

STATE ARCHIVES OF ASSYRIA CUNEIFORM TEXTS
VOLUME XI



TZVI ABUSCH

The Anti-witchcraft Series

Maqlû

A Student Edition and Selected Commentary

NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

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VOLUME XI

State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts (SAACT) is a series of text editions presenting central pieces of Mesopotamian literature both in cuneiform and in transliteration, with complete glossaries, name indexes and sign lists generated electronically from the transliterations. The goal of the series is to eventually make the entire library of Assurbanipal available in this format.

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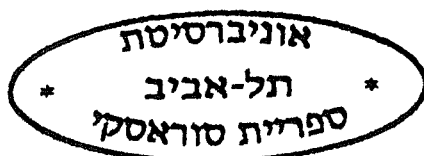


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MAQLÛ

A STUDENT EDITION AND SELECTED COMMENTARY

By

Tzvi Abusch

THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

2015

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My edition of *Maqlû* has been in the works for a long time. I started studying the tablets and fragments of *Maqlû* and searching for new texts around 1970 and have pursued this endeavor, on and off, for many years. With few exceptions, I have examined all the original tablets and/or their photographs.

I cannot emphasize strongly enough how much the edition has benefited from the assistance and cooperation of a number of colleagues and institutions. The reader interested in the details of my indebtedness should consult the preface to my full scientific edition *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû: A Critical Edition* (Ancient Magic and Divination 10; Leiden: Brill). All the same, here I would mention by name those who made repeated contributions through identifications, photographs, transliterations, and collations that they generously shared with me. They are: the late Rykle Borger, Markham J. Geller, the late Wilfred G. Lambert, Erle Leichty, Christopher Walker, and especially Daniel Schwemer. I must also mention here the late Frederick W. Geers, among whose copies at the Oriental Institute I identified some *Maqlû* fragments.

Maqlû tablets and fragments are found in a number of museums, and I express my gratitude to the Middle East Department (formerly Western Asiatic Antiquities) of the British Museum; the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin; the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago; the Babylonian Collection, University of Pennsylvania; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, Ankara; the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul.

I am indebted to and express my sincerest thanks to several graduate students in the Bible and Ancient Near East program of Brandeis University who worked with me on the SAACT edition and commentary of *Maqlû*. They are: Christopher Anderson,¹ Bronson Brown-deVost,² Molly DeMarco,³ Eric Harvey,⁴ Sung-Chun Kim,⁵ and Robert McChesney.⁶ Their work was supported by the Theodore and Jane Norman Awards for Faculty Scholarship of Brandeis University, the

¹ Christopher Anderson turned my transliteration into ASCII so that the programs and fonts created by the SAACT Project could produce the cuneiform text, glossary, and indices.

² Bronson Brown-deVost inputted and reviewed the original transliteration that served as the basis for the ASCII program, reviewed the introduction and proofread the glossary and indices with me, and kept track of the many things that had to be included in the volume.

³ Molly DeMarco worked with me preparing lists of manuscripts, lists of published copies, and a preliminary bibliography.

⁴ Eric Harvey worked with me revising and editing the commentary; he also formatted the Introduction, the Commentary, and the Bibliographies in camera ready copy.

⁵ Sung-Chun Kim formatted the Concordance of Manuscripts, the Publication Information regarding the published copies of *Maqlû* tablets, and the Bibliographies; he also reviewed all the above for omissions and mistakes.

⁶ Robert McChesney proofread the text generated by the SAACT project: the transliteration, the glossary–indices, and the sign list.

GTR/GSFR fund of the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, and the graduate fellowship program. I thank Brandeis University for its support.

I thank Simo Parpola for inviting me to contribute an edition of *Maqlû* to SAACT and for suggesting that I include summaries of some of my studies of the text in the form of a commentary. Simo has provided prompt direction when called upon and has invested a lot of time and effort in preparing the final version of the transliteration, cuneiform text, and glossary and indices for publication. I am grateful to him and to The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, for their work on this volume.

My deep appreciation and sincere gratitude to all.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
INTRODUCTION	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xxxi
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xxxiv
CUNEIFORM TEXT	1
TRANSLITERATION	49
COMMENTARY	99
GLOSSARY AND INDICES	
Logograms and their Readings.....	177
Glossary	179
Index of Names	200
SIGN LIST	203

INTRODUCTION

Maqlû

At the heart of this volume is a student edition of the Akkadian magical series and ceremony *Maqlû*, “Burning.” This edition includes a computer-generated cuneiform text, a transliteration, a detailed commentary, and computer-generated glossaries and indices. The introduction itself contains information on the composition, its text, and the SAACT edition, as well as a listing of the individual *Maqlû* manuscripts.

Before going into any further detail about this volume, I would say a few words of introduction about the *Maqlû* composition itself.

Maqlû comprises eight tablets of incantations and a ritual tablet. In the main, the incantations and rituals of *Maqlû* are directed against witches and witchcraft. The incantation tablets record the text of almost one hundred incantations; in the ritual tablet, these incantations are cited by their incipit, their opening line, and alongside each citation appropriate ritual directions are prescribed. In fact, *Maqlû* is the longest and most important of the Mesopotamian texts concerned with combating witchcraft.

Maqlû is a member of that branch of the Mesopotamian therapeutic literary tradition that is directed against witchcraft. The anti-witchcraft corpus includes a large body of very significant and interesting prayers, incantations, magical rituals, and medical prescriptions. These magical and medical texts attribute misfortune and ill-health to the machinations of a group of people designated as witches and prescribe the means of combating the witch and witchcraft. They set out the various ceremonies, devices, and treatments that are to be used to dispel witchcraft, to destroy the witch (symbolically), and to protect and cure the patient.¹

Generally speaking, select portions of incantations were originally recorded as an *aide-memoire*, but eventually entire incantations were committed to writing, and instructions regarding the time, place, and manner of ritual performance as well as other types of information (particularly, an objective description of the problem, a diagnosis, and a statement of purpose) were added. Thus, incantations are found in various written contexts: 1) as part of rituals; 2) in short collections of incantations (with some ritual instructions); 3) and in standardized scribal series. Some of these series were collections, others prescribed complex lengthy ceremonies.

The Akkadian magical series *Maqlû* was long thought to be a random collection of witchcraft materials. An important breakthrough in the understanding of the text came with my discovery that it was a single complex ceremony. The ceremony was performed during a single night and into the following morning at the end of the

¹ For the anti-witchcraft corpus, see now Tzvi Abusch and Daniel Schwemer, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals*, volume I (Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1; Leiden: Brill, 2011). Future volumes are in preparation.

month Abu (July/August). This was a time when spirits were thought to move back and forth between the netherworld and this world, and a time when the netherworld gods could issue judgments that would affect the living. The primary participants in the ceremony were the exorcist and his patient. The ceremony was intended to counteract and dispel evil magic and its effects, to protect the patient, and to punish and render ineffectual those responsible for the evil. It was even the subject of a letter written by the exorcist Nabû-nādin-šumi to King Esarhaddon in early August 670 BCE.

Based in part on the fact that there are no second millennium BCE manuscripts of the standard version of *Maqlû*, I imagine that the standard form of the text is a creation of the early first millennium BCE, though a divergent proto-form may have already existed in Assur towards the end of the middle Assyrian period. Actually, this long ritual with its one-hundred incantations grew out of a much shorter ritual that was performed in the morning. This earlier form had been known for some time but was thought to be an extract from the longer text. But some years ago I demonstrated that the standard long text had developed from the short form by means of a series of sequential changes.

Its development from a shorter form to a longer one helps to explain the complexity of our present text. In the standard long version of *Maqlû*, the ceremony has been significantly expanded and changed into a nighttime ceremony. The main activities of the ceremony are the recitation of incantations and the performance of such rites as burning of figurines, fumigation, salving, washing, disposal, and protection against future attack.

The series (and ceremony) was composed of three major divisions. The first two divisions (Tablets I-V // Ritual Tablet 1-95; Tablets VI-VII 54 // Ritual Tablet 96-137) were performed during the night, the third (VII 55-VIII // Ritual Tablet 138-179) during the early morning hours of the following day.² Each of the three divisions centered on a different set of rites: division one centered on burning and dousing figurines of the witch; division two, on fumigation, protection of the patient's house, and massaging the patient; division three, on washing the patient over representations of the witch. Each division also moves between a set of cosmic poles: the first is oriented toward the heavenly court of Anu and the netherworld court of Ereškigal, the second toward heavenly Enlil and chthonic Ekur, and the third toward Šamaš and his retinue in the morning sky and the subterranean dwelling of Ea and Asalluḫi in the *apsû*.

The incantations of each division have common themes; they thus develop a set of ideas that parallel or derive from the rites of the division, thereby reiterating the central idea and ritual activity of the section. The bulk of the material of each incantation division is set out in blocks of "similar" incantations, each block reiterating a theme linked to a standard ritual act, and these blocks in turn follow one another in accordance with standard ritual patterns. The work as a whole has introductory, connecting, and concluding sections, as do the individual divisions. Thus, the work has both a ritual and ideational structure as well as a narrative progression that impart a distinctive character and tone to the ceremony.

² The daytime orientation of the third division is already evident in the first incantation of that division, VII 55-79a, but is especially pronounced in the incantation VII 145-52, which begins: *ittamra šēru puttâ dalātu*, "Dawn has broken; doors are (now) opened."

The Text of *Maqlû*

The text of *Maqlû* was previously edited by Knut L. Tallqvist³ and Gerhard Meier.⁴ The most important sources for the standard text of *Maqlû*⁵ are tablets from the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh. The texts from Nineveh are usually written in the Assyrian hand, but a number are in the Babylonian hand. In addition to Nineveh, manuscripts also come from other northern Mesopotamian sites (Assur, Nimrud (Kalah), Sultantepe) as well as from southern Mesopotamia (Sippar, Babylon, Babylonia⁶ (without specific provenance), Kish, Nippur, Uruk, Ur).

The text of *Maqlû* is attested in different tablet formats. Most *Maqlû* manuscripts have four columns of text, though two-column versions are known for all Tablets with the exception of Tablet VIII⁷ and even form the plurality of manuscripts of Tablet I. Almost all manuscripts follow the standard eight-tablet + Ritual tablet division, but there are several notable exceptions to this: a Babylonian text containing at least parts of Tablets I-II; two Assur texts -- one containing a version of III-IV, the other containing parts of IV-V;⁸ and, finally, a Neo-Assyrian (non-Nineveh) text written microscopically and containing the whole composition on one tablet.

An annotated list of tablets and fragments upon which the standard text of *Maqlû* is inscribed will appear alongside my synoptic edition in the Brill series Ancient Magic and Divination (AMD). Below, in the section on manuscripts, I provide a simple list of the sources for each *Maqlû* Tablet wherein the tablets and fragments are listed by provenance and genre. In addition, when a tablet or part thereof has been published in copy, I provide a reference to its place of publication; in this context I should note that Meier's edition made use of Geers's unpublished copies and that Daniel Schwemer is preparing a volume of copies of almost all tablets and fragments used in my edition.

SAA Edition

The text given here is an eclectic edition, without variants, of the standard text of *Maqlû*. This edition is based upon all known manuscripts, published and unpublished, and is a composite text. A synoptic edition containing all manuscripts, and therefore all variants, will form the heart of the edition to be published in the series AMD. A few words about the method used to create the eclectic edition should be of some assistance to the reader.

³ Knut L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, 2 vols. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 20/6, Leipzig, 1895).

⁴ Gerhard Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (*AfO* Beiheft 2, Berlin, 1937), and "Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung *Maqlû*. Zusammengestellt nach hinterlassenen Notizen," *AfO* 21 (1966): 70–81 and pls. 11–12.

⁵ As noted above, all tablets containing the standard text are from the first millennium.

⁶ It is not always possible to specify the precise location from which southern texts derive; hence, some of them are characterized simply as "Babylonian."

⁷ This is probably due to the fact that Tablet VIII is the least well documented of the Tablets.

⁸ These Assur texts may preserve a somewhat deviant version.

Usually, the eclectic edition follows the main Nineveh Assyrian text(s); but sometimes it follows the best Nineveh (Assyrian) text rather than the main one(s). Sometimes I have even chosen to follow a partially destroyed orthography (sign) found on a Nineveh (Assyrian) tablet rather than a fully preserved one from one of the other locales (e.g., - ú from Nineveh rather than -u from Assur [IV 81]). When all Nineveh texts are broken, the edition follows the best non-Nineveh text, with precedence generally given first to Assyrian manuscripts and then to Babylonian ones. Occasionally, I have deemed it appropriate to follow a non-Nineveh reading even when the parallel reading in a Nineveh manuscript is not broken—for example, in some (but not all) of the instances when the non-Nineveh texts provide a grammatically more correct reading than the Nineveh texts or when a non-Nineveh reading allows for consistency in the presentation.

Case endings are not consistent, partially because the ancient manuscripts themselves are not consistent. In addition, logographic writing often renders the form of the case uncertain. In the end, case endings will be mixed also because I have often given precedence to a fully preserved occurrence over one that is partially or not at all preserved. Likewise, orthographic renderings are not consistent for many of the same reasons. I have given precedence to the Nineveh writing and otherwise to the more fully preserved orthography.

The absence of consistency may give a barbaric impression; this is due in no small part to the manuscripts themselves and to the nature of the preservation. I felt it necessary to provide the reader with a “reliable” text. I understand that sometimes this will create a “mixed” text, but the reader has only to consult the score, which will be published shortly, to see whence the readings come.

As already noted, our texts are often not well preserved. Since the standard text presented here does not and cannot follow only one manuscript, the text is drawn from several manuscripts. Where the text is not preserved in any of the manuscripts for a line, the source of a restoration is usually not given here but will be found in the notes to the score and to the transcription in the edition in AMD. Brackets indicate that a sign is broken or missing. Even when brackets have been used, the text is certain; when it is not, I have indicated so by means of a note or a question mark. An emendation that is conjectural is signaled by a double exclamation point.

I would encourage the reader who is interested in issues such as orthography, degree of preservation, variation between, among, and within manuscripts, etc., to consult the score in AMD, in which all manuscripts have been presented in a synoptic fashion.

Some of the conventions employed here follow the guidelines of SAACT and are not those used in my eclectic edition in AMD.

Transliteration

In compliance with the conventions of the SAACT series, several deviations from more usual Assyriological practice are worth noting. Simpler sign values are given preference to more complex values. Thus, CVCV/VCV signs (e.g., BAL=*bala*; MIT=*miti*; EL=*ele*) have not been used, though they could be justified in a variety of ways. CV values of limited distribution (ones derived from the loss of mimation and limited to final position only in a few ossified spellings) are correspondingly avoided

(e.g., *tum* not *tu₄*; *lum* not *lu₄*).⁹ Short unstressed /i/ and /e/ are not differentiated, but transliterated with the simplest values available.

The transliteration of logograms also requires comment. It does not follow a consistent system and it certainly does not reflect the most up-to-date Sumerian readings. Following SAACT conventions, long sign values are preferred to short ones (e.g. KUG not KU₃; UD not U₄), except in the case of polysemantic logograms where Sumerian readings are used to keep different meanings separate (e.g., UD = *ūmu*, BABBAR = *pešû*, ZALAG₂ = *namāru*; IM = *tuppu*, TU₁₅ = *šāru*). Otherwise, conventional sign values have been preferred to more correct transliterations (e.g. KUG.GI not KU₃.SIG₁₇; ^dU.DAR not ^diš₈-tār), and compound logograms have often been broken down into their components (this is especially true in the case of divine names, e.g., ^dNUSKA = PA.TUG₂; ^dNANNA = ŠEŠ.KI; ^dGIRA₃ = BIL.GI). Finally, all determinatives, with the exception of the divine determinative, are written without being superscripted. These conventions have been followed in order to adhere to the stylistic guidelines and goals of the SAACT series.

Textual Notes

In previous SAACT volumes, the information contained in the apparatus at the bottom of the pages in the transliteration section is generally reserved for significant variants. However, since the present volume is not intended to be a critical edition, the information contained in the apparatus in this volume will be limited to emendations and other helpful textual clarifications. For example, scribes will often write KI.MIN, “ditto.” I have treated KI.MIN, “ditto,” as if it were a logogram and have given the text that it represents in a footnote. The notes are in no way intended to be exhaustive, but contain only the most pertinent information. For more detailed information, the reader is encouraged to consult the synoptic edition in the series AMD.

Transcription and Translation

Portions of the text have been selected for comment (see below). A transcription and translation of the relevant text(s) introduce each individual commentary.

It is important, I think, that the reader of this translation be aware of my understanding of the use of Akkadian tenses in incantations and my choice of translation. My rendering is based upon my understanding of the ritual context of the utterance. I have been guided by the following principles:

1. When the speaker states that he is speaking or praying, I understand the preterite form as expressing a performative act (in the present), and I convey this with an English simple present (“I pray”).
2. When the speaker describes an act that he is ritually (or otherwise) performing (usually against the witch), I usually understand the preterite form as expressing

⁹ However, when a sign of this sort has become a logographic element, it is written in small caps (so KI.TIM: *qaqqaru*). But note that KI-tim: *eršetu* is a frozen writing and is used not only for the genitive of *eršetu* but also for its nominative and accusative.

an act in the present, and I convey this with an English simple present (“I burn”). To maintain a distinction between the Akkadian preterite and durative, I have often translated the durative by means of an English progressive present (“I am burning”).

3. But when the speaker describes acts that the witch has performed, I usually translate the preterite form by means of an English present perfect (“she has made”).

To illustrate this treatment, I would set out here some lines in Akkadian and English taken from the first half of the incantation VII 55-79a. Note that in the Akkadian text the actions of both the witch and the speaker are in the preterite.

55	ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša īpuša šalmī	55	Incantation. Whoever you are, O witch, who has made my figurine—
56	īṭṭulu lānī ibnū lamassī	56	Who has looked at my form and created my image,
57	īm[u]ru [b]āltī ušarriḫu gattī	57	Who has seen my bearing and given rich detail to my physical build,
58	ušabbū nabnīt[ī]	58	Who has comprehended [my] appearance
59	umaššilu bunnannīya	59	And reproduced my features,
60	ubbir[u m]inātīya	60	Who has bound my body,
61	ukassū mešrētīya ukanninu manānīya	61	Who has tied my limbs together, who has twisted my sinews.
62	yāši ^d Ea mašmaš ilī uma ’iranni	62	As for me, Ea, exorcist of the gods, has sent me,
63	maḥar ^d Šamaš šalamki ēšer	63	And before Šamaš I draw your image—
64	lānki aṭṭul lamassaki abni bāltaki āmur	64	I look at your form and create your image, I see your bearing
65	gattaki ušarreḫ nabnītiki ušabbi	65	And give rich detail to your physical build, I comprehend your appearance
66	ina ^d Nisaba elleti bunnannīki umaššil	66	And reproduce your features with pure flour,
67	minātiki ubber mešrētiki ukassi	67	I bind your body, I tie your limbs together,
68	manānīki ukannin	68	I twist your sinews.

Cuneiform Text and Sign List

As in previous volumes, the cuneiform text has been generated automatically from the composite transliteration provided by the author, using programs and fonts created by the SAA Project. In response to feedback received from users of the previous volumes, the font chosen for printing the cuneiform text is the same as in SAACT 1-3. The somewhat more sophisticated font used in SAACT 4-7 is in the present volume reserved for the sign list only.

Black characters stand for text preserved in at least one manuscript while white characters stand for restored text and correspond to items within square brackets in the transliteration. Note that portions of text restorable from refrains and parallels but not actually extant in any manuscript are also given in white characters. Unrestorable portions of the text are indicated by shaded areas.

The sign list contains all the syllabic and logographic sign values occurring in the composite text and their frequencies. The sign numbers given in boldface are those of R. Borger's *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* with some minor modifications.

Glossary and Indices

The glossary and indices, which include a list of logograms and their readings, a glossary of Akkadian words, an index of names, and a sign list were generated electronically from the transliteration prepared by the author using programs developed by the SAA Project, and follow the conventions of the previous volumes. The glossary contains all the lexically identifiable words occurring in the composite text. Forms that occur only as variants in the variant apparatus are not included in the glossary or other indices. The meanings assigned to the words are largely those occurring in the text itself.

Commentary

In a discussion about this volume, Simo Parpola remarked that students first studying *Maqlû* might find it helpful to be able to consult summaries of my studies of the text. He suggested that I have students in my own advanced Akkadian courses write up *précis* of some of these earlier studies for this purpose. I found his suggestion very appealing, and so in fall semester 2011, I selected a number of my studies that either focused on individual incantations or groups of incantations or dealt with the nature and history of *Maqlû*, and assigned each to one of the students in my advanced Akkadian seminar—my thanks to Chris Anderson, Jamie Bryson, Eric Harvey, Sung-Chun Kim, James Moore, Lenin Prado, Carrie Rhodes, and Tina Sherman for their contributions. Then, together with Eric Harvey, a research assistant who was also a student in the seminar, I reviewed, revised, and rewrote the various summaries in order to unify them and to add or eliminate details. The *précis* present these studies in capsule form and are thus not intended to convey all of their detail; rather, they aim to highlight the problems or questions that generated the studies, a bit of their methods of analysis, and some of their results. Because the *précis* are meant to reflect the concerns and approaches of the original studies, I have generally not updated the analyses. In any case, I very much hope that those using this volume find these summaries useful and are prompted to read the original articles upon which they are based.¹⁰

¹⁰ The references to the text of *Maqlû* in most of the original articles followed the numbering of Meier's edition. In this volume, the line numbers have been updated to reflect my revised numbering of the text of *Maqlû*. An up-to-date concordance will be found together with my edition in AMD.

Manuscripts

As mentioned earlier, an annotated list of tablets and fragments upon which the standard text of *Maqlû* is inscribed will appear alongside my synoptic edition in the series AMD. I provide here a simple listing of the sources for each *Maqlû* Tablet that generally follows the numerical order of the lists in AMD 10; the tablets and fragments are organized according to provenance and genre:

Nineveh – Neo-Assyrian
 Nineveh – Neo-Babylonian
 Assur
 Sultantepe
 Nimrud
 Assyrian – non-Nineveh
 Sippar
 Babylon
 Babylonian (without specific provenance)
 Kish
 Nippur
 Uruk
 Ur

 School Excerpts
 Quotations in Commentaries

Concordance of Manuscripts

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>COLUMNS</u>
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MAQLÛ TABLET I

I	K 43 + 142 + 2601 + Sm 1433	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	K 3294 + 3383 + 3421 + 5880 + 10078 (+) 15229 + 80-7-19, 358	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	82-5-22, 508	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	Rm 2, 557	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	K 14346	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	Rm 2, 590	Nin. (Ass.)	2 col.
I	A 43 (Ass 1223)	Aššur	2 col.
I	VAT 11228	Aššur	4 col.
I	SU 51/59	Sultantepe	4 col.
I	ND 6203	Nimrud	4 col.
I	Si 14	Sippar	2 col.
I	BM 35552 (Sp 3, 58)	Babylon (?)	2 col.
I	BM 43826 (81-7-1, 1587) + 43835 (81-7-1, 1596) + 45249 (81-7-1, 3010)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
I	BM 36529 (80-6-17, 256)	Babylon (?)	2 col. (?)
I	BM 39484 (80-11-12, 1370)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
I	BM 82916 (83-1-21, 79)	Babylon (?)	2 col.
I	Ni 13082	Nippur	4 col.
I	W 22720/3	Uruk	4 col.
I	W 22376	Uruk	4 col. (?)
I (excerpt)	BE 15474v+h obv. 6-10	Babylon	
I (comm.)	VAT 8928	Aššur	
I (comm.)	A 405 (Ass 13955ii)	Aššur	

MAQLÛ TABLET II

II	K 2455 + 2515 + 3427 + 3936 + 6325 + 7183 + 8054 + 11793 + 12923 + Sm 1688	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
II	K 2947 + 13342 + Rm 286 (+) K 7561 + 8451 (+) 18612	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
II	K 2713 + 5658 + 14208 + 83-1-18, 435 + 83-1-18, 496 (+) Sm 695	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
II	Sm 673 + 897	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col. (?)
II	VAT 10009	Aššur	2 col.
II	VAT 9960	Aššur	4 col.
II	SU 51/141 + 52/20 + 52/334 + 52/363 (+) 52/38 (+) 52/374 (+) unnumbered	Sultantepe	4 col.
II	Rm 843	Babylon	4 col.

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>COLUMNS</u>
II	BM 34065 (Sp. 161)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
II	BM 40379 (81-3-24, 246)	Babylon	4 col. (?)
II	BM 43130 (81-7-1, 894)	Babylon (?)	4 col. (?)
II	BM 44144 (81-7-1, 1905)	Babylon (?)	2 col.
II	BM 53872 (82-3-23, 4913)	Sippar (?)	2 col. (?)
II	BM 82916 (83-1-21, 79)	Babylon (?)	2 col.
II	N 3411 + 3437 + 3464	Nippur	4 col.
II (excerpt)	BM 38010 (80-6-17, 1839) obv. 1'-4'	Babylon (?)	
II (excerpt)	BM 42386 (81-7-1, 146) obv. 1-6	Babylon (?)	
II (excerpt)	U unnumbered obv. 3'-7'	Ur	
II (excerpt)	U 18743 obv. 10-12	Ur	
II (comm.)	VAT 8928	Aššur	
II (comm.)	A 405 (Ass. 13955ii)	Aššur	

MAQLÛ TABLET III

III	K 2728 + 8055 + 11541 + 19917 + Sm 1768 + 1776	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 3302 + 4237b + 16368 + Sm 2130	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 10241 + 10544 (+) Sm 408 (+) 1163 + 1528 + 1911 + Ki 1902-5-10, 27	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 6326 + 9855 + 11312	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	Rm 2, 358	Nin. (Ass.)	prob. 4 col.
III	Sm 1549 + BM 134597 (Th 1932-12-12, 592) (+) 134500 (Th 1932-12-12, 495)	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col. (?)
III	K 4237a	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 6556 + 19456	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	Sm 1103 + 2096	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 6742	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	BM 30426 (76-11-17, 149)	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 13450	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 13889	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
III	K 9188 + 11971 + 12916 + 13910 + 18609 + Sm 1866	Nin. (Bab.)	4 col.
III	VAT 13642 (+) 13654	Aššur	2 col.
III	SU 51/12 + 51/90	Sultantepe	4 col.
III	BM 64514 (82-9-18, 4494)	Sippar (?)	4 col.
III	Ash 1924.841 + 1288 (+) 1924.1816 + 2035	Kish	4 col.
III	W 23298/1	Uruk	4 col.
III	W 23267	Uruk	4 col.
III	W 22275	Uruk	4 col.
III (excerpt)	BM 38008 (80-6-17, 1837) obv. 3'-5'	Babylon (?)	
III (excerpt)	BM 42428 (81-7-1, 188) obv. 1'-2'	Babylon (?)	
III (excerpt)	U 18743 obv. 7-9	Ur	

INTRODUCTION

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>COLUMNS</u>
III (comm.)	VAT 8928	Aššur	

MAQLŪ TABLET IV

IV	81-2-4, 217	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	K 2956	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	K 2454 + 2984 + 3178 + 7616 (+) 2976	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	K 5760 + Sm 745	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	K 3483 (+) Rm 388 (+) 548	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	K 8057 + DT 232	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
IV	Sm 1914	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col. (?)
IV	K 5376 + 8629 + 13445	Nin. (Bab.)	prob. 4 col.
IV	VAT 13642 (+) 13654	Aššur	2 col.
IV	VAT 13672	Aššur	2 col.
IV	A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	12 col.
IV	BM 41332 (81-4-28, 880)	Babylon (?)	4 col. (?)
IV	BM 34077 (Sp 174)	Babylon (?)	4 col. (?)
IV	BM 40726 (81-4-28, 271)	Babylon (?)	2 col. (?)
IV (excerpt)	VAT 10071 obv. 15–16	Aššur	
IV (excerpt)	VAT 10756 rev. 18–19	Aššur	
IV (excerpt)	BM 36618 (80-6-17, 348) obv. 1–6	Babylon (?)	
IV (excerpt)	BM 42428 (81-7-1, 188) obv. 4'–9'	Babylon (?)	
IV (excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 1'–3'	Babylon (?)	
IV (excerpt)	BM 38010 (80-6-17, 1839) obv. 5'–9'	Babylon (?)	
IV (excerpt)	N 3438 obv. 2'–11'	Nippur	

MAQLŪ TABLET V

V	K 2544 + 3470 + 5071 + 16948 + 17166 + Sm 125 + 2191	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 33	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 2530 + 8444 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356 + 11754 + 12917 + 13338 + 13858 + 15958 + 19435 (+) 18127	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 7242 + 8652 + 9655 + 9833 + 9868	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 13354	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 14736	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
V	K 2436 + 6006 (+) 5349 + 10161 (+) Sm 388 (+) 741 + 2069 (+) [?] K 18618	Nin. (Bab.)	4 col.
V	VAT 13672	Aššur	2 col.
V	A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	12 col.
V	BM 48926 (81-11-3, 1637)	Babylon (?)	2 col.

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>COLUMNS</u>
V (excerpt)	BM 37522 (80-6-17, 1279) + 37567 (80-6-17, 1324) + 37824 (80-6-17, 1581) obv. 1'-7'	Babylon (?)	
V (excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 4'-11'	Babylon (?)	
V (excerpt)	BM 37358 (80-6-17, 1115) obv. 1'-8'	Babylon (?)	
V (excerpt)	N 3438 obv. 12'-15'	Nippur	

MAQLÛ TABLET VI

VI	K 2420 + 2446 (+) 2595 + 2978 + 2982	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VI	K 2391	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VI	K 5254 + 17013 (+) 6979 + 13241 (+) 8060 (+) 12912 (+) 12925 (+) 13322 (+) 13349	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VI	K 15032 (+) Bu 89-4-26, 127	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VI	BM 99083 (Ki 1904-10-9, 112)	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VI	K 3665 (+) 13264	Nin. (Bab.)	2 col.
VI	A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	12 col.
VI (excerpt)	BM 37936 (80-6-17, 1765) obv. 1-10	Babylon (?)	
VI (excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 12'-17'	Babylon (?)	

MAQLÛ TABLET VII

VII	K 2950 + 2966 + 81-7-27, 152	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 1767	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	Rm 515	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 8058 + Rm 2, 163	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 12834 + 13908	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 5650 + 9446 + 9620 + 14799 + 17312	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 3247 (+) 8968 (+) Rm 327	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VII	K 5350 + 5374 + 7476 + 7594 + 7610 + 7631 + 8882 + 9635 + 11567 + 19154 + Sm 798b	Nin. (Bab.)	4 col.
VII	VAT 10059	Aššur (Bab.)	2 col.
VII	A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	12 col.
VII	BM 41198 (81-4-28, 745)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
VII	BM 64203 (82-9-18, 4178)	Sippar (?)	prob. 4 col.
VII	BM 64311 (82-9-18, 4287)	Sippar (?)	4 col.
VII	N 1422	Nippur	prob. 4 col.
VII	N 1423 + 1425 + 1426 + 1427 + 1428	Nippur	2 col.
VII	Ni 2927 + 13079 + 13080	Nippur	4 col.

INTRODUCTION

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>COLUMNS</u>
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MAQLÛ TABLET VIII

VIII	K 8120 (+) 11762 + 21392 (+) 11990 (+) Rm 417 + 530 + 81-2-4, 432 (+) Rm 2, 321	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VIII	K 9575 + 82-3-23, 52 (+) 80-7-19, 82 + BM 98575 (Th 1905-4-9, 81)	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
VIII	K 2981 + 3991	Nin. (Ass.)	prob. 4 col.
VIII	K 10106 + 10276	Nin. (Bab.)	4 col.
VIII	A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	12 col.
VIII	BM 38758 (80-11-12, 642)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
VIII (excerpt)	A 480 (Ass 14109) obv. 1-14	Aššur	

MAQLÛ RITUAL TABLET

RT	K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
RT	K 2961	Nin. (Ass.)	4 col.
RT	K 8879 + Sm 229 + 338 + 499 + 929 + 1194 (+) 139 (+) 1901	Nin. (Bab.)	4 col.
RT	SU 52/33 + 52/77 (+) 52/33 + 52/77 + 52/119	Sultantepe	2 col.
RT	BM 40387 (81-3-24, 254)	Babylon (?)	2 col. (?)
RT	BM 46972 (81-8-30, 438)	Babylon (?)	4 col.
RT	VAT 4103	Babylonia	2 col.
RT(catalog)	VAT 13723 + 13956 (+) 14096 + 14101 i 13'	Aššur	

Colophons

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>TYPE</u> ¹¹
I	K 43 + 142 + 2601 + Sm 1433	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
I	K 3294 + 3383 + 3421 + 5880 + 10078 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type d
I	82-5-22, 508	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type ? ¹²
I	A 43 (Ass 1223)	Aššur	
I	SU 51/59	Sultantepe	
II	K 2455 + 2515 + 3427 + 3936 + 6325 + 7183 + 8054 + 11793 + 12923 + Sm 1688	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type d
II	K 2947 + 13342 + Rm 286 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
II	Sm 695	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type ? ¹³
II	Sm 673 + 897	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
II	VAT 9960	Aššur	
II	SU 52/38 (+) unnumbered	Sultantepe	
III	K 2728 + 8055 + 11541 + 19917 + Sm 1768 + 1776	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
III	Rm 2, 358	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
III	BM 30426 (76-11-17, 149)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type ?
III	SU 51/12 + 51/90	Sultantepe	See <i>BAK</i> no. 374
III	BM 64514 (82-9-18, 4494)	Sippar (?)	cf. <i>BAK</i> nos. 146, 177, and 417
III	W 23267	Uruk	
IV	81-2-4, 217	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
IV	K 2956	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type d
IV	K 2454 + 2984 + 3178 + 7616 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
IV	K 3483 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
IV	Sm 1914	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type ?
V	K 2544 + 3470 + 5071 + 16948 + 17166 + Sm 125 + 2191	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type d
V	K 2530 + 8444 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356 + 11754 + 12917 + 13338 + 13858 + 15958 + 19435 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	prob. Asb. type c or d
V	K 2436 + 6006 (+)	Nin. (Bab.)	
VI	K 2420 + 2446 (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
VI	K 2391	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type a
VII	K 2950 + 2966 + 81-7-27, 152	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c

¹¹ Colophon types follow *BAK*.

¹² Cf. the Nineveh colophon *BAK* no. 344; the style of 82-5-22, 508 closely resembles the Sultantepe example (*BAK* no. 370).

¹³ It is possible that this colophon is Asb. type a.

INTRODUCTION

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE</u>	<u>TYPE</u> ¹¹
VII	K 8058 + Rm 2, 163	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c or d
VII	K 12834 + 13908	Nin. (Ass.)	prob. Asb. type c or d
VII	VAT 10059	Aššur (Bab.)	
VIII	K 8120 (+) Rm 417 + 530 + 81-2-4, 432	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c
VIII	80-7-19, 82 + BM 98575 (Th 1905-4-9, 81) (+)	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c?
RT	K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603	Nin. (Ass.)	Asb. type c

Publication Information¹⁴

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
<i>MAQLÛ</i> TABLET I		
I	K 43 + 142 + 2601 + Sm 1433	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 49 (comp.; K 43 + 142 + 2601); Tallqvist, pp. 3–8 (comp.; K 43 + 142 + 2601)
I	K 3294 + 3383 + 3421 + 5880 + 10078 (+) K 15229 + 80-7-19, 358	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 49 (comp.; K 3294 + 3383 + 3421 + 5880 + 10078); Tallqvist, pp. 53–6 (K 3294 + 3383 + 3421 + 5880 + 10078)
I	82-5-22, 508	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , Additions, p. 9; Tallqvist, pp. 57–8
I	Rm 2, 557	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , Additions, p. 9; Tallqvist, p. 57
I	K 14346	
I	Rm 2, 590	
I	A 43 (Ass 1223)	
I	VAT 11228	Schwemer, KAL 2 no. 1, p. 137
I	SU 51/59	Gurney and Finkelstein, <i>STT</i> 1, no. 78
I	ND 6203	Wiseman, CTN 4, no. 90
I	Si 14	Schollmeyer, ZA 32 (1918/19), p. 75
I	BM 35552 (Sp 3, 58)	
I	BM 43826 (81-7-1, 1587) + 43835 (81-7-1, 1596) + 45249 (81-7-1, 3010)	
I	BM 36529 (80-6-17, 256)	
I	BM 39484 (80-11-12, 1370)	
I	BM 82916 (83-1-21, 79)	
I	Ni 13082	
I	W 22720/3	von Weiher, <i>SpBTU</i> 3, no. 73, p. 283
I	W 22376	Hunger, <i>SpBTU</i> 1, no. 7, p. 126
I (excerpt)	BE 15474v+h obv. 6–10	Lambert, <i>JNES</i> 33 (1974), p. 312, fig. 7 (partial copy without <i>Maqlû</i> lines)
I (comm.)	VAT 8928	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 94
I (comm.)	A 405 (Ass 13955ii)	

¹⁴ I provide a reference to the place of publication of those tablets or parts thereof that have been published in copy. For a fuller list of published copies and transliterations, see the listings for each tablet in the synoptic edition in the series AMD.

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
MAQLÛ TABLET II		
II	K 2455 + 2515 + 3427 + 3936 + 6325 + 7183 + 8054 + 11793 + 12923 + Sm 1688	Tallqvist, pp. 58–9 (K 3427), p. 60 (K 2515), p. 62 (K 6325; K 7183), pp. 64–7 (K 2455 + 3936); Craig, <i>ABRT</i> 1, pp. 37–42 (K 2455 + 3936), p. 42 (K 2515)
II	K 2947 + 13342 + Rm 286 (+) K 7561 + 8451 (+) K 18612	Tallqvist, pp. 59–60 (K 2947)
II	K 2713 + 5658 + 14208 + 83-1-18, 435 + 83-1-18, 496 (+) Sm 695	Tallqvist, p. 61 (K 2713); Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , Additions, p. 9; Tallqvist, p. 63
II	Sm 673 + 897	
II	VAT 10009	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 235; Schwemer, <i>KAL</i> 4, no. 26, pp. 190–1
II	VAT 9960	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 84; Schwemer, <i>KAL</i> 4, no. 24, p. 187
II	SU 51/141 + 52/20 + 52/334 + 52/363 (+) SU 52/38 (+) SU 52/374 (+) SU unnumbered	Gurney et al., <i>STT</i> 1-2, nos. 79 + 81 + 140 Gurney and Finkelstein, <i>STT</i> 1, no. 80 Gurney and Hulin, <i>STT</i> 2, no. 141
II	Rm 843	
II	BM 34065 (Sp. 161)	
II	BM 40379 (81-3-24, 246)	
II	BM 43130 (81-7-1, 894)	
II	BM 44144 (81-7-1, 1905)	
II	BM 53872 (82-3-23, 4913)	
II	BM 82916 (83-1-21, 79)	
II	N 3411 + 3437 + 3464	
II (excerpt)	BM 38010 (80-6-17, 1839) obv. 1'–4'	
II (excerpt)	BM 42386 (81-7-1, 146) obv. 1–6	
II (excerpt)	U unnumbered obv. 3'–7'	Gurney, <i>UET</i> 7, no. 127
II (excerpt)	U 18743 obv. 10–12	Gurney, <i>UET</i> 7, no. 128
II (comm.)	VAT 8928	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 94
II (comm.)	A 405 (Ass. 13955ii)	

MAQLÛ TABLET III

III	K 2728 + 8055 + 11541 + 19917 + Sm 1768 + 1776	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 50 (comp.; K 2728); Tallqvist, pp. 17-23 (K 2728); Lambert in Meier, <i>AfO</i> 21 (1966), pl. 12 (K 11541)
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<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
III	K 3302 + 4237b + 16368 + Sm 2130	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 50 (comp; K 3302 + 4237b); Tallqvist, p. 68 (K 3302 + 4237b)
III	K 10241 + 10554 (+) Sm 408 (+) Sm 1163 + 1528 + 1911 + Ki 1902-5-10, 27	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 50 (comp; K 10241); Tallqvist, p. 69 (K 10241)
III	K 6326 + 9855 + 11312	Tallqvist, p. 69 (K 6326)
III	Rm 2, 358	
III	Sm 1549 + BM 134597 (Th 1932-12-12, 592) (+) BM 134500 (Th 1932-12-12, 495)	Thompson, <i>CT</i> 51, no. 188
III	K 4237a	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 50 (comp); Tallqvist, p. 68
III	K 6556 + 19456	Tallqvist, p. 68 (K 6556)
III	Sm 1103 + 2096	
III	K 6742	Tallqvist, p. 67
III	BM 30426 (76-11-17, 149)	
III	K 13450	
III	K 13889	
III	K 9188 + 11971 + 12916 + 13910 + 18609 + Sm 1866	Pinches, IV <i>R</i> ² , pl. 50 (comp; Sm 1866)
III	VAT 13642 (+) VAT 13654	Schwemer, <i>KAL</i> 2, no. 4, p. 139 Schwemer, <i>KAL</i> 2, no. 5, p. 140
III	SU 51/12 + 51/90	Gurney and Finkelstein, <i>STT</i> 1, no. 82
III	BM 64514 (82-9-18, 4494)	
III	Ash 1924.841 + 1288 (+) Ash 1924.1816 + 2035	Gurney, <i>OECT</i> 11, no. 45 Gurney, <i>OECT</i> 11, no. 44
III	W 23298/1	von Weiher, <i>SpBTU</i> 3, no. 74b, p. 286
III	W 23267	von Weiher, <i>SpBTU</i> 3, no. 74a, pp. 284–5
III	W 22275	Hunger, <i>SpBTU</i> 1, no. 8, p. 126
III (excerpt)	BM 38008 (80-6-17, 1837) obv. 3'–5'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , p. 317
III (excerpt)	BM 42428 (81-7-1, 188) obv. 1'–2'	
III (excerpt)	U 18743 obv. 7–9	Gurney, <i>UET</i> 7, no. 128
III (comm.)	VAT 8928	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 94

MAQLÛ TABLET IV

IV	81-2-4, 217	Tallqvist, p. 70
IV	K 2956	Tallqvist, pp. 71–2; Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), p. 69
IV	K 2454 + 2984 + 3178 + 7616 (+) K 2976	Tallqvist, pp. 73–4 (K 2454 + 2984 + 3178)
IV	K 5760 + Sm 745	
IV	K 3483 (+) Rm 388 (+) Rm 548	
IV	K 8057 + DT 232	

INTRODUCTION

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
IV	Sm 1914	
IV	K 5376 + 8629 + 13445	
IV	VAT 13642 (+)	Schwemer, KAL 2, pl. 4, p. 139
	VAT 13654	Schwemer, KAL 2, pl. 5, p. 140
IV	VAT 13672	Schwemer, KAL 2, pl. 6, p. 141
IV	A 7876	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), pp. 58–9
IV	BM 41332 (81-4-28, 880)	
IV	BM 34077 (Sp 174)	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), p. 70
IV	BM 40726 (81-4-28, 271)	
IV(excerpt)	VAT 10071 obv. 15–16	Lambert, <i>BWL</i> , pl. 73
IV(excerpt)	VAT 10756 rev. 18–19	Lambert, <i>BWL</i> , pl. 73
IV(excerpt)	BM 36618 (80-6-17, 348) obv. 1–6	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 267–8; Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), p. 71
IV(excerpt)	BM 42428 (81-7-1, 188) obv. 4'–9'	
IV(excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 1'–3'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 269–72 (BM 36643 + 37527)
IV(excerpt)	BM 38010 (80-6-17, 1839) obv. 5'–9'	
IV(excerpt)	N 3438 obv. 2'–11'	

MAQLÛ TABLET V

V	K 2544 + 3470 + 5071 + 16948 + 17166 + Sm 125 + 2191	Tallqvist, pp. 75–80 (K 2544 + 3470 + 5071)
V	K 33	Tallqvist, pp. 82–3
V	K 2530 + 8444 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356 + 11754 + 12917 + 13338 + 13858 + 15958 + 19435 (+) K 18127	Tallqvist, p. 82 (K 2530 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356)
V	K 7242 + 8652 + 9655 + 9833 + 9868	Tallqvist, p. 83 (K 9655)
V	K 13354	
V	K 14736	
V	K 2436 + 6006 (+) K 5349 + 10161 (+) Sm 388 (+) Sm 741 + 2069 (+)? K 18618	Tallqvist, p. 82 (K 2436) Tallqvist, p. 82
V	VAT 13672	Schwemer, KAL 2, no. 6, p. 141
V	A 7876	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), pp. 58–9
V	BM 48926 (81-11-3, 1637)	

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
V (excerpt)	BM 37522 (80-6-17, 1279) + 37567 (80-6-17, 1324) + 37824 (80-6-17, 1581) obv. 1'-7'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 292-4 (BM 37522 + 37567 + 37824 ¹⁵)
V (excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 4'-11'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 269-72 (BM 36643 + 37527)
V (excerpt)	BM 37358 (80-6-17, 1115) obv. 1'-8'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 287-8
V (excerpt)	N 3438 obv. 12'-15'	

MAQLÛ TABLET VI

VI	K 2420 + 2446 (+) K 2595 + 2978 + 2982	Tallqvist, pp. 88-9 (K 2420) Tallqvist, pp. 86-7 (K 2595 + 2978 + 2982)
VI	K 2391	Tallqvist, pp. 84-5
VI	K 5254 + 17013 (+) K 6979 + 13241 (+) K 8060 (+) K 12912 (+) K 12925 (+) K 13322 (+) K 13349	MacMillan, <i>BA</i> 5 (1906), p. 666 (K 5254) Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), p. 82
VI	K 15032 (+) Bu 89-4-26, 127	
VI	BM 99083 (Ki 1904-10-9, 112)	
VI	K 3665 (+) K 13264	
VI	A 7876	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), pp. 58-9
VI (excerpt)	BM 37936 (80-6-17, 1765) obv. 1-10	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 312-3
VI (excerpt)	BM 36643 (80-6-17, 375) + 37527 (80-6-17, 1284) obv. 12'-17'	Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> , pp. 269-72 (BM 36643 + 37527)

MAQLÛ TABLET VII

VII	K 2950 + 2966 + 81-7-27, 152	Tallqvist, pp. 42-7 (K 2950 + 2966); Weißbach, <i>BA</i> 4 (1902), p. 165 (81-7-27, 152)
VII	K 1767	
VII	Rm 515	Weißbach, <i>BA</i> 4 (1902), p. 163

¹⁵ Although the copy in P. Gesche, *Schulunterricht* is labeled BM 37522, the copy also includes BM 37567 and BM 37824.

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
VII	K 8058 + Rm 2, 163	
VII	K 12834 + 13908	
VII	K 5650 + 9446 + 9620 + 14799 + 17312	
VII	K 3247 (+) K 8968 (+) Rm 327	
VII	K 5350 + 5374 + 7476 + 7594 + 7610 + 7631 + 8882 + 9635 + 11567 + 19154 + Sm 798b	
VII	VAT 10059	Ebeling, <i>KAR</i> , no. 268; Schwemer, <i>KAL</i> 4, no. 28, pp. 192–5
VII	A 7876	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), pp. 58–9
VII	BM 41198 (81-4-28, 745)	
VII	BM 64203 (82-9-18, 4178)	
VII	BM 64311 (82-9-18, 4287)	
VII	N 1422	
VII	N 1423 + 1425 + 1426 + 1427 + 1428	
VII	Ni 2927 + 13079 + 13080	

MAQLÛ TABLET VIII

VIII	K 8120 (+) K 11762 (+) K 11990 (+) Rm 417 + 530 + 81-2-4, 432 (+) Rm 2, 321	Tallqvist, p. 91
VIII	K 9575 + 82-3-23, 52 (+) 80-7-19, 82 + BM 98575 (Th 1905-4-9, 81)	
VIII	K 2981 + 3991	
VIII	K 10106 + 10276	
VIII	A 7876	Abusch/Schwemer, <i>Iraq</i> 71 (2009), pp. 58–9
VIII	BM 38758 (80-11-12, 642)	
VIII (excerpt)	A 480 (Ass 14109) obv. 1–14	

MAQLÛ RITUAL TABLET

RT	K 2385 + 3331 + 3584 + 3645 + 7274 + 7586 + 8033 + 11603	Tallqvist, p. 92 (K 8033); Tallqvist, p. 93 (K 7586); Virolleaud, <i>Babylonaica</i> 1 (1907), p. 200 (K 3331); King, <i>CT</i> 29, no. 50 (K 2385 + 7856); Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 328–9
RT	K 2961	Tallqvist, pp. 90–1; Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , p. 330

<u>TABLET</u>	<u>MUSEUM NUMBER</u>	<u>PUBLICATION INFORMATION</u>
RT	K 8879 + Sm 229 + 338 + 499 + 929 + 1194 (+)	Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 333–4 (K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194); Schwemer, <i>JCS</i> 63 (2011), p. 106 (Sm 338)
	Sm 139 (+)	Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 333–4
	Sm 1901	Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 333–4
RT	SU 52/33 + 52/77 (+)	Gurney and Finkelstein, <i>STT</i> 1, no. 83; Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 331–2
	SU 52/33 + 52/77 + 52/119	Gurney and Finkelstein, <i>STT</i> 1, no. 83; Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 331–2
RT	BM 40387 (81-3-24, 254)	Schwemer, <i>JCS</i> 63 (2011), p. 109
RT	BM 46972 (81-8-30, 438)	Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , p. 335
RT	VAT 4103	Meier, <i>AfO</i> 21 (1966), pls. 11–12; Schwemer, <i>Studies Singer</i> , pp. 336–7
RT	VAT 13723 + 13956 (+)	Geller, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , p. 228
	VAT 14096 + 14101 i 13'	Geller, <i>Studies Lambert</i> , p. 228

ABBREVIATIONS

Tablet Collections

80-7-19 etc.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
A	tablets in the collections of the Archeological Museum, Istanbul, and in the Oriental Institute, Chicago
Ash	Ashmolean, tablets in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Ass.	field numbers of tablets excavated at Aššur
BE	Babylon Expedition, tablets in the collections of Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
BM	British Museum, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Bu	Budge, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
DT	Daily Telegraph, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
K	Kouyunjik, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Ki	King, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
N	Nippur, tablets in the collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia
ND	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
Ni	Nippur, tablets in the collections of the Archeological Museum, Istanbul
Rm	Rassam, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Si	field numbers of tablets excavated at Sippar
Sm	Smith, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
SU	field numbers of tablets excavated at Sultantepe
Th	Thompson, tablets in the collections of the British Museum
U	field numbers of tablets excavated at Ur
VAT	tablets in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln)
W	field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka

Bibliographical Abbreviations/Publications Cited by Initials

<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AnBi	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>

BAK	H. Hunger, <i>Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone</i>
CMAWR 1	T. Abusch and D. Schwemer. <i>Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti Witchcraft Rituals</i> , vol. 1, AMD 8/1
Geers	unpublished copies of Kouyunjik tablets by F. W. Geers
KAR	E. Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i>
Meier	G. Meier, <i>Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû</i> , AfO Beiheft 2
Mesopotamian Witchcraft	T. Abusch, <i>Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
Schwemer	copies of tablets by D. Schwemer
SpBTU	<i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> , v. 1: H. Hunger, vv. 2ff.: E. von Weiher
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i>
Studies Greenfield	<i>Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield</i>
Studies Jacobsen	<i>Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen</i>
Studies Lanfranchi	<i>From Source to History: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Worlds and Beyond, Dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi</i>
Studies Parpola	<i>Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola</i>
Studies Westenholz	<i>A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz</i>

Other Abbreviations and Symbols

Asb.	Aššurbanipal
Ass.	Assyrian
Bab.	Babylonian
Break	tablet breaks
col.	column
comm.	commentary
comp.	composite copy
lit.	literally
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
Nin.	Nineveh
no(s).	number(s)
obv.	obverse
pl.	plate
prob.	probably
rev.	reverse
RT	Ritual Tablet

SB	Standard Babylonian
sic	A mark that draws the reader's attention to a written (collated) text that is anomalous.
unpub.	unpublished
var(s).	variant(s)
i, ii, etc.	column i, column ii, etc.
!	emendation
?	uncertain reading
:	Glossenkeil
:	Glossenkeil with three Winkelhaken
::	Double Glossenkeil
ø	absent sign or text
x	broken or illegible sign
.	partially broken sign
.	partially broken sign represented by a single Latin character
[]	broken sign or text
[()]	suggested restoration, should there be sufficient room
< >	supplied word or sign
<< >>	removed word or sign
→	line continues on tablet
/	new line on tablet
\	indented line on tablet
_____	dividing line on tablet
=	equivalent reading
+	direct join
(+)	indirect join

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CUNEIFORM TEXT

TABLET I

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46

TRANSLITERATION

TABLET I

- 1 ÉN *al-si-ku-nu-ši* DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-ši-ti*¹
 - 2 *it-ti-ku-nu al-si mu-ši-tum kal-la-tum kut-tum-tum*
 - 3 *al-si ba-ra-ri-tum qab-li-tum u na-ma-ri-tum*
 - 4 *áš-šù* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ú-kaš-šip-an-ni*
 - 5 *e-le-ni-tum ub-bi-ra-an-ni*
 - 6 DINGIR-MU ù ^dU.DAR-MU *ú-šas-su-ú* UGU-MU
 - 7 UGU *a-me-ri-MU am-ru-šu a-na-ku*
 - 8 *em-de-ku la ša-la-lu* GI₆ ù *ur-ra*
 - 9 *qu-ú im-ta-na-al-lu-ú* KA-ia
 - 10 *ú-pu-un-ti* KA-MU *ip-ru-su*
 - 11 A.MEŠ *maš-ti-ti-MU ú-maṭ-ṭu-ú*
 - 12 *e-le-li nu-bu-ú hi-du-ti si-ip-di*
 - 13 *i-zi-za-nim-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ši-ma-a da-ba-bi*
 - 14 *di-ni di-na a-lak-ti lim-da*
 - 15 *e-pu-uš* NU LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ù MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU
 - 16 *ša e-piš-MU ù muš-te-piš-ti-MU*
 - 17 *áš-kun ina šap-li-ku-nu-ma a-dab-bu-ub di-ni*
 - 18 *áš-šú i-pu-šá lem-né-e-ti iš-te-^aa-a la ba-na-a-ti*
 - 19 ¹ši-i¹ *li-mut-ma a-na-ku lu-ub-luṭ*
 - 20 *kiš-[p]u-šá ru-hu-šá ru-su-ú-šá lu pa-áš-ru*
 - 21 GIŠ.ŠINIG *lil-líl-an-ni šá qim-ma-tú ša-ru-ú*
 - 22 [G]IŠ.GIŠIMMAR *lip-šur-an-ni ma-hi-rat ka-lu-ú* IM
 - 23 Ú.IN.NU.UŠ *li-bi-ban-ni šá KI-tim ma-la-a-ta*
 - 24 GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅ *lip-šur-an-ni šá ŠE.AM ma-la-a-ta*
 - 25 *ina mah-ri-ku-nu e-te-lil ki-ma* Ú.KI.KAL
 - 26 *e-te-bi-ib az-za-ku ki-ma la-ár-di*
 - 27 *tu-ú-šá ša* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *le-mut-te*
 - 28 *tu-ur-rat* INIM-sa *ana ka-šá* EME-šá *ka-aṣ-rat*
 - 29 *ina* UGU *kiš-pi-šá lim-ha-šu-ši* DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-ši-ti*
 - 30 ³ EN.NUN.MEŠ *šá mu-ši lip-šu-ra*¹¹ *ru-he-šá lem-nu-ti*
 - 31 KA-šá *lu-ú* Ì.UDU EME-šá *lu-ú* MUN
 - 32 *šá iq-bu-ú* INIM HUL-tim-MU *ki-ma* Ì.UDU *lit-ta-tuk*
 - 33 *šá i-pu-šú kiš-pi ki-ma* MUN *liš-har-miṭ*
 - 34 *ki-iṣ-ru-šá pu-uṭ-ṭu-ru ep-še-tu-šá hul-lu-qa*
 - 35 *kal a-ma-tu-šá ma-la-a* EDIN
 - 36 *ina qí-bit iq-bu-ú* DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-ši-ti* TU₆ ÉN
-
- 37 ÉN *KI-tum KI-tum KI-tum-ma*
 - 38 ^dGIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ EN *ma-mi-ti-ku-nu*

39 *mim-mu-ú at-tu-nu te-pu-šá ana-ku i-de*
 40 *mim-mu-ú ana-ku ep-pu-šu at-tu-nu ul ti-da-a*
 41 *mim-mu-ú MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ-MU ip-pu-šá e-ga-a pa-ṭi-ra pa-ši-ra NU TUK-ši TU₆ ÉN*

42 ÉN URU-MU *zab-ban* URU-MU *zab-ban*
 43 *šá* URU-MU *zab-ban* 2-ta KÁ.GAL.MEŠ-šú
 44 1-et ana ^dUTU.È *šá-ni-tu ana* ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A
 45 1-et ana *ši-it*—^dUTU-ši *šá-ni-tu ana e-reb*—^dUTU-ši
 46 *a-na-ku e-ra ha-aš-ba* Ú.IN.NU.UŠ *na-šá-ku*
 47 *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá AN-e A.MEŠ a-nam-din*
 48 GIM *ana-ku ana ka-a-šú-nu ul-la-lu-ku-nu-ši*
 49 *at-tu-nu ia-a-ši ul-li-la-in-ni* TU₆ ÉN

50 ÉN *ak-la né-bé-ru ak-ta-li ka-a-ru*
 51 *ak-li ip-ši-ši-na šá ka-li-ši-na ma-ta-a-ti*
 52 ^da-num u an-tum *iš-pu-ru-in-ni*
 53 *man-nu lu-uš-pur a-na* ^dbe-let—EDIN
 54 *ana* KA LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *i-di-i har-gul-li*
 55 *i-di-i* ÉN-su *šá* ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^dAMAR.UTU
 56 *lil-sa-ki-ma la tap-pa-li-ši-na-a-ti*
 57 *liq-ba-nik-kim-ma la ta-šem-mì-ši-na-a-ti*
 58 *lu-ul-si-ki-ma a-pu-ul-in-ni*
 59 *lu-qu-ba-ki-ma ši-min₄-ni ia-a-ši*
 60 *ina qí-bit iq-bu-ú* ^da-num an-tum u ^dbe-let—EDIN TU₆ ÉN

61 ÉN *šap-ra-ku al-lak u'-ú-ra-ku a-dab-bu-u[b]*
 62 *ana le-et* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ^dASAL.LÚ.HI EN *a-ši-pu-ti iš-pur-an-[ni]*
 63 *šá AN-e qu-la šá KI-tim ši-ma-a*
 64 *šá* ÍD *qu-la-ni šá na-ba-li ši-ma-a* ¹KA-ia¹
 65 IM *na-zi-qu tur-ru-uk e tal-lik*
 66 *šá* GIŠ.PA u GIŠ.mar-te-e *tur-ru-uk la tal-lak*
 67 ¹li¹-iz-zi-iz *har-ra-nu* DUMU.MÍ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
 68 *a-di a-mat* [LÚ].UŠ₁₁.Z[U-MU] u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *a-qab-bu-ú*
 69 GUD.¹NITÁ¹ *i-pa-áš-šar* UDU.NITÁ *i-pa-áš-šar*
 70 *a-mat-su-nu lip-pa-šir-ma a-ma-ti la ip-pa-áš-šar*
 71 *a-di a-mat a-qab-bu-ú a-mat-su-nu ana* IGI INIM-MU *là* GIB
 72 *ina qí-bit (iq)-bu-ú* ¹u¹ ^dASAL.LÚ.HI EN *a-ši-pu-ti* TU₆ ÉN

73 ÉN ^dPA.TÚG *an-nu-tum* NU.MEŠ *e-piš-MU*
 74 *an-nu-¹tum¹* NU.MEŠ *e-piš-ti-MU*
 75 NU.MEŠ LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ¹ù¹ MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU
 76 NU.MEŠ *e-piš-MU u muš-te-piš-ti-MU*
 77 NU.MEŠ *sa-hi-ri-MU u sa-hir-ti-MU*
 78 NU.MEŠ *ra-hi-MU u ra-hi-ti-MU*
 79 NU.MEŠ EN *ik-ki-MU* ¹ù¹ NIN *ik-ki-MU*
 80 NU.MEŠ EN *šer-ri-MU* ¹ù¹ NIN *šer-ri-MU*

- 81 NU.M[E]Š EN *ri-di*-MU ù NIN *ri-di*-MU
 82 NU.MEŠ EN *di-ni*-MU ù NIN *di-ni*-MU
 83 NU.[MEŠ] EN INIM-MU ù NIN INIM-MU
 84 NU.MEŠ EN DUG₄.DUG₄-MU 'ù' NIN DUG₄.DUG₄-MU
 85 NU.[MEŠ] EN INIM.GAR-MU 'ù' NIN INIM.GAR-MU
 86 NU.MEŠ EN HUL-MU 'ù' NIN HUL-MU
 87 *šá at-ta* ^dPA.TÚG DI.KUD *ti-de-šú-nu-ti-ma ana-ku la i-de-šú-nu-ti*
 88 *šá kiš-pi ru-he-e ru-si-i up-šá-še-e lem-nu-ti*
 89 *ip-šú' bar-tú'* INIM 'le-mut-ti' KI.ÁG.GÁ HUL.GIG
 90 DI.BAL.A ZI.KUD.RU.DA-a KA.DIB.BI.DA ŠÚR.HUN.GÁ
 91 ŠÀ.BAL.BAL-e 'šu-ud'—pa-ni u *šá-né-e tē-mu*
 92 *e-pu-šu-ú'-[ni] ú-še-[pi]-šú'-ú-ni is-hu-ru-ni ú-šá-as-hi-ru-ni*
 93 *an-nu-ti' šú-nu an-nu-ti* NU.MEŠ-šú-nu
 94 *ki-ma šu-nu la iz'-za-az-zu* NU.MEŠ-šú-nu na-šá-a-ku
 95 *at-ta* ^dPA.TÚG DI.KUD *ka-šid lem-ni u a-a-bi KUR-su-nu-ti-ma ana-ku la ah-hab-bil*
 96 *ša* NU.MEŠ-MU *ib-nu-u bu-un-na-an-ni-ia ú-maš-ši-lum*
 97 KA-MU *ú-šab-bi-tú* GÚ-MU *ú-tar-ri-ru*
 98 GABA-MU *id-i-'pu'* GÚ.SIG₄-MU *ik-pu-pu*
 99 ŠÀ-bi un-ni-'šu' ni-iš ŠÀ-bi-MU *iš-ba-tu*
 100 ŠÀ-bi KI-[MU] 'ú'-za-an-nu-ú Á.KAL-MU *un-ni-šu*
 101 *a-hi-'mu'* *iš-pu-ku bir-ki-MU ik-su-ú*
 101a *di-ig-[li-ia ú-šam]-tu-ú' ha-si-si-ia 'ú'-[x x x]*
 102 *um-mu man-gu u lu-u'-tú ú-mál-lu-in-ni*
 103 NINDA.HI.A *kaš-šá-pu-ti ú-šá-ki-lu-in-ni*
 104 'A.MEŠ' *kaš-šá-pu-ti iš-qu-in-ni*
 105 *rim-'ki lu'-u-ti ú-ra-me-ku-in-ni*
 106 *nap-šal-ti šam-me lem-nu-ti ip-šu-šu-in-ni*
 107 *ana LÚ.ÚŠ i-hi-ru-in-ni*
 108 A.MEŠ ZI-tim-MU *ina qab-rim uš-ni-lu*
 109 DINGIR LUGAL IDIM u NUN *it-ti-ia ú-za-an-nu-ú*
 110 *at-ta* ^dGIŠ.BAR *qa-mu-ú* LÚ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU
 111 *mu-hal-liq rag-gi* NUMUN LÚ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU
 112 *mu-ab-bit lem-nu-ti at-ta-ma*
 113 *ana-ku al-si-ka ki-ma* ^dUTU DI.KUD
 114 *di-i-ni di-ni* EŠ.BAR-a-a KUD-us
 115 *qu-mu* LÚ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU
 116 *a-kul a-a-bi-ia a-ru-uh lem-nu-ti-ia*
 117 UD-ka *ez-zu lik-šu-su-nu-ti*
 118 *ki-ma* A.MEŠ KUŠ.A.EDIN.LÁ *ina ti-ki liq-tu-ú*
 119 *ki-ma ti-rik* NA₄.MEŠ ŠU.SI.MEŠ-šú-nu *lik-ta-aš-ší-šú*
 120 *ina qí-bi-ti-ka šir-ti šá là KÚR-ru*
 121 ù *an-ni-ka ki-nim šá là* BAL-ú TU₆ ÉN

 122 ÉN ^dPA.TÚG *šur-bu-ú i-lit-ti* ^da-nim
 123 *tam-šil* AD *bu-kúr* ^dEN.LÍL

- 124 *tar-bit* ABZU *bi-nu-ut* ^dEN.AN.KI
 125 *áš-ši* GI.IZI.LÁ *ú-nam-mir-ka ka-a-šá*
 126 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ik-šip-an-ni kiš-pi ik-šip-an-ni ki-šip-šú*
 127 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *tak-šip-an-ni kiš-pi tak-šip-an-ni ki-šip-ši*
 128 *e-pi-šu i-pu-šá-an-ni ip-šú i-pu-šá-an-ni e-pu-su*
 129 *e-piš-tu te-pu-šá-an-ni ip-šú te-pu-šá-an-ni e-pu-si*
 130 *muš-te-piš-tu te-pu-šá-an-ni ip-šú te-pu-šá-an-ni e-pu-si*
 131 *šá* NU.MEŠ *ana pi-i* NU.MEŠ-MU *ib-nu-ú bu-un-na-an-ni-ia ú-maš-ši-lu*
 132 UH-MU *il-qu-ú* SÍG-MU *im-lu-su*
 133 TÚG.SÍG-MU *ib-tu-qu e-te-qu* SAHAR.HI.A GÌR.2-MU *iš-bu-šú*
 134 ^dGÍŠ.BAR *qar-du* ÉN-su-nu *li-pa-áš-šir* TU₆ ÉN

-
- 135 ÉN ÍL-ši *dí-pa-ru* NU.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-qal-lu*
 136 *šá ú-tuk-ku še-e-du ra-bi-šu e-tem-mu*
 137 *la-maš-ti la-ba-ši ah-ha-zu*
 138 LÚ.LÍL.LÁ MÍ.LÍL.LÁ KI.SIKIL-LÍL.LÁ
 139 *ù mim-ma lem-nu mu-šab-bi-tu a-me-lu-ti*
 139a [*e-piš kiš*]-^lpi^l [*lem*]-^lnu-ti *ru-he-e la ta^l-bu-ti*
 139b [*šá a-na le-mut-ti*] *ik-^lpu-du-ni^l a-a-ši*
 140 *hu-la zu-ba u i-ta-at-tu-ka*
 141 *qu-tur-ku-nu li-tel-li* AN-e
 142 *la-a'-mi-ku-nu li-bal-li* ^dUTU-ši
 143 *lip-ru-us ha-a-a-ta-ku-nu* DUMU ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ TU₆ ÉN

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- 144 ÉN ^dPA.TÚG *šur-bu-ú ma-lik* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
 145 DUB 1.KAM *ma-aq-lu-u*

TABLET II

- 1 ÉN ^dPA.TÚG *šur-bu-ú ma-lik* DINGIR.MEŠ ¹GAL¹.M[EŠ]
2 *pa-qid* NIDBA.[M]EŠ *šá ka-la* ^dt-gì-¹gì¹
3 *mu-kin ma-ha-zi mu-ud-di-šu* BARAG.MEŠ
4 UD-mu *nam-ru šá qí-bit-su ši-rat*
5 SUKKAL ^da-nim *še-mu-ú pi-riš-ti* ^{d+}EN.LÍL
6 *še-mu-ú* ^{d+}EN.LÍL *ma-li-ku šá-du-ú* ^dt-gì-gì¹
7 *gaš-ru ta-ha-zu šá ti-bu-šú dan-nu*
8 ^dPA.TÚG *a-ri-ru mu-šab-riq za-a-a-ri*
9 *ina ba-li-ka ul iš-šak-kan nap-ta-nu ina* É.KUR
10 *ina ba-li-ka* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *ul iš-ši-nu qut-rin-nu*
11 *ina ba-li-ka* ^dUTU DI.KUD *ul i-da-a-ni di-i-nu*
12 *ha-sis šu-me-ka te-eṭ-ṭir ina dan-na-ti ta-ga-mil ina* PAP.HAL
13 *ana-ku* ARAD-ka NENNI A NENNI *šá* DINGIR-šú NENNI ^dU.DAR-šú NENNI-tum
14 *as-hur-ka eš-e-ka ba-šá-a* G[EŠ]TUG.2-a-a *šá-pal-ka ak-mis*
15 *qu-mi kaš-šá-pi* ¹kaš-šap-ti
16 *šá* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.¹UŠ₁₁.ZU-M[U á]*r-hiš ha-an-ṭiš* ZI-šú-nu *lib-le-ma*
17 *ia-a-ši bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma nar-bi-ka lu-šá-pi dà-lí-lí-ka* ¹lud-lul
-
- 18 KA.INIM.MA U[Š₁₁.BÚR.R]U.DA NU Ì.UDU.KÁM*
-
- 19 ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR ¹EN *gít¹-ma-¹lu¹* ^dŠEŠ.KI¹-ra-ta *na-bi* MU-ka
20 ¹tuš¹-nam-mar É.[ME]Š DINGIR.MEŠ *ka-la-ma*
21 [tu]š-nam-mar g[i-m]ir *kal-ši-na ma-ta-a-ti*
22 ¹áš¹-šu at-ta [ana ia-a-š]i ¹ta¹-az-za-zu-ma
23 *ki-ma* ^d30 ù ^dUTU *ta-¹din¹-nu di-i-nu*
24 *de-e-ni di-ni* EŠ.BAR-a-a *pu-ru-us*
25 *a-na* ZALÁG-ka *nam-ri ni-šu ka-li-¹ši¹-na ú-paq-qa-a-ka*
26 *a-na* KUG-ti *di-pa-ri-ka as-hur-ka eš-e-ka*
27 EN TÚG.SÍG-ka ¹aš¹-bat
28 TÚG.SÍG ¹DINGIR¹-ti-k[a GAL-t]i *aš-bat*
29 T[ÚG.SÍ]G D[INGIR-MU ù ^d15-MU] *aš-bat*
30 [TÚG.SÍG DINGIR U]RU-MU ù ^d15¹¹ URU-[M]U *aš-bat*
31 [x x]-x-ma r[e]-ma-[a]n-ni [be-l]um MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU GIM ¹li¹-li-si *il-ta-si* UGU-ia
32 *iš-bat* SAG.DU-MU GÚ-MU *u muh-hi*
33 ¹iš¹-bat IGI.[2]-MU *na-ṭi-la-a-¹ti¹*
34 ¹iš¹-bat GÌR.[2]-MU *al-la-ka-a-ti*
35 *iš-bat* [b]ir-ki-MU *eb-bé-re-e-ti*
36 *iš-bat* Á.2-MU *mut-tab-bil-a-ti*
37 *e-nen-na ina ma-har* DINGIR-ti-ka GAL-ti

- 38 2 NU.MEŠ ZABAR *et-gu-ru-ti*
 39 šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU
 40 šá e-piš-MU u muš-te-piš-ti-MU
 41 šá sa-hir-MU u sa-hir-ti-MU
 42 šá ra-hi-MU u ra-hi-ti-MU
 43 šá EN ik-ki-MU u NIN ik-ki-MU
 44 šá EN šer-ri-MU u NIN šer-ri-MU
 45 šá EN ri-di-MU u NIN ri-di-MU
 46 šá EN di-ni-MU u NIN di-ni-MU
 47 šá EN INIM-MU u NIN INIM-MU
 48 šá EN DUG₄.DUG₄-MU u NIN DUG₄.DUG₄-MU
 49 šá EN INIM.GAR-MU u NIN INIM.GAR-MU
 50 šá EN HUL-MU u NIN HUL-tim-MU
 51 šá ana LÚ.ÚŠ pu-qu-du-in-ni nam-ra-ša kul-lu-mu-in-ni
 52 [l]u-u UDUG lem-nu lu-u A.LÁ lem-nu
 53 lu-u GIDIM lem-nu lu-u GAL₅.LÁ lem-nu
 54 lu-u DINGIR lem-nu lu-u MAŠKIM lem-nu
 55 ¹lu¹-u ^dDIM₈.ME lu-u ^dDIM₈.ME.A lu-u ^dDIM₈.ME.HAB
 56 lu-u ¹LÚ¹.LÍL.LÁ lu-ú MÍ.LÍL.LÁ lu-u KI.SIKIL.[LÍL.LÁ]
 57 lu-u li-ì³-bu ši-bit KUR-ì
 58 lu-u be-en-nu ri-hu-ut ¹dŠUL¹.PA.È.A
 59 lu-u AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ¹lu-u ^d[LUGAL.ÜR.RA]
 60 lu-u ŠU.DINGIR.RA lu-u Š[U.^dINNIN]
 61 lu-u ŠU.GIDIM.MA lu-u ¹ŠU¹.[NAM].ERÍM.MA
 62 lu-u ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU lu-u la-maš-tú tur-tú DUMU.MÍ ^da-nim
 63 lu-u SAG.HUL.HA.ZA mu-kil SAG HUL-tim
 64 lu-u di-kiš UZU.MEŠ šim-ma-tú ri-mu-tú
 65 [l]u-u mim-m]a lem-nu šá šu-ma la na-bu-u
 66 ¹lu-u¹ [mim-m]a e-piš le-mut-ti šá a-me-lu-ti
 67 šá šab-ta-ni-ma mu-šá u ur-ra UŠ.UŠ-an-ni
 68 ú-hat-¹tu¹-ú UZU.MEŠ-ia kal UD-mi šab-ta-ni-ma
 69 kal mu-ši la ú-maš-šar-an-ni
 70 e-nen-na ina ma-har DINGIR-ti-ka GAL-ti
 71 ina KI.A.^dID.LÚ.RU.GÚ KUG-tim a-qal-li-šú-nu-ti a-šar-rap-šú-nu-ti
 72 nap-li-sa-an-ni-ma be-lum ú-suh-šú-nu-ti ina SU-ia
 73 pu-šur kiš-pi-šú-nu lem-nu-ti
 74 at-ta ^dGIŠ.BAR be-lum a-li-ki i-di-ia
 75 bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma nar-bi-ka lu-šá-pi dà-lí-lí-ka lud-lul

 76 KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU ZABAR KI.A.^dID.KÁM

 77 ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru bu-kúr ^da-nim
 78 da-in di-ni at-me-e pi-riš-ti at-ta-ma
 79 ek-le-e-ti tu-uš-nam-mar
 80 e-ša-a-ti dal-ha-a-ti tu-uš-te-eš-šer
 81 a-na DINGIR.¹MEŠ¹ GAL.MEŠ EŠ.BAR-a ta-nam-din

82 *šá la ka-a-ta* DINGIR *ma-am-man* EŠ.BAR *ul i-par-ra-as*
 83 *at-¹ta-ma¹ na-din ur-ti ù tē-e-me*
 84 *e-piš lum-ni at-ta-ma ár-hiš ta-kam-mu*
 85 *lem-nu u a-¹a-ba¹ ta-kaš-šad ár-h[iš]*
 86 *ana-ku* [NENNI A NEN]NI *šá* DINGIR-šú NENNI ^d15-šú NENNI-*tum*
 87 *ina kiš-p[i]* ¹lu-up¹-pu-ta-ku-ma *ma-har-ka az-ziz*
 88 *ina* IGI ¹DINGIR¹ [L]UGAL *be-l[um]* šu-zu-ra-ku-ma ¹al¹-li-ka *ana mah-ri-ka*
 89 UGU *a-m[e-ri-i]a* ¹mu-ru¹-ša-ku-ma *šá-pal-ka ak-mis*
 90 ^d[G]IŠ.BAR *šur-¹bu-ú¹* DINGIR *el-lu*
 91 *e-¹nen-na¹* *ina* IGI DINGIR-*ti-ka* GAL-*ti*
 92 2 NU.MEŠ [L]Ú.¹UŠ₁₁¹.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá* ZABAR *e-pu-uš qa-tuk-ka*
 93 *ma-h[a]r-ka ú-gir-šú-nu-ti-ma ka-a-šá ap-qid-¹ka¹*
 94 *šu-nu li-mu-tu-ma ana-ku lu-ub-luṭ*
 95 *šu-nu li-te-eb-bi-ru-ma ana-ku lu-ši-ir*
 96 *šu-nu liq-tu-ú-ma ana-ku lu-um-id*
 97 *šu-nu li-ni-šu-ma ana-ku lu-ud-nin*
 98 ^dGIŠ.BAR *šar-hu ši-ru ša* DINGIR.MEŠ
 99 *ka-šid lem-ni u a-a-bi* KUR-su-nu-ti-ma *a-na-ku la ah-hab-bil*
 100 *ana-ku* ARAD-*ka lu-ub-luṭ lu-uš-lim-ma ma-har-ka lu-uz-ziz*
 101 *at-ta-ma* DINGIR-MU *at-ta-ma be-lí*
 102 *at-ta-ma da-a-a-ni at-ta-ma re-šu-ú-a*
 103 *at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru šá gi-mil-li-ia* TU₆ ÉN

104 KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU ZABAR.KÁM

105 ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR *a-ri-ru* DUMU ^da-nim *qar-du*
 106 *ez-zu* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *at-ta*
 107 *šá ki-ma* ^d30 *u* ^dUTU *ta-da-an-nu di-i-nu*
 108 *di-i-ni di-ni* EŠ.BAR-*a-a* KUD-*us*
 109 *qu-mi kaš-šá-pi ù kaš-šap-ti*
 110 ^dGIŠ.BAR *qu-mu* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
 111 ^dGIŠ.BAR *qu-li* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.Z[U]
 112 ^dGIŠ.BAR *qu-mi-šú-nu-ti*
 113 ^dGIŠ.BAR *qu-li-šú-ni-[t]i*
 114 ^dGIŠ.BAR *ku-šu-us-su-nu-ti*
 115 ^dGIŠ.BAR *a-ru-uh-šú-nu-ti*
 116 ^dGIŠ.BAR *šu-ta-bil-šú-nu-ti*
 117 ¹e-piš¹ *kiš-pi lem-nu-ti u ru-he-e là* DÙG.GA.MEŠ
 118 *šá a-na le-mut-ti ik-pu-du-ni ia-a-ši*
 119 *dan-nu ma-ak-kur-šu-nu šu-ul-qí*
 120 *šu-ut-bil* ¹bu¹-šá-šu-nu *ek-ke-e-ma*
 121 UGU *ma-na-ha-[t]i-šú-nu hab-ba-ta šur-bi-iš*
 122 ^dGIŠ.BAR *ez-zu gít-ma-¹lu₄¹* *ra-šub-bu*
 123 *ina* É.KUR *a-šar tal-¹lak¹-ti-ka e* ¹tu¹-šap-ših-šú-nu-ti *a-di sur-riš*
 124 *ina a-mat* ^dÉ.A *ba-ni-ka* ^dUTU DINGIR *nam-ru*
 125 TU₆ ÉN ¹šu-ut¹ ERI.DU₁₀ *lik-pu-du-šú-nu-ti ana* HUL-*tim*

126 [KA.INI]M.「MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU¹.DA NU NÍG.LAG.GÁ.KÁM

127 ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR *gaš-ru UD-mu na-an-du-r[u]*
 128 *tuš-te-eš-šer* DINGIR.MEŠ *u ma-al-「ki」*
 129 *ta-da-a-ni de-en hab-li u hab-bil-ti*
 130 *ina di-ni-ia i-ziz-za-am-ma ki-ma* ^dUTU *qu-ra-du*
 131 *di-i-ni di-ni* EŠ.BAR-a-a KUD-us
 132 *qu-mi kaš-šá-pi u kaš-šap-ti*
 133 *a-kul a-a-bi-ia a-ru-uh lem-nu-ti-ia*
 134 UD-ka ez-zu lik-šu-us-su-nu-ti TU₆ ÉN

