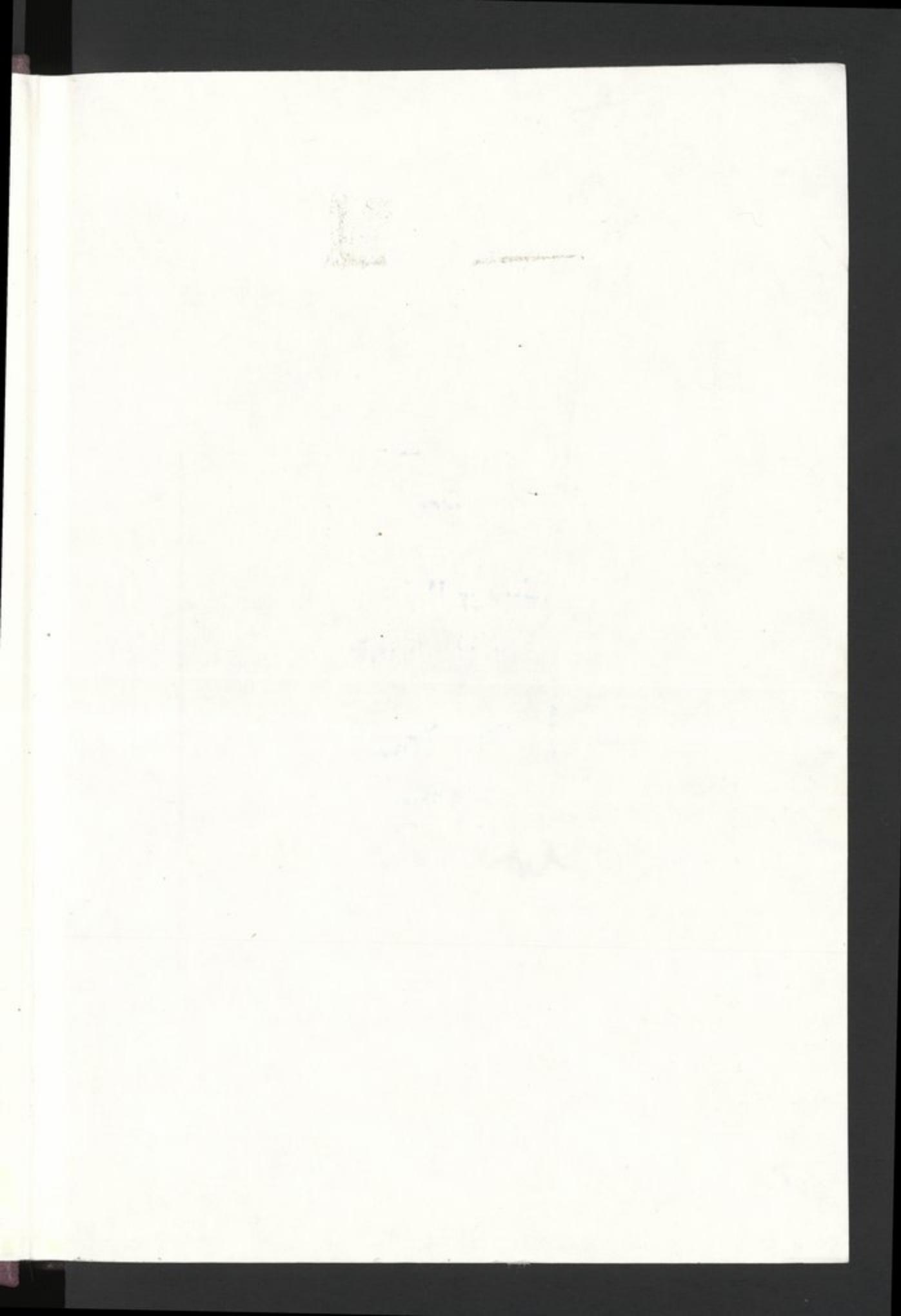
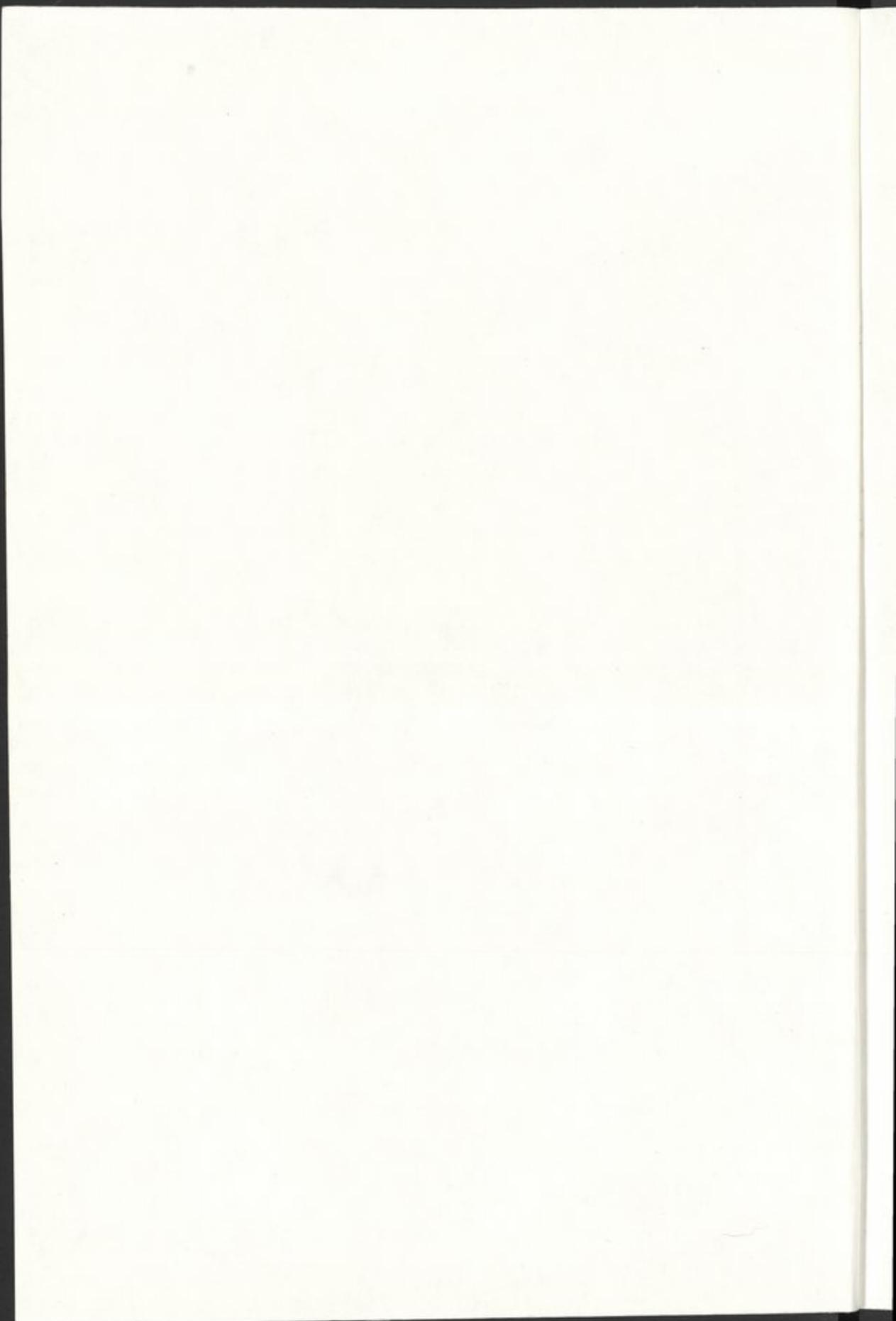




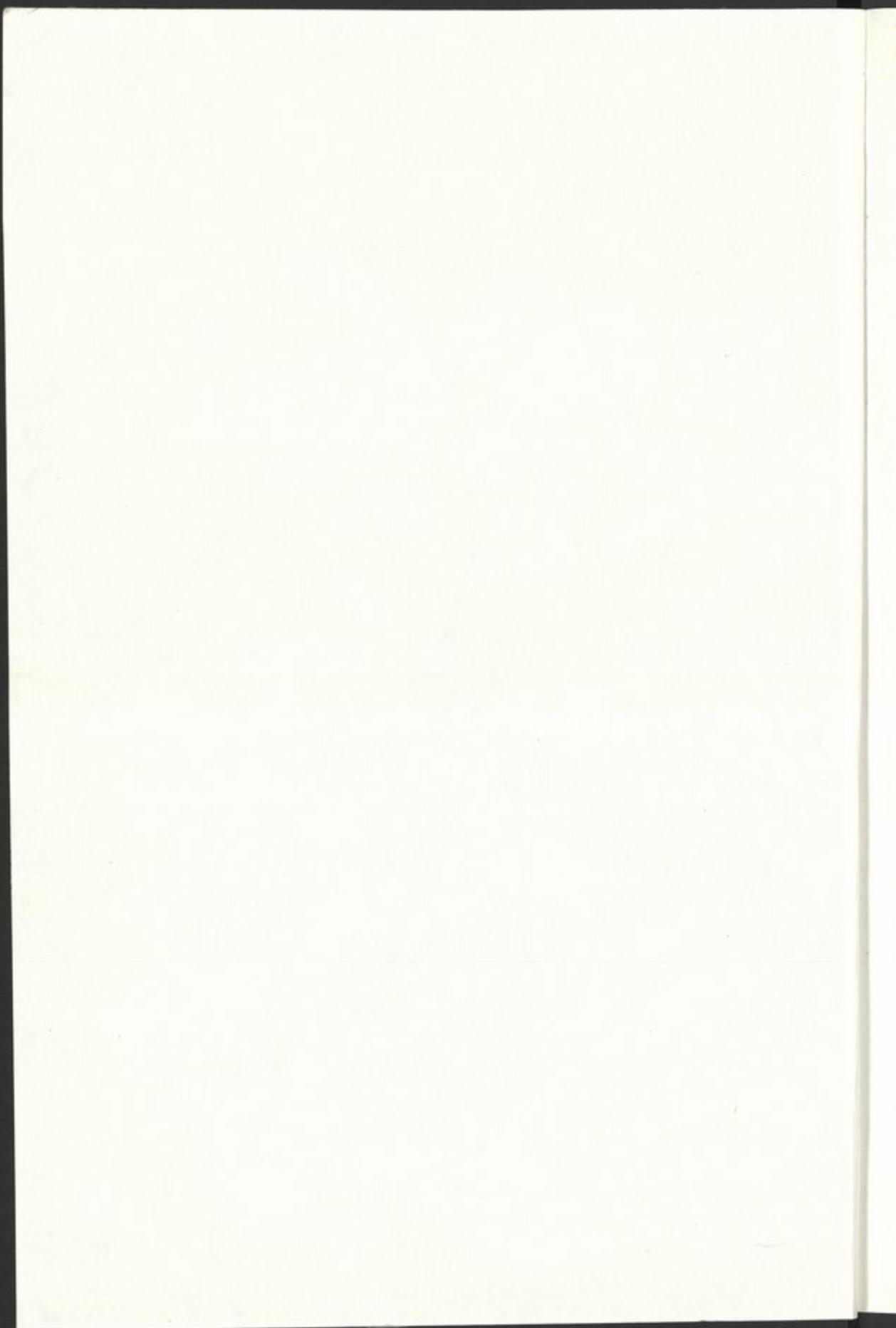
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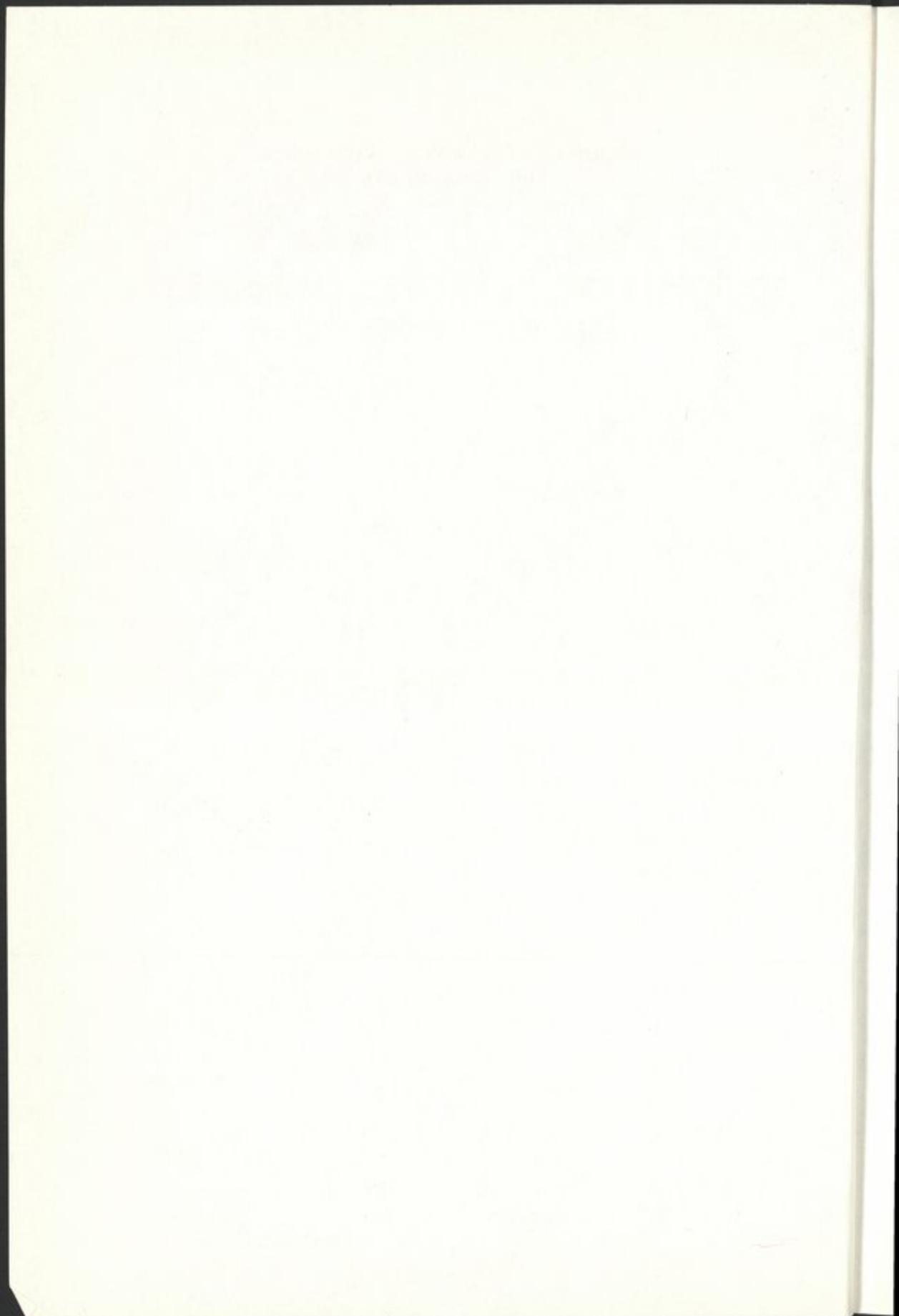








MESOPOTAMIAN PROTECTIVE SPIRITS
THE RITUAL TEXTS



CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS I

**MESOPOTAMIAN PROTECTIVE SPIRITS
THE RITUAL TEXTS**

F. A. M. Wiggermann

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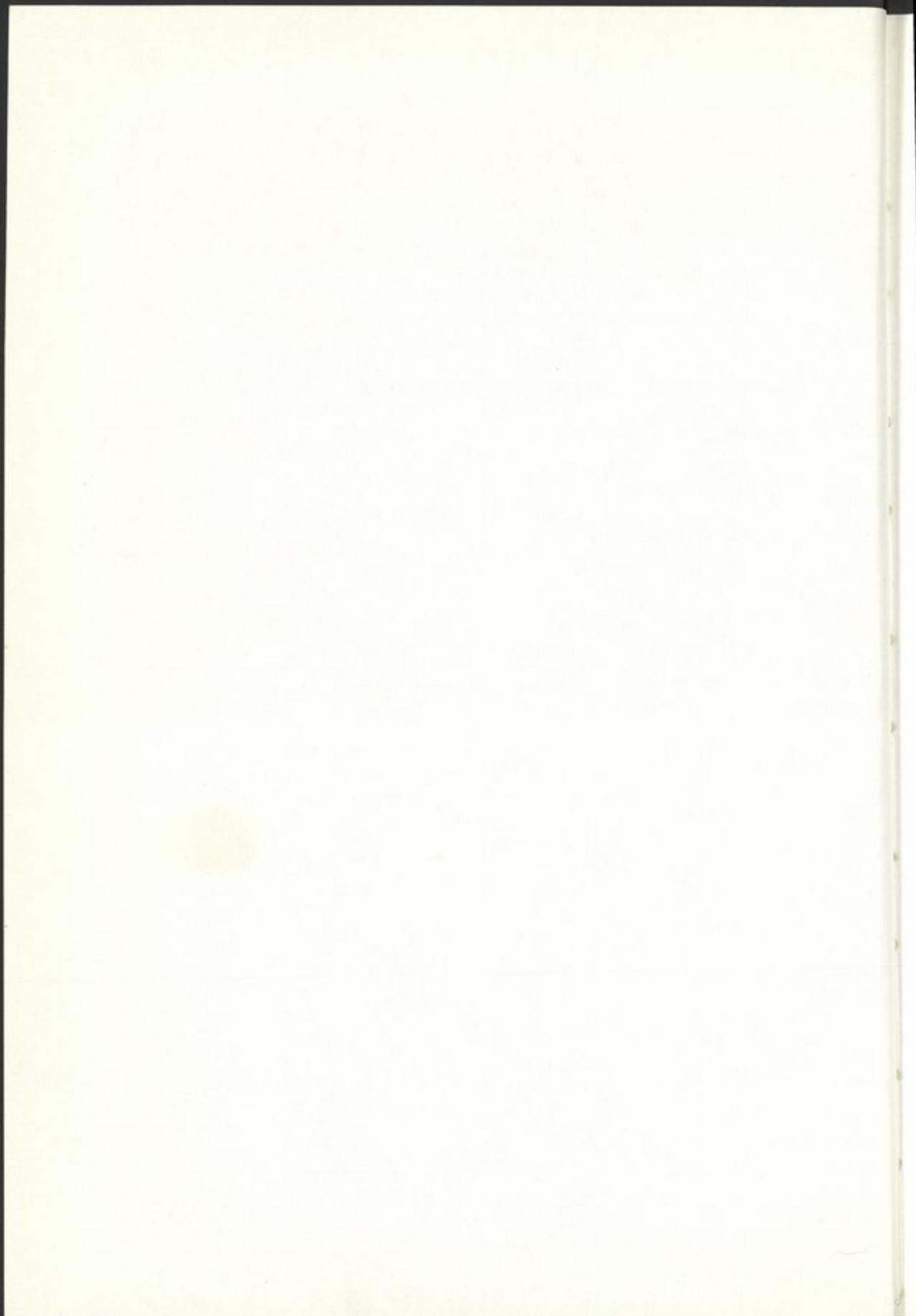
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CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xi
I TEXT I	1-40
Šēp lemotti ina bīt amēli parāsu, "to block the entry of the enemy in someone's house"	
A Manuscripts	1
B Reconstructed text and translation	5
C Text I.C.	33
<i>Di'a šibta mūtānī šūtuqu</i> , "to make <i>di'u</i> -disease, stroke and plague pass by"	
D Fragments of similar rituals	34
I/2 <i>STT</i> 126	34
I/3 <i>STT</i> 350	34
I/4 <i>STT</i> 253	35
I/5 <i>CT</i> 51 102	37
I/6 Lenormant, <i>Choix des Textes</i> 25	37
I/7 Rm 40 Rev. = Leeper <i>CT</i> 35 Pl. 18	38
II TEXT II	41-104
Extracts from <i>šēp lemotti ina bīt amēli parāsu</i> and <i>di'a šibta mūtānī šūtuqu</i>	
A Manuscript and comparison with text I	41
1 VAT 8228 = <i>KAR</i> 298	41
2 Collations	42
3 Additional material to text I. Inventory of figures	46
4 Regularities	58
A Statues in the outer gate; the armed gods, the ugallū, and the dogs	58
B Statues in the private rooms; the apkallū, "sages"	65
C The rest of the house; monsters, <i>lahmu</i> , <i>Lulal</i> and <i>Latarak</i>	86
5 Differences between text I and text II	87
A Different sequences of statues	87
B Other differences	88
C The second part of text II	90
B Title and purpose; inventory of figures	91
1 Title and purpose of the ritual	91
2 Inventory of figures in text I/II	102

III	TEXT III <i>būt mēseri</i>	105–118
A	General observations	105
B	The text	106
C	The <i>utukkū lemnūtu</i> incantation Gurney AAA 22 76ff	113
D	Commentaries on related texts	115
E	Inventory of figures	116
F	A fragment of a related incantation	117
IV	TEXT IV Purification of a new house	119–130
A	The text	119
B	General observations	127
C	Similar rituals	127
D	Inventory of figures	128
E	Text IV/1	129
V	TEXT V A building ritual	131–140
A	The Text	131
B	Inventory of figures	139
C	The bird	140
VI	TEXT VI The ritual for the substitute king	141–142
A	The text	141
B	Inventory of figures	141
VII	Inventory of Monsters. Brief discussions	143–187
A	Inventory of monsters	143
B	The army of Tiāmat and its history	145
1	Unstructured origins and subsequent organization	147
2	Association with gods. Monstrous servants and anthropomorphic masters	151
3	The combat myth. Ninurta and Anzū; Marduk before Enūma Eliš	159
4	Marduk and Enūma Eliš	163
C	Individual histories	164
1	<i>lahmu</i> , “The Hairy One”	164
2	<i>bašmu</i>	166
a.	<i>u š u m/bašmu</i> , “Venomous Snake”, “Dragon”	166
b.	<i>m u š - š à -tùr/bašmu</i> , “Birth Goddess Snake”	167
3	<i>mušhuššu</i> , “Furious Snake”	168

4	<i>ugallu</i> , "Big Weather-Beast", "Big Day"	169
5	<i>uridimmu</i> , "Mad Lion"	172
6	<i>kusarikku</i> , "Bison"	174
7	<i>girtablullû</i> , "Scorpion-Man"	179
8	<i>urmaḥlullû</i> , "Lion-Man"	181
9	<i>kulullû</i> , "Fish-Man"	182
10	<i>suhurmāšu</i> , "Carp-Goat"	183
11	Other apotropaic monsters	184
D	Survey of visual types	185
	Line drawings	188
	SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS	189
	PLATES	195
	INDICES	
A	Iconographical items and selected words	213
B	Subject index	221
C	Unpublished texts	224



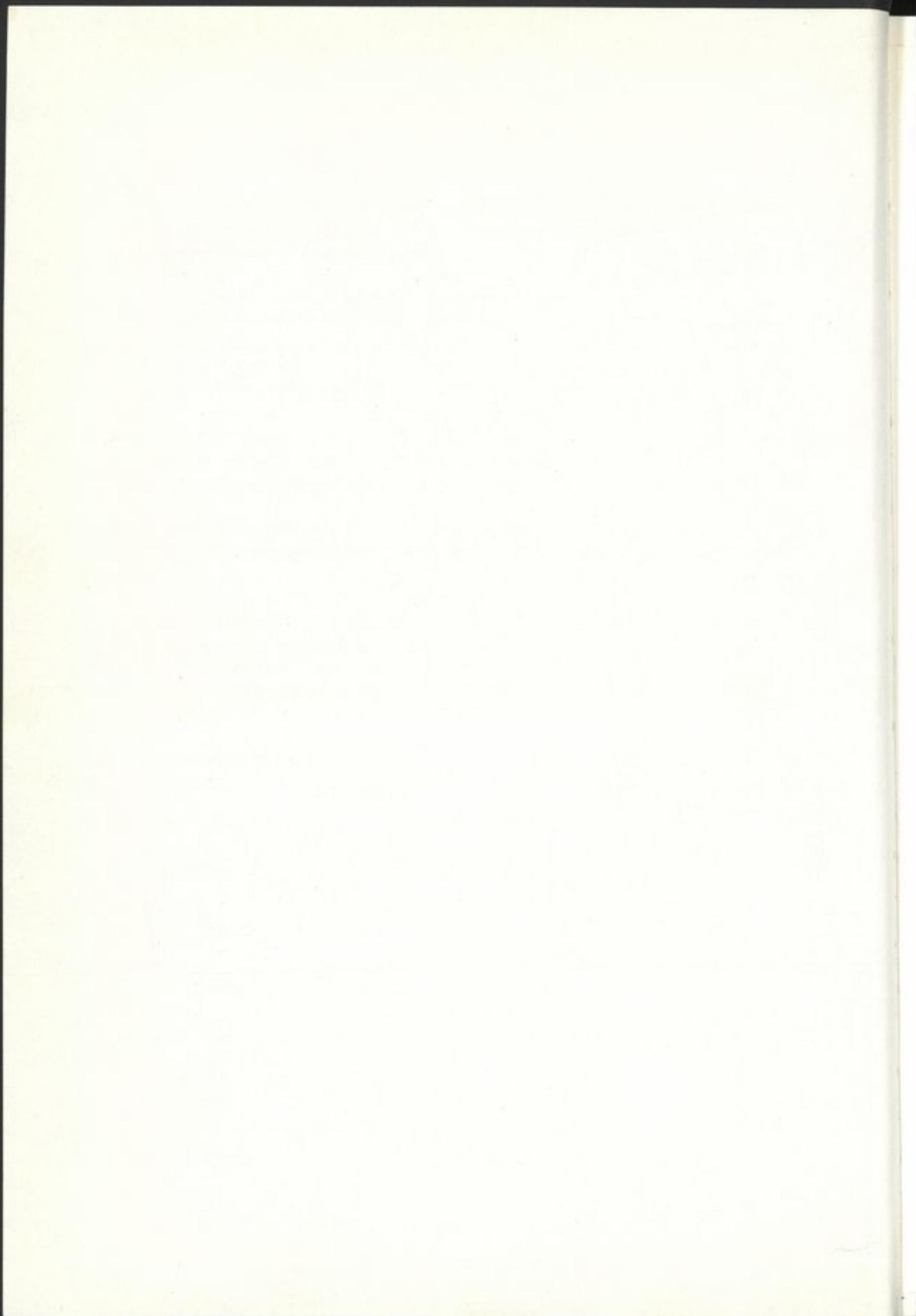
PREFACE

This is the second edition of *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures. The Ritual Texts*, Free University Press, Amsterdam 1986. The first edition was my dissertation, of which only two hundred copies were printed. The second edition is a revised version of the first one, with substantial changes in Chapter VII.

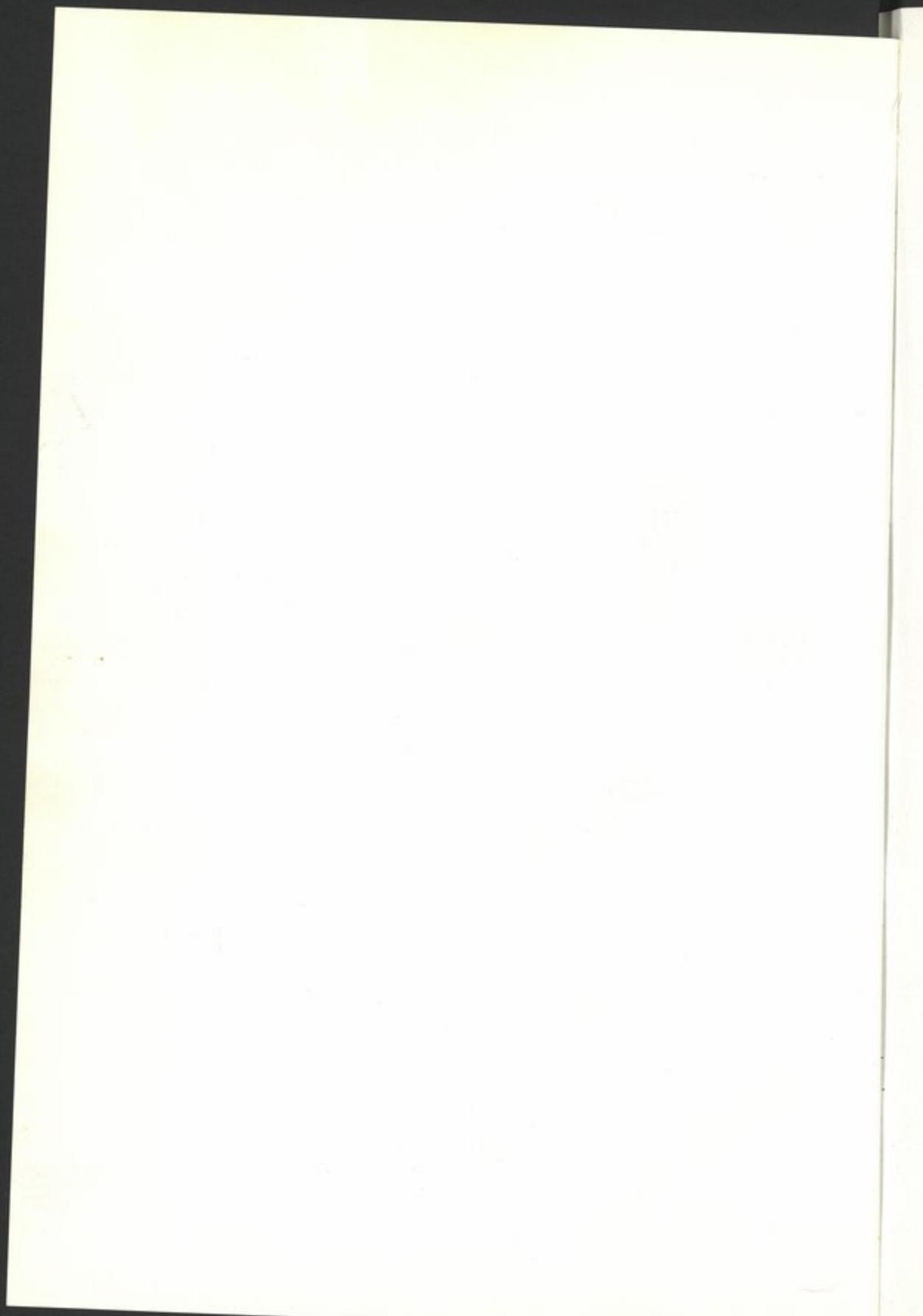
I owe gratitude to all those who helped to bring this book into being: to M. Stol, K. R. Veenhof and M. van Loon, the promotor and referents, who read the manuscript and made pertinent remarks, to the Trustees of the British Museum (London) for their permission to study, copy and publish texts from their collection, to dr. L. Jakob-Rost and the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin, DDR) for permission to collate (*KAR* 298), to W. G. Lambert, M. J. Geller and I. Finkel for references to unpublished texts in the collections of the British Museum, help with difficult passages, and information on details, to R. Borger for quickly informing me on a join made by him in text IV, to W. H. van Soldt for his collations of text VIII.B.7, to A. H. Green for discussions and ideas.

I owe even more gratitude to G. Haayer, who published the book out of his own free will, and to Maryam Setrodimedjo, who brought the struggle with the manuscript to an end.

Amsterdam, June 1992







INTRODUCTION

The Babylonian scientific and religious texts reveal the names of over three thousand gods and demons, members of local and national pantheons. Most, if not all, play a part in cult or magic, and must have been represented in some form. Gods and demons, cult and magic, are the main subjects of Babylonian art, but generally texts and art cannot be combined. Captions and parallelism between text and representations on boundary stones and other monuments allowed the identification of a number of divine symbols; the Lamaštu ritual texts matching the Lamaštu amulets¹ allowed the identification of the demons Lamaštu and Pazuzu, and of objects playing a part in the ritual. Two texts, the "Göttertypentext" and the "Unterweltsvision"², describe the visual appearance of a number of supernatural beings, but both are atypical and can be used only with extreme caution. More promising was a group of texts containing descriptions of prophylactic figures, gods and demons, but efforts to combine the described figures with the actually excavated ones were hampered by the fragmentary state of preservation of K 2987B+ (below text I) and *bīt mēseri* (below text III).

Thus texts and art remained largely separated. Philology retired and the explanation of Mesopotamian art was left to archaeologists and art historians. The conviction gained ground that this state of affairs was necessary rather than accidental: there was indeed but a loose connection between the imaginary world of the texts and that of the objects. Scribes and artists expressed different theologies on the basis of a less specified common culture. Observations by the famous German assyriologist B. Landsberger supported this theory. Landsberger adduced arguments to identify the naked hero and the bull man, two traditional figures of art, with the *apkallu*, "sage", and the GUD.DUMU.^dUTU, the "Bull-Son-of-the-Sun". He noted, however, that beside the naked hero other figures were called *apkallu*, and that the GUD.DUMU.^dUTU was limited to texts stemming from Assyria. He concluded that the traditions of art and those of the texts were separate, but that on occasion the figures of art could receive the names of similar figures of the texts.

Landsberger's identifications and conclusions, however, cannot be upheld. His identification of the naked hero as *apkallu* was based on a sign miscopied by E. Ebeling and a fragmentary duplicate from London. Collation and new duplicates revealed the true name of the naked hero: *lahmu*, "the hairy one" (JEOL 27 91). History and connotation of "lahmu" perfectly match the history of the naked hero, and there is no longer any reason to suspect separate origins.

Landsberger's equation GUD.DUMU.^d UTU = bull man was based on etymology and the justified expectation that the bull man under some name occurs in the texts. The equation could be proved only now (below VII.C. 6), and it is evident that GUD.DUMU.^d UTU is a logographic spelling of *kusarikku*, "bison", a term well known throughout Babylonia in various other spellings. Again the history of "kusarikku" matches the history of the bull man, and again there is no reason to suspect separate origins.³

Since a separation of texts and art cannot be maintained in the case of these two most prominent figures (others could be added), the theory of independent origins

and development loses its supporting argument. The observed gap between art and texts is accidental, not necessary.

It remains, however, that art expresses theological development less clearly than the written sources. The types of art and their contexts were fixed in the third millennium, and only minor changes are allowed through time. Most of the supernatural beings treated in this book become defeated adversaries of gods at some point in their history, but they are never represented as such in art. Other theological changes are expressed by omitting certain features or contexts, rather than by adding new ones.

The identities and histories of Mesopotamian monsters are the subject of this book. It is an expanded version of "Studies in Babylonian Demonology II", announced in *JEOL* 27 90ff., dealing with the *lahmu*. Here the *lahmu*, the "hairy one", reappears in its proper setting between the other apotropaic gods and monsters of the rituals. The expansion is due to the recovery of new textual material.

The texts treated are rituals for the defence of the house against epidemic diseases, represented as an army of demonic intruders. The gates, rooms, and corners of the house are occupied by prophylactic figures of clay or wood, that the texts describe in detail. The clay figures have been found in excavations, and the importance of these texts for iconography lies in linking descriptions with archaeological fact.

Fortunately the archaeological material corresponding to our texts has been collected and discussed in two recent monographs: D. Rittig, *Assyrisch-babylonische Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 13.-6. Jh. v. Chr.* (1977), and D. Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Characters in neu-assyrischen Palästen* (1981). Both authors tried to match the archeological types with the figures of the ritual texts, then still fragmentary.

The main text K 2987B+ (parts of it were edited previously by O. R. Gurney in *AAA* 22 42ff.) and the better preserved extracted *KAR* 298 are edited and collated below as text I and II, and considerable progress could be made in their reconstruction.

A third text containing similar material is *bit mēseri* which has been treated here as text III.

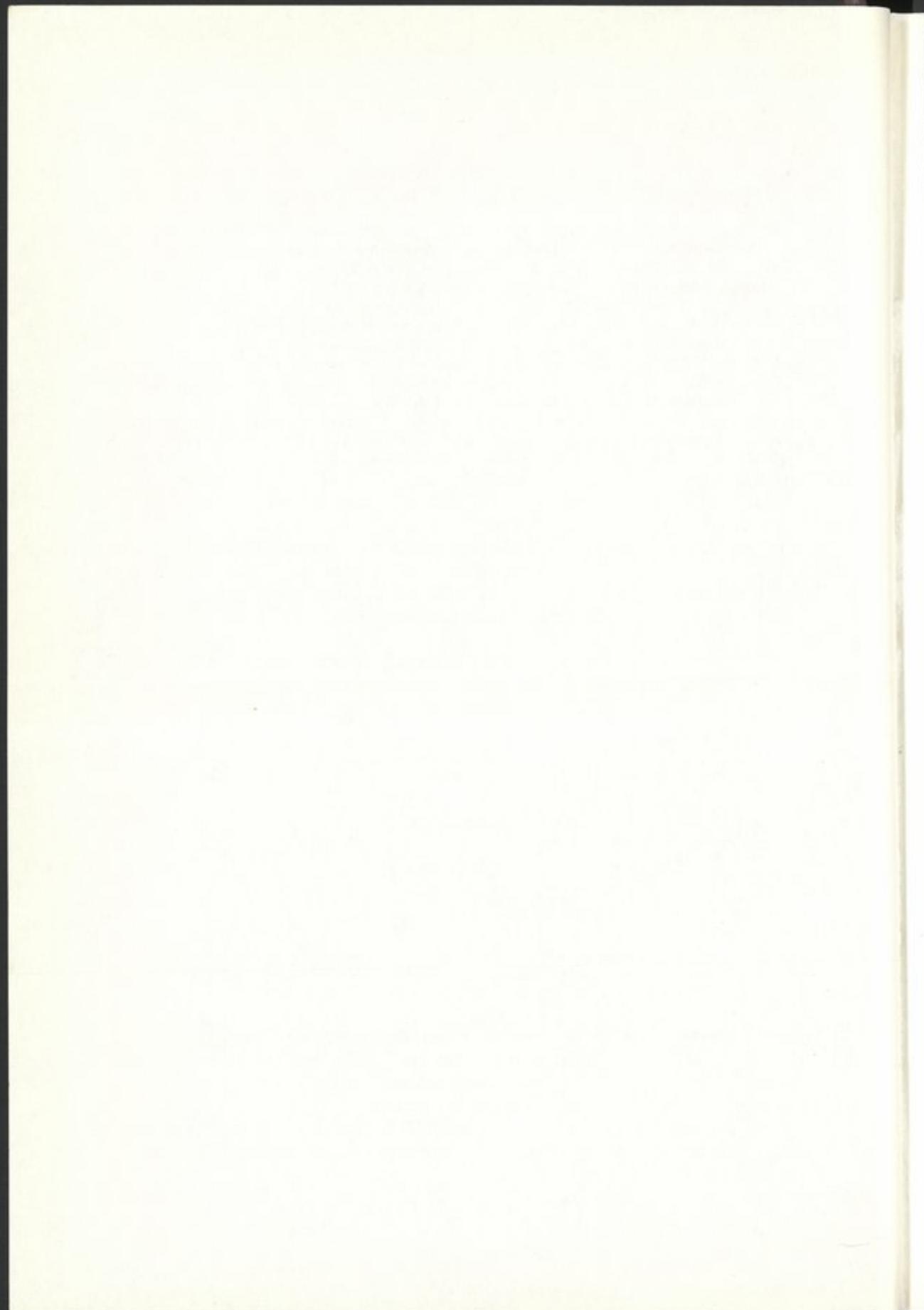
Differing somewhat is the "Ritual for the Substitute King". A new manuscript has been edited here as text VI.

Three completely new rituals containing pertinent material could be added to the corpus: text IV, text IV/1 and text V. Finally, chapter VII collects the monsters and tries to describe them in their historical and theological context. Much here is, of a necessity, speculative.

Although the identities and the histories of the monsters are the main subject of the present study, the information supplied by the texts on other facets of iconography could not be totally ignored. In the commentary on text II paragraphs on gods, sages, and attributes have been inserted. Here the correspondence of the texts with the archaeological material is less straightforward, and our results remain tentative.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

- 1 The *Lamaštu* amulets have been collected by W. Farber, *RIA* 6 441 (see also his discussion in *Language, Literature, and History*, F. Rochberg-Halton ed. Fs E. Reiner, 1987 85ff.). To Farbers list the following can now be added:
 - 64 Wiggermann in M. Stol, *Zwangerschap en Geboorte bij de Babyloniers en in de Bijbel*, no. 62, with photograph p. 97. The original has disappeared, and only one side is known.
 - 65 J.V. Kinnier-Wilson in D. Brothwell - T. Sandison, *Diseases in Antiquity* 195 Fig. 1, see also 194. Only one side has been published (reference courtesy A.R. Green).
 - 66 R. de Mecquenem - J. Michalon, *MDP* XXIII 51 fig. 19/2 (reference courtesy H. Curvers).
 - 67 P.O. Harper, Notable Acquisitions 1984-1985, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1985) 4. References to discussions of iconographic features can be found in the index under *Lamaštu*.
- 2 F. Köcher, Der Babylonische Göttertypentext, *MIO* 1 (1953) 57ff., W. von Soden, Die Unterweltvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen, *ZA* 43 (1936) 1ff. See also K. Frank, *MAOG* 14/2 23ff. (discussions of figures), and the new edition of A. Livingstone in *SAA* III (1989) 68-76.
- 3 Since *laḥmu*, "the hairy one", names the naked hero (hero with six curls) after his visual appearance, art must have played a part in the early formation of the supernatural world. In the case of *kusarikku*, "mythological Bison", the artistic expression (bull-man) is secondary.



I TEXT I

Šēp lemotti ina bīt amēli parāsu, "to block the entry of the enemy in someone's house".

A Manuscripts

Four manuscripts of *šēp lemotti ina bīt amēli parāsu* are known:

MS A:

• K 2987B+	<i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XIV
K 3189+	<i>BBR</i> 41, <i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XIV
K 3727+	Fig. 5 (F. Wiggermann)
K 5829+	Fig. 3 (R. Borger)
K 6068+	<i>BBR</i> 45, <i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XI.
	Cf. C. Bezold <i>Catalogue</i> 760 (ii 1-15).
K 7014+	<i>BBR</i> 41, <i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XIII
K 7823+	<i>BBR</i> 50, <i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XII (O.R. Gurney, cf. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 157 note μ)
K 7860+	<i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XII (S. Langdon, cf. Zimmern <i>ZA</i> 35 153 ¹)
K 8620+	Fig. 2
K 8788+	<i>BBR</i> 41, <i>AAA</i> 22 Pl. XIV
K 9383+	Fig. 3
K 15720+	Fig. 3 (J. Reade)
K 16367+	Fig. 5 (F. Wiggermann). Cf. R. Borger <i>HKL</i> 2 195 (<i>bīt mēseri</i> I ?).
K 17093(+)	Fig. 2 (R. Borger)
• K 9968+	<i>BBR</i> 46
K 11585+	Fig. 2
K 13252+	<i>BBR</i> 46
K 18835(+)	Fig. 2 (W.G. Lambert)
• K 11812(+)	Fig. 4 (F. Wiggermann)
• K 14829	Fig. 5 (F. Wiggermann)

The places of the constituent parts are shown on the map Fig. 1. The sources of joins and additions are noted after the numbers. The source of older joins is generally not known (for K 7860 and K 7823 cf. Gurney *AAA* 22 31); for later joins we can only refer to R. Borger *HKL* 2 331ff. and *AfO* 28 365ff.

K 9968+ was suspected to belong to MS A by H. Zimmern *BBR* 152¹ and by O.R. Gurney *AAA* 22 32, 42⁶. K 9968+ with K 11585 and K 18835 later joined to it touches K 2987B+, but can still not be joined; that it belongs to MS A, however, is now certain: the division lines in col. ii match, the contents match (101-117), the place of K 9968+ in col i is as expected from the parallel text *KAR* 298 Obv. 2-11 (cf. note to 55), and both pieces show a distinctive handwriting differing from later Nineveh texts.

K 11812 was mentioned by R. Borger in *HKL* 2 195 as comparable to *KAR* 298 Rev. 17ff., and turned out to be the missing piece at the end of col. iii (193–201, cf. Gurney *AAA* 22 54³).

K 14829 was identified by me and certainly belongs to MS A. The content is as expected from the parallel *KAR* 298 Obv. 5–10 and from the correct restoration of 55. Both pieces show the same unmistakable handwriting briefly commented upon above.

The text was written by a junior scribe in 750 BC, under the eponymy of Bēl-dan, the chief cup-bearer (see colophon).

MS B:

• K 8753+	<i>BBR</i> 42
Sm 670+	<i>BBR</i> 42
Sm 711(+)	Fig 8 (F. Wiggermann)
• Sm 2122	<i>BBR</i> 42

For the relative positions of both pieces, see Fig. 9.

Sm 711 was mentioned by R. Borger in *JNES* 33 188 and *HKL* 2 195 as possibly belonging to *bīt mēseri I*.

That the two pieces K 8753+ and Sm 2122 are treated as parts of one MS (so already Gurney *AAA* 22 42f.⁶) is acceptable for the following reasons: both pieces have the same colour, handwriting and thickness. I quote Zimmern's descriptions of *BBR* 47 and 42 respectively:

"Hellbraun-rötlich. Ziemlich kleine Schrift", and: "Hellrotlich. Ziemlich kleine, enge Schrift".

Secondly from Sm 2122 the first line of the fourth column of the MS to which it belongs can be deduced: Sm 2122 i starts with line 34 of text I. This implies that the corresponding line in column ii (5' = text I 130) was preceded by some 33 lines in the same column, and that the last line of column i was 96 of the text (130 – 33 = 97 the first line of col. ii). Therefore, col. iv of this MS should start approximately with line 289 of the text (3 × 96 = 288, last line of col. iii). The deduced figure 289 corresponds very well with the actual beginning of K 8753+ "Andere Seite": 290.

A colophon is not preserved. The sign-forms are Neo-Assyrian.

MS C:

- DT 186 Fig. 7

This MS was quoted by *CAD* § 84b and L 42a. It was incorporated in *HKL* 2 91 as a duplicate of MS A. The curvature of the underside indicates that the remaining text on the observe belongs to columns i and ii, and that the remaining text on the reserve belongs to columns v and vi. The last line of column i is line 91 of the text, the last line of column ii is line 188/189 of the text. The first line of col. v therefore should begin with a line between 365 (4 × 91 = 364) and 379 (2 × 189 = 378). In fact, however, MS A ends with line 356 approximately (due to gaps, this figure cannot be exact), and the text of MS C col. v is to be expected at 344ff. The difference between the figure deduced ((356/379) and the "actual" figure (344; figure based on internal

considerations) can be explained by assuming shorter columns iii and iv (each at least some 11 lines shorter than the preceding columns), or by assuming textual differences. Neither assumption can be proved or disproved at the present time. Col. vi contains further material similar to, but probably not part of, text I ("430"-“441”). A colophon is not preserved. The sign-forms are Neo-Assyrian.

MS D:

- K 13980 Fig. 5

This MS contains traces of unidentified signs in its right column, and 323ff. of the reconstructed text in its left column. The sign-forms are Neo-Assyrian.

For a possible fifth MS, see below text I/2 *STT* 126.

The only treatment of the text as a whole is O.R. Gurney, Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals, *AAA* 22 (1935) 31–63 and plates XI–XIV. Twelve new pieces of MSS A and B, the addition of two new MSS, and a number of new readings and interpretations justify a new treatment.

S. Smith *JRAS* 1926 695ff. already, and later Gurney *AAA* 22 31ff. treated this text, or parts of this text (Smith), together with its *nishu* from Assur *KAR* 298 (below text II), and tried to use both texts for the identification of prophylactic figures found in museums or excavations. Recent studies on the identification and function of prophylactic figures (see below II A for further information) have neglected text I in favour of the better preserved text II. It will appear that a careful combination of text I and II enables the student to fill gaps, and isolate facts useful for a better understanding of “Babylonian prophylactic figures and their rituals”.

Beside Smith and Gurney, H. Zimmern as well translated large, but still disconnected parts of the text. For the convenience of the reader I tabulate their efforts here.

Transliterations and translations:

1–15	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 152f. (<i>BBR</i> 45); S. Smith <i>JRAS</i> 1926 701f. (translation only); O.R. Gurney <i>AAA</i> 22 42f.
30–54	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 156f. (<i>BBR</i> 46–47)
30–44	S. Smith <i>JRAS</i> 1926 702 (translation only)
72–87	S. Smith <i>JRAS</i> 1926 701 (translation only)
72–94	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 154f. (<i>BBR</i> 45)
72–96	O.R. Gurney <i>AAA</i> 22 42f.
106–114	O.R. Gurney <i>AAA</i> 22 46f.
127–143	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 158f. (<i>BBR</i> 46–47)
138–151	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 154f. (<i>BBR</i> 45)
138–216	O.R. Gurney <i>AAA</i> 22 46f.
183–216	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 162f. (<i>BBR</i> 50)
184–214	S. Smith <i>JRAS</i> 1926 704 (translation only)
207–214	S. Smith <i>JRAS</i> 1926 704 (translation only)
231–318	O.R. Gurney <i>AAA</i> 22 56f.
231–336	H. Zimmern <i>BBR</i> 146f. (<i>BBR</i> 41–42)

263-275 H. Zimmern *BBR* 162f. (*BBR* 50)
262-270 S. Smith *JRAS* 1926 704 (translation only)
312-318 H. Zimmern *BBR* 154f. (*BBR* 45)
Colophon H. Zimmern *BBR* 156f. (*BBR* 45)

Textual problems will be treated in the notes to the reconstructed text; problems concerning purpose, content, and form will be treated below in connection with text II.

The ritual begins with a long introduction stating its purpose: to block the entry of evil in someone's house (cf. II.B.1 for a detailed discussion). Then seven lines are lost; they may have prescribed measures to prevent evil from attacking the exorcist. After the break, probably on the *first* day of the ritual, the action has moved to the wood, where the *cornel* (*e'ru*) wood for the first group of statues is prepared. Then we return to the city (44) where the first group of statues, the seven *ūmu-apkallū*, is made.

Apparently in the morning of the *second* day — the text is lost in a break — the exorcist returns to the wood (?) and prepares the tamarisk (*bīnu*) wood for seven (groups of) statues (67-87) to be made after return to the city (restored, 88) and described in detail (88-143).

On the next day, the *third* day, the action moves to the clay pit, where the clay for seventeen (groups of) statues is bought from the clay pit (144-169); the exorcist returns to the city (restored, 169), and makes the statues described in 170-205.

In the night following on the third day, he brings all statues he has made to the bank of the river, waits till morning, purifies the statues (restored, 216), and possibly performs an opening-of-the-mouth (*pīt pīt*) ritual on them (lost in the break 217ff.). Then, probably on the same morning, the statues are brought to the house of the threatened family (231) and ritually cleansed (233f.). In the evening of the same day, offerings are brought to several groups of deities, and during (at least part of) the night the house is ritually cleansed (234-259).

On the morning of the *fifth* day (260) before sunrise, the house is swept and the sweepings are thrown into the river. The incantation "go out, evil" concludes the purification of the house (265). Then, still on the fifth day, the statues are purified a last time (266-267), the incantations are recited to them, and one by one they are buried in their appropriate places (information supplied by text II, cf. II.A.3).

B Reconstructed text and translation

A

/i

1 [lu] UDUG ȐUL lu A.LÁ ȐUL lu GIDIM ȐUL
 [lu] GAL₅.LÁ ȐUL lu DINGIR ȐUL lu MAŠKIM ȐUL
 [lu] la-maš-tum lu la-ba-ṣu lu ah-ha-zu
 [lu] LÍL.LÁ lu MUNUS.LÍL.LÁ lu KI.SIKIL.UD.DA.KAR.RA
 5 [lu] ŠU.DINGIR.RA lu ŠU.^dINANNA lu AN.TA.ŠUB.BA
 [lu] ^dLUGAL.ŪR.RA lu ^dLUGAL.AMAŠ.PA.È^a
 [lu] ^dNAM.TAR lu SAG.ȐUL.ḤA.ZA lu mu-tu
 [lu k]ib-bu lu Ȑi-in-tu lu kàt-til-lu^a
 [lu G]IDIM kim-ti lu GIDIM BAR-i lu mim-ma ȐUL
 10 [ma-l]a GÁL-u lu mim-ma NU DÙG.GA ŠÁ MU NU SA₄-u
 [lu NA]M.ÚŠ.MEŠ lu šag-ga-šú lu šib-[tu]
 [lu di-Ȑu-u]m^a lu Ȑi-bil-tu lu Ȑi-tu
 [lu mim-ma lem-n]u^a[ša] ana GISKIM^b ȐUL ina É LÚ
 [x x x GUB-zu-ma GÙ.D]É.MEŠ
 15 [up-ta-nar-ra-du up-ta-na-al-la]-hu
 [ú-Ȑam-ra-ṣu i-duk-ku i-Ȑab-bi-lu]^a
 [ú-Ȑat-ba-lu ú-Ȑe-ṣu-u]
 [ȐUL-šú ana É LÚ NU TE]^a
 [ù GÌR ȐUL-ti ina É LÚ KUD-si]^a
 []
 20 [DÙ.DÙ.BI] ^a

7 lines completely missing

28 [e-nu-ma NU.MEŠ ^{giš}MA.NU ta-ban-nu-ú]^a
 [ina še-rim GIM ^dUTU.È ana ^{giš}TIR GIN-ma]^a
 30 TÙN KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠUM.GAM.ME [KÙ.BABBAR^a TI-*qi*^b]
 ina NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ A.[GÚB.BA ^{giš}MA.NU]^a
 tu-qad-dáš PAD ^úx ana UGU ^{giš}M[A.NU GAR-an]^a
 IGI ^dUTU KI SAR A KÙ SUD [^{gi}DU₈ GUB-an]

B

/i

UDU.NÍTAH.SÍZKUR BAL-*qí* UZ[U.ZAG.UD]U UZU, [ME.ȐÉ]
 35 UZU.KA.ŠEG₆ [tu]-*ta-*Ȑa^a
 ZÚ.LUM.MA ZÍD.EŠA [DUB-ak] NINDA.Ȑ.DÉ.A
 LÀL Ȑ.NUN.NA GAR-an [^{dug}A.D]A.GURU₅ GUB-an
 NÍG.NA ŠIM.LI GAR-an [KAŠ.ŠAG] BAL-*qí*-ma tuš-kin
 ina IGI ^{giš}MA.NU GUB-az-ma
 40 [ÉN] [UDUG] ȐUL EDIN.NA DAGAL.LA ŠID-nu^a
 ina TÙN KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠUM.GAM.ME KÙ.BABBAR ^{giš}MA.NU TAG-ma
 ina *qul-mi-í*^a KUD-*is* ſu-luḥ-*hi*^b tu-rab-ba-ma
 KEŠDA DU₈-ma tuš-kin ^{giš}MA.NU KÍD-ma
 ana URU E₁₁-ma VII NU.MEŠ^a ^{giš}MA.NU *a-gi-e*^b
 45 Ní-Ȑu-nu^a *ap-ru* lu-bu-uš *ra-ma-ni-Ȑu-nu* lab-Ȑu
 ina^a ZAG.UDU-Ȑu-nu ^{giš}MA.NU ŠÁ^b *ap-pa* u SUHUŠ^c IZI
 kab-bu na-Ȑu-ú ina GÁB-Ȑu-nu GABA, [MEŠ]-Ȑu-nu
 tam-*hu* MU.NE.NE ina MAŠ.SÍL GÁB-Ȑu-nu SAR-ár

1 [Wh]ether it be an evil spirit, or an evil *alû*, or an evil ghost,
[or] an evil constable, or an evil god, or an evil deputy,
[or] *Lamaštu*, or *Labasu*, or the robber
[or] *Lilû*, or *Lilitu* or Handmaid-of-*Lilû*,
5 [or] Hand-of-god, or Hand-of-a-goddess, or Fallen-down-from-heaven
[or] *Lugalura*, or *Lugalamašpae*,
[or] Fate, or Supporter-of-evil, or Death,
[or] B]urning, or Scorching, or *Kattillu*,
[or a gh]ost of the family, or a ghost of a stranger, or anything evil,
10 [whatso]ever there be, or anything not good that has no name,
[or pl]ague, or the murderer, or strok[e],
[or *di'ju*-disease, or damage, or loss,
[or whatever evil]⁷ that [stands] in someone's house
as a sign of evil, [and constantly scre]ams,
15 [that causes constant terror and fri]ght,
[illness, death, damage,]
[theft and losses,;]
[(and) its evil; to prevent them from approaching someone's house]
[and to block the entry of the enemy in someone's house,]

20 [its ritual:]

28 [When you make the statues of *cornel* wood]
[in the morning at sunrise you shall go to the wood,]
30 [you shall take] a golden axe and a [silver] saw,
with censer, torch and [holy] water you shall consecrate
[the *cornel* tree], a *kusāpu* loaf of ... [you shall place] on the *co[mel* tree,]
in front of Šamaš you shall sweep the ground, sprinkle clear water,
[set up a folding table,]
sacrifice a sheep and offer the shoul[der], the fatty [tissue]
35 and the roast,
[scatter] dates and fine meal,
set out a cake made with syrup and butter, set out a [*ada*] *gurru*-container,
set up a censer with juniper wood, pour out [first class beer,] kneel down,
and stand up in front of the *cornel* tree, and
40 recite [the incantation] "Evil [spirit] in the broad steppe".
With the golden axe and the silver saw you shall touch the *cornel* tree and
cut it down with a hatchet; you shall damp it with⁷ washing water⁷;
then remove the set-out material, kneel down, break the *cornel* tree
into pieces, and
go to the city; then seven statues of *cornel* wood, crowned with their
45 own tiara, clad in their own garment,
holding in their right hand a *cornel*(-stick) charred at both ends
and with their left clasping their breasts,
— their names you shall write on their left shoulder blade;

A

I-en NU IM.SA₅ *ana til-li-šú* [la]-biš
 50 II-ú IM.BABBAR *la-biš* III-šú IM.BABBAR *la-biš*
 ù A.MEŠ *ina* IM.GI₆ *Li-suru*^a
 [IV]-ú IM.GI₆ *la-biš* V-šú IM.KAL.LI^a *la-[biš]*
 [VI-š]ú IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ *la-biš* [VII-ú] [IM.KAL.GUG]
 [*la-biš*^a NU <šá> IM.SA₅ [*lab-šú u₄-mu* TI.LA]
 55 [i-lit-t]i ŠE[š^a.UNUG^{ki} MU NU NU šá IM.BABBAR]^b
 [*lab-šú u₄-mu* HÉ.GÁL DUMU EN.LÍL^{ki} DÙG.GA]
 [MU NU NU šá IM.BABBAR *lab-šú u₄-mu* *ta-šil-ti*]
 [šá *ina* Eri-dùg *ir-bu-u* MU NU NU šá IM.GI₆]
 [*lab-šú u₄-mu* *dam-qu* šá *ina* *Kul-lab* *šu-pu-u* MU NU]
 60 [NU šá] [IM.KAL.LI *lab-šú u₄*]-[*mu šá pá-ni*]
 [*ba-n*] u-ú *tar-b*[*it Ki-si* MU NU]
 [NU] šá IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ *lab-šú u₄-m[u i-šá-nu]*
 [DI.K]UD *si-ru* šá *La-gaš* MU N[U NU šá IM.KAL.GUG]
 [*lab-šú u₄-mu*] šá *ana šag-ši*^a *ba-la-[tu i-nam-di-nu]*
 65 [*su-lul*] Šu-ru-up-[*pa-ak* MU NU DÙ-uš]

[GIM an-n]am te-te-ep-[šú]

[e-nu-ma NU.MEŠ gišbi-nu ta-ban-nu-ú]^a
 [ina še-rim GIM ^dUTU.È *ana* ... GIN-ma]^a
 [TÙN KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠUM.GAM.ME KÙ.BABBAR TI-qi]^a
 70 [ina NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ A.GÚB.BA gišbi-nu *tu-qad-dáš*]^a
 [... *ana* UGU gišbi-nu GAR-an IGI ^dUTU KI SAR]^a

/ii

A KÙ SUD gišDU₈ GUB-an UDU.NÍTAH SÍZKUR BAL-qi
 UZU.ZAG UZU.ME.HÉ UZU.KA.ŠEG₆ *tu-tah-ha*
 ZÚ.LUM.MA ZÍD.EŠA DUB-ak
 75 NINDA.Ì.DÉ.A LÀL.Ì.NUN.NA GAR-an
 NÍG.NA ŠIM.LI GAR-an KAŠ.SAG BAL-<qi>-ma^a
tu-š-kin NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ A.GÚB.BA gišŠINIG
tu-hab *ma-har* ^dUTU *ki-a-am* DUG₄.GA
 ÉN ^dUTU EN GAL-ú DI.KUD MAH *pa-qid*^a
 80 *ki-š-sat* AN-e u KI-tim *mu-š-te-šir* ÚŠ u TI

at-ta GÌR.PAD.DU^a DINGIR-ti gišŠINIG *qud-du-ši*
 GIŠ el-lu *ana bu-un-na-ni-e* NU.MEŠ
 šá *ina* É NENNI A NENNI *ana sa-kap* HUL.MEŠ GUB-zu
 IGI-ka *ak-ši*^a *mim-mu-ú* *ep-pu-šu*
 85 *lu-ú né-mé-lum-ma* liš-lim

C
/i

an-na-a DUG₄.GA-ma *ina* TÙN KÙ.SI₂₂ ŠUM.GAM.ME KÙ.BABBAR
 [gišbi-n]u TAG-at-ma *ina* *qul-mi-i* KUD-is
 [*ana* URU E₁₁-ma]^a [VII] NU.MEŠ ^dVII.BI a-gi-e Ní-šú-nu^b

the first statue is clad in red paste for his uniform,

50 the second one is clad in white paste, the third one is clad in white paste and water is drawn on with black paste,
the [fourth] one is clad in black paste, the fifth one is clad in yellow paste,
[the sixth one] is clad in blue paste, [the seventh one] [is clad in]
[orange paste; the statue that is [clad] in red paste, ["day of life,]
55 [offspr]ing of U[r]" is the name of the statue; the statue that is clad]
[in white paste, "day of plenty, son of Nippur, good one"]
[is the name of the statue; the statue that is clad in white paste, "day off]
[splendor, who grew up in Eridu" is the name of the statue; the statue that]
[is clad in black paste, "good day, who appeared in Kullab" is the name of]
[the statue;]

60 [the statue that] [is clad in yellow paste,] "flair faced] da[y,]
bro[ught up in Keš" is the name of the statue;
[the statue] that is clad in brown paste, "[righteous] da[y,]
exalted [ju]dge of Lagaš" is the name of the statu[e; the statue that is clad]
[in orange paste, "day] that gives l[ife to the slain,]
65 [shade] of Šurup[pak" is the name of the statue; — you shall make.]

[As soon as] you have do[ne thi]s,

[when you make the statues of tamarisk wood]
[in the morning at sunrise you shall go to the woods,]
[you shall take a golden axe and a silver saw,]
70 [with censer, torch and holy water you shall consecrate]
[the tamarisk,you shall place on the tamarisk, in front of Šamaš you
shall sweep the ground,]
sprinkle clear water, set up a folding table, sacrifice a sheep,
offer the shoulder, the fatty tissue and the roast,
scatter dates and fine meal,
75 set out a cake made with syrup and butter,
set up a censer with juniper wood, pour out first class beer,
kneel down, purify the tamarisk with censer, torch and holy water,
and in front of Šamaš as follows shall you speak:
Incantation: Šamaš, great lord, exalted judge, entrusted with the care
80 of all heaven and earth, the one who gives good guidance to the living
and the dead
you are. The bone of divinity, the consecrated tamarisk,
the holy wood for the image of the statues that
will stand in the house of NN son of NN to throw back the evil ones,
I have cut before you. May what I do
85 be profitable, may it prosper.

This you shall say, and with the golden axe and the silver saw
you shall touch the [tama]risk and cut it down with a hatchet;
[you shall go the city; then] [seven] statues of Sebettu crowned with their

A

C

90 [ap-ru lu-bu]-uš Ní-šú-nu lab-šú ina KI.GAL gišŠINIG^a
 [pu]-ri-da GUB-su-nu-ti^a IM.SA₅ ina til-li-šú-nu^b lab-šú
 ina ŠU^{II}.MEŠ ZAG.UDU.MEŠ-šú-nu qul-ma^a ZABAR^b
 [ina ŠU]^{II}.MEŠ GÁB-šú-nu GÍR ZABAR na-šú-ú
 [mi]-[ser_x(MUŠ)] ZABAR ina MÚRU-šú-nu [rak]-sa
 [e]-ri ZABAR ina SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú-nu [rak]-sa
 95 [SI].MEŠ ZABAR GAR-nu gišBAN.MEŠ iš-pa-a-[ti]
 [ina] [Á].MEŠ-šú-nu al-la^a DÙ-uš

[IV^a NU.MEŠ] [d] LUGAL.GÍR.RA šá gišŠINIG a-gi-e
 [Ní-šú-nu ap-ru l]u-bu-uš Ní-šú-nu lab-šú
 [ina KI.GAL pu-ri-da GUB]-[su]-nu-ti
 100 [IM.? ana til-li-šú-nu lab-šú^a ina ŠU.MEŠ XV.M]EŠ-šú-nu
 giš[BAN.MEŠ^a ina ŠU.MEŠ GÁB-šú-nu GAG.UD.TAG.GA^b]
 na-š[u-ú mi-sir ZABAR ina MÚRU-šú-nu] [rak]-sa
 e-ri [ZABAR ina SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú]-nu rak-sa
 ni-pi-i[h^a x x x ina SAG.D]U-šú-nu tu²-ú²-KUD
 105 SI.MEŠ ZABA[R GAR-nu x x] [x x lab-šú^a] DÙ-uš

VII NU.MEŠ šu-[ut gišT]UKUL.MEŠ šá gišŠINIG^a
 a-gi-e Ní-š[u-nu a]p-ru lu-[bu-u]š Ní-šú-nu
 lab-šú ina KI.GAL pu-ri-da [GUB]-su-nu-ti
 ina ŠU.MEŠ XV.MEŠ-šú-nu gišTUKUL.MEŠ ina ŠU.ME[Š GÁB.ME]Š-šú-nu
 110 gišMA.NU na-šú-ú mi-sir [ZABAR]^a
 <ina>^a MÚRU.MEŠ-šú-nu rak-sa^b e-ri ZABAR [ina SAG.DU-š]ú-nu
 rak-sa SI.MEŠ ZABAR GAR-nu UD.SAKAR [ZABA]R
 ina SAG.DU-šú-nu tu-[x]-[x-(x)]-[x]^a
 IM.BABBAR ana til-li-šú-nu lab-šú DÙ-[uš]

115 I-en NU gišŠINIG šá 1 KÙŠ la-an-š[ú a-gi-e Ní-šú]^a
 a-pir lu-bu-uš [Ní-šú la-biš mi-sir ZABAR]
 ina MÚRU-šú rak-sa^a [e-ri ZABAR ina SAG.DU-šú]
 [rak-sa^a GÍR ZABAR šá VII ŠU.SI GÍD-šú]
 [ina ŠU XV-šú ha-ši-in ZABAR ina ŠU GÁB-šú]
 120 [na-ši ina KI.GAL pu-ri-da GUB-su^a SI.MEŠ ZABAR GAR-in]
 [IM.X ana til-li-šú la-biš ina XV-šú]
 [sa-kiп GAL₅.LÁ.MEŠ ȐUL.MEŠ ina GÁB-šú mu-še-rib]
 [d]ÁLAD SIG₅ u ^dLAMMA SIG₅-ti SAR-ár DÙ-uš]^a

[IV^a NU.MEŠ ^dMEŠ.LAM.TA.Ȑ.A šá gišŠINIG a-gi-e]^b
 125 [Ní-šú-nu ap-ru lu-bu-uš Ní-šú-nu lab-šú]
 [ina KI.GAL pu-ri-da GUB-su-nu-ti^a]
 [ana til-li-šú-nu^a] [IM.GI₆]^b IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ [tu-la-ba-aš^c]
 SI.MEŠ ZABAR šá KÙ.S[I₂₂ uȐ-hu-za^a GAR-nu]
 e-ri ZABAR ina SA[G.DU-šú-nu rak-sa]
 130 me-sir ZABAR ina MÚR[U^a-šú-nu rak-sa ... ^b]

B
/ii

own tiara, clad in their own garment, you shall place them on a pedestal
90 of tamarisk in a walking pose; they are clad in red paste over their uniform;
hold in their right hands a hachet of bronze, and
in their left [hands] a dagger of bronze, are
bound around their waist with a [girdle] of bronze,
bound around their heads with a [headband] of bronze,
95 furnished with [horn]s of bronze, and bows and quivers
hang [at] their [sides] ; — you shall make.

[Four statues of] Lugalgirra of tamarisk, [crowned] with [their own] tiara,
clad in their own garment,
[you shall place] them [on a pedestal in a walking pose;]
100 [they are clad in ... paste for their uniform;] [hold] [in] their [right hands]
b[ows, and in their left hands arrows, are]
bou[nd around their waist with a girdle of bronze,]
bound around th[eir heads with a] headband [of bronze;]
you shall ... their h[eads] with a sundisk [of bronze?],
105 [they are furnished with] horns of br[onze,] clad [in;] — you shall make.

Seven statues of the weapon-m[en] of tamarisk,
crowned with t[heir] own tiara, clad in their own gar[ment],
you shall [place] them on a pedestal in a walking pose;
they hold in their right hands maces, and in their [left] hands
110 a *cornel*(-stick), are bound around their waists
with a girdle of bronze, bound around the[ir heads] with a headband of bronze,
furnished with horns of bronze; a crescent [of bronze]
you shall [...] on their head;
they are clad in white paste for their uniform; — you shall mak[e].

115 One statue of tamarisk of “one cubit is h[is] length”, crowned with his
[own tiara, clad in his own] garment, bound with a [girdle of bronze]
around his waist; [bound around his head with a headband of bronze]
[holding a dagger of bronze seven fingers long]
[in his right hand, an axe of bronze in his left hand;]
120 [you shall place him on a pedestal in a walking pose, he is furnished with]
[horns of bronze, and clad in ... paste for his uniform; on his right]
[you shall write “who repels the evil constables” and on his left “who causes]
[to enter the *šēdu* of good and the *lamassu* of good”; — you shall make.]

[Four statues of Meslamtaea of tamarisk, crowned with]
125 [their own tiara, clad in their own garment,]
[you shall place them on a pedestal in a walking pose,]
[you shall clad them] in black paste and in blue paste [for their uniform;]
[they are furnished with] horns of bronze [mounted] in gol[d,]
[bound with a] headband of bronze around [their he]ad,
130 [bound with] a girdle of bronze around [their wai]st, [with]

B

GİR.MEŠ ZABAR šá KÙ.S[I₂₂ uħ-hu-zu in ŠU.MEŠ XV-šú-nu]
 għiġ-TU[KUL.SA]G.NA₄^a šá KÙ.S[I₂₂ uħ-hu-zu ina CL-šú-nu^b]
 għiġ[TUKUL.ZA.][HA.DA]^a šá KÙ.S[I₂₂ uħ-hu-zu na-šu-ú DÙ-uš]^b
 [IV] [NU.MEŠ šá ^d]LUGAL.GİR.RA[...]

135 [IV]^a [šá ^dMES.LA.]M.TA.[È].[A ...]
 []MEŠ[]
 []
 []
 []

NU ^dNa-ru-da^a g[iħ-ŠINIG IM.]SA₅^b
 ina til-li-e-šá^a lab-šá-tu ú-sur-ta šá IM.KAL.LA

140 GIM hu-ša-an-ni MÚRU-šá te-sir ^{tág}BAR.SIG SA₅
 ap-rat tim-bu-ut-ta₅ ina Á GÁB-šá tal-lal
 NU DINGIR^a É šá għiġ-ŠINIG DÙ-uš^b

GIM NU.MEŠ an-nu-ti bi-nu-ut AN-e IGI ^dUTU tuk-ti-nu-[ú]^a

e-nu-ma NU.MEŠ bi-nu-ut ABZU ta-ban-nu-[ú]

145 ina še-rim GIM ^dUTU.È ana KI.GAR GIN-ma KI.GAR tu-qad-[dáš]^a
 NÍG.NA GL.IZI.LÁ A.GÚB.BA KI.GAR tu-[hab]^a
 VII ŠE KÙ.BABBAR VII ŠE KÙ.SI₂₂ NA₄.GUG NA₄.N[ÍR]
 ana KI.GAR ŠUB-di-ma KEŠDA ana ^dUTU tara-[kás]
 NÍG.NA ŠIM.LI GAR-an KAŠ.SAG BAL-qí-ma tuš-k[in]

150 GUB-az-ma ÉN KI.GAR MIN^a ŠID-nu
 []
 ÉN KI.GAR MIN^a kul-lat ^dA-nim u ^dEN.LÍL.[LÁ]^b
 KI.GAR ^dÉ.A EN IDIM KI.GAR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ at-ti-ma
 [e]^a-nam tab-ni-i ana^b e-nu-ti LUGAL tab-ni-i ana^b LUGAL-[ti]
 NUN tab-ni-i ana^a la-bar UD.MEŠ ru-qu-tu

155 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ-ki SUM-nu-uk-ki mah-ra-[ti]
 NÍG.BA-ki mah-ra-ti-ma ina še-rim^a ina ma-har ^dUTU IM NENNI A [NENNI]
 a-kar-ri-iş lu né-mé-lum-ma mim-mu-u DÙ-šú liš-lim
 []
 [GIM] an-na-a ŠID-ú ina IGI ^dUTU kám DUG₄.GA [x]^a
 [NU].MEŠ sa-kip HUL.MEŠ šá ^dÉ.A u ^dASAL.LÚ.HI

160 [ana]^a ZI-ah GİR HUL-tim ina É NENNI A [NENNI]
 [šu]-uz-zu-zi IGI-ka <ina>^a KI.GAR IM- šú-nu a-[kar-ri-is]^b
 []
 [GIM] an-na-a taq-ta-bu-ú [ina IGI x x x x^a]
 [ki]-a-am DUG₄.GA KI.[A]^a [x x x x x x]
 []

165 NU.[MEŠ] ^a
 ana ZI-ah [GİR HUL-tim ina É NENNI A NENNI]^a
 šu-uz-zu-z[i IGI-ka/ki IM-šú-nu]^a
 []
 an-na-a DUG₄.GA-ma [IM ta-kar-ri-iş^a . . .^b]

daggers of bronze [mounted] in gol[d; they hold in their right hands]
a m[ace with a h]ead of stone [mounted] in gol[d, and in their left]
a [battl]e axe [mounted] in gol[d; — you shall make].

135 [The four] [statues of] Lugalgirra[and]
[the four] [of Mesla]mtae[a]
[] s []
[] x []

A statue of Narudda of [tamarisk,] clad in red [paste]
over her uniform; you shall draw a design with yellow paste
140 representing a sash around her waist; she is crowned with a red head gear;
you shall hang a harp at her left side;
— (and) a statue of the god of the house of tamarisk you shall make.

As soon as you have manufactured these statues, the creatures of heaven,
before Šamaš with appropriate care,

when you make the statues, creatures of Apsû,
145 in the morning at sunrise you shall go to the clay pit and consecrate the
clay pit; with censer, torch and holy water you shall [purify] the clay pit,
seven grains of silver, seven grains of gold, carnelian, *hulâ*[*lu*-stone]
you shall throw into the clay pit, then prepare the setting for Šamaš,
set up a censer with juniper wood, pour out first class beer, kne[el down,]
150 stand up, and recite the incantation Clay pit, clay pit.

Incantation: Clay pit, clay pit, you are the clay pit of Anu an Enlil,
the clay pit of Ea, lord of the deep, the clay pit of the great gods;
you have made the lord for lordship, you have made the king for kingship,
you have made the prince for future days;
155 your pieces of silver are given to you, you have received them;
your gift you have received, and so, in the morning before Šamaš, I pinch off
the clay of NN son of NN; may it be profitable, may what I do prosper.

[As soon as] you have recited this, you shall speak before Šamaš as follows:
[statues] of Ea and Marduk, repelling the evil ones,
160 [to] be placed in the house of NN son of NN [to] expel the foot of evil,
I [pinch off] their clay before you <in> the clay pit.

[As soon as] you have said this, [in front of]
you shall speak as follows: [bank ??] [of the river??]
165 statue[s]
[]
to be placed [in the house of NN son of NN] to expel [the foot of evil]
[I mix their clay with water before you at the bank of the river ?????]

This you shall say, and then [pinch off the clay ...]

šá NU KU₄.RA^a *x^b-ma tuš-kin* [ana URU E₁₁-ma]^c

170 VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ^a šá IM-šú-nu [DU₁.LÀL]^b [ba-al-lu PA.MEŠ^c]
 ū^a IGI MUŠEN GAR-nu *ina* ŠU.MEŠ XV-šú-nu í[L.DÚB^b]
ina ŠU.MEŠ CL-šú-nu BA.AN.DU₈.DU₈^a *na-šu-[ú]*
 IM.BABBAR *lab-šú u^a kap-pi* MUŠEN.MEŠ^b *ina te-qí-[e]-[ti]^c*
es-hu DÙ-uš VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ šá IM DÙ-u[š]^a

175 IM.BABBAR *ina til-li-šú-nu^a lab-šú* BAR KU₆ šá IM.GI₆
 UGU-šú-nu^a *tu-uš-ša-ár* *ina* ŠU.MEŠ XV-šú-nu
 íL.DÚB^a *ina* ŠU.MEŠ CL-šú-nu BA.AN.DU₈.D[U₈]^b
na-šu-ú VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ^a šá IM DÙ-u[š]^c
 IM.BABBAR *lab-šú* BAR KU₆ *es-hu* *ina* ŠU.MEŠ XV-šú-[nu]^a

180 [ŠÀ] giš.GIŠIMMAR^a *na-šu-u* *ina* CL-šú-nu^b GABA.MEŠ Ní-šú-nu^c *tam-[hu]*
 VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ^a šá IM^b DÙ-uš BAR KU₆ *es-hu* [ina X]V^c-[šú-nu]
 gi.URÌ.GAL^d[c]

C /ii

na-šu-ú *ina* CL-šú-nu^a GABA Ní-šú-nu^b [tam-hu]
 GIM [NU].MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ [an-nu-ti te-te-ep-šú]^a

II NU.MEŠ [lāh-me]^a.MEŠ IM.BABBAR [lab-šú] ū A.[MEŠ *ina* IM.GI₆ ú-šuru^b]^c

185 DÙ-uš II NU MUŠ.ŠÀ.TUR^a II NU MUŠ.ḤUŠ II N[U U₄.GAL^b]
 II NU UR.IDIM.MEŠ II NU.MEŠ^a *ku-sa-rik-ku^b* II NU [GÍR.TAB.LÚ.ÙLU-lu^c]
 NITAḪ u MUNUS šá IM šá IM.KAL.LI *lab-šú^a* [II NU UR.MAH.LÚ.ÙLU-lu^b]
 II NU ^dLÚ.LÀL šá IM^a šá IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ l[ab-šú x x x x(x x x)^b]
 II NU ^dLa-ta-ra-ak šá IM šá IM.GI₆ *la*[b-šú x x(x x x)^a]

190 [II] NU KU₆.LÚ.ÙLU-lu II NU SUHUR.MÁŠ šá IM.BABBAR^a
 [lab]-šú BAR KU₆ *es-hu* D[Ù-uš X NU.MEŠ UR.GI₇.MEŠ šá^a]
 [IM] DÙ-uš II IM.BABBAR II [IM.GI₆ II IM.SA₅]^a
 [II IM.]SIG₇.SIG₇^a *tu-la-[ba-aš^b x x(x)]* [Á?]^c-[šú-nu]^c

[ina I]M.GI₆ IM.[x x x] [x] *tu-bar-ra[m]^a*

195 [MU.N]E.NE i[na BAR.SIL-šú-nu^a S]AR-ár MU I-e[n]
 [UR BABBAR] e [tam-ta-lik] e-pu-uš KA-k[a]^a
 [MI I]I-[i] [e tam-t]a-lik ú-šuk at-t[a^a]^a
 MU I-en [UR] GI₆ a-ru-uh ZI-š[u^a]
 MU II-[i d]a^a-an ri-GIŠ-š[u^b]

200 MU I-[en U]R.GI₇ GI₆^a ta-ri-id Á.[SÀG]^b
 M[U II-[i] ka-šid a-[a-bi]^a
 MU I-en [UR SIG₇.SIG₇ sa-kip GABA lem-ni]^a
 MU II-i [mu-na-ši-ku ga-ri-šu]^a
 MU I-en UR.[GI₇? GÙN.GÙN mu-še-ri-bu SIG₅.MEŠ]^a

205 MU II-i [mu-še-su-u ḤUL.MEŠ]^a
 GIM an-na-[a] [te-te-ep-šú]^a

that has not been entered you shall [...] kneel down, [go to the city and]
170 seven statues of sages whose clay is [mixed] with [wax,] furnished with [wings]
and the face of a bird, holding in their right hands a cl[eaner,]
in their left hands a bucket; they are clad in white paste, and endowed with
feathers by hatchings in the wet paste; — you shall make. Seven statues of sages
of clay you shall mak[e,]
175 clad in white paste over their uniform; you shall draw fish scales on them
with black paste; in their right hands they shall hold
a cleaner, and in their left hands a bucket.
Seven statues of sages of clay you shall mak[e,]
clad in white paste, endowed with fish scales by hatchings, holding in their
right hands
180 an offshoot of the datepalm, and with their left clasp[ing] their breasts.
Seven statues of sages of clay you shall make, endowed with fish scales by
hatching, holding
[a standard in their ri]ght, and with their left [clasping] their breast.
As soon as [you have made these] statues of sages,

two statues of [hairies clad] in white paste and wat[er drawn on in black paste]
185 you shall make, two statues of Viper, two statues of Furious-Snake,
two sta[tues of Big-Weather-Beast]
two statues of Mad-Lions, two statues of Bison, two statues of [Scorpion-
Man,]
male and female, of clay, clad in yellow paste, [two statues of Lion-Man]
two statues of Lulal of clay, [cla]d in blue paste[]
two statues of Latarak of clay, [cla]d in black paste[]
190 [two] statues of Fish-Man, two statues of Carp-Goat o[f clay,] clad [in white
paste,] endowed with fish scales by hatchings;
— you shall ma[ke. Ten statues of dogs
of] [clay] you shall make; you shall cl[ad] two
in white paste, two [in black paste,]
[two in red paste,]
[and two in] blue [paste] ; you shall colour [the *sides*] of [two]
[with] black past[e , . . . paste]
195 the[ir names] you shall write o[n their shoulder blade;] the name of the fir[st]
[white dog:] “do not [reconsider,] speak up”;
[the name of the se]cond: “[do not recon]sider, bite yo[u] ”;
the name of the first black [dog]: “destroy h[is] life”;
the name of the secon[d : “st]rong is his bark”;
200 the name of the fir[st] red¹ [d]og: “Who chases away the a[sakku] ”
the n[ame of the seco]nd: “who overcomes the en[emy] ”;
the name of the first [blue dog: “who repels the chest of evil”]
the name of the second: “[who bites his foe”];
the name of the first [multicolored do]g: “[who lets enter the good ones”];
205 the name of the second: “[who makes the evil ones go out”].
As soon as you have [done thi]s,

A

NU.MEŠ šá GIŠ.MEŠ ù šá I[M ma-la DÙ-šú^a x x x x]
 ina GI₆ ina GÚ ÍD TI-qí GU[B-su-nu-ti x x x x]
 IGI-šú-nu ana ^dUTU.È GAR-an du-[x x x x ina še-rim]
 210 GIM ^dUTU.È IGI ^dUTU KI SAR [A] [KÙ SUD^a]
 ana ^dE.A ^dUTU u ^dASAL.LÚ.ḤI [III ^gDU₈ GUB-an]
 III UDU.NÍTAḤ. SÍZKUR BAL-qí UZU.Z[AG UZU.ME.ḤE]
 [UZU].KA.ŠEG₆ tu-ṭah-ḥa ZÚ.LUM.MA Z[ÍD.EŠA DUB-ak]
 [NINDA].ḥ.DÉ.A LÀL ḥ.NUN.NA GAR-an ^{dug}[A.DA.GURU₅ GUB-an]
 215 [NÍG.N]A ŠIM.LI GAR-an KAŠ.SAG [BAL-qí-ma tuš-kin]
 [NU^a].[MEŠ] šu-nu-ti A.GÚB.BA NÍG.NA [GI.IZI.LÁ tu-hab^a]
 [x].[MEŠ][]
 12 lines completely broken away.^a
 230 [GIM]^a [NU.MEŠ šá GIŠ.MEŠ ù šá IM ma-la DÙ-šú^b ...^c]
 ana É TI-qí-[šú-nu]-[ti ...]]
 ina UGU ^gKID.MAH DÚR-š[ú-nu-ti...] IGI-šú-nu]
 ana ^dUTU.È GAR-an^a A.GÚB.BA [NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ]
 tuš-ba-šú-nu-ti GIM ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A [É][...]^a
 235 KEŠDA ana ^dAMAR.UTU tara-kás UDU.SÍZKUR [BAL-qí]
 UZU.ZAG UZU.ME.ḤE UZU.KA.ŠEG₆ t[u-ṭah-ḥa]
 ZÚ.LUM.MA ZÍD.EŠA DU[B-ak]
 NINDA.ḥ.DÉ.A LÀL ḥ.NUN.NA [GAR-an]
^{dug}A.DA.GURU₅ GUB-an KURUN_x (KAŠ.GEŠTIN) LÀ[L GA ḥ.GIŠ^a]
 240 BAL-qí ana ^dA-nim ^dBE ^dÉ.A ^dM[AŠ^a]
 IV ^gDU₈ GUB-an IV UDU.NÍTAḤ.SÍZKUR BAL-qí KEŠDA [DU₈]
 ana ^dKÙ.SÙ ^dNIN.GIRIM II ^gDU₈ GUB-an^a
 II UDU.SÍZKUR BAL-qí KEŠDA ŠU.BI.DILI.ÀM
 ana [DINGIR É]^a ^dXV É u ^dLAMMA É III ^gDU₈ GUB-an

B

/iii 245 III UDU.NÍTAḤ.SÍZKUR BAL-qí KEŠDA ŠU.BI.DILI.ÀM
 GIM KEŠDA.MEŠ^a tuk-[ten]-nu-u^b ESIR IM.BABBAR ḥ.KUR.RA^c
 LÀL ḥ.NUN.NA ḥ.DUG.GA ḥ.BUR A.GÚB.BA VII NÍG.NA
 VII GI.IZI.LÁ UB.MEŠ É.MEŠ ZAG.DU₈.MEŠ
 TÙR ÙR rug-bé-e-ti AB.MEŠ TAG.MEŠ
 250 GIM tul-tap-pi-tú^a VII MÁŠ.ḤUL.DÚB.MEŠ
 VII MÁŠ.GI.IZI.LÁL^a.MEŠ VII UDU.TI.LA.MEŠ
 VII ŠAH^a.TUR.MEŠ VII URUDU.NÍG.KALAG.GA.MEŠ^b
 VII KUŠ.GUD.GAL.MEŠ ter-ka^a LILIZ ZABAR
 TÚG SA₅ ^{kuš}ŪSAN ^{dug}SÌLA.GAZ.MEŠ ŠE.ESTUB
 255 ŠE.MUŠ₅ ŠE.IN.NU.ḤA ŠE.GIG ŠE.ÁŠ.ÀM
 GÚ.GAL GÚ.TUR GÚ.NÍG.HAR.RA ZÍD.DUB.DUB^a-bé-e
 É tu-kap-par-ma tak-pi-rat É a-na (erasure)^a KÁ
 [ḥ]^a [x] ana UB-šá GUR-ma ÉN AB.[TA x x]^b
 [x.D]A.AN.NU.KU₄.KU₄.DÈ ŠID-nu

the statues of wood and those of cl[ay, as many as you have made]
at night you shall take them to the river, and pla[ce them there]
you shall make them face the east, [...] [in the morning]

210 at sunrise in front of Šamaš you shall sweep the ground, [sprinkle holy] water,
and [set up three folding tables] for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk,
sacrifice three sheep, offer the sh[oulder, the fatty tissue and]
the roast, [scatter] dates and fi[ne meal,]
set out a [ca]ke made with syrup and butter, [set out an *adaguru*-con]tainer,

215 set up a [cens]er with juniper wood, [pour out] first class beer, [kneel down,]
[and purify] these [statue]s with holy water, censer, [and torch.]
[]s []

230 [as soon as] [you havethe statues of wood and those of clay as many
as you have made,]
you shall take them to the house []
set th[em] down on a reed mat[] make them face]
the east, move holy water, [censer and torch]
past them, at sundown [you shall ...] the house,

235 prepare the setting for Marduk, [sacrifice] a sheep,
o[ffer] the shoulder, the fatty tissue and the roast,
sc[atter] dates and fine meal,
[set out] a cake made with syrup and butter,
set out an *adaguru*-container, pour out *kurunnu*-beer, s[yrup, milk, oil,]

240 set up four folding tables for Anu, Enlil, Ea and N[inurta,]
sacrifice four sheep, then [remove] the set out material.

You shall set up two folding tables for Kusu and Ningirim,
sacrifice two sheep, — (further ritual) set up as before —.
To the god of the house, the goddess of the house and the *lamassu* of the house
you shall set up three folding tables,

245 sacrifice three sheep, — (further ritual) set up as before —.
After you have prepared the ritual material with appropriate care, with crude
bitumen, gypsum, naphta, syrup, butter, fine oil, oil-of-the-pot, holy water,
seven censers and seven torches you shall touch the corners of the rooms, the
doorposts of the court, the roof and the attic rooms, and the windows.

250 When you have touched them all, with seven goats-that-hit-evil,
seven goats-for-the-torch, seven 'living-sheep',
seven little pigs, seven 'strong-copper's,
seven hide-of-the-great-bull's, a drumstick, a copper kettledrum,
a red cloth, a whip, half-sila containers, *arsuppu*-grain,

255 *šeguššu*-grain, *inninu*-grain, wheat, emmer,
halluru-peas, lentils, vetch, heaps of flour,
you shall rub the house, and the material used for rubbing [you shall remove]
through the gate, and [...] return to its corner. The incantation "You shall
not enter [for him] through the window" you shall recite.

