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Tzvi Abusch, Daniel Schwemer

Institutions: Brandeis University, SOAS, University of London

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THE CHICAGO MAQLÛ FRAGMENT (A 7876)

By TZVI ABUSCH and DANIEL SCHWEMER

1. *A dubgallu manuscript of Maqlû*

While any inscribed clay tablet could be referred to as *tuppu* and any written text could be called *šaṭāru*, Babylonian and Assyrian scribes had a number of more specific terms at their disposal not only for various inscribed media such as tablet, writing board and parchment, but also for different formats and types of tablets.¹ A systematic nomenclature of tablet types, however, was never established despite the central role of the clay tablet in Mesopotamian scribal culture. Most of the relevant terms, such as *u'iltu*, *egirtu*, *imgiddû* and *ligimtu*, refer to tablet formats which were typically associated with certain genres or types of text; but the same terms could then be used for different types of text that shared the same format, and a given term could refer to a certain type of text even if the format of the tablet in question was different from usual. A few colophons of tablets inscribed with omen compendia, god-lists or literary compositions claim that they were excerpted or copied from a *dubgallu*, a “large tablet”.² No tablet explicitly designated as *dubgallu* has survived, but from the fact that the famous Middle Assyrian six-column An : *Anum* manuscript K 4349+ (CT 24, 20–46) was copied *ana pī dubgalli labiri* (rev. XII 9') we may infer that a *dubgallu* would typically comprise five or six columns on each side, each column containing 150 or more lines of text, often in a minute script. The sister-tablet of K 4349+, the Middle Assyrian An : *Anum* tablet YBC 2401, would also have been regarded as a *dubgallu*; it contains six columns of about 185 lines on each side, inscribed in a very small script with a line height of about 2.1 mm.³ This type of “large tablet”, containing the complete text or major parts of a lexical series, is already well known in the Old Babylonian period; although such tablets often have colophons, the amount and nature of the scribal mistakes to be found on them suggests that they were written by advanced students as a kind of “journeyman’s piece” in the process of memorizing the traditional lore.⁴ The fact that Nissaba and Ḫaya, the gods of the scribal art, are praised for writing such “great tablets” in Sumerian literature shows, however, that the ability to produce a *dubgallu* was regarded as a major achievement.

As is shown by the first-millennium colophons, not only lexical texts, god-lists and omen compendia were inscribed on *dubgallu*-tablets, but also literary compositions could be committed to such tablets. Only a few specimens of *dubgallu*'s inscribed with literary texts have survived or been identified as fragments of a “large tablet”. One example from the Neo-Assyrian period is GM 1 found at Tarbiṣu (Sherikhan) within the complex of the local Nergal temple (see Saggs 1986). The six-column tablet originally contained the full text of the Erra epic and the Anzû myth. As with the Middle Assyrian An : *Anum* tablets, the script is excessively small with a line height of about 2.5 mm. The editor of the tablet concluded that “the very small and meticulously written script, and the occurrence at one point of a gloss in minuscule writing, indicate that the tablet was the work of an expert, and not a mere exercise . . .” (Saggs 1986: 2). The colophon states that the tablet was “hastily copied [for] his [. . .]” ([*ana* . . .]-*šú za-mar nashā(zi)*^{4a}), possibly using an original from Ḫanigalbat (rev. XII 1'–2'). The drawing of an (apparently uninscribed) “magic

¹ Hunger 1968: 7–8 gives an overview of the terms used in the colophons of literary and scholastic texts; Radner 1997: 52–67 discusses the various terms used in the Neo-Assyrian period. The im-section of Ḫḫ. X (*MSL* 7, 101–4) contains a number of words for different types of tablets, but is not intended as a comprehensive presentation of the relevant terms.

² See Hunger 1968: 161 and *CAD* T 126 for the relevant attestations. The word *dubgallu* is so far not attested before the Middle Assyrian period, but is evidently a loan from Sumerian. Nissaba is praised as the lady who completed

the “large tablets” (*dub-gal-gal-la*) in the doxology of the Instructions of Šuruppak (see Alster 2005: 100 l. 289) and her husband Ḫaya holds great tablets (*dub-gal-gal*) according to *UET* 6/1, 101 obv. 2 (cf. Volk 1995: 147).

³ For a description of the tablet, see Litke 1998: 16–18.

⁴ Together with the prisms, the large tablets form ‘type I’ in M. Civil’s classification of lexical manuscripts from the OB period (see *MSL* 12, 27–8 and, for their status as school texts *MSL* 14, 7); for a more detailed discussion of the role of ‘type I’ tablets in OB scribal education, see Veldhuis 1997: 28–32.

diagram” at the end of the reverse could indicate that the tablet was used as an amulet,⁵ but in view of the colophon this is far from certain.

The object of the present article is the fragment of yet another *dubgallu* from the Neo-Assyrian period. The fragment A 7876 in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, represents the upper right corner of a six-column tablet that originally contained the complete text of the series *Maqlû* with its nine canonical tablets. The tablet is inscribed in the Neo-Assyrian ductus of the eighth and seventh centuries; the size of the script with a line height of about 2.5 mm is similar to that of other *dubgallu* manuscripts. On the convex side of the fragment, which must represent the obverse, only the last two columns are partly preserved, while on what must be the reverse substantial parts of the first two columns and a few line endings of a third column are preserved. The beginning of the upper edge of the tablet is clearly visible on the reverse so that the original shape of the tablet can be roughly reconstructed; it would have been about 31 cm high and 24 cm wide and would have contained six columns on each side. Because the manuscript often sets two canonical lines on one line or diverges from the canonical line division, only an approximate reconstruction of the original distribution of the text over the tablet is possible. The following sections of *Maqlû* are preserved:⁶

obv.	V	1'–33'	<i>Maqlû</i> IV 24–65
	VI	1'–36'	<i>Maqlû</i> V 21–57
rev.	VII	1'–41'	<i>Maqlû</i> VI 63–111
	VIII	1'–43'	<i>Maqlû</i> VII 32–79a
	IX	1'–12'	<i>Maqlû</i> VIII, probably after l. 16

Based on the preserved sections the original distribution of the text over the tablet would have been approximately as follows (cf. Fig. 1):⁷

obv.	I	ca. I 1–143 with rubric ⁸	<i>approx. 145 canonical lines</i>
	II	ca. II 1–144	<i>approx. 144 canonical lines</i>
	III	ca. II 145–225 with rubric, III 1–60	<i>approx. 143 canonical lines</i>
	IV	ca. III 61–187 with rubric, IV 1–16	<i>approx. 145 canonical lines</i>
	V	ca. IV 17–151 with rubric, V 1–18	<i>approx. 155 canonical lines</i>
	VI	ca. V 19–154	<i>approx. 136 canonical lines</i>
rev.	VII	ca. V 155–75 with rubric, VI 1–111	<i>approx. 136 canonical lines</i>
	VIII	ca. VI 112'–57'' with rubric, VII 1–79a	<i>approx. 134 canonical lines</i>
	IX	ca. VII 80–177 with rubric, VIII 1–28'	<i>approx. 140 canonical lines</i>
	X	ca. VIII 29'–115'''	<i>approx. 135 canonical lines</i>
	XI	ca. VIII 116'''–39'''' with rubric, R 1–104'	<i>approx. 135 canonical lines</i>
	XII	ca. R 105'–79' with rubric and colophon	

2. History of research

According to the records at the Oriental Institute, A 7876 was purchased in Baghdad by H. A. Frankfort in January 1930. Nothing is known about the provenance of the fragment. Apparently, the fragment was identified as a *Maqlû* manuscript soon after its accession to the collection of the Oriental Institute. G. Meier was able to use the fragment in his 1937 edition of *Maqlû*. Especially his reconstruction of *Maqlû* VI relied on “ein grosser, nicht in Europa befindlicher *Maqlû*-Text” (1937: 5). In the posthumous publication of Meier’s notes on *Maqlû*, E. Weidner identified this text as A 7876 (1966: 77 fn. 22). While it remains uncertain who made A 7876 available to Meier

⁵ See the schematic drawing of the reverse in Saggs 1986: 6. For the “magic diagram” (two diagonally crossing pairs of lines) on tablets serving as amulets see Maul 1994: 176–81. Tablets inscribed with the Erra myth were used as amulets, as shown not only by the final lines of the text itself, but also by the amulet-shaped Erra manuscript KAR 169.

⁶ The line count of *Maqlû* used here is that of Abusch and Schwemer 2008 (for a concordance with Meier’s edition see there and Schwemer 2007b: 283–5).

⁷ Correct accordingly Abusch 2002: 287 (= *RIA* 7/5–6 [1989] 347) as regards the distribution of the text in the columns.

⁸ The extant text on the fragment does not contain any rubric, but comparison with other *dubgallu*’s, such as the An: *Anum* tablets K 4349 + and YBC 2401 and the Anzû/Erra tablet GM 1, suggests that the text of each canonical tablet was concluded by a short rubric giving the tablet number and series title, possibly also the number of lines.



Fig. 1 An approximate reconstruction of the original shape of A 7876, obv. (left) and rev. (right).

and in what form, it seems likely that it was F. W. Geers. Geers supplied “Abschriften”, probably copies and transliterations, of many of the new British Museum fragments incorporated in Meier’s edition (see the preface to Meier 1937 as well as p. 1 fn. 4); he probably provided Meier with a transliteration of the Chicago fragment as well. The fact that Meier used the Chicago fragment only in certain places indicates that the transliteration at his disposal was of a provisional nature and did not cover the many fragmentary passages.

The fragment remained unpublished, but was studied by Abusch in the preparation of his new edition of *Maqlû*. He first examined the fragment in 1973, and at his request it was cleaned and a cast made by R. Tindel with the help of R. Whiting. Tindel sent Abusch photographs of the uncleaned fragment as well as the cast. Using the cast and photographs, Abusch then prepared a preliminary transliteration. Subsequently, in the 1990s, the tablet was also studied by R. Borger, who graciously made the results of his reading available to Abusch. In 2006–7, the present authors prepared a new German translation of *Maqlû* for *TUAT NF* Vol. 4 on the basis of Abusch’s synoptic transliteration of all *Maqlû* sources and of their own translations. To assist them in this project, Schwemer prepared a provisional copy of A 7876 using the cast and the photographs of the fragment. At that time, they decided that the importance of A 7876 called for a separate publication of this *Maqlû* manuscript. Accordingly, during a stay at the Oriental Institute in April 2007, Schwemer finalized his copy (here Figs. 2–3) and subsequently prepared a first draft of the present article; this draft was then revised by both authors. While any mistakes in the copies of cuneiform texts are Schwemer’s alone, the responsibility for the content of the article as a whole lies with both authors.⁹

3. Palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic characteristics of A 7876

A 7876 is written in the Neo-Assyrian ductus of the eighth–seventh centuries BC. The scribe writes SAR with only two horizontal wedges at the beginning of the sign (“KÉŠ”) and LÚ sometimes in the reduced form typically found in Neo-Assyrian letters and documents, clear indications that the manuscript was not written by one of Ashurbanipal’s scholars at Nineveh, but belonged (at least originally) either to the tablet collection of a temple or to the private library of an Assyrian scholar, quite possibly of the Sargonid period. The assumption that the tablet was produced in a non-Nineveh Neo-Assyrian context is confirmed by a number of typical orthographic and linguistic features that A 7876 shares with Neo-Assyrian manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts found in places like Aššur, Sultantepe and Nimrud.

1) Orthographic features¹⁰

Frequent defective writing of geminated consonants: e.g. *kur-^lsi-ni^l* (*kursinni*, VI 19’), *a-na-ša-kim-ma* (*anaššakkimma*, VI 25’), *te-ri-na-tú* (*terimatu*, VI 28’), *li-na-áš-pu* (*limmašpū*, VI 31’), *li-qàl-pu*, *li-^lšah-tu^l* (*liqqalpū*, *liššahūtū*, VI 32’), *i-qa-r[i-bu-ni]* (*iqarribūni*, VII 2’), *ib-na-ni-ma* (*ibnânnima*, VII 8’), *tú-na-si-sa-ni* (*tunassisâni*, VII 27’), *[ú-ṭ]a-ḫi-id-ka* (*uṭahḫidka*, VIII 2’), *ga-ta-ki^l* (*gattaki*, VIII 30’).

Use of *CVCV* values:¹¹ *[q]aq-qar* (*qaqqari*, VII 27’), *lim-ḫur-in-ni* (*limḫurū’inni*, VIII 43’), *šur-pu-u* (*šuruppū*, VIII 6’).

“Alphabetic” use of syllabic signs: *a-ta-bi-ri* (probably for *ātaper*, VII 37’).

Logograms characteristic of the Neo-Assyrian period and typically found in non-Nineveh manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts: 20 for *šarru* (VIII 9’), ^dGIŠ.TUK for Gilgameš (V 22’),¹² ^dBAD for Enlil (VII 8’, VIII 15’), ^dDIŠ for Ea (VIII 1’, 5’, 28’),¹³ ^dME.ME for Gula (VIII 10’).

⁹ We would like to thank W. Farber, keeper of the collection of the Oriental Institute, for his kind permission to publish the fragment. BM 34077, BM 36618, 80-7-19, 146 + K 10559 + K 11993 + Sm 133, K 2956, K 10341 and K 13349 are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Schwemer’s stay in Chicago and Boston in 2007 was funded by a Small Research Grant of the British Academy.

¹⁰ Note that the representation of final syllables of nouns by means of *CVm* signs has been retained in the transliteration because signs of this type are sometimes clearly not

used phonetically (e.g. *ki^{im}* for expected nominative *eršetu*) and may therefore represent conventional spellings.

¹¹ To avoid confusion we give only the *CVC* value in the transliteration.

¹² For this logogram, see George 2003: 81, 349. In *Maqlû* sources it is otherwise only attested in A 43 = Ass. 1223 obv. 28 (= *Maqlû* I 38), a Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Aššur that displays numerous Assyrianisms.

¹³ For the usage of ^dDIŠ in Neo-Assyrian sources, see Galter 1981: 10–11.

2) *Linguistic features (Assyrianisms, Assyrianizing spellings)*

Spellings probably reflecting a voicing resp. devoicing of etymological *b* and *p* in certain positions:¹⁴ *taq-pi¹-ra* (*taqbirā*, V 3'), *ú¹-kaš-ši¹-BA-niš-ši¹-ma¹* (*ukaššipāniššimma*, VII 15'), *a-ta-bi-ri* (probably *ātaper*, VII 37'), *[u]b¹-p¹-r[u]* (*ubbiru*, VIII 26').

Interchange of *a* and *u*: *amâtū(inim)^{meš}-šú* for expected *amâtū(inim)^{meš}-šá* in VI 30',¹⁵ *e¹-pu-šu-ni¹* for expected *īpušāni* in VII 22', *napha(kur)^{ha}* for expected *naphu* in VIII 15'.

Assyrianizing inflection of nouns and verbs: *likkalmēši* (VI 19'), *turahhūni* (VII 9'), *ēpušāniššimma* (VII 14'), *ēpušūni* (VII 22'), *ēmuru* (VIII 24'),¹⁶ *šadē(kur)^e* (VII 5'), *pišerte(būr)^[e]* (VII 32'), *mīnātēka* (VIII 8'), *rabē(gal)^e* (VIII 10').

Assyrian(izing) variant forms of other words: *ib-re-tu* for *ibratu* (VI 15'), *ākīam* for *ēkīam* (VII 9'), *ēpišūtū'a* for *ēpišētū'a* (VII 21'), *ana mala* for *mala* (VII 10'); cf. the commentary on the individual lines.

However, not all peculiarities are Assyrianisms. Our text also preserves evidence regarding the level of skill of the scribe. Thus while the use of *-u* to mark the accusative singular and the use of *-ī* for the nominative plural (as well as the occasional use of *-ū* for the genitive-accusative plural, cf. VI 21', 30') are a common feature of all Neo-Assyrian sources of Standard Babylonian texts, a spelling like *kīma qit-ma* (VI 12') would be unexpected in a tablet written by a master of the scribal art. Moreover, the preserved text contains a few true corruptions (VI 26', VII 32', cf. also VIII 10') as well as a number of minor mistakes (V 16', 27', 29', VI 8', 13', 24', VII 9', 29', 30', VIII 3', 18', 20', 22') and idiosyncrasies (VII 10'). Often two (by Nineveh standards) canonical lines are taken together on one line, sometimes in contradiction to the syntax of the text (VI 24'–5', VII 26'–7', 36'–40'); once a whole line is omitted, probably due to an oversight or a lapse of memory (V 26'). The most reasonable conclusion from this evidence is that the fragmentarily preserved *dubgallu* A 7876, despite its impressive size and small script, was not the work of a mature scholar, but rather the masterpiece of an advanced student. Since the colophon is not preserved, it is impossible to tell where exactly the tablet was written. It was certainly not produced by one of the scholars of the royal court for Nineveh's royal libraries; rather, it was the product of a non-royal scribal "school" of eighth–seventh century Assyria. Of course, this does not mean that the tablet could not have eventually ended up in Ashurbanipal's library; but only a join to a fragment from controlled excavations can shed further light on the fragment's actual provenance.

A 7876, copy Figs. 2–3¹⁷

Obv. I–IV lost; 7–8 lines missing at beginning of obv. V (corresponding approx. to *Maqlū* IV 16/17–23).

obv. V

1'	24	[šalmīya ana mīti tap-q]i ¹ -da	te ⁻¹
2'	25–6	[šalmīya ana mīti tahīrā šalmīya itti mīti tušnil] ¹ -la ¹	t[e-]
3'	27–8	[šalmīya ina sūn mīti tušnillā šalmīya ina kimaḥ mūt]i(Add)a ¹ taq-pi ¹ -ra	t[e-]
4'	29–30	[šalmīya ana gulgullati tapqidā šalmīya ina igāri] t[ap] ¹ -ḥa ¹ -a	te-
5'	31–2	[šalmīya ina askuppāti tušnillā šalmīya ina bī'i ša dū]ri(bà)d tap-ḥa-a	t[e-]
6'	33	[šalmīya ina titurri taqbirā-ma ummānū] ú-kab-bi ¹ -[su]	
7'	34	[šalmīya ina burē ša ašlāki būra taptā t]a[q?]-bi-ra	t]e-
8'	35	[šalmīya ina rāḫi ša nukaribbi būra taptā t]aq ¹ -bi-ra	te ⁻¹
9'	36	[šalmīya lū ša bīni lū ša erēni lū ša lipī] lu šá ¹ iškūri(DU ₈ .LÀL)	
10'	37–8	[lū ša kupsi lū ša ittē lū ša ṭidi lū š]á līši(níg.sila ₁₁ .gá)	

¹⁴For the alternation of *p*- and *b*-spellings in Neo-Assyrian texts, see most recently Luukko 2004: 72–3.

¹⁵The confusion of *-šá* and *-šú* occurs frequently in Late Babylonian manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts and is part of a general tendency to replace *a* with *u* that is already in evidence in the Neo-Assyrian period (see George 2003: 799). For *-šú* instead of expected *-šá* in non-Nineveh Neo-Assyrian sources of *Maqlū*, cf. *ki-iš-ru-šú*, *ep-še-tú-šú* (A 43 = Ass. 1223 obv. 26 = *Maqlū* I 34), *ma-ma-ti-šú* (A 43

obv. 27 = I 35), *lib-b]i-šú* (STT 83 obv. 29' [coll.] = Ritual tablet 49').

¹⁶Forms with the 3rd sg. prefix *e-* on I-' verbs may reflect Assyrianizing orthography rather than true language interference, see Worthington 2006: 62, with fn. 18–20.

¹⁷The canonical *Maqlū* line numbers are indicated in italics; the line count used here is that of Abusch and Schwemer 2008 (for a concordance with Meier's edition see there, and Schwemer 2007b: 283–5).

