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2 The Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44)

2.1 Introduction: The Importance of the Exorcist's Manual

The publication within the present volume of the Assur Medical Catalogue (AMC) is a good opportunity to return to the first of such catalogues to be published, the so-called Exorcist's Manual also known by its original copy as KAR 44, first studied in depth by Heinrich Zimmern a century ago (Zimmern 1915-16: 204-229), then later elaborated by Jean Bottéro (1974-75), followed by a new copy of the tablet by the present writer (Geller 2000), and finally published again as part of a doctoral thesis (Jean 2006).¹ Despite a century of study, many details of this text remain unclear and it will continue to provide a basis for future studies of the exorcist's training and expertise. One noteworthy feature of KAR 44 is that it does not present a single curriculum for the aspiring *mašmaššu*, but *two* different curricula with very different aims and objectives, and this bipartite division of the basic texts required for the exorcist reflects a similar pattern in two other catalogues being studied in the present volume: both AMC and the *Sakikkû* catalogue CTN 4, 71 have two separate listings of works relevant to the disciplines of medicine and diagnostics, and in two cases (KAR 44 and CTN 4, 71), the two lists are separated by additional colophon-like insertions.²

The opening statement of KAR 44 clearly explains the purpose of this remarkable document, and in particular the basic curriculum: 'incipits of compositions of exorcism, fixed for study and reading, named in their entirety'. These texts were designated for the training and examining of the art of exorcism (*mašmaššūtu*), although it must be emphasised that we have no trace of any cuneiform diploma or degree qualifications; it is not clear whether the title *mašmaššu* (or *āšīpu*) reflected the successful completion of professional training or a professional title.

The first texts to be mastered by an aspiring exorcist are somewhat unexpected: incantations addressed to Kulla (patron god of bricks and by extension builders)³, mouth-washing incantations for purifying divine statues, and finally incantations for the investiture of a high priest (KAR 44: 2). The first of these incantations for the 'brick', as represented by Kulla, reflects the fact that every brick of a sacred building had to come from virgin soil and be purified through incantations, in order for the resulting sacred building or temple to be pure (Hruša 2015: 137). The mouth-washing rituals had various applications: they could be used to inaugurate a new cult statue (Hruša 2015: 69), with royal rituals (inaugurating a king), as well as with a divine image, which had its mouth washed before giving an oracle; a sheep might have its mouth washed before being sacrificed, and an ordinary person might require a mouth-washing ritual before reciting a penitential prayer (see Walker and Dick 2001: 10-11). Such high standards of purity were also necessary for consecrating a high priest, which is why various cultic rituals performed in the temple are mentioned next ('word of Apsû', regular-offering, and hand-washing rituals), followed by three types of prayers, *Ki'utukku*, *Šu'illa*, and penitential (DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA)⁴ incantations, all of which reflect the normal duties of a priest operating within a temple context, rather than specifically as an exorcist. The same is true of the following entry (KAR 44: 5), which refers to rituals to be carried out in a sequence of months between Tammuz and Tishri, reflecting the period between the summer solstice and autumn equinox. It is not clear why this quarter of the cultic year is specifically singled out, although it is possible that these months have special significance in hemerologies which are not preserved, but in any case the royal ritual (*sakkû*) appearing at the end of this list provides further proof of the cultic rather than healing nature of these first components of the curriculum for exorcists. Since all initial entries in KAR 44 consist of priestly duties in the temple, an important question can be addressed, whether the exorcist was essentially a priest who practiced exorcism or an exorcist who happened to be a priest. We now know the answer: the *mašmaššu* was first and foremost a temple priest.

¹ A recent new treatment of the text by E. Frahm has not been used in the present study, since it is not yet published. This introduction to KAR 44 is partly based upon a lecture given in Brussels and later published (Geller 2012).

² It is the overall similarities of all three of these catalogues which has led the present writer to suggest (in a separate contribution to this volume) that all three catalogues could have been attributed to the same scholar, Esagil-kin-apli. One should note that attribution does not imply authorship or even responsibility for the works being listed in these catalogues.

³ Kulla is identified with temple-building rituals, published in Ambos 2004.

⁴ This genre was also called, 'My god, I did not know!', see Lambert 1974.

The first items in his long and complex training involved learning temple rituals, which have nothing at all do with exorcism or healing patients.⁵

The next category of texts in KAR 44 for the *mašmaššu* to study is diagnostics, which fits a known pattern: according to the standard work on diagnostic omens (the *Diagnostic Handbook*), it was the exorcist⁶ who visited the patient at home to make a diagnosis. But the exorcist had to learn more than disease symptoms, since he also had to be an expert in various types of physiognomic omens, to be able to predict a person's character based on physical appearances. Yet so far the exorcist continues to act as a priest in a classic mode, with cultic functions, prayers, and visiting the sick, but still no exorcisms! Only after these primary priestly functions of the exorcist are listed do we encounter actual *magic* in the curriculum, with the colourful titles of incantation compositions of 'Purifying waters', 'Evil demons', 'Who are you (i.e. demons)?' and incantations 'to eradicate that evil' (KAR 44: 7); this is hardly, however, an exhaustive listing of magical genres. These incantation compositions are followed by thematic texts dealing with 'hand-wiping'-rituals (*takpertu*), the scattering of flour rituals and incantations to nullify the effects of a false oath, or incantations against *asakku*-disease (KAR 44: 8).⁷

We next encounter a subtle change in the listings. KAR 44: 9 begins with a small gloss, *sak-ki-ke₄* 'symptoms',⁸ as a signifier that what follows are magical texts dealing with medical symptoms, such as 'head-diseases', 'neck-diseases', and a catch-all 'general diseases', but we must be clear that these items refer to incantations treating these conditions rather than medical recipes. What follows are incantations and rituals against the incubus and succubus and their attempts to have sexual congress with victims, which is often countered through a ritual marriage of substitute figurines (KAR 44: 10).⁹

Next in the sequence come bathing and more mouth-washing rituals; this line (KAR 44: 11) opens with another small gloss indicating 'ritual', pointing to the ritual rather than incantation content of the *Bit rimki*, *Bit mēseri*, and mouth-washing procedures listed here. There is no doubt that cleanliness and pure water served as important ritual tools against disease and demons, although in antiquity the idea was hardly antiseptis or creating a germ-free environment; water, fire, and smoke (fumigation) were used to remove the perceived threat of unclean demons. Similarly, wiping the patient down with flour and throwing the flour into fire was a dramatic way of making the patient feel unburdened from feelings of guilt, and the psychological impact was the real aim of such rituals. In fact, the very next topics to be studied by the exorcist would roughly correspond in modern parlance to rudimentary forms of 'psychotherapy', since they all involve addressing levels of anxiety: 'evil spells', 'evil curses', '(spells) for undoing witchcraft', '(spells) for undoing the (effects) of an oath' (KAR 44: 12-13). These are all, in one way or another, expressions of paranoia, that is the fear of an unknown enemy or power which can cause great harm, such as a witch, the evil tongue (slander) or evil eye (envy), and results can manifest themselves in various forms, such as insomnia, sexual impotence, or simply neurotic behaviour. These types of conditions are reflected in the line which follows (KAR 44: 14), listing the classical incantation texts used to counter witchcraft (*Maqlū*), feelings of personal guilt (*Šurpu*), nightmares, or sexual impotence.

5 The predominant priestly role of the exorcist persisted into the Hellenistic period, as demonstrated by the prolific Uruk scribe Iqīša, who in addition to being a *mašmaššu* was also an *ērib bīti* (one allowed to enter the inner temple precincts) and owner of a brewer's prebend (see Veldhuis 2014: 419).

6 Known by his title KA.PIRIG, a class of exorcist known only by this logogram, the Akk. equivalent of which is uncertain (see Geller 2007: 3-4). It may be that the *asū*-physician visited the patient under special or even normal circumstances, but this is never mentioned in the literature.

7 The nature of the *asakku*-demon and the illness associated with him (*asakku maršu*) requires further discussion, since the demon and its associated disease are not known from medical texts or symptoms and are hence magical in nature, suggesting psychological rather than physical illness. The question is whether the Sum. homonyms *Ā.SĀG*-demon and *AZAG(KÛ.AN)*-taboo have any semantic connections, which could suggest that a violation of a taboo (*asakku*) resulted in a visitation from the *asakku*-demon and *asakku*-illness. It is difficult to imagine that Mesopotamian scholarship would have ignored the obvious play on words, and indeed we find in *Multābiltu*-commentary texts the evidence for the connection. A comment on liver divination provides the following apodosis: *maršu ma-mit Ā.SĀG DAB-su*, '(concerning) a sick man – the taboo-curse has seized him' (Koch 2005: 157, 245), which associates 'taboo' (*AZAG*) with the demon name *Ā.SĀG*. Nevertheless, although suggestive, this does not prove any etymological connection between the two terms.

8 We assume that the gloss in this case cannot represent a phonetic rendering of *SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ* (headache), which normally appears in Akk. contexts as *sakikkū*.

9 While Lilith is known from manuscripts and numerous references within magical texts, the male counterpart or *GURUŠ.LĪL.LA* incantations are lost, perhaps reflecting the general pattern in all systems of ancient magic that Lilith was much more popular than her male counterpart *lilū*.

This brings us to the next phase of the exorcist's curriculum, which deals with healing arts. One of the most common 'illnesses' encountered was childbirth, although it is likely that women's diseases were treated in the first instance by a midwife. Nevertheless, the exorcist appears to have been consulted in cases in which a woman could not bring the foetus to term because she was 'bound', or in cases where a woman was 'in travail', probably indicating physical impediments to birth which later periods would treat through Caesarean section. At the same time, paediatric medicine was also indicated in this line (KAR 44: 15) by an attack of the feared Lamaštu-demon¹⁰ or the symptoms of infant-distress indicated by the baby's incessant crying. The question is what was uniquely offered by the exorcist which was not available from either the physician or midwife.

This question becomes even more pertinent to what follows in the exorcist's curriculum, namely 'eye disease', 'dental disease' and *bu'sānu*-disease, followed by 'internal disease' and 'lung disease, 'to stop nosebleed', 'to stop vomiting' and 'to stop diarrhea' (KAR 44: 16-18). Nothing could be more medical than these ailments, for which we know that the *asû*-physician employed – along with incantations and rituals – tampons and a great variety of drugs within therapeutic prescriptions.¹¹ Here we come to the crux of the matter: what is the difference between the exorcist's magic and physician's recipes, if used for the same conditions, such as nosebleed, vomiting, or diarrhea? How does an incantation stop nosebleed? Are we dealing here with a 'sick eye' or an 'evil eye', with 'tooth decay' or with a tooth-worm which was thought to cause toothache? The solutions to these and other problems were to be found within the exorcist's repertoire; he was expected to counteract snakebite and scorpion stings, as well as migraine, pestilence and epidemic (KAR 44: 20), but that was not all. Not only was his magic expected to protect the city, houses, fields, gardens, and canals from flood and locusts (KAR 44: 22), but within this framework the exorcist's powers extended beyond disease to protect against all manner of natural catastrophes, and hence *beyond* the expertise of the physician. These included rituals for the promotion of safe travel, dodging enemy arrows, and avoiding imprisonment, as well magical cleansing of stalls of domestic animals, hardly the most sanitary of environments (KAR 44: 23-24).

The final two remaining items in this basic curriculum come as a particular surprise, since they appear to encroach on the professional turf of diviners. The *mašmaššu* was expected to pay attention to omens and to study predictions from stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, and oracles based on stones or flour, as well as being familiar with explanatory lists of stones and plants (KAR 44: 25-26). We cannot tell from this single remark how much training in omens the *mašmaššu* was expected to have at this stage; it appears that he only needed to know the omen results ('decisions'), probably reported by other scholars. At the same time, the exorcist was expected to know something about the nature of medicinal plants and stones, although obviously such plants and stones also comprised the *materia medica* for medical recipes used by the *asû*-physician. Why would the exorcist need to know this? The answer appears at the very end of the list: he required this information for 'strings' and 'pendants' (KAR 44: 26), for the use of amulets (see Schuster-Brandis 2008), but how much of this knowledge of stones and plants would overlap with the training of a physician is difficult for us to gauge.