A B

/v

260 [xxx ina š]e-nim^a la-ma ^dUTU.È
 [É šá tu-kap-pi-r]u^a dug SILA.GAZ-e^b
 ŠE.BIR.BIR.RE.DA ZÍD.DUB.DUB^a-bé-e
 ta-šá-bit-ma ana íD^a ŠUB-di-ma^b
 ina NÍG.NA GI.IZI.LÁ A.GÚ.BA É tu-ḥab

265 ÉN HUL.DÚB È. [BA].RA^a ŠID-nu

[GIM an-nam] te-te-ep-[šú] NU.MEŠ šu-nu-ti
 ina NÍG.NA [GI.IZI.LÁ] A.GÚ[B.BA tu]š-ba-a'-šú-nu-ti
 [ana IGI NU giš ŠINIG šá I] KÙŠ la-an-šú
 ana IGI NU.MEŠ ^dLUGAL.GÍR.RA [ù ^dMES.L]AM.TA.È.A

270 III^a giš DU₈ GUB-an SÍZKUR BAL-qi^b
 [UZU.ZAG].UDU UZU.ME.HÉ [UZU.KA.ŠEG₆] tu-ṭah-ḥi-šú-nu-ti
 ZÚ.LUM.MA ZÍD.EŠA DUB-ak
 [NINDA.Ì.DÉ.][A] LÀL Ì.NUN.NA GAR-an
 [dug A.DA.GURU₅ GUB-an] KURUN_x(KAŠ.GEŠTIN) LÀL GA Ì.GIŠ^a

275 [xxx x x du]g LA.ḤA.AN BAL-qi-šú^a-nu-ti^b
 [ÉN.MEŠ ana IGI-šú-]nu^a ŠID-nu ana IGI NU giš ŠINIG kám ŠID-nu

[ÉN at-ta šal-mu sa-k]ip^a lem-ni^b u a-a-bi^c
 [mi-qit AN-e^{1a} dan-nu^b dan-nu-t]i^c gít-ma-lu šá^d ina DINGIR.MEŠ gaš-ru

280 [šá me-lam-mu^a MA]H.MEŠ^b ra-mu-ú^c
 [ul-la-nu^a ana IGI ^d]JÉ.A AD-ka^b GUB-az^c
 [XV-ka u CL-ka ú-sur ana EN.NUN-k]a^a la te-eg-gi^b
 [lu-u AN.TA.ŠUB.BA lu-u^a ŠU.GI]DIM.MA lu^b mim-ma HUL^c
 [šá ina É-MU GAR-nu^a up-t]a-na-al-la-ḥa-an-ni^b

284/285 [HUL-šu^a (ina qí-bit ^d)É.A^b ^dAMAR.UT]U ia-a-ši^c u É-MU^d

[(a-a-TE-a)^a a-a-KU.NU^b] [a]-a-DIM₄ a-a-ik-šu-dan-ni^c
 [(lis-si šár^a DA)NNA ina SU-MU GI]M qut-ri li-tel-li AN-e
 [(GIM giš bi-ni ZI-ḥi ana K)]I-šú a-a-i-tur^a

[GIM an-na-a ana IGI] NU giš ŠINIG^a [šá I KÙŠ l]a-an-šú^b ŠID-nu-u^c

/iv 290 [ana IGI IV NU.MEŠ^a ^dM]ES.LAM.TA.È.A
 kám ŠID-nu [ÉN NU.MEŠ] ^[d]MES.] LAM.TA.È.A
^dMAŠ.TAB.BA DINGIR.MEŠ ki-lá-la-an
 [xx DUMU.MEŠ^a] ^dA-nim gaš-ru-ti
 šá <ina> AN-e KÙ.MEŠ [x.(x).ME]Š-šú-nu MAH.MEŠ^a

295 ina KI-tim DAGAL-tim^a ra-mu-ú BÁRA.MEŠ
 [DINGIR.MEŠ šá^a] EN.NUN da-i-ku HUL.MEŠ
 ka-ši-du a-a-bi [mu-ṭar-ri-du] ^dNAM.TAR
 le-qu-ú par-su^a KI-tim DAGAL-tim^b
 [a-šá-re-]du ^dA-nun-na-ki at-tu-nu-ma^a

300 aš-šum mim-ma HUL [šá] ina É NENNI A NENNI

260 [... in the mor]ning before sunrise
you shall sweep [the house that you rub]bed with half-sila containers,
heaps of grain, and heaps of flour
and throw them into the river, then
with censer, torch and holy water you shall purify the house and
265 recite the incantation "Evil go out".

[As soon as] you have don[e thi]s, you shall move these statues past
censer, [torch] and ho[ly] water, and
[before the statue of tamarisk of "one] cubit is his length"
and before the statues of Lugalgirra [and Mesl]jamtaea
270 you shall set up three folding tables, sacrifice sheep,
offer them the [shoulder], the fatty tissue and the roast,
scatter dates and fine meal,
set out a [cak]e made with syrup and butter, [set out an *adagurru*-container,]
and pour out for them *kurunnu*-beer, syrup, milk,
275 oil[from a] *lahannu*-bottle.
[Then the incantations] you shall recite [before th]em: before the statue of
tamarisk you shall recite as follows:
[Incantation: you are the statue that repels the evil one and the enemy,
[the one that dropped down from heaven, strong among the stron]g, perfect,
powerful among the gods,
[that] is endowed [with lof]ty [radiance;]
280 [from the beginning] you stay [before] Ea your father;
[guard your right and your left,] do not fail [at yo]ur [watch.]
[Whether it be Fallen-down-from-Heaven, Hand-of-a-G]host, or anything evil
[that is present in my house and constan]tly scares me,
284/285 [may its evil on the command of Ea and Mard]uk not approach me nor my
house,
[may it move away from my body 3600 "miles"; a]s smoke may it rise to heaven,
[as an uprooted tamarisk,] may it not return to its pl[ace.]

[As soon as] you have recited [this in front of] the statue of tamarisk of
["one cubit is his l]ength",

290 [in front of the four statues of M]eslamtaea
you shall recite as follows: [Incantation: you are the statues of] Meslamtaea
Maštabba, the twin gods,
[...] strong [sons] of Anu,
whose [dwelling]s in the clear heavens are exalted,
295 whose thrones are well founded in the broad earth (underworld),
[gods of] the watch, who kill the evil ones,
who overcome the enemy [and chase away] Fate,
who have taken hold of the regulations of the broad earth (underworld),
[the foremos]t of the *Anunakku*-gods.
300 Because of anything evil that stands in the house of NN, son of NN, with evil

A

B

ana MUNUS.ḪUL GUB-zu^a-ma GÙ.DÉ.MEŠ
 up-ta-nar-ra-du up-ta-na-al-la-ḥu
 ú-šam-ra-ṣu i-duk-ku i-ḥab-bi-lu
 ú-šat-ba-lu^a ú-še-es^b-ṣu-ú^c ana na-saḥ <ina>^d É NENNI A NENNI
 305 ina KÁ ZAG^a u GÁB GUB-iz-ku-nu-ṣi^b
 mim-ma lem-nu mim-ma NU DÙG.GA šár DANNA
 li-is-sa-a ma-ḥar-ku-un

[GIM an-na-a ŠID-nu-u]^a ana IGI VII NU.MEŠ ^dVII.BI VII^b šu-ut GÌR.MEŠ
 u qui-ma-a-ti ina ŠU¹[-šú-nu na-šu-]u^a

310 ú ^dNa-ru-di^a (MS A continues with 310'; MS B adds between 310 and 310':
 a)[xxx x x x x x ina IZ]I ta-qal-li mir-ta ta-mar-raṭ
 b)[xxx x x x x x NÍG.NA^b gⁱ]EREN ŠIM.LI ana IGI-šú-nu GAR-an
 c)[xxx x x x x x x x]-din u

310' [kám ŠID-n]u^c
 [ÉN at-tu-nu NU.MEŠ ^dVII.BI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.]MEŠ^{ab}

DUMU^a.M[ES^dEn-me-šár-ra na-áš gⁱ]TUKUL.MEŠ] HUL.MEŠ^b
 e-s[i-ḥu iš-pa-tú ta-mi-ḥu nam]-sa-ra
 sa-pi-[nu hur-sa-a-ni x x x.M]ES[?]

315 da-a-a-[i-ku la a-ni-hu x x x]x
 MU HUL.MEŠ [šá ina É NENNI A NENNI^a]
 ZI-š[ú[?] x x x x x x x]
 gⁱER[EN^a x x x x x x x]^b

[]

/vi

320 ^dLUGAL.GÍR.(sic).RA^a šá i[na ŠU.MEŠ-šú-n]u [gⁱBAN].MEŠ
 u GAG.UD.TAG.GA n[a-šu-][ú][kám[?] ŠID]-[nu]

D ÉN at-tu-nu N[U.MEŠ ^dLUGAL.GÍR.RA DINGIR.MEŠ^a]

šam-ru-ti[M]EŠ dan-nu-ti
 [na]-du-[g]a-ri-šú^a-un
 325 DINGIR.MEŠ [x][]JEDEN.NA^a
 mu-ša[m[?]- lem[?]-]nu ZI-ḥu^a
 a-[x]-[]][x]-šu-nu-ti-ma
 [x]^a []]KÁ É

[GIM an-na-a ŠID-nu-u ana IGI] NU.MEŠ^a

330 [šu-ut] gⁱšTUKUL.MEŠ kám ŠID-nu^a
 [ÉN at-tu-nu NU.MEŠ na-áš gⁱ]šTUKUL.MEŠ^a
 [DINGIR^a.M]EŠ dan-nu-ti () [š]am-ru-tu₄
 [g]aṣ^a-ṣu-tu₄ () [g]aṣ^a-ṣu-tu₄ n]a-an-du-ru-tu₄
 335 [la a-n]i-ḥu bir-ki () [r]i[?]-ku EGER
 [e-]mu-qt^a na-[x-(x)]
 []šá Á.ME[Š x x x]
 []GÌR[x x x]
 []|[x][]^a

intent, that constantly screams,
that causes constant terror and fright,
illness, death, damage,
theft, and losses, — to tear it out, I have placed you < in > the house of NN
305 son of NN, right and left in the gate.
May anything evil and anything not good
recede 3600 "miles" for fear of you.

[As soon as you have recited this], in front of the seven statues of Sebettu,
the seven (statues) that [hold] daggers and hatchets in [their] hands,
310 and (in front of the statue of) Naruddi
a)[on a fi]re you shall roast, scratch (it),
b)[] set up a [censer] with juniper wood before them,
c)[gi]ve? and
310' r[ecite as follows:]
[Incantation: you are the statues of Sebettu, the great god],
the son[s of Enmešarra, who hold] furious [weapons],
having gir[t a quiver (on the side), holding a d]agger
leve[ling the mountains]
315 killers, [tireless ...]
Because of the evil ones [that in the house of NN son of NN]
[his] life[]
ced[ar] []

As soon as you have recited this, [in] front of the four statues of
320 Lugalirra that [hold] bows
and quivers i[n thei]r [hands,] you shall recite as follows:
Incantation: you are the sta[tues of Lugalirra,] the fierce [gods]
[] strong [.....]
...[who overtake?] their [e]nemies
325 the gods [] the steppe?
who cause [] evil], who tear out
...[I have place]d? them
...[] the gate of the house.

[As soon as you have recited this, in front of] the statues of
330 the weapon-[mén] you shall recite as follows:
[Incantation: you are the statues of those holding] weapons,
[gods,] strong, [()] fierce,
[] ferocious, [()] overbearing,
[] r]aging
335 [] whose knees are tir[e]less()]...
[] st]renght[]
[] whose arms[]
[] feet[]
[] ...[]

340 [GIM an-na-a ŠID-nu-u ana IGI NU DINGIR É kám ŠID-nu^a]]

C
/v

[DINGIR É ú-sur É-ka^a]
[]
[]
[]
u SUH[UŠ^a]]
345 l[i-]

GIM an-n[a-a ŠID-nu-u ana IGI NU.MEŠ ^dlāh-mu.MEŠ MUŠ.ŠÀ.TUR]

MUŠ.HU[Š U₄.GAL UR.IDIM ku-sa-rik-ku GÍR.TAB.LÚ.ÙLU-lu SUHUR.MÁŠ]

KU₆.LÚ.Ù[LU-lu ^dLÚ.LÀL ^dLa-ta-ra-ak u UR.MAH.LÚ.ÙLU-lu kám ŠID-nu]^a]

ÉN at-tu-[nu NU.MEŠ]

350 šá ina IM [ABZU²][e-pu-šú-ku-nu-ti-ma^a]]
ina Š[U]

353/355 []
[]
[]

A
/vi

MS A: Colophon

1' [] [x]^a
[] [x]
[] [x][x]

[GIM BE-šú šá-tir-ma] IGI.[KÁR]

5' [SAR^a PN₁ ŠÁM]AN.LÁ TUR
[DUMU PN₂ lú]šá [SAG]
[šá] [x-x-x-ú^a]
[^dÉ.A^a ^d]UTU ^dASAL.LÚ.HI lit-ba-lu
[x x] ŠID NU TÙM ik-kib ^dPA EN GI-tup-pi
10' ^{ti}NE.NE.GAR UD XXVII.KAM
lim-mu ^{1d}EN-[KALAG]-an ^{lú}GAL.KAŠ.LUL

340 [As soon as you have recited this, in front of the statue of the god of the]
[house you shall recite as follows:]

[God of the house, guard your house]
[]]
[]]
and the foun[dation]]
345 ma[y]]

as soon as [you have recited th]is [in front of the statues of the hairies,]
[Birth-Goddess-Snake,]

Furi[ous-] Snake, [Big-Weather-Beast, Mad-Lion, Bison, Scorpion-Man,
Carp-Goat,]
Fish-Ma[n], Lulal, Latarak, and Lion-Man, you shall recite as follows:]

Incantation: yo[u are the statues of]
350 whom from the clay of [Apsú] [I have made]
in the ha[nd]]
[]]
353/355 []]

NOTES TO TEXT I.B

8^a *kattillu* is understood by J. Klein *ThSH* 111 as *qattillu*, murderous. Alternatively it can be understood as a Sumerian loan word, with k as its first element. Cf. *CAD* K 307b for Sumerian terms with k as translated as *kattillu*.

12^a See collation Fig. 2; the sign may well be -*u*]*m*, *di'u* is expected in this context (cf. II.B.1) and attested in this anachronistic spelling elsewhere (cf. *CAD* D 165bf., K 2481:8', unpublished, quoted below ad text II Rev. 40).

13^a For this restoration cf. 282 and 300.

^b See collation Fig. 2; both Zimmern and Gurney copied *IGI LÚ*.

14^a Restorations after 301ff.

16^a A gap of 16 lines.

18^a For this restoration cf. II.B.1.

19^a Restored after text II 1, cf also II.B.1.

20^a Restored after text II 2.

28^a Restored after 144; ^{giš}MA.NU here cannot be replaced by *bīnūt samē*, parallel to *bīnūt apsī* in 144, since this designation refers only to "these statues" and probably not to the statues made the day before.

29^a Restored after 145 and the parallel in the incantation *AAA* 22 88:150 (text III C).

30^a Restored after 86.

^b Restoration guessed.

31^a Restored after 70f. (cf. note 70^a) and 145f. There is no room for a verb between A.GÚ.BA and ^{giš}MA.NU. Cf. also *bīt mēseri* I/iv 21' where the same statues are made of ^{giš}MA.NU *qud-du-ši* (see text III.B.9).

32^a Restoration and translation are based on a presumed but uncertain parallel to 147ff., the buying of the clay from the clay pit. A reading X NINDA, however, cannot be excluded.

35^a So A; B: -*hi*.

40^a For this incantation see text III C.

42^a So A; B: -*me-i* ZABAR.

^b So A; B: -*ha*.

44^a Text II Obv. 2 adds NUN.ME after NU.MEŠ, cf. also text II Obv. 11.

^b For 44–66 cf. text II Obv. 2–11.

45^a So A; B: *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu*.

46^a So A; B: [i-na].

^b The tablet has *VII* (collated).

^c Cf. text II Obv. 3: *ša KA u SUHUŠ* (collated).

51^a Cf. Text II Obv. 6 and note to 184^b below; *Li-ṣunu* is a mistake for *ú-suru*.

52^a So text I; text II Obv. 8: IM.KAL.LA.

54^a Restored after context and text II Obv. 9.

55^a The remains of -*ti* and *SEŠ* are as copied by Zimmern (collated).

^b 55–65: Restored after the parallel from the *nishu* text II Obv. 5–10, cf. also *AAA* 22 88f. (below text III.C) and *bīt mēseri* (below text III.B.9) for the same group of sages. While in text II each description of a statue is followed immediately by the name to be written on it, text I describes the statues first, and adds the names thereafter. A similar difference between text I and text II can be observed in 191–205, where text I adds the names of the dogs after their description. The restoration of the names of the *apkallū* here, at first based on the correct reading of 55 and on a comparison with text II, was confirmed by the discovery of K 14829, certainly part of MS A but not joining to it. The restorations and the piece K 14829 also serve to fix the position of K 9968+ in MS A col.i. The correspondance with text II, where only one group of figures is made of *e'ru*, and the lack of space at the end of column I before the beginning of the tamarisk section, have lead us not to reserve room for a hypothetical second (group of) figure(s) of *e'ru*.

64^a Text II Obv. 10: *ša ana šag-ši* (collated).

67^a In accordance with text II and with the space available in text I i, only one group of statues of ^{giš}MA.NU has been restored (cf. 55^b). The remaining space of I i can be plausibly filled with the beginning of the ritual preparation of the tamarisk wood for the statues of tamarisk; 67 is restored after the structural parallel 144, the introduction of the ritual preparation of the clay for the statues of clay.

68^a Restored after 145.

69^a Restored after 30 (preparation of *cornel*), cf. 86, where the axe and the saw are used to touch the tamarisk, analogous to 41, where the axe and the saw are used to touch the *cornel*.

70^a Restored after 31f. Cf. also 81 where the ^{giš}ŠINIG *qud-du-ši* reappears.

71^a Restored after 32.

76^a Text BAL-*ma*, collated.

79^a Cf. W. Mayer *UFBG* 420, Šamaš 83, and 433, *bīnu*; contrary to Gurney and Mayer we do not break up 79–85 into two “incantations”, one to Šamaš and the other to the tamarisk. Once it is observed that, contrary to general usage, 79 (ending with *pāqid*) is not a unit, but continues with *kīssat* ... in the next line, no objection can be raised against *atta* in 81 as the last word of the nominal sentence ‘Šamaš *bēlu* ... (79–80) *atta* (81). Only in this way does the incantation 79–85 become a grammatical and semantical unit, comparable to the incantation to Šamaš 159–161.

81^a Cf. S. Langdon apud O.R. Gurney *AAA* 22 44¹, and *CAD* E 343a, where the translation of this line is to be modified in accordance with 79^a.

84^a Cf. W. Mayer, *OrNS* 58 274.

88^a Restored after 44; cf. 169.

^b 88–96: cf. text II Obv. 21–25.

89^a So A and C; text II Obv. 22 omits *gīš*ŠINIG.

90^a Text II Obv. 22: GUB-*zu*, “they stand”.

^b Text II Obv. 22 omits *ina til-li-šū-nu*.

91^a Text II Obv. 22: *qul- <ma>- [tum]* (collated), cf. 309.

^b 91–95: Text II replaces ZABAR with URUDU throughout.

96^a Text II Obv. 24: *al-[lā]* (collated).

97^a Restored after 134 (uncertain), and 319. Apparently the double number of statues of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea is based on the fact that they are “double gods”. Neither Lugalirra nor Meslamtaea appears in text II. Restorations in this section are based on the similarly phrased descriptions elsewhere in the text.

100^a This seems to be the only descriptive phrase available to fill the gap; note, however, that a fragmentary, undeciphered line ending with *labšu* appears in 105. The traces in 105 before *labšu* seem to speak against a restoration [IM.X] or [ina/ana til-li-šū-nu]. Cf. also 127 (Meslamtaea).

101^a Restored after 320.

^b Restored after 321; cf. *MVAG* 41/3 16:37f., and Müller's commentary p. 45.

104^a Reading uncertain, and partly inspired by UD.SAKAR in 112.

105^a Cf. above note 100^a.

106^a 106–114: cf. text II Obv. 29–32, and the transcription of Ph. Hibbert apud D. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 207f.

110^a 110–112: text II replaces ZABAR with URUDU throughout.

111^a Certain emendation with 93, 117, 130 and text II Obv. 23, 30 and 93.

^b Text II Obv. 30 omits.

113^a Text II Obv. 31 omits.

115^a 115–119: cf. text II Obv. 33–37. Text II replaces ZABAR with URUDU throughout.

117^a Text II Obv. 34 omits. Cf. text II 39 where <rakis> is also omitted.

118^a Restorations in this section are based on the following considerations:

- Although the slight trace visible to the right of approximately 120 is physically different from what is certainly the remainder of a ruling visible to the right of the column between approximately 123 and 124, and cannot therefore serve to divide section 115–123 into two sections, one may yet wish to divide this section into more sections, supposing that the ruling dividing these sections did not cut the demarcation line dividing the columns. The resulting two sections would have to be 115–121 (description of šā I KÙŠ *la-an-šū* restored after text II), and an extremely short section 122–123. For the text of 122–123 one might refer to the objects of tamarisk present in text II, but not in text I: NU.MEŠ “BAR.UŠ” (Rev. 9–10), NU.MEŠ [kam-su]-ti (Rev. 11–12), and MÁ.GUR₈.MEŠ (Rev. 23). As will be seen below (II.A.5.A), however, the regular relationship between the order of statues in text I and text II does not allow these figures to appear here in text I; comparison with the incantations of II (II.B.2) shows that no further figures of tamarisk are to be expected.
- On the other hand, if we choose not to insert a dividing line and suppose a second section, we are left with approximately two lines not accounted for after filling in the text of the *nishu*. The *nishu* omits three phrases regularly appearing in the descriptions of the figures of tamarisk and serving exactly to fill the gap of about two lines. These phrases have been restored here accordingly. They are: *e-ri* ZABAR *ina* SAG.DU-šū *rak-sa*, SI.MEŠ ZABAR GAR-*in*, and IM.X *ana til-li-šū la-bis*.

120^a Text II Obv. 34: GUB-*az*, “he stands”.

123^a Approximately below this restored line, the trace of a ruling is visible (collated; not copied by Gurney).

124^a The restoration [Meslamtaea] here is based on the comparison of the figures in the tamarisk section (67–143) and their incantations at the end of the text (cf. II. B. 2). The number of statues of Meslamtaea must be even, since they are placed at both sides of the gate (305). If 6 is excluded, the choice

between 2 and 4 is clinched by referring to the 4 statues of his companion Lugalirra (97, 134, 319), to the somewhat uncertain appearance of the number 4 in 135, and to the incantation to the statues of Meslamtaea (291ff.) where the reduplication of Meslamtaea (two instead of one at each side of the gate) is explained by his epithet "Maštabba, twin gods".

^b 124–137: section not present in text II. Restorations follow the stereotyped formulas for the description of gods in this part of the text.

126^a The traces in B may belong to this line.

127^a The traces in B may belong to this line.

^b Collated. See Fig. 2.

^c Restored after 193.

128^a Restoration guessed (also in 131, 132 and 133), but cf. *AfO* 18 306 iv 11 (MA inventory) with a similar phrase.

130^a Collated, see Fig. 2.

^b Only two weapons can have been in the hands of each statue; the daggers may have been in the belt, cf. *STT* 251 Obv. 12^f and *Kleinplastik* 1.2.

132^a Cf. below II.A.4 for this weapon. Collated.

^b CL-šú-nu restored after 180 and 182.

133^a Collated, see Fig. 2.

^b The stereotyped descriptive formulas end here; the following lines cannot be restored.

135^a In 134 and 135 [šá] instead of [IV] is possible. The available space in 135 does not permit the restoration [NU.MEŠ šá]. This section describes some as yet unspecified features connecting or contrasting the statues of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea.

137^a No trace of a division line is visible in A or B (Collated).

138^a Text II Obv. 26: ^dNa-ru-du; Bīt mēseri I/iv 32: ^dNa-ru-di. In view of the form Na-ru-un-di (*An-Anum* VI 184/193) (dissimilation) and the anticipated elision of -u- when not followed by a double consonant, we normalize this name as *Narudda/u/i*.

^b 138–141: cf. text II Obv. 26–28.

139^a Text II Obv. 26 omits *ina til-li-e-šá*.

142^a So A; B: ^dXV. Cf. text II Obv. 38–40 for the description of this statue.

^b Division line not in B.

143^a Gurney reads here ŠI.TI-*nu-ú*, understood as "change" for ŠID-*nu-ú*; von Soden *AHw* 441a (followed by *CAD* K 541b) proposed on the basis of Gurney's copy: *tuk'-ten'-nu-ú* The questionable signs were collated for me by dr. M.J. Geller, who states: "tuk-*ti-nu*-[*ú*] is perfectly clear".

145^a 145–156: for similar rituals at the clay pit cf. *CAD* K 506b, Q 46b, Borger *BiOr* 30 182, Farber *BID* 208, 214, *LKA* 86 and duplicates 10ff., *OrNS* 42 508:7ff. In *BBR* 52:4 we read: IM KI.GAR! ŠAM DUG₄.GA IM *ta-kar₅-ri-i*[*š*], "clay of the clay-pit, you are bought' you will say, and pinch off the clay". *CAD* K and Q restore 145 as *tu-qat-[tar]*, and 146 as *tu-[qad-dáš]*. Ebeling *MDOG* X/2 29, *CAD* G 113b, *AHw* 502a and Gurney *STT* II 12 ad 251 read 145 as *tu-qad-[dáš]*. Our choice is based on similar texts with *qudušu* (*BBR* 52:2, *OrNS* 39 143:19, *OnNS* 42 508:7', and, slightly different, *BiOr* 30 178:33), and on the fact that *guturu* is never used in this context. *Qudušu* and *huppu* go together in this text also in 67ff. (preparation of the tamarisk, cf. note 70^a and 78).

146^a Restored after the parallel section 67ff., the preparation of the tamarisk. A restoration *tu-[qad-dáš]* is improbable, since this text apparently construes *qudušu* with *ina*, not with two accusatives (31f.). This strengthens the observations made above 145^a.

150^a MIN stands for KI.GAR.

151^a MIN stands for KI.GAR.

^b One sign is needed to fill the small gap behind LÍL The incantation 151–157 was briefly treated by Ebeling in *MDOG* X/2 28f. ad *TuL* 25.

153^a [e] is on the tablet (collated).

^b Correct reading -i ana instead of -at first noted by Borger *BiOr* 18 153a.

154^a Cf. 153^b.

156^a Collated, see Fig. 2.

158^a Traces of one sign; ÉN?

160^a Room for one short sign, restored after 166 and context.

161^a For the restoration of *ina*, see the texts quoted by *CAD* K 210a. The reading IM (instead of Gurney's Ní = *ramānu*) was already proposed by Ebeling in *MDOG* X/2 29. The content of the incantation is comparable with the content of the incantation to Šamaš 79ff.

^b Restored after 156f. and the texts quoted by *CAD* K 210a.

162^a The entity spoken to here must be present on the scene and be in some way connected with clay, water, or the creation of statues.

163^a KI.[GAR] is possible as well (collated).

164^a Only one line is missing (collated).

165^a In contrast with 159, the function of the statues as watch men may be referred to here.

166^a Restored after 160.

167^a The missing part of this line may have described a next stage in the preparation of the statues.

168^a Restored, mutatis mutandis, after the parallel sections 41–43 (^{gī}MA.NU) and 86–87 (^{gī}ŠINIG); cf. also *LKA* 86//87//88:16, *BBR* 52:4, *BiOr* 30 178:33.

^b Restore *ana* KI?

169^a Uncertain reading. IV NU TU.RA, “four statues of the sick man” is out of place here before *tuš-kin*, and *x-ma* is not a suitable verb; this text uses DÙ-*uš*. The preparation of such statues on the other hand, is expected from 156 (IM NENNIA NENNIA *akarriš*). Gurney reads GAR-*nu tu-ra-kás* (?)-*ma*, and restores the preceding line: [...] KEŠDA *šá?*] “[a cult-installation(?) which with ...] is furnished thou shalt install (and kneel down).

^b Unidentified sign, see collation Fig. 2.

^c Restored after 44, cf. also 88. The clay pit is probably not inside the city.

170^a 170–174: cf. text II Obv. 12–14.

^b Text II Obv. 12 has only *ša* IM, “of clay”. For [DUH.LÀL] see collation Fig. 2.

^c Text II Obv. 12 has: ... *ša* IM IGI MUŠEN PA.MEŠ GAR-*nu*, “(statues of sages) of clay, furnished with the face of a bird and wings”. Text I formulates differently, but *u* in the next line gives away the presence of a noun at the end of 170.

171^a Text II Obv. 12 omits.

^b Text II Obv. 12 has *mu-li-la*.

172^a Text II Obv. 13 has ^{gī}BA.AN.DU₈.DU₈-ú.

173^a Text II Obv. 13 omits.

^b Text II Obv. 13 has PA.MEŠ MUŠEN; *kap-pi* MUŠEN.MEŠ/PA.MEŠ MUŠEN does not necessarily refer to wings, but may refer to feathers as well. Since the wings are mentioned already in 170/Text II Obv. 12, and since one would expect *kappi-šunu* in 173 if “wings” were the translation of *kappi*, the translation “feathers” is to be preferred.

^c In text II Obv. 13 the reading *te-qi-e-ti* was established through collation by F. Köcher (*AFO* 18 310, against Meissner *BAW* 2 56, cf. also *AHw* s.v. *tēqītu* 2b). The meaning of this phrase has remained in the dark. Köcher proposes to translate *tēqītu* as “Muster, Borde, Schmuckband”, von Soden leaves the translation open, and Durand *ARMT* 21 230²⁰ translates the phrase *ina tēqītu esēhu* as “pouvoir par semblant” (cf. also Barrelet *R4* 71 57). Rittig *Kleinplastik* 164 translates “Vogelflügel an die Schulterblätter (using the older reading *pu-qi-e-ti*) umgebunden”, and Hibbert apud Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 200: “Die Flügel sind mit einer Buntverzierung (um)gürtet”. Once it is realized that *kappu* here means “feather” rather than “wing”, the meaning of the sentence becomes clear: the feathers are represented by lines drawn in the still wet overlay (*ina tēqītu*). Other secondary features are similarly drawn on the overlay of other statues in a contrasting colour (the jets of water on the *lahmu* and on the *apkallu* from Eridu, the sash on Narudda, the fish scales on the *apkallu* of 175). Indeed, actual figures of the bird-*apkallu* (Ritting *Kleinplastik* 70ff.) do show hatchings, clearly meant to represent feathers (apparently the feathers can also be brought on by black paint, cf. *Kleinplastik* 5.2.34–40). That the meaning “to endow with something by hatching” belongs to *esēhu* (more suitable than *ezēhu* read here by Rittig, Hibbert, *CAD*, and *AHw*) appears from 179 and 181, where groups of fish-*apkallu* “BAR KU₆ es-hu” are differentiated from a group of fish-*apkallu* (175) having their scales drawn on with black paste (actual fish-*apkallu* show hatching, painting, or both, cf. *Kleinplastik* 80ff.), and especially from the description of the *suhurmāšu* 190f. “BAR KU₆ es-hu”, when compared with the actual figure of a *suhurmāšu* (cf. Ritting *Kleinplastik* 97, Green *Iraq* 45 PI. XV). If “by hatching” depends on *esēhu*, then *ina tēqītu* adds only adverbial precision; the natural meaning of *tēqītu*, “liquid paste” makes good sense in the present context, and adds adverbial precision so obvious, that *ina tēqītu* could be omitted after its first and only appearance.

174^a 174–178: cf. text II Obv. 15–16.

175^a Text II Obv. 15 omits.

176^a Text II Obv. 15 omits.

177^a Text II Obv. 15: KI.MIN (=*mu-li-la* in 12).

^b Text II Obv. 15: KI.MA, for KI.MIN or *ki-(i) ma-(ah-ri-ma)*, cf. Obv. 29. For ^{gī}BA.AN.DU₈.DU₈-ú in 13.

178^a 178–180: cf. text II Obv. 17–18.

179^a Text II Obv. 17: *ina XV-šú-nu*.

180^a Text II Obv. 17: ^{gī}ŠA GIŠIMMAR. As explained below (II.A.4.B) we read *libbi gišimmar*.

^b Text II Obv. 17: *ina GÁB-šú-nu*.

^c Text II Obv. 18: GABA.MEŠ-šú-nu.

181^a 181–183: cf. text II Obv. 19–20.

^b Text II Obv. 19 adds: IM.BABBAR *lab-šú*.

^c Restored after text II Obv. 19.

^d Restored after text II Obv. 19. *Būt mēseri I/iv 14'* speaks of [X]JV ^gURÌ.GAL, cf. II 132ff.

182^a Text II Obv. 20: *ina GÁB-šú-nu*.

^b Text II Obv. 20: GABA.MEŠ-šú-nu.

183^a The traces in C are probably to be read: [GIM NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.MEŠ *an¹-nu-*][*ti* ...]

184^a For the signs in A see Wiggermann JEOL 27.94 and below Fig. 6 (collation). The sign is definitely not *lāh*; NUN and KID are possible. The spelling is either a simple mistake (cf. KID for SUKKAL, JNES 33 195 ad 160), a mistake going back to the use of Babylonian MSS by Assyrian scribes (Babylonian *lāh* is similar to Assyrian KID), or a mistake inspired by the preceding groups of NUN.ME. C: ^d *lāh-mu.MEŠ*, text II Obv. 34: *lāh-me*, collated.

^b Restored after text II Obv. 44; cf. note to 51^a.

^c 184–191: cf. text II Obv. 41–42 (U₄.GAL, cf. II.A.3.16), 43–44 (*lāh-me*), 45–46 ([GUD].[DUMU].^dUT]U = *kusarikku*, cf. II.A.3.13), 47–48 ([UR.IDIM], cf. II. A.3.14), Rev. 1–2 ([b]a-as¹-me = MUŠ.ŠÀ.TUR), 3 (MUŠ.HUŠ), 4–5 ([SJUHUR.MÁŠ]), 6–7 (KU₆.LÚ.ÜLU-lu), 8 (GÍR.TAB.LÚ.ÜLU-lu), 13 (^dLÚ.LÁL), 14 (^dLa-ta-rak), 15 (UR.MAH.LÚ.ÜLU-lu). Sequences of monsters from other text will be discussed below (VII.B).

185^a Both A and C have the deviant spelling with TUR instead of TÙR; ŠÀ in A is confirmed by collation.

^b Apparently MS A has lines of different lengths in its third column; the longer lines do not show signs of crowding, and may have extended over the right edge. Compare the following lines, the exclamation mark indicating the point in each line to the right of which the same amount of space is available:

180 :![-*hu*].

181 :![-*šú-nu* (^g)URÌ.GAL].

In 184 and 186 the column is too small to accommodate the certain restorations. Therefore, in A the number of signs missing at the right cannot be guessed at. The same is not true of MS C, which, having the section in its second column, cannot have extended its lines over the demarcation line and into the third column. On the basis of MS C we can calculate the number of signs missing in 185 and 187. MS C ii reads:

2' 184 II NU ^dlāh-mu.MEŠ IM.BABBAR! [*lab-šú* ^u A.MEŠ *ina IM.GI₆ ú-šuru* ¹⁸⁵DÙ-uš]

3' II NU MUŠ.ŠÀ TUR II NU ! M[UŠ.HUŠ II NU¹⁸⁶II NU UR.IDIM.MEŠ]

4' II NU *ku-sa-rik-ku* II NU [GÍR.TAB.LÚ.ÜLU-lu ¹⁸⁷NITAH ^u MUNUS]

5' Šá IM Šá IM. ! KA [L. LI *lab-šú*.....]

6' ¹⁸⁸II NU ^dLÚ.LÁL Šá IM ! Šá I[M.]

After the exclamation mark, the number of signs in each line is:

2' : 12 signs. Text complete.

3' : 9 signs. The missing portion of the text is the end of 185.

4' : 9 signs. Text complete.

5' : 4 signs. The missing portion is the end of 187.

6' : 2 signs. Text incomplete. It appears that in 3' between 0 and 3 signs are missing, and in 5' between 5 and 8 signs. The UR.MAH.LÚ.ÜLU-lu of text II rev. 15 exactly serves to fill the calculated gap at the end of 187: [II NU UR.MAH.LÚ.ÜLU-lu] (7 signs). In text II no further statue of clay is available to fill the gap after II NU ..] in 185 (0 to 3 signs). Why the U₄.GAL of text II Obv. 41 (there made of tamarisk!) must be used to fill this gap will be explained below (II.A.3.16).

186^a C omits MEŠ.

^b Text II Obv. 45: [GUD.][DUMU.]^{[d}UT]U (collated); A and C both *ku-sa-rik-ku*.

^c Restored after text II Rev. 8; the restoration is ascertained by NITAH ^u MUNUS in the following line.

187^a With text II Rev. 8 *lab-šú* is the last word of the description of the GÍR.TAB.LÚ.ÜLU-lu.

^b For this restoration, see note 185^b.

188^a So C; A omits Šá IM.

^b Since it is not to be expected that the traditional sequence Lulal-Latarak is broken by an intruder, and since no more statues of clay can be supplied from text II, the gap must have contained a further description of the statue of Lulal not present in text II Rev. 13.

189^a To be restored with a description of Latarak not present in text II, but probably similar to the missing description of Lulal in 188.

190^a Restored after text II Rev. 6; apparently there is no room left for the additional phrase of text II Rev. 6: Šá ESIR pa-as¹-šu.

191^a 191–205: cf. text II Rev. 17–22. Line 191 has been restored freely after the context.

192^a The sequence GI₆-SA₅ has been restored after the sequence of colours in the enumeration of the dogs and their inscriptions 196ff.

193^a IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ refers to the overlay of the fourth pair of dogs; 193f. refers to the multicolored dogs (GÙN.GÙN) of text II Rev. 21. Both texts show the same sequences of colours. Slightly different sequences of colours (exchange of SIG₇.SIG₇ and GÙN.GÙN) are attested in *Hh* XIV 89ff. (MSL 8/2 13f., with translations into Babylonian) and Nougayrol *R4* 41 34:10ff.

^b For similar phrases cf. *CAD* L 20b and text II Rev. 17, where the first pair of dogs is described as *ša* IM.BABBAR *lab-šú*, corresponding to II IM. BABBAR *tu-la-[ba-aš]* of text I.

194^b For parallels cf. *CAD* B 103b and *Lamaštu* II/ii 9 (Rm 2.212 = ZA 16 197: 9, 10 // 4 R² 58 ii 10 // LKU 33 Rev. 32) parallel to *Lamaštu* III 15 (79-7-8, 81+143=4 R² addenda p. 11 21): UR.GI₇.MEŠ *ina* IM.BABBAR/*gaš-ša ú/u-bil-li-e tu-bar-ram*, "you shall colour the dogs with gypsum and charcoal" (cf. *CAD* K 94b with a different reading). Again text II gives only the result of this action (Rev. 21): *kalbu burru*, "a multicolored dog".

195^a Restored after *Lamaštu* II/ii 12 parallel to *Lamaštu* III 18 (same sources as above note 194^b: MU.NE. NE/MU-šú-nu (that is, of the dogs) *ina* BAR.SIL.MEŠ-šú-nu SAR-ár. Text II Rev. 17ff. omits this phrase.

196^a Cf. text II Rev. 17. The restoration UR.GI₇ BABBAR instead of UR BABBAR is also possible (cf. 200). Here and in 198 the restoration UR has been preferred above UR.GI₇ for reasons of space; UR and UR.GI₇ alternate in text II Rev. 17ff. as well. The exact breadth, however, of the gap between the main tablet of MS A and the not joining piece K 11812 cannot be determined.

197^a Cf. text II Rev. 17; the last word (*atta*) of text I is not present in text II.

198^a Cf. text II Rev. 18.

199^a Since the exact breadth of the gap could not be determined, the restoration of *-i* remains uncertain.

^b Cf. text II Rev. 18; *ri-giš-šu* instead of *ri-gim-šu* is a scribal mistake. The sign is definitely not GIM (collated). Cf. ZA 61 219f.:220 for the same mistake.

200^a The black dogs have already been treated in 198-199. The appearance of a second pair of black dogs with the names of the red dogs must be a mistake, therefore: SA₅ is to be understood here for GI₆.

^b Cf. text II Rev. 19.

201^a Cf. text II Rev. 19.

202^a Cf. text II Rev. 20.

203^a Cf. text II Rev. 20.

204^a Cf. text II Rev. 21.

205^a Cf. text II Rev. 21. Note that in this text the names of the dogs (196-205) follow the description (191-195), while in text II Rev. 17ff. each described dog is followed immediately by its name. For a similar difference between the two texts cf. note to 55^b.

206^a Restored after 66.

207^a 205-217: *būt mēseri* I/iv 1-2 (practically all of the preceding text of tablet I is missing) is the end of the section describing the statues of clay (cf. iv 1: ÉN *ina* IM ^dÉ.A DÙ-ku-nu-ši [ŠID-nu], the incantation to the statues of clay, not to be identified with III.B.13), following on sections describing the statues of various kinds of wood (*cornel* and tamarisk; cf. iv 6f.: NU.MEŠ šá GIŠ.MEŠ NU.MEŠ šá [IM] / *ma-la te-pu-uš* (sic)). *Būt mēseri* I/iv 3-9 describes the purification of these statues (*tūl-lal-šu-nu-[ii]*) comparable to text I 207-216; analogous to *būt mēseri* I/iv 10-11, 217-2?? may have referred briefly to the performance of a *pūt pī*-ritual. The ritual actions performed to the statues apparently continue through the whole gap, ending in 234.

216^a Restored after the parallel in *būt mēseri* I/iv 6-9: NU.MEŠ. . . A.GÙB.BA . . . *tūl-lal-šu-nu-[ii]*.

218^a In the gap further ritual actions with the statues are described, among them probably a *pūt pī*-ritual (see note 207^a).

230^a Collated, see Fig. 3.

^b The statues (NU.MEŠ) must have been mentioned here, since they are referred to in the next line with a pronoun. A restoration NU.MEŠ *an-nu-ti* is possible as well.

^c A verb or a verbal phrase is to be restored here.

233^a Cf. Borger *BiOr* 30 178:21f. for the same phrase in a similar context.

234^a Zimmern *BBR* 146 note to 41-42:5 and Gurney *AAA* 22 56³ consider the restoration [*tu-hab*]. The phrase É *tu-hab*, however, appears in 264 and is not to be expected at this point in the text, which describes some further manipulation with the statues.

239^a Restored after 274.

240^a Uncertain restoration; Zimmern *BBR* 146:11 reads DINGIR [É], who, however, appears in 244.

242^a The purification of the house (242-265) is roughly comparable to the purification of the sick man in *būt mēseri* I/iv 12-23.

244^a Collated, see Fig. 3, and cf. text V ii:3'.

246^a A: KEŠDA, B: [KEŠDA.]MEŠ.

^b Collated, see Fig. 3; this reading was already proposed by von Soden *AHw* 441a (followed by *CAD* K 541b). For older proposals see Gurney *AAA* 22 58¹.

^c 246–252: cf. Hibbert apud Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 208f.

250^a So A; B: -tu.

251^a So A; B: LÁ.

252^a Cf. Gurney *AAA* 22 58³ for ŠAH rather than GIŠIMMAR as copied by Zimmern.

^b So B; A: -e (collated); in A Zimmern's copy (*BBR* 41:23) and Gurney's transcription (*AAA* 22 58) have -e, but Gurney's copy mistakenly has MES!

253^a Read with *AHw* 1349a (*te/irku*) and *CAD* L 187a.

256^a Text: .UM.UM.

257^a Collated.

258^a Restored after *BBR* 26 II 3: *takpirāti* . . . *ana KÁ tu-še-sa*, cf. *CAD* Z 108a. Gurney *AAA* 22 58 reads [K]U₄-ub-šá, a form of *erēbu* that cannot have the transitive meaning required by the context.

^b Borger *HKL* II 91 ad Gurney *AAA* 22 refers to the incantation incipit AB.TA.NAM.MU.UN.DA.-KU₄.KU₄.DÉ AOAT 1 10 XXI (with literature; add *HKL* II 21, R.I. Caplice *OrNS* 40 169:8', T. Abusch *JNES* 33 253f.), which, although properly at home at this point in the text, cannot be restored here without questionable modifications: extra signs after AB.TA, and a (corrupt) verbal form [NAM.D]A.AN.NU.KU₄.KU₄.DÉ.

260^a Collated, see Fig. 3.

261^a Restored after an unpublished manuscript at Yale, discovered by B. Foster.

^b So A; B: [. . .].MEŠ.

262^a Text: .UM.UM.

263^a So A and B, collated.

^b A: [. . .]-di-ma; B: ŠUB-ma.

265^a This incantation is attested elsewhere in similar context, cf. von Weiher *SbTU* 2 83 ad Vs. ii 9, Parpola *LAS* 1 172 Rev. 9 (cf. *LAS* 2 163, the incipit refers to the later part of the incantation *CT* 16 27ff., beginning with 92), *MSL* 4 116:9', where the edition is to be corrected (read è-ba¹-/ r[a]), and *MSL* 17 185:108.

270^a The unidentified remains of signs in K 13980 right column (Fig. 5) should belong to 270ff., if this MS has the same column divisions as MS A.

274^a Restorations in 271–274 after 236–239.

275^a So A; B: -šu.

^b In A a gap follows estimated at about ten lines. The lines of B are slightly longer, so that the same amount of text is accommodated in only 9 lines. Since the reconstruction follows the only available MS, B, it is apparently one line too short. For this reason the last line before 286 (from where A takes over) has been numbered "284/285".

276^a The restoration is a guess based on the context.

277^a Collated. The incantation 277–288 can be restored after its duplicates K 2496 Obv. 12ff. (text V, here quoted as D; identified as duplicate of this incantation by R. Borger *HKL* II 91), BM 64517 Obv. ii 10' ff. (text V, here quoted as E), and *STT* 126 (perhaps a MS of text I or text V, here quoted as F).

^b Text: B; D; E: lem-nu.

^c Cf. text II Obv. 37: EN at-ta sal-mu sa-kiп lem-ni u a-a-bi ana IGI-šú (i.e. NU 𒊩ŠINIG ša I KÙŠ la-an-šú) ŠID-nu.

278^a D: [. . .] [X-a] (for -e??); E: mi-qi[. . .]; F: mi-qit AN-[e].

^b D: dan; E: dan-nu.

^c B: [-ti]; D: -tu; E: -ti.

^d Text: B; D: [. . .]; E: <šá> ina DI[NGER.MEŠ].

279^a D: me-lam-me; E: me-lam-mu.

^b Text: B; D: si-ru-ti; E: si-ru-tú.

^c Text: B; D: -u.

280^a B: [ul-la-nu] may not have been present in this MS; it has been restored here on the assumption that [ana IGI^d] alone does not fill the space to the left of JÉ.A; D: [. . .]ul-la-nu; E: ana IGI^dÉ.A ul-la-nu; F: see 280^c.

^b Text: B; E: omits; D: [. . .].

^c Text: B; D: ta-az-za-az; E: GUB-a[z; F: ul-l]a-nu GUB-[az].

281^a Sign as copied by Zimmern, collated. Definitely not k[.a]. Text: E, and partly D; both MSS have a clear -ka.

^b Text: B; D: la te-e-gi.

282^a D: -ú; E: -u.

^b B: lu; D: lu-u.

^c B: HUL; D: lem-nu.

283^a Text: E.

^b B: -la-ša-; D: -läh-

284/285^a Text: E.

^b The phrase *ina q̄i-bit* is not present in any of the MSS, but has been restored after similar phrases in *namburbi* texts (cf. *OrNS* 34 127:7ff., 36 15:25ff., 19:4, *RA* 48 84:6).

^c Text: B; D and E: *ia-a-ti*.

^d Text: B; D: *-ia*.

286^a The word *a-a-TE-a* is not present in any of the MSS, but has been restored after similar sections in *namburbi* texts, cf. W. Mayer *UFBG* 267f.

^b D: *[a-a-TE-a a-a-DI]M₄ a-a-iq-ri-ba a-a-KUR-an-ni*, a well attested variant sequence (*UFBG* 267 below). In B [KU.NU] has been restored, for reasons of space.

^c Text: B; D: *a-a-KUR-an-ni*; E: *a-a-KUR-d[an-ni]*.

287^a Restored after *UFBG* 268 Gruppe II 7.

288^a Restored after *UFBG* 268 Gruppe II 8; D and E omit this line.

289^a B divides this line into two lines; ^{ḡi}ŠINIG is the last word of the first line.

^b Against Zimmern's copy, B has - [šū] (collated, see Fig. 3).

^c Text: A; B: ŠID-ū.

290^a Restored after the analogy with 319f. (incantation to the four statues of Lugalgirra), cf. note to 124^a. The generally accepted (Zimmern *BBR* 150, Gurney *AAA* 22 62, Mayer *UFBG* 394, Borger *HKL* III 78, *CAD* K 354b, M/1 402a) restoration: *[ana IGI NU.MEŠ ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA u ^dMJES.LAM.TA.È.A* (290), matched by *[ÉN NU.MEŠ ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA u] ^dMEŠ.LAM.TA.È.A* (291) is wrong for several reasons:

1 The statues of Lugalgirra have their own incantation (319ff.).

2 The available space does not permit the restoration ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA *u* in 290 and 291. The space available in MS B can be deduced from complete lines or lines restored with certainty: B iv (*BBR* 42 "andere Seite") 5 [DINGIR.MEŠ šá EN.NUN.], 6 [mu-tar-ri-du DING]IR, 8 [šá *ina* È NENNI A], 9 [up-ta-na-r]a-, 10 [i-duk-ku i-hab-], that is space for four or five signs. The generally accepted restorations with ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA *u* restore about nine signs in B iv 1 and 2, while our restoration restores 5 and 6 signs respectively. Not enough remains of MS A to serve as basis for a contrary conclusion.

3 The disturbed analogy with 319ff., the incantation to the four statues of Lugalgirra unknown to previous commentators.

293^a Freely restored after *bīt mēseri* II 63.

294^a Possible restorations (contrasting this line with the next) are [KI.DÚR.ME]Š-šú-nu MAH.MEŠ or perhaps better [KI.GUB.ME]Š-šú-nu MAH.MEŠ.

295^a So B; A: *-t[i]*.

296^a Restored after G. Meier *Maqlū* VI 142f.: *ul-te-ez-ziz ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA u ^dMES.L[AM.T]A.È.A* DINGIR.MEŠ šá *ma-sar-te*.

298^a So B; A: *-si*.

^b So B; A: *-[ti]*.

299^a Restoration guessed. Since *attunu-ma* appears here, it has not been restored in 291.

301^a So B; A: GUB.MEŠ.

304^a So A; B: *-lu₄*.

^b So B; A: omits.

^c So B; A: *-u*.

^d *<ina>* restored after parallels in 83 and 160.

305^a So A; B: ZAG.UDU.

^b "Left" and "right" imply an even number of statues of Meslamtaea.

308^a A Omits; restored in B after 158, (162), 319, (329), (340), and 346.

^b In A there is probably no room for NU.MEŠ after VII; B: VII NU.MEŠ šu-ut GÍR.MEŠ.

309^a Cf. 88ff., the description of Sebettu.

310^a After ^dNa-ru-di, A leaves out the brief ritual described in B, and continues immediately with 310'.

^b Uncertain restoration. The unexpected ^{ḡi}ER[EN] in A 318 may represent the remains of a similar but shorter ritual in MS A.

^c So A, for ŠID, not DUG₄.GA cf. 319; B: *ki-a-am DUG₄.GA-šú-nu-ti*. For this difference between A and B cf. also 330^a.

311^a Restored after text II Obv. 25 and 28, where this incipit is quoted for Sebettu and Naruddu. Restorations in this incantation are after an unpublished text discovered by B. Foster at Yale.

^b Although little of it remains, it can be concluded that B has a different incantation to Sebettu and Naruddu. On account of the poor state of preservation of both A and B, the lack of agreement between the remaining words and signs may not be considered conclusive; the fact, however, that B, which generally utilizes fewer lines than A to accommodate the same amount of text, has ten lines of incantation text, while A only has eight, is certainly conclusive. The remains of this incantation in B (iv

18ff.) are as follows:]-a-ti/]GA/]RA/]-ti/]-[x]-ni/]-a/]MÉ/]NENNI A NENNI/]ez-zu-ti/]-ú KÁ.

312^a Collated, see Fig. 3.

^b Restored after *l'Epopea di Erro* I 35, 44.

316^a Cf. B iv 25 (quoted above note 311^b) and 300.

318^a Perhaps the remains of a ritual, cf. 310^b.

^b After 318 the remains of a ruling are visible also on A.

320^a So A; B: [^aLUGAL]GIR.RA.

322^a DINGIR.MEŠ is a guess based on the context.

324^a So B; D: -šu-.

325^a So B, and perhaps also D.

326^a So B; D:]X-MU-ma, probably not the same word; the MSS do not always agree on their lines.

329^a D has 329-330 on two lines, B on one.

330^a So D; B: DUG₄.GA, cf. 310^c for the same difference between A and B.

331^a Incipit restored after text II Obv. 32; since B and D divide their lines differently (D having shorter lines), the exact place of the words in the incantation cannot be determined.

332^a Restoration guessed, cf. 292, 311, and 322.

333^a Uncertain emendation; the sign is rather *GAB*, as copied by Zimmern (collated); note, however, that the epithets used here recur in other incantations (cf. "431" f., *Maqlū* V 139, *AMT* 86/1 iii 5, ect.).

336^a Uncertain restoration.

339^a Last line of D, the incantation may have continued.

340^a The presence of this section has been assumed on the basis of 142 and text II Obv. 38-40; if it were not present, the statue of the god of the house would be the only statue of tamarisk without incantation. A very slight confirmation is found in 344, where SUHUŠ may refer to the foundation of the house for which something is wished in the next line; this would fit well in an incantation to the god of the house.

341^a Incipit from text II Obv. 40.

344^a The alternative readings *la*[m-], *ni*[m-], or *N*[Á] (without ⁸¹⁸) do not seem to give any sense; for a possible sense of SUHUŠ in this context, cf. 340^a. The exact position of MS C col. v, from which 344-351 is taken, cannot be determined. The incantation to the monsters of clay is expected after those to the gods of tamarisk at the end of the text (parallel to the sequence tamarisk — clay in the description of the statues). The deduced figure for the text of MS C col. v (between 356 and 379, see introduction to text I MS C) makes its position at the very end of A col. vi probable. After the last line of C v, three lines have been reserved for the end of the incantation.

348^a The names of the monsters have been restored after 184ff. For the sequence cf. II.A.5.A.

350^a Uncertain restoration, based on comparison with *būt mēseri* I iv 1, apparently an incantation to all the statues of clay (quoted above 207^a).

353/355^a The lines of 344-351 are divided after MS C; since MS C has longer lines than MS A, MS A would fill some two lines more with the same amount of text; for this reason two lines have been subtracted from the gap after 351.

356^a The 38 lines reserved here for A col. vi are the maximum number of lines. The remainder of col. vi is all colophon, and starts at about the same point in the column as A col. v 30 and col. iv 32. If 6 lines less were reserved for col. vi, the section pertaining to the god of the house could be deleted.

COLOPHON

1^a The two last lines were copied by Bezold *Catalogue* 760. For lines 8'-11' cf. Zimmern *BBR* 156, Hunger *BAK* nr. 563, and Borger *WdO* 5 170. Line "1'" may in fact be a trace of ruling, separating the body of the text from the colophon. The restorations in the colophon follow the colophons from Sultantepe (*BAK* 351-408), to which it resembles most.

5^a Cf. *BAK* 176b (*šatir*).

7^a Restore perhaps: ú-šam-šu-ú, and cf. *BAK* 168a (*mašū*).

8^a Restored with Zimmern *BBR* 156 and Borger *WdO* 5 170.

C Text I.C

Di'a šibta mūtānī šūtuqu, “to make *di'u*-disease, stroke and plague pass by”

After the end of text I as represented by MS A, MS C continues in col. v with material probably to be identified with the title *KAR* 44 20b, *di'a šibta mūtānī šūtuqu*, following directly on 20a, the title of ritual I (see below II.B.1.A). The meagre remains of this second ritual show clear affinities with the continuation of text I in the *nishu* from Assur, *KAR* 298 (text II), and with other texts, referred to in the notes, mixing 20a and 20b material.

If MS C v 1 = text I 344, then vi 1 would be ca line 430 of the continuation of text I in MS C, and some 75 lines would have been lost after the end of text I in C v.

C

v “430”	[] [kám] DUG ₄ . GA
	[ÉN ez-ze-ta ₅ šam-ra-ta ₅ na-ad-ra-]ta ₅ gaš ¹ -ša-a-ta ₅ ³
	[dan-na-ta ₅ pa-aš-qa-ta ₅ lem-né-ta ₅ a-a-ba-] ta ₅ šá la ⁴ É.A.
	[man-nu ú-na-ah ₅ -ku-nu-ši ⁴] É.A li-ni-ih ₅ -ku-nu-ši ³
	[DÙ.DÙ.BI ²] PAD DÀLA giš ⁵ GIŠIMMAR ^a TI-qí
“435”	[te-te-mir ^a N] A ₄ .KUR-nu DIB ^b ina A.MEŠ SÚD
	[KI ESIR 𒄩.ги ÉN III-šú ana ŠÀ] ^a ŠID-nu II NU.MEŠ
	[ki-iš-šu-ru-tú ^a ina KÁ TILL] A ₄ ^b ZAG u GÁB ^c HUR-ma
	[GABA 𒄩.гу a-a-bi tur-rat ši-i] b ^a -tu ^d ALAD ^b
	[ù ÚŠ.MEŠ ana] [É] LÚ NU TE.MEŠ ^a
“440”	[] [x].DIB.BA[] ^a
	[] [x][]

Rest of column broken away

“430”	[] [you shall speak [as follows:]
	[Incantation: you are fierce, violent, raging,] ferocious,
	[strong, depressing, evil, hostile;] but for Ea,
	[who can soothe you (plural)?] May Ea soothe you (plural).
	[Its ritual: and] you shall take a ... and a “thorn” of the date-palm
“435”	[and bury it [you shall crush šadānu šābitu-stone in water,
	[mix it with bitumen, and thrice] recite [the incantation over it,] two statues
	[of (big weather-beasts) linked together you] shall draw in the o[uter gate]
	right and left, and
	[the breast of the evil one and the enemy will be turned away; str]oke, the
	šēdu-demon, [and the plague] will not approach someone’s house.

—
Too fragmentary for translation.

"431"^a The incipit of this incantation is quoted in text II Rev. 42, cf. below text II ad 41 with further literature. The text here has been restored after *AMT* 97/1 8ff., but for reasons of space ("433") and the expected DÜ.DÜ.BI ("434"), the phrase referring to Marduk has been deleted.

"433"^a The unexpected plural suffix is probably due to contamination by the plural form of this incantation, *ez-ze-tu-nu šam-ra-tu-nu gaš-ša-tu-nu*, cf. Meier *Maqlū* V 139ff., von Weiher *SbTU* 2 12 iii 38, *BBR* 26 v 75, *PBS* I/1 13 Rev. 48.

"434"^a PAD DĀLA ^bGIŠIMMAR is also attested in text II Rev. 23 and 27, where it is to be buried respectively "in the foundation of the courtyard on the left" and "under the threshold of the outer gate on the left and right". A ritual "to put to flight an enemy", *STT* 218–219 // K 6013 (below Fig. 20, duplicate K 8106 identified by Reiner *JNES* 26 185, later joined to K 6013 and K 16001; cf. also Eilat *BiOr* 39 12), which shows clear similarities to "434"ff. and the later part of text II (for the incantation ŠE.GA.MEEN see below ad text II Rev. 37), has Obv. ii' 11': [...]AD ^bGIŠIMMAR TI-[q]i te-t]e-mer.

"435"^a Restored after the source quoted in the preceding note.

"435"^a For the restorations in this section cf. *STT* 218–219 Obv. ii' 16'ff.// K 6013+ Obv. ii' 5'ff.: DÜ.DÜ.BI NA₄.KA.GLNA.DIB[B]A *ina A ta-sàk* KI ESIR HLHÌ ÉN III-Šú *ana* ŠÀ ŠID-NU II NU.MEŠ *ki-is-su-ru-t[u]/t[i]* *ina* KÁ TILLA₄/TILLA_x(AŠ.A.AN) *hur-ir-ma* GABA HUL u *a-a-bi* *tur-rat* Šib-ŷú ^dALAD ù UŠ.MEŠ *ana* É LÚ NU TE.MEŠ; after a ruling the text continues with the incantation ÉN KA.GLNA.DIB.BA SI VII SLSÁ, for which see also text IV i' 4'. The phrase stating the purpose of this ritual ("438"ff.) is not identical to, but comparable with text II Obv. 44 (cf. II.B.1.G).

"436"^a Restored after the parallels quoted "434"^b.

"437"^a Clearly thus in K 6013+ Obv. ii' 7', after which *STT* 218–219 Obv. ii' 17' is to be corrected. The comparable rituals with *šadânu šâbitu*-stone prescribe figures of U₄.GAL (text I/4 1ff., restored, cf. text II Rev. 35) or of U₄.GAL.MEŠ *ki-is-su-ru-ti* (beside U₄.GAL.MEŠ GÉŠPU.MEŠ, text IV Obv. 1' 7'ff.). Just like *ša umâši* is short for *ugallû ša umâši*, so *kišsurûtu* is short for *ugallû kišsurûtu* (cf. text IV, note to i' 7^a) That the U₄.GAL is meant here appears also from the fact that the inscription on the U₄.GAL, *mušir irat lemni u ajâabi* (text II Obv. 42) perfectly fits the purpose of the ritual: *irat lemni u ajâabi turru*.

"438"^a Restored after the parallels quoted above "434"^b, cf. II.B.1.

"438"^a For ^dALAD as an evil demon cf. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* 281⁹⁹, von Soden *BaMi* 3 152ff., *AHw* s.v. *šedum*, *BAM* 407:7,212 Obv. 1. ^dALAD does not occur elsewhere in a similar context between names of impersonal diseases, which underscores the comparability of *STT* 218–219 // K 6013+ and this section of MS C. A further point of contact is the appearance in *STT* 218–219 and its duplicate of *šep lemnu*, for which see II.B.1.

"439"^a These lines ("438"–"439"), somewhere in the midst of the continuation of text I in C, indicate that the material treated in this continuation is not a unity (as would be expected if the continuation was an integral part of text I), but consists of separate sections.

"440"^a The possibility that text I/4 continued the present text cannot be excluded.

D Fragments of similar rituals

I/2 STT 126; Neo-Assyrian

The few signs on this very fragmentary piece duplicate ritual I 277ff. (incantation *atta šalmu sâkip lemni u ajâabi*). The tablet may belong to text I, or to any other text in which this incantation occurs (see note 277b).

I/3 STT 350; Neo-Assyrian

This small fragment was identified by E. Reiner as "part of a ritual dealing with figurines () similar to the instructions in *KAR* 298" (*JNES* 26 195).

1' [] [x] [
[] SAG.]DU-su AGA [x] [

[h]a-ši-nu UD.KA.BAR [
[E.]iB? D[U?]

The text may describe the statue of a god crowned with a tiara (AGA), with a belt around its waist, and holding an axe (*hašinna*) in one of its hands. *STT 350* does not, however, belong to text I/II, since this ritual formulates the description of the statues differently: *x NU.MEŠ* (name/material) AGA/a-gi-e Ní-šú-nu a-pir(*ap-rat/ap-ru*); *SAG.DU*, “head”, does not appear in this context. The name of the statue described in *STT 350* may be šá I KÙŠ *la-an-šú*, which holds an axe in its right hand in text I/II (I 115ff.). Since other gods can hold axes as well (Ninurta *CT* 38 21:11, Nergal *TMHNF* 4 45, cf. Cl. Wilcke *ASAW* 65/4 74 and Heimerdinger *SLFN* 3 N-T 916, 339, Ištar L. Rost *MIO* 8 175), and since *STT 350* is not a duplicate of ritual I/II, the identity of the described god must remain uncertain.

I/4 *STT 253*; Neo-Assyrian

This fragment, provisionally treated by E. Reiner *JNES* 26 192, describes the preparation of a paste with *šadānu šābitu*-stone to be used for drawing a figure of “the lord” and two figures of “big weather-beasts” (cf. notes to 4' and 7'), each with its own incantation.

The stone *šadānu šābitu*, the “big weather-beasts”, and the phrase *šēp lematti purus*, prove this text to be thematically connected with ritual I/II. Ritual I/II first part (above I.B) does not seem to have room for the text of *STT 253*, but the possibility that *STT 253* continues text I “440” (after description of the EN) cannot be excluded. Since other texts treat similar material, we cannot be positive.

1' [NA₄ .K]A.GI.NA.DIB.BA [x] [...] II NU.MEŠ U₄.GAL MEŠ^a *ina KÁ ...^b*]
[x x] *tu-uš-šar-šú-nu-i* [i^a]
[i-na ZA]G EN *te-es-ši-[ir*]
[na-a]d-ru^a *gab-šú sa-ak-pa* ^d[(x x) *kip-pu tar-šu ta-rid pa-ni*]
5' [lem-]ni la a-di-ru *šag-g*[(i-šú x x x) *u₄-mu da-' (i-ku^a x x x)*]
[i]na GÁB EN *te-es-ši-[ir*]
mu-UM-ME^a *ki-šad^b* HUL-ti[m ur-ru-hu la-pit^c ÚŠ.MEŠ^d]
mu-un-ner-bu^a *la-a*[s-mu^b *la mu-kil-x^c šá ILLAT.MEŠ-šú^d]
GİR^a HUL-tim [KUD-us]
Traces of signs*

1' [you shall ... *š*]adānu *šābitu*-stone, [two figures of *big weather-beasts*
[in the ... gate] 2' you shall draw [.....]

3' [On the ri]ght of the lord you shall dra[w ... and inscribe as follows:]

[Agg]ressive, bold, thrown down by (the god) [x], ready snare, expeller
5' of the e[vil one], fearless murderer, kill[ing weather-beast ...]

[on the le]ft of the lord you shall dra[w ... and inscribe as follows:]

crusher of the neck of the evil ones, exceedingly quick one, who is smeared with
blood, 8' runner, swift one, who does not keep to his troop:
block the entry of the enemy.

NOTES TO TEXT I/4

1^a The name of the beings to be drawn on the wall is apparent from the fact that the incantation 7' – 9' is actually attested on a lion demon, Babylonian U₄.GAL “big weather-beast.”

These figures reappear in similar contexts elsewhere, sometimes called *kissuritu* or *ša umāši* (cf. I “435” ff. with notes, IV i' 3' ff. with notes; for their identity see note to 7'). In view of the plural suffix in 2', unnecessary when the object has been mentioned in the preceding line, the “II NU.MEŠ U₄.GAL.MEŠ” may have been introduced in the lines preceding 1'.

1^b Uncertain restoration after similar passages in similar texts (text II Obv, 34ff, I “437” and duplicates, IV i' 8'), where figures of U₄.GAL are to be drawn in the gate.

2^a Note the use of *uṣṣuru* (D) to refer to a plurality of figures, whereas *esēru* (G) is used when the exact position of a single statue and its accompanying incantation is described.

4^a The incantation 4'-5' is found also on R.C. Thompson *Archaeologia* 79 (1927) Pl. XLI/3 (from Nineveh), an upper left hand corner of a limestone slab of which Thompson remarks: “doubtless the inscription related to some larger pieces of sculpture of the protecting demon raising his club, which were found in the debris, doubtless originally from Ashurnasirpal's palace (Reade, *CRRAI* 30 217 denies the existence of this palace). Cf. Pl. LIX fig. 2, and probably the demon on the frontispiece of my Devils vol. II”. Thompson's opinion is confirmed by the fact that the inscription on the demon “on the frontispiece of my Devils” is combined with the incantation 4'-5' on STT 253. In the transcription the text between square brackets stems from Thompson's text; the text between brackets has been restored. The fragmentary slab, LIX Fig. 2, to which Thompson refers, actually shows the hand of Lulal (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XVI), a god that appears only together with an *ugallu*.

5^a Restored after CT 16 46:162f.: u₄-n i g-d u g₄-g a u d u g g i š-b a r-r a /u₄-mu da-i-i-ku ra-bi-si la kak-ku, “the death dealing *āmu*-demon, the *rābišu*-demon who has ‘no weapon’” (cf. CAD D 26b; the Akkadian translation of g i š - b a r - ra may be a mistake for *gisparru*, a trap, comparable to *kippu tarṣu* of STT 253 4'). Thompson's text apparently continues with another incantation⁷ of which only the first sign (KID) remains.

7^a The incantation 7'-9' is found also on BM 93078 (collations below Fig. 18), a bronze lion demon, first published by R.C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia II* (1904), Frontispiece (photo and transcription). Figure and inscription have been discussed by K. Frank LSS III/3 26ff., B. Meissner *BuA* II 205, U. Seidl *BaM* 4 173, D. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 107ff. (good photo Pl. 45), and D. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 111ff. (with collations by C.B.F. Walker). The identity of the figure as U₄.GAL has now been established by the correct reading of the inscription on the lion demons from Nimrud communicated by A. Green *Iraq* 45 91³³. The text on the figure corresponding to STT 235 7' most commentators read as: *mu-hap-pi GÚ HUL-tim* (Thompson's reading *mu-kil pi tik* is vitiated by *ki-šad* in STT 253), “crusher of the neck of evil”, but cannot be harmonized with the clear *mu-UM-ME* of the tablet.

7^b Figure: GÚ.

7^c See collation Fig. 16.

7^d Only Rittig reads *la-pit* BAD NUMUN(?), epigraphically possible (cf. collation), but not giving any sense.

8^a Figure *mu-nar-bu* (Rittig), confirmed by collation. Rittig quotes the similar phrase KAR 92:5: *mu-nar-bu la mu-kil-lu ILLAT-šú*, “runaway, who does not keep to his troop” (CAD 42a, Meissner MAOG XI/1-2 7).

8/b Figure: *la-si-mu*, "scout".

^{8/c} The relevant parallel adduced by Rittig and quoted above ad 8/a strengthens the reading *mu-kil* obtained by collation. The next sign remains undeciphered, but in view of the parallel indicating that no further item is to be expected between *mu-kil* and *sá*, one is tempted to read [-*lum*].

^{84d} Thus, as demonstrated by the parallel, correctly read by Walker apud Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 112. See collation Fig. 18. -*šu* was omitted by Thompson (Frank 27 transcribes -*šu*, Delitzsch-system, incorrectly followed by Rittig).

9^a Figure: G1R^{II}

I/5 *CT 51 102; Neo-Babylonian*

This very fragmentary and poorly understood text apparently involves a contrastive description of statues of Lulal and Latarak to be used in a unidentified ritual.

Pinches' copy suggests a reading [^d*La-ta-*]-*rak* in 1'; our collation did not confirm this reading. Lulal and Latarak, however, do appear in 3'. The continuation of the text reminds us of the descriptions of the figures of tamarisk in text I: 4' "clad in his proper garment", 5' description of head cover, and 6' "furnished with [something on] his[—]". Especially useful is the second half of 6': "and the rest of him is human". This proves that at least one of the two gods Lulal and Latarak is not completely anthropomorphic.

For KUR.KUR in 2' and 3' I propose the reading *niphū* (cf. *CAD* N/2 245f.), “disks”, “rosettes”; KUR is attested with the value *niphū* elsewhere (*CAD* splits *niphū* into two lemmata and places KUR = *niphū* under *niphū* A, while the meaning *disk* is reserved for *niphū* B; *AHw* has only one lemma *niphū*). If correctly read, the present text confirms the position of *AHw*.

I/6 F. Lenormant, *Choix des Textes* 25 = King apud J.D. Beazley, *The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems* (1920) 3f.⁶. Amulet; Neo-Assyrian

The text of this well preserved amulet was first published by Lenormant (1875) and later by Beazley (1920), with a copy(?) and a description by L. W. King, revised by S. Langdon (cf. Beazley, Preface). A transcription was offered by Frank *LSS* III/3 52f. (cf. already Boscawen *BOR* IX (1901) 67f.) on the basis of Lenormant's copy; Frank corrected his reading of 7-8 in *MAOG* XIV/2 7². The images on the other side have been briefly described by Lenormant (cf. Frank *LSS* III/3 52) and published in photograph by Beazley. The amulet is pierced at the top, and "evidently worn on a string" (Beazley *Lewis House* 3).

1 ^dMAŠ.MAŠ MAŠ.TAB.BA
 SAG.GÁ DU.DU
 GABA ḤUL.GÁL
 MU.UN.GI.GI
 5 ZI ^dASAL.LÚ.HI
 LUGAL AN.KI.A HÉ.PÀD
 DINGIR ḤUL NAM.BA.
 TE.GE₂₆.DA ÉN

Mašmaš, pair,
 that goes in front,
 the breast of the evil one
 you turn away.
 By Marduk,
 king of heaven and earth, he is conjured;
 may the evil god not
 approach. Incantation

The “reverse” shows two identical figures wearing the head-dress with horns and a shawl; in their raised right hand they hold a double axe, and in their left a mace. They stand in a walking pose.

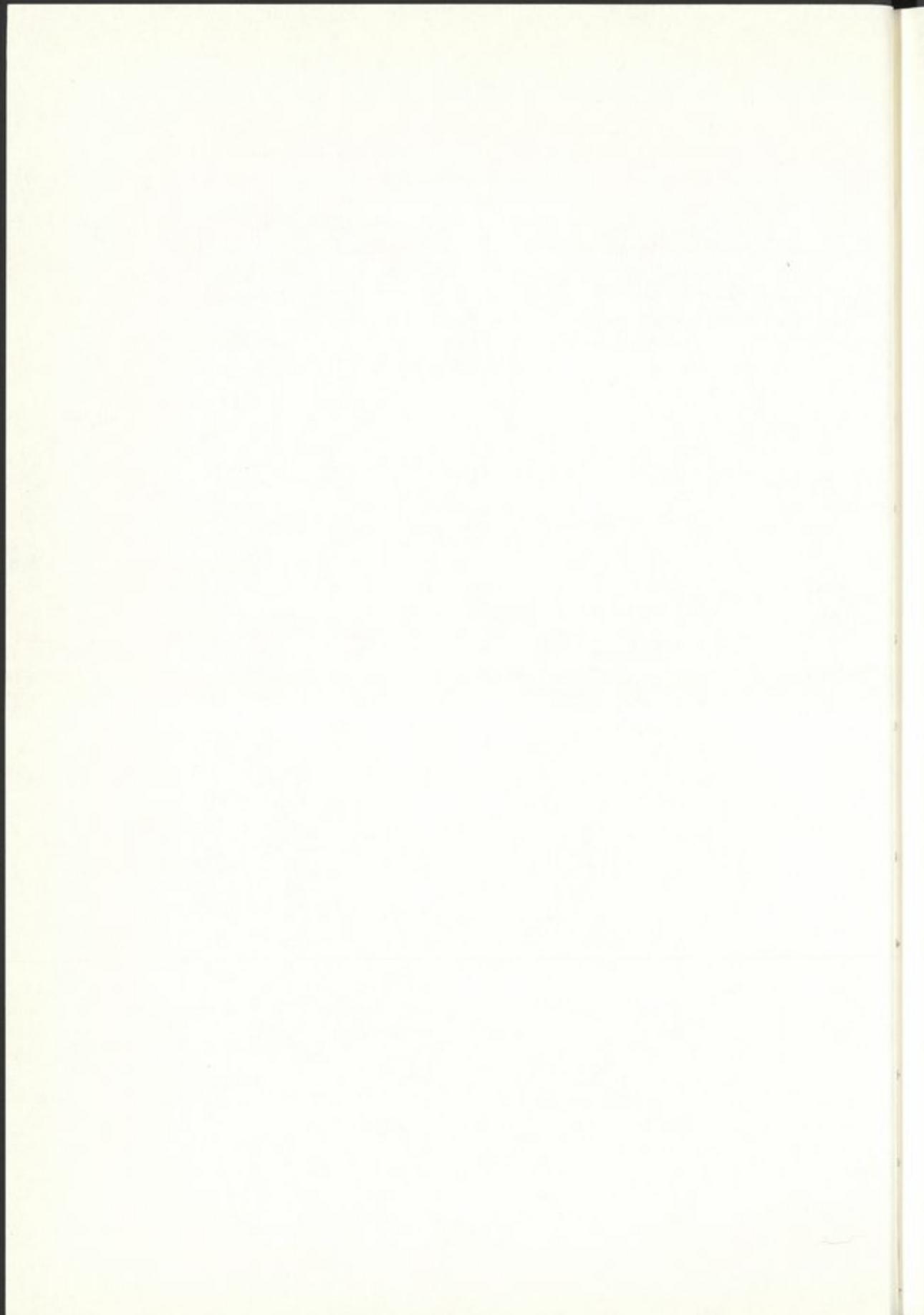
The text addresses a god ^dMAŠ.MAŠ, “twin”, a name of Nergal or more properly of Lugalgirra or Meslamtaea (cf. Frankena *Tākultu* 103, von Weiher *Nergal* 5, 90⁸, 93, 94²; also for Ninurta, cf. van Driel *The Cult of Aššur* 107). The god is called MAŠ.TAB.BA, “pair” (*kilallān*). The address shows that the incantation concerns the reduplicated god on the other side. Text I 124ff. prescribes four statues of Meslamtaea for the defense of the outer gate (cf. II.A.4); “four” is surprising since for other single figures except Lugalgirra one or two statues are prescribed. The incantation to the figures of Meslamtaea stresses the fact that he is Maštabba (“pair”), “the twin god”. The amulet and the text imply that one god, Meslamtaea, is imagined as having two identical bodies (as indicated by the four statues in text I, the same goes for his companion Lugalgirra; it will be seen below that the amulet rather represents Meslamtaea); he is a doubled god. The amulet also indicates the reduplication of Mašmaš by using DU.DU instead of DU in line 2. The epithet “that goes in front” also calls to mind text I where Meslamtaea is stationed in the outer gate (II.A.4.A). In the epithet GABA ḤUL.GÁL MU.NU.GI.GI in 3f. we recognize the Akkadian *irat lenni turru*, known to be one of the purposes of text I (cf. note to “437”a), and recurring in the epithet of the *ugallu* (text II Obv. 42); GI.GI here stands for GI₄.GI₄ = *turru* (GI₄ = *tāru*). The description of Meslamtaea in text I 124ff. prescribes a *hutpalū*-mace (cf. below II.A.4.A) for their right hands (restored), and a *zahaṭū*-axe for their left (restored). The figures of Lugalgirra (I 101) hold bows and arrows. The text thus indicates that it is Meslamtaea rather than Lugalgirra who is depicted on the amulet (Nergal and Ninurta are not twin gods, and cannot be meant by Mašmaš here), but the Meslamtaea of the amulet holds the double axe in his right hand and the mace in his left. In the new *bīt mēseri* manuscript *SbTU* 3 69:2 it is Lugalgirra who is armed with mace and axe (also Nergal and a figure whose name is broken), which stresses the identity of the two gods, and the futility of choosing.

I/7 Rm 40 Rev. = Leeper CT 35 Pl. 18

The obverse of Rm 40 bears captions for narrative sculptures of Ashurbanipal (cf. Weidner *AfO* 8 191ff., Bauer *IWA* 92); the reverse has an incantation which is to be [*inscribed*] in front of the statues of the sages. Weidner *AfO* 8 175³ did not consider this incantation a suitable epigraph for sculpture (cf. 192⁶⁵), and doubted that obverse and reverse belong to the same type of text. When it is realized that incantations occasionally appear accompanying apotropaic figures on reliefs (cf. text 1/4 note to 4'a), and

that at least the fish-*apkallū* are unquestionably represented in sculpture, Weidner's objection loses its force. With Reade *BaM* 10 38¹²⁷ we take both obverse and revers as captions for sculpture; against Reade, the incantation does not necessarily belong to the anthropomorphic *apkallū*.

A transcription and translation of the text can be found in Bauer *IWA* 92. The text addresses a plurality of beings — *apkallū* according to the subscript; their word together with those of Ea and Marduk is to chase away a plurality of evils. Especially interesting is 8, where we read (with Bauer): [niš ^dÉ.A DINGIR *b*]a-ni-ku-nu , “[by Ea the god] your [cre]ator” (followed by Marduk, Ninurta and Nergal). Even if the restoration is uncertain, the text at least shows that one group of *apkallū* is conceived of as created by a god, since after *niš* (restoration certain) only the name of a god can be restored.



II TEXT II

Extracts from *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* and *di'a šibta mūtānī šūtuqu*.

A Manuscripts and comparison with text I

1 VAT 8228 = *KAR* 298; collations Fig. 10. Neo-Assyrian, from Aššur

The text has been transliterated and translated several times: S. Smith apud C.L. Woolley, Babylonian Prophylactic Figures, *JRAS* 1926 695ff., transliteration only; O.R. Gurney, Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals, *AAA* 22 (1935) 64ff.; D. Rittig, *Assyrisch-babylonische Kleinplastik Magischer Bedeutung vom 13.-6. Jh. v. Chr.* (1977) 151ff.; Ph. Hibbert apud D. Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme Religiös-mythologischen Characters in Neuassyrischen Palästen* (1981) 193ff. For further literature I refer to R. Borger *HKL* I 102 and *HKL* II 57. All transliterations are based on Ebeling's copy of the text.

The importance of the text for the identification of the prophylactic figures is reflected in a number of studies, cf. the articles and monographs quoted above, M.E.L. Mallowan, The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1953, *Iraq* 16 (1954) 85ff., E. Klengel-Brandt, Apotropaic Tonfiguren aus Assur, *FuB* 10 (1968) 19ff., and A. Green, Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures, *Iraq* 45 (1983) 87ff. Further relevant literature will be mentioned in connection with the treatment of gods and monsters.

No duplicates of the *nishu* are known. K 11812, referred to by R. Borger *HKL* II 57 as comparable ("vgl.") to text II, proved to be part of text I MS A.

Parts of text II are duplicated in other texts (beside text I):

- W 22730/3 (von Weiher *SbTU* 2 no 18), probably a *namburbi* text, contains a recipe (17) also occurring in text II Rev. 36.
- K 2468 (unp., cf. Anbar *UFo* 7 518^b) contains recipes and incantations against *mursu*, *di'u*, *diliptu* and *mūtānū*. Rev. (?) 6'ff. is similar to II Rev. 38ff.
- K 2481 (unpublished, identified also by Abush *RA* 78 93) contains the end of a section apparently duplicating text II Rev. 36–37 (K 2481:2': KUD-*lat*), a slightly variant version of text II Rev. 38–40 (K 2481 3'–9'), and a section (10'–13') duplicating text II 43–44 up to *ana NA u É-šú NU TE.MEŠ-u*; this section is also duplicated by *BAM* 434 iii 17–20 and *UET* 7 125 Rev. 1–5 (Abush *RA* 78 93).
- K 9873 (identified by G. Meier *AfO* 13 72b and treated below as text IV) Rev. iv' 5'–10' duplicates text II Rev. 41–42.

The text was written by *Kisir-Aššur*, the well known exorcist of the temple of Aššur, who lived at the time of Ashurbanipal (cf. Meier *AfO* 12 246, van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* 134¹, Hunger *BAK* 19, Menzel *Assyrische Tempel* I 247). The text was excerpted from a longer text (*za-mar* [zi-*ha*], cf. *BAK* no 201:4) for the purpose of a specific ritual performance ([*ana sa-bat e-pe-ši*], *BAK* 201:1).

Notwithstanding the attention that the text has received from philologists and archeologists, a number of points have remained unclear. Some of these obscurities have

been clarified by collation and comparison with other texts, especially text I. From the collation of the text in Berlin it appeared that Ebeling had made good sense of quite a few difficult abraded passages not indicated as such in his copy; a sign of which only little remains is regularly completely and correctly restored.

2 Collations

Obverse

1 [ana ^d] A[LAD²] NU TE-*hi* *u* [GIR^{II} x. HUL] ina É NA [KUD-si]

The first sign is certainly not ÉN (so Ebeling, with question mark); the second sign is probably DINGIR, which limits the range of choice for the third sign (cf. below II.B.1.G). The restoration TE-*hi* is a guess, based on the assumption that the following conjunction, *u*, connects two verbal phrases rather than two nouns both dependent on KUD-si, which would represent a unique extension of this well attested expression. The sign before HUL is neither NÍG nor SAL; the emendation *SAL, proposed by Ebeling in his copy and adopted by Rittig in the transcription, is supported by the correct reading of the last two signs. For the resulting phrase *šēp lemitti ina bit ameli parāsu* cf. below II.B.1.

Translation: "to prevent the *šēd*[*u*-demon from approaching and [to block] the [entry of the enemy] in someone's house".

2-11 Cf. text I 44-65.

3 Contrary to the copy, the text has: ... *ša* KA (not: *ina* KA) *u* SUHUŠ IZI *kab-bu*.

4 As suspected by von Soden *AHw* 1127b and confirmed by text I 64, the text has *u₄-mu ša ana šag-ši* ...

12-14 Cf. text I 170-174.

13 For *ina te-qi-e-ti* (reading and translation) see note to text I 173^c.

15-16 Cf. text I 174-178.

15 BAR KU₆ instead of PA² KU₆ is confirmed; for KI.MA see text I note to 177^b.

17-18 Cf. text I 178-180.

19-20 Cf. text I 181-182.

20 *ina IGI-[at]^{gī}GU.ZA*.

21-25 Cf. text I 88-96.

22 For the plural *qul-₂<ma>-[tum]* cf. text I 309; -[tum] is clearly on the tablet. Rittig and Hibbert both follow *AHw* 927a and emend *qul-ma*¹ singular in accordance with text I 91.

24 End: [al-lá], cf. text I 96 and Landsberger *JCS* 21 150⁶².

26-28 Cf. text I 138-141, 311.

27 End: *ina Á CL-[šá tál-lal]*, cf. text I 141 (*tal-lal*) and Landsberger *JCS* 21 150⁶².

29-32 Cf. text I 106-114, 331.

33-37 Cf. text I 115-119, 277.

38-40 Cf. text I 140, 340.

38 [NU] [DINGIR É]; no more sign after *na-ši*.

41-42 Cf. text I 185.

41 End: [na-šu-u].

42 [ina Á-šú-nu mu-tir GABA HUL] [u] [a]-a-bi SAR-ár. The reading of the light traces before *a-a-bi* is assured by the inscription on a lion demon (*Green Iraq* 45 91³³), the only inscription on a statue that fits the traces preserved here; cf. also text I note to "437"^a.

43–44 Cf. text I 184.

43 NU.MEŠ *lāh-me* IM ša ^{gīš}MA[R] na-šu-u, cf. *JEOL* 27 91, 92¹². MAR and E fit the traces, but ^{gīš}E is of no use here.

44 Instead of *ú-ṣur* read *ú-ṣuru*, plural stative, with subject A.MEŠ.

45–46 Cf. text I 186: *ku-sa-rik-ku*.

45 [NU.MEŠ GUD.] [DUMU].^{1d}UT]U IM; for [GUD] approximately the same space is available as for *lāh* in 43; the traces of the last sign of the name of the monster definitely do not fit NA, thus excluding the otherwise conceivable alternative GUD.DUMU.AN.NA.

46 After the break: [...]T.LA [SAR *ina KÁ KAR?*].

47–48 Cf. text I 186, UR.IDIM.MEŠ.

47 [NU.MEŠ UR.IDIM ^{gīš}EREN IM.KALLA *lab-[šu ša]* [X.Y]na-šu-u *ina Á-šu-nu*.

48 [DINGIR É *lu ka-a-a-an*] *ina GÁB-šu-nu* ^dLAMMA É *lu* [dā-a-ri][SAR-ár...]

For the restoration UR.IDIM see II.A.3.17; the object carried by the UR.IDIM is possibly [UD.SAKAR], after text IV col. B 10. The first half of the inscription on the UR.IDIM (48) has been restored after the inscription on ND 7901, a clay figure, see A. *Green Iraq* 45 93⁵¹ and Pl. XIIIc. The space available for the restoration does not allow the addition of a reference to "on their right side" implied by *ina GÁB-šu-nu* "on their left side". Apparently the formula *ina (šu) XV-šu-nu inscription....., ina GÁB-šu-nu inscription..... SAR-ár* has been contaminated by the formula for one-sided inscriptions: *ina Á-šu-nu inscription SAR-ár*. A restoration [*ina MAŠ.SI*]L GÁB-šu-nu (cf. text VI 110 col. B 10) is epigraphically impossible.

Reverse

1–2 Cf. text I 185 (MUŠ.ŠA.TUR).

1 [NU.MEŠ *b*]a-aš-me IM IM.[X *lab-šu ša urudu*] [ŠEN.TAB.BA URUDU *ina pi*]-[i-šu-nu na-šu-u *ina Á-šu-nu*].

The *šu* copied by Ebeling as the last visible sign of the line is no longer(?) present and has been ignored in the transcription. The "na" before "šu" is probably to be read *ina p[i-i]*, cf. text VI 110 Col. B:17: II *ba-áš-me ša bi-ni ša pa-al-ta ša bi-n[i] ina pi-i-šu-nu na-šu-u*.

3 Cf. text I 185.

4–5 Cf. text I 190.

4 [NU.MEŠ S]UHUR.MÁŠ IM [ša ^{gīš}MA.]NU na-šu-u

The name of the object that the figures carry in their hands has been restored after text VI 111 Col. B:21, cf. below II.A.4.B. *e'ru*.

5 The reading *taš-mu u ma-ga-ru* rather than *taš-mu-u ma-ga-ru* is confirmed by BM 74119 (Fig. 17, text IV/1) II'1'f., breaking up this inscription: 1'[...*taš-mu*] 2' *u ma-ga-r[i]*.