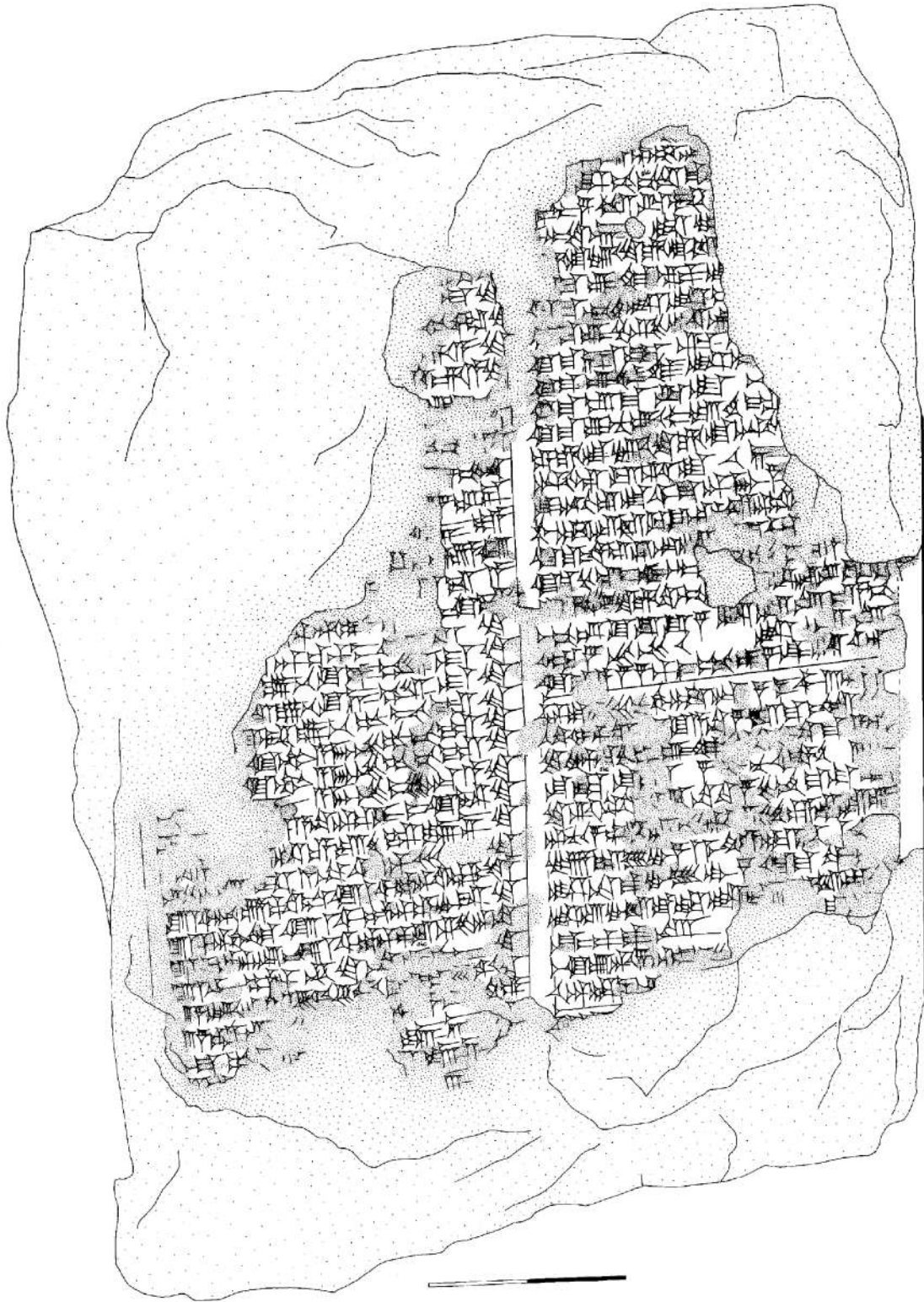


Fig. 2 A 7876 obv.

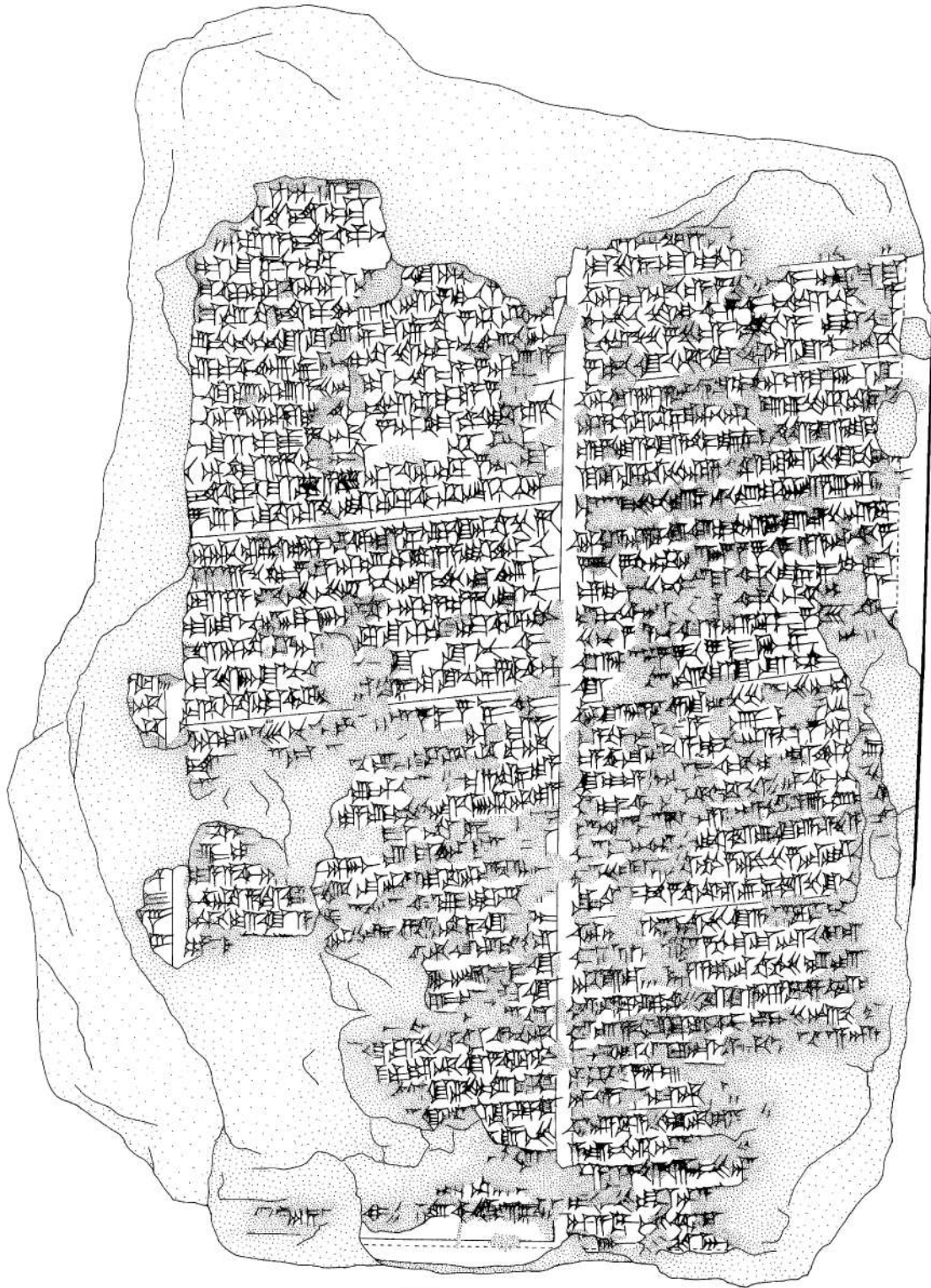


Fig. 3 A 7876 rev.

11'	39	[šalmī muššulāti ša pānīya] ʿu la-ni ¹ -ia	
12'	39–40	[tēpušā-ma kalba tušā]-ʿki-la ¹ šahā (ʿšah ¹) tušākilā (kimin)	
13'	41	[iṣṣūrī tušākilā ana nār]i(i)d [ta-a]d-da-a	
14'	42	[šalmīya ana l]a-maš-ti mārāt(dumu, ʿmunus ¹) ʿ ^d [a-nim] tap-qī-ʿda	te- ¹
15'	43	[šalmīya a-n]a ʿgīra tap-ʿqī-da ¹	te-
16'	44	[mēya itti] mīti(adda) tuš-ni ¹ -il ¹ -la	te-
17'	45	[mēya ina s]ūn(úr) mīti(adda) tuš-ni-il-la	te-
18'	46	[mēya ina k]imāḥ(k)i.maḥ mīti(adda) taq-bi-ʿra ¹	te-
19'	47	[ina x-x(-x)] eršetī(ki) ^{tim} mēya(a ^{meš} -mu) taq-bi-ra	te-
20'	48	[ina x-x(-x)] eršetī(ki) ^{tim} mēya(a ^{meš} -mu) taq-bi-ra	te-
21'	49	ʿina ¹ ? ma[hār(i)gi]? ilī? mu?-š <i>i</i> ? mēya(a ^{meš} -mu) taḥ-ba-a	te-
22'	50	šārat(ʿsīk ¹)?? [z]u??-[um?-ri?-i]a!? a-na ʿgilgameš(GIŠ.TUK) tap-qī-da	te-
23'	51	ʿa-na a ¹ -[ra-a]l ¹ -le ¹ -e ta-ḥi-ra-in-ni	te-
24'	52	zikurudā(ʿzi.ku ₅ .ru.da ¹) a-na pāni(igi) ʿd ^{sīn} (30)	te-
25'	53–4	[z]ikurudā([k]imin) ana pāni(igi) ʿ ^d šul ¹ -pa-è zikurudā(kimin) ana pāni(igi) mulnimri(u ₄ .ka.duḥ.a)	
26'	55, 57	[z]ikurudā([k]imin) ana pāni([i]gi) ʿ ^d gu-la zikurudā(kimin) ana pāni(igi) mulereqqi(mar.gid.da)	te-
27'	58–9	zikurudā(ʿkimin ¹) ʿana ¹ pāni(ʿigi ¹) ʿ ^{mul} zuqaqīpi(gír.tab) zikurudā(ʿkimin ¹) ana pāni(igi) ʿ ^{mul} šitaddari(sipa!.zi.an.na)	
28'	60	[z]ikurudā([k]imin) ana pāni(igi) ʿ ^{mul} habašīrāni(en.te.na.ʿbar.ḥuz ¹)	te-
29'	61	[ziku]rudā([k]imin) šá šerri(muš) ʿ ^d šikkī(ʿnin.kilim ¹) arrabi(ʿpéš.úr.ra ¹) pīrurūti(ʿpéš ¹ <.tur>)	ʿte- ¹
30'	62	[ziku]rudā([k]imin) šá ʿpa??-ag??-ri ¹ x [x x (x)] x x x-ḥe?-e	<te->
31'	63	[mi]m-ma šum-ʿšú ¹ t[u-šá-ki-la]-in-ni	ʿte- ¹
32'	64	mē(ʿa ¹) ^{meš¹} šī[zba(g[a]?) šikara(kaš) karāna(geštin) taš-q]a-ʿa ¹ -in-ʿni ¹	ʿte- ¹
33'	65	[mē u uḥūla turammikā-i]n-[ni	te-]

Obv. V breaks off; Maqlū IV 66–151 and V 1–17/18 in break.

Ca. 2–3 lines missing to upper edge.

obv. VI

1'	21	[alkī na-bal-kà]t-[tum šumrī nabalkattu]	
2'	22	[ina nasā]ḥ(z)i šēpī(ʿgīr ¹) ^{min¹} ʿšá ^{lú} kaššā[pīya(uš ₁₁ .z[u-mu) u kaššāptīya šēpīki šuknī]	
3'	23	[lil-lu l]i-bi-il-ma ʿ ^m [unuskaššāpta ana dayyānīša]	
4'	24	[d]ayyān([d]i.ku ₅)-šá kīma(gim) nēši(ur.maḥ) [lissā elīša]	
5'	25	[li]m-ḥaš lēt(te)-sa li-t[er amāssa ana pīša]	
6'	26–7	[e-p]iš-tu muš-te-piš-tu kīma(gim) [nīnī linūšū kišpūša]	
7'	28	[k]i-ʿma ¹ ʿ ^u azupīri(ḤAR.SAG) l[iṣappirūši kišpūša]	
8'	29	ʿki-ma ¹ sahlé(ʿzà ¹ .ḥi.ʿli ¹) ^{<sar>} li-i[s-ḥulūši kišpūša]	
9'	30	ʿki-ma ¹ ʿ ^u samīdi(KUR.ZI) li-s[a-mmūši kišpūša]	
10'	31	ki-ma kasī(ʿgazi ¹) ^{sar} lik-s[u-ši kišpūša]	
11'	32	ki-ma ʿ ^u ḥašē(ʿḤAR ¹ .ḤAR) li-ḥaš-[šūši kišpūša]	
12'	33	ʿki ¹ -ma qit-ma lik-tu-m[u-ši kišpūša]	
13'	35	ki-ma ʿ ^u nuḥurti(nu.LUH<.ḥa>) lit-taḥ-ḥi-r[a šaptāša]	
14'	36–7	e-piš-tu muš-te-piš-tu libbalkit(bal)-s[i sūqu u sulū]	
15'	38	libbalkit(bal)-si ib-re-tu u né-[meḏīša]	
16'	39	lib-bal-ʿkit ¹ -tu-ši-ma ilū(dingir) ^{meš} ʿšá ¹ [šēri u āli]	
17'	40	^{munus} kaššāptu(uš ₁₁ .zu) kīma(gim) kalbi(ur.gi ₇) ina ʿ ^{giš} ḥaṭṭi(ʿgidru ¹) kīma(ʿgim ¹) an-du-ḥ[al-lat ina kirbanni]	
18'	41	ʿki ¹ -ma kib-si immeri(ʿudu ¹ .nīta) ʿli ¹ -[sam]-ʿmī-ku ¹ -ši-ʿma ¹ [lītiqūši]	
19'	42	ki-ʿma ¹ kur-ʿsi-ni ¹ imēri(anše) ina sūqi(sila) ʿe-ti-qu lik-kal ¹ -[mēši]	
20'	43–4	ʿe-piš-tú muš ¹ -te-piš-tú ina bi-r[it kalb]ī(ur.g)ḥ ₇) ʿli-su-ru ku-lu-lu-šá ¹	
21'	45	ina bi-rit ku-lu-lu-šá ʿli-su-ru ¹ kal-bi	

- 22' 46 *elī(ugu)-šá qul-mu-u li-¹su-ru¹*
 23' 47 *ki-¹ma¹ piqan(a.gar.gar) šabīti(maš.dà) qu-tur-šá lib-¹li¹ én*
-
- 24' 48 *én at-¹ti¹-man-¹nu¹ ^{munus}kaššāptu(uš₁₁.¹zu¹) šá tētenepuštī(dù <.dù>)^{šī} šalāšat(3) arhī(¹iti)^m[^{eš}]*
 25' 48–9 *ešret(10) u₄-mi mišil(¹/₂) u₄-m[e a]na-ku a-na-šá-kim-ma ^{šim}kukra(¹gúr.gúr¹)*
 26' 49 *te-²u-¹ut¹! šadī(kur)ⁱ ^úhašē(HAR.¹HAR¹) ¹te-²u-¹ut¹ ma-¹a-tim¹*
 27' 50 *pitiltu(ŠU.SAR) pitiltu(ŠU.¹SAR¹) šá ¹munus¹qašdāti(nu.¹gig¹)^{meš}¹*
 28' 50 *te-ri-na-tú ¹te-ri¹-na-tú šá še²a(Še.am) ma-la-¹at¹*
 29' 51 *an-nu-u šá ¹⁴kaššāptīya(¹uš₁₁.zu-mu¹) ¹munus¹kaššāptīya(¹uš₁₁.zu-mu¹) hī-pa-a rikis(¹kešda¹)-¹su-un¹*
 30' 52 *ter-ra kiš-pu-šá ana me-¹he-e amātū(inim)^{meš}¹-šú ana šā[ri](i[m])*
 31' 53 *li-na-áš-pu kiš-pu-¹šá ki¹-ma pe-¹e¹*
 32' 53–4 *li-qàl-pu kīma(gim) šūmī(sum)^{sar} li-¹šah-tu¹ kīma(gim) suluppī(zú.l[um.m]a)*
 33' 54 *lip-pa-áš-ru [kīma(gim)] pitilti(¹ŠU.SAR¹)*
 34' 55 *ina qí-bit ⁴ištar(15) ¹dumu-zi¹ [Nanaya bēlet rāmi]*
 35' 56 *u ⁴ka-¹ni-sur¹-[ra bēlet kaššāpāti én]*
-
- 36' 57 *¹én¹ zī[ra(¹hul¹.[gig] ša tēpušāni tušēpišāni ana muhīkunu]*
 Obv. VI breaks off; *Maqlū* V 58–175 and VI 1–62 in break.
- rev. VII
- 1' 63 *¹kiš-pi-šá ru-¹he-e-šá ru¹-s[e-e-šá upšāšēša lemnūti]*
 2' 64 *la iṭehhū(te)-ni la i-qa-r[i-bu-ni] ¹ía-ši én¹*
-
- 3' 65 *én ¹at¹-ti-e šá ¹te-pu¹-ši ka-¹la¹-ma*
 4' 66 *mim-mu-u te-pu-ši ía-ši šim-t[i-i]a*
 5' 67 *^{šim}kukru(gúr.gúr) šá šadē(kur)^e gaz^a rikis(kešda)-¹ki¹*
 6' 68 *šá immī(zag)-ki u šumēlī(gùb)-ki šūtu(IM.u₁₉.lu) lit-bal*
-
- 7' 69 *én kibrītu(piš₁₀.^díd) elletu(¹kù)^{tu} mārāt(dumu.munus) šamē(an)^e rabūti(gal)^{meš} ana-¹ku¹*
 8' 70–1 *^da-num ib-na-ni-ma ^dellil(BAD) ^dn[i]n-lil ú-še-ri-du-ni ¹ana¹ mā[ti](ku[r])*
 9' 72–3 *e-¹piš¹-tu a-ki-a-am tēpuštī(dù)-in-ni ¹ra¹-hī-tú a-ki-a <-am> tu-r[a-hi-ni]*
 10' 74–5 *ana ma-la qaqqadīya(sag.du-mu) šamē(an)^e ¹KAŠ-du¹ ana ma-la šēpīya(gir^{min}-mu) eršetu(ki) KAŠ-¹da¹-a[t]*
 11' 76–7 *ina sissiktīya(¹túg??-sik??-mu) bi-ta-ni-¹ti¹ nadāt(šub)^{at} šīpat(én)-su šá apkal(abgal) ilī(dingir)^{meš}¹ [é]n*
-
- 12' 78 *én kibrītu(¹piš₁₀.^díd) kibrītu(¹kimin¹) kibrītu(¹kimin¹) mārāt(dumu.munus) ^díd kibrītu(kimin) kal-lat ^díd*
 13' 79 *šá sebe(7) u sebe(7) ¹munus¹kaššāpātū(uš₁₁.¹zu¹)^{meš}-šá ¹šá¹ sebe(7) u sebe(7) a-a-ba-ti-šá*
 14' 80 *e-pu-¹šá¹-niš-¹šim¹-ma ul in-né-pu-¹uš¹*
 15' 81 *¹ú¹-kaš-ši-¹BA-niš-ši-ma¹ ul ik-¹ka¹-šīp*
 16' 82 *man-nu šá a-¹na¹ kibrīti(¹piš₁₀.^díd) ippuša(dù)^{šá} kiš-pi*
 17' 83 *kibrītu(¹piš₁₀.^díd¹) šá sebe(7) u sebe(7) īpušā(dù)^{meš}-ni lipšur(¹búr¹)*
 18' 84 *¹kimin¹? [x] x (x) lipšur(búr)-ma ana-ku lu-ub-[luṭ én]*
-
- 19' 85 *én kibrītu(piš₁₀.^díd) elletu(kù)^{tu} ¹ú¹atā'išu(KUR.KUR) ¹šam¹-mu qud-du-[šū anāku]*
 20' 86 *¹e¹-pi-¹šū-u¹-a apkallū(abgal) [š]á aps[ī](abz[u])*
 21' 87 *e-pi-¹šū-tu¹-u-a mārāt(dumu.¹munus¹) ^da-nim šá šamē(an)^e¹*
 22' 88 *ki-i e-¹pu-šū-ni¹ ul ¹i-le¹-²a-¹in¹-n[i]*
 23' 89 *¹ki¹-i ēpušu(dù)-ši-¹na¹-ti ¹al-te-²i¹-ši-¹na¹-t[e]*