We now arrive at the end of the first curriculum, which is certainly far-reaching in its breadth; it includes all cultic functions of the *mašmaššu*, as well as his training in a variety of incantations based on an elementary appreciation of human psychology. This basic curriculum also encompasses a number of specific medical problems associated with body fluids and waste matter, as well as the prevention of environmental disasters, veterinary medicine, and the study of divination and the nature of stones and plants. If all this were not enough, KAR 44 then introduces a second curriculum, with a completely different array of themes, presumably for more advanced students of exorcism.¹²

What is particularly interesting about this second curriculum is that it introduces the exorcist to esoteric knowledge, clearly designated as 'secret' (*niširtu*), specifically the 'totality of sources of wisdom, the secrets of the art of incantations, the sources of the plans of heaven and earth, the secrets of the Lalgar (abyss), and non-canonical (*ahû*) incantations' (KAR 44: 30-31). The emphasis here is on 'sources' or 'springs' of knowledge, based on the metaphor of the

¹⁰ See Farber 2014. The fear of Lamaštu is clear from the fact that although she has a divine pedigree, as daughter of Anu, she never needed to be designated as 'evil' (as is the case with other demons), since she was intrinsically evil; there is no benevolent Lamaštu. An infant would usually be strangled by this demon, an image possibly evoked by a foetus being choked by the umbilical cord during delivery.

¹¹ See Steinert in this volume, with reference to incantations and recipes for this same genre in AMC.

¹² A special ruled section between the two curricula listed on the tablet (l. 27) attributes the contents of this tablet to the scholar Esagil-kin-apli, whose role is treated elsewhere in this volume (see Geller *infra*, pp. 51-52). Although there is some dispute as to whether this line refers to the texts listed prior to this attribution or to texts listed after the mention of Esagil-kin-apli, the discussion is largely irrelevant, since the only person whose name appears in KAR 44 and in the *Sakikkû* catalogue (CTN 4, 71) is Esagil-kin-apli, and the attribution of these texts to a named scholar belongs to him alone.

Apsû or subterranean sweet water being associated with Ea, god of wisdom, and by analogy also being the origin of esoteric knowledge. Knowing the source of knowledge is how one defines secret or esoteric knowledge in concrete terms.

One example of such high-level knowledge is the study of Namburbi-rituals which counteract bad portents resulting from ordinary occurrences, such as the sudden appearance of a snake, scorpion, lizard, or ants in the house. It is clear from our text that the exorcist was responsible – if not for the omens themselves – for the incantations and rituals used to counteract the evil omens: ‘rituals and Namburbi-solutions for whatever ominous signs exist in heaven and on earth’ (KAR 44: 29).

Another subject of the advanced curriculum pertains to medical matters, the study of texts dealing with paralysis and related muscular illnesses (paralysis, palsy, tendon-complaints, muscular-illness, pain, a sailor's fractures, KAR 44: 32), which we also recognise from medical therapeutic texts associated with the *asû*-physician. Nevertheless, we also know of incantations addressed to these same ailments, which is precisely why they are listed in KAR 44. Within this more advanced curriculum, the exorcist had to have some knowledge of medical recipes or *bultî*, which clearly belong to the province of medicine; there is no doubt here that the exorcist was partially infringing on the territory of the physician. However, the specific *bultî* or treatises mentioned in KAR 44 are included for magical rather than for medical reasons; these include *bultî* or recipes for ‘falling sickness’ (epilepsy), ‘Lord of the roof’-demon (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of ghost-afflictions’, as well as ailments encountered in the basic curriculum, ‘the evil *alû*-demon and the *lilû*-spirit,¹³ as well as the ‘Supporter of evil’-demon, the ‘Hand of the (broken) oath’ (affliction), ‘Hand of mankind’ (sorcery)’ (KAR 44: 33-34). Despite their colourful names, these diseases often manifest some kind of stroke or seizure, and many are listed together in a unique text dating from the Persian period, in which they are all defined as coming ‘from the heart’, or in other words ‘from the mind’ of the patient (see Geller 2014: 3, 7, 24). The Greeks continued to refer to epilepsy as a ‘sacred disease’, with unexplainable causes originating in the realm of magic and demons. Moreover, there was precious little that a physician could do to treat stroke or seizures, so it is hardly unexpected that the exorcist was left to treat such ailments.

The final section of KAR 44 offers further surprises, since it suddenly adopts a new style of addressing the reader in the second person, reverting back to the original classification of these texts as esoteric: ‘until you master (these texts) and discover the secrets’ (KAR 44: 36). The remainder of the catalogue refers to the tools of the trade, namely the use of high-level commentaries and sophisticated lexical aids which will help the scholar contemplate and comprehend his sources. The question is how much of a challenge does this higher curriculum pose to other professions within the exorcist's realm of activities.

For instance, this second advanced curriculum has the *mašmaššu* studying omens, which include the extensive corpus of liver divination and astrology comprising thousands of lines of text. However, examination of the entrails of animals belonged squarely to the profession of the diviner, the *bārû* or haruspex, whose job it was to record omens derived from the organs (involving mainly the liver) of a slaughtered animal, and hepascopy was equally known as *niširti bārûti*, the ‘secret lore of divination’, within that professional group. Are we witnessing here a breakdown of barriers between professions and professional training? Chronology may help us in understanding this mass of contradictory and confusing data: would the exorcist have really been expected to master so many other disciplines? In late periods, it seems that he may well have done, somewhat to the detriment of his other colleagues.

Nevertheless, we can begin to isolate patterns in this data as follows: in the second millennium BCE, there was a clear distinction between the *disciplines* belonging to the *asû*-physician, *mašmaššu*-exorcist and *bārû*-diviner. The *asû*-physician was certainly the most prominent among these professions, being the only one mentioned in the Laws of Hammurapi, and distinguished representatives of this profession were invited abroad to foreign courts. The *bārû*-diviner was prized in the royal palace for his ability to predict future events affecting king and country. The *mašmaššu* or *āšipu*-exorcist had his status as priest to rely upon, with its own spheres of influence.

By the time we peruse the late tablet archives of Nineveh, Assur, Sippar, Uruk, Sultantepe, and Babylon, we note significant changes in how scientific texts are being composed and copied. The large omen compendia appear to be copied by ‘scribes’ who are in fact scholars, rather than by diviners themselves; the *mašmaššu* participated in this activity. The clear distinctions between professional texts belonging to separate professions appear to have broken down,

¹³ The higher curriculum includes references to magical texts by the same terms mentioned in the basic first curriculum, such as incantations dealing with the sexy ghost Lilith, or the *alû*-demon (KAR 44: 34). It is difficult to know what distinction is being made between these texts appearing in both curricula.

and school curriculum was more generally based on a variety of genres, of which magic and medicine probably played a primary role. Nevertheless, the integrity of the distinctive disciplines remained intact, as we can see from the various catalogues edited in the present volume. Despite overlapping genres and themes, the basic differences between medical therapy and prescriptions, magical incantations and rituals, and diagnostic omens formed three separate genres, and these remained stable throughout the history of the use of these texts. An exorcist using a medical recipe remained an exorcist, and a physician using an incantation remained a physician. Once we separate the idea of disciplines from praxis and procedure, we get a much clearer picture of how these various forms of healing arts operated in tandem throughout Mesopotamian history of science.

2.2 The Edition of KAR 44, the Exorcist's Manual¹⁴

Manuscripts

- A VAT 8275 (KAR 44, Geller 2000: 245-246), 7th century BCE, from Assur (copy by Kišir-Aššur);¹⁵ Plate 7-8
 B 79-7-8, 250 (Geller 2000: 252), from Nineveh (7th century BCE); relevant but not a duplicate; Plate 9
 c BM 55148 + 68411 + 68658 (Geller 2000: 247), from Sippar, ca. 6th-5th century BCE; Plate 10
 d Rm. 717 + BM 34188 + 99677 + 140684 (Geller 2000: 249), from Babylon; copied by Mušallim-Bēl, a member the Mušēzib family (4th century BCE; courtesy E. Frahm); Plate 11
 e BM 36678 (Geller 2000: 250), from Babylon; Plate 12
 f W 23293/4 (SpTU 5, 231), from Uruk, written by Rimūt-Anu (Šangū-Ninurta clan), ca. end of the 5th century BCE (reign of Darius II);¹⁶ Plate 13

- 1 A SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá a-na NÍG.ZU u IGI.DU₈.A kun-nu PAP MU.NE
 d ʾKA DUBʾ SAG.MEŠ ʾÉŠ.GÀRʾ LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ-ú-ti ʾšáʾ [x] ʾNÍGʾ.ZU u IGI.D[U₈.A k]un-nu ʾPAPʾ MU.N[E]
 f [KA DU]B SAG.MEŠ ÉŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-tu₄ šá a-na ih-zu u ta-mar-tu₄ kun-nu nap-ha-ri MU-ár¹

The incipits (i.e. titles)¹⁷ of exorcism compositions¹⁸, established for recensions¹⁹ and reading (lit. ‘viewing’), named in their entirety.

- 2 A ^dSIG₄ SUHUŠ É DINGIR [ŠUB] LUH KA u né-šu-tu EN.NA
 d ^dSIG₄ LUH KA DINGIR.R[A] u ni-šu-ut EN.NA
 f ^dSIG₄ [LUH] ʾKA DINGIR.RAʾ u ni-šu-ut EN.NA

Kulla (‘brick-laying’-ritual) gloss: for [laying] the foundation of a house / temple, mouth-washing (rituals) (var. for a god) and (rituals for the) installation of a priest.

- 3 A INIM ABZU GI.NU.TAG.GA-ú u ŠU.LUH DINGIR.RA
 c [.....] u ʾŠUʾ. L[UH]
 d [IN]IM ABZU gi-ʾnu-taqʾ-qu-ú ʾu ŠU.LUH.HAʾ DINGIR.RA
 f TU₆ ʾABZU GI.NU.TAG.GAʾ-[ú] u ŠU.LUH DINGIR.RA

‘Word (var. spell) of Apsû’(-rituals), *ginutaqqû* (-ritual offerings) and hand-washing(-rituals) for the god.

- 4 A KI ^dUTU.KAM²⁰ ŠU.ÍL.LA.KAM u DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA
 c K[I] L]A.KU u DINGIR.Š[À]
 d [..... (traces)] u DINGIR.ʾŠÀ×Xʾ.DAB.BA

¹⁴ This edition was produced with the assistance of Strahil V. Panayotov and Ulrike Steinert, as well as the BabMed team, Berlin.

¹⁵ For a second copy of the Manual from the same Assur library, which remains unpublished (A 366), see Jean 2006: 63 n. 259.

¹⁶ The Uruk tablet (Ms. f) was copied from an earlier original by a notable Uruk scribe, Rimūt-Anu, who was remarkable for copying other unique tablets; one is SpTU 1, 43, which lists diseases according to four regions of the body (see Geller 2014: 3-16), while a second unusual tablet (Heeßel 2000: 353-358 Ms. A = SpTU 4, 152), belongs to the *Diagnostic Handbook* but appends an explanatory commentary table to the end of the tablet.

¹⁷ The variants read *pī tuppī* (KA DUB), lit. ‘(according to) the “mouth” of the tablet (of incipits)’, an oblique reference to the authority of the written records (of compositions) listed in this catalogue.

¹⁸ Literally ‘series’.

¹⁹ See below, l. 28.

²⁰ See l. 13 below, with a second reference to this same genre of prayers, although the distinction is difficult to work out.

f [K]I^d[.....L]A.KAM u DINGIR.ŠÀ.DAB.BA
Ki'utukku(-prayers), *Šu'illa*(-prayers), penitential prayers.

5 A *né-peš*^{iti}ŠU.^dINANNA (sic)^{iti}NE^{iti}KIN^{iti}DUL u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-ti
 c *n[é-.....N]E^{iti}KIN^{iti}DUL u sak-ke-^re^r [.....]*
 d [..... DU]L u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-tu
 f [*né-pe*]š^{iti}[..... KI]N [i^{ti}D]UL u *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-ti

Rituals for the month of Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Tishri and cultic rites of kingship.

