MESOPOTAMIAN CONCEPTIONS OF
DREAMS AND DREAM RITUALS

submitted by

Sally Ann Louise BUTLER

of

University College, London

for the degree of Ph. D.
ABSTRACT

This study discusses the ways in which the Mesopotamians regarded dreams, and the related rituals. The limited roles of the Dream God and the dreamer's personal deities in dream contexts are covered.

Four categories of dreams can be identified from the available texts: message dreams; symbolic-message dreams; dream omens; and symptomatic dreams. These are mentioned briefly, together with the relevance, or otherwise, of psychoanalysis in understanding Mesopotamian conceptions of dreams.

The interpretation of dream/omens is placed within the context of Mesopotamian divination, and links between dreams and other ominous experiences are explored.

The remainder of this study concentrates on symptomatic dreams, which were divided into good or bad dreams, reflecting the dreamer's purity or impurity respectively. The causes of nightmares are deduced from outside the technical dream literature: demons; human agency (i.e., witchcraft); the wrath of Marduk; and ill health. External sources also provide us with the few examples of nightmares: the appearance of dead men; and sexual dreams.

The ritual actions associated with symptomatic dreams are classified according to the type of method used, and their purposes are discussed. Attempts have been made to place these techniques within the context of other Mesopotamian rites. The incantations appearing in dream rituals are analyzed separately. The majority of the dream ceremonies are apotropaic, and it is suggested that the exorcist was the practitioner involved.

The rare examples of dream incubation are also presented, as are rituals to obtain a favourable dream.

Editions and some cuneiform copies of the main relevant texts are included.
CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND PLATES 11

ABBREVIATIONS 12

PART A: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Scope Of Study 22
   A). Perceptions Of Dreams 23
   B). Dream Rituals 24

Chapter 2: Mesopotamian Divination 26
   A). Fate And Omens 26
   B). The Importance Of Oneiromancy 28

Chapter 3: Sources 30
   A). The Dream-Book 31
      1). Ashurbanipal's Library And Catalogue
         References To The Dream-Book 33
      2). Compilation Stages Of The Dream-Book 34
   B). Other Tablets Of Dream Omens 35
   C). Dream Rituals 36
      1). The Texts 37
   D). Non-Technical Literature 39

PART B: MESOPOTAMIAN PERCEPTIONS OF DREAMS

Chapter 4: Types Of Dreams 41
   A). Results From Sleep Laboratories 42
      1). REM Sleep 43
      2). Non-REM Sleep 44
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Altered States Of Consciousness</th>
<th>44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1). tabrīt mūši, &quot;Nocturnal Vision&quot;</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). munattu, &quot;Early Morning&quot; And &quot;Waking Dream&quot;</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Relevance Of Modern Psychoanalysis To Mesopotamian Dreams</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Dream Classifications</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Good Or Paranormal Dreams</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Bad Or Symptomatic Dreams</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Adjectives Referring To Dreams</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Pleasant Dreams</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Unpleasant Dreams</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Dreams And Reality</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Uses Of Dreams</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 5: Nightmares And Their Causes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Bad Sleep</th>
<th>75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1). Counsels Of A Pessimist</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Dread Of Dreams</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). The Connections Between pirittu And Dreams</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). An ezib-Clause In Neo-Assyrian Haruspical Enquiries</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Causes Of Nightmares</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Demons And The Underworld</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Witchcraft</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3). The Wrath Of Marduk</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4). Ill Health</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 6: Specific Types Of Nightmares**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. The Appearance Of Dead People Or Ghosts In Dreams</th>
<th>96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1). &quot;Dead People&quot; And &quot;Ghosts&quot;</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Dreams And Dream Gods In Ghost Rituals</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Sexual Dreams</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Rituals Concerned With Dream Content</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7: The Mesopotamian Dream God(s)

A. *d*MA.MÚ
   1). The Temple To Mamu At Balawat

B. *d*SIG.SIG

C. *d-Zaqīqu/Ziqīqu*
   1). Nuances Of *zaqīqu*
   2). The Dream God *d-Zaqīqu*

D. *d*AN.ZA.GĀR/AN.ZAG.GAR.RA
   1). Anzagar In Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream
   2). A Demonic Anzagar

E. Summary

Chapter 8: The Personal Deities In Dream Contexts

A. Forgetting One's Dreams

B. The Role Of The Personal Deities In Dream Rituals

C. *maṣṣar śulme u balāṭi*, "A Guardian Of Well-Being And Health"
   1). A General Phrase In Letters And Incantations
   2). A Ritual Object
   3). Summary

Chapter 9: The Relationships Between Dreams And Other Ominous Experiences

Ominous Experiences

A. Extispicy
   1). Lexical Links
   2). *bīru*, "Vision"

B. *purussû*, "(Oracular) Decision"
   1). *SIR*

C. *egirrû*(INIM.GAR), "(Oracular) Utterance"
   1). The Noises Of Animals And Birds
   2). Messages From Ecstatics
   3). Utterances And Dreams
D. Uses Of Other Divinatory Techniques In Conjunction With Dreams

1). Extispicy
2). Augury

PART C: DREAM RITUALS IN GENERAL

Chapter 10: Types Of Dream Rituals And General Notes

A). Incantation Rubrics
1). To Avert The Evil Of A Bad Dream Which Has Already Been Seen
2). To Make Favourable A Bad Dream Which Has Already Been Seen
3). To Obtain A Favourable Dream
4). Descriptive
5). Preventive

B). Desired Ritual Results
1). To Avert The Evil Of A Bad Dream Which Has Already Been Seen
2). To Make Favourable A Bad Dream Which Has Already Been Seen
3). To Obtain A Favourable Dream
4). Miscellaneous

C). Summary Of Dream Ritual Purpose Categories

D). Ritual Techniques
1). Magic And Legal Concepts

E). The Setting Of The Rituals Of Part D
1). Time
2). Location

F). Participants

G). The Exorcist Was The Neo-Assyrian Dream Expert
### Chapter 11: Incantations And The Power Of Words

**A. Incantation Categories**

1. Abracadabra Incantations 183
2. DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA-Incantations 184
3. ŠU.ÍLLÁ-Incantations 185

**B. The Incantations Of Dream Rituals**

1. Numerical Data 186
2. The Structure Of The Incantations 189
3. 'Free Speech' 198

**C. Incipits Of Dream Incantations** 198

**D. Purely Verbal Dream Rites** 206

1. The Recitation Of A ŠU.ÍLLÁ-Incantation 206
2. The Creation Of An Oracular Utterance 207

**E. Dream Mentions In Incantations Outside The Technical Literature**

1. Incantations Addressing Deities 208
2. Miscellaneous Incantations 214

### PART D: APOTROPAIC DREAM RITUALS

**Chapter 12: Substitution Rituals**

**A. Sympathetic Or Symbolic Magic** 216

**B. Namburbi Rituals**

1. Do Namburbi Rituals Exist For Bad Dreams? 220

**C. Dream Rituals Using Substitutes**

1. The Clod Rituals 225
2. The Clay Pellet Rituals 231
3. Rituals Involving Fire 232

**Chapter 13: The Purification Of The Dreamer**

**A. Oil And Water Rituals** 236

**B. Feet Actions** 238
Chapter 14: Figurines

A). The Rituals

1). K. 2600 + 3239 + 9512 + 10216, Column B

   Lines 21-9

2). ADRC, Column II Lines 19-23

3). SpTU 2, No. 21, Obverse

4). 81-2-4, 166

B). Description Of Figurines

1). Materials

2). Appearance

C). Purposes Behind The Creation And Burial Of Figurines

1). Guardian Figurines

2). Substitute Figurines

Chapter 15: Charms And Amulets

A). Dream Charms

1). Charms To Avert

2). Charms To Make A Bad Dream Favourable

3). Charms To Obtain A Favourable Dream

B). Physical Categories Of Mesopotamian Charms

1). ina KUŠ

2). mešu

3). takšīru And mālalu

C). Identifications Of The Charm Ingredients

D). Imitation Ingredients

1). Glass Beads

2). Clay, Stone, And Metal Models

E). Amulets

Chapter 16: Miscellaneous Rituals


PART E: INCUBATION RITUALS

Chapter 17: Incubation

A). Classical Incubation
B). Mesopotamian Incubation
   1). Sources
   2). The Deities Invoked
   3). Ritual Setting
   4). Ritual Actions
   5). Motives
C). Incubation At Mari
D). Other Possible References To Incubation

Chapter 18: Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream

A). Purpose
B). Comments Upon Table 11 On Page 298
   1). Ritual I
   2). Incantations 1-3
   3). Ritual III
C). Ritual Setting
D). The Correspondence Between 6īšēru(MA.NU) And kuššaru
   1). 6īšēru(MA.NU)
   2). kuššaru
E). The muš(u)tattu Ritual Of LAS 50

PART F: TEXT EDITIONS

List Of Manuscripts Of The Text Editions
Ashur Dream Ritual Compendium (ADRC)
K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 And Nusku Apotropaic Dream Ritual (NADR)
K. 3758 And Zaqiqu Incantation (ZI)
K. 5175 + 6001
K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058
79-7-8, 77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81-2-4, 233</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11406</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusku Ritual For A Favourable Dream (NRFD)</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual (SDR); Appendix: LAS 219</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultantepe Incubation Ritual (SIR)</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 543</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 21, Obverse</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2-4, 166</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**                                                        | 504  |

**INDEX OF TEXTS MENTIONED**                                            | 524  |
| A). Published Texts                                                   | 524  |
| B). Unpublished Texts                                                 | 563  |

**INDEX OF AKKADIAN WORDS DISCUSSED**                                    | 566  |

**CUNEIFORM PLATES**                                                     | 568  |
**LIST OF TABLES AND PLATES**

Table 1: Sources Of Dream Rituals 38  
Table 2: Summary Of Dream Aspects 74  
Table 3: Apotropaic And Prophylactic Dream Rituals 171  
Table 4: Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream And Incubation 172  
Table 5: The Incantations Of Dream Rituals 188-9  
Table 6: 'Proper' Incantations In Dream Rituals 191  
Table 7: The Dream Rituals Using Substitutes 224  
Table 8: *The Clod Incantation* 230  
Table 9: Types of Dream Charms 255  
Table 10: The Ingredients Of Mesopotamian Dream Charms 266-7  
Table 11: Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream 298  

* * *

Plate 1: BM 78432, obverse 568  
Plate 2: BM 78432, reverse 569  
Plate 3: K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 obverse 570  
Plate 4: K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 reverse 571  
Plate 5: K. 3758 and Sm. 543 572  
Plate 6: K. 4103 + 13330 + 15911 573  
Plate 7: K. 5175 + 6001 and K. 3286 574  
Plate 8: K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 575  
Plate 9: 79-7-8, 77, obverse 576  
Plate 10: 79-7-8, 77, obverse (cont.) and reverse 577  
Plate 11: 79-7-8, 77, reverse (cont.) 578  
Plate 12: 81-2-4, 166 579  
Plate 13: 81-2-4, 233 580
ABBREVIATIONS

A. Tablet signature of Mari Letters at the Louvre, Paris.
A. Asiatic Collection; tablet signature of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.


ABZ Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste. 3. Auflage, R. Borger (1986). AOAT 33/33A.


ADRC Ashur Dream Ritual Compendium. Edited here.


AfO Archiv für Orientforschung.


AJSL American Journal Of Semitic Languages And Literatures.

AMT Assyrian Medical Texts From The Originals In The British Museum, R. Campbell Thompson (1923). Oxford University Press, Oxford.


AnOr Analecta Orientalia commentationes scientificae de rebus
Abbreviations And Symbols

orientis antiqui; Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Rome.

AnSt  Anatolian Studies.

AO  Antiquités orientales; tablet signature of the Louvre, Paris.

AOAT  Alter Orient und Altes Testament Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments; Butzon und Bercker Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn.

AOS  American Oriental Series; American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut

ARM  Archives royales de Mari (Texts); Libraire Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, S. A., Paris.


ARMT  Archives royales de Mari (Transliteration and translation); Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, S. A., Paris.


ArOr  Archiv Orientální.

ASH  Ashmolean; tablet signature of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

ASKT  Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum . . . , P. Haupt ((1881)-1882).

  Assyriologische Bibliothek 1, J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

BA  Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.


  vol. 1 = Nos. 1-113; vol. 2 = Nos. 114-98; vol. 3 = Nos. 199-319; vol. 4 = Nos. 320-420; vol. 5 = Nos. 421-509; vol. 6 = Nos. 510-84.


BiOr  Bibliotheca Orientalis.

BM  British Museum; tablet signature of the British Museum.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| BRM          | *Babylonian Records In The Library of J. Pierpont Morgan; Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut*  
                  vol. 4: A. T. Clay (1923), *Epic Hymns Omens And Other Texts.* |
| BT.          | Balawat; tablet signature. |
| Bu.          | Budge; tablet signature of the British Museum. |
| CBS          | Catalogue Of The Babylonian Section; tablet signature of the University Of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. |
| CRRA         | Compte rendu, Rencontre assyriologique internationale. |
| CT           | *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets In The British Museum;* British Museum Publications, London.  
                  R. C. Campbell Thompson: vol. 11 (1900); vol. 12 (1901); vol. 15 (1902); vol. 16 (1903); vol. 17 (1903); vol. 18 (1904); vol. 19 (1904); vol. 22 (1906); vol. 23 (1906).  
                  L. W. King: vol. 24 (1908); vol. 25 (1909); vol. 34 (1914).  
                  P. S. P. Handcock: vol. 31 (1911). |
C. J. Gadd: vol. 36 (1921); vol. 38 (1925); vol. 39 (1926); vol. 40 (1927); vol. 41 (1931).
S. Smith: vol. 37 (1923).


D.T.  Daily Telegraph; tablet signature of the British Museum.


IM  Iraq Museum, Baghdad; tablet signature.


JCS  Journal Of Cuneiform Studies.


K.  Kuyunjik; tablet signature of the British Museum.

K. 2175 + K. 2175 + 2431 + 2469 + 2475 + 2480 + 7814 + 8777 + 10429 + 10454 + 10710 + 11677 + 13962.


Kh.  Khabaza; tablet signature of the University Museum, the
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Kl. King; tablet signature of the British Museum.

Kraus F. R. Kraus (1939), Texte zur babylonische physiognomatik, AfO No. Beiheft 3.


LSS (NF) Leipziger semitistische Studien; J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

M. Mari; tablet signature of the Louvre, Paris.

MAOG Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.

MLC Tablet signature of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library Collection.

MSL Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Rome.


MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft.

Nabonidus These follow the order of H. Tadmor in Assyrological Studies No. 16, p. 351, n. 2.

1: S. Langdon [NBK], No. 1.

4*: CT 34, pls. 26-37 (and duplicates).

8: S. Langdon [NBK], No. 8.

23: DB, p. 192.

24: AnSt 8 (1958), pls. 4-8.

25: AnSt 8 (1958), pls. 9-16.

NADR Nusku Apotropaic Dream Ritual. Edited here.

NBC Nies Babylonian Collection; tablet signature of Yale University,
Abbreviations And Symbols

New Haven, Connecticut.

ND Nimrud Documents; tablet signature of collections at Baghdad and London.


NRFD *Nusku Ritual For A Favourable Dream*. Edited here.


O. Tablet signature of the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.


OeNS *Orientalia Nova Series.*

PBS *The Publications Of The Babylonian Section Of The Museum Of The University Of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.*

vol. 1/1: D. W. Myhrmann (1911), *Babylonian Hymns And Prayers*.

vol. 1/2: H. F. Lutz (1919), *Selected Sumerian And Babylonian Texts*.

vol. 7: A. Ungnad (1915), *Babylonian Letters Of The Hammurapi Period*.

vol. 10/4: S. Langdon (1919), *Sumerian Liturgies And Psalms*.

vol. 12/1: S. Langdon (1917), *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*.

vol. 13: L. LeGrain (1922), *Historical Fragments*.


PSBA *Proceedings Of The Society Of Biblical Archaeology.*


vol. 3: E. Norris (1866).


vol. 5: T. G. Pinches (1909).
Abbreviations And Symbols

RA  Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
Rm. Rassam; tablet signature of the British Museum.
Si Sippar; tablet signature of collections at Istanbul and London.
SIR Sultantepe Incubation Ritual. Edited here.
Sm. Smith; tablet signature of the British Museum.


S.U. Sultantepe-Urfa; tablet signature.
TCL Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre Département des Antiquités
Abbreviations And Symbols

Orientales; Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner S.A., Paris.

vol. 1:  F. Thureau-Dangin (1910), Lettres et contrats de l'epoque de la premiere dynastie babylonienne.

vol. 8:  F. Thureau-Dangin (1925), Les cylindres de Goudéa découverts par Ernest de Sarzec à Tello.

vol. 18:  G. Dossin (1934), Lettres de la premiere dynastie babylonienne 2.

TCS  Texts From Cuneiform Sources; J. J. Augustin, Locust Valley, New York.


U.  Ur; artifacts excavated at Ur.

UCLM  Tablet signature.

UET  Ur Excavation Texts; British Museum Publications, London.

vol. 7:  O. R. Gurney (1974), Middle Babylonian Legal Documents And Other Texts.

UFGB  Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen 'Gebets- 
        w- 


VAT  Vorderasiatische Abteilung T(h)on Tafeln; tablet signature of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

VS  Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen du Berlin; J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

vol. 7:  A. Ungnad (1909).

W  Warka; tablet signature of collections at Baghdad and Berlin.


YBC  Yale Babylonian Collection; tablet signature of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

YOS  Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts; Yale University Press,
New Haven, Connecticut (and London).


**ZA** Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.

**ZI** Zaqqu Incantation. Edited here.

1912-5-13, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

79-7-8, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

81-2-4, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

82-3-23, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

82-5-2, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

83-1-18, n. Tablet signature of the British Museum.

**SYMBOLS**

1). TRANSLITERATION

\[ \] Restoration.

\[ \ldots \] Unknown number of signs missing.

\[ X X \] Two signs missing (etc.).

\(< \) Sign omitted by the scribe.

\{ \} Scribal error; i.e., the sign is to be ignored.

X Uncipherable sign.

\[ X \] The top or the bottom of the sign is missing.

KIA or KIA The sign is broken at the end or at the beginning.

\[ X \] Emended sign.

\[ X ? \] Doubtful sign.

2). TRANSLATION

\[ \] Restoration.

\(\ldots\) Explanatory addition to the original wording of the text.

\(\ldots\) Untranslatable passage.

? Doubtful translation.

lit. Literal translation of the words.
PART A: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Scope Of Study 22

Chapter 2: Mesopotamian Divination 26

Chapter 3: Sources 30
CHAPTER 1: SCOPE OF STUDY

It is over thirty years since A. L. Oppenheim's pioneering study on Ancient Near Eastern dreams (DB, published in 1956), and the publication of numerous texts in the interim calls for a re-examination of Mesopotamian onomancy. Tablets presented in the BAM, SpTU, and STT series provide us with additional information about the causes and types of nightmares, and further examples of rituals associated with dreams, especially incubation ceremonies. The Mari letters raise several interesting issues concerning dreams, but it must be remembered that these may not necessarily apply to Mesopotamia proper. In addition, these letters and Nabonidus’ Harran inscriptions necessitate alterations to DB’s description of the characteristics of message dreams.

Research in sleep laboratories has revealed that every mammal undergoes two major stages of sleep, with the rapid eye movement (REM) stage being the period of dreaming. All humans dream, although some people cannot or will not remember their dreams afterwards. For centuries Man has been convinced that his dreams (however weird) contain a message, which often requires interpretation—hence the existence of Dream-Books (collections of dreams with their meanings) and, in modern times, psychoanalysts. People are reluctant to accept that anything so personal and vivid as a dream might be insignificant. Ancient and ‘primitive’ peoples believed that dreams were divine communications, while psychoanalysts claim that our subconscious is trying to express itself while the conscious censor is dormant. Even if one derides the idea that dreams are applicable to reality, these subjective experiences affect one’s mood, and nightmares are impossible to ignore.

The writer has concentrated on how the Mesopotamians regarded dreams (Part B) and the dream rituals (Parts C-E). Part A presents the technical literature (ch. 3), and background information on Mesopotamian divination and onomancy (ch. 2). Part F consists of text editions of the major dream ritual texts and cuneiform copies.
A). PERCEPTIONS OF DREAMS

A dichotomy can be seen throughout the Mesopotamian references to dreams (ch. 4). Pleasant, unambiguous, meaningful dreams come from the deities, and can be arranged on a scale of direct communication with the divine sender: first, message dreams, which do not require interpretation; then symbolic-message dreams, needing specialized interpretation; and finally dream omens, whose meanings were read out from Dream-Books. These paranormal or prognostic dreams (as they are termed today) belong to the field of divination, and were believed to concern the future, not necessarily that of the dreamer. They may have connections with other altered states of consciousness, such as prophecy and visions, which remain to be investigated. Chapter 9 discusses the relationships envisaged by the Mesopotamians as existing between dreams and other ominous experiences. It is possible that message dreams were incubated (ch. 17).

On the other hand, we have bad, incoherent, 'symptomatic' dreams caused by various malevolent beings (ch. 5), who were empowered by the dreamer's impurity because the gods had abandoned the wretch. (The role of the personal deities in dream contexts is covered in chapter 8.) Symptomatic dreams belong to the realm of morals and/or religion, having no prognostic import. They bring ill portents, and pollute the dreamer. Their effects have to be removed by one of the various rituals of Part D. The only nightmares described in any degree of detail are ones concerning ghosts and sexual matters (ch. 6). Symptomatic dreams have a demonic aspect, and pages 83–8 mention several links between dreams, demons, and the Underworld.

This basic separation prevents the application of modern, Western orientated psychoanalysis to cuneiform dreams, because the former concentrates on the symptomatic type of dreams, largely ignoring the paranormal ones. In contrast, the majority of the Mesopotamian references to dreams, outside the ritual literature, concern prognostic dreams although, probably, the bulk of the population predominantly had symptomatic dreams.

The Mesopotamians were aware that one awoke from dreaming, yet, at times, blurring of reality levels occurs, with dreams being regarded as real experiences. A symptomatic dream was even conceived of as a physical
entity defiling the dreamer, which could be ritually transferred or expelled from his body (ideas behind the rituals discussed in chs. 12-4). Message dreams were used constantly from Sumerian times up to the Neo-Babylonian era (and beyond) both as a literary motif and as a means of supporting one's actions or claims (pp. 70-4). There are indications in late texts that omens seen in dreams were as important as actual observations (p. 70), and ceremonies were developed against specific dream content (ch. 5).

It is interesting that, although the Mesopotamians had four different names for their Dream God (ch. 7), he plays an insignificant role in the technical literature, even though a temple to Mamu has been partially excavated at Balawat. One would like to see Mamu (the personified dream) as the patron of incubation and message dreams, while Anzagar and Zaqiqu represent the demonic aspect. Unfortunately, the mention of Anzagar in SDR, a ritual to obtain a favourable dream (ch. 18), casts doubt on this attractive view.

B. DREAM RITUALS

Part C is a general introduction to the dream ceremonies, which are classified by their desired results (i.e., purpose) in chapter 10. We do not know who performed the dream rituals, nor is there any proof that the apotropaic ones were used during the Neo-Assyrian period, the time of our sources. Pages 180-2 postulate that the exorcist was the Neo-Assyrian dream expert. He may have performed the apotropaic dream rituals from the start. Chapter 11 analyzes the incantations found in dream rituals, and lists dream references occurring in non-technical incantations. Chapter 11 also covers the examples of purely oral dream rites: the creation of an oracular utterance (egirrû); and the recitation of a ŠU.ILLÁ-incantation.

The apotropaic ceremonies of Part D are treated according to their technique. Attempts have been made to place these rites within the context of Mesopotamian ritual practice by drawing on other texts using the same methods. The Mesopotamians became extremely concerned to avert the bad effects of various types of unfavourable omens, so they
developed namburbi rituals. Chapter 12 argues that some dream rites, at least the ones involving principles of sympathetic magic, should be regarded as belonging to the namburbi genre.

Part E covers rituals to obtain dreams. Chapter 17 discusses the five sources on incubation ceremonies, and chapter 18 rituals to obtain a favourable dream, which seem to form a bridge between Part D and 'proper' incubation.

The writer has collated all the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum which are referred to in this study.
CHAPTER 2: MESOPOTAMIAN DIVINATION

A). FATE AND OMENS

The Mesopotamian deities were not remote figures, but were actively concerned with, and meddled in, human affairs, both of the individual and of the state (which came to be equated with the royal family). Divine intentions or warnings about the future were transmitted to mankind via:

i). Direct communication, namely message dreams (pp. 54-7), and the inspired speech of ecstasies or oracles.

ii). The more usual method of "signs", ittu(GISKIM), or "omens".

The universe was an orderly one, with everything having its place and nature pre-ordained by the major gods, several of whom were given the epithet mušīm šīmāṭi, "the one who decrees (something's) destiny or function" (see K. L. Tallqvist [AGE], pp. 222-3). The relationship between predestined fate and omens depends upon one's interpretation of an omen's structure. H. W. F. Saggs [1978, pp. 125-6] regarded an omen as stating that if event A happened, then result B would follow automatically, regardless of the actions of god or man, or place, or time. Naturally, a contradiction appeared with the existence of numerous nambarbi rituals (pp. 218-20), which enabled one to dissolve the evil portended by a bad omen. If, instead of holding this view, we change our conception of an omen's structure, "the contradiction . . . unfaced in the Ancient Near East" (H. W. F. Saggs [1978], p. 127) disappears. F. Rochberg-Halton [1982, pp. 366-7] did not see an omen as presenting a causal relationship, but a possibility. Accordingly, if event A happened, then result B can be expected, but will not follow inevitably, especially if averting action is taken.

The expression ana šīmti alāku, "to go to (one's) destiny", meant "to die" [AHw 3, šīmtu(m), p. 1239b, 5D]. Various texts state that one's date of death was predetermined and, by implication, would remain
unaltered, despite any number of aversion rituals: e.g., CT 31, pl. 36, rev. 9:

9).  $a-di\ a\ u4-um\ a-dan-ni\ i baldu$ (TI-ut) $arki$ (EGIR)
$a-dan-ni-shu\ imat$ (US)

He will live until the predetermined time, he will die after his allotted period (is over).

Yet, people could die before their appointed time: e.g., Sennacherib Annals, col. V lines 13-4:

13).  $i-na\ u4-me\ la\ $i-im-ti-shu$
14).  $ur-ru-hi-i\ is\ im-tu$-ut

(Kudur-nahhunte of Elam) 13-4 suddenly died, on a different day from his fate.

It would appear, then, that a person's $\delta\Imtu$, "destiny", could change for better or worse within the limits established by the gods, but only at divine command, and not by chance. The omens indicated the possibilities of such alterations to the skilled interpreter. The recipient of a divine warning could ignore it, albeit at his peril. The prime example occurs in The Cuthaean Legend Of Naram-Sin when this king of Agade scornfully disregarded the omens, and went out to fight the enemy, with disastrous results.

There were different categories of Mesopotamian omens:

i). Those deduced from the (un)natural behaviour of creatures, such as the malformed births recorded in $\check{\text{Summa}}$ izbu, or from occurrences in everyday life - $\check{\text{Summa}}$ ālu. Dream omens come into this section.

ii). Regularly occurring astronomical and meteorological phenomena: e.g. Enûma Anu Enlil.

iii). Those sought by elaborate ceremonies performed by the appropriate ritual expert: e.g., extispicy, incubation.

The techniques used to obtain the omens varied throughout the ages: e.g., libanomancy (omens deduced from smoke patterns) is known only from four Old Babylonian texts: CBS 156 (E. Leichly [1977], p. 144); PBS 1/2, No. 99; UCLM 9-2433 (H. F. Lutz [1929]); and a tablet in a private collection (I. L. Finkel [1983-4]). (DB, p. 222 mentioned YOS 10, Nos. 57-8, but these are lecanomantic omens; i.e., omens deduced from the
colours and patterns of oil dropped onto water.) On the other hand, the
earliest reference to extispicy (omens from the entrails of sacrificed
animals) comes from c. 2,500 B.C., in the expression maš/maš śu mu.gid:
"He placed (his) hand in the sheep". This occurs in two difficult and
duplicating texts: R. D. Biggs (OIP 89), No. 111, col. V line 13; and A.
Daimi (Fara 21), No. 37, col. III line 10, col. IV line 4, etc. (One of the
logograms for the haruspex was MAŠ.SU.GID.GID.) Haruspical texts
emerge in the Old Babylonian period, and from then on extispicy is
attested throughout the ages, rising to a very prominent position in the
Neo-Assyrian era. In fact, by then, astrology-astronomy and extispicy
were only applied to public matters (the destinies of the state or the
royal family), while the other methods dealt with the affairs of an
individual. In the Old Babylonian period extispicies had been performed
for 'ordinary' people: e.g., YBC 15114 (I. Starr [1977], p. 207). This
division may explain why the many varieties of the 'minor' or 'private'
divinatory techniques are poorly attested, because these probably were
more widely practised outside the bureaucratic and royal circles in which
the writers of our sources seem to have moved.

It is possible that some of the signs could be explained by their
recipient or by another untrained person; i.e., on a popular level (e.g.,
some oracular utterances; pp. 142-4), but the majority required a
professional interpreter; i.e., on a scholarly level.

B). THE IMPORTANCE OF ONEIROMANCY

A. L. Oppenheim was convinced that oneiromancy (divination by
dreams) was a minor Mesopotamian divinatory technique. Although he was
aware that accidents of discovery play a major part in qualitative/
quantitative statements, note these examples:

i). There was a deep-seated distrust of dreams, and a perpetual
desire to confirm their messages by other means [DB, p. 212].

ii). The scarcity of dream omens and of evidence about their
development shows a lack of interest in such matters [DB,
pp. 236, 242].

iii). The sā'ilu (DB's dream interpreter), though associated with the
Chapter 2

haruspex seems to be of a lower social standing [DB, p. 221]; while his feminine counterpart, the Šālītu, was lower still because of her necromantic activities and female clientele [DB, pp. 222-3]. It will be seen in the course of this study that this conclusion is open to question.

There is no evidence for misgivings about dreams, even if there is of dread at their contents (pp. 78-9). At times extispicy and other techniques were used to augment a dream message, and to extract more information from the gods (pp. 149-53).

Dream omens are attested on Kassite to Late Babylonian tablets (pp. 35-6), unlike the apotropaic dream rituals (p. 36). It is unclear from these tablets whether or not there was any development of dream omens, but at least there was a continual interest in copying them. There are certainly not as many examples as for extispicy omens, but more tablets of dream omens exist than for some other techniques: e.g., smoke omens (p. 27). Also, dream omens were included in Ashurbanipal’s Library (p. 33-4), even if only for curiosity value, whereas the smoke omens and the one text on casting special dice (LKA 137) were not.

In addition, DB, p. 200 stated that the letters of the ritual experts to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal did not include dream reports. However, examples do exist: see LAS 294 (p. 56); the very fragmentary LAS 288; and LAS 217 (pp. 289-90, although no details of the dream were recounted in this case).

It does seem, however, as if oneiromancy was the poor relation of Mesopotamian onomology. Although the omens themselves are repeatedly attested, there is no evidence that Dream-Books were ever consulted, or that ordinary people went to have their dreams interpreted. The writer would place dreams omens in the same category as those listed in the Šumma šalu and Šumma izbu series. The grouping does not necessarily imply that these signs were equally important. In fact, the lack of evidence for the use of dream omens suggests that they formed a second rank within this category. This classification is based on the non-dream rituals of SIR and their similarity with the topics listed on KAR 44, rev. 2 (p. 141).
CHAPTER 3: SOURCES

This study deals mainly with Akkadian texts: see A. Falkenstein (1966), pp. 52-64 for examples of Sumerian dream episodes. Dream omens and reports are only briefly discussed, but are occasionally used to support points made in the main study on Mesopotamian perceptions of dreams (Part B).

The development of divination on a scholarly level in the Old Babylonian period led to the appearance of omen collections or handbooks for the interpreter. It is probable that the collections were originally accumulations of omens and results which had actually been observed, and noted down. However, by the first millennium B.C., the compendia had expanded to cover almost every theoretically possible ominous occurrence - part of the tendency to reduce the world to an ordered system, which is also evidenced in the lexical lists.

There is a general pattern applicable to all omen compendia. They consist of sentences of varying complexity, each separated into the protasis and the following apodosis. The protasis, or the description of an observed event or sign (i.e., the omen), normally begins with ʾṣumma(Dīš), "if, when". These are usually recorded in sections, under:

i). A verb, as exemplified by 'the kennings' [DB, p. 257] of the dream omens: e.g., Tablet A has 'the kenning' ṭkūl(Gūr), "If he ate A, or B, or C, etc., (in his dream)" [DB, pp. 314-8].

ii). A noun - extispicy omens are frequently ordered according to parts of the liver, etc.: e.g., "If part X is dark, or light, or absent, etc. (in this inspection)".

The apodosis is the prediction relating to the foregoing omen. It consists either of a sentence, or merely the words "favourable" or "unfavourable". As one might expect, a core of basic apodoses occur in omen compendia belonging to different divinatory techniques, since the same problems of health, death, prosperity, etc. are involved. (These apodoses are discussed...
by (A.) L. Oppenheim in OrNS 5 (1936), pp. 199-228.) Very occasionally, atypical phrases are found, as on VAT 7525 (AfO 18 (1957-8), pls. 5-9), where the apodoses state the cause of the omen rather than a prediction for the future (examples are presented on pp. 85, 124).

This same bipartite structure can be seen in law codes and diagnostic medical texts: descriptions of offence or symptoms, followed by verdict or diagnosis.

A). THE DREAM-BOOK

The Dream-Book [DB, pp. 256-306, with related material, and A. L. Oppenheim (1969)] is an omen compendium with a difference, because it contains both omens and ritual complexes dealing with the consequences of bad dreams (Part D), and to obtain favourable dreams (ch. 18). Tablets 1, 10, and, presumably, 11 (of which only the first line is extant) contain the ceremonies, while Tablets 2-9 present the omens. As A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 295] commented, this structure mixes two literary styles: the one of Šumma ālu, in which some omen sections are immediately followed by appropriate apotropaic rites (e.g., the fragmentary conclusion of Tablet 12 (CT 40, pls. 15-8) enumerates omens about the growth of the katarru-fungus; and Tablet 9 or 11 (CT 40, pls. 12-4) deals with omens concerning parts of a door); the other exemplified by the anti-witchcraft series Mašlû, which has a separate Ritual Tablet. This tablet (the last in this case) lists the first lines of the incantations written out in full on the other eight tablets, together with the ritual actions accompanying their recitation. At the same time, the arrangement of The Dream-Book unites material concerning two different views of dreams: the omens, or divine communications requiring interpretation after the compendium's examples; and the rituals connected with symptomatic dreams, reflecting the dreamer's cultic purity.

Many cuneiform tablets copied in antiquity possess colophons at the end of the last column of the reverse. These colophons vary in content, often providing us with information about the tablet's position within a literary, medical, or ritual series, as well as data on the ancestry of the scribe, and scribal practices. The sections are discussed by E. Leichty
[1964] and H. Hunger [BAKH, pp. 1-24; the latter also presents examples of Old Babylonian to Seleucid colophons.

The order of the tablets of The Dream-Book is given to us by six preserved colophons:

1. Tablet 1 = K. 3758.
2. Tablet 2 = K. 12638.
3. Tablet 3 = K. 3941 + 4017.
4. Tablet 7, on K. 6267.
5. Tablet 9, on K. 2582 + 3820 + 6739 + Sm. 251.
6. Tablet 10 = K. 4103 + 13330 + 15911.

The list differs from that of DB, pp. 261-2, which omitted Tablet 10, and identified K. 14216 with Tablet 4, but this is actually part of the medical text K. 2433 + 3989 + 7818 + 8172 + 14216 + 14722 (AMT 47/1 +) instead (J. V. Kinnier Wilson [1958], p. 304). These colophons are short for the Neo-Assyrian period. They state:

1. The 'catch-line', or the first line, of the next tablet; thus K. 4103 + 13330 + 15911 indicates an eleventh tablet beginning with ADRC, col. III line 61. The catch-line of Tablet 10 itself, as given on Tablet 9, does not appear in our ritual texts:
   \[\text{šunma(D|š) ana imitti(XV) șa-lil-ma šutta(MAŠ.GEš) ịt-ụtu pár-da-at}\]
   If he sleeps on his right (side), and the dream he sees is frightening:

2. The number of each tablet within the series.

3. The name of the series, which is usually the (beginning of the) first line of the first tablet: (d)Zi-qi-qu (Zl, line 1).

4. The original location of the tablets: in Ashurbanipal's Library (see on).

The slightly different sign usages in these colophons suggests that there were at least three copies of The Dream-Book, dating from Ashurbanipal's reign at Kuyunjik (see already P. C. Couplie [1960], p. 187). Tablets 1-3 and 9 have:

\[\text{DUB.n.KAM ĖŠ.GĀR 4 Zi-qi-qu KUR =AN.ŠĂR.DŬ.A šarš ŠŪ šarš KUR AN.ŠĂRIK}\]
(Note that only Tab. 2 has KÂM.MA, not all of them as P. C. Couprie stated.)

whereas Tablet 7 replaces KUR with É.GAL (correct DB, p. 161, n. 12), and Tablet 10 uses AŠ.KI instead of AN.ŠAK.KI. (The sign DUB is slightly different on Tablet 3, and the sign KÂM on Tablet 9.)

1). ASHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARY AND CATALOGUE REFERENCES TO THE DREAM-BOOK

Kuyunjik, the Turkish name for the palace mound at Nineveh, was the site of Ashurbanipal's Library. The 'Library' actually consists of three collections:

i). That excavated by H. Layard in 1849 in Rooms 40-1 of Sennacherib's palace.

ii). H. Rassam's find in Ashurbanipal's palace in 1853.

iii). R. Campbell Thompson's discovery in the temple of Nabu in 1927.

Nearly all known Mesopotamian literary genres are represented in the thousands of tablets (registered under various tablet signatures). The majority of the tablets originates from Ashurbanipal's private library. This king accumulated texts from existing royal libraries (e.g., that of Tiglath-pileser I, discussed by E. F. Weidner in AFO 16 [1952-3], pp. 197-215), had scribes copy tablets especially for him, and annexed tablets from individual ritual experts. The last process is illustrated by the library catalogues edited by S. Parpola [1983], and the two copies of the letter CT 22, No. 1 (note BM 25676 and 25678), which was probably written for Ashurbanipal. It orders the recipient, Shaduni, to collect certain texts from private houses and Ezida (Nabu's temple) at Borsippa, together with any others of interest he might discover. This authorization suggests that, although tablets from The Dream-Book were found at Kuyunjik, this is no indication of the importance of oneiroscopy in the Neo-Assyrian period, since they may have been gathered for antiquarian interest.

The Dream-Book appears in two library/literary catalogues:

i). S. Parpola [1983] edited enumerations of tablets 'donated' to Ashurbanipal's Library. There are four mentions of The
Dream-Book, all as iškar(ÉS.GÂR) Za-qi-qu, "the series Zaqiqu":

a). 80-7-19, 144 (+) 262 col. III line 2' (S. Parpola's No. 1) - from an exorcist.

b). K. 4753 + 5711 + 81-2-4, 268 (+) K. 12622 (S. Parpola's, No. 2), col. I line 15' and col. II line 10' - from two haruspices; and col. III line 10' - from a doctor.

ii). K. 14067 + Rm. 150 (W. G. Lambert [1976]) is a catalogue of texts grouped under personal names, for what reason is unclear. Line 20 reads:
20). iškar(ÉS.GAIR) d[Zi]-qi-qu.

2). Compilation Stages of The Dream-Book

A. L. Oppenheim [DB, pp. 295-6] presented his account of how The Dream-Book was compiled from a Proto-Zaqiqu (or the omen tablets) and a collection of dream rituals sometime between 713 B.C (the colophon of KAR 252 dates it to the eponym, Ashur-bani, the governor of Nimrud) and the date of the Kuyunjik material. He found allusions to this supposed dream ritual collection at:

i). KAR 44, obv. 14:
14). MÂŠ.1.GEš1 [HIUL1] SIGs.GA
To make a bad dream favourable

ii). BAM 400 (correct DB, p. 295 to Si 81), col. III line 1:
1). 13 šutta(MÂŠ1.GEš) [dummuqiq SIGš]

Thirteen [to make] a dream [favourable]

KAR 44 lists the manuals used by the exorcist, and obv. 14 certainly refers to an apotropaeic dream ritual compendium. A. L. Oppenheim regarded BAM 400 as an incantation catalogue. Hence, he believed the number to refer to thirteen tablets of a series called "Dreams" (he omitted SIGš), an abbreviated reference to that of KAR 44. However, BAM 400 is in fact a guide to stone charms, in this case a necklace of thirteen beads (pp. 257-8).

At the moment we do not know the original source of the dream
cere monies, nor how they came to be combined with certain omens to form *The Dream-Book*. It is possible that *ADRC* (etc.) derived from collections of rites dictated by various practitioners, or was compiled from several tablets of such ceremonies. Either process would explain the repetitions of the ŠU.IL.LÁ-incantation to Shamash on *ADRC*, col. I lines 73-7, and col. III lines 4-15 (pp. 206-7); those of the incantation to the Ram Of The Storm on *ADRC*, col. III lines 33-6 and lines 52-5 (although accompanied by different rituals); and those of the several clod substitution rituals (p. 225).

The existence of dream rituals not included in the compendium *ADRC* leads us to wonder if these rites were as formally organized as implied by comparison with most of the other series listed on *KAR* 44. It seems more probable that the dream rituals were loosely grouped together, like the namburbi ceremonies (R. I. Caplice, *OrNS* 34 [1965], pp. 107-8). The title of *KAR* 44, obv. 14 would be a misnomer anyway, since the majority of the incantation rubrics and desired ritual results refer to dispelling the evil of a bad dream, not to rendering it favourable.

The antiquity of the sources of *The Dream-Book* is indicated by the first two incantations on K. 3758 (Tab. 1), although there is no dividing line on the tablet. E. I. Gordon [1960, p. 129] pointed out that obv. 1-7 (ZI) appears on two Sumerian Proverb texts: *PBS* 12/1, No. 29 and *PBS* 13, No. 38. This was missed by A. L. Oppenheim, who had noticed *IDB*, p. 2961 that obv. 8-11 occurs on a Sumerian Proverb tablet from Nippur, *SLTN* 149 (see *ADRC*, col. III lines 4-15).

### B. OTHER TABLETS OF DREAM OMENS

While we do not possess enough texts to theorize on the development of dream omens (mainly because our examples hardly ever overlap), a brief survey of tablets of dream omens apparently external to *The Dream-Book* reveals a constant interest in this topic throughout the ages:

1. The now lost text Babylon 36383 *IDB*, pp. 313-4, pl. 51 came from Kassite levels. Its obverse represents an earlier form of Tablet 9 of *The Dream-Book*, having the same first line. Thus, the arrangement of the material into tablets was already
determined, even if the line order varied. The references to place names known from the Mari period suggests that there was an even earlier version.

ii). The Middle Babylonian tablet from Elam edited by V. Scheil [1913] contains omens similar to those of the Mesopotamian *Dream-Book*, although it does not mention dreams [DB, pp. 257-9].

iii). The colophon of K. 14884 [DB, pp. 321-2, pl. 9] states that it was written for Ashurnasirpal, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta; i.e., for Ashurnasirpal II.

iv). Two tablets come from Neo-Assyrian Ashur [DB, p. 260]: KAR 470, and VAT 14279 (DB, pl. 10). The latter was excavated from N4, a private house with a large archive and library belonging to a family of exorcists (O. Pedersen [1986], N4: 530).

v). Numerous tablets come from Ashurbanipal’s Library.

vi). BM 45527 (= 81-7-1, 3288) is a fragment written in the Late Babylonian script, similar to parts of Tablet A (A. L. Oppenheim [1969], pp. 159-65, pl. 36; and DB, pp. 314-20 respectively).

### C. DREAM RITUALS

Tablets containing dream rituals predominantly date from the Neo-Assyrian to Seleucid eras; i.e., are first attested much later than dream omens.

Table 1 on page 38 shows that the tablets originate from Ashur, Kuyunjik, Sippar, Sultantepe, Ur, Uruk, and one unknown site. (The literary examples of incubation (ch. 17) have been omitted.)

W. G. Lambert [1959, pp. 119-26] presented background information on the texts found in 1951 and 1952 at the ancient provincial town of Sultantepe, near modern Urfa, in Turkey. (See also the original excavation reports in *AnSt* 2 [1952], pp. 25-35, and 3 [1953], pp. 27-51.) These texts are indicated by S.U., and a large number have been published in
**Chapter 3**

*STT* vols. 1-2. They were found stacked together in a house along with wine jars and other objects. The collection seems to have been gathered by the *šangū*-priest Qurdi-Nergal from recent copies by a local scribal centre and older material (the colophons date from 718-612 B.C.). The tablets contain a variety of characteristic errors (W. G. Lambert [1959], pp. 124-6). Generally, the order of preference is the readings from Kuyunjik texts, then Ashur ones, finally from Sultantepe duplicates.

All the relevant Seleucid tablets (from the fourth to third centuries B.C.) have been excavated at Uruk, and are designated W(arka), after the site's modern name. These are being published in *SpTU*, three volumes to date.

1). **THE TEXTS**

i). The various tablets covering parts of the dream ritual collection *KAR* 252 have been edited together under the title *The Ashur Dream Ritual Compendium (ADRC)*. This collection was not systematically arranged, either by purpose or by ritual technique. It was compiled from sources additional to *The Dream Book* or, at least, arranged differently. This is shown by the absence of the first incantation of Tablet 1 (ZI) from *ADRC*, and also by the position of the second at col. III lines 4-15. The whole of extant Tablet 10 covers *ADRC*, col. III lines 47-61.

ii). *The Nusku Apotropaic Dream Ritual (MADR)* consists of K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069, col. II lines 1-18, with the duplicate 79-7-8, 77 rev. 3'-17'.

iii). *The Nusku Ritual For A Favourable Dream (NRFD)* is based upon *KAR* 58, obv. 39 to rev. 18.

iv). *The Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual (SDR)* is centered on BM 78432, and is so named because line 19a reveals that it was intended for use by this Babylonian ruler.

v). The main manuscript of *The Sultantepe Incubation Ritual (SIR)* is *STT* 73, lines 1-84, and only the tablets covering these lines have been listed in Table 1.
### TABLE 1: Sources of Dream Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>Ashur</th>
<th>Kuyunjik</th>
<th>Sippar</th>
<th>Sultantepe</th>
<th>Ur</th>
<th>Uruk</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADRC</td>
<td>KAR 53 N5</td>
<td>K. 3286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 107*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KAR 252 N87</td>
<td>K. 3333 + 8583</td>
<td>+ Sm. 1069*</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 245</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LKA 132*</td>
<td>K. 3758*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 246</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N426</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 376*</td>
<td>K. 4103 + 13330</td>
<td>+ 15311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( = KAR 213)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 377*</td>
<td>K. 5175 + 6001*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 384*</td>
<td>K. 8171 + 11041</td>
<td>11684 + 14058*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79-7-8, 77*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81-2-4, 233*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGRF</td>
<td>KAR 58</td>
<td>CT 51, No. 149</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LKA 132</td>
<td>K. 7664 + 9302</td>
<td>+ 9494</td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K. 9000</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K. 11706 + 13288</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR</td>
<td>LKA 39</td>
<td>BM 78432</td>
<td>Si 18</td>
<td>STT 56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VAT 13854)</td>
<td>BMS 1</td>
<td>Si 884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LM 1 + K. 17283</td>
<td>Si 904</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ABL 450</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LY 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 73</td>
<td>UET 7, No. 118</td>
<td></td>
<td>YOS 11, No. 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 315</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 316</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 317</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 376</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 377</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 384</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 66559</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rituals (ch. 12). The former is extremely difficult to decipher because the signs have become distorted in the middle of the lines.


ix). SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. deals with a recurrent dream apparition.

x). 31-2-4, 166 is concerned with a witchcraft action seen in a dream.

**D. NON-TECHNICAL LITERATURE**

There are also references to dreams and dream experts in nearly all Mesopotamian textual genres, from the Sumerian to the Seleucid epochs: administrative texts; charm lists; incantations, with or without rituals; letters; lexical works; literature; medical texts; omen series; rituals prefaced with long catalogues of woes; and royal inscriptions. We have to use this extraneous material to supplement the technical dream literature which, although detailed on the omens and rituals, is incomplete regarding types of dreams (ch. 4) and the causes of nightmares (ch. 5).
PART B: MESOPOTAMIAN PERCEPTIONS OF DREAMS

| Chapter 4: | Types Of Dreams | 41 |
| Chapter 5: | Nightmares And Their Causes | 75 |
| Chapter 5: | Specific Types Of Nightmares | 96 |
| Chapter 7: | The Mesopotamian Dream God(s) | 105 |
| Chapter 8: | The Personal Deities In Dream Contexts | 123 |
| Chapter 9: | The Relationships Between Dreams And Other Ominous Experiences | 135 |
CHAPTER 4: TYPES OF DREAMS

The SOED defines a dream as:

i). A train of thoughts, images, or fancies passing through the mind during sleep; a vision during sleep; the state in which this occurs.

ii). A vision of the fancy indulged in when awake (especially as being unreal or idle); a reverie; castle-in-the-air; cf. day-dream.

Therefore, a dream is a type of mental activity which differs in its nocturnal or diurnal forms (see pp. 47-50 for the latter). The vast majority of the textual references in this study will be seen to concern nocturnal dreams (henceforth dreams). However, it is possible that the Mesopotamians used the word munattu to denote waking dreams (see also the reference to diurnal dreams on BMS 12, rev. 113; p. 133).

These definitions above do not mention the extremely personal nature of a dream, namely, that the dreamer cannot share his experience with anyone else at the time it happens. This contrasts with the waking world where events may be experienced in common by those present, although often with varying degrees of emotion. We possess two Mesopotamian accounts of large groups apparently seeing the same nocturnal dream:

i). Ashurbanipal Annals, col. V lines 97-9 (M. Streck [VAB 7], p. 48):

97). 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-

\text{ištar(XV) a-

\text{ši-bat URUAr-

\text{ba-šu ina šat mu-

\text{ši}}
\end{align*}
\]

98). 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-na ummānāte(ERIN.HĀ)-ia šutta(MĀŠ.GEš) ū-

\text{šab-ri-ma}}
\end{align*}
\]

99). 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-a-am iq-bi-šu-nu-ti}
\end{align*}
\]

97-8 Ishtar, who resides at Arbela, caused my army to see a dream during the night. 91 She spoke to them thus:

ii). Nabonidus 4*, col. I lines 67-70:

67). 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-na šu-ut-ti šá a-mu-ru ū nišē(UN.MEš) i-tam-

\text{ma-ru-ni}}
\end{align*}
\]
68). a-na muhhi(UGU) te-me-en-na É-babbar-ra la-bi-ri šu-a-tú


70). ū-ma-ʼi-ir1-an-ni

67 In a dream which I saw, and the people also saw, 68-70 he (Shamash) sent me to return Ebabbarra to its place (i.e., former glory) on top of the foundation platform of that ancient Ebabbarra, the dwelling of his heart's delight.

However, such a uniform sharing of a dream is very unlikely. On the rare occasions when dreams are shared, dreamer A dreams about dreamer B, and vice versa, rather than both seeing exactly the same dream.

The student of ancient dreams is not so limited by being entirely dependent on written dream reports as might initially appear. We can only remember vestiges of our dreams after an undisturbed sleep. The process of describing a dream orally or in writing alters it further in accordance with the conversational or stylistic rules of our society. Therefore, even modern psychoanalysts are dealing with third-hand accounts, as it were. On the other hand, the historian cannot use the supplementary personal associations of his 'patients' - a vital prerequisite of psychoanalysis.

A). RESULTS FROM SLEEP LABORATORIES

Research in sleep laboratories has increased our knowledge of the mechanism of the sleeping and dreaming states. This summary is based upon W. C. Dement [1966] and B. Tedlock [1987a].

A Sumerian Proverb (E. I. Gordon [1958], 5.76) refers to a dog dreaming:

ur.gi:š máš.ges bi.e.ām

The dog mutters in its dreams.

Apparently all mammals experience two types of sleep with distinctive physiological characteristics (views on these differences are changing)
during a normal night's rest: rapid eye movement (REM) sleep and non-REM sleep.

1) REM SLEEP

The features of human REM sleep include:

i). Rapid jerky movements of the eye-ball, as opposed to slow rolling movements noticed at sleep onset.

ii). Accelerated and irregular heart and respiratory rates.

iii). Reflex suppression and lack of movement.

iv). Levels of neuronal activity comparable to alert wakefulness, thus explaining the alternative designation 'paradoxical sleep' for this period of deep slumber.

v). The ability on arousal to remember dream content in detail.

The theory that REM sleep is the time of dreaming was 'proven' by the discovery that there was a correspondence between the direction of the REMs and the action in a dream: e.g., vertical REMs could be correlated with a dream of a bouncing ball. The dreamer watches the dream images exactly as he would if awake. Therefore, the Mesopotamian expression "seeing a dream" is more accurate than our phrase "having a dream".

It is still unclear how and why this visual process occurs. People born blind do not exhibit REMs, although they possess all the other physiological characteristics of this type of sleep. Instead, they dream by touch, their usual means of experiencing the external world. This fact lends some weight to the theory that the visual process is due to memory traces in the brain of things seen before. However, contortional eye movements unobserved in the waking state do occur in REM sleep, suggesting that the matter is not simply one of normal vision. The balance organ is also stimulated, explaining why dreamers see themselves and others moving in space.

REM sleep periods occur regularly, four to six times, throughout an average seven hours slumber, lasting between ten to forty minutes. Usually several distinct dream episodes happen successively in a single REM period, so one may experience as many as ten to twenty dreams a night, and only remember one or two in the morning.
2). NON-REM SLEEP

It is disputed whether or not dreams occur during non-REM sleep; the debate centres on the definition of a dream. REM sleep is definitely the time when the sleeper sees complex imagery in a progressive sequence. Dreams reported from non-REM sleep are shorter, and concern abstract thoughts in brief, unrelated scenes. So, possibly there are two varieties of dreaming corresponding to the different types of sleep. However, some scientists remain unconvinced that non-REM 'dreams' occur in sleep but, instead, are trivial background thoughts which happen more or less continually throughout the day, only recalled in a relaxed state. People are far less able to recall their dreams on being awakened from non-REM sleep, but this may be due to unknown memory processes.

One thing is certain, everyone dreams in REM sleep in some form of sensory image - visual, tactile, auditory, and even gustatory are known. So-called non-dreamers are more alert in their sleep, but they still exhibit REMs, a factor involved in dreaming. It seems that the ability to remember dreams depends on the individual, on his attitude towards dreams, and his development of visual imagery.

B). ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

As research continues into altered states of consciousness such as dreams and trances, the boundaries between them are becoming blurred. Previously attention concentrated on nocturnal dreams, because they are the only 'acceptable' form of hallucination in the Western world. Elsewhere various practices are used to dissociate the mind and body from the external world in a disciplined way, as in Eastern meditations, North American Indian vision quests, and shamanism. These methods include:

i). Physical pain.

ii). Shortage of food and water.

iii). Imprisonment in darkness.

iv). The use of drugs, or the burning of incense.

v). Concentration on a literary passage or on a picture.

Trances and possession by spirits are induced by similar procedures, both
now and in the ancient world. At times it is difficult to know whether a
reported image derived from a trance, or was seen awake or asleep: the
recipient probably being uncertain himself. The Akkadian word šutta has
been translated consistently as "dream", but occasionally "vision" may be
preferable. In this connection, the alternative designation for a dream,
tabrit mūṣī, "nocturnal vision", should be noticed (pp. 46-7), together with
the possible translation of bīru as "vision" (pp. 136-41).

The writer has noted the following possible links between
Mesopotamian onirology and (ecstatic) prophecy, but the area needs
detailed investigation:

i). The conversations held between the deity and the dreamer,
especially in the Mari letters (see also p. 57, and F.
Ellermeier [1968], pp. 90-2).

ii). Dreams are related to egirrê, "oracular utterances" (pp. 148-
9).

iii). The šā'ilu seems to have been a prophet and, perhaps, a dream
expert.

M. M. Watkins [1976, p. 15] made the interesting observation (although
without offering any proof) that divine dreams (our message dreams,
pp. 54-7) occur while the dreamer is beginning to doze or awake; i.e., in
the half-dreaming state when we can control our imagery. Yet, at Mari
there was a belief that dreams in the first watch of the night (i.e. at
sleep onset) were unimportant (pp. 50-1).

There is mounting evidence that people regularly experience dream-like
states while awake, yet do not acknowledge the fact. In the 1860s
F. Myers coined the term 'mythopoetic function' to describe the
tendencies of some people to weave fantasies while in a reverie, expressing
them orally or by automatic writing. Over the years this idea has
developed into the concept of lucid or waking dreams, or active
imagination (see M. M. Watkins [1976]). C. G. Jung distinguished two
types of imagination: the passive, feeble imagination which we all possess;
and active imagination. Lucid dreaming consists of seeing images which
we have conjured up deliberately, and control, while being awake and
aware of the outside world. This half-dreaming state of mind allows us
to relax our critical faculties. The dreamer becomes so involved with his
imagery that he is a participant, rather than a spectator, in a world which appears always to have existed independently. He may experience all the emotions and senses via his images. Many artistic and literary works derive from lucid dreaming, regarded as divine inspiration in the ancient world (pp. 70-2).

1. tabrît müši, "NOCTURNAL VISION"

tabrît müši, "a vision of the night", is a closer rendition of the logogram MĂš.GEš than šutta, the usual Akkadian word for "dream". Contrary to DB, p. 225, tabrît müši is only attested syllabically. [MĂš] appears on Tab. 2, line 3 of the Middle Assyrian Version of The Legend Of Etana, which J. V. Kinnier Wilson (1985, p. 70) interpreted as šutta, based on the Late Version (ibid., p. 110). If this rendition is correct, it is a unique abbreviation of MĂš.GEš.

Although the word tabrît is attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards [AHw 3, p. 1299b], we possess only three literary examples of tabrît müši, all from late Neo-Assyrian texts. It appears as a synonym for šutta, which occurs in the same sections as well. This role is indicated by a passage in the lexical text ma/lku = šarru, Tab. 3, contained on SpTU 3, No. 120, col. I lines 52-5:

| 52). | ir-pa-l tum | sa-lä-la |
| -- | "sleeping" |
| 53). | tab-rìt mu-ši | šu-ut-tum |
| "nocturnal vision" | "dream" |
| 54). | ma-ša-rú | MIN (i.e., šu-ut-tum) |
| -- | "ditto (i.e., dream)" |
| 55). | mu-na-ma-l tum | mu-na-at-tum |
| "waking dream" | "waking dream" |

Most of the words in the left column are unattested elsewhere (munattu is discussed on pp. 47-50). The literary examples are:

i. Ashurbanipal Cylinder B, col. V lines 49-52 (M. Streck [VAB 7], p. 116):

49). ina šat mu-ši šū-a-tu šá am-hu-ru-ši

50). ištēn(1-en) Lûšab-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-tal
šutta(MĂš.GEš)
51). $i$-$gî$-$i1$-$tî$-$mâ$ tab-$rît$ mu-$sî$ šâ $d$$î$$â$$t$$â$ar(XV) ū-$sâ$-$bî$-$rû$-$u$-$sû$

52). ū-$sâ$-$a$-$n$a-$a$a ia-$a$-$tî$ um-$mâ$

49 During that night (in) which I (Ashurbanipal) prayed to her (Ishtar), 50 a certain šâbrû-priest lay down, and started dreaming. 51-2 He awoke, and he repeated to me the nocturnal vision which Ishtar caused him to see, thus:

ii). The same incident is also recorded on K. 2652, obv. 25-6:


26). $|$ i$-gî$-$i1$-$tî$-$mâ$ tab-$rît$ mu-$sî$ šâ $d$$î$$â$$t$$â$ar $sâ$$\| $$Ar$[$bâ$-$a$-$lî$K]$ ū-$sâ$-$bû$-$u$-$sû$ ū-$sâ$-$a$n-$a$-$a$ ia-$a$-$tî$

25 Yesterday a certain šâbrû-priest, who [lay down at night, and started dreaming], 26 awoke, and [repeated to me] the nocturnal vision which Ishtar of Arbela [caused him to see:]

iii). The third examplar comes from the literary text The Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince, rev. 1:

1). $[=Ku$-$um]ma$-$a$-$a$ inâl(NÂ$-$ma$ tab$-$ri$-$t$ $mâ$-$sî$ i$-$nâ$-$a$-$lî$-$a$al $ina$ šutâ(MÂ$$s$.$G$$E$$s$)$|$ $-sû$ (the rest of the line is broken)

Kumma lies down, and he sees a nocturnal vision. In his dream . . .”

2). munattu, “EARLY MORNING” AND “WAKING DREAM”

munattu, translated anticipatorily as "waking dream", is associated with “dream” in two lexical passages:

D. erim.$hû$ = anantu, Tab. 2, lines 261-3 [MSL 17, p. 41]:


262). [il$.$il] $|$ hi$-$i$â$?/il$?$-$tum $|$ ?


$hî$$â$tu cannot be translated due to lack of attestations. CAD H, $hî$tu B, p. 188b rendered it as "dream", possibly connected with $hâ$lu, "to seep out", so perhaps "pollution (in a dream)". Sexual dreams are mentioned in the Akkadian sources (pp. 96,
100-3), but, in the past, people have been too inclined to ascribe problematic words as denoting "wet dreams" (see the discussion on *gilitu*; pp. 81-2). AHw 1, *hiltu* 1, p. 345b offered the 'safe' translation "etwas Schlaf?" deduced from the context. P. C. Couprie [1960, p. 186] suggested that *hiltu* (originally as *hīštu*) possibly derived from *hāšu*, "to see", which is also only attested lexically (CAD H, *hāšu* D, p. 147a).

ii). *CT* 18, pl. 14, rev. n-s (*maliku = šarru*, Tab. 6, lines 206-11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n)</th>
<th><em>hīša-aš-tu</em></th>
<th><em>šu-ut-tum</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;pit&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dream&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o)</td>
<td><em>[pi]-l-rit-tu</em></td>
<td>MIN (i.e. <em>šuttum</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;fright&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ditto (i.e. dream)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p)</td>
<td><em>[mi]-nu-na-ma-tu</em></td>
<td><em>mu-na-at-tum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;waking dream&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;waking dream&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q)</td>
<td><em>[še]-ep u-š-mi</em></td>
<td>MIN (i.e. <em>munattu</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;foot of the day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ditto (i.e. waking dream)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r)</td>
<td><em>[še]-ep uš-mi a-līk-[l-tu]</em></td>
<td>MIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;approaching foot of the day&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ditto&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s)</td>
<td><em>[še]-eš-rī</em></td>
<td><em>še-he-rī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;morning&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;morning&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*šu-ut-tum* in line 206 appears to be an error for *šu-ut-tatu*, since the pair *hāštu* and *šuttu* occur in other texts: e.g., Šurpu, p. 50, Commentary B (K. 4320), line 20.

The Akkadian dictionaries claim that *munāmātu* is the plural of *munattu*. However, we do not possess any other examples of a plural form, so it is probably only an alternative, like the rest of the column; see also *SpTU* 3, No. 120, col. 1 line 55 on page 46.

The logogram of *munattu* given in the first lexical reference, gir. babber, is rendered by *šēp ūmī* (*aliktu*) of the second, namely, "approaching foot of the day", a poetic expression for "dawn, early morning". babber. ra itself means "the going out of the sun, sunrise", Akk. *šīt šamaš* [an.ta.gāl = *šaqı̄*, C, line 40; *MSL* 17, p. 196].

Hence, originally *munattu* was a temporal designation denoting the very early morning, shown in such contexts as *The Epic of Irra* passage discussed on pages 70-2. It developed another meaning when used in parallel with *šuttu*:
d. *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, Tab. 3, lines 7-8:

7). [ur-ra u mu-šū iš-te-ni š a-na-a][s-su-uš]

8). šuttu(MAŠ.GEš) mu-na-at-tū [mēl-ma-li š u-um-r[u-ša-ku]

7 I wail day and night alike. 8 [I am] equally wretched (in) dream (or) waking dream."

After Marduk sent the third dream to the sufferer, indicating the abatement of his divine wrath, the beginning of the redemption process is announced in line 46:


He (Marduk) sent me a message (in) a waking dream.

(The meaning "early morning" is also possible here.)

ii). Cap. 1 + 3, obv. 3-4:

3). ÉN 'šamaš(UTU) šarš šamē(AN-e) u ergetim(KI-tim) KA.INIM.MA šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) lu ina šutti(MAŠ.GEš) lu ina mu-na-at-ti)

4). lu mu-du-u lu la mu-du-u tuš(UBUR)-šū ū-[ . . .]

Incantation: 'O Shamash, the king of heaven and earth!'

Incantation rubric: (It is the text) if a man, whether in a dream or in a waking [dream], 4 whether knowingly on unknowingly, his breast he [. . . .].

The same incantation appears, with an appropriate ritual, on *KAR* 228 (see E. Ebeling [1955], pp. 144-8). Here, someone else 'touches' the man's breast, and šuttu is not mentioned: rev. 12-3:

_________________________

12). KA.<INIM>.MA ŠU.ÍLLÁ.KÁM ši1(šir)-bit tuš(UBUR)

13). ša mu-na-at-ti

_________________________

12 Incantation rubric: It is (the text of) a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation (for) seizure of the breast 13 in (lit., of) a waking dream."
iii). K. 2175 +, col. II lines 18ff. contain a ritual dealing with the appearance of a ghost. The problem is described in a fragmentary incantation to Shamash: lines 22'-3':

22'). [ . . . ŋ₂₆₁ eʃimmu({GID}IM) iʃbatu(DAB)-šu-
ma ins šutti(MAS.GE₇) u mu-na-at-ti

23'). itti(KI)-šú innammaru({GI}ILG₁ru) . . . . ]

22'-3' [. . . . (a man) whom] a ghost seized or met
with him (i.e., appeared to him) in dream or waking dream
[ . . . . ]

These passages contrast the nocturnal and diurnal natures of šuttu and munattu. The Akkadian dictionaries differ in their ideas as to what the distinction indicates:

i). CAD M₂, p. 200a translated munattu as "waking, waking time".

ii). AHw 2, p. 672b preferred "Morgenschlummer"; deriving the word from nāmum (ibid., p. 729b), "schlummern", which itself is not firmly attested.

DB, p. 225 suggested that munattu was the period of dozing between deep sleep and alertness. It seems to the writer that two ominous incidents are being compared, as in the phrase šuttu u bīru (pp. 136–7, 140), rather than strained comparisons being made either between dream (= night) and morning (= day), more usually expressed by urra u mūša; or between morning (= awake) and sleeping (= dream), as in the phrase e-ri u qal-li. munattu has been translated in this study as "waking dream", with the intention of covering both the nuances of a dream occurring in the morning, as the dreamer is coming out of deep sleep, and of lucid dreaming, when the 'dreamer' is awake. It is unclear how, and if, bīru (in the sense of "vision") and munattu are related.

I. The Significance Of When A Dream Was Seen

There are indications that at Mari the time when a dream occurred was a factor in deciding its value. On one occasion the haruspex Shamash-ši₃₄-matim reported to the king: AEM 1/1, No. 142, lines 20-3:

20). aš-šum šu-ut-tim
21). ša Sa-am-mé-e-tar e-pu-uš
23). [ú-ull] na-â-t-la-ât
20-1 I performed (an extispicy) regarding the dream of Sammetar. 22 That dream (occurred in) the first watch (of the night), and 23 it was not seen (i.e., it was of no importance).

The idea that dreams seen at the beginning of sleep were to be treated with caution also appears on ARM 10, No. 50, obv. 13. In this case Addu-duri described a frightening dream she saw, qualifying it with:

13). šu-ut-ti an-ni-tum ša ba-ra-ar-[tim]
This dream was (one) from the first watch (of the night).

She goes on to recount other experiences which supported this dream's dire forecast.

The later dream reports of Mesopotamia hardly ever mention the time when a dream was seen [DB, p. 187], indicating that either the time aspect had never been relevant, or was no longer important. The few references to munattu (pp. 47-50) suggest that the time factor had played a part in Mesopotamian oneiromancy, and that the expression along the lines of NADR, lines 4-6 should not always be regarded as a standard formula:

4). šuttu(MÂŠ. GE6) an-ni-[tú]
5). ša ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-[ril]
6). ib-bab-lam-ma

4 This dream, 5-6 which was brought to me during the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch.

C). THE RELEVANCE OF MODERN PSYCHOANALYSIS TO MESOPOTAMIAN DREAMS

The student of dreams of any culture is 'obliged' to apply the tenets of Western orientated psychoanalysis to his dream reports. He is offered a choice of fiercely opposed Schools, a clear and balanced account of which is presented by J. A. Hadfield (1954). An outline of the basic psychoanalytical views of dreams is given below. It will be seen to be
extremely different to the Mesopotamian beliefs presented in the
remainder of this section.

A major contribution of S. Freud was the discovery that dreams are
not random and irrational, however their content may appear, but have a
function and a form. He distinguished two types of thought processes:

i). Primary process, or the highly condensed, metaphorical form of
thinking appearing in dreams. This dream work uses pictures
seen in the day (day residues) symbolically to express complex
feelings, and to resolve tensions between incompatible desires.
The symbolism is necessary to avoid the censor of the
conscious self.

ii). Secondary process, or the reality-orientated, linguistic thinking
of the day; the rational separating humans from animals.

S. Freud regarded the primary process as a primitive and undeveloped form
of secondary mental activity. The two processes are envisaged now as
distinct entities. It has been suggested that dreams form a vital part of a
nightly procedure whereby recent waking experiences are consolidated as
memories, and incorporated into oneself (B. Tedlock [1987a], p. 14). The
secondary process concentrates on enabling us to master external reality

It is generally accepted in scientific circles that dreams attempt to
solve problems in the dreamer's personality, or between him and the
world. The Schools differ as to what is the basic emotion being
repressed, and hence expressed only symbolically in the dreams: e.g.,
aggression and power seeking (Adler), or sex (Freud). It must be noted
that modern 'symbolic dreams' are completely different from the
Mesopotamian 'symbolic-message dreams' mentioned on pages 57-9.

The differences between psychoanalytical and Mesopotamian (or, for
that matter, any ancient, Eastern, or 'primitive' culture) dream theories
concern the origin of the dream and its time aspect. A significant dream
in Mesopotamia was an omen, a message from the deities, belonging to
the vast field of divination and prophecy. It predominantly concerned the
future, of the dreamer or of the realm (personified in the king and his
actions). On the other hand, all dreams in psychoanalysis explain the
dreamer's present state by reference to his past. Any precognitive aspect
to dreams is admitted very reluctantly by scientists (pp. 62-3), although there is a common, popular view that dreams can be messages from or via supernatural sources. There is no such thing today as an insignificant dream (i.e., not containing a message), but such dreams were rife in Mesopotamia, belonging to the world of morals and/or religion. These dreams originated from inimical powers, or arose from either ill health or unsuitable aspirations. In sum, the contrast between the two systems is such that neither examines in depth the category of dreams most important to the other.

Accordingly, it is best to treat the ancient dream reports as plain linguistic texts. Although our knowledge of Mesopotamian culture and 'philosophy' is expanding rapidly, we still do not know enough about those important religious and social concepts which influenced the style of the cuneiform dream reports to enable us to discover any latent content behind the manifest content.

None of the above is to deny the value of detailed studies of dream reports and omens from other civilizations, dead or contemporary, just to emphasize that it is largely futile to apply psychoanalytical theories to them, especially since no consensus has been reached. At best, a few broad generalizations can be offered, based on cultural comparisons - a dangerous method in itself.

D. DREAM CLASSIFICATIONS

The extant cuneiform sources do not contain a detailed account of the Mesopotamian views of dreams, or their causes (see chs. 5-6 for nightmares). The information has to be gleaned from various text groups besides the technical dream literature. Inevitably inconsistencies emerge because the dream references are used for a variety of purposes. There is no reason, though, why divergent views could not have been held either contemporaneously, or at different times. Why should we expect the Mesopotamians to be more organized than we are in this matter?

Table 2 on page 74 shows a fundamental separation between good/true/significant dreams originating from the gods, presenting a message concerning the future; and bad/false/insignificant dreams sent by evil
powers or hostile deities, or arising from within the dreamer, with no
mantic import at all. This division is also shown by the texts, in that
dream reports and omens deal with prognostic dreams, whereas dream
rituals and references outside the technical literature deal with the second
type.

1. GOOD OR PARANORMAL DREAMS

Three kinds of good dreams can be distinguished in the Akkadian
sources, listed below on a descending scale of clarity and direct contact
with the divine sender:

i). Message dreams containing a clear statement, requiring no
   interpretation.

ii). Symbolic-message dreams, which have to be decoded.

iii). Dream omens, interpreted from Dream-Books.

1. Message Dreams

Message dreams were regarded in Mesopotamia as a means of direct
communication with the deities, as opposed to the latter sending omens.
DB, p. 190 suggested that the experiences of incubated dreams formed the
pattern for all recorded message dreams. That does not imply that all
message dreams were incubated. In fact, we possess only five examples of
Mesopotamian incubation (ch. 17). DB, pp. 187-97 listed the following
characteristics of message dreams as attested in the Ancient Near East:

i). A deity or his messenger clearly states a message containing
   advice or a warning. This figure is nearly always the sole one
   seen in the dream. Only once does a human appear, the
deceased king Nebuchadrezzar in a dream of Nabonidus
(Nabonidus 8, col. VI lines 12-6), but this is a propaganda text
(p. 72). An attendant accompanied Nebuchadrezzar, but it is
unclear whether he was human or divine.

ii). The recipient is a socially important figure (a king or priest),
   who receives the dream as a privilege. The only example of a
   female recipient is a Hittite queen.

iii). The message occurs at times of crisis.
iv). The dreamer accepts the message passively, and dialogue rarely occurs.

A brief survey of the Akkadian message dream reports, augmented since A. L. Oppenheim's work by the Mari letters (now see AEM 1/1, pp. 455-82) and Nabonidus' Harran inscriptions, reveals necessary alterations to the points above.

The dream figure is certainly nearly always a lone deity, with no particular one predominating. Both Marduk and Sin appear at Nabonidus 1, col. I line 18, but only Marduk speaks. We do not possess any examples of divine messengers, unless one counts the three dreams of Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 3, whereby the sufferer is cured. However, these pose problems if seen as message dreams [BWL, p. 27].

The dream reported by the šabru-priest to Ashurbanipal (Cylinder B, col. V lines 49-84 (M. Streck [VAB 7], pp. 116, 118), and also K. 2652, obv. 25 to rev. 11 [ibid., pp. 190, 192] records that he saw Ishtar and the king. Two dreams of Addu-duri provide us with further examples of humans appearing in dreams, what is more people known to her personally, since she names them: AEM 1/1, No. 227, lines 6-10 - two ecstatics; and ARM 10, No. 50, obv. 14 - a šangū-priest.

The inscriptions of Ashurbanipal contain two examples of the message being given in writing, as noticed by DB, pp. 201-2:

i). King Gyges of Lydia sees the writing of Ashurbanipal’s name (Annals, col. II line 97 (M. Streck [VAB 7], p. 20); also K. 228 (III. R. 28-9) + K. 3081 + 3084, rev. 15):

\[ \text{97). } \text{ni-bit šum(MU)-ia ina šutti(MĂŠ.GEŠ) ŭ-sab-} \]
\[ \text{ri-šu-ma Aššur(AN.ŠĂR) ilu(DINGIR) ba-nu-u-a} \]

Ashur, the god, my creator, caused him to see the writing of my name in a dream.

The episode of Gyges' appeal to Assyria for help against the Cimmerians is an excellent example of the process of elaboration which occurred with each edition of the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor [1977]).

ii). A Babylonian youth sees a message describing the fate of rebels written on a pedestal (Annals, col. III lines 118-21;
M. Streck [VAB 71, p. 32]:

118) \( \text{ina } u₄\text{-me-šu-ma īšēn(1-en) Ļūēšu(GURUŠ)} \)

119) \( \text{ina šat mu-ši ū-tul-ma} \)

120) \( \text{i-na-ṭa-ṭa-šal šutta(MĀŠ.GE₆)} \)

121) \( \text{um-ma ina muḫḫu(UGU) ki-ġal-li ša ḏSin(30) ša-ṭir-ma} \)

118 On that day a certain young man 119 lay down at night, and 120 started dreaming 121 thus:

Upon the pedestal of Sin's statue was written . . . .

Both these 'dreams' are highly dubious since Gyges is then urged by Ashur to pay homage to Ashurbanipal, while Babylonia was in revolt against Assyria at the time of the second incident.

The recipients of message dreams in the Mari letters are anything but kings (in fact no royal dreams are recorded), and it is rare that any indication of rank is given (the dream of ARM 10, No. 51 occurred to a šangū priest). The Neo-Assyrian message dreams all go to men. We have noted examples above of a foreign king, a priest, an ordinary man, to say nothing of the whole Assyrian army (p. 41). LAS 294, obv. 13' to rev. 1, contains a dream report from an official?, who claimed that Bel (i.e., Marduk) promised that he would receive favour in Assyria; yet, so far, this has not been the case. LAS 117, obv. 7 stated that Ashur spoke to Sennacherib in a dream (p. 140). We have no evidence that Ashurbanipal himself experienced dreams, although he is willing to record those of others in his inscriptions. Nabonidus is the main recipient of Neo-Babylonian dreams, but his mother received one from Sin (Nabonidus 24, col. II lines 5-12; see on).

It is not clear from the Mari letters that message dreams occur at particularly critical moments, although all bar ARM 10, Nos. 50 and 100 refer to public matters. In fact, some of the messages appear mundane: e.g., the king should look after himself (ARM 10, No. 51), and a temple (or house, È) is not to be rebuilt in the same location (ARMT 13, No. 112). The dreams recorded by Ashurbanipal do seem to happen at moments of crisis, but this is probably due to their use as propaganda. Nabonidus' dreams consist mainly of various deities ordering him to restore their temples (p. 73). Sin promised Nabonidus' mother in her dream that
her son would renovate Ehulhul at Harran, where she resided.

Dialogue is a common feature of the Mari dream reports (see already P. C. Couplie [1960], p. 185), and occurs also in:

i). The šabrū's dream between the dream figures of Ishtar and Ashurbanipal.

ii). LAS 294 between Bel and the dreamer.

iii). Nabonidus 1, col. I lines 16-33 between Marduk and the king.

iv). Nabonidus 8, col. VI lines 17ff. between the attendant, Nebuchadrezzar, and the king.

Thus, in Mesopotamia, the main criterion of a message dream is that a figure (usually divine) gives an unequivocal message to the dreamer. B. Kilborne [1987, p. 176] missed this point when he stated that message dreams were not interpreted because of the lower social position of the dream interpreter in relation to the dreamer. Throughout his discussion, based on DB, B. Kilborne insisted that the types and values of Mesopotamian dreams depended upon the social status of the dreamer, rather than the content - the writer and DB, p. 240 have found no proof for this position. B. Kilborne attributed this view [1987, p. 178] to A. L. Oppenheim, for whom it was the sex of the recipient, if anything, which mattered [DB, p. 190]. The recipients are male and female at Mari (nine dreamers out of seventeen examples were female, and eight male); whereas in Mesopotamia, Nabonidus' mother is the only female recipient.

The passivity of the dreamer led DB, p. 226 to describe message dreams as examples of the objective-passive approach to spiritual phenomena. The dreamer lies in his bed, receiving a message originating from outside himself; he may speak, even object to the order (e.g., Nabonidus 1) but cannot move. The decision to send such a dream lies entirely at the whim of the deity. Incubation rituals (ch. 17) introduce no element of compulsion, only creating a situation favourable for a visitation if the god is so inclined. (Objective-active and subjective approaches are discussed on pp. 59-62 and 63-5 respectively.)

II. Symbolic-Message Dreams

The writer prefers the designation symbolic-message dreams to A. L. Oppenheim's 'symbolic', because these dreams are really a sub-category of
message dreams. The divine message is now expressed indirectly by symbols. The dreamer sees diverse objects and people performing various actions, all of which are usually taken from his realm of experience. The associations between a symbolic-message dream and its explanation are very rarely obvious, or even intelligible, to us when explained.

This type of dream is mainly recorded in the Mesopotamian epics as occurring to heroic recipients, being a motif to propel the action. These symbolic-message dreams are always accompanied by their interpretations, which come from other heroic figures or deities.

An example of a symbolic-message dream is when Gilgamesh dreams of the arrival of his boon companion to be, Enkidu, and his dreams are interpreted by his divine mother (The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 1, col. V line 25 to col. VI line 30). DB, p. 207 also offered the example when Ea/Enki sent a dream to Atra-hasis telling him to build an Ark to escape the imminent Flood (The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 11, lines 186-7; not lines 195-6 as in DB). It should be noted that this episode is described in the different versions either as a dream, or as Ea speaking (ostensibly) to a reed hut (pp. 286-7).