135 KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU IM.KÁ[M]

136 ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR *šar-hu bu-kúr* ^da-nim
 137 *i-lit-ti KUG-tim šá-qu-tum* ^dša-la-a[š]
 138 *šar-hu ed-de-šu-ú nu-ur* DINGIR.MEŠ *ka-a-a-nu*
 139 *na-din nin-da-bé-e ana* DINGIR.MEŠ ^dí-gì-gì
 140 *šá-kin na-mir-ti a-na* ^da-nun-na-ki DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
 141 *ez-zu* ^dGIŠ.BAR *muš-har-miṭ a-pi*
 142 ^dGIŠ.BAR *al-la-lu-ú mu-ab-bit* GIŠ.MEŠ *u NA₄.MEŠ*
 143 *qa-mu-ú lem-nu-ti* NUMUN UŠ₁₁.ZU *u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.「ZU」*
 144 *mu-hal-liq rag-gi* NUMUN 「LÚ¹.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.「ZU」*
 144a *mu-ab-bit lem-nu-ti at-ta-ma*
 144b *ana-ku* AR[AD-ka ...]
 145 *ina UD-mi an-ni-i ina di-ni-ia i-ziz-za-am-ma*
 146 *e-piš bar-ti te-na-na-a ku-šu-ud lem-nu*
 147 GIM NU.MEŠ *an-nu-ti i-hu-lu i-zu-bu u it-ta-at-tu-ku*
 148 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU 「li-hu」-lu 「li」-zu-bu u lit-ta-at-tu-ku*

149 KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU ESIR.KÁM

150 ÉN *ke-e-eš li-bi-iš ki-de-eš*
 151 *a-ra-ab-bé-eš na-ad-re-eš*
 152 *šá di-pa-a-ri ra-kib šá-a-ri*
 153 *li-ru-un-(di na)-hu-un-di-i*
 154 *ka-ša-a-「šu」 i-za-an-nun*
 155 *ki-ma šá-m[a-m]i el-ku-un*
 156 *ki-ma 「MUŠ」 li-te-ru-ba-a-ma i-ša-a*
 157 *lik-「tùm」-ku-nu-ši* ÉN *ez-ze-tú GAL-tú šá* ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ
 158 「u TU₆¹.DUG₄.GA-e šá ^dNIN.GÌRIM
 159 *li-la-ap-pit bu-un-na-「an」-ni-ku-nu* TU₆ ÉN

160 [KA.INIM.M]A U[Š₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU DUH].「ŠE」.[GIŠ.Ì.KÁM]

161 [É]N 「e」-pu-šu-ni *e-te-né-ep-pu-šu-ni*
 162 「ki-ma」 *ki-i-ti ana ka-pa-li-ia*

- 163 [k]i-ma hu-ha-ri ana sa-ha-pi-ia
 164 ki-ma ka-a-pi ana a-ba-ti-ia
 165 ki-ma še-e-ti ana ka-ta-me-¹ia¹
 166 ki-ma pi-til-ti ana pa-ta-li-ia
 167 ki-ma pi-ti-iq-ti ana na-bal-ku-ti-ia
 168 ki-ma A.MEŠ mu-sa-a-ti a-sur-ra-a ana mul-li-ia
 169 ki-ma šu-šu-rat É ana KÁ ana na-sa-ki-ia
 170 ana-ku ina qí-bit ^dAMAR.UTU¹ EN nu-bat-ti
 171 ù ^dASAL.LÚ.¹HI¹ EN a-ši-pu-ti
 172 e-pi-ši u ¹e¹-piš-ti
 173 ki-ma ki-i-ti a-kap-pil-šu-nu-ti
 174 ki-ma hu-ha-ri a-sa-hap-šu-nu-ti
 175 ki-ma ka-a-pi ab-ba-su-nu-ti
 176 ki-ma še-e-ti a-kàt-tam-šu-nu-ti
 177 ki-ma pi-til-ti a-pat-til-šu-nu-ti
 178 ki-ma pi-ti-iq-ti ab-ba-lak-kit-su-nu-ti
 179 ki-ma A.MEŠ mu-sa-a-ti a-sur-ra-a ú-ma-al-la-šú-nu-ti
 180 ki-ma šu-¹šu¹-rat É ana KÁ a-na-as-suk-šú-nu-¹ti¹
 181 ^dGIŠ.B[AR ina ša]p-li-ka NU LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU S[U]M-ka T[U₆ ÉN]

182 KA.IN[IM.MA U]Š₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU ESIR šá IM.BABBAR bal-lu KÁM

- 183 ÉN at-ti-man-nu MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá ina ÍD im-lu-³u IM-a-a
 184 ina É e-¹ti-i ú-tam-me-ru NU.MEŠ-ia
 185 ina qab-rim it-m[e]-ru A.MEŠ-e-a
 186 ina tub-kin-na-ti ú-laq-qí-tu hu-ša-bé-e-a
 187 ina É LÚ.AZLAG ib-tu-qu si-sik-t[i]
 188 ina I.DIB iš-bu-šu SAHAR.HI.A GÌ[R.2-ia]
 189 ¹áš¹-pur ana KÁ ka-a-ri i-šá-mu-ú-ni ¹li-pa¹-ki
 190 áš-pur ana hi-rit URU ik-ri-šu-ú-ni ¹ti-¹ta-ki¹
 191 a-šap-pa-rak-kim-ma a-li-ku ti-nu-ru ^dGIŠ.BAR mun-na-ah-zu
 192 ^d[G]IŠ.BAR ed-de-šu-ú nu-ur DINGIR.MEŠ ka-a-a-nu
 193 ^d[30] ina ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI ^dUTU ina UD.UNUG.KI
 194 ^dU¹.GUR a-di um-ma-na-ti-šú
 195 ^dINNIN—A.GA.DÈ.KI a-di ku-um-mi-šá
 196 a-na la-qa-at ze-er šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ma-la ba-šú-u
 197 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU li-du-ku-ma a-na-ku lu-ub-lu¹
 198 áš-šu la e¹¹-pu-šá-áš-šim-ma i-pu-šá
 199 áš-šu la as-hu-ra-áš-šim-ma is-hu-ra
 200 ši-i tak-lat ana kiš-¹pi¹-šá kit-pu-du-¹ú-ti¹
 201 ù a-na-ku a-na ¹ka¹-a-[a-ni] nu-ur (DINGIR.MEŠ) ^dBIL.GI da-a-a-n[u]
 202 ^dGIŠ.BAR qu-m[i-ši ^dGIŠ].BAR qu-li-š[i]
 203 ^dGIŠ.BAR ku-¹šu¹¹-us-si¹ TU₆ ¹ÉN¹

204 KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU IM šá Ì.UDU bal-lu KÁM

- 205 ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá tub-ta-na*¹¹-¹*in*¹-*ni*
 206 *a-na le-mut-ti téš-te-né*¹-¹*i-in-ni*
 207 *a-na la ta-ab-ti ta-as-sa-na-ah-hur-in-ni*
 208 URU-*ki ul i-de* É-*ki ul* MIN MU-*ki ul* MIN šu-*bat-ki ul* MIN
 209 ^dALAD.MEŠ *li-ba*¹-¹*u-ú-ki*
 210 UDUG.MEŠ *liš-te*¹-¹*u-ú-ki*
 211 GIDIM.MEŠ *lis-sah-ru-ú-ki*
 212 *be-en-nu la ta-a-bu* UGU-*ki lim-qut*
 213 MAŠKIM.MEŠ *le-mut-ti li-kil-lu* SAG-*ki*
 214 ^dLU[GAL].I[R₉.RA *u* ^dMES.LAM.TA].¹È¹.A *li-na-ru-ki*
 215 [^dx] *x* EN *ši-m*[*a*¹-*tí*¹ MU¹-*k*]*i li-ip-ši*¹
 216 ^dN[IN].¹URTA *la*¹ *pa*¹-¹*du-u*¹ [EME¹-*k*]*i li-is-suh*
 217 ^dgu-*la a*¹-*zu-gal-la-tu* GAL-¹*tu*¹ l[e¹-*e*]*t*¹-*ki li-im-haš*
 218 ^dBIL.GI *ez*¹-¹*zu*¹ *zu-mur-ki* [li-*i*]*h-mu-ut*
 219 U[DU]N KUG-*tum* DUMU.MÍ ^d*a-nim* ¹GAL¹-*tú*
 220 ¹*ša*¹ *ina* ¹ŠÀ¹-[*b*]*i-ša na-an-hu-za-at i-šat qab-rim*
 221 [*ina*] ¹ŠÀ¹-[*b*]*i-š* ^d[BI]L.GI *qar-du ir-ma-a* [š¹u]-¹*bat*¹-*su*
 222 [*ina*¹] ¹*na*¹-[*pa*¹-*ah*¹ ŠÀ¹-*bi*¹-š] ^d*ša-ma-mi ik-šu-du nab-l*[*u-ša*]
 223 [MÍ].U[Š₁₁.Z]U *qu*¹-¹*mì-i*¹ *qu-li-i hu-um-m*[*i-ti*]
 224 *ár-hiš ha-an-tiš ša* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.U[Š₁₁.ZU-MU] ¹*na-piš*¹-*ta-šú-nu li*[*b-le-ma*]
 225 *ia-a-ši bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma nar-bi-ka lu-ša-pi* ¹*da*¹-*li-li-ka lud-lul* [T]U₆ ÉN
-
- 226 [KA].INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.R[U.DA NU GIŠ.ŠINIG NU GIŠ.EREN.KA]M
-
- 227 ÉN MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *mut-tal-lik-t*[*um šá* SIL]A.MEŠ
 228 DUB 2.KÁM *ma-a*[*q-l*]*u-ú*

TABLET III

- 1 ÉN MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *mut-tal-lik-tu* šá SILA.MEŠ
 - 2 *mu-ter-rib-tum* šá É.MEŠ
 - 3 *da-a-a-li-tum* šá *bi-re-e-ti*
 - 4 *ha-a-a-ti-tum* šá *re-ba-a-ti*
 - 5 *a-na* IGI-šá ù EGIR-šá *is-sa-na-ah-hur*
 - 6 GUB-az *ina* SILA-ma *ú-sah-har* GÌR.2
 - 7 *ina re-bi-ti ip-ta-ra-as a-lak-tú*
 - 8 šá GURUŠ SIG₅ *du-us-su i-kim*
 - 9 šá KI.SIKIL SIG₅-tim *i-ni-ib-šá it-bal*
 - 10 ¹*i-na*¹ *né-keš-mé-šá ku-zu-ub-šá il-qé*
 - 11 GURUŠ *ip-pa-lis-ma* ^dLAMMA-šu *i-¹kim*¹
 - 12 KI.SIKIL *ip-pa-lis-ma i-ni-ib-šá it-bal*
 - 13 *i-mu-ra-an-ni-ma* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *il-li-ka* EGIR-¹*ia*¹
 - 14 *i-na im-ti-šá ip-ta-ra-as a-¹lak*¹-tú
 - 15 *i-na ru-he-šá iš-di-hi ip-ru-us*
 - 16 *ú-šá-as-si* DINGIR-MU *u* ^dU.DAR-MU *ina* SU-MU
 - 17 šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-(MU) *ina kul-la-ti ag-da-ri-iš* IM-šá
 - 18 šá *e-piš-ti-ia ab-ta-ni* NU-šá
 - 19 *áš-kun* [i]-na šà-bi-ki Ì.UDU *ha-¹bil*¹-k[i]
 - 20 *ú-sa-an-niš ina* BIR.MEŠ-ki *e-ra qa-ma-ki*
 - 21 *e-ra qa-ma-ki i-mat-ki lip-ru-us*
 - 22 *e-li* URU *at-ta-pah i-šá-tum*
 - 23 *ina* KI.TA URU *at-ta-di tu-m[u]r-tum*
 - 24 *a-na* É *ter-ru-bi at-ta-di i-šá-tum*
 - 25 *te-pu-šim-ma* ^dBIL.GI *li-kul-ki*
 - 26 *tu-še-pi-šim-ma* ^dBIL.GI *lik-šu-ud-ki*
 - 27 *tak-pu-[d]ím-ma* ^dBIL.GI *li-duk-ki*
 - 28 *tu-šá-ak-pi-[d]ím-ma* ^dBIL.GI *liq-mi-ki*
 - 29 *har-ra-an la ta-a-ri li-šá-aš-bit-ki* ^dBIL.GI *ha-bil-ki*
 - 30 ^dBIL.GI *ez-zu* SU-ki *li-ih-muṭ* TU₆ ÉN
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- 30a [KA].INIM.MA UŠ₁₁¹¹.BÚR.RU.DA.KÁM NU IM Ì.UDU *ina* šà *u* GIŠ.MA.[NU *ina* BÍR.MEŠ]
-
- 31 ÉN 2.TA *ši-na* DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ ^d*a-nim* šá AN-e
 - 32 3.TA *ši-na* DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ ^d*a-nim* šá AN-e
 - 33 *ṭur-ra šab-ta-nim-ma ul-tu* AN-e *ur-ra-da-ni*
 - 34 *e-ki-a-am te-ba-ti-na e-ki-a-am tal-la-ka*
 - 35 *a-na e-pi-ši u e-piš-ti* šá NENNI A NENNI *ana* NIGIN *ni-il-li-ka*
 - 36 *a-na lu-uq-qu-ti* šá *hu-ša-bi-ši-na*

- 37 *a-na hu-um-mu-mi šá hu-ma-ma-ti-ši-na*
 38 *šá li-la-a-ti hu-lu-paq-qa a-na šá-ra-pi ni-il-li-ka*

38a KA.INIM.MA (UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA.KÁM) NU Ì.UDU *hi-im-ma-ti*

- 39 ÉN MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ner-ta-ni-ti*
 40 *e-le-ni-tum nar-šim-da-tum*
 41 *a-ši-ip-tum eš-še-bu-ti*
 42 MUŠ.LAH₅-tum *a-gu-gi-il-tum*
 43 MÍ.NU.GIG LUKUR
 44 ^d15-i-tum *kul-ma-ši-tum*
 45 *ba-a-a-ar-tum šá mu-ši*
 46 *ha-a-a-ṭi-tum šá kal UD-me*
 47 *mu-la-ṽi-i-tum šá AN-e*
 48 *mu-lap-pit-tum šá KI-tim*
 49 *ka-mi-tum šá KA DINGIR.MEŠ*
 50 *ka-si-tum šá bir-ki ^d15.MEŠ*
 51 *da-a-a-ik-tum šá GURUŠ.MEŠ*
 52 *la pa-di-tum šá MÍ.MEŠ*
 53 *šá-ah-hu-ṭi-tum ṣab-bu-ri-tú*
 54 *šá ana ip-ši-šá u ru-he-šá la ú-šar-ru mam-ma*
 55 *e-nen-na-ma e-tam-ru-ki iṣ-ṣab-tu-ki*
 56 *uš-te-nu-ki uš-ta-bal-ki-tu-ki*
 57 *uš-ta-pe-lu a-mat ip-ši-ki*
 58 ^dÉ.A u ^dAMAR.UTU *id-di-nu-ki ana ^dGIŠ.BAR qu-ra-di*
 59 ^dGIŠ.BAR *qu-ra-du ri-kis-ki li-ih-pi*
 60 *ù mim-ma ma-la te-pu-ši li-šam-hir-ki ka-a-ši T[U₆] ÉN*
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60a [KA.INIM.M]A UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NU DUH.[L]ÀL

- 61 ÉN ^dID *el-lu nam-ru qud-du-šú a-na-ku*
 62 *e-pi-šu-ú-a ABGAL šá ABZU*
 63 *e-pi-še-tu-ú-a DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ ^da-nim šá AN-e*
 64 *e-pu-šu-ú-ni i-te-né-ep-pu-šu-u-ni*
 65 *e-pu-šu-nim-ma ul i-le-¹u-ú¹ zu-um-ri*
 66 *e-te-né-pu-šu-nim-ma ul i-le-ṽu-ú ana ṣa-ba-ti-ia*
 67 *a-na-ku e-pu-uš-ma UGU-šú-nu az-ziz*
 68 *e-te-lil ki-ma ^dID ina KUR-ia*
 69 *e-te-bi-ib ki-ma nam-ri ina É EŠ.BAR-MU*
 70 *šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU*
 71 ^dID *u nam-ru na-bal-kàt-ta-šú-nu liš-ku-nu-ma*
 72 *kiš-pi-šu-nu li-bal-ki-tu-ma*
 73 *a-na muh-hi-šú-nu u la-ni-šú-nu lil-li-ku*
 74 *ki-m[a E]SIR li-iṣ-li-mu pa-ni-šú-nu*
 75 ¹li¹-hu-lu *li-zu-bu u lit-ta-[a]t-tu-ku*
 76 *ù ana-ku GIM ^dID ina KUR-ia lu KUG-ku ÉN*

- 77 ÉN *la-ma-a-ni su-tu-ú e-la-mu-ú re-da-ni*
 78 *kàt-ma-ni a-gu-ú e-du-ú sah-pan-ni*
 79 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *su-ta-te da-a-ni ši-bit-sa*
 80 *e-le-ni-tú e-la-ma-ta ši-bit-sa mu-ú-tú*
 81 ^dBIL.GI *tap-pe-e* ^dUTU *i-ziz-za-am-ma*
 82 *ki-ma KUR-i ina KI.A.^dÍD i-nu-uh-hu*
 83 *kiš-pi ru-he-e ru-se-e šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU*
 84 *e-le-ni-ti-ia* ^dBIL.GI *liq-mi*
 85 ^dÍD KUG ŠĀ-ba-šá *li-ih-pi*
 86 A.MEŠ ÍD KUG.MEŠ *lip-šu-ru kiš-pi-šá*
 87 *ù ana-ku GIM* ^dÍD *ina KUR-ia lu KUG-ku ÉN*

87a [K]A.INIM.MA KI.MIN NU ESIR šá KI.(A).^dÍD *bal-¹lu¹*

- 88 ÉN *at-ti-man-nu MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá iq-bu-ú INIM HUL-tim-MU ((ina ŠĀ-bi-šá))*
 89 *i-na ŠĀ-bi-šá ib-ba-nu-ú ru-hu-ú-a*
 90 *i-na šap-ti-šá ib-ba-šu-ú ru-su-ú-a*
 91 *i-na ki-bi-is tak-bu-si GUB-az mu-ú-tum*
 92 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *aš-bat KA-ki aš-bat EME-ki*
 93 *aš-bat IGI.2-ki na-ti-la-a-ti*
 94 *aš-bat GÌR.2-ki al-la-ka-a-ti*
 95 *aš-bat bir-ki-ki e-bé-re-e-ti*
 96 *aš-bat Ā.2-ki mut-tab-bi-la-a-ti*
 97 *ak-ta-si i-di-ki a-na ar-ki-ki*
 98 ^d30 *el-lam-mé-e li-qat-ta-a pa-gar-ki*
 99 *a-na mi-qit A.MEŠ u IZI lid-di-ki-ma*
 100 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ki-ma si-hir NA₄.KIŠIB an-né-e*
 101 *li-šu-đu li-ri-qu pa-nu-ú-ki*

101a (KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA) NU IM (ina) NA₄.KI[ŠIB SIG₇ K]A-šú *ta-bar-ram*

- 102 ÉN *at-ti-e šá te-pu-ši-in-ni*
 103 *at-ti-e šá tu-še-pi-ši-in-ni*
 104 *at-ti-e šá tu-kaš-ši-pi-in-ni*
 105 *at-ti-e šá tu-hap-pi-pi-in-ni*
 106 *at-ti-e šá tu-šab-bi-ti-in-ni*
 107 *at-ti-e šá tu-kan-ni-ki-in-ni*
 108 *at-ti-e šá tu-ab-bi-ti-in-ni*
 109 *at-ti-e šá tu-ub-bi-ri-in-ni*
 110 *at-ti-e šá tu-ka-si-in-ni*
 111 *at-ti-e šá tu-la-³i-in-ni*
 112 *tap-ru-si KI-ia DINGIR-MU u* ^dU.DAR-MU
 113 *tap-ru-si KI-ia še-³u še-³i-tu ŠEŠ NIN ib-ru tap-pu-u ki-na-at-tu*
 114 *a-leq-qa-kim-ma ha-ha-a ša UDUN díh-mé-nu ša ÚTUL*
 115 *a-mah-ha-ah a-tab-bak ana SAG.DU rag-ga-ti šim-ti-ki*

- 115a KI.MIN ^d15 SAGŠU *kin-[ši š]á* ^rIM DÛ-*uš ha¹-ha-a šá* UD[UN]
 115b *díh-mé-ni šá di-qa-ri t[a-mah-ha-ah-ma t]a-(tab)-bak ana* ^rSAG.DU-*šá¹*

- 116 ÉN *šá e-pu-šá-ni uš-te-pi-šá-an-ni*
 117 *i-na mi-li ÍD e-pu-šá-an-ni*
 118 *i-na mi-ti ÍD e-pu-šá-an-ni*
 119 *a-na e-piš-ti ep-ši-ma iq-bu-ú*
 120 *a-na sa-hir-ti suh-ri-ma iq-bu-ú*
 121 *an-ni-ta lu-u* GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-*šá*
 122 GIM GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ *an-ni-ta ib-ba-lak-ki-tu*
 123 *kiš-pu-šá lib-bal-ki-tu-ma ana muh-hi-šá u la-ni-šá lil-li-ku*
 124 *di-in-šá lis-sa-hi-ip-ma de-e-ni li-šir* ÉN

- 124a KI.MIN GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ IM 2 NU.MEŠ I[M] *ina* ^rŠÀ¹-*bi-^ršá¹*

- 125 ÉN GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-MU ^d30 *ú-še-piš*
 126 *ina bi-rit* SI.MEŠ-*šá na-šat pi-šir-tum*
 127 *áš-bu ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šá* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
 128 *áš-bu ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šá e-piš u e-piš-tú*
 129 *áš-bu ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šá sa-hi-ru u sa-hir-tú*
 130 *šá* GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-^rŠU¹-*nu lib-ba-ti-iq a-šá-al-šá*
 131 *mar-kàs-sa lip-pa-tir-ma tár-kul-la-šá li-in-na-^rsíh¹*
 132 *e-du-ú ana* [A.AB.B]A *li-še-ši-šú-nu-ti*
 133 *šam-ru-ti a-gu-ú e-li-šú-nu li-tel-^rlu⁴*
 134 IM-šú-nu *a-a i-zi-qa-am-ma a-a i-hi-ṭa-a-ni*
 135 *ina qí-bit* ^dPA.TÚG *u* ^dGIŠ.BAR DINGIR.MEŠ DI.KUD ÉN

- 135a [KI.MIN GIŠ.M]Á.GUR₈ NÍG.LAG.GÁ 2 NU.MEŠ N[ÍG.LAG.GÁ *ina* ŠÀ-*šá*]

- 136 ÉN ŠIKA-*tú* SILA.MEŠ-*ti am-me-ni tug-da-nar-re-ni*
 137 *am-me-ni na-áš-pa-ra-tu-ki it-ta-na-lak-a-ni*
 138 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU SAG.DU *a-ma-t[i]-ki*
 139 *am-me-ni it-ta-nak-šá-da ana* DIB-*t[i-i]a*
 140 *el-li a-na ú-ri ap-ta-ki a-kát-tam*
 141 *ú-rad a-na qaq-qa-ri-im-ma ú-šab-bat kib-si-[ki]*
 142 *ina kib-si-ki* MAŠKIM *ú-še-eš-šeb*
 143 GIDIM *ri-da-a-ti* KASKAL-*ki ú-ša-aš-bat*
 144 *a-mah-ḥaṣ muh-ha-ki ú-šá-an-na ṭe-en-ki*
 145 *a-dal-l[à]h* ŠÀ-*ba-ki ta-maš-ši-i* UZU.MEŠ-*ki*
 146 *e-piš-tum u muš-te-piš-t[um]*
 147 AN-*ú a-na-ku-ma ul tu-lap-pa-tin-ni*
 148 KI-*tum a-na-ku-^rma¹ ul tu-ra-hi-in-ni*
 149 *si-hi-il* GIŠ.NIM [*a-n*]a-*ku-ma ul ta-kab-ba-si-in-ni*
 150 *zi-qit* GÍR.TAB *a-na-ku-ma ul ta-lap-pa-tin-ni*
 151 KUR-*ú zaq-ru a-na-ku-ma kiš-pu-ki ru-hu-ki*

152 *ru-su-¹ú¹-ki up-šá-šu-ki* HUL.MEŠ

153 NU TE.MEŠ-ni là i-qar-[r]i-bu-u-ni a-a-ši ÉN

153a KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚR ŠIKA SILA.LÍMMU Ì.UDU ŠÉŠ ¹SÍG¹.HÉ.M[E.D]A ta-kar-rik

154 ÉN rit-tu-ma rit-tu

155 rit-tu dan-na-tu šá a-me-lu-ti

156 šá G[I]M UR.MAH iṣ-ba-tu a-me-lu

157 GIM hu-ha-ri is-hu-pu eṭ-lu

158 GIM še-e-ti ú-kàt-ti-mu qar-ra-du

159 GIM šu-uš-kal-li a-šá-red-du i-bar-ru

160 GIM giš-par-ri ik-tu-mu dan-nu

161 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU rit-ta-ku-nu ^dGIŠ.BAR liq-mi

162 ^dGIŠ.BAR li-kul ^dGIŠ.BAR liš-ti ^dGIŠ.BAR liš-ta-bil

163 ^dGIŠ.BAR lil-sa-a UGU dan-na-ti rit-te-ku-nu

164 ša rit-ta-ku-nu e-pu-šu zu-mur-ku-nu li-ih-muṭ

165 li-is-pu-uh ILLAT-ku-nu DUMU ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ

166 qut-ri ^dGIŠ.BAR li-ri-ma pa-ni-ku-nu

167 ki-ma ti-nu-ri ina hi-ṭa-ti-ku-nu

168 ki-ma di-qa-ri ina lu-hu-um-me-ku-nu

169 li-is-pu-uh-ku-nu-ši ^dGIŠ.BAR ez-zu

170 a-a TE.MEŠ-ni kiš-pi-ku-nu ru-he-ku-nu lem-nu-ti

171 e-tel-la-a GIM KU₆.HI.A ina A.MEŠ-e-a

172 GIM ŠAH ina ru-šum-ti-ia

173 GIM Ú.IN.NU.UŠ ina ú-šal-li

174 GIM Ú.KI.KAL ina a-hi a-tap-pí

175 GIM NUMUN GIŠ.ESI ina a-hi tam-tim

176 el-let ^dU.DAR mu-nam-me-rat šim-ti

177 ú-ṣu-rat ¹TI.LA¹ uṣ-ṣu-ra-ku ana-ku

178 ina qí-bit iq-bu-ú ^dGIŠ.BAR ra-šub-bu

179 ù ^dGIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru DUMU ^da-nim qar-du

180 ÉN rit-tu-ma rit-tu

181 rit-tum dan-na-tum šá a-me-lu-ti

182 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU áš-šú KA-ki da-bi-bu

183 áš-šú dan-na-ti rit-ta-ki

184 URU a-ma-tum áš-šak-ki

185 É a-ma-tum ú-ba-³a-ak-ki

186 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU e-piš u e-piš-tú

187 bi-¹li¹ rit-ta-ku-nu-ma ana IZI lu-ud-di ÉN

187a ¹KA¹.INIM.¹MA¹ UŠ₁₁.¹BÚR¹ rit-tu DU[H[?].LÀL[?]]

188 ÉN biš-li biš-li qí-de-e qí-de-e

189 [DUB] 3.KAM ma-aq-lu-ú

TABLET IV

- 1 ÉN biš-li biš-li qí-de-e qí-de-e
- 2 rag¹¹-gu u še-e-nu e te-ru-ub at-lak
- 3 at-ta-man-nu DUMU man-ni at-ti-man-nu DUMU.MÍ man-ni
- 4 šá áš-ba-tu-nu-ma ip-še-ku-nu up-šá-še-ku-nu te-te-né-ep-pu-šá-ni ia-a-ši
- 5 lip-šur ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ
- 6 liš-bal-kit kiš-pi-ku-nu ^dASAL.LÚ.HI MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU ^dÉ.A ABGAL
- 7 a-kàs-si-ku-nu-ši a-kám*-mi-ku-nu-ši a-nam-din-ku-nu-ši
- 8 a-na ^dGIŠ.BAR qa-mé-e qa-li-i ka-si-i ka-ši-du šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ
- 9 ^dGIŠ.BAR qa-mu-ú li-tal-lal i-da-a-a
- 10 ip-šú bar-tu a-mat MÍ.HUL KI.ÁG.GÁ HUL.GIG
- 11 DI.BAL.A ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a KA.DIB.BI.DA ŠÚR.HUN.GÁ
- 12 ŠÀ.BAL.BAL-a šu-ud pa-ni u šá-né-e tè-e-mu
- 13 te-pu-šá-ni tu-še-pi-šá-ni ^dGIŠ.BAR lip-šur
- 14 a-na ¹LÚ¹.ÚŠ ta-hi-ra-in-ni te-
- 15 a-na gul-gul-la-ti t[ap-q]í-¹da-in-ni te-¹
- 16 a-¹na¹ GIDIM kim-ti-ia tap-q[í-da-in-ni te-]
- 17 a-na GIDIM a-hi-i tap-qí-da-i[n-ni te-]
- 18 a-na GIDIM mur-tap-pi-du šá pa-qí-da la i-šu-u ¹tap-qí-da¹-[in-ni te-]
- 19 a-na GIDIM har-bi na-du-ti tap-qí-da-in-¹ni te-¹
- 20 a-na EDIN ki-di u na-me-e tap-qí-da-in-¹ni te-¹
- 21 ¹a-na¹ BÀD ù sa-me-ti tap-qí-da-in-ni te-
- 22 ¹a-na¹ ^dbe-let EDIN u ba-ma-a-ti tap-qí-da-in-ni te-
- 23 a-na UDUN la-ap-ti NINDU KI.NE KI.UD.BA ù nap-pa-ha-ti KI.MI[N te-
- 24 NU.MEŠ-ia a-¹na LÚ¹.ÚŠ tap-qí-da te-
- 25 NU.MEŠ-ia a-na LÚ¹.ÚŠ ta-hi-ra te-
- 26 NU.MEŠ-ia it-ti LÚ¹.ÚŠ t[uš-n]i-il-la te-
- 27 NU.MEŠ-ia ina ÚR LÚ¹.[ÚŠ tuš-ni-i]l-la te-
- 28 NU.MEŠ-ia ina KI.¹MAH LÚ¹.ÚŠ ¹taq¹-bi-ra te-
- 29 NU.MEŠ-ia a-na gul-gul-la-ti tap-qí-da te-
- 30 NU.MEŠ-ia ina É.GAR₈ tap-ha-a te-
- 31 NU.MEŠ-ia ina I.DIB tuš-ni-il-la ¹te-¹
- 32 NU.MEŠ-ia ina bi-³i šá BÀD tap-ha-a te-
- 33 NU.MEŠ-ia ina ti-tur-ri taq-bi-ra-ma um-ma-nu ú-kab-bi-su te-
- 34 NU.MEŠ-ia ina bu-re-e šá LÚ.ASLAG PÚ tap-ta-a taq-bi-ra te-
- 35 NU.MEŠ-ia ina ŠITÀ šá LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR PÚ tap-ta-a taq-bi-ra te-
- 36 NU.MEŠ-ia lu-u šá GIŠ.ŠINIG lu-u šá GIŠ.EREN lu-u šá Ì.UDU
- 37 lu-u šá DUH.LÀL lu-u šá DUH.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
- 38 lu-u šá E[SIR lu-u] šá IM lu-u šá NÍG.LAG.GÁ
- 39 NU.MEŠ muš-[šu-la-ti š]á ¹pa¹-ni-ia u la-ni-ia te-pu-šá-ma

- 40 ʾUR.GI₇ ʾt[u]-ʾšá¹-ki-la ŠAH tu-šá-ki-la
 41 MU[ŠEN ʾt]u-šá-ki-la ana ÍD ŠUB-a
 42 NU.MEŠ-ia a-na la-maš-ti DUMU.MÍ ʾa-nim tap-qí-da te-
 43 NU.MEŠ-ia a-na ʾGIŠ.BAR tap-qí-da te-
 44 A.MEŠ-ia it-ti LÚ.ÚŠ tuš-ni-ʾil¹-la te-
 45 A.MEŠ-ia ina ÚR LÚ.ÚŠ tuš-ni-il-la te-
 46 [A.MEŠ-ia ina K]I.MAH LÚ.ÚŠ taq-bi-ra te-
 47 [ina x x x] KI-tim A.MEŠ-ia taq-bi-ra te-
 48 [ina x x x] KI-tim A.MEŠ-ia taq-bi-ra te-
 49 ʾina¹ I[GI DINGIR.MEŠ šá mu-š]i A.MEŠ-ia tah-ba-a te-
 50 x x [x x] x a-na ʾ[GI]Š.GÍN.MAŠ ta-ad-di-na te-
 51 ʾa-na a¹-[ra-a]l-ʾle¹-e ta-hi-ra-in-ni te-
 52 ʾZI.KU₅.RU.DA¹ ana pa-ni ʾ³⁰ te-
 53 ZI.KU₅.RU.DA¹ A-ʾa¹ ana pa-ni ʾšUL.PA.È.A te-
 54 ZI.KU₅.R[U].DA-a ana pa-ni MUL.UD.KA.DUH.A ʾte-¹
 55 ZI.KU₅.R[U].DA-a ana IGI ʾgu-la t[e]-
 56 ʾZI.KU₅.R[U].DA-a ana IGI MUL.UR.GU.LA t[e]-
 57 ʾZI.KU₅.R[U].DA-a ana IGI MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA te-
 58 ʾZI.KU₅.RU.DA¹-a ana IGI MUL.GÍR.TAB te-
 59 Z[I.K]U₅.R[U].DA-a ana IGI MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA te-
 60 [ZI.K]U₅.RU.DA-a ana IGI MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.HUZ te-
 61 [ZI.K]U₅.RU.DA-a šá MUŠ ʾNIN.KILIM PÉŠ.ÚR.RA PÉŠ¹.(TUR) ʾte-¹
 62 [ZI.K]U₅.RU.DA-a šá ʾpa[?]-ag[?]-ri[?] x [x x x[?]] x ʾšá¹ r[u[?]]-ʾhe[?]¹-e [te-]
 63 [ina a]-ka-lu ú-kul-tum GURUN t[u-šá-ki-la]-in-ni ʾte-¹
 64 ʾina A¹.MEŠ ʾGA[?] KAŠ G[E]ŠTIN ta[š-q]a-ʾa¹-in-ʾni te-¹
 65 ina A.MEŠ ʾu NAGA¹ tu-ram-ʾme¹-k[a-i]n-ʾni [te-]
 66 ina ʾI¹.GIŠ tap-šu-ša-i[n-ni] te-
 67 ʾina¹ šu-bu-la-a-ti tu-še-bi-la-ʾin¹-n[i] te-
 68 ina IGI ʾDINGIR.MEŠ¹ LUGAL IDIM u NUN tu-šá-áš-kin-a-a-i[n]-ʾni¹
 69 ina ʾIGI¹ [ʾt]i-ru man-za-zi u KÁ É.GAL K[I.MIN]
 70 ina IGI ib-ri tap-[pe]-ʾe¹ u ki-na-at-ti KI.M[IN]
 71 ina IGI AD u AMA ŠE[š u[?] N]IN DAM DUMU u DUMU.MÍ KI.MIN
 72 ina IGI É u KÁ ARAD u GEMÉ še-her ra-bi šá É ʾKI.MIN¹
 73 UGU a-me-ri-ia t[u-ša]m-ri-ʾša¹-in-ni
 74 ak-ta-mi-ku-nu-ši ak-ta-si-ku-nu-ši at-ʾta¹-din-ku-nu-ši
 75 ana ʾGIŠ.BAR qa-mi-i qa-ʾli-i¹ ka-si-i ka-ši-du šá MÍ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ
 76 ʾGIŠ.BAR qa-mu-ú li-paṭ-ṭir rik-si-ku-nu
 77 li-pa-áš-šir kiš-pi-ku-nu [li-pa-á]š-šir si-ir-qí-ku-nu
 78 ina qí-bit ʾAMAR.UTU DUMU ʾÉ.A ABGAL
 79 u ʾGIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru DUMU ʾa-nim qar-du TU₆ ÉN
-
- 80 ÉN at-ti-man-nu MÍ.ÚŠ₁₁.ZU šá ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a DÙ-šá
 81 lu-u ib-ru lu-u tap-pu-ʾú¹
 82 lu-u ŠEŠ lu-u it-ba-ʾru¹
 83 lu-u ú-ba-ra lu-ʾu¹ DUMU URU

84 *lu-u ZU-u lu-u la ZU-u*
 85 *[l]u-[u L]Ú.UŠ₁₁.ZU [l]u-u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU*
 86 *lu-u NITA lu-u MÍ*
 87 *lu-[u LÚ.ÚŠ l]u-u TI.LA*
 88 *lu-¹ú hab -lu¹ lu-ú ha-bil-¹ti¹*
 89 *lu-u LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA-u lu-u LÚ.sah-hi-ru*
 90 *[lu-u LÚ.eš-še-bu-u l]u-u LÚ.nar-šin-du-u*
 91 *lu-u M[U]Š.LAH₄.LAH₄ lu-u LÚ.a-gu-g[i-lu]*
 92 *[l]u-u EME KÚR-tum šá ina KUR ba-šá-a-t[um]*
 93 *mu-ši-tum kal-la-tum kut-tum-t[um]*
 94 *GIŠ.TUKUL-šú-nu liš-bir-ma ¹la ša-la¹-lu ¹li¹-mid-su-nu-¹te¹ TU₆ É[N]*

95 *[ÉN ner-ti-ia ka]š-šap-ti-ia ¹ku-šá-pa¹-ti-[i]a*
 96 *[šu-qu-ki šá A]N-e šu-pul-ki š[á qaq-qa-ri]*
 97 *[x x x x] x kur-ki šá SU.B[IR₄.KI]*
 98 *[ma-x x x-ki] šá p[i-x]*
 99 *[x x x x] x har-ki šu-qu-¹ki¹ šá A[N-e]*
 100 *[x x x² x²-k]i šá qaq-qa-[ri]*
 101 *x [x x x x kur]-¹ki¹ šá SU.BI[R₄.KI]*
 102 *ma-[x x x-ki] šá [pi-x]*
 103 *a-¹nap-pa-as¹-su-nu-ti x [x x x x²]*
 104 *a-¹sa¹-am-ma-ak-šú-nu-ti k[i-ma x x x x²]*
 105 *¹a¹-šak-kan-šú-nu-ti ana pi-i ¹d¹[GIŠ.BAR qa-mi-i]*
 106 *¹qa¹-li-i ka-si-i k[a-ši-d]u šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ T[U₆ ÉN]*

107 *ÉN šá ^dUTU-ši man-nu AD-šú m[an-nu AMA-šú]*
 108 *man-nu a-hat-su-ma šu-ú da-a-¹a¹-[nu]*
 109 *šá ^dU[TU-š]i ^d30 ¹AD-šú¹ [^dNI]N.GAL ¹AMA¹-[šú]*
 110 *^dTI[R.AN.N]A NIN-su-ma šu-ú da-a-a-[nu]*
 111 *^dUTU k[iš-pi ú-hal-laq r]u-he-e ú-pa-áš-[šar]*
 112 *ú ši-¹i ^d1T[IR.AN].NA ú-hap-pi rik-[si]*
 113 *kiš-pi ú-hal-laq ru-he-e ú-pa-á[š-šar]*
 114 *ip-šú bar-t[um INI]M HUL-tim ú-šá-ab-bal ((ana)) IM ¹te¹ É[N]*

115 *ÉN ip-pu-šá-[n]i i-te-né-ep-pu-šá-n[i]*
 116 *gu-ti-e-ti ¹e¹-la-ma-a-tum ha-bi-gal-bat-a-t[um]*
 117 *ma-rat KUR i-rak-ka-sa-a-ni rik-si*
 118 *6 KEŠDA-ši-na 7 piṭ-ru-ú-a*
 119 *šá GI₆ ip-pu-šá-nim-ma šá kal UD-mu a-pa-áš-šar-ši-na-ti*
 120 *šá kal UD-mu ip-pu-šá-nim-ma šá GI₆ a-pa-áš-šar-ši-na-ti*
 121 *a-šak-kan-ši-¹na¹-a-ti ana pi-i ^dGIŠ.BAR qa-mi-¹i¹*
 122 *qa-li-i ka-si-i ka-ši-du šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ TU₆ ÉN*

123 *ÉN ru-³ú-a kaš-šá-pat ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak*
 124 *MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU kaš-šá-pat ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak*
 125 *MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU e-la-ma-a-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak*

- 126 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ¹qu¹-ta-a-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 127 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU su-ta-a-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 128 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU lul-lu-ba-a-ti ana-ku pa-ši-r[a-a]k
 129 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ha-bi-gal-bat-¹a¹-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-a[k]
 130 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU a-gu-gi-lat ana-ku pa-ši-ra-a[k]
 131 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU nar-šin-da-at ana-ku pa-ši-ra-a[k]
 132 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU MUŠ.LAH₄.LAH₄-at ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 133 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU eš-še-ba-a-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 134 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU qur-qur-ra-ti ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 135 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ši-i-mat a-ši KÁ-ia ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 136 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU DUMU.MÍ URU-ia ana-ku pa-ši-ra-ak
 137 áš-pur a-na e-reb ^dUTU-ši NU.MEŠ-ši-na il-qu-tu-ú-ni
 138 šá 7 u 7 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ NU.MEŠ-ši-na ana ^dGIŠ.BAR ap-qid
 139 ana ú-tu-ni a-lik-ti a-šar-rap-ši-na-ti
 140 ^dBIL.GI qu-mi LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
 141 ^dBIL.GI qu-li LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
 142 ^dBIL.GI qu-mi-ši-na-a-ti
 143 ^dBIL.GI qu-li-ši-na-a-ti
 144 ^dBIL.GI KUR-si-na-a-ti
 145 ^dBIL.GI a-ru-uh-¹ši¹-na-a-ti
 146 ^dBIL.GI šu-ta-bil-ši-¹na-a¹-ti
 147 ez-zu ^dBIL.GI li-ni-ih-ki-na-ši
 148 ^dBIL.GI lu-li-mu li-[x-x-ki-n]a-ši
 149 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.Z[U] e-piš u e-piš-tum
 150 šu-nu lu-u ¹ana¹ [bi¹-i¹]-i-ma
 151 ana-k[u] ¹GIM¹ A.MEŠ ILLU-ma lu-u-¹ba¹-a¹-ši-na-a-ti TU₆ ÉN

 152 [ÉN] ¹e¹-piš-tum ù muš-te-piš-tum
 153 [D]UB 4.KÁM ma-aq-lu-¹ú¹

TABLET V

- 1 ÉN *e-piš-ti ù muš-te-piš-ti*
2 *áš-bat ina* GIŠ.MI *a-ma-ri ša* SIG₄
3 *áš-bat-ma ip-ši-ia ip-pu-šá i-b[a]n-na-a* NU.MEŠ-MU
4 *a-šap-pa-rak-kim-ma* Ú.HAR.HAR ù ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
5 *ú-sap-pa-ah kiš-pi-ki ú-tar* INIM.MEŠ-ki *ana* KA-ki
6 *ip-ši te-pu-ši lu-u šá at-tu-ki*
7 NU.MEŠ *tab-ni-i lu-u šá tē-me-ki*
8 A.MEŠ *tah-bi-i lu-u šá ra-m[a-n]i-ki*
9 *ši-pat-k[i] a-a iq-ri-ba* INIM.MEŠ-ki *a-a ik-šu-¹da-in¹-ni*
10 *ina qí-bit* ^dÉ.A ^dUTU *u* ^dAMAR.UTU *u* EGÍ ^dbe-let—DINGIR.MEŠ ¹TU₆ ÉN¹
-
- 11 ÉN *man-nu* IN.BUBBU *ip-til* ŠE.BAR *ú-kàš-šir*
12 *ana¹ AN-e kiš-pi ana* KI-tim *bar-¹ta¹ DÜ-uš*
13 *ana* Ú.UKÚŠ.HAB ¹DUMU¹.MÍ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ¹ip¹-šá *bar-ta* INIM HUL-¹tim¹ *man-nu*
ú-qar-rib
14 *ki-ma* IN.BUBBU *la ip-pát-til* ŠE.B[A]R *la uk¹-[t]a-aš-ša-ru*
15 *ana* AN-e *kiš-pi ana* KI-tim *bar-tum la in-né-ep-pu-šú*
16 *ana* Ú.UKÚŠ.HAB DU[MU.MÍ] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
17 *ip-šá bar-tum* INIM HUL-¹tim *là TE-ú¹ là i-qar-ru-bu*
18 *ip-šá bar-tum* INIM HUL-¹tim¹ *là TE-a là i-qar-ru-b[a] ¹a¹-a-ši* TU₆ ÉN
-
- 19 ÉN *du-un-na-nu du-u[n-n]a-nu* KUD-is *pu-ru-us-se-e-ni*
20 *ina ma-har* ^dPA.TÚG *u* ^dGIŠ.BAR *šu-pel-te šak-na-at*
21 *al-ki na-bal-kàt-tum šu-um-ri na-bal-kàt-tum*
22 *ina na-sa-ah* GÌR.2 *šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ù MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU GÌR.2-ki šuk-ni*
23 LIL *li-bi-il-ma* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ana da-a-a-ni-šá*
24 DI.KUD-šá GIM UR.MAH *li-sa-a* UGU-šá
25 *lim-haš* TE-sa *li-tir* INIM-sa *ana* KA-šá
26 *e-piš-ti ù muš-te-piš-ti*
27 *ki-ma* Ú.KUR.RA.SAR *li-nu-šú kiš-pu-šá*
28 ¹ki¹-ma Ú.HUR.SAG.SAR *li-šap-pi-ru-ši kiš-pu-šá*
29 *ki-ma* Ú.ZÀ.HI.LI.SAR *li-is-hu-lu-ši kiš-pu-šá*
30 *ki-ma* Ú.KUR.ZI.SAR *li-sa-am-mu-ši kiš-pu-šá*
31 *ki-ma* Ú.GAZI.SAR *li-ik-su-ši kiš-pu-šá*
32 *ki-ma* Ú.HAR.HAR.SAR *li-haš-šu-ši kiš-pu-šá*
33 *ki-ma qit-mi li-ik-tu-mu-ši kiš-pu-šá*
34 *ki-ma* Ú.UKÚŠ.HAB.SAR *li-ru-ru-ši kiš-pu-šá*
35 *ki-ma* Ú.NU.LUH.HA.SAR *lit-tah-hi-ra* NUNDUN.MEŠ-šá
36 *e-piš-ti ù muš-te-piš-ti*

- 37 *lib-bal-kit-si* SILA ù *su-lu-ú*
38 *lib-bal-kit-si ib-ra-tum* ù *né-me-di-šá*
39 *lib-bal-ki-tu-ši-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ šá EDIN *u URU*
40 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU GIM UR.GI₇ *ina* GIŠ.PA GIM *an-du-hal-lat ina kir-ban-ni*
41 *ki-ma kib-si* UDU.NITÁ *li-sa-am-me-ku-ši-ma li-ti-qu-ši*
42 *ki-ma kur-sin-ni* ANŠE *ina* SILA *e-te-qu lik-kel-me-ši*
43 *e-piš-ti* ù *muš-te-piš-ti*
44 *ina bi-rit* UR.GI₇.MEŠ *li-su-ru ku-lu-lu-šá*
45 *ina bi-rit ku-lu-lu-šá li-su-ru* UR.GI₇.MEŠ
46 *e-li-šá qul-mu-ú li-su-ru*
47 *ki-ma* A.GAR.GAR MAŠ.DÀ *qu-tur-šá li-ib-le* TU₆ ÉN
-
- 48 ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá DÙ.DÙ-šá 3 ITI.MEŠ 10 UD-me 1/2 UD-me
49 *ana-ku a-na-áš-šá-kim-ma* ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR *ta-kur* KUR-¹i¹ Ú.HAR.HAR *ti-³u-ut ma-a-t[i]*
50 ŠU.SAR ŠU.SAR šá MÍ.NU.GIG.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠE.Ù.SUH₅ MIN ša ŠE.AM *ma-la-ti*
51 *an-nu-ú* šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *he-pa-a ri-kis-su¹¹-un*
52 *tir-ra kiš-pu-šá ana me-he-e* INIM.MEŠ-šá *ana šá-a-ri*
53 *li-in-na-áš-pu kiš-pu-šá ki-ma* IN.¹BUBBU *liq¹-qal-pu ki-ma* SUM.SAR
54 *liš-šá-ah-tu* GIM ZÚ.LUM.MA *lip-pa-áš-ru* GIM ŠU.SAR
55 *ina qí-bit¹ iš-tar¹ DUMU.ZI¹ na-na-a be-let ra-a-mi*
56 ù *ka-ni-sur-ra be-let* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ ÉN
-
- 57 ÉN HUL.GIG šá *te-pu-šá-ni tu-še-pi-šá-ni ana muh-hi-ku-n[u DÙ-š]á*
58 ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a KI.MIN DI.BAL.A KI.MIN KA.DIB.BI.DA-[a KI.MIN]
59 ŠÚR.HUN.GÁ KI.MIN DIMMA.KÚR.RA [KI.MIN]
60 UDUH HUL *tu-šá-¹aš¹-bi-ta-in-ni* UDUH HUL *li-iš-bat-ku-[nu-ši]*
61 A.LÁ HUL KI.MIN A.LÁ HUL [KI.MIN]
62 GIDIM HUL KI.MIN GIDIM HUL [KI.MIN]
63 GAL₅.LÁ HUL KI.MIN GAL₅.LÁ HUL [KI.MIN]
64 DINGIR HUL KI.MIN DINGIR HUL ¹KI.MIN¹
65 MAŠKIM HUL KI.MIN MAŠKIM HUL KI.MIN
66 ¹DIM₁₀.ME ¹DIM₁₀.ME.A ¹DIM₁₀.ME.HAB KI.MIN ¹MIN ¹MIN ¹MIN KI.MIN
67 LÚ.LÍL.LÁ MÍ.LÍL.LÁ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ KI.MIN LÚ.MIN MÍ.MIN KI.SIKIL.MIN KI.MIN
68 *ina ni-ši u ma-mit tu-qat-ta-in-ni ina ni-ši u ma-mit pa-gar-ku-nu liq-ti*
69 *uz-zi* DINGIR LUGAL IDIM *u* NUN *ia-a-ši taš-ku-na-ni*
70 *uz-zi* DINGIR LUGAL IDIM *u* NUN *a-na ka-a-šú-nu liš-šak-nak-ku-nu-ši*
71 *a-šu-uš-tu a-ru-ur-tu hu-uš* GAZ ŠÀ-bi *gi-lit-tú pi-rit-ti u a-dir-ti ia-a-ši taš-ku-na-ni*
72 *a-šu-uš-tu a-ru-ur-tu hu-uš* GAZ ŠÀ-bi *gi-lit-tú pi-rit-ti a-dir-tu ana ka-a-šú-nu liš-šak-*
nak-¹ku¹-nu-ši
73 *aq-mu-ku-nu-ši ina* KI.A.¹D KUG-ti *u* MUN MAR.KI
74 *al-qut qu-tur-ku-nu ik-kib* AN-e
75 *ep-še-te-ku-nu tu-ra-ni-ku-nu-ši* TU₆ ÉN
-
- 76 ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá GIM IM.U₁₈.LU *ik-ki-mu* UD.15.¹KAM¹
77 *ti-il-ti UD-me im-ba-ru šá-na-at na-al-ši*
78 IM.DIRI *ik-šu-ra-am-ma iz-zi-za ia-¹a¹-[ši]*

- 79 *a-te-ba-ak-kim-ma ki-ma gal-la-ab AN-e IM.[SI.SÁ]*
 80 *ú-sap-pa-ah ur-pa-ta-ki ú-hal-la[q UD-ki]*
 81 *ú-sap-pa-ah kiš-pi-ki [š]á [ta]k-k[i-mi mu-šá u ur-ra]*
 82 *ù na-áš-pa-rat [ZI.KU₅.RU.DA¹]-[a šá tal-tap-pa-ri ia-a-ši]*
-
- 83 *ÉN šá-ru-uh [la-a-ni šá-ru-uh zi-mi]*
 84 *al-lal-lu-[u ^dGIŠ.BAR ez-zu]*
 85 *qa-mu-ú š[á LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU]*
 86 *e-piš-¹ú¹-[a e-pi-ši-tu-ú-a muš-te-piš-tu-ú-a]*
 87 *kaš-šá-pu-[ú-a kaš-šá-pa-tu-ú-a]*
 88 *a-na ^dPA.[TÚG u] ¹^dGIŠ.BAR¹ [DÍ[?].KUD[?].MEŠ[?] paq-da-tu-nu TU₆ ÉN]*
-
- 89 *ÉN SA.MEŠ tu-kàš-ši-r[a ^dÉ.A up-ta-aš[?]-tír]*
 90 *NU.MEŠ tug-gi-ra tu-kàs-sa-¹a¹ [^dASAL.LÚ.HI up-ta-áš[?]-šír]*
 91 *ki-šir tak-šu-ra-ni ki-[pid tak-pu-da-ni]*
 92 *^dGIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru li-[šá-bil IM]*
 93 *^dPA.TÚG DI.KUD E[N MAŠ.MAŠ-ti]*
 94 *e-piš te-pu-šá-ni ana m[uh-hi-ku-nu li-tir]*
 95 *pa-áš¹¹-ru kiš-pu-ú-a z[a-ku-ú ru-su-ú-a]*
 96 *ina A.MEŠ ša I[DÍ]M U[š₁₁-ku-nu ap-tùr]*
 97 *ana-ku e-te-lil e-te-b[i-ib az-za-ku ina IGI ^dPA.TÚG] ù ^dGIŠ.BAR [DINGIR.MEŠ DI.KUD TU₆ ÉN]*
-
- 98 *ÉN at-tu-nu ¹A.MEŠ¹ [šá DU.DU-ka kal KUR.KUR]*
 99 *ta-at-ta-nab-lak-k[a]-t[a kal KUR.MEŠ-ni]*
 100 *tu-hap-pa-a ka-r[a tu-šab-bi-ra GIŠ[?].MÁ[?]]*
 101 *A.MEŠ ÍD a-li-k[u-t]i A.M[EŠ ÍD.IDIGNA] u Í[D.UD.KIB.NUN.KI]*
 102 *A.MEŠ A.AB.BA [ta-ma-t]i [ra-pa-áš-ti]*
 103 *ih-bu-nik-ku-¹nu¹-ši A[BGAL šá ABZU]*
 104 *7 ABGAL šu-ut ERI.DU₁₀ ú-t[a[?]-am-mu-ku-nu-ši]*
 105 *ina te-šú-nu KUG te-¹li-la¹ [u] tak-ša-¹a¹ [...]*
 106 *GIM ina te-šú-nu ¹KUG¹ [te-li-la u tak-ša-a ...]*
 107 *ŠÀ-bi ¹LÚ¹.UŠ₁₁.ZU-¹MU¹ (u) M[Í.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU li-lil u lik-ši]*
 108 *ana-ku ina qí-bit ^dÉ.[A LUGAL ABZU]*
 109 *a-sal-lah ŠÀ-ba-ku-nu ¹A¹.M[EŠ ÍD]*
 110 *a-sal-lah la-a[?]-me-ku-nu qu-tur-k[u-nu A.MEŠ A.AB.BA]*
 111 *ina qí-bit ^dÉ.A ^dUTU ^d[AMA]R.¹UTU u¹ EGÍ ^dbe-let-DINGIR.MEŠ T[U₆ ÉN]*
-
- 112 *ÉN e-piš-¹ú¹-a e-pi-ši-t[u-ú-a]*
 113 *kaš-šá-pu-¹ú¹-a kaš-šá-pa-¹tu-ú¹-[a]*
 114 *šá ik-pu-¹du¹ ŠÀ-¹ku-nu¹ HUL-tim*
 115 *taš-te-né-[?]a-a ru-he-e zap-ru-ti*
 116 *ina up-šá-še-e la DÙG.GA.MEŠ tu-šab-bi-ta bir-ki-ia*
 117 *ana-ku ana pu-uš-¹šur¹ kiš-pi-ia u ru-he-e-a ina a-mat ^dDÍŠ u ^dASAL.LÚ.HI ^dGIŠ.BAR as-sah-ri*
 118 *ina A.MEŠ ša IDIM ŠÀ-ba-ku-nu ú-ni-ih*

- 119 *ka-bat-ta-ku-nu ú-bal-li*
 120 *ši-ri-ih šà-bi-ku-nu ú-še-¹ši¹*
 121 *tè-en-¹ku¹-nu ú-šá-an-¹ni¹*
 122 *mi-lik-¹ku¹-nu as-pu-¹uh¹*
 123 *kiš-pi-¹ku¹-nu aq-lu*
 124 *kip-di šà-bi-¹ku¹-nu ¹ú¹-šad-di-ku-nu-ši*
 125 *ÍD.IDIGNA u ÍD.UD.KIB.NUN.¹KI la¹ te-bi-ra-ni*
 126 *E u PA₅ la te-et-ti-qa-ni*
 127 *BÀD u sa-me-ti la tab-ba-lak-ki-ta-ni*
 128 *KĀ.GAL u ne-re-bi-šá¹ la ter-ru-ba-ni*
 129 *kiš-¹pu¹-ku-nu ¹a-a¹ TE.MEŠ-ni*
 130 *a-ma-tu-ku-nu a-¹a¹ [i]k-šu-da-in-ni*
 131 *ina qí-bit ^dÉ.A ^dUTU u ^dAMAR.UTU EGÍ [^dbe-let] – DINGIR.MEŠ TU₆ ÉN*

- 132 *ÉN ez-ze-tu-nu šam-ra-tu-nu dan-na-tu-nu gaš-ša-tu-nu*
 133 *gap-šá-tu-nu áš-ṭa-tu-nu a-a-b[a-tu-nu] lem-né-tu-nu*
 134 *šá la ^dÉ.A man-nu ú-na-ah-ku-nu-ši*
 135 *šá la ^dASAL.LÚ.HI man-nu ú-šap-šah-ku-¹nu-ši¹*
 136 *^dÉ.A li-ni-ih-ku-nu-ši*
 137 *^dASAL.LÚ.HI li-šap-ših-ku-nu-[ši]*
 138 *KA-MU A.MEŠ KA-ku-nu i-šá-tu*
 139 *KA-MU KA-ku-nu li-bal-li*
 140 *tu-ú šá KA-MU ta-a šá KA-ku-nu li-bal-li*
 141 *kip-di šá šà-bi-ia li-bal-la-a kip-di šá šà-bi-ku-nu ¹²*

- 142 *ÉN ak-bu-us GAL₅.LÁ-a-a a-b[u-u]t lem-ni*
 143 *aṭ-bu-uh ge-ra-a-a uh-tal-l[i-q]a re-da-na-a-a*
 144 *i-na mah-ri qu-ra-di ^dPA.TÚG TU₆ ÉN*

- 145 *ÉN hu-la zu-ba u i-ta-a[t]-tu-ka*
 146 *qu-tur-ku-nu li-tel-li ¹AN¹-e*
 147 *la-a³-me-ku-nu li-bal-li ^dUTU-šú*
 148 *lip-ru-us ha-a-a-ta-ku-nu DUMU ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ*

- 149 *ÉN KUR-ú lik-tùm-ku-nu-ši*
 150 *KUR-ú lik-la-ku-nu-ši*
 151 *KUR-ú li-ni-ih-ku-nu-ši*
 152 *KUR-ú li-ih-si-ku-nu-ši*
 153 *KUR-ú li-te-e³-ku-nu-ši*
 154 *KUR-ú li-né-e³-ku-nu-ši*
 155 *KUR-ú li-kàt-tim-ku-nu-ši*
 156 *KUR-ú dan-nu UGU-ku-nu lim-qut*
 157 *ina SU-MU lu-u tap-par-ra-sa-ma TU₆ ÉN*

- 158 *ÉN i-sa-a i-sa-a re-e-qa re-e-qa*
 159 *bé-e-šá bé-e-šá hi-il-qa hi-il-qa*

TABLET V

- 160 *dup-pi-ra at-la-ka i-sa-a u re-e-qa*
 161 *HUL-ku-nu ki-ma qut-ri li-tel-li AN-e*
 162 *ina SU-MU i-sa-a*
 163 *ina SU-MU re-e-qa*
 164 *ina SU-MU bé-e-šá*
 165 *ina SU-MU hi-il-qa*
 166 *ina SU-MU dup-pi-ra*
 167 *ina SU-MU at-la-ka*
 168 *anà SU-MU là GUR*
 169 *anà SU-MU là TE-e*
 170 *anà SU-MU là DIM₄-qa*
 171 *ni-iš ^dUTU DUGUD lu ^rta¹-ma-tu-nu*
 172 *ni-iš ^dÉ.A EN IDIM lu t[a-ma]-tu-nu*
 173 *ni-iš ^dASAL.LÚ.HI MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR.MEŠ KI.MIN*
 174 *ni-iš ^dGIŠ.BAR qa-mi-ku-nu KI.MIN*
 175 *ina SU-MU lu-u tap-par-ra-sa-ma TU₆ ÉN*
-
- 176 *ÉN ^dEN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU pa-nu-u-a UD-mu*
 177 *DUB 5.KÁM.MA ma-a[q-lu]-^rú¹*

TABLET VI

- 1 ÉN ^{d+}EN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU *pa-nu-u-a UD-mu*
2 ^duraš DINGIR *gít-ma-lu la-mas-sat pa-ni-ia*
3 GÚ-MU *ul-lu šá* ^dgu-¹la¹
4 Á.MEŠ-a-a ^dgam-lu₄ šá ^d30 ^dMAR.T[U]
5 ŠU.SI.MEŠ-ú-a GIŠ.ŠINIG GÌR.PAD.DU DINGIR-ú-t[i]
6 *la ú-šá-as-na-qa ru-he-e a-na zu-um-r[i-ia]*
7 ^dLUGAL.EDIN.NA ^dla-ta-rak GABA-M[U]
8 *kin-ša-a-a* ^dmu-úh-ra GÌR.2-a-a šá DU.DU-k[a] *ka-li-ši-na UDU.làh-r[i]*
9 *at-ta-man-nu DINGIR lem-nu šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.Z[U] iš-pu-ru-niš-šú ana GAZ-M[U]*
10 *lu-ú e-re-ta la tal-la-k[a]*
11 *lu-ú šal-la-a-ta la te-teb-ba-[a]*
12 INIM.MEŠ-ka lu GIŠ.HAŠHUR *ina* ¹IGI¹ DINGIR *u* LUGAL *li-nu-[šá]*
13 *ul-te-šib ina* KÁ-MU ^dLUGAL¹.GÌR.RA DINGIR *dan-[nu]* ¹SUKKAL¹ DINGIR.MEŠ ^dpap-sukkal
14 ¹mah¹-š[a TE šá] ¹LÚ.UŠ₁₁¹.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-¹MU¹
15 *t[ir-ra INIM-sa] ¹a¹-na KA-šá TU₆ ÉN*
-
- 16 ÉN *e-piš-[ti] qu-um-qu-um-ma-tum*
17 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.Z[U-MU] *kut-tim-ma-tum*
18 *e-piš-t[i] eš-še-bu-tum*
19 AMA *e-piš-ti-MU nar-šin-da-tum*
20 *am-me-ni tu-ub-ba-li ZI-¹tim¹ ana ma-al-ki*
21 ¹ana¹-ku *ana pu-šur kiš-pi-ki Ú.tu-lal na-šá-k[u]*
22 [Š]IM.GÚR.GÚR šá KUR-i G[AZ.M]EŠ KEŠDA-k[i]
23 ¹ù[?] *kiš-pi-ki ú[?]-[tar a-na IM[?]] ¹TU₆¹ [ÉN]*
-
- 24 [ÉN ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR-ma ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR]
25 [ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR x x *ina*[?] KUR.MEŠ KUG.MEŠ *qud-d*]u-š[u-ti]
26 [TUR.MEŠ *ter-hi šá*] ¹e¹-né-t[i]
27 [TUR.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅.MEŠ] ¹šá qá¹-aš-da-a-ti
28 [al-ka-nim-ma šá L]Ú.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU [*dan-nu* [G]AZ.MEŠ KEŠDA-sa
29 [*tir-ra ki*]š-pi-šá *ana me-he-e* INIM.MEŠ-šá *ana* IM
30 [*li-in-n*]é-eš-pu *kiš-pi-šá ki-ma* IN.BUBBU
31 [*li-šal-l*]i-mu-ši *ki-ma di-ik-me-en-ni*
32 *k[i-ma si-r]i É.GAR₈ liš-hu-hu kiš-pu-šá*
33 *š[á MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-M]U lip-pa-ṭir KEŠDA ŠÀ-bi-šá*
-
- 34 ÉN Š[IM.GÚ]R.GÚR-ma ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
35 ŠIM.¹GÚR.GÚR¹ [x] x *ina*[?] KUR.MEŠ KUG.MEŠ *qud-du-šu-ti*
36 TUR.MEŠ ¹ter¹-hi šá *e-né-ti*

37 TUR.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠE.Û.SUH₅.MEŠ šá qa-aš-da-a-ti
38 al-ka-nim-ma šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU dan-nu GAZ-a KEŠDA-sa
39 'ù¹ [m]im-ma ma-la te-pu-šá nu-tir a-na IM

40 É[N e M]Í.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU e-le-ni-ti-MU
41 'a¹-bu 'la¹ taš-ku-ni tu-qu-un-tu
42 am-me-ni ina É-ki i-qat-tur qut-ru
43 a-šap-pa-rak-kim-m[a ŠIM[?].GÚR[?].GÚR[?] Ú[?]] 'BÚR[?]-ti¹
44 'a¹-[s]ap-pah kiš-pi-ki ú-t[ar INIM.MEŠ-ki ana KA]-'ki¹

45 [ÉN l]a-am ^dNIN.GÍR.SU ina KUR il-su-u ^da-la-la
46 [la-am G]URUŠ i-lu-u a-na na-kás GIŠ.ŠINIG
47 [at-ti-man-nu[?]] MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá ana NENNI A NENNI tu-kap-pa-ti NA₄.MEŠ
48 [taš-te-né]-'e¹-e le-mut-ta
49 [a-zi-qa-kim-m]a GIM IM.SI.SÁ IM.MAR.TU
50 [ú-sa-ap-pah IM].DIRI-ki ú-hal-laq UD-um-ki
51 [ù mim-ma ma-la] te-pu-ši ú-tar a-na IM

52 [ÉN un-du] MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ú-kaš-šip-an-ni
53 [rah-ha-t]um ú-re-eh-ha-an-ni
54 [e[?]-piš[?]-t]um iš-bu-šu SAHAR.HI.A GÌR.2-ia
55 [muš[?]-te[?]-piš[?]-t]um il-qu-ú GIŠ.MI ina É.GA[R₈]
56 [^dU.GUR] 'EN¹ ERÍN.HI.A ^dÉ.A EN NAM.MEŠ
57 [^dASAL.LÚ].HI EN a-ši-pu-ti
58 [mah-ša] TE-sa tir-ra INIM-sa ana KA-šá
59 [e-pi]š-tum ù muš-te-piš-tum
60 'KA-šá lu¹-u Ì.UDU NUNDUN.MEŠ-šá lu TÚG.HI.A.MEŠ KUD.MEŠ-ti
61 GIM SAG.DU si-lit ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
62 a-na a-ha-meš la i-qar-ri-bu
63 kiš-pu-'šá¹ ru-hu-šá ru-su-šá up-šá-šu-šá lem-nu-ti
64 NU TE.MEŠ-ni là i-qar-ri-bu-ni ia-a-ši TU₆ ÉN

65 ÉN at-ti šá te-pu-ši ka-la-a-ma
66 mim-mu-ú te-pu-ši ia-a-ši ù šim-ti-ia
67 ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR ša KUR-i GAZ.MEŠ KEŠDA-ki
68 šá 15-ki u 150-ki IM.1 lit-bal TU₆ 'ÉN¹

69 ÉN KI.A.^dÍD KUG-tu DUMU.MÍ AN-e GAL.MEŠ ana-k[u]
70 ^da-num ib-na-an-ni-ma
71 ^dEN.LÍL¹ ^dNIN¹.LÍL ú-še-ri-du-ni 'ana KUR¹
72 e-'piš¹-tu e-ki-a-am te-'pu¹-š[in]-ni
73 r[a]-hi-tú e-ki-a-am tu-re-hi-'in¹-[ni]
74 ana ma-la SAG.DU-MU AN-ú qá-aš-'du¹
75 ana ma-la GÌR.2-MU KI-tim qá-aš-da-a[t]
76 ina TÚ[G.S]ÍG-MU bi-ta-ni-'ti¹
77 ŠUB-at ÉN-su šá ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^dAMAR.U[TU É]N

78 ÉN ¹KI¹.A.^dÍD ¹KI.MIN KI.MIN¹ DUMU.MÍ ^dÍD KI.MIN *kal-lat* ^dÍD
 79 *šá* 7 u 7 ¹MÍ¹.UŠ₁₁.¹ZU¹.MEŠ-*šá* ¹šá¹ 7 u 7 *a-a-ba-tu-šá*
 80 *e-pu-¹šá¹-niš-¹šim¹-ma ul in-né-ep-pu-¹uš¹*
 81 *¹ú¹-kaš-ši-¹pa-niš-ši-ma¹ ul ik-kaš-šip*
 82 *man-nu šá a-¹na KI¹.A.^dÍD ip-pu-šá kiš-pi*
 83 ¹KI¹.A.^dÍD¹ *šá* 7 u 7 DÙ.MEŠ-*ni* ¹BÚR¹
 84 KI.MIN [x x[?]] ¹lip¹-BÚR-*ma ana-ku lu-ub-lu[?]* TU₆ É[N]

85 ÉN KI.A.^dÍD KUG-*tu* ¹Ú¹.KUR.KUR *šam-mu qud-du-šú ana-k[u]*
 86 *¹e¹-pi-¹šu-u¹-a* ABGAL *šá* ABZ[U]
 87 *e-pi-¹šu-tu¹-u-a* DUMU.MÍ.(MEŠ) ^da-nim *šá* AN-¹e¹
 88 *ki-i e-¹pu-šá-a-ni¹ ul i-le-[?]a-a-¹in-ni¹*
 89 *¹ki¹-i ¹e¹-pu-šu-ši-na-a-ti al-te-[?]i-ši-na-a-ti*
 90 *¹e¹-tel-la-a* GIM KU₆.MEŠ *ina* A.MEŠ-MU
 91 ¹GIM¹ ŠAH *ina ru-šum-di-MU*
 92 GIM Ú.IN.NU.UŠ *ina ú-šal-li*
 93 GIM Ú.KI.KAL *ina a-hi a-tap-pi*
 94 GIM NUMUN GIŠ.ESI *ina a-hi tam-tim*
 95 *e šá* ^dILLAT-*e* ¹e¹ *šá* ^dILLAT-*e*
 96 *nar-qa-ni a-na qaq-qa-ri*
 97 *šá tu-na-sis-a-ni qim-mat-ku-nu ia-a-ši*

98 ÉN ^dÍD SAG.DU-MU KI.A.^dÍD *pa-da-at-ti*
 99 GÌR.2-*a-a na-a-ru šá mam-ma la* ZU-*u qé-reb-š[á]*
 100 Ú.AN.HÚL.LA KA-MU *a-ab-ba [ta-ma]-¹ta¹* DAGAL-*tum rit-ta-¹a¹-[a]*
 101 GIM ^dÍD SAG.DU-MU GIM KI.A.^dÍD KUG *qim-m[a-ti]*
 102 GIM ¹Ú¹.HA.¹LU.ÚB¹ Ú.IGI-*lim šam-¹mu¹* BÚR-*t[e]*
 103 *meš-¹re-tu¹-u-¹a eb¹-ba x x x x [š]á[?]* ¹KI¹.A.^dÍD¹
 104 *ina x x x šá* ^dÉ.A¹ x [...]
 105 ^dÍD^{15?} x ¹la¹ ti x x [...]

106 ÉN ^dÍD *a-¹kul¹ al-ti ap-¹pa¹-[ši]š ah-h[a[?]-lip[?]]* *a-ta-pí-ri*
 107 ^dÍD MU₄.M[U₄ ...]
 108 ^dÍD NINDA.HI.A u A.MEŠ DU₈
 109 ^dÍD GIŠ.I[G[?] ...] ¹ZAG.DU₈ KEŠDA¹
 110 ^dÍD x [...]
 111 ^dÍD *par¹-šik-¹ku¹* [...]
 112 ¹A[?].MEŠ x *te meš* x [...]