6 ...IM.BABBAR [lab-šu][ina] Á-šú-nu ri-[x] hi-šib KUR-[i].

The sign x in *ri-x* remains unidentified. The reading *ri-da* is clear on BM 74119 (Fig. 17, text IV/1 ii'4'), a similar description of the *kulullû*, and on the actual figure of this being, Rittig *Kleinplastik* 9.1.2 (cf. also IM 3337, *Trésors du Musée de Bagdad*, 1977, no 141).

8 Cf. text I 186.

9-10 Cf. text I note to 118^a and below II.A.5.A. We consider this figure to be an intruder from beyond text I.

9 NU.MEŠ [X.Y]gišbi-ni ša gišPA g[giš]GIŠIMMAR] na-šú-u ina Á-šú-nu ú-suḥ l[um-na]

10 er-ba maš-ru-u [SAR-ár].

Unfortunately the signs spelling the name of this being could not be deciphered. It must be male (imperative *usuh*). Hibbert does not propose a reading, and neither does Rittig on p. 158; on p. 191, however, she adopts Gurney's reading (AAA 22 70) and reads UŠUMGAL. The reading UŠUMGAL is epigraphically impossible. In BM 74119 ii 6'f. (Fig. 17, text IV/I) an unidentified being is described (after the *suhurmāšu* and the *kulullû*), that may be identical to the being described here: II NU [DÙ]-uš (??) x-[x]-[x]šá gišPA [giš]GIŠI[MMAR na-šú-u]/[ku-bu-us lum-nu er-ba meš]-ru-ú [ina Á-šú-nu ? SAR-ár].

Harmonization of X.Y in text II with [DÙ]-uš in text IV/1 leads to unsurmountable difficulties, cf. also text IV/1 note to i' 6'^a.

The reading l[um-na] instead of m[ur-ša] (Gurney, Hibbert, Rittig, CAD N/2 8a) was prompted by comparison with BM 74119.

11-12 Cf. note to text I 118^a; like 9-10 an intruder from beyond text I.

11 NU. MEŠ [kam-su-ti giš]bi-ni.

Gurney AAA 22 70, CAD A/2 155a and B. Hruška, *Der Mythenadler Anzu in Literatur und Vorstellung des Alten Mesopotamien* (1975) 104, read [(AN). IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN], Hibbert and Rittig abstain from an interpretation. The reading *kamsuti*, indicated already by comparison with text VI 111 col. B 25, is confirmed by collation. For further references to this group see text III.B.10, and Borger *BiOr* 30 178:18.

11NÍG.TUK(mašrû) lu [sa-dir]

12 TI.LA [HÉ].ZAL.ZAL¹ (balātu lištebrî) SAR-ár.

Rittig and Hibbert do not offer interpretations of 12, reading TI.LA x NI² IR³. S. Smith *JRAS* 1926 700 (translation only) apparently reads HÉ.NI.IR or HÉ.IR¹.JR, "may he bring" (IR = *abālu*); Gurney reads "balā-tum ir-ba (?)." The reading adopted here is based on the fact that only the reading HÉ both fits the traces and satisfies the expected parallelism with *lu sadir*; on the fact that no root XNR exists in Akkadian; and on the fact that when a logogrammatic spelling is accepted, NI cannot express an infix, IR - šalālu does not make sense (IR = *abālu* does not occur in Akkadian texts), and ZAL = šutebrû must be expected to occur reduplicated (cf. CAD B 280f.).

Translation: "may life be permanent".

13-14 Cf. text I 188f.

15-16 Cf. text I 187.

17-22 Cf. text I 191-206.

17 [NU UR.GI₇]. In 18-22 only [NU] is to be restored at the beginning of the line.

18 *a-nu-uh* is certain.

23ff From here on the text is not paralleled by text I

23 ...BURU₅ KUR.RA UR.GU.[LA IM⁷PAD ^{giš}DÁLA] G[IŠIMMAR] [X]. Cf. text V
i'4'...MÁ.GUR₈.MEŠ⁸]šINIG u BURU₅ KUR.RA (...tetemmer); for PAD ^{giš}DÁLA
GIŠIMMAR cf. text I "434"^a

24 ZÍD.EŠA x [SIG₅].

x is as copied by Ebeling; [SIG₅] remains uncertain.

25 Cf. W. Farber R4 69 190f.

26 [II NU *me-li-*]e GIŠ KEŠDA GÍR.MEŠ *es-ji* GÍN.MEŠ *na-šú-u*,

"you shall construct (*rakāsu*) two statues of *mēlū* of wood, endowed with
daggers and holding axes ...".

A ^(d)*mēlū* is attested in comparable contexts (Müller MVAG 41/3 10:9, Franke-
na *Tākultu* 30, cf CAD M/2 14b) and has been understood etymologically
as the deified staircase (Frankena). This text – if read correctly – does not
favour the etymological explanation, since the being apparently has hands to
hold an axe with.

27 [PAD] ^{giš}[DÁLA] GIŠIMMAR, cf. above 23.

28 UR.GU.LA erasure [Ù.][SUH₅] undeciphered traces.

Cf. K 2496 ii 7'(text V, Fig. 11) for an UR.GU.LA of the same material.

30 DIŠ NA copied by Ebeling at the beginning of the line is no longer on the
tablet.

[DIŠ NA] GÍR^{II} SAL.HUL [KI/EGIR-š]ú⁷ [ir]- *ta-kás*

Gurney AAA 22 72 reads: *šēp lemum-tim* [ina bīti is-di-ha ip-]ta-ras,

"(If – as to any man –) the foot of evil [cut]s off [prosperity in his house]",
and refers to KAR 44:20; Rittig and Hibbert correctly do not adopt *is-di-hu*, a
mistake of KAR 44 (read KUD-*si*¹ with the "duplicates" BRM 4 20:24 and STT
300 Rev. 13, followed by a new title starting with *di-hu*), but retain *ip-]ta-ras*
(-ras against the copy, which has BI; not collated) and the translation with
"foot of evil" as subject of the sentence. However, when *šēp lemum* is com-
bined with *parāsu*, it is the logical object in all cases (see II.B.I), cf. especially
37, where the result of the ritual 30ff. is expressed as: *šēp lemum parsat*, "the
entry of evil is blocked". The introduction (30) which describes the nature of
the evil must have a meaning opposite to 37 quoted above, such as "when the
foot of evil is present". This is aptly expressed by *rakāsu itti/arki*, especially
common in the context of sorcery where the incantation ŠE.GA.ME.EN (37) is
also at home.

Translation: "[When someone] – the foot of evil is permanently bou[nd to
him]".

36 Second word: ⁴[*ha-šu-u*], cf. SbTU 2 18:17 (HAR.HAR).

37 For the incantation ŠE.GA.ME.EN cf. Köcher BAM 434 vi 17ff., and XIII with
further references. The last word appears as KUD-*]at* on K 2481, the last word
of an otherwise broken section followed by a ruling.

38 ...NUMUN ^ü[NÚMUN]¹, cf. K 2481 5': NUMUN ^üNÚMUN.

40 Cf. K 2481 7'f. *te-te-em-mi-ir* / [di-hu-]um EN MU I.KÁM *ana* LÚ NU

TE-šu

41–42 Cf. below text IV Rev. iv' 5'–10'.

41 After É NA the sign BI is partly erased, followed by traces of an other erased sign, then: NU TE-e

42 For the incantation ÉN ez-ze-ta šam-ra-ta cf. *BAM* 471 iii 25'–27', *AMT* 86/1 iii 5–9, *AMT* 97/1 8ff., text I "431"ff., *UET* 7 125 Obv. 3ff. (See Borger HKL II ad *AMT* 97/1, G. Meier *AfO* 21 77, and especially Köcher *BAM* 5 XXI ad 471 iii with further references). One of the duplicates (*AMT* 97/1 8ff.) was transliterated and translated by Ebeling *TuL* 143.

43–44 Duplicates to this section: *BAM* 434 ii 17–20, K 2481 10'ff., *UET* 7 125 Rev. 1–5 (cf. Abusch *R4* 78 93).

3 Additional material to text I. Inventory of figures

Although text II is an extract, and as such less informative on the ritual than text I, it nevertheless supplies information not supplied by text I. The extra information of text II is given below figure by figure in the order of text I. For each figure the details relevant to the discussions below are added: number of order in text II, name, number of statues, material, nature, character of incantation and inscription, attributes.

1.1 *umū-apkallū*, I 44ff.; 7; *e'ru*; anthropomorphic/human.
attributes: in the right hand: a *cornel*-stick charred at both ends; left hand on breast.
buried: *ina SAG gīš NÁ*, "at the head of the bed" (II Obv. 11).
incantation: ÉN VII NUN.ME.MEŠ *a-šá-red-du-tú*, "seven leading sages" (II Obv. 11). Text I omits this incantation; its function is apparently fulfilled by the incantation ÉN UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGALLA I 40 (cf. below III.C.).
These figures are not supplied with horns of bronze/copper, which would positively identify them as gods, nor do the inscriptions and incantations characterize them as divine: they are sages of human descent, giving life by their incantations, and putting to flight evil. The lack of added precision in the description (in contrast to the specifications of the bird- and fish-*apkallū*), and the head dress, garments, and hands, make them anthropomorphic.

2.6 *Sebettu*, I 88ff.; 7; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/god.
attributes: in the right hand a hatchet of bronze/copper, in the left a dagger of bronze/copper. They are furnished with the horns of divinity; bows and quivers hang at their sides.
buried: *ina IGI-at NU gīšbi-ni*, "in front of the statue of tamarisk" (II Obv. 25). The incantation to these figures in text I (311ff., cf. note 311^b) makes it clear that they were posted in the gate.
The designation NU *gīšbi-ni*, "statue of tamarisk" (2, 4, 7), refers to statue 5. It is clear that in the descriptions of burial places "statue of tamarisk" cannot refer to the statue 2, 4, or 7, since their positions in the gate are defined in relation to the "statue of tamarisk", and not to the statues 3 or 6, since these statues are omitted in text II. The choice between the remaining statues of tamarisk (5 and 8) is decided in favour of 5 by the designation "statue of

tamarisk" (I 276) before the incantation *atta šalmu sākip lemni u ajjābi* known to belong to statue 5 (subscript I 289, II Obv. 37). The same designation recurs in other texts (IV K 9873 ii 8', V ii 7', 11').

The incantation I 311ff. characterizes them as fearful warriors.

3.- *Lugalgirra*, I 97ff.; 4; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/god.

attributes: in the right hand a bow, in the left an arrow; on their heads a sundisk (?); furnished with the horns of divinity.

buried: since text II omits this figure, we have no exact information on the place of inhumation. Fortunately the incantation to these figures in text I (328) informs us that they are posted in the gate.

The incantation I 322ff. characterizes these figures as fearful warriors.

4.8 *šūt kakki*, I 106ff.; 7; *bīnu*, anthropomorphic/god.

attributes: in the right hand a mace, in the left hand a *cornel*(-stick); on their heads (?) a crescent; furnished with the horns of divinity.

buried: *ina KÁ TILLA_x(AŠ.A.AN) ina EGIR na-áš GÍR ina IGI NU gīšbi-ni*, "in the outer gate, behind the (statues) holding a dagger, and in front of the statue of tamarisk" (II Obv. 32). The designation *na-áš GÍR*, "holding a dagger", must refer to one of the (groups of) statues holding a dagger, that is 2, 5, 6, or 16. Statue 6 is not treated in text II, statue 5 appears (as "statue of tamarisk") next to one "holding a dagger" in the description of the burial of statue 4, and the two specimens statue 16 are stationed not in the outer gate but in the passages, and their positions at the right and the left make them ill-suited to fix the position of another group. Accordingly, *nāš patri* refers to statue 2 (Sebettu) and must be translated as a plural: "(statues) holding a dagger".

The incantation I 331ff. characterizes these figures as fearful warriors.

5.9 *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*, I 115ff.; 1; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/god.

attributes: a dagger of [bronze]/copper seven fingers long in his right hand, and an axe of [bronze]/copper in his left. Judging by the space available for restorations in text I, he was furnished with the horns of divinity; text II, however, omits the phrase in question. The incantation I 277ff. confirms his divinity and characterizes him as a strong warrior keeping watch in the middle of the gate (I 281); the inscription underscores his character as a door keeper by opposing *sakāpu*, "to repel (evil)", to *šūruba*, "to cause to enter (good)".

buried: *ina KÁ TILLA_x(AŠ.A.AN)*, "in the outer gate" (II Obv. 36).

6.- *Meslamtaea*, I 124ff.; 4; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/god.

attributes: in the right hand a mace with a head of stone, in the left a battle axe; a dagger of bronze is probably fastened to the bronze belt. They are furnished with the horns of divinity.

buried: since text II omits this figure, we have no exact information on the place of inhumation. Fortunately the incantation to these figures in text I (305) informs us about their positions at the right and left of the gate.

The incantation I 291ff. characterizes them as [gods of] the watch, who kill the evil ones (I 296).

7.7 *Narudda* I 138ff.; 1; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/goddess.

attributes: a harp? (*timbūtu*) hangs at her left side; instead of being bound with a girdle of bronze like the other gods, she has a sash drawn upon her with

yellow paste, and instead of being crowned with a tiara and furnished with horns like the other gods, she is crowned with a red head gear.

buried: ina KÁ TILLA_x(AŠ.A.AN) KI NU.MEŠ^dVIL.BI ina IGI-at NU^{giš}bi-ni, “in the outer gate, together with the statues of Sebette, and in front of the statue of tamarisk” (II Obv. 28).

The incantation to the Sebette is also used for their sister Narudda. (I 308ff., II Obv. 28).

8.10 *Il būti*, I 142; 1; *bīnu*; anthropomorphic/god.

Text I 142 only mentions this statue; text II Obv. 38-40 gives a probably incomplete description.

attributes: he greets with his right hand (i-kar-rab), and holds a magical weapon (gišgam-lum) in his right.

buried: ina KÁ TILLA_x(AŠ.A.AN), “in the outer gate”(II Obv. 39).

Text II quotes the incipit of an incantation: ÉN DINGIR É ú-sur É-ka, “incantation: god of the house, guard your house” (tentatively restored in I 341ff.).

Incantation, weapon, and position characterize the god of the house as a door keeper.

9.2 *Bird-apkallū*, I 170ff.; 7; clay and wax; human/bird.

attributes: in the right hand a cleaner (mullilu), in the left a bucket.

buried: ina SUHUŠ É II-i ina SAG^{giš}NÁ, “at the base of the (wall of the)“second room”, at the head of the bed” (II Obv. 14). The translation of II-i is uncertain: Smith *JRAS* 1926 696: “second pavement”(709¹⁴: “not clear”); Gurney, Hibbert and Rittig suppose that II-i introduces an alternative position, which seems improbable in the present context. In MAss/NAss the *ša bīti šanī* (*CAD* B 296b) is a servant in the dining room, and *bītu šanū* is accordingly perhaps “dining room”, cf. *CAD* B 297f., Kinnier Wilson *CTN* I 85, Postgate *FNALD* 5:5, Dalley *CTN* 3 165 ad 12. An incantation to these figures is attested only in text II (Obv. 14, incipit): ÉN at-tú-nu NU NUN.ME ma-ša-ri, “incantation: you are the statues of the sages, the guardians”: the incipit reveals only a part of their character: they are guardians.

10.3 *Fish-apkallū*, I 174ff.; 7; clay; human/fish.

attributes: in the right hand a cleaner, in the left a bucket.

buried: ina I.DIB. É.NUN, “at the threshold of the bedroom (II Obv. 16)”.

The incantation to these figures is the same as the one to the bird-apkallū (only in text II Obv. 16).

11.4 *Fish-apkallū*, I 178ff.; 7; clay; human/fish.

attributes: in the right hand on offshoot of the datepalm, the left on the breast.

buried: ina tar-ši KÁ ina EGIR^{giš}GU.ZA, “opposite the gate, behind the chair”(II Obv. 18)

The incantation to these figures is the same as the one to the bird-apkallū (only in text II Obv. 18).

12.5 *Fish-apkallū*, I 181ff.; 7; clay; human/fish.

attributes: in the right hand a standard, the left on the breast.

buried: ina MÚRU É ina IGI-[at]^{giš}GU.ZA, “in the middle of the room, in front of the chair” (II Obv. 20).

The incantation to these figures is the same as the one to the bird-apkallū (only

in text II Obv. 20).

13.12 *lahmu*, I 184; 2; clay; anthropomorphic/lesser god.
attributes: a ^{gīš} [MAR] (II Obv. 43), “spade”.
buried: *ina UB.MEŠ [É.x.x] ina TÙR*, “in the corners of the . . . room at the side of the courtyard” (II Obv. 44). Reading and translation remain uncertain: for É *x.x* read perhaps É.NUN (*kummu*). Since only two statues are available, and a room or courtyard has four corners, two corners must have been specified here in one way or another. The corners of the courtyard are specified in II Rev. 13 and 14 (Lulal an Latarak) as back and front corners; “back” (EGIR-*ti*) and “front” (IGI-*ti*) as well as the conceivable specifications “right” and “left” are excluded here epigraphically. It must be assumed then, that “in the courtyard” serves to define the corners of a room, and that the signs in the break define the room.
Inscription: *er-[ba MAŠ]KIM SILIM-me ši-i MA[ŠKIM HUL]* (restored after the inscription on actual figures of *lahmu*, cf. JEOL 27 91ff.), “ent[er guard]ian of peace, go out guard[ian of evil]” (II Obv. 43; to be written on the arms, *ina Á-šú-nu*). These orders laid in the mouth of the *lahmu* characterize him as a door keeper; the general incantation to the monsters I 349ff. is badly preserved, and does not inform us about the character of these figures.

14.15 *bašmu*, I 185; 2; clay; monsters.
attributes: an axe (*paštu*) of copper in the mouth (II Rev. 1). The information that the *bašmu* are clad in []paste (II Rev. 1) is lacking in text I.
buried: broken (II Rev. 2).
An *inscription* for [their sides] is prescribed in text II Rev. 2:
[*si*]-*i lum-nu er-ba* [SILIM-*mu*] (restored after the inscriptions on actual *bašmu*, cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 122f.), “[g]o out evil, enter [peace]”. These orders laid in the mouth of the *bašmu* characterize him as a door keeper; the general incantation I 349ff. does not give information on the nature of the *bašmu*.

15.16 *mušhuššu*, I 185; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: none. The information that the *mušhuššu* is clad in []paste (II Rev. 3) is lacking in text I.
No *inscription* is prescribed for its sides. The general incantation to the monsters I 349ff. does not inform us about its nature.
buried: *ina LDIB[]*, “at the threshold [of the . . . room]” (II Rev. 3).

16.11 *ugallu*, I 185; 2; clay (I), *bīnu* (II); monster.
attributes: in the right hand a dagger (GÍR), in the left a mace (^{gīš}-TUKUL) (II Obv. 41). The information that the *ugallu* is clad in yellow paste (IM.KAL.LA, II Obv. 41) is lacking in text I.
buried: *ina né-re-ba-ni XV u GÁB*, “in the passages of the right and of the left” (II Obv. 42).
Text II Obv. 43 prescribes an *inscription* for their sides (II Obv. 42): [*mu-tir* GABA HUL]*[u] [a]-a-bi*, “who turns away the breast of the evil one and the enemy”. The inscription characterizes the *ugallu* as a door keeper.
In text I 185, only U.4.GAL can be restored in the gap of 0–3 signs at the end of the line: it is the last item of a limited set of monsters (cf. below VII.B), after using the *urmaḥlullū* to fill the longer gap in I 187. In text I, the *ugallu* is

made of clay, but in text II of tamarisk; the difference in material is matched by the difference in position. In text II, the *ugallu* appears after the *il bīti*, the last statue of tamarisk in text I; in text II it appears (restored) among the monsters of clay. Text II reflects a form of the ritual in which the *ugallu* was made of tamarisk, and is described directly after the *il bīti* (for the otherwise basically identical sequence of statues in I and II see below, II.A.5.A). Text I does not have room for the *ugallu* after the *il bīti* and before the statues of clay, and clearly states that the tamarisk is reserved for the statues of gods (*esemti ilūti* I 81; *bīnūt šamē* I 143) while the clay is for the *bīnūt apsē*, the “creatures of *apsū*” (I 144) among whom the *ugallu* resorts. Actual clay figures of the lion demon (Green *Iraq* 45 90) further attest to the existence of the ritual as represented by text I. The appearance of an *ugallu* of tamarisk in text II is probably to be explained by the tension between the nature of the *ugallu* as a creature of *apsū* and his function as an armed warrior in the first line of defense among the gods of tamarisk (see below II.A.4.A).

17.14 *uridimmu*, I 186; 2; clay (I), *erēnu* (II); monster.
attributes: broken, perhaps a crescent (II Obv. 47). Text II Obv. 47 informs us that they are clad in yellow paste (IM.KAL.LA).

An *inscription* for their sides is prescribed in text II Obv. 48: [DINGIR É *lu ka-a-a-an*], “[may the god of the house always be present]”, and on the left: ^dLAMMA É *lu* [*dā-a-n̄*], “may the *lamassu* of the house be enduring”. The inscription characterizes the *uridimmu* as serving the forces symbolizing the well-being and prosperity of the house.

buried: broken (II Obv. 48).

The important restoration UR.IDIM in II 47 is based on the following considerations:

- 1 Two figures from text I do not have unquestionable counterparts in text II: UR.IDIM (17) and *ku-sa-rik-ku* (18); the fact that text I and II are virtually duplicates (text I has only Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea extra), and the fact that both figures belong to the core of Tiāmat’s army (cf. VII.B), make their presence in text II highly probable.
- 2 Beside the unidentified intruder of tamarisk (II Rev. 9f., certainly not to be read UR.IDIM or *kusarikku* in one of its known spellings), text II has two figures not unquestionably identified: II Obv. 45f. (13) and II Obv. 47f. (14).
- 3 The fragmentary signs in II Obv. 45 suffice to identify the figure named there as the *kusarikku* (see below, next figure).
- 4 Only II Obv. 47f. remains for UR.IDIM.
- 5 The inscription prescribed in II for this figure is attested on a clay figure of a monster (Green *Iraq* 45 92f. and Pl. XIIIc, XIVb), which contradicts text II where the figure is to be made of cedar. The change from clay to cedar in text II is difficult to understand, since as a member of Tiāmat’s army the *uridimmu* should be of clay like its peers. The use of a third kind of wood implies an extra day of ritual purifications and preparations for which text I certainly does not have room (since figures in text II can only break the sequence in order to be moved forward, the prepa-

ration of cedar should occur after the preparation of the clay; after the preparation of the clay and the description of the clay figures, however, text I continues with different subjects). The alternative solution, that II Obv. 47f. is an intruder from beyond text I, would leave us without *uridimmu* in text I, and gainsay justified expectations. Is the cedar of text II a mistake influenced by other texts? (cf. text V.B, VII.C.5)

6 Green *Iraq* 45 92f. describes the monster with the inscription II Obv. 48 as furnished with bird talons and a twisting scorpion-tail. We would rather compare the monster with the one from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (Barnett *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal* Pl. XXVI and LIV) and describe it as having lion's claws and a lion's tail (dr. Green informs me that this is possible for the figure from Nimrud). In this way the name of the monster with the element *ur* "dog", "lion" fits its appearance.

Indeed, since the *uridimmu* is one of the last unidentified members of the "creatures of *apsû*" and must have leonine or dog-like features as indicated by its name, the leonine monster from Ashurbanipal's palace would have to be considered a good candidate for identification even without text II Obv. 47f. [Cf. now A.R. Green *Iraq* 47 76f.](Green now accepts our identification of ND 7901 as *uridimmu*, cf. also Green, *Visible Religion* 3 88 note 23).

18.13 *kusarikku*, I 186; 2; clay; monster.

attributes: holds a bucket (II Obv. 45). Text II Obv. 45 informs us that they are clad in yellow paste (IM.KAL.LA).

buried: [ina KÁ KAR?] XV u GÁB, "in the gate of the *store room* right and left" (II Obv. 46).

An *Inscription* for their sides is prescribed in text II Obv. 46: *si-i Ú[Š er-ba] TI.LA*, "go out d[eath, enter] life". These orders laid in the mouth of the *kusarikku* characterize him as a door keeper. The inscription has been restored after the inscriptions on actual figures of the bull-man (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 98ff.).

The reading *kusarikku* in II Obv. 45 is based on the following considerations:

- 1 For considerations 1 and 2, see above 17. *uridimmu*.
- 3 The choice is limited to UR.IDIM or *kusarikku* in one of its spellings. The signs are fragmentary, but sufficiently preserved to exclude the reading UR.IDIM; therefore we must recognize *kusarikku* in one of its spellings in II Obv. 45 (text I 186 has *ku-sa-rik-ku*).
- 4 In the sequences of monsters from other texts (below VII.A), *kusarikku* is spelled: *ku-sa-rik-ku(m)*, ^(d)GUD.ALIM and GUD.DUMU.AN.NA; if in similar sequences of monsters in ritual texts GUD.DUMU.^dUTU (text IV ii 16', after *lahmu*, ii 23', V i 12', after *lahmu*, restored after ii 9', VI Col. B 14) were not a spelling of *kusarikku*, two mutually exclusive monsters would exist, one of them having no Akkadian reading (GUD.DUMU.^dUTU), cf. similarly already Frankena *Tākultu* 90. The equation GUD.DUMU.^dUTU = *kusarikku* is not known from the lexical texts, but the forerunner of *Hh XIII* (*MSL* 8/1 45) implies this equation:

	<i>MSL 8/1 45, Hh XIII</i>		Forerunner <i>MSL 8/1 87</i>
309	GUD.AN.NA	<i>e-lu-ú</i>	199 GUD.AN.NA
310	GUD.ALIM	<i>ku-sa-rik-kum</i>	199 GUD.ALIM.BU
311	GUD.DUMU.AN.NA	idem	200 GUD.DUMU. ^d UTU

5 The reading GUD.DUMU.^d UTU in II Obv. 45 is indicated not only by the traces, but also by the parallel text V i 12'; it is beyond doubt.

6 Considerations 3 and 5 lead to *ku-sa-rik-ku* = GUD.DUMU.^d UTU; the equation is backed up by consideration 4.

19.19 *girtablullû*, I 186; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: none. Text II Rev. 8 informs us that the *girtablullû* was clad in yellow paste (IM.KALLA).
buried: *ina KÁ ÚR AN.TA*, "in the gate to the roof, upstairs" (II Rev. 8). No *inscription* is prescribed for its sides. The fact that the *girtablullû* is the only figure appearing together with a female of the same species, and their position far from the gate, perhaps indicate a peaceful character.

20.24 *urmaħlullû*, I 187; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: none.
buried: *ina KÁ mu-sa-a-te XV u CL*, "in the gate to the lavatory, right and left" (II Rev. 16). An *inscription* for their sides is prescribed in text II Rev. 15: *ta-par-ri-ik SAG.-HULHA.ZA*, "you shall bar (the entry of) Supporter-of-Evil". The inscription characterizes the *urmaħlullû* as a door keeper.

21.22 *Lulal*, I 188; 2; clay; anthropomorphic/god.
attributes: none, unless the broken second part of I 188 contained a description of its attributes.
buried: *ina UB.MEŠ TÙR EGIR-ti*, "in the back corners of the courtyard" (II Rev. 13). No *inscription* is prescribed for his sides. At least one of the two gods Lulal and Latarak is not completely human (see above text I/5). There is good reason to believe that Lulal is an anthropomorphic god (cf. below 116ff.) and that therefore Latarak is the monster.

22.23 *Latarak*, I 189; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: none, unless the broken second part of I 189 contained a description of its attributes.
buried: *ina UB.MEŠ TÙR IGI-ti*, "in the front corners of the courtyard" (II Rev. 14). No *inscription* is prescribed for his sides. For the monstrous appearance of this god see above 21.

23.18 *kulullû*, I 190; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: none. Text II Rev. 6 informs us that the *kulullû* is smeared with bitumen and clad in white paste.
buried: *ina MÚRU É [x] [ina] KÁ ÚR K.I.TA*, "in the middle of the ...room, in the gate to the roof, downstairs" (II Rev. 7).

An inscription for their sides is prescribed in II Rev. 6f.: *ri-^{*}da hi-^{sib} KUR-[i] er-ba taš-mu u ma-ga-ru*, “come down abundance of the mountain, enter intercession and compliance”. The orders put into the mouth of the *kululū* characterize him as one concerned with attracting prosperity and divine benevolence to the house.

24.17 *suhurmāšu*, I 190; 2; clay; monster.
attributes: a [(stick of) cor]nel (II Rev. 4).
buried: *ina MÚRU MUD ina MÚRU TÙR*, “in the drain (*uppu*) in the middle of the courtyard” (II Rev. 5).
An inscription for their sides is prescribed in II Rev. 5: *er-ba taš-mu u ma-ga-ru*, “enter intercession and compliance”. The order put into the mouth of the monster characterizes it as one concerned with attracting divine benevolence to the house.

25.25 *dogs*, I 191ff.; 10; clay; animal.
buried: *ina KÁ TILLAx (AŠ.A.AN)*, “in the outer gate” (II Rev. 22).
incantation: *ÉN UR.MEŠ BABBAR.MEŠ*, “incantation: white dogs” (II Rev. 22).
The inscriptions characterize the dogs as watch dogs.

In the description of the figures certain phrases recur; we will treat these here:

1 IM.X *ana/ina til-li-^(e)-šú-(nu)/šá la-biš/lab-šú/lab-šat*, “he/they/she is/are/is clad in x colored paste for/ on his/their/her *tillu*”. The phrase is used to describe the *ūmu-apkallu* from Eridu of *cornel*, the Sebettu, probably Lugalgirra (restored), the *šūt kakkī*, probably *ša ištet ammatu lān-šu* (restored), probably Meslamtaea (partly restored), Narudda, all of tamarisk, and the fish-*apkallu* (10) of clay. Thrice text I replaces *ana tillē-* with *ina tillē-*, in which cases text II omits *ana/ina tillē-* altogether (Sebettu, Narudda, fish-*apkallu*); this forces us to take the variation *ana/ina tillē-* seriously. The whole phrase is omitted in the description of the *il bīti*, and *ana/ina tillē-* is omitted in the description of all figures of clay except the fish-*apkallu* (10). That the beings and not *NU.(MEŠ)* are the subject of the stative forms of *labāšu* is proved by the feminine form *lab-šat* (II 26; I 139 mistakenly has *lab-šá-tu*) in the case of Narudda. About the meaning of *ana/ina tillē-* opinions diverge: Zimmern translates “als ... Kleid”, Smith “for ... outer garment”, Gurney “for ... garment”, Hibbert “(auch) über/für ... Waffe?”, Rittig “bis zu ... *tillu*/Gürtel (als ... *tillu*?)”, and CAD L 18a “as a belt”. Von Soden AHw 1358b and ZA 67 240 understands *tillu* “an Figürchen” as a type of garment, but does not give a translation. We follow von Soden in separating *tillu* from *BE-lu* (AHw *bēlu* II, ZA 67 240; reading remains uncertain, perhaps also *gam-lu*); revealing is especially *Anzū* II 107f. (LKA 1 Rs iii 10f. // STT 21 Rev. iii 107f.): *li-qi/qt-e-ma BE-lu₄ (gam-lu₄) ana ár-kāt/ar-k^a kāt šu-ku-di-ka / nu-[uk-kis] ab-ri-(e)-šu...* (the execution of this advice is described in the badly broken third tablet CT 46 42 Obv. 5'f.) “take the *BE-lu* after (having shot) your arrows, cut off his wings ...”; the *BE-lu* weapon apparently has a cutting edge, it is a sword or an axe; the determinative *GIŠ* points to an axe. *Tillu* in ritual I/II is not *BE-lu* (Hibbert) “(a type of axe)” or any kind of weapon; weapons are described differently, and the *apkallū* are unarmed (cf. II.A.4.B); “for” (=by way of) should be *kīma* (cf. I 140, GIM *hu-ša-an-ni*) and

the personal pronoun after *tillū* indicates that it denotes a more general feature of the outfit of the figures. For *tillū* I propose “uniform”, “proper equipment” (completing the outfit of men and animals), cf. Müller *MVAG* 41/3 39f. Lackenbacher *RA* 71 47⁶, von Soden *ZA* 67 240, McEwan *FAOS* 4 47¹⁵⁷, 143³³⁴; it may resemble a belt since it is sometimes “bound” (*rakāsu*, cf. *RA* 71 46:25⁷, Ebeling *Glossar zu den Neubabylonische Briefen* 246; for an interpretation see below 2.). For proper understanding *tillū* must be defined by an adjectival or genitival complement. That not all *tillū* look alike is shown by the fact that the *tillū* of Narudda is worn by certain priests (*RA* 71 46:25⁷), and the *tillū* of the king by a *ša-rēši* (*BiOr* 39 21-22:13). *Tillū* is not simply “belt”; the belts of the figures in text I/II are called *miserru* (made of bronze or copper) and have actually been found (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 1.2.1.3. Abb. 6, 1.2.2.1-4 Abb. 9); it is probably not a part of the armour at all, since the *ugallu*, armed exactly like the gods, does not have *tillū*, while the unarmed *apkallū* have. *Tillū* describes the function of a garment rather than the garment itself in *ABL* 461 (NAss. ritual): TÚG SA₅ TÚG *til-li-e-šú* MU₄.MU₄-*su*, “(a statue of the dead man of clay) you shall clad him in a red garment, the garment of his *tillū*”; comparable is TÚG *til-li-e-šú* in *SbTU* 2 8 iii 14. Comparable also is ritual I/II where *ana tillē-* is used to describe a function of the layer of colored paste (*ana* cannot be “by way of”). When *tillū* describes the function of a garment (or of a layer of paste) it must be translated as a verbal noun; since the derivation remains uncertain (*pirs* of *talālu*, a verbal noun also used concretely? cf. *STT* 366:12 where *tillū* is used with *tullulu*. In that case we should rather read *tillū*, but the regular spelling with *-e-* remains unclear), an exact translation cannot be given. The distribution of *tillū* in ritual I/II seems to indicate that it is a mark of honour; it is used by most gods, some sages, but not by the lower beings who have (mostly) human bodies and are therefore physically suited to wear a *tillū* (*ugallu*, *lahmu*, *Lulal*).

The colours for the figures are:

IM.SA₅ = *šaršerru*, “red paste”, is used for the *ūmu-apkallu* from Ur, Sembetu, Narudda, and the third pair of dogs.

IM.BABBAR = *gaššu*, “white paste”, “gypsum”, is used for the *ūmu-apkallu* from Nippur and Eridu (distinguished by water drawn in black on the gypsum), the *šūt kakkī*, perhaps Lugalirra (cf. text IV i'18⁸), four groups of clay *apkallū*, the *lahmu*, the *mušhuššu* (?), the *kullulū*, the *suhurmāšu* and the first pair of dogs. Only figures clad in white can have details painted on with black paste or bitumen: the *ūmu-apkallu* from Eridu and the *lahmu* have jets of water painted on with black paste; the members of the first group of fish-*apkallū* have their scales painted on with black paste; the *kulullū* is smeared with bitumen, but to what purpose is not stated.

IM.GI₆ = ?, “black paste”, is used for the *ūmu-apkallū* from Kullab, two of the four statues of Meslamtaea, Latarak, and the second pair of dogs.

IM.KAL.LA/LI = *kalū*, “yellow paste”, is used for the *ūmu-apkallu* from Keš, the *ugallu*, the *uridimmu*, the *kusarikku*, and the *girtablullū*.

IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ = *da'mātu*, “dark/dull paste” (cf. Landsberger *JSC* 21 148), is

used for the *ūmu-apkallu* from Lagaš, two of the four statues of Meslamtaea, Lulal, and the fourth pair of dogs; here we must observe that the result of colouring a dog with IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ = *da'mātu* (I 193) is a UR SIG₇.SIG₇ (II Rev. 20), a “green” (*arqu*, after *MSL* 8/2 14 93) dog, the actual colour of the “green” dog, to be recognized by its inscription, is a “slightly greenish blue” (Gadd *RA* 19 159). Since the dogs from the palace of Ashurbanipal (=Rittig *Kleinplastik* 16.1.1-5) conform in all respects to the prescriptions of ritual I/II, such evidence cannot be dismissed as being due to the independance of the ritual texts. That we must expect a term for “(a slightly greenish) blue” is confirmed by blue paint on other figures (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 225f.). The literal meaning of *da'mu* may be “matt”, and *da'mātu* may often have to be translated as “grau” (Landsberger *JCS* 21 148); here at any rate it denotes a shade of blue (cf. below 000).

IM.KAL.GUG = *kalgukku*, “orange paste”, is used for the *ūmu-apkallu* from Šuruppak.

GÜN.GÜN = *burrummu*, “multicoloured” is used for the fifth pair of dogs. Text I 194 shows that black (GI₆) was one of the colours; the second paste may have been white (cf. Gadd *RA* 19 159 where the dog with the prescribed inscription is white with reddish-brown spots. Reddish-brown is a third colour, a mixture, or a deviation from the text).

The colours of some figures are unknown or in doubt: Lugalgirra (perhaps a different colour for each pair of statues of Lugalgirra), *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu, bašmu, mušhuššu*; for the *urmahlullu* and the *il bīti* no colour is prescribed at all.

It is clear that the layer of coloured paste does not always represent a garment; the *bašmu*, the *mušhuššu*, and the dogs are certainly naked. Where IM.X is said to be applied *ana tillē-*, “for ...uniforming” the layer of paste does represent a garment. In some cases then (defined by *ana tillē-*), IM.X, “x coloured paste” is a layer representing a garment and a colour distinguishing the figure in question from other figures; in other cases it is only a colour.

Colours are used to distinguish the members of quite different groups from each other (the *ūmu-apkallū* of different cities, the figures of Lugalgirra² and Meslamtaea, Lulal and Latarak, the dogs) and to distinguish certain groups from other groups. It therefore seems improbable that all difference of coloration can be reduced to a single value for each colour. Apart from the colours used to distinguish the *ūmu-apkallū* and the dogs, a certain grouping of colours may be detected: the darker colours (red, black and blue) are used only for gods (Sebette, Narudda, Meslamtaea, Lulal, Latarak), the brighter colours (white, yellow) for sages, monsters, the *šūt kakkī* and, if text IV may be adduced, for Lugalgirra (the colour prescriptions of text IV seem to agree with those of I/II).

2 AGA/a-gi-e Ní/ra-ma-ni-šú-(nu) a-pir/ap-ru lu-bu-uš Ní/ra-ma-ni-šú-(nu) la-biš/lab-šú, “crowned with his/their own tiara, clad in his/their own garment”. The phrase is used to describe the *ūmu-apkallū*, the Sebette, Lugalgirra, the *šūt kakkī*, *ša*

ištēt ammatu lān-šu, and probably Meslamtaea (restored). In the description of Narudda these phrases are replaced by : *ú-sur-ta šá IM.KALLA GIM hu-ṣa-an-ni MÚRU-šá te-sir tūg*BAR.SIG SA₅ *ap-rat*, “you shall draw a design with yellow paste reperesenting a sash around her waist; she is crowned with a red head gear”. *Agū* here does not denote the horned crown; the horns are described separately: SI.MEŠ ZABAR (text I)/URUDU (text II) *GAR-nu*, “furnished with horns of bronze/copper” (Sebettu, Lugalirra, *šūt kakkī*, *šā ištēt ammatu lān-šu* (restored), Meslamtaea; note that Narudda is not furnished with horns). Since, if the tiaras were of metal they would have been described as such, and since no remains of metal tiaras have been found (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 130ff.), the tiaras were probably cut in the wood. Although figurines of gods are sometimes clad in real garments (cf. *SbTU* 2 8 iii 14; the remains of fabric found together with a figure of Ninšubura, Rittig *Kleinplastik* 1.1.3 and 226, may not be part of his outfit, cf. Borger *BiOr* 30 178:25ff), they may also be clad in garments cut out in the material they are made of (so regularly the garments of the figures of clay); in view of the analogy with the tiaras the latter possibility is the more probable one in the present context. If we compare the phrases used to describe the garments of the gods with those used to describe the outfit of Narudda, we could get the impression that the gods are clad in their proper garments (*ramāni-*), but that Narudda for some reason is unusually dressed (her garments are not *ramāni-šā*, “her own”, but described explicitly); there is, however, a different and less unlikely solution for the omission of **ramāni-šā* in the case of Narudda: the gods (and the *ūmu-apkallū*) wear garments cut “out of themselves” (out of their own wood), while Narudda is crowned with a real cloth gear, and has a sash painted on. This use of *ramāni*+*Suffix* is confirmed by an inscription of Sennacherib (*OIP* 2 108 vi 67, cf. *CAD* K 349a) where “*aladlammē*” of marble are described as towering high *ina kigallī ramni-šunu*, “on their own pedestals” about which *CAD* K 349a remarks: “i.e. made likewise of marble”; it is indeed difficult to imagine why the pedestals should be described as “their own” or “fitting them”.

We are now in a better position to judge the use of the *tillū*-uniform: the *ūmu-apkallū* from Eridu, probably Lugalirra (restored), the *šūt kakkī*, probably *šā ištēt ammatu lān-šu* (restored), and probably Meslamtaea (partly restored) wear a colored *tillū*-uniform over their *lubūšu* “underwear” (the paint is applied on the wooden figure with cut-in garment “*ana tillē*+*Suffix*”); Narudda and the fish-apkallū (10) do not have a *lubūšu* garment; instead they have *tillū*, probably cut out in the wood and not separately described (the coloured paste is applied *ina tillē*+*Suffix*). The Sebettu have a *lubūšu* garment which apparently functions as their *tillū* since the colours are applied *ina tillē-šunu*.

This interpretation of the text and the proposed generic meaning of *tillū* are confirmed by the palace reliefs. Gods and sages here generally wear some form of the shawl (cf. Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 25f., 29f., 36f., 40, Madhloom *Chronology* 70f., Reade *Iraq* 34 92, *BaM* 10 36) over a short tunic (*lubūšu*). Although, excepting the Sebettu, the gods of wood are not represented on the reliefs, we may safely assume that they were similarly dressed. A representation of Meslamtaea identified with certainty on an amulet (text I/6) wears a shawl and a short tunic. The only female genius of the reliefs (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XX, Reade *BaM*

10 37) and the fish-*apkallu* (Kolbe Type II C, Reade 38f.) wear a distinct form of the shawl (Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 25, Madhloon *Chronology* 71), the deity over a long dress reaching to the ankles, the fish-*apkallu* over a short tunic. The distinct shawl of the female genius was presumably the same as the one on Narudda, who is not attested on the reliefs but is known to be dressed in a distinct type of *tillû* (RA 71 46:25') fit for goddesses and transvestites (the *kurgarrû* and *assinnu* priests, cf. *CAD* K 559a). That the *lubûšu* of Narudda is not described in the text may perhaps be explained from the fact that her legs did not show, which made special treatment of the roughly hewn figure unnecessary; why the *lubûšu* of the fish-*apkallu* was not described remains unexplained. The Sebette are the only gods identified with certainty on the reliefs (Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* Type XX, Reade *BaM* 10 37); in conformity with the text in which only they wear a *lubûšu* garment for *tillû*, they are dressed distinctly on the relief in question. They wear a long dress reaching to the ankles, but no shawl. Generally speaking, the distinctions made in the text are matched by the distinctions made on stone. *Tillû* is not a word for a specific garment, but in fact it often denotes one of the several types of shawl; this explains why *rakâsu*, “to bind”, can be used with *tillû*. The specific word for “shawl” is not known. It was certainly not *aguhhu* (so Meissner *Beiträge* I 7f., Leemans *Ištar of lagaba* 11f., contra: Köcher *MIO* I 84. In the *Göttertypentext*, one figure (2) is dressed both in an *aguhhu* and a *gadamatâhu*; the *gadamatâhu* covers the whole body, cf. Wiseman *Iraq* 22 167, and cannot be combined with a shawl).

One god of the reliefs and other apotropaic art has not been mentioned here (cf. Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* Type XVI, Reade *BaM* 10 36). If Green *Iraq* 45 92 is right (cf. already the negative comments of Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 223f.), this god should be identified as the “god of the house” (*il bîti*) and his wear should be treated here in connection with the description of the *il bîti*. There is good reason (see 63f.) to believe, however, that this figure is not the *il bîti*, but Lulal. That he is dressed just like the *ugallu* and therefore does not wear a *tillû* as do the gods of wood, should not be brought to bear on the omissions in the description of the *il bîti*. The description of the *il bîti* is certainly defective; text I 142 only mentions him, and text II Obv. 38ff. describes only the gesture of his right hand, the attribute in his left hand and the headband. Although they are not described, there is no reason to believe that he was not furnished with a horned tiara and a belt like the other gods of wood (the distinct outfit of Narudda is also described); most probably he was painted (the only other figure whose paint is not described is the *urnâhlu*); he was certainly not naked, and once the above mentioned god is excluded from identification, there is no reason to believe that he did not wear a *tillû* uniform (probably a shawl) just like the other gods of wood.

3 *ina KI.GAL (gišŠINIG I 89) pu-ri-da GUB-su-(nu-ti)(I) GUB-az/zu(II)* “on a pedestal (of tamarisk) in a walking pose you shall place him/them (I)/he/they shall stand (II)”. The phrase is used in the description of the Sebette, Lugalirra, the *šut kakkî*, *ša ištēt ammatu lân-šu* (restored in I; II has the variant *pu-ri-du*), Meslam-taea (restored). The reading *bu-ri* *GUB(DA)/GUB.GUB advocated by some (Gurney *AAA* 22 66¹², *CAD* K 349a, B 340a, Hibbert apud Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme*

194f.), goes back to a proposal of Smith (*JRAS* 1926 711²⁷), who understood *pu-ri-da* as a variant of *gišŠINIG* in I 89 and hesitantly viewed *p/buridu* as a feminine formation of *burū*, “read-mat”. The new join K. 8620 (Fig.2) now clearly shows that in I 89 *gišŠINIG* is followed by *[pu]ri-da* (I 90) which makes discussion of the reading *bu-ri* superfluous (correct reading already in *AHw* 880b, followed by Rittig *Kleinplastik* 154f.). The “walking pose” referred to by *puridu* is nicely illustrated by the pose of the Sebettu on a relief of Ashurbanipal (*Kolbe Reliefprogramme* Type XX Pl. XV/1) and that of a representation of Meslamtaea on an amulet (Text I/6).

The *kigallu*, “pedestal”, must have looked like the pedestals of the figures of clay (Rittig *Kleinplastik* Figs. 3, 11, 42 e.a.); Sumerian *ki-gal* can have the same meaning (cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 132, S. Dunham *Foundations* 451ff.).

- 4 *mi-sir* ZABAR(I)/URUDU(II) *ina* MÚRU(.MEŠ) -šú-*nu* *rak-sa*(I) *rak-su*(II), sg.: ... *ina* MÚRU -šú *rak-sa*(I)/<*ra-kis*>(II), “they are bound around their waist(s) with a girdle of bronze/copper”, sg.: “he is bound around his waist with a girdle of bronze/copper”. The phrase is used in the description of Sebettu, Lugalirra, the *šut kakkā, ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*, Meslamtaea. The exact denotation of *miserru* here is difficult to establish. It may denote a simple belt around the waist or a belt around the waist with a second belt crossing the chest attached to it. Examples of the latter type belonging to figures of wood have been found (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 1.2.1.2, 1.2.1.3, 1.2.2.1–4, on reliefs: *Kolbe Reliefprogramme* Pl. VI/3, VIII/1), but the former type is known to interchange with it (cf. the *ugallu* *Kolbe* Pl. XIII/3 with the *ugallu* Pl. XIII/4, and Lulal Pl. XIII/4 with Lulal Rittig *Kleinplastik* Fig. 59).
- 5 *e-ri* ZABAR(I) URUDU(II) *ina* SAG.DU(.MEŠ) -šú-(*nu*) *rak-sa*(I)/*rak-su*(II), “he/they are bound with a headband of bronze/copper around his/their head(s)”. The phrase is used in the description of Sebettu, Lugalirra, the *šut kakkā, ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*, Meslamtaea, *il bīti* (only in text I, where <*ra-kis*> is omitted). The *e(r)ru* headband was correctly identified by K. Deller apud H. Waetzoldt *RIA* 6 199f. Although the figure in question (R. Barnett *SNPAN* Pl. IV/1 = *Kolbe Reliefprogramme* Pl. XIII/4 and passim) is Lulal and not one of the gods of wood, we may assume that the gods of wood had a similar headband; only in the case of Lulal is the headband visible as distinct from the helmet (Lulal has an unusual and old-fashioned hairdo).

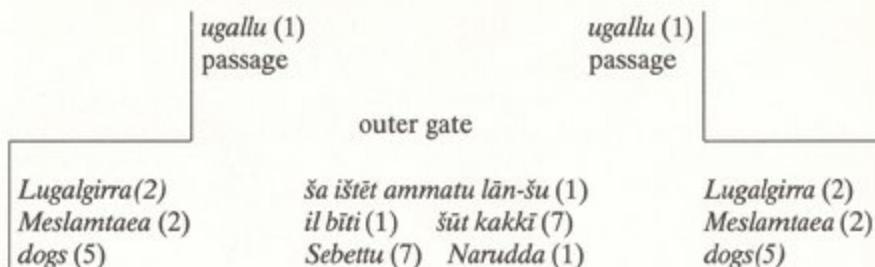
4 Regularities

When the statues, their properties, and their positions are studied more closely, interesting patterns appear. It is possible to isolate groups of statues, each with its proper purpose, and to understand the purpose of each group in relation to the purpose of the ritual as a whole (cf. II.B.1.I).

A Statues in the outer gate; the armed gods, the *ugallū*, and the dogs

We can visualize the positions of the statues in the outer gate on the basis of informa-

tion supplied by text II (above II.A.3).



The exact position of the *il bīti* in the outer gate is not indicated in the text. His position here is prompted by text IV i 12'ff., where the Sebettu with Narudda before them are drawn at the right of the gate, and the *šūt kakkī* with the *il bīti* behind them are drawn at the left of the gate.

The statues of Lugalgirra are placed together with those of Meslamtaea at the right and left of the gate. From the text only their presence in the gate is known; *Maqlū* VI 141 (cf. VI 15) stations Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea at the right and left in the gate.

For the statues of the dogs the text only gives a position in the outer gate. The dogs are clearly described as two groups of five, and have been placed accordingly at the right and left of the gate. Whether they stand in front of or behind the statues of Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea cannot be decided. Note that the ritual as reflected in the *nishu* text II omits the statues of Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea, leaving only the dogs for the defense of the flanks.

Material, nature, attributes, inscriptions and incantations underscore the main function of these figures as guardians of the gate:

ATTRIBUTES						
	Name	Right	Left	Additional	Inscription	Incantation
t	Sebettu	<i>qulmū</i>	<i>patru</i>	<i>qaštu išpatu</i>	—	warriors
Lugalgirra		<i>qaštu</i>	<i>šiltahū</i>	<i>niphu?</i>	—	warrior
a	šūt kakkī	<i>kakku</i>	<i>e'nu</i>	<i>uskaru</i>	—	warriors
m	One cubit	<i>patru</i>	<i>hasinnu</i>		door keeper	warrior
a	Meslamtaea	<i>hutpalū</i>	<i>zahātū</i>	<i>patru</i>	—	god of the watch
r	Narudda	—	—	<i>timbūtu</i>	—	same as Sebettu
i	<i>il bīti</i>	greets	<i>gamlum</i>		—	guardian
s	ugallu	<i>patru</i>	<i>kakku</i>		door keeper	cf. I 349f.
c						
k						
l						
a	dogs	—	—		door keeper	only incipit known
y						

Material: all figures in the outer gate, except the dogs and in text I the *ugallu*, are made

of tamarisk (cf. above 3.16); figures of tamarisk occur only here in the outer gate (the two figures II Obv. 9f. and 11f. are intruders, cf. II.A.). The wood of the tamarisk used for the statues is called in the incantation to Šamaš (I 81): *esemti ilūti*, “the bone of divinity”. Indeed, all figures of tamarisk are anthropomorphic gods (with the exception of the *ugallu* in text II; *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*, “One cubit”, and *šūt kakkī* are designations for nameless lesser deities, whose descriptions indicate an anthropomorphic representation): in I 143 they are called the *bīnūt šamē*, “creatures of heaven”, and are distinguished from the *bīnūt apsē*, “creatures of Apsū”, a designation for the figures of clay. Latarak may be anthropomorphic but is covered by a lion’s skin. Lulal is an anthropomorphic god, the only exception to the rule that the gods are made of tamarisk.

Attributes: all figures in the outer gate (except the dogs and Narudda) are armed. The other figures are not armed (the *pāštu* in the mouth of the *bašmu* is probably not meant as a weapon; he has no hands to use it). We must comment briefly on these attributes:

- *qulmū*, “hatchet”, is to be identified with the hatchet held by the Sebettu on a relief of Ashurbanipal (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XX and Pl. XV/1, Reade *BaM* 10 37). In their left hands they hold a dagger (*patru*). The bow (*qaštu*) they once held was erased to be replaced by the dagger.
- *e’ru*, “cornel(-stick)”, is held by the *šūt kakkī*; it is a magical weapon (*kakku*) and identifies its bearer as deputy of the central divine authority (in this context: the gods of white magic), cf. below B.
No figure holding two maces or a mace and a stick is known to me from art; below B we will identify the *e’ru* with the mace of the winged gods of the palace reliefs (kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type V, VI); they hold the mace in their left hand, while the other hand greets or holds a sprig.
- *kakku*, “mace” is held by the *ugallu* and the *šūt kakkī*. In the case of *ugallu* it is certainly a mace since practically all lion-demons are armed with a mace and a dagger (*patru*); in the case of the *šūt kakkī* it must denote a specific weapon as well, and cannot mean, “weapon (unspecified)”. Since specific *kakku* cannot denote two different weapons in the same text, it also denotes a mace in the case of the *šūt kakkī*. The name *kakku* for the mace of the *ugallu* (and *ḥutpalū* for the mace of Meslamtaea, cf. text I/6) neatly refutes the opinion that a mace held below the lump is not a weapon but a ceremonial mace or sceptre (so e.g. Landsberger *Sam’al* 89f.²²⁶, Douglas van Buren *R4* 50 101ff., Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 82, 104, Lambert *OrNS* 45 13f.).
- *hasinnu*, “axe”, is held by *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*; the figure is not identified on reliefs, and a dagger and an axe belonging to a disintegrated figure of wood have not been found; a single bladed OB axe is identified by its inscription as a *hasinnu* (Dossin *IrAnt* 2 pl. XXIII, 12), and perhaps the axe (Rittig *Kleinplastik* Fig.5) of a clay figure (*Kleinplastik* 1.2.1.2), also armed with a dagger (in the belt) and a sword, belongs here. Axes and swords belonging in pairs to disintegrated figures of wood (*Kleinplastik* 24.2.1–9, 22.1.10–8, Fig. 67, 69) might also be adduced. It must be noted, however, that neither type of figure can be unquestionable identified with *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*; the former is of clay instead of wood, the latter is found in a temple (not in a private house) and belongs

to a group of seven (?). Cf. text I/3 for another figure holding a *hašinna*.

- *hutpalū*, “mace with a head of stone”, is held by Meslamtaea (for the identification of this weapon cf. Unger ZA 31 236, Borger BiOr 30 182, Eilat BiOr 39 18). Meslamtaea with his mace appears on an amulet (text I/6); on the amulet Meslamtaea holds the mace in his left hand and the axe in his right. According to ARM 21 223:7ff., the *hu-ur-pa-lu-um* has a “top” (*muḥhu*) and a “handle” (*napādu*), cf. Durand ARM 21 344, 365f.
- *zahatū*, “battle-axe”, is held by Meslamtaea. Kassite models of axes inscribed with ZA.H.A.DA (cf. Hallo BiOr 20 141⁸⁸, Brinkman MSKH 263) indicate that the *zahatū*-axe had a single blade. The figure of Meslamtaea on an amulet (text I/6) on the other hand, holds an axe with two blades. Perhaps the unpublished and cursorily described (Oates Iraq 21 112 = Rittig Kleinplastik 3.3.1) clay figure with in his right hand a double-bladed axe and in his left a mace, should be adduced here. It cannot be decided whether the axe of the amulet is a deviation from the text, or whether *zahatū* at this time denoted the double-bladed axe. Older attestations do not give information on the nature of this weapon (cf. OrNS 55 234, JCS 21 114:93, ZA 65 217). At least it can be said that *qulmū* (used also to fell trees I 42, 87), *hašinna*, *pāštu* (see below), *zahatū* and *pāšu* (I 30, 69, restored) all denote different types of axes. The double-headed axe is certainly expected among them.
- *gamlum*, “curved staff”, is held by the *il bīti*. The curved staff is one of the tools of the exorcist (cf. CAD G 35a, M/2 281a; also of divine exorcists) and as such is in a certain sense a weapon (cf. Durand ARMT 21 340f., Farber RIA 6 251f., Kupper Amurru 15⁵, 16¹) against supernatural enemies. In Šurpu VIII 41 the *gamlu* which cleanses and the *banduddū* which exorcises are held by certain gods. Other texts show that the *gamlu* cleanses (*ullulu*) and releases (*paṭāru*) (see now also JEOL 29 5⁶). Although the curved staff in the hands of a god or sage is not attested either on the palace reliefs or in the *Kleinplastik*, we can be certain that it is the curved staff, the tool of the exorciser, which is meant here by *gamlu*: in the first place, the curved staff in the hands of a fish-*apkallu*, the exorcist par excellence, is attested on a Kassite seal (Porada CANES 581, cf. Rittig Kleinplastik 88), and secondly, the nameless gods of wood share properties with the sages as is proved by the *e'ru* in the hands of the *šūt kakkī*, and amply substantiated by the palace reliefs. The *il bīti* uses the *gamlu* to guard his house (cf. I 341).
- *karābu*: a greeting gesture is made by the *il bīti*, “the god of the house” with his right hand. As a proper host, he greets his visitors at the gate. On the reliefs the greeting gesture (cf. Kolbe Reliefprogramme 47) is made by gods (Kolbe Type IV C, V), a goddess (Kolbe Type VIII), and sages (Kolbe Type VI, IV A, B; cf. Reade BaM 10 36f.). The slightly damaged hand of a *girtablullū* from the Ninurta temple in Nimrud (Kolbe Type XI, Reade BaM 10 39 and Meuszyński EtTrav 6 61ff. Fig. 15, Iraq 38 38 Pl. XIV) was probably empty and made the same greeting gesture. In his left hand he holds a sprig, and a sprig in the left hand can only be combined with an animal in the right, or a greeting gesture; enough remains of the relief to exclude the animal. All figures make the greeting gesture only with their right hand.

- *niphu*, “sun disk” (if read correctly), *uskaru*, “crescent”, are carried by Lugal-girra and the *šūt kakkī* on their heads; sun disks or crescents are not attested on the heads of the apotropaic gods of the plate reliefs. Statues of servant gods with sun disks or crescents on their heads appear at the entrances of Neo-Assyrian temples, if J. Börker-Klähn ZA 63 272ff. is right. Crescent-tipped standards belonging to disintegrated figures of wood have been found in Kalhu: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 22.6.3 (add Oates *Iraq* 21 112, Mallowan *N and R* 423, from fort Shalmaneser), and Dür-Šarrukin: *Kleinplastik* 22.6.1–2. The identity of the “crescent” found in the mouth of a *bašmu* (*Kleinplastik* 22.6.4–5) remains dubious (see below). The fact that these crescents stood on poles (probably to be restored for the ones from Dür-Šarrukin), and the fact that they were found along with spears, speak against identification of the disintegrated wooden figures with Lugalirra or the *šūt kakkī*. Their presence, however, confirms the prescriptions of the text in a general manner. Perhaps the ^d*Ni-ip-hu/i-ALAM* are to be adduced here (Frankena *Tākultu* 107); they are possibly sun disk on poles or statues of servant gods with sun disks on their heads. Certainly comparable are the AŠ.ME, “sun disk”, U₄.SAR, “crescent” and MUL, “venus” prescribed in the Lamaštu texts (*LKU* 33 Rev. 18 // Rm 2,212 11' = ZA 16 197 cf. Falkenstein *LKU* 10¹⁴, Farber *RLA* 6 442b; the correct reading, based on unpublished duplicates, was communicated to me by dr. Farber) for an amulet against Lamaštu and actually attested on these amulets. The fourth symbolic object prescribed in the Lamaštu text, the *gamlu*, “curved staff”, is prescribed in our ritual for the hands of the *il būti*; unless *gamlu* unexpectedly denotes one of the other symbols commonly attested in the top register of the Lamaštu amulets, it does not occur there. The presence of the symbols of Šamaš (sun disk) and Sin (crescent) probably gives additional protection to the inhabitants of the house and the wearer of the amulet.
- *timbūtu*, “harp ?”, is held by Narudda. The presence here of Narudda with her harp is difficult to understand. Perhaps she serves only as a companion to her brothers the Sebettu and is not directly concerned with the purposes of the text; This position seems to be confirmed by the fact that her function is not made explicit by an inscription or an incantation; the incantation to the Sebettu serves Narudda as well. The object held by Narudda remains unidentified.

Inscriptions and incantations: the inscriptions and incantations stress the warlike character and other qualities befitting guardians of the gate.

The incantation to Šamaš I 79ff. contains a statement concerning the purpose of the statues of *cornel*: they are installed *ana sakāp lemnūti*, “to repel the evil ones”. The meaning of *sakāpu* here is cleared up by the opposition to *šūruba*, “to make enter” in I 122; the verb recurs in the inscription of *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu* (I 122) and in the incantation to this figure (I 277). The function of Meslamtaea in text I/6 is described as “to turn away the breast of evil”, a phrase that is used also to describe the function of the *ugallu* (cf. text I “437” note a). The incantations to the gods of *cornel* show that they function not only as guardians against the entry of future evil, but also play a part in the expulsion of present evil (I 282ff., 300ff., 316ff., 326ff.). This dual purpose of the installation of the figures of *cornel* tallies well with the dual purpose of the ritual

(below II.B.1): the expulsion of present evil, and the prevention of the entry of future evil foretold by it. The expulsion of present evil is probably also exemplified in the appearance of the *e'ru* and *gamlu*, tools of the exorciser, in the hands of the *šūt kakkī* and the *il bīti*.

Besides expulsion and prevention, the attributes identify the following additional themes:

- welcoming friendly visitors (*il bīti*),
- protection of the house by Šamaš (sun disk) and Sin (crescent).

Identifications: On the apotropaic palace reliefs only the Sebettu can be recognized (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XX). Meslamtaea is represented on an apotropaic amulet (text 1/6). Below (000f.) we will propose to recognize the “nameless” gods or groups of gods (*šūt kakkī*, *šā ištēt ammatu lān-šū*, *il bīti*) in the (winged) gods of the palace reliefs. It remains here to rebut the proposed identification of the god with the raised fist of the palace reliefs (Kolbe Type XVI, Reade *BaM* 10 36), the Kleinplastik, and the amulets, with the *il bīti*.

Green *Iraq* 45 92 compares a line-up at doorways in the North Palace at Niniveh involving the god under consideration, the *ugallu*, and the *lahmu* (*Iraq* 45 Pl. XIId) with the sequence *il bīti-ugallu-lahmu* in text II Obv. 38ff. (figures 10–11–12 of this text). On the basis of these comparable sequences, he hesitantly identifies the god with the raised fist with the *il bīti*. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 223f. discusses the same equation, but rejects the identification. We collect the counterarguments here:

- 1 The sequence *il bīti-ugallu-lahmu* in text II is purely coincidental. The *il bīti* is the last god of tamarisk; text II changed the material of the *ugallu* from clay to tamarisk, and shifted the *ugallu* accordingly (cf. above 3.16). After relocation of the *apkallū* of clay (in text II described after the *ūmu-apkallū*), the first figure of clay is the *lahmu*. For further discussion of the different sequences in I and II see below II.A.5.A.
- 2 The sequence god with raised fist-*ugallu-lahmu* on reliefs is purely coincidental. On reliefs and amulets (but perhaps not in the Kleinplastik), the god with the raised fist is completely dependent on the *ugallu*. He never occurs alone. The *ugallu*, with or without this god, is the most generally attested apotropaic figure. In the North Palace he appears together with dogs of clay (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 15.1.1–5, Room S entrance b), with the *urmahlullū* (Room T entrance b, Room F), and with the *lahmu*.
- 3 The description of the *il bīti* does not match the “god with the raised fist” (cf. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 223f.).

The following arguments lead to a more positive result:

- 1 The god with the raised fist does not appear only on reliefs; he is attested also in the Kleinplastik (cf. Green *Iraq* 45 92⁴³): Rittig *Kleinplastik* 44ff. 1.2.1.1 (arms broken, unarmed?; different garment, different hairdo), 1.2.1.1 (right hand broken, unarmed?; different garment, but with naked upper body, like the god of the reliefs; found together with a clay figure in lion's pelt *Kleinplastik* 13.1.2), 1.2.1.4 (different garment), 1.2.1.6–7 (*Iraq* 45 95 XIc (different garment)); Rittig *Kleinplastik* 211ff. restores weapons in all cases, and adduces the gods of tamarisk of ritual I/II for comparison. Whether the figures were armed or not, the gods of

tamarisk should not be adduced for comparison as long as two gods of clay are still unidentified: Lulal and Latarak (II.A.3. 21 and 22).

- 2 Two of the figures of the god with the raised fist (1.2.1.1, 1.2.1.4) show traces of blue paint; besides dogs differentiated from their peers by colour, and fish-*apkallū* from Urartu (*Kleinplastik* 225f), the colour blue is used only for these figures. This corresponds to the colour prescriptions for the figures of clay in the ritual: blue is used for a dog and for Lulal (cf. above 54f.). The text does not prescribe an attribute for Lulal.
- 3 Since there is no necessity to restore weapons in the hands of the adduced clay figures, we may just as well restore them after the well attested “god with the raised fist” of the reliefs, and identify the two. The unarmed clay god must be identified with one of the unarmed gods of clay in the ritual, Lulal or Latarak. The colour decides in favour of Lulal. Minor differences between the god of the palace reliefs and the amulets and the god of the *Kleinplastik* can be left out of consideration.
- 4 On the palace reliefs and the amulets Lulal appears *only* together with the *ugallu*. Ritual I/II prescribes a burial place “in the back corners of the courtyard”, which may have been near the *ugallu*, buried in the passages (of the gate). The figures of the *Kleinplastik* come from unclear or unspecified contexts and may or may not have been buried together with, or near an *ugallu*.

Appearances of Lulal on amulets: *Lamaštu* amulet 1, 3, 5, 37 (here without *ugallu*), *Saggs AfO* 19 123ff. Fig. 3, *Klengel MIO* 7 334ff after no 40, *Hall Sculpture* Pl. LX BM 91899 (cf. *Frank LSS* III/3 4, 10, 52, 84¹), *Frank LSS* III/2 4 Relief F (Taf. 1. 2 cf. p. 6, 51), *Sollberger MGBM* 8/II 2 (cf. *Wilhelm ZA* 69 34 ff. ex. F), *Böhl JEOL* 1-5 463 Pl. XXXVIIIj. On bronze bell: *Jastrow Bilder* no 70. As bronze figure: *Kleinplastik* 21.2 (together with *ugallu*). On *kudurru*'s: *Seidl BaM* 4 194.

The god Latarak is the last remaining unidentified figure of clay of ritual I/II (for the other figures cf. below VII.C.11). All that we know of his appearance is that it was not completely human (II.A.3.22). Latarak must be identified with one of the remaining unidentified clay monsters of the *Kleinplastik*. They are:

- 1 Löwenmensch (*Kleinplastik* 13).
- 2 Janus-figure having both human and leonine faces (*Kleinplastik* 21.1, cf. *Green Iraq* 45, 91, 95, Pl. XIIb).

We base our choice for 1) on the following argument:

- a Figure 2) is unique, figure 1) is well attested (cf. *Green Iraq* 45 91 with previous literature).
- b In accordance with the prescription of the ritual, the lion man *Kleinplastik* 13.1.2 is painted black.
- c In lexical lists *urgulū*, denoting the regular lion (cf. below II.A.5.c), is equated with Latarak (cf. *AHw* 1429a, *Cavigneaux Texts from Babylon* I 105:10). This points to leonine features for Latarak.

The mention of a figurine of the “daughter of Anu” (*Lamaštu*) next to a figurine of Latarak in a *NAss* letter (*Parpolo LAS* 218 Rev. 3ff., cf. *LAS* 2 212) possibly indicates a ritual in which *Lamaštu* is chased away by Latarak; the same ritual is exemplified on *Lamaštu* amulet 2 (cf. *Ellis Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 76 Figs. 3, 4) where a lion-man holding a whip, Latarak, chases away *Lamaštu*.

B Statues in the private rooms; the apkallū, "sages"

In the bedroom (*kummu*, cf. III.B.6), the "place of life" (AAA 22 88:146f.), at the head of the bed of the threatened man, the seven anthropomorphic *ūmu-apkallū*, the "leading sages" (cf. II.A.3.1), are stationed. The seven bird-*apkallū* are buried against the wall at the head of the bed, but in an adjoining room (uncertain, cf. II.A.3.9). At the threshold of the bedroom seven fish-*apkallū* guard the entrance; two further groups of seven fish-*apkallū* are buried in front of, and behind the chair. The chair may have been in the bedroom or perhaps rather in an adjoining living-room or dining-room (the furniture of a dining room in the Neo-Assyrian period has been studied by K. Deller and I. Finkel in ZA 74 86f.; it includes a *kussiu*, "chair", but no bed).

Material: the *ūmu-apkallū* are made of *e'ru*, a kind of wood well known for its magical properties, but as yet not identified with certainty; Thompson *DAB* 298f.: "Laurel", *CAD* E 318ff.: a variety of *cornel* (followed by *AHw* 247a), Salonen *Wasserfahrzeuge* 99, 152: "Lorbeer" (cf., Oppenheim *Eames* 54⁷¹), Civil apud Landsberger *Datepalm* 26⁷⁷: "(dwarf)ash" (followed by *CAD* M/1 221a, M/2 220b, S 202a, *AHw* 676a), see further Sollberger *Genava* 26 61 and Snell *Ledgers and Prices* 211. In the incantation UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGAL.LA (cf. text III.C), that accompanies the fabrication of the statues of the *ūmu apkallū*, the *e'ru* of which they are to be made is called: *gīš*HUL.DÚB.BA *gīš*NAM.TILLA, "mace that hits evil (cf. Grayson *Iraq* 37 69), wood of life" (AAA 22 88:152f.). Analogous to the designation of the tamarisk of which the gods were made as the "bone of divinity" (above A), the designation of the material of the *ūmu apkallū* reveals something of their character: they chase evil away, and procure life. Probably relevant is the "mystical" commentary (cf. below note 3c)¹ *gīš*TUKUL MANU: VII *u₄-mu* *gīš*TUKUL ^dAMAR.UTU, "the mace of *e'ru*: the seven *ūmu*-demons, the mace of Marduk". Here "the mace of *cornel*" may refer to the seven *ūmu-apkallū* holding an *e'ru* stick or mace in their right hands. In straight-forward ritual contexts (notes 2, 13c, d, e) "mace of *cornel*" is rather an alternative designation of the *e'ru* (stick/mace) itself. The *ūmu-apkallū* certainly did not belong to the *bīnūt apsē*, "creatures of *apsū*" (I 144); they probably did not belong to the *bīnūt šamē*, "creatures of heaven", either, since the preceding designation *šalmī annūti*, "these statues", refers to the statues of tamarisk made the same day, and not to the statues of *cornel* made the day before (I 143). The line closing the description of the statues of *cornel* does not contain a general term analogous to I 143 closing the tamarisk section; perhaps I 28 did contain such a term, or perhaps no such term was used.

The bird- and fish-*apkallū* are made of clay, and are included among the *bīnūt apsē*, "the creatures of *apsū*" (I 144). They and the other statues of clay are the *šalmū sākip lemnūti ša Ea u Marduk*, "the statues repelling the evil ones, of Ea and Marduk", stationed in the house "to expel the foot of evil" (I 160f. 165f.). The bird- and fish-*apkallū* are separated, however, from the other figures of clay by a line indicating the end of a section (I 183). In text I the clay of the bird-*apkallū* is mixed with wax.

¹ For the notes see p. 79ff.

Attributes:

ATTRIBUTES			
Name	Material	Right	left
ūmu-apkallū	cornel	<i>e'ru</i>	breast
bird-apkallū	clay(& wax)	<i>mullilu</i>	<i>banduddū</i>
fish-apkallū	clay	<i>mullilu</i>	<i>banduddū</i>
fish-apkallū	clay	<i>libbi gišimmari</i>	breast
fish-apkallū	clay	<i>urigallu</i>	breast

— *banduddū*, “bucket”. *Banduddū* unquestionably denotes the bucket held by many figures of the reliefs, cf. Frank *LSS* III/3 67¹, Zimmern *ZA* 35 151, Smith *JRAS* 1926 709¹³, Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 77, Madhloom *Chronology* 109ff., Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* Type IIA, VI, IIB, IIC. The object is attested also in the hands of clay figures: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 70ff. (bird-apkallū), 80ff. (fish-apkallū), 98f. (*kusarikku*). Two buckets from Babylon belonged to unknown figures of wood. The actual figures always carry the bucket with their left hand; the texts prescribe the *banduddū* for the left hand when another object is held in the right hand. When a figure does not hold a second object, the hand with which to hold the *banduddū* is not specified (*kusarikku*, cf. also text V i 12'; *urmahlullū*, text VI Col. B:31). Only *Ensimaḥ* in the divergent “*Göttertypentext*” (*MIO* 1 76 v 21) holds the *banduddū* in his right hand. The *banduddū* bucket is not to be confused with the “flowing vase”, called *hegallu*, “abundance”, in Akkadian (*MIO* 1 106 vi 8). In rituals the *banduddū* was filled with water (cf. *CAD* B 97f.): the exorcist imitates Marduk, who, on the advise of Ea, takes water from the “mouth of the twin rivers”, casts his spell over it, and sprinkles it over the sick man: *VAS* 17 1 i 21ff. (OB) reads: *gⁱb a - a n - d u₈ - d u₈ gⁱa - lā gⁱš - G A M¹ - m a šu u m - t i - e n / i d k a - m i n - n a a* What follows is barely readable, but the section ends with: (26') a *u - m u - e - s*ū. In the translation the broken lines have been restored after the late parallels *KAR* 91 Rev. 1ff. and *CT* 17 26 64ff. (bilingual): “take the bucket, the hoisting device with the wooden bail, bring water from the mouth of the twin rivers (cf. Falkenstein *ZA* 45 32 ad *CT* 17 26 65), over that water cast your holy spell, purify it with your holy incantation, and sprinkle that water over the man, the son of his god”. The effect of sprinkling the holy water is the “release” (*ptr*) of the threatened man (cf. *Šurpu* VIII 41; K 8005+ 33, quoted by Zimmern *BBR* 157^m and *CAD* B 79b). The connection between “*banduddū*” and “release” (*ptr*) may have been reinforced by etymological speculation (*d u₈* = *pāṭāru*). The *gⁱb a - a n - d u₈ - d u₈* was originally a reed (determinative GI) container (*b a - a n*, cf. Oppenheim *Eames* 10²⁸, Steinkeller *OrNS* 51 359) used to carry liquids (*VAS* 17 1 i 21', cf. *Civil Studies Oppenheim* 87); as such it was coated with bitumen: *d u₈*, “to caulk” (Oppenheim *Eames* 85, Falkenstein *NSGU* 3 110). A *b a - a n - d u₈ - d u₈* could be made of metal as well (cf. *CAD* B 79b). The Neo-Assyrian bucket was occasionally still decorated with an imitation of basket-work design, but in fact apparently made of metal (cf. Madhloom *Chronology* 110f., Stearns *AfOB* 15 25⁴⁴).

- *mullilu*, “purification instrument” (literally: “cleaner”). When it is agreed upon that a word denoting the cone, the most common object in the hands of the bird-*apkallū* and the fish-*apkallū*, must appear among the terms denoting objects held by the *apkallū* in ritual I/II, this word can only be *mullilu*. The identification of *mullilu* as denoting the cone is based on the observation that the cone on reliefs, seals and in the *Kleinplastik* never occurs as the only object held by an *apkallu*; thus *e'ru*, *libbi gišimmar*, and *urigallu*, the other objects held by an *apkallu*, are excluded. Klengel-Brandt (*FuB* 10 34⁸⁷, cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 215²) thinks *mullilu* denotes “eine Art kurzen Wedel ... der hauptsächlich zum besprengen mit Wasser benutzt worden ist”, and identifies it with the cone. Correctly, but without justification, Parker (*Essays Wilkinson* 33) states that *mullilu*, “purifier”, “may be the cone-shaped object carried by the genii”. Unclear is *BBR* 26 v 39ff. (restored from 28:9, quoted by *CAD* M/2 189a), where the king carries a *mullilu* in his right *and* in his left hand. Never, on seals, reliefs or as a statue, does a figure carry a cone in both his left and his right hand.

The identity of the cone is still being debated: male inflorescence of the date-palm, or cone of a coniferous tree (cf., with previous literature, Stearns *AfOB* 15 24⁴³). In a recent study, the second option is hesitantly favoured (Bleibtreu, *Flora* 61f., 93f., 123f.). The Akkadian term *mullilu* does not give a clue. From a philological point of view the fir-cone (*terinnu*) is preferable to the male inflorescence of the date-palm (*rikbu*, cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 19): *terinnu* is attested as an instrument bringing about the release of sin (*Maqlū* I 24, cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 14³⁷) and thus resembles the other objects carried by the *apkallu*. For *rikbu* no such use is known.

Regarding cone and bucket, we conclude with the following:

- a The bucket is always carried in the left hand. The other hand may be empty, or may carry a variety of objects, such as the sprig (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type VI), which occur also in the hands of figures not carrying buckets. The value of the bucket in the ritual cannot be dependent on the objects held in the other hand. The bucket, or rather its content, is effective simply by being present.
- b One object, the cone, appears only when the figure in question carries a bucket in its left hand. The value of the cone must in some way be dependent on the value of the bucket.
- c The texts indicate that the bucket contained holy water effectuating “release”. As was proposed before, the dependent cone “purifier” (*mullilu*) held in the right hand activated the holy water: it was a sprinkler (Klengel-Brandt, Rittig, *CAD* M/1 189a).
- d The figures carrying buckets (and cones) are engaged in a purification ritual. As will be seen below, this accords well with their function of *apkallu*.
- e Figures carrying cones point their cone at the sacred tree, the king, or courtiers (Stearns *AfOB* 15 64f.). Figures standing in doorways and apparently pointing their cones at nothing, are perhaps best thought of as pointing their cones at passing visitors, just as the weapons and the gestures of greeting are directed at the visitors, and not at the building.
- f The sacred tree benefits from the activities of the genii, the genii do not need the tree, cf. Stearns *AfOB* 15 70ff. It is not necessary to understand the meaning of the tree in order to understand the meaning of the figures with bucket and cone. For the tree we refer to Porada *AASOR* 24 108ff., Madhloon *Sumer* 26 137ff., Stearns *AfOB* 15 70ff. Genge *AcOr* 33 321ff., Hrouda *BaM* 3 41ff., Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 83ff., Bleibtreu *Flora* 37ff., and passim, Parker *Essays Wilkinson* 38. For a doubtful connection with the texts, cf. van Dijk *Syncretism* 175 f., and *Lugal* I 10 ff. (see below 000).

- *e'ru*, “cornel (-stick)”, *ša appa u išdē išātu kabbu*, “charred at both ends” (I 46), is held by the *ūmu-apkallū*. The *e'ru* stick, often defined as “charred at both

ends" (notes 1, 3, 5a, 7b, 8), is held by the exorcist, imitating Marduk, in his left hand (note 4), by the *šūt kappī* (note 12a), by the *šūt kakkī* (note 12c), and by the *suhurmāšu* (note 12b). It may also be erected (note 13a), or placed near to or on the head of the threatened person (notes 2, 3, 5a, 5b, 5c, 6, 13d?). It protects the exorcist against the forces of evil (notes 8,9), purifies the body on behalf of the gods (note 6), puts to flight evil (*UET* 6 56:64; ends of incantation 1, 2, 5, 7c, 8, 9); when addressed as a tree it gives protection, "sweet shade" (note 7a). The nature of the *e'ru* stick was determined by Ea (note 5a) or the great gods (note 7a, cf. 6); it is the "august mace of An" (notes 1, 5b, 8, 9), the "strong mace of the gods" (note 7a), and the "mace that hits evil of the *u d u g/rābīšu*-gods" (notes 5a,6) or of the "*u d u g/rābīšu*-god of An" (note 4). It was apparently An or his deputy (*rābīšu*) who guaranteed the effect of the *e'ru* stick. The *e'ru* stick is attested in magical use already in the OB period (cf. 7c, Geller *UHF* index s.v. *m a-n u*).

Oppenheim, *Eames* 54⁷¹, on the basis of Akkadian translations (he quotes *hattu*, *hutāru*, *šabbitu*, *martū*) and Ur III usage, defined *e'ru* as "(wooden) stick, staff"; *CAD* E 320a as: "a native hardwood used primarily for making sticks". The only attempt at identifying the magical *e'ru* sticks is Kilmer's in *JAOS* 89 374; she identifies the *e'ru* object with the stick (?) in the hands of Marduk (?) on Weidner *Gestirndarstellungen* Pl. 2. Even if this identification, based on conjectures and assumptions, proves to be correct, it would not bring us much further than the philological determination "stick, staff", since the drawing is small and unclear. The use of the *e'ru* object in magical contexts was discussed briefly by Frank *LSS* III/3 69f. The texts quoted below in the notes give additional information on the nature of the *e'ru* object, be it with pain.

The denotation "stick of *cornel*" is confirmed by the subscript of an incantation (note 8) concerning *gišMA.NU*, referring to the object also as *gišPA gišMA.NU*, "staff/stick of *cornel*" (cf. note 12b). This stick is a weapon (*kakku*, note 12c), more specifically a mace (*kakku*, when used as the description of a specific object: cf. note 2, 13c, d, e; probably also when defined by a complement: 1, 2, 5b, 7a, 8, 9), that is: a stick for hitting. Accordingly the *e'ru* is called a *gišh u l - d ú b - b a*, "a wooden mace for hitting the evil one(s)", cf. Grayson *Iraq* 37 69 for a *NAss na⁴haltappū*, a "mace to hit the evil one(s)", with a stone head (inscription on a mace head; see Reiner *AfO* 24 102:8 for the translation *lemnūti nuppušu* in a late commentary). The texts quoted below (note 4, 5a, 6) indicate that not only the exorcist held the *hultappū* mace (cf. *CAD* H 53a: [ša²] *haltappē* = *āšipu*), but also the *u d u g/rābīšu*, "deputy (god)". Our suspicion that the mace is the sign of office of the divine deputy, and that the divine deputy appears as the "god with the mace" on OB (and later peripheral) seals, must be substantiated elsewhere.

- *libbi gišimmari* (*giššā* GIŠIMMAR, ŠĀ *giš* GIŠIMMAR, *giš* PEŠ GIŠIMMAR, PEŠ *giš* GIŠIMMAR cf. below note 14), "offshoot of the date palm" (cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 14, 26f., 42), is held by the second group of fish-apkallū; it is held also by the *šūt kappī* (note 12a) or (a figurine of) the threatened man (notes 11, 12e); together with the *e'ru* stick it can be placed near to or at his head (notes 3, 5c). The mystical identification of the "offshoot of the date palm" with Du-

muzi (note 10) does not help in determining its ritual function. Although the offshoot of the date palm is held together with the *e'ru* stick by the exorcist (*apkallu*, *šūt kappi*), it does not benefit him, but rather the threatened person at whose head it is laid. Leaving aside ritual I/II where the *apkallū* act in unison, the exorcist never carries only an offshoot of the date palm, and it does not occur in the incantation in which he legitimizes himself as “man” of the gods of white magic; when the exorcist holds it, it is only to bring it to the threatened person. The threatened person on the other hand may hold only an offshoot of the date palm, and its effect is expected to be the removal of his sins (note 10). The present evidence thus indicates that the *e'ru* stick/mace identifies its bearer, the exorcist or the god or sage he imitates, and the threatened person, as protected by the gods of white magic, especially Ea, while the date palm offshoot is a magical device to remove sin. Only one text (note 6) where the *e'ru* is called *mubbib zumri*, “that purifies the body”, does not seem to fit; it must be noted, however, that when, as here, a weapon (*kakku*) purifies the body, it does so by force. Purification here probably refers to the result of putting to flight evil, which fears the *e'ru* mace and its bearer. The mace, identifying its bearer as deputy of the authorities empowered to bring order by force (*u d u g/ rābisu*), neatly contrasts with the staff (*hattu*) identifying its bearer as *sukkallu*, deputy of the central authorities in more peaceful matters

— *ara gišimmari*, “frond of the date palm” (cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 25f.) does not occur in ritual I/II (or in other rituals) in the hands of the *apkallū*. It does occur, however, in the hands of the intruders of texts II Rev. 9–10, and in those of the possibly comparable figures of text IV/1 ii 6'f. (cf. II.A.2 Rev. 9f.). In view of the similarities with *e'ru* and *libbi gišimmari* it is best discussed here. The date palm frond is torn out by ^{di}g i-s i g₇-s i g₇, the gardener of Anu (note 5b, cf. *CAD* N/2 327a, and *PBS* 10/4 12 // *BBR* 27 ii 14, where the same god “gardener of Enlil” is linked with the *mullilu*). The verb *nasāhu*, “to tear out” (cf. for *libbi gišimmari* *nasāhu* Landsberger *Date Palm* 26b), used here unexpectedly with *ara*, and the subscript (*Iraq* 42 29:88 cf. 40 ad 88 for variant) mentioning ^{gi}_{is}p e š *gišimmari* instead of ^{gi}_{is}p a *gišimmari* as expected, leave room for doubt as to the correctness of the textual transmission. A plausible reconstruction would replace ^{gi}_{is}p a *gišimmari* in 65 with ^{gi}_{is}p e š *gišimmari*, omit 73f. (properly at home in the next incantation 115ff. after ^{gi}_{is}p a), and correct the subscript 88 to: *ka-inim-ma* ^{gi}_{is}p e š *gišimmari sag-lú-tu-ra gá-gá-dá-k e₄* (cf. the subscripts 1, 50, and the description of this action in 71). This reconstruction also gives meaning to the sequence of incantations in this tablet: first 5a treating the *e'ru* stick, then 5b treating *libbi gišimmari* and repeating the *e'ru* stick, and finally 5c treating *ara gišimmari* and repeating the *e'ru* stick and *libbi gišimmari*. For these reasons, we take 5c to be the proper incantation for the date palm frond: subscript: *ka-inim-ma...pa* ^{gi}_{is}g *gišimmari lú-tu-ra á-šu-gír-bi k e š-ká m*, “incantation: ... for binding the limbs of the sick man with date palm frond” (*Iraq* 42 30:127). Marduk (/the exorcist) is advised by Ea to split (*salātu*) a date palm frond and bind it on the limbs of the sick man; it will keep *n a m - ú š - h u l /mūtu lemnu*, “evil death”, and *s a g - g i g - g a / di'u*, “*di'u* disease”, away. In (4), a similar incantation, Marduk (/the exorcist) is

urged to hit the bed of the sick man with the date palm frond which he holds in his right hand. The object is attested in the hands of the exorcist (and perhaps in the hands of the *ešebū*, below notes 9, 12d); in this context it is called *ša parsī rabūti* (note 9), “with important (divine) assignment”. It is also held by the figurine of a sick man (note 12d), and used among other things in a ritual reported in a *NAss* letter (note 13b).

— *urigallū*, “great protector”, is held by the members of the third group of fish-*apkallū*. *Urigallu* is a loan from Sumerian, and literally means “great (gal) protector (ùri)”. The determinative GI indicates that an *urigallu* was at least partly made of reed. In our ritual clay models may have been used. Sumerian *ùri*, “protector” (Landsberger *WZKM* 57 16f., Edzard *CRRAI* 20 160f., Alkhalesi *Mesopotamia* 12 64f.), sometimes made partly of copper (cf. Cooper *R4* 76 191 ad Biggs *AOAT* 25 39), denotes a type of standard “mit darauf gesetzten deutlich und weithin sichtbare Aufsatz” (Edzard), perhaps originally or especially the gate-post (“Bügelschaft”), the object depicted by the sign *ÙRI* (cf. Falkenstein *ATU* 59, Heinrich *Bauwerke* 32, 37, Thureau-Dangin *ZA* 18 130). Since the gate-post disappears from Babylonian art after the OB period (During Caspers *JEOL* 22 211ff.), while the word *urinnu* remains in use, *ùri* must have denoted other standards beside the gate-post. Like later *urigallu*, the Sumerian *ùri* was “set up”, *dù* (*zaqāpu*), cf. *Gudea Cyl. A* XX:1, *SGL* 1 13:45, *BL* 43:3, 44:3 and duplicates, *Iraq* 13 28:34, *AWL* 175 ad vi 1, 389 ad ii 1 (on a field), *ASKT* 12 Obv. 13. There seems to be no reason to suppose that *ùri-gal* was anything else than a bigger or more important *ùri*. If *íd-ur₁₆ùru-gal*, *íd-UD.NUN* and *íd-NUN* all denote the same canal *Iturungal* (see *RGTC* 2 271), the signs *UD.NUN* and *NUN*, originally denoting standards differing from the gate-post, spell the word /u r u g a l/, showing that /u r u g a l/ (also spelled *urì-gal*) is not limited to one type of protective standards. The protection (a n - d ù l, cf. below on the incantations of *bīt mēseri*) and shadow (*gissu*) of an *ùri-gal* are referred to in a Sumerian myth (*EWO* 166, cf. Benito “*Enki and Ninmah*” and “*Enki and the World Order*” 94); four ²*ùri-gal* in an OB Sumerian incantation (*OECT* 5 19:19) appear in a context similar to that of ritual I/II and other late rituals: after the bed of the sick man, and before a god “lord of the door”. The OB God List *TCL* 15 10:325 (cf. also *AS* 16 22) includes a god *ùri-gal* replaced in the canonical successor (*An-Anum*, *CT* 24 10:8) by *ùri-maš^{zū-ru-ma-dī}*, “twin protective standard”, “throne-bearer of Enlil”. A *ùri-maš* is also attested in the OB list (*TCL* 15 10:128), and *ùri-bar*, “outside protective standard”, is found in an OB temple (*UET* 6 195 Rev. 22, inventory of objects in a temple). Other deified standards, no doubt originally real standards in the temples of their respective gods, appear in the god lists as *sukkallu*, “messenger” (*CT* 25 19:8), and *nāgiru rabū*, “chief herald” (*CT* 24 26:124); these functions indicate that on certain occasions deified standards could represent the god outside of the temple. The identification with Šamaš in *CT* 25 25:21 is probably evidence for the existence of a standard tipped with a sun disk, the symbol of Šamaš (cf. Thureau-Dangin *RAcc* 116², Borger *ABZ* 427). The two moveable *urigallū* of *RAcc* 114:8 are certainly deified standards of some sort, part of the temple equipment (cf. *R4* 41 33:3). The phrase *DN₁*/

DN₂...^(gi) ù r i - g a l - b i h é - a, "may DN₁/DN₂... be its (of the stable) protective standard" (*KAR* 91 Obv. 28, Rev. 8), at the end of two incantations, shows that the effect of a protective standard was enhanced by identification with a god. *Urigallū* of gods (Adad, Nergal or Šamaš cf, Borger *ABZ* 427, Menzel *AT* I 276) on chariots accompany the Assyrian army (cf. *AHw* 1430a); they are probably to be identified with the symbol tipped poles attested in Neo-Assyrian art (Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 106f., Pl. 30/3, 4; cf. Reade *Iraq* 34 96, Meissner *BuA* I 92f., Weidner *AfO* 17 278 ad 53). The spelling ^dÙRIGAL for Nergal (*ABZ* 138, 419, 427) may have been prompted by the identification of the god with the standard of his chariot (cf. von Weiher *Nergal* 100⁴, Menzel *AT* I 276 with note 3709).