DB, p. 190 claimed that women more commonly experienced symbolic dreams in the Ancient Near East than men. Etana's wife saw a dream about a plant which would cure her infertility, (the Late Version of The Legend Of Etana, Tab. 1/B). This seems to be a symbolic-message dream, but the text is extremely fragmentary at this point. ARM 10, No. 50 also seems to be a symbolic-message dream, and occurred to a woman, Addu-Duri.

The last text, together with three dream reports concerning astral bodies seen in dreams, appear to disprove the statement of DB, p. 207 that symbolic(-message) dreams occur only in Mesopotamian epics. The royal inscription Nabonidus 8 contains two dream accounts: the first at col. VI, where Nebuchadrezar appears; the second at col. VII, when Nabonidus asks him to interpret a previous dream about astral beings. In YOS 1, No. 39 (dated to Nabonidus Year 7) an official briefly describes two astronomical dreams he has seen, promising to investigate them.

Several instances of astral bodies seen in dreams are listed in BM 77058 (83-1-18, 2434; Recueil de Travaux 19, pp.
Chapter 4

101-4), which is dated to Years 14-5 of a king =Ar-ta-ri-ta-as-su. E. F. Weidner [1921-3, p. 299] believed that the reign of an Artaxerxes was meant, however this name appears as =Ar-tak-šat-su (with minor variants) in Achaemenid cuneiform inscriptions (F. H. Weissbach [VAB 3], p. 139). It is possible that these experiences were not regarded as symbolic-message dreams, but as astronomical omens observed in a dream.

III. Dream Omens

A problem with all 'signs' is whether or not they are meaningful 'omens'; i.e., do they contain hints alluding to the future, or not. It is impossible to determine how any culture decides on this matter. For the Mesopotamians, 'irrelevant' dreams fell into the category of symptomatic dreams (pp. 63-5).

Dream omens, like all omens, were sent by the gods, but needed interpretation. This was of a commonplace type, since a Dream-Book was used, in which certain actions, things, etc., seen in a dream meant the same regardless of the dreamer's personality. Any differentiations in the apodoses were on financial or health levels, not psychological types:

i). The Middle Babylonian tablet of dream omens (V. Scheil 1913; DB, pp. 257-9) contains forecasts which alter with status: e.g., col. I lines 16'-7', according to whether the dreamer was a poor man (lapnu) or an important person (kabtu); col. III lines 14-5, whether a poor man or a freedman (muškēnu).

ii). The incubation rituals of SIR state that the same dream omens vary depending if the ceremony is being performed for an invalid, or to discover if the supplicant will achieve his desire (lines 69-70).

We do not possess enough information to enable us to decide how frequently such matters entered omen interpretation.

IV. Clairvoyant Dreams Or The Objective-Active Approach

In the objective-active approach to spiritual phenomena the dreamer's soul, or part of it, is believed to leave the sleeping body and, somehow, visit the people and places seen in the resultant dream. Such dreams are
called clairvoyant ones, in which the dreamer observes straightforward enactment of events that will repeat themselves exactly in later reality. This is distinct from clairvoyance, whereby hidden or distant objects are 'seen', such as missing people. These clairvoyant dreams require no interpretation, and form a bridge between message dreams and dream omens.

a). The Uses Of The Verb abālu

DB, pp. 226-7 argued that the use of the verb abālu, "to bring, to carry", in dream contexts showed the presence of such concepts. We possess five relevant attestations:

i). TCL 1, No. 53, lines 27-8:
   27). ša te-te-né-ep-pu-ši
   28). šu-na-tu-ia it-ta-na-ab-la-nim
   27-8 Whatever you do, my dreams will constantly carry (the news) to me.

ii). NADR contains two mentions (in lines 6 and 12) of a dream "which was brought to me (the dreamer)", ib-bab-lam-ma.

iii). The phrase šuttu lib-lam-ma dá-li-li-ka lud-lul, "May X bring me a (favourable) dream, and I will proclaim your glory!" occurs on NRFD, rev. 8 and 17.

iv). NRFD, rev. 9 calls the Dream God Anzagar ba-bi-lu a-me-lu-
    ti, "the carrier of mankind".

v). Gilgamesh asks in his successive dream incubations on The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 4: šadû(KUR-û) bi-i-la šu-ut-ta a-mat (damiqti?) lu-mur, "O Mountain, bring me a dream! Let me see (a favourable) matter!"

However, as A. L. Oppenheim noted, abālu covers different dream concepts here:

i). The objective-passive, in which dreams are brought to the dreamer, as in message dreams (pp. 54-7): (iii and v above).

ii). The objective-active, in which the dreamer's soul is aided by a god (iv). In (i) a brother is warning his sister to behave herself in his absence, on the lines of "Big Brother is watching you", so it does not necessarily mean that the dreamer's soul
Chapter 4

travels freely as DB, p. 226 believed.

iii. A secondary passive approach (ii) that refers to symptomatic dreams (pp. 63-5), in which the N-stem of abālu is used analogously to the same stem of šakānu, "to be placed upon (i.e., to occur to)", when describing various ills or omens that have happened to someone (see AHw 3, šakānu(m), p. 1138b, 512; and Zl, line 4 for a dream example).

The varied usages of the same verb, combined with the paucity of references, makes one hesitate to accept the existence of the objective-active approach to dreams in Mesopotamia. The epithet of the Dream God may indicate that he transported men in their sleep, but this was an unusually intimate relationship between gods and ordinary men. Kings were described as being suckled by goddesses: e.g., 'Ashurbanipal by Ishtar, ABRT 1, pp. 5-6, rev. 6-8. Perhaps the title could be translated as "the bringer (of dreams) to mankind".

b). Dream Reports Involving Scenes And Travel

Since the criterion for a clairvoyant dream is its likelihood of being repeated in reality, dreams involving travel are not to be included automatically within this category. For instance, two Mari letters report the setting of dream incidents (ARM 10, Nos. 10 and 50), but the dreams themselves are symbolic-message ones. DB, p. 227 excluded the travel dreams of The Dream-Book (DB, pp. 267-9) on the basis of their being omens, and requiring interpretation.

J. V. Kinnier Wilson (1958, pp. 303-4) regarded the Eagle's dream giving Etana the location of the Plant Of Fertility as being in the heavens as a clairvoyant dream (the Late Version of The Legend Of Etana, Tab. 4/B, lines 1-14). However, the literary reports of dream travel are motifs impelling the action, and cannot be taken on their own as evidence for the existence of the objective-active approach.

The other literary examples involve visits to the Underworld, and have been classified in this study as Death Dreams, together with ones in which the dreamer foresees someone's death, often his own. We do not know if these dreams and that above are related to the unusual dream omen protases of visiting Heaven or the Underworld [DB, pp. 259, 283].
Enkidu receives two dreams announcing his impending death on Tab. 7 of *The Epic Of Gilgamesh*, which *DB*, p. 196, and pp. 213-4 regarded as clairvoyant dreams. The first, in col. I, is only extant on Hittite fragments, thus non-Mesopotamian and possibly atypical. Enkidu is privileged in some way to witness Anu, Ea, Enlil and Shamash debating whether or not Enkidu and Gilgamesh should be killed in retaliation for their murders of the Divine Bull Of Heaven and Humbaba. Gilgamesh is reprieved, but not Enkidu. *DB*, p. 196 firmly denied any possibility of soul travel, claiming that Enkidu would have recounted his journey to Gilgamesh. We still do not possess the complete text of this epic. The purpose of the episode was to narrate Enkidu's doom, and any 'scientific' detail was probably regarded as irrelevant. In the second dream account Enkidu descends to the Underworld (col. IV lines 15-54).

*The Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince* describes how the protagonist made offerings in his desire to see the Underworld (obv. 29-40), which he does in a dream (rev. 1-14). Then Nergal expels him to await his appointed date of death (rev. 28). It is implied that the dreamer consequently changed his wicked ways.

On Tab. 5, lines 2ff. of the Late Version of *The Legend Of Etana* the hero's wife has a dream foretelling the death of Etana and, possibly, her own as well.

It seems, therefore, that the verdict on Mesopotamian clairvoyant dreams and the existence of the objective-active approach must be "not proven".

V. Modern Views Of Paranormal Dreams

Modern research separates paranormal, or prognostic, dreams into the following categories:

1). Dreams which are apparently precognitive or telepathic, but are capable of simpler explanations, such as subconscious perception by one of our senses while asleep: e.g., dreaming of an explosion, and awakening to smell gas. This process has been confirmed experimentally by producing dreams from external stimuli.
ii). Telepathic dreams are ones in which the dreamer apparently receives truthful information of contemporary events: e.g., the death of a relative. The information could not have been obtained by normal methods of communication, nor by inference from previous knowledge. Telepathy is the cause of these dreams, if one accepts its existence.

iii). Clairvoyant dreams, for which there is no explanation at the moment.

The bar to modern acceptance of paranormal dreams is that a fully proven case of a telepathic or precognitive dream has not been established satisfactorily as yet. The vital factors are the verification of the priority of the dream, and that it was reported straightaway to impartial witnesses. It is easy to dream about an event afterwards, and honestly believe that it was seen beforehand.

Another problem is in accepting that the human mind is capable of predicting events without basing its conclusions on previous experience or rational deduction. We are all aware of the derogatory comments made about feminine intuition, and matters are worse when dreams are involved. J. A. Hadfield (1954, pp. 231-33) presented some complicated theories explaining precognitive dreams as being due to the different concepts of the nature of time held by the conscious and subconscious. A more understandable theory is that we dream about lots of possible events, the majority of which never happen, but when one is fulfilled we remember our premonitory dream. It seems to the writer that all of these theories are desperately seeking a scientific solution to a process just accepted by the ancients and 'primitive' peoples today as messages from the gods. Modern studies tend to ignore such dreams, some psychoanalytical Schools even deny their existence, preferring to concentrate on dreams envisaged as normal manifestations of the mind - the Mesopotamian category of symptomatic dreams.

2). BAD OR SYMPTOMATIC DREAMS

Any type of bad dream (or omen) in Mesopotamia was due to the dreamer's previous impiety, resulting in the absence of the protective canopy of his personal deities. This enabled various ill-natured powers to
attack and produce bad dreams (ch. 5). Consequently, it is easy to understand how bad dreams came to reflect the purity of the dreamer: pleasant dreams indicated a state of grace, and vice versa. This is why DB, p. 227 called these dreams symptomatic, and examples of the subjective approach. They originate from within the dreamer because he has been taken over by evil, possibly being psychosomatic symptoms of his guilt.

A. L. Oppenheim subdivided the subjective approach, separating symptomatic dreams from those described in the Wisdom Literature. In the example of The Counsels Of A Pessimist, the distinction depends on the implications of the terms qūlu and kūru, "stupor" and "depression", which are shown on pages 77-8 to be rather more serious than A. L. Oppenheim’s "worries and cares" - a view approaching modern psychoanalysis. Ludul bēl nēmeqi is the other example of Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature dealing with dreams, in which the cause of all the woes is the wrath of Marduk (pp. 92-4). Therefore, there is no evidence for the proposed division.

We possess some references to "pleasant dreams", mainly in incantations asking for their presence (e.g., BMS 22, rev. 22; p. 211). These phrases usually occur in lists of general favours sought from the gods, not in any incubatory context. So, despite the argument on pages 53-4 that there was a basic division between good/meaningful and bad/incoherent dreams, we should probably view these sentences as requests for pleasant symptomatic dreams; i.e., devoid of terrifying images.

Neither good nor bad symptomatic dreams bore any precognitive significance, and were rarely described in further detail after the appropriate adjective (pp. 65-9), apart from nightmares about ghosts and sexual matters (ch. 6). In the case of bad dreams, recounting them would probably enhance their power, thereby placing the dreamer in even greater peril. It is very noticeable that the haphazard and tumultuous content of everyday dreams is hardly described. The somewhat bizarre protases of the dream omens arose from the Mesopotamian desire to cover every ominous possibility. Otherwise, the closest one comes to such elements is in the symbolic-message dreams, which are rendered innocuous by their accompanying interpretation. Since bad symptomatic dreams could not be
Chapter 4

interpreted, their pollution had to be removed by one of the rituals described in Part D. If a ritual was successful, in that no more nightmares occurred, the dreamer had been restored to divine favour, for the time being.

B. Kilborne [1987, p. 178] misunderstood the nature of these dreams. He preferred the designations 'realist' or 'physicalist', believing that the dreams were linked to physical causes, which they clearly are not, at least not in the understanding of the Mesopotamians (see pp. 94-5 on health and dreams). He denied that it was the dream content which led to these dreams not being interpreted, but the dreamer's feelings that they were unimportant. However, it was their very irrationality which revealed that bad dreams were not a divine message, except indirectly as an indication of impurity. Also, nightmares were certainly not an insignificant matter to the Mesopotamians, as is witnessed by all the rituals directed against them. The ordinary person probably experienced far more symptomatic dreams than prognostic ones.

It should be noted that the term 'symptomatic dream' can be applied to dreams indicating an illness of which the dreamer is not consciously aware (see G. Devereux [1966]).

E. ADJECTIVES REFERRING TO DREAMS

The following adjectives refer to symptomatic dreams, except for aqrat, šaqarat, and šaqat, which apply to various symbolic-message dreams in The Epic Of Gilgamesh occurring on Tablets 4 and 7.

1). PLEASANT DREAMS

The table on page 66 lists the verbs and their derivatives which describe pleasant dreams in the Akkadian sources. It reveals (contrary to DB, p. 229) that pleasant dreams were described by both singular and plural forms; the former especially in dream rituals, as one might expect. Also, there are more adjectives used than damqāt, a form not even attested! By far the most numerous are derivatives of damāqu, then come kānu, and našālu (only in Mari letters). There are
two attestations of banū, both occurring on ADRC, col. II lines 58-60. banū is used here in connection with, or as an alternative to, the relevant stative of damāqu; these two verbs are almost synoymous in ominous contexts [CAD B, p. 83b].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;valuable, unusual&quot;</td>
<td>aqāru</td>
<td>aqāst</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;very valuable&quot;</td>
<td>šūqaru</td>
<td>šūqārat</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;pleasant&quot;</td>
<td>banū</td>
<td>banīt</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;favourable&quot;</td>
<td>damāqu</td>
<td>damqāt</td>
<td>D ND</td>
<td>damāq ND</td>
<td>(damqītu) --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;very favourable&quot;</td>
<td>dummuqu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>dummuqā ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;unambiguous&quot;</td>
<td>kānu</td>
<td>kīnāt/</td>
<td>kīnā</td>
<td>ND ZI DA</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;deserves attention&quot;</td>
<td>naʾādu</td>
<td>naʾāst</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;seen&quot;</td>
<td>našālu</td>
<td>našīlāt</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i.e meaningful)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;important&quot;</td>
<td>rabū</td>
<td>rabīt</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;propitious&quot;</td>
<td>šalāmu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>šalīmatum ND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;good&quot;</td>
<td>šabū</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DUG.GA.MES (šābēti) ND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D = Technical dream literature  
ND = Non-technical dream literature  
P = Phonetic complement

Finally, there is one attestation from:

i). aqāru: The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 7, col. II line 21a; and šūqaru, ibid., line 20a (p. 80).

ii). naʾādu: AEM 1/1, No. 82, line 7 (p. 151).

iii). rabū: AEM 1/1, No. 82, line 7.

iv). šalāmu: PBS 1/2, No. 53, rev. 22-4:
22). šu-ut-ta
23). ki ip-šu-ra ul i-di
24). ša-lim-tim ul i-di X1 [X]

22-3 When he recounted (his) dream/ he did not know (if it was) propitious, I/he did not know . [. ]

Generally 'pleasant' adjectives were used descriptively to distinguish the dreams so denoted from bad ones. It is rare for direct comparisons to be made in the same portion of text: e.g., NADR, lines 7-8. Pleasant dreams were neither nightmarish nor oppressive, indicating that everything was well with the dreamer mentally and physically, because his personal deities were in attendance.

A secondary use involves the magical power of words, whereby describing a dream as favourable compels it to become so. This idea is present especially in the rituals involving an egirrê (pp. 207-8).

2). UNPLEASANT DREAMS

Although unpleasant dreams were far more important to the Mesopotamians than pleasant ones, this distinction is not mirrored by the number of different adjectives (contrary to DB, p. 229). However, we do possess more attestations of 'unfavourable' adjectives.

The table on page 68 reveals that bad dreams were not always referred to in an anonymous plural (A. L. Oppenheim [DEI, p. 231, and [1966], p. 346); again, the majority of the singular references occur in the dream rituals. The use of the adjectives is purely descriptive, two or three often being used to describe the same dream. The most common are derivatives of parādu and lemēnu. The latter are always in the form HUL(+), except for Cap. 4, line 6 (lem-né-‘e-ti’), and, possibly, LKA 139, obv. 26' (i[e-mut-ti?]). Then come haṭū, šašat, sarrā, and lā ṭābu; followed by one attestation from:


iv).  úl naṭlat: AEM 1/1, No. 142, line 23 (p. 51)

The writer has been unable to find examples of aḥū and la banū as mentioned in DB, p. 229.
---|---|---|---|---
"confused" | dalāšu | -- | -- | dalāšā D  
"unfavourable" | lā damāqū | -- | lā damāqtu | --  
(NU.SIG.A) ND  
"obscure" | akālu | -- | ikiltu | --  
"very obscure" | ukkulu | -- | ukkulū * ND | --  
"incorrect" | ḥāṭū | -- | ḥāṭ(ī)tū | ḥāṭī ND  
"bed" | lemnū | HUL(lemnet) D | HUL.MEŠ | HUL  
(D) lemnā D | HUL.MEŠ D ND  
ND | lemnā ND | HUL+P D ND | lemnēti ND  
"not seen" (i.e. (meaningless) | ūl naṭālu | ūl naṭāl ND | -- | --  
"frightening" | parādu | parāt ND | parādī ND | parittu D ND  
"false" | sarrāru | -- | sarrā D LUL.LA | --  
(parattu) D ND  
ND | sarrātND | (parattu) D ND  
"bewildering" | šūsū | šāšāt ND | -- | --  
"unpleasant" | lā ṭābu | -- | -- | lā DUG.GA.MEŠ  
(ṭābātī) ND  

D = Technical dream literature  
ND = Non-technical dream literature  
P = Phonetic complement  
All the adjectives and statives are 3rd fem. forms,  
except for *, which is a 3rd masc. form.

Four of these adjectives are rarely attested with any type of omen:

i). The verb "dalāšu" is normally used in connection with tērtu, the 
ominous liver organs [CAD D, pp. 44-5, 49b]. If the omens 
were "confused", they did not correspond to any known 
protasis, and could not be interpreted. The charm list BAM 
377, col. III lines 16-8, contains the more 'normal' adjective 
pardāṭī when duplicating the charm of ADRC, col. IV lines 5-7 
(see the text edition for details).

ii). ekālu means "to be dark", so a translation along the lines of 
"obscure" seems appropriate for ikiltu in an ominous context. 
ukkulū is the D-stem masculine plural stative, and occurs on 
SpuT 3, No. 80, rev. 33 (p. 209).

iii). LUL.LA means "false", probably in the sense of "misleading". 
The Akkadian version of ZI, line 4 transcribes LUL.LA by 
pardū.  

---

Page 68
iv) $\text{šas}_\text{ät}$ is the $\text{š}$ stative of $\text{esù}$. Gilgamesh describes the dreams he receives in his successive incubations on Tab. 4 as $\text{ka}-\text{liš šá-šá-ät}$, "totally bewildering".

The adjectives referring to pleasant and unpleasant dreams can be divided as to whether they indicate how meaningful a dream is (e.g., "false/unambiguous"), or are more generally descriptive. DB, p. 229 did not like the introduction of the criterion of significance, but we have already mentioned (pp. 53-4) its importance in distinguishing the various dream categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deserves attention</th>
<th>(very) favourable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>important</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seen (i.e., meaningful)</td>
<td>pleasant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unambiguous</td>
<td>propitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(very) valuable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| bewildering       | bad              |
| confused          | frightening      |
| false             | unfavourable     |
| incorrect         | unpleasant       |
| not seen (i.e., meaningless) |          |
| (very) obscure    |                  |

We cannot tell if obscure, etc., dreams were regarded as more dangerous than bad ones.

**F. DREAMS AND REALITY**

The Mesopotamians were well aware of the difference between a dream and reality, as is shown by the use of $\text{negeltû}$, "to wake up", at the end of some literary dream reports: e.g., *The Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince*, obv. 37. Yet a blurring of reality levels is noticed occasionally, when images or actions seen in dreams were treated as if they had happened in waking life. (See pages 103-4 on rituals
directed against specific dream content, as distinct from nightmares generally.)

On pages 58-9 we mentioned two Neo-Babylonian and one possible Achaemenid dream reports concerning astronomical bodies, which seemed to be taken as omens rather than symbolic-message dreams. We possess no other exemplars of this 'development'. The view of DB, p. 205 that CBS 13517 (JAOS 38 [1918], pp. 82-5) referred to a series of extispicies observed in a dream can no longer be maintained (pp. 153, 154).

1. USES OF DREAMS

Blurring of reality levels also occurred when message dreams were used as a means of reinforcing one's actions, or speech, by revealing apparent divine support.

I. Literary Inspiration

The colophons of two literary texts describe how their authors came to compose them with the phrase:

\[ \text{ina šat mu-ši ū-šab-ri-šú-ma} \]

The god caused him (the author) to see (the text) during the night.

The verb šubrū is discussed on pages 296-7.

i). The Epic Of Irra, Tab. 5, lines 42-4:

\[ 42). \text{ka-šir kam-me-šú = Kab-ti-ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ)-} \]
\[ 43). \text{Marduk mār(DUMU) = Da-bi-bi} \]
\[ 44). \text{e-da šu-ma ul ū-rad-di a-na muh-hi} \]

42 Kabti-ilani-Marduk, son of Dabibi, (was) the author of this text. 43 He (Irra/Ishum) caused him to see (the text) during the night and, in the early morning, when he recited (the work), he did not omit anything. 44 He did not add a single line in this respect (i.e., to the composition).

ii). LKA 36, obv. 5 to rev. 3:

\[ 5). \text{ina tar-ši = Tukulti(TUKUL)-spil(A)-Ē-šár-ra} \]
\[ 6). \text{šār māt(KUR) Aš-šur} \]
Chapter 4

5) During the time of Tiglath-Pileser (III), king of Assyria, 
6-1 [she (the goddess Sheru'a)] caused Ahasu-Sheru'a to see (the text) during the night, and he [recited?] these 
lines [ . . . . ] upon. 2 [Month X, day Y +1 5?, eponym 
Ashur-danninanni], 3 governor of Zamua (i.e., 733 B.C.).

(Correct the dating of DB, p. 354. The restoration of 
rev. 1 comes from The Epic Of Irra, Tab. 5, line 43.)

Two possible explanations of the technique of divine inspiration are:

i). The experience was a nocturnal one, so, although dreams are 
not mentioned, the author saw a vivid dream presenting him 
with the outlines of the plot. This is preferable to believing 
that he saw the five tablets of The Epic Of Irra written out in 
is dream (see pp. 55-6 for examples of writing occurring in 
dreams), and remembered them in the morning. However, no 
one could check his claims.

ii). The author was awake late at night when inspiration suddenly 
struck him; i.e., the god he was trying to praise aided him. 
On pages 47-50 we mentioned the concept of waking dreams, 
possibly known to the Mesopotamians. Although, it must be 
noted that in The Epic Of Irra munattu must mean "early 
morning".

Akkadian literary works and series are rarely ascribed authors. A few 
first millennium B.C. texts reveal the emergence of author-editors, whose 
names were sometimes attached to the 'classics' they had redacted. I. L. 
standardized the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG in the reign of Adad-apla-
iddina (1068-1047 B.C.), and listed the incipits of exorcistic manuals. 
W. G. Lambert [1962] presented a catalogue of texts assigned to 
redactors. The Epic Of Irra is mentioned at III, lines 1-2, but not LKA
36. Thus, it seems that Kabti-ilani-Marduk may not have been the original author of this epic, but its (last) ancient editor. It is unclear why the colophon claimed divine inspiration for what became an accepted practice. The same argument and query apply to LKA 36.

II. Medical

There are two 'medical' uses of dreams, apart from incubation (ch. 17). In the Late Version of The Legend Of Etana the hero's wife dreams about a plant which will make her fertile (Tab. 1/B), and the Eagle dreams about its location in the highest heavens (Tab. 4/B, lines 1-14).

The three dreams of the Righteous Sufferer recorded on Tab. 3 of Ludlul Bēl nēmeqi have a therapeutic function in the plot, indicating the abatement of Marduk's wrath. In the second dream (lines 21-8) the wretch is purified by a ramku, and visited in the third one (lines 39-44) by an exorcist called Ur-nin-tin-uγς-ga, "the servant of the one who heals the dying (i.e., Gula)" (see BWL, pp. 23-4 and 296-7 on these human characters). W. G. Lambert [BWL, pp. 26-7] commented on the connections between the entire work and medical incantations, stating that these 'dreams' occur at the place of the ritual in the latter texts; even an exorcist appears.

III. Political

Various dreams are quite blatantly nothing more than attempts to gain favour by praising the king, or pure propaganda. Examples include:

i). ARM 10, No. 10, contains a symbolic-message dream praising Zimri-Lim's world rule.

ii). ARM 10, No. 100 is an attempt to seek legal redress from the king by claiming that Dagan told the writer that only Zimri-Lim could help her; in fact, ordered him to assist.

iii). Nabonidus' dream about Nebuchadrezzar (Nabonidus 8, col. VI) was an attempt to show that the great king supported the former's usurpation of the Babylonian throne.

See also LAS 294 on page 56, and the dream reports concerning Gyges and a Babylonian in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions (pp. 55-6).
IV. Religious

There are only two instances in the cuneiform sources of objects being dedicated after a dream, a practice which was to become common in Classical times:

i). **RLA 2, p. 187, No. 223** - the Year Name for Ammiditana's twelfth year is:

```
mu alam.an mâš.geš.a
```

The year (in which) his (the king's) statue (was erected following) a dream.

ii) Nabonidus 23 *(DB, p. 192)* is a bead from a dagger in a private collection:

```
patr(GIR) hi-šīh-ti dSin(ZUEN) bēl(EN) ilī(DINGIR).
<MEŠ> šá ina šutti(MÂŠ.GEš) māNabû(AQ)−na'id(1) šar₄
Bābili(TIN.TIR)K1 i-ri-šū
```

The dagger, the request of Sin, lord of the gods, which he asked from Nabonidus, king of Babylon, in a dream.

Nabonidus' dream reports predominantly recount how various deities commanded him to renovate their ruinous temples:

i). There are three accounts of the order to restore Sin's temple Ehulhul at Harran. The accounts probably had some political significance as well because Nabonidus' preference for a certain image of Sin was not popular in Babylonia *(Verse Account, col. I lines 22'-32')*. The rebuilding is ordered by Marduk on Nabonidus 1, col. I lines 16-33, and by Sin on Nabonidus 25, col. I lines 11-4. Sin had promised Nabonidus' mother in another dream that her son would renovate Ehulhul *(Nabonidus 24, col. II lines 5-12)*.

ii). The goddess Annunitu told Nabonidus to restore her temple Eulmash at Sippar on Nabonidus 4*, col. III lines 36-7 *(p. 79)*.

iii). Shamash revealed his desire to have Ebabbar at Larsa repaired to Nabonidus and the populace on Nabonidus 4*, col. I lines 67-70 *(pp. 41-2)*.

See page 156 for an example of a goddess ordering Ashurbanipal to refurbish her temple by dreams, etc.

The *Verse Account*, col. V line 11', describes how Nabonidus claimed
to have been instructed by the god Utéri (the Aramaic form of Sin; J. Lewy [1945-6], pp. 425-33). The verb šubrû suggests that the orders were communicated in dreams (pp. 296-7).

\[\text{Utéri caused me to see (dreams), he [revealed/taught] everything to me.}\]

Two Mari letters show religious uses of dreams. In A. 15 (RA 42 [1948], pp. 128 and 130) Dagan tells the dreamer to inform the king that if detailed reports are presented to his temple (presumably accompanied by offerings), the god will reciprocate by aiding Mari against its enemies. ARMT 13, No. 112 rather unusually forbids the rebuilding of a temple (or house, É) in the same location because the god will cause it to fall into the river.

### TABLE 2: Summary Of Dream Aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pleasant/True/Significant</th>
<th>Bad/False/Irrational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sources</strong></td>
<td>various deities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Types</strong></td>
<td>message/oracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dream omen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approaches</strong></td>
<td>objective - passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Field</strong></td>
<td>direct communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>theological divination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ritual Method</strong></td>
<td>(incubation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modern Terms</strong></td>
<td>paranormal causes unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Connections</strong></td>
<td>prophecies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modern Terms: caused by problems in the self, requiring psychoanalysis

Connections: demonology, witchcraft, medicine
CHAPTER 5: NIGHTMARES AND THEIR CAUSES

Night-time in Mesopotamia was a dangerous and magical period. It was a time when certain rituals were performed: e.g., the anti-witchcraft rites of Maqlû (T. Abusch 1974). Demons were abroad, ready to pounce on any unprotected human. A common epithet of demons and unpleasant gods (such as Nergal, a war god bringing sudden death) was mutallîk mūši, "the one who roams around at night": e.g., the alû-demon on CT 16, pl. 27, lines 22-3 (p. 101); Nergal in The Epic Of Irra, Tab. 1, line 21. This fear of darkness explains Nusku's title šar mūši, "king of the night", on NRFD, obv. 39, at the beginning of a passage describing how his light makes demons cower away (obv. 42-4), followed by a request for a maṣṣar šulme u balāṭi, "a guardian of well-being and health" (pp. 128-34), to protect the sleeper (obv. 46-8).

A). BAD SLEEP

šuttu, "dream", and šittu, "sleep" are derivatives of the verb wašānu, "to sleep", which is otherwise unattested [AHw 3, p. 1484a]. Akkadian sources frequently mention a disturbed night or unpleasant sleep, which could consist of:

i). Oppressive sleep caused by demons.

ii). Sleep disquieted by nightmares.

iii). Sleep interrupted by visitations from demons or ghosts.

iv). Restless sleep caused by illness, or worrying over problems:

  e.g., TCL 18, No. 152, edge 33-5:

  33). i-na ni-iz-iq-ti-ka

  34). mu-ši-a-tim

  35). ú-ul a-ša-la-al
I cannot fall asleep at night due to worrying about you. Whatever the reason a "bad night" was evidently something to be dreaded: e.g., W. G. Lambert [1974], p. 290, line 24:

24). dingir.mu geš hul.zi.e nam.ba.nl.îb.šid.dè.en
i-li ana mu-[ši] l lem-nu la ta-man-[na-an-ni]
O, my personal god, (please) do not deliver [me up] (i.e., abandon me) to a bad night.

STT 275, col. IV line 23 is a charm to ensure repose:

23). [ . . . . ] [ši] šit-tu u šunští(MAŠ.GE6.MEŠ)
lemněti(HU[L.MEŠ]) dummuqi([SIGš1.MEŠ])
[ . . . . ] (is a stone) to make favourable (both) sleep and bad dreams.

Verbs commonly used with sleep are maqātu, "to fall upon", and reḫū, which primarily means "to beget", with the connotation of "to cover with, to pour over": e.g., The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 4 describes Gilgamesh's falling asleep with the words:

93). [ši]t-tu te-re-hat nīše(U.N.MEŠ) elli(UGU)-šu im-qut
Sleep, (which) pours out (over) people, fell upon him.

On Tab. 11 Gilgamesh unsuccessfully attempts to fight Sleep as a preliminary to overcoming Death but:

201). šit-tu ki-ma im-ba-ri i-nap-pu-uš elli(UGU)-šū
Sleep breaths on him like a fog.

Yet too deep a sleep, with its numbing effect, was regarded as oppressive and unnatural: Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 2, lines 71-2:

71). a-lu-ú zu-um-ri i-te-di-iq ğu-ba-ti
71 The slú-demon has donned my body (as) a garment.
72 Sleep covers me like a large hunting-net.

The idea of demons and diseases overwhelming men like nets or garments was a common Mesopotamian simile. Marduk's removal of this affliction is mentioned on Si 55 (BWL, pls. 13-4), rev. 11-2:

11). šit-ti la ṭa-ab-tu re-ha-a ṣa-la-[li]
12). \( ki-ma \ qu-ut-ru \ im-ma-lu-ú \ šame\(\text{-}e \) ùš-ta-r[\(\text{iq}\)]

11 Unpleasant sleep, the pouring out of slumber, 12 he took far [away] like smoke with which the heavens get filled.

1). COUNSELS OF A PESSIMIST

Obverse 17 to reverse 21 refer to bad sleep and dreams:

17). \( [a-a] \ im-qut \ a-na \ lib-\text{-}\text{ka} \ le-mut-\text{tu}_4 \ šit-\text{nu}_4 \)
18). \( [\text{qu}]\text{-}\text{i} \ \text{ú}_-\text{lu}_1 \ \text{ú} \ \text{ku}\text{-}\text{i} \ \text{ú}_-\text{ru} \ i-\text{du-uk-ka} \ šu-us-si \)
19). \( [\text{qu}]\text{-}\text{i} \ \text{ú}_-\text{lu}_1 \ \text{ú} \ \text{ku}\text{-}\text{i} \ \text{ru} \ i\text{-}\text{ban-ni} \ šu-ut-ta \)
20). \( \text{i} \text{l} u \ šut\text{ta}(MÅŠ.GE\text{6}) \ mu-lam\text{1}(šal)\text{-}\text{mi-na\text{-}at ú ši kur li\text{b-}u\text{-}uk \)
21). \( šu\text{-}\text{ut}^\text{1} \text{-} b\text{-}\text{i\text{-}ma \ lib}^\text{1} \text{-} \text{ba\text{-}ka \ . \ . \ . \ . \ .} \)

\( šu\text{-}u\text{d-}ki \)

17 [Do not let] bad sleep attack your heart! 18 Drive away stupor and depression from your body (lit., side)! 19 Stupor and depression will produce a (bad) dream. 20 Although the dream worries (lit., makes bad) ... your heart 21 remove, and [your] heart [ . . . . . . . ] ... !

(AHw 3, šuttu(m) 1, p. 1293a emended rev. 20 to \text{ins}^\text{1} MÅŠ.GE\text{6} \text{mu-ši}^\text{1}, but the writer has not come across this expression elsewhere.)

The words qūlu and kūru often occur together, along with other synonyms for "daze, worry, etc."). Passages in Šurpu indicate that such moods originated from demonic attacks: e.g., the list of woes at Tab. 7, lines 1-36 due to the dimi\text{tu}-disease, mām\text{ti} ("curse/oath"), and the ahhasz\text{u}-disease demon:

17). \( k\text{i ša.dib.} \text{ba dingir} \text{.} \text{re.e} \text{.} \text{ne.} \text{ke} \text{4 e} \text{.} \text{ne.} \text{ne. ne} \)
\( \text{sa.g.} \text{.su.mu silig.s} \text{.il.} \text{g[a} \text{a} \text{.} \text{meš]} \)
18). \( a\text{-}\text{śar ki-mi} \text{-} \text{t} \text{-} \text{ti} \text{i} \text{i} \text{(DINGIR)} \) šu-\text{nu} \ i\text{-}hi-iš-šu-\text{ma qu-la} \ i\text{-}\text{na[m-du-u]} \)
19). \( \text{lū dingir} \text{.b} \text{i an} \text{.} \text{da} \text{.} \text{ri} \text{.} \text{a} \text{gaba mu.un.re.e} \text{š tūg.} \)
\( \text{gim d} \text{.u} \text{.l} \text{a.} \text{[a} \text{.} \text{meš] \)}
20). \( a\text{-}\text{me} \text{-} \text{lu} \text{ ša .} \text{i} \text{(DINGIR)} \text{-} \text{šu} \) \text{-} \text{t} \text{-} \text{ti} \text{-} \text{šu} \text{ is-su-ú im-}
Chapter 5

*hu-ru-ma kīma(GIM) ṣu-ba-ti ik-tu-mu-šú*

17-8 They (the demons) rush to the place of divine wrath, and they inflict stupor. 19-20 They encountered the man whose personal god has withdrawn from him, and covered him like a garment.

33). lū:uš.lu.bi ु. di nīg.me.gar gâ.gâ.da.na ul4. gal tu.tu.lu.d[ê]
34). a-mē-lu ṣu-a-tu4 qu-lu ku-ru iš-šā-ki-n-šum-ma ma-gal ur-[t[a-am-mī]

33-4 Stupor (and) depression have settled upon this man, and he is enfeebled.

This passage (see also Šurpu, Tab. 5-6, lines 1-6, 11-6) suggests that qūlu and kūru were envisaged as serious conditions, more severe than might appear from *The Counsels Of A Pessimist*. The words have been translated diversely, but their general sense is of being utterly weary and devoid of all will power (M. Held [1961], pp. 16-7). It is difficult to imagine how anything as vivid as a (bad) dream could be produced by this plight. *DB*, p. 227 regarded these states in a more 'light-hearted' tone, namely, anxiety and cares produce dreams.

**B). DREAD OF DREAMS**

Several texts reveal that dread was the typical Mesopotamian reaction to any dream (examples given below). A terrifying nightmare indicated that the dreamer's personal deities were angry with him, while an awesome message dream from the gods contained depressing news, or involved toil.

i). *The Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince*, rev. 29:

29). a-gal-ti-m[al] ki-ma eṭ-li ta-pi-ik da-me šá
    ina ṣu-še-e i-di-ši-šú it-tan-al-la-ku bēî(EN)
    bir-ki ik-tūm-mu-šū-ma i-tar-[r]a?-ku lib-bu-
    u-Mū

I woke up, and like a young man who has shed blood (and) wanders alone in a marsh, whom a runner (lit., lord of the knees) has trapped, so that his heart pounds:
ii). After each of his successive dream incubation episodes, Gilgamesh exclaims: e.g., *The Epic Of Gilgamesh*, Tab. 4, line 98:

98). [ull ilu(DINGIR) e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ha-mu-ū šēru
(UZU)-ú-a

(if) a god did not pass by, why is my flesh paralysed/numbed?

iii). *ADRC*, col. III lines 41-2:

41). šutta(MAŠ.1GEš) šá ina mūši(GEš) an-né-e a-mu-ru

42). pa-l-ha-ku-ma ad-ra-ku-ma šu-ta-du-ra-ku

41 (Following) the dream which I saw during this night (i.e., last night), 42 I am afraid, and I am worried, and I am constantly terrified.

This is even though line 43 allowed for the possibility of the dream being favourable.

iv). The expression "to be deprived of sleep" prefaces a dream report on IM 52615 (corrected from IM 52265) (an Old Babylonian fragment of *The Epic Of Gilgamesh; Sumer 13* [1957], pl. 12), lines 2-3:

2). ši-ta-am ša i-li a-na-ku ek-mi-ku

3). ib-ri šu-tam a-ţú-ul

2 I myself was deprived of the sleep of the god(s). 3 My friend, I saw a dream.

Nabonidus is extremely unusual in claiming, once, on Nabonidus 4*, col. III lines 36-7:

36). ina šutti(MAŠ.GEš) i-na šat mu-ši a-na e-péš
É-ul-maš

37). tu-šab-ra-an-ni šu-ut-ti ih-di lib-bi

36-7 You (Anunnitu) caused me to see (your desire) for the (re)building of Eulmash (her temple at Sippar) in a dream during the night. My heart rejoiced at (this) dream.
1). THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN pirittu AND DREAMS

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that CT 18, pl. 14, rev. o equated pirittu, "fright", with šuttu, "dream" (p. 48). The ÉR.ŠÀ>HUN.GA-incantation K. 4637 + 5267 (OECT 6, pl. 17) (S. M. Maul [1988], No. 72) associated these two experiences on obv. 22'-3':

22'). màš.geš ní.te.na 'X1 [. . . . . . . . ]
23'). ina šu-ut-ti u pi-rit-ti [. . . . . . . . ]
22'-3' In dream and fright [. . . . . . . . ]

Gilgamesh overhears Enkidu bemoaning his fate after seeing the gods determine his death in a dream (p. 62). Gilgamesh cries out on Tab. 7, col. II lines 20-2 (O. R. Gurney [1954]):

[:]
20b) [ . . . . . ] ha-ma-a ki-ma zu-'X1[-[ . . . . ]
21a). [pu-hu₄ ma]-'a₁-du šu-ut-tu aq-rat :
21b). ana bal-ši₂-ti i-zí-bu na-sa-sa
22). [šu-ut-tu₄ ana bal-ši ni-is-sa-ta i-zib
20a [The dream] was very valuable, but the fright is great.
20b [ . . . . . ] are paralyzed, like . . [ . . . . 21a The dread? was] great, (but) the dream is valuable. 21b To a healthy [man] they (the gods) left lamentation. 22 [The dream] left grief to a healthy man.

2). AN ezib-CLAUSE IN NEO-ASSYRIAN HARUSPICAL ENQUIRIES

A selection from a corpus of ezib- clauses occurs in each of the extispicy enquiries of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. These clauses asked Shamash and Adad to "disregard" offences which might have been committed during the ritual preparations, and to grant an oracle although everything might not be correct. It is one of the rarer ezib-clauses which interests us, namely No. 7d in AGS or No. 6c in PRT:

(e-zib šá) i-na mūši(GEš) gilittu(ŠÀ.MUD/LUH-tú) pi-rit-ši/ŠÀ.MUD āmuru(IGI-ru)
(Disregard the fact that) I saw terror (or) fright during the (preceding) night.

This ezib- clause is attested in the following enquiries (complete restorations have been omitted):
This phrase could refer either to the appearance of ghosts or demons or, more probably in the light of the equivalence on CT 18, pl. 14, rev. o (p. 48), to bad dreams - it is taken as the latter by the Akkadian dictionaries. If this is the case, then the clause is valuable evidence for the claim that the Mesopotamians regarded nightmares as defiling experiences.

E. G. Klauber [PRT, p. XX] suggested that the sentence referred to wet dreams. Several writers have given the sexual connotation of "pollution (in a dream)" to gilittu, and to associated derivatives of parādu: e.g., A. Goetze's [1939, p. 16] note on parūdu in line 5. However, galātu (the verb from which gilittu derives) has the primary meaning of "to tremble, to become frightened". Also, when gilittu occurs with pirittu it
is in lists of synonyms meaning "fear, terror, etc.": e.g., KAR 234, obv. 20-1:

20). \( lu-u \ gi-lit-tu_{4} \ lu-u \ rabi{\text{su}}(m\text{\AA}skim) \ lam-nu \ lu-u \ ha-a-a-at-tu_{4} \)

21). \( lu-u \ pi-r{\text{it}}-tu_{4} \ ša \ ina \ m\text{\"u}si(G\text{\Eu}) \ ug-da-na-la{\text{\Eu}}(an)-ti[an^{-1}-nil] \)

20 Whether (it is) terror, or an evil rab\text{\text{s}u}-demon, or panic, 21 or fright which constantly terrifies [me] during the night,

It is true that \( gal\text{\={a}}tu \) does have the secondary nuance of "to have an ejaculation", but all the passages cited by the Akkadian dictionaries \([CAD \text{\ Eu} G, p. 12]\) come from Summa \={a}lu, where the verb often occurs with the phrase \( (ana \ sinni\text{\={s}t}i) \ text{\text{\={t}}e}h\text{\={a}} \), "to sexually approach a woman". Hence, this usage of \( gal\text{\={a}}tu \) is a specialized one, and is not to be assumed for its derivatives.

C. CAUSES OF NIGHTMARES

References indicating the probable origins of bad dreams have to be extracted from cuneiform texts completely outside the technical dream literature. It was extremely rare for nightmares to be considered important enough to be attributed a cause independently (although this happens on VAT 7525, col. III lines 28-35; p. 85). It will be seen that various catalogues of woes constitute our main source of information, in which unpleasant dreams are merely one of a number of disasters afflicting a person. None of the Mesopotamian producers of bad dreams was linked to a particular type of nightmare. The causes were:

i). Demons.

ii). Witchcraft.

iii). The wrath of Marduk.

iv). Ill health.

J. A. Hadfield [1954, ch. 9] discussed the modern classifications of nightmares. Most psychoanalytical Schools regard them as failed attempts at resolving conflicts within the dreamer's personality. The bad dream is the revival of the original experience, or problem, but the dreamer recoils
from it in terror, awaking before a solution is reached. So the process has to be repeated, endlessly. Alternatively, there is the physiological or heavy supper theory, which believes that all dreams are caused by indigestion, or bodily or emotional disturbances (J. A. Hadfield [1954], pp. 5-9).

1). DEMONS AND THE UNDERWORLD

No category of Mesopotamian demons was especially regarded as the cause of unpleasant dreams: we possess references to the alū-demon, the Lamashtu-demoness, and the evil šēdu-demon.

The alū-demon could either make its victim have sexual dreams (p. 101) or nightmares: CT 16, pl. 27, lines 32-3 (revised by unpublished duplicates, courtesy of M. J. Geller):

32). a.lá hul lá.u. ra ma.mú.da.gim šu bí.in.ra.ra.e.a
hē.me.en
33). MIN (i.e., alū(A.LÁ) lemnu(HUL)) šá amēla(LÚ)
ki-ma šu-ut-ti ū-šar{-[ . . . . et-ta]}

(Whether) you [are] the evil alū-demon (who) afflicts (lit., hits) a man [as in] a dream;

(M. J. Geller has withdrawn his restoration of line 33 since UHF, p. 137. The Akkadian has an unclear variant).

CT 17, pl. 25, lines 5-7 equated the personified di'ū-illness with the Lamashtu-demoness:

kū.[e]
7). ul ú-šā-as-lal ši₄-ta ul uš-ṭa₄-a-bi

5 (The di'ū-disease) is the Lamashtu-demoness, the Obliterator. 6-7 It does not let (one) sleep, nor does it make sleep pleasant (lit., good).

There are several exemplars of an incantation on an amulet directed against Lamashtu, accompanied by reliefs known from similar phylactery: e.g., KAR 76, obv. 1'-8'; SpTU 3, No. 82, col. IV lines 12-5; and H. Klengel [1959-60], Nos. 3-4, 7-8, 23, 36-7. It is not clear how the incantation and the reliefs came to be associated. Demonic activity is the
Chapter 5

problem here, not actions by the dreamer’s enemies [DB, p. 231]. A composite text is presented below:

1) ÉN šá mal-di eršīja(GIŠ.NÁ.MU) e-ti-qu
2) ú-pa-lih-an-ni ú-šag-ri-ra-an-ni
3) šunāti(MAŠ.GE6.MEŠ) pár-da-a-ti ú-kal-lim-an-ni
4) ana dBi-duh idugalli(IA.DU8.GAL) erṣetī(KI-ti)
   i-pa-qī-du-šu
5) ina qī-bit ṃiNinurta(MAŠ) aflu(IBILA) ašarēdu
   (SAG.KAL) māru(DUMU) ra-a’-mu
6) ina qī-bit ṃiMarduk a-šib É-šag-īla
7) bēl(UMUN) Bābīlī(KÁ.DINGIR)KI Gilšdalṭu(IG) u
   Gilšikkūru(SAG.KUL) lu ti-da-a
8) ki-i a-na ki-din šā ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) bēl(EN.
   MEŠ) an-de-qut TU6 ÉN

1 Incantation: "(Regarding the demon) who crossed the edge of my bed; 2 (who) frightened me (and) caused me to panic; 3 (and who) showed frightening dreams to me, 4 they delivered him (the demon) to Bīduh, the chief door-keeper of the Underworld. 5 At the command of Ninurta, the foremost heir (and) the beloved son; 6 also at the command of Marduk, who dwells in Esagila, 7 the Lord Of Babylon, may you know, (O) door and bolt, 8 that I have entered into the divine protection of the gods, my lords, (so keep the demon out of my house)." Incantation formula."

(ŠptU 3, No. 82, col. IV line 13, most unusually has pār-instead of pār- in composite line 3. Note the use of the masculine pronoun at the end of line 4, referring to the demon. The reading dBi-duh `l. DUG.GAL in line 4 follows K. Beeler [pages 14-6 in Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utiles, 1991].

The Old Babylonian collection of physiognomic omens VAT 7525 (AfO 18 (1957-8), pls. 5-9) presents us with two accounts of nightmares, ascribing them to demonic influences. These are unique in that they do
not concern ghosts or sex. Col. III lines 28-35:

28).  šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(LÚ) i-nu-ma' (giš) ša- al-lu a-
lum 1 im-ta-na-1 qū1 ta-šum

29).  ú i-ha-az-zu-ma la iš-im-mu-šu

30).  amēlu(LÚ) šu-ú 4 lamassu(LAMMA) ú še-e-du i-na

zu-1 um-ri1-šu1 ra-ki-is

31).  šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(LÚ) i-nu-ma ša-al-lu

32).  a-lum im-ta-na-qū-ta-šum

33).  ú i-ha-az-zu-ma i-še-mu-šu

34).  še-ed lu-um-nim i-na zu-um-ri-šu

35).  ra-ki-is

28 If a man, while he lies asleep, (dreams that) a town repeatedly falls upon him, 29 and he sighs, but nobody hears him - 30 A lamassu and a šēdu are bound to his body.

31 If a man, while he lies asleep, (dreams that) 32 a town repeatedly falls upon him, 33 and he sighs, and someone hears him - 34-5 A very evil šēdu is bound to his body.

These sections reveal some confusion on the part of the compiler because, normally, the pair lamassu and šēdu occur in texts as two types of benevolent spirits, as designations for the personal deities (H. Vorländer [1978], pp. 25-6). Gods could only walk (šlāku) or stand (izuzzu) at a person's side (see personal gods though; p. 123), whereas demons bound (rakāsu) themselves close to their prey, from whence they had to be expelled by exorcism, or bribed away by gifts or substitute victims. Therefore, the use of the verb rakāsu in line 30 above makes it very unlikely that this section referred to the benevolent spirits. There was also a šēdu-demon, more commonly described as "evil" (lemnu): e.g., NRFD, obv. 42.
Chapter 5

I. Demonic Dreams

Besides the fact that various demons could cause dreams, there are indications that the Mesopotamians envisaged dreams themselves and the Dream God as having a demonic aspect:

i). The charm to make dreams favourable on ADRC, col. IV lines 5-7, appears in three charm lists. Only in one of these can we tell what the other charms in the same section were aimed at. On BAM 377, col. III lines 16-8, the dream charm occurs in the sixth group with ones for the alū- and mimma lemunu-demons.

ii). The dream vision of SpTU 2, No. 21 is addressed on obv. 16-21 in terms reminiscent of demons. The queen of the Underworld, Ereshkigal, is asked to separate this apparition from the petitioner. The ritual burying of the substitute figurine is related to those intended to ward off demons and ghosts (pp. 250-1).

iii). One name for the Dream God was Zaqiqu/Ziqiqu, and there was a category of demons called zaqīqu, who dwelled in the Underworld (pp. 112-3).

iv). The medical text ND 4368 (pp. 114-5) places Zaqiqu alongside other demons as an agent of illness, commissioned by the great divine triad.

v). The incantation addressed to the Dream God as Anzagar on ADRC, col. IV lines 8-13, invokes him by terms more suited to a demon, or an Underworld deity.

vi). The lexical text erim.huš = anantu, Tab. 1 line 216 (p. 118) presents Anzagar in a section dealing with different demons.

vii). Anzagar is invoked together with Shamash, Ea, and the Underworld deities Ereshkigal and Ninazu on K. 2175 +, col. I lines 58'-62', in a ritual directed against ghosts.

In addition, a possible (but unclear) connection between the dead and dreams is given by the Mari letter edited by C. Wilcke [1986], which ordered the presentation of a specific kispu-offering after someone had seen a dream. Obv. 3 to lower edge 7:
3) \( a-na \ 'kî1-is-pî-im \)
4) \( ša \ šarrāni(LUGAL.MEŠ) \ i-nu-ma \)
5) \( m\text{dDa-gan-na-ah-mi} \)
6) \( šu-ut-am \)
7) \( i-mu-ru \)

3 (N amounts of bread, beer, and flour) for the kispu-offering 4 of the kings, because 5 Dagan-nahmi 6-7 saw a dream.

This was an unusual occurrence, because such offerings to the dead were normally made in the month Abu (A. Tsukimoto [1985], pp. 42-51). (Note that the dream report A. 15 (RA 42 [1948], pp. 128, 130), rev. 50-2, states that the dreamer was going to offer a pagrum-sacrifice to Dagan. pagrum means "corpse", and W. L. Moran [ANEt3, p. 623, n. 81 suggested that this may have been a sacrifice associated with the cult of the dead; see also ARMT 21, p. 160-1, n. 20 on the Mari ritual pagrā'um)

II. Connections Between Nergal And Dreams

The lipṣu-r-litany IM 67638 (D. J. Wiseman [1969]) lists the entourages of various deities, including that of Nergal at lines 36'-9'. Unusually, it places the Dream God Mamu in Nergal's retinue, instead of that of Shamash (p. 106):

36'). \( ^{d}Nergal(U.GUR) \ lip-ṣur \ ina \ É-mes-lam \)
37'). \( ^{d}Ma-am-me-tu\text{4} \ lip-ṣur \ šar-rat \ Kutti(GŪ.DU₈, A)K \)
38'). \( ^{d}Ma-mû \ lip-ṣur \ bēl(EN) \ šunāti(MĀŠ.GE₈.MEŠ) \)
39'). \( ^{d}I-ṣum \ lip-ṣur \ sukkāl(SUKKAL) \ ^{d}Nergal(U.GUR) \)

36' May Nergal, (dwelling) in Emeslam, absolve! 37' May Mammetu, the queen of Kutha, absolve! 38' May Mamu, the lord of dreams, absolve! 39' May Ishum, the vizier of Nergal, absolve!

The tablet IV. R. 24, No. 1 uses the simile of a dream when describing Nergal's powers: lines 52'-4':

52'). \( [dnlē.eri\text{11}.gal \ ur1.\text{sag} \ s\text{u}[san].\text{bi} \)
53'). \( [ša.\text{å}.\text{ål}] \text{u nam.kala.ga.a.ni rib.ba}l \ ma.[mûl.} \)
\( \text{gim za.ra. nu mu.[...]} \)
54').  [git-ma]-lu šá dan-nu-us-su šu-tu-qat ki-ma
šu-fut1-ti ina 'ger-ri' [. . . . ]

52' O Nergal, the noble hero, 53'-4' whose power/strength
is surpassing!  Like a dream he cannot [. . . . ] through/
at the door-pivot.

It is frustratingly typical of our sources that the verb referring to
"dream" is missing in both the Akkadian and Sumerian.  J. Böllenrücher
[1904, p. 30, his lines 46-8] suggested that perhaps the silence of the
dream as it approached the bed was meant.  However, the references in
CAD §, šerru A, p. 137b, where demons are represented as passing through
the door-pivot, together with the previous statement regarding Nergal's
invincibility, indicates that doors were not barriers to demons, diseases,
and dreams.  DB, p. 234 proposed the restoration MU.[UN.G14], "he cannot
[be stopped]" for line 52'.

III. Sleep And Death

In Akkadian the verbs of lying down, nálu(NÁ) and šalālu, describe
both sleeping and being dead.  The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 10, col. VI
line 33 has occasionally been taken to denote a close correspondence
between Sleep and Death - in Greek mythology Hypnos and Thanatos were
sons of Nyx/Night.  CAD §, šallu, p. 74a read:

33).  sal(or šal)-lu ū mītu ki aḫāmeš [šunu]

How alike are the sleeper(?) and the dead!

However, the first sign is definitely šal-, and its value sal is not otherwise
attested in šallu.

Instead, it seems that the state of death is being compared to a
prison, not sleeping (see W. G. Lambert [1980], pp. 53-7, his lines 25-7):

33).  šal-lu ū mi-tu4 ki-i a-ha-meš-[ma]
34).  šá mu-ti ū is-ši-ru ša-la(m-šú]
35).  lullū(LÚ.U.18'LÚ1-û) amēlu(LÚ) e-di{l :}

33 The prisoner and the dead person are alike, [but]
34 Death's likeness cannot be drawn, 35 (yet) lullū, (i.e.,)
man, is locked up.
2). WITCHCRAFT

There are several terms denoting witches and wizards in Akkadian, the majority deriving from the verbs epēsu, "to do", and kašāpu, "to bewitch". References to sorcerers abound in incantations, legal documents, and letters from the Old Babylonian period onwards. (See M.-L. Thomson [1987] for a review of witchcraft practices and aversion rites in the Neo-Assyrian period.) A special series, Maqlû, was developed to combat sorcery (I. T. Abusch [1974] and [1987]).

Despite all the apparent evidence, it is probable that, as in other societies, witchcraft was more commonly used as an explanation for calamities than was really practised. Such beliefs present a reason for everything that has happened, and cannot be proved or disproved. Also, it does not matter whether or not the sufferer is a victim of actual sorcery, because his confidence in its existence and efficacy will cause him to sicken due to physiological disorders brought on by stress. Guilt can produce similar effects, supporting the Mesopotamian view that enchantment was effective only in the absence of the personal deities.

1 SpTU 2, No. 22

SpTU 2, No. 22 is a Seleucid text containing charms to deal with various misfortunes, some of which mention dreams and witchcraft (see ch. 15 for charms directly related to dreams).

a). Column I Lines 30'-8'

These lines give instructions for making a charm when zerūtu (HUL. G1G) was performed against the sufferer on the 4th. of Abu. zerūtu literally means "hatred", and became a synonym for witchcraft, perhaps even denoting a particular category. The month Abu (July-August) was associated with the Underworld, thus a month especially potent for witchcraft, and also for rituals against ghosts and witches. One of the anticipated effects of this charm was:

35'). šunāti (MĀŠ. GEŠ.MEŠ) idammīqā (SIGô.MEŠ)

(His) dreams will become favourable.
indicating a possible connection between bad dreams and enchantment.
b). Column I Lines 39'-46'

Line 39' summarizes and repeats the list of woes of col. I lines 16'-'25' (see p. 96 for the dream references in lines 19'-21'), going on to claim that these ills were the result of sorcery:

\[39'] \text{summa(DIS) amēlu(NA) gi-na-}ā \text{šu-du}r \text{ŠU.BI.AŠ.} \]
\[\text{AM amēlu(NA) ŠU(BI) kiš-pi ep-šu-ūṣ} \]

If a man is constantly frightened; ditto - Witchcraft is being practised against that man.

Col. I line 44' presents the ritual result:

\[44') \text{sūnu(MAŠ.GE₆.ME₅) lemētu(HUL.ME₅) idētu(A.} \]
\[\text{ME₅) ittētu(GISKIM.ME₅) idammīqā(ISG₅.ME₅)} \]

The bad dreams, the (unfavourable) happenings (and) signs will become favourable.

c). Column II Lines 3'-16'

This section is another list of woes. Lines 12'-6' mention that the sufferer's nightmares:

\[12') \text{sūnu(MAŠ.GE₆.ME₅)pār-da} \]
\[13') \text{insūtt(MAŠ.GE₆)-šu mēttūtī(UŠ.ME₅) i-dag-gal} \]

12' His dreams are frightening; 13' he looks at dead people in his dream(s);

were due to one of two causes:

\[15') \text{amēlu(LU) ŠU(BI) qāt(ŠU) amēlūtī(NAM.LU.U₁₈.} \]
\[\text{LU) kīmīlīti(DIB-ti) } \text{Marduk} \]
\[16') \text{irēddū(UŠ)-šu} \]

15' 'The Hand Of Mankind' (and/or) the divine wrath of Marduk 16' pursue (i.e., persecute) that man.

qāt amēlūtī [AHw 3, Sunamlullukku, p. 1276bl is hardly attested as an illness in TDP, only at p. 176, lines 1-4. R. Labat [TDP, p. 177, n. 30] claimed that this ailment was caused by witchcraft, as implied by its name, "The Hand Of Mankind", and its usage in SpTU 2, No. 22. However, this equation still has to be proved. (See pp. 92-4 on the effects of Marduk's wrath).
Chapter 5

II. AMT 86/1

The medical text AMT 86/1 describes the symptoms indicating that a man has been bewitched, along with the relevant prescriptions. Col. II lines 3-7 enumerate the following symptoms:

3). šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) qaqqad(SAG.DU)-su iš-ša- na-bat-su šit-t[a . . . ]

4). šunātu(MĀS.GE₅.MEŠ)-ṣū pár-da ina šit-ti-ṣū
   iq-b[li] [ . . . ]

5). bir-[k]a₁-ṣu ka-si-a ba-ma-as-su šim-[a-tu (X X)]

6). šīrē(UZ[U].<MEŠ>)-[ṣu₁] ru-ti-ib-ītal im-ta-
   [na-al-lu-u]

7). amēlu(LŪ) ū[ī(B1)] ka-ši-ip

If a man's head constantly afflicts him; (in his) sleep [ . . . ]; his dreams are frightening; he spoke in his sleep [ . . . ]; his knees are paralyzed; his chest has paralysis; (and) his skin (lit., flesh) is constantly covered with moisture - That man is bewitched.

(DB, p. 230 restored "he has pollutions repeatedly) in his sleep" for line 4.)

III. Assur Photo 4129 (ArOr 17 [1949], pp. 190-2)

This tablet contains rituals to perform if a man has enemies, and which are similar to those directed against witches. Obv. 1-13 lists the favourable effects which will occur after the performance, suggesting that the reciprocal states are present as a result of the enemies' activities. Obv. 13:

13). šunātu(MĀŠ.GE₅.MEŠ)-ṣū a-na dummuqi(SIG₅)
   His dreams (will turn) to very favourable (ones).

IV. LKA 155

LKA 155 (duplicated by K. 3394 (ŠRT, pl. 7) + K. 9896) is a ritual against sorcery. Dreams are mentioned in a broken passage on rev. 8-10, as part of a list of calamities afflicting the sufferer as a result of his bewitchment.
V. Maqlû, Table 7

Despite the above connections between sorcery and nightmares, there are only two mentions of dreams in Maqlû. Both these come from Table 7, and show no special awareness of this link. In line 123 one item in a catalogue of disasters is:

123). \( \text{lumun(HUL) sunašti(MAŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) idašti(A.MEŠ)} \)
\( \text{ittāti(GISKIM.MEŠ) lemmēti(HUL.MEŠ) la ṭābāti} \)
\( \text{(DUG.GA.MEŠ)} \)

The evil of bad (and) unpleasant dreams, ominous happenings (and) signs.

Then, in a passage asking for favours and the averting of the enchantment, line 174 has:

174). \( [\text{sunašt(MAŠ.GEš)}] e-mu-ru ana damiqti(SIGš-ši)} \)
\( liš-šak-na \)

May [the dream] which I saw become favourable (lit., be placed as to good luck)!

3). The Wrath of Marduk

We saw on page 90 that Marduk’s wrath could cause bad dreams. Therefore, it is perhaps surprising that there are only a few examples of Marduk/Asalluhi being invoked in dream incantations (Table 5 on pp. 188–9), with the predominant deity being Shamash. Šurpu, Tab. 4, lines 21–2 mentions Marduk’s power in relation to dreams, but other deities are similarly credited (pp. 208–10, 212):

21). \( \text{šutti(MAŠ.GEš) lemutti(HUL-ti) du-um-mu-qu bu} \)
22). \( \text{lumun(HUL) sunašti(MAŠ.GEš.MEš) idašti(A.MEš)} \)
\( \text{ittāti(GISKIM.MEš) ana amēli(LU)} la ṭeẖē(TE-e) \)
\( \text{bu} \)
\( (bu = \text{line } 2: \text{bul-lu-tu šul-lu-mu Smartyt it-ti-ka-ma, “It is within your power, O Marduk, to heal and preserve;”}) \)

21 to make favourable a bad dream \( \text{bu}; \)
22 not to (allow) the evil of dreams, ominous happenings (and) signs come near to a man (i.e., affect him) \( \text{bu}. \)
The prime example of the effects of Marduk's anger is the literary composition *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, also known as The Poem Of The Righteous Sufferer. The narrator of this tale of woe is the Kassite 'noble' Shubshimeshre-shakkan. Tablet 1 presents the indignities inflicted upon him by humans. Tablet 2 deals with the enigma of the Righteous Sufferer, going on to record the attacks of disease demons, and the inability of the relevant ritual experts to cope with them. The sufferer's plight is the result of Marduk's inexplicable hostility, although the blame is indirectly apportioned through fear of blasphemy. Tablet 3 contains three 'dreams' by which the victim is cured, and he begins to recover physically and socially. This theme is continued on various fragments, which may or may not form Tablet 4.

The phrases concerning dreams are:

i). Tab. 1, line 54:

54). *at-til-ma ina šat mu-šu šu-ut-ti pár-da-at*

I lay down, and my dream was frightening during the night.

ii). Tab. 3, lines 7-8:

7). *[u]l[r-ra u mu-šú iš-te-niš a-na-at[s-su-us]*

8). *šuttu(MĀŠ.GEš) mu-na-at-tú mál-ma-liš šu-um-r[u-ša-ku]*

7. I wail day and night alike. 8. [I am] equally wretched (in) dream (or) waking dream.

Analogous lists of calamities to those in Tablets 1-2 occur in the catalogues of woes prefaces some rituals, leading one to wonder about the possible use of standard passages in Mesopotamian literary compositions. In addition, two fragmentary texts bear a close resemblance to parts of the first two tablets of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* in their description of the effects of divine wrath. K. 4837 (IV. R. 22, No. 2) + K. 4927 ascribe the calamities to Marduk in line 3' and, although the name of the deity is missing in K. 2765, we can probably blame Marduk again.

i). S. M. Maul [1988, pp. 331-3] included the bilingual incantation to Marduk K. 4837 (IV. R. 22, No. 2) + K. 4927 in his collection of ÉR.SÀ.HÜNGÁŠ, or laments intended to appease a specific wrathful deity. Lines 4'-7':

4'). *[ud.da 1]b.ta.sùh.sùh geš.da ib.[1]ü1.[1]ù
During the day he is confused, (whilst) throughout the night he is perturbed, and he is frightened by dreams.

ii. K. 2765 (BWl, pl. 19), obv. 7':

7' at-til-ma ina šat mu-ši šu-ut-ti i pardat?}

7' I lay down, and during the night [my] dream was frightening?

4). ILL HEALTH

I. Medical Texts

Some fragmentary passages from the straightforward medical texts, as distinct from the lists of woes, provide us with examples of nightmares as a minor symptom of ill health. One should remember that diseases themselves were caused by demons, divine wrath, or witchcraft.

BAM 155 enumerates prescriptions for symptoms caused by qāt etemmi, 'The Hand Of A Ghost' (AHw 3, šugidimmaku, p. 1260a). A reference to the appearance of dead men and dreams occurs in col. II lines 2'-3':

2'). mḭtti(ŪŠ.MEŠ) Itanammar(IG1.MEŠ) šunāti(MAŠ.
GEš.MEŠ) i-na-aš?-[ṭal? . . . . ]

3'). ū qāt(ŠU) eṭimme(GIDIM) kim-te-šū

2' He repeatedly sees dead men, he sees? dreams [[- This is due to] . . . . ] 3' and 'The Hand Of A Ghost Of His Family'.

It is appropriate that 'The Hand Of A Ghost' should make its victim see dead men (in dreams?).

AMT 86/1 has already been discussed under the heading of witchcraft (p. 91). The close interrelation between nightmares and the dreamer's health is not necessarily illustrated by this text, as DB, p. 230 claimed, because of the association with sorcery.

The colophon of AMT 79/1 (p. 104) is important because it reveals that a tablet, or at least part of a tablet, containing prescriptions for
(unfavourable) dream content belonged to the medical corpus.

ND 4368 (pp. 114-5) presents the Dream God Zaqiqu acting as an agent of disease alongside other demons. He is also ascribed his own illness, qāt 4Zaqiqi, but this is no indication of his importance, because so were many other deities and demons (see the list of 'Hand' diseases in TDP, pp. XXII-XXIII).

II. Good Health And Pleasant Dreams

The following passages illustrate the connection envisaged by the Mesopotamians between good health and pleasant dreams:

i). PBS 7, No. 17, rev. 22-5:

22). a-[nla-ku ša-al-ma-ku
23). ū a-wi-lum ša-li-im
24). ū šu-na-[tu]-ú-a
25). [mla-[di-iš] [di]-am-qâ

22 I myself am well, 23 and the man (i.e., my boss) is well, 24 and my dreams 25 are very favourable.

ii). K. 3994 + 4173 (Kraus No. 54) + K. 5939 + 6214 + 8507 (Kraus No. 59), col. 11 line 17:

17). summa(DİŚ) šu-na-tu-ú-a dam-qa rābiš(MÂŞKIM1)

šul-me amēli(NA) [X] 'X'

If (a man says,) 'My dreams are favourable' - The overseer of health of the man [is present?].

(The joins have been made since F. R. Kraus' edition [1936, No. 6]. The "overseer of health" is a designation of the personal deity; pp. 128-34.)

iii). See also LAS 217, rev. 1-3 (pp. 289-90)

The dream apodoses in The Dream-Book concerning death and ill health form part of the Mesopotamian omen tradition, see the discussion by U. Jeyes [1980] on similar apodoses on Old Babylonian haruspical tablets.
CHAPTER 6: SPECIFIC TYPES OF NIGHTMARES

The ailment list SpTU 2, No. 22, col. 1 lines 19'-21' enumerates the different types of Mesopotamian nightmares:

19'). šunāti(MAŠ.GEŠ,MEŠ)-šū lemna(HUL,MEŠ) ina šutti
       (MAŠ.GEŠ)-šū mīmmūti(ŪŠ,MEŠ) Itanammar(IGI,MEŠ)
       ḫIp(GAZ) lib-bi iršu(TUK-šū)
20'). šuttu(MAŠ.GEŠ) Ini(IGI) là šabaṭat(DAB-āt) ina
       šutti(MAŠ.GEŠ)-šū kīna(GIM) šā itti(KI) sinništi
       (MĪ) uš-ta-hu(ri)
21'). urihūt(A.RI,A)-šū i-ṣar-ru-ru

19'. His dreams are bad; he repeatedly sees dead people in his dream(s); he panics; 20' (his) dream does not seize the eye; in his dream(s he is) like one who has sex with a woman, 21' and his sperm flows out;

It is not clear what is meant by the dream not seizing the eye; perhaps it refers to forgetting one's dreams, a particular contribution of the angry personal deities (p. 124).

A). THE APPEARANCE OF DEAD PEOPLE OR GHOSTS IN DREAMS

In many other societies the sensation of heavy pressure on the chest experienced during nightmares is attributed to a ghost touching the dreamer while he is asleep. Mesopotamian ghosts, on the other hand, did not cause bad dreams, although their appearance in a dream was considered unpleasant.

Thus, a frequent complaint in the lists of woes which mention dreams is that:

\[ ina \; šutti(MAŠ.GEŠ)-šū \; mīmmūti(ŪŠ,MEŠ) \; Itanammar(IGI,IGI-\; mar/IGI,MEŠ) \]
He repeatedly sees dead people in his dreams

This phrase occurs on:

i). BAM 315, col. III line 5 (with the plural [MĀŠ].GE₆.MES).

ii). BAM 316, col. II line 8'.

iii). BM 64174, line 4 (courtesy of M. J. Geller).

iv). SpTU 2, No. 22, col. I line 19'.

v). SpTU 2, No. 22, col. II line 13' (with i-dag-gal, "he looks at", instead of amāru).

vi). STT 95 + 295, col. III line 133 (the mi on the copy is to be corrected to IG!IG!-{mar}).

vii). STT 256, obv. 5.

The possibility of seeing dead people, even one's deceased father or mother, is described in a dream incantation on ADRC, col. II lines 2-4:

2). kir-bi-a-an] lumun(HUL) šutti(MĀŠ.GE₆) barārītī
   (EN.NUN.AN.USÁN) qaššīṭāt(EN.NUN.MURUB₄.[BA]) šāt
   urri(EN.NUN.U₄.ZAL.LA³)

3). a-mu-ru a-tam-ma-ru abī(AD.MU) mīta(UGī-ta) a-mu-
   [r]u um-mi mi'-ṭal a-mu-ru

4). ila(DINGIR) <āmuru(IGI)> šarāa(LUGAL) āmuru(IGI)
   kabta(IDIM) āmuru(IGI) rubā(NU) a-mu-ru mīta
   (AD₆) āmuru(IGI) Lūbas-ta(TI) āmuru(IGI)

2-3 O Clod, the evil of the dream which I saw, which I saw repeatedly (during) the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch - (in) which I saw my dead father; (or in) which I saw my dead mother; 4 (or in) which I saw a god; (or in) which I saw the king; (or in) which I saw an important person; (or in) which I saw a prince; (or in) which I saw a dead person; (or in) which I saw a living person;

This passage is repeated in an abbreviated form on ADRC, col. III lines 29-30.

1). "DEAD PEOPLE" AND "GHOSTS"

Many Mesopotamian rituals are devoted either to repelling visits from ghosts (studied by J. Bottéro [1983] and J. A. Scurlock [1988]), or to
curing illnesses supposedly caused by ghostly attacks. The former group uses the terms mītu, "dead people", and etimmu, "ghost", apparently interchangeably, whereas the catalogues of woes only mention "dead people". One wonders if the Mesopotamians drew any distinctions between these two words.

The predominant use of mītu was as an adjective to describe people and animals, which was extended to become a noun, thus "a dead person", mītu(AD), appeared to "a living man", Lūbalṭu(Tl). mītu is thought to refer to an ethereal form of a deceased person, when it occurs with etimmu, "ghost", not to corpses rising up from their graves. Therefore, mītu is a collective term describing people who are not alive, whether they be corpses or spirits.

_TDP_, p. 124, line 26 presents the distinction the Mesopotamians made between dead people and ghosts when an illness is diagnosed as:

26). etimmu(GIDIM) ār-da-na-an mīti(UŠ) [iṣbat(DAB)-su]

A ghost, the likeness of a dead person, [(has) seized him].

The same diagnosis occurs in _TDP_, p. 88, line 6; p. 108, line 20; and p. 158, line 17. ardanānu/dinānu is used to denote a substitute figurine in exorcistic rituals (see _CAD_ D, dinānu, pp. 148-50 for examples). Thus, etimmu signifies a wraith, which may return to visit the living when they are awake or asleep.

A ghost arose from the Underworld to torment those alive in revenge for the cessation of funerary offerings (kispu, discussed extensively in A. Tsukimoto [1985]) on which it was dependent. It was an unfair fact of Mesopotamian life that not only was a person responsible for the deceased of his family (see M. Bayliss [1973]), but that spectres could return to anyone with whom they had been associated while alive (CT 16, pls. 10-1, col. V lines 34-53). Mesopotamian ghosts were demonic, and were not dispelled by daylight: _BMS_ 53, obv. 6'-8':

6'). 4Šamaš(UTU) etimmu(GIDIM) mu-pal-li-hi ša iš-tu
  'u-mi ma-a'-du-ti

7'). arki(EGIR)-ia rak-su-ma lā īpaṭṭaru (DUŠ\(^1\)-ru)

8'). ina kal u₄-mi irteneddi(UŠ.UŠ)-an-ni ina kal mūši
    (GE₆) up-ta-na-`lah\(^1\)-an-ni
O Shamash! The ghost, the one who frightens me which has been bound to my back for many days, and will not be loosened, 8' constantly pursues me all through the day, (and) repeatedly frightens me throughout the night.

At times the utukku(UDUG)-demon has the nuance of "ghost" (its logogram is often confused with GIDIM: e.g., The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 12, line 84 (p. 113) and UHF, line 512), as does the zaqīgu-demon (pp. 112-3), and it is not clear how these demon-ghosts were differentiated from the ghost par excellence, the ēšimmu.

2). DREAMS AND DREAM GODS IN GHOST RITUALS

We mentioned on page 70 the blurring of reality levels which occurred when certain objects or incidents seen in dreams were treated as if they had happened in the waking world. One example is the rituals designed to cope with ghosts seen in dreams (see pp. 103-4 for other instances), as mentioned on:

i). K. 2781, line 2:
2). ina šutti(MĀŠ.GE₆) itti(KI) annanna(NENNI) mār(A) annanna(NENNI) lā tatār(GUR)-ma
You will not return in a dream to (lit., with) X, the son of Y.

ii). KAR 21, rev. 7-20 begins with a fragmentary incantation addressed to Utu, "the king of the ghosts". A ritual follows in lines 11-8, whose title (line 11) mentions someone repeatedly seeing dead people. Rev. 19-20 contain another incantation to Shamash:
19). āššamaš(UTU) āš-šum annanna(NENNI) mār(A) annanna (NENNI) šā šunāti(MĀŠ.GE₆.MEŠ)-šú pár-da
20). i-da-tu-šú lem-na dal-ha-ma la ṣē-ṭir
19 O Shamash! On account of X, the son of Y, whose dreams are frightening, 20, whose omens are unfavourable, confused, and (The remainder is) uninscribed (lit., it is not written).

Ghost have been appearing to someone, but whether in a dream or not is unclear, though line 19 suggests this possibility.
iii). See also K. 2175 +, col. II lines 22'-3' (p. 50) where a ghost was confronting the sufferer in dreams and waking dreams (munattu).

Two ghost rituals on K. 2175 + call upon the Dream God Anzagar in difficult Sumerian incantations. Col. I line 25' (duplicated by K. 2415, line 5) mentions Anzagar together with Shamash and Asalluhi. In col. I lines 58'-62' Anzagar is invoked alongside Shamash, Ea, and the Underworld deities Ereshkigal and Ninazu. (See pp. 83-8 for other connections between dreams, demons, and the Underworld.)

B). SEXUAL DREAMS

Remembering that bad dreams are rarely described in the cuneiform sources, the several mentions we have of sexual dreams, predominantly 'wet dreams', are important. A modern reader may dispute the classification of such dreams as nightmares, but in Mesopotamia the inability to control one's sexual desires was regarded as a deplorable state of affairs. A man who had (premature) ejaculations was in a state of sin: CT 39, pl. 45, line 28:

27). šumma(DIŠ) aemelu(NA) gi-na-a ig-da-na-lut aemelu
  (NA) ŠŪ(B1) lā ēllu(SIKIL) hi-ța ma-gal irtašši
  (TUK)

If a man constantly has ejaculations – That man is impure; he has a serious (lit., exceedingly) sin.

STT 95 + 295, col. I lines 16-8 (duplicated by BAM 205, lines 19'-21'), indicates that this affliction was due to the divine wrath of Marduk or Ishtar:

16). šumma(DIŠ) aemelu(NA) īna majāli(KI.NÁ)šū
  igdannallu(LUH.LUH-ut) libba(ŠÁ)šū ē-šu-u īna
  majāli(KI.NÁ)šū rihūt(A.RI.A)su  īlāk(GIN-saš)
17). aemelu(NA) ŠŪ(B1) kimilti(DI8-ti) dMarduk
18). u lāš-tár eli(UGU)-šū ibrešši(GAL-šši)

16 If a man constantly has ejaculations (in) his bed; his heart is troubled in his bed; (and) his sperm flows forth –
17-8 The divine wrath of Marduk and Ishtar is upon that man.

Whereas CT 16, pl. 27, lines 18-23 (supplemented by unpublished duplicates, courtesy of M. J. Geller) suggest that wet dreams were the work of the alū-demon:

18). [a.lâ] hul `ki.nā ges.a lû1 û.sâ.ta `in.ûr1.ra.
     us.a hé.me.en
19). MIN (i.e., alū(A.LÁ) lemnu(HUL)) śā ina ma-a-a-al
     mu-ši amēla(LÚ) ina šit-ti i-re-e(h-hlu-û at-ta
20). a.lâ hul û.sâ kar.kar.re lû.a tûm.mu.dê in.gub.
     gub.bu.us.a hé.me.en
21). MIN e-kim šit-ti śâ amēli(LÚ) ana ta-ba-li iz-za-
     az-zu at-tû
22). a.lâ hul dingir ges.a gin.gin šu pil.lâ nî nu te.
     us.a1 hé.me.en
23). MIN ilu(DINGIR) mut-tal-lik mu-ši śâ qa-ti lu-‘a-
     a-ti la5ah-hu-tu at-tû

18-9 You are the evil alū-demon, who has sex with a man during (his) sleep, in (his) bed at night. 20-1 You are the evil alū-demon, the one who takes away sleep, (and) who stands (ready) to carry (it) away from a man. 22-3 You are the evil alū-demon, the (evil) god who roams around at night, who does not shy away from unclean hand(s).

Šumma alū contains omens dealing with sexual matters, three of which concern wet dreams, and have conflicting apodoses:

i). CT 39, pl. 44, line 9:
9). šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) ina mûši(‘GEš1) iṭhi(TE)-ma
     ina šutti(MÂš.GEš)-šû ni-il-šû bul-lul amēlu(NA)
     šû(B1) šīta(ZI.GA) irašši(TUK)

If a man has an erection during the night and, as a result of his dream, he is bespattered by his semen - That man will have a loss.

