (b. kamû)*, *79(+66*) = III 25*, *81 = III 27*, *83(+69*) = III 27*; *III 2*, *3*, *4var.*, *8(b. kamû)*, *34*, *99*, *102*, *138*
Part II: OB_2 6; OB_3 6; Emar 9, 12; ND 10; *STT 145 10*
baḫru *I 27 = III 114*, *223*; *II 100*
bakkarrû *II 114(+116*) = III 38*
bakû II 92, 141
Part II: Ug IV 3
—**Š** Part II: FsB 14[?]
balālu **D** *I 36*; *II 30*, *65(+74*) = [III 12]*, *211*
Part II: *STT 144 12*; *Assur memo [23]*, *31*
balāṭu II 147, *212*; *III 73var.*
Part II: OB_5 9; Emar 11, 27
baltu "thorn bush" *I 56 = III 128*, *230*
baltu "pride" I 64
balu "not being . . ." **I 155–156**
banû "to create" I 80 (*bān kullati*), 83(*bānû kibrāti*); II 143; MB I 21(*bānītu*)(after II 166)
Part II: OB_2 1; RA 23(*bānû*); SpTU 8, **10**, 11(*bānītu*)
banû "good". I 112
bappiru *I 51 = III 123*, 202+Ug II 16
Part II: *Assur memo 27*
barāmu **D** ***II 69****(75*) = III 16*

barbar(a)tu **I 37**+OB_1 3+OA_1 3(+Ug V 17, see *birbirru*); II 120 = III 90
Part II: RS 3; FsB 6; RA 2
barbaru I 180+Ug II 5
bardû II 166+MB I 19
barmu/barundu (wool) Part II: *FsL 5*
bâru **II 53var.**
bašālu II 100
bašû **Š** II 144
Part II: Ug IV 6
batāqu **D** Part II: RA 5
batūltu I 42, 131
bēltu I 86(*b. šipti*), 88(*b. mātāti*), 92(*b. šipti*); Ug II 24(ca. I 210); II 130a, 142(*b. ilī*)
bēlu I 80(*b. gimri*), 82(*b. agê*), 83var., 84; OA_1 19(after I 43)(*bēl šipātim*); II 50(*b. mātāti*), 182var.(*b. šīmāti*)
Part II: Emar 10, **34**(*bēl ṭēmi*)
bibbu Part II: **STT 145 16**
bikītu I 168, 189
Part II: Emar 32
binâtu I 72
bīnu I 184+Ug II 7; II 47, 146
Part II: OB_3 15?; Ug III 4 (see ND)
*birbirru (*barbaru?)* **Ug V 17**(**I 37**)
bīri- Part II: *RC 7*
birīt *III 34, 42*
Part II: SKS 5–8; *SpTU 9*
biṣṣūru (**I 43**); ***III 31***(*b. atāni*)
Part II: *RC 2*(*b. atāni*)
bišru (**I 43**)
bītānû *II 74 = III 20, 79*(+66*) *= III 25*
bitqu ***I 28var.***, *50*
bitrumu (**I 116**)
bītu *I 21, 23 = III 111*(*b. ṣibitti*), 132–133, 158, 167–168, 213; *II 61*(+*70**) *= III 8*(*b. Ištar*), *62*(+*71**) *= III 9*(*b. Ninurta*), *63*(+*72**) *= III 10*(*b. sābî, b. nuḫatimmi*),*[74 = III 20]*(*b. erši*), *81*(+68*) *= III 27*(*b. erši*), 88, 97, 105, 138, 183+MB II 11; *III 3*(*b. erši*), *34*(*b. Gula*), 107
Part II: OB_2 6; Ug IV 7, V 3; RS 5; Emar 2, 25; Ug III 11 (see ND); RA 9, 16; SpTU 11, 16
būdu (**II 86**)
Part II: OB_3 11
buḫru *I 223*
būlu MB II 18(after II 188), MB II 20(*b. Šakkan*) (after II 188)
Part II: FsB 12
bunnannû I 74
buntu Part II: OA_2 5
buqlu *I 51 = III 123*, 202+Ug II 16
Part II: STT 145 19 (*b. še'i*)
burāšu Part II: *SpTU 6*(*nignak b.*)
Burrat(u) I 146
burû **II 12var.**+Ug III 27?
būru **I 15**, *25 = III 113*; II 55; Ug III 27(II 12)
Part II: *STT 145* 9
burzigallu Part II: *SpTU 3*
buṭnu **I 186**; 189var.(both *b. ša šadî*)
buṭunānu II 189
buṭuttu **Ug II 9**(I 186)

dādu Part II: OA_2 17; OB_4 I 1
dagālu II 23(*dāgilu*)
dâku Part II: RS 3?(*dāiku*)
dajjānu Part II: Emar 41; Ug III 7 (see ND)
dalāḫu Ug II 6(I 181)
daltu II 52
Part II: OB_2 14; Emar 8?
damāmu I 169
damqu MB I 21(after II 166)
Part II: OA_2 8, 14
dāmu [I 135], 187, 190+Ug II 10; II 95; *III 68var.* (*d. erēni*)
Part II: RA 7, 15; *BM 33399 II 3*(*d. erēni*)
dannu I 176; Ug II 25(I 209); II 2+Ug III 17, 50; MB I 4(II 154)
Part II: Emar 20
dânu "to judge" Part II: Emar 29?
Dapašu **I 44**; II 126
dapinu II 36
Part II: RA 4
daqqu Part II: OB_2 18
darāru **Ntn** Part II: OB_3 2(*muttadriru*)
dīdu (**I 145**)
Part II: **RA 5**
diglu Part II: FsB 22
dikmennu *I 95 = III 131*
dilḫu **I 65**
dimmatu I 189
dimtu II 142
Part II: Ug IV 4; Emar 3, 32
di'u? **II 137var.**
duddittu **I 140**(dual *dudinā-*); II 142, 197
Part II: RA 21; *K 888 24*
duluḫḫû/durḫû **I 181**
duppuru [I 216] = **Ug II 27**
Part II: ND 2

dūrāniš Part II: SKS 4
*durḫû (*duluḫḫû)* **I 181**
dūr dāri I 200
Part II: **Emar 15**?
dūru *[I 31] = III 118, 98 = III 134, 108*
Part II: Ug IV 1, V 7; RS 6; Emar 36, 42; FsB 21

ebēru I 65, **181**+Ug II 6; Ug II 7–8(I 184–185)
—**Š** II 46
Part II: Ug IV 11; *SpTU 14*
ebirtu Part II: *SpTU 14(e. nāri)*
ēdēn(n)û II 175+MB II 1+Ug VI 7
edēšu* Š **(I 179)
edlu I 133+Ug I 7
Part II: RS 7
ēdu II 47, 146; *[III 33]*
e”ēlu "binder" **OB$_2$ 5**
egû *II 78(+65*) = [III 24]*
ekallu *II 61(+70*)*
ekâma I 44var.; II 126var.
ēkiam I 44; II 126
ekkimu II 154
ekurru **I 87**
elamû/ītu I 103 = III 84
Part II: OB$_4$ 7?
elēnu Part II: Ug IV 7
eleppu *I 32 = III 64, 33 = III 65*; II 21
Part II: *Bo 8 (e. šaḫḫūtu)*; *SpTU 14*
elkullu *[III 33]*
ellu II 3var.
Part II: **OA$_2$ 1**; *K 888 20*
elpa/etu OB$_1$ 7+OA$_1$ 7(I 40); II 187+MB II 16
elû adj. I 83*(elâtu)*
elû v. I 104; II 35var., 85 = III 89, 121a, 188+MB II 17
Part II: RA 5
—**Gt** **II 18var.**, 149var.
—**Š** II 44, 45
Part II: FsB 21
emāru see *imēru*
emēdu I 66, 180+Ug II 5, 183, 184, 185, 186[+Ug II 9′?]
Part II: ***K 888 24***
—**Gtn** Part II: Ug V 7
enēqu II 148
—**Š** I 121+Ug I 3; II 90, 139, 158+MB I 8
Part II: Ug IV 9; RA 10; SKS 9
enninu II 154+MB I 4
entu Part II: Ug V 9; ND 11+Ug III 8; Ug III 10 (see ND)
enu Part II: Ug III 10 (see ND)
enû II 110
enūma ***II 211***; *III 1, 76*
Part II: *STT 145 12*; *BM 33399 II 5*
enzu Part II: OB$_4$ I 2; Ug IV 10
eperu *[I 34] = III 65*, 139; II 55, *61(+70*) = III 8, 62(+71*) = III 9, 63(+72*) = III 10, 64(+73*) = III 11*; *III 34*
Part II: OB$_2$ 16; *BM 33399 II 2*
epēšu *I 23 = [III 111], 47 = III 119, 52 = III 124, 94 = III 130, 220–221*; II 44, *65(+74*) = III 12*, **80***(+67*) = III 26(pâ e.)*, 97; *III 1, 136*
Part II: Ug IV 7; Emar 2; *SpTU 2*; *BM 33399 II 7*
Part III: Fr.3
epinnu II 103, *117(+115*) = III 40(*all *e. zēri)*
epištu I 112
Part III: Fr. 3?
ēpišu **II 22var.**
ēppēšu **II 22**
epšu Part II: Ug IV 5*(e. qātī)*
eqbu Part II: SKS 15*(ša eqbi)*
erbe *I 52 = III 124*; II 20, 45, *64(+73*) = III 11*; *III 50, 54*
Part II: *RC 12, 17*; *FsL 8, 11, [14], 17*; *BM 33399 II 2, 7*; *Assur memo 9*
erbu (e. šamši) *I 55 = III 127*, *I 228*
Part II: *SpTU 13*
erēbu I 132+Ug I 6, 167; II 138, 183,
Part II: OB$_2$ 6; RS 5; Emar 25; ND 15; RA 8, 9, 16; SpTU 16
—**Gtn** II 88
erēnu *III 68var.*
Part II: *BM 33399 II 3*
erēšu II 93, 96
erīšu see *irīšu*
erītu I 117; II 146
Part II: OB$_3$ 5; *SpTU 1*
erṣetu I 20, *57 = III 128*, 113?; [II 134a], 191; MB II 14(after II 185)
Part II: ND 9; SpTU 15
eršu *II 68(+62*) = III 15, [74] = III 20, 81(+68*) = III 27*; *III 3, 102, 106*
e’ru ***III 103***
êru **D** Part II: OB$_4$ II 3
erû "to be pregnant" Part II: SpTU 10
erû "eagle" I 141

esēru (Part II: **Emar 16**)
eṣemtu I 188, 191+Ug II 12
eṣēru *I 229*; *II 66(62*) = III 13*; *III 3, 6, 106*
Part II: *STT 145 12*
—**D** I 119
eṣurtu see *uṣurtu*
ēšepu see *āšipu*
ešer Part II: *RC 4*
ešēru Part II: OA_2 19 *(*išārum)*, 20; SpTU 11
—**Š(t)** Part II: **SpTU 11**
etelletu II 130a
eṭemmu Part II: *Bo 2*
eṭēru Part II: *SpTU 1*
eṭlu I 41, 68, 128, 152; OA_1 9(I 40); II 124?; MB I 21(after II 166)
Part II: OB_3 9
ezēbu I 160, 169, 172; **II 104**(*ēzibu*)
ezēzu II 35var., 85, 121a
ēzibû Part II: ND 5?
ezību see *ezēbu* (*ēzibu*)
ezzu [I 37]+OB_1 1+OA_1 1+Ug V 16 = III 71 = III 81 = III 98, 105; II 34 = II 67 = III 14 = III 71var. = III 86, 35, 84 = III 71var. = III 89, 85, 119 = III 90, 120 = III 90, 121a
Part II: OB_3 1; RA 1; STT 145 13

gabbu Part II: *Assur memo 3*
galābu **D** **I 109**?
galātu **Štn** Part II: FsB 15
gallû **I 14** = III 70var., 110, 156; II 7+Ug III 22
gamlu ***II 66****(+61*) = III 13*
ganāṣu **D** Part II: FsB 10
gapšu I 105
garāṣu I 188
gaṣṣu "gypsum" *II 69(+75*) = III 15*
Part II: *STT 145 11*; *Assur memo 22(ṣalam g.)*
gašru I 105
Part II: RS 2
gerru II 172
gimru I 80
girrāniš I 75
girru I 4var.
gišallu *I 33 = III 64*
gišimmaru *[I 49] = III 121*, 185; *III 104*
Part III: *Fr.1 4*
gišnugallu *III 30*
Part II: *RC 1*
gulgullu Part II: *K 888 20*
gurāru **II 100**

ḫabālu **D** I 129; Ug V 22(I 41)
ḫabāšu **I 173**
ḫabātu (**I 173**)
ḫabbālu (**II 120var.**)
ḫabbāšu **II 120var.**
ḫabbātu II 120
ḫabūnu II 107
ḫāḫu Part II: Emar 38?
ḫajjāṭu I 2var.
ḫalāpu I 133+Ug I 7, 134; II 18,
Part II: OB_2 7, 8; RA 8
ḫalāpu **Gtn** Part II: SKS 3
—**Š** Part II: OB_3 14
ḫalāqu **D** II 10+Ug III 25, 143
—**Dt** Part II: Ug IV 5
ḫallulāja ***II 115****(+115*) = III 39*
Part II: *BM 33399 II 2*
ḫallutanû ***I 58***
ḫalpû I 62 = III 82; II 10
haltu Part II: ***Assur memo*** 10
ḫamadīrūtu I 186+Ug II 9
ḫamāṭu **D** I 124*(muḫammiṭu)*, **178var.** *(ḫummuṭ ṣēti)*
ḫanāqu I 157
Part II: *SpTU 4*
—**D** I 134; OB_1 10–11(I 41)
ḫanšu I 5; *[III 130]*
ḫarbu II 103, *117(+115*) = III 40*
ḫarištu II 88, 156+MB I 6
ḫarrānu I 182; II 56, *115(+115*) = III 39*, 184 = MB II 12; MB I 28 = Ug VI 4(II 172)
ḫarriru Part II: FsB 10
ḫâru Part II: OB_3 8
ḫasḫallatu Ug II 8(I 185)
ḫaṣbu **II 19***(*ḫaṣab ūrāti)*
Part II: *BM 33399 II 1*
ḫašālu Part II: *BM 33399 I 8*
ḫašmānu *I 48*var. *= III 120*
Part II: *K 888 26*; *Assur memo 7*
ḫatû I 3var.
ḫâṭu Part II: FsB 25; *BM 33399 II 5*
ḫepû I 154
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ḫīlu II 189
ḫimētu *I 35 = III 66*
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ḫirītu II 55
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ḫullānu Part II: *ND 17*
ḫuppu ***III 36***, *48*
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ikkibu **II 13**+Ug III 29
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imēru **I 40**+**OB_1 9**+**OA_1 11**, *52 = III 124*, *59 = III 44*, *221*; *II 28 = III 67*, 36, *113(+114*) = III 37*, *116(+116*) = III 39*, 123, 161+MB I 11; *III 6*
Part II: OB_3 7; OB_4 I 6, II 4; SKS 6, 8; *K 888 23*; *Assur memo 6*
imḫur-ešrā *III 33*
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imittu *I 59 = III 44*, *II 113(+114*) = III 37*, *116(+116*)*; *III 2*, *4*, *50*, *54*, *81*, *94*, *99*
Part II: *RC 15*, *23*; *FsL 9*, *15*
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inanna (ištu i.) Part II: SpTU 16
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īnu "eye" Part II: OB_2 19; Emar 3; ND 7; FsB 7
īnu (stone, pl. *īnātu)* *III 35*, *42*, *43*, *47*, *50*, *52*, *54*, *56*
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irtu I 144+Ug I 5; *III 85*
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isiḫtu Part II: *Assur memo 3*
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izzuzzu Part II: Emar 36
—**Gtn** II 89; MB I 18(after II 164)

janibu *III 32*
Part II: *RC 3*
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jâttum/jâttun/ûttun (in: *šiptu ul j.*) I 91; OA_1 17(after I 43)
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kabābu **D** I 75
kabāsu II 179+MB II 5
kabātu **(I 105)**
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kakkabu II 17
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kalama *I 33 = III 65*
kalbatu **II 165**+MB I 14
Part II: **OB**$_2$ **2;** Ug IV 9
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Part II: OB$_4$ I 5, 7; Emar 37; FsB 18?; SKS 11, 12; *Assur memo 36*?*(lišān-k.)*
kali- II 43; *III 47*
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kalītu **I 44**+Ug V 26?*(k. šamê)*; II 37, 110, 126*(k. šamê)*
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kalu *I 226(kal ūmi)*
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kalû "ochre" **I 136**; II 38
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kalû v. I 40+OB$_1$ 8+OA$_1$ 10+Ug V 20; II 123
—**Gtn** II 185+MB II 13; MB II 14(after II 185)
kamû **II 131a***(kāmû)*
—**Gtn** II 186+MB II 15
kamû "outer" *II 73 = III 19r*, *77(+64*) = [III 23]*; *III 8*
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kāru *I 34 = III 65*
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kasāpu Part II: ***STT 145 12***; *K 888 27*
kasāsu **D** I 73
kaspu Part II: *K 888 27*; *Assur memo 9*
kasû *I 60*; *III 74*
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kaṣâtu I 115
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kâṣu Part II: SKS 13
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—**D** I 215
kašāpu (Part II: ***STT 145*** 12)
kâši II 21, 23
katāmu **D** *[I 48] = III 120*?
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Part II: OB$_3$ 7; Emar 15; RA 6
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kirimmu **I 143**; II 153+MB I 3
kirissu I 197; MB I 29+Ug VI 5(II 173)
Part II: RA 21; *K 888 25*
kispu Part II: *[STT 145 11*?*]*; *K 888 27*
kiṣru Part II: *RC 10*
kišādu *I 10*, *59 = III 45*, 155, *223*; *II 118(+117*)*, *212*, *212a*; *III 35*, *43*, *46*, *80*
Part II: *OB*$_5$ 8; *Bo 4*; RA 20; *STT 144 13*; *RC 11*; *FsL 3*; *SpTU 6(k. nāri)*
kitû *II 32 = III 75*; *III 32*
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kubbutu **II 54**
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kudurru "son" Part II: Emar 29?
kukru *I 60*; *III 74*
kullatu "all" **I 80***(bān k.)*; II 35, 163+MB I 13

kullatu "clay pit" (**I 80***[bān k.]*), *I 94 = III 130*
Part II: *K 888 22*; *Assur memo 5*, *24*
kullu *III 104*, *137*[?]
kullumu I 82*(mukallimu)*
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kupputu (**II 54**)
kupru *I 32 = III 64*, *33 = III 64*
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—**D** *I 49* = III 121
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labû **Š** Part II: FsB 14
laḫābu **I 180** = Ug II 5
—**Š** **MB I 14**(II 165)
—**Št**$_2$ **MB I 15**(II 164)
—**Štn** **II 165**
laḫāmu I 203
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lām(a) / *lā* *I 54 = III 126*; **II 11**
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lamādu **I 189**
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lamassu *III 32*
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—**Š** **II 175**
—**Št**$_2$ **MB II 1**+Ug VI 7(II 175)
lapāpu *[III 34]*, *36*, *42*, *48*, *49*, *51*, *53*, *55*
Part II: *RC 7*, *9*, *14*; *FsL 2*, *[7]*, *11*, *14*, *17*
lapātu I 156+MB I 6; II 122[?]; *III 103*
—**D** **II 13**var.[?], 156
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—**Gtn** Part II: FsB 19
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laʾû II 34 = III 86var., 43, 152 = III 95, 168+MB I 24
Part II: **OA**$_2$ **23**; FsB 19
lazzu *I 22*; **II 1**+Ug III 16 = III 72 = III 87 = III 100
lemnu II 15+Ug III 32–33, *80(+67*) = III 26*
Part II: OA_2 5
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leqû **I 6**, *94 = III 130*, 160; **OA**$_1$ **22**(after I 43) *(šipta l.)*; *II 113(+113*)*, *117(+116*) = III 41*, 145
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Part II: SpTU 8*(lumun l.)*, *14*
lilû/ītu (**I 114**)
lillûtu II 40; MB I 27+Ug VI 3(after II 171)
lippu ***III 34***, *36*, *42*, *48*
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mādu Part II: Emar 44[?]
maḫāru (**I 161**), 162, 163–166, 179–[181], 182+MB II 7–9
Part II: RA 17–21; SpTU 10, *12*
—**N** Part II: STT 145 14

maḫāṣu **D** *I 98 = III 134*
māḫāzu I 211
māḫiru "rival" Part II: Emar 20?
maḫru Part II: Emar 31
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mālaku Part II: Emar 16
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—**D** *I 52 = III 124, 95 = III 131, 202*; II 21
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māmītu Part II: OB_2 20
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manû "to count" **I 117**+Ug I 1, I 119
—**Gtn** Part II: OB_3 5
manû "to recite" *I 30 = III 116, 226*; *III 63, 73, 78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 88, 94, 97, 99, 101, 105, 107, 109*
Part II: *ND 18*; *RA 24*; *RC 28*; *SpTU 14*
manzât (Part II: **Emar 16**)
man/zzāzu I 39+OB_1 7*(mazzāzu)*+Ug V 19, 108; II 121
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maqātu II 87
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marratu Part II: Ug IV 11?
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mārtu (see also under DN *mārat Anu*) I 122; II 91, 140
Part II: Emar 4–5; RA 11–12; SKS 10
ma/erû "fat" Part II: **Emar 24**
māru I 16*(m. ilišu)*, 121; II 9*(m. ilišu)*, 25*(m. ilišu)*, 90, 104, 139, 169, 170+MB II 25; MB I 22(II 167*)*
Part II: OB_3 2?; Ug V 10*(m. ili)*; Emar 3–4; RA 10; SKS 9
maṣḫatu Part III: *Fr.1 9*?
maṣītu see *maṣû*
maṣṣartu *II 78(+65*) = III 24*
maṣṣaru II 53
maṣû **II 6** (with *libbu*)
mašku *II 28 = III 67(m. imēri), 212a*
mašmaššu **I 196**+Ug II 15
maštakal Part II: *BM 33399 II 1*?; *Assur memo 36*
mašû (**II 159**)
mātu I 88; II 50; MB II 7(II 182)(*šar m.*, mistake for *šar šīmāti* ?)
Part II: OB_3 8; ND 3
melammu I 179+Ug II 4
Part II: FsB 17
meliku see *milku*
mēlulu Part II: OB_3 10
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mesû Part II: Ug IV 12?
mešrêtu I 72
miḫru **I 161**, **199***(šaman m.)*
milku **II 1+Ug III 16**?*(meliku)* = III 72 = III 87 = III 100
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mimma Part II: *SpTU 13*
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mīrānu II 109
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miṯḫāriš II 185+MB II 13
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mû I 15*(mê būri)*, *25 = III 113(mê būri)*, **43***(mê pušqi)*+**OB_1 12+OA_1 16***(mê pišri)*+Ug V 24*(mê pušqi)*, 131*(mê pušqi)*, 181+Ug II 6, *224*; II 125*(mê pušqi)*
Part II: *STT 144 12*; *STT 145 9*?; *K 888 20*; *Assur memo 12*?
muḫru Part II: Emar 19
multašḫiptu ***III 31***
Part II: *RC 2*
mulṭû *I 50 = III 122*, 197; II 99, 173+MB I 29+Ug VI 5; *III 6*
Part II: *Bo 7*; RA 21; *K 888 24*
mundu *I 51 = III 123*, 202+Ug II 16
Part II: FsB 33?
mūrānu II 109var.
Part II: Ug IV 9
murru Part II: *BM 33399 I 8*
murṣu **II 10var.+Ug III 25**
muṣlālu *[I 29] = III 116*; MB I 17(after II 164*)*
mūšabu I 108; OB_1 6+OA_1 6+Ug V 18?(I 38*)*
mušallimtu Part II: **SpTU 10**
mušālu *III 6*
mušāṭu *II 33 = III 75*
mušēniqtu I 157; *III 136*
muššāru (stone) Part II: *FsL 4*

muššu'u *III 76*
mūšu I 115; *II 76(+63*) = [III 22]*
Part II: Ug IV 13
Part III: *Fr.1 8*
muštabbabbu Part II: OA_2 3
mutḫummu **I 64**
muttabbilu **II 155**+MB I 5
muttalliku Part II: Emar 18
*muttarrû/ītu (*tarû* **Dtn***)* Part II: RA 14
mutu "husband" Part II: Emar 4–5
mūtu "death" I 136, [**144**]?+Ug I 5, 155; II 153, 162+MB I 12

nabalkutu Part II: RS 6
—**Ntn** **II 19**; Ug VI 12?(after II 180)
nabāsu Part II: *RC 20*
nablu I 124
nabnītu I 81
nadādu* **D **(I 49)**
nadānu I 6var., *28 = [III 115], 50 = III 122,* 158, 196, 202+Ug II 17; II 203, 173+MB I 29+Ug VI 5
Part II: Emar 4, 6; *K 888 25, 27*
nadāš/du **D** ***I 49** = III 121*
nadītu Part II: ND 12+Ug III [8]
nadû I 75, 113, 120*(šipta n.)*; OA_1 21(after I 43)*(šipta n.)*; II 1+Ug III 16 = III 72 = III 87 = III 100 *(šipta n.)*, 4*(šipta n.)*; III 60
Part II: Ug IV 8; *STT 145 5*?; *SpTU 9*
—**Š** **I 192**, 193
—**Štn** I 171
nādu I 201
nagāgu **Gtn** Part II: SKS 6?
nagāšu **Gtn** Part II: SKS 7?
nagbu Part II: **Emar 10**?
naggāru Part II: RA 21
naglabu ***II 72****(78*) = III 18*; *III 88*
naḫāsu II 150
Part II: Emar 10, **13**
nāḫu *I 35 = III 66*
nakāru **D** **(I 37**, n. to OA_1 2); II 8+Ug III 23, 24
nakāsu I 155, *224*
Part II: *SpTU 4*
—**D** Part II: SKS 14
nakbatu (Part II: **Emar 10**)
nakkipu II 154+MB I 5
nalšu **II 17**+Ug III 35*(naššu)*
nam/ggiṣṣu **II 137**

nammarum **OA_1 2** (I 37, var. zu *nummuru*)
nammaššû I 198; MB II 20(after II 188)
Part II: FsB 12, 27
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namû Part II: FsB 23
namurru **I 37** = III 71 = III 81 = III 98, 105; II 35, 84 = III 89, 119 = III 90, 137, II 164var.
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napāḫu I 4; II 111
napāṣu **Ug II 8(I 185)**
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—**D** I 42+OA_1 14, 130
napḫaru *III 75var.*
napištu **I 156** ("neck"); **(II 75ff.,** "life")
naplusu *I 99 = III 135*
nappāḫu Part II: RA 18
naprušu I 8
—**Ntn** I 8var.
napšaltu *III 68, 73*
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napû *I 24 = III 112*; *II 31 = III 74*
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naqû I 15, *25 = III 113, 224*
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narāṭu Part II: STT 145 17
narbaṣu I 38a+OB_1 5
narṭabu I 203
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nāru "river" I 65, 181+Ug II 6, 212?; II 176+MB II 2, 179+MB II 5+Ug VI 15
Part II: *SpTU 2, 6, 14(ebirti n.)*, 15
Part III: Fr.2 4
nasāḫu I 4var.?, *22*, 76, 194+Ug II 13, 215+Ug II 26′; OA_1 12(I 40); II 8, 24, *209*, ***210***?
Part II: OB_2 10; Emar 37?; *BM 33399 I 6, II 3*
—**D** Part II: ND 7
nasāsu **D** **II 158**+MB I 8
nasḫu **(II 210**?**)**
naṣāru *II 76(+63*) = [III 22]*
našāku **Dtn** Part II: SKS 4var.?
našāpu **(I 187)**
našāqu **Gtn** II 158+MB I 8
našāru Part II: SpTU 11?
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našû I 123, 160, 201; **II 2***(qāt x n.)*, 107, 122
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Part III: Fr.2 6'
naṭālu II 23
—**Gtn** Part II: FsB 22
nēberu *I 34 = III 65*
Part II: FsB 32
nēmequ II 40, 171
nēpišu MB I 26+Ug VI 2(II 171); *III 1, 136*
nērebu **I 116**; II 102
Part II: ND 10
nêru III 59
nesû I 16
nēšu I 179+Ug II 4; II 36, 161+MB I 11, 164+MB I 15
Part II: Emar 7; RA 4
nêšu *I 36*; *II 30*
Part II: *RC 29*
nignakku Part II: *SpTU 6(n. burāši)*
nimru I 140'; II 37
nīnu "we" Part II: SKS 11
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nīšu I 7, *57 = III 128*; II 54–56, 101–103, 134a, 191
Part II: Ug III 10; SpTU 16'
ni'u' **II 137var.**
nuḫatimmu *II 63(+72*) = III 10*
nūnu *I 35 = III 66*, I 162,
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nūru I 83 ("light"); *III 5* ("lamp")
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paḫallu **I 59** = *III 44*; *II 116(+116*) = III 39*
paḫāru "potter" Part II: *Assur memo 2*
pakāru **D** **I 40+Ug V 21**; II 123
Part II: FsB 12'
palāḫu **Dtn** Part II: FsB 17
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Part II: *BM 33399 II 7(ṭīd p.)*
palḫu OB_1 1(I 37)
pallišu *III 30*
panāku Part II: **RC 15**, *18, 22, 26*
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Part III: *Fr.1* 6; Fr.2 II 6
panū "face" I 5, *55 = III 127*, 71, 135, 137, *228*; II 36; MB I 16(after II 164)
Part II: OB_2 2, 17; Emar 4*(panī našû)*; ND 8+Ug III 5; Ug III 6(see ND); FsB 18; RA 4
Part III: *Fr.1 2*
papḫallu see *paḫallu*
pappardilû *III 31*
Part II: *RC 2*
paqādu **I 6**
Part II: FsB 26
parakku I 113
Part II: Ug V 8
parāku Part II: **OB_3 6** *(*pariku)*
—**D** II 177+MB II 3
parāsu I 82*(pāris purussê)*, 182
parru'u Part II: OA_2 10
paršīgu Part II: *K 888 26*
parû **D** see *parru'u*
parû "mule" **(OA_1 11)**
parû (stone) III 35, *42, 43, 47, 50, 52, 54, 56*
Part II: *RC 5, 13, 17, 21, 25, 30*; *FsL 1, 8, 11, 14, 17*
parzillu *III 55(aban p.)*
Part II: *RC 24(aban p.)*; *FsL 5, 16*(both *aban p.)*
pasussatu **I 67**
pašāḫu **Š** Part II: SpTU 8
pašāqu **Štn** Part II: STT 145 18
pašāru **(I 43)**; II 111*(pāširu)*
pašāšu *I 61*, 137, 183, 199; *II 30*; *III 73var.*
Part II: *K 888 21*
Part III: *Fr.1 5*
—**Gt** I 66', 135+Ug I 9'
—**Gtn** *I 36*; *II 211*
patālu **N** Part II: **Emar 8**
patāqu I 81*(pātiqu)*
patīḫatu I 202+Ug II 17
patru I 3, *96 = III 132*, *98 = III 134*
Part II: FsB 24
paṭāru I 15; II 5+Ug III 21, 26, 190
Part II: FsB 5
—**D** Part II: SpTU 8
paṭīru Part II: *Assur memo 1*
pēlu Part II: *BM 33399 II 1*
pēntu **I 60**; *II 31, 32, 33*
Part II: *Assur memo 14'*
pertu *[I 48] = III 120*
Part II: OA_2 16; RA 5

peṣû *II 30 = III 68, 45, 115 = III 38*; *III 46, 49*
Part II: *RC 8, 12*; *FsL 3, 7*; *K 888 21*
petû adj. I 132+Ug I 6, 142; *II 71(+77*) = III 17(unīqu lā p.)*
petû v. *[II 74 = III 20]*; 75 = *III 21*,
—**D** Part II: OB_2 14*(puttû)*
pilaqqu *I 50 = III 122*, 197; II 99, 173+MB I 29+Ug VI 5; *[III 5]*
Part II: RA 21; *K 888 24*
ping/ku (Part II: **RC 14**)
pišru **OB_1 12+OA_1 16**(I 43)
Part II: *Assur memo 35(iṣi p.)*
pitiltu *I 55 = III 127, 222*
Part II: Emar 8
pitrudu (**I 116**)
pitrusu **I 116**?
pītu *II 75 = III 21*, *82*?
pû "chaff" Part II: Emar 8
pû "mouth" *I 27 = III 114*, 122, *225*; II 13var., *80(+67*) = III 26*, 91, 108, 109, 140
Part II: OB_2 16; RA 12; SKS 10
puḫādu Part II: *SpTU 4, 9, 12*
puḫru Part II: Emar 34–35 *(p. ilī/ištarāti)*
pulḫum **OA_1 1** (var. zu *palḫu* I 43)
puluḫtu Part II: FsB 15?
puquttu *[III 33]*
purīdu **(I 58f.)**
purkullu Part II: RA 20
**purrû* see *parruʾu*
pūru *II 211*
purussû I 82
pušqu **I 43**+Ug V 24*(mê p.)*, **(58f.)**, 131*(mê p.)*; II 125*(mê p.)*
pūtu II 86
puzzuru I 107?

qablu "midst" *I 55 = III 127*
Part II: OB_3 16
qablu "battle" Part II: STT 145 14
qabû I 67, 68, 69, 70; III 60
Part II: *SpTU 7*, 9, *12*
Part III: Fr.2 2–3
qadāšu **D** *I 94 = III 130*
qadištu **II 160**+MB I 9*(qadiltu)*
Part II: Ug V 9?; Ug III 8 (see ND)
qallu (**I 14**)
qannu (**I 103**)
Part II: RA 17
qaqqadu I 3, *[48] = III 120*; II 54*(q. ṣalmu)*, 161+MB I 11; *III 78, 104*
Part II: OB_4 I 5; *FsL 6*; *SpTU 4*
qaqqaršum Part II: OA_2 13
qaqqaru *III 137*
Part II: FsB 27
qardu Part II: OB_2 13
qarittu Ug II 25(I 209)
qašdu II 3+Ug III 18
Part II: Emar 23?; Ug III 8?(see ND, for *qadištu?)*
qâšu II 174+MB I 30+Ug VI 6
qatāru **D** ***I 60***; *II 31, 32, 33*
qātu I 6, [106], 123, 138, 139; II 2+Ug III 17, 8, 24; Ug III 34*(šūt q.)*(II 16); *III 7, 50, 52, 81, 83*
Part II: Ug IV 5, 12?; Emar 11, 27; FsB 26; RA 3, 7, 15, 18; *RC 15, 19*; *FsL 9, 12*; *SpTU 3*; *Assur memo 11(iṣ q.)*
qebēru "to bury" *I 31 = III 118*, *98 = III 134*, 158, **214var**.
—**D** **I 41**; II 124
qebēru **D** "to roll up" **I 194**+Ug II 13
qēmu *I 24 = III 112(q. lā napû)*, *222(q. šegušši)*, *229(q. šegušši)*; Ug II 16(I 202); *II 31 = III 74(q. lā napû)*
Part II: *STT 145 7(q. lā napû)*; *SpTU 12(q. lapti)*
qerbu I 89; *III 85*
qerēbu I 214
qibītu II 5+Ug III 20
qiddatu *[I 30] = III 118*, *54 = [III 126]*, *97 = III 133*, *227*(all *q. ūmi)*
qilpu *II 31 = III 74*
qīru *I 35 =* ***III 66***
qītu ***(II 1var.)***
qû "thread" I 194+Ug II 13
Part II: RA 21; *FsL 3, 7, 10, 13, 16*
qulēptu *II 32 = III 74(q. ṣerri)*
qutāru *III 75, 99, 101*
qutrīnu (**I 60**)
qutru **II 149**

raʾāmu II 41
rabāṣu Part II: OB_4 II 4?; Emar 30
—**Š** **OB_1 9**(I 40)
rabāšu (**I 147**)
rābiṣu II 15 = Ug III 33
Part II: **OB_4 II 4**?

rabû "rise" *[I 54] = III 126(lām šamaš r.)*
rabû "to be big" MB I 10(II 159 (stat. pl. *rabbû*)
—**D** Part II: OB_2 1; Emar 3, 5
rabû adj. I 7, 20, 78, 79, 81*(rabītu)*, 89, 103 = III 84var.; OB_1 11(I 43)(m.pl. *rabbûtim)*; II 3, 159; MB I 13(II 163)
Part II: **Emar 17**(f.pl. *rabbâti*), 33; *ND 19*?
raḫḫiṣu II 137var., 155+MB I 5
rakābu **I 195***(šadâ r.)*; 210?
—**Š** II 20
*raĸāku (*ramāku?)* Ug I 5(**I 144**)
rakāsu *I 55 = III 127, 56 = III 128, 230*; II 47, 146; *III 50, 52, 54, 56*
Part II: OB_3 15; Ug III 3; *RC 15, 19, 23, 27*; *FsL 9, 12, 15, 18*; *K 888 21, 23*
—**D** Part II: OB_3 3; OB_5 *7–8*
ramāku **D** I 144(+Ug I 5?, see *raĸāku)*
Part II: *K 888 20*
ramû **D** Part II: OA_2 21; OB_2 11
rapādu **I 195**var.+Ug II 14*(šadâ r.)*
rapāšu **I 147**
rapšu II 46
Part II: OB_2 14
rašubbu Part II: Emar 21
rebû I 4; *III 119*
redû Part II: RA 6
—**Gtn** I 170
Part II: OB_3 7
reḫû **MB II 5**(II 179)
rêqu I 16
rēštû Part II: *SpTU 12(šikaru r.)*
rēšu *I 26 = III 117, 95 = [III 131], 96 = III 132*; II 50*(ša-rēši?)*, *68(+62*) = III 15*, 89; *III 102, 106*
Part II: Emar 18*(r. arḫi)*; FsB 18; *RC 14*
rē'û I 164
ribītu II 49
riksu **II 172***(r. gerrēti)*+MB I 28*(r. ḫarrānāti)*+Ug VI 4*(r. ḫarrāni)*
rīmu MB II 19(after II 188)
rītu OB_1 6(I 38/9)
rittu II 153+MB I 3
Part II: OB_2 3
rubṣu I 38+OA_1 **8**?, I 164; II 121
rubûtu **I 45**; II 126
ruḫû II 12var.
rummû I 143
rupuštu Part II: Ug. IV 12?
rusû II 12
rūtu "spittle" Part II: Emar 15

sababu? Part II: ***K 888 27***
sābû *II 63(+72*) = III 10(bīt s.)*
sadāru **[I 115**?**]**
saḫālu **D** II 187+MB II 16
saḫāru II 184
Part II: Ug V 4; **Ug III 12** (ND 15)
—**D** Part II: ND 8+Ug III 5–6
—**N** MB II 12(II 184)
saḫlû *I 61*; *II 33 = III 75*
Part II: OB_2 18; *Assur memo 31*
saḫ'u see *seḫû*
sakāpu *II 80(+67*) = III 26*
sâku *II [**64**](+73*) = III 11, 210*
samane Part II: *STT 145 7*
sāmtu Part II: *Bo 4*; RA 20; *STT 145 4*
sāmu I 159; *III 53*
Part II: *FsL 13–14* (wool); *K 888 21* (wool)
sanāqu I 21a, 77, 90, 214; II 105var., 178+MB II 4
Part II: Ug V 5
sanāšu *I 96 = III 132*
sandak Part II: **OB_3 6**
sangilmud (stone) Part II: *FsL 4*
sappu ***II 113***(+114*) = III 37, 114(+114*) = III 37
sarramu see *serremu*
sassatu **(I 38–39)**; II 121
sassum **OB_1 5**?**+OA_1 5(I 38)**
sebe *[II 74*?], 113(+113*)*, 176–177+MB II 2–3+Ug VI 8, *212*; *III 34, 35, 36, 43, 48*
Part II: *STT 145 4, 6*; *RC 5*
sebîšu *III 63*
Part II: OB_2 9 *(adi sebî‹šu›)*; *ND 18*
sebû I 7, 173
seḫû (saḫ'u) Part II: OA_2 15
semeru Part II: RA 18
serremu I 195+Ug II 14; MB II 18(after II 188) *(sarramu)*
sikkannu *I 32 = III 64*
sikkatu I 194+Ug II 13
sikkūru II 52
simmanû II 21
simtu I 136*(s. mūti)*
Part II: RA 18–21
sinništu I 116
Part II: *SpTU 9*

sinnišu *[III 32](zikar u s.)*
Part II: *RC 3(zikar u s.)*; *SpTU 1(zikar u s.)*
siparru Part II: *Assur memo 37(karpat s.)*
sippu Part II: **ND 10**+Ug III 7
sirašû I 202
sissiktu Part II: *K 888 23*
sû *III 30*
Part II: *RC 1*
sugginnu *II 117(+115*) = III 40*
sukku Part II: Ug V 8
sullûm Part II: **OB$_3$ 9**
sulû I 174
sūnu I 157
Part II: *SpTU 13*
sūqu I 2, 107[?]; *II 64(+73*) = III 11(s. erbetti)*
Part II: *BM 33399 II 2(s. erbetti)*
sursuru I 126
sutû II 137
sūtu *I 95 = III 131*

ṣabāru Part II: Emar 39
ṣabātu I 67, 68–70, 138, 154[?]; 13, 42, 43, 108; *II 211*; MB II 18(after II 188); ***III 43***
Part II: OB$_2$ 9; OB$_3$ 9; OB$_4$ II 5, 6; *Bo 2*; ND 4, 6 = Ug III 2
Part III: Fr.3
—**Gtn** MB I 20[?] (after II 166)
—**D** I 71, 72; II 109
—**Š** *III 7*
ṣabburû* (II 17**)
ṣabītu MB II 18+Ug VI 18(after II 188)
ṣadû **D** *I 28, 53 = III 125*, (**192**,) 193, ***221***
Part II: *Bo 6*;
Part III: *[Fr.1 7]*
ṣâdu Part II: **Emar 9**
—**Gtn** Part II: FsB 23
ṣallu (see also *ṣillu*) II 110
ṣalmātu (wool) *III 16var.*
Part II: *RC 6, 13, 16, 18, 22, 26*; *FsL 10–11*
ṣalmu "figurine" *I 94 = III 130, 220*
Part II: Emar 32; *BM 33399 II 7*; *K 888 22*; *SpTU [2], 13*; *Assur memo 4, 15–34 passim*
ṣalmu "black" I 14 = III 70 = III 80(*kalbu ṣ.*), *25 = III 113(kalbu ṣ.)*; II 45(*kalbu ṣ.*), 54(*qaqqadu ṣ.*), *[70](+76*) = III 16(kalbu ṣ.)*; *III 35, 47, 51*
Part II: *RC 16 (ṣurru ṣ.)*; *FsL 10(ṣurru ṣ.)*
ṣarbatu **I 64**; Ug II 8(I 185)
ṣarû I 125, 126

ṣe/aḫḫe/aru *I 222*; OB$_1$ 10+OA$_1$ 13(I 41)
Part II: FsB 20
ṣeḫru, **(I 10)**, **43**, 130; II 98(*ṣeḫirtu*), 125;
Part II: OB$_3$ 11; Emar 29[?]; *SpTU 5*
ṣēlu Part II: *Bo 5 (apat ṣ.)*
ṣēnu I 163, 165
Part II: FsB 30
ṣerra/ēni(š) "by the pivot" I 133+Ug I 7; II 18
Part II: OB$_3$ 14(*ṣerrēni*); RA 8
ṣerrāni(š) "like a snake" **I 134**
Part II: OB$_2$ *7(ṣerrāni)*; *SKS* 4var.
ṣerru "pivot" Part II: OB$_2$ 8
ṣerru "snake" I 127; *II 32 = III 74*; *III 7*
Part II: OB$_2$ 15; Emar 38[?]; FsB 5
ṣertu I 145[?]
ṣēru "wilderness" *I 54 = III 126*, 147, 160, 195+Ug II 14, 198, *227*; II 185; MB II 20(after II 188)
Part II: OB$_2$ 14
ṣētu I 178
Part II: **ND 7**
ṣibittu *I 23 = III 111(bīt ṣ.)*
ṣidītu I 159
Part II: RA 17; *K 888 23*; *Assur memo 8*
ṣillu [I 108(*ṣ. dūri*)]
Part II: Ug III 4[?](*ṣalli bīni*)
ṣillû *I 49 = III 121*
Part III: *Fr.1 4*
ṣirp(ān)u *II 113(+113*) = III 36*; *III 48*
ṣīru I 210[?]
Part II: *ND 19*
ṣubātu *I 48*var. *= III 120(ṣ. ūmakkal)*
Part II: *Assur memo 7*
ṣudû *I 28, 53 = III 125, 221*
Part II: *Bo 6*
Part III: *Fr.1 7*
ṣuḫāru I 134+Ug I 8[?], 148, 157, 159
Part II: OA$_2$ 22
ṣulmu *[I 59] = III 44*; *II 116(+116*) = III 39*
ṣummû I 201
ṣupru I 109, 141; **II 145**(*ṣ. šadî*)
Part II: OB$_2$ 4, 10; FsB 29
ṣurru (in *ṣ. ṣalmu*) *III 51*
Part II: *RC 16*; *FsL 10*

šabāšu I 139
—**D** II 168+MB 24
šabsūtu Part II: OB$_3$ 4

šadû "mountain" I 79, 186, 195+Ug II 14; II 2+Ug III 17, 35, 41, 145*(ṣupur š.)*, 163+MB I 13, 177+MB II 3, 186+MB II 15, 188+MB II 17, 189var.
Part II: SpTU 15
šadû "east wind" Part II: ND 8+Ug III 6
šagāšu **D** I 128; Ug V 23(I 42)
šaḫāt(āt)u "corner" **I 175**
šaḫātu "armpit" I 109
šaḫāṭu "to strip off" Part II: OA_2 17
šaḫāṭu "to jump" **Gtn** Part II: SKS 8
šaḫḫūtu **II 44** (*makurru š.*)
Part II: *Bo 8* (*eleppu š.*)
šaḫû *I 58 = III 44(zê š.)*; II 13+Ug III 29, *30 = III 68(š. peṣû)*, 87, *115(+114*) = III 38(š. peṣû)*; *III 5*
šakāku *I 222*; *III 32*, *35*, *49*, *51*, *53*, *55*
Part II: *RC 4*, *6*, *12*, *13*, *16*, *18*, *20*, *24*, *26*; *FsL 3*, *5*, *7*, *10*, *13*, *16*
šakānu *I 10*, *24 = III 112*, *27 = III 114*, *29 = III 115*, **45**, *55 = III 127*, *59 = III 45*, 65, *96 = III 132*, 114, 159, 168, 181, 198, 200, *223*, *225*, *[228]*; II 36, *71(+77*) = III 17*, *118(+117*)*, 127, *212*, *[212a]*; *III 35*, *41*, *46*, *47*, *99*, *102*, *106*
Part II: *Bo 4*, *8*; Emar 37; *ND 20*; RA 4, 7, 15; *STT 144 13*, *15*; *RC 11*; *FsL 3*, *[6]*; *K 888 26*; *SpTU 3*, *4*?, *6*, *13*, *14*
—**Gtn** I 122; II 91, 140
Part II: RA 12; SKS 10
šakirû *[III 33]*
šakṣu **I 5**, 176
šalālu Part II: OB_3 8*(šālilu)*
šalāmu Part II: Emar 12, 27
—**D** Part II: **SpTU 10**
šalāpu **II 157**
—**D** II 157var.+MB 7
šalāš *I 26 = III 117*, *96 = [III 132]*, *226*; *II 118(+117*) = III 36*; *III 52*, *56*, *73*, *101*
Part II: *RC 13*, *21*, *25*; *FsL 14*; *Assur memo 6*?, *8*?
šalāšīšu *I 56*, *226*; *III 73*, *78*
Part II: *SpTU 9*, *12*
šalgu II 10var.
šalšu I 3, *[30] = III 117*, *97 = III 133*; *III 227*
šalummatu **I 178**?
šamāṭu **D** I 185
šammaššammū Part II: *BM 33399 II 4*
šammu II 185+MB II 13; *III 75var.*
šamnu *I 28 = III 115*, *35 = III 66(š. nūni)*, *50 = III 122*, *61*, *199(š. miḫri)*; II 13+Ug III 29*(š. šaḫî)*, *30 = III 68(š. šaḫî)*, 173, *211(š. pūri)*; *III 68var.* *(š. šu'e)*
Part II: *STT 145 5 (š. ṭābu)*; *K 888 21*
Part III: *Fr.1 5*
šamru **(I 37)**+Ug V 16, 105; II 84 = III 71var. = III 89, 119 = III 90
Part II: RA 1
šamšatu *II 66(+61*) = [III 13]*
šamšu *[I 54] = III 126(š. rabû)*, *55 = III 127(erēb š.)*, *228(erēb š.)*
Part II: *SpTU 13(erēb š.)*
šamû I 8, 20*(š. u erṣetu)*, 44, *57 = III 128(nīš š. u erṣetu)*, [112], 162; II 39, 126, [134a]*(nīš š. u erṣeti)*, 136 = III 93, 149var., 191*(nīš š. u erṣeti)*; MB II 14(after II 185)
Part II: OA_2 12; ND 9*(nīš š. u erṣeti)*; SKS 1; SpTU 15
šâmu "to establish" Part II: OB_2 2
šanāšu see *sanāšu*
šanîš "otherwise" **I 104**
šanû **D** *III 60var.*
šanû "second" I 2
šapāku I 159*(šāpiku)*
—**D** II 177var.+Ug VI 9
šaplu *II 75 = III 21*
šaplû (šaplâtu) I 83
šaptu II 162
šapû "to fasten" *[II 212a]*
šapû **D** "to subdue" (Part II: **Emar 30**)
šaqû I 43+OB_1 12+OA_1 15, 131; II 125
šarāḫu ***[II 75]***(+63*) = III 22
šarbu Part II: **ND 7**
šarratu I 81
šarru I 80*(š. apsî)*; II 181+MB II 10, 182+MB II 7+Ug VI 16*(š. šīmāti)*
šārtu *II 70(+76*) = III 16*, *71(+77*) = III 17*, **86**
Part II: *STT 145 11*
šāru II 20, II 144
Part II: Ug IV 6
šasû **Gtn** MB I 14(II 165)
šatû Part II: Emar 31?
—**Gtn** I 187, I 190+Ug II 10
šaṭāru *I 10*; *II 67(+61*) = III 14*, *II 72(+78*) = [III 18]*
Part II: *STT 145 10*?