In rituals (cf. already *OECT* 5 19:19 quoted above) the *urigallū* are set up to form a magical enclosure; this is clear in *bīt mēseri* where fourteen *urigallū* surround the sick man on all sides (text III.B.4f.). When used to build a magical enclosure in an open field (cf. Caplice *OrNS* 36 30), the *urigallū* were apparently rather voluminous bundles of reed (cf. the unpublished text quoted by Reiner *Šurpu* 61a); they have been plausibly identified (Meissner *MAOG* 8 19, Parpola *LAS* 2 198f.) with covers of reed bundles appearing on certain seals (Muscarella *Ladders to Heaven* no 86, Meissner *MAOG* 8 18 Abb. 13, *AfO* 10 161). Such bundles are far too big for the hands of the *apkallū*, and unnecessarily large for use inside the roofed house.

Unlike the magical weapons and purifiers treated above, the *urigallū* in rituals represent gods or nameless beings. This clearly stems from the "names" given to each of the *urigallū* in *bīt mēseri* (III.B.4f.). Seven of the *urigallū* in the bedroom represent gods: Ea, Marduk, Ninurta, Nergal, Nuska, Usmû, and Madānu. Since, with the possible exception of *CT* 16 7:245, the *urigallū* are unaccounted for in the incantations legitimizing the exorcist and his tools, it is tempting to connect the *urigallū* representing gods with the gods accompanying and protecting the exorcist in an incantation like 8 below. The other seven *urigallū* in the bedroom are named by their function; they are life-giving and protective "forces". Only one of them has a name: Enkum.

Enkum and his wife Ninkum (but cf. *JCS* 21 11:26+a: *Ninkum ebbu*) are servants at the court of Enki; their function there is not very clear, but the few times that they appear it is mostly together with an *apkallū*: *EWO* 103, *VAS* 17 13:6, *CT* 17 47 106ff. (with Adapa, cf. Geller *UHF* 56f.), *JCS* 21 11:25+ af, *BiOr* 30 170:18f., or in a magical context: *UET* 6 63 Rev. 8, *JCS* 33 90:133, *CT* 17 23:164. Besides being the name of a specific god, *enku m / ninkum* can also be a functionary in the human (cf. *CAD* E 168, N/2 239, *TCS* 3 174:112) or divine (Faber-Flügge *Studia Pohl* 10 p 11) world. An uncertain explanation of the presence of Enkum in the bedroom (*kunnu*) would refer to the unproved analysis of the word *enku m* as /e n - k u m/, "Lord bedroom" (van Dijk *OrNS* 44 60²⁰, already Jensen *Kosmologie* 491).

The seven *urigallū* in the gate (III.B.12) are also named by their functions, but unlike those in the bedroom they are all defensive. Three of them are door-keepers: *lú - si - g a r - r a / ša šigari*, "he of the bolt", *lú - k á - n a / ša bābi*, "he of the gate", *lú - a b u l - l a / ša abulli*, "he of the entrance gate". Besides by their names, the function of the standards in the bedroom is also revealed by a general statement: their protection (*a n - d ú l / sulūlu*) is life (III.B.4 = *AfO* 14 148:164f.). We may safely assume that the function of the *urigallū* in the hands

of the *apkallu* of ritual I/II was the same as that of the *urigallū* of *bīt mēseri*, where they accompany *apkallū* in the bedroom and at the gate: to protect life against intruding evil. The mystical identification with ^dVII.BI, the great gods, the sons of Išhara (text III.D cf. the comments of Ebeling *TuL* 80, Laessøe, *Bīt Rimki* 86 and Parpola *LAS* 2 189f.), does not add to this definition.

No group of seven objects or figures on the palace reliefs comes into consideration for identification with the erected *urigallū* of *bīt mēseri* (cf. III.B.4; the *urigallū* are represented by drawings). On another type of monuments with scenes narrowly related to ritual I/II and *bīt mēseri*, a group of seven figures that might conceivably be the seven personified *urigallū* does occur. On Lamaštu amulets a group of seven (amulets 1, 2, 4, 36, 50, 63) or six (amulet 2, Saggs *AfO* 19 123ff. Fig. 3) human-bodied, animal-headed demons appears. Their right fists are raised in a gesture which, by analogy with the raised fist of Lulal, we would like to view as defensive. They are supernatural powers supporting the sick man and the *apkallu*, both present on the amulets as well, against evil. The alternative view, that the right hand is raised in attack and the seven figures mean to harm the sick man, cannot be totally excluded. Indeed, the identification with the seven evil *utukkū* proposed by Frank should be considered an open possibility in that case. Frank's (*LSS* III/3 11ff.) reasons for identifying this group with the *utukkū*, however, were insufficient (discussed by Seidl *BaM* 4 173f., Rittig *Kleinplastik* 91, 105, 110, Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 111f.). In a quite atypical passage Frank (32), discovered an *utukku* attacking the neck. He concluded — illogically — that the lion-demon called “crusher of the neck of evil” (cf. above text I/4 note to 7^a; uncertain reading) is an *utukku*. The lion-demon, however, is now safely identified with the *ugallu* (cf. II.A.3.16). Even those who, in spite of the illogical inference, in spite of the different owners of the neck (evil in the case of the lion-demon and the sick man in the case of the *utukku*), and in spite of a doubtful reading and the generally atypical character of the quoted texts, still choose to follow Frank (Seidl, Rittig, Kolbe), did not follow him in his next conclusion: the lion-demon/*utukku* is to be identified with the lion-headed figure *without* bird's claws on the amulets (both figures regularly appear together on the amulets). Later (*MAOG* 14/2 33) Frank thought his conclusion to be confirmed by the “Unterweltsvision”, in which the *utukku* has the head of a lion and the hands and feet of Anzû, and can therefore be identified neither with the lion-demon/*ugallu*, nor with the lion-headed figure in the row of “demons” on the Lamaštu amulets. Once the lion-headed figure was identified, Frank identified the other figures of the row with the other members of the seven evil *utukkū*.

If the seven figures of the amulets are considered to be beneficial, they are to be expected in rituals prescribing the use of their representations, ritual I/II, *bīt mēseri*, and similar texts treated below. One fact, unknown to Frank, throws a different light on these figures: on two amulets (19 mostly broken, 61) the human-bodied animal-headed figures are replaced by a row of seven staffs with animal heads (on amulet 25 perhaps by a row of seven triangles). Within the present reach of knowledge, the only group of seven which comes into consideration for representation by animal-headed staffs or “humanized

animal-headed staffs" — if we may thus interpret the evidence — is the group of seven personified *urigallū*. This identification must remain tentative; new texts or fragments of already known texts may supply a better candidate.

Only ritual I/II prescribes that the *urigallū* be held in the hand, thus implying a limited distribution and a staff-like appearance for this type of *urigallū*. Even if the sprig, the frond, and the mace have been incorrectly identified, they certainly do not come into consideration for identification with the *urigallū*; the only object that does is the staff held by *apkallū* of the Kleinplastik (bird-*apkallu*: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 70, Waetzoldt *AfO* 28 134; fish-*apkallu*: *Kleinplastik* 85:8.4, 90). What is known of the *urigallu* in earlier ages does not definitively weigh against identification with a reed (determinative GI in text I/II, there executed in clay) pole or long staff; though with ring, "Aufsatz" or animal head, the gate posts of older art, the army standards and the staffs of the *Lamaštu* amulets could be adduced for comparison. The fact that the staffs of the *apkallū* in the Kleinplastik do not have separate personalities, however, remains a source of doubt as to the correctness of their identification as *urigallū*. Klengel-Brandt *FuB* 10 37¹⁰⁹ hesitantly identified a "bundle" in the hands of a fish-*apkallu* (further attestations Kawami *FuB* 16 12) with the *urigallū* of ritual I/II; Kawami *FuB* 16 12 calls this "bundle" "stalks of vegetation", and identifies — hesitantly — the frond² incised next to the hand with the *urigallū*. She compares this object with a reed postulated to have fitted into the holes in the hands of certain fish-*apkallū* (*FuB* 16 9⁶ = Rittig *Kleinplastik* 8.2). If, with Kawami, we view the "bundle" as "stalks of vegetation", it should probably not be dissociated from the various sprigs (*libbi gišimmari*) held by *apkallū* and functionally related gods on the palace reliefs. The incised object is perhaps a palm frond, but whatever it is, the history of *ù ri* (- g a l) as a longish, staff-like object makes it sufficiently clear that it cannot be an *urigallu*. As for the object to be postulated for the hole, we may perhaps refer to the short stick held by a fish-*apkallu* (*AAA* 18 Pl. LVIII, bucket in the other hand; also adduced above in connection with *mullilu*).

— *Identification of e'ru, libbi gišimmari and ara gišimmari.* Before we try and identify these words, we present a survey here of the objects in the hands of *apkallū* on reliefs, seals, and in the *Kleinplastik*. The survey is not meant to be complete. It is based on the recent treatments of Rittig (*Kleinplastik*), Kolbe (*Reliefprogramme*), and Reade (*BaM* 10 17ff.).

I *ūmu-apkallū*; anthropomorphic; winged (exceptions: Reade 38, Kolbe 49); headband.

	Kolbe	Reade	Rittig	Various	Right	Left
1	III	37	—	<i>CS</i> Pl. XXXVj, <i>Ward</i> 684	goat/deer	frond/sprig
2	IVA, B	37	—	<i>Ward</i> 688, <i>Iraq</i> 17 Pl XI/4	greets	sprig
3	VI	37	—	<i>Ward</i> 693, 696	greets/sprig	bucket
4			—	<i>Hrouda Kulturg.</i> 20/11	cone	bucket
5			—	<i>VAR</i> 676, <i>Iraq</i> 24 38:8	greets	mace

Kneeling: I/2 (Kolbe Pl. VII/2), I/5. Cf. Delaporte *Louvre* II 89/5.

Other activities: attacking animals or monsters: Unger *RIV* 8 207f., CS Pl. XXXVi, k, XXXVIf, XXXVIIa (wingless); on reliefs (incomplete): Meuszyński *Iraq* 38 Pl. XI, Sobolewski *AfOB* 19 329ff. Fig. 8. Chair-bearers: Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* 13/5. Cf. also Orthmann *Untersuchungen* 316f.

Kleinplastik: these figures are not expected in the Kleinplastik since they are made of wood; yet, perhaps the unduplicated figures 3.1.1–2, one with an inscription stressing life and wealth, should be mentioned here.

Lamaštu amulets: occasionally on Lamaštu amulets (2, 3, 5, 20², 29², 37/61) a figure wearing a shawl covering the legs, once clearly with headband (3, cf. the description *RA* 18 176), appears at the head or feet of the bed of the sick man, together with fish-apkallū (2, 5, 37) or alone (3, 61). His right hands greets (2², 3², 5², 61²) or holds an angular object, his left hand is placed on the bed (3, 61), on a censer (3, cf. Wiggermann apud Stol *Zwangerschap en Geboorte* 111) or holds a square object (37) or the bucket. He is never winged. Frank *LSS* III/3 who considered the fish-apkallū a dressed up priest, thought the second figure at the bed to be an assistant priest. Today we no longer view the fish-apkallū as priests, and accordingly the men at the bed are assistant apkallū rather than assistant priests. The “men” are clearly involved in activities similar to those of the fish-apkallū, and the texts prescribing the visual representations of beneficial supernatural powers do not offer another candidate for the identification of this apkallū-like figure than the ūmu-apkallū.

Identification of ūmu-apkallū on reliefs. The description and incantation of the ūmu-apkallū make it clear that they are anthropomorphic figures of human descent; the material they are made of also distinguishes them from the gods and the monsters and apkallū of non-human lineage. That the horns of divinity are lacking in the description then is not a coincidence (as it is in the case of the *il biti*). On amulets, in a context clearly defined by the bed of the sick man and the presence of fish-apkallū, only one figure is available for identification with the ūmu-apkallū (see above); this figure serves as a check on any identification of the ūmu-apkallū in the less clear context of the palace reliefs. There is no reason why the ūmu-apkallū must appear on reliefs; the text quoted by Reade *BaM* 10 38¹²⁷ may have belonged to fish- or bird-apkallū (text I/7). However, the apparent bearing of our rituals on the apotropaic subject-matter of the reliefs, and more specifically the presence of the bird- and fish-apkallū, leads us to expect them. Although ritual I/II prescribes specific attributes for each type of apkallū, the actual fish- and bird-apkallū of the Kleinplastik show that this specificity is a forced choice between a number of more or less equivalent attributes; we must not expect the ūmu-apkallū to have held only the object denoted by *e'ru*, whatever it is; the ūmu-apkallū of the Lamaštu amulets confirm this point. The *banduddū*, identified with certainty with the bucket, thus isolates two groups with anthropomorphic members: the (winged) figures with headband and the (winged) figures with horned tiara (we will return to them below). The other attributes of the members of both groups can be made to match the attributes of the apkallū known from the texts; the horned figures, however, must be gods, and since the apkallū are no gods, the figures with the headband should be the apkallū (so Reade *BaM* 10 37; differently Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 14ff., cf. 41f. 47, 50). The ūmu-apkallū of the Lamaštu-amulets confirms this identification: decisive is the headband defining this type of supernatural beings (this band with daisy-like flowers differs from the diadem with two strips of cloth pendant behind, worn by the king or the crown-prince, cf. Reade *Iraq* 29 46, *Iraq* 34 92f.). Unfortunately the headgear of the ūmu-apkallū is described only as *agē ramāni-šunu*, “crowns (cut out) of their own (wood)”; *agē* denotes a variety of functionally similar divine or royal headgears (*CAD* A/1 157a). The different dress of the apkallū of the Lamaštu amulets cannot be adduced against identification with the apkallū of the reliefs; differences in dress are attested for the bird-apkallū as well, cf. Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* Pl. IV/1 and 2, *Iraq* 33 Pl. XIV, Rittig *Kleinplastik* Fig. 20ff.; ūmu-apkallū with a shawl covering the legs appear on seals (*VAR* 675, probably *CANES* 705).

History. The name-like designations of the ūmu-apkallū are artificial and systematic; they do not even pretend to be historical realities. The names all start with ūmu / UD and may have been grafted on the *u-* and *pirig-* names of other apkallū (Güterbook ZA 42 10³, Hallo *JAOS* 83 175, Reiner *OrNS* 30 6). *Pirig* in these names is explained in a commentary to the diagnostic omens as *nūru* (*Pirig-gal-abzu = nūru rabū ša apsi*, *RA* 73 153:2, *OrNS* 30 3:18') and also Berossos' account of the activities of the first sage, Oannes (S. Mayer Burstein *SANE* 1/5 13f.), indicates that the common denominator of ūmu and *pirig* is “light” rather than a monstrous appearance; that personified ūmu denotes the personified day or weather, sometimes visualized as a lion (or leonine monster), in other contexts as well will be explained below (VII.C.4a). For this reason we have translated ūmu in the names of the ūmu-apkallū as “day”. The ūmu-apkallū were either antediluvian or postdiluvian sages; without definite proof, we prefer the former

possibility on the following grounds:

- 1 Names of postdiluvian sages are known from a number of sources (*JSC* 16 64ff., *UVB* 18 44:8ff., text III.B.8, Reiner *OrNS* 30 10) but no canonical list of seven has been formed.
- 2 If our ritual needed postdiluvian sages, it could have chosen from the known names; it would not have needed to invent names.
- 3 Postdiluvian sages are probably not prestigious enough to function as mythological foundation of exorcism.
- 4 The cities of the *ūmu-apkallū* (Ur, Nippur, Eridu, Kullab, Keš, Lagaš Šuruppak) can be considered to complement the cities of the fish-apkallū (Eridu, Bad-tibira, Larak, Sippar) as antediluvian centres.

The reason for the invention of a second group of antediluvian *apkallū*, attested only in ritual I/II and its close relatives (III.B. and III.C), may have lain in the necessity of mythologically underpinning the existence of a traditional Assyrian? apotropaic figure without appropriate credentials. Support for this view can be found in the combative character which they share with the bird-apkallū, but not with the fish-apkallū; the bird-apkallū are a similar group of Assyrian apotropaic figures, similarly underpinned, the fish-apkallū are genuinely Babylonian. The iconographic history of the *ūmu-apkallū* is in view of his human appearance difficult to trace; forerunners perhaps are the figures briefly discussed by Rittig *Kleinplastik* 28, and specimens from MAss times may possibly be found on the seals *Iraq* 17 Pl. X/3, *Iraq* 39 Pl. XXVII/2A, *XXIX/27*, *ZA* 47 55:5, 56:9.

Speculation. The name of the last *apkallu* before the flood, *ūmu ša ana šagši balāta inamdinu*, "day that gives life to the slain", could conceivably be a learned interpretation of the name of the last king of Šuruppak before the flood *zi-u-d-sù-ra*; using Babylonian methods (cf. J. Bottéro *Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 5ff.), *ud* gives *ūmu*, *še* ES of *zi* (for *še* 29) or *ra* (for *sag-giš-ra*) gives *šagšu*, *ra* gives *ana*, *zi* gives *balātu*, and *sù* (for *s um*) gives *nadānu*. That this possible derivation actually applies, however, cannot be proved.

II Bird-apkallū: griffin demon.

	Kolbe	Reade	Rittig	Various	Right	Left
1	IIB	39	5.3	passim (<i>CS</i> Pl. XXXIIe, Mass seal)	cone	bucket
2			5.1	cf. <i>BMQ</i> 36 Pl. LVI, <i>AfO</i> 28 134		staff
3			5.2	cf. <i>Iraq</i> 45 88 ⁸	breast	bucket
4			5.4	Mass seal: <i>Iraq</i> 39 261 14A here?	frond	bucket

Kneeling: Layard *Mon.* I Pl. 50/4 = Ravn *AfO* 16 243 (with cone and bucket). *Other activities:* attacking animals and monsters, cf. Frankfort *CS* 202; when attacking, the *ūmu-* and bird-apkallū do not hold the exorcising tools, but weapons, e. g. a sword (*CANES* 606, 607), a bow (*CANES* 610), an axe (Delaporte *Louvre* II 87/14b), a hook (*CANES* 765, 766, *VAR* 731), a scimitar (*Iraq* 33 Pl. XIVe, *CANES* 733), and a dagger (*CANES* 608). Holding heaven (?): *AASOR* 24 793, *AOAT* 27 222, *AfO* 28 38, *ZA* 52 189, 192f., Orthmann *Untersuchungen* 320ff. Tearing branch off "sacred tree" (*CANES* 609). On a garment: *Iraq* 33 Pl. XIVe. *Identification as apkallu on the basis of ritual I/II:* Smith *JRAS* 1926 709¹¹, Mallowan *Iraq* 16 87f., Rittig *Kleinplastik* 77¹, 215, Green *Iraq* 45 88, Reade *BaM* 10 39, Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 23, Parker *Essays Wilkinson* 33; sceptical, on insufficient grounds (cf. Rittig, Green, Parker): Stearns *AfOB* 15 26⁴⁴, Porada *AfO* 28 182 (cf. also *AASOR* 24 120f., *Akkadica* 13 5f.).

History: the griffin-demon does not stem from Babylonia; there he is attested first on the assyrianizing robe of Nabû-mukin-apli (cf. Brinkman *PHPKB* 171¹⁰³⁴, beginning of the 1st millennium) holding cone and bucket (King *BBSI* Pl. LXXIV); in Assyria, Syria, and the north he is attested much earlier (Parker *Essays Wilkinson* 33, Collon *AOAT* 27 222, on MAss seals: Klengel Brandt *FuB* 10 24^{38,39}), cf. Madhloom *Sumer* 20 57ff. Thus we are led to believe that a traditional northern hybrid with apotropaic functions was matched in Assyria with a traditional Babylonian literary figure with similar functions. In Babylonia, from MB onwards, the apotropaic *apkallū* were viewed as partly man and partly carp; in the early first millennium Babylonia takes over the bird-apkallū (*BBSI* Pl. LXXIV), and Assyria the fish-apkallū (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 87). The first

millennium magical texts of Babylonian origin had to accommodate these foreign apotropaic beings. The bird-apkallū are accommodated in *bīt mēseri* by a slight change of form and sequence of the names of the fish-apkallū (text III.B.10). In ritual I/II they are simply provided with the same incantation as the fish-apkallū.

III Fish-apkallu.

	Kolbe	Reade	Rittig	Various	Right	Left
1	IIC	38f.		Seal CS Pl XXXIIIj.	cone	bucket
2		36 ¹⁰⁹ ,39		L.-am. 37*	angular obj.	bucket
3				<i>AAA</i> 18 Pl. LVIII, cf. <i>FuB</i> 16 9	stick	bucket
4				<i>VAR</i> 638, 750, <i>CANES</i> 772f., L.-am. 5	greets	bucket
5			8.2	cf. <i>FuB</i> 16 9 (+stick ²), <i>Iraq</i> 45 89 ¹⁶	breast+ ² [stick]	bucket
6				<i>MBab</i> seal: <i>AfO</i> 28 57f. 30	frond	bucket
7			8.5	L.-am. 1; <i>R4</i> 16 109 V (seal)	sprig	bucket
8				<i>MAOG</i> 8/1 20:14 (seal)	dish	bucket
9				<i>Iraq</i> 17 99 Pl. XI/4 (seal)	greets	sprig
10				<i>AAS</i> 2 169ff. Pl. II (stele)	stick	sprig ²
11			8.4			staff
12				<i>CANES</i> 581 (Kassite seal)		curved staff
13				Karmir Blur, cf. <i>Kleinplastik</i> 90	[staff]	breast
14			8.1	cf. <i>Iraq</i> 45 89 ¹³	breast	breast

* L.-am. = Lamaštu amulet

Kneeling: not attested.

Other activities: not attested.

Lamaštu amulets: The fish-apkallū on Lamaštu amulet 2 (and 4?), exactly like the *ūmu-apkallū* on Lamaštu amulets 3 and 61, has his left hand on the bed of the sick man. The right hand is slightly damaged, but probably greeting.

Wrong hand: occasionally apkallū are attested holding the bucket in their right hand: *AfO* 28 57f. 30 (above III/6), Lamaštu amulet 5 (?), Calmeyer *Reliefsbronzen* 66 H:8 (bird-apkallū).

Unidentified object: one of the apkallū on *CANES* 773 holds in his right hand an unidentified feather-like object.

Identification: the identification of the fish-apkallū of ritual I/II with the "fish-garbed" man goes back to Smith *JRAS* 1926 709¹³ (based on comparison with the Kleinplastik from Ur); identification of one of them with Oannes has been proposed since the early days of Assyriology (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 26, Zimmern *KAT*³ 535ff., *ZA* 35 151ff.), but was proved only after the names of the sages in Berossos' *Babyloniaka* were recognized in cuneiform (van Dijk *UVB* 18 46ff.). Occasionally the apkallū is mistakenly identified with the fish-man/*kulullū* (see below, VII.C.9), a completely different figure. U₄ - a n (Oannes) and Adapa, a human sage living approximately at the same time, are probably two different figures (Borger *JNES* 33 186, Picchioni *Adapa* 97ff.). The texts clearly indicate that the fish-apkallū are not fish-garbed priests, but mythological figures, man and fish; they are *biṇūt apsū*, "creatures of apsū", in ritual I/II, *purād tāmī ... ša ina nāri ibbanū*, "carp of the sea ... who were grown in the river" in text III.B.8 (cf. also Cagni *Erra* I 162), and Berossos clearly describes them as a mixture of fish and man (cf. S. Mayer Burstein *SANE* I/5 13, 19). Their names lack the determinative DINGIR, they are no gods, and the horns on the head of the fish (on palace reliefs, not on seals, cf. *Kleinplastik* 89, *FuB* 10 35) probably developed from its gills. Berossos calls them "hemidaimones" (Jacoby *FGrH* 400).

History. In the third millennium a b g a l is the name of a profession: see *MSL* 12 10:15, *ZA* 72 174 11 v 3, Bauer *AWL* 125 i 4 (NUN.ME.KA×GANA₂I, cf. also Barton *MBI* 2 iv 2), *Ukg.6* ii 30', iii 4 (NUN.ME.KA×ME/GANA₂I.) *UET* 8 33:15 and for the same profession in the divine world: *TCL* 15 10:98 (A b g a l) cf. 85. In OB sum. incantations a b g a l apparently refers to a mythological sage at the court of Enki: *VAS* 17 13:5 (together with Enkum, Ninkum, and the seven children of Apsū), 16:11, 32:21, *HSAO* 262:56, *PBS* I/2 123:9 // *ISET* 1 217 Ni 4176:12, *OrNS* 44 68⁴², cf. *ASKT* 12 Obv. 11ff. The "seven apkallū of Eridu", at least in *AnSt* 30 78 (SB) identified

with the seven antediluvian sages (Anenlilda is among them), are rooted in the third millennium (TCS 3 25:139, cf. Benito "Enki and Ninmah" and "Enki and the World Order" 91:105, and for later attestations JCS 21 11 25+a, *Maqlū* II 124, V 110 = AFO 21 77, VII 49, VIII 38). The names of the seven antediluvian sages are certainly not as old as the names of the antediluvian kings: they seem to be derived partly from the titles of literary works (Hallo JAOS 83 175f.), and partly from the names of the antediluvian kings. The element e n - m e - (e n) (and a m - m e, a m - i etc.) = e m e n^(me-en) (cf. Finkelstein JCS 17 42¹², Wilcke *Lugalbanda* 41⁹⁶), "lord", in the names of the kings has been reinterpreted as "the lord (e n) who makes good (d u₁₀ - g a) / perfects (g a l a m) / refines (b u l u g - g a) the regulations (m e)". Although the resulting names are good Sumerian (Lambert JCS 16 74), the consistent difference is telling. The Sumerian of the linguistically rather simple bilingual incantation to the fish-apkallū in *bit mēseri* (III.B.8) could well be of MB date, and the Kassite seals with representations of the fish-apkallū prove that at this time the later views existed at least partially. These undatable later views connect the named carp apkallū with canonized literature (Lambert JCS 16 59ff., Hallo JAOS 83 175f., van Dijk-Mayer *BaMB* 2 no 90) and have possibly been developed concomitantly.

Literature on the apkallu types : below text III.B.8, 9, 10, 11; Borger JNES 33 183ff., Foster *OrNS* 43 344ff., Komoróczy *ActAntHung* 21 135ff., 142ff., S. Mayer Burstein *SANE* 1/5 13ff., Kawami *Iran* 10 146ff., van Dijk *UVB* 18 43ff., all with many references to previous literature.

We list here the objects available for identification with *e'nu*, *libbi gišimmari*, and *ara gišimmari*:

goat	<i>apkallu</i> : I/1. winged gods: Layard <i>Mon.</i> I Pl. 47/4 (on garment).
	<i>lahmu</i> : Layard <i>Mon.</i> 50/7 = Ravn <i>AfO</i> 16 244 (on garment). Barnett <i>Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum</i> 12 ²⁵ , followed by Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> 38ff. and Parker <i>Essays Wilkinson</i> 37 identifies with <i>mašhultuppū</i> , "goat hitting evil" of the apotropaic rituals (cf. <i>CAD</i> M/ 1 365b, also 364b, <i>mašhaltappū</i> and cf. <i>hultuppū</i> : <i>haltappū</i> <i>CAD</i> H 231a, <i>Iraq</i> 37 69). The identification is plausible, but deserves further elaboration. Reade <i>BaM</i> 11 84 remarks that the genies carrying goats are the only figures who seem to occupy almost directly equivalent positions in different palaces: they are placed at service entrances.
deer	<i>apkallu</i> : I/1. winged gods: —
	hybrid: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> 12b. No identification is proposed. Cf. Parker <i>Essays Wilkinson</i> 37, Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> 31f., 40, Ellis <i>Foundation Deposits</i> 42f.
frond	<i>apkallu</i> : I/1, II/4, III/6. winged gods: —
	The object is not in all cases uncontestedly a palm frond (according to Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> 31 and Bleibtreu <i>Flora</i> 60 the <i>apkallu</i> I/1 holds an ear of corn, according to Parker <i>Essays Wilkinson</i> 38 a palm frond). Incontestably a palm frond: <i>apkallu</i> II/4 (<i>FuB</i> 10 Pl. 8/6-7). Identification with <i>ara gišimmari</i> was proposed by Parker <i>Essays Wilkinson</i> 38.
sprig	<i>apkallu</i> : I/1, I/2, I/3, III/7, III/9, III/10. (winged) gods: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> IVC, V, Layard <i>Mon.</i> I Pl. 47/7 (on garment), <i>Iraq</i> 44 94/4 (no wings; on vase).
	<i>lahmu</i> : Layard <i>Mon.</i> I Pl. 50/7 = Ravn <i>AfO</i> 16 244 (on garment), Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> 12b (hybrid); <i>girtablullū</i> : Kolbe <i>Reliefpro-</i>

	gramme XI (cf. Reade <i>BaM</i> 10 39, Meuszyński <i>Iraq</i> 38 Pl. XIV). A number of quite differently formed "sprigs" have been collected here under "sprig" (for forms cf. Bleibtreu <i>Flora</i> 60ff. and <i>passim</i>). The branch with palmettes and its deformations might well be <i>libbi gisimmari</i> (Parker <i>Essays Wilkinson</i> 38). The <i>illuru</i> , "flower" (Landsberger <i>Date Palm</i> 17 ⁵²), in the hands of a <i>lamassu</i> (<i>OIP</i> 2 107 vi 33) should be mentioned here.
greeting	<i>apkallu</i> : I/2, I/3, I/5, III/4, III/9. (winged) gods: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> IVC, V, <i>Iraq</i> 44 94/4.
	<i>girtablullū</i> : greeting gesture restored (cf. above II.A.4. under <i>karābu</i>). The gesture involved has been identified as <i>karābu</i> on the basis of ritual I/II (cf. above II.A.4.A), where <i>karābu</i> is done by the <i>il bīti</i> with his right hand. The gesture implied by <i>karābu</i> is sometimes understood differently (Landsberger <i>MAOG</i> IV 296, opened hand to the face; cf. also below III.B.18 + x).
cone	<i>apkallu</i> : I/4, II/1, III/1. (winged) gods: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> IIA, <i>Iraq</i> 44 94/4.
	<i>girtablullū</i> : <i>Iraq</i> 33 Pl. XVIb (on garment), on seals: Delaporte <i>Bibl. Nat.</i> 356, <i>Louvre</i> II 88/12. Identified with <i>mullilu</i> .
bucket	<i>apkallu</i> : I/3, I/4, II/1, II/3, II/4, III/1–8. (winged) gods: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> IIA, <i>Iraq</i> 44 94/4.
	<i>girtablullū</i> : same as above, cone. Identified with <i>banduddū</i> .
mace	<i>apkallu</i> : I/5. winged gods: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> V. The mace is always held in the left hand, while the right hand greets or holds a sprig.
short stick	<i>apkallu</i> : III/3, III/5?, III/10. Since the short stick held in the right hand is combined not only with the bucket in the left hand, but also with a "sprig" (<i>apkallu</i> III/10), it cannot be simply a variant cone /angular object (combined only with bucket). The short stick and the mace are both candidates for identification with the <i>e'ru</i> . The long staff is excluded since it cannot be used as a club.
staff	<i>apkallu</i> : II/2, III/11, III/13. Identified with <i>urigallu</i> .
angular object	<i>apkallu</i> : III/2. Probably a variant of the cone/ <i>mullilu</i> (Reade <i>BaM</i> 10 36, 39).
dish	<i>apkallu</i> : III/8. No identification is proposed.
curved staff	<i>apkallu</i> : III/12. Identified with <i>gamlu</i> (above II.A.4.A); cf. differently Reade <i>BaM</i> 10 38.
bracelet	winged goddess: Kolbe <i>Reliefprogramme</i> VIII, cf. Reade <i>BaM</i> 10 36. It is probably the same goddess (no wings) that occurs on an amulet (Budge <i>Amulets and Superstitions</i> 98 = Saggs <i>The Greatness that was</i>

Babylon Fig. 56B), on dishes (Haller *WVDOG* 65 137 Figs. 163a, 163b), and on seals (Frankfort *CS Pl. XXXIIIc* ? and similar examples), where she apparently plays the part of an introductory goddess (*lamassu* ?). The winged goddess is probably not Narudda (ritual I/II, cf. II.A.3.7), since we expect her without wings like her brothers the Sebette (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* XX). In view of the overlapping functions of gods, sages and winged gods, the bracelet may still be a candidate for identification with the *timbūtu*.

The limited number of candidates available for identification with *e'ru*, *libbi gišimmar* and *urigallu* enables us to choose a denotation, even when the results of philology are not unequivocal in each case. The sages and the lesser gods of NAss art share attributes and therefore functions: goat, sprig, greeting gesture, cone, bucket and mace. Both can occur with or without wings. The *apkallū* of the rituals share properties with some of the gods of the rituals: the *šūt kakkī* (II.A.3.4) hold the *e'ru*-stick/mace, the *il būti* (II.A.3.8) greets and holds the *gamlu*-curved staff (attributes also of *apkallū* in art), the undeciphered intruders of text II Rev. 9f., probably gods since they are made of tamarisk, hold an *ara gišimmar* (cf. also text IV/1 ii 6'f.; held by *apkallū* of art), and the *šūt kappī*, "the winged ones", of *būt mēseri* (III.B.6) hold the *e'ru* and the *libbi gišimmar*. Like the (winged) gods and sages of art (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* IIA, VII; above *apkallu* I and II) the gods of the rituals sometimes kneel (*šūt kappī*, III.B.6); *kamsūtu*, "kneeling figures", probably gods since they are made of tamarisk in ritual II Rev. 11f., occur as well (Ritual II Rev. 11f., Text VI Col. B:25, *BiOr* 30 178:18).

The designations of these purifying and exorcising gods of the rituals are not names, but descriptions of function or appearance: *šūt kakkī*, "weapon-men", *il būti*, "god of the house", *šūt kappī*, "winged ones", *kamsūtu*, "kneeling ones". Likewise the purifying and exorcising gods of art are not represented as individuals but as indistinguishable members of a group of lesser gods of similar function, holding more or less interchangeable attributes. Although not an exorcist but an armed door keeper, the nameless god *ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu*, "One Cubit" (II.A.3.5), might belong here; the winged goddess holding a bracelet (Kolbe VIII) may be a female member of the same group.

Without definite proof we propose to identify the nameless exorcising gods of the rituals with the indistinct winged gods of the reliefs. The "names" distinguish the members of this group according to form or function, but we ought to expect a term identifying these gods as similar lesser gods. The only term available is *lamassu* (also proposed by Reade *BaM* 10 36). In view of the many difficulties surrounding this term (provisionally Foxvog/Heimpel/Kilmer/Spycket *RLA* 6 446ff.) definite proof would require a separate study.

NOTES TO II.A.4.B

1 *CT* 17 18:8ff.:

[giš m]a-nu giš tukul-mah-an-na-ke₄ šu u-me-ti

e-[ni] kak-ku ši-i-ri šá ^dA-nim le-qé-ma
úr-pa-bi izi ù-bi-tag

ap-pi u iš-di i-šá-a-tu₄ lu-[pu²-ui]-ma

Followed by: "cast the spell of Eridu, and place it at the head of the sick man".

2 CT 16 21:202ff.:

The ^{giš}ma-nu ^{giš}tukul kala-ga/ e-ra kak-ka dan-na is to be placed at the head of the threatened king; the spell of Eridu is cast upon it.

Cf. the title: ^{giš}TUKUL ^{giš}MA.NU ša rēš erši šari (CT 22 1:15), "the mace of cornel at the head of the bed the king".

3 *Lamaštu* III Rev. 16 (4 R² 55 // 79-7-8, 81+143 = 4 R² add. p. 11): ^{giš}MA.NU šá KIR₄ u SUHUŠ IZI TAG ^{giš}ŠA.GIŠIMMAR ina SAG.DU-šú tu-kal-ma, followed by the incantation ÉN UDUG HUL.GÁL SAG GAZ.ZI.DA. Both are to be placed at the head of the threatened child: ina SAG-šú GAR-an. The prophylactic measures in this section of the text are part of the standard apotropaic repertory and not specifically against *Lamaštu* (cf. Abusch *JNES* 33 253f.). The incantation is not written out in the incantation tablets of the *Lamaštu* series.

4 CT 42 Pl. 10:5ff. (cf. Borger *AOAT* 1 13, Landsberger *Date Palm* 26, Falkenstein *OLZ* 1961 371):

^{giš}ma-nu ^{giš}hul-dúb-ba u < d u g > - a n - n a - k e₄
e-ri MIN-ú ra-bi-su ^dA-nim
á-gá b - b u - z u - š e mu - u n - d a - a n - g á l !
ina šu-me-li-ka ta-na-áš-ši-ma
^{giš}p a - g i š i m m a r á - z i - d a - z u - š e mu - u n - d a - a n - g á l
a - r a g i - š i m - m a - r u ina im-ni-ka ta-na-áš-ši-[ma]
^{giš}n á - l ú - t u - r a - k e₄ ši - n i - s [i g - g e]
er-šú mar-ši ! ta-mah-haš-ma

The sign read u < d u g > above is in fact KINGUSILI; on the basis of the parallel passages (5a, 6) we may assume that the sign stands for UDUG, perhaps = ŠL 578: "KINGUSILU.IŠ×TAR".

5a CT 16 45:139ff. // *SbTU* 2 1 iii 17ff. (for K 5120 cf. Geller *Iraq* 42 45 Fig. 3; subscript: ibid. 28:1': ka-inim-ma ^{giš}ma-nu sag-lú-tu-ra gá-gá-dé - k e₄):
^{giš}ma-nu ^{giš}hul-dúb-udug-e-n e - k e₄
e-ri ^{giš}MIN-ú ra-bi-ši
šá - b i ^dE n - k i - k e₄ mu p à d - da
šá ina šá - b i - šú ^dBE (var.: ^dÉ-a) šu-mu zak-nu
ka-inim-ma tu₆-maḥ Eridu^{k i}-ga na-ri-ga-àm
ina šip-tú šir-tu₄ ši-pat Eri-du₁₀ šá te-lil-ti
úr-pa-bi izi ù-bi-tag lú-tu-ra imin-bi nu-te-gá-d a - k e₄

ap-pa u iš-di i-šá-ti lu-pu-ut-ma ana mar-ša se-bet-ti-šú-nu- a-a-iṭ-ḥu-u
The *e'nu* is to be present on the head of the sick man constantly.

b Geller *Iraq* 42 29:63ff.:

^dIgi-sig₇-sig₇ nu-kiri₆-gal-an-na-ke₄
^dMIN nu-ka-ri-[bu] [GAL šá] ^dA-nim
šu-kù-ga-a-ni-ta pa ^{gīs}gišimmar im-ma-an-bu
ina qa-ti-šú KÙ.MEŠ a-ra is-suh-ma
ka-tu₆-gál-Eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ lú-kin-gi₄-a-^dEn-ki-ga-ke₄ šu im-
ma-ti
a-ši-pu Eri₄-du₁₀ mar šip-ri šá ^dMIN il-qé-e-ma

Then the incantation priest of Eridu recites an incantation, and places the date palm frond at the head of the patient.

ibid. 75f.:

^{gīs}ma-nu ^{gīs}tukul-mah-an-na-ke₄ sag-gá-na ba-ni-in-gar
^{gīs}MA.NU kak-ka si-ra šá ^dA-nim ina re-ši-šu iš-kun-ma

c Geller *Iraq* 42 30:113ff.:

^{gīs}ma-nu ^{gīs}peš-gišimmar sag-gá-na u-me-ni-gar
e-ra lib-bi gi-šim-ma-ri ina re-ši-šú šu-k[un]-ma
pa-^{gīs}gišimmar u-me-ni-sil
a-ra su-lu-ut-ma
Var.: peš-^{gīs}gišimmar.

6 *AOAT* 1 13 XXIV (cf. Borger *WdO* 5 174):

gīs ma]-nu ^{gīs}ḥul-[dúb-b]a -udug-e-ne-ke₄
^{gīs}tukul-su-dag-dingir-e-ne-ke₄.....
sag-gá-na a-ba-ni-in-gub: e-ra [gīs] [MIN?] [šá? ra-b]i-ši kak-ka mu-[ub-
bi]-ib [zu-u]m-ri šá DINGER.MEŠ GALMEŠ[ina re-]ši-šu li-iz-ziz

7a *KAR* 252 Obv. II, cf Oppenheim *Dreams* 304²²²:

32: ^dUtu ^{gīs}ma-nu ^{gīs}tukul-kala-ga- dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
[igil]-zu-šè [da]dag-ga-àm
37: dingir nam-tar-^{gīs}ma-nu hé-en-tar-re-e-ne tu₆ -én

In the next incantation the great gods are addressed one by one and invited to determine the nature (nam-tar) of the *e'nu*. The *e'nu* is addressed in the incantation II 51ff.:

én ^{gīs}ma-nu ^{gīs}tukul-kala-ga- dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄

gissu-ga-dùg-ga [x[?]]-zu-šè gá-gá

"Incantation: *e'ru*, strong mace/weapon of the gods, created for the sake of your sweet shade" (cf. *CAD* E 319b). The reading *gissu* is doubtful, since other text indicate that *gissu* ends with -n (cf. Krecher *Fs. Matouš* II 67⁵³).

7b Castellino *OrNS* 24 243:6:

[ÉN giš MA.NU šá KA-šu u] SUHUŠ-šu IZI kab-bu tu-šam-na-šu-ma

Uncertain restoration based on the observation that the apposition *ša appa-šu išde-šu išātu kabbu* does not occur with other ritual instruments.

7c *VAS* 17 18, cf. van Dijk *Syncretism* 175, and for the incipit Wilcke *AfO* 24 1ff. 5:6. A syllabic duplicate is *VAS* 10 192. No exact canonical duplicate is known but the text shows affinities with the incantation *Iraq* 42 28ff., *STT* 230 and the "Kultmittel" incantations of *Šurpu* IX (1ff. giššinig, 9ff. ū in-nu-uš).

1gišma-nu dim-an-na gišma-nu [dim-é?]-an-na
úr-bi Gl₆ na-nam pa-bi gišbanšur-an-na
an gakkul-àm ugu giš i-íb-šú
ki e-sí r-ra-àm gír giš ba-ni-in-si
skaskal i-ḥaš izi ba-an-lá
⁴Geštin-an-na sila-si-ig-ga-ra
hé-im-ma-da-dib-bé
⁴Dumu-zi úr giš_x (MUNUS.UŠ)-dam-ku₄-ra-àm
hé-im-ma-dib-dib-bé
¹⁰sag-tab-mu hé-a
hu-mu-un-ta-ab-ri
sag-kal ⁴Nin-urta hu-mu-un-ta-ab-ri
lú-ḥul-gál sil₆-lá igi-mu-ta

ka-inim-ma-giš ma-nu-kam

Notes: 1: var: ma-nu di-ma-na. Reading é-a-n-n-a with van Dijk *Syncretism* 175. 3: var.: gu-ku-la; for the covered (šú) vessel gakkul cf. Civil Studies Oppenheim 83, *CAD* K 59. The syllabic spelling here has not been noted before (cf Lieberman *Loanwords* no 203).

4: var. ki e-si-ra giš-ir. For gír-si, gcf. Sjöberg *AfO* 20 174, van Dijk *HSAO* 251, Hallo-van Dijk *YNER* 3 75. 5: var. [kaskal]¹ i-ḥu-ši. To my knowledge, the reading ḥuš for KUD (ḥaš) is not attested elsewhere; the expression kaskal-ḥaš, "to break a path" is not known to me; in combination with izi-lá (var.: i-zi ba-a-n-), "to set aflame", "to purify with fire" (cf. Falkenstein *AnOr* 28 127⁶), it may perhaps refer to the breaking of a path using sticks of *cornel* and fire. 6: var.: si-la-si-i[gi]. For sila-si-(ig)/sig-ga, "the silent street" cf. Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 89³, ZA 57 110, van Dijk *SGL* 2 48, Hallo *Fs Kraus* 106; dib-bé, var.:]-di-bé. 8: var.: [⁴Dum u - zi] [... ni-jiš-ta-na [...] /he-[ma-d]i-di-bé; the variant implies the reading giš_x - da m/n a for MUNUS.UŠ.DAM (ḥaš' iru, ḥirtu). For MUNUS.NITAH = giš_x cf. Alster *Mesopotamia* 2 118, *JCS* 28 125. The ES forms mudna (*NFT* 209 iv 5, *MNS* 84, *SP* 389, *MSL* 4 17⁷³) and mudanna (*MNS* 85) are regularly derived from gištan/m a rather than from forms based on nita-dam (gitlam, cf. Krecher *Fs Matouš* 2 48). If DAM PI in *CUN* § 9 (Yıldız *OrNS* 50 92, but cf. Finkelstein *JCS* 22 73) is accepted as a spelling of gišdam/n a, reference should be made to the value geštan of PI (Krecher *Fs Matouš* 2 43). 10: var.: sag-ta-ab-[mu ḥ]e-a; sag-tab = rēsu, sulūlu, "helper, protection" (cf. Falkenstein ZA 49 133, Sjöberg *Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 191:62). 11: var.: sag-ka-al [⁴]Nin-urta /hu-m[u-u]n-ta-a[bb-ri]-ri. 12: This line recurs in MS k of the incantation quoted above as 5b (cf Geller *Iraq* 42 40 ad

86'-87'; *lú-ḥul* appears in 85') and in similar incantations for the protection of the exorcist (*CT* 16 4:157f, 165, etc., cf. Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 32) among which *CT* 16 3 115 (cf. below 9); the Akkadian translation is: *duppir ina pānī-ia*. 14: reading *ka-inim-ma* after Schramm *RA* 75 90; cf. above 5a, subscript.

Translation:

¹The *cornel* tree, the link with heaven, the *cornel* tree, the link with the house of An,
its roots are in darkness, its crown is the table of heaven.
Above, it is like a *gakkul*-vessel, the top is covered with wood,
below, it is like a shoe, the soles are lined with wood,
⁵it breaks a path, clears it with fire.
With Geštinanna of the silent streets ⁷it goes about,
and with Dumuzi entering the lap of the loved one ⁸it goes everywhere,
¹⁰so may it be my helper, may it lead me,
and may strong Ninurta ¹²lead me.
Evil one, go away from before me!

Incantation for the *e'ru*(-stick)

The *e'nu*(-stick) is urged to accompany the exorcist in the silent streets (like Geštinanna) and in the bedroom of the sick man (like Dumuzi). Ninurta is asked to protect him (cf. Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 30 and for Ninurta in this function see Ebeling *ArOr* 21 403ff. *passim*).

8 *STT* 230 Rev. 13f. //*STT* 176 (+) 185: 8'ff.
The exorcist goes protected at all sides by gods (Šamaš, Enki, Marduk, Ninurta Nergal, Ištar and the *Ilū Sebette*), and:

[giš] ma-nu giš tukul-maḥ-an-na-ke₄ šu mu-un-da-a-n-[gál] (var.: sum)
e-ra kak-ku ši-i-ri šá ^dA-nim ina qa-ti-ia na-šá-[ku] (var.: a-as-bat)
úr-pa-bi izi ù-tag [nam-šub] ba-an-sum
ap-pa iš-di i-šá-ti al-pu-ut šip-ti [a¹]-di
si-sá al-du si-sá al-ná
i-šá-riš a-lak i-šá-riš [a]-sal-lal
eme hul-gál bar-sé hé-em-ta-gub
li-šá-an li-mut-ti ina a-ha-ti li-iz-ziz
Subscript: DÜ.DÜ.BI ÉN an-ni-ti ana UGU giš MA.NU III-šú ŠID-ma ...

9 *CT* 16 6:21ff., cf. Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 26¹ (OB forerunner Ni 2320), *CT* 16 3:86f.(115: sil₇-lá i gi-mu-ta, cf. above 7) //*SbTU* 1 25: 1'f.:

giš ma-nu giš tukul-maḥ-[an-na-k]e₄ šu-mu mu-un-da-a-n-gál
e-ri kak-ku ši-i-ri šá ^dA-nim i-na ŠU^{II}-iá [na-š]á-ki (CT 16 3:87)
giš pa-gišim mar garza gal-[a[?] šu-m]u[?] mu-un-da-a-n-gál

a-ra šá par-su GAL-[tu₄ ina ŠU^{II}]-ia na-šá-ku

Then the exorcist, the man of Enki, wishes that the evil forces will not approach his body. Gods who are to protect the exorcist are enumerated.

10 Mayer *UFBG* 270f. In prayers, together or in isolation, the following phrases are attested:
bīnu lillilanni, “may the tamarisk purify me”;
maštakal lipšuranni, “may the *maštakal*-plant absolve me”;
gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR arnīja liptur /šerti litbal /luqaddišanni or *lipat̄tiršu /lipšuršu /aranšu liptur*, “may *gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR* absolve my sins/take away my misdeed/purify me”, or “release him /absolve him /absolve his sin”. Cf. also Reiner *JNES* 17 206 and *Šurpu* 54 with a similar text and the important variant *ŠÀ-bi gi-/šim-ma-ri*. In this context (Mayer *UFBG* 270, Landsberger *Date palm* 14³⁷) and in magical texts between *bīnu*, *maštakal*, *suhuššu* and *qān šalāli*, *gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR* and *GIŠIMMAR* are mutually exclusive. The mystical commentary *PBS* 10/4 12 i 4–7 (// *BBR* 27 i, cf. text III.D) explains *bīnu* as Anu, *gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR* as Dumuzi, *maštakal* as Ea, and *qān šalāli* as Ninurta. The *terinnu* “cone” adduced above in the discussion of *mullilu* comes from a similar context.

11 In the hands of the threatened man in an apotropaic rite for month IX day 16: *CT* 51 161:26 // *Virolleaud Bab.* 4 105:92: *DIŠ U₄ XVI KÁM ana ⁴U.GUR liš-ke-en gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR ana ŠU-šú liš-ši*. The same phrase recurs in Thompson *RMA* 151 Rev. 4f, variants: *U₄ XV (?) KÁM* and *gišŠÀ-bi GIŠIMMAR*.

12a In the hands of *šūt kappī* (cf. below text III.B.6): *gišMA.NU gišPEŠ.GIŠIMMAR /era ŠÀ-bi gi-šim-ma-ri* (*AfO* 14 149:188f.). Although these figures are not called *apkallū*, they too replace the exorcist (cf below ad III.B.6).

b Held by the *suhurmāšu*: Text II Rev.4; both in view of the available space and the fact that *gišMA.NU* and *gišPA gišMA.NU* do not contrast (above 8), we have preferred the restoration [*ša gišMA.NU na-šu-u* in text II Rev. 4 (*gišMA.NU* in ritual I/II is also attested in the hands of the *ūmu-apkallū* and the *šūt kakkī*). In text VI Col. B:21 these figures hold a *gišPA gišMA.NU*; *gišMA.NU* is not attested in this text. Note that the *suhurmāšu* does not have hands to hold something with, and that accordingly actual figures of this being never hold anything.

c Held by the *šūt kakkī* in ritual I/II (cf. above II.A.4.A). Since these figures holding a mace (*kakku*) and an *e'ru* are called the *šūt kakkī*, “those of the weapons” and not *šūt kakkī*, “those of the weapon (sg.)”, we may conclude that *e'ru* here is a *kakku*, a weapon or specifically a mace.

d Held by an *eššebū*? Borger *BiOr* 30 179:41: *GIJM iš-ši-bu-ma gišTUKUL.SAG.NA₄ u gišPA GIŠIMMAR í[? ... , “you (the exorcist) shall hold a mace and a date palm frond, like the *eššebū*”; Borger translates: “während er beschwört” (with question marks) and apparently derives *iš-ši-bu* from *wašāpu* (expected form: *tuššāpu*, the exorcist here is addressed as *you*).*

e Held by a figurine of the sick man: *AMT* 59/3, cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 14b, 26b: [*gišPA*] *GIŠIMMAR* and *gišŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR* (for these together cf. also Borger *OrNS* 54 23:24)

13 Varia:

- a *SbTU* 2 16 iii 8: VII giš PEŠ GIŠIMMAR VII giš MA.NU *iz-za-qa-pu*, cf. Zimmern ZA 23 372.
- b *ABL* 977:12: VII PA giš GIŠIMMAR are used in a ritual.
- c Eilat *BiOr* 39 24:12' (=BBR 51): VII giš TUKUL.MEŠ giš MA.NU; cf. giš TUKUL MA.NU: VII *u₄-mu* giš TUKUL ^dAMAR.UTU (quoted also above B, *material*) *PBS* 10/4 12 ii 25 (commentary).
- d giš TUKUL giš MA.NU *šá ina SAG LÚ.GIG GAR-nu* *íL-ma* . . . , “the weapon of *cornel* thus was placed at the head of the sick man, you will take up and . . .”, followed by the incantation: ÉN IMIN.BI AN.[NA . . .] identified by Köcher with *AfO* 16 295:1ff. (against the seven *utukkū*), but perhaps an incantation to the seven weapons of *cornel* (*AfO* 21 18:43).
- e K 8852 (+ K 2547+, cf *HKL* 2 18 ad *AfO* 17 358ff): NU VII giš TUKUL giš MA.NU, “figures of the seven weapons of *cornel*” (Borger *Fs Reiner* 31).

14 giš peš gišimmar and peš giš gišimmar (5c, 12a) in Sumerian incantations are translated in the Akkadian text as *libbi gišimmar*; giš peš gišimmar and giš šA GIŠIMMAR (also: šA giš GIŠIMMAR, cf. text I note 108^a, *Borger JCS* 21 10b ad 6+a) in incantations and rituals are mutually exclusive; giš peš g. is generally used only in the Sumerian text (exceptions: 13a and 4R 59 r.6), while giš šA GIŠIMMAR is used in Akkadian. This state of affairs is explained by assuming that giš peš g. is the older and giš šA GIŠIMMAR the younger spelling (with an occasional relapse), cf. similarly Landsberger *Date Palm* 14a. Indeed, twice (above 10 and 11) variants spelled giš šA-bi GIŠIMMAR/[giš-šim-ma-ri] indicate that giš šA GIŠIMMAR (and its variant šA giš GIŠIMMAR) in this context is to be read *libbi gišimmar* and not *uqūru* (so *AHw*; Landsberger *Date Palm* 14b has reservations about this reading). we conclude: Sumerian giš peš gišimmar = Akkadian *libbi gišimmar* spelled syllabically or giš šA GIŠIMMAR (with variant) and occasionally giš PEŠ GIŠIMMAR, “offshoot of the date palm”. The term for “heart of the date palm” is (giš) *di* *da* *la* (šA. GIŠIMMAR) = *uqūru* (cf. Landsberger *Date Palm* 13f., *AHw* 1427b, and *BAM* 401 31, a LB commentary to a medical text: giš šA.GIŠIMMAR: *ú-qu-ru*).

Inscriptions and incantations: the names of the *ūmu-apkallū* (II.A.3.1) show them to be concerned with the procurement of life, plenty, splendor, beauty, and justice; of the incantation to the bird- and fish-apkallū (II.A.3.9ff.) only the incipit remains; here the *apkallū* are “guardians”, *massarū*, but of what has not been preserved. The *apkallū* of incantation I/7 chase away evil by their word; they are the offspring of Ea. In text III.C (*AAA* 22 90:8ff.) the *ūmu-apkallū* are the “seven wise ones (*eršutu*) who cannot be withstood” and stand at the head of the sick man; by their holy incantation they give life to the sick and put to flight evil.

Position, material, attributes and incantations define the *apkallū* of text I/II as purifiers and exorcists. They chase away evil and procure life. In ritual I/II the gods (*šūt kakki*, *il bīti*, perhaps Narudda) may fulfil similar functions but always in the outer gate. On reliefs and in other art the overlap of functions is more marked.

Also the *lahmu* (above “goat”, “sprig”), the *girtablullû* (above, “sprig”, “greeting”, “cone”, “bucket”) and other hybrids (above “deer”, “sprig”) can be furnished with exorcising tools; in ritual I/II the *suhurmāšu* (also in VI) holds the *e’ru*-stick/mace and the *kusarikku* a *banduddû*-bucket. In text VI a *banduddû* is held by the *urmahlullû*.

C The rest of the house; monsters, lahmu, Lulal, and Latarak.

Our information on the positions of these figures is incomplete (II.B.3.13ff.). Clear are only the positions of the *girtablullû*, the *urmahlullû*, Lulal and Latarak, the *kulullû* and the *suhurmāšu*. The positions of the *girtablullû* (roof), the *kulullû* and the *suhurmāšu* (not along walls) perhaps help to explain their scarcity in the Kleinplastik (buildings excavated along walls), if the directives of the text were at least sometimes followed. The only figure that is perhaps associated with a specific room is the *urmahlullû* (cf. p. 98). He bars, according to the inscription on his sides, the (entry of the) Supporter-of-Evil and perhaps also (?) of Šulak, a demon active in the bathrooms that he guards. A special place among the monsters of clay is taken by the *ugallu*; together with the gods he guards the outer gate (and is accordingly made of tamarisk in text II), cf. above II.A.4.A. If his companion, the god with the raised fist, has been correctly indentified with Lulal, he was probably not far off.

The inscriptions with the opposition *sī...erba*, “go out . . . , enter . . . ” characterize the figures with this text as doorkeepers (*lahmu*, *bašmu*, *kusarikku*, cf. text VI.B where also other figures are supplied with this kind of inscription). Nevertheless, these figures are not always prescribed for doors (*lahmu*; the *lahmu* of the palace reliefs guard entrances, cf. JEOL 27 102). The inscriptions on the *uridimmu*, the *kulullû* and the *suhurmāšu* stress divine benevolence and prosperity; similarly the task of the doorkeepers is not only to prevent the entry of evil, but also to let good pass: *rābiš šulme*, “the deputy of peace” (*lahmu*), *šulmu*, “peace” (*bašmu*), *balātu*, “life” (*kusarikku*). “Peace” and “life” are the reverse of “enemy” and “cases of death” against which the ritual is directed (II.B.1).

None of the attributes held by these figures are arms:

- *marru*, “spade”, held by the *lahmu*. The spade is held by the *lahmu* on palace reliefs (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XIV, 102f., 105) and in the Kleinplastik (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 51ff., 60ff., Green *Iraq* 45 91f.). The spade is a well known symbol of Marduk (Seidl *BaM* 4 117f., Deller *OrNS* 53 124), and its presence here is probably to be judged in the same way as the presence of the *niphu* and the *uskaru* in the outer gate, and the *uskaru* in the hands of the *uridimmu*: it puts the house under the protection of Marduk and thus deters evil.
- *pāštu* is a type of axe; it is held by the *bašmu* in its mouth (cf. also text VI). Although the *pāštu* can be used as a weapon, this is hardly the reason of its appearance here, since a *bašmu* without hands cannot use it as such. It may have some symbolic value. The crescent found in the mouth of a *bašmu* from Ur (*Kleinplastik* 17.1-2) should be a *pāštu*; at least the two “horns” of the “crescent” satisfy the element TAB.BA “double” of the logogram (ŠEN.TAB.BA).
- *uskaru* (uncertain reading), “crescent”, is held by the *uridimmu*. Indeed, actually attested *uridimmu* do hold crescents (below VII.D.5). The crescent is present also in the outer gate (cf. above II.A.4.A).
- *banduddû*, “bucket”, is held by the *kusarikku*. A clay *kusarikku* from Ur (*Kleinplastik* 11.3.1) holds a bucket. In text VI where *pāštu*, *uskaru* and (*hatti ša*) *e’ru*/

i are held by the same monsters as in ritual I/II, the *banduddū* is held by the *urmaḥlullū*. The bucket apparently held the water that was used in a purification ritual (cf. II.A.4.B).

— *e'ru*, “cornel(-stick)”, is held by the *suhurmāšu* (also in text VI). Curiously, the *suhurmāšu* does not have hands to hold it. The *e'ru* is a weapon of exorcists “for hitting the evil ones” (cf II.A.4.B).

The attributes held by the monsters are of a heterogeneous character. Unlike those of the gods of tamarisk and of the *apkallū*, they do not point to one specific function. Interesting, however, is that the monsters fulfil their protective task unarmed. Although the attributes held by the figures of the Kleinplastik and the palace reliefs are not always in accordance with the attributes prescribed by the text, they are also never arms (excepting the *ugallu* and Lulal who belong to the outer gate).

All beings of clay (including the dogs and the *apkallū*) are called *bīnūt apsē*, “creatures of Apsū” (I 144); thus they are distinguished from the *bīnūt šamē*, “the creatures of heaven”, being the gods of tamarisk (I 143). The figures of clay are the *salmū sākip lemnūti ša Ea u Marduk*, “the statues repelling the evil ones, of Ea and Marduk”, stationed in the house “to expel the foot of evil” (I 160f., 165f.). The term *bīnūt apsē*, referring to apotropaic figures, recurs twice in NAss royal inscriptions (cf. Lackenbacher *Le Roi Bâtsseur* 123 ad Rost *Tigl. III* 76:31 and Borger *Asarhaddon* 87:25). In a text of Tiglath-pileser III they are made of stone and called “guardians of the great gods”; what beings are meant is not made explicit. The interpretation of the Esarhaddon passage is disputed (Lackenbacher 123⁴), but if *bīnūt apsē* is in apposition to *salmū* and not to *hurāšu* the beings denoted by it do not apparently include *lahmu* and *kusarikku*, both mentioned separately in the same passage.

5 Differences between text I and II.

A Different sequences of statues

In text I the three groups of figures, those of *cornel*, those of tamarisk and those of clay, are each treated subsequently to the consecration of their respective materials. The sequence of statues in text II is based on the sequence of text I, but text II breaks the sequence to describe related figures together. Both texts start with the description of the *ūmu-apkallū* of cornel, but while text I continues with the figures of tamarisk, text II first describes the bird- and fish-*apkallū* of clay in the same order as I, and only then continues with the figures of tamarisk. After the first figures of tamarisk, the Sebetta, text II continues with their sister Narudda. The other figures of tamarisk follow in the same order as in II. The *ugallu*, in text II properly treated between the other soldiers of Tiāmat's army, is treated in text I directly after the figures of tamarisk; concomitantly its material is changed from clay to tamarisk (cf. II.A.3.16, II.A.4.A; the change is probably explained by the fact that figures in the outer gate are of tamarisk). Thus the basic order, *cornel* — tamarisk — clay, is retained. Both texts start the description of the monsters of clay with the *lahmu* and share a basic order:

I	II
13 <i>laḥmu</i>	<i>laḥmu</i> (12)
14 <i>bašmu</i>	18 <i>kusarikku</i> (13)
15 <i>mušhuššu</i>	17 <i>uridimmu</i> (14)
19 <i>girtablullū</i>	<i>bašmu</i> (15)
20 <i>urmahlullū</i>	<i>mušhuššu</i> (16)
	24 <i>suhurmāšu</i> (17)
	23 <i>kulullū</i> (18)
	<i>girtablullū</i> (19)
	- intruder (20)
	- intruder (21)
	21 <i>Lulal</i> (22)
	22 <i>Latarak</i> (23)
	<i>urmahlullū</i> (24)

The sequence, *laḥmu* - *bašmu* - *mušhuššu* - *girtablullū* - *urmahlullū* is shared by both texts; text II advances *kusarikku* - *uridimmu* and *suhurmāšu* - *kulullū*, both in the reverse order, and *Lulal* and *Latarak*. The reasons for advancing these pairs are unclear; the analogy with the *apkallū* and the gods indicates that the advanced pairs are in some way related to their predecessors.

The sequence of monsters in I 346ff. deviates from that in I 184ff. At least it is clear that after *kulullū* in 348 not merely [*u SUHUR.MĀŠ kám ŠID-nu*] can be restored; the resulting line would be too short and the preceding lines too full. The proposed restoration advances the pair *suhurmāšu* and *kulullū* (in the sequence of II) to a position after *girtablullū* (in II after *mušhuššu*), and then continues with the sequence of II: *Lulal*, *Latarak*, *urmahlullū*. These restorations, however, remain speculative, and no conclusions will be drawn from them. Both texts end their descriptions with the dogs. The same method of advancing related elements from later in the text determines the relation between *Proto-Ea* and *Ea* (Landsberger *MSL* 2 6) and between *S^a* and *S^b* (Thureau-Dangin *ZA* 15 162ff.).

Two intruders (II Rev. 9f. and 11f.) break the sequence of figures corresponding to text I. They must come from the second part of text I/II, but the reason for their relocation in text I remains unclear. They have been inserted as 20 and 21 after the *girtablullū* and before *Lulal*, *Latarak*, the *urmahlullū*, and the dogs. These intruders are apparently not monstrous; they share properties with the *apkallū* (II.A.4.B) and, if anywhere, they might have been expected to be inserted after the *apkallū*.

Curiously, a figure strongly resembling II Rev. 9f. appears in text IV/1 after the *suhurmāšu* and the *kulullū*, that is, skipping the *girtablullū*, at the same place as in text II. Since the two intruders of text II are of tamarisk and are totally misplaced among the figures of clay, it seems inexplicable that a second text should repeat the same sequence. It is also highly improbable that a *nishu* from Aššur (text II) with an uncommon relation to its main text (text I) is related to a (not completely identical) text (text IV/1) from Babylonia. Coincidence?

B Other differences

Text I fully informs us on the rituals pertaining to the preparation of materials, on the figures made thereof, on the accompanying incantations and the reasons for their

installation; the purification of the house is described only cursorily (I 242ff.), the ritual with the statue of the sick man (implied by I 156) not at all. Text I has eight statues of two gods (Lugalirra and Meslamtaea) more than text II for the defense of the outer gate, but since the outer gate seems well defended in text I too (cf. II.A.4.A), this difference may be unimportant. At least the first part of text II is a *nishu*, an extract, and as such less informative. The long introduction of text I is reduced to a single sentence, rituals are not described at all, and of the incantations only the incipit is quoted. Nevertheless on certain points the *nishu* is more complete than the main text:

- Text II specifies the place of interment of each statue; the statues of text I were certainly placed in the house but we are informed of this fact only by coincidence in the incantations (cf. above II.A.3.2, 3, 5, 6; if text III.C is identified correctly with the incantation UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGALLA, we are also informed on the place of the *ūmu-apkallū*, cf. II.A.4.B *inscriptions and incantations*). The information on the positions of the figures is given by all related texts, and also by text I MS C "430"ff., the continuation of text I after the end of text I tablet I. This does not prove that, after the end of tablet I, text I continued with specifications of the positions of the figures (and perhaps the incantation to the dogs) before it treated further subjects. If text I did not specify the positions of the figures at all, we must suppose that the exorcist followed a general rule (dogs, gods and *ugallū* in the outer gate, *apkallū* in the private quarters, the other figures in the rest of the house) of which the specifications in text II are only an instance.
- Besides minor unsystematic differences in the descriptions of the figures (referred to in the notes; cf. especially the longer description of figure 5 in text I and of figure 8 in text II), text II is systematically more complete in its description of figures 13–20 and 23–24. Text II specifies their attributes and prescribes inscriptions. Here again it must be supposed that the exorcist of text I supplied attributes and incantations on the basis of general rules and common knowledge. It seems highly improbable (and is refuted by the related texts) that text I enumerated all figures *again* to specify their position and to prescribe attributes and inscriptions for some of them (the attributes of gods and *apkallū* are specified in both texts). The lack of correspondence with the positions of actual figures (for the palaces cf. Reade *BaM* 11 84; for the Kleinplastik cf. below 183ff.), the interchanging attributes (for the *apkallū* cf. above II.A.4.B, for the other figures Rittig *Kleinplastik* passim), and the fact that figures with inscriptions prescribed are sometimes found without them (Rittig *Kleinplastik* e.g. 2.1 *lahmu*, Ismail *AfOB* 19 199 *bašmu* with "wrong" inscription, *Kleinplastik* 12.1.1 *ugallu*, Oates *Iraq* 21 112 Type V *uridimmu* cf. Green *Iraq* 45 92f. for examples with inscr., *Kleinplastik* 11.3.1 *kusarikku*, *Kleinplastik* 9.1.3 *kulullū*) show that the exorcist did indeed have a certain freedom.
- Text II quotes the incipits of incantations not present or impossible to restore in text I: the incantations to the *ūmu-apkallū*, to the bird- and fish-*apkallū*, and to the dogs. If we have correctly identified the text of the incantation UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGALLA recited in connection with the preparation of *e'ru* for the *ūmu-apkallū*, this incantation (below III.C) may replace in text I the incantation to the *ūmu-apkallū* in text II. The room available in tablet I does not

seem sufficient to accomodate an incantation to the *apkallū* of clay (somewhere between 342 and 346) after the incantations to the figures of tamarisk, or an incantation to the dogs (352–356) after that to the monsters. The dogs of ritual I may have been satisfied with their inscriptions (as are those of the ritual against *Lamaštu*), the *apkallū* of text I are left without any verbal support. Similarly text II leaves the *mušhuššu*, the *girtablullū*, *Lulal* and *Latarak* without verbal support, since these figures are uninscribed and the general incantation to the monsters of clay is lacking in this text.

— Text II prescribes different materials for two figures. If in the case of the *ugallu* the change from clay to tamarisk is understandable (cf. above A), the change from clay to cedar implies the presence of a ritual describing the consecration of this wood (analogous to the consecration of *cornel*, tamarisk and clay) for which text I certainly does not have room.

C The second part of text II

The continuation of text II after the text shared with text I, and the continuation of text I in MS C, consist of short thematically related rituals probably collected in *KAR* 44 under the title *di'a šipta mūtāni šūtuqu*, “to make *di'u*-disease, stroke, and plague pass by” (20b, cf. II.B.1.B).

The two intruders of tamarisk (II Rev. 9f., 11f.) probably stem from the second part of the text, but the reason for their being advanced is unclear.

The ships of tamarisk (cf. the uncertain restoration of text V i' 4') laden with provisions and presents (II Rev. 23ff.) probably played a part in the dismissal of evil to the underwold. The dismissal of evil by boat is well attested, cf. Bottéro *ZA* 73 191ff (*eṭemnu*), 191¹²⁶ (*Lamaštu*), Zimmern *ZA* 23 372ff. (*Kulla*), Landsberger *ZDMG* 74 442 (*māmitu* in *KAR* 74, also a *šēp lematti* text, cf. below II.B.1.Ff), *KUB* 37 61+(?), *Maqlū* III 128ff., VIII 33ff., IX 52ff. (sorcerers), cf. also text III.B.13+d, Text VI col. B 1ff.

An *ārib šadi* (II Rev. 23) recurs in text V i' 4', cf. V.C.

The *UR.GU.LA* (II Rev. 23, of clay⁷, 28, of fir), attested also in text III.B.14+ x (“with his dogs”) and V ii' 7' (cf. Oppenheim *JNES* 8 177, 188, *AHw urgulū* 1b, *OrNS* 40 148:49), is a regular lion (cf. Heimpel *Tierbilder* 337; in later texts cf. *CAD* N/2 193a and 197a ad *BaM* 248 iv 41) and sometimes the name of a disease (*AHw urgulū* 1c, Durand *RA* 73 162) or a musical instrument (*Šulgi* B 167, *SLT* 139 ii 8' = *MSL* 6 157:223, 124:86). Lions are not attested in the Kleinplastik but abundantly in other art forms, cf. Madhloom *Chronology* 100ff., Reade *BaM* 10 42, Weidner *AfO* 18 351f., referred to with a variety of names (cf. the dictionaries under *pirikku*, *nēšu*, *urmahšu*, *Iraq* 38 90, *MARI*, 3 45f., *ZA* 68 115:42ff.). Against Rittig *Kleinplastik* 218 *UR.GU.LA* is certainly not a human being (*Ur-(d)Gu-1a*) and *UR.GU.LA* with his dogs of *būt mēseri* is not to be identified with the “Gruppenbild: Man und Hund”.

The identity of the *mēlū* of wood remains completely dark (cf. above II.A.2. Rev. 26).

The drawn *ugallū ša umāši* (in all corners of the house) of II Rev. 35 (cf. IV i' 7^b, III.B.13+j) are paralleled by (*ugallū*) *kiṣṣurūtu* drawn in the gate in I “436”f., cf. IV i' 7^b, III.B.13+h.

B Title and purpose; inventory of figures

1 Title and purpose of the ritual

A The “vademecum of the exorcist” (*KAR* 44) refers to one of the activities of this craftsman as (20a) *šēp lemitti ina bīt amēli parāsu*, “to block the entry of the enemy in someone’s house” (cf. the similar entries in *BRM* 4 20:24 and *STT* 300 Rev. 13). This title is followed by (20b): *di'a : šib̄ta mūtānī šūtuqu*, “to make *di'u*-disease, stroke, and plague pass by” (not in *BRM* 4 20 or *STT* 300). Bottéro in his recent treatment of *KAR* 44 (*Annuaire EPHE* IV^e section 1974/75 95ff.) was still unaware of rituals or incantations for this purpose, but recently 20a has been identified as referring to ritual I/II by myself (apud Stol *Zwangerschap en Geboorte* 112⁶⁹) and independently by S. Parpola in *LAS* 2 207 ad 211:11.

B This identification can be justified on the following grounds:

- a* The introduction of text II, separated by a ruling from the ritual, states the purpose of the ritual as “..... and to block the entry of the enemy in someone’s house”. The phrase is repeated in the introductory lines of the additional alternative Rituals II Rev. 30ff. (not present in text I). The corresponding introduction of the extract text (II) is broken at this point.
- b* One of the phrases by which text I refers to the purpose of the installation of the statues is *ana nasāh šēp lemitti*, “to expel the ‘foot of evil’” (160, restored in 166).

Although the phrase recurs in other texts (cf. below F; duplicates to text II second part cf. II.A.1 K 2481, K 9873), only ritual I/II is a complete and well balanced ritual, and as such the best candidate for identification with the title 20a. Part of the other texts, especially the continuation of text II (Rev. 23ff.) and the related but different continuation of text I in MS C (“430”ff.), are probably to be identified with the text denoted by the title 20b directly following on 20a. These texts treat similar material and may be characterized as collections of short alternative or additional rituals.

C A certain reference to these rituals outside of the magical texts is found in *LAS* 211 Rev. 11 (KUD-*a*š [GIR ȳUL]-*ti*). *LAS* 218:11f. (*d[i-']u*] *šib̄-tu mu-ta-nu ana* É L[Ú NU TE-*e*]) may refer to 20b rituals but perhaps not to 20a rituals, since the month of performance mentioned in the letter (Kislimu) differs from the month prescribed for 20a in the exorcist’s almanac (*BRM* 4 20:24, *STT* 300 Rev. 13; Addar 28). The namburbi *OrNS* 39 118:1ff., adduced by Parpola *LAS* 2 212, is in view of its “explicitly royal character” (Caplice *OrNS* 39 123), also excluded. On the second title of the same letter (13f.), *GIG di'u ana* É NA NU TE-*e*, Parpola *LAS* 2 212 comments: “certainly referring to the ritual *KAR* 298 1ff. (ritual II)”. He quotes Rev. 40 which shares *GIG di-hu* with *LAS* 218:13f., and has *diliptu* and *mūtānū* in excess. As will be seen below (G), it is *mūtānū* rather than *GIG di-hu* that is implied by *šēp lemitti* and should accordingly be expected in any title referring to the texts denoted by 20a or its continuation 20b.

D The long introduction to text I can be divided in two parts: a general introduction closing with the all-inclusive “[whatso]ever there be, or anything not good that has no name” (9f.); then, after the general introduction, a much shorter section enumerating evils far less commonly attested and apparently related to the specific purpose of the ritual. The expansion of the purpose of the ritual in the prefixed general introduction is echoed in the text by occasional references to the evil forces enumerated there: *gallū lemnū* (II Obv. 35), *rābīs lumni* (II Obv. 43), *Namtar* (I 297), *Saghulhaza* (II Rev. 15), *Mūtu* (II Obv. 46). They are to be repelled, chased away, barred, or urged to get out. In excess to the introduction the text has *šugidimmakku* (I 282) and *asakku* (I 200). Although the ritual is directed against *šēp lemutti*, the function of the installed gods and monsters has apparently been broadened to prevent the entry of other evils as well. Indeed, the incantation to the statues of Meslamtaea ends (I 306f.): “may anything evil and anything not good recede 3600 ‘miles’ for fear of you”. Separate rituals existed against most of the evils of the general introduction, referred to in the “vademecum of the exorcist” (*KAR* 44) by separate titles: *utukkū lemnū* (7b), *Lamaštu* (15c), *A.LÁ HUL*, *lilū* (cf. 10a), *ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU.^dINANNA*, *AN.TA.ŠUB.BA*, *^dLUGAL.ŪR.RA*, *SAG.HUL.HA.ZA* (33f). Many quite characteristic rituals exist against *eṭemmu* (provisionally Bottéro *ZA* 73 153ff.).

E After the all-inclusive phrase I 9f., that clearly marks the end of a unit, the text continues with less commonly attested evils. These evils appear together with *šēp lemutti* in other rituals as well and are narrowly related to the specific purpose of the ritual, the expulsion of *šēp lemutti* (below H): [*mū*]*tānū* “[pl]ague”, *šaggāšu* “the murderer”, *šibtu* “stroke”, *[di']u* “[di']u-disease”, *hibiltu* “damage”, *sītu* “loss” and finally “[whatever evil]” that [stands] in someone’s house as a sign of evil”, described further by heavily restored phrases for which we refer to the edition. The verb stating what is to happen with these evils, the purpose of the ritual, is lost in the break and our restoration of I 18 is defended below. The last line of the introduction (I 19) must be restored so as to link the ritual to its title and to the introductory line of the *nishu* text II.

F Comparable rituals and other texts with *šēp lemutti*.

- a Text II Rev. 30 ff. and duplicates in other texts (cf. introduction to text II). Of interest for the present subject is the fact that the effect of a magical substance described in II Rev. 38ff and introduced as “to block the entry of the enemy (*šēp lemutti*) in someone’s house” is restated in II Rev. 40 as “*muršu di'u* (*di'u*-disease) *diliptu* (sleeplessness) and *mūtānū* (plague) will not approach the man or his house for one year”. *Šēp lemutti* is a present evil viewed as (Fg. 6) a sign of evil to come; the evils enumerated in II Rev. 40 are apparently among the expected disorders. This observation, reinforced by the texts quoted below, also serves to connect the two titles of *KAR* 44 20 a (*šēp lemutti*) and 20b (*di'u*, *šibtu*, *mūtānū*), identified with ritual I/II and its continuation. Yet the existence of the two titles implies a difference between the rituals denoted by these titles. The relative simplicity of the second ritual (the continuation of I/II) perhaps indicates that it was applied in less serious situations; the fact that it was affixed to ritual I/II perhaps indicates that it could be used to strengthen the effect of that ritual in very serious cases.

- b Text I MS C “430”ff. and its duplicates (cf. I “434”^a, “435”^b) is a ritual concerned with putting to flight an enemy, and also with *šēp lemitti* (STT 218–219 Obv. ii’ 25’, K 6013+ i’ 3’, iv’ 7). The effect of the ritual is described as (I “438”f.): “the evil one and the enemy will be put to flight (*irat lemni u ajjābi turrat*, literally: “the breast of ... will be turned away”); stroke (*šibtu*), the *šēdu*-demon and plague (*mūtānū*) will not approach someone’s house”.
- c Text I/4 7’ff., is an incantation to be inscribed on an *ugallu*, a monster defending the house also in text I/II and according to its inscription (*mutīr irat lemni u ajjābi*) especially fit to put to flight the evil one and the enemy (cf. II.A.3.16). The incantation urges the monster to block (*purus*) the entry of evil (*šēp lemitti*).
- d An unpublished namburbi, K 10333 (quoted by CAD L 128b, M/2 297a), has (5): *šēp lemitti* [*parsat* (cf. text II Rev. 37) ...] *ÚŠ.MEŠ* (*mūtānū*) *ana bīt amēli la iṭehhū*, “the entry of evil is blocked, ... plague will not approach someone’s house”.
- e The namburbi *OrNS* 39 118ff. (“ritual for the royal army”) to prevent *di’u*-disease, stroke (*šibtu*), and plague (*mūtānū*) from approaching the king’s horses and troops, has a subscript (120:64f.): “the ‘foot ([*GI.R*]¹] of evil’, *di’u*-disease, plague (*mūtānū*), dirge (*serhu*) and anger (*uggatu*) (of a god) will not approach the king’s horses and camp”. Here *šēp lemitti* appears among expected evils and must itself describe an evil, rather than foretell one.
- f *KAR* 74; cf. Ebeling *ZDMG* 74 183, Landsberger *ibid.* 442, CAD § 220a, Seux *Hymnes et Prières* 413¹, Farber *BID* 76 and *BAM* 316 v 4 for the restoration of the first line: “When a man is constantly gloomy (*adir*), worries day and night (*inazziq*), death (*mūtu*) and loss (*hulqu*) are ‘bound’ to him (*itti-šu raksū*) and his children great or small die one after the other (*indanuttū*), and he has to bear continuing losses among slaves and servant girls (*sit ardi u amti irtanašši*), and death comes constantly into his house (*mūtu ana bīti-šu sadir*), evil appearances and signs are present in his house, and his god and goddess are angry with him: [to ...] dissolve curse and oath, [to ...] and to block the entry of the enemy in his house”. Most of the following ritual is broken away; apparently a figure of *māmitu*, personified oath, is provided with food and sent away. The last word of the introduction is *namburbi*.

That *šēp lemitti* in this text refers to the described evils is evident from the fact that “to block the entry of the enemy (*šēp lemitti*)” is given as the purpose of the ritual; the other phrase stating the purpose of the ritual (we ignore the breaks), “to dissolve curse and oath”, refers not to the evils themselves but to their cause in curse and oath and determines the character of the ritual with the statue of *māmitu*, “oath”. That *šēp lemitti* constitutes a portent is clear not only from the last word, *namburbi*, which characterizes the ritual as directed against anticipated evil, but also from a comparison with the introduction of ritual I:

- 1 I 11–12 lists disorders that are not present but are to be prevented from approaching (cf. Fa above); 13–17 must list disorders that are not present either, since the verb expressing the purpose of the ritual appears after 13–17 and must cover both the evils of 11–12 and those of 13–17. Clearly,

however, the evils 13–17 are actually present in the house. What is not present is the evil they portend (*ana GISKIM 𒄑UL*, I 13), and it is against this approaching evil that the ritual is directed. For this reason we have restored *𒄑UL-šū*, “its evil”, that is, the evil they portend (cf. I 284/5) in I 18.

- 2 The purpose of the installation of certain figures is described as: *ana nasāh šēp lematti*, “to expel the ‘foot of evil’” (I 160, restored in I 166). The verb *nasāhu* is typically used for the expulsion of evil and in namburbi’s for the expulsion of the evil portending phenomenon that is conceived of as an evil itself.
- 3 In the incantation to the figures of Meslamtaea (I 300ff.) the purpose of their installation is described as “to expel” (*ana nasāhi*) an ill-portending presence in the house, one that constantly screams and causes constant terror and fright, illness, death, damage, theft and losses.
- 4 The evils enumerated in *KAR* 74, gloom, worry, loss and repeated cases of death, are comparable to those of text I (14ff., 300ff.); they are described as *šēp lematti* in *KAR* 74 and as ill-portending in text I (13, 301).

These observations allow the following conclusions:

- 5 From 2) *ana nasāh x = 3) ana nasāh y*, the purpose of ritual I/II, that $x=y$, or, that *šēp lematti* is a way of referring to terror, fright, illness, death, damage, theft and losses (cf. Fe where *šēp lematti* describes an evil, and Ff with a similar list of disorders covered by *šēp lematti*).
- 6 From 1) where we substitute *šēp lematti* for the evils of 13–17 after 5), from 3) with the same substitution, and from 4), that the evils described by *šēp lematti* portend the approach of further evil.
- 7 From Fa (and 6) and G (below), that it is in fact *mūtānū*, “plague”, literally “cases of death” (Kraus *RA* 65 97ff.), that is foretold by the evils described as *šēp lematti*. This conclusion is supported by the specific introduction of text I (above E), and in general by the other *šēp lematti* rituals directed at the prevention of *mūtānū*. It stands to reason that mere occasional deaths, together with ominous happenings, can be described as “foot of evil”, “entry of the enemy”, and can be understood as portending further cases of death, an epidemic, threatening the man and his family with total destruction.
- 8 From 5), 6) and 7), that, if *mūtānū* is not to approach, the deaths and ominous occurrences (*šēp lematti*) portending *mūtānū* have to be stopped. This concern has given the ritual its title: “to block the entry of the enemy (*šēp lematti*) in someone’s house”.

g *šēp lematti* is attested in OB omen apodoses as a diagnosis of disease: *YOS* X 20:17: “it is a *šēp lematti*; calamities, the sick man will die” (cf. *CAD* A/1 127a, Bottéro *Annuaire EPHE* 1974/75 IVe section 95ff. ad 20a). This omen ties in with the nature of *šēp lematti* as discussed above: the diagnosis *šēp lematti* implies the approach of calamities and death. Less explicit is *YOS* X 26 iii 55. The corresponding Sumerian term *g̃ir 𒄑ul* occurs once in an incantation concerning diseases among herd animals (*VAS* 17 32 Rev. 53, OB).

G We tabulate here the disorders portended by *šēp lemutti* besides *mūtānū*. In the table, “I” refers to text I (cf. above E), “20b” refers to *KAR* 44 20b, and the letters to texts discussed above under F.

			I	a	20b	b	c	d	e	total
A	1	<i>mūtānū</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7
	2	<i>šibtu</i>	+		+	+			+	4
	3	<i>di'u</i>	+	+	+				+	4
B	4	<i>šaggāšu</i>	+							1
	5	<i>šēdu</i>		^a		+				1/2
C	6	<i>hibiltu</i>	+							1
	7	<i>sītu</i>	+							1
	8	<i>diliptu</i>			+					1
D	9	<i>uggatu</i>						+	1	
E	10	<i>serhu</i>						+	1	

Notes: ^a Perhaps also in the shortened introduction of II and also after *šēp lemutti* in text IV iv' 13'.

Group A: In all cases where a text concerned with *šēp lemutti* lists disorders, *mūtānū* is among them; *šibtu* and *di'u* occur regularly but not always. This leads us to believe that it is especially *mūtānū* that is predicted by *šēp lemutti*. *Mūtānū*, “cases of death”, may be a general word for plague (cf. differently Adamson *WdO* 13 9: “bubonic plague”), not connected with a specific set of symptoms. *Di'u* and *šibtu* are perhaps specific forms of plague. On the meaning of *šibtu* opinions diverge (cf. Edzard *RLA* 5 169b, Cagni *SANE* 1/3 15f.) but here, between *di'u* and *mūtānū*, and below B next to *šaggāšu* (which in its turn occurs together with *di'u* and *mūtānū*), it can hardly denote anything else than a form of epidemic disease. This denotation is also implied by *YOS* 7 96:5 (Achaemenid. Reference courtesy M. Stol) where *šibtu* occurs among animals.

Group B: Personified disease: *šaggāšu*, “killer-(demon)”, *šēdu*, “*šēdu*-demon”. Note that *šaggāšu*, “murder”, a name implying a demonic agent (murderer), occurs among epidemic diseases elsewhere: *di'u šaggāštu mūtānū* (*Antagal* 8:3), *di'u šibtu šaggāštu* (*YOS* I 43:19, both from *CAD* D 165a), *šaggāštu mūtānū* (Wiseman *Treaties* 456, from *CAD* M/2 297a), *bēl šibti u šaggāšti* (Nergal; *AHw* 1127a, von Weiher *Nergal* 86¹). If *šēdu* is correctly identified with the human-headed bull (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type I, Reade *BaM* 10 41, Vorys Canby *Iraq* 33 39f.), we may recognize the evil *šēdu* in the human-headed bull chased by *apkallū*, gods, and monsters on NAss seals (Frankfort *CS* 201, Unger *RLV* 8 “*Mischwesen*” §16).

Group C: “Damage”, “loss” and “sleeplessness” (all from text I/II) refer to the evils that constitute a *šēp lemutti*, cf. Fg, I 16f., I 303f. Their continued presence would prove the ritual unsuccessful.