This is a good example of the symbolic associations in some Mesopotamian omens: semen flows out, so losses will occur; also of the paranomastic element (surrounding ZI.GA
here), because the potency incantations were called 
ŠÀ.ZLGA = niš libbi, "rising of the heart".

ii). CT 39, pl. 45, lines 25-7:

25). šumma(DIS) a mêlu(NA) ištî(TE)-ma ina mûši(GE6)-šû 
       ig-lut a mêlu(NA) šû(B1) šîta(Z1.GA) kabitta(DUGUD) 
       incaw.(IGI-mar)

26). šumma(DIS) a mêlu(NA) ina šutti(MÅŠ.GE6)-šû MIN 
       (i.e., ig-lut)-ma ni-il-šû bul-lul

27). a mêlu(NA) šû(B1) damîqa(NÎG.SÎGsa-tas) {tas} 
       nêmela(Á.TUKU) irâšşı(TUK)-šî

25 If a man has an erection, and during the night has an 
ejaculation - That man will experience (lit. see) a heavy 
loss.

26 If a man has an ejaculation as a result of his dream, 
and is bespattered by his semen - 27 That man will have 
good luck (or) profit.

Despite the alternative favourable apodosis, sexual dreams normally were 
taken as unpropitious, as is indicated by the tablet K. 2315 + 3125 + 83-1- 
18, 469 (A. L. Oppenheim [1959]). Lines 56-90 enumerate various 
unfavourable omens which the petitioner requests the deities to dispel from 
him. Lines 83-6:

83). šûnâti(MÅŠ.GE6.MESI) pár-da-e-tî lu-u a š-f tulî 
       lu-u i-t-û-lu-û-nîl

84). ittâti(GISKIH.MESI) lem-nî-a-tî lu-û a-tam-marî 
       lu-u i-tam-ma-ru-û-nîl

85). šûnâti(MÅŠ.GE6.MESI) pår-da-e-tû lu-û i-tam- 
       mar-ru-nî ina1 šutti(MÅŠ.GE6)-ia ana ummî(AMA) 
       laš ha-ni-tî-fia

86). ana {ummî(AMA)} e1-mi-ti<ia> ana a-ha-ti-ia lu- 
       u a-f hiî

83 Whether I or those (of my family) have seen frightening 
dreams; 84 whether I or they repeatedly see unfavourable 
omens; 85-6 whether I see frightening 
dreams; whether in my dream(s) I have sex with my
mother, my begetter, (or) with <my> mother-in-law, (or)
with my sister.

A fragmentary reference to a sexual dream also occurs on CT 39, pl. 36, line 109:

109). šuma(DIŠ) MIN (i.e., amēlu(NA)) ina šutti(MAš. GEš)-šū anā sinništī(MI) iṯi(TE)-ma 'X' [ . . .
. . . . . ]

If a man sexually approached a woman in his dream. [. . .
. . . . . ]

The bad dreams recorded on VAT 7525, col. III lines 28-35 were mentioned on page 85.

O. RITUALS CONCERNED WITH DREAM CONTENT

We possess three rituals concerned with nightmarish dream content, instead of with the possible adverse effects of any bad dream:

i). K. 2175 +, col. IV lines 13-4 presents a charm to prevent seeing dead people in dreams (p. 255).

ii). SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. aims to separate a recurrent demonic dream apparition from the sufferer.

iii). 81-2-4, 166 contains a ritual intended to purify the dreamer from the witchcraft action of earth being thrown over him in a dream and his subsequent abandonment by the god. DB, p. 307 regarded this dream as a clairvoyant one (pp. 59-62); while this is possible, it seems to be a nightmare.

The last two are the most complex apotropaic dream ceremonies we possess, with detailed titles, the presentations of offerings to a deity (Shamash), and involve the use of substitute figurines.

The titles of two more dream rites mention dreams within dreams, and so were probably intended to deal with dream content:

i). ADRC, col. III lines 59-60:

59). šumma(DIŠ) šutta(MAš. GEš) ina libbi(ŠA) šutti (MÂš. GEš) tmar(IGI)-ma ip-šur 'am-mar1 damqaṭ (1ŠAš1) u pašrat(BÜR-at)
60). *ana damiqti*(SIG₅) u *lemutti*(HUL) NU 'X X'

59. If he saw a dream within a dream, and he interpreted whatever was favourable or able to be interpreted -

60. (The dream) will not affect him for good or evil.

ii).  K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, line 24'.

24'). [*šumma*(DIŠ) *<amēlu*(LŪ) > *inašutti*(MĀŠ.GE₆) -šū Šutta(MĀŠ.GE₆) *lemutta*(HUİL-ta) ili-ţul anašū (ina) là *kašādi*(SĀ.SÄ) -šū

[If <a man> saw a bad dream (in) his dream - In order that its evil) does not reach him:

The fragment *AMT 79/1* forms the colophon of a large tablet of the effects of mšittu upon various parts of the body. It cites the incipit of an unknown tablet, which seems to have listed remedies for seeing people and/or objects in dreams: col. IV line 47':

47'). *šumma*(DIŠ) *amēlu*(NA) šutti(MĀŠ.GE₆) -šū 'X X' [...]

... ] *Itanamar* ('IGI.IGI-mar)

If a man repeatedly sees [... ] in his dream(s)

*DB*, p. 230 suggested the restoration "[dead people]. This is certainly a possibility, but there is the alternative of a recurrent dream apparition, as on *SpTU 2*, No. 21 (see obv. 1-2). The former reference shows that a tablet (or part of one) which enumerated rituals for dream content belonged to the medical corpus.
CHAPTER 7: THE MESOPOTAMIAN DREAM GODS

The fact that one dreams without any conscious activity (see pp. 45-6 on lucid or waking dreams) led the Mesopotamians to the view that dreams were caused by an external power, which was sometimes benevolent, sometimes malevolent. This attitude persists today, with several psychoanalysts recording the necessity of convincing patients that their dreams originate within themselves.

In chapter 4 we saw that various Mesopotamian deities sent message dreams (e.g., Anunnitu, Shamash, Sin), and in chapter 5 we discussed the different causes of nightmares (demons, divine wrath, ill health, and witchcraft). For some reason the Mesopotamians also developed the concept of a Dream God (in fact, the sources provide us with four names), yet his functions are ill-defined, and he is rarely mentioned in the technical dream literature.

A). 𒀭MA.MÚ

The normal logogram for șuttu, "dream", in the Akkadian texts is MĂŠ.GE₆, but there are a few cases where MA.MÚ.(D) is used instead:

i). K. 4837 (IV. R. 22, No. 2) + K. 4927, line 6' (p. 94).

ii). IV. R. 24, No. 1, line 53' (p. 87).

iii). ADRC, col. Ill line 3c.

iv). 79-7-8, 77 obv. 26 (manuscript f) offers this alternative logogram in the rubric on ADRC, col. II line 71, instead of the MĂŠ.GE₆ of the other two duplicates.

MA.MÚ mainly occurs in Sumerian texts (see A. Falkenstein [1966], pp. 57-64 for examples, and the Sumerian Flood Story, line 149; p. 287). Notice that on Gudea's Cylinder A the word is written phonetically as
MA.MU (e.g., col. I line 29), and that MĀŠ.GE₆ occurs as well (col. I line 27).

There are various references to dMA.MŪ (i.e., to a personified and deified "dream") which place the god within the entourage of Shamash:

i). The lipšur-litany K. 2096 (ABRT 1, pp. 56-9) has been joined to K. 13245 since DB, p. 232 and E. Reiner [1956], pp. 144-5:
obv. 13 (duplicated by K. 11631, line 4'):
13). dŠamaš(U TU) dA-a dBu-ne-ne душMa-mū-[da]TX
bēl(EN) Ẹ-babbar AŠ
Shamash, (his wife) Aja, (his vizier) Bunene, and Mamuda, the lord of Ebabbara.

ii). Some Old Babylonian documents called upon various deities to witness the transactions written on the tablet. Two examples mention Mamu (both times as dMa-mu):
C. H. Gordon [1952], No. 46, rev. 13:
13). mahar(IG1) dŠamaš(U TU) dA-a mahar(IG1) dMa-mu
before Shamash (and) Aja, before Mamu
VS 7, No. 27, rev. 16-7:
16). mahar(IG1) dŠamaš(U TU) mahar(IG1) dA-a
17). mahar(IG1) dMa-mu

iii). Shamash's entourage is given in col. I lines 29-35 of the God List KAV 63:
34). dMa-mū | d[Šu1-]ut-tu?
Mamu (is the) deified dream?
(The restoration follows E. F. Weidner [1924-5], p. 12.)

iv). The God List SpTU 3, No. 108 enumerates the retinue of Shamash in col. I lines 29-34, with Mamu appearing in line 34.

v). The God List an = Anum, Tab. 3, as presented on CT 24, pl. 31, col. IV line 84, unusually describes Mamu as a daughter, rather than a son, of Shamash, and gives 'her' a brother Sisig (See p. 121 for a possible expansion of this development).
84). dMA.MŪ | DUMU.MUNUS dUTU.KE₆
Mamu (is) a daughter of Shamash

vi). The lipšur-litany IM 67638 (D. J. Wiseman [1969]) atypically puts Mamu in Nergal's entourage in lines 36'-9' (p. 87).
1). THE TEMPLE TO MAMU AT BALAWAT

It seems that Mamu was more important than the scarcity of references to him would imply, because Ashurnasirpal II erected a temple to him at Balawat (ancient Imur Enil). This temple was also embellished by Shalmaneser III. There are no extant records mentioning dream experiences of these two monarchs, nor are later rulers connected with building activities or offerings at the site - not even Ashurbanipal. The inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (BM 90980 (= Rm. 1082), and BM 90981 (= Rm. 1083); see A. K. Grayson [ARI 2], 520 on pp. 179-80) do not describe Mamu's functions, but there is no reason to suppose that he was not the Dream God Mamu. Thus, in the early Neo-Assyrian era Mamu was considered important enough to warrant his own temple, whose three pairs of wooden gates decorated with bronze strips bearing reliefs and inscriptions are not paltry.

Accounts of the site and its discoveries can be found in D. Oates [1974], S. Lloyd [1980], pp. 150-4, and J. Curtis [1982]. Most of the attention has been focused upon the large gates: two pairs installed by Ashurnasirpal II, and one larger pair by Shalmaneser III (the latter are exhibited in the British Museum).

Balawat lies on a major Neo-Assyrian road from Nineveh to Arrapha, being the first night's stop out of Nineveh, at a distance of 28 km. (D. Oates [1974], pp. 173-4). The site was strongly fortified in the ninth century B.C., and covers a sizable area for a provincial town. The ninth century B.C. buildings were built on a mound, probably the remains of earlier occupation. Different reasons have been propounded to explain why Ashurnasirpal II refounded the town, naming it Imur Enil (see especially D. Oates [1974], pp. 174-5):

i). Nineveh was the military headquarters in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, and the campaigns of his first five years were to the north and east, particularly against Zamua in the south-east; i.e., the army would start off down this main road.

ii). M. E. L. Mallowan [1956, p. 79] suggested that the palace at Balawat was a country residence. A bronze strip depicts Ashurnasirpal II receiving the tribute of the governor of Suhi outside Balawat's walls (see J. Curtis [1982], pp. 116-8).
Shalmaneser III resided here, assumed from the presentation of the gates. Nineveh was still the military headquarters, yet most of his campaigns were to the west. From Balawat Shalmaneser III could supervise the operations at Nineveh and his building works on his only known palace, the ekal māšarti at Nimrud, about 15 km. away. In Years 8 and 9 he fought in Babylonia, and would have used this road.

These suggestions refer to the town itself, but do not explain why Ashurnasirpal II felt it necessary to erect a temple to Mamu within the palace precincts. To date, the only building excavated to any degree of completeness is this temple (D. Oates [1974], pp. 176-7): excavations resumed at Balawat in 1989-90. However, the results (from the point of view of this study) have been disappointing, since no temple library or any religious or ritual tablets have been found, only economic and legal documents, which mainly date from 697-671 B.C. (B. Parker [1963]). The transactions presumably were those of the temple personnel, one of whom was called dMa-mú-iq-bi. B. Parker [1963, p. 89] mentioned another collection of tablets of post-canonical date.

The only reference to Baiawat, outside the material found there, is a mention of the town as one of the twenty-seven which joined Ashur-danin-saplil's revolt against Shalmaneser III, at the end of the latter's reign (D. D. Luckenbill [ARAB II, 5715]). The above tablets and pottery reveal that Balawat remained in existence until the Fall Of Assyria in 612-610 B.C., when the site was abandoned for a long time. BT. 115 (dated to 694 B.C. by the eponym lulu-itti}a) shows that Mamu's shrine was still in use since lines 1-4 record an amount of silver and gold as being "of" (i.e., due to) Mamu.

A temple to a Dream God strongly indicates incubation. D. Oates [1974, p. 175] speculated that the king slept in this temple on his first night out of Nineveh in order to receive a dream concerning the future campaign. This is an extremely attractive idea, but there is no evidence for such a motive in the few Mesopotamian sources on incubation except, perhaps, in The Epic Of Gilgamesh. Also, since many Neo-Assyrian expeditions were to the west, one would expect a temple in a
corresponding position on the main route in that direction - as yet undiscovered.

An alternative reason for a temple to a Dream God might be the recognition of his role in sending pleasant symptomatic dreams, even if the temple was not required as the location of the appropriate ceremonies (pp. 300-1). The only reference to Mamu in a dream rite occurs in a ritual to obtain a favourable dream. It will be argued on pages 294-5 that these ceremonies sought pleasant symptomatic dreams by the dreamer's purification and the appeasement of his angry personal deities. ADRC, col. IV lines 39-40 is part of an incantation resembling a DINGIR.ŠÂ.DIB.BA (pp. 184-5):

39.  dma.mú dingir.ma.mú.da.ke₄
40.  dingir.mu inim še.ga.še.ga ù.tu.ud.da

39 O Mamu, the god of dreams, 40 (and?) my personal god, create a favourable state (of affairs for me)!

Here, either Mamu is described as the personal god of the dreamer, or both deities are considered equally responsible for pleasant dreams (see ch. 8 on the role of the personal deities in dream contexts.)

In addition, Mamu is mentioned in a passage requesting pleasant symptomatic dreams in the non-dream incantation K. 254 (IV. R. 66, No. 2) + K. 3369 (duplicated by LKA 29k). The obverse contains a long catalogue of woes. The reverse seeks favours from the personal deities and restoration to grace. Rev. 25-8 mentions dreams:

25).  šub-ra-an-ni-ma šutta(MAŞ.GE₆) damiqta(SIG₅-taṣ) luṭ-ṭúl
26).  šunat(MAŞ.GE₆) a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u damqat(SIG₅-at):
27).  šunat(MAŞ.GE₆) a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u kīnat
28).  dma-mú₁ ilu(DINGIR) šá šunāti(MAŞ.GE₆.ME₅)
inšār₃ja(SAG.MU) lu kajān(GUB-an)

21' Let me see a favourable dream (lit., and may I see it)! 22' May the dream which I see be favourable! May the dream which I see be reliable! 23' Turn the
dream which I see to good luck! 24' May Mamu, the god of dreams, (be) constantly at my head!

(LKA 29k, rev. 22' has the variant ina i-di-ia lu ka-a-e-an, "(be) constantly at my side", for the end of line 24'.)

J. Curtis [1982, p. 119] suggested that it was deemed necessary to build a palace at Balawat because the town was a major religious site, possibly the centre of the Dream God. Yet, Ashurnasirpal II stated that he refounded the town and built the temple: BM 90980, obv. 21 to rev. 2:

21). šu-ú a-na eš-šu-te ašbat(DAB-bat)
22). Im-gur-d Enlil(BAD) šum(MU)-šu ab-bi
23). ši-i ina li-bi ekalli(É.GAL)-ia
21). lu-ú ad-di ša-lam d Ma-mú bēli(EN)-ia
22). ina li-lb-bi lu ú-še-šib
21 I reorganized (lit., seized anew) this city. 22 I named it Lmgur-Enlil. 23 to 2 I erected this temple within the environs of my palace, (and) I caused a statue of Mamu, my lord, to dwell inside.

There is also no proof of this presumed importance of Mamu.

In conclusion, we have no means of telling either why Ashurnasirpal II erected a temple to Mamu, at Balawat, nor why Shalmaneser III continued to endow it.

B). dSIG.SIG

The God List an = Anum, Tab. 3, which made Mamu female, ascribed a brother Sisig to her: CT 24, pl. 31, col. IV line 85:

85). dSI.SI.IG | DUMU dUTU.KE₄

Sisig (is) a son of Shamash

The Seleucid version, SpTU 3, No. 107, presents this line, with a gloss, in col. III line 137:

137). dSIGši-qí-quSIG | DUMU dUTU.KE₄

The correlation of two names of the Mesopotamian Dream God, the Sumerian Sisig ("the one who constantly blows" or "the winds") and the Akkadian Zaqiqu ("a breeze", see on) is reinforced by ZI, line 1, where the Akkadian manuscript has ZI-qí-qu, but the two Sumerian texts have
SI.SI.IG and SIG.SIG - all without the divine determinative. These passages invalidate the generally accepted, yet unproven, identification of Anzagar with Zaqqiqu [CAD Z, zaqqiqu, p. 60b; AHw 3, ziqiqu, p. 1530b]. They are also the only references to Sisig that the writer has found, and only ZI suggests that he was a Dream God.

Cl. 4Zaqiqu/Ziqiqu

The Akkadian name of the Dream God was Zaqqiqu, also written Ziqiqu, which is not known in a logographic form. zaqqiqu is a derivative of the verbal root zîq (not zûq as in DB, p. 233) or, possibly, from zqq [AHw 3, p. 1499b]. The word has been given many nuances, which are briefly mentioned below (also see DB, pp. 223-5 and T. Jacobsen [1989]).

1). Nuances of zaqqiqu

1. Wind and Nothingness

The associated verb, zâqu, means "to blow", and zaqqiqu is equated in lexical texts with words denoting wind, storms, etc. [CAD Z, p. 58b]. zaqqiqu usually refers to a mild breeze, but may imply a storm: e.g., the Verse Account, col. VI line 20:

20). [All of?] his (Nabonidus') deeds are destroyed by the zaqqiqu.

CAD Z, p. 60b stated that zaqqiqu only refers to a wind in lexical texts and in a few passages concerning the north wind. It preferred the meaning "ghost", from the equation with Lîl.LÁ, as in the names of certain demons, namely, ilû(LULÎL.LÁ), ilîtû(KIÎL.LÁ), ardat ilîf (KI.SIKIL.LÎL.LÁ), and zaqqiqu(LÎL.LÁ). Accordingly, it rendered expressions like ana zaqqiqi manû, "to count as wind", and ana zaqqiqi târu, "to turn into wind", used in laments, literary texts, and royal inscriptions to portray the total destruction of a site, etc., as "to count as ghosts" and "to turn into a haunted place" respectively [CAD Z, p. 59]. It is odd to deny a meaning supported by the word's derivation from zaqu.
(See pp. 284-6 on biṭ zaqqiqi, "a haunted place").
In some passages zaqīqu expresses "nothingness": e.g., the Verse Account, col. 1 line 20':

ib-ta-ni za-qi-qi

He (Nabonidus) created wind (i.e., none of his achievements lasted or were of any value).

II. A Wind Demon Or A Type Of Ghost

The verb zāqu describes the swift movements of various demons whilst attacking mankind [CAD Z, pp. 64-5]. The zaqīqu-winds developed into a category of Mesopotamian demons, which was characterized by forms of našarbuṭu, "to rush forth": e.g., CT 16, pl. 15, col. V lines 37-40:

37).  ú munus.nu.meš ú nita.nu.meš
38).  ul zi-ka-ru šu-nu ul sin-niš-a-ti šū-nu
39).  e.ne.ne.ne lil.lá bū.bū.meš
40).  šū-nu za-qi-qu mut-taš-rab-bi-ṭu-ti šū-nu

37-40 They are neither men nor women, they are the zaqīqu, who constantly rush along.

CT 17, pl. 37, col. 1 lines 4-10 (see W. Schramm [1970]) reveals that zaqīqu-demons were envisaged as being similar to ghosts, and dwelling in the Underworld/grave:

4).  lil.lá.e.ne huil.a.meš urugal.la.ta
5).  im.ta1.e.a.meš
6).  za-qi-qu lem-nu-ti iš-tu qab-ri it-ta-šu-ni
7).  ki.si.ga.a.de.a.meš1(an) urugal.la.ta
8).  im.ta1.e.a.meš
9).  a-na ka-sa-l ap1 ki-is-pi u 'na1-aq mé-e
10).  iš-tu qab-ri MIN (i.e., it-ta-šu-ni)

4-6 The evil zaqīqu-demons come out from the grave.
7-10 They come out from the grave for the presentation(s) of funerary offerings and libation(s) of water.

The idea of the zaqīqu-demons residing in the Underworld is reinforced by The Epic Of Gilgamesh. Enkidu descended to the Underworld to retrieve the pukku that Gilgamesh had dropped, but was detained because he disobeyed all the instructions which would have allowed him to return to the world of men. Ea tells Gilgamesh how to talk with Enkidu after this
has happened - Tablet 12 and the Sumerian version, Gilgamesh, Enkidu, And The Netherworld, lines 83-4 and lines 242-3 respectively (see A. Shaffer [1963]):

242). ab.la.l.kur.ra gáš im.ma.an.tag4
83). lu-man tak-ka-ap erseti(KI-ti) ip-te-e-ma
243). si.si.ig.ni.ta šubur.a.ni kur.ta mu.ni.in.
e11.de
84). ú-tuk-ku šá dEn-ki-du ki-i za-qí-qí 'ul1-tú
erseti(KI-ti) 'it-tas1-ša-a

242, 83 Scarcely had he (Gilgamesh) opened a hole in the earth/Underworld, 243, 84 The utukku of Enkidu, his servant, came out from the Underworld like a zaqīqu.

(utukku normally refers to another type of demon, but in this passage it seems to mean "ghost").

AHw 3, ziqīqu, p. 1530a, 53, had another category, "ein nicht aggressiver Totengeist (/eṭemmu)", with a note that the distinctions of "wind" and the two varieties of "wind demon" are not always clear cut.

III. Human Soul

When zaqīqu is used with amīlu₇u, "mankind", or nīšū, "people", it appears to mean "human soul" (also see T. Jacobsen [1989], pp. 274-5 on 311): e.g., KAR 307, obv. 34:

U18.LU ina libbi(ŠA) ú-šar-bi-iq

He (Marduk) caused the ziqīqu of mankind to lie down on the strong [foundation?] of the Upper Earth.

2). THE DREAM GOD 4ZA/IQIQU

It is interesting that two of the names of the Mesopotamian Dream God were associated with "wind": Sisig and Zaqiku. This seems to imply that, at one time, dreams were regarded as insubstantial (T. Jacobsen [1989], p. 274), a view contradicted by the existence of numerous (late) rituals to combat unpleasant dreams. Instead, the writer suggests that
Zaqiqu represented the demonic side of dreams, as opposed to Mamu, who represented message dreams.

C. J. Gadd (1948, p. 74) believed that ZI was a brief introductory myth, which described Zaqiqu as the first to interpret dreams and as residing in Agade. The idea of interpretation derived from an erroneous reading of line 5 (see the text edition for details). The presumed demonic nature of Zaqiqu makes it unlikely that he was concerned with dream interpretation. As yet, no name for the Dream God seems to be associated with interpretation (Mamu?). ZI mentions that Zaqiqu has performed some actions in Agade, but it is not certain that he lived there. E. I. Gordon (1980, pp. 129-30, n. 57) suggested that an allusion may have been made to Naram-Sin as "the luckless ruler of Agade".

The only evidence we have that Zaqiqu was a Dream God is the fact that The Dream-Book was called (d)Za/iqiqu from the incipit of its first incantation (ZI). Zaqiqu is not always prefixed with the divine determinative, possibly indicating his minor or demonic status. (See pp. 32-4 for variants of the title in the colophons and catalogue references.)

ND 4368 (J. V. Kinnier Wilson [1957]) provides us with the single reference to Zaqiqu outside the dream literature. J. V. Kinnier Wilson stated that this fragmentary and difficult tablet formed part of a companion medical series to the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG; both belonging to the lore of the exorcist. The listed diseases are termed "Hands" of various demons who, in turn, are designated as the šedu-demons and agents of the divine triad. Col. VI lines 9-13 refer to Zaqiqu:

9). Šumma(DIŠ) mariḫ(GIG)-ma 121 ŠUB 1 (X) X1-ma ū-ta-ni-ū
10). [X]X1 ti 1â TUK1 qaṭ(ŠU1 dža-qī-qī šē-du(ALAD)
11). ša-nē-e 1(d)Enlī(BAD) ana ina qaṭ(ŠU) dža-qī-qī eṭēri(KAR)-šū
de 12). 1X X X na imbū ū-mōtu(KA.A.BA.BA) parzillī(AN.
BAR) zikart(NILT) u sinniš(MI)
13). [ina] kišādi('GŪ1)-šū tašakkan(GAR) u 6škarān
9 If he falls ill, and...

- (It is due to) 'The Hand Of Zaqqu', the šēdu-

demon, 11 the agent of [Enlil].

In order to save him from 'The Hand Of Zaqqu':

12-3 You place around his neck... imbu tēmti, (and)

male and female iron. You repeatedly anoint him with the

'fox-wine'-plant. He will recover.

(J. V. Kinnier Wilson [1957, p. 42]

tentatively translated GISTIN.KAS.A as "solanum-

(berries)"

I. Zaqqu As A Divine Communication, Not Necessarily A Dream

CAD Z, p. 59, §1 2' (based on DB, p. 235) has a section in which

zaqqu corresponds to a divine manifestation, which may or may not reply

to human enquiries. AHw 3, p. 1530b, §4a placed the same citations

under "Traum(gott)".

In two passages the reference to zaqqu occurs when someone

unsuccessfully sought omens:

i). Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 2, lines 6-9:

8). za-qī-qu a-bal-ma ul ú-pat-ti uz-ni

I appealed to Zaqqu, but he did not enlighten me (lit., did

not open my ear).

ii). K. 2361* + 3193 + 14033 + Sm. 389* + 601 (* = ZA 4 [1889],

pp. 252-8), col. III lines 141-4:

143). za-qī-qu ina šat m[U-[u-šī ul . . . . . . . .]

Zaqqu during the night [did not . . . . . . . .]

In (ii) other deities had been questioned in vain, so zaqqu could refer to

the Dream God (how important is the absence of the divine

determinative?), especially since Shamash (dAm-na) had not helped by an

extispicy (bīru) in line 142. The first example is more complex. P. C.
Couprie [1960, p. 186] stated that here zaqīqu had to be a ritual expert, paralleling the other practitioners, and certainly one would expect a reference to a human, rather than to a spiritual being. DB, p. 235 believed that zaqīqu possibly referred to dreams, but preferred "inspiration", a translation unsupported by the context. In both cases an appeal to the Dream God Zaqqiq seems unlikely, in the light of his putative demonic aspect.

A third example does not settle the meaning of zaqīqu in such passages, but reveals how little we know about this word in divinatory contexts. On K. 1285 (ABRT 1, pp. 5-6) Nabu addresses Ashurbanipal, then the two hold a conversation, with no indication as to how Nabu replies. Ashurbanipal prays to Nabu (obv. 19-22) then, on obv. 23 the speech does not come directly from Nabu:

\[23]. \textit{e-tap-la za-qī-ju} ištu(TA) mahar(IG) 4Nabū (FA) bēlli(EN)-ṣū\]

A zaqīqu replied from the presence of (lit., before) Nabu, his lord (obv. 24-6 contain the message, and the Ashurbanipal-Nabu dialogue continues).

DB, p. 235 stated that zaqīqu certainly was not a dream (god), against F. R. Kraus [1936, p. 88], but the carrier of the divine message. This recalls the description of Anzagar as "the medium of Nannaru" on SDR, line 32, a function accepted in that context by DB, p. 233. M. Streck [VAB 7, p. 347, n. 11] believed that zaqīqu in K. 1285 was a type of Wahrsagepriester or bērū, who was especially concerned with incantations against the dead. Thus, the professional uttered an inspired speech in a temple while standing in front of the statue of Nabu.

L. L. Finkel [1983, p. 76, n. 5] regarded BM 47749, rev. 6' (p. 282) in the light of the text above. He believed that zaqīqu-spirits approached Kurigalzu while the king was awake, and allayed his fears in a similar way to that in which the zaqīqu from Nabu made Ashurbanipal relax before he fell asleep.

There is no evidence on K. 1285 that the dialogue between Nabu and Ashurbanipal occurred in a dream. In fact, Nabu has been addressing Ashurbanipal (obv. 7-18) before the mention of the zaqīqu on obv. 23.
The zaqiqus of BM 47749 could have been spirits or human beings, perhaps priests who oversaw the incubation procedure.

**D). dAN.ZA.GAR/AN.ZA.GAR.RA**

Thus, it seems that Mamu was the patron of incubation and message dreams, while Sisig = Zaqiqu represented unpleasant symptomatic dreams. Unfortunately, a fourth name for the Dream God appears on the scene, which is attested in both spheres (as already noticed by DB, p. 233).

In earlier studies this name was written as dZA.GAR yet, recently, perhaps since DB, the custom has been to write it as AN.ZA.GAR. T. Jacobsen [1982, p. 274, n. 461] rendered it as ḫ-ulza-kār, designating it as an early loan from Proto-Akkadian (see DB, p. 232). The writer has kept to AN.ZA.GAR, but is unclear why dZA.GAR has become 'incorrect'.

The lexical texts and God Lists 'prove' that Anzagar was a Dream God:

i). \( \text{an} = \text{Anum, Tab. 3, as on CT 24, pl. 32, col. IV lines 110-l:} \)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{110). AN.ZA.GAR} & \text{ } \text{DINGIR.MA.MU.DA.KE} \\
\text{111). dMIN (i.e., AN.ZA.GAR) MÅŠ.GE} & \text{ } \text{šu} (i.e., dMIN MÅŠ.GE) 
\end{align*} \]

Anzagar (is) the god of dreams

As on SpTU 3, No. 107, col. III line 170:
\[ \text{170). AN.ZA.GAR.ÁRGAR} \text{ } \text{dUTU.MA.MU.DA.KE} \]

Anzagar (is) the Shamash of dreams

As on CT 24, pl. 39, col. XI line 11:
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{11). dAN.ZA.GAR} & \text{ } \text{MIN (i.e., dEnlil(BAD)} \text{ } \text{ša} \\
& \text{šul(AN)-na-ti}
\end{align*} \]

Anzagar (is) ditto (i.e., the Enlil) of dreams.

(Correct DB, p. 233, which stated that Bēl replaced the name of Enlil.)

ii). D.T. 46 (BA 5 [1906], pp. 655-6), line 7:
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{7). AN.ZA.GAR.RA} & \text{ } \text{dEn-lil ša šunāti} \\
& \text{(MÅŠ.GE} & \text{MEŠ)}
\end{align*} \]
iii). erim.huš = anantu, Tab. I, line 216 [MSL 17, p. 193]:

216). [AN.ZA.GAR RA] ilu(DINGIR) šá šu-ut-ti

Anzagar (is) the god of dreams.


15'). [AN.ZAG.GAR] ilu(DINGIR) ša šu-na-ti

1). ANZAGAR IN RITUALS TO OBTAIN A FAVOURABLE DREAM

The Dream God is called Anzagar in SDR: lines 25-6:

25). u-ma-‘i-ir-ma AN.ZA.GAR ilu(DINGIR) ša šunāti

(HAŠ.GEš.MEŠ)

25). ina šat mu-ši-im li-pa-ṭ-ti-ra ār-ni-ias lu-uš-

me šēr-ti lu-te-lil ana-ku

25 He (Sin) sent Anzagar, the god of dreams, so that
during the night he will absolve me of my sin(s), I shall hear my
punishment (and) I shall be cleansed of my transgression.

There are varying opinions as to who sends Anzagar (see the text edition
for details), but line 32 seems conclusive:

31). nignaq(NĪG.NA) ŠIM.burāši(L1) a-na AN.ZA.GAR

ina rēš(GIS.NA)-šū tašakkan(GAR-an)

32). AN.ZA.GAR na-šā-pār-ti 4 Nannar(NAAN-NA-na 4)

31 You set out a censer of juniper at the head of his bed
for Anzagar. 32 "O Anzagar, the medium of Nannar (i.e.,
Sin) . . ."

Anzagar is invoked on NRFD, rev. 9-10:

9). [AN].ZAG.GAR.RA AN.ZAG.GAR.RA ba-bi-lu a-me-

lu-ti

10). mār(DUMU) ši-pī ša ru-bi-l 4 Marduk

9 O Anzagar! O Anzagar, the bringer (of dreams) to
mankind! 10 The messenger of prince Marduk!

(See p. 61 on the epithet bābili)

The minor status of Anzagar is indicated by the fact that the first
reference from SDR and that of NRFD come from ŠU.ILLÁ-incantations to
the major deities Sin and Nusku respectively. The second passage from
SDR occurs in the ritual, being uttered while the censer was placed in
position. Anzagar is described as the agent of Sin and of Marduk (even
though the latter does not appear elsewhere in NRFD). Perhaps Anzagar could be ordered to send pleasant symptomatic dreams by any of the major Mesopotamian deities.

2). A DEMONIC ANZAGAR

Two other texts directly conflict with this definition of Anzagar's function, by connecting him with demons, ghosts, and the Underworld. Additionally, erim.huš = anantu, Tab. 1, line 216 (p. 118) appears in a section dealing with different kinds of demons (lines 213-6).

The incantation recited over two types of charms in the ritual complex ADRC, col. IV lines 8-14 invokes Anzagar in terms more suited to demons.

Two of the rituals directed against ghosts on K. 2175 + mention Anzagar in difficult Sumerian incantations: col. I lines 21'-5', together with Shamash and Asaliyu; and col. I lines 58'-52', alongside Shamash, Ea, and two Underworld deities. More evidence is required to enable us to decide whether Anzagar appears in these two rites as an agent of purification, or as a god resident in the Underworld. If the latter is the case, it is surprising that the Dream God was not invoked under the name Zaqiku, when one remembers the demonic aspect of this name (pp. 112-3).

Although not necessarily related to the god Anzagar, the logogram AN.ZA.GAR is rendered in Akkadian by dimtu, "tower". DB, p. 236 speculated that the Dream God lived in a "memorial pillar". H. Jacobson [1975] suggested that the concept of Anzagar as a Dream God was related to the use of stone pillows or head-rests known from The Bible and Egyptian tombs. He supported his idea with obv. 59-60 in the Annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II, based on the translation of W. Schramm [1970, p. 157]. Tukulti-Ninurta II apparently spent the night in a place of UŠ.ME.TA-stone, where the gods resided. However, A. K. Grayson [ARI 2, 5470 on p. 1021 translated this passage differently, following the reading of CAD A2, asumittu, p. 348a, whereby NA4ūs-me-ta is an 'ordinary' stone stele erected to the gods, helping to identify the town where the king stayed overnight. Obv. 59-60:

URU [ID i-na rēš(SAG) e-ni šá ku1-up-ri
60). a-ṣar Na₄.createServer ſ-a šá ilēni(DINGIR.MEŠ)
rabūti(GAL.MEŠ) ina lib-bi ʿ X₁-zi-ni issakan
(GAR-IṣaI)
53-60 I moved on from Dajashetu. He (i.e. I) pitched
camp within . . . before Idu, at the head of the bitumen
spring, a place of the stele of the great gods.

T. Jacobsen [1989, p. 274, n. 463] believed that his Ilzarker derived from
the verbal root zkr, "to remember". "The God Izakari(sic.) is thus the
deified dream notion". The writer is not sure what this definition means,
since Mamu was the deified dream.

D. SUMMARY

Despite the difficulties surrounding the four different names for the
Mesopotamian Dream God, the important point is that such a deity
existed. We do not know why or when the concept of a Dream God
arose, perhaps it was related to the importance of message dreams as
divine communications. No other type of divination was either personified
or patronized in this way, although the patrons of extispicy were limited
to Shamash and Adad after the Kassite era.

Some reason has to lie behind the existence of the four names, but
any classification remains doubtful because of the scarcity of attestations
outside lexical texts. In fact, a lexical text provide us with an
additional name for the deified dream unattested elsewhere:

SpTU 2, No. 107, col. III, line 171 (an = Anum, Tab. 3):
171). dMāš.GE₄ 1 šul (i.e., dMāš.GE₄)
Māš.GE₄ (i.e., dream) (is) the same

The names may represent designations varying with eras or areas, or
various aspects of the dream experience, or a combination of these
factors. It is interesting that the four names were kept separate, with
correlation only evident between Sisig and Zaqiqu, even though the extant
evidence suggests that the Dream God was a minor deity. The writer has classified the names according to the divisions in dream types deduced in chapter 4; i.e., they represent different facets of the Dream God or of dreams. (The classification proposed here may not have been adhered to rigidly because two incantations appear to use two names of the Dream God: a ghost ritual on K. 2175+ invokes an.zagár ẖma.mú.da in col. I lines 58' and 61'; and the Akkadian of ZI, line 1 addresses Zi-qì-qu ḫMa-mu. It is also possible that in both cases the epithet dingir.ma.mú.da.ke₄, "the god of dreams", was meant, as in ADRC, col. IV line 39, where it describes Mamu himself.)

Since MA.MÚ is the most common word for dream in Sumerian texts, one would like to be able to assert that Mamu was an early Dream God, being the personification of the dream experience; however, the writer is unaware of any reference to him in Sumerian texts. The only Sumerian Dream God attested is Anzagar (see on). The existence of a Neo-Assyrian temple to Mamu at Balawat suggests that, by this date, he was regarded as the patron of incubation and, perhaps, of message dreams.

The dreams predominantly mentioned in Akkadian texts are symptomatic. This was the type of dream which affected the bulk of the population, and numerous rituals were developed to counteract their effects. Some of these ceremonies, together with dream omens, were combined in a series called (d) Za/iqIqu; i.e., The Dream-Book. Therefore, it seems that Zaqiqu represented the unpleasant, demonic side of dreams. Zaqiqu is not mentioned in the lexical texts, except as a gloss to Sisig.

It is possible that the basic division between message and symptomatic dreams already existed in Sumerian times, because Sisig occurs in two tablets of Sumerian proverbs (manuscripts I and II of ZI). The God List an = Anum implied that Mamu and Sisig were sister and brother, either denoting the two aspects of dreams, or an attempt to reconcile the different names for the Dream God [LB, pp. 232-3]. It must be noted that neither Sisig nor Zaqiqu are definitely attested with a dream-related epithet - the Akkadian of ZI, line 1 is restored.

Anzagar complicates matters by functioning in both spheres of dream activity, and by occurring in Sumerian and Akkadian sources. He appears as ḫZA.AN.GAR (it is unclear why this form was used) in the Sumerian
epic Lugalbands And Mount Hurum (A. Falkenstein [1966], pp. 56, 60-1), and addresses the hero in a dream: the only time a Dream God appears in a message dream context. In Akkadian rituals to obtain a favourable dream, he seems to send pleasant symptomatic dreams at the command of other deities. It is unclear how Anzagar differs from Mamu, who is also invoked in a ritual of this category. Anzagar has a demonic aspect, but there is no evidence connecting him with Zaqiqu.

A. L. Oppenheim was convinced that the Mesopotamian Dream God arose from the concept of symptomatic dreams as demonic powers. While it is probable that this was the reason for the name Zaqiqu, the conclusions drawn from the existence of Mamu's temple and the presence of Mamu and Anzagar in rituals to obtain a favourable dream argue against DB, p. 232, which declared that the Dream God "exists only with respect to this specific [demonic] aspect". Yet DB, p. 233 had noted the role of Anzagar as a transmitter of divine messages. It must be remembered that Balawat was only properly excavated in 1956 (the year DB was published).

In the end, since most message dreams are presented as coming directly from the deity concerned, we do not know why the Mesopotamians felt it necessary to have a Dream God, let alone several names for him.
CHAPTER 3: THE PERSONAL DEITIES IN DREAM CONTEXTS

Each individual possessed his own 'guardian angel' in the form of a personal god and/or a personal goddess. There is evidence suggesting that members of a family had the same personal deity: e.g., several rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagash refer to the same god (Shulutula) in their inscriptions (H. Vorländer [1975], p. 33). These deities could be identified with any major or minor Mesopotamian divinities.

The personal gods would guarantee physical well-being in return for reverence (Counsels Of Wisdom, lines 135-41). Thus, they shielded one from attacks by demons, disease, and witchcraft; and, at the same time, caused one's affairs to prosper. If regular offerings, etc., were not forthcoming (or not sufficient) the personal deities would abandon the individual, and had to be coaxed back. The incantations of the DINGIR.ŠÂ.DIB.BA (pp. 185-6) and ŠÂ.HUN.GÂ (edited in S. M. Maul [1988]) categories, together with phrases in other incantations, reveal that these deities could be easily alienated by neglect or sins and, possibly, were more trouble than they were worth: e.g., ADRC, col. IV line 28: "What did I do to my personal god (this time)!")?"

This alienation can be explained if we consider these personal deities to be personifications of a person's 'luck'. Their presence inspired successful actions, and kept one healthy: the phrase "to have a god" came to be synonymous with "to thrive, to be prosperous, etc."

The presence of the personal deities guaranteed favourable dreams: e.g., the charm title on SpTU 2, No. 22, col IV line 5:

5). \[ \text{ana amēli(NA) ili(DINGIR)-šu u ištari(XV)-šu} \]
\[ \text{ina rēši(SAG)-šu1 šuzuzzi(GUB-zi)-ma šutta} \]
\[ (MĂŚ.GEš) demiqtu(SIGš-tū) na-ta-lu} \]

So that a man will cause his personal god and personal goddess to
stand at his head (while he sleeps), and (also) in order to see a favourable dream.

The propitiation of wrathful personal deities was an important element of rituals to obtain a favourable dream. Despite this, there are no references directly ascribing bad dreams to the anger of the personal deities, although SpTU 2, No. 22 (col. III lines 38-43) contains instructions for a stone necklace intended to reconcile wrathful personal deities. The expected ritual result indicates that bad dreams may have been caused by their ire:

43). \( ki-\text{šir} \text{libbi}(\text{Š}Â) \ i\text{li}(\text{DINGIR})-\text{šú} u \ di\text{štari}(\text{XV})-\text{šú} \ ip\text{pa\text{-}štară} (\text{DU}8)-\text{šú} \ šunātu(\text{MÂ}S.\text{GE}6.\text{ME}6) \ id\text{ammiqā}(\text{SIG}5.\text{ME}6) \)

The anger of his personal god and personal goddess will become separated from him. (His) dreams will become favourable.

### A. FORGETTING ONE'S DREAMS

The Old Babylonian collection of physiognomic omens, VAT 7525 (AfO 18 [1957-8], pls. 5-9), reveals that an irate personal god could make his protégé forget his dreams: col. I lines 31-2:

31). \( \text{šumma}(\text{DIŠ}) \ amēlu(\text{LÚ}) \ šu-ut-tam ša i-im-ma-ru \)
\( \text{la} \ ū-\text{ka}-\text{al} \)

32). \( \text{i}(\text{DINGIR})-\text{šú} \ i\text{lt}-\text{ti}-[\text{š}]\text{lu ze-e-nu} \)

31 If a man cannot recall the dream which he sees -
32 (It means that) his personal god is angry with him.

Although one might believe that forgetting one's (bad) dream was a matter for congratulation, in the view of the Mesopotamians this was a disaster, because one would be unable to perform a ritual to avert its evil consequences. For instance, a vital part of the substitution rituals was the recounting, \( pa\text{sāru}(\text{BÛR}) \), of the dream to the object which was destroyed in its place.
Chapter 8

It is now known that we see several dreams throughout a night’s sleep, only remembering fragments of those which awaken us; i.e., the most vivid or frightening dreams. Even if we cannot recall the dream, we are left with a feeling of unease. It was probably this factor which concerned the Mesopotamians, rather than the inability to remember a single dream in the morning, which is often the case.

We possess one ritual to deal with forgotten dreams: ADRC, col. III lines 18-9:

18).  šumma(DIRŠ) amēlu(NA) šutta(MĀŠ.GEš) iš-ţul la ū-kaš lu šutta(MĀŠ.GEš) la-ina-ţ[al]

19).  4/7 uṭ-ţe-e-ti šá ū-ta-wi-ši ana (pănb(I GI))
     išāti(IZI) tanaddi(SUB)-ma ina reši(SAG)-šá
taškaška(GAR)-ma idanmiq(SIGš)

18 If a man saw a dream, (but) he cannot recall (it), or he did not see a dream:

19 You throw four/seven grains of the atāšu-plant onto/in front of a fire. You place (the fire?) at his head (while he is lying down). It (the dream) will be favourable.

This ritual purified the room and its occupants. (Another use of fire in dream rites is covered on pp. 232-5). The atāšu-plant (still not definitely identified) was used in other Mesopotamian ceremonies as a fumigant [CAD A2, p. 481a] so, presumably, its stench drove evil spirits, etc., away. On the other hand, this plant was also offered to gods, so perhaps it was a fragrant one burnt as a peace-offering to the personal deities.

The title at ADRC, col. II line 24 appears to have been attached erroneously to the following ritual, which is one to obtain a favourable dream:

24).  šumma(DIRŠ) amēlu(INA) šunāti(MĀŠ.GEš.'MEš')
     'pár-da'-a-ti ina 'kuš u šutta(MĀŠ.'GEš')
     lemutta(HUL')('ù') ū la ukāl( 'DABš')
If a man [sees?] frightening dreams, or he cannot recall a bad dream:
So, there were at least two rituals dealing with forgotten dreams, but the details of one have been lost.

DB, p. 232 believed that NADR, lines 4-6 referred to a forgotten dream, which still could affect the dreamer for weal or woe. (Note that this incantation is addressed to Nusku (line 3), not to the 'God of Dreams' as claimed.)

4). šutu(MAŞ.GEš) an-ni-[tú]
5). ša ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-[ri]
6). ib-ba-ba-lam-ma šá at-ta tīdū(1.ZU) ana-ku la i-

This dream, 5-6 which was brought to me during the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch, and (about) which you yourself understand, (but) I do not -

However, the verb "to recall" is rendered in Akkadian by kуль(DIB), not idū, which means "to know, to understand". Also, the phrase:

(the evil) X which you (the deity invoked) understand, but
I do not understand,

is a common one in apotropaic incantations [CAD I/J, p. 21b]. This statement emphasized the helplessness of the petitioner and, hopefully, its flattery induced the god to aid him by identifying the source of the problem, thus enabling the subsequent ritual to combat it.

B). THE ROLE OF THE PERSONAL DEITIES IN DREAM RITUALS

As one might expect, the personal deities play a major part in the rituals to obtain a favourable dream:

i). Incantations resembling DINGIR.'A.DIB.BAs (pp. 184-5) were recited in the ritual complexes of ADRC, col. IV lines 21-30 and lines 31-41b.

ii). Censers were erected to the dreamer's personal god at ADRC, col. II line 50, and to both the personal deities at col. IV lines 21-2.
iii). Allusions are made in the accompanying incantations to the anger of these deities and to the sins of the dreamer: in addition to (i), on ADRC, col. II lines 25?, 47, and 57; and SDR, lines 23-6.

We have already mentioned (p. 109) the incantation on ADRC, col. IV lines 38-40, which contains an interesting passage where the Dream God Mamu is described as the personal god of the supplicant, or at least for the purpose of this ritual; a unique state of affairs. Alternatively, Mamu and the personal god are considered equally responsible for sending pleasant dreams.

In addition, there are three leather pouch charms designed to obtain favourable dreams (pp. 259-60). All refer to the dreamer's personal deities: in one (SpTU 2, No. 22, col. IV lines 5-6) the charm is also to ensure their presence; in the others (BAM 315, col. IV lines 27-36) the gods are to instruct the dreamer - perhaps by a message dream.

The only reference to the personal deities in rituals other than those to obtain a favourable dream occurs on NADR, line 18, a ritual using fire to make a bad dream favourable. On manuscript b (79-7-8, 77) the personal deities and a lamp (the symbol of Nusku, to whom the appended incantation is addressed) are appealed to at the very end of the ritual.

The ceremonies to obtain a favourable dream presented on ADRC, col. IV lines 21-41b, are followed by a namburbi ritual intended to appease a wrathful personal goddess, lines 42-7. This complex does not mention dreams, and page 222 offers two possible explanations for its inclusion on tablets containing dream rites. Parts of it appear on three manuscripts, A, P, and Q; the last two continuing with broken and unintelligible lines.

Two other sections seem to have been included arbitrarily: ADRC, col. IV lines 17-8, and 19-20. They were damaged when copied, as is revealed by the scribal comment hi-pí ed-šú, "new break", in lines 18-20.
C). maṣṣar șulme u balāṭi, "A GUARDIAN OF WELL-BEING AND HEALTH"

H. Vorländer (1975, pp. 8-26) argued convincingly that various terms described different aspects of the personal gods in such passages as NRFD, obv. 46-8:

46). ma-ṣaš șul-me u balāṭi(TIL.A) șu-kun eli(UGU)-iṣ

47). ăše-e-du na-gi-ru u ilu(DINGIR) mu-șal-li-mu
   šu-uz-ziz ina rēšīja(SAG.MU)

48). lī-tar-ru-u'-in-ni kal mu-ṣi a-di na-ma-ri
   (O Nusku) 46 establish a guardian of well-being and health
   for (lit., over) me! 47 Make a protecting šēdū and the
   god who keeps (one) well stand at my head (while I sleep)!
   48 May they continually guide me all through the night,
   until dawn!

We are interested here in the designation maṣṣar șulme u balāṭi, "a guardian of well-being and health", along with the analogous expression rābiṣ șulme, "the overseer of well-being". The terms occur in two contexts:

1). A GENERAL PHRASE IN LETTERS AND INCANTATIONS

maṣṣar șulme u balāṭi is found in Old Babylonian letters in the sentence:

ma-ṣaš-ṣa-ar șu-ul-mi-im ū ba-la-ṭi i-na re-ṣi-ka a-a
ip-pa-ar-ku

May a guardian of well-being and health never leave your head!

e.g., CT 43, No. 24, obv. 7-8; and PBS 7, No. 105, obv. 11-2.

The same phrase occurs in the Neo-Assyrian period in the sentence:

4X ma-ṣaš șul-me u ba-la-ṭi ana šarrī(LUGAL) bēli(EN)- ia lip-qi-du

May god X appoint a guardian of well-being and health to
the king, my lord!

Four correspondents use this in their elaborate greeting formulae to the
kings Esharhaddon and Ashurbanipal:
The deities invoked to appoint the guardian were the favourite ones of each writer. S. Parpola (LAS vol. 2, p. 180) suggested that all the letters to Esarhaddon containing an amplified blessing, including this sentence, followed the king's recovery from an illness in April-May 670 B.C.

The use of these sentences in the opening of letters suggests that, in this context, the phrase meant nothing specific, any more than the modern expression "Hope you are well".

The passage from *NRFD* quoted on page 128 provides us with an example of the phrase used in incantations. The request for a rābiš šulme occurs on *BMS* 6, rev. 123-4 (restored from *PBS* 1/1, No. 12, rev. 34-5; *SpTU* 2, No. 18, rev. 22'; and *STT* 60, rev. 31:

123). \( \text{lit-tal-lak ilu(DINGIR) mu-šal-lim ina idi(Â)-iaš lu ka-a-an} \)

124). \( \text{a-a ip-par-ku rābiš(MÂŠKIM) šulme(SILIM) ina arki(EGIR)-iaš} \)

(O Shamash,) 123 may the god who keeps (one) well continually walk at my side! 124 May the overseer of well-being never leave from (being) behind me!

Instead of requesting the continual presence of a divine protector, two kings claim that major divinities were so concerned with their welfare that they themselves appointed the guardians (note the plural in (i) below):

i). Ashurbanipal on *OECT* 6, pl. 11, obv. 16-7:

16). \( \text{dēđ (ALAD) dum-qî d1amasi(LAMMA) dum-qî ú-} \)

17). \( \text{a-na maššarât (EN.NUN.MEŠ) šul-me u balšî(Tl.} \)

16 They (the great gods) assigned a favourable šēdu and a
favourable lamassu to my side. They entrusted my life to guardians of well-being and health.

ii). Nabonidus 25, col. I lines 29-31:

29) ina qī-bit "Sin
30) šamaš(UTU) ištar(INANNA) Adad(ISKUR) u
31) Nergal(U.GUR) māṣarati(EN.NUN-ti) šu-lum u balāṭi(TIN)

29 At the command of Sin, the brilliant luminary,
30-1 Shamash, Ishtar, Adad, and Nergal appointed a guardian of well-being and health to me (lit., with me).

(C. J. Gadd [1958, pp. 66-7] had taken this guardian to be a human bodyguard, separate from the supernatural lamassu dumqi mentioned elsewhere.)

See the physiognomonic omen on K. 3994 + 4173 + 5939 + 6214 + 8507, col. II line 17 which indicates that the presence of a rābiṣ šulme was revealed by pleasant dreams (p. 95).

2). A RITUAL OBJECT

It would appear that, at times, the māṣar šulme u balāṭi could be an object made in rituals. Hence, one was creating a visible personal god in the form of an amulet (KAR 26) or charm (BMS 12).

I. KAR 26

The title at obv. 1-10 lists possible misfortunes which might be afflicting a person (including bad dreams, on obv 4-5), all of which are to be averted by the following ritual complex.

Obv. 11 to rev. 6 contain a long incantation to Marduk and his consort Zarpanitu (called E4-rus, a constellation with which she was associated, p. 485). Obv. 46-51 describe a "mad lion" figurine, uridimmu(UR.IDIM), as "a guardian of well-being (and) health", as well as the functions expected of it in this case:

46) uridimmu([UR].IDIM) Gisherêni(ERIN) ma-šar1 šul-mi ba-l[a1-ti] ila(DINGIR) el1-la
47) [a-na] mahar(IG)1-ku-nu ul-ziz na-ṣi-ru bābi
48. \( [\text{t}a]-\text{ri}-\text{du} \le\text{m}-\text{nu} \text{ga}l(\text{GAL}.\text{LÁ}) \text{a}-\text{ba} \\text{na}-\text{si}-\text{hu} \text{k}i\text{-}\text{pi p}â\text{s}i\text{ra}(\text{BÚR}) \text{r}u\text{-}\text{e ru}-\text{s}i\text{-e} \up\text{şal}-\text{se}-\text{e}1 \text{lennet}(\text{HUL}.\text{MEŠ}) \text{s}e\text{a-}\text{me}-\text{tu-ti}1 \) 

49. \( \mu\text{-}\text{sa}-\text{limi}(\text{DINGIR}) \text{ze}-\text{ni}-\text{i} \text{d}[\text{i}\text{štari}(\text{EŠ}1\text{8. TÁR})] \text{ze}-\text{ni}-\text{t}[\text{u}]1 \) 

50. \( \text{ša-}\text{bi}-\text{ti a}-\text{na} \text{d}\text{Marduk u d}\text{E4-ruš be-li-šu} \) 

51. \( \text{i-din-šum-ma} \text{d}\text{Marduk bēlu(EN) rabū(GAL-ū) ur-ta ša balāṭi(TL.LA)} \) 

46-7 I caused a 'mad lion' cedar (figurine), a guardian of well-being (and) health (and) a pure god, to be placed before you (pl.) (as) the daily protector of your gateway; 48 (as) the expeller (of) evil, the gallû-demon, (and) the enemy; (as) the banisher of witchcraft; (as) the dissolver of enchantment, magic, (and) the evil sorceries of mankind; 49 (as) the reconciler of the angry god (and) the angry [goddess]; 50 (as) my intercessor to Marduk and Erua, its lords. 51 O Marduk, the great lord, give it the order of life (concerning me)!

This wooden uridimmu figurine (see F. A. M. Wiggermann [1986], pp. 299-302) is attributed with the traditional functions of a personal deity. It was probably hung around the neck, because was threaded onto a gold band (rev. 9). Yet, the figurine had to be large enough to bear the inscription of an incantation to Marduk (rev. 11-2, Assarri) in order to make it efficacious.

II. *BMS 12*

The idea of an amulet being a guardian of well-being and health is also present on *BMS 12*, which was intended to prevent various misfortunes and types of sorcery from attacking someone (obv. 1), although there is no mention of dreams here.

Obv. 11-3 present instructions for the manufacture of a charm necklace composed of four replicas of the an(hullu(AN.HÚL)-plant in alabaster, gold, lapis lazuli, and mēšu-wood, interspersed with four beads of the same materials. On AO 6473 (RA 18 [1921], pp. 162-3), obv. 21,
the anhullu-plant forms part of a charm, and is described as:

21). \[
\text{\ul{Anhullu}(AN.HUL.LA) la ma-hir kiš-pi}
\]

The anhullu-plant which does not accept (i.e., tolerate) witchcraft.

Potential confusion occurs throughout BMS 12 between the references to the replicas and the plant itself, which is also used.

The incantation to Marduk provides us with further information regarding the functions of a mašar šulme u balāti, (the necklace is designated such at rev. 105; p. 133). Obv. 67 to rev. 73:

67). \[
\text{\ul{Anhullu}(AN.HUL) ša ina kišaḫīt(na)GÚ.MU) šaknu}
\]

68). \[
\text{arrat(ĀŠ) lemūtti(HUL-ti) egirrā(INIM.GAR) là}
\]

69). \[
\text{kīma(GIM) NA₄uqni(ZA.GIN) na-piš-ti ina ënë}
\]

70). \[
\text{kīma(GIM) NA₄uqni(ZA.GIN) na-piš-ti ina ënë}
\]

71). \[
\text{kīma(GIM) hurāši(KU.GI) îlî(DINGIR.MU) u}
\]

72). \[
\text{ina pi(KA) nišê(UN.MES) ana damiqti(SIGṣ-ti)}
\]

73). \[
\text{kīma(GIM) GIŠmēši(MES) lu-ni-is-su-u lemnēti}
\]

67 May the anhullu-plant, which is lying around my neck, prevent anything evil from approaching me! 68 May it thrust to the side the evil curse (and) the unfavourable oracular utterance! 69 May my lamp burn brightly like alabaster! May I have no gloom/calamity! 70 May my life become as valuable as lapis lazuli in your eye(s, O Marduk)! May mercy be placed upon me like gold! 71 May my personal god and my personal goddess become reconciled with me! 72 May there be favour (for me) in the mouth(s) of men! 73 May my misfortune be taken away as far as the mēsu-træs!
All of the materials comprising the charm necklace are shown to have a particular function, even if we do not see the connections today. It is a pity that most other charm lists are not so helpful (see ch. 15 on dream charms).

Rev. 105-14 is an incantation bringing into play the appropriate magical powers of the necklace before it is placed around the sufferer’s neck. On rev. 105 the necklace is described as:

105). at-ta anhullu(AN.HÜL) ṣal-ṣar šūl-me šá dÉ-a
u ṣAsal-lú-hi
O you (sing.) anhullu-amulet, the guardian of well-being,
(the agent) of Ea and Asallahi!

An extremely useful mention of the functions of a maṣṣar šulme(∪ balāṭi), for the purposes of this study, occurs on rev. 113, unfortunately broken on both BMS 12 and the duplicate LM 44, line 10:

113). ina ma-ṣar šul-me mūši(∪GE61) u 'kal?1 ūmi
(fU41) šutta([M]ÁS.GE6) damiqtata(SIGs-ta) lu-mur : luf-tul
May I experience (or) may I see favourable dream(s during)
the night and all? the day through a guardian of well-being!

The protective figurines of the dream ritual on ADRC, col. II lines 19-23, were not interred as in other rituals, but placed at the dreamer’s head. The action recalls NRFD, obv. 46-8 (p. 128), which asks Nusku to ensure that the petitioner’s personal deities stand guard during the night. Perhaps these figurines were another ‘solid’ version of the maṣṣar šulme u balāṭi.

3). SUMMARY

The phrase maṣṣar šulme u balāṭi is a description of one of the roles of the personal deities, "a guardian of well-being and health", hence it came to be a term denoting them. The expression occurs in letters merely expressing wishes of good health, etc., from the sender to the recipient; i.e., "may your personal god protect you". The continual presence of their personal deities is requested in incantations by ordinary
people; while kings boast about the appointment of their personal deities by major divinities.

We have seen that "a guardian of well-being and health" may also be an amulet or charm necklace created in a ritual. These objects were assigned the following functions, identical to those of the personal deities:

i). To prevent evil from approaching a man.
ii). To keep at a distance demons, evil curses, and unfavourable oracular utterances so that the sufferer may win favour from men.
iii). To dissolve witchcraft.
iv). To reconcile angry (personal) deities.
v). To intercede for the sufferer with major deities so that they will be merciful.
vi). To take away misfortune.
vii). To protect the life and health of the wearer.
viii). To grant the wearer favourable dreams or, rather, ensure that he does not have unfavourable ones.

Therefore, it is proposed that the manufacture of certain amulets or charms were envisaged as rituals creating (in effect) a visible personal deity, a maşşar şulme u balāţi. It should be noted that this designation does not occur in the description of dream charms, or in other charm lists known to the writer. The personal deities were not supplanted by such guardians, because one of the latter's functions was to reconcile angry gods. Instead, a tangible maşşar şulme u balāţi was almost as potent as a personal god, acting like a protective umbrella; thus more powerful than a simple charm possessing one or two specific functions.
CHAPTER 9: THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DREAMS AND OTHER OMINOUS EXPERIENCES

This chapter explores connections envisaged by the Mesopotamians between dreams and other ominous experiences. The reasons for their existence escape us today, and it is unclear when they originated, so we can only present them. Such links were either based on the equivalence of different ominous experiences (Sections A-C), or on the use of other divinatory techniques in conjunction with dreams (Section D).

A). EXTISPICY

The cuneiform sources reveal the following connections between extispicy and oneirology:

i). The Sumerian word māš is transcribed in Akkadian by bīru, "divination (by extispicy)". MĀŠ also appears in the logogram for šuttu, MĀŠ.GE₄, "a divination of the night"; i.e., "a dream".

ii). bīru and šuttu were regarded as comparable sources of omens (pp. 136-7, 140).

iii). Occasionally bīru can only mean some type of vision (pp. 140-1).

iv). bārū, haruspex, and bīru derive from the verbal root brī, whose basic meaning is "to inspect, to observe". It developed several specialized nuances, including bīra bērū (p. 136) and šubrū in dream contexts (pp. 296-7).

v). At times extispicy was used to augment messages received in dreams. This is discussed in Section D, on pages 150-7.
1). LEXICAL LINKS

*birū* primarily means "divination by extispicy" as is shown by its occurrences in the haruspical texts:

i). The haruspex performs a *bīru*.

ii). The phrase *bīra barū* means "to perform an extispicy".

iii). The ritual site is called *ašer bīri*, "the place of extispicy".

iv). Shamash and Adad are invoked as *bēšē bīri*, "the lords of extispicy".

The lexical texts link *bīru* and *šuttu* together by virtue of their logograms: e.g.:

i). igi.duš.a = *tāmartu*, Short Version (AfO 18 [1957-8], pp. 81-6), lines 96-7:

96). [māš] | *bi*-rum | "divination"
97). māš.gēš | *šu*-ut-tu | "dream"

ii). lū = *šā*, Excerpt II, lines 121-2 [MSL 12, p. 108]:

121). māš | *bi*-i-ru | "divination"
122). māš.gēš | *šu*-ut-tum | "dream"

*birūtu* is another derivative of *brī*, and is only attested lexically. The reason for its inclusion here is the passage an.ta.gāl = *šaqū*, Tab. 8, lines 262-4 [MSL 17, p. 177]:

262). [māš.gēš] | [šu]-ut-tum | "dream"
263). i.ni[lim.gar] | *e*-gir-ru-u | "utterance"
264). nīg.[ . . . . ] | *bi*-ru-tum | "divination"

The Akkadian dictionaries disagree as to the meaning of *birūtu*. *AHw* 1, *birūtu* I, p. 130a translated it as "(Traum)-Gesicht", but there is no evidence to support this rendition. *CAD* B, *birūtu*, p. 268a has the preferable general translation "divination". It probably referred to extispicy.

2). *bīru*, "VISION"

There are two passages, both in ŠU.ILLÁ-incantations addressed to Gula, which indicate that a dream and a *bīru* were regarded as comparable sources of omens. *bīru* has been left untranslated since it is unclear
whether the nuance "(omens from) extispicy" or "vision" is meant.

i. \textit{BMS} 4, rev 38-42 (duplicated by \textit{LM} 11, obv. 9'13'):

38. \textit{ina šuttu} (MĀŠ.GE₆) \textit{u bi-ri ša šakna} (GAR-n[a])

39. \textit{ina lumun} (HUL) \textit{attal} (AN.GE₆) \textit{Sīn} (30) \textit{ša ina arhi} (ITI) \textit{annanna} (NENN) \textit{ūμi} (U₄) \textit{annanna (NENN)} \textit{iššakna} (GAR-[na])

40. \textit{ina lumun} (HUL) \textit{idātī} (Á.MEŠ) \textit{ittātī} (GISKIM.MEŠ) \textit{lemnētī} (HUL.MEŠ) \textit{la ūbātī} (DUG.GIA.MEŠ)

41. \textit{ša ina ekkallī} (É.GAL.MU) \textit{u mātī} (KUR.MU) \textit{ibšā} (GÁL-[a])

42. \textit{paš-ha-ku ad-ra-ku} \textit{u šu-ta-du-ra-[ku]}

38 As a result of dream(s) and \textit{bīru} which occur to me;

39 as a result of the ill portent of the lunar eclipse which occurs/occurred in month X, (on) day Y, 40 (and) because of the evil of ill-boding (and) unpleasant ominous happenings (and) signs, 41 which are (occurring) in my palace and (throughout) my land: 42 I am afraid, I am worried, and I am constantly terrified.

\textit{STT} 59, rev. 12-3:

12. \textit{ina bi-ri} \textit{u šu-ut-ti it-ta-na-āš-kan-am-ma}

13. \textit{paš-ha-ku-ma a-ta-[nam-dal]-ru}

12 As a result of \textit{bīru(s)} and dream(s which) repeatedly occur to me, 13 I am afraid, and I am constantly (living) in fear.

(There are several duplicates of this incantation: e.g., \textit{BMS} 6, obv. 71 to rev. 96; and \textit{LM} 19, obv., which addresses the goddess Belet ili instead.)

Another example of the association of \textit{šuttu} and \textit{bīru} is \textit{SpTU} 2, No. 21, obv. 16 (p. 140).

The conjunction of \textit{bīru} and \textit{šuttu} has led some modern editors to translate the former as "dream, vision" in certain passages where it occurs on its own. A study of the context usually reveals that this is an erroneous translation, and that extispicy is being referred to in phrases well-known from elsewhere in the technical corpus.
One such passage is Nabonidus 4*, col. II lines 52-6:

52). \( i-na\ p a l-e-a \ k [i-n]-i m\ i n a\ p u-l u h-t Û\ s h Û\ \ d \ l ù s t a r \)
\( \text{INANNA}\ A-g a-dé\ bél-ti(GAŠAN)-i a \)
53). \( b i-r i\ a b-re-e-m a\ Š a m a š(U T U)\ ù\ d A d a d(I Š K U R) \)
54). \( i-p u-l u-' u-i n-n i\ a n-n a\ k i-i-n u \)
55). \( s h á\ ' k a l-s h á\ -d u\ t e-m e-en-n a\ É-u l-m a š\ š Û-a-t i \)
56). \( s h Û r(U Z U)\ d u m-q Ù i-na\ s h Û r(U Z U)\ p u h à d i(S I L A 4)-i a \)
\( i š-k u n \)

In my legitimate reign, in dread of Ishtar of Agade, my lady, 53 I performed an extispicy, and Shamash and Adad answered me with unambiguous assent. 55-6 He (Shamash) placed a favourable omen (lit., flesh of good luck) in the flesh of my (sacrificial) lamb regarding obtaining the foundation document of that Eulmash (Ishtar's temple at Agade).

The context makes it clear that an extispicy was performed. S. Langdon [1915-6, p. 113 and notes 1, 3-4] translated these lines as if they referred to a dream. SILA4 in line 56 was taken to mean an astronomical omen seen in a dream, with the result that he claimed that bīru was used in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions in the sense of "dream, dream oracle". The mistranslation possibly arose from the fact that similar sections occur on the same cylinder in which Nabonidus received divine messages about temple restorations in dreams, designated by šuttu(MĀŠ.GEs): col. I lines 67-70 (pp. 41-2), and col. III lines 36-7 (p. 79).

J. N. Postgate [NRGD] took three fragmentary texts as indicating that divine instructions concerning the endowment of certain temples were granted in dreams or visions, bīru:

i). \( A D D\ 7 3 8\ (= N R G D\ No.\ 3 6;\ pl. 2 2) \).
ii). \( S V A T\ 1\ (s e e\ N R G D,\ p p .\ 1 2 1-2) \).
iii). \( K A V\ 3 9\ (s e e\ N R G D,\ p p .\ 1 2 2-3) \).

In these texts, the references to messages originating from the patrons of the haruspex, Shamash and Adad, together with the phrase bīru barû, indicate that the orders were revealed on a sheep's entrails, and not by dreams, etc. As the tablets exist today, there are no descriptions of the relevant omens.
9).

i). **ADD 738, obv. 5' to rev. 8'**:

5'). [ . . . ] **[dŠamaš(U TU)  u  d'Adad(IŠKUR)]**
   
   āš-Ša-al (k un)-ma

6'). **[bi-ri] ab-re-e-ma**

7'). [ina muhhi(U GU)? (URU)]Šabl-bu Šali(URU) ša ummi
   (AMA) šari(LUGAL)

8'). **[dŠamaš(U TU)] < u> dAdad(IŠKUR) ina bi-ri ud-du-ni**

5' [ . . . ] I asked Shamash and Adad, and 6' I performed [an extispicy]. 7'-8' [Shamash] (and) Adad informed me in the extispicy [about?] Shabu, the city of the king's (i.e., my) mother.

ii). **SVAT 1, obv. 14-5**:  

14). **eli(U GU) biTe(E)  ē-ki-it ša šerī(EDIN) bi-ri**
   
   ab-re-e-ma

15). [dŠamaš(U TU) u dAdad(IŠKUR) iq-bu-ni]

14 I performed an extispicy concerning the biTe akiti (a religious structure) of the open country, and 15 Shamash and Adad addressed me.

iii). **KAV 39, obv. 1'-2'** (the true obverse was thought to be the reverse in KAV):

1'). [ina muhhi(U GU)? biTe(E) 4Za-bas-baš? bi-ri]
   
   ab-re-e-ma 4Ša-maš u 4Adad(IŠKUR) āš-Ša-al-ma

2'). um-ma 4Za-bas-baš mār(DUMU) Aššur(AN.ŠAR) šu-ú
   
   4Ša-maš u 4Adad(IŠKUR) ina bi-ri ū-du-ni

1' I performed an extispicy [concerning? the temple of Zababab], and I asked Shamash and Adad. 2' Thus the son of Ashur himself — Zababa, Shamash, and Adad informed me in the extispicy.

DB, p. 354 regarded obv. 1'-5' as an example of a divine statue being created according to a "vision" (biTe). In fact, these lines are part of the historical preamble to a royal endowment.

The Neo-Assyrian haruspical inquiries from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal contain some queries relating to cultic matters, namely
about priestly appointments and the movements of the statue of Marduk (I. Starr [SAA 5], Nos. 262-6), but none referring to temple grants.

In (i) and (iii) above the recipient of the presumed dream was Sennacherib. The fulsome letter, LAS 117, addressed to his grandson, Ashurbanipal, recounts on obv. 7:

7)  Aš-šur(AN.ŠAR) i-na šutti(MĀŠ.GEš) a-na a-bi(AD)
    a-bi(AD)-šū ša šarri(LUGAL) bêli(EN)-ia apkallu
    (ABGAL) iq-ši-b(a-āš-šū)

Ashur spoke to the grandfather (lit., the father of the father) of the king, my lord, a sage, in a dream.

Since the intention of this passage was to praise Ashurbanipal's wisdom, it may only be hyperbole.

Two attestations of bīru cannot be dismissed so easily as alluding to extispicy, and must refer to a type of vision:

i).  SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 16:

16)  at-ta man-nu šá i-na šutti(MĀŠ.GEš) u bi-ri
    ittanammaru(IGI.[GI]-ru) itti(KI)-iš

Whoever you are, who are repeatedly seen by me in dream(s) and vision(s),

The ritual is concerned with detaching a recurrent dream apparition (obv. 1), therefore, bīru can only refer to a type of vision.

ii).  Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 3, lines 35-8:

35)  la ta-pal-šah iq-ba-a ú-ša-X [ .. . . . .
       . . ]

36)  mi-mu-u šutta(MĀŠ.GEš) i-tul ú ina mim-ma [ .
       . . . . ]

37)  iq-bi-ma a-hu-la-pi me-gal šum-(ru-uš-ma)

38)  a-a-um-ma šá i-na šat mu-ši ib-ru-u bi-[ra]

35 "You must not fear", she said [ . . . . . . . . ]

36 something (of) a dream he saw, and through something [ . . . . ] 37 She spoke, "Deliverance (from your) very exhausted [state], 38 whoever saw a vision during the night".
These lines occur in the account of the third dream, presumably referring to the previous two, in which Marduk indicated the abatement of his ire. The sufferer is purified, and restored to grace in this third dream.

B). *purussû, "(ORACULAR) DECISION"

*purussû* is written in Akkadian texts by two, seemingly interchangeable, logograms: KA.AŠ.BAR and EŠ.BAR. (See J. Klein [1970-1] for the idea that these words originally represented different concepts in Sumerian texts.) The predominant meaning of *purussû* in the Akkadian texts is "a decision (granted by an omen from the gods)" ([AHw 2, p. 882]). It occurs frequently with the verb it is derived from in the phrase *purussû parâsu* (TAR), "to make a decision", and in sequence with *dînu* (TAR), "to pass judgement" (e.g., ADRC, col. III lines 4-7). *dînu* is orientated mainly towards the laws and courts of humans ([CAD D, pp. 150-51], but does occur in divinatory contexts (primarily haruspical). *dînu* is to be translated "(law) case, (divine) verdict" or "situation" as the sense demands. Likewise, *purussû* may refer to human (legal) judgements.

1). **SIR**

*SIR* is the only source known to the writer for the expression *purussû amâru*, "to see a decision". The table on page 142 below reveals that this text took "to see an oracular decision" as an equivalent for "to see a dream"; as well as referring to the observation of an ominous object in relation to a specified purpose. (See the text edition for the Akkadian.)

The similarity of the subject-matter of *SIR* with the range of topics ascribed to *purussû* on KAR 44, rev. 2 (the list of manuals for the exorcist) has been pointed out before (e.g., E. Reiner [1960a], pp. 29-30):

2). *purussû(EŠ.BAR) kakkabâni(MUL.MES) iššûrē (MUŠEN.MES) u alpî(GU₄.MES) bûlt(MÂŠ.ANŠE.MES) egîrrû(INIM.GAR) NA₄ku-na-ri ili(DINGIR) kalâma(DÛ.A.BI)*

Oracular decision(s) from (lit., of) stars, birds, and cattle,
(and) wild animals; oracular utterance(s); the kunari-stone of every god.

Examples for all except the last item can be found in Šumma ālu. Sexual dreams (= nightmares) are mentioned in Šumma ālu (pp. 101-2, 103), but SIR contains rituals to obtain dream omens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ritual Complex Lines</th>
<th>Incantation References</th>
<th>Incantation Rubric</th>
<th>Ritual result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44-51</td>
<td>47 to speak with the personal gods</td>
<td>48 to see a decision (and/or) to see a dream</td>
<td>51 lie down and will see a dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>64 to see a dream about recovery</td>
<td>65 to see a decision</td>
<td>68 lie down and will see a dream 69-70 omens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-84</td>
<td>partial duplicate</td>
<td></td>
<td>84 lie down and will see a decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-91</td>
<td>87 shooting stars</td>
<td>88 to see a decision</td>
<td>91 will see a decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92-109</td>
<td>partial duplicate</td>
<td></td>
<td>104-9 omens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-38</td>
<td>117 movements of ox will give decision</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>121 will see a decision 122-38 omens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C.  

Having dealt with oracular decisions via movements of creatures and stars, we come now to omens derived from noises. At certain times, whose significance eludes us, an utterance overheard in the daytime was considered by the Mesopotamians to have portentous force. A. L. Oppenheim [1954-6] discussed this nuance, and came to the conclusion that it corresponded to the Greek kledon. A person overheard a word or phrase spoken by another, and managed 'to interpret' it so that it related to a problem or an idea which he was pondering over unbeknownst to the
speaker. Such an utterance was regarded as having been inspired by the gods, thereby revealing their intentions towards the listener’s plans.

The basic meaning of egirrē/igirrē/girrē is “a placed word” (INIM.GAR), which is taken to denote “an utterance”. egirrē is usually followed by the adjectives damqu, “favourable”, or lemnu, "unfavourable", hence the nuance of expressing good or bad wishes. This utterance is overheard during the daytime, when the speaker is not addressing the listener directly.

The ‘ordinary’ sense of an utterance is a comment made about a person, or affecting his reputation, as the subject goes about his business: e.g., Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 1, line 53:

53). ina pi-i su-qí le-mun egirrē(INIM.GAR)-ū-a

My reputation is bad in the mouth of the street.

Šurpu, Tab. 5-6, lines 154-5, relates an (unfavourable) egirrē to "a curse/oath", māmētu:

154). inim.gar sag.ba hul nam.[lú].uš.lu.ke₄
155). ana e-gir-re-e ma-mit lem-ni [šá] a-me-lu-ti
(The goddess Uttu spun a thread) against an utterance, the evil curse of mankind.

The deities were frequently asked to ensure that the petitioner would constantly hear good wishes from all sides: e.g., CT 16, pl. 8, lines 280-3:

280). igi.mu.ta inim.gar sig₅.ga hé.en.dug₄.ga : 
281). ana pa-ni-ia e-gir-ri damiqti(SIG₅-ti) liq-qa-bi 
282). bar.mu.ta šu sig₅.ga hé.en.dù.dù 
283). ana ār-ki-ia ú-ba-nu damiqti(SIG₅-ti) lit-ta-ri-iₙ

280-1 May a favourable utterance be spoken to my face!
282-3 May the finger of good luck be pointed behind me
(lit., stretched out to my back)!

We do not possess much evidence for divination by egirrēs and, while it was thought to be restricted to human speech, it seemed that this was because the listener could interpret the overheard utterance to suit himself (cledonomancy), hence it was not a scholarly practice. This appears more
probable than A. L. Oppenheim's [1954-6, p. 55] view that cledonomancy was either restricted to priestly circles, or was generally not practised.

1). THE NOISES OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS

It has become obvious since that an egirrû may derive from a wider spectrum of auditory experiences which are deemed to be ominous, possibly by hindsight. So far, we have evidence that the sounds of animals and birds (even the latter's flight patterns, in Seleucid times; see on) were called "utterances", as were the messages of ecstatics (at least at Mari; pp. 145-7).

CT 39, pls. 41-2 (Summa ãlu, Tab. 95) covers egirrûs in lines 1-33.

1). "summa(DIŠ) amēlu(LU) ana ili(DINGIR) i-kar-
   rab-ma egirrû(INIM.GAR) ar-hiš i-ta-nap-pal-
   šü) ar-hiš im-man-gar il-šu taš-lit-su iš-me
If a man prays to a god, and an utterance promptly replies to him, (or) promptly is consenting/agreeable - (It means) his personal god heard his prayer.

It appears that a man prays to his personal god, then the first noise he hears afterwards is the response (egirrû) to his request. Lines 3-13 reveal that the number of times "yes" (annu) or "no" (ula) occurs has an effect on the decision. This is probably to be taken as a general affirmative or negative response according to some rules, rather than an audition of the actual words. Lines 15-25 indicate that the direction of the utterance in relation to the listener is important. Lines 26-33 list the different creatures which may give oracular utterances: donkeys, oxen, rams, dogs, pigs, goats, and birds. The verb relating to the egirrû is always i-pu-ul-
šü, "answered him". apâlu is also used when Shamash and Adad give their verdict by placing signs on a sheep's innards during an extispicy.

This tablet suggests that certain rules existed for trained interpreters of egirrûs, at least when humans were not involved. After the petitioner had heard the first utterance after his request, he would have to rush to the expert, remembering all the circumstances, to have the omen explained.

The Seleucid augural request ASH. 1923. 749 (G. J. P. McEwan [1980]) reveals that by this date the flight patterns and/or calls of birds were
9): $iṣṣūrat(MUŠEN, [HĀ]) di-i-ni u egirrē([INIM]).