- 24' 90-1 ^re¹-tel-^rla-a¹ kīma(^rgim¹) nūnī(ku₆)^rmeš¹ ina mē(a)^rmeš^{-ia} kīma(^rgim¹) šahī(^ršah¹) ina ru-^ršum¹-d[i-ia]
- 25' 92-3 kīma(^rgim¹) ^rú¹maštakal(in₆.úš) ina ^rú-šal¹-li kīma(gim) ^úsassati(KI.KAL) ina a-^rhī¹ a-[t]ap-^rpi¹
- 26' 94-5 kīma(^rgim¹) zēr(numun) ^giš¹uši(^resi¹) ^rina a-^rhī tam¹-tim šá ^dbalīhē(KASKAL.KUR) šá ba-li-^rhe-e¹
- 27' 96-7 ^rnar¹-qa ^rana¹ [q]aq-qar šá tú-na-si-sa-ni qim-mat-ku-n[u yāši]
-
- 28' 98 én ^rd¹[i]d qaqqadī(^rsag¹.du-mu) kibrītu(piš₁₀.^rd¹d¹) ^rpa-da¹-[at-ti]
- 29' 99 šēpā(^rgir¹)^rmin^{-a-a} na-a¹-ru¹ šá mām-ma la īdū(zu)^u ^rqé-reb¹-[šá]
- 30' 100 anḫullu(an.ḫúl.la) pī(^rka¹)-^ria¹ a-ab-ba ta₅-amtu(géme) <rapaštu> rit-ta-^ra¹-[a]
- 31' 101 kīma(^rgim¹) ^rd¹d¹ qaqqadī(sag¹.du-^rmu¹) kīma(^rgim¹) kibrīti(piš₁₀.^did) elleti(kù) qim-m[a[?]-ti[?]]
- 32' 102 kīma(^rgim¹) ^rú¹anḫullī!!(^rha.lu.úb¹) ^rú¹imḫur(igi)-lim ^ršam-mu¹ pišerte(búr)^r[^e]
- 33' 103 ^rmeš-re-tu¹-u-^ra eb¹-ba ina? x x x [š]á?? kibrī[ti](^rpiš₁₀¹.^df[d])
- 34' 104 ^rina[?] x x x šá ^dr^e-a¹ x [
- 35' 105 ^dištar??(^r15[?]) x ^rla¹ ti x x [
-
- 36' 106 ^rén¹ ^did a-^rkul¹ al-ti ap-^rpa-šiš¹ [ahḫalip(?)]
- 37' 106-7 a-ta-BI-ri ^dr^{id} al?[?] ¹-[labiš?
- 38' 108 ^rd¹d¹ akalī(ninda)^rhi¹-a u mē(a)^{meš} aptur?(du₈) ^di[d dalta?
- 39' 108-9 sippa(^rzag¹.du₈[?]) arkus?(^rkešda¹) ^di[d
- 40' 110 ^did par![?](^rmu¹)-šik-^rku¹ [
- 41' 111 ^ra[?]meš x te meš x¹ [

End of rev. VII; the rest of *Maqlū* VI (112'-57"; small gaps remain between ll. 111, 112' and 113" as well as after l. 157", all in all approx. 50-2 ll.) and *Maqlū* VII 1-31 in the break at the beginning of rev. VIII.

rev. VIII

- 1' 32 [šaman šipti] ^ršá ^dea(^rDIŠ¹) šaman(^ri.giš¹) [šipti ša Asalluḫi]
- 2' 33 [ú-^rt]a-^rhī-id-ka [šaman tapšuh¹ti]
- 3' 34 [šá] ^rd¹é!(kid)-a id-dī-n[u ana pašḫāti]
- 4' 35 ap-šu-uš-ka [šaman balāti]
- 5' 36 [a]d-di-ka šipat(én) ^dea(DIŠ) bēl(^ren¹) [erid]u([NU]N)^rki ^d1n[in-ši-ku]
- 6' 37 [a]t-ru-ud asakku(á.zāg) ^rah-ḫa¹-zu šur-pu-u ^ršá¹ zu[mrī(s[u]-k)]a
- 7' 38 ^rú¹-šat-bi qu-lu ku-^rru¹ ni-is-sa-tú šá pag-^rri-ka¹
- 8' 39 ú-pa-ši-ih šer'ānī(sa)^rmeš¹ mi-na-te-ka lā(nu) tábūti(du₁₀.ga)^rmeš¹
- 9' 40 [i]na qī-bit ^dé-a šar(20) apšī(a[b]zu) ina te-e šá ^dr^e¹-a
- 10' 41-2 [i]na šipti(én) šá ^dasal-l[ú]-hī ina rik-si rabē(gal)^e šá ^rd¹gula(^rME.ME¹)
- 11' 43 [i]na qātī(šu)^{min} pa-áš-ḫa-ti šá ^dnin-tin-ug₅-ga
- 12' 44 u ^dnin-^rgirim¹ bēlet(en) šipti(^rén¹)
- 13' 45 id-dī-šú-ma ana annanna(nenni) mār(a) annanna(nenni) ^dea(DIŠ) šipat(én) amāti(inim) šá balāti(^rti¹.la)
- 14' 46 sebet(7) apkallū(abgal) šu-ut eri-du₁₀ li-šap-ši-ḫu zumur(su)-šú én
-
- 15' 47-8 [é]n ^dellil(BAD) qaqqadī(sag¹.du) ^{mul}šukūdu(gag.si.sá) la-^ra¹-ni pūtī(sag.ki) ^dšamaš(utu) napha(kur)^{ha}
- 16' 49-50 idā(^rá¹)^rmin^{-a¹-a} gam-lum šá bāb(^rká¹) ^dmarduk(MES) uznā(geštu)^{min+na}-a-a le-^ru-u
- 17' 50 [š]ēpā(gir)^{min}-a-a ^rlāḫ¹-mu mu-kab-bi-su šīr(uzu) la-ah-me
- 18' 51 [a]t-tu-nu ilū(^rdingir¹)^rmeš¹ rabūtu(gal)^{meš} <kīma(gim)> ^rd¹šamaš ina šamē(an)^e nap-ḫa-tu-nu
- 19' 52 [k]īma([g]im) an-na-^rku[?]? parzillu?(an.^rbar[?]) ip-šu bar-tum amāt(inim) lemutti(ḫul)^{tim}
- 20' 53 lā iḫḫū(te)^{meš}-ku-nu-š[i l]ā(n)u iqarribū(ku<.nu>)-ku-nu-ši

- 21' 53-4 *ip-šú bar-tú amāt(inim) lemutti(ḥul)ᵀ[im] ᵀlaᵀ iṭehḥū(ᵀteᵀ)-ni la iqarribū(ku.nu)-ni iá-ši én*
-
- 22' 55 ᵀénᵀ at-ᵀtiᵀ-man!(eš)-nu ᵀmunusᵀkaššāptu(ᵀuš₁₁.zuᵀ) šá ᵀpuša(dù)ᵀᵀᵀ ᵀsal-mi
- 23' 56 *it-t[u-l]u ᵀla-aᵀ-[ni ib]-ᵀnuᵀ-[u] ᵀlamassī(lamma)*
- 24' 57 ᵀeᵀ-[mu-ru bal-t]i ᵀú-šarᵀ-ri-ᵀḥuᵀ gat-ti
- 25' 58-9 *[uṣabbū nabnīᵀ] ú-maš-ᵀšī-lu bu-unᵀ-na-ni-ia*
- 26' 60-1 *[u]b-ᵀpīᵀ-r[u mināᵀᵀ]-ia ú-ᵀkàsᵀ-su-u meš-re-ti-ia*
- 27' 61 ᵀú-kanᵀ-[ni-nu] ma-na-ni-ᵀiaᵀ
- 28' 62 *ia-a-ši ᵀᵀea(ᵀDīšᵀ) [mašma]š(ᵀmaš.ma)š ilī(dingir)ᵀmeš ú-ma-ᵀi-ᵀra-ni-maᵀ*
- 29' 63-4 *ina maḥar(igi) ᵀšamaš(utu) ṣa-lam-ᵀki eᵀ-ṣir la-an-ᵀkiᵀ aᵀ-ᵀṭul ᵀlamassa(lamma)-ᵀki ab-niᵀ*
- 30' 65 *bal-ta-ki a-ᵀmur ga-ta-kiᵀ ú-šar-ri-[i]ḥ*
- 31' 65-6 *nab-ni-it-ki ú-[ṣab-b]i ᵀᵀnissabaᵀ elletu(kù)ᵀᵀᵀ ᵀbuᵀ-na-ni-ki ᵀú-mašᵀ-šil*
- 32' 67 *[mināᵀᵀiki ubbir meš-r]e-ti-ᵀkiᵀ ú-ᵀkàsᵀ-si*
- 33' 68-9 *[manāᵀᵀiki ukannin ipšū t]e-pu-šin-ᵀniᵀ ēpuš(dù)-ki*
- 34' 70 *[miḥir tušamḥirīni] ᵀú-šam-ḥirᵀ-ki*
- 35' 71 *[gimil tagmiᵀᵀini] ᵀú-terᵀ a[ḡ-m]il-ᵀkiᵀ*
- 36' 72 *[kišpīki ruḥēki ru-s]e-ᵀkiᵀ ep-še-ᵀte-kiᵀ lem-né!(nu)-ti*
- 37' 73-4 *[uṣšāšēki ayyābūti na-á]š-pa-ra-ti-ki šá lemutti(ḥul)ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ*
- 38' 75 *[rāmki zīrki dib]alū(di.b)al.ᵀaᵀ)-ᵀkiᵀ zikurudū(zi.ku₅.ru.ᵀdaᵀ)-ᵀkiᵀ*
- 39' 76 *[kadabbedūki dimmakurr]ú(dimma.kúr.r)ᵀa)-ᵀkiᵀ li-kilᵀ-lu rēš(sag)-ᵀkiᵀ*
- 40' 77 *[itti mē ša zumrīya u musāti š]á qāᵀᵀya(ᵀšuᵀ^{min}-mu)*
- 41' 78 *[liššahīma ana muḥḥīki u lānīki] ᵀlil-lik-maᵀ*
- 42' 79 *[anāku lubluᵀ ḗnītu] ᵀli-na-anᵀ-n[i]*
- 43' 79-a *[māḥirtu] ᵀlim-ḥur-an-niᵀ a[m-ḥur] mi-ᵀiḥᵀ-ru lim-ᵀḥur-inᵀ-ni ᵀénᵀ*

End of rev. VIII; *Maqlū* VII 80–177 and the first 15–20 ll. of *Maqlū* VIII in break.

The line endings preserved in rev. IX belong roughly in the gap of approx. nine lines between *Maqlū* VIII 16 and 17', probably overlapping with the fragmentary ll. 17'–21' whose endings cannot be reconstructed yet, or, less likely, with the fragmentary ll. 14–16.

rev. IX

- 1' [le]mnū/ēti(ḥ)ul)ᵀᵀᵀ meš ᵀ
- 2' [] x-ti
- 3' []-ᵀḥuᵀ?
- 4'–8' completely broken
- 9' [] x
- 10' []-ᵀniᵀ?
- 11' []-x-šá
- 12' []-š]á?

Rev. IX breaks; rev. X–XII lost.

obv. V

- 1' 24 ...
 “[You have han]ded over [figurines of me to a dead person],
 you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed
 against me: may Gira release!)
- 2' 25-6 [You have chosen figurines of me for a dead person, you have la]id [figurines of me
 with a dead person],
 yo[u] (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed
 against me: may Gira release!)
- 3' 27-8 [You have laid figurines of me in the lap of a dead person], you have buried [figurines
 of me in a dead person’s grave],
 yo[u] (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed
 against me: may Gira release!)

- 4' 29-30 [You have handed over figurines of me to a skull], you [have] immured [figurines of me in a wall],
yo[u] (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 5' 31-2 [You have laid figurines of me under a threshold], you have immured [figurines of me in the sewage opening of the (city) wall],
yo[u] (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 6' 33 [You have buried figurines of me on a bridge so that the crowds] tramp[le] (over them),
7' 34 [you have opened a hole in a fuller's mat (and) b]u[ri]ed figurines of me (therein)],
[y]ou (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 8' 35 [You have opened a hole in a gardener's channel (and) b]u[ri]ed [figurines of me (therein)],
[y]ou (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 9' 36 [Figurines of me — whether of tamarisk wood or of cedar wood or of tallow] or of wax
10' 37-8 [or of sesame pomace or of bitumen or of clay, or o]f dough —,
11' 39 [figurines, likenesses of my face] and of my body,
12' 39-40 [you have made and f]ed (them) [to a dog], fed (them) to a pig,
13' 41 [fed (them) to birds, thr]own (them) [into a rive]r.
14' 42 You have handed over [figurines of me to L]amaštu, the daughter of [Anu],
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 15' 43 You have handed over [figurines of me t]o Gira,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 16' 44 You have laid [my water with] a dead person (into a grave),
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 17' 45 You have laid [my water in the l]ap of a dead person,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 18' 46 You have buried [my water in] a dead person's [g]rave,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 19' 47 You have buried my water [in . . .] of the earth,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 20' 48 You have buried my water [in . . .] of the earth,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 21' 49 *Bef[ore the gods of the nigh]t* you have drawn my water,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 22' 50 You have handed over *hair from [m]y [b]o[dy]* to Gilgameš,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 23' 51 You have chosen me for the ne[ther] world,
you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
- 24' 52 'Cutting-of-the-throat'-magic before (the moon-god) Šin,
you (have performed against me, you have had performed against me: may Gira release!)

- 25' 53-4 ['Cu]tting-of-the-throat'-magic before Jupiter, 'cutting-of-the-throat'-magic before Cygnus,
 26' 55, 57 ['cu]tting-of-the-throat'-magic before (the star of) Gula, 'cutting-of-the-throat'-magic before Ursa Maior
 you (have performed against me, you have had performed against me: may Gira release!)
 27' 58-9 'Cutting-of-the-throat'-magic before Scorpius, 'cutting-of-the-throat'-magic before Orion,
 28' 60 ['cu]tting-of-the-throat'-magic before Centaurus
 you (have performed against me, you have had performed against me: may Gira release!)
 29' 61 ['Cu]tting-of-the-throat'-magic making use of a snake, a mongoose, an *arrabu*-mouse (or) a *pirurūtu*-rodent
 you (have performed against me, you have had performed against me: may Gira release!)
 30' 62 ['Cutti]ng-of-the-throat'-magic making use of *a corpse*, [. . .] . . .
 <you (have performed against me, you have had performed against me: may Gira release!)>
 31' 63 You have [given] me [a]ll kinds (of bewitched food) [to eat],
 you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
 32' 64 [You have] given me (bewitched) water to drink, *m[ilk]*, beer (or) wine],
 you (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)
 33' 65 [You have bathed] m[e with (bewitched) water and potash],
 [you] (have performed (sorcery) against me, you have had (sorcery) performed against me: may Gira release!)"

Obv. V breaks off.

obv. VI

- ...
 1' 21 "[Come, rebell]i[on, rage, rebellion]!
 2' 22 [Place your feet *where you have remov*]ed the feet of my warlo[ck and witch]!
 3' 23 [Let an idiot] take the w[itch to her judge]
 4' 24 so that her [j]udge [may roar against her] like a lion,
 5' 25 [m]ay he strike her cheek, may he tu[rn back her word to her mouth]!
 6' 26-7 [Sor]ceress (and) enchantress: Like [ammi may her witchcraft be dislodged],
 7' 28 [l]ike saffron may [her witchcraft *squash* her],
 8' 29 like *sahlū*-plant may [her witchcraft pierce her],
 9' 30 like *samīdu*-plant may [her witchcraft] h[amper her],
 10' 31 like *kasū*-plant may [her witchcraft] bin[d her],
 11' 32 like *thyme* may [her witchcraft] chop [her up],
 12' 33 like black alum may [her witchcraft] cover [her],
 13' 35 like *nuhurtu*-asafoetida may [her lips] be made to shrivel!
 14' 36-7 Sorceress (and) enchantress: May [street and alley] turn against h[er],
 15' 38 may the open-air shrine and [its] cu[lt socles] turn against her,
 16' 39 may the gods of [the open country and the city] turn against her
 17' 40 so that the witch — like a dog with a stick, like a liza[r]d with a clod of earth],
 18' 41 like sheep-dung — may be cl[ea]red away and [passed by],
 19' 42 so that the passerby may fro[wn upon her] as upon a donkey's fetlock in the street!
 20' 43-4 Sorceress (and) enchantress: May her headscarves whirl (in the dirt) betw[een the do]gs,
 21' 45 may dogs whirl between her headscarves,
 22' 46 may axes whirl over her!
 23' 47 Like (when burning) gazelle dung may her smoke dissipate!" Incantation (formula).

24' 48 Incantation: "Whoever you are, witch, who is performing (sorcery) for three months,
 25' 48-9 ten days (and) half a da[y]: I lift up against you *kukru*-plant,
 26' 49 the nourishment of the mountain(s), *thyme*, the nourishment of the land.
 27' 50 'String, string of the *qadištu*-votaries,
 28' 50 cone, cone that is full of seed,
 29' 51 break this of my warlock (and) witch, (namely) their bond,
 30' 52 turn her witchcraft into a storm-wind, her words into wi[nd]!'
 31' 53 May her witchcraft be blown away like chaff,
 32' 53-4 may it be peeled off like garlic(-skin), may it be stripped off like d[at]es,
 33' 54 may it be untwined [like] a string –
 34' 55 by the command of Ištar, Dumuzi, [Nanaya, lady of love],
 35' 56 and Kanisur[ra, mistress of witches]." Incantation (formula).

36' 57 Incantation: "The ha[te-magic you have performed against me, have had performed against me, is (directed) against you]."

Obv. VI breaks off.

rev. VII

...
 1' 63 "(so) may her witchcraft, her sorceries, [her] ma[gic (and) her evil machinations]
 2' 64 not come near me, not appro[ach] me!" Incantation (formula).

3' 65 Incantation: "Hey, you who have performed all (kinds of witchcraft)!
 4' 66 Whatever you have performed against me (and) [m]y fate –
 5' 67 may the *kukru*-plant of the mountain(s) break your bond,
 6' 68 may the south wind carry off what is on your right and on your left!"

7' 69 Incantation: "Pure sulphur, daughter of the great heavens, am I!
 8' 70-1 Anu created me, then Enlil (and) Ninlil brought me down to the la[nd].
 9' 72-3 Sorceress, where *could* you (possibly) have bewitched me, *rāhītu*-witch, where *could*
 you (possibly) have impre[gnated] me (with witchcraft)]?
 10' 74-5 As much as my head heaven is holy, as much as my feet earth i[s] holy.
 11' 76-7 On my inner *hem* is cast the incantation of the sage of the gods." [Inca]ntation
 (formula).

12' 78 Incantation: "Sulphur, sulphur, sulphur, daughter of the River, sulphur, daughter-in-
 law of the River,
 13' 79 whose witches are seven and seven, whose enemies are seven and seven!
 14' 80 They performed (sorcery) against her, but she was not affected (by their sorcery),
 15' 81 they bewitched her, but she was not bewitched.
 16' 82 Who is it who would perform witchcraft against sulphur?
 17' 83 May sulphur release (the sorcery) the seven and seven have performed against me,
 18' 84 may sulphur release . . ., so that I may li[ve]!" Incantation (formula).

19' 85 Incantation: "Pure sulphur, *atā'išu*-plant, the hol[y] herb, [am I]!
 20' 86 My sorcerers are the Sages of the underground oc[ean],
 21' 87 my sorceresses are the heavenly Daughters of Anu.
 22' 88 When they performed (sorcery) against me, they were never able to overpower m[e],
 23' 89 when I performed (rituals) against them, I was able to overpower them.
 24' 90-1 I rise up like fish in my water, like a pig from [my] mud,
 25' 92-3 like soapwort in the flood plain, like grass on the bank of a canal,
 26' 94-5 like the seed of the ebony-tree on the seashore. You of the Balīḥ, you of the Balīḥ!
 27' 96-7 Hide yourselves in the ground, you who shook your hair out [at me]!"