šebru [I 142]; II 99
šebû **Dtn** Part II: **Emar 30**
šeguššu *I 222*, 229 (both *qēm* š.)
šemû II 141
Part II: RA 13
šēnu I 200; II 174+MB I 30+Ug VI 6
Part II: *STT 145 3*
šēpītu *III 102*
šēpu [I 106]; II 47, 187+MB II 16; *III 54*, *56*, *94*, *97*
Part II: RA 3, 18; STT 145 21; *RC 23*, *27*; *FsL 15*, *18*
šerru ***I 10***, 16, 21a, 70; II 9+Ug III 24, 25, 105var., 107, 157+MB I 7, 178, *209*; *III 73var.*, *76*;
Part II: OB_2 8; OB_3 4; FsB 14?
Part III: Fr.3
šeršerrum (a paste) Part II: **OB_4 I 4**
šēru *[I 29] = III 116*; *III 110*
šeššu I 6
še'u Part II: STT 145 19
šību I 67; OA_1 15(I 43)
Part II: **Emar 43**?
šiddu I 197
Part II: RA 21; *K 888 25*
šikaru *I 224*
Part II: *SpTU 9*, *12(š. rēštû)*
šikkatu ***I 28*** = *III 115*, *50 = III 122*; **II 173**
Part II: *Bo 7*; *K 888 25*
šikkû II 18
šikkurratu **II 187**+MB II 16
šiknu I 71*(š. panī)*
šimītān *I 29 = III 116*
šīmtu **II 182***(šar šīmāti)*+**MB II 7***(šar* ⟨*ši*⟩*māti*?*)*+Ug VI 16*(šar šīmāti)*
šina II 45, *64**, *66**, *68**; *III 63*
Part II: *ND 17*; *RC 21*; *K 888 22*, *23*
šinnatu **II 161**var.
šinnu I 141; II 36, **161**+MB I 11; MB I 12(II 162*)*
Part II: OB_4 I 6; RS 2
šipātu "wool" *III 16var.*, *49*, *53*, *35*, *47*, *51*
Part II: *RC 8*, *12*; *FsL 2*, *3*, *7*
šipru II 11, **12**+Ug III 26–27?
Part II: OB_2 13
šiptu I 86, 91, 92, 120, *226*, *232*; OA_1 17–19(after I 43); II 1+Ug III 16 = III 72 = III 87 = III 100, 4, **40**, 171+MB I 26; *III 63*, *73*
Part II: OB_5 *5*; *Ug IV 14–[17]*; *[ND 18]*; *RA 24*; *SKS 16*, *17*; *RC 28*?; *SpTU 14*
šiqqatu see *šikkatu*
šir'ānu I 73; **II 40**, 159+MB I 10; MB I 27+Ug VI 3(after II 171*)*
Part II: OA_2 20, 22
šīru I 188, 191+Ug II 11; **II 94**; MB I 27+UgVI 3(after II 171*)*
Part II: RA 7, 15; *STT 145 8*
šitūltu I 89
šizbu **[I 144**?**]**+Ug I 5; II 148
šû *[III 32](š. zikar/sinniš)*
Part II: *RC 3(š. zikar/sinniš)*
šubtu I 89; II 3
Part II: Emar 36
šubû *III [31]*, ***49***
Part II: *RC 1*, *12*; *FsL 7*
šuddušu "to make sixfold, sixtuple" **I 179**+Ug II 4
šuḫarratu **I 177***(š. ūmi)*; MB I 17*(š. ūmi)*(after II 164*)*
šuḫuppatu II 174+MB 30+Ug VI 6
Part II: *STT 145 3*
šukû II 52a
šulmu II 5
šumēlu *II 72(+78*) = [III 18]*, *73 = III 19*, *114(+114*) = III 37*; *III 2*, *4*, *52*, *56*, *83*, *97*, *102*
Part II: *RC 19*, *31*; *FsL 12*, *18*
šumma I 21, 71var., 90, 161; II 105
Part II: Ug V 3; [ND 15]+Ug III 11
šumu **I 1**+III 77; *II 72(+78*) = III 18*, 129a
Part II: RA 23
šumuttu Part II: *BM 33399 I 7*
šunû I 63
šupālu Part II: Ug IV 8
šupêlu I 74
šuqultu Part II: *STT 145 10*?
šurānu Part II: FsB 9
šurbû **II 133a***(šurbūtu)*, 152+MB I 2 = III 95
šurbubu **(I 40)**
šurbûtu Ug II 24(I ca. 210*)*
šurīpu I 62 = III 82; II 10
šurru v. MB II 11(II 183*)*
—**Dtn** II 166+MB I 19
Part II: SKS 4
šusikillu *II 31 = III 74*
šūšu I 63?
šūtu Part II: ND 8+Ug III [5]

šuʾu *III 68var.*

tabāku *I 27 = III 114*, **64**, **184**+Ug II 7, *223*; MB I 12(II 162*)*
—**D** I 136; II 162
—**Ntn** **MB I 16**(after II 164*)*
tabālu II 14+Ug III 30; MB II 5(II 179*)*
tabīnu I 163
takāpu **D** II 37
Part II: OB_4 I 3
tâmatu II 46
tamkāru Part II: RA 17
tâmtu I 212; II 46*(tâmatu)*, 145
Part II: OB_3 16?; Ug IV 11?; SpTU 15
tamû I 7; II 48, 51, 53, 134a, 191
—**D** I 17, *57 = III 128*, 78, 89, 204+Ug II 18; **II 11**+Ug III 26, 48–51, 54, 104, 180+MB II 6; III 107
Part II: OB_2 20; Emar 15–23, 42; ND [9]-[13]+Ug III 7–10; RA 22–23; SpTU 16
tanīḫ(t)u **II 4**
tarāṣu *I 24 = III 111*
tarbaṣu I 166
tarbuʾu Part II: OB_2 17
tārītu II 157+MB 7
Part II: OB_3 11; Emar 30, 33?, 34
tarmuš *III 33*
tarṣu *II 75 = III 21*, *83 = III 27*; *III 3*
tarû **Gtn** **Ug I 4**(I 122*)*
Part II: RA 11, 14*(muttarrû)*
târu I 21, 76, 90, 116, 174?, [214]; II 53, 105; Ug VI 12(after II 180*)*
Part II: OB_4 II 3?; OB_6 I 1–2; Ug V 4; Emar 10, 12; Ug III 12 (see ND)
—**D** **I 156***(napišta t.)*
tēqītu ***III 137***?
tību ***[II 75]****(+63*) = III 22*, *78(+65*) = III 24*
tinūru Part II: *Assur memo 12*
tirṣu *I 24 = III 111*
Part II: *STT 145* 6
tû **(I 21)**
Part II: Emar 11, 27
tuʾāmu Part II: **Ug IV 10**
tubkinnu **II 55**
Part II: Ug IV 2
tubqu *I 31 = III 118*, *98 = III 134*
Part II: Ug V 6; Emar 36*(t. dūri)*
tubuq(qā)tu **MB I 20**(II 166*)*
tukkannu *I 52 = III 124*
Part II: *Assur memo 8*
tukultu (ša tukulti?) **(II 199)**
tulû I 122, 142, 145, 153; II 91, 140
Part II: FsB 11; RA 12; SKS 10; *SpTU 9*
turāḫu II 42; MB II 19(after II 188*)*
turru (in: *turra ana turri)* **MB I 18**(after II 164*)*

ṭābtu Part II: OB_5 6
ṭābu II 94, 188+MB II 17+Ug VI 17
Part II: Ug III 4? (see ND); *STT 145 5*
Part III: *Fr.1 5*
ṭarādu I 76, 215+Ug II 26; II 21, *76(+63*) = III 22*
ṭeḫû I 76, [214]; II 52, 133a, 171+MB I 26+Ug VI 2, 178+MB II 4
ṭēmu **II 175**+MB II 1+Ug VI 7
Part II: OA_2 8, 14; Emar 34*(bēl ṭ.)*; FsB 25
ṭepû **(I 44–45)**
ṭerû Part II: *STT 144 12*?
ṭīdu *I 10*, *47 = III 119*, *52 = III 124*, *94 = III 130*, *220(ṭ. palgi)*, *221(ṭ. palgi)*; *II 65(74*) = III 12(ṭ. palgi)*
Part II: *Bo 3*; *K 888 22(ṭ. kullati)*; *SpTU 2(ṭ. ušalli nāri)*, *3*; *BM 33399 II 7(ṭ. palgi)*; *Assur memo 5(ṭ. kullati)*, *6*, *24(ṭ. kullati)*
ṭuppu *II 65 = III 12*, *66(+61*) = III 13*
ṭurru *III 32*, *I35*, *46*, *47var.*, *49*, *51*, *53*, *55*
Part II: **Emar 37**?; *RC 4*, *8*
ṭūru Part II: *Assur memo 14*?, *28*?

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ubšukkinakku **I 89**
uḫinnu I 185
uḫru? Part II: **OB_4 7**
ulāpu *I 48*; **II 12**+Ug III 28, *29 = III 68*
Part II: *BM 33399 II 4*
ūmakkal *I 48*var. *= III 120*(*ṣubāt u.*)
ūmišam I 117
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ummu "mother" I 111, 193, 204; **II 43**, 148
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ummulu* see *amālu* **D

ūmu *I 26 = III 117, 30 = III 117/8, 54 = [III 126],* 96 = *[III 132], 97 = III 133*, 119, 177, *226, 227*; MB I 17(after II 164); *III 110, 119, [130]*
Part II: Ug IV 12; *STT 145* 6
unīqu (u. lā petītu) *II 71(+77*) = III 17*
unnīnu I 6var.?
unqu Part II: *K 888 27*
unūtu *I 33 = III 65*
Part II: *Assur memo 2(anūtu)*
upillû *II 69(+75*) = III 15*
uppulu* Part II: **OA$_2$ 2*(appulu)*
upru **I 103** = III 85var.
Part II: SKS 2; STT 145 15
uqnâtu (wool) *III 55*
Part II: *RC 24*; *FsL 16, 17*; *K 888 21*
urruštu II 56
urṣu ***[II 64]****(+73*) = III 11*
uršu Part II: OB$_5$ rev. 11
urû I 184+Ug II 7; **II 12**, **87**
ūru "roof" II 19
ūru "vulva" Part III: *Fr.1 3*
uskaru *II 66(+61*) = III 13*
uṣurtu Part II: **Emar 16**(*eṣurtu*?)
ušallu I 64
Part II: *SpTU 2(ṭīd u.)*
uššuru Part II: **OA$_2$ 16**(*waššuru)*; ND 6; RA 5
utukku Part II: OA$_2$ 4
utūlu I 164
ûttun see *jâttun*
uznu Part II: RA 19
uzzu Part II: OB$_3$ 8

wālittu Part II: OB$_3$ 6
warḫu Part II: OB$_3$ 5

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zappu **I 44**; ***II 114****(+116*) = III 38*, *115(+114*) = III 38*, 126
zaqīqu II 17+Ug III 36
zaqru Part II: SpTU 15
zarriqu Part II: FsB 7
zērānu "seeds" Part II: Emar 38?
zēru I 63; *II 32 = III 75(z. kitê)*, 103*(epin z.)*, *117(+115*) = III 40(epin z.)*
zibbatu OA$_1$ 13(I 40); *II 71(+77*) = [III 17]*
zikaru *[III 32](šû z./sinniš)*
Part II: *RC 3(šû z./sinniš)*; *SpTU 1(z. u sinniš)*
zīmū I 74
ziḫadû ***III 129var.***
ziqīqu Part II: Emar 44?
ziqqatû ***II 29*** = *III 68*
ziqqurratu Part II: Emar 43?
ziqziqqu **II 162**+MB I 12
zīru "hate" Part II: Emar 38?
zisurrû *I 56 = III 128, 99 = III 135, 228*; II 48; *III 106*
Part II: *SpTU 14*
zû *I 58 = III 44(zê Nisaba / zê šaḫî)*
zumru I 16, 75, 77, 124, 178, **213**(*ina zumur*, prep.); II 9+Ug III 24, 25, *209*
zuqaqīpu I 127; *III 5*
zūzâ **I 125var.**

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Adad Part II: Emar 34?
Adapa II 22
Aḫḫāzu amulet Ai 6 (colophon)
Amazakanuta **Ug II 23**(I 210)
Amurru Part II: **Emar 21**
Anqullu I 68
Antu I 17, 111, 193, 204+Ug II 19; II 101
Part II: Ug IV 4; (**Ug III 10**, see ND); RA 22
Anu (see also *mārat Anu)* I 17, 78, 111, 192, 204+Ug II 19; **II 52a**, 101, 141; III 77var., 91var.
Part II: OA$_2$ 10; OB$_2$ 1; Ug IV 3; Ug III 10 (see ND); RA 22
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Part II: Emar 22, 42
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Part II: [Ug IV 15]; Emar 40; SKS 17
Bēlet-ilī I 81; Ug II 24(~ I 210); II 142
Damgalnuna Ug II 21(I 205)
Damkina **[I 205]**
Part II: Emar 26*(Damkianna)*

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Part II: Ug IV 16
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^{d}dìm.me dumu Ana/*Anu* I 1 = III 77, 11 = III 69 = III 79, 100 = III 84; II 129 = III 96; 133var., 193 = III 96
Ea I 80, 91, I 205+Ug II 21; Ug II 15(I 196); II 141var., 167+MB I 22–23, 169, 182+MB II 7+Ug VI 16
Part II: OB_2 1, 13, 20; Ug IV 15; Emar 10, 26, 40; RA 13, 23
^{d}En.ki III 109
Enlil I 18, 79, 205+Ug II 20; II 92, 93, 101, 134var.
Part II: OB_2 2; **Emar 1**[?]*(Nāli)*
En-utila[?] Part II: **ND 14**
Gula **(I 68)**; *III 34*
Part II: SKS 12, 17
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Ḫasīsu **I 208**
Hultuppu(ḫul.dúb) **II 57**
Ḫumbaba Part II: FsB 17
Igigū Part II: Emar 22[?]
Innin II 130a
^{d}in.nin/^{d}in.in I 12, 101; II 129 = III 921
Irnina I 6
Ištar I 88, 209[+Ug II 25′?]; *II 61(+70*) = III 8*, 108
It **II 49var.**
Kūbu Part II: Emar 22
Labāṣu amulet Ai 6 (colophon)
Lamassatu see *Lamaštu*
Lamaštu *I 22, 23 = III 110*, 69, *94 = III 130*; II 129a, 133a; *III 1*, 68var.; amulet Ai 6 (colophon)
Part II: OB_5 rev. 1; *Bo 3 (*Lamassatu)*; SKS 1; *RC 4, 28*; *BM 33399 I 6, II 3*
Lilû **I 114**
Part II: OB_3 8
Lugalabzu **I 207**
Ma[?] **Ug II 23**(I 210)
mārat Anu (see also Glossary s.v. *mārtu*) *I 23var.*, 37+ OA_1 4+OB_1 4*(mārti A.)*, *I 47 = III 119*, 110, 117, 189, 204var.+Ug II 18, 213, *220, 225*; II 34 = II 67 = III 14 = III 71var. = III 86, 39, *76(+63*) = III 22*, 92, 129a, 136 = III 93, 149, 152+MB I 2+Ug V 31 = III 95, 155, 160+MB I 9, 168+MB I 24, 180+MB II 6+Ug VI 10; *III 2, 4*
Part II: OA_2 7 *(martu A.)*; Emar 1; FsB 13, 28; RA 2, 14; STT 145 13, 20; *K 888 22*; *SpTU [2], 13*; *Assur memo 4*
Marduk I 19; Ug II 22(I 206); II 169–170, MB II 9(after II 182)
Part II: Emar 11, 26
Martu Part II: **Emar 22** (see also under *Amurru)*
Mīšar(u) II 49var., 52var.
Nabû II 179+MB II 5+Ug VI 14; colophon of text *b* IV 22; colophon of amulet Ah 2
Part II: Emar 11, 26
**Nāli* see Enlil
Nanâ II 109
Nikkal Part II: Emar 41[?]
Nikkilil see *Ningirim*
Ningirim I 86, 92; **OA_1 18**(after I 43)*(Nikkilil)*; III 60
Nin/kkarrak **I 87**, 92; OA_1 20(after I 43)
Part II: [Ug IV 16]
Ninlil I 18, 205+Ug II 20; II 101
Ninurta I 85; *II 62(+71*) = III 9*; MB II 8(after II 182)
Nisaba *I 58 = III 44*; colophon of text *b* IV 22
Papsukkal II 53
Pasussatu I 67
Sîn I 82
Ṣarpānītu **I 19var.**; Ug II 22(I 206); MB II 9(after II 182)
Part II: Emar 26
Šakkan MB II 20(after II 188)
Šamaš (see also Akkadian under *šamšu*) I 45+Ug V 27, 83; II 111, 126, 181+MB II 10
Part II: Emar 41; [ND 11] = Ug III 7; *SpTU [7], 12*
Šar'ur **II 50**
Šazu **I 206**
Tašmētu Part II: **Emar 27***(*Tašmēnītu)*
Usmû **I 208**

Non-Divine Names

Ana-maṣṣartika-lā-teggi (dog) *II 78 = III 24*
Anu-na'id$^{?}$ s. of *Ina-tēšê-eṭir* (PN, owner) amulet Ah colophon 1
Ē-tamtal(*l*)*ik-epuš-pīka* (dog) *II 80 = III 26*
Ilu-ittija (PN, *ša-rēši* official of *Šamšī-Adad* V, owner) amulet Ai colophon 1, 7
Ina-tēšê-eṭir f. of *Anu-na'id*$^{?}$ (PN, f. of owner) amulet Ah colophon 1
Narām-Sîn (king) Part II: ND 13+Ug III 8
Sikip-lemna[-?] (dog) *II 80 = III 26*
Sîn-rē'i-kalbī (dog) *II 82(+69*) = [III 27]*
Šamšī-Adad (king) amulet Ai colophon 2
Šarru-kīn (king) Part II: ND 13+Ug III 9
Šaruḫ-tibušu (dog) *[II 75] = III 22*
Urruḫ-tibušu (dog) *II 78 = III 24*
Uṣur-mūša-ṭurud-Mārat-Anu (dog) *II 76 = III 22*
xx-ki$^{?}$-NUMUN-*šú* (PN, scribe, *mār šangê Nabû u Nisaba*) text *b* colophon IV 22

Localities

Araḫtum Part II: OB_3 17
Aššur colophon, amulet Ai 3
Ebiḫ II 2
Ekur **I 87**, 89
Eridu II 22–23
E'ulmaš II 3+Ug III 18*(Ulmaš)*
Idiglat Part II: Ug IV 11
Libbi-āli Part II: FsB 20
Purattu Part II: [Ug IV 11]
Sutû II 137
Ubšukkinakku **I 89**
Ulâ **II 46**
Ulmaš see *E'ulmaš*

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The following standard handbooks of Akkadian and Cuneiform are not quoted by author and date but only by their commonly accepted abbreviations, plus page, paragraph, or entry number:

ABZ^{2}	for bibliographical details, see below under Borger 1981
AHw.	see below under von Soden 1959–1981
AS^{4}	see below under von Soden and Röllig 1991
CAD	see below under Oppenheim et al. 1956–2010
GAG	see below under von Soden 1995
MZL	see below under Borger 2003

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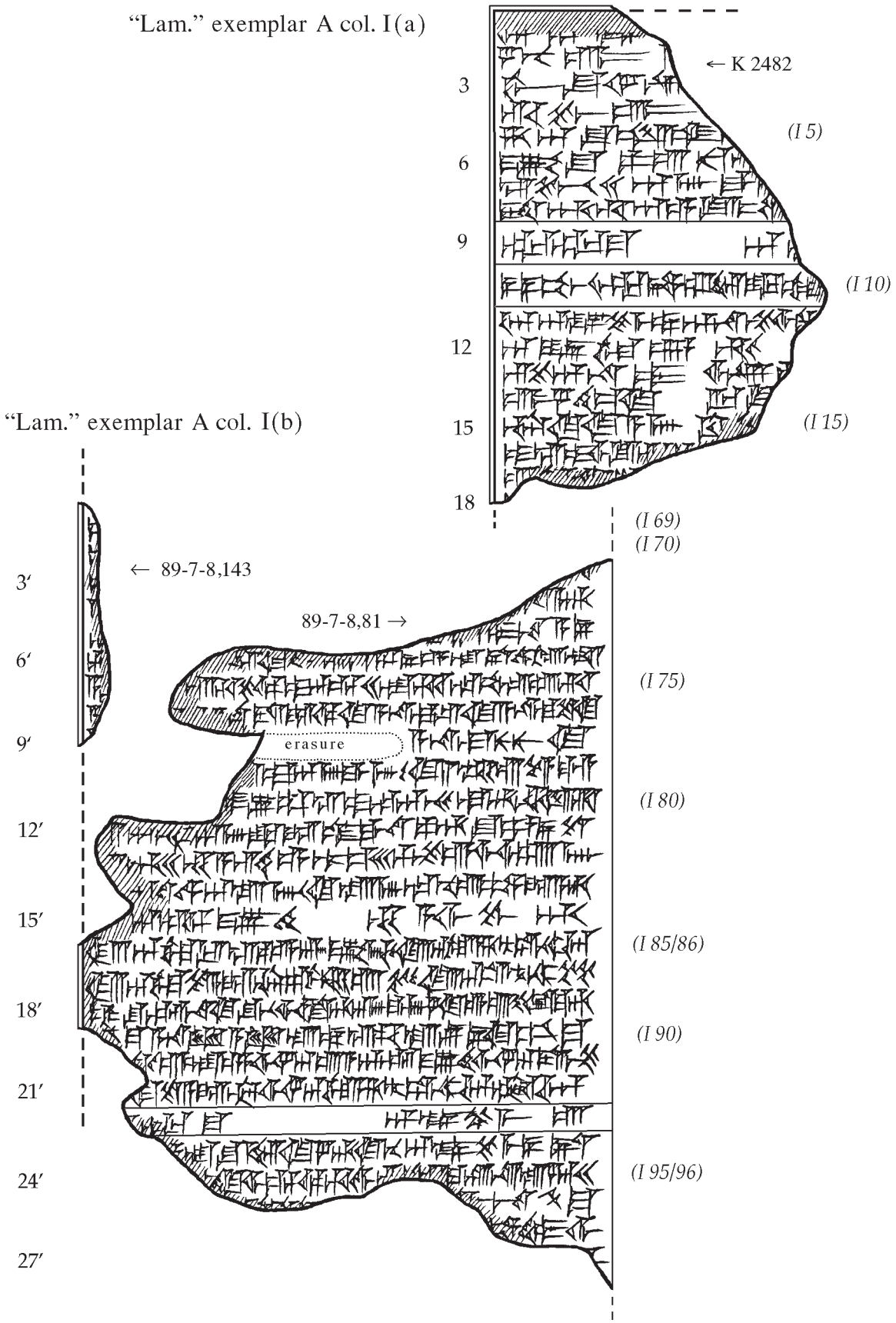
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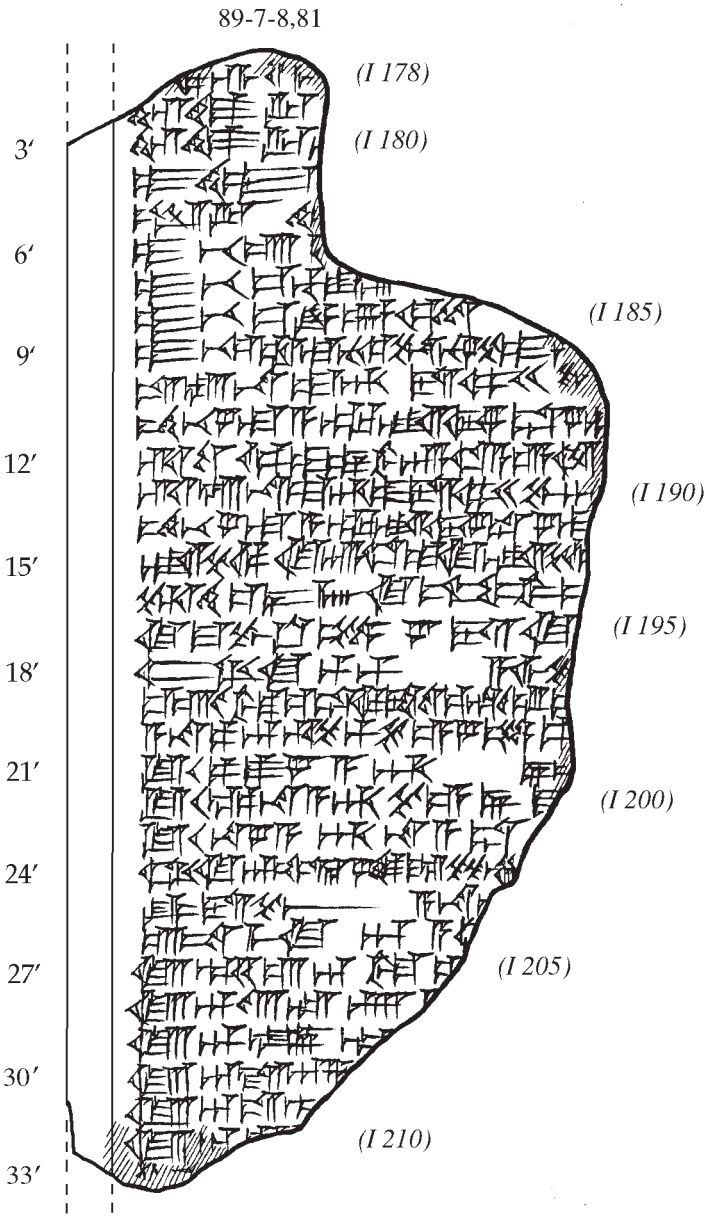
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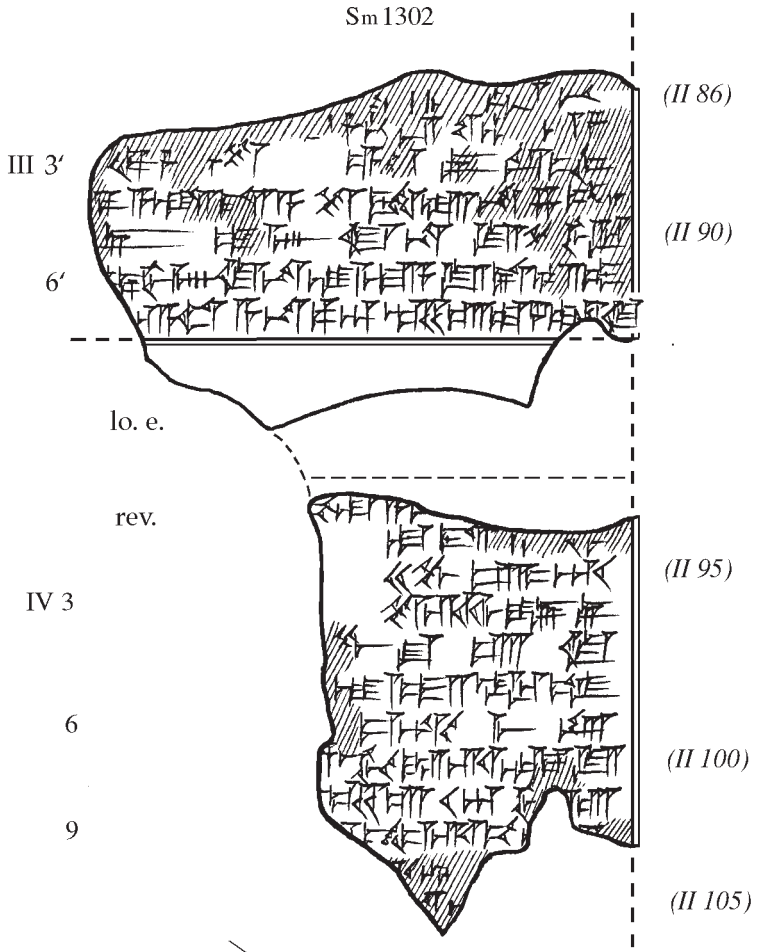
Plates


"Lam." exemplar A col. I(a)
← K 2482
3
6
9
12
15
18
(I 5)
(I 10)
(I 15)
"Lam." exemplar A col. I(b)
← 89-7-8,143
89-7-8,81 →
erasure
3′
6′
9′
12′
15′
18′
21′
24′
27′
(I 69)
(I 70)
(I 75)
(I 80)
(I 85/86)
(I 90)
(I 95/96)

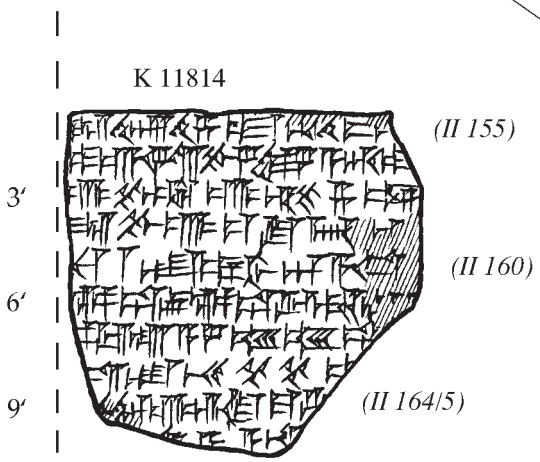
"Lam." exemplar A col. II



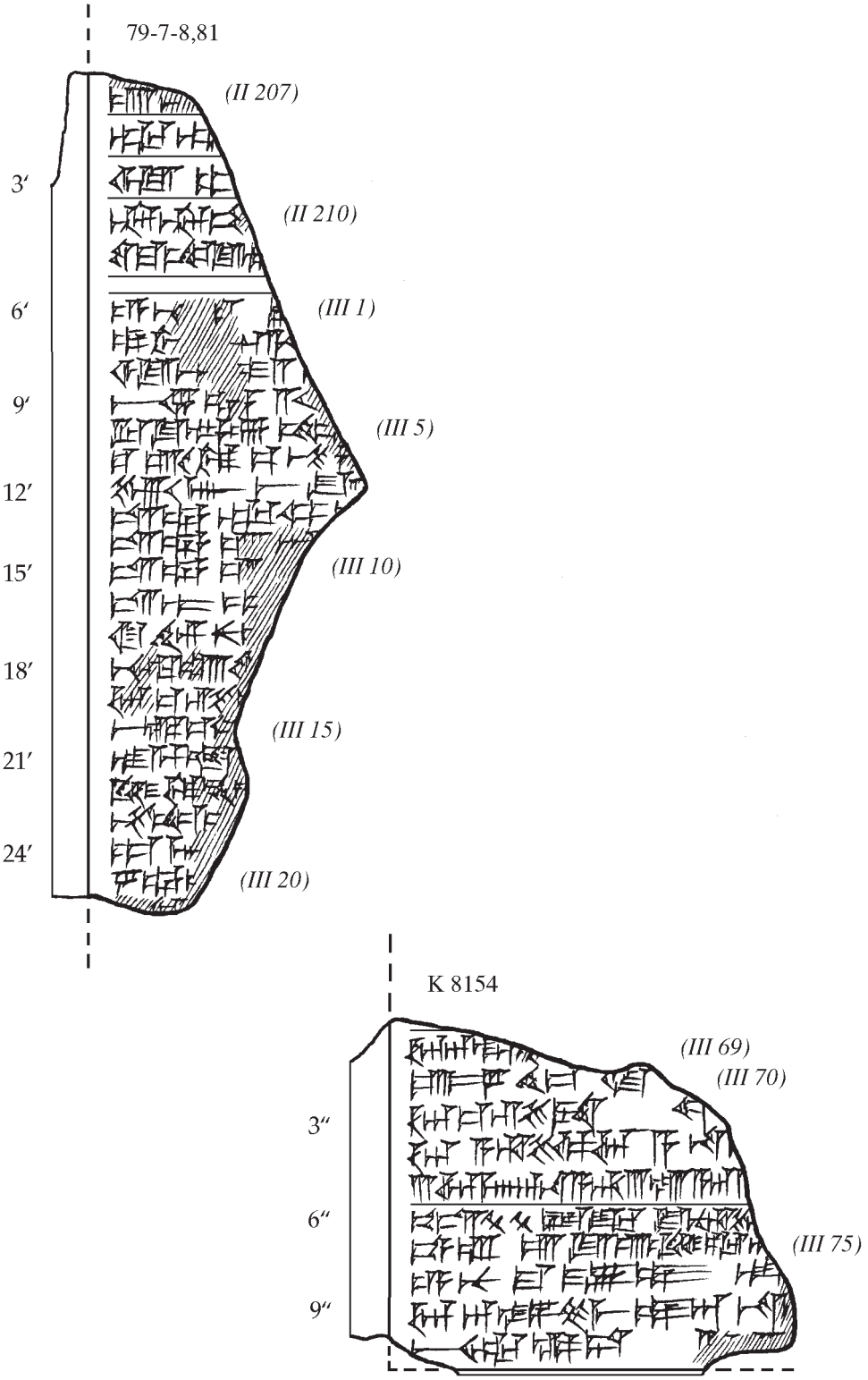
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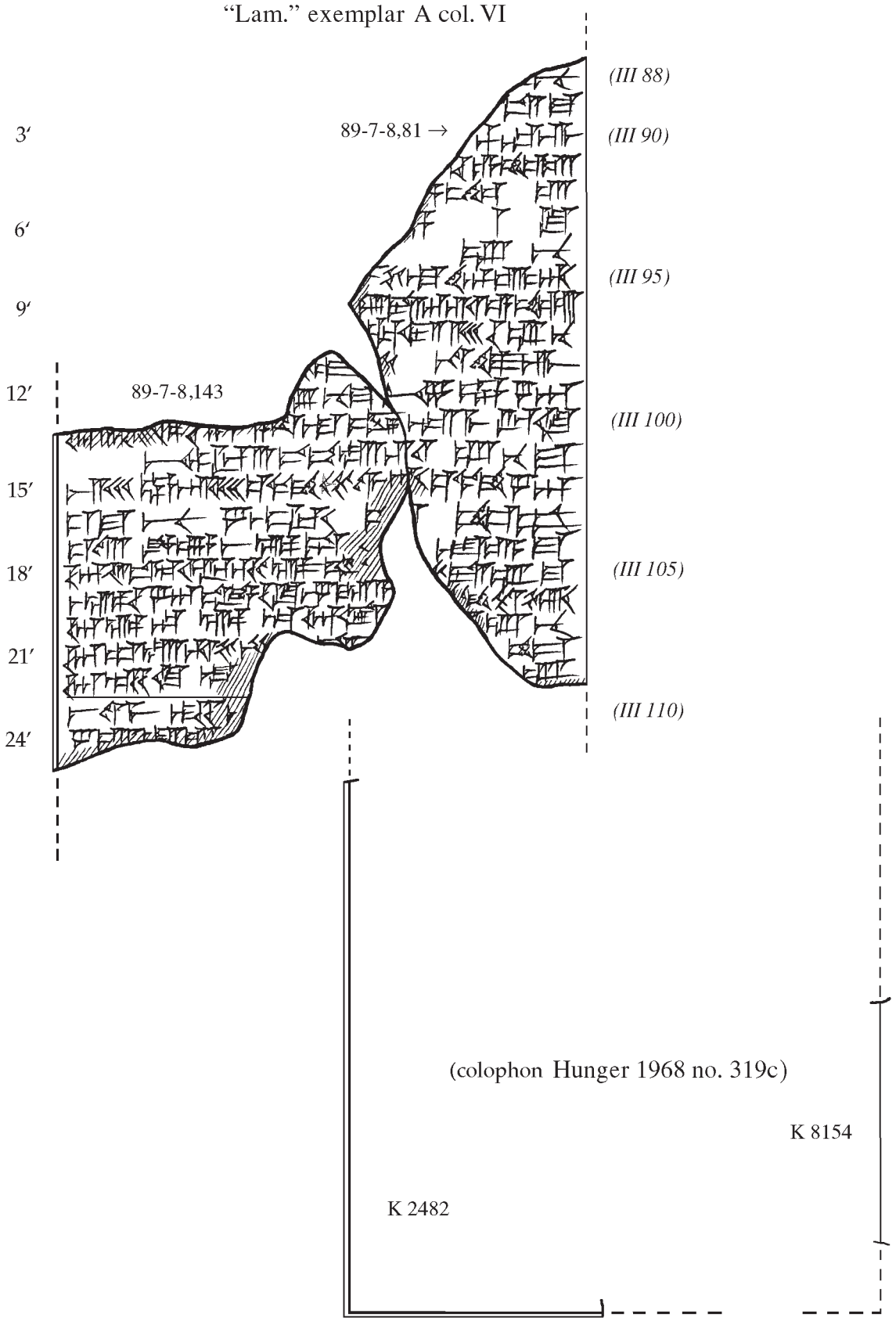


Text A col. IV(b)

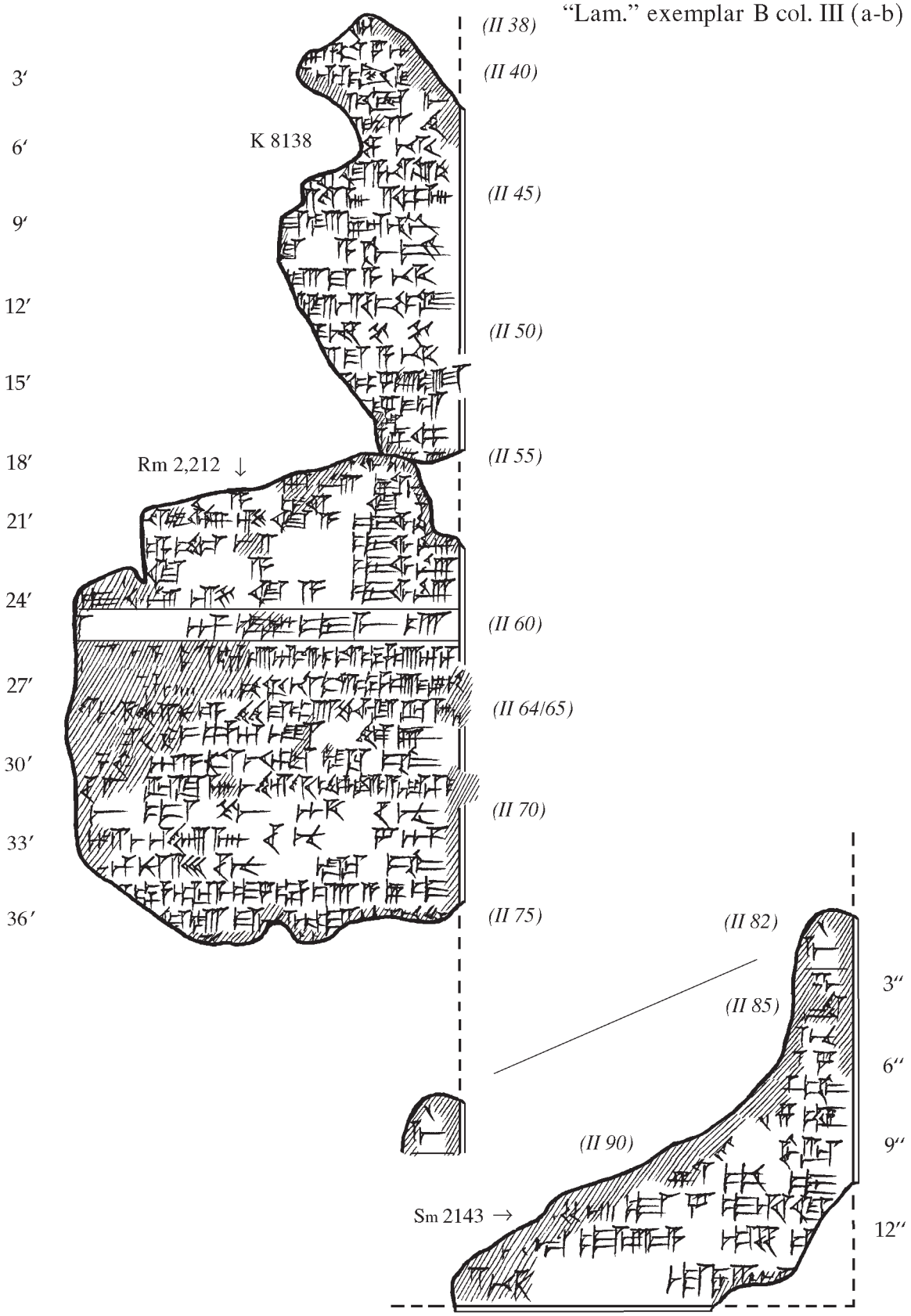


"Lam." exemplar A col. V (a-b)