6 A SA.GIG-ú ALAN.DÍM.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MU-ú u KA.TA.DU₁₁.G[A-ú]
 c S[A.GIG].^rGA^r A[LAN].DÍM.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍM.MU-ú u KA.T[A]
 d [.....DÍ]M.MU-ú NÍG.DÍM.DÍ[M.MU]-^rú^r u KA.TA.DU₁₁.GA-ú
 f [.....] u KA.TA.DU₁₁.GA-ú

Sakikkû (diagnostic omens), *Alamdimmû* (lit. 'physical-form' = physiognomic omens), *Nigdimdimmû* (lit. 'physical shape' = physiognomic omens), *Kataduggû* (lit. 'orally recited' = physiognomic omens).

7 A A.KÛ.GA.MEŠ UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ^{ur-sag hul-gál-me-en} u HUL.BA.Z[I.ZI^{si-la}]^{re-ri^r-m[a]}
 c A.[KÛ].GA.MEŠ UDUG.HUL.A.MEŠ^rA^r.[.....E]N.[M]EŠ u HUL.B[A.....]
 d [..... U]DUG.HUL.MEŠ A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ u HUL.BA.Z[I.ZI
 f [.....] u [HUL].B[A.Z]I.ZI.MEŠ

'Purifying waters'(Akuga-incantations), 'Evil demons' (Udughul-incantations), 'Who are you?' (Aba.men.meš-incantations) gloss: 'you are the evil hero', 'To eradicate that evil' (Hulbazizi-incantations) gloss: "depart, hostile one!"

8 A ŠU.GUR.GUR.MEŠ^{tak-pe-er-tû} Á.SÀG.GIG.GA^{di-^ru GIG-tu⁴}.MEŠ u ZÌ.SUR.RA.ME[Š^{sag}]-ba-sag-ba
 c Š[U.Z]U.ZU.MEŠ Á.SÀG.GIG.GA.MEŠ u Z[Ì.....]
 d [.....].MEŠ Á.SÀG.GIG.GA.TA u ZÌ.SUR.[R]A.MEŠ
 f [.....] u Z[Ì.SUR.R]A.MEŠ

'Hand wiping' (rituals) gloss: purification ceremony, 'Taboo-illness' (*asakkû maršûtu*-incantations) gloss: headache-diseases, *zisurrû* (-magic circle of flour) gloss: Ban! Ban!

9 A *sa-kik-ke⁴*SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ GÚ^{sag-gig}GIG.GA.MEŠ u TU.RA KÌLI[B].BA
 c [S]AG.GIG.MEŠ GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ [.....]
 d [.....].GA.MEŠ GÚ.GIG.GA.MEŠ u TU.RA KÌL[I]B.^rBA^r
 f [.....] u TU.RA [KÌ]LIB.BA

gloss: symptoms 'head-diseases', 'neck diseases' gloss: head-disease, 'general diseases' (lit. 'illness in its entirety').

10 A ^{gu-ru-uš}GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ u ALAN.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.ME[Š]^{udug hul-gál-a mu-du-du}
 c GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ [.....]
 d [.....L]Á.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ u ALAN.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.M[EŠ]
 f [.....] u ALAN'.NÍG.É.SAG.ÍL.MEŠ

gloss: lad 'lad of *lilû*-demon', 'maiden of *lilû*-demon', 'substitute figurines' gloss: the evil demon is walking around.

11 A *e-piš-tû*^{bit}rim-ki bit me-se-ri^{meš} u KA.L[U]H.Û.DA
 c *bit rim-ki bit me-se-ri* [.....]
 d [.....]-ki bit me-sè-ri^{meš} u KA.LUH.Û.DA
 f [.....-r]i^r u KA.LUH.Û.DA.[À]M-ú

gloss: ritual 'bath house' (*Bīt rimki*-ritual), 'house of enclosures' (*Bīt mēseri*-ritual), 'mouth washing'(-ritual).

12 A UŠ₁₁.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ^rUŠ₁₁^r.BÚRU.DA u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA [^{ma-mi-t}]a a-na pa-šá-ri
 c UŠ₁₁.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ^rUŠ₁₁^r.B[ÚR]
 d [.....HU]L.MEŠ ÁŠ.HUL.GÁL.MEŠ UŠ₁₁.BÚRU.DA u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA

- e [.....R]U.D[A]
 f UŠ₁₁.H[UL.....] UŠ₁₁.BÚR[U.D]A² u NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA
 ‘evil spells’, ‘evil curses’, ‘(Ušburrudû-spells) for undoing witchcraft’,
 ‘(Namerimburrudû-spells) for undoing the (effects) of a (broken) oath’^{gloss: to undo an oath}

- 13 A KI^dUTU.KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.U₁₈.LU UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM^dDIM₈.ME.KE₄
 c KI^dUTU.KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.U₁₈.LU UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM[IM.....]
 d [.....].KÁM šá DINGIR LÚ.‘U₁₈’. [LU] UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA NAM.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM u lam-sa-‘tu₄’²¹
 e [.....] ‘NAM’.ÉRIM.BÚR.RU. DA e-‘dep IM^dDÌM.ME’. [.....]
 f KI^dUTU.[..... BÚ]R.RU.DA NAM.[ÉR]IM.BÚR.RU.DA e-dep IM^dDÌM.ME

Ki’utukku (prayers) to a man’s personal god, ‘(Ušburrudû-spells) for undoing witchcraft’,
 ‘(Namerimburrudû-spells) for undoing the (effects) of a (broken) oath’, ‘blowing of the wind’, Lamaštu,

- 14 A HUL ka-la ma-aq-‘lu-ú šur-pu MAŠ.‘GI₆ HUL ‘SIG₅.GA u ŠÀ.ZI.GA
 c ‘HUL ‘ka-la ma-aq-lu-ú šur-pu MÁŠ’. [..... SI]G₅.‘GA ‘u ‘ŠÀ’. [.....]
 d [..... m]a-aq-lu-[-] š[ur]-pu MAŠ.GI₆ HUL SIG₅.GA u ŠÀ×X.ZI.GA
 e HUL ka-la ma-aq-lu-ú šur-pu MÁŠ.‘GI₆ HUL ‘SIG₅.G[A] / u ŠÀ.ZI.GA
 f H[U]L ka-la [.....]-pi-e MA[Š.....] u ŠÀ.ZI.GA

(and) ‘All evil’. ‘Combustion’ (Maqlû-ritual), ‘Burning’ (Šurpu-ritual), ‘(rituals) to make bad dreams good’ and ‘(rituals) for arousing desire’,

- 15 A munus là al-‘du⁷ munusPEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA MUNUS LA.RA.AH^dDIM₈.ME.KÁM u LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ
 c munusPEŠ₄.KÉŠ.DA MUNUS LA.RA.AH^d[IM₁₁.ME].KAM u LÚ.TUR.[.....]
 d [.....] MUN[US LA].‘RA.AH^dDIM₁₁.ME.KE₄ u LÚ.TUR.HUN.GÁ
 e munusPEŠ₄.KÉŠ.‘DA ‘MUNUS LA.RA.A[H] ‘DIM₁₁.ME.KAM u LÚ.‘TUR.HUN’.G[Á]
 f MUNUS [.....] u LÚ.TUR.HUN’.GÁ

^{gloss: a woman not giving birth} ‘to bind a pregnant woman’, ‘woman in travail’, Lamaštu and (incantations) ‘to calm a baby’,

- 16 A IGI.GIG.GA.KE₄ ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄ u KA.‘HAB’.DIB.BA
 c IGI.GIG.GA.ŠÈ ZÚ.GIG.GA.ŠÈ u KA.‘HAB’.DIB.BA
 d [.....].KE₄ ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄ u KA.‘HAB’.DIB.BA
 e IGI.GIG.GA.KÁM ZÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄ u KA.HAB.‘DIB’.B[A]
 f IGI.G[G.....] u KA.HAB.DIB.BA

‘eye disease’, ‘dental disease’ and ‘malodourous nose’ (bu’sānu)-disease,

- 17 A ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KE₄ MUR.GIG.GA.KE₄ u TU₆.TU₆ GIG DÛ.A.BI
 c ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KÁM MUR.GIG.GA.[...] u TU₆.TU₆ G[IG.....]
 d [.....K]E₄ GÚ.GIG.GA.KE₄ u TU₆.TU₆ GIG DÛ.A.BI
 e ŠÀ.GIG.GA.KÁM GÚ.GIG.GA.KÁM u ‘TU₆.TU₆ GIG’ [.....]
 f ŠÀ.G[IG.....] u TU₆.TU₆ GIG DÛ.A.BI

‘internal disease’, ‘lung (variant: neck) disease’ and ‘spells for any disease’,

- 18 A MÚD KIR₄.KU₅.DA BURU₈.KU₅.RU.DA^{du-ga-nu} GIG u ŠÀ.SUR.KU₅.RU.DA[qa]-na ši-ta-šú
 c MÚD KIR₄.KU₅.RU.DA BURU₈.KU₅.R[U.D]A u ŠÀ.SUR.K[U₅.....]
 d [.....R]U.‘DA ‘u [ŠÀ].SUR.K[U₅.....]
 e MÚD ‘KIR₄.KU₅.RU.‘DA BURU₈.KU₅.RU.DA [.....]
 f MÚD^l K[IR₄.....] u ŠÀ.SUR.KU₅.RU.DA

‘to stop nosebleed’, ‘to stop vomiting’^{gloss: dugānu illness} and ‘to stop diarrhoea’^{gloss: second (meaning of nišhu is) ‘reed’},

21 This variant may be a form of the protective spirit lamassatu, or a corruption of Lamaštu.

- 19 A ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.TAB TI.LA u SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA^{BE NA sa-ma-nu GIG}
 c ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.ṽTAB TI.ṽLA u SAG.NIM.N[IM]
 d [.....NI]M.MA TI.[.....]
 e ZÚ MUŠ TI.LA GÍR.TAB TI.[.....]
 f ZÚ MUŠ T[I.....] u SAG.NIM.NIM TI.LA
 ‘to heal snakebite’, ‘to heal scorpion (sting)’ and ‘to heal *sāmānu*-disease’^{gloss: If a man suffers from *sāmānu* disease,}
- 20 A GĪRI HUL-*tim ina* É LÚ TAR-is *di-hu* : šib-ṽta NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-*qí* u SÍSKUR GABA.RI
 c GĪRI HUL-*tim ina* É LÚ TAR-is *di-’i* šib-ṽti NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-*qí* u SÍSK[UR]
 d (traces)
 e ṽGĪRIṽ HUL-*tim ina* ṽÉ LÚṽ T[AR.....]
 f GĪRI HUL-*tim ina* É [.....].ÚŠ.MEŠ šu-tu-*qu* u SÍSKUR GABA.RI
 ‘to prevent the foot of evil from (entering) a man’s house’, to avoid *di’u*-disease, epidemic (and) pestilence, and the substitute offering,
- 21 A *né-peš* URU É A.ŠĀ^{gis}KIRI₆ ÍD u *ki-né-e*^dNisaba^{he-pí eš-šú ri-da ga-ra-na : e-nu-ma} ÍD *ta-he-ru*
 c ṽ*né-peš* URU É A.ŠĀ^{gis}KIRI₆ ÍD u *ki’(KU)-n[é-e]*^dNisabaṽ
 e (traces)
 f *né-[p]eš* URU É A.ŠĀ^{gis}KIRI₆ ÍD [...-t]i u *ki-né-e*^dNisaba
 ‘ritual(s) for city, house, field, garden, canal and heaps of grain,^{gloss: new break, heaping up *ridu*-flour; when you dig a canal,}
- 22 A U₄.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA ZÚ BURU₅ DIB.BÉ.DA u *bar-bar*^{e-di-na}EDIN.NA
 c [... D]È.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.D[A] ZÚ BURU₅ DIB.BÉ.DA u B[AR.....]
 f U₄.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA ZÚ [.....] u *šá-maš* DINGIR EDIN.NA
 (Rituals) ‘to make flooding pass by’ and ‘to make the locust tooth pass by’ and ‘(ritual against) the wolf in the steppe (var. Šamaš, god of the steppe),
- 23 A EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE₂₆.E.DÈ u KI.ŠÚ²² AL.DIB
 c [..... N]A DIB.BÉ.D[A ...] LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE₂₆.DÈ u [.....]
 f EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE₂₆ [.....] u KI.ŠÚ AL.DIB
 (Rituals) ‘to travel (safely) through the steppe’, ‘for enemy arrows not to approach’ and ‘(rituals) avoiding imprisonment’,
- 24 A TÙR ÁB GU₄.HI.A u U₈.UDU.HI.A ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DÈ
 c [.....]ṽ u U₈ṽ [.....] u AN[ŠE]
 f TÙR GU₄.MEŠ u U₈.UDU[.MEŠ u ANŠE.KUR.RA SIKIL.E.DÈ
 ‘(Rituals) to purify the pen(s) of cattle, flocks and horse,
- 25 A EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU₄.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ INIM.GAR NA₄ ZÌ NA.RI DINGIR DÙ.A.BI
 c [.....] INIM.GAR NA ZÌ NA.RI u DINGIR DÙ.[...]
 d [E]Š.BAR ṽMULṽ.M[EŠ]
 f EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.ME[Š M]ÁŠ.ANŠE.[MEŠ N]A₄.MEŠ ZÌ NA.RI u DINGIR DÙ.A.BI
 ‘Predictions from stars, birds, oxen, and flocks, oracles (based) on stones (or) flour, on incense, (and) on a god, in their totality,