- 28' 98 Incantation: "The [Ri]ver is my head, sulphur is [my] bodily form,
 29' 99 my feet are the river who[se] inner being nobody knows,
 30' 100 the *anhullu*-plant is my mouth, Ayabba, the <wide> sea, are [my] hands.
 31' 101 Like the River my head, like pure sulphur [my] *hai[r]*,
 32' 102 like *anhullu*-plant(!) (and) 'heals-a-thousand'-plant, the plants of release,
 33' 103 my limbs are pure. . . . sul[phur].
 34' 104 *By the . . . of Ea, [. . .]*"
 35' 105 too fragmentary for translation
-
- 36' 106 Incantation: "River, I have eaten, I have drunk, I have been anointed, [*I have clothed myself*],
 37' 107 I have *put on a headdress!* River, I [*have put on a garment . . .*]
 38' 108 River, bread and water *I have cleared away*, Ri[ver, *the door . . .*]
 39' 108-9 *the doorjamb I have put in place*, Ri[ver, . . .]"
- Ll. 40'-1' (110-1) too fragmentary for translation; end of rev. VII.

rev. VIII

- ...
 1' 32 "Ea's [incantation oil, Asalluḫi's incantation] oil.
 2' 33 [I ha]ve provided you lavishly [with soothing oil]
 3' 34 [that] Ea has grant[ed for soothing].
 4' 35 I have anointed you [with the oil of life],
 5' 36 [I] have cast upon you the incantation of Ea, lord of [Erid]u, N[inšiku].
 6' 37 [I] have expelled the *asakku*-demon, the 'seizer'-demon (and) the chills of your body,
 7' 38 I have removed the stupor, apathy (and) misery of your body,
 8' 39 I have soothed the sinews of your sick limbs –
 9' 40 [b]y the command of Ea, king of the underground ocean, by the spell of Ea,
 10' 41-2 [b]y the incantation of Asalluḫi, with the great bandage of Gula,
 11' 43 [w]ith the soothing hands of Nintinugga
 12' 44 and Ningirima, lady of incantation(s).
 13' 45 Ea cast on N.N., son of N.N., the incantation *of the word that (brings) life*
 14' 46 *so that the seven sages of Eridu may sooth his body!*" Incantation (formula).
-
- 15' 47-8 [In]cantation: "Enlil is my head, Sirius is my body, my forehead is the rising sun,
 16' 49-50 my arms are Auriga at Marduk's gate, my ears are the capable one,
 17' 50 my [f]eet are *lahmu*-heroes stepping on the 'flesh' of *lahmu*-heroes.
 18' 51 [Y]ou, oh great gods, shine <like> (the sun-god) Šamaš in the sky.
 19' 52 [A]s — *like tin (and) iron* — sorcery, revolt (and) evil talk
 20' 53 do not come near you, do not approach you,
 21' 53-4 so let sorcery, revolt (and) evil talk not come near me, not approach me!" Incantation (formula).
-
- 22' 55 Incantation: "Whoever you are, witch, who made a figurine of me,
 23' 56 who ob[ser]ved my bod[y, created] a representation of me,
 24' 57 who s[aw my good look]s, gave rich detail to my physical build,
 25' 58-9 [who studied (my) figure], reproduced my features,
 26' 60-1 [b]oun[d] my [limbs], tied my body parts,
 27' 61 twi[sted] my *sinews* —
 28' 62 (as for) me, Ea, [the exorci]st of the gods, has sent me!
 29' 63-4 So I have drawn your image before Šamaš, I have observed your body, I have created a representation of you,
 30' 65 I have seen your good looks, I have given rich detail to your physical build,
 31' 65-6 I have [studie]d your figure, with pure flour I have reproduced your features,
 32' 67 [I have bound your limbs], I have tied your [body p]arts,

- 33' 68–9 [I have twisted your *sinews*! The sorceries y]ou performed against me I have performed against you,
 34' 70 [the mishap you had me encounter] I have had you encounter,
 35' 71 [the revenge you took against me] I have taken against you in return.
 36' 72 May [your witchcraft, your sorceries], your [ma]gic, your evil manipulations,
 37' 73–4 [your hostile machinations], your [me]ssages of evil,
 38' 75 [your love-magic, your hate-magic] your '[per]version-of-justice'-magic, your 'cutting-of-the-throat'-magic,
 39' 76 [your 'seizing-of-the-mouth'-magic], your dementia-magic take hold of your (own) person!
 40' 77 [With the (washing) water of my body and the washwater o]f my hands
 41' 78 [let it be rinsed off and] let it come [upon your head and body]
 42' 79 [so that I may live. May someone] take (it) over from me,
 43' 79–a may [someone] receive (it) from me. I hav[e encountered] mishap: may they receive it from me!"

End of rev. VIII.

rev. IX

1'–12' too fragmentary for translation

Rev. IX breaks; rev. X–XII lost.

Commentary

Obv. V 1'–33' (Maqlû IV 24–65): Only the middle part of *Bišlî bišlî*, the first incantation of *Maqlû IV* with its long list of acts of witchcraft which Gira is asked to undo, is preserved on the Chicago fragment. Substantial parts of this passage were unknown when Meier prepared his edition, and a few fragmentary lines are still known from the present manuscript only. The following duplicates are relevant for the passage: K 2454 + 2984 + 3178 + 7616 (+) 2976 (ll. 24–55; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), K 2956 (ll. 52–65; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script, copy Tallqvist 1895: II 71–2, here Fig. 4), Rm 548(+) (ll. 30–9; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), BM 34077 (ll. 48–65; Babylonia, Late Babylonian script, copy Fig. 5; we thank M. J. Geller who made his own unpublished copy of the fragment available to us), BM 36618 (ll. 64–5; Babylonia, Late Babylonian school excerpt, copy Gesche 2000: 267–8, here Fig. 6), BM 40726 (ll. 29–37; Babylonia, Late Babylonian script). Apart from the line division the text of the passage as preserved on the Chicago fragment shows no significant variants from the other manuscripts.

1'–5' (24–32): The preserved line endings seem to suggest that ll. 25, 27 (or 26), 29 and 31 were missing in the present manuscript (all lines preserved in K 2454 +, 29–31 in BM 40726, 30–1 in Rm 548). But the spacing between the preserved signs at the end of ll. 1'–5' suggests the possibility that these lines contained considerably more text than the comparable ll. 15'–18' further down in the same column. It is therefore likely that two canonical lines were included on one line in this passage; the opening word *šalmīya* was probably represented by *kimin*, and *te-*, the incipit of the refrain, was repeated only at the end of each line rather than after each entry. This is supported by the fact that the *zikurudû*-section of the litany shows exactly the same structure: the opening line of the section is on a line of its own (l. 24' = 52), but in the following lines two canonical lines are combined on one (ll. 25' = 53–4; 26' = 55, 57; 27' = 58–9), *zikurudâ* is represented by *kimin*, and *te-* is repeated only at the end of a line (or not at all). In favour of assuming that these lines were originally on this tablet (rather than assuming that they were omitted accidentally or were not part of the original text) is the fact that they are not randomly distributed, but occur together in alternate lines.

3' (27–8): For the spelling *taq-pi-ra* instead of *taq-bi-ra* (so in ll. 18'–20'), see our remarks on the language and orthography of the Chicago manuscript (*supra*, introduction).

6' (33): There is not enough space for the restoration of the expected *te-*; note that the scribe omitted *te-* also in l. 25'.

7'–8' (34–5): *būru* is a pit or a hole in the ground and, more specifically, a hole filled with liquids (bitumen, water), therefore "pool", "well" etc. A small hole dug into a fuller's mat fills up with the dirty washwater that the fuller presses out of the clothes when rubbing them on the mat. The image of burying figurines in such a hole suggests at the same time drowning in a small well, or the like, and being soiled (cf. Schwemer 2007a: 46 ad 13 rev. IV 12'–3'). A hole in the ground or on the edge of a gardener's channel fills up with muddy water; the basic meaning of the image is therefore again that of dirtying and drowning the figurine. Generally, the deposition of figurines in the ground symbolises their transfer to the nether world, and the use of *qebēru* in both lines indicates that this meaning is intended here too.

11' (39): For the restoration of this line, see Schwemer 2007b: 92 fn. 123.

14' (42): How substitute figurines could be handed over to Lamaštu is nicely illustrated by the ritual K 888 (with the parallel text *KAL* 2, 26 and 27 // *RIAA* 312 // CBS 1498), where Lamaštu guides substitute figurines of the patient to the nether world (see Schwemer 2006; for *RIAA* 312, cf. also Abusch and Schwemer 2009).

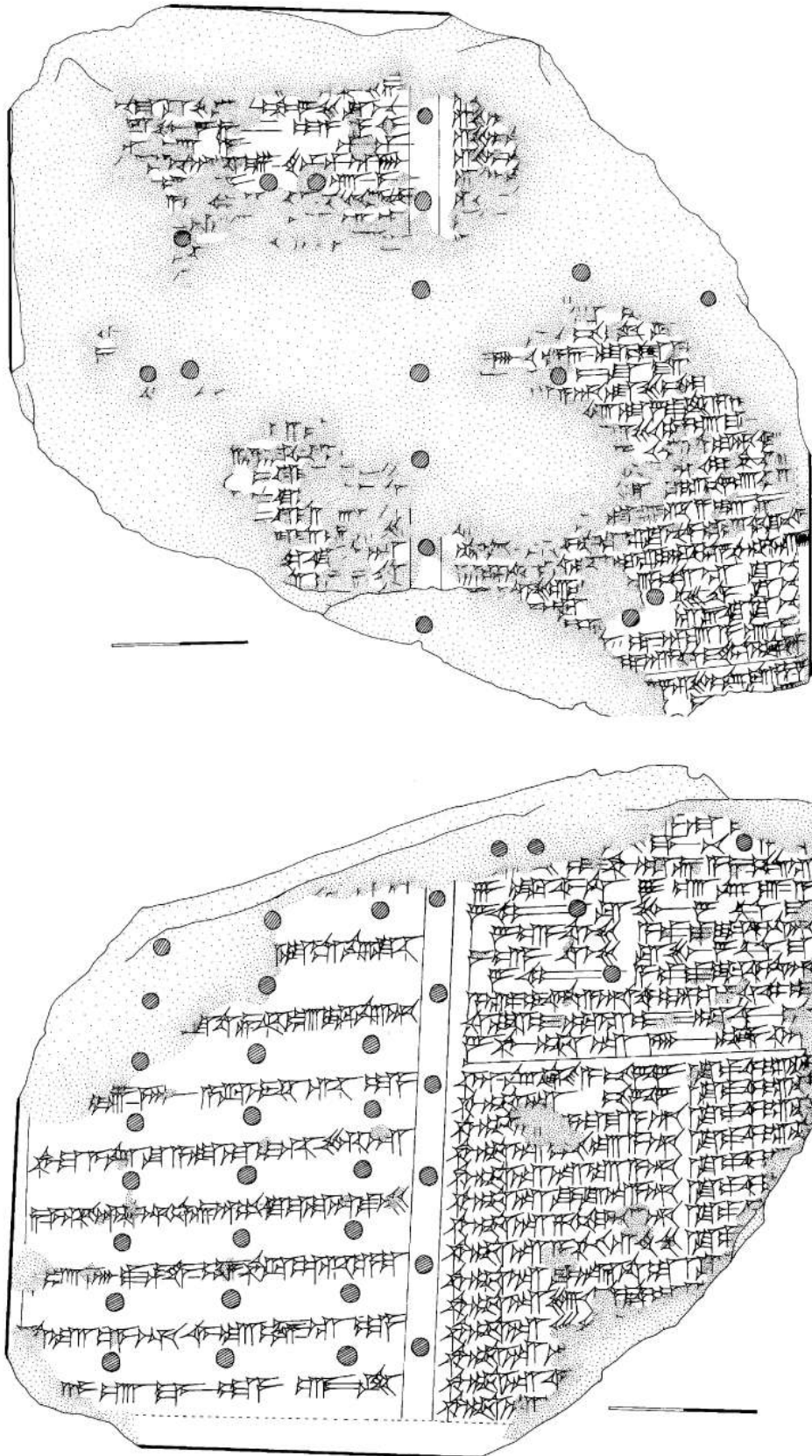


Fig. 4 K 2956 (*Maqlû* IV) obv. (top) and rev. (bottom).

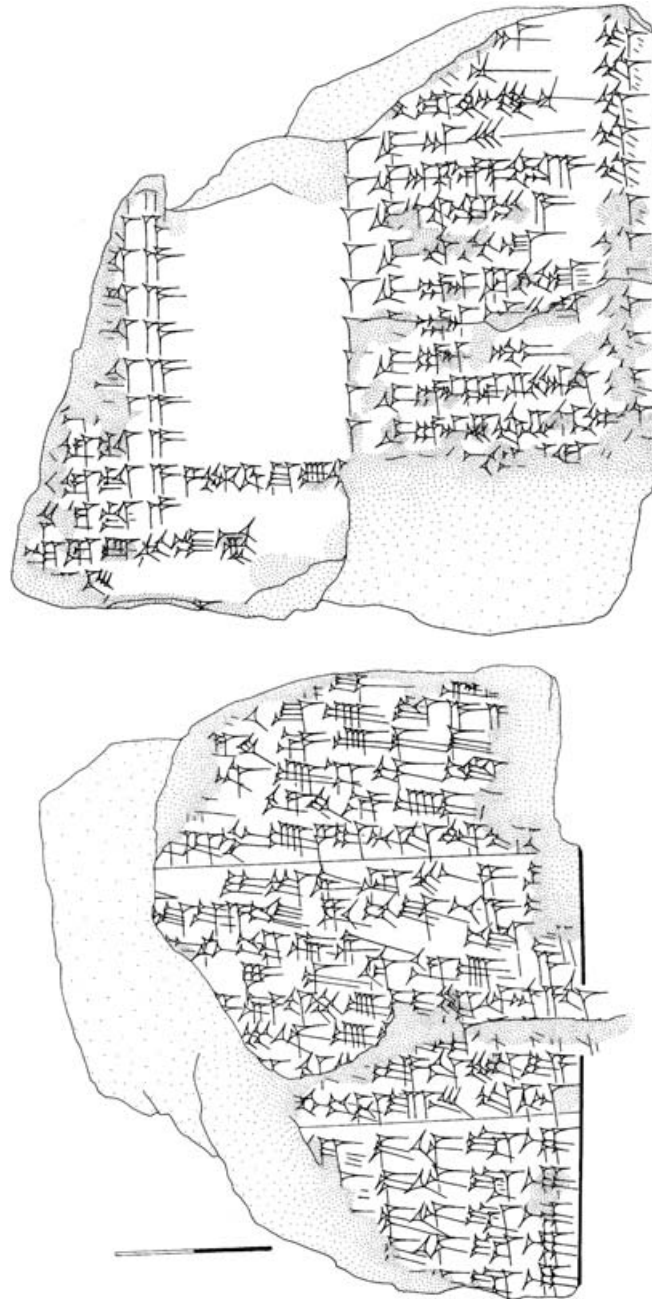


Fig. 5 BM 34077 (*Maqlû* IV) obv. (top) and rev. (bottom).

16'–20' (44–8): For an interpretation of “my water” as the water of the patient symbolically poured as his funerary offering see Schwemer 2007b: 101–4; for a possible restoration of the beginnings of ll. 19' and 20', see *ibid.* 102 with fn. 176.

21' (49): The reading offered here for the first half of the line remains tentative. The slight traces preserved at the beginning of l. 21' look very much like *ina* i[gi, and the broken sign before *méya* could be *š*i. The latter reading is supported by the equally broken, corresponding sign in K 2976 obv. II 4 where clear traces of a *Winkelhaken* are preserved before the vertical and horizontal ([... -š]i a^{mes}-ia ...). The symbolic drawing and pouring of water for the patient's funerary offering is closely associated with *zikurudû*-magic, and some texts indicate that, like *zikurudû*-magic, this ritual use of water was performed before the stars (see Schwemer 2007b: 102–4); it therefore seems plausible to restore *ina ma[har ilī mūš*]i “before the gods of the night” or, possibly, *ina ma[har kakkab mūš*]i “before the stars of the night” (for *mūšu*, rather than more common *mūšitu*, preceded by *ilū* or *kakkabū*, see *CAD* M II 295a; for the slight semantic difference between *mūšu* and *mūšitu*, see Wasserman 2002: 71–3).

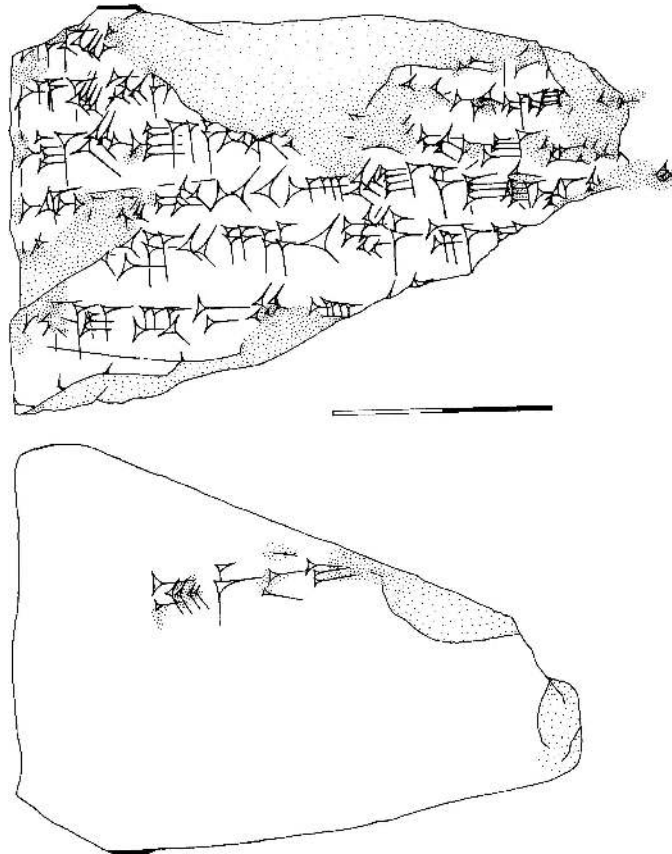


Fig. 6 BM 36618 (*Maqlû* IV excerpt) obv. (top) and rev. (bottom).

22' (50): The beginning of the line is only preserved in the present manuscript; for the tentative restoration offered here, cf. Schwemer 2007b: 102 fn. 178 (but note that the tentative restoration of *BAM* 231 obv. I 16 has been ruled out by collation in the meantime).

24'–30' (52–62): The *zikurudû*-section of the litany was largely unknown to Meier, and its last line is still very fragmentary. It is well known from other texts that *zikurudû*-witchcraft was believed to have been performed before astral deities (ll. 52–60) and that this form of witchcraft made use of rodents and snakes (see Thomsen 1987: 40–7, Abusch 2008, Schwemer 2007b: 63–4, 101–5, 155–7, 222–6). Though a certain hierarchy in the order of the astral bodies can be observed and some of the stars named are attested within the context of *zikurudû*-witchcraft elsewhere, the list seems neither to follow an overall logic in its arrangement nor to be exhaustive — *zikurudû* performed before Sirius (*Šukūdu*, ^{mul}gag.si.sá, see Thomsen 1987: 44, Mayer 1990: 169–74) is missing.

24' (52): The performance of *zikurudû*-witchcraft before the moon-god is not attested otherwise, but one anti-witchcraft ritual against *zikurudû* is performed before *Sîn* (see Schwemer 2007b: 222–6, and note that the “three” rituals of this type adduced by Thomsen 1987: 44 all belong to the same text); also the dangerous women at 7th cent. Guzana who are able to bring down the moon from the sky should be mentioned in this context (*SAA* 16, 63 rev. 26–7, cf. Schwemer 2007b: 104 and 126 with further references). The transcription of *igi* as *pāni* (and not *māhar*) here and in the following lines is based on syllabic *pa-ni* in K 2976 obv. II 7–8.

25' (53–4): *Zikurudû* before *Šulpae* is also attested in *STT* 89 obv. I 31 (coll.); for *zikurudû* before *Nimru*, cf. *BAM* 466: 6. For the likely reading of ^{mul}u₄.ka.duḫ.a as *nimru* and its identification with *Cygnus*, see Gössmann 1950: 58–60, Hunger and Pingree 1989: 126.