Group D: “Anger” probably refers to divine anger as a possible source of disorder.

Group E: “dirge” refers to the song of the *kalū*, “chanter”, who officiates in apotropaic rituals especially when they concern the king and divine anger (cf. Fe above, *LAS*

279:13ff.). In a way these songs prove the presence of evil and may therefore have been considered unpleasant and undesired.

H Deaths and ominous happenings in the house can be diagnosed as *šēp lemitti*, "foot of evil", "entry of the enemy", a diagnosis that implies the expectation of further entries of the enemy, increasing deaths, *mūtānū*, "cases of death", "plague". The connection between the diagnosis and the prognosis points to a metaphoric understanding of plague as an inimical army entering the country in ever growing numbers, taking possession of it house by house, killing owners, slaves and cattle. The following observations point in the same direction:

- Analogous to the personification of disease and death in general (*Mūtu*, "Death", *Namtar*, "Fate") we can expect personified forces representing "cases of death" (*mūtānū*). The word *mūtānū* does not have this derived meaning (cf. CAD M/2 296f). The personifications appear under other names and are kept separate from their deadly effect.
- One of the evils foretold by *šēp lemitti* is *šaggāšu*, "killer"(-demon).
- "Putting to flight the evildoer and the enemy" is one of the goals of *šēp lemitti* texts (cf. Fb, Fc, text I/6:3f.) and the special assignment of the *ugallu* (Fc, I/4 5', 7'), the most generally attested figure both in apotropaic art and in the rituals. The same *ugallu* is urged in I/4 9' to block the entry of the enemy, which indicates the identity of the entering enemy and of the enemy put to flight. The "evildoer" and the "enemy" (*lemnu* and *ajjābu*) recur in the address to the "statue of tamarisk" (I 277) that repels the evildoer and the enemy (*sākip lemni u ajjābu*) and in the incantations to, or inscriptions on other figures (201, 205, 296f., 314, 316). A general designation for figures of door men is *sākip lemni*, "that repel the evildoers"; indeed, we expect the evils opposed by armed gods and monsters to be susceptible to the application of force, and to be of the same kind as the defenders. On an amulet (Thompson *Iraq* 17 111, 128 no 41, cf. Reiner *JNES* 19 151) *šibbu*, *di'u* and *šibtu*, are called [HUL-*nu-ti*] ^dEr-ra, "the evildoers of Erra". Other occurrences of *lemnu* and *ajjābu* are discussed by Elat in *BiOr* 39 11f. (cf. also *ABRT* I 81:13).
- The representation of diseases as soldiers in the army of Nergal is also attested in the MB Myth Nergal and Ereškigal (Knudtzon *EA* 357). Ea gives Nergal fourteen diseases to accompany him to the Netherworld (*EA* p.972:46ff.). They hold the gates of the palace of Ereškigal, while Nergal penetrates into its innermost parts (972:67ff.). The seven warriors (^dSebettu) which Anu gives to Erra to be his fierce weapons and to kill men and beast, are also to be adduced here (Cagni *Erra* 62:39ff.).

I We can now summarize the purpose of the ritual as the expulsion of present evil and the prevention of the entry of similar evil portended by it. The measures prescribed by the ritual are in line with its purpose. The expulsion of evil by the exorcist (cursorily treated I 234ff.), centering on the purification of the house and culminating in the exit of evil (I 265), reappears as a secondary theme of the installation of gods and monsters, and as the main theme of the installation of the *apkallū*, purifiers and exorcists whose presence continuously protects the inhabitants against evil influences. The defence

against demonic intruders is the main task of gods and monsters stationed in the outer gate and at strategic points inside the house (cf. II.A.4.A-C).

J Finally, it must be noted that the directives of ritual I/II, in which the house has already been erected and the installation of figures is prompted by the observation and interpretation of certain occurrences, do not cover the installation of apotropaic orthostats in the palaces, erected simultaneously with the building. Nevertheless, there is good reason to judge these apotropaic orthostats after the directives of ritual I/II:

- The inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings, the builders of the palaces, occasionally refer to the figures and the reasons for their installation; *irat lemni turru*, “to put the enemy to flight” (Borger *AfOB* 9 62 B:43), is one of the reasons. Other royal inscriptions stress their function as guardians of the gate (e.g. *CAD* M/1 343b; cf. B. Engel, *Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren in assyrischen Palästen und Tempeln nach den schriftlichen Quellen* [1987], 104f.).
- More specifically, the inscription on a fragmentary slab accompanying an *ugallu* (text I/4 4'f. with notes) and the context in which the same incantation appears on a tablet, show that the *ugallū* of the orthostats had the same function as the *ugallū* of text I/II. A second inscription (text I/7) belonging to *apkallū* on orthostats is not duplicated in the rituals, but like the *apkallū* of text I/II those of the inscription are exorcists.
- The fragmentary building rituals (text IV, IV/1, V) prescribing figures of apotropaic beings and thus suitable candidates (note the doubtful *bāb ekallim* in IV/1 i' 8'), or at least analogies to suitable candidates, for covering the apotropaic subjects of the palaces, differ in only minor details from text I/II in as far as the use of figures is concerned (same set of figures, same attributes and inscriptions). The dogs (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 16.1.1-5) and the *urmahlullū* (Barnett *SNPAN* 40) from Ashurbanipal's palace in Nineveh bearing inscriptions identical to those prescribed in ritual I/II (I 191ff., II Rev. 15f.) witness to the comparability of ritual I/II and the building ritual covering the apotropaic figures of the palaces.

The widespread use of apotropaic figures in Neo-Assyrian palaces indicates that their installation did not depend on the interpretation of specific ominous occurrences before or during the building. Their installation is part of any building program and was perhaps prompted by doubts about divine approval and protection, which, if withheld, would make the house liable to attacks of evil. Divine disapproval is probably the source of the impurity of the gate, at least one of the reasons for the application of ritual IV (cf. iv' 5') and the subsidiary ritual II Rev. 38-40 (cf. 41).

However, the differences between ritual I/II and the perhaps unwritten ritual covering the installation of apotropaic figures in palaces cannot be overlooked. Firstly, the relief programs evolve (cf. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 150ff.); the stress shifts from exorcist *apkallū* and gods (cf. II.A.4.B) to apotropaic guardians. No palace uses exactly the figures that are prescribed by text I/II. To a certain degree metal and clay figures may have complemented the “relief programs” of the palaces; metal figures are known from royal inscriptions (cf. provisionally *CAD* s.v. *lamassu*, *aladlammū*, *apsasū*, *lahmu*, *kusarikku*, *kulullū*, *suhurmāšu*, *anzū*, *nā'iru*, *kūribu*), clay figures from excavations (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 232ff.). Secondly the positions of the figures generally do not correspond to those prescribed in ritual I/II. Since the positions of the figures in different

palaces (Reade *BaM* 11 83) and in other rituals do not agree among each other, this point should not be stressed. Here again we may suspect that the exorcist applied general rules rather than the exact prescriptions of a text (cf. II.A.5.B).

Only in Ashurbanipal's north palace (Barnett *SNPAN*) do we find a set of figures comparable to ritual I/II: *apkallū* (known only from text I/7; in the building no *apkallū* have been found), *lahmu*, *mušhuššu*, *ugallū*, *uridimmū*, *urmahlullū*, a set of clay dogs, and a partly preserved group of Sebettu. In some cases the positions of these figures seem to be related to the prescriptions of text I/II:

- the clay dogs (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 16.1.1-5, Barnett *SNPAN* 50), clearly meant to supplement the figures of the orthostat that housed them, stand like the dogs of ritual I/II (cf. already Gadd *SA* 190) in the, or rather in an outer gate (gate-chamber S, cf. Reade *BaM* 11 82f., back-door to park). The orthostat in question shows two *ugallū* facing each other ("linked together", that is *kissurūtu*) and an *ugallū* accompanied by Lulal (Room Sd 1). The orthostat at the opposite side has not been preserved but we may assume that it showed the same scene and housed the second set of five dogs (cf. II.A.4.A). The presence of drawn *ugallū* linked together is prescribed for the outer gate by the second part of text I ("435"ff.) and by other rituals of the same kind (cf. note "435"^b, II Rev. 35f., III 13+j, here "ša umāši", IV i' 7'ff.).
- Ritual I/II prescribes an *urmahlullū* for the gate to the lavatory (cf. II.A.3.20). The *urmahlullū* of the north palace are in rooms that may very well be lavatories: T, connected to V with the niche characteristic for bathrooms and called an ablution suite by Turner (apud Barnett *SNPAN* 31), and F (slabs 11 and 13) with niche and drain. The spot where the only clay *urmahlullū* was found *in situ* is unfortunately not known, but it may have been at the niche excavated in the same house (Ismail *AfOB* 19 199). Certainly not all bathrooms of Assyrian palaces (and houses) were protected by *urmahlullū* (cf. Turner *Iraq* 32 190ff., Reade *BaM* 11 84). If correct, the connection of the *urmahlullū* to bathrooms is striking; other figures do not seem to guard specific rooms. The unique position of the *urmahlullū* is matched at the side of evil by an equally striking phenomenon: a demon housing especially in lavatories, Šulak (cf. *CT* 51 142:14, *AMT* 77/1:8ff., *CAD* M/2 234). According to the description of Šulak in the "Unterweltsvision" (cf. Frank *MAOG* XIV/2 25 X, 33) this demon has the appearance of a regular lion. Is the Lion-man (*urmahlullū*) installed in the bathroom to guard it against attacks of the lion demon Šulak? In fact, on one of the very few seals showing an *urmahlullū*, we see him attacking a lion (MAss, ZA 47 67 Abb. 30).

Other figures are installed in positions certainly not conforming to the prescriptions of ritual I/II:

- The *uridimmū* of Sa and Ia certainly do not occupy comparable positions. The directives of the ritual are not preserved (II.A.3.17).
- The Sebettu (Mb, exit to court) are not in the same gate as the dogs. The text prescribes the outer gate for both of them. The *lahmū* in the same exit are prescribed for corners in the text (II.A.3.2, 25, 13).

Thus even a palace with a comparable set of figures (it was only partly excavated and may have housed more types) does not conform to the directives of the ritual as to their positions.

In private houses a similar situation prevails. In a house in Aššur (Preusser *WVDOG* 64 32f. and Pl. 13:20, *MDOG* 31 23, Klengel-Brandt *FuB* 10 29f.) seven bird-*apkallū* guard the entrance to the private quarters (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 5.4.1-7). Two other figures (*Kleinplastik* 3.1.1-2) with inscriptions stressing life and wealth guard the entrance to a reception (?) suite; they do not correspond to any figure of the rituals. The position of the bird-*apkallū* corresponds roughly to ritual I/I. Another house in Aššur (Plq k E 11 I, *FuB* 10 30f.) is protected by three figures in one box: a *kusarikku* with the inscription prescribed in ritual I/II (*Kleinplastik* 11.1.3.), a "man" (*lahmu*, *Kleinplastik* 3.1.3, *JEOL* 27 92) and a dog (?? not expected single; *mušhuššu*? *Kleinplastik* 16.1.12). The text at least does not bury the *lahmu* and the *kusarikku* together. In two houses a more complete set of figures came to light:

A House of the exorcist in Aššur: Preusser *WVDOG* 64 58, Andrae *WeA*² 31ff., Klengel-Brandt *FuB* 10 22, Ismail *AfOB* 19 199f., Rittig *Kleinplastik* 234:8, Kawami *FuB* 16 9ff. (fish-*apkallū*). Due to incomplete publication, the positions of the figures are only partly known. Judging from Preusser's plan of the building (Pl. 27a) it seems improbable that the two boxes with each a *lahmu* and a bird-*apkallū* in Plq h C 8 I Ost (*FuB* 10 22) belonged to this building. Even when we subtract these boxes, the number of boxes known to Klengel-Brandt is greater than the number of boxes in Preusser's plan. Of the positions of the figures found during recent Iraqi excavations (Ismail) nothing is known. In this house we find the following figures:

- bird-*apkallū* *Kleinplastik* 5.3.1.1-15. Number, interment in two different rooms, and the fact that each is paired with a *lahmu* do not conform to ritual I/II; bucket and cone do.
- fish-*apkallū* *Kleinplastik* 8.2.1-21. For their positions in the house cf. the photograph *WVDOG* 65 Pl. 28 a/b. Attributes and positions are not exactly as prescribed.
- *lahmu* *Kleinplastik* 2.2.1-14, each holding a *marru* "spade" as prescribed. Their number and consequently their positions do not conform to the text. A further *lahmu* was excavated recently (*AfOB* 19 199).

The shape of the rooms and the accumulation of *apkallū* indicate that we are dealing here with the private quarters (cf. II.A.4.B.). The following figures apparently stem from the rest of the house (Ismail *AfOB* 19 199):

- *bašmu* : attribute (Resten von bronzenen Zungen) and inscription do not conform to ritual I/II.
- *mušhuššu*: Neither attribute nor inscription conforms to ritual I/II.
- *urmahlullū* : For the *urmahlullū* of the ritual no attribute is prescribed (this one holds a vessel in its folded hands). The inscription is illegible.

From the fact that only one buried vessel with remains of copper objects has been found we may conclude that the outer gate with its wooden figures has not yet been completely excavated. This explains why no *ugallu* and no dogs have yet

been found. The *girtablullû* "buried" on the first floor must have disintegrated. Still missing are the *uridimmu*, Lulal, Latarak, the *kulullû*, and the *suhurmâšu*. If this house indeed contained the complete set of figures of text I/II (and no more), a further argument for the identity of Latarak can be derived. The last figure of the Iraqi excavations is the "Löwenmensch" (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 110f.) that must be identical with one of the still missing figures enumerated above. Since *uridimmu*, *kulullû*, and *suhurmâšu* have been identified with certainty, and in all likelihood Lulal, only Latarak (and perhaps Lulal) remains for identification. Thus the preserved figures in the house of the exorcist show differences with the figures of the ritual, but only in details. Their positions do not conform strictly to the prescriptions of the ritual but rather to the general ideas underlying these prescriptions: gods and *ugallû* in the outer gate, *apkallû* in the private quarters (the German excavation), and the monsters and Lulal and Latarak in the rest of the house (the Iraqi excavation). It would be interesting to know whether the *urmahllullû* is indeed the figure found near the niche (bathroom). Unfortunately, it cannot be decided archaeologically whether the figures were placed during or immediately after the erection of the building, or later. Therefore we do not know whether it was a building ritual (like text IV) or a *šēp lemitti* text (like I/II) that covered their installation.

B Building of *Sin-balâssu-iqbi* in Ur: Woolley *AJ* 5 375, *JRAS* 1926 689ff., *UE* 8 93f., Gadd *History and Monuments of Ur* 220ff., Rittig *Kleinplastik* 250f. The building is completely ruined, with walls perished down to or even below floor level. Due to incomplete reports not all figures excavated can be matched with a box in the plan.

- *bird-apkallû* *Kleinplastik* 5.2.34-40; hold only a bucket in their left hand, not the prescribed *mullilu* in their right.
- *fish-apkallû* *Kleinplastik* 8.3.22-35. Each group of seven in a separate box. No further details are reported.
- *bašmu* *Kleinplastik* 17.3-6. Without the prescribed inscription and attribute.
- *mušhuššu* *Kleinplastik* 15.2-3.
- *ugallu* *Kleinplastik* 12.1.7-9. The raised right arm originally held a clay club. Without the prescribed inscription.
- *uridimmu* *Kleinplastik* 6.1, "Genius mit Vogelbeinen". The singularity of this figure with the "claws of an eagle" (*JRAS* 1926 695) raises doubts as to the correctness of its description. If we change "claws of an eagle" to "claws of a lion" the figure fits the description of an *uridimmu*. The stretched out right hand held a staff (with symbol) rather than a weapon.
- *kusarikku* *Kleinplastik* 11.3.1. The left hands holds a *banduddû* bucket as prescribed.
- *girtablullû* *Kleinplastik* 7.1.1-2, "Genius met Skorpionstachel". Against the prescription this figure holds a vessel with both its hands.
- *Lulal* *Kleinplastik* 1.2.1.3

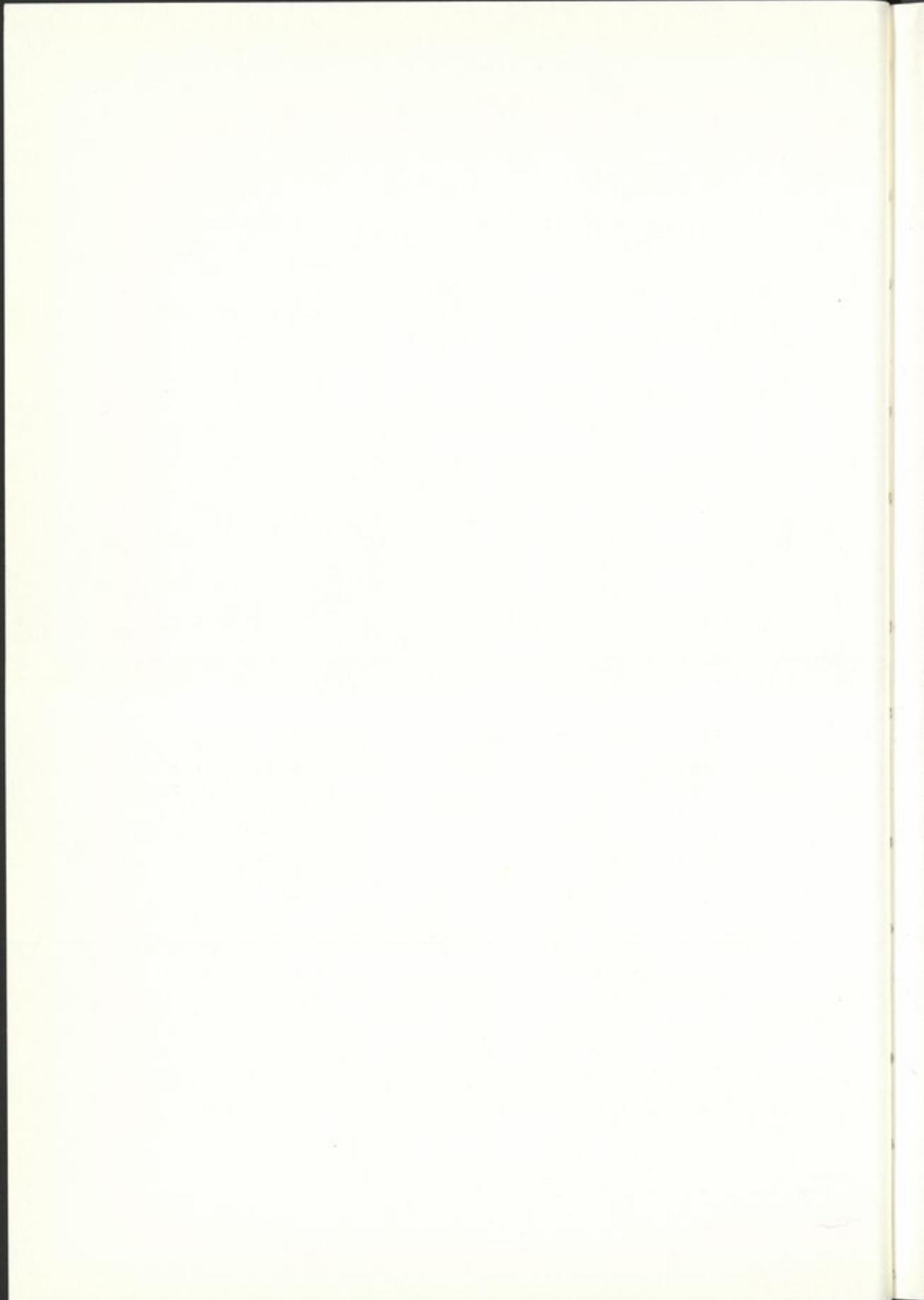
Missing are one group of fish-*apkallū*, *laḥmu*, *urmahlullū*, *Latarak*, *kulullū*, *suhurmāšu*, and the dogs. Two additional types are represented by gods holding vessels (*Kleinplastik* 1.4.1–6) and a god (*Kleinplastik* 1.3.1) holding a spear or a spade. Neither type is attested in clay elsewhere. The positions of the figures are not in complete accordance with the prescriptions of the text: four times a *bašmu* is paired with a *girtablullū* (prescribed for the first floor); the number of boxes indicates that they stood at two entrances (not indicated on the plan). At three points in the building an *ugallu* is paired with a god with vessel. Two pairs occupy positions at each side of a wall and therefore hardly comparable positions; two other *ugallu* are not paired with a god with vessel, and between them there may have been an entrance (they are prescribed for the passages of the gate). The position of the fish-*apkallū* is not known, but the bird-*apkallū* occupy a separate room (of which only one corner remains), conceivably private. Specimens of all types except the bird-*apkallū* are found in one square space that can only have been a courtyard (with the two *ugallū* defining the outer gate ?); here perhaps the figures (except the *girtablullū*) occupy positions comparable to those prescribed in the ritual. Unfortunately our information as to the prescribed positions of the *bašmu*, *mušhuššu*, *uridimmu* and *kusarikku* is incomplete; exactly here the text shows a number of irreparable breaks. The god with the vessel and the god with the spear or spade are not covered by the ritual at all. Again it cannot be decided archaeologically whether the figures were installed during or immediately after the erection of the building, or later. Therefore we do not know whether it was a building ritual (like text IV) or a *šēp lematti* text (like text I/II) that covered their installation. Figures have been found in other houses and palaces of NAss time (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 232ff., Green *Iraq* 45 87ff.) but due to lack of plans, incomplete excavation or the incomparability of lay-outs (especially the *ekal māšarti* in Kalhu where a large number of types has been found, certainly not all of the same date) they do not allow judgement about the application of the ritual texts.

2. Inventory of Figures in text I/II

I	II		Material	Colours	Attributes		
					Right	Left	Additional
1	1	7 apkallu (<i>ūmu</i>)	<i>cornel</i>	all	<i>e'ru</i>		breast
2	6	7 <i>Sebettu</i> ^c	tamarisk	red	<i>quilmā</i>	<i>patru</i>	<i>qaštu išpatu</i>
3		4 <i>Lugalgirra</i>	tamarisk	[white ^{c/?}]	<i>qaštu</i>	<i>šiltahu</i>	
4	8	7 šūt <i>kakkī</i>	tamarisk	white	<i>kakku</i>	<i>e'ru</i>	<i>uskaru</i>
5	9	1 <i>One Cubit</i> ^f	tamarisk	[?]	<i>patru</i>	<i>hašinnu</i>	
6		4 <i>Meslamtaea</i>	tamarisk	black/blue	<i>hutpalū</i>	<i>zahajū</i>	<i>patru</i>
7	7	1 <i>Narudda</i>	tamarisk	red			<i>timbūtu</i>
8	10	1 <i>il bīti</i>	tamarisk	—	greets	<i>gamlu</i>	
9	2	7 apkallu (bird)	clay (+wax)	white	<i>mullilu</i>	<i>banduddū</i>	
10	3	7 apkallu (fish)	clay	white	<i>mullilu</i>	<i>banduddū</i>	
11	4	7 apkallu (fish)	clay	white	<i>libbi g.</i>	breast	
12	5	7 apkallu (fish)	clay	white	<i>urigallu</i>	breast	
13	12	2 <i>lah̄mu</i>	clay	white		<i>marru</i>	
14	15	2 <i>bašmu</i>	clay	[?]		<i>paštu</i>	
15	16	2 <i>mušhuššu</i>	clay	[white ?]			
16	11	2 <i>ugallu</i>	clay (I) ^a	yellow	<i>patru</i>	<i>kakku</i>	
17	14	2 <i>uridimmu</i>	clay (I) ^b	yellow		<i>uskaru ?</i>	
18	13	2 <i>kusarikku</i>	clay	yellow		<i>banduddū</i>	
19	19	2 <i>girtablullū</i>	clay	yellow			
20	24	2 <i>urmaḥlullū</i>	clay	—			
21	22	2 <i>Lulal</i>	clay	blue			
22	23	2 <i>Latarak</i>	clay	black			
23	18	2 <i>kulullū</i>	clay	white			
24	17	2 <i>suḥurmāšu</i>	clay	white			
25	25	10 dogs	clay	all		<i>e'ru</i>	

I	II		Inscription	Incantation		Buried
				I	II(Incipits)	
1	1	7 apkallu (<i>ūmu</i>)	+	— ^d	Obv.11	bedroom
2	6	7 Sebettu ^e	—	311ff.	Obv. 25	outer gate
3		4 Lugalgirra	—	322ff.		outer gate
4	8	7 šūt kakki	—	331ff.	Obv. 32	outer gate
5	9	1 One Cubit ^f	+	277ff.	Obv. 37	outer gate
6		4 Meslamtaea	—	291ff.		outer gate
7	7	1 Nanudda	—	311ff.	Obv. 25	outer gate
8	10	1 il bīti	—	[341ff].	Obv. 40	outer gate
9	2	7 apkallu (bird)	—	—	Obv. 14	bedroom (?)
10	3	7 apkallu (fish)	—	—	Obv. 14	bedroom
11	4	7 apkallu (fish)	—	—	Obv. 14	living-room
12	5	7 apkallu (fish)	—	—	Obv. 14	living-room
13	12	2 laḥmu	+	346ff.	—	?
14	15	2 bašmu	+	346ff.	—	?
15	16	2 mušluššu	—	346ff.	—	?
16	11	2 ugallu	+	346ff.	—	outer gate
17	14	2 uridimmu	+	346ff.	—	?
18	13	2 kusarikku	+	346ff.	—	store room ?
19	19	2 girtablullū	—	346ff.	—	gate on the roof
20	24	2 urnahlullū	+	346ff.	—	lavatory
21	22	2 Lulal	—	346ff.	—	courtyard
22	23	2 Latarak	—	346ff.	—	courtyard
23	18	2 kulullū	+	346ff.	—	gate to the roof
24	17	2 suḥurmāšu	+	346ff.	—	courtyard
25	25	10 dogs	+	—	Rev. 22	outer gate

Notes: ^a II: tamarisk. ^b II: cedar. ^c After text IV i'18'. ^d Replaced by I 40 (incipit)? Cf. text III.C. ^e Also: *nāš patri*. ^f Also *şalam bīni*.



III TEXT III

būt mēseri

A General Observations

Rituals I/II and III are to a certain extent comparable (Gurney *AAA* 22 37, Meier *AfO* 14 140, Ellis *RA* 61 58¹); both texts use figures of gods, sages and monsters. There are, however, also differences (cf. below B ad tablet I). As long as R. Borger's new edition (*JNES* 33 188), based partly on unpublished sources, is not available, a complete study of ritual III cannot be undertaken. Our observations here are based on the published sources and restricted to the goals of the present study.

Published and unpublished sources were collected and discussed by R. Borger, *Die Beschwörungsserie Būt mēseri und die Himmelfahrt Henochs*, *JNES* 33 (1974) 183ff., and *HKL* 2 195 ad G. Meier, *Die Zweite Tafel der Serie Būt mēseri*, *AfO* 14 (1941/45) 139ff. The Uruk tablet *W* 22762/2, Borger's Uruk ex. a, has now been published by E. von Weiher as *SbTU* 2 no 8. In the same book we find duplicates to *KAR* 58 (no 9, 10) and a reference to Haupt *ASKT* 105f., which according to Borger belongs to *būt mēseri* as well (p. 68). Incantation 1 is duplicated by *SbTU* 2 no 11.

Sm 1277 (*BBR* 40) which according to Borger "könnte nach den äusserlichen Kriterien hierher gehören" is rather a namburi of the "Field and Garden" type (cf. Caplice *OrNS* 40 155ff.); Sm 711 does not belong here, cf. text I MS B, to which it is now joined. K 6855 (*HKL* 2 195), quoted by Abusch *JNES* 33 254¹⁰, 258, probably does not belong here either; the incantation *tummu bitu* appears in a quite different context in *būt mēseri* (cf. below incantation 16+xx). K 16367 (*HKL* 2 195, with question mark) is now joined to K 2987B+ (text I MS A).

To the ritual tablet (I) Borger remarks: "Leider ist es nicht sicher ob K 6310+ und K 6390+, die beide zu derselben Seite der Tafel gehören müssen, zur Vorderseite oder zur Rückseite der Tafel gehören; ich rechne sie mit Vorbehalt zur Vorderseite". It can be proved that both pieces belong to the reverse:

- a Analogous to other series we may expect that the incantations of tablets II-IV follow the sequence of incipits of the ritual tablet (I).
- b The right column of tablet I K 6390+ (+) K 6310+ contains (6'ff.) the incipits of the incantations of tablet II and the beginning of tablet III (cf. Borger ad ex. a) in the same sequence; any other incantation must belong to the incantations of III-IV. If one of these other incantations can be shown to have been quoted by its incipit in the left column of K 6390+ (+) K 6310+, it will be proved that the left column continues the right column, and as a consequence, that the right column is column iv, and the left column is column v.
- c It is indeed a fact that incipits of other incantations are quoted in the left column (see below ad tablet III-IV 14+xx).

The series appears as *būt mēseri* in an unpublished catalogue from Aššur (Meier *AfO* 14 139) and in the "vademecum of the exorcist" *KAR* 44 11b; in the comparable "almanac of the exorcist" this title is not attested, and the series apparently goes under the name "*marṣa ana esēri*" (cf. Ungnad *AfO* 14 259 ad *BRM* 4 19:30, 20:36; the new text *STT*

300:22, 23, 26 has LÚ.GIG, proving the reading *marṣu* instead of *murṣu* for GIG in *BRM* 4). The almanac prescribes the same days for profitable performance (*STT* 300:23, Tašritu 7, 26, Arahsamna 12, or rather [22]) as the ritual tablet of *būt mēseri* I/vi 7 (correct here Arahsamna 12 to 22?). To the references in the lexica we can add *AfO* 17 313:7, a commentary to “An Address of Marduk to the Demons”.

[The important new text *SbTU* 3 69 describes the statues, their outfit and place. Incorporation of this text into the present book would have required a thorough revision].

B The text

Tablet I

Published sources (mainly after Borger *JNES* 33 188, with modified sequence of columns):

i	1-9	Sm 1939 (Frank <i>ZA</i> 36 215ff.).
iv	1-26	Sm 2004 (<i>BBR</i> 48) + K 8980 (<i>AMT</i> 94/9), 25-39; + K 8189 (<i>AMT</i> 2/5); second part of iv: K 6310 (<i>BBR</i> 53), 19'-25'; + Sm 263 (<i>AMT</i> 71/4).
v	1-19	K 6390 (<i>AMT</i> 34/2).
vi	1'-19'	Sm 1939 (<i>ZA</i> 36 215ff.), <i>SbTU</i> 2 11 1'-7' (in 7' read: [<i>ina it'</i>]DU ₆ .KÙ UD VII ...).

iv 1-2 is the end of a section describing statues of clay: 1 ÉN *ina IM* ^dÉ.A DÙ-ku-*nu-ši* [šID-*nu*], “incantation: from the clay of Ea I have made you [you shall recite]” (a second incantation with this incipit is III.B. 13); then follow offerings to Ea, Šamaš and Marduk, and the purification (iv 9: *túl-lal-šu-nu-[ti]*; text I 216: [*tu-hap*]) of “all the statues of wood and [clay] that you have made” (iv 6f.: NU.MEŠ ŠÁ GIŠ.MEŠ NU.MEŠ ŠÁ [IM] / *ma-la te-pu-uš*, cf. text I 207). Analogous to text I/II, in which the first part of the text describes the preparation of materials and the construction of figures, we expect a full treatment of materials (tamarisk, *cornel*, and clay) and figures (not described in the preserved parts of text III) in columns i-iii. The descriptions of the figures in the rest of the text are shortened, and serve only to identify the figure when its incantation or position is given.

The circumstances leading to the choice of this ritual are described in tablet II 78ff.: repeated deaths, confusion and unhappiness have befallen the house. The exact evildoers are unknown (II 89), which explains the general nature of the diagnosis reflected in the introduction I/i 1ff. So far ritual I/II (cf. above II.B.1) and III are comparable. The difference seems to lie in the absence of namburbi features in ritual III; the circumstances are not interpreted as a sign of evil to come. This tallies with the end of ritual III (Uruk ex. a col. iv), where the statues are thrown into the river and the drawn figures are wiped off. In ritual I/II the statues are to remain in position against the anticipated “entry of the enemy”.

Tablet II (after Meier *AfO* 14 139ff., Borger *HKL* 2 196)

Sequence of figures and incantations:

- 1 Incipit: ÉN *ga-aš-ru šu-pú-ú e-tel Eri-[du₁₀]*
Quoted: I/iv 6'.
To: Marduk (not a statue or drawn figure).
- 2 Incipit: ÉN ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA ALAM SUH.KÉŠE.KÉŠE.RE
Quoted: I/iv 10'f., cf. I/iv 5, Uruk ex. a iii 13.
To: NU ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA šá KEŠDA-su šuk-lu-lu, "the figure of Lugalgirra whose outfit is perfect".
Position: *ina ri-kis* É, I/iv 34, II 206, "in the joint² of the house" and apparently near the head of the sick man (II 56).
- 3 Incipit: ÉN ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA šur-šu-du [DINGIR *ga-aš-ru*]
Quoted: I/iv 12'f.
To: NU ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA šá *ina* (SAG) É.GAR₈ *es-ru*, "the statue of Lugalgirra that is drawn on (the head of) the wall".
What drawn figures of gods looked like is known from *STT* 73 Obv. ii 57ff. (drawings of Ea and Marduk, cf. Reiner *JNES* 19 26f.).
- 4 Incipit: ÉN ^dENKUM MAH DU₆.KÙ.GA UB.BA AL.GUB.BA
Quoted: I/iv 14'f.
To: XIV ÚRI.GAL IM.BABBAR *ša ina* É.GAR₈ *es-ru*, "fourteen *urigallū* of gypsum that are drawn on the wall". For their position cf. also II 166/7: *idāt erši marši uzaqqip*, "I have erected them at the sides of the bed of the sick man", and *AAA* 22 92:194 (text III.C): *urigalla ina reši-šu uzaqqip*, "I have erected the *urigallu* at his head". The incantations speak of the *urigallū* as "set up", but the ritual makes it clear that such *urigallū* can be represented by drawn figures.
- 5 same as 4. The incantation is a variant of the preceding one and not quoted in the ritual tablet. The last lines of this incantation give the exact positions of the *urigallu* in the bedroom, but due to gaps we cannot give a reconstruction. The incantations make it clear that there are two kinds of *urigallu*: four of each kind are "erected" in the bedroom, and three of each kind in the gate (of the bedroom). The four of the first kind are between them at the sides.
- 6 Incipit: ÉN Á.ÍL.LA.ZU.NE.NE ^{túg}SA₅ IN.LÁ.E.DÈ
Quoted: I/iv 16'f.
To: VII NU.MEŠ šu-ut *kap-pi šá ina* SAG É.NUN *es-ru* šá NU ^dU.GUR (var. I/iv 17' adds: *u* ^dI-š]um NIMGIR GAL) *ina* IGI-šú-nu GUB-zu (var. I/iv 17': GUB.MEŠ), "seven figures of winged ones that are drawn at the head of the bedroom with a statue of Nergal (var.: and Išum the great herald) standing before them". The red garment, the multicolored cord, the *e'ru* stick and the *libbi gišimmmari* (cf. above II.A.4.B; Frank *LSS* III/3 44) show that these figures are exorcists (cf. II 231ff. where they cast an incantation). They are "born from *apsū* ... sons of Ea" (II 234), but they are not called *apkallū*, which excludes identification with the bird-*apkallu* of ritual I/II (so Gurney *AAA* 22 37,39). The obvious candidate for identification is the winged god with exorcist functions of the palace reliefs (cf. II.A.4.B, end). That É.NUN = *kummu* denotes the bedroom in these texts is clear from the following considerations:

- a *kummu* in this text must be a specific room, not “private quarters” consisting of several rooms, because the description of the positions of the figures must be unequivocal.
- b The *šūt kappi* occupy the *kummu*, a specific room, together with Išum and Nuska (II 199f.); the bed of the sick man is in the same room (cf. below 13+g, especially 17+x). This makes it highly probable that the gate of incantation 9 is not defined according to a hypothetical adjoining room, but according to the room where the bed stood (KÁ É.NUN).
- c The sick man of text III.C lies in his bed in the *kummu* (AAA 22 88:146).
- d Sumerian É.NUN also has the meaning “bedroom” (cf. Caplice *OrNS* 42 299; Alster *OrNS* 41 354, but with reservations *RA* 67 102¹; Waedock *Iraq* 37 117; and for further references and discussion: Charpin *Iraq* 45 62, von Soden *CRRAI* 20 140, Komoróczy *ActAntHung* 22 172¹⁰⁵, M. Lambert *Sumer* 6 153, Pettinato *OAColl* XVI 30, *OrAnt* 18 114f., Mander *OrAnt* 19 191²⁰, Sjöberg *TCS* 3 85, above I.A.4.B *urigallu* ad van Dijk *OrNS* 44 60²⁰, van Dijk *AOAT* 25 131f.).

Tablet III-IV (the quoted sources are not meant to be complete)

- 7 Incipit: ÉN A.RU.UB MAŠKIM ḤUL.
Quoted: I/iv 18'f, cf. I/iv 29.
To: VII NU.MEŠ ^dVII.BI šá ^{giš}MA.NU šá ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ *na-šú-ú*, “seven figures of Se-bettu of *cornel* that hold weapons”.
Position: at the head of the bed (I/iv 29).
Text: 4 *R*² 21 B Rev. 10ff.
- 8 Incipit: ÉN U₄.AN.NA GIŠ.ḤUR AN.KI.A ŠU.DU₇.
Quoted: omitted in tablet I.
To: VII NU NUN.ME SUḪUR^{ku6} (var.: SUḪUR.MÁŠ^{ku6}) šá *ina* IM.BABBAR *u* IM.GI₆ *uq-qu-ú* šá *ina* *le-et* É.NUN *ina* É.GAR₈ *es-ru*, “seven figures of carp sages, painted with gypsum and black paste, that are drawn at the side of the bedroom on the wall”.
Text: Uruk ex. a i 1ff., Reiner *OrNS* 30 2f. 1'-33', Cavigneaux *BaM* 10 120 4 (W 23830c), cf. Borger *JNES* 33 192.
The first seven sages of this incantation are the fish-*apkallū* (*purādū namrūtu*, *purādū tāmtiū* šá *ina nāri ibbanū*, “shining carps, carps of the sea . . . that were created in a stream”). The following group of four *apkallū*, of human descent (*ilitti amēlūti*), endowed with understanding by Ea, are improperly added; the resulting incantation is, contrary to the directives of the ritual, addressed to eleven *apkallū* of mixed descent.
The improper addition of four *apkallū* proves that the list of *apkallū* does not originate from *bīt mēseri* but from another text — a chronicle? —, from where it was adopted by *bīt mēseri*. The fish-*apkallū* are discussed above II.A.4.B.
- 9 Incipit: ÉN U₄ [NAM].T.LA [Ù.TU.UD.DA ÚR^{ki}.MA]. Incantation to the *ūmu-apkallū* (cf. II.A.3.1); the first of them in text I/II is called: *ūmu balāti ilitti Uri*, “day of life, offspring of Ur” (cf. I 55^b). The second part of the line is restored after unpublished texts (information courtesy prof. Borger).
Quoted: I/iv 21'f. (restores Uruk ex. a).

To: VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME šá ^{giš}MA.NU *qud-du-ši ina KÁ É.NUN ana t[e-h]i* LÚ.GIG *ana* IGI [SAG ^{giš}]NÁ GUB-zu, “seven figures of sages of consecrated *cornel*; they stand in the gate of the bedroom ne[are]st to the sick man at the head of the bed”. Note that also in text I/II (cf. note to I 31^a) and text III.C (AAA 22 88:152f) the *ūmu-apkallū* are made of consecrated *cornel*. In text I/II they are the only figures made of this material, in *bīt mēseri* the *Sebettu* are also made of *cornel*. In text I/II (cf. II.A.3.1.), in text III.C (AAA 22 90:9), and in *bīt mēseri* they stand at the head of the sick man.

Text: Uruk ex. a i 32ff., *OrNS* 30 3 34'f., cf. *JNES* 33 192.

10 Incipit [ÉN U₄ AN.N]É DÙG.GA[...].

Quoted: I/iv 23'f., cf. I/iv 28 (Borger *BiOr* 30 182 ad 18).

To: [VII NU.MEŠ N]UN.ME.MEŠ šá ^{giš}ŠINIG kám-su-ti šá *ina* GÌR-it ^{giš}NÁ GUB-zu, “[seven figures of s]ages of tamarisk (var.: *OrNS* 30 4 10': šá I[M], “of clay”), kneeling, that stand at the foot of the bed”.

On the basis of text I/II (cf. II.A.4.B) we should expect *ūmu-apkallū*, fish-apkallū and bird-apkallū in the bedroom. The *apkallū* of inc. 8 are clearly the fish-apkallū, the *apkallū* of inc. 9 are clearly the *ūmu-apkallū*, the *apkallū* of inc. 11 do not stand in the bedroom; only the *apkallū* of inc. 10 remain for identification with the bird-apkallū. The alternative solution, that the bird-apkallū are omitted here and that the *apkallū* of inc. 10 are a second group of fish-apkallū, is excluded by the fact that fish-apkallū are not attested kneeling (cf. p.144).

Text: *OrNS* 30 4 Rev. 1'-10', cf. *JNES* 33 192, *VAS* 24 121.

11 Incipit: [ÉN ...]^[x] LÚ É.A GUB.[BA].

Quoted: I/iv 25' (last line of the published text of I/iv).

To: “[sieben Statuen] der Weisen aus Gips, die in den Ecken und im Inneren des Tores gezeichnet sind” (after Borger *JNES* 33 193; published text defective).

A group of fish- or bird-apkallū. Since they are accompanied by *urigallū* (12) perhaps rather fish-apkallū (in text I/II it are the fish-apkallū that hold the *urigallū*, cf. II.A.4.B).

12 Incipit: ÉN GABA.GI LÚ.ÉR[IM.MA].

Quoted: expected at the unpublished end of I/iv.

To: XIV ÙRIGAL IM.BABBAR šá *ina* ŠÀ KÁ ZAG [*u* GÁB *es-ru*], “fourteen *urigallū* of gypsum that [are drawn] in the gate right [and left]”. For the restoration cf. I/iv 14'.

Text: Uruk ex. a ii 7-13.

13 Incipit: ÉN *ina* IM ⁴É.A *e-pu-u*[*š-ku-nu-ši*].

The statues in question are mentioned in I/iv 25f., restoring Uruk ex. a ii 14; the incipit is expected in the unpublished part of I/iv.

To: NU NITA šá TÚG UD.1.KAM *la*[*b*]-šú NU MUNUS šá TÚG GI₆ *lab-šá-tu*₄, “the figure of a man that is clad in daily wear and the figure of a woman that is clad in a black garment”; the figures stand at the head of the bed. Contra von Weiher *SbTU* 2 54 this incantation is not to be identified with the similar incantation I/iv 1, which is to be recited in quite a different context and outside of the city (I/iv 3) to all the statues of clay.

Text: Uruk ex. a ii 14-29 (end broken).

After incantation 13 the sequence of incantations is broken. Tablet I/iv 7'ff., before the enumeration of incipits corresponding to incantations 2–13, has: “the figures as many as you have made ... you shall speak to them as follows”. This implies that we may expect the remaining figures, in as far as they are provided with an incantation, quoted at the unpublished end of I/iv (I/v continues with different subjects). The candidates are:

13+a [II NU.MEŠ šá T]ÚG UD.1.KÁM *lab-šú i-di ana i-di šá* KÁ LÚ.GIG GUB-[zu], I/iv 27, “[two figures] clad in daily wear, standing on each side of the gate of the sick man”. The restoration [II] is based on *i-di ana i-di*, “on each side”, implying an even number of figures. Perhaps identical to 13+i below (from an incantation).

13+b [II NU.]MEŠ *giššINIG šá lu-bu-uš iš-še-bi-e lab-š[u ...] / [šá ina]* SAG *gišNÁ* *ù* GÍR-*it* *gišNÁ* GUB-[zu], I/iv 30f., “[two figure]s of tamarisk clad in the garment of an *esšebù*-priest [...] / [that] stand [at] the head of the bed and at the foot of the bed”. The restoration [II] is based on “at the head and at the foot of the bed” implying an even number of figures. The figures of 13, 13+a and 13+b are probably all anthropomorphic, characterized by different garments.

13+c [NU] ^d*Na-nu-di šá giššINIG šá tim-bu-ut-ta na-[šá-tú] / [ina Gi]R-it* *gišNÁ* GUB-az, I/iv 32f., “[a figure of] Naruddi of tamarisk, who ho[lds] a harp (?); she stands [at the fo]ot of the bed”. Naruddi is referred to in II 76 and 210 as the sister of the Sebettu / great gods; in II 210 she is placed under the bed. A separate incantation for Naruddi is not to be expected; in I/II the incantation to her brother(s) is used for her as well. In text I/II the harp hangs at her side.

13+d NU ÚŠ (*mūti*) A.BÁR, I/iv 33, “a figure of death of lead”. This figure is not apotropaic; it probably plays a part in the ritual of dismissal of death and other evil to the netherworld (II 122ff., Uruk ex. a iv 15ff.).

13+e [NU ^dMES.LAM.TA.È.A] *[šá]giššINIG ina SAG gišNÁ ina mi-ih-rit L*[Ú.GIG ...], I/iv 36, “[figure of Meslamtaea of tamarisk; he [stands] at the head of the bed opposite the sick man ...]”. Uncertain restoration. Meslamtaea is expected in this text (cf. Lugalirra 2, 3) and mentioned in II 207 without indication of his position.

13+f Figure of Nergal (^dU.GUR), cf. above 6, II 195ff. Together with the *šūt kappī* in the bedroom.

13+g Figure of [^dI-š]um NIMGIR GAL, “[Iš]um the great herald”, cf. above 6; together with the *šūt kappī* in the bedroom; in AAA 22 86:127 at the head of the sick man. Cf. [^dHE]NDUR.SAG.G[Á NIM]GIR GI₆ STT 213:4' (similar context).

13+h Figures of *ugallu* (cf. text IV i' 7^b for their identity): 2 *salam māšī kišsurūti ša bunnannē šuklulū sākip gallē lemni ina rēš marši imna u šumēla ulziz*, II 203f., “two figures of twins linked together, whose appearance is perfect, repelling the evil constable, I have placed at the head of the sick man right and left”.

13+i Figures of *ugallu* (?) although these figures are described neither as *kišsurūtu* nor as *ša umāši*, the parallelism with the descriptions of 13+h and 13+j indicates that also the *māšū* of 13+i are *ugallū*): *māšī mundahsī ša gašši ina libbi bābi ēsir*, II 216, “twins, fighters, of gypsum I have drawn inside the gate”.

13+j Figures of *ugallu* (cf. text IV i' 7^b for their identity): *māšī mundahsī ša umāši ša iṭṭē ina sippi bābi imna u šumēla ulziz*, II 219f., “twins, fighters, wrestlers, of bitumen I have placed on the posts of the gate, right and left”. Cf. AAA 22

90:172f. where figures of bitumen of wrestlers (and) linked together guard the door posts (quoted III.C.e).

13+k Figures of Lulal and Latarak: *ana mimma lemni la ṭehē Lulal u Latarak ina bābi ulziz*, II 212, "to prevent the approach of whatever evil, I have placed Lulal and Latarak in the gate".

13+l Figures of watchmen: *2 salam maṣṣarī ša Ea u Marduk ina libbi bābi ulziz*, II 223f., "two figures of watchmen of Ea and Marduk I have placed inside the gate, right and left". Possibly identical with 13+a above (cf. *CAD M/1 343*; text I 159 where the monsters of clay are "the statues repelling the evil ones, of Ea and Marduk").

13+m Figure of Ensimah: *kisalli biti iṣṣabat Ensimah*, II 111, "the courtyard of the house Ensimah has occupied". A description of Ensimah is given in the Göttertypentext *MIO I 76* v 13ff. Since Ensimah has bull's ears, the bull-eared god of art is sometimes adduced for identification, cf. (negatively) Opificius *UAVA 2 215*, van Buren *Iraq 1 74f.* (who identifies the same god with Ningišzida), Porada *CRRAI 26 265* (god of the underworld).

13+n Figure of Ištar: *ina apti būti ittašab telītu Ištar*, II 112, "in the window of the house shrewd Ištar has taken seat". This "Ištar in the window" is perhaps identical with *Kilili*, cf. Zimmern *OLZ 1928 2*, Frankena *Tākultu 97* and Farber *BID 79* who all quote this line, and further Lambert *Fs Kraus 209*, Parpola *LAS 2 184*, Menzel *Assyrische Tempel II T 7 ad 5'*, Fauth *Fs Günther Neumann 54¹¹* (*Aphrodite parakýptousa*, with previous literature).

13+o Figure of Gula: *ina muḥhi askuppati ašbat Gula azugallatum rabītum*, II 114, "on the threshold sits Gula, the great chief physician".

After the gap (I/iv end) the text continues with the following figures and incantations:

14+x Figures of Urgula and his dogs: *ina bābi kamī^(mul)ur-gu-la a-šib a-di kal-bi-šū*, II 113, "in the outer gate Urgula sits with his dogs". We read *kalbi-šū* (pl.) here, rather than *kalbi-šū* (sg.; so Meier *AfO 14 147*, Heimpel *RIA 4 497a*, Rittig *Kleinplastik 218f.*) and identify these dogs with the watch dogs of clay of ritual I/II. This interpretation is confirmed by ex. n, where line 3' of the incantation preceding 15+x has *u r - b i - e - n e*, "his dogs". Accordingly a quotation of the incantation to the dogs is expected at the end of I/iv, preceding the quotation of 15+x in I/v 1ff.

15+x Incipit: ÉN ZIL.ZIL.GAR.RA KA BA.AB.DUH / šá pi-it pi-i-šú ana dum-qf šak-nu ex. u 3//ex. n 9', restored after Gurney *AAA 22 92 186f.*, Meek *BA 10/1 37 10*; Introduction ex. i 1f., ex. n 7f.:

..... ana ŠÀ GEŠTU MÁŠ šá ina SAG LÚ.GIG KEŠDA-su ki-a-am tu-làh-haš ÉN tum(ex. n; ex. u: *tùm*)-mu É EGIR-šú ŠID-nu

The ritual is described in I/v 1ff.:

[..... MÁŠ] ina SAG LÚ.GIG KEŠDA

[..... ana ŠÀ] GEŠTU^{II}-šú tu-làh-haš

cf. *AAA 22 92:193* ... ú-ri-ša ina re-eš mar-šu ir-ku-us

16+x Incipit: ÉN tu-mu É quoted I/v 5, cf. above 15+x. The circle of flour associated with this incantation is mentioned in I/v 7. The plural suffix in I/v 6 refers perhaps to the drawn figures (cf. I/v 3) of the winged ones, since the red garment (I/v 4) and the circle of flour reappear in the incantation 6 recited to these fig-

ures. The text of the incantation *tummu bitu* is known partly from a commentary, Meier *AfO* 12 241 (cf. 240 and note 27 with literature), and cf. Borger *HKL* II 195 with further literature (add now Borger *WdO* 5 172, Abush *JNES* 33 254 with note 10) and the remark: "auch belegt in der Serie *bit mēseri*, wo anscheinend die zweispr. Beschwörung *zil.zil.gar.ra ka ba.ab.duh* (15+x) so bezeichnet wird". I can see no grounds to affirm Borger's opinion. In the introduction to 15+x, *kiam*, "thus", refers to the following recitation or rather whispering of the incantation 15+x; it is clearly stated, and confirmed by the quotation I/v 5, that the incantation *tummu bitu* is to be recited thereafter (EGIR-šú). The situation assumed by Borger would be very unusual. Both incantations are (partly) known, and completely different.

17+x Incipit: [ÉN ^dIZI.GAR *a-na* ^d] *Marduk ku-ru-ub*
 Quoted: I/v 14; incipit restored after *KAR* 58 1ff. and I/v 14, 15.
 To: ^(d)IZI.GAR I/v 14, 15 = ^dZÁLAG KAR 58 1, 23 (var. *n]u-úr* from *SbTU* 2 9:6)
 = ^dNūru (cf. Farber *BID* 251f. ad 228:9', ^dZÁLAG // *nu-ú-ru*);
 Another reading of AN.ZÁLAG is discussed by Deller *Fs Lacheman* 62ff., cf. also Durand *RA* 73 155¹⁰, von Soden *BiOr* 40 107, Craig *ABRT* 81:7. That the lamp, *nūru*, refers to Nuska (= *n u - s i g a*, "the good lamp"?") is clear from variants to *KAR* 58 23f. (Mayer *UFBG* 483) and 39 (ibid. 485), cf. Oppenheim *Dreams* 298, Borger *ABZ* 105 (quoting the unpub. *bit mēseri* sources ex. v // ex. a), and for the lamp as a symbol of Nuska Seidl *BaM* 4 128f., *RLA* 3 486, and perhaps *LKU* 31: 2': [^d]IZI.GAR *n[u-u-ru* (symbol of a god whose name is broken away). The position of the lamp is known from *KAR* 58:25 (at the head of the sick man) and from *AfO* 14 146:11: "in the bedroom of the house, Nuska took residence" (cf. also *AfO* 14 150:199f., Uruk ex. a iv 26). For the incantation *KAR* 58 1ff. cf. Borger *JNES* 33 191 and the edition of Mayer *UFBG* 482ff.

18+x Incipit: [ÉN ^dNuska LUGAL G]I₆ (*mu-na-mir uk-li*)
 Quoted: I/v 16. For another quotation of this incipit without *mu-na-mir uk-li* cf. K 2559 (unp.).
 Text: Uruk ex. a iii 3'ff., *KAR* 58 39ff. (edited by Mayer *UFBG* 485f.), cf. Borger *JNES* 33 191 ad "Stück V".
 The two prayers 17+x and 18+x, the latter said by the sick man, explain the presence of the lamp at the head of the sick man on Lamaštu amulets (Lamaštu amulets 1, 2; on 61 at his feet). The sick man of the amulets makes a gesture of supplication (opened hand directed to the face: amulets 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 29?, 37, 58?, not on 61, 64 = Wiggerman apud Stol *Zwangerschap en Geboorte* 97 no 62) probably accompanied by a prayer like 18+x.

From Borger's remarks on ex. a (*JNES* 33 188f.) we can deduce the approximate number of lines missing in Uruk ex. a i. The last line of Uruk ex. a i = ex. a iii 101 = Reiner "36". Seven broken lines follow to the end of the column. In col. iii 25 lines follow after the last line of K 5119 (Gurney *JRAS* 1935 459ff.). Accordingly, the first line of K 5119 (ex. a) rev. is approximately iv 26 (Reiner Rev. 1' = iv 26); the first line of Uruk ex. a is K 5119 14' = iv 39. The number of missing lines at the end of Uruk ex. a i is: 7 + 38 = 45. The total number of lines of Uruk ex. a would be 34 + 45 = 79; the complete text of *bit mēseri* III-IV on Uruk ex. a counts 4x79 = 316 lines. This tallies

well with ex. a: 66 lines in iii, ca 105 in iv and v (based on the known number of lines of the columns on the obverse) = 276 lines, leaving room for 40 lines and a colophon (Uruk ex. a has a very short colophon) in vi.

Between Uruk ex. a iii end and iv 1'ff. (end of the ritual) approximately $79 - 32 = 47$ lines are missing. The 32 lines of *ASKT* 12 rev. (Borger apud von Weiher *SbTU* 2 68) have to be accommodated here. Given the fact that we may expect further *Kultmittel* incantations we may be confident that not much information on the statues is lost from this part of the text.

The end of incantation 13, the hypothetical incantations 13+..., and the attested incantations 14+, 15+, 16+ and 17+ all fall in the gap between Uruk ex. a ii and iii, measuring about 113 lines. The incantation 16+ is probably not written out. The incipit appears in other series where the text is not written out either (*Lamaštu*, *Maqlū*, cf. Abush *JNES* 33 254). The text is found in a collection of unspecific incantations (Borger *AOAT* 1 2 ad ex J). The incantations 15+ and 17+ are known, and, with their introductions, take up some 50 lines. 63 lines remain available for the end of 13 the 15 (or 14 when 13+a and 13+l are identical) hypothetical incantations 13+, and 14; this clearly indicates that we should not expect all 15 (or 14) figures enumerated at 13+ to have been provided with separate incantations and that an unknown number of hypothetical incantations 13+ will eventually have to be deleted.

C The *utukkū lemnūtu* incantation Gurney AAA 22 76ff.

In his article on prophylactic figures and their rituals Gurney treated as text III "the ritual for healing a sick man" (*AAA* 22 76ff.), *CT* 16 35–36, 38 (*utukkū lemnūtu* tablets D and F) and its then known duplicates (*BIN* 2 22, K 4625, K 3241, cf. also Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 742³). Further duplicates and literature can be found in *HKL* 2 91 to which now must be added the unpublished MB duplicate from Nippur (12N–228, cf. Civil *OIC* 23 114) and *SbTU* 1 137 from Uruk (identified by Schramm *WdO* 10 123 and Lambert *AfO* 26 111); a new edition by M.J. Geller is in preparation. In his discussion Gurney (37) adduced the comparable texts 4 *R*² 21a, *BBR* 48 and *BBR* 53 (cf. also Zimmern *ZA* 35 153¹), now known to be parts of *bīt mēseri*. I will try here to define the relation to *bīt mēseri* sharper. Again, a complete discussion is out of the question and must await the new edition incorporating much unpublished material:

- a The incantation ÉN UDUG HULEDIN.NA DAGALLA, "Evil spirit (who) in the broad steppe", is quoted in *bīt mēseri* I/iv 15 and text I 40. The text of this incantation is not given in the preserved parts of *bīt mēseri* and the few missing lines at the end of text I certainly could not accommodate this incantation together with an introductory line. Accordingly we must expect this incantation to have been written out elsewhere, that is in the collection of *utukkū lemnūtu* incantations, since the incipit indicates that the incantation belonged to this type.
- b The incipit in question is not preserved in the extant text of *utukkū lemnūtu*. If the continuation of this incantation is preserved at all, it must be found among incantations without incipit and with a text starting with statements concerning the activities of a single *utukku* (the incipit) and continuing in a manner fitting *bīt mēseri* and ritual I. The identification of this incantation without incipit with the incantation UDUG.HULEDIN.NA DAGALLA necessarily will be based on circum-

stantial evidence.

- c The incipit of *AAA* 22 76ff. is not preserved. Its incipit is probably the first incipit of the tablet, *utukkū lemniūtu* XIII (?) . At the least, a tablet existed in a series of incantations starting with the incipit in question, BM 37866 (known to me from the incipit catalogue of M.J. Geller). The tablet gives the last line of an incantation: [...] H]UL.GÁL BAR.[ŠÈ HÉ.EM.TA.GUB] followed by a ruling and a colophon with the catchline: [ÉN UDUG.H]UL EDIN.NA DAGALLA [...]. Although it cannot be proved that BM 37866 belongs to *utukkū lemniūtu*, the presence of our incipit in a series confirms our expectation that the incantation was written out elsewhere.
- d *AAA* 22 76ff. could have begun with a statement concerning the activities of a single *utukku*. Although, contrary to regular practice, Marduk's report to Ea is not phrased exactly as the introductory description of the demon's activities (cf. Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 74), we probably hear an echo of the incipit in the first line of Marduk's report (27/8): UDUG HUL / *utukku lemnu ša* [...].
- e The ritual implied by Ea's instructions to Marduk in *AAA* 22 76ff. is similar to the ritual of *bīt mēseri* and text I/II. Especially important is the fact that only in these three texts the *ūmu-apkallū* of *e'nu* wood appear, and quite prominently (*AAA* 22 88:148ff., text I 44ff., text III.B.9). In text I the incantation UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGALLA accompanies the preparation of *e'nu* wood for the *ūmu-apkallū*; *AAA* 22 88:150ff. similarly prescribes the use of *e'nu* wood for figures of *ūmu-apkallū* and underscores their healing activities at the head of the bed of the sick man. The *mašhultuppū* of the prescriptions of *AAA* 22 (86:115ff.) is mentioned in passing in ritual I/II (I 250) and is conspicuously present in *bīt mēseri* (I/iv 13, 21, II 193f., 213). Since ritual I/II describes the exorcistic ritual only cursorily — its main concern is prophylactic, even the ritual with the statue of the owner of the house implied by I 156 is not described —, *bīt mēseri* shows most correspondances with *AAA* 22 76ff. Both texts prescribe a canopy (TÚG.AN.DÚL) to cover the sick man (*bīt mēseri* I/iv 12f., *AAA* 22 84:20f.), the use of a kid bound to his head (*bīt mēseri* incantation 15+x, *AAA* 22 84:105ff. // *SbTU* 1 137, 88:140ff., 92:177f.), the presence of Išum, the great herald, at the head of the bed (*bīt mēseri* 13+g, *AAA* 22 86:126f.) and figures of wrestling and linked together (*ugallū*) in the doorway (*bīt mēseri* 13+j, *AAA* 22 90:172f., cf. text I "435"ff., II Rev. 35). The *KL^dUTU.KÁM* of *bīt mēseri* I/iv 10 is perhaps to be linked to the offerings and prayer (for intercession with the personal god) to Šamaš of *AAA* 22 82:96ff. (cf. 90:10f.).
- f The incantation to the kid prescribed by Ea in *AAA* 22 76ff. (above e.) is written out after *AAA* 22 76ff. on the same tablet (92:186ff.). The same incantation appears in *bīt mēseri* (15+x). This too links *AAA* 22 76ff. to *bīt mēseri*.
- g On the basis of the circumstantial evidence collected above we conclude that the text of the incantation UDUG HUL EDIN.NA DAGALLA has been preserved in *AAA* 22 76ff. The fact that the incantation is bilingual and the greater number of "isoglosses" with *bīt mēseri* point to this text as its original home. The existence of a MBab duplicate attests to the antiquity of (at least part of) these rituals.

[The correctness of the preceding considerations is now ascertained and will be proved in a forthcoming article]

D Commentaries on related texts

Sp I 131 (Strassmaier *ZA* 6 241ff.) 15ff. is part of a commentary on a ritual for curing a sick man.

BBR 27 // PBS 10/4 12 is a compendium of “mystical” identifications.

For both texts cf. Lambert *JSS* 13 110f. Here we quote only those identifications that are of interest for the present study:

Sp I 131:20f. *giš-URIGAL.MEŠ šá ina SAG LÚ.GIG zu-uq-qu-pu* ^dVII.BI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL. MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ ^d*Iš-ha-ra šu-nu*, “the *urigallu* standards that are erected at the head of the sick man are the Sebettu, the great gods, the sons of Išhara”. This group of ^dVII.BI is probably not identical with the ^dVII.BI of Elam with their sister Narudda (*An-Anum VI* 176ff.) or the ^dVII.BI the sons of Enmešara (*RAcc* 14ff., 24ff. i 1'ff. and similar texts, *LKA* 73:5, *PBS* 10/4 12 i 29, cf. Hibbert *OrAnt* 21 256f.). Cf. above II.A.4.B (*urigallu*).

BBR 27 // PBS 10/4 12

i 4	<i>giš-ŠINIG</i>	^d <i>A-nim</i>
5	<i>giš-ŠÀ.GIŠIMMAR</i>	^d <i>Dumu-zi</i>
		Cf. II.A.4.B. note 10
ii 13	<i>mul-lil-lum</i>	^d <i>IGI.SIG₇.SIG₇ NU. giš-KIRI₆</i> ^d <i>EN.LÍLLÁ</i>
		Cf. II.A.4.B <i>mullilu</i>
24	<i>giš-TUKUL MA.NU</i>	VII <i>u₄-mu</i> <i>giš-TUKUL</i> ^d <i>AMAR.UTU</i>
		Cf. II.A.4.B. <i>material</i> and <i>e'ru, ara gišimmarī</i>

E Inventory of figures

I/II	Figures	III.B	Material	Attribute	Place
1	7 <i>apkallu (ūmu)</i>	9	<i>cornel</i>	—	gate of the bedroom
2	7 <i>Sebettu</i>	7	<i>cornel</i>	<i>kakkū</i>	bedroom
3	1 <i>Lugalgirra</i>	2	?	—	bedroom
	1 <i>Lugalgirra</i>	3	drawn	—	bedroom ^a
6	1 <i>Meslamtaea?</i>	13+e	tamarisk	—	bedroom
7	1 <i>Naruddu</i>	13+c	tamarisk	<i>timbuttu</i>	bedroom
—	1 <i>Nergal</i>	13+f	?	—	bedroom
—	1 <i>Išum</i>	13+g	?	—	bedroom
—	1 <i>Ensimah</i>	13+m	?	—	courtyard
—	1 <i>Ištar</i>	13+n	?	—	window
—	1 <i>Gula</i>	13+o	?	—	threshold
—	7 <i>šūt kappī</i>	6	drawn	<i>e'ru, libbi gišimmarī</i>	bedroom
9	7 <i>apkallu</i> (bird)	10	tamarisk	kneeling	bedroom
10	7 <i>apkallu</i> (fish)	8	drawn	—	bedroom
—	14 <i>urigallū</i>	4, 5	drawn	—	(gate of the) bedroom
11	7 <i>apkallu</i> (fish)	11	drawn	—	outer ^b gate
—	14 <i>urigallū</i>	12	drawn	—	outer ^b gate
16	2 <i>ugallū</i>	13+h	?	<i>kišsurūtu</i>	bedroom
	2 <i>ugallū</i>	13+i	drawn	—	outer ^c gate
	2 <i>ugallū</i>	13+j	drawn ^d	<i>ša umāši</i>	outer ^c gate
21	1 <i>Lulal</i>	13+k	?	—	outer ^c gate
22	1 <i>Latarak</i>	13+k	?	—	outer ^c gate
—	1 <i>Urgula</i>	14+x	?	—	outer gate
25	dogs	14+x	?	—	outer gate

^a Analogous to inc. 4, the wall has been taken to be the wall of the bedroom. ^b The gate of the inscription has been taken to be the outer gate; the gate of the bedroom is already occupied by the *urigallū* 4, 5. ^c For the *urigallū* in the outer gate cf. text I/4 I'; Lulal (and Latarak) is expected to accompany the *ugallū* (II.A.4.A. end). ^d Cf. Text IV i' 7'f.

Other figures: anthropomorphic⁷ (13 clay, 13+a, 13+b tamarisk), death (13+d), guardians (13+l) in the (outer ?) gate.

Although both texts I/II and III have the defence of the house (cf. III/II 79, 86f., 110f.) rather than the sick man as their main subject, they apply different strategies. While text I/II entrusts the defence of the outer gate to the gods of tamarisk, text III stations them as guardians in the bedroom and leaves the outer gate and the defence of the rest of the house to less important gods, *apkallū*, monsters, and dogs.

Due to the use of shortened descriptions in the preserved parts of *bīt mēseri* we are informed only defectively on the attributes of the figures. The weapons of the Sebettu are probably the dagger and the hatchet of text I/II (II.A.3.2.); the *timbuttu* ("harp" ?) is not held by Naruddu in text I/II but hung at her side (II.A.3.7). The *šūt kappī* are not present in text I, their attributes the *e'ru* stick/mace and the offshoot of the date palm are held by other figures in that text (II.A.4.B). In text I/II *urigallū* are held by

the fish-*apkallū*; for that reason we have associated the two groups of *urigallū* of text III with the two groups of fish-*apkallū* of the same text (II.A.4.B). Kneeling figures not called *apkallu* are attested in the second part of text II (II Rev. 11, discussed II.A.4.B. end). Wrestling and linked together *ugallū* are common figures in the better preserved texts (I, II, III, IV).

The choice of materials used for the execution of the figures is similar to, but not identical with, that of text I/II; there only the *ūmu-apkallū* are made of *cornel* and is none of the *apkallu* groups made of tamarisk. The drawn Lugalirra (3) should have been of tamarisk, and so should the *šūt kappī*, if they have been correctly identified as lower gods. Drawn figures do not occur at all in text I/II (the *ugallu* of the second part of I and II excepted), but drawing is not a substitute for clay, since none of the drawn figures (except again the ubiquitous *ugallu*) belongs to the group of monsters. Drawing is apparently used selectively.

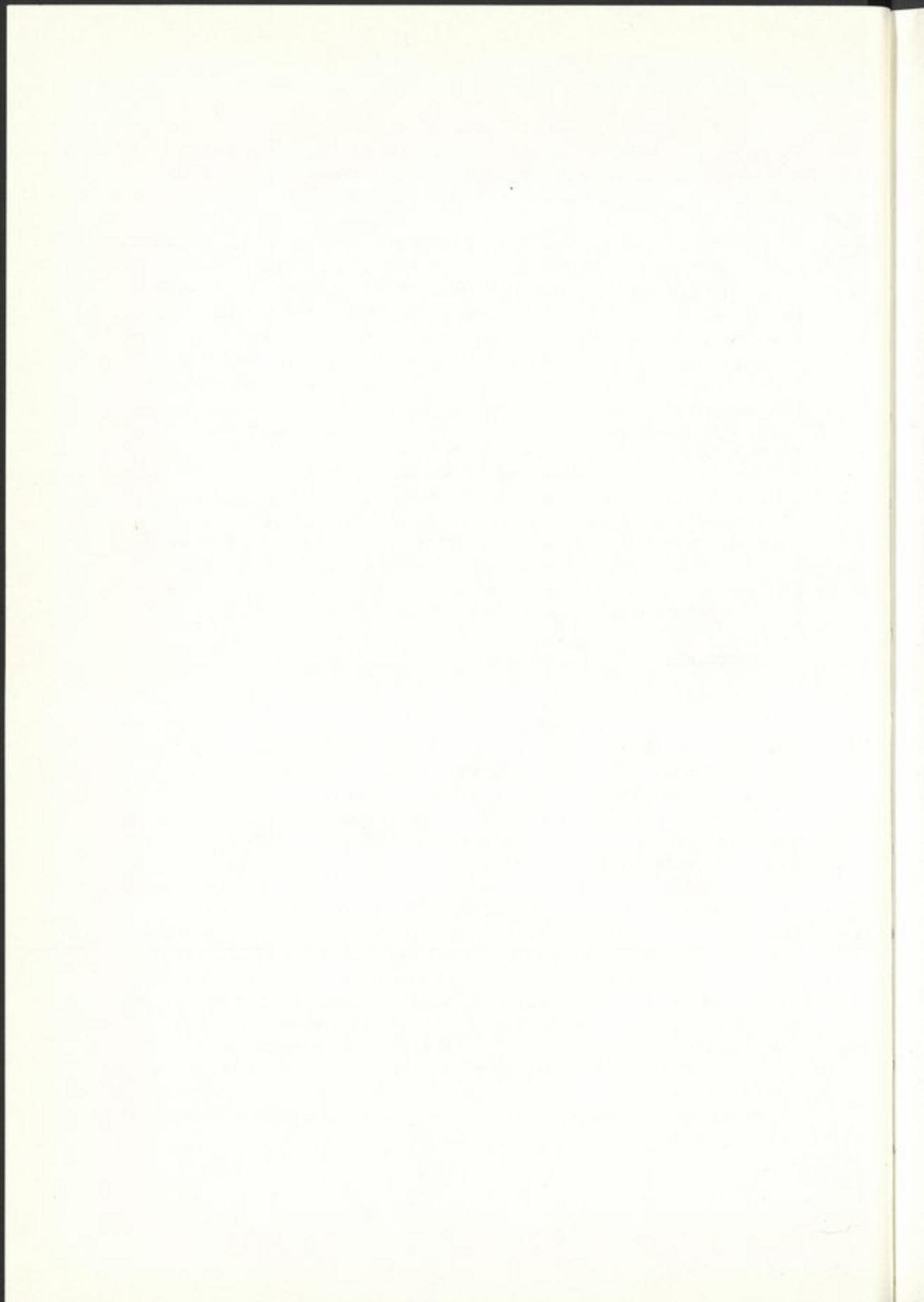
Indeed, the total absence of clay monsters in text III is striking. Analogous to text I/II we would expect them to have guarded the now insufficiently defended remainder of the house. When it is remembered that our information on the figures of text III is based on a mostly broken ritual text and casual references in the incantations to other figures, we realize that this group may have disappeared in the gaps of the ritual tablet. This seems to be confirmed by the existence of other figures of clay (13) and by the references to figures of clay in the first preserved part of the description of tablet I (cf. above B introduction). The absent figures of clay are: *laḥmu*, *bašmu*, *mušhuššu* (*ugallu*), *uridimmu kusarikku*, *girtablullū*, *urmahlullū*, *kulullū*, and *suhurmāšu*.

F A fragment of a related incantation

A fragmentary incantation, K 4656 + K 9741 (Fig. 8, join Wiggerman) duplicates K 9417 + and other texts, all part of *An Address of Marduk to the Demons* (W.G. Lambert *AfO* 19 118). This text can now be shown (see Wiggermann, forthcoming) to be a tablet of *Utukku Lemnūtu*, the one that precedes *BIN* 2 22 (see above III.C). These tablets of *Utukku Lemnūtu* show clear affinities with the texts treated in this book.

In the courtyard (2'f.) are stationed the *en-zātu arqātu*, the "yellow goats". These figures also occur on a tablet of extracts (?) from Aššur, followed by an incantation to the fish-*apkallū* (III.B.8): "who are you? ... We are the sons of Nippur, ... , the yellow goats of Enlil, the Lord of the lands" (*LKA* 76:9/10). For further attestations of these goats see *CT* 24 11:37, *CT* 16 23:314f (see *BiOr* 28 65b), W. Farber *BID* 60:55ff. In a door way are stationed Tišpak, the Sebettu, Maštabba (= Lugalirra), Lulal and Latarak, and the shrewd Ištar. Išum is mentioned in 24' (*hal-su šá ^dI-šum na-g[i-ru GAL-ú]*).

The ritual to which this incantation belongs is concerned with the dismissal of evil (27'f.) and the prevention of its return (installation of figures in courtyard and door way). To this end of the house is purified (13': *ul-lul É*) and put under the spell of the great gods (17'ff.). Special attention is given to the entrance: 20'f. *tùm-me É* *tùm-me* *l.DIB* *tùm-m[u-ú*] *ZAG.DU*₈ *u* *SI.GAR* *tùm-mu-ú* [.....], "the house is put under a spell, the threshold is put under a spell, [.....] the door-posts and the bolt are put under a spell, the [.....] are put under a spell".



IV TEXT IV

Purification of a new house

A The Text

– K 9873 + 79–7–8, 240. Figs. 13, 14. Neo Assyrian.

Rev. ii' 5'–10', copied also by Bezold (*Catalogue* 1054), was identified as duplicating *KAR* 298 Rev. 41–42 (text II) by G. Meier in his review (*AfO* 13 72b) of R.C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*. R. Borger joined 79–7–8, 240 to K 9873.

After three partly preserved signs and a ruling⁷, the text reads as follows (see next page):

Transliteration

i' 1' [x x x] x x[
 [x x x N]A pu-u[*h*-
 [x x (x)] [x x x NA₄.KA.GI.NA.DIB.BA] [*ina A.MEŠ SÚD^a*]
 [ÉN N]A₄.KA.GI.NA.DIB.BA SI VII S[*l.SÁ^a x x x x*]
 5' [III-*šú* ŠI]D-nu ZAG.DU₈.MEŠ É.MEŠ [x x x x^a]
 [x x] [x]rug-bé-e-ti *ina IM.BABBAR šá tam-hu-hu*
 [*ta-šá-]ḥyat^a [U4].GAL.MEŠ GÉŠPU.MEŠ^b *ina ESIR šá tu-šab-ši-lu^c*
 [*ina x*] [x ù] *ina KÁ TILLA₄ U₄.GAL.MEŠ GÉŠPU.MEŠ*
 [*ina U]B^a.MEŠ ḥUR-ir U₄.[GAL].MEŠ ki-*is^b-ru-ti***

10' [*ina^a E]SIR ina ZAG.DU₈ KÁ XV u CL ḥUR-ir*
 [*GÉ]ŠPU.M[EŠ ina] UGU giš IG.MEŠ ki-[lá]-la-an ḥUR-ir*

[VII NU.MJEŠ šu-ut giš TUKUL.MEŠ šá IM.BABBAR *lab-šú*
 15' [*šá NU DING]IR [É] EGIR-šú-nu aš-bu ina CL KÁ ḥUR-ir*

[II⁷ NU.MEŠ^a ^dLU]GAL.GIR.RA šu-ut GÍR.MEŠ u giš BAN.MEŠ
 [*ina ŠU.MEŠ-šú-nu na-šú-] [ú]^a ù NU ^dLUGAL.GIR.RA*
 [*šá] IM.BABBAR *lab-šú**
 [*x x x^a] *ina šip-šat^b KÁ ḥUR-ir**

ii' 1' [x][x x x x][
 [KÁ].MEŠ UB.MEŠ x[
 ZÍD¹.SUR¹.RA-a KÁ.MEŠ[
 ÉN É.A IG.I.BI [È⁷][^a
 5' KÁ [*GUR-ma^a x] ta-[nam-x-][*

ina nu-bat-ti-šú-nu [x][
ina UGU giš NÁ.MEŠ tu[š-
NU giš bi-ni¹[
NU ^dLUGAL.GI[R.RA

Translation

i' 1' [.....] ... [
[..... a ma]n a substi[tute?
[.....]...... šadānu šābitu-stone [you shall pulverize in water,]
[Incantation: š]adānu šābitu-stone, having seven horns r[eady,]
5' [thrice you shall re]cite; the door-posts of the rooms, the [...] [the ...] (and) the attic rooms with gypsum that you have soaked (in that
water)
[you shall wa]sh; big weather-beasts, wrestlers, with butimen that you have
melted
[in the ..]. and in the outer gate, and big weather-beasts, wrestlers,
[in the co]rners (of the rooms) you shall draw, big weather-beasts linked
together,
10' [with bi]tumen on the door-post of the gate, right and left, you shall draw,
[wr]estler[s o]n both doors you shall draw.

[Seven fi]gures of [Sebettu], clad in red paste,
[with] a figure of Narudda in front of them, on the right of the gate you shall
draw.

15' [Seven figur]es of weapon-men, clad in gypsum,
[with a figure of the go]d of the [house]posted behind them, on the left of
the gate you shall draw,
[two² figures of Lu]galgirra who [hol]d daggers and bows
[in their hands] and a figure of Lugalgirra
clad in gypsum
[...] on the architrave of the gate you shall draw

ii' 1' [.].....[
[gates], corners [
a circle of flour [you shall draw] at the gates [
Incantation: "of the house, its front ... [
5' The gate you shall [close] and [

When they go to rest [
on the beds ... [
The figure of tamarisk!
the figure of Lugalgi[rra

10' VII NU.MEŠ ^dVII.[BI
 VII NU.MEŠ šu-u[*t* ^{giš}]TUKUL.MEŠ^a
 VII NU.MEŠ NU[N[?].ME.MEŠ^a
 [x][
 an-nu-*t*[*i*
 15' EGIR-šú-nu [
^d[*Làh*]-me GU[D.DUMU.^dUTU^a
 KU₆.[LÚ.ÙLU]-lu [
 EGIR-šú-nu ta- [
 VII NU.MEŠ NUN.ME.M[EŠ
 20' VII NU.MEŠ [šu-*ut*]^{giš}[TUKUL.MEŠ
 VII NU.MEŠ [x x][
 [x x x x][
 [GUD.DUMU.^dUTU][
^d[LÚ.LÀL[?]][^dLa-ta-rak
 25' NU.MEŠ [
 EGIR-[x][
 a-[x][

iii' 1' [x x x]
 GI DÙG.G[A
 XV *u* CL[
 UDU [NA[?] x x][
 5' ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu *ina* DU[G[?]
 ù GAR-šú-nu [
ina UGU [ab]-*r*[*i*
 BAL-tú BAL-*q*[
 VII.TA.ÀM [x][
 10' NÍG. U[?] LA[?] U ZA [UM/DUB][
 LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ [x][
 ÉN UR.SAG^a[
 ÉN LUGAL ^d[x
 uš-*kin* [x][
 15' an-nam [x][
ina ÚŠ MÁŠ [x][
 [x x]

10' the seven figures of Sebet[tu]
the seven figures of the [weapon-m]en [
the seven figures of the s[ages]
... [
these [
15' Thereafter [] figures of [
[the hairy one], of B[ison
of Fish-Man [
Thereafter ... [
The seven figures of the sage[s
20' the seven figures of the [weapon-]men [
the seven ... [
[.....][
[Bison][
[Lula][
25' Figures [
[There]after[

[...][

iii' Too little remains for translation. Description of a ritual involving animal sacrifices (4', 5', 16'). For animal sacrifices in connection with building rituals cf. R.S. Ellis *Foundation Deposits* 42ff., Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 40, Parpola *LAS* 2 279f., Borger *BiOr* 30 179:37ff., von Weiher *SbTU* 2 17 Rev. iv 15, Rittig *Kleinplastik* 183⁴.

iv' 1' [x x x x x x x x] [x]
[x x x x x] [x x x]
[ÉN x x] [x x x] VII-[šú ŠID]-nu

[ana L]Ú [KI] LÚ SILIM-me ina A. [GEŠTIN.NA I.DIB] SUD^a

5' [DIŠ N]A KÁ-šú *hu-ub-bu-ub*^a <KI.A.^dÍD IM.BABBAR IM.SA₅ I-niš SÚD^b>

[ina bil-la-tu^a] *HI.HI-ma* ÉN ez-ze-ta šamⁱ (text: KID)-ra-ta^b

[III-šú ana ŠÀ Š]ID-nu ZAG.DU₈ KÁ É NA IM.GÚ^a
[x x x EG]IR-šú^a bil-la-tu^b ša *HI.HI*

[x x x i]na UGU IM.GÚ ta-šá-hat^a

10' [kiš-p]ⁱ^a ana É NA NU TE-hi

[x x x x] [x]ana UGU maš-qí-tú^a šá GÍR *HUL-tim*
[ina É NA KU]D-sí^a ÉN EN [TEMEN] É.KUR.RA^b
[X-šú ŠID-nu] [x x x]-aš-šu šá ana [d]ÁLADⁱ^a] ina É NA KUD-si

[x x x x] a-na É.NUN SUM-in

15' [NA ana] É-šú GIBIL ana KU₄-šú ina U₄ ŠE.GA^a
[x x x x A K]Ú SUD *giŠUTUG ŠUB-di*^a
[x x x x^a] ana ^dÉ.A ^dUTU u ^d[ASAL].LÚ.HI LÁ-[as]
[x x x x] [x]ina UGU-[hi]GÍD.DA-[ad] ŠE.NUMUN DUB-[ak]
[x x x x x] [x] ÉN DINGIR [nam-ru]^a III-šú ŠID-nu
20' [x x x x x] [x] [ÉN ^dUTU x x x] [
[x x x x x] [x] [DA] [
[]] É[

iv' 1' [.....].....
[.....].....
[Incantation:] seven [times you shall recite].

[That the o]ne may be at peace with the other: sprinkle [the threshold with
vinegar.]

5' [When some]one's gate is purified, < sulphur, gypsum, and red paste
together you shall crush,>
you shall mix it [into the *billatu*-liquid] and Incantation: "you are fierce you
are violent"
[thrice] [you shall recite][over it], the door-post of the gate of the house of
the man with the sediment
[you shall smear[?], there]after the *billatu*-liquid into which you have mixed
(the ingredients)
[you shall . . . , and] wash over the sediment.

10' [Sorcer]y will not approach the house of the man.

[.....] over the potion of "to [bl]ock the progress of evil
[in someone's house]" Incantation: "lord of the [foundation] of Ekur"
[x times you shall recite] . . . of "to keep the *šedu* demon away from some-
one's house",
[.....] to the bedroom you shall give

15' [That someone] may enter his new house: on a favourable day
[.....] holly [water] you shall sprinkle, a reed-hut you shall erect
[.....] for Ea Samaš and Marduk you shall get ready,
[.....] a curtain[?]] you shall draw over it, you shall heap seed
[.....] Incantation: "[radiant]god" thrice you shall recite
20' [.....] Incantation: "Samas, . . . [
[] . . . [
[] house [

NOTES TO TEXT IV

i' 3^{ta} Restored after I "435" and the similar text quoted in the note to I "435"b.
 4^{ta} Restored after the note to I "435"b.
 5^{ta} Cf. Text I 248f., II Rev. 34f.
 7^{ta} Restored after text II Rev.35.
 b Cf. Text II Rev. 35: *ina ŠA UB.MEŠ ē [DÜ.A.BI] ta-šá-hat-ma U4.GAL GÉŠPU ina UGU te-es-ši-ir*. W. von Soden *AhW* 1412b reads here: *ugalla¹ u.*, "mit u.?". For the following reasons we consider GÉŠPU in this context to be a logogram for *ša umāši* (pl. *šūt² umāši*), "wrestler":
 1 In bilingual texts *g e š p u* is translated as *ša umāši* (*AfO* 14 150:217ff. = text III.B.13+j; *AAA* 22 90:172f = text III.C).
 2 If GÉŠPU denoted an object, the relation between the object GÉŠPU and U4.GAL would have to be expressed by a genitive; GÉŠPU by itself could not denote the figures. Although in i'11' [GÉ]ŠPU.M[ES] could denote the objects GÉŠPU, it is far more probable that it denotes the same type of figures mentioned before in this text and elsewhere (III.B.13+j, III.C, quoted above). Similarly *kissurūtu* is the shortened form of *ugallū kissurūtu* (cf. note to text I "437" a).
 The two terms defining *ugallu*, GÉŠPU and *kissuru*, are used to define different *māšu*, "twins" in *bīt mēseri* (text III.B. 13+h, 13+j; also *AAA* 22 90:172f.); since only the *ugallū* are described in this manner, and since *māšu* is not a description of a type of figure but a way of referring to a figure occurring in pairs (the references stem from the incantations and not from the descriptive parts of the text), we conclude that the two types of *māšu* of *bīt mēseri* (and *AAA* 22 90:172f.) are in fact two types of *ugallu*.
 9^{ta} Cf. text II Rev. 35 quoted in the preceding note.
 b The fact that the spelling with *ış* recurs as a variant of *kissurūtu* in *CT* 16 36:26 (cf. *AAA* 22 91⁴ = text III.C) excludes emendation (* *ki-iş-*<su>*-nu-ti*). Perhaps *kişru* is a phonetic variant of *kissuru*, which would make it comparable to the problematical pair *sehru/sehheru* (cf. Stol *Studies in Old Babylonian History* 77⁴⁴).
 10^{ta} *ina* restored after above 7'. Cf. text III.B.13+j: twins ... *ša umāši ša ittē ina sippi bābi imna u ūmela ulziz*.
 13^{ta} Here and in 15', *ša* has been restored after the context and the parallel in III.B.6.
 16^{ta} The plural forms *šūt*, GÍR.MEŠ and BAN.MEŠ prove that we are dealing with a plurality of figures of Lugalgirra (cf. II.A.3.3).
 17^{ta} Restored after similar descriptions in text I 308f., 320f.
 19^{ta} Cf. *AhW* 1246b, *š/sipš/satu*, "Holzgitter?". The word is attested here for the first time in a SB text; it must be something in the middle of the gate. Deller *OLZ* 60 249 proposes "Türsims, Architrave".
 ii' 4^{ta} The incantation is unknown to me. Similar incipits in a related text are *SbTU* 2 16 ii 16, 21, 22.
 5^{ta} Cf. *AfO* 21 18:41 in a similar context and text V ii' 11'.
 11^{ta} Restored after i' 14' and text I where the only group of seven beside the *apkallū* and the *Sebettu* is the group of *šūt kakkī*. The unique *šūt kappī* of text III.B.6 are unlikely candidates in this text generally comparable to ritual I/II.
 12^{ta} The only plausible group of seven here are the *apkallū* (cf. 11^{ta}), but the reading is epigraphically uncertain.
 16^{ta} In 16'f. the monsters of clay (and the anthropomorphic *lahmu*) are apparently enumerated; *kusarikku* follows *lahmu* in similar enumerations in other texts (cf. VII.A).
 iii' 12^{ta} Perhaps the incantation *ÉN UR.SAG. Ú.TU.UD.DA* of text IV/1 i'4' and *CT* 16 39 Rev. 35. However, other incantations beginning with *UR.SAG* do exist (e.g. *BAM* 3 XV ad 216 28'-32', *BAM* 322 Rev. 80, *KAR* 253 Rev.8).
 iv' 4^{ta} Cf. K 2331:3': *LÚ KI LÚ Š[ILIM-me* in a ritual also involving *A.GEŠTIN..NA* (text mentioned by Borger ZA 61 73 and *BiOr* 30 182. Building ritual, unpublished); *BAM* 315 iv 5, *Semitica* 3 17f. ii 16'.
 5^{ta} 5'-10' is parallel to, but not identical with, text II Rev. 41-42.
 [Dš N] is restored after text II 41. The gap could have accommodated more signs but the text is complete as restored. Instead of *hu-ub-bu-ub*, text II 41 correctly has *ub-bu-ub*.
 b Corrected after text II 41; the omission of the ingredients to be mixed with the *billatu*-liquid (6' and II 41') must be incorrect.
 6^{ta} Restored after text II 41f. and 8' where *billatu* refers back to an earlier description of its preparation.
 b For this incantation cf. above ad text II Rev. 42.
 7^{ta} IM.GU, a verb and EGIR are to be restored in the small gap of text II Rev. 42.

8^a Not preserved in text II.

^b Note the syllabic spelling of *billatu*. In text II we must read KAŠ.ŪSSA H̄I.H̄I-ma as *billat tuballili-ma*, “the *billatu*-liquid into which you have mixed (the ingredients of Rev. 41)”.

9^a Text II Rev. 42 has a slightly different text: *ina KUŠ-NI ta-šā-hat-ma šā-lim* (end of section), “you shall wash it over his body and he will be well”.

10^a This phrase follows in II Rev. 41 on the introductory phrase, here first half of 5'.