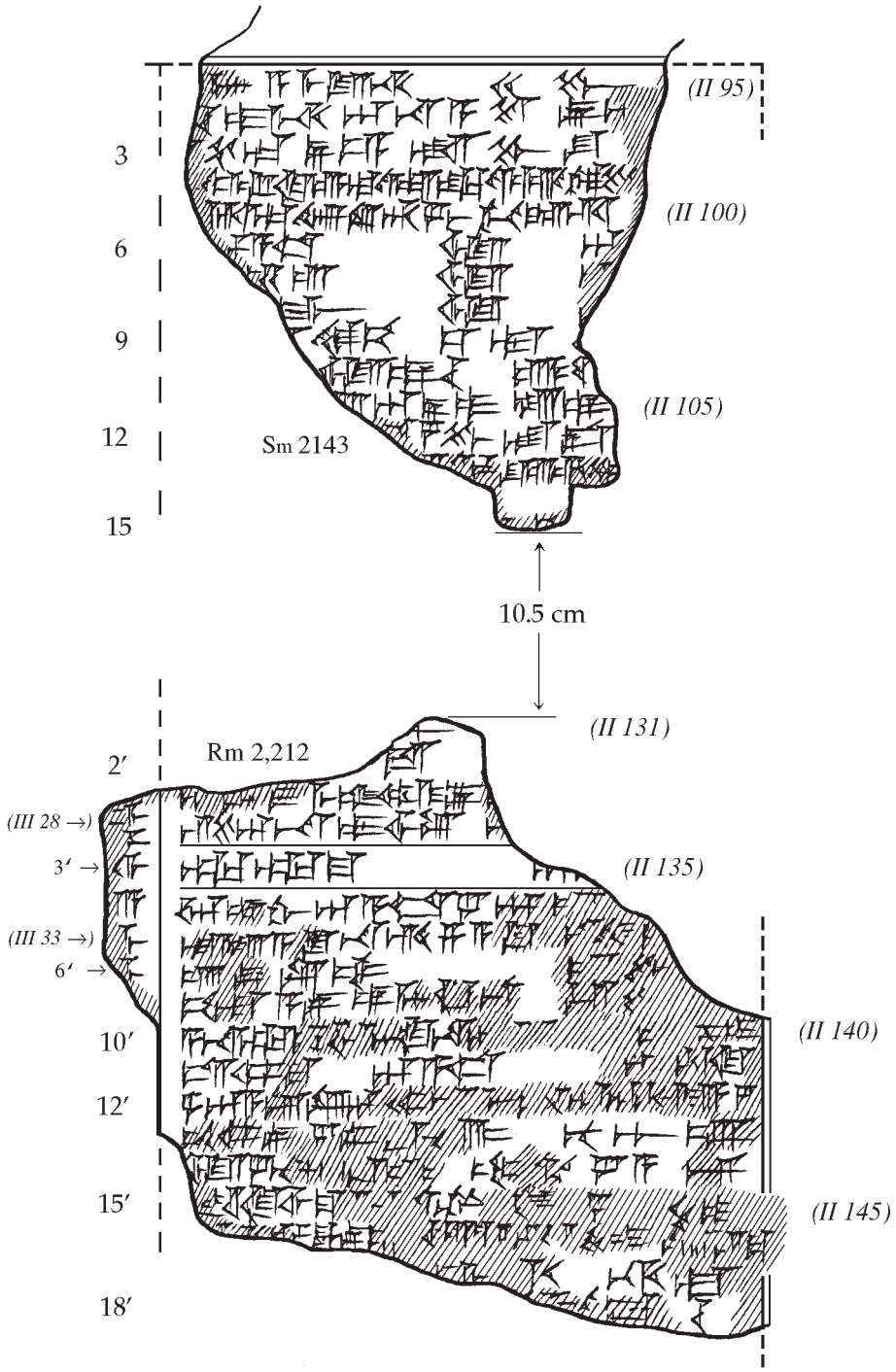



"Lam." exemplar A col. VI
(III 88)
3′
89-7-8,81 →
(III 90)
6′
(III 95)
9′
12′
89-7-8,143
(III 100)
15′
18′
(III 105)
21′
(III 110)
24′
(colophon Hunger 1968 no. 319c)
K 8154
K 2482
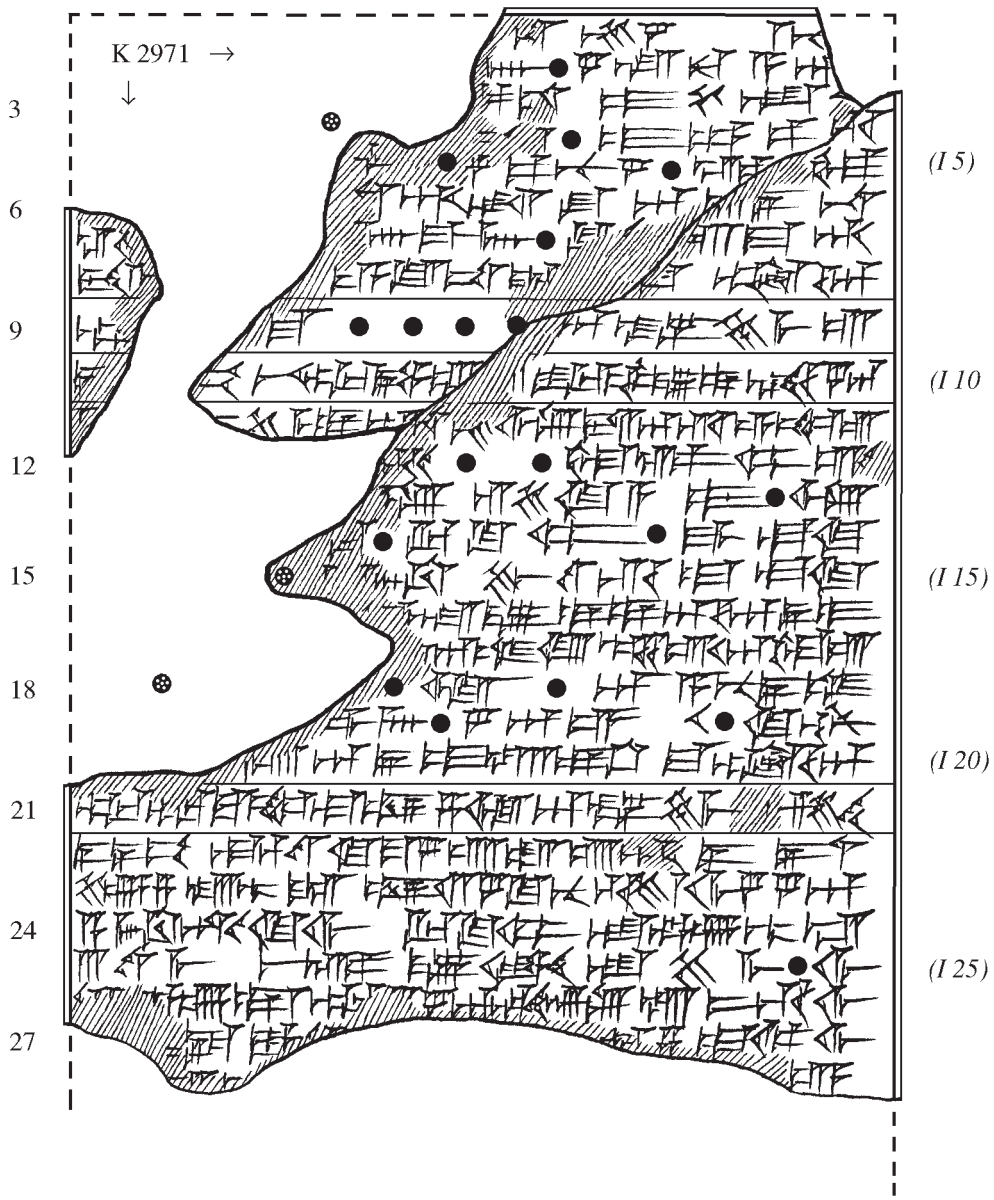
"Lam." exemplar B col. III (a-b)



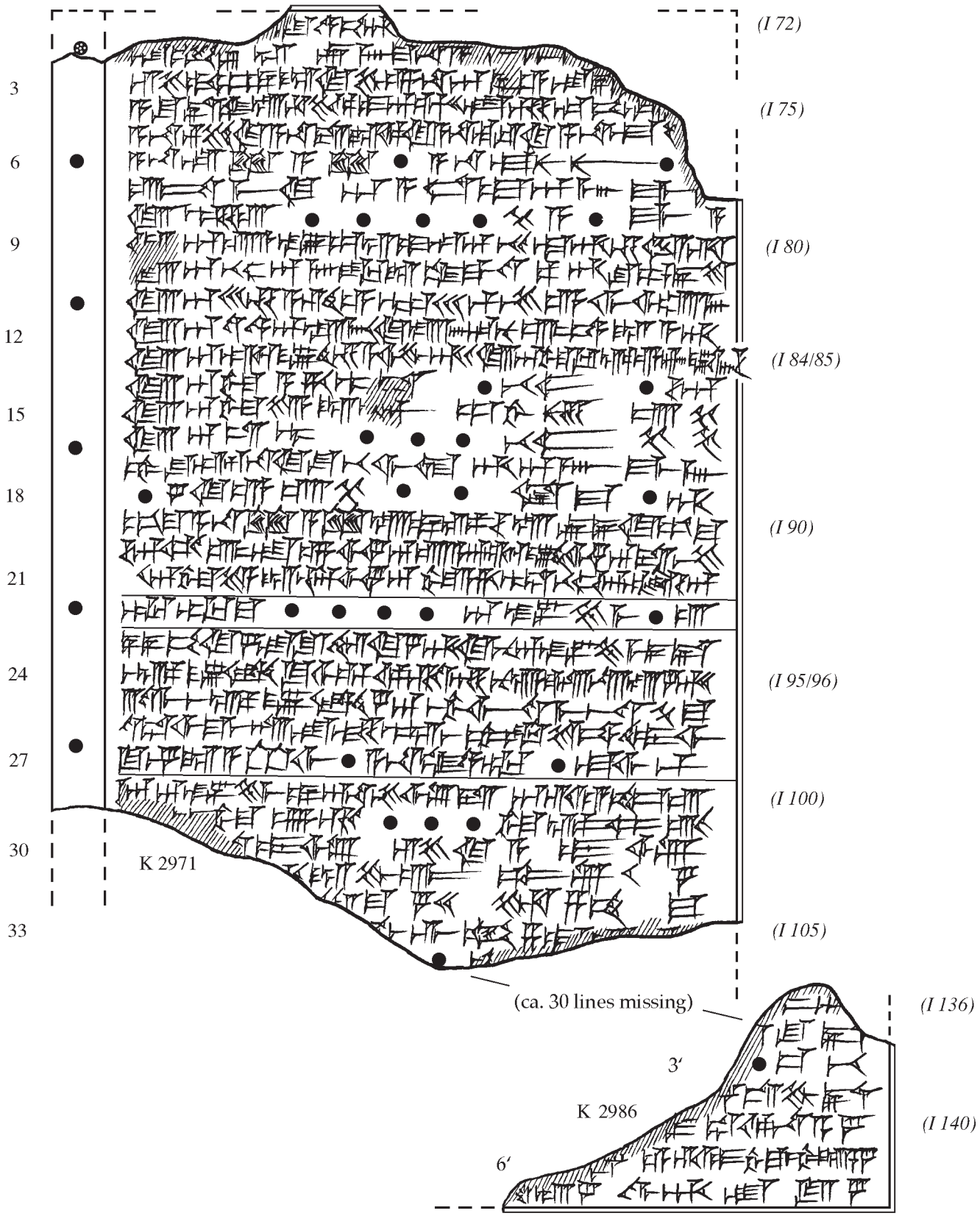
"Lam." exemplar B col. IV(a-b) and V



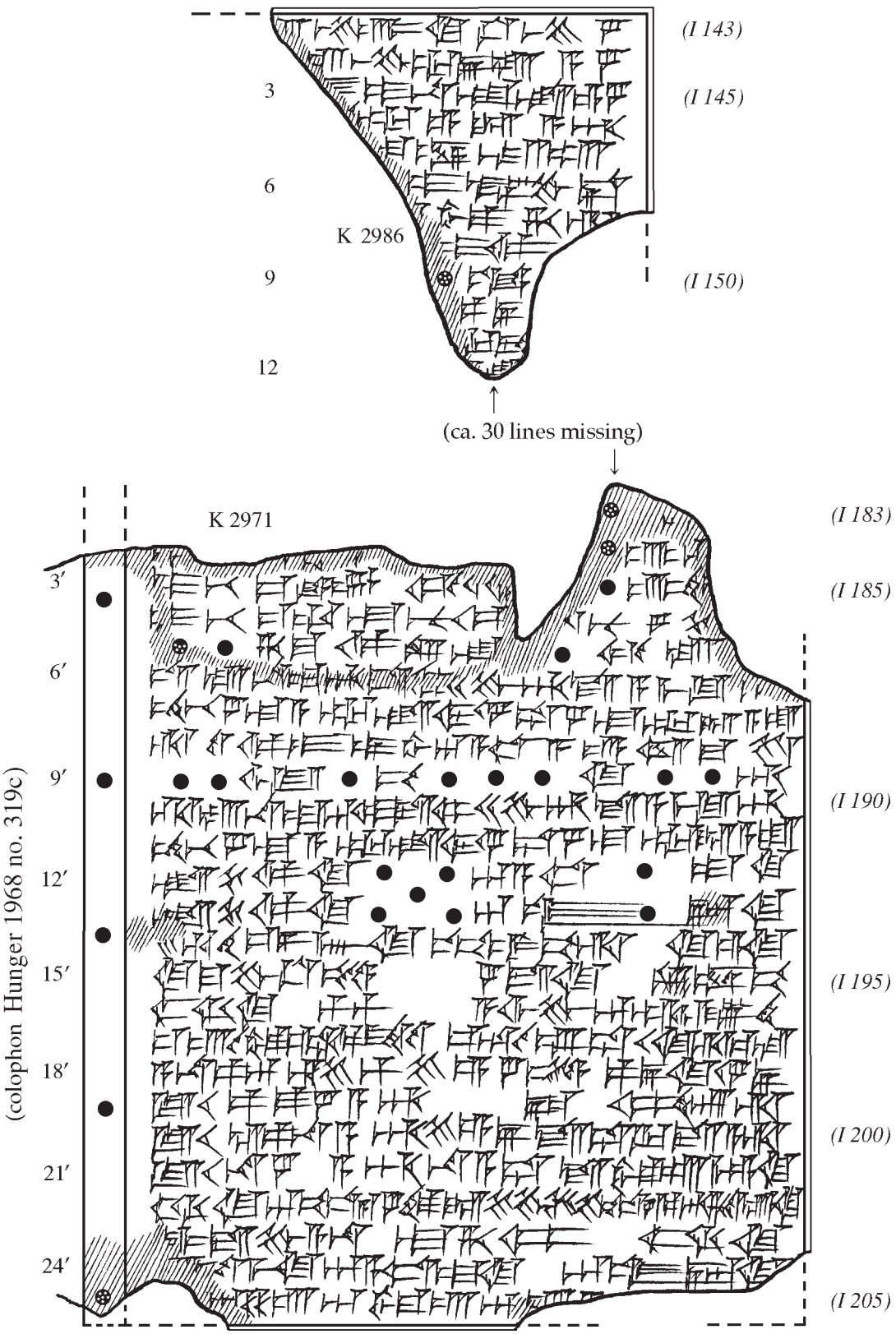
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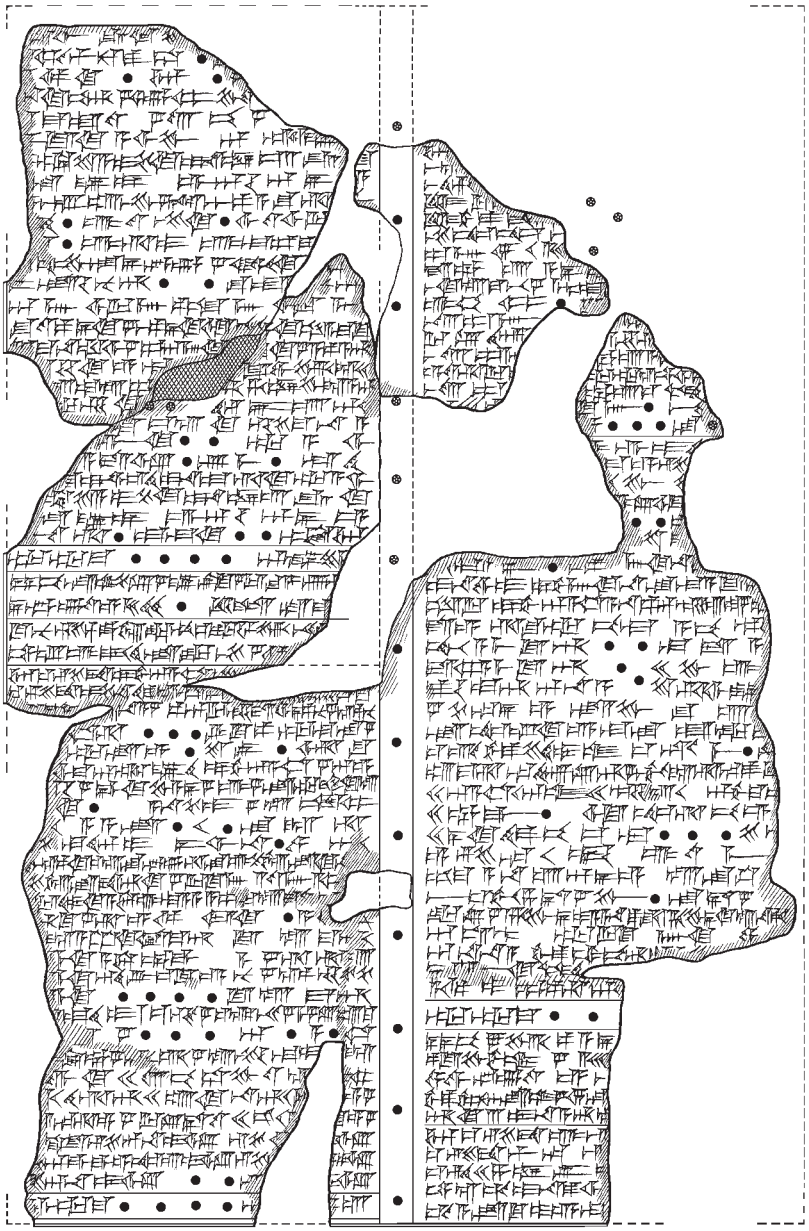
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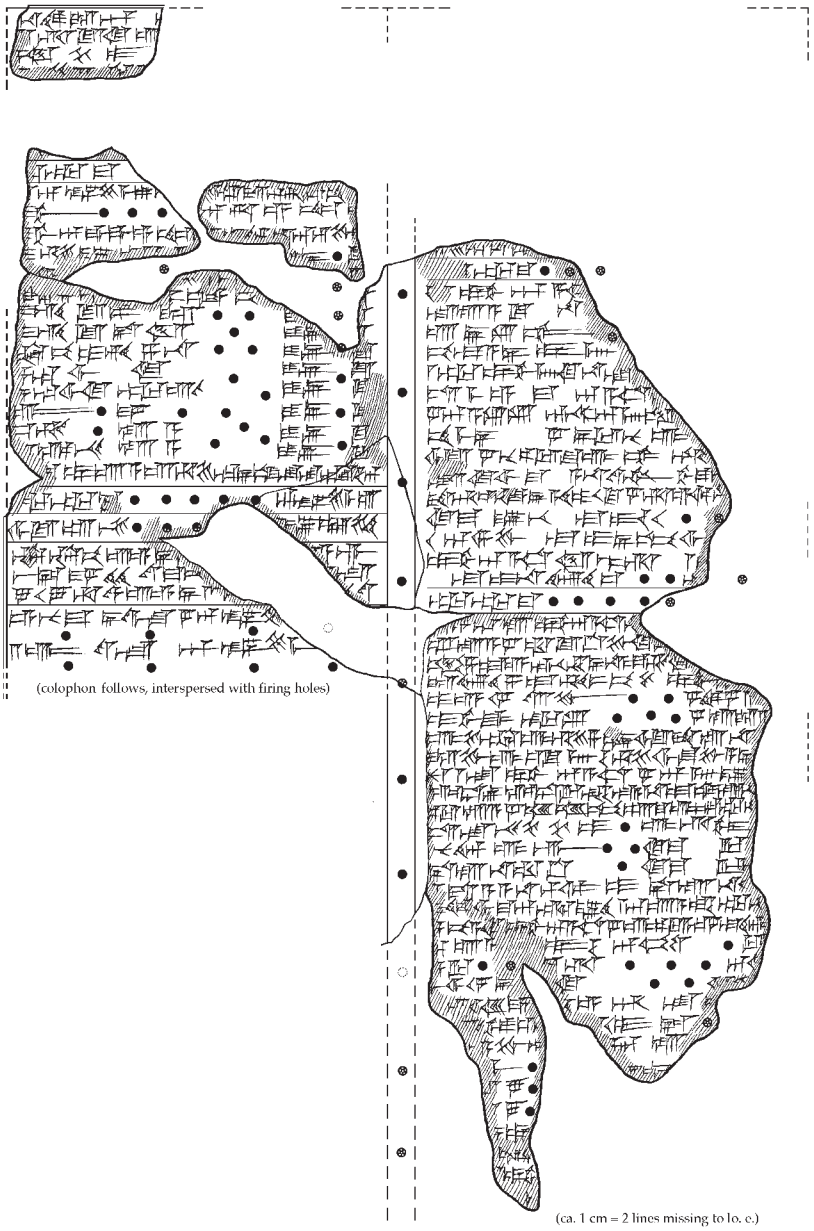
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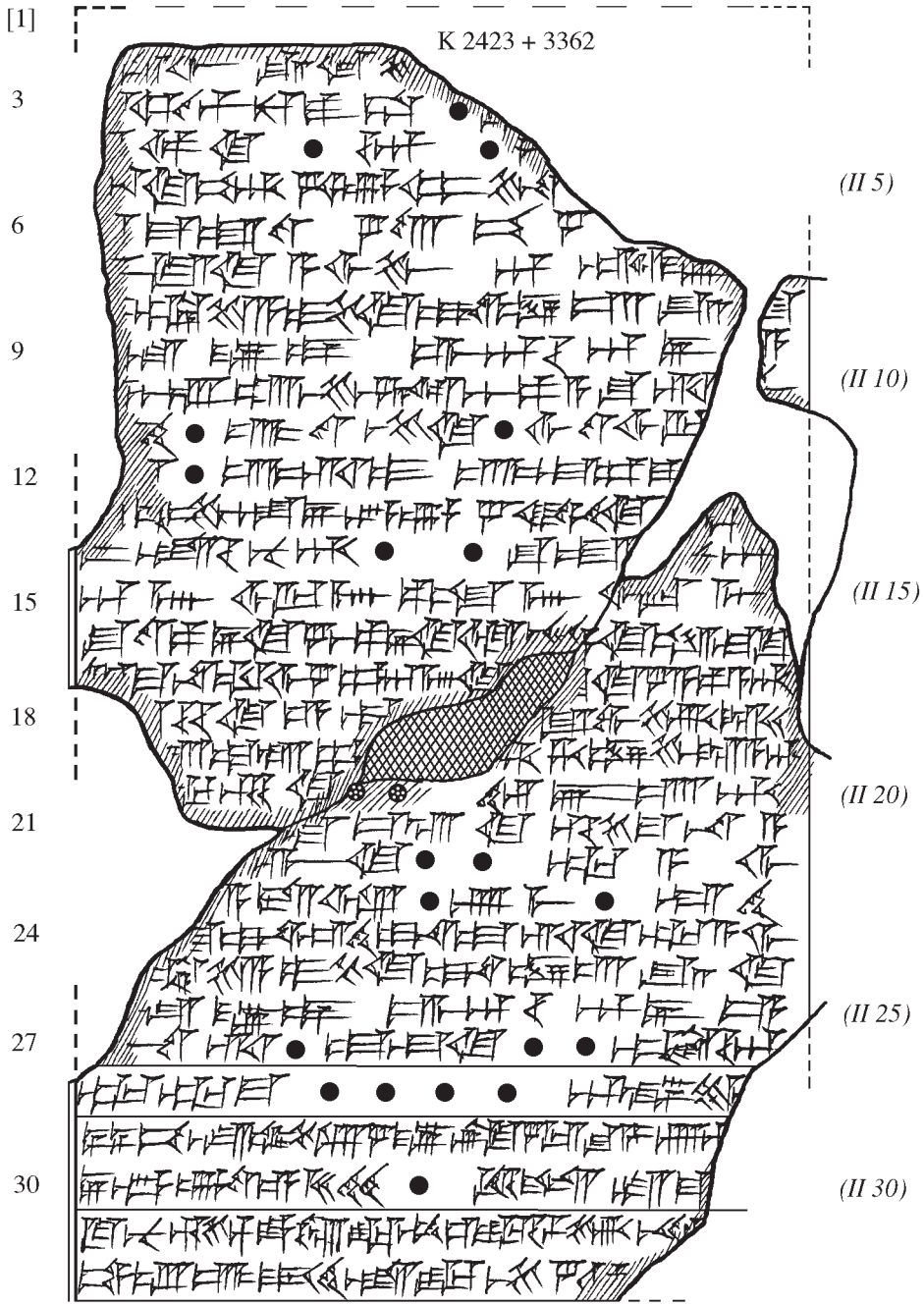
"Lam." exemplar C_2 obv. (overview)



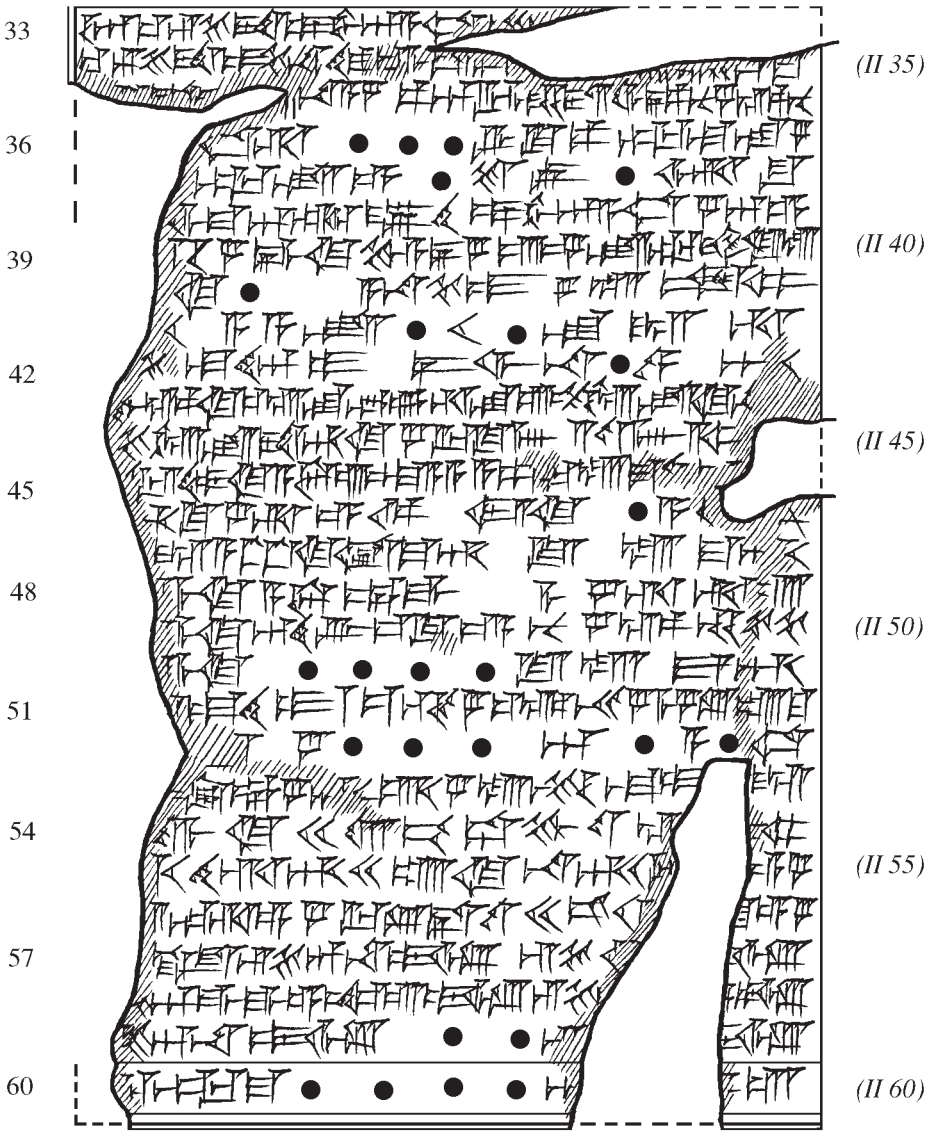
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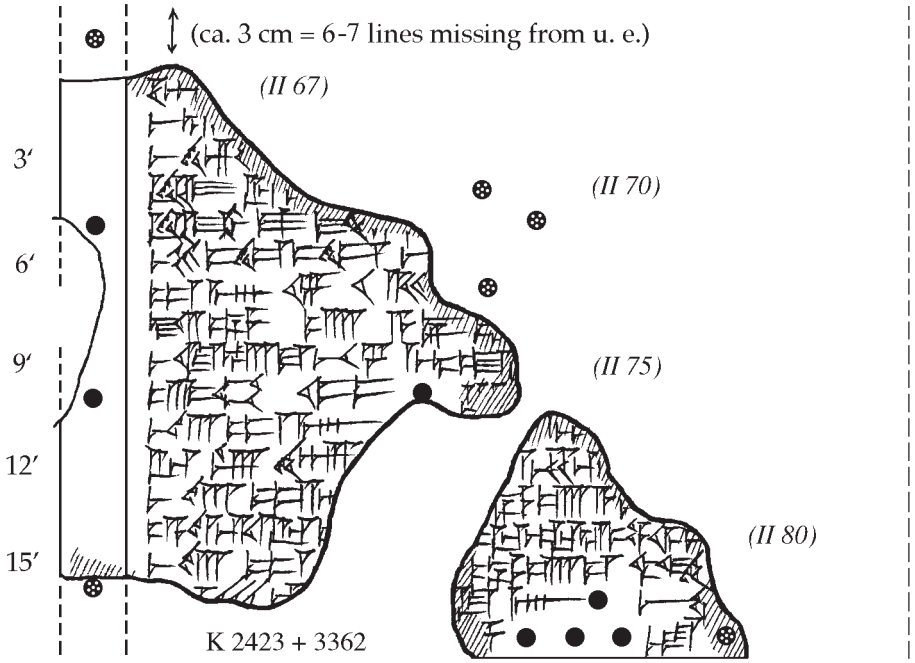


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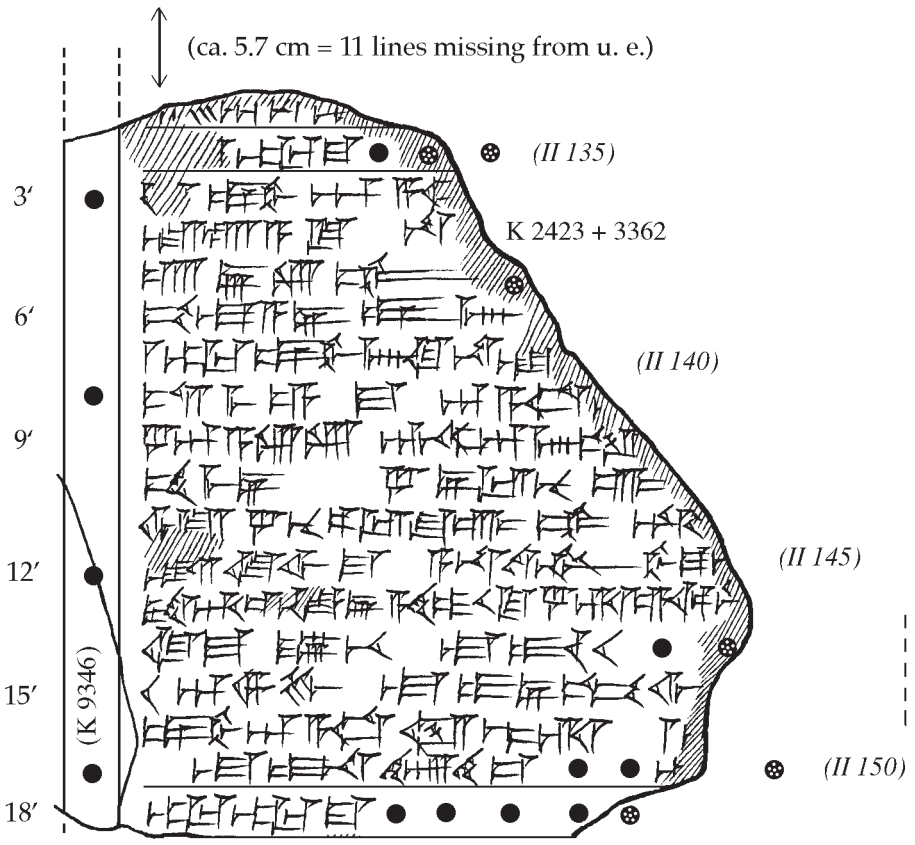


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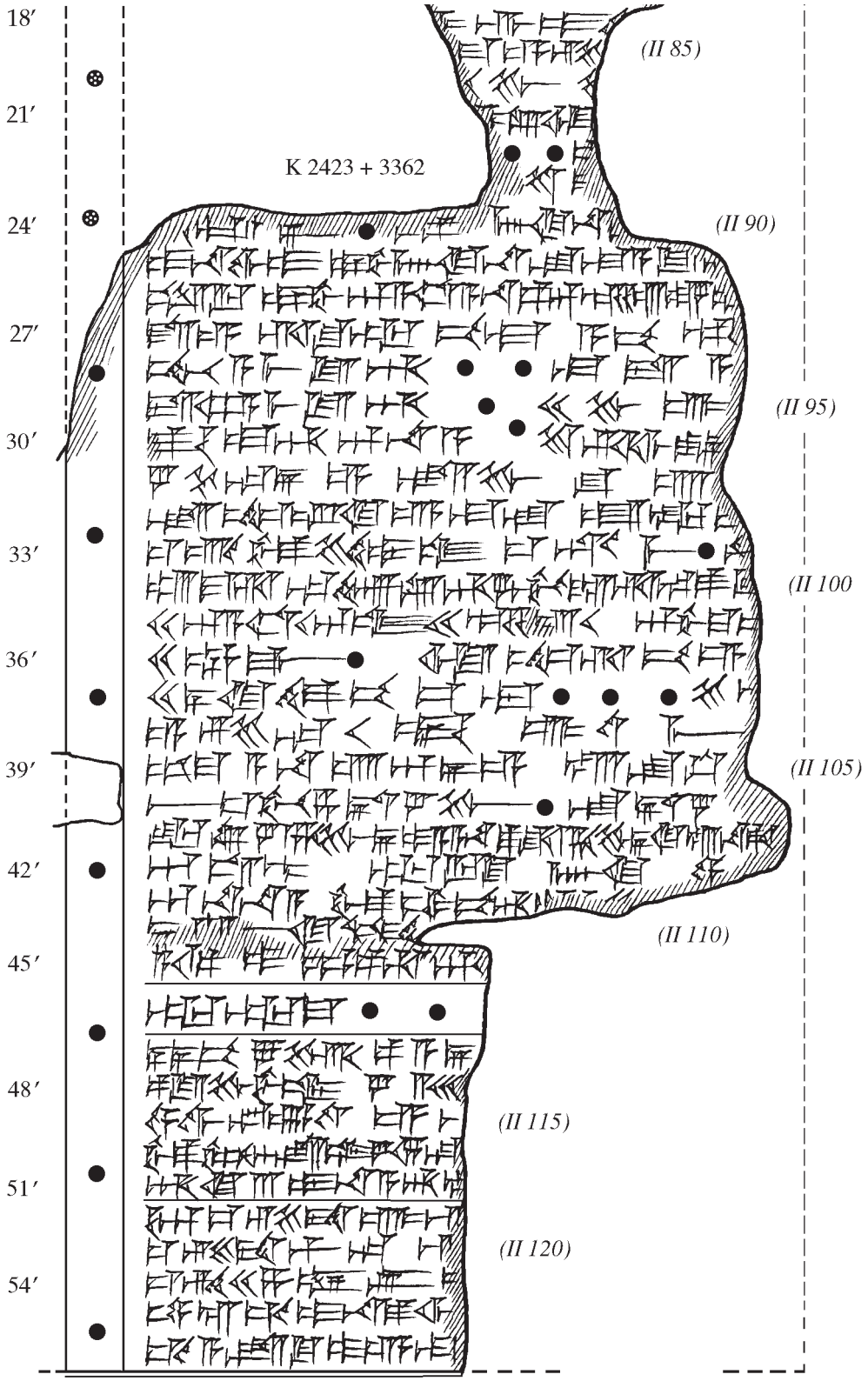
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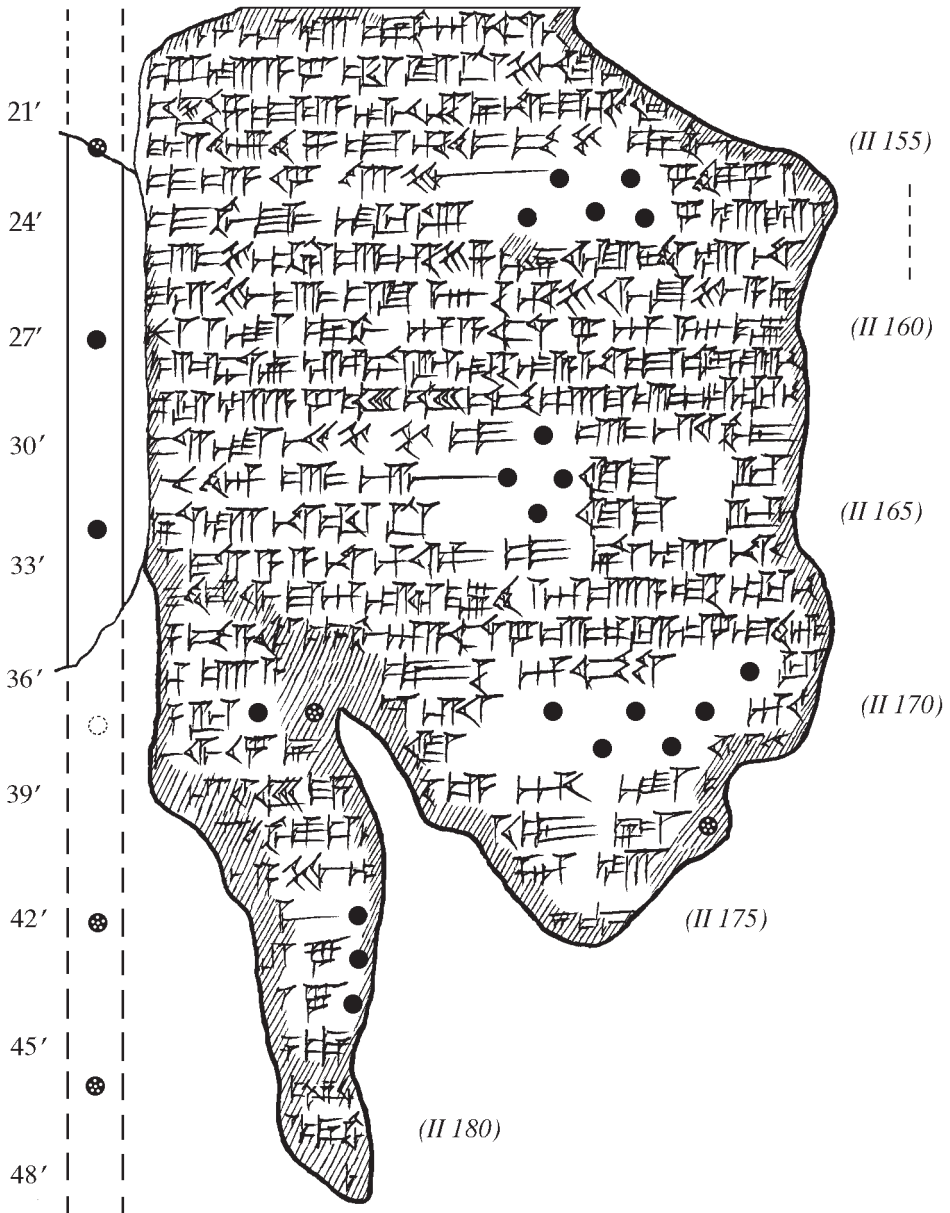
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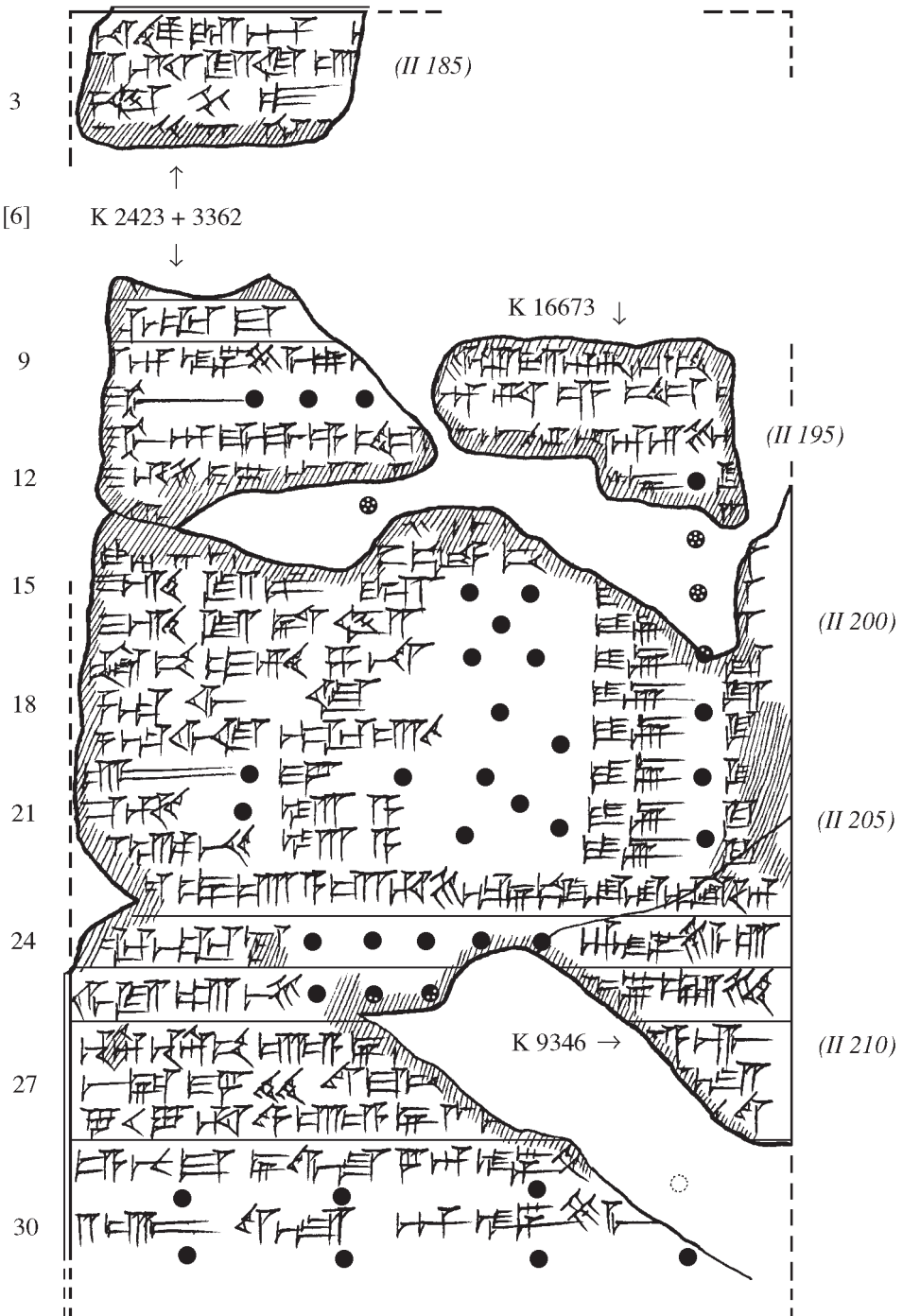


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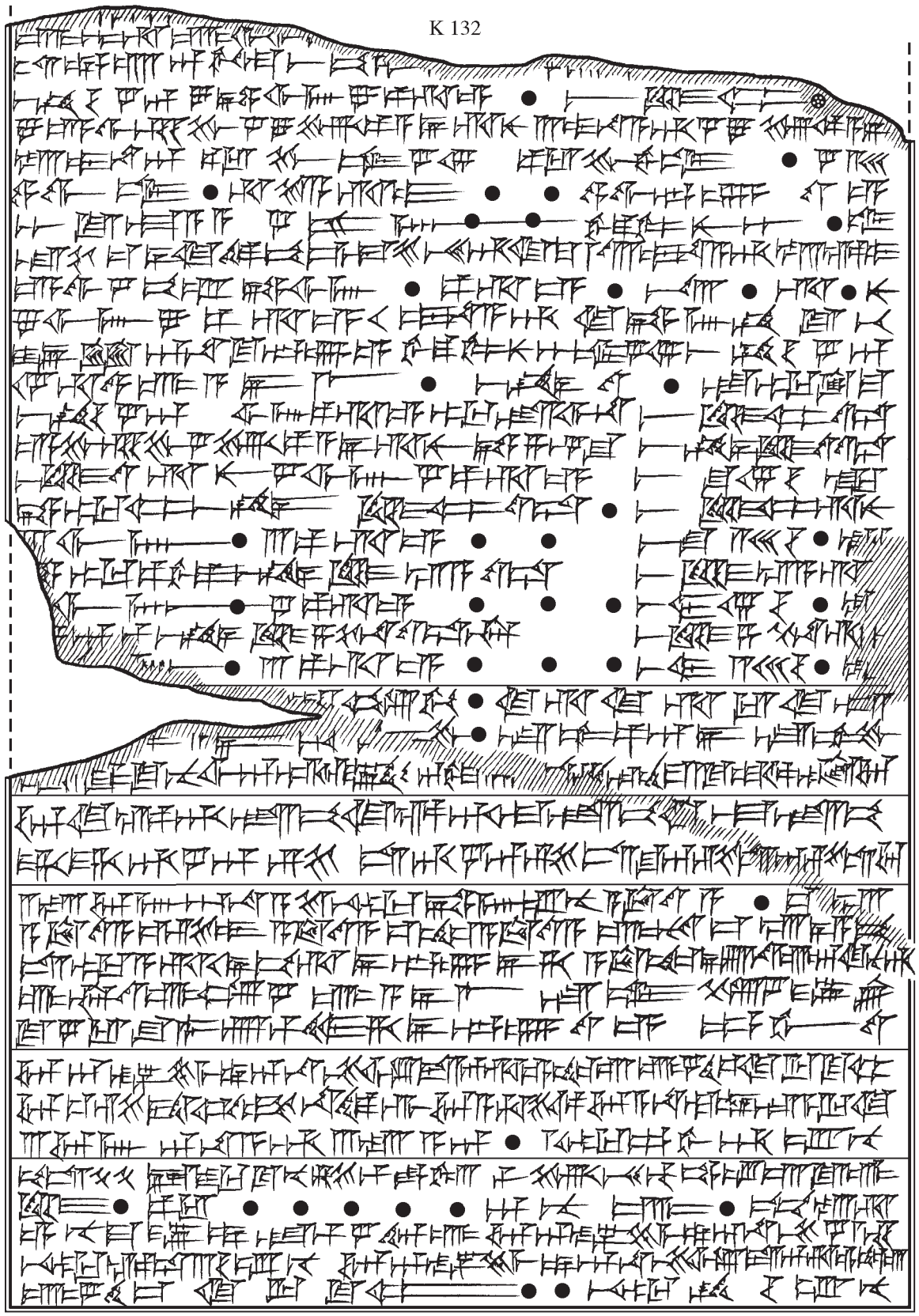
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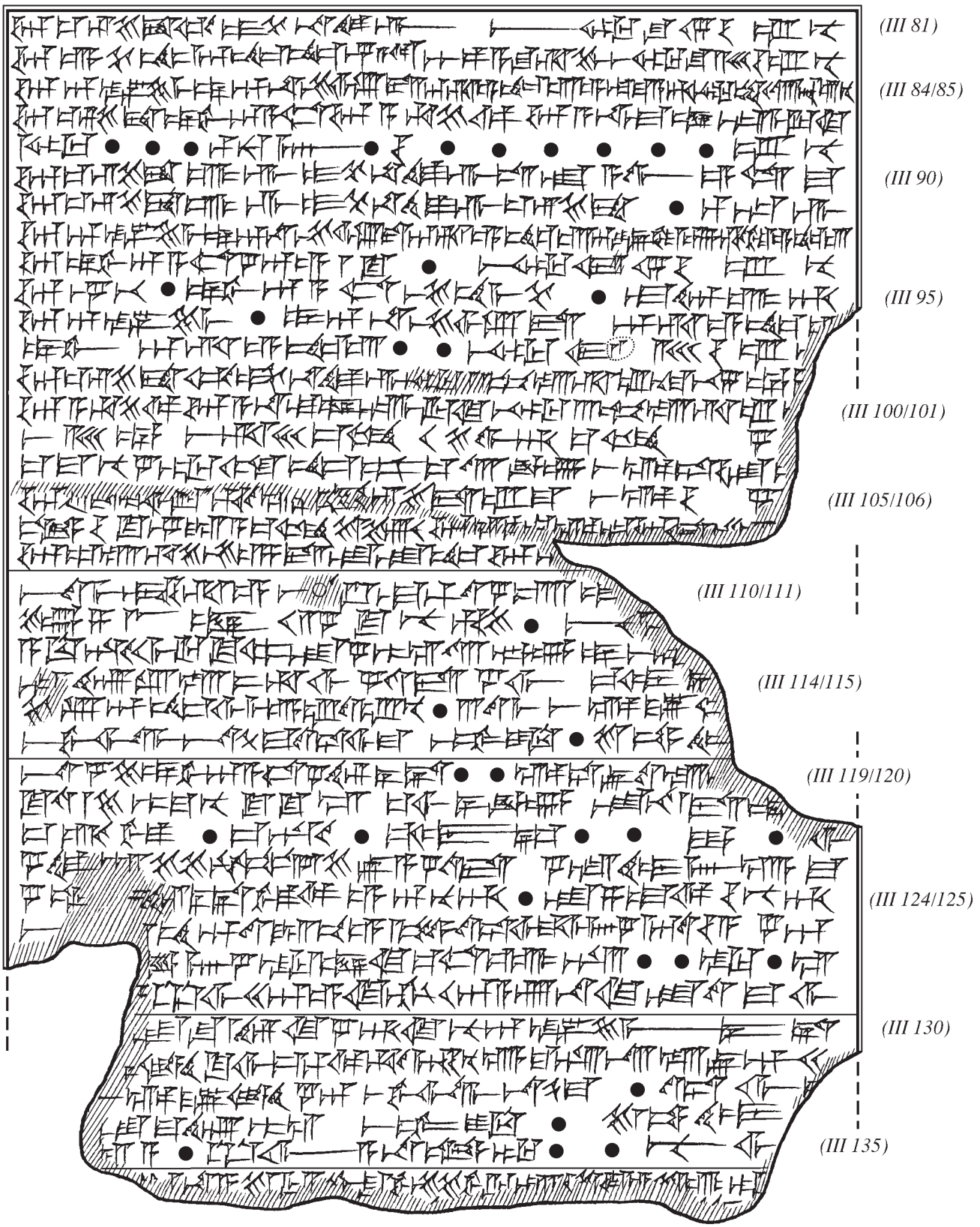