Break of ca. five lines between 112 and 114', into which the incipit, line 113', is to be inserted

[
 113' [ÉN e MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *e-le-ni-ti-ia* ZU-*e ul* ZU-*e*]
 114' [x x x x x x[?] x[?]] x x [x x x[?]]
 115' [x x x x[?] ul-*l*] *a[?]-nu-uk-ki* x [x x]

- 116' [ina DINGIR.MEŠ šá] ʾAN¹-e BARAG.(MEŠ) šá qaq-q[a-ri]
 117' [x x x x] KI.A.^dID DUMU.MÍ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.M[EŠ]
 118' [DU₈.MEŠ kiš-pu]-ʾki¹ ina UD.NÁ.ÀM BÚR.MEŠ ru-he-e-ki

- 119' ÉN at-ti ʾMUN¹ šá ina áš-ri KUG ib-ba-nu-ú
 120' ana ma-ka-le-e DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ i-šim-ki ^dEN.LÍL
 121' ina ba-li-ki ul iš-šak-kan nap-tan ina É.KUR
 122' ina ba-li-ki DINGIR LUGAL IDIM u NUN ul iṣ-ši-nu qut-rin-nu
 123' ana-ku NENNI A NENNI šá kiš-pi ṣu-ub-bu-tu-in-ni
 124' up-šá-še-e le-e'-bu-in-ni
 125' BÚR kiš-pi-ia MUN pu-uš-ši-ri ru-he-e-a
 126' up-šá-še-e muh-ri-in-ni-ma GIM DINGIR ba-ni-ia lul-tam-mar-ki

- 127' ÉN e MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU lu rah-ha-ti-MU
 128' šá a-na 1 DANNA.ÀM ip-pu-hu IZI
 129' a-na 2 DANNA.ÀM iš-tap-pa-ra DUMU šip-ri-šá
 130' ana-ku i-de-ma at-ta-kil ta-ka-lu
 131' ina ʾUR¹-MU ma-ʾšar¹-tú ina KÁ-MU az-za-qáp ki-din-nu
 132' GIŠ.NÁ-MU al-ta-me TÚG.ú-li-in-na
 133' ina SAG GIŠ.NÁ-MU a-sà-raq Ú.NU.LUH.HA
 134' dan-na-at Ú.NU.LUH.HA-ma ú-na-ha-ra kal kiš-pi-ki

- 135' ÉN e MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU lu rah-ha-ti-MU
 136' šá a-na 1 DANNA.ÀM MÚ-ha IZI
 137' a-na 2 DANNA.ÀM iš-tap-pa-ra DUMU šip-ri-ʾšá¹
 138' ana-ku i-de-ma at-ta-kal ta-ka-ʾla¹
 139' ina ʾUR-MU ma-šar-tú ina KÁ-MU az-za-qáp ki-ʾdin¹-nu
 140' ina SAG GIŠ.NÁ-MU GAR-an 12 GIŠ.šá-ʾi¹-ir-ri
 141' ŠUK GIDIM ri-hi-it ^dG[IŠ.BAR qa]-mi-ki
 142' ù ^dNISABA šar-ra-tu mu-ga-ʾṣi¹-ša-ʾat ŠU¹.SI.MEŠ-ki

- 143' ÉN e MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU e-le-ni-ti-MU
 144' šá DU.MEŠ-ki kal KUR.KUR
 145' ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti kal KUR.MEŠ-ni
 146' ana-ku i-de-ma at-ta-kil ta-ka-lu
 147' ina ʾUR¹-MU ma-šar-tú ina KÁ-MU az-za-qáp ki-din-nu
 148' ina ZAG KÁ-MU u G[Ù]B KÁ-MU
 149' ul-te-ez-ziz ^dLUGAL.IR₉.RA u ^dMES.L[AM].ʾTA¹.È.A
 150' DINGIR.MEŠ šá ma-ʾšar¹-te na-si-ih šà-bi muš-t[e-mi-d]u BIR.MEŠ
 151' ʾMÍ¹.U[š₁₁.Z]U li-du-ku-ma ana-ku lu-ʾub¹-luṭ

- 152' [ÉN] ʾe¹ MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU e-le-ni-ʾti¹-MU
 153' [šá] ʾDU.MEŠ¹-ki kal KU[R].KUR
 154' [ta-a]t-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti kal KUR.MEŠ-ni
 155' [ana-ku i-de]-e-ma at-ta-kil ta-ka-lu
 156' [ina ʾUR]-ʾMU ma¹-[šar]-ʾtú¹ ina KÁ-MU az-za-qa-ap ki-din-nu

TABLET VI

157' [... -M]U² DUB-*ak* KU[R]-¹*a' el¹-lu*

Traces of line 158' exist and then 2-3 lines missing

159' [ÉN *rit-ti man-za-át* GÍR.TAB]

160' [DUB 6].KÁM* *ma-aq-[lu-u]*

TABLET VII

- 1 [ÉN ri]t-ti man-za-át 'GÍR'.TA[B]
 - 2 [ù?] ši-i MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ú-nak-ka-ma k[iš-pi-šá]
 - 3 [ana'-ku?] a-[na]p-pah-kim-ma ki-ma ^dTIR.AN.NA ina AN-^re¹
 - 4 [a-z]i-qa-kim-ma ki-ma IM.SI.SÁ IM.MAR.TU
 - 5 [ú]-sa-ap-pah IM.DIRI-ki ú-hal-laq UD-ki
 - 6 'ú'-sap-pah kiš-pi-ki šá tak-ki-mi mu-šá u ur-ra
 - 7 ù na-áš-pa-rat ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a šá tal-tap-pa-ri ia-a-ši
 - 8 ša-lil GIŠ.MÁ.DIRI.GA ša-lil ka-a-ru
 - 9 DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.MÁ.LAH₄ ka-li-šú-nu šal-lu
 - 10 UGU GIŠ.IG ù GIŠ.SAG.KUL na-du-u har-gul-lu
 - 11 na-da-at ši-pat-su-un šá ^dŠIM u ^dNIN.GIŠ.ZI.DA
 - 12 ša LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU ip-šá bar-tum INIM HUL-tim
 - 13 a-a TE.MEŠ-ni a-a i-ba-'u-ú-ni KÁ a-a KU₄.MEŠ-ni ana É
 - 14 ^dNIN.GIŠ.ZI.DA li-is-suh-šú-nu-ti
 - 15 lib-bal-ki-tu-ma ep-še-ti-šú-nu li-ba-ru
 - 16 DINGIR LUGAL IDIM ù NUN lik-kel-mu-šú-nu-ti
 - 17 ina ŠU.2 DINGIR LUGAL IDIM u NUN a-a ú-ši kaš-šap-ti
 - 18 a-na-ku ina qí-bit ^dAMAR.UTU EN nu-bat-ti
 - 19 ù ^dASAL.LÚ.HI EN a-ši-pu-ti
 - 20 mim-mu-ú e-pu-šu lu-u ku-ši-ru
 - 21 ip-še te-pu-šá-ni li-šá-bil IM
-
- 22 ÉN a-ra-he-ka ra-ma-ni MIN pag-ri
 - 23 ki-ma ^dšakkán ir-hu-ú bu-ul-šú
 - 24 U₈ im-mer-šá MAŠ.DÀ ar-ma-šá EMÈ mu-ur-šá
 - 25 GIŠ.APIN KI-tim ir-hu-ú KI-tim im-hu-ru NUMUN-šá
 - 26 ad-di ÉN a-na ra-ma-ni-ia
 - 27 li-ir-he ra-ma-ni-ma li-še-ši lum-nu
 - 28 ù kiš-pi ša SU-MU li-is-su-hu DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
-
- 29 ÉN Ì.GIŠ KUG Ì.GIŠ eb-bu Ì.GIŠ nam-ru
 - 30 Ì.GIŠ mu-lil SU šá DINGIR.MEŠ
 - 31 Ì.GIŠ mu-pa-áš-ši-ih UZU.šér-a-na šá a-me-lu-ti
 - 32 Ì.GIŠ ÉN šá ^dÉ.A Ì.GIŠ ÉN šá ^dASAL.LÚ.HI
 - 33 ú-ṭa-hi-id-ka Ì.GIŠ tap-šu-uh-ti
 - 34 ša ^dÉ.A id-di-nu a-na pa-áš-ha-a-ti
 - 35 ap-šu-uš-ka Ì.GIŠ TI.LA
 - 36 ad-di-ka ÉN ^dÉ.A EN ERI.DU₁₀ ^dNIN.IGI.KUG
 - 37 aṭ-ru-ud a-sak-ku ah-ha-zu šu-ru-up-pu-u šá SU-ka

38 *ú-šat-bi qu-lu ku-ru ni-is-sa-tú šá pag-ri-ka*
 39 *ú-pa-áš-ši-ih šér-¹a-ni¹ mi-na-ti-ka là DÙG.GA.MEŠ*
 40 *ina qí-bit ^dÉ.A LUGAL ABZU*
 41 *ina TU₆ šá ^dÉ.A ina ÉN šá ^dASAL.LÚ.HI*
 42 *ina rik-si ra-ba-ti šá ^dgu-la*
 43 *ina ŠU.2 pa-áš-ha-a-ti šá ^dNIN.TIN.UG₅.GA*
 44 *«¹ ^dNIN.GIRIM EN ÉN*
 45 *ana NENNI A NENNI ŠUB-šú-ma ^dÉ.A ÉN INIM šá TI.LA*
 46 *«¹ [A]BGAL šu-ut ERI.DU₁₀ li-pa-áš-ši-hu SU-šú «¹TU₆» ÉN*

47 [É]N ^d[E]N.LÍL SAG.DU-MU MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ *la-a-ni*
 48 SAG.KI-[MU] ^dUTU *nap-[h]u*
 49 *«¹i-da-a¹-a GIŠ.ZUBI šá KÁ ^dA[MAR].UTU*
 50 *GEŠTUG.2-na-a-a le-³u-u GÌR.2-a-a làh-mu mu-kab-bi-sa UZU làh-me*
 51 *[a]t-tu-nu «¹DINGIR.MEŠ¹ GAL.MEŠ (GIM) «^dUTU ina AN-e nap-ha-tu-nu*
 52 *[G]IM an-na-«¹ku¹» AN.«¹BAR¹» ip-šu bar-tum INIM HUL-tim*
 52a *«¹kiš¹-pi ru-hu-ú ru-su-u up-[šá-šu-ú HUL.MEŠ]*
 53 *la TE.MEŠ-ku-nu-ši là KU.(NU)-ku-nu-ši*
 54 *ip-šú bar-tú INIM HUL-tim la TE.MEŠ-ni la KU.NU-ni iá-ši ÉN*

55 *ÉN at-ti-man-nu MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá DÙ-šú šal-mi*
 56 *iṭ-ṭu-lu la-a-ni ib-nu-ú ^dLAMMA*
 57 *i-«¹mu¹-ru «¹bal¹-ti ú-šar-ri-hu gat-ti*
 58 *ú-šab-bu-u nab-ni-[ti]*
 59 *ú-maš-ši-lu bu-un-na-ni-ia*
 60 *ub-bi-r[u] «¹mi¹-na-ti-ia*
 61 *ú-kás-su-u meš-re-ti-ia ú-kan-ni-nu ma-na-ni-ia*
 62 *ia-a-ši ^dDIŠ MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ú-ma-³i-ra-an-ni*
 63 *ma-ha[r] «^dUTU ša-lam-ki e-šir*
 64 *la-an-ki aṭ-ṭul ^dLAMMA-ki ab-ni bal-ta-ki a-mur*
 65 *gat-ta-ki ú-šar-ri-ih nab-nit-ki ú-šab-bi*
 66 *ina ^dNISABA KUG-tim bu-un-na-an-ni-ki ú-maš-šil*
 67 *mi-na-ti-ki ub-bi-ir meš-re-ti-ki ú-kàs-si*
 68 *ma-na-ni-ki ú-kan-ni-in*
 69 *ip-šú te-pu-šin-ni e-pu-uš-ki*
 70 *mi-hir tu-šam-hir-in-ni ú-šam-hir-ki*
 71 *gi-mil tag-mil-in-ni ú-tir ag-mil-ki*
 72 *kiš-pi-ki ru-he-ki ru-se-ki ep-še-te-ki lem-né-e-te*
 73 *up-šá-še-ki a-a-bu-te*
 74 *na-áš-pa-ra-ti-ki šá le-mut-ti*
 75 *KI.ÁG.GÁ-ki HUL.GIG-ki DI.BALA-ki ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-ki*
 76 *KA.DIB.BI.DA-ki DIMMA.KÚR.RA-ki li-kil-lu SAG-ki*
 77 *it-ti A.MEŠ šá S[U-M]U u mu-sa-a-ti šá ŠU.2-MU liš-šá-hi-iṭ-ma*
 78 *a-na muh-hi-ki u la-ni-ki lil-lik-ma ana-ku lu-ub-luṭ*
 79 *e-ni-ta li-na-an-ni ma-hir-ta lim-hur-an-ni*
 79a *am-hur mi-ih-ru lim-hu-ru-in-ni TU₆ ÉN*

80 ÉN *ba-³i-ir-tú šá ba-³i-ra-a-ti*
 81 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ*
 82 *šá ina SILA.MEŠ-ta na-da-tu še-es-sa*
 83 *ina ri-b[i]t URU it-ta-na-al-la-ka IGI.2-šá*
 84 LÚ.GURUŠ.MEŠ URU *ub-ta-na-³a*
 85 *it-ti LÚ.GURUŠ.MEŠ URU ub-ta-na-³a-an-ni ia-a-ši*
 86 KI.SIKIL.MEŠ URU *is-sa-na-hu-ur*
 87 KI KI.SIKIL.MEŠ URU *is-sa-na-hur-an-ni ia-a-ši*
 88 *ana-ku ú-ba-³a-kim-ma LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA.MEŠ LÚ.eš-še-bé-e KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 89 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ *li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 90 MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ *li-pu-ša-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 91 LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA.MEŠ *li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 92 LÚ.eš-še-bu-ú *li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 93 *nar-šin-du-u.MEŠ li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 94 MUŠ.LAH₅.MEŠ *li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 95 *a-gu-gíl-lu.MEŠ li-pu-šu-ki KEŠDA-ki a-he-pe*
 96 *a-mah-ḥaṣ le-et-ki a-šal-la-pa EME-ki*
 97 *ú-ma-al-la ru-³a-a-ta IGI.2-ki*
 98 *ú-ša-lak a-hi-ki lil-lu-ta*
 99 *ù ak-ka-a-ši ru-uq-bu-ta ú-šá-lak-ki*
 100 *ù mim-ma ma-la te-te-ep-pu-ši ú-tar ana muh-hi-ki*

101 [ÉN] *ip-ši-ki ep-še-ti-ki ep-še-et ip-ši-ki*
 102 *ep-še-et mu-up-pi-še-ti-ki*
 103 ^dÉ.A MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-paṭ-ṭir-ma A.MEŠ uš-ta-bil*
 104 KA-ki *lem-nu e-pe-ra lim-¹la¹*
 105 EME-ki *šá HUL-tim ina qé-e lik-ka-ṣ[ir]*
 106 *ina qí-bit ^{d+}en-bi-lu-lu EN TI.LA TU₆ É[N]*

107 ÉN *ki-iṣ-ri-ki ku-uṣ-ṣu-ru-ti*
 108 *ep-še-ti-ki lem-né-e-ti up-šá-še-ki a-a-bu-ti*
 109 *na-áš-pa-ra-tu-ki šá HUL-[tim]*
 110 ^dASAL.LÚ.HI MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-paṭ-ṭir-ma A.MEŠ uš-ta-bil*
 111 KA-ki *lem-nu SAHAR.HI.A lim-la*
 112 EME-ki *šá HUL-tim ina qé-e lik-ka-ṣir*
 113 *ina qí-bit ^{d+}en-bi-lu-lu EN TI.LA TU₆ ÉN*

114 ÉN *am-si qa-ti-ia ub-bi-ba zu-um-ri*
 115 *ina A.MEŠ IDIM KUG.MEŠ šá ina ERI.DU₁₀ ib-ba-nu-u*
 116 *mim-ma lem-nu mim-ma là DÙG.GA*
 117 *šá ina SU-MU UZU.MEŠ-MU SA.MEŠ-MU GÁL-u*
 118 HUL MÁŠ.GI₆.MEŠ Á.MEŠ GISKIM.MEŠ HUL.MEŠ *là DÙG.GA.ME[Š]*
 119 HUL UZU.MEŠ *ha-ṭu-¹ti¹ pár-du-ti HUL.MEŠ là DÙG.GA.MEŠ*
 120 *šá TAG ŠU.2 hi-niṣ ¹UDU¹.N[IT]Á BAL-qí ni-qí-i ¹DÙ¹-ti HAL-ti*
 121 *šá at-ta-ṭa-¹lu¹ UD-me-šam*

- 122 *ú-kab-bi-su ina* ¹SILA ¹*a-tam-ma-ru ina a-ha-a-ti*
 123 *še-ed* MÍ.HU[L] *ú-tuk-ku lem-nu*
 124 GIG ¹*di*^{1,2} *u di-lip-ta*
 125 *qu-lu* ¹*ku-ru*¹ *ni-¹is¹-sa-tú ni-ziq-tú im-tu-u ta-ni-hu*
 126 *u*³ *-a a-a hu-uš-šú* GAZ ŠÀ-bi
 127 *gi-lit-¹tum¹ pi-¹rit¹-tum a-dir-tum*
 128 *ár-rat* DINGIR.M[EŠ m] *i-hir-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ *ta-zi-im-ti* [DINGIR.MEŠ] *ni-iš* DINGIR *ni-iš* ŠU.2
ma-mit
 129 *lum-nu kiš-pi ru-he-e ru-se-e up-šá-¹še¹-e lem-nu-ti šá* LÚ.MEŠ
 130 *it-ti* A.MEŠ ¹*šá*¹ *SU-MU u mu-sa-a-ti šá* ŠU.2-MU
 131 *liš-šá-hi-iṭ-m[a ana U]GU NU NÍG.SAG.ÍL-e li-l-lik*
 132 *NU NÍG.S[AG.ÍL]-¹e¹ ar-ni di-na-ni li-iz-bil*
 133 ¹SILA *ù¹ su-lu-ú li-paṭ-ṭi-ru ár-ni-ia*
 134 *e-ni-tum li-na-an-ni ma-hir-tum lim-hur-an-ni*
 135 *am-hur mi-ih-ru lim-hu-ru-in-ni*
 136 *UD-mu šul-ma ITI hi-¹du¹-ti MU.AN.NA HÉ.GÁL-šá li-bil-la*
 137 ⁴E.A ⁴UTU *u* ⁴[A]MAR.UTU *ia-a-ši ru-ša-nim-ma*
 138 *lip-pa-áš-ru kiš-pi ru-hu-u ru-su-u*
 139 *up-šá-šu-ú lem-nu-ti šá a-me-lu-ti*
 140 *ù ma-mit lit-ta-ši šá* SU-MU

 141 ÉN *te-bi še-e-ru* LUH ŠU.2-ia
 142 *BAD-te qaq-qa-ru* ¹*mu*¹-hur ár-ni-ia
 143 *šá* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ¹*ú*¹-kaš-šip-an-¹ni¹ *eš-še-bu ú-¹sa¹-li-i²-an-¹ni¹*
 144 ⁴UTU *pi-šir-ta li-bil-am-ma* KI.TIM *lim-hur-an-ni*

 145 [ÉN *it-tam-r*]a *še-e-ru pu-ut-ta-a* GIŠ.IG.MEŠ
 146 *a-lik ur-hi it-ta-ši* KÁ.G[AL]
 147 [DUMU[?] *šip*[?]-ri[?] i]š-ša-bat har-ra-na
 148 ¹*e*¹-[pi]š-tum *e te-pu-šin-ni*
 149 [ra-hi-t]u[?] *e tu-re-hi-in-ni*
 150 ¹*ú-tal-lil*¹ *ina na-pa-ah* ⁴U[TU-š]i
 151 [ip-ši te-pu]-ši *ù tuš-te-pi-ši*
 152 *li-is-¹hu-ru-ma¹ li-iš-ba-tu-ki ka-a-ši*

 153 [ÉN š]e-ru-um-ma *še-e-ru*
 154 *an-nu-ú ša* LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU
 155 ¹*it-bu*¹-nim-ma GIM DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.NAR *ú-lap-pa-tú ni-²a-šú-nu*
 156 *ina* KÁ-MU *iz-za-az* ⁴IGI.DU
 157 ¹*ina*¹ SAG GIŠ.NÁ-MU *iz-za-az* ⁴LUGAL.EDIN.NA
 158 *a-¹šap¹-pa-rak-kim-ma šá* KÁ-ia ⁴IGI.DU
 159 ¹*šá*¹ SAG GIŠ.NÁ-MU ⁴LUGAL.EDIN.NA
 160 ¹*šá*¹ *kal* 1 DANNA *dib-bi-ki šá kal har-ra-ni a-ma-ti-ki*
 161 *ú-tar kiš-pi-ki ru-he-ki ú-ša-ab-ba-tu-ki ka-a-ši* TU₆ ÉN

 162 ÉN *ina še-rì* LUH-a ŠU.2-a-a

163 *šur-ru-ú dam-qu li-šar-ra-an-ni*
 164 *tu-ub šà-bi tu-ub UZU li-ir-te-da-an-ni*
 165 *e-ma ú-ša-am-ma-ru šu-um-mi-ra-ti-ia lu-uk-šu-ud*
 166 [MÁ]Š.GI₆ *a-mu-ru ana SIG₅-tim liš-šak-na*
 167 [a-a T]E-a a-a DIM₄ *mim-ma lem-nu mim-ma là DÙG.GA*
 168 *ru-he-e šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU*
 169 [ina] *ᵀqí-bit¹ ᵀÉ¹.A ᵀUTU ᵀAMAR.UTU u EGÍ ᵀbe-let-ì-lí TU₆ ÉN*

170 [É]N *ᵀam¹-si K[A-i]a ᵀam¹-te-si ŠU.2-ia*
 171 *ᵀina¹ [h]ur-ᵀhu¹-um-mat A.MEŠ ILLU ra-šub-bat íD*
 172 [x] x x [k]ul-li bal-ta-ki
 173 [mu[?]]-ᵀú¹ *gúm-mi-ra-ni ra-šub-bat-ku-nu*
 174 *ᵀGIM¹ A.MEŠ an-nu-ti ip-šú bar-tum INIM HUL-tim*
 175 *NU TE-ú là i-qar-ri-bu*
 176 *ip-šú HI.GAR INIM HUL-tim là TE-a*
 177 *NU i-qar-ri-ba ia-a-ši TU₆ ÉN É.NU.RU*

178 *ÉN a-di tap-pu-ha ú-qa-a-ka be-lí ᵀUTU*
 179 [D]UB 7.KÁM *ma-aq-lu-ú*

TABLET VIII

- 1 [ÉN a-di tap-pu-ha ú-qa]-¹a-ka¹ be-lí ^dUTU
2 [... šá]-qa-a re-šá-a-a
3 [... b]e-lí ^dUTU
4 [...] x tap-ta-šar a-¹bat-tu¹
5 [...] x it-te-bi ši-kar-[š]á
6 [... it]-¹te¹-bu-u ar-qu-šá
7 [^dÉ.A² ú-ma-²i-r]a-an-ni-ma be-lí ^dUTU
8 [e²-piš²-tum²] e-pu-šá-an-ni
9 [ra²-hi²-tum²] ú-ra-ah-ha-an-ni
10 [...] x-² šá a-hu-la-a-a
11 [... ina²] a-hi ÍD.IDIGNA
12 [... ina² a-h]i² a-tap-pi
13 [... n]a²-a-ru
14 [... -t]i²
15 [... -m]a²
16 [...] x
Break of ca. 9 lines
17' [x] ¹šá¹ x ¹bi² ina is² x[...]
18' [(x)] ¹Ú¹.IN₆.¹UŠ¹ [x x x x]
19' [(x)] ¹Ú¹.KI.K[A]L š[á² x x x (x)]
20' [š]á pi-ši-[n]a ¹lu-u¹ [x x (x)]
21' [š]á qa-ti-š[i-n]a lu-u [x x (x)]
22' [š]á MÍ.UŠ₁₁.¹ZU¹ kiš-pu-šá lu-u ana qid-d[a-tim-ma]
23' [ana-k]u lu-¹u¹ ana ma¹-hir-ti ¹TU₆¹ [ÉN]

24' [ÉN it-ta]p-ha ^dUTU a-kaš-ša[d]
25' [x x x²] x u a-kaš-šad KUR.¹MEŠ¹
26' [ú-qa-a-k]a be-lí ^dUTU
27' [šU.2-a-a] ¹d¹UTU Ú BÚR-ti na-šá-a
28' [ana-k]u² ¹lu-uš¹-pur-ka ana mar-ti ^dUTU pa-šir-ti-iá
29' ¹a¹-na šÀ-bi šá iq-bu-¹ú¹ tu-qu-un-tu
30' a-na rit-tú šá ir-ku-¹su¹ ri-ik-su
31' pu-ṭur šÀ-bi šá iq-bu-ú tu-qu-un-tu
32' pu-šur rit-tú šá ir-ku-su ri[k-su]
33' pu-šur šá kaš-šap-¹MU ù¹ kaš-šap-t[i-MU]
34' kiš-pi-šu-nu r[u-he-šu-nu] HUL.M[EŠ ...]

35' [ÉN un-d]u MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU ¹i¹-[bir ÍD]
36' [e-piš]-ti iš-la-a x [x x]

- 37' [muš-t]e-¹piš¹-ti áš-bat ina né-bé-ri[m-ma]
 38' [i¹-ta¹-š]u-uš ka-a-r[u]
 39' [ub-ta-n]a-¹a¹-an-ni ia-ši ana sa-ha-li-ia
 40' [i¹-mu¹-ru¹]-ši-ma ABGAL.MEŠ šá ABZU
 41' [ina ih-z]i né-me-qí ni-kil-ti ^dDIŠ iq-bu-u la-pan-šá
 42' [^dÉ.A] LUGAL ABZU ut-¹ta-a pa-ni-šá
 43' [ú-šá-a]s¹-hi-ip-ši be-en-na te-šá-a ra-i-ba
 44' [i]t-tir hur-ba-as-sa
 45' [^dI]D pu-luh-ta-šá i-da-a UGU-šá
 46' ana UGU NU.MEŠ-šá LUH-a ŠU.2.MEŠ-MU
 47' i-na ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR ša KUR-i ŠIM.LI KUG
 48' ina Ú.IN₆.ÚŠ mu-¹ul¹-[lil] ¹LÚ¹ LUH-a ŠU.2-MU
 49' e-te-lil ana-ku-m[a¹ GUB¹-z]u¹ ina UGU kiš-pi-šá
 50' kiš-pu-šá l[im-lu-u] EDIN
 51' INIM.MEŠ-šá I[M¹.SÍ¹.SÁ¹ l]it-bal
 52' ù mim-ma ma-la t[e¹-pu¹-ši¹ li-šá-b]il IM

- 53' ÉN TA ^dURU₄¹ i[na KUR GÙ-ú ^d]a¹-la-la
 54' TA GURUŠ i-lu-ú [ana na-kás GIŠ].ŠINIG
 55' áš-bat-ma AM[A-šú i-ma-li]k-šú
 56' áš-bu-ma i-ma-li-¹ku¹-šú ŠEŠ.M[EŠ-šú]
 57' at-ti-man-nu MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá ia-a-ši u ram-n[i DÙ]
 58' e-piš-tú e-pu-šá kiš-pi-[šá]
 59' kiš-pu-šá lu-u IM ¹kiš¹-pu-šá lu-u me-hu-[u]
 60' kiš-pu-šá lu-u pu-u [l]it-tap-ra-šá-du UGU-š[á]

- 61' ÉN an-nu-u e-nen-na-m[a]
 62' MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU nak-rat-an-ni
 63' ¹ù muš-te-piš-ti¹ na-bal-ku-ta-at-an-ni
 64' x x [...] ina kiš-pi-šá
 65' [...] x kaš-šap-tú
 66' [... A¹.MEŠ¹] ka-šu-ti
 67' [... SAG¹] ¹šà¹-bi-šá
 68' [... -¹]a¹-ki
 69' [... HUL¹]-tim-ki
 70' [... š]á ^dÉ.¹A MAŠ.MAŠ¹

Break of ca. 25 lines

- 71' [x x x x x] ¹ta-kal-ta-ki am-ha¹-[aš]
 72' [x x x ú-š]ul-ta-ki ha-še-ki ¹at¹-[ruk¹]
 73' ú-na-a-ti šá šà-ki DÙ-ši-na ad-lu-u[h]
 74' ú-še-li ina šà-ki kiš-pi-ki ru-he-k[i]
 75' e-piš-tú ¹e¹-tém-mu lim-haš-k[i]
 76' GAL₅.LÁ ¹Á-ki¹ lit-b[al]
 77' li-nar-ki [x x x] x x x [x]
 78' li-te-e¹-[ki ...]
 79' áš-šu ana H[UL-tim ...]

- 80' *ina kiš-p[i ...]*
 81' ^dNI[N.x ...]
 82' ^dNIN.[x ...]
 83' *za ʿbiʿ¹ x [...]*
 84' *šá i-p[u-šu ...]*
 85' *kal a-[ma-tu-šá ...]*
 86' *ʿšar¹-r[a- ...]*
 87' *udʿ x x [...]*
 88' *x [...]*
 89' *ʿaʿ-naʿ aʿ¹-[...]*
 90' *ka-ma-ʿa¹-[ti ... -a-ti]*
 91' *e-na-a-ʿti¹ [na-bal-ku-ta-a-ti]*
 92' *uš-te-pé-lu-ʿki¹ [^dGIŠ.BARʿ u ^dAMARʿ.UTUʿ]*
 93' *^dÉ.A EN ERI.DU₁₀ KEŠ[DA-ki li-ih-pi]*
 94' *ù mim-ma ma-[la te-pu-ši]*
 95' *li-šam-hir-ki [ka-a-ši]*
-
- 96' *ÉN pu-u id-bu-ub lem-na-ti*
 97' *pu-u im-ta-l[aʿ lem-na-ti]*
 98' *šá kaš-šap-a-ti kiš-pi-ši-na*
 99' *šá eš-še-ba-a-ti ši-p[aʿ-ti-ši-na]*
 100' *li-sap-(pi)-hu lem-na-ti*
 101' *li-šal-lu ʿlem¹-na-[ti]*
 102' *ina ši-pat u[z-z]i KA EME*
 103' *na-áš-pa-rat GI₆ u kal ʿUD¹-[mi]*
 104' *šá te-[te]-ʿpu¹-šá-ni ia-a-[ši]*
 105' *ta[l-tap-p]a-ra-ni ana ʿram¹-ni-[ia]*
 106' *kiš-pi-ku-nu u ku-šá-pi-k[u-nu]*
 107' *[GIM A.MEŠ m]u-ʿsa¹-a-ti a-sur-ra-a l[i-im-lu-u]*
-
- 108' *[ÉN e-piš-tú m]uš-te-piš-tú mu-ri¹¹-ba[t kiš-pi ru-he-e]*
 109' *[haʿ-biʿ²-latʿ x] x ri mu-[habʿ-biʿ²-latʿ KIʿ.SIKILʿ.MEŠʿ]*
 110' *[x x x x z]I-tim ta-bi-kà[t un-ni-ni]*
 111' *[x x x x] x ki [x x en ni]*
 112' *[x x x x xʿ] x SAG.DU ina KA [x x x xʿ]*
 113' *[x x x x] x kàt ti x [x x x xʿ]*
 114' *[...] x [...]*
 Break of ca. 15-20 lines
 115' *ʿeʿ¹-[pišʿ²-tiʿ]*
 116' *ha-mi-ʿmaʿ¹-[at] x x [...]*
 117' *ša-bi-ta-at SAG.K[I ...]*
 118' *se-ki-rat neš-me-e [...]*
 119' *ha-bi-lat GURUŠ.MEŠ [...]*
 120' *lim-qut UGU-ki [...]*
 Break of several lines
 121' *[x x x li-i]šʿ²-ʿta¹-pi-i[kʿ x x x x]*

- 122' [x x x x x?] ^dUTU k[u? x x x x?]
 123' [^dere]š-^rki-gal¹ ana KI-tim a-a ú-š[e]-r[i-id-ki]
 124' [UGU L]Ú.Úš-ki TI₈.MUŠEN u NU.UM.MA.MUŠEN li-in-na-ad-ru
 125' [q]u-lu hur-ba-šu lim-qu-tú UGU-ki
 126' UR.GI₇ u NIG li-ba-aš-ši-ru-ki
 127' UR.GI₇ u NIG li-ba-aš-ši-ru UZU.MEŠ-ki
 128' ina qí-bit ^dÉ.A ^dUTU ^dKU ^rù ÉGI¹ DINGIR.MAH TU₆ ÉN

-
- 129' ÉN at-ta GIŠ.MI at-ta ba-aš-ti
 130' at-ta ^dLAMMA at-ta ga-at-ti
 131' at-ta pa-da-at-ti at-ta du-u-t[i]
 132' a[t]-t[a GIŠ.M]I? ^rGAL?-a?¹ at-ta GIŠ.MI e-deš-šú-[u]
 133' [e tam-hur k]iš-pi e tam-h[ur] ^rú-pi-ši¹
 134' [KI.MIN šá-g]aš-tú KI.MIN n[a-ká]s ZI-tim
 135' KI.MIN ru-³u-ut-ta l[a t]a-ab-tu
 136' KI.MIN KA.DIB.BI.DA KI.MI[N] DI.BAL.A
 137' [K]I.MIN HUL.GIG KI.MIN HUL ^rú¹-pi-ši HUL.MEŠ šá a-me-lu-ti
 138' at-ta ia-ú a-na-ku ku-ú
 139' mam-ma-an a-a il-mad-ka mim-ma l[em-n]u a-a TE-ka
 140' ina qí-bit ^dÉ.A ^dUT[U] ^dKU
 141' ^rù ÉGI DINGIR.MAH [T]U₆ ÉN

-
- 142' DUB 8.KÁM ma-aq-lu-u ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ

RITUAL TABLET

- 1' ¹e¹-nu-ma ¹né-pe-ši šá ma-aq-lu¹-[ú DÙ-šú ...]
Break of 2-3 lines
- 2' [x x] x [...]
- 3' [LÚ.G]IG KA.LUH.¹Ú¹.D[A DÙ-uš ...]
- 4' LÚ.GIG GIŠ.ŠINIG ŠUHUB¹ x [...]
- 5' [...] x
- 6' ÉN al-si-ku-n[u-š]i 3-šú ŠID-nu
- 7' x [x x x x x x x x x] x-e
- 8' šá iq-bu-u a-mat HUL-tim-ia i-kaš-šá-dam-ma
- 9' [GI.IZI.LÁ ina IZ]¹ ¹KI.A¹.⁴ÍD t[a²-qàd-m]a² NU Ì.UDU
- 10' MUN ina KA-šú GAR NU ina ap-pi ¹GI¹.IZI.LÁ GAR-ma
- 11' [ina muh-h]i DUG.BUR.ZI.GAL [it-t]a-na-at-tuk
- 12' ÉN ¹al¹-[s]i-ku-nu-ši tu-q[at²-t]i-ma ¹GI.IZI.LÁ¹ a-di
- 13' DU[G.BUR.Z]I.GAL ¹a¹-n[a KÁ È²-ma² tuš]-ken
-
- 14' ana É [GUR-ma ...] IGI [...] KEŠDA tara-kás
- 15' [... DU]G.KÍR GAR-an
- 16' [...] x tu
- 17' ÉN [...] 3-šú ŠID-ma
- 18' [... t]uš-ken
-
- 19' [ÉN KI-tum KI-tum K]I-tu₄-um-ma A.MEŠ ŠU[B.ŠU]B-d[i]
- 20' ÉN URU-M[U za]b-¹ban¹ UR[U-M]U zab-ban K[I.MIN]
- 21' É[N ak-la né-b]é-[ru ina² I]M.BABBAR u ZÌ.MAD.G[Ā]
- 22' ¹Zì¹.SUR.RA-a ¹hu¹-lu-up-paq-qí te-šir
- 23' ÉN šap-[ra-ku] a[l-lak NU GIŠ.ŠI]NIG (NU) GIŠ.EREN
- 24' NU Ì.UDU NU DUH.LÀ[L] N[U DUH.ŠE.GIŠ].¹Í¹ NU ESIR NU ¹IM¹.BA[BBAR]
- 25' NU IM NU NÍG.((ŠE)).¹LAG.GÁ¹ [ina² UG]U hu-lu-up-paq-qí ta-¹sa¹-dir-[ma] GAR-an
- 26' ÉN ⁴PA.TÚG an-nu-ti (NU.MEŠ) e-p[iš-M]U ŠU.SI-šú ana UGU i-tar-ra-aš-ma ŠID-nu
- 27' ÉN (⁴)PA.TÚG BULÙG-ú i-lit-ti ¹a¹[a-nim N]U Ì.UDU NU DUH.LÀL
- 28' ina UGU GI.IZI.LÁ GAR-ma GI[Š.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR.MÌN Š]IM.GÍR ŠIM.MUG
- 29' GI DÙG.GA ina ŠĀ tu-sa-an-na-[aš x x x²] SUD
- 30' ina IZI KI.A.⁴ÍD ta-q[àd-ma ÉN Í]L-¹ši¹ d[i-pa-ru] ¹ŠID¹
- 31' IZI ana ŠĀ hu-lu-up-pa[q-qí ŠUB-di]
-
- 32' ÉN ⁴PA.TÚG BULÙG ma-lik DINGIR.[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ NU Ì.UDU]
- 33' ÉN ⁴GIŠ.BAR EN gít-ma-lu NU U[D.KA.BAR KI.A.⁴ÍD]
- 34' ÉN ⁴GIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru b[u-kur] ¹a-nim¹ [NU ZABAR]
- 35' ÉN ⁴GIŠ.BAR a-ri-ru DUMU ⁴a-nim qar-du NU ¹NÍG¹.L[AG.GÁ]

- 36' ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR *gaš-ru UD-mu na-an-du-ru* IM ^rIM¹
37' ÉN ^dGIŠ.BAR *šar-hu bu-kúr ^da-nim* NU ESIR
38' ÉN *ke-eš li-bi-iš ki-de-eš* NU DUH.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
39' ÉN *e-pu-šú-ni DÙ.MEŠ-ni* NU ESIR *šá* IM.BABBAR HE.HE
40' ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá ina* ÍD *im-lu-³u* IM-*a-a* NU IM *šá* Ì.UDU HE.HE
41' ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá túb-ta-na-in-ni* NU GIŠ.ŠINIG NU GIŠ.EREN
-
- 42' ÉN MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *mu-tal-lik-tum šá* SILA.MEŠ NU IM
43' Ì.UDU *ina* SAG ŠÀ-*bi-šá* GIŠ.MA.NU *ina* BIR.MEŠ-*šá tu-sa-na-áš*
44' ÉN 2-*ta ši-na* DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ ^d*a-nim šá* AN-*e* NU Ì.UDU *hi-im-ma-ti*
45' ÉN MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ner-ta-ni-tum* NU DUH.LĀL
46' ÉN ^dÍD KUG *nam-ru qud-du-šú ana-ku* NU ESI[R]
47' ÉN *la-man-ni su-tu-ú e-la-mu-ú re-d[an-ni]* NU ESIR *šá* KI.A.^dÍD [HE.HE]
48' ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá iq-bu-u a-mat* HUL-*tím-ia*
49' *ina* ŠÀ-*šá* NU IM *ina* NA₄.KIŠIB SIG₇ KA-*šá* ^r*ta*¹-[*bar-ram*]
50' ÉN *at-ti-ie-e šá te-pu-šin-ni* ^d15 *kub-ši kin-ši šá* IM DÙ IGI 150-*šá* ESIR GAR-*an*
51' *ha-ha-a šá ú-tu-ni dīh-me-en-^rna¹ šá* DUG.ÚTUL
52' *ina* A.MEŠ *ta-mah-ha-ah-ma ana* SAG.DU-^r*šá*¹ [*ta-tab-bak*]
53' ÉN *šá DÙ-an-ni ul-te-piš-an-ni* GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ IM [2 NU.MEŠ IM] *ina* ŠÀ-[*bi-šá*]
54' ÉN GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-*ia* ^d30 *ú-še-piš*
55' [GIŠ.M]Á.GUR₈ NÍG.LAG.[GÁ 2 N]U.MEŠ NÍG.LAG.GÁ KI.[MIN]
56' ÉN ŠIKA SILA.MEŠ *am-me-ni tug-dan-na-re-en-ni* ŠIKA SILA.LÍMMU-*ti*
57' ^r1.[UDU Š]ÉŠ ^rSÍG¹.(na)-^r*ba*¹-š[i t]*a-ka[r]-r[ik]*
58' ÉN *rit-tu-um-ma rit-[tum] rit-ta* Ì.UDU
59' ÉN *rit-tum-ma rit-t[um rit-ti* DUH.LĀL]
-
- 60' ÉN *biš-li biš-li pal-lu-ur-ta* GI.MEŠ *šá gi-sa[l-le-e DÙ-uš]*
61' 2 GI.MEŠ *šá ma-lu-ú ina* ^r*muh*¹-*hi a-ha-meš ta-par-rik*
62' *ina ni-ri* GI₆.MEŠ MURUB₄-š[*ú*]-*n[u KEŠDA]*
63' 2 NU Ì.^rUDU 2¹ N[U ...]
64' *ina* 4 *ap-pa-a-ti šá pal-lu-ur-ti¹ te-en-ni-ma* GAR-*an p[al-l]u-ur-ti* [Ì.UDU] *t[a-pa-šá-áš*
SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA *ta-kar-rik]*
65' ÉN *at-[t]i-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá* ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-*a DÙ-uš* 3 *hu-šab* GIŠ.MA.NU Ì.U[DU ŠÉS
SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA *ta-kar-rik]*
66' ÉN *ner-ti-iá* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *u ku-šá-pa-ti-MU*
66a Ì.UDU ŠU.SI IM *t[a²-pa²-šá²-áš² SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA* KI.MIN]
67' ÉN *šá* ^dUTU-*ši man-nu AD-šú man-n[u AMA-šú]*
67a DUR SÍG.BABBAR 3 KA.KEŠDA KEŠDA *t[a²-bat²-taq² ana š]À hu-lu-u[p-paq-qí ŠUB²-dī²]*
68' ÉN *i-pu-šá-ni i-te-né-ep-šá-ni*
69' DUR SÍG.BABBAR 7 KA.K[E]ŠDA KEŠDA-*m[a ta²-bat²-taq² ana šÀ hu-lu-up-paq-qí ŠUB²-dī²]*
70' ÉN *ru-³ù-ú-a kaš-šá-pat ana-ku pa-ši-rak* 14 ŠIKA-*ta* SILA-4-*ta ana x* [...]
-
- 71' ÉN *e-piš-ta ù muš-te-piš-ta* ^rÚ¹.[HAR.HAR ŠE].GIŠ.Ì [*ta-šar-rap*]
72' ÉN *man-nu* IN.BUBBU *ip-til* IN.BUBBU [*ta-šar-rap*]
73' ÉN *du-un-na-ni d[u-u]n-n[a-ni]*
74' *ta-bi-lu* DUB.MEŠ-[*ak x x x*]

- 75' ÉN *at-t[i-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ša te-te-né-ep-pu-u*[š]
 76' [š]IM.GÚR.GÚR Ú.HAR.H[AR] ù IN.BUBBU *ta-šar-rap*
 77' ÉN HUL.GIG *ša te-¹pu-šá-ni¹* [*tu-še-pi-šá-ni*] ¹KI.A.^dÍD *u²* MUN MAR.KI KI.MIN¹
 78' ÉN *at-t[i]-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *šá ki-ma* IM.U₁₈.LU
 79' [*ik-k*]*i-mu* Z[ì].M[AD.G]Á *qa-mu-u*
 80' ÉN *šá-ru-uh la-a-ni* [š]*á-ru-uh zi-mi* KI.MIN
 81' ÉN SA.MEŠ *tu-kàš-ši-ra* ^dE.A *up-ta-ṭir*
 82' *ina hu-šab* GIŠ.MA.NU *šà-bi* NÍG.TA[B.T]UR.RA *tu-ba-ah-ha-áš*
 83' ÉN *at-tu-nu* A.MEŠ *ina* A.MEŠ *tu-na-ah*
 84' ÉN *e-pi-šu-ú-a e-pi-¹[š]i-tu-ú-a* KI.MIN
 85' ÉN *ez-ze-tu-nu šam-ra-tu-nu* KI.MIN
 86' ÉN *ak-bu-us* GAL₅.LÁ-a-a NU NÍG.LAG.GÁ *ina* GÌR.2-šú *i-kab-ba-as*
 87' ÉN *hu-la zu-ba i-na* NÍG.NA *šá* IGI ^dPA.TÚG KÁ NÍG.TAB.TUR.RA *DUL-a[m]*
 88' ÉN KUR-ú *lik-tùm-ku-nu-ši* NA₄ KUR-i
 89' *ina* UGU NÍG.NA *šá* KÁ NÍG.TAB.TUR.RA *GAR-a[n]*
 90' ÉN *i-sa-a i-sa-a šid-nu-ma* ZÌ.MAD.GÁ ŠUB.ŠUB-[*di*]
 91' *qí-l[u-tú a-di hu-lu-up-p]aq-qí ana* KÁ È-ma *ta-n[a-suk]*
 92' EGIR-šú ÉN *udug-hul edin-na-zu-šè a-di* KÁ BAR-i ŠID-nu-ma
 93' ZÌ.MAD.GÁ KÁ.MEŠ-ni *te-eš-šir*
 94' *ana* É KU₄-ma *a-šar ma-aq-la-a taq-lu-u* A.MEŠ ŠUB.Š[U]B-di
 95' ÉN *a-nam-di* ÉN *a-na pu-uh-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ DÙ-ma ŠI[D-nu]

- 96' ÉN ^dEN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU *pa-nu-ú-a UD-mu* ŠIM.L[I] Š[IM].G[ÚR.GÚR]
 97' ÉN *e-piš-ta qu-um-qu-um-ma-t[um]* ŠIM.G[ÚR.GÚR] ¹Ú.IN₆.ÚŠ¹
 98' ÉN ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR-ma ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR IN.B[UB]BU ¹ni-i-nam¹ *di-ik-me-en-na*
 99' ÉN ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR-ma ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR *al-ka-n[im]-ma* ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 100' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *e-le-ni-ti-MU* ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 101' ÉN *la-am* ^dNIN¹.GÍR.SU *ina* KUR *il-su-¹ú¹* ^da-la-la ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 102' ÉN *u[n-du MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU]* *ú-kaš-šip-an-ni* ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 103' Ì.UDU TÚG.HI.A.¹MEŠ¹ KUD.MEŠ
 104' ÉN *at-t[i]-e šá ¹te¹-p[u-ši k]a-la-ma* ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 105' ÉN KI.A.^dÍD KUG-tim D[UMU.M]Í AN-e GAL.MEŠ *ana-ku* KI.A.^dÍD
 106' ÉN KI.A.^dÍD [KI.MIN KI.MIN] DUMU.MÍ ^dÍD KI.A.¹d¹[D]
 107' ÉN KI.A.^dÍD KUG-tu Ú.KUR.KUR *šam-mu qud-du-šú ana-ku*
 108' KI.A.^dÍD Ú.KUR.KUR
 109' ÉN ^dÍD SAG.DU-MU KI.A.^dÍD *pa-da-at-ti*
 110' KI.A.^dÍD Ú.AN.HÚL.LA *u* Ú.IGI-lim
 111' ÉN ^dÍD *a-kul al-ti* KI.A.^dÍD
 112' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *e-le-ni-ti-ia* ZU-e ¹ul¹ ZU-e KI.A.^dÍD¹
 113' ÉN *at-ti* MUN *šá ina aš-ri* KUG *ib-ba-nu-u ana* UGU LAG MUN ŠID-ma
 114' *ina* UGU NÍG.NA *šá qu-ta-ri šá ina* SAG GIŠ.NÁ *GAR-¹an¹*
 115' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *lu rah-hat-MU*
 116' *ana* UGU Ú.NU.LUH.HA ŠID-nu-ma *ina* UGU NÍG.NA *šá ina* SAG *ana* GIŠ.NÁ *GAR-an*
 117' TÚG.ú-li-in-na GIŠ.NÁ NIGIN-mi

- 118' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *lu rah-hat*-MU *ana* UGU 12 GIŠ.šá-ir-ri šID-nu-ma *ina* UGU NÍG.NA šá
ina SAG GIŠ.NÁ GAR-an
- 119' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.¹ZU¹-MU *e-le-ni-ti*-MU šá DU.MEŠ-ki *ka-lu* KUR.MEŠ
- 120' *a-na* UGU 2 [*h*]u-šab GIŠ.MA.NU šID-nu-ma
- 121' *ina* 15 KÁ ¹u¹ 150 KÁ BAR-i GAR-an
- 122' ÉN *e* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU *e-le-ni-ti*-MU
- 123' *ana* UGU NA₄ KUR-i šID-nu-ma *ina* TÙR ta-na-suk
-
- 124' *qu-ta-ri* šá ÉN ^dEN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU
- 125' *ma-la a-na* KA.KEŠDA.MEŠ šaṭ-ru
- 126' 1-niš HE.HE-ma *tu-qat-tar-šú* ÉN ^dEN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU šID-nu
-
- 127' ÉN *rit-ti* ^dman-za-át ZÌ.MAD.GÁ *u* KAŠ.Ú.SA
- 128' [*ina* DU]G.¹LA¹.H[A.A]N SAHÁR LÚ.GIG HE.HE-ma
- 129' GIŠ.IG GIŠ.SAG.KUL *sip-pe-e* KÁ.MEŠ TAG.MEŠ
- 130' ÉN *a-ra-ah-hi-k[a r]a-ma-ni* NINDA Ì.GIŠ
- 131' ÉN Ì.GIŠ KUG Ì.GIŠ *eb-bu* NINDA Ì.GIŠ
- 132' ÉN ^dEN.LÍL SAG.DU-MU MUL.KAK.¹SI.SÁ¹ *la-a-ni* ¹NINDA¹ Ì.GIŠ
- 133' Ì.G[1]Š *ka-la* UZU.MEŠ-šú [ŠEŠ]
- 133a ÉN.MEŠ *an-¹na-a¹-ti* šID-nu-ma
- 134' ÉN ^dPA.TÚG IBILA É.KUR šá *te-ret* DINGIR.MEŠ G[AL.MEŠ *x' x'*]
- 135' ^dZALÁG¹ [*k*]u-rab (*ana* ^dEN¹.LÍL¹) šu-¹te¹-šir KASKAL-ka a[na] ¹É¹.K[UR šID-nu-ma]
- 136' EGIR-šú ZÌ.SUR.RA-a GI[Š.N]Á HUR-ir
- 137' ÉN SAG.BA SAG.BA [É]N ¹tùm¹-mu ¹É¹ [šID-nu]
-
- 138' *i-na še-r[i]* ¹a¹-[d]i šur-pu ta-šar-¹ra-pu¹
- 139' šur-pu [*a-n*]a KÁ È-ma ta-[na-suk]
- 140' EGIR-šú ÉN *at-ti-man-nu* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá DÙ-š[ú šID-nu]
- 141' NU MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá ZÌ.DA *ina* ŠÀ URUDU.nam-se-¹e¹ *te-eš-šir*
- 142' NU ¹IM¹ šá MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ina* UGU GAR-an ŠU.2-šú *ana* UGU LUH-ma *ana* ¹É¹ [GUR]
- 143' ÉN *ba-¹i-ir-tú* šá *ba-¹i-ra-a-ti*
- 144' NU LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
- 145' šá ZÌ.DA *ina* ŠÀ URUDU.nam-se-e *te-eš-š[ir]*
- 146' NU IM šá LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *ina* UGU NU ZÌ.DA GAR-an
- 147' ŠU.2-šú *ana* UGU LUH-si *ina hu-šab* GIŠ.MA.NU *ana* 3-šú *i-kar-[rit]*
- 148' ÉN *ip-ši-ki ep-še-te-ki* LUH ŠU.2
- 149' ÉN KA.KEŠDA.MEŠ-ki KEŠDA.MEŠ LUH ŠU.2 SAHAR-HI.¹A¹ *ana* ŠÀ URUDU.nam-se-e *ta-na-suk*
- 150' [ÉN *a*]m-si ŠU.2-MU *ub-ba-ab* SU-MU
- 151' [*ana* UG]U NU NÍG.SAG.ÍL-e ŠU.2-šú LUH-si
- 152' [ÉN *te*]-bi *še-e-ru* LUH ŠU.2
- 153' ÉN *it-tam-ra še-e-ru* LUH ŠU.2
- 154' ÉN *še-ru-um-ma še-e-ru* LUH ŠU.2
- 155' ÉN *ina še-rì* LUH-a ŠU.2-a-a LUH ŠU.2
- 156' ÉN *am-si* ŠU.2-MU *am-te-si* ŠU.2-MU LUH ŠU.2
-
- 157' ÉN *a-di tap-pu-ha* GIŠ.ŠINIG Ú.IN₆.ÚŠ NA₄ ZÚ.LUM.MA

- 158' IN.BUBBU IM.BABBAR ŠU.GUR NA₄.ŠUBA ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR
 159' ŠIM.LI ŠU.2-šu LUH-si
 160' ÉN *it-tap-ha* ^aUTU *a-kaš-šad* LUH ŠU.2
 161' ÉN *un-du* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *i-bir* ÍD LUH ŠU.2
 162' ÉN *ul-tu* ^aURU₄ *ina* KUR GÙ-ú ^a*a-la-la*
 163' IN.BUBBU *ana* ŠÀ DUG.ŠIKA SAHÁR ŠUB-*di-ma*
 164' *ina* KA-šú *ana* ŠÀ *nam-se-e* MÚ-*ah*
 165' ÉN *an-nu-u in-nin-na-ma*
 166' NU MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU šá IM DÙ-*uš-ma* NA₄ KUR-*i ina* SAG ŠÀ-šá GAR-*an*
 167' ŠU.2-šú *ana muh-hi* LUH-*si*
 168' *ina hu-šab* GIŠ.MA.NU *ana* 3-šú *i-kar-rit*
 169' ÉN *pu-u id-bu-ub lem-na-a-ti* LUH ŠU.2
 170' ÉN *e-piš-tú muš-te-piš-tú mu-ri-bat kiš-pi ru-he-e*
 171' 2 NINDA.HI.A 1.TA.ÀM NU LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU *u* MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU
 172' šá NÍG.LAG.GÁ DÙ-*ma ina* ŠÀ NINDA.HI.A KEŠDA-*ma*
 173' *ina* 15-šú *u* 150-šú ÍL-*ma ÉN* ŠID-*nu-ma*
 174' *ana* UR.GI₇ *u* NIG *ta-nam-din*
 175' ÉN *at-ta* GIŠ.MI A.MEŠ DUG.BUR.ZI.GAL SAHÁR SA₅-*ma*
 176' ¹IGI.MEŠ¹-šú *ina* ŠÀ-*bi* IGI-*ma*
 177' *i-b[ar[?]-ri[?] ana* ^aUT]U.È SUD
 178' [EGIR-šú ÉN ÍL-ší GI]š[?].*gam-li-MU* ŠID-*ma*
 179' A.MEŠ *ta-sal-la-a'*

180' [DUB *né-pe-ši šá ma[?]-aq[?]-lu[?]]-¹ú[?]]*

45

COMMENTARY

Introduction

The commentary contains a number of short studies of the development and meaning of *Maqlû* as well as of a number of its incantations. Generally, the incantations are discussed in the order in which they occur in the series. The précis are based on my earlier articles and appear in the following order:

- 1 A History of the Development of the Series
- 2 The Introduction to the Evening Version
Tablet I 1-36: *Alsīkunūši ilū mušīti*
Tablet I 37-41: *Ersetu ersetu eršetumma*
Tablet I 42-49: *Alī Zabban alī Zabban*
Tablet I 50-60: *Akla nēberu aktali kāru*
Tablet I 61-72: *Šaprāku allak u'urāku adabbub*
- 3 Tablet I 73-121: ^dŠamaš annūtu šalmū ēpišiya
- 4 Tablet I 122-134: ^dNuska šurbū ilitti ^dAni
- 5 Tablet I 135-143: *Anašši dipāru*
Tablet V 132-141: *Ezzētunu šamrātunu*
Tablet V 158-175: *Isā isā*
- 6 Tablet II 19-75: ^dGirra bēlu gitmālu
- 7 Tablet II 205-225: *Attīmannu kaššāptu ša tubtana'inni*
- 8 Tablet III 1-30: *Kaššāptu muttalliktu ša sūqāti*
- 9 Tablet III 61-76: ^dId ellu namru quddušu anāku
Tablet VI 85-97: *Kibrītu elletu atā'isu šammu quddušu anāku*
Tablet III 154-179: *Rittumma rittu*
- 10 Tablet IV 1-79: *Bišlī bišlī qidē qidē*
- 11 Tablet VII 22-28: *Araḥḥēka ramānī araḥḥēka pagrī*
- 12 Tablet VII 29-46: *Šamnu ellu*
- 13 Tablet VII 55-79a: *Attīmannu kaššāptu*
- 14 Tablet VII 55-79a: *Attīmannu kaššāptu*
Tablet VII 114-140: *amsi qātīya*
- 15 Tablet VII 80-100: *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti*
- 16 Ritual Tablet 23'-64' & 140'-156'

Each study, with the exception of the first, is introduced by my transcription and translation of the relevant incantation(s).

I would open the commentary with a couple of preliminary observations to assist in the reading of the several précis. The first is a slightly more detailed description of the ceremony than given above in the introduction to this volume; the second is a

general introductory comment about the history of incantations.

Description.¹ As noticed already in the introduction, the *Maqlû* ceremony is composed of three major divisions. The first two (Tablets I-V // Ritual Tablet 1-95; Tablets VI-VII 54 // Ritual Tablet 96-137) were performed during the night, the third (VII 55-VIII // Ritual Tablet 138-179) during the early morning hours of the following day.²

The first division (Tablets I-V) opens with the patient's invocation of the gods of the cosmos, the gods or powers of the night sky, of the netherworld, and of nature. In the introduction (I 1-72), the patient asks these gods to assist him in his struggle against the witch. Subsequent to the introduction (I 1-72), the ceremony turns to its main concern—the judgment, execution, and expulsion of the witch. The witch is destroyed by fire (I 73-IV 151 // 26'-70') and water (V 98-141 // RT 83'-85'); these symbolic acts of burning and drowning are performed ritually on representations or statuettes. The evil beings are thereby deprived of any remaining power to perform evil and are annihilated.

Figurines of the witch are now trampled; concrete expression is thus given to the defeat of the enemy and the attainment of victory (V 142-144 // RT 86'). The witches (that is, their remains) are again burned (V 145-148 // RT 87'). The wish is expressed that a mountain confine and pulverize them (V 149-157 // RT 88'-89'). Finally, the dead witches are expelled and commanded never to return (V 158-175 // RT 90'-91'), and apotropaic rituals are performed (RT 92'-95').

The second division (Tablets VI 1-VII 54 // RT 96'-137') was performed later in the night and is centered on the bedroom. In this division, fumigation is performed to counteract and disperse attacks of witchcraft. Alongside fumigation, objects are set up for the protection of the patient, mixtures are smeared on his doors, he himself is massaged with oil, and a protective circle is formed around his bed and his home.

With the coming of dawn, the orientation of the ceremony changes from nighttime to morning. Washing is the primary rite in the third division (Tablets VII 55-VIII 141 // RT 138'-179'), the concluding division of the ceremony. The ritual now centers on water rather than fire, as in the earlier divisions. The patient welcomes the day and repeatedly washes himself; often the washing is performed over representations (frequently made of flour) of the witch. Of course, washing is a

¹ For a more detailed description, see T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies, Part I: The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting," *JNES* 33 (1974): 251-262 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 99-112, and *Idem*, "Maqlû," in *RIA* 7 (ed. E. Ebeling, et al.; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 346-51.

² Of particular importance for establishing the division of the text into these three segments are the self-contained sections in the Ritual Tablet introduced by *arkīšu* (EGIR-šū), "thereafter," in lines 92-95', 136'-137', and 178'-179'. The rites performed in these sections are apotropaic and, according to their occurrence outside of *Maqlû*, they are concluding rites. Thus, their function within *Maqlû* was to conclude major portions of the ceremony.

A further structuring device is found in the first (VI 1-18) and the last (VII 47-54) incantations of the second division of the ceremony. These incantations begin with *Enlil qaqqadī pānū'a ūmu* and *Enlil qaqqadī* ^{mul}*Šukūdu lānī*, respectively, and center on the association of the patient's body with the astral bodies and deities, recalling the beginning of the ceremony, I 1-36. That incantation begins with an address to *ilū mušīti*, "the gods of the night"—that is, the stars and constellations of the night sky. This shared astral orientation, purpose, and formulation is of structural significance for the middle section of *Maqlû*.

typical morning activity. But, here, washing serves the additional dual purposes of causing the witchcraft to return to and seize the witch (reversion) who initiated the witchcraft and of cleansing the patient of evil.

Finally, representations of the witch in an edible form are thrown to dogs. Protective amulets are then prepared, and concluding rites are performed.

In the first and second divisions, the speaker identifies with the gods of the night sky, the stars and planets, the powers that were present or visible in the night sky. The identification has several purposes. Most of all, it allows the ritual actor to take on the quality of wakefulness or sleeplessness associated with the heavenly bodies of the night, for by not sleeping he is able to avoid attacks by the witch and of witchcraft that come in the form of evil dreams. The witch—especially the demonic witch—has the power to send a dream or such associated forms as clouds, and she is readily thought of as a wind (see, e.g., V 76-82; cf. VII 1-7). Perhaps the witch appears in the dream; perhaps another dead human that the witch has enlisted appears in it. The evil dreams, themselves demonic powers or beings, became primary concerns. But not only dreams, also sleep—which allows one to dream—becomes a matter of concern. For sleep may lead to or turn into death. These evils can be warded off—even prevented--by assuming the quality of wakefulness of the gods of the night.

History of Incantations. It is clear that some of the incantations of the standard version have undergone change. We know of this both through the existence of variant forms of an incantation and through critical internal analysis. Many of the incantations in *Maqlû* were composed specifically for inclusion in *Maqlû*. Others already existed prior to the formation of the series itself and were taken over from different, often simpler, magical ceremonies. While some of these incantations already dealt with witchcraft, others were originally composed for purposes other than combating witchcraft. The incorporation of such incantations into *Maqlû* sometimes involved revisions in the incantations in order to adapt them for a new purpose, to a change in ritual usage, and/or to a new, more complex, and larger ideological or ritual framework.

1

The Development of *Maqlû*

Summarized Studies:

Tzvi Abusch, "An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. HSS 37. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990, 1-57 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 113-162.

The text of *Maqlû* is complex and fraught with difficulties, disruptions of logic, and anomalous constructions. For this reason scholars have historically considered this text a mere collection of loosely related incantations, which made the

inconsistencies not only tolerable, but expected. However, once the true nature of *Maqlû* as a unitary ceremony performed over the course of one night and morning had been observed, these textual problems required some explanation.

The problems in the text suggest that the standard version of *Maqlû* resulted from a process of development. It would be difficult, though not impossible, to deduce the course of this history from internal textual analysis alone, but the task is made significantly easier and more certain by the presence of a short form of *Maqlû* contained within the larger ritual series *Bīt rimki*.

The Early Short Form of Maqlû. Ten incantations from *Maqlû* are cited by incipit in the ritual instructions for the early morning ritual of the *Bīt rimki* ceremony and other related morning rituals. The incantations appear together, in the same relative order as they do in the standard version of *Maqlû*.³

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1) ÉN ^d Šamaš annûtu šalmû ēpišiya | = <i>Maqlû</i> I 73-121 |
| 2) ÉN ^d Nuska šurbû ilitti Ani | = <i>Maqlû</i> I 122-134 |
| 3) ÉN Anašši dipāru | = <i>Maqlû</i> I 135-143 |
| 4) ÉN Ša ^d Šamši mannu abušu | = <i>Maqlû</i> IV 107-114 |
| 5) ÉN Šaruḥ lānī šaruḥ zīmī | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 83-88 |
| 6) ÉN Šer'ānī tukašsirā ^d Ea uptaṭṭir | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 89-97 |
| 7) ÉN ēpišū 'a ēpišētū 'a | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 112-131 |
| 8) ÉN Ezzētunu šamrātunu | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 132-141 |
| 9) ÉN Šadû liktumkunūši | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 149-157 |
| 10) ÉN Isâ isâ | = <i>Maqlû</i> V 158-175 |

These ten incantations are the kernel from which the hundred incantations of the standard *Maqlû* developed.⁴ Specifically, they formed the foundation of the first division, the longest and most important of the three. Together, they constitute a ceremony that is much more cohesive and focused than the standard *Maqlû*. Most of the major ritual actions in the first division are already present in this early short form, and the logical progression and internal connections there are much stronger. The ceremony takes place in four parts, in the early morning. Food and drink are offered to Šamaš, a crucible is set up, statuettes of the witch and warlock are prepared, and then it begins:

Section One: Judgment and Burning. In the opening section of the ceremony, statuettes of the witch and warlock are presented to Šamaš and set in the crucible, and an appeal for their punishment is made (incantation one). A torch is lit during an address to Nuska, the god of the lamp, and he is asked to turn the sorcery back upon the witch (incantation two). Then, while *anašši dipāru* (incantation three), an incantation of burning, is recited, the crucible is set alight and the statuettes are burned.

Section Two: Release of Witchcraft. The three incantations of the second section (incantations four-six) concern the release of witchcraft and the restoration of the victim. They are spoken as the morning sun casts its first light on the victim's face.

³ This list is reconstructed from PBS 1/1 no. 13: 41-50 and other texts containing *Bīt rimki* and related rituals.

⁴ Many early interpreters of the text erroneously considered the short form to be an excerpt from the longer standard form. See, for example, J. Læssøe, *Studies in the Assyrian Ritual and Series Bīt Rimki* (København: Munksgaard, 1955), 91.

Alongside the recitation of these incantations, wool is knotted and unknotted and then thrown into the fire; flour is also burned, and the ashes of the crucible are stirred to complete the consumption of the statuettes and to prepare for the ritual dousing of the flames.

Section Three: Extinguishing. After the previous addresses to the fire-god Girra, the ritual performer turns to gods of water, Ea and Asalluḫi, in incantations seven and eight. While pouring water on the glowing embers, he asks these gods to “cool” and “dampen” the witches’ fierceness and rage.

Section Four: Disposal. In incantation nine, a mountain stone is placed upon the sodden ashes, and the speaker invokes the power of the mountain to cover and contain the now destroyed and powerless witches. The final incantation commands the ghosts of the witches to flee from civilized society and never return.

The Development of the Standard Form. Even as material was added to the short form of *Maqlû*, the original incantations remained some of the most important in the first division and in the rite as a whole. They accompany the most important ritual actions, and they cluster together at crucial points in the text: the beginning and end of the first division and internal junctures. The first three incantations introduce the first major incantation block (I 73-IV 106) which concerns burning. The fourth incantation opens the second incantation block (IV 107-V 88), which primarily deals with tying and untying knots and fumigation, though there are also some destructive burning rites. The fifth incantation probably concludes this section. The sixth incantation deals with water and accompanies the ritual action of stirring the flames. It may act as a hinge between the fire and water sections. Incantations seven and eight concern dousing the flames with water and conclude a three-incantation block about dousing (V 98-141). The last two incantations conclude the first division of *Maqlû* and call for the final crushing, burial, and banishment of the witch.

Undoubtedly the most crucial development in the history of *Maqlû* was the relocation of the first division from the early morning to the nighttime. This move occasioned a number of changes in the text itself to bring it into line with the new nocturnal setting. The first incantation (^d*Šamaš annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*, I 73-121) in the short version was re-addressed to Nuska, a deity more appropriate for nocturnal invocation than Šamaš.⁵ A new introduction was added (I 1-72), with incantations calling upon the gods of the night sky and Gilgamesh in his role as a Netherworld deity. And, as the number of incantations in the first division grew, a second rite of burning (V 145-148) was added to reintegrate and refocus the expanded ceremony.

Subsequently, the second and third divisions (VI 1-VII 54, VII 55-VIII 141) were added to the series for performance late at night and early in the morning, respectively. Like the first division, which is concerned with judgment, destruction by fire, and expulsion of the witch, these two also have common themes. The second division focuses on fumigation, protection, and salving, and the third on washing and retribution. Thus, alongside the introductory and concluding sections of the three divisions and of the work as a whole, the thematic movement provides *Maqlû*

⁵ The incantation, while re-addressed, was not comprehensively re-edited. The result is a muddled incantation with an anomalous characterization of *Nuska* and inappropriate references to daylight material. For more information on the development of this particular incantation, see “*Maqlû* I 73-121,” below.

with its narrative progression.

The Origins of the Ten-Incantation Version. The early short form that was incorporated into *Bīt rimki* was still not the earliest form of *Maqlû*. It is substantially more complex than many other simple anti-witchcraft rituals that survive from ancient Mesopotamia, and stands somewhere between those and the lengthy standard form. It is most likely that the ten-incantation version was derived from shorter, simpler rituals. Indeed, four of the incantations from the short version (I 73-121, I 135-143, V 132-141, and V 158-175) appear in simple rituals apart from *Maqlû*. These four incantations already contain the four main ritual actions of the short form: judgment, burning, dousing, disposal. On closer investigation, however, it can be demonstrated that these actions represent two different models and operative metaphors. One set involves the judgment of the witch and subsequent burning. It is modeled on a court that convicts and banishes a criminal to the steppe, where he is scorched by the hot sun. The second contains the cycle burning > dousing > disposal, which may hearken back to the experience of burning enemy corpses in war. These two themes were brought together because they shared the common element of burning. Nothing about these incantations individually identifies them clearly as *Maqlû*, but when their separate themes were combined, the distinctive combination of elements that comprises *Maqlû* was born.

2

Tablet I 1-72: The Introduction to the Evening Version

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies*. BJS 132. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987, x-xii, 85-147.

Idem, "The Demonic Image of the Witch in Babylonian Literature," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner, et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 32-33 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 8-9.

Idem, "Ascent to the Stars in Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, ed. J. Collins and M. Fishbane. Albany: SUNY Press, 1995, 15-38 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 271-286.

Idem, "The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part II," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Z. Zevit, et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995, 467-494 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 249-270.

Idem, "The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part I," in *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, ed. T. Abusch. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002, 1-34 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 219-248.

Normalization

- 1 ÉN *alsīkunūši ilū mušīti*
 2 *ittikunu alsī mušītu kallatu kuttumtu*
 3 *alsī barārītu qablītu u namārītu*
 4 *aššu kaššāptu ukaššīpanni*
 5 *elēnītu ubbiranni*
 6 *ilī u ^dištārī ušessū eliya*
 7 *eli āmeriya amrušu^a anāku*
 8 *emdēku lā šalālu mūša u urra*
 9 *qū imtanallū pīya*
 10 *upunti pīya iprusu*
 11 *mē maštītiya umaṭṭū*
 12 *elēlī nubū ḥidūtī sipdi*
 13 *izizzānimma ilū rabūtu šimā dabābī*
 14 *dīnī dīnā alaktī limdā*
 15 *ēpuš šalām kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*
 16 *ša ēpišiya u muštēpišiya*
 17 *aškun ina šaplikunuma adabbub dīnī*
 18 *aššu īpuša lemnēti ište 'ā lā banāti*
 19 *šī limūtma anāku lubluṭ*
 20 *kišpūša ruḥūša rusūša lū pašrū*
 21 *bīnu lillilanni ša qimmatu šarū*
 22 *gišimmaru lipšuranni māḥirat kalū šāri*
 23 *^amaštakal libbibanni ša eršeta malāta^a*
 24 *terinnatu^a lipšuranni ša še 'a malāta*
 25 *ina maḥrikunu ētelil kīma sassati*
 26 *ētebib azzaku kīma lardi*
 27 *tūša ša kaššāpti lemutte*
 28 *turrat amāssa^a ana^b pīša lišānša kašrat*
 29 *ina muḥḥi kišpīša limḥašūši ilū mušīti*
 30 *šalāš maššarātu ša mūši lipšurā^{1ab} ruḥēša^c lemnūti*
 31 *pūša lū lipū lišānša lū ṭābtu*
 32 *ša iqbū amāt lemuttiya kīma^a lipī littattuk*
 33 *ša īpušu kišpī kīma ṭābtī^a lišḥarmiṭ^b*
 34 *kišrūša^a puṭturū epšētūša ḥulluqā*
 35 *^akal amātūša^a malā^b šēra*
 36 *ina qibīt iqbū ilū mušīti TU₆ ÉN^a*
-
- 37 ÉN *eršetu eršetu eršetumma*
 38 *^dGilgameš bēl māmītikunu*
 39 *mimmū^a attunu tēpušā^b anāku īde*
 40 *mimmū^a anāku eppušu attunu ul tīdā*
 41 *mimmū kaššāpātūya ippuša ēgā pāṭira pāšira ^a-ul irašši^a TU₆ ÉN^b*
-
- 42 ÉN *ālī^a Zabban^b ālī Zabban*
 43 *ša āliya Zabban šittā abullātūšu*
 44 *^aišēt ana ^dutu-ē šanītu ana ^dutu-šū-a*

- 45 *ištēt ana šīt^d Šamši šanītu ana^a ereb^d Šamši*
 46 *anāku era hašba maštakal našāku*
 47 *ana ilī ša šamē mē anamdin*
 48 *kīma anāku ana kâšunu ullalukunūši*
 49 *attunu yâši ullilā 'inni TU₆ ÉN*
-
- 50 *ÉN akla nēberu aktali kāru*
 51 *akli ipšīšina ša kalīšina mātāti*
 52 *^dAnu u Antu išpurū 'inni*
 53 *mannu lušpur ana^d Bēlet-šēri*
 54 *ana pī kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya idī hargullī*
 55 *idī šipassu ša apkal ilī^d Marduk*
 56 *lilsākima lā tappalīšināti*
 57 *liqbānikkimma lā tašemmišināti*
 58 *lulstikima apulīnni*
 59 *luqbākkimma šimīnni yâši*
 60 *ina qibīt iqbū^d Anu Antu u^d Bēlet-šēri TU₆ ÉN*
-
- 61 *ÉN šaprāku allak u 'urāku adabbu[b]*
 62 *ana lēt kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya^d Asalluḫi bēl āšipūti išpuranni*
 63 *ša šamē qūlā ša eršetī^a šimā*
 64 *ša nāri qūlāni ša nābali šimā 'pīya'*
 65 *šāru nāziqū turruk^{a-e} tallik^a*
 66 *ša haṭṭi u martē turruk^{a-lā} tallak^a*
 67 *lizziz harrānu mārāt ilī rabūti*
 68 *adi amāt kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya aqabbū*
 69 *alpu ipaššar immeru ipaššar*
 70 *amāssunu lippašerma amātī lā ippaššar*
 71 *adi amātī aqabbū amāssunu ana pān amātiya ul^a ipparrik*
 72 *ina qibīt <iq>bū^a ^dAsalluḫi bēl āšipūti TU₆ ÉN*

Textual Notes: line 7^a Var.: *amruš* || line 23^{a-a} Var.: line omitted || line 24^a Var.: *terinnat ašūḫi* (so quoted in a commentary) || line 28^a Var.: in most or all occurrences, pronominal suffix -šulsu instead of -šalsa (possessive) and -ši (accusative) in lines 28–31 of Babylonian mss |^b Var.: *ina* || line 30^a Text: *lipšurū* |^b Var.: *lipašširū* |^c Var.: *ruḫē* || line 32^a Var.: *kī* || line 33^a Var.: *kirbān tābti ina mē* |^b Var.: *liḫḫarmiṭ* || line 34^a Var.: pronominal suffix -šu instead of -ša in lines 34–35 of one ms. || line 35^{a-a} Var.: *kalamâtīšu* |^b Var.: *limlā* || line 36^a Var.: + [KA.INIM.MA U]Š₁₁.BÚRU.DA.[KAM] || line 39^a Var.: *mimma ša* |^b Or perhaps *teppušā* || line 40^a Var.: *mimma ša* || line 41^{a-a} Var.: *lā īšā* |^b Var.: + [KA.INIM.MA U]Š₁₁.BÚRU.DA.[KAM] || line 42^a Var.: both instances of *alī* occur without pronominal suffix in an Aššur ms and a commentary quotation |^b Perhaps read *šappān* || line 44^a Since the parallel entries in lines 44 (^dUTU.È . . . ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A) and 45 (*ši-it* ^dUTU-ši . . . *e-reb* ^dUTU-ši) refer to the two positions of the sun with different writings and each line does so consistently across all manuscripts, the seemingly logographic writings in line 44 probably represent different Akkadian terms from those found in line 45, and thus the writings in line 44 should perhaps be read as if they were Akkadian words ^dutu-è . . . ^dutu-šú-a (and not *šīt* ^dŠamši . . . *ereb* ^dŠamši) || line 45^a Var.: omitted || line 63^a Perhaps read *qaqqari* instead of *eršetī*; cf. VII 144 and note there || line 65^{a-a} Var.: *ē tallak* || line 66^{a-a} Var.: *ē tallak* || line 71^a Var.: *lā*, which is grammatically superior || line 72^a Var.: *iqbū* omitted.

Translation

- 1 Incantation. I call upon you, Gods of the Night,
 - 2 With you I call upon Night, the veiled bride,
 - 3 I call upon Twilight, Midnight, and Dawn.
 - 4 Because a witch has bewitched me,
 - 5 A deceitful woman has accused me,
 - 6 (Because) she has (thereby) caused my god and goddess to be estranged from me (and)
 - 7 I have become sickening in the sight of anyone who beholds me, (and)
 - 8 I am (thus) unable to rest day or night,
 - 9 (Because) a gag continually filling my mouth
 - 10 Has kept food distant from my mouth and
 - 11 Has diminished the water which passes through my drinking organ,
 - 12 (Because) my song of joy has become wailing and my rejoicing mourning—
 - 13 Stand by me, O great gods, and give heed to my suit,
 - 14 Judge my case and grant me an (oracular) decision!
 - 15 I have made a figurine of my warlock and witch,
 - 16 Of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me,
 - 17 I set (it) at your feet and am now pleading my case:
 - 18 Because she has performed evil against me and has constantly conjured up baseless charges against me,
 - 19 May she die, but I live.
 - 20 May her witchcraft, her spittle, her enchantment be released.^a
 - 21 May the tamarisk that is copious of crown clear me,
 - 22 May the date palm that withstands all winds release me,
 - 23 May the soapwort that fills the earth cleanse me,
 - 24 May the cone^a that is full of seeds release me.
 - 25 In your presence I have (now) become pure like grass,
 - 26 Clean and innocent like nard.
 - 27 Her spell being that of an evil witch,
 - 28 Her word has been turned back into her mouth and her tongue constricted.
 - 29 On a(c)count of her witchcraft, may the Gods of the Night strike her,
 - 30 May the three Watches of the Night release her evil spell.^a
 - 31 Her mouth be tallow, her tongue be salt:
 - 32 May that^a which uttered evil against me drip ever away like tallow,
 - 33 May that^a which performed witchcraft against me dissolve like salt.^b
 - 34 Her bonds are broken, her deeds nullified;
 - 35 All of her words fill^a the steppe^b—
 - 36 By the command pronounced by the gods of the night. TU₆ ÉN^a
-
- 37 Incantation. Netherworld, netherworld, yea netherworld,
 - 38 Gilgameš is the enforcer of your oath.
 - 39 Whatever you have done,^a I know,
 - 40 Whatever I do, you do not know.
 - 41 Whatever my witches do will not secure anyone who will overlook, undo, release (it).^{alb} TU₆ ÉN^c

42 Incantation. My city^a is Zabban; my city^a is Zabban.
43 Of my city Zabban, two are its gates.
44 One for sunrise, the second for sunset.^a
45 One for the rising of the sun, the second for the setting of the sun.
46 Raising up a broken palm frond and *maštaka* plant,
47 I offer water to the gods of the sky (and say):
48 “As I purify you yourselves,
49 May you purify me myself.” TU₆ ÉN

50 Incantation. I have enclosed the ford, I have enclosed the quay;
51 I have enclosed the witchcraft of all the lands.
52 Anu and Antu have sent me, (saying):
53 “whom shall we (lit., I) send to Bēlet-šēri?”
54 Place the lock on the mouth of my warlock and witch,
55 Place the sealing^a of the sage of the gods, Marduk,
56 When they call to you, do not answer them,
57 When they speak to you, do not listen to them,
58 When I call to you, answer me.
59 When I speak to you, listen to me—
60 By the command pronounced by Anu, Antu, and Bēlet-šēri. TU₆ ÉN

61 Incantation. I have been sent and I will go; I have been commissioned and I will speak.
62 Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism, has sent me against my warlock and witch.
63 You of the heavens, pay heed, you of the netherworld, listen,
64 You of the river, pay heed to me, you of the dry land, listen to my speech!
65 The howling wind is stilled—do not blow!
66 The bearer of the staff and pole is stilled—you shall not blow!
67 May the road, the daughter of the great gods, stand still.
68 When I present the testimony against my warlock and witch,
69 The ox shall set at ease^a (the judge); the sheep shall set at ease (the judge).
70 May their testimony be undone, but let my testimony not be undone.^a
71 When I present my testimony, let their testimony not stand in the way of my testimony^a—
72 By the command pronounced by Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism. TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: line 20 ^a Unlikely alternative: Verily are her witchcraft, her spittle, her enchantment released || line 24 ^a Var.: the cone of a pine tree || line 30 ^a Var.: the evil spell || line 32 ^a That is, the witch’s mouth || line 33 ^a That is, the witch’s tongue | ^b Var.: like a clump of salt in water || line 35 ^a Var.: May all of her words fill the steppe | ^b That is, her accusations are dismissed || line 36 ^a Var.: + [It is the wording (of the incantation)] to undo witch[craft] || line 39 ^a Or, perhaps: you do || line 41 ^a That is, the oath. Alternative translation: Whatever my witches do, it (i.e., their oath) will not secure anyone who will overlook, undo, release (it, scil. the oath) | ^b Var.: Whatever my witches do, they will not have anyone who will overlook, undo, release (it, i.e., the oath) | ^c Var.: + [It is the wording (of the incantation)] to undo [witchcraft] || line 42 ^a Var.: (my) city || line 44 ^a Assuming that lines 44 and 45 refer to the positions of the sun differently, the terms in line 44 should perhaps be translated not as “the rising of the sun . . . the setting of the sun” (a mythological description) as in line 45, but rather as either “sunrise . . . sunset” (more naturalistic) or “east . . . west” (directional) || line 55 ^a Or: Cast the incantation || line 69 ^a Lit., “shall release.”

I understand the ox and sheep here as offerings to the (divine) judge || **line 70** ^a That is, may it stand up under scrutiny || **line 71** ^a That is, may it not prevent mine from being effective.

Commentary

The first five incantations in the text of the *Maqlû* ceremony (I 1-72) were not part of the original text of *Maqlû*, but rather were added to the work when *Maqlû* was transformed into a nighttime ceremony (see above, The Development of *Maqlû*). They serve as an introduction to the work and are designed to enlist the heavens, the netherworld, and the forces of nature in the speaker's cause. They address the deities both in the nighttime sky and in the netherworld and thereby establish an astral and chthonic character and orientation for the work. The goal is to convince the gods to support the indictment of the witches and their imprisonment prior to and in anticipation of their trial, judgment, and execution later in the ceremony.

The text of these incantations is unusual within both the larger corpus of witchcraft texts and the ceremony itself. Their cosmic setting is not common in the witchcraft corpus; moreover, in contrast to the middle section of the *Maqlû* ceremony, where the text often repeats themes in a number of variations, each of the incantations here is separate, unique, and part of a progressive, non-repetitive series.

The first of the five incantation, lines 1-36, invokes the gods of the night. It locates the performance in the evening and creates an astral focus. Incantations Two, Three, and Four in lines 37-60 focus on the netherworld, but address both the heavens and the netherworld. Incantation Five calls on the powers of nature.

I 1-36: *Alsīkunūši ilū mušīti*. The opening incantation of *Maqlû* sets the tone for the entire work. It locates the performance in the evening and contains significant literary features that establish the juridical setting of the whole first tablet. At first glance, this incantation (as with many other incantations and prayers) seems simple, but deeper reflection reveals the richness of its themes and ideas, and analysis shows the incantation to be the product of a literary creativity that drew together magical and legal imagery for the purpose of creating an indictment in which social and moral dimensions of the witchcraft accusation come into play.

The image of a legal conflict blends here with the image of conflict with a witch. Originally, portrayals of conflict with a witch often involved an encounter with the witch's spittle. The spittle was the agent of witchcraft, the substance the witch used to bewitch someone. While this perception of witchcraft and the witch remained alive throughout the life of the tradition, many texts (including this one) place the conflict in a legal setting. This is not uncommon in the Akkadian and late Sumerian prayer and incantation tradition, where experiences originally unrelated to law or the law court are perceived through, molded by, and integrated into a view of reality generalized from the legal sphere of life and are expressed in images drawn from that sphere. The witch and victim become legal adversaries and the conflict becomes a legal conflict. In the new setting, the witch's main instrument of harm is still her mouth, but it is mainly her *amātu* "word" that causes harm now, not her spittle.

Lines 1-3 are an invocation of the gods of the night. Lines 4-5 begin the speaker's description of the witch's actions against him. The speaker in lines 4-5 simply states that a witch has performed magical acts against him and accused him. The use of the word *ubburu* "to accuse" in line 5 indicates that there has indeed been an oral

delivery of accusations or denunciations by the witch against the speaker. This is further evidenced by the mention of the witch's *amātu* "word" in lines 28 and 35.⁶

The actions mentioned in lines 4-5 are the cause of the injuries described in lines 6-12. Lines 6-7 state the principal consequence of the actions described in lines 4-5: the alienation of the victim's personal gods and his loss of social stature. In addition to making accusations against the speaker and making him socially reprehensible, the witch has also made an attempt to silence him and to deprive him of his ability to defend himself against her accusations. In line 9, the speaker says a *qû* has been placed in his mouth. The word *qû*, which has the basic meaning of "string," refers here to some kind of gag or bridle, the mouthpiece of which was probably placed under the tongue and pushed as far back in the mouth as possible.⁷ The verb *malû* "to fill up" is used in the Gtn (iterative) form *imtanallû*, which suggests that the *qû* has been continually filling the speaker's mouth, leaving him unable to speak and, as lines 10-11 indicate, unable to eat or drink as well.⁸ It also suggests that this is an ongoing condition, not a sequential action. Therefore, the *kaššāptu ukaššipanni* "a witch has bewitched me" in line 4 must have included the placing of the *qû* in the speaker's mouth. One can imagine that the witch literally placed the *qû* in the mouth of a figure or effigy representing the speaker.

In lines 4-12, the speaker describes the witch's actions and the situation that her actions have brought about. The statement does not constitute a legally binding accusation against the witch. The description is meant to establish that the victim has suffered injuries at the hand of the witch. *Aššu* "because" at the beginning of line 4 introduces and governs lines 4-12, which are accordingly in the subjunctive (the *-u* endings on the verbs in lines 9-11 are not a sign of the plural, but rather of the subjunctive). Lines 4-12 are meant to introduce and justify the request to the gods that they take up the case (lines 13-14). This understanding of lines 4-12 is confirmed by the conspicuous absence of any form of *lemēnu* "to do evil" in lines 4-14, in contrast to its marked presence in later parts of the incantation (lines 18, 27, 32).

The legal status of the acts described by the speaker depends on the truth or falsity of the witch's accusation in line 5 and on her intentions. In order to prove that the witch's magical acts were illegitimate—that is, that she had performed *kišpû* "evil magic" (line 18, cf. lines 29 and 33) against him and that this act constituted a criminal offense—the speaker must clear himself by means of an oath of the witch's accusation (21-26) and establish the evil intent of his adversary and the falsity of her accusation (27-28).

When the court convenes, the plaintiff (speaker) causes the witch-defendant to be present in effigy and accuses her of having acted illegally and with evil and malicious intent (lines 15-20). He then establishes his own innocence. In lines 21-24

⁶ The preserved part of the ritual for lines 32-33 prescribes placing salt in the mouth of the statue and applying a torch to it; the ritual thus assumes that these lines express the wish to destroy the mouth and tongue of the witch. They must be destroyed because they are the very organs the witch used to harm him. More specifically, the tongue has *īpušu kišpi* "performed witchcraft" (line 33) and the mouth has *iqbû amāt lemmutiya* "uttered evil" (line 34).

⁷ For other examples of this usage of *qû* see T. Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft*, 116-118.

⁸ The singular *qû* is the subject of the verb in all three lines.

the speaker requests that a number of plants "purify," "cleanse," and "release" him. The cleansing by means of plants constitutes here a functional equivalent of the oath or ordeal (or perhaps symbolizes simply the quality of innocence to be attained through an oath or ordeal). These lines represent a stock motif frequently encountered in Akkadian magical literature. But, the presence of perfect verbs in lines 25 and 26 differentiates this from other examples of the motif. These verbs signal that the wished-for result is actually attained in lines 25-26.