11^a The potion (*mašqitu* cf. Parpola *LAS* 2 353) is not described in the preserved parts of the text. It is not to be connected with the substances of the preceding section.

12^a For references to this phrase cf. above II.B.

^b The incantation is unknown to me.

13^a The sign is UN rather than KAL. For ^dÁLAD in this context cf. II.B.1.G.

15^a For the proper days for entering a new house cf. Labat *HMA* 148:27, *CBII* § 17, 216:10, 220:10, 234:19, 238:6.

16^a For ^gŠUTUG cf. Mayer *UFBG* 174⁶⁵, *AHw* 1294a, *SbTU* 2 16 Obv. i 9, 17 Obv. iii 2.

17^a Perhaps to be restored after *BBR* 31–37 Stück II 20, [ZID.MAD.GĀ], in a similar context.

19^a The incantation prescribed here is possibly to be identified with *UFBG* 420 Šamaš 90.

B General observations

At least part of the purpose of the present text is the purification of the gate (iv' 5'), probably of a new house (iv' 15'), and the magical defence of the house against anticipated evil (ii' 3ff., figures of armed gods in the gate). Although no reference is made to a sick man in the preserved parts of the text, and “his” (of the sick man) body” of II Rev. 42 is replaced in iv' 9' by “the sediment”, the owner of the new house is considered threatened: the “substitute” (i' 2') can only be his. The eventualities of an unfriendly visitor, sorcery and “entry of the enemy” (*šēp lemūttim*) are treated separately in iv' 4'–14'. A final (?) ritual before the purified and magically defended house was entered is described in iv' 15'ff.

C Similar rituals

The text shows similarities with other building rituals but does not seem to be part of one of them:

- 1 Series *Kulla* (cf. Zimmern *ZA* 30 212, Falkenstein *LSSNF* 1 3, Bottéro *Annuaire EPHE* 1974/75 IVe section 95ff. ad *KAR* 44:2a).
 - a H. Zimmern, Ein Babylonisches Ritual für eine Hausweihe, *ZA* 23 369–376 (cf. Borger *ZA* 61 73); similar texts: Borger *ZA* 61 73 (references to unpublished texts; for K 8026 see below text V MS D), von Weiher *SbTU* 2 16ff. K 11735, *SbTU* 2 17, *RA* 65 158ff. no. 2, *KAR* 253a, K 3354 (Zimmern *ZA* 30 212) followed by K 4147 (Meek *RA* 17 132, cf. Borger *HKL* 2 193).
 - b R. Borger, Das Tempelbau-Ritual K 48 +, *ZA* 61 72–80.
 - c R. Borger, Keilschrifttexte Verschieden Inhalts, IV, Baurituale, *Symbolae Böhl* 50–55 (cf. *HKL* 2 20).
- 2 Another series consisting of several tablets (Borger *ZA* 61 73):
 - a K 3472, K 7247.
 - b R. Borger, Tonmännchen und Puppen, *BiOr* 30 176–183 (cf. *CRRAI* 20 107). This text identifies the god with the staff as Ninšubura (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 36ff., 209ff.). The presence of Ninšubura under the dais of a temple ensures the proper contact between god and man; it is not apotropaic. We will return to this subject in a separate study. Sixteen other figures are described but not

named (cf. Rittig *Kleinplastik* 180f.). The kneeling (*kamsūtu*) statues holding a mace (*huppalū*) are possibly to be compared with the winged figures of the palace reliefs (above II.A.4.B).

c K 3810 (+)? K 2331 (*BiOr* 30 182, *ZA* 61 73 and note 2; quoted above note iv' 4^a).

3 Rituals concerned with the rebuilding of delapidated temples and belonging to the corpus *kalūtu*: Thureau-Dangin *Racc* 34ff., 40ff., Mayer *OrNS* 47 438ff., *BaMB* 2 10–12, Weissbach *BMisc.* XII, Macmillan *BA* 5/V LVI, Gurney *STT* 232 (cf. Reiner *JNES* 26 188), Rm 101 (*HKL* 2 320).

For “Building Rites” in general cf. Ellis *Foundation Deposits* 5ff.

D Inventory of figures

	Text I/II (cf. II.A.3)	Text IV
1	<i>apkallu (āmu)</i>	cf. below 9.
2	<i>Sebettu</i>	i' 12', ii' 10'
3	<i>Lugalgirra</i>	i' 16'f., ii' 9'
4	<i>šūt kakkī</i>	i' 14', ii' 11', 20'
5	<i>ša ištēt ammatu lān-šu</i>	ii' 8' (cf. II.A.3.2 for the designation NU <i>gišbi-ni</i>)
6	<i>Meslamtaea</i>	[to be restored at the broken end of i' ?]
7	<i>Naruddu</i>	i' 13'
8	<i>il biti</i>	i' 15'
9	<i>apkallu (bird)</i>	<i>apkallū</i> appear in ii' 12' (?) and 19' but it is uncertain to which group they belong.
10	<i>apkallu (fish)</i>	
11	<i>apkallu (fish)</i>	
12	<i>apkallu (fish)</i>	
13	<i>lahmu</i>	ii' 16', [ii' 22' ?]
14	<i>bašmu</i>	[ii' 16' ?], [ii' 23' ?]
15	<i>mušhuššu</i>	[ii' 16' ?], [ii' 23' ?]
16	<i>ugallu</i>	i' 7', 8', 9', 11'
17	<i>uridimmu</i>	[ii' 16' ?], [ii' 23' ?]
18	<i>kusarikku</i>	ii' 16', 23'; spelled GUD.DUMU. ^a UTU (cf. II.A.3.18).
19	<i>girtablullū</i>	[ii' 16' ?], [ii' 23' ?]
20	<i>urmaħlullū</i>	[ii' 16' ?] [ii' 23' ?]
21	Lulal	[ii' 17' ?], ii' 24'
22	Latarak	[ii' 17' ?], [ii' 24']
23	<i>kulullū</i>	i' 17', [ii' 23' ?]
24	<i>suħurmāšu</i>	[ii' 17' ?], [ii' 23' ?]
25	dogs	[ii' 17' ?], [ii' 25' ?]

Only NU *gišbi-ni* is certainly not a drawn figure; all other figures are either drawn (col. i') or of unknown execution (col. ii').

The colours of the Sebettu and of the weapon-men are the same as those prescribed for these figures in text I/II: red and white. The colour prescription for Lugalgirra is not preserved in text I/II; in view of differences between the Lugalgirra of text

IV and the Lugalgirra of text I/II (who is armed with bow and arrows) we hesitate to restore the colours of text I/II after text IV.

The positions of the gods and the *ugallu* in the outer gate (col. i') strongly resemble those of text I/II (cf. II.A.4.A). We may assume that they fulfil the same function. We may also assume that the *apkallu*, the *lahmu*, the monsters, Lulal and Latarak, and the dogs were present in text IV, and fulfilled similar functions. The presence of some of them is ascertained by the text; all information on their functions is broken away.

E Text IV/1

BM 74119, Fig. 17. Neo-Babylonian.

This text was identified by W.G. Lambert as belonging to the present subject.

i'	[II SUHUR.MÁŠ DÙ-uš ^a]]
1'	[] [x] [er-ba taš-mu ^a] u ma-ga-r[i ina Á-šú-nu SAR-ár ^a]]
	II KU ₆ .LÚ.ÙL[U-lu DÙ-uš ...]	
	ri-da h[i-sib KUR-i er-ba taš-mu u ma-ga-ri ^a ina Á-šú-nu ^b]	
5'	SAR-ár ^a [
	II NU [DÙ-]us ^a x-[x]-[x] šá giš PA [giš] GIŠI[MMAR na-šú-u [ku-bu-us lum-nu er-ba meš]-nu-ú [ina Á-šú-nu SAR-ár [a]-na KÁ É.[GAL-lim?]LUGAL? .LA BAL AN[
	[] [x x x x x] [
1'	[] [x x x x] [
] [x] ul-tu KÁ É pa-pa-hi	
] [x] -i iş-ba-tu-ma?	
	É] N UR.SAG Ù.TU.UD.DA ^a	
5'] NU.MEŠ šú-nu-ti	
] [TI-qi]	

NOTES TO TEXT IV/1

^{i'} ^{0'a} Restoration based on the inscription (in text II only the *suhumrāšu* and the *kulullā* have inscriptions with *u ma-ga-r[i]*) prescribed for this being. DÜ-*uš* is restored after the uncertain reading of ^{6'}. In text I DÜ-*uš* is the last word of the descriptions (I 96, 105, 114, 142, 191).

^{1st} Restored after text II Rev. 5.

^{2¹a} Restored after text II Rev. 4 (*ina ḫ-šú-nu*) and below 5' (SAR-ár).

4^{ra} Restored after text II Rev. 6f.

^b Cf. note 2^{ta}.

^{57a} To the left of SAR a smaller written PAP is visible in the margin. It is a scribal mark indicating "incorrect entry", cf. Bezold *Catalogue* 408 ad K 2111, Caplice.

6' ^a Reading DÙ-uš epigraphically uncertain. The contrast with 3', where before the name of the being in question NU does not appear, leads to the assumption that in 6' after NU no name will appear. On the other hand text II with the same sequence *suhurmāšu* — *kulullū* and the same inscription for these figures leads us to expect here one of the beings following on the *kulullū*. The *girtablullū* is certainly not meant here, but the next figure (text II Rev. 9-8) has a similar inscription and holds ^{g̃iš}PA ^{g̃iš}GIŠIMMAR]. I could not decipher the sign(s) giving the name of this being (NU.MEŠ xx); here [DÙ-uš] seems impossible. The inscription prescribed for these beings is slightly different from the inscription of text II i' 6': "trample evil, enter wealth" (text II: "tear out evil, enter wealth").

ii' 4' ^a For the incantation cf. text IV iii' 12' ^a.

The nature of this text remains unclear. It is concerned perhaps with the palace (i' 8'; uncertain reading) and certainly with a shrine (ii' 2'); a building ritual? The correspondance of text IV/1 with ritual II Rev. 3ff. is probably coincidental; there are also differences: after the *kulullū* the *girtablullū* is omitted, and i' 6'ff. is not exactly the same as II Rev. 9f. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that a text from Babylonia could be based on a *nishu* from Aššur with a quite unusual relation to the main text (ritual I, cf. II.A.5.A).

For translations, we refer to text II.A.1, where books and articles containing translations of the corresponding parts of text II are enumerated. Col. ii' is too broken for translation. Col. i' 6'f. has been translated in the note.

Since ii' 5' NU.MEŠ šu-nu-ti implies a preceding description of "those statues", and since col. i' apparently contains this description, the text must belong to the reverse of the tablet. Thus, although text IV/1 and text V describe the statues in a similar way, text IV/1 is probably not part of text V, where the statues are described on the obverse.

Inventory of figures.

I/II		Text IV/1	Material	Attributes	Inscription
23	2 <i>kulullū</i>	i' 3' ff.	?	?	+
24	2 <i>suhurmāšu</i>	i' 0' ff.	?	?	+
—	2 figures	i' 6' ff.	?	<i>ara gišimmarī</i>	+

The inscriptions on the *suhurmāšu* and *kulullū* conform to ritual I/II. The inscription on the third figure is slightly different.

V TEXT V

A building Ritual

A The text

Presently four MSS are known:

- a BM 64517 Figs. 15, 16. Neo-Babylonian.
- B K 2496 Figs. 11, 12. Neo-Assyrian.
- C K 10232 Figs. 16. Neo-Assyrian.
- D K 8026 Fig. 17 Neo-Assyrian

R. Borger *HKL* 2 90 ad Gurney *AAA* 22 recognized K 2496 Rev. 12'ff. as a duplicate to text I 277f.; I. Finkel lead me to BM 64517 that turned out to be a duplicate of K 2496. His provisional transcription of this MS was of great help in deciphering its contents. K 8026 was mentioned by Borger (*ZA* 61 73) as related to K 3397+, Zimmern's *Babylonisches Ritual für eine Hausweihe* (*ZA* 23 369ff.); he quoted line 4' in *Symbolae Böhl* 52 ad Si 36:22.

a

/i'

1'

][x][
][x][SAR-ár²][x]^a

5'

][x x x x]

MÁ.GUR₈.ME^a gi³ŠINIG u [BURU₅ KUR.RA^b]][x i-na É TÚR²]

]te-te-em-mer

[II ba-aš-mu šá gi³ŠINIG^a]. [KUR.RA ina KÁ TILLA₄]

[] te-te-em-mer

[II lāh-mu x x x ina^a][Á]-šú-nu er-[ba MAŠKIM SILIM-me]10' [si-i MAŠKIM HUL^a SA]R-ár i-na KÁ TILLA₄[x x x x É²-]a-nu te-te-em-mer[II GUD.DUMU.^dUTU šá gi³BA.AN.DU₈^a.]DU₈ ÍL-ú ina Á-[šú-nu][si-i Úš er-ba TI^a.]LA SAR-ár[É²]a-ni te-tem-mer

15'

[^a šá]L-ú ina Á-šú-nu[SAR-ár^a ina k]i-[sal-li][É^a ?]

Gap

Translation

i' 1' []... []
[(an inscription) ... you shall write []
[]... []
[deep-going boats of] *cornel* and a [“mountain crow”]
5' [].. in the room of the courtyard?
[] you shall bury.

[Two Vipers of juni]per in the outer gate
[] you shall bury.

[Two Hairies on] their [sides “enter guardian of peace”]
10' [go out guardian of evil” you shall wr]ite, in the outer gate
[and insi]de? you shall bury.

[Two Bisons who] carry [a buck]jet, on their sides
[“go out death, enter li]fe” you shall write,
[] insi]de you shall bury.

15' [Two who] [carry][a ...], on their sides
[“.....” you shall write, in the co]urtyard
[of the house (.....) you shall bury.]

B

ii' 1' [.....
[.....
[the god of the] [house], the goddess of the house
[and the *lamassu*-spirit of the house . . . , with . . .]s you shall purify,
5' [the . . . into the ri]ver you shall throw,
[[for Ea, Šamaš and Marduk]you shall prepare [the setting].

The statues that *you have made*, the statue of tamarisk, [two]Lions of pine,
two Mad-Lions of cedar, two Vipers of juniper,
two Haries, two Bisons you shall place in a hole and
10' syrup, butter, wine, oil obtained by pressing, you shall pour out for them and
the [gates]you shall close. In front of the statue of tamarisk you shall
speak as follows:

(Incantation translated above text I 277ff.)

22' Seven and seven times you shall say (it) and bury that statue.
[When] you have buried [the statues], what is needed for purification,
[. and] the half-sila containers you shall place in a row at every gate.

25' You shall make seven torches into one, and
infix it with cedar, c[yypress, and sweet ree]d,
[you shall pour out?] oil obtained by pressing, arrange one row at the right
of the house:
first [.], behind that the censer and the goat-that-hits-evil,
behind that the man who is clad in a red garment and holds the [whip],
30' behind that the goat-for-the-torch, the [living-shee]p, a goose,
the hide-of-the-[great-bul]l, the strong-copper, seed, [the man] who recites
the incantation,
[and], behind that *mashatu*-flour, [.].. this
[] . . . you shall purify,
[] . . . two censers
35' [] . . . -s you shall place
[] . . . you shall purify
[] . . . you shall draw
[] . . .
[] . . .
40' [] . . .
[] . . .

a /iii'	D	/ii'1' [an-nu-ú] lu É [] [x] šu- [x] [ana É an-ni-i ^a šá ...] [x] i-pu-šú [ù ana EN ^a] É an-ni-i kur-ba-šu
a /iv' C	5'	[lu] [SIG ₅ -tim ^a] ina šÀ-bi ^b -šú
		[GIM an-nam taq-ta-b] u-u ana IGI ^d É.A [^d UTU u] ^d ASALLÚ.HI ki-a-am tu šad-bab ^a -šú ^{bc}
	10'	[ÉN] [x] SIG ₅ -tim šuk-na-nim-ma ^a [x x] ÚL a-na ^a da-ra-a-ti [lu-ub-lu [?]] li[x] [x] NU kur-ba-nim-ma
	15'	[la-] li-e É DÙ-šú lu-uš-bi [ina hi-da-a-t]ú [u ri-ša-a-tú ^a] u ₄ -mi-šam [lu-] ut-tál-lak ina šÀ-bi [e-m] a [ú-ša-am-ma]-ru ^a lu-uk-šu-ud [] [] -ru-[ú [?]] ina ši-ri-šú
	20'	[] [x x li-ru] -bu ana šÀ-bi-šú [] [] -[mu]-ú ina šÀ-bi-šú [] []] šÀ-bi-šú ^a [] [] -šú [] [] -ma [] [] dà-lí-lí-ku-nu lud]-lul

Gap

iii' 1' [] may [this] be a house [of joy]
[] [.....]
benedict (4') [this house that] ... has built,
[and (benedict) the owner] of this house,
5' [that a] good [...] may] be in it,

[When you have sai]d [this], in front of Ea,
[Šamaš and] Marduk you shall make him speak as follows:

[Incantation:] provide me with good [] and
[] j]oy, forever
10' [may I live,] ... benedict me,
that I may enjoy the house that I have built,
that [in happiness]s [and jubilation]daily
[I] may walk in it, that I may obtain [whatev]er I [strife after],
[] that ... may] [....] to it,
15' [] that ... [may enter] into it,
[] that ... may] ... in it,
[] that] in it,
[]] it,
[]] and
20' [] I will pra]ise [you.]

NOTES TO TEXT V

i' 2^a Uncertain reading. The traces of the last sign of the inscription for the figure described here (if SAR-*dr* is the correct reading) do not fit *r* *ji*, the sign expected when the figure described here were the *uridimmu*; the sequence in col ii' leads us to expect the *uridimmu* before the *bašmu*, but the BURU₅ KUR.RA in 4' shows that other figures may have been mentioned or described in col. i' between the *uridimmu* and the *bašmu*.

4^a Restored after text II Rev. 23, where MÁ.GUR₈.MEŠ *gišbi-ni* precedes BURU₅ KUR.RA.

b Cf. Text II Rev. 23.

7^a Restored after ii'8'. The uncommon logogram *giššINIG.KUR.RA* = *burāšu* (cf. CAD B 326b) confirms the restoration expected from the sequence of figures in ii'. For an OB attestation see A/O 29 38.

9^a Restored after ii'9'. The inscription, identical with the one prescribed for the *lahmu* in text II Obv. 43 (cf. II.A.3.13), confirms the restoration.

10^a Restored after text II Obv. 43 (cf. II.A.3.13).

12^a Restored after ii'9'; the]DU₈ of *gišBAAN.DU₈.DU₈* and the]LA of the prescribed inscription confirm the restoration, cf. II.A.3.18.

15^a Of the monsters of text I/II (cf. II.A.3.13ff.) only the *lahmu* (*marru*), the *bašmu* (*paštu*), the *ugallu* (*patru* and *kakku*), the *uridimmu* (*uskaru* ?), the *kusarikku* (*banduddū*) and the *suḥurmāšu* (*e'ru*) hold something; all these figures have inscriptions (here indicated by *ina Á-šu-nu*). *Lahmu*, *bašmu*, and *kusarikku* have been treated in the previous lines; *ugallu*, *uridimmu* and *suḥurmāšu* remain candidates.

16^a Restoration implied by *ina Á-šu-nu* in the previous line.

17^a For *kisalli biti* as the location of a figure cf. text III.B.13+m (Ensimah).

ii' 3^a Cf. text I 244. Since between DINGIR É and ^dXV É the copula is lacking, the text must continue with *u/ū* ^dLAMMA É in the next line. The traces in MS a are uncertain and have been generally ignored here (1'-7'). The attestations of *il biti* / *ištar biti* known to me do not help in restoring this passage: CAD I 101a, CT 16 29 83 (cf. Falkenstein LSSNF 1 18², Borger BiOr 28 66a), J. Proseký ArOr 43 255 ad x+145, Hunger SbTU 2 88 ad Vs iii 2 (with references to R4cc), Farber ZA 71 62 Obv. 17', Sweet EASW 6f., STT 232 Obv. 9, LKA 141 passim, ABRT 57:31, (K 2331 and K 2553, both unpublished).

5^a In MS a ii'3' read perhaps here *ana še-rim*, "in the morning".

b Cf. text I 263.

6^a In MS a read perhaps here *ana ē* ^d..., "to the temple of ...".

b Division line only in a.

7^a Uncertain traces. Restored after text III (bit mēseri) I/iv 7.

b So B; a omits.

c Cf. text II Rev. 28 where the same figure appears.

8^a Cf. above note i'7^a.

9^a So a; B omits *-bi*.

11^a Cf. text IV ii'5^a.

b Division line only in a.

23^a Restoration guessed; *tutammiru* needs a plural object (for single statues *temēru* G is used) and a subjunction. In these lines MSS a and B distribute the text over the lines in different ways.

24^a Division line only in a.

25^a Between 24' and 25' as transcribed here, probably nothing is missing.

b So a, B omits *-dr*.

c So B, a omits *-ma*.

26^a Restored after KAR 26 20f.

27^a So a, B omits É.

29^a So a, B: [qī-n]a-za.

30^a Restored after text I 251, cf. also BBR 26 i 21, ii 5, AHw 1402 s.v. *udutilū* for further references.

iii'/iv' 3^a Restoration after analogy with *Symbolae Böhl* 52 Si 36:25, 53 Si 12:17.

3^a *i-pu-šu* refers to the house built by the inhabitant to be (parallels: *Symbolae Böhl* 52 Si 36:22, ZA 23 370:22, 371:28, 32); the main verb *kurbā-šu* in the next line has this house and probably the [owner] of this house as objects (parallel: ZA 23 371:28).

4^a If in the preceding line *ana biti anni* is correct, this *biti anni* cannot also be dependent on *kurbā-šu* but must be dependent on an noun.

5^a For similar wishes cf. *Symbolae Böhl* 53 Si 12:18'ff.

7^a So a and D; C: *-ba-ab*.

b So a; C omits; D: *-šu*.

c 6' and 7' on two lines in a and C; on one in D.

8^a Restorations in 8'-20' after parallel but all slightly different incantations in other building rituals: Zimmern ZA 23 370ff., Hunger SbTU 2 16, 17, Nougayrol RA 65 159ff., Sweet EASW 6f. (not a building ritual). Restoration of 8' uncertain. Read perhaps [bita anna ana itti] *damiqtim šuknānim-ma* (cf. RA 65 160:14, ZA 23 373:67f.).

9^a So a; D: *ana*.

12^a So a, after EASW 7:15; C: -š]a-a-ti.

13^a Cf. the parallels quoted by Mayer UFBG 251 +⁴⁷; the reading *ma-l]a* is also possible (cf. RA 65 160).

17^a The copy of a does not favour ŠA-bi-šú.

Text V is a building ritual (cf. iii' 3', 11') and perhaps part of one of the fragmentary rituals enumerated above (IV.C). The exorcist buries figures of apotropaic beings on several points in the house to prevent it from being invaded by evil; he purifies the house (ii' 23'ff.) and both he and the future inhabitant implore blessings from the gods (iii').

B Inventory of figures

I/II		Text V	Material	Attribute	Inscr.	buried
5	<i>One Cubit</i>	ii' 7', 11'. (22')	tamarisk	?	?	outer gate ^a
13	<i>2 lahmu</i>	i' 9'ff., ii' 9'	?	?	+	outer gate
14	<i>2 bašmu</i>	i' 7'ff., ii' 8'	juniper	?	—	outer gate
17	<i>2 uridimmu</i>	ii' 8'	cedar		?	?
18	<i>2 kusarikku</i> ^b	i' 12'ff., ii' 9'	?	<i>banduddū</i>	+	?
—	<i>2 urgulū</i>	ii' 7'	fir	?	?	?
—	<i>ārib šadī</i>	i' 4'	?	?	?	?
—	<i>makurru</i>	i' 4'	tamarisk	?	?	?

^a Uncertain position, cf. II.A.3.5. In the incantation shared by both texts this figure is urged to guard its right and left (I 281).

^b Spelled GUD.DUMU.⁴UTU

The complete text described more figures (cf. i' 15'f.). The enumeration in ii' 7'f. is apparently incomplete, since at least BURU₅ KUR.RA is left out; the figures enumerated here, however, form some kind of unit, perhaps because they are buried together.

The hole in which the figures were buried is here referred to by Akkadian *būrtu* (PÚ), "pit", "hole" (ii' 9'). In ii' 9' they are "placed" in it, but later the text (ii' 23') speaks of them as buried.

The wording of the inscriptions, if such are present, conforms to ritual I/II (*bašmu*, *lahmu*, *kusarikku*). The *lahmu* and the *kusarikku* may, like those of text I/II, have been of clay; their material is not mentioned in this text. Unlike text I/II ritual V prescribes a *bašmu* of wood without inscription; the *uridimmu* of cedar is paralleled by text II but not by text I where he is of clay (cf. II.A.3.17). The change from clay to cedar in text II is difficult to comprehend and has perhaps been brought about under the influence of prescriptions in other texts (text V). The burial places of text V differ from those in text I/II (cf. especially *lahmu* II.A.3.13).

C The Bird.

The bird BURU₅ KUR.RA (read *ārib šadī* with *CAD A/2* 266b) is attested only twice, in text V i' 4' and in text II Rev. 23. We are tempted to identify this bird with the clay birds of the Kleinplastik (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 123ff.), but since the texts do not name the material the bird is to be made of, and the inscriptions accompanying these clay birds have not (yet) been found prescribed in the texts, this identification must remain tentative.

As to the difficult inscriptions on the clay birds from Babylon (Koldewey *WVDOG* 15 7 // 19 cf. *HKL* 1 243f., Meissner *OLZ* 1915 419f.) we can only add one reading to the previous treatments (Ungnad *OLZ* 1911 289f., Peiser *OLZ* 1911 291): 1 UMBIN ḪU.RÍ.IN^{mušen}! .NA, "claw of an eagle".

VI TEXT VI

The ritual for the Substitute King

A The Text

The text has been published by W.G. Lambert in *AfO* 18 109ff. and *AfO* 19 119; related is *LKA* 83 (Borger *HKL* 2 266; *AfO* 18 110 Col. B 3 is restored after *LKA* 83 12: [GIZKIM.MEŠ]-ti-ka; 111 Col. C 5f. is analogous to *LKA* 83 7 concerned with mentioning the name of an *eṭemmu*, not with an oath). Perhaps also related is K 6336 (identified by Lambert; Rev. i' 11' mentions a ALAM pu-u-hi šá ana pu-hi LUGAL SUM-nu, "statue of a substitute given as a substitute for the king") recently joined by me to K 5641 (*BBR* 49). Of interest for the subject of the present study is BM 121052 (Fig. 19), a duplicate to *AfO* 18 110f. Col. B 10-16 (identified by Lambert and Millard *Catalogue SS* 6) and used below. Meaning and background of the ritual are discussed by Parpola *LAS* 2 XXIIff. (with previous literature). BM 121052 // *AfO* 18 110f. Col. B 10ff.:

The new MS restores	13: <i>i-na ba-ab ú-ri te-ti-mer</i> 14: II GUD.DUMU. ^d UTU šá/ša <i>giš-šinig te-pu-uš</i> [<i>ina BAR.S</i>]IL GÁB-šú-nu 15: <i>ki-a-am SAR-ár</i> [<i>si</i>]-i <i>lum-nu er-ba mi-šá-ru ta-šat-ṭar</i> (end of column)
Translation	13: you shall bury them in the gate of the roof. 14: Two Bisons of tamarisk you shall make, [on] their left [hi] 15: you shall write as follows: ["go out] evil, enter justice". You shall write this and

B Inventory of figures

The numbers in the first column refer to the inventory of figures in II.A.3.

I/II		Col. B	Material	Attribute	Inscr.	buried
14	II <i>ba-áš-me</i>	17ff (3)	Tamarisk	<i>paštu</i> of tamar.	+	gate of the palace
17	II <i>ur-dím-me</i>	10ff (1)	Tamarisk	<i>uskáru</i> of cedar	+	gate of the roof
18	II GUD.DUMU. ^d UTU	14ff (2)	Tamarisk	—	+	shrine
20	II UR.MAH.LÚ.ÚLU- <i>lu</i>	30ff (6)	[]	<i>banduddū</i>	+	... gate
24	II SUHUR.MÁŠ ^{ku} 6	21ff (4)	Tamarisk	<i>hatti ša e'ri</i>	+	bed room
—	II <i>kamsátu</i>	25ff (5)	[]	[]	+	courtyard

The prescribed inscriptions diverge in all cases from those prescribed in ritual I/II, text IV/1 (*suhurmāšu*), and text V; in as far as preserved they are all based on the opposition

of *si-i*, “go out (evil)” and *er-ba*, “enter (good)”. Since all figures are made of wood, none of these inscriptions has been preserved on an actual figure.

The attributes held by the figures are the same as those of text I/II; there, however, it is the *kusarikku* and not the *urmaḥlullū* that holds the *banduddū*, cf. II.A.4.C. The metal buckets from the Ninurta temple in Babylon (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 22.8.1–2) may have belonged to figures of wood but are not necessarily to be connected with the present ritual. The *kamsūtu*, “kneeling statues” (cf. II.A.4.B), of ritual I/II (II Rev. 11f.) hold syrup and butter; those of ritual V hold something else (broken) but “syrup and butter” are mentioned in their description (unclear).

VII INVENTORY OF MONSTERS. BRIEF DISCUSSIONS

A Inventory of monsters

		Rituals						Other texts (below B)								
		I	II	IV	IV/1	V	VI	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	<i>lahmu^e</i>	1	2	1'	[]	+	—	2	[]	3	2	[]	[]	[]	[]	
2	<i>bašmu^a</i>	2	5	[]	[]	+	3	1	+	1	1	[]	1 ^f	[]	[]	
3	<i>mušhuššu^c</i>	3	6	[]	[]	[]	—	— ^g	[]	2	3	[]	2 ^f	[]	— ^g	
4	<i>ugallu^{bef}</i>	[4]	1	[]	[]	[]	—	4	[]	4	—	1	3 ^f	[]	[]	
5	<i>uridimmu^{cc}</i>	5	[4]	[]	[]	+	1	5	[]	5	4	2	4 ^f	5	[]	
6	<i>kusarikku^{de}</i>	6	[3]	2'	[]	+	2	3	+	8	5	6	5 ^f	6	1'	
7	<i>girtablullū^c</i>	[7]	9	[]	[]	[]	—	—	[]	6	—	3	6 ^f	[]	2'	
8	<i>urmahlullū^c</i>	[8]	10	[]	[]	[]	6	—	[]	—	—	[]	[]	[]	3'	
9	<i>kulullū</i>	9	8	3 ^f	2'	[]	—	6	[]	7 ^h	6	7 ^h	[]	7	[]	+
10	<i>suhurmāšu</i>	10	7	[]	1'	[]	4	7	[]	—	7	8	[]	[]	[]	

^a Spelled MUŠ.ŠA.TUR in both MSS of I 185, MUŠ.ŠA.TUR in 8:7 (cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 141⁴) and syllabically in all other texts.

^b Spelled U4.GAL in all rituals and 11, U4.GAL-la in 7 and 9, U4.GAL-lum in 9 iii 32, U4. GAL-^a-lu in 12.

^c Spelled ur-dim-me in VI, UR.IDIM-(me) in 9, UR.IDIM.MA in 10 and UR.IDIM in all other texts.

^d Spelled syllabically in I, 7, 9 (iii 91: *ku₆-sa₄-rak-ki*), 10, GUD.DUMU.^dUTU (cf. II.A.3.18) in II, IV, V, VI, (d) GUD.ALIM in 8 (*ku-sa-rik-ki*, bilingual), 11, 12, 13, and GUD.DUMU.AN.NA (cf. II.A.3.18) in 14.

^e In rituals only *lahmu* is sometimes furnished with the determinative DINGIR (I 184 MS C, IV); in Ee (9) *lahmu* (here in the form *lahmu*) is always furnished with the determinative, and so is *mušhuššu* occasionally as well; 7, 8, 10 and 11 do not use determinatives at all (but the unpub. duplicate of 10, 79-7-8, 193, preserving only *lahmu* and *mušhuššu*, uses the determinative for both); 12 has only ^d*kusarikku* (GUD.ALIM), 14 apparently only ^d*urmahlullū* (before GUD.DUMU.AN.NA the text is broken), and 13 gives all preserved figures the determinatives.

^f For further *ugallū* cf. I "437" and notes "435^h, "437^a"; text I/4; II Rev. 35, III 13+h, 13+j.

^g In text 7 the *mušhuššu* appears in another context (iii 13) as Marduk's mount (*ru-[ku-ub]* / *i-lu-ti-sú*); in text 14 the *mušhuššu* appears a few lines before the other monsters, but as Nabû's ally rather than as one of the slain heroes (82:7, cf. also 86:15: *rākib mušhušši*, "who rides the m.").

^h Spelled *ku₆-lú-lú* in 11 and *ku-li-li* in one MS of Ee (9, *KAR* 162 Rev. 4).

The comparison of ritual I/II with the other texts shows that we are dealing with a limited set of figures. The inscriptions prescribed for these figures in ritual II, in this respect more explicit than ritual I, are duplicated in other texts (IV/1, V; only VI prescribes different inscriptions but on figures of wood, not of clay) and apparently canonical, since they are matched by the inscriptions on actual clay figures. Until now two names of clay monsters from ritual I/II could not be read (numbers 3 and 4); above (II.A.3.18 and 17) we identified their names as *kusarikku* and *uridimmu* on the basis of a comparison with ritual I. Now that also the other texts have been adduced, it will be seen that these two figures are indeed the only candidates. Since both 3 and 4 have inscriptions prescribed, these new readings allowed their identification in art.

All figures of ritual II with inscriptions have been securely identified with figures of the Kleinplastik: *lahmu*, *bašmu*, *ugallu*, *uridimmu*, *kusarikku*, *urmahlullū*, *kulullū*, and *suhurmāšu*. For two monsters the text does not prescribe inscriptions: *mušhuššu* and

girtablullû. The identity of the *mušhuššu* could be established long ago by other means; as expected, the monster is attested also in the Kleinplastik (see below C.3), without inscription. Also the *girtablullû* is to be expected in the Kleinplastik, a monster partly scorpion (*girtab-*) and partly man (*-lullû*). Among the remaining unidentified figures of the Kleinplastik only one answers the description: *Kleinplastik* 7.1.1–2, “Genius mit Skorpionstachel” (figs. 24 and 25), without inscription. The palace reliefs as well include only one answering to the description “scorpion-man”: Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XI. The not very well preserved figure of the Kleinplastik and the figure of the palaces are sufficiently similar to consider them one type. Green *Iraq* 45 92f. voices misgivings about the identification of the figure from the palaces with the *girtablullû*; he restores a partly preserved figure from Nimrud (ND 7901, Pl. XIII, XIVb) after the “scorpion-man” of the reliefs, and notes that its inscription identifies the figure as the (the still unnamed) figure of text II Obv. 47f. Thus ND 7901 and Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XI, the “scorpion-man”, could not be the *girtablullû*, since this figure is described in II Rev. 8f. The correct reading of II Obv. 47f. (figure 4) as *uridimmu*, however, allowed a different but equally possible restoration of ND 7901: a lion’s tail instead of the sting of a scorpion, and the claws of a lion or dog instead of the talons of a bird of prey. Now the figure is in accordance with another figure of the reliefs (Kolbe Type XIX) and with the element *u r*, “lion”, “dog” in its name. Thus we save Kolbe Type XI/*Kleinplastik* 7.1.1–2 for the *girtablullû*.

Another figure answering to the description “scorpion-man” (Seidl *BaM* 4 XLIV) but not attested in the Kleinplastik or on the reliefs, is for that reason excluded from identification with the *girtablullû*. Since both the scorpion-man of the reliefs and of the Kleinplastik (*BaM* 4 no XLV) and the scorpion-man of other art appear on one object (NAss chair, cf. Hrouda *Kulturgeschichte* Pl. 15, 2), they are not variants of one type but distinct figures. Accordingly they must have different names but the name of the latter is still unknown.

The identification of all monsters with figures of the Kleinplastik greatly reduces the number of available candidates for the identification of the last two unidentified figures of clay without inscriptions, the gods Lulal and Latarak, one of them not completely anthropomorphic (cf. text I/5). Our arguments for identifying Lulal with the god with the raised fist and Latarak with the “Löwenmensch” are set out above II.A.4.A end.

If combinatory logic alone is not enough to establish the identity of the figures beyond doubt, the etymology of their names affords a check on the proposed identification (below C). It will be seen that the names of the monsters (including the *lahmu*) agree with their appearance; only in the case of the *ugallu*, where the element *u₄* does not have a definite bearing on its appearance, is this check lacking.

Although the sequence of monsters is not exactly fixed, certain regularities can be detected when groups of monsters are considered as units. For the relation between texts I and II we refer to the discussions in II.A.5.A.

	I	II	IV	VI	7	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>lahmu-bašmu-mušhuššu</i> ^a	1	1	1'	3	1	1	1	[]	1	[]	[]
<i>ugallu-uridimu</i>	2	3	[]	1	3	2	2	1	2	1'	[]
<i>kusarikku</i>	3	2	2'	2	2	5	3	3	3	2'	1'
<i>girtablullū-urmahllū</i>	4	4	[]	5	—	3	—	2	4	[]	2'
<i>kulullū-suḥurmāšu</i> ^b	5	5	3'	4	4	4	4	4	[]	3'	[]

^a The sequence inside the group is changed in 7, 9 and 10.

^b The sequence inside the group is changed in II and IV/1.

Ignoring text VI, all texts start with *lahmu-bašmu-mušhuššu* and continue with *ugallu-uridimu/kusarikku*; only in 9 and 11 is *kusarikku* separated from *ugallu-uridimu*, which forced us to make it a separate group. All texts end with *girtablullū-urmahllū*, followed by *kulullū-suḥurmāšu* (reverse order of groups in VI); exceptions again are 9 and 11 where the displaced *kusarikku* is accommodated after (9) or in between these groups (11).

Only the group *girtablullū-urmahllū* can be omitted; of all other groups at least one member is always present; *bašmu*, *uridimu* and *kusarikku* are present in all texts; *lahmu* and *kulullū* are present in all texts except VI; *mušhuššu* is omitted in texts where it is expressly mentioned as the symbolic animal of Marduk or Nabû; *ugallu* and *suḥurmāšu* are ommissible.

[Text 15, now published by A.R. George in RA 82 139ff., confirms these observations].

B The army of Tiāmat and its history

Sequences of monsters do not occur only in rituals. A number of other texts refer to the same set of monsters and give indications on their mythological background. The following texts have been used in the inventory above:

- 7 Pinches 5 R 33 iv 50ff. (collations by W. van Soldt). Late copy of an inscription of Agum-kakrime, an early Kassite king, relating the return of Marduk to Babylon and the building of his temple by the king. Here Marduk is not yet the sole ruler of the universe (cf. i 5ff., vii 34ff.); the text does not reflect the theology of *Enūma eliš*. The *mušhuššu* (cf. above note g) is already Marduk's symbolic animal and perhaps for that reason does not appear among the monsters laid in with gems in the wood of the doors of his cella. The text cannot be dated exactly and its authenticity remains a subject of discussion, cf. Brinkman *MSKH* I 95f. (and index), Sommerfeld *Der Aufstieg Marduks* 172⁴ (with previous literature), Schott *OLZ* 45 165f. [A new text, *VAS* 24 97, mentions Babylon and Esagil, and enumerates the monsters: *bašmu*, *mušhuššu*, *ugallu*, *uridimu*, *kulullū* and *suḥurmāšu*. The text is probably MB and comes from Babylon].
- 8 W.G. Lambert, The Chariot of Marduk, *Symbolae Böhl* 275f. A fragment of a late copy of a bilingual text from the second Isin dynasty (?). Hymn of praise to the divine chariot. If Lambert's date is correct, the imperfectly preserved collection of Monsters is dependent on *Enūma eliš*. Analogous to the monsters of Ninurta's chariot in *Angim* 51ff., they can be understood as Marduk's thropies. A further theriomorphic monster was probably mentioned in 11; it sticks out its tongue (cf. m uš-huš a m -š e em e è -d e, Gudea *Cyl. A* XXVI 24f.).
- 9 W.G. Lambert, *Enūma Eliš. The Babylonian Epic of Creation. The Cuneiform Text*. I 133ff. // II 19f. // III 23ff. // III 81f. The monsters are created by mother Hubur / Tiāmat to fight at her side against the younger gods. The number is enlarged with *mušmahhū*, *ušumgallū* and *umū dabrūtu*, so that together with their general Kingu they total twelve. They bear unsparing weapons, are unafraid of battle (I 144 and parallels, cf. V 74) and terrifying (VI 115). In IV 116 they are *gallū*, "soldiers". After their defeat by Marduk they are bound and trampled underfoot (IV 115ff.); Marduk breaks their weapons and installs their images (*salmū*) in the gate of Apsū (saying): "let this be a token; may it never be forgotten" (V 73ff., cf. Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson *JNES* 20 176, Frankena *Fs Brongers* 33f. ad *STC* II 67:5f.; Lambert *Atra-hasís* 58:216f., 229f.). Berossos' account of creation

contains a reference to Tiāmat's monsters set up (after defeat) in the temple of Bēl (S. Mayer Burstein *SANE* 1/5 14 2.2f.; the monsters of Berosos were adduced already by Delitzsch *AW* 99f.). Aššur advancing to battle against Tiāmat and the offspring of her womb (*nabnīt gerbiša*), "the beasts (*umāmānu*)", are engraved on the copper gate of Sennacherib's *akītu* house (*OIP* 2 139ff., cf. Pallis *akītu* 260ff.). These decorations are not preserved but they may be compared with the decorations on the bronze bands of the doors of Nabū's temple in Khorsabad (Loud-Altman *Khorsabad* II Pl. 49); they show a *kusarikku* (or perhaps an *uridimmu*, Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* 135), a *kulullū* and a *mušhuššu* (remainder not preserved). This temple may also have contained an *akītu*-complex (Postgate *Sumer* 30 51ff.), but the representations and the *akītu* festival are not necessarily related. The fanciful collection of monsters (4 *kusarikku*, 4 *kulullū*, 4 *suhurmāšu* 2 *uridimmu*, 2 *girtablullū*) at the entrance of Sennacherib's "Ost-anbau" of the Aššur temple (Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 258ff., esp. 260^{4,5} with previous literature; the four *kusarikku* of Sennacherib were replaced by Esarhaddon by two: Borger *Asarhaddon* 87 Rs. 4ff., Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 266f.) have been prompted by architecture and apotropaic magic rather than by *Ee*.

The exact date of *Ee* within the MB period remains a subject of dispute, cf. Komoróczy *ActAntHung* 21 30f. and most recently Lambert *BSOAS* 47 1ff.

Fastening slain adversaries to buildings is a practice attested elsewhere:

- In the provincial version of the *Anzū* myth (cf. Wiggermann *Fs Kraus* 423ff.) *STT* 23 // 25 56' (Hruška *Anzu* 173), Ninurta fastens the slain Anzū to the front of the Ekur. The text explains the actual presence of apotropaic Anzū's at the gates of Mesopotamian temples (cf. Hruška *Anzu* 77f.).
- After cutting the cedar and killing Humbaba, Gilgamesh and Enkidu return to Nippur with a door made out of the felled cedar and the head of Humbaba (von Weiher *BaM* 11 100f. // *EG* Pl. 19 K 3252). The door is a present for Enlil: *li-iš-du* [ú-šu-um-gal]^d *En-lil* ... [li-ni-iš]-*si-in* ^d*En-ll* (*TIM* 9 46:27f., OB), "may Enlil the ruler be pleased ... , may Enlil be jubilant about it (the door)"; indeed it arrives in Nippur where it is later bitterly addressed by Enkidu (tablet VII). What happens to the head of Humbaba? In tablet VII Landsberger *RA* 62 103²² reads a broken line (*STT* 14 Obv. 8a) of Enkidu's speech to the door as: [ina] kā-šú *lu* [u]š-zi-za *an-z-a-a*, "In seinem (=des Enlil) Tore hätte ich den Vogeldämon aufgestellt". Anzū, however, is completely out of place here, he has nothing to do with the adventures of Gilgamesh and Enkidu. A reading ^d*H[um]-ba-ba* is equally possible and solves the riddle of Humbaba's destiny. The Sumerian forerunner of this part of the epic (van Dijk *GSL* 71 99ff.) relates how Gilgamesh and Enkidu enter Ekur and place the head of Humbaba before Enlil. Another OB Sumerian text containing references to the Gilgamesh cycle speaks of Humbaba as an *ur-sag d a b5 - b a*, a "captured hero" (cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 110); he is brought to Enlil in Nippur and probably underwent the same fate as the captured heroes of Ninurta/Ningirsu (Cooper *AnOr* 52 141ff.), that end up as trophies on his chariot or temple (Klein *AOAT* 25 280:95ff.). Indeed, Humbaba-heads are actually attested at the doors of Mesopotamian temples (cf. Th. Howard-Carter *Iraq* 45 69ff.) and elsewhere as an apotropaion against evil (cf. Moorey *Iraq* 37 88, Opificius *UAVA* 2 221ff., and generally Wilcke *RIA* 4 530ff.).
- *Marduk Ordeal Text* (T. Frymer-Kensky, *JAOS* 103 133, 135:) 20: "[the head w]hich they hang on the gateposts of the 'Mistress of Babylon': that is the head of the criminal who stood with him".
- An especially clear case comes from *Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice* (W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 27 5, 8:) 6ff.: "... (a criminal) .. they cut off his head and sent it through the land. They (also) cut off a stone head, made it into the likeness of that man's head, had the following inscribed on that man's head, and fixed it on the outer gate of that law court for all mankind to see: 'A man whose case has been judged, the tablet of whose verdict has been written, and whose tablet has been sealed, but afterwards he returns for judgement — in like manner shall his head be cut off'.

10 *Šurpu* 8 6f. // 79-7-8, 193 (unpublished; quoted by *CAD* B 141b), cf. Lambert *AfO* 19 122. The enumerated monsters are introduced as *sūt mē nāri u nābali*, "those of the water of the river and of the dry land"; together they are the *ūmu*-demons (*u4-mu*), which, in the presence of Bēl (*šā IGI EN*) [are filled with] terror, dread, and sp[endour]" (Lambert's translation *AfO* 19 122).

11 Craig *ABRT* I 56 Obv. 4ff., *lipšur* litany. The figures are enumerated in the suit of Ea and Marduk (^d*ASALLÚ.HI*). After *girtablullū* two (?) monsters are missing ([4], [5]). Between [5] and 6 the text has one extra figure:

[AN.I]MDUGUD^{mušen} (*Anzū*). After *suhurmāšu* there is room for two more figures.

12 Ebeling *KAR* 312 7, cf. Lambert *AfO* 19 122. Probably a hymn. The figures enumerated belong in the suit of Marduk, as is proved by the presence of his *u d u g Nādin-mē-qāti* (5) and *Mukil-mē-balāti* (6) (*CT* 24 16:15f., 28:70f.).

- 13 Craig *ABRT* I 29 Obv. 15ff. Prayer of Ashurbanipal to Marduk, with allusions to *Ee*; cf. Borger *HKL* 1 68, Hruška *Anzu* 88 with note 231, Seux *Hymnes et Prières* 115ff. The enumeration of slain monsters starts with *Anzû* (15) and a monster whose name is broken. After a break, with room for approximately four monsters, the text names the *uridimmu*, the *kusarikku* and the *kulullû*. At the end of the line there is room for one more monster. The next line (17) starts with *LUGAL*, apparently introducing a different subject, since none of the names of the monsters starts with *LUGAL*. The defeat of Tiamat and Kingu is referred to in 20. In 37 ^d*Lâh-me* appears after *Ea* and [Damkinja]; perhaps *lahmu* is therefore not to be restored as one of the slain monsters in 16.
- 14 Lambert *Fs Matouš* II 82:12. Hymn to Nabû. Text of first millennium origin. Nabû shares with Marduk the rulership of the cosmos, the *mušhušu* as a symbolic animal, and the defeat of the monsters of chaos. Before the first preserved monster (*kusarikku*) there is room for a substantial restoration; the exact number of missing signs, however, cannot be determined.
- 15 BM 45619, unpublished, cf. Berger *AOAT* 4/1 68 and 322. NB text enumerating the monsters set up in Esagila. At least the *kulullû* is among them (Lambert *RLA* 6 324a). [Now published by A.R. George in *RA* 82 39ff.].

1 Unstructured origins and subsequent organization

The sources for the study of original monster formation are limited. Part of the ideas that shaped them is fixed in the names and appearances of the oldest monsters. They can be analyzed and combined with what is known or guessed about the early history of Sumerian religion and of religion in general. Even if the infusion with ideas on the development of religious thought succeeds in giving the results a ring of truth, it must be remembered that they are based on very few facts.

Analysis of Names. Concrete beginnings.

None of the names reveals the composite character of the named monster (see table p.150). The two exceptions, Scorpion-Man (4) and Carp-Goat (5), are not originally monsters. The scorpion is named Scorpion-Man only after it developed its human parts, the *m á š*-carp became a composite only after the element *m á š* in its name was understood as Carp. Bison (2), Bison(-Bull) (3) and Hairy-One (9) do not reveal the human parts, Furious-Snake (1) does not reveal the lion part, and Heavy-Cloud (6), Roaring-Day (7) and Big-Day (8) do not reveal any part of their composite denotations.

The names that reveal only part of the composition may be taken to have denoted originally only *that* part, a simple being not a composed one. Thus Furious-Snake originally denoted a snake, not a dragon. The element *hu š* in the name of the snake, translated throughout this book as "Furious," gives away the nature of the snake. Although the translation "Furious" is not incorrect, the word is better translated "awe-inspiring," since it is a quality not only of animate beings, but also of inanimate things such as gates and temples. The colour adjective *hu š* "red" is undoubtedly the same word. The snake then, denoted by Furious-Snake, is originally the awe-inspiring snake. The other words, Bison and Bison(-Bull) originally denoted a bison, and not a bison-human composite. We take it that the denoted bison was, like the snake, the awe-inspiring bison. The development from simple animal to monster, here derived from etymology, is observable fact in the cases of the scorpion(-man) and the carp(-goat).

The names that do not reveal any part of their composite denotation are clearly not in origin those of composite beings, but of the phenomena they denote. The imaginary monsters only serve to make these awe-inspiring natural phenomena visible.

Heavy-Cloud (6) and the fearsome Days (7, 8) are convincingly realized as lion/eagle composites.

Hairy-One, the name of the naked hero with curls, is a special case. The name is purely descriptive, and must have been given to the hero with curls after he had been realized. Since it is unthinkable that the realization (man with curls) of an imaginary being (spirit of streams) precedes its conception in language, the name Hairy-One cannot be the original name of the hero with curls. Its secondary nature is indicated as well by the fact that it is a Semitic name, and not a Sumerian one.

The awe-inspiring animals of the first group (1–5) are turned into monsters by the addition of animal and human parts, they are, so to speak, only half imaginary. The awe-inspiring phenomena of the second group (6–8) are expressed by composites that are completely imaginary. It is logical to conclude that the process of monster formation started with the half imaginary ones, and that the completely imaginary ones followed their example.

Analysis of composition. Abstraction and structure.

Although the awe-inspiring quality undoubtedly is rooted in observed fact, it was apparently not predicated to individual members of the species (snake, bison), but to the species as such, to an Exemplary Member (Snake, Bison), in other words, the awe-inspiring animals became abstractions.

The transition from Exemplary Member to monster that initiated the process of monster formation can only be explained from the demands of visual expression. Since simple representation of one member of a species does not adequately express the extraordinary qualities that are imputed to the abstract Exemplary Member, it follows that in order to express the qualities of Exemplary Member it has to be distinguished from the individual ordinary member. Monster form fulfills this demand.

Whereas the need to be precise about the abstract character of Exemplary Member could arise only from the demands of visual expression, it is regular artistic activity that is responsible for the creation of a commonly known and accepted art as the channel through which the novelty of monster form could spread and take a hold on public imagination. This implies that monsters in general are not older than the first recognizable art styles of the late Uruk period, and more specifically that first attestations can not be very far removed from invention.

Thus the Exemplary Members belong to the language of religion, and may be as old as Sumerian itself; the monsters belong to the language of art and are novelties depending on regular artistic activity and the development of style.

Since monsters did not exist in nature but were visible only in man-made reality, and since this reality must have been widely distributed and long lasting in order to create generally accepted monster images, the only alternative to art is religious practice, the cult. Although conceivably animal-human hybrids could be dressed up priests, the actual composition of the Bison beings (animal body and human face and hands) does not favour this theory. The fourth millennium Iranian hybrid Man-with-Mufflon-Head (Barnett *Syria* 43 259ff., Amiet *Syria* 56 333ff., GS 28f.) on the other hand could be a masked priest, and of cultic origin.

Among the Mesopotamian monsters the only one that possibly once was a priest is Hairy-One, the naked hero with curls (for a protoliterate example cf. Porada *JAOS* 103 477, and the drawing in D. Schmandt-Besserat ed., *The Legacy of Sumer*, Fig. 9a–b, p. 187). Indeed, nakedness is a prerequisite for officiating early third millennium priests, and priests with long hair are a well known phenomenon in the cult of Enki (Sjöberg *JCS* 21 278, Charpin *Le Clergé d'Ur* 349, add *VAS* 2 66 r. 11). If then in origin the naked hero was a priest, two curious facts would be explained: his completely human appearance and his secondary name.

After the priestly function was abolished, the figure would have lived on in art as a supernatural servant of Enki (with hair now symbolizing water), one that did not exist earlier and was named after his appearance "Hairy-One."

The theory of Exemplary Member presented above does not require that there was only one Exemplary Member. All through Mesopotamian history pluralities of monsters occur, and it is often unclear whether MONSTER NAME should be translated "a..." or "the...". In art human-faced bisons and bison-men regularly appear in pairs, and sometimes even Roaring-Day (PKG 14 137c), Furious-Snake (VAR 147), and Heavy-Cloud (GMA² no. 1263) are not single.

A further abstraction is implied by the inclusion of Heavy-Cloud (6) and the Days (7, 8) in the class of Exemplary Animal monsters. The awe-inspiring essence is recognized in completely different phenomena, abstracted, and expressed by the shared monster quality of the images. The difference between the phenomena they cover is expressed by the different composition of each individual monster image.

As irreal beings the monsters are not identical with the phenomena they cover, but the supernatural agents in some way responsible for them, their 'cause'. They are abstractions, but personified.

The abstractions that characterize the monsters can be derived from their (later) associations with certain gods, and from their behaviour in art and literature (see table p. 150). A simple set of elements with natural symbolic values gives each composite its definite character:

snake (1)	death
bison (2, 3)	firmness
eagle (6, 7)	agression, power (in the sky)
lion (1, 6, 7, 8)	agression, power (on earth)
carp (5)	knowledge
curls (water) (9)	life
human face (2)	watching
human hands (3, 8)	acting
human body (9)	independent activity

Two animal elements have been left out of consideration, the goat of the carp (-goat) and the scorpion of the scorpion(-man). The goat is based on ancient etymological speculation, and the composed being of which it forms part since Ur III is in origin a natural fish, a *máš* -carp. The carp itself enters into other compositions (OB *kulullū*, Fish-Man; MB fish-*apkallū* also called "carps", cf II.A.4.B). The scorpion(-man) is in origin a simple mythological scorpion fulfilling, like the Egyptian *hprr*, "beetle," a cosmic task (watching over the rising and setting of the sun, VII.C.7d) with its pincers. It is not part of other composed beings, but the simple scorpion occurs as a symbol of marriage (Cooper *RlA* 4 267) and of the goddess Išhara (Lambert, *RlA* 5 176f.).

We conclude that monster formation was an ongoing process which started in the protoliterate period and continued throughout the third millennium and even later (*kulullū*, fish-*apkallū*, *uridimmu*, *urmahlullū*).

Besides the tenacious monsters treated here the third millennium saw a number of others, short-lived and generally known either from art or from literature. Of ED III and Akkadian art the boat-god, (human-faced) lion, and bird-man remain nameless, but apparently played a part in the lost mythology of the period (cf. e.

g. Frankfort *CS* 67ff., Amiet *GMA*² Pl. 106ff. and comments). The Ninurta mythology gave birth to a fair amount of new monsters (see below II), and the most important of them, *á - z á g*, has the abstract character required by the theory (see below III).

Completely different from the monsters discussed so far is Huwawa. He appears generally as a face only (on seals; as mask), but sometimes the face is supplied with a body. In origin presumably he was indeed only a face, a repelling grin hung at the door post to deter evil. His name, otherwise not understandable, may be the sound he makes while grinning, *huwawa!* He was less powerful than other monsters, and contrary to them a mere mortal could defeat him, Gilgamesh. The iconography is treated by W.G. Lambert in A.E. Farkas ed., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (1987), 37–52 (see also VII.B.9 above).

Summary (concrete to abstract)

concrete	abstract
animal	earlier
awe-inspiring phenomena	become half imaginary
weather	later
water	become completely imaginary
awe-inspiring phenomena of nature	Exemplary Members, agents, "causes"
only religious entities	also artistic entities
imagined in its own form	represented in monster form
different from gods	opposed to anthropomorphic gods

Summary of first stage

monsters				gods	
VII.C	Character	Composition	Name ^a	associated	adversary
1	3	Violent Death	snake + lion	Furious-Snake	Ninazu
2	6	Peace (Passive)	bison + human face	Bison	Utu
3	6	Peace (Active)	bison + human hands	Bison(-Bull)	Utu
4	7	Cosmic Instrument	scorpion (+ man) ^b	Scorpion-Man	Utu
5	10	Instruction	carp (+ goat) ^c	Carp-Goat	Enki
6	11a	Ruling Power	eagle + lion	Heavy-Cloud	Enlil
7	11a	Destructive Power	lion + eagle	Roaring-Day	Iškur
8	4	Aggression	lion + human hands	Big-Day	Iškur
9	1	Keeper of Life	curls + human body	Hairy-One ^d	Enki

^a 1: *mušhuššu*, 2: *alim*, 3: *kusarikku*, 4: *girtablullu*, 5: *suḥurmāšu*, 6: ^{an} a n_x (IM) – d u g u d /*Anzū*, 7: *u₄-ka-d u ḥ-ḥ a*, 8: *ugallu*, 9: *lahmu*. The other monsters of VII.C are either too late (*uridimmu*, *urmahullu*, *kulullu*) or too unclear to be of use in a discussion about origins. ^b Earliest form a simple scorpion with raised pincers that become hands. ^c According to the texts originally a type of carp, a māš-carp, later supplied with the goat part (māš) as a consequence of ancient etymological speculation. ^d The only being with a Semitic name.

2 Association with gods. Monstrous servants and anthropomorphic masters

Anthropomorphism did not affect the whole pantheon at once, but was, like monster formation, an ongoing process. At least part of the pantheon is not anthropomorphic in origin. Utu, the Sun, and Nanna, the Moon, must once have had only their cosmic identities. The first deity for whom a human form can be assumed is Inanna, whether in origin Venus or not. The ideology of rulership in her city Uruk is based on the marriage of the ruler (e n) with the goddess, inconceivable without anthropomorphism. The Uruk Vase (PKG 14 Fig. 33) shows the e n bringing his gifts to the goddess (or her human representative) and receiving e n -ship (the sign EN) in return. It is the oldest attestation of the ideology of e n -ship, and dates to the Uruk IV period. From ED II onwards horned crowns distinguish gods from men, and one by one they become recognizable by their attributes. By the end of the Akkad period all important gods (Nanna, Utu, Inanna, Enki, Ninhursag, Ninurta, Iškur) seem to have become anthropomorphic, although some of them (Enlil, An) have not yet been identified with certainty.

Yet even in the Akkad period not all gods were completely or only anthropomorphic. The god on the obverse of an early Akkadian sculptured stone from Ešnunna (Frankfort OIP 60 no. 331), probably Ninazu, is scaled. His successor, Tišpak, is green (VAS 17 4:2, OB inc.), and must have had a snake's skin. An earlier anthropomorphic Ninazu on a *mušhuššu* occurs on an ED IIIb seal (Boehmer UAVA 4 Abb. 283, cf RIA *mušhuššu* 3.2). Later still the SB *Göttertypentext* (Köcher MIO 1 57ff.) gives the goddess Nintu "scales like a snake" (iii 49'). In art however, the goddess is completely anthropomorphic (cf. Stol, *Zwangerschap en Geboorte bij de Babyloniers en in de Bijbel* 34ff.). A snake god with human upper body (Boehmer UAVA 4 102ff.) is well known from Akkadian seals, but later disappears, probably because he shed the snake part. There is reason to believe that he is the city-god of Der, Ištarān, and that the snake part became his symbolic animal, Nirah.

Their composed appearance defines the monsters as a group, and distinguishes them from the anthropomorphic gods. Although the process of anthropomorphism may have started earlier, or even much earlier than that of monster formation, the two become simultaneous and complementary at the end of the Uruk period, together gather speed during ED II, and culminate in the time of the Akkadian empire, when Furious-Snake (1) and Roaring-Day (7) get their classical forms, and art systematically contrasts anthropomorphic gods and their monstrous servants and opponents.

The establishment of formal complementarity reveals an essential characteristic of the monsters and the awe-inspiring phenomena they stand for. Contrary to anthropomorphic gods, monsters stand outside the normal order, they are supernatural freaks, unexpected extras, unpredictable, disquieting, threatening. This otherness determines the relations between gods and monsters until the end of Mesopotamian

civilization. Step by step these relations become more outspoken, step by step, while mythology develops, the part played by monsters is defined:

a *Associated with gods; servants.*

Each individual monster is associated with a god that operates in the same field of action, a part of nature, but while the god covers the whole, the monster represents only a slice (see table p. 150); and while the god is responsible for a stable, lasting background, the monster's responsibility is limited, it accentuates, emphasizes. The responsibilities of the monsters together circumscribe the essence of supernatural intervention in human affairs: the preservation of life (9), but also sudden, violent death (1); the protection of peace (2, 3), but also the disruptions of war and weather (6, 7, 8). The most important of all is Heavy-Cloud (6), hard-handed rule.

Generally the relations between god and monster are completely obvious: Furious-Snake is associated with Ninazu, 'Lord-Healer,' the ruler of the netherworld before Nergal, and king of the snakes (*RLA* *mušhuššu* 3.2); the fish (monster) Carp(-Goat) and Hairy-One, a spirit of streams, are associated with Enki, the 'Lord of the Earth' and master of rivers and streams; the stormy Days of war and destruction belong to the storm god Iškur, who tramples the land; the scorpion(-man), who watches over the mountain of sunset and sunrise, is associated with Utu, the sun god.

Less obvious is the relation between Bison and Utu. The two share an interest in a part of the world that is left alone by others, the distant fairy tale lands where Bison, the forebear of the *Ditnu*-nomads, was a kind of mythological sheik, and Utu, the only god who dared travel that far, his divine supervisor (see below b.). It is also Utu, who supplies Gilgamesh with seven monstrous 'warriors' to guide him to the cedar mountain (*Gilgamesh and Huwawa* 37ff., cf Kramer *JCS* 1 36²¹⁷, Shaffer *JAOS* 103 307⁴).

Only *Anzû*'s ties with Ninurta are not obviously explained from a shared field of action in nature. *Anzû* is Heavy-Cloud, or at least an atmospheric phenomenon, Ninurta is "Lord of the Arable Land", son of Enlil and his warlike colonist. Below we will see that originally *Anzû* was associated not with Ninurta, but with Enlil. *Anzû*, Heavy-Cloud (or at least an atmospheric phenomenon), is naturally associated with Enlil, "Lord Ether," the hard-handed ruler of everything between heaven and the surface of the earth.

Association is the vaguest relation possible. It does not require a worked-out mythology that specifies a variety of functions and defines mutual obligations.

b *Rebels and defeated enemies.*

The art of the Akkad period gives precedence to subjects that were hardly treated before. One of them is the battle scene, depicting fights of gods with gods (Boehmer *RLA* 3 471ff.) or of gods with monsters. Although it cannot be totally excluded that Akkadian art finally found a way to depict a traditional subject of mythology for some reason avoided by earlier art, it is much more likely that the political innovations of the Akkadian empire gave rise to mythological adaptations, and that the gods became more imperious, and more sensitive to rebellion: "for men create the gods after their own image, not only with regard to form, but also with regard to their way of life"

(Aristotle, *Politics* i 2 7). A positive indication is that the Sumerian word m e d d a, which denotes specifically a weapon of gods, is a Semitic loanword (*mattat*-).

For the monsters, outlaws by nature, it is only a small step from unpredictable servant to rebel, and from rebel to defeated enemy. The role of the god in their relation changes accordingly from master to rightful ruler, and from rightful ruler to victor. The geographical interpretation of this mythology unequivocally proves its relation to the politics of empire: the rebels live in the surrounding mountains, the traditional home of Mesopotamia's most feared enemies.

The obvious supervisor of distant regions is Utu, attested as such rarely in literature (cf. *EWO* 368 ff.), but abundantly in Akkadian art. Utu apparently controls the seven monstrous 'warriors' that are to guide Gilgamesh to the cedar mountain, and the scorpion-man, the guardian of the mountain through which he rises and sets, who assists him against enemies on an Akkadian seal (Porada *Ancient Art in Seals* Pl. II-20; rays extending from his lower body). Utu, or a member of his court (one has been identified as his vizier Bunene, cf. *JEOL* 29 14 C.3), breaks the resistance (mace) of rebellious mountain gods, sometimes assisted or watched by his sister Inanna/Venus (Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 300ff., *RIA* 3 384). Thus Utu's occasional collisions with the *kusarikku* and the Akkadian forerunner of the *ugallu* fall into place. The *kusarikku* is one of the representatives of the mountains (VII.C.6a), and the *ugallu* accompanies war and foreign invasions. Akkadian seals show Utu fighting the *ugallu* always in connection with mountains, defeated mountain gods, or rebellious *kusarikku* (Green *BaM* 17 Pl. 2).

Utu as warrior does not outlive the Akkad period. He is replaced by Ninurta, Enlil's warrior and monster slayer at least from the time of Gudea onwards. Ninurta/(Ningirsu)'s enemies are listed by Gudea, and essentially the same list occurs in the Ur III myths *Lugal* and *Angim* (cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 141ff., van Dijk *Lugal* 11ff., Lambert *CRRAI* 32 56ff.). The only important addition of the two later lists is *Anzû* (see below). The political dimension now is entirely explicit: the monsters are referred to as 'captured warriors and kings,' and 'slain warriors' (*AnOr* 52 142), while *Lugal* 134 makes it clear that they were slain in the mountains (cf. also *Angim* 33ff., where *magillum* is the only one that is not from the mountains).

The texts give hardly any information on the kind of trouble caused by the monsters. The u š u m /bašmum, a kind of dragon, who lives in the "great fortress of the mountain" (*Angim* 33; cf. *UAVA* 4 Abb. 290), apparently feeds on cattle, since the result of Ninurta/(Ningirsu)'s intervention is that it can live in peace (Gudea *Frg.* 1 i, cf. van Dijk *Lugal* 11²⁵). A slightly later u š u m g a l dragon is "a weapon when he runs, death when he passes" (de Genouillac *Trouvaille* 1:1f.). SB dragons of older origin attack man (*CT* 13 33f., *muš*/huššu) and beast (*KAR* 6, *bašmu*). Similar evils may be imputed to "Six-Headed-Wild-Ram" and "Seven-Headed-Snake," neither of them known outside the list of Ninurta/Ningirsu's enemies, but the latter identified in art (Wiggermann *Tišpak* 128²⁷). In view of the context the mysterious s a g - a r (Gudea *Cyl.* A XXV 25) must be mount Saggar (Jebel Sinjär, cf. Stol *Trees* 75ff.), a rebel like mount Ebih who was defeated by Inanna. The captured wild bulls and cows (cf. Lambert *CRRAI* 32 57) are booty rather than aggressors (cf. *Angim* 101ff.).

Of the whole list of Ninurta/Ningirsu's enemies only u š u m /bašmu and g u d - a l i m /kusarikku have a mythological future (on *Anzû* see below). Most of

the others are ephemeral inventions serving only to expand the list.

The least transparent additions are *k u - l i - a n - n a* and *m á - g i - l u m*. Both seem to be associated with water (cf. VII.C9a; *Angim* 34). The latter is not only a monster, but also a kind of ship, real and mythological (Cooper *AnOr* 52 148, *CAD M/1 magillu, magisu*), and has a variant form (*HLC* 168 Pl. 104, see Heimpel ZA 77 38⁵²) *m á - a r - g i 4 - l u m*. The *m á -* part of the word suggests the ship it denotes, the *-lum* ending on the other hand suggests an Akkadian loanword (type *t i - g i 4 - l u*, *g i r g i l l u*; many of these foreign *-il* words entered Sumerian by way of Akkadian with the ending *-um*). The variant discovered by Heimpel suggests that both are true and that the word is a compositum: *Ship-argilum*. The second part is probably identical with the foreign word (by way of Akkadian) *irgil-su*, ("a locust"), attested in Hebrew in the form *hargol*. Whatever the exact denotation, boat nor monster can be older than the Akkadian period.

Etiological explanation of apotropaic features is another source of defeated enemies. "Head-of-the-Bison" (*s a g - a l i m a*) is a very unlikely enemy, but as "emblem of Utu" quite likely as an apotropaion (Gudea *Cyl.* A XXVI 4). '(King) Palm' is difficult to imagine as a fearsome mountaineer (explicitly Gudea *Fr. 1 ii*, cf. van Dijk *Lugal* 11²⁵), but common in temples and at gates (cf. Howard-Carter *Iraq* 45 64ff., Weiss *BA* 48/1 10f.). There is even one on Ningirsu's chariot (*PKG* 14 Abb. 111 a). The natural lion (*u r - m a h*) is found only in Gudea's list. He is either in origin an apotropaic guardian of gates, or simply Ningirsu's symbolic animal. The Huwawa story (cf. above I) seems to be based on etiology as well.

"Strong Copper" and "Gypsum" come from the mountains, but as merchandise, not as enemies. They loose their monster nature in later mythology, but live on as apotropaia in magic.

Beside Ship-Locust and (King) Palm (and perhaps *k u - l i - a n - n a*) all monsters can well be imagined as inhabitants of the mountains. It is nowhere stated that they are the offspring of the mountains, like later the monsters are the offspring of Sea. Only once a different group of monsters is called 'sons of one mother' (*Gilgamesh and Huwawa* 36). Their knowledge of the mountains is to guide Gilgamesh to Huwawa, they are at home there, and the unnamed mother could be the mountain land.

The mythology of combat and defeat naturally solves the tension between unnatural monsters and natural gods, outlawed freaks and rightful rulers, them and us. Just like anthropomorphism and monster form are general schemes distinguishing two groups of different beings, so the combat myth is a general scheme defining their relation. Thus there is no need to look for one specific collision between a god and a monster more monstrous than the others to find the origin of the combat myth. The general scheme is the origin of the combat myth, to be a rebel is an inalienable property of every monster. Once this is established it comes as no surprise that besides generalities so very little is known about the personality of each individual monster, and that the nature of his collision with the gods is not specified in a separate myth. The few myths that feature a monster explain special developments, the *Anzû-myth* how Ninurta came to be the master of *Anzû* instead of Enlil (see below), and the so-called *Labbu-myth* how Tišpak came to be master of the *mušhuššu*. The *bašmu-myth* (*KAR* 6) is too broken, and the *Asakku* myth (*Lugal*) is a complicated piece of theology that cannot be treated here (see provisionally below III).

This fundamental lack of precision has an important bearing on the interpretation of third millennium (and later) art. The collisions that are shown are not illustrations of specific myths, but examples of the general scheme with one or several variable players at both sides. Naturally the god that is chosen to play the part of the warrior is likely to be pitched against those monsters that are nearest to him by nature (above IIa). The scene, however, does not show his struggle on a specific occasion in the past, but visualizes the ongoing battle against the other side, rebellion, the forces of evil. What has been said about the monsters applies just as well to the mountain gods defeated by Utu and other gods (Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 300ff., *RLA* 3 471ff.). That these scenes do not depict specific battles against specific mountain gods, but visualize in a general manner the struggle against the outside enemy, is shown not only by the lack of distinc-

tion between the several mountain gods and between the scenes in which they appear, but also by the association of defeated mountains and mountain gods with defeated monsters (cf. e. g. *UAVA* 4 300, mountain god and *kusarikku*; *BaM* 17 Taf. 2:4, *ugallu*, Ninurta, mountain; 5 Utu on mountain throne, *ugallu*). One mountain is included in the list of Ninurta/Ningirsu's enemies (s a g - a r). A specific struggle of a deity, Inanna, with a specific mountain, Ebih, is described in a myth. Undoubtedly this myth reflects historical reality (cf. Steinkeller in McGuire Gibson ed., *Uch Tepe* 1 163ff.); it is not depicted on Akkadian seals.

The Ninurta/Ningirsu mythology emphatically associates the monsters with the mountains (*Lugal* 134) and consequently the gods with the lowlands. *Angim* 34, however, admits that m á - g i₄ - l u m, "Ship-Locust," is an unlikely inhabitant of the mountains, and has him live in *Apsū*. In *Angim* 33 the u š u m/bašmu lives in the fortress of the mountain, but another third millennium text presents an u š u m g a l /p i r i g that "roars in the flood" (de Genouillac *Trouvaille* 1:3, 11), while in the SB myth *KAR* 6 the *ba[šmu]* is a sea dragon. In *Angim* 35 the g u d - a l i m /*kusarikku* is brought forth by Ninurta from "his battle dust," while the prologue of the SB *Anzū* myth alludes to his victory over the *kusarikku* "in the midst of the sea" (*JCS* 31 78:12). The *mušhuššu* (Furious-Snake), not among the defeated enemies of Ninurta/Ningirsu, but as a snake naturally at home in the earth, is associated with the sea in an unpublished Ur III incantation (Steinkeller *SEL* 1 6), in *Angim* 139 (Cooper *AnOr* 52 80), and in a SB myth of older origin (*CT* 13 33:6). Late reflexes of the Ninurta/Ningirsu mythology introduce Sea as one of his enemies (Sm 1875, see *WZKM* 57 10⁴⁶; *OrNS* 36 124:149). Other monstrous beings are suckled by her (*AnSt* 5 98:34). Beside Ship-Locust a number of monsters not among the enemies of Ninurta are associated with Enki, and naturally at home in *Apsū* (*lahmu*, *kulullū*, *suhurmāšu*).

The sea, Tiāmat, is an Akkadian contribution to the Mesopotamian Pantheon. She is attested for the first time in the Akkad period (*AfO* 25 102), and contrary to the monsters (except *lahmu*) whose mother she was to become, her name is Semitic and not Sumerian. Her later history reveals a rebellious nature that is best explained by reference to the West, where the tension between the near-by sea and the ruling gods is naturally expected and attested (cf. Jacobsen *JAOS* 88 105ff., Charpin-Durand *R4* 80 174, Nougayrol *Ug* V 54, 58, 287). In the course of the second millennium Sea replaces the mountains as geographical focus of monster mythology. The shift is most clearly observable in the cases of *bašmu* and *kusarikku* (cited above), and confirms what was argued above, that in the third millennium no specific myths were connected with these beings. As in the case of *Anzū*, who is normally not among the children of Tiāmat, the existence of specific myths probably would have prevented such a shift. Thus both *Apsū* and Tiāmat shelter monsters before *Enūma Eliš* makes them into a cosmogenic pair and enemies of Marduk. Then, like the mountains before, she coincides with an enemy of Babylon (Marduk), Sealand (cf. Jacobsen in Goedicke ed., *Unity and Diversity* 76).

Since water is a well attested element in third millennium cosmogony (cf. Lambert *RIA* 6 218ff.), the association of monsters with water might be taken to imply a pre-*Ee* connection of monsters with the early cosmos. The only monster for whom such a connection can be proved is *lahmu* (Hairy-One).

Babylonian incantations reveal the existence of independent cosmogonic traditions with a genealogy of An that differs completely from the one recorded in the OB forerunner of the canonical god list (*TCL* 15

10:31ff.); *Dūri - Dāri, Lahmu - Lahamu, Alala - Belili* (cf. Lambert *OrNS* 54 190). The canonical god list *An-Anum* (I 1ff.), that assimilates traditions of many different sources, inserts the independent list before the last pair of Anu's ancestors of the forerunner. The occurrence in Babylonian incantations, the Semitic words (*Dūri - Dāri*), and the importance of *Alala - Anu* in Hurrian cosmogony (cf. Gütterbock *RA* 6 327ff.) point to a non-Sumerian (northern) background for this cosmogonic tradition. *Enūma Eliš*, that rebuilds mythology from the debris of previous ages, finds room for both traditions concerning *lahmu*, for the cosmogonic god (formerly *lahmu* B, cf. Lambert *OrNS* 54 189ff.), and for the humbler monster, once a servant of Ea, now among the soldiers of Tiāmat (*lahmu* A, cf. *JEOL* 27 94ff.). The fact that *Ee* recognizes both traditions shows that the cosmogonic god *Lahmu* did not replace the servant *lahmu*, and that the two existed side by side as separate entities.

Since the texts are silent on this point, the cosmic function of the cosmogonic *Lahmu* can only be derived from art. It must be found in naked heros appearing in functions that can be interpreted as cosmic, but at the same time distinguish them from their peers, the non-cosmic *lahmu*-servants/soldiers. Obviously the naked heros holding gate posts, the basis of Lambert's solution, do not meet these conditions. According to Lambert (*OrNS* 54 199) the gate posts or the naked heros keep heaven and earth separated, they are the pillars of the universe. The *lahmū* of the deviant *Göttertypen* might be adduced to support the view that *lahmū* are atlantes, they certainly do not prove that gate posts or doors had a cosmic function. On the contrary, there is good evidence that they do not. Other beings that did not develop into cosmogonic gods hold gate posts or doors, e. g. the *kusarikku* (Amiet *GMA* 2 1300 B; *OIP* 78 109:11; Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 110, 113; doors: *GMA*² 819), the *mušhuššu* (*PKG* 14 119, vase of Gudea), and the two lower gods, door keepers of Utu (*UAVA* 4 Abb. 392ff.). Generally speaking, gate posts are (or once were) parts of doors (cf. *PKG* 14 Abb. 94a, Heinrich *Bauwerke in der Altsum.* *Bildkunst* Abb. 17), and monsters function at doors, which is why all of them, and even the gate posts (cf. II.A.4.B *urigallu*), stand watch at the gates of temples and private homes. Thus, although it cannot be excluded, gate posts, doors, and the deviant *lahmū* of the *Göttertypen* do not lead to a cosmogonic *Lahmu* separating heaven and earth.

If then it is not the gate post that distinguishes the cosmogonic *Lahmu* from his humbler namesake the door keeper, what is it? The conditions are met by a group of naked heros discussed by Amiet (*RA* 50 118f., *GMA*² 147ff., Pl. 111; cf. also Porada *Fs Reiner* 279ff.), especially those in horizontal position. On two OB seals (*GMA*² 1478, 1480) the horizontal heros indeed do contrast with the common servant hero. The bodies of the horizontal naked heros on the first seal are the water on which a ship sails, on the second a series of horizontal heros hold each other's feet, while above them, on a suspended floor, a more common scene with smaller figures is shown. These beings are literally water, perhaps the water of *Apsū* (properly a cosmic domain and not itself water), and certainly suitable beings to develop into cosmogonic gods. Equally distinctive is the swastika of heros grasping each other and surrounded by streams (cf. *JEOL* 27 100:2). Like the horizontal heros, they are obviously connected with the watery part of the cosmos. A connection of cosmic *lahmu* not only with water, but also with the sky, is implied by a number of OB seals showing the distinctive horizontal *lahmu*, or an upright one, with flowing vases and stars on either side of his head (Porada *Fs Reiner* 279ff. Figs. 1, 10, 12–14; Moortgat *VAR* 545). Earlier it was suggested (*JEOL* 27 100:2, 103:7) that two of the deviant *lahmū* of the *Göttertypen*, Onslaught and Struggle, who grasp each other and hold heaven and earth, retained something of the real *lahmū*, who grasp each other in pairs or fours. That indeed real *lahmū* sometimes held heaven, as the *Göttertypen* indicates for the deviant ones, appears from a number of second millennium seals, but it is a function they share with many other demonic beings, and thus not the specific task of the cosmogonic *lahmu* (cf. D.M. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C.* no. 450–485; singular is the seal Porada *AfO* 28 42 no. 23). Unfortunately the only text that tries to inform us on the nature of the cosmogonic *Lahmu* (*KAV* 52 and dups., see *JEOL* 27 94) is completely understandable. To what use, if any, he was put in the cosmogonic hotchpotch of *Enuma Eliš* must remain undecided.

Beside the *lahmu*, who became a cosmogonic god in a northern mythology, other monsters have cosmic functions as well (cf. Amiet *RA* 50 113ff. for *girtablullū*, a *lima*, and *kusarikku* in art), but there is nothing to prove a relation with cosmogony. *Anzū* (Heavy-Cloud) apparently plays a part in the early cosmos. In the *Lugalbanda Epic* (Wilcke *Lugalb.* 100:99ff.) he is the one that makes the decisions about the Tigris. The Eagle-Tree of Enki in which he lives is rooted in Utu's "seven-mouthed-river" (o.c. 92:23ff.). In the SB *Anzū-myth* *Anzū*'s birth provides clouds and the water for Euphrates and Tigris, already dug but still empty (Moran *JCS* 31 70, 92f., for mount Šaršar see now Lambert *JNES* 41 17). Later on he takes care of Enlil's bath (o.c. 80 iii

6). That *Anzû* was considered the source of the rivers is unequivocally demonstrated by two Kassite seals, on which streams flow from each of the heads of a two-headed lion-eagle (Porada *AfO* 28 52 no. 27, 53 Fig. o; the waters, contributed to by a mountain god, are guided by two *kulullû*). The universe is in a progressed state of development when two other monsters are born, the *mušhuššu* (designed by Enlil, brought forth by Sea and River, *CT* 13 33, cf. Wiggermann *Tišpak* 118f.), and the *bašmu* (*KAR* 6:1ff., created in the sea). They do not contribute anything to the cosmos, but are merely pests, devouring man and beast.

Among animals, objects and geometrical figures (*MSL* XI 107:387ff., OB *Hh* XXII) also monsters are identified with stars or constellations. The Ialimum version of *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* (Shaffer *JAOS* 103 307⁴, Kramer *JCS* 1 36²¹⁷) seems to place the monsters that guide Gilgamesh to the cedar mountain as stars in heaven. In the *Labbu myth* (that cannot be younger than OB) the constellation *mušhuššu* is etiologically explained as Enlil's design on the basis of which Sea and River created the actual monster (cf. Wiggermann *Tišpak* 125). Lambert suggests that the eleven defeated enemies of Ninurta together with their victor have 'astrological relevance one for each month of the year' (*CRRAI* 32 58). Much too little is known about third millennium stars and constellations to speculate about the mythological notions that named them.

The view on monster mythology presented here was based on the assumption that during the third millennium a growing awareness of irrevocable differences between monsters and gods lead to successively sharper definitions of their mutual relations.

That in fact monsters were treated as collectives is shown by the repression of individual characteristics in order to achieve a coherent group mythology. Monsters are grouped as enemies, including the peaceful (King Palm; later *suhurmāšu* and *kullû*), the passive (Strong Copper, Gypsum), and the purely apotropaic ones (King Palm, Head-of-the-Bison); monsters are grouped as mountaineers, including those that patently did not belong in the mountains (King Palm, Ship-Locust); the whole group shifts to Sea, including those that are not at home there (*kusarikku*, *mušhuššu*).

Until the end of Mesopotamian civilization the results of successive developments could exist side by side. *Enūma Eliš* recognizes two *laḥmū*, the one a cosmogonic god, the other a soldier of Tiāmat. The *laḥmu* and the other soldiers of Tiāmat are killed by Marduk, but in art they remain (with few exceptions) their traditional selves, alive and well. The *mušhuššu* is killed first by *Tišpak* (see below III), then by Marduk, but in art he remains what he was in the second half of the third millennium, the striding mount of its successive masters (cf. Wiggermann *Tišpak* 124). Generally speaking, monsters once servants remain servants in art, even when mythology has made them into defeated enemies.

Both the mythology of servants and that of defeated enemies serves well to cover the apotropaic use of representations of monsters. As servants they stand watch, or enforce the rule of their masters, as defeated enemies they scare off other evil (cf. VII.B.9).

Summary of oppositions

monster	god
composed	anthropomorphic
supernatural freak	representative of normal order
represents a phenomenon of nature	represents the whole to which the phenomenon belongs
intervenes in human affairs	affords background stability
unpredictable associate	master
rebel, pest	rightful ruler
defeated enemy	victor
associated with distant lands	associated with lowlands
associated with mountain/enemy	associated with rule from lowlands
associated with Sea	associated with dry land
limited cosmic functions	cosmogonic responsibility

More specific relations between the defeated enemies among each other, and between the group and the victor, are proposed by van Dijk *Lugal* 10ff. and *RLA* 7 134ff. Van Dijk observes similarities between Greek (the works of Heracles), Germanic (the cosmic tree) and Mesopotamian mythology, which, according to him, are the shatterend remnants of a coherent prehistoric world view. King Palm, who has many other names in Mesopotamian mythology (Eagle-Tree, Cedar, *kiškanū*, *haluppu* etc.), is the cosmic tree in which Bird (*Anzū*) and Serpent (*bašnu*) live. Apparently they are enemies of vegetation (agriculture?), since their opponent is a warrior god married to a goddess of vegetation, on whose behalf he acts. Nevertheless, even in Mesopotamian mythology, not all heroic deeds of the warrior god are still organically related to this original concern. The very old god Pablisag of Larak is the first Mesopotamian protagonist of the myth. He, and his other forms Ninurta and Ningirsu, are armed with a bow.

Prehistoric connections have not been our concern in this chapter, but van Dijk's theory, true or false, implies separate origins for gods and monsters, and in this respect agrees with the views presented here. A completely different theory is put forward by Th. Jacobsen (*Treasures of Darkness* 9). According to Jacobsen, like sun and moon are the original forms of the later anthropomorphic Utu and Nanna, so the monsters are the earlier non-human forms of later anthropomorphic gods, specifically the *mushuššu* of Ninazu (Jacobsen: *Nigišzida*, see *RLA* *mushuššu* 3.2) and the 'thunderbird' *Anzū* of Ninurta/Ningirsu, the 'power in the thunderstorms' (*Treasures of Darkness* 128f., *The Harps That Once* 235¹). If this theory is applied to the monsters as a group, it cannot be upheld. Bison and Scorpion cannot be earlier forms of the sun. The personified Days are patently not identical with the weather god *Iškur*. In the Akkadian period Ninazu (or the god associated with the *mushuššu*) himself is not yet (always) completely anthropomorphic, and as such cooccurs with the *mushuššu* (*OIP* 60 no. 331, cited above); the dragon cannot be the earlier non-human form when the god himself is still partly theriomorphic. The theory can be saved by considering the monsters not so much as earlier forms of the whole god, but as manifestations of the god in specific situations, for instance the scorpion as manifestation of the sun in the morning and in the evening. In this form the theory is similar to the one presented here (IIa), in which god and monster operate in the same field of action, and the god covers more of it than the monster. The difference is that in the weaker version of Jacobsen's theory the relation between god and monster is specified (monster represents part of god's activities), while it was left vague here (monster and god are associated).

Jacobsen explains the mythological battles between gods and monsters as expressions of the tension

between the anthropomorphic god and his earlier unworthy non-human form. The weaker form of the theory would explain the battles from a tendency to repress the more limited theriomorphic secondary form(s) in favour of one anthropomorphic principal form.

Although the weaker form of the theory cannot be disproved, it cannot be proved either. The facts that should go with it are lost in prehistory.

3 The combat myth. Ninurta and Anzû; Marduk before Enûma Eliš

Most early Mesopotamian myths are concerned with the explanation of the unexpected, of cultic or historical realities that deviate from the norm. The reasons for such deviations are found in the decisions and acts of gods, in their quarrels and marriages, and in the children they give birth to. One of the most powerful instruments of mythological explanation is the combat myth, that allows deviant reality to be analyzed into good and evil elements, rightful rulers and rebels. Monsters are the obvious adversaries of the anthropomorphic gods, and several early myths build their plots on their rebellion and defeat.

In the so-called *Labbu-myth* Enlil sends the *muš[huššu]* to wipe out noisy mankind. The monster is defeated by Tišpak, who restores the nation to order. The myth translates history, the Old Akkadian overtake in Ešnunna, into mythology, and justifies Tišpak's kingship and the servitude of the *mušhuššu*, the animal of the former city god Ninazu, by presenting them as a consequence of Tišpak's liberation of the nation. It is a myth of local importance only (cf. Lambert *CRRAI* 32 56f., Wiggermann, *Tišpak* 124).

The most influential early combat myth is the *Anzû* myth (cf. Lambert *CRRAI* 32 56f.). The history of *Anzû*'s rebellion is complicated, and narrowly related to the rise of Ninurta.

Anzû, although his cry of woe makes the Anunna hide like mice in the earth (Wilcke *Lugalbanda* 100:82f.), is still a faithful servant of the gods in the Ur III *Lugalbanda Epic*, and not yet among the defeated enemies of Ninurta in Gudea *Cyl*. A Under orders of his father Enlil he blocks the entry of the mountain lands, "as if he were a big door" (Wilcke *Lugalbanda* 100:99f.). Thus it is no coincidence that *Anzû* is not among the defeated enemies of Ningirsu in Gudea; they fight at the same side against the same enemy, the mountain lands. On an Akkadian seal *Anzû* assists a warrior god against a rebellious mountain god (Frankfort *CS Pl. XIXb*). Two other Akkadian seals, although less unequivocal, can be understood in the same way (*UAVA* 4 Abb. 354f.).

In return for his blessings Lugalbanda promises *Anzû* to set up statues of him in the temples of the great gods, and to make him famous all over Sumer (*ibid.* 108:181ff., 110:198ff.). The poet would not have let Lugalbanda make such a promise, if he could not show his public that he kept it. Thus, when the Lugalbanda Epic was composed in the Ur III period, statues of *Anzû* were visible all over Sumer in the temples. With the simile cited above, the poet reveals that at least some of the *Anzû* statues he knew were apotropaic door keepers under orders of Enlil.