26' (55, 57): L. 56 is preserved in BM 34077 obv. II 9': [zi.ku₅.ru].da^a ana igi ^{mul}ur.gu.la *te-*; its omission here is due to a mistake on the part of the scribe (haplography). The fact that l. 26' has l. 55 without *te-* and then, after the omission of l. 56, l. 57 with *te-* suggests that it was the writer of the present tablet who decided on the line division and on the omission of *te-* in the first half of the line and its inclusion, when possible, at the end of the line. For *zikurudû* performed before *Ereḫqu* (*Ursa Major*, l. 57), cf. *PBS* 1/2, 121 and *AMT* 44/4 + *KMI* 76a obv. 2 (joined by Abusch in 1976 and discussed by Thomsen 1987: 44, Schwemer 2007b: 229–30). L. 55 is preserved here as well as in K 2976 obv. II 10 (traces of *GU* only) and BM 34077 obv. II 8'. Instead of *ana igi* ^dgu-la “before (the goddess) Gula” BM 34077 has *ana igi* ^{mul}GU.LA. The determinatives for deities and stars are interchangeable, “sometimes even in one and the same text” (Reiner 1995: 5). In the

present case, however, problems of interpretation arise. “Cutting-of-the-throat” magic before the goddess Gula is attested also in *BAM* 449(+) rev. III 24’–7’ // *STT* 89 obv. I 23–7 (*ana igi* ^d*gu-la*), and Thomsen’s assumption that “vielleicht der Stern Gula gemeint [ist]” (1987: 44) finds welcome support in the fact that Gula is named within a list of astral bodies here. According to *MUL.APIN* I i 24 (Hunger and Pingree 1989: 25), Gula’s star is Lyra, the She-goat (*Enzu*, ^{mul}ūz, cf. also the description of [mu]l ^d*gu-la* in the Aššur star catalogue VAT 9428 rev. 14–16, see Weidner 1927: 75, 77, 84–5, cf. also Gössmann 1950: 28, 60–2). This information is borne out by the interchangeable role that Gula and the Goat star play in many healing rituals (see Reiner 1995: 54–6); note especially the anti-witchcraft ritual *SpTU* 2, 22 + 3, 85 obv. II 24’ ff. that is performed before the Goat star and addresses Gula in the pertinent prayer (cf. Reiner 1995: 128–9, Schwemer 2007b: 149 fn. 4) and the fact that the Goat star is designated as *kakkab*(mul) *kišpī*(uš₁₁.zu) “star of witchcraft” in a late explanatory text (BM 55466 + [STC 2, 67–72] rev. IV 7, cf. Landsberger 1923: 43–8). However, there is also the constellation ^{mul}gu.la “The Great One” (Akkadian reading unknown, but possibly the Sumerian name was simply taken over in Akkadian) that has to be identified with Aquarius (see Weidner 1927: 84 n. 5, Kugler and Schaumberger 1935: 334–6, Ungnad 1941–4: 258 fn. 50). The “Babylonian Lunarium” known from two early Seleucid tablets associates the performance of anti-witchcraft rituals (*ušburruda*) with the moment when the moon stands in the region of Aquarius (and alternatively in Pisces): uš₁₁.búr.ru.da ki ^{mul}gu.la šá-niš ki ^{mul}kun[^{meš}] (*BRM* 4, 20 obv. 23, cf. 19 obv. 12’, for the texts see Ungnad 1941–4, Neugebauer and Sachs 1952–3, Stol 1993: 115–17, Reiner 1995: 106–10, Schwemer 2007b: 160–1, also Scurlock 2005–6 with a different overall interpretation). The conclusion must be that both constellations, Lyra (^{mul}*Enzu*, *kakkab*(mul) ^d*gu-la*, also simply ^d*gu-la*) and Aquarius (^{mul}gu.la), were associated with witchcraft, though an explicit link with *zikurudû* magic can be established only for Lyra. Whether our passage refers to Lyra or Aquarius is difficult to decide (it is possible, but not likely, that the usage of different determinatives in the two extant manuscripts indicates that the Neo-Assyrian scribe intended Lyra [^d*gu-la*] while his Late Babylonian colleague thought of Aquarius [^{mul}gu.la]). Which interpretation represents the tradition more generally accepted among Babylonian scholars must remain uncertain in the absence of more manuscripts or a commentary. As such, the variant writing seems to indicate that the strict distinction made in astronomical texts between “Star of Gula” and “Gula-star” might not be observed by less specially trained scribes (and the debate about the astral significance of the *kudurru* symbols and their assignment to specific constellations shows that modern scholarship is also susceptible to this kind of confusion, cf. Koch *et al.* 1990: 99, Iwaniszewski 2003: 81–2).

27’ (58–9): For *zikurudû* performed before Scorpius, cf. *KAR* 121 = *BAM* 203 = *KAL* 2, 35: 5’–6’ (Middle Assyrian) and *STT* 89 obv. I 55.

28’ (60): For *zikurudû* performed before Centaurus, cf. *STT* 89 obv. I 50–1.

29’ (61): Pests that easily enter houses like snakes and rodents were regarded as potential indicators (ominous messengers) of *zikurudû*-magic, see Thomsen 1987: 40–7, Abusch 2008, Schwemer 2007b: 63–4, 155–6, 222–5. The emendation of péš (*humsīru*-mouse) to péš <.tur> (*pirurūtu*-rodent) is based on the duplicate BM 34077 obv. II 14’: ... ša šerri(muš) šik-ku-ú ‘ar-ra-bu? pi?-ru-ru-tú? te-¹ (note that by an oversight this reading in A 7876 is not marked as an emendation in Schwemer 2007b: 155).

30’ (62): Both duplicates (K 2956 obv. II 11’, BM 34077 obv. II 15’) are fragmentary. The traces preserved here suggest *ša pagri* near the beginning of the line, but we cannot cite any parallels to support this reading. The last two signs of the line (*-he-e* seems more likely than *-ge-e*) can hardly be anything but the ending of a noun in the genitive, which most likely would belong to a sequence of genitives following *zikurudû ša* (cf. l. 29’). Since this is the last line of the *zikurudû*-section, an emendation <te-> at the end of the line seems inevitable. The traces preserved before *-he-e* could suggest a reading k[imin] ‘šá’ x-*he-e*, but the fact that BM 34077 has only one corresponding line (with a large unscribed space after *zikurudû*) militates against the reconstruction of a line with two *zikurudû* phrases. One could also read ‘ú? šá?’ x-*he-e*, so that the whole phrase would be: “*zikurudû* of a corpse, of a y and of a z” (but note that *u* is not used in the structurally parallel line 29’). Another alternative would be ...-k[e]?’-e?’ x-*he-e*, which would give us “*zikurudû* of a corpse, of an x, of a y, of a z”, i.e. four items as in l. 29’. Even the reading of the last word itself remains uncertain. While ‘ru-*he-e*’ “of *ruhû*-magic” fits the traces perfectly, ‘ša’-*he-e* “of a pig” cannot be excluded.

31’ (63): The duplicate line BM 34077 obv. II 16’ reads: [ina a]-ka-lu ú-kul-tum inbi(gurun) [...]. The traces preserved in K 2956 obv. II 12’ indicate that this manuscript had the same text: [... ú-ku]l-tu¹ gu[run ...]. The Chicago fragment gives us the expected verbal form *tušākīlā’inni*, but the first half of the line differs from the duplicates. The list of foodstuffs is replaced with a simple *mimma šumšu* (for *mimma šumšu* in a comparable context, cf. Læssøe 1955: 38: 13–5 //). The space available suggests that *mimma šumšu* was not preceded by *ina* (for the restoration of *ina* in the duplicates, cf. the commentary on the following line). The transfer of witchcraft to its victim by means of food, drink, bathwater, oil and presents is a well-known motif in anti-witchcraft rituals (see Abusch 2002 [= 1989]: 12 with fn. 26, 83–7, Schwemer 2007b: 87–9).

32’ (64): All extant manuscripts are fragmentary, but together they allow an almost complete reconstruction of the line:

A 7678 obv. V 32’:	—	[^a meš]	g[a? x x	taš-q]a- ^a l-in- ⁱ ni ¹ t[e-]
K 2956 obv. II 13’:	[ina	[^a meš]	[ga? kaš ‘geštin ¹	ta[š-qā’inni
BM 34077 obv. II 17’:	[i(-)na]	[^a meš]	[]
BM 36618 obv. I:	[ina	[^a meš]	g[a? kaš ka-ra]-n[i]?	[taš-qa ¹ -i-in-ni

The name of the second beverage is fragmentary in all manuscripts. Next to water, beer and wine, milk is the most common beverage, and the traces in K 2956 fit a reading *šizbi(ga)*, while the few traces preserved in our manuscript and BM 36618 at least do not contradict it. At the beginning of the line, the traces in BM 36618 and the space available in K 2956 and BM 34077 strongly suggest *ina*; this is confirmed by the fact that we have parallel constructions with *ina* in ll. 65–7: *ina mē u uḫūli turammikā'inni, ina šamni tapšuša'inni, ina šūbulāti tušēbilā'inni* (preserved in BM 36618 and partially in K 2956). Consequently, *ina* has to be restored also in the preceding l. 63 (here 31') of these manuscripts. As in l. 31', however, there seems not to be enough space before the broken a^{mes} for the restoration of *ina* in our manuscript; apparently it had a simple double accusative construction instead of the elliptic phrases (i.e., phrases without the explicit mention of witchcraft) in the duplicates. Close parallels can be adduced for both constructions. Elliptic construction: *ša ... ina akali ušākilanni ina šikari išqānni ina mē urammikanni ina šamni ipšušanni ina ukullē ušākilanni* “who ... has given me (witchcraft) to eat with bread, has given me (witchcraft) to drink with beer, has bathed me (with witchcraft) in water, has anointed me (with witchcraft) in oil, has given me (witchcraft) to eat with food” (Læssøe 1955: 38: 11–13 // *STT* 76–7). Simple double accusative construction: *mē kaššāpūti išqānni* (*KAR* 80 (*KAL* 2, 8) rev. 30 //); *kišpīša lemnūti ušākilanni ruḫēša lā ṭābūti išqānni* (*BRM* 4, 18 obv. 1–3 //, see Abusch 2002: 84 — note that in the duplicate *AMT* 92/1 obv. II 12' *ina* before *ruḫēša* is not present on the tablet [coll.]). It seems that usually the elliptic construction does not mention witchcraft explicitly, while in the double accusative construction the second accusative object is either simply *kišpī* etc. or a substance qualified as bewitched by a following genitive (*mē kaššāpūti* etc.). For the interchange of prepositional and double accusative construction with certain verbs see *GAG*³ §145g, but note that as far as *šūkulu*, *šaḡū* and *pašāšu* are concerned, the prepositional phrase is usually found in elliptic expressions, especially when referring to administering drugs (not explicitly mentioned) to the patient *in* or *with* edibles or oil.

33' (65): For the restoration of *mē* instead of *ina mē* of the duplicates, see the commentary on the preceding line.

Obv. VI 1'–23' (Maqlū V 21–47): All but the first two lines of *Dunnānu dunnānu*, the third incantation of *Maqlū V*, are preserved. The incantation is clearly structured in four parts: The opening section (ll. 19–25) describes the reversal of the witch's and the patient's fates in images of social upheaval and revolutionary change (for this motif, see Schwemer 2007b: 208–9). This is followed by three further sections, each of which is introduced by *ēpištī muštēpištī*, a phrase that all manuscripts but the present and BM 48926 place on a separate line. Lines 26–35 contain a series of short analogical pleas which play with the names of the dried herbs used in the ritual (cf. the ritual tablet ll. 73'–4'). The following section (ll. 36–42) expresses the wish for the witch's rejection by gods and men; the witch is imagined as a person living in the streets who is pushed aside and scorned by passersby. The last part of the incantation (ll. 43–7) finally evokes the image of a woman lying in the gutter at the mercy of passing men, her scarves whirled around by dogs. The text of the incantation is known from a number of manuscripts: K 33 (ll. 28–47; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), K 2530 + 8444 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356 + 11754 + 12917 + 13338 + 13858 + 15958 (+) 18127 (ll. 21–47; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), K 2544 + 3470 + 5071 + 17166 + Sm 125 + 2191 (ll. 21–47; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), K 7242 + 8652 + 9655 + 9833 + 9868(+) (ll. 23–40; Kuyunjik, Assyrian script), Sm 741 + 2069(+) ... (+)² K 18618 (ll. 21–5, 36–46; Kuyunjik, Babylonian script), BM 36643 + 37527 (ll. 39–46, Late Babylonian school excerpt, Gesche 2000: 269–72), BM 48926 (Late Babylonian, probably Babylon).

2' (22): Or “[Place your feet *where*] my warlo[ck and witch *have remov*]ed the(ir) feet!”

6' (26): All other sources have *ēpištī u muštēpištī* instead of the simple nominative in our manuscript. The same is true for ll. 36 and 43, with the exception of K 7242+ which has the suffixed form here, but the simple nominative in l. 36 (l. 43 not preserved), and BM 48926 which has the simple nominative in both these lines (the present line is not preserved).

6'–13' (27–33, 35): Only our manuscript omits l. 34 (*kīma errē līrurūši kišpūša*); the omission is probably a scribal mistake. The “wordplays” in these lines are purely formal, and an adequate translation of the passage is therefore impossible. The verbal roots chosen all signify hostile actions against the witch and have as many radicals as possible in common with the consonants of the corresponding plant-names. To modern linguistic standards — which, however, do not apply to Babylonian linguistics and exegesis (see Lambert 1999: 222–31) — there are no etymological or semantic connections between the verbal forms and the plant-names, nor do the verbs denote typical actions or properties of the individual plants (for a similar “wordplay” (or better: Babylonian exegetical etymology), cf. the anti-witchcraft incantation *TCL* 6, 49 obv. 20 //, see Schwemer 2007b: 198 with fn. 23). Due to the natural limits of the language, the match between plant-name and verb is not always perfect: Akkadian has no verbal root *n'n or *nn', so *nūnū* is paired up with *nāšu*; similarly flawed is the match between *samīdu* and *summū* — apparently *samādu* “grind” was excluded for semantic reasons. Other pairs are formally perfect, but semantically forced: *hašū* “mutilate, chop” is never used in connection with witchcraft elsewhere, nor is *summū* “hamper, harass”; the wordplay between *nuḫurtu* and *naḫāru* “be shrivelled, invalid” occurs also at *Maqlū VI* 133', but the usage of *naḫāru* in anti-witchcraft literature is restricted to this Babylonian etymology (for the corrupt writing ^unu.LUḫ, cf. already Borger, *MZL* p. 270). The exact meaning of *šuppuru* is notoriously difficult to define; in view of the general character of our passage, the present attestation contributes little to the understanding of the verb (*pace CAD* S 133a: “may her spells ‘trim’ her as (one trims the vegetable) *azupirānu*”); *AHw* 93a, 1082a: “*azupīru* (von scharfen

Blättern”). The basic meaning of *šapāru/šepēru* seems to be “squeeze”, “pinch”, “press in, press together”, then also “squint”, “trim”, “taper” (see *CAD* § 96–7, 132–3, *AHw* loc. cit.). There is no clear evidence for a separate denominative verb *šuppuru* “scratch” (< *šupru*). A certain part of the *azupīru*-plant is called *šupru* “claw” (*CAD* § 253b, *AHw* 93b); the designation probably refers to the style and stigma of the saffron-plant which are shaped like a bird’s claw (or nail parings), but it is difficult to see how this would be relevant to the present context. Most of the plant-names in this list are unidentified (for a recent discussion of *kasū* and *sahlū*, see Stol 1983–4, Stol 1994 and Geller 1995).

15’ (38): *AHw* 363b explains the form *ibretu* (or *ibrītu*) as the Neo-Assyrian dialect form of *ibratu*. At the time, the form was attested only in the genitive (*Šurpu* III 83, preserved in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts from Aššur, see Borger 2000: 45; also in the commentary *KAR* 94 rev. 55, see Reiner 1958: 50), and consequently the *e/i* in the second syllable was attributed to vowel-harmony by *CDA* 124 (“NA gen. *ibrītī*”). But the form in our manuscript (*ib-re-tu*) must be nominative, and accordingly the explanation as vowel harmony is excluded here and unlikely for the *Šurpu* attestation; all other sources relevant for our line have the expected *a*-vowel (K 33, 2530 +, 2544 +, 7242 +, all Nineveh Assyrian, K 18618, Nineveh Babylonian, BM 48926, Late Babylonian). Thus *ibretu* must be interpreted as a Neo-Assyrian variant of *ibratu*. This also confirms von Soden’s proposal to emend the unique form *ni-ib-re-ta* in *KAR* 178 rev. V 54 (another Standard Babylonian, non-Nineveh Neo-Assyrian manuscript) to *ib-re-ta*; the context and the fact that the following word begins with a NI-sign also support this emendation (*AHw* 363b, *CAD* N II 203b with separate entry, but characterised as “variant of *ibratu*”).

16’ (39): The spelling *CVC-CV* for *CVC + V* at the morpheme boundary, as in *lib-bal-kit-tu-ši-ma* is an occasional feature of Neo-Assyrian manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts (cf. George 2003: 351, 438).

18’ (41): As rightly pointed out by Walters (1970: 49–51, Frankena 1978: 40–1, *pace AHw* 1017, *CDA* 314), the lexical evidence suggests a basic meaning “turn” for *samāku*. The verb is associated with Sumerian *niĝin* in Old Babylonian *Diri* (*MSL* 15, 14: 71, 41: 67). Antagal VIII 185 renders [šaḥar]-niĝin as *samāku ša eperi* which Walters took as “turn (soil)”, “heap up” (said of earth); this translation is confirmed by the entry that follows in l. 186 and is in the same group: [šaḥa]r-ĝar-ra — *kuttumu* “cover (with earth)”. The preceding entry (184) has simple *samāku*, but the Sumerian is fragmentary ([x]-DIB) and no further conclusions can be drawn. Whether there is any semantic link to the preceding group of words concerned with various expressions for anger remains uncertain. Old Babylonian contexts show, as already argued by Walters and followed by *CAD*, that the meaning “heap up” led to a more specific usage of *samāku* as “dam up” or, in the stative and N-stem, “to be clogged” (said of waterways, see *CAD* S 109–10, 338b for the attestations, cf. also Stol, *AbB* 9, p. 155 ad 252a; note that the only attestation for **samkūtu* “damming work” (*CAD* S 118a, *CDA* 315) has been eliminated by collation, see Durand 1997: 352 with fn. 39). Following Walters (and *CAD*), *samāku* in *Middle Assyrian Laws* §55 is best explained as “turn away, reject someone”. Our passage requires a similar meaning for the D-stem: *summuku* is done to a dog with a stick, to a lizard with a clod of earth and to sheep dung without any particular instrument apparently on the road, with the aim of safely passing by these obstacles, hence: “clear away”, “get out of the way” (*CAD*’s “chase away” and Walters’ “frighten away” go well with dog and lizard, but do not fit sheep dung). An unpublished Neo-Assyrian letter quoted by *CAD* (110a) seems to confirm a meaning “reject”, “rebuff” for the D-stem, but other contexts show that *summuku* could also mean “demolish”: It is used with reference to fortresses in parallel with *ḥepū* “destroy” and *ḥuppū* in Borger 1971: 12 rev. III 24’, and it refers to the consequences that a chariot accident had on parts of cultic utensils in *SAA* 13, 44 rev. 4 (there tentatively translated as “damage”). This specific meaning of the D-stem is probably related to the usage of the G-stem in the sense of “to heap up (earth)”, as one can easily explain it as being derived from a basic meaning “to turn into heaps”. The verbal adjective *samku*, attested in Neo-Assyrian texts, is best rendered as “deceitful” or “spiteful” (see *CAD* S 118a with references, *pace AHw* 1018b, *CDA* 315a) and may have a basic meaning “turned”, “twisted”. As *CAD* notes, it is unclear whether the equation of *samku* with *mītu* “dead” in *Maliku* IV 80 refers to the Akkadian adjective (then possibly “heaped up” > “buried”) or to a foreign word *samku*.

19’ (42): We treat both ll. 40–1 and l. 42 as logically dependent on *-ma* in *libbalkitūšima* (l. 39) and therefore begin ll. 40 and 42 with “so that”. Why a passerby would frown upon a donkey’s fetlock is unclear to us. Is it a look of angry suspicion that the donkey might kick — but then why the fetlock and not the hoof? There is no evidence from omen texts that seeing a donkey’s fetlock was regarded as impure or bringing bad luck. The sheep’s fetlock was a cut of meat that would be offered and eaten.

23’ (47): This line is not part of the image evoked by ll. 43–6, but a final wish at the close of the incantation. Gazelle dung was used as fuel in ancient Babylonia as in other areas where wood is scarce. The corresponding passage of the ritual tablet is fragmentary. As far as preserved, it prescribes only the strewing of dried herbs: *ēn du-un-na-ni dunnāni*(min), *ta-bi-lu* dub^{mes} [x x x] (73’–4’: VAT 4103 obv. 20’ // K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194(+) obv. II 6’–7’); burning *could* be mentioned at the end of the entry, but possibly only a phonetic complement is to be restored. It is therefore uncertain whether the present line refers to a ritual action accompanying the incantation, though the preceding and all the following ritual units consist of burning various substances. It also remains uncertain whether “her smoke” refers to the smoke of the witch’s figurines burned within the ritual or to the smoke caused by the witch’s rituals against the patient. In the first case the line would imply the complete annihilation of the witch, in the second it would refer to putting an end to the witch’s evil burning rituals. In most passages of *Maqlū* that mention the witch’s smoke the

first meaning is intended (cf. *Maqlû* I 141, III 166, V 74, 110, 146, 161), but in VI 42 the smoke at the witch's house certainly alludes to her burning rituals (cf. also the "messenger" of the witch's fire in VI 128" and 136"). If "gazelle dung" here referred to the actual fuel used within the present series of burning rites, an interpretation as "Like (the smoke caused by burning this) gazelle dung (here) may her smoke (there [i.e., in the burning rites that she performs]) dissipate" would be possible. But it seems more likely that our line refers to the smoke caused by burning gazelle dung generally: "Like (the smoke typically caused by burning) gazelle dung may her smoke (here within the present burning rites) dissipate".