(colophon Hunger 1968 no. 319c follows, interspersed with firing holes)

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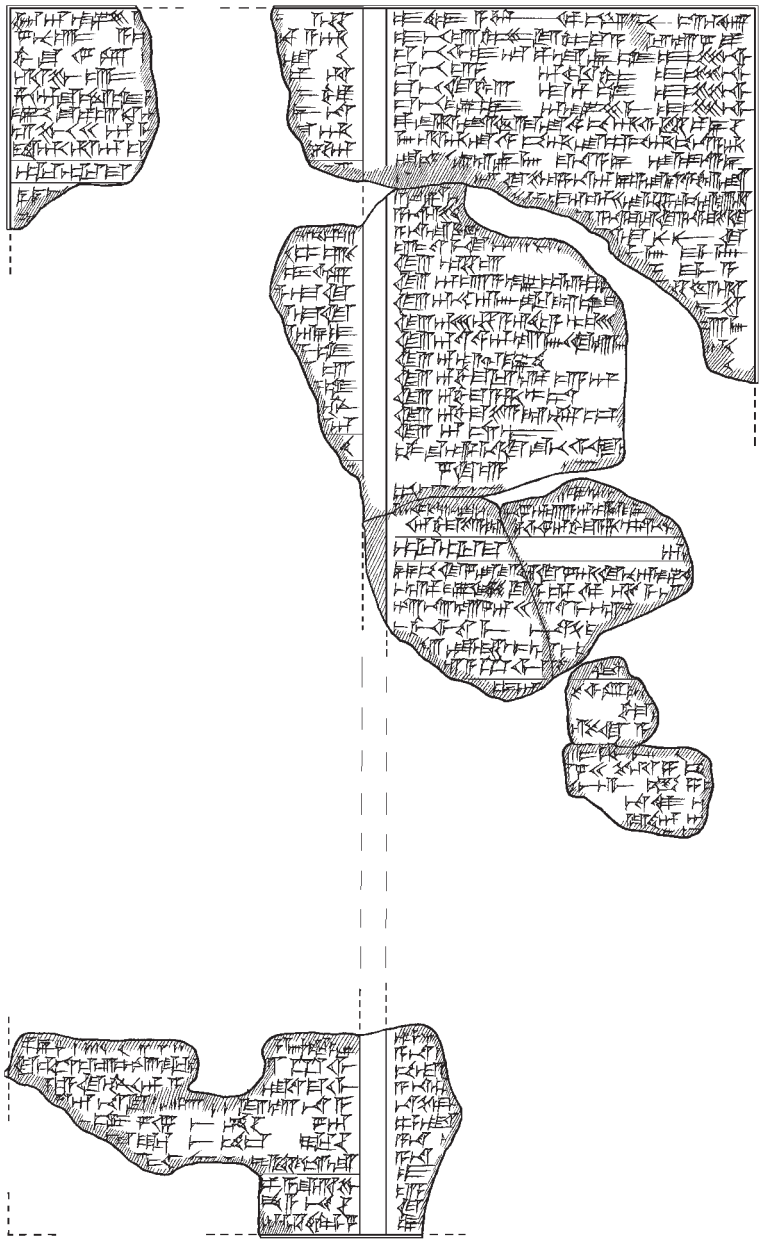


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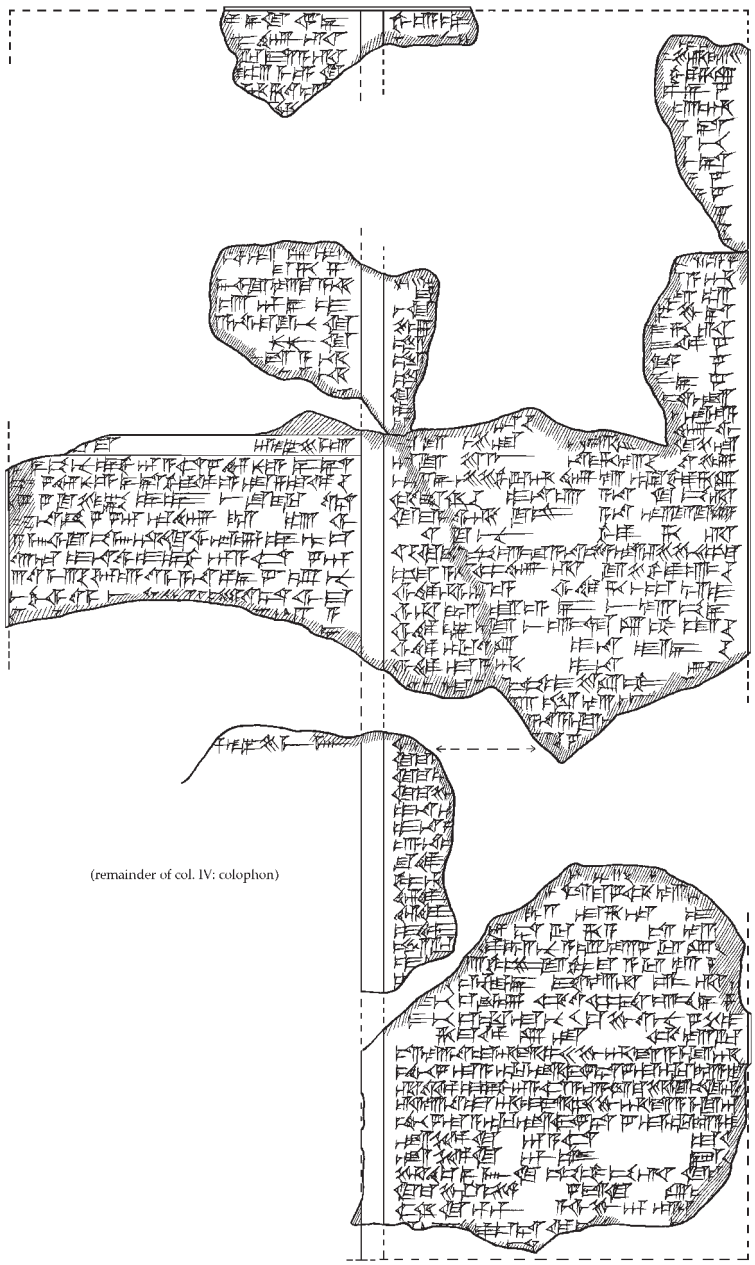


K 132

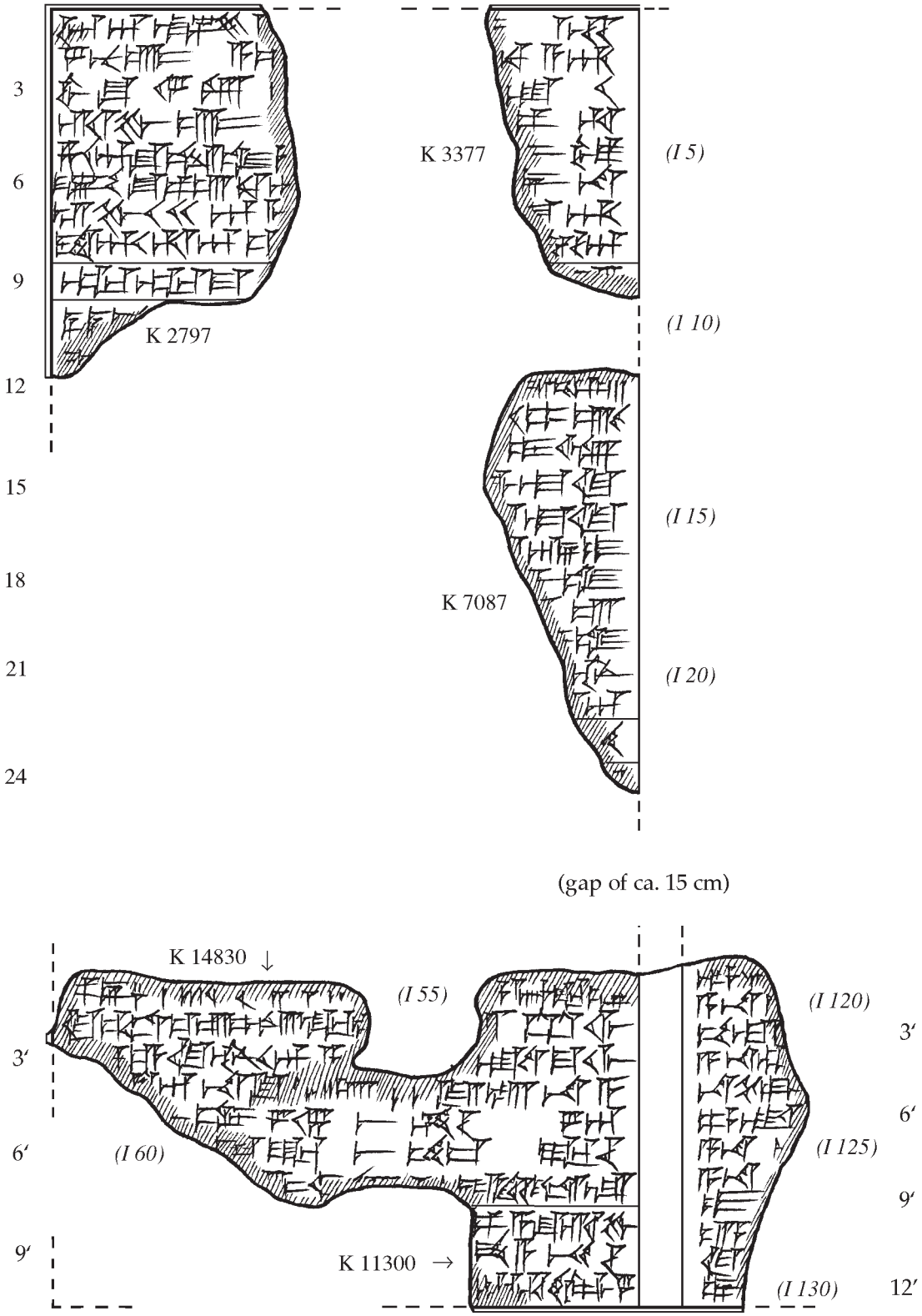
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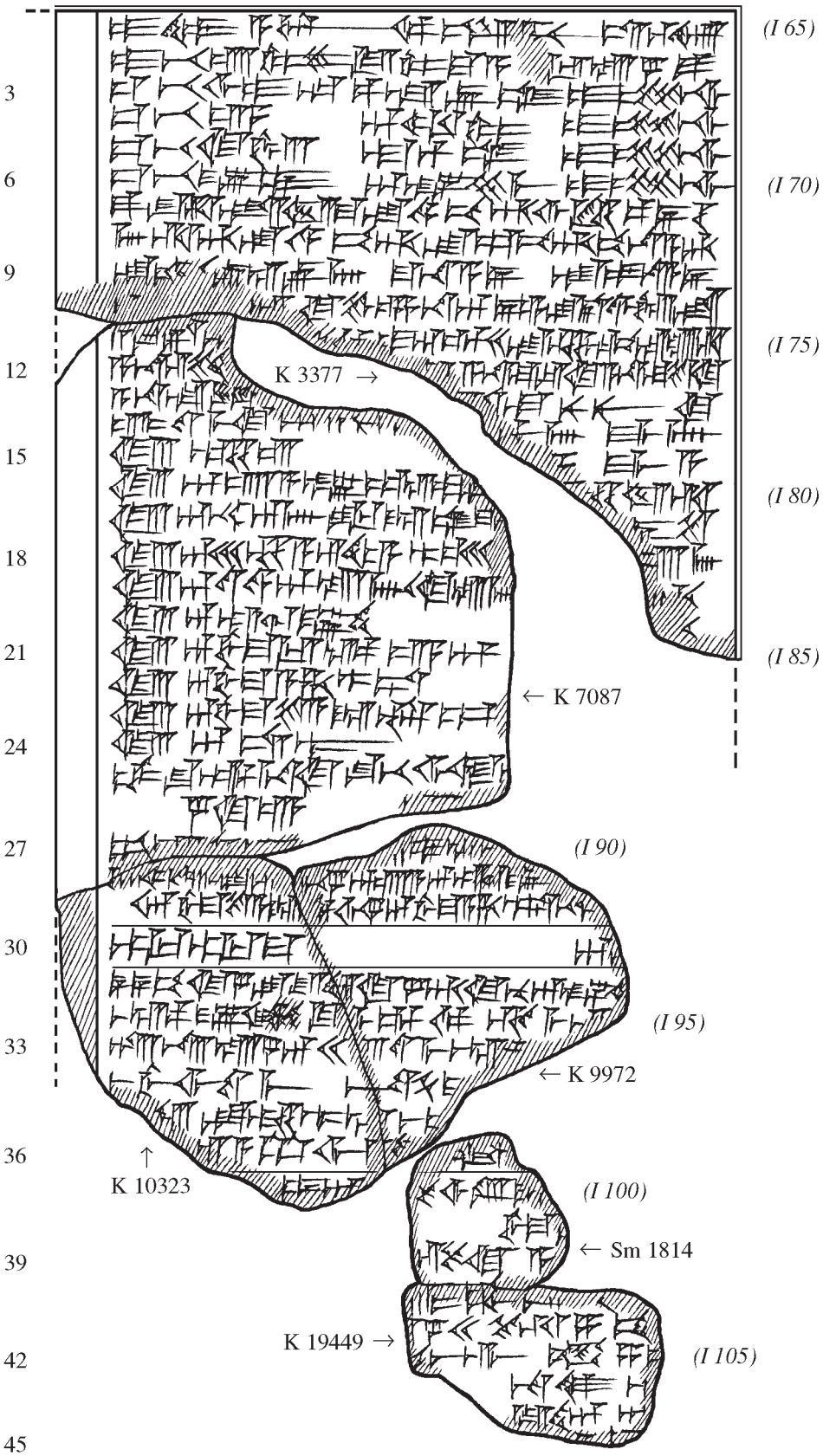
"Lam." exemplar D_1 rev. (overview)



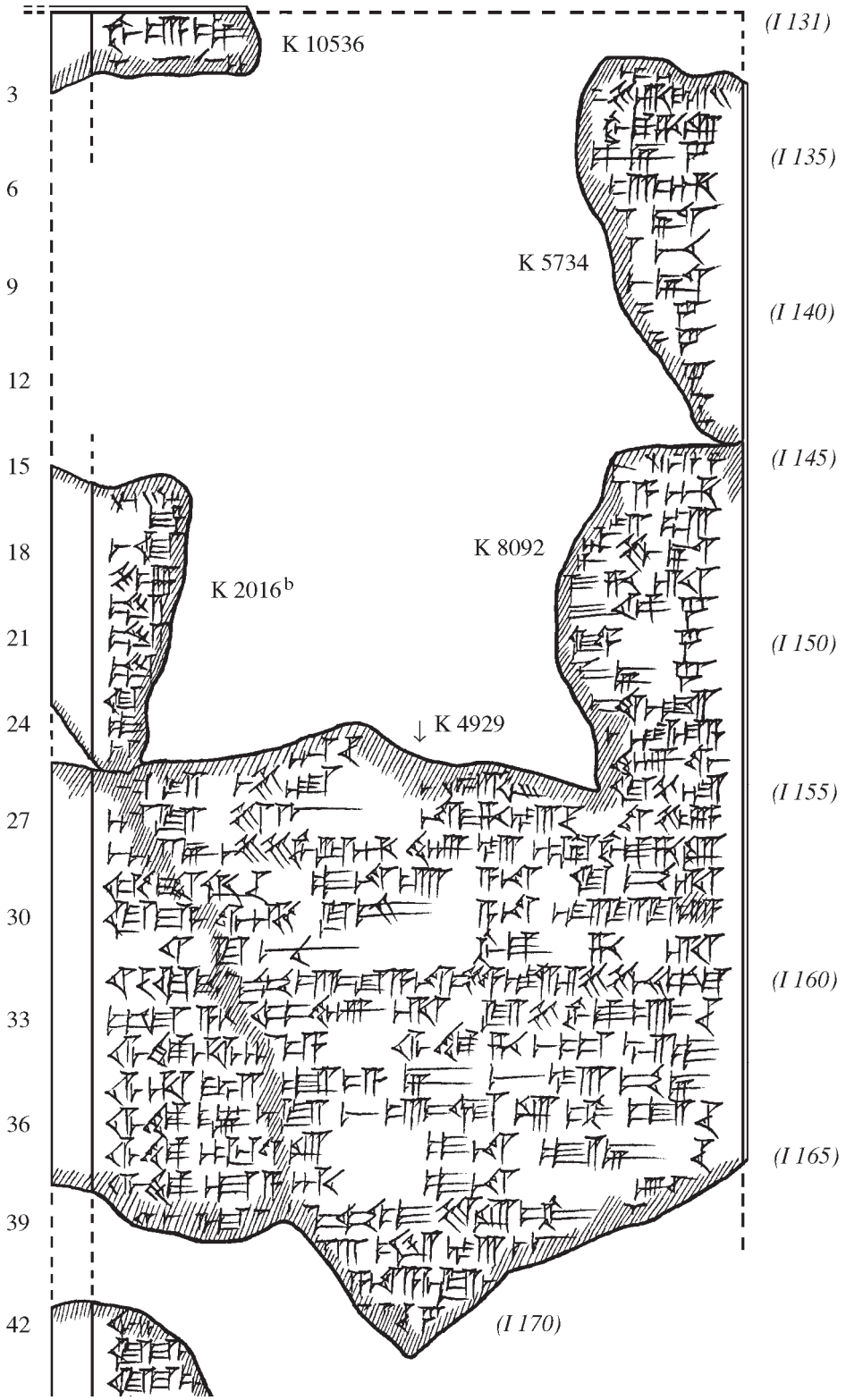
"Lam." exemplar D_1 cols. I (a-b) and II (b)



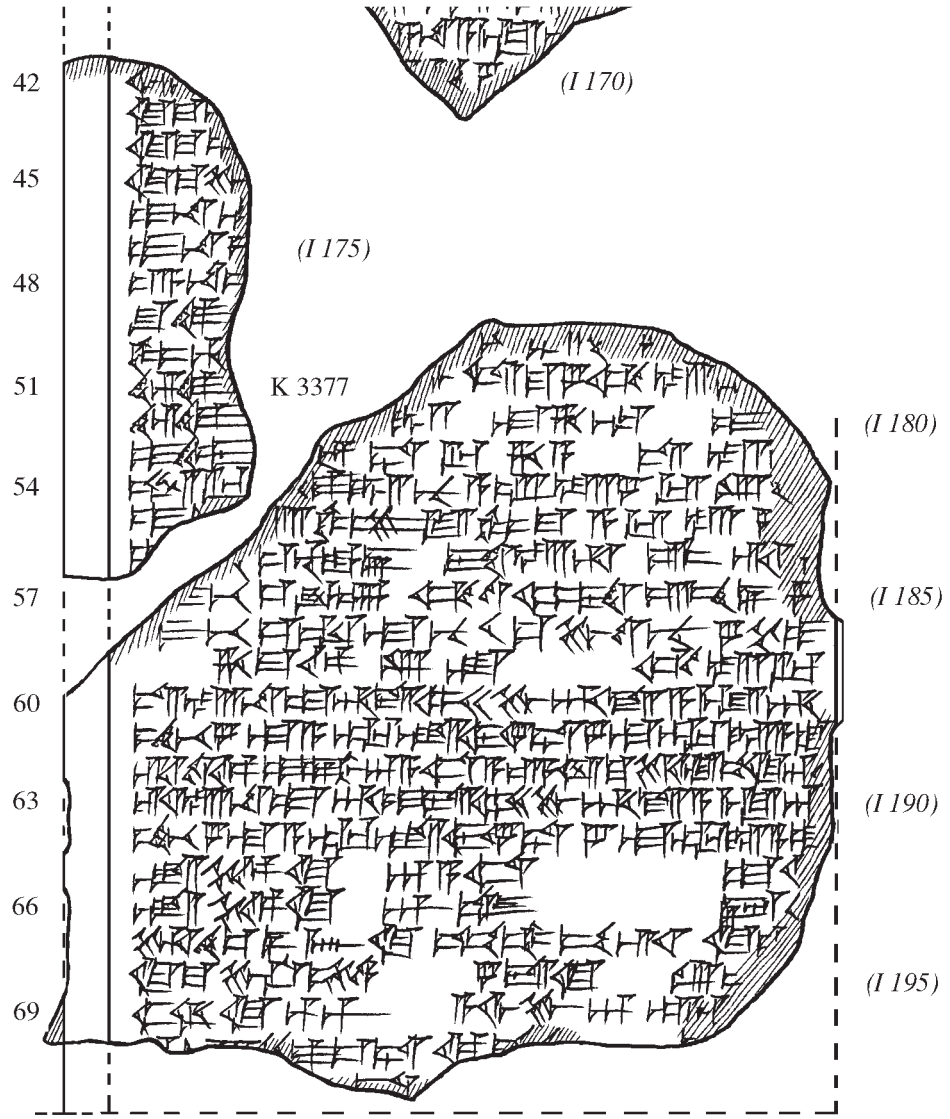
"Lam." exemplar D_1 col. II (a)



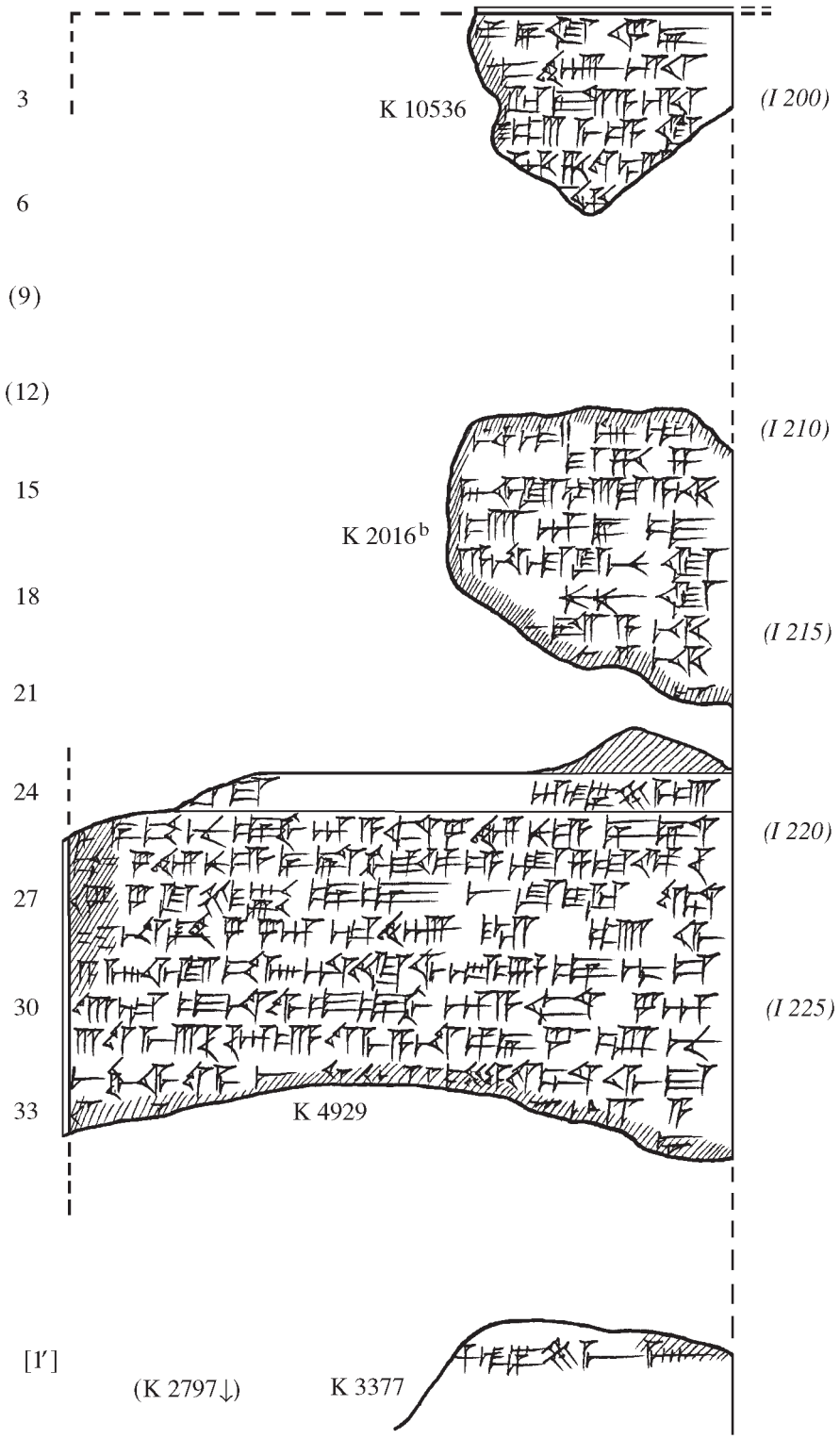
"Lam." exemplar D_1 col. III (a)



"Lam." exemplar D_1 col. III (b)

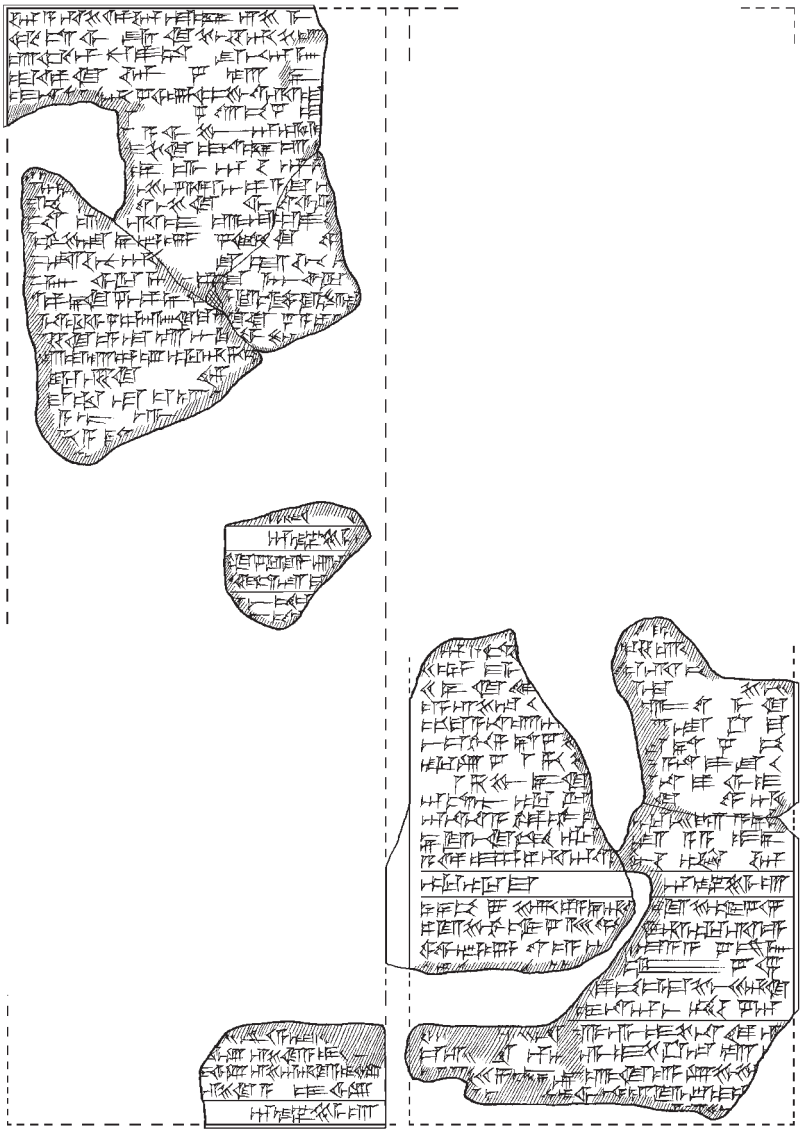


"Lam." exemplar D_1 col. IV

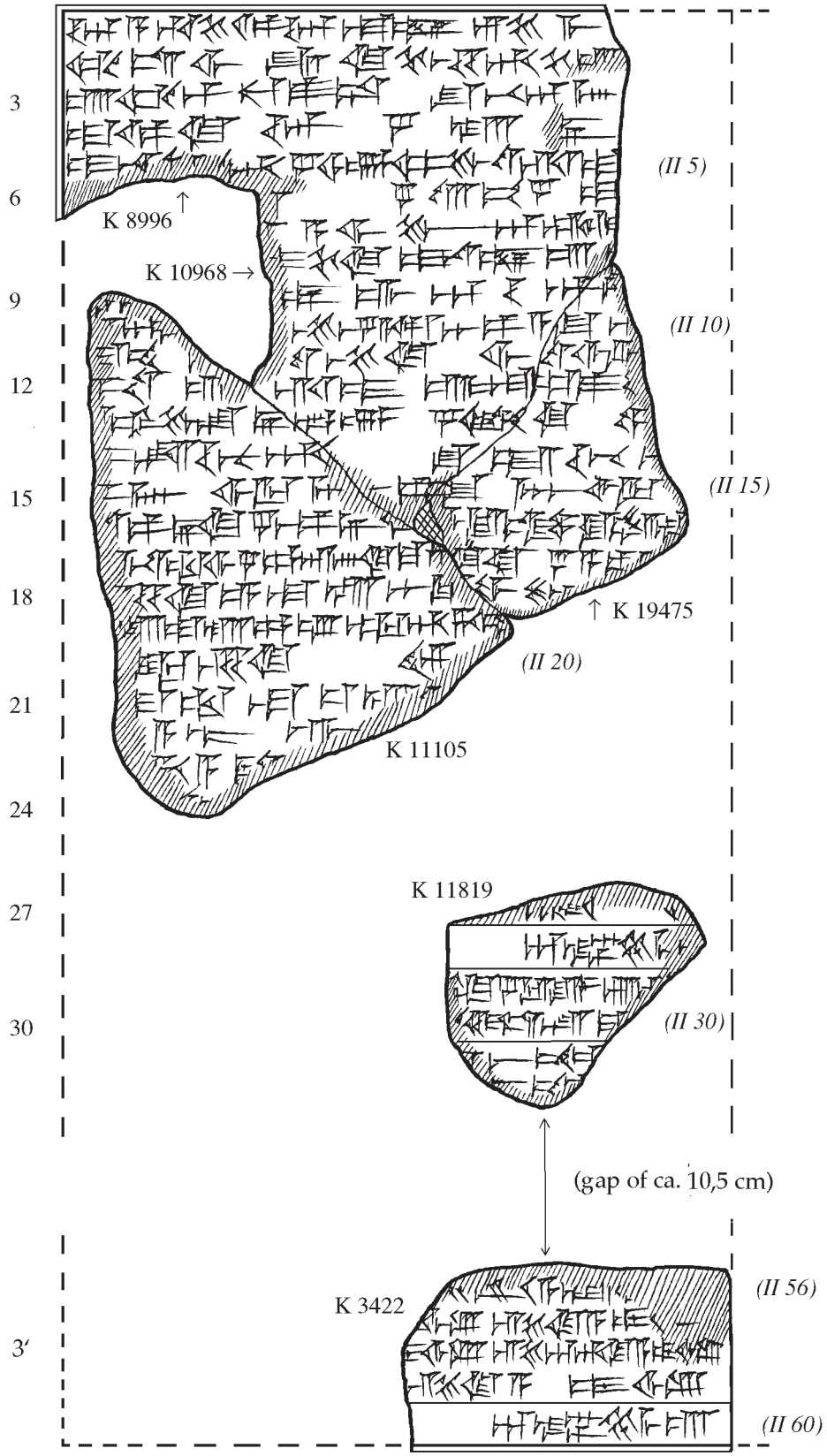


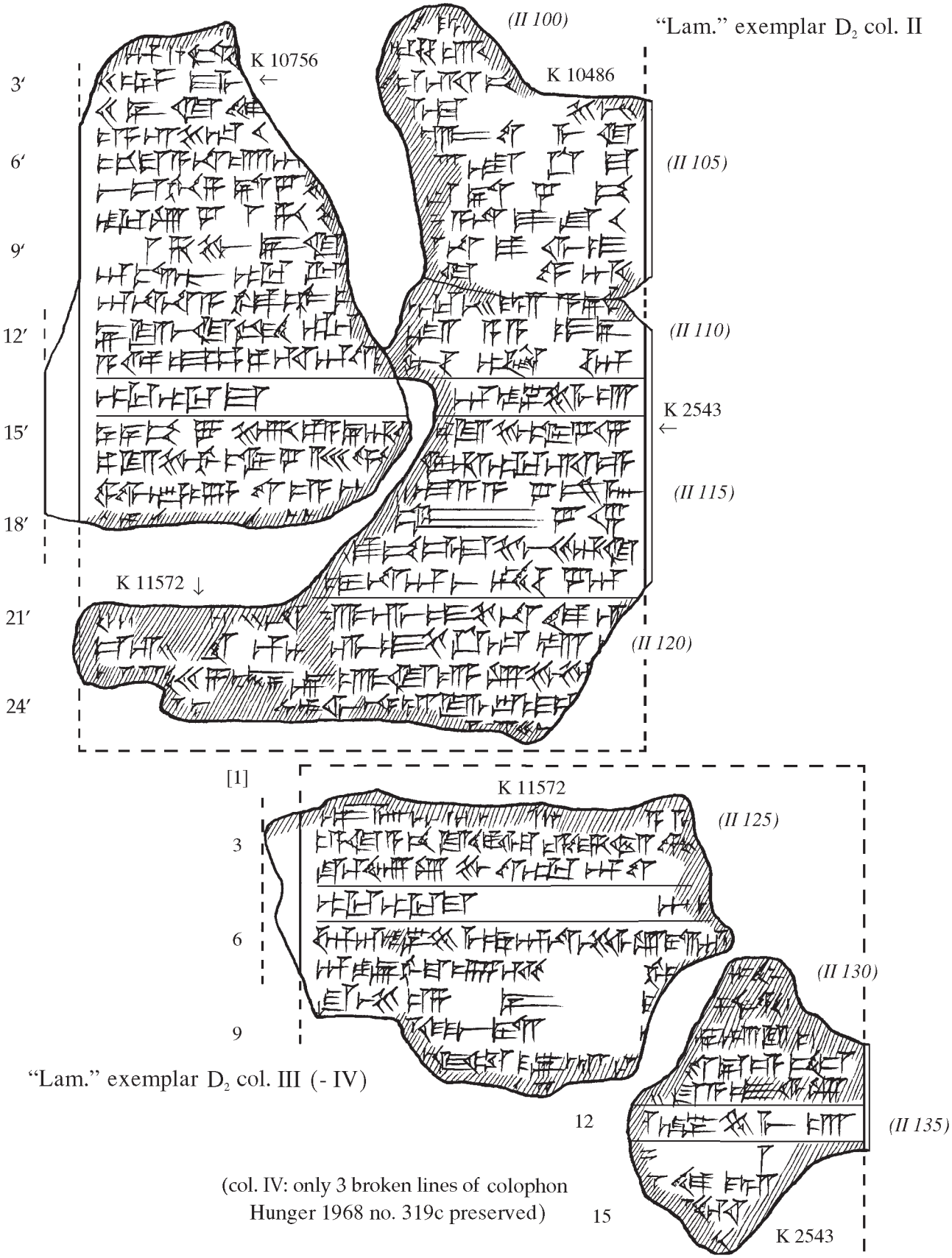
(remainder of col. IV:
colophon Hunger 1968 no. 319c)

"Lam." exemplar D_2 obv. (overview)

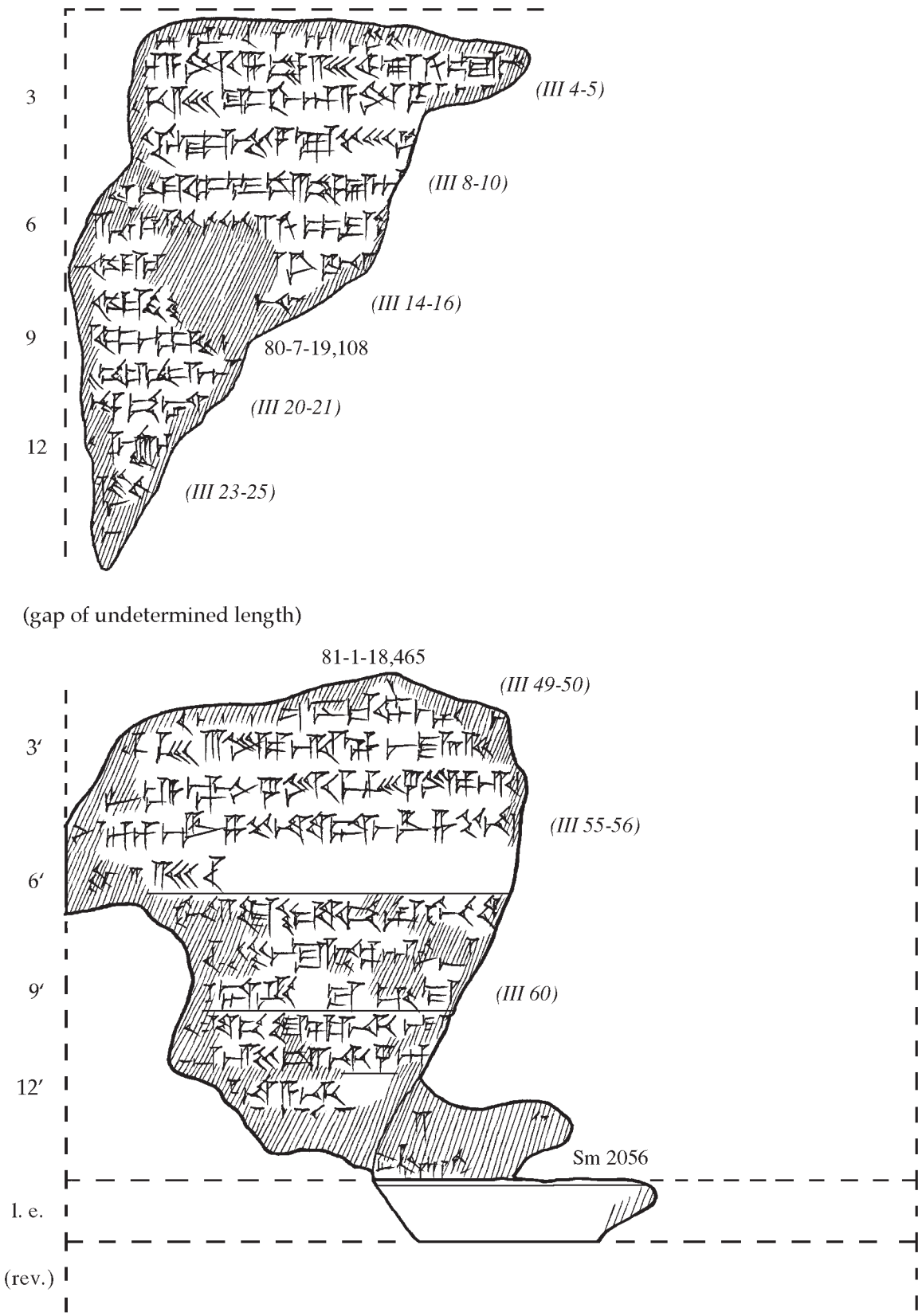


"Lam." exemplar D_2 col. I

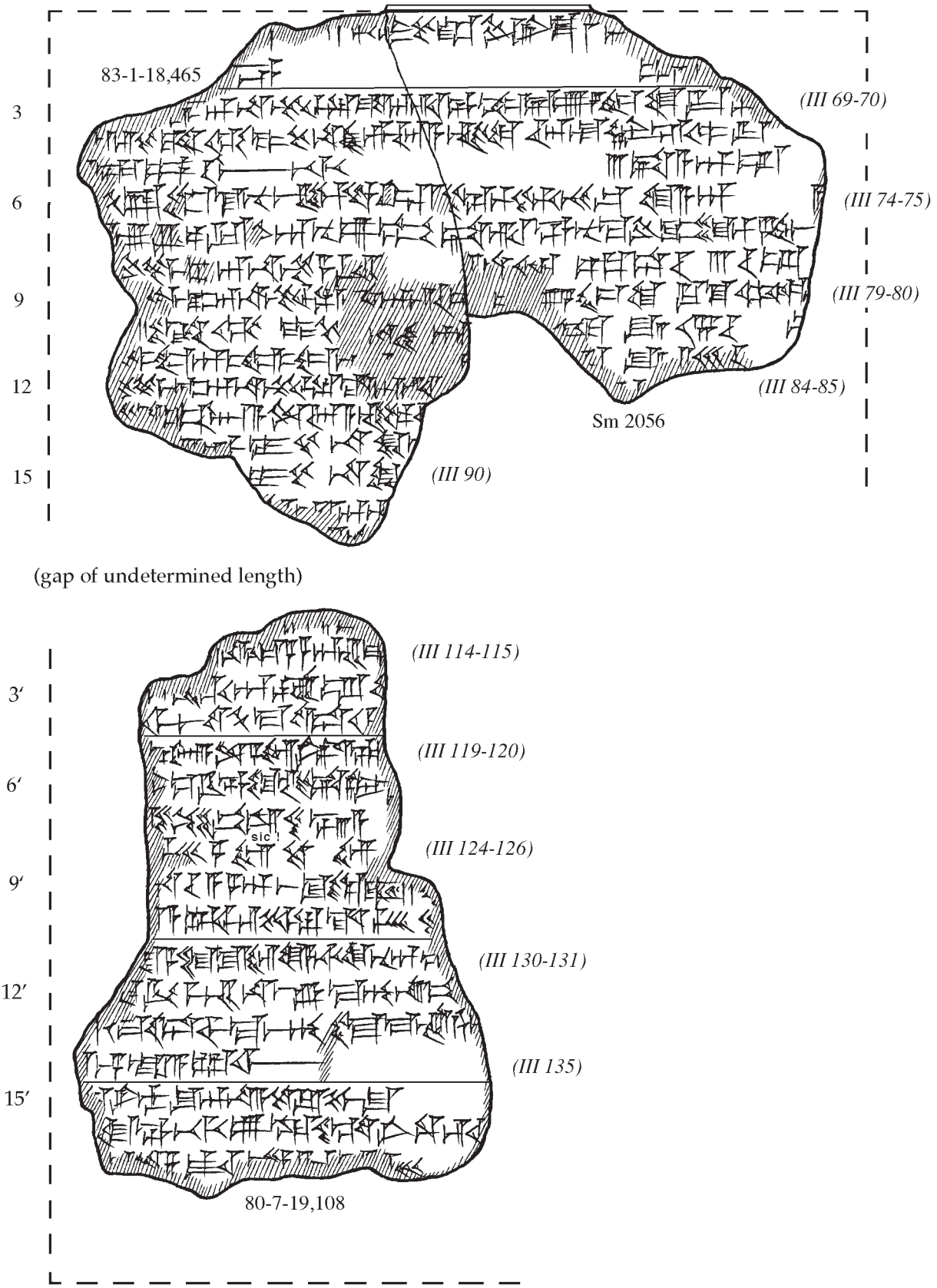



"Lam." exemplar D2 col. II
(II 100)
K 10756
K 10486
3′
6′
9′
12′
15′
18′
21′
24′
(II 105)
(II 110)
K 2543
(II 115)
K 11572
(II 120)
"Lam." exemplar D2 col. III (- IV)
[1]
K 11572
(II 125)
3
6
9
(II 130)
12
(II 135)
15
K 2543
(col. IV: only 3 broken lines of colophon
Hunger 1968 no. 319c preserved)

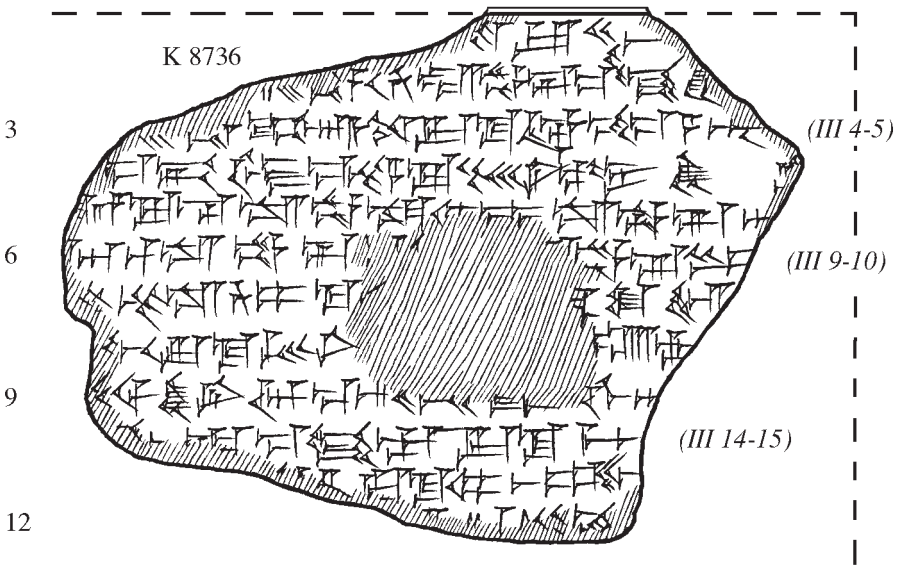
"Lam." exemplar E a(+)b obv.