22 Although no incantations with this rubric have as yet been identified, it would be easy to mistake the reading KI.ŠÚ (Akk. *kīlu*, ‘prison’) for KI-šú or *ašaršu*, ‘his place’, hence misunderstanding this term.

- 26 A NA₄ GAR-šú Ú GAR-šú DUB NA₄.MEŠ DUB Ú.HI.A *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-^rli^r*
 c [......] 'DUB' N[A₄.....] 'Ú.MEŠ' *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-[x]*
 d [N]A₄ GAR-šú Ú GAR-[š]ú 'tup-pi NA₄ tup-pi ú tak-ši-ri' [...]
 f NA₄ GAR-šú Ú GAR-šú DUB NA₄.MEŠ DUB Ú.MEŠ *tak-ši-ri u ma-la-lu*

'explanatory stone lists', 'explanatory plant lists', the 'tablet of stones', the 'tablet of drugs', 'strings' and 'pendants'.

23

- 27 A SAG.MEŠ ÊŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti šá ^mÊ-sag-íl-kîn(GIN)-apli(A)²⁴
 c [ŠU.NIGIN-e Ê]Š.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-t[i šá ^mÊ]Š.GÚ.ZI.GI.IN.A DUMU ^{md}ASAL.LÚ.HI-[MA.AN.SUM / ABGAL
^mHa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL T[IN.TIR^{ki}] ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^dLi₉-si₄-a GUDU₄ Ê.ZI.DA
 d ŠU.NIGIN-e ÊŠ.GÀ[R] a-ši-pu-tu šá ^mÊŠ.GÚ.ZI.DA.IBILA DUMU ^{md}AS[AL.LÚ.HI-MA.AN.SU]M / ABGAL
^mHa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^dLi₉-si₄-a i-šip-p[u Ê.ZI].DA
 f SAG.MEŠ¹ KA²⁵ ÊŠ.GÀR MAŠ.MAŠ-ti š[a] ^mÊŠ.GÚ.ZI.GI.A DUMU šá ^dASAL.LÚ.HI-MA.AN.SUM / 'ABGAL'
^mHa-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL [T]IN.TIR^{ki} ŠÀ.'BAL'.BAL ^dLi₉-si₄-a LÚ.GUDU₄ Ê.ZI.[D]A

The titles (var. total of) of the compositions (series) of exorcism of Esagil-kin-apli (var. descendant of Asalluhi-mansum, sage of King Hammurapi [var. of Babylon], descendant of Lisia, purification priest of the Ezida-temple)

- 28 A ši-pir GI.TAG.GA ma-la ^dé-a ib-ši-mu KÌD.KÌD-^{tè}-e ŠÈR.KÛ.GA-e
 c [KIN] GI.TAG KI ma-la ^dIDIM i[b-ši-m]u KÌD.KÌD-^{tè}-e ŠÈR.KÛ.GA.[...]
 d NÍG.ZU.ŠÈ IGI.DU₈.A GUB.BA KIN GI.TAG.GA ma-la ^dé-a ib-ši-mu KÌD.KÌD.DA.MEŠ ŠÈR.KÛ.GA.MEŠ
 f NÍG.[Z]U.ŠÈ IGI.DU₈.A GUB.BA KI[N] KI ma-la ^d[... i]b-ši-mu KÌD.KÌD-^{tè}-e ŠÈR.KÛ.G[A].MEŠ

(var. established for study and reading).²⁶ The art of writing (lit. work of the stylus), whatever Ea designed: rituals and cult songs (*šerkugû*),

- 29 A NÍG.AK.A.MEŠ NAM.BÚR.BI Á.MEŠ AN u KI-tim ma-la ba-šá-a
 c [NÍG.KÌ]D.KÌD NAM.BÚR.BI] 'KI' ma-la ba-š[á-a]
 d NÍG.AK.A NAM.BÚR.BI.MEŠ GIZKIM.MEŠ AN-e u KI-tim ma-la ba-šá-a
 f NÍG.KÌD.KÌD NAM.BÚ[R.B]I G[IZKIM].MEŠ AN-e u KI-tim ma-la GÁL-a

Rituals and Namburbi-solutions for whatever ominous signs exist in heaven and on earth,

- 30 A kul-lat nag-bi né-me-^{qí} ni-šir-ti KA.KÛ.GA-lu-ti
 c kul-lat nag-bi né-^rme-^rq[í K]A.KÛ.GA-l[u-x]
 d kul-lat nag-bi né-me-^{qí} ni-šir-ti KA.KÛ.GÁL-u-tu
 f kul-lat na[g-.....-m]e-^{qí} ni-šir-tu₄ KA.KÛ.GÁL-lu-ti

the totality of sources of wisdom, the secrets of the art of incantations,

- 31 A i₅-na₈ GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN u KI pi-riš-ti LÂL.GAR TU₆TU₆ BAR.RA
 c i₅-na₈ GIŠ.'HUR'.MEŠ A[N T]U₆TU₆ BAR.[RA]
 d i₅-na₈ GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN-e u KI-ti AD.HAL LÂL.GAR u TU₆TU₆ BAR.RA
 f [.....] GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN u KI AD.HAL LÂL.GAR u TU₆TU₆ B[AR.R]A

the 'sources' (lit. 'eyes') of the plans of heaven and earth, the secrets of the Lalgar (abyss), and non-canonical (*ahû*) incantations.

23 The ruling is not found in Ms. f.

24 Ms. A is unique in adding a ruling here.

25 Not as read in Bácskay and Simkó 2012: 69. The reading *pī iškārī* in Uruk would mean, 'according to compositions'.

26 See an alternative interpretation of this phrase elsewhere suggested in this volume (Geller *infra*, p. 50 n. 45), 'established for text recensions and reading'.

- 32 A *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-ti u SA.GAL SA.GIG GIG²⁷ ki-sat ši-bír-ti_{tu} MÁ.LAH*
 c *KIN šim-ma-tu₄ ri-mu⁷-[.....-bī]r²-ti m[a-...]*
 d *ši-pir šim-mat ri-mu-tu u SA.GAL SA.GIG-ki ki-is-sat ši-na-ti ma-lah*
 f *[.....]-ma-tu₄ ri-mu-tu₄ u SA.GAL SA.GIG ki-is-sa-tu₄ u KIN-ti [m]a-⁷lāh⁷*

Treatises (lit. 'work') on paralysis, palsy, tendon-complaints, muscular-illness, gnawing (pain), a sailor's *fractures*.

- 33 A *bul-ṭi AN.TA.ŠUB.BA⁴ LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU⁴ INANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA*
 c *ṭ bul-ṭi AN.TA.ŠUB⁷.[BA].ṭ GIDIM⁷.[.....]*
 d *bul-ṭu AN.TA.ŠUB.BA⁴ LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU⁴ INNIN.NA*
 f *[...]ṭi AN.TA.ŠUB.BA⁴ LUGAL.ÛR.RA [Š]U.DINGIR.RA ŠU⁴ INANNA u ŠU.GI[DIM.M]A.ṭ KE₄⁷*

Remedies for 'falling sickness' (epilepsy), 'Lord of the roof'-demon (epilepsy), Hand of the god, Hand of the goddess, Hand of ghost-afflictions,

- 34 A *A.LÁ HUL LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.ṭ MA⁷ ŠU NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.U.LU*
 c *A.LÁ ṭ LÍL.LÁ.EN⁷.N[A SA]G.H[UL]*
 d *A.LÁ LÍL.LÁ.EN.NA / SAG.HUL.HA.ZU ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA ŠU NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.LU*
 f *[.....HU]L L[ÍL.LÁ].EN.NA KI.SIKIL.L[ÍL].LÁ.EN.NA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM.MA u ŠU NAM.LÚ.U₁₈.U.LU*

the evil *alû*-demon, the *lilû*-spirit, 'Supporter of evil'-demon, the 'Hand of the (broken) oath' (affliction), 'Hand of mankind' (sorcery),

- 35 A *ù bul-ṭi kal gim-ri ri-kis²⁸ TAG-it GIG KÚM DAB-su u KIN MUNUS*
 c *ṭ ù bul-ṭi kal ṭ gim⁷-[ri]*
 d *u bul-ṭu kal gim-ri ri-kis lip-it LÚ.GIG KÚM DAB-su u ši-pir MUNUS*
 f *ù bul-ṭi kal gim-ri ri-k[is] TA[G-i]ṭ GIG KÚM DAB-su u KIN MUNUS*

and the whole (corpus) of remedies, the corpus (concerned with) affliction of a patient seized by fever and (with) treatment(s) for a woman—

- 36 A *EN²⁹ ri-kis i-šip-pu-ti ta-kaš-šá-du tam-ma-ru NÍG.ŠEŠ*
 c *EN ri-kis ṭ ki⁷-ma [.....]*
 d *a-dī kiš-ša[t] i-šip-pu-tu ta-kaš-šá-du ta-am-ṭ ma-ru ni-šir⁷-t[i]*
 f *a-dī rik-sat i-šip-pu-ti ta-ṭ kaš-šá⁷-du tam-ma-ru NÍG.ŠEŠ*

(all this you will study) until you master the (entire) corpus of purification (*išippūtu*) and discover the secrets.

- 37 A *EGIR-nu NÍG.ZI.GÁL EDIN.NA INIM.BAL.E.NE u EME.SAL.MEŠ*
 c *ṭ ár⁷-ka-nu ṭ NÍG.ZI⁷.G[ÁL]*
 d *[á]r-ka-nu [NÍG.ZI]I.GÁL EDIN.NA INIM.BAL.E.NE u EME.SA[L]*
 f *ár-ka-na NÍG.ZI.GÁL EDIN.NA IN[IM.BAL].E.NE u EME.SAL.MEŠ*

Afterwards, (when through) *šātu*-lexical lists, translations and synonyms,

- 38 A *KI.DU.DU.MEŠ EME.GI₇ EME.URI^{ki} ši-te⁷-a ta-ah-ha-zu*
 c *[K]I.DU.DU-e EME.[.....]*
 d *[KÍ]D.KÍD.D[A.ME]Š šu-me-ri u ak-ṭ ka-dī⁷-i ši-te⁷-a ta-ah-ha-zu*
 f *KI.DU.DU-e EME.MEŠ E[ME] ši-te⁷-a ta-hi-za*

you will grasp how to examine Sumerian and Akkadian rituals,

²⁷ Ms. A is the only manuscript to repeat GIG, which is likely to be a dittography, since the line can be understood without it.