Having established his own innocence, the speaker then asserts that the witch's motives for accusing him were *lemutte* "evil" (line 27) and that the accusation was false. In line 28, the speaker claims that the witch no longer has power over him due to the establishment of his innocence. Now that her *amātu* has been rendered powerless, the speaker requests that she be punished in lines 29-33. With a string of precatave verbs, the speaker makes his request to the court that actions be taken against the very organs the witch used to harm him, her *pû* and *lišānu*.

The final three lines of the incantation constitute the decision of the court with regard to the case the speaker had brought against the witch. Lines 34-35 do not simply repeat the speaker's request of lines 28 and 30; they are the proclamation of the court. The shift from precatave to stative verbs reflects the shift from the speaker's wishes to the actual decision rendered by the court. The *ina qibīt* formula in line 36 confirms the decree issued by the court in lines 34 and 35.

Although this incantation in its present form possesses literary unity, it seems possible to discern two literary strata and to suggest that the author of the incantation took an existing, but much shorter, incantation as the basis for his composition.

This suggestion is based on lines 19-20, which are completely unexpected in the middle of the incantation. The position of these lines constitutes a structural anomaly, since elsewhere in the witchcraft corpus lines identical with or similar to lines 19 and/or 20 are always found at or near the end of their respective incantations. It is therefore not unlikely that the author responsible for the final version of our incantation took over an already existing traditional incantation more or less identical with lines 1-20. The original incantation would have served to kill the witch, whereas the incantation in its current form is not focused on killing her. Rather, it seeks to establish her guilt, to have her "indicted" in the divine court, and to disable the organs she used to bewitch the speaker. Killing the witch is reserved for the final stages in the trial found in the address to Nuska in tablet I lines 73ff. Thus, this incantation serves as an initial hearing in which the plaintiff's charges are investigated by the gods and watches of the night, who ultimately assign the case to the court of the fire god Nuska.

I 37-41: *Eršetu eršetu eršetumma*. The content of the next four incantations has proven particularly difficult for scholars to understand. The challenge lies not in the translation, but in the interpretation, for the texts leave open questions regarding the identification of the addressees of the incantations, the treatment of these addressees, and the ceremonial, legal, and ideological contexts of that treatment. Reference to other works in the witchcraft corpus is of limited use in understanding these incantations, because their themes are relatively rare, and even when there are parallels in wording with other texts in the corpus, the themes in our incantations have been recontextualized such that their present meaning differs from that of their non-*Maqlû* parallels.

There are a number of difficult issues in the interpretation of Incantation Two. The basic content is clear: the speaker invokes a *māmītu* (oath) of the netherworld. However, in lines 37-38 the text does not address why *eršetu* and Gilgameš are invoked and to what the *māmītu* refers. In addition, the identity of the speaker, the identity and nature of the addressees in the final three lines (39-41), and the referent for the statement, "there will be no one to overlook, undo, release," in line 41 are unclear.

Underlying the invocation of the netherworld and of Gilgameš in this incantation is the association between the festival of the dead and the *Maqlû* ceremony. Moreover, the metaphor of a law court that was introduced in the first incantation continues as a theme throughout the rest of the ceremony, and the address to Gilgameš, a netherworld god who functions as a judge during the festival of the dead in the month of Abu, is part of this ongoing legal theme.

In rituals for exorcism, *māmītu* (as well as related words) is often used in reference to a demand for exorcism and separation of the spirit from the patient. Therefore, the oath overseen by Gilgameš in this incantation (line 38) could serve to complete a standard pattern of adjuration by heaven and netherworld, the realms of the gods. In this text, however, the nature and variety of the punishments doled out to the witch later in the ceremony suggests that this *māmītu* has a more specific meaning. Here, the term seems instead to refer to a social compact or contract that governs all members of society, living and dead, with the purpose of ensuring social order and well-being. The witches have broken this oath through their hostile behavior, and they are therefore subject to punishment by the gods of the heavens and the netherworld who oversee the oath.

This understanding of the *māmītu* provides the referent for the statement, "there will be no one to overlook, undo, release," in line 41. The witches have an incentive to try to render the oath inoperative so that they can escape punishment for their oath-breaking. The speaker in line 41 assures them that no one will overlook, undo, or release them from the requirements of that oath and thereby spare them the punishment they are due. Comparable statements regarding the unbreakable nature of an oath are found both in addresses to ghosts and in Esarhaddon's vassal treaties. They seem to reflect something of Neo-Assyrian ideology regarding social and political covenants and the necessity of punishing those who violate them. The requirement to punish oath-breakers was absolute and therefore applied to both the living and the dead. The connection between *Maqlû* and Neo-Assyrian ideology is further demonstrated by the similarities between the punishment meted out to witches in the *Maqlû* ceremony and the punishment decreed for traitors in Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties.

One of the most perplexing issues in understanding these four incantations is determining the nature of the witches who are being indicted. Are they living human beings or dead infernal creatures? The original *Maqlû* ceremony was created by joining together two sets of incantations: one that depicted the enemy as a human witch and another that focused on a ghostly or demonic force identified with a dead witch. Thus, the combined text of the *Maqlû* ceremony addresses both types of witch. In this second incantation, however, textual features suggest that it is directed at the dead. The use of the second-person masculine plural address in lines 38-40 is unusual, as the feminine plural is the expected form when addressing a group of

witches. Coupled with the invocation of Gilgameš and of the netherworld in lines 37-38, the masculine plural address suggests that this particular speech is directed at an undifferentiated group of “male” dead, among whom the witches stand. Supporting this view is the presence of a similar address in the second-person masculine plural at the end of Tablet V, an incantation that now marks the end of the first division of *Maqlû*, but that originally marked the end of an earlier form of the *Maqlû* ceremony.

I 42-49: *Ālī Zabban ālī Zabban*. During the third and fourth incantations, the speaker invokes the gods of the heavens and of the netherworld in order to enlist their support. He asks that they not heed the requests of the witches and ensure that the dead witches be confined prior to their trial so that they can neither enter the netherworld nor travel to the inhabited realm to harm the living. The speaker imagines himself to be able to interact with the gods of both the heavens and the netherworld and to journey to both regions. In this incantation, he first approaches the gods of the sky and requests their assistance. Interpretation of this text hinges on identifying the nature, location, and role of Zabban and on determining why the speaker turns to the heavenly gods for help.

Standing on a roof, the speaker faces the gods of the night sky, the stars, and declares his location to be Zabban. While there are references in historical texts to a city called Zabban, for purposes of this text Zabban is best understood as a cosmic area—possibly identical with West Semitic *Šāphôn*—that connects the earth, heavens, and the netherworld and draws together the human, divine, and infernal communities.⁹ The speaker standing in Zabban is not only at a point of contact between the earth and the night sky; he is also at the point where heaven, earth, and the netherworld meet.

The gates of Zabban, which are described in lines 44 and 45 as lying in the east and west, face (or perhaps contain) and guard the gates through which the astral bodies rise and set. From this position, the speaker will be able to enter either the heavens or the netherworld. Since the speaker is not a priest, however, he is not authorized to act as a messenger of the gods. In order to take on this role, he must first enter the company of the gods. Mythologically, he himself must become an astral body in order to travel through the heavens and to the netherworld.

To that end, he makes a water offering to the heavenly gods to purify them. Having performed this action, he in turn asks to be purified by the gods. This purification may serve to prepare him to enter the court of the gods of the night sky. Once he joins their ranks, the speaker can be commissioned by Anu and Antu as their messenger, thus allowing him to traverse the heavens and approach *Bēlet-šēri* in the netherworld in the next incantation.

The speaker’s identification with the astral bodies accomplishes more than just a paving of the way for him to become a messenger of the gods. It also protects him during the ritual from forces in the night that might seek to harm him, and it will allow him to experience and exercise power during the ritual. With regard to

⁹ A political interpretation of the significance of Zabban is also possible. Historical sources mention a city of that name that at certain points in Mesopotamian history may have sat on the border between Assyria and Babylonia. In this scenario, a literal conflict between the two states has been recast as a cosmic conflict.

protection, the speaker needs to be prepared for attacks from witches, both living and dead. Defense against the machinations of ghosts is especially relevant, since the ceremony is performed during the festival of the dead. One vehicle for delivering such attacks is through dreams, so some elements of the ritual may simply be designed to keep the speaker awake.

I 50-60: *Akla nēberu aktali kāru*. The issues in the fourth incantation center around the structure of the cosmos assumed in the text and the roles of the players within it. What and where are the “quay” and the “ford” mentioned in line 50? Why are both the heavens and the netherworld involved? Why is *Bēlet-šēri* invoked, and what is requested of her?

In the opening lines (50-51) of the incantation, the speaker confines the witches he has captured to the ford and the quay. Evidence from other texts indicates that the ford sometimes refers to a passageway set on the eastern horizon at the entrance to the heavens. In this text, it serves as a transit point for travel between the heavens and the netherworld. From there, the deities and spirits can either advance across the heavens to the inhabited world or retreat backwards to the netherworld. The “quay” provides a place to imprison those whose travel across the cosmos is to be restricted, and it may also serve as the location of the eventual trial or judgment of the witches.

With the witches safely imprisoned, the speaker travels to the netherworld to address the goddess *Bēlet-šēri* and request her assistance. *Bēlet-šēri* is the scribe and record-keeper in the netherworld, whose approval is necessary for any entry into that realm. In this capacity, she acts as one type of guardian over the entrance to the netherworld, and she also oversees those of the dead who are awaiting a decision whether they will be allowed to enter/re-enter the netherworld. Recall that in line 41 of the second incantation the speaker had assured the witches that their oath will remain binding. Here his purpose in approaching *Bēlet-šēri* is to ensure that the witches he has captured remain confined until their trial and that the goddess not heed their requests for assistance—that is, that she not abrogate their oath, declare their innocence, or grant them access to the netherworld.

His introductory comment to her in lines 52-53 indicates that he has, in fact, succeeded in joining the heavenly court and has been given the commission to address her by Anu and Antu. The form of the address is unusual, however, and appears to be a combination of formulaic language from two different contexts. The wording of line 52, ^d*Anu u Antu išpurū’inni*, is a common form of introduction for messengers, but that of line 53, *mannu lušpur ana* ^d*Bēlet-šēri*, occurs only as the opening words of ritual instructions in Akkadian incantations. By wording his introduction in this way, the speaker acknowledges to the goddess that he is not a regular divine or priestly messenger, but that he has nonetheless received a commission from the gods to act as their legitimate messenger.

Structural anomalies in this incantation suggest that the messenger formula (lines 52-53) is not original to the text, but rather was inserted secondarily to convey the legitimation of the messenger. This is confirmed by comparing this incantation with the text of *Maqlû* VII 8-11, which is part of an incantation that was added to the *Maqlû* ceremony at the same time as I 50-60. *Maqlû* VII 8-11 parallels and is probably the prototype of incantation four here; thus VII 8-9 // I 50-51 and VII 10-11 // I 54-55.

VII 8 <i>šalil nēberu šalil kāru</i>	I 50 <i>akla nēberu aktali kāru</i>
9 <i>mārū malāhi kalīšunu šallū</i>	51 <i>akli ipšīšina ša kalīšina mātāti</i>
10 <i>eli dalti u sikkūri nadû ḥargullū</i>	54 <i>ana pī kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya idī ḥargullī</i>
11 <i>nadât šipassun ša ^dSiris u ^dNingišzida</i>	55 <i>idī šipassu ša apkal ilī ^dMarduk</i>
8 The ford is asleep, the quay is asleep	50 I have enclose the ford, I have enclosed the quay;
9 The sailors, all of them, are asleep	51 I have enclosed the witchcraft of all the lands.
10 Upon the door and bolt, locks are placed	54 Place the lock on the mouth of my warlock and witch,
11 Cast (thereupon) is the incantation of Siris and Ningišzida ¹⁰	55 Cast the incantation of the sage of the gods, Marduk ¹⁰

The integrity of VII 8-11 indicates the primacy of I 50-51+54-55 and the secondary nature of I 52-53, thus demonstrating that the present text of I 50-55 is a secondary construction and that I 52-53 is an intentional intrusion, now separating lines that elsewhere appear together.

I 61-72: Šapṛāku allak u 'urāku adabbub. Understanding the fifth incantation requires determining why the various forces of nature are invoked. Here the statements of the speaker indicate that the role of the forces of nature in this text is to serve as witness to the agreement that the witches undertook and have now broken. It is possible that they act as witnesses for the speaker. In any case, they are asked to take the side of the speaker, to assist him in presenting his case to the gods for judgment, and to prevent the witches from interfering with his presentation.

3

Tablet I 73-121: *^dNuska annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies*. BJS 132. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987, 143-146.

Idem, "An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. HSS 37. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990, 15-16, 25-39 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 125-126, 134-147.

Normalization

- 73 ÉN *^dNuska annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*
 74 *annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*
 75 *^ašalmû kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya^a*

¹⁰ Or "applied is the sealing of Siris and Ningišzida" in VII 11 and "Place the sealing of the sage of the gods, Marduk" in I 55.

- 76 *šalmū ēpišiya u muštēpištiya*
 77 *šalmū sāḥiriya u sāḥertiya*
 78 *šalmū rāḥīya u rāḥītiya*
 79 ^a-šalmū bēl ikkiya u bēlet ikkiya^a
 80 *šalmū bēl šerriya u bēlet šerriya*
 81 ^ašalm[ū] bēl rīdiya u bēlet rīdiya
 82 *šalmū bēl dīniya u bēlet dīniya*
 83 ^ašalm[ū] bēl amātiya u bēlet amātiya
 84 *šalmū bēl dabābiya u bēlet dabābiya*
 85 *šalm[ū] bēl egerreya u bēlet egerreya*
 86 *šalmū bēl lemuttiya u bēlet lemuttiya*
 87 ^a-ša attā ^dNuska dayyānu tīdēšunūtima anāku lā tīdēšunūti^{-alb}
 88 *ša kišpī ruḥē rusī upšāšē lemnūti^a*
 89 *ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti rāmu zīru*
 90 *dibalā zikurrudā kadabbedā šurḥungā*
 91 *šabalbalē šūd pānī u^a šanē ṭemu*
 92 *ēpušū[ni] uštēpišūni^a iṣḥurūni ušashirūni*
 93 *annūti šunu annūti šalmūšunu*
 94 *kīma šunu lā izzazzū šalmīšunu našāku*
 95 *attā ^dNuska dayyānu ^a-kāšid lemni u ayyābi^a kušussunūtima anāku lā aḥḥabbil*
 96 *ša šalmīya ibnū bunnannīya umaššilū*
 97 *pīya ušabbitū kišādī utarrirū*
 98 *irtī^a id'ipū ešenšērī ikpupū*
 99 *libbī unnišū nīš libbiya iṣbatū*
 100 *libbī itti[ya] uzannū emūqī unnišū*
 101 *aḥīya iṣpukū birkīya iksū^a*
 102 *ummu mangu u lu'tu umallū'inni*
 103 *aklī kaššāpūti ušākilū'inni*
 104 *'mē' kaššāpūti iṣqū'inni*
 105 *rimk[ī l]u'ūti urammekū'inni*
 106 *napšalti šammē lemnūti ipšušū'inni*
 107 *ana mīti iḥīrū'inni*
 108 *mē napištiya ina qabri ušnillū*
 109 ^a-ila šarra kabta u rubā ittiya uzannū^{-a}
 110 *attā ^dGirra qāmū kaššāpi u kaššāpti*
 111 *muḥalliq raggī zēr kaššāpi u kaššāpti*
 112 *mu'abbīt lemnūti attāma*
 113 *anāku alsīka kīma ^dŠamaš dayyāni^{-alb}*
 114 *dīnī dīni purussāya purus*
 115 *qumu kaššāpī^a u kaššāptī*
 116 *akul ayyābīya aruḥ lemnūtīya*
 117 ^a-ūmka ezzu likšussunūti^{-a}
 118 *kīma mē nādi ina tīki liqtū*
 119 *kīma tirik abnī ubānātīšunu liktaššišū*
 120 *ina qibītika šīrti ša lā uttakkaru*
 121 *u^a annika kīni ša lā innennū TU₆ ÉN*

Textual Notes: line 75 ^{a-a} Var.: line omitted || line 79 ^{a-a} Var.: line possibly omitted in one ms || line 81 ^a Var.: one ms has the line order 82–81 || line 83 ^a Var.: one ms has the line order 85–83–84 || line 87 ^{a-a} Var.: one ms has line 95 here instead of line 87 | ^b Var.: *īdūšunūti* || line 88 ^a Var.: + *ša amēlūti* || line 91 ^a Var.: absent || line 92 ^a Var.: *ušēpišūni* || line 95 ^{a-a} Var.: absent || line 98 ^a Var.: + *naglab[īya]* || line 101 ^a Var.: + *dig[līya ušamī]ū hašīšīya u-[]* || line 109 ^{a-a} Var.: line absent || line 113 ^a Var.: *q[u]rādi* | ^b Var.: + *ina ūmu annē ina d[īn]īya izizzammu* || line 115 ^a I have read LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU u MĪ.UŠ₁₁.ZU here in line 115 as *kaššāpī u kaššāpī*; for this reading, cf. lines.132 and 109. The first-person possessive suffix (.MU) sometimes seems to be implicit in the logographic writing LÚ/MĪ.UŠ₁₁.ZU when the noun is in the nominative or the accusative; cf. VII 17 || line 117 ^{a-a} Var.: line omitted || line 121 ^a Var.: + *ina*.

Translation

- 73 Incantation. O Nuska, these are the figurines of my sorcerer,
 74 These are the figurines of my sorceress,
 75 The figurines of my warlock and my witch,
 76 The figurines of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me,
 77 The figurines of my enchanter and my enchantress,
 78 The figurines of my male and female inseminators,^a
 79 The figurines of the male and female who are enraged at me,
 80 The figurines of my male and female enemies,
 81 The figurines of my male and female persecutors,
 82 The figurines of my male and female litigants,
 83 The figurines of my male and female accusers,
 84 The figurines of my male and female adversaries,
 85 The figurines of my male and female slanderers,
 86 The figurines of my male and female evildoers,
 87 Whom, you, Nuska, the judge, know, but I do not know,
 88 Who witchcraft, spittle, enchantment, evil machinations,^a
 89 Sorcery, rebellion, evil word, love (-magic), hate (-magic),
 90 Perversion of justice, *Zikurrudā*-magic, aphasia, pacification,
 91 Mood swings, vertigo, madness
 92 Against me have performed, have had performed, have sought, have had sought.
 93 These are they, these are their figurines.
 94 Since they are not present, I bear aloft their figurines (and say):
 95 You, Nuska, the judge, vanquisher of the wicked and the enemy, vanquish them so I not be wronged,
 96 (Those) who have made my figurines, reproduced my facial features,
 97 Seized my mouth, made my neck tremble,
 98 Pressed on my chest,^a bent my spine,
 99 Weakened my heart, taken away my sexual drive,
 100 Made me turn my anger against myself,^a sapped my strength,
 101 Caused my arms to fall limp, bound my knees,^a
 102 Filled me with fever, stiffness, and debility,
 103 Fed me bewitched food,
 104 Given me bewitched water to drink,
 105 Bathed me in dirty wash water,

- 106 Rubbed me with a salve of harmful herbs,
 107 Betrothed me to a dead man,
 108 Laid the water of my life^a in a grave,
 109 Caused god, king, noble, and prince to be angry with me.
 110 O you, Girra, it is you who are the burner of warlocks and witches,
 111 The annihilator of the wicked, seed of warlock and witch,
 112 The destroyer of the evildoers.
 113 I call upon you in the stead of Šamaš, the judge.^{a b}
 114 Judge my case, render my verdict.
 115 Burn my warlock and my witch,
 116 Devour my enemies, consume my oppressors!
 117 Let your raging (fire-)storm vanquish them.
 118 May they come to an end in a trickle like water from a waterskin.
 119 May their fingers be cut back like smashing stones.^a
 120 By your pre-eminent command that cannot be altered
 121 And your affirmative assent that cannot be changed. TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: line 78 ^a Possible alternative translations for forms designating doers of the action *rehû* (*rāhû*, *rāhītu*, *rahhātu*) are “poisoner” or “spitter” || line 88 ^a Var.: + of mankind || line 98 ^a Var.: + (and) my hips || line 100 ^a Or: caused me to turn against myself || line 101 ^a Var.: + [Decreas]ed [my vis]ion, i[mpaired] my hearing (lit., “[seiz]ed my ears”) || line 108 ^a Or, possibly: my semen || line 113 ^a Var.: the hero | ^b Var.: + On this day, stand by me in my judgment || line 119 ^a Lit., “the striking of stones,” that is, may their fingers be cut off as if they were smashed by stones. Possible, but less likely, alternatives: “may their fingers be cut back like stones that are smashed,” or (so CAD G 53b) “may they trim their fingers like blunted stones.”

Commentary

The sixth incantation of *Maqlû* continues the legal procedure operative in the earlier part of the first tablet. The accuser identifies the figurines of the defendant, who had committed acts of witchcraft against him (73-109), and demands that the court of Nuska order a death penalty by fire (110-121). The purpose of these court proceedings is not to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused. Thus, there is no examination of evidence. The plaintiff treats the guilt of the witch as self-evident and demands the death penalty. This behavior can only be explained if the accuser believes that the court has knowledge of the witch's guilt and will act in accordance with that knowledge. The explanation for the lack of evidence here relies only partly on the fact that evidence had been previously submitted in the earlier lines of Tablet I (see I 1-36). This type of legal procedure represents a stage of development in that tradition of criminal justice exemplified by the Old Babylonian Nippur Homicide Trial. Here, as there, the facts of the case and the defendant's guilt are taken for granted and the primary focus is on the punishment.¹¹

There is a difference in this case, however, since the alleged criminal is a witch. The accuser does not know the identity of the culprit and cannot prosecute the

¹¹ See T. Jacobsen, “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide,” in *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture* (HSS 21; ed. W. L. Moran; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 193-214, reprinted with corrections from *idem*, “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide,” *AnBi* 12 (1959), 130-50, esp. 141-2.

evildoer in a regular court of law. Instead, the witch is tried *in absentia* and represented in the trial by figurines. The speaker must appeal to an omniscient divine judge and executioner who is able to identify the culprit, locate him outside of the bounds of the settled community, and destroy him.

In most incantations of this type, it is Šamaš who fills the role of judge, so the presence of Nuska here creates some confusion. Šamaš is the personification of the brilliant desert sun, whose bright rays can search out the criminal wandering in the steppe and destroy him. Nuska, on the other hand, is the night lamp—a protective light (as I have noted below, on I 122-134), not a god of destructive fire. Acting as a judge in this incantation places him in an uncharacteristic role. Further confusion arises in line 110, where Girra is invoked in the second person, *attā Girra qāmû kaššāpi u kaššāpti* “O you Girra, it is you who are the burner of warlocks and witches.” Up to this point, Nuska had been the sole addressee of this incantation, but here Girra is called upon to act as executioner. Lines 113-114, “I call upon you in the stead of Šamaš. Judge my case, render my verdict,” exacerbate the confusion. Why is Šamaš mentioned here, and who is acting in his stead, Girra or Nuska?

The confusion disappears when it is realized that an earlier form of this incantation was, in fact, addressed to Šamaš. Originally, this was the first incantation of the short, ten-incantation version of *Maqlû*, which was performed in the early morning. In the original version, Šamaš played his customary role of judge, and so his appearance alongside Girra in the latter part of the incantation (lines 110-121) is not problematic. Furthermore, Girra’s presence can be explained, since he and Šamaš were closely associated, and Girra was often conceived as the hypostatized sunrays of Šamaš (here referred to as *ūmka ezzu* “your raging (fire)storm” in line 117). In this capacity, Girra is called upon to eliminate the witch by fire and prevent her from obtaining a proper burial. When the original incantation was expanded and adapted for nighttime use, the incantation was re-addressed to Nuska, the night lamp, causing the aforementioned confusion of roles.

Of course, the shift in addressee is not the only change that this incantation underwent in its history.¹² For example, in the original incantation, line 74 would probably have been followed directly by line 87:

73 ^d*Nuska annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*

74 *annûtu šalmû ēpišiya*

87 *ša attā* ^d*Nuska dayyānu tidēšunūtima anāku lā idēšunūti*,

and the list of types of witches and warlocks in lines 75-86 was probably inserted secondarily to expand the range of malefactors.¹³

¹² For further discussion of changes, see T. Abusch, “An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû*,” 26-39 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 135-147.

¹³ It is clear that the intervening list (lines 75-86) is an insertion because otherwise there is no reason for *ēpišiya* and *ēpišiya* from lines 73-74 to be repeated in line 76. This repetition is understandable if lines 75-86 were a pre-existing unit that was inserted, a “standard list” of evildoers that was added as a whole rather than tailored to fit this setting. For this problem, see T. Abusch, “Revision,” 22-23, esp. n. 18.

Tablet I 122-134: ^dNuska šurbû ilitti ^dAni

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. HSS 37. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. 16-19 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 126-128.

Normalization

- 122 ÉN ^dNuska šurbû ilitti ^dAni
 123 tamšīl abi^a bukur^b ^dEnlil
 124 tarbīt apsî binût ^dEnanki^a
 125 ašši gizillâ unammerka kâša
 126 kaššāpu ikšipanni kišpī ikšipanni kišipšu
 127 kaššāptu takšipanni kišpī takšipanni kišipši
 128 ēpišu tēpušanni ipšū tēpušanni epussu
 129 ēpištu tēpušanni ipšū tēpušanni epussi
 130 ^amuštēpištu tēpušanni ipšū tēpušanni epussi^a
 131 ša šalmī ana pī šalmīya ibnû bunnannīya umaššilū
 132 ru'tī ilqū ^ašartī imlusū^a
 133 sissiktī ibtuqū etequ eper šēpīya išbušū
 134 ^dGirra qardu šipassunu^a lipaššer TU₆ ÉN

Textual Notes: line 123 ^a Var.: ^dEa | ^b Var.: perhaps a[pil] || line 124 ^a Vars.: ^dNinmen[na], [^dAn]unnaki || line 130 ^{a-a} Var.: line absent || line 132 ^{a-a} Var.: omitted in one ms || line 134 ^a Var.: pronominal suffix -sina instead of -sunu.

Translation

- 122 Incantation. O Grand Nuska, offspring of Anu,
 123 Likeness of the father,^a son of Enlil,
 124 Reared in the *apsû*, creation of Enanki.^a
 125 I raise up a reed torch and set you yourself alight.
 126 A warlock has bewitched me; bewitch him with the witchcraft with which he
 bewitched me,
 127 A witch has bewitched me; bewitch her with the witchcraft with which she
 bewitched me,
 128 A sorcerer has ensorcelled me; ensorcell him with the sorcery with which he
 ensorcelled me,
 129 A sorceress has ensorcelled me; ensorcell her with the sorcery with which she
 ensorcelled me,
 130 A woman who instigates sorcery has ensorcelled me; ensorcell her with the
 sorcery with which she ensorcelled me.
 131 (Those) who have made figurines corresponding to my figurines, reproduced
 my facial features,
 132 Taken my spittle, plucked out my hair,

133 Cut off my hem, collected a clump of dirt (over which) my feet (had passed),
 134 May Girra, the warrior, release their incantation. TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: line 123 ^a Var.: Ea || line 124 ^a Vars.: Ninmenna, Anunnaki.

Commentary

This incantation was originally the second in the short morning form of *Maqlû* (see above, The Development of *Maqlû*). The speaker invokes Nuska as a protective nightlight (122-125) in order to ward off witchcraft and cause it to rebound (126-134). Throughout *Maqlû*, the fire-god Girra acts as a destructive, incendiary fire, but the role of Nuska, the god of the lamp, is different. Here, as in other Mesopotamian magical texts, Nuska protects a sleeping household from nocturnal magical attacks, which might take the form of bad dreams. In the morning, the speaker asks Nuska to inflict these same attacks on the witch or warlock who sent them in the first place. This incantation expresses that desire with the alliterative wordplay of lines 126-130. The fivefold repetition of the same root in each line is playful, but this should not obscure the force of the entreaty.

Though it is currently located in the evening portion of *Maqlû*, the nature of this incantation suggests a morning performance. Nuska has protected the speaker during the night, and so at dawn the speaker asks him to turn any magical attacks back on his attackers. This is supported by the similarity of this incantation with three others that appear in the third division of *Maqlû*, which is set at dawn. The incantations in tablet VII 145-152, 153-161, and 162-169 all share the same setting and central idea as ^d*Nuska šurbû ilitti* ^d*Ani*: causing magical assaults to boomerang upon the person who sent them.

5

Tablet I 135-143: *Anašši dipāru*

Tablet V 132-141: *Ezzētunu šamrātunu*

Tablet V 158-175: *Isâ isâ*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "The Demonic Image of the Witch in Babylonian Literature," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner, et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 41-45 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 17-20.

Idem. "An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. HSS 37. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990, 19-20, 22-24, 52-54 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft* 128-129, 132-133, 158-160.

Idem. "The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part I," in *Riches Hidden in*

Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen, ed. T. Abusch. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002, 10-12 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 226-228.

Idem, "Witches and Demons in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 77 (2011): 344-347.

Normalization: I 135-143

- 135 ÉN *anašši dipāru šalmīšunu aqallu*
 136 *ša utukku šēdu rābišu eṭemmu*
 137 ^dLamašti ^dlabāši aḥḥāzu
 138 *lilû lilītu ardat-lilī*
 139 *u mimma lemnu mušabbitu amēlūti^a*
 140 *ḥulā zūbā u itattukā*
 141 *quturkunu litelli šamē*
 142 *la' mīkunu liballi ^dŠamši*
 143 *liprus ḥayyattakunu mār ^dEa mašmaššu TU₆ ÉN*

Textual Notes: line 139 ^a Var.: + [ēpiš kiš]p[ī lemn]ū^ti ruḥê lā¹ ṭābūti / [ša ana lemutti] ikpudun[i] yāši. *ēpiš kišpī lemnūti ruḥê lā ṭābūti ša ana lemutti ikpudū^u/uni yāši* is a formulaic block insertion. *ēpiš* in *ēpiš kišpī* . . . here and in II 117–118 can be either singular or plural (pl. *ēpišūt* > *ēpiš*). The singular fits the context of Tablet I, and the plural fits that of Tablet II (for the use of a singular form as the first part of a construct in plural meaning, cf. Mayer, "Sechs Šu-ila-Gebete," *OrNS* 59 (1990): 452-3). As for *ik-¹pu-du¹-ni*, it too can be either plural *ikpudūni* (with *-ni* as dative first-person suffix) or singular *ikpuduni* (with *-ni* as accusative first-person suffix; see GAG paradigm 12a, n. 6); the singular fits the context of Tablet I.

Translation: I 135-143

- 135 Incantation. I am raising the torch and burning their statues,
 136 (Those) of the demon, the spirit, the lurker, the ghost,
 137 Lamaštu, Labāšu, Ahhāzu (jaundice),
 138 Lilû, Lilītu, Ardat-Lilī,
 139 And any evil that seizes mankind,^a
 140 Melt, dissolve, drip ever away!
 141 May your smoke rise ever heavenward,
 142 May the sun extinguish your embers,
 143 May Ea's son, the exorcist, cut off the terror that emanates from you. TU₆ ÉN

Translation Note: line 139 ^a Var.: + [The doer of] ev[il witchcra]ft, not good spittle, [Who] plotted [evil] against me myself.

Normalization: V 132-141

- 132 ÉN *ezzētunu šamrātunu dannātunu gaššātunu*
 133 *gapšātunu aštātunu ayyāb[ātunu] lemnētunu*
 134 *ša lā ^dEa mannu unāḥkunūši*
 135 *ša lā ^dAsalluḥi mannu ušapšaḥkunūš[i]*
 136 *^dEa linēḥkunūši*
 137 *^dAsalluḥi lišapšeḥkunū[ši]*
 138 *pīya mû pīkunu išātu*

- 139 *pīya pākunu liballi*^a
 140 *tû ša pīya tâ ša pākunu liballi*
 141 *^akipdī ša libbiya liballâ kipdī ša libbikunū*^a

Textual Notes: line 139^a Var.: []-ia m[û . . .]. The variant reading may be restored [*pī*]ya m[û pākunu išātu] and treated as a mistaken repetition of the preceding line (dittography) due to *pīya* at the beginning of both lines. Alternatively, the line may be restored [*libbi*]ya m[û libbakunu abattu] on the basis of a variant text, but this restoration is contradicted by the suffix -ia, for the form of *libbu* in the nominative with a first-person possessive suffix is *libbī*, while -ia certainly agrees with *pīya*.

Translation: V 132-141

- 132 Incantation. Raging, furious, powerful, cruel,
 133 Overbearing, tough, hos[tile], wicked are you!
 134 Who but Ea can calm you?
 135 Who but Asalluḫi can cool you?
 136 May Ea calm you,
 137 May Asalluḫi cool you.
 138 My mouth is water, your mouth is fire:
 139 May my mouth extinguish your mouth,^a
 140 May the spell of my mouth extinguish the spell of your mouth,
 141 May the plots of my heart extinguish the plots of your heart!^a

Translation Notes: line 139^a Var.: Restore the variant either as: “My [mouth] is wa[ter, your mouth is fire]” (dittography from preceding line), or less likely as “My heart is water, your heart is stone” || line 141^a Var.: singular “plot” (2x).

Normalization: V 158-175

- 158 *ÉN isâ isâ rēqā rēqā*
 159 *bēšā bēšā ḫilqā ḫilqā*
 160 *duppirā atlakā isâ u rēqā*
 161 *lumunkunu kīma qutri lītelli šamē*
 162 *ina zumriya isâ*
 163 *ina zumriya rēqā*
 164 *ina zumriya bēšā*
 165 *ina zumriya ḫilqā*
 166 *ina zumriya duppirā*
 167 *ina zumriya atlakā*
 168 *ana zumriya lā taturrā*
 169 *ana zumriya lā teṭeḫḫē*^a
 170 *ana zumriya lā tasanniqā*
 171 *nīš^d Šamaš kabti lū [t]amâtunu*
 172 *nīš^d Ea bēl nagbi lū t[amâ]tunu*
 173 *nīš^d Asalluḫi mašmaš ilī lū tamâtunu*
 174 *nīš^d Girra qāmîkunu lū tamâtunu*
 175 *ina zumriya lū tapparrasāma TU₆ ÉN*

Textual Note: line 169^a Var.: + *ana zumriya lā teqerrebā*.

Translation: V 158-175

158 Incantation. Be off, be off, begone, begone,
 159 Depart, depart, flee, flee,
 160 Go off, go away, be off, and begone!
 161 May your wickedness like smoke rise ever heavenward!
 162 From my body be off,
 163 From my body begone,
 164 From my body depart,
 165 From my body flee,
 166 From my body go off,
 167 From my body go away!
 168 To my body turn back not,
 169 To my body approach not,^a
 170 On my body abut not!
 171 By the life of Šamaš, the honorable, be adjured,
 172 By the life of Ea, lord of the underground springs, be [adju]red,
 173 By the life of Asalluḫi, the magus of the gods, be adjured,
 174 By the life of Girra, your executioner,^a be adjured!
 175 From my body you shall indeed be separated! TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: line 169 ^a Var.: + To my body draw near not || line 174 ^a Lit., your burner.

Commentary

These three incantations belong to the first division of *Maqlû* (Tablets I-V), the ritual themes of which include judgment, destruction by fire, and expulsion. Recited alongside the performance of such ritual actions as the burning of the statues, the dousing of the fire, and the disposal of the remaining ashes, respectively, these three incantations are involved in the whole process of the execution of the witch.

The three incantations represent the basic intention of the ceremony: to destroy the witch and her witchcraft as well as to protect the victim by means of the rites of burning, dousing, and expulsion. After the section containing the judgment of the witch (I 1-134), the speaker sets the figurines of the witch on fire, reciting the incantation 'I am raising the torch' (I 135-143). In this ritual action and incantation, the verdict against the witch is executed through the destruction of her statues by burning. The incantation 'Raging, furious are you' (V 132-141) focuses on the quenching of the smoldering remains by means of the power of water, Ea and Asalluḫi, in order to extinguish any shreds of life and evil power left in the witch. In the last incantation of the first division of *Maqlû* (V 158-175), the speaker, casting out the ashes from the brazier through the gate, commands the dead witch in spectral form to depart and never to return. Thus, the witches are expelled from the human community and adjured to remain among the dead.

Although the three incantations show distinct features in regard to ritual action (burning; dousing; disposal), theme (destruction; pacification; riddance), and logic or meaning (execution of the witch; squelching of the witch's remaining life force; separation of the witch from the human community), they show a significant affinity in origin, divine participants, and characterization of the witch. These incantations

characterize the witches as demons, ghosts, or spectral beings, not humans. The gods invoked in the incantations are Ea, Asalluḫi, and Girra, members of the Eridu pantheon, the pantheon *par excellence* of the exorcist. The demonic characterization of the witch and the appearance of the members of the Eridu circle in these incantations are not a coincidence, but a consequence of the secondary use of anti-demon incantations for anti-witchcraft. That is, these incantations originally belong to the standard stock of anti-demon incantations, but they were secondarily adapted for use against the witch and/or the witch in demonic form. This secondary development may be explained by the exorcist's appropriation of his general repertoire of incantations for anti-witchcraft purposes or, perhaps, by the notion that the witches are connected with demons and ghosts in some ways (e.g., their capability of using demons and ghosts for their nefarious purposes or their becoming ghosts after death).

The significance of these incantations can be better recognized in the context of the historical development of *Maqlû*. Their general character is not recognizable as that of *Maqlû* incantations. But while they were all part of the short original version of the ceremony, which consists of ten incantations (see above, The Development of *Maqlû*), these three incantations, alongside the incantation I 73-121, stand out in that they are the only members of the short recension that also occur outside of *Maqlû* (or proto-*Maqlû*). The occurrence of four incantations out of ten outside of *Maqlû* is striking, since the long version contains a far smaller proportion of incantations from non-*Maqlû* texts. These observations suggest that the birth of *Maqlû* as a distinct incantation series may have resulted from the joining of these four incantations. However, it should be noted that these four incantations are not of a homogeneous ambience, but reflect two different ideal ceremony sets. *Maqlû* I 73-121 fits within the category of anti-witch incantations. It includes ritual actions of judgment-burning, the divine participation of Šamaš, and the human image of the witch. Our three incantations (I 135-143, V 132-141, 158-175) represent anti-demon incantations, with their ritual of burning-dousing-disposal, the participation of the members of the Eridu circle, and the demonic characterization of the witch. While the incantation ^d*Nuska annûtu šalmû ēpišiya* (I 73-121) belongs to a standard witchcraft type, the other three originally have nothing to do with witchcraft *per se*. The combination of the two separate ritual sets laid down the basic framework of *Maqlû*, in which the demonization of the witch takes place. Hence, attesting to the secondary use of anti-demon incantations against the witch, the three incantations not only constitute part of the ceremonial structure of *Maqlû*, but also contribute to the demonic characterization of the witch in the ceremony.

Tablet II 19-75: ^dGirra bēlu gitmālu

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "The Revision of Babylonian Anti-Witchcraft Incantations: The Critical Analysis of Incantations in the Ceremonial Series *Maqlû*," in *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. G. Bohak, et al. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 15. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 11-28.

Normalization

- 19 ÉN ^dGirra ^rbēlu¹ [g]itmāl[u] ^d[na]nnārāta nabi šumka
- 20 [t]ušnammar bīt[ā]t ilī kalāma
- 21 [tu]šnammar g[im]er kal(ī)šina mātāti
- 22 [a]ššu attā [ana yāš]i tazazzuma
- 23 kīma ^dSīn u ^dŠamaš tadinnu dīnu
- 24 dēnī dīni purussāya purus
- 25 ana nūrika namri nišū kalīšina upaqqāka
- 26 ana elleti dipārika ašhurka ešēka
- 27 bēlu sissiktaka ašbat
- 28 sissikti ilūtik[a rabīt]i ašbat
- 29 ^rsissikti¹ i[liya u ^dištariya] ašbat
- 30 [sissikti il ā]liya u ^dištar āliya ašbat
- 31 [x (x)]-x-ma r[ē]manni bēlu kaššāptu kīma lilissi iltasi eliya
- 32 išbat qaqqadī kišādī u^a muḥḥī
- 33 išbat īnīya nāṭilāti
- 34 išbat šēpīya allakāti
- 35 išbat birkīya ebberēti
- 36 išbat aḥīya muttabbilāti
- 37 enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti
- 38 šinā šalmī siparri etgurūti
- 39 ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya
- 40 ša ēpišiya u muštēpišiya
- 41 ša sāḥiriya u sāḥertiya
- 42 ša rāḥīya u rāḥītiya
- 43 ša bēl ikkiya u bēlet ikkiya
- 44 ša bēl šerriya u bēlet šerriya
- 45 ša bēl rīdiya u bēlet rīdiya
- 46 ša bēl dīniya u bēlet dīniya
- 47 ša bēl amātiya u bēlet amātiya
- 48 ša bēl dabābiya u bēlet dabābiya
- 49 ša bēl egerrēya u bēlet egerrēya
- 50 ša bēl lemūtiya u bēlet lemūtiya
- 51 ša ana mīti puqqudū 'inni namrāša kullumū 'inni
- 52 lū utukku lemnu lu alū lemnu
- 53 lū eṭemmu lemnu lū gallū lemnu
- 54 lū ilu lemnu lū rābišu lemnu

- 55 *lū^d Lamaštu lū^d labāšu lū^d aḥḥāzu*
 56 *lū lilū lū lilītu lū ardat-lilī*
 57 *lū li'bu šibit šadī*
 58 *lū bennu riḥūt^{dr} Šul^lpae'a*
 59 *lū antašubbū lū^r[Lugalurra]*
 60 *^alū šudingirrakku lū š[u'inannakku]*
 61 *lū šugidimmakku^a lū šu[nam]erimmakku^a*
 62 *lū šunamlullukku lū lamaštu šeḥertu mārāt^d Ani*
 63 *lū sangḥulḥazū mukīl rēš lemutti*
 64 *lū dikiš šīrī šimmatu rimūtu*
 65 *lū [mimm]a lemnu ša šuma lā nabū*
 66 *lū [mimm]a ēpiš lemutti ša amēlūti*
 67 *ša šabtannima mūša u urra irteneddānni*
 68 *uḥattū šīrīya kal ūmi šabtannima*
 69 *kal mūši lā umaššaranni*
 70 *enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti*
 71 *ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti*
 72 *naplisannima bēlu usuhšunūti ina zumriya*
 73 *pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti*
 74 *attā^d Girra bēlu ālik idīya*
 75 *bulliṭannima narbīka lušāpi dalīlīka ludlul*

Textual Notes: line 32^a Var.: absent || line 60^a It is possible, but less likely, that the Hand-group entries in lines 60–62 should be rendered *lū qāt ili lū qā[t^dištari]* / *lū qāt eṭemmi lū qāt [māmīti]* / *lū qāt amēlūti*, and understood as the causes or powers behind the diseases and not as the diseases themselves || line 61^{a-a} Var.: *lū šunamerimmakku* and *lū šunamlullukku* transposed in lines 61–62: *lū^ršū^l<nam>l[ullukku]* / *lū^ršunamerimmakku*.

Translation

- 19 Incantation. O Girra, perfect lord, “You are the light,” (thus) your name is invoked,
 20 You illumine the houses of all the gods,
 21 You illumine the to[tal]ity of all the lands.
 22 Because you are present [for m]e and
 23 Decide lawsuits in the stead of Sîn and Šamaš,
 24 Judge my case, render my verdict.
 25 For your bright light, all the people await you (hence)
 26 For your pure torch, I turn to you, I seek you.
 27 Lord, I seize your hem,
 28 I seize the hem of you[r grea]t divinity,
 29 I seize the hem of [my] go[d and my goddess],
 30 I seize [the hem of] my ci[ty god] and my city goddess.
 31 [. . .] . . . have pity on me, O lord. The witch has (now) roared at me like a drum.
 32 She has seized my head, my neck, and my skull,
 33 She has seized my seeing eyes,
 34 She has seized my walking feet,
 35 She has seized my crossing knees,

- 36 She has seized my (load) bearing arms.
 37 Now in the presence of your great divinity,
 38 Two crisscrossed bronze figurines
 39 Of my warlock and my witch,
 40 Of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me,
 41 Of my enchanter and my enchamstress,
 42 Of my male and female inseminators,^a
 43 Of the male and female who are enraged at me,
 44 Of my male and female enemies,
 45 Of my male and female persecutors,
 46 Of my male and female litigants,
 47 Of my male and female accusers,
 48 Of my male and female adversaries,
 49 Of my male and female slanderers,
 50 Of my male and female evildoers,
 51 Who have given me over to a dead man, who have made me experience hardship—
 52 Be it an evil demon, be it an evil spirit,
 53 Be it an evil ghost, be it an evil constable,
 54 Be it an evil god, be it an evil lurker,
 55 Be it Lamaštu, be it Labāšu, be it Ahhāzu (jaundice),
 56 Be it Lilû, be it Lilîtu, be it Ardat-Lilî,
 57 Be it *li'bu*-illness, the seizure of the mountain,
 58 Be it *bennu*-epilepsy, the spawn of Šulpae'a,
 59 Be it *antašubba*^a-epilepsy, be it [*Lugalurra*-epilepsy],
 60 Be it Hand-of-a-god-disease, be it Han[d-of-a-goddess-dise]ase,^a
 61 Be it Hand-of-a-ghost-disease, be it Hand-[of-a-curse]-disease,^a
 62 Be it Hand-of-mankind-disease, be it young Lamaštu, the daughter of Anu,
 63 Be it *Saġhulhaza*-demon, the attendant who provides evil,
 64 Be it swelling, paralysis, numbness,
 65 Be it [anythi]ng evil that has not been named,
 66 Be it [anythi]ng that causes harm to humanity,
 67 That seizes me and constantly pursues me night and day,
 68 Afflicts^a my flesh, seizes me all day,
 69 And does not let go of me all night.
 70 Now in the presence of your great divinity,
 71 In pure sulfur, I am burning them, I am scorching them,
 72 Look at me, O lord, and uproot them from my body,
 73 Release their evil witchcraft.
 74 You, Girra, are the lord, the one who goes at my side,
 75 Keep me well, that I may declare your great deeds and sing your praises.

Translation Notes: line 42 ^a Possible alternative translations for forms designating doers of the action *reḥû* (*rāḥû*, *rāḥîtu*, *raḥḥātu*) are “poisoner” or “spitter,” cf. I 78 || line 59 ^a Lit., fallen-from-heaven-epilepsy || line 60 ^a The reading *lū šudingirrakku lū š[u'inannakku]*, etc., in lines 60-62 assumes that the Hand-group entries refer to diseases. It is not impossible that instead we should read *lū qāt ili lū qā[t^dištari]*, etc.; this latter reading assumes that the Hand-group represents the causes or powers behind the diseases; we would then translate “Be it hand of a god, be it han[d of a goddess], Be it hand of a ghost, be it

hand [of a curse], Be it hand of mankind" || **line 61** ^a Var.: Transposition of the last entry in line 61 and the first entry in line 62: "be it Ha[nd-of-man]<kind>-disease, Be it [Hand-of-a-curse-disease]" || **line 68** ^a Perhaps: "smites," or "penetrates."

Commentary

Maqlû II 19-75 is a rather long incantation. It begins with a hymnic invocation of the fire god Girra, followed by a statement that the victim is turning to this god for judgment and is taking hold of the fringe of his garment as well as the fringes of other gods related to the victim (19-30). Then, in lines 31-69, the speaker describes what the witches have done to him. This is a long description that is made up of several lists: First, the speaker states that the witch has attacked and seized various parts of his body (32-36). He then proclaims that now, in the presence of the fire god, he is presenting two crisscrossed figurines of bronze (37-38). These figurines are designated as representing the witch; here follows a long list of names of different kinds of witches (39-50), each pair introduced by the determinative-relative pronoun *ša*, "of."

The list culminates in a one-line general description (line 51) of the harm to which the witches have subjected the victim: "who have given me over to a dead man, who have made me experience hardship." Lines 52-66 form a long list of demons and illnesses, each introduced by the particle *lū* "be it." This list also culminates in a description (lines 67-69) of how evil forces have seized and held on to the victim night and day. In lines 70-71, the speaker again says that he is performing the ritual act in the presence of the divinity, and here he states that he is burning the figurines in sulfur. In lines 72-73, the speaker asks for divine assistance—namely, that his lord look upon him, extirpate the evils from his body, and release their evil witchcraft. The text ends in lines 74-75 with a final invocation and promise of praise.

Several structural and logical difficulties suggest that this incantation has undergone substantial expansion and revision. Most notably, the lists that occupy much of the middle of the incantation are not original. Whenever an oral rite contains multiple lengthy lists—especially ones that disrupt the logical flow—it is very likely that one or more of them was inserted secondarily. That this is the case in the current incantation is confirmed by the presence of a structural feature that often marks an insertion: a *Wiederaufnahme* (repetitive resumption). The thought of lines 37-39, interrupted by the lists in lines 39-69, is resumed by the repetition of line 37 in line 70 and continued in line 71:

enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti
šinā ṣalmī siparri etgurūti
ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya (lines 37-39)

...

enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti
ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti (lines 70-71)

Before the insertion of the lists, the statement may have read:

enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti
šinā ṣalmī siparri etgurūti
ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya
ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti (lines 37-39, 71)

This reconstruction finds support in the very next incantation (II 77-103, see esp. 91-93), which contains a comparable ritual sequence. In this original form, the mention of the witches' images was immediately followed by the ritual action to which they were subjected. The insertion of lines 40-69 disconnected the objects of the action from the verbs that governed them (*aqallišunūti ašarrapšunūti* "I am burning them, I am scorching them"), and the redactor felt the need to recreate the connection by repeating line 37 in line 70.

The two lists in lines 39-69 were probably not added at the same time. That they are, in fact, separate, and not one very long list, is evident in the nature of their components, their form, and their respective summarizing statements (lines 51; 67-69). The first list (lines 39-51) contains various designations for witches—human beings who practice harmful magic. Each pair of terms (one male and one female) is introduced by the determinative-relative pronoun *ša* "of," referring back to the *šalmī* of line 38. This list concludes in line 51, with a general description of the harm to which the witch has subjected the victim.

The second list (lines 52-69) consists of the demons and illnesses afflicting the victim. Each of these various ailments is preceded by *lū* "be it," instead of *ša* as in the previous list. As the text stands now, the list of demons forms a parenthesis. It stands in apposition to *namrāšu* "hardship" in line 51, explicating and enumerating the nature of the evil wrought by the witch. Thus, the list of demons and illnesses depends on the list of witches, and was probably added to the incantation at a later stage.

Lines 51 and 67-69 also appear to be secondary. They were probably inserted into the text subsequent to the insertion and expansion of both lists, perhaps to separate the lists from each other. If so, lines 67-69 were intended to describe what demons do, while line 51 was inserted to characterize the witches, introduce the demons, and connect the witchcraft and demonic sections. In any case, the witches are the ultimate cause (i.e. they give the person over to demons) and demons the proximate cause (i.e. they cause the present suffering) of the victim's plight.¹⁴

Following the insertions demarcated by the *Wiederaufnahme*, the speaker first states that he is burning the figurines in sulfur and then, in lines 72-73, asks for divine assistance. The form of this final request helps us grasp more fully how the text was revised. The speaker turns to the god with the request: (*naplisannima bēlu*) *usuḥšunūti ina zumriya / pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti*, "(Look at me, O lord, and) uproot them from my body, release their evil witchcraft."

The two requests, lines 72b and 73, seem to stand parallel, but they cannot refer to the same entity. In fact, the first request refers to disease, the second to witchcraft. Line 72b cannot refer to the witches and must refer to the demons and illnesses previously enumerated, for it is demons and illnesses that take up residence in the body, while witches normally seize their victim externally but do not invade the body. One extirpates demons and illness, but kills witches. As the text now stands,

¹⁴ It is difficult to establish with any precision at what point lines 51 and 67-69 were added to this incantation. One likely possibility is that 51, 67-69 (with the exception of *uḥattū širīya* "afflicts my flesh") originally comprised a single unit, which was added to the end of the witch-list in lines 39-50. When the demon-list was inserted, *uḥattū širīya* was inserted into 67-69 in order to make them refer to demons rather than of witches.

“their witchcraft” of line 73 refers back to the demons of line 72. But witchcraft is practiced by humans and not by demons, and therefore line 73 should not refer back to line 72. Accordingly, line 72b is also an insertion, for it is meant to refer to the demons who have attacked the victim.

Our analysis is complicated, so let us now summarize the development of lines 37-73 from their original kernel, which would have read something like:

enenna ina maḥar ilūtika rabīti
šinā ṣalmī siparri etgurūti
ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya
ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti
naplisannima bēlu pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti (37-39, 71, 72a, 73)

Subsequently, the incantation underwent a series of expansions and revisions: a list of designations of different kinds of witches (39-50) was expanded in stages; then a list (52-66) of demons and illnesses was inserted.¹⁵ Perhaps at this stage, line 72b was added to the request in order to cover the aforementioned demons and illnesses. Subsequent to these expansions, line 37 was repeated as line 70 in order to refocus the speech on the ritual and reconnect stages of the ritual that had been sundered by the major digressions.

The inclusion of the list of demons indicates a growth of power on the part of the witch. Demons were originally independent beings, but over time the witch became able to control non-human demonic forces in addition to other human beings. One may suggest that the insertion of the list of demons in this incantation reflects an expansion of the range of powers of the witch, serves to redefine her relationship to demons and illness, and indicates her increasing control over demons.

7

Tablet II 205-225: *Attīmannu kaššāptu ša tubtana ’’inni*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, “Witches and Demons in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 77 (2011): 342-56.

Idem, “Maqlû Tablet II: Its Literary Frame and Formation,” in *Marbeh Hokma: Studies in Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz*, ed. S. Yona, et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2015.

Normalization

205 ÉN attīmannu^a kaššāptu ša tubtana ’’inni^b
 206 ana lemutti teštene ’’inni
 207 ana lā ṭābtī tassanahhurīnni
 208 ālki ul īde bītiki ul īde šumki ul īde šubatki ul īde

¹⁵ For the place of lines 51, 67-69 in the development, see previous note.

- 209 ^ašēdū liba' 'ūki^b
 210 utukkū lište' 'ūki
 211 eṭemmū lissahrūki
 212 bennu lā ṭābu eliki limqut
 213 rābišū lemutti likillū rēški
 214 ^dLu[gal]i[rra u ^dMeslamta] 'ea linārūki
 215 ^a[^dx] x^a bēl šīm[āti(?) šumk]i(?) lipšit
 216 ^d[N]in[u]rta lā pādū [lišānk]i(?) lissuh
 217 [^dG]ula azugallatu rabītu l[ē]tki(?) limḥaṣ^a
 218 ^dGirr[a] ezzu zumurki liḥmuṭ
 219 ut[ū]nu elletu mārat ^dAni rabītu
 220 ša ina lib[b]iša nanḥuzat iṣāt qabri
 221 [ina lib]biša ^dGirra qardu^a irmā [šub]assu
 222 [ina(?)] n[apāhiš]a(?) šamāmī ikšudū nabl[ūša]
 223 ka[ššāpt]ī qumī qulī humm[iṭ]
 224 ^aarḥiṣ ḥanṭiṣ ša kaššāpiya u ka[ššāptiya]^a napištašunu li[blēma]^b
 225 yāši bulliṭannima narbika ^alušāpi [d]alīlīka^a ludlul [T]U₆ ÉN

Textual Notes: line 205^a Var.: att[āmannu] | ^b So the citation of the incipit in Ritual Tablet 41 (túb-ta-na-in-ni). The text of Tablet II has túb-ta-ni-^fin¹-ni, perhaps: tubtan(a)' 'inni. However, since double *alef* does not allow the phonetic change *a + i > i*, perhaps the form in Tablet II is the result of syncope of *a' (=tubtaninni)* || line 209^a Var.: either line 209 or 210 absent or omitted | ^b Var.: pronominal suffix *-ka* instead of *-ki* in lines 208, 209 (or 210), 211, 213, 214, and 218 || line 215^{a-a} Given the Nippur association of the gods in the surrounding lines, it is more than possible that [^dx] x should be restored [^den-lí]l || line 217^a Var.: [liš(?)]lup || line 221^a Var.: qarrādu || line 224^{a-a} Var.: [ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya] arḥiṣ ḥanṭiṣ | ^b Var.: li-bi-e-ma, corruption for liblēma || line 225^{a-a} Var.: accidentally omitted.

Translation

- 205 Incantation. Whoever you are, O witch, who keeps on seeking me,
 206 Who keeps on searching for me with evil intent,
 207 Who keeps on looking for me to no good purpose.
 208 I do not know your city, I do not know your house, I do not know your name, I
 do not know your dwelling.
 209 May spirits seek you,
 210 May demons search for you,
 211 May ghosts look for you,
 212 May not good bennu-epilepsy befall you,
 213 May lurkers for evil attend to you,
 214 May Lu[gal]i[rra and Meslamta]'ea kill you,
 215 May [En]li[?], lord of dest[inies(?)], erase you[r name],
 216 May merciless Ninurta tear out you[r tongue(?)],
 217 May Gula, the great doctor, strike^a your ch[ee]k(?),
 218 May raging Girra inflame your body.
 219 O pure oven, great daughter of Anu,
 220 In whose inside the fire of the grave flares,
 221 [In] whose [ins]ide Girra, the warrior, set down his [dwel]ling,
 222 [Whose f]lame [when] ig[nited(?)] reaches heaven,

- 223 Burn, scorch, bur[n up] my w[itch].
 224 Quickly and speedily, may the lives of my warlock and [my wit]ch be
 [extinguished],
 225 Thereby save me myself so that I may declare your great deeds and sing your
 praises. TU₆ÉN

Translation Note: line 217 ^a Var.: tear out.

Commentary

Attīmannu kaššāptu ša tubtana 'inni is the tenth and final incantation of Tablet II. The first three lines of the incantation describe how a witch is continually seeking out her victim, the speaker (205-207). The victim then calls upon demons to attack this unknown witch (209-214), invokes several gods (215-217), and concludes the incantation with a description of the fiery destruction that awaits the witch in what appears to be a netherworld context (218-225). The incantation is instructive for several reasons. First, it demonstrates one of the three main ways in which demons were incorporated into the witchcraft tradition. Elsewhere we have seen the coalescence of demonic imagery and imagery of the witch (see I 37-41 and I 135-143, above) and the appearance of demons as agents of the witch. This incantation, on the other hand, provides an example of how demons were transformed into agents used *against* witches. An understanding of how this incantation was composed demonstrates that the topos centering on demons was originally external to witchcraft.

It appears that this incantation was generated from the curse section centering on demons (lines 209-214). This kind of invocation resembles the use of demons in curses in Esarhaddon's succession treaty and would have originally had nothing to do with witches.¹⁶ When this demonic invocation was incorporated into a witchcraft incantation, the composer modeled his introduction on the first three lines of the demon section (209-211) in order to create some correspondence between the witch's actions and the demons' actions and punishments. The invocation to the demons contains three precative verbs from the roots *bu''û*, *še'û*, and *saḫāru*. The description of the witch's activities against the victim (205-207) employs the same three roots in the same order, only there they occur in the iterative *-tan-* form.

The reason for including demons in an anti-witchcraft incantation is provided by line 208. Here the speaker denies any knowledge of the witch's identity or location. The composer, therefore, includes a series of invocations of demons and gods because demons, like gods, are part of the supernatural world and can discover and accomplish things that human beings cannot. Demons are somewhere between humans and gods. They are irrational beings, but can sometimes be controlled and enlisted to seek out the witch.

Following the invocation of demons, the speaker calls upon the deities Lugalirra, Meslamta'ea, Enlil(?), and Gula (lines 214-217). An invocation of Girra in line 218 closes the list and serves as a bridge into the next section of the incantation, an address to the oven, the daughter of Anu, and a description of the fiery destruction

¹⁶ Cf. S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), 49-50.

that awaits the witch. The oven has an infernal character, and Girra is said to dwell inside it. This focus on fire and burning is absent from the rest of the incantation (with the exception of the transitional line 218). For this reason, lines 219-224 should be seen as an addition to the original nucleus of the incantation, the invocation of gods and demons in lines 209-218. The addition was made in order to adapt the original incantation to the burning ritual of *Maqlû* and to the addresses to fire that are the specific focus of Tablet II.

This incantation is also a fine example of some of the literary techniques that were used in the formation and expansion of the *Maqlû* series, specifically the way in which tablets could be demarcated as distinct literary entities. The last three lines of this incantation (223-225) are nearly identical with the concluding three lines of the first incantation of Tablet II (15-17), with some slight variation. The recurrence of lines 15-17 in lines 223-225 provides a secondary frame for the tablet entity. It is secondary in the sense that it was a deliberate framing device created by a scribe who sought to ensure that Tablet II was regarded not only as a tablet entity, but also as a literary one. In other words, the tablet was given a literary frame in addition to its scribal form.

The minor variation in line 223 and—more importantly—the content of the three lines suggest that the creation of the literary frame was not the result of a simple act of taking the last three lines of the first incantation and attaching them to the last incantation, or vice versa. The most likely scenario is that the last line of the frame (17 // 225) was original to the first incantation, while the first two lines (15-16 // 223-224) were original to the context of the last incantation. The scribe, therefore, took lines from both incantations in order to create his frame. This is substantiated by the content of each incantation. The first two lines, which treat the warlock and witch and their destructive burning, fit naturally in the context of lines 218-222, which describe the fire of destruction. However, they do not fit the tenor and form of the first incantation, where in fact line 17, the last line, follows naturally from line 14 and forms a standard conclusion that appears regularly in *šuilas*. In fact, without lines 15-16, the first incantation of Tablet II could easily pass for a simple *šulla*.¹⁷

Given that this incantation to Nuska (1-17) begins a tablet that otherwise focuses primarily on Girra and involves burning, it is highly probable that it was introduced into Tablet II at the same time that the literary frame was created. The purpose of this introductory incantation and literary frame was to highlight Nuska, the vizier of Enlil and to link this tablet with the older material relating to Nuska in Tablet I (73-121 and 122-134). This is part of a larger Enlil/Ekur *Tendenz* within *Maqlû*, an editorial layer that centers around Enlil, the gods of his circle, and his temple Ekur.¹⁸ The gods invoked in the final incantation (lines 214-218) are also all members of Enlil's circle, which suggests that this incantation too was part of the Enlil/Ekur

¹⁷ On the tripartite structure of the *šulla*, see W. G. Kunstmann, *Die babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung* (LSS NF 2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1932), 7, and cf. T. Abusch, "The Promise to Praise the God in *Šuilla* Prayers," in *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran* (ed. A. Gianto; Roma: Pontificio Istituto biblico, 2005), 1-10, and *Idem*, "Prayers, Hymns, Incantations, and Curses: Mesopotamia," in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (ed. S. I. Johnston; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 353-5.

¹⁸ T. Abusch, "Maqlû," *RIA* 7, 350-351.

Tendenz and was added concurrently with the first incantation in order to create the literary frame and to reorient the tablet toward Enlil and Ekur. A probable time and place for this material is the Sargonid period (eighth century), when Neo-Assyrian kings had taken over Nippur and had begun to revitalize it and the Ekur temple.¹⁹

8

Tablet III 1-30: *Kaššāptu muttalliktu ša sūqāti*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, “*Maqlû* III 1-30, Internal Analysis and Manuscript Evidence for the Revision of an Incantation,” in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honor of Simo Parpola*, ed. M. Luukko, et al. *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki, 2009, 307-313.

Normalization

- 1 ÉN *kaššāptu muttalliktu ša sūqāti*
- 2 *mūterribtu ša bītāti*
- 3 *dayyālītu ša birēti*
- 4 *ḥayyāfītu ša rebāti*
- 5 ^aana *pāniša^b u arkiša issanaḥḥur*
- 6 *izzaz^a ina sūqimma^b usaḥḥar šēpī^b*
- 7 *ina rebīti ip-ta-ra-as^a alaktu*
- 8 ^aša *eṭli damqi dūssu īkim*
- 9 *ša ardati damiqti inibša itbal*
- 10 *ina nekelmêša kuzubša ilqe*
- 11 *eṭla ippalisma^d lamassašu īki[m]*
- 12 *ardata ippalisma inibša itbal*
- 13 *īmurannima kaššāptu illika^a arkiya*
- 14 *ina imtiša ip-ta-ra-as^a alaktu*
- 15 *ina ruhêša išdihī iprus*
- 16 *uṣassi ilī u^d iṣtarī ina zumriya*
- 17 *ša kaššāpti<ya>^a ina kullati agdariṣ tīṭaša*
- 18 *ša ēpištiya abtani ṣalamša*
- 19 *aṣkun ina libbiki^a lipâ ḥābilki*
- 20 *usanniš ina kalâtīki ēra qāmâki*
- 21 *ēra qāmâki imatki^a liprus*
- 22 *eli āli attapaḥ išātu*
- 23 *ina^a šupāl āli attadi tumurtu*
- 24 *ana bīt terrubī attadi išātu*

¹⁹ Cf. S. Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755-612 BC* (SAAS 4; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1996).

- 25 *tēpušīmma* ^dGirra *līkulki*
 26 *tušēpišīmma* ^dGirra *likšudki*
 27 *takpuđīmma* ^dGirra *lidūkki*
 28 *tušakpidīmma* ^dGirra *liqmīki*
 29 *ḥarrān lā tāri lišašbitki* ^dGirra *ḥābilki*
 30 ^dGirra *ezzu zumurki liḥmuṭ* TU₆.ÉN^a

Textual Notes: line 5 ^a Var.: + *ša* | ^b Var.: pronominal suffix *-šu* instead of *-ša* in lines 5, 9–10, 12, 14–15, 17–18 of Neo-Babylonian mss || line 6 ^a Var.: *izzazzu* | ^{b-b} Var.: *isaḥḥur šēpīšu* || line 7 ^a I am uncertain whether *ip-ta-ra-as* should be treated as a Gt durative in both lines 7 and 14 or as a Gt durative only in line 7 and a Gt preterite in line 14. Is a G perfect in either line possible? || line 8 ^a Var.: lines 8–14 absent in one ms || line 13 ^a Var.: *illaku* || line 14 ^a See note to *ip-ta-ra-as*, line 7 || line 17 ^a While the first-person possessive suffix (-MU) sometimes seems to be implicit in the logographic writing LÚ/MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU when the noun is in the nominative or accusative, this logogram normally takes the possessive marker MU when the noun is in the genitive; hence the emendation here || line 19 ^a Var.: pronominal suffix *-ka* instead of *-ki* frequently in lines 19–30 of Neo-Babylonian mss || line 21 ^a Var.: *amātki* || line 23 ^a Var.: absent || line 30 ^a Var.: *te* ÉN.

Translation

- 1 Incantation. The witch, she who roams the streets,
- 2 Who continually intrudes into houses,
- 3 Who prowls in alleys,
- 4 Who spies about the broad ways—
- 5 She^a keeps looking (lit., turning) around in front and in back,
- 6 Standing, in the street she turns foot (progress) around,^a
- 7 (And) in the broad way she cuts off (commercial) traffic.
- 8 She robbed the fine young man of his virility,
- 9 She carried off the attractiveness of the fine young woman,
- 10 With her malignant stare she took away her charms.
- 11 She looked at the young man and (thereby) robbed his vitality,
- 12 She looked at the young woman and (thereby) carried off her attractiveness.
- 13 The witch has seen me and has come after me,
- 14 With her venom, she *has* cut off (commercial) traffic,
- 15 With her spittle, she has cut off my trading,
- 16 She has driven away my god and goddess from my person.
- 17 From the clay pit I have (now) pinched off clay for <my> witch,
- 18 I have (now) formed the figurine of my sorceress.
- 19 “I set in your abdomen tallow, which destroys you,
- 20 I implant in your kidneys ashwood, which burns you.
- 21 May the ashwood, which burns you, cut off your venom.^a
- 22 In the upper part of the city, I have (now) set a fire,
- 23 In the lower part of the city, I have (now) cast embers.
- 24 To the house that you enter, I have (now) cast a fire.
- 25 You have performed sorcery against me, so may Girra consume you,
- 26 You have had sorcery performed against me, so may Girra vanquish you,
- 27 You have plotted against me, so may Girra kill you,
- 28 You have had others plot against me, so may Girra burn you.
- 29 May Girra, your destroyer, cause you to take the road of no-return,

30 May raging Girra inflame your body.” TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: line 5 ^a Var.: Who keeps looking around || line 6 ^a Translation of the variant is difficult; perhaps: she turns around (in respect to) her feet || line 21 ^a Var.: your word.

Commentary

As with a number of other incantations in *Maqlû*, the first incantation in Tablet III (1-30) has undergone revision and expansion. But let us begin with a summary of the incantation. First, the witch is described invading public and private spaces in the town (1-4) and cutting off commercial activity (5-7). The topic then shifts to the sexual charm and ability of young men and women, which the witch takes away with her evil eye (8-13). In the following two lines, she is portrayed once again in the commercial sphere, stopping traffic and trade (14-15) and driving away the victim's personal god and goddess (16). In the second half of the incantation, the victim ritually burns figurines of the witch (17-24) and invokes the fire god Girra to destroy the witch because of her evil deeds (25-30).

Examination of some of the witch's activities reveals an element that seems out of place. Lines 5-7 describe the witch's interference with commercial activities; the text next describes her attack on the sexuality of young men and women (8-13), but in lines 14-15 it again describes her interference with commercial activities. The witch's attack on sexuality is not easily harmonized with her activity in the commercial sphere.

The incongruence between these two themes indicates that one of them is secondary. Most probably, the description of the witch's interference in sexuality was inserted into an incantation that only described her meddling in commercial affairs. That the sexual theme was inserted is apparent in the links that connect the lines that surround it:

7: *ina rebīti ip-ta-ra-as*²⁰ *alaktu*

14: *ina imtiša ip-ta-ra-as alaktu*

15: *ina ruḥêša išdihī iprus*

Line 14 repeats elements from line 7 in order to return to the commercial theme after the thematic disruption of lines 8-13. Lines 7 and 14 are tightly parallel and share the verb *parāsu* in common with line 15. Line 14 links lines 7 and 15 and contains elements from both lines: the prepositional phrase *ina imtiša* (line 14) is modeled on *ina ruḥêša* (15) and the phrase *ip-ta-ra-as alaktu* (14) was copied from line 7. The framework of the commercial/spittle theme around the sexual/evil eye theme (8-13) and the repetitive resumption in lines 7 and 14 are indicators that lines 8-14 are secondary insertions. Another piece of evidence in further support of this reconstruction is found in a manuscript of Tablet III from Uruk. In that manuscript, lines 8-14 are omitted. This has been explained as a haplography, but the evidence seen so far indicates that these lines are secondary and that the late manuscript preserves an older version of the text.

The addition of lines 8-14 indicates that sexual problems were added to economic problems in the earlier text. These assaults were committed by two different means:

²⁰ See Textual Note to line 7.

the evil eye affected sexuality, and the spittle affected economic life. The perception of the witch as one who harms public life was supplemented by the perception of her as a malicious and envious being who deprived the young of sexuality: she had the power to affect both areas of life.

9

Tablet III 61-76: ^d*Id ellu namru quddušu anāku*

Tablet VI 85-97: *Kibrītu elletu atā 'išu šammu quddušu anāku*

Tablet III 154-179: *Rittumma rittu*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "Water into Fire: The Formation of Some Witchcraft Incantations," in *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 197-218.

Normalization: III 61-76

- 61 ÉN ^d*id ellu namru quddušu anāku*
 62 *ēpišū 'a apkallū ša apsi*
 63 *ēpišētū 'a mārāt* ^d*Ani ša šamê*
 64 *eppušūni^a iteneppušūni^{blc}*
 65 *eppušūnimma^a ul ile ''^b zumrī*
 66 *ētenepušūnimma^a ul ile ''^b ana šabātiya*
 67 *anāku ēpušma elišunu^a azziz*
 68 *ētelil^a kīma* ^d*id ina šadīya^b*
 69 *ētebib^a kīma namri ina^b bīt^c purussēya*
 70 *ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*
 71 ^d*id u namru nabalkattašunu liškunūma*
 72 *kišpīšunu libbalkitūma*
 73 *ana muḥḥišunu u lānišunu lillikū*
 74 ^a*kīm[a i]ṭṭī lišlimū pānīšunu^a*
 75 ^a*liḥulū lizūbū u littattukū^a*
 76 *u anāku kīma* ^d*id ina šadīya^a lū ellēku* ^bÉN

Textual Notes: line 64 ^aVar.: *eppušāni* | ^bVar.: *iteneppušāni* | ^cFor the 'incorrect' third-person prefix *e-* in lines 64–66, see T. Abusch, *Mes. Wc.*, p. 201, n. 13 || line 65 ^aVar.: *eppušānimma* | ^bVar.: *ele ''e* (sic). Note that the readings in lines 65, 66, 68, and 75 of this incantation that are marked explicitly as mistakes (sic) are all found in one Uruk ms || line 66 ^aVar.: *iteneppušānimma* | ^bVar.: *ile ''e* (sic) || line 67 ^aVar.: pronominal suffix *-šina* instead of *-šunu* || line 68 ^aVar.: *e-te-éb-bu* (sic) | ^bVar.: *šadê* || line 69 ^aVar.: *ētelil* (so quoted in a commentary; perhaps the commentary's *Vorlage* transposed *ētelil* and *ētebib* of lines 68 and 69) | ^bVar.: *ana* (so quoted in a commentary) | ^cVar.: absent || line 74 ^{a-a}Var.: *[d]īnšu lis<sa>ḥerma dīn<i> līšir* || line 75 ^{a-a}Var.: *ḥulū zūbū u it[attukū]* (sic; probably *ḥulū* *zūbū* u <l>*itt[attukū]*) || line 76 ^aVar.: *šadī* | ^bVar.: + *te*.

Translation: III 61-76

- 61 Incantation. Pure River and holy Sun am I.
 62 My sorcerers are the Sages of the *apsû*,
 63 My sorceresses are the heavenly Daughters of Anu.
 64 They perform sorcery against me, they keep on performing sorcery against me,
 65 They perform sorcery against me, but they cannot overpower my body,
 66 They keep on performing sorcery against me, but they are still unable to seize me.
 67 I have performed sorcery (against them) and stand victorious over them.
 68 Like River, I have (now) become pure^a in my mountain,^b
 69 Like Sun, I have (now) become bright^a in the place of my judgment.
 70 Of my warlock and witch,
 71 May River and Sun establish their retreat,
 72 And (thus) may their witchcraft turn back
 73 And go onto their head and body.
 74 Lik[e bi]tumen may their faces become black,^a
 75 May they dissolve, melt, drip ever away.
 76 And may I, like River, become pure in my mountain.^a ÉN

Translation Notes: line 68 ^a That is, free, here and in line 76 | ^b Var.: the mountain(s). In lines 68 and 76, the mountain is a prison || line 69 ^a That is, innocent. Var.: pure || line 74 ^a Var.: May his case be per<ver>ted, but may <my> case go straight (that is, be successful) || line 76 ^a Var.: the mountain(s).

Normalization: VI 85-97

- 85 ÉN *kibr̄tu elletu atā 'išu šammu quddušu anāk[u]*
 86 *ēpi[š]ū 'a apkallū ša aps[ī]*
 87 *ēpišū[t]ū 'a^a mārāt^{lb d} Ani ša šam[ē]*
 88 *kī [ī]pušāni ul ile ' 'ā 'i[nn]i*
 89 *[k]ī ēpušūšināti alte ' 'īšināti^a*
 90 *ētellā kīma nūni ina mêya*
 91 *kīma šahī ina rušumdiya*
 92 *kīma maštakal ina ušalli*
 93 *kīma sassati ina ahi atappi*
 94 *kīma zēr ušī ina ahi tâmti*
 95 *ē^a ša Balīhē ē^b ša Balīhē*
 96 *narqâni^a ana qaqqari*
 97 *ša tunassisāni qimmatkunu yâši*

Textual Notes: line 87 ^a This form is to be understood as the feminine plural *ēpišētū 'a*, perhaps created under the influence of the masculine plural form in the preceding line and/or as the result of a phonological development (for the latter possibility, see T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, *Iraq* 71 [2009]: 80 on 20'-21' = VI 86-87) | ^b Text: *mārat* || line 89 ^a *al-te-'i-ši-na-a-ti* is here construed as a Gtn preterite (contra the opinion earlier expressed in *Iraq* 71 [2009]: 80) || line 95 ^a Var.: omitted | ^b Var.: omitted || line 96 ^a Var.: *narqâ*.

Translation: VI 85-97

- 85 Incantation. Pure Sulphur and *atā'īšu*, the holy plant, am I.
 86 My sorcerers are the Sages of the *aps[û]*,
 87 My sorceresses are the heavenly Daughters of Anu.
 88 When they performed sorcery against me, they were never able to overpower me,
 89 But when I performed sorcery against them, I kept on overpowering them.
 90 I rise up like fish from my water,
 91 Like a pig from my mud,
 92 Like soapwort from the (inundated) meadow,^a
 93 Like grass from the canal bank,
 94 Like seed of ebony^a from the seashore.
 95 O you^a of the Baliḥ, O you of the Baliḥ,
 96 Hide yourself here in the ground,^a
 97 You who shook your hair^a out at me.

Translation Notes: line 92 ^a Alternative translation: flood plain || line 94 ^a Or, more likely, another more common black wood tree || line 95 ^a A less likely reading: ditch (E: *īku*) || line 96 ^a Var.: Hide yourself in the ground || line 97 ^a Hair (*qimmatu*) here might represent foliage.

Normalization: III 154-179

- 154 ÉN rittumma rittu
 155 rittu dannatu ša amēlūti
 156 ša kīma nēši iṣbatu amēlu^a
 157 ^akīma ḥuḥāri iṣhupu eṭlu
 158 kīma šēti ukattimu qarrādu
 159 kīma šuškalī ašārēdu ibāru^{1a}
 160 kīma gišparri iktumu dannu
 161 kaššāpu u kaššāptu^a rittakunu ^dGirra liqmi
 162 ^dGirra līku^a ^dGirra lišti ^dGirra lištābil
 163 ^dGirra lilsā eli dannati rittekunu
 164 ša rittakunu ēpušu^a zumurkunu^b liḥmuṭ
 165 lispuḥ^a illatkunu mār ^dEa mašmaššu
 166 ^a-qutri^b ^dGirra līrima/^a ^apānīkunu
 167 kīma tinūri ina ḥiṭātīkunu
 168 kīma diqāri ina luḥummêkunu^a
 169 lispuḥkunūšī^a ^dGirra ezzu
 170 ayy-iṭḥūni kišpīkunu^a ruḥêkunu lemnūti^b
 171 ētellā kīma nūnī^a ina mēya
 172 kīma šaḥī ina rušumtiya^a
 173 kīma maštakal ina^a ušalli
 174 kīma sassati ina aḥi atappi
 175 kīma zēr ušī ina aḥi tāmīti
 176 ellet ^dištar munammerat^a šīmti
 177 uṣurāt balāṭi uṣṣurāku anāku

178 *ina qibīt iqbû^d Girra rašubbu*
 179 *u^d Girra āriru mār^d Ani qardu^a*

Textual Notes: line 156^a Var.: *amēlūti*, a mistake influenced by *amēlūti* of the preceding line || line 157^a Var.: + *ša* (i.e., *ša kīma*) in lines 157–160 of one ms || line 159^a Text: *i-bar-ru*, *i-bar-ri*, *i-ba-ar*, all of which are wrong, since we expect a subordinate form of the preterite (*ibāru*). A scribe corrected the mistaken *i-bar* by adding *-ru*, hence *i-bar-ru* || line 161^a Var.: + *ēp[iš(u)] u ēpištu* || line 162^a Vars.: *līkul* and *lišti* seem to be transposed in one ms: *lišti* . . . [*līkul*] || line 164^a Assyrian third-person form; the readings here include *ēpušu*, *īpušu*, *ēpuša* |^b Var.: + ^d*Girra* || line 165^a Var.: *lissuḥ* || line 166^{a-a} Var.: *quturū* . . . *lirimū* in two Uruk mss |^b Var.: *qutur* || line 168^a Var.: *rušumtikunu* || line 169^a Var.: + <<*ina*>> in lines 169 (i.e., <<*ina*>> ^d*Girra*) and 171 (i.e., <<*ina*>> *nūnī*) of an Aššur ms || line 170^a Var.: + *u* |^b Could *kišpīkunu ruḥēkunu lemnūti* in line 170 be a scribal abbreviation of *kišpūki ruḥūki rusūki upšāšūki lemnūti* (151–152)? But note also VIII 34 || line 171^a Var.: *nūn<ī>* || line 172^a Var.: + *kīma qanī ina api* in two Uruk mss || line 173^a Var.: + <<*aḥi*>>. *aḥi* here is probably due to *aḥi atappi* in the following line || line 176^a Var.: *nam-rat* (perhaps to be construed as <*mu*->*nam*-<*me*->*rat*) || line 179^a Vars.: + ÉN, *te* ÉN.