GAR tar-ša ultu(_TA) pa-na-ku-nu

10): 'ūl-ba-'a

9-10 I am seeking from you (lit., from your faces) the birds of decision and the appropriate oracular utterance.

2). MESSAGES FROM ECSTATICS

The Mari letter ARM 10, No. 4 indicates that an egirrū could be an oracle, which was subsequently expanded and amplified by the prophet in 'magical' language, a fact which does not come over in translation. Queen Shibti wrote to her husband Zimri-Lim telling him about the consultations she had made regarding the future of the expedition he was planning against Ishme-Dagan of Assyria, and their results. Obv. 3-11:

3). $aš-šum ṭe4-em gi-ir-ri-im

4). ša be-li i-la-ku it-ta-tim

5). zi-ka-ra-am ū sí-in-ni-iš-tam

6). MAH $aš-ta-al-ma i-gi-ir-ru1-ú-um

7). a-na be-lí-ia ma-di-iš da-mi-iq

8). a-na š-me-4 Da-gan qa-tam-ma

9). zi-ka-ra-am ū sīl-in-ni-iš-tam

10). $aš-ta-al-ma i-gi-ir-ru-šu

11). ū-ul da-mi-iq

Concerning the plan of campaign 4 which my lord undertakes, 5-6 I have asked for omens from the male and female ecstatic(s), and the oracular utterance 7 for my lord is very favourable. 8-10 Likewise, I have asked the male and female (ecstatics about) Ishme-Dagan, and the oracular utterance concerning him 11 is unfavourable.

The writer has followed A. Finet, who noted [1982, p. 51] that he had collated this tablet in the Aleppo Museum, and that G. Dossin's copy [ARM 10, pl. 3] was scrupulously exact. On the other hand, J.-M. Durand [1982, p. 43, and n. 2] also collated this tablet, but read $aš-qi at the beginning of obv. 6, instead of MAH. What is certain is that the suggestion of W. von Soden given in P.-R. Berger [1969, p. 221] is
unacceptable; namely, that the signs were to be read ʿul-qi, and translated as "die Vorzeichen wartete ich ab". P. Römer [1971, p. 50] accepted this version, placing these signs at the end of obv. 4.

The different renditions of A. Finet and J.-M. Durand have given rise to diverging opinions of the divinatory procedure whose results are described in ARM 10, No. 4. As will be seen, both solutions are problematic. Regarding the proposal of A. Finet, the sign MAH is rarely attested in the Mari repertoire of cuneiform signs [1982, pp. 51-2]. It seems in this letter that the writing of obv. 5-6 represents

Lû u Mîmahhêmt(MAH),

an uncommon practice. Elsewhere in the Mari texts, mahhû is expressed by LûGUB.BA.

J.-M. Durand [1982, p. 43] translated ARM 10, No. 4, obv. 3-6 as:

"Relativement à la nouvelle de l'expédition future de mon seigneur, j'ai fait boire les 'signes', mâle et femelle, et j'ai posé mes questions".

He argued (ibid., p. 44) that 'the signs' denoted people, mediums, who subdued their consciousness by drinking an unknown liquid, becoming mouthpieces for the gods. The professional may have been the ʾāṣilum [ibid., pp. 45-6], and the liquid, blood, water, or wine - from Biblical (dubious) and Classical examples of such a process [ibid., pp. 48-9]. A similar procedure is supposedly attested on ARM 10, No. 6, rev. 1'-2':

1'). [aš-šu-em te-em Bābili(K)Â.DIN(GIR.RA)K1]

2'). [it-tla-f tim aš-qi1 ēš-ta-al-m(ta]

J.-M. Durand [AEM 1/1, p. 44] translated these lines as:

"Au sujet de Babylone, après avoir fait boire les signes, j'ai posé mes questions."

It may be possible that the word 'omen, sign" came to be used in the sense of "prophet". J.-M. Durand [1982, p. 44] offered the example of BÂRA, "throne dâṣ/", being used for "king" (see DB, pp. 293-4, especially n. 184, for such a usage in a tablet of dream omens, K. 273 + 1944b + 9064; DB, pl. 13).

It should be noted that on both ARM 10, Nos. 4 and 6 the signs he transliterated as
as-qi are emended or broken respectively.

C. Wilcke [1983] took a path between the theories of A. Finet and J.-M. Durand. He adopted the reading as-qi in obv. 6, but did not follow J.-M. Durand's idea of drunken trances. Instead, the queen plied the populace (man and woman) with wine to obtain public opinion about Zimri-Lim's proposed campaign. The remainder of this letter then reported the speeches she heard, which are rather convoluted for ordinary speech.

If the theories of either A. Finet or J.-M. Durand are correct, then the letter ARM 10, No. 4 raises several interesting points relating to our definition of egirru. The queen consulted some ecstasies, whose message is called, quite rightly, "an utterance". This oracular speech was by no means overheard by chance, being a 'direct' response to a question. Also, it was interpreted by the ecstasies following further questioning, as is reported in the rest of the letter.

Another Mari letter, AEM 1/1, No. 196, suggests that an egirru was an oracle. The sender mentions that he had received the following order: obv. 7-10:

7). i-na a-al ilim(DINGIR-lim) wa-asš-ba-at
8). i-g[e-elr-ru-ũ] ūm ăng i-na bīt(Ē) ilim(DINGIR)
9). i-[ba-asš-š[ul]-ū ú te-še-mu-ū
10). a-[n]laše-r[i]-ila ūsu-up-ra-am

7 You reside in the town of the god. 8-10 Send to me the egirru(ks) which occur and you hear in the temple (lit., the house of the god).

By the time of Ashurbanipal (in Mesopotamia proper), egirru were regarded as something different from prophetic messages: e.g., Cylinder B, col. V lines 93-6 (M. Streck [VAB 7], p. 120):

93). [ina tukulti 4Aššur u] 4Marduk ilâni(DINGIR.
MEŠ) rabôti(GAL.MEŠ) bâl(EN.MEŠ)-ia
94). ša ú-tak-kil-ũ-in-ni
95). ina idâti(GISKIM.MEŠ) šutti(MĂŠ.GES) egirrê
(INIM.GAR) ši-pîr mah-he-e
96). qé-reb URU Tul-li-iz abikta(ŠI.ŠI)-šû aš-kun

93 [Trusting in Ashur and] Marduk, the great gods, my
lords, 94 who encouraged me 95 by omens, by a dream (see lines 49ff.), by an oracular utterance, (and by) the message of an ecstatic, 96 I accomplished his (the Elamite king's) decisive defeat within Tulliz.

3). UTTERANCES AND DREAMS

Whatever the scope of an egirrû, there are several passages showing that the Mesopotamians held a nocturnal dream and a diurnal auditory experience to be analogous ominous experiences: e.g.:

i). S. Greengus [1979], No. 23, obv. 12'-4':

12'). a-na La-ma-sa-ni be-šel-tim [aš]-pu-ur
13'). ū šu-na-a-t[iš] ū i-gi-ir-re-e
14'). ša a-mu-ru ū e-eš-mu-ū aš-pu-ur-ši
12' [I] wrote to Lamassani, (my) lady, 13'-4' informing her (about) the dreams and oracular utterances which I (respectively)saw and heard.


18). i-da-at dum-qí
19). ina šutti(MAŠ.GEs) u ger-re-e
20). ša šur-šu-di kar-ri
21). šul-bur palė(BAL)-ia
22). it-ta-nab-šá-a eli(UGU)-ia

18 Favourable omens 19 in dream(s) and by oracular utterance(s) 20 concerning the firm establishment of my throne, 21 (and) the prolongation of my reign 22 constantly occurred to me.

iii). SpTU 2, No. 22, col. I lines 34'-5' :

34'). ina kišādi(GÚ)-šú tašakken(GAR)-ma
35'). egirrê(INIM.GAR)-šú ušteššêr(SI.SÁ) šunāti
(MAŠ.GEs.MEŠ) idammiqâ(SIGs.MEŠ)

34' You place (this charm) around his neck. 35' His oracular utterance will become correct, (and) his dreams will become favourable.

It is unclear what the reference on The Epic Of Tukulti-Ninurta I, col.
IV line 45 means (E. Ebeling, MAOG 12/2 [1938], p. 15):

45). e-girrû šu-ut-ti-ia ka-ia-a-na párî (pa)-da a-
[ . . . . ]

The oracular utterance of my dream was constantly 
frightening. [ . . . . ]

An egirrû was used in two rituals to avert the evil of a bad dream 
which had already been seen; these are discussed on pages 207-8.

There is no evidence to support the idea of S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, 
p. 214] that the egirrû on SDR, line 22, was a dream-oracle.

D). USES OF OTHER DIVINATORY TECHNIQUES IN CONJUNCTION WITH 
DREAMS

On page 29 the writer disagreed with A. L. Oppenheim's view that 
oneiromancy was a Mesopotamian divinatory technique of low status, whose 
messages were distrusted. While there is no "perpetual desire for 
confirmation" [LDB, p. 212] of dreams, there is evidence that other 
divinatory methods could be used to augment a dream's message.

The Mesopotamians were desperately anxious to obtain knowledge of 
divine intentions and wishes, insuring themselves by using as many 
divinatory techniques as possible, presumably hoping, meanwhile, not to 
incur punishment for lengthy delays. So, even if a dream seems to have 
its message confirmed by other practices, this does not necessarily mean 
that the former was regarded as having less value as a source of divine 
communications.

The writer suggests that the other methods were used in two ways. 
Firstly, four Mari letters (A. 222 (RA 69 [1975], p. 28); AEM 1/1, Nos. 82 
and 142; ARM 10, No. 94; pp. 157, 150-2) reveal that augury and extispicy 
were used to confirm whether or not a dream had actually been seen 
(naṭlat); i.e., was meaningful. Secondly, Ashurbanipal's prism BM 121006, 
col. II lines 14-9 (p. 156), indicates that extispicy was used to pose 
questions to the gods which had arisen from a dream. In other words, the 
two methods of receiving divine communications (p. 26) complemented 
each other. Depending upon the nature of these queries, one could either
discover whether an event would occur (thus confirming the dream), or obtain more information, even advice on how to act (thereby supplementing the dream).

The main divinatory techniques associated with dreams were extispicy and augury, but there is also a possible connection with lecanomancy in The Shamash Hymn, lines 53-4 (although there are difficulties in translation):

53). \[i-na\] ma-kal-ti ba-ru-ti a-na ri-kis \(\text{Gil}^\text{sereni}\) (ERIN)

54). \[at-ta\] mu-ši-mi šá-ilī(DINGIR.MEŠ) pa-še-ru 
\(\text{šu}nāti(MÅŠ.GE}6.MEŠ)

53-4 (O Shamash, [you are the enlightener] of the šāillus, the ones who interpret? dreams [by] the mākaltu-bowl of the craft of the haruspex on a cedar cultic stand.

In this context, pašaru can only mean "to interpret" or "to dissolve". A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 222] preferred "to interpret" without explaining how a dream could be interpreted by patterns of oil on water - one could not obtain the same visual images after all. Yet, at DB, p. 222 and p. 225, he stated that the šāillus made the god (Shamash) convey the message of a symbolic dream he had sent by a different, but this time unequivocal, medium.

It is equally mysterious as to how lecanomancy could dissolve a dream. The Mesopotamians did have the concept that an omen could cancel out another one [CAD M2, mihu A, p. 58b - Neo-Assyrian texts], but we possess no details of the why and wherefore.

1). EXTISPICY
I. Mari Letters

ARM 10, No. 94 contains a fragmentary dream report, and the sender recommends on rev. 9'-12' that the king has a haruspex investigate the matter:

9'). \(i-na-an-na\)

10'). \(be-li wa-ar-ka-tam mār(DUMU) bārīm(MÅŠ.ŠU). \(GîD.GîD\)

11'). \(li-ša-ap-ri-is-ma šum-ša1 [š]u-[u]t1-tum \(š[i-i]\)
12').  'na1-[a]l|-|la1|-at be-li šehertam(MITUR) Pi-
g1l1-(a)-i'id-1-Na-we-e li-is-si1

Now, 10-1' my lord should have a haruspex investigate (the dream reported above) and, if this dream 12' was seen, my lord (should call) the young girl Tagid-[Nawûm].

The expression warkatam parâsu in the Mari letters means "to decide the validity" of a dream or prophecy (see p. 486 for meanings in other contexts). The phrase appears at the conclusion of the dream report A. 15 (RA 42 [1948], pp. 128, 130), edge 43-4:

43).  wa-ar-ka-at šu-ut-ti<-im> an-ni-tim be-li
44).  li-ip-ru-us

43-4 My lord should investigate this dream (described above).

One method of confirmation, and the reasons for it, are given by ARM 10, No. 81. Its sender reported the oracle of an špîltum (a prophetess, lit., "she who answers") in a broken passage, and suggested, edge 22-5, that:

22).  '[K]a1-ak-ka-bi te-er-tam
23).  [li]-šel-pí-iš-ma a-na zi-im
24).  te-re-ti-šu '[K]a1-ak-ka-bi
25).  '[li]-pu-úš

22-5 My Star (i.e., the king) should cause an extispicy to be performed. (Then) my Star should act according to the liver omen organs concerning him.

AEM 1/1 contains two Mari letters describing the results of extispicies in connection with dreams. No. 142 concluded that the dream was worthless (pp. 50-1). No. 82 recommended that the king should take action because this dream was very important: lines 5-9:

5).  '[la]-si-im-[D]a-gan
6).  šu-ut-[t]la-am if-ţú-ul
7).  šu-ut-[t]um ra-bé-et ù na-a4'-da-at
8).  [tie-er-tam [šla šu-ut-ti-šu ú-še-pí-iš-ma
9).  [šu-ut-t]la-šu na-a4-[la-lat]

5 lasim-Dagan 6 saw a dream. 7 The dream is important and deserves attention. 8 I caused an extispicy to be
performed concerning his dream, and 9 (it confirmed that) his [dream] was seen.

*ARM* 10, No. 94 and A. 15 contain accounts of straightforward statements received in dreams. On the former a girl is given a name, while the latter records a direct statement from Dagan: if Zimri-Lim reports fully on his affairs, the god will help him prevail over Mari's enemies. It would appear that other divinatory techniques were used to test the veracity of a dream report in the same way that locks of hair and pieces of hems were sent to authenticate oracles (e.g., *AEM* 1/1, No. 200, lines 22-4). Therefore, it was not the dream *per se* which was distrusted, but the report of having seen one, and its contents. This was only practical when one recalls the uses to which message dreams were put (pp. 70-4). This idea is supported by the use of extispicy to confirm a prophecy (*ARM* 10, No. 81) and by the promise to send a lock of hair and a piece of hem from the dreamer after an augury had confirmed that a dream had been seen (A. 222; p. 157).

II. Kassite And Middle Babylonian Extispicy Reports

F. R. Kraus [1985] edited various Middle Babylonian haruspical texts, some of which listed the extispicy report obtained in response to a specific question. Five such texts contain queries pertaining to dreams:

i). Ni. 2389, which was unnumbered when previously edited by V. Scheil (*RA* 14 [1917], pp. 146, 149-51) - Kraus No. 3, obv. 9 and 18:

9). *ki d*Nusku ú-sa-ap-pu-ú šutta(MÂŠ.GE₆)*-šu li-dam-mi-iq

Shall his dream be favourable if he prays to Nusku?

18). šutta(MÂŠ.GE₆) ši-i a-na da-mi-iq-t[i... . .]

This dream to good luck [.....]?

ii). Ni. 2575 + 13054 + 13062 - Kraus No. 4, obv. 1-4, 16, and 23:

1). *ša i-*[n]=šutta(MÂŠ.GE₆) [X] [...... . . ]

2). um-*ma-a ilānu(DINGIR.MEš) [..... . . . . .]

3). *i-tu-šu áš-b[a- . . . . . . . . . .]
4). \( \text{la qāṭ(ŠU) DINGIR [ . . . . . . . . ]} \)

These lines are too fragmentary to translate.

16). \( \text{šuttu(MÂŠ.GEš) ši-i a-na damiqtī(SIGs-ti-i)} \)

(is) this dream for good luck (i.e., did he see a favourable
dream)?

Obv. 23 repeats this line by KIMIN, "ditto".

iii). CBS 12696 (JCS 11 [1957], p. 90) - Kraus No. 17, obv. 11-2:

11). \([aš-š]um šutti(MÂŠ.GEš) ša i-mu-ru\)

11-2 Should he pray to X.KI.AG? because of the dream he
saw?

iv). CBS 10176 + 10808 - Kraus No. 19, rev. 7':

7'). \(i-na pf(KA) šumāti(MÂŠ.GEš.MES) ša i-ta-nam-
mīa-ru . . . . ]\)

According to the dreams which he has repeatedly seen [. .
. . ]?

18, obv. 1-8, 18, 25, and 32.

CBS 13517, obv. 1-8 should be regarded in the light of the similar
texts edited by F. R. Kraus [1985], despite its peculiarity; i.e., it
should be a query requiring an extispicy (whose results occur on obv. 9-12). It
seems obv. 1-8 contains a dream report (see obv. 1, and the fact that
twenty intestinal coils are not otherwise recorded: F. R. Kraus [1985],
p. 161), so perhaps a question was appended which has become lost. Obv.
1-8:

1). \([X X (X)] i-na1 šutti(MÂŠ.GEš)-šu gizzillā(GI, IZI.LÁ) i-na qé-ti-šu na-šu-ma\)
2). \(ū a-na hu-ub-bi gizzillā(GI.IZI.LÁ) ia-nu ū lēš-tár ‘i?1-mu-ru\)
3). \(ū iš-te-en gizzillā(GI.IZI.LÁ) a-na qé-ti-šu iš-ša-am-ma iš-ku-nu\)
4). \(ū šu-ū a-ka-an-na iq-bu-ū um-ma-a lēš-tár i-na qé-ab-la-at a-li-i ū-háb-bu\)
5). \(lēš-tár i-na e-ri-bi-ša lu-hi-ib\)
6) \( it-ti\ ana \) *Dišpu(LA) - Ėkur ša da-ba-bi id-bu-bu \\
7) šal-nu-ti-šu it-šu(ṭi)-lu-ma ti-ra-nu 20 i-mu-ru \\
8) 2 bāb(KÁ) ekallī(Ē.GAL) ū ti-bi i-mu-ru a-na lemuttim(HUL-tim) li šak-na-ta-aš-šu \\

1 [ . . ( . ) ] lifted up a torch in his hand in his dream, but there was no torch for fumigation. He saw Ishtar. \\
2 She raised one torch, and placed (it) in his hand. \\
3 That (man) spoke as follows, thus: \\
   "They (may) fumigate Ishtar in the middle of the city, (but) I shall fumigate Ishtar on her entry." \\
6 With Dishpu-Ekur, who made (lit., spoke) a report, \\
7 they observed it (a sheep) 
   They saw twenty intestinal coils. 
8 They saw two 'Palace Gates' and a 'Rising'. It (the dreamed extispicy) does not place him as to evil (i.e., it is favourable).

H. F. Lutz [1918, pp. 86-7] interpreted this section as referring to an official dream incubation in the shrine at the top of the ziggurat of Ishtar's temple. The liver omens of obv. 7-8 were seen in the dream, then different extispicies were made to confirm the dream. As he observed, the correct form of našālu, "to see", is išt-šu-lu, not the išt-ti-šu of obv. 7; so he took the verb as nāšlu (ibid., p. 81, n. 1), "to lie down" (actually in the form itūlu), of which this is the correct preterite form. However, in view of the overall nature of the text, it seems preferable to read išt-šu-šu.

A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 205] believed that CBS 13517 recorded a series of extispicies which had been observed in dreams. Thus, omens seen in dreams were as valid as if they really occurred. This argues against his view that dream messages were distrusted. As F. R. Kraus [1985, p. 161] stated, it is difficult to believe that a haruspex (restored at the beginning of obv. 1 by H. F. Lutz [1918]) could have remembered dreaming nine extispicies in such detail.
E. Reiner [1965, p. 248] suggested that Ni. 2389 and CBS 13517 referred to nocturnal extispicies, with MÂŠ.GE₆ being possibly transcribed as bîr mûši. There is evidence that the lengthy Neo-Assyrian haruspical ritual began before dawn:

i). The haruspex cleanses himself in the morning before the sun rises: e.g., BBR 75-8, obv. 14.

ii). Offerings are made i-na šamsi(dUTU), "in the morning", around the middle of the procedure: e.g., BBR No. 1-20, lines 69, 149.

iii). The extremely rare ezîb-clause e-zîb šá u4-um iš-qa-a (e.g., AGS 146, obv. 6') can be rendered as "Disregard (the fact that) the day has already progressed!" (as I. Starr [SAA 5], p. XXVII. This takes the verb as šaqû II, "to be high", in the sense that the day (= sun) had already risen (see LAS vol. 2, p. 7 on this idiom), instead of the unlikely šaqû III, "to drink, to irrigate", in J. A. Knudtzon [AGS, p. 264].

The other occurrences of MÂŠ.GE₆ on CBS 13517 fit in with the pattern of the previous Middle Babylonian texts. Obv. 18, 25, and 32:

18). ša?制订šutta(MÂŠ.GE₆) ša-a-ši i-na amat(INIM)
śarrī(LUGAL) i-šal-lim
(Will) he who*(saw) this dream be prosperous (lit., well) at the king's command?

This inquiry is repeated on obv. 25: KIMIN ša GUR, "Ditto - the repeat (lit., returning)".

32). šutta(MÂŠ.GE₆) ši-i-ma qāšt(SU) ili(DINGIR) ū iš-ta-ri
(Was) this dream (the result of) 'The Hand Of A God' or ('The Hand Of) A Goddess'?

The extispicies on these Middle Babylonian tablets were not augmenting a dream's message. They seem to be referring to symptomatic dreams, and seek to know whether a dream was favourable or will bring good luck, or whether the dreamer should pray to certain deities to ensure that the dream he has seen will not harm him.
III. Neo-Assyrian Haruspical Enquiries

Ashurbanipal's prism BM 121006 (R. Campbell Thompson [PEA], pls. 14-8) records how the Queen Of Kidmuru made her wishes known: col. II lines 14-9:

14). \( a-n\)a šuk-lu\( l\)i\( ū\)ti\( (DIN\)GIR-ti\) -\( š\)ā\( ĝīr-ti\)
15). šur-ru-hu mi-si-e-šā šu-qū-ru-ti
16). i\( n\)a šut\( t\)i\( (MÅŠ\).GE\)ś \( ś\)i-pir mah-he-e
17). i\( š\)-ta-nap-pa-ra ka-a-a-na
18). d\( Š\)amaš\( (UTU)\) u d\( Adad\( (ISKUR)\) ś\( ā\)-al-ma
19). e-pu-lu-in-ni an-nu ke-e-nu

14 In order to complete her august divinity 15 (and) to glorify her valuable rites, 16-7 she constantly sends regular (messages) in dream(s and by) the message(s) of ecstacies.

18 I inquired of Shamash and Adad, and 19 they replied with unambiguous assent (via extispicy).

The goddess had repeatedly ordered the renovation of her temple, but Ashurbanipal still performed an extispicy. It is possible that he wanted to check that the time was auspicious to start rebuilding (as recorded in col. II lines 20-4).

The fragmentary Neo-Assyrian haruspical enquiry text I. Starr [SAA 5], No. 316 may have been in response to a dream. There are one or two extispicy reports on the obverse, then comes a difficult passage on rev. 1-6:

1). [šunat\( (MÅŠ\).GE\)ś] \( ś\)āl am-ra-tu
2). [um-m]la karpåtu\( (DUG\)1\) \( ś\)ā \( d\)1Bēlet\( (GAŠAN)\)
Arba-i\( KI\)
3). \( [\text{ina \( URUZ\)i-ik-ku-û}\]
4). \( [\ldots] X =Aššur\( (AN\).ŠAR\) -bān\( (DÛ\) -ap\( (u\)\( (A\)\{u\}\)
5). [\( šar\) 4 māt\( (KUR)\) Ašl-šur bi-nu-ut qātē\( (ŠU1)\) -\( Š\)ū
6). \( [\ldots] \) \( X\) ka \( \text{am} \)ā \( māš\)1

1 [(Regarding) the dream which] was seen, 2 [thus] A pot of the Lady Of Arbeia (i.e., Ishtar) 3 [in] Zikku 4 [.. ..] . Ashurbanipal, 5 [king of] Assyria, a creation of his own hands, 6 [\ldots\] ....
(In line 2 the signs are [d]\text{GAŠAN}, not [d]\text{iš-tar}, as I.
Starr read.)

I. Starr [SAA 5] believed that No. 202 also concerned a dream, but
MÄŠ.GEš is restored in line 2', and this time there is no verb of seeing:

1'). \[d\text{Šamaš(UTU) bēlu(EN) rabû(GAL1-ú)} \text{šá a-šal-lu-} \text{ka an-na kīna(G1.NA)} a-pal-an-níl\]

2'). \[\text{MÄŠ.GEš? šá a-šur-bān(DÚ)-apli}{[[\text{IBILA}]} \text{mār(DUMU) a-šur-aha(ŠEŠ)-iddina(SUM-na) šár} \text{māt(KUR)} Aš-šur]\]

1' [O Shamash, great lord, answer me with unambiguous
assent] (regarding that) which I am asking you (about!)
2' [The \text{dream?} \text{which} Ashurbanipal, [son of
Eshshaddon, the king of Assyria,] . . . .

2). AUGURY

It is perhaps surprising that the poorly attested divinatory technique of
augury (see the summary in G. J. P. McEwan [1980], pp. 58-64) was also
used at Mari to augment dreams. A. 222 (RA 69 [1975], p. 28) presents
a dream report, together with various measures the sender had taken to
establish its value. Edge 14-21:

14). \text{i-na MUŠEN.Ḥāhu-ri-im}
15). \text{wa-ar-ka-sâ ap-ru-ús-ma}
16). \text{na-aš-la-at}
17). \text{a-nu-um-ma ša-ra-sâ}
18). \text{ū sī-līls-sī-ik-tam}
19). \text{ū-ša-bi-ī-am}
20). \text{be-lī wa-ar-ka-sâ}
21). \text{li-ip-ru-ús}

14-5 I investigated it (the dream) by a \text{hurru}-bird, and
16 it (the dream) was seen. 17-9 Now, I will send (a
lock of) her (the dreamer's) hair and her hem. 20-1 My
lord should investigate it (this dream).

YOS 10, No. 52 (duplicated by No. 51, correct YOS 10, p. 11) is an
augural text presenting omens deduced by the haruspex from the physical
appearance of sacrificial birds. It was previously believed (e.g., \text{DB,}}
p. 207) that the term *iṣṣuru*, "bird", was a synonym for the more usual sheep, since there are parallel texts about the appearance and behaviour of a ram before it was slaughtered for haruspical purposes (e.g., *YOS* 10, No. 47) - see J. Nougayrol, *RA* 61 (1967), pp. 23-68 for a refutation of this view. *YOS* 10, No. 52, col. IV lines 20-2, contains two omens whose apodoses concern dreams:

21).  *šu-na-at šar-ri-im ki-na*
- The king's dreams will be unambiguous.

22).  *šu-na-tu-šu sā-ar-ra*
- His dreams will be false.
PART C: DREAM RITUALS IN GENERAL

Chapter 10: Types Of Dream Rituals And General Notes 160

Chapter 11: Incantations And The Power Of Words 182
CHAPTER 10: TYPES OF DREAM RITUALS AND GENERAL NOTES

Part D presents the various types of rituals designed to combat unpleasant symptomatic dreams; while Part E studies the more complex incubation rituals and ones to obtain a favourable dream. Regarding both parts the reader will have to put aside his 'rationality' and prejudices against 'superstitions', accepting that the Mesopotamians believed in the efficacy of these ceremonies, although their purpose or 'validity' may be unobvious to us today.

No attempt has been made in this study to place any of the dream rituals within the realm of magic or its 'opponent', religion. The aims and rites of these two systems of belief are often indistinguishable in many cultures, with the borrowings of beliefs and practices by both sides blurring the distinctions drawn by ethnographers even more. The desired results of a ritual may be private or public, good or bad (i.e., witchcraft), depending on the views of the society contemporaneous with its performance.

For clarity and convenience the non-verbal rites found in dream rituals have been separated from the verbal rites, or incantations, which are discussed in chapter 11. It should be remembered, though, that often the two are closely associated, and should be studied together, as has been done with the clod substitution rituals and The Clod Incantation (pp. 225–30). A verbal rite helps to make a particular ceremony more precise and increase its efficacy (p. 182). M. Mauss [1972, p. 57] believed that every non-verbal rite had a corresponding phrase - to a certain extent this will be seen to be the case in dream rituals. He also doubted [ibid., p. 54] whether entirely wordless rites ever existed, stating [ibid., p. 56] that an apparent silence does not mean that the ritual expert is not uttering an incantation inaudibly: a matter impossible to prove. Most of the
'complete' dream rituals are accompanied by incantations (see Tables 3 and 4 on pp. 171-2). Frequently, the recitation of an incantation suffices as a ritual, shown in the dream rituals by the use of ŠU.Í.L.LÁ-incantations (pp. 206-7).

The primary task in many societies' medical rites is to discover the cause of the complaint by observing the symptoms, or by investigating the sufferer's background (often by divination) to discover the malefic power of hostile gods, demons, etc. The ritual method chosen counteracts the cause by propitiating the hostile god, by expelling the demon, etc. However, in the extant Mesopotamian dream ceremonies there is no attempt to connect cause and technique. The blandly laconic titles (when given) do not explain the complex's purpose, often stating merely that the rite is to be used: e.g., ADRC, col. I line 13: "If a man saw an ill-portending dream". The title of 81-2-4, 166 at obv. 1-4, although fragmentary, is more informative (see also SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 1-2). The use of adjectives describing the dreams (pp. 65-9) in the various parts of a ritual complex does not seem to be relevant in determining its technique or purpose. Accordingly, one has to analyze the incantation rubrics and the desired results of the dream rites in order to distinguish purpose categories (Sections A and B). It must be remembered that a ceremony may possess more than one purpose, and that the categories we have deduced from linguistic arguments may not correspond to Mesopotamian practice.

A). INCANTATION RUBRICS

When an incantation was to be recited during a Mesopotamian ceremony, and was written out in full on the tablet describing the ritual (as opposed to the citation of its incipit or first line), it can appear:

i). Enclosed in the ritual section, along with the other instructions: e.g., K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 11'-4'.

ii). More usually, in a separate ruled-off division: e.g., ADRC, col. III lines 52-5.
In the latter case, what is known as 'an incantation rubric' often follows. This is indicated by KA.INIM.MA at the beginning of the line, and states either the purpose underlying the recitation of the particular incantation, or the category of incantations to which it belongs. The accompanying ritual acts then follow in a third ruled-off part, or in the next line straight after the rubric. (See ch. 11 on incantations in dream rituals).

There are thirty-three incantations occurring in separate sections, and attached to a dream ritual (Table 5 on pp. 188-9). However, we only possess seventeen rubrics which are useful for our analysis (Tables 3 and 4 on pp. 171-2). Two additional rubrics (NRFD, rev. 18; and SDR, line 28) which state that the incantations above them belonged to the ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation category (pp. 185-6) have not been included. One more occurrence of KA.INIM.MA has also been omitted since it is directly followed by the ritual (ADRC, col. IV line 41b).

Analysis of these seventeen rubrics reveals the following purposes of dream rituals (restorations, etc., in the transliterations have been omitted).

1). TO AVERT THE EVIL OF A BAD DREAM WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN

BÜR = pašāru, "To Dissolve"

i). MĀŠ.GEš HUL BÜR.RU.DA.KÁM, "It is (the text) to dissolve a bad dream" - ADRC, col. I line 6; col. II line 71; col. III line 16.

As far as can be deduced from the extant ritual, col. I line 6 does not refer to an incantation at all. It has been included because its structure follows that of the rubrics rather than that of the desired results (pp. 164-8), although it is not introduced by KA.INIM.MA.

Col. III line 16 occurs directly at the end of the relevant incantation, not in a separate section. It is unusually prefixed by KA.KÉŠ on both manuscripts, which means "spell (lit. knot)", Akk. kiṣru.

ii). šutḫ(MĀŠ.GEš) lemutta(HUL-tı) pašāri(BÜR-ri), "To dissolve a bad dream" - ADRC, col. III line 45 (see the alternative rubric in line 45a (2/i below).
iii). lumun(HUL) šutti(MAŞ.GE₄) lemutti(HUL- ti) paššri(BUR), "To dissolve the evil of a bad dream" - ADRC, col. III line 49.

2). TO MAKE FAVOURABLE A BAD DREAM WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN

SIG₅ = demēgu, D-Stem, "To Make Favourable"

i). HUL MAŞ.GE₄ SIG₅.DA.KE₄, "It is (the text) to make the evil of a dream favourable" - ADRC, col. III line 45a (see the alternative rubric in line 45 (1/ii above)).

ii). MAŞ.GE₄ HUL SIG₅.DA.KE₄, "To make a bad dream favourable" - ADRC, col. III line 56.

This rubric appeared on SIR, line 81a, as an incorrect alternative to line 81 (3/II i below).

In late texts the grammatically correct ending of .A.ＫＡＭ, seen in (1/i) became corrupted to .A.ΚＥ₄, as above.

3). TO OBTAIN A FAVOURABLE DREAM

I. da-ba-bu AnD arkaT paššu, "To Speak" And "To Discover The Future"

i). itti(KI) ili(DINGIR)-šu u dištar(EŠ₁₈.ＴＡＲ)-šu de- ba-bi-im-ma arkt(EGIR) ramāni(Nɪ)-šu pa-ra-si, "To speak with his personal god and his personal goddess, and to learn (i.e., to discover) his future" - SIR, line 56.

II. IGLDU₄ = amēru, "To See"

i). EŠ.BAR IGI.DU₄, "To see an oracular decision" - SIR, lines 42, 65, 81 (see pp. 141-2 on the relation between purussū and šuttu, "dream", in this text).

The alternative rubric in line 81a (2/II above) of making a bad dream favourable is not suited to the overall incubative nature of this tablet.

ii). EŠ.BAR MAŞ.GE₄ IGI.DU₄, "To see an oracular decision (and/or) a dream" - SIR, line 48.

III. nalu(NA) and šubrū, "To Lie Down" And "To Cause To See"

i). itūli(NA)-ma ili(DINGIR) šutta(MAŞ. GE₄) damiqa(SIG₅) sub-re-e, "To lie down and to cause the god to show (you) a favourable dream" - ADRC, col. IV line 41a.
Chapter 10

1). *tebd* And *amāru*(*IGI.DU₃*), "To Advance" And "To See"

1). *ṣumma*(*DIŠ*) *amēlu*(*NA*) *ans ḡibūṭi*(*Ā₂Š*) *te-bi* *purussā*(*E₂Š.BAR*) *amāri*(*IGI.DU₃*), "If a man (wants) to see an oracular decision upon starting on an enterprise" - *SIR*, line 76.

4). DESCRIPTIVE

*IGI.DU₃* = *amāru*, "To See"

1). *ṣa ṣutti*(*MĀ₂.GE₃*) *i-kil-ta* *amāri*(*IGI.DU₃*), "(For the person) who sees an obscure dream" - *ADRC*, col. III line 37.

5). PREVENTIVE

*IGI.LĀ* = *amāru*, "To See"

1). *ṣutti*(*MĀ₂.GE₃*) *pa-rīt-tu₄* *lā* *amāri*(*IGI.LĀ*), "(In order) not to see a frightening dream" - *ADRC*, col. II line 21.

Five purpose categories have been deduced from sixteen incantation rubrics. We will now see if there is any support for them from an analysis of the desired ritual results.

**B). DESIRED RITUAL RESULTS**

A phrase or word occurs at the end of most dream rituals, giving the desired result of the ritual actions upon the dream, or how they will affect the dreamer. We possess thirty-four ritual results (Tables 3 and 4 on pp. 171-2). Four more results too broken to be useful (*ADRC*, col. I line 59; col. II lines 56-7; col. III line 60), and one set of omens (*SIR*, lines 69-70) have not been included. (Restorations, etc., in the transliterations have been omitted.)

1). TO AVERT THE EVIL OF A BAD DREAM WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN

It is possible to subdivide this category (the largest one) into two slightly different results:

1). To turn the evil away from the dreamer.
2). To nullify the evil.
Chapter 10

However, it must be remembered that these sections depend upon our translations of the relevant Akkadian verbs, so we may be making more of a distinction than actually existed.

I. To Turn The Evil Away From The Dreamer

a). *etēqu*, "To By-pass"
   i). *i-ti-iq-šu*, "(The evil of the dream) will by-pass him" - K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, line 23'.

b). *parāku*, "To Obstruct (i.e., To Affect Adversely)"
   i). lumun(HUL) šutti(MAŠ.GE₆) š-u-s-tu₄ ana pāni(IGI)-šu ul i-pe-ri-ik, "(The evil of that dream) will not obstruct him" - ADRC, col. I line 15.

   *ADRC*, col. I line 18 has the result: ana amēli(LÚ) šu-a-tu₄ i-pe-ri-ik, "It (the ritual) will obstruct (the path?) to that man".

c). TAR = *parāsu*, "To Separate"
   i). paris(TAR-is), "He (the dream apparition) will be separated (from the dreamer)" - SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 30.
   ii). lumun(HUL?)-šā paris(TAR-is), "Its evil? will be separated (from the dreamer)" - ADRC, col. I line 27.

d). TE = *ṭebūt*, "To Come Near (i.e., To Affect Adversely)"
   i). lumun(HUL) šutti(MAŠ.GE₆) a-nē amēli(LÚ) ēl iṭehe(TE-e), "The evil of the dream will not come near to the man" - ADRC, col. II line 18.

   (This example has the correct ventive ending to the verb.)
   ii). lumun-ša(HUL.BI) ana amēli(LÚ) ēl iṭehe(TE-e), "Its evil will not come near to the man" - ADRC, col. I line 6.
   iii). šutti(MAŠ.GE₆)-šā ēl iṭehe(TE)-šū, "His dream will not come near to him" - ADRC, col. I line 12.
   iv). ADRC, col. IV line 30b is an alternative to line 30 (3/II iv below) - ana pāni(IGI) X [(X)] 'X' ēl iṭehe(TE), "Before . [( . )] it will not come near to . . .".
Neither this desired result, nor the ritual of throwing something into the river (see the text edition), agrees with the accompanying incantation, which is intended to reconcile the angry personal deities so that the petitioner will see a favourable dream. Thus, it would appear that the whole ritual section has been incorrectly appended to the incantation by the compiler of STT 275.

II. To Nullify The Evil

a). BŪR = pašāru, "To Dissolve"
   i). pašir(BŪR), "It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved" - ADRC, col. I line 72; col. III line 17.
   ii). pašir(BŪR-ir), "It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved" - ADRC, col. I line 78; and 79-7-8, 77 rev. 19', 20', 23', and left edge 26'.
   iii). šutti(MÂŠ.GEš) pašir(BŪR-ir), "The dream will be dissolved" - ADRC, col. III line 46.

This has a variant result of NAM.BŪR.BI in line 46a.

iv). lwmun(HUL) šutti(MÂŠ.GEš) pašrat(BŪR-st), "The evil of the dream will be dissolved" - ADRC, col. III line 51.

It would appear that lines 51 and 46 (iii above) have been confused, since a third person masculine stative should accompany the masculine noun HUL, not a feminine stative as here. The logogram BŪR-st can only be read as a feminine stative in Akkadian, suggesting the reading pašir (the masculine stative) for BŪR or BŪR-ir.

b). DUš = pašaru, "To Dispel"
   i). lwmun(HUL)-šu ippaštar(DUš), "(The dream's) evil will be dispelled" - ADRC, col. III lines 38, 58.
2). TO MAKE FAVOURABLE A BAD DREAM WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN

1. SIG₅ = damāqu, G-stem, "To Be Favourable"
   i). idammiq(SIG₅), "It (the dream) will be favourable" - ADRC, col. III lines 3, 19.

II. SILIM = šalāmu, "To Be Beneficial"
   i). ʾisallim(SILIM.MA), "It (the dream) will be beneficial" - NADR, line 18.
   (At times šalāmu may have the nuance "to be propitious", see CAD Š, p. 259 for examples.)

3). TO OBTAIN A FAVOURABLE DREAM

I. IGIDU₈ = amāru, "To See"
   i). EŠ.BAR IGIDU₈, "You will see an oracular decision" - SIR, line 43 (see pp. 141-2 on purussā in this text).

II. nālu(NÁ) And amāru, "To Lie Down" And "To See"
   i). tanāl(NÁ)-ma purussā(EŠ.BAR) tammar(IGIDU₈), "You lie down, and you will see an oracular decision" - SIR, lines 51 and 84.
   ii). tanāl(NÁ)-ma purussā(EŠ.BAR) šutta(MĀŠ.GEs) ta-am-mar, "You lie down, and you will see an oracular decision (and/or) a dream" - SIR, lines 81c-d are a variant for line 84 (i above).
   iii). tanāl(NÁ)-ma šutta(MĀŠ.GEs) tammar(IGI-mar), "You lie down, and you will see a dream" - SIR, line 68.
   iv). tanāl(NÁ)-ma šutta(MĀŠ.GEs) damiqti(SIG₅-tu₄/SIG₅) tammar (IGI-mar), "You lie down, and you will see a favourable dream" - ADRC, col. IV lines 30 (SIG₅), 41b (SIG₅-tu₄).
4). MISCELLANEOUS

I. GIŠ.TUK = šemû, "To Listen"
   i). tesl/t-šu(AR.A.ZU.BI) iššemme(GIŠ.TUK), "His prayer will be heard" - BAM 315, col. IV line 31 (p. 259).

II. NAM.BÚR.BI, "Apotropeic Ritual"
   i). ADRC, col. III line 46a, has the alternative 'averting' result for line 46 (I/l/a iii above). (See pp. 220-3 for a discussion of the relationship between dream and namburbi rituals).

III. SILIM = salānu, "To Become Reconciled"
   i). ina ze 'X X1 isallimu(SILIM-mu), "They (the angry personal deities) will become reconciled by . . ." - BAM 315, col. IV line 36 (p. 260).

IV. šakānu, "To Exist"
   i). ADRC, col. I line 50 has the broken result: [ . . . . ] ša-kì-in-šu, "[ . . . . ] exists for him". Presumably something on the lines of good luck or protection is given to the dreamer as the outcome of this extremely fragmentary ritual.

O. SUMMARY OF DREAM RITUAL PURPOSE CATEGORIES

The above analysis of the incantation rubrics and the desired ritual results has yielded the following purpose categories for dream rituals:

i). To avert the evil of a bad dream which has already been seen, with its subdivisions: to turn the evil away from the dreamer; and to nullify the evil of the dream.

ii). To make favourable a bad dream which has already been seen.

iii). To see a (favourable) dream, and incubation.
iv). Preventive, an extremely difficult process to guarantee, and attested only by ADRC, col. II lines 19-23.

v). Miscellaneous.

The main purpose categories derived from the incantation rubrics are supported, and augmented, by those deduced from the desired ritual results. In the few cases (13, see below) in which we possess both rubric and result for the same ritual complex, on the whole the same purpose category is given (8), although direct clashes do occur (5). The latter probably arose from the compilation processes surrounding the dream texts, whereby originally separate incantations and rituals became associated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incantation Rubric</th>
<th>Ritual Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 16, 45*, 49 BÜR</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I line 6 BÜR</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, line 42 IGİ.DU₈</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 48, 76, 81* IGİ.DU₈(+)</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III line 37 IGİ.DU₈</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. II line 71 BÜR</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III line 56 SIG₉</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III line 45a* SIG₉</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, line 81a* SIG₉</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* and * are alternatives on different manuscripts
A = averting F = making favourable M = miscellaneous
O = obtaining favourable

The purpose of the dream rituals has been classified according to the desired ritual results, even if this conflicts with their incantation rubric (as above), since we have far more examples of the former. The exceptions are:

1). Charms, which are allocated according to their titles. The charm on ADRC, col. IV lines 8-14, is considered as one to make dreams favourable, from the phraseology of the
incantation; and that on K. 2175 +, col. IV lines 13-4, as one to avert, from the context. *BAM* 315, col. IV lines 27-31, and lines 32-6, are classified by their ritual result as having a 'miscellaneous' purpose. From the dream point of view, the intention was to obtain a favourable dream.

**ii).** Comparison with rituals using the same technique results in:

a). *ADRC*, col. I lines 12a-g - an *egirrō* ritual - to avert.

b). *ADRC*, col. I lines 51-9; BM 66559; and K. 11406 - clod substitution rituals - to avert.

c). *ADRC*, col. II lines 24-57; *SDR*; and *NRFD* - to obtain a favourable dream.

d). K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'–14' - a ritual using fire - to avert.

**iii).** The following are classified according to their incantation rubric (and content):


b). *SIR*, lines 52-60, 61-70, and 71-6 - to obtain a favourable dream.

**iv).** The purposes of K. 2600 + 3239 + 9512 + 10216, col. B lines 21-4, and lines 25-9, are deduced from the phrases written on the figurines - to obtain a favourable dream and to avert, respectively.

Tables 3 and 4 on pages 171-2 lists the various dream rituals (64 examples, excluding alternatives) with their purpose and technique. At the moment we have no idea when or why one dream rite was used in preference to another: either for different purposes within the apotropaic (turning evil away) or prophylactic (protective) class (Part D), or according to technique. Incubation ceremonies and those to obtain a favourable dream are discussed in Part E.
## TABLE 3: Apotropaic And Prophylactic Dream Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Discussed in Chapter</th>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Incantation No.</th>
<th>Incantation Rubric</th>
<th>Ritual Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 1-6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>misc.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/i</td>
<td>1/IId ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 7-12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>egirrû</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/IId iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 12a-g</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>egirrû</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 13-5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>fire - reed</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 16-8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>misc.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 19-27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>fire - oil</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 28-50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>misc.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41-2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4/V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 51-9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>43-4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 60-72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 73-8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>ŠU.IL.ÎA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 79 to col. II line 18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/IId i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. II lines 19-23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>figurine-G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. II line 58 to col. III line 3g</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>water - 2 feet - 1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1/i</td>
<td>2/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 4-17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>ŠU.IL.ÎA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1/i</td>
<td>1/Ile i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 18-19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>grains on a fire</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 26-38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1/Ile b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 39-46 (alt. lines 45a-46a)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1/ii</td>
<td>1/Ile iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 47-51</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>vinegar</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1/iii</td>
<td>1/Ile iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 52-8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>feet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2/ii</td>
<td>1/Ile b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 59-60</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>misc.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. III lines 61-8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3 charms</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 1-4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3 charms</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 5-7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 8-14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 15-6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAM 400, col. III line 1(+)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 66559</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2175 +, col. IV lines 13-4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2600 +, col. B lines 25-9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>figurine-G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 +, lines 7'-14'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>fire - oil</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 +, lines 15'-23'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>48-50</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11406</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>clod</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>51-3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NADR</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>fire - reed</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>54-5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 1-30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>figurine-S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>34-5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ioe i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 107, rev. 12'-6'</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 275, col. IV line 23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 rev. 18'-9'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>fire - reed</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 rev. 20'</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 rev. 21'-3'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>pellet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 left edge 24'-6'</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>pellet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1/Ile ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2-4, 166</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>figurine-S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 4: Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream And Incubation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Discussed in Chapter</th>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Incantation No. 1</th>
<th>Incantation Rubric 2</th>
<th>Ritual Result 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. II lines 24-57</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 21-30b</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16-7</td>
<td>3/11 iv</td>
<td>1/1d iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. IV lines 31-41b</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18-9</td>
<td>3/11 i v</td>
<td>3/11 i v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 315, col. IV lines 27-31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 315 col. IV lines 32-6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2600 +, col. B lines 21-4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>figurine-G</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRFD</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22-3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 &amp; 56</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 1-43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>25-6</td>
<td>3/11 i</td>
<td>3/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 44-51</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3/11 ii</td>
<td>3/11 i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 52-60</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3/11 i</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 61-70</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3/11 i</td>
<td>3/11 iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 71-6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3/1 V i</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIR, lines 77-84 (alt. 81a-d)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>incubation</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3/11 I</td>
<td>3/11 i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>2/11</td>
<td>3/11 ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 22, col. IV lines 5-6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Texts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Epic Of Gilgamesh</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab. 4, lines 79-100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabonidus 8, col. VII lines 1'-15'</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A = avertng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = making favourable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G = guardian figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I = incubation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M = miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O = obtaining favourable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P = preventive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S = substitute figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

1. The incantation numbers are those of Table 5 on pp. 188-9.
2. The numbers refer to the discussion of the incantation rubrics on pp. 161-4.
3. The numbers refer to the discussion of the ritual results on pp. 164-8.
4. The following alternative rituals have been omitted from Tables 3 and 4:
   i. ADRC, col. IV lines 25a-d (a charm) and lines 30a-b (olod ritual?) - apart from the ritual result of line 30b these are not discussed at all.
   ii. SDR, lines 37-40 - not discussed at all.
5. The following sections have been omitted: ADRC, col. III lines 59-60, which does not contain a ritual; and ADRC, col. IV lines 17-20 and lines 42-7 (p. 127), because they do not refer to dreams.

The following table shows the number of examples for each purpose category. As might be expected, rituals intended to avert the evil of a bad dream already seen are the most numerous.
Ritual Purpose | Number Of Examples
---|---
To avert | 35
To make a dream favourable | 9
To obtain a favourable dream | 7
- Incubation | 8
Miscellaneous | 4
Preventive | 1

**D. RITUAL TECHNIQUES**

Dream rituals are non-calendrical rites, being performed at moments of crisis for particular individuals in a private setting. Apotropaeic rites (44 examples and two alternatives) have been classified according to their techniques:

i). Substitution rites, involving the transference of the evil to another object, and the latter's destruction (ch. 12). For dream rituals the substitutes are clods (8 examples), or clay pellets (2). Rituals using fire also involve principles of sympathetic magic: burning a reed (3); soaking something in oil (2).

ii). The purification of the dreamer either by oil (1) or water (2), or by foot actions (2), (ch. 13).

iii). Apotropaeia: guardian (1) and substitute (1 and 2 alternatives) figurines, (ch. 14); and charms (13) and amulets (ch. 15).

iv). The power of words: creating "an oracular utterance", egirrû (2); and reciting a ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation (2 examples of the same ritual), (ch. 11). (This chapter also deals with the incantations used in all dream rituals.)

v). Miscellaneous: too broken to determine (3); libation of vinegar (1), (ch. 16).

vi). There is one ritual intended to cope with a forgotten dream by putting grains of a plant onto a fire (p. 125).

Ethnographical studies have revealed that there are lots of different magical practices attested throughout the world, but that each society tends to adhere to a limited number. The range of techniques applied
may be limited further by the knowledge of the individual practitioners. The available set will be used for a multitude of aims and, sometimes, comparisons between the purposes enable us to learn more about the theories underlying the actions. This is especially true for the use of figurines and substitutes in Mesopotamian dream rituals. There are no other ritual uses attested of creating an oracular utterance (pp. 207-8), possibly due to accidents of discovery.

1). MAGIC AND LEGAL CONCEPTS

In the myth *Enki And The World Order* Enki placed the Sun God, Shamash, in charge of justice throughout heaven and earth (lines 373-9). Hence he became the supreme judge of demons, ghosts, gods, and humans. Various Mesopotamian incantations convey this idea when Shamash is asked to re-establish the divine order by releasing the penitent sufferer from his woes, and to "pass judgement on my case": e.g., *ADRC*, col. III lines 4-5. The Fire Deities Nusku and Girra (the companions of Shamash) are appealed to similarly: e.g., *NADR*, line 4 (Nusku).

Actual legal practices or derivatives can appear in Mesopotamian ceremonies. The main examples from dream rituals are the use of a clod (p. 228) or cutting a hem (p. 234) to express severance of ties between a nightmare and the dreamer.

The presentation of offerings only appears in two rituals against dream content (both times to Shamash): *SpTU* 2, No. 21, obv. 5; and more detailed on 81-2-4, 166 obv. 5-9. By accepting gifts the deity is obliged to help the petitioner in his cause, and to make the rite efficacious. Oaths are as binding on supernatural powers as on humans (see the ghost rituals discussed on p. 250).

**E. THE SETTING OF THE RITUALS OF PART D**

Details about the performance of dream rites are beset with problems, due to lack of information. The ritual instructions are very terse, more outlines ordering the procedure than detailed manuals. There would have been traditional ways to make a figurine, certain attitudes to maintain while reciting an incantation, methods of preparing the ingredients, etc.,
which our texts assume the ritual expert would know, and perform automatically, so no details are given. Much 'magical' knowledge is transmitted orally from a practitioner to his apprentice, rather than in writing. The same problem occurs for all Mesopotamian ceremonies, but the dream rites are a prime example. R. I. Caplice [1974, pp. 9-13] enumerated the main components of namburbi rituals, according to a formalized structure. No such pattern, or even most of his elements, can be adduced for dream rituals, although other rites comply.

Restorations, etc., in the transliterations have been omitted in the following discussion on the ritual setting of the apotropaic ceremonies. (See pp. 284-6, and pp. 300-1 on the ritual settings for the ceremonies of Part E).

1). **TIME**

Most of the rituals would have taken a short time to perform; note, though, ADRC, col. I lines 1-6, which stretched over at least three days. Not unreasonably, the apotropaic rituals were performed on the day (after) the dream was seen: e.g., ADRC, col. III line 50: "(On) the day which he saw the dream", and in the early morning (while incubation ceremonies were performed at night; p. 284). The matutinal nature is indicated by several phrases, sometimes used in combination:

i). \( \text{la-am } \text{šēp(} \text{G} \text{R)}-\text{šū ana qaqqari(} \text{KI) } \text{iškunu(} \text{GAR-nu)} \text{, "Before he has placed his foot upon the ground" - ADRC, col. I line 5; col. III lines 1 (with minor variants), and line 50.} \)

ii). \( \text{šumma(DIŠ) } \text{amēlu(} \text{LÚ) } \text{ina } \text{mu-ši-ti-šū } \text{šutta(MĀŠ.GEס } \text{lemutta(HUL-ta) } \text{iṭṭul (} \text{IG1) }-\text{ma } \text{uš-ta-dir } \text{ina } \text{še-ri her-pî } \text{ina } \text{te-bi-šū } + (i), "If a man saw a bad dream during the night, and became worried: In the early morning, upon his arising, (but) } + (i \text{ above) - K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'-8'.} \)

iii). \( \text{be-lu₄ pe-tan, "without having eaten" - ADRC, col. I lines 8-9; and line 13, with (i) + (iv). "Without" is usually } \text{balu, and the Akkadian dictionaries offer no examples of this Assyrian form. The idea of performing a 'ritual' on an empty stomach is common in medical prescriptions [CAD B, } \text{balu, p. 721}}. \)
iv). *ina šēri ha-ar-pī bēbu(KĀ) ú-ka-al-lu-šū,* "In the early morning, (while) the door detains him (i.e., before he leaves the house)" - ADRC, col. I line 20.

v). *ina še-e-rī,* "In the morning" - 79-7-8, 77 rev. 20.

vi). *la-am ṣī ṣamši(dUṬU.Ē.A),* "Before sunrise" - ADRC, col. I line 12a.

The idea was that the evil of the dream should be dealt with as soon as possible, before it took a firm hold of its victim. The expression "before he has placed his foot on the ground" (i above) appears in other, non-dream rituals e.g., CAD K, *kabāsu,* p. 6b; CAD Q, *qaqqaru,* p. 114a, and merely denotes the early morning. (Pages 238-40 discuss the technique whereby the dreamer is purified by touching the ground with his foot.)

One wonders about the practicality of some of these time clauses: in the morning is reasonable, but before dawn (vi, above) might be difficult. Also, depending on the number of people who had seen a bad dream that night, one could be stuck in bed for ages awaiting the ritual expert - too time-consuming for peasants.

It appears that phrases containing *mūšu annū,* lit. "this night", must mean "last night" instead of "tonight" when they occur in dream reports or rituals to avert the evil of a dream which has already been seen: e.g., BM 47749, rev. 9'; and ADRC, col. III line 41 respectively.

Dream rituals for protective purposes could be performed at other times than the morning. No special time was appointed for the Substitute King Ritual (p. 249), which used guardian figurines. On ADRC, col. II lines 22-3, the figurines preventing the occurrence of nightmares were, presumably, placed at the man's head before he went to sleep.

2). LOCATION

Many namburbi rituals took place in a sacred area, which had been enclosed and purified during entry rites. There is no evidence that this was the case for apotropaic dream rituals, unlike some incubation ones (pp. 284-6). A flour circle enclosed the burial site of the substitute figurine on *SpTu* 2, No. 21, obv. 29, but this was to confine the dream apparition, paralleling demon and ghost rituals (pp. 250-1).

There are references indicating that, as we would expect, some rituals
were performed in the dreamer's bedroom:

i). Actions were carried out on or over the bed, or while the sufferer was in bed: e.g., ADRC, col. I line 12b; col. III line 2.

ii). Figurines (ADRC, col. II lines 22-3) and a censer (ADRC, col. III line 19) were placed at a man's head (while he was lying down), presumably in bed.

iii). The technique of placing one foot on the ground and the other on the bed (pp. 238-40).

In the Substitute King Ritual one pair of prophylactic figurines were buried in the king's bedchamber (col. B line 24), while others were interred throughout the palace, the second relevant pair in the courtyard (col. B line 29) (p. 242).

The substitution rituals offer the probability of two ritual locations: starting in the bedroom, as the scene of the 'crime', and moving to the place of disposal - a river-bank for the clods, or a cross-roads for the clay pellets. The substitute figurine in SpTU 2, No. 21 was buried at the corner of a wall (obv. 29), a site whose importance eludes us.

A common phrase in Mesopotamian rituals is that an action is to be performed or an incantation recited "before Shamash". According to the context, which is not always helpful, this can mean either merely beneath the sun's rays: e.g., ADRC, col. I line 72, where an incantation is to spoken over a clod before it is cast away; or before a representative emblem or statue: e.g., probably, ADRC, col. I line 78, where a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation is recited. The latter idea appears in a different guise on NADR, line 2, when the dreamer holds the hem and reed before the lamp, the symbol of Nusku, who is invoked in the following incantation (lines 3-13).
F. PARTICIPANTS

Most Mesopotamian rituals usually only involved the relevant practitioner and the sufferer-suppliant. *SIR*, lines 61-70, required the expert, the apparently passive supplicant, and (in line 66) "a youth who has not known a woman".

The majority of the verbs present in the dream rituals (as in all Mesopotamian ceremonies) are given by logograms, with no indication as to their subject. These logograms are usually transliterated in the second person singular, and taken as addressing the ritual expert. Sometimes, however, they could equally refer to the dreamer, who is normally indicated by the third person singular. In a few cases the verbs have been written out syllabically by the ancient scribes, but these writings often raise more problems than they solve. They show that the dreamer may perform ritual actions, as well as the expected recitation of incantations, and the recounting of dream content to a substitute. E. K. Ritter [1965, p. 309, n. 16] stated that *manu*, "to recite", was only used when an incantation was to be uttered by a professional, as opposed to *qabu*, "to say"; see, though, *ADRC*, col. I line 23. As a rule, the layman probably recited the incantations in stages after the expert, so the appearance of "I" and "my" in such places does not help us to define who is performing the ritual actions.

The view that the verbs of Mesopotamian ceremonies refer to the ritual experts is supported by the general belief throughout the world that a society's ritual experts have been divinely appointed to practise, and empowered by a long apprenticeship to a skilled master. Therefore, if an 'unqualified' person acquired both the ingredients and the knowledge of a rite, it would probably be ineffectual since he would be unable to put its forces into motion. The magical energies might even turn against him. Added to this view is the assumption that the Mesopotamian masses were illiterate, thus restricting the use of the craft manuals to the professional elite, although it is unclear how large a part oral transmission played in the training of the practitioners.

J. Bottéro [1985, p. 61] stated that there were popular namburbi rites which probably did not involve a ritual expert. Most dream ceremonies, though, were too complex to be performed unsupervised, requiring
knowledge of the appropriate incantations and possession of the correctly prepared ingredients, even if some of the ritual actions seem basic: e.g., the purification rituals (ch. 13). It is probable that the references to the dreamer carrying out actions mean that he did so at the command of the professional, even if there is no mention of the latter.

The problem of who performed the rituals is related to the question of the dispersion of the practitioners throughout Mesopotamia. The majority of our evidence, from all eras, deals with the ritual experts attached to the court or bureaucratic circles. We do not know, and probably never will know, if the different specialists occurred in each major town, or whether one person covered a variety of professions in greater or lesser detail, as would be the case of the medicine man or wise woman of a village. Other unresolved problems are the number of times an individual would consult a professional, and from which social strata the experts drew their clients.

G). THE EXORCIST WAS THE NEO-ASSYRIAN DREAM EXPERT

The writer suggests that, by the Neo-Assyrian period, the exorcist or ššipu had subsumed onirology within his professional expertise. The main evidence for this idea derives from the apotropaic dream rituals and the Mesopotamian views of unpleasant symptomatic dreams:

i). An unidentified compendium of apotropaic dream rites is listed amongst the exorcist's craft manuals on KAR 44, obv. 14: MĀŠ.GEš HUL SIG5.GA.

ii). J. V. Kinnier Wilson [1957, p. 46] connected the medical text ND 4368 with .setInputu. It gives remedies for diseases which were caused by various demonic agents, including 'The Hand Of Zaqiqu' (pp. 114-5).

iii). The exorcist diagnosed supernatural agents for the maladies he treated, proceeding to exorcise both agent and ailment by techniques such as charms, flour circles, substitute figurines (KAR 44, rev. 3, obv. 6 and 10), and purifying substances, all of which occur in the dream rituals. KAR 44, rev. 6 mentions namburbi ceremonies, and on pages 220-3 it is argued that
some dream rites belong to this category.

iv). We have seen in chapter 5 that dreams were envisaged by the Mesopotamians as having a demonic aspect, besides being caused by angry deities, demons, and witchcraft. All of this makes it extremely probable that an exorcist would be expected to cope with nightmares and their potential evil.

v). The methods used to combat bad dreams reveal that a Mesopotamian nightmare was not insubstantial, but an evil miasma besmirching the dreamer. It was conceived of as a physical entity which could be transferred and destroyed, thereby purifying its victim. This recalls the similes of demons covering their prey like garments or nets (p. 76).

The separation of dream and dreamer will be seen in the rituals involving sympathetic magic (ch. 12), while the cleansing rites (ch. 13) expel the evil by pure substances. The use of guardian and substitute figurines (ch. 14) is linked with other practices warding off malefic powers such as demons, ghosts, and witches, similarly envisaged in a solid format. No special view of dreams can be discerned from chapters 15 and 16.

vi). LAS 219 is extremely important, because it informs us that rituals to obtain a favourable dream (or at least that of SDR) were performed in the Neo-Assyrian period. The exorcist Nabu-naser wrote to Esarhaddon giving an abbreviated version of the ritual actions on obv. 9-17 (manuscript Gi).

vii). NRFD, another ritual to obtain a favourable dream, contains two different one line rituals on obv. 51 and 51a. The former identifies the professional involved as the exorcist (L-UAŠ,MAŠ).

viii). SIR is the only source of incubation rituals which mentions a practitioner. The statements that the heroic and royal figures performed the actions in the other examples are atypical. A legitimizing formula occurs on SIR, line 52:

\[ ra-am\]-\( ku \) ša dÉ-a mār(DUMU) šip-ri ša dAsal-\( lu\)-hi ana-\( ku \)
I am [the (ritually) bathed] of Ea, the messenger of Asalluhi.

It is possible that the designation ramku was another term for the exorcist: see Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 3, lines 23-4; and W. Mayer [UFGB, pp. 65-6.

ix). The only reference to a specific ritual expert in the apotropaic dream rites is on ADRC, col. II line 66, which recalls the phrase above:

66). ša qarrādī('UR1.SAG) 4Marduk mār(DUMU) 4É-a ana-ku

I am (the servant) of the hero Marduk, the son of Ea.

There are a couple of minor obstacles to the attractive suggestion that the exorcist was the Neo-Assyrian dream expert. It must be remembered that, although it is extremely likely that the apotropaic dream rituals were performed during the Neo-Assyrian era (the time of the ritual literature; p. 36), there is no proof, so our sources may be scholarly collections of defunct rites. The second problem stems from a catalogue of books 'donated' by practitioners to Ashurbanipal's Library (pp. 33-4). S. Parpola [1983, pp. 8-9] deduced that the listed tablets were those not needed for professional purposes. However, one tablet from The Dream-Book was recorded from an exorcist (80-7-19, 144 (+) 262, col. III line 2'); perhaps this was a duplicate.
CHAPTER 11: INCANTATIONS AND
THE POWER OF WORDS

The functions of a verbal rite, or incantation, are to command
supernatural powers, and/or to add to the effectiveness of the non-verbal
rites by specifying their intended result, and identifying the ritual with a
particular subject. The practitioner may either invoke deities to help him,
often attracting their attention by the presentation of suitable offerings,
or expel a malevolent force, controlling it through the use of its name.
The word 'incantation' has been used here to cover the possibilities of the
phrases being 'a spell' (compelling action) or 'a prayer' (entreaty). It is
not always easy to tell from a text which type is meant, and both kinds
co-exist in most cultures. Verbal and non-verbal rites are closely
connected, both expressing the desired ritual result, by speech and
symbolism respectively.

The inherent magical power of an incantation only works if the
formulae are uttered faultlessly, under the correct ritual conditions,
according to prescribed methods of recitation, accompanying actions, and
stances (e.g., šukēnu, "to prostrate oneself", on ADRC, col. II line 38). If
all these rules are carried out, then the incantation will be effective,
regardless of the purity of the speaker's intentions. On the other hand, a
bungled performance might nullify the incantation, perhaps even turning its
energies against the reciter. PRT ezib 7e is a clause covering the
possibility of a bad rendition of an haruspical inquiry:

\[ \text{ina pf(KA) mār(DUMU) Lūbār(HAL) ardi(1R)-ke ta-mit up-ter-ri-du} \]

(Disregard the fact that) the question was hurried (i.e.,
garbled) in the mouth of the haruspex, your servant.

The use of different Mesopotamian verbs of speaking has been taken to
indicate the way in which a particular incantation was spoken (e.g., R. I.
Chapter 11

of speaking appearing in the dream rituals are manû, "to recite", and qabû, "to say". It is possible that manû involved a more formal intoning, because it is used normally when the ritual expert is to utter the phrases. However, note i-man-nu- ma, "he (the dreamer) recites", at ADRC, col. I line 23. At times only the practitioner recited the incantations, often on behalf of his client; at other times the latter spoke, probably in stages after the expert. SIR contains two incantations in lines 44-7 and 52-5 which are basically the same, except that the latter was to be uttered by the practitioner alone, as is shown by the legitimizing formula at the beginning of line 52, which empowered him to act:

52). [ra-am]-ku Šá đÉ-a mår(DUMU) šip-ri ŠÁ dAššu-
lú-hî anâ-ku

I am [the (ritually) bathed] of Ea, the messenger of Asalluhi.

The linguistic features of incantations such as alliteration, assonance, and repetition are inevitably hidden in translations.

A). INCANTATION CATEGORIES

This section discusses the three special types of incantations found in the dream rituals.

1). ABRACADABRA INCANTATIONS

The use of a mysterious language, possibly unknown in detail even to the ritual expert, results in so-called 'abracadabra incantations'. These may develop for a variety of reasons:

i). The words were deliberately created when the incantation was first composed.

ii). The words derive from foreign or archaic languages not generally understood. YOS 11 presents examples of Elamite (No. 5, lines 15-22, see ibid., p. 4) and Subarian (No. 65, lines 10-1 is an incantation rubric stating that the incantation above was in "the Subarian tongue", EME ŠUBIR[4]I.A) texts. While later copies of Sumerian incantations contain grammatical
errors, indicating that Sumerian was imperfectly known at the time.

iii). The incantation has become corrupted over the years, due to constant repetition, either orally or incorrect copying.

The abracadabra incantation on ADRC, col. II lines 19–20, seems to have been intended that way because it contains rhythm and cohesion, and, possibly, reappears elsewhere.

19). én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-ni a-ra³-a (e-ra-a
20). uš-ru-fub₁ uš-lu-lu (tuš₁ én

A similarly patterned first line occurs on ADRC, col. IV lines 42–3, in a ritual to appease a wrathful personal goddess:

42). én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-na a-ra-tu è a-ra-ba-tu è
43). aštarṭ(eš₂.TARK, MUS) inja uz-zi ha-am-mat (repeated once or twice)

The latter part of the incipit is given on AMT 103, col. II line 32', in a medical ritual dealing with ailments of the temple (lines 32'-5'):

32'). én a-ra-tu e a-ra-ba-tu e ti-la [ . . . . ]
33'). šu dū-du-meš šu ne-ne a-meš eriduk²-keš₁ (ga)
     mu-un-du [ . . . . ]

2). DINGIRŠÀ.DIB.BA-INCANTATIONS

W. G. Lambert [1974] presented some DINGIRŠÀ.DIB.BA-incantations, and discussed the genre. A few texts have this incantation rubric, which gives the group its name:

KA.INIM.MA DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA GUR.RU.DA.KÁM

Incantation rubric: It is (the text) for appeasing (lit., turning back) an angry deity.
(The incantation rubrics of dream incantations are discussed on pp. 161-4.)

We do not know if these incantations formed a series, as is implied by KAR 44, obv. 4; nor whether they are a sub-category of ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantations (see on), or remain apart. The examples we possess reveal that any arrangement was not rigidly determined. In the majority of cases the deity invoked is the petitioner's unnamed personal god, often also with the personal goddess, but deities from the pantheon are addressed as well. The rationale behind these texts is the belief that all misfortunes were due to the sufferer having offended the gods in some way.

Incantations analogous to the ones edited by W. G. Lambert are found in rituals to obtain a favourable dream, namely in the ritual complexes of ADRC, col. IV lines 21-30 and lines 31-41b. The bit rimki purification series offers another example of such incantations in a ritual context, on BBR 26, col. IV lines 78-81.

3). ŠU.ÍLLÁ-INCANTATIONS

W. Mayer [UFBG] analyzed ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantations in depth. (The word is occasionally written ŠU.ÍLLA: e.g., manuscript B of ADRC, at col. III line 17; or ŠU.ÍLA: e.g., manuscript A of ADRC, at col. I line 78.) These incantations (lit., "the raising of the hand (in prayer)") form a large collection which can be found in several different types of ritual: e.g., in namburbi ceremonies; rites against demons or witchcraft; bit rimki; and mäs pf. They were not arranged in a formal series, although certain exemplars tend to appear together. Some texts are identified by the incantation rubric:

KA.INIM.MA ŠU.ÍLLÁ 4X.KÁM

Incantation rubric: It is (the text of) a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation to deity X.

Others are assigned to this group by similarities in content and structure. W. G. Kunstmann [1932, pp. 54-79] classified the incantations with this rubric as "allgemein" ŠU.ÍLLÁs, and the others as "spezielle" ones. However, W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 81] preferred to designate only those incantations with the accompanying rubric as ŠU.ÍLLÁs, regarding the rest as sub-categories (ibid., pp. 13-61. The latter are distinguished either by
their intended purpose (e.g., apotropaic dream rituals), or by the title
given to them by the Mesopotamians (e.g., NAM.BÚR.BI).

W. Mayer [UFBG, pp. 11-3] defined a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation as a ritual
petitionary prayer of an individual, being a pre-formulated text used in a
ritual, entreating a deity to help the speaker against specific evils, or to
that W. R. Mayer's definition of a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation as a Bittegebet
(petitionary prayer) cannot be proved. He suggested instead that the
rubric ŠU.ÍLLÁ meant that such incantations did not belong to any
specific category, unlike a DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA, for instance. This would
explain the presence of ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantations in rituals with different
purposes.

Occasionally the petitioner personalized the incantation by filling in
the relevant names in the annanna-formula (p. 205). LAS 173, obv. 9-10,
together with the existence of tablets pertaining to two separate
performances of bit rimki for Shamash-shum-ukin (S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2,
p. 164]), indicate that the ritual texts were copied out for each session
involving the king, and the relevant personal and ominous details inserted:
see also LAS 185, obv. 23 to edge 27, and S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2],
pp. 178-9. (The incantation of SDR exists in two versions, the one for
Ashurbanipal, and the other for Shamsh-shum-ukin; see the text edition for
details.)

The accompanying ceremony is closely related to the incantation, with
the latter often mentioning ritual acts already done, or to be carried out,
by the speaker: e.g., SDR, line 20.

Pages 206-7 discuss the recitation of a ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation as a
dream ritual.

B). THE INCANTATIONS OF DREAM RITUALS

1). NUMERICAL DATA

Table 5 on pp. 188-9 shows the occurrences of incantations within the
dream rituals, which have been subdivided according to whether the text
occurs on the tablet between dividing lines (i.e., separate from the ritual
actions), or whether phrases appear within the ritual instructions.
The included phrases are:

i). Those in the style of an incantation: e.g., Nos. 40, 43-4.

ii). Formulae appearing in The Clod Incantation (the latter is analyzed separately in Table 8 on p. 230): e.g., Nos. 48-9, 53.

iii). References to ritual actions: e.g., No. 54.

iv). Ensuring the transference of the dream's evil to the purificatory water: No. 45.

All of these have parallels in the separate incantations. Two of the twenty examples (Nos. 38-9) are egīrru sentences (pp. 207-8), and so are omitted from the discussion. SDR is unusual in that it contains a separate incantation (No. 24), as well as an included phrase (No. 56).

There are thirty-seven exemplars of separate incantations, which are reduced to thirty-five, since Nos. 3 and 10 form basically the same ŠU.I.LÁ-incantation (pp. 206-7), and Nos. 27-8 are the same, but recited by different people (p. 183). It will be seen that several incantations are subdivided in terms of whom they are addressing, forming (in effect) distinct incantations: e.g., Nos. 4a-c, 11a-c; 23a-b. Four incantations are unattached to ritual actions: Nos. 20, 32-3, and 36.

Certain ritual techniques use more than one incantation, especially those designed to obtain a favourable dream: Nos. 6-8, 16-9, 22-3. The recitation of two incantations also occurs in a clod substitution ritual (Nos. 1-2), and in a substitute figurine rite (Nos. 34-5).

Some incantations appearing on tablets containing dream rituals have been omitted from this analysis, because it is unclear if they concern dreams. Most of these are so fragmentary, such as to yield nothing useful anyway:

i). ADRC, col. IV lines 42-3, address a wrathful personal goddess (p. 184).


### TABLE 5: The Incantations Of Dream Rituals

**SEPARATE INCANTATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Reference</th>
<th>Ritual Technique</th>
<th>No. IMCs.</th>
<th>Sub-incantations</th>
<th>Address Deity</th>
<th>Implement and Misc.</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ADRC, col. I lines 60-5</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ADRC, col. I lines 66-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ADRC, col. I lines 73-7</td>
<td>ŠU.IL.LÁ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ADRC, col. I, 79 - II, 16</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79-9</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9-14</td>
<td>Ipšur</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14-6</td>
<td>Shamsah</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ADRC, col. II lines 19-20</td>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abrecadabra</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ADRC, col. II lines 29-37</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ADRC, col. II lines 39-47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ADRC, col. II lines 51-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ADRC, col. II lines 58-70</td>
<td>P (2x) +</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58-68</td>
<td>Marduk</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feat (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>68-70</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ADRC, col. III lines 4-15</td>
<td>ŠU.IL.LÁ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shamsah/UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td>A+S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ADRC, col. III lines 20-36</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20-4</td>
<td>Shamsah</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25-33</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33-6</td>
<td>Ram Of The Storm</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 ADRC, col. III lines 39-44</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39-42</td>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43-4</td>
<td>(Cloid)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ADRC, col. III lines 47-8</td>
<td>Vinser</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Ipšur</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ADRC, col. III lines 52-5</td>
<td>Feet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 ADRC, col. IV lines 5-13</td>
<td>Charm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shamsah +</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assaker +</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>consort</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shamsah +</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marduk</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 ADRC, col. IV lines 23-5</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 ADRC, col. IV lines 28-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
<td>A+S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ADRC, col. IV lines 31-7</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 ADRC, col. IV lines 38-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 BM 66559, obv.</td>
<td>Clood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 K. 5175 + 6001, col. I lines 1'-4'</td>
<td>INC. only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 AEPD, obv. 39-50</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Musku</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 AEPD, rev. 1-17</td>
<td></td>
<td>a = 1-8</td>
<td>Musku</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b = 9-17</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>astural beings</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 SDR, lines 1-27</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 SIR, lines 1-20</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gula</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 SIR, lines 21-41</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gula</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 SIR, lines 44-7</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 SIR, lines 52-5</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 SIR, lines 61-4</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 SIR, lines 71-5</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 SIR, lines 77-80</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 11


to

The Hofaranea Ritual Tochniqua

No.

INC.

Addresee

Deity

Implement and Misc.

Language

32 Sm. 543, lines 1'-6'

INC. only

--

--

? S

33 Sm. 543, lines 8'-10'

INC. only

--

--

Tamarisk S

34 SpTu 2, No. 21, obr. 7-11

Figurine

2

--

Shamash

--

A

35 SpTu 2, No. 21, obr. 16-26

INC. only

--

SIG.SIG/

Zaqiqu

--

A + S

36 Z1

INC. only

a = obr. 12-16

Shamash

--

A

b = rev. 13-4

37 81-2-4, 166 obr. 12 to rev. 15

Figurine

1

Shamash

--

A

 INCANTATION PHRASES INCLUDED IN RITUAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Reference</th>
<th>Ritual Technique</th>
<th>No. INCs.</th>
<th>Addresssee</th>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Implement and Misc.</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38 ADBC, col. I lines 9-10</td>
<td>agirru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>agirru</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 ADBC, col. I lines 12d-g?</td>
<td>agirru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>agirru</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 ADBC, col. I lines 24ff.</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>1 (Gibil)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 ADBC, col. I lines 36-41?</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 ADBC, col. I lines 43ff.</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 ADBC, col. I lines 52</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 ADBC, col. I lines 54ff.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 ADBC, col. III line 3d</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 BAn 315, col. IV lines 34-5</td>
<td>Charm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 K. 8171+, lines 11'-4'</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gibil</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 K. 8171+, lines 17'-9'</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 K. 8171+, lines 20'-1'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 K. 8171+, lines 21'-2'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lispur</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 K. 11406, col. I lines 3'-4'</td>
<td>Cled</td>
<td>3?</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 K. 11406, col. I lines 5'-8'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Shamash</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 K. 11406, col. I lines 9'-11'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Cled?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 MADE, lines 3-13</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Musku</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 MADE, line 14</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Reed</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 SDE, lines 32-3</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anzagar</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 79-7-8,77 rev. 23'</td>
<td>Pellets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Akkadian
Com. = Constellation
I = Incubation
No. INCs. = number of incantations per ritual
O = to Obtain a Favourable dream
P = Purification
PG = Personal gods
S = Sumerian

2). THE STRUCTURE OF THE INCANTATIONS

Most of this section is based upon the separate dream incantations, which can be classified as follows:

1). 'Proper' incantations (Table 6 on p. 191) primarily invoking a single deity. Sometimes other gods may be called upon as well: e.g., No. 15, where part a addresses Anzagar (and his
Chapter 11

(If a page number is mentioned, it will be represented as follows: Page 190)

consort), while part b appeals to Shamash and Marduk; or appeals are made to numerous gods: e.g., Nos. 7, 27.

ii). DINGIRŠÀ.DIB.BA-incantations to the petitioner's personal deities (pp. 184-5).

iii). Ones addressed to an implement used in the ritual: e.g., The Clod Incantation, and No. 8.

iv). The so-called abracadabra incantations (pp. 183-4).

'Proper' incantations and The Clod Incantation (Table 8 on p. 230) possess the most formal structure (elements of which can be seen in the other types), and these constitute the largest two groups of our examples.

I. Invocation

The deities invoked in the dream incantations are mainly either gods of fire or light (Gibil, Nusku, Shamash, Sin), or ones of magic (Es, Marduk): both categories being enemies of demons and wrong-doers. The Dream Gods Anzagar and Zaqui are only approached a couple of times. The incubation rituals concentrate on Gula (the patroness of medicine) and various nocturnal beings, especially the Wain constellation, NULEREQQU(MAR.GÍD.DA).

The 'proper' incantations all begin with an invocation of varying length. This section summons the deity by the enumeration of some of his epithets and benevolent actions towards mankind in the past (e.g., SIR, lines 13-4 and 19-20; No. 25). The intention being that the flattered deity will turn his attention towards the supplicant, and help in the ways outlined by the choice of appellation. Occasionally the deity will be addressed by a title further on in the incantation.