²⁸ See the author's discussion of *riksu* as 'corpus' elsewhere in this volume.

²⁹ The same usage of EN occurs in AMC, see elsewhere in this volume.

39 A ZAG.GAR.RA ZU.DÈ.E.GIN₇ A.ZA.AD A.ŠU.UŠ.MA U₄ AN EN.LÍL.LÁ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR
 c ʿZAG.GAR ZU.DÈʿ.ʿNE.ʿAʿ [.....]
 d [ZAG.G]AR.R[A].GIN₇ A.ZA.AD U₄.ŠU.UŠ-tu₄ U₄ AN ʿEN.LÍL.LÁ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in*
 f ZAG.GAR.RA ZU.DÈ.GIN₇ A.ZA.AD U₄.ŠU.UŠ.MAʿ DIŠʿ U₄ AN ʿEN.LÍL.LÁ u URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in*
 when you understand the *tithes*, *chills*, *anxiety*, *Enūma Anu Enlil-* (celestial omens), *Šumma ālu-* (omens),

40 A *kit-pu-duʿ šu-ta-du-nu mit-hur-ti*
 c *kit-p[u-...] x maʿ* [.....]
 d [*kit-p*]u-ʿ*du šu-ta-di-nuʿ mit-hur-ti*
 f [*ki*]ʿ*pu-duʿ-ma šu-ta-ad-di-nu mit-hur-tu₄*
 think through to³⁰ consider the conflicting views.³¹

41 A A.MA.AL³² UR DUB.LÁ.KE₄ EREŠ₅ GI.BÛR³³ DINGIR.MIN.NA.BI PAB.MIN.NA.BI GÉ[ŠT]UG DAGAL.LA
 GAR.RA.NA
 c A.MA.A[L]
 d ʿÁʿ.MA.AL.LU UR.A DUB.LÁ AK.A DUB.LÁ AK.A E[RE]Š₅ GI.BÛR ʿME.ME.KE₄ [G]ÉŠTUG.MIN DAGAL.LA
 GAR.RA.NA
 f [.....].AL UR DUB.LÁ.KE₄ EREŠ₅ GI.BÛR DINGIR.DINGIR BÛLUG.KAM GEŠTUG.MINʿ DAGAL.LA SUM.MU
 He who is capable (of understanding) the base of the foundation (of wisdom), a wise one, a scribe of those two gods (i.e. Ea and Marduk, var. Ms. d Gula), who will be bestowed wide understanding,

42 A DINGIR ʿLAMMA.ʿBIʿ HÉ.G[I] U₄.UL.DÛ.A.ŠÈ [M]U.NE BA.AN.SA₄ʿ.ʿA
 d DINGIR ʿLAMMA.BI HÉ.SA₆ ʿU₄ʿ.UL.DÛ.A.ŠÈ MU.BI BA.AN.GÁL.LA.KE₄
 f [.....] ʿLAMMA.BIʿ HÉ.E[N.S]A₆ [U₄].ʿULʿ.ʿDÛ.A.ŠÈ MU.NE BA.AN.SA₄ʿ.ʿA
 so that his protective deity should establish (var. favour) him, that his name be mentioned forever.

43 A GIM SUMUN-šú šà-ṭir ba-ri ú-ìl-tì ʿKA.K[EŠ]DA-ʿHÉ.DU₇ LÚ.[MAŠ.MAŠ] DUMU ʿdŠamaš-ib-ni
 LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ É.ŠÁR.RA
 d *gì-ṭu ʿGI-ìm-ʿdENʿ?*
 f *ki-i KA ṭup-pi GABA.RI SAR-ma IGI.KÁR AG.A [ú-ìl-tì] ʿRi-mut-ʿdA-nu /*
 [A ʿdŠa]-máš-MU A ʿSANGA-ʿdMAŠ : *Uruk*^{ki} ʿiD[UL U₄ x.KAM MU x.KAM] ʿdDa-ri-ia-a-muš LUGAL
 Ms A According to its original, written, collated. One-column tablet of Kišir-Nabû, [the *mašmaššu*-exorcist], son of Šamaš-ibni, the *mašmaššu*-exorcist of Ešarra.
 Ms d Document of Mušallim-Bēl.
 Ms f According to the wording (lit. mouth) of the tablet, written, collated, copied (lit. done). [One-column tablet] of Rimūt-Anu, [son] of Šamaš-iddin, descendant of Šangî-Ninurta. Uruk, month Tish[ri, day X, year X] of Darius the king.

Ms. B (79-7-8, 250): This appears to be extracts from KAR 44, but not an actual duplicate. In this arrangement, the rubric is first given, probably followed by the incantation incipit, written out in the same line rather than as a gloss.

1ʿ [..... *me-se-r*]ʿ^{meš} K[A.LUH.Û.DA ÉN
 2ʿ [..... NAM.ÉRIM.BÛR.R]U.D[A ÉN
 3ʿ [..... LÚ]. U₁₈.LU É[N
 [UŠ₁₁.B]ÚR.RU.DA É[N
 4ʿ [..... NAM.É]RIM.BÛR.RU.DA ÉN x [...
 5ʿ [..... š]á e-dep IM ÉN [...

³⁰ Variants Ms. d and f: ‘and’.

³¹ Ms. c and d add a ruling at this point.

³² Emesal for á-ġál = *le’û*, see CAD L 152.

³³ An esoteric writing for *ṭupšarru*, ‘scribe’.

6' [..... š]á^dDIM₁₀.ME.ṚKE₄ÉN^rx[...
 7' [..... ma-aq-lu]-ú šur-Ṛpu^rM[ÁŠ.GI₆.HUL SIG₅.G]A [.....
 8' [..... PE]Š₄.KÉŠ.ṚDA^rMUNUS L[A.RA.AH

2.3 Notes to KAR 44

1) Note that the works in this catalogue are mainly cited according to their KA.INIM.MA rubrics and not according to their incipits, see Geller 2000: 225-226.

The variant expression KA DUB, literally *pī tuppi*, ‘mouth of the tablet’, is an expression which appears in a medical text rubric, explaining that the recipe is *šá pi-i tup-p[i]* (BAM 240: 10’), meaning that the text is based on the authority of the tablet rather than from an oral source or dictation. See also the colophon of Ms. f of KAR 44 and an Ur-III incantation catalogue cited in van Dijk and Geller 2003: 4, which begins *dub-sag-ta* ‘from the tablet of incipit(s)’.

The final phrase in this line is repeated below in l. 28 in two Mss. (NÍG.ZU.ŠÈ IGI.DU₈.A GUB.BA), and has parallels in colophons; cf. Rm. 441 (BAK No. 517: 6-7), [a]-Ṛna^rih-zi-ù ta-mar-ti [LÚ].ṚŠAGAN.MÁL.LÁ^ra-na da-ra-a-ti ú-kin, ‘he (the *ummānu*) established (the text) for a recension and reading for perpetuity for the apprentice’ (see CDLI P424771).³⁴ The term IGI.DU₈ (= *tāmartu*) refers to correct reading of the text and is a technical term found frequently in colophons (e.g. BAK No. 329, see also Frahm 2011: 47 n. 191), but the most interesting parallel occurs in the Esagil-kīn-apli instruction (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen’s edition of CTN 4, 71 below), [NÍG.Z]U.ŠÈ NAM.BA.ŠE.BI.DA šá NÍG.ZU NU GUB.BÉ sa-kik-ka ul DUG₄.[GA-ma], ‘you should not neglect your editions, (since) the one who does not establish a (text) recension cannot then recite the diagnostic omens’.³⁵ The expression *ihza kunnu* has a technical meaning in these contexts of ‘fixing’ or establishing a canonised text.

2) The gloss (SUHUŠ É DINGIR [ŠUB]) reflects Ambos 2004: 186 21’, referring to the incipit of a ritual, which reads *e-nu-ma UŠ₈ É DINGIR ŠUB-ú*, in which UŠ₈ is a variant for SUHUŠ in this line of KAR 44; see also Ambos 2004: 156: 2. This is the first example of the use of a gloss to indicate the incipit of the first incantation of the Series indicated by the rubric being listed. This pattern is repeated throughout KAR 44 (cf. l. 8, 10, etc.).

3) For INIM ABZU in an incipit catalogue from Assur, see Geller 2000: 232 (Text A₂), [KA.INIM.MA] INIM ABZU. This type of ritual belongs to the context of consecration of priests, see Löhnert 2010: 189. See also Linssen 2004: 275, 17, 26, in which the INIM ABZU incantation is whispered into the ear of the ox, from which the hide of the kettledrum is made; see *ibid.* 96-97; this clearly points to another of the cultic obligations of the *mašmaššu*, rather than a healing role.

The term *ginutaqqû* also appears in an unpublished *Sakikkû* commentary (BM 55491), edited by E. Jiménez (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P461263>), but the context is not very elucidating. See also the note to l. 27 below.

4) All of the prayers cited in this line are described in Hruša 2015: 118-123, as being addressed to gods as part of temple rituals and reflect the role of the *āšipu* or *mašmaššu* as a temple priest.

5) For ⁱⁱⁱDUL, see Ambos 2013: 159-160 (A₂15’ and B₁1), [e-n]u-ma né-pe-ši šá É sa-la me-e ina ⁱⁱⁱDUL te-ep-pu-šú, ‘when you carry out the ritual of the house of water-sprinkling (*Bit sala’ mē*) in Tašritu’. The months mentioned in this line all occur in sequence, representing the time span from summer solstice to autumn equinox. Two of these months are also

³⁴ This translation is subject to the objection that an ‘apprentice’ (*šamallû*) would hardly be in a position to create a text edition (*ihzu*); Finkel (1988: 149) uses the neutral term ‘knowledge’ as does the edition in this volume (see below). There are two answers to this objection. One, the *šamallû*-apprentice, although technically not yet a professional scribe, could have acquired considerable experience in copying tablets, such as the large and well-executed Assur tablet copied by the apprentice scribe Šulgi-enu (Geller 2007). This expertise is captured in a Susa omen text which reads, *šamallû mali ummāni imašši*, ‘the apprentice will be as worthy as his master’ (Labat 1974: No. 3 rev. 9). Second, the term *ihzu* in this specific context of colophons has a technical meaning derived from the root *ahāzu*, ‘to grasp’ (both physically and intellectually), since the product of this activity is a completed text comparable to the fashioned mountings for stones (*ihzû*, derived from the same root). The English term ‘edition’ is not entirely apt in this context, although it is likely that scribes produced their texts on the basis of more than a single *Vorlage*, and hence were producing a form of edited or composite text.

³⁵ See Veldhuis 2014: 358-359, relating the term *tāmartu* in colophons to a lexical list having this term in its opening entry.

reflected in the rituals performed for Ištar and Dumuzi, which specify rituals scheduled for the months of Abu (Farber 1977: 139) and Tammuz (ibid. 185).

For *sakkû*, cf. Linssen 2004: 21 and BAK No. 107, the colophon of the Seleucid ritual tablet which was based upon a wax tablet for ŠU.LUH.HA KÛ.MEŠ *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-ú-tú *a-di* ŠU.LUH.HA DINGIR.RA, ‘purifying hand-washing of the royal ritual up to the hand-washing of the god’. Up to this point in KAR 44 the cultic role of the *āšipu/mašmaššu* has little to do with exorcism.

6) This is the same sequence of diagnostic/prognostic texts which appear in Esagil-kîn-apli’s *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988 and Schmidtchen’s edition below); see also Geller (*infra*, pp. 44-45), for these compositions supposedly being associated with Ea.

7) For A.KÛ.GA.MEŠ, see *Šurpu*, Appendix (Reiner 1958: 52), in which this opening incantation appears within NAM.ÉRIM.BÛR.RU.DA incantations. What is surprising in this context is to find no hierarchy of incantation texts being listed in KAR 44, either in terms of length or themes. Although the texts listed in KAR 44: 7 are both bilingual and unilingual, they vary from being incantations of only a few lines to extremely lengthy multi-tablet compositions. One possible specific motif common to this particular cluster of incantation texts is that these incantations are all exorcistic, highlighting demons as the cause of disease and misfortune.