Translation: III 154-179

154 Incantation. Hand, hand,
 155 Strong hand of humankind,
 156 Which, like a lion, seized a man,
 157 Like a bird trap, clamped down on a young man,
 158 Like a hunting net, covered over the warrior,
 159 Like a battle net, caught the leader,
 160 Like a trap, covered the strong one.
 161 O warlock and witch,^a may Girra burn your hand,
 162 May Girra consume, may Girra drink, may Girra completely consume,
 163 May Girra roar at your strong hand.
 164 Because your hand performed sorcery, may he^a inflame your body,
 165 May the son of Ea, the exorcist, scatter^a your cohort.
 166 May the smoke of Girra cover your face.^a
 167 Like an oven through your cracks,
 168 Like a pot through your mud,
 169 May raging Girra scatter you.
 170 May your witchcraft (and) evil spittle not approach me.
 171 I rise up like fish from my water,
 172 Like a pig from my mud,^a
 173 Like soapwort from^a the (inundated) meadow,^b
 174 Like grass from the canal bank,
 175 Like seed of an ebony tree^a from the seashore.
 176 (By) bright Ishtar, who illumines fate,
 177 I have been designated with the design of life^a—
 178 By the command pronounced by awesome Girra
 179 And blazing Girra, warlike son of Anu.

Translation Notes: line 161^a Var.: + sor[cerer] and sorceress || line 164^a Var.: Girra || line 165^a Var.: uproot || line 166^a Or: May Girra cover your face with smoke || line 172^a Var.: + like reed in a marsh || line 173^a Var.: + <<the edge of>> |^b Alternative translation:

flood plain || **line 175**^a Or, more likely, another more common blackwood tree || **line 177**^a
That is, inscribed for life.

Commentary

These three incantations will be discussed together to demonstrate how incantations of mixed genre or type could come into existence in ancient Mesopotamia. The two incantations from Tablet III, *Id ellu namru quddušu anāku* (III 61-76) and *rittumma rittu* (III 154-179), each share a block of material with *kibrītu elletu atā'īšu šammu quddušu anāku* (VI 85-97), specifically, III 61-67 parallel VI 85-89 and III 175-179 parallel VI 90-94. It would appear that these blocks were borrowed from older incantations to create or modify newer ones. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the incongruous themes of fire and water in *Id ellu namru quddušu anāku* and *rittumma rittu* establish the composite nature of these two incantations.

A) III 61-76: *Id ellu namru quddušu anāku*

This is quite probably the oldest and most original of the three incantations. In the first line, the speaker explicitly identifies himself with the River (*Id*) and the Sun (*namru*). This is followed by a mention of two groups of “supernatural” witches and an extended statement to the effect that while they have tried to “bewitch” the speaker, they have failed to overcome his body, but he has overcome them and been purified.

These witches are the enemies of the river and the sun, with whom the human speaker has identified himself. More specifically, the witches are identified with forces that are part of the natural or juridical world of the river and the sun and may disrupt the order and/or counter the powers of the river and the sun. The witches in line 62 are *apkallū ša apsī*, the non-human or quasi-human beings of the underground waters. They were associated with Ea, god of the *apsū*, and with water, and took the form of fish or had fish-like qualities. The *apkallū* are not always positive forces and may represent a threat to the *Id* or even block its emergence. In line 63, the witches are *mārāt Anī ša šamē*, the heavenly daughters of *Anu*. They constitute a threat to *namru* (= Šamaš), Sun. They seem to represent clouds that can block the sun, even prevent it from rising in the morning in the eastern mountains.

Lines 64-66 state that even though these witches have tried to bewitch the river and the sun, they do not succeed and are unable to bewitch either the gods or the human participant. In line 67, the speaker states that he is able to “bewitch” the witches and be victorious over them. Up to this point, the speaker has established his power by a full identification with the gods. But in lines 68-69, the speaker focuses on himself and the results: he has emerged from the ordeal as one who is innocent and free. He asserts that, like *Id*, he has now become pure (= innocent) in his mountain, and, like the Sun, he has now become bright (= innocent) in his judgment.

In lines 70-71, the composer calls upon the gods for their assistance and introduces the notion of the establishment of the *nabalkattu* of the witches. These lines should be understood in juridical terms. Our text then expands on the use of *nabalkutu* by introducing in lines 72-73 the theme of overturning and reversion of witchcraft, a theme that is often associated with water. In these lines the gods impose an inversion and drowning of the witch in the formal river ordeal.

In lines 74-75, we encounter a common formulation of the wish that the witch

burn and go up in smoke. This constitutes a serious incongruity and indicates that lines 74-75 are an insertion—the allusion to ritual burning is out of place in an incantation that has focused more on watery depths than on flames. These lines reflect the present ritual context of *Maqlû* and were incorporated into the incantation in order to adapt it for a new ritual usage, that of burning.

Line 76, the closing line of the incantation, does not continue the thought of the lines that immediately precede it, that is, of either lines 72-73 (water) or lines 74-75 (fire). In addition, the line only mentions ^d*id* and not *namru*, both of which were mentioned together in lines 61-63, 68-69, and 70-71. If line 76 were part of the original incantation, our closing line would have picked up and incorporated both ^d*id* and *namru*. Line 76 is identical with III 87, the last line of the following incantation, which immediately follows two lines that deal with the river ordeal and present ^d*id* and its waters as pure and as able to destroy the witch and to release her witchcraft. Thus, it appears that line 87 was carried over secondarily to the earlier incantation because that incantation also mentioned ^d*id*.

B) VI 85-97: *kibrîtu elletu atā'îšu šammu quddušu anāku*

The similarity of the first four lines of this incantation to III 61-67 is immediately apparent. Instead of identifying himself with divinized natural phenomena, however, the speaker identifies himself here with materials: *kibrîtu*, “sulphur,” and *atā'îšu*, a kind of mountain plant. These were among the materials used in amulets and other protective rituals, and thus this incantation may be regarded as a *Kultmittel-beschwörung* (incantation to a ritual material). The speaker's identification with minerals and plants may stem in part from the fact that ritual materials often come into contact with the body in the form of an amulet, an ointment, an aromatic, or a fumigant. In the *Maqlû* ritual, *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu* form part of a fumigant (see RT 107'-108').

It seems that the form of these lines found in this incantation is secondary and that the identification with ^d*id* and *namru* in III 61 is more original. For one thing, III 61-77 is mythological/natural in nature, rather than ritualistic, and it is more common for an older incantation to be reformulated to fit a new ritual context than for it to be de-ritualized. For another, the *apkallû* (III 62//VI 86) and *mārāt Ani* (III 63//VI 87) are more suitable as enemies of River and Sun than as enemies of *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu*. References to water later in the incantation also support the primacy of ^d*id*, and show that a watery theme undergirded the incantation before the identifications were changed.

There are specific connections between the corresponding members of the two sets. In the case of *kibrîtu* and ^d*id*, there is a clear verbal connection: *kibrîtu* is often written logographically KI.A.^dĪD and interpreted as if it meant “the bank of the river,” *kibir* ^d*id*.²¹ The connection between *atā'îšu* and *namru* (Sun) is less apparent. *Atā'îšu* is characterized as a mountain plant, and perhaps it is height that the two have in common. But a more likely connection is the fact that both the plant and the sun emerge in the mountains.

A possible (but perhaps not entirely satisfying) interpretation of this incantation

²¹ The replacement of ^d*id* by *kibrîtu* is also in line with a ritual connection between *ittû* (used in the ritual for III 61-77) and *kibrîtu*. For a full discussion, see T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 208.

may be as follows. Just as creatures of the *apsû* are the enemies of ^d*id* and the Daughters of Anu (clouds) are the enemies of the sun (in III 62-63), so too these creatures (or water more generally) are the enemies of *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu* both in the natural and mythological world of the incantation and in the ritual context where *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu* serve as fumigants. The witches in line 86 oppose *kibrîtu* (←^d*id*), and those of line 87 oppose *atā'îšu* (←*namru*). In lines 90-94, the speaker is *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu*—the comparison with fish and pigs in lines 90-91 suggests the identification of the speaker with *kibrîtu* because like sulphur these animate creatures arise from the water, and the comparison with grasses in lines 92-94 suggests his identification with *atā'îšu* because of the vegetative nature of each. Sulphur (*kibrîtu*) rises up from the water and, like ^d*id*, is not defeated by the *apkallû* of the *apsû* who try to keep ^d*id* from emerging from the depths. *Atā'îšu*, a mountain plant, rises up from the ground and, like the sun, is not defeated by the Daughters of Anu who tried to keep the sun from emerging from the netherworld and rising in the mountains. Thus, just as ^d*id* and the sun can overcome their water enemies, so too *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu* can overcome their enemies (lines 85-89); they rise up from the water (90-94) and cause the water to run off into the ground (lines 95-97).

VI 85-89 turn the original identification with ^d*id* and *namru* into a *Kultmittel-beschwörung* to *kibrîtu* and *atā'îšu*, two of the materials that are used as fumigants in the ritual. The link between VI 85-89 and 90-94 is loose, and the connection between the two sections themselves is uncertain. Though it is possible that the incantation already included both sections when the speaker's identification with ^d*id* and *namru* was replaced by that with *kibrîtu* and *namru*, it is more likely that VI 90-94 were only secondarily connected to VI 85-89.

C) III 154-179: *rittumma rittu*

As noted earlier, VI 90-94 appear also in the incantation *rittumma rittu* (III 154-179) as III 171-175. The incantation III 154-179 seems to be composed of three sections: 154-169 (+170?), 171-175, and 176-177 (+ the *ina qibīt* section: 178-179). Lines 154-160 are an address to *rittû*, a fist that represents human power and destructiveness and is here attributed to the witch. In lines 161-170, the speaker then turns to *Girra*, the fire-god, with the request that he destroy the fist and scatter the witches. Central to this first section of the incantation is the invocation and use of fire.

In lines 171-175 we encounter a surprising shift, for the speaker makes no further mention of fire but identifies himself instead with what seems to be a body of water and expresses the wish that he “rise up like fish from my water, like a pig from my mud, etc.” In lines 176-177, the speaker then turns to *Ishtar*, a goddess of destiny, and declares that he has been “inscribed” for life. Finally, in the last two lines, he declares that the incantation has the authority/command of *Girra* behind it.

The first two sections (lines 154-170; lines 171-175) appear to be independent blocks with little connection with each other. The combination of a passage that centers on water with one that centers on fire looks to be a secondary conjunction. It is likely that III 154-169 + 178-179 were placed around the more original III 171-175. For the fact that the final *Maqlû* ritual is a ceremony that centers upon a burning ritual suggests that lines 161-169, the passage in which the fist is addressed and the fire-god activated, were added to the incantation as part of its adaptation to

the ritual burning. It appears, therefore, that the water section (lines 171-175) existed prior to the rest of the incantation and that the incantation was built up around it.

10

Tablet IV 1-79: *Bišlī bišlī qidē qidē*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "The Revision of Babylonian Anti-Witchcraft Incantations: the Critical Analysis of Incantations in the Ceremonial Series *Maqlû*," in *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, ed. G. Bohak, et al. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 15. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 11-16, 28-39, 41.

Normalization

- 1 ÉN *bišlī bišlī qidē qidē*
- 2 *raggu^{la} u šēnu ē tērub atlak*
- 3 *attāmannu mār manni attāmannu mārāt manni*
- 4 *ša ašbātunuma ipšēkunu upšāšēkunu tēteneppušāni yāši*
- 5 *lipšur^d Ea mašmaššu*
- 6 *lišbalkit kišpīkunu^d Asalluḫi mašmaš ilī mār^d Ea apkallu*
- 7 *^aakassīkunūši akammīkunūši^a anamdinkunūši*
- 8 *ana^d Girra qāmē qālī kāsī kāsīdu ša kaššāpāti*
- 9 *^dGirra qāmū lītallal idāya*
- 10 *ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti rāmu zīru*
- 11 *dibalā zikurrudā kadabbedā šurḫungā*
- 12 *šabalbalā šūd pānī u šanē ṭemu*
- 13 *tēpušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur*
- 14 *ana mīti tahīrā'inni*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
- 15 *ana gulgullati t[apqī]dā'i[nn]i*
ṭē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)¹
- 16 *ana eṭem kintiya tapq[idā'inni]*
[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)]
- 17 *ana eṭemmi aḫī tapqidā'i[nni]*
[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)]
- 18 *ana eṭemmi murtappidu ša pāqida lā īšū tapqid[ā'inni]*
[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)]
- 19 *ana eṭem ḫarbī nadūti tapqidā'inni*
ṭē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)¹
- 20 *ana šēri kīdi u namē tapqidā'inni*
ṭē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)¹
- 21 *ṭana¹ dūri u samēti tapqidā'inni*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
- 22 *ana^d Bēlet šēri u bamāti tapqidā'inni*

- tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)*
 23 *ana utūni lapti tinūri kinūni KI.UD.BA u nappaḥāti tapqidā 'inni*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 24 *šalmīya ana mīti tapqidā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 25 *šalmīya ana mīti taḥīrā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 26 *šalmīya itti mīti t[ušn]illā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 27 *šalmīya ina sūn mī[ti tušni]llā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 28 *šalmīya ina kimaḥ mī[ti ta]qbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 29 *šalmīya ana gulgullati tapqidā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 30 *šalmīya ina igāri taphā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 31 *šalmīya ina askuppati tušnillā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 32 *šalmīya ina bi 'i ša dūri taphā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 33 *šalmīya ina titurri taqbirāma ummānu ukabbisū*
^atē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)^a
 34 *šalmīya ina burē ša ašlāki būrta^a taptā taqbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 35 *šalmīya ina rāti ša nukaribbi būrta^a taptā taqbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 36 *šalmīya lū ša bīni lū ša erēni lū ša lipī*
 37 *lū ša iškūri lū ša kupsi*
 38 *lū ša iṭ[tī lū] ša ṭṭi lū ša līši*
 39 *šalmī muš[šulāti š]a pānīya u lāniya tēpušāma*
 40 *[k]alba t[u]šākilā šaḥā tušākilā*
 41 *iššū[ra t]ušākilā ana nāri taddā*
 42 *šalmīya ana Lamašti mārāt^d Ani tapqidā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 43 *šalmīya ana^d Girra tapqidā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 44 *mēya itti mīti tušnillā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 45 *mēya ina sūn mīti tušnillā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 46 *[mēya ina k]imaḥ mīti taqbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 47 *[ina . . .]^a eršeti mēya taqbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)
 48 *[ina . . .] eršeti mēya taqbirā*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni^d Girra lipšur)

- 49 *i[na] ma[ħar ilt (ša) mūš]i(?) mēya taħbâ*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 50 ^{a-x} x [x x] x ^a ana ^dGilgameš taddinā^b
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 51 *[a]na a[ral]lê taħīrā 'inni*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 52 *zik[urr]udâ ana pāni ^dSîn*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 53 *zikurrudâ ana pāni ^dŠulpa 'ea*
^a*tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)*^a
- 54 *zikurrudâ ana pāni ^{mul}Nimri*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 55 *zikurrudâ ana pāni ^dGula^a*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 56 ^a*[zi]kurr[u]dâ ana pāni ^{mul}Urgulî*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)^a
- 57 *zikurrudâ ana pāni ^{mul}Ereqqi*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 58 *[zi]kurr[u]dâ ana pāni ^{mul}Zuqaqîpi*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 59 *zikurrudâ ana pāni ^{mul}Šitaddari*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 60 *[zi]kurrudâ ana pāni ^{mul}Habašīrāni*
tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 61 *[ziku]rrudâ ša šerru šikkû 'arrabu perurūtu^{1a}*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 62 *[ziku]rrudâ ša 'pagri(?)¹ x [x x] x 'ša ruḥê¹*
^a*[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)]*^a
- 63 ^a*[ina a]kalu ukultu inbu^a t[usākilā] 'inni*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 64 *'ina^a mē šizbi¹ šikāri k[a]rāni ta[šq]â 'inn[i]*
[t]ē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)
- 65 *ina mē^a u uḥūli^a turammek[ā 'i]nn[i]*
^b*[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)]*^b
- 66 *ina šamni tapšušā 'i[nni]*
[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)]
- 67 *ina šūbulāti tušēbilā['i]nn[i]*
[tē(pušāni tušēpišāni ^dGirra lipšur)]
- 68 ^a*ina maħar ili^{1b} šarri kabti u rubê tušaškinā 'i[nni]*
- 69 *ina maħa[r t]īru manzazi u bāb ekalli t[ušaškinā 'inni]*
- 70 *ina maħar ibri tap[p]ê u kinatti tušaš[kinā 'inni]*
- 71 *ina maħar abi u ummi aḥ[i (u) a]ḥāti aššati māri u^a mārti tušaškinā 'inni*
- 72 *ina maħar bīti u bābi ardi u amti šeher rabi ša bīti tuša[škinā 'inni]*
- 73 *eli āmeriya t[uša]mrišā 'inni*
- 74 *aktamīkunūši aktasīkunūši attadīnkunūši*
- 75 *ana ^dGirra qāmî qāl[î]^a kāsî kāšidu ša kaššāpāti*
- 76 *^dGirra qāmû lipaṭter riksīkunu*

- 77 *lipaššer kišpīkunu [lipaš]šer sirqīkunu*
 78 *ina qibīt^d Marduk mār^d Ea apkalli*
 79 *^a-u^d Girra āriru mār^d Ani qardu^a TU₆ ÉN^b*

Textual Notes: line 2 ^a Text: man-gu || line 7 ^{a-a} Var.: *akassīkunūši* and *akammīkunūši* seem to be transposed: [*akammīkunūš*]i *akassīkunūši*; this order also occurs in line 74 || line 33 ^{a-a} Var.: omitted || line 34 ^a Or possibly *būra* || line 35 ^a Or possibly *būra* || line 47 ^a Perhaps restore *nidūt* here in line 47 and *nigīš* in line 48 (cf. T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, *Iraq* 71 [2009]: 70 and reference there) || line 50 ^{a-a} Perhaps *š[ārat zumriy]a*; if not, the occurrence of *mēya* in the preceding six lines suggests that we might restore . . . [*mēy*]a also here | ^b Vars.: *tapqidā*, [*ta-di*]n-nu. [*ta-di*]n-nu is probably an error for *taddinā*; the variant form *ta-din-nu* may be a durative form of *dānu* (cf. II 107, var.: *ta-din-na*), but perhaps the *u*-ending should be viewed in light of the suffix -'in-nu in line 51 of the same ms that contains [*ta-di*]n-nu || line 53 ^{a-a} Var.: *tē(pušāni . . .)* omitted in lines 53–55 and 58–59 of one ms || line 55 ^a Var.: ^{mūl}*Gula* || line 56 ^{a-a} Var.: line omitted || line 61 ^a Var.: 'PEŠ¹<.TUR> (=peru<rūtu>) || line 62 ^{a-a} Var.: omitted || line 63 ^{a-a} Var.: [*mī*]mma *šum[š]u* || line 64 ^a Var.: absent || line 65 ^{a-a} Var.: <*u uḫūli*> *qarn[ānī]* | ^{b-b} Var.: *tē(pušāni . . .)* omitted in lines 65–67 of one ms || line 68 ^a Var.: one ms has the line order 69-72-71-70-68-73 | ^b Text: 'DINGIR<<.MEŠ>>' || line 71 ^a Var.: absent || line 75 ^a Var.: omitted; alternatively, *qāmī* and *qālī* may have been transposed: [*qālī qām*]ī || line 79 ^{a-a} This line depends on the *ina qibīt* of line 78 and is therefore in the genitive; however, all mss have the nominative form for the two adjectives in this line, perhaps under the influence of the form of this line in II 105 or, even more likely, in III 179 | ^b Var.: + [KA.I]NIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÚ[R.RU.DA.KAM] in a Babylonian ms.

Translation

- 1 Incantation. Burn, burn, blaze, blaze!
- 2 Evil and wicked one, do not enter, go away!
- 3 Whoever you are—the son of whomever, whoever you are—the daughter of whomever,
- 4 Who sit and perform repeatedly^a your sorcery and machinations against me myself:
- 5 May Ea, the exorcist, release.
- 6 May Asalluhi, the exorcist of the gods, Ea's son, the sage, divert your witchcraft.
- 7 I am binding you, I am holding you captive, I am giving you over
- 8 To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.
- 9 May Girra, the burner, be joined to my side.
- 10 Sorcery, rebellion, evil word, love (-magic), hate (-magic),
- 11 Perversion of justice, *Zikurrudā*-magic, aphasia, pacification,
- 12 Mood swings, vertigo, madness
- 13 You have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release.
- 14 You have betrothed me to a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 15 You have h[anded m]e over to a skull,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 16 You have han[ded me] over to a ghost of (a member of) my family,

- [You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 17 You have handed me over to a ghost of a stranger,
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 18 You have hand[ed me] over to a roaming ghost who has no caretaker,
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 19 You have handed me over to a ghost in the uninhabited wastelands,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 20 You have handed me over to the steppe, open country, and desert,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 21 You have handed me over to a wall and battlement,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 22 You have handed me over to the mistress of the steppe and open country,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 23 You have handed me over to a kiln, a roasting oven, a baking oven, a brazier, a . . . -oven, and bellows,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 24 You have handed over figurines of me to a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 25 You have betrothed figurines of me to a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 26 You have l[ai]d figurines of me with a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 27 You have [la]id figurines of me in the lap of a dead [man],
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 28 You have buried figurines of me in the grave of a dead [man],
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 29 You have handed over figurines of me to a skull,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 30 You have immured figurines of me in a wall,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 31 You have laid figurines of me under a threshold,

- You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 32 You have immured figurines of me in the drainage opening of a wall,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 33 You have buried figurines of me on a bridge so that crowds would trample over them,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 34 You have made a hole in a mat^a belonging to a fuller and (therein) buried figurines of me,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 35 You have made a hole in a channel^a belonging to a gardener and (therein) buried figurines of me,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 36 Figurines of me — whether of tamarisk, or of cedar, or of tallow,
37 Or of wax, or of sesame pomace,
38 Or of bit[umen, or] of clay, or of dough,
39 Figurines, repre[sentations o]f my face and my body you have made
40 And fed to dog(s), fed to pig(s),
41 Fed to bir[d(s)], cast into a river.
- 42 You have handed over figurines of me to Lamaštu, daughter of Anu,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 43 You have handed over figurines of me to Girra,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 44 You have laid my (funerary) water with a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 45 You have laid my water in the lap of a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 46 You have buried [my water in the g]rave of a dead man,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 47 You have buried my water [in . . .] of the earth/netherworld,^a
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 48 You have buried my water [in . . .] of the earth/netherworld,^a
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 49 You have drawn my water in the pre[sence of the gods of the nigh]t(?),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

- 50 You have given over^a m[y . . .]^b to Gilgameš,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 51 You have betrothed me to the [nether]world,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 52 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of the moon (*Sîn*).
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 53 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Jupiter (*Šulpae 'a*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 54 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Cygnus (*Nimru*),^a
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 55 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Lyra (^d*Gula*),^a
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 56 [*Zi*]*kurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Leo (*Urgulû*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 57 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Ursa Major (*Ereqqu*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 58 [*Zi*]*kurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Scorpio (*Zuqaqīpu*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 59 *Zikurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Orion (*Šitaddaru*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 60 [*Zi*]*kurrudâ*-magic in the presence of Centaurus (*Ḫabašīrānu*),
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 61 [*Zi*]*kurrudâ*-magic by means of a snake, a mongoose, a dormouse^(?), a *pirurūtu*-mouse,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 62 [*Zi*]*kurrudâ*-magic by means of a corpse(?), [. . .], *Z[ikurrudâ*-magic] by means of "spittle" (*ruḫû*),
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 63 [You have fed] me bread, food, (and) fruit,^a
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
- 64 You have given me to drink water, m[ilk], beer, and wine,
You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

- 65 You have washed me with water and potash,^a
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 66 You have salved me with oil,
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 67 You have sent me gifts,
[You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
- 68 You have caused me to be rejected by god¹, king, noble, and prince.
- 69 You have caus[ed me to be rejected] by courtier, attendant, and palace personnel.
- 70 You have caused me to be [rejected] by friend, companion, and peer.
- 71 You have caused me to be rejected by father and mother, brother [(and)] sister, wife, son, and daughter.
- 72 You have caused me to be [rejected] by household and city quarter, male and female servants, young and old of the household.
- 73 You have made me sickening in the sight of one who beholds me.
- 74 I have (now) captured you, I have (now) bound you, I have (now) given you over
- 75 To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.
- 76 May Girra, the burner, undo your bindings,^a
- 77 Release your witchcraft, [re]ase your scattered-offerings —
- 78 By the command of Marduk, Ea's son, the sage,
- 79 and blazing Girra, Anu's son, the warrior. TU₆ ÉN^a

Translation Notes: **line 4** ^a All verbs of bewitching in this incantation are second-person plural || **line 34** ^a That is, a mat that is covering water || **line 35** ^a That is, a channel that is full of water || **line 47** ^a Perhaps: [in the waste]land || **line 48** ^a Perhaps: [in a crevice] in the earth || **line 50** ^a Var.: have handed over | ^b Perhaps: “h[air from m]y [body]” or, possibly, “[m]y [water]” || **line 54** ^a More precisely, Cygnus, Lacerta and parts of Cassiopeia and Cepheus (so H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* [Leiden, 1999], 274). || **line 55** ^a Var.: Aquarius || **line 63** ^a Var.: [You have fed] me all kinds (of food). The objects in lines 63-67 are infused with witchcraft; contact with them causes the victim to be bewitched || **line 65** ^a Var.: “horned <potash>,” i.e., Salicornia || **line 76** ^a That is, the witches’ ritual arrangements and the victim’s bonds that are thereby created || **line 79** ^a Var.: + [It is the w]ording (of the incantation) to un[do] witchcraft.

Commentary

Maqlû IV 1-79 is a long incantation comprising several parts. Following an invocation to fire to burn the witches (1-2), the speaker addresses his enemies and charges them with repeated acts of witchcraft (3-4). He then calls on Ea and Asalluḫi to release and dispel the magical attacks (5-6). In lines 7-9, the speaker states that he is binding the witches and handing them over to Girra. Thereupon follows an extensive list of acts of witchcraft that the witch is accused of performing against the speaker (10-73). Most of the entries in the list are followed by the antiphon “You have performed against me (or) have had performed against me: may Girra release,” which first appears in line 13 and is modeled upon line 5. The list itself is followed by a further statement by the speaker that he has bound the witches and handed them

over to Girra for destruction (74-77). The incantation concludes with the declaration that the authority of Asalluḫi and Girra stands behind the magical ceremony.

The aforementioned list contains distinct thematic blocks: handing the victim over to various entities (14-23), burial and enclosing figurines of the victim (24-35), placing water of the victim with the dead (44-51), performance of *Zikurrudâ*-magic before various astral bodies (52-62), giving bewitched food and drink, washing and salving with bewitched materials, and sending messages of bewitchment (63-67), and causing the rejection of the victim by various people and groups (68-73). These add up to a rather comprehensive list, but the list, in its present form, was not composed all at once, for there are a number of literary features that reflect the list's composite nature.

There are a number of signs that the list was not original to this incantation. It is conceivable that incantations were occasionally composed containing such lists, but it is more likely that the earliest version of this incantation was much shorter and that it was revised to include the list. The list is not only disproportionate in length and scope to the rest of the incantation, but also disruptive to its context. It distances elements of a continuous performance from each other. Lines 1-9 and 74-79 focus on the invocation of fire and the ritual burning of the witches, while 10-73 describe the witches' activities exclusively. There is also a structural feature that marks lines 10-73 as an insertion: a *Wiederaufnahme*, or repetitive resumption, in lines 7-9 and 74-77:

- 7: *akassīkunūši akammīkunūši anamdinkunūši*
 8: *ana* ^d*Girra qāmē qālī kāsī kāsīdu ša kaššāpāti*
 9: ^d*Girra qāmū litallal idāya*
- 74: *aktamīkunūši aktasīkunūši attadinkunūši*
 75: *ana* ^d*Girra qāmī qālī kāsīdu kaššāpāti*
 76: ^d*Girra qāmū lipaṭter riksīkunu*
 77: *lipaššer kišpīkunu [lipaš]šer sirqīkunu*

After the long interpolation, the redactor saw fit to restate the ritual actions and repeated lines 7-8 in 74-75, with minor variations. The same verbs that appeared in the durative in line 7 appear as perfects in line 74. In the first instance, the action was taking place at the same time as the utterance, but by the end of the exhaustive list it had already been completed. The repetition of elements is also found when line 9 is expanded into lines 76-77.

Moreover, a line like line 9 normally appears at the end of an incantation. An example of this is found in the two *Šamaš* incantations in KAR 80 and duplicates: ^d*Nuska šurbū ina qibītika litallil idāya*, "At your command, may grand Nuska be joined to my side" (rev. 14); ^d*Šamaš ina pīka* ^d*Girra tappūka litallil idāya*, "Šamaš, by your order, may Girra, your companion, be joined to my side" (rev. 35-36).²² It is likely, therefore, that line 9 was originally followed immediately by the *ina qibīt* formula in lines 78-79 and that, prior to the addition of lines 10-73, the earlier text ended with lines 9+78-79.

²² For a recent edition of KAR 80 and duplicates, see T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, *CMAwR I*, text 8.4 (pp. 293-305).

Let us review, then, the stages of development of the text. The earlier incantation was probably the present lines 1-9 + 78-79. In this earlier text, lines 3-4 served as the description of the witches' activities against the victim and were followed by a request in line 5 (+6) that Ea and Asalluḫi release the witchcraft. Line 5 took the description of the witches' actions in line 4 as its understood object. Subsequently, the secondary lists of malevolent actions (10-73) were all added. Each entry served to exemplify the general statement of line 4, and each was provided with an antiphon parallel to line 5. Finally, lines 7-9 were then repeated in modified form as lines 74-77 in order to reconnect lines 1-9 and 78-79.

The addition of lines 10-73 appears to be an attempt to create a full catalogue of possible malevolent ritual activities performed by witches. This addition serves to present the witch as a powerful being, perhaps much more powerful than she had previously been.

11

Tablet VII 22-28: *Araḫḫēka ramānī araḫḫēka pagrī*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "Water into Fire: the Formation of Some Witchcraft Incantations," *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 199.

Idem, "Mother and Child or Sexual Mates," in *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz*, ed. W. Horowitz, et al. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 8. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Madrid, 2010, 13-17.

Normalization

- 22 ÉN *araḫḫēka ramānī araḫḫēka pagrī*
 23 *kīma* ^dŠakkan *irḫû būlšu*
 24 ^a-*laḫra immerša* ^b*šabīta armāša* ^c*atāna mūrša* ^{-ald}
 25 *epinnu erṣeta irḫû erṣetu imḫuru zēraša*
 26 *addi šipta ana ramāniya*
 27 *lirḫe ramānīma lišēši lumnu*
 28 *u kišpī ša zumriya lissuḫū* ^a ^b-*ilū rabūtu* ^{-blc}

Textual Notes: line 24 ^{a-a} Or perhaps: *laḫru immerša šabītu armāša atānu mūrša*; for the grammatical analysis of this line, see T. Abusch, *Studies Westenholz* (BPOA 8; Madrid 2010), pp. 13–17 | ^b Var.: suffix omitted | ^c Var.: *ḫuzāla* | ^d Var.: pronominal suffix -*šu* instead of -*ša* || line 28 ^a Var.: *lissuḫ*, which may reflect a text form prior to the addition of *ilū rabūtu* (cf. T. Abusch, *Mes. Wc.*, p. 199) | ^{b-b} Var.: absent | ^c Vars.: + ÉN, *te* ÉN.

Translation

- 22 Incantation. I am impregnating you, my self, I am impregnating you, my body.
 23 As Šakkan impregnated his herd,

- 24 The ewe her lamb, the gazelle her young, the jenny her donkey foal,^a
 25 (As) the plow impregnated the earth, the earth received its seed,
 26 So I cast the spell on my self.
 27 May it impregnate my self and expel the evil,
 28 And may the great gods extirpate^a the witchcraft of my body.

Translation Notes: line 24 ^a But if the female animals are construed in the nominative (rather than in the accusative), then translate: The ewe (received) her lamb, the gazelle her young, the jenny her donkey foal || line 28 ^a Var.: And may it (i.e., the spell) extirpate . . .

Commentary

This short incantation accompanies the ritual application of oil to the patient's body. Its purpose, as lines 27-28 indicate, is to remove a magical or demonic affliction from the patient's body. Earlier versions of the incantation found in other contexts show that this was not its original purpose. In those versions, the incantation was recited and the oil applied to the priest himself to ward off magical attacks that may have occurred in the course of his duties. The addition of lines 27b-28 to these early versions and the insertion of the incantation into its present place in *Maqlû* gave the incantation a new, exorcistic function.

The primary metaphor of this incantation is relatively straightforward. Massaging oil into the skin until it was absorbed was likened to impregnation. The pastoral and agrarian similes are clear, with the exception of the ambiguous and confusing line 24. The primary problem here is discerning which animal in each pair is the actor and which the object of action. One view holds that the male animals perform the action of impregnating the females. If this were the case, the order would probably be reversed, and the female animals would bear the pronominal suffix rather than the males. In addition, two of the terms used for male animals denote young, sexually immature animals. Another understanding maintains that the verb *reḥû* in line 23 conveys a notion of motherly love and care rather than impregnation. While this leads to a more acceptable rendering of line 24, it is doubtful that it captures the full force of the verb *reḥû*.

A third, and more likely, possibility interprets line 24 also in light of line 25, rather than only in light of line 23. Line 25 consists of two halves, the first of which parallels line 23, the second, line 24. The plow in line 25a parallels Šakkan in line 23, the land parallels his flocks. The land in 25b parallels the female animals in 24, and the seed parallels the male young. In the same way that the ground receives seed, the female animals of the flock and herd receive the seed of their young. This makes perfectly acceptable sense, although some grammatical ambiguity still exists. The female animals are not only parallel to *eršetu* "earth" in line 25, but also to *būlu* "herd/flock" of line 23. If the female animals are grammatically parallel to *būlu*, then both they and the male animals should be construed in the accusative in line 24 (a double accusative: Šakkan impregnates his herd, each female with her young). Alternatively, the female animals could be grammatically parallel to *eršetu* in line 25, in which case they should be construed in the nominative and understood as the subjects of an implied verb *maḥāru* "to receive."

Tablet VII 29-46: *Šamnu ellu*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "Blessing and Praise in Ancient Mesopotamian Incantations," in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, ed. W. Sallaberger, et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 1-14.

Normalization

- 29 ÉN *šamnu ellu šamnu ebbu šamnu namru*
 30 *šamnu mullil zumri ša il̄*
 31 *šamnu mupaššeḫ^a šer 'āna^b ša amēlūti*
 32 *šaman šipti ša^d Ea šaman šipti ša^d Asalluḫi*
 33 *uṭaḫḫidka šaman tapšūḫti*
 34 *ša^d Ea iddinu^a ana pašḫāti^b*
 35 *apšuška šaman balāṭi*
 36 *addika šipat^d Ea bēl Eridu^d Ninšiku*
 37 *aṭrud asakku aḫḫāzu šuruppū ša zumrika*
 38 *uṣatbi qūlu kūru^a nissatu ša pagrika*
 39 *upaššeḫ^a šer 'ānī minātīka lā ṭābūti*
 40 *ina qibīt^d Ea šar apšī*
 41 *ina tē ša^d Ea ina šipti ša^d Asalluḫi*
 42 *ina^a riksi rabbati^a ša^d Gula*
 43 *ina qātī pašḫāti ša^d Nintinugga*
 44 *u^d Ningirima bēlet šipti*
 45 *ana annanna mār annanna iddišumma^a Ea^b šipat amāti ša balāṭi^b*
 46 *sebet apkallū šūt Eridu lipaššiḫū^a zumuršu TU₆^b ÉN*

Textual Notes: line 31^a Var.: [muš]apšeḫ | ^b Var.: šer 'ānī || line 34^a Var.: iddinuṣ | ^b Var.: tapšūḫti; the writing tap'(text: pa)-šu-uh-ti confirms that tapšūḫti is an error — the scribe began to write pašḫāti but under the influence of tapšūḫti in the preceding line completed the word as if it were tapšūḫti || line 38^a Var.: + u || line 39^a Var.: ušapšeḫ || line 42^{a-a} Vars.: rikis rabābula, riksi rabū/ē, qātī rabbāti; qātī in the variant qātī rabbāti was introduced by mistake under the influence of the following line || line 45^a Var.: The verb appears at the beginning of the line rather than in the middle in all but one ms. Note that the writing can also be construed as iddišumma (imperative). Regardless of placement, the preterite form iddišumma may be a mistake for the imperative; if Ea is the addressee, it is possible that instead of šipat amāti (= INIM) ša balāṭi, we should read šipat-ka ša balāṭi | ^{b-b} Vars.: šipat balāṭi, šipat amāt [balāṭi] The phrase šipat amāti ša balāṭi seems rather clumsy; I would therefore take šipatka ša balāṭi to be a better and more original resolution of the signs. || line 46^a Var.: lišapšiḫū | ^b Var.: absent.

Translation

- 29 Incantation. Pure oil, clear oil, bright oil,
 30 Oil that purifies the body of the gods,
 31 Oil that soothes the sinews of mankind,
 32 Oil of the incantation of Ea, oil of the incantation of Asalluḫi.
 33 I coat you with soothing oil

- 34 That Ea granted for soothing,
 35 I anoint you with the oil of healing,
 36 I cast upon you the incantation of Ea, lord of Eridu, Ninšiku.
 37 I expel Asakku, Ahhāzu (jaundice), chills of your body (*zumru*),
 38 I remove dumbness, torpor, and misery of your body (*pagru*),
 39 I soothe the sick sinews of your limbs.
 40 By the command of Ea, king of the *apsû*,
 41 By the spell of Ea, by the incantation of Asalluḫi,
 42 By the comforting^a bandage of Gula,
 43 By the soothing hands of Nintinugga
 44 And Ningirima, mistress of incantation.
 45 On so-and-so, Ea cast^a the incantation of the word of healing^b
 46 That the seven sages of Eridu soothe his body. TU₆ÉN

Translation Notes: line 42 ^a Vars.: great bandage; soothing hands || line 45 ^a Possible var.: "O Ea, cast" (imperative); if so, perhaps read: "your incantation of healing," instead of "the incantation of the word of healing" | ^b Var.: the incantation of healing.

Commentary

The third incantation in tablet VII belongs to a subcategory of incantations known as *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, or "incantations to a cultic agent." In the same way that *šuillas* seek to evoke certain characteristics and elicit merciful treatment from specific deities, these incantations address physical ritual materials in order to activate them so that they may remedy a patient's suffering. The *Kultmittelbeschwörung* is one of the earliest attested incantation types in ancient Mesopotamia. On occasion, one of these incantations addressing a cultic agent may develop into a composition in which there exists both an address to enhance and activate material and an address that emphasizes the independent force of speech, as though the speech were capable of effecting change by itself.

VII 29-46 provide an example of this type of incantation. In this incantation, oil is first addressed in order to activate its power of soothing and pacification (29-31). Subsequently, however, oil is said to obtain its power by being the "oil of the incantation" of the gods Ea and Asalluḫi (32). Also, the power of *pašāḫu*, "pacification," is ascribed to Ea (33-34), and the oil is associated with healing (*balāṭi*, 35), the same quality that defines Ea's incantations (*šipat balāṭi*, 45). Finally, independently of the oil, the incantation self-referentially introduces first the incantation of Ea (36), and then the incantation of healing (45).

The original purpose of the incantation *šamnu ellu šamnu ebbu* (or a prototype thereof) would have simply been to activate the power of *pašāḫu*, "healing," in the oil. Then, at some later point, this incantation gave precedence to the spoken word and to the god whose word it was and under whose authority it operated. It does this by fusing the power of the oil with the power of the incantation of Ea. In other words, this incantation shows a transformation from a simple address to oil into an Ea incantation referred to as an incantation of Ea/good health (45). The change that

occurs is from an address meant to activate an object to one that emphasizes the power of the word in an anthropomorphic/ mythological context.²³

13

Tablet VII 55-79a: *Attīmannu kaššāptu*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "Ritual and Incantation: Interpretation and Textual History of *Maqlû* vii:58-105 and ix:152-59," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov. Winona Lakes, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992, 367-380 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 185-196.

Normalization

- 55 ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša īpuša šalmī^a
 56 iṭṭulu lānt^a ibnū^d lamassī^b
 57 īm[u]ru [b]āltī ušarriḥu gattī^a
 58 ušabbū nabnīt[ī]^a
 59 umaššilu bunnannīya
 60 ubbir[u m]inātīya
 61 ukassū mešrētīya ukanninu manānīya
 62 yāši^d Ea mašmaš ilī uma['] iranni^a
 63 ^amaḥar^d Šamaš šalamki ēšer
 64 lānki aṭṭul lamassaki abni bāltaki āmur
 65 gattaki ušarreḥ nabnītiki ušabbi
 66 ina^d Nisaba elletī bunnannīki umaššil
 67 ^aminātīki^b ubber mešrētīki ukassī^{-a}
 68 manānīki ukannin
 69 ipšu^a tēpušīnni ēpuški
 70 miḥer tušamḥirīnni ušamḥerki
 71 gimil tagmilīnni utēr agmilki
 72 kišpīki ruḥēki rusēki ^aepšētēki lemnēte^{-a}
 73 upšāšēki ayyābūte
 74 našparātīki ša lemutti
 75 rāmki zērki dibalūki zikurrudūki
 76 kadabbedūki dimmakurrūki likillū rēški
 77 ^aitti mē ša zum[riy]a u^b musāti ša qātīya liššaḥiṭma
 78 ana muḥḥiki^a u lāniki lillickma^b anāku lubluṭ
 79 ēnīta līnānni māḥerta limḥuranni
 79a ^aamḥur meḥru limḥurū['] inni TU₆ ÉN^{-alb}

²³ For a recent study of this incantation, see T. Abusch, "Notes on the History of Composition of Two Incantations," in *Studies Lanfranchi* (AOAT 412, ed. A. Greco, et al.; Münster, 2014), 5-9.

Textual Notes: line 55^a Var.: NU; but note that the first-person possessive suffix sometimes seems to be implicit in logograms without a written suffix (cf. tablet VII 17), thus NU: *šalmī*. But notice that NU here appears in a Nippur ms that seems indifferent to case endings and to the first-person possessive suffix -ī even in syllabic writings; so also lines 56 (*lānu*), 57 ([*ga*]tu), and 58 (*nabnītu*) || line 56^a Var.: *lānu*; see above, note on line 55 |^b Var.: ^dLAMMA; perhaps LAMMA: *lamassī* (cf. above, note on *šalmī*, line 55) || line 57^a Var.: [*ga*]tu; see above, note on line 55 || line 58^a Var.: *nabnītu* (in the Nippur ms mentioned above on line 55, as well as in one other Babylonian ms); see above, note to line 55 || line 62^a Var.: *uma'irannima* || line 63^a Var.: + *ina* || line 67^{a-a} Var.: *mešrētīka ubber minātīka ukassi* |^b Var.: pronominal suffix -ka instead of -ki in lines 67–68 of one ms || line 69^a I have taken *ipšu* here as a singular because the parallel nouns in the following two lines are in the singular and because a variant reads *ipša* || line 72^{a-a} Var.: absent || line 77^a Var.: in a Neo-Babylonian (Nineveh) ms, lines 77–79a read:

*itti m[ē ša zumriya u musāti ša qātīya]
liššaḥi[tma eli šalam nigsagilē lillik]
šalam nigsagi[lē arnī dinānī lizbil]
sūqu [u sulū lipaṭṭirū arnīya]
ūmu šul[ma arḥu ḥidūti šattu ḥegallaša libila]
^dEa [^dŠamaš u ^dMarduk yāši rūšānimma]
lippaš[rū kišpī ruḥū rusū upšāšū lemnūti ša amēlūti] *
[u māmītu littāši ša zumriya É]N

|^b Var.: absent || line 78^a Var.: pronominal suffix -ka instead of -ki |^b Var.: *lillik* || line 79a^{a-a} Var.: line absent in both Nineveh (Assyrian) mss |^b Vars.: + ÉN, TU₆te ÉN.

Translation

- 55 ^aIncantation. Whoever you are, O witch, who has made my figurine —
56 Who has looked at my form and created my image,
57 Who has seen my bearing and given rich detail to my physical build,
58 Who has comprehended [my] appearance
59 And reproduced my features,
60 Who has bound my body,
61 Who has tied my limbs together, who has twisted my sinews.
62 As for me, Ea, exorcist of the gods, has sent me,
63 And before Šamaš I draw your image—
64 I look at your form and create your image, I see your bearing
65 And give rich detail to your physical build, I comprehend your appearance
66 And reproduce your features with pure flour,^a
67 I bind your body, I tie your limbs together,^a
68 I twist your sinews.
69 The sorcery that you have performed against me I perform against you,
70 The (ominous) encounter that you have caused me to encounter I make you take over,
71 The vengeance that you have wreaked on me I wreak on you.
72 Your witchcraft, your spittle, your enchantment, your evil manipulations,
73 Your hostile machinations,
74 Your messages of evil,
75 Your love (-magic), your hate (-magic), your perversion of justice, your *Zikurrudā*-magic,

- 76 Your aphasia, (and) your madness—may they (rather) attend to you (than to me).
77 ^aWith the water of my bo[dy] and the washing of my hands may it rinse off
78 And come upon your head and body so that I may live.
79 May a (female) substitute stand in for me, may one who encounters (me) take (it) over from me,
79a I have encountered an ominous encounter; may they take (it) over from me.
TU₆ ÉN

Translation Notes: A line division of lines 55-68 that is organized not by ancient line divisions but by sense, would read as follows:

Incantation. Whoever you are, O witch, who has made my figurine—
Who has looked at my form and created my image,
Who has seen my bearing and given rich detail to my physical build,
Who has comprehended my appearance and reproduced my features,
Who has bound my body,
Who has tied my limbs together,
Who has twisted my sinews.
As for me, Ea, exorcist of the gods, has sent me,
And before Šamaš I draw your image –
I look at your form and create your image,
I see your bearing and give rich detail to your physical build,
I comprehend your appearance and reproduce your features with pure flour,
I bind your body,
I tie your limbs together,
I twist your sinews.

line 66 ^a Lit., Nisaba || **line 67** ^a Var.: I bind your limbs, I tie your body || **lines 77-79a** ^a
Var.: Instead of lines 77-79a, a Neo-Babylonian (Nineveh) ms reads:

With the wa[ter of my body and the washing of my hands]
May it rins[e off and come upon a figurine of a substitute],
[May the] figurine of the substit[ute bear my sin as a replacement],
[May] street [and way undo my sins],
[May] the day [bring] well [being, the month joy, the year its prosperity].
Ea, [Šamaš, and Marduk, help me so that]
[Witchcraft, spittle, enchainment, evil machinations of mankind] be relea[sed],
[And oath go forth from my body. É]N

Commentary

The incantations in *Maqlû*, as in most magical ceremonies, were accompanied by ritual actions. The instructions for these ritual actions are included on a separate tablet appended to the series, the Ritual Tablet (RT, sometimes called Tablet IX). Sometimes the incantations themselves also contain some description of these accompanying rituals. When this is the case, the description should correspond to the Ritual Tablet's instructions. Often they do, but in some cases, such as *attīmannu kaššāptu* (VII 55-79a) and its ritual (RT 140'-142'), there is a discrepancy between the ritual instructions and the description that appears in the course of the incantation. Often, these discrepancies can offer insight into the series' religious, social, literary, or textual changes.

The incantation *attīmannu kaššāptu* itself is a relatively straightforward description of magical retaliation. The witch had made an image of the victim and

used it to perform various types of evil magic (55-61). The victim therefore responded in kind: in order to send her evil magic back to her so as to afflict her (69-76), he creates an image of the witch (62-68), and washes over it (77-78).

In the course of the incantation, several mentions are made of the ritual that accompanies its recitation. In lines 63-66, where the speaker describes the image he has created of the witch, we read *maḥar* ^d*Šamaš* *šalamki ēšer...ina* ^d*Nisaba elleti bunnannīki umaššil* “Before Šamaš I draw your image...(and) reproduce your features with pure flour.” Near the end of the incantation, as he washes, the speaker says *itti mē ša zum[riy]a u mušāti ša qātīya liššaḫitma / ana muḥḥiki u lāniki lillikma anāku lubluṭ* “With the water of my body and the washing of my hands may it rinse off / And come upon your head and body so that I may live.”

It seems, therefore, that the ritual for this incantation involves the speaker washing himself over a flour image of the witch. In the Ritual Tablet, however, the lines that stipulate the ritual for *attīmannu kaššāptu* (RT 140'-142') contain some unexpected instructions:

140' *arkišu ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša ṭpuš[u imannu]*
 141' *šalam kaššāpti ša qēmi ina libbi namsē teššer*
 142' *šalam ṭṭi ša kaššāpti ina muḥḥi tašakkan qātīšu ana muḥḥi imessi*
ana bī[ti terrub]

140' Afterward [he recites] the Incantation “Whoever you are, O witch, who has mad[e] (my figurine).”
 141' You draw an image of the witch made of flour inside a washbasin
 142' you place thereon a clay figurine of the witch. He washes his hands thereon. [You enter the ho]use.

As implied by the incantation, the officiating exorcist draws a flour image of the witch in a washbasin, and the patient recites the incantation and washes himself over the image. But there is also an instruction for the exorcist to place a clay image of the witch on top of the flour image, an action that is mentioned nowhere in the incantation.

This difference between the ritual as it appears in the incantation and the ritual as described in the Ritual Tablet can be satisfactorily explained if we look at the ritual accompanying the next incantation, *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti* (VII 80-100, discussed more fully below). That ritual, RT 143'-147', is strikingly similar to that of *attīmannu kaššāptu*:

143' *ÉN bā'ertu ša bā'irāti*
 144' *šalam kaššāpi u kaššāpti*
 145' *ša qēmi ina libbi namsē tešš[er]*
 146' *šalam ṭṭi ša kaššāpi u kaššāpti ina muḥḥi šalam qēmi tašakkan*
 147' *qātīšu ana muḥḥi imessi ina ḥuṣāb ēri ana šalāšīšu ikar[rit]*

143' Incantation. “Huntress of Huntresses”:
 144' Images of the warlock and witch
 145' made of flour you dr[aw] inside a washbasin,
 146' you place clay figurines of the warlock and witch upon the images of flour.
 147' He washes his hands thereon. He stri[kes] it three times with a stick of *ēru*-wood.

The exorcist is instructed to draw flour images of the warlock and witch in a water basin, to place clay figurines of a warlock and witch over them, and then the victim

is instructed to wash his hands over them. In this case, images are made of both the warlock and the witch, instead of just the witch as in *attīmannu kaššāptu*, and there is the added mention of scoring the images. The vital difference between the two rituals, however, is that the instructions for *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti* fit the incantation and are thus likely original (for more details on the agreement of the incantation and the ritual, see the discussion of *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti* below).

At some point in the textual history of the Ritual Tablet, the instructions to place clay figurines on the images of flour were carried over from *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti* and applied to the ritual instructions of *attīmannu kaššāptu*, which did not originally include clay figurines. This was part of an attempt by a redactor of the Ritual Tablet to explicate ritual instructions by means of expansion. This is not the only instance of this type of expansion, and comparison of variant manuscripts of the Ritual Tablet demonstrates that a number of ritual instructions have experienced similar expansions. The Neo-Assyrian texts from Nineveh often contain more expansive versions of ritual instructions than the manuscript of the Ritual Tablet that was discovered in Sultantepe (STT 83), which probably preserved an older recension of the Ritual Tablet (STT 83). In the case of *attīmannu kaššāptu*, the Sultantepe text lacks the mention of clay figurines, confirming our suggestion that they were added to the ritual at a later stage in the development of *Maqlû's* Ritual Tablet.

14

Tablet VII 55-79a: *Attīmannu kaššāptu* and Tablet VII 114-140: *Amsi qātīya*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies*. BJS 132. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987, xv-xvii, 13-44.

Idem, "A Neo-Babylonian Recension of *Maqlû*: Some Observations of the Redaction of *Maqlû* Tablet VII and on the Development of Two of its Incantations," in *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65 Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, ed. J. Fincke. Dresden: ISLET, 2010, 1-16.

Normalization: 114-140²⁴

- 114 ^aÉN *amsi qātīya ubbiba zumrī*
 115 *ina mē nagbi ellūti ša ina Eridu ibbanū*
 116 ^a*mimma lemnu mimma lā ṭābu*^a
 117 *ša ina^a zumriya šīrīya šer'ānīya bašū*
 118 ^a*lumun^b šunāti^c idāti ittāti^c lemnēti^d lā ṭābāti^d*
 119 *lumun šīrī ḥaṭūti pardūti lemnūti lā ṭābūti*
 120 *ša lipit qātī ḥiniq imme[ri] naqī^a niqī^b nē[pe]šti bārūti*

²⁴ For the normalization and translation of VII 55-79a, see the previous section.

- 121 *ša attaṭṭal[u] ūmešam*
 122 *ukabbisu ina sūqi ātammaru ina aḥāti*
 123 *šēd lemutti utukku lemnu*
 124 *muṣṣu d[i]’u dilipta*
 125 *qūlu kū[r]u nissatu niziqtu imṭû tānīḥu*
 126 *ū’a ayya ḥuṣṣu ḥīpi libbi*
 127 *gilittu pir[i]ttu adirtu*
 128 *arrat il[ī^a m]iḥerti il^b tazzimti [il^c n]īš ili nīš qātī māmītu*
 129 *lumnū kišpī ruḥē rusē upšāšē lemnūti ša amēlūti*
 130 *itti mē¹ ša¹ zumriya u musāti ša qātīya*
 131 *liššaḥiṭm[a ana mu]ḥḥi šalam nigsagilē lilik*
 132 *šalam nigs[agil]ē arnī dinānī lizbil*
 133 *‘sūqu u¹ sulū lipaṭṭirū arnīya*
 134 *ēnītu līnānni māḥertu limḥuranni*
 135 *amḥur meḥru limḥurū’inni*
 136 *ūmu šulma arḥu ḥidūti šattu ḥegallaša libila*
 137 *^dEa ^dŠamaš u ^dMarduk yāši rūsānimma*
 138 *lippašrū kišpī ruḥū rusū*
 139 *upšāšū lemnūti ša amēlūti*
 140 *u māmītu littāši ša zumriya*

Textual Notes: line 116^{a-a} Var.: *a-kam-mi lemnu* || line 117^a Var.: omitted by mistake in one ms || line 118^a Var.: lines 118–119 transposed in one ms | ^b Var.: *lumnū* in lines 118 and 119 | ^{c-c} Var.: *ittāti idāti* | ^{d-d} Var.: omitted in one ms || line 120^a Or possibly *niqī* | ^b Var.: + *mimma šumšu x x* || line 128^a Var.: [*il*]i | ^b Var.: *ili* | ^c Var.: [*ili*].

Translation: VII 114-140

- 114 Incantation. I wash my hands, I cleanse my body
 115 In the pure spring water that was formed in Eridu.
 116 Everything evil, everything unfavorable
 117 That is in my body, flesh, and sinews,
 118 The evil^a of^b evil, unfavorable dreams, signs, and portents,
 119 The evil of defective, frightening, evil, unfavorable entrails
 120 (observed) in the ritual act (of extispicy), in the killing of the she[ep], in the offering of the sacrifice, or in the exercise of divination,^a
 121 That^a I have looked at daily,
 122 Have stepped on in the street, or have repeatedly seen in the outskirts,
 123 A spirit of evil, an evil demon,
 124 Illness, he[ad]ache, sleeplessness,
 125 dumbness, torpor, misery, grief, losses, moaning,
 126 (Cries of) woe (and) alas, depression,
 127 Terror, fear, apprehension,
 128 (The evil consequences of) a curse by the gods, an appeal to the gods, a complaint to the [gods,^a an o]ath by the god, the raising of hands, ban,
 129 The evil(s) of witchcraft, spittle, enchainment, evil machinations of mankind—
 130 With the water of my body and the washing of my hands
 131 May it^a rinse off and come [up]on a figurine of a substitute,
 132 May the figurine of the sub[stitute] bear my sin as a replacement,

- 133 May street and way undo my sins,
134 May a (female) substitute stand in for me, may one who encounters (me) take (it) over from me,
135 I have encountered an ominous encounter; may they take (it) over from me.
136 May the day bring well-being, the month joy, the year prosperity.
137 Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk, help me so that
138 Witchcraft, spittle, enchantment,
139 Evil machinations of mankind be released,
140 And oath go forth from my body.

Translation Notes: line 118 ^a Var.: The evils | ^b That is, the evil portended by || line 120 ^a Var.: + of any sort x x || line 121 ^a The relative pronoun *ša* at the beginning of line 121 (“that I have looked at daily, . . .”) either refers to understood but unstated objects portending evil that are seen daily or are stepped on in the street, thus introducing a new entry, or resumes the evil signs and portends mentioned in line 118 (*lumun šunāti . . .*); in any case, line 121 does not seem to continue the divinatory sequence of lines 119-120 (*lumun štrī . . .*) || line 128 ^a Vars.: “god” for “gods” in the first three phrases of one manuscript || line 131 ^a That is, the various evils.

Normalization: Neo-Babylonian Recension of *amsi qātīya*

[ÉN *amsi qātīya ubbib*]a zumrī
[ina mē nagbi ellūti ša ina Eridu i]bbañ
[mimma lemnu mimma lā tābu ša ina zu]mriya štrīya
[šer’ ānīya b]ašū itti mē ša zumriya
[u musāti] ša qātīya liššaḥṭma
[ana muḥḥiki u] ana lāniki lillik
[ēnītu līn]ānni māḥertu limḥuranni
[amḥur miḥru lim]hurū’ inni ÉN

Translation: Neo-Babylonian Recension of *amsi qātīya*

[Incantation. I wash my hands, I clean]se my body
[In the pure spring water that] was formed [in Eridu].
May [everything evil, everything unfavorable that i]s [in] my [bo]dy, my flesh,
[and my sinews] rinse off with the water of my body
[and the washin]g of my hands
and come [upon your head and] upon your body.
[May a substitute s]tand in for me, may one who encounters (me) take (it) over from me,
[I have encountered an ominous encounter; may] they [t]ake (it) over from me.

Commentary

It is clear that the standard text of *Maqlû* was not the result of a single act of composition. Rather, it grew and developed from a short ritual to become the longest known Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft incantation series and ceremony. Not only were incantations added and rearranged in the series, but individual incantations were altered: expanded, shortened, or adapted to new purposes. In many cases, manuscript evidence for earlier versions of these incantations has not been discovered, and their history must be ascertained by critical literary analysis.

Sometimes, however, as in the cases of *attīmannu kaššāptu* (VII 55-79a) and *amsi qātīya* (VII 114-140), manuscripts exist that contain significantly different versions and shed light on earlier recensions of *Maqlû*.

Both of these incantations are preserved in the standard Neo-Assyrian version of *Maqlû* from Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh (the main text of this volume), and also in a fragmentary Neo-Babylonian recension of *Maqlû* tablet VII.²⁵ The Neo-Babylonian recension deviates from the Standard Version in regard to the order of incantations and to the textual form of the incantations *attīmannu kaššāptu* and *amsi qātīya*. In both of these ways, the Neo-Babylonian recension is more original than the Standard Nineveh Version.

In the Neo-Babylonian version, the two incantations *ipšiki epšētki* (VII 101-106 in the standard version) and *kišrīki kuššurūti* (VII 107-113) appear after *amsi qātīya* (VII 114-140), rather than between *bā'ertu ša bā'irāti* (VII 80-100) and *amsi qātīya*. This order is not simply the result of a scribal error. It may make better sense than the standard order, and it is supported by the order found in a recension of the Ritual Tablet from Sultantepe.²⁶ This version of the Ritual Tablet often preserves a more original text than the Standard Nineveh Ritual Tablet.

Turning now to the form of individual incantations, we notice that, in addition to witchcraft, both incantations are meant to thwart evil signs and omens and lay stress on the use of substitutes as a recipient of evil. Actually, these incantations are rooted in and have features of *namburbi*-type incantations. There are, moreover, substantial differences between the Neo-Babylonian and standard versions of *attīmannu kaššāptu* and *amsi qātīya*. The standard forms of both incantations resemble standard anti-witchcraft incantations far more strongly than do their Neo-Babylonian counterparts. Starting from more general forms, these incantations have been adapted for use in an anti-witchcraft ritual and conflate the witch and the substitute, punishing the witch for sending evil omens and causing her to suffer the evil that she had intended for the victim.

Attīmannu kaššāptu. This process of development can be seen by analyzing *attīmannu kaššāptu* in the two manuscript traditions. The Neo-Babylonian version is already targeted in part against witchcraft (specifically omens sent by the witch), but its affinity with and roots in *namburbi*-type literature are still very evident, especially in the emphasis on a *nigsagilê* substitute. There are also some textual anomalies in the Neo-Babylonian version that suggest that it had already undergone some changes before (or when) it was integrated into *Maqlû*. The figurine created in this incantation is detailed and specific. The witch has labored to recreate every feature of the victim's appearance in the figurine that she has created and the victim, for his part, has done the same with his flour image of the witch. This is unusual in witchcraft literature, where images are usually general and lack detail. It is common, however, in *namburbi* literature, when the image is made to represent a substitute. Moreover, there are textual peculiarities that suggest that prior to the development of the Neo-Babylonian version, the most original form of this incantation only described the creation by the speaker of one detailed image (preserved in the Standard Version as lines 62-66) and that the description of how the witch created a

²⁵ K 5350 + 5374 + 7594 + 7610 + 7476 + 7631 + 8882 + 9635 + 11567 + 19154 + Sm 798b.

²⁶ STT 83, rev. 40'.

replica of the victim in lines 55-59 as well as the additional description of binding and twisting the image in lines 60-61 // 67-68 was added in order to transform the incantation into a description of an act of magical reversion and retaliation. The image that once depicted a substitute became a representation of the witch, and she now bears the evil that would have befallen the substitute.

The primary change that took place between the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian versions was the alteration of the ending (lines 77ff.). The longer Neo-Babylonian ending was removed (it was transferred to the end of *amsi qātīya*, see below), and was replaced with a shorter one that was borrowed from *amsi qātīya*. The loss of the mention of the *nigsagilê* with the removal of the original ending reduced *attīmannu kaššāptu*'s resemblance to *namburbi*-type incantations. On the other hand, the addition of *muḥḥiki* "your head" and *lāniki* "your body" increased its anti-witchcraft character, since the second person feminine *-ki* can be seen as a reference to the image of the witch mentioned in lines 62-68.

Amsi qātīya. A similar process of development can be observed in the case of *amsi qātīya*, and here a greater part of the process appears in the textual record. The Neo-Babylonian form of *amsi qātīya* is the most general. The speaker washes with pure spring water in order to rinse some unspecified evil (*mimma lemmu mimma lā ṭābu*)—there is no list of evils or mention of witchcraft—off of his body. The wash-water, and thus the evil, falls onto the addressee, who presumably is the substitute mentioned explicitly in the last two lines.

Some time later, this short, eight-line incantation was expanded into the 27-line version found in the Standard Neo-Assyrian *Maqlû*. First, a standard list of specific evils of the *namburbi* type, culminating in the mention of several types of witchcraft (lines 118-129), was inserted after the mention of unspecified evil (116-117). Originally, the line concerning witchcraft would have appeared earlier in the list, but it was moved to the final position to increase the incantation's anti-witchcraft force.

Additionally, the ending from the Neo-Babylonian version of *attīmannu kaššāptu* was added to *amsi qātīya* as lines 130-133, 136-140. The original ending of *amsi qātīya* was incorporated into this new material as lines 134-135. The new ending introduced the mention of a *nigsagilâ* substitute into the incantation. It also includes several other wishes: for the street and way to undo his sin, for a substitute to take the evil consequences of an unlucky encounter, for the day, month, and year to bring well-being, for the assistance of Ea, Šamaš, and Asalluḫi, and for the release of witchcraft and removal of the *māmītu* (oath).

These changes transformed *amsi qātīya* from a very general incantation into a universal-type incantation concerned with countering evil omens, but especially witchcraft. The increased prominence of witchcraft in the ritual also strengthened it for use against witchcraft, making it more appropriate for a ritual like *Maqlû*.

15

Tablet VII 80-100: *Bā'ertu ša bā'irāti*

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, "Ritual and Incantation: Interpretation and Textual History of *Maqlû* VII:58-105 and IX:152-59," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992, 370-375.

Idem, "The Demonic Image of the Witch in Babylonian Literature." in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner, et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 34 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 9-10.

Normalization

- 80 ÉN bā'ertu ša bā'irāti
 81 kaššāptu ša kaššāpāti
 82 ša ina ^asūqāta nadātu^a šēssa
 83 ina rebīt āli ittanallakā īnāša
 84 eḫlūt āli ubtana''a
 85 itti eḫlūt āli ubtana''ānī yāši
 86 ardāt āli issanahhur
 87 itti ardāt āli issanahhuranni yāši
 88 anāku uba''ākkimma kurgarrê eššebê rikiski aḫeppe
 89 kaššāpū līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe
 90 kaššāpātu līpušāki rikiski aḫeppe
 91 ^{alb}-kurgarrū^c līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe^b
 92 ^a-eššebū līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe^a
 93 naršindū līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe
 94 mušlahhū līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe
 95 ^a-agugillū līpušūki rikiski aḫeppe^a
 96 amahhaṣ lētki ašallapa lišānki
 97 umalla ru'āta īnīki
 98 ušallak aḫīki^a lillūta
 99 ^a-u akkāši^a ruqbūta ušallakki
 100 u mimma mala tēteppuštī^a utār ana muḫḫiki^b

Textual Notes: line 82 ^{a-a} i.e., *sūqāti nadāt* || line 91 ^a One ms has the line order 94-95-93-91 | ^{b-b} Var.: line absent | ^c Var.: *qurqurrū* || line 92 ^{a-a} Var.: line absent || line 95 ^{a-a} Var.: line absent || line 98 ^a Var.: pronominal suffix *-ka* instead of *-ki* || line 99 ^{a-a} Var.: *u k[a-a-ši]*; a less likely reading is UG[U-, which if correct would be an error caused by *muḫ*(UGU)-*ḫi-ki* of the next line || line 100 ^a Vars.: *tēteppušu* (2nd masc. sg.); *tēpušā*, which should probably be emended to *tē<tep>pušā* (2nd pl.) | ^b Var.: + T[U₆ ÉN].

Translation

- 80 Incantation. Huntress of huntresses,
 81 Witch of witches,
 82 Whose net is cast in the streets,

- 83 Whose eyes keep roaming the broad way of the city.
 84 She keeps seeking the young men of the city,
 85 Among the young men of the city she keeps seeking me myself,
 86 She keeps looking around for the young women of the city,
 87 Among the young women of the city she keeps looking around for me myself.
 88 But I am calling forth^a against you cultic performers and ecstasies, I am
 breaking your bond.^b
 89 May warlocks ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 90 May witches ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 91 May cultic performers^a ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 92 May ecstasies ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 93 May *naršindu*-sorcerers ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 94 May snake-charmers ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 95 May *agugillu*-sorcerers ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.
 96 I am striking your cheek, I am tearing out your tongue,^a
 97 I am filling your eyes with spittle,
 98 I am making your arms become weak,
 99 And as for you: I am making you become rotten,
 100 And whatever sorcery that you have constantly performed, I am turning back
 upon your head.

Translation Notes: line 88 ^a Lit., seeking | ^b Or perhaps: I am calling forth . . . so that I may break your bond || line 91 ^a Var.: metal-workers || line 96 ^a This is done so that the witch will be unable to talk.

Commentary

Maqlû VII 80-100 is an incantation composed of two main parts. Lines 80-87 set the scene: they contain a vivid depiction of a witch searching continually for her victim, the incantation's speaker. She roams the main thoroughfares of the town, looking first among the young men, then among the maidens. In lines 88-100, the speaker switches from a third-person description to an address directed to a second person. This section presents an interpretive difficulty involving the identities of the speaker, the addressee in lines 88-100, and their respective relationship to the sorcerers listed in lines 89-95.

Lines 89-95 each begin with the designation of a different kind of sorcerer; otherwise the lines are identical. There are three main ways in which these lines have been understood and translated. The first identifies the addressee as the victim, but this is unlikely. Lines 96-100 continue using the second person address, and here it is clear that the addressee is the enemy of the subject. The other two options both identify the "you" of lines 89-95 as the witch, but differ in their characterization of the sorcerers—they may be seen as allies either of the witch or of the speaker in his confrontation with the witch. It is preferable to see the sorcerers as allies of the speaker for several reasons. Most notably, line 88 is set up as the opposing counterpart to lines 84-85—in lines 84-85, the witch is "seeking" (*bu'û*) while in line 88 it is the speaker who is the subject of *bu'û*. Lines 88-89 should then be translated as "I am calling forth against you the cultic performers and ecstasies, I am breaking your bond." These lines indicate that the enemies of the addressee (the witch) are summoned to aid the speaker and harm the witch. The fact that the

sorcerers are asked to *līpušū* in lines 89-95 supports this conclusion, because *epēšu* normally means “to bewitch (harmfully)” when it refers to practicing magic and governs a nominal or pronominal object. It follows, therefore, that the magical personnel who function as the subjects of *līpušūki* must be enemies of the witch.

It is true that most of the kinds of sorcerers mentioned are primarily associated with evil magic in Mesopotamian witchcraft texts, but there is some evidence that originally witches would perform magic on behalf of clients. Some of the kinds of sorcerers mentioned in VII 89-95 were known to side with the victim against the witch. Compare, for example, the following text:²⁷

*aššu yâši ana lemutti terteneddînn[i]
mārū ummâni mašmaššū mušlahhū
lipašširūkima ayīlki upaššar*

Because you keep pursuing me with evil intent,
Let the experts, the exorcists, (and) the snake-charmers
dispel you, then I will undo your bond.

The only acceptable translation of VII 89-95 is that which treats the speaker as the victim, the addressee as the witch, and the sorcerers in lines 89-95 as working with the speaker against the witch. As a result, this incantation can now be understood as a description of how warlocks and witches together with other sorcerers can side with and assist a victim against a witch.

16

Ritual Tablet 23'-64' and 140'-156'

Summarized Studies

Tzvi Abusch, “The Ritual Tablet and Rubrics of *Maqlû*: Toward the History of the Series,” in *Ah, Assyria....: Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography presented to Hayim Tadmor*, ed. M. Cogan and I. Ephal. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991, 233-53 = *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 163-184.

Normalization: RT 23'-64'

- 23' ÉN šaprák[u] a[llak šalam bī]ni <šalam> erēni
24' šalam lipî šalam iškūr[i] šal[am kups]i šalam iṭṭi šalam ga[šši]
25' šalam ṭīṭi šalam lī[š]i [ina muḥḥi]^a ḥuluppaqqi tasaddir[(ma)] tašakkan
26' ÉN ^dNuska annûti <šalmī> ēp[išiy]a ubānšu ^aana muḥḥi^a itarrašma
imannu
27' ÉN ^{<d>}Nuska šurbû ilitti ^d[Ani ša]lam lipî šalam iškūri
28' ina muḥḥi gizillî tašakkanma e[rēna šurmēna] asa ballukka
29' qanâ ṭāba ina libbi tusanna[š x x (x)] tasallaḥ

²⁷ T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, *CMAwR I*, p. 186: 38'-40'.

- 30' *ina išāt kibrīti taq[âdma ÉN ana]šši d[ipāru] ʿimannu¹*
 31' *išāta ana libbi huluppa[qqi tanaddi]*
-
- 32' ^aÉN ^dNuska šurbû mālīk il[ī rabûti šalam lipî]
 33' ÉN ^dGirra bēlu^a gitmālu šalam s[iparri kibrīti]
 34' ÉN ^dGirra āriru b[ukur] ^dAni¹ [šalam siparri]
 35' ÉN ^dGirra āriru mār ^dAni qardu šalam l[īši]
 36' ÉN ^dGirra gašru ūmu nanduru šalam ʿīṭi¹
 37' ÉN ^dGirra šarḥu bukur ^dAni šalam iṭṭi
 38' ÉN keš libiṣ kedeš šalam kupsi
 39' ÉN eppuṣūni eteneppuṣūni šalam iṭṭi ša gaṣṣa ballu
 40' ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša ina nāri imlu' u ʿīṭaya šalam ʿīṭi ša lipā ballu
 41' ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša tubtana 'inni šalam bīni šalam erēni
-
- 42' ^aÉN kaššāptu muttalliktu ša sūqāti šalam ʿīṭi
 43' lipā ina rēš libbiša ēra ina kalātīša tusannaš
 44' ÉN šittā šina mārāt ^dAni ša šamē šalam lipī^a himmāti
 45' ÉN kaššāptu nērtānītu šalam iškūri
 46' ÉN ^did ellu namru quddušu anāku šalam iṭṭi
 47' ÉN lamānni sutū elamū red[ānni] šalam iṭṭi ša kibrīta [ballu]
 48' ÉN attīmannu^a kaššāptu ša iqbu^b amāt lemuttiya
 49' ina libbiša^a šalam ʿīṭi ina kunukki arqi pāša t[abarram]
 50' ÉN attīyē ša tēpuṣīnni ^dištar kubši kinši ša ʿīṭi teppuṣ^a maḥar
 šumēliša iṭṭa tašakkan^a
 51' ḥaḥā ša utūni diḥmenna ša diqāri
 52' ina mē tamaḥḥaḥma ana qaqqadiš[a tatabbak]
 53' ÉN ša^a ^bīpuṣānni ultēpišānni^b ^cmakur ʿīṭi ^d[šinā šalmī ʿīṭi] ina
 lib[biša]^{cl-d}
 54' ÉN^a makurraya ^dSīn ušēpiš
 55' [m]akur līš[i^a šinā ša]lmī līši ina [libbiša]^a
 56' ÉN ḥaṣabti sūqāti ammēni tugda(n)narrēnni ḥaṣabti sūq erbetti
 57' l[ipā ta]paššaš <na>bāš[i t]aka[r]r[ik]
 58' ÉN rittumma rit[tu] ritta^a lipī
 59' ÉN rittumma ritt[u ritti iškūri]
-
- 60' ÉN bišlī bišlī pallurta qanē ša gisa[llē (teppuṣ)]
 61' šinā qanē ša malū ina muḥḥi aḥameš taparrīk
 62' ina nirī^a šalmūti qabalš[u]n[u^a takaṣṣar]
 63' šinā šalmī lip[ī šī]nā ša[lmī . . .]
 64' ^aina erba appāti ša pallurti^b tennīma tašakkan p[all]urti [lipā]
 t[apaššaš nabāsa takarrik]

Textual Notes: line 25'^a It is possible to read [. . . līš]i (i.e., NÍG.LAG.G)Á in the Sultantepe ms rather than [. . . līši ina muḥḥi] (i.e., UG]U³); if so, read: . . . šalam lī[š]i huluppaqqi/ī . . . || line 26'^{a-a} Var.: absent || line 32'^a Restorations of the ritual instructions for Tablet II are drawn from the rubrics in that tablet || line 33'^a Var.: omitted || line 42'^a Restorations of the ritual instructions for Tablet III are drawn from the rubrics in that tablet || line 44'^a Var.: + u || line 48'^a Var.: [a]ttāmannu | ^b Var.: ibšū || line 49'^a Var.: pronominal suffix -šu instead of -ša || line 50'^{a-a} Var.: apparently maḥar šumēliša and perhaps even iṭṭa tašakkan are absent (in the break) in all but one ms || line 53'^a Var.:

omitted | ^{b-b} Var.: *ippušanni iteneppušanni* | ^{c-c} Var.: omitted in one ms | ^{d-d} Var.: probably omitted in the break in all other mss (see below, note on line 55') || **line 54'** ^a Var.: + *ina* || **line 55'** ^{a-a} Var.: probably omitted in the break in the same mss in which the comparable section in line 53' is omitted || **line 58'** ^a = *ritti* = *rittā/ritt* || **line 62'** ^{a-a} Var.: *ina qabliš[u]n[u]* || **line 64'** ^a Restoration based upon the Aššur rubric for the next incantation (IV 94a for IV 80–91), which ends with KIMIN, indicating that the rubric, i.e., the ritual for the preceding incantation (IV 1–79, ÉN *bišlī bišlī*), had the same text as the following one | ^b Text: *pallurta*.

Normalization: RT 140'-156'

- 140' *arkišu ÉN attīmannu kaššāptu ša tpuš[u imannu]*
 141' *šalam kaššāpti ša qēmi ina libbi namsê teššer*
 142' ^a *šalam* ¹ *tīti* ¹ *ša kaššāpti ina muḥḥi tašakkan* ^a *qātīšu ana muḥḥi imessi* ^b
ana bī[ti terrub^c]
 143' *ÉN bā'ertu ša bā'irāti*
 144' *šalam kaššāpi u kaššāpti*
 145' *ša qēmi ina libbi* ^a *namsê tešš[er]*
 146' *šalam tīti ša kaššāpi u kaššāpti ina muḥḥi* ^a *šalam qēmi* ^a *tašakkan*
 147' *qātīšu ana* ^a *muḥḥi imessi ina ḥuṣāb ēri ana šalāšīšu ikar[rit]*
 148' ^a *ÉN ipšīki epšētēki mīs qātī*
 149' *ÉN kišrīki kuššurūti mīs qātī* ^a *eprī ana libbi namsê tanassuk* ^a
 150' *[ÉN a]msi qātīya ubbab zumrī*
 151' ^a *[ana muḥ]* ¹ *ḥi šalam nigsagilē* ^a ^b *qātīšu imessi* ^b
 152' *[ÉN te]bi šēru mise* ^a *qātīya mīs* ^a *qātī*
 153' *ÉN ittamra šēru mīs qātī*
 154' *ÉN šērumma šēru mīs qātī*
 155' *ÉN ina šēri mesā qātāya mīs qātī*
 156' *ÉN amsi qātīya* ^a *amtesi qātīya mīs qātī*

Textual Notes: **line 142'** ^{a-a} Var.: absent; this shorter version probably reflects a more original and correct text | ^b Var.: *imessīma* | ^c Var.: *[tatār]* || **line 145'** ^a Var.: absent || **line 146'** ^{a-a} Var.: absent || **line 147'** ^a Var.: *ina*, a mistake in the main Nineveh Assyrian ms || **line 148'** ^a Var.: for the three entries in lines 148'–151', a Sultantepe ms has the line order 150'-151'-148'-149' (which agrees with the order of a Nineveh Babylonian ms of Tablet VII) || **line 149'** ^{a-a} Var.: absent || **line 151'** ^{a-a} Var.: absent | ^{b-b} Var.: *mīs qātī* || **line 152'** ^{a-a} Var.: omitted by mistake in the main Nineveh Assyrian ms || **line 156'** ^a All mss read *qātīya*, but *qātīya* should probably be emended to *pīya* following one ms of VII 170.

Translation: RT 23'-64'

- 23' Incantation. “I have been sent and I [will go]: A figurine of tama]risk, <a figurine> of cedar,
 24' a figurine of tallow, a figurine of wax, a figur[ine of sesame pom]ace, a figurine of bitumen, a figurine of gyp[sum],
 25' a figurine of clay, a figurine of dough, ^a you place in order on the crucible.
 26' Incantation. “O Nuska, these are <the figurines> of m[y sor]cerer”: He points his finger toward them (i.e., the figurines) and recites (the incantation).
 27' Incantation. “O Grand Nuska, offspring of [Anu]”: A fig]urine of tallow, a figurine of wax
 28' You place on a torch, and c[edar, cypress], myrtle, ballukku-wood, and

- 29' sweet reed you insert into it. . . . you sprinkle (on it).
 30' You kin[dle (it/them)] in burning sulphur, and he recit[es the Incantation "I am
 rai]sing the to[rch]."
 31' [You put] the fire into the crucible.