The dream incantations concentrate on the functions of providing justice and light throughout the world. None of the gods is given an epithet relating to dreams, although examples are known outside the technical literature (pp. 208-10, 212).
TABLE 6: 'Proper' Incantations In The Dream Rituals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anzagar (+ wife)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15a</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(40), 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marduk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22, 23a</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash/UTU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4c, 6, 10, 11a, 34, 37</td>
<td>42, 43, 46, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamash + Marduk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaqiку/SIG.SIG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal deities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16, 17, 18, 19</td>
<td>51?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7, 23b, 27, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4a, 11b, (12b), 20</td>
<td>44, 48, 49, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gišMA.NU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarisk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram Of The Storm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11c, 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wain constellation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29, 30, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9a, 13a, 21, 32</td>
<td>41, 45, 57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Introduction Of The Petitioner And The Presentation Of Offerings

In most of the dream incantations it seems that, once the invocation was uttered, there was no need to cajole the deity any more, but to proceed with the matter on hand, namely the request (VI below). However, in six cases the speaker introduces himself using an abbreviated
form of the annamma-formula. NRFD, rev. 4 (No. 23); SIR, line 15 (No. 24); SIR, line 34 (No. 25); SIR, line 64 (No. 29); SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 10 (No. 34); and 81-2-4, 166 rev. 2 (No. 37) contain the phrase anna-ku NENNI A NENNI. The expanded version is thought to read:

\[
\text{ana-ku annanna(NENNI) mār(A) annanna(NENNI) šē īl (DINGIR)-šū annanna(NENNI) u dištar (EŠ18.TAR)-šū annannitu(NENNI-tuš)}
\]

I myself, X, the son of Y, whose personal god (is) A, and/or whose personal goddess (is) B.

The close relationship between the personal deities and their protégé was envisaged as a parental one in a variant of the annamma-formula:

\[
\text{ana-ku X mār(DUMU) īlī(DINGIR)-šū šē DINGIR-šū etc.}
\]

I myself, X, the son of his personal god, whose personal god is etc.

(e.g., SDR, lines 13a-b; No. 24) instead of the more usual association of deity and obedient worshipper.

Offerings are presented in the rituals to obtain a favourable dream, incubation rites, and in two ceremonies directed against dream content (SpTU 2, No. 21, and 81-2-4, 166). These gifts are not always mentioned in the incantation, but are on SDR, line 21 (No. 24).

III. Complaint

In the complaint section the supplicant briefly describes the terrors he is experiencing, hoping to move the deity to pity his plight: e.g.:

i). ADRC, col. III lines 41-2 (No. 12) - the dreamer is frightened after seeing a bad dream.

ii). SDR (No. 24) reveals the uneasy use of this incantation from rituals against a lunar eclipse in a dream rite (pp. 204-6). Lines 12-3 contain the standard attalū-formula (p. 205) about the eclipse, while lines 25-6 request a dream indicating the reconciliation of the personal deities as a result of the dreamer's purification (VI).

iii). 81-2-4, 166 rev. 4-10 (No. 37) - earth was thrown over the sufferer in a dream, bewitching him (echoing the ritual title at obv. 1-3).
iv). The complaint is far more detailed in *The Clod Incantation* (Table 8 on p. 230) where many possible nightmares are recounted as the means of transferring their evil to the clod substitute (IV).

IV. Establishment Of A Relationship Between The Dream And Its Substitute

Not surprisingly, this part only appears in the incantations connected with substitution rituals. In both cases these 'establishing' phrases describe and accompany manual actions. In the clod rituals the *kirig*-formula (p. 225) establishes a problematical relationship between the dreamer and the clod (pp. 225-8), while the complaint section (III//iv above) associates the clod with the bad dream, along with phrases describing their disintegration. In the clay pellet and reed substitution rituals, the evil of the dream is transmitted by a straightforward recital of the nightmare.

After the bad dream has been associated with the reed in *NADR*, lines 9 and 13 (No. 54) contain the firm denial:

\[ \text{la ia-ut-tu-un Ši-i} \]

May it (the nightmare) not be mine!

*DB*, p. 298, n. 197 had commented already upon the novel use of this formula, usually appearing at the end of incantations as:

\[ Šiptu(ÉN) ul ia-ut-tu-un Šipt(ÉN) 4X \]

(This) incantation is not mine, (it is) the incantation of god X.

The standard sequence of deities is Ea, Asalluhi, Damu, Gula, and Ningirim. E. K. Ritter [1965, pp. 309, 312] classified incantations invoking the last three deities, along with those containing the above phrase, as belonging to *asdu*, the 'purely' medical lore, as opposed to the magical skills of the exorcist, or *ššipu*. However, an exorcistic usage (see already R. D. Biggs [SZGi], p. 39) is indicated by the adapted use of this expression in *NADR*, and by its appearance in incantations directed against various demons:

1). Lamashtu - *Lamaštu*, Tab. 1, col. II lines 20-1 (ZA 16 [1902], pp. 141-200); and incantations designed to calm a baby (W.
Farber [SK3, §32, lines 12-4; §34, lines 16-7; also see §25, lines '368-70).

ii). māmītu, "curse/oath", as a daughter of Anu - BMS 61, line 20.


Another occurrence is in ŠA.ZI.GA, No. 19, line 21 (LKA 97, col. II lines 18-26), which is not exorcistic, but belongs to āšipūtu since it is mentioned in the list of the exorcist's manuals, KAR 44, obv. 14. The phrase is intended to endow the preceding incantation with greater authority, thereby increasing its effectiveness.

V. lipšur Phrases

These are exorcistic phrases predominantly found in lipšur-litanies (see E. Reiner [1956] on this genre), but also occurring elsewhere. The most extensive list in the dream incantations is found in No. 4b; other examples appear in Nos. 13b, 37b, 41, and 50. These phrases are standard exemplars, apart from ADRC, col. II line 13, which the writer has been unable to find anywhere else (see the note in the text edition):

13). gišlibbi gišimmarı([ŠA.GIŠIMMAR]) ku šu di1-šé-an-ni

May 'the o'fffshoot' of the date palm purify me!

and 81-2-4, 166 rev. 14:

14). šemuₙₚₔₙ([Ú].BABBAR) liₜₐₚₐₜ(TIN)-an-ni-ma

May 'the white [plant]' heal me!

VI. Request - Dream References

A number of the separate incantations used in dream rituals do not mention dreams at all. What is surprising is that these incantations occur in incubation ceremonies (Nos. 25-8; Nos. 30-1 should be regarded in the light of No. 29), or ones to obtain a favourable dream (Nos. 6-8, 16-8, 22). This seems to imply a lack of incantations especially designated for these purposes. We have already noticed that DINGIR.ŠA.DIB.BA- and ŠU.ILLÁ-incantations were adapted for use in the latter ritual category (p. 207). ŠU.ILLÁ No. 24 is firmly attested in rites against the evils arising from a lunar eclipse (pp. 204-6).
There are three styles of dream references, which are only found together in the same incantation if it is effectively subdivided (e.g., No. 4a-b - to avert, 4c - to make favourable):

i). May the dream be turned to good luck - Nos. 3, 4c, 9a, (10), 15, 52.

ii). May the evil of the dream be averted - Nos. 1-2, 4ab, 11-4, 35, 37.


a). Turning The Dream To Good Luck

In four cases deities are asked to turn a bad dream already seen into a favourable one:

i). Nos. 3 and 10 - ADRC, col. I line 75 (a) = col. III lines 8-9 (b):
   a). nig.sigs.ga.aš gub?..ba.ab
      "Make (the dream) stand for good luck!"
   b). nig.šas.ga.aš ku4.ni.1b
      ana damiqti(SIGš-ti) [tir-ra]
      "Turn (the dream) into good luck!"

ii). K. 11406, col. I lines 5'-8' (No. 52), contains part of the ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation of i above: line 7' - [šunaKMAŠ.GEš] a-mu-ru a-nal damiqti(KSIGš) tir-ra, "Turn [(the dream) into] good luck!"

iii). No. 4c - ADRC, col. II lines 14-6 - lu dem-qat, "May (the dream) be favourable!"; lu ki-na-et, "May (the dream) be reliable!"; and a-na damiqti(SIGš-ti) tir-ra, "Turn (the dream) into good luck!"

iv). No. 15 - ADRC, col. IV lines 11-2, the Dream God Anzagar and his consort are asked - lemutti([HUL]) [te-puš-ša ana damiqti(MI.SIGš) tirra(GUR-ra)], "Turn to good luck the evil which you did to me (i.e., sending a bad dream); (repeated as [tmim-mu-ū1 te-puš-ša ana damiqti([MI1.SIGš) te-e-ri]).

If, by an unlikely chance, the dream should already be favourable, the dreamer naturally wanted to ensure that its good luck would not by-pass him:
Chapter 11

i). No. 12a - ADRC, col. III line 43 - *dam-qat ma-a du-muq-ša
eli(UGU) ia-ši likšud(KUR), "(If my dream) is favourable, (then say:) 'may its good luck reach me!'"

ii). No. 54 - NADR, line 7 - *šum-ma dam-qat du-muq-ša a-a i-ši-
*fa-a[n-ni], "If (this dream) is favourable, may its good luck not pass (me) by!"

Finally, in No. 9a, the dreamer mentions that he has created his own good luck with regard to the dream by a feet action ritual (pp. 238-40).

b). Averting A Bad Dream

A general request occurs in NADR, line 8 (No. 54):

8). *šum-ma lemnet(HUL) lumun(HUL)-ša a-a *ik-šu-
dan-ni

If (this dream) is bad, may its evil not reach me!

In most cases the idea is associated with ritual actions ensuring that this aversion will happen: e.g., in The Cloud Incantation (Table 8 on p. 230), and Nos. 35 and 37. No deity is asked to avert the evil of a nightmare. In No. 13b the wind is requested to carry off the dream's evil.

The incantation addressing the mysterious Ram Of The Storm (Nos. 11c and 14) uses a simile to describe the desired result of the ritual: ADRC, col. III lines 35-6 (No. 11c):

35). *ki-i *na-[kap] šēpā([G]R111) a-[na1 a-si-di la
i-qar-ri-bu

36). lumun(HUL) *šutti(MAš.GE6) ša ina *mūši(GE6)
*āmuru([GI].DU6) la *iṭehhā(TE-s) la i-[qar-ri1-
ba le-ši

35 Just as the tip of the feet cannot approach the heel, 36 (so) the evil of the dream which I saw during the night cannot come near, (and) cannot approach me.

c). Miscellaneous

These references are mainly related to the purpose underlying the ritual to which the incantation belongs:

i). To obtain a favourable dream:

ma.μ.δa.ka 40  dingir.mu inim še.ga.še.ga ût.u ud.da, "39 O Mamu, the god of dreams, 40 (and?) my personal god, create a favourable state (of affairs for me)"

b). No. 23 - NRFD, rev. 7 and 17 - [šu-ut]-tu liš-ša-ma, "May X bring me a (favourable) [dream]!"

ii). In No. 24, the petitioner requests a dream indicating his renewed purity, so he can be reconciled with his angry personal deities (SDR, lines 23-6).

iii). To obtain a dream omen - Nos. 29, and 30-1 by analogy - SIR, line 64: šut-te(MAŠ.GEš) liš-ša-ma, "May he (the petitioner) see a dream!" Nos. 25-7 are requests for "an oracular decision", puruššu, which probably means a dream in this text (pp. 141-2), whereas No. 28 mentions speaking with one's personal deities, perhaps in a dream.

iv). No. 34 explains that Shamash is being petitioned because of a recurrent dream apparition (SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 10-1).

v). The purpose of No. 36 is unclear.

VII. Request - Other References

In a few incantations the supplicant seems to feel that, while he has the god's attention, he may as well ask for some general benefits concerning his well-being. The topics raised are prosperity (No. 9a, ADRC, col. II line 63; No. 10, ADRC, col. III lines 10-5; No. 52, K. 11406, col. I line 8'), and reconciliation with one's enemies (No. 9a, ADRC, col. II lines 64-5).

No. 22 is a request for divine protection during the night.

VIII. Conclusion

Some of the DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA-incantations (Nos. 16-7) and ŠU.IL.LÁS (Nos. 22-4), together with No. 37 conclude with a promise to praise the deity, if the latter, in turn, will fulfil his side of the 'bargain', by granting the petitioner's requests. The closing formulae are:

i). da-li-li-ke/ku-nu lud-lul, "I will proclaim your glory." - Nos. 16-7, 23, and 37. The existence of two identical requests
and conclusions in No. 23ab reveal the existence of two distinct incantations, although there is no dividing line.


iii). \textit{nar-bi-ka lu-sá-pi mahar(GI) dŠamaš(UTU) ud-da-kám}, "I will extol your greatness all day long before Shamash." - No. 22.

3). 'FREE SPEECH'

The ritual instructions on \textit{SpTU} 2, No. 21, obv. 14, provide for the sufferer presenting his problem alongside the pre-formulated incantations: 

14). \textit{ana dŠamaš(UTU) idabub(DU_{11}.DU_{11}) dŠamaš(UTU) i-šem-me amat(INIM)-su}

He speaks to Shamash (in his own words, and) Shamash will hear his speech.

Afterwards, the dreamer addresses the substitute figurine with an incantation (No. 35). The concept of 'free speech' might be meant in \textit{NADR}, line 18 where the dreamer (or the ritual expert, depending on the manuscript) prays (karābu) to the lamp and to the personal deities. Also see karābu in a fragmentary context on \textit{ADRC}, col. I line 59.

The recounting of the content of nightmares to the various substitutes was to ensure the transference of the dream's evil, and had no precatory function.

C). INCIPITS OF DREAM INCANTATIONS

Restorations, etc., in the transliterations have been ignored. The inclusion of an incantation in \textit{UFBG} means that W. Mayer regarded it as a ŠU.Ĭ.L.LÁ-incantation, mostly sub-category examples (p. 185)

\textit{ana ili(DINGIR.MU) mi-na-a ėpuš(DU-uš) : ana dištar(XV.MU) mi-na-a ah-ṭi : ilu(DINGIR)-ias iz-nu-u itti(KI)-ias}

No. 17 = \textit{ADRC}, col. IV line 28. DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA-incantation.

\textit{aš búr-bi bal-bi ur-šè i-gi-bi}

No. 13 = \textit{ADRC}, col. III line 47.
at-ta man-nu ša ina šutti(MÂŠ.GEš) u bi-ri ittanamaru(IGI.IGI-ru)
ittî(KI)-ias

No. 34 = SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 16. To the figurine of the recurrent
dream apparition.

at1-ti MULerequ(MAR.GÍD.DA) ša šamè(AN-e) KI-ti ni-ir-ki dNin-urta
ma-sad-da-ki dMarduk

No. 29 = SIR, line 71. To the Wain constellation.

b (UET 7, No. 118) addresses MULMAR.GÍD.DA.AN.NA, the Little
Bear constellation, instead; also see line 61 in an incantation (No. 29)
closely resembling this one. b has two options for the odd KI-ti of A
(STT 73), GAL-ti : at-ti (see the notes on the text edition).

at-tu-nu kakkañunu(MUL.MEŠ) ša mu-ši-ti dEN.BI.LUH dNIN.BI.LUH dEN.
BI.LUH.HA

No. 26 = SIR, line 44. UFBG, p. 428, die Sterne als Gruppe 6. To
various spiritual entities.

Apart from the initial line, which contains a legitimizing formula, SIR,
lines 52-5 (No. 28) contain the same incantation, but spoken by the ritual
expert instead. (The latter does not contain attunu, as stated in UFBG,
p. 428.)

dingir.mu hé1.silim.ma.mu ama.dinanna.mu hé.silim.ma.mu níg.dûg.gi.mu
dutu hé.gub

No. 16 = ADRC, col. IV line 23. DINGIR.ŠÂ.DIB.BA-incantation.

Only A (KAR 252) has the last phrase from níg.

dingir.mu šas.gi mu.un.tûm.e : dingir.mu seg.kal pa.e an.ta.gál

No. 19 = ADRC, col. IV line 38. DINGIR.ŠÂ.DIB.BA-incantation.

Q (KAR 53) has a different ending to this incipit, instead of an.ta.gál,
it has dingir<.mu> seg.kal pa.e.

4É-a šâr apsu(ABZU) pa-ti-iq šamè(AN-e) u ergetim(KI-tim) ba-nu-u
nišâ(U.MEŠ)

No. 12 = ADRC, col. III line 39. UFBG, p. 381, Ea 5.
(There are different readings of line 40, see the text edition for details.)

\[ e-piš \ lum-ni na-ki-su napišti(ZI-ti) \ mur-te-du-u \ ek-le-te \]
No. 15 = ADRC, col. IV line 8. To Anzagar (and his consort).

\[ d\text{Gi}-bîl \ bêl\text{u}(\text{EN}) \ ruššû(HUŠ) \ dannu(KALA.GA) \ tap-pê-e \ dŠamaš(UTU) \ šâr \ X \ at-ta \]
No. 46 = K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, line 11'. UFBG, p. 386, Gira 10.

This incantation is included within the ritual instructions, and appears to be unfinished.

An extremely fragmentary incantation to Gibil occurs at ADRC, col. I lines 24ff (No. 39), which seems to be different.

\[ hu-ub-ba \ hu-ub-ba \ a-b-ni \ a-ra-a \ e-ra-a \]
No. 5 = ADRC, col. II line 19. Abracadabra incantation.

This incantation, and possible related ones, are discussed on page 184.

\[ il-tu₄ \ rëme-ni-tu₄ \ mu-bal-li-ṭa-at \ mîti(AD₄) \]

These incantations are identical except for lines 14-8 and lines 34-9 respectively.

\[ kir-ba-an \ kir-ba-an \ ina \ kir-ši-ka \ ka-ri-ig \ kir-ši \]
No. 4 = ADRC, col. I line 79. The Clod Incantation.

E (STT 245) has \(\text{ramânu(Nī-ǔ)}\)-ka for the final kir-ši, confusing two formulae (p. 225).

K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 17'-8' (No. 48), has this incipit included within the ritual instructions, with more of the incantation appearing in lines 20'-2' (Nos. 49-50).

The incantation at ADRC, col. III lines 20-36 (No. 11), appears to be composed of three separate short spells: lines 20-4, to Shamash; lines 25-33, to the Clod; and lines 33-6, to the Ram Of The Storm. Line 25 (No.
11b) has a different incipit, but is basically the same incantation (see Table 8 on p. 230):

25). kirbān(LAG) bi-nu-ut ap-si-i at-ta-ma ina kir-
şi-ia ga-ri-iš

ADRC, col. I line 52 (No. 42), contains a fragmentary phrase in the instructions which addresses the Clod, and is taken up in lines 54ff (No. 43). The ideas expressed are analogous to those of The Clod Incantation, but appear in a different form:

52). kirbān(LAG-an) X (X) kul-lat lumun(HUL) šutti
(MĀŠ.GE₆) is la [........] X X

sišma.nu sištukul kala.ga dingir.re.e.ne.ke₄

No. 8 = ADRC, col. II line 51. To a staff of šru-wood.

MULereqqu(MAR.GÍD.DA) mārat(DUMU.MUNUS) ā-nim rabītu(GAL-tu₄) kal-
lat É-kur kul-lul-tu

No. 30 = SIR, line 77. UFBG, p. 430, MULereqqu 4.
(b (UNET 7, No. 118) has kut-tūm-tū for kul-lul-tu.)

MULereqqu(MAR.GÍD.DA) MULereqqi(MAR.GÍD.DA) ša-ma-mi ša ni-ir-šā

Nin-urta

No. 28 = SIR, line 61. UFBG, p. 430, MULereqqu 3.
(b (UNET 7, No. 118) addresses MULMAR.GÍD.DA.AN.NA, the Little Bear constellation, instead. Lines 61-3 closely resemble lines 71-3 (No. 30).

nam.tar.zu hé.en.tar.re nam.tar.zu hé.en.tar.re

No. 7 = ADRC, col. II line 39. Various deities are requested to appoint the apotropaic nature of the kuššuru.

Nusku sukallu(SUKKAL) ši-ru mu-tal-[........]

No. 22 = NRFD, rev. 1. ŠU.ILLA-incantation to Nusku. UFBG, p. 406, Nusku 5.
dNusku šár mu-ši mu-nam-mir uk-li

No. 21 = NRFD, obv. 39. Probably a ŠU.Í.LÁ-incantation to Nusku.


C₁ (LKA 132) invokes Nusku by his symbol, the lamp, dMūru(ZÁLAG¹).

b₁ (SpTU 2, No. 10) has a completely different incipit, but the rest of the incantation is the same: [ . . . . . . ] 'X₁ ú mu :. Some of the manuscripts belong to the bit mēseri series, see the text edition for details.

dNusku tap-pe-e dŠamaš(UTU) at-ta

No. 50 = NADR, line 3. UFBG, p. 407, Nusku 12.

Included within the ritual instructions.

ra-am-ku šá dÉ-a mār(DUMU) šip-ri šá dAsal-lú-hi ana-ku ilānu(DINGIR.

MEŠ) muššiti(GE₆-ti) ina [ . . . . . . ]

No. 27 = SIR, line 52. Addressing various spiritual beings.

See SIR, lines 44-7 (No. 27), where the same incantation is spoken by the prospective dreamer, without the initial legitimizing formula, the incipit here.

si.si.bg a.ga.dēk₁.še i.gi₄.a

No. 35 = ZI, line 1. To the Dream God Sisig.

This is the Sumerian incipit of ZI; II (PBS 12/1, No. 29) has sig.sig

a.ga.dēk₁.še i.gi₄.in. It is the first incantation of The Dream-Book, with the Akkadian incipit on A (K. 3758) being: Zì-qi-qu Zì-qi-qu dMa-mù

ilu(DINGIR) šá [šunšiti(MĀŠ.GE₆.MEŠ)].

šišinig giš.dili an.edin.na mú.a

No. 32 = Sm. 543, line 8’. To the tamarisk.

This may not be a dream incantation. The same incipit appears on BRM 4, No. 17, obv. 1; Šurpu, Tab. 9, line 1; and in the Third House of the bit rimki ritual (R. Borger [1967], p. 13, line 10 + c), see SpTU 3, No. 66, rev. 101.

A possible Akkadian variant of these four Sumerian texts occurs on SpTU 3, No. 84, obv. 44, in a ritual against Lamashu (it continues
differently): anā-ku bīnu(SINIG) a-hu-ū šá e-diš-ši-šú iz-za-az-zu
anā-ku 'X' [. . . . . . .

ṣu-ut-ti ba-na-at e-gir-ru-ū-s da-mi-ih

No. 9 = ADRC, col. II line 58.
(f (79-7-8, 77) has the predicate dam-qa-at instead.)

This is a most peculiar incantation, compiled from lots of different
formulae, with no formal structure:

i). Lines 58-60 resemble the egirrû sentence on ADRC, col. I lines
9-10.
ii). Line 63 expands the ideas of ADRC, col. III lines 12-5.
iii). Line 66 is a type of legitimizing phrase.
iv). Lines 68-70 are in Sumerian, while the preceding lines were
in Akkadian. Lines 69-70 contain the ZI.PAD-formula (W.
Mayer [UFBG], pp. 351, 353-4), a common concluding
expression.

ta-at-tap-ha 4Šamaš(UTU) ina šadī(KUR) glā-eri transfers(ERIN) ri-šu-nik-ka
ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) ha-da-tak-ka a-me-lu-tú

No. 11 = ADRC, col. III line 20. UFBG, p. 414, Šamaš 35.

immer(UDU.NÍTA) mé-he-e petar(ＧＩＲ) šāri(IM) ū-sab-hu ik-ka-lu mi-tu-
tu

No. 14 = ADRC, col. III line 52. To the otherwise unknown Ram Of
The Storm.

The same incantation (with minor variants) appears as the third sub-
incantation of No. 11, on ADRC, col. III lines 33-6, with the incipit:
UDU.NÍTA mé-he-e GIR IM ū-ub-ha.

du tu X X an.ki.bi.da. me.en gar kur.kur.ra.ke4

No. 1 = ADRC, col. I line 60. To Utu, i.e., Shamash.

4Šamaš(UTU) anā dī-gi-gi suh4-hu-ru pa-ni-l-ka

No. 33 = SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 7. To Shamash.
\d\text{d}u\text{tu} \text{di.\text{kus} X an.\text{ki.b}i.\text{da.\text{ke}4}}

No. 2 = \textit{ADRC}, col. I line 66. To Utu.

\d\text{d}u\text{tu} \text{di.\text{kus \text{me.en di.mu tar.ru.da.ab}}}
\d\textit{Šamaš(UTU)} \text{da-a-ne-ta di-ni di-in}

No. 10 = \textit{ADRC}, col. III lines 4-5. Bilingual ŠU.\text{ILLÁ}-incantation to Shamash. \textit{UFBG}, p. 414, Šamaš 34.

(I (SLTN 149) has the alternative verbal form tar.\text{dè}.)

Fundamentally the same ŠU.\text{ILLÁ}-incantation appears on \textit{ADRC}, col. I lines 73-7 (No. 3; pp. 207-8). The incipit of line 73 is: \d\text{d}u\text{tu} \text{di.kus.mah di.kus.da. me.en.}

\d\textit{Šamaš(UTU)} \text{da-\text{ji}n(DI.KUš) \text{\text{g}i-i-ru}}


\d\text{d}u\text{tu} \text{sa.g.kal dingir.re.e.ne.ke4} \d\text{d}u\text{tu} \text{pa.\text{è.da.e.dè}

No. 6 = \textit{ADRC}, col. II line 29. To Utu.

W. Mayer [\textit{UFBG}, p. 414] numbered two fragmentary incantations invoking Shamash:

i). Šamaš 32 = \textit{ADRC}, col. I lines 28ff. (unnumbered here), which appears within the ritual instructions.

ii). Šamaš 33 = \textit{ADRC}, col. II lines 1-16, which starts off as \textit{The Clod Incantation} (No. 4), changing to address Shamash in lines 14-6 (No. 4c).

\textit{Zi-qi-qu Zi-qi-qu } \d\textit{Ma-má ilu(DINGIR) šé [\textit{šunāti(MAŠ.GEš.MEŠ)}]}

No. 35 = ZI, line 1. See under \textit{s\text{s}i.s\text{i.ig a.ga.dēkī,šē i.gi14.a}

\d\textit{Sin(30) } \d\textit{Nannaru(ANNA-ru) šu-pu-u ašarick(SAG.KAL) ilāni(DINGIR. MEŠ)}

No. 23 = \textit{SDR}, line 1. ŠU.\text{ILLÁ}-incantation to Sin. \textit{UFBG}, p. 408, Sin 1.

A₁ (\textit{BMS 1}) contains several incantations from the \textit{bit rimki} series, as indicated by the colophon on rev. 54. The incipit and accompanying rite
occur on the ritual tablet of the same series: \textit{BBR} 26, col. III lines 52-3. \textit{LM} 12, line 23' also presents the incipit \textit{(ENI} \textit{i} \textit{dANNA} \textit{ru} \textit{[.... ...]}, and W. Mayer \textit{UFBG}, p. 490] allocated this tablet to \textit{bit rimki}.

The \textit{bit rimki} series was performed on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to purify the king. The incantation indicates this function by:

i). Concentrating on the luminous aspect of Sin as the Moon God, encouraging him to return to the skies.

ii). Including the \textit{attalú}-formula (see W. Mayer \textit{UFBG}, pp. 100-2), albeit rather clumsily placed at lines 12-3, and only on A1 and B1 (\textit{LM} 1):

\begin{verbatim}
12) ina lulum(HUL) attal(AN.GEš) dSin(30) še ina
    erhi(ITI) annanna(NENNI) ūmi(U4) annanna
    (NENNI) iššakna(GAR-na)

13) lulum(HUL) idāti(Ā.MEš) ittāti(GISKIM.MEš)
    lemnēti(HUL.MEš) la ūšāti(DUŠ.MEš) še ina
    ekañja(Ē.GAL.MU) u māšja(KUR.MU) ibša
    (GĀL-a)
\end{verbatim}

12 As a result of the ill portent of the lunar eclipse which occurs/occurred in month X, (on) day Y, 13 (and because of) the evil of ill-boding (and) unpleasant ominous happenings (and) signs which are (occurring) in my palace and (throughout) my land:

The association of the incantation with a lunar eclipse was carried over with its use in a nambarbi ritual against this type of bad omen: \textit{Cap.} 65, obv. 14'. The ritual on obv. 9'-14' closely resembles the beginning of that of \textit{SDR} (see the text edition of the latter for details).

\textit{SU.ILLÁ}-incantations could contain a variety of requests for favours, including dream mentions. At \textit{SDR}, lines 25-6 four manuscripts (A, b, A1, B1) mention the Dream God Anzagar, and ask for a sign (in a dream) that the sufferer has been redeemed, and henceforth reconciled with his personal deities. What is unusual is that manuscripts A (BM 78432) and b (Sr 18) continue with a ritual designed to obtain a favourable dream. One wonders if it is significant that these two tablets were especially compiled for Shamash-shum-ukin (\textit{SDR}, line 19a). It is unclear how and why an incantation firmly linked to a ritual for a lunar eclipse should have
become adapted for a dream ritual. The latter is attested separately in
the Neo-Assyrian letter LAS 219, obv. 9-17 (G1).

The tablet K. 10151 (E. G. Perry [1907], pl. 3) illustrates a problem
surrounding the citation of incantation incipits. Lines 1-2 are the same as
those of SDR, but from then on the text is completely different, being
UFBG, p. 408, Sfn 2. Lines 1-3:

1). ÉN dSfn(30) nannaru(U₄.SAKAR) [ . . . . . .
   . . ]
2). dSfn(30) ed-di-i[š-šū-u . . . . . . ]
3). ili(DINGIR) nam-ru kâl k[ī? . . . . . . . ]

Finally, although the incipits of two fragmentary Dream Incantations
are missing, parallels have been found for the extant lines:

i). No. 31 = Sm. 543, lines 1'-6' - this appears as the conclusion
of other incantations: e.g., in two bilingual exorcistic
incantations against demons: CT 16, pl. 11, col. VI lines 31-42
(UDUG.HULA.MEŠ, Tab. 4) (see also UHF, lines 354-7 and
506-9); and Śurpu, Tab. 7, lines 80-7.

ii). No. 20 = K. 5175 + 6001, col. I lines 3'-4' are fairly common
concluding phrases: e.g., ASKT 9, rev. 26-9 (an incantation
against māmītu).

D). PURELY VERBAL DREAM RITES

1). THE RECITATION OF A ŠU.İLLÁ-INCANTATION

ADRC, col. I lines 73-8 (No. 3), and col. III lines 4-17 (No. 10),
contain basically the same ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation addressed to Shamash and
accompanying ritual. The first passage is in Sumerian, while the second is
bilingual (Sumerian with an interlinear Akkadian translation).

This 'special' ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation is unusual in several ways:

i). A 'special' ŠU.İLLÁ normally forms part of an elaborate
ceremony, whereas the 'pure' ones constitute a rite in
themselves, in that the ritual instruction often is merely to
recite that incantation (W. Mayer [UFBG], p. 19). Here we
have the recitation of a 'special' one sufficing as the rite.
ii). The text is very short, with no mention of the troubles afflicting the speaker, nor of ritual actions (W. Mayer [UFBGI], p. 18).

iii). The ŠU.ÍL.LÁ appears in two separate places on ADRC. Col. III lines 4-5 offer a different incipit (although the rest of the incantation is basically the same), and lines 14-6 two extra concluding lines. One wonders if we have the complete ŠU.ÍL.LÁ text, and whether originally there were two distinct incantations, or only one, which has become corrupted.

Three other ŠU.ÍL.LÁ-incantations appear in two elaborate rituals designed to obtain favourable dreams: SDR, lines 1-27, to Sin (No. 24); and NRFD, obv. 39-50 (No. 22), and rev. 1-17 (No. 23), both to Nusku.

2). THE CREATION OF "AN ORACULAR UTTERANCE"

Oracular utterances and dreams are connected in a dream incantation on ADRC, col. II lines 58-60:

58). ŠU.ÍL.LÁ  
59).
60).

Incantation: "My dream is pleasant. My oracular utterance is favourable. 59 (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash. (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash. 60 (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash. My dream is pleasant (and) my oracular utterance is favourable."

More important is the use of an egirrû in two rituals to avert the evil of a bad dream on ADRC, col. I lines 7-12 and 12a-g. In the more complete rite the dreamer says a phrase (similar to the passage above) whereby "The speaker makes a favourable oracular utterance for himself", i-gir-ri ra-ma-ni-šu [ú-dalm-mi-iq-ma (lines 11-2). There is no possibility that the dreamer overheard another person speaking and, since the ritual specifies the phrase to be spoken, an overheard chance utterance has
become a ritual formula. B. Landsberger (MAOG 4 [1928-9], p. 316) stated that if unfavourable utterances were overheard, one could imagine a good one for oneself (eg. ramanishu). Yet, the verb qabu(DUG4.GA), “to say”, is used in line 9 of this dream rite.

This is the only certain example of someone creating his own oracular utterance known to the writer. S. Parpola’s [LAS vol. 2, p. 211] interpretation of LAS 217 (p. 290) is dubious. The piqitti who is the subject of the letter is apparently one of the teething royal babies [LAS vol. 2, pp. 109, 209], so he cannot speak coherently. When the sender wrote on rev. 2:

2). e-ge-ra-šú as-se-me

I have heard his oracular utterance

S. Parpola wanted this to mean that the writer had heard the baby gurgling in his sleep, thus producing his own egirrd. If a dream could be seen on behalf of the infant (rev. 1), surely the relevant egirrd could have originated from an extraneous source, agreeing with other examples of oracular utterances?

The mention of a man creating his own oracular utterance should be seen as a further broadening of the scope of an egirrd (see pp. 142-9), and as an example of the power of the spoken word.

**E. DREAM MENTIONS IN INCANTATIONS OUTSIDE THE TECHNICAL LITERATURE**

1). INCANTATIONS ADDRESSING DEITIES

I. Anu

1). **BMS 6, obv. 7-8** (duplicated by LKA 50, obv. 5'-7'):

7). pe-štir šunští(MAŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) lemnští(HUL.[MEŠ])

7a). ha-ṭa-a-te pár-da-a-[te]

8). itštítí(A.MEŠ) itštítí(GISKIM.MEŠ) lemnští

(HUL.MEŠ)

(O Anu, you are) 7-7a the dispeller of bad, incorrect, (and) frightening dreams, 8 (also of) unfavourable ominous happenings (and) signs!

The incipit of this ŠU.ILLÁ-incantation appears on BMS 48,
Chapter 11

rev. 17', which is an excerpt tablet from the bīt salā' mē series.

II. Ea, Shamas, And Asalluhū

i). K. 2784 (OECT 6, pl. 22) and K. 7593 (BMS 62) have now been joined (and are on permanent loan to the Louvre) [DB, p. 219], forming an incantation to Ea, Shamas, and Asalluhū in a Universal Namburbi ritual with several duplicates. Obv. 10-1:

10). mu-pa-si-su idāti(A.MEŠ) itti(GISKIM.MEŠ)
   lemēti(HUL.MEŠ)

11). šunāti(MĀŠ.GE6.MEŠ) (pār)-da-ti lemēti(HUL.
   MEŠ) la šabāti(DU2.GA.MEŠ)

(You are) 10 the obliterator of unfavourable ominous happenings (and) signs, 11 (also of) frightening, bad, (and) unpleasant dreams!

III. Ea, Shamas, And Marduk

i). SpTU 3, No. 80, rev. 30-5:

30). ina qī-bi-ti-ku-nu ila(DINGIR) ze-na-a ḫīg-
   tār ze-ni-[ti]

31). ša it-ti-lā ze-nu-me idāti(A.MEŠ) itti
   (GISKIM.MEŠ) lemēti(HUL.MEŠ) iš-ku-nu-ni

32). ū šunātu(MĀŠ.GE6.MEŠ) pār-da-ta ša at-te-at-
   ša-lu

33). uk-ku-lū šunātu(MĀŠ.GE6.MEŠ)-ū-e lum-mu-na i-
      da-tu-ū-a

34). ina qibīti(DU2.GA)-ku-nu ilū(DINGIR.MEŠ)
      rebaṭu(GAL.MEŠ) ila(DINGIR) ze-na-a ḫīg-tār
      ze-ni-tī

35). ina u4-mu an-ni-i li-is-li-mu it-ti-lā

30 At your (pl.) command the wrathful god (and) the wrathful goddess, 31 who are angry with me, and imposed on me ill-boding ominous happenings (and) signs,

32 and the frightening dreams which I constantly see – 33 my dreams are very obscure (and) my omens are very
unfavourable - 34 at your command, O great gods, the
wrathful god (and) the wrathful goddess 35 will become
reconciled with me on this day.

This is a namburbi ritual for the evil of a strange bird.

**IV. Gula**

i). *BMS* 4, rev. 38-42 (p. 137) - šuttu u bīru mentioned in a
ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation.

ii). *STT* 59, rev. 12-3 (p. 137) - šuttu u bīru mentioned in a
ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation. The incipit of this incantation appears
on obv. 27 of the mēs pf ritual tablet (G. Meier [1937-9]).

**V. Ishtar**

72), obv. 22'-3':

22'). máš.gēs nī.te.na  X1 [ . . . . . . . . ]

23'). ina šu-ut-tī u pi-rit-tī . . . . . . . .

22'-3' In dream and fright . [ . . . . . . . . ]

This is a bilingual ĖR.ŠĀ.HUN.GÁ-incantation.

**VI. Marduk**

i). *BMS* 12, obv. 57 and 64:

57). pár-da šunāti(MÁŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ)-u-e

My dreams are frightening.

64). a-e ištā(TE-e) lumin(HUL) šunāti(MÁŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ)

iddāti(A.MEŠ) ištāti(GISKIM.MEŠ) šá šamē (AN-e)

u erṣetim(KI-tim)

(At your command) the evil of dreams, ominous happenings
(and) signs of heaven and earth will not approach me.

ŠU.ÍLLÁ-incantation.

ii). K. 2765, obv. 7' (p. 94) - Marduk's wrath causes frightening
dreams.

iii). *SpTU* 3, No. 81, obv. 6-9:


7). [ . . . . ] ina šunāti(MÁŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) lemāšti
(HUL.MEŠ) là ṭābāti(DUG.GA.MEŠ)

8). [([...]) idāti(Â.MEŠ) ittāti(G)ISKIM.MEŠ) ha-
    ū-te-te-pér-da-t[e]

9). [ [... . .] damqiṭi(S)IGš-ti) tur-ru bēl(EN)

Marduk it-ti-ka

6 [Incantation:] "(The ability of) loosening the evil
[sinew] is (yours) lord Marduk. 7 [ [... . .] in bad (and)
unpleasant dreams, 8 [ [... . .] incorrect (and) frightening
ominous happenings] (and) Sīnš, 9 [ [... . .] (the
ability) to turn to good luck is with you, lord Marduk.

The incipit of this incantation appears on the ritual
tablet of the muššu'u series: BAM 215, obv. 4 and 20.

iv). Šurpu, Tab. 4, lines 21-2 (p. 92) - an epithet concerning
dreams.

v). K. 4837 (IV. R. 22, No. 2) + K. 4927, lines 6'-7' (pp. 93-4) -
Marduk's wrath causes nightmares. This is a bilingual
ÉR.ŠÀ.HUN.GÁ-incantation.

VII. Nabu

i). BMS 22, rev. 22:
22). i-na šat mu-ši lid-mi-qa šunātu(MAŠ.GEš.MEŠ)-
    u-a

May my dreams be favourable during the night.
ŠU.Í.LLÁ-incantation.

VIII. Nergal

i). IV. R. 24, No. 1, lines 52'-4' (pp. 87-8) - Nergal is compared
to a dream.

IX. Nusku

i). LKA 51, obv. 13:
13). [ina?] šunāti(MAŠ.GEš.MEš?) IGI ru?
[in?] dreams . . .

This tablet duplicates KAR 58, obv. 26-33, and then goes
off on a long variant (from obv. 12).
X. Shamsash

i). BBR 11, col. II line 20':

20'). šunāti(MĀŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ)šú pár-da

His dreams are frightening.

This is an incantation in an haruspical ritual; the reference occurs in a brief list of woes.

ii). BMS 6, rev. 115-6 (see the notes to ADRC, col. Ill line 9; p. 384) - requesting Shamash to make dreams favourable. Its incipit occurs on obv. 28 of the mēš pf ritual tablet (G. Meier [1937-9]).

iii). K. 256 (IV. R. 17) + 3206 + 5326 + 16854, rev. 15-6:

15). mu-pa-āš-šir nam-bûr-bê-e

16). idšti(Ā.MEŠ) itštšti(GISKIM.MEŠ) lemnštšti(HUL.MEŠ) šunāti(MĀŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) pár-da-š-ti là ūbštšti
(DŪG.GA.MEŠ)

(O Shamash, you are) 15 the releaser of the apotropaic ritual(s for) 16 unfavourable ominous happenings (and) signs, (also for) frightening (and) unpleasant dreams!

(DB, p. 219 wrongly attributed this text to Anu; also note the different, and lengthy, translation.)

This is Tablet 4 of a series closely related to bit rimki (J. Laessse [1955], p. 51).

iv). KAR 21, rev. 19 (p. 99) - one item in a list of woes in an incantation forming part of a ritual directed against ghosts.

v). KAR 36 + 261, obv. 13:


. . . . . .]

[(in?)] frightening dreams [ . . . . . . . .]

This line occurs in a list of woes on a characteristically shaped amulet.

vi). LKA 139 is an incantation to Shamash, attempting to reconcile angry personal deities. Obv. 26' (duplicated by LKA 140, obv. 16'):

26'). [linš šutšti(MĀŠ.GEŠ) l[e-mut-ti?] [X1 [( . .

. ) ū-š]ab-ru-nîn-ni-ma]
In a [bad?] dream [....] they reveal to me.

vii).  KAR 262, obverse¹ is another duplicate of part of LKA 139. The reverse¹ is different, line 10':

10').  [.....]  purus(BUR-i-us) lumun(HUL) šunātī
(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ) idātī(Â.MEŠ) lemnētī(H[IUL.MEŠ])

[.....] separate (from me) the evil of bad dreams (and) omens [.....]

(The obverse of KAR is the true reverse, and vice versa.)

viii).  SpTU 1, No. 137 is a fragmentary bilingual text with lines 3' and 6' mentioning dreams:

3').  màš.geš lu ál dára X : [.....]
6').  màš.geš.ra ka.inim.ma : ana [šutti?] .......

ix).  SpTU 2, No. 18, rev. 5' (pp. 220-1) - a reference in a list of woes in a KI.ÈUTU.KÁM-incantation.

x).  The Shamash Hymn, lines 53-4 (p. 150) - Shamash aids the šā'īlus to interpret(?) dreams.

XL Unknown Deities

i).  K. 254 (IV. R. 66, No. 2) + K. 3369, rev. 25-8 (duplicated by LKA 29k) (p. 109) - dreams are mentioned in a list of requests.

ii).  K. 2279 + Sm. 675 + 2152 (JRAS 1920, pp. 566-7), rev. 22:

22').  [ina ma]-l'a-l'al mu-u-[ši] dum-mi-iq šu-ut-tu
[During] the night make (my) dream favourable [in] bed!

iii).  KAR 282, Side 1 = rev. 11:

11).  [šunātī(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ) p[á-r-da] ....]

The obverse contains the Universal Namburbi incantation of the Plague Amulets (E. Reiner [1960]).

iv).  Rm. 2, III, 160 (JRAS 1929, p. 283) rev. 6:

6).  [pá-r-dal šunātī(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ)-ia
My dreams are frightening.

The reference occurs in a list of woes presenting the effects of the wrath of the petitioner's personal deities.
W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 392] classified this incantation as Lštar 25.

v). STT 135, obv.? 7:
7). šunāti(MÂŠ.GE6.MEŠ) šēbēti(DÛG.GI.A.MEŠ)
pleasant dreams

XII. Gods Of The Night
i). K. 2315 + 3125 + 83-1-18, 469 lines 83-6 (p. 102) - a list of woes which mentions frightening and sexual dreams.

2). MISCELLANEOUS INCANTATIONS
i). BMS 12, rev. 113 (p. 133) - the AN.HÛL charm necklace is asked to ensure that the petitioner will see favourable dreams through the agency of a maššar šulme, "a guardian of well-being".

ii). The Lamashtu amulet discussed on page 84 mentions the fact that a demon has shown the sufferer frightening dreams.

iii). Maqlû, Tab. 7, line 123 presents a dream reference in a list of woes, while line 174 asks for a dream to become favourable (p. 92). Both incantations (lines 119-46 and 170-7) are uttered while the speaker is washing his hands, and do not address anyone or anything in particular.

iv). ASKT 11 (Tab. 1 of ZI.PÀD-incantations) was edited by R. Borger [1969]. 95 is directed against various illnesses, including:

mâš.geš nu sigš.ga
šu-ut-tu là de-mi-iq-tû
An unfavourable dream.
PART D: APOTROPAIC DREAM RITUALS

Chapter 12: Substitution Rituals 216

Chapter 13: The Purification Of The Dreamer 236

Chapter 14: Figurines 241

Chapter 15: Charms And Amulets 253

Chapter 16: Miscellaneous Rituals 273
CHAPTER 12: SUBSTITUTION

RITUALS

A). SYMPATHETIC OR SYMBOLIC MAGIC

Sympathetic magic is based upon presumed relationships between animals, humans, objects, and plants, which cause them to affect, or be influenced by, each other. (The topic is discussed by J. G. Frazer [1900], pp. 9-60, and M. Mauss [1972], pp. 64-79, and by numerous other writers.) These sympathetic links involve qualities such as:

i). Natural patterns contained in a mineral or shell as described in the series *abnu šikušu* (STT 108-9).

ii). Mineral colours - the basic colours enumerated in Mesopotamian magical lists were black, white, yellow, red, and multicoloured.

iii). Aromas of plants - perhaps this was more important in fumigation, where bad smells are intended to drive demons away.

iv). Unusual shaped plants or minerals.

v). Rarity value.

In addition, some substances were associated with a particular Mesopotamian deity for reasons unknown to us. A double sympathetic relationship arises in such cases because the object represents the power of the god, as well as entering into the more usual type of sympathetic bond. The correspondences with a god alter with each text. We do not know whether or not the differences can be explained by variant traditions: A. Livingstone [1986, pp. 184-6] believed that the situation was rather more complicated. The identifications ensured the respective deity's presence at the ritual, while explaining his role within it and the importance of certain ritual objects. The use of similarity of names belongs more to the area of the power of words.

Not every object possesses magical attributes, but we may assume that
those items used in rituals do. In many cases it is extremely difficult for us to see the sympathetic connections, the rationale of which may well have become unknown to the Mesopotamians through the passage of time, existing as traditional lore. Furthermore, H. Webster [1948, p. 67] noted that often similarity or likeness become confounded with identity or absolute sameness, so that things which are alike may be substituted for each other as being identical.

J. G. Frazer [1900, p. 9] propounded the Law Of Similarity, namely that like produces like, to explain these relationships. Like may also act upon like, especially to cure like, by drawing it away to produce the desired opposite: e.g., applying water to cure dropsy. The converse is also true, that opposite acts upon opposite — the Law Of Opposition. An offshoot of the Law Of Similarity is that an image can represent the object or person who is the subject of the ritual, thus any action performed upon the image will consequently apply to the real thing. This is a common witchcraft technique, and may be seen in Mesopotamian rituals against ghosts, demons, and dream apparitions (ch. 14).

Although the natural properties are inherent, and the relationships may be firmly rooted in tradition, they still have to be brought to light by some ritual means. A plant could be connected to a stone by colour, and to another plant by shape; the ritual it is used in will decide which magical attribute is required, and limit the transmission to that particular quality alone. The process of establishing the sympathetic relationship involves J. G. Frazer's [1900, p. 9] second Law, the Law Of Contact or Contagion. Objects once in contact, whether actual or assumed, or even occurring accidentally, remain connected, although subsequently physically separated. In this way the essence of an object is seen to be equally present in a piece as in the whole, whether the part be of an individual thing, or of its category: e.g., each flame contains fire. Any action upon a part will affect the whole object from which it has been detached, hence the practice of exuvial magic in sorcery. The idea was developed further so that a man could be harmed through injury to his belongings or family, in fact to all of his household — a case of corporate identity. The transference of the required attribute is achieved by incantations, which originally clarified the desired outcome but came to be seen as powerful
in themselves, and/or by physical acts, which simulate the desired result.

The two Laws Of Similarity and Of Contact frequently occur in the same ritual, and it becomes extremely difficult to decide which action relates to which Law. Attributes linking like to like have to be transmitted by contact; and, generally, the processes of contact are used only to convey such qualities, enabling their magical powers to work.

The tenets of sympathetic magic appear especially in the Mesopotamian category of namburbi rituals (see on), studied by R. I. Caplice [1974] and J. Bottéro [1985]. Their presence can be seen also in many other rituals: e.g., in the rituals involving purification (ch. 13). The learned Mesopotamian commentaries studied by A. Livingstone [1986] reveal that these and other ideas of equivalence might not be obvious from a ritual account, but were known to (some) practitioners.

B). NAMBURBI RITUALS

The word namburbu(NAM.BÚR.BI) in its Sumerian form, means "(ritual for) the dissolving of it (the portended evil)", so these rituals are apotropaic in nature. J. Bottéro [1985, p. 61] subdivided these rites into ritual and popular types: the ritual ones being the elaborate ceremonies presented by R. I. Caplice [Cap. Nos.] (many of the details on the ritual and incantation presented by the latter [1974, pp. 9-13] can be applied to other Mesopotamian rituals); whereas the popular ones are much briefer, probably not involving a ritual expert. Most namburbi rituals deal with a specific ominous occurrence, which is frequently expressed in the title as NAM.BÚR.BI lumun(HUL) X, "apotropaic ritual for the evil of X".

R. I. Caplice [1974, pp. 7-9] presented the characteristics of (ritual) namburbi texts from tablets which either bore the title NAM.BÚR.BI somewhere, or were "typologically similar" [ibid., p. 7]. It is not altogether clear what he meant by this statement. The fact relevant for our purpose is that namburbi rituals were intended to avert or disperse calamities portended by a bad omen; the evil being identified by its present ominous appearance, not by its future outcome. These apotropaic rites are responses to the Šumma ālu and Šumma izbu series, while
references in LAS connect these ceremonies with astronomical phenomena and earthquakes: e.g., LAS 35 and 185.

Namburbi rites (in the strictest sense) involved the use of sympathetic magic in the following ways:

i). If the ominous object could not be destroyed directly due to reasons of practicality, a partial or symbolic destruction was carried out instead: e.g., pouring beer into an ants' nest in the wall (Cap. 9).

ii). At other times a simulated enactment of the portended evil was performed, symbolically fulfilling the dire prediction, so that it could not happen (again): e.g., damaging minor parts of a house (Cap. 42).

iii). In the many cases when the ominous object was inaccessible because it was too mobile, distant, or insubstantial, the impending evil was transferred to a suitable substitute, which was subsequently destroyed, eliminating the disaster as well: e.g., birds hovering overhead (Cap. 25).

Even direct destruction involved sympathetic magic because of the belief that this action annulled the evil portended by the object.

Some texts entitled NAM.BÚR.BI show a development within the genre, namely a positive purpose unrelated to omens: e.g.:

i). Against sorcery - Cap. 40.

ii). To prevent illness affecting the royal army - Cap. 37.

iii). To bring trade to various professionals - KAR 144.

R. I. Caplice denied (on rather arbitrary grounds) that some of the entries in the catalogues of namburbi rituals (Cap. 1-5, III) were such rites, while accepting others in this broader sense. He specifically disallowed the existence of namburbi texts directed against bad dreams (OrNS 34 [1965], pp. 110-1), although the rituals on ADRC and the Kuyunjik tablets edited in this study have been so defined by E. Ebeling [1954, p. 5, 2gl and J. Bottéro [1985, p. 30] (see also pp. 220-3).

R. I. Caplice [1974, pp. 8-9] argued that the lack of this type of apotropaic ritual for astronomical portents suggested that such omens were covered by the Universal Namburbi texts, those tablets containing long lists of unfavourable omens: e.g., E. Ebeling [1954], No. 1. Actual
astronomical observations were inserted into one copy of this particular
*Universal Namburbi*, CT 41, pl. 23, col. 1 lines 6-15 (E. Ebeling [1954],
No. 1a); see S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2], p. 23. In fact, we do possess
individual ceremonies for an eclipse (Cap. 65, see p. 452) and for a falling
star (Cap. 35).

It is possible that the same argument could be advanced for bad
dreams. However, there is no obvious reason why nightmares could not be
dispelled by a namburbi ritual, since their insubstantiality posed no more
problem (when sympathetic magic was involved) than a bird flying overhead
and away.

1). **DO NAMBURBI RITUALS EXIST FOR BAD DREAMS?**

The wide range of topics covered by the namburbi genre is indicated
by KAR 44, rev. 6:

6). $up\mu s\nu (NIG.AK.A.MEŠ) nambur\nu (NAM.BÜR.BI)$

$idāti(Â.MEŠ) šš\nu (AN) u eršš\nu (KI-tim) me-la$

$be-ša-a$

magical (averting) actions - apotropaic rituals (for) all
(lit., as many as there are) the signs of heaven and earth;

Dreams are mentioned in the lists of *Universal Namburbis*:

i). *Cap. 55* is extremely fragmentary, but appears to present a list
of evils which had occurred within a man's house: Rev.? 10':

10'). [. . .] *inša ššušt\nu (MÅŠ.GEš.MEŠ) par-da-a-[te

. . . ]

[. . . .] in frightening dreams [. . . .]

ii). The *Plague Amulets* (E. Reiner [1960]): e.g., *LKA* 128, obv.
1-2:

1). *NAM.BÜR.BI lumun(HUL) ššušt\nu (MÅŠ.GEš.MEŠ)*

2). $idāti(Â.MEŠ) ittāti(GISKIM.MEŠ) lemmāti(HUL. MEŠ)$

$la ūšbāti(DUG.GA.MEŠ)$

1-2 (This is) an apotropaic ritual (for) the evil of bad
(and) unpleasant dreams, ominous happenings (and) signs.

iii). E. von Weiher believed *SpTU* 2, No. 18 belonged to the
namburbi genre. This text contains several different types of
incantations; rev. 1'-9' being a *KI.dUTU.KÂM*, in which
Chapter 12

Shamash is asked to make various ills depart, including "frightening dreams", šunātumśla.GE.MEŠ) pár-da-a-tu, on rev. 5'.

We possess references to dreams in catalogues of namburbi texts (although see page 219):

i). Cap. 1 + 3, obv. 3-4 (p. 49). The tablet 81-2-4, 166 is not the text listed here, as R. I. Caplice [OrNS 34, p. 111] claimed, because the former deals with earth being thrown at the dreamer in a dream, and the latter concerns the dreamer's chest in some way.

ii). Cap. 4, line 6:

6). 'ana lūmun('HUL) šunātumśla.GE.MEŠ) idāti (Á.MEŠ) itišti(GISKIM.MEŠ) ha-a-a-ti leem-né-

For the evil of incorrect (and) bad dreams, ominous happenings (and) signs [...].

Finally, E. Ebeling [1954] presented two fragmentary namburbi tablets, which might deal with dreams:

i). No. 3 (Assur Photo 4148) mentions seeing "the evil of the word.CINIM) of Adad" in dreams on obv. 12'-3', whatever this may mean.

ii). No. 12 (VAT 13682) mentions seeing "the evil of a bed" in lines 8, 16, and 24, which could also refer to demonic or ghostly visitations.

Since a namburbi rite was directed against portended evil, the question arises as to whether the passages above refer to unfavourable dream omens, or to unpleasant symptomatic dreams (with no prognostic import), or to both types. The general nature of the references, combined with the use of adjectives, favours the answer of symptomatic dreams, the category the apotropaic dream rituals were designed for. Such dreams were certainly regarded as evil in themselves, and as predicting future calamity, being an indication of the absence of the personal deities. NADR, line 8:

8). šum-ma lēmnēt(HUL) lūmun(HUL)-šā a-a ik-šu-
dan-ni
If (the dream) is bad, may its evil not reach me!

It is possible that, insofar as the apotropaic rituals were concerned, the Mesopotamians did not draw a distinction between the two classes of dreams.

Perhaps the most important evidence for this type of apotropaic ritual for dreams is the occurrence of NAM.BÚR.BI at the conclusion of two ceremonies on ADRC, but there are problems attached to each usage:

i). 81-2-4, 233 obv. 10-1 contains a different incantation rubric and ritual for ADRC, col. III lines 45-6 - a clod substitution ritual. In the former (= ADRC, col. III lines 45a-46a) the ritual's purpose is to make the evil of the dream favourable, HUL MÁŠ.GE₅ SIG₅.GA.KE₄, and it is called a NAM.BÚR.BI (DB, p. 343 misread the signs as NAM ina lib-bi). The ritual actions still involve reciting an incantation over a clod, then throwing it in the river (see Table 7 on p. 224). Except for the rubric, this would be ideal proof that the Mesopotamians regarded clod substitution rituals as namburbi rites.

ii). The last section on ADRC does not concern dreams but a wrathful personal goddess, and it is unclear why it was appended. Its ritual is designated NAM.BÚR.BI by both manuscripts so, possibly, the reason for linking it with the dream rites is that the latter were also regarded as namburbi ceremonies. However, the preceding rituals are ones to obtain a favourable dream in the coming night, which used incantations resembling DINGIR.ŠÁ.DIB.BAs (intended to appease angry personal deities), so the connection could be upon these lines.

In conclusion, it seems extremely likely that certain dream rituals can be classified as belonging to the category of namburbis. Since a namburbi is defined as an apotropaic rite, the incubation ceremonies and all the different practices intended to render an unpleasant dream innocuous must be ruled out of consideration. Of the remaining aversion techniques the most obvious candidates for dream namburbi rituals are those based strongly on the principles of sympathetic magic. The writer believes that, until there is unequivocal evidence to the contrary, at least the dream...
rites involving substitution using a clod, clay pellets, or a reed discussed on pages 223-35 should be regarded as namburbi rituals.

Furthermore, Shamash's epithet at K. 256 (IV. R. 17) + K. 3206 + 5326 + 16854, rev. 15-6 surely cannot be explained away by the common association of Á.MEŠ and GISKIM.MEŠ with dreams:

15. *mu-hal-liq raq-gi mu-pa-áš-šir nam-búr-bé-e*

16. *idātī(Á.MEŠ) ittātī(GISKIM.MEŠ) lemnētī(HUL. MEŠ) šunātī(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ) pár-da-a-tī là ūbātī (DŪ.GA.MEŠ)*

(O Shamash, you are) 15 the destroyer of the wicked; the releaser of the namburbi(s for) 16 unfavourable ominous happenings (and) signs, (and for) frightening (and) unpleasant dreams!

C). DREAM RITUALS USING SUBSTITUTES

Table 7 on page 224 shows the essential coherence of the dream rituals involving a clod, clay pellets, or a reed. (The ceremonies surrounding substitute figurines are discussed on pages 249-52.) A ritually prepared substitute is addressed, and the evil of the dream is transmitted to it either by reciting an incantation in which various aspects of the nightmare are mentioned (the clod rituals), or by recounting the actual dream content (pellets, reed, and K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 clod rituals). The incantation may describe the way in which the object, hence the evil, will be destroyed, ensuring that this will happen by the power of words. Then the substitute is destroyed in an appropriate manner; the ritual results indicating that the dreamer is now safe from that dream's potential harm.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Details</th>
<th>Incantation Addressed To</th>
<th>Purification Of Dreamer</th>
<th>Take Up Substitute Material</th>
<th>Transference Of Recount The Dream</th>
<th>The Dream's Evil Incantation Mentioning The Dream</th>
<th>Destruction Of Substitute</th>
<th>More Prayers</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. i, 51-1 v. frag.</td>
<td>82 Clod and 84-85f. Shamash</td>
<td>81 It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved</td>
<td>88 Recite above INC. to clod.</td>
<td>78 Recite above INC. (2x) over clod 3x before Shamash.</td>
<td>72 Throw into water, see 54</td>
<td>89-9 Prostrate before Shamash. prayers to unknown</td>
<td>72 It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. 1, 60-72 frag.</td>
<td>60-5 Shamash 66-70 Shamash</td>
<td>71 Raises clod from a wall situated in the west</td>
<td>72 Throw into river</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. 1, 79-11, 18</td>
<td>79-14 Clod and 14-16 Shamash</td>
<td>77 He says as follows to clod</td>
<td>78 Recite above INC. over clod 3x</td>
<td>72 Throw into river</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. ii, 18</td>
<td>31-32 Clod and 34-6 Ram of The Storm</td>
<td>38 Take a clod from the region of a closed door</td>
<td>39 Take a clod from the waste land Take (a clod of XI)</td>
<td>36 Recite above INC. over clod 7x</td>
<td>46 Throw into water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. iii, 39-46 alt. 46a</td>
<td>39-44 Ea</td>
<td>44-5 Take a clod from the waste land</td>
<td>45 Take a clod from the waste land</td>
<td>46 Recite above INC. over clod 3x</td>
<td>56 Throw into water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 15-23</td>
<td>17-19 and 20-22 Clod</td>
<td>16-6' Sufferer anoints X with a mixture</td>
<td>16 ' He reports to the clod as many dreams as he saw</td>
<td>17' He says as follows to clod 18' He says as follows to clod 23' Say this to clod</td>
<td>23' Throw into water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 rev. 21-3'</td>
<td>77 rev. 21-3'</td>
<td>21' Roll 7 clay pellets</td>
<td>22' Scatter at cross-roads 23'-3' Say as follows to Shamash 7x</td>
<td>24' Scatter at cross-roads 25' Say as follows to Shamash 7x</td>
<td>25' Scatter at cross-roads 26' It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77 rev. 18-9'</td>
<td>24' Roll 14 clay pellets</td>
<td>24'-5' He must recount as many dreams as he saw 14x over (pellets)</td>
<td>25' Scatter at cross-roads 26' It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADR, col. i, 13-5 v. frag.</td>
<td>8' He must recount his dream to a šešiflu of reed</td>
<td>18' He must burn (it) in a fire. He blows (on fire) with his mouth. 19' It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADR beginning loct, broken in middle</td>
<td>3-13 Nusku</td>
<td>1-2 Cuts off (piece of) his right arm. Holds (arm &amp; reed) before lamp.</td>
<td>3 He says as follows. 14 He snaps reed into 2/3 pieces. Utters phrase (burn parcel). (More ritual instructions)</td>
<td>18 Pray to personal deities and to lamp. 19' It (the evil of the dream) will become beneficial.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 12

1. THE CLOD RITUALS

Six dream rituals involving a clod form a group as shown in Table 7 on p. 224:

i). ADRC, col. I lines 51-9 (very fragmentary).

ii). ADRC, col. I lines 60-72.

iii). ADRC, col. I line 79 to col. II line 18.


vi). K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 15'-23'.

In addition, there is K. 11406 (pp. 418-9) and BM 66559 (= 82-9-18, 6552). The latter is a tablet from Sippar written in the Late Babylonian script. It is extremely difficult to read because the signs in the middle of the lines have become distorted. All the lines on the reverse are too fragmentary to translate. Parts of the obverse can be compared with The Clod Incantation. Obv. 7'-12' describe seeing different people in a dream as on ADRC, col. II line 4. Obv. 13'-5' describe the disintegration of the clod and of the dream's evil in phrases reminiscent of The Clod Incantation, but with different verbal forms.

I. Types Of Clod

The creation of man from clay is mentioned on Atra-hasīš, Tab. 1, lines 189-256, with Text S (K. 3399 + 3934), col. III lines 5-14 (see also the Sumerian myth Enki And Ninmah). As noticed by other writers (e.g., J. Bottéro [1985], p. 53), this is alluded to in the kirīṣ formula of The Clod Incantation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ina} & \text{ kir-} \text{ṣi-} \text{ka} \text{ ka-ri-} \text{iṣ} \text{ kir-} \text{ṣi} \text{ ina} \text{ kir-} \text{ṣi-} \text{ia} \text{ ka-ri-} \text{iṣ} \\
kir- \text{ṣi-} \text{ka} \\
\text{(O Clod,) in the part of you (which) is pinched off, part} \\
of \text{me is pinched off, (and) in the part of me (which) is pinched off is your pinched-off piece.}
\end{align*}
\]

ADRC, col. III line 27 goes on to add:

27). \text{ina ramānī(Nī)-ia ba-} \text{li} \text{l ramānī(Nī)} \text{—} \text{ka ina} \\
\text{ramānī(Nī)-ka ba-} \text{li} \text{l ramānī(Nī, Mu)}
In myself is mingled yourself, (and) in yourself is mingled myself.

(See a similar phrase on p. 228 in a ghost ritual involving a figurine.)

The verb ḡ/karāšu, "to pinch off", describes the ritual action being performed while the incantation is recited, and was used for the Birth Goddess' action on Atra-hasīs, Tab. 1, line 256. The epithet binūt apsi, "a product of the Apsu", on ADRC, col. III line 25, recalls the statement that Ea (who dwelled in this cosmic region) presented her with the clay (Atra-hasīs, Tab. 1, lines 198-203).

It seems clear that ki/urbānu(LAG) is a clay clod, but other types of "lump" are attested in the dream rituals:

i). kirbān(LAG) īgāri(I.Z.I) šá īna erek šamšī(U.T.U.Š.U.A) šaknat (GAR), "a lump from a wall which is situated in the west" - ADRC, col. I line 71. This could refer to a clod of earth, a piece of brick, or even plaster - see ADRC, col. IV line 45.

ii). LAG is frequently used in parallel to kirṣu, "a pinched-off piece". It is unclear if kirṣu is related to kupatinnu, "clay pellet" (pp. 231-2).

iii). kirbān(LAG) ūṭbi(MUN) lu kirbān(LAG) ūṭffī(IM), "a lump of salt or a clay clod" - ADRC, col. II line 18.

iv). kirbāna(LAG) ša bābi(KÁ) pi-he-e, "a clod from (the region of) a closed door" - ADRC, col. III line 37.

v). kur-ba-ni ba-li-ti, "a clod from the waste land" (following CAD B, p. 63) - ADRC, col. III line 45.

vi). DUG haṣbu(SIKA), "a potsherd", is mentioned on K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, line 16', but then all the references are to a clod, LAG.

Outside the substitution rituals LAG is attested on SDR, line 36, a ritual to obtain a favourable dream:

36). kur-ba-ni ûṭbi(MUN) ŠIM qu-qú-la-ni ŠIM burāši (LI) kirbān(LAG) bābi(KÁ) ka-mI-i īna TUG ši-ši-ši-ik-ti-šú tara-kás
You tie lumps of salt, ququllānu-plant, juniper, (and) a clod from (the region of) the outer gate onto his hem.
These references are the only ones known to the writer of clods occurring as a ritual ingredient.

II. The Purpose Of The Clod

As stated on page 225, the clod is identified with the dreamer by the kirṣu phrase and by mythology. The evil of the dream is transferred to the clod, seemingly to the substitute of the dreamer. Yet the dissolution of the lump is related to that of the nightmare, not that of the dreamer, as would appear "logical." *The Clod Incantation* contains passages where the dream's fate is to crumble like the clod: e.g., *ADRC*, col. II lines 6-9:

6). \( \text{ki-ma ka-šá-ma ana mē(A.MEŠ) a-nam-du-ke-ma} \)

7). \( \text{tam-mah-ha-hu tap-pa-[as-sa1-tap]-pa-ṭa1-ru ana ašri(KI)-ka lā taturru(GUR-[ru])} \)

8). \( \text{lumun(HUL) šutti(ΜΑΣ.ΘΕ6) an-ni-ti [a-mu]-ru ki-ma ka-šá-ma ana mē(A.MEŠ) li-[ln-r]a-dī} \)

9). \( \text{lim-ma-hi-ih lip-pa-[sis1 lip-pa-ṭir ana ašri(KI)-ṣū [a-a itūr(GUR)]]} \)

Just as I will throw you (O Clod) into the water, and you will be soaked, you will disintegrate, [you] will be fragmented, (with the result that) you will not return to your place (i.e., become a clod again); 8 (so) may the evil of this dream which I1 saw be thrown into water just like you! 9 May it be soaked! May it disintegrate! May it be fragmented! [May it not return] to its place (i.e., return to me)!

Similar identifications are established in substitute figurine rituals (ch. 14), where the destruction of the image causes that of the demon, ghost, or witch, it is supposed to represent; likewise in namburbi rituals involving a figurine for a howling dog (*Cap. 12*), or a hissing wild cat (*Cap. 15*), etc. Note, however, that an analogous problem arises in the ghost ritual on the obverse of *KAR* 267. On obv. 4-5 directions are given for making a substitute figurine of the ghost, which is given a human face. It is identified by the inscription on its left shoulder-blade (obv. 6-7) as "the figurine of the ghost, hajjātu-demon, (or) evil disease which seized X, the
son of Y". Yet in the incantation to Shamash (obv. 12-26) the figurine is associated with the sufferer at obv. 17:

17). \( \text{(NÍ)-šú kīma(GIM) ramāni(NÍ)-i₆₆ šTr} \)
\( \text{(UZU)-šú kīma(GIM) nab-ni-it šTre(UZU)-[i₆₆]} \)

He (lit. his self) (is) like myself, (and) his flesh (is) like the appearance of [my] flesh.

A clod is not a figurine, and if we did not possess the express identifications, the clod rituals would be no different in practice to those of the clay pellets and reed, where the sympathetic links for the choice of material are not 'obvious'.

M. Malul [1988, pp. 79-92] presented legal rituals in which the breaking (hepā) of clods symbolized the severance of ties between a son and his family. The clod represented the son's personality, so its breaking wrought a personality change, rendering the son a stranger (ibid., p. 91). When discussing the clod in the context of the substitution dream rituals, M. Malul (ibid., p. 92) understood it to be a symbol of the dreamer. Accordingly, the clod's disintegration in the water dispersed the dreamer's personality, which had been contaminated by the nightmare, thus purifying him. This idea leaves us with the problem that the ritual texts state that it is the dream's evil which is dispelled. Also, the clod rituals would then be substantially different from the other substitution dream rites in intent, although the ritual acts are analogous (see Table 7 on p. 224).

A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 301] stated that, in his Type D (ADRC, col. III lines 20-38, and 39-46), the clod was rubbed over the dreamer's body, absorbing the supposed physical miasma of the bad dream, and purifying the dreamer. The verb kapāru means "to wipe off", and its D-stem has this nuance when used with bread [CAD K, p. 179b1]. This verb does not appear in the clod rituals, nor is such a purpose necessary if the substitution rituals are seen as a unit, where verbal transmission suffices. The idea that the evil of the nightmare was a physical substance which could be removed lies behind the use of sympathetic magic in all the substitution rituals.

DB, p. 302 classified the clod ritual K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 15'-23' into a separate category, Type E, because the dream's evil was transferred by recounting the content of the nightmare (line 19') in
addition to reciting *The Clod Incantation* (see on). While it is true that by its use of both methods of transmission this ritual forms a bridge between the other clod rituals and the ones involving clay pellets or a reed, this is not enough to distinguish it.

### III. Incantations

Although the actions of the clod rituals are the same, the accompanying incantations vary for the six main examples (ignoring the variant *ADRC*, col. III line 46a; see p. 222):

i). The Clod Incantation (Table 8 on p. 230) occurs on *ADRC*, col. I line 52?; col. I line 79 to col. II line 14; col. III lines 25-33; and K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 17'-8' and 20'-2'.

ii). Different incantations to Shamash appear at *ADRC*, col. I lines 54ff., 60-5, and 66-70; col. II lines 14-6; and col. III lines 20-4.

iii). *ADRC*, col. III lines 39-44 is addressed to Ea, containing ideas about the clod and the evil of the dream in lines 43-4, with the variant *lih₄-har-miṭ*, "May it crumble!", instead of *lip-pa-ṭir*, "May it be fragmented!"

iv). *ADRC*, col. III lines 33-6 invokes the mysterious Ram Of The Storm.

All the incantations (apart from *The Clod Incantation*) appear to have been adapted for this ritual technique; several sub-incantations being joined together at *ADRC*, col. I line 79 to col. II line 14 (2), and at *ADRC*, col. III lines 20-36 (3). The incantation to The Ram Of The Storm is basically the same as that of *ADRC*, col. III lines 52-5 (in a ritual to make dreams favourable by feet actions), even though its wording is more suited to apotropaic purposes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Details</th>
<th>Invocation Of The Clod</th>
<th>Establishment Of The Relationship Between The Clod And The Dreamer</th>
<th>Description Of The Dream</th>
<th>Mentions Of The Clod’s imminent Disintegration</th>
<th>Parallel Disintegration Of The Dream’s Evil</th>
<th>Additional Mentions Distancing The Dream’s Evil</th>
<th>Asking Shamash To Make The Dream Favourable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACRC, col. 1 line 79-107</strong></td>
<td>79 (O Clod) I O Clod</td>
<td>79-1 in the part of you (which) is pinched off, (and) in the part of me (which) is pinched off (it) your pinched-off piece.</td>
<td>3-4 (in which I saw my dead father; (or in) which I saw my dead mother; (or in) which I saw a god; (or in) which I saw the king; (or in) which I saw an important person; (or in) which I saw a prince; (or in) which I saw a dead person; (or in) which I saw a living person;</td>
<td>4-6 (or in) which I saw knowledge (of something) I did not know; (or in) which I went to an unknown land; (or in) which I repeatedly saw (during the day) I was not known by someone (or) which I was dressed in an unfamiliar garment;</td>
<td>8-9 just as I will throw you (O Clod) into water, and you will be soaked, you will disintegrate, you will be fragmented (with the result that) you will return to your place (i.e., become a clod again) ;</td>
<td>8-9 (so) may the evil of this dream which (I) see be thrown into water just like you? May it be soaked! May it disintegrate! May it be fragmented! May it not return to its place (i.e., return to me)!</td>
<td>10-11 plur- phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACRC, col. 11 line 20-36</strong></td>
<td>28 O Clod, you are the product of the Apsu!</td>
<td>28-6 in the part of you (which) is pinched off.</td>
<td>29 (so) the evil of the dream which I saw during the night:</td>
<td>30 (in) which I saw a god; (or in) which I saw a king; (or in) which I saw an important person; (or in) which I saw a prince; (or in) which I saw a dead person; (or in) which I saw a living person;</td>
<td>28-9 (Just) as I will throw you, O Clod, into the water, and you will be soaked, you will disintegrate, and you will be fragmented –</td>
<td>32-32 may the evil of the dream fall into the water just like you (O Clod) and may it be soaked? May it disintegrate, and may it be fragmented!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K. 8171 + 11041 + 11654 + 14058, lines 17-22</strong></td>
<td>17 O Clod!</td>
<td>18’ in the part of you (which) is pinched off.</td>
<td>19’ He reports to the clod as many dreams as he saw</td>
<td>20’-1’ (Just as) I will throw you, O Clod, into the water, and (you will) crumble (and) disintegrate –</td>
<td>22’ (so) may the evil of all the dream(s) which I saw disappear? May it dissolve!</td>
<td>22’ May it withdraw sixty ‘miles’ from my body!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also the similar phrases at ACRC, col. 1 lines 51-9 (very fragmentary); and col. 111 lines 43-4.
2). THE CLAY PELLET RITUALS

The clay pellet rituals on 79-7-8, 77 rev. 21'-3' and left edge 24'-6', are basically the same. Seven or fourteen clay pellets are rolled, the dreamer recounts his dreams over them seven or fourteen times respectively, thereby transmitting the dream's evil. Then the pellets are scattered at a cross-roads, accompanied by the phrase on rev. 23'.

I. Other Ritual Uses Of Pellets

As DB, p. 304 noted kupertinnū, "pellets, pills", are used mainly in Mesopotamian medicine [CAD K, kupertinnu, pp. 549-50; and kuppetu A, pp. 552-3], and even then rarely prescribed.

anutag61 = šeqû, Tab. 3, line 172 [MSL 17, p. 156] has the equation [nag] = ku-pa-tin-nu, but in a few texts it seems that the logogram NU.KÁR.KÁR was used instead. These examples, along with the magical attestations of kuppetu, "to form a pellet", provide us with a few other examples of the ritual usages of pellets besides the dream ones:

d). DB, p. 304 was only aware of KÁR 134, a ritual against 'The Hand Of A Ghost', hence really a medical one. Obv. 13-6 orders the sufferer's finger nail cuttings to be rolled in clay. The resultant pellet is then to be cast down a well, into the river, or into the box under the door-pivot.

ii). Cap. 40, rev. 7-13 is a namburbi ritual to prevent the evil of spittle-magic from affecting a man. Seven clay pellets (NU. KÁR.KÁR) are made, mixed with spittle. They are placed in the mouth, a nostril, and in the hands (the numbers do not agree) before being carefully thrown away.

iii). SpTU 1, No. 12 is a ritual against a man's enemies. Amongst many other instructions, rev. 6-7 refers to placing seven clay NU.KÁR.KÁR.

It will be seen that there was no standardized magical use of clay pellets in Mesopotamia. In the dream rituals and (i above) the evil is transmitted to the pellets, which are then disposed of. It is not clear why the pellets in the dream rituals were scattered at a cross-roads, rather than thrown into water: sapāhu, "to scatter" is rarely attested in rituals [CAD S, pp. 151-7]. Cross-roads, and objects found there,
possessed magical properties \cite{CAD S, sūq erbetti, pp. 405-6}. In this context perhaps the evil of the dream was envisaged as being scattered to the four corners of the world. (i) reveals that clay pellets could be thrown into water, although here burying them seems more appropriate for returning the ghost and its evil to the Underworld. It is not clear whether any evil is transferred in (ii), or whether the actions are preventive, protecting important parts of the body. We have no idea what happened to the clay pellets in (iii). We do not know any details about the witching technique mentioned at Maqlû, Tab. 6, line 51, where a witch is described as \textit{tu-kap-pa-ti abnē(NA₄.MEŠ)}, "you (who) roll stones (against someone)".

3. RITUALS INVOLVING FIRE

In many Mesopotamian ceremonies fire was both a destructive and a purificatory power. Five dream rituals are centred around "a fire", \textit{išātu(IZ₁)}, or "a lamp", \textit{nūru(ZĀLAG)}:

i). 79-7-8, 77 rev. 18'-9'.
iii). \textit{NADR}.
iv). K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'-14'.

Four of these ceremonies are fragmentary: (ii) and (v) throughout; (iii) has lost its beginning; and (iv) is unfinished.

Table 7 on page 224 compares the first three rituals with others using principles of sympathetic magic.

I. Burning A Reed

a). 79-7-8, 77 Reverse 18'-9'

In this ritual the substitute for the bad dream is a \textit{tārītu} of reed, which \textit{AHw} 3, p. 1330a translated as "Rohrfasern?". The evil of the dream is transmitted by the dreamer recounting his nightmare to the \textit{tārītu}. Then the reed is burnt in a fire, on which the dreamer blows. One normally blew through something \cite{CAD N₁, napāhu, pp. 263-70}. This action seems to be ensuring that all the evil is transferred, and thoroughly consumed by the flames.
b). ADRC, Column I Lines 13-5

This section of ADRC is extremely fragmentary. The ritual was to be performed in the morning, before the man had eaten. Line 14 probably refers to actions similar to those of 79-7-8, 77 rev. 18'-9':

14). [. . . . ] [X X 1 qanā(G1) i1-pa-šar1(šir)
<ina> išāti[IZ] i-qal-ū-ma

[. . . .] . . . he recounts to a reed. He burns (the reed) <in> a fire.

c). NADR

Whereas the two previous rituals are apotropaic ones, this rite is concerned with making a bad dream pleasant: line 18:

18). išallim(SILIM.MA)

It (the dream) will be(come) beneficial.

The option is left open for the dream already being propitious: line 7:

7). šum-ma dam-qat du-muq-šá a-e i-ši-ša-al[n-ní]

If (this dream) is favourable, may its good luck not ignore [me]!

but the rest of the ritual indicates that there was an extremely strong probability of its being unfavourable.

The ritual structure is as follows:

i). A piece of the dreamer's hem is cut off, and held before the lamp with a reed joint (GI kīṣru) (lines 1-2). The reed has already been plucked out (see lines 9-10).

ii). An incantation is recited to Nusku (lines 3-13), with similarities to the one to Gibil on K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 10'ff. It describes the theory behind the sympathetic actions, namely, that since the reed and hem cannot return to their original locations, the dream's evil will be unable to return to the dreamer (lines 9-13).

iii). The reed is snapped into two or three pieces, and then enveloped by the hem to the accompanying phrase:

14). 'ka1-ma-te ka-la-ta ka-sa-te1(ka)

<Now> you (the evil of the dream) are captured. You are imprisoned. You are chained up.
The parcel is then to be burnt before Nusku – probably in the lamp (line 14).

iv). The ground is touched, and the lamp lit (line 15). Lines 16–7 contain a broken section which possibly ordered the burning of the parcel.

v). The sufferer prays to the lamp (i.e., to Nusku) (line 18), and also to his personal deities.