For UDU.G.HUL.A.MEŠ, see Geller 2016. The incipit of the first tablet is unknown, but it is likely that this text was known by its Udug-hul-rubric rather than by its incipit.

The rubric A.BA.ME.EN.MEŠ is unknown, but the phrase can be found as an incipit together with incipits of other incantations to be recited in connection with house-building rituals (SpTU 2, 16 ii 24), and it also occurs in a short four-line incantation as part of a ritual dealing with necromancy (Finkel 1983-84: 8). The rubric is glossed by ur-saġ hul-ġál-me-en, which appears to be the incipit of this incantation, also unidentified.

The gloss [si-la] ʿe-ri-m[a] represents the incipit of the first incantation in the series HUL.BA.ZI.ZI (én sil₇-la lú-érim-ma, see STT 241-247 and K. 255+ i 1 = Craig, ABRT 2, pl. 14-15.)

8) The gloss *takpertu* refers to ritual procedures of wiping down the king, see Linssen 2004: 148-149 and Hruša 2015: 142, as well as from CT 17, 1: 4, in which *takpertu* translates Sum. šu-úr-úr, similar to the correspondence in KAR 44: 8.

Since the first tablet of the Series Á.SĀG.GIG.GA is unknown, the gloss *dī’ū maršūtu* presumably represents its missing incipit of the first incantation of the series.

ZĪ.SUR.RA.ME[Š^{sag}-ba-sag-ba] : This incantation compilation and its incipit are known, see Schramm 2001 (incantations against the broken oath). This rubric and its incipit also appears in an Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+), see Geller 2000: 231 iii 20’’-22’’.

9) ^{sa-kik-ke⁴}SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ: The gloss at first looks like a phonetic rendering of Sum. SAG.GIG ‘headache’, although the incantations usually use Akk. *dī’u ša qaqqadi* or *muruš qaqqadi* as translations of this term; see e.g. CT 17, 26: 76-79. In fact, Akk. *sakikkû* is the word for ‘symptoms’ and often refers to the diagnostic omens or to the *Diagnostic Handbook*, which appears in l. 6 (SA.GIG) above and in l. 32 below. So instead of being a phonetic rendering of SAG.GIG, this gloss actually introduces incantations which record medical symptoms (diseases of the head and neck, etc.), and these incantations have corresponding medical recipes and prescriptions (*asūtu*) designed to treat the same symptoms. In effect, the gloss *sakkikê* intends to alert the reader to the medical nature of incantations appearing in this line. An Old Babylonian exemplar of this genre appears in YOS 11, 78 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA SAG.GIG.GA.KAM.

GŪ^{sag-gig}GIG.GA.MEŠ: The gloss refers to the incipit of these medical incantations tagged with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GŪ.GIG.GA.KAM; see BE 31 No. 60 + AMT 29/4 = K. 2542 +, as well as AMT 46/1 and 47/3, but none of these medical incantations has our incipit.

10) For ^{gu-ru-uš}GURUŠ.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ.MEŠ, see Geller 2000: 231: 16, where this rubric appears in an Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+), with the full incipit reading, én guruš dingir siġ-ga; the gloss gu-ru-uš in our line is either an abbreviation of this incipit or a phonetic gloss of the Sumerian word GURUŠ.

For ALAN.NÍG.Ē.SAG.ÍL.ME[Š]^{udug hul-ġál-a mu-du-du}, see Geller 2000: 231 iv 21-22, where the incipit is listed in the Assur incipit catalogue (VAT 13723+) after this rubric (KA.INIM.MA ALAN.NÍG.SAG.ÍL).

11) The gloss *epištu* ‘ritual’ at the beginning of this line epigrammatically describes all three genres of texts listed, since these texts consisted of incantations and rituals specifically designed for the purification of cult objects, etc. The latest information on the *Bit mēseri* series sources can be found in Hruša 2015: 133 n. 349. For a discussion of the rubric KA.LUH.Û.DA (as opposed to KA LUH), see Walker and Dick 2001: 98-100.

12) Cf. the Old Babylonian incantation in VAS 17, 31 with the rubric, KA.INIM.MA UŠ₁₁.BÛR.RU.DA.KAM. The last two genres of texts mentioned in this line (*Ušburrudû* and *Namerimburrudû*) are repeated in the following line, and the distinction between the two is probably that of incantation versus ritual. The gloss (*ma-mi-ta a-na pa-šá-ri*) most likely serves as a simple translation of the Sumerian. It is interesting to note canonical *Ušburruda* tablets from Nineveh (Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 117-125) are listed separately from *Maqlû* incantations in KAR 44.

13) KI^dUTU.KĀM šá DINGIR LÛ.U₁₈.LU: These prayers appear in *Bit rimki* texts (see Walker and Dick 2001: 131, 172, 175, and Læssøe 1955: 28-29, 57), and it is therefore possible that *ki’utukku*-prayers in this line refer back to *Bit rimki* rituals mentioned above in l. 11. The specific connection between these particular prayers and a personal protective deity is far from clear, since *ki’utukku* prayers were normally addressed to Šamaš, see Hruša 2015: 118-119, perhaps to enhance the relationship between the subject and his personal god. Note that KI^dUTU.KĀM prayers also appear in l. 4 above. As mentioned, the assumption is that references in this line to *Ušburrudû* and *Namerimburrudû* refer to rituals, for which see Hruša 2015: 132-133.

e-dep IM^dDIM₈.ME.KE₄: The reading *e-dep šāri*(IM) is confirmed by the reading in Ms. B l. 5’ (edited separately at the end of KAR 44), instead of the previous reading DAB IM (= *šibit šāri*, ‘flatulence’), but neither reading is problem-free. The expression *edēp šāri* occurs in a lexical text (Nabnītu F a 24’-25’ = MSL 16, 275) im-dal = MIN (= *e-de-pu*) šá IM, [š]u-bar-ra mu-un-ak = MIN (= *e-de-pu*) šá IM, showing the underlying meaning of this phrase refers to ghosts, as argued in Steinert 2012: 317-321, perhaps alluding to *Totengeist* incantations.

As for Lamaštu in this line, like the repetition of UŠ.BÛR.RU.DA and NAM.ÉRIM.BÛR.RU.DA in KAR 44: 12-13, Lamaštu appears both in ll. 13 and 15, although in quite different contexts. Since many of the incantations mentioned in the present line have a connection with Šamaš, it is possible that the Lamaštu incantations follow a similar pattern (suggestion of U. Steinert).

14) HUL *ka-la*: This refers to the Universal Namburbi, see Maul 1994: 476, KA.INIM.MA HUL.MEŠ DÛ.A.BI NAM.BÛRU.DA.KAM, ‘incantation for undoing all evil’. All of the incantations in this line refer to remedies employed to rectify a specific problem, caused either by bad omens, witchcraft, guilt, nightmares or impotence, all of which have a dominant psychological dimension.

15) ^{munus} *lā at-r du* ^{munus}PEŠ₄.KĒŠ.DA: The gloss clearly shows that the pregnant woman being ‘bound’ indicated that she should not give birth prematurely; see the Old Babylonian incantations published in Finkel 1980 with the rubrics, KA.INIM.MA MUNUS.KĒŠ.DA.KAM.

MUNUS LA.RA.AH: See the rubrics in BAM 248 throughout, KA.INIM.MA MUNUS LA.RA.AH.A.KAM, cf. Stol 2000: 129, and for a description of the text, see Stol 2000: 64-72. See also BAM 244: 71.

For the rubric LÛ.TUR.HUN.GÁ within the context of Lamaštu-texts, see Farber 2014: 272 and generally in Farber 1989. All of the compositions in this line reflect difficult childbirth and paediatrics.

16) All the ailments (eye and dental disease, and *bu’šānu*) described in this line are known from medical prescriptions, but the compositions in KAR 44 refer specifically to *medical* incantations designed to help treat these diseases, i.e. incantations found within medical texts, for which see Collins 1999: 200ff., 262ff., and 185ff., and for *bu’šānu*, see Scurlock 2014: 394, 75, KA.INIM.MA *bu-’šā-nu* DAB-su, ‘incantation (if) *bu’šānu* has seized him’.

17) ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KE₄: An older exemplar of these incantations appears in YOS 11, 91 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KAM. See also Collins 1999: 136: 3 KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ.GIG.GA.KĀM, ‘three incantations for internal disease’, and see *ibid.*, 170. All the compositions mentioned in this line are clearly medical in nature, designed to treat various forms of internal disease, such as flatulence; cf. Collins 1999: 163, [KA.INIM.M]A IM šá ŠĀ DAB-šú, ‘incantation for wind which attacks the inside’ (BAM 574 iv 34-40). There is actually no clear evidence from Akkadian medical texts that respiration

was associated with the lungs, and in fact the function of most internal organs was not clearly understood. This can be seen from descriptions of the second rubric in this line, MUR.GIG.GA.KE₄, ‘lung disease’, which is often associated with *suālu*, ‘cough’, which also includes digestive problems. Cf. AMC 1. 27: [DIŠ NA *su-a-lam ha-ha*] u ‘*ki-šir-te*’ <MUR. MEŠ> GIG, ‘if a person coughs from *suālu*-disease and suffers from constriction of the lungs,’ is the closest we find to a catalogue entry in the medical corpus against lung disease. In reality, lung disease was either treated as related to constriction of the windpipe and cough, problems associated with bile, or general conditions of the belly, and it is therefore difficult to find specific incantations devoted to the MUR.GIG or sick lungs. It may be for this reason that two of the later copies of KAR 44 preferred the variant reading GÚ.GIG, ‘sick neck’ in this line, although this same rubric (in the plural) appears above in KAR 44: 9. It cannot be ruled out, however, that this phrase could refer to the liver (UR₅) rather than lungs, but this latter term is also poorly attested in magico-medical contexts.

The expression GIG DÛ.A.BI is similar to TU.RA KĪLIB.BA already encountered in KAR 44: 9 above, but the expression here may be an allusion to the incipit of *Muššu’u* Tablet 4, which reads, TU₆ *ta-ri-da-at ka-la mu-úr-š[ī]*, ‘incantation driving out all sickness’; see Böck 2007: 150. See also the two *Muššu’u* incipits appearing in the Assur incipit catalogue, in Geller 2000: 235.

18) MÚD KIR₄.KU₅.DA: This title refers to incantations (rather than recipes) to treat nosebleed, cf. Collins 1999: 179, KA.INIM.MA MÚD *ina* KIR₄-šú *šur-du-ma* GIN-ku, ‘incantations for blood which flows and comes out from his nose’.

BURU₈.KU₅.RU.DA *du-ga-nu* GIG : The disease *duganu* is known from a recipe (STT 96: 9 = Scurlock 2014: 493), DIŠ NA *du-ga-nu* DAB-su, ‘if vomiting seizes him’, but no incantation with either this incipit or rubric is known.

ŠĀ.SUR.KU₅.RU.DA^[qa]-na *ši-ta-šú* : For the gloss, see the discussion in Geller 2000: 253, and incantations to halt diarrhoea are known under a somewhat different rubric, namely KA.INIM.MA ŠĀ SI.SÁ.KE₄, ‘incantation against evacuation of the belly’, and see CAD E 356 for further attestations. Once again, all the compositions in this line are aimed specifically at medical problems rather than at general misfortune.

19) ZÚ MUŠ TIL.LA: An Old Babylonian exemplar of this genre is known from VAS 17, 4, KA.INIM.MA MUŠ TIL.L[A.KAM].

GĪR.TAB TIL.LA: An Old Babylonian exemplar of this incantation genre is known from YOS 11, 1, with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GĪR.TAB TIL.LA.KAM, and in VS 17, 10 with the rubric KA.INIM.MA GĪR.TAB TIL.LE.DA.KAM. Incantations against snake and scorpion bite are best known from Old Babylonian examples (see YOS 11 *passim*), but not from first millennium manuscripts.

SAG.NIM.NIM TIL.LA^{BE NA sa-ma-nu} GIG : The connection between *sāmānu*-disease and treating snake and scorpion bites (magically) is not clear, but the gloss in this line is not found among Samana incantations published in Finkel (1998: 71-106) and appears to be an incipit of a medical-type recipe.