"Lam." exemplar E a(+)b rev.

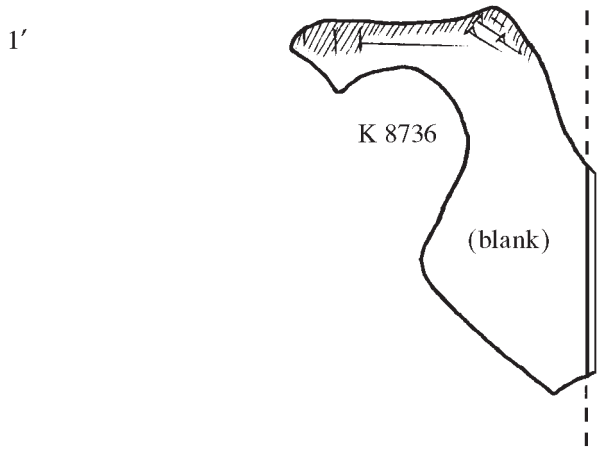


"Lam." exemplar F obv. + rev.

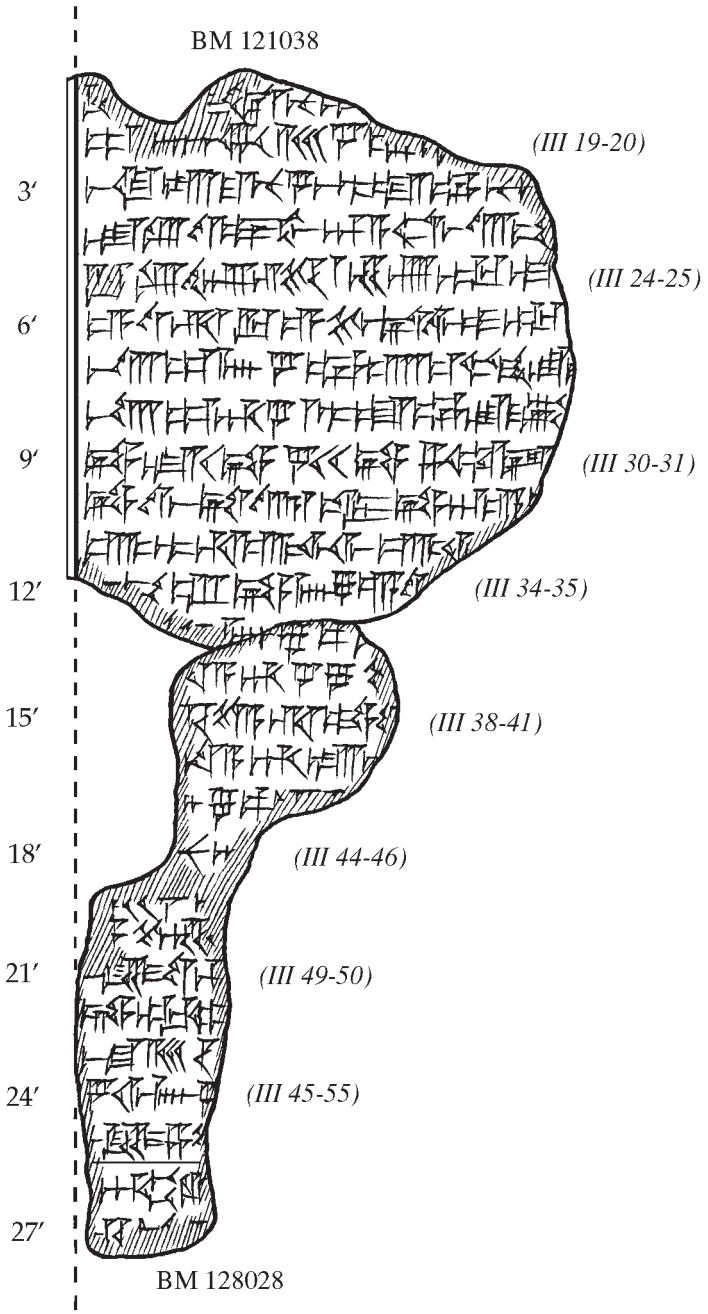


obv.

rev.

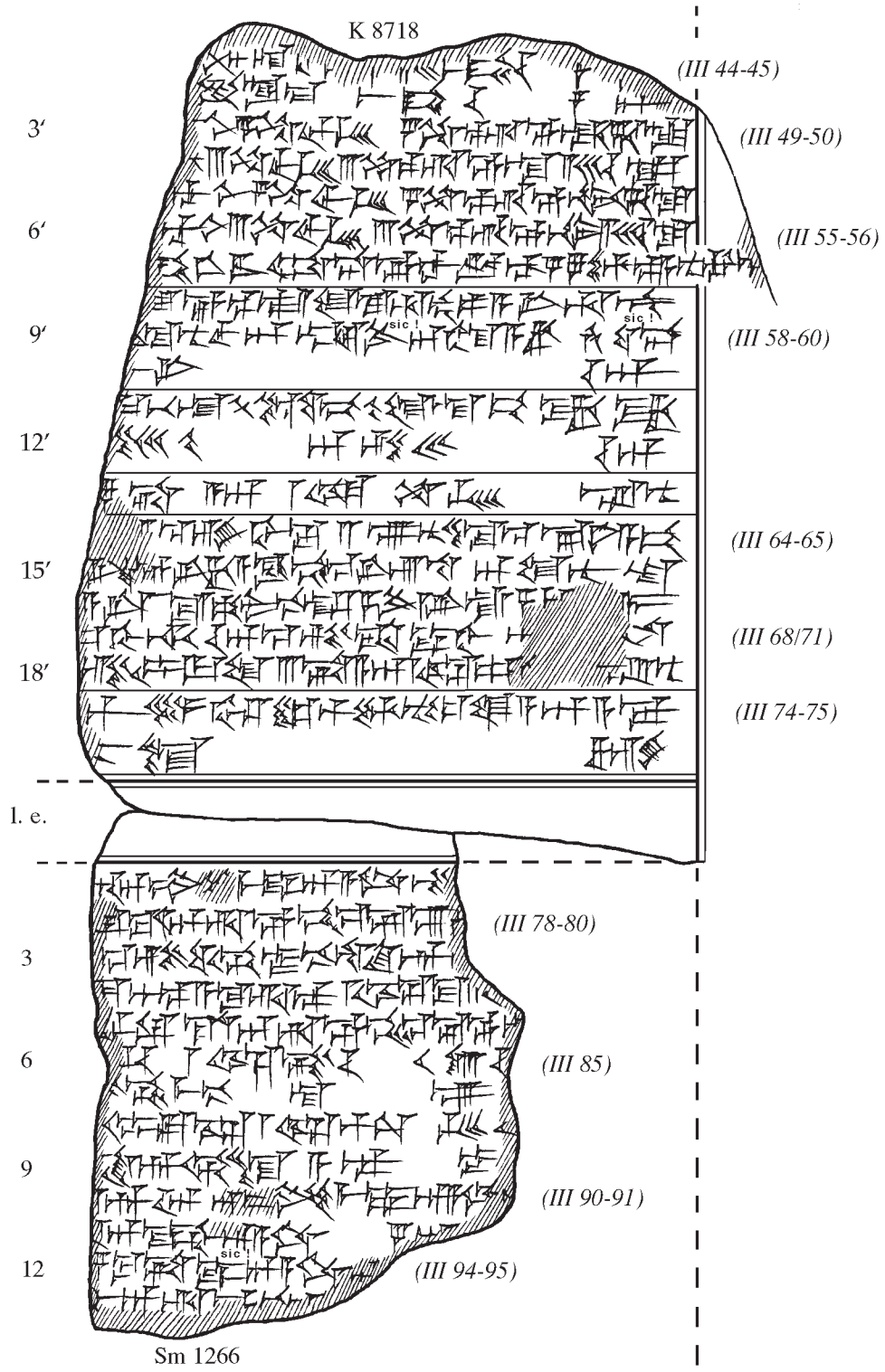


"Lam." exemplar G



(rev.: only 8 lines of colophon
Hunger 1968 no. 339 preserved)

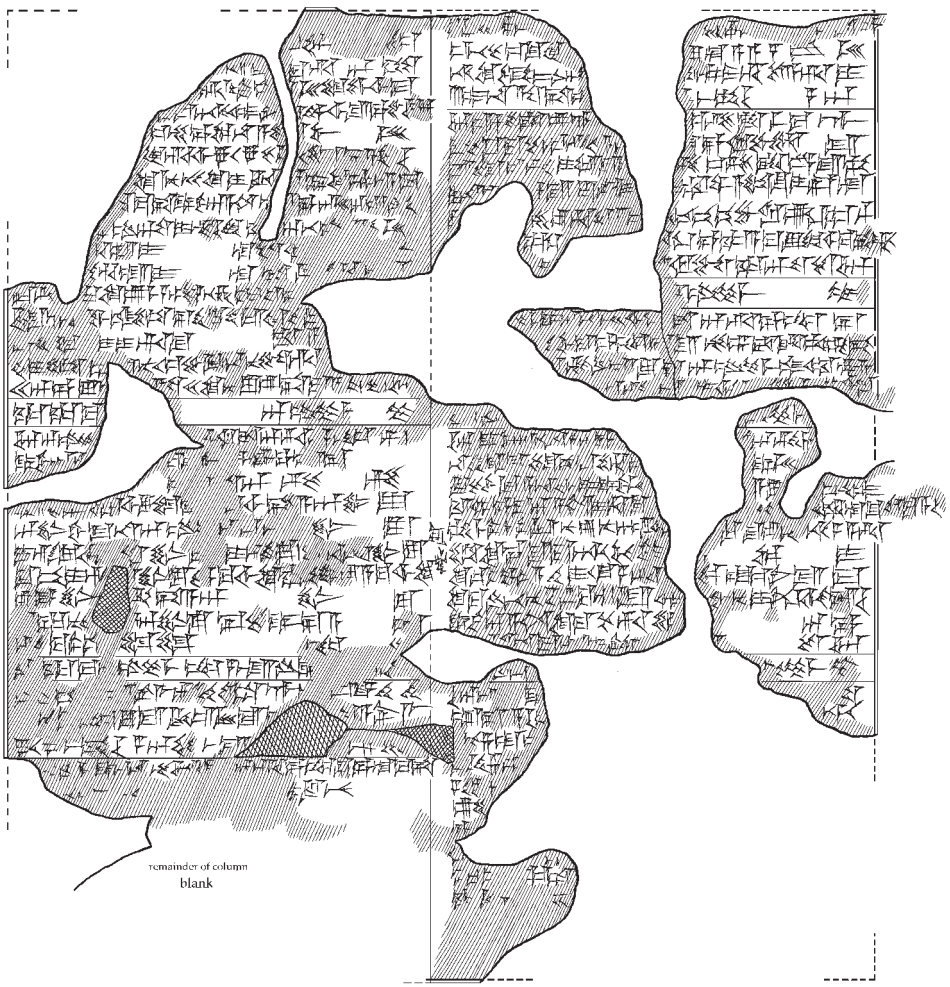
"Lam." exemplar H obv. + rev.



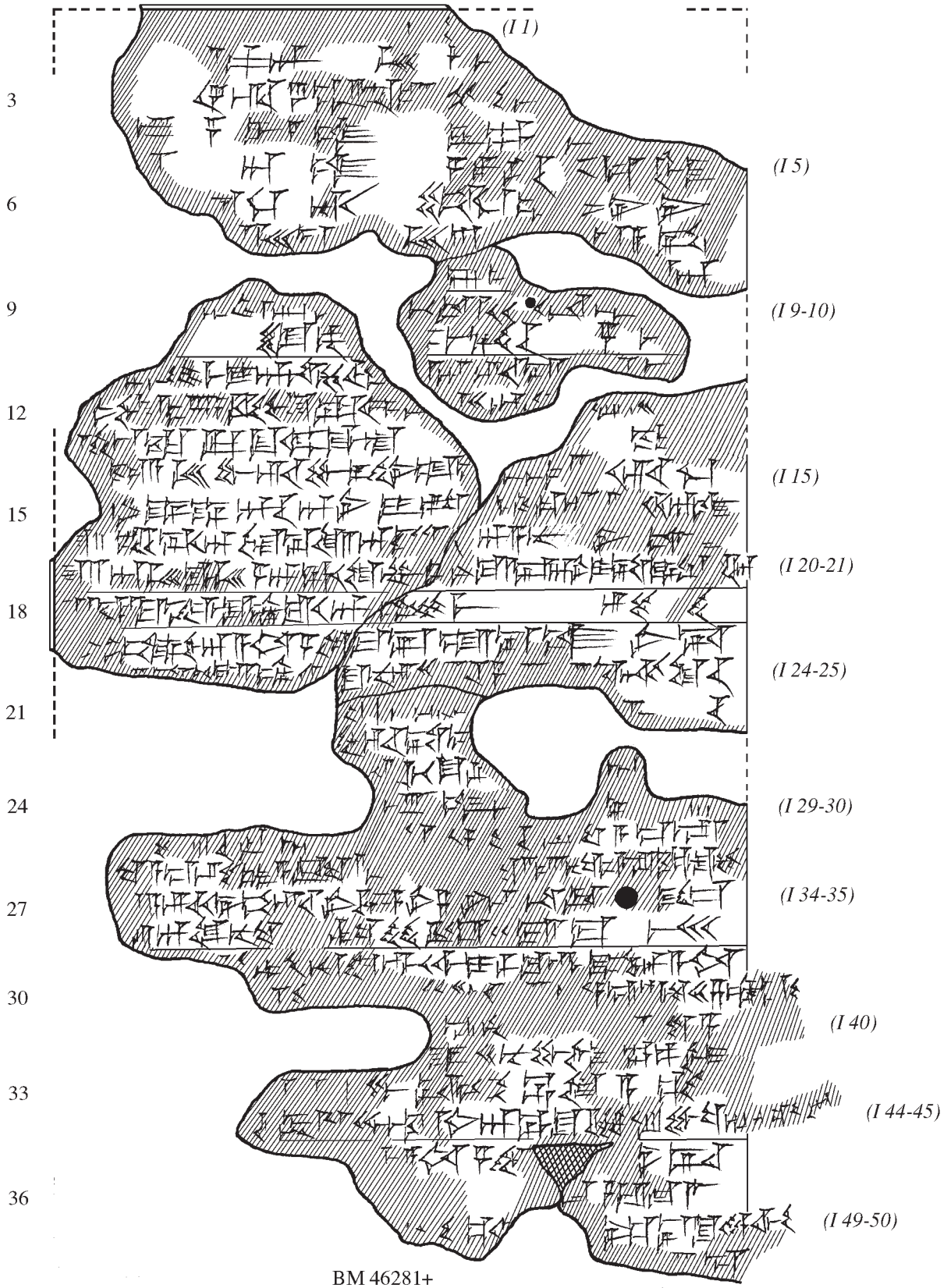
"Lam." exemplar *a* obv. (overview)



"Lam." exemplar *a* rev. (overview)

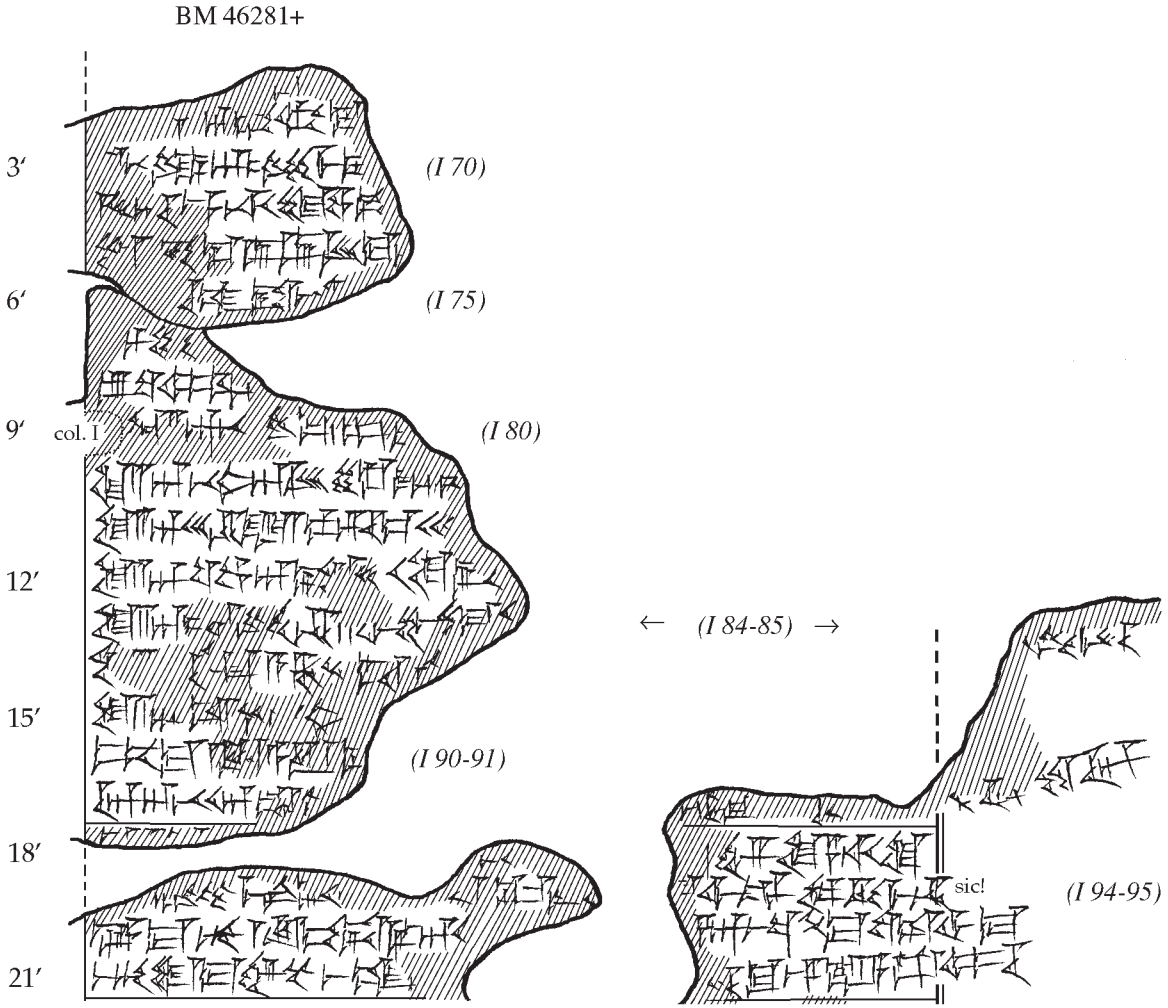


"Lam." exemplar *a* col. I



BM 46281+

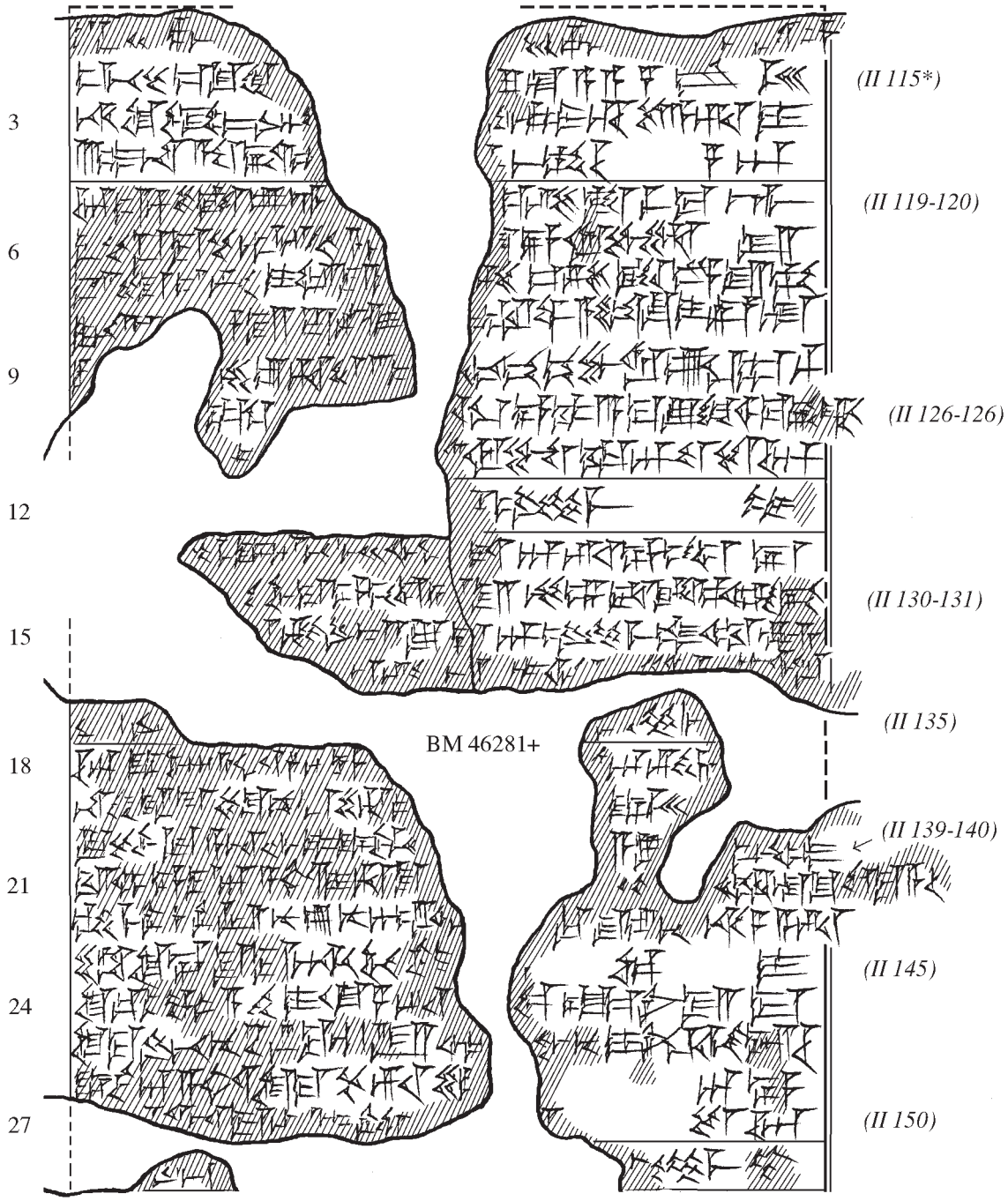
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. II(a)



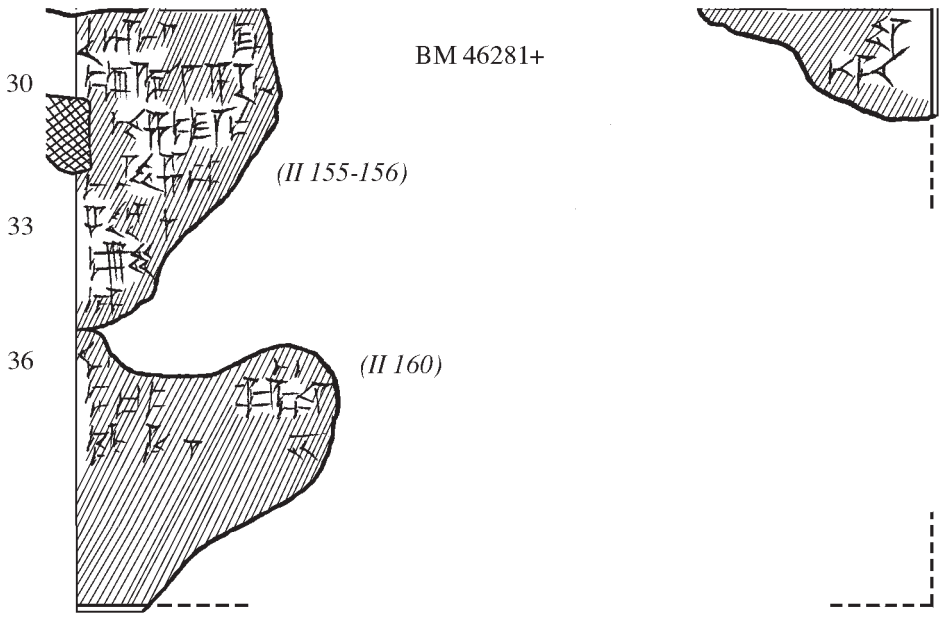
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. II (b)



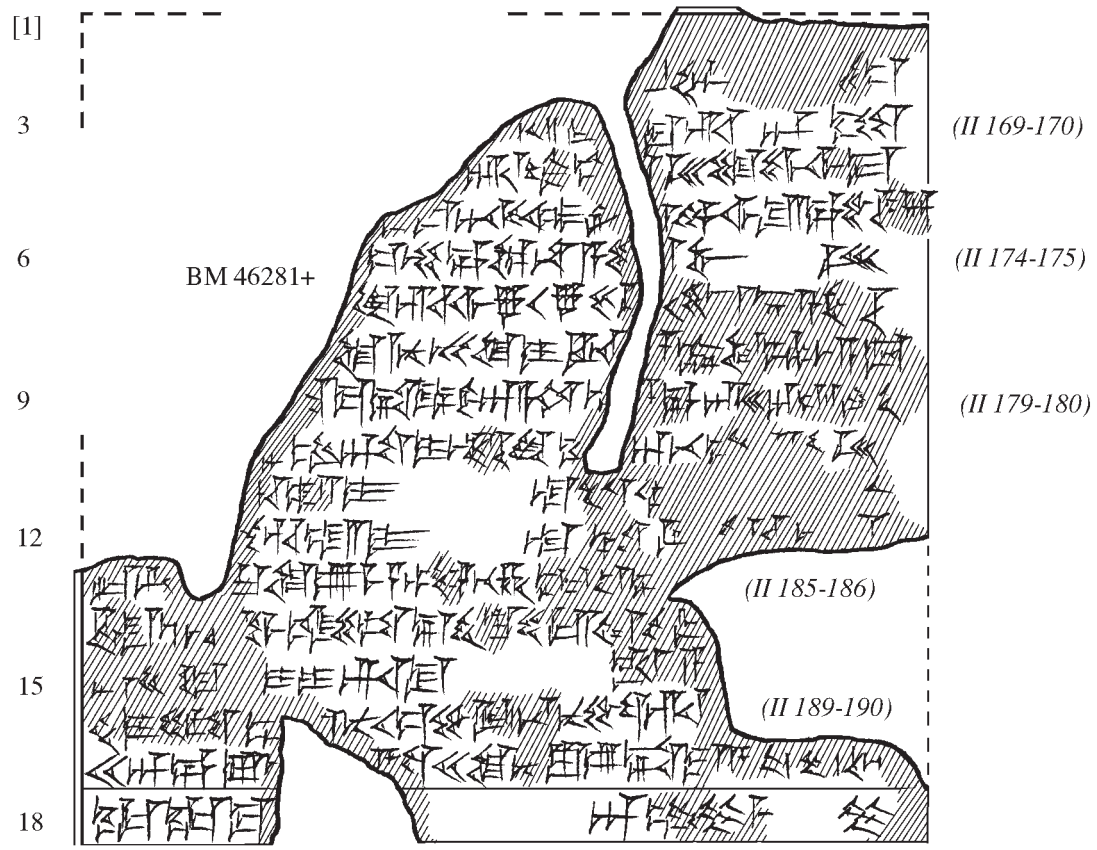
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. III (a)



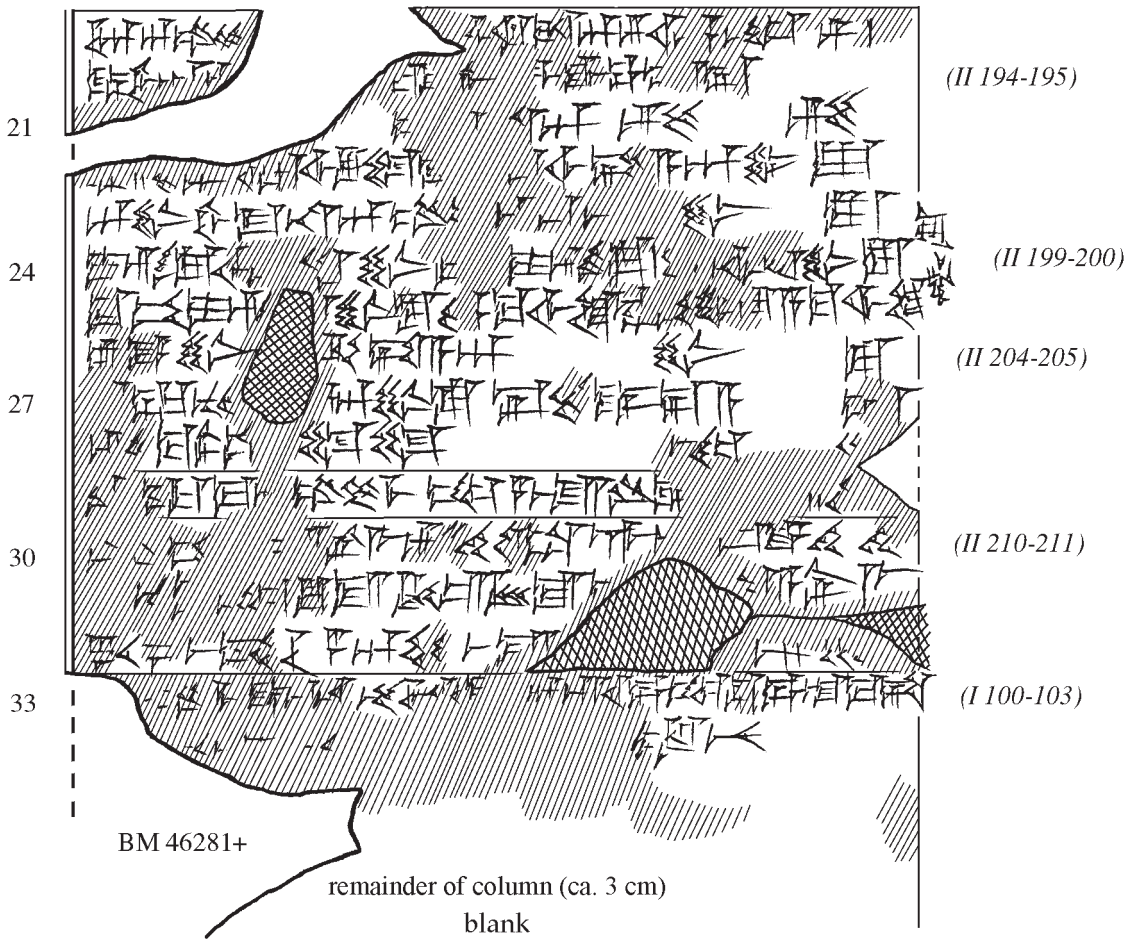
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. III (b)



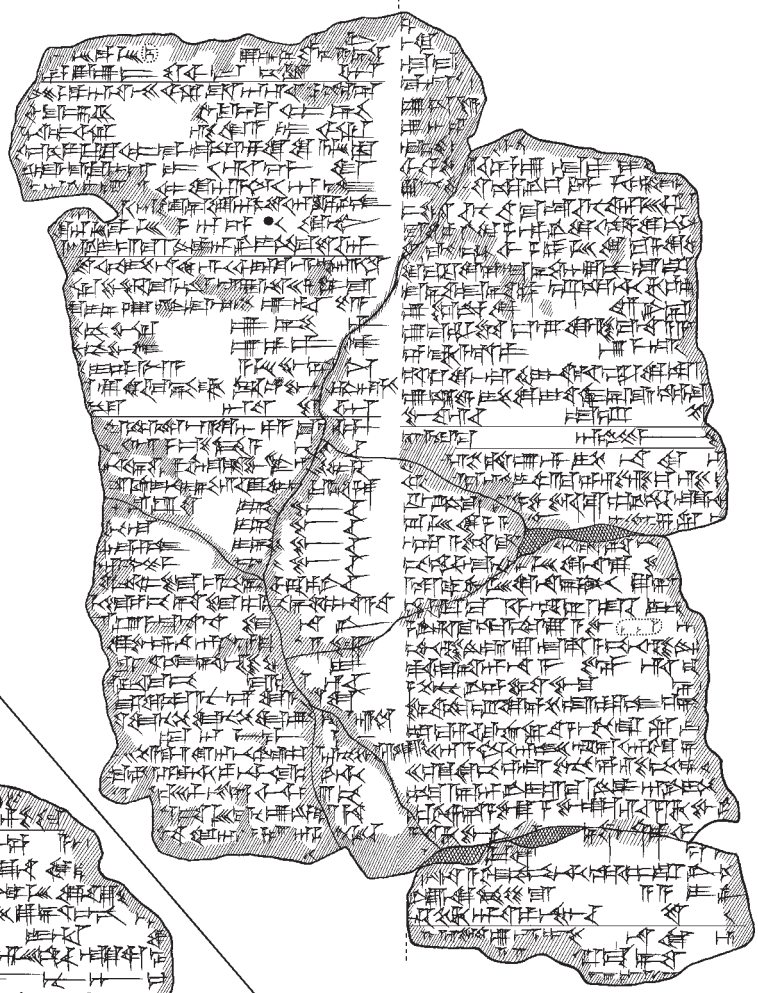
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. IV (a)



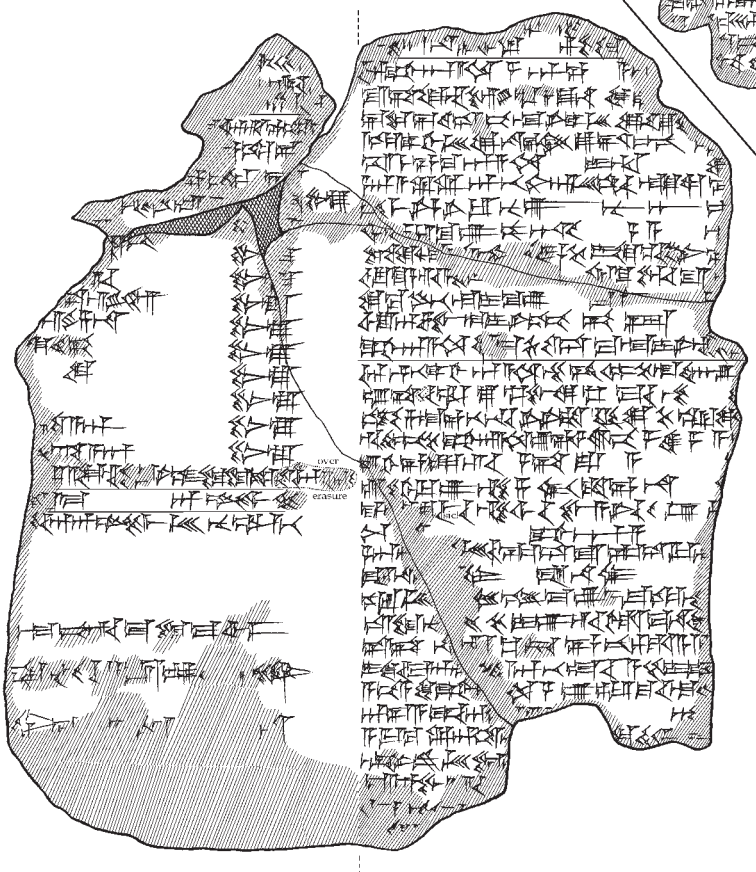
"Lam." exemplar *a* col. IV(b)



"Lam." exemplar *b* obv. (overview)

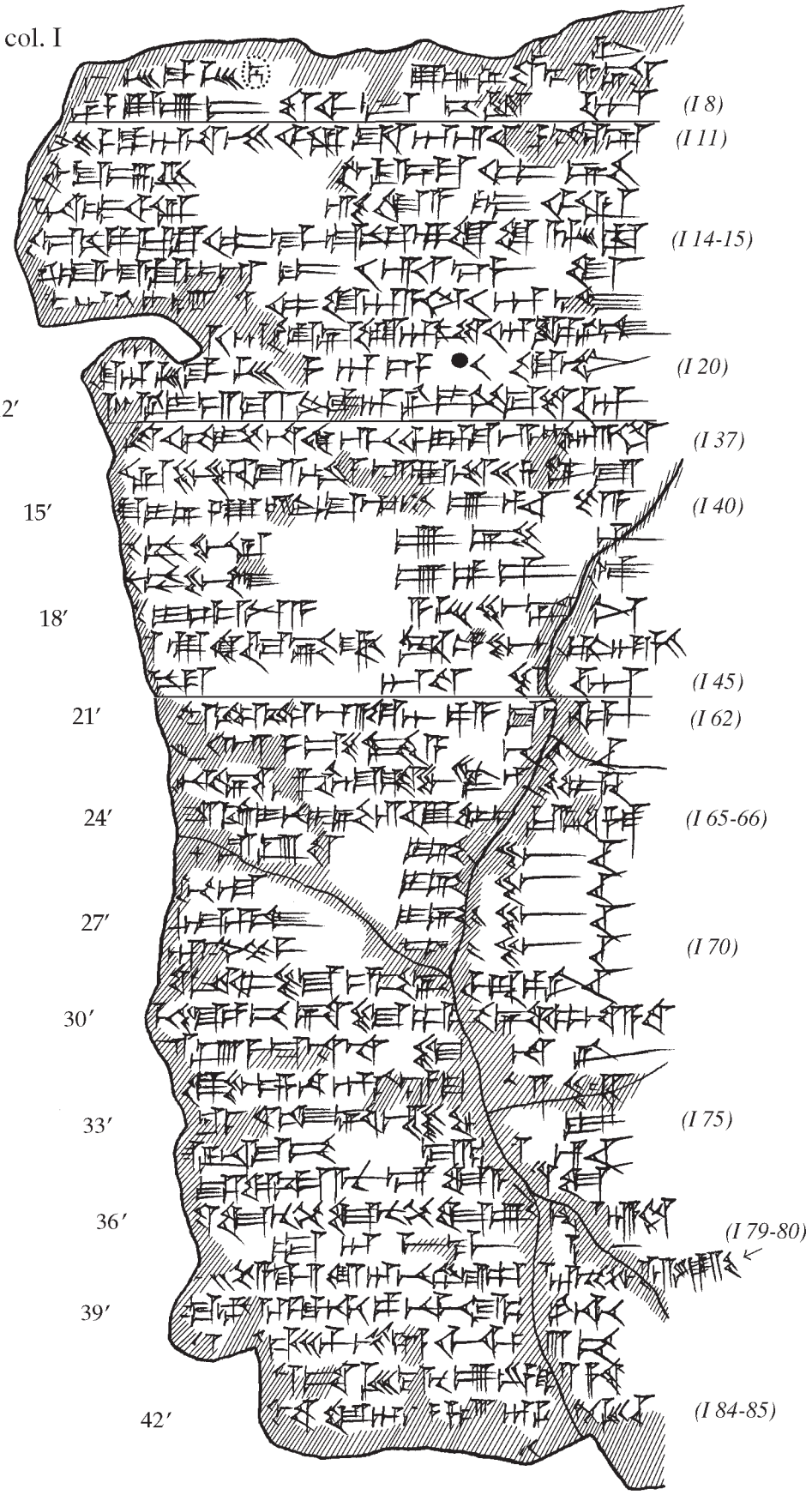


"Lam." exemplar *b* rev. (overview)



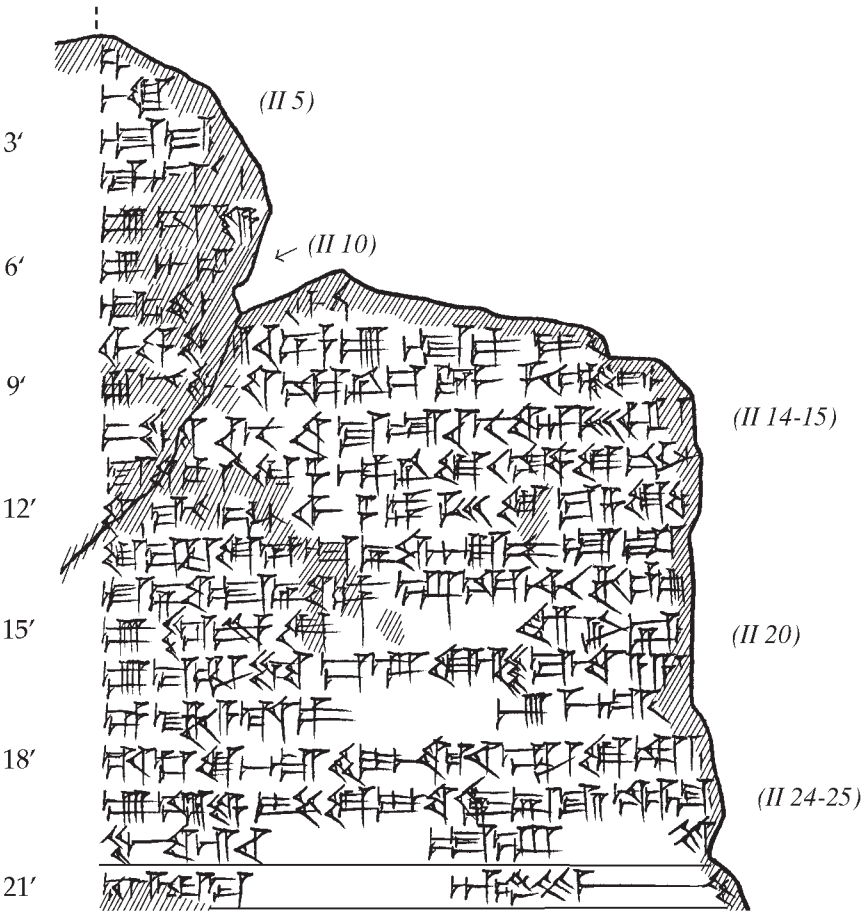
"Lam." exemplar *b* col. I

CBS 13939



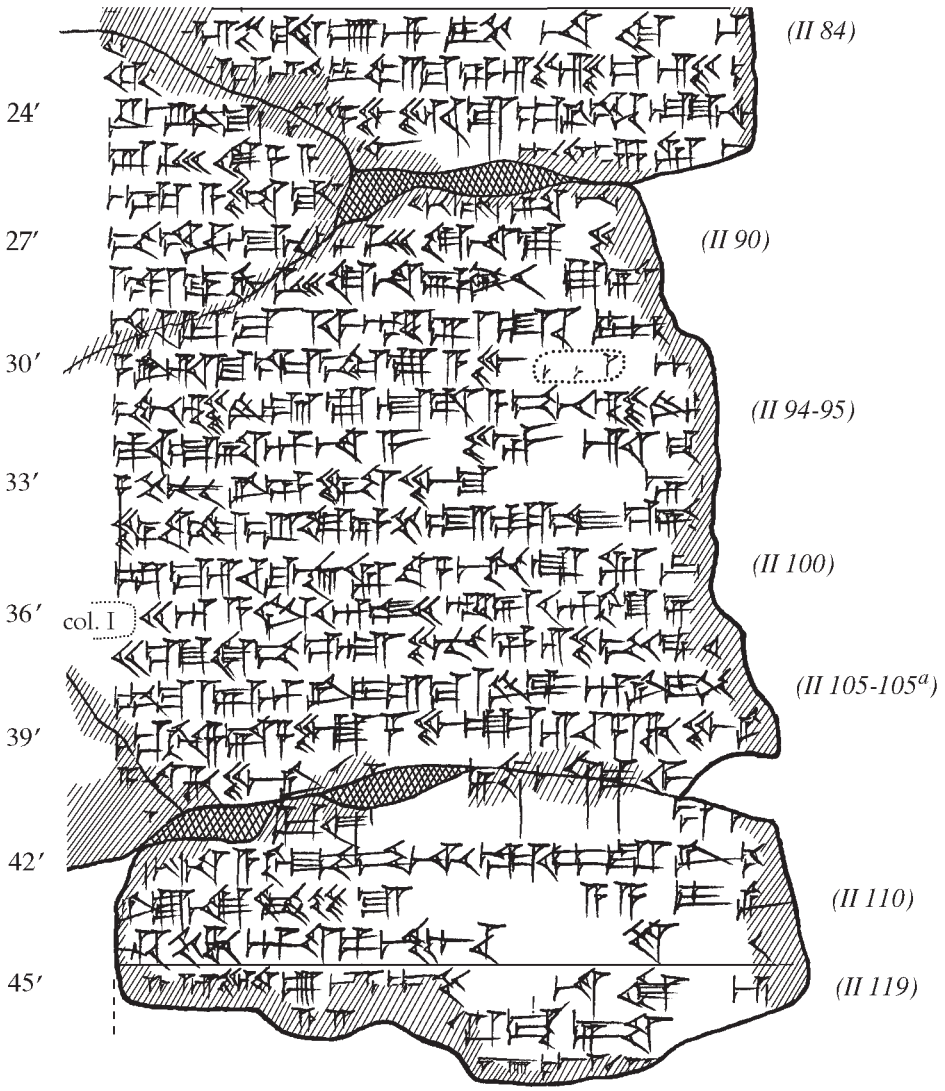
"Lam." exemplar *b* col. II (a)