In fact *Anzû*'s occurred all over Sumer until well into the Ur III period: 'white-*Anzû*' is the name of a temple of Šara in Umma (Landsberger *WZKM* 57 20), Ur-Nammu supplied the gates of the Ekur in Nippur with *Anzû*'s (*ASJ* 11 45:25f.).

Composite emblems consisting of twice the same animal with an *Anzû* stretching out its wings above them are attested for a number of gods. Limited to Lagaš is the *Anzû* above two ducks/geese. (Fuhr-Jaeppl *Materialien zur Ikonographie des Löwen-adler Anzu-Indugud* 169ff.). The duck/goose is the symbolic animal of an unidentified

goddess, often called Bau (Opificius *UAVA* 2 211f.). An *Anzû* (or eagle, the head is broken, cf. Braun-Holzinger *RIA* 7 95) above gazelles appears on the socle of an ED II statue from Tell Asmar (so-called Abu, *OIP* 44 Pl. 6). It might be the emblem of a local god, since the group is accompanied by a hydra (cf. Frankfort *CS* Text-fig. 27 and Pl. XXIIIj, both from Tell Asmar) on an ED III mace head of unknown origin (Frankfort *AnOr* 12 105ff.). An OB text from Ur (*UET* 6 105:10f., cf. Charpin *Le Clergé d'Ur* 287, 291) describes a gate with two a l i m a (Charpin: l u l i m) and an eagle, in some way combined with a solar disc. The a l i m a (human-headed bisons) and the solar disc belong to Utu. The stags under an *Anzû* on a copper relief from Ninhursag's ED III temple in Ubaid (*PKG* 14 Pl. 97) are the symbolic animals of that goddess (Gudea *Cyl.* B X 4, *Frg.* 5 ii, cf. Heimpel *RIA* 4 420). The ibex belongs to Enki, who is called d à r a - k ù - a b z u (Gudea *Cyl.* A XXIV 21) and ^dDà r a - a b z u (*TCL* XV 10:77, cf. Green *Eridu* 194). Thus the symbolism of Entemena's silver vase (drawing *RIA* 7 95) becomes transparent. It shows three pairs of animals, each under an *Anzû*. The ibexes belong to Enki, in this time Ningirsu's father (cf. Falkenstein *AnOr* 30 91), the stags to his mother Ninhursag, and the lions to Ningirsu himself, the god to whom the vase is dedicated. The *Anzû*'s belong to neither, but add something as yet undefined to the symbolism of each.

That not *Anzû* but the lion is the proper symbolic animal of Ningirsu, goes forth not only from the silver vase of Entemena, but also from the fragmentary Gudea stele in Berlin (Börker-Klähn *BaFo* 4 Taf. A, lion at the feet of the god to whom Gudea is introduced), and from the Ur III seal of Ur-DUN (Frankfort *CS* Text-fig. 38, lions from shoulders and at feet, cf. also Boehmer *OrNS* 35 373f., Gudea *Cyl.* A IV 19, Börker-Klähn *o. c.* ad 43). The composite emblem lions plus *Anzû* is extremely rare outside Lagaš (seal from Girtab, Frankfort *CS* Pl. XIIb). It appears in the hand of Ningirsu on the stele of the vultures (*PKG* 14 Abb. 90, for the lion's head cf. I. Winter, *Studies in the History of Art* 16 14¹⁸), on his chariot on the same monument (separated from the lions), and on a stele fragment of Gudea (*PKG* 14 111a/b). Although on a number of ED III monuments the composite emblem represents the god in a cultic scene (mace head, Fuhr-Jaepelt *o. c.* Abb. 30; dedication plaques, *ibid.* p. 53ff), the emblem is not identical with the god, since the two can appear side by side (stele of the vultures).

Although objects dedicated to Ningirsu sometimes only have lions (dagger, Parrot *Tello* Fig. 26q; mace head, *ibid.* p. 101; lion protomes, Boese *UAVA* 6 218f.), there is a clear preference for the composite emblem. This is naturally explained from the wish to distinguish the symbolic lion of Ningirsu from that of other gods (*RIA* 7 91), and from the simple apotropaic lion (*RIA* 7 89). The Gudea texts are ambiguous about Ningirsu's emblem (š u - n i r). The one on his chariot (*Cyl.* A VI 22) corresponds to the lions plus *Anzû* on the stele fragment. The emblem of Ningirsu's clan, ^dL u g a l - k u r - d ú b (*Cyl.* A XIV 18, XVIII 13, B VII 22, cf. Lambert *RIA* 7 147), is patently not identical with *Anzû* (differently Landsberger *WZKM* 57 17⁶⁴), since in Angim the latter is among the defeated enemies, while the former is an active associate of the god (*Angim* 67). Only once *Anzû* alone is the 'emblem of his (Gudea's) king (Ningirsu)' (*Cyl.* A XIII 22, cf. *RIA* 7 96).

On three ED III objects (Fuhr-Jaepelt *o. c.* Abb. 46c, 77, 135) *Anzû* occurs together with the forerunner of the lion-dragon (Braun-Holzinger *RIA* 7 97:1) with its typically lowered head. The heraldic group *Anzû* plus two lion-dragon forerunners (Abb. 135) may represent Iškur.

In some way connected with the symbolism of Utu is the ED III scene of an *Anzû* attacking a human-headed bison (*RIA* 7 94). The more explicit pieces combine the scene with the boat god (Fuhr-Jaepelt *o. c.* Abb. 86), Utu (Boehmer *UAVA* 4 79f.), or elements of the boat god scene (bird-man, plow, human-headed lion, scorpion, vessel, Abb. 77, 78, 109, 137). On one seal (Abb. 87) the *Anzû* attacks one of the mountains through which the sun rises, here in the form of a human-headed bison. Regulary all that remains of the distant habitat of the bison is a mountain with vegetation (Abb. 20, 48, cf. 77, 78; 46a, natural bull). Apparently the *Anzû* in this scene is evil, since once in its turn it is attacked by a bull-man and a naked hero, defending the human-headed bison (Abb. 78, cf. *RIA* 7 94). Twice *Anzû*'s occur in the boat god scene with other animals (Abb. 85, 112). In those cases they do not attack. *Anzû*'s attacking other animals than the human-headed bison are extremely rare (*GMA*² 1043).

The *Anzû* then is not Ningirsu's symbol, nor that of any of the other gods with whose symbolic animal it is combined. It represents another, more general power, under whose supervision they all operate. This higher power can only be Enlil, which is exactly what the Lugalbanda Epic and the *Anzû* myth (*JCS* 31 80 ii 25f., iii 1ff.) tell us. Thus the posture of the lion-headed eagle, wings stretched out above the symbolic animals of other gods, becomes understandable: it is neither that of attack, nor that of defense, but that of the master of the animals.

Notwithstanding his aggressive behaviour against the human-headed bison, *Anzû* still operates at the side of law in the early Ur III period (Gudea, *Lugalbanda* Epic). Shortly afterwards the situation changes. In the Ur III compositions *Angim* and *Lugal Anzû* is among the defeated enemies of Ningirsu/Ninurta (Cooper *AnOr* 52 141ff., van Dijk *Lugal* 11ff.). In Ur III art *Anzû* (but more often a natural eagle) is limited to a position between adorant and deity in introduction scenes (*RIA* 7 95); after that period he is relegated to the periphery.

The tension between *Anzû*, Enlil and Ninurta is the subject of a combat myth that must be dated to this period of change. Of the earlier Sumerian version only the middle is preserved (*UET* 6/1 2 and dups., see Alster *JCS* 24 120ff., Kramer *AuOr* 2 231ff.). *Anzû* has stolen the *m e*, apparently from Enki, their traditional guardian. After he is defeated by Ninurta, the *m e* slip from his hands, and return to their source. Enki wants to reward Ninurta with glory, a cult in *Apsû*, and eternal mastery over *Anzû*. Although Ninurta maddens Enki by wanting more, this is probably what happens in the end (not preserved). That the theft of the *m e* was not a local affair affecting only Enki, appears from 20, where Ninurta is promised: "your father Enlil will do what you say." The Babylonian myth (cf. Vogelzang *Bin šar dadmē*, with previous lit., Saggs *AfO* 33 1ff., Moran *AfO* 35 24ff.) relates how *Anzû* was born, came into the service of Enlil, took the opportunity to steal the tablet of destinies containing the *m e* /*parsū*, gained universal power, and finally was defeated by Ningirsu/Ninurta with a trick of Ea. Ninurta is rewarded with what was promised to the victor, sanctuaries everywhere and universal glory. The gods make good their promise by equating Ninurta with a long list of other gods (*AfO* 33 25:127ff., OB kernel with SB additions).

With its results the myth reveals its purpose, to explain the growth of Ninurta's power and cult, at the expense of Enlil and other gods. The myth justifies Ninurta's rise to power by presenting it as the result of his victory over a rebel threatening divine establishment. By making *Anzû* into the culprit the myth solves another problem, that of *Anzû*'s position. Notwithstanding its aggressive behaviour against the human-headed bison, *Anzû* was the only monstrous mountaineer on the side of rightful rule; among the beings on Ningirsu's chariot *Anzû* was the only one that was not a defeated enemy

(*PKG* 14 111a/b, Ningirsu's chariot in the time of Gudea: two *g u d - a l i m*, King Palm, two *u r - m a h*, *Anzû*). The myth makes him one among many, all monstrous enemies of the anthropomorphic gods.

In *Lagaš* Ningirsu was the warrior of Enlil (*AnOr* 30 90, *JNES* 32 28:8) before he became his son and was syncretized with Ninurta, at the latest in the time of Gudea (*AnOr* 30 90), and therefore prior to the *Anzû* myth. Although conceivably the local Ningirsu mythology contributed to the national Ninurta mythology, the *Anzû* myth cannot be a local affair, since it affects the nature of a national being. Thus, while the interpretation of local mythology (Ningirsu, *Lagaš*) in national terms (Ninurta, Nippur), had begun already in the time of Gudea, its justification in a national myth had to wait for the restoration of centralistic power in the Ur III period.

Strongly influenced by local (*Lagaš*) mythology is the myth *Lugal* (cf. van Dijk *RIA* 7 134ff.). Its protagonists are Ninurta/Ningirsu, and a monster, *á - z á g* *Asakku*, like the other monsters a warrior who lives in the mountains. Sumerian *á - z á g* characterizes disease (or the demon that causes it) in a general way; it does not denote a specific disease only, but diseases of a certain type (cf. van Dijk *Lugal* 19ff., with previous lit., Jacobsen *Fs Sachs* 225ff., Stol *Epilepsy*, forthcoming). The nature of the diseases it denotes is revealed by incantations and medical texts: *Asakku* is practically always paired with *n a m - t a r* (see provisionally *CAD asakku A, namtaru*), which denotes disease (and death) that is 'decided' by the gods, part of the rightful cosmos. From the observation that the pair *asakku* and *namtaru* fill a semantic field, it follows that *asakku* denotes what is not decided, disease that is not part of the rightful cosmos, suitably translated as 'disorder'. Diseases like *n a m - t a r* and *á - z á g* are combatted by the physician goddess *Bau*, and those syncretized with her (*Gula*, *Ninisina*, *Ninkarrak*, cf. Römer *SKIZ* 244ff., *AOAT* 1 279ff., 285:48, *Civil R4* 63 180 no. 14, *Ali Sumerian Letters* 138:20). That the *á - z á g* combatted by her husband Ningirsu/Ninurta (and those syncretized with him, see below) is the same demon *Disorder* on a cosmic level, is clearly indicated by the myth *Lugal*. The whole myth is concerned with Ningurta deciding the fates; exactly when he sits down to do so, the message is brought of *Disorder* in the mountain. *Disorder* has to be defeated first, then Ningurta continues deciding the fates (*n a m - t a r*). In view of the artificial, abstract nature of the cosmic demon *Disorder*, it comes as no surprise that he is not represented in art (there is nothing to recommend van Dijk's arbitrary identification of a cyclops on an OB plaque with *Asakku*, *Lugal* 20f., frontispiece = Opificius *UAVA* 2 no. 488). From Jacobsen's discussion (*Fs Sachs* 225ff.) it follows that even the myth that founded his existence did not have a clear picture of his appearance.

The OB Nippur god list (*SLT* 123 r. ii 11ff. // 124 ii 2ff.) identifies six gods with Ninurta (and their wives with *Bau*). Similar lists occur in the MB hymn of Bullussa-rabi (Lambert *OrNS* 36 105ff.), in the SB *Anzû* myth (*AfO* 33 25:127ff.), and in a SB theological text (*KAR* 142 i 22ff., cf. *CT* 26 45 1f.), where they are called in a subscript the 'seven Ninurta's'. The most important Ninurta's are Ningirsu (protagonist of OB *Anzû* myth, and probably originally of *Lugal*, cf. van Dijk *RIA* 7 134), Zababa (Lambert *OrNS* 36 114, *JNES* 48 217, Cavigneaux *Texts from Babylon* I 137:1), Lagamal/Nergal (Cooper *AnOr* 52 146³, *KAR* 6), and Nabium (not in the OB list; *KAR* 142 i 25). The inclusion of *m u š - s a g - i m i n* in the list of defeated enemies of Nabium in the Converse Tablet (Lambert *Fs Albright* 335ff.) shows that the list is borrowed directly from Ninurta, and not from Marduk, since the dragon in question is not among the enemies of Marduk. The reconstruction of Nabium's mythology along the lines of *Ee* is attested in a hymn to Nabium (VII.B.14), in which his trophies are those of Marduk in *Ee*. Once the victory over *Anzû* is ascribed to Adad (King *BMS* 20:18).

Only one text attests to the association of a group of monsters (essentially that of *Ee*) with Marduk while not yet ruler of the universe, the inscription of Agum-kakrime (VII.B.7). Marduk had taken over the *mušhuššu* from Tišpak probably after Hammurabi's victory over Ešnunna; *lahmu*, *kulullu* and *suhurmāšu* were servants of Ea, and may have served his son Marduk as well. The *uridimmu* may have been Marduk's servant from the time of its invention onwards. Two monsters, *bašmu* (*u š u m*) and *kusarikku* (*g u d - a l i m*) were originally among the defeated enemies of Ninurta.

Although the text does not expressly state that the monsters at the door of Marduk's cella were his defeated enemies, this conclusion can hardly be escaped. The former enemies of Ninurta (*bašmu, kusarikku*) probably did not change their character, and the combat mythology of Ninurta that influenced so many city gods and even Marduk's son Nabium cannot have left Marduk untouched.

Since at this stage Marduk was not yet ruler of the universe, the mythology underlying the collection of enemies was certainly not of the same type as that of *Ee*, the justification of Marduk's cosmic rulership. Thus we do not expect Tiāmat as arch-enemy, the part she plays in *Ee* in order to counterbalance Marduk and make his victory important enough to justify his claim on universal rulership. Yet the stage was set for the introduction of the archenemy Tiāmat and a cosmic battle. Tiāmat was among the enemies of Ninurta, and both she and *Apsû*, the later cosmogonic pair, breed and shelter monsters (above IIb).

If Lambert is right (The History of the *m u š - hu š* in Ancient Mesopotamia In *L'Animal l'homme, le dieu dans le proche-orient ancien* 90) Tiāmat is represented by wavy lines on Marduk's seal (Wetzel WVDOG 62 Pl. 43f.). Berossus (S. Mayer Burstein SANE 1/5 14f., Lambert JThS 16 294f.) presents her both as a body of water and as a woman. In *Ee* she is water, but also a cow (? Landsberger JNES 20 175) or a goat; she has lower extremities (*išdu*, IV 129), a belly (*karšu*, I 23, IV 99, 101), udders (*sirtu*, V 57, cf. Oppenheim Dictionary of Scientific Bibliography XV 640⁶⁴; AnSt 5 98:34), a neck (*kišādu*, II 113, 115), insides (*libbu*, IV 100, V 63), blood and arteries (*ušlāt dāmi*, IV 131, *dāmu*, IV 32), spittle (*rupuštu*, V 47), a tail (*zibbatu*, V 59), a head (*qaqqadu*, V 53), a skull (*muhhu*, IV 130), a mouth (*pū*, IV 97, 100), lips (*šaptu*, IV 98), nostrils (*nahīru*, V 56), eyes through which Marduk releases the Euphrates and Tigris (V 55, Livingstone Mystical Explanatory Works 82:3), and a horn, cut off by Marduk (Livingstone o. c. 82:1, 13) and undoubtedly to be connected with the body of water called 'Horn of the Sea' (s i a - a b - b a), that enters the land from the Persian Gulf and gave its name to Borsippa (Oppenheim o. c. 655³¹).

4 Marduk and *Enūma Eliš*

Up to now Marduk's rulership was apparently felt to be sufficiently covered by the traditional model that made the ruling city-god an appointee of the divine assembly led by Anu and Enlil (so in the introduction of *CH*, and in other OB royal inscriptions, cf. Sommerfeld, *Marduk* 66ff., and for the model Jacobsen *Before Philosophy* 207ff.). At the end of the second millennium the old model, in which the power of the ruling city-god is checked by the divine assembly, was abolished. The justification of Marduk's rulership was changed: he was made independent of the decisions of a divine assembly, and promoted to sole ruler of the universe. *Ee* is the myth giving form to this new arrangement. It was composed at the occasion of the return of Marduk's statue to Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (cf. Lambert in McCullough ed., *The Seed of Wisdom* 3ff.). In many details *Ee* shows its dependency on the Anzû-myth and the Ninurta mythology (Lambert CRRAI 32 56f.).

Implicit in Marduk's elevation is the elevation of his enemies and the promotion of the combat myth from good-versus-evil to Good-versus-Evil. Indeed, it seems that the collection of pre-existing enemies was restuctured along this line: Tiāmat, formerly only one of the enemies and a breeding place of monsters, is promoted to arch-fiend and cosmic power; the other monsters are made dependent of her as her children and soldiers. Their number is enlarged to eleven, twelve together with their leader Kingu, possibly to suggest a relation to a cosmic phenomenon.

The added monsters are *ušumgallū* (cf. VII.C.2.a.f.), *ūmū dabrūtu* (cf. VII.C.4.f.),

and *mušmahū*, all in the plural. The three of them may be related to the Ninurta mythology. For the *mušmahū* and its identification in art with a seven-headed snake cf. Douglas van Buren *OrNS* 15 18f., Heimpel *Tierbilder* 480ff., Cooper *AnOr* 52 123, Landsberger *Fauna* 53:11ff., *MSL* 8/1 7:3 and forerunner *SLT* 51 iv 11, Frankfort *AnOr* 12 105ff. no 1 Figs. 1–4. The *mušhuššu*, in text 7 (stage III) still not more than Marduk's symbolic animal, is now added to the list of enemies; added also is the *girtablullū*. Omitted is the *suhurmāšu*, perhaps he was not considered a suitable soldier.

In some texts the list is expanded still further and includes Anzû (11, 13), a testimony to the continuing influence of the Ninurta mythology. The continuing influence of the Ninurta mythology appears also from late commentaries, explaining ritual affairs with references to mythology (cf. Hruška *Anzu* 87ff., van Dijk *Lugal* I 25f., Jacobson *Unity and Diversity* 72 ff., Lambert *JSS* 13 110f.).

After defeat, Tiāmat's soldiers become Marduk's trophies. Thus from *Ee* onwards, the apotropaic use of representations of this group is covered by the fact that they are defeated enemies, an example not to be forgotten (cf. VII.B.9). The monsters are disarmed by Marduk (*Ee* V 73ff.), and indeed, (except for the *ugallu*) none of the monsters used apotropaically is armed, not in the texts and not in art.

The following terms are used for the members of Tiāmat's army as a group: *ūmū*, "weather-beasts" (VII.B.10, *Šurpu* 8:8), *umāmānu*, "beasts" (*OIP* 2 141:14), *gallū*, "soldiers" (VII.B.9, *Ee* IV 116), *šūt mē nāri u nābali*, "those of the water of the river and the dry land" (VII.B.10, *Šurpu* 8:6), *binūt apsi*, "creatures of Apsū" (text I 144), and, in apotropaic context, *sākip lemniūti ša Ea u Marduk*, "those that repel the evil ones, of Ea and Marduk" (text I 160f., 165f.). For ^d*Ešret-nabnissu* cf. Lambert *CRRAI* 32 58.

The determinative for gods is used only sporadically, like the horns of divinity in art: the monsters are kept separate from the gods. They are also kept separate from the demons (lower gods in a variety of functions, acting on behalf of the great gods or by themselves) and the spirits of the dead (*etemmū*): they never cause disease. They do not appear in the diagnostic omens, and no incantations exist against them.

C Individual histories

1 *lahmu*, "the hairy one".

The *lahmu* was treated in *JEOL* 27 (1981–82) 90ff. to which we now add the following:

ad 95: for *lahmu* C, "(Opferspeise in Naturalienform ...)", NAss, cf. Menzel *AT* 1 21ff., Postgate *Taxation* 73.

96: For the Nimrud "heroes" without the distinctive six spiral tresses but inscribed as the *lahmu* cf. now Green *Iraq* 45 91f. An interesting misread NB attestation of the *lahmū* in the service of Ea is Lambert *Atra-hasīs* 116:7, recurring, with variations, in 116:10, 118:5, 12, 19, 120:35 (cf. also 116:28). Just as Anu and Adad guard the upper regions, and Sin and Nergal guard the middle earth, so Ea on the command of Enlil guards "the bolt, the bar of the sea" together with his . . . : *qá-du X-mi-šu*. In his commentary (166f.) Lambert identifies the sign X as *U*, and hesitates between reading *ú-mi-šu* or *šam-mi-šu*; the sign may just as well be *lāh* and the resulting reading *lāh-mi-šu*, "his hairies" makes perfect sense. It seems that later Ea blames these *maššarū tāmti*, "guards of the sea", for the escape of the fishes that feed the starving people, thus exonerating himself (118:20ff., 120:36ff.). Apparently they were killed for it. NB *Atra-hasīs*, perhaps not too far removed from OB *Atra-hasīs* and certainly reflecting pre-*Ee* mythology, hints

here at a story of mutinous *lahmū* punished by Ea. Mutinous *lahmū* are not implied by first millennium seals (Amiet *Akkadica* 28 31f.) showing a *lahmu*-like monster defeated by gods. This monster is apparently a successor of Humbaba. New is the reading of King *AKA* 389:11 (cf. Grayson *ARI* 1 43,154): *lāh¹(É)-ma AN.GUB-šu rabiš lultašib*, “and I gave the *lahmu*, its protective spirit, its eminent place” (MAss private building inscription). For a *lahmu* depicted on a potstand (OB) cf. now Durand *ARM* 21 222 48f. (*kannu ša la-ah-mi*) and 363³².

100⁴³: For the “Viermenschenradmotiv” cf. also Collon *AOAT* 27 59⁴, B. Teissier *ANECS* 173.

101: To the somewhat provisional collection of functions and attributes could be added:

- 3 The naked hero as a fisherman occurs also on a seal from the second half of the fifteenth century found in Thebes (Porada *AfO* 28 40 no 22).
- 9 With snakes: Franfort *SCS* 535 (ED); shell-inlay (ED): Weber *AO* 17 275, cf. for further ED examples Amiet *GMA*² 134; OB (Syrian): Noveck, *The Mark of Ancient Man* no 27; MB: van Buren *Iraq* 1 75f. Pl. XIb.
- 10 With goat and sprig in *apkallu*-like function: Layard *Mon* I 50/7 = Ravn *AfO* 16 244 (Nass., cf. above p. 77ff.).

105: Two apparently not independent recent studies connect the biblical Samson with the naked hero: R. Wenning - E. Zenger *Biblische Notizen* 17 (1982) 43ff. and R. Mayer-Opificius *UfO* 14 (1982) 149ff. The same idea was put forward by Aleida G. van Dalen in her Dutch dissertation “Samson” (1966) 117f.

I summarize the results of *JEOL* 27 90ff.:

- a *word*: Semitic (95); entered Sumerian in the Pre-Sargonic period (97) in the form *la h a m a*. A more general use of the term is attested in the *Göttertypentext* (97ff.). An uncertain third millennium attestation is *ARET* V 6 ix 2: ⁴*L[a-ha(?)]-ma [AB(?)]*.ZU. [W. G. Lambert convincingly contested the existence of *lahmu* B, “the muddy one”, *OrNS* 54 189ff.].
- b *Identification*: naked hero. Proved in *JEOL* 27 (1981-82) 90ff.
- c *Attestations*: from Early Dynastic (perhaps even Jemdet Nasr) period in art; from Gudea *Cyl. A* XXIV 26ff. in the texts (the loanword *la h a m a* is even older).
- d *Mythology*: the naked hero may originally have been a spirit of the rivers, mastering wild animals and taking care of the domesticated herds with his water (99f.). The water was symbolized by the hair that gave him his name. His Semitic name too points to a rural background, and his entry into the ordered pantheon of city gods may not have been peaceful; a deformed echo of mutiny is perhaps to be found in NB *Atra-hasīs* (above ad 96). Though furnished with the determinative more often than the other “monsters” (96f., 99, above VII.A note e), he never became completely divine and remains iconographically distinct from the gods with their horned tiaras. In Sumerian and later texts of older origin (or with passages reflecting pre-*Enki* mythology) the *lahmū* appear as a group of fifty servants of Enki (95f.).

Even later (MB, cf. above VII.B), when he enters the suit of Marduk and holds the spade (92, 101:5, above II.A.4), he remains associated with water (101:4).

e *Apotropaic Representations*: representations of *lahmū* stand at the *dub-lá* of Sumerian temples (95; since Gudea *Cyl.A* XXIV 26f.); the OAkk *lahmu* associated with a *kusarikku* (96) may also have been apotropaic. A monumental OAkk *lahmu* holding a gate post is the Bassetki statue (cf. Ayish *Sumer* 32 69). In a SB incantation of older origin (96:7) a *lahmu* is present in a private house (cf. Opificius *UAVA* 2 221 for OB representations on clay plaques). MAss and later royal inscriptions describe *lahmū* at gates (91f., 102f.); a MAss private building inscription records the presence of a *lahmu*, "its protective spirit", in a house with a well (AKA 389:11, cited above); the *lahmū* of the royal inscriptions and the rituals (VII.A) can be matched with the figures actually attested in palaces and houses (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 51ff., Reade *BaM* 10 38, Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 96ff.).

2 *bašmu*.

For the two Sumerian terms *ušum* and *muš-šà-tùr* Akkadian has only one: *bašmu* (spelled logographically MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR/TUR). It is uncertain whether *ušum* and *muš-šà-tùr* denote two different iconographic types. If they do, and if the two types have not been confused in the course of history, Akkadian *bašmu* must refer to two different types of mythological snakes as well, and we will call them *ušum/bašmu* and *muš-šà-tùr/bašmu*.

a *ušum/bašmu*, "Venomous Snake".

a *Word*: Sumerian *ušum* is an Akkadian loanword, derived from a postulated dialectical *wašm-*; Akkadian *wa-* becoming Sumerian *u-* is not without precedents (cf. Edzard *Genava* 8 247⁴¹), nor is the additional vowel in the proximity of a syllabic consonant (cf. *JEOL* 27 97³). Akkadian *š* < PS *t* is regularly rendered by Sumerian -š-. The Akkadian word goes back on PS *BTN/M* (cf. Landsberger *Fauna* 58⁴, Humbert *AfO* 11 235ff.). It is now attested also in Ebla (Fronzaroli *SEb* 1 76 with further literature, *MEE* 4 386 iii 9, *ARET* 5 no 4 i 3).

b *Identification*: horned snake with forelegs (cf. Weidner *Gestirndarstellungen* Pl. IX-X, where the caption ^dMUŠ is a shortened spelling of MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR = *bašmu*, historical *ušum/bašmu*).

c *Attestations*: in texts as the name of a specific monster (not as a general word for dragon) since Gudea *Cyl.A* XXVI 29 (and Fragment 1 *TCL* 8 Pl. 53, cf. van Dijk *Lugal* I 11²⁵); the *ušum/bašmū* of *Angim* 33 and *Lugale* 129 stem approximately from the same time. In art only one doubtful attestation is known to me from OAkk (Douglas van Buren *OrNS* 19 Pl. IX/2 = *UAVA* 4 Abb. 290). All further attestations stem from the first millennium (seals like Moortgat *VAR* 680, 681).

d *Mythology*: originally *ušum/bašmu* is perhaps nothing more than "Venomous Snake", a natural enemy of man mythologized. Whether it was once associated with a chthonic god (Ninazu or Ningišzida)

cannot be established. In SB texts it is councillor or defeated enemy of Tišpak, and perhaps replaces the *mušhušu* who fell into the hands of Marduk. From Ur III onwards it is attested as one of the “warriors” (*u r - s a g*) slain by Ninurta (Cooper *AnOr* 52 143). The SB myth *KAR* 6 describes a *MUŠ ba-[aš-mu]* (restored with Landsberger *Fauna* 58³, followed by *CAD* B 141a) created in the sea and devouring fishes, birds, wild asses, and men. His venom is mentioned in 37. Since “his feet” is certainly to be restored in 25, this *bašmu* is the *u š u m /bašmu* rather than the footless *m u š - š a - t u r /bašmu*. The gods do not approve and send Nergal/Palil, the snake charmer (30), to subdue the monster. Nergal is not originally a dragon slayer, but here, as elsewhere (Cooper *AnOr* 52 146³), he replaces Ninurta. After Marduk’s usurpation of the *mušhušu*, the *u š u m /bašmu* became the symbolic animal of gods formerly associated with the *mušhušu*.

- e *Apotropaic representations*: Gudea *Cyl. A* XXVI 29; in art: the dragon from the palace of Esarhaddon (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XVIII; Reade *BaM* 10 40) can hardly be anything else than apotropaic, and therefore, if the list of VII.A is complete, must be a *bašmu* (it can certainly not be a *mušhušu*, the only other dragon of the list). The *u š u m /bašmu* is not attested in the Kleinplastik.
- f *u š u m g a l*, rendered in Akkadian by *ušumgallu* and *bašmu*, is a derivative of *u š u m* and literally means: “Prime Venomous Snake”. Its use is determined by inflation which made the far more generally used *u š u m g a l* oust simple *u š u m*. *Ušumgallu* is like *u š u m* used as a generic term as well, and occasionally replaces *mušhušu* when the dragon of Nabû is referred to (4 *R*² 20/3 Obv. 15f., *KAR* 104:29, *ABL* 951 Obv. 12-13, cf. Lambert *Fs Matouš* 293, Parpola *LAS* 2 266 ad 16), or the dragon of Ninurta (*Iraq* 14 34 72-73). The foremost quality of an *u š u m g a l* (and probably of an *u š u m*) is being a determined killer, killing probably with its venom, and frightening even the gods (de Genouillac *Trouvaille* 1, Ur III incantation). It is this quality that makes *u š u m (g a l)* a suitable epithet for certain gods and kings. In *Ee* (cf. above VII.B.9) the number of monsters is enlarged with *mušmahū*, *ušumgallū* and *umū dabritu*. This indicates that, if we have correctly equated the denotations of *u š u m /bašmu* and *ušumgallu*, the *bašmu* of *Ee* is the *m u š - š a - t u r /bašmu*. The use of *m u š - š a - t u r* in the Sumerian version of a bilingual text enumerating apparently (some of) the same set of monsters (VII.B.8), and the correspondance of the *bašmu* of the rituals with the footless snake of the Kleinplastik point in the same direction. The appearance of a clawed dragon on a relief corresponding to the same *bašmu* of the rituals, however, reminds us of the fact that in this thinly documented question no definite

results can be obtained.

b *muš-šà-tùr /bašmu*, "Birth Goddess Snake".

a *identification*: horned snake. The snake of the Kleinplastik, proved to be the *bašmu* by its inscription (Klengel-Brandt *FuB* 10, 1968, 36; suggested earlier by Landsberger *Fauna* 56, 58, when the inscribed figures had not yet been published), does not have horns (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 122f., 216f.). However, since both types of *bašmu* are probably horned, since the snake without horns is securely identified with ⁴Nirah and opposes on *kudurru*'s with a horned type, and since the Kleinplastik leaves off the horns of the *mušhuššu* and the *suhurmāšu* as well, we may safely supply the horns on the snake of the Kleinplastik, suspect them of having been omitted for practical reasons, and resolve the contradictory evidence.

b *attestations*: in texts as the name of a specific monster since Gudea (together with *muš-ḥuš*, Gudea *Cyl. A* XXVI 24f., *TCS* 3 41:416f., *BiOr* 30 362:49, cf. Frayne *JAOS* 102 512f.; all apotropaic representations). In art: Frankfort *Iraq* 1 Pl. IIIh (OAk., uncertain); on NAss seals, represented as a rearing cobra with horns, attacked by a god armed with a bow (*VAR* 689ff. and other seals); on *kudurru*'s (Seidl *BaM* 4 155.). In NAss Akkadian *bašmu* is possibly used to denote the Egyptian uraeus (Lambert, *JJS* 33 62).

c Of the *mythology* of this dragon little is known. In (OB) *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* 38 he is an *ur-sag*, "warrior", one of the seven monstrous sons of one mother given by Utu to Gilgamesh to assist him on the road to Huwawa; he is not one of the enemies of Ninurta, but appears on the chariot of Marduk in a late text of MB (?) origin and later as one of his adversaries in *Ee* and related texts.

d *Apotropaic representations*: in texts, together with *mušhuššu* (cf. above *attestations*) or other monsters (Heimpel *Tierbilder* 87.6); in the Kleinplastik: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 122f., Ismail *AfOB* 19 199.

3 *mušhuššu*, "Furious Snake", "Awful Snake".

a *Word*: Sumerian *muš-ḥuš* is attested as a loanword in Akkadian since OB (Lieberman *SLOB* 1 no 489).

b *Identification*: snake-dragon. Identified by Koldewey *MDOG* 19 (1903) 14ff. on the basis of a comparison of the figure on the gates of Babylon with the description of Nebuchadnezzar II (*KB* III/2 23 = *VAB* 4 72:21).

c *Attestations*: since OAk. An earlier dragon with a lion's head and without the talons is certainly a *mušhuššu* in ED IIIb, and probably already in the protoliterate period (cf. *RLA* s. v. *mušhuššu* § 3.1-2). The lion-parts are progressively replaced by snake-parts.

d *Mythology*: the *mušhuššu* originally serves the underworld god Ninazu, the king of the snakes; he is perhaps an angel of death, killing with his venom. In Ešnunna during the OAk period Tišpak, a god of foreign origin, replaces Ninazu as city god, and takes over his symbolic animal. The

myth recording Tišpak's victory over the symbolic monster of his predecessor seems to be preserved in *CT* 13 33f., cf. Wiggermann, Tišpak, his seal, and the dragon *mušhuššu* in O.M.C. Haex et al. eds., *To the Euphrates and beyond* (Fs M. N. van Loon) [1989] 117–133. In Lagaš Ningišzida, the son of Ninazu, is associated with the dragon; his proper animal, however, is the snake ⁴Nirah. From MB onwards, probably as a consequence of Hammurabi's conquest of Ešnunna, the city of Tišpak, the dragon is found associated with Marduk and his son Nabû. After Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon the *mušhuššu* is usurped by Aššur. Ninazu and Tišpak become associated with other snakes and dragons (ušum/bašmu, ušumgallu). Though since Tišpak's takeover in Ešnunna no longer the servant of an underworld god, the *mušhuššu* remains a fearless killer.

e *Apotropaic representations*: since Ur III (Gudea *Cyl. A* XXVI 24f., *TCS* 3 41:416f., *BiOr* 30 362:49, cf. Frayne *JAOS* 102 512f.). Apotropaic use of representations of the *mušhuššu* can be understood from his function as a fearless warrior watching over the just rule of his masters and attacking evildoers (cf. Brinkman *PHPKB* 80:14). Rittig's reservations about the identity of the clay figures, *Kleinplastik* 114ff. (cf. also Green *Iraq* 45 93), are unwarranted: the *suhurmāšu* also lacks its horns in the *Kleinplastik*, and the lowered tail may be inspired by practical considerations. Apotropaic *mušhuššu* are attested also on plaques (*BMQ* 36 136 and Pl. LVf, NAss) and palace reliefs (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XVIII, Reade *BaM* 10 40). See now Wiggermann *RLA* s. v. *mušhuššu*, forthcoming.

4 *ugallu*, "Big Weather-Beast", "Big Day".

a *Word*: Akkadian *ugallu* is a loanword from Sumerian *u₄-ga₁*, "big weather-beast"; since Sumerian *u₄-ga₁* in bilingual texts is always translated as *ūmu rabū*, "big weather-beast", and since the lion-demon called *ugallu* is attested only after the Ur III period, it seems that *ugallu* is an artificial, learned loanword, invented to give one standardized weather-beast a definite name. One attestation of *u₄-ga₁* = *ūmu rabū* (UET 6 391 Obv. 16) was known to Sjöberg *OrNS* 37 240; the following ones can be added: *LKA* 77 Rev. iv 37 // *LKA* 78 Rev. 1', *CT* 16 9 i 40f., *CT* 16 22 266f. (for this phrase cf. also the incantation *TIME* 9 62:8), *AnOr* 21 384:17 (cf. Tallqvist *AGE* 175 for the restoration of 18), *STT* 192 Obv. 7f., van Dijk *Lugal* I 105:424. The unilingual Sumerian attestations of *u₄-ga₁* were recently discussed by Römer *SKIZ* 100, *Fs Kraus* 306f., Sjöberg *TCS* 3 100 (add: *SEM* 86 1, 2, *ZA* 63 2:6, *StOr* 49 184 Sk 11:2, 7, *CT* 17 7 v 5, *ArOr* 21 396:38 cf. *CT* 44 32 Rev. "v" 25', *SbTU* 2 16 Rev. iii 1, *CT* 36 22 ii 1, *JAOS* 103 100³⁶). For ⁴*U₄-ga₁-ga₁*, a name of Iškur, and for his temple é-*u₄-ga₁-ga₁* cf. Renger *AfO* 23 73³ (and *STT* 20:8'); for the ship of his wife Sala, ³⁸*má-u₄-ga₁-ga₁*, cf. *MSL* 5 178:322. That older Sumerian *u₄-ga₁*/*ūmu rabū* does not denote a specific being, but a being differentiated from simple *u₄* only by its stature (*ga₁*), follows from the fact that Iškur rides both an *u₄* and an *u₄-ga₁*.

(*CT* 15 15:7f., cf. Römer *Fs Kraus* 303). The being denoted here by *u d* and *u₄-g a l* must be the lion-dragon, Iškur's mount and draught-animal since ED (cf. Abou Assaf *BaM* 14 43ff., 46f.). Although other sources as well give the impression that *u₄-(g a l)/ūmu (rabū)* denotes a specific being (*Gudea Cyl. A* XXV 9, apotropaic *u d* at the gate), or at least a being going on all fours (mount or draught-animal, see below d), this cannot be true, since one of the *u d*, the later *u₄-g a l/ugallu*, was imagined as an upright lion-demon, and since *u d/ūmu* is used to denote the whole group of monsters constituting the army of Tiāmat (VII.B.10) as well as the different group of monsters attacking Sin in *CT* 16 19:1ff. Our neutral translation "weather-beast" rather than "storm-beast" is based on the observation that good *u d* do exist (below d) beside evil *u d*; the *u d*-beings are apparently neutral. Landsberger's "Geistertiere" (*Fauna* 75) stresses the unspecific denotation of *ūmu*, but seems too reserved as to the relation with *u d/ūmu*, "day", "storm". Heimpel's translation "Flügellöwe" is too narrowly restricted to one of the possible denotations (*Tierbilder* 113, cf. Römer *Fs Kraus* 306f.).

An *UD.GAL^{mušen}* is attested in SB (Weidner *Syria* 33 177 Rev. 1:6, cf. Landsberger *WZKM* 56 122³⁹) as one of the *passū naprušūtu*, "the winged 'puppets'" of a board-game.

Piriggallu in NAss royal inscriptions has nothing to do with *ugallu*. It denotes the "lion bases" of columns (cf. *BaM* 10 Pl. 11, Turner *Iraq* 32 76⁶¹, Landsberger *Fauna* 75).

- b *Identification*: lion-demon. Proved by Green *Iraq* 45 (1983) 90f. on the basis of the inscription on a lion-demon from Nimrud, matching the inscription prescribed for the *ugallu* in ritual II Obv. 41f. (cf. already Deller apud Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 222, Wiggermann apud Stol *Zwangerschappen Geboorte* 112). The lion-demon is sometimes incorrectly identified with the *urmahlullu* (Frankfort *CS* 175, Lambert *Iraq* 41 10). Once the *ugallu* is identified as the lion-demon, the restoration ^d*U₄.[GAL]* in the *Göttertypentext MIO I* 68 52' (quoted by Frank *MAOG* XIV/2 35 incorrectly as K 10064) can no longer be doubted. As usual, the monster described by the *Göttertypentext* deviates from the regular one. The *ugallu* has the head and the ears of a lion (UR.MAH), and human hands; in his right hand he holds a [MU]LUD.DA (? Collated) and in his left a hatchet (*qulmū*). These attributes are not attested in the hands of a lion-demon in art. His claws are perhaps described in 51', but the line cannot be restored. Frank *MAOG* XIV/2 35 apparently reads GİR] MUŠEN šá-kin, "furnished with the claws of a bird", but instead of MUŠEN the tablet clearly has RI (collated). A dagger (GİR) is in his belt. The door-keeper of the underworld, *Pētū* ("Nedu"), is described in the "Unterweltvision" in a similar fashion (lion's head, human hands, claws of a bird); Frank *MAOG* XIV/2 35 convincingly associated *Pētū* with the unnamed clay figure of "one cubit" with a lion's head prescribed in the *etemmu* ritual *KAR* 227 i 24f. (misquoted by Ellis *Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 73).

- c *Attestations*: in art the lion-demon is attested since OB; earlier differently formed lion-demons (without talons or donkey's ears) may or may not be *u d*'s — this type of beings is attested already in Fara (*SF* 1 vii 24f.) — but they are certainly not yet the exclusive denotation of *u₄-g a l*. The OAkk. lion-demon is an adversary of the Sun god (Seidl *BaM* 4 XLVI E.1, Boehmer *UAVA* 4 79), or an associate of Adad (*ibid.* 333). The later lion-demons sometimes attack human evil-doers (Seidl *BaM* 4 LXVI G, cf. also Lambert *Iraq* 41 10, Buchanan *Yale* 781, Frankfort *SCS* 906, Parker *Iraq* 37 28 15), cf. *SBH* 15 no. 7: 15f.: *u₄ k a - b a m u - l u š u - t i - a*, “Weather-beast, that holds the man in his mouth” (cit. TCS III 125, with duplicates). Once on an OB seal (Frankfort *CS* Pl. XXVI-IIc) a lion-demon appears together with a smaller lion-demon. Without sufficient reason Landsberger *WZKM* 57 8 considered them uncommon representations of Anzû and its young.
- d *Mythology*: in origin the *u d /ūmu* demon is the personified Day and its nature the manifestation of divine will. Since days of health and peace are what the gods need in order to be taken care of by their human servants, days of health and peace are what can be expected from them, the normal days. Thus Good Days (*u₄-d ù g - g a*) are worth mentioning only in contrast to the Evil Days that bring them to an end (*First Ur Lament AS* 12:190). The Days of exceptional splendor and plenty before the flood, a golden age, are personified as anthropomorphic Wise Ones (*ūmu-apkallū*, II.A.4.B). Divine discontent, however, may bring about change and cause good days to turn into days of war and destruction. By fusing effect and cause the Days become the instrument of divine decisions, the enforcers of divine will (especially clear in the Sumerian city lamets). They are manifestations of gods (Tallquist *AGE* 103f.), of their words (*AnOr* 52 60:17, cf. Langdon *Epic of Creation* 88⁵) or their weapons (*AnOr* 52 123f. ad 131, 132). The personified Days resemble the evil spirits (*utukkū lemnu*; cf. *AS* 12:400ff., *JCS* 30 132ff. 20). One of them is one's dying day, the (Evil) Day (*ūmu lemnu*; ^dU d), the messenger of the underworld god Erra (*UET* 6 395 Obv. 12, *SEM* 117 ii 9); another is the day of the flood (*Gilg.* XI 91f., cf. also *ibid.* 118). Generally the bad Days are associated with Iškur/Adad, the storm god; they are “released from the sky” (a n - t a š u - b a r - r a, cf. e.g. *UET* 6 391 Obv. 16), howl and roar (*TCS* 3 100). These violent weather phenomena, roaring storms, are imagined as (at least partly) leonine monsters (interchangeable with *p i r i g*, “lion”; see also below 11a, lion-dragon *u₄-k a - d u h - h a*), mounts and draught-animals of gods (mount of Iškur: above *a*; mount of Ištar: *JNES* 33 234 VIII; chariot of Utu: *OrAnt* 8 42 ad 89ff., of Marduk: *Ee* IV 50; of Ninurta: *Gudea Cyl.* B XIII 19; of Gilgamesh: *Gilg.* VI 12). The *u₄-g a l* at first was not a specific being but simply a big *u d* (above *a*; translated into Akkadian as *ūmu rabū*). After the Ur III period *u₄-g a l* came to be used to denote a specific being, the lion-demon (translated into Akkadian as *ugallu*). As a specific monster it became one of Marduk's trophies, perhaps only to explain its use as an

apotropaion. The incantations and inscriptions (cf. VII.A.4 note f) define the *ugallu* as a fearless killer putting to flight evil and blocking the entry of the enemy (the human adversary on OB seals?). The history of the term *u d* indicates that executing divine orders is the basis of his existence.

e *Apotropaic representations*: his presence on OB seals (attacking an evildoer) is perhaps apotropaic. On *kudurru*'s: Seidl *BaM* 4 XLVI (with further literature). On reliefs: Kolbe *Reliefsprogramme* Type XV (cf. 222), Reade *BaM* 10 39. Clay and metal figures: Ellis *Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 67ff., Rittig *Kleinplastik* 103ff., 128 (21.2), Green *Iraq* 45 90f. On amulets: *Lamaštu* amulet 2, 49, 56. Together with a god raising his right fist (Lulal): above II.A.4.A end (reliefs, amulets, bronze bell; on the bronze bell the apotropaic *ugallu* is unarmed). For the texts cf. VII.A.4 with note f, *KAV* 74:10, *SBH* IX 147:2 (*ina IG1 ^dU4.GAL-lu*, followed by ^d*Ba-aš-mu*). For some further references to the lion-demon cf. Madhloom *Chronology* 109, Orthmann *Untersuchungen* 310ff., Frankfurt *CS* 174f., *SCS* 46, Collon *AOAT* 27 120³, Porada *CRRAI* 26 Pl. XIIb, Delaporte *RA* 7 Pl. IV/4. See now Green *BaM* 17 141–254.

f The *ūmū dabrūtu* defeated by Marduk in Ee (above VII.B.9) also belong here (“fierce weather-beasts”) and are perhaps related to the *ūmū šamrūtu*, “fierce weather-beasts”, lead away by one of the incarnations of Ningirsu/Ninurta in the Gula hymn *OrNS* 35 126:173.

5 *uridimmu*, “Mad Lion”.

a *Word*: *uridimmu* is a loanword from Sumerian *u r - i d i m*; the elements of the Sumerian word are *u r*, “dog/lion”, and *i d i m*, “(howling) mad”, “wild”, “not domesticated” (Heimpel *Tierbilder* 351ff., von Soden *Symbolae Böhl* 351; glossed *i-d[i-im]* in *MSL* 8/2 14:94). The correct form of the Akkadian loanword is rather *urDimmu*: text VI Col. B 10 *ur-dim-me*, *MSL* 11 31 Sect. 10:8' // Cavigneaux *Texts from Babylon* I 105:4 ^{mul}*u r - i d i m* = *[u]r-dim-mu* (which also establishes the name of the constellation), and Weisberg *YOS* 17 345:6 (NB, offerings to) ^d*Ur-dim-mu*. Unfortunately the spellings with *-dīm-* and *-dim-* do not allow us to establish the nature of the dental (D) and to date the loanword. The element *i d i m* can be used to determine imaginary beings (*ZA* 57 90: *u šum gal - i d i m*); thus the composition of the word does not allow us to determine whether the being denoted was real or imaginary. For *UR.IDIM*, the monster, and for *UR.IDIM*, the constellation (cf. *AHw* 1429b), the reading *ur(i)dimmu* is ascertained by text VI and *MSL* 11 31 (quoted above). It seems probable therefore that *UR.IDIM* = *ur(i)dimmu* the constellation was also imagined as a monster; if we may hold that the imaginary beings of heaven did not change their appearance after their invention, the heavenly *ur(i)dimmu* is the oldest attestation of this monster (it occurs in typologically older astrological texts and may go back to the third millennium, cf. van der Waerden, *die Anfänge der Astronomie* 54ff., Hunger-Walker *MDOG* 109 30:22). Perhaps Sumerian *u r - i d i m* also denoted a variety of *u r*, “dog/lion”, in Akkadian explained by, or

translated with *zibū*, “jackal” and *kalbu šegū*, “mad (/howling) ‘dog’” (*AHw* 1429b; *MSL* 8/2 14:95, van Dijk *Lugal I* 73:171). The relation between this real being and the monster remains unclear.

- b *Identification*: human-headed lion-man. Cf. above II.A.3.17 and VII.B.
- c *Attestations*: before SB *ur - i d i m* = *ur(i)dimmu* is not actually attested (VII.A.5). Occurrences in VII.B.7 and 9 go back to MB originals. Occurrences in lexical lists (*MSL* 8/2 14:94, *MSL* 11 31 quoted above) and typologically older astronomical texts may go back to the beginning of the second millennium. The constellation *UR.IDIM* = *ur(i)dimmu* may have been named in the third. In art the human-headed lion-man is extremely rare. The oldest example seems to be on a silver vase from Iran (Orthmann *Der Alte Orient* no 306) where he holds a crescent on a pole and accompanies a bull-man. The authorities date the piece to the last quarter of the second millennium (Amiet *Syria* 45 256, Orthmann *Der Alte Orient* 389f., Porada *Akkadica* 13 4, all with photographs). Of about the same date is the lion-man on a *kudurru* (Seidl *BaM* 4 42 Abb. 10, cf. 175; the tail is not visible, but Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 134 gives him a scorpion’s sting and dismisses him). Besides the apotropaic representations only a few uncertain NAss examples are known: one on the bronze bands of a door of Sargon II (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 135 with Seidl *BaM* 4 175; Reade, after the drawing, determines the being as a bull-man, *BaM* 10 40) one on a NAss seal, holding a sun-disk (?) on a pole (Ravn *Catalogue* no 142), and one on another NAss seal (Parker *Iraq* 24 37 Fig.2).
- d *Mythology*: about the earlier mythology of the *ur(i)dimmu* nothing is known. In the MB period he was included among the trophies of Marduk, and later became a member of Tiāmat’s army. The magical text *KAR* 26 (cf. Ebeling *ZDMG* 69 96ff.) and its unpublished duplicates (*HKL* 2 55) give some information on the *ur(i)dimmu*, but the prayer to Marduk in this text (cf. Seux *Hymnes et Prières* 449ff.) makes it clear that the text does not predate *Ee* and the exaltation of Marduk. The ritual prescribes the fabrication of an *ur(i)dimmu* of cedar to be hung on a loop of gold and flax together with a (seal of, K 3268+) *hulālu*-stone and inscribed as follows: ÉN⁴ ASARI.ME.EN SIL₇ ÉRIM.MA NÍG.AK.A BAR.BAR.[RE⁷.EN⁷](beginning restored after K 3268+11), “you are Marduk the expeller of evil, chase away sorcery”. Later, after offerings to Marduk and Šarpanitu, a long prayer is recited (Obv. 11ff.) in which Marduk is implored (46ff.) to give the *ur(i)dimmu* of cedar a (var. your) consignment of life (*ur-ta šá TI.LA*, var. K 5937: *u]r-ta-ka*) so that good health will accompany the sick man. A similar request is made to Šarpanitu (57, cf. Seux *Hymnes et Prières* 453³⁷), she is to make him well disposed (*milik damāqi*) towards protecting the life of the sufferer. The monster is called (Obv. 50) *sābit abbūti ana Marduk u Šarpanítum beli-šu*, “who intercedes with Marduk and Šarpanítum, his masters”, probably because as their gate keeper (Obv. 47) he was in the position to do so. The text on the figure, also recited later in the ritual to Mar-

duk and Šarpanītu, may well contain his interceding words. Finally the *ur(i)dimmu* himself is addressed and reminded of the consignment of Marduk and the advice of Šarpanītu (Rev. 28ff.). Thus in this text, the *ur(i)dimmu* is the gate keeper of Marduk and Šarpanītu and intercedes with them on behalf of the sick man. He also is the guardian of their gate (Obv. 46), chases away evil (Obv. 48f.), and, ordered to do so by his masters Marduk and Šarpanītu, helps the sick man to obtain health. The inscription on the *ur(i)dimmu* of text II (cf. II.A.3.17) characterizes him as serving the forces (DINGIR É, ^dLAMMA É) symbolizing the well-being and prosperity of the house, and as such resembles the consignment of life of *KAR* 26.

Two further bits of evidence are not very helpful: Lamaštu howls (?) like an UR.IDIM (cf. *CAD* L 38a, *labahu*) and Enlil is associated with the constellation *ur(i)dimmu* in “twelve times three” (*MDOG* 109 30:22) and 5 R 46 i 33.

e *Apotropaic representations*: in texts: VII.A.5, *KAR* 26, *BBR* 51:3 (so Zimern *BBR* 164, followed by von Soden *AHw* 1429b, Eilat *BiOr* 39 24 reads UR.M[AH[?].MEŠ[?]]), *OIP* 2 142:21 (Sennacherib, Aššur temple), Weisberg *YOS* 17 345:6 (NB, mentioned in connection with the temple of Marduk together with ^dKakkabtu), *CTN* 3 95 B:4 (NAss., chapel of Marduk). On *kudurru*’s (together with *ugallu*): *BaM* 4 42 Abb. 10; on reliefs: Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XIX (holding a partly broken crescent on a pole: Pl. XIV/1), Reade *BaM* 10 40 (with an additional example, cf. also Reade *Iraq* 26 5f.; Reade calls the being *urmahlullā*); in Kleinplastik: Green *Iraq* 45 92f. (with a different interpretation, cf. above II.A.3.17 and VII.A) and perhaps Rittig *Kleinplastik* 6.1 (cf. above p. 100f.). [Cf. Green *Iraq* 47 77].

6 *kusarikku*, “Bison”, “Bison(-bull)”.

a *Word/attestations/mythology*: Sumerian *alim* (1) and its free variant *gud-a-lim* denote, at least in Sumer (3), the bison (4). In art the bison is represented at first naturalistically, but later (from ED I onwards) generally with a human face (5). Perhaps under the influence of foreign images (6), the bull-man or rather bison-man was developed from a bison in upright position (an active variant) (7). Only the free variant *gud-a-lim* and the Akkadian loanword (8) *kusarikku* come, probably already in the Akkad period, to be associated with the bison-man (9). The human-faced bison and the bison-man are associated with the sun-god (10), a feature that must go back to the time before they split into two separate figures. This association of the mythologized (11) (human-faced) bison(-man) with the sun perhaps goes back to the fact that the actual bison is at home in the hilly flanks of the Mesopotamian lowland (12), distant countries travelled only by the sun. Bisons even represent the mountains at the edge of the world through which the sun rises (13). The image of the bison as an inhabitant of distant hilly regions, a mountain himself, may have inspired bedouins to call the forebear of their tribe (**ditnu*) “Bison” (*Ditān*- 14), also the name of the “mountain of the

MAR.TU-bedouins" (15). While the recumbent (human-faced) bison is the apogee of unshakeable peace, the relations of the combative bison-man (16) with the sun-god (17) are not always peaceful. His defeat by Ninurta/Ningirsu (later Marduk) is known from NSum and later sources (18). The texts have nothing to tell on the nature of Ninurta/Ningirsu's quarrel with the *kusarikku*; the defeat of the *kusarikku* is perhaps only a by-product of Ninurta/Ningirsu's dealings with the mountains (19).

- 1) Syllabic spellings: ZA 58 3³, Kutscher *AH* 115; in lexical lists: *MSL* 14 54:568, 440:10^f, cf. *CAD* K 584a. In ^dI g - ALIM perhaps the sign ALIM has also the value alim a (Falkenstein *GSL* 1 13). The Akkadian word for "bison" is *ditānu* (*CAD* A/1 349b, D 165a) or *karšānū* (K 223b).
- 2) The variation alim : gud - alim is attested in the equations alim = *kusarikku* (< gud - alim), cf. *CAD* K 584a, and gud - alim = *alimbū* (< alim a), cf. *CAD* A/1 349a. Sumerian gud - alim certainly did not denote only the bison-man (cf. Heimpel *Tierbilder* 77, *OrNS* 43 331:10). From lexical lists where Sumerian alim is translated with Akkadian *kusarikku* (denoting only the bison-man) it could be concluded that Sumerian alim also denotes the bison-man, but no context cases have been found. Landsberger assumed (*Fauna* 93) that gud in gud - alim is the determinative; at least the "determinative" is not only graphical, since the loanword proves that it was actually spoken (cf. Heimpel *Tierbilder* 199f.). Without discussion a different solution is proposed by Heimpel *Tierbilder* 77: alim "Wisent" (both sexes), gud - alim "Wisentstier". This distribution of the terms could nicely explain the choice of masculine gud - alim to denote the active, ostentatiously ithyphallic bison-man.
- 3) in Ebla alim is equated with *li-a-nu-um/nūm*, related to Akkadian *lū*, "bull", and with *ū-gi-lum*, related to Semitic *īgl*, "calf" (*MEE* 4 282:73, 327:1192). The feminine form alim - munus is equated with *li-a-tum* (*MEE* 4 282:732) related to Akkadian *lītu* and the Hebrew PN *Le'ā*, "cow".
- 4) The denotation "bison" was established by Landsberger *Fauna* 92ff. It is now supported by the identification of the *kusarikku* as the bison-man, and by toggle pins with bison(-men) heads corresponding to sag - (gud) - alim - ma in the texts (Klein ZA 73 270^{85f}).
- 5) Cf. with previous literature: Amiet *GMA*² 112f., 137f., Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 46ff., Boehmer *BaM* 9 18ff. From the Ur III period onwards (Boehmer *UAVA* 4 44, Amiet *GMA*² 1478) the human-faced bison is often furnished with the horns of divinity (for stone representations cf. Huot *Sumer* 34 104ff.). The only conceivable Semitic name for the divine (human-faced) bison is a theophoric element in Amorite names, ^(d)*Ditan-* (*CAD* D 165a, Huffmon *APN* 184, Butz *WZKM* 65/66 3¹³, Gelb *AS* 21 295). If so, the *heros eponymos* (Edzard *ZZB* 39¹⁶⁸) of the *tidru* Amorites was (perhaps under the influence of Mesopotamian conceptions) conceived as a bison. The name of the late successor of the human-faced bison, the NAss human-headed bull (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type IIa/b, Landsberger *Fauna* 89), is not yet established with certainty (see II.B.1.G, *šēdu*; *aladlammū*? Cf. *CAD* A/1 287, Turner *Iraq* 32 81f.).
- 6) Amiet *GMA*² 84a, Porada *BiMes* 4 115⁵¹.
- 7) Derivation of bison-man (bull-man) from (upright) bison and further developments: Hilzheimer *MAOG* II/2 11f., Amiet *GMA*² 49, 138, 147f., Boehmer *BaM* 9 20, *UAVA* 4 43¹⁸¹, Orthmann *Untersuchungen* 306ff., Klengel-Brandt *FuB* 10 24, *FuB* 20-21 216, Opificius *UAVA* 2 220f., Howard-Carter *Iraq* 45 67f., Porada *CRRAI* 25 166³⁰. The bison-man, often accompanied by a naked hero (*JEOL* 27 96, 103), fights lions, bisons, other animals, and the lion-dragon. He holds door posts and emblems, often a sun-disk but also other emblems. After the OAKK period he becomes rare, but never dies out completely.
- 8) gud - alim > *kusarikku* was proposed by Landsberger *Fauna* 93. For the interchange r : l that troubled Landsberger cf. now Sjöberg *OrSu* 10 6, *AfO* 24 41, Civil *JCS* 25 137f., Falkenstein ZA 45 34, Labat-Edzard *MDP* 57 26, *RGTC* 280 (*Hu'urti/Hulti*). The correspondence of Sumerian ŋ (the last consonant of the first element of the word, later changed into d but still present when the word was loaned in the OAKK period) to Akkadian -s- is attested elsewhere as well (Liebermann *SLOB* 1 434, 538, 647). Since Sumerian has a word for the bison-man that is certainly not borrowed from a third language (as proved by the omissible element gud; alim is not necessarily Sumerian, cf. Oppenheim *JNES* 4 170¹⁵⁰), it is hardly likely that Akkadian *kusarikku* is borrowed from a third language; in that case we should expect Sumerian (gud) - alim to be borrowed from the same language (Salonen *Jagd* 207 derives *kusarikku* and its variants — cf. *CAD* K 584 — from a substrate word: **khusrig*).

9) In OAKk a number of *GUD-sà-ri-ku* (PBS 9 30:1) appear together with two *lahmus*; in view of the regular association of the bison-man and the naked hero, the denotation bison-man is probable in this case but cannot be proved. The *g u d - a l i m* enemy of Ningirsu/Ninurta is certainly the bison-man (attested first in Gudea Cyl. A XXV:13); like the *g u d - a l i m* of the texts (Cooper *AnOr* 52 148) he appears on the chariot of a god (Ningirsu ?) on the stele of Gudea (Orthmann *Der Alte Orient* Figs. 111a, b, p. 220). In the hymnic introduction of the NAss.*Anzû myth*, the *kusarikku* defeated by Ninurta can hardly denote anything else than the *kusarikku* of the contemporary rituals. The *kusarikku*, trophy of Marduk since MB, is the successor of the earlier *g u d - a l i m* / *kusarikku* of the *Anzû myth*, the trophy of Ninurta/Ningirsu; the *kusarikku* of Marduk is directly related to the *kusarikku* of the late rituals and certainly a bison-man. The constellation *kusarikku* is attested already in OB (cf. *CAD* K 584b), and was named probably even earlier; C.B.F. Walker will prove (personal communication) that the later constellation *kusarikku* (*GUD.ALIM*) is the bison-man, constituting together with Šullat and Haniš (the hind quarter, cf. ŠL IV/2 no 240) the constellation Centaurus. To the attestations noted by the dictionaries, Landsberger *Fauna* 92ff, and Heimpel *Tierbilder* 75ff, the following can be added: *OrNS* 43 331:30 (Sum. lit.), *ARM* 21 222:52f. (together with *lamassātu* on a *kannu*, "potstand"; OB), KUB 4 47 Rev. 10 (Šigū prayer: ^dQa-aq-qa-ad ^dKu-nu-uš-*<kad>*-rù ^d[.....] ^dKu-ša-ri-ih-hu DINGIR.MEŠ ē[.....]), *MIO* 1 70:9 (uncertain. The being described could be a *kusarikku* and 70:9 could be read as [ku-][sa]-[ri-ik-ku]), *CT* 46 51 Obv. 36', ^dGUD.ALIM Rev. 20' "explained" as: *kab-tu* (=ALIM), "venerable" [qar-ra-du] (=GUD), "warrior", *LKA* 133 Rev. 5 (SB inc.: I put you under the spell of ^dKu-sa-rik-ku šā KĀ ē ^dē-a AD-ki, "the *kusarikku* at the gate of the house of Ea, your father"), *Z4* 71 110:5 (SB omens). The only attestation of *kusarikku* in a god list is *STT* 376 iv 17': [^dGUD.D]UMU.^dUTU among other gods represented by statues.

10) For the human-faced bison cf. Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 51, Frankfort *CS* 161. The *s a g - a l i m*, "head of the (human-faced) bison", is the *š u - n i r* ^dUtu, "emblem of Utu", in an enumeration of defeated enemies of Ningirsu (Gudea Cyl. A XXVI 4; cf. in 13., *g u d - a l i m*). Such heads are actually attested and may have had an apotropaic function (Klein *ZA* 73 270^{85f.}, Amiet *GMA*² 137, Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 51³⁴⁰). An Ed IIIa mace head with human-faced bisons is dedicated to Utu (*UE* II pl. 183, cf. Sollberger *Iraq* 22 73:71) and suggests a relation between the animal and the god (cf. Frankfort *AnOr* 12 115f., Amiet *Sumer* 9 233, Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 51). For the bison-man cf. *UAVA* 2 85f., *CS* 161, Orthmann *Der Alte Orient* Pl. 248 (where he carries the throne of Šamaš). His relation to Utu is also recorded by the logogram *GUD.DUMU.^dUTU* (since OB, cf. above II.A.3.18 and for attestations in rituals VII.A.6; in Assyria since MAss); the attestations were collected by Frankena *Tākultu* 90 (add: *KAR* 137:10, Freydank-Saporetti *Nuove Attestazioni* 55, Menzel *AT* T 137 B:3, and cf. Müller *MVAG* 41/3 28). The meaning of the logogram is not completely clear (cf. Borger *BAL*² 129). It must be noted that *DUMU.^dUTU* does not necessarily refer to Utu's physical fatherhood; it can also refer to a natural phenomenon described metaphorically as "son of Utu" (light, flame, wind?, cf. van Dijk *HSAO* 249 ad *BASOR* 94 2ff:25f., Borger *WDo* 5 173, Geller *Z4* 73 115). The later canonical list replaces *GUD.DUMU.^dUTU* with *GUD.DUMU.AN.NA* (cf. above II.A. 3.18); since this spelling is attested only once as the logogram of *kusarikku* (VII.A.6 text 14), and since the two differ only slightly, we consider the latter a graphical development of the former [cf. now A.R. George *RA* 82 151]. Certainly not related to *GUD.DUMU.^dUTU*/*GUD.DUMU.AN.NA* or the bison (-man) is *g u d - a n - n a / a l ū / l ū*, the "bull of heaven" (cf. *CAD* A/1 377, Borger *RLA* 4 413f., *VAS* 17 10:21, 46, Castellino *Two Sulgi Hymns* 130, *JNES* 43 119), positively identified with the humped bull (Thureau-Dangin *RA* 16 156¹, Weidner *Gestirndarstellungen* 8f.; perhaps on a plaque, killed by Gilgamesh and Enkidu, cf. Opificius *UAVA* 2 227; for the animal see Douglas van Buren *Fauna* 29C). In less conservative contexts (late second and first millennium seals) the bull of heaven appears as a winged, human-faced bull (cf. the description of a winged *alū* in *AfO* 18 302:17ff., and for the seals with Gilgamesh and Enkidu fighting the bull of heaven W.G. Lambert in A.E. Farkas ed., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* [1987] 48ff.). The term *alū*, however, is not used to refer to the apotropaic human-faced bulls of Assyrian palaces. They must have had another name (see ii.B.1.G, *šedu*). Whether the dying god ^dGu₄-gal-an-na (cf. Lambert *CRRAI* 26 62ff.), or the bull slain in a clearly mythological context on seals (Frankfort *CS* 126ff., Boehmer *UAV* 4 60f., Vanel *l'Iconographie du Dieu de l'Orage* 26) has anything to do with the "bull of heaven" cannot be discussed here. The bull, the symbolic animal of Adad, is sometimes a humped bull (Abou Assaf *BaM* 14 51), but it is known in the texts only under the name of *bišu ekdu*, "fierce young bull" (*MDP* 2 90:17, *LKU* 31:3).

- 11) From OB onwards the bison-man generally is furnished with the horns of divinity.
- 12) Boehmer *BaM* 9 20, Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 47.
- 13) Barrelet *RA* 48 16ff., Amiet *GMA*² 138f., Boehmer *UAVA* 2 85, *BaM* 9 21, Behm-Blancke *BaFo* 1 51^{346f.}
- 14) Cf. above note 5 and for this complicated problem e. g. Astour *UFO* 5 36f., Diakonoff *CRRAI* 28 24⁴, Lipiński *Fs Loewenstein* 91ff., Helzer *The Suteanis* 1ff.
- 15) Falkenstein *AnOr* 30 52; *RGTC* 1 157, 2 30.
- 16) For his combativeness on seals cf. Amiet *GMA*² 147; the texts give only hints: in *Angim* 35 Ninurta brings the bison out of the "dust of battle"; *idim*, "the wild one" is equated with *kusarikku* in *MSL* 14 278:23 (*Aa* II/3).
- 17) Frankfort *CS* 100f., Boehmer *UAVA* 4 85.
- 18) Cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 143, 148f. The introduction of the sea as the place where the *kusarikku* was defeated and as the enemy of Ninurta in two SB texts of MB origin (*Sm* 1875 = *WZKM* 57 10⁴⁶, *Gula Hymn OrNS* 36 124:149, for the date of this text cf. Lambert *ibid.* 109ff. The date of *Sm* 1875 cannot be established) points to the influence of ideas similar to those that helped to shape *Ee*, where all monsters are collected as children and soldiers of *Tiamat* (cf. VII.B). Since in these texts the sea does not yet seem to have this organizing function, they reflect a stage prior to the theology of *Ee*.
- 19) Especially in *Lugale*, cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 148 with further references.

b *Identification*: bull-man (the traditional designation of the archaeological type; "bison-man" is historically more correct). Cf. above II.A.3.18 (and Wiggermann apud Green *Iraq* 45 92⁴⁵; apud Stol *Zwangerschap en Geboorte* 112). the complete equation is:

- (1) GUD.ALIM = (2) GUD.DUMU.^dUTU = (3) GUD.DUMU.AN.NA = (4) *kusarikku* = (5) bull-man. For (2) = (3) cf. also above 10. The following solutions were proposed previously:

Smith *Chaldean Genesis* (1875) identified the naked hero and the bull man with Izdubar (now read Gilgamesh) and Heabani (now read Enkidu). This identification is totally unfounded, but has won almost universal acceptance until quite recently, see, with previous literature, W.G. Lambert, *Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia*, in A.E. Farkas ed., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* [1987], 37–52

Langdon *AJSL* 31 (1914/15) 284, *Epic of Creation* (1923) 89⁷: (1) = (4) = "fish-ram" (Goat-fish). Langdon's identification was based on the spelling *ku₆-sa₄-rak-ki* in *Ee* III 91 (cf. *CAD* K 584a), which he read *KU₆.DÀR-rak-ki*. The misreading was noted and the proposal rejected by Landsberger *Fauna* (1934) 93.

Landsberger *Fauna* (1934) 93: (1) = (4) = human-faced bison. The solution is based on *alim* = bison and *g u d - a l i m* (*kusarikku*) = a mythological animal, therefore mythological bison, the human-faced bison. Landsberger's opinion is occasionally quoted in speculative contexts (Unger *Sumer* 8 196, Gadd *Iraq* 28 120, with modification) but does not seem to have won general acceptance, especially not where the late successor of the human-faced bison, the NAss human-headed bull, is concerned.

Landsberger *Sam'al* I (1948) 96: (2) = bull-man. The identification is correct but was not yet proved. It was based on a general comparison of occurrences of *GUD.DUMU.^dUTU* in apotropaic contexts in NAss royal inscriptions with occurrences of the bull-man on orthostats in *Sam'al*.

Landsberger did not believe that GUD.DUMU.^dUTU was the original name of the bull-man, or even that the bull-man had a name at all. He thought that the naked hero (mistakenly identified with *apkallu*) and the bull-man were traditional apotropaic types of art, brought into the pantheon by equating them with traditional apotropaic figures of the texts (*apkallu* and GUD.DUMU.^dUTU; Landsberger, who did not yet know the Nippur forerunner of *Hh*, *MSL* 8/1 87:200, thought the latter was a traditional figure in the Assyrian pantheon only). This unfounded but at the time plausible position has had an impeding influence on the study of Babylonian art: it gave a respectable philological base to the thought that the figures and themes of art are related only in the most general manner to the figures and themes of literature. The present identifications show that this relation is less lax; yet complete correspondance is not to be expected.

Frankena *Tākultu* (1953) 90: (1) = (2) = (4). Frankena's correct equation was basis on the interchange of GUD.DUMU.^dUTU and GUD.ALIM/*kusarikku* in lists of monsters.

Gelb *MAD* 3 (1975) 153: "the OAk spelling GUD-za-ri-ku suggests an ox-like" animal".

Reade *BaM* 10 (1979) 40: (4) = bull-man". Correct, but without proof ("evidently").

The equation (1) ^dGU₄.UD = (2) GUD.DUMU.^dUTU = (3) *lahmu* discussed by O. Schroeder *OLZ* 1920 245 and D. D. Luckenbill *AJSL* 40 291 is disproved in the following way:

1 ≠ 2 cf. Kügler *Sternkunde in Babel* Glossar 270b.
2 ≠ 3 cf. *Tākultu* 25 i 28ff., *BiOr* 18 199 ii 5f. and the ritual texts in which both occur (text II, V).
1 ≠ 3 cf. *JEOL* 27 93f.

Laroche *JCS* 6 120 and *RHA* 84/85 78, followed by Güterbock *Yazilikaya*² 177, identified two bull-men standing on the hieroglyph for earth and holding up the hieroglyph for heaven, no 28/29 of the Yazilikaya rock relief, with *Šeriš* and *Hurriš*. There is no caption to prove this identification, nor can it be proved that *Šeriš* and *Hurriš* must be present at all. Some voiced misgivings about this identification (Otten *Anatolia* 4 34), but two other bulls then available for identification with *Šeriš* and *Hurriš* (*Yazilikaya*² 42a, 43a, cf. Haas *RIA* 4 507a) are now no longer available, since the caption of one of them has been deciphered, and the bull identified with the 'calf of Teššup' (*Šarrumma*, Güterbock *Yazilikaya*² 171, *Les Hieroglyphes de Yazilikaya* 12). We must reject the identification on the following grounds:

- It is improbable that two genuine Hurrian gods, could be represented by a thoroughly Mesopotamian figure.
- *Hurriš* and *Šeriš* draw the chariot of Teššup (*RIA* 4 506b). Never is the bull-man a draught-animal, and, unlike the bull-man, draught-animals go on all fours, including imaginary ones.

- There is good reason to think that Ḥurriš and Šeriš were real animals, not monsters: in *An-Anum* III 257ff. Šeriš is one of the two *g u d -^dIšk ur - k e₄*, “bulls of Adad”; for GUD = Šeriš, cf. Ebeling *ArOr* 21 401, *OrNS* 23 126 ad 24, *CAD* K 29a; in a text quoted by Laroche *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite* 115 and 227 Šeriš and Ḥurriš are GUD.HI.A-ri, “bulls”.
- Conceivably the two bull-men of Yazilikaya were present not as independent elements but only as atlantes separating (the ideograms of) heaven and earth.

It were perhaps similar arguments that lead Laroche in his *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite* (1980) 228 to speak concerning Ḥurriš and Šeriš of “une interprétation peu vraisemblable de Yazilikaya, N° 28–29”. Amiet (*RA* 50 117) suggests that Ḥurriš and Šeriš (Jour et Nuit) derive from the lying human faced bulls of third millennium Mesopotamian art, that sometimes replace the mountains through which the sun rises (see also *GMA*² 139).

- c *Apotropaic representations*: in texts: cf. above (9); like the trophies of Marduk, the trophies of Ninurta on his chariot or temple front must have discouraged evil. On a vase of Ibbi-Sin: *OrAnt* 23 39:19. In Mari on a potstand: *ARM* 21 222:25. In an OB incantation (Farber *ZA* 71 63 Rev. 5, cf. *AMT* 96/2 i 12 quoted by *CAD* K 584a, and cf. Ebeling *MAOG* V/3 11 for a similar text with *lahmu*) the crying baby wakes up (the god of the house and) the *kusarikku* who reacts: *ma-nu-um id-ki-a-ni ma-nu-um ú-ga-li-ta-ni*, “who woke me up, who startled me?”, a domestic version of Enlil’s anger at the noise of mankind. Certainly this *kusarikku* was present in the house, represented on an apotropaic clay plaque (Opificius *UAVA* 2 no 402ff., especially 402 found in context against the outer wall of the Hendursag chapel at OB Ur, Moorey *Iraq* 37 89f.), or as a statuette (in texts: cf. Landsberger *Fauna* 93). In M/NAss palaces and temples bull-men have not actually been found, but they are known to have been installed from the texts (cf. above note 9, *KUB* 4 47 Rev. 10, *CT* 46 51 Obv. 36', Rev. 20', *LKA* 133 Rev. 5, Menzel *AT* 2 T 134 IX 8, Frankena *Tākultu* 90, also with references to GUD.DUMU.^dUTU in NAss royal inscriptions, Borger *AfOB* 9 87:4, cf. Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 260⁴, 266f.). The bison heads on seals and toggle pins recall the later heads of Humbaba and may well have been apotropaic (Amiet *GMA*² 137). On *kudušu*’s: Seidl *BaM* 4 XLVII. In the MB temple in Tell Rimah: Howard-Carter *Iraq* 45 64ff. and Pl. IIIa. In Syria: Orthmann *Untersuchungen* 306ff. In Kleinplastik (cf. VII.A.6): Rittig *Kleinplastik* 98ff., Ismail *CRRAI* 28 199, Green *Iraq* 45 92, generally with the prescribed (II.A.3.18) inscription: “go out death, enter life”. The figure on the reverse of Lamaštu amulet 29 is a deviant *kusarikku* rather than a “local iconographical variant of Pazuzu” (Moorey *Iraq* 27 34); it fulfills the same apotropaic function as Pazuzu or the lion-dragon (amulets 27, 34, 35,) on other Lamaštu amulets.

7 *girtablullû*, "Scorpion-Man".

- a *Word*: the composition of the word out of the elements *gí-r-ta-b*, "scorpion", and *lú-ù-lu*, "untamed man", reveals the being denoted as partly man and partly scorpion. Above VII.A we gave reasons to identify this being with the scorpion-man of the palace reliefs and the Kleinplastik, rather than with Seidl *BaM* 4 XLIV or XLV, if the latter is indeed distinct from the scorpion-man of the reliefs (so Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 82). Comparison with other names of monsters composed with *-lullû* (*urmahlullû*, *kulullû*) shows that the element *-lullû* denotes, at least from the second half of the second millennium onwards, a human upper body, which also excludes the armless *BaM* 4 XLIV from identification with the *girtablullû*. The *Göttertypen*text *MIO* 1 64 6'f. may have given a description of a [GÍR.TAB.]LÚ.ÙLU-*lu*, but unfortunately only one word is preserved: *a-li-ku*, "in walking posture" (*CAD A/1* 347a). The Scorpion-man and -woman of the Gilgamesh Epic (IX ii-iv), guarding the gate in the mountain through which the sun rises and sets, are hardly an invention of the editor of the SB redaction of the epic. Their antiquity cannot exactly be established, but the appearance of a scorpion-man on an OAkk seal (Amiet apud Porada *Ancient Art in Seals* Fig. II-20), formally related to the scorpion-man of the reliefs rather than to *BaM* 4 XLIV or XLV, and like the *girtablullû* of the Epic of Gilgamesh an adjunct of the sun god (rays extend from his body; he supports Utu in an armed conflict), suggests that in the third millennium a scorpion-man/*girtablullû*, adjunct of the sun-god, existed already, see also *Green Iraq* 47 75⁹ (Seal), J. Börker-Klahn *BaFo* 4 Pl 26e (on standard, winged). Still earlier scorpion-men are associated with the sun as well, but are formally different (Amiet *GMA*² 133f., 155, Pl.95, Frankfort *CS* 68); they derive from a mythological scorpion manipulating heavenly bodies with its pincers. The pincers became hands and a head was added, the essentials of the human upper body of the scorpion-man. (Amiet *GMA*² 133f.).
- b *Identification*: cf. above, *Word*. Whether the scorpion-man Seidl *BaM* 4 XLV, different from the Scorpion-Man of the reliefs and seals and never associated with the winged disk (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 82), is a *girtablullû* as well must remain undecided (positively so Edzard *WdM* 100).
- c *Attestations*: since Ed IIIa (Lyre from Royal Graves in Ur, *UE* II Pl.105; Teissier, *ANECS* 335). The word is therefore genuine Sumerian, but the being cannot have been named before the pincers were understood as human hands
- d *Mythology*: The epic of Gilgamesh informs us on the activities of the *girtablullû* prior to the theology of *Ee*. The *girtablullû* here is accompanied by his wife, a curiosity that reappears in the rituals, where the *girtablullû* is the only figure of whom a male and a female statue are made. Together they guard the gate of mount *Māšu* ("Twin") and watch over the rising and setting of the sun. They discuss Gilgamesh when he

arrives, ask him about his journey, and allow him to pass the gate (IX ii-iv). An OAkk seal (above, *Word*) shows that the association of the *girtablullû* with the sun god goes back to the third millennium.

- e *Apotropaic representations*: in rituals VII.A.7; in NAss royal inscriptions: *OIP* 2 145:21, *KAV* 74:5 (cf. Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 258ff.). In Kleinplastik: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 78f., cf. 218; On reliefs: Howard-Carter *Iraq* 45 71f. and Pl. Vb (MAss, from Tell Rimah = *Iraq* 28 Pl. XXXIVb; not Pazuzu. On Pl. VI good photographs of BM 94941, a clay pot with two *girtablullû* = Layard Mon. I 95A, Unger *RIV* 8 Pl. 68c. For another object with a *girtablullû* cf. Thompson *AAA* 18 Pl. XXVII, NAss), Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XI (cf. Reade *BaM* 10 39, Meuszyński *EtTrav* 6 52ff., *Iraq* 38 Pl. XIV, Vorys Canby *Iraq* 33 Pl. XVIb). [Cf. also Green *Iraq* 47 75ff.].
- 8 *urmahlullû*, "Lion-Man".
 - a *Word*: composed out of *u r - m a h*, "lion" and *l ú - ù l u*, "untamed man". The *urmahlullû* is extremely rare. It is omitted thrice in enumerations of the trophies of Marduk (VII.A.8), and its first appearance in art is on a MAss seal (*ZA* 47 67 Abb. 30). Possibly, therefore, the loanword is a learned neologism, based on the analogy with *kulullû* or *girtablullû*.
 - b *Identification*: unwinged lion-centaur. This identification was first proposed by Ellis *Essays Finkelstein* 74 on the basis of a badly broken lion-[centaur] (Rittig *Kleinplastik* 14.1.1) inscribed as prescribed for the *urmahlullû* of text II (II.A.3.20): *ta-par-ri-ik SAG.HUL.HA.ZA* (the editor, Klengel-Brandt, read the inscription slightly differently in *FuB* 10 26, but the photograph Taf. 5/2 shows that the correction proposed by Ellis is right). The identification was later confirmed by the appearance of the same text on a perfectly preserved monumental specimen from Ashurbanipal's palace (Gadd apud Barnett *SNPAN* 40). Whether winged examples are also called *urmahlullû* cannot be decided (on seals: Frankfort *CS* Pl. XXXIVd, Beran *AfO* 18 273 abb. 25). The lion-demon (above 4) or the human-headed lion-man (above 5) are sometimes mistakenly identified as *urmahlullû* (Frankfort *CS* 175, Lambert *Iraq* 41 10, Reade *BaM* 10 40). There is no connection with priests clad in lion's skins or wearing lion masks (Oppenheim *JAOS* 63 32, cf. recently W. Fauth *WdO* 11 24¹⁹ with further literature). Reade *BaM* 10 41 proposed *kuribu* for the unwinged lion-centaur.
 - c *Mythology/Attestations*: the first attestation of an unwinged lion-centaur on a 13th century Assyrian seal (*ZA* 47 67 Abb. 30) predates its inclusion among the trophies of Marduk; it is not yet present in Ee (VII.B.9), telling, since this text enlarged the number of monsters with traditional names. Thus the lion-centaur does not seem to have had a function in traditional mythology. It was invented in the late second millennium, probably by analogy with the centaurs (not necessarily in Assyria, since a winged lion-centaur also existed in the South, Beran *AfO* 18 273 Abb. 25), named by analogy with *kulullû* or *girtablullû*, and functioning in mythology only after its inclusion among the trophies of Marduk.

d *Apotropaic representations*: in texts: VII.A.8, probably also RAcc. 114:10 and YOS 6 3:3. In Kleinplastik: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 112f.; on reliefs: Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type XVII, Reade *BaM* 10 41, Madhloom *Chronology* 98f. (winged: Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type 12b). The position of the un-winged lion-centaur on reliefs and as a clay figure may correspond to the position prescribed in the ritual: in the bathroom (cf. above p. 98).

9 *kulullû*, “Fish-Man”.

a *Word*: that $KU_6.LU.\dot{U}LU-lu$ is to be read *kulullû* appears from the *Göttertypentext* where the word is spelled *ku-lu-ul-lu* (MIO 1 80:12). A long - \ddot{u} is demanded by Sumerian $lú-\dot{u}l u$, from which *lullû* is borrowed, but none of the *lullû* words is spelled with an additional vowel indicating length, and thus, counter to etymology, actual usage indicates a short vowel (the dictionaries assume a short vowel). A by-form *kulil(l)u* is attested in *KAR* 162 Rev. 4 (Ee, spelled *ku-li-li*). This *kulil(l)u* is to be kept distinct from:

a) $^dKu-li-li$, variant of $^dKi-li-li$ (Landsberger *Fauna* 136, Frankena *Takluku* 97, *CAD* K 357a), a female figure, possibly apotropaic as well (III.B.13+n).

b) *kulilu* (Sum.: $b u r u_5 - \dot{u}d - d a$), “dragonfly”.

c) $ku\cdot li\cdot a n\cdot n a = kuliltu$. The SB bilingual text of Angim 58 translates $ku\cdot li\cdot a n\cdot n a$, “friend of heaven/An”, denoting one of the trophies of Ninurta/Ningirsu, with *ku-lil-ta*. What $ku\cdot li\cdot a n\cdot n a$ denotes in the OB text is not known; it was hardly Dumuzi, who is sometimes called “friend of An”. The later MAss MS has $ku_6\cdot li\cdot a n\cdot n a$, and must have considered the denoted being some sort of (mythological) fish. The SB text apparently associates “friend of An” with the Akkadian loanword $ku\cdot li\cdot li\cdot a n\cdot n a$, “little bride of An” = Akkadian *kulil(i)tu*, an insect since it appears among other insects in *Hh* (cf. Landsberger *Fauna* 136, Cooper *AnOr* 52 149). Although *kulil(i)tu*, “little bride” (an insect) and *kuliltu*, “fish-woman” are not related linguistically, they may have been fused in the mind of the late translator of Angim. The existence of *kuliltu*, “fish-woman” (proving the by-form of the masculine word to have been *kulilu*), became apparent only recently from a NAss administrative document (*CTN* 3 95 B:28: *1-te ku-lil-te ... 2 ku-lil-a-te*) describing statues in the Ezida of Nabû in Kalhu. The two “fish-women” are described after a *sułurmâšu* and a $KU_6.LU.\dot{U}LU-lu$. Monumental representations of apotropaic insects are unknown, and *kuliltu* here cannot have denoted such a being. In art the fish-man appears first in the OB period (Heuzey *R4* 5 131 Fig. C, Porada *CANES* 433, Delaporte *Louvre* II Pl. 76 A 251); thus, if the being was named in this period, *kulullû* is a learned neologism based on the analogy with *girtablullû*; alternatively, it may have been named earlier, before its first appearance in art, when Sumerian was still spoken. In that case *kulullû* is a genuine loanword.

b *Identification*: fish-centaur. This identification was proposed earlier

(Langdon *Epic of Creation* 1923 89⁶) but could not be proved until 1968, when Klengel-Brandt published a fish-centaur from Aššur (*FuB* 10 32 = Rittig *Kleinplastik* 9.1.2) carrying the inscription prescribed by ritual II (II.A.3. 23). An uninscribed example from Aššur was correctly identified by Lutz in 1930 (*UCP* 9/7 383f.), but did not strictly constitute proof. The description of a *kulullū* in *MIO* 1 80:5ff. is, as usual in this text, divergent. Here the *kulullū* has a human upper body, hands, and the head of a *kissugu*, which, whatever it is, is not the head of a human being. Below the waist it is a *purādu*, "carp". The *kulullū* is sometimes mistakenly identified with the fish-*apkallu* (Meissner *BuA* 2 205, Köcher *MIO* 1 95, Edzard *WdM* 100, Borger *JNES* 33 186, Komoróczy *ActAntHung* 21 143).

- c *Attestations*: in art from OB onwards. For more primitive forms, a human-headed fish with arms and a human-headed fish without arms (the latter attested also in OAss. art, cf. Özgür *TTKY* 22 72, *TTKY* 25 43) cf. Collon *CS* III p.45. The SB texts in which the *kulullū* appears go back partly to MB (VII.B.7, 9). Kassite appearances have been briefly discussed by van Buren *OrNS* 23 23 (cf. also Flowing Vase Pl. XX 68, 69, 70) and Porada *AfO* 28 53. For later examples cf. below (apotropaic representations) and e. g. Parker *Iraq* 24 37 Fig. 2 (together with *kusarikku* and fish-*apkallu*), Ward *SC* 657ff., Delaporte *Bib. Nat.* 392, 543.
- d *Mythology*: already with its first appearance in OB, the fish-centaur is together with the *suhurmāšu* associated with Ea and streams (*RA* 5 131 Fig. C, Collon *CS* III 73, 288). In the *Göttertypentext* *MIO* 1 80:12 he is "one of Ea" (*šūt Ea*) and the flowing vase he carries is called *hengallu*, "abundance". The inscription prescribed in ritual II (cf. II.A. 3.23) for apotropaic representations of this being stresses its relation with bounty and divine benevolence: "come down produce of the mountain, enter intercession and compliance" it speaks. The late translator of Angim may have identified the female form (*kuliltu*) with *k u - l i - a n - n a*, one of the trophies of Ninurta/Ningirsu, and so have imbedded her in tradition.
- e *Apotropaic attestations*: in rituals: VII.A.9; in NAss royal inscriptions: *OIP* 2 145:20, *KAV* 74:8 (cf. Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 258ff.);⁴ K. among Isin deities: *RA* 41 36:14; in an NAss administrative document giving measures of statues in the Nabû temple in Kalhu in view of their covering in gold leaf: *CTN* 3 95 B:19 (*KU₆.LÚ.ÙLU.L[U]*), 28 (*ku-lil-te...ku-lil-a-te*, cf. above; also mentioned are 2 *SUHUR.MĀŠ* in the same shrine). In *Kleinplastik*: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 94ff. (cf. 218 for identification, Green *Iraq* 45 Pl. XVb, photograph of *Kleinplastik* 9.1.3, and for another inscribed example, *Trésors du Musée de Bagdad* no 141 = IM 3337). Monumental examples: Mallowan *N & R* I 234f. Fig. 198 (outside the Nabû temple in Kalhu) conforming to the text *CTN* 3 95 describing the same shrine. The female variant present here according to the same text has not been found, but for an example cf. Unger *RIV* 8 "Mischwesen" § 5. For further discussion of the colossi of the Nabû temple cf. Madhloom *Chronology* 99f., with further literature. [See now Green *Iraq* 48 25ff.].