Instructions for Tablet II

- 32' Incantation. "O Grand Nuska, counselor of the [great] god[s": A figurine of
 tallow].
 33' Incantation. "O Girra, perfect lord": A figurine of b[ronze with sulphur].
 34' Incantation. "O blazing Girra, s[on of] Anu": [A figurine of bronze].
 35' Incantation. "O blazing Girra, warlike son of Anu": A figurine of d[ough].
 36' Incantation. "O powerful Girra, wild (fire-)storm": A figurine of clay.
 37' Incantation. "O splendid Girra, son of Anu": A figurine of bitumen.
 38' Incantation. "keš libiš kedeš": A figurine of sesame pomace.
 39' Incantation. "They perform sorcery against me, they keep on performing
 sorcery against me": A figurine of bitumen mixed with gypsum.
 40' Incantation. "Whoever you are, O witch, who has taken out clay (for a figurine)
 of me from the river": A figurine of clay mixed with tallow.
 41' Incantation. "Whoever you are, O witch, who keeps seeking me": A figurine of
 tamarisk, a figurine of cedar

Instructions for Tablet III

- 42' Incantation. "The witch, she who roams the streets": A figurine of clay—
 43' You insert tallow in her epigastrium, ēru-wood in her kidneys.
 44' Incantation. "Two are they, the daughters of Anu of heaven": A figurine of
 tallow (and) sweepings.
 45' Incantation. "Witch, murderess": A figurine of wax.
 46' Incantation. "Pure River and holy Sun am I": A figurine of bitumen.
 47' Incantation. "The Sutean surrounds me, the Elamite pursue[s me]": A figurine
 of bitumen [mixed] with sulphur.
 48' Incantation. "Whoever you are, O witch who has spoken an evil word against
 me
 49' in her heart":^a A figurine of clay—you [seal] her mouth with a yellow seal.
 50' Incantation. "O you who have performed sorcery against me": You make (a
 figurine of) a goddess from head to toe^a out of clay. Put bitumen on her left.^a
 51' Slag from a kiln (and) soot from a pot
 52' you moisten in water and [pour] on her head.
 53' Incantation. "She who has performed sorcery against me, has had sorcery
 performed against me":^a A boat of clay—[two figurines of clay] insid[e it].
 54' Incantation. "I have had Sin make my boat":
 55' A [b]oat of dou[gh—two fig]urines of dough in[side it].
 56' Incantation. "O sherd of the streets, why are you constantly hostile to me?": A
 sherd from the crossroad
 57' [you] rub with ta[l]low (and) wra[p up] with <re>d wool.
 58' Incantation. "Hand, hand": A hand of tallow.
 59' Incantation. "Hand, han[d]": A hand of wax].

Instructions for Tablet IV

- 60' Incantation. "Burn, burn": [(You make)] a cross of reeds from/for a roof rail[ing (made of reeds)].
 61' You lay two "full" reeds one across the other.
 62' At the[ir] intersection [you tie them together] with black^a string.
 63' Two figurines of tallo[w], two fig[urines of . . .]
 64' You place upside down at the four ends of the cross. The c[ro]ss y[ou rub with tallow and wrap up with red wool].

Translation Notes: line 25' ^a Alternative reconstruction: . . . a figurine of dough [on] the crucible . . . || line 49' ^a Var.: "was" instead of "has spoken" in line 48'; and so translate the second part of line 48' through the first part of 49': O witch in whose heart an evil word was against me || line 50' ^a Lit., from turban to shin | ^b Var: "Put bitumen on her left" seems to absent in all but one ms || line 53' ^a Var.: She performs sorcery against me, she keeps on performing sorcery against me || line 62' ^a Var.: "black" omitted.

Translation: RT 140'-156'

- 140' Afterwards [he recites] the Incantation "Whoever you are, O witch, who has made."
 141' You draw an image of the witch made of flour inside a washbasin,
 142' you place thereon a clay figurine of the witch. He washes his hands thereon. [You enter^a the ho]use.
 143' Incantation. "Huntress of huntresses":
 144' Images of the warlock and witch
 145' made of flour you dr[aw] inside the washbasin,
 146' you place clay figurines of the warlock and witch upon the images of flour.^a
 147' He washes his hands thereon. He stri[kes] (them) three times with a stick of *ēru*-wood.
 148' Incantation. "Your sorcery, your manipulations": Handwashing.
 149' Incantation. "Your tightly knotted knots": Handwashing. You throw dirt into the washbasin.
 150' [Incantation. "I] wash my hands, I cleanse my body":
 151' He washes his hands [upo]n the figurine of the substitute.^a
 152' [Incantation. "Ris]e up, morning, wash my hands": Handwashing.
 153' Incantation. "Dawn has broken": Handwashing.
 154' Incantation. "It is morning, yea morning": Handwashing.
 155' Incantation. "At dawn my hands are washed": Handwashing.
 156' Incantation. "I wash my hands,^a I have (now) washed my hands": Handwashing.

Translation Notes: line 142' ^a Var.: [and you then return to . . .] || line 146' ^a Var.: "thereon" instead of "upon the images of flour" || line 151' ^a Var.: "Handwashing" instead of "He washes his hands upon the figurine of the substitute" || line 156' ^a Var.: "my mouth," following the incipit of this incantation in Tablet VII.

Commentary

The Ritual Tablet (sometimes referred to as Tablet IX) of *Maqlû* cites the incipit of every incantation recorded in the first eight tablets and prescribes the relevant ritual for each incantation. One of the most noticeable aspects of the ritual tablet is its variegated style. Some entries are presented in the form of an incipit followed by

ritual directions with one or more verbal clauses (e.g. RT 83': ÉN *attunu mû ina mē tunāḫ* "Incantation. 'You, O water': With water you extinguish (the fire)"), while in others the incipit is followed by instruction in nominal (that is, verbless) form (e.g. RT 37': ÉN ^d*Girra šarḫu bukur* ^d*Ani šalam iṭṭi* "Incantation. 'O splendid Girra, son of Anu': a figurine of bitumen"). The use of nominal style is striking, considering that the ritual tablets for most series do not contain entries in nominal style. It is not only the occurrence of the nominal form that is peculiar, but also its distribution within the Ritual Tablet. Nominal forms are dominant in the entries in RT 32'-59' (instructions for the incantations in Tablets II-III), whereas a number of verbal sentences are used in the entries RT 1-31' and 60'-95' (instructions for Tablets I and IV-V, which are part of the first ritual division of *Maqlû* and form a ceremonial unit with Tablets II-III). Moreover, there is a section, in which the ritual tablet shows an arbitrary mixture of nominal and verbal style (RT 138'ff. for Tablets VII 55-VIII).

When examined in light of the association of the Ritual Tablet with the incantation tablets as well as of the variations in the manuscripts of both, the stylistic anomalies of the Ritual Tablet shed light on the compositional and editorial development of *Maqlû*. RT 32'-59' (except for 48'-52') is a large block of entries written mostly in nominal style, surrounded by verbal entries (RT 23'-31', 60'-64'). The nominal-entry block corresponds to Tablets II-III, in which a rubric follows each incantation.²⁸ It is important to note that (1) the entries in RT 32'-59' and the rubrics in II-III are almost all identical in regard to nominal form, content, vocabulary, and orthography; (2) the entries in the Ritual Tablet tend to be more detailed than the rubrics; (3) the rubrics occur almost nowhere else in *Maqlû*; and (4) rubrics are attested in some manuscripts but not in others.²⁹

These observations raise a number of questions: why do the rubrics occur (almost) exclusively in II-III, why are they found only in some manuscripts, and what is the relationship between the rubrics and the entries of the Ritual Tablet? These questions can be answered by hypothesizing that (1) the rubrics were written to provide concise ritual instructions when the incantations of II-III were first incorporated into the series; (2) later on, the editor of the Ritual Tablet drew on these rubrics when he updated the Ritual Tablet to include the newly added incantations; (3) in the process of updating, some of the nominal entries were expanded and reformulated by further specification (RT 50'-51') or verbalization (RT 42'-43'); (4) once the Ritual Tablet was updated, the rubrics became superfluous, leading some ancient scribes to omit them—this may explain why the rubrics are present in some manuscripts but absent in others. The rubrics occur (almost) exclusively in II-III because those incantations would not have been incorporated into the series early enough for the rubrics to be fully eliminated; accordingly, they would be among the latest incantations to be incorporated into the series.

The observations and explanation made above concerning RT 32'-59' are supported by a larger expansionistic tendency of the ritual tablet, which can be recognized in RT 140'-156'. This section of the ritual tablet shows not only a

²⁸ A rubric is not yet attested for III 154-179, the penultimate incantation of Tablet III.

²⁹ After I composed the study from which this commentary was drawn, several manuscripts were identified that contain a few rubrics attached to incantations outside of Tablets II-III. I shall take these up elsewhere.

mixture of verbal and nominal forms, but also divergent readings of the entries in the manuscripts. In comparison to the Sultantepe version of the ritual tablet (STT 83), the Nineveh version (K 2385 +) evidences the transformation of nominal forms into more informative verbal forms: RT 151': *mīs qātē* (STT 83) // *ana muḥḥi ṣalam nigsagilê qātīšu imessi* (K 2385 +); the expansion of short nominal forms by the addition of verbal clauses: RT 149': *mīs qātī* (STT 83) // *mīs qātī eprī ana libbi namsê tanassuk* (K 2385 +); and the elaboration of verbal forms by providing further specification: RT 146': *ina muḥḥi tašakkan* (STT 83) // *ina muḥḥi ṣalam qēmi tašakkan* (K 2385 +). These new readings indicate that the internal development of the ritual text took place in the direction of explication, specification, and verbalization. That is, more detailed ritual instructions in the Ritual Tablet evolved from shorter ones, not the other way around. Such an expansionistic tendency supports the primacy of the rubrics of II-III, the secondary and dependent nature of the entries in RT 32'-59', and the expansionistic transfer of information from the shorter rubrics to the longer entries.

The examination of the stylistic features of the ritual tablet reveals the compositional and redactional process of *Maqlû*, which allows us to define the relative chronology of incantations: (1) The original short *Maqlû* (I 73-143; IV 107-114; V 83-97, 112-141; 149-175) had separate ritual instructions in the form of verbal sentence; (2) when incantations were added to the series, they might not have been immediately registered in the ritual tablet, but rather their instructions were appended to the incantations in the form of rubrics or in some other catalogue form; (3) later, the incipits of these newly added incantations and their ritual instructions in nominal form were transferred to the Ritual Tablet and the rubrics were deleted; and (4) many of the entries in the Ritual Tablet retain the nominal form that they were given in the rubrics, but in the process of transfer, some of the ritual instructions were reformulated to be more detailed and informative, on the one hand, and to conform to the style of the instructions for the original incantations, on the other.

GLOSSARY AND INDICES

Logograms and Their Readings

A.AB.BA → *aiabbu, tâmtu*; A.GAR.GAR → *agargarîtu*; A.KAL → *mîlu*; A.LÁ → *alû*; A.MEŠ → *mû*; ABGAL → *apkallu*; ABZU → *apsû*; AD → *abu*; AMA → *ummu*; AN → *šamû*; AN.BAR → *parzillu*; AN.TA.ŠUB.BA → *antašubbû*; ARAD → *ardu*; ARARMA.KI → *Larsa*; Á, Á.2 → *idu*; Á.KAL → *emûqu*;

BABBAR → *pešû*; BAD → *petû*; BĀD → *dûru*; BAL → *enû, naqû*; BAR → *kamû*; BARAG → *parakku*; BIR → *kalîtu*; BULÛG → *šurbû*; BÛR → *pašāru, piširtu*;

^dEN.LÍL → *Illil*; ^dALAD → *šedu*; ^dAMAR.UTU → *Marduk*; ^dASAL.LÚ.HI → *Asalluhi*; ^dBIL.GI → *Girra*; ^dDIM_{8/10}.ME → *Lamaštu*; ^dDIM_{8/10}.ME.A → *Labāšu*; ^dDIM_{8/10}.ME.HAB → *Ahhāzu*; ^dDÍŠ → *Ēa*; ^dDUMU.ZI → *Tamūzu*; ^dEN.AN.KI → *Enanki*; ^dEN.LÍL → *Illil*; ^dÉ.A → *Ēa*; ^dGIŠ.BAR → *Girra*; ^dGIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ → *Gilgāmeš*; ^dÍD → *Id*; ^dIGI.DU → *Pāilil*; ^dKASKAL.KUR → *Balīhû*; ^dKU → *Marduk*; ^dLAMMA → *Lamassu, lamassu*; ^dLUGAL.EDIN.NA → *Lugal-edina*; ^dLUGAL.IR₉.RA → *Lugal-irra*; ^dLUGAL.ÛR.RA → *Lugal-urra*; ^dMAR.TU → *Amurru*; ^dMES.LAM.TA.Ē.A → *Meslamtaea*; ^dNIN.GAL → *Nikkal*; ^dNIN.GÍR.SU → *Ningirsu*; ^dNIN.GÍŠ.ZI.DA → *Ningišzida*; ^dNIN.IGI.KUG → *Ninšiku*; ^dNIN.KILIM → *šikkû*; ^dNIN.LÍL → *Mullissu*; ^dNIN.TIN.UG₅.GA → *Nintinuga*; ^dNIN.URTA → *Ninurta*; ^dNISABA → *Nissaba*; ^dPA.TÚG → *Nusku*; ^dŠEŠ.KI → *Nannar*; ^dŠIM → *Siris*; ^dŠUL.PA.Ē.A → *Šulpae*; ^dTIR.AN.NA → *manzāt*; ^dU.DAR → *Ištār, ištāru*; ^dU.DAR.MU → *ištāru*; ^dU.GUR → *Nergal*; ^dURU₄ → *Uru₄*; ^dUTU → *Šamaš, šamšu*; ^dUTU.Ē → *šit šamši*; ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A → *erēb šamši*; ^dZALÁG → *Nūru*; ^d15 → *Ištār, ištāritu, ištāru*; ^d30 → *Sîn*;

DAGAL → *rapšu*; DAM → *aššatu*; DANNA, DANNA.ĀM → *bēru*; DI.BAL.A, DI.BALA → *dibalû*; DI.KUD → *daiānu*; DIB → *šabātu*; DIMMA.KÛR.RA → *šinīt tēmi*; DIM₄ → *sanāqu*; DINGIR → *ilu, ilûtu*; DINGIR.MAH → *Bēlet ilī*; DU, DU.DU → *alāku*; DUB → *tuppu, šapāku, tabāku*; DUG.BUR.ZI.GAL → *burzigallu*; DUG.KÍR → *kirru*; DUG.LA.HA.AN → *lahannu*; DUG.ŠIKA → *hašbu*; DUG.ÚTUL → *diqāru*; DUGUD → *kabtu*; DÛG.GA → *tabu*; DUG₄.DUG₄ → *dabābu*; DUH.LĀL → *iškuru*; DUH.ŠE.GÍŠ.Ī → *kuspu*; DUL → *katāmu*; DUMU → *māru*; DUMU.MÍ → *mārtu*; DUR → *turru*; DÛ → *bānû, epēšu, kalu, nēpeštu*; DÛ.DÛ → *epēšu*; DU₈ → *pašāru*;

EDIN → *šēru*; EGIR → *arki*; EGÍ → *rubātu*; EME → *lišānu*; EMĒ → *atānu*; EN → *bēlu*; EN-DUG₄.DUG₄ → *bēl dabābi*; EN.NUN → *maššartu*; ÉN → *šiptu*; ERI.DU₁₀ → *Eridu*; ERÍN.HI.A → *ummānu*; ESIR → *ittû*; EŠ.BAR → *purussû*; É → *bītu*; É.GAL → *ekallu*; É.GAR₈ → *igāru*; É.KUR → *ekurru*; É.NU.RU → *enūru*; Ê → *ašû*;

GA → *šizbu*; GABA → *irtu*; GAL → *rabû*; GAL₅.LĀ → *gallû*; GAR → *šakānu*; GAZ → *dāku, hepû*; GEMÉ → *amtu*; GEŠTIN → *karānu*; GEŠTUG.2 → *uznu*; GI → *qanû*; GI.IZI.LĀ → *gizilû*; GIB → *parāku*; GIDIM → *ešemmu*; GIG → *muršu*; GIM → *kīma*; GÍR.TAB → *zuqaqīpu*; GÍR.PAD.DU → *ešemtu*; GÍR.2 → *šēpu*; GÍR.2.MU → *šēpu*; GISKIM → *ittu*; GIŠ → *išu*; GIŠ.APIN → *epinnu*; GIŠ.EREN → *erēnu*; GIŠ.ESI → *ušû*; GIŠ.GÍŠIMMAR → *giššimmaru*; GIŠ.HAŠHUR → *hašhūru*; GIŠ.IG → *daltu*; GIŠ.MA.NU → *e'ru*; GIŠ.MĀ → *eleppu*; GIŠ.MĀ.DIRI.GA → *nēberu*; GIŠ.MĀ.GUR₈ → *makurru*; GIŠ.MI → *šillu*; GIŠ.NĀ → *eršu*; GIŠ.NIM → *baltu*; GIŠ.PA → *haṭṭu*; GIŠ.SAG.KUL → *sikkūru*; GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅, GIŠ.ŠE.Û.SUH₅ → *terinnatu*; GIŠ.ŠINIG → *bīnu*; GIŠ.ŠUR.MĪN → *šurmēnu*; GIŠ.TUKUL → *kakku*; GIŠ.ZUBI → *gamlu*; GI₆ → *mūšu, šalmu?*; GU → *qû*; GÚ → *kišādu*; GUB → *uzuzzu*; GÛB → *šumēlu*; GUD.NITĀ → *alpu*; GUR → *tāru*; GURUN → *inbu*; GURUŠ → *eṭlu*; GÚ.SIG₄ → *ešenšēru*; GÛ → *šasû*;

HAL → *bārātu*; HE.HE → *balālu*; HÉ.GÁL → *hegallu*; HI.GAR → *bārtu*; HUL → *lemēnu, lemuttu, lumnu*; HUL.GIG → *zīru*; HUR → *ešēru*;

I.DIB → *askupputu*; IBILA → *aplu*; IDIM → *nagbu*; ÍD → *nāru*; ÍD.BURANUN.KI → *Purattu*; ÍD.IDIGNA → *Diglat*; IGI → *amāru, pānu*; IGI.2 → *īnu*; ILLAT → *illatu*; ILLU → *mīlu*; ÍL → *našû*; IM → *ṭīṭtu*; IM.BABBAR → *gaššu*; IM.DIRI → *erpetu, urpatu*; IM.MAR.TU → *amurru*; IM.SI.SĀ → *iltānu*; IM.U₁₈.LU → *šūtu*; IM.1 → *iltānu*; IN.BUBBU → *pû*; INIM → *amatu*; INIM.GAR → *egerrû*; ITI → *arhu*; IZI → *išātu*; Ì.GÍŠ → *šamnu*; Ì.UDU → *lipû*;

KA → *pû*; KA.DIB.BI.DA → *kadibbidû*; KA.INIM.MA → *kainimakkû*; KA.KEŠDA → *kišru*; KA.LUH.Û.DA → *mīs*

pî; KASKAL → *harrānu*; KAŠ → *šikāru*; KAŠ.Ú.SA → *billatu*; KÁ → *bābu*; KÁ.GAL → *abullu*; KÁ.MU → *bābu*; KEŠDA → *kišru*, *kašāru*, *riksu*, *rakāsu*; KI → *eršetu*, *itti*, *qaqqaru*; KI.A.⁴ÍD, KI.A.⁴ÍD.LÚ.RU.GÚ → *kibrītu*; KI.ÁG.GÁ → *rāmu*; KI.MAH → *kimahhu*; KI.MIN → *šanīš*; KI.NE → *kinūnu*; KI.SIKIL → *ardatu*; KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ, KI.SIKIL.MIN → *ardat lilī*; KI.TA → *šapal*; KI.TIM → *qaqqaru*; KU.NU → *qerēbu*; KUD → *parāsu*; KUG → *elēlu*, *ellu*; KUR, KUR.KUR → *mātu*; KUŠ.A.EDIN.LÁ → *nādu*; KU₄ → *erēbu*; KU₆ → *nūnu*; KU₆.HÍ.A → *nūnu*;

LAG → *kirbānu*; LUGAL → *šarru*; LUH → *masû*, *mesû*; LUKUR → *nadītu*; LÚ → *amēlu*; LÚ.AZLAG → *ašlaku*; LÚ.GIG → *maršu*; LÚ.GURUŠ → *eṭlu*; LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA → *kurgarrû*; LÚ.LÍL.LÁ → *lilû*; LÚ.MÁ.LAH₄ → *mallāhu*; LÚ.NAR → *nāru*; LÚ.NU.GÍŠ.SAR → *nukaribbu*; LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU → *kaššāpu*; LÚ.ÚŠ → *mītu*, *pagru*;

MAR.KI → *Amurrû*; MAŠ.DÀ → *šabītu*; MAŠ.MAŠ → *āšipu*; MAŠKIM → *rābišu*; MĀŠ.GÍ₆ → *šuttu*; MÍ → *sinništu*; MÍ.HUL → *lemuttu*; MÍ.LÍL.LÁ → *lilitu*; MÍ.NU.GIG → *qadištu*; MÍ.UŠ₁₁.ZU → *kaššāptu*; MU → *šumu*; MU.AN.NA → *šattu*; MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.HUZ → *Habašīrānu*; MUL.GÍR.TAB → *Zuqaqīpu*; MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ → *Šukādu*; MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA → *Ereqqu*; MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA → *Šitaddaru*; MUL.UD.KA.DUH.A → *Kaduhhû*; MUL.UR.GU.LA → *Urgulû*; MUN → *ṭābtu*; MURUB₄ → *qablu*; MUŠ → *šerru*; MUŠ.LAH₄.LAH₄ → *mušlahhātu*; MUŠ.LAH₅ → *mušlahhātu*, *mušlahhu*; MUŠEN → *iššūru*; MÚ → *napāhu*; MU₄.MU₄ → *labāšu*;

NAGA → *uhūlu*; NAM → *šimtu*; NA₄ → *abnu*; NA₄.KIŠIB → *kunukku*; NA₄.ŠUBA → *šubû*; NENNI → *annanna*, *annannitu*; NIDBA → *nindabû*; NIG → *kalbatu*; NIGIN → *lamû*, *sahāru*; NÍG.LAG.GÁ → *lišu*; NÍG.NA → *nignakku*; NÍG.SAG.ÍL → *pūhu*; NÍG.ŠE.LAG.GÁ → *lišu*; NÍG.TAB.TUR.RA → *huluppaqu*; NIN → *ahātu*, *bēltu*; NINDA, NINDA.HÍ.A → *akalu*; NINDU → *tinūru*; NITA → *zikaru*; NU → *šalmu*; NU.UM.MA.MUŠEN → *zību*; NUMUN → *zēru*; NUN → *rubû*; NUNDUN → *šaptu*;

PAP.HAL → *pušqu*; PA₅ → *palgu*; PÉŠ.TUR → *pērrurūtu*; PÉŠ.ÜR.RA → *arrabu*; PÚ → *būrtu*;

SA → *šer'ānu*; SAG → *rēšu*; SAG.BA → *māmītu*; SAG.DU → *qaqqadu*; SAG.HUL.HA.ZA → *saghulhazû*; SAG.KI → *pūtu*; SAGŠU → *kubšu*; SAHAR.HÍ.A → *epru*; SAHÁR → *šaharru*; SA₅ → *malû*; SI → *qarnu*; SÍG → *šartu*, *šipātu*, SÍG.BABBAR → *pešātu*; SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA → *nabāsu*; SIG₄ → *libittu*; SIG₅ → *damāqu*; SIG₇ → *arāqu*; SILA → *sūqu*; SILA.LIMMÚ, SILA.4 → *sūq erbetti*; SU → *zumru*; SU.BIR₄.KI → *Subartu*; SUD → *salāhu*; SUKKAL → *sukkallu*; SUM → *nadānu*; SUM.SAR → *šumu*;

ŠAH → *šahû*; ŠĀ → *libbu*; ŠĀ.BAL.BAL → *šabalbalû*; ŠE.AM → *še'u*; ŠE.BAR → *uṭtetu*; ŠE.GÍŠ.Í → *šamaššammû*; ŠEŠ → *ahu*; ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI → *Ūru*; ŠĒŠ → *pašāšu*; ŠID → *manû*; ŠIKA → *hašbattu*, *hašbu*; ŠIM.GÍR, ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR → *kukru*; ŠIM.LI → *burāšu*; ŠIM.MUG → *ballukku*; ŠITĀ → *rātu*; ŠU.⁴INANNA → *qāt Ištar*; ŠU.DINGIR.RA → *qāt ili*; ŠU.GIDIM.MA → *qāt eṭemmi*; ŠU.GUR → *unqu*; ŠU.NAM.ERÍM.MA → *qāt māmīti*; ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU → *qāt amēlūti*; ŠU.SAR → *pītiltu*; ŠU.SI → *ubānu*; ŠU.2 → *qātu*; ŠUB, ŠUB.ŠUB → *nadû*; ŠUHUB → *šuhuppātu*; ŠUK → *kurummatu*; ŠŪR.HUN.GÁ → *šurhungû*;

TA → *undu*; TAG → *lapātu*; TE → *ṭehû*, *letu*; TI.LA → *balātu*; TI₈.MUŠEN → *arû*; TÚG → *ulinnu*; TÚG.HÍ.A → *lubāru*; TÚG.SÍG → *sissiktu*; TUK → *rašû*; TUR → *šahāru*; TŪR → *tarbāšu*; TU₆ → *šiptu*; TU₆.DUG₄.GA → *tuduqqû*;

U.DAR.MU → *ištāru*; UD → *ūmu*; UD.NÁ.ĀM → *ūm bubbuli*; UDU.NITÁ → *immeru*; UDU → *utukku*; UDUN → *utūnu*; UGU → *eli*, *muhhu*; UH.MU → *uhhu*; UR.GÍ₇ → *kalbu*; UR.MAH → *nešu*; URU → *ālu*; ŪR → *sānu*; ŪR → *ūru*; UŠ.ÚŠ → *redû*; UŠ₁₁ → *imtu*; UŠ₁₁.BŪR, UŠ₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA → *ušburrudû*; UŠ₁₁.ZU → *kaššāpu*; ÚTUL → *diqāru*; UZU → *šīru*; Ú → *šammu*; Ú.AN.HŪL.LA → *anhullû*; Ú.GAZI.SAR → *kasiu*; Ú.HA.LU.ÚB → *haluppu*; Ú.HAR.HAR, Ú.HAR.HAR.SAR → *hašû B*; Ú.HUR.SAG.SAR → *azupīru*; Ú.IGI → *imhur limu*; Ú.IN.NU.ÚŠ, Ú.IN₆.ÚŠ → *maštakal*; Ú.KI.KAL → *sassatu*; Ú.KUR.KUR → *atā'išu*; Ú.KUR.RA.SAR → *maštakal*; Ú.KUR.ZI.SAR → *samīdu*; Ú.NU.LUH.HA, Ú.NU.LUH.HA.SAR → *nuhurtu*; Ú.UKŪŠ.HAB, Ú.UKŪŠ.HAB.SAR → *irrû*; Ú.ZĀ.HÍ.LI.SAR → *sahlû*; U₈ → *agurru*;

ZABAR → *siparru*; ZAG → *imittu*; ZAG.DU₈ → *sippu*; ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠĒ → *qītu*; ZI → *napištu*; ZI.KUD.RU.DA, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA → *zikurudû*; ZĪ.DA → *qēmu*; ZĪ.MAD.GÁ → *mašhatu*; ZĪ.SUR.RA → *zisurrû*; ZU → *idû*, *mūdû*; ZÚ.LUM.MA → *suluppu*;

1 → *ištēn*, *ištēniš*, *ištēt*; 1.TA.ĀM → *ištēnā*; 2 → *šitta*; 2.KĀM → *šanû*; 2.TA → *šunnāia*; 3, 3.KAM → *šalšu*; 3.TA → *šulušā*; 5.KĀM.MA → *hamšu*;

10 → *ešer*; 15 → *imittu*; 150 → *šumēlu*;

Glossary

abālu “to bring; (Š) to have carry away; (Št) to confuse”: *bi-li* III 187, *liš-ta-bil* III 162, *li-bil-am-ma* VII 144, *li-bil-la* VII 136, *li-bi-il-ma* V 23, *li-šá-bil* VII 21, *li-šá-bil* VIII 52, *li-šá-bil* V 92, *šu-ta-bil-ši-na-a-ti* IV 146, *šu-ta-bil-šú-nu-ti* II 116, *tu-še-bi-la-in-ni* IV 67, *uš-ta-bil* VII 103, 110, *ú-šd-ab-bal* IV 114,

abālu B “to dry up, dry out; (D) to dry”: *tu-ub-ba-li* VI 20,

abattu “stone, limestone”: *a-bat-tu* VIII 4,

abātu “to destroy”: *ab-ba-su-nu-ti* II 175, *a-ba-ti-ia* II 164, *a-b[u-u]t* V 142, *mu-ab-bit* I 112, II 142, 144a, *tu-ab-bi-ti-in-ni* III 108,

abnu “stone, gem”: NA₄ 9:88, 123, 157, 166, NA₄.MEŠ I 119, II 142, VI 47,

abu “father”: *a-bu* VI 41, AD I 123, IV 71, AD-šú IV 107, 109, 9:67,

abullu “(city) gate”: KÁ.GAL V 128, KÁ.G[AL] VII 146, KÁ.GAL.MEŠ-šú I 43,

adi “until, plus, while”: *a-di* I 68, 71, II 123, 194, 195, VII 178, VIII 1, R 12, 91, 92, 157, *a-[d]i* R 138,

adirtu “fear, unhappiness”: *a-dir-ti* V 71, *a-dir-tu* V 72, *a-dir-tum* VII 127,

agû “crown, tiara”: *a-gu-ú* III 78, 133,

agugillu (a kind of sorcerer): *a-gu-gil-lu*.MEŠ VII 95, LÚ.*a-gu-g[i-lu]* IV 91,

agugiltu (sorceress): *a-gu-gi-il-tum* III 42, *a-gu-gi-lat* IV 130,

ahāmīš “each other”: *a-ha-meš* VI 62, R 61,

ahātu “sister”: *a-hat-su-ma* IV 108, NIN III 113, N]IN IV 71,

ahhāzu “jaundice”: *ah-ha-zu* I 137, VII 37, see also *Ahhāzu*,

ahitu “side, outside; (pl.) outskirts, side streets”: *a-ha-a-ti* VII 122,

ahu “brother”: *a-hi-ki* VII 98, *a-hi-mu* I 101, ŠEŠ III 113, IV 82, ŠEŠ IV 71, [ŠEŠ] R 133, ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú II 106, ŠEŠ.M[ŠEŠ-šú] VIII 56,

ahu B “side, bank, shore”: *a-hi* III 174, 175, VI 93, 94, VIII 11, *a-h]i* VIII 12,

ahû “strange, uncanonical”: *a-hi-i* IV 17,

ahullā “beyond, on the other side”: *a-hu-la-a-a* VIII 10,

ai “may not”: *a-a* III 134, V 9, 129, 130, VII 13, 17, 126, 167, VIII 123, 139,

aiabbu “sea”: A.AB.BA V 102, *a-ab-ba* VI 100, see also *tāmtu*,

aiābtu “enemy (f.)”: *a-a-ba-tu-šá* VI 79,

aiābu “enemy”: *a-a-ba* II 85, *a-a-b[a-tu-nu]* V 133, *a-a-bi* I 95, II 99, *a-a-bi-ia* I 116, II 133,

aiābû “hostile, inimical”: *a-a-bu-te* VII 73, *a-a-bu-ti* VII 108,

aiāši “me”: *a-a-ši* I 139b, III 153, V 18, *ia-a-ši* I 49, 59, II 17, 118, 225, IV 4, V 69, 71, VI 64, 66, 97, VII 7, 62, 85, 87, 137, 177, VIII 57, *ia-a-ši* V 82, *ia-a-š]i* II 22, *ia-a-[š]i* V 78, VIII 4, *ia-ši* VIII 39, *iá-ši* VII 54,

akalu “bread”: NINDA R 130, 131, 132, NINDA.HI.A I 103, R 171, NINDA.HI.A VI 108, R 172,

akālu “to eat, consume; (Š) to feed”: *a]-ka-lu* IV 63, *a-kul* I 116, II 133, VI 106, R 111, *li-kul* III 162, *li-kul-ki* III 25, *tu-šá-ki-la* IV 40, *t[u]-šá-ki-la* IV 40, *t]u-šá-ki-la* IV 41, *t[u-šá-ki-la]-in-ni* IV 63, *ú-šá-ki-lu-in-ni* I 103,

alaktu “way, behaviour, course”: *a-lak-ti* I 14, *a-lak-tú* III 7, 14,

alāku “to come, go; (Gt) to go away; (Gtn) to walk about; (Š) to make go”: *al-ka-nim-ma* VI 38, *al-ka-n[im]-ma* R 99, *[al-ka-nim-ma* VI 28, *al-ki* V 21, *al-lak* I 61, *a[l-lak* R 23, *al-li-ka* II 88, *at-lak* IV 2, *at-la-ka* V 160, 167, *a-lik* VII 146, *a-li-ku* II 191, *a-li-k[u-t]i* V 101, DU.MEŠ-ki VI 144, 153, R 119, DU.DU-ka V 98, DU.DU-k[a] VI 8, *il-li-ka* III 13, *it-ta-na-al-la-ka* VII 83, *it-ta-na-lak-a-ni* III 137, *lil-lik* VII 131, *lil-lik-ma* VII 78, *lil-li-ku* III 73, 123, *ni-il-li-ka* III 35, 38, *tal-lak* I 66, *tal-la-ka* III 34, *tal-la-k[a]* VI 10, *tal-lik* I 65, *ú-ša-lak* VII 98, *ú-šá-lak-ki* VII 99,

alālu “work song”: ^a*al-la-la* VIII 53, ^a*al-la-la* VI 45, R 101, 162,

alālu B “to suspend, hang; (Gt) to be suspended, joined as ally”: *li-tal-lal* IV 9,

āliku “going, moving”: *a-lik-ti* IV 139, *a-li-ki* II 74,

allāku “going, moving”: *al-la-ka-a-ti* II 34, III 94,

allallû “brave”: *al-lal-lu-[u]* V 84, *al-la-lu-ú* II 142,

alpu “ox”: GUD.NITÁ I 69,

ālu “city, town”: URU II 190, III 22, 23, 184, IV 83, V 39, VII 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, URU-ia IV 136, URU-ki II 208, URU.MU I 42, 43, URU.M[U R 20, URU.[M]U II 30, UR[U.M]U R 20, U]RU.MU II 30,

alû (a demon): A.LÁ II 52, V 61,

amāru “to see, behold”: *a-ma-ri* V 2, *a-mur* VII 64, *a-mu-ru* VII 166, *a-tam-ma-ru* VII 122, *e-tam-ru-ki* III 55, *i-mu-ra-an-ni-ma* III 13, *i-mu-ru* VII 57, *[i-mu-ru]-ši-ma* VIII 40, IGI-ma R 176,

amatu “word, matter”: *a-mat* I 68, 71, II 124, III 57, IV 10, V 117, R 8, 48, *a-mat-su-nu* I 70, 71, *a-ma-ti* I 70, *a-ma-ti-ki* VII 160, *a-ma-t[i]-ki* III 138, *a-ma-tum* III 184, 185, *a-ma-tu-ku-nu* V 130, *a-ma-tu-šá* I 35, *a-[ma-tu-šá* VIII 85, INIM I

32, 89, III 88, V 13, 17, 18, VII 12, 45, 52, 54, 174, 176, INIM IV 114, INIM.MEŠ-ka VI 12, INIM.MEŠ-ki V 5, 9, VI 44, INIM.MEŠ-šá V 52, VI 29, VIII 51, INIM.MU I 71, 83, II 47, INIM-sa I 28, V 25, VI 58, INIM-sa] VI 15,

amēlu “man”: *a-me-lu* III 156, LÚ VIII 48, LÚ.MEŠ VII 129,

amēlūtu “mankind”: *a-me-lu-ti* I 139, II 66, III 155, 181, VII 31, 139, VIII 137,

āmīru “one who beholds”: *a-me-ri-ia* IV 73, *a-me-ri-MU* I 7, *a-m[e-ri-i]a* II 89,

amtu “maid, slave-girl”: GEMÉ IV 72,

amurru “west (wind)”: IM.MAR.TU VI 49, VII 4,

ana “to”: *ana* I 28, 44, 45, 48, 54, 62, 71, 107, 131, II 51, 88, 139, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 180, 189, 190, 200, III 35, 54, 58, 66, 115, b, 123, 132, 139, 187, IV 41, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 75, 105, 121, 138, 139, 150, V 5, 12, 13, 15, 16, 23, 25, 52, 57, 72, 94, 117, VI 9, 20, 21, 29, 44, 47, 58, 71, 74, 75, 120, VII 13, 45, 100, 131, 166, VIII 22, 23, 28, 39, 46, 79, 105, 123, R 14, 26, 31, 52, 67, 69, 70, 91, 94, 113, 116, 118, 123, 142, 147, 149, 163, 164, 167, 168, 174, 177, *a[na]* R 135, (*ana* R 135, ((*ana*)) IV 114, [*ana* II 22, VIII 54, R 151, *anā* V 168, 169, 170, *a-na* I 47, 53, 139b, II 25, 26, 81, 118, 140, 196, 201, 206, 207, III 5, 24, 35, 36, 37, 38, 73, 97, 99, 119, 120, 140, 141, IV 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 42, 43, 50, 51, 137, V 70, 88, VI 6, 15, 23, 39, 46, 51, 62, 82, 96, 128, 129, 136, 137, VII 26, 34, 78, VIII 29, 30, 89, R 95, 120, 125, *a-n[a]* R 13, [*a-n]*a R 139,

anāku “I”: *ana-ku* I 39, 40, 48, 87, 95, 113, II 13, 86, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 144b, 170, III 76, 87, 177, IV 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, V 49, 97, 108, 117, VI 21, 84, 123, 130, 138, 146, 151, VII 78, 88, R 46, 70, 105, 107, *ana-k[u]* IV 151, VI 69, 85, [*ana-ku* VI 155, VIII 23, [*ana-ku*] VII 3, [*ana-k*]u VIII 28, *ana-ku-m[a]* VIII 49, *an-na-ku* VII 52, *a-na-ku* I 7, 19, 46, II 99, 197, 201, III 61, 67, VII 18, VIII 138, *a-na-ku-ma* III 147, 148, 150, 151, [*a-n]*a-ku-ma III 149,

anduhallatu (a type of lizard): *an-du-hal-lat* V 40,

anhullû (a magical plant): Ú.AN.HÚL.LA VI 100, R 110,

annanna “so-and-so, such-and-such”: NENNI II 13, 86, III 35, VI 47, 123, VII 45, NEN]NI II 86, [NENNI II 86,

annannitu “so-and-so (f.)”: NENNI-tum II 13, 86,

annu “assent”: *an-ni-ka* I 121,

annû “this”: *an-na-a-ti* R 133a, *an-né-e* III 100, *an-ni-i* II 145, *an-ni-ta* III 121, 122, *an-nu-ti* I 93, II 147, VII 174, R 26, *an-nu-tum* I 73, 74, *an-nu-u* VIII 61, R 165, *an-nu-ú* V 51, VII 154,

antašubbû “epilepsy”: AN.TA.ŠUB.BA II 59,

apālu “to answer”: *a-pu-ul-in-ni* I 58, *tap-pa-li-ši-na-a-ti* I 56,

apāru “to cover”: *a-ta-pí-ri* VI 106,

apkallu “sage”: ABGAL I 55, II 125, III 62, IV 6, 78, V 104, VI 77, 86, A[BGAL V 103, [A]BGAL VII 46, ABGAL.MEŠ VIII 40,

aplu “heir”: IBILA R 134,

appu “nose, tip”: *ap-pa-a-ti* R 64, *ap-pi* R 10, **apsû** “sweet-water ocean, abyss”: ABZU I 124, III 62, VII 40, VIII 40, 42, ABZU] V 103, 108, ABZ[U] VI 86,

aptu “window”: *ap-ta-ki* III 140,

apu “reed marsh”: *a-pi* II 141,

apû “(Š) to proclaim”: *lu-šá-pi* II 17, 75, 225,

arabbeš (mng. unkn.): *a-ra-ab-bé-eš* II 151,

arādu “to descend”: *ú-rad* III 141, *ur-ra-da-ni* III 33, *ú-še-ri-du-ni* VI 71, *ú-š[e]-r[i-id-ki]* VIII 123,

arāhu “to devour, consume”: *a-ru-uh* I 116, II 133, *a-ru-uh-ši-na-a-ti* IV 145, *a-ru-uh-šú-nu-ti* II 115,

araliû “underworld”: *a-[ra-a]l-le-e* IV 51,

arāmu “to cover”: *li-ri-ma* III 166,

arāqu “to be green, turn green”: *li-ri-qu* III 101, SIG₇ III 101a, R 49,

arāru “to curse”: *li-ru-ru-ši* V 34,

ardatu “young woman”: KI.SIKIL III 9, 12, KI.SIKIL.MEŠ VII 86, 87, KI.SIKIL.MEŠ] VIII 19,

ardat lilî (a female demon): KI.SIKIL-LÍL.LÁ I 138, V 67, KI.SIKIL-[LÍL.LÁ] II 56, KI.SIKIL-MIN V 67,

ardu “servant, subject”: ARAD IV 72, ARAD-ka II 13, 100, AR[AD-ka II 144b,

arhiš “quickly”: *ár-hiš* II 84, 224, *ár-h[iš]* II 85, *á]r-hiš* II 16,

arhu “month”: ITI VII 136, ITI.MEŠ V 48,

ārīru “blazing”: *a-ri-ru* II 8, 77, 105, III 179, IV 79, V 92, R 34, 35,

arki “after, behind”: *ar-ki-ki* III 97, EGIR-ia III 13, EGIR-šá III 5, EGIR-šú R 92, 136, 140, [EGIR-šú R 178,

armu “buck”: *ar-ma-šá* VII 24,

arnu “guilt, sin”: *ar-ni* VII 132, *ár-ni-ia* VII 133, 142,

arqu “vegetable”: *ar-qu-šá* VIII 6,

arrabu “dormouse”: PĚŠ.ÛR.RA IV 61,

arratu “curse”: *ár-rat* VII 128,

arû “eagle”: TI₈.MUŠEN VIII 124,

āru “to march; (D) to send”: *u-ú-ra-ku* I 61,

arurtu “trembling”: *a-ru-ur-tu* V 71, 72,

asakku (a demon and disease): *a-sak-ku* VII 37,

askupputu “threshold”: I.DIB II 188, IV 31,

asu “myrtle”: ŠJIM.GÍR R 28,

asurrû “lower course of a wall”: *a-sur-ra-a* II 168, 179, VIII 107,

ašû “to go out, come out; (Š) to send out, drive out, banish”: *è-ma* R 13, 91, 139, *it-ta-ši* VII 146, *lit-ta-ši* VII 140, *li-še-ši* VII 27, *li-še-ši-šú-nu-ti* III 132, *ú-ši* VII 17, *ú-še-ši* V 120,

ašābu “to sit, dwell; (Š) to enthrone, settle”: *áš-bat* V 2, VIII 37, *áš-bu* III 127, 128, 129, *áš-bat-ma* V 3, VIII 55, *áš-ba-tu-nu-ma* IV 4, *áš-bu-ma* VIII 56, *ul-te-šib* VI 13, *ú-še-eš-šeb* III 142,

ašarēdu “foremost”: *a-šá-red-du* III 159,

ašāšu “to be distressed, disturbed, worried”: [*i-ta-š*]u-uš VIII 38,

ašīptu “female exorcist”: *a-ši-ip-tum* III 41,

ašīpu “exorcist”: MAŠ.MAŠ I 143, II 157, III 165, IV 5, 6, V 148, 173, VII 62, 103, 110, VIII 70,

ašīpūtu “magic, exorcism”: *a-ši-pu-ti* I 62, 72, II 171, VI 57, VII 19, MAŠ.MAŠ-ti] V 93,

ašlāku “fuller”: LÚ.AZLAG II 187, IV 34,
ašlu “tow, string, rope”: *a-šá-al-šá* III 130,
ašru “place, site; (in st. constr.) where”: *aš-ri* R 113, *áš-ri* VI 119, *a-šar* II 123, R 94,
aššatu “wife”: DAM IV 71,
aššu “because (of)”: *áš-šu* II 22, 199, VIII 79, *áš-šú* I 4, 18, III 182, 183, *áš-šu* II 198,
aštu “harsh, difficult”: *áš-ta-tu-nu* V 133,
ašuštu “distress”: *a-šu-uš-tu* V 71, 72,
atā’išu (a medicinal plant): Ú.KUR.KUR VI 85, R 107, 108,
atānu “mare”: EMÈ VII 24,
atappu “(small) canal, ditch”: *à-tap-pi* VI 93, VIII 12, *a-tap-pí* III 174,
atāru “to be excessive”: [*i*]t-tir VIII 44,
atmû “utterance”: *at-me-e* II 78,
atta “you”: *at-ta* I 87, 95, 110, II 22, 74, 106, VIII 129, 130, 131, 32, 38, R 175, *a[t]-t[a]* VIII 132, *at-ta-ma* I 112, II 78, 83, 84, 101, 102, 103, 144a,
atta-mannu “whoever you are”: *at-ta-man-nu* IV 3, VI 9, R 78,
atti “you”: *at-ti* VI 65, 119, R 113, *at-ti-e* III 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, *at-t[i]-e* R 104, *at-ti-ie-e* R 50,
atti-mannu “whoever you are (f.)”: *at-[t]i-man-nu* R 65, *at-ti-man-nu* II 183, 205, III 88, IV 3, 80, V 48, 76, VII 55, VIII 57, R 40, 41, 48, 75, 140, [*at-ti-man-nu*] VI 47,
attu- “belonging to”: *at-tu-ki* V 6,
attunu “you”: *at-tu-nu* I 39, 40, 49, V 98, R 83, [*a*]t-tu-nu VII 51,
azugallatu “chief woman physician”: *a-zu-gal-la-tu* II 217,
azupiru “saffron”: Ú.HUR.SAG.SAR V 28,
ba’irtu “female trapper”: *ba-’i-ir-tú* VII 80, R 143, *ba-’i-ra-a-ti* VII 80, R 143,
bâ’u “to pass”: *li-ba-’u-ú-ki* II 209, *lu-u-ba-a’-ši-na-a-ti* IV 151,
bābu “gate, doorway”: KÁ II 169, 180, 189, IV 69, 72, VII 13, 49, R 13, 87, 89, 91, 92, 121, 139, KÁ-ia IV 135, VII 158, KÁ.MEŠ R 129, KÁ.MEŠ-ni R 93, KÁ.MU VI 13, 131, 139, 147, 148, 156, VII 156,
bahāšu “(D) to stir”: *tu-ba-ah-ha-áš* R 82,
baiartu “stalker”: *ba-a-a-ar-tum* III 45,
balālu “to mix”: *bal-lu* II 182, 204, III 87a, HE.HE R 39, 40, [HE.HE] R 47, HE.HE-ma R 126, 128,
balātu “life; to live”: *bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma* II 17, 75, 225, *lu-ub-luṭ* I 19, II 94, 100, 197, VI 84, 151, VII 78, TI.LA III 177, IV 87, VII 35, 45, 106, 113,
ballukku (an aromatic plant): ŠIM.MUG R 28,
baltu “thorn bush”: GIŠ.NIM III 149,
bāltu “pride, shame”: *bal-ta-ki* VII 64, 172, *bal-ti* VII 57, see also *bāštu*,
balu “without”: *ba-li-ka* II 9, 10, 11, *ba-li-ki* VI 121, 122,
balû “to become extinguished, come to an end, (D) to extinguish”: *li-bal-la-a* V 141, *li-bal-li* I 142, V 139, 140, 147, *lib-le-ma* II 16, *li[b-le-ma]* II 224, *li-ib-le* V 47, *ú-bal-li* V 119,
bamāti “open country, plain”: *ba-ma-a-ti* IV 22,
banû “to create”: *ab-ni* VII 64, *ab-ta-ni* III 18, *ba-na-a-ti* I 18, *ba-ni-ia* VI 126, *ba-ni-ka* II 124,

ib-ba-nu-u VII 115, R 113, *ib-ba-nu-ú* III 89, VI 119, *ib-na-an-ni-ma* VI 70, *ib-nu-u* I 96, *ib-nu-ú* I 131, VII 56, *i-b[a]n-na-a* V 3, *tab-ni-i* V 7,
barāmu “to seal”: *ta-bar-ram* III 101a, *ta-[bar-ram]* R 49,
barāqu “to flash”: *mu-šab-riq* II 8,
barāritu “evening watch”: *ba-ra-ri-tum* I 3,
bārtu “rebellion”: *bar-ta* V 12, 13, *bar-ti* II 146, *bar-tu* IV 10, *bar-tum* V 15, 17, 18, VII 12, 52, 174, *bar-t[um]* IV 114, *bar-tú* I 89, VII 54, HI.GAR VII 176,
barû “to examine”: *i-b[ar-ri]* R 177,
bāru “to capture”: *i-bar-ru* III 159, *li-ba-ru* VII 15,
bārûtu “extispicy”: HAL-ti VII 120,
bašāru “to tear apart”: *li-ba-aš-ši-ru* VIII 127, *li-ba-aš-ši-ru-ki* VIII 126,
bašālu “to cook, boil”: *biš-li* III 188, IV 1, R 60,
bāštu “dignity, pride, good looks”: *ba-aš-ti* VIII 129,
bašû “to exist; (N) to come about”: *ba-šá-a* II 14, *ba-šá-a-t[um]* IV 92, *ba-šú-u* II 196, GÁL-u VII 117, *ib-ba-šu-ú* III 90,
batāqu “to cut off, parcel out”: *ib-tu-qu* I 133, II 187, *lib-ba-ti-iq* III 130, *ta-bat-taq* R 69, *t[a-bat-taq]* R 67,
bēltu “lady, mistress”: *be-let* V 55, 56, NIN I 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, II 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, NIN-su-ma IV 110,
bēlu “lord”: *be-lí* II 101, VII 178, VIII 1, 7, 26, *b[e-lí]* VIII 3, *be-lum* II 72, 74, *be-l[um]* II 88, [*be-l*]um II 31, EN I 38, 62, 72, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, II 19, 27, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 170, 171, 215, V 172, VI 56, 57, VII 18, 19, 36, 44, 106, 113, VIII 93, R 33, E[N V 93],
bēl dabābi “adversary, opponent in court”: EN-DUG₄.DUG₄.MU I 84, II 48,
bēl dīni “adversary in court, prosecutor”: EN-di-ni-MU I 82, II 46,
bennu “epilepsy”: *be-en-na* VIII 43, *be-en-nu* II 58, 212,
bēru “double hour”: DANNA VII 160, DANNA.ÀM VI 128, 129, 136, 137,
bēšu “to go away, distance o.s.”: R 38, *bé-e-šá* V 159, 164,
bī’u “gutter”: *bi-’i* IV 32, [*bi-i*]-i-ma IV 150,
billatu “(blended) beer, (diluted) ale”: KAŠ.Ú.SA R 127,
binu “tamarisk”: GIŠ].ŠINIG VIII 54, GIŠ.ŠINIG I 21, II 226, IV 36, VI 5, 46, R 4, 41, i 57, GIŠ.ŠI]NIG R 23,
binûtu “form, creation”: *bi-nu-ut* I 124,
biritu “alley”: *bi-re-e-ti* III 3,
birku “knee”: *bir-ki* III 50, *bir-ki-ia* V 116, *bir-ki-ki* III 95, *bir-ki-MU* I 101, [*b*]ir-ki-MU II 35,
birti “between, through, in the midst of”: *bi-rit* III 126, V 44, 45,
bitānû “internal, interior, inside”: *bi-ta-ni-ti* VI 76,
bitu “house”: É II 169, 180, 184, 187, III 24, 69, 185, IV 72, VII 13, R 14, 94, 137, 142, É-ki II 208, VI 42, É.MEŠ III 2, É.[ME]Š II 20,
bu’û “to seek, search”: *i-ba-’u-ú-ni* VII 13, *túb-ta-na-in-ni* R 41, *túb-ta-na-in-ni* II 205, *ub-ta-na-’a* VII 84, *ub-ta-na-’a-an-ni* VII 85, [*ub-ta-*

n[a-ʾa-an-ni VIII 39, *ú-ba-ʾa-ak-ki* III 185, *ú-ba-ʾa-kim-ma* VII 88,
bukru “(first-born) son”: *b[u-kur]* R 34, *bu-kúr* I 123, II 77, 136, R 37,
būlu “cattle”: *bu-ul-šú* VII 23,
bunnannū “features, outer appearance”: *bu-un-na-an-ni-ia* I 96, 131, *bu-un-na-an-ni-ki* VII 66, *bu-un-na-an-ni-ku-nu* II 159, *bu-un-na-ni-ia* VII 59,
burāšu “juniper”: ŠIM.LI VIII 47, R 159, ŠIM.L[I] R 96,
būrtu “well”: PÚ IV 34, 35,
burū “reed mat”: *bu-re-e* IV 34,
burzigallu (a large bowl): DUG.BUR.ZI.GAL R 11, 175, DU[G.BUR.Z]I.GAL R 13,
bušū “property”: *bu-šá-šu-nu* II 120,
da’āpu “to push; (D) to press”: *id-i-pu* I 98,
dabābu “to talk, plot, contest; (Š) to incite, provoke”: *a-dab-bu-ub* I 17, *a-dab-bu-u[b]* I 61, *da-ba-bi* I 13, *da-bi-bu* III 182, DUG₄.DUG₄.MU I 84, DU₁₁.DU₁₁.MU II 48, *id-bu-ub* VIII 96, R 169,
daialitu “prowler”: *da-a-a-li-tum* III 3,
daiānu “judge”: *da-a-a-ni* II 102, *da-a-a-ni-šá* V 23, *da-a-a-n[u]* II 201, *da-a-a-[nu]* IV 108, 110, DI.KUD I 87, 95, 113, II 11, III 135, V 93, 97, [DI.KUD.MEŠ V 88, DI.KUD-šá V 24,
dāktu “killer, murderess”: *da-a-a-ik-tum* III 51,
dāku “to kill”: GAZ V 71, 72, VII 126, GAZ.MEŠ VI 67, [GAZ.M]EŠ VI 22, [GAZ.MEŠ VI 28, GAZ.M[U] VI 9, *li-duk-ki* III 27, *li-du-ku-ma* II 197, VI 151,
dalāhu “to disturb, blur, perplex”: *ad-lu-u[h]* VIII 73, *a-dal-l[à]h* III 145,
dalālu “to praise”: *lud-lul* II 17, 75, 225,
dalhu “disturbed, blurred, muddy”: *dal-ha-a-ti* II 80,
dalilu “praise”: *da-li-li-ka* II 225, *dà-lí-lí-ka* II 17, 75,
daltu “door”: GIŠ.IG VII 10, R 129, GIŠ.I[G VI 109, GIŠ.IG.MEŠ VII 145,
damāqu “to be good, beautiful, skilled, fortunate”: *dam-qu* VII 163, SIG₅ III 8, SIG₅-tim III 9, VII 166,
danānu “to be strong”: *da-a-ni* III 79, *dan-na-at* VI 134, *dan-na-ti* II 12, III 163, 183, *dan-na-tu* III 155, *dan-na-tum* III 181, *dan-na-tu-nu* V 132, *dan-nu* II 7, 119, III 160, V 156, VI 38, *dan-[nu]* VI 13, [*dan-nu* VI 28, *lu-ud-nin* II 97,
dīānu “to pass judgment”: *da-in* II 78,
dī’u “malaria”: *dī-u* VII 124,
dibalū “distortion of justice”: DI.BALA-ki VII 75, DI.BAL.A I 90, IV 11, V 58, VIII 136,
dibbū “words”: *dib-bi-ki* VII 160,
diglu “vision”: *di-ig-[li-ia* I 101a,
dikmennu “ashes”: *dīh-me-en-na* R 51, *dīh-mé-ni* III 115b, *dīh-mé-nu* III 114, *dī-ik-me-en-na* R 98, *dī-ik-me-en-ni* VI 31,
dikšu “piercing pain, wound”: *dī-kiš* II 64,
diliptu “sleeplessness”: *dī-lip-ta* VII 124,
dimmakurrū “madness”: DIMMA.KÚR.RA V 59, DIMMA.KÚR.RA-ki VII 76,
dinānu “substitute”: *dī-na-ni* VII 132,
dīnu “case, judgment”: *de-en* II 129, *de-e-ni* II 24, III 124, *dī-i-nu* II 11, 23, 107, *dī-in-šá* III 124, *dī-ni-ia* II 130, 145, *dī-ni-MU* I 82, II 46,

dipāru “torch”: *dī-pa-a-ri* II 152, *dī-pa-ri-ka* II 26, *dī-pa-ru* I 135, *d[ī-pa-ru]* R 30,
dīqāru (a large cooking-pot): *dī-qa-ri* III 115b, 168, DUG.ÚTUL R 51, ÚTUL III 114,
dunnānu “strong one”: *du-un-na-ni* R 73, *d[u-n]n[n-a-ni]* R 73, *du-un-na-nu* V 19, *du-u[n-n]a-nu* V 19,
duppuru “to go away, absent o.s.”: *dup-pi-ra* V 160, 166,
dūru “city wall”: BÀD IV 21, 32, V 127,
dūtu “virility, manliness”: *du-us-su* III 8, *du-u-t[i]* VIII 131,
e “no!”: *e* I 65, II 123, IV 2, VII 148, 149, VIII 133, [*e* VIII 133,
e (interjection): *e* VI 40, 95, 113, 127, 135, 143, 152, R 100, 112, 115, 118, 119, 122,
e’ru “magic wand, cornel”: GIŠ.MA.NU R 43, 65, 82, 120, 147, 168, GIŠ.MA.[NU III 30a, see also *ēru*,
ebberu “pacing, travelling across”: *eb-bé-re-e-ti* II 35, *e-bé-re-e-ti* III 95,
ebbu “clean, pure”: *eb-bu* VII 29, R 131,
ebēbu “to become clean; (D) to clean”: *eb-ba* VI 103, *e-te-bi-ib* I 26, III 69, *e-te-b[i-ib* V 97, *li-bi-ban-ni* I 23, *ub-ba-ab* R 150, *ub-bi-ba* VII 114,
ebēru “to cross”: *i-bir* R 161, *i-[bir* VIII 35, *li-te-eb-bi-ru-ma* II 95, *te-bi-ra-ni* V 125,
eddešū “constantly renewing o.s.”: *ed-de-šu-ú* II 138, 192, *e-deš-šú-[u]* VIII 132,
edinnazuše “(Sum.) to your steppe”: *edin-na-zu-še* R 92,
edū B “wave”: *e-du-ú* III 78, 132,
egerrū “utterance; reputation”: INIM.GAR.MU I 85, II 49,
egēru “(D) to twist”: *tug-gi-ra* V 90, *ú-gir-šú-nu-ti-ma* II 93,
egū “to disregard, neglect”: *e-ga-a* I 41,
ekallu “palace”: É.GAL IV 69,
ekēmu “to take away”: *ik-ki-mu* V 76, [*ik-k]i-mu* R 79, *i-kim* III 8, 11,
ēkiam “how?”: *e-ki-a-am* III 34, VI 72, 73,
ekkēmu “snatcher (a demon)”: *ek-ke-e-ma* II 120,
ekletu “darkness”: *ek-le-e-ti* II 79,
ekurru “temple”: É.KUR II 9, 123, VI 121, R 134, É.K[UR R 135,
elēlu “to become pure; (D) to purify”: *li-lil* V 107, *e-te-lil* I 25, III 68, V 97, VIII 49, KUG-ku III 76, 87, *lil-lil-an-ni* I 21, *te-li-la* V 105, [*te-li-la* V 106, *ul-la-lu-ku-nu-ši* I 48, *ul-li-la-in-ni* I 49, *ú-tal-lil* VII 150,
elēlu B “jubilation”: *e-le-li* I 12,
elēnitu “deceitful woman”: *e-le-ni-ti-ia* III 84, VI 113, R 112, *e-le-ni-ti-MU* VI 40, 143, 152, R 100, 119, 122, *e-le-ni-tum* I 5, III 40, *e-le-ni-tú* III 80,
eleppu “boat, ship”: GIŠ.MÁ V 100,
eli “over, upon”: *el-ku-un* II 155, *e-li-šá* V 46, *e-li-šú-nu* III 133, UGU-ki II 212, VIII 120, 125, UGU.MU I 6,
ellam-mē “whose rites are pure”: *el-lam-mé-e* III 98,
ellu “pure, holy”: *el-let* III 176, *el-li* III 140, *el-lu* II 90, III 61, VI 157, KUG III 85, V 105, 106, VI 101, 119, VII 29, VIII 47, R 46, 113, 131, KUG.MEŠ III 86, VI 25, 35, VII 115, KUG-ti II 26,

V 73, KUG-tim II 71, 137, VII 66, R 105, KUG-tu VI 69, 85, R 107, KUG-tum II 219,
elû "to go up; (Gt) to rise and leave; (Š) to lift out, remove": *e-li* III 22, *e-tel-la-a* III 171, VI 90, *i-lu-u* VI 46, *i-lu-ú* VIII 54, *li-tel-li* I 141, V 146, 161, *li-tel-lu₄* III 133, *ú-še-li* VIII 74,
ēma "wherever": *e-ma* VII 165,
emēdu "to lean, impose": *em-de-ku* I 8, *li-mid-su-nu-te* IV 94, *lu-um-id* II 96,
emūqu "strength": Á.KAL.MU I 100,
enenna see *inanna*,
enēšu "to be weak; (D) to weaken": *li-ni-šu-ma* II 97, *un-ni-šu* I 99, 100,
enītu "substitute": *e-ni-ta* VII 79, *e-ni-tum* VII 134,
entu "high priestess": *e-né-ti* VI 36, *e-né-t[i]* VI 26,
enû "to alter, change": *BAL-ú* I 121, *e-na-a-ti* VIII 91, *li-na-an-ni* VII 79, 134, *te-en-ni-ma* R 64, *uš-te-nu-ki* III 56,
enūma "when": *e-nu-ma* R 1,
enūru (a type of incantation): É.NU.RU VII 177,
eperu "dust": *e-pe-ra* VII 104, see also *epru*,
epēšu "to do, make, perform, practice witchcraft; (D) to do, exercise, treat; (Š) to make s.b. do s.th.; (N) to be doneh: *DÜ-an-ni* R 53, *DÜ-ma* R 95, 172, *DÜ.MEŠ-ni* VI 83, R 39, *DÜ-šá* IV 80, *DÜ-šá* V 57, *DÜ-šú* VII 55, R 1, *DÜ-š[ú]* R 140, *DÜ-uš* III 115a, V 12, R 3, 65, *DÜ-uš* R 60, *DÜ-uš-ma* R 166, *DÜ.DÜ-šá* V 48, *ep-pu-šu* I 40, *ep-ši-ma* III 119, *e-piš* II 66, 84, 117, 146, III 128, 186, IV 149, V 94, [*e-piš* I 139a, *e-pi-ši* II 172, III 35, *e-pi-šu* I 128, *e-pu-si* I 129, 130, *e-pu-su* I 128, *e-pu-šá* VIII 58, *e-pu-šá-a-ni* VI 88, *e-pu-šá-an-ni* III 117, 118, VIII 8, *e-pu-šá-áš-šim-ma* II 198, *e-pu-šá-ni* III 116, *e-pu-šá-niš-šim-ma* VI 80, *e-pu-šu* III 164, VII 20, *e-pu-šu-ni* II 161, *e-pu-šu-nim-ma* III 65, *e-pu-šu-ši-na-a-ti* VI 89, *e-pu-šu-ú-ni* III 64, *e-pu-šu-ú-[ni]* I 92, *e-pu-šú-ni* R 39, *e-pu-uš* I 15, II 92, *e-pu-uš-ki* VII 69, *e-pu-uš-ma* III 67, *e-te-né-ep-pu-šu-ni* II 161, *e-te-né-pu-šim-ma* III 66, *in-né-ep-pu-šú* V 15, *in-né-ep-pu-uš* VI 80, *i-p[u-šu]* VIII 84, *i-pu-šú* I 33, *i-pu-šá* I 18, II 198, *i-pu-šá-an-ni* I 128, *i-pu-šá-ni* R 68, *ip-pu-šá* I 41, V 3, VI 82, *ip-pu-šá-[n]i* IV 115, *ip-pu-šá-nim-ma* IV 119, 120, *ip-šá* V 13, 17, 18, VII 12, *ip-šu* VII 52, *ip-šú* I 89, 128, 129, 130, IV 10, 114, VII 54, 69, 174, 176, *i-te-né-ep-pu-šá-n[i]* IV 115, *i-te-né-ep-pu-šu-u-ni* III 64, *i-te-né-ep-šá-ni* R 68, *li-pu-šá-ki* VII 90, *li-pu-šu-ki* VII 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, *te-pu-šá* I 39, VI 39, *te-pu-šá-an-ni* I 129, 130, *te-pu-šá-ma* IV 39, *te-pu-šá-ni* IV 13, V 57, 94, VII 21, R 77, *te-pu-ši* III 60, V 6, VI 51, 65, 66, *te-pu-ši* VIII 94, *te-pu-ši* VII 151, *te-p[u-ši]* R 104, *[e-pu-ši]* VIII 52, *te-pu-šim-ma* III 25, *te-pu-šin-ni* VII 69, 148, R 50, *te-pu-š[in]-ni* VI 72, *te-pu-ši-in-ni* III 102, *te-te-ep-pu-ši* VII 100, *te-te-né-ep-pu-šá-ni* IV 4, *te-te-né-ep-pu-u[š]* R 75, *te-[te]-pu-šá-ni* VIII 104, *tuš-te-pi-ši* VII 151, *tu-še-pi-šá-ni* IV 13, V 57, *[tu-še-pi-šá-ni]* R 77, *tu-še-pi-šim-ma* III 26, *tu-še-pi-ši-in-ni* III 103, *ul-te-piš-an-ni* R 53, *uš-te-pi-šá-an-ni* III 116, *ú-pi-ši* VIII 133, 137, *ú-še-piš* III 125, R 54, *ú-še-[pi]-šu-ú-ni* I 92,
epinnu "plough": GIŠ.APIN VII 25,

ēpištu "sorceress": *e-piš-ta* R 71, 97, *e-piš-ti* II 172, III 35, 119, V 1, 26, 36, 43, *e-piš-t[i]* VI 18, *e-piš-[ti]* VI 16, *e-[piš-ti]* VIII 115, [*e-piš*]-*ti* VIII 36, *e-piš-ti-ia* III 18, *e-piš-ti-mu* I 74, VI 19, *e-piš-tu* I 129, VI 72, *e-piš-tum* III 146, IV 149, 152, *e-[pi]š-tum* VII 148, [*e-piš-tum*] VIII 8, [*e-piš-t*]-*um* VI 54, [*e-pi*]-*š-tum* VI 59, *e-piš-tú* III 128, 186, VIII 58, 75, 108, R 170, [*e-piš-t*]-*ú* VIII 21, *e-pi-še-tu-ú-a* III 63, *e-pi-ši-tu-ú-a* V 86, *e-pi-ši-t[u-ú-a]* V 112, *e-pi-[š]i-tu-ú-a* R 84,
ēpišu "sorcerer": *e-piš-mu* I 16, 73, 76, II 40, *e-p[iš-m]U* R 26, *e-piš-ú-a* V 112, *e-piš-ú-[a]* V 86, *e-pi-šu-tu-u-a* VI 87, *e-pi-šu-u-a* VI 86, *e-pi-šu-ú-a* III 62, R 84,
ep̄ru "dust": SAHAR.HI.A I 133, II 188, VI 54, VII 111, R 149, see also *eperu*,
epšetu "deed, act, ritual, black magic": *ep-še-et* VII 101, 102, *ep-še-te-ki* VII 72, R 148, *ep-še-te-ku-nu* V 75, *ep-še-ti-ki* VII 101, 108, *ep-še-ti-šú-nu* VII 15, *ep-še-tu-šá* I 34,
erēbu "to enter": *e-reb* IV 137, *KU₄-ma* R 94, *KU₄.MEŠ-ni* VII 13, *li-te-ru-ba-a-ma* II 156, *te-ru-ub* IV 2, *ter-ru-ba-ni* V 128, *ter-ru-bi* III 24,
erēb šamši "sunset, west": UTU.ŠÚ.A I 44, *e-reb-UTU-ši* I 45,
erēnu "cedar": GIŠ.EREN IV 36, R 23, 41, GI[Š.EREN R 28, GIŠ.EREN.KA]M II 226,
erpetu "cloud": IM.DIRI-ki VII 5, IM].DIRI-ki VI 50,
eršetu "earth, ground": *KI-tim* I 23, III 48, IV 47, 48, V 12, 15, VI 75, VII 25, VIII 123, *KI-tum* I 37, III 148, *KI-tum-ma* I 37, [*KI-tum*] R 19, *KI-tu₄-um-ma* R 19,
šaplû "lower": *KI-tum* I 37, III 148, R 19,
eršu "bed": GIŠ.NÁ R 114, 116, 117, 118, GI[Š.N]Á R 136, GIŠ.NÁ.MU VI 132, 133, 140, VII 157, 159,
ēru "magic wand, cornel": *e-ra* I 46, III 20, 21, see also *e'ru*,
ēru "to be awake": *e-re-ta* VI 10,
ešemtu "bone": GİR.PAD.DU VI 5,
ešēnu "to smell": *iš-ši-nu* II 10, VI 122,
ešensēru "backbone": GÚ.SIG₄.MU I 98,
ešēru "to draw": *HUR-ir* R 136, *e-šir* VII 63, *te-eš-šir* R 93, 141, *te-eš-š[ir]* R 145, *te-šir* R 22, *uš-šu-ra-ku* III 177,
ešer "ten": 10 V 48,
ešēru "to be or go straight; (Š) to keep in order, set aright": *li-šir* III 124, *lu-ši-ir* II 95, *šu-te-šir* R 135, *tuš-te-eš-šer* II 128, *tu-uš-te-eš-šer* II 80,
eššebû "an ecstatic with evil magical powers": *eš-še-ba-a-ti* IV 133, VIII 99, *eš-še-bu* VII 143, *LÚ.eš-ša-bé-e* VII 88, *LÚ.eš-še-bu-u* IV 90, *LÚ.eš-še-bu-ú* VII 92,
eššebûtu "female ecstatic": *eš-še-bu-ti* III 41, *eš-še-bu-tum* VI 18,
ešû "confused, blurred": *e-ša-a-ti* II 80,
etēqu "to pass through, move on": *e-te-qu* I 133, V 42, *li-ti-qu-ši* V 41, *te-et-ti-qa-ni* V 126,
ețemmu "ghost": *e-țēm-mu* I 136, VIII 75, *GIDIM* II 53, III 143, IV 16, 17, 18, 19, V 62, VI 141, *GIDIM.MEŠ* II 211,
ețēru "to save, rescue": *te-eț-tir* II 12,
ețlu "young man": *eț-lu* III 157, *GURUŠ* III 8, 11, VIII 54, *G]URUŠ* VI 46, *GURUŠ.MEŠ* III 51,

VIII 119, LÚ.GURUŠ.MEŠ VII 84, 85,
eṭū “to be dark; (D) to darken”: *e-ṭi-i* II 184,
ūt-ṭa-a VIII 42,
ezzu “angry”: *ez-ze-tu-nu* V 132, R 85, *ez-ze-tū*
 II 157, *ez-zu* I 117, II 106, 122, 134, 141, 218, III
 30, 169, IV 147, *ez-zu* V 84,
gallābu “barber”: *gal-la-ab* V 79,
gallū “demon”: GAL₅.LÁ II 53, V 63, VIII 76,
 GAL₅.LÁ-*a-a* V 142, R 86,
gamālu “to act kindly, oblige, spare”: *ag-mil-ki*
 VII 71, *tag-mil-in-ni* VII 71, *ta-ga-mil* II 12,
gamāru “to finish; (D) to annihilate, use up”:
gúm-mi-ra-ni VII 173,
gamlu “curved staff”: GIŠ.gam-li-MU R 178,
 GIŠ.ZUBI VII 49,
gapāšu “to be huge, mighty”: *gap-šá-tu-nu* V
 133,
garāšu see *karāšu*,
gašāšu “to rage, gnash teeth”: *gaš-ša-tu-nu* V
 132, *mu-ga-ši-ša-at* VI 142,
gaššu “gypsum”: IM.BABBAR II 182, R 39, 158,
 IM.BA[BBAR] R 24, I]M.BABBAR R 21,
gašru “strong”: *gaš-ru* II 7, 127, R 36,
gattu “form, stature”: *gat-ta-ki* VII 65, *gat-ti*
 VII 57, *ga-at-ti* VIII 130,
gerū “to quarrel; (Dtn) to keep picking a fight
 with”: *tug-dan-na-re-en-ni* R 56, *tug-da-nar-re-ni*
 III 136,
gērū “adversary”: *ge-ra-a-a* V 143,
gilittu “fright”: *gi-lit-tum* VII 127, *gi-lit-tú* V
 71, 72,
gimillu “act of kindness”: *gi-mil* VII 71, *gi-mil-*
li-ia II 103,
gimru “total”: *g[i-m]ir* II 21,
gisallu “reed fence or screen”: *gi-sa[l-le-e]* R 60,
gišimmaru “date palm”: [G]IŠ.GIŠIMMAR I 22,
gišparru “trap”: *giš-par-ri* III 160,
gitmālu “perfect”: *gít-ma-lu* II 19, VI 2, R 33,
gít-ma-lu₄ II 122,
gizillū “torch”: GI.ZI.LÁ I 125, R 10, 12, 28,
 [GI.ZI.LÁ R 9,
gulgullu “skull”: *gul-gul-la-ti* IV 15, 29,
ha’attu “panic, terror”: *ha-a-a-ta-ku-nu* I 143,
 V 148,
habālu “to oppress, wrong”: *ah-hab-bil* I 95, II
 99, *mu-[hab-bi-lat]* VIII 109,
habbātu “plunderer”: *hab-ba-ta* II 121,
habbiltu “oppressor (f.)”: *hab-bil-ti* II 129, *ha-*
bil-ti IV 88,
habbilu “oppressor, wrongdoer”: *ha-bil-ki* III
 29, *ha-bil-k[i]* III 19, *ha-bi-lat* VIII 119, [*ha-bi-*
lat VIII 109,
hablu “wronged”: *hab-li* II 129,
habū “to draw water”: *ih-bu-nik-ku-nu-ši* V
 103, *tah-ba-a* IV 49, *tah-bi-i* V 8,
hahū “slag”: *ha-ha-a* III 114, 115a, R 51,
haiāṭitu “female spy”: *ha-a-a-ṭi-tum* III 4, 46,
halāpu “to clothe”: *ah-h[a-lip]* VI 106,
halāqu “to disappear; (D) to cause to be lost,
 destroy”: *hi-il-qa* V 159, 165, *hul-lu-qa* I 34,
mu-hal-liq I 111, II 144, *uh-tal-l[i-q]* V 143,
ú-hal-laq IV 111, 113, VI 50, VII 5, *ú-hal-la[q]*
 V 80,
hālu “to become liquid, dissolve”: *hu-la* I 140,
 V 145, R 87, *i-hu-lu* II 147, *li-hu-lu* II 148, III
 75,

haluppu “oak”: Ú.HA.LU.ÚB VI 102,
hamāmu “to gather, collect”: *ha-mi-ma-[at]*
 VIII 116, *hu-um-mu-mi* III 37,
hamātu “to glow; (D) to make glow, heat,
 scorch”: *hu-um-m[i-ṭi]* II 223, [*li-i*]h-mu-*uṭ* II
 218, *li-ih-muṭ* III 30, 164,
hamšu “fifth”: 5.KÁM.MA V 177,
hanṭiš “quickly”: *ha-an-ṭiš* II 16, 224,
hapāpu “to break up, smash”: *tu-hap-pi-pi-in-ni*
 III 105,
harbu “uninhabited wasteland”: *har-bi* IV 19,
hargullu “muzzle”: *har-gul-li* I 54, *har-gul-lu*
 VII 10,
harrānu “road, way, journey”: *har-ra-an* III
 29, *har-ra-na* VII 147, *har-ra-ni* VII 160, *har-ra-*
nu I 67, KASKAL-*ka* R 135, KASKAL-*ki* III 143,
hāru “to choose, espouse to”: *i-hi-ru-in-ni* I
 107, *ta-hi-ra* IV 25, *ta-hi-ra-in-ni* IV 14, 51,
hasāsu “to remember”: *ha-sis* II 12,
hasisu “ear, understanding”: *ha-si-si-ia* I 101a,
hašbattu “small pot, sherd”: ŠIKA-*ta* R 70, ŠIKA-
tú III 136,
hašbu (a container of earthenware, “pot”):
 DUG.ŠIKA R 163, *ha-aš-ba* I 46, ŠIKA III 153a, R
 56,
hašhūru “apple”: GIŠ.HAŠHUR VI 12,
hašū “lung”: *ha-še-ki* VIII 72,
hašū B “thyme”: Ú.HAR.HAR V 4, 49,
 Ú.HAR.H[AR] R 76, (Ú).[HAR.HAR R 71,
 Ú.HAR.HAR.SAR V 32,
hašū C “to chop”: *li-haš-šu-ši* V 32,
hatū “(D) to smite”: *ú-hat-tu-ú* II 68,
haṭtu “staff, sceptre”: GIŠ.PA I 66, V 40,
haṭū “faulty”: *ha-ṭu-ti* VII 119,
hāṭu “to watch over, scan, spy”: *i-hi-ṭa-a-ni* III
 134,
hegallu “prosperity”: HÉ.GÁL-šá VII 136,
hepū “to break, destroy”: *a-he-pe* VII 88, 89,
 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, GAZ-*a* VI 38, *he-pa-a* V 51,
li-ih-pi III 59, 85, *li-ih-pi* VIII 93, *tu-hap-pa-a*
 V 100, *ú-hap-pi* IV 112,
hesū “to cover, hide”: *li-ih-si-ku-nu-ši* V 152,
hidūtu “joy”: *hi-du-ti* I 12, VII 136,
himmatu “sweepings, clippings”: *hi-im-ma-ti*
 III 38a, R 44,
hinqu “constriction”: *hi-niq* VII 120,
hiritu “ditch, canal”: *hi-rit* II 190,
hiṭitu “crime, sin”: *hi-ṭa-ti-ku-nu* III 167,
huhāru “trap”: *hu-ha-ri* II 163, 174, III 157,
huluppaqqu (a small brazier): *hu-lu-paq-qa* III
 38, *hu-lu-up-paq-qí* R 22, 25, 69, *hu-lu-up-pa[q-*
qí R 31, *hu-lu-up-p]aq-qí* R 91, *hu-lu-u[p-paq-qí*
 R 67, NÍG.TAB.TUR.RA R 87, 89, NÍG.TA[B.T]UR.RA
 R 82,
humāmāti “sweepings”: *hu-ma-ma-ti-ši-na* III
 37,
hurbāšu “ague, dread, horror”: *hur-ba-as-sa*
 VIII 44, *hur-ba-šu* VIII 125,
hurhummatu “foam”: [h]ur-hu-um-mat VII
 171,
hušābu “piece, chip”: *hu-šab* R 65, 82, 147,
 168, [h]u-šab R 120, *hu-ša-bé-e-a* II 186, *hu-ša-*
bi-ši-na III 36,
hūšu “pain”: *hu-uš* V 71, 72, *hu-uš-šú* VII 126,
iaši see *aiaši*,
ibratu “female friend”: *ib-ra-tum* V 38,

ibru "comrade": *ib-ri* IV 70, *ib-ru* III 113, IV 81,
idu "arm, side; (pl.) arms, forces": *Á-ki* VIII 76, *Á.MEŠ-a-a* VI 4, *Á.MEŠ* VII 118, *Á.2-ki* III 96, *Á.2.MU* II 36, *i-da-a-ni* II 11, *i-da-a-a* IV 9, *i-di-ia* II 74,
idû "to know": *i-da-a* VIII 45, *i-da-a-a* VII 49, *i-de* I 39, II 208, *i-de]-e-ma* VI 155, *i-de-ma* VI 130, 138, 146, *i-de-šû-nu-ti* I 87, *ti-da-a* I 40, *ti-de-šû-nu-ti-ma* I 87, *ZU-e* VI 113, R 112, *ZU-e* VI 113,
igāru "wall": *É.GAR₈* IV 30, VI 32, *É.GA[R₈]* VI 55,
ihzu "knowledge, instruction": *ih-z[i]* VIII 41,
ijû "mine": *ia-û* VIII 138,
ikkibu "abomination, taboo": *ik-kib* V 74,
ikku "temper": *ik-ki-MU* I 79, II 43,
ilittu "offspring": *i-lit-ti* I 122, II 137, R 27,
illatu "confederation, troops": *ILLAT-ku-nu* III 165,
iltānu "north": *IM.SI.SÁ* VI 49, VII 4, *IM.[SI.SÁ]* V 79, *I[M.SI.SÁ]* VIII 51,
ilu "god": *DINGIR* I 109, II 30, 54, 82, 88, 90, 124, V 64, 69, 70, VI 2, 9, 12, 13, 122, 126, VII 16, 17, 128, *DINGIR.MEŠ* I 1, 13, 29, 36, 47, 55, 67, 144, II 1, 10, 20, 81, 98, 128, 138, 139, 140, 192, III 49, 135, IV 6, 49, 68, V 13, 16, 39, 173, VI 13, 77, 116, 117, 120, 150, VII 28, 30, 51, 62, 103, 110, 128, R 95, 134, *DINGIR.M[ÉŠ]* VII 128, *DINGIR.[MEŠ]* R 32, (*DINGIR*).(*MEŠ*) II 201, [*DINGIR.MEŠ* V 97, [*DINGIR.MEŠ* VII 128, *DINGIR.MU* I 6, II 101, III 16, 112, *D[INGIR.MU* II 29, *DINGIR-šû* II 13, 86,
ilūtu "divinity": *DINGIR-ti-ka* II 37, 70, 91, *DINGIR-ti-k[a]* II 28, *DINGIR-û-t[i]* VI 5,
imbāru "fog": *im-ba-ru* V 77,
imēru "donkey; homer, hectare": *ANŠE* V 42,
imhur-limu (a medicinal plant): *Ú.IGI-lim* VI 102, *Ú.IGI-lim* R 110,
imittu "right side; shoulder": *ZAG* VI 148, *15-ki* VI 68, *15-šû* R 173,
immeru "sheep": *im-mer-šá* VII 24, *UDU.NITÁ* I 69, V 41, *UDU.N[IT]Á* VII 120,
imtu "venom": *im-ti-šá* III 14, *i-mat-ka* III 21,
imtû "losses": *im-tu-u* VII 125,
ina "in": *ina* I 17, 25, 29, 36, 60, 72, 108, 118, 120, II 9, 10, 11, 12, 37, 70, 71, 72, 87, 88, 91, 123, 124, 130, 145, 170, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 193, 220, III 6, 7, 16, 17, 20, 23, 30a, 68, 69, 76, 82, 87, 124a, 126, 127, 128, 129, 135, a, 142, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, IV 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 49, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 78, 92, V 2, 10, 20, 22, 40, 42, 44, 45, 55, 68, 73, 96, 97, 105, 106, 108, 111, 116, 117, 118, 131, 157, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 175, VI 12, 13, 25, 35, 42, 45, 55, 76, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 104, 118, 119, 121, 122, 131, 133, 139, 140, 147, 148, 156, VII 3, 17, 18, 40, 41, 42, 43, 51, 66, 82, 83, 105, 106, 112, 113, 115, 117, 122, 150, 156, 157, 162, 171, VIII 12, 17, 37, 48, 49, 64, 74, 80, 102, 112, 128, 140, R 9, 10, 21, 28, 29, 30, 40, 43, 49, 52, 53, 55, 61, 62, 64, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 101, 113, 114, 116, 118, 121, 123, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 155, 162, 164, 166, 168, 172, 173, 176, *ina* VIII 11, *i[na]* VIII 53, (*ina*) III 101a, (*ina* III 88, [*ina* IV 47, 48, 63, VI 116, 156, VIII 41,