20) GĪR HUL-*tim* *ina* É LÚ TAR-is: These incantations have been treated by Wiggermann 1992: 41-104.

di-hu : *šib-ṭa* NAM.ŪŠ.MEŠ *šu-tu-qí*: cf. Maul 1994: 472, referring to Universal Namburbi-lists against the evil of *dīhu šibṭu mūtānu*. The term *dīhu* is some form of fever, in contrast to the *dī’u*-disease in KAR 44: 8 above, associated with ‘taboo-disease’ or with headache and head-disease. No specific incantations, however, are known which are designed to avoid plague or pestilence, although these fit well into the general pattern of apotropaic magic in this line, i.e. preventing disease from happening rather than trying to cure it afterwards.

For SÍSKUR GABA.RI, see Schramm 2008: 49, KA.INIM.MA MÁŠ GABA.RI.GA.KE₄, ‘incantation for the scapegoat substitute’, with the incipit *én á-sàg gig-ga su lú-ka mu-un-ġál*, ‘*Asakku*-disease is present in a man’s body’. This incantation also relates to the rubric in CT 17, 1: 40 and 2: 14, KA.INIM.MA SÍSKUR GABA.RI ŠAH.TUR.RA.[KE₄], ‘incantation of the piglet substitute’ (Asag-gig incantations), referring specifically to a piglet as a substitute, which serves as means of preventing the disease associated with the Asag (or taboo)-demon from occurring, and is hence medical.

21) See SpTU 1, 6, listing Namburbi-rituals accompanying *Šumma ālu* omens, and these include the following (ll. 30ff.):

[NAM.BÚR].BI A.ŠÀ u ⁸⁵KIRI₆ ^ru^r [D?]
^re-nu-ma DÛ⁷ ID GIBIL
 e-nu-ma KÁ ID i-pat-tu-u
 ÉN ID SAHAR bi-tu₄
 A Namburbi-ritual for the field and garden and canal [.....]
 when a new canal is made,
 when the mouth of a canal is opened.
 Incantation: canal, house-dust.

The gloss on the entire line, *he-pí eš-šú ri-da ga-ra-na : e-nu-ma ID ta-he-ru*, is clearly citing an incipit from a damaged original, which means that the *Vorlage* incantation was not known from other duplicates in Assur and probably somewhat rare. In line with the gloss *garānu* ‘to heap up,’ one may connect *ki-né-e* with *kinnû* ‘mountain’, cf. AHw 480, CAD G 82b, with reference to Nisaba, the grain goddess, meaning ‘heaps of grain’ (courtesy S. Panayotov). The rituals in this line break the pattern of medical incantations of previous lines and instead focus on protecting prosperity and material wealth. These rituals are not known and may have been almost as obscure to Kišir-Nabû as they are to us.

22) U₄.DÈ.RA.RA DIB.BÉ.DA: The term *rihišti Adad* can either refer to flooding or trampling of the storm god, and it appears among diseases listed in *Muššu’u* VI 23 (Böck 2007: 226), and see also Schwemer 2001: 62-63.

For the genre ZÚ BURU₅ DIB.BÉ.DA, cf. George and Taniguchi 2010.

bar-bar ^{e-di-na}EDIN.NA: The interpretation of ‘wolf’ in the steppe is not based upon any known text but is consistent with other genres mentioned in this passage. The variant reading *šá-māš il šēri* in Ms. f is likely to be an error or misunderstanding of the text.

23) EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA GI LÚ.KÚR NU.TE.GE₂₆.E.DÈ: similar rubrics appear in an incantation text, namely KA.INIM.MA LÚ.KÚR.Š[È EDIN.NA D]IB.BÉ.DA.KÁM, ‘incantation to pass through the steppe towards the enemy’, and KA.INIM.MA LÚ.KÚR LÚ.ÉRIM LUGAL.RA NU.TE.GE₂₆.DA.KAM, ‘incantation so that the enemy or foe do not approach the king’, cf. Schwemer 2012: 212, 4 and 213, 26. The rubrics also occur in CT 22, 1: 21 (edition Fincke 2003-04: 122-123; Frame and George 2005: 280-281), in a letter from Ashurbanipal specifying what tablets should be brought from Borsippa for his library, many of which are included in KAR 44:

¹⁶ÉN ^{dé-a}u ^dasal-lú-hi né-me-qa ¹⁷li-gam-me-ru-ni pu-uh-hu-ru ¹⁸ÈŠ.GAR MÈ ma-la ba-šú-ú ¹⁹a-di IM.GÍD.DA.ME-šú-nu at-ra-a-ti ²⁰ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú ²¹ina MÈ GI ana LÚ NU TE-e ^(rev.)²²EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA.KE₄ É.GAL.KU₄.RA ²³né-pi-šá-a-nu ŠU.ÍL.LA.KÁM-a-nu

The incantation, ‘Let Ea and Asalluhi supply wisdom’, (and) the collection of the Series of War-(rituals), as many as exist, including their extra single-column tablets, as many as exist; *ina MÈ GI ana LÚ NU TE-e* (‘may an arrow not approach a man in battle’); EDIN.NA DIB.BÉ.DA.KE₄ ‘to pass through the steppe’; É.GAL.KU₄.RA (‘entering the palace’) (and) their rituals; *Šu’illa*-prayers.

Judging from this letter, it appears that the rubrics mentioned in this line refer to ‘extra’ (*atru*) tablets of War-rituals, perhaps meaning that they are non-canonical.

24) For this genre of text, cf. Stol 2011: 377.

25) EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ: The logical assumption is to assume that the ‘stars’ refer to celestial omens best known from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but such omens were later ascribed (post Kišir-Nabû) to the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* ‘scribe of EAE’. Nevertheless, it may be that in Neo-Assyrian times celestial omens were being copied by the *mašmaššu*, in the same way that the KA.PIRIG-exorcist was responsible for diagnostic omens, while being designated as an exorcist (*āšipu*).

INIM.GAR NA₄ ZÌ: The phrase I₅.GAR (*egerrû*, ‘oracular utterance’) appears to be an alternative to EŠ.BAR (*purussû*, ‘verdict’) in other Assur texts, such as LKA 137, edited by Finkel 1995: 272, which has the rubric, KA.INIM.MA EŠ.BAR

NA₄ gišNU₁₁.GAL na⁴KUR.NU.[DAB], ‘incantation for an oracle based on alabaster and haematite’. Our assumption is that NA₄ in this line is an abbreviation of the full rubric known from LKA 137. Similarly, the term ZĪ for ‘flour’ in this line may equally be an abbreviation for some type of ritual flour, with *zidubdubbû* or *tappinmu* being likely candidates. For omens derived from smoke, flour, and birds, see Koch 2015: 138-142. However, the references in this line may not necessarily refer to the act of determining the oracle, but rather to devise a Namburbi-ritual to counter the omen predictions (EŠ.BAR and I₅.GAR), which was much closer to the job of the exorcist.

26) For editions of the explanatory texts on plants and stones, *Šammu šikinšu* and *Abnu šikinšu*, see Stadhouders 2011 and 2012, and Schuster-Brandis 2008: 24-40. The list of stones mentioned in this line, to be used for amulets (i.e. strings and pendants) may be the same as that referred to by Ashurbanipal in his letter specifying which texts from Borsippa were to be brought to Nineveh, which included a *mal-ṭaru šá NA₄.MEŠ*, ‘listing of stones’ (CT 22, 1: 24, see Fincke 2003-04: 123).

28) GI.TAG.GA is presumably a word for the stylus (lit. ‘touching reed’), although no loanword has been identified. However, in KAR 44: 3 above we encountered the rare loanword *ginutaqqû* for ritual offerings, suggesting that an analogous reading could be proposed for GI.TAG.GA in this line, i.e. *qantaqqû*, which we would simply translate as ‘stylus’. See also the comment in Lenzi 2008: 88 n. 125, with all relevant references from CAD.

Mss. d and f add a phrase at the beginning of this line, NĪG.ZU.ŠĒ IGI.DU₈.A GUB.BA (*ana ihzi tāmarti ukinnu*), which Frahm considers to be the continuation of the previous line and translates accordingly (Frahm 2011: 329). In fact, this phrase is a direct quote from the incipit of this same text, KAR 44: 1, *a-na NĪG.ZU u IGI.DU₈.A kun-nu* (see above). These variants reiterate the importance of establishing text editions as the goal of scribal work, which was originally designed (*ibšimu*) by Ea; this in no way, however, supports the usually accepted idea of the god Ea being responsible for editing texts, as assumed from the list of ‘texts and authors’ (Lambert 1962: 64); this matter is discussed in more detail by the present author elsewhere in this volume (see Geller *infra*, pp. 44-45). However, from this point on, the remainder of KAR 44 is not actually concerned with text editions of known compositions but rather with lists of more esoteric topics from either the academic curriculum or intellectual property associated with the practice of exorcism.

30) Lenzi (2008: 88) translates *kullat nagbi nēmeqi* as the ‘entire totality of wisdom’, based on references in CAD, but there is little reason to ignore in this context the idea of the ‘depth’ or ‘source’ of wisdom within the semantic range of total knowledge, in particular since there is a parallel expression in the following line, namely *pirišti lalgar*, the ‘secrets of the abyss’. Referring to our line again, he translates *kakugallūtu* as ‘the secret exorcism corpus’, parallel to *niširti bārūti*, ‘secrets of extiscipy’ (Lenzi 2008: 88 n. 128). There is a difference, however, between *mašmaššūtu* and *kakugallūtu*, since the former categorises the entire scope of the profession of the *mašmaššu*-exorcist, while the latter refers only to the art of incantations and the purity (KÙ) implied by its application.

31) *i₅-na₈* GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ AN u KI: The correct reading of this phrase was discovered by S. Panayotov, and it is an improvement on the previous reading of the first word as *ka-nak*, ‘seal’ (or as Lenzi 2008: 89, ‘sealed’ or ‘sealed document’); no such sealing or sealed document of the plan of the cosmos is known from elsewhere and this is likely to be a fiction. Panayotov’s new reading allows us for the first time to interpret the title of an important esoteric text, usually rendered as *i-NAM* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI, which so far has defied decipherment (see Livingstone 1986: 19ff.). This new reading (*i₅-na₈* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI for *i-na₇* GIŠ.HUR AN.KI) refers to the ‘eyes (*inā*) of the plan of heaven and earth’, with ‘eyes’ being a common metaphor in all Semitic languages for a ‘spring’ or ‘source’, which is parallel to two other expressions in KAR 44: 30-31: *kullat nagbi nēmeqi* and *pirišti lalgar*, both referring to sources or springs of secret or esoteric knowledge, and both accord well with the idea of *inā ušurāt šamê u eršeti*, the ‘sources’ of the plans of the universe.

The term *lalgar* in KAR 44: 31 is a poetic term for the *apsû* (see Lenzi 2008: 89 n. 130) with the Abyss figuratively being the source of esoteric wisdom. Sennacherib inscriptions refer repeatedly to the *niširti lalgar*, ‘secrets of the Lalgar’ (see Lenzi 2008: 128 n. 312), and in fact the Sennacherib inscription describes Nineveh as follows:

ašru naklu šubat pirišti ša mimma šumšu šipir nikilti gimir pelludê niširti lalgar šutābulu qerebšu

A clever place, home of all manner of secrets and skilled works, within which all kinds of cultic rites, and secrets of the Lalgar (cosmic source) are interpreted. (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap3/corpus/>)

However, the closest parallel to our passage comes from *Marduk's Address to the Demons* (Udug-hul Tablet XI: 86), *ana-ku* ⁴*asal-lú-hi ha-'-iṭ lâl-gar ba-ši-mu giš-hur-ri*, 'I am Asalluhi (Marduk), who observes the Lalgar (cosmic source) and designs a (cosmic) plan' (see Geller 2016: 359). The associations are obvious, since we noted earlier that Ea 'designed' (*ibšimu*) the use of writing (see KAR 44: 28 above), while Marduk here adopts Ea's role and designs the plan (*bāšimu gišhurri*) of the cosmos after observing the 'sources' (*lalgar*); these terms are all metaphors for the sources of esoteric knowledge. In fact, the sources of information about the plans of the cosmos is how esoteric knowledge is defined in non-abstract Mesopotamian metaphor. A Late Assyrian commentary on this line of *Marduk's Address* (Geller 2016: 394) provides the following interpretation: MU *iš-šur-tú šá ina muh-hi* ⁴UTU *iq-ta-bi*, 'this refers to what is called the "bird-symbol" which is above Šamaš'. This reference to a bird-like object (*iššurtu*) on one hand alludes to the winged sun-disk (*šamšatu*), but otherwise puns on *išurtu* / *ušurtu*, another term for a cosmic plan or design (GIŠ.HUR = *ušurtu*).