10 *suhurmāšu*, "Carp-Goat".

- a *Word*: the few examples of *suhur-maš/máš^{ku6}* in Sumerian texts indicate that the being denoted was a real fish, rather than a monster (*EWO* 96 with the comments of Falkenstein *ZA* 56 62, Wilcke *Lugalbanda* 392ff., Falkenstein *SGL* 1 81:16). The Akkadian loanword *suhurmāšu* may have retained this denotation (in omens: *KAR* 300:15; in *OrNS* 30 3:32 where the duplicate *SbTU* 2 8 i 30 has *SUHUR^{ku6}*, cf. *CAD* S 352a where an emendation is proposed). Thus we cannot be certain that Akkadian *suhurmāšu* denotes the Carp-Goat in all cases. In art the goat-fish appears at the end of the third millennium (the constellation Carp-Goat may have been formed and named in the same period), and it may be suggested that it owes its form to an etymological interpretation of the fish name: *suhur*, "carp", and *maš/máš*, "goat".
- b *Identification*: Goat-fish. On the basis of etymology this being was identified as the *suhurmāšu* by Jensen *ZA* 5 (1890) 129 and *Kosmologie* (1890) 73ff., 277³. Zimmern apud Frank *LSS* II/2 (1906) 11¹, 34 added the evidence of the Nazimaruttaš *kudurru*, where the goat-fish of Ea is named *su-hur-ma-šu* (*MDP* 2 Pl. 17 iv 5). Final confirmation came from the goat-fish published by Lutz in *UCP* 9/7 (1930) 383f., carrying the inscription prescribed by the ritual for the *suhurmāšu* (= Rittig *Kleinplastik* 10.1, for the inscription cf. II.A.24).
- c *Attestations*: since Ur III, cf. Seidl *BaM* 4 XLIX, and for the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods also Collon *CS* II 412, Buchanan *Yale* 702.
- d *Mythology*: since its appearance in the Ur III period, the goat-fish is associated with water, flowing vases, and Ea. This association is confirmed by the texts (*LKU* 45:16, *MDP* 2 Pl. 17 iv 5). Especially interesting is a LB Sumerian text of MB origin, where he is called *s á n g a - m a h - a b z u - k e 4*, "the lofty purification priest (cf. *CAD* *mullilu* 2) of the ap-sû" (Lambert *Fs Albright* 346:25). Associated with seals is the Carp-Goat of a *bīt mēseri* incantation (III.B.8 = *OrNS* 30 3:18ff. // *SbTU* 2 8 i 20ff., cf. Borger *JNES* 33 192) in which Piriggalabzu, the sage of Adab, hangs his seal on it, angers Ea, and gets killed (by a fuller) with the (same ?) seal in consequence. The inscription prescribed for representations of this being in ritual II (II.A.3.24) indicates intercessory activity. The *e'ru*-stick that the *suhurmāšu* carries (although he has no hands to hold it) in the rituals (cf. p. 84.12b) connects him with exorcism (p. 67f.). Generally the *suhurmāšu* is one of the trophies of Marduk (VII.A.10), but *Ee* leaves him out. Perhaps he was too thoroughly peaceful for the army of Tiāmat.
- e *Apotropaic representations*: in rituals: VII.A.10; in Nass royal inscriptions: *OIP* 2 145:20 (cf. Börker-Klähn *ZA* 70 258ff.), *AfOB* 19 95:11; in an NB royal inscription: *VAB* 4 282:59; in a NAss administrative document enumerating statues in the Nabû temple: *CTN* 3 95 B:15 (cf. above *kulullû*). In Kleinplastik: Rittig *Kleinplastik* 97 (photograph also Green *Iraq* 45 Pl. XVa. Like the *bašmu* and the *mušhušu* of the Kleinplastik this *suhurmāšu* misses its horns). A goat-fish in front of a temple is de-

picted on a MAss seal (Moortgat *ZA* 48 43 Abb. 45a/b). On an object: Thompson *AAA* 18 Pl. XXVII. [see now Green, *Iraq* 48,25ff.].

11 Other apotropaic monsters.

a Lion-Dragon. Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Type X, Reade *BaM* 10 42.

The classical Akkadian lion-dragon (Braun-Holzinger *RLA* 7 97 Type 3a) is preceded in earlier art by a more leonine type (*ibid.* Type 1). Its development (addition of bird parts) is comparable to that of the *mušhuššu*. The lion-dragon is Adad's mount and called *u₄* (VII.C.4), "weather-beast", and probably also *u₄ - k a - d u₄ - h a / ūmu na'iru*, "weather-beast-with-opened-mouth/roaring weather-beast" (cf. *CAD* N/1 150, K 35, ŠL IV/2 58f.). Originally *Anzû* was represented in art by the lion-headed eagle (VII.B.III, Braun-Holzinger *RLA* 7 94ff.). After the Ur III period the lion-headed eagle disappears from art, but representations of *Anzû* continue to be mentioned in the texts (cf. *CAD* A/2 155). Apparently, while Adad's interests shifted from the lion-dragon to the bull, the lion-dragon came to represent *Anzû*. In the Neo-Assyrian period the lion-dragon was split into two beings (a similar split is attested for the *mušhuššu* as well, cf. *RLA* *mušhuššu* 3.5), one (with feathered tail, *RLA* 7 type 3a) the enemy of Ninurta, one (with scorpion's sting, Type 3c) his mount. The monster on which Ninurta had his feet in the MB *Göttertypen* (*MIO* 1 66 i 59', ii 9), that is before the split and therefore Type 3a, is called *Anzû*; the monsters that stand next to his throne in his temple in Kalhu (*Iraq* 14 43 72f.) are referred to with the general term *ušumgallu* (VII.C.2.a.f; for the NAss iconography of Ninurta see Moortgat-Correns, *AfO* 35 117ff.). In the Ur III period *Anzû* was included in the list of defeated enemies of Ninurta/Ningirsu (above III). Later the victory over *Anzû* was ascribed also to other gods (cf. Cooper *AnOr* 52 153ff., Hruška *Anzu* 87ff., Nergal, Adad, Nabû), among them Marduk (VII.B.11, 13). A slightly different earlier Assyrian form of the lion-dragon/*Anzû* (Type 2) occurs on three Lamaštu amulets (27, 34, 35; MAss.! cf. Pedersén *Archives and Libraries* I 120, 125) in the apotropaic function fulfilled on other amulets by Pazuzu or the *kusarikku* (amulet 29).

b A lost slab from room F of Ashurbanipal's North Palace shows, according to descriptions of Lodbell and Rassam (cf. Reade *BaM* 10 41), a being similar to the lion-dragon, only with a scorpion's sting instead of a bird's tail. Reade suggests identity with Pazuzu, but another well known iconographical type (cf. the drawing Seidl *RLA* 3 489 c, Braun-Holzinger *RLA* 7 98 Type 3c) seems a more likely candidate to be covered by the descriptions (Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* 72f.).

c Rittig *Kleinplastik* 21.1 = Green *Iraq* 45 95 and Pl. XIIb. Figure with human and leonine faces. For this unique figure no identification can be proposed. The figure may not be covered by the apotropaic rituals discussed in this book.

D Survey of visual types

The visual types 1–11 correspond to the monsters discussed in VII.C. The other types are discussed elsewhere in this book, or added for contrast. A review of all monsters and non-anthropomorphic gods, including some that were not discussed here, will appear in *RIA* art. *Mischwesen* (A. Green - F.A.M. Wiggemann). Since for a variety of reasons the monsters in that article are numbered differently, we will refer to their *RIA* number here with M. + number.

- 1 (M. 1) *Lahmu*, “Hairy One”.
 - a Amiet *GMA*² 1599, cf Porada *JAOS* 103 477. Proto-literate forerunner.
 - b Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 232. Akkadian.
- 2 (M. 26) *Bašmu*, “Venemous Snake”.

The history of the *bašmu* is not yet completely clear. Positively *bašmu*’s are the snake of the *Kleinplastik* (without horns and forepaws, VII. C. 2b), and the snake-monster with forepaws (and wings) from the palace of Esarhaddon (VII. C. 2a; below c), see the discussion in *RIA* *mušhuššu* §6 (also for ^{mul d}MUŠ).

 - a Collon, *First Impressions* no. 850. Neo-Assyrian.
 - b Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf Babylonischen Tontafeln* Pl. 9 (constellation *Hydra*/^{mul d}MUŠ). Neo-Babylonian.
 - c Barnett - Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III*, Pl. CXII. Neo-Assyrian (Palace of Esarhaddon).
- 3 (M. 27) *Mušhuššu*, “Furious Snake”, “Awful Snake”.
 - a Porada *CANES* 1. Proto-literate forerunner.
 - b Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 283. ED IIIb forerunner.
 - c Frankfort *OIP* no. 331. Akkadian forerunner (addition of snake’s head).
 - b Boehmer *UAVA* 4 Abb. 570. Akkadian. Classical form.

For a full discussion and further variant types (one with wings, one with feathered tail), see *RIA* *mušhuššu*.
- 4 (M. 6) *Ugallu*, “Big Weather-Beast”, “Big Day”.

Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Pl. XII/3. Neo-Assyrian. The Akkadian forerunner has human feet.
- 5 (M. 5) *Ur(i)dimmu*, “Mad Lion”.

Kolbe *Reliefprogramme* Pl. XIV/1 (holding crescent).
- 6 (M. 3) *Kusarikku*, “Bison”, “Bison(-Bull)”.

Amiet *GMA*² 820. ED I.

For the human-faced Bison (a l i m) see below no. 11g.
- 7 (M. 4) *Girtablullū*, “Scorpion-Man”.
 - a Amiet *GMA*² 1245.C. Scorpion with cosmic function. Ed II.
 - b Teissier *ANECS* 335. Ed II/III (?). Seated at table.
 - c Porada *Ancient Art in Seals* Fig. II-20. Akkadian.
 - d Amiet *GMA*² 1246.C. Neo-Assyrian.

See also below 12 (Seidl *BaM* 4 Type XLV).
- 8 (M. 20) *Urmahlullū*, “Lion-Man”.

D.M. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later*

Second Millennium B.C. no. 393. Middle Assyrian.

9 (M. 22) *Kulullû*, "Fish-Man".
Matthews *ibid.* 141. Kassite.

10 (M. 23). *Suhurmāšu*, "Carp-Goat".
Matthews *ibid.* 529. Middle Assyrian.

11 Lion-headed Eagle (M. 14; third millennium *A n z u d /Anzû*), and Lion-Dragon (M. 25; *u₄- k a -d u h -h a /kaduhhû/ūmu na'iru*. Second and first millennium *Anzû*).
a Amiet *GMA*² 1602 (M.A. Brandes *FAOS* 3/II Pl. 12). Protoliterate forerunner of Lion-headed Eagle (cf. Fuhr-Jaeppe, *Materialien zur Ikonographie des Löwenadlers Anzu-Imdugud* 6ff., 87ff., *RIA Löwenadler* §1a)
b Amiet *GMA*² 1268. ED Lion-headed Eagle, *RIA Löwenadler* §1b Type A.
c Amiet *GMA*² 1278. ED Lion-headed Eagle, *RIA Löwenadler* §1b Type B.
d Amiet *GMA*² 1268. ED forerunner of Lion-Dragon, *RIA Löwendrache* §1.
e Amiet *GMA*² 1278. ED forerunner of Lion-Dragon, *RIA Löwendrache* §1.
f Boehmer *UAVA* 4 373. Akkadian and classical form of the Lion-Dragon. *RIA Löwendrache* §3a.
g Amiet *GMA*² 1268. Human-faced Bison (VII. C. 6, alim).
Note the addition of bird parts (talons, feathered tail) in the development of the *mušhuššu* (3), the Lion-headed Eagle, the Lion-Dragon, the Scorpionman (7), and the *ugallu* (4).

12 (M. 15) Scorpion-tailed Bird-Man. Identification uncertain, but possibly identical with 7 above.
Collon, *First Impressions* no. 356. Neo-Assyrian.

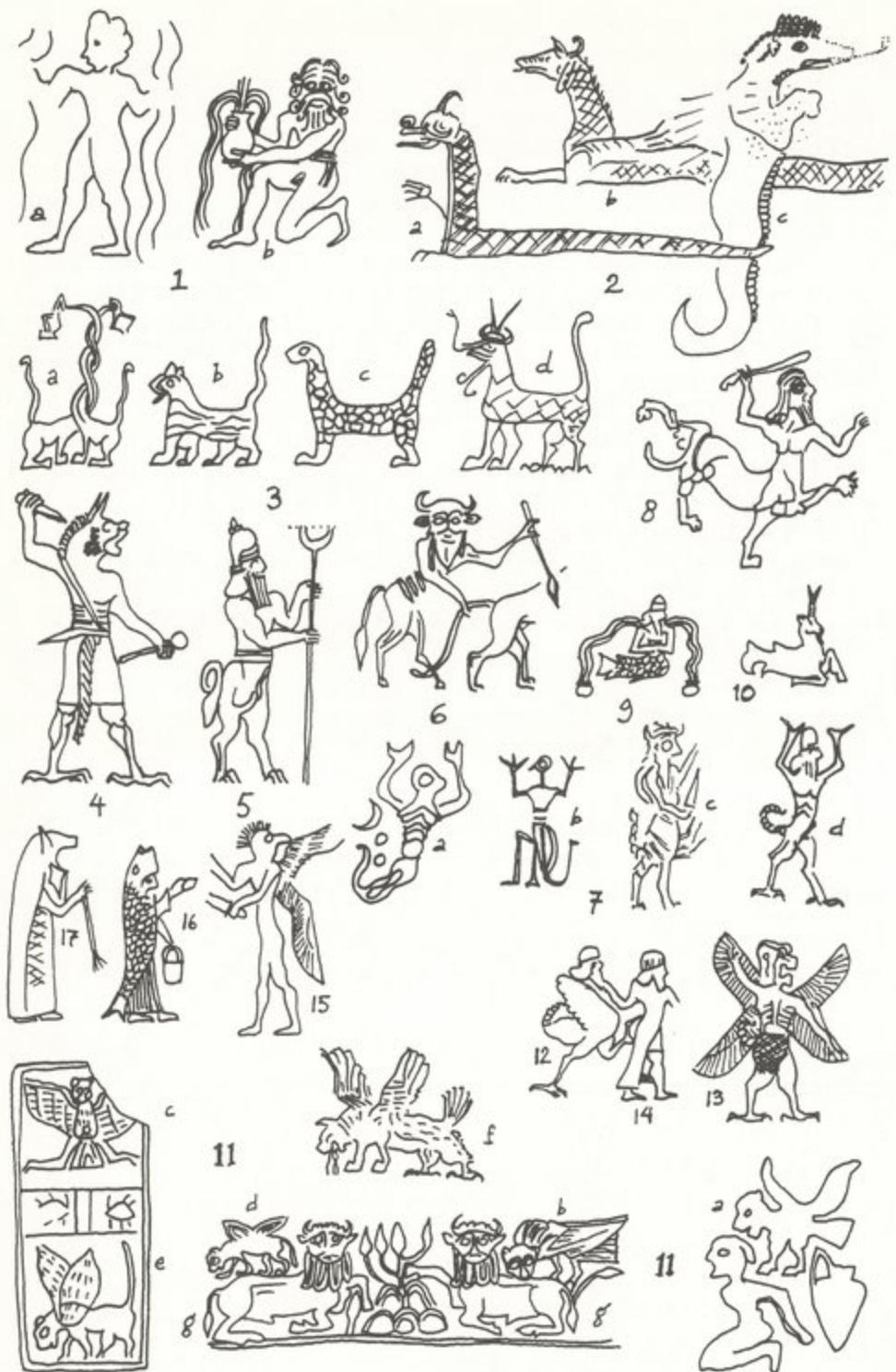
13 (M. 10) Pazuzu, see index.
Drawing from Saggs *AfO* 19 123ff. Fig. 3, and *Lamaštu-amulet* 40d.

14 (M. 31) Genie, see p. 79f., and II. A. 4. B *ūmu-apkallu* (I)
Collon, *First Impressions* no. 346. Neo-Assyrian.

15 (M. 9) Griffin-Demon, identified as the bird-*apkallu*, see II. A. 4. B (II).
Mathews *ibid.* 283. Middle Assyrian.

16 (M. 8) Fish-garbed figure, identified as the fish-*apkallu*, see II. A. 4. B (III)
Mathews *ibid.* 196. Kassite.

17 (M. 7) Lion-garbed figure, identified as Latarak, see index.
Ellis, *Finkelstein Memorial Volume* 76 Fig. 3. Neo-Assyrian.



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The abbreviations are those current in Assyriology, and can be found in R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, Band II (1975), or in the bibliographical lists of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of the Chicago* edited by E. Reiner, and of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* edited by D. O. Edzard. In addition to the less common abbreviations, we list here those bibliographical items that are of special importance to the present study, or not included in the bibliographies cited above.

<i>AAA</i> 22	see Gurney, O.R.
<i>AASOR</i> 24	see Porada, E.
<i>ABZ</i>	see Borger, R.
<i>ANECS</i>	see Teissier, B.
<i>Angim</i>	see Cooper, J.S.
<i>AOAT</i> 27	see Collon, D.
<i>BaFo</i>	Baghdader Forschungen
4	see Börker-Klähn, J.
7	see Behm-Blancke, M.R.
<i>BaM</i> 10	see Reade, J.
<i>BaMB</i>	Baghdader Mitteilungen, Beiheft
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Behm-Blancke, M.R.	Das Tierbild in der Altmesopotamischen Rundplastik, <i>BaFo</i> 7(1979)
<i>BID</i>	see Farber, W.
Bleibtreu, E. <i>Flora</i>	Die Flora der Neuassyrischen Reliefs (1980)
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Borger, R. <i>ABZ</i>	Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste (1978)
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FAOS Freiburger Altorientalische Studien

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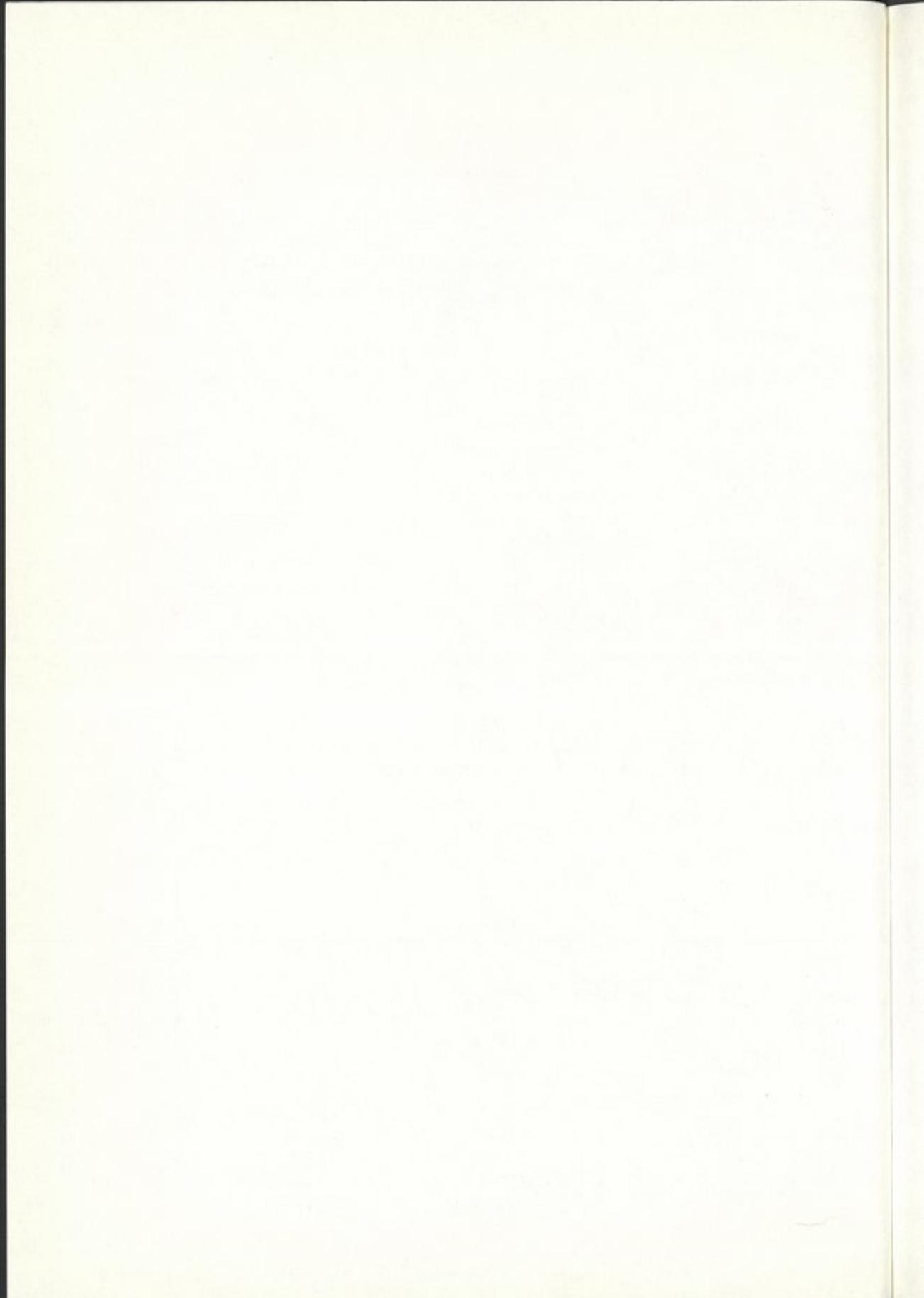
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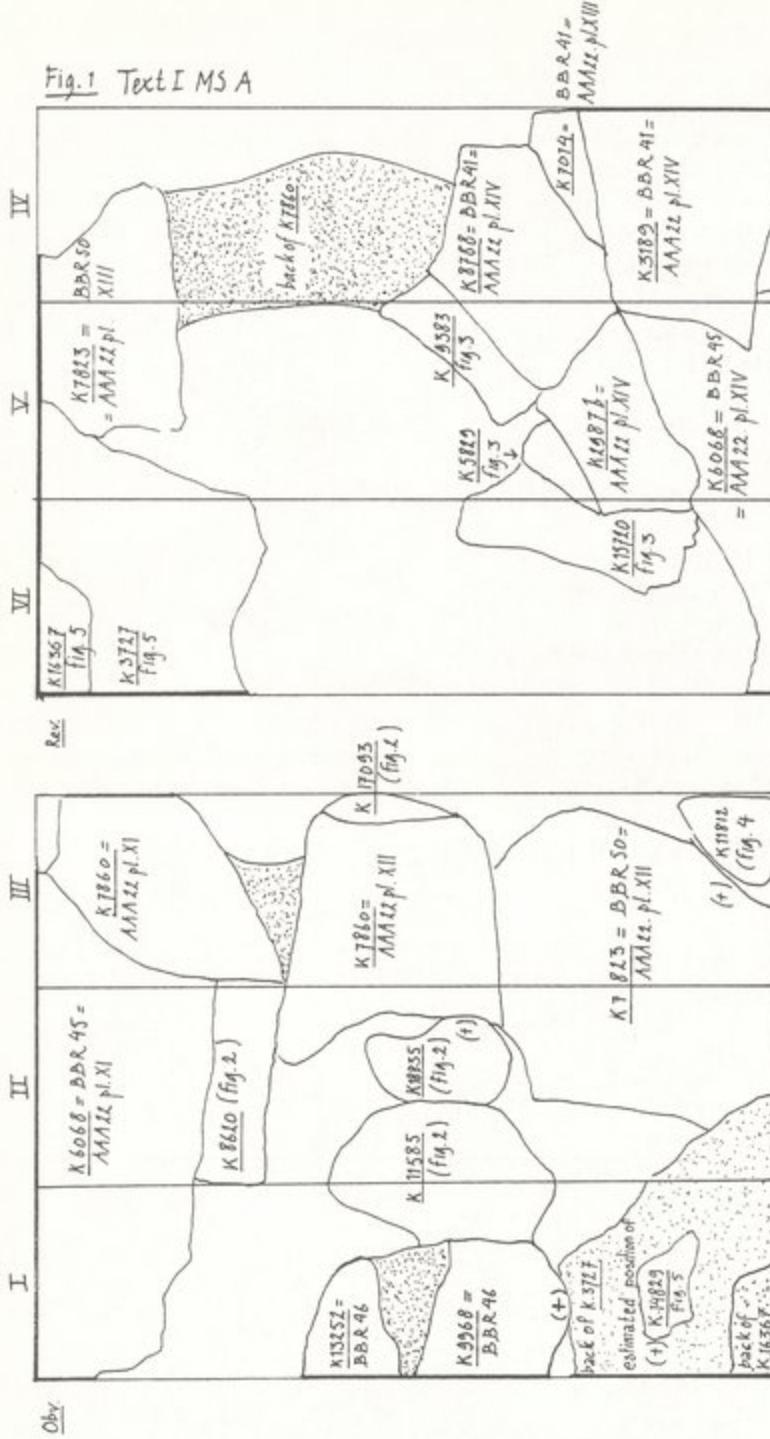
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PLATES

Fig. 1 Text I MS A, map	196
2 Text I MS A Obv. (K 2987B+ (+) K 9968+)	197
3 Text I MS A Rev. (K 2987B+, lower part)	198
4 Text I MS A Obv. (K 11812)	199
5 Text I MS A Rev. (K 2987B+, upper part)	199
Text I MS D (K 13980)	
Text I MS A i (K 14829)	
6 Text I MS A iii 49, collation (K 2987B+)	200
7 Text I MS C (DT. 186)	200
8 Text I MS B (Sm 711)	201
Text III F (K 4656+)	
9 Text I MS B, map	201
10 Text II, collations (VAT 8228)	202
11 Text V MS B Obv. (K 2496)	204
12 Text V MS B Rev. (K 2496)	205
13 Text IV Obv. (K 9873+)	206
14 Text IV Rev. (K 9873+)	207
15 Text V MS a Obv. (BM 64517)	208
16 Text V MS a Rev. (BM 64517)	209
Text V MS C (K 10232)	
17 Text IV/1 (BM 74119)	210
Text V MS D (K 8026)	
18 Text 1/4 7'ff., collations to BM 93078	211
19 Text VI, duplicate (BM 121052)	211
20 K 6013+	212

Fig. 1 Text I MSA



Text I Ms A. K.16635 + K.7860 + touch; the fact that both pieces are part of one tablet is proven not only by their contents, but also by the matching dividing lines; K.9968 and K.3727 also touch K.11812 does not join K.7825 + K.14829 does not join the back of K.3727.



Fig. 2
24x17 cm (complete tablet)

Text I MSA

Coll. BBR 47 col. II
 2: $\Gamma \times \times \text{[REDACTED]} \text{ IM } 316.316$
 3: $\text{MA } \text{[REDACTED]} \dots] = \text{MA } \text{MURUB.316.316}$
 8: $\text{qis } \text{I } \times \text{[REDACTED]}$
 12: no traces of division line after 12

Coll. to Col. III

16 clearly 'e'-nam
 19: $\text{[REDACTED]} \text{, MA } \text{[REDACTED]}$
 21: end: $\text{KAM } \text{DU4 } \text{[REDACTED]}$
 26: after 26 only one line is
 completely missing
 '35' to '36' $\text{[REDACTED]} \text{-MA}$
 '32' [REDACTED] is on the tablet

'35' end - '36' on [REDACTED]

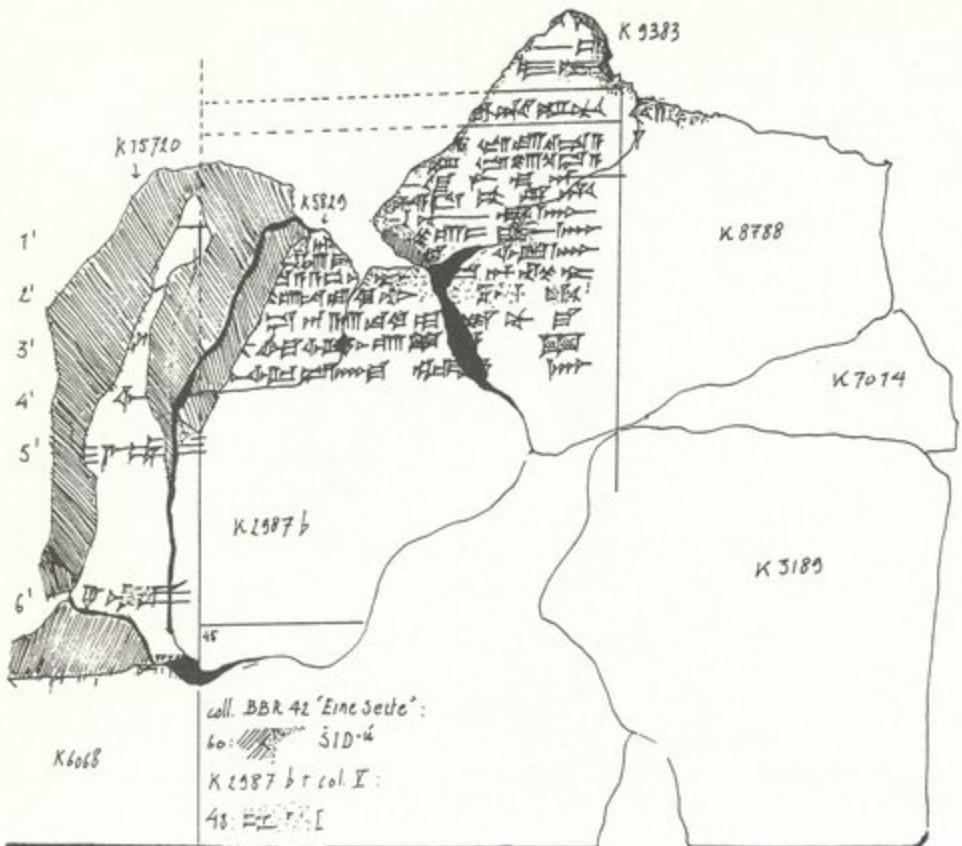


Fig. 3
13x15 cm.

Col. VI:

from the first line of the colophon
to the end of the column: 9.2 cm
The traces of the colophon on K2587 b
were not copied by Guray

coll. to col. IV

after line 16 and before line 53
4.3 cm is completely broken away.
This amounts to 12 x 15 lines of
text in the same column

47: ana DINGIR ~~3~~

49: 31R ~~3~~

57: 31T

60: erasure before KA

61: begins: ~~3~~

63: [ina] 31T. rim

64: ~~3~~

Fig. 4 4 x 5,8 cm. Text I MS A obr. iii

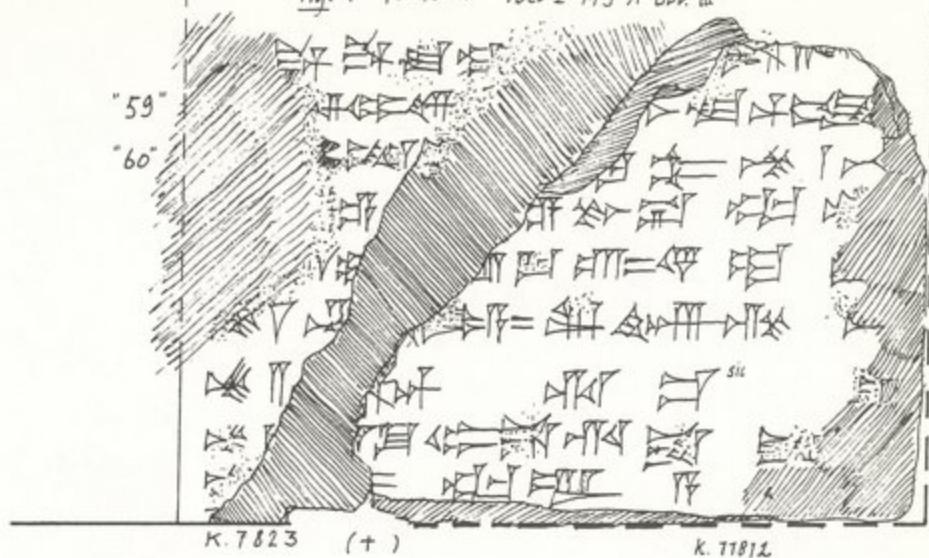


Fig. 5
6,5 x 11 cm.

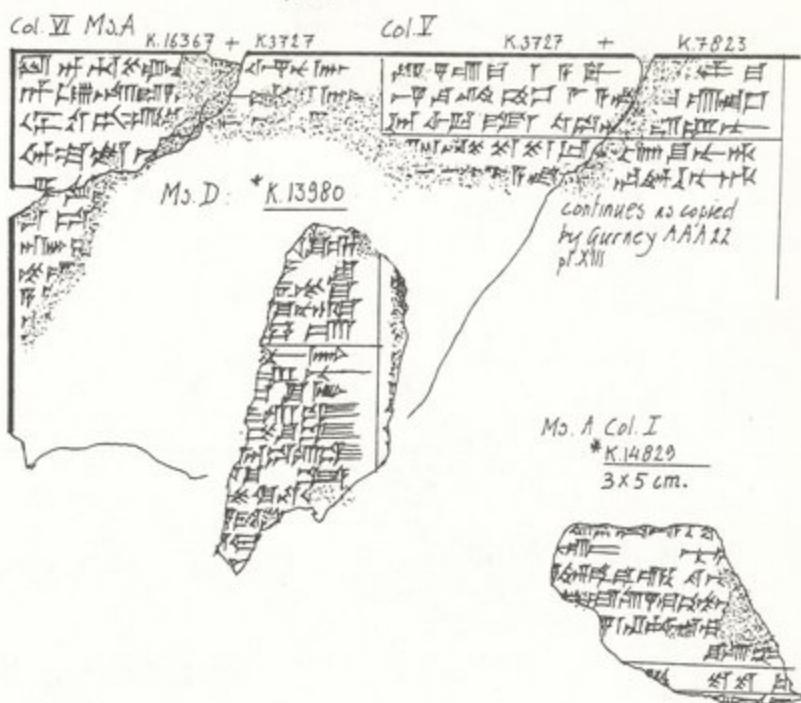


Fig. 6 Collation of text I MS A iii 49 (K 2987 B+)

184

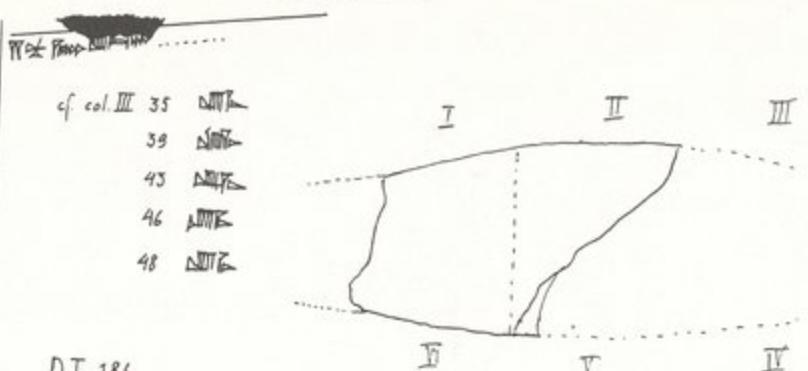
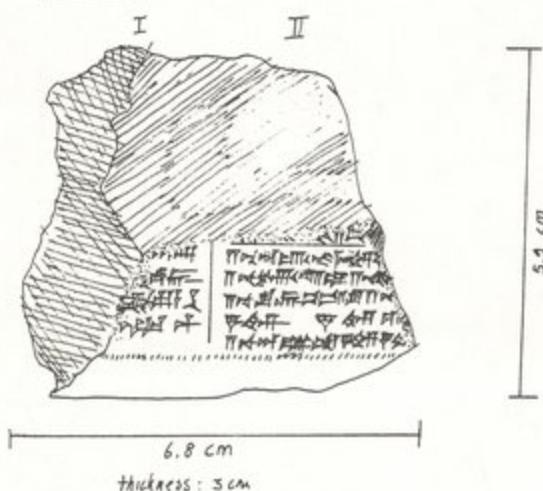


Fig. 7

D.T. 186

Obv.



Rev.



Fig. 8



K4656 + K8741



Fig. 9. Relative Positions of the constituent parts of Text I B

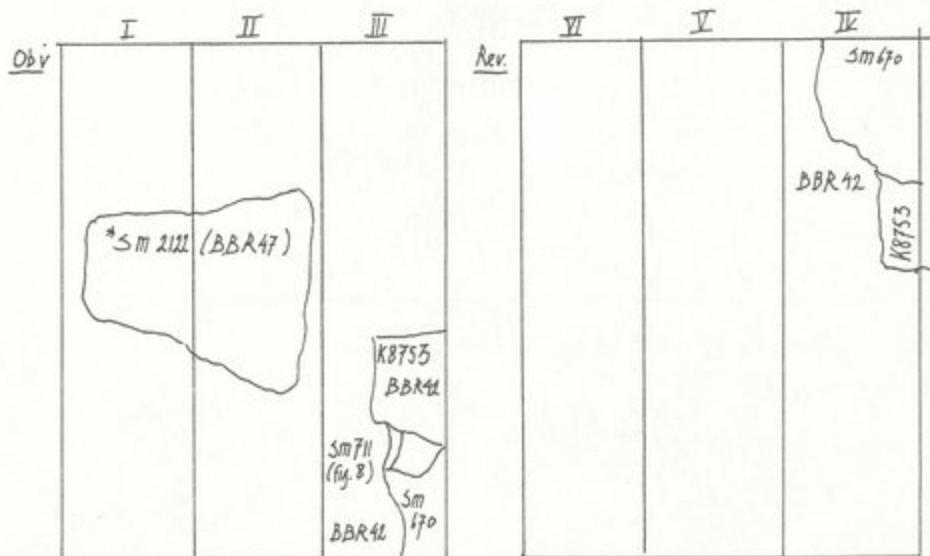


Fig. 10 Collations to text II KAR 298 = VAT 8228

Obv. 1. No signs between "ES" and ॥. End: ॥ É MA

3. ša , not ina KA cf. UGU in 5:

10. u₄-mu ša

13. PA.MEŠ MUSEN -e-ti

15.

20. GU.ZA

22.

24. End:

27. End:

38. ; end: (break)

42. a-a-bu

43. NU.MEŠ IM ša

45. [NUMEŠ GUD] IM; [N]A would look like

46.

48. ina GÁB-ŠU-nu

Rev. 1. After the break:

6. ... IM.BABBAR [ina] A-ŠU-nu

9. Begins:

11. Begins: bi-ni

12. TI.LA .NI.IR (read HE.ZAL.ZAL')

17. Begins:

23. ... BURU₅ KUR.RA

24. "SIG₅":

26. Begins:

27. Begins:

28. ... UR.GU.LA

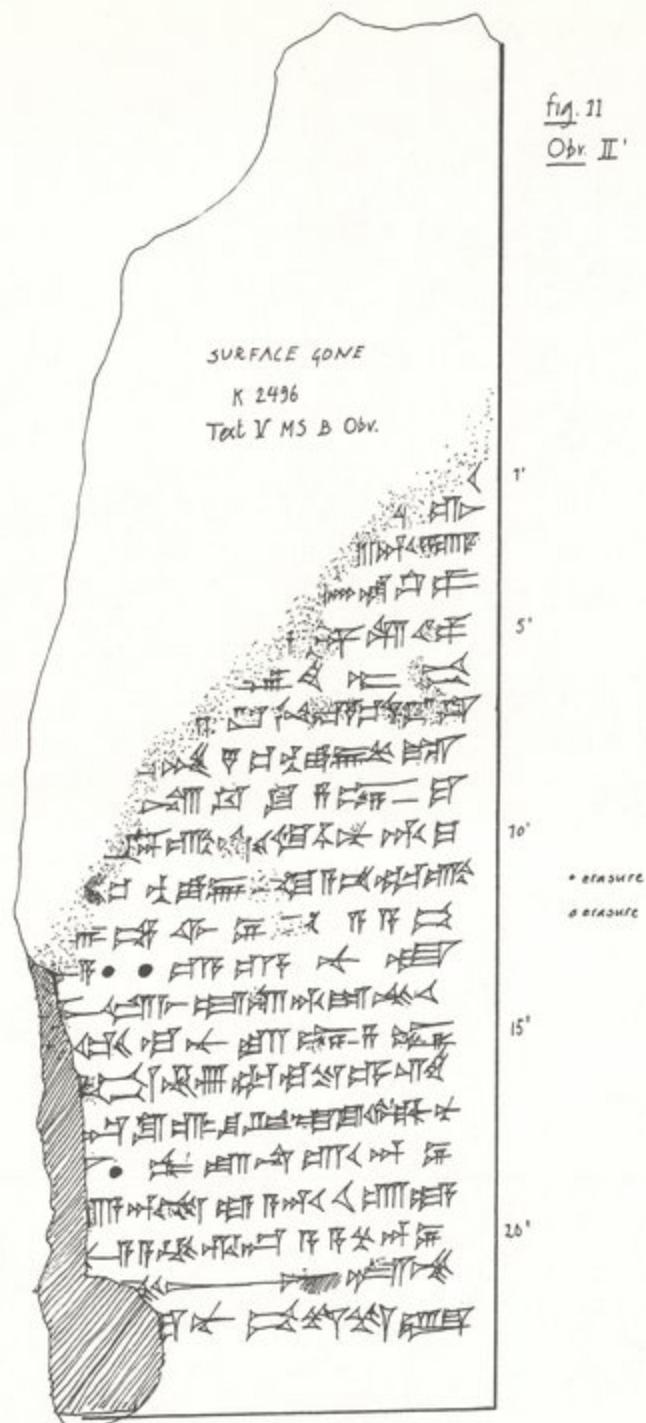
35. ... ina ŠA? UB.MES?

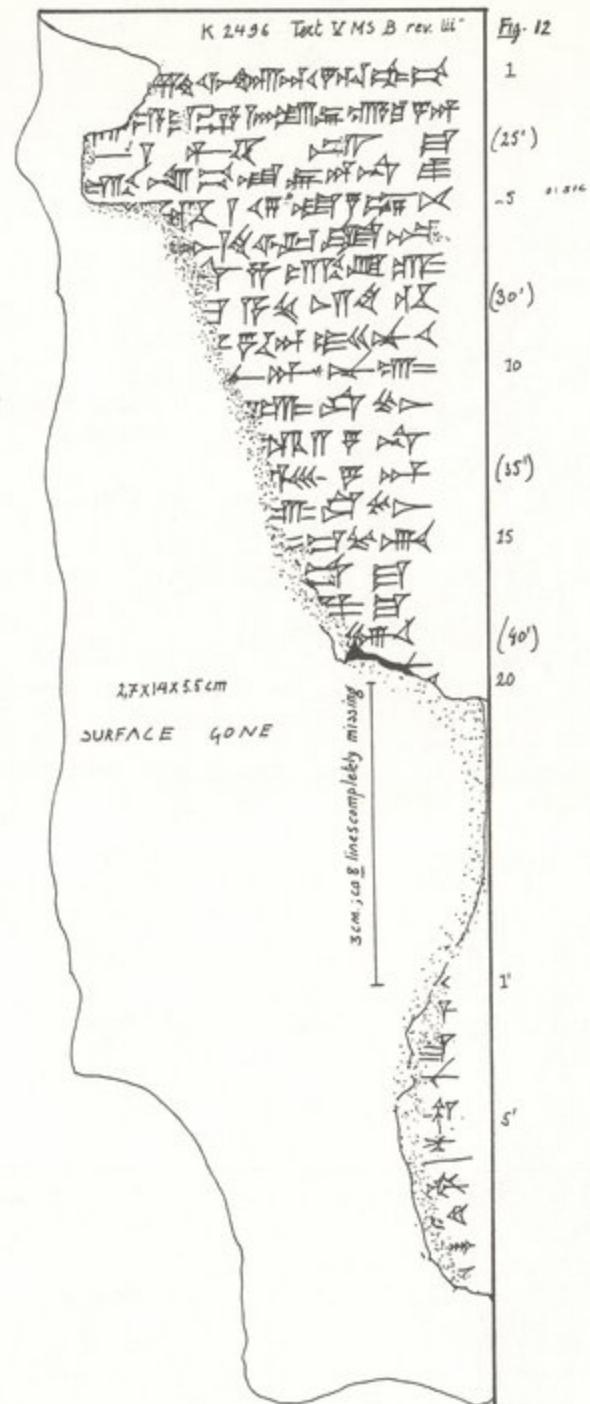
36. Second plant:

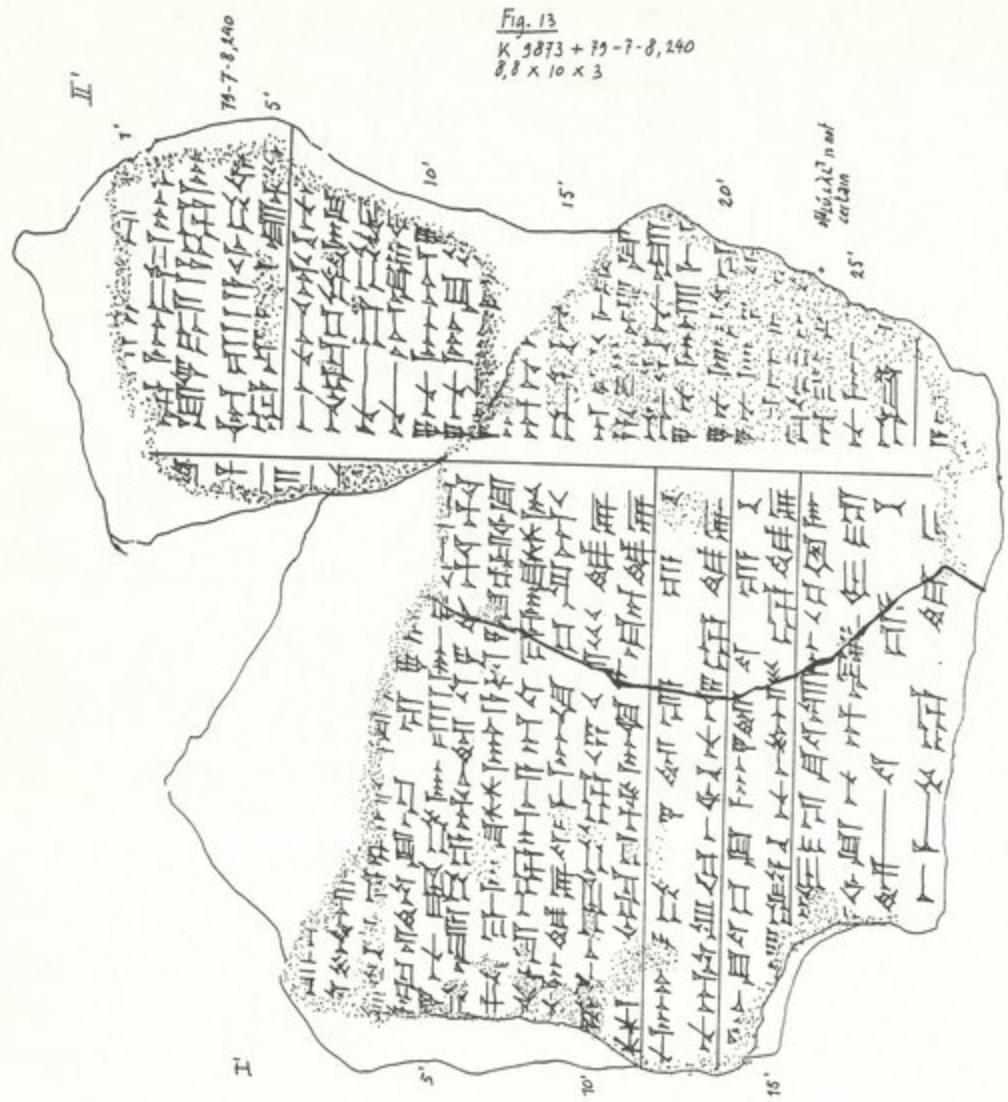
38. ... ina É NA KUD-si NUMUN

39. ... ina LÀL KUR.RA u

fig. 11
Obr. II'









BM 69517 : Bl. 3-1f, 4457
10.5 x 7.5 x 1.5 cm
Obv.



Fig. 15

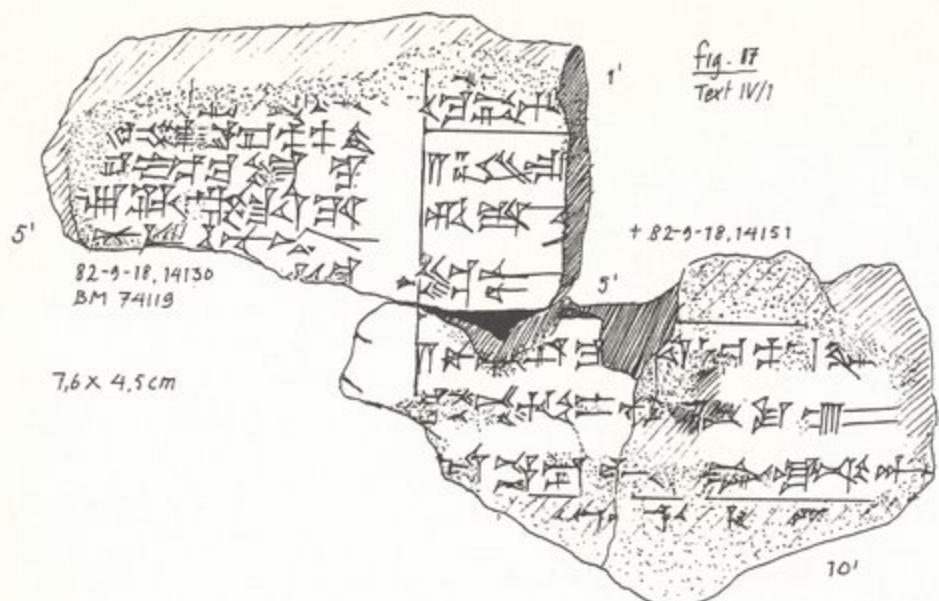
Fig. 16



BM 64517 = 81-9-18, 4497
10.5 x 7.5 x 2.3 cm

K.10231.
6 x 5.3 cm.

Text V
MS C



K8026
5 x 7,5 cm.

Text IV MS.D

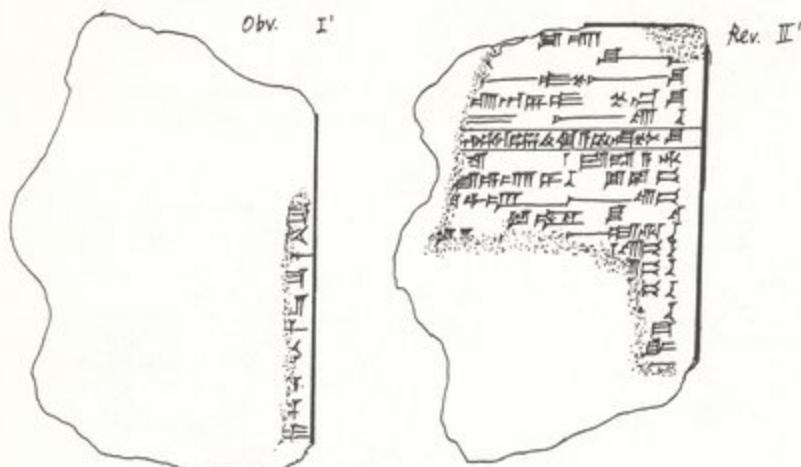


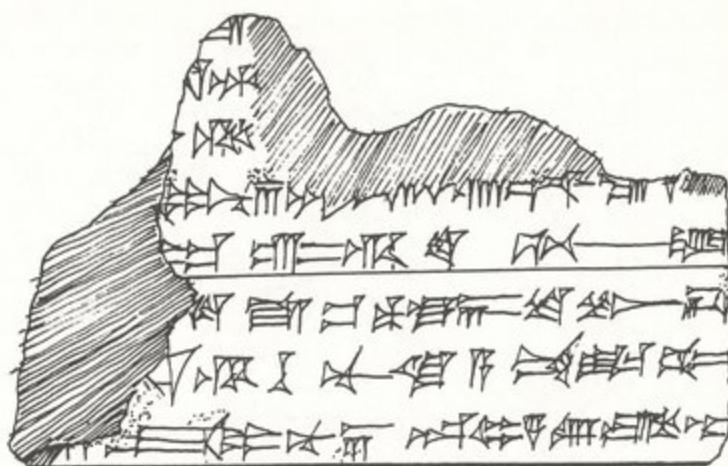
Fig.18. Collations to BM 93078 (I/4)

- 1.
4. la-
5. mu- -bu
7. la mu-
8. , MES-šú

Fig.19 BM 121052 = TH. 1925, 10.12, 48

Text VI

6,7 x 4,1 cm



K6013 + K8106 + K16001
10,4 x 8,4 x 2

Fig. 20



INDICES

A Iconographical items and selected words

Ab gal	deity: 76 (also a profession; spellings); see <i>apkallu</i>
<i>Adapa</i>	sage: 71
<i>agū</i>	tiara: 55f.
<i>aguḥḥu</i>	# shawl: 57
alim	Bison (real and mythological being): 147ff., 150 (earliest history); 152 (associated with Utu); 160 (symbolic); 161 (attacked by Anzū); 175; 186f. (line drawing 11g)
alim-munus	175 ³
<i>alimbū</i>	175 ²
Anzū	lion-headed eagle, later lion-dragon: 44; 146 (fastened to Ekur); 146 (defeated enemy); 147; 147ff.; 150 (Heavy Cloud, earliest history); 152; 159ff. (associated with Enlil); 156 (relation with water and cosmic function); 161 (attacks human-headed bison); 185 (identification); 186f. (line drawing 11a-c)
<i>apkallu /a b g al</i>	sage: XI (identification); 39 (incantation on relief); 65 (in bedroom); 71; 96
ūmu-apkallu	anthropomorphic (winged) sage with headband (a figure): 46; 65; 73ff.; 102f.; 114; 116; 128; cf. 186f. (14, Genie)
bird-apkallu	sage/griffin-demon (a figure): 48; 65; 75f.; 99f.; 102f.; 116; 128; 186f. (line drawing 15)
fish-apkallu	sage/fish-garbed figure: 48; 65; 76f.; 99f.; 102f.; 116; 128; 186f. (line drawing 16)
ara gišimmar /p a g iš- gišimmar	frond of the date palm (used in purification rituals): 44; 69; 77 (identification); 130
ārib šadī	an apotropaic bird (a figure): 45; 90; 139; 140
arqu	a colour: 55
asakku (á - z á g)	an enemy of Ninurta ("Disorder"): 150; 162
banduddū	bucket (held by figures): 61; 66; 86; 102; 139; 141
bašmu /u š u m and mu š-š à -t ù r	Venomous-Snake (a figure): 28 ¹⁸⁵ (spelling-TUR/TŪR); 43; 49; 99f.; 102f.; 128; 139; 141; 143; 153; 166ff.; 186f. (line drawing 2)
billatu	127 ⁸ (syllabic spelling)
bīnu	tamarisk, material of certain figures; 25 ²⁹ (incantation); 115; 116
bīnūt apsē	creatures of Apsū (designation of certain figures): 24 ²⁸ ; 60; 65; 76; 87; 164
bīnūt šamē	creatures of Heaven (designation of certain figures): 24 ²⁸ ; 60; 65; 87

<i>bītu šaniu</i>	48
<i>Bunene</i>	deity: 153 (vizier of Utu and monster slayer)
<i>burāšu</i> (GIŠ.ŠINIG.KUR.RA)	juniper tree/wood: 138
<i>burumu</i>	multicoloured (cover of figures): 55
<i>būru ekdu</i>	bull of Adad: 176 ¹⁰
 DĀLA GIŠIMMAR	 34 ³⁴ (PAD-)
<i>da'matu</i>	a shade of blue (cover of figures): 54f.
<i>diliptu</i>	a (symptom of) disease: 95ff.
<i>Ditān</i>	deified bison, and forebear of <i>Ditnu</i> -tribe; 174
<i>ditnu</i>	a tribe: 152; 174
<i>di'um</i>	a disease: 24 ¹² ; 45; 69; 95ff.
<i>d u m u - d U t u</i>	son of Utu (used metaphorically): 176 ¹⁰
 <i>Ebih</i>	deity (mountain): 153 (defeated enemy of Inanna); 155
<i>Enki</i>	deity: 152 (associated with Hairy-One and Carp-Goat); 160 (associated with ibex)
<i>Enkum</i>	deity: 71, 76
<i>Enlil</i>	deity: 152, 159ff. (original master of Anzû)
<i>e n - m e (- e n)</i>	in names of sages: 77
<i>Ensimah</i>	deity (apotropaic): 66, 116
<i>é - n u n</i>	see <i>kummu</i>
<i>enzātu arqātu</i>	yellow goats: 117
<i>erru</i>	headband (of figures): 58
<i>e'ru</i>	a kind of wood (cornel) of which figures are made, and a stick or mace made of that wood: 60; 65; 67f. (charred at both ends); 78 (short stick); 87; 102; 114; 115; 116
 <i>esēhu</i>	to endow with something by hatching: 27 ¹⁷³
<i>eṣemti ilūti</i>	bone of divinity (designation of tamarisk wood): 60
<i>eṣṣebū</i>	an incantation specialist: 70, 84
<i>lubūš e.</i>	110
<i>gadamahju</i>	a garment: 57
<i>g a k k u l</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>gallū</i>	designation of monsters: 145; 164
<i>gamlu</i>	curved staff (tool of the exorcist); 53; 61; 62 (divine symbol); 78 (identification); 102
<i>gaṣṣu</i>	gypsum (cover of figures): 54
<i>g i r - s i . g</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>girtablullū</i>	Scorpion-Man (a figure): 52; 86; 100; 102f.; 128; 143f.; 146; 147ff., 150 (earliest history); 149 (cosmic function); 152 (associated with Utu); 180ff.; 186f. (line drawing 7, 12)
 <i>g i š(MUNUS.NITAH)</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>g i š - d a m / n a</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>gišimmar</i>	palm (defeated enemy of Ninurta), see <i>lugal-giš-gišimmar</i>

gitlam	82 (syllable spelling)
^d GU4.UD	deity: 178
^d GUD	see Šeriš
^d GUD.ALIM	see <i>kusarikku</i>
gud-a-n-na	Bull of Heaven (humped bull): 176 ¹⁰
^d gud-gal-a-n-na	deity: 176 ¹⁰
GUD.DUMU. ^d UTU	see <i>kusarikku</i>
GUD.DUMU.AN.NA	see <i>kusarikku</i>
Gula	deity: 90; 116; 162 (goddess of healing, combats <i>asakku</i>)
haltappū/hultuppū	a type of mace (held by figures): 65; 68
hašinnu	a type of axe (held by figures): 35; 60; 102
hattu	staff (held by figures): 68; 69; 141
hengallu	designation of flowing vase: 66
hibiltu	a (symptom of) disease: 95ff.
hultuppū	see <i>haltappū</i>
Humbaba	a monster: 146 (head brought to Enlil); 150 (face, apotropaic grin; iconography)
Hurriš	deity in form of Bull: 178f.
hušx(KUD)	82 (syllabic spelling)
hutpalū	a type of mace (held by figures): 38; 61; 102; 128
idim	wild: 172; 176 ¹⁶ (equated with <i>kusarikku</i>)
Igisigsig	deity (gardener of Anu/Enlil): 69; 115
il bīti	god of the house (a figure): 42; 43; 48; 50; 57; 58f.; 63f. 79 (purifier); 102f.; 128; 138; 174
illūru	flower: 78 (held by <i>lamassu</i>)
im-babbar	gypsum (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 154
IM.GI ₆	a colour (cover of figures): 54
Iskur	deity: 152 (associated with <i>ugallu</i> and <i>ūmu nā'iru</i>)
išpatu	quiver (held by figures): 102
Ištar	deity: 111 (in the window); 116; 117
ištar bīti	goddess of the house: 138
Išum	deity (apotropaic): 114; 116
^d IZI.GAR	see <i>Nuru</i>
kakku	mace, weapon (held by figures): 60; 68; 102; 116
^d Kakkabtu	deity (star symbol): 174
kakkabu	star (symbol on amulets): 62
kalbu	dog (figure): 53; 58f.; 98 (position); 102f.; 116; 128
kalbu šegū	mad dog (u r - i d i m): 172
kalgukku	a colour (cover of figures): 54
kalū	a colour (cover of figures): 54
kamsūtu	kneeling ones (figures): 79 (purifiers); 117; 128; 141
kanū D	26 ⁸
karābu	to greet, bless (implying a gesture with the hand): 61; 78 (identification); 102

<i>kattillu</i>	24 ⁸
<i>kigallu</i>	pedestal: 57f.
<i>Kilili</i>	deity: 111 (Ištar in the window); 182
<i>kullatu</i>	clay-pit: 26 ¹⁴⁵ (rituals at); 127
<i>k u - l i - a n - n a</i>	154 (defeated enemy of Ninurta); 182
<i>kulil(l)u</i>	see <i>kulullū</i>
<i>kuliltu</i>	Fish-Woman (a figure); little-bride-of-An (an insect): 182.
<i>kulullū</i>	Fish-Man (a figure): 44; 52; 76 (# fish-garbed figure); 86; 102f.; 128; 129f.; 143; 146; 182f.; 186f. (line drawing 9)
<i>kummu</i> (É.NUN)	bedroom: 65; 107f.
<i>KUR</i>	see <i>niphu</i>
<i>kurību</i>	name of a figure (griffin): 181
<i>kusarikku</i> (GUD.ALIM, GUD.	Bison(-Bull) (a figure): XI ^f . (identification), XIII ³ ; 42; 51f.;
DUMU. AN.NA, GUD.DUMU. ^d UTU)	100; 102f.; 128; 139; 141; 143; 146; 147ff., 150 (earliest history); 153 (enemy of Utu); 174ff.; 186f. (line drawing 6)
<i>labbu</i>	a mythological monster: 154 (myth); 159 (myth); 168 (myth)
<i>la - ḥ a - ma</i>	see <i>lahmu</i>
<i>lahmu</i>	Hairy-One (a figure): XI (identification); 28 ¹⁸⁴ ; 42; 49; 99f.; 102f.; 128; 139; 143; 148ff.; 150 (earliest history); 152 (associated with Enki); 155f. (cosmic function); 164ff.; 186f. (line drawing 1)
<i>lamassu</i>	protective goddess; designation of a type of deities: 78 (holds flower); 79; 176 ⁹ ; 186f. (Genie)
<i>l. bīti</i>	50; 138; 174
<i>Lamaštu</i>	baby snatching she-demon:
amulets	XIII ¹ (additions to list); 62 (divine symbols on); 64 (<i>ugallu</i> and <i>Lulal</i> on); 64 (chased by <i>Latarak</i>); 72 (<i>urigallu</i> /animal-headed staffs on); 74 (anthropomorphic <i>apkallu</i> on); 76 (fish- <i>apkallu</i> on); 112 (prayer of sick man to the lamp <i>Nuska</i>); 172 (<i>ugallu</i> on); 179 (<i>kusarikku</i> on); 185 (variant lion-dragon on)
ritual	29 ^{194,195} ; 62; 80
<i>Latarak</i>	deity (apotropaic figure): 37; 52; 60; 64 (identification); 86; 102f.; 116; 117; 128; 144; 186f. (line drawing 17)
<i>lemnūtu Erra</i>	Evildoers of Erra (demons): 96
<i>libbi gišimmarī</i>	offshoot of the date palm: 68f. (purification instrument); 69; 78 (identification); 84f. (spellings); 102; 115
<i>lubūšu</i>	a garment: 55ff.
<i>l. eššebē</i>	110
<i>Lugalgirra</i>	deity (apotropaic figure): 25 ⁹⁷ (double god); 31 ²⁹⁰ ; 38; 47; 58f.; 102f.; 116; 128

<i>lugal-giš-gišimmar</i>	King Date Palm (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 154
<i>Lugalkurdub</i>	deity: 160 (not identical with Anzû)
<i>Lulal</i>	deity (apotropaic figure): 37; 52; 57; 60; 63f. (identified as god with raised fist); 86; 100; 102f.; 116; 117; 128; 144
<i>lú-ùlu/lullû</i>	untamed (?) man: 179 (in compositions <i>girtab-</i> , <i>urmah-</i> , <i>ku-</i>); 181; 182
<i>má-gi-lum</i>	a type of (mythological) ship (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 154
<i>makurru</i>	model of <i>m.</i> ship used in rituals: 25 ¹¹⁸ , 45, 90; 139
<i>Marduk</i>	deity, monster slayer: 107; 112; 115
<i>marru</i>	spade (divine symbol, held by figures): 42; 86; 102
<i>massarū ša Ea u Marduk</i>	designation of apotropaic figures: 111
<i>Mašmaš</i>	deity: 38 (twin god)
<i>Maštabba</i>	(epithet of a deity): 26 ¹²⁴ (twin god); 38; 117
<i>mašhultuppû</i>	apotropaic goat: 77; 114
<i>m e d d a</i>	153 (god's weapon; Semitic loanword)
<i>mēlū</i>	apotropaic figure: 45 (not the deified staircase); 90
<i>Meslamtaea</i>	deity (apotropaic figure): 25 ⁹⁷ (double god); 31 ²⁹⁰ ; 38; 47; 58f.; 62; 102f.; 116; 128
<i>miserru</i>	girdle: 58
<i>Mukil mē balāti</i>	a deity, servant of Marduk: 146
<i>mullilu</i>	cleaner (a purification instrument): 67; 78 (cone, angular object); 102; 115
<i>MUNUS.NITAḪ</i>	see <i>giš</i>
<i>mušhuššu</i>	Furious-Snake, Aweful-Snake (a figure): 49; 99f.; 102f.; 128; 143; 145; 146; 147ff.; 150 (earliest history); 151 (associated with Ninazu); 159 (in <i>Labbu</i> -myth); 168f.; 186f. (line-drawing 3)
<i>mušmahhu</i>	a seven-headed snake: 145; 147; 164 (seven-headed dragon)
<i>m u š - s a g - i m i n</i>	Seven-Headed Snake (a dragon): 153; 162
<i>m u š - š à - t ù r / t u r</i>	see <i>bašmu</i>
<i>mūtānū</i>	plague: 91ff.; 95ff.
<i>mūtu</i>	death (a figure): 110; 116
<i>Nabû</i>	deity: 162 (monster slayer); 163
<i>Nādin-mē-qāti</i>	a deity, servant of Marduk: 146
<i>Narudda</i>	a goddess (figure): 26 ¹³⁸ (reading); 47; 58f.; 102f.; 116; 128
<i>nāš patri</i>	(figures) carrying daggers (designation of Sebette): 47
<i>Nedu</i>	see <i>Pētū</i>
<i>Nergal</i>	deity (figure): 38 (^d MAŠ.MAŠ); 71 (^d URÌ.GAL); 95 (god of plague);
<i>Níg-babbar</i>	gypsum (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 154
<i>Ninazu</i>	151 (associated with <i>mušhuššu</i>); 152
<i>Ningirsu</i>	deity, monster slayer: 153; 160 (associated with lion); 162 (mythology); 174

<i>Ninhursag</i>	deity: 160 (associated with stag)
<i>Ninkum</i>	deity: 71, 76
<i>Ninšubura</i>	deity (figure): 56 (clothed); 127 (in rituals)
<i>Ninurta</i>	deity, monster slayer: 153; 162 (mythology): 174
<i>niphu</i>	sun disk (held by figures): 37 (spelled KUR); 62
<i>Niphu-ṣalmu</i>	deity: 62
<i>NUN</i>	see <i>urigallu</i>
<i>Nūru</i> (d ⁴ IZIGAR, d ⁴ ZALAG)	deity (deified lamp): 112
<i>Nuska</i>	deity (apotropaic): 112 (deified lamp?)
<i>giš-pa-gišimmar</i>	see <i>ara gišimmari</i>
PAD DÀLA GIŠIMMAR	34 ³⁴
PAP	scribal mark: 129 ⁵
<i>paršigu</i>	sash: 56
<i>pāštu</i> (ŠEN.TAB.BA)	a type of axe (held by figures): 43; 86; 102; 141
<i>patru</i>	dagger (held by figures): 102
<i>Pazuzu</i>	a monster: V; 179; 181; 185; 186f. (line drawing 13)
<i>giš-peš-giš-gišimmar</i>	see <i>libbi gišimmari</i> ; 85
<i>Pētū</i>	deity: 170 (figure)
<i>Piriggalabzu</i>	a sage: 74
<i>piriggallu</i>	170 (lion-base of column)
<i>purādu/suhur</i>	carp: 76 (fish-apkallu); 183 (<i>kulullū</i>); 184 (<i>suhurmāšu</i>); 149 (knowledge)
<i>purīdu</i>	walking pose: 57f.
<i>qarnu</i>	horn (on tiara of deities): 56; 163 (of Tiāmat)
<i>qarradu/u r-sag</i>	warrior (designation of monsters and enemies of gods): 146 (Humbaba); 153; 162 (<i>bašmu</i>); 168; 176 ⁹
<i>qaštu</i>	bow (held by figures): 38, 102
<i>qulmū</i>	hatchet (held by figures): 60; 102
<i>rābisu/udug</i>	deputy (divine functionary): 36 ⁵ ; 68
<i>ramānu</i>	self (attributes of figures cut out of themselves/their own material): 55f.
<i>rikbu</i>	male inflorescence of the date palm: 67
<i>sag-alim</i>	head of the bison (apotropaic): 154 (emblem of Utu); 175 ⁴ ; 176 ¹⁰
<i>sag-ar</i>	Jebel Sinjār: 153 (defeated enemy of Ninurta/Ningirsu); 155
<i>sag-gud-alim</i>	head of the bison (apotropaic): 175 ⁴
SAG.HUL.HA.ZA	a demon: 52
<i>sag-kal</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>sag-tab</i>	82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>sáng a-maḥ-abzu</i>	designation of <i>suhurmāšu</i> : 184

<i>Sebettu</i>	group of seven gods (apotropaic figures): 46; 58f.; 63 (on reliefs); 72 (sons of Išhara); 96 (accompanying Erra); 98 (position); 102f.; 115 (different groups); 116; 117; 128 82 (syllabic spelling)
<i>sila-si-ig-ga</i> <i>suhurmāšu</i>	Carp-Goat (figure): 43; 53; 68; 84; 86 (position); 102f.; 128; 129f.; 141; 143; 146; 147ff., 150 (earliest history); 152 (associated with Enki); 184f.; 186f. (line drawing 10)
<i>ṣalam bīni</i> <i>ṣītu</i>	statue of tamarisk (designation of a figure): 46; 128 loss (among symptoms of disease): 95ff.
ŠĀ.GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR, GIŠ.ŠĀ. GIŠIMMAR	see <i>libbi gišimmari</i> ; see <i>uqūru</i> ; 85
šadānu ṣābitu ša ištēt ammatu lānšu	a type of stone used in rituals: 34 ⁴³⁵ ; 35; 120 One Cubit (apotropaic figure): 47; 58f.; 79; 102f.; 128; 139
šaggaštu šaggāšu	murder: 95
šamšātu (AŠ.ME)	killer (a demon); 95ff.
šaršerru	sun disk (a symbol): 62
šēdu	a colour (cover of figures): 54
š e g ₉ - s a g - à š	an (evil) demon (represented by the Neo-Assyrian human-headed bull): 34 ⁴³⁸ ; 42; 95ff.; 127 ¹³ ; 175 ⁶ ; 176 ¹⁰
ŠEN.TAB.BA	Six-Headed Wild Ram (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 153
šēp lemitti	see <i>pāštu</i>
Šeriš(GUD)	entry of evil: 91ff.
šiltahu	deity in the form of a bull: 178f.
GIŠ.ŠINIG.KUR.RA	arrow: 38, 102
šibšatu	see <i>burāšu</i>
šibtu	architrave: 126 ¹⁹
Šulak	stroke, blow (epidemical disease): 95ff.
š u - n i r - ^d U tu	an evil demon in the form of a lion: 86 (in bath rooms); 98 (with <i>urmahullū</i>)
šutebrū (ZAL.ZAL)	emblem of Utu: 154 (see <i>s a g - a l i m</i>); 176 ¹⁰
šūt kakkī	44
šūt kappī	apotropaic figures with maces: 47; 58f.; 68; 79 (purifiers); 84; 102f.; 128
šutukku	apotropaic figures with wings: 68; 79 (purifiers); 84; 116 127 ¹⁶
terinnu	fir-cone (as purification tool): 67; 84
tēqītu	(liquid) paste : 27 ¹⁷³
Tiāmat	Sea (deity, enemy of Ninurta and Marduk): 147; 155f.; 163 (representation)
tillū	proper equipment: 53f.; 55; 56
timbūtu	harp (denotation uncertain): 62; 79; 102; 116

<i>Tišpak</i>	deity (figure): 117; 151 (associated with <i>mušhuššu</i> ; 162; 168
<i>u₄ - a n</i>	a sage (Oannes): 74, 76 (fish- <i>apkallu</i>)
UD.NUN	see <i>urigallu</i>
<i>u d u g</i>	see <i>rābisu</i> , see <i>utukku</i>
<i>udutilū</i>	138
<i>ugallu</i> (UD.GAL)	Big Weather-Beast, Big-Day (a figure): 35ff., 38; 42; 49; 58f.; 64 (with Lulal): 96 (puts evil to flight); 97; 98 (position); 100; 102f.; 116; 128; 143; 144; 147ff.; 150 (earliest history); 153 (enemy of Utu); 169ff.; 186f. (line drawing 4)
<i>ša umāši</i>	wrestlers: 34 ⁴³⁷ ; 90; 114; 116f.; 126 ⁷
<i>kišsuritu</i>	linked together: 34 ⁴³⁷ ; 90; 114; 116f.; 126 ⁷
UD.GAL.MUŠEN	winged <i>ugallu</i> : 170
<i>uggatu</i>	anger: 95ff.
<i>umāmu</i>	designation of monsters: 146; 164
<i>ūmu /u d</i>	personified day; leonine monster; designation of various monsters: 146; 164; 170
<i>ūmu-apkallu</i>	see <i>apkallu</i>
<i>ūmū dabrūtu</i>	145; 163; 172
<i>ūmu nā'iru / u d - k a - d u h - a</i>	designation of lion-dragon: 147ff., 150 (Roaring Day; earliest history); 152 (associated with Iškur); 160 (fore-runner); 171; 184f.; 186f. (line drawing 11d-f)
<i>ūmu rabū / u d - gal</i>	169
<i>ūmū šamrūtu</i>	172
<i>uqūru</i>	heart of the date palm: 85
<i>urgulū</i>	lion (figure): 64, 90, 116, 139
<i>uridimmu (urDimmu)</i>	Mad Lion (a figure): 42; 50f. 98; 100; 102; 128; 139; 141; 146; 172ff.; 186f. (line drawing 5)
<i>urigallu</i>	great protective standard (also personified): 70ff. (spelled NUN, UD.NUN); 78; 102; 115; 116
<i>urinnu/ùri</i>	protective standard: 70
<i>đùri-bar</i>	deity: 70
<i>đùri-gal</i>	deity: 70
<i>đùri-maš</i>	deity: 70
<i>ùri-dù</i>	to erect a protective standard: 70
<i>urmahlullū</i>	Lion-Man (a figure): 52; 86 (in bath room); 98 (with Šulak); 99f.; 102f.; 128; 141; 143; 181f.; 186f. (line drawing 8)
<i>ur-sag</i>	see <i>qarradu</i>
<i>ur-sag-imin</i>	see <i>muš-sag-imin</i>
<i>urudu-níg-kalag-ga</i>	Strong Copper (defeated enemy of Ninurta): 154
<i>uskaru</i>	crescent (held by figures): 62; 86; 141
<i>ušum</i>	see <i>bašmu</i>
<i>ušumgallu</i>	44; 145; 153; 163; 167

<i>utukku</i>	lesser god, demon: 72 (iconography); 146 (12)
<i>Utu</i>	deity: 152; 152 (associated with Bison); 153 (monster slayer); 154; 174 (<i>kusarikku</i>);
<i>Zababa</i>	deity: 162 (monster slayer)
<i>zahatû</i>	battle axe (held by figures): 38; 61; 102
^d ZALAG	see <i>Nûru</i>
<i>zibû</i>	see (u r - i d i m)
<i>Zi-u-d-sù-<i>r</i>a</i>	75 (ancient speculation on name)

B Subject index

angular object	78 (in hands of <i>apkallu</i>)
anthropomorphism	151ff. (distinguishes gods from monsters)
architrave	see <i>šibšatu</i>
arrow	see <i>šiltahu</i>
axe	see <i>hašinna</i> , <i>pâštu</i> , <i>zahatû</i> , <i>qulmû</i> ; held by gods: 35
bedroom	see <i>kummu</i>
bird	see <i>ārib šadî</i> , see <i>eagle</i>
bison	see <i>alim</i> , <i>Ditân</i> , <i>kusarikku</i> ; 149 (firmness)
bison(-man)	see <i>kusarikku</i>
head of bison(-man)	see <i>sag-(gud)-alim</i>
blue	see <i>da'matu</i>
bow	see <i>qaštu</i>
bracelet	78 (in hands of goddess)
bucket	see <i>banduddû</i>
bull	see <i>Hurriš</i> , <i>Šeriš</i>
of Adad	see <i>bûru ekdu</i>
(humped) bull	see <i>gud-a-n-na</i>
bull-man	see <i>kusarikku</i>
human-headed bull	see <i>šedu</i>
carp	see <i>fish</i>
clay-pit	see <i>kullatu</i>
combat myth	154; 159ff.
cone	see <i>mullilu</i> , <i>terinnu</i>
copper	see <i>urudu-níg-kalag-ga</i>
cornel	see <i>e'ru</i>
crescent	see <i>uskaru</i>
date palm	see (<i>lugal</i>)- <i>giš-gišimmar</i>
frond of the d.	see <i>ara gišimmar</i>
heart of the d.	see <i>uqûru</i>
offshoot of the d.	see <i>libbi gišimmar</i>
male inflorescence of the d.	see <i>rikbu</i>

dagger	see <i>patru</i>
deer	77
demon	see <i>asakku</i> , <i>Lamaštu</i> , <i>lemnūtu Erra</i> , <i>SAG.HUL.HA.ZA</i> , <i>šaggāšu</i> , <i>šēdu</i> , <i>Šulak</i> , <i>utukku</i>
deputy (divine)	see <i>rābiṣu</i>
dog	see <i>kalbu</i>
dragon	see lion-dragon, snake-dragon, <i>ušumgallu</i>
eagle	149 (aggression); 187 (addition of bird parts)
griffin-demon	see bird- <i>apkallu</i>
griffin	see <i>kuribū</i>
lion-headed eagle	see <i>Anzū</i>
fir-cone	see <i>terinnu</i>
fish	see <i>purādu</i> (carp)
“fish-garbed” sage	see fish- <i>apkallu</i>
fish-man	see <i>kulullū</i>
fish-woman	see <i>kuliltu</i>
goat-fish	see <i>suḥurmāšu</i>
flower	see <i>illūru</i>
flowing vase	see <i>hengallu</i>
garment	see <i>lubūšu</i> , <i>tillū</i>
gesture (greeting)	see <i>karābu</i>
(praying)	see <i>Lamaštu</i> (112)
girdle	see <i>miserru</i>
goat	see <i>enžātu arqātu</i> , <i>mašḥultuppū</i>
goat-fish	see <i>suḥurmāšu</i>
ibex	see <i>Enki</i>
god	see <i>anthropomorphism</i> ; 58ff.
(winged) gods	79f.
god with raised fist	see <i>Lulal</i>
griffin	see <i>kuribū</i>
griffin-demon	see bird- <i>apkallu</i>
gypsum	see <i>gaṣṣu</i> , <i>im/níg-babbār</i>
hair	see <i>laḥmu</i>
harp ?	see <i>timbūtu</i>
hatchet	see <i>qulmū</i> ; axe
hatching	see <i>esēhu</i>
headband	see <i>ūmu-apkallu</i> , <i>erru</i>
horn	see <i>qamu</i>
humped bull	see <i>bull</i>
ibex	160 (associated with <i>Enki</i>)
lamp	see <i>Nūru</i> , <i>Nuska</i>

lion	149 (aggression, power); 160 (associated with <i>Ningirsu</i>)
figure of -	see <i>urgulū</i>
demon in form of -	see <i>Šulak</i>
beings with leonine features	see <i>ūmu</i> (171)
leonine monster	see <i>labbu</i>
god clad in lion's skin	see <i>Latarak</i>
lion-demon	see <i>ugallu</i>
lion-centaur	see <i>urmahlullū</i>
human-headed lion-man	see <i>uridimmu</i>
seven-headed lion	see <i>muš-sag-imin</i>
lion-headed eagle	see <i>Anzū</i>
lion-dragon	see <i>Anzū, Lamaštu, ūmu nā'iru</i>
lion-base of column	see <i>piriggallu</i>
mace	see <i>e'ru, haltappū, hultuppū, hutpalū, kakku, medda</i>
monster	see <i>asakku, Humbaba, Pazuzu</i> ; 86ff.; Ch. VII; 151ff. (distinguished from gods); 157 (collective)
monster slayer	see <i>Bunene, Marduk, Nabū, Ningirsu, Ninurta</i>
general designations	see <i>gallū, umāmu, ūmu</i>
mountain gods	154f.; see <i>Ebih, sag-ar</i>
palm	see date palm
paste	see <i>tēqītu</i>
pedestal	see <i>kigallu</i>
quiver	see <i>išpatu</i>
sacred tree	67
sage	<i>Adapa, apkallu, u4-a-n, Zi-ud-sù-ra, Piriggalabzu</i>
sash	see <i>paršigu</i>
scorpion-man/woman	see <i>girtablullū</i>
shawl	see <i>agužhu</i>
ship	see <i>makurru, mā-gi-lum</i>
snake	149 (death)
monsters partly snake	see <i>bašmu, ušumgallu</i>
snake-dragon	see <i>mušuššu</i>
seven-headed snake	see <i>mušmahhu</i>
seven-headed snake-dragon	see <i>muš-sag-imin</i>
spade	see <i>marru</i>
staff	see <i>gamlu, haṭṭu, Lamaštu, urigallu</i>
stag	160 (associated with <i>Ninhursag</i>)
standard	see <i>urigallu, urinnu</i>
star	see ^d <i>Kakkabtu, kakkabu</i>
stick	see <i>e'ru</i>
sun disk	see <i>niphu, šamšatu</i>
symbol	see <i>kakkabtu, kakkabu, Lamaštu, marru, šamšatu, niphu, Nuru, uskaru, šamšatu; sag-alim</i>

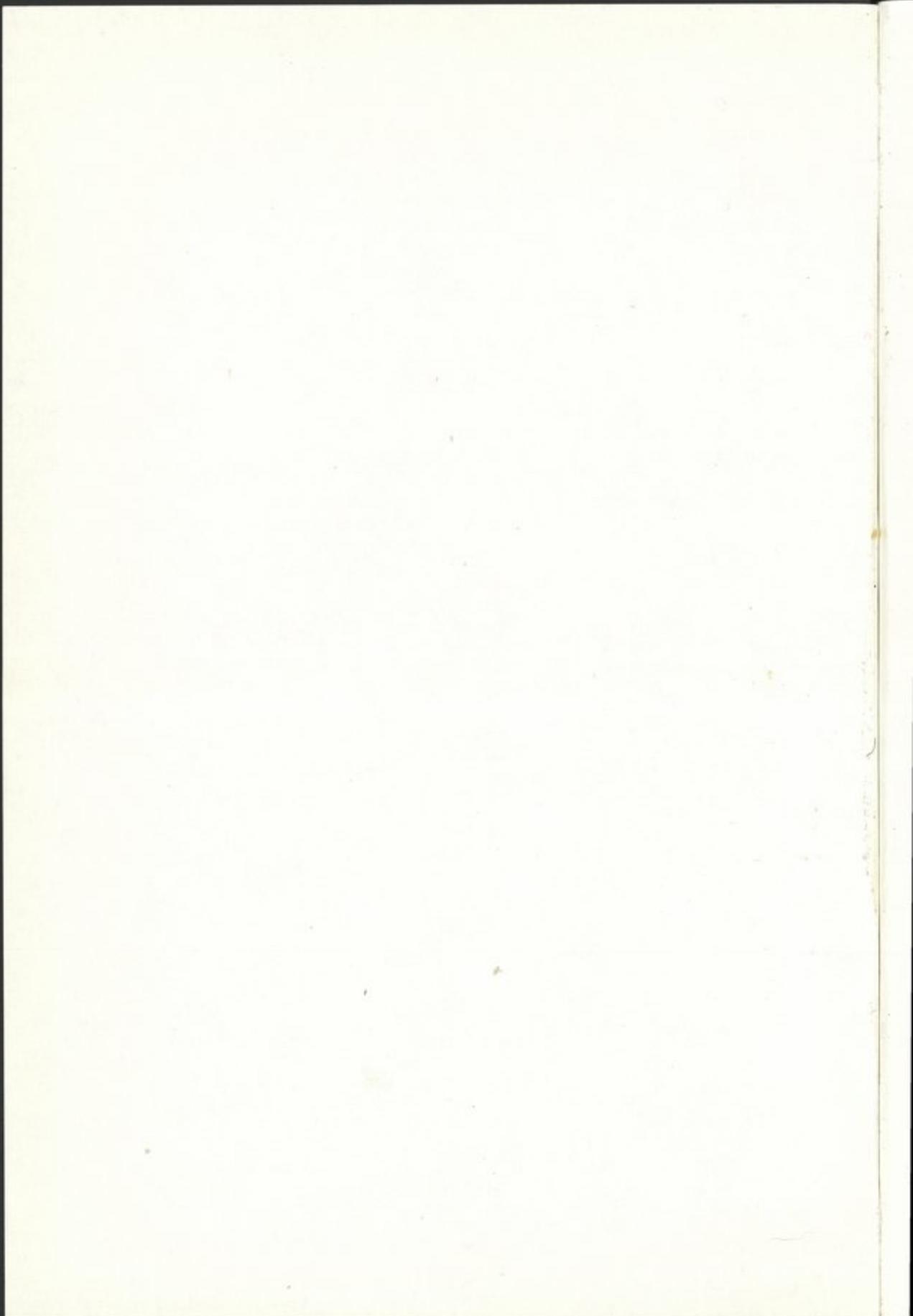
tamarisk	see <i>bīnu, eṣemti ilūti</i>
tiara	see <i>agū</i>
tree (sacred, cosmic)	67
walking pose	see <i>purīdu</i>
wings	see <i>śūt kappī, god (winged)</i>
whip	see <i>Latarak</i>

C Unpublished texts

The list includes the previously unpublished texts edited in this book.

BM 37866	114
BM 64517	131f.; Figs. 15, 16
BM 74119	129ff.; Fig. 17
BM 121052	141; Fig. 19
K 2331	126 (iv' 4 ^a); 128; 138 (ii 3 ^a)
K 2468	41 (duplicates part of Text II)
K 2481	24 ¹² ; 41 (duplicates part of Text II); 45f.
K 2496	131ff.; Figs. 11, 12
K 2553	138 (ii 3 ^a)
K 2987B+	1ff. (Text I MS A)
K 3268	173f.
K 3472	127
K 3727+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 5
K 3810	128
K 4656 + 9741	117 (duplicates <i>AfO</i> 19 118); Fig. 8
K 5641 + 6336	141 (<i>śar pūhi</i> ritual)
K 5829+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 3
K 6013+	34 ^{434ff.} (// <i>STT</i> 218-219); Fig. 20
K 6855	105
K 7247	127
K 8005	66
K 8026	127; 131ff.; Fig. 17
K 8106+	joins K 6013+
K 8620+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 2
K 8753+	2ff. (Text I MS B)
K 8852+	85 (Pazuzu ritual)
K 9383+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 3
K 9741+	joins K 4656
K 9873 + 79-7-8, 240	119ff.; Figs. 13, 14; 41 (duplicates part of Text II)
K 9968+	1ff. (Text I MS A)
K 10232	131ff. Fig. 16
K 10333	93 (Namburbi)
K 11585+	joins K 9968+; Fig. 2

K 11812	1ff. (Text I MS A); 41; Fig. 4
K 13980	3ff. (Text I MS D); Fig. 5
K 14829	1ff. (Text I MS A); Fig. 5
K 15720+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 3
K 16001+	joins K 6013+
K 16367+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 5
K 17093+	joins K 2987B+; Fig. 2
K 18835+	joins K 9968+; Fig. 2
Sm 711+	joins K 8753+; Fig. 8
DT 186	2ff. (Text I MS C); 33ff.; Fig. 7
79-7-8, 193	146 (10)
79-7-8, 240	joins K 9873
12N-228	113



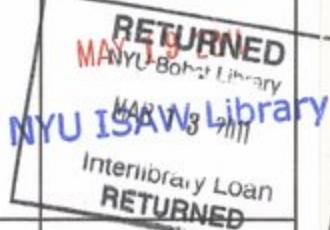


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