There are problems over the persons of the verbs: K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 (A) remains in the third person singular, whereas 79–7–8, 77 (b) changes to the second person at the end. The latter manuscript reveals at rev. 13'–5' that its original was partially destroyed when it was copied, as shown by the scribal note hi-pī eš-šú, "new break"; so some ritual detail around NADR line 14 is missing.

Somewhere in the lost beginning the dream must have been recounted to the reed to ensure identification. The snapping of the reed fragments the evil, which is annihilated by the reed’s incineration, consequently purifying the dreamer.

As we have seen in the two rites above, these ritual acts were sufficient in themselves. NADR reinforces them by the use of a piece of hem, a symbol for the personality and person of its wearer in Mesopotamian law and rituals. M. Malul [1986] argued that sissiktu (Tūgšē) was not the hem, but a garment worn close to the loins, from a functional parallelism with different words for lap, etc.

M. Malul [1988, p. 197] gave examples of the wife’s hem being cut when she is being divorced; the action symbolically altering her personality so that she was a stranger to her former husband [ibid., p. 2091]. The same idea of severance of ties can be seen in this dream ritual – henceforth the evil of the dream is separated from the dreamer, because he is no longer the man he was [DB, p. 2991]. The wrapping of the hem around the reed possibly represented the dreamer’s subsequent nullification of the nightmare.

It is probable that the instruction to touch the ground had a symbolic meaning, but what is unclear. At the end of some namburbi rituals a stand and mixing vat were touched as an exit rite, signifying the
sufferer's return to the non-magical world: e.g., Cap. 19, line 9. (See pp. 238-40, where placing a foot on the ground purified the dreamer.)

The fragmentary complex ADRC, col. I lines 28-50 mentions snapping a reed in line 41, so it may possibly be a reed substitution ritual.

II. Soaking Something in Oil

The following table summarizes the ritual acts of the very similar rites K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'-14' and ADRC, col. I lines 19-27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Reference</th>
<th>Manufacture of Parcel</th>
<th>Light Lamp</th>
<th>Dream Mention</th>
<th>INCantation to fire deity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 +, lines 7'-14'</td>
<td>9'-10' Take a thorn of a date palm. Wrap it in combed wool and soak it in oil</td>
<td>10' Light a lamp</td>
<td>(see INC.)</td>
<td>10'ff. Say an INC. to Gibil to lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADRC, col. I lines 19-27</td>
<td>21 Wrap X, and soak it in oil</td>
<td>22 Kindle a fire</td>
<td>22-3</td>
<td>23 Recite an INC. over a thorn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although statements about these fragmentary ceremonies are necessarily tentative, it does not seem that a wick is being made for a lamp (contrary to DB, p. 303). A fire is kindled, or a lamp lit, but what happens to the oil-soaked parcel is lost. The practices of K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 recall those of NADR, described above. The uncommon ritual object "a thorn of the date palm" appears to be playing a role analogous to that of the reed, and the combed wool to that of the hem, but it is not clear how the latter was associated with the dreamer.

The use of fire to purify a room and its occupants occurs in a ritual to be performed if a man has forgotten a dream, ADRC, col. III lines 18-9 (p. 125).
CHAPTER 13: PURIFICATION OF THE DREAMER

A). OIL AND WATER RITUALS

There are three rituals which directly purify the dreamer from the contamination of a dream already seen, without the elaborations of other techniques:

i). 79-7-8, 77 rev. 20' averts the evil by anointing the dreamer's hands, with choice oil, šamnu(l.GIŠ) šābu(D乌鲁.GA), in the morning.

ii). ADRC, col. II line 58 to col. III line 3g is a ritual complex containing three different rituals to make a dream favourable. Col. III lines 1-3 order the dreamer to wash his hands in alkali solution, uhūl(NAGA), upon his bed, before placing his foot on the ground, and reciting an incantation three times.

iii). After line 3a, which involves feet actions (discussed on pp. 238-40), the fragmentary lines 3b-g mention washing hands in a bowl, GIŠîtqūru(D乌鲁), of water three times while recounting the dream into the water, and/or reciting an incantation three times.

Purificatory rituals involve ideas of exorcism and sympathetic magic. The evil affecting the sufferer is envisaged either personified as a demon, or subjectively as a miasma; in both cases dwelling within or covering the victim. This physical embodiment enables the evil and its dire effects to be removed by one of two methods, evidenced in various Mesopotamian rituals:

i). Expulsion, according to the Law Of Opposition (p. 217), whereby a pure substance drives the evil away; in effect consecrating the man (i and ii above). The straightforward washing of hands (mīs qātē) occurs also on Maqū, Tab. 9, lines 160-1, and lines 165-9 (see also Ahw 3, šuluhhū,
p. 1270). Touching the pure ground sufficed to cancel the evil of a bad dream in the feet action rituals.

ii). The evil is rinsed off into water; in dream rituals, while recounting the dream's content to ensure its transference (iii above). This water was either discarded as after a normal bath, or, more probably, disposed of ceremoniously. Washing one's hands over figurines of a witch was a common way of dealing with sorcery: e.g., Maqlû, Tab. 9, lines 154, 158-9; Cap. 40, obv. 31 to rev. 6.

The hands (and feet) were regarded as symbols of power in Mesopotamia (see the different nuances of qātu, "hand", in CAD Q, pp. 183-98). The various rituals of washing one's hands indicate that the evil was envisaged as being drawn out of the body from these members, effectively cleansing the whole.

The idea behind this activity is given by a lipšur-phrase: E. Reiner [1956], p. 138, lines 100-2:

100). \textit{mim-ma lem-nu mim-ma lā ṭābu(DUG.GA) šé ina zumūr(S[U] annenna(NENNI)] mār(A) annenna (NENNI) bašū(GĀL-ū)}

101). \textit{itti(KI) mē(A.MEŠ) šá zu-um-ri-šú u mu-sa-a-ti šá qāṭē(ŠULI)-šú}

102). \textit{liš-šá-hi-ṣṭ-ma nāru(Id) a-na šap-lu-šá lit-bal}

100 Whatever evil (or) unpleasant (thing) is within the body [of XI], the son of Y, 101-2 may it be rinsed off with the water from (lit., of) his body and the wash-water of his hands! May the river carry (the evil) off to its depth(s)!

Water and oil are common agents of purification in all cultures, and their use in Mesopotamia extended beyond dream rituals: e.g., Śurpu, Tab. 9, lines 102-3:

102). \textit{i.dug.ga i.zag.ga me.te šišbanšur.ke4}

103). \textit{[XI] X X dadag.ga nīg.nam.šikil.la.ke4}

102 Choice oil (and) .. oil are befitting for the (offering) table, 103 (and, together with) pure [ .. ] .. are the materials for (lit., of) (ritual) cleansing.
Chapter 13

The washing of the participants' hands was performed as an entry rite in some ceremonies: e.g., in the elaborate purification of the haruspex before he carried out an extispicy (BBR 75-8, obv. 13-7). The officiants' hands were cleansed in the Opening Of The Door ceremony (RAcc., p. 145, line 440: ub-bi-ib qātē(ŠU[11]-kal), presumably before sacrificing, as in the lamentation expert's (kalā) ritual on K. 4806 (IV. R. 23, No. 1) + K. 9421, col. I lines 14'-5':

14'). šu.mu dadag.ga igi.zu bal.-bal.e  
15'). qa-ta-a ellēti(KŪ.MES) iq qa-a ma-har-ka  
14'-5': My pure hands have sacrificed before you.  

(See also the examples cited in LAS vol. 2, p. 314.)

The Mesopotamians constructed three elaborate purificatory ceremonies involving water: bīt rimki ("the house of the bath") and bīt salā' mé ("the house of water sprinkling") were used to cleanse the king after a lunar eclipse; while mīs pī ("the washing of the mouth") consecrated a statue. The ritual tablet of the series musṣu'u, "rubbing in", presents other Mesopotamian purifying substances (BAM 215; F. Köcher [1966]). Alkali (uhūlu or uhūli qarnati) in the form of soda from plant ash was combined with oils to make soap. It also appears in medicinal use, and in the Glass Texts (see AHw 3, uhūlu, pp. 1404-5; A. L. Oppenheim [1970]; and DAB, pp. 312-46 on alkalis generally).

The legal act of washing one's hands was used to sever the ties between an adopted son and his adopting father (M. Malul [1988], pp. 97ff.), resulting in a complete breach between the two. This effect occurs in the ritual use, whereby the sufferer and his affliction are separated.

B. FEET ACTIONS

ADRC, col. III lines 52-8 is intended to avert the evil of a nightmare, despite the incantation rubric in line 56: "It is (the text) to make a bad dream favourable". The ritual in lines 57-8 tells the dreamer to press the foot of the side he was lying on (when he awoke) upon the ground; then to recite the incantation in lines 52-5, and turn over to his other side. The incantation closely resembles that on ADRC, col. III lines 33-6, which
is appended to a clod substitution ritual.

ADRC, col. III line 3a is a ritual to make a dream favourable, and is one of three attached to the complex ADRC, col. II line 58 to col. III line 3g. The other two rituals involve straightforward purification of the dreamer (pp. 236-8). The accompanying incantation contains a reference to feet actions in col. II line 62:

62). \( \text{aš-kun ū} \text{pā(zār)} \text{ ina qaqqari(KI) lu da-mi-iq-ti} \)

I placed (my) foot upon the ground, may it (the dream) be favourable!

In both feet action rituals the dreamer has awakened to the knowledge that he had experienced a nightmare, and needs to be purified. He maintains contact with his bed (the source of the 'crime'), while placing (ummudu or šakānu) a foot upon the purifying ground, and reciting an incantation three times. It is as if the dreamer spanned the dream world and the everyday world before he left his bed, returning to normality by expelling the dream's evil in this way. The recitation of the incantations must be an important element because, otherwise, a bad dream would be annihilated automatically by the everyday action of leaving one's bed.

A. L. Oppenheim (DB, pp. 300-11 believed that these rituals described an unusual way of arising, so that the demons waiting around to pounce (for which there is no evidence) were misled, and abandoned on the other side of the bed. He deduced this from the reference to the dreamer turning over to his other side on ADRC, col. II line 58, adding (to get out of bed); and from an erroneous transliteration of ADRC, col. III line 3a, namely omitting the GIR before ZAG-ka (DB, p. 342), so that the left foot was placed down on the right side of the bed.

However, the writer sees no need to introduce the idea of outwitting demons, since there is evidence that the Mesopotamians regarded the ground (usually qaqqaru(KI)) as a pure and purifying substance: e.g., the incantation phrase appearing on K. 5175 + 6001, col. I line 3':

3'). \( \text{an.gim hé.en.kù.ga ki.gim hé.en.sikil} \)

May he become as pure as heaven! May he become as clean as earth!
Chapter 13

The idea is also seen in the two rites presented below, which prescribed the touching of the ground:

i). In a medical ritual against the intestinal disease *kitis libbi* (of *kans*), the doctor concludes by touching the patient's buttocks and head fourteen times, then touching the ground, probably directing the illness into it.

ii). The ground was touched at the conclusion of *NAKR* (a ritual involving fire) for some unknown reason, possibly a purificatory exit rite.
CHAPTER 14: FIGURINES

A). THE RITUALS

There are seven dream rituals based on the use of figurines, with different purposes behind them:

i). K. 2600 + 3239 + 9512 + 10216, col. B lines 21-4 - to see favourable dreams in the future.


iii). ADRC, col. II lines 19-23 - to prevent frightening dreams occurring.

iv-vi). SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. - to separate a recurring dream apparition from the sufferer, with three options.

vii). 81-2-4, 166 - to ward off the effects of a dreamed witchcraft action.

1). K. 2600 + 3239 + 9512 + 10216, COLUMN B LINES 21-9

This tablet contains rituals connected with the Substitute King (= W. G. Lambert [1957-8, and 1959-6]). Most of our information regarding this role comes from the Neo-Assyrian period (see S. Parpola [LAS vol. 21, pp. XXII-XXXII for a recent discussion of this ritual). It was performed when certain types of lunar or solar eclipses, in connection with planetary configurations, portended the death of the Assyrian monarch. A living substitute was enthroned, acting as the king in everyday matters, and taking all the bad omens upon himself instead. The Substitute King was probably killed at the end of the dangerous period of the eclipse (usually one hundred days), paralleling the destruction of inanimate substitutes: the expression used is that he goes to his fate.

Col. B lines 1-34 present instructions for making pairs of figurines representing various mythological creatures. Each pair was inscribed with a phrase on the lines of:

\[ \text{\textit{gi-i lumun(HUL) A er-ba du-muq B}} \]
Chapter 14

Depart evil of A! Enter good luck of B!

Then the images were buried in different places throughout the palace.

I. Lines 21-4

21). 2 suhurmašu(SUHUR. MĀŠ.KIŠ) ša gīš bēnī(ŠINIG) ša
gīš haṭṭi(GIDRU) ša gīš e'rī(MA.NU) n[i]š[u-u
[teppus(DU-uš)]

22). ina naglabi(MAŠ.SILA) šumēli(GUB)-šu-nu ki-a-
am ta-šaṭ-ṭar š[i-i] lumun(HUL) [X X]

23). er-ba du-muq šunātī(MAŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) ta-šaṭ-ṭar

24). ina bīt(Ē) ma-a-a-[li te-tem-mer]

[You make] two tamarisk goat-fish, which hold e'ru-
wood sceptres. 22 You write as follows upon their left
shoulder-blade(s):

[Depart evil of . . ] 23 Enter good luck of dreams!

[You write (these words, then) 24 you bury] (the
figurines) in (the king's) bedchamber.

II. Lines 25-9

25). 2 šalmānī(ALAM.MEŠ) kām-su-tī [ša gīš biš]-tiš
ša dišpa(LĀL) himēta(ī.NUN.NA)

26). na-šu-ū teppus(DU-uš) ina naglabi(MAŠ.SILA)
šumēli(GUB)-šu-nu1 ki-a-am ta šaṭṭar(SAR-ār)

27). ši-i lumun(HUL) šunātī(MAŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) lēmnēti
(HUL).MEŠ) er-ba du-muq ekalli(Ē.GAL)

28). ta šaṭṭar(SAR-ār) dišpa(LĀL) himēta(ī.NUN.NA)
[šal-šu-nu1 tu-ma-lā

29). ina qa-bal tarbaš(TŪR) ekalli(Ē.GAL-fiš)
te-tem-mer
25-6 You make two [tamarisk] kneeling figurines, which carry honey (and) ghee. You write as follows upon [their] left shoulder-blade(s):

'27 Depart evil of [bad] dreams! Enter good luck of the palace!

28 You write [these words, then] you fill their hands with honey (and) ghee. 29 You bury (the figurines) inside the palace courtyard.

2). ADRC, COLUMN II LINES 19-23

Lines 19-20 contain a so-called abracadabra incantation, which was discussed on page 184. This has the rubric (line 21), "(In order) not to see a frightening dream". The ritual (lines 22-3) orders the manufacture of four clay figurines and the recitation of the incantation seven times. Then the figurines are to be placed at the dreamer's head (when he is lying down).

3). SPtu 2, No. 21, OBVERSE

This Seleucid tablet contains rituals dealing with the repeated appearances of a young man in a sufferer's dreams. A summary of the main ritual, obv. 3-30, follows. A wax figurine representing the dream apparition is made, and its name written upon the left shoulder-blade. Offerings are made to Shamash, accompanied by an incantation recited three times. Then the dreamer raises the figurine, addressing Shamash in his own words. He recites an incantation three times to the figurine, while washing his hands over it. The text is broken at this point, resuming with the figurine being buried at the corner of a wall, and a magic circle being drawn. The desired result is to sever the apparition from the patient; i.e., to stop him from reappearing in the latter's dreams.

Two other rituals also involving figurines are presented on obv. 31-5 and obv. 36-40, but they are very fragmentary. In both cases the figurine is thrown into the river, not interred (see pp. 251-2).
4). 81-2-4, 166

This tablet and (3 above) contain rituals directed against specific dream content, instead of nebulous nightmares. On 81-2-4, 166 the supplicant has dreamed that someone performed the apparent witchcraft action of throwing earth over him, which resulted in his pollution and neglect by the gods, just as if it had 'really' happened. As DB, p. 307 noted, we possess no other references to this type of nefarious deed.

The ritual expert presents various offerings to Shamash. Then the dreamer performs the mīs pū ritual, thereby purifying himself, and an incantation to Shamash is recited. The "washing of the mouth" ceremony was normally used to consecrate divine statues, bringing them 'to life'. (The ritual tablet is edited by G. Meier in Afo 12 [1937-9], pp. 40-5).

There are other examples of the rite being carried out on men, even on a bull, or drum [CAD Mz, mīsu A, p. 112b]. A pair of substitute figurines representing the supposed sorcerer or sorceress are made. The victim washes over the figurines, cleansing himself, and returning the effects of the sorcery to its perpetrators.

The references above can be divided into the two main types of Mesopotamian figurines:

i). Guardians (1 and 2).

ii). Substitutes (3 and 4).

This idea is resumed in Section C.

B). DESCRIPTION OF FIGURINES

1). MATERIALS

Mesopotamian figurines could be created from a variety of substances, as is shown by the list of different images made by the witch on Maqlû, Tab. 4, lines 39-42:

i). Găšbīnu(ŠINIG), "tamarisk".

ii). Găšerēnu(ERIN), "cedar".

iii). iškūru(DUH.LÀL), "wax".

iv). itā(A.)ESIR, "crude bitumen".

v). kupsu(DUH.ŠE.GIŠ.), "residue of linseed".
Occasionally materials were mixed together: e.g., Maqlû, Tab. 9, line 35 - bitumen and gypsum; and line 37 - clay and tallow.

Tamarisk (used in A 1) was regarded as a major agent of purification and repulsion of evil:

i). In the series šēp lemutti ina bit amēli parāsi (F. A. M. Wiggermann [1986], Text 1B), lines 81-3:
81) esenti(GİR.PAD.DU) ilūti(DINGIR-ti) GISbīnu
(ŠINIG) qud-du-ši
82) īgu(GĬŠ) el-lu ana bu-un-na-nē-e qalmāni
(NU.MEŠ)
83) šā ina bit(Ē) annanne(NENNI) mār(A) annanne
(NENNI) ana sa-kap lemutti(HUL.MEŠ) iuzzuzu
(GUB-zu)
81 The bone of divinity, the holy tamarisk, 82 the pure wood (used) for the features of the figurines, 83 which will stand in the house of X, the son of Y, (ready) to repulse the evil ones.

ii). In the common līpšur-phrase, as on ADRC, col. II line 12:
12) GISbīnu(ŠINIG1) lilli(KU)-an-ni
"May the tamarisk purify me!"

In the rituals studied by F. A. M. Wiggermann [1986, p. 119], tamarisk was the normal material for the anthropomorphic deities, "the creatures of heaven", while the clay monsters were "the creatures of Apsu" (the clod is called binūt apš on ADRC, col. III line 25). However, the tamarisk suhurmäšu (A 1/1) was a monster, a goat-fish (ibid., pp. 321-3)

Quantities of Mesopotamian figurines dating from various eras have been excavated. Those with 'magical' connotations (as distinct from 'religious' and royal statues, and palace decorations) dating from the thirteenth to sixth centuries B.C. are presented in D. Rittig [1977]. Most of the figurines made from perishable materials have disintegrated long ago. However, a few wooden ones have survived from the temple of Ninurta at Babylon [1.2.2.1-4 in D. Rittig's classification] with attributes
of copper and onyx. The presence of other metal decorations [22-4], found loose or in capsules (p. 248), suggest that, originally, they adorned similar figurines, or crushed clay ones [1.1.6]. Clay figurines constitute the majority of the excavated examples, sometimes coated with gypsum and painted (D. Rittig [1977], pp. 225-6). The metal ones are primarily of dogs, being of bronze [16.1.6-11; 20.1-2] or of copper [16.2.1-4].

2). APPEARANCE

Both plaques (e.g., D. Rittig [1977], 8.5.2) and, more usually, figures in the round have been excavated. They were intended to stand upright, having either flat bottoms [e.g., 9.1.3] or bases attached [e.g., 1.3.1]. E. D. van Buren [1930, p. XLIII] knew of few examples with bases, suggesting that the figurines either lay flat or were propped up; while others, which tapered, were stuck into the ground. The discovery of a number of clay figurines in a potter's shop at Sippar (ibid., p. XLIII) indicates that certain kinds were manufactured wholesale. There is a wide variety of Mesopotamian figurines: birds, dogs, lions, mythological creatures, and different anthropomorphic types (see D. Rittig [1977] generally). These may be identified further by their attributes or by phrases inscribed upon them.

It is probable that the figurines in the dream rituals (A 2-4) were roughly anthropomorphic, with hardly any details. The representation in (A 3) had its name written on its left shoulder-blade (obv. 4). It is not clear what this meant, since no inscription is given. In some way the substitute figurine had to be connected with the evil it represented in order for the ritual to work. Also, the use of a name gives the speaker power over that object or person. The name could either be a generic one, such as a type of demon, or more specific: e.g., K. 2175 +, col. 1 line 49:

49). šum-me tîde(ZU)-šú šum(MU)-šú tasāṭṭar(SAR-ér)

You write his name, if you know him (the ghost).

There were two favourite locations for the inscriptions (either names or phrases) given in the ritual texts dealing with figurines:

i). The idu(Â), "arm, side".

ii). The left nagšabu(MAŠ.SÌLA), which CAD N1, pp. 119-20
translated as "shoulder blade"; whereas AHw 2, pp. 711-2
preferred "Hüfte".

Some excavated examples have phrases on them, not always corresponding
with those prescribed in the ritual texts (D. Rittig [1977], pp. 185-205;
see also below); and in a number of places:

i). The back [e.g., 1.1.5].
ii). The back of the left arm [e.g., 1.1.11].
iii). The left and right arms [e.g., 2.1.15].
iv). The right thigh [e.g., 11.1.31].
v). The left side [e.g., 9.1.2].
vi). The left and right sides [e.g., 3.1.1-2].

Figurines similar to those for both the dream ceremonies extracted
from the Substitute King Ritual (A 1) were discussed by F. A. M.
Wiggermann [1986, his Text 61]. These were far more elaborate, consisting
of:

i). Two tamarisk goat-fish, holding e'ru-wood sceptres.
ii). Two kneeling figures, carrying honey and ghee.

In the course of the Substitute King Ritual, figurines were buried
throughout the palace to protect the king and the entire complex. The
inscriptions written upon them reveal their function as doorkeepers, even
though they were not always interred in doorways. They were to expel
any existing evil, to prevent new calamities from entering, meanwhile
allowing good fortune to pass through. F. A. M. Wiggermann [1986,
p. 262] noted that the phrases of (A 1) do not agree with the ones given
elsewhere for the same types of figurines. The e'ru-wood sceptre
endowed its bearer with divine power to exorcise (pp. 301-3).

The honey and ghee may have been offerings, with no symbolic
meaning. Each of the figurines found in the Ruined Building at Ur (D.
Rittig [1977], pp. 250-3) was accompanied by the remains of sacrifices,
such as corn grains or the bones of small birds (C. L. Woolley [1926],
p. 692); although no mention of these occurs in the extant ritual texts.
C. PURPOSES BEHIND THE CREATION AND BURIAL OF FIGURINES

1). GUARDIAN FIGURINES

Certain figurines were buried beneath a building's floor to protect it and its inhabitants from all calamities, as in (A 1). Such guardian figurines have been excavated at Neo-Assyrian sites in Assyria from houses (e.g., D. Rittig [1977], pp. 232-7, at Ashur); palaces (e.g., pp. 244-9, various ones at Nimrud); and temples (e.g., pp. 240-1, at Dur-Sharrukin). On the other hand, the only examples from Neo-Babylonian sites come from temples or Nabopolassar's palace at Babylon [pp. 252-9]: there is no evidence, even of the practice, from private residences.

Many figurines of this category were enclosed in brick capsules (D. Rittig [1977], pp. 219-24, 229-30). The earliest examples come from the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I in thirteenth century B.C. Ashur. The basic pattern of six burnt bricks sealed with bitumen or clay, completely enclosing the figurines, lasted from the twelfth century B.C. temple of Ashur-resh-ishi I at Ashur until the sixth/fifth centuries B.C. Other types of container developed in the first millennium B.C., such as the 'sentry boxes' discovered in the seventh century B.C. Ruined Building at Ur (C. L. Woolley [1926], pp. 691-2), which consisted of three ancient burnt bricks (not used since 2,500 B.C.), placed on end to form three sides of a square, with the brick pavement as the roof. The fourth side was left open, facing into the middle of the room. Stone capsules have been found at Nineveh (D. Rittig [1977], 8.3.9-21), and one figurine in a house at Ashur was under an inverted clay vase (1.2.1.2).

Guardian figurines were not always enclosed; several being found loose under the brick pavement (e.g., D. Rittig [1977], 3.1.1-2 (house); 12.1.1 (palace); 16.2.1 (temple)). In the North Palace at Nineveh five representations of dogs were excavated from a niche (16.1.1-5).

As far as we can tell from the incomplete excavations and damaged site plans, the burials do not correspond to the locations given in the ritual tablets. However, neither do the sites agree with each other, nor do the different texts (F. A. M. Wiggermann [1986], pp. 193-5, 200).

Limited support for the view that the instructions did not have to followed exactly (F. A. M. Wiggerman [1986], p. 178) comes from the
fragmentary letter LAS 179, which deals with the interment of figurines (unusually called timru instead of salmu). As S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, p. 17] stated, Esarhaddon appears to have inquired about the burial of figurines in the Substitute King Ritual (compare rev. 2-9 and K. 2600 + 3239 + 9512 + 10216, col. B lines 21-4 (A 1/1)). The relevant part of this letter for our purposes is rev. 7-12:

7). \( \text{bīṭ(Ē) šarri(LUGAL) is-se-niš} \)
8). \( \text{ú-šāhî-ka-mu-ni} \)
9). \( \text{lit-me-ru ša kal u₄-[me]} \)
10). \( \text{[ša mūši(GE₆) la pa-} \text{ris]} \)
11). \( \text{im-ma-ti ša li-ba-šū-u-ni} \)
12). \( \text{i-} \text{ša tam₁-me-er} \)

7-9 They should bury (the figurines in these places, and) also (in) (lit., together with) the room(s) which the king prescribed. \(^{10-2}\) It is not determined (whether this interment should be done) during (lit., of all) the day (or) at night, (so) one may bury (them) whenever one pleases.

Besides disclosing that the time of the ritual burying did not matter in this case, the letter suggests that the locations were not vital either. The practitioner goes on to state that he will inter similar figurines likewise where he is staying (rev. 13 to edge 15). This implies that the figurines itemised in the Substitute King Ritual had to be buried in their designated spots, but one could bury more elsewhere as additional safeguards - even in buildings where the king was not residing. It is not known what type of figurines the extra ones would be.

(Note that the protective figurines of the dream ritual on ADRC, col. II lines 19-23 (A 2), were not interred, but placed at the dreamer's head; possibly as a 'solid' form of a maṣṣar šulme u balāṭi (pp. 128-34).

2). SUBSTITUTE FIGURINES

The technique of substitute figurines is based upon the principles of sympathetic magic, deriving from the Law Of Similarity (p. 217), thus simulating the destruction of an otherwise inaccessible evil, or used in witchcraft to secretly harm an individual. The method was used in
Chapter 14

Mesopotamia mainly for dealing with demons, ghosts, and witches, and in namburbi rituals.

I. Demon And Ghost Rituals

J. A. Scurlock [1988, pp. 50-62] discussed the ghost rituals involving figurines. The representations were buried (sometimes accompanied by offerings), often in sealed 'coffins', thus returning the ghosts to their rightful abode, the Underworld. The 'grave' was frequently enclosed by a circle of šiğûṣu(ŠE.MUŠ)-flour. An exorcistic ritual offers a reason for the choice of this type of flour: UHF, lines 789-90:

789). ziše.muš.a [nig.gig gidim.ma.ke₄]
790). kiš.na.da.m[a.ke₄ ū.me.ni.hur]
789-90 [Draw] (a flour circle of) šiğûṣu-flour, [an unpleasant thing for ghost(s)] (around) the bed's location.

Additional precautions might be taken to prevent the ghost's reappearance: often the figurine was compelled magically to swear an oath not to return, or it could be physically bound or blinded.

We have mentioned already (p. 86) the indications that the Mesopotamians regarded dreams as demonic, including the fact that the dream apparition of SpTU 2, No. 21 (A 3) is addressed on obv. 16-26 as if it were a demon. The ritual complex obv. 3-30 resembles the ghost rituals above, whereas the fragmentary rites of obv. 31-40 are closer to namburbi practices (pp. 251-2). The swearing of an oath occurs on obv. 15, i-ta-ma-ma, "he swears an oath", but it appears that the sufferer performs this, whereas the ghost rituals have the form tu-tam-ma-šu-ma, "You make it (the figurine) swear an oath". The representation of the dream apparition is buried at the corner of the wall (obv. 29). Ghost figurines were usually buried under thornbushes or in the open country, but see the following Lamashtu ritual. Finally, a šiğûṣu-flour circle is mentioned (obv. 29).

Figurines were also used against the demoness Lamashtu on Lamaštu, Tab. 1, col. II lines 23-7 (repeated at Tab. 3, rev. 34-8; ZA 16 [1902], pp. 141-200). The clay image of the demoness was placed at the sufferer's head for three days. Then the Lamashtu figurine was struck with a dagger during the late afternoon of the third day, and buried at the
corner of a wall. The site was enclosed by a flour circle. Ghost figurines could be similarly associated with the victim: e.g., the ritual of KAR 234, obv. 14-26, and BAM 323 (= KAR 184); while on SpTU 2, No. 21, obv. 28 (A 3), the dreamer washed his hands over the figurine, thereby transferring the evil and purifying himself.

A wall obviously possessed some ritual significance lost to us. In the ritual section of the Fifth House of the bit rimki ritual (J. Laessoe 1955, pp. 29-31) a figurine representing a māmītu-damon was made, whose heart was pierced (obv. 24-5), before being buried in the samītu of a wall (rev. 26) (CAD S, pp. 117-8, "battlemented parapet"; AHw 3, p. 1018b, "Mauersockel").

II. Anti-Witchcraft Rituals

The use of substitute figurines on 81-2-4, 166 (A 4) in connection with witchcraft is mirrored in other anti-witchcraft ceremonies. Maqlū presents several methods of disposing of figurines representing witches and wizards in attempts to combat sorcery:

i). Burning (the translation of maqlū): e.g., Tab. 4, lines 132-8.

ii). Placing them in bread and giving them to dogs to eat, which tells us something about the size of these figurines: e.g., Tab. 9, lines 184-7.

iii). Sailing them downstream in a clay boat: e.g., Tab. 9, lines 52-3.

In the namburbi rite Cap. 40 the figurines are buried, and the sufferer washes over the site (probably only his hands) for a month (rev. 4-6). It is not clear what the fate of the figurines in 81-2-4, 166 (A 4) was, but the dreamer bathed over them (rev. 17-8).

III. Namburbi Rituals

In a few namburbi rituals substitute figurines were made of the animal whose actions portended evil, and were thrown into the river: e.g., of a howling dog, Cap. 12; and of a hissing wild cat, Cap. 15. This procedure was possibly followed for a shooting star, Cap. 35.

The same actions occur in the alternative rites of SpTU 2, No. 21 (A 3). Obv. 31-40 ordered the casting of the figurine into the river,
instead of the burial specified in the main ceremony. It is a shame that these lines are so fragmentary, but they offer additional support to the view that dream namburbi rituals existed (pp. 220-3).
CHAPTER 15: CHARMS AND AMULETS

The definitions of 'amulet' and 'talisman' vary according to each student of magical rituals, and are interrelated; while 'charm' is used generically. As a rule:

i). An amulet is a natural object possessing innate magical powers, which it uses automatically on behalf of its wearer.

ii). A talisman is granted its magical powers in a ritual. It is directed towards a specific end, as opposed to the general nature of the amulet.

These distinctions frequently become blurred in practice. Since no one amulet is considered strong enough to protect against everything, they become limited in aim. Furthermore, amulets may have their powers reinforced or augmented by the addition of an inscription or symbol, or by having an incantation recited over them.

It has become standard practice in Assyriology to classify the Mesopotamian objects differently, according to their physical form:

i). Charms consist of various natural objects placed together inside a leather pouch, or stone necklaces; either being worn around the neck of an individual. They are enumerated in long lists, generally relating to different specific purposes.

ii). Amulets are inscribed. Many are limited in purpose, but see the Universal Namburbi on the Plague Amulets (E. Reiner 1960).

This system was adopted primarily because we cannot tell from the cuneiform sources which objects possessed intrinsic qualities, and which were granted them.

It is not clear in any society how charms are envisaged as working for the benefit of the wearer. To their powers is added the goodwill of the donor, and the all important belief of the recipient in their efficacy. Nor
is it easy to distinguish between the apotropaic and beneficent qualities of a charm, since frequently both are involved: e.g., a pleasant dream occurs due to the repulsion of evil powers. In Section A the dream charms have been divided according to their titles.

Since physical injury or the sight of malicious beings could damage the efficacy of personal charms, most are worn hidden, usually next to the skin. Often amulets and charms are created specifically for a certain person, either by a dedicatory inscription, or by phrases spoken during the collection of the ingredients. Hence, such a charm will be efficacious only for that individual, devoid of its powers if lost, or withdrawing them if stolen.

None of the extent dream charms appear to be personalized in this way, but we possess very few details about their manufacture or usage. We do not know for how long any category of charm, for any purpose, was worn. It is possible that a charm was only worn for a specific period, or until the wearer deemed it to be useless. Charms should not be disposed of carelessly, so perhaps a 'defunct' one was returned to the ritual expert, and a new one demanded. If so, the practitioner probably broke up the charm into its separate components from which he would create another charm for somebody else. H. Webster (1948, p. 138) mentioned that in West Africa a charm which has cured a disease is kept as an ornament, ready to work if the symptoms return. Accordingly, one's personal collection of charms grows throughout one's life. Presumably, it is kept manageable through selective discarding, if necessary.

### A). DREAM CHARMS

The scope and type of Mesopotamian charms dealing with dreams are shown in Table 9 on page 255. In addition, there are a few charms concerned primarily with other matters but which mention dreams:

i). **BAM 316**, col. II lines 5'-25', contains a list of woes in lines 5'-16', with the purpose in line 15' (amongst several others):

\[
\text{sunāti(MÁS._GE6.MEŠ) - ū ana damiqti(SIG₅-ît₁)}
\]

(to turn) his dreams to good luck,
A leather pouch charm is made, and line 23' presents one desired ritual result:

23'). \( \text{šunāti(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ)-šú idammiqā(SIGš.MEŠ) } \)

his dreams will become favourable;

ii). \( \text{BAM 316, col. VI line 29'}: \)

29'). \( \text{‘ana{l lumūn(HUL)} šunāti(MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ) idāti } \)

(Ā.MEŠ) ittāti(GISKIM.MEŠ) İləmnîti(HUL.MEŠ)/

\( \text{lâ ṭābāti(DUG.(GA.)MEŠ)} \)

For the evil of [bad/unpleasant] dreams, ominous happenings (and) signs:

### TABLE 9: Types Of Dream Charms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ritual Purpose</th>
<th>Leather Pouch</th>
<th>Stone Necklace</th>
<th>( \text{takṣṭru or mēšu} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To avert</td>
<td>A, III: 61-3</td>
<td>A, IV: 5-7</td>
<td>A, IV: 8-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9 examples)</td>
<td>A, III: 64-6</td>
<td>S, III: 1 (+)</td>
<td>X, IV: 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, III: 67-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, IV: 1-2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, IV: 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, IV: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, IV: 15-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K, IV: 13-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T, rev. 12'-6'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Make</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 examples)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Obtain A</td>
<td>B, IV: 27-31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favourable Dream</td>
<td>B, IV: 32-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3 examples)</td>
<td>P, IV: 5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A = ( \text{ADRC} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K = K. 2175 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S = ( \text{BAM 400} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = ( \text{STTI 275} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B = ( \text{BAM 315} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P = ( \text{StTU 2, No. 22} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1). CHARMS TO AVERT

\( \text{ADRC, col. III lines 61-8 are contained within one ruled-off section, although three separate charms (I-III below) are listed with the same title. The beginning of col. IV is broken, but the three charms (IV-VI) enumerated in lines 1-4 (again undivided) probably follow on from the} \)
previous column. (See the text editions for the charms listed but not quoted here.)

I. ADRC, col. III lines 61-3
II. ADRC, col. III lines 64-6
III. ADRC, col. III lines 67-8
IV. ADRC, col. IV lines 1-2
V. ADRC, col. IV line 3
VI. ADRC, col. IV line 4

VII. ADRC, col. IV lines 15-6

VIII. K. 2175 +, Column IV Lines 13-4

K. 2175 + is an extensive collection of rituals against ghostly visitors. Col. IV lines 13-4 contains a charm against specific dream content:-

\[
\begin{align*}
13). & \quad [\text{\textit{šumma}(\text{DIŠ}) \text{ anēlu(NA)} \textit{ina šutti(\text{MĀŠ.GEs})-šū mūtūti(\text{ÚIŞ.MEŠ}) Itanammar(\text{I}G\text{I.MEŠ}) ūhāšu(\text{HAR.} \text{HAR})}\{\text{...}\ldots\cdots\ldots\ldots\ldots\}]
\\
14). & \quad [\text{\textit{in}a maški(\text{KUŠ})} \text{ šalqutti(\text{ÂB.RI.RI.GA}) ina šer'ān(SA)} \text{ arrabi(\text{PĖŠ.GIŠ.ÜR.RA}) tašappi(Dū. Dū) ina kīšādī(\text{GŪ})-šū tašakkan(\text{GAR-an})}]\\
\end{align*}
\]

13 If a man repeatedly sees dead [people] in his dream(s): Thyme? [ ............... ] 14 [you lace together in] a dead cow's? hide with [a dormouse's] tendon. [You place (this charm) around his neck].

(The arrabu rodent is usually taken to be a dormouse, but R. D. Biggs [SZG, p. 4, n. 25] disputed this identification, stating that there was no evidence that the dormouse ever lived in Mesopotamia. CAD A2, p. 302b offered the alternative of jerboa?)
Chapter 15

IX. STT 107, Reverse 12'-6'

12'). šūmma(DĪŠ) amēlu(N[A]) šunāti('MĀŠ1.GE₆.<MEŠ>)
pár-ča'₁-a-ti . . . . . . .
13'). pašāri(BŪR-ri)-šu lu [ . . . . . . . . .]

14'). zēr(NUMUN) ūbūšāni(HAB) ū[ . . . . . . . . .]
15'). ūatā'iša(KUR.KUR) gīšbīna(ŠIN1[G]) . . . . .
16'). Trace

The rest of the tablet is broken away.

12'-3' If a man [saw] frightening dreams: (in order) to
dissolve it (the evil of the dreams) or [ . . . . . . . . .]

14'-6' Seeds of the būšānu-plant, the [ . . . . ]-plant [ . . . .
the atā'išu-plant], tamarisk [ . . . . . . . . .]

2). CHARMS TO MAKE A BAD DREAM FAVOURABLE

I. ADRC, col. IV lines 5-7

(Three other citations of this charm, with slight differences are
referred to in the text edition.)

II. ADRC, col. IV lines 8-14

III. BAM 400, Column III Line 1

BAM 400 contains titles of stone necklaces used as charms intended to
ward off specific evils (F. Köcher [1963]). No details of the individual
charms are given, only the number of stones comprising them, so one has
to look elsewhere. Since it is not a standard charm list, BAM 400 has
been regarded in various ways:

i). V. Scheil [1925] saw it as an omen catalogue.

ii). J. Nougayrol [1941, p. 76, n. 1] stated that it was a namburbi
catalogue. Three of the tabulated charms do appear in such
rituals: col. II line 5' on Cap. 20, obv. 4'-6'; col. II line 8'
on Cap. 24, obv. 17-9; and col. II line 9' on Cap. 10, rev. 17-9.

iii). A. L. Oppenheim [DB, pp. 295-6] visualized it as a list of incantations (correct his reference from Si 18); see p. 34.

The charm in col. III line 1:

1). 13 šutta(‘MĀŠ.GEš) [dummuqi(SIGš)]

Thirteen (stones) [to make] a dream [favourable]; appears in the following charm lists, with an additional stone:

   i).  BAM 376, col. I lines 28'-30'.
   iii).  BAM 384, rev. 1-5.

(All of these texts also contain the charm of ADRC, col. IV lines 5-7 (2/1); see the text edition for details). Composite lines:

   a).  NAšāmtu(GUG) NAuqnu(ZA.GIN) ni-bu šubū(SUBA) ajartu(PA) hulēlu(NIR) NApappardiš(BABBAR. DILI)
   b).  NAhi-li-šu šurru(ZU) šalmu(GEš) šad(KUR)-nu šēbitu(DAB) NAperzillu(AN.BAR) NAsalāqu (ZALAG) šurru(ZU) arqu(SIGš)
   c).  urrīqu(SIGš.SIGš) 14 abnē(NA4.MEš) šunāti(MĀŠ. GEš.MEš) lemnēši(HUL.MEš) dummuqi(SIGš)

   * Carnelian, lapis lazuli, the (jānibu-stone, the šubū-stone, the ajartu-shell, the hulēlu-stone, the pappardiš-stone, the hulēlu-stone, black obsidian, magnetite, iron, the zalāqu-stone, green obsidian, (and) the urrīqu-stone (are) fourteen stones (for a charm) to make bad dreams favourable.

IV. STT 275, Column IV Line 23

23). [ . . . . ] X1 šit-tu u šunāti(MĀŠ.GEš.MEš)
   lemnēši(HUL.MEš1) dummuqi(SIGš1.MEš)
   [ . . . . ] (is a stone) to make favourable sleep and bad dreams.
3). CHARMS TO OBTAIN A FAVOURABLE DREAM

Other rituals with the same purpose are covered in chapter 18.

I. SpTU 2, No. 22, Column IV Lines 5-6

5). \( \text{ana} \ \text{amēli(NA)} \ \text{ili(DINGIR)}-\text{šú} \ \text{u} \ \text{dištarī(XV)}-\text{šú} \)
\( \text{ina} \ \text{rēšī(SAG)}-\text{šu} \ \text{suzuṣṣi(GUB-zi)}-\text{ma} \ \text{ṣutta} \)
\( \text{(MĀŠ.GE₆)} \ \text{damiq,tu(SIGₐₗs-tū)} \ \text{na-ta-lu} \)

6). \( \text{NA}_4 \ \text{šubā(ŠUBA)} \ \text{NA}_4 \ \text{hulālu(NĪR₁)} \ \text{NA}_4 \ \text{ašgikā(ĀŠ.} \)
\( \text{GI.GI)} \ \text{ina} \ \text{KUŠ} \)

5 So that a man will cause his personal god and personal goddess to stand at his head (while he sleeps), and (also) in order to see a favourable dream: 6 You place (pieces of) the šubā-stone, the hulālu-stone, (and of) the ašgikā-stone in a leather pouch around his neck.

II. BAM 315, Column IV Lines 27-36

BAM 315, col. IV lines 27-31 are duplicated by BAM 316, col. I lines 20'-4'.

27). \( \text{ana} \ \text{ilu(DINGIR)} \ \text{u} \ \text{dištarī(EŠĪṬ₂=TAR)} \ \text{uznē} \)
\( \text{(GEŠTUG.ME₆)}-\text{šū} \ \text{puttū(BAD.BAD-u)} \)

28). \( \text{ṣuttu(MĀŠ.GE₆)} \ \text{damiq,ta(SIGₐₗs-ta)} \ \text{na-ta-li pe} \ \text{it} \)
\( \text{hu} \ \text{NA}_4 \ \text{ṣuṣṣa(ZŪ)} \ \text{ṣalma(‘GE₆₁)} \)

29). \( \text{ūnu-ṣa-bu} \ \text{ūa-ra-ri-a-nu} \ \text{ūlišān kalbi(EME.UR.} \)
\( \text{GI₇)} \)

30). \( \text{ūa-ra-an-tu} \ \text{ṣurši(SUHUṢ)} \ \text{GIŠbatli(DĪH)} \ \text{šē eli} \)
\( \text{(UGU)} \ \text{kimahhi(KI.MAH)} \ \text{ina} \ \text{KUŠ} \)

31). \( \text{ina} \ \text{še-ri} \ \text{ana ili(DINGIR)}-\text{šū} \ \text{uškēn(KI.ZA.ZA)}-\text{me} \ \text{tesiṭ-su(A.RA.ZU.BI)} \ \text{iššenne(GIŠ.TUK)} \)

32). \( \text{ana} \ \text{KIMIN (i.e., to na-ta-li) ūṣbat(MUN) eme-} \)
\( \text{sal-li pul-[lul-ur-tū kasp}(\text{KŪ.BABBAR}) \ u \)
27 In order that god and goddess instruct him (lit., open his ears), 28-30 (and in order) to see a favourable dream: You place (pieces of) . . . black obsidian, the nušābu-plant, the ararišnu-plant, the 'dog's tongue'-plant, the arantu-grass, (and of) a root of a baltu-thornbush which (grows) over a grave in a leather bag around his neck.

31 He prostrates himself in the morning before his personal god, and his prayer will be heard.

32-3 In order ditto (i.e., You immerse (lit., bury) (pieces of) emesallim-salt, pallurtu, silver, and (of) 'proper' gold in honey (and) ghee for three days. You lift (them) out on the fourth day, and 34 you speak as follows before Shamash:

"O . . . . the reconciler of the angry god (and) of the angry goddess! O Shamash, (please) reconcile (their) divine wrath!"

36 You say (this, and) . . . . they will become reconciled.

hurāša(KÙ.GI) tarṣa(NIR1(KID))

33). 3 [uš]-me ina dišpi(LÀL1) himēti(í.NUN.NA) te-te-[milr ina U₄.₄.KĀM tušellant(E₄₄-lam(du)-ma

34). ana pān(IGI1) <d>Šamaš(20!30)) ki-a-am taqabbii(DUG₄.G[A]) X₁ sag na ku mu-sal-li-mu

35). ili(DINGIR) ze-né-e dištari(XV) zle-nlé-tí dŠamaš(UTU) kimilti(DIB-ti) sullumi(SILIM-mi)

36). taqabbii(DUG₄.GA) ina ze '[X XI isallimu(SILIM-mu)
B). PHYSICAL CATEGORIES OF MESOPOTAMIAN CHARMS

1). *ina KUš*

A common type of charm (twelve examples out of sixteen) was formed of pieces of minerals and plants placed together *ina maški(KUš)*, "with/in/on leather/skin". Initially it is not clear whether this means in a leather pouch hung around the neck, or a leather strip bound on some part of the sufferer's body. Very occasionally the animal whose hide is to be so utilized is indicated: e.g., a dead cow's hide is laced with a dormouse's tendon in A I/VIII above. In fact, *ina KUš* appears to be an abbreviation for two standard expressions found at the end of charm ritual instructions:

i). *ina maški(KUš) ina kišādi(GÚ)-šú tašakan(GAR-an)*, "You place (the previously mentioned ingredients) in a leather bag around his (the sufferer's) neck".

This version has been used in the translations for no special reason.

ii). *ina maški(KUš) tašappī(DU.DU(-pī)) ina kišādi(GÚ)-šú tašakan(GAR-an)*, "(Having placed these ingredients) in a leather bag, you lace (the edges) together. You place (the charm) around his neck".

*AHw* 1, *epuštu*, p. 231b translated the unit KUš DÜ.DÜ.BI as "Beutel für Ritual". However, following W. Farber (1973), DÜ.DÜ-pī(=B1) represents the verb šapū, not epuštāšu, "its ritual". Since there are no lexical attestations of the latter equation, it is unclear how it came to be used by the Mesopotamians. W. Farber deduced the correspondence from parallel passages where šapū is written out syllabically.

W. Farber (1973, p. 66) went on to define the meaning of šapū from its use in the ritual to make a *lilissu*-kettledrum (*KAR* 60). The skin was placed over the opening of the drum, and held in place by cords threaded through prepared holes in the skin and adjacent fastenings, pulling it taut across. Thus šapū means "zusammennesteln", or "einnesteln".
2). mélu

ADRC, col. IV lines 8-13 (A 2/II) contains an incantation to the Dream God Anzagar, which is to be recited over a me-elî(UGU) or tak-ši-ri (line 14) (p. 264). This action either augmented the qualities of these articles, or gave them power; the latter seems preferable, following other examples of incantations being spoken over mélu [CAD M2, pp. 14-5]. The word mélu has been variously translated, with opinions divided between an amulet (= a charm, as defined on p. 253; e.g., E. K. Ritter [1965], p. 310), and a bandage or poultice (e.g., CAD M2, pp. 14-5; and AHw 2, mélu, p. 643b, "ein heißer Halsumschlag"). The SOED defines a poultice as:

"A soft mass of bread, meal, bran, linseed, etc., usu. made with boiling water, and spread upon muslin, linen, etc., applied to the skin as an emollient [soothing agent] for a sore or inflamed part, or as a counter-irritant."

mäšku and mélu frequently occur together: e.g.:  

i). In the myth explaining the divine origin of mélus (LKA 146) Ea gives Nabu twenty-one charms all ending with ina KUŠ (obv. 24 to rev. 15), which are summarized on rev. 16 as:  

16). 211 mē(A)-elî(UGU) ša pi(KA) dÉ-a  
Twenty-one mélus from the mouth of Ea.

ii). On BAM 315, col. III line 17, previous charms ending in ina KUŠ are designated:  

17). 14 me-elî(UGU) ni-šir-[t]i ummāni(U.M.[ME.A]) .  
...  
Fourteen mélus, the (craft) knowledge of the scholars [...  
...  
W. Farber [1973, p. 66] understood both mäšku and mélu to be leather pieces, or pouches, which were filled, and their edges drawn together by laced cords. (mélu possibly derives from the verb e'elû, "to bond": see E. Reiner [1959-60]). These same cords were probably used to hang the charm around the neck. The writer would prefer not to regard them as synonyms, but rather that mäšku denoted the leather pouch in which the charm ingredients were placed, while mélu represented the whole charm complex.
The translation of "poulitice" cannot be maintained in the light of the associations with leather bag charms. Consider

i). **LAS** 246, rev. 16-8:

16). \( \text{me-e-li šu-nu a-na šarrî(LUGAL) bēlî(EN)-îa} \)
17). \( \text{us-se-bi-la šarrî(LUGAL) ina ūzišādi(Gû)-šû} \)
18). \( \text{lik-ru-ur} \)

16-8 I have sent these mēlus to the king, my lord. The king should put (them) around his neck.

ii). **SpTU** 3, No. 85, col. IV line 24':

24'). \( \text{abnē(NA\text{,MES}) u me-eli(UGU) ina qē(GU) kitē} \)
\( \text{(GADA) tašakkak(È) ina kišādi(Gû)-šû tašakkan} \)
\( \text{(GAR-an)} \)

You string the stones and/or a mēlu onto a flax cord (and) you place (this charm) around his neck.

A leather bag containing pieces of minerals and plants would be much easier to transport than the mess described above under the definition of poulitice, which would need to be reheated at its destination.

A mēlu had no 'practical' healing value, indicated by its attribution to the lore of the exorcist, on **STT** 95 + 295, col. I lines 11-2:

11). \( \text{7 šammû(Ú.[H]Âl) an-nu-te} \)
12). \( \text{ina maški(KUŠ) ina šammi(Í) ina šikāri(KAŠ)} \)
\( \text{me-e-lu lat-klû lîni-šûrî-tî Lûšîpi(MAŠ.MAŠ)} \)

These seven plants (applied) in a leather pouch, in oil, (or) in beer (are) a proven charm?, the (craft) knowledge of the exorcist.

The significance of these alternatives is unclear. There are other examples of similar practices in connection with charms:

i). **BAM** 315, col. IV lines 27-36 (A 3/II) contains two charms for the same title. Lines 27-31 concern the manufacture of a leather pouch charm. Lines 32-6 have been treated as a charm, but it is unusual that the ingredients are immersed (lit., buried, *temēru*) in honey and ghee for three days. There is no indication as to what happened to the charm when it was lifted out on the fourth day. Charms were worn on the body,
ii). Cap. 20 is a namburbi ritual directed against a snake. It presents two rites which mention different stone necklaces. On obv. 4'-6' the necklace is strung, and placed around the sufferer's neck. In the second ceremony various offerings are presented. Then the pieces of stone are placed in the oil offering before being placed around the neck, obv. 16'-9': *ana libbi(ŠÂ) šamni(İ.GIŠ) (stone names) [tašakan(GAR-an)].*

3). *takšīru AND mālalu*

Following the attribution of *mēlus* to the exorcist, it is interesting to note that the former do not appear to be mentioned in the list of his professional manuals, *KAR* 44. However, rev. 3 mentions:

3). *tak-šī-ri u ma-la-li*  
(tables of) *takšīrus* and *mālalus*;

*takšīru* is a derivative of the verb *kašāru*, "to tie", and seems to constitute yet another type of charm, rather than "a bandage". F. R. Kraus [1970, pp. 59-60] listed the different renditions, and suggested that it was a stone bead necklace.

Neither of the Akkadian dictionaries is certain as to what a *mālalu* was, except that the word possibly derives from the verb *sišlu*, "to suspend" [CAD M1, pp. 160-1; *AHw* 2, p. 594bl]. It appears to have two nuances (at least) from the citations: the one being a type of liquid container; and the other being in the passage above, where it possibly denotes a charm variety. If *takšīru* is a stone necklace, possibly *mālalu* denotes the leather pouch charms, or *mēlus*. Then, *KAR* 44, rev. 3 would refer to the numerous charm lists, which otherwise are not mentioned on this tablet. J. Bottéro [1985a, pp. 80-1] had suggested already that this line referred to charms, etc., of various types, but did not distinguish the two words.

The Mesopotamians often arranged the lists of stone necklace charms into sections called *ṭurruru(DUR)*, lit. "a band". At times the number and/or the order of the stones comprising a particular charm varies in the
different lists: e.g., A 2/III; while the charm itself may occur in
disparate "bands". We do not know if these variations are important; i.e.,
whether separate charms are involved, or only scribal errors and
elaborations.

There are four examples of stone necklaces in the dream charms, all
designed to make previously seen dreams favourable (A 2/I-IV).

C). IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE CHARM INGREDIENTS

We cannot positively identify many of the charm ingredients. Sometimes we know that a type of grass or thornbush was intended, but
often not even that much. Forty-seven ingredients are attested in the
dream rituals given in Section A (see Table 10 on pp. 266-7):

i). Twenty-eight minerals and shells, out of which thirteen have
been identified, two placed as to type, and the remaining
thirteen unknown (Nos. 1-28).

ii). Seventeen plants, out of which four have been identified, two
placed as to type, and the remaining eleven unknown (Nos. 29-
45).

iii). Two miscellaneous ingredients, namely a green frog and an
ostrich egg-shell (Nos. 46-7).

No attempt has been made here to study the ingredients in greater detail
- a full-scale piece of work in itself, especially since some of the
identifications of DAB and DACG are disputed now. This state of affairs
makes it very difficult for us to understand why certain ingredients in
specific combinations were considered by the Mesopotamians to be
efficacious for dreams, but not, for example, for reconciling wrathful
personal deities. We can be sure that the ingredients would have
possessed some significance, probably along the lines of the sympathetic
associations listed on page 216. (See also the qualities attributed to the
components of the charm made in BMS 12, rev. 67-73; p. 132.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>To avert</th>
<th>To Make Favourable</th>
<th>To Obtain Favourable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 NA(^4)AN.BAR = persíllu</td>
<td>iron</td>
<td>A III: 68 M</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td>W IV: 6 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 NA(^4)Ś.GI.GI = ságikû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 NA(^4)(j)sépû</td>
<td>jasper</td>
<td>A IV: 5 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 NA(^4)BABBAR.DILÌ = psappidîlû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 āban(NA(^4))gâbû</td>
<td>alun</td>
<td>A IV: 1, 4 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 NA(^4)GUG = sâmtu</td>
<td>carnelian</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 NA(^4)hilibû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 KA.A.AB.BA = īmbû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 15 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a KA.GI.NA.DAB = šadânu gâb(i)tu</td>
<td>magnetite</td>
<td>A IV: 1 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b NA(^4)KUR-nu DAB.BA = šadânu gâb(i)tu</td>
<td>magnetite</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td>A IV: 6 D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 KÜ.BABBAR = kaspû</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>A III: 68 M</td>
<td>B IV: 32 H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 KÜ.GI = hurâšu</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td>A III: 68 M</td>
<td>B IV: 32 H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 NA(^4)LAKQA = āban lassâsî</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A IV: 5 D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ūbûl(MUN) essâssî</td>
<td>type of salt</td>
<td>A III: 63 M</td>
<td>B IV: 32 H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 (j)ûbû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 NA(^4)NÎG.URUDU.UD</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>A IV: 7 D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 NÎR = hulâlu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td>W IV: 6 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 PA = aj(i)artu</td>
<td>type of shell</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 PIŠ10.ITU4 = kibrîtu</td>
<td>black sulphur</td>
<td>A III: 66 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 NA(^4)sēnhû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 5 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 SIG.SIG7 = urrîqu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 ŚUBA = šušû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td>W IV: 6 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 ÜH.ITU4 = ru’tîtu</td>
<td>yellow sulphur</td>
<td>A IV: 2 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 NA(^4)UR = āban bâtû</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 5 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 NA(^4)URUDU NÎTA = erû sîkaru</td>
<td>'male' copper</td>
<td>A IV: 6 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 NA(^4)ZA.GIN = waqû</td>
<td>lapis lazuli</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>To Avert</td>
<td>To Make Favourable</td>
<td>To Obtain Favourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 NA/ZALAG = zalāqu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 ZŪ GEŠ = šurrū šelmu</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td>B IV: 28 H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 ZŪ SIG7 = šurrū arqu</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>S III: 1 D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Ū/araantu</td>
<td>type of grass</td>
<td></td>
<td>B IV: 30 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Ū/arašīnu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>B IV: 29 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 GIŠDĪH = baltu</td>
<td>type of thornbush</td>
<td></td>
<td>B IV: 30 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 U/alkulla + Ū/ojli(UGU)-kulla</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A III: 65 M</td>
<td>A IV: 3 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Ū/EWE UR.GI7 = lišān kalbi</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 4 M</td>
<td>B IV: 29 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 GIŠESI = ušū</td>
<td>ebony</td>
<td>A III: 68 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Ū/HAB = būšānu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A III: 62 M</td>
<td>T: 14' M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Ū/HAR.HAR = hāšū</td>
<td>thyme?</td>
<td>K IV: 13 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 (iš)palīrrtu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>B IV: 32 H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Ū/KUR.KUR = stāšišu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A III: 62 M</td>
<td>T: 15' M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 ŪLU.U19.LU = amilānu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 3 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 nikītu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 16 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Ū/nusābu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>B IV: 29 M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Ū/SIKIL = sīkilu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A IV: 4 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 GIŠŠINIG = bīnu</td>
<td>tamarisk</td>
<td>T: 15' M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Ū/termuš</td>
<td>lupin</td>
<td>A IV: 2,15 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 Ū.BABBAR = šammu pešū</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A III: 63 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 LA NUNUZ GA.NULLMUŠEN</td>
<td>ostrich</td>
<td>A III: 67 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ḫaspel ḫurmi</td>
<td>egg-shell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 NE.ZA.ZA SIG7 = muse'īrānu arqu</td>
<td>green frog</td>
<td>A III: 67 M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:

- A = ADRC
- B = BAM 315
- D = ina DUR = stone necklace
- H = in honey
- K = K. 2175 +
- M = ina KUS = leather pouch
- S = BAM 400 and related charm lists
- T = STT 107
- W = SpT U 2, No. 22.

Nos. 1-28 = minerals and shells 29-45 = plants 46-7 = miscellaneous
D. IMITATION INGREDIENTS

The objects forming charms usually depend on local supply. We have seen (p. 265) that minerals were used as dream charm ingredients far more than plants. This is despite the fact that Iraq does not possess any precious or semi-precious stones, or mineral ores (e.g., G. Roux [1980], p. 30), having to import them all from distant places. A trade in minerals (and hard woods) soon developed, fluctuating with the political situations abroad, and in Mesopotamia itself. G. Herrmann [1968] discussed the importation of lapis lazuli from Badakhshan in Afghanistan into Mesopotamia. The earliest stratified context from which lapis lazuli (and other precious stone) beads have been excavated is in tombs of (Tepe) Gawra X (ibid., p. 29). However, it seems likely that the trade had begun in the earlier Gawra XIII phase of the Late Ubaid era (c. 3,500 B.C.), because this level shows connections with Iranian sites en route (ibid., p. 36). (See also the areas reached by trade routes in the later Early Dynastic III period, CAH 13, pp. 132-3.) Our evidence about Mesopotamian trade comes from certain towns, and from fairly limited time spans, so it is difficult to obtain an overall view of the scale of this activity. While it would have been profitable to import minerals for royal and official purposes to be used in temple and palace decoration, and for expensive jewellery, one wonders about 'magical' uses, especially for the ordinary person.

The Mesopotamians were keen on listing all possible objects and, in the omen texts, all eventualities. The innumerable charm lists (which contained sections: e.g., directed against various demons, diseases etc.; or to reconcile personal deities, fit suspiciously well in to this list tradition leading one to wonder whether all these charms were actually made. If a charm from a list is attested in a ritual (e.g., the charms occurring in namburbi rituals mentioned on pp. 257-8), it probably was created, however such correspondences are rare (none for the dream charms, because A 2/1 and 2/III are from other charm lists). Archaeology cannot help us in this matter since the damp soil in Iraq will have caused the leather bags and their vegetable contents, as well as the flax cords, to rot long ago. So any stone pebbles/beads remaining will be loose, and not obviously significant to excavators.
Ritual experts only prescribe what they can sell to their patients. It is extremely likely that in Mesopotamia, as elsewhere, the demand for charms outran the supply. Two solutions present themselves in such a situation:

i). Charlatans with no magical training issue 'fake' charms - these may still be 'effective', depending on the faith of the recipient.

ii). The ritual expert manufactures charms from materials which imitate the original natural ingredients. When he is envisaged as bestowing powers upon the charm, such a deception will not matter to his clients, if they are even aware of the deception.

The rest of this section discusses various imitation ingredients known to the Mesopotamians.

1). GLASS BEADS

Most of the information in this section derives from A. L. Oppenheim [1970]. From the middle of the second millennium B.C. economic texts and letters increasingly mention the existence of coloured glasses intended to represent precious stones. Presumably the development of this technology was linked with the scarcity of these gems. The genuineness of a specific stone is emphasized by designating it as KUR.RA = šadī, "from a mountain", as opposed to an artificial stone or kūrī, "from a kiln" (i.e., glass coloured like the stone) [ibid., pp. 9-11]. The series of Glass Texts from Nineveh was called The Door Of The Kiln [ibid., p. 25].

We possess Glass Texts from the Middle Babylonian period onwards. The profession of glassmaker is not attested in the administrative texts, probably because he did not require valuable materials, many helpers, or a large workshop. Two kilns apparently used for glass-making in the early sixth century B.C. were excavated at the south end of Room 47 in the Burnt Palace at Nimrud (M. E. L. Mallowan [1954], p. 77).

Various characteristically coloured or patterned stones were imitated in glass (A. L. Oppenheim [1970], pp. 13-5):

i). hulālu - deduced from the emphasis on "mountain" in the Amarna Letters: e.g., EA 25, col. I lines 16-7, 19-20.

ii). mušgarru - see (iii), (not used in dream charms).
iii). *pappardilu* - in the Middle Assyrian inventory of part of the treasure at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (VAT 16462; *AfO* 18 [1957-8], pls. 17-20) thirty-one lumps of glass (*bušu*, lit., "boiled mass") resembling the *pappardilu* and *mušgarru* stones are mentioned in col. I lines 27-8. There are also references to *NAVABBAR.DILI ku-ri*: e.g., col. I lines 7-8, 12, 29.

iv). *parūtu*, "alabaster with a rosy tinge" - instructions in the *Glass Texts*.

v). *sāmtu*, "carnelian" - instructions on how to make various types of this category of glass appear in the *Glass Texts*. See also VAT 16462, col. II line 33; col. III line 7: *NAVUG ku-ri*.

vi). *gurru*, "obsidian" - see VAT 16462, col. II line 23: *NAVZU ku-ri*.

vii). *uqndu*, "lapis lazuli" - there are references to lapis lazuli being produced by boiling (NAVZA.GIN *ba-aš-lu*) (A. L. Oppenheim [1970], p. 12). The *Glass Texts* contain many examples of making different types of lapis lazuli glass, even coloured red! See also VAT 16462: e.g., col. I lines 32-3; col. II, lines 3, 26: *NAVZA.GIN ku-ri*.

'Lapis lazuli' was also used to describe other blue minerals: e.g., a wall peg of the Achaemenid ruler Darius I was actually made from Egyptian Blue (a calcium-copper-tetrasilicate), although inscribed as being of *NAVZA.GIN* (E. F. Schmidt [1957], p. 50, fig. 4, with p. 133, and n. 1).

Imitation stones appear in other inventories besides VAT 16462: e.g.:

i). Ones from Qatna (J. Bottéro [1949]) describe various necklaces, *kišādu*(*GU*) *libbu*(*ŠA*), with elements composed of boiled (*bašlu*) lapis lazuli: e.g., p. 144, line 74; p. 178, obv. 3.

ii). *ADD* 1040, rev. 3: 3). *ištēn*(*1-en*; *qu-lu*; *abnē*(*NA₄.MES*) *ku-u-ri*
One metal loop (with) glass beads.

So glass beads representing gems are frequently attested. However, the archaeological information about such items is scarce (*RLA* 3, pp. 414-27). A. von Saldern (in A. L. Oppenheim [1970], p. 204) stated that glass seems to have been a fairly rare material in the second and early first
millenniums B.C. A problem with Near Eastern sites is that glass which is exposed to humidity in the soil tends to decompose, and is often unrecognizable when excavated. Furthermore, ancient glassmakers would normally reuse all the broken glass in their workshops.

There were other ways of imitating gems known in Mesopotamia besides the use of glass beads. A. L. Oppenheim [1966a] edited two chemical texts. One of them, the Middle Babylonian Photo. Bab. K. 713 from Berlin, covered the dying and subsequent firing of stones to resemble the pappardilū/papparminu (obv. 1 is broken at the end, see on) and dušū minerals. E. Sollberger [1987] studied a bead belonging to Sennacherib (BM 89159):

1).  ḫalku(KUR₁) mēšln(30)-aḫḫē(PAP.MEŠ) - [erība(SU)]  
    šar₄ māṭ(KUR) Aš-šurK₁

2).  N₄papparminu(BABBAR.MIN₅) māṭ(KUR) Aš-[šurK₁

   ... ... ... ]

1 The palace of Sennacherib, [king of Assyria]. 2 A papparminu—stone of Assyria [. . . . . ]

Examination of this bead revealed that it had been dyed and heated [ibid., p. 379], recalling the Middle Babylonian process above, also suggesting that papparminu should be read there. The bead is striped black, grey, and white, resembling a type of chalcedony or agate, a mineral with which BABBAR.MIN₅ is usually identified [DAB, pp. 142-5]. E. Sollberger [ibid., p. 380] presented an account of a modern method of staining stones which closely corresponds to the Mesopotamian one; a fact which, together with the bead, reveals that such techniques were put to practical use by the Mesopotamians.

2). CLAY, STONE, AND METAL MODELS

Figurines of toads or frogs have been excavated from the Uruk 3 (= Jemdet Nasr) period onwards, c. 3,100 B.C. Some such models in the form of lapis lazuli and other stone beads, as well as in shell, clay, and frit were found at Ur (E. Douglas van Buren [1936-7], pp. 35-7; C. L. Woolley [UE 2], pl. 142 = U. 1003). A dead or living frog in a leather
bag around one's neck (ADRC, col. III line 67) would be rather uncomfortable, either due to the stench, or to the wriggling, which suggests that a representation was used instead.

The Arabian ostrich, which once roamed as far as southern Iraq, was exterminated long ago. Decorated ostrich egg-shells, which served as a type of cup, were excavated from the Royal Cemetery at Ur (C. L. Woolley [UE 2], pl. 156 = U. 9255), along with imitations in gold and silver [ibid., p. 283, and pl. 170 = U. 11154]. The inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II mention large numbers of ostriches in descriptions of royal hunts: e.g.:

i). ND 1104 (Iraq 14 [1952], pl. 2), col. II lines 88-9 - 200 ostriches were cut down like caged birds; line 92 - 140 ostriches were captured alive.

ii). A. K. Grayson [ARI 2], p. 140, §581 - during a lull in a campaign in Syria he killed twenty ostriches, and captured another twenty.

These birds roamed the open country, the domain of demons and marauding tribesmen. Since the ostrich egg-shell would have to be broken to fit in to the leather pouch, one wonders if any available egg-shell would have sufficed.

E. AMULETS

The only amulets mentioning dreams appear to be concerned primarily with other Mesopotamian evils:

i). The Lamashtu amulet consisting of an incantation directed against a demon revealing frightening dreams (p. 84).

ii). The Plague Amulets (e.g., LKA 128; E. Reiner [1960]) contain a Universal Namburbi which begins with a dream mention (p. 220).
CHAPTER 16: MISCELLANEOUS RITUALS

A few sections on ADRC pose problems either because they are too fragmentary to be analyzed, or because their ritual actions do not fit in with any of the techniques discussed so far or covered in the next chapters. The following passages are too broken:

i). Col. I lines 1-6 contain a complicated rite covering at least three days, extremely uncommon for a dream ritual. The application of a dressing in line 3 is more suited to medical cures.

ii). Col. I lines 16-8 contain a rite to avert the evil of a bad dream in which something is bound and enclosed. See Cap. 35 where [the likeness?] of a fallen star is sealed in clay, and then the image of well-being (NU SILIM,MEŠ) is cast into the river (lines 9-11).

iii). The purpose of col. I lines 28-50 is unclear. A reed is snapped in line 41, so perhaps this is a reed substitution ceremony (pp. 232-5).

There is one ritual to dissolve the evil of a dream, col. III lines 47-51, which orders a libation of vinegar, before the dreamer places his foot upon the ground.

This dream ritual seems to have been cobbled together because:

i). The two phrases of the incantation (lines 47-8) do not really fit together. The first appears to concern "a curse", arratu(ÂŠ); while the second is a standard lispur-phrase, suitable for any type of evil.

ii). The ritual does not prescribe the recitation of the incantation. It also raises several questions (see on).
iii). The ritual results of *ADRC*, col. III lines 46 and 51 appear to have become muddled (p. 166).

The ritual actions do not involve magical averting or purificatory actions, merely a libation of vinegar, ṭābātu(A.GESTIN.NA), before the dreamer places his foot upon the ground; i.e., gets up. Normally, libations were made to secure the attention of the deities and their goodwill, so one wonders whether vinegar would have been appreciated. The more usual liquids libated were beer, water, and wine: perhaps originally the text had mé(A) u karāna(GESTIN), "water and wine", although there are no attestations of this pair in the Akkadian dictionaries. A problem is that, unusually, no recipient of the libation is mentioned anywhere in the ritual complex. It is possible that the libation was made to the demon who caused the nightmare, perhaps on the lines of what was abhorrent to a deity suited a demon. The Mesopotamians presented *kisp*u-offerings to the dead to prevent their returning to the living, and water, bread, and types of flour were offered to ghosts as part of attempts to disperse them (e.g., K. 2175 +, col I, lines 31'-2'). If the demon accepted the libation he was obliged to leave the sufferer alone, releasing him from hag-ridden sleep. We do not know if the rite was designed to cope with the evil of the dream or with its cause, the only example of the latter if so.

The verb *naq*ū, when occurring in ceremonial contexts, generally denotes a libation or act of sacrifice (CAD N1, pp. 336-41). However, perhaps in this case the vinegar was sprinkled around the room, dispelling the demons and/or the personified evil of the dream by its odour, the basis of ritual fumigations attested in other Mesopotamian rituals (see also *ADRC*, col. III lines 18-9 on p. 125).
PART E: INCUBATION RITUALS

Chapter 17: Incubation 276

Chapter 18: Rituals To Obtain A Favourable Dream 293
CHAPTER 17: INCUBATION

The chapters in Part D covered the various techniques used by the Mesopotamians to deal with the undesirable effects of unpleasant symptomatic dreams. In Part E we turn away from the field of demonology to that of religion, and investigate incubation as a source of divine communications: the area of divination instead of magical medicine.

One of the SOED's definitions of 'incubation' is:

"The practice of sleeping in a temple or sacred place for oracular purposes."

The technique is attested throughout the world and in all eras, in both 'primitive' and 'civilized' societies. In the West incubation was practised for medicinal purposes in various Greek and Roman sanctuaries, and in the later shrines of Christian saints (e.g., the centres described in M. Hamilton [1906] and C. A. Meier [1985]) - Christianity adopted the Classical procedure largely unaltered. The resultant experiences are usually assumed to be dreams, but equally could be regarded as visions or waking dreams (pp. 47-50). A brief summary of Classical incubation is presented first to show, by comparison, the immature state of Mesopotamian incubation, and the differences between the two.

A). CLASSICAL INCUBATION

The centres of Classical incubation were temples of chthonic deities, deceased heroes such as Amphiarus at Oropus, Trophonius at Lebadea, and the various temples of Asclepius (the Greek god of medicine), especially at Epidaurus. The main reason for the practice was to obtain a cure for an illness, a disability, or sterility; and, secondarily, to seek answers to particular problems. Therefore, as in Mesopotamia, incubation belonged to the field of private divination, only concerning the individual inquirer.

The supplicant was surrounded by an atmosphere of intense expectation, emanating from the other patients' hopes, the preparatory
rituals accompanied by explanations from the priests, and the accounts of previous cures inscribed on tablets around the temple complex. Many of these narratives are extant (e.g., M. M. Austin [1981], No. 126). They describe how the deity or his agent visited the dreamer, and either performed an operation or gestured, enabling the sufferer to walk away next morning cured of his ailment. In the later texts the patient was not healed directly, but was prescribed a course of treatment (see on). Most of the diseases were incurable ones (e.g., blindness, paralysis) so the cures were ones of faith, resembling those of the modern pilgrims to Lourdes.

Each sanctuary purified the supplicant in different ways. He usually sacrificed an animal, and at Oropus slept upon its hide. Certain restrictions were observed, especially fasting or special diets, and sexual abstinence. Sometimes the sufferer was shown the god's statue, presenting a form in which the deity could appear (see DB, p. 190). Finally, all the patients lay down together to sleep in a special part of the temple called the abaton, which may have been an arcade open to the elements on one side. At Lebadea the supplicant descended alone through a small gap into the bowels of the earth.

Originally, it seems that the priests possessed no medical knowledge. Sanatoria appeared around the temples with the development of the dream prescription, which had to be adhered to rigidly. The patients stayed in these centres following lengthy courses of drugs, exercise, etc. While the priesthood had acquired a more important role by interpreting the dream remedy, it is not clear if they had obtained any medical expertise in the meantime. Many of the ingredients still involved the patient's powers of faith, being items associated with the temple, like water from the sacred well.

It was realised that the patient might not be successfully cured, either because he did not see a dream, or because his dream was interpreted incorrectly; whereupon he tried again. A 'fee' was demanded after a cure, and accounts exist of the defaulter being struck down by illness again. In the Christian examples the 'fee' was frequently the patient's conversion to Christianity, as well as financial payment.

The Romans continued to patronise Greek sanctuaries, besides adding their own, such as the Plutonia. Romans appealed to Pluto, the king of
the Underworld, when fearing approaching death. The therapeutic incubation at these places was different, in that the sufferers resided with priests, the latter incubating the dreams, and prescribing. These priests must have possessed some rudimentary medical skills.

B. MESOPOTAMIAN INCUBATION

1. SOURCES

We possess five descriptions of Mesopotamian incubation and its results:

i). The late text SIR is our main source, presenting private divinatory rituals obtaining omens from dreams, shooting stars, and the movements of an ox after being sprinkled with water.

ii). The recurrent incubations of Gilgamesh on Tab. 4 of The Epic Of Gilgamesh.

iii). Nabonidus 8, col. VII lines 1'-15', contains a broken account of how this king sought a vision.

iv). The Underworld Vision of An Assyrian Crown Prince was apparently the result of an incubation, although no obvious ritual is extant.

v). The historical epic fragment BM 47749 (= 81-11-3, 454; AnSt 33 [1983], p. 79) presents a broken dream report, which seems to be the result of incubation, though no ritual is given.

The last four examples are presented below. See the text edition of SIR.

1. The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tablet 4

It is still unclear how many dream episodes occurred on Tablet 4, certainly more than the three of older editions (see DB, p. 213), possibly more than the five of more recent ones, following B. Landsberger [1968, p. 102]. The preparations appear to be identical for all the examples. The best preserved section is at lines 79-100, most of the restorations coming from the other instances. (The transliteration which follows is based on A. R. George's forthcoming edition of The Epic Of Gilgamesh, which he kindly made available.)

79). \[ a-na 20 bēr(DANNA) ik-su-pu ku-sa-a-pu \]
80). \([a-na 30 \text{bēr(DANNA)} \ iš-ku-nu nu-bat-tu₄]\)
81). \([50 \text{bēr(DANNA)} \ il-li-ku kal u₄-mul]\)
82). \([\text{ma-lak arhi(1TI)} \ u \ U₄.15.KAM \ išu \ šu \ u₄-mu \ it-hu-ū ana šad(KUR) \ Lab-na-nu]\)
83). \([a-na pān(IGI) \ Šamaš(UTU) \ ū-har-ru-ū bu-ū-ru]\)
84). \([a^n-(na? \ . . . \ iš)-ku-nu i-( . . . \ . \ . \ . \ ] \ X \ X \ X \ pa]\)
85). \([i-li-ma \ d\text{Gilgameš(GLIŠ.GIN.MAŠ)} \ ina muh-hil} \] śa-di\? -i\)
86). \([\text{mešnat(ZI.MAD.GÁ)} \ su ut-te-qa-a ana ( . . . . . \ . )]-e₁-ni]\)
87). \([\text{šad}(KUR)-lú} \] bi-la šu-ult-ta a-mat \(\text{(damiqi?i?)}\) lu-mur\)
88). \([i-plu-ša-āš-šu-ma d\{(En-ki-du a-na \ (\text{dGilgameš} \ (GLIŠ.GIN.MAŠ)}\} bīt(\text{E₁}) zu-qí-qí}\)
89). \([\text{GIŠ} dalat(1G) \ šar-bi-il-l\{i ir-te-ti ina \ bābi(KÁ)-šū}\]
90). \([u\{š-ni-il-šu-ma ina kip-pa-ti ( . . . . . . . . )\}] \ ū₁-šur-ti\)
91). \([u^n \ šu\?-ū ki\text{ma(GIM)} \ še\}'(ŠE) \ šad(KUR-e) [( . . . \ . . . \ . . . \ . . . \ . \ . )-dama \ it-tla-ti ina bēbi(KÁ)-šū]\)
92). \([\text{GIŠ} \text{Gilgameš(GLIŠ.GIN.MAŠ)} \ ina \ kin-šu-šu] \ ū-tam\{me-da zu-qat-su}\)
93). \([\text{šitu₄ re-hat nīš(UN.MEŠ) eli(UGU)} \] śu im-qut\)
94). \([\text{ina qlab-li-ti šit-ta-šu ú-qat-ti}\]
95). \([i\{lt-bé-e-ma \ i-te-ma-a a-na \ ib-ri-šu}\]
96). \([i\{l\} b-ri \ ul \ tal-sa-an-ni am-mi-ni e-re-ku}\)
97). \([u\? \ tal-pu-ta-ni am-mi-ni šē-šē-ku]\)
98). \([u\? \ ilu(DINIR) \ e-ti-iq am-mi-ni ha-mu-ū šēru \ (UZU) \ ] ü-a]\)
99). \([i\{l\} b-ri \ a-ta-mar šalūša.\{3-ta\} šu-ut-ta]\)
100). \([u^n \ šu-ut-ta šā a-mu-ru ka-liš šē-šē-at]\)

[79 They broke off a bite to eat at twenty 'miles' (lit., double-hours). 80 They set up an overnight camp (after
another) thirty 'miles'. 81 They went fifty 'miles' during (that) day. 82 (It was) a march of one month and fifteen days, (but) they arrived at the Mountain of Lebanon on the third day.

83 They dug out a pit before Shamash. 84 They placed ( . . . ) . . . . [t<0.0001 to ( . . . )] 85 Gilgamesh went up to the top of the mountain?. 86 [He presented his (offering of) cheap scented flour to ( . . . )] . . 87 (He said):

"[O Mountain], bring me a dream! Let me see [a message (of good luck?)]

88 (Meanwhile) [Enkidu] made a 'house of Zaqiqu' for him, for [(Gilgamesh)]. 89 [He fastened] a door (against) the storm in its doorway. 90 [He made him (Gilgamesh) lie down (in it), and (he surrounded the site) [by a circle ( . . . )] diagram. 91 [He] himself?, like the corn of the mountain [( . . . ) , and he laid] down at its doorway.