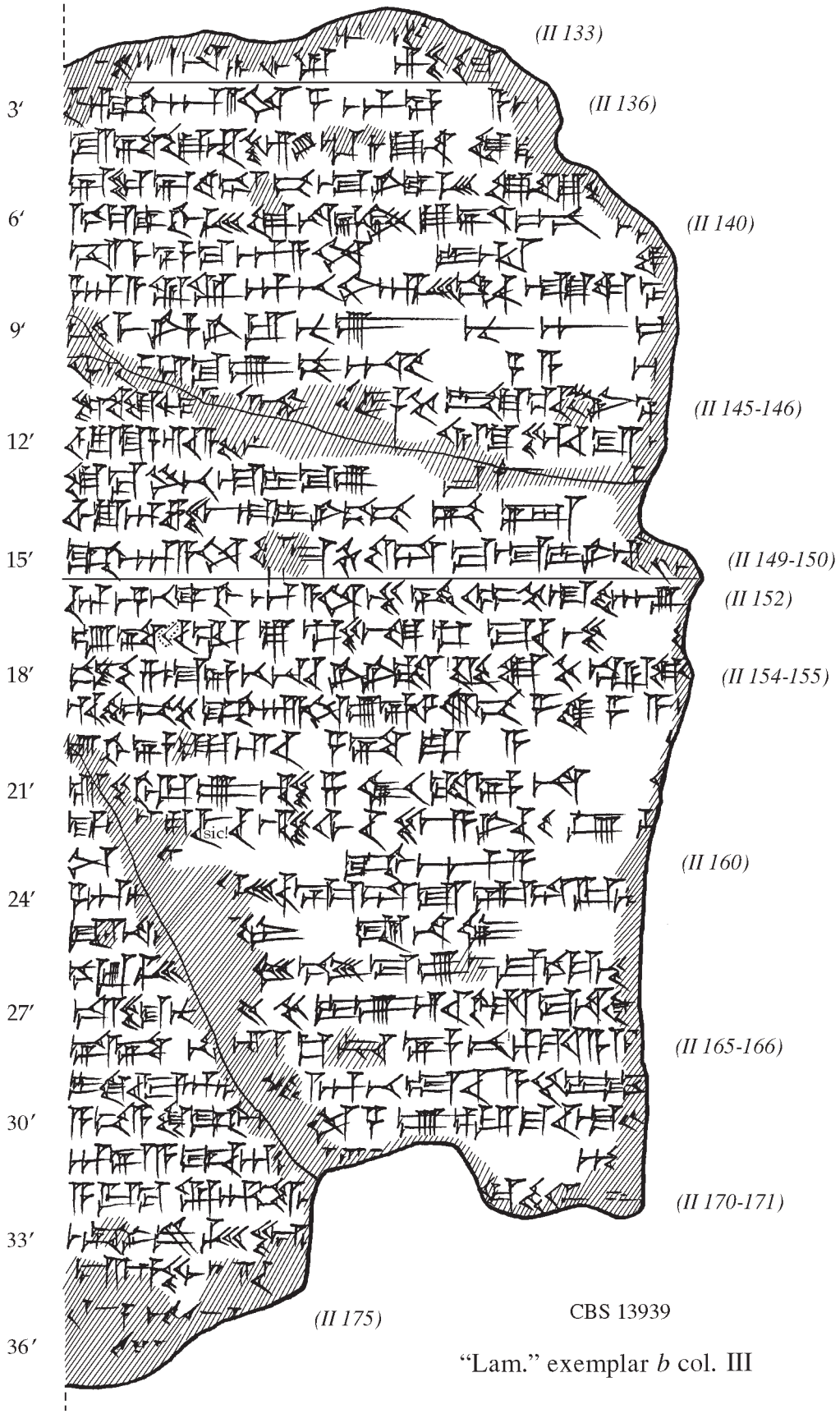
CBS 13939



"Lam." exemplar *b* col. II (b)

CBS 13939

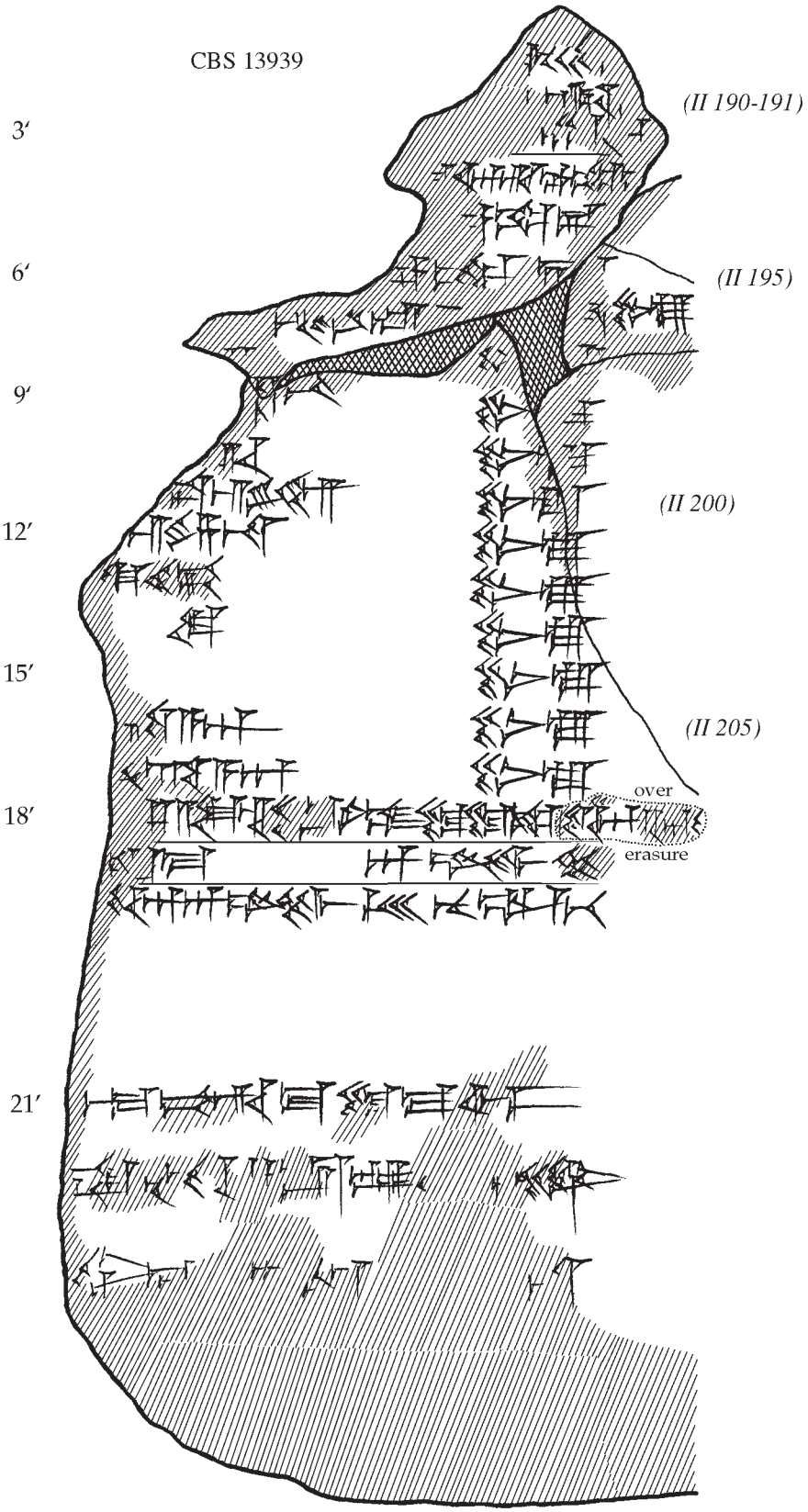




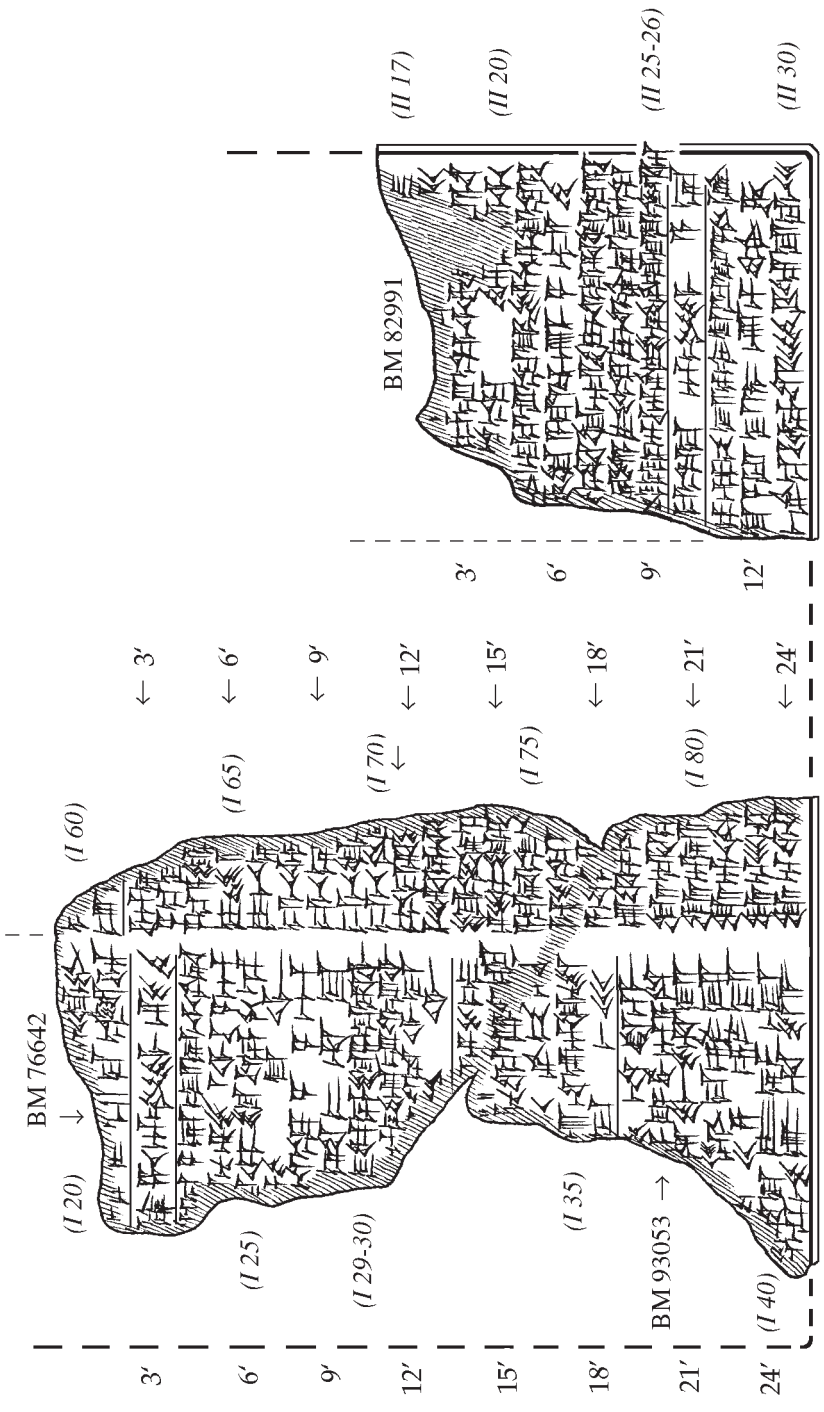
CBS 13939

"Lam." exemplar *b* col. III

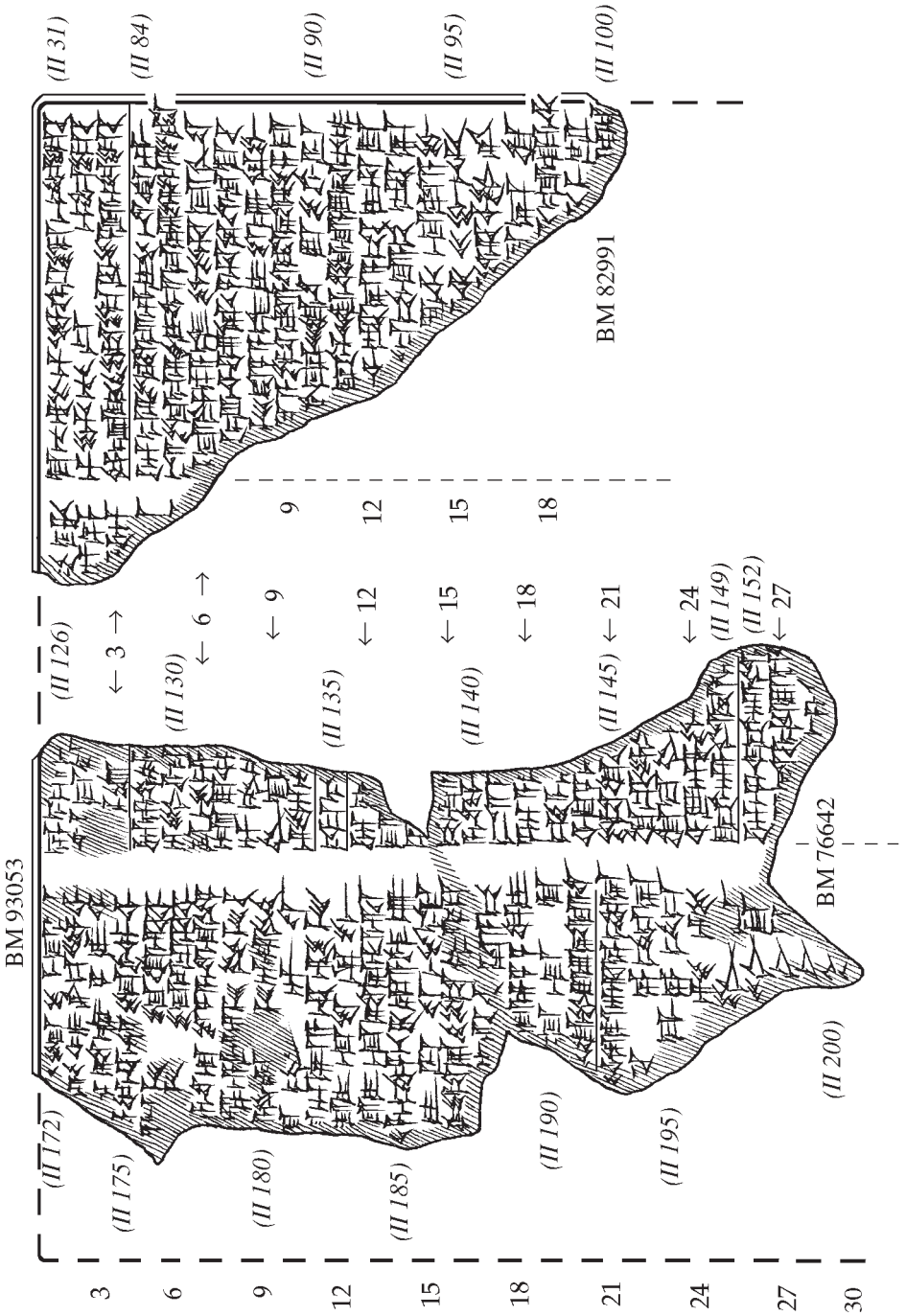
"Lam." exemplar *b* col. IV



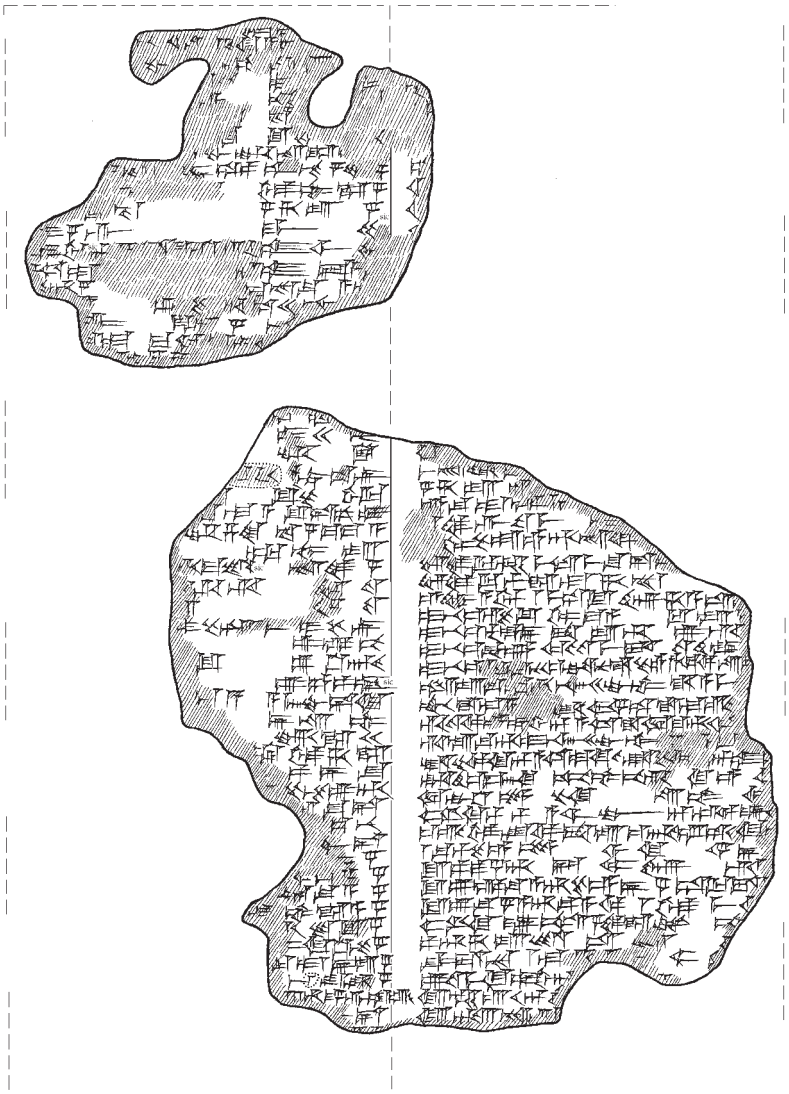
"Lam." exemplar *c* obv. (cols. I-III)



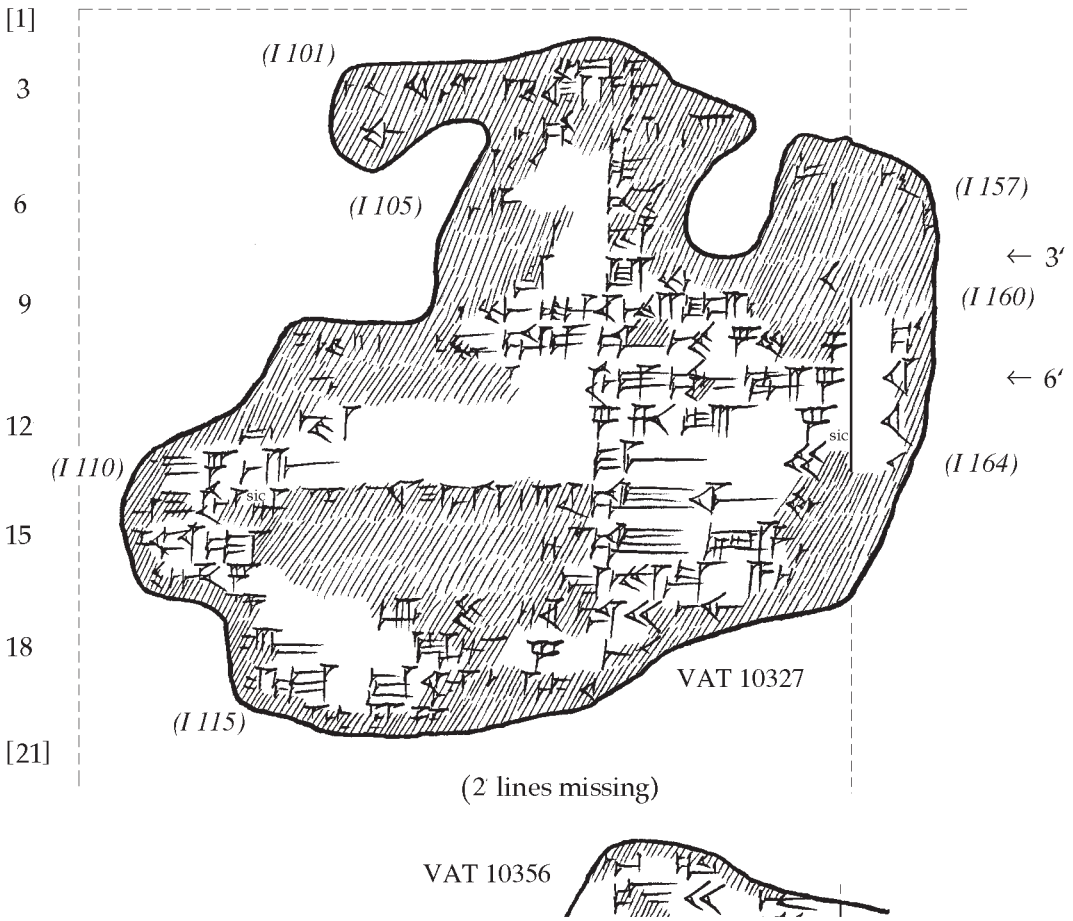
"Lam." exemplar *c* rev. (cols. IV-VI)



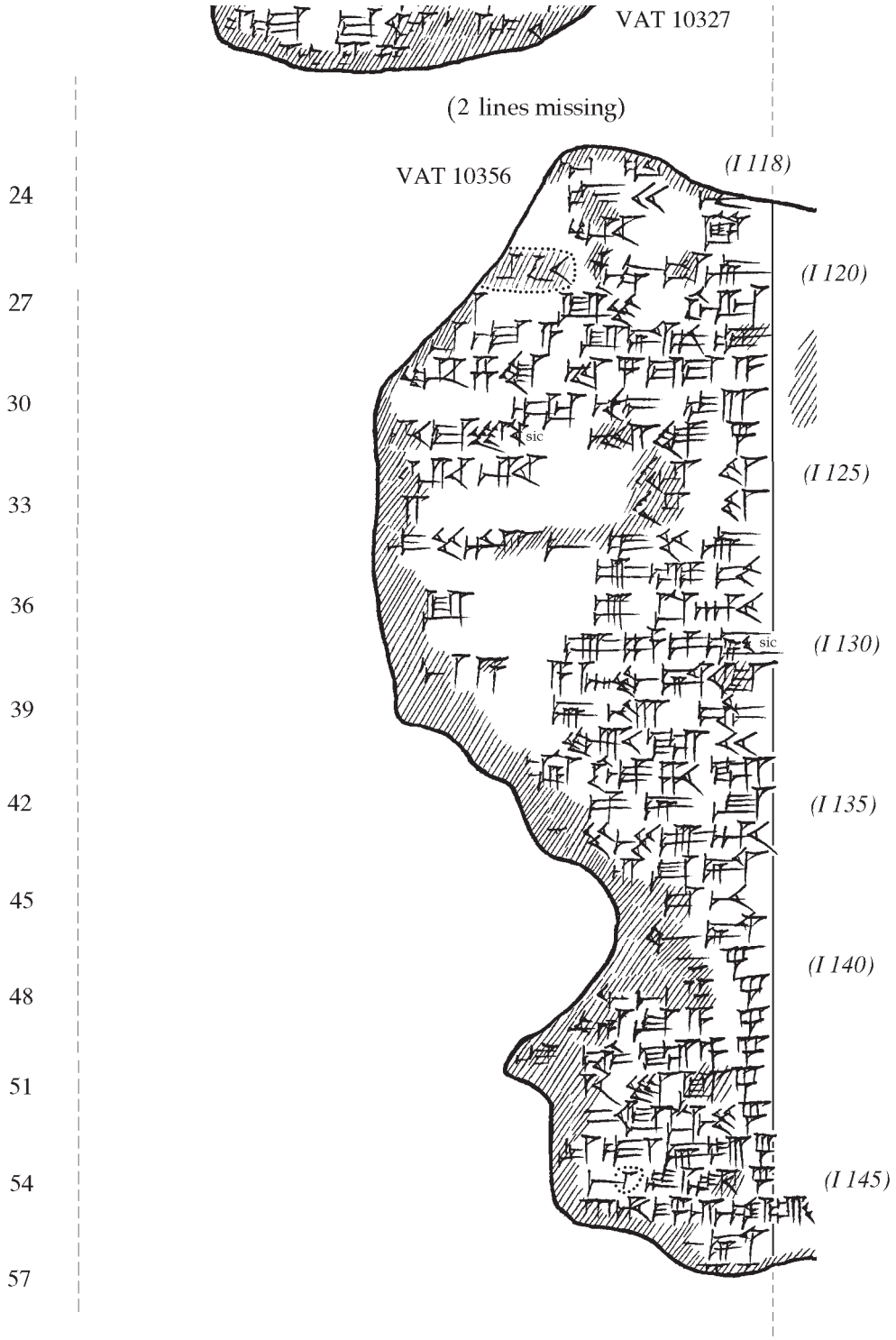
"Lam." exemplar m obv. (overview)



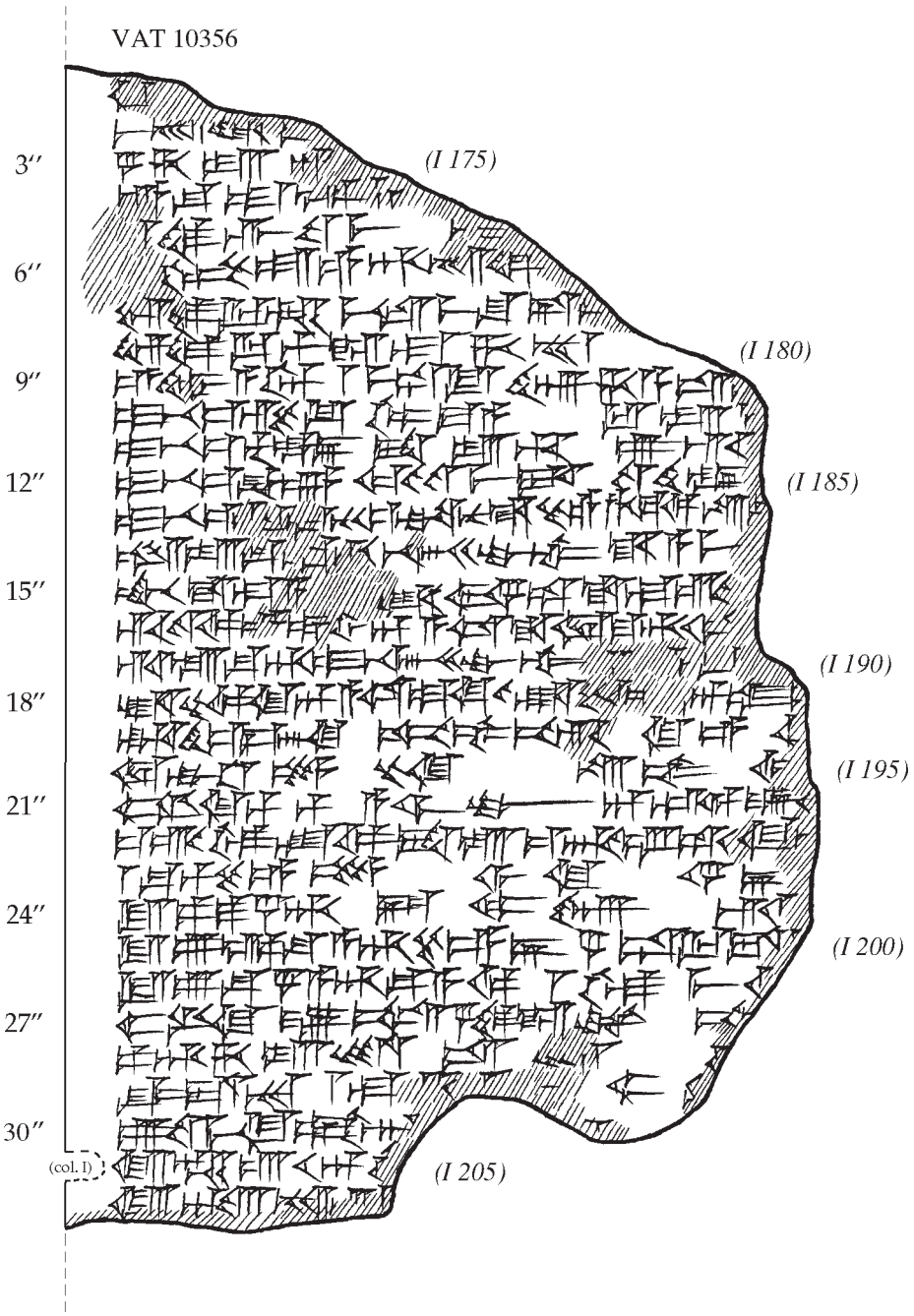
"Lam." exemplar m col. I (a) + II (a)

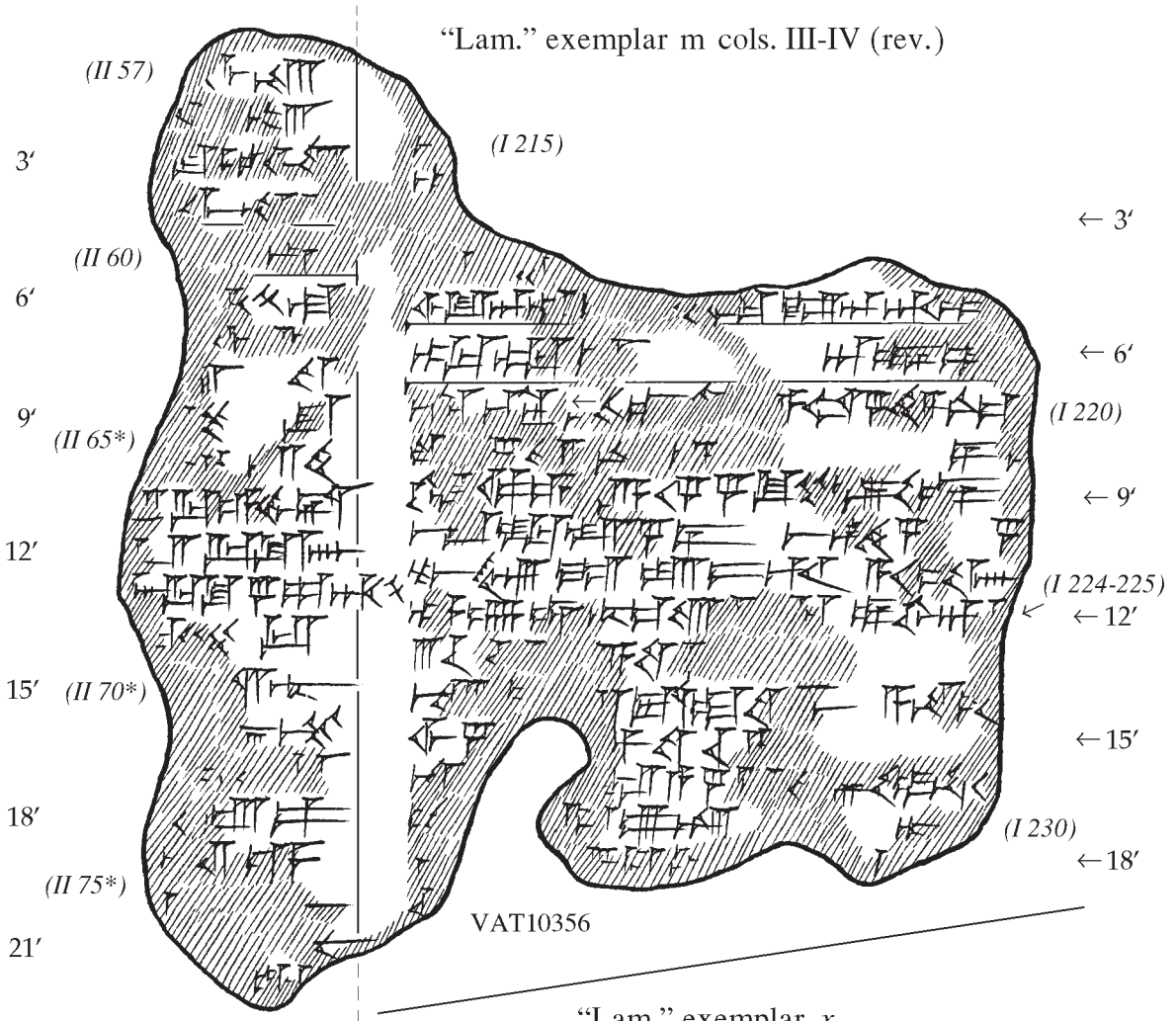


"Lam." exemplar m col. I (b)

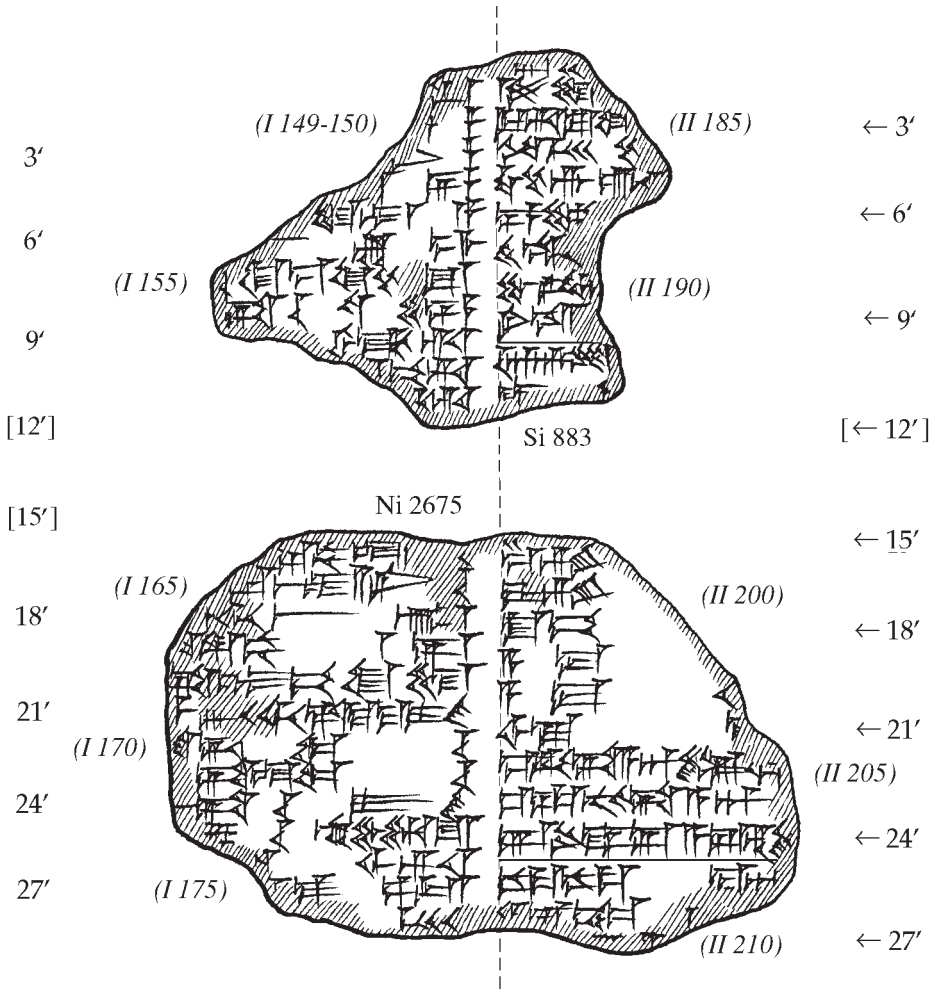


"Lam." exemplar m col. II (b)

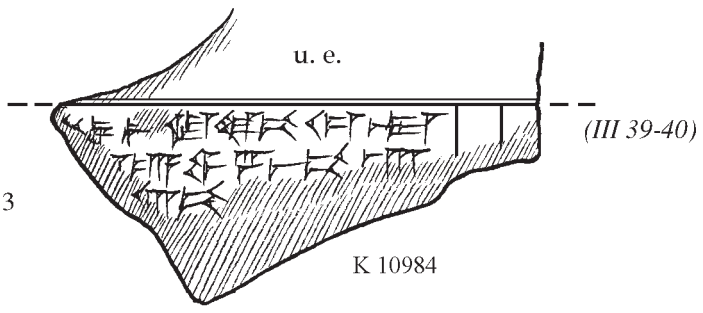



"Lam." exemplar m cols. III-IV (rev.)
(II 57)
3′
(I 215)
← 3′
(II 60)
6′
← 6′
9′
(II 65*)
(I 220)
← 9′
12′
(I 224-225)
← 12′
15′
(II 70*)
← 15′
18′
(I 230)
← 18′
(II 75*)
21′
VAT10356
"Lam." exemplar x
3′
(III 24-25)
6′
VAT 595
(III 29-30)
9′
(III 34-35)
12′
15′
(III 40-41)
18′
(III 44-45)

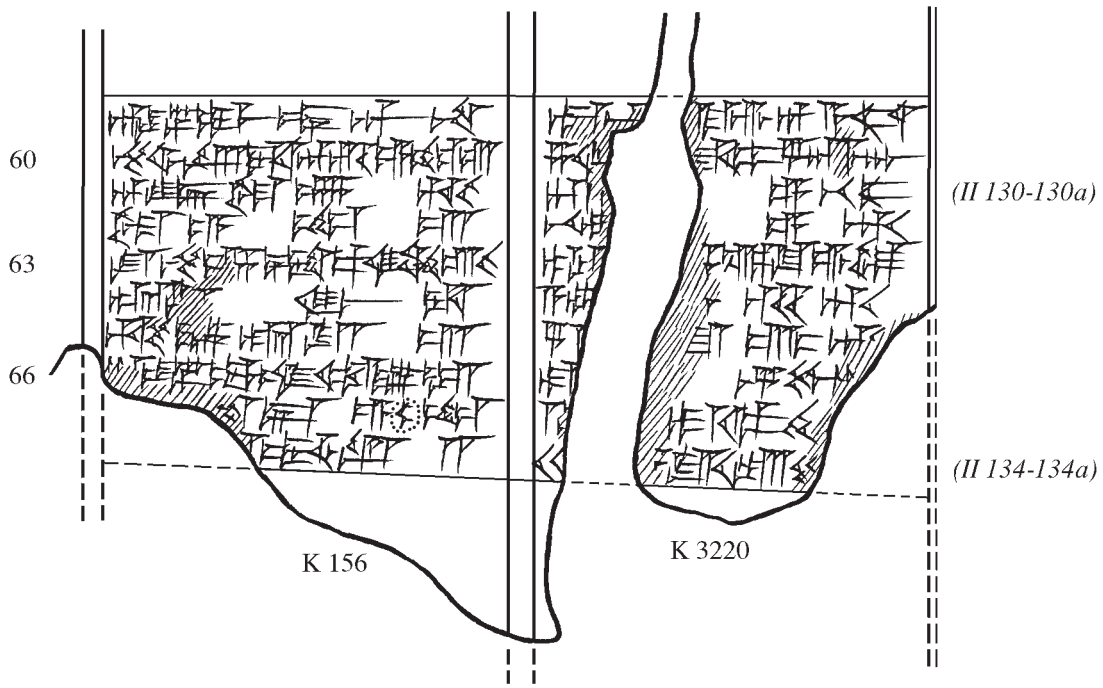
"Lam." exemplar α cols. I-II



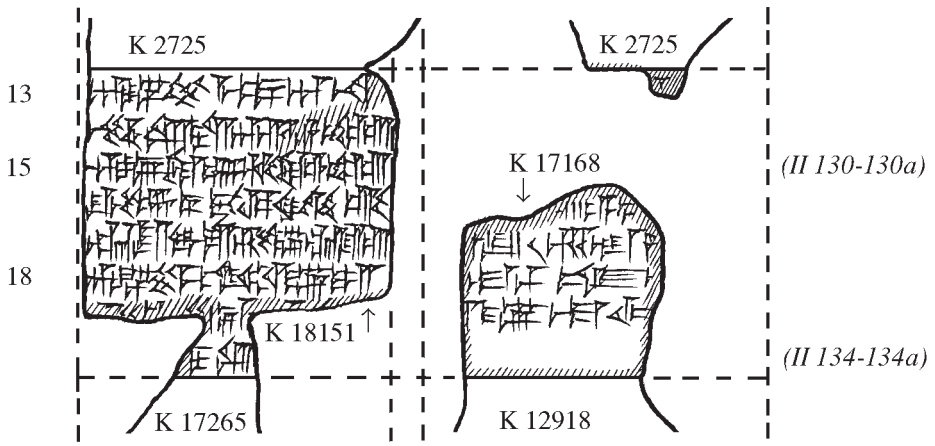
"Lam." exemplar Ω (rev.)



"Lam." exemplar Ed_1 (excerpt from col. IIIa-b)

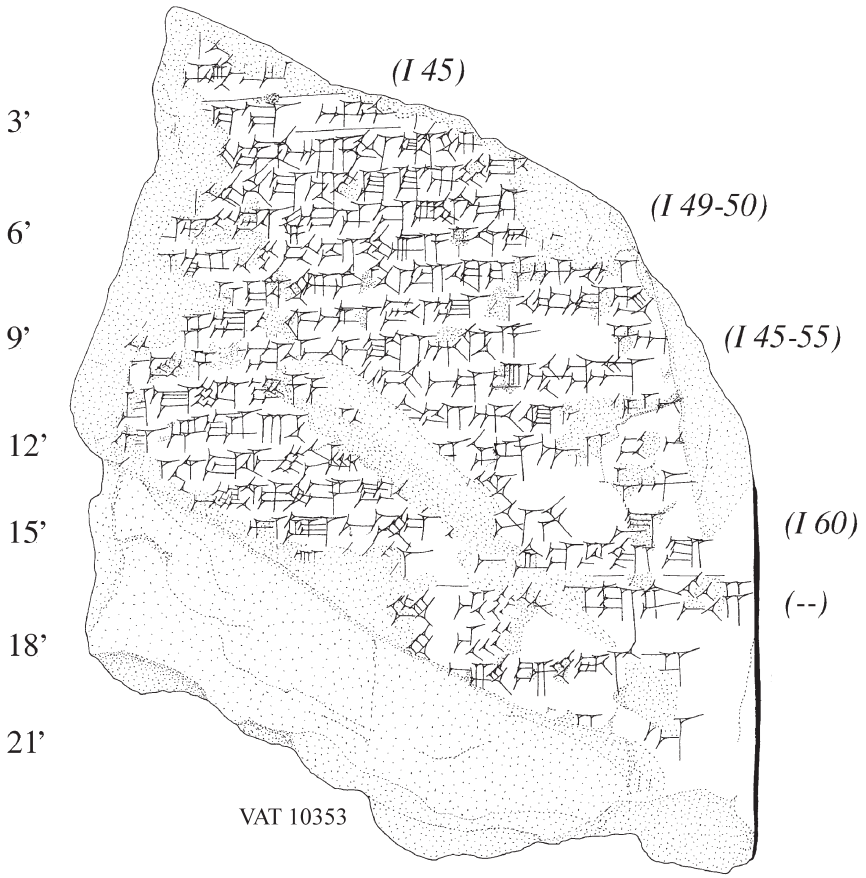


"Lam." exemplar Ed_2 (excerpt from col. IIIa-b)



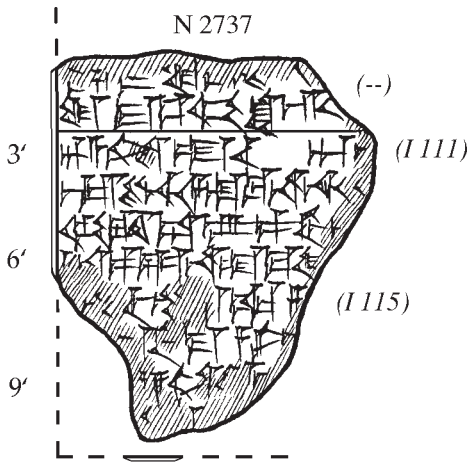
"Lam." exemplar *Ee* (col. II)

Copy: N. Heeßel



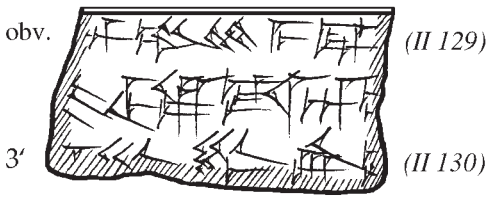
VAT 10353

"Lam." exemplar *Sc* obv.

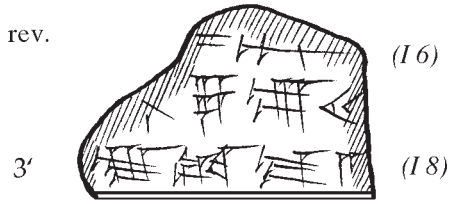


(rev. blank, with horizontal lines after 2.3 cm and 3.4 cm; rest broken)

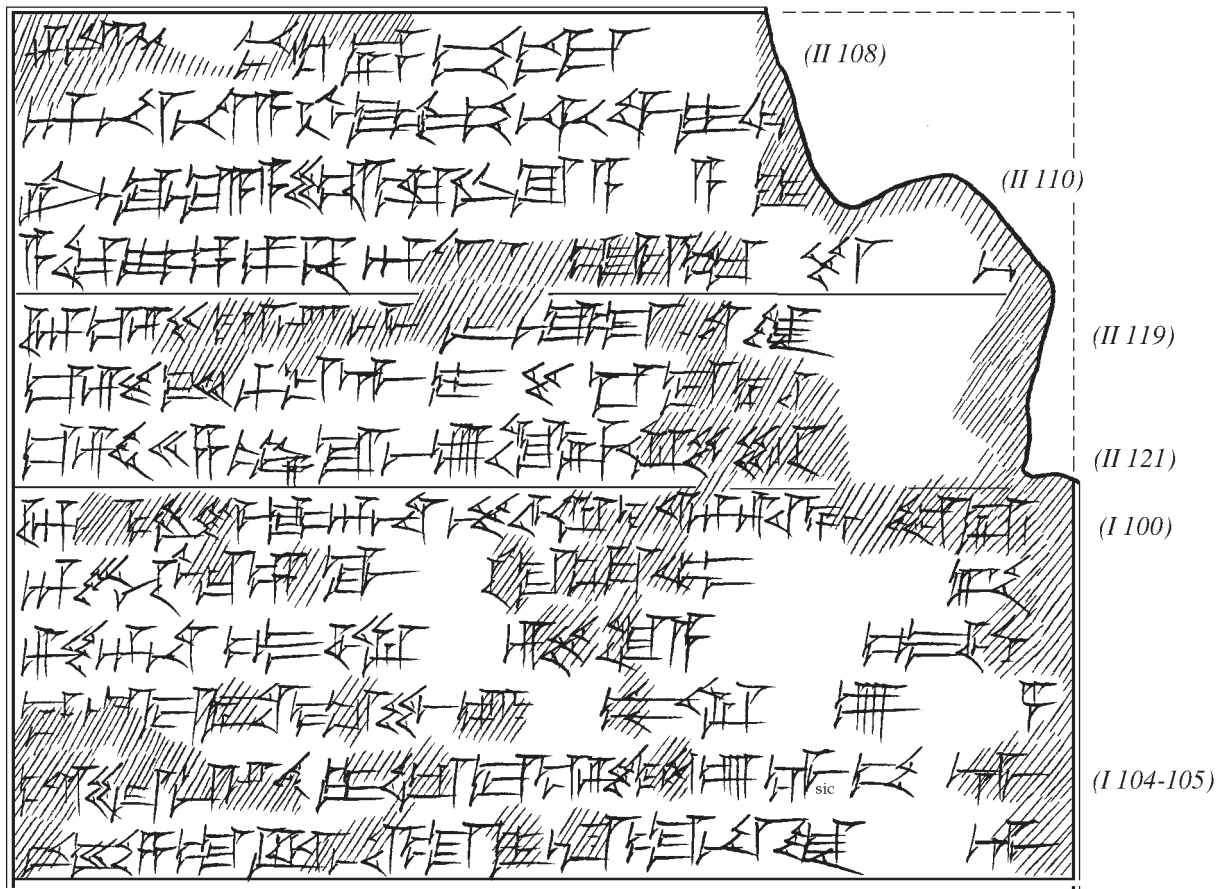
"Lam." exemplar *Sa*



BM 43500



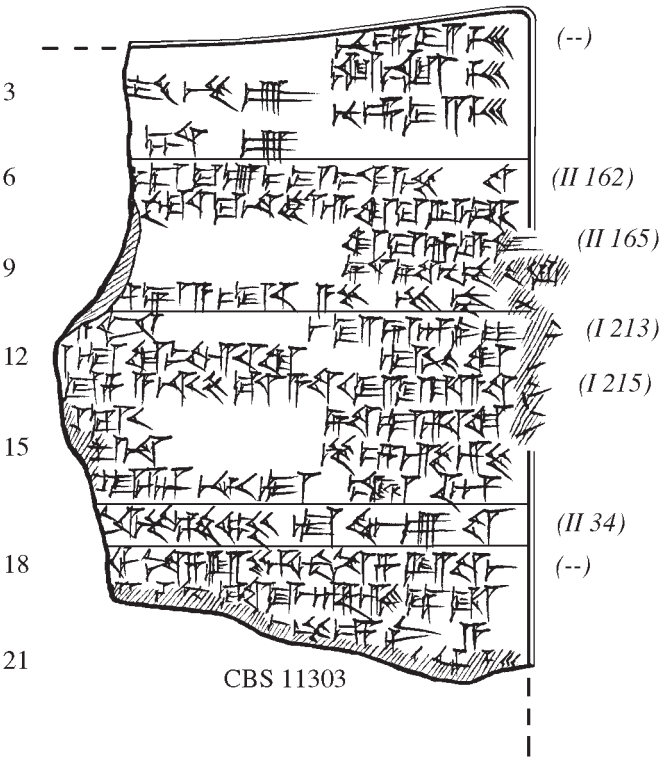
"Lam." exemplar *Sb* (rev.)