Obv. VI 24'–35' (Maqlû V 48–56): The incantation is clearly structured in four parts: the *attimannu*-opening with the description of the ritual actions (ll. 48–9), the invocation of string and cone (ll. 50–2), analogical pleas for the removal of the witch's sorceries (ll. 53–4) and the closing formula (ll. 55–6). The incantation has an artificial feeling and gives the impression that several standard formulas were pieced together and attached to the opening lines. Apart from the Chicago fragment, the text is fully preserved in K 2544 +; K 33 breaks after l. 48, K 2530 + after l. 49.

24'–5' (48): Instead of $dù\langle .dù \rangle^{st}$, K 2544 + and K 33 have $\bar{u}neppu\bar{s}a(dù.dù)^{sa}$. The Gtn-form is confirmed by the quotation of the incipit in the ritual tablet where the Neo-Babylonian manuscript VAT 4103 has *te-te-né-ep-pu-u[š]* (obv. 21' = ritual tablet l. 75'; for the missing feminine morpheme *-i*, cf. *ibid.* rev. 15 = ritual tablet l. 103': $dù^{[š]}$ for expected $\bar{u}epu\bar{s}\bar{t}$, cf. also *ibid.* obv. 13' = ritual tablet l. 65'). While the phonetic complement in the Kuyunjik manuscripts indicates a 3rd sg., the 2nd sg. of our manuscript is also found in the ritual tablet (VAT 4103 obv. 21'). The long span of time the witch has spent on performing sorceries against the patient (one hundred and a half days) is expressed in a tripartite numerical saying in which the units of time become smaller (months — days — fraction of a day), while the fractions of the next bigger unit of time become larger (three months = a quarter of a year, ten days = a third of a month, half a day).

25'–6' (49): The epithet of the *kukru*-plant is *te'ût šadi* according to our manuscript, though the last sign of *te'ût* looks more like *na* than *ut* — a corruption that may indicate that the scribe was not entirely confident of what he was doing when writing the passage. The epithet is parallel to *te'ût māti*, the epithet of *ḥašû*. But in addition to the poetical awkwardness created by the simple repetition of the first member, the phrase "nourishment of the mountain(s)" seems to be slightly out of place within our context. The *kukru*-plant comes from the mountains (cf. *Maqlû* VI 22, 25, 35, 67, VIII 47'), but it is used by a speaker to whom its role in the distant mountain regions is of little concern. We rather expect an epithet like "product of the mountain(s)" (for comparable expressions see the references given by *CAD* Š I 53–4). It comes as no surprise that the Kuyunjik duplicate K 2544 + offers a different epithet for the *kukru*-plant: *ta-kur šadi* (obv. II 2). This was interpreted by Meier 1937: 36 as *ta-nat šadi* "Stolz(?) des Gebirges". The doubts indicated in the translation show that Meier was aware of the fact that a bound form of *tanattu* "glory" should be *tanatti*, and his interpretation was not adopted by the dictionaries, which are silent on our word (quoted in *CAD* K 501a without reading or translation). Taking into account that the scribe of the Chicago fragment seemingly had difficulties with the phrase and that a word meaning "product" or the like is expected, one should consider the hypothesis that a very rare word was used here. A rare word for "offspring", "creation" in Akkadian seems to be *ta-ku-ru*, which is equated with Sumerian *a-ri-a* in *Lānu* A 25 = *CT* 18, 39 obv. I 19 (preceded by the equation *a-ri-a* = *riḥūtu* in l. 24, see *CAD* T 91, *AHW* 1309b, both with only this reference and without any comment on the meaning). The word *takuru* was unknown to the scribe of our manuscript, and he simply replaced it by the much more common *te'ūtu* occurring in the second half of the line. The correct text of our line, then, reads: *anaššakkimma kukra takur šadi ḥašē te'ût māti* "I lift up against you *kukru*-plant, the offspring of the mountain(s), *thyme*, the nourishment of the land".

27'–8' (50): *Contra CAD* P 436b we understand l. 50 as syntactically independent of l. 49. The string and cone are invoked as agents of undoing the sorceries that bind the patient. Anti-witchcraft incantations refer to the *qadištu*-votaries both as dangerous agents of witchcraft and as experts who have powerful instruments for undoing spells at their command (the same is true for the *nadītu* and other female cultic personnel; for a discussion of the relevant attestations see Schwemer 2007b: 76–7, and cf. Abusch 2002 [= 1992]: 188–91 for a comparable role for the practitioners referred to in *Maqlû* VII 88–95; note also the reference to the *sekretu* in *BRM* 4, 12: 75 [see *CAD* S 215b, *pace* Schwemer 2007b: 163]). Here and elsewhere, conifer cones are praised for the great quantity of seeds they carry (cf. esp. *Maqlû* I 24 with the commentary *KAR* 94 obv. 16'–18') and are assigned to the *qadištu* also in *Maqlû* VI 27, 37 and *KAL* 2, 26 rev. IV 8 // *RIAA* 312 rev. III 9'. Since incantations name them together with small *terḥu*-vessels (*Maqlû* VI 26–7, 36–7) and protective spirits depicted on Neo-Assyrian reliefs hold them up in one hand while often carrying a small bucket (filled with water?) in the other (Reade 1998: 38), it seems plausible that the cones were used as a sort of potent aspergillum for purification. An interesting interpretation similar in part to ours is given by Parpola 1983: 182–3 ad *LAS* 187: 13', who is of the opinion that "the hierodule, impersonating the witch, provided a tangible object for exorcistic activity, whereas her accessories, the palm fibre mat and fir cone, probably symbolized the 'bonds' of the sorcerers and were to be broken or unraveled in the course of the ceremonies . . ." Untwining a string that symbolises the bound state of the patient is a ritual action well known especially from *namburbi* rituals (Maul 1994: 82) and, as noted by Maul (fn. 112), this ritual procedure is mentioned in the following section of our incantation (l. 54); possibly this function of the string is also implied in the present line. The ritual tablet (ll. 75'–6') prescribes the burning of *kukru*, *ḥašû* and chaff during the recitation of our incantation. These actions are referred to in ll. 49 and (indirectly) 53 of our incantation. We have no

reason to assume that the invocation of string and cone necessarily corresponds to an accompanying ritual action.

The Akkadian word for cone requires comment: All dictionaries, with the notable exception of Borger, *MZL* p. 375 (cf. also the short remark by Steinkeller 1987: 349), give *terinnu* (with various phonetic variants) as the singular form of the word and analyse syllabic spellings with the feminine morpheme as plural: *terinnātu*. While there can be no doubt that many of the syllabic attestations of *terinnātu* are plural forms, the evidence for the corresponding singular form without the feminine morpheme is slim. The only attestation so far for a singular *terinnu* is a plant-name in *Uruanna* II 179–80(a) = *KADP* 11 obv. I 73–4 // *CT* 14, 41 K 8829: 9' where $\dot{u}te\text{-}ri\text{-}nu$, $\dot{u}gi\text{-}gurun$ (and $\dot{u}na\text{-}ri\text{-}nu?$) are explained as $\dot{u}i\text{-}ri(gi\text{-}š) pi\text{-}š\text{-}ri$. To our knowledge, the alleged Old Assyrian *tarinnum* referred to by *CDA* 404 s.v. *terinnu* is attested in the feminine form *ta-ri-na-tum* only (Hecker 1993: 289 VI 11 and 290: 1', word lists used by students), which form can be compared to Neo-Assyrian *tar-na-tú* (Radner 2002: 214 no. 198 obv. 6, excerpt of a lexical list). In both these cases, there is no reason to assume that the feminine forms, simple entries in lists, are plural rather than singular. The *Uruanna* entry as such suggests that *terinnu* and *terinnatu* are not identical, but rather that there were two separate items: a *terinnu*-plant that was used as a drug and a cone that was used mainly as a magical instrument. Of course, the plant-name *terinnu* may be related to the word for cone — just as “wood of release” (*iš(i) pišri, gišburru*) is a designation for both a pharmaceutical plant and a magical instrument. The latter is invoked side by side with the cone in *KAL* 2, 26 rev. IV 8 // *RIAA* 312 rev. III 9': $gi\text{-}š(.)b\dot{u}r \text{ } \dot{s}a \text{ } nad\dot{a}ti$ $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5 \text{ } \dot{s}a \text{ } qa\text{-}š\dot{d}a\text{-}ti$. The fact that the “wood of release” and the cone as magical instruments are treated as a pair is parallel — and could indeed be related — to the explanation of the drug *terinnu* as “wood of release” in *Uruanna*, but is of little consequence for the formation of the singular form corresponding to *terinnātu* “cones”. As already seen by Meier 1936–7, the evidence from *Maqlû* does not square well with the assumption of a masculine singular form. All sources of *Maqlû* I 24 write the word logographically: $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ *lip-šur-an-ni šá še'a*(še.am) *ma-la-a-ta* “may the cone that is full of seeds release me”. The commentary *KAR* 94 quotes this line as *te-ri-na-at a-šū-ḫi lip-šur-an-ni šá 'še'.im ma-la-[a-ta]*, replacing simple $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ with the (explanatory) genitive compound “cone of a pine-tree” (obv. 16'). As indicated by the verbal form *malât(a)*, *terinnat* itself can only be singular, and this agrees with the writing $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ in all manuscripts of *Maqlû* I 24 without a plural determinative, for the plural forms in VI 27, 37 are clearly indicated by the plural determinative in the one preserved manuscript ($gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5^{meš}$ in K 2595 (+) obv. I 13' = *Maqlû* VI 37). The fact that our sources clearly differentiate singular and plural when writing logographically leaves no doubt that the form *te-ri-na-tú* in the present manuscript also stands for the singular, since the duplicate K 2544 + has simple $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ for *terinnatu* (obv. II 4). In the commentary section, *KAR* 94 quotes the lexeme as *te-ri-na-tum* (glossed by *iš-pur-na-[tum]*) in obv. 17', and this tallies with *Hh* III 83–5 where $gi\text{-}š\text{-}e.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ and $gi\text{-}numun.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ are equated with *te-ri-na-tu* (with variants *ti-ri-in-na-tum* and *ti-rin-na-tum*, see *MSL* 5, 100, *MSL* 9, 160; cf. also the Neo-Assyrian lexical excerpt quoted *supra*). Finally, it is worth noting that lexical lists from Ebla equate $še.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ with *da-ri-ma-tum* (var. *da-ri-tum*), clearly a feminine form (see *CAD* T 356a for the attestations as well as for related $še.\dot{u}.su\text{-}h_5$ *za.gin* // *da-ri-mi-du* at Ebla). In short: the evidence suggests that we separate *terinnatu* (plural *terinnātu*) “(pine) cone” from *terinnu*, a pharmaceutical plant. Both words are very likely related, but we know too little about the plant *terinnu* to determine the exact nature of this relationship.

29' (51): For the word order in this line, cf. *Maqlû* VI 28 // 38 with the same emphasis on *riksu* in final position: *al-ka-nim-ma šá ¹⁰kaššāpiya*(uš₁₁.zu-mu) *u ^{munus}kaššāpiya*(uš₁₁.zu-mu) *dan-nu ḫipâ*(gaz)^a *rikis*(kešda)-*sa* “Come and break my warlock’s and my witch’s strong bond!” (addressing the *kukru*-plant as well as the small *terhu*-vessels of the *entu*-priestesses and the cones of the *qadištu*-votaries). The transposition of noun and adjective at the end of the line in VI 28 // 38 and the intrusion of the verb there between the noun and its adjective (*dannu ḫipâ rikissa*) are well-known features of Standard Babylonian literary style; the genitive with *ša* before the governing noun with suffixed pronoun is another characteristic of poetic style, typically used by anti-witchcraft incantations for placing warlock and witch in sentence-initial position (cf. e.g. *Maqlû* II 16, 224, III 17–8, 70–1, VII 12). The position of *annû* at the beginning of the present line (rather than immediately preceding *ḫipâ*), which is peculiar even by the standards of poetry, indicates a substantivised use of *annû* with dependent genitive and therefore a syntax slightly different from *Maqlû* VI 28 // 38: “this here of my warlock and witch: break (it, namely) their bond”.

30' (52): For *-šû* instead of *-šá*, see the introductory remarks on the orthographic and linguistic features of A 7876.

34'–5' (55–6): For the formula and the goddess Kanisurra in particular see Schwemer 2007b: 116–18.

Rev. VII 3'–6' (Maqlû VI 65–8): The following duplicates are known for this passage (all Nineveh, Assyrian script): K 2420 + 2446(+) (ll. 65–8), K 13322(+) (l. 65), Ki 1904-10-9, 112 (BM 99083) (ll. 65–8).

3' (65): K 2420+(+) and Ki 1904-10-9, 112 have *attî ša tēpušî* without the interjection *ē* (see *infra* commentary on rev. VII 26'–7'), but at least one manuscript of the ritual tablet gives the incipit as here: *at-ta-e šá ...* (Neo-Babylonian VAT 4103 rev. 15 = Ritual tablet l. 103', K 8879 + Sm 229 + 499 + 929 + 1194(+)) rev. III 5' possibly to be restored accordingly).

4' (66): K 2420+(+) and Ki 1904-10-9, 112 put *u* between *yâši* and *šimīya*. It is worth noting that the indirect object is represented by the dative pronoun followed by a simple genitive without *ana* at the beginning of the phrase. For the interpretation of this line, see Schwemer 2007b: 154–7, 226–8.

5' (67): K 2420 (+) obv. II 23 has *gaz^{mes}* instead of *gaz^a* here. Exactly the same line recurs in the second incantation of *Maqlū VI* in l. 22: ^rsim¹*kukru*(gúr.gúr) *ša šadī(kur)ⁱ* ^rgaz^{mes} *rikis(kešda)-k[i]* (K 2391 obv. I 22 // K 12925(+) obv. I 7' // BM 36643 + 37527 obv. 16', ^rgaz^{mes} preserved on K 2391, BM 36643 + only](-)iḥ-]. The expected reading of *gaz^{mes}* // *gaz^a* would be the plural imperative *ḥipā*, as in *Maqlū V* 51 (*ḥi-pa-a*, K 2544 +, A 7876), VI 28 (*gaz^{mes}*, K 2595 +[+], K 15032[+]) and VI 38 (*gaz^a*, K 2595 +[+]), were it not for the fact that both here and in VI 22 the *kukru*-plant alone is addressed so that a singular form is expected. The writing *gaz^{mes}*, then, must indicate an iterative form and the phonetic complement in our manuscript would have to be explained as a ventive form. The](-)iḥ- preserved in BM 36643 + shows that we have to read a G-stem (or possibly D-stem) form of *ḥepū* (but not the imperative), and the precativ in l. 68 would seem to support the reconstruction of a precativ form also in l. 67, i.e. *liḥteppā* (possibly *liḥteppi* in K 2420 +[+]).

Rev. VII 7–11' (*Maqlū VI 69–77*): The incantation begins with the speaker's (i.e. the patient's) identification with personified sulphur and a short account of sulphur's creation and delivery to men (ll. 69–71). Two rhetorical questions emphasise that overall the patient is immune from witchcraft: nowhere on his body can witchcraft affect him (ll. 72–3). Clearly this theme is further explored in the rest of the incantation, but epigraphic and interpretative problems remain. The duplicates K 2420 + 2446(+) and Ki 1904-10-9, 112 (cf. preceding paragraph) break after l. 71, but the small fragment K 6979 + 13241(+) (Nineveh, Assyrian script) duplicates at least parts of ll. 71–7.

7' (69): The epithet "daughter of the great heavens" is unusual, but *šamē rabūti* is unlikely to be a mistake for more common *šamē ellūti* or *ilī rabūti*. The reading of our manuscript is not only confirmed by K 2420 + (+) (*an^e gal^{mes}*), but also by VAT 10786, an unpublished Middle Assyrian outline tablet of an anti-witchcraft ritual related to *Maqlū*, where in rev.² 13' the incipit of the present incantation is given as [én *kib-rit mārat*(dumu.munus)] *šamē*(an)^e *rabūti*(gal) *ana-ku* (we owe the knowledge of this fragment to S. M. Maul). For the expression *šamū rabūtu*, see George 1986: 136 ad l. 8, and idem 1992: 80–1: 25.

9' (72–3): One should note the Assyrian vocalism in *tur[ahḥīnni]* instead of the expected *tureḥḥīn[ni]* in K 6979 + (+) obv. II 3'. More importantly, our manuscript has *a-ki-a-am* and *a-ki-a<-am>* instead of *e-ki-a-am* in K 6979 + (+) obv. II 2' and 3'. This form of Standard Babylonian *ēkīam* (<*ayyikīam*) is not attested otherwise. It has no phonetical justification and is certainly influenced by *ayaka* (*yaka*), the corresponding form in the scribe's Neo-Assyrian vernacular (note also that underlying *ayyu* can be glottalised *a''u* in Neo-Assyrian).

10' (74–5): The corresponding lines in the duplicate K 6979 + (+) read: [. . .] *an^u GA-aš-[x]*, [. . .] *ki^{tim} GA-aš-da-[x]* (obv. 4'–5'). The endings of the two verbal forms are only partly preserved in our manuscript. *KAŠ-du* in l. 74 is beyond any doubt, while at the end of l. 75 *KAŠ-da¹-a[t]* seems more likely than *KAŠ-da-a¹*, though only traces of the lower tips of the lower two horizontal wedges are preserved. A reading *KAŠ-da-at* is also more plausible from a purely orthographic point of view, since the stative feminine plural in *-ā* would hardly be marked by a *plene*-writing. One could admit such an irregular spelling for the Chicago fragment, but taking into account that also the duplicate definitely had another sign after *GA-aš-da-* the readings *KAŠ-da¹-a[t]* resp. *GA-aš-da-[at]* are virtually certain. This reading is further confirmed by comparison with a similar anti-witchcraft incantation preserved on K 10341 obv. 1–9 (= A, Nineveh, Assyrian script, copy Fig. 7) // 80-7-19, 146 + K 10559 + K 11993 + Sm 1330 obv. I 56'–61' (= B, Nineveh, Assyrian script, copy Fig. 8). The text of the incantation, whose similarity to *Maqlū VI 69–77* was noted by Lambert 1974: 84 and Abusch 2003: 9 fn. 23, reads:

1	A obv. 1	[	<i>ša ina id^u-l]</i>	<i>a-a-a a-šu-ú</i>]
	B obv. I 56'	[	<i>én ana-ku iši(giš) pišri(ḥúr¹) ellu(kù) šam-[mu</i>]
2	A obv. 2	[	<i>erše]tu(k)i^{im} ú-li-dan-ni</i>]
	B obv. I 57'	[	<i>id^u-la-a ib-na-an-ni</i>]
3	A obv. 3	[	<i>Enlil u dNinlil(?) ušēridūni] ana ma-a-ti</i>]
	B obv. I 57'	[]
4	A obv. 4	[		<i>GA-aš-du</i>]
	B obv. I 58'	[	<i>m]a-la qaqqadīya(sag.du-mu) šamū(an)^{u1}</i>]
5	A obv. 5	[	<i>ma-la šēpiya(gir^{ll}-mu) eršetu(ki)^{um}</i>	<i>GA-aš-da-at</i>]
	B obv. I 58'	[]
6	A obv. 6	[	<i>te-p]u-šin-ni</i>]
	B obv. I 59'	[	<i>[kaš]-šap-ti e-ki-a-am te-p]u-šin-ni</i>]
7	A obv. 7	[	<i>rahḥīti(?) e-ki-a-am tu-re-ḥi]-in-ni</i>]
	B obv. I 59'	[]
8	A obv. 8	[	<i>e-pi-šu-t]u-ú-a</i>]
	B obv. I 60'	[	<i>[e]-pi-šu-ú-a e-pi-šu-[tu-ú-a]</i>]
9	A obv. 9	[	<i>š]adī(k)urⁱ</i>]
	B obv. I 61'	[	<i>[kiš-p]i-šu-nu lib-bal-ki-t[ú</i>]

Clearly the subjects of the two stative forms in ll. 4–5 here and in *Maqlū VI 74–5* must be *šamū* (written *an^e* and *an^u*) and *eršetu* (written *ki* and *ki^{tim}*), and there is no need to explain the ending of *kašdū* as a subjunctive form. It seems, then, likely that *ana mala* functions as a preposition (not as a subordinating conjunction), and that the two lines each form an independent sentence; this assumption is confirmed by the



Fig. 7 K 10341 (only obv. preserved).

fact that in K 10341 the same phrases occur in a slightly different context. The writings GA-aš-... and KAŠ-... are not easily reconciled. GA is used regularly for *ga* and fairly often for *qá* in manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts, while its use as *kà* is restricted to texts or phrases that imitate 3rd mill. orthography. The sign BI on the other hand is regularly used for *kaš* and *gaš*, but a value *qaš* is so far unattested to our knowledge. To put it simply: while the spellings in K 6979+ (+) and K 10341 strongly suggest a reading *qašdū*, *qašdat* (*qadāšu* “to be(come) pure, holy”), the fact that the scribe of A 7876 used KAŠ indicates that at least he may have thought of *kašādu* “to reach” rather than *qadāšu* (“the heaven reaches as far as my head, the earth reaches as far as my feet”). Given that the context deals with the overall immunity of the patient’s body against witchcraft and the state of being bewitched was associated with impurity, it seems wiser to follow the Kuyunjik fragments’ lead and to admit that the scribe of our tablet either misunderstood the passage or created an *ad hoc* value *qaš*, therefore: “as much as my head heaven is holy, as much as my feet earth is holy”. We recognize the conceptual difficulty implied by this literal translation of the Akkadian, since we expect the holiness of heaven and earth to be the point of comparison and the goal of the statement to be the transference of holiness from heaven and earth to head and feet, as, e.g., in the well-known formula *kīma šamē lūlil kīma eršeti lūbib*.