92 Gilgamesh leant his chin on his knees. 93 Sleep, (which) is poured out over mankind, fell upon him. 94 (However), [during] the middle watch (of the night) he woke up (lit., he ended his sleep). 95 [He] arose, speaking to his friend (Enkidu):

"96 My friend, (if) you did not call to me, why am I awake? 97 (if) you did not touch me, why am I bewildered? 98 (if) a god did not pass by, why is my flesh paralyzed/numbed? 99 My friend, I have seen a third dream, 100 and the dream which I saw was totally bewildering."

II. Nabonidus 8, Column VII Lines 1'-15'

Break

1'). [ . . . d]Dil-bat 4dibbu(UDU.IDIM) kajānu (SAG.UŠ)

2'). [ . . . ] MULŠU.PA MULŠĀM
place a very large offering (before) Venus, Saturn, [...], Arcturus, the ŠAM-star, (and) Jupiter, (who) dwell in the heavens. 6'-10' I inquired of them in front of Marduk, my lord, regarding (my) long life (lit., life of distant days), established rule, lasting reign, (and) my very favourable matters. 11' I lie down, and during the night 12'-5' I saw Nintinugga (i.e., Gula), my lady, the one who heals the dying, the giver of long life.

(There are traces of a line before line 1 in MVAG 1, also omitted here. The restoration at the beginning of line 4' follows E. Reiner [1960a, p. 24, n. 2]. A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 205] followed the restoration of S. Langdon [NBB] for the same line, having the stars acting "as exalted witnesses", (mul-kîn-nu ra-ab-bu-tim).

The nature of Nabonidus' nocturnal experience is not given, but it was probably a dream, bearing in mind the dream reports appearing elsewhere in his inscriptions. No explicit message was received, Gula's visit being regarded as confirming the king's request for a long life and secure reign.
III. The Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince

The protagonist Kummaja enters a temple, sets out a censer of juniper, and prays to Allatu (i.e., Ereshkigal), the queen of the Underworld (obv. 27-31). He receives some type of reply (obv. 32-4). Then, at obv. 35, Ereshkigal stands before him in a dream, mentioning the offerings he had made. Kummaja awakes from this dream (obv. 37), but is unsatisfied, still wishing to visit the Underworld, and so prays to its rulers (obv. 38-40). No ritual is extant, but we are told on rev. 1:

1). \[=\textit{Ku-um-l-ma-a-a ināl(NA)-ma tab-ri-it mu-ši i-}\nna-[ṭa-al] \textit{ina šutti(MĀŠ.GE₆)-šū ...}

[Kummaja] lies down, and he sees a nocturnal vision. In his dream . . . (the description of the Underworld follows).

This vision was classified as a Death Dream on page 62. As far as we can tell, the other examples of this category originated from divine sources, but were not incubated.

IV. BM 47749

The obverse records the distress of a woman called Qatantu. I. L. Finkel [1983, p. 76] suggested that the reason for Kurigalzu's incubation was connected with her plight, perhaps barrenness. If Qatantu was his wife, this would have been a serious matter, because Kurigalzu was probably one of the Kessite rulers of that name [ibid., p. 75, n. 41. All we are told is that Kurigalzu entered Esagila (Marduk's temple in Babylon), and later saw a dream, which he recounted to his nobles next morning: rev. 5'-8':

5'). \[\textit{Ku-ri-gaI-zu (DIŠ) a-na É-sag-šu-ti-te₃-ru-}\nu₆ X X (X)]

6'). \[\text{za-qī-qī iṭ-hu-šu-ma pu-uh-pu-hu-ú su?-bu ox₃]\n[X (X)]

7'). \[\text{ṣa-líl} \text{ina ma-[a-a-tl-ti]šu = Ku-ri-gaI-zu šutta(MĀŠ.GE₆) i-na-[ṭal]}

8'). \[\text{ina še-[rîm}₁ \text{ina şī-lit ša-šamši(U TU-ši) šutta(MĀŠ.GE₆) an} \text{a Ṽurabûti(GAL.MEŠ) i-puš₄ [ṭe-ma?]}

5' Kurigalzu entered Esagila [. . . ( . )] 6' The zaqīqus
approached him, and anxiety ... [ . ( . )] 7’ Kurigalzu saw a dream (while) lying asleep on his bed. 8’ In the morning, at dawn, he made (a report? (on his)) dream to his nobles (which follows on the rest of the reverse).

(The translation of pu-uh-pu-hu-ú and the restoration at the end of rev. 8’ come from I. L. Finkel [1983]. See pp. 116-7 for possible meanings of zaqiqu in this text.)

Unlike Classical incubation, no overall pattern can be deduced for Mesopotamian incubation, indicating that the latter was not so well-developed. We can only present some observations on the Mesopotamian practices.

2). THE DEITIES INVOKED

We have discussed already (pp. 83-8) the several links between dreams and the Underworld. Yet, apart from Kummaja’s prayers to the rulers of the Underworld in an attempt to visit their abode, these deities do not appear in the incubation rituals. Instead, various astral and nocturnal beings are addressed in SIR, and by Nabonidus, including personified Night herself. Gula was the goddess of medicine, addressed as Nin-tin-u-ga-ša, “the one who heals the dying”, by Nabonidus and on SIR, lines 1 and 21, in the Akkadian form mu-bal-li-ta-at mifi(t)u(ADs). Kurigalzu’s incubation took place in Marduk’s temple, Esagila, but no prayers to this deity are recorded as part of the process. Unlike the rituals to obtain a favourable dream (ch. 18) the personal deities play no part in the extant incubation ceremonies; even in the incantations on SIR, lines 44-7 and lines 52-5, where the purpose was for the supplicant to speak with his personal deities.

Gilgamesh chose to pray to the Mountain of Lebanon, which he would ascend to fight the Guardian Of The Cedar Forest, Humbaba.

Although there was a Dream God (ch. 7), he played an insignificant role in all types of Mesopotamian dream rituals, and is not mentioned in our few incubation examples. We will probably never know if incubation was practised at the temple of the Dream god as Mamu at Balawat (pp. 107-10), but there is no reason to rule this possibility out definitely.
3). RITUAL SETTING

I. Time

As one would expect, incubation ceremonies were performed at night. All but one of the rituals on SIR reveal their nocturnal aspect, usually by stating that the supplicant was to set up offerings before certain constellations (lines 43, 48, 66-7, 82-3), as did Nabonidus. The exception is the complex lines 52-60, yet this contains an incantation addressed to various astral deities and Night (lines 52-5). The Epic Of Gilgamesh is silent upon this point, but an overnight camp had been pitched, suggesting at least the early evening.

II. Location

An important difference from Classical incubation, and in opposition to the definition quoted at the beginning of the chapter, is the fact that Mesopotamian incubation was not restricted to temples. In fact, while Kummaja, Kurigalzu (and Nabonidus) are recorded as visiting a temple, there is no direct statement that the bed on which they saw their dream/vision was in the sanctuary, instead of being their usual one in the palace, to which they returned. The ceremonies of SIR appear to have taken place at a private residence. This text presents the ritual locations of a roof (lines 67 and 82), and sketches were drawn at a bed's head (lines 50-1). There is only one instance of a sacred area being demarcated, when a circle is drawn on the roof with pure water (lines 66-7).

a). bit zaqiqi

In The Epic Of Gilgamesh the hero presents offerings on the mountain top to someone unknown, while Enkidu builds a bit zaqiqi, presumably at a lower level. This is a proper building with a strong door (line 89), probably built entirely out of wood lying to hand, and surrounded by a protective circle (line 90). The context certainly suggests that "the house of Zaqiqu" was a special hut used for incubation, "a temple of the Dream God Zaqiqu." It is not clear how the pit dug at line 83 is related to the hut: if the latter was built over the hole, it would support the idea that the Underworld was the abode of dreams.

A. L. Oppenheim's discussion of this incident in DB, pp. 215-6 was
based upon earlier and less extensive knowledge of these incidents. There is no evidence to support his statement that a breeze came out of the hole, putting Gilgamesh to sleep, and causing his dreams. A. L. Oppenheim’s alternative explanation of Gilgamesh’s sleeping attitude as possibly imitating that of the 'contracted' burial position, and necessary for incubation seems unlikely. It is a natural position to flop into if one is exhausted after a forced march (see lines 81-2), taking "chin" as equalling "head".

Other attestations of the rare phrase bīt zaqīqi are:

i). The BALAG-incantation mu-tin nu-nuz dīm,ma (CLAM 1, pp. 222-52), a + 4 to a + 5:

a+4). [ . . . ] X [ . . . ] ē.lī1.lā ba-si-si-ig
X X bīt(Ē) zi-qī-qī šā uš-qa-am-ma-[mu]
a+5). [ . . . ] X ūru lī1.lā ba-gi4.gi4
[ X ] X šlu(URU) šā ana za-qī-qī i-tu-ru
*+4 . . the bīt ziqīqi which is completely silent; *+5 . . the town which is turned to the wind.

(These lines occur in a passage describing a deserted city: see p. 111 on the expression ana ziqīqi tāru.)

ii). The bīt zaqīqi is attested lexically twice in es A = nāqu (MSL 14), on Tab. 4, line 273 [p. 366] and, in expanded form, on Tab. 4/4 = 25, line 193 [p. 387], as gā.lī1.lā = bīt(Ē) zi/za-qī-qu (gā is the Emesal equivalent of ē). The references are in lists of various types of "houses". In the expanded version (Tab. 4/4 = 25, lines 193-200) gā.lī1.lā is also equated with such places as "the house of the open country", Ė še-ri (line 195), "the house of the earth/Underworld", Ė er-še-tū (line 197); and "the house of [the grave?]", Ė 'qāl-[ab-rum?] (line 199); the other equations are too fragmentary.

iii). S. Lackenbacher [1971] edited four texts which formed his 'ardat-lij tablet' (Group 2). Rev. col. I lines 2'-5' contain a description of the ardatt-lij demoness (which is repeated, with minor variants, on rev. col. III lines 1-4):

2'). én ki.sikil | ar-da-tu
3'). edin.na.lī1.lā | ša bīt(Ē) za-qī-qī
4'). ki.sikil.lil.lá  ana ar-da-tu
5'). ab.ba gur.gur.kam  ina ap-ti it-ta-nu-ru

2' incantation: "The young girl 3' of the bīt zaqīqi (Sum.: of the open country of zaqīqu), 4'-5' repeatedly returns through the window to the (human) young girl."

(The scribe confused ardatu(KI.SIKIL) with ardat līlīf (KI.SIKIL.LĪL.LĀ), reversing them in lines 2' and 4'. Note that bītu, usually written by É, transcribes EDIN, normally šāru.)

T. Jacobsen [1970, pp. 339-40, n. 28] stated that edin.lil.lá in line 103 of the myth Inanna And Bilulu appeared to be a house in the desert, supporting his view by (iii above). The three references can be taken as referring to actual buildings, away from the settled areas, although with no obvious ritual significance. The Akkadian dictionaries translate bīt zaqīqu as "a haunted place", namely the city ruins or a part of the open country where the zaqīqu-demons (pp. 112-3) resided.

If we are correct in assuming that, in the dream context of The Epic Of Gilgamesh, the bīt zaqīqi was a hut, then there is an interesting possible connection with the reed hut called kikkišu. LAS 137, obv. 7-9 (a letter dealing with a namburbi for an earthquake) mentions this special hut entered by the king as being within a secluded area (qersu); see also LAS 138, obv. 6-9. It is not clear what actions were enacted on these occasions. More to the point are the mentions of the kikkišu in the various accounts of how Atrahasis received the message from Ea to build the Ark in order to escape the imminent Flood:

i). On Atra-hasīs, Tab. 3, the hero asks Ea to teach him the meaning of a dream he has seen (col. I lines 11-4). Ea tells Atrahasis to pay attention to his words (col. I lines 17-8), then proceeds to address the igāru, "wall", and the kikkišu (col. I lines 20-1). There is no indication that Ea is recounting divine decisions (see iii-iv below), merely interpreting a dream (which is not extant, see v), although the interpretation consists of explicit details on building an Ark.

ii). On the Assyrian recension (BM 98977 + 99231), Ea has entered
Atrahasis' house, the latter hearing the god's footsteps (obv. 1-8). Ea starts addressing the kikkīṣu of his own accord (obv. 13-6), after a fragmentary speech from the hero [Atra-hasīs, p. 122].

iii). The version from Ugarit [Atra-hasīs, p. 132] states that Ea repeated the gods' words to the kikkīṣu (obv. 12-3).

iv). On The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 11, Ea talks to various deities (lines 15-9), and repeats their words to the kikkīṣu and wall (lines 19-20). Later, when Ea is denying that he warned Atrahasis, he says that he sent the hero a dream (lines 186-7; see pp. 296-7).

v). The idea that Ea's message was via a dream appears in a Nippur fragment of Atra-hasīs (CBS 13532), when Ea says "I will interpret (presumably a dream)", a-pa-aš-šar, (rev. 2; Atra-hasīs, p. 126). Berossus presented the idea of a dream in his account of the Flood (S. M. Burstein [1978], p. 20). However, note the statement in line 149 of the extremely fragmentary Sumerian Flood Story, that something "was not a dream", ma.mū nu.me.a [Atra-hasīs, p. 142]. In lines 154ff. Enki is addressing the side wall (izzī.da), while Ziusudra heard (line 152).

As W. G. Lambert [1960, p. 119] commented, the tale of Ea's communication with Atrahasis regarding the Flood seems to have been modified throughout the centuries. Ea broke his vow not to aid the humans by ostensibly addressing the reed hut (kikkīṣu), rather than Atrahasis directly. W. G. Lambert believed that originally Ea whispered through the reed hut's walls to the hero listening on the other side. Instead of the kikkīṣu being the ordinary hut in which Atrahasis lived, perhaps it was a special ritual location (in the open country), even a place for incubating dreams.

The 'practical' references to kikkīṣu [CAD K, p. 352b] refer to a reed fence surrounding a field.
4). RITUAL ACTIONS

It can be seen that there is hardly any uniformity in the ritual actions of Mesopotamian incubation rituals, not even in the different examples from SIR. Therefore, it is interesting to compare the most complicated dream rites on SIR, lines 65a-8 and lines 81b-84 (which are similar themselves), with the rituals to obtain omens from shooting stars in lines 88-91 and lines 100-3. All four complexes sought to discover whether or not the supplicant would achieve his purpose; the first one also asked about an invalid's recovery (see on for the purposes of incubation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DREAMS</th>
<th>DREAMS</th>
<th>SHOOTING STARS</th>
<th>SHOOTING STARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lines 65a-8</td>
<td>Lines 81b-84</td>
<td>Lines 88-91</td>
<td>Lines 100-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81b You spend the night.</td>
<td>81b GIR? MAN 1a TAR-es</td>
<td>102 GIR? MAN! ka TAR-as</td>
<td>100 You take corn of 1 harbu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65a You take corn of 1 harbu.</td>
<td>88 You take full-grown corn.</td>
<td>101 and 105 ?</td>
<td>101 A youth who has not known a woman grinds the corn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-6 ?</td>
<td>88-9 A youth who has not known a woman cleanses himself on an auspicious day. He grinds the corn.</td>
<td>91 You libate pure water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 A youth who has not known a woman grinds the corn.</td>
<td>66-7 You sweep the floor before the Main constellation. You sprinkle pure water to form a circle.</td>
<td>88-90 During the night, on the roof, before the Main constellation, the youth sets fire to a censer of juniper and cheap scented flour. He stands on the outskirts.</td>
<td>102 You place a censer of juniper before the Main constellation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 You set up a censer of juniper and cheap scented flour.</td>
<td>83-4 You scatter cheap scented flour.</td>
<td>91 You recite the incantation (to the stars of the Paths) 3 times before the Main constellation.</td>
<td>103 You recite the incantation (to the stars of the Paths) 3 times before the Main constellation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 You recite the incantation (to the Main constellation) 3 times.</td>
<td>84 You say the incantation (to the Main constellation).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike Classical incubation, purification of the participants and of the ritual location played a minor role in Mesopotamian incubation; unless it was standard practice, and so not prescribed. There is only one mention of purifying a person: the practitioner, on SIR, line 57.

5). MOTIVES

The motives lying behind Mesopotamian incubation are those of Classical incubation: health, and enquiries regarding the future. The latter either involved specific desires, such as Nabonidus' questions about his life-span and the security of his reign (Nabonidus 8, col. VII lines 5'-10'); or more general requests as to whether or not an undefined purpose would be achieved: e.g., SIR, lines 47, 53, 70, 74-6. One wonders if the intention was presented in detail beforehand. Gilgamesh sought advice before attacking Humbaba.

If I. L. Finkel's [1983, p. 76] proposal that Kurigalzu resorted to incubation concerning his queen's barrenness is correct, this would not make BM 47749 an example of medical incubation because the queen should have been the dreamer. instead, it seems that Kurigalzu was seeking advice. I. L. Finkel suggested that the king was trying to discover if her infertility was a permanent condition.

Some of the rituals on SIR could be used for two ends: e.g., line 47 mentions obtaining a desire, or whether "I will become strong (i.e., recover)" and dan-ne ana-ku; while line 64, with the omens in lines 69-70, mentions the recovery of an invalid, or achieving a purpose.

1. Medical

Regarding incubation for medical purposes, SIR reveals that both the ritual expert (lines 12-8 and 32-9) and the invalid (lines 64 with 69) could induce a dream. Unlike Classical incubation, no cure or divine prescription was sought, only the revelation of the gods' decision about the recovery of the patient. Although the goddess of medicine was invoked in the complex SIR, lines 1-43, there is no indication that the ceremonies took place in one of her temples.

It is possible that LAS 217 attests to a doctor having a dream regarding his young patient: rev. 1-3:
Chapter 17

1). \(\text{šul}-\text{tu}-\text{sú} \ de-\text{eq}-\text{túl} \ \text{am-rat}\)
2). \(\text{e-ge-ra}-\text{sú} \ \text{as-se-me}\)
3). \(\text{ú}-\text{ma}-\text{al} \ \text{šúl-me} \ \text{a-dan-niš}\)

1 His (the baby's) favourable dream has been seen (on his behalf, and) 2 I have heard his oracular utterance. 3 Now, he is extremely healthy.

Medical uses of dreams which, as far as we can tell, do not involve incubation are discussed on page 72 (see also p. 295).

C). INCUBATION AT MARI

We possess hardly any evidence about the reception of the several dreams and visions documented in the Mari letters. ARM 10, No. 10, obv. 5-6 states that Kakkaldi saw (some kind of vision) in the temple of Itur-Mer, the state god.

A fiercely debated passage in ARM 10, No. 100 could refer to 'proper' dream incubation in a temple of Dagan, the main god at Mari. A woman wrote to King Zimri-Lim quoting a message she had received from Dagan, which stated that only the king could restore her kidnapped young girl to her (rev. 22-7). This woman and the deity had conversed together (obv. 9ff.), and we have noted elsewhere (p. 57) that dialogues occur in Mari dream reports. The scenario is not described as a dream, but phrases on obv. 7-8 suggest this possibility:

7). \(\text{ú} \ [\text{d}l] \ \text{Da-ga-n} \ \text{be-}\text{el-ka} \ \text{ú-}\text{ša-al} \ \text{lî-}\text{la} \ \text{am-ma}\)
8). \(\text{ma-am-fal-an} \ \text{ú-ul} \ \text{il-pu-t[al-an-ni}\)

7 and Dagan, your lord, made me fall asleep?, and
8 nobody touched me.

The problem is the verb on obv. 7, because \(\text{šalalo}\) is unattested in the \(D\)-stem (which seems to be the case here), the \(S\)-stem having the meaning "to make sleep" [CAD \(f\), pp. 67-701. Some scholars (e.g., W. H. P. Römer [1971], p. 62, n. 4, and p. 63) have preferred to take the verb as \(\text{šullul}\), "to shelter", connecting it with the statement that nobody touched the 'dreamer', because she was under Dagan's protection.

J.-M. Durand [AEM 1/1, p. 472, n. al took the verb as the \(D\)-stem of \(\text{šalalo}\), with the technical meaning "voir pendant son sommeil. He
understood *lapātum* to refer to an entry manual act of an incubation ceremony (ibid., p. 461). The absence of this gesture stressed the fact that Dagan had begun the unsought dream experience, thus explaining his ignorance of the woman’s problem. The irregularity of the process suggested to J.-M. Durand that the recipient was almost certainly a high priestess. His argument is attractive and plausible, but would be strengthened by more attestations of these technical expressions, as yet unavailable.

An even more controversial idea is that of J. M. Sasson (1983, p. 284), who suggested that, at Mari, people could commission others to receive dreams on their behalf, presumably by incubation. This is based upon *ARM* 10, No. 117, obv. 9-11:

9). [šu-ut-t]a a-mu-ra-ak-ki-[i][m]

10). [u]-i-na šu-ut-ti-ia 4Be|e!(nu)-eI!(um)-teš-[É-
                  kál-lim]

11). [ki-a-am iš-p]u-ra-an-[ni]

9 I saw [a dream] for you. 10 [In] my dream Belt-
[Ekallim] 11 sent me (a message) [thus]:

J. M. Sasson analyzed *a-mu-ra-ak-ki-[i][m]* as *amāru* in the first person singular preterite + ventive + second feminine singular Oblique pronominal suffix. (The Oblique case in Akkadian covers the Dative, Genitive, and Ablative of other languages.) He argued that the presence of the ventive indicated a Dative sense, instead of W. L. Moran’s [*ANET³*, p. 632] translation "I had a [dream about y[ou]]" (using a Genitive nuance; also favoured by J.-M. Durand [*AEM 1/1*, p. 482]). The idea of T. Jacobsen, (presented in J. M. Sasson’s article at n. 12), that the sense of obv. 9 was "I have news for you", with the dream reference being 'a password' revealing that the letter actually came from the named sender seems unlikely. There are no other examples of authenticating a letter in this way.
D. OTHER POSSIBLE REFERENCES TO INCUBATION

DB, p. 233 took obv. 9' of the fragmentary Middle Assyrian letter BM 104727 (= 1912-5-13, 2; *JRAS* 1904, p. 415) and now + Sm. 2116, as implying that the haruspex could incubate dreams:

9'). \[\text{[dNin-urta-tukul]} \text{-} 4\text{-} \text{Aš-šur ba-}\text{-} \text{ru-tam} \text{-} \text{ip}^1 \text{-} \text{pu-šú} \]
\[\text{šu-na-a-ti i-ta-nam-ma-Šu[. . . . .]}\]

They perform extispicies (lit., the craft of the haruspex), (and) they repeatedly see dreams [(for) Ninurta-tukulti-Assur . . . . .]

"They" are anonymous and, although dreams are apparently incubated, there is no reason to suppose that the same people were doing both actions. Instead, it seems that various divination experts were working flat out over a political wrangle between Assyria and Babylonia (see J. A. Brinkman [*PHPKB*, pp. 101-4 for the historical background).

The practice of incubation may be recalled in an incantation to Marduk (W. G. Lambert [1959-60a, *Marduk* No. 1], lines 111-2:

111). \[\text{e-nu-ma at-}\text{-} \text{ta-i-}\text{-} \text{lu-uš i-du-}\text{-} \text{uš-šú} \]
112). \[\text{at-mu-šú nu-us-su-uq-ma sē-kār-šú Šu-šur} \]

111 When I lie down at his (Marduk's) side, 112 his message is well-chosen, and his discourse correct (i.e., appropriate).

The recipient of the divine communication had lain down beside a statue of Marduk, probably in a temple, and had seen a dream/visions.
CHAPTER 18: RITUALS TO OBTAIN A FAVOURABLE DREAM

The rituals discussed in this chapter are:

i). ADRC, col. II lines 24-57.

ii). ADRC, col. IV lines 21-30 (with the omission of the alternatives in lines 25a-d and 30a-b: the former being a charm, and the latter, apparently, a (clod) substitution).

iii). ADRC, col. IV lines 31-41b.

iv). SDR.

v). NRFD.

NRFD has been regarded as an example of this purpose category because of the requests for a dream on rev. 8 and 17. The alternative one line rites bear little resemblance to the elaborate manual acts of the other four texts; the latter being tabulated on page 298.

i). NRFD, obv. 51 - After reciting the first incantation (obv. 39-50), the exorcist holds the patient's hand while uttering the second ŠUÍLLÁ-incantation (rev. 1-17) three times before Nusku.

ii). NRFD, obv. 51a - A censer of juniper is set out before the lamp (the symbol of Nusku), and only obv. 39-51 is recited, three times.

Additional rituals to obtain favourable dreams are discussed in:


ii). Chapter 15: BAM 315, col. IV lines 27-31 and 32-6; and StPTU 2, No. 22, col. IV lines 5-6 - three charms.
A). PURPOSE

At an initial glance it is unclear whether the rituals to obtain a favourable dream were supposed to induce pleasant symptomatic dreams, with no prognostic import, or to seek dreams with a message. We have observed that the Mesopotamians regarded incoherent dreams as unfavourable. Therefore, surely a favourable dream should be coherent; i.e., contain a divine message.

SDR, lines 25-6, states that the aim of this ceremony was for the dreamer to be absolved of his sins, enabling him to become reconciled with his angry personal deities. Since the Dream God Anzagar is to be sent in the night, the granting of the request would be shown either by a message dream (perhaps similar to those of Ludil bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 3, although see W. G. Lambert [BW], p. 27), or by the occurrence of a pleasant dream, indicating the renewed presence of the personal deities. SDR, lines 25-6:

25). ū-me-'i-ir-ma AN.ZA.GAR ila(DINGIR) šá šunāti
     (MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ)
26). ina šat mu-ši-im li-paṭ-ṭi-ra ār-ni-iaš lu-š-me šēr-ti lu-ta-lil ana-ku

He (Sin) sent Anzagar, the god of dreams, so that during the night he will absolve me of my sin(s), I shall hear my punishment, (and) I shall be cleansed of my transgression.

The ritual result on ADRC, col. II lines 56-7 presents a similar goal:

56). tanāl(Nā)-ma šutta(MĀŠ.ČGEš) [X] u mim-ma
57). ū-gal1-li-flu X1 [ . . . . . . . ]

You lie down, and a dream [.] and whatever sin(s) he committed (against his personal deities). [ . . . . . . . ]

(Lines 24-5 and 47 indicated that the dreamer's personal deities were angry with him.)

Rituals to obtain a favourable dream certainly were not intended to avert the evil of a nightmare which had already been seen. The evidence suggests that these rituals constitute a bridge between the apotropaic dream rites and those of incubation. The writer does not regard them as 'proper' incubation ceremonies, which sought either specific dream omens...
(SIR) or message dreams (the literary examples). Instead, their purpose was to obtain pleasant symptomatic dreams by the purification of the dreamer and the propitiation of his wrathful personal deities. This would explain the inclusion of these rituals on ADRC, a compendium mainly concerned with averting unpleasant symptomatic dreams.

There is no evidence to support E. Behrens' claim [1906, pp. 17-8] that the ritual described on LAS 219 (manuscript G 1 of SDR) was intended to cure the prince Ashur-mukin-palu'a.

Connections with incubation are suggested by the use of the verbs nālu (NA), "to lie down", and šubrū, "to cause to see", in three ritual complexes on ADRC:

i). Col. IV line 30:

30). *tanāl(NÁ)-ma šutta(MĀŠ,GE6) damiqtā(SIG5)*

tammar(1GI-mar)

You lie down, and you will see a favourable dream.

ii). Col. IV lines 31–41b:

41a). *KA.INIM.MA itūli(NÁ)-ma ila(DINGIR) šutta(MĀŠ,GE6) damiqtā(SIG5) šub-re-e*

Incantation rubric: To lie down, and to cause the god to show (you) a favourable dream.

41b). *tanāl(NÁ)-ma šutta(MĀŠ,GE6) damiqtu(SIG5-tu4)*

tammar(1GI-mar)

You lie down, and you will see a favourable dream.

iii). Col. II lines 56–7 (p. 294).

1. nālu(NÁ), "To Lie Down"

Whereas nālu and šalālu both occur in dream omens and reports, the only verb of lying down to sleep appearing in the dream rituals is nālu. The phrase nālu with a verb of seeing (an oracular decision or dream) is found as the ritual result of several parts of the incubation text SIR. This technical usage of nālu to describe the action of lying down to receive an incubated dream is further illustrated by Nabonidus 8, col. VII line 11',

Page 295
II. šubrū, "To Cause To See"

Various verbs of seeing are attested with šuttu, "dream", with no obvious differences in usage, either within or outside the technical dream literature:

i). amaru - by far the most common.

ii). naṭalu.

iii). naplusu - Nabonidus 8, col. VII line 15' (p. 281).

iv). kullumu - the Lamashtu Amulet, line 3 (p. 84).

On the other hand, šubrū, "to cause to see" (in the sense of someone revealing something to another person), when used with šuttu, was used in dream reports to introduce the narrative of a message or symbolic-message dream. There is no one specific phrase joining these two words; examples include:

i). Nabonidus 1, col. I lines 16-7:

16). i-na re-e šarrūti(LUGAL-ú-ti)-ia dāriti(DA.
    Rī-ti) ú-šab-ru-'i-in-ni

17). šū-ut-ti

16 At the beginning of my everlasting kingship, they (Marduk and Sin) caused me to see a dream (ordering the restoration of Ehuilul at Harran).

ii). Nabonidus 25, col. I lines 11-2:

11). i-na ša-at mu-ši šutta(MAŠ.GE6) ú-šab-ra-an-
    n[i]

12). um-me

11 During the night he (Sin) caused me to see a dream,

12 thus:

iii). Enlil had compelled the gods to swear an oath not to aid the troublesome humans before he sent the Flood (Atra-hasis, Tab. 2, cols. VII-VIII). However, Ea helps his protégé Atahasis (pp. 286-7). He denies having done so (with a fine splitting of hairs) on The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 11, lines 186-7 (in an abbreviated account of the Flood):
186). *a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) 
    *rabūti*(GAL.MEŠ)

187). *At-ra-ha-sis šu-na-ta ú-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-
    ti ilāni*(DINGIR.MEŠ) *iš-me*

186 I myself did not reveal (lit., open) the secret(s) of the 
great gods. 187 I caused Atrahasis to see dreams, and (in 
this way) he heard the secret(s) of the gods.

It has to be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that any of 
these dreams were incubated. Only *ADRC*, col. IV line 41α connects the 
verbs *nālu* and *šubru*, with their attendant implications of incubation and 
the reception of message dreams. None of the incubation rituals 
presented in chapter 17 uses *šubru*, preferring *amāru* or *naplusu* instead.

A development of this technical usage can be seen in the phrase *ina šat mu-ši ú-šab-ri-šu-ma*, indicating divine literary inspiration (pp. 70-2).

**B. COMMENTS UPON TABLE 11 ON PAGE 298**

There is hardly any correspondence between the ritual settings or 
actions of incubation ceremonies and those to obtain a favourable dream, 
but the former lack uniformity themselves.

1). RITUAL I

This consists of the presentation of various offerings in order to 
attract the attention of the personal deities or Sin, hopefully putting them 
in a receptive and benevolent mood. *SDR* contains more details than the 
other examples, and is very similar to a namburbi ritual against a lunar 
eclipse (*Cap. 65*), which mentions the same *ŠU.ÍLLÁ*-incantation to Sin 
(see the text edition of *SDR* for details; p. 452).

2). INCANTATIONS 1-3

The recitation of several incantations once or thrice formed an 
important part of these dream rites, more so than for other types. *SDR* 
(and *NRFD*) include *ŠU.ÍLLÁ*-incantations, while the rituals of *ADRC*, col. 
IV use incantations resembling DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BAs, intended to appease a 
wrathful deity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>ADRC, Col II lines 24-57</th>
<th>ADRC, Col IV lines 21-30</th>
<th>ADRC, Col IV lines 31-41b</th>
<th>SDR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RITUAL I</td>
<td>26-8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unclear</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set up censer</td>
<td>to personal god and</td>
<td>to personal</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of juniper</td>
<td>before KUSUR</td>
<td>deities in a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>separate room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scatter and</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present and</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libate beer</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCANTATION 1</td>
<td>29-37 to UTU</td>
<td>23-5 DSDB</td>
<td>31-7 DSDB</td>
<td>1-27 to Sin (SIL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITUAL II</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incantation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCANTATION 2</td>
<td>39-47 to various</td>
<td></td>
<td>37-40 DSDB</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deities about KUSUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITUAL III</td>
<td>48-50</td>
<td>28-7</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>31-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incantation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place at head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or head of bed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie onto hem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound</td>
<td>ÙKUR.KUR in juniper oil</td>
<td>sweet reed</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anoint or</td>
<td>anoint with mixture</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td></td>
<td>anoint with cypress oil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprinkle</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place censer</td>
<td>ÚKUR.KUR on to head</td>
<td>tie ÚKUR.KUR on to</td>
<td>tie lumps of salt,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of juniper</td>
<td>before personal god</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>qulqullam, juniper, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and clod from outer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incantation</td>
<td>say as follows</td>
<td>say as follows</td>
<td>place at head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCANTATION 3</td>
<td>51-5 to GISHA.NU</td>
<td>28-9 DSDB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>32-3 phrase to Anzager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITUAL IV</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incantation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITUAL RESULT</td>
<td>56-7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DSDB = DINIR.SÂ.DIB.BA (to the personal deities)  
SIL = ŠU.IL.LA
The incantations of *ADRC*, col. II lines 24-57 are not consistent with the ritual acts. Incantation 1 is a Sumerian incantation to Utu, although censers are set out to the supplicant's personal god and before the *kušāru*. One might expect an incantation to the personal god as the *kušāru* is mentioned indirectly in Incantation 2 and, by analogy, in Incantation 3. Similarly, in Ritual III another censer is set out before the personal god, but Incantation 3 does not invoke him. In fact, the dreamer's personal god plays a minor role in this complex, compared with those of *ADRC*, col. IV.

3). RITUAL III

The manual acts of this detailed section are the most important ones of the whole rite. *SDR* reverses the order of tying objects onto the dreamer's hem and his purification.

An āru-wood staff (*ADRC*, col. II and col. IV line 41b) is found in several Mesopotamian rituals directed against demons and diseases (pp. 301-3). It was regarded as possessing special qualities enabling it to avert demonic attacks. We noted on pages 83-5 that demons were a cause of nightmares, so it seems probable that the presence of this staff at the head of the bed protected the dreamer, guaranteeing him pleasant, hence, favourable, dreams.

The installation of the censer in *ADRC*, col. IV line 26 was to ensure the presence of the personal deities (see the charm title *SpTU* 2, No. 22, col. IV line 5 on p. 123), and in *SDR* to entice Anzagar into coming with the message of redemption.

Objects were tied onto a person's hem (a symbol of the wearer) in a variety of legal and ritual contexts. See M. Malul [1988], pp. 179-97 for examples, and also *LAS* 26, rev. 1'-8', which describes how a list of all the bad omens observed was attached to the Substitute King's hem to make sure that their evil remained and died with him. In the case of the dream rites under discussion it would appear that the purpose of fastening objects to the dreamer's hem was to purify him (*ADRC*, col. IV and *SDR*). (The ritual tablet of the series *muššuš* (BAM 215; F. Köcher [1966]) includes plants which were to be bound around parts of a man's body.
either to protect or to purify him: the temples (obv. 6), or the hands and feet (obv. 29).)

Then the petitioner was cleansed further, either by being anointed with a perfumed oil mixture (ADRC, col. II, and col. IV line 27) or by washing with two still unidentified plants (SDR). (Note that these plants are called "[the plants] for the appeasement [of an angry god]") ADRC, col. II line 49 adds the sprinkling of kasū mixed with water, thereby purifying the (bed)room as well.

C. RITUAL SETTING

One might expect rituals to obtain a favourable dream to be performed in the evening, before retiring to bed. However, the only time mentions are of days. The complex ADRC, col. II lines 24-57 orders actions to be carried out on the twenty-eighth day (line 28) and "during the day", ina libbi(ŠA) u₄-me (line 48). Whereas the Neo-Assyrian letter LAS 219, obv. 8, links the ritual actions of SDR with the sixteenth of Ululu (September). S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, p. 203] connected the last ceremony with the rituals of Ululu mentioned on KAR 44, obv. 5, and with other calendrical fixed ceremonies intended to protect the royal family. It seems as if these dream rites were performed on an auspicious day, regardless of the hour, and thus would appear to have long-term effects. Yet, it is surprising that the sixteenth of Ululu was chosen for the performance of SDR, because KAR 178, col. V line 49 and the Kassite calendar IM 50969 (Sumer 8 [1952], after p. 36), col. VI line 16 state that this was a unfavourable day.

We possess hardly any information on the ritual location, and what we do have conflicts. ADRC, col. II line 27 mentions going out to the open country, but with no demarcation of a special area, as was usual (e.g., W. G. Lambert [1957-8a], p. 296, line 1). ADRC, col. II line 38 suggests that there were (at least) two locations, even if only different areas of the same room, since the practitioner "withdraws", te-re-qam-ma. There is no evidence that these ceremonies occurred in the dreamer's bedroom, as opposed to the apotropaic rites (p. 177). ADRC, col. IV line 21 prescribes "a separate room", bi-ti (É) parsî(TAR-si); i.e., a ritual area
away from everyday concerns (see AHw 2, *parsu(m)*, p. 835a. for examples in non-dream rites).

D). THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GISHARU(MA.NU) AND KUSHARU

ADRC, col. II lines 24-57 connects "an ėru-wood weapon (i.e., staff)", sīšma.nu sīštukul, with the ill-defined *kušaru* in the following ways:

i). A censer is set out in front of the *kušaru* (lines 27-8), but the subsequent incantation alludes to the previously unmentioned ėru-wood staff (lines 32 and 37), asking the gods to appoint its (apotropaic) nature.

ii). Incantation 2 is to be spoken before the *kušaru* (line 38), and this time requests the deities to appoint the (apotropaic) nature of this object.

It is not clear why two items, or two names for the same object were needed. The ėru-wood staff also appears in the complex ADRC, col. IV lines 31-41b.

1). GISHARU(MA.NU).

The identification of ėru (Assyrian *eše*) is disputed:

i). cornel wood - *CAD* E, pp. 318-20; AHw 1, p. 247a.

ii). laurel - *DAB*, pp. 298-300


UHF associated the ėru-wood weapon, or staff of office, with the divine exorcist Asalluhi and his human counterpart, the *āšīpu*. Enki tells Asalluhi to:

155). *gin.na ṃ dumu.mu1 ḍasal.išu.hi* 
156). sīšštukul sīšmā.nu ṃug?//zu.ka ḍabzu.a ḍme.ni. 

sum

155 Go, my son Asalluhi, (and) 156 install (lit., give) the ėru-wood Weapon of your attire? within the Apsu!

Later on, the human exorcist states:

162). *lū sīššilm.ma šīla.a gin.na.mu.d[ē]* 
163). sīšštukul gīšma.nu mu7.mu7.a fšu.gā 11-[gāl]
162 (When) I, the unharmed man, walk about in the street, the ėru-wood [weapon] of the lore of the exorcist is in my hand.

The exorcistic texts contained in Devils 1-2 (some developed from UHF) frequently refer to the ėru-wood staff: e.g., CT 16, pl. 3, lines 86-7:

86). sišma.nu sištukul.mah an.na.ke4 šu.mu mu.'un. da1.an.gál
87). e-ri kak-ku ši-i-ri šé dA-nim ina qātē (iʾšul1)-i1a1 ina-šla-ki

(86-7) I am lifting in my hands the exalted ėru-wood weapon of Anu.

The ritual compendium CBS 6060 (with its duplicates, see A. Livingstone [1986], pp. 175-87) attributed this staff to Marduk on obv. 54:

54). gišTUKUL MA.NU i 7 u4-mu giškakki(TUKUL) dMarduk

The ėru-wood weapon (represents) the seven storms, the weapon of Marduk.

Our sources present two distinct usages of this staff:

i). UHF, lines 727-9 appears to prescribe the beating of a copper drum with the staff. Lines 786-8 inform us that the resultant din caused the demons to abandon their prey. The practice of creating loud noises to scare evil spirits away is still carried out in some parts of the world.

ii). The installation of the staff at the head of a sufferer's bed is more commonly attested: e.g., UHF, lines 792-4:

792). sištukul sišma.nu [sag.bi ū.me.ni.gar]
793). uduq hul dib.b[a bar.še hé.em.ta.gub]
794). nig.gig nig.[ak.a nam.ba.ta.še.e.dē]

792 [Install] the ėru-wood weapon [at his head] 793 (so that) the evil utukku-demon (who) passes by [may stand aside!] 794 (and so that) disease (and) [sorceries may not approach]!

When Enkidu descended to the Underworld to retrieve the pukku which Gilgamesh had dropped, one of his instructions was not to carry an ėru-
wood staff because of the effect it would have: *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, And The Netherworld*, lines 191-2, and *The Epic Of Gilgamesh*, Tab. 12, lines 20-1 (the line numbers of the last text are different in A. Shaffer [1963]):

191.  sı́ma.nu šu.za nam.ma.e.gá.gá.an
20).  şab-bi-ṭu a-na qātē(ŠUL1)-ka la ta-na-ēš-ši
192).  gidim ba.e.dè.ur4.re.eš
21).  e-ṭim-mu i-ar-ru-ru-ka
191, 20 Do not carry (Sum.: put) an ēru-wood (Akk. omits) staff in your hands! 192, 21 The ghosts would panic at you(r appearance).

It is possible that such a staff stood permanently guarding the Mesopotamian monarch's head. The Neo-Assyrian letter CT 22, No. 1, from an unnamed ruler (probably Ashurbanipal), ordered its recipient to collect various tablets (p. 33), charms, etc., including, on obv. 14-5:

14).  4 kīšādāṭi(NA4GŪ.MEŠ) šā rēš(SAG) erši(GIŠ.NÁ) šarri(LUGAL) u še-pit šarri(LUGAL)
15).  GIŠkakku(TUKUL) GIŠe'ru(MA.NU) šā rēš(SAG) erši(GIŠ.NÁ) šarri(LUGAL)

14 Four stone charms (lit., stones of the neck) which (are placed) at the head and foot of the king's bed; 15 the ēru-wood weapon which (stands) at the head of the king's bed;

The concept of the ēru-wood staff being the insignia of the power to exorcise, besides possessing this ability in itself, was so firmly rooted in Mesopotamian ritual tradition that some guardian figurines carried such weapons against evil: e.g., the sceptres, GIŠhaṭṭu(GIDRU), borne by a pair of figurines in the *Substitute King Ritual*, col. B line 21 (pp. 242).

2). kūšāru

By contrast, both the meaning and the function of the rarely attested kūšāru are unclear. The Akkadian dictionaries diverge radically in their translations: *CAD K*, p. 598b, "reed stalk, reed shelter"; *AHw 1*, p. 516b, "ein breites Band?".

Two lexical passages suggest that the kūšāru was connected with reed
marshes, but, as will be seen, pose problems in themselves:

i). \( C T \) 11, pl. 46, col. I lines 30-6 (\( \text{diri} = \text{watru} \), Tab. 4):

| \( \text{CT} \) 11, pi. 46, col. I lines 30-6 (\( \text{diri} = \text{watru} \), Tab. 4): |
|---|---|
| 30). \( \text{di.mu.uš} \) | \( ku-šá-t\( ru \) | -- |
| 31). \( ši-il-\text{lu} \) | "shade, protection" |
| 32). \( dim-mu-šá-tum \) | CAD D, p. 144a: "reed shelter". \( \text{AHw} \) 1, p. 170b: "Röhrich" |
| 33). \( ka\text{1}-ma-šu \) | CAD K, p. 532b: "reed shelter". \( \text{AHw} \) 1, p. 505b: "schutzbietender Busch?" |
| 34). \( ku-\text{pu1}-\text{u1} \) | "reed thicket" |
| 35). \( hi-\text{šul} \) | CAD H, p. 206: "reed structure, bird's nest". \( \text{AHw} \) 1, p. 349b: "Nestring aus Rohr" |
| 36). \( tak\text{1}-\text{ka-pu} \) | "Loch" |

The meanings are not certain for three of the above equivalences: \( \text{dimmuššatum} \) and \( \text{kumāšu} \) are only attested lexically, and the sparsely attested \( hišu \) has different meanings according to its context. Both the Akkadian dictionaries cite \( \text{kumāšu} \), although the sign in the text above is definitely \( ka\text{1} \).

ii). \( \text{uruanna} = \text{maštakal} \), Tab. 3, line 87 (F. Köcher [\( \text{KADF} \), No. 12, col. I line 79):

| \( \text{UR} \)girimmu(GI.RIM) \( \text{ša1} \) ap-pa-ru LI.PAD | |
| AŠ ku-šá-ru |
| A girimmu of a marsh \( \ldots \) \( \Rightarrow \) \( kušāru \) |

\( \text{girimmu} \) has been identified as a type of fruit by the Akkadian dictionaries [\( \text{CAD} \) G, p. 88b; \( \text{AHw} \) 1, p. 291a], but note \( \text{DAB} \), pp. 143-6, where GI.RIM = \( \text{ellibu} \), "buttercup".

The only other mention of \( kušāru \) in a ritual context known to the writer occurs in two incantations directed against the Lamashtu-demoness, \( \text{Lamaštu} \), Tab. 2 (\( \text{ZA} \) 16 [1902], pp. 141-200):
1). Col. I line 47:

47). [it-ti] ku-šá-ri e-dí šēpē(GIR) ki a-řak-kas

I [am tying] your feet [with] a single kušaru.

ii). Col. III line 23:

23). it-ti G1 Šbīni(GINIG) šál(a) šadī(KUR-I-i(BIR))
ku-šá-ri e-dí r[lu-kus-si]

[Tie her] with a mountain tamarisk and a single kušaru!

These references suggest a type of binding, perhaps magical rather than an actual band. The demoness is certainly not repelled by a protective staff.

Concerning A. L. Oppenheim's note about the kušaru [DB, p. 304, n. 222], the word is also attested on a haruspical or medical commentary text, CT 41, pl. 43, obv. 9:

9). ku-šá-ri | kab-nu

AHw 1, p. 417b translated kušaru in this tablet as "Reifen", and kabnu as "Umüllung"; whereas CAD K, p. 22a preferred "(a tree?)" for kabnu. DB's lexical reference is from OB Lu A, line 195 (correct from line 194) [MSL 12, p. 163], and is now read as:

195). i-šarad in dus.ul.dus.ul | mu-pa-hi-ir ku-r[u-lim]

E). THE mušu-tattu RITUAL OF LAS 50

LAS 50 is a letter from a scribe to Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal concerning the performance of a mu-šu-ta-ti ritual, which is otherwise unattested. Obv. 7-15:

7). ina muhi(UGU) ge-l En-ti?11
8). ša šarrū(LUGAL) be-1 li iš-pur-an-ni
10). mu-šu-ta-ti?1
11). le-pu-š[u]
12). U4.13.KAM dŠīn(3[0])
13). a-ge-e
14). ta-ás-š-re-š-eh1-1[tii]
15). a-pe-[er]

7 Concerning the . . . 8 (about) which the king, [my] lord,
They should perform the . . . . during the morning of the thirteenth day. (This is because) Sin will be crowned with the crown of splendour (on) the thirteenth day.

This letter contains two hapax legomenons: ge-en-ti and mu-šu-ta-ti (see LAS vol. 2, p. 56). S. Parpola [ibid.] believed that the latter was a type of dream ritual, muš(u)tattu (deriving from šuttu, "dream"), and that the insistence on the thirteenth day arose from "the wide-spread association of the god of dreams with the moon". In fact, the only indication of the Dream God being connected with Sin is on SDR, line 32, where the former is called "the medium of Nannaru" (i.e., Sin as the full moon, on the fourteenth). It is possible that the muš(u)tattu was a ritual to obtain a favourable dream, given the emphasis on the thirteenth day (here) and the sixteenth day (i.e., on the other side of the full moon) on LAS 219, obv. 8 (manuscript G1 of SDR; see also p. 300). The surface of LAS 50 is badly worn, but if the emendations are correct, the emphasis on the morning is rather unusual for a non-apotropaic dream ritual. (It should be noted that šērtu, "morning", is usually written še-re-e-ti. There are no examples with -ra-a- in AHw 3, p. 1218b.)
PART F: TEXT EDITIONS

List Of Manuscripts Of The Text Editions 308

Ashur Dream Ritual Compendium (ADRC) 313

K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 And Nusku Apotropaic Dream Ritual (NADR) 391

K. 3758 And Zaququ Incantation (ZI) 399

K. 5175 + 6001 404

K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 407

79-7-8, 77 411

81-2-4, 233 415

K. 11406 418

Nusku Ritual For A Favourable Dream (NRFD) 420

Shamash-shum-ukin Dream Ritual (SDR); Appendix: LAS 219 433

Sultantepe Incubation Ritual (SIR) 456

Sm. 543 491

SpTU 2, No. 21, Obverse 493

81-2-4, 166 499

Page 307
The symbols used in the following tables are:

- **T**: The text exists in transliteration only
- **X**: The tablet does not belong to the technical dream literature
- **Lower case**: Tablets in Babylonian script
- **Upper case**: Tablets in Assyrian script
- **Roman numerals**: Sumerian texts

(See the indexes for details of photographs.)

### A). MUSEUM NUMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>See Number</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 35182</td>
<td></td>
<td>CT 51, No. 103</td>
<td>SIR - d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 78432</td>
<td></td>
<td>PSBA 40 [1918], pl. 7</td>
<td>SDR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and pls. 1-2 here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 134542</td>
<td>BM 78432</td>
<td>CT 51, No. 149</td>
<td>NRFD - G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bu. 88-5-12, 335</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 4567</td>
<td></td>
<td>PBS 12/1, No. 29</td>
<td>ZI - II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 14188</td>
<td></td>
<td>PBS 13, No. 38</td>
<td>ZI - I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 155</td>
<td></td>
<td>BMS 1</td>
<td>SDR - A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 898</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABL 450</td>
<td>SDR - G1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2823 + 3332 + 11347</td>
<td></td>
<td>LM 1 and * extra</td>
<td>SDR - B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 11722 + 15427 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* K. 17283</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3286</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŠRT, pl. 3 and pl. 7</td>
<td>ADRC - H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3332</td>
<td>K. 2823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td>ADRC - B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3333 + 8583 +</td>
<td></td>
<td>pls. 3-4 here</td>
<td>NADR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 1069</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pp. 391-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum Number</td>
<td>See Number</td>
<td>Publication Details</td>
<td>Symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3758</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 5 here</td>
<td>ADRC - G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 4103 + 13330 + 15911</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 6 here</td>
<td>ADRC - N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 5175 + 6001</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 7 here</td>
<td>ADRC - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 6001</td>
<td>K. 5175 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 7664 + 9302 + 9494</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
<td>NRFD - B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 8 here</td>
<td>ADRC - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8583</td>
<td>K. 3333 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 9000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
<td>NRFD - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 9302</td>
<td>K. 7664 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 9494</td>
<td>K. 7664 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11041</td>
<td>K. 8171 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11347</td>
<td>K. 2823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11406</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geers copy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11684</td>
<td>K. 8171 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11706 + 132288</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
<td>NRFD - E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11722</td>
<td>K. 2823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 13288</td>
<td>K. 11706 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 13330</td>
<td>K. 4103 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 14058</td>
<td>K. 8171 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 15427</td>
<td>K. 2823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 15911</td>
<td>K. 4103 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 17283</td>
<td>K. 2823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni. 2757</td>
<td></td>
<td>SLTN 149</td>
<td>ADRC - I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 18</td>
<td>E. Combe [1908],</td>
<td></td>
<td>SDR - b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 - T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 884</td>
<td>Geers copy</td>
<td></td>
<td>SDR - d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 904</td>
<td>Geers copy</td>
<td></td>
<td>SDR - c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 543</td>
<td>pl. 5 here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 1069</td>
<td>K. 3333 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 1382</td>
<td>LM 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>SDR - E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 309
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum No.</th>
<th>See No.</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/1 + 25</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 73</td>
<td>SIR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/25</td>
<td>S.U. 51/1 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/56</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 245</td>
<td>ADRC - E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/99</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 247</td>
<td>ADRC - E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/107</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 56</td>
<td>SDR - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/212</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 107</td>
<td>ADRC - M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 52/10</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 246</td>
<td>ADRC - K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 52/74 + 382</td>
<td></td>
<td>STT 275</td>
<td>ADRC - D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 52/382</td>
<td>S.U. 52/74 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 8260</td>
<td></td>
<td>KAR 213 and BAM 376</td>
<td>ADRC - B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 8913</td>
<td></td>
<td>KAR 53</td>
<td>ADRC - Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 9026</td>
<td></td>
<td>KAR 252</td>
<td>ADRC - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 9030</td>
<td></td>
<td>KAR 58</td>
<td>NRFD - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 13615</td>
<td></td>
<td>LKA 138</td>
<td>SIR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 13620</td>
<td></td>
<td>LKA 132</td>
<td>ADRC - P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 13823 + 14044</td>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 377</td>
<td>ADRC - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 14044</td>
<td>VAT 13823 +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 14050</td>
<td></td>
<td>LKA 39</td>
<td>SDR - F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 17141</td>
<td></td>
<td>BAM 384</td>
<td>ADRC - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 22729/5</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 10</td>
<td>NRFD - b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 22729/18</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 9</td>
<td>NRFD - e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 22730/3</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 21</td>
<td>pp. 493-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 22762/2</td>
<td></td>
<td>SpTU 2, No. 8</td>
<td>NRFD - d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YBC 9884</td>
<td></td>
<td>YOS 11, No. 75</td>
<td>SIR - c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79-7-8, 77</td>
<td></td>
<td>pls. 9-11</td>
<td>ADRC - f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NADR - b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pp. 411-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2-4, 166</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 12</td>
<td>pp. 499-503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2-4, 233</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 13</td>
<td>ADRC - j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pp. 415-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-12-12, 537</td>
<td>BM 134542</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None given</td>
<td></td>
<td>UET 7, No. 118</td>
<td>SIR - b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 310
B. PUBLICATION DETAILS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication Details</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pls. 1-2</td>
<td>SDR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pls. 3-4</td>
<td>ADRC - B; NADR - A; pp. 391-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 5 (K. 3758)</td>
<td>ADRC - G; ZI - A; pp. 399-403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 5 (Sm. 543)</td>
<td>pp. 491-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 6</td>
<td>ADRC - N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 7 (K. 5175 + 6001)</td>
<td>ADRC - D; pp. 404-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 7 (K. 3286)</td>
<td>ADRC - H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 8</td>
<td>ADRC - C; pp. 407-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pls. 9-11</td>
<td>ADRC - f; NADR - b; pp. 411-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 12</td>
<td>pp. 499-503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 13</td>
<td>ADRC - j; pp. 415-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL 450</td>
<td>SDR - G1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 376</td>
<td>ADRC - B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 377</td>
<td>ADRC - A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 384</td>
<td>ADRC - C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMS 1</td>
<td>SDR - A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Combe [1908], No. 6 - T</td>
<td>SDR - b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 51, No. 103</td>
<td>SIR - d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 51, No. 149</td>
<td>NRFD - G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 53</td>
<td>ADRC - Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 58</td>
<td>NRFD - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 213</td>
<td>ADRC - B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 252</td>
<td>ADRC - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 39</td>
<td>SDR - F1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 132</td>
<td>ADRC - P; NRFD - F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 138</td>
<td>SIR - A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM 1 (+ K. 17283)</td>
<td>SDR - B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM 2</td>
<td>SDR - E1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 12/1, No. 29</td>
<td>ZI - II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 13, No. 38</td>
<td>ZI - I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSBA 40 [1918], pl. 7</td>
<td>SDR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLTN 149</td>
<td>ADRC - I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Details</td>
<td>Symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>SpTU</em> 2, No. 8</td>
<td>NRFD - d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>SpTU</em> 2, No. 9</td>
<td>NRFD - a1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>SpTU</em> 2, No. 10</td>
<td>NRFD - b1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>SpTU</em> 2, No. 21</td>
<td>pp. 493-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šRT, pl. 3</td>
<td>ADRC - H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 56</td>
<td>SDR - C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 73</td>
<td>SIR - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 107</td>
<td>ADRC - M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 245</td>
<td>ADRC - E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 246</td>
<td>ADRC - K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 247</td>
<td>ADRC - E1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 275</td>
<td>ADRC - D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UET 7, No. 118</td>
<td>SIR - b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 11, No. 75</td>
<td>SIR - c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C). UNPUBLISHED TEXTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. 7664 + 9302 + 9494</td>
<td>NRFD - B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 9000</td>
<td>NRFD - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11406</td>
<td>pp. 418-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 11706 + 13288</td>
<td>NRFD - E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 884</td>
<td>SDR - d1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 904</td>
<td>SDR - c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ASHUR DREAM RITUAL

COMPRENDIUM (ADRC)

TEXTS

DB, pl. 1 (photograph of N, only K. 4103 + 13330)
C. D. Gray [ŚRT], pl. 3 (H)
KAR 53 and 252 (Q and A)
LKA 132 (P)
STT 107, 245 and 246 (M, E, and K)

For details of the British Museum tablets (except for H and N), see under their respective editions.

STUDIES

R. Borger [1957-8] (Review of DB, with collations of the British Museum tablets)

J. Bottéro [1985], p. 30, p. 43 (col. I lines 7-12) and p. 60 (on I)
J. J. A. van Dijk [SSA], p. 9 (on I)
A. Falkenstein [1966], p. 57 (on I)
E. I. Gordon [1960], p. 127 and n. 46 (on I)

W. Heimpel [1986], p. 144 (col. III line 20)
H. Hunger [BAK], No. 236 on p. 80 (colophon of A)
J. Klein [1970-1], p. 119 and notes 11-2 (on I)
B. Landsberger [1967], p. 14, n. 37 (col. III line 13)
A. L. Oppenheim [DE], pp. 295-306, and p. 338 (translit. of N)
E. Reiner [1967], p. 190 (on E, K, and E1)

The writer collated A from photographs, and M. J. Geller collated the tablet in summer 1990.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column I</th>
<th>Column II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A VAT 9026</td>
<td>KAR 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3333 + 8583</td>
<td>col. I lines 79 to 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Sm. 1069</td>
<td>col. II line 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058</td>
<td>col. II lines 3' to 16'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 5175 + 6001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A VAT 9026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3333 + 8583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Sm. 1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 52/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U. 51/212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADRC - Transliteration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Public-</th>
<th>Relevant Lines</th>
<th>Lines On</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Column I lines 79 to Column II line 71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A VAT 9026</td>
<td>KAR 252</td>
<td>col. I line 79 to 71</td>
<td>1, 79 - 1, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D K. 5175 + 6001</td>
<td>pl. 7</td>
<td>col. II lines 3' to 16'</td>
<td>1, 79 - 1, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E S.U. 51/56</td>
<td>STT 245</td>
<td>obv. 1-18</td>
<td>1, 79 - 1, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f 79-7-8, 77</td>
<td>pls. 9-11</td>
<td>obv. 1-13, 17-26</td>
<td>1, 79 - 1, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum Number</th>
<th>Public-</th>
<th>Relevant Lines</th>
<th>Lines On</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Column III lines 1-68</td>
<td>1-3, 4-46, 47-68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f 79-7-8, 77</td>
<td>pls. 9-11</td>
<td>obv. 14-5</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 16</td>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 27-32</td>
<td>3b-g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 33-4</td>
<td>52-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G K. 3758</td>
<td>pl. 5</td>
<td>obv. 8-11</td>
<td>5, 7, 9, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B K. 3333 + 8583</td>
<td>pls. 3-4</td>
<td>col. III lines 1'-16'</td>
<td>15-28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Sm. 1069</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H K. 3286</td>
<td>ŠRT, pl. 3 and pl. 7</td>
<td>lines 1-10</td>
<td>20-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j 81-2-4, 233</td>
<td>pl. 13</td>
<td>obv. 3-9</td>
<td>39-41, 43-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 10-1</td>
<td>45a, 46a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K S.U. 52/10</td>
<td>STT 246</td>
<td>obv. 1' to rev. 4</td>
<td>39-46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M S.U. 51/212</td>
<td>STT 107</td>
<td>obv. 4' to rev. 11'</td>
<td>39-41, 43-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Museum Number</td>
<td>Publication No.</td>
<td>Relevant Lines</td>
<td>Lines on ADRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>K. 4103 + 13330 + 15911</td>
<td>pl. 6</td>
<td>lines 1'-16'</td>
<td>47-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ni. 2757</td>
<td>SLTN 149</td>
<td>rev. col. ii</td>
<td>4, 6, 8, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 8'-13'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>VAT 9026</td>
<td>KAR 252</td>
<td>col. IV lines 1-47</td>
<td>1-25, 26-30, 31-40, 41b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>VAT 13620</td>
<td>LKA 132</td>
<td>obv. 1'-11'</td>
<td>25, 26-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 12'-8'</td>
<td>38-40, 41b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 1-3</td>
<td>42-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 4-6</td>
<td>45-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>VAT 8913</td>
<td>KAR 53</td>
<td>obv. 1 to rev. 14</td>
<td>38-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A_1</td>
<td>VAT 13823</td>
<td>BAM 377</td>
<td>col. III, lines 16-8</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ 14044</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B_1</td>
<td>VAT 8260</td>
<td>BAM 376</td>
<td>col. I line 31'</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(KAR 213)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_1</td>
<td>VAT 17141</td>
<td>BAM 384</td>
<td>rev. 6-7</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D_1</td>
<td>S.U. 52/74</td>
<td>STT 275</td>
<td>col. IV lines 1-6</td>
<td>23-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ 382</td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 7-10</td>
<td>25a-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 11-2</td>
<td>21-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 13-5</td>
<td>28-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 16-7</td>
<td>30a-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E_1</td>
<td>S.U. 51/99</td>
<td>STT 247</td>
<td>rev. 1-8</td>
<td>23-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 9-16</td>
<td>28-30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the texts which are not primarily concerned with dreams:

i). I is a Sumerian Proverb Collection.

ii). A_1-D_1 are charm lists.

iii). The obverse of E_1 contains a ritual enabling a man to regain royal favour and remove his misfortunes, lost through divine wrath.

* * *
ADRC - Transliteration

OBVERSE

Column I

LINE 1
A).  [šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA)] šuttu([MÁ]Š. GE₆) ba? nu pa-êš-
shū? (pa)-hi IG1 [X X X] u [ha?]¹

LINE 2
[... k]ul-lil U₄.1.KÁM šutabrū-ma U₄.2.KÁM gi [... [... ]-I an¹
müši
A).  [... k]ul-lil U₄.1.KÁM ZAL.ZAL-ma U₄.2.KÁM gi [... ...
... ]-Ian¹ GE₆
B).  [... ... ... ... ] 'X¹ GE₆

LINE 3
A).  [... ] tasallah([S1UD) ina pūti(SAG.[K1I]-šū (erasure)
tašakkan(GAR-an)

LINE 4
[U₄.3?].KÁM GIŠ šaqšuga tubbal tasâk
A).  [U₄.3?].KÁM GIŠ (erased û) MEZ. GÁM È SÚD
B).  [... ] SÚD

LINE 5
[ina] šikāri u šamni ana pān¹ [... Šamaš tamahhas la-am šēp-šū ana
gaqqari iskunu
A).  [ina] KAŠ u î ana IG1(KI) [... UTU SIG-ṣa la-am GI Ṝ-šū ana KI
GAR-nu
B).  [... ... ... ... ] GAR-nu

LINE 6
'X¹-šū ma MÁŠ. GE₆ HUL BÜR. 'RU¹ DA.KÁM lumaš-ṣa ana amēli úl itēhhe
A).  'X¹-šū ma MÁŠ. GE₆ HUL BÜR. 'RU¹ DA.KÁM HUL.BI ana LÚ úl TE-e
B).  [... ... ... ... ] TE-e
LINE 7
šuma amēlu šutta ha-ṭi-ta e-ta-mar
A). [NIA MĀŠ.GEš ha-ṭi-ta e-ta-mar
B). DIŠ NA MĀŠ.GEš ha-ṭ[i- . . . . . . . .]

LINE 8
[ . . . ] ℓX-šū]nu pūti-šu la-am Šēp-šu ana qaqqari iškunu
B). la-am GīR-šu ana KI GAR-n[ u
. . . . . . . .]

LINE 9
[be-lu]4 pa-tlan ra-ma-ni-šū [ki]-a-am iqabbi šunat aṭ-ṭu-lu
aṭ-ṭu-lu
B). MĀŠ.GEš
aṭ-ṭu-ll[u . . . . . . . .]

LINE 10
[ma-har] 4SIn u 4Šamaš dam-qat dam-qat-me dam-[qat?] dam-qat(t]
A). [ma-har] 430 u 4UTU dam-qat [dam]-qat-[ma dam-qat?] dam-qat(t)
B). dam-qat-me dam-[ . . . . . . . .]

LINE 11
[ki-a-am] iqabbi-me i-gir-ri ra-ma-ni-šu
A). [ki-a-am] DUG4.GA-me i-[gir]-frī [ra-ma-ni-šu
B). i-gir-ri ra-ma-ni-š[u . . . . . . .]

LINE 12
A). [ú-dam-mi-iq-me šutta(MĀŠ.GEš)-šu ̀ul ićehhe(TE)-šu

LINE 12a
B24). šuma(DIŠ) KIMIN (i.e., lines 7-8) la-am šīt šamši(dUTU.[È.A)
. . . . . . .]
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 12b
B). amēlu(LÚ) ina majāli(KI.NÁ)-šú GE₆ [ . . . . . . . ]

LINE 12c
B). nignaqqa(NÍG.NA) liš-kun maṣḥata(ZÍ.[MAD.GÁ) . . . . . . ]

LINE 12d
B). lip-šur ki-a-am liq{-bi . . . . . . ]

LINE 12e
B). dam-qat kīma(GIM) aṭ-ṭ[ú-]lu . . . . . . .]

LINE 12f
B). i-na SAR là KÚR 'X' [ . . . . . . ]

LINE 12g
B). ū šutta(MÁŠ.GE₆) a-n[a . . . . . . . ]

LINE 13
A). [šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) šutta(MÁŠ).GE₆] 'he-ṭi'-it-tu₄ i-mur be-lu₄ pa-tan

LINE 14
A). [ . . . . ] 'X X X' qanā[GI] 'i1-pe-šar(šir) <ina> išēti (IZI) i-qal-lu-me

LINE 15
A). [lumun(HUL) šutti(MÁŠ.GE₆)] 'šu-a1-tu₄ ana pāni(GI)-šú ul i-pe-ri-ik

LINE 16
A). [ . . . . . . ] 'X X X' ana ili(DINGIR)-[šú] ú-te-er-me ip-šur
LINE 17
A). [ . . . . . ] ip-ṭ pa-X X X X X ū-i-₇-i₇-ma  ipehii(BAD)-ma

LINE 18

LINE 19
A). [ . . . . . ] X1 [X] 'X X1 [(X)] X ša1 uš-te-di-fir1 u <amēlu(NA)> šük(B1) ̵l̵i̵s̵i̵(DÉ1.A)

LINE 20
A). [ . . . . . ] ina šēri1 'ha-ar1-pi bābu(KÂ) ū-ka-al-lu-sū

LINE 21
A). [ . . . . . ] X1 i-la-wi-ma šamni(1+G1S) i-₇a-bu

LINE 22
A). [ . . . . . ] X1 i-₇a-tu i-₇a-ka-an šuttu(MÂS,GEs)

LINE 23
A). [ . . . . . ] X X a1 ana muhhi(UGU) Gîṣgîll(DÂLLA) i-ma-nu-ma

LINE 24
A). [ÉN . . . . . . . . . ] i₇-₇ ma ga-₇i₇-ru dan-nu

LINE 25
A). [ . . . . . . . ]-bê-e kul-la-st it-ti lemútti(HUL-ti)

LINE 26
A). [ . . . . . . . ] ana ū-i-₇i₇-ma li-ma-a(-)sh-ka
LINE 27
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X] [X] 'ša? ga ad bi X] lumun('HUL?')-
'šā paris(TAR-is)

LINE 28
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X] uš1-[tal]-di-i[r]-[šu-me pe/ū ru?]-ti1

LINE 29
A). [ . . . . . . . ] SÍG [X an X] imitti('ZAG?')-[šu]

LINE 30
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X X X šu X X hé? me.X X]

LINE 31
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X um1-ma X (X)] [X X] [X X] imitti
('ZAG?')-[šu]

LINE 32
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X lil ib?-ba X X X] [X X] [X li-qi1

LINE 33
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X X X X] te [i](-te-) eb-ba?1-an-ni

LINE 34
A). [ . . . . . . . ] bu [X] [b]i ti šikitta-šu('K1,gAR?B)
nukkiru('KÚR-ru1) [hul-li1]<-iq> zēra('NUMUN')-[šu]

LINE 35
A). [ . . . . . . . ] [X ū1 i]ne /[um? -ni]i lum-ni 'i?]-šu

LINE 36
A). [ . . . . . . . ] šamā([A1N?]-e) ergetim('K1-ti[m]) [itu]-ta
[ki?1 šutti('MĀŠ.GE6') lemuttu('HUL-tu4')]}
LINE 37
A). [ . . . . . ] šá? ina barārīti([EN.NUN]\_AN.USÁN) qałīti ([EN.NUN.MURUB\_BA\_tu] šāt urri([EN.NUN]\_U\_ZAL\_LE])

LINE 38
A). [ . . . . . ] šuttu([MĀ]\Š.GE\_1) an-ni-tu ina zu-mur amēli ([LŪ\_1) an-ni-i:\zaq)

LINE 39

LINE 40
A). [ . . . . . ] X\_1 u lumun(HUL) šutt\_1(MĀŠ.GE\_1) X\_1 ka \_X\_1 ina zumri(SU)-ia

LINE 41
A). [šar\_s bēr(DANNA) li-is-si a-e i-tu-r̥a\_1 qanā([GI\_1) šu\_a\_1-ti ana 2 ta-ha-mi\_1-r̥a\_1]

LINE 42
A). [ . . . . . ] llu-mu-un šutt\_1(MĀŠ.GE\_1) ana pān([GI\_1) dŠamaš (UTU) ana līb-bi tu\_ka\_1

LINE 43
A). [X\_1 [ . . . . . ] X\_1 šii\_1(pi\_ma) dāŠamaš(UTU\_1) šutta ([MĀ]\Š.GE\_1) an\_ni-ta ana mah-ri\_ka\_1

LINE 44
A). ki-n\_tu . . . . . ] X\_1 URU la X ak\_1 se? la lumun(HUL)-šā

LINE 45
A). Ĺl ī\_ehe(TIE-e) . . . . . . . . . k\_ seal ti\_1 di\_1-in\_1-ši pa-nu\_1-šā
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 46
A).  ú-[X]×-[ . . . . . . . . . . . . ] [X] × im? 1 mi ku

LINE 47
A).  [a-X] [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ] [X]×-ša [p]a-ṭe-[er]

LINE 48
A).  kīma([GIM]) DING[IR X] [X] × ib [X] [ . . . . . ] [X] × ap [pa?-šir?-ma?]

LINE 49
A).  ma-[har X X be diš]-tar ku [X] [ . . . . ] [X] × ana [diš-tar X]

LINE 50
A).  [ta]-ka[r]-[rab]-ml[a] [X] [ . . . . ] šá-ki-[in-su]

LINE 51
A).  šūmma([DÌŠ] šutta([MÅŠ.G[Es X]-[X]-ma1 lumun([HUL])-ša [uš]- [t]a-[di]-ir [ . . . . . ] [X].TA.AB

LINE 52
A).  kirbān([LAG-an] X (X)) kul-lat lumun([HUL]) šutti([MÅŠ.G[Es]) is [la . . . . . . ] [X] [X]

LINE 53
A).  [ana] muhhi([UG(U)-šu ta-mla-an-nu-[mla [ana] pān([IIG])
  dŠamaš([UTC]) [ . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 54
A).  ta?-[ma]-[ . . . . ] [ki]-ma kir-[bal-[ni] ina mē(A.MEš)
  t[a?-]-[X] [ . . . . . . . . ]
LINE 55
A). ih/ah-h[u? . . . ] Šamaš(UTU) di?-ín?1 [X (X) e]-l'-la1- a-ti [u šap-la-a-ti]

LINE 56
A). ma-la [X] X bi X X X [X (X)] X X qu kir/un (X)1 [ . . . . . . . ]

LINE 57
A). ana me/sh/ip [n] [X] X di qaql [X (X) (X)] X X [X (X) d]Nusku [ . . . . . . ]

LINE 58

LINE 59
A). [u1 pān(Igl)] X ru-ka1 ta-kar-[rab-ma?1 [(X)] [(X)] SIG5?1

LINE 60
A). du tu X [X] a[n.k]i.f bi1.da me.m[en gar]1 kur.ku[r.ra].ke4

LINE 61
A). 'si du tu X X X en1 inim.ma 'giš.tuk X X [X X] [X]

LINE 62
A). di.kuš me.m[en di].kuš.da m[e.en]

LINE 63
A). ka.aš.bar [bar].<re> [m]e.m[e?1.en [ka].aš.bar.[mu] bar.ra
[me.en]

LINE 64
A). [māš].ge6 [hul nīg].ga.mu nīg nu.dūg.g[a.mu]
DÙ.DÙ.BI kirbān igungī šé ina ereb šamāl šaknāt šamāl-'ka'ī' tanaārām
C). DÙ.DÙ.BI LAG 1.ZI šé ina di UTU.ŠU.A GAR GUB

LINE 72
ana pān šamaš šipta šalāšīšu ana muh-hi tamannu ana nārī tanaddi-ma
pašir
A). [ 'EN 3-šū ana 'UGU1 ÑI[D1] 'SUB1-ma
(BUR1)
C). ana IGI di UTU ÉN 3-šū ana muh-hi Š1D-nu ana [D] 'SUB-ma

LINE 73
[én dutu] di.kus.mah 'di1.kus.da me.en
D). [ .kus{[r]u}.da me.en

LINE 74
[ka.aš.bar.re me.en ka.aš.bar.mu bar.re me.en
A). [ka.aš.bar.re me.en ka.aš.bar.mu bar.re me.en
D). [ .bar.re < >.en

LINE 75
[māš.ges] gig bi.'in1.duš.duš.na nig.sigs.ga.eš gub? ba.ab
A). [māš.ges] gig bi.'in1.duš.duš.na nig.sigs.ga.eš gub? ba.ab
D). [ g.eš ku<.ni>.ib

LINE 76
A). [si.sá].bi ga.an.du tab.ba.[m]u sá ga.an.du1

LINE 77
[níg.uu].da.mu šas.ga hé.a
A). [níg.uu].da.ml šas.ga hé.a
D). [ . . . . . . . ] da.mu šas.ga < >.a
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 78

[X k]a bit me 'd1Šamaš 'ŠU.ÍL] tanašši-ma pašir

A). [X k]a bit me 'dUTU ŠU.ÍL] {ŠE} ÍL-me BÜR

D). [ÍL-me BÜR-ir

---

Column I Line 79 To Column II Line 71

COLUMN I LINE 79


D). ÉN [ k]ir-ba-an ina kir-ši-ka ka-ri-š[ ]

E). [ kir-bl a{(is)-an}{(bar)} kir-ba-an / [ k]ir-ši-ka ga-ri-š ramānu(Nī-û)-ia

COLUMN II LINE 1


A). [. . . . . . .] [X]-ši ki-[X] [X] [X]


E). [ -šli-ia ga-ri-š ramānu(Nī-û)-ka

LINE 2

kir-bl a-an] lu-mun šutti barērīti qablī[tī] šāt urri

A). [. . . . . ] [X] MĀŠ.G]ÈS [EIN.NUN.AN.'USĀN' EN.NUN'][X][X]

D). kir-bl a-an] HUL EN.NUN.AN.USĀN EN.NUN.MUR{UB4.BAI / EN.NUN.'U4.ZAL. }

LINE 3
a-mu-ru a-tam-ma-ru abi mīta a-mu-[r]u um-mi mi-ta1 a-mu-ru
A). [ ] 'X.MU' UG71('B1')-ta IGI
    [X X] [ ]
D). a-mu-ru a-tam-ma-ru AD.MU UG7 a-mu-[ ] /
    AMA.'MU' mi-ta1 a-mu-ru
    um-mi me-e-ti a-mu-[ ]

LINE 4
ila <āmuru> šarra āmuru kabta āmuru rubā a-mu-ru mīta āmuru Lûbalṭa āmuru
A). DINGIR [IGI] 'LUGAL IGI IDIM' [ ] [ADš] IGI
    [LÔTI] [ ]
D). šamaš(U TU) < > LUGAL IGI IDIM IGI NUN [IGI] / ADš IGI
    LÔTI IGI
E). [ . . . . . ] 'X' [ . . . . . ] NUN a-mu-ru

LINE 5
ihza lāmūdā āmuru ana mētī lāmūdā a11-li-ku aklā lāmūdē a-ta1-kā-lu
A). 'NÍG.ZU1 [X] 'lā ZU X X X X ZU
    GIN? X1 NINDA lā ZU a-tak-ka-lu]
D). NíG.ZU lā ZU IGI ana KUR lā ZU
    GIN[ku] / NINDA-lā ZU a-tak1-[ ]-lu
    a11-li-ku / [ . . . . . . . . . -k]a1-lu1(ku)
LINE 6

薮 обяз lêlôoon a1-lôb-sû ki-ma ka-sé-ma ana mê a-nam-du-ka-ma
A). [Tûg] là ZU\: a1-lôb-sû ki-ma1 ka-sé-ma ana A:MEŠ a-nam-\[ ]
D). Tûg là ZU a1-lôb-[ ] / ki-ma ka-sé-ma [ana] [ ]
   a-nam\: du-ka-ma
E). [ ZU-ú a1-lôb-sû / [ ] ana A:MEŠ a-n[am]-\[ du\]

LINE 7
tam-mah-he-hu tap-pa\:\:as-sa\:\:su\:\:tup\:\:pa\:\:as-su\:\:tup\:\:\:ru ana ašri-ka là
tatur\:ru
A). tam-mah-he-hu [ tap\:\:<\:pa\>\:as-sa\:\:su\:\:tup\:\:pa\:\:as-su ] Dûs-ru
   ana kl-ka là GUR\:ru
   ana kl-ka là GUR\:[ ]
E). [ [ to\:\:pa\:\:as-su\:\:tup\:\:\:ru ]
   tutār\:GUR\:ár]
LINE 10
li-bir nāra libbalkit šadā lip-šur ina1 zumrīja li-[ . . . . . ]
A). li-bir1 ID BAL-it KUR-a lip-šur ina1 'SU1.MU li-[ . . . . . . ]
D). li-bir 1[D . . . . . . . . . .]