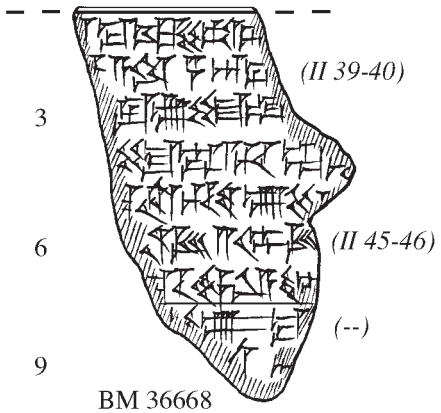
BM 41280

(obv. and remainder of rev. not Lam.)

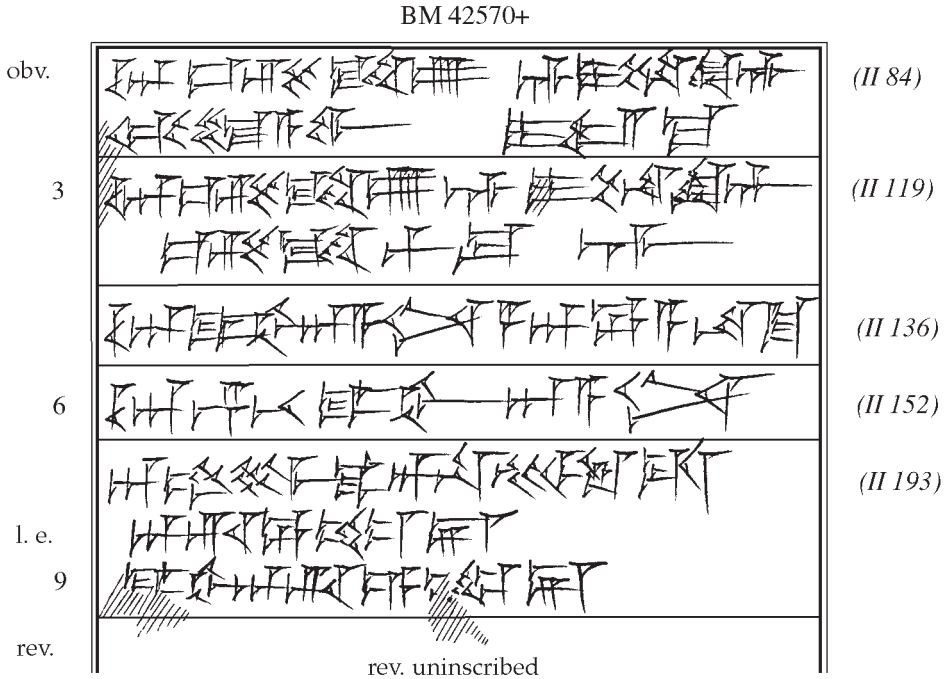
"Lam." exemplar *Sd* obv.



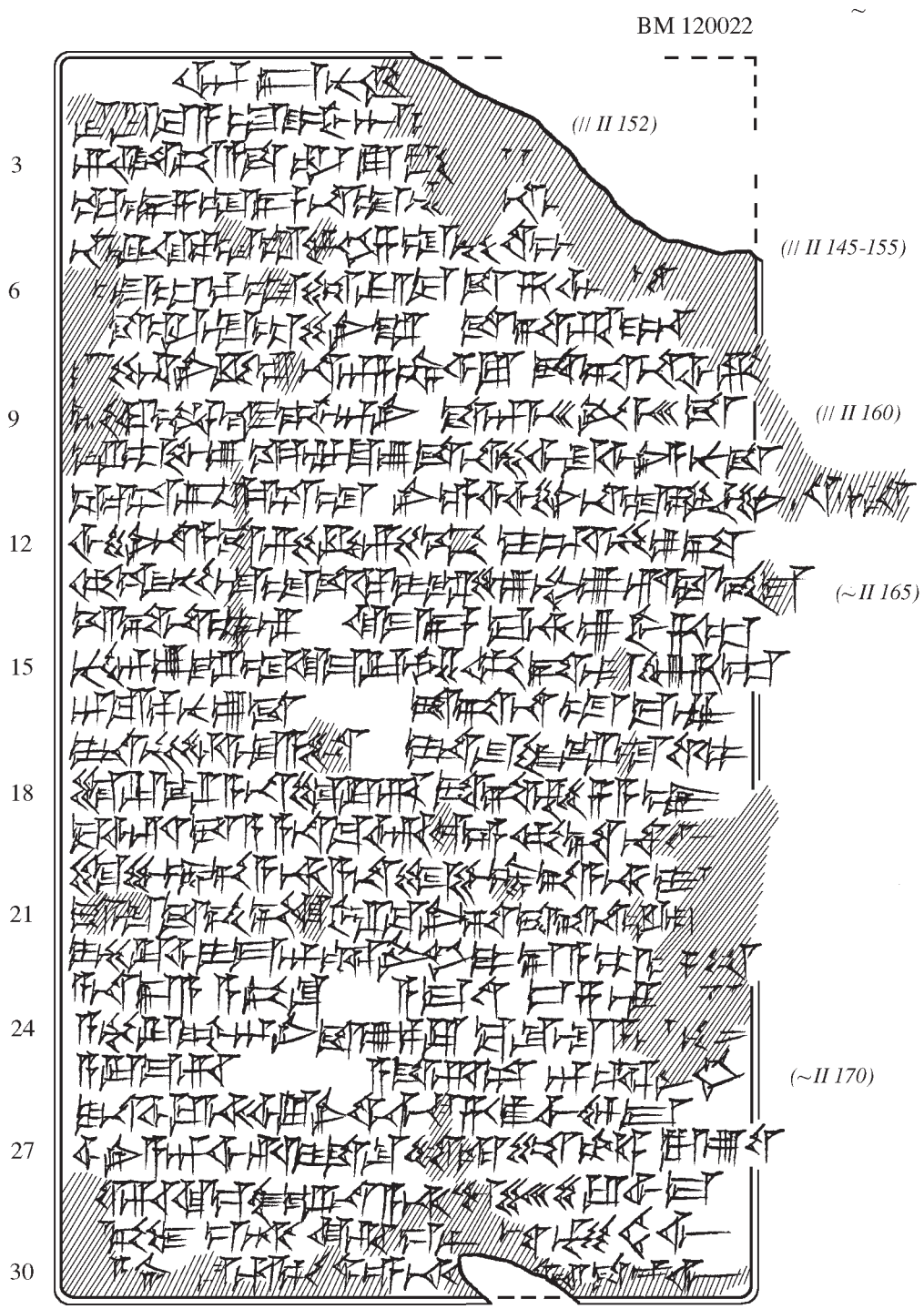
"Lam." exemplar *Se*



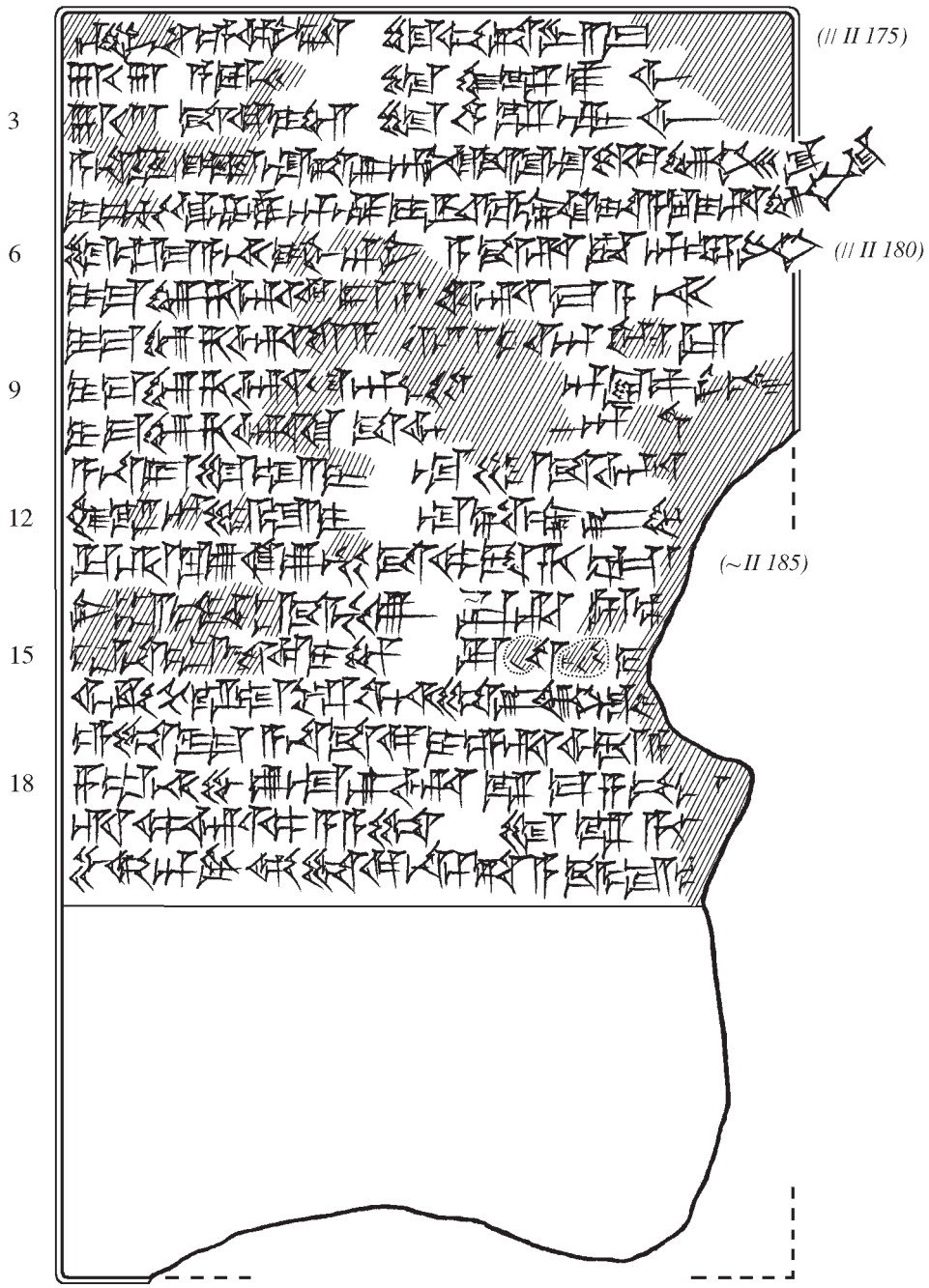
"Lam." exemplar *Sf*



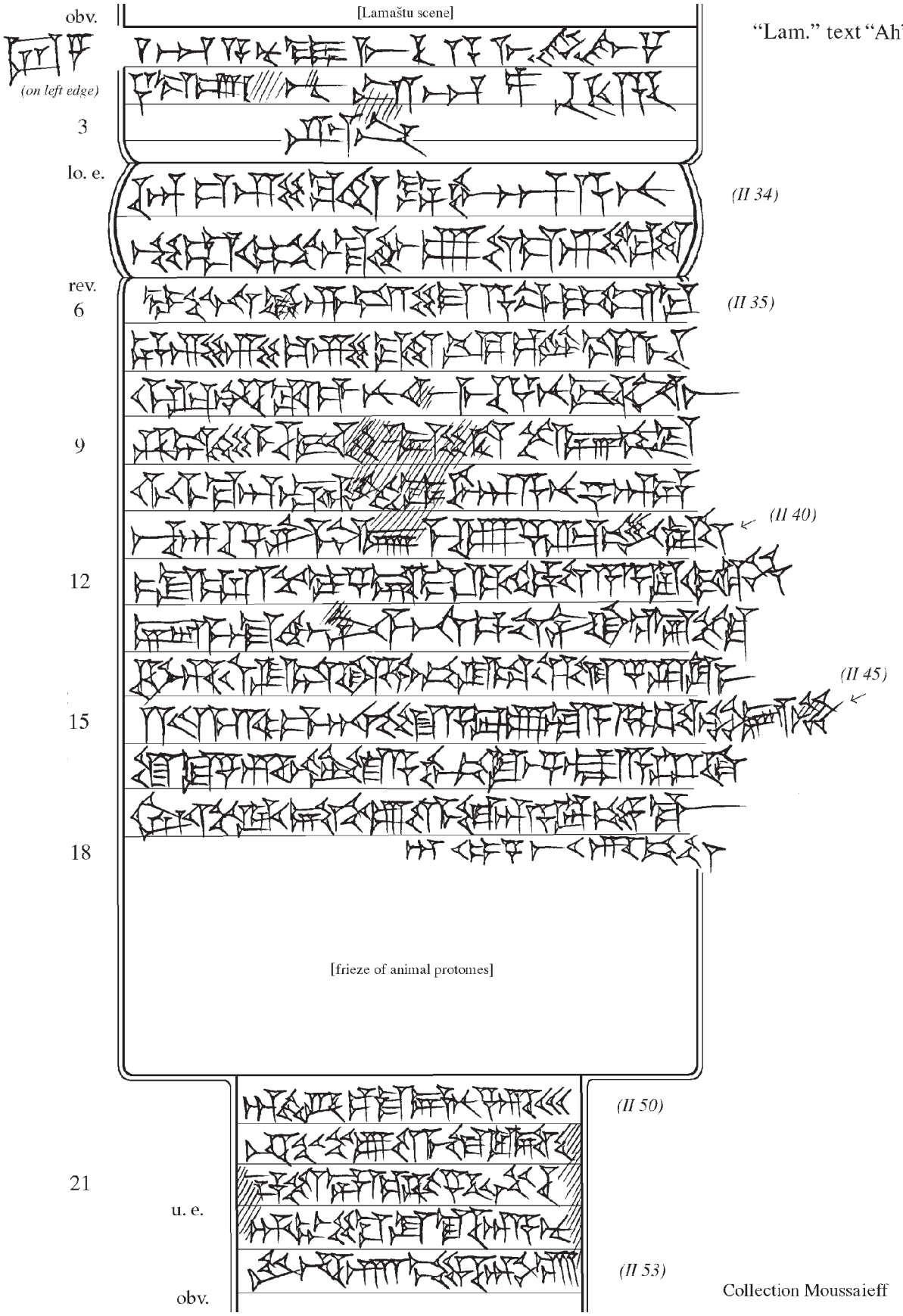
"Lam." text "MB" obv.



"Lam." text "MB" rev.



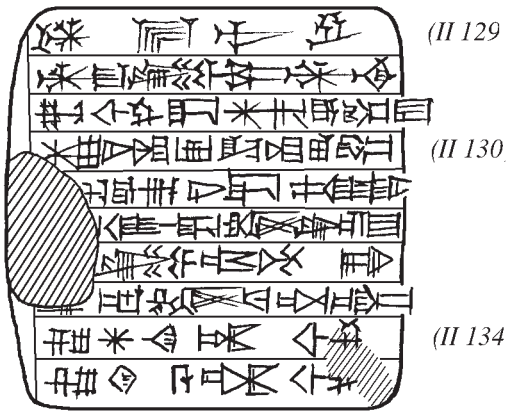
BM 120022


obv.
[Lamaštu scene]
"Lam." text "Ah"
(on left edge)
3
lo. e.
(II 34)
rev.
6
(II 35)
9
(II 40)
12
(II 45)
15
18
[frieze of animal protomes]
(II 50)
21
u. e.
(II 53)
obv.
Collection Moussaieff

"Lam." text "Ao"

BM 132520

upper edge



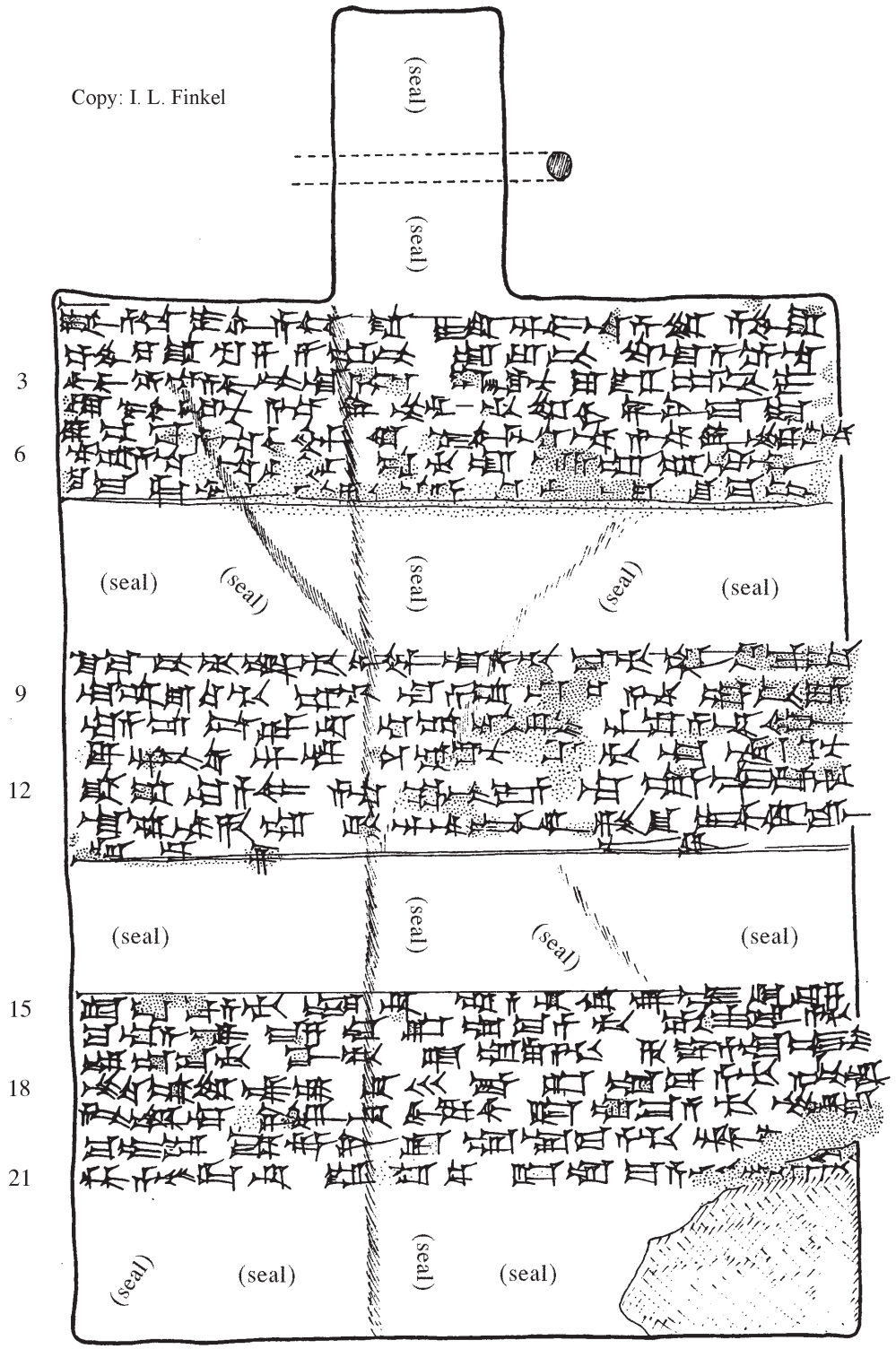
lower edge



(rough sketch only;
for more details, see photos on p. 4 fig. 2, and pl. 82)

Text "Emar" obv.

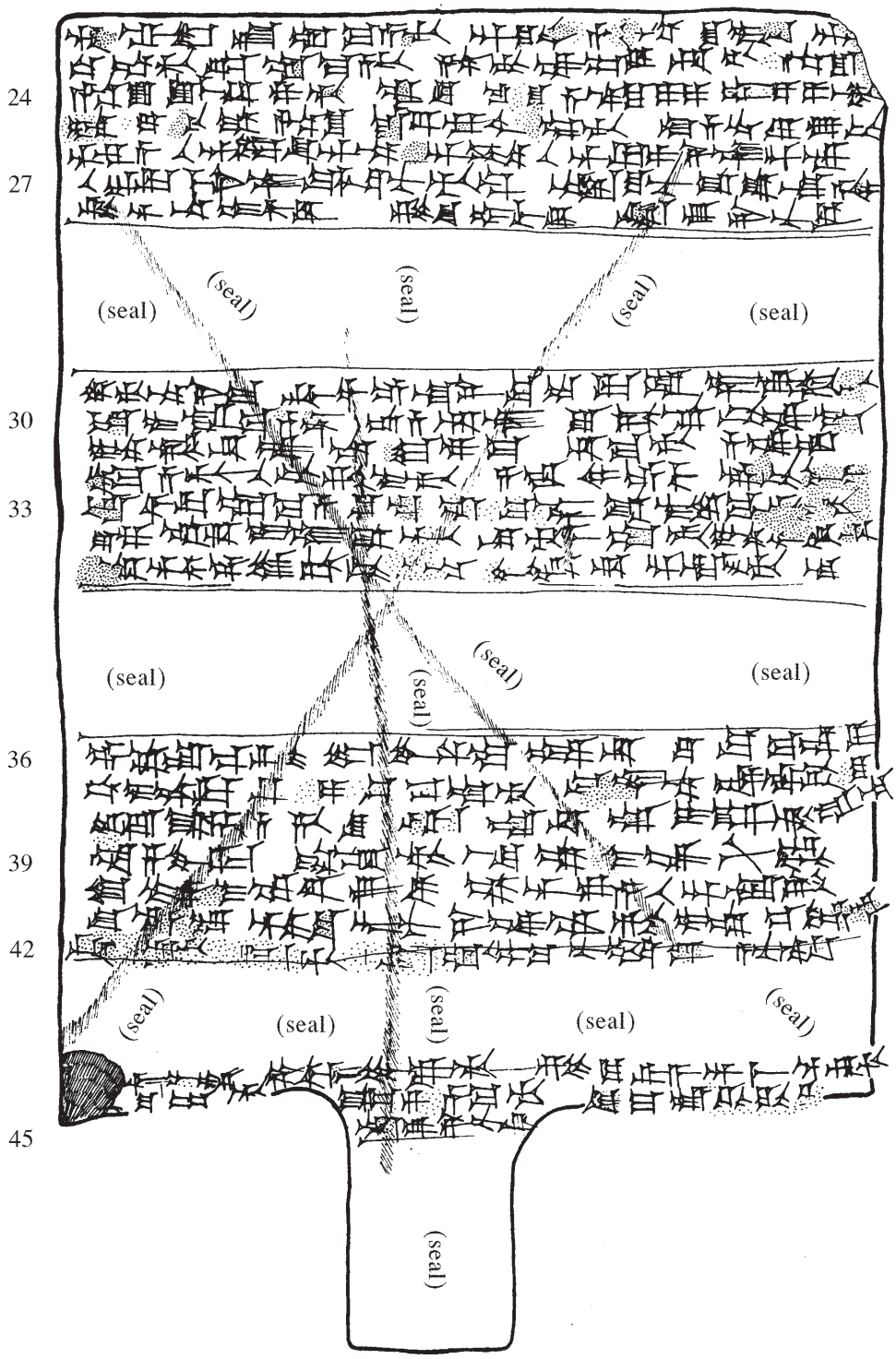
Copy: I. L. Finkel



(for photos of this text, see plates 84-89)

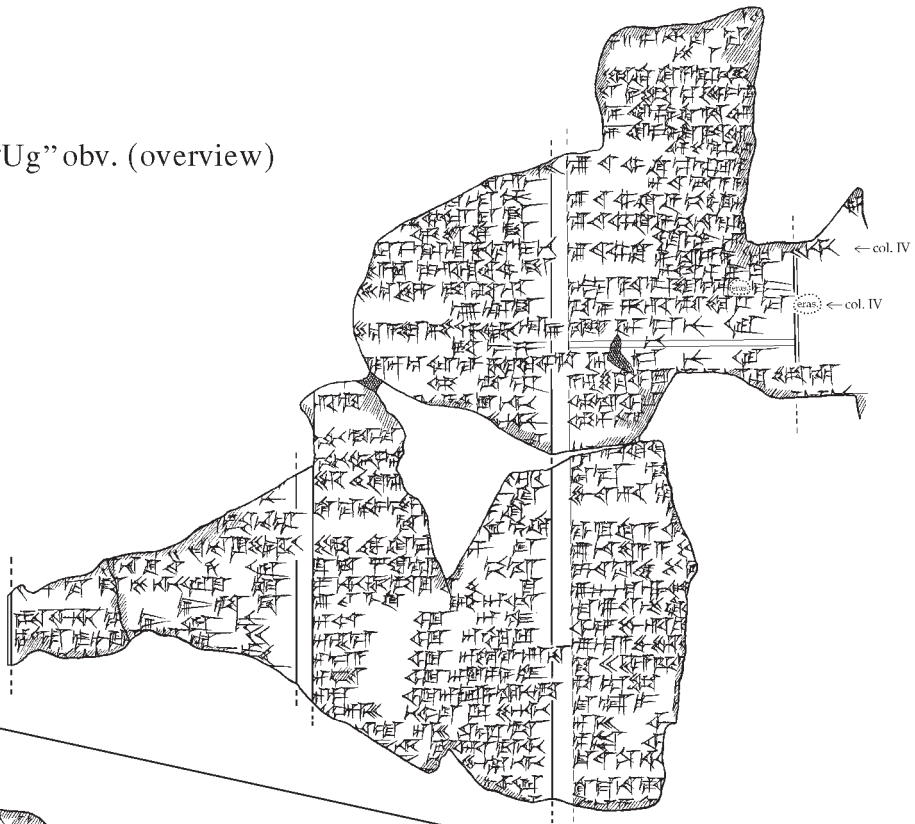
Text "Emar" rev.

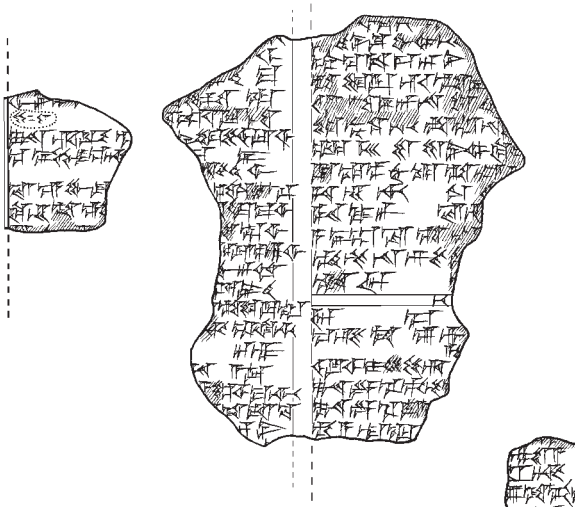
Copy: I. L. Finkel

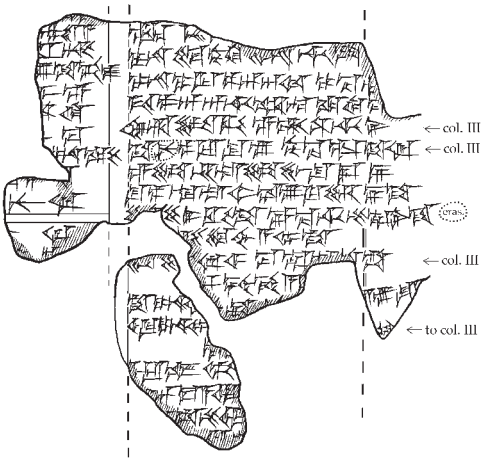


(for photos of this text, see plates 84-89)

Text "Ug" obv. (overview)

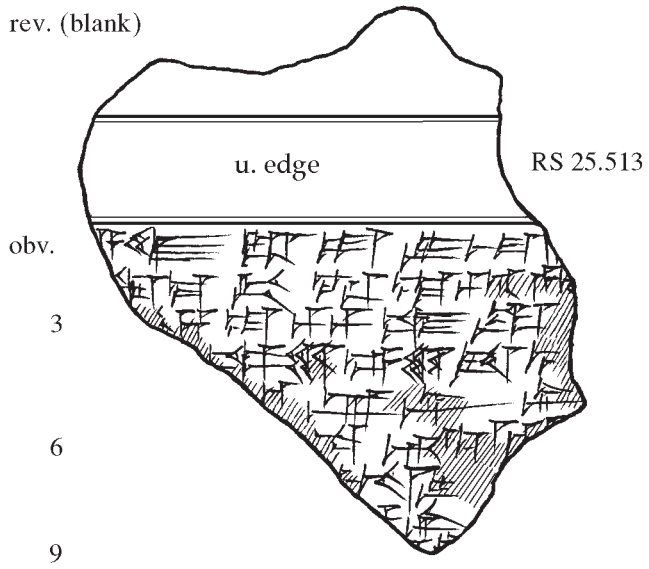




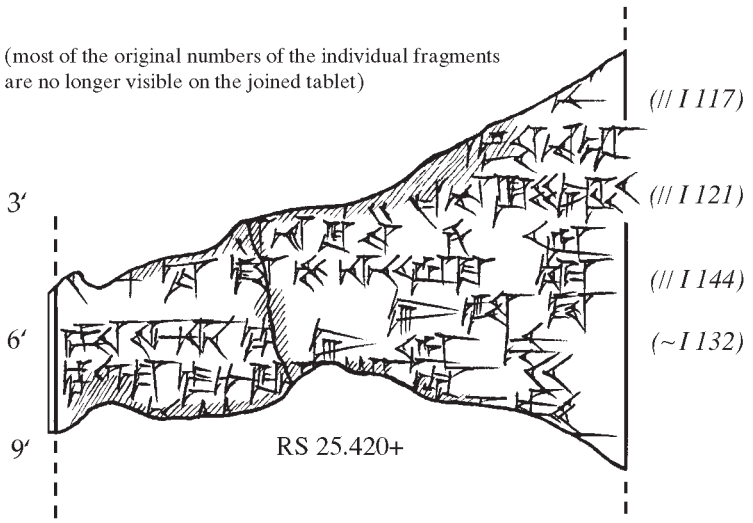


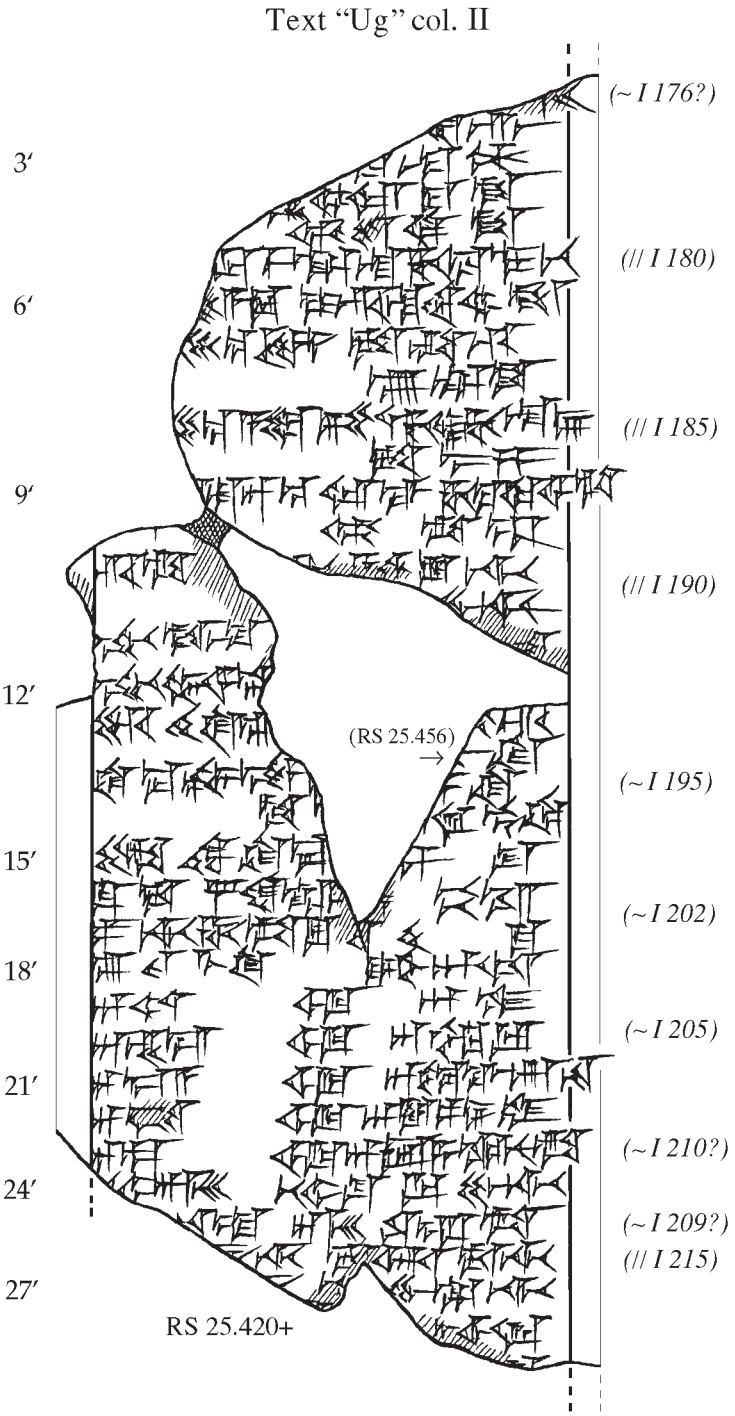
Text "Ug" rev. (overview)

Text "RS"

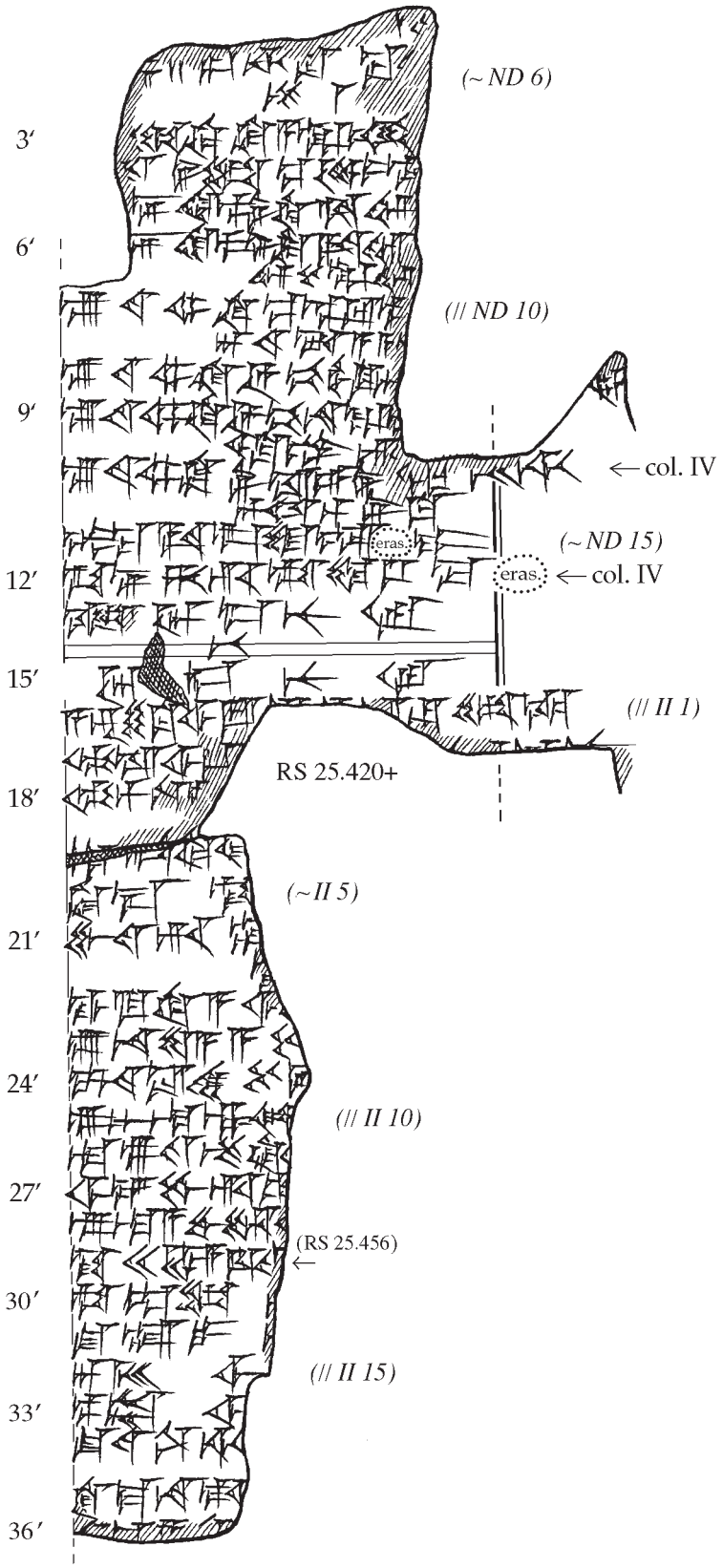


Text "Ug" col. I

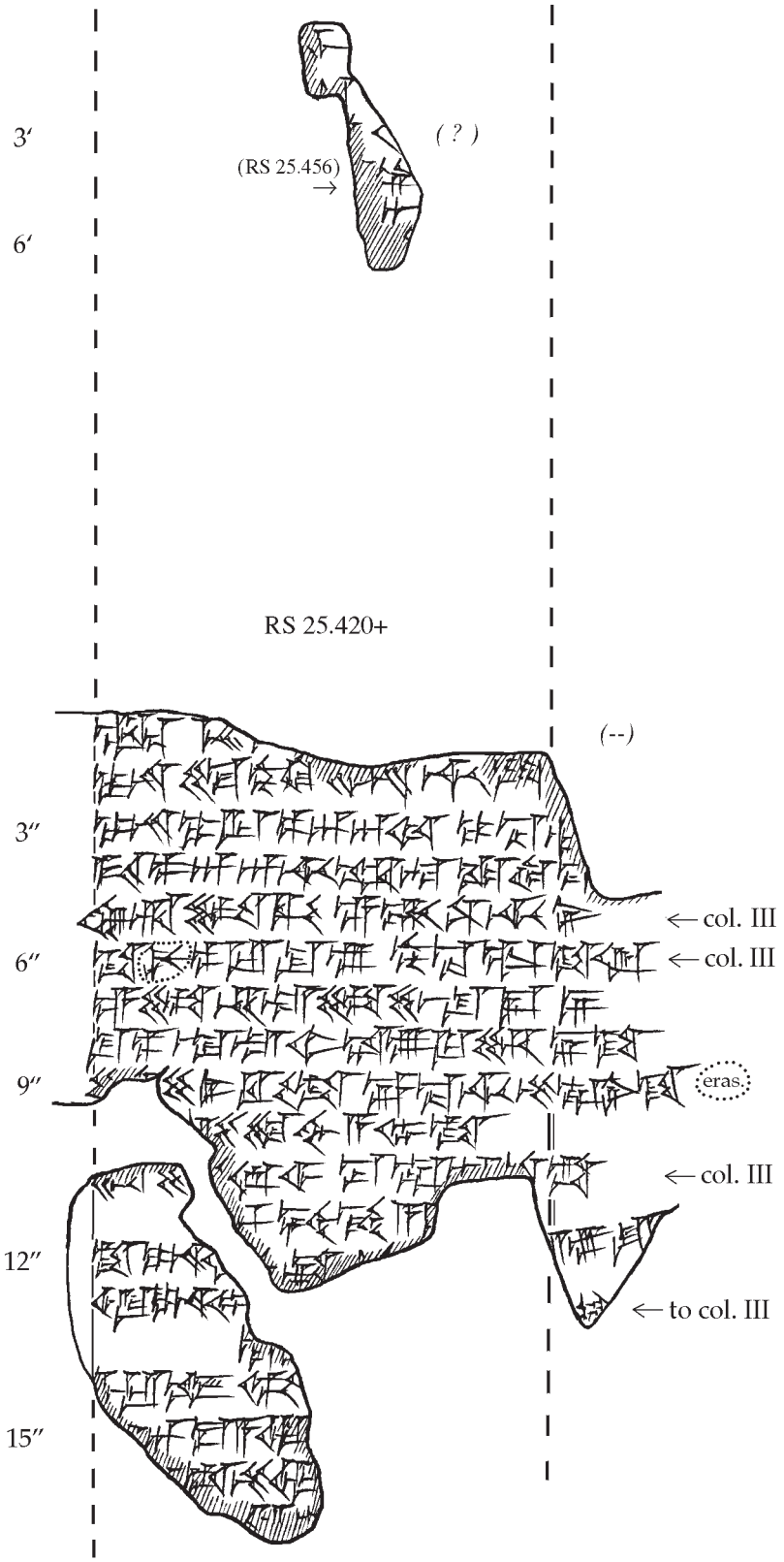



Text "Ug" col. II
(~ I 176?)
3′
(// I 180)
6′
(// I 185)
9′
(// I 190)
12′
(RS 25.456)
→
(~ I 195)
15′
(~ I 202)
18′
(~ I 205)
21′
(~ I 210?)
24′
(~ I 209?)
(// I 215)
27′
RS 25.420+

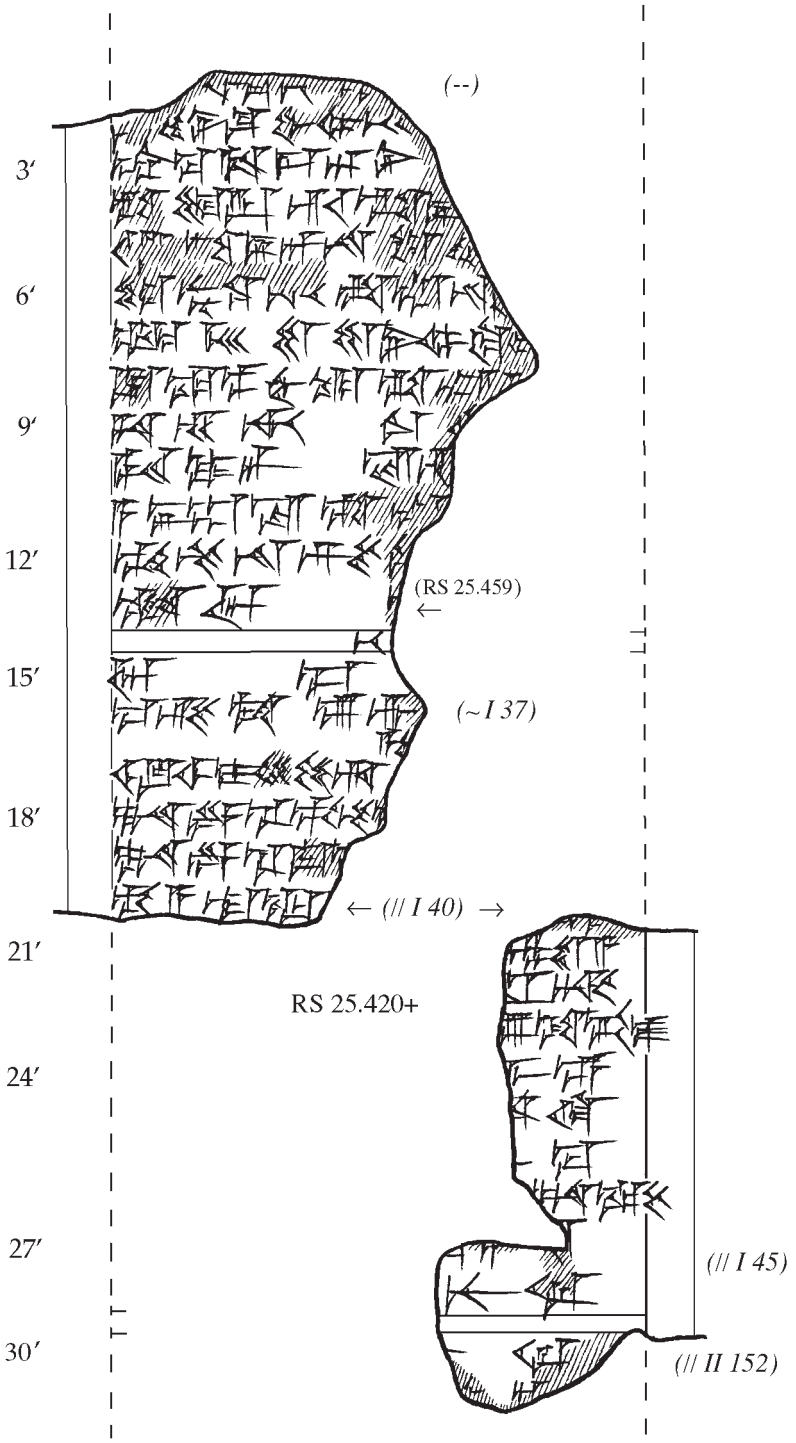
Text "Ug" col. III



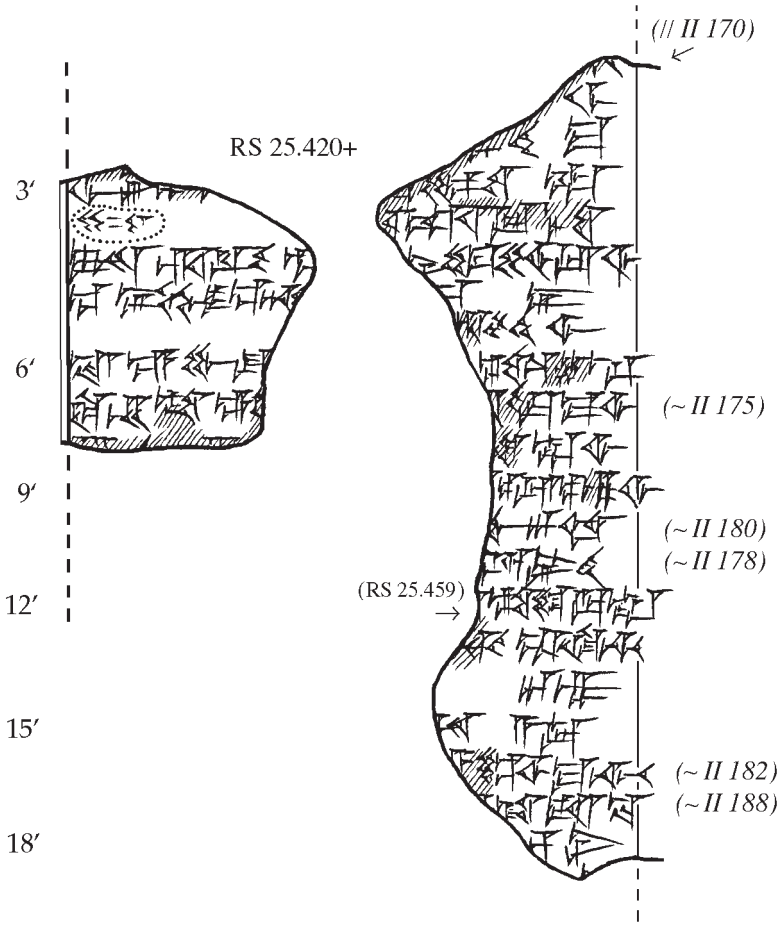
Text "Ug" col. IV



Text "Ug" col. V

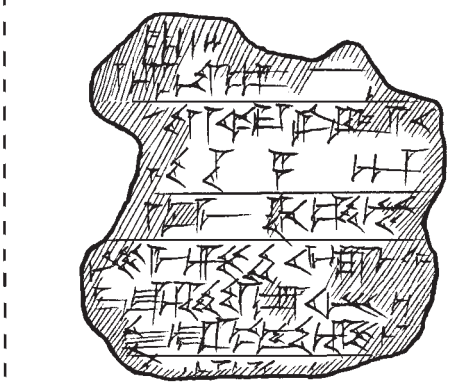


Text "Ug" col. VI

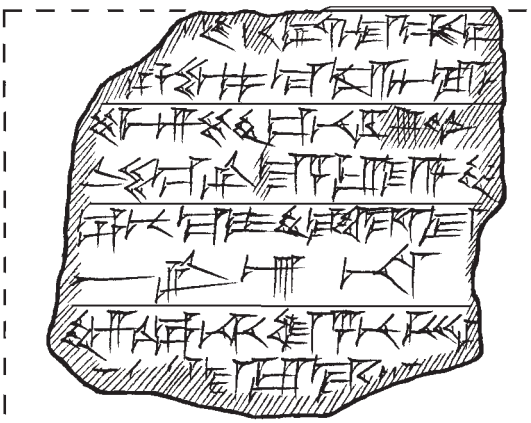


Text "BM 33399"

obv.