The use of the prepositional phrase *ana mala* instead of simple *mala* is typical of Assyrian. That its occurrence here may represent yet another intrusion of the scribe’s vernacular into the traditional text is supported by the fact that the parallel text K 10341 // has simple *mala*.

11’ (76–7): K 6979+ (+) obv. II 6’ has the expected *apkal iīr^d Mardu[k(amar.ut[u]* at the end of the line. Only a tentative reading of the beginning can be offered here. The reading *bi-ta-ni-ti* is confirmed by K 6979+ (+) obv. II 6’, but traces of the preceding words are only preserved in our manuscript. *ina* at the beginning of the line and -mu immediately before *bītānīti* seem reasonably certain, so that the whole phrase could be “on my inner ... is cast the incantation of (Marduk), the sage of the gods”. The feminine noun qualified by *bītānū* “inner, interior” would be expected to be an architectural term like threshold, door, gate or door-jamb, but the traces look most like *túg.sík*. While *sissiktu* would give us the feminine noun demanded by the following *bītānīti*, an “inner hem” is not attested elsewhere, nor is there any evidence that *sissiktu* could be used metaphorically for “threshold”. Since the ritual tablet is silent about how or where exactly the present incantation was to be recited, we must await a new duplicate for clarification.

Rev. VII 12’–8’ (Maqlū VI 78–84): Lines 78–81 are preserved here and partially in K 6979+ (+). The last three lines are also duplicated by K 13264(+) (Nineveh, Babylonian script), though this fragment preserves only traces of the very first sign of each line. A close parallel to ll. 78–81 is found on the Middle Assyrian fragment *KAR 269* (VAT 11119) obv. II 4–8 (cf. Abusch 1987: 77). The right-hand fragment copied by Ebeling as part of VAT 11119 had been lost during the second world war and therefore the photograph sent to Abusch in 1976 could not be used for collation (see Abusch 1987: xv–xvi); but the, as it turned out, four missing fragments have now been identified by Schwemer in 2007 and 2008 among the unnumbered fragments at the Vorderasiatisches Museum. Therefore, all quotations from the text are based on Schwemer’s collation (and new copy, to be published in *KAL* 4) and not on Abusch’s transliteration of Ebeling’s copy (1987: 17–8, 80–2).

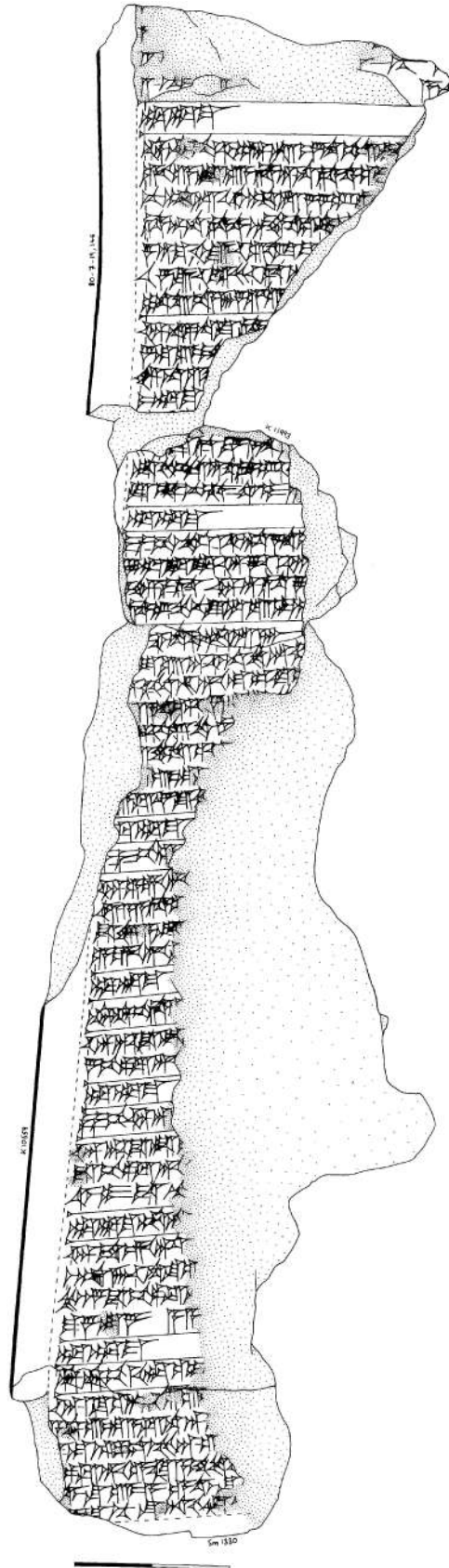


Fig. 8 80-7-19, 146 + K 10559 + K 11993 + Sm 1330 (only obv. preserved).

12' (78): *KAR* 269 obv. II 4–5 is fragmentary, but apparently had a very similar incipit: $\acute{e}[\text{n kib-ri-}^{\text{d}}\text{it kib-ri-}^{\text{d}}\text{it kib-ri-}^{\text{d}}\text{it mārāt Id(?)], e[!??-l]u?? kib-ri-it kal-la-at}^{\text{d}}[\text{id}]$ (for another possible case of masculine agreement with *kibrītu* cf. unpubl. VAT 10786 rev. 15': $[\acute{e}\text{n kib-rit}(?) e]l\text{-}l\acute{u}^{\text{u}}\text{KUR.KUR } \acute{s}\text{am-m}[u \text{quddušu anāku}]$).

13' (79): Collation shows that *KAR* 269 obv. II 6 has a similar text, though distorted by corruptions: $\acute{s}[a \text{se}]^{\text{f}}\text{-}e^{\text{f}}\text{-}be \text{kaš!-šá!-pa-tu-ša } \acute{u} \text{se-b}[i \text{ayyābātūša}]$, possibly to be emended to $\acute{s}[a \text{se-be } u] \text{se!-be kaš!-šá!-pa-tu-ša } \langle \acute{s}\text{a se-be} \rangle \acute{u} \text{se-b}[i \text{ayyābātūša}]$. Only the end of the line is preserved in K 6979+(+) obv. II 9': ...] 7 a-ba-tu-š[á].

14'–15' (80–1): The first halves of these two lines are only preserved here, but collation of *KAR* 269 gratifyingly confirms the reading suggested by the traces visible in A 7876: $i\text{-}p[u\text{-}š]a\text{-}š\acute{i}\text{-}l\text{-}ma \text{ul in-né-pu-uš}^{\text{f}}\text{ú}^{\text{f}}\text{-}[kaš-š\acute{i}-pu-š\acute{i}-mā], \text{ul}^{\text{f}}\text{í}^{\text{f}}\text{-}[ka-š]ip \text{ana-ku ki-ma}^{\text{d}}\text{id ina kur-i}[a l\acute{u} \text{ellēku}]$ (obv. II 7–8).

16' (82): K 6979+(+) obv. II 12' has syllabic *ip-pu-šá*.

18' (84): The traces at the beginning of the line suggest *kimin* rather than $\text{pi}[\acute{s}_{10}^{\text{d}}\text{id}]$, though only two verticals are clearly visible at the end of *kimin*. In K 13264(+) only a *ki* is preserved at the beginning of the line; the break is in the last vertical of the *ki* so that one could restore either $\text{ki}[\text{min}]$ or $\text{pi}[\acute{s}_{10}^{\text{d}}\text{id}]$. The space directly after *kimin* seems to be unscribed so that there is only room for one short sign before what looks at first sight like *šá* or *ru*. We are unable to provide any confident restoration of the line. *kimin* may refer to the whole phrase *kibrītu ša sebe u sebe ipušāni*, and then one could consider reading the following signs as *lip-pul-ma*. But it seems more likely that *kimin* refers only to *kibrītu* and not to a more substantial part of the preceding line. A reading *kibrītu*(*kimin*) $[\text{ru}]^{\text{f}}\text{-}he\text{-}e^{\text{f}} \text{lipšur}(\text{búr})\text{-}ma$ seems not entirely excluded, whereas **kimin* $[\text{d}]_{\text{u}_8}\text{-}ir^{\text{f}} \text{búr}\text{-}ma$ cannot be reconciled with the traces.

Rev. VII 19'–27' (Maqlû VI 85–97): The incantation is known from only a few manuscripts. K 6979+(+) breaks after l. 90, K 13264(+) after l. 88, but from l. 88 the text is almost fully preserved also on K 2595 + 2982 + 2978(+) (Nineveh, Assyrian script). The text is formulated in the 1st person singular. The speaker is the patient who identifies himself with sulphur and *atā'īšu*-plant. The exact interpretation of ll. 86–9 and of the parallel passage in *Maqlû* III 62–7 is not without difficulties (for two different overall interpretations of these two incantations see Abusch 2002: 201–7 and Schwemer, 2007b: 111–15).

20'–1' (86–7): The plural *ēpišūtū'a* — for the regular form *ēpišētū'a* see e.g. *Maqlû* III 63, V 112 — is also attested in the Sultantepe manuscript of the ritual tablet (*STT* 83 rev. 4': $e\text{-}pi\text{-}š\acute{u}\text{-}tu\text{-}ú\text{-}a$; the duplicate K 2385 + obv. II 8' has $[e\text{-}pi\text{-}š]i\text{-}tu\text{-}u\text{-}a$) and in 80-7-19, 146 + K 10559 + K 11993 + Sm 1330 obv. I 60' (see *supra*). Within all contexts the forms refer to feminine agents excluding a masculine adjectival plural. A phonetic explanation seems more likely. By adding the suffix *-a* the stress moves from the penultimate syllable (*ēpišētū*) to the last syllable (*ēpišētū'a*). This may have caused a slight shortening of the feminine plural morpheme which would then have been susceptible to vowel harmony — assuming the underlying was Assyrian: *ēpišātu* > *ēpišātū'a* > *ēpišūtū'a*.

The plurality of *apkallū* and *mārāt* is not indicated by the logographic writings *abgal* and *dumu.munus* here and in K 6979+(+). In the parallel passage *Maqlû* III 62 f. all preserved manuscripts write *dumu.munus*^{mes} for *mārāt* (cf. also *Maqlû* III 31 and 32), whereas *apkallū* is represented by simple *abgal* there too. Simple *abgal* for plural *apkallū* is attested elsewhere in *Maqlû* (V 104, VII 46) and outside *Maqlû* (e.g. *KAR* 298 obv. 2, 14), but *abgal*^{mes} is used as well (*Maqlû* II 125, VIII 40, *KAR* 298 obv. 11). There is no significant distribution of the two spellings over different groups of manuscripts. The conclusion must be that we are dealing with a simple graphic phenomenon that is comparable to the omission of the determinative for gods before an (*Anu*) in order to avoid a sign sequence AN AN. The sign sequence *abgal*(NUN.ME)^{mes} resp. *abgal*(NUN.ME)^{mes} (NUN ME MEŠ resp. NUN ME ME) was apparently regarded as slightly awkward and the plural determinative was often, though not always, omitted. Here this was transferred by analogy to *dumu.munus* as well. The fact that both the Chicago fragment and the Kuyunjik duplicate here omit the plural determinative not only with *abgal*, but also with *dumu.munus* could indicate that the spelling had become part of the textual tradition at this time. But the fact that in the parallel passage *Maqlû* III 63 all manuscripts consistently write *dumu.munus*^{mes} (two Kuyunjik manuscripts, Assyrian script; two Late Babylonian manuscripts) rather suggests that the omission of the plural determinative in both manuscripts is due to a coincidence.

22' (88): The (Assyrianizing) form *ēpušūni* certainly stands for *ī/ēpušāni* (cf. the introductory remarks on the linguistic features of A 7876), and the fragmentary duplicate K 2595(+) may have had the expected form: $[\text{x } i]\text{-}pu\text{-}š\acute{a}\text{-}a\text{-}ni^{\text{f}}$. The “present tense” of *ile''ā'inni* denotes the durative in the past (“never”). There is only room for one sign in the break before *īpušāni* in K 2595(+). Though not excluded, a spelling of *kī* with simple *ki* is unexpected in a typical Ashurbanipal library tablet. A restoration *gim* seems more likely therefore and the logogram was probably read *kīma* rather than *kī*. Note that *ki-i* occasionally is attested as a variant of *ki-ma* in manuscripts of Standard Babylonian texts: e.g. *Gilgameš* XI 75 (George 2003: 706), *Ištar's Descent* 29 (Borger 1979: I 97) and *Dialogue of Pessimism* 67 (Lambert 1960: 148); cf. also the use of *ki-i* instead of expected *gim* = *kīma* in *SAA* 4, 276 obv. 12 and *ki-i* as variant of *ki-ma* in a Nabopolassar inscription (*VAB* 4, 64 iii 27).

23' (89): For the use of the perfect in the main sentence after a *kī* clause see *GAG*³ §172e.

26'–7' (95–7): The combination of two canonical lines on one works well in ll. 24'–5' and in l. 27', but grouping together ll. 94–5 obscures the structure of the incantation, which is clearly subdivided into the opening line (85), the motif of the sages and the Daughters of Anu (86–9), the deliverance of the patient in comparisons (90–4) and a final address to “those of the Balīh” (95–7). These last three lines of the

incantation are rather cryptic. For l. 95 the duplicate K 2595+(+) has: *e ša* ⁴*balīḫē*(KASKAL.KUR)^e *e ša* ⁴*balīḫē*(KASKAL.KUR)^e. The omission of *e* in our manuscript leaves little doubt that the sign represents the interjection *ē* and not the logogram for *īku* “ditch”. The dictionaries treat the interjection *ē* as identical with or related to the vetitive particle *ai*, *ē* and translate “no!” (AHw 180a, CDA 9a) and “no, no!” (CAD E 1a). The interjection is used in *Maqlū* right at the beginning of a series of incantations addressing the witch: *ē kaššāpīya* in *Maqlū* VI 112' (restored), 126'', 134'', 142'', 151'' with the corresponding entries in the ritual tablet; cf. also CTN 4, 92 + rev. III 35', 48' (Schwemer 2007b: 50). The same interjection is also used after *attī* in addressing the witch, and the spellings *at-ti-ie-e* (besides *at-ti-e*) show that the interjection was closely attached to the pronoun: *attīyē* (*Maqlū* III 102–11 with corresponding entry in ritual tablet l. 50': *at-ti-e* with variant *at-ti-ie-e* in Assyrian manuscripts from Kuyunjik and elsewhere, as well as in VAT 4103, a Late Babylonian manuscript of the ritual tablet, and variants *at-ta-'e-e* and *at-ta-e* in Late Babylonian sources of *Maqlū* III; for VI 65, cf. *supra*, commentary on rev. VII 3'). A meaning “no!” does not fit any of these contexts well, for in none of them is *ē* followed by a negated statement. As already seen by Meier (1937: 25, 44–6 translating “he” resp. “du da”, cf. also GAG³ §124b), in these contexts *ē* functions as an attention-demanding (and slightly reprimanding) interjection, much like English “hey!” as in “Hey you, stop that!” The same meaning is probably intended in the present line, and *ša Balīḫē* represents the vocative that typically follows or precedes *ē*; our scribe simply omitted the “hey” preceding the two vocatives.

But who is addressed by the vocative *ša Balīḫē*? Clearly a masculine plural, as the plural forms *narqā* and *tunassīsā qimmatkunu* in the following lines show. *Balīḫē* resp. ⁴KASKAL.KUR^(e) is the deified river Balīḫ in western Upper Mesopotamia. The river Balīḫ seems to have played a certain role in Babylonian mythology, since the son and successor of Etana is called Balīḫ according to the Sumerian King List (ll. 68–70, ETCSL 2.1.1). Etana himself, like Gilgameš, becomes a god in the nether world under unknown circumstances (Lambert 2002: 208–9), but nothing is known yet about the role of Balīḫ in the myths associated with Etana. It should be noted that the reading *ki]-i¹ 'ba-li[ḫ]* proposed by Kinnier Wilson 2007: 63 for K 13859: 2', possibly an Etana fragment, does not stand up against scrutiny; the fragmentary line actually reads *ā]š ba lu[ḫ]* or possibly *ā]š ba kid* [(coll.). If the name *Balīḫ* is really what the scribe intended, it would be written without a determinative; while this is not excluded, it should further caution us against readily accepting Kinnier Wilson's far-reaching, but for the most part reconstructed account of the latter parts of the myth and Balīḫ's role in the story.

The river(-god) Balīḫ is written with the logogram KASKAL.KUR which, as convincingly demonstrated by Gordon 1967: 70–80 (cf. also Hawkins 1995: 44–5), has to be understood quite literally as “underground road” — an epithet that is very fitting for the river Balīḫ, which already in antiquity was connected to an underground river in the vicinity of Urfa (Gordon 1967: 77–9); this underground river served as an important water source, a characteristic of the Balīḫ that is not lost on Babylonian literature: in *Šurpu* VIII 54 *Balīḫē* is followed by *kuppu* “pond (of a spring or well)”, *nahlu* “(water-carrying) wadi” and *māḫāzu* “pond”. It is also worth noting that divine Balīḫ is invoked after Bēlet-šēri, a goddess of the western steppe and the nether world, in a Standard Babylonian incantation (K 9875 obv. II 20–1, see Meier 1937–9: 141–4, Vanstiphout 1977: 52–6). Already in third-millennium Ebla the deified river Balīḫ was conceived as a dyad and referred to in the dual (Pomponio and Xella 1997: 78–9), and this is the background of the form *Balīḫē* still found in *Maqlū* and other first-millennium sources. It is tempting to assume that the dual nature of the river, which flows underground and on the surface, forms the background of this concept; the Balīḫ, however, is not the only river that is conceptualized as a divine dyad (see Woods 2005: 13–14). Here, the speaker orders “those of the Balīḫ” — apparently man-like beings who can shake out their hair — to hide underground. This seems to be an allusion to the underground river associated with the Balīḫ. Until more is known about the myths of the Balīḫ river we cannot know who “those of the Balīḫ” are (is there possibly a connection to the series of five ⁴KASKAL.KUR in *Šurpu* VIII 39?). On the level of our text they were apparently perceived as a group of potentially evil demons; the gesture of shaking one's hair out at someone would then probably have a threatening connotation here.

Rev. VII 28'–35' (Maqlū VI 98–105): The incantation is still only partially known. K 2595+(+) rev. III 5–12 duplicates the whole text, but is very fragmentary after l. 100. The small fragment K 13349, which probably belonged to the same tablet as K 6979+(+), picks up in l. 105, but only traces at the beginning of the line are extant. The first part of the incantation (ll. 98–100) consists of a series of identifications of the patient's body parts with a set of pure substances that are immune to witchcraft: river-water (Id and *nāru*), sea-water, sulphur and the *anḫullu*-plant (for the latter, cf. Schwemer 2007b: 198, and, for its use in *BMS* 12, cf. Abusch 1987: 62–4 and 74). Lines 101–3 explain the relationship between the substances and the body parts more explicitly by rephrasing ll. 98–100 in the format “like ... my ... is pure”. While ll. 98–100 and ll. 101–3 clearly correspond to each other, there are marked differences not only in structure, but also with regard to the individual components of each series. The end of the incantation is largely broken or undeciphered.

30' (100): The expected phrase is *Ayabba tâmtu rapaštu*. That our scribe omitted *rapaštu* by mistake is confirmed by the duplicate K 2595+(+) which reads: ⁴*anḫullu*(an.ḫúl.la) *pīya*(ka-mu) *a-ab-ba* [*tam*]-*ta rapaštu*(daḡal)^{um} *'rit*-*t*[*a-a*] (rev. III 7).