R 11, 25, 128, [*ina*] II 221, 222, VII 169, *i-na* III 10, 14, 15, 89, 90, 91, 117, 118, V 144, VIII 47, R 87, 138, [*i*]-*na* III 19,
inanna "now": *e-nen-na* II 37, 70, 91, *e-nen-na-ma* III 55, *e-nen-na-m[a]* VIII 61, *in-nin-na-ma* R 165,
inbu "fruit; attractiveness": *GURUN* IV 63, *i-ni-ib-šá* III 9, 12,
inu "eye": *IGI.2-ki* III 93, VII 97, *IGI.2-šá* VII 83, *IGI.[2].MU* II 33,
ipšu "act, deed, machination, witchcraft": *ip-še* VII 21, *ip-še-ku-nu* IV 4, *ip-ši* V 6, [*ip-ši* VII 151, *ip-ši-ia* V 3, *ip-ši-ki* III 57, VII 101, R 148, *ip-ši-šá* III 54, *ip-ši-ši-na* I 51,
irrû "colocynth(?)": *Ú.UKÚŠ.HAB* V 13, 16, *Ú.UKÚŠ.HAB.SAR* V 34,
irtu "breast": *GABA.MU* I 98, *GABA.M[U]* VI 7,
iššûru "bird": *MU[ŠEN]* IV 41,
išu "tree, wood": *GIŠ.MEŠ* II 142,
išû (mng. uncert.): *i-ša-a* II 156,
išātu "fire": *i-šat* II 220, *i-šá-tu* V 138, *i-šá-tum* III 22, 24, *izi* III 99, 187, VI 128, 136, R 30, 31, *iz[i]* R 9,
išdihu "prosperity": *iš-di-hi* III 15,
iškuru "wax": *DUH.LÁL* IV 37, R 27, 45, *DUH.LÁL* R 59, *DUH.LÁ[L]* R 24, *DUH.[L]ÁL* III 60a, *DU[H.LÁL]* III 187a,
ištāru "goddess": *U.DAR.MU* I 6, III 16, 112, *U.DAR-šû* II 13, *U.DAR.MU* II 29, *U.DAR-šû* II 86,
ištāritu (an impersonator of Ištar): *U.DAR-šû* III 44,
ištēn "first": *1.KAM* I 145,
ištēnā "one each": *1.TA.ĀM* R 171,
ištēniš "also, in addition": *1-niš* R 126,
ištēt "one": *1-et* I 44, 45,
išû "to have": *i-šu-u* IV 18,
itbāru "associate": *it-ba-ru* IV 82,
itguru "crossed, intertwined": *it-gu-ru-ti* II 38,
ittu "with": *it-ti-ia* I 109, *it-ti-ku-nu* I 2, KI VII 87, *KI-ia* III 112, 113, *KI.[MU]* I 100,
ittu "omen, sign": *GISKIM.MEŠ* VII 118, *it-ti* IV 26, 44, VII 77, 85, 130,
ittû "pitch": *ESIR* II 182, III 87a, R 24, 37, 39, 47, 50, *ESIR* R 46, *E[SIR]* IV 38, *E[SIR]* III 74, *ESIR.KAM* II 149,
kabāsu "to tread upon, trample": *ak-bu-us* V 142, R 86, *i-kab-ba-as* R 86, *tak-bu-si* III 91, *ta-kab-ba-si-in-ni* III 149, *ú-kab-bi-su* IV 33, VII 122, *ŠUHUB* R 4,
kabattu "mind, mood": *ka-bat-ta-ku-nu* V 119,
kabtu "heavy, weighty, honoured; important person": *DUGUD* V 171, *IDIM* I 109, IV 68, V 69, 70, VI 122, VII 16, 17,
kadibbidû "aphasia": *KA.DIB.BI.DA* I 90, IV 11, VIII 136, *KA.DIB.BI.DA-[a]* V 58, *KA.DIB.BI.DA-ki* VII 76,
kaiānu "constant": *ka-a-[a-ni]* II 201, *ka-a-a-nu* II 138, 192,
kainimakku "formula": *KA.INIM.MA* II 18, 76, 104, 135, 149, 204, III 38a, 153a, 187a, *KA.IN[IM.MA]* II 182, (*KA.INIM.MA* III 101a, [*KA.INIM.M*]A II 160, III 60a, [*KA.INI*]M.MA II 126, [*KA*].*INIM.MA* II 226, III 30a, [*K*]A.*INIM.MA* III 87a,
kakku "weapon": *GIŠ.TUKUL-šû-nu* IV 94,
kalāma "all, everything": *ka-la-a-ma* VI 65,

ka-la-ma II 20, *k]a-la-ma* R 104,
kalbatu “bitch”: NIG VIII 126, 127, R 174,
kalbu “dog”: UR.GI₇ IV 40, V 40, VIII 126,
 127, R 174, UR.GI₇.MEŠ V 44, 45,
kalitu “kidney”: BIR.MEŠ VI 150, BIR.MEŠ-ki III
 20, BIR.MEŠ-šá R 43,
kallatu “bride, daughter-in-law”: *kal-lat* VI 78,
kal-la-tum I 2, IV 93,
kalu “all”: DÛ R 50, DÛ] VIII 57, DÛ-ši-na VIII
 73, *kal* I 35, II 68, 69, III 46, IV 119, 120, V 98,
 99, VI 134, 144, 145, 153, 154, VII 160, VIII 85,
 13, *kal-ši-na* II 21, *ka-la* II 2, R 133, *ka-li-ši-na*
 I 51, II 25, VI 8, *ka-li-šú-nu* VII 9, *ka-lu* R 119,
kalû “to hold back”: *ak-la* I 50, R 21, *ak-li* I
 51, *ak-ta-li* I 50, *ka-lu-ú* I 22, *lik-la-ku-nu-ši* V
 150, *ta-ka-la* VI 138,
kamāsu “to squat, kneel”: *ak-mis* II 14, 89,
kamû “to bind”: *ak-ta-mi-ku-nu-ši* IV 74, *a-*
kām-mi-ku-nu-ši IV 7, *ka-ma-a-[ti]* VIII 90, *ta-*
kam-mu II 84,
kamû B “outer”: BAR-i R 92, 121
kāmû “one who binds”: *ka-mi-tum* III 49,
kanāku “to seal”: *tu-kan-ni-ki-in-ni* III 107,
kanānu “to twist, coil; (D) to make twisted,
 contorted”: *ú-kan-ni-in* VII 68, *ú-kan-ni-nu* VII
 61,
kapādu “to plan”: *ik-pu-du* V 114, *ik-pu-du-ni*
 I 139b, II 118, *lik-pu-đu-šú-nu-ti* II 125, *tak-pu-*
da-ni] V 91, *tak-pu-[d]ím-ma* III 27, *tu-šá-ak-pi-*
[d]ím-ma III 28,
kapālu “to roll up”: *a-kap-pil-šu-nu-ti* II 173,
ka-pa-li-ia II 162,
kapāpu “to bend, subdue”: *ik-pu-pu* I 98,
kapātu see *kupputu*,
kāpu “rock, cliff”: *ka-a-pi* II 164, 175,
karābu “to bless”: *[k]u-rab* R 135,
karāku “to gather”: *ta-kar-rik* III 153a, *ta-kar-*
rik] R 64, 65, *t]a-ka[r]-r[ik]* R 57,
karānu “wine”: G[E]ŠTIN IV 64,
karāšu “to pinch off (clay)”: *ag-da-ri-iš* III 17,
ik-ri-šu-ú-ni II 190,
karātu “to strike, hit”: *i-kar-rit* R 168, *i-kar-*
[rit] R 147,
kāru “quay, port, harbour, trade colony”: *ka-a-*
ri II 189, *ka-a-ru* I 50, VII 8, *ka-a-r[u]* VIII 38,
ka-r[a] V 100,
kasû “to bind”: *ak-ta-si* III 97, *ak-ta-si-ku-nu-ši*
 IV 74, *a-kàs-si-ku-nu-ši* IV 7, *ik-su-ú* I 101, *li-ik-*
su-ši V 31, *tu-kàs-sa-a* V 90, *tu-ka-si-in-ni* III
 110, *ú-kàs-su-u* VII 61, *ú-kàs-si* VII 67,
kasû B (a garden herb, perhaps “common beet”):
 Ú.GAZI.SAR V 31,
kāsû “one who binds, binder”: *ka-si-i* IV 8, 75,
 106, 122, *ka-si-tum* III 50,
kašāru “to bind, organize”: *ik-šu-ra-am-ma* V
 78, *ka-aš-rat* I 28, *lik-ka-šir* VII 112, *lik-ka-š[ir]*
 VII 105, *tak-šu-ra-ni* V 91, *tu-kàš-ši-ra* R 81,
tu-kàš-ši-r[a] V 89, *uk-[t]a-aš-ša-ru* V 14, *ú-kàš-šir*
 V 11, KEŠDA R 67, KEŠDA] R 62, KEŠDA-m]a R 69
kašāšu “(Dt) to grind, grate”: *lik-ta-aš-ší-šú* I
 119,
kašāšu B “rain”: *ka-ša-a-šu* II 154,
kašû “(to become) cold, cool”: *ka-šu-ti* VIII 66,
lik-ši] V 107, *tak-ša-a* V 105, 106,
kāša “you”: *ka-a-šá* I 125, II 93, *ka-šá* I 28,
kašādu “to reach, conquer, vanquish”: *a-kaš-*

šad VIII 25, R 160, *a-kaš-ša[d]* VIII 24, *ik-šu-*
da-in-ni V 9, *[i]k-šu-da-in-ni* V 130, *ik-šu-du* II
 222, *it-ta-nak-šá-da* III 139, *i-kaš-šá-dam-ma* R
 8, *ka-šid* I 95, II 99, *ka-ši-du* IV 8, 75, 122,
k[a-ši-d]u IV 106, *ku-šu-ud* II 146, *ku-šu-us-si* II
 203, *ku-šu-us-su-nu-ti* II 114, KUR-si-na-a-ti IV
 144, KUR-su-nu-ti-ma I 95, II 99, *lik-šu-us-su-nu-ti*
 I 117, *lik-šu-ud-ki* III 26, *lik-šu-us-su-nu-ti* II
 134, *lu-uk-šu-ud* VII 165, *ta-kaš-šad* II 85,
kašāpu “to bewitch”: *ik-kaš-šip* VI 81, *ik-šip-*
an-ni I 126, *ki-šip-ši* I 127, *ki-šip-šú* I 126, *tak-*
šip-an-ni I 127, *tu-kaš-ši-pi-in-ni* III 104, *ú-kaš-*
šip-an-ni I 4, VI 52, VII 143, R 102, *ú-kaš-ši-*
pa-niš-ši-ma VI 81,
kāši “to you, for you, you”: *ak-ka-a-ši* VII 99,
ka-a-ši III 60, VII 152, 161, *[ka-a-ši]* VIII 95,
kaššāpu “sorceress”: *kaš-šap-a-ti* VIII 98, *kaš-*
šap-ti II 15, 109, 132, VII 17, *ka]š-šap-ti-ia* IV
 95, *kaš-šap-t[i-MU]* VIII 33, *kaš-šap-tú* VIII 65,
[kaš-šap-t]ú VIII 20, *kaš-šá-pat* IV 123, 124, R
 70, *kaš-šá-pa-tu-ú-a]* V 87, *kaš-šá-pa-tu-ú-[a]* V
 113, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU I 4, 27, 110, 111, 115, 127, II 31,
 92, 110, 143, 144, 148, 181, 183, 197, 205, 227,
 III 1, 13, 39, 79, 88, 92, 100, 127, 138, 161, 182,
 186, IV 80, 85, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130,
 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, V 23, 40,
 48, 76, VI 47, 52, VII 2, 55, 81, 143, 168, VIII 35,
 57, 62, R 40, 41, 42, 45, 48, 65, 75, 78, 140, 141,
 142, 144, 146, 161, 166, 171, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU] V 85, R
 102, Mf.UŠ₁₁.Z[U] II 111, IV 149, VI 9,
 Mf.U[š₁₁.Z]U VI 151, [Mf.]U[š₁₁.Z]U II 223,
 Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ IV 8, 75, 106, 122, 138, V 56, VII
 81, 90, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ.MU I 41, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ-šá
 VI 79, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU I 15, 54, 62, 68, 75, II 39,
 196, III 70, 83, V 22, 51, VI 14, 28, 38, 113, 127,
 135, 143, 152, VII 12, 154, R 66, 100, 112, 115,
 118, 119, 122, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.M[U] II 16,
 Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.M]U VI 33, Mf.UŠ₁₁.ZU.(MU) III 17,
 Mf.UŠ₁₁.Z[U.MU] VI 17, M[f.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU V 107,
 M[f.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU] II 224, M]f.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU VI 40,
kaššāpu “sorcerer”: *kaš-šá-pi* II 15, 109, 132,
kaš-šá-pu-ú-a V 113, *kaš-šá-pu-[ú-a]* V 87, *kaš-*
šap-MU VIII 33, LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU I 110, 111, 115, 126,
 II 110, 111, 144, 148, 181, III 127, 161, 186, IV
 140, 141, 149, V 85, VI 9, VII 168, R 144, 146,
 171, L]Ú.UŠ₁₁.ZU IV 85, [L]Ú.UŠ₁₁.ZU II 92,
 LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MEŠ VII 89, LÚ.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU I 15, 54,
 62, 75, II 16, 39, 196, 224, III 70, V 22, 51, 107,
 VI 14, 38, VII 12, 154, L]Ú.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU VI 28,
 [LÚ]Ú.UŠ₁₁.Z[U.MU] I 68, UŠ₁₁.ZU II 143,
kaššāpūtu “sorcery”: *kaš-šá-pu-ti* I 103, 104,
kāšunu “you”: *ka-a-šú-nu* I 48, V 70, 72,
katāmu “to cover, overwhelm”: *a-kāt-tam* III
 140, *a-kāt-tam-šu-nu-ti* II 176, DUL-a[m] R 87,
ik-tu-mu III 160, *kāt-ma-ni* III 78, *ka-ta-me-ia* II
 165, *lik-tum-ku-nu-ši* II 157, V 149, R 88, *li-ik-*
tu-mu-ši V 33, *li-kāt-tim-ku-nu-ši* V 155, *ú-kāt-*
ti-mu III 158,
kāti “you”: *ka-a-ta* II 82,
keš (mng. unkn.): *ke-e-eš* II 150, *ke-eš* R 38,
kī “when, as, if”: *ki-i* VI 88, 89,
kibrītu “sulphur”: KI.A.^dīd III 82, V 73, VI 69,
 78, 82, 83, 85, 98, 101, 17, R 9, 30, 47, 77, 105,
 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, KI.A.^dīd] R 33,
 KI.A.^d[D] VI 103, R 106, KI.A.^d[d] R 105,
 KI.(A).^dīd III 87a, KI.A.^dīd.KÁM II 76,

KL.A.^dÍD.LÚ.RU.GÚ II 71,

kibsu "track, trail, path": *kib-si* V 41, *kib-si-ki* III 142, *kib-si-[ki]* III 141, *ki-bi-is* III 91,

kidinnu "protection": *ki-din-nu* VI 131, 139, 147, 156,

kidiš (mng. unkn.): *ki-de-eš* II 150, R 38,

kidu "outside, countryside": *ki-di* IV 20,

kima "as, like": GIM I 48, II 31, 147, III 76, 87, 122, 157, 158, 159, 160, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, IV 151, V 24, 40, 54, 76, 106, VI 49, 61, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 101, 102, 26, VII 155, 174, G[IM] III 156, (GIM) VII 51, [GIM VIII 107, [G]IM VII 52, *ki-ma* I 25, 26, 32, 33, 94, 113, 118, 119, II 23, 107, 130, 155, 156, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, III 68, 69, 82, 100, 167, 168, V 14, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 41, 42, 47, 53, 79, 161, VI 30, 31, VII 3, 4, 23, R 78, *ki-m[a]* III 74, *k[i-ma]* VI 32, *[k]i-ma* II 163,

kimahhu "tomb": KI.MAH IV 28, K[IM].MAH IV 46,

kimtu "kin": *kim-ti-ia* IV 16,

kinātu "colleague, relative": *ki-na-at-ti* IV 70, *ki-na-at-tu* III 113,

kinšu "knee": *kin-ša-a-a* VI 8, *kin-ši* R 50, *kin-[ši]* III 115a,

kinu "reliable, firm, true": *ki-nim* I 121,

kinūnu "hearth": KI.NE IV 23,

kipdu "plan": *kip-di* V 124, 141, *ki-[pid]* V 91,

kirbānu "clod of earth, lump": *kir-ban-ni* V 40, LAG R 113,

kirru (a large storage jar for oil and corn, "pi-
thos"): DU[G].KÍR R 15,

kišru "cohort; knot": *ki-iš-ri-ki* VII 107, *ki-iš-ru-šá* I 34, *ki-šir* V 91, KA.KEŠDA R 67, KA.K[E]ŠDA R 69, KA.KEŠDA.MEŠ-*ki* R 149, KEŠDA VI 33,

kišādu "neck": GÚ.MU I 97, II 32, VI 3,

kišpū "sorcery": *kiš-pi* I 33, 88, 126, 127, II 117, III 83, IV 113, V 12, 15, VI 82, 123, VII 28, 52a, 129, 138, VIII 108, R 170, *kiš-p[i]* VIII 80, *kiš-p[i]* II 87, *kiš-[pi]* I 139a, *k[iš-pi]* IV 111, *k[iš-pi]* VIII 133, *kiš-pi-ia* V 117, VI 125, *kiš-pi-ki* V 5, 81, VI 21, 23, 44, 134, VII 6, 72, 161, VIII 74, *kiš-pi-ku-nu* III 170, IV 6, 77, V 123, VIII 106, *kiš-pi-šá* I 29, II 200, III 86, VI 30, VIII 49, 64, *kiš-pi-[šá]* VIII 58, *kiš-pi-šá* VI 29, *k[iš-pi-šá]* VII 2, *kiš-pi-ši-na* VIII 98, *kiš-pi-šu-nu* III 72, VIII 34, *kiš-pi-šú-nu* II 73, *kiš-pu-ki* III 151, *kiš-pu-ki* VI 118, *kiš-pu-ku-nu* V 129, *kiš-pu-šá* III 123, V 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 52, 53, VI 32, 63, VIII 22, 50, 59, 60, *kiš-[p]u-šá* I 20, *kiš-pu-ú-a* V 95,

kitpudu "well-planned": *kit-pu-du-ú-ti* II 200,

kitu "reed mat": *ki-i-ti* II 162, 173,

kū "yours": *ku-ú* VIII 138,

kubšu "cap, mitre": *kub-ši* R 50, SAGŠU III 115a,

kukru (an aromatic plant): ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR V 49, VI 34, 35, 43, 61, 67, VIII 47, R 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 158, ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR VI 24, ŠIM.G[ÚR.GÚR] R 97, Š[IM].G[ÚR.GÚR] R 96, [ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR VI 25, [Š]IM.GÚR.GÚR VI 22, R 76, ŠIM.GÚR.GÚR-*ma* VI 24, R 98, 99, Š[IM.GÚR].GÚR-*ma* VI 34,

kullatu "potter's clay": *kul-la-ti* III 17,

kullu "to hold; to steer": *li-kil-lu* II 213, VII 76,

kullumu "to show, display": *kul-lu-mu-in-ni* II 51,

kulmašitu (a hierodule): *kul-ma-ši-tum* III 44,

kulūlu "headband": *ku-lu-lu-šá* V 44, 45,

kummu "room, cella": *ku-um-mi-šá* II 195,

kunukku "seal": NA₄.KIŠIB III 100, R 49, NA₄.KI[ŠIB III 101a,

kupputu "to gather stones together": *tu-kap-pa-ti* VI 47,

kurgarrû (an emasculated devotee of Ištar): LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA.MEŠ VII 88, 91, LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA-*u* IV 89,

kursinnu "lower leg, fetlock": *kur-sin-ni* V 42,

kūru "depression, stupor": *ku-ru* VII 38, 125,

kurummatu "food offering": ŠUK VI 141,

kuspu "sesame paste": DUH.ŠE.GIŠ.Ī IV 37, R 38, DUH.ŠE.GIŠ.Ī R 24, DUH[.ŠE.GIŠ.Ī.KÁM] II 160,

kušsuru "well tied": KEŠDA.MEŠ R 149, *ku-uš-su-ru-ti* VII 107,

kušāpu "sorcerous material; sorceress(?)": *ku-šá-pa-ti-[i]a* IV 95, *ku-šá-pa-ti-MU* R 66, *ku-šá-pi-k[u-nu]* VIII 106,

kuširu "success, profit": *ku-ši-ru* VII 20,

kuttimmatu "female charcoal burner": *kut-tim-ma-tum* VI 17,

kuttumu "covered, veiled": *kut-tum-tum* I 2, *kut-tum-t[um]* IV 93,

kuzbu "charm": *ku-zu-ub-šá* III 10,

KI.UD.BA (mng. and reading unkn.): KI.UD.BA IV 23,

lā "not": *la* I 8, 18, 56, 57, 66, 70, 87, 94, 95, 139a, II 65, 69, 82, 99, 198, 199, 207, 212, 216, III 29, 52, 54, IV 18, 84, 94, V 14, 15, 116, 125, 126, 127, 128, 134, 135, VI 6, 10, 11, 41, 62, 99, 105, VII 53, 54, *l[a]* VIII 135, *lā* I 41, 71, 120, 121, II 117, III 153, V 17, 18, 168, 169, 170, VI 64, VII 39, 53, 116, 118, 119, 167, 175, 176,

la'mu "embers": *la-a'-me-ku-nu* V 110, 147, *la-a'-mi-ku-nu* I 142,

labāšu see *Labāšu*,

labāšu "to dress": MU₄.M[U₄ VI 107,

lahannu "bottle": DU[G].LA.H[A.A]N R 128,

lahru "ewe, flock (pl.)": UDU.lāh-r[i] VI 8, U₈ VII 24,

lām "before": *la-am* R 101, *l[a-am]* VI 45, *[la-am]* VI 46,

lamādu "to learn, to know": *il-mad-ka* VIII 139, *lim-da* I 14,

lamassatu "protective spirit": *la-mas-sat* VI 2,

lamassu "protective spirit": ^dLAMMA VII 56, VIII 130,

lamaštu (a child-afflicting demoness): *la-maš-tú* II 62, see also *Lamaštu*,

lamû "to surround, besiege": *al-ta-me* VI 132, *la-ma-a-ni* III 77, *la-man-ni* R 47, NIGIN-*mi* R 117,

lānu "body, figure": *la-an-ki* VII 64, *la-a-ni* VII 47, 56, R 80, 132, *[la-a-ni]* V 83, *la-ni-ia* IV 39, *la-ni-ki* VII 78, *la-ni-šá* III 123, *la-ni-šú-nu* III 73,

lapānu "to be poor": *la-pan-šá* VIII 41,

lapātu "to touch, affect": *li-la-ap-pit* II 159, *lu-up-pu-ta-ku-ma* II 87, *ta-lap-pa-tin-ni* III 150,

tu-lap-pa-tin-ni III 147, TAG.MEŠ R 129, *ú-lap-pa-tú* VII 155,
laptu “roasted barley”: *la-ap-ti* IV 23,
laqātu “to pick, pluck”: *al-qut* V 74, *il-qu-tu-ú-ni* IV 137, *la-qa-at* II 196, *lu-uq-qu-ti* III 36, *ú-la-q-qí-tu* II 186;
lardu “nard”: *la-ár-di* I 26,
le’ēbu “to infect, afflict”: *le-e’-bu-in-ni* VI 124,
le’ū “to be able”: *al-te’-i-ši-na-a-ti* VI 89, *i-le’-a-a-in-ni* VI 88, *i-le’-u-ú* III 65, 66, *le’-u-u* VII 50,
lemēnu “to be bad, evil”: *lem-né-tu-nu* V 133,
lemnu “bad, evil”: HUL.MEŠ III 152, VII 118, 119, VIII 137, HUL.MEŠ VII 52a, HUL.M[MEŠ] VIII 34, *lem-na-a-ti* R 169, *lem-na-ti* VIII 96, 100, *lem-na-ti* VIII 97, *lem-na-[ti]* VIII 101, *lem-né-e-te* VII 72, *lem-né-e-ti* I 18, VII 108, *lem-ni* I 95, II 99, V 142, *lem-nu* I 139, II 52, 53, 54, 65, 85, 146, VI 9, VII 104, 111, 116, 123, 167, *[lem-n]u* VIII 139, *lem-nu-ti* I 30, 88, 106, 112, II 73, 117, 143, 144a, III 170, VI 63, VII 129, 139, *[lem]-nu-ti* I 139a, *lem-nu-ti-ia* I 116, II 133,
lemuttu “evil, misfortune”: HUL-tim II 125, IV 114, V 13, 17, 18, 114, VII 12, 52, 54, 105, 112, 174, 176, HUL-[tim] VII 109, H[UL-tim] VIII 79, HUL-tim-ia R 8, 48, HUL]-tim-ki VIII 69, HUL-tim-MU I 32, II 50, III 88, *le-mut-ta* VI 48, *le-mut-te* I 27, *le-mut-ti* I 89, II 66, 118, 206, 213, VII 74, *le-mut-ti* I 139b, MÍ.HUL IV 10, MÍ.HU[L] VII 123,
leqū “to take”: *a-leq-qa-kim-ma* III 114, *il-qé* III 10, *il-qu-ú* I 132, VI 55, *šu-ul-qí* II 119,
lētu “cheek”: *le-et* I 62, *le-et-ki* VII 96, *[le-e]t-ki* II 217, TE-sa V 25, VI 58,
lī’bu (a serious disease with associated fever): *li-i’-bu* II 57,
libbu “heart”: ŠA III 30a, R 29, 31, 69, 141, 145, 149, 163, 164, 172, ŠA R 67, ŠA-ba-ki III 145, ŠA-ba-ku-nu V 109, 118, ŠA-ba-šá III 85, ŠA-bi I 99, 100, V 71, 72, 107, VI 150, VII 126, 164, VIII 29, 31, R 82, 176, ŠA-bi-ia V 141, ŠA-bi-ki III 19, ŠA-bi-ku-nu V 120, 124, 141, ŠA-bi-MU I 99, ŠA-bi-šá III 89, 124a, 127, 128, 129, VI 33, VIII 67, R 43, ŠA-bi-šá) III 88, ŠA-b[i-š]á II 221, ŠA-[bi-šá] R 53, ŠA-[b]i-šá II 220, ŠA-ki VIII 73, 74, ŠA-ku-nu V 114, ŠA-šá R 49, 166, ŠA-šá) III 135a,
libiš (mng. unkn.): *li-bi-iš* II 150,
libittu “brick”: SIG₄ V 2,
lilāti “evening”: *li-la-a-ti* III 38,
lilissu “kettledrum”: *li-li-si* II 31,
lilitu “Lilith”: MÍ.LÍL.LÁ I 138, II 56, V 67, MÍ.MIN V 67,
lillūtu “foolishness, idiocy, weakness”: *lil-lu-ta* VII 98,
lilū (a demon): LÚ.LÍL.LÁ I 138, II 56, V 67, LÚ.MIN V 67,
liptu “ritual act (in *lipit qāti*)”: TAG VII 120,
lipū “fat, tallow”: I.UDU I 31, 32, II 204, III 19, 30a, 38a, 153a, IV 36, VI 60, R 9, 24, 27, 40, 43, 44, 58, 63, 66, 13, I.UDU] R 32, I.U[DU] R 65, I.[UDU] R 57, [I.UDU] R 64, I.UDU.KÁM* II 18, *li-pa-ki* II 189,
lirundi (mng. unkn., probably the goddess Narunde): *li-ru-un-(di)* II 153,
lišānu “tongue”: EME IV 92, VIII 102, EME-ki

III 92, VII 96, 105, 112, [EME-k]i II 216, EME-šá I 28, 31,
lišu “dough”: NÍG.LAG.GÁ III 135a, IV 38, R 55, 86, 172, NÍG.LAG.[GÁ R 55, NÍG.L[AG.GÁ] R 35, NÍG.LAG.GÁ III 135a, NÍG.LAG.GÁ.KÁM II 126, NÍG.((ŠE)).LAG.GÁ R 25,
lū “let, may, be it”: *lu* I 20, III 76, 87, V 171, 172, VI 12, 60, 127, 135, R 115, 118, *lu-u* II 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, III 121, IV 36, 37, 38, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 91, 150, V 6, 7, 8, 157, 175, VI 60, VII 20, VIII 20, 21, 22, 59, 60, *lu-u* IV 38, *lu-[u]* IV 87, *lu]-u* VIII 23, *[lu-u]* II 65, *[lu-u]* IV 87, 90, *[lu-u]* IV 90, *[lu-u]* II 52, IV 85, 92, *[lu]-u* IV 85, *lu-ú* I 31, II 56, IV 88, VI 10, 11,
lu’ū “dirty; to defile, soil”: *lu’-u-ti* I 105, *tu-la-i-in-ni* III 111,
lu’tu “debility”: *lu-u’-tú* I 102,
lubāru “cloth, garment”: TÚG.HI.A.MEŠ VI 60, R 103,
luhummu “mud”: *lu-hu-um-me-ku-nu* III 168,
lulimu “stag”: *lu-li-mu* IV 148,
lumnu “bad luck, ill fate, evil”: HUL V 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, VII 118, 119, VIII 137, HUL-ku-nu V 161, HUL.MU I 86, II 50, *lum-ni* II 84, *lum-nu* VII 27, 129,
mahāhu “to dissolve”: *a-mah-ha-ah* III 115, *ta-mah-ha-ah-ma* R 52, *[a-mah-ha-ah-ma]* III 115b,
mahāru “to accept, receive; to turn to, implore; (Š) to cause to ‘ace (hardship)”: *am-hur* VII 79a, 135, *im-hu-ru* VII 25, *lim-hur-an-ni* VII 79, 134, 144, *lim-hu-ru-in-ni* VII 79a, 135, *li-šam-hir-ki* III 60, VIII 95, *ma-hi-rat* I 22, *muh-ri-in-ni-ma* VI 126, *mu-hur* VII 142, *tam-hur* VIII 133, *tam-h[ur]* VIII 133, *tu-šam-hir-in-ni* VII 70, *ú-šam-hir-ki* VII 70,
mahāšu “to strike, hit”: *am-ha-[aš]* VIII 71, *a-mah-haš* III 144, VII 96, *lim-haš* V 25, *lim-haš-k[i]* VIII 75, *lim-ha-šu-ši* I 29, *li-im-haš* II 217, *mah-š[a]* VI 14, *[mah-ša]* VI 58,
māhāzu “cult centre”: *ma-ha-zi* II 3,
mahirtu “upstream”: *ma-hir-ti* VIII 23,
mahirtu “substitute”: *ma-hir-ta* VII 79, *ma-hir-tum* VII 134,
mahru “front; before”: *mah-ri* V 144, *mah-ri-ka* II 88, *mah-ri-ku-nu* I 25, *ma-har* II 37, 70, V 20, *ma-ha[r]* VII 63, *ma-har-ka* II 87, 100, *ma-h[a]r-ka* II 93,
mākalū “food”: *ma-ka-le-e* VI 120,
makkūru “property”: *ma-ak-kur-šu-nu* II 119,
makurru “deep-going boat”: GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ III 122, 124a, R 53, GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ III 135a, [GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈ R 55, GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-ia R 54, GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈.MU III 125, GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-šá III 121, GIŠ.MÁ.GUR₈-šu-nu III 130,
mala “everything that”: *ma-la* II 196, III 60, VI 39, 74, 75, VII 100, VIII 52, R 125, *ma-la]* VI 51, *ma-[la]* VIII 94,
malā’u “to remove, tear out”: *im-lu’-u* II 183, R 40,
malāku “to advise, counsel”: *i-ma-li]k-šú* VIII 55, *i-ma-li-ku-šú* VIII 56,
malāsu “to pluck out”: *im-lu-su* I 132,
māliku “counselor”: *ma-lik* I 144, II 1, R 32, *ma-li-ku* II 6,

maluku "king": *ma-al-ki* II 128, VI 20,
mallāhu "boatman, pilot": LÚ.MÁ.LAH₄ VII 9,
malû "to be full; (D) to fill": *im-ta-l[a]* VIII 97,
im-ta-na-al-lu-ú I 9, *lim-la* VII 104, 111, *l[im-lu-u]* VIII 50, *l[i-im-lu-u]* VIII 107, *ma-la-a* I 35,
ma-la-a-ta I 23, 24, *ma-la-ti* V 50, *ma-lu-ú* R 61,
mul-li-ia II 168, SA₅-*ma* R 175, *ú-mál-lu-in-ni* I 102, *ú-ma-al-la* VII 97, *ú-ma-al-la-šú-nu-ti* II 179,
māmitu "oath": *ma-mit* V 68, VII 128, 140,
ma-mi-ti-ku-nu I 38, SAG.BA R 137,
mamma "anyone": *mam-ma* III 54, VI 99,
mamman "anybody": *mam-ma-an* VIII 139,
ma-am-man II 82,
manāhtu "resting place": *ma-na-ha-[t]i-šú-nu* II 121,
manānu "sinews": *ma-na-ni-ia* VII 61, *ma-na-ni-ki* VII 68,
mangu (a disease): *man-gu* I 102,
mannu "who?": *man-ni* IV 3, *man-nu* I 53, IV 107, 108, V 11, 13, 134, 135, VI 82, R 67, 72,
man-n[u] R 67, *m[an-nu]* IV 107,
manû "to count, recite, deliver to": ŠID-*ma* R 17, 113, 178, ŠID-*nu-ma* R 90, 92, 116, 118, 120, 123, 133a, 173, ŠID-*nu-ma* R 135, ŠID-*nu* R 6, 26, 126, ŠID-*nu* R 140, ŠI[D-*nu*] R 95, [ŠID-*nu*] R 137,
manzāt "rainbow": *TIR.AN.NA VII 3, *TI[R.AN.N]A IV 110, *T[IR.AN].NA IV 112, **man-za-āt* R 127, *man-za-āt* VI 159, VII 1,
manzāzu "courtier": *man-za-zi* IV 69,
maqātu "to fall": *lim-qt* II 212, V 156, VIII 120, *lim-qu-tú* VIII 125,
maqlû "burning": *ma-aq-la-a* R 94, *ma-aq-lu-u* I 145, VIII 142, *ma-aq-[lu-u]* VI 160, *ma-aq-lu-ú* III 189, IV 153, VII 179, *ma-aq-lu-[ú]* R 1, *ma-aq-lu-[ú]* R 180, *ma-a[q-lu]-ú* V 177, *ma-a[q-l]u-ú* II 228,
marāšu "to be ill, painful; (D) to offend, hurt; (Š) to make sick": *am-ru-šu* I 7, *mu-ru-ša-ku-ma* II 89, *t[u-ša]m-ri-ša-in-ni* IV 73,
markasu "rope, cable, bond": *mar-kàs-sa* III 131,
maršu "sick person, patient": LÚ.GIG R 4, 128, [LÚ.G]IG R 3,
martû (a hard tree): GIŠ.*mar-te-e* I 66,
mārtu "daughter": DUMU.MÍ I 67, II 62, 219, IV 3, 42, 71, 136, V 13, VI 69, 78, 117, R 106, DU[MU.MÍ] V 16, D[UMU.M]Í R 105, DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ III 31, 32, 63, R 44, DUMU.MÍ.(MEŠ) VI 87, *ma-rat* IV 117, *mar-ti* VIII 28,
mār šipri "messenger": DUMU-šip-ri-šá VI 137,
māru "son": DUMU I 143, II 105, III 165, 179, IV 3, 6, 71, 78, 79, 83, V 148, VI 129, R 35, [DUMU VII 147, DUMU.MEŠ VII 9, 155,
masû "to wash": *am-si* VII 114, 170, R 156, *a[m-si]* R 150, LUH VII 141, R 148, 149, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 169, LUH-*si* R 147, 151, 159, 167, see also *mesû*,
mašhatu (a kind of flour): ZÌ.MAD.GÁ R 90, 93, 127, ZÌ.MAD.G[Á] R 21, Z[i].M[AD.G]Á R 79,
maššartu "watch, guard": EN.NUN.MEŠ I 30, *ma-šar-te* VI 150, *ma-šar-tú* VI 131, 139, 147, *ma-[šar]-tú* VI 156,
mašálu "to be like, resemble; (D) to make alike,

reflect": *ú-maš-šil* VII 66, *ú-maš-ši-lu* I 131, VII 59, *ú-maš-ši-lum* I 96,
maštakal (a medicinal plant): Ú.IN.NU.ÚŠ I 23, 46, III 173, VI 92, Ú.IN₆.ÚŠ VIII 48, R 97, 157,
mašû "to forget": *ta-maš-ši-i* III 145,
maštitu "drinking organ": *maš-ti-ti-MU* I 11,
mātu "land, country": KUR IV 92, 117, VI 45, 71, VIII 53, R 101, 162, KUR-*ia* III 68, 76, 87, KUR.MEŠ VI 25, 35, VIII 25, R 119, KUR.KUR VI 144, KUR.KUR V 98, KU[R].KUR VI 153, *ma-a-t[i]* V 49, *ma-ta-a-ti* I 51, II 21,
mātu "to die": *li-mut-ma* I 19, *li-mu-tu-ma* II 94,
maţû "to be(come) defective, lacking; (D) to reduce": *ú-maţ-tu-ú* I 11, *ú-šam]-tu-ú* I 101a,
mehû "storm": *me-he-e* V 52, VI 29, *me-hu-[u]* VIII 59,
mesû "to wash": *am-te-si* VII 170, R 156, LUH-*a* VII 162, VIII 46, 48, R 155, LUH-*ma* R 142, see also *masû*,
mešrēti "limbs": *meš-re-ti-ia* VII 61, *meš-re-ti-ki* VII 67, *meš-re-tu-u-a* VI 103,
mihirtu "appeal to, encounter with": *m[i-hir-ti]* VII 128,
mihru "adversity, mishap, encounter": *mi-hir* VII 70, *mi-ih-ru* VII 79a, 135,
milku "advice, counsel": *mi-lik-ku-nu* V 122,
milu "flood": A.KAL VII 171, ILLU-*ma* IV 151, *mi-li* III 117,
mimma "anything": *mim-ma* I 139, III 60, VI 51, VII 100, 116, 167, VIII 52, 94, 139, *mim-m[a]* II 65, [mim-*m]*a II 66, [m]im-*ma* VI 39,
mimmû "whatever": *mim-mu-ú* I 39, 41, VI 66, VII 20, *mim-mu-ù* I 40,
minitu "count, number, length": *mi-na-ti-ia* VII 60, *mi-na-ti-ka* VII 39, *mi-na-ti-ki* VII 67, ŠID R 30,
minu "what?": *am-me-ni* III 136, 137, 139, VI 20, 42, R 56,
miqtu "fall": *mi-qt* III 99,
mis pi "mouth washing (a ritual)": KA.LUH.Ú.D[A R 3,
mišlu "half": í V 48,
mitu "dead": LÚ.ÚŠ I 107, II 51, IV 14, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 44, 45, 46, 87,
miţu "low level, loss": *mi-ti* III 118,
mû "water": A.MEŠ I 11, 47, 104, 108, 118, II 168, 179, III 86, 99, IV 64, 65, 151, V 8, 96, 98, 101, 102, 110, 118, 138, VI 108, 112, VII 77, 103, 110, 115, 130, 171, 174, VIII 107, R 19, 52, 83, 94, 175, 179, A.MEŠ] VIII 66, A.M[EŠ] V 101, 109, A.MEŠ-*e-a* II 185, III 171, A.MEŠ-*ia* IV 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, [A.MEŠ-*ia* IV 46, A.MEŠ.MU VI 90,
mu'uru "to send": *ú-ma-'i-ra-an-ni* VII 62, *ú-ma-'i-r]*a-an-ni-*ma* VIII 7,
muddišu "renewer": *mu-ud-di-šu* II 3,
mūdû "knowledgeable": ZU-*u* IV 84, VI 99,
mugaššišu see *gašāšu*,
muhabbilu see *habālu*,
muhhu "skull, top; (up)on": *muh-ha-ki* III 144, *muh-hi* II 32, R 61, 167, *muh-h]*i R 11, *muh-hi-ki* VII 78, 100, *muh-hi-ku-n[u]* V 57, *m[uh-hi-ku-nu]* V 94, *muh-hi-šá* III 123, *muh-hi-šú-nu* III 73, UGU I 7, 29, II 89, 121, III 163, IV 73, VII 10, VIII 46, 49, R 26, 28, 89, 113, 114, 116, 118, 120, 123, 142, 146, 147, UGJU R 25, 151, UJGU VII 131,

[UGU VIII 124, UGU-ia II 31, UGU-ku-nu V 156, UGU-šá V 24, VIII 45, UGU-š[á] VIII 60, UGU-šú-nu III 67,

mukabbisu "trampling": *mu-kab-bi-sa* VII 50,

mukil rēš lemutti (an evil demon): *mu-kil-SAG-HUL-tim* II 63,

mukinnu "establisher, founder": *mu-kin* II 3,

mula "devourer (f.)": *mu-la-i-i-tum* III 47,

mulappittu "smeared (f.)": *mu-lap-pit-tum* III 48,

mullilu "purifier": *mu-lil* VII 30, *mu-ul-[lil]* VIII 48,

munammirtu "brightener": *mu-nam-me-rat* III 176,

munnahzu "flaring-up": *mun-na-ah-zu* II 191,

mupaššihu "pacifier": *mu-pa-āš-ši-ih* VII 31,

muppištu "slanderer (f.)": *mu-up-pi-še-ti-ki* VII 102,

muribbu "shaker, dislodger": *mu-ri-bat* R 170, *mu-ri-ba[t]* VIII 108,

murrušu see *marāšu*,

muršu "disease, illness": *GIG* VII 124,

murtappidu "roving": *mur-tap-pi-du* IV 18,

mūru "calf, foal": *mu-ur-šá* VII 24,

musātu "washwater, lavatory": *mu-sa-a-ti* II 168, 179, VII 77, 130, *m[u-sa-a-ti]* VIII 107,

mūšitu "night": *mu-ši-ti* I 1, 29, 36, *mu-ši-tum* I 2, IV 93,

mušlahhatu "female snake charmer": *MUŠ.LAH₅-tum* III 42, *MUŠ.LAH₄.LAH₄-at* IV 132,

mušlahhu "snake charmer": *MUŠ.LAH₅.MEŠ* VII 94,

muššultu "replica, representation": *muš-[šu-la-ti-š]á* IV 39,

muššuru "to let go, abandon": *ú-maš-šar-an-ni* II 69,

muštēmidu "one who brings into contact": *muš-[e-mi-d]u* VI 150,

muštēpištu "bewitcher, sorceress": *muš-te-piše-tu-ú-a* V 86, *muš-te-pišt-ta* R 71, *muš-te-pišt-ti* V 1, 26, 36, 43, VIII 63, *muš-te-pišt-ti-MU* I 16, 76, II 40, *[muš-t]e-pišt-ti* VIII 37, *muš-te-pišt-tu* I 130, *muš-te-pišt-tum* IV 152, VI 59, *muš-te-pišt-t[um]* III 146, *[muš-te-pišt-t]um* VI 55, *muš-te-pišt-tú* R 170, *m[uš-te-pišt-tú]* VIII 108,

mūšu "night": *GI₆* I 8, IV 119, 120, VIII 103, *mu-šá* II 67, V 81, VII 6, *mu-ši* I 30, II 69, III 45, *mu-š[i]* IV 49,

mūterribu "constant intruder": *mu-ter-rib-tum* III 2,

mutirru see *tāru*,

muttabbilu "constantly carrying, active": *mut-tab-bil-a-ti* II 36, *mut-tab-bi-la-a-ti* III 96,

muttalliku "constantly moving, movable": *mut-tal-lik-tu* III 1, *mut-tal-lik-t[um]* II 227, *mu-tal-lik-tum* R 42,

mūtu "death": *mu-ú-tum* III 91, *mu-ú-tú* III 80,

nabalkattu "retreat, revolt": *na-bal-kāt-ta-šú-nu* III 71, *na-bal-kāt-tum* V 21,

nabalkutu "to cross over, retreat, rebel, turn over, capsize": *ab-ba-lak-kit-su-nu-ti* II 178, *ib-ba-lak-ki-tu* III 122, *lib-bal-kit-si* V 37, 38, *lib-bal-ki-tu-ma* III 123, VII 15, *lib-bal-ki-tu-ši-ma* V 39, *liš-bal-kit* IV 6, *li-bal-ki-tu-ma* III 72, *na-bal-ku-ta-at-an-ni* VIII 63, *[na-bal-ku-ta-a-ti]*

VIII 91, *na-bal-ku-ti-ia* II 167, *tab-ba-lak-ki-ta-ni* V 127, *ta-at-ta-nab-lak-k[a]-t[a]* V 99, *ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti* VI 145, *[ta-a]t-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti* VI 154, *uš-ta-bal-ki-tu-ki* III 56,

nābalu "dry land": *na-ba-li* I 64,

nabāsu "red-dyed wool": *SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA* R 64, 65, 66, *SÍG.HÉ.M[E.D]A* III 153a, *SÍG.(na)-ba-š[i]* R 57,

nablu "flame, flash": *nab-l[u-šá]* II 222,

nabnitu "creation; appearance": *nab-nit-ki* VII 65, *nab-ni-[ti]* VII 58,

nabû "to name, call by name": *na-bi* II 19, *na-bu-u* II 65,

nadānu "to give": *at-ta-din-ku-nu-ši* IV 74, *a-nam-din* I 47, *a-nam-din-ku-nu-ši* IV 7, *di-i-ni* I 114, II 108, 131, *di-na* I 14, *di-ni* I 14, 17, 114, II 24, 78, 108, 131, *id-di-nu* VII 34, *id-di-nu-ki* III 58, *na-din* II 83, 139, *s[u]m-ka* II 181, *ta-ad-di-na* IV 50, *ta-da-an-nu* II 107, *ta-da-a-ni* II 129, *ta-din-nu* II 23, *ta-nam-din* II 81, R 174,

nadāru "to rage": *li-in-na-ad-ru* VIII 124,

naditu "nun": *LUKUR* III 43,

nadreš (mng. unkn.): *na-ad-re-eš* II 151,

nadû "to throw, cast, place, abandon; (Š) to make abandon": *ad-di* VII 26, *ad-di-ka* VII 36, *at-ta-di* III 23, 24, *a-nam-di* R 95, *i-di-i* I 54, 55, *i-di-ki* III 97, *lid-di-ki-ma* III 99, *lu-ud-di* III 187, *na-da-at* VII 11, *na-da-tu* VII 82, *na-du-ti* IV 19, *na-du-u* VII 10, *šub-a* IV 41, *šub-at* VI 77, *šub-di* R 31, 67, 69, *šub-di-ma* R 163, *šub-šú-ma* VII 45, *šub.šub-[di]* R 90, *šub.š[u]B-di* R 94, *š[u]B.š[u]B-d[i]* R 19, *ú-šad-di-ku-nu-ši* V 124,

nādu "waterskin": *KUŠ.A.EDIN.LÁ* I 118,

nagbu "spring source": *IDIM* V 118, 172, VII 115, *[DI]M* V 96,

naharmuṭu "to dissolve, melt; (Š) to cause to dissolve, destroy": *liš-har-miṭ* I 33, *muš-har-miṭ* II 141,

nahāru "to wither": *lit-tah-hi-ra* V 35, *ú-na-ha-ra* VI 134,

nāhu "to rest, relent; (D) to pacify": *i-nu-uh-hu* III 82, *li-ni-ih-ki-na-ši* IV 147, *li-ni-ih-ku-nu-ši* V 136, 151, *tu-na-ah* R 83, *ú-na-ah-ku-nu-ši* V 134, *ú-ni-ih* V 118,

nahundī (mng. unkn., probably the god Nahhunte): *na-hu-un-di-i* II 153,

nakāmu "to heap up, pile up": *tak-ki-mi* VII 6, *[ta]k-k[i-mi]* V 81, *ú-nak-ka-ma* VII 2,

nakāru "to be hostile": *KÚR-ru* I 120, *nak-rat-an-ni* VIII 62,

nakāsu "to cut": *na-kás* VI 46, VIII 54, *n[a-ká]s* VIII 134,

nakru "inimical; enemy": *KÚR-tum* IV 92,

nalšu "dew": *na-al-š[i]* V 77,

nālu "to lie down; (Š) to make lie down, lay": *tuš-ni-il-la* IV 31, 44, 45, *tuš-ni-i[l-la]* IV 27, *[uš-n]i-il-la* IV 26, *uš-ni-lu* I 108,

namāritu "dawn, third night-watch": *na-ma-ri-tum* I 3,

namāru "to be(come) bright, dawn; (D) to illuminate; (Š) to let shine, brighten": *it-tam-ra* R 153, *it-tam-r[a]* VII 145, *nam-ru* II 4, 124, III 61, 71, VII 29, R 46, *tuš-nam-mar* II 20, *[tu]š-nam-mar* II 21, *tu-uš-nam-mar* II 79, *ú-nam-mir-ka* I 125,

namirtu "brightness, light": *na-mir-ti* II 140,

namrāšu “difficulty”: *nam-ra-ša* II 51,
namru “bright, light”: *nam-ri* II 25, III 69,
namsû “washbowl, washing vat”: *nam-se-e* R 164, URUDU.*nam-se-e* R 141, 145, 149,
namû “pasture land, steppe”: *na-me-e* IV 20,
nanduru “raging, furious”: *na-an-du-ru* R 36,
na-an-du-r[u] II 127,
nanhuzu “flaring, burning”: *na-an-hu-za-at* II 220,
napāhu “to blow, ignite, light up; to rise”: *at-ta-pah* III 22, *a-[na]p-pah-kim-ma* VII 3, *ip-pu-hu* VI 128, *it-tap-ha* R 160, *it-ta]p-ha* VIII 24, MÜ-ah R 164, MÜ-ha VI 136, *nap-ha-tu-nu* VII 51, *nap-[h]u* VII 48, *na-pa-ah* VII 150, *na-[pa-ah* II 222, *tap-pu-ha* VII 178, VIII 1, R 157,
naparšudu “to escape, fly at(?)”: *[l]it-tap-ra-šá-du* VIII 60,
napāšu “to strike, smash”: *a-nap-pa-as-su-nu-ti* IV 103,
napištu “life”: *na-pišt-ta-šú-nu* II 224, *zi-šú-nu* II 16, *zi-tim* VI 20, VIII 134, *z]i-tim* VIII 110, *zi-tim-MU* I 108,
nappahu “bellows”: *nap-pa-ha-ti* IV 23,
napšaltu “ointment, salve”: *nap-šal-ti* I 106,
naptanu “meal”: *nap-tan* VI 121, *nap-ta-nu* II 9,
naqû “to sacrifice, libate”: *BAL-qí* VII 120,
narbû “greatness”: *nar-bi-ka* II 17, 75, 225,
narqû see *raqû*,
naršindatu “sorceress”: *nar-šin-da-at* IV 131, *nar-šin-da-tum* III 40, *nar-šin-da-tum* VI 19,
naršindû “sorcerer”: *LÚ.nar-šin-du-u* IV 90, *nar-šin-du-u.MEŠ* VII 93,
nāru “river”: *íd* I 64, II 183, III 86, 117, 118, IV 41, V 101, VII 171, R 40, 161, *íd* V 109, VIII 35, *na-a-ru* VI 99, *n]a-a-ru* VIII 13,
nāru B “singer, musician”: *LÚ.NAR* VII 155,
nāru “to kill, slay”: *li-nar-ki* VIII 77, *li-na-ru-ki* II 214,
nasāhu “to pull out, uproot, extract”: *li-in-na-sih* III 131, *li-is-suh* II 216, *li-is-suh-šú-nu-ti* VII 14, *li-is-su-hu* VII 28, *na-sa-ah* V 22, *na-si-ih* VI 150, *ú-suh-šú-nu-ti* II 72,
nasāku “to throw down”: *a-na-as-suk-šú-nu-ti* II 180, *na-sa-ki-ia* II 169, *ta-na-suk* R 123, 149, *ta-n[a-suk]* R 91, *ta-[na-suk]* R 139,
nasāsu “to shake out”: *tu-na-sis-a-ni* VI 97,
našāpu “to blow away, winnow”: *li-in-na-áš-pu* V 53, *[li-in-n]é-eš-pu* VI 30,
našpartu “message”: *na-áš-pa-rat* V 82, VII 7, VIII 103, *na-áš-pa-ra-ti-ki* VII 74, *na-áš-pa-ra-tu-ki* III 137, VII 109,
našû “to lift, carry, take”: *áš-šak-ki* III 184, *áš-ši* I 125, *a-na-áš-šá-kim-ma* V 49, *íl-ma* R 173, *íl-ši* I 135, R 178, *l]L-ši* R 30, *na-šat* III 126, *na-šá-a* VIII 27, *na-šá-a-ku* I 94, *na-šá-ku* I 46, *na-šá-k[u]* VI 21,
nāšu “to shake”: *li-nu-šú* V 27, *li-nu-[šá]* VI 12,
nataku “to drip”: *it-ta-at-tu-ku* II 147, *[it-t]a-na-at-tuk* R 11, *i-ta-at-tu-ka* I 140, *i-ta-a[t]t-tu-ka* V 145, *lit-ta-at-tu-ku* II 148, *lit-ta-[a]t-tu-ku* III 75, *lit-ta-tuk* I 32,
naṭālu “to look, see”: *at-ta-ṭa-lu* VII 121, *aṭ-ṭul* VII 64, *iṭ-ṭu-lu* VII 56,
nāṭīlu “seeing, watching”: *na-ṭi-la-a-ti* II 33,

III 93,
nazāru “to curse”: *šu-zu-ra-ku-ma* II 88,
nāziqû “howling”: *na-zi-qu* I 65,
nê'u “to turn back”: *li-né-e'-ku-nu-ši* V 154,
nēberu “crossing, ford, ferry”: *GIŠ.MÁ.DIRI.GA* VII 8, *né-bé-ri[m-ma]* VIII 37, *né-bé-ru* I 50, *né-b]é-[ru* R 21,
nekelmû “to frown”: *lik-kel-me-ši* V 42, *lik-kel-mu-šú-nu-ti* VII 16, *né-kel-mé-šá* III 10,
nēmedu “support”: *né-me-di-šá* V 38,
nēmequ “wisdom”: *né-me-qí* VIII 41,
nēpeštu “ritual”: *DÙ-ti* VII 120,
nēpēšu “ritual”: *né-pe-ši* R 1, 180,
nērebu “pass, entrance”: *ne-re-bi-šá* V 128,
nērtānû “murderer, murderess”: *ner-ta-ni-ti* III 39, *ner-ta-ni-tum* R 45,
nērtu “murderess”: *ner-ti-ia* IV 95, *ner-ti-ia* R 66,
nesû “to go far”: *i-sa-a* V 158, 160, 162, R 90, *li-sa-a* V 24, *ú-šá-as-si* III 16,
nešmû “hearing; favor”: *neš-me-e* VIII 118,
nēšu “lion”: *ni-ši* V 68, *ni-šu* II 25, UR.MAH III 156, V 24,
nî'u (a musical instrument): *ni-'a-šú-nu* VII 155,
nignakku “censer”: *NÍG.NA* R 87, 89, 114, 116, 118,
nigsagilû “substitute”: *NÍG.SAG.ÍL-e* VII 131, R 151, *NÍG.S[AG.ÍL]-e* VII 132,
nikiltu “art, cunning”: *ni-kil-ti* VIII 41,
ninû (a medicinal plant): *ni-i-nam* R 98, *Ú.KUR.RA.SAR* V 27,
nindabû “cereal offering”: *nin-da-bé-e* II 139, *NIDBA.[M]EŠ* II 2,
niqû “offering, sacrifice”: *ni-qí-i* VII 120,
nîru “braided string”: *ni-ri* R 62,
nissatu “grief, worry”: *ni-is-sa-tú* VII 38, 125,
nîš “life”: *ni-iš* I 99, V 171, 172, 173, 174, VII 128,
niziqtu “worry”: *ni-ziq-tú* VII 125,
nubattu “evening”: *nu-bat-ti* II 170, VII 18,
nubû “wailing, lamentation”: *nu-bu-ú* I 12,
nuhurtu (a medicinal plant, perhaps asafetida): *Ú.NU.LUH.HA* VI 133, R 116, *Ú.NU.LUH.HA-ma* VI 134, *Ú.NU.LUH.HA.SAR* V 35,
nukaribbu “gardener”: *LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR* IV 35,
nûnu “fish”: *KU₆.HI.A* III 171, *KU₆.MEŠ* VI 90,
nûru “light, lamp”: *nu-ur* II 138, 192, 201, *ZALÁG-ka* II 25,
padattu “figure, form”: *pa-da-at-ti* VI 98, VIII 131, R 109,
pādû “merciful, clement”: *pa-du-u* II 216, *pa-di-tum* III 52,
pagru “corpse, body”: *L]Ú.ÚŠ-ki* VIII 124, *pag-ri* VII 22, *pag-ri-ka* VII 38, *pa-ag-ri* IV 62, *pa-gar-ki* III 98, *pa-gar-ku-nu* V 68,
palāsu “to behold; (N) to look, gaze at”: *ip-pa-lis-ma* III 11, 12, *nap-li-sa-an-ni-ma* II 72,
palgu “ditch”: *PA₅* V 126,
palurtu “cross”: *pal-lu-ur-ta* R 60, *pal-lu-ur-ti* R 64, *p[al-l]u-ur-ti* R 64,
pānu “face, presence”: *IGI* I 71, II 88, 91, IV 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, V 97, VI 12, R 14, 50, 87, *I[GI]* IV 49, *IGI.MEŠ-šú* R 176, *IGI-šá* III 5, *pa-ni* IV 12, 52, 53, 54, *pa-ni-ia* IV 39, VI 2, *pa-ni-ku-nu* III 166, *pa-ni-šá* VIII 42,

pa-ni-šú-nu III 74, *pa-nu-u-a* V 176, VI 1, *pa-nu-ú-a* R 96, *pa-nu-ú-ki* III 101,

paqādu “to appoint, entrust”: *ap-qid* IV 138, *ap-qid-ka* II 93, *paq-da-tu-nu* V 88, *pa-qid* II 2, *pa-qí-da* IV 18, *pu-qu-du-in-ni* II 51, *tap-qí-da* IV 24, 29, 42, 43, *tap-qí-da-in-ni* IV 19, 20, 21, 22, *tap-qí-da-i[n-ni]* IV 17, *tap-qí-da-[in-ni]* IV 18, *tap-q[í-da-in-ni]* IV 16, *t[ap-q]í-da-in-ni* IV 15,

parakku “dais, sanctuary”: BARAG.MEŠ II 3, BARAG.(MEŠ) VI 116,

parāku “to lie crosswise, obstruct”: GIB I 71, *ta-par-rik* R 61,

parāsu “to separate, wean; to decide”: *ip-ru-su* I 10, *ip-ru-us* III 15, *ip-ta-ra-as* III 7, 14, *i-par-ra-as* II 82, KUD-is V 19, KUD.MEŠ R 103, KUD.MEŠ-ti VI 60, KUD-us I 114, II 108, 131, *lip-ru-us* I 143, III 21, V 148, *pu-ru-us* II 24, *tap-par-ra-sa-ma* V 157, 175, *tap-ru-si* III 112, 113,

pardu “frightening”: *pār-du-ti* VII 119,

paršigu “sash”: *par-šik-ku* VI 111,

parzillu “iron”: AN.BAR VII 52,

pašāhu “to be calm; (D) to calm, soothe, relax”: *li-šap-ših-ku-nu-[ši]* V 137, *tu-šap-ših-šú-nu-ti* II 123, *ú-pa-áš-ši-ih* VII 39, *ú-šap-šah-ku-nu-ši* V 135,

pašāru “to solve, release, dissolve; (D) to undo, loosen, free”: *a-pa-áš-šar-ši-na-ti* IV 119, 120, BÚR VI 83, 125, BÚR.MEŠ VI 118, *ip-pa-áš-šar* I 70, *i-pa-áš-šar* I 69, *lip-pa-áš-ru* V 54, VII 138, *lip-pa-šir-ma* I 70, *lip-šur* IV 5, 13, *lip-šur-an-ni* I 22, 24, *lip-šu-ra* I 30, *lip-šu-ru* III 86, *lip-BÚR-ma* VI 84, *li-pa-áš-šir* I 134, IV 77, *[li-pa-áš-šir]* IV 77, *li-pa-áš-ši-hu* VII 46, *pa-áš-ru* I 20, V 95, *pu-šur* II 73, VI 21, VIII 32, 33, *pu-uš-ši-ri* VI 125, *pu-uš-šur* V 117, *tap-ta-šar* VIII 4, *up-ta-áš-šir* V 90, *ú-pa-áš-[šar]* IV 111, *ú-pa-áš-[š-šar]* IV 113,

pašāšu “to anoint”: *ap-pa-[ši]š* VI 106, *ap-šu-uš-ka* VII 35, *ip-šu-šu-in-ni* I 106, ŠEŠ III 153a, R 65, ŠEŠ R 57, *tap-šu-ša-i[n-ni]* IV 66, *t[a-pa-šá-áš]* R 64, *t[a-pa-šá-áš]* R 66,

pašātu “to erase”: *li-ip-šit* II 215,

pašhu “soothing”: *pa-áš-ha-a-ti* VII 34, 43,

pāširtu “redeemer (f.)”: *pa-šir-ti-ia* VIII 28,

pāširu “redeemer”: *pa-ši-ra* I 41, *pa-ši-rak* R 70, *pa-ši-ra-ak* IV 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, *pa-ši-ra-a[k]* IV 129, 130, 131, *pa-ši-r[a-a]k* IV 128,

patālu “to twine, plait”: *a-pat-til-šu-nu-ti* II 177, *ip-pát-til* V 14, *ip-til* V 11, R 72, *pa-ta-li-ia* II 166,

paṭāru “to release”: *ap-ṭūr* V 96, DU₈ VI 108, [DU₈.MEŠ VI 118, *lip-pa-ṭir* VI 33, *lip-pa-ṭir-ma* III 131, *li-paṭ-ṭir* IV 76, *li-paṭ-ṭi-ru* VII 133, *pa-ṭi-ra* I 41, *pu-uṭ-ṭu-ru* I 34, *pu-ṭur* VIII 31, *up-ta-aṭ-ṭir* V 89, *up-ta-ṭir* R 81, *ú-paṭ-ṭir-ma* VII 103, 110,

pehû “to enclose”: *tap-ha-a* IV 30, 32,

pērurûtu (a type of mouse): PÉŠ.(TUR) IV 61,

pešû “white”: BABBAR R 67, 69,

petû “to open”: BAD-te VII 142, *pu-ut-ta-a* VII 145, *tap-ta-a* IV 34, 35,

piqannu (a mineral): A.GAR.GAR V 47,

pirištu “secret”: *pi-riš-ti* II 5, 78,

pirittu “fright”: *pi-rit-ti* V 71, 72, *pi-rit-tum*

VII 127,

piširtu “solvent, release”: BÚR-t[e] VI 102, BÚR-ti VI 43, VIII 27, *pi-šir-ta* VII 144, *pi-šir-tum* III 126,

pitiltu “cord”: *pi-til-ti* II 166, 177, ŠU.SAR V 50, 54,

pitiqtu “brickwork, clay wall”: *pi-ti-iq-ti* II 167, 178,

piṭru “release, untying”: *piṭ-ru-ú-a* IV 118,

pû “mouth, utterance, command”: KA I 54, III 49, VIII 102, 112, KA-ia I 9, 64, K[A-i]a VII 170, KA-ki III 92, 182, V 5, VII 104, 111, KA]-ki VI 44, KA-ku-nu V 138, 139, 140, KA.MU I 10, 97, V 138, 139, 140, VI 100, KA-šá I 31, V 25, VI 15, 58, 60, R 49, KA-šú R 10, 164, K[A-šú] III 101a, *pi-i* I 131, IV 105, 121, *pu-u* VIII 60, 96, 97, R 169,

pû B “chaff, straw”: IN.BUBBU V 11, 14, 53, VI 30, R 72, 76, 158, 163, IN.B[UB]BU R 98,

puhru “assembly”: *pu-uh-ri* R 95,

puluhtu “fear”: *pu-luh-ta-šá* VIII 45,

puqqu “to be attentive, heed”: *ú-paq-qa-a-ka* II 25,

purussû “decision”: EŠ.BAR II 82, EŠ.BAR-a II 81, EŠ.BAR-a-a I 114, II 24, 108, 131, EŠ.BAR.MU III 69, *pu-ru-us-se-e-ni* V 19,

pušqu “distress, straits”: PAP.HAL II 12,

pûtu “front, forehead”: SAG.K[I VIII 117, SAG.KI.[MU] VII 48,

qabāru see *qebēru*,

qablitu “middle watch of the night”: *qab-li-tum* I 3,

qablu “middle (part), loins”: MURUB₄-š[ú]-n[u R 62,

qabru “grave”: *qab-rim* I 108, II 185, 220,

qabû “to say, tell”: *a-qab-bu-ú* I 68, 71, *iq-bu-u* VIII 41, R 8, 48, *(iq)-bu-u* I 72, *iq-bu-ú* I 32, 36, 60, III 88, 119, 120, 178, VIII 29, 31, *liq-ba-nik-kim-ma* I 57, *lu-qu-ba-ki-ma* I 59,

qadištu “sacred woman, sacred prostitute”: MÍ.NU.GIG III 43, MÍ.NU.GIG.MEŠ V 50, *qa-aš-da-a-ti* VI 37, *qá-aš-da-a[t]* VI 75, *qá-aš-da-a-ti* VI 27,

qādu “to kindle, burn”: *qí-de-e* III 188, IV 1, *ta-q[ād-ma]* R 30, *t[a-qād-m]a* R 9,

qalāpu “to peel”: *liq-qal-pu* V 53,

qalû “to burn”: *aq-lu* V 123, *a-qal-li-šú-nu-ti* II 71, *a-qal-lu* I 135, *qa-li-i* IV 8, 75, 106, 122, *taq-lu-u* R 94, *qu-li-i* II 223, *qu-li-š[i]* II 202, *qu-li-ši-na-a-ti* IV 143, *qu-li-šú-ni-[t]i* II 113,

qālu “to be(come) silent, heed”: *qu-la* I 63, *qu-la-ni* I 64,

qamû “to burn”: *aq-mu-ku-nu-ši* V 73, *liq-mi* III 84, 161, *liq-mi-ki* III 28, *qa-mé-e* IV 8, *qa-mu-u* R 79, *qa-mu-ú* I 110, II 143, IV 9, 76, V 85, *qu-mi* II 15, 109, 132, IV 140, *qu-m[i-ši]* II 202, *qu-mi-ši-na-a-ti* IV 142, *qu-mi-šú-nu-ti* II 112, *qu-mi-i* II 223, *qu-mu* I 115, II 110,

qāmû “burning”: *qa-ma-ki* III 20, 21, *qa-mi-i* IV 75, 121, *qa-mi-i* IV 105, *qa]-mi-ki* VI 141, *qa-mi-ku-nu* V 174,

qanû “reed, cane”: GI R 29, GI.MEŠ R 60, 61,

qaqqadu “head”: SAG.DU III 115, 138, VI 61, VIII 112, SAG.DU-šá III 115b, R 52, SAG.DU.MU II 32, V 176, VI 1, 74, 98, 101, VII 47, R 96, 109, 124, 126, 132,

qaqqaru "ground": KI.TIM I 63, VII 144, *qaq-qa-ri* VI 96, *qaq-qa-ri* IV 96, *qaq-qa-[ri]* IV 100, *qaq-q[a-ri]* VI 116, *qaq-qa-ri-im-ma* III 141, *qaq-qa-ru* VII 142,
qarābu "to approach, arrive; (D) to present, offer": *iq-ri-ba* V 9, *i-qar-ri-ba* VII 177, *i-qar-ri-bu* VI 62, VII 175, *i-qar-ri-bu-ni* VI 64, *i-qar-[r]i-bu-u-ni* III 153, *i-qar-ru-b[a]* V 18, *i-qar-ru-bu* V 17, *ú-qar-rib* V 13, see also *qerēbu*,
qardu "brave, heroic": *qar-du* I 134, II 105, 221, III 179, IV 79, R 35,
qarnu "horn": SI.MEŠ-šá III 126,
qarrādu "hero": *qar-ra-du* III 158,
qašdu "holy, sacred": *qá-aš-da-a[t]* VI 75, *qá-aš-du* VI 74,
qatāru "to smoke; (D) to fumigate": *i-qat-tur* VI 42, *tu-qat-tar-šú* R 126,
qatû "to end; (D) to put an end to, destroy": *liq-ti* V 68, *liq-tu-ú* I 118, *liq-tu-ú-ma* II 96, *li-qat-ta-a* III 98, *tu-qat-ta-in-ni* V 68, *tu-q[at-t]i-ma* R 12,
qātu "hand": *qa-ti-ia* VII 114, *qa-tuk-ka* II 92, ŠU.2 VII 17, 43, 120, 128, R 148, 149, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 169, ŠU.2-a-a VII 162, R 155, [ŠU.2-a-a] VIII 27, ŠU.2-ia VII 141, 170, ŠU.2.MEŠ.MU VIII 46, ŠU.2-šú R 159, ŠU.2-šú R 142, 147, 151, 167,
qāt amēlūti "hand of mankind (a disease)": ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU II 62,
qāt etemmi "hand of ghost": ŠU.GIDIM.MA II 61,
qāt ili "hand of god": ŠU.DINGIR.RA II 60,
qāt Ištar "hand of Ištar (an illness)": Š[U.^dINAN-NA] II 60,
qāt māmīti "hand of oath": ŠU.[NAM.ERIM.MA] II 61,
qebēru "to bury": *taq-bi-ra* IV 28, 34, 35, 46, 47, 48, *taq-bi-ra-ma* IV 33,
qēmu "flour": ZI.DA R 141, 145, 146,
qerbu "inside": *qé-reb-š[á]* VI 99,
qerēbu "to approach": KU.(NU)-ku-nu-ši VII 53, KU.NU-ni VII 54, see also *qarābu*,
qibitu "command, pronouncement": *qí-bit* I 36, 60, 72, II 170, III 135, 178, IV 78, V 10, 55, 108, 111, 131, VII 18, 40, 106, 113, 169, VIII 128, 140, *qí-bit-su* II 4, *qí-bi-ti-ka* I 120,
qiddatu "downstream": *qid-d[a-tim-ma]* VIII 22,
qilūtu "firewood, burnt material": *qí-l[u-tú]* R 91,
qimmatu "hair, crown": *qim-mat-ku-nu* VI 97, *qim-m[a-ti]* VI 101, *qim-ma-tú* I 21,
qitmu "black dye": *qit-mi* V 33,
qītu "end": ZAG.TIL.LA.BI.ŠÈ VIII 142,
qû "flax; filament, thread, string": *qé-e* VII 105, 112, *qu-ú* I 9,
qu''û "to wait on": *ú-qa-a-ka* VII 178, *ú-qa]-a-ka* VIII 1, [ú-qa-a-k]a VIII 26,
quddušu "holy": *qud-du-šu-ti* VI 35, *qud-d[u-š[u-ti]]* VI 25, *qud-du-šú* III 61, VI 85, R 46, 17,
qulmû "axe": *qul-mu-ú* V 46,
qûlu "silence": *qu-li* II 111, IV 141, *qu-lu* VII 38, 125, [q]u-lu VIII 125,
qumqummatu (a word for witch): *qu-um-qu-um-ma-tum* VI 16, *qu-um-qu-um-ma-i[um]* R 97,
qurādu "warrior": *qu-ra-di* III 58, V 144, *qu-ra-du* II 130, III 59,
qurqurratu "female metal-worker": *qur-qur-*

ra-ti IV 134,
qutāru "fumigant": *qu-ta-ri* R 114, 124,
qutrinnu "incense": *qut-rin-nu* II 10, VI 122,
qutru "smoke": *qut-ri* III 166, V 161, *qut-ru* VI 42, *qu-tur-ku-nu* I 141, V 74, 146, *qu-tur-k[u-nu]* V 110, *qu-tur-šá* V 47,
ra'ibu "shakes, trembling": *ra-i-ba* VIII 43,
rabāšu "to lie (down), lie in wait; (Š) to make lurk": *šur-bi-iš* II 121,
rābišu "lurker (demon)": MAŠKIM II 54, III 142, V 65, MAŠKIM.MEŠ II 213, *ra-bi-šu* I 136,
rabû "great": GAL-a VIII 132, GAL.MEŠ I 13, 67, 144, II 10, 81, 140, V 13, 16, VI 69, 120, VII 28, 51, R 32, 15, GAL.M[EŠ] II 1, VI 117, G[AL.MEŠ] R 134, GAL-ti II 37, 70, 91, GAL-ti II 28, GAL-tu II 217, GAL-tú II 157, 219, *ra-ba-ti* VII 42,
raggu "evil": *rag-ga-ti* III 115, *rag-gi* I 111, II 144, *rag-gu* IV 2,
rahhātu "female incubus": *rah-hat-MU* R 115, 118, *rah-ha-ti-MU* VI 127, 135, [rah-ha-t]um VI 53,
rāhītu "female incubus": *ra-hi-ti-MU* I 78, II 42, [ra-hi-t]u VII 149, [ra-hi-tum] VIII 9, r[a]-hi-tú VI 73,
rahû see *rehû*,
rāhû "incubus": *ra-hi-MU* I 78, II 42,
rakābu "to ride": *ra-kib* II 152,
rakāsu "to bind, attach, gird": *ir-ku-su* VIII 30, 32, *i-rak-ka-sa-a-ni* IV 117, *tara-kás* R 14, KEŠDA VI 109, KEŠDA-ma R 172,
ramāku "(D) to wash": *tu-ram-me-k[a-i]n-ni* IV 65, *ú-ra-me-ku-in-ni* I 105,
ramanu "self": *ra-ma-ni* VII 22, r[a]-ma-ni R 130, *ra-ma-ni-ia* VII 26, *ra-m[a-n]i-ki* V 8, *ra-ma-ni-ma* VII 27, *ram-n[i]* VIII 57, *ram-ni-[ia]* VIII 105,
ramû "to take up residence": *ir-ma-a* II 221,
rāmu "love": KI.ÁG.GÁ I 89, IV 10, KI.ÁG.GÁ-ki VII 75, *ra-a-mi* V 55,
rapšu "wide, extensive": DAGAL-tum VI 100, [ra-ap-ša-ti] V 102,
raqû "(N) to hide": *nar-qa-ni* VI 96,
rāšu "to come to help": *ru-ša-nim-ma* VII 137,
rašû "to get, obtain": TUK-ši I 41,
rašubbatu "terrifying splendour": *ra-šub-bat* VII 171, *ra-šub-bat-ku-nu* VII 173,
rašubbu "awesome, awe-inspiring": *ra-šub-bu* II 122, III 178,
rātu "channel, runnel": ŠITA IV 35,
rebitu "square": *re-ba-a-ti* III 4, *re-bi-ti* III 7, *ri-b[i]t* VII 83,
rebû "fourth": 4.KÁM* IV 153,
rēdānu "persecutor": *re-da-na-a-a* V 143, *re-da-ni* III 77, *re-d[an-ni]* R 47,
redû "to drive, pursue, persecute; (Gtn) to constantly persecute, constantly accompany": *li-ir-te-da-an-ni* VII 164, UŠ.UŠ-an-ni II 67,
rehû "to sire, beget, inseminate, pour over": *a-ra-ah-hi-k[a]* R 130, *a-ra-he-ka* VII 22, *ir-hu-ú* VII 23, 25, *li-ir-he* VII 27, *ter-hi* VI 26, 36, *tu-ra-hi-in-ni* III 148, *tu-re-hi-in-ni* VII 149, *tu-re-hi-in-[ni]* VI 73, *ú-ra-ah-ha-an-ni* VIII 9, *ú-reh-ha-an-ni* VI 53,
rēmu "to take pity, have mercy": r[e]-ma-[a]n-ni II 31,

rêqu “to be(come) distant”: *re-e-qa* V 158, 160, 163,
rêšu “helper, ally”: *re-šu-ú-a* II 102,
rêšu “head, top, beginning”: *re-šá-a-a* VIII 2, SAG VI 133, 140, VII 157, 159, R 43, 114, 116, 118, 166, SAG] VIII 67, SAG-ki II 213, VII 76,
ridātu “persecution”: *ri-da-a-ti* III 143,
ridu “pursuit, persecution”: *ri-di-MU* I 81, II 45,
rihitu “semen, offspring”: *ri-hi-it* VI 141,
rihūtu “semen, sperm, offspring”: *ri-hu-u[t]* II 58,
riksu “band, bond, tie, ritual arrangement”: KA.KEŠDA.MEŠ R 125, KEŠDA R 14, KEŠDA-ki VI 67, VII 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, KEŠDA-k[i] VI 22, KEŠ[DA-ki] VIII 93, KEŠDA-sa VI 28, 38, KEŠDA-ši-na IV 118, rik-si IV 117, VII 42, rik-[si] IV 112, rik-si-ku-nu IV 76, ri[k-su] VIII 32, ri-ik-su VIII 30, ri-kis-ki III 59, ri-kis-su-un V 51,
rimku “bath, ablution”: *rim-ki* I 105,
rimūtu “numbness, paralysis”: *ri-mu-tú* II 64,
rittu “hand, wrist”: *rit-ta* R 58, *rit-ta-a-[a]* VI 100, *rit-ta-ki* III 183, *rit-ta-ku-nu* III 161, 164, *rit-ta-ku-nu-ma* III 187, *rit-te-ku-nu* III 163, *rit-ti* VI 159, R 59, 127, *ri[t-ti]* VII 1, *rit-tu* III 154, 155, 180, 187a, *rit-[tum]* R 58, *rit-tum* III 181, *rit-t[um]* R 59, *rit-tum-ma* R 59, *rit-tu-ma* III 154, 180, *rit-tu-um-ma* R 58, *rit-tú* VIII 30, 32,
ru'tu “spittle”: UH.MU I 132, *ru'-a-a-ta* VII 97, see also *ru'uttu*,
ru'u “friend”: *ru-ù-a* IV 123, *ru-ù-ú-a* R 70,
ru'uttu “spittle”: *ru-ù-u-ut-ta* VIII 135, see also *ru'tu*,
rubātu “queen”: EGf V 10, 111, 131, VII 169, VIII 128, 141,
rubū “ruler, prince”: NUN I 109, IV 68, V 69, 70, VI 122, VII 16, 17,
ruhū “spittle; witchcraft”: *ru-he-e* I 88, 139a, II 117, III 83, IV 113, V 115, VI 6, VII 129, 168, R 170, *ru-he-e*] VIII 108, *r[u]-he-e* IV 62, *r[u]-he-e* IV 111, *ru-he-e-a* V 117, VI 125, *ru-he-e-ki* VI 118, *ru-he-ki* VII 72, 161, *ru-he-k[i]* VIII 74, *ru-he-ku-nu* III 170, *ru-he-šá* I 30, III 15, 54, *r[u-he-šu-nu]* VIII 34, *ru-hu-ki* III 151, *ru-hu-šá* I 20, VI 63, *ru-hu-u* VII 138, *ru-hu-ú* VII 52a, *ru-hu-ú-a* III 89, U[š₁₁-ku-nu] V 96,
ruqbūtu “rot”: *ru-uq-bu-ta* VII 99,
rusū “mud; witchcraft”: *ru-se-e* III 83, VII 129, *ru-se-ki* VII 72, *ru-si-i* I 88, *ru-su-šá* VI 63, *ru-su-u* VII 52a, 138, *ru-su-ú-a* III 90, *ru-su-ú-a*] V 95, *ru-su-ú-ki* III 152, *ru-su-ú-šá* I 20,
rušumtu “mud, silt”: *ru-šum-ti-ia* III 172, *ru-šum-di-MU* VI 91,
sadāru “to array, set in row”: *ta-sa-dir-[ma]* R 25,
saghulhazū (an evil demon): SAG.HUL.HA.ZA II 63,
sahālu “to pierce”: *li-is-hu-lu-ši* V 29, *sa-ha-li-ia* VIII 39,
sahāpu “to overwhelm”: *a-sa-hap-šu-nu-ti* II 174, *is-hu-pu* III 157, *lis-sa-hi-ip-ma* III 124, *sah-pan-ni* III 78, *sa-ha-pi-ia* II 163, [ú-šá-a]-*si-ip-ši* VIII 43,
sahāru “to turn, go around, return”: *as-hur-ka* II 14, 26, *as-hu-ra-áš-šim-ma* II 199, *as-sah-ri* V