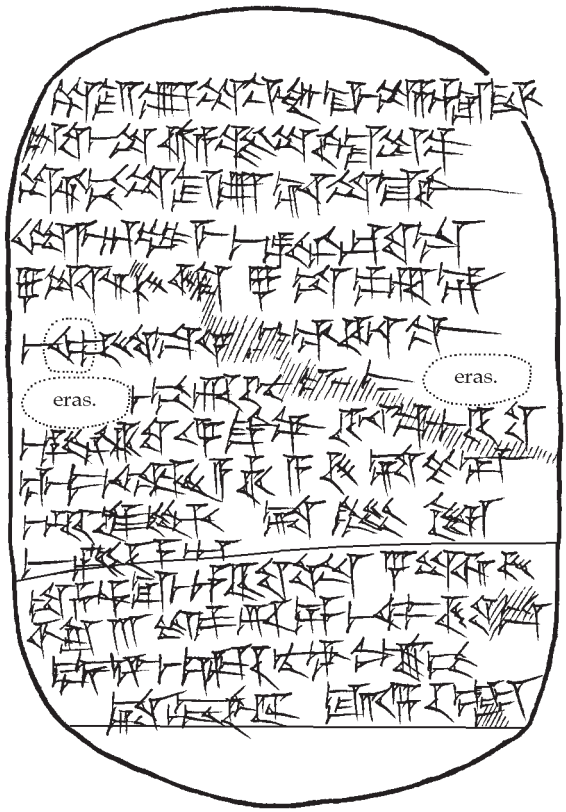


rev.

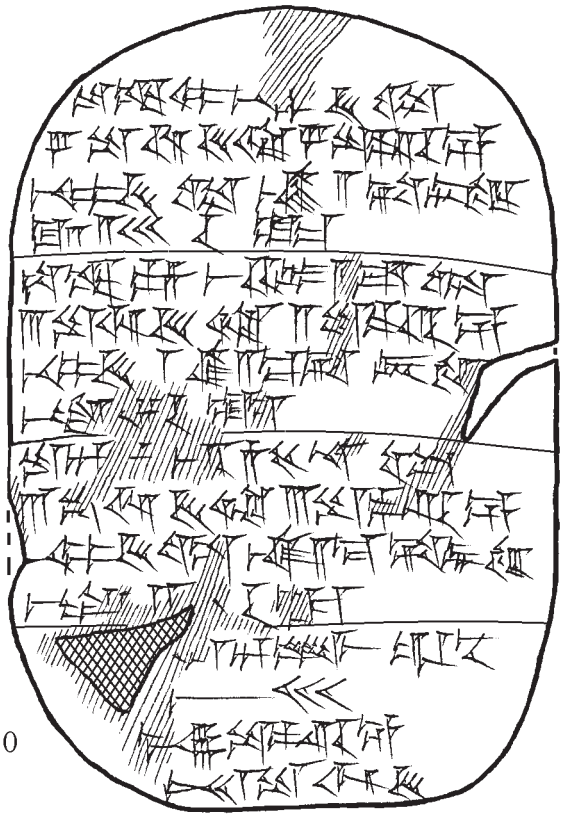


Text "RC"

obv.



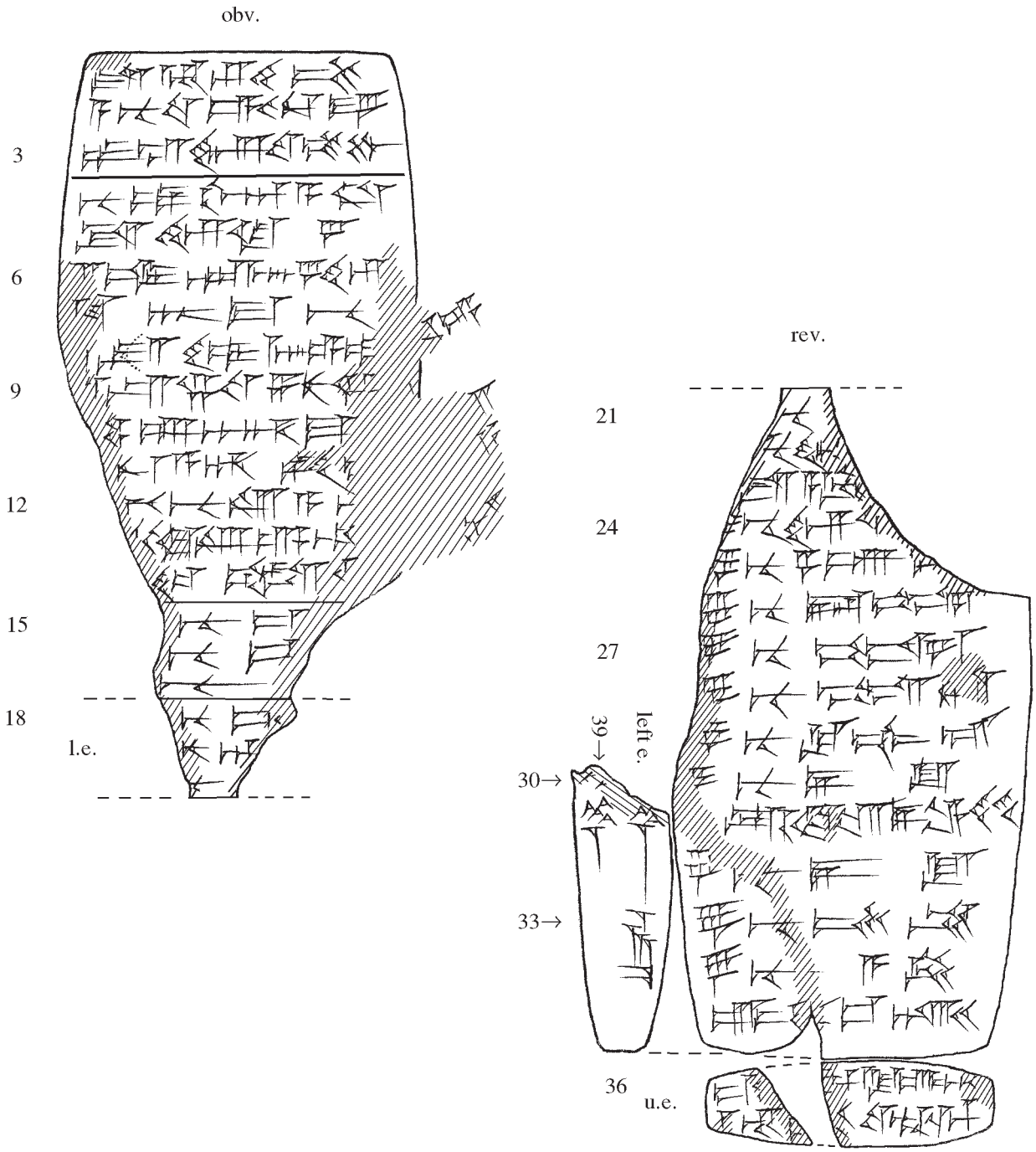
rev.

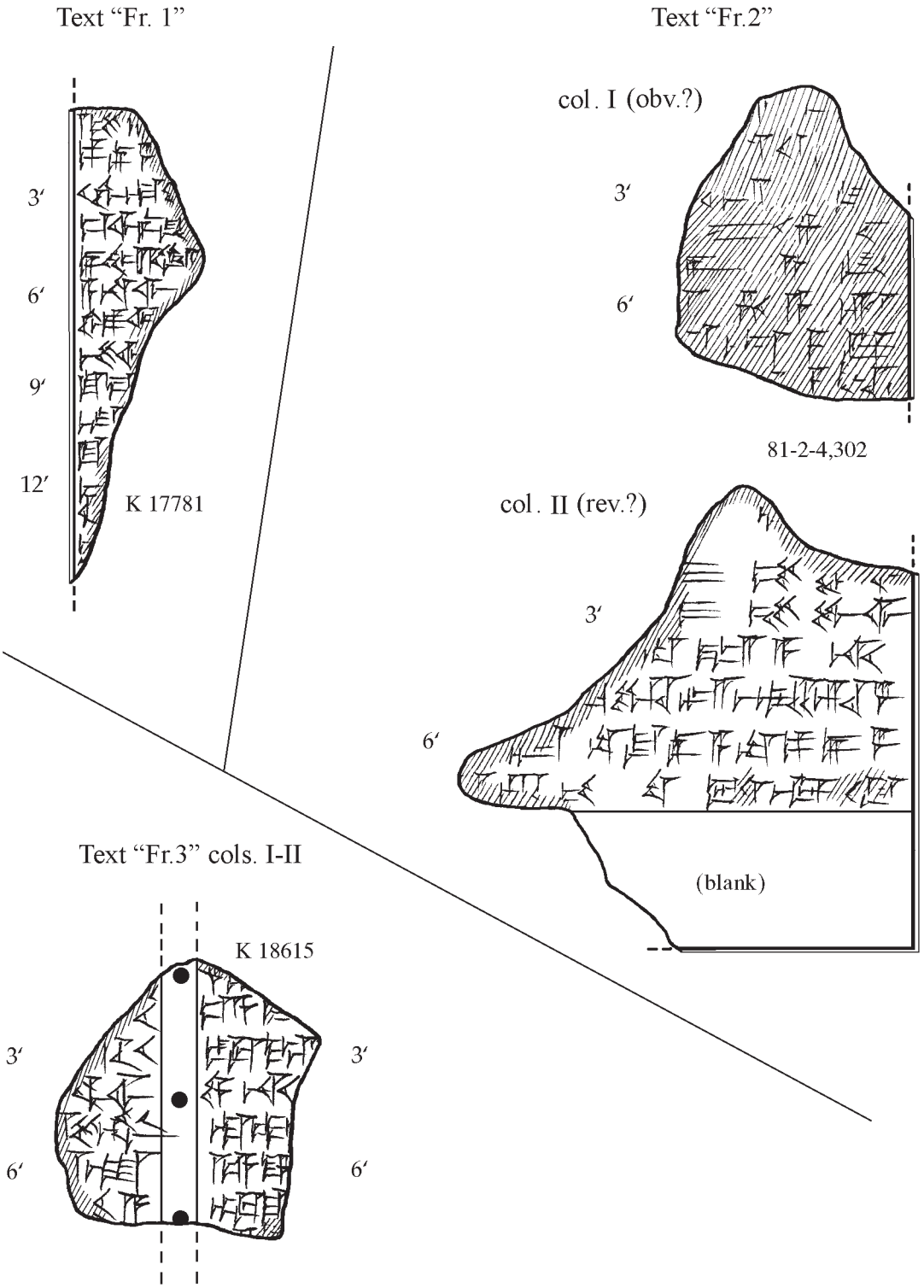


RC 713

Text “Assur memo”

VAT 13605

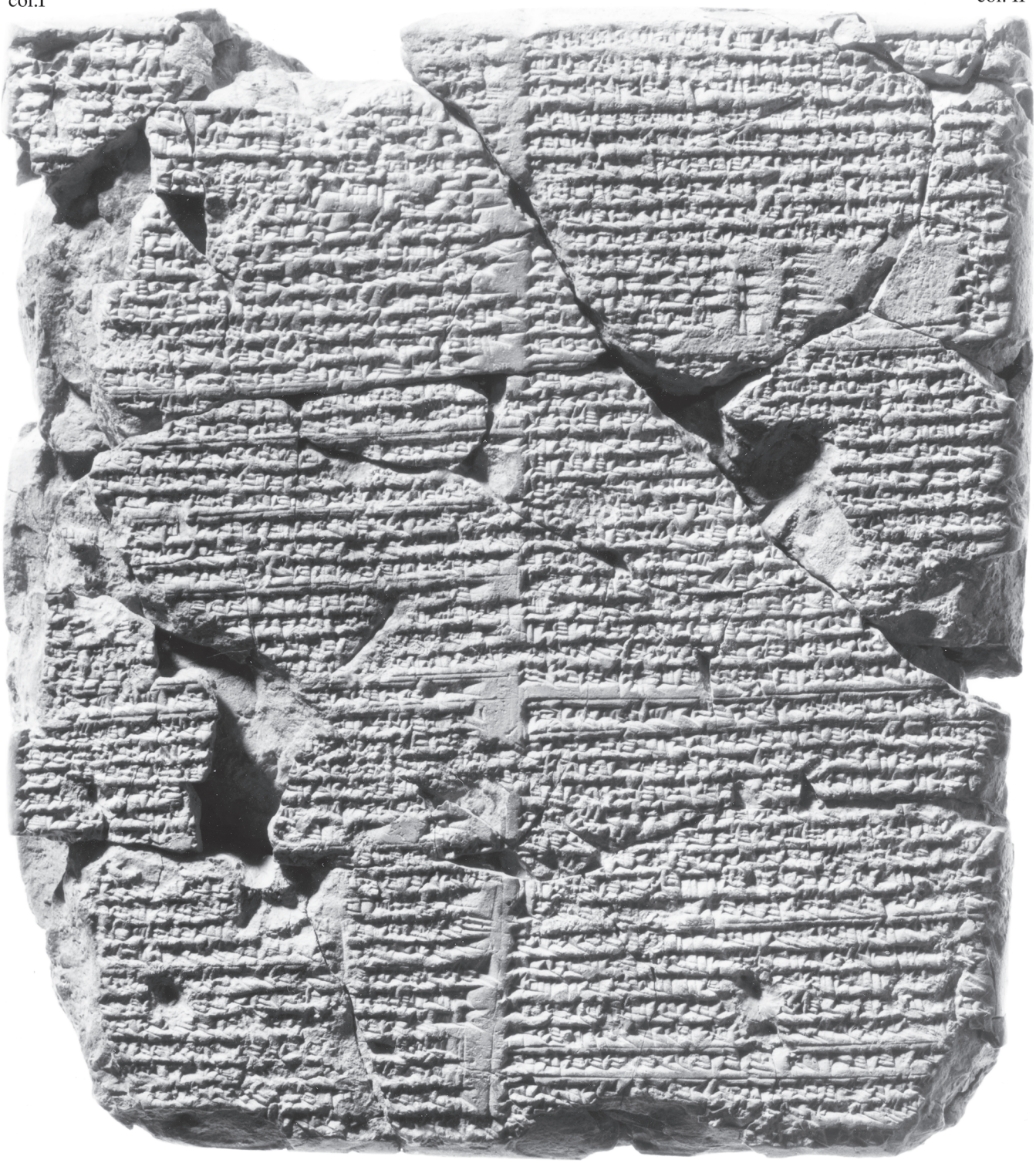



Text "Fr. 1"
3′
6′
9′
12′
K 17781
Text "Fr.2"
col. I (obv.?)
3′
6′
81-2-4,302
col. II (rev.?)
3′
6′
(blank)
Text "Fr.3" cols. I-II
K 18615
3′
3′
6′
6′

"Lam." exemplar *Ea*

BM 45393 + 46277 + 46331

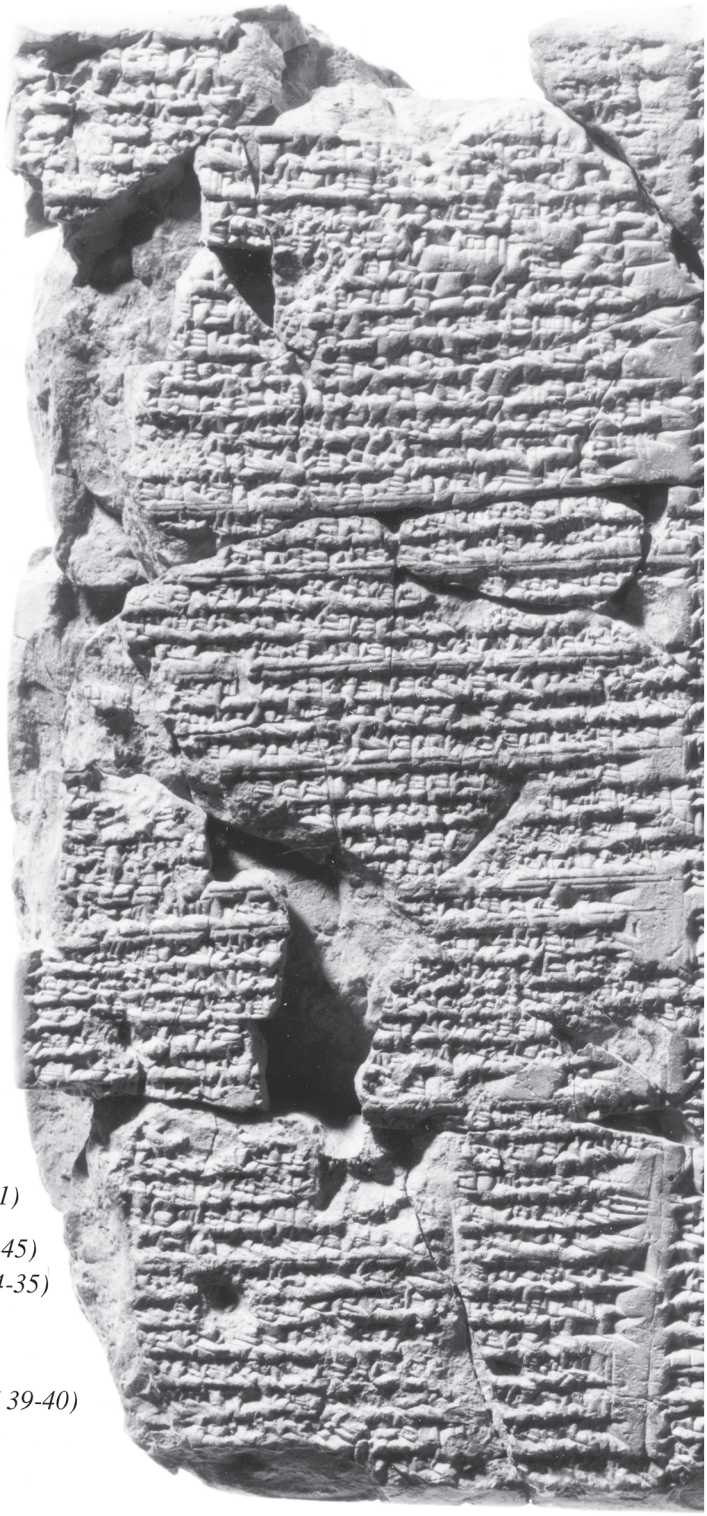
col.I col. II



(photo scale 1:1)

"Lam." exemplar *Ea* col. I

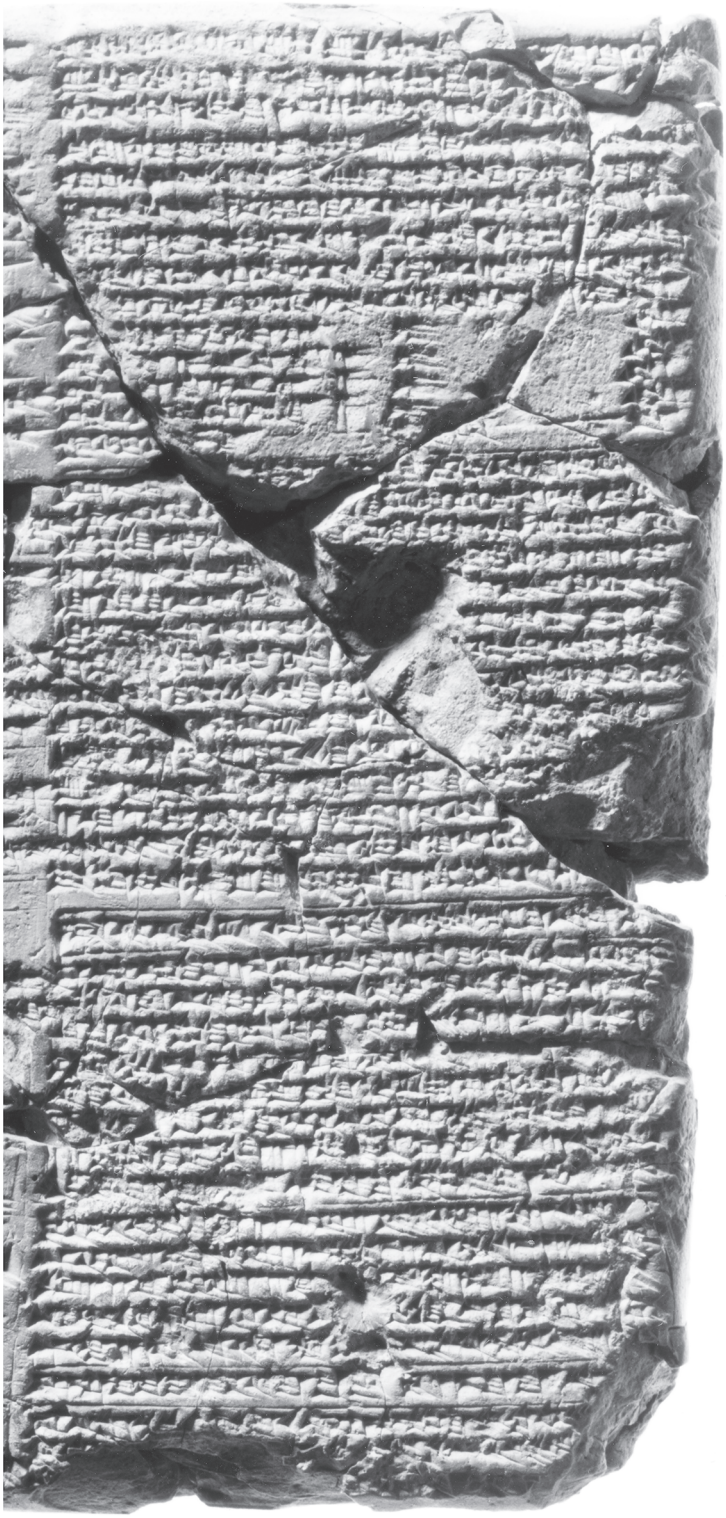
BM 45393 + 46277 + 46331



(photo scale 1:1)

"Lam." exemplar *Ea* col. II

BM 45393 + 46277 + 46331



(II 44-45)

3

(II 48-50)

6

(II 53-55)

9

12

(II 59)

(II 1-2) 15

(II 5-6)

18

(II 9-10)

21

(II 15-16)

24

(II 20-21)

27

(II 24-26)

(--)

30

33

36

39

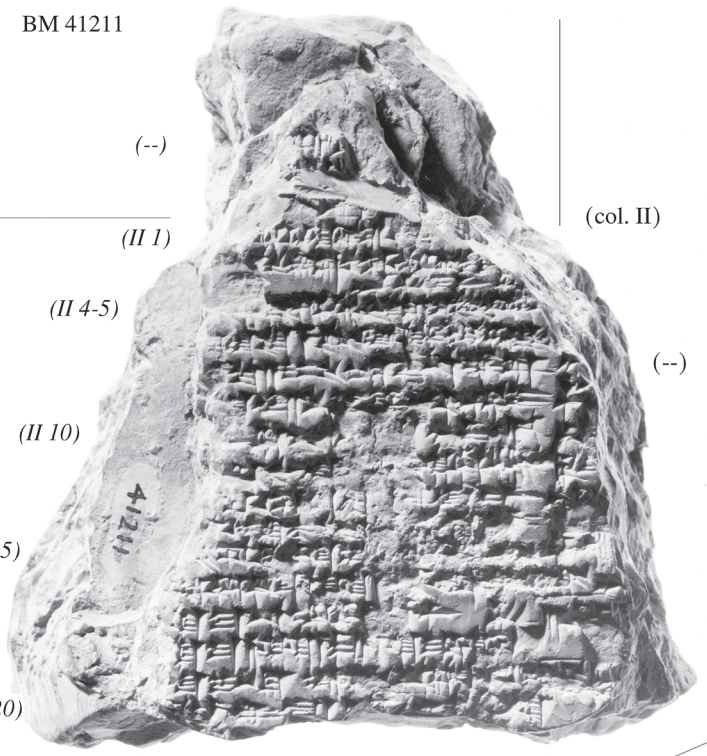
42

45

(photo scale 1:1)

"Lam." exemplar *Eb*

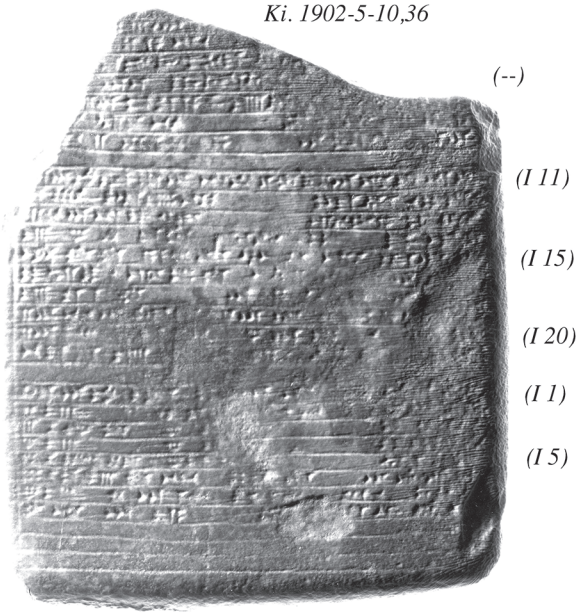
BM 41211



(photo scale 1:1)

"Lam." text "Aa"

Ki. 1902-5-10,36

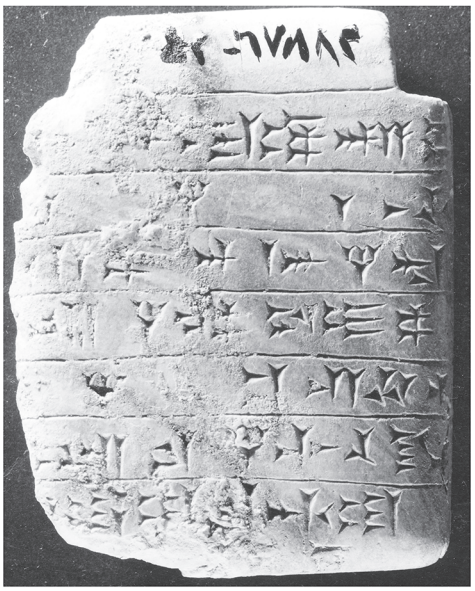


(rev. uninscribed)

(photo scale 1:1)

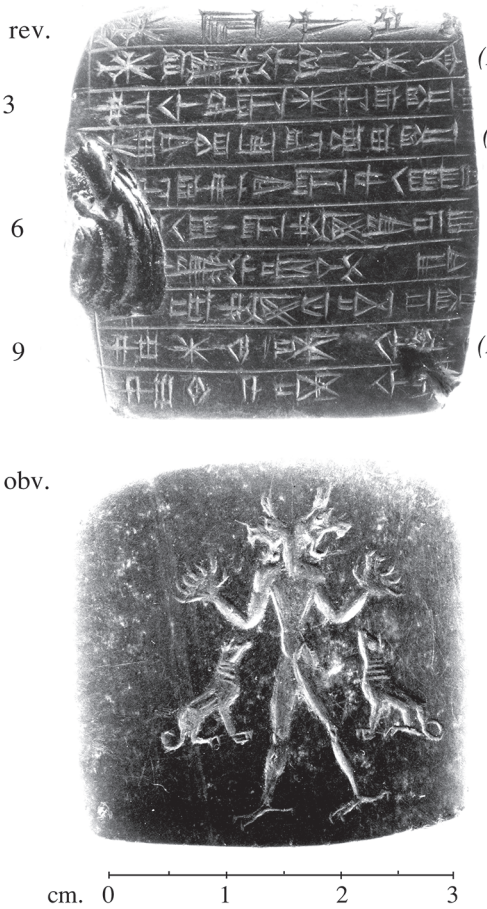
"Lam." text "Ab_2"
(amulet no. 89)

IM 67882



"Lam." text "Ao"
(amulet no. 88)

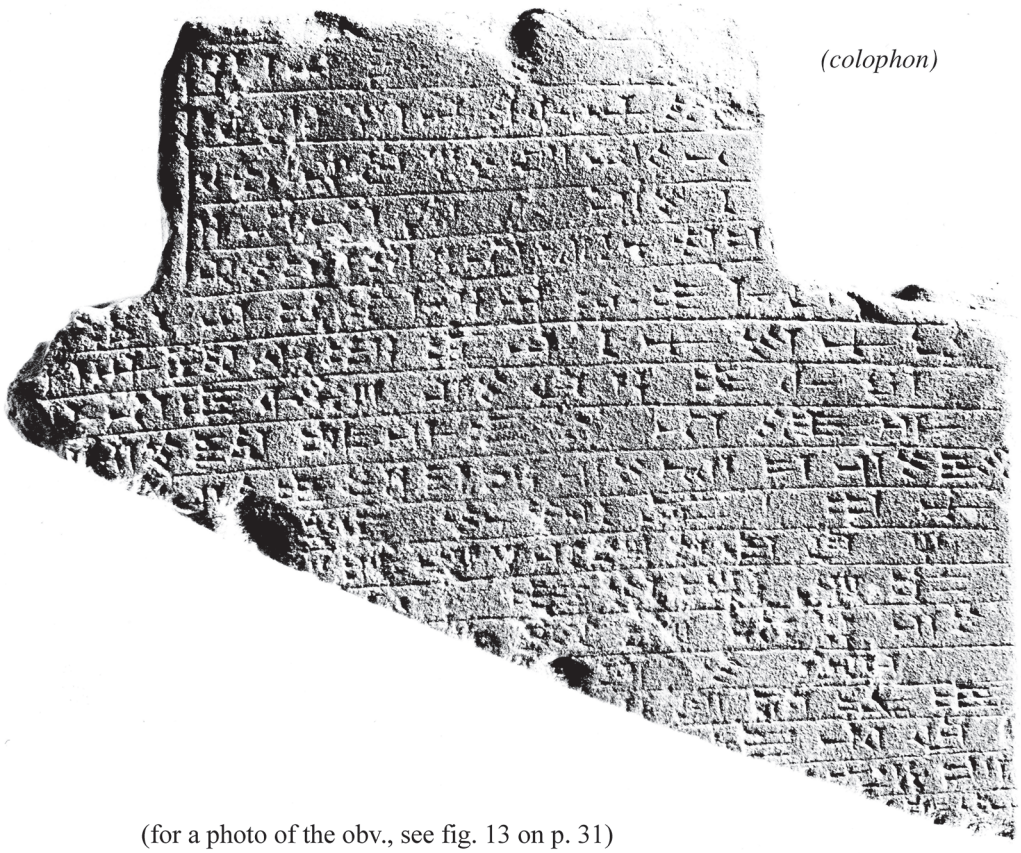
BM 132520



(for a larger photo, see fig. 2 on p. 4;
for a hand copy, see pl. 65)

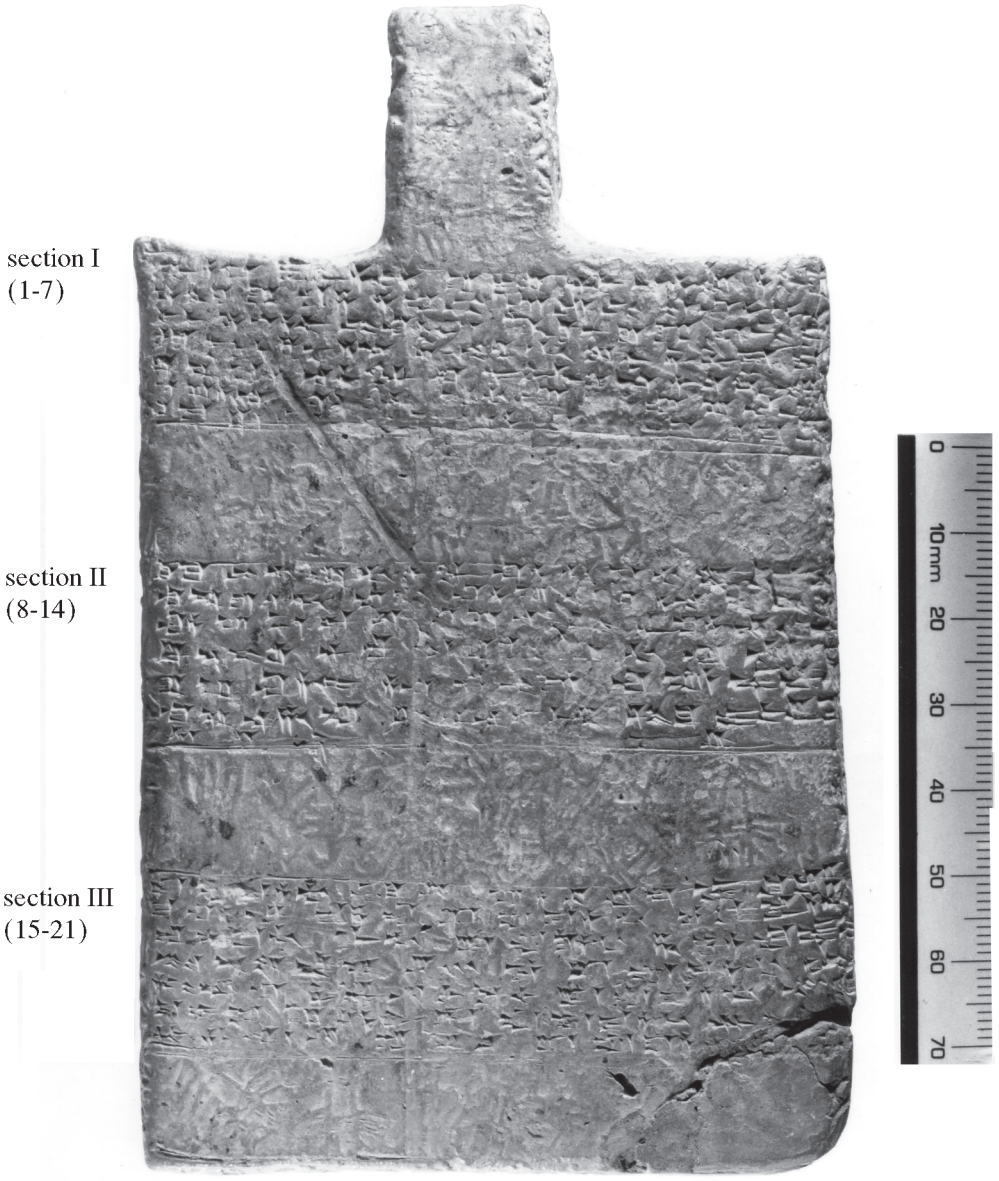
"Lam." text "Ai" (amulet no. 60)

Byblos 19041



(for a photo of the obv., see fig. 13 on p. 31)

Text "Emar": obv.



(for a hand copy by I. L. Finkel, see pl. 66)

Text "Emar": rev.



(for a hand copy by I. L. Finkel, see plate 67)

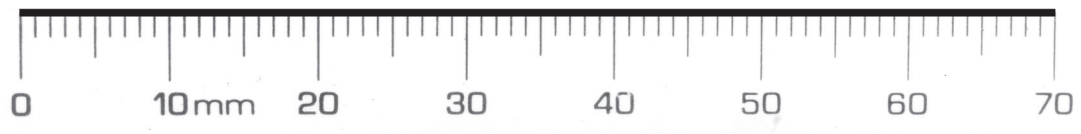
Text “Emar”: side edges

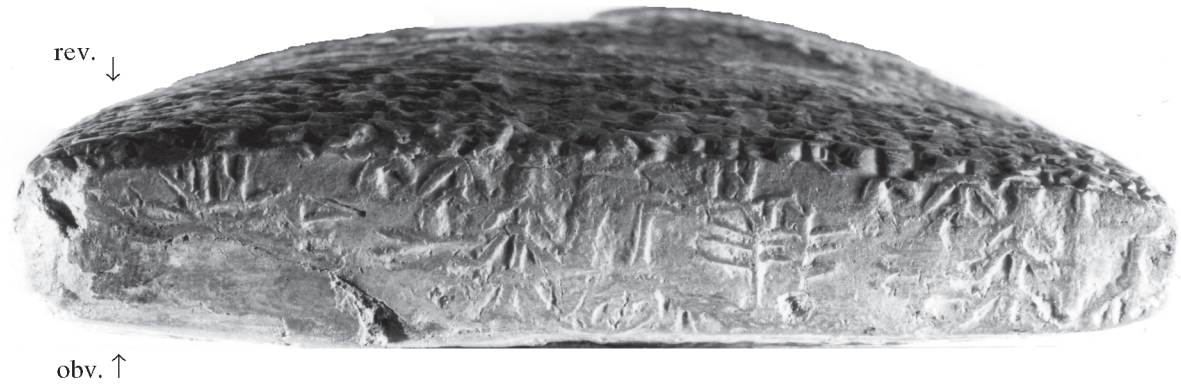


Text "Emar": upper and lower edges

upper edge with handle







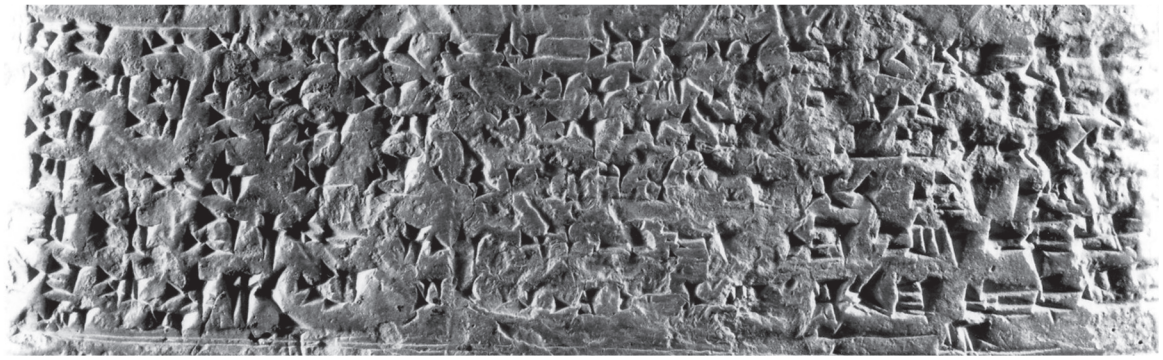
lower edge

Text “Emar”: sections I-III

section I



section II



section III



(for a hand copy by I. L. Finkel, see pl. 66)

Text "Emar": sections IV-VII

section IV



24

27

section V



30

33

section VI



36

39

42

section VII



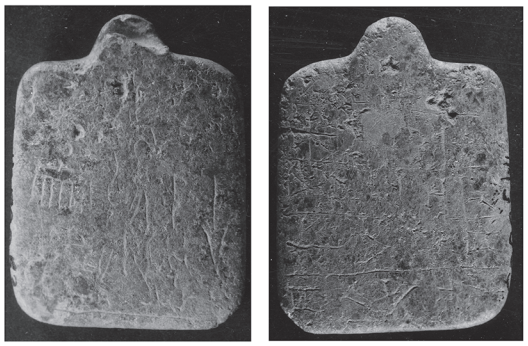
45

(for a hand copy by I. L. Finkel, see plate 67)

Lam. amulet no. 90

IM 50053

obv. rev.



(for a larger photo, see fig. 20 on p. 195)

Lam. amulet no. 91

IM 19817

obv. rev.



(for a larger photo, see fig. 19 on p. 194)

Lam. amulet no. 92

IM 22127

obv. rev.



(for a larger photo, see fig. 15 on p. 41)

Lam. amulet no. 93

IM 22128

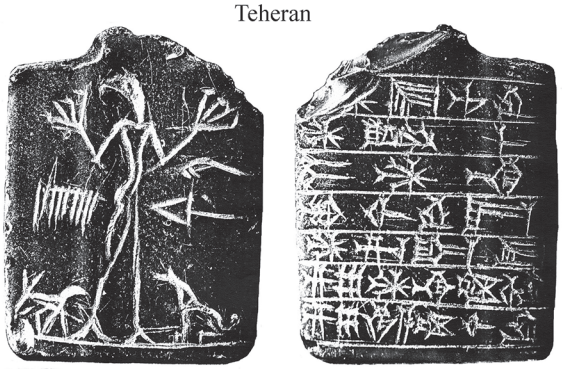
obv. rev.



(for a larger photo, see fig. 16 on p. 41)

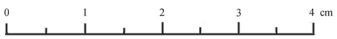
Lam. amulet no. 94

Teheran



(for a larger photo, see fig. 3 on p. 5)

(all photos on this plate are in scale 1:1)



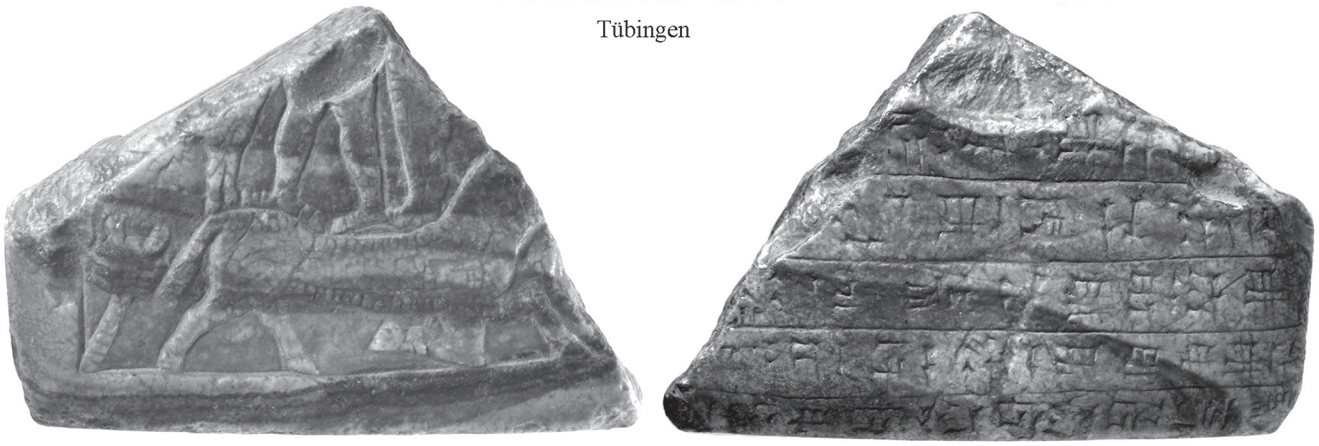
Lam. amulet no. 95

Chicago

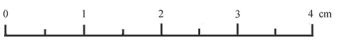


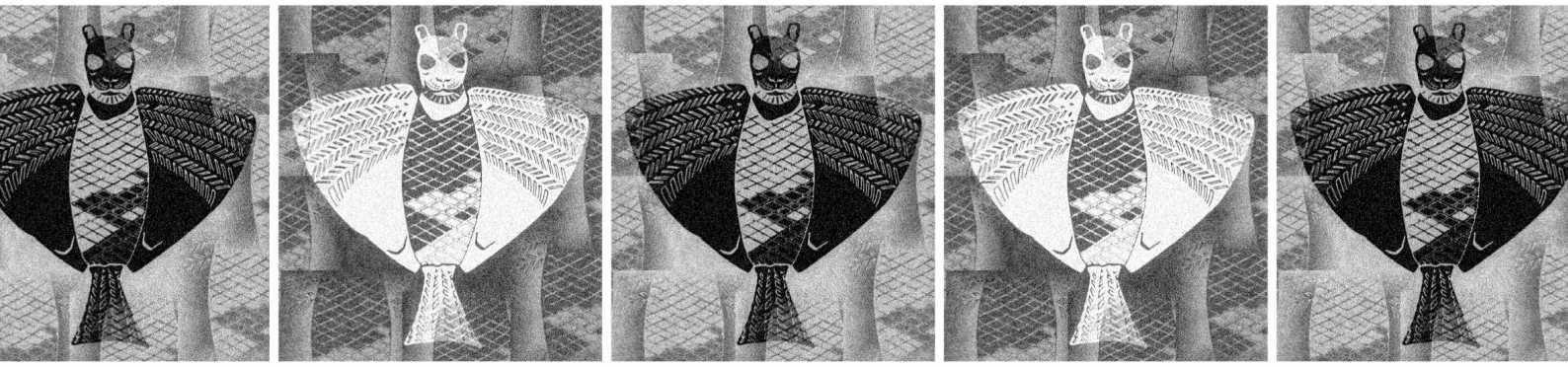
Lam. amulet no. 96

Tübingen



(photos on this plate are in scale 1:1)





Eisenbrauns
POB 275
Winona Lake, IN 46590
www.eisenbrauns.com

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