31'–3' (101–3): The syntactic interpretation of these lines depends on the reading of *ebbā* in l. 33', which seems, however, reasonably certain. It is assumed that *ebbā* refers to all preceding syntagms: “Like Id my head (is pure), ...”

32' (102): The ritual tablet prescribes the usage of sulphur, *anḫullu* and *imḫur-līm* plant for this incantation. *anḫullu* is already identified with the patient's mouth in l. 100 and is expected to be named here besides *imḫur-līm* followed by the fitting epithet "plants of release". The traces on the tablet suggest ^uḫa.lu.úb rather than ^uan.ḫúl.la; given the vague phonetic similarity between the two words and the outer similarity of the two sign sequences we can safely assume that our manuscript is corrupt and that the correct reading is *anḫullu*.

33'-5' (103-5): The traces preserved are too ambiguous for any confident reading. Once a duplicate is identified the copy may well be in need of revision.

Rev. VII 36'-41' (Maqlû VI 106-11): Only the first few lines of this incantation are fragmentarily preserved here, on the small fragment K 13349(+) (copy Fig. 9) and in K 3665(+)¹ rev. III 1-4 (Nineveh, Babylonian script; only the beginnings of the lines are preserved). The reconstruction of the text as given above depends very much on its coordination with K 13349(+); it seems therefore advisable to provide a synoptic transliteration of the available sources (note that the recently identified fragment K 13349[+] and its coordination with K 3665[+] now show that what was counted as l. 108 following A 7876 ought to be split into two lines, hence 108A and 108B):

K 13349(+)		(A)	//	A 7876	(a)	//	K 3665(+)	(a)
106	A rev. III 2'-2a	én	^d i[d				\ ah-h[a-li-ip?]
	a rev. VII 36'-7'	ṛén ¹	^d id a-ṛkul ¹	al-ti	ap-ṛpa-šiš ¹	[		] / a-ta-BI-ri →
107	A rev. III 3'		^d id mu ₄ .m[u ₄]		
	a rev. VII 37'		^d ṛid al? ¹ -[la-biš?]		
108A	A rev. III 4'		^d id ninda ^{hi.a} [^a]		
	a rev. VII 38'		^d ṛid ¹ ninda ^{hi.a}	u a ^{meš}	du ₈	→		
108B	A rev. III 5'		^d id giš ⁱ [g?]		
	a rev. VII 38'-9'		^d i[d x x x x]	/ ṛzag.du ₈ ?	kešda ¹	→		
	a rev. III 1		^d [id]		
109	A rev. III 6'		^d id x []		
	a rev. VII 39'		^d i[d]		
	a rev. III 2		^d [id]		
110	A rev. III 7'		^d ṛid ¹ [			]	(breaks)	
	a rev. VII 40'		^d id par! ¹ ?(ṛmu ¹)-šik-ṛku ¹ []		
	a rev. III 3		^d [id	(trace at the beginning of rev. III 4 cannot yet be coordinated with a; it corresponds probably to text in the break in the latter part of a rev. VII 40')				

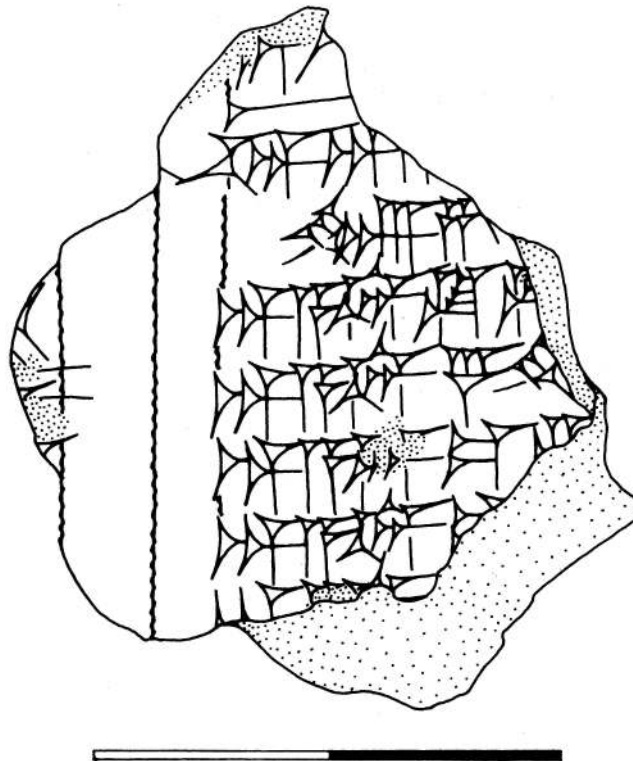


Fig. 9 K 13349(+)¹ (*Maqlû VI*) rev. III and IV (only rev. preserved on this fragment).

A similar text is known, but again fragmentarily, from the Middle Assyrian *Maqlū* “forerunner” *KAR* 269. There, the passage forms the second part of the incantation *Kibrītu kibrītu* (cf. here the commentary on rev. VII 12’–18’). Not a single line of the fragmentary text is without problems of reading and interpretation, but the basic motifs are clearly the same as in *Maqlū* VI 106 ff.:

KAR 269 obv. II (coll.)

9	^a <i>id a-[kul] al-ti al-la-biš a-[a?-pi-ir??]</i>	9	River, I have [eaten], I have drunk, I have put on a garment, <i>I have p[ut on a headdress]!</i>
10	^a <i>id a-^rka-li a^{1mes}-ia šu-ba-[ti-ia]</i>	10	River, my bread (and) my water, [my] gar[ments]
11	^u bar.sig ^{ig¹} - ^{ia} ^{giš} ig-ti-ia x [	11	and my headdress, my doors [
12	^{giš} ig ká-ia ^r ka-me ¹ -e-i[a	12	my outer gate’s door, [
13	^a <i>id qú-ul-m[a?]</i> ^{r^d} <i>id r[u?]</i>	13	River, <i>take heed</i> , River, [

The situation described in these incantations seems to be that of a patient who has refreshed himself with food and drink, been anointed, put on clean clothes and protected the entrances to his house, probably after having undergone a purifying washing rite. Washing with river water is, however, not explicitly mentioned in either of the two texts, though the river-god is the main addressee of the incantations.

36’ (106): For the tentative restoration of *ahhalip* cf. preserved *ah-h[a-* in the duplicate.

37’ (106–7): *a-ta-bi-ri* is interpreted as a Gt preterite form of *apāru* with reflexive meaning (cf. the reference to *paršigu* in *KAR* 269 obv. II 11). This usage of the Gt stem of *apāru* is otherwise not yet securely attested (but cf. Streck 2003: 41 on *Gilgamesh* VI 5). However, the pair *atpuru* “cover oneself with regard to the head” and *nāpuru* “be covered with regard to the head” can be compared with *piššušu* “anoint oneself” and *napšušu* “be anointed”, *litbušu* “put on (a garment)” and *nalbušu* “be clothed” and other verbs of the same semantic fields (cf. Streck 2003: 40–4). In view of *KAR* 269 obv. II 9 it seems likely that KU.κ[U in K 13349(+)] rev. III 3’ should be read *allabiš*(mu₄.mu₄) rather than *altaba/iš* though the dictionaries (*CAD* L 21a, *AHW* 524a) note only one attestation of mu₄.mu₄ standing for an N-stem form.

38’–9’ (108–9): The reading of du₈ and kešda remains uncertain. Because of the occurrence of explicit first-person forms in ll. 36’–7’, it is tentatively assumed that both logograms stand for 1st sg. preterite verbal forms, though instead they might represent second-person forms addressed to the divine river. Since the patient seems to be envisaged as having already finished his meal we tentatively translate “clear away” though *paṭāru* in this sense usually refers to whole arrangements (*riksu*, *paššūru*, *nignakku*) and not to single items. Note that the reading zag.du₈ is also not entirely certain, though doors are mentioned in *KAR* 269 and, if restored correctly in K 13349(+), also in our text. The construction of the doorframe and the joining of the doorjambs are often referred to as *rakāsu* or *rukkusu* within the context of building works.

40’ (110): The tentative emendation is inspired by comparison with *KAR* 269 obv. II 11 (cf. *supra*).

41’ (111): Read perhaps ^ra^{1mes} ^rkū^{1mes1-te1}, or possibly ^rlal^{1mes} x te^{mes}. If a^{mes} is correct, the following might be a corrupt rendering of *šubātīya* (cf. *KAR* 269 obv. II 10).

Rev. VIII 1’–14’ (*Maqlū* VII 32–46): The incantation *Šammu ellu šammu ebbu* is attested in no fewer than seven *Maqlū* manuscripts; but it is also known from other contexts as a standard incantation to be spoken over the oil that was used for anointing the patient (cf. *KAL* 2, 7, *CT* 51, 98: 3’, *TRHUW* 16 Vs. 1 ff. as well as K 11725 and Rm 2, 480). For a transcription, translation and discussion of this incantation, see Abusch 2003: 4–6.

10’ (42): *ina riksi rabê*(gal)^e is a corrupt variant of *ina riksi rabbati* resp. *ina rikis rabābi* “with the soothing bandage”, but not an isolated mistake of a single scribe. Thus while we find *ina ri-kis ra-ba-bu* in K 2950 + obv. I 42 (Nineveh, Assyrian), *ina rikis ra-b)a-ba* in N 1423 + obv. 11’ (Nippur, Late Babylonian; so also non-*Maqlū* K 11725 obv. 11’), *ina rik-si ra-ba-t[i]* in K 3247(+) obv. I 12’ (Nineveh, Assyrian script, cf. fragmentary K 5350 + obv. I 24’, Nineveh, Babylonian) and *ina šu^{II} rab-ba-a-ti* in Ni 2927 + obv. I 21’ (Nippur, Neo-Babylonian), we have the mistaken *ina riksi rabê*(gal)^e in the Chicago ms. and *ina rik-si* ^rgal^m in *KAR* 268 obv. 21’ (Babylonian script); note that the latter variant is also found in *KAL* 2, 7 obv. II 6’, a non-*Maqlū* version of this incantation.

13’ (45): K 2950 + places *iddišumma* between *annanna* and *Ea*, but all other sources have the word order attested here. The interpretation of ^{en} KA *šá ti.la* is not entirely certain. The expected appositional phrase *šiptu amātu ša balāti* is ruled out by syllabic *ši-pat* κ[A in K 3247(+) obv. I 15’. Nevertheless a reading *šipatka ša balāti* is difficult to reconcile with the 3rd sg. *iddišumma* whose subject must be *Ea*. However, the syllabic spelling *id-di* is fully preserved only in our manuscript; all other sources either write logographically or are fragmentary (in K 11725 obv. 14’, which has x-^r*dī¹-šum-ma*, the first sign could be *id* or *i*, coll.). It is possible therefore, as already suggested by Abusch 2003: 5 fn. 13, that the preterite form is a corruption of an imperative: *iddišumma ana annanna mār annanna Ea šipatka ša balāti* “Oh *Ea*, cast your incantation of healing on N.N., son of N.N.!”

14’ (46): Note that *lišapšihū* instead of *lipaššihū* (all other *Maqlū* sources) is also found in the non-*Maqlū* version *KAL* 2, 7 obv. II 10’. Cf. l. 39, where our manuscript and K 2950 + read *upašših*, while *KAR* 268 (Aššur, Babylonian) and K 3247(+) have *ušapših*; our manuscript is broken in l. 31, but there again K 3247(+) has [*muš*]apših against the *mupašših* of all other sources.

Rev. VIII 15’–21’ (*Maqlū* VII 47–54): Lines 47–50 are also preserved in K 2950 +, K 3247(+) and N 1423 +, whereas ll. 51–4 are only known from the present manuscript and N 1423 +. In this incantation the patient

identifies various of his body parts with several gods, constellations and other divine beings and then invokes the astral manifestations of the great gods with the aim of making himself as immune to witchcraft as are the stars.

15' (47–8): The patient's head is identified with Enlil, the traditional head of the Babylonian pantheon (cf. *Maqlû* VI 1). Possibly the god's name stands for Enlil's astral manifestation, Boötes, but the text does not state this explicitly nor is a commentary preserved that would provide evidence for such an association; also note that, like Anu and Ea, Enlil is usually not identified with a specific constellation. The Arrow (*Šukūdu*, Sirius) is the star of Ninurta, Enlil's foremost son (see Annus 2002: 133–7). The arrow is one of warlike Ninurta's weapons, and Ninurta himself is invoked as the arrow "that [kills] all enemies" (Annus 2002: 207, Mayer 2005: 52 l. 8). Ninurta's power is here transferred to the patient's body so that it may overcome his evil witches and enemies. The identification of the patient's forehead with the rising sun evokes the image of the appearance of the upper part of the sun-disc at sunrise. The duplicates have more explicit *sag.du-mu* instead of simple *sag.du* for *qaqqadī* (cf. Borger, *MZL* p. 242 §13). N 1423 + obv. 13' has syllabic *pu-ū-tum* instead of *sag.ki*, a legitimate Late Babylonian spelling of *pūtī*.

16' (49–50): For the identification of the patient's arms with the *gamlu*, a curved staff, cf. also *Maqlû* VI 4. The constellation *Gamlu* (Auriga; K 2950 + obv. I 40 writes ^{gis}zubi, but K 3247(+) obv. I 18' has ^{mul}zubi) is designated as the weapon in Marduk's hand in V R 46, 1 obv. 3 (cf. Gössmann 1950: 19) and identified with Marduk himself in VAT 9818: 12' (Reiner 2005: 80, Jupiter omens). Within the present context one would expect the phrase *ša bāb Marduk* to refer to an astral constellation as well. While Marduk can only represent Jupiter, it is difficult to see what "Jupiter's gate" could refer to in the night sky. Possibly the text only implies that the *gamlu*-stick, the apotropaic weapon of the exorcist, protected the entrance to the temple of Marduk, the exorcist of the gods. The following canonical line identifies the patient's ears with *le-'u-u* (K 2950 + obv. I 50: *le-'u-u*, N 1423 + obv. 14':] *le-u₅*). While *le-u₅* in N 1423 + suggests "writing board" and the overall context might lead to speculation that somehow *is lē*, the Bull's jaw (Hyades), might be intended, the spellings in the present manuscript and its Kuyunjik duplicate can hardly represent anything but *lē'ū* "capable". This sounds impossibly bland at first sight, but it should be noted that Aa II/4: 11–13 groups *uznu* "ear, wisdom", *lē'ū* "capable, wise" and *hasīsu* "ear, wisdom" together. Furthermore, *lē'ū* as a divine epithet, while in principle not restricted to one deity, is associated in literary texts foremost with Marduk and his son Nabū, both gods of wisdom (cf. Tallqvist 1938: 115, *CAD* L 160). It seems therefore likely that an identification with Marduk or Nabū is intended; given the prominence of the former in the preceding sentence he probably would have been associated by most Babylonian scholars with the epithet here.

17' (50): Though one would expect a reference to yet another astral body here, *lahmu* is unattested so far in the heavens. *lahmu*, the 'hairy one', is a creature of Ea's realm (see Wiggermann 1981–2 and 1992: 164–6 with further references), and the identification of the patient's feet with *lahmu*-heroes roots him deep in the subterranean ocean. At the same time the *lahmu* is an important protective spirit whose apotropaic power is transferred to the patient. The motif of the two *lahmu*-heroes (note the dual form *mukabbisā* in the duplicate K 2950 + obv. I 50) stepping on the "flesh", i.e. the body, of other *lahmu*-heroes is so far only attested here in Akkadian literature. The phrase probably alludes to a victorious gesture of stepping on one's defeated enemies. The *lahmu* has been convincingly identified by Wiggermann with the naked hero ("sechlockige Held") attested in Babylonian iconography from the Jemdet Nasr period onwards. Akkade-period cylinder seals show naked heroes wrestling in pairs, the victorious partner stepping with one foot upon the defeated hero (see Boehmer 1965: 47–8, cf. especially his no. 279, pl. xxiv). It seems likely that the very same motif underlies our passage in *Maqlû*.

18' (51): The line is only preserved here and, partially, in N 1423 + obv. 15' where we read: [. . .] ^dutu <ina> an-e ¹nap-^{ha}-tu-[*mu*]. The emendation of N 1423 + is based on A 7876. However, the line as presented by the Chicago fragment must be corrupt too, and we propose to insert *kīma* before ^dšamaš. The great gods invoked during the night are the stars that shine in the sky like the sun in day-time. The term *ilū rabūtu* in l. 51 certainly comprises the gods invoked in the first part of the incantation — Enlil, Ninurta-Sirius, Auriga(-Marduk), Marduk(-Jupiter) (?) — but other divine beings mentioned there, such as the sun-god himself in l. 51 and the subterranean *lahmu*-heroes in l. 50, are not referred to here. It seems that the line contains a rather general invocation of the great gods in their astral manifestations and was only secondarily combined with the first part of our incantation.

19'–21' (52–4): Note that N 1423 + has a longer list of witchcraft activities, adding *kišpū ruḥū rusū upšāšū lemmūtu* after *ipšu bārtu amāt lemuttī*. Unfortunately the first half of l. 52 is not preserved in N 1423 +, as it presents the only problem in what is otherwise a straightforward analogic spell. We expect "as sorcery, revolt . . . do not approach you . . ., let sorcery, revolt, . . . not approach me . . .", but the symmetry of analogy and plea is disrupted by additional words between *kīma* and *ipšu* that, given the available space in the break, must also have been present in the only duplicate. The signs in question are reasonably well preserved and suggest a reading *an-na-¹ku?* an.b[ar]?. A trace between KU and AN might represent an *u*, but if so it would have been additionally squeezed in by the scribe after having written the full line; we therefore prefer to interpret it as a scratch. While the reading of the actual signs does not present us with too many difficulties, their interpretation within the present context is far from obvious. Addressed are the great gods in their astral manifestations. The words *annaku* "tin" and *parzillu* "iron", if our reading is correct, seem to form part of the sequence that is continued by *ipšu bārtu amāt lemuttī*; they are missing, however, from the parallel

sequence in the following request. Furthermore, the sequence in itself does not make much sense; what could possibly be the point of saying that tin and iron do not come near the stars? In contrast to copper and tin for the production of bronze, iron and tin were not alloyed in ancient Mesopotamia. Could this possibly be the background of the comparison made here? Just as iron and tin do not mix, do not come near each other, so witchcraft is something that cannot approach the gods. Grammatically one would have to assume that the spelling *an-na-ku* stands for *annaki* (*kīma annaki parzilli* “like tin (and) iron”) and that a second *kīma* was omitted elliptically in order to avoid an impossible **kīma kīma annaki parzilli*. This assumption, advanced here with much hesitation, underlies our provisional and tentative translation. Further discussion must await a duplicate that confirms or modifies (our reading of) the text as preserved on the Chicago fragment.

Rev. VIII 22'–43' (Maqlû VII 55–79): Numerous manuscripts preserve the text of this incantation. Apart from a few typical Neo-Assyrian spellings (*ub-pi-ru* for *ubbiru*, *lim-ḥUR-in-ni* for *limḥurū'inni*) the text as preserved in the present fragment agrees with the other available sources. Note that the final *amḥur miḥru limḥurū'inni* (l. 79a) is otherwise only found in Babylonian manuscripts (*KAR* 268, N 1423 +, Ni 2927 +, BM 64203), but is missing in the two extant Kuyunjik sources (K 2950, K 8058).

Rev. IX 1'–12' (Maqlû VIII): The beginning of *Maqlû VIII* is still only partly known. The present passage has to be inserted somewhere after l. 16. The text picks up after a break of approximately nine lines, but the endings of ll. 17'–21' are missing and cannot be restored with any confidence. The exact placement of the line endings preserved here therefore remains uncertain.

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Abbreviations follow *CAD* and *AHW*; *KAL* 2 = Schwemer 2007a.

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Abstract

The fragment A 7876 (Oriental Institute, Chicago) occupies a special position among the cuneiform sources of the ritual *Maqlû*. The six-column tablet, inscribed in the Neo-Assyrian script of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, originally contained the complete text of the series with its nine canonical tablets. Taking into account the relevant duplicate manuscripts the article offers an annotated edition of this fragment and compares its style and format to other “large tablets” (*dubgallu*) of Babylonian literary texts.

Tzvi Abusch
 Brandeis University
 Department of Near Eastern and Judaic
 Studies
 Lown 313
 Waltham MA 02454, USA
 abuscb@brandeis.edu

Daniel Schwemer
 School of Oriental and African Studies
 Department of the Languages and Cultures
 of the Near and Middle East
 Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square
 London WC1 0XG, UK
 ds11@soas.ac.uk