117, *is-hu-ra* II 199, *is-hu-ru-ni* I 92, *is-sa-na-ah-hur* III 5, *is-sa-na-hur-an-ni* VII 87, *is-sa-na-hu-ur* VII 86, *lis-sah-ru-ú-ki* II 211, *li-is-hu-ru-ma* VII 152, NIGIN III 35, *suh-ri-ma* III 120, *ta-as-sa-na-ah-hur-in-ni* II 207, *ú-sah-har* III 6, *ú-šá-as-hi-ru-ni* I 92,
sahhiru “tramp, circle dancer”: LÚ.sah-hi-ru IV 89,
sāhiru “encircling, enchanter”: *sa-hir-MU* II 41, *sa-hi-ri-MU* I 77, *sa-hi-ru* III 129, *sa-hir-ti* III 120, *sa-hir-ti-MU* I 77, II 41, *sa-hir-tú* III 129,
sahlū “cress”: Ú.ZA.HI.LI.SAR V 29,
salā'u “to sprinkle”: *ta-sal-la-a'* R 179, *ú-sa-li-i'-an-ni* VII 143, see also *salāhu*,
salāhu “to sprinkle”: *a-sal-lah* V 109, 110, SUD R 29, 177, see also *salā'u*,
samāku “to maltreat, assault”: *a-sa-am-ma-ak-šú-nu-ti* IV 104, *li-sa-am-me-ku-ši-ma* V 41,
samānū “eighth”: 8.KÁM* VIII 142,
samīdu (a vegetable): Ú.KUR.ZI.SAR V 30,
samītu “battlement parapet”: *sa-me-ti* IV 21, V 127,
samū “to be inept, slack; (D) to incapacitate”: *li-sa-am-mu-ši* V 30,
sanāqu “to approach; (Š) to let approach”: DIM₄ VII 167, DIM₄-qa V 170, *ú-šá-as-na-qa* VI 6,
sanāšu “to insert, infix”: *tu-sa-an-na-[aš]* R 29, *tu-sa-na-áš* R 43, *ú-sa-an-niš* III 20,
sapāhu “to scatter”: *as-pu-uh* V 122, *a-[s]ap-pah* VI 44, *li-is-pu-uh* III 165, *li-is-pu-uh-ku-nu-ši* III 169, *li-sap-(pi)-hu* VIII 100, *ú-sap-pah* VII 6, *ú-sap-pa-ah* V 5, 80, 81, [ú-sa-ap-pah] VI 50, [ú]-*sa-ap-pah* VII 5,
sarāqu “to strew, scatter”: *a-sà-raq* VI 133,
sāru “to whirl, circle, dance”: *li-su-ru* V 44, 45, 46,
sassatu “grass”: Ú.KI.KAL I 25, III 174, VI 93,
sebū “seventh”: 7.KÁM* VII 179,
sēkiru “blocker”: *se-ki-rat* VIII 118,
sihlu “thorn, prick”: *si-hi-il* III 149,
sihru “rim, border”: *si-hir* III 100,
sikkūru “bar, bolt”: GIŠ.SAG.KUL VII 10, R 129,
siltu “splinter, cut twig”: *si-lit* VI 61,
sinništu “woman”: MÍ IV 86, MÍ.MEŠ III 52,
siparru “bronze”: ZABAR II 38, 76, 92, ZABAR] R 34, Z[ABAR R 33, ZABAR.KÁM II 104,
sipdu “mourning”: *si-ip-di* I 12,
sippu “doorjamb”: *sip-pe-e* R 129, ZAG.DU₈ VI 109,
sirqu “offering”: *si-ir-qí-ku-nu* IV 77,
siru “plaster”: *si-r[i]* VI 32,
sissiktu “hem”: *si-sik-t[i]* II 187, TÚG.SÍG II 28, T[ÚG.SÍG] II 29, [TÚG.SÍG II 30, TÚG.SÍG-ka II 27, TÚG.SÍG.MU I 133, TÚ[G.S]ÍG.MU VI 76,
sukkallu “vizier”: SUKKAL II 5, VI 13,
sulū “street”: *su-lu-ú* V 37, VII 133,
suluppu “date”: ZÚ.LUM.MA V 54, R 157,
sūnu “lap, thigh”: ÚR IV 27, 45,
sūqu “street”: SILA V 37, 42, VII 122, 133, SILA-ma III 6, SILA.MEŠ III 1, R 42, 56, SILA.MEŠ II 227, SILA.MEŠ-ta VII 82, SILA.MEŠ-ti III 136,
sūq erbetti “crossroads, street intersection”: SILA-LIMMÚ III 153a, SILA-LIMMÚ-ti R 56, SILA-4-ta R 70,
surriš “in a moment, quickly”: *sur-riš* II 123,

šabātu "to seize, capture; (Š) to make seize, take": *aš-bat* II 27, 28, 29, 30, III 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, DIB-*t[i-i]*a III 139, *iš-bat* II 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, *iš-ba-tu* I 99, III 156, *iš-šab-tu-ki* III 55, *iš-šab-bat* VII 147, *li-iš-bat-ku-[nu-ši]* V 60, *li-iš-ba-tu-ki* VII 152, *li-šá-aš-bit-ki* III 29, *mu-šab-bi-tu* I 139, *šab-ta-nim-ma* III 33, *šab-ta-ni-ma* II 67, 68, *ša-ba-ti-ia* III 66, *ša-bi-ta-at* VIII 117, *šu-ub-bu-tu-in-ni* VI 123, *tu-šab-bi-ta* V 116, *tu-šab-bi-ti-in-ni* III 106, *tu-šá-aš-bi-ta-in-ni* V 60, *ú-šab-bat* III 141, *ú-[šab-bi-tu]* I 101a, *ú-šab-bi-tú* I 97, *ú-ša-ab-ba-tu-ki* VII 161, *ú-šá-aš-bat* III 143, **šabburitu** "mutterer": *šab-bu-ri-tú* III 53, **šabitu** "gazelle": *MAŠ.DÀ* V 47, VII 24, **šādu** "to spin, whirl; to melt": *li-šu-du* III 101, **šalālu** "to sleep": *šal-la-a-ta* VI 11, *šal-lu* VII 9, *ša-la-lu* I 8, IV 94, *ša-lil* VII 8, **šalāmu** "to be(come) black": *li-iš-li-mu* III 74, *[li-šal-l]i-mu-ši* VI 31, **šalmu** "black": *GI₆.MEŠ* R 62, **šalmu B** "statue, image, likeness": *NU* I 15, II 18, 76, 104, 126, 135, 149, 160, 181, 182, 204, 226, III 30a, 38a, 60a, 87a, 101a, 153, VI 64, VII 131, 132, 175, 177, R 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 63, 86, 141, 142, 144, 146, 151, 166, 171, *N[U]* R 24, 63, *N[U]* R 27, *(NU)* R 23, *[NU]* R 34, *NU.MEŠ* I 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 131, II 38, 92, 147, III 124a, 135a, IV 39, V 7, 90, R 53, *NU.M[E]Š* I 81, *NU.[MEŠ]* I 83, 85, *N[U].MEŠ* R 55, *(NU).(MEŠ)* R 26, *NU.MEŠ-ia* II 184, IV 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 43, *NU.MEŠ.MU* I 96, 131, V 3, *NU.MEŠ-šá* VIII 46, *NU.MEŠ-ši-na* IV 137, 138, *NU.MEŠ-šú-nu* I 93, 94, 135, *NU-šá* III 18, *ša-lam-ki* VII 63, *šal-mi* VII 55, **šamāru** "to strive for": *ú-ša-am-ma-ru* VII 165, **šapāru** "to trim, cut down": *li-šap-pi-ru-ši* V 28, **sehēru** "to be small": *še-her* IV 72, *TUR.MEŠ* VI 36, 37, *[TUR.MEŠ]* VI 26, 27, **šēnu** "wicked": *še-e-nu* IV 2, **šerru** "snake": *MUŠ* II 156, IV 61, **šerru B** "enemy, rival": *šer-ri-MU* I 80, II 44, **šēru** "open country, plain, steppe": *EDIN* I 35, IV 20, 22, V 39, VIII 50, **šibtu** "hold, grip, seizure": *ši-bit* II 57, *ši-bit-sa* III 79, 80, **šillu** "shadow": *GIŠ.MI* V 2, VI 55, VIII 129, 132, R 175, *GIŠ.MI* VIII 132, **širhu** "heat": *ši-ri-ih* V 120, **širu B** "exalted": *ši-rat* II 4, *šir-ti* I 120, *ši-ru* II 98, **šit šamši** "sunrise, east": *UTU.È* I 44, *UTU.È* R 177, *ši-it-UTU-ši* I 45, **šubbū** "to inspect, observe": *ú-šab-bi* VII 65, *ú-šab-bu-u* VII 58, **šūd pāni** "vertigo": *šu-ud-pa-ni* I 91, IV 12, **šummirātu** "wish, objective": *šu-um-mi-ra-ti-ia* VII 165, **ša** "that; what; of": *ša* I 16, 27, 96, II 98, 220, 224, III 114, 164, V 2, 50, 96, 118, VI 67, VII 12, 28, 34, 37, 154, VIII 47, R 39, 75, *šá* I 21, 23, 24, 30, 32, 33, 43, 47, 51, 55, 63, 64, 66, 87, 88, 120, 121, 131, 136, II 2, 4, 7, 13, 16, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 65, 66, 67, 82, 86, 92, 103, 107, 118, 152, 157, 158, 182, 183, 196,

204, 205, 227, III 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 17, 18, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 62, 63, 70, 83, 87a, 88, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 115a, b, 116, 130, 155, 156, 181, IV 4, 8, 18, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 49, 61, 62, 72, 75, 80, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 109, 119, 120, 122, 138, V 6, 7, 8, 22, 39, 48, 50, 51, 57, 76, 82, 103, 114, 134, 135, 140, 141, VI 3, 4, 8, 9, 22, 27, 28, 36, 37, 38, 47, 65, 68, 77, 79, 82, 83, 86, 87, 95, 97, 99, 104, 16, 19, 23, 28, 36, 44, 50, VII 6, 7, 11, 30, 31, 32, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 55, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82, 105, 109, 112, 115, 117, 120, 121, 129, 130, 139, 140, 143, 158, 159, 160, 168, VIII 10, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40, 57, 73, 84, 98, 99, 104, 137, R 1, 8, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 77, 78, 87, 89, i 4, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 34, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 66, 72, 80, *šá* VI 14, 26, 116, *š[á]* IV 96, V 85, VI 33, VIII 19, *šá* III 115a, VIII 70, *[šá]* I 139b, V 98, *[šá]* VI 153, *[šá]* V 81, VI 103, **ša'irru** (a wooden object): *GIŠ.šá-'i-ir-ri* VI 140, *GIŠ.šá-ir-ri* R 118, **šabalbalū** "mood swings": *ŠA.BAL.BAL-a* IV 12, *ŠA.BAL.BAL-e* I 91, **šabāru** "to break": *tu-šab-bi-ra* V 100, see also *šebēru*, **šabāšu** "to collect": *iš-bu-šu* II 188, VI 54, *iš-bu-šú* I 133, **šadū** "mountain; east": *KU[R]-a* VI 157, *KUR-i* II 57, III 82, V 49, VI 22, 67, VIII 47, R 88, i 23, 66, *KUR.MEŠ-ni* VI 145, 154, *KUR.MEŠ-ni* V 99, *KUR-ú* III 151, V 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, R 88, *šá-du-ú* II 6, **šaggaštu** "massacre": *šá-g[aš-tú]* VIII 134, **šahāhu** "to disintegrate": *liš-hu-hu* VI 32, **šaharru** "porous" (said of clay pots): *SAHÁR* R 128, 163, 175, **šahātu** "to strip, take off": *liš-šá-ah-tu* V 54, *liš-šá-hi-it-ma* VII 77, *liš-šá-hi-it-m[a]* VII 131, **šahhuṭitu** "one who keeps attacking": *šá-ah-hu-ṭi-tum* III 53, **šahū** "pig": *ŠAH* III 172, IV 40, VI 91, **šakānu** "to place, set": *áš-kun* I 17, III 19, *a-šak-kan-ši-na-a-ti* IV 121, *a-šak-kan-šú-nu-ti* IV 105, *GAR* R 10, *GAR-an* VI 140, R 15, 25, 50, 64, 114, 116, 118, 121, 142, 146, 166, *GAR-a[n]* R 89, *GAR-ma* R 10, 28, *iš-šak-kan* II 9, VI 121, *liš-ku-nu-ma* III 71, *liš-šak-na* VII 166, *liš-šak-nak-ku-nu-ši* V 70, 72, *šak-na-at* V 20, *šá-kin* II 140, *šuk-ni* V 22, *taš-ku-na-ni* V 69, 71, *taš-ku-ni* VI 41, *tu-šá-áš-kin-a-a-i[n]-ni* IV 68, **šalāmu** "to be sound, whole, get well": *lu-uš-lim-ma* II 100, **šalāpu** "to pull out": *a-šal-la-pa* VII 96, **šalšu** "third": *3-šú* R 6, 17, 147, 168, *3.KAM* III 189, **šalū** "to dive, submerge": *iš-la-a* VIII 36, **šālu** "to ask, question, call to account": *li-šal-lu* VIII 101, **šamāmū** "heavens": *šá-ma-mi* II 222, *šá-m[a-mi]* II 155, **šamāru** "to be(come) fierce": *šam-ra-tu-nu* V 132, R 85, *šu-um-ri* V 21, **šamāru B** "(Gtn) to extol, praise": *lul-tam-mar-ki* VI 126, **šamru** "fierce, violent": *šam-ru-ti* III 133,

šamaššammū “sesame”: ŠE.GIŠ.Ī V 4, ŠE].GIŠ.Ī R 71,

šammu “drug, plant”: *šam-me* I 106, *šam-mu* VI 85, 102, R 107, ū VIII 27, ū] VI 43,

šamnu “oil”: Ī.GIŠ IV 66, VII 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, R 130, 131, 132, Ī.GIŠ R 133,

šamšu “sun”: ^uTU-šī I 142, IV 107, 137, R 67, ^u[TU-š]i IV 109, VII 150, ^uTU-šū V 147,

šamū “heaven”: AN-e I 47, 63, 141, III 31, 32, 33, 47, 63, V 12, 15, 74, 79, 146, 161, VI 69, 87, 116, VII 3, 51, R 44, i 5, A[N-e] IV 99, A]N-e IV 96, AN-ū III 147, VI 74,

šāmu “to buy”: *i-šā-mu-ū-ni* II 189,

šaniš “ditto”: KI.MIN III 87a, 115a, 124a, IV 71, 72, V 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 173, 174, VI 78, 84, VIII 134, 135, 136, 137, R 77, 80, 84, 85, KI.MIN V 58, R 66, KI.MI[N] IV 23, VIII 136, KI.M[IN] IV 70, KI.[MIN] R 55, K[I.MIN] IV 69, R 20, [KI.MIN III 135a, VIII 134, R 106, [KI.MIN] V 59, 61, 62, 63, [K]I.MIN VIII 137,

šanū “second, other, different”: 2.KÁM II 228, *šā-ni-tu* I 44, 45,

šanū B “to be different, change; (D) to repeat”: *šā-né-e* I 91, IV 12, *ú-šā-an-na* III 144, *ú-šā-an-ni* V 121,

šapāku “to heap up, pile up, pour”: DUB-ak VI 157, DUB.MEŠ-[ak R 74, *iš-pu-ku* I 101, *li-i]š-ta-pi-i[k* VIII 121,

šapal “under”: *ša]p-li-ka* II 181, *šap-li-ku-nu-ma* I 17, *šā-pal-ka* II 14, 89,

šapāru “to send”: *āš-pur* II 189, 190, IV 137, *a-šap-pa-rak-kim-ma* II 191, V 4, VII 158, *a-šap-pa-rak-kim-m[a* VI 43, *iš-pur-an-[ni]* I 62, *iš-pu-ru-in-ni* I 52, *iš-pu-ru-niš-šū* VI 9, *iš-tap-pa-ra* VI 129, 137, *lu-uš-pur* I 53, *lu-uš-pur-ka* VIII 28, *šap-ra-ku* I 61, *šap-[ra-ku]* R 23, *ta[l-tap-p]a-ra-ni* VIII 105, *tal-tap-pa-ri* V 82, VII 7,

šaptu “lip”: NUNDUN.MEŠ-šā V 35, VI 60, *šap-ti-šā* III 90,

šaḡū “to give to drink”: *iš-qu-in-ni* I 104, *ta[š-q]a-a-in-ni* IV 64,

šaḡū B “(to be) high”: *šā]-qa-a* VIII 2, *šā-qu-tum* II 137,

šarāhu “to be glorious; (D) to glorify, extol”: *šā-ru-uh* V 83, R 80, [šā-ru-uh R 80, *ú-šar-ri-hu* VII 57, *ú-šar-ri-ih* VII 65,

šarāpu “to burn”: *a-šar-rap-ši-na-ti* IV 139, *a-šar-rap-šū-nu-ti* II 71, *šā-ra-pi* III 38, *ta-šar-rap* R 76, [ta-šar-rap] R 71, 72, *ta-šar-ra-pu* R 138,

šarhu “glorious, splendid, proud”: *šar-hu* II 98, 136, 138, R 37,

šarratu “queen, lady”: *šar-ra-tu* VI 142, *šar-ra-* VIII 86,

šarru “king”: LUGAL I 109, IV 68, V 69, 70, 108, VI 12, 122, VII 16, 17, 40, VIII 42, [L]UGAL II 88,

šartu “hair”: SÍG.MU I 132,

šarū “to be rich”: *ša-ru-ū* I 21,

šāru “wind”: *šā-a-ri* II 152, V 52,

šasū “to shout, read”: *al-si* I 2, 3, *al-si-ka* I 113, *al-si-ku-nu-ši* I 1, *al-si-ku-n[u-š]i* R 6, *al-[s]i-ku-nu-ši* R 12, GÜ-ū VIII 53, R 162, *il-su-u* VI 45, *il-su-ū* R 101, *il-ta-si* II 31, *lil-sa-a* III 163, *lil-sa-ki-ma* I 56, *lu-ul-si-ki-ma* I 58, *ú-šas-su-ū* I 6,

šattu “year”: MU.AN.NA VII 136, *šā-na-at* V 77, **šatū** “to drink”: *al-ti* VI 106, R 111, *liš-ti* III 162,

šatāru “to write”: *ša]-ru* R 125,

šeitu “female neighbor”: *še-i-tu* III 113,

še'u “corn”: ŠE.AM I 24, V 50,

še'ū “to seek”: *eš-e-ka* II 14, 26, *iš-te-ā-a* I 18, *liš-te-ā-u-ū-ki* II 210, *taš-te-né-ā-a* V 115, [taš-te-né]e-e VI 48, *téš-te-né-i-in-ni* II 206,

še'ū “neighbor”: *še-u* III 113,

šebēru “to break”: *liš-bir-ma* IV 94, see also *šabāru*,

šēdu “genie”: ^uALAD.MEŠ II 209, *še-ed* VII 123, *še-e-du* I 136,

šemū “to hear, heed”: *še-mu-ū* II 5, 6, *ši-ma-a* I 13, 63, 64, *ši-min-ni* I 59, *ta-šem-mi-ši-na-a-ti* I 57,

šēpu “foot”: GÌR.2 III 6, V 22, GÌR.2-a-a VI 8, 99, VII 50, GÌR.2-ia VI 54, GÌ[R.2-ia] II 188, GÌR.2-ki III 94, V 22, GÌR.[2].MU II 34, GÌR.2.MU I 133, VI 75, GÌR.2-šū R 86,

šer'ānu “sinew, tendon”: SA.MEŠ V 89, R 81, SA.MEŠ.MU VII 117, *šér-a-ni* VII 39, UZU.šér-a-na VII 31,

šēru “morning”: *še-e-ru* VII 141, 145, 153, R 152, 153, 154, *še-ri* VII 162, R 155, *še-r[i]* R 138, *še-ru-um-ma* R 154, *š[e-ru-um-ma* VII 153, **šeššu**: 6].KÁM* VI 160,

šētu “web”: *še-es-sa* VII 82, *še-e-ti* II 165, 176, III 158,

ši “she, it”: *ši-i* I 19, II 200, IV 112, VII 2,

šiāmu “to decree, destine”: *i-šim-ki* VI 120,

šikāru “beer”: KAŠ IV 64, *ši-kar-[š]ā* VIII 5,

šikkū “mungo”: ^uNIN.KILIM IV 61,

šimmatu “paralysis”: *šim-ma-tú* II 64,

šimtu “fate, destiny”: NAM.MEŠ VI 56, *šim-ti* III 176, *šim-ti-ia* VI 66, *šim-ti-ki* III 115, *ši-i-mat* IV 135, *ši-m[a-ti]* II 215,

šina “1. they; 2. two”: *ši-na* III 31, 32, R 44,

šipātu “wool”: SÍG R 67, 69,

šipru “art, ruse; message”: *šip-ri* VII 147, *šip-ri-šā* VI 129,

šiptu “incantation”: ÉN I 1, 36, 37, 41, 42, 49, 50, 60, 61, 72, 73, 121, 122, 134, 135, 143, 144, II 1, 19, 77, 103, 105, 125, 127, 134, 136, 150, 157, 159, 183, 203, 205, 225, 227, III 1, 30, 31, 39, 60, 61, 76, 77, 87, 88, 102, 116, 124, 125, 135, 136, 153, 154, 180, 187, 188, IV 1, 79, 80, 107, 115, 122, 123, 151, V 1, 10, 11, 18, 19, 47, 48, 56, 57, 75, 76, 83, 89, 98, 112, 131, 132, 142, 144, 145, 149, 157, 158, 175, 176, VI 1, 15, 16, 34, 64, 65, 68, 69, 78, 85, 98, 106, 119, 127, 135, 143, VII 22, 26, 29, 32, 36, 41, 44, 45, 46, 54, 55, 79a, 80, 107, 113, 114, 141, 161, 162, 169, 177, 178, VIII 53, 61, 96, 128, 129, 141, R 6, 12, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 118, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 134, 137, 140, 143, 148, 149, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 165, 169, 170, 173, 175, 178, ÉN] II 181, IV 106, V 88, 97, 111, É[N VI 40, R 21, É[N] IV 94, 114, VI 84, VII 106, É]N VI 77, [ÉN IV 95, VI 24, 45, 52, 113, 159, VII 1, 145, 153,

VIII 1, 24, 35, 108, R 19, 150, 152, [ÉN] IV 152, VI 23, 152, VII 101, VIII 23, [É]N II 161, VII 47, 170, R 137, ÉN.MEŠ R 133a, ÉN-su I 55, VI 77, ÉN-su-nu I 134, *ši-pat* VIII 102, *ši-pat-k[i]* V 9, *ši-pat-su-un* VII 11, *ši-p[a-ti-ši-na]* VIII 99, *šipātu* “wool”: SÍG R 67, 69, *širu* “flesh”: UZU VII 50, 164, UZU.MEŠ II 64, VII 119, UZU.MEŠ-ia II 68, UZU.MEŠ-ki III 145, VIII 127, UZU.MEŠ.MU VII 117, UZU.MEŠ-šú R 133, *šitta* “two”: 2-*ta* I 43, R 44, *šizbu* “milk”: GA IV 64, *šû* “he”: *šu-ma* II 65, *šu-ú* IV 108, 110, *šubtu* “seat, settlement, dwelling”: *šu-bat-ki* II 208, [*šu*]-*bat-su* II 221, *šubû* (a semi-precious stone, perhaps “agate”): NA₄.ŠUBA R 158, *šubultu* “present”: *šu-bu-la-a-ti* IV 67, *šukênu* “to prostrate oneself”: *tuš-ken* R 13, *t]uš-ken* R 18, *šulmu* “health, well-being”: *šul-ma* VII 136, *šuluša*: 3.TA III 32, *šumêlu* “left, south”: G[ù]B VI 148, 150 R 121, 150-*ki* VI 68, 150-*šá* R 50, 150-*šú* R 173, *šumu* “name”: M[U] IV 91, MU-*ka* II 19, MU-*ki* II 208, MU-*k[i]* II 215, *šu-me-ka* II 12, *šumu* “garlic”: SUM.SAR V 53, *šunnāia* “two each”: 2.TA III 31, *šunu* “they”: *šu-nu* I 94, II 94, 95, 96, 97, IV 150, *šú-nu* I 93, *šupālu* “underneath”: KI.TA III 23, *šupêltu* “exchange”: *šu-pel-te* V 20, *šupêlu* “to change”: *uš-ta-pe-lu* III 57, *uš-te-pê-lu-ki* VIII 92, *šuplu* “depression”: *šu-pul-ki* IV 96, *šûqu* “height”: *šu-qu-ki* IV 99, [*šu-qu-ki* IV 96, *šurbû* “exalted”: BULÜG R 32, BULÜG-*ú* R 27, *šur-bu-ú* I 122, 144, II 1, 90, *šurhungû* “pacification”: ŠÜR.HUN.GÁ I 90, IV 11, V 59, *šurmênu* “cypress”: GIŠ.ŠUR.MİN R 28, *šurpu* “burning (a ritual)”: *šur-pu* R 138, 139, *šurrû* “to begin”: *li-šar-ra-an-ni* VII 163, *šur-ru-ú* VII 163, *ú-šar-ru* III 54, *šuruppû* “frost”: *šu-ru-up-pu-u* VII 37, *šuškallu* “battle net”: *šu-uš-kal-li* III 159, *šûšuru* “sweepings”: *šu-šu-rat* II 169, 180, *šût* “those of”: *šu-ut* II 125, V 104, VII 46, *šuttu* “dream”: [MÁ]Š.GI₆ VII 166, MÁŠ.GI₆.MEŠ VII 118, *šutu* “south wind”: IM.U₁₈.LU V 76, R 78, IM.1 VI 68, *tabāku* “to pour, shed”: *a-tab-bak* III 115, *ta-bi-kà[t]* VIII 110, *t]a-(tab)-bak* III 115b, [*ta-tab-bak*] R 52, *tabālu* “to carry away; (Š) to let carry away”: *it-bal* III 9, 12, *lit-bal* VI 68, *lit-b[al]* VIII 76, [*it-bal* VIII 51, *šu-ut-bil* II 120, *tābilu* “dried vegetables or herbs”: *ta-bi-lu* R 74, *tāhāzu* “battle”: *ta-ha-zu* II 7, *takāltu* “stomach”: *ta-kal-ta-ki* VIII 71, *takālu* “to trust”: *at-ta-kal* VI 138, *at-ta-kil* VI 130, 146, 155, *tak-lat* II 200, *ta-ka-lu* VI 130, 146, 155, *takūru* “offspring”: *ta-kur* V 49,

tallaktu “path, way”: *tal-lak-ti-ka* II 123, *tamšilu* “likeness”: *tam-šil* I 123, *tāmту* “sea”: A.AB.BA] V 110, [A.AB.B]A III 132, *tam-tim* III 175, VI 94, [*ta-ma-t]*i V 102, see also *aiabbu*, *tamû* “to swear, adjure; (D) to conjure, adjure”: [*ta-ma*]-*ta* VI 100, *ta-ma-tu-nu* V 171, *t[a-ma]-tu-nu* V 172, *tûm-mu* R 137, *ú-t[a-am-mu-ku-nu-ši]* V 104, *tānihu* “sighing, weariness”: *ta-ni-hu* VII 125, *tappû* “comrade”: *tap-pe-e* III 81, *tap-[pe]-e* IV 70, *tap-pu-u* III 113, *tap-pu-ú* IV 81, *tapšuhu* “relief”: *tap-šu-uh-ti* VII 33, *tarāku* “to lash, pound, throb”: *at-[ruk]* VIII 72, *tarāru* “to tremble, shiver; (D) to cause to tremble”: *ú-tar-ri-ru* I 97, *tarāšu* “to stretch out”: *i-tar-ra-aš-ma* R 26, *tarbāšu* “pen, courtyard”: TÜR R 123, *tarbitu* “rearing, offspring”: *tar-bit* I 124, *tarkullu* “mooring post”: *tár-kul-la-šá* III 131, *tāru* “to turn, return; (D) to turn into, restore”: GUR V 168, [GUR] R 142, [GUR-*ma* R 14, *li-tir* V 25, *li-tir*] V 94, *mu-tir-ru* II 103, *nu-tir* VI 39, *ta-a-ri* III 29, *tir-ra* V 52, VI 58, *t[ir-ra* VI 15, *tir-ra* VI 29, *tu-ra-ni-ku-nu-ši* V 75, *tu-ur-rat* I 28, *ú-tar* V 5, VI 51, VII 100, 161, *ú-t[ar* VI 44, *ú-[tar* VI 23, *ú-tir* VII 71, *tazzimtu* “lamentation”: *ta-zi-im-ti* VII 128, *têu* “to wall up, cover”: *li-te-e’-[ki* VIII 78, *li-te-e’-ku-nu-ši* V 153, *tebû* “to get up, rise, attack; (Š) to raise”: *a-te-ba-ak-kim-ma* V 79, *it-bu-nim-ma* VII 155, *it-te-bi* VIII 5, *it]-te-bu-u* VIII 6, *te-ba-ti-na* III 34, *te-bi* VII 141, VIII 5, *te]-bi* R 152, *te-teb-ba-[a]* VI 11, *ú-šat-bi* VII 38, *tilti* see *tiše*, *temêru* “to bury”: *it-m[e]-ru* II 185, *ú-tam-me-ru* II 184, *tēnānû* “revolutionary”: *te-na-na-a* II 146, *terinnatu* “fir cone”: GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅ I 24, GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅ V 50, GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅.MEŠ VI 37, GIŠ.ŠE.Ú.SUH₅.MEŠ VI 27, *têrtu* “oracle, liver omen, liver”: *te-ret* R 134, *tēšû* “anarchy, confusion”: *te-šá-a* VIII 43, *tî’utu* “food, sustenance”: *ti-’u-ut* V 49, *tibu* “attack”: *ti-bu-šú* II 7, *tiku* “raindrop, trickle”: *ti-ki* I 118, *tinûru* “oven”: NINDU IV 23, *ti-nu-ri* III 167, *ti-nu-ru* II 191, *tirku* “throbbing”: *ti-rik* I 119, *tiru* “(eunuch) courtier”: [*t]*i-*ru* IV 69, *tiše(t)* “nine”: *ti-il-ti* V 77, *titurru* “bridge”: *ti-tur-ri* IV 33, *tû* “incantation, spell”: *ta-a* V 140, *te-šú-nu* V 105, 106, TU₆ V 18, *tu-ú* V 140, *tu-ú-šá* I 27, TU₆ I 36, 41, 49, 60, 72, 121, 134, 143, II 103, 125, 134, 159, 203, III 30, IV 79, 94, 122, 151, V 10, 47, 75, 88, 97, 131, 144, 157, 175, VI 15, 23, 64, 68, 84, VII 41, 46, 79a, 106, 113, 161, 169, 177, VIII 23, 128, T[U₆ II 181, IV 106, V 111, T[U₆ III 60, [T]U₆ II 225, VIII 141, *tubkinnu* “dung heap, garbage pit”: *tub-kin-na-ti* II 186, *tuduqqû* “incantation”: TU₆.DUG₄.GA-e II 158, *tullal* (a medicinal plant): *ú.tu-lal* VI 21, *tumurtu* “cinder, ember”: *tu-m[u]r-tum* III 23,

tuqumtu "battle, fight": *tu-qu-un-tu* VI 41, VIII 29, 31,
turruku "to be stilled": *tur-ru-uk* I 65, 66,
tūrtu "backing out, turning": *tur-tú* II 62,
tabāhu "to slaughter": *aṭ-bu-uh* V 143,
ṭābtu "salt": MUN I 31, 33, V 73, VI 119, 125, R 10, 77, 113,
ṭābtu B "goodness": *ṭa-ab-ti* II 207,
ṭābu "good": DUG.GA VII 116, 167, R 29, DUG.GA.MEŠ II 117, V 116, VII 39, 119, DUG.GA.ME[Š] VII 118, ṭa-ab-tu VIII 135, ṭa-abu II 212, ṭa-bu-ti I 139a,
ṭahādu "to prosper; (D) to provide lavishly": *uṭa-hi-id-ka* VII 33,
ṭarādu "to drive off": *aṭ-ru-ud* VII 37,
ṭehū "to approach": TE VI 14, TE-a V 18, VII 176, T]E-a VII 167, TE-e V 169, TE-ka VIII 139, TE.MEŠ-ku-nu-ši VII 53, TE.MEŠ-ni III 153, 170, V 129, VI 64, VII 13, 54, TE-ú V 17, VII 175,
ṭēmu "order, report, mind": *ṭē-en-ki* III 144, *ṭē-en-ku-nu* V 121, *ṭē-e-me* II 83, *ṭē-e-mu* IV 12, *ṭē-me-ki* V 7, *ṭē-mu* I 91,
ṭittu "clay": IM I 22, 65, II 204, III 30a, 101a, 115a, 124a, IV 38, 114, VI 29, 39, 51, VII 21, VIII 52, 59, R 25, 36, 40, 42, 49, 50, 53, 66, 142, 146, 166, IM] V 92, VI 23, R 53, I[M] III 124a, IM-a-a II 183, R 40, IM-šá III 17, IM-šú-nu III 134, IM.KÁ[M] II 135, ṭi-ṭa-ki II 190,
ṭūbu "goodness": *tu-ub* VII 164,
tuppu "tablet": DUB I 145, II 228, V 177, VIII 142, [DUB III 189, VI 160, R 180, [D]UB IV 153, VII 179,
turru "string (of amulet stones)": DUR R 67, 69, *tur-ra* III 33,
u "and": *u* I 3, 52, 54, 60, 62, 66, 68, 76, 77, 78, 91, 95, 109, 110, 111, 115, 140, II 16, 32, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 67, 85, 92, 99, 107, 110, 111, 117, 128, 129, 132, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 158, 172, 181, 196, 214, 224, III 16, 30a, 35, 54, 58, 70, 71, 73, 75, 99, 112, 123, 127, 128, 129, 135, 146, 161, 186, IV 2, 12, 20, 22, 39, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 79, 138, 140, 141, 149, V 10, 20, 39, 51, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 81, 85, 101, 107, 117, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 145, 160, VI 9, 12, 14, 28, 38, 68, 79, 83, 108, 22, 48, 49, VII 6, 11, 12, 17, 77, 78, 130, 137, 154, 168, 169, VIII 25, 57, 92, 103, 106, 124, 126, 127, R 21, 66, 77, 110, 121, 127, 144, 146, 171, 173, 174, *u*] V 88, 111, *ú* I 15, 16, II 15, *û* I 6, 8, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 121, 139, II 23, 29, 30, 83, 109, 171, 201, III 5, 60, 76, 87, 179, IV 21, 23, 112, 152, V 1, 4, 22, 26, 36, 37, 38, 43, 56, 82, 97, 106, VI 23, 39, 59, 66, 142, VII 7, 10, 16, 19, 28, 44, 99, 100, 133, 140, 151, VIII 33, 52, 63, 94, 128, 141, R 71, 76, [*û* VI 51, [*û*] V 105, VII 2,
u'a "woe! alas!": *u'3-a* VII 126,
u'uru see *āru*,
ubānu "finger": ŠU.SI R 66, ŠU.SI.MEŠ-ki VI 142, ŠU.SI.MEŠ-šú-nu I 119, ŠU.SI.MEŠ-ú-a VI 5, ŠU.SI-šú R 26,
ubāru "(foreign) guest, newcomer": *ú-ba-ra* IV 83,
ubburu "to bind, surround, accuse, denounce": *tu-ub-bi-ri-in-ni* III 109, *ub-bi-ir* VII 67, *ub-bi-ra-an-ni* I 5, *ub-bi-r[u]* VII 60,
uhūlu "alkali": NAGA IV 65,

ukultu "food": *ú-kul-tum* IV 63,
ul "not": *ul* I 40, II 9, 10, 11, 82, 208, III 65, 66, 147, 148, 149, 150, VI 80, 81, 88, 113, 121, 122, R 112,
ulinnu "yarn, cord": TUG.ú-li-in-na VI 132, R 117,
ullānu "apart from, other than": *ul-l]a-nu-uk-ki* VI 115,
ullu "collar": *ul-lu* VI 3,
ultu "from": *ul-tu* III 33, R 162, see also *undu*,
ūmišam "daily": UD-me-šam VII 121,
ummānu "army, troops; populace": ERÍN.HI.A VI 56, *um-ma-na-ti-šú* II 194, *um-ma-nu* IV 33,
ummu "mother": AMA IV 71, VI 19, AMA-šú] IV 107, R 67, AMA-[šú] IV 109, AM[A-šú VIII 55, *um-mu* I 102,
ūmu "day, (fire-)storm": UD-ka I 117, II 134, UD-ki VII 5, UD-ki] V 80, UD-me III 46, V 48, 77, UD-mi II 68, 145, UD-[mi] VIII 103, UD-mu II 4, 127, IV 119, 120, V 176, VI 1, VII 136, R 36, 96, UD-um-ki VI 50, UD.15.KAM V 76,
ūm bubbuli "new moon day": UD.NÁ.ĀM VI 118,
undu "when": TA VIII 53, 54, *un-du* R 161, *un-du]* VI 52, *un-d]u* VIII 35, *u[n-du* R 102, see also *ultu*,
unninnu "supplication": *un-ni-ni]* VIII 110,
unqu "signet ring, sealed order": ŠU.GUR R 158,
unūtu "equipment, gear; (pl.) utensils, internal organs": *ú-na-a-ti* VIII 73,
upšašū "magical actions, sorcery, witchcraft": *up-šá-še-e* I 88, V 116, VI 124, 126, VII 129, *up-šá-še-ki* VII 73, 108, *up-šá-še-ku-nu* IV 4, *up-šá-šu-ki* III 152, *up-šá-šu-šá* VI 63, *up-šá-šu-ú* VII 139, *up-[šá-šu-ú* VII 52a,
upuntu (a kind of flour): *ú-pu-un-ti* I 10,
urhu "road": *ur-hi* VII 146,
urpatu "cloud": *ur-pa-ta-ki* V 80, IM.DIRI V 78,
urru "day": *ur-ra* I 8, II 67, VII 6, *ur-ra]* V 81,
ūrtu "order, command": *ur-ti* II 83,
ūru "roof": *ú-ri* III 140, ŪR.MU VI 131, 139, 147, ŪR].MU VI 156,
uṣurtu "design, drawing, scheme": *ú-ṣu-rat* III 177,
ušallu "meadow": *ú-šal-li* III 173, VI 92,
ušburrudū "anti-witchcraft magic": UŠ₁₁.BŪR III 153a, 187a, UŠ₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA II 76, 104, 126, 135, 149, 204, III 60a, UŠ₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA] III 101a, UŠ₁₁.BŪR.R[U.DA II 226, U[Š₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA II 160, U[Š₁₁.BŪR.R]U.DA II 18, U[Š₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA II 182, UŠ₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA.KÁM III 30a, (UŠ₁₁.BŪR.RU.DA.KÁM) III 38a,
ušū "ebony": GIŠ.ESI III 175, VI 94,
ušultu "vein": *ú-š]ul-ta-ki* VIII 72,
utukku "ghost": *ú-tuk-ku* I 136, VII 123, UDUG II 52, V 60, R 92, UDUG.MEŠ II 210,
utānu "oven": *ú-tu-ni* IV 139, R 51, UDUN III 114, IV 23, UD[UN] III 115a, U[DU]N II 219,
uṭṭetu "grain, barley": ŠE.BAR V 11, ŠE.B[A]R V 14,
uznu "ear": G[EŠ]TUG.2-a-a II 14, GEŠTUG.2-na-a-a VII 50,
uzuzzu "to stand, to be present; (Š) to set up, position": *az-ziz* II 87, III 67, GUB-az III 6, 91,

GUB-z]u VIII 49, *iz-za-az* VII 156, 157, *iz-za-az-zu* I 94, *iz-zi-za* V 78, *i-ziz-za-am-ma* II 130, 145, III 81, *i-zi-za-nim-ma* I 13, *li-iz-zi-iz* I 67, *lu-uz-ziz* II 100, *ta-az-za-zu-ma* II 22, *ul-te-ez-ziz* VI 149,

uzzu "anger, wrath": *uz-zi* V 69, 70, *u[z-z]i* VIII 102,

zabālu "to carry, transport": *li-iz-bil* VII 132,

zābu "to dissolve": *i-zu-bu* II 147, *li-zu-bu* II 148, III 75, *zu-ba* I 140, V 145, R 87,

zaiāru "hater, enemy": *za-a-a-ri* II 8,

zakû "to be(come) clean": *az-za-ku* I 26, V 97, *z[a-ku-ú* V 95,

zanānu "to rain": *i-za-an-nun* II 154,

zapru "malicious": *zap-ru-ti* V 115,

zaqāpu "to plant, erect": *az-za-qāp* VI 131, 139, 147, *az-za-qa-ap* VI 156,

zaqru "high, steep": *zaq-ru* III 151,

zāqu "to blow, waft": *[a-zi-qa-kim-m]a* VI 49, *[a-z]i-qa-kim-ma* VII 4, *i-zi-qa-am-ma* III 134,

zenû "to be angry": *ú-za-an-nu-ú* I 100, 109,

zēru "seed, offspring": NUMUN I 111, II 143, 144, III 175, VI 94, NUMUN-šá VII 25, *ze-er* II 196,

zibu "vulture": NU.UM.MA.MUŠEN VIII 124,

zikaru "male": NITA IV 86,

zikurudû (a form of witchcraft): ZI.KUD.RU.DA-a I 90, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA IV 52, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a IV 11, 58, 80, V 58, VII 7, R 65, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-[a V 82, ZI.KU₅.R[U].DA-a IV 54, 55, 56, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a IV 53, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-a IV 57, Z[I.K]U₅.RU.DA-a IV 59, [ZI.K]U₅.RU.DA-a IV 60, 61, 62, ZI.KU₅.RU.DA-ki VII 75,

zimu "appearance, countenance": *zi-mi* R 80, *zi-mi* V 83,

ziqtu "sting": *zi-qit* III 150,

ziru "hate": HUL.GIG I 89, IV 10, V 57, VIII 137, R 77, HUL.GIG-ki VII 75,

zisurrû "magic circle": ZI.SUR.RA-a R 22, 136,

zumru "body": SU VII 30, SU-ia II 72, SU-ka VII 37, SU-ki III 30, SU.MU III 16, V 157, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 175, VII 28, 117, 130, 140, R 150, S[U.M]U VII 77, SU-šú VII 46, *zu-mur-ki* II 218, *zu-mur-ku-nu* III 164, *zu-um-ri* III 65, VII 114, *zu-um-r[i-ia]* VI 6,

zuqaqipu "scorpion": GÍR.TAB III 150, GÍR.TAB VI 159, GÍR.TA[B] VII 1,

Index of Names

Place Names and Gentilics

Amurrû (West): MAR.KI V 73, R 77,
Diglat (Tigris): ID.IDIGNA V 125, VIII 11,
 ID.IDIGNA] V 101,
Elamû "Elamite": *e-la-ma-a-ti* IV 125, *e-la-ma-a-tum* IV 116, *e-la-ma-ta* III 80,
Elamtu (Elam): *e-la-mu-û* III 77, R 47,
Eridu (Sumerian city, cult center of Enki/Ea):
 ERI.DU₁₀ II 125, V 104, VII 36, 46, 115, VIII 93,
Hanigalbatû "Mitannian": *ha-bi-gal-bat-a-ti*
 IV 129, *ha-bi-gal-bat-a-t[um]* IV 116,
Lullubû "Lullubean": *lul-lu-ba-a-ti* IV 128,
Larsa (city in Babylonia, Sinkara): ARARMA.KI
 II 193,

Purattu (Euphrates): ID.BURANUN.KI V 125,
 ID.BURANUN.KI] V 101,
Qutû "Gutian": *gu-ti-e-ti* IV 116, *qu-ta-a-ti* IV
 126,
Sutû "Sutean": *su-ta-a-ti* IV 127, *su-ta-te* III
 79, *su-tu-û* III 77, R 47,
Subartu (Assyria): SU.BI[R₄.KI] IV 101,
 SU.B[IR₄.KI] IV 97,
Ûru (Ur, city in Babylonia, Tell al-Muqayyar):
 ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI II 193,
Zabban (a city on the Lower Zab; the name can
 also be read *šabban* and refer to Mt. Saphon):
zab-ban I 42, 43, R 20, *za]b-ban* R 20,

God, Star and Temple Names

Ahhāzu (a demon, "jaundice", lit. "seizer"):
 DIM₈.ME.HAB II 55, DIM₁₀.ME.HAB V 66, see also
ahhāzu,
Amurru (a god associated with thunderstorm
 and flood): MAR.T[U] VI 4,
Antu (consort of Anu): *an-tum* I 52, 60,
Anu (god of heaven): *a-nim* I 122, II 5, 62, 77,
 105, 136, 219, III 31, 32, 63, 179, IV 42, 79, VI
 87, R 34, 35, 37, 44, *[a-nim]* R 27, *a-num* I 52,
 60, VI 70,
Anunnakkî (designation of the infernal gods):
a-nun-na-ki II 140,
Asalluhi (name of Marduk as healer god):
 ASAL.LÚ.HI I 62, 72, II 171, IV 6, V 117, 135,
 137, 173, VII 19, 32, 41, 110, *[ASAL.LÚ.HI]* V 90,
[ASAL.LÚ].HI VI 57,
Balihû (deified river Balikh): KASKAL.KUR-e
 VI 95,
Bēlet šēri ("Lady of the steppe, scribe of the
 netherworld): *be-let* EDIN I 53, 60, IV 22,
Bēlet ilî ("Mistress of the Gods," creation goddess):
be-let DINGIR.MEŠ V 10, 111, *[be-let]* DINGIR.MEŠ
 V 131, *be-let i-lî* VII 169, DINGIR.MAH VIII 128,
 141,
Ēa (god of wisdom): DIŠ V 117, VII 62, VIII
 41, É.A IV 6, VII 169, VIII 70, É.[A V 108, *[É.A]*
 VIII 7, É.A I 143, II 124, 157, III 58, 165, IV 5,
 78, V 10, 89, 111, 131, 134, 136, 148, 172, VI 56,
 104, VII 32, 34, 36, 40, 41, 45, 103, 137, VIII 93,
 128, 140, R 81, *[É.A]* VIII 42,
Ekur (temple of Enlil in Nippur): É.K[UR R 135,

Enanki (a name of Ea): EN.AN.KI I 124,
Enbilulu (a name of Marduk): *en-bi-lu-lu* VII
 106, 113,
Ereqqu ("Wagon", Ursa Maior): MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA
 IV 57,
Ereškigal (Queen of the underworld): *[ere]š-ki-
 gal* VIII 123,
Gamlu (Auriga): *gam-lu₄* VI 4,
Gilgāmeš (legendary king of Uruk, an under-
 world judge): GÍŠ.GÍN.MAŠ I 38, *[GÍ]Š.GÍN.MAŠ*
 IV 50,
Girra (fire god): BIL.GI II 201, 218, III 25, 26,
 27, 28, 29, 30, 81, 84, 4:140, 141, 142, 143, 144,
 145, 146, 147, 148, *[BI]L.GI* II 221, *GÍŠ.BAR* I
 110, 134, II 19, 74, 77, 98, 105, 110, 111, 112,
 113, 114, 115, 116, 122, 127, 136, 141, 142, 191,
 202, 203, III 58, 59, 135, 161, 162, 163, 166, 169,
 178, 179, IV 8, 9, 13, 43, 75, 76, 79, 121, 138, V
 20, 84, 88, 92, 97, 117, 174, R 33, 34, 35, 36, 37,
GÍŠ.B[AR] II 181, *GÍŠ].BAR* II 202, *G[ÍŠ].BAR* VI
 141, *[GÍŠ].BAR* IV 105, *[G]ÍŠ.BAR* II 90, 192,
[GÍŠ].BAR VIII 92,
Gula (goddess of healing): *gu-la* II 217, IV 55,
 VI 3, VII 42,
Habaširānu (Centaurus): MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.HUZ
 IV 60,
Id (river god): ID III 61, 68, 71, 76, 85, 87, VI
 78, 98, 101, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, R 46,
 106, 109, 111, *[ID]* VIII 45,
Igigi (gods of heaven): *i-gi-gi* II 2, 6, 139,
Illil (Enlil, head of the Sumerian pantheon):

^dEN.LÍL II 5, 6, V 176, VI 1, i 20, R 96, 124, 126, 132, ^dEN.LÍL I 123, VI 71, ^dEN.LÍL) R 135, ^d[E]N.LÍL VII 47,

Ištar (Ishtar, goddess of love): ^diš-tar V 55, ^dU.DAR III 176, ^d15 II 30, III 115a, VI 105, R 50, ^d15.MEŠ III 50,

Ištar Akkadi "Ishtar of Akkad": ^dINANNA-A.GA.DÈ.KI II 195,

Kaduhhû ("The Howling one," constellation of Cygnus): MUL.UD.KA.DUH.A IV 54,

Kanisurra (daughter of Nanaya, mistress of sorceresses): ^dka-ni-sur-ra V 56,

Labāšu (a demon): ^dDIM₈.ME.A II 55, ^dDIM₁₀.ME.A V 66, *la-ba-ši* I 137,

Lahmu (primordial god, porter of the abyss): *lāh-me* VII 50, *lāh-mu* VII 50,

Lamassu (protective deity, guardian angel): ^dLAMMA-ki VII 64, ^dLAMMA-šu III 11,

Lamaštu (child-snatching demoness): ^dDIM₈.ME II 55, ^dDIM₁₀.ME V 66, *la-maš-ti* I 137, IV 42,

Lātarāk ("Unbeatable," a netherworld god): ^dla-ta-rak VI 7,

Lugal-edina ("King of the Steppe," a name of Nergal): ^dLUGAL.EDIN.NA VI 7, VII 157, 159,

Lugal-irra ("The Mighty Lord," a name of Nergal): ^dLUGAL.IR₉.RA VI 13, 149, ^dLU[GAL].I[R₉.RA II 214,

Lugal-urra (a name of Šulpaea/Jupiter): ^d[LUGAL.ÜR.RA] II 59,

Marduk (god of Babylon): ^dAMAR.UTU I 55, II 170, III 58, IV 78, V 10, 131, VII 18, 169, ^dAMAR.UTU] VIII 92, ^dAMAR.U[TU VI 77, ^dA[MAR].UTU VII 49, ^d[AMAR.UTU V 111, ^d[A]MAR.UTU VII 137, ^dKU VIII 128, 140,

Meslamtaea (an appellative of Nergal): ^dMES.LAM.TA].È.A II 214, ^dMES.L[AM].TA.È.A VI 149,

Muhra (a demon slain by Ninurta): ^dmu-úh-ra VI 8,

Mullissu (consort of Aššur, Queen of Heaven): ^dNIN.LÍL VI 71,

Nanāia (Nanaya, goddess of erotic love): ^dna-na-a V 55,

Nannar ("Luminary," an appellative of Šîn): ^dŠEŠ.KI-ra-ta II 19,

Nergal (lord of the underworld): ^dU.GUR II 194, ^dU.GUR] VI 56,

Nikkal (consort of Šîn): [^dNI]N.GAL IV 109,

Ningirima (goddess of incantations and purification): ^dNIN.GIRIM II 158, VII 44,

Ningirsu ("Lord of Girsu," Sumerian god equated with Ninurta): ^dNIN.GÍR.SU VI 45, ^dNIN.GÍR.SU R 101,

Ningišzida (a resurrecting god): ^dNIN.GIŠ.ZI.DA VII 11, 14,

Ninšiku (an appellative of Ea): ^dNIN.IGI.KUG VII 36,

Nintinuga (a name of Gula): ^dNIN.TIN.UG₅.GA VII 43,

Ninurta (son of Enlil, god of victory): ^dN[IN].URTA II 216,

Nissaba (grain goddess): ^dNISABA VI 142, VII 66,

Nūru ("Light, Lamp", an epithet of Nusku): ^dZALÁG R 135,

Nusku (son of Šîn): ^dPA.TÚG I 73, 87, 95, 122, 144, II 1, 8, III 135, V 20, 93, 144, R 26, 32, 87, 134, ^dPA.TÚG] V 97, ^dPA.[TÚG V 88, (^d)PA.TÚG R 27,

Pāilil (or Gištu, "Leader," a name of Nergal as war god): ^dIGI.DU VII 156, 158,

Papsukkal (messenger of Ištar): ^dpap-sukkal VI 13,

Šîn (moon god): ^d[30] II 193, ^d30 II 23, 107, III 98, 125, IV 52, 109, VI 4, R 54,

Širis (god of brewing): ^dŠIM VII 11,

Šakkan (cattle god): ^dšakkán VII 23,

Šalaš (consort of Adad): ^dša-la-a[š] II 137,

Šamaš (sun, god of justice): ^dUTU I 113, II 11, 23, 107, 124, 130, 193, III 81, 4:111, V 10, 111, 131, 171, VII 48, 51, 63, 137, 144, 169, 178, VIII 1, 3, 7, 24, 26, 27, 28, 122, 128, R 160, ^dUT[U] VIII 140,

Šitaddaru (Orion): MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA IV 59,

Šukūdu (Sirius): MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ VII 47, R 132,

Šulpaea (a name of Jupiter): ^dŠUL.PA.È.A II 58, IV 53,

Tamūzu (Tammuz): ^dDUMU.ZI V 55,

Uraš (city god of Dilbat, equated with Ninurta): ^duraš VI 2,

Urgulû (Leo): MUL.UR.GU.LA IV 56,

Uru₄ (a name of Ninurta as god of agriculture): ^dURU₄ VIII 53, R 162,

Zuqaqīpu (Scorpius) GÍR.TAB III 150, GÍR.TAB] VI 159, GÍR.TA[B] VII 1, MUL.GÍR.TAB IV 58,

SIGN LIST

001	𐎠	<i>àna</i>	3	013	𐎠𐎡	KU ₅	18
		<i>aš</i>	8			KUD	16
		<i>ina</i>	250			SILA	14
		IN ₆	3			<i>an</i>	106
002	𐎠𐎡	<i>ḫal</i>	8	015	𐎠𐎡𐎢	d	404
		ḪAL	2			AN	36
003	𐎠𐎡𐎢	MUG	1			DINGIR	85
005	𐎠𐎡𐎢	<i>ba</i>	89			<i>ka</i>	147
		BA	7	016	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	DUG ₄	9
006	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	<i>šú</i>	2			GÙ	2
		<i>zu</i>	32			INIM	50
		ZU	178			KA	65
	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤	ABZU	8	017	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥	ZÚ	2
007	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤	<i>su</i>	53			DIMMA	2
		KUŠ	1			TU ₆	50
		SU	27			UŠ ₁₁	188
008	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥	<i>ruk</i>	1	018	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦	NUNDUN	2
		<i>šin</i>	9	032	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧	EME	9
009	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦	<i>bal</i>	32	035	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	<i>nak</i>	5
		<i>pal</i>	5			ERI	6
		BAL	10	038	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩	URU	19
		BALA	1	044	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪	ASAL	14
010	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪	<i>át</i>	3	049*	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫	U ₁₈	3
		GÍR	7	050	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬	ARAD	4
011	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭	BÚR	23	052	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮	NÍTA	4
012	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮	<i>ḫaš</i>	5			ITI	2
		<i>ḫaš</i>	1	053	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯	<i>šaḫ</i>	1
		<i>kut</i>	3			<i>šiḫ</i>	2
		<i>qud</i>	6	055	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰	ŠAH	3
		<i>qut</i>	9			<i>la</i>	177
		<i>šil</i>	2			LA	11
		<i>tar</i>	11			ŠIKA	6
		<i>tara</i>	1				

MAQLÛ

056		APIN	1	070		TIL	1
		URU ₄	2			ÚŠ	16
057		<i>maḥ</i>	10	071		<i>na</i>	284
		MAḤ	6			NA	14
058		<i>tu</i>	167	072		<i>šer</i>	2
		GUR ₈	9			<i>šir</i>	3
		KU ₄	2			<i>kul</i>	12
		TU	3			<i>qul</i>	1
059		<i>le</i>	37	073		KUL	2
		<i>li</i>	223			NUMUN	6
		LI	4			<i>ti</i>	422
060		<i>kúr</i>	4	074		TI	6
		<i>pap</i>	1			1:	1
		KÚR	4			<i>bar</i>	17
		PAP	1			<i>mas</i>	1
060,33		BÛLUG	2	075		<i>maš</i>	10
		DIM ₄	2			<i>pár</i>	1
060d		ZUBI	1	076		BAR	81
060e		PA ₅	1			MAŠ	28
061		<i>mu</i>	109	077		IDIGNA	3
		MU	238			<i>là</i>	22
062		<i>qa</i>	55	078		<i>nu</i>	342
063a		<i>kát</i>	1			NU	138
063c		<i>kàt</i>	9	079		MÁŠ	2
067		GIB	1			<i>kun</i>	2
068		<i>ru</i>	187	080		<i>bak</i>	3
		<i>šub</i>	4			<i>ḥu</i>	69
		RU	35			<i>pag</i>	2
		ŠUB	14			<i>paq</i>	9
069		<i>bat</i>	37	081		MUŠEN	3
		<i>be</i>	22			<i>nam</i>	24
		<i>mid</i>	1			NAM	3
		<i>mit</i>	4			<i>ek</i>	2
		<i>miṭ</i>	2			<i>ig</i>	1
		<i>pát</i>	1			<i>ik</i>	28
		<i>tel</i>	6			<i>iq</i>	17
		<i>til</i>	6			GÁL	2
		<i>ziz</i>	7			IG	4
		BAD	1			<i>mut</i>	14
		IDIM	11			<i>muṭ</i>	2

SIGN LIST

083		<i>rad</i>	1	104		<i>sa</i>	64
		<i>rat</i>	15			SA	4
		ŠITA	1			GÚ	4
084		<i>ší</i>	1	108		<i>tur</i>	2
		<i>ze</i>	4			DUR	2
		<i>zi</i>	17	109		LÀL	7
		ZI	32			<i>qur</i>	2
085		<i>ge</i>	1	111		GUR	6
		<i>gi</i>	13			<i>se</i>	9
		GI	28			<i>si</i>	59
086		<i>dal</i>	2	112		SI	12
		<i>re</i>	27			<i>tár</i>	1
		<i>ri</i>	111			DAR	5
		<i>tal</i>	14			<i>riš</i>	3
087		<i>nun</i>	2	115		<i>sak</i>	1
		NUN	10			<i>šak</i>	9
		ABGAL	11			SAG	42
087a		TÜR	1	122		MÁ	12
088		<i>kab</i>	5	123		<i>dir</i>	4
		<i>kap</i>	2			<i>mál</i>	1
		<i>qáp</i>	3			<i>řir</i>	8
		GÜB	1			DIRI	4
		<i>gat</i>	2			SA ₅	1
090		<i>qàd</i>	2	124		<i>tab</i>	7
		ŠINIG	10			<i>tap</i>	43
093		<i>tim</i>	48	124,42		TAB	7
		TIM	1			LÍMMU	2
094		<i>mun</i>	1	126		<i>šum</i>	2
		MUN	9			<i>tag</i>	1
095		<i>ag</i>	3	128		<i>tak</i>	11
		<i>ak</i>	33			<i>taq</i>	10
		<i>aq</i>	13			TAG	2
		<i>en</i>	14			<i>ab</i>	16
099		EN	44	129		<i>ap</i>	14
		^d EN	9			AB	3
101		<i>sur</i>	5	129a		<i>nab</i>	6
		<i>šur</i>	17			<i>nap</i>	9
		SUR	2			<i>mul</i>	1
		ŠUR	1			MUL	8
		<i>suh</i>	4			<i>uk</i>	5
102		INNIN	3	130		<i>uq</i>	2
103							

131		<i>as</i>	17	152		<i>her</i>	1
		<i>aş</i>	21			<i>hir</i>	15
		<i>az</i>	14			<i>şar</i>	27
132		URUDU	3			<i>şir</i>	7
133		KÁ	29			KEŞDA	26
134		<i>dîh</i>	3			MÚ	2
		<i>um</i>	23			SÁĦAR	3
		UM	1			SAR	13
138		<i>dup</i>	2	153		BÀD	3
		<i>tub</i>	2			UG ₅	1
		DUB	11	164		SUM	2
139		<i>ta</i>	230	165		NAGA	1
		TA	9	166		KASKAL	2
142		<i>i</i>	166			ILLAT	3
		I	2			DANNA	5
142a		<i>ia</i>	124	167		<i>gap</i>	1
		<i>ie</i>	1			<i>qab</i>	6
143		<i>kám</i>	1			DU ₈	3
		<i>kan</i>	7			DUĦ	12
		ĦÉ	5			GABA	2
		KÁM	12	168		<i>edin</i>	1
		KAM*	5			BIR ₄	2
144		<i>tur</i>	10			EDIN	11
		<i>řur</i>	1	169		<i>taĥ</i>	3
		DUMU	37	170		<i>am</i>	36
		TUR	8			AM	2
		IBILA	1	171		UZU	10
145		<i>ad</i>	6	172		<i>bil</i>	19
		<i>at</i>	110			<i>ne</i>	1
		<i>ař</i>	4			<i>pel</i>	1
		AD	5			<i>pil</i>	1
146		ĦAŞĦUR	1			<i>řè</i>	6
147		<i>şe</i>	2			BIL	20
		<i>şi</i>	24			DÈ	1
148		<i>in</i>	70			IZI	12
		IN	14			NE	1
149		<i>rab</i>	1			ÉRIM	1
		<i>rap</i>	5	183		<i>ram</i>	5
150		DÌM	6			ÁG	3
151		LUGAL	19	190		<i>ziq</i>	1
				191		<i>qu</i>	61

SIGN LIST

192		<i>gaš</i>	1	229		NA ₄	11
		<i>kàs</i>	4	230		<i>dà</i>	2
		<i>kâš</i>	3			<i>qaq</i>	6
		GAZ	8			DÀ	2
195		UNUG	2			DÙ	22
203		ÚR	2			KAK	2
205		<i>il</i>	23	231		<i>ì</i>	1
206		<i>du</i>	60			<i>lí</i>	11
		<i>kub</i>	1			<i>né</i>	31
		DU	28			<i>ni</i>	354
		GUB	3			<i>šal</i>	4
206a		LAH ₄	7			<i>ì</i>	46
207		<i>tu₄</i>	1	232		<i>er</i>	1
		<i>tum</i>	96			<i>ir</i>	15
208		ANŠE	1	233		GÁ	21
209		EGIR	6	237		AMA	6
210		GEŠTIN	1			DAGAL	1
211		<i>nit</i>	1	252		GAZI	1
		<i>uš</i>	32	255		ÛR	6
		NITA	1	295		<i>ḥat</i>	4
		UŠ	6			<i>pa</i>	114
212		<i>iš</i>	26			PA	22
		<i>mil</i>	5	295e		MAŠKIM	5
		SAḤAR	5	295k		<i>sap</i>	6
214		<i>bé</i>	12			<i>šab</i>	2
		<i>bi</i>	114			<i>šap</i>	22
		<i>gaš</i>	4	295m		SIPA	1
		<i>kás</i>	5	296		<i>es</i>	1
		<i>kaš</i>	34			<i>eš</i>	3
		<i>pé</i>	1			<i>ez</i>	14
		<i>pí</i>	2			<i>giš</i>	1
		BI	6			<i>is</i>	18
		KAŠ	2			<i>iš</i>	18
215		<i>rik</i>	11			<i>iz</i>	7
		<i>riq</i>	1			GIŠ	164
		<i>šem</i>	1	297		GUD	1
		<i>šim</i>	10	298		<i>al</i>	31
		ŠIM	32	306		<i>ár</i>	8
228		<i>kib</i>	5			<i>ub</i>	26
		<i>kip</i>	3			<i>up</i>	24
		KIB	2				

MAQLÛ

307	𐎡𐎢𐎵	<i>mar</i>	7			LUḪ	25
		MAR	6			SUKKAL	2
308	𐎡𐎢	<i>e</i>	312	322	𐎡𐎢	<i>dan</i>	16
		E	1			<i>kal</i>	24
309	𐎡𐎢𐎵	<i>duk</i>	1			<i>lap</i>	4
		<i>lud</i>	3			<i>reb</i>	3
		<i>luṭ</i>	7			<i>rib</i>	2
		DUG	7			<i>tan</i>	1
310	𐎡𐎢𐎵	GURUN	1			ESI	2
312	𐎡𐎢	<i>un</i>	25			GURUŠ	8
313	𐎡𐎢	<i>kit</i>	5			KAL	4
		<i>líl</i>	1			LAMMA	4
		<i>qid</i>	4	323	𐎡𐎢𐎵	ALAD	1
		<i>qit</i>	3	324	𐎡𐎢	<i>bit</i>	29
		<i>sah</i>	5			<i>é</i>	2
		<i>síḫ</i>	1			<i>pid</i>	1
		LÍL	23			<i>pit</i>	2
314	𐎡𐎢	<i>lak</i>	17			<i>piṭ</i>	1
		<i>laq</i>	6			É	61
		<i>mis</i>	2	325	𐎡𐎢	<i>ner</i>	4
		<i>red</i>	1	328	𐎡𐎢	<i>ra</i>	142
		<i>ret</i>	1			RA	17
		<i>rit</i>	33	329	𐎡𐎢𐎵	ŠÚR	3
		<i>šid</i>	2	330	𐎡𐎢	LÚ	96
		<i>šiṭ</i>	1	331	𐎡𐎢	<i>sis</i>	2
		KIŠIB	3			<i>šas</i>	1
		LAG	11			<i>šiš</i>	1
		MES	2			ŠEŠ	8
		ŠID	19	332	𐎡𐎢	<i>zaq</i>	1.
318	𐎡𐎢𐎵	<i>šam</i>	14			ZÀ	1
		<i>ú</i>	293			ZAG	3
		Ú	41	333	𐎡𐎢	<i>qar</i>	15
319	𐎡𐎢	<i>ga</i>	5	334	𐎡𐎢	<i>ed</i>	3
		<i>qá</i>	3			<i>et</i>	9
		GA	13			<i>eṭ</i>	2
320	𐎡𐎢𐎵	ÍL	7			<i>id</i>	8
321	𐎡𐎢	<i>làḫ</i>	4			<i>it</i>	27
		<i>luḫ</i>	1			<i>iṭ</i>	3
		<i>raḫ</i>	5			Á	4
		<i>sukkal</i>	1			TI ₈	1
					𐎡𐎢	Á+2	2

SIGN LIST

335		<i>da</i>	58			<i>maṭ</i>	1
		<i>ṭa</i>	11			<i>sat</i>	1
		DA	49			<i>šad</i>	5
336		<i>lil</i>	18			<i>šat</i>	3
		LIL	1			<i>šaṭ</i>	1
337		MURUB ₄	1			KUR	62
339		<i>áš</i>	61			MAD	5
342		<i>ma</i>	410	367		<i>še</i>	66
		MA	30			ŠE	15
343		<i>gal</i>	5	367a		NISABA	2
		<i>qal</i>	3			<i>bu</i>	84
		GAL	32	371		<i>gít</i>	4
344		BARAG	2			<i>pu</i>	164
346		<i>biš</i>	6	372		<i>šér</i>	2
		<i>gir</i>	1			GÍD	1
		<i>kir</i>	1			<i>us</i>	15
		<i>piš</i>	69			<i>uṣ</i>	5
347		<i>mer</i>	1			<i>uz</i>	4
		<i>mir</i>	3			SUD	2
349		<i>pur</i>	6	373		<i>muš</i>	21
		BUR	3			<i>šer</i>	4
351		SIG ₇	2			<i>šir</i>	10
352		<i>túb</i>	1			MUŠ	5
353		<i>ša</i>	31	375		<i>ter</i>	5
354		<i>qat</i>	5			<i>tir</i>	10
		<i>šu</i>	113	376		TIR	3
		ŠU	14			<i>te</i>	177
		ŠU+2	31			GAL ₅	6
355		<i>lib</i>	8			TE	18
		<i>lip</i>	16	377		<i>kar</i>	7
		<i>lul</i>	5			<i>lis</i>	4
		<i>nar</i>	11	378		<i>liš</i>	14
		<i>paḥ</i>	6			<i>ḥiš</i>	4
		NAR	1	381		<i>laḥ</i>	2
		GIŠIMMAR	1			<i>par</i>	6
356						<i>tam</i>	13
362		<i>gam</i>	2			<i>tú</i>	48
		GÚR	52			<i>ud</i>	10
366		<i>kur</i>	6			<i>ut</i>	10
		<i>lat</i>	7			<i>uṭ</i>	3
		<i>mad</i>	1			BABBAR	7
		<i>mat</i>	14				

		BÍR	1	401	𐎶𐎠𐎵	har	18
		UD	35			hur	16
		UTU	56			mur	5
382	𐎶𐎠𐎵	È	9			ĤAR	10
383	𐎶𐎠	pe	15			ĤUR	2
		pi	119	406	𐎶𐎠𐎵	kam	1
	𐎶𐎠𐎵	GEŠTUG+2	2			KAM	4
384	𐎶𐎠𐎵	lìp	1			ÚTUL	1
		ŠÀ	54	411	𐎶𐎠	10	1
392	𐎶𐎠𐎵	úh	1			u	291
393	𐎶𐎠	šab	18			U	7
		šap	1	412	𐎶𐎠𐎵	muḥ	12
		zab	4			UGU	38
		zap	1	415	𐎶𐎠𐎵	UDUN	4
		ÉRIN	1	419	𐎶𐎠𐎵	SAGŠU	1
		ZÁLAG	2	420	𐎶𐎠	let	10
396	𐎶𐎠	he	37			lid	1
		hi	62			lit	16
		DU ₁₀	6			liṭ	3
		DÛG	8		𐎶𐎠𐎵	UTUL	1
		ĤE	10	424	𐎶𐎠𐎵	KÍR	1
		ĤI	29	425	𐎶𐎠𐎵	kis	2
397	𐎶𐎠𐎵	ʾa	11			kiš	76
		ʾe	1	427	𐎶𐎠𐎵	mé	5
		ʾi	13			mi	50
		ʾu	13			GI ₆	7
		aʾ	5			MI	6
		eʾ	4	429	𐎶𐎠𐎵	gul	6
		iʾ	3	431	𐎶𐎠𐎵	NÁ	11
		uʾ	2	433	𐎶𐎠𐎵	nim	30
398	𐎶𐎠𐎵	aḥ	25			num	3
		eḥ	1			NIM	1
		iḥ	20	434	𐎶𐎠𐎵	tùm	6
		uḥ	17	435	𐎶𐎠𐎵	lam	2
		UH	1			LAM	2
399	𐎶𐎠𐎵	em	1	437	𐎶𐎠𐎵	AMAR	13
		im	16	439	𐎶𐎠𐎵	ban	7
		IM	53			pan	2
400	𐎶𐎠𐎵	bir	8	440	𐎶𐎠𐎵	dím	2
		BIR	3			kim	15
						qim	3

SIGN LIST

		<i>tém</i>	2			<i>šuk</i>	1
		GIM	40			PAD	2
441		<i>ul</i>	36			ŠUK	1
444		<i>šákkān</i>	1	470		15	12
		GÌR	2	471		<i>mam</i>	3
		IR ₉	2			<i>man</i>	40
		GIR3+2	13			<i>neš</i>	1
445		DUGUD	1			<i>niš</i>	5
446		GIG	12			MÎN	1
449		<i>lem</i>	44	472		30	9
		<i>lim</i>	19			<i>eš</i>	20
		<i>ši</i>	231			<i>sin</i>	1
		IGI	28			EŠ	7
		IGI+2	4	480		1	9
451		<i>ar</i>	5			<i>ana</i>	181
452		GISKIM	1			<i>deš</i>	1
454		SIG ₅	3			<i>gì</i>	6
455		<i>ù</i>	68			<i>tiš</i>	2
		Û	3			DIŠ	3
456		<i>hul</i>	2	481		<i>lal</i>	3
		ĤUL	56			LÁ	24
457		<i>de</i>	20	483		<i>gíl</i>	1
		<i>di</i>	87			<i>hab</i>	7
		<i>ti</i>	11			<i>hap</i>	4
		DI	14			<i>kel</i>	3
		SÁ	6			<i>kil</i>	7
459		DUL	1			<i>rì</i>	3
461		<i>ke</i>	1			<i>rim</i>	5
		<i>ki</i>	337			<i>rin</i>	2
		<i>qé</i>	6			GIRIM	2
		<i>qí</i>	51			ĤAB	5
		KI	135	491		<i>šar</i>	5
465		<i>din</i>	12	494		<i>’ù</i>	2
		<i>tin</i>	2			<i>ù’</i>	1
		TIN	1			U ₈	1
467		<i>šul</i>	2	511		<i>tul</i>	1
		ŠUL	2			PÚ	2
468		KUG	27	515		<i>bul</i>	3
469		14	1			<i>pul</i>	1
		<i>pat</i>	7	515,9		BUBBU	10
		<i>paṭ</i>	4			NENNI	16

MAQLŪ

522	𐎶𐎵	<i>suk</i>	5	539	𐎶𐎵𐎶	<i>SÍG</i>	14
		NINDU	1	541	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶	<i>EREN</i>	5
529	𐎶𐎶	NIGIN	2	544	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>ŠÉŠ</i>	3
532	𐎶	<i>me</i>	52	545	𐎶	<i>šú</i>	118
		<i>mì</i>	3			<i>ŠÚ</i>	1
		<i>sip</i>	1	546	𐎶𐎶	<i>ÉN</i>	273
		<i>šeb</i>	1	547	𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>ŠUHUB</i>	1
		<i>šib</i>	1	550	𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>HÚL</i>	2
		<i>šip</i>	14			<i>ÚKUŠ</i>	3
		ME	10	554	𐎶	<i>mim</i>	19
533	𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>meš</i>	6			<i>rag</i>	4
		MEŠ	325			<i>rak</i>	7
535	𐎶𐎶	<i>eb</i>	5			<i>raq</i>	1
		<i>ep</i>	20			<i>sal</i>	4
		<i>ib</i>	22			<i>šal</i>	5
		<i>ip</i>	49			<i>MÍ</i>	157
		<i>uraš</i>	1		𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>ÈME</i>	1
		URTA	1		𐎶𐎶	<i>LUKUR</i>	1
536	𐎶𐎶	<i>ku</i>	226		𐎶𐎶	<i>ÉGI</i>	6
		<i>šè</i>	1	555	𐎶𐎶	<i>šu</i>	17
		<i>tuš</i>	11	556	𐎶𐎶	<i>ereš</i>	1
		GI ₇	7			<i>nen</i>	5
		HUN	3			<i>nin</i>	3
		KU	4			<i>NIN</i>	33
		MU ₄	2	557	𐎶𐎶	<i>dam</i>	2
		SUH ₅	4			<i>DAM</i>	1
		ŠÈ	1	558	𐎶𐎶	<i>GÉME</i>	1
		TÚG	28	559	𐎶𐎶	<i>gu</i>	14
		TUKUL	1			<i>GU</i>	2
		ÚB	1	563	𐎶𐎶	<i>nik</i>	2
		ZÌ	10			<i>niq</i>	1
	𐎶𐎶𐎶	ASLAG	2			<i>NIG</i>	3
537	𐎶𐎶	<i>dab</i>	2	564	𐎶𐎶	<i>el</i>	7
		<i>dib</i>	1			<i>SIKIL</i>	9
		<i>lu</i>	220	565	𐎶𐎶	<i>gúm</i>	1
		<i>teb</i>	1			<i>lu₄</i>	3
		DIB	8			<i>lum</i>	8
		LU	4			<i>HUZ</i>	1
		UDU	28			<i>LUM</i>	2
538	𐎶𐎶	<i>ken</i>	2	567	𐎶𐎶	<i>GAR₈</i>	3
		<i>kin</i>	7			<i>SIG₄</i>	2

SIGN LIST

570		2	16			ZA	1
		<i>min</i>	1			ŠUBA	1
		MIN	61	589		<i>ḥa</i>	65
574		<i>tug</i>	3			ḤA	7
		<i>tuk</i>	5			KU ₆	2
		TUK	1	592		<i>sik</i>	1
575		<i>leq</i>	1			<i>šik</i>	1
		<i>lik</i>	27	593		3	10
		<i>liq</i>	10	595		<i>tu</i>	9
		<i>taš</i>	6			GÍN	2
		<i>téš</i>	1	596		KILIM	1
		<i>ur</i>	19			PÉŠ	2
		UR	10	597		4	3
576		GIDIM	11			<i>gar</i>	2
577		<i>udug</i>	1			<i>nì</i>	1
		UDUG	4			<i>šá</i>	578
578a		150	4			GAR	26
579		<i>a</i>	701			NÍG	21
		A	151			NINDA	7
		ILLU	2	598a		5	1
580		ÀM	6			<i>í</i>	3
582		ÍD	67			<i>iá</i>	3
583		ESIR	11	598b		6	2
586		<i>sà</i>	1	598c		7	14
		<i>ša</i>	26	598d		8	1
		<i>za</i>	26				

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