For the meaning of TU₆.TU₆ BAR.RA as non-canonical (*ahû*) incantations, see the discussion elsewhere in this volume.

32) The dictionary translation of 'treatment' for *šipru* in this context (CAD Š/3 84) is plausible as a general expression but does not reflect any technical terms within either magic or medical texts or reflect any genre of therapeutic texts. However, the term *šipru* occurs repeatedly in Ashurbanipal colophons, including but not exclusively magical and medical texts (see BAK Nos. 319, 329, 338, and 339) referring to scribal 'work', and this cannot be coincidental, despite the fact that KAR 44 is earlier and from Assur. The meaning in our line has been adopted on this basis to refer to texts dealing with these kinds of diseases, rather than as a more limited reference to 'treatments' in the form of prescriptions.

The first four diseases mentioned in this line (*šimmatu*, *rimûtu*, *sagallu* and *sakikkû*) often occur together since they refer to various types of paralysis and muscular conditions. What these have in common is that they are all treatable through incantations and rituals as well as through medical prescriptions and are hence directly relevant to exorcism (*mašmaššûtu*). The first of these diseases, *šimmatu*, features in an incipit of an incantation which was widely applied (ÉN *šimmatu šimmatu*); it was included in an incipit catalogue from Assur (VAT 13723+) within the series *Muššu'u* (Geller 2000: 227 i 21'), as well as occurring in a separate and much more complete catalogue of *Muššu'u* incantations (Böck 2007: 18), and in other contexts (BAM 398 rev. 23, KA.INIM.MA *šim-ma-tu*₄.KAM). The disease *rimûtu* often occurs together with *šimmatu* in recipes, but one medico-magical composition from Assur (with three manuscripts) identifies the conditions of *šimmatu* and *rimûtu* as being caused by a ghost; the diagnosis is similar to that of a medical prescription, but the treatment prescribed is purely magical, consisting of a ritual offering and accompanying incantation to be recited by the patient; see Scurlock 2006: 339-349. Incantations against *sagallu* appear frequently within *Muššu'u* incantations (see Böck 2007: 58 *et passim*), which makes sense if one is treating paralysis and muscular conditions through massage, which is the theme of *Muššu'u* incantations and rituals. The last disease, SA.GIG, is not well attested in its Akkadian equivalent *sakikkû* (as suggested by the variant in Ms. d).

*ši-bir-ti*₁₁ MĀ.LAH: the reading of this last medical condition is problematic. One solution is to adopt the variant reading of Ms. d, *šināti malāhi*, 'sailor's urine', as a form of *Dreckapotheke*, but this could also be a corrupt reading for *šibirtu*, which also has a variant learned orthography in KIN-*ti* for *šibir-ti*, based upon KIN corresponding to the near homonym *šipru*.

33) The next group of genres to be considered (KAR 44: 33-34) are all subsumed under the rubric of a *bulṭu* or 'recipe', a term which appears regularly in medical tablet colophons from Assur exorcists (i.e. from the 'Haus des Beschwörungspriesters'). It is worth noting that in the Assyrian library records collected by Parpola, *bulṭu* are listed separately from other compositions of *āšipūtu* (e.g. Parpola 1983: 15). The first four diseases mentioned in this line (AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ⁴LUGAL.ÜR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU ⁴INANNA) appear in a Seleucid medical text (TCL 6, 34) which treats these diseases through a fumigation ritual which is both magical and medical; see Geller 2010: 173-175. Moreover, most of the diseases listed in this line are associated with *libbu*, the 'heart' (i.e. mind) and *hip libbi*, 'depression' in a unique Seleucid tablet, SpTU 1, 43 (see Geller 2014: 3) and hence have a psychological dimension which would be suitable for magic as well as medicine, despite being characterised as *bulṭu*, 'recipes'. The only disease listed here and not in SpTU 1, 43 is ŠU.GIDIM.MA, 'Hand of a ghost' (but listed in SpTU 1, 43: 13 among diseases of the thorax), and like the others, this particular condition has a rich history of treatment in both magic and medicine (see Scurlock 2006). None of the diseases mentioned in this line of KAR 44 are anatomical or associated with any particular region of the body, in contrast to the

‘head-to-foot’ ordering of diseases in other texts. One interesting example is KAR 31: 29, which has the following rubric (see Geller 2016: 38-40):

KA.INIM.MA GAL₅.LÁ MAŠKIM ᵀLUGAL.ÛR.RA SAG.HUL.HA.ZA A.LÁ.HUL AN.TA.ŠUB.BA *mim-ma šum-šú ana MAŠ.MAŠ NU TE-e*

Incantation so that the sheriff-demon (*gallû*), bailiff-demon (*rābišu*), epilepsy, ‘Accessory-to-evil’ demon (*mukīl rēš lemutti*), *alû*-demon, ‘falling disease’ (*miqtu*), and whatever else should not approach the exorcist.

Many of these diseases are mentioned in ll. 33-34 of KAR 44. A similar list of diseases appears in a prayer to Marduk (KAR 26 and dupl., see Oshima 2011: 406: 28f. and 44f.; Abusch and Schwemer 2016: 218f.: 38f., 54f.): AN.TA.ŠUB.BA LUGAL.ÛR.RA ŠU.DINGIR.RA ŠU ᵀINANNA ŠU.GIDIM.MA ŠU NAM.ÉRIM ŠU.NAM.LU.U₁₈.LU. Because these terms all represent both demons and disease names, they were the subject of both incantation-prayers and medical prescriptions, reflecting the complementary nature of Babylonian healing therapies.

36) Esagil-kīn-apli refers to himself in his ‘instructions’ within the *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen below) as *išippu ramku*, which is archaic in terms of first millennium temple practices. The *išippu*-priest was important in the Old Babylonian period but afterwards the *āšipu*-priest appears to have taken over all his functions, although the similarity between the titles cannot be adequately explained.

The change of person is remarkable in this line, indicating that the second half of KAR 44 is actually advice to the reader, similar in vein to the style of Esagil-kīn-apli’s ‘instructions’ within the *Sakikkû* catalogue (Finkel 1988: 148 and Schmidtchen below), in which Esag-kīn-apli speaks directly to the reader with words of advice, *it’id pitqad la teggi*, ‘Pay attention, check, do not neglect (your editions)!’ The remainder of KAR 44 is devoted to the ‘tools of the trade’, namely which texts to consult which will help the scholar in understanding his texts.

37) For NĪG.ZI.GĀL EDIN.NA, see Johnson and Geller 2015: 8-10, explaining this phrase in a Sumerian Edubba text as referring to a *šātu* (word-for-word) commentary; see also Frahm 2011: 41.

For INIM.BAL.E.NE, see Frahm 2011: 329 n. 1574, expressing uncertainty as to read ka- or inim-bal here, citing Akk. *nāpalû*, although a gloss in Nabnītu IV 77 (MSL 16, 79) gives the matter away: inimⁱ = MIN (= *nāpalû*). Since the primary references to *nāpalû* are found in bilingual contexts, a meaning of ‘translation’ rather than ‘conversation’ might well be possible, but in any case, it seems clear that the art of translating is what is meant in KAR 44. But for inim-bal see PSD B 54-55. See also the following line in Examenstext A (Sjöberg 1974: 140: 14): inim-bal inim-sār-sār an-ta eme-URI^{ki}-ra ki-ta e[me-gi₇-ra] ... i-zu-u // INIM.BAL.E.DA *šu-ta-bu-la e-liš ak-ka-da-[a] šap-liš šu-me-ru ... ti-de-e* ‘you know ... how to translate and how to mix (meanings), with Akkadian above (the line) and Sumerian below (the line)’.

EME.SAL.MEŠ: See Frahm 2011: 329 n. 1575 and Bottéro 1985: 85, interpreting EME.SAL.MEŠ as *lišānātu*, as a technical term for synonym lists, ignoring the SAL component of this logogram. It is possible, however, to consider the reading here to be an Akkadian loanword *emesallu* (usually known as a type of salt). The word is used in KAR 44: 37 as a specialised meaning for ‘thesaurus’, with the logogram SAL corresponding to Akk. *uššû* or *rapāšu*, both meaning ‘to widen, extend’, which in reference to language (EME) would be suitable for semantics and synonyms.

39) ZAG.GAR.RA: Because of the context of other medical symptoms in this line, the reference to ZAG.GAR.RA probably refers to ‘tithes’ frequently mentioned in the apodoses of the *Diagnostic Handbook*, e.g. Scurlock 2014: 93: 5; it is the patient’s failure to pay a tithe to the god (Šamaš) which has caused the symptoms. The logogram for tithes in this text is usually ZAG.10, but the writing ZAG.GAR is based on the usual equivalence of ZAG.GAR = *aširtu* and the homonym *ešrētu*, as already pointed out in CAD E 439. Another possibility is to take ZAG.GAR.(RA) as a term for the ‘liver’ (*amūtu*), based on a single lexical reference (CT 18, 49 obv. i 31-32, zag = *a-mu-tu₄*, zag-gar = *a-mu-tu₄*), and other entries in this list also refer to parts of the liver; the idea would be that since the expression ZAG GAR (lit. ‘positioned on the right’) occurs frequently in omen texts, it was cited as a keyword here.

A.ZA.AD A.ŠU.UŠ.MA: the terms A.ZA.AD and U₄.ŠU.UŠ are both equated with *qaqqadu* ‘head’ in lexical lists and occur together as synonyms in Nabnītu I 78-79 (= MSL 16, 52), but no titles of texts are known by these terms. The logogram A.ZA.AD for *šuruppû*, ‘chills’, occurs in the *Diagnostic Handbook* (Tablet 17, see Scurlock 2014: 163: 14), and in the incipit of Udug-hul Tablet V, while the condition of *lu’tu* (Sum. U₄-šú-uš-ru), ‘decay’ occurs frequently in Udug-hul

incantations (see UH III 142), but the latter disease also occurs in bilinguals as *ašāšu*, ‘to worry’ (see Schramm 2001: 83-84, u_4 -šú-uš-ru // *tu-uš-šiš*), and this may explain the conflicting orthographies in KAR 44: 39. It may be that A.ŠU. UŠ.MA in Ms. A and U_4 .ŠU.UŠ-*tu*₄ in Ms. d intend to provide logographic writings for Akk. *ašuštu*, ‘anxiety’, the lexical evidence for which is incomplete. On balance, we would favour understanding these terms as symptoms rather than as anatomical.

41) The translation interprets UR (phonetic for ÚR) DUB.LÁ as Akk. *išid dubli*, ‘base of the foundation platform’, another metaphor for learning, although Frahm (2011: 327 n. 1561) suggests reading the entire phrase as ‘the capable servant of the Dub-lá’, since Ur-dub-lá is attested as a Sumerian personal name. No less complicated is the phrase PAB.MIN.NA.BI in Ms. A, which has a variant BÜLUG.KAM in Ms. f. PAB.MIN is actually an esoteric writing for BÜLUG (PAP.PAP), which was employed by Esagil-kīn-apli in just this sense (Finkel 1988: 148 and see Schmidtchen below): *ina* GEŠTUG^u *ni-kil-ti šá* 40 *u* BÜLUG *iš-ru-ku-šú*, ‘in the clever wisdom which Ea and the son (BÜLUG = Marduk) gave to him’ (referring to himself).

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