LINE 11
kīma qut-ri [li1-te1-li1 šamē [kīma GIŠbī]ni na(hi) 'ana1 ešri-šū a1-a ir[tūr]
A). GIM qut-ri 'li1-te1-li1 AN-ša1 [GIM GIŠS1]NIG 'ZI1-
[hi] 'ana Kl-šū a1-a G[UR]
D). GIM1'(be si) [X1 [ . . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 12
GIŠbīnu lillil-an-ni ü(malštakel lipšur-an-fni1
A). GIŠ1SIG1 KÜ-an-ni ü[IN]. [NU.USH1 BÜR-an-fni1
D). GIš1[ . . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 13
GIŠlibbi gišimmar1 li1-gad-di1-šē-an-ni nāru lim-hur-an-ni
A). GIŠš. GIŠIMMAR1 li1-gad-di1-šē-an-ni 'ID1 lim-hur-an-ni
E). [ . . . . . . ]-f[an1-t-nil] / [ . . . . . . . . ]-n[i]

LINE 14
lid-di-ne melamme-šē-me [lemutta] lit-bal 4Šamāš1 šunat a-mu-ru
A). lid-di-ne ME.LÁM-šē-ma [HUL] 'lit-bal1 4UTU1 MÁŠ.GEš
a-mu-ru
E). [ ] lit-bal1 / [ lit-bal1 ]

LINE 15
lu dam-qat 4Šamāš šunat a-m[u]-ru1 lu ki-na-at
A). lu dam-qat 4UTU1 MÁŠ.GEš1 a-m[u]-ru1 lu G11.NA-at
E). lu SIGs-at / [ IGI1 lu ki-na-at]
LINE 16
dŠamaš šunat a-mu-₇ru₇ a-na damiqti tir-ra
A). dUTU MAŠ.GE₆ a-mu-₇ru₇ a-na /SIG₅-tu₄ te-₁-er
E). [ ] /SIG₅-ti tir-ra

LINE 17
DÛ.DÛ.BI lu kirbān ūbti lu kirbān ūtšti šipta šalāšīšu ana muhhi tamannu
A). DÛ.DÛ.BI lu LAG 'MUN lu₁ LAG IM ĖN 3-šū ana /UGU ŠID₁-nu
E). [ ] lu ana /LAG MUN₁ lu ana LAG IM / [ ] 3-šū ŠID₄-nu

LINE 18
ana nāri (e: [m]₇) tanaddi-ma lumun šutti ana amēli ūl .deltaTime

LINE 19
én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-ni a-fra₁-a 'e₁-ra-a
A). én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-ni a-fral-a 'e₁-ra-a
E). [ ] 'XI₁-ni

LINE 20
A). uŠ-ru-₇ub¹ uš-lu-lu /tu₅₁ én

LINE 21
A). KA.INIM.MA šuttu(MAŠ.GE₆) pa-₇rit-tu₅₁ la amāri(IG₁.LĀ₁)

LINE 22
A). DÛ.DÛ.BI₄ ašalmāni(NU₁(NA)) zikar(¹NITA₁) u sinniš(MI) ša ūtšti(IM) teppuš(¹DÛ₁-uš) šipta(EN) sebišu(7-₁šul)
LINE 23
A). ana muhhi('UGU') tamannu('SID-nu')-ma ina reši('SAG')-ka
	tašakkan('GAR-an')

LINE 24
A). šumma('DIŠ) amēlu('NA') šunnī('MĀŠ.GEš.'MEš') 'pār-da'-a-tī
	ina-'ūnī u ṣutta('MĀŠ.GEš') lemutta('HUL')-'ūnī) là ukāl('DAB')

LINE 25
A). 'AMA?-dištari('ESīs.'TĀR')-šū 'X X X (X)-ma qāt('SU)-su ku šu
	ana libbi('ŠĀ) ili('DINGIR)-šū

LINE 26
A). 'X X X su hi 'X X X1 damiqta('SIGs?-e') [GI.'DUs] U₄.28.
	[KĀM]

LINE 27
A). 'X1 [X X] 'X1 u₄-me ana şēri('EDIN') tuṣṣi('Ē')-'male nignaq
	(NĪ.G.NA) 'GIš1 burāši('LI) ana pān('GI) ili('DINGIR)-šū
	tašakkan('GAR-an')

LINE 28
A). nignaqqa('NĪ.G.NA) 'LŪ1maršu('GIG1) ana pān('GI) ku-šā-ri
	šakkan('GAR-an)-me 'ki₁-a-[a[m] taqqabbi('DUG₄.GA')

LINE 29
A). én 'dutu(over erasure) sag.'kal dingir.re.e₁.'ne.kē₄ 'dutu
	'pa.e₁.da.[e].dē

LINE 30
A). 'dutu lulgal an.'ki.a¹ lul[gal] da.nun.'na₁.[k]e₄.'ne₁

LINE 31
A). 'dutu² ur.sag kala.ga 'lugal¹ di.gi₄.'gi₄¹.n[e]
LINE 32
A). ūd'utu sī'ma.nu sīš'tukul 'kala.ga1 dingir.re.e.'ne1.ke4

LINE 33
A). igi.zu.še [hé.dad]lag.ga.àm

LINE 34
A). din[gir.m]u [á'1.zi.da.mu hé.'en.gub.bé1

LINE 35
A). ūdinanna.mu [á1.gùb.bu.mu1(zu) 'hé1.en.('gub.bé1

LINE 36
A). an.ki.a igi.zu.še hé1.en.('gub.bé1

LINE 37
A). dingir 'nam1.tar sīš'ma.nu 'hé.en1.tar.re.e.'dèl tus1('ka) én

LINE 38
A). šalāšIšu(3-šú) taqabbi(DUG4.GA)-ma tuš-kén te-re-qam ma ana 
pān('Igl1) ku-šé-rî 'ki1-a-am taqabbi(DUG4.GA)

LINE 39
A). én [nam.tar.zu hé.en.('tar1.re 'nam1.tar.zu hé.en.tar.re

LINE 40
[zu] 'hé.en.tar1.re

LINE 41
A). ādin.'urta dumu1.sag è.kur.re.ke4 nam.tar.zu hé.'en.tar.re1

LINE 42
re
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 43
A).  dinanna1 lugal urím1(šeš.[ká])[ki].ke₄ n[am.tar].zu hé.en.
tar₁.re

LINE 44
A).  'dutu lugal kalam₁.man.ke₄ 'nam.tar₁.[z]u 'hé.en₁.tar.re

LINE 45
A).  'diškur lugal an.ki₃ nam.tar.zu hé.en.tar₁[rle]

LINE 46
A).  'dasal.lú.hi dumu.sag abzu₁.ke₄ 'nam₁.tar₁.[zu hé₁.en.tar.[re]

LINE 47
A).  dingir.'mul am₄ 'dinanna.mu silim.mal₄[a(b]

LINE 48
A).  [šalšššu(3)-šú] taqabb₁(D)[UG₄.[GA¹]-ma ina libbi(ŠA) u₄-
me qut-āra(PA) ina reši(SAG)-ke tašakken(GAR-[an])
'ūlatš'āš(KUR.KUR)

LINE 49
A).  [i-na šaman(1+GIŠ) š1]mburāši(111) tašak(SÚD) tapasšassu
(1ŠEŠ-su) kasā[GAZ1SAR] mē(A) ellūti([KÜ¹] tasallah([SÚD])

LINE 50
A).  nīgnaq([NIG.NA] [š1mburāši(LI) anal pān([GI]) fli(DINGIR-
šú tašakken(GAR)-me [k]l-[e-am] taqabb₁([UG₄.GA])

LINE 51
A).  én šišma.[nu šiš[tukul kala.gla dingir.re.e.[ne.ke₄]

LINE 52
A).  'gissu₁ (ga) dūg.[ga ilig]i.[zušē gā.gā
LINE 53
A). dingir.(mu  ámb. zi.d a <gin.na> .mu. dé

LINE 54

LINE 55

LINE 56
A). [šalāššu(3)-šū1] taqabbi( 'DUG41.GA)-ma 'tuš1-kênu tanâl(NÁ)- ma šutta(MÂŠ,GEš) [X] u mim-ma

LINE 57
A). [ý-gaI]\' li-šlu X1 [ . . . . . ]

LINE 58
ÉN šu-ut-ti ba-na-at e-gir-ru-ú-a de-mi]-aq
A). [ ] [šu]-ut-til ba-na-at [INM1.GAR-ú-a] [ ]
f1). ÉN šu-ut-ti dem qa-at e1-[gi]-ru-ú-a de-mi]-aq

LINE 59
ma-har [dšin u [dšamaš dam-qat] : ma-har [dšin [ul [dšamaš dam-qat]
A). [ ] [dš0] u [dUTU dam-qat] ma-har [dš0] [ ] dem-qat
f2). ma-har [dš0] u [dUTU dam-ra : ma-har [dš0] [ dš0 u [dUTU dam]-qa
LINE 60
ma-har dSIN u dŠamaš dam-[qat] : šu-ut-ti ba-na-at e-gir-ru-ū-a damiq
ina qi-bi-ti-ki šar-[rat] dNin-līl
A). ma-ha[r 3]0 iUTU 1 da[m-qat]
    inla [qi-bi-ti šar-r[a ]]
f3). ma-har d30 u dUTU dam qa :
    ina [qi-bit šar-ra-tu dNin-līl
f18). ma-har d30 u dUTU dam qa : šu-ut-ti ba-na-at
e-gir-ru-ū-a SIGs ina qi-bi-ti-ki1 [šar-rat] dNin-līl

LINE 61
ša ina ba-lu-uš-sá pu[russē la ilp-[pa-ra]-su aš-kun du-un-qu
A). ša ina ba-lu-uš-sá Eš.BAR la ilp-[pa-ra]-su
    aš-kun1 [ ]
f4). ša1 ina ba-lu-uš-sa ši-mat ma-a-ti la išil-šim-mu
    / aš-kun du-un-qu
f19). ša < > ba-[ ]-[uš]-sa ši-mat AN-e u KI-tim la iš-šim-mkul
    / aš-kun SIGs

LINE 62
lu da-mi-iq-tu4 : aš-kun šēpaina qaqqari lu da-mi-iq-ti
A). [lul da1-mi-iq-tu4 aš-kun1 šēpa(1GīR1?)] ina KI lu
da-mi-il[q-]
f5). lu da-mi-iq-tu4 : aš-kun GīR1 ina KI lu
da-mi-iq-ti
f20). lu da-mi-iq-tu4 : aš-kun GīR ina KI lu
da-mi-il[q ]
LINE 63
ša u₄-me lu da-am-qá-nim : ša arhi lu da-am-qá-nim ša šatti lu da-am-
| qa-nim|
A). ša u₄-me lu da-am-qá-[nim] ša ITI lu da-am-qá-[nim] ša
| MU1| lu da[m-qá-nim]
|   |
| f₆). ša u₄-me lu da-am-qá-nim : ša ITI lu da-am-qá-nim / ša
| MU.AN.NA| lu da-am-[qa-nim]
| f₂¹). ša [-m]a da-am-qá-nim :

LINE 64
ša it-me-a-am li-ip-šu-ra ša i-ze-ni₁-am li₁-ip-[p[aż-r]a na-šu-ú
| lid-di-na|
A). šša it₁-[ma-a] lip-šu-ru šé i[z-nu-u
| li₁p-šu-ra| na-šu-ú lid-[ ]
| f₇). ša it-me-a-am li-ip-šu-ra / ša i-ze-ni₁(er)-am
| li₁-ip-[p[aż-r]a| na-šu-ú lid-di-na
| f₂¹). ša it-me-a-am li-ip-šu-[ra] ša [i-ze₁-{ ]
| / [ ]| -di-na

LINE 65
la mu-du-ú ana qātē-ias liš-kun
A). la₁ mu-du-ú 'ana [ -ila [liš₁-ku unl|
| f₈). la mu-du-ú ana ŚU₁₁-ias liš₁-kun]
| f₂²). la mu-du-ú ana [ŚU₁[ ]

LINE 66
ša qarrādi ₄Marduk mār ₄É-a ana-ku a-a ip-rik
A). ššal [URL.SAG ₄Marduk DU[MU] ₄É-a 'ana₁-{ ]
| f₉). ša qar-ra-du ₄Marduk.DUMU ₄É-a ana-ku
| f₂³). šša ₄Marduk.DUMU ₄É-a ana-ku a-a ip-rik
LINE 67
lum-nu1  li-mu-ra-an-ni-ma pu-uz-ra li-mid
A).  'lum-nu1  li-mu-ra-an-ni-ma [pu-uz-ra li-mid]
f10).  lum-ni  li-mu-ra-an-ni-ma pu-uz-ra li-mi-id
f23).  'lum-ni' [( . . . . )] / [(X X)] li-mu-ra-an-ni-ma plu-'uz'-ra li-mid

LINE 68
ina  lib-bi  lum-ni  ana  lemutti  a-a  ab-bal-kit  d.marduk  dumu.sag  abzu.
ke4
A).  'ina1  libbi(ŠÁ)  [ l-ni  ana  HUL-ti  a-a  ab< ]-kit1
d.marduk  dumu.sag  [abzu1.ke4]
f11).  ina  lib-bi  lum-ni  ana  HUL-ti  a-a  ab-bal-kit /
d.marduk  dumu.sag  abzu.ke4
f24).  ina  lib-bi  lum-ni  ana  HUL /
[s lag  abzu.ke4]

LINE 69
šas.ga  zíl.zíl.bi  za.a.kám
A).  šas.g1a  zíl.zíl.[bl]i  za.a.k[ám]
f12).  šas.ga  zíl.zíl.bi  za.a.kám
f25).  'šas1.ga  zíl.zíl.bi  za.a.kám

LINE 70
zi.an.ne  hé.pád  zi.ki.a  hé.pád
A).  zi.an.[n]a  hé.pád  zi.ki.[ hlé.pá[d]
f12).  zi.an.ne  hé.pád  zi.ki.a  hé.pád
f25).  zi.an.ne  hlé.  

LINE 71
KA.INIM.MA  MÁŠ.GE6  HUL  BÚR.RU.DA.KÁM
A).  KA.'INIM1.MA  MÁŠ.GE6  HUL  'BÚR1'.[  .DI.A.K[ég]]
f13).  KA.INIM.MA  MÁŠ.GE6  HUL  BÚR.RU.'DA1.KÁM
f26).  [  .MI.A  'MA1.MÚ  HUL  BÚR.RU.DI.A.  ]
ADRC - Transliteration

REVERSE

Column III

LINE 1
DÜ.DÜ.BI e-nu-ma amēlu ṣutta ḫmuru-ma la-ma šēp-šū ina qaqqari iš-ku-nu
A). DÜ.DÜ.BI e-nu-ma LÜ MĀṢ.GE₆ IGI.DU₈ la-ma
GIR?₁-{ GAR-₈nul
f₁₄). Kİ.D.Kİ.D.BI e-nu-ma LÜ MĀṢ.GE₆ IGI.DU₈(ZI)-ma la-ma
GIR-šū ina Kİ iš-ku-nu

LINE 2
ina muhhi erši-šū ina uhūli qāṭē-šū imessîl-ma
A). ina 'UGU GİS.NĀ-šū ina NAGA ŚU₁₁-šū LUH₁-(SI₁)-ma
f). ina UGU GİS.NĀ-šū ina NAGA ŚU₁₁-šū LUH₁(Ü)-ma

LINE 3
ṣipta šalāṣīšu imannu-ma idammiq
A). EN 3-šū ŚID-nu-ma SIGs
f). EN 3₁(Ü)-šū ŚID-ma SIGs

LINE 3a
f₁₆). Kİ.D.Kİ.D.BI šanū(2-ū) šēp(GİR) šumēli(GÜB)-ka ina muhhi(UGU)
erši(GİS.NĀ) šēp(GİR) imitti(ZAG)-ka ina qaqqari(Kİ) taṣakkan
(GAR)-ma šipta(EN) šalāṣīšu(3-šū) tamannu(ŚID-nu)

LINE 3b
f₂₇). [ . . . . ] ina šā-ni-a qāṭē(ŚU₁₁)-ka GİS itqūri(DİLı)
šalāṣīšu(3-šū) te-me-es₁(e)-[si . . . . ]

LINE 3c
f). [e-nu-ma te-me-es-su-ū ṣutta(_MA.MU) šu-a-ti šalāṣīšu(3-šū)
ana libbi(ŠĀ) mâ(A) tapaššar(BÛR) [ . . . . ]
LINE 3d
f). [ . . . . ]-ú-ti li-il-qū-nim1 -ma šalāšišu(3-šú) qātē(ŠULU1)-
ka te-me-es-su[ . . . . ]

LINE 3e
šalāšišu(3-šú) tamannu(Š1ID)-1ma? šu1 [ . . . . ]

LINE 3f
f). [. . . . . . . . . . ] 'X1 bi X a NU HUL [ . . . . . . ]

LINE 3g
f). [. . . . . . . . . . ] 'X1-1ma ana biti(É)-ka [ . . . . . . ]

LINE 4
én dutu di.kuš me.en di.mu tar.ru.da.ab
A). én (d)́utu (di1.kuš1(ru) me.en di.mu tar.ru.da.ab
I). dutu di.kuš me.en di.mu tar.dè

LINE 5
Sa-maš da-a-a-na-ta di-ni di-in
A). d[i]TU da-a-a-na-ta di-ni di-in
G). d[i]TU da-a-[ ]

LINE 6
ka.aš.bar bar.ra me.en ka.aš.bar.ra.mu bar.ra (me.en1
A). ka.aš1.bar bar.ra me.en ka.aš.bar.ra.mu bar.r[a] (me.en1
I). ka.aš.bar bar.re me.en ka.aš.mu bar.ra < >

LINE 7
pa-frī1-is purussē at-ta purussū-a-e puru[s]
A). pa-frī1-is E[Š].BAR at-ta E[Š].BAR-a-a TAR-u[s]
G). TAR-is E[Š].BAR [ ]
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 8
maš.geš igi би.in.dus.a нi.g.šaš.ga ku4.ni.ib
A).  'máš-gl̓eš igi би.in.dus.a нi.g.šaš.ga ka X1 [X
glub.b(a?)]
I).  máš.geš igi ba.ni.in.dus.a / šaš.ga.aš ku4.ni.ib

LINE 9
šu-'ut1-ti a-mu-ru a-na damiqti [tir-ro]
A).  šu-'ut1-ti a-mu-ru a-na SIGš-ti [tir-ro]
G).  šunštš(MAŠ.GEš.MEŠ) [ ]

LINE 10
si.sá.bi ga.an.du tab.ba.mu sá ga.âm.du11
A).  [si.sá.bi ga.an.du tab.ba.mu sá ga.an. ]
I).  si.sá.bi ga.du / tab.ba1.mu sá ga.âm.du11

LINE 11
i-ša-riš lu1-lik-ma tap-pee-e l[u.uk-šu-ud]
A).  [i1-ša-riš lu1-lik-ma tap-pee-e l[u.uk-šu-ud]
G).  i-ša-riš1 [ ]

LINE 12
A).  dutu níg.u4.da.mu níg.šaš1.[ga hé.a]

LINE 13
A).  ্džamaš(UTU) šá u4-me-iš1 l[u1(šá)-u damiqti(SIGš-ti)]

LINE 14
A).  ्dutu níg.iši.da.'mu1 níg.šaš.ga hé.a

LINE 15
ṭšamaš šá arhi-ia lu dam-[qé-at?]
A).  ̄dUTU šá [T1-ia l[u
B).  [ ] lu dam-[qé-at?]
LINE 16
KA.KES MÅS.GE6 HUL BÜR.RU.DA.KÁ(M)
A). KA.KES MÅS.GE6 [ ]
B). 'KA\1.KES MÅS.GE6 HUL BÜR.RU.DA.KÁ(M)

LINE 17
ana pān abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz tamannu-ma paš[ir]
A). ana IGI dUTU .L1A ŠID-[ ]
B). ana IGI dUTU ŠU.IL.LA ŠID-nu-ma paš[B(U[R)]

LINE 18
šumma amēlu uts sa it-tul la ú-kal lu uts sa la ina-t[al]
A). DIŠ < > MÅS.4GE6 i[t- ] lull MÅS.GE6 [X]-[ ]
B). DIŠ NA MÅS.GE6 it-tul la ú-kal lu MÅS.GE6 la ina-t[al]

LINE 19
7 (B: 4) uṭ-te-e-ti ša ū-ṭa-wi-ši ana (B adds: pān) išāti tanaddi-ma
ina rēši-šū tašakkan-ma idammiq
A). 7 uṭ-ṭ[e-] -ši ana IZI ŠUB-me ina S[AG ]
GAR-ma SIGs

LINE 20
ÉN ta-at-tap-ha abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz ina šadi gišerēni ri-šu-nik-ka ilānu ha-da-
tak-ka a-me-lu-tū
A). ÉN [ ]
KUR gišERIN ri-šu-nil-ka
DIINGIR
B). ÉN ta\1('it\1')-tap-ha dUTU ina KUR gišERIN1 / ri-šu-nik-ka
DIINGIR.MEŠ ha-da-tak-ka a-me-[ ]-te\1
H). ÉN ta-at-tap-ha dUTU ina KUR giš[ERIN] / ri1-šu-nik-ka
DIINGIR.MEŠ ha-da-tak1-k[a] a-me-lu-tū
LINE 21

na-šak-ka mār Lūbārī Gīṣerēna

A). n[a-] LŪHAL [IEIRIN]
B). na-šak-ka DUMU LŪHAL GīṣERIN
H). na-šak-ka DUMU LŪHAL Gīṣerī₄-nu

LINE 22

Māl-mat-tu₄ ku-uk-ku-šū māshata la-pu-un-tu₄ šanma šā-ru-u

B). Māl-mat-tū₄ Zī.MAD.GĀ / la-pu-un-tu₄
H). al-mat-tu₄ ku-uk-ku-šū Zī.MAD.GĀ / la¹-pu-un-tu₄

LINE 23

ina šā-ru-ti-šū na-ši puhāda

B). ina šā-ru-ti-šu₄ na-ši UDU[SILA₄]
H). ina šā-ru-ti-šu₄ na-ši pu-ša-du

LINE 24

ana-ku na-šā-ka-ak-ka kirbāna bi-nu-ut [ap]₁-s[i]₁-i

A). [i]₄-alk-k[a] LAG
bi-nu-ut [ap]₁-s[i]₁-i
B). ana-ku na-šā-ka-ak-ku LAG
bi-nu-ut ABZU
bi-nu-ut [ABZU]
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 25

kirbān bi-nu-ut [apl]-si-i at-ta-ma ina kir-ği-ia ga-ri-qi
A). [ apl]-si-i at-ta-ma i[na -ği]-iš
   ga-ri-qi
B). LAG bi-nu-ut ABZU at-ta-ma / ina kir-ği-ia
   ga-ri-qi
H). [kir-ba-nu ABZU at-tal-ma]

LINE 26

kir-ği-ka ina kir-ği-ka ga-ri-qi kir-ği
A). [ -k]a ina kir-ţi?1-k[a -r]i-qi kir-ği
B). kir-ği(i)-ka / ina kir-ği-ka ga-ri-qi kir-ği
H). [ i](i)-qi kir-ği?]

LINE 27

ina ramāni-ia ba-lil ramān-ka. ina ramāni-ka ba-lil ramān-
A). [ ] ba-lil Ní-ka -kla ba-lil Ní-Mu
B). ina Ní-ia ba-lil Ní-ú-ka ina Ní-ka ba-lil Ní

LINE 28

[kli-ma at-ta kirbāna ana mē anaddū-ka 'tam-mah1-ha-hu tap-pe-'sa-su1
A). [ a]lt-ta [LAG] ana A.MEŠ 'tam-mah1-ha-hu tap-
   pe-'sa-su1
B). [kli-ma at-ta LAG ana A.MEŠ SUB-ma

LINE 29

'tap1-pa-fe-ru lumun(HUIL) šutti(MAŞ;GEš) ša ina mūši(GEš)
āmuru(IGI;DU8)

LINE 30

ila(DINGIR) āmuru(IGI;DU8) šarru(LUGAL) āmuru(IGI;DU8) kabta
(IDIM)1 āmuru(IGI) rubē(NUN) āmuru(IGI) mīta('ŬŠ) āmuru(IGI)
baltê(TI) āmuru(IGI)
LINE 31
A). imma(ZAG) attalka(GIN-‘ka) šumēla(GÜB) a-sah-ru

LINE 32
A). ki-ma ka-a-ša-ma ana mē(A.MEŠ) limqut(ŠUB-ut)-ma lim-ma-hi-ih
   lip-‘pa-sis’

LINE 33
A). u lip-pa-ţir’ immer(UDU.NĪTA) mé-he-e patar(GĪR) šāri(IM) ūtu-
   ub-ha

LINE 34
A). ikkalū(GU7.MEŠ) mītūtu(BA1(NĪTA).ŪS.MEŠ) išattū(NAG-u)
   šārumma(IM-um-ma)

LINE 35
A). ki-i na-‘kapl šēpē(‘GIR’1) a-‘na1 a-si-dī la i-qar-ri-bu

LINE 36
A). lumun(HUL) šutti(MĀŠ. GE6) šá ina mūšī(GE6) āmrū(IG1.DU8) la
   iţehhā(TE-a) la i-‘qar-ri1-ba la-ši

LINE 37
A). KA.INIM.MA ša šutta(MĀŠ. GE6) i-kil-te amāri(IG1.DU8) DŪ.DŪ.BI
   kirbāna(LAG) ša bābi(KĀ) pi-he-e

LINE 38
A). teleqqi(TI-'q1) šipta(‘ÉN1) ana muhib(‘UGU1) šalāshīšu(3-šū)
   tamannu(ŠID-nu) ana mē(A.MEŠ) tanaddi(ŠUB-di) lumun(HUL)-šū
   ippaṭṭar(DU8)
LINE 39
EN dÉ-a šár apsî pa-ti-iq šamê u erşetim ba-nu-u nişê
A). EN dÉ-a šár ABZU pa-ti-qu AN-e u KI-tim ba-nu-u UN.MEš
j). [ ]dÉ-a šår ABZU pa-ti-qu AN-e u KI-tim / [ ] UN.MEš
K). [ ] X AN1 u KI-tim b[a]1-
M). EN d1[

LINE 40
mu-uš-ši-ru ušurâtî na-din nindabê šê ilânî rabûtî [. . . . ] ū
kit-ti pa-ri-is purussê šê ilânî ahhe[. . . . ] X-ma di-nî dî1-in
purussû-a-a purus
A). mu-uš-ši-ru1 GIŠ.HUR.MEš e-piš ū-sa-[te]
     pa-ri-is      ES.BAR
     šê ili(DINGIR) u amêli(Lû)
j). mu-uš-ši-ru GIŠ.HUR.MEš na-din NIDBA šê DINGIR.MEš GAL.MEš
/ [. . . . ] ū1 kit-ti pa-ri-is ES.BAR
     šê DINGIR.MEš ŠEŠ.MEš-šû / [. . . . ] X-ma di-nî dî1(ki)-
in ES.BAR-a-a TAR-us
K). [. . . . . . . ] ū1 kit-ti1 [pa1-r[i]-a]1 [ES1.BAR1]-a
     šê [DINGIR1].[
M). mu-u[š- . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 41
šutta šê ina mûšî an-nê-e a-mu-ru :
j). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] ina GE6 an-ni-i a-mu-ru :
K). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
M). MÂŠ.[ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 42
pal-ha-ku-ma ad-ra-ku-ma šu-ta-du-ra-ku
A). pal-ha-ku-ma ad-ra-ku šu-ta-du-ra-ku
K). pal-ha1(š1)-ki u ad-ra-ku-ma šu-ta1[du-ra1]-[ ]
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 43

dam-qat ma-a du-muq-šá ell ia-ší likšud ma-a ki-ma kur-ba-an-ni šá
ina pān-ka

A). dam-qat ma-a du-muq-šá UGU ia-ší KUR
   ma-a ki-ma LAG šá ina IG1-ka

j). dam-qat ma-a SIG5-šá ana muhhi([UGU]-ia / [.....])
   ma(lis)-a GIM LAG šá ina IG1-ka

K). [ -šá! (a) ina! ] muh-hi-ia 'X-id'
   ma kur-ba-an-ni

M). 'dam1-[ ] / ina IG1-ka! [.....]
    .........

LINE 44

ana mē ad-du-u ina mē [lilm-ma-hi-ih lip-pa-sis u lih₄-ih-har-miṭ
'TU61 ÉN

A). ana A.MEŠ ad-du-u ina A.MEŠ lip-pa-sis
   lih₄-har-miṭ 'TU61 ÉN

j). ana A.MEŠ SUB-ú / [ lilm-ma-hi-ih lip-pa-sis u
   li-ih-har-miṭ TU61 ÉN

K). [ -dlu-u ina A.MEŠ lip-pa-sis u
   lih₄-har-< > 'TU61 ÉN!/EN]

LINE 45

KA.INIM.MA šutti lemutti pašari DÙ.DÙ.BI1 kur-ba-ni ba-li-'ti'

A). KA.INIM.MA MÄŠ.GE₆ HUL-ti BÚR DÙ.DÙ.BI1(TA)
   kur-ba-ni ba-li-'ti'

K). [ -ti BÚR-ri KÍD.'KÍD1.[B]1
   kur-ba-an-ni

M). KA.INIM.[[GE₆] []
   ] / ba-[li]-[ ]}
LINE 46

teleqqi ſipta sebâ ana muhhi tamannu-ma ana mè tanaddi-ma ſuttu pašir

A). Ti-qí ÉN 7.TA.AM ana UGU ŠID-nu-ma ana A.MEŠ ŠUB-ma
MĄŞ.GEş BÚR-ir

[ . . . . . . . . ] 'X' [(X)] 'X šé/ha' a ri

M). Ti! (AN)-'qí' [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ] /
şunāte(MĄŞ.G[Eş.M]EŞ) [ . . . . . . . . . . ]

LINE 45a

j!0). [KA.İNIM].MA HUL MĄŞ.GEş SIGs.GA.KEş

LINE 46a

j). [DŮ.DŮ.BI kirbān(LAG) (X)] teleqqi(Ti-qí) ſipta(EN) šalāšīšu
(3-šū) ana muhhi(UGU) tamannu(ŠID-nu) ana nāri(İD) tanaddi
(ŠUB)-ma NAM.BÜR'.BI(over erasure)

LINE 47

en āš bûr-bi bal-bi ur-šē i-gi-bi

A). en āš bûr-bi bal-bi ur-šē i-gi-bi

N). [ ] ball.bi[i

LINE 48

şunat et-šū-lu lumne šāru lit-bal

A). MĄŞ.GEş et-šū-.lu HUL İM lit-bal

N). [ ] HUL İ[M

LINE 49

KA.İNIM.MA lumun šutti lemutti pašâri

A). KA.İNIM.MA HUL MĄŞ.GEş HUL-ti BÚR

N). [ ] MĄŞ.GEş [ ]
LINE 50
DÜ.DÜ.BI u₄-um šutta e-mu-ru la-am šēp-šū ana qaqqari iškunu
A). DÜ.DÜ.BI u₄-um MĀŠ.GE₆ e-mu-ru la-am GIR-šū ana KI GAR-[nl]u
N). [ -ulm MĀŠ.GE₆ e-mu-ru {a- }

LINE 51
ṭābāta inaqqi šēp-šū ana qaqqari išakkan lumun šutti pašrat
A). A.GEŠTIN.NA BAL-qi GIR-šū ana KI GAR-an HUL MĀŠ.GE₆ BŪR-[alt
N). [ ] BAL-qi GIR-šū ana KI GAR-a[n

LINE 52
ÉN immer mé-he-e patar šāri ṭa-ab-hu ik-ka-lu mi-tu-tu
A). ÉN UDU.NITA mé-he-e GIR IM ṭa-ab-hu ik-ka-lu
mi-tu-tu
f). [ -alb-hu ik-k{l[ a-

N). [ [ ) .NITA mé-he-e GIR IM [ ] / [ ]-ka-[l[u
-tlu-ti

LINE 53
u šu-nu ik-ka-lu šārumma šutta šē ina mūši an-né-e a-mu-ru
A). [ ] šu-nu ik-ka-lu IM-um-ma MĀŠ.GE₆ šē ina GE₆ an-né-e
a-mu-ru
f). [ MĀŠ.GE₆ šē {i-[na

N). u šú-nu ik-k{l[ a-

[ ]

LINE 54
ki-ma na-kap šēpi-ia ana a-si-di-ia la i-qar-ri-bu šutta
A). ki-ma na-kap GIR-ia ana a-si-di-ia la i-qar-ri-bu
MĀŠ.GE₆
N). [ ]-ma na-kap [ ]-{si-di-ia} {l[a ]
[ ] GE₆
LINE 55
šā a-mu-ru la ʾṭehham-ma la i-qar-ri-ba TU6 ĖN
A). šā a-mu-ru la TE-am-ma la i-qar-ri-ba TU6 ĖN
N). šā a-imul-r[u

LINE 56
KA. INIM MA MĀŠ. GE6 HUL SIGš. DA. KE4
A). KA. INIM. MA MĀŠ. GE6 HUL SIGš. DA. KE4
N). [KA]. INIM. MA MĀŠ. . ]

LINE 57
DŪ. DŪ. BI šēp-šu šā idzi ni-lu ina qaqqari um-mad šipta šalāšīšu
imannu-ma
A). DŪ. DŪ. BI GĪR-šū šā A ni-lu ina KI um-mad ĖN 3-šū
šID-nu-ma
N). DŪ. DŪ. BI! GĪR! (šū) -šū šā [Ā X]1 [ ]

LINE 58
ana idzi-šu šanī iibelakkat-ma [lul]mun-šu ippeṭṭar
A). ana Ā-šū 2-i BAL-ma [H]UL-šū DÚš
N). ana Ā-šū 2-i BAL-ma [ ]

LINE 59
šūmmu šutta ina libbi šutti Imur-ma. ip-šur l’am-ma right damqat u pašrat
A). DIŠ MĀŠ. GE6 ina ŠÀ MĀŠ. GE6 IG1-ma ip-šur l’am-mar ŠAš X
X X1
N). DIŠ MĀŠ. GE6 ina ŠÀ MĀŠ. GE6 IG1-ma i[p- ] / u
BÜR-st

LINE 60
ana damiqti u lemutti NU [X X]
A). ana SIGš u HUL NU [X X]
N). ana SIGš u H[UUL ]
LINE 61
šamma amēlu šunāti pār-da-a-te ʾit-ʾul šunātu-shū ana lemutti šaḵna-[šū]
A). DIŠ NA MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ pār-da-a-te ʾit-ʾul MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ-shū ana HUL
       GAR-[šū]
N). DIŠ NA MĀŠ.GEš.MEŠ pār-da-a-ti ʾi[ṭ-]

LINE 62
A). lumun([HUL])-ši-na <ana> pašāri(BŪR) ʿa na amēli(NA) la ṯehē
       (TE-e) zēr(NUMUN) ʿu būšāni(HAB) ʿatāʾiša(KUR,[KUR])

LINE 63
A). šamma pešā([Ū.BABBAR]) ṣābat(MUN) eme-sal-li ina [KUŠ]

LINE 64
A). šamma([DIŠ]) amēlu(NA) šunāti([MĀŠ.GEš].MEŠ) pār-da-te [ṭ-]
       ʾṭul

LINE 65

LINE 66
A). kibrīta([IŠ10].[TU4]) ila [KUŠ]

LINE 67
A). šamma([DIŠ]) [KIMIN] (i.e., line 64) hasab(LA) [peši(NUNUZ)]
       lurmi([GĀ.NU1]).MUŠEN mušaʾʾirāna([NE.ZA1.ZA] arqa([SIG7])

LINE 68
A). parzīla(AN.BAR) kaspā([KŪ.BABBAR]) hurāša(KŪ.GI) sīḵāt([KU.KU]
       GIŠušī([ES1]) ina [KUŠ]
ADRC - Transliteration

Column IV

LINE 1
A). [ . . .] a'ā ṣā GISMA NAṣṣadānumaKA'.GI.(NA) gābita(DAB)
   aban(NAṣ) ga-bi-ri

LINE 2
A). [ū]tār-muš ru’tīta(ŪH.īTU4) ina kuš

LINE 3

LINE 4
A). aban(NAṣ) ga-bi-
   usikilla(SIKIL) Ṽilišan kalbi(EME.UR.GI7) ina kuš

LINE 5
NAṣṣad-PU-u NAṣṣah-hu-ū abān balṭi abān lamass
A1). NAṣṣ-PU-u 'sah-hu-l-ū UR dLAMMA
B1). eṣ-PU-u sah-hu-u UR dLAMMA
C1). NAṣṣ-PU-ū1 NAṣṣah-hu-īū1

LINE 6
NAṣṣad-NU gābīta NAṣṣerf zikari ina rikis kitī tāšakkak
A). [ ]-nu1 DAB.BA NAṣṣURUDU NĪTA ina DUR 'GADA' Ė-ak
A1). NAṣṣKUR-NU DAB
B1). KUR-NU [DA]B
C1). [NAṣṣ1]

LINE 7
[N]AṣṣNĪG. URUDU1. UD abnē šunāti 'dāl'-'ha-a-ti dummuqi
A). [N]AṣṣNĪG. URUDU1. UD NAṣṣMEŠ MAŠGEŠ MEŠ 'dāl'-'ha-a-ti SIGs
A1). 5 NAṣṣ MAŠGEŠ MEŠ pār-de-te
C1). [ ] MEŠ [ ]
LINE 8

LINE 9
A). [X (X)]-ša-ti1 ka-ti-mu nu-ul-la-a-te

LINE 10
A). [mur]-te-ed-ul-ú1 lumun(HUL) ka-tim-ti mu-ši ur-ri

LINE 11
A). [A]IN?.[ZAG.GAR.RA] lemutti(HUL) te-šu1-ša ana damiqti
(WiSIGs) tIrRa(GUR-ra)

LINE 12
A). [X (X)]  X mim-mu-ú1 te-pu-ša ana damiqti([MiSIGs])
te-e-ri

LINE 13
A). [UGU?] -ni di1Šamaš(UTU) [li-da]-mi-[i]q UGU?1-ni 4Marduk
lidammiq(HÉ.[ŠA6])

LINE 14
A). [X-šu? šipta(ÉN) an-ni-tú ana muhi(UGU) me-eli(UGU) tak-ši-
ri tamannu(ŠID)-ma ina kišādi([GÚ1]-šú tašakan(GAR-an)

LINE 15
A). [ . . . ] [X1 šunšti(MÁŠ.GE6.MEŠ) šu-te-qi û ter-[muš1 imbū
tāmti(KA.A.AB.BA)]

LINE 16
A). [ . . . ni-kilp-tú zikar(NITA) u sinniš(MÍ) ina KUŠ
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 17
A). [lumun(HUL) idāti(Ă).MEŠ] ittāti(GISK.I.MEŠ) ana1 amēli('NA1)
innie(lāt f ('TE.E.DE1) qān šalāli(GI.ŠUL.HI)

LINE 18
A). [hi-pi] 'esū àš GEŠ NA4ajarta(FA1) ūimbur(IGI)-lim imbū
tamti(KA.A.AB.1BA1) ina KUŠ

LINE 19
A). [hil-pi] esū ha bu ūharmuna(HAR.HUM.BA.ĪŠIR1) ūêda(DIL)I
zēr(NUMUN) ūēdi(DIL) ina KUŠ

LINE 20
A). hi-pi esū ūêda(DIL); ūel-kul-łącz̄a(NINNIS) imbū tamti
(KA.Ă1.AB.BA) ina 'KUŠ

LINE 21
[i lu-šu pa-ti-X GIM?1] ina muhhi?-šū 'ana tehē : DÜ.DÜ.BI nignaq
šimburāši ina bi'ti parsi
A). 'DINGIR-šu pa-ti-X GIM?1 ina 'UGU?1-šū 'ana TE-e1 :
NĪG.NA [SIM]LI ina É TAR-si
P3'). DÜ.DÜ.BI
NĪG.NA GIŠLI ina É TAR-si
D11). [NĪG.NA SIMLI X1 u ((X)) TAR( f bi1)-si1(ad)

LINE 22
ana (D1: mahar) ili-šū u dištari-šū tašakken-me šikāre (rēštā)
tanaqqi kam taqabbi
A). ana 'DINGIR1-šū X1 ū dištari( ĖŠ1.Š.ΤΑR?1)-šū GAR-fan?1
'X1 ū URs.GIM1 DUG4.GA
P). ana DINGIR-šu / u 'XV-šū GAR-me
kam DUG4.GA
D1). IG1 DINGIR-šū GAR-an /
[K]IAŠ.SAG 'BAL URs1.GIM DUG4.GA
LINE 23
én dingir.mu hé silim.ma.mu ama dinanna.mu hé silim.ma.mu [nig dug].
 ga mu du 1 h e gub
A) (én) 'dingir.mu hé silim.ma.mu 'ama dinanna.mu
 hé silim.ma.mu [nig dug].ga mu du 1 h e gub
D1) (én) 'dingir.m[u] 'hé silim.m[1]lma.mu / 'ama inanna.mu
 [ ] 'silim[1].ma.mu
E1) (é) 'dingir.mu 'hél silim.m[u] / 'ama dinanna.mu
'hé silim.ma.mu / 'al zi da dingir.mu [hél silim.ma.mu

LINE 24
igi mu ama dinanna mu hé gub : igi din urta lugal šiš[tukul] ke4
hé gub
A) 'X X X X dinanna.mu hé.gub: igi din urta
 [ tukul] ke4 hé.gub
D1) (ig) 'ama.d11[ ] 'hél gub / [ig]l d1[ ] šiš[tukul] [kle4 hé.gub
E1) (ig) mu ama dinanna mu 'mul hé.gub / igi(bar) din urta
lugal šiš[tukul] ke4 hé.gub

LINE 25
inim inim nu dug ga mu inim nu silim ma : a [n]a ia a ši re ša ša ninl-
ma dá li li ku nu lud lu l [TU6] ÉN
A) (inim inim nu dug ga mu inim 'nu silim .ma : 'ana
 ia ši [ru ša] -li li ku nu [lud]-lu l
P1) ( [ ] 'dug ga mu inim nu [ ] / 'ana
 ia ši re ša ninl (du) -ma 'dá li li ku < [lud] - [ ]
D1) ( [ ] inim nu si ša / [ ]
-lil li ku nu lu d lu l
E1) (inim inim nu dug ga mu 'inim nu silim ma / a [n]a
 ia a ši re ša ša ninl -ma / 'dá lil li ku nu [lud]-lu l
'TU6' ÉN

LINE 25a
D17) (X) 'X [ . . . . . . . ] 'X1 nam ba te gé dé
LINE 25b
D_{1}). \([X] \{X\} \{ \ldots \} \{t\} i \{X\}

LINE 25c
D_{1}). \([X] \{X X\} \{X\} \{X \text{ ta}\?\} \text{ ma } \{X X\}

LINE 25d
D_{1}). \{\text{sipta(EIN)} \text{ tamannu(\{\text{SID}\}-nu)} \text{ il} \text{ naa} \text{ kiS\text{di}-\text{yu}(\text{G\text{U}.BA}) \text{ taS\text{akkan}([GAI]R)}

LINE 26
šašš\text{ši}š\text{šu an} p\text{ān} n\text{i}g\text{naqqi} \text{ tamannu-ma} k\text{i}m\text{a} n\text{i}g\text{naqqu} k\text{urr\text{mat}-su
uqtatt\text{ū} ina šum\text{ēli}-ka ina q\text{ē} ina T\text{ūg} s\text{issikti}-ka
A\text{).} \{3\?-šū\?\} \{1\} \{\text{IG}I\} \{\text{NIG} \text{NA} \text{ SID\text{-nu} ma \text{ GIM} \text{ NIG} \text{NA} \text{ ŠUKU-su TI\text{-u} ina } \{X \text{ ina GU}\?\} \{1\} \{\text{TUG} \text{SIG}1(\{\text{SIG-}
šū\})-ka\} \{(\text{KE\text{ŠDA)}\}
P\text{4').} \ 3\?-šū an\{a \text{IG}I \text{ NIG} \text{NA} / \text{ SID-ma \text{ GIM} \text{ NIG} \text{NA} \text{ ŠUKU-su TI\text{-u} ina GÜB-ka} / \text{ ina GU ina TUGSIG\text{-ka}

LINE 27
\text{tara-kas qanā ţāba tasāk ina šaman GÎŠ surmēnī tapass\text{sa}\text{s}su-ma : ki-e-am 
a\text{aq\text{abbi}
A\text{).} \{X X\} \{\text{G}I\} \{\text{DUG.GA} \} \{> \text{ ina i+G}I\text{ GÎŠSUR.MIN} \\text{ŠEŠ})(\{\text{SIG}1\})\text{-su} : \text{ ki-e-am } [\text{DIUG}4.GA]
\text{ P\text{1').} \text{tara-kaS G}I \text{ DUG.GA SÜD / ina } \text{ GÎŠSUR.MIN \text{EŠ.MEŠ-su-ma kam } \text{DUG}4.GA

\text{. Page 355}
LINE 28
EN ana ili mi-na-a e-pu-uš : ana dištarī mi-na-a ah-ṭi : ilu-ias iz-nu-u itti-ias
A) [DINGIR-'MU mi1-n[a]-a1 e-pu-[uš] :
[diEš18.TĀR.MU mi-na-a ah-ṭi : DINGIR-ias iz-n[u ]
K[1]-[ias]
P) EN ana DINGIR.MU mi-na-a DŪ-uš ana
[diXV.MU mi-na-a ah-ṭi / DINGIR-ias iz-nu-u
K[1]-ias
D1 13). EN ana DINGIR.MU mi-na-a DŪ-uš / ana
[ili(DINGIR.MU) mi-na-a ah-ṭi
E1) [ÉN] a-na DINGIR.MU m[il-na-a e-p[uš] / ana
[diÉš].TAR.'MU mi-na-a ah-[ ] DINGIR-ias iz-nu-[u]
K[1]-ia

LINE 29
diš-tar-ias is-bu-su eli-ia muruṣ lib-bi-ia lim-ṭa-ma dā-li-li-ku-nu lud-lul TU6 EN
A) [diEš18.TĀR-ia1 < >-b[u]-su UGU-ias GIG ŚA-ias
[lim-ṭa]-ma dā-li-li-ku-nu lud-lul
P) [diXV-ias is-bu-su UGU-ia / GIG ŚA-ia
lim-ṭa]-ma dā-li-li-ku-nu lud-lul
D1). [GIG lib-bi-ia
lim-ṭa-ma dā-li-li-ku-nu lud-lul
E1). diš-tar-ias l[i]-bu-su UGU-ia / GIG lib-bi-ia
lim-ṭa-ma / dā-li-li-ku-n[u] lud-lul TU6 ÉN

LINE 30
an-nam šalāšīšu taqabbi-ma tanāl-ma šutta damiqta tammar
A) 3-[ DU1G4.Ga1-ma N[ā- ] MÂŠ.GEš SIGš ]-mar
P) 3-[šu DUG4.GA-ma NÁ-ma MÂŠ.GEš SIGš IGI-mar
E1) an-nam [31-šu DUG4.GA-ma / NÁ-ma MÂŠ.GEš SIGš IGI-mar

LINE 30a
D1 16). [a)n-nam šalāšīšu(3-šu) tamannu(šID1) ](X) X X1 [X X1]-ma
ADRC - T r a n s l i t e r a t i o n

L IN E 3 0 b
Di ) .

rx i

ana n a r i ( I D )

rxi

ul

rx i

EX]

t a n a d d i CSUB- d i ) - ma a n a p a n i IG I )

rx i

ECX) ]

ite h h e (T E )

L IN E 31
A ).

r x S IL IM

ei

E .....................................................D U lG 4 ? . r GA? i

L IN E 32
A ).

D1NEGIR X ]

rx X X i

E ..............................................................]

rx i

L IN E 3 3
A ).

rx i

EX X ]

rx i

C ......................................... ]

t a q a b b i C D U G * . G A ) - * ma'

L IN E 34
A ).

E .....................................t i l — r a

k i-M a d -k li

rsi

ta sl - b u - s i

e li

( r U G U i) - r i a s 1

L IN E 35
A ).

E ................................................ m l u

Zu l

a-m ur^-m a

e -ti-it-e q

L IN E 3 6
A ).

E .

.

.

zh i l - r a

i I T C3>lN<rlR-MU)

sa

itti(KI ) -i]as

r safal -sE u? 3 u - u l h -

p a -n i-k a

L IN E 37
A ).

Ed i s £ar7 *(E S i 8 .TA R . MtX}

sae l - z i - Z z i " 1 I C i l - Z n u - u h l

k a b -ta -

a tl ( ah')

Page

357


LINE 38
én dingir.mu šaš.gu mu.'un¹.túm.a ī dingir.mu sag.kal pa.ē an.ta.gál
A). [ m]u.'un¹.túm.[ ] ī dingir.mu sag.kal pa.ē an.ta.gál
P). én dingir.mu šaš.gu mu.túm.a dingir.mu sag.kal pa.ē / an.ta.gál
Q). én dingir.mu šaš.gu mu.'un¹.[ ] / dingir.mu sag.kal pa.ē dingir<.mu> sag.kal pa.ē

LINE 39
dingir.mu še.gu.še.gu īa-a-ši ī d'ma. mù dingir.ma. m. ud.kè4
A). [ g]a īa[-a-š]ī ī d'ma.mù
P). dingir.mu še.gu.še.gu īa-a-ši ī d'ma.mù / dingir.ma. m. ud.kè4
Q). dingir.mu še.gu.še.gu īa-ši ī d'ma.mù
c. ma. m. ud.kè4

LINE 40
dingir.mu inim še.gu.še.gu ū.tu.ud.da én
A). [ š]e.g[al.š[e. ] ū.tul(;) ud.da pa.ē
P). dingir.mu inim še.gu / še.gu ū.tu.ud.da én
Q). dingir.mu inim še.gu.še.gu tu.ud.da én

LINE 41a
Q). KA.INIM.MA itūli (NÁ)-ma il(a(DINGIR) šutta(MÁŠ.GEg) damiqta (SIGs) šub-re-e
LINE 41b

DÛ.DÛ.BI ina muhhi Gîšeri šipta šalâšîšu tamanmu-ma i-na rëši-ka (A: rëš erši-ka) tašakkan Üatā'îsha ina TÜG sisṣîkî-ka tarakkas tanâl-ma šutta damiqtu tammar

A). [ ] ŠID-nu-ma i[na S1AG
GIš.NÂ-ka GAR-an ÜKUR.KUR ina TÜGÎG-ka KEŠDA
P). KA.INIM.MA ina UGU GÎšMA.NU ŠID-MA i-na SAG-ka
GAR-an / X ÜKUR.KUR ina TÜGÎG-ka KEŠDA
Q). DÛ.DÛ.BI ina UGU GÎšMA.NU ÊN 3-šû ŠID-nu-ma / i-na SAG-ka
GAR-an ÜKUR.KUR ina TÜGÎG-ka KEŠDA / NÂ-ma
MÂš.GE6 SIGs-tu4 IGI-mar

LINE 42

én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-na a-ra-tu è a-ra-ba-tu è
A). [ ]-ba hu1-ul(b)-ba ab-na a-ba-tu è a-ra-ba-tu è
Pr1). én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-na / a-ra-tu è a-ra<-tu è
Q). én hu-ub-ba hu-ub-ba ab-na a-ra-ba-te e a-ra-ba-te è

LINE 43

dîştirî . ina už-zi ha-am-mat : dîştirî MIN : dîştirî

A). [ ] ha-am-mat : d1Es18.TâR.Mû
MIN : d1Es18.TâR.Mû
P). dXV ina už-zi1(mu) ha-mat KIMIN
KIMIN
Q). d1Es18.TâR.Mû ina už-zi ha-f am1 -mat11 MIN
MIN

LINE 44

KA.INIM.MA šib-sat dîştirî ana amēli nu-uh-hi
A). [ ] MA Šib[-] [ ] d1Es18.TâR ana LÚ nu-uh-hi
Q). KA.INIM.MA šib-sat d1Es18.TâR ana NA là ûehê(TE-e)
ADRC - Transliteration

LINE 45
DÜ.DÜ.BI si-i-ra īgāri šá ṣīt šāmši
A). [ ] 'BI' si-i-ra IZ.Zi šá dUTU.È
P). DÜ.DÜ.BI še-ra É.GARš > ḏereb šāmši(UUTU.ŠU.A)
Q). DÜ.DÜ.BI si-i-ri É.GARš šá dUTU.ŠU.A)

LINE 46
teleqqi kirbān ūābti ana müh-hi ta-sár-raq šipta sebīšu] tamannu
A). [ ] 'MUN'] ana müh-hi ta-sár-raq ĖN ŠID-nu
P). TI-qi LAG MUN ina UGU DUB
Q). [ ] / 'X' [ ] UGU. 'ta'-sa'-raq ĖN 7-[šū ]

LINE 47
ina še-pit erši-ka tāšakkan-ma NAM.BÜR.BI
A). [ ] GIš.R GIš.NA'-ka GAR-ma 'NAM'.BÜR-ma
P). ina še-pit GIš.NA'-ka GAR-ma NAM.BÜR.BI

Colophon Of Manuscript A, Column IV Lines 48-57
48). [ţuppy(DUB) =]d]Nabû(AG)-ša-l-im Lūšamallû(ŠAGANAX.LÁ) șehri (TUR)
49). [X] 'X X te TŪM] dNabû(AG) ţupṣar(DUB.SAR) É-sag-īla
50). [X] 'X DA'.MEŠ li-šim ši-mat-su
51). [na]-a| an'-nab-su ina p(KA) nišē(UN.MEŠ) lu-še-li
52). [d Taš-me-tul]m na-ram-ti̇ dMarduk(ŠÁ.ZU1(Ģi))
53). [la na-par]-' kal-a lemutta(ŶI[HUL1]-šū li-tas-qar
54). [d Gu/la 'a-zu'-gal-ša-tu4 É-kur
55). [ ... ] 'X X] ina zumri('SU1)-šū lil'-ir-ku-us'-ma
56). [li-ilr-tap-pu-da ka-'ma'-a-tû]
57). ša lim-mu =]Aš-sur-[ba]-ni(šaq) [LŪ1 šā-f kin UUR1 Kal-t̄ ha]
Colophon Of Manuscript N, Lines 16'-8'

16'). ṣumma(DiŠ) amēlu(NA) Ŝunāṭi(MAš.GEš.MEŠ) pár-da-a-ti i[t-ṭul]
17'). DUB.10.Kām iškar(Ē[Š.G]AR) f4zi-[qi-qi]
18'). ēkal(KUR) m Aššur(AN.ŠAR)-bān(DU)-a[pli(A) šar₄ Kiššati (ŠU) šar₄ māt(KUR) Aššur(Aš)KU]
OBVERSE

Column 1

1). [If a man] - dream ......... [ . . .]..

2). [ . . . . ] . . should stay like that for a <whole> day, and on the second day . [ . . . ] at night?

3). You moisten [a dressing in . . ?], (and) you place (it) on his forehead.


5). You stir (the wood) [into] beer and oil before Shamash. Before he has placed his foot upon the ground,

6). . it/him, and it is the dissolving of the bad dream. Its evil will not come near to (i.e., affect) the man.

7). If a man has seen an incorrect dream

8). [ . . . . ] their . his forehead, before he has placed his foot upon the ground,

9). [without having] eaten, he himself says as follows: "The dream which I saw

10). is favourable [before] Sin and Shamash. It is favourable, and it is favourable. It is favourable."

11-2). [Thus] he says, and (in this way) [he] makes a favourable oracular utterance for himself. His dream will not come near to him.

12a). If ditto (i.e., lines 7-8): Before sunrise [ . . . . .]

12b). the man upon his bed at night? [ . . . . . . .]

12c). he must set out a censer. [Cheap scented] flour [ . . . to . . .]

12d). he must recount. He must [speak] as follows: "[ . . . . . . . . . . . . .]

12e). it is favourable like (the dream) [which] I saw [ . . . . . . . .]

12f). in . . . [ . . . . . . .]

12g). and the dream to [ . . . . . . .]

13). [If a man] saw an incorrect dream: Without having eaten

14). [ . . . . .] . . he recounts to a reed. He burns (the reed) <in> a fire.

16). [. . . . . ] . . . to [his] personal deity he turned, and he recounted

17). [ . . . . . ] . . . . . . . he binds, and he encloses, and

18). [ . . . . . ] . . . . . . . it will obstruct the path?) to that man.

19). [ . . . . . ] . [ . ] . [ ( . )] . . he became worried, and that <man> called out

20). [ . . . . . ] . in] the early [morning], (while) the door detains him (i.e., before he leaves the house),

21). [ . . . . . ] . . he wraps, and he soaks (it in) oil.

22). [ . . . . . ] . . he kindles a fire. The dream

23). [ . . . . . ] . . he recites over a thorn thus:

24). [Incantation: "O Girra" . . . . . ] . . . the strong (and) the powerful (one?)

25). [ . . . . . ] . . . all of the ill-boding omen(s)

26). [ . . . . . ] in order to bind, and . . . .

27). [ . . . . . . ] . [ . ] . . . . its evil? will be separated (from the dreamer).

28). [ . . . . . ] . he became worried about it, and . . .

29). [ . . . . . . . ] . . . his right

30). [ . . . . . . . ] . . . may . .

31). [ . . . . . . ] . . . [ ( . )] . . . [ . ] . . . his right?


33). [ . . . . . . . ] .

34). [ . . . . . . ] . . . change its appearance! Destroy its descendant(s)!

35). [ . . . . . . ] . . and in catastrophe he has misfortune.

36). [ . . . . . . ] heaven (and) earth an omen? such as? a bad dream?

37). [ . . . . . ] which during the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch
38). [........] this dream from the body of this man
39). [........]........ from the body of . . . . and
40). [........] the evil of the dream . . . from my body
41). [may it (the evil) be 3,600 'miles' (lit., double hours) distant!]
   May it not return to me!" You snap that reed into two.
42). [........] the evil of the dream you recall before Shamash.
43). [........] O Shamash, this dream before you
44). [........] its (the dream's) evil
45). will not come [near .............] . .  . . .
46). [........]......
47). [........].............. which is loosened
48). like [.] . . . [........] is dissolved?, and?
49). before . . . (personal) goddess . [........] to . (personal)
goddess
50). you pray, and [.....] exists for him.
51). If [the saw] a dream, and became worried at its ill portent [ . .
52). "O Clod! [ . . ] all of the evil of the dream . [........] .
53). [you] recite over [it (the clod)], and [before] Shamash [ . . .
54). just as
   you? will [ . . ] like the clod in water you? will . . [ . . .
55). [ . . . ] O Shamash, the decision(s)? [ . ( . ) of (the
   regions)] above [and below]
56). as many as [.] . . . [ ( . )] . . . (. ) [.............]
57). to . . . . . [ . . . ] Nusku [ . . . . . . .]
58). (...) (. ) you prostrate yourself (before) Shamash. To Ea
   and the god [ . . . . . . .]
59). and before . . . you pray . . and? (( . )) ( . ) .
60). "O Utu, you are the . . of heaven and earth, the governor? of
   the lands!
61). . Utu . . . the hearer of the word . [ . . ].
62). You are the judge! You [are] (my) judge!
63). You are the maker of the oracular decision(s)! [You are] the maker of the oracular decision(s) [concerning me]!
64). The bad dream is my property, [my] unpleasant thing.
65). May its . be destroyed like a clod thrown into water!"

Incantation: "O Utu, you are the judge of heaven and earth! [Excited]
((You are) ditto (i.e., the judge) of] the lands! <You are> the judge! My words
[. . .] . . . my unpleasant thing . . . .
68). my [. . .], my bad dream, my ill-health
70). like the clod . . . they <will> return to their places (i.e., leave me alone)"

Incantation formula.

71). Its ritual: You lift up (in) your hand a lump from a wall which is situated in the west,
72). you recite the (above) incantation three times over (the lump) before Shamash. You throw (the lump) into the river. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

73). [Incantation: "O Utu], you are the foremost judge to pass judgement!
74). You are the maker of [the oracular decision(s)]! You are the maker of the oracular decision(s) concerning me!
75). Make [the dream] which I saw stand for good luck!
76). May I prosper! May I obtain a friend!
77). May [the event(s)] of my [day(s)] be favourable!"

78). [ . . ] . . . you recite (lit., raise) (this) ŠU.ILLÁ-incantation to Shamash. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.
Incantation: "[O Clod!] O Clod, in the part of you (which)
is pinched off, part of me is pinched off (E: myself),

1). (and) in the part of me (which) is pinched off (is) [your]
    pinched-off piece (E: yourself).

2-3). O Clod, the evil of the dream which I saw, which I repeatedly
    saw (during) the first watch (of the night), the middle watch,
    (or) the third watch - (in) which I saw my dead father; (or in)
    which I saw my dead mother;

4). (or in) (which I saw) a god; (or in) which I saw the king; (or in)
    which I saw an important person; (or in) which I saw a prince;
    (or in) which I saw a dead person; (or in) which I saw a living
    person;

5). (or in) which I saw/experienced knowledge (of something) I did
    not know/understand; (or in) which I went to an unknown land;
    (or in) which I repeatedly ate unknown bread;

6). (or in) which I was dressed in an unfamiliar garment - just as I
    will throw you (O Clod) into the water, and

7). you will be soaked, you will disintegrate, [you] will be fragmented,
    (with the result that) you will not return to your place (i.e.,
    become a clod again);

8). (so) may the evil of this dream which I saw be thrown into
    water just like you!

9). May it be soaked! May it disintegrate! May it be fragmented!
    [May it not return] to its place (i.e., return to me!)

10). May it cross the river! May it cross over the mountain! May it
    (be) detach(ed) from me! May it [........]!

11). May it ascend to heaven like smoke! May it be as unable to
    return (lit., not return) to its place [as] an uprooted tamarisk!

12). May the tamarisk purify me! May the maštakal-plant absolve
    me!

13). May the 'offshoot' of the date palm purify me! May the river
    receive (the evil of the dream) from me!
14). May (the river) give its aura to me, and may it carry off [the evil]! O Shamash, (regarding) the dream which I saw,
15). may it be favourable! O Shamash, may the dream which I saw be reliable!
16). O Shamash, turn the dream which I saw into good luck!"

17). Its ritual: You recite the (above) incantation three times over either a lump of salt or over a lump of clay.

18). You throw (the lump) into the river (E: water). The evil of the dream will not come near to the man.


21). Incantation rubric: (It is the text in order) not to see a frightening dream.

22–3). Its ritual: You make four clay figurines, male and female. You recite the (above) incantation over (them) seven times. (Then) you place (them) at your head (when lying down).

24). If a man sees frightening dreams, or he cannot recall a bad dream:
25). his personal goddess ...(.) and his hand ...(.) to the heart of his personal god
26). ............. On the twenty-eighth day
27). [. . . ] day you go out to the open country. You set out a censer of juniper before his personal god.
28). The sufferer sets out a censer before the kušāru, and you speak as follows:

29). Incantation: "O Utu, the foremost of the gods! O Utu, the manifest!
30). O Utu, the king of heaven and earth, the king of the Anunnaki!
31). O Utu, the mighty hero, the king of the Igigi!
32-3). O Utu, [may] the ēru-wood, the mighty weapon of the gods, cleanse (me) before you!

34). May my personal god stand at my right!

35). May my personal goddess stand at my left!

36). May he (the personal god) be present (lit., stand) before you in heaven and (on) earth!

37). May the (personal) god appoint (the apotropaic) nature of the ēru-wood!" Incantation formula.

38). You say (this incantation) three times, and you prostrate yourself. (Then) you withdraw, and you speak as follows before the kušāru:

39). Incantation: "May he (Enlil) appoint your (apotropaic) nature!

May he appoint your nature!

40). May Enlil appoint your nature! May Ninlil appoint [your] nature!

41). May Ninurta, the eldest son of Ekur, appoint your nature!

42). May Nusku, the grand vizier of Enlil, appoint your nature!

43). May Nanna (i.e., Sin), the king of Ur, appoint your nature!

44). May Utu, the king of The Land (i.e., Sumer), appoint your nature!

45). May Ishkur, the king of heaven and earth, appoint your nature!

46). May Asalluhi, the eldest son of the Apsu (i.e., of Ea), appoint your nature!

47). Become reconciled with me, O my personal god (and) my personal goddess!"

48-9). You say (this incantation) three times. During the day you place fumigants at your head. You pound an atālšu-plant (i.e., juniper) oil! You anoint him (with this mixture). You sprinkle kassû (mixed in) pure water.

50). You set out a censer [of juniper] before his personal god, and you say as follows:

51). Incantation: "O ēru-wood, [the mighty weapon] of the gods!


53). In order for my personal god <to go> at (my) right,
54). (and) my personal goddess <to go> at (my) left,
55). may (the ēru-wood) make the verdict (concerning me) well-disposed! [May it make] the oracular decision!" Incantation.

56). You say (this incantation) [three] times, and you prostrate yourself. You lie down, and a dream [.] and whatever
57). sin(s) he committed (against his personal deities) [ . . . . . ]

58). Incantation: "My dream is pleasant. My oracular utterance is favourable.
59). (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash. (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash.
60). (The dream) is favourable before Sin and Shamash. My dream is pleasant, (and) my oracular utterance is favourable. At your command, queen Ninlil,
61). without whom a: the oracular [decision(s) cannot be] decided, I established good luck.
62). May there be good luck! I placed (my) foot upon the ground. May there be good luck!
63). May (the events) of the day be favourable for me! May (the events) of the month be favourable for me! May (the events) of the year be favourable for me!
64). May he (my enemy) dissolve whatever he swore against me! May he who is angry with me become reconciled (lit., may (his wrath) be dispelled)! May he give (back) to me (that which) was taken away!
65). May one restore to me (whatever I lost) unknowingly!
66). I am (the servant) of the hero Marduk, the son of Ea. May (the evil of the dream) not obstruct me!
67). Should misfortune see me, (then) may it hide itself away!
68). May I not cross over from misfortune to calamity! O Marduk, the eldest son of the Apsu,
69). it is within your power to treat (me) kindly, and to make (things) favourable!
May you be adjured by the oath of heaven! May you be adjured by the oath of earth!"

Incantation rubric: It is (the text) to dissolve a bad dream.

REVERSE

Column III

1). Its ritual: When a man has seen a dream, before he has placed his foot upon the ground,
2). he washes his hands in alkali solution upon his bed.
3). He recites the (above) incantation three times. It (the dream) will be favourable.

3a). Its alternative ritual: You place your left foot upon the bed (and) your right foot upon the ground, and you recite the (above) incantation three times.

3b). [ . . . . .] second you wash your hands (in) a bowl three times [ . . . . .]
3c). [While] you are washing, you recount that dream into the water three times [ . . . . .]
3d). [ . . . . .] may it take (the dream's evil) from me! You wash your hands three times [ . . . . .]
3e). [While] you are washing your hands, you recite this incantation three times, and? . [ . . . . .]
3f). [ . . . . . . . . .] not evil [ . . . . . . .]
3g). [ . . . . . . . . .] and to your house [ . . . . . . .]

4-5). Incantation: "O Shamash, you are the judge! Judge my case!

6-7). You are the maker of the oracular decision(s)! You are the maker of the oracular decision(s) concerning me! (Akk.: Make the oracular decision regarding me)

8-9). Turn the dream which I saw into good luck!
10-1). May I prosper! May I obtain a friend!

12-3). O Shamash, may the event(s) of my day(s) be favourable!

14-5). O Shamash, may the event(s) of my month(s) be favourable!

16). [It] is the spell (lit., knot) for dissolving a bad dream.

17). You recite (this) ŠU.İLLÁ-incantation before Shamash. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

18). If a man saw a dream, (but) he cannot recall (it), or he did not see a dream:

19). You throw seven (or four) grains of the stāšu-plant onto (or in front of) a fire. You place (the fire?) at his head (while he is lying down). It (the dream) will be favourable.

20). Incantation: "O Shamash, you arose in the Cedar Mountain. The gods rejoice because of you, (and) mankind is pleased by you.

21). The haruspex brings you cedar (as an offering);

22). the widow cheap flour (or) cheap scented flour; the poor woman oil; (while) the rich man

23). brings a lamb from (amongst) his wealth.

24). (However,) I myself bring you a clod, a product of the Apsu.

25). O Clod, you are the product of the Apsu! In that (part) of me, (which) is pinched off,

26). part of you is pinched off, (and) in the part of you (which) is pinched off (is) my pinched-off piece.

27). In myself is mingled yourself, (and) in yourself is mingled myself.

28). [Just] as I will throw you, O Clod, into the water, and you will be soaked, you will disintegrate, (and)

29). you will be fragmented - (so) the evil [of the dream] which I saw during the night:

30). (in) which I saw a god; (or in) which I saw a king; (or in) which I saw an important person; (or in) which I saw a prince; (or in) which I saw a dead person; (or in) which I saw a living person;

31). (whether) I went to the right, (or) turned to the left (in my dream) -
32). may (the evil of the dream) fall into the water just like you (O Clod), and may it be soaked! May it disintegrate,
33). and may it be fragmented! O Ram Of The Storm, slaughter (the evil of the dream) with a sword of wind!
34). The dead eat (and) drink, (but) it is in the wind.
35). Just as the tip of the feet cannot approach the heel,
36). (so) the evil of the dream which I saw during the night cannot come near, (and) cannot approach me."

37-8). Incantation rubric: (It is the text for the person) who sees an obscure dream. Its ritual: You take a clod from (the region of) a closed door. You recite the (above) incantation three times over (the clod). You throw (the clod) into the water. Its (the dream's) evil will be dispelled.

39). Incantation: "O Ea, the king of the Apsu! The one who fashioned heaven and earth! The creator of mankind!
40). The drawer of the cosmic plans! The giver of the food offering(s) of the great gods! [. . . . ] and truth! The maker of the oracular decision(s) concerning the gods, his brothers! [. . . . ] and judge my case! Make the oracular decision concerning me!
41). (Following) the dream which I saw during this night (i.e., last night),
42). I am afraid, and I am worried, and I am constantly terrified.
43-4). (If my dream) is favourable, (then say:) 'May its good luck reach me!' (Otherwise, say:) 'May (the evil of the dream) be soaked like the clod which I throw into water before you (Ea)! May it disintegrate and may it crumble!"

45-6). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to dissolve a bad dream. Its ritual: You take a clod from the waste land. You recite the (above) incantation over (the clod) seven times, and you throw (it) into the water. The dream will be dissolved.
45a). [Incantation] rubric: It is (the text) to make a bad dream favourable.

46a). [Its ritual:] You take [a clod (of X)]. You recite the (above) incantation over (it) three times, and you throw (it) into the river. (This is) an apotropaic ritual.

47). Incantation: "To dissolve the curse ........

48). (Regarding) the dream which I saw, may the wind carry off (its) evil!"

49). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to dissolve the evil of a bad dream.

50). Its ritual: (On) the day which he saw the dream, before he has placed his foot upon the ground,

51). he libates vinegar. (Then) he places his foot upon the ground. The evil of the dream will be dissolved.

52). Incantation: "O Ram Of The Storm, slaughtered by a sword of wind! The dead eat,

53). and they eat, (but) it is in the wind. The dream which I saw during this night (i.e., last night) -

54). just as the tip of my foot cannot approach my heel (so the evil of) the dream

55). which I saw cannot come near to me, nor approach me." Incantation formula.

56). Incantation rubric: It is (the text) to make a bad dream favourable.

57). Its ritual: He presses (lit., leans) his foot of the side (upon) which he was lying (when he awoke) upon the ground. He recites the (above) incantation three times, and
58). he turns over to his other side. Its (the dream's) evil will be dispelled.

59). If he saw a dream within a dream, and he interpreted whatever was favourable or able to be interpreted -

60). (The dream) will not [affect him] for good or evil.

61). If a man saw frightening dreams, (and) his dreams inflict misfortune upon him:

62-3). (In order) to dissolve their evil, (so that) it will not come near to the man: You place seeds of the būšānu-plant, (pieces of) the atā'īšu-plant, 'the white plant', (and grains) of emesalli-salt in a leather bag around his neck.

64). If a man [saw] frightening dreams:

65-6). [You place] (pieces of) . . . the elkulla-plant, the elkulla-plant, (and) black sulphur in [a leather bag around his neck].

67-8). If ditto (i.e., line 64): [You place] an ostrich [egg]-shell, a green frog, (pieces of) iron, silver, (and) gold, (together with) ebony? powder in [a leather bag around his neck].

Column IV

1). [ . . . ] . . . magnetite, alum,

2). [lupin], (and) yellow sulphur you place in a leather bag around his neck.

3). You place (pieces of) 'the man-like'-plant, the elkulla-plant, (and of) the elkulla-plant in a leather bag around his neck.

4). You place (pieces of) alum, the sikillu-plant, (and) of 'the dog's tongue'-plant in a leather bag around his neck.

5-6). You thread (beads of) jasper, the sahhd-stone, the bāltu-stone, the lamassu-stone, magnetite, (and) of 'male' copper onto a flax thread,

7). (also) of the NĪG.URUDU.UD-stone: (these are all) stones to make confused dreams favourable.
8. [Incantation: "O the evil-doer, the one who cuts the throat!
The ruler of (lit., the one who constantly follows) darkness!]

9. [ . ( . ) . . the one concealed in vileness!]

10. The ruler of the hidden evil of night (and) day!

11. O Anzagar, turn to good luck the evil which you did to me (i.e.,
sending a bad dream!)

12. [O . (. ) (fem.) turn whatever you did to me into good luck!]

13. [ . ] . may Shamash make favourable! . . may Marduk make
favourable!"

14. You recite this incantation [(in times?)] over a leather bag
charm? (or) a stone necklace?, and you place (it) around his
neck.

15-6). (In order) to avert [ . . . . ] dreams: You place (pieces of)
lupin, imbū tāmti, [ . . . ] male and female nikiptu-(plant) in a
leather bag around his neck.

17-8). (In order that) (the evil of ominous happenings) (and) signs do
not come near to a man: You place (pieces of) the qān šalāli-
reed, New [break] . . ajartu-shell, the imhum-līm-plant, (and of)
imbū tāmti in a leather bag around his neck.

19. New break . . You place (pieces of) the harrmu-n-plant, the ēdu-
plant, (and) seeds of the ēdu-plant in a leather bag around his
neck.

20. New break You place (pieces of) the ēdu-plant, the elkullu-plant,
the ašlu-rush, (and of) imbū tāmti in a leather bag around his
neck.

21-2). His god . . . . to come near upon him. Its ritual: You set out
a censer of juniper to (Di: before) his personal god and to his
personal goddess in a separate room. You libate (first class)
beer. You speak thus:
Incantation: "May my personal god become reconciled with me!
May my personal goddess become reconciled with me! May Utu
make my [pleasant thing] be present!

May my personal goddess stand before me! May (my personal
god) stand before Ninurta, the king of the weapon!

Words unpleasant for me (and) word(s) of non-reconciliation
Come to my aid, and I will proclaim your (pl., the personal
deities') glory!" Incantation formula.

25a). [. ]. [. ]. [. ] do not allow to approach!

25b). [. ]. [. ]. [. ].

25c). [. ] [. ]

25d). You recite the (above) incantation. You place (this charm)
around the neck of that (man).

26-7). You recite (the above incantation) three times before the censer.
As soon as the censer has used up its offering, you bind
(unknown *materia medica*) to your left hem with a thread. You
pound a sweet reed. You anoint him with cypress oil. You speak
as follows:

Incantation: "What did I do to my personal god? What sin did I
commit towards my personal goddess? My personal god was
angry with me.

My personal goddess was angry with me. May my anxiety
decrease, and I will proclaim your (personal deities') glory!"
Incantation formula.

You say this (incantation) three times. You lie down, and you
will see a favourable dream.

You recite this (incantation) three times (.). [. ] [. ] and
you throw . into the river. Before . [. ] . it will not come
near.
31). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .] .
32). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .] .
33). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .] you say thus:
34). [. . . . . . . turn back] your [countenance (lit., neck) (towards me)], you (the personal goddess) who are angry with me!
35). [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .] I did not see, and I repeatedly transgressed.
36). [. . . my personal god) is angry [with] me, turn your countenance back towards me!
37). (As for) my personal goddess who is furious, may her emotions calm down!"

38). Incantation: "O my personal god (who) brings good luck! O my personal god (who is) manifest (and) exalted on high!
39). My personal god be gracious towards me! O Mamu, the god of dreams,
40). (and?) my personal god, create a favourable state (of affairs for me)" Incantation.

41a). Incantation rubric: To lie down and to cause the god to show (you) a favourable dream.

41b). Its ritual: You recite the (above) incantation three times over (a piece of) éru-wood. You place (the wood) at your head (when lying down) (A: at the head of your bed). You tie (a piece of) atá'íšu-plant to your hem. You lie down, and you will see a favourable dream.

42). An unintelligible abracadabra line.
43). "My personal goddess is masterful in (her) rage. My personal goddess ditto (i.e., is masterful in her rage). My personal goddess ditto."
44). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to appease the wrath of the goddess against a man.

45-6). Its ritual: You take plaster of the east wall. You sprinkle a lump of salt upon (the plaster). You recite the (above) incantation seven times.

47). You place (the mixture) at the foot of your bed. (This is) an apotropaic ritual.

Colophon Of Manuscript A, Column IV Lines 48-57
48). [(This is) the tablet of] Nabu-shalilim, the young apprentice (scribe),
49). [.]... Nabu, the scribe of Esagila
50). [.]... may he determine his fate!
51). May (Nabu) remove (the name of) his progeny from the mouths of mankind!
52-3). May [Tashmetum], the beloved of Marduk, [incessantly] proclaim his misfortune!
54-5). May [Gula] the chief female doctor of Ekur, fasten [.]... in his body!
56). [May he] constantly roam about outside!
57). (The year) of the eponym Ashur-bani, the governor of Nimrud (i.e., 713 B.C).

Colophon Of Manuscript N, Lines 16'-8'
16'). If a man [saw] frightening dreams:
17'). Tablet ten of the series dZ[iqiku].
18'). The palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

* * *
NOTES

Column I


5). The last sign on A is -nu, not -an as in KAR.

6). The last sign on A is -e, not -a as in KAR.

7). e-ta-mar is one of the rare Assyrian grammatical forms occurring in A; see also col. I line 9?, and col. III line 50.

9-12). A similar passage to lines 9-10 occurs in col. II lines 59-60.

The restoration of <lumun> before MĀŠ.GEš made in DB, p. 300, n. 199 is unnecessary.

9). The restoration [be-lu] comes from line 13. It seems to be an Assyrian form of balu, but is not found in the Akkadian dictionaries [CAD B, pp. 70-2; AHw 1, pp. 100-11.

17). There is no clear -li- in the middle of the line as in KAR.

The D-stem of e'elu is uncommon [CAD E, p. 40a; AHw 1, p. 189a; see also line 26.

19-27). See the similar ritual involving a lamp on K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'-14' (pp. 407-8).

The dividing line after line 27 was omitted in KAR, as already noted in DB, p. 298, n. 196.

21). The use of -wi- in a text from Ashur is rare, being used only for an archaising effect (W. von Soden [1967], No. 223).

25). kullatu is infrequently followed by a genitive singular noun [CAD K, kullatu A, pp. 505-6; AHw 1, kullatu(m) I, pp. 501-2; see also K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, line 13' (p. 408).

26). See the note on line 17 about e'elu.

30). There is no clear i in the middle of the line as in KAR.

32). The last two signs are li-qi, not nin-ma as in KAR.

34). The Akkadian dictionaries do not offer examples of šikittu with nakaru [AHw 3, p. 1233b]; the more usual verb is tāru.

39). The sign after si is not la as in KAR; the third to last sign is -ti, not -tin; and the penultimate sign is DUG4, not ti.

40). The signs after MĀŠ.GEš are not an-ni-tu? u as in KAR.
42). The phrase *ana libbi* is rare (perhaps it is an Assyrianism?) (CAD L, pp. 164-75; AHw 1, pp. 549-51).

49). The third and second signs from the end should read *diš-tar*, instead of KAR's *im tar*.

51). A verb of seeing is required after MĂŠ.GEš, but the surface of the tablet has been destroyed.

54). KAR read the first sign as *um*.

55). Read *diʔ-in?* for KAR's DI KUš.

59). The third sign is not *nu*-.

61). The fourth sign is not a clear *di* as in KAR.

66). The sign before the second bi is not *hul*.

68). DB, p. 339 read *uš* for *dutu* on C, line 1'.

69). DB, p. 339 read *măšti* as TIII on C, line 3'.

72). The signs in the middle of C, line 6' are not *ana IGI NÁ* as DB, p. 339 read, but *ana muh-hi*. The first IGI is clearly there, contrary to R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

73-8). See col. III lines 4-17 where the same ŠU.Í.LÁ-incantation (in a bilingual format) and ritual occur (pp. 206-7).

75). D, col. I line 6, has the variant *ku₄<ni>ib*, "Turn . . . . into (good luck)".

78). The signs do not fit with col. III line 17, which begins with *ana IGI 4UTU*.

Column I Line 79 To Column II Line 71

79). *kiršu* usually corresponds to IM.KÍD rather than IM.Ú as on E, obv. 2-3. It would appear that E confused two phrases: the *kiršu*-formula (p. 225), and that seen in col. III line 27.

2-6). Similar lines appear in col. III lines 29-31. None of these actions appears as such in the omen tablets of *The Dream-Book*, which
are more specific. There were rituals directed against dream apparitions (SpTU 2, No. 21; pp. 493-8), and dead men appearing in dreams (K. 2175 +, col. IV lines 13-4; p. 256). It is possible that these lines refer to omen sections of The Dream-Book:

i). The dreamer could descend to the Underworld - Tab. C, col. I lines 71-85 [DB, pp. 327-8].

ii). Gods could be seen - Enlil, in the colophon of Tab. 7 [DB, p. 311]; and Tab. C, frag. 1, col. II lines 4'-25' [DB, pp. 331-2].

iii). Tab. 9 [DB, pp. 311-4] deals with omens of dream travelling.

iv). Tab. A [DB, pp. 314-8] is concerned with eating. There are references to eating unknown meat (obv. col. II line 12') and an unknown plant (rev. col. II line 14'), suggesting that NINDA could be rendered as "bread" instead of "food".

v). Colophons present verbs whose sections do not appear in the extant Dream-Book: IGI on Tab. 7; and labāšu on Tab. 3 [DB, p. 309].

2). There is no need for the additional signs of DB, p. 341 after kir-biš-an] on D, col. II line 5'. In the same line the sign is USÁN, not USAN; read MURUB4 for MURUB, as already noted by R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418]; and the final .IAN is superfluous.

3). E, obv. 6 has the variant [alm-mar, "[I] see".

4-5). E, obv. 8-12 appears to vary, but the lines are too fragmentary for one to be sure.

4). D, col. II line 7' replaced "god" by dišams(Utu).

6). The sign on D, col. II line 9' is al-, not the ti(?) of DB, p. 341.

7). Correct tap-pa-as-sa-su on D, col. II line 11' (DB, p. 341) to tap-pa-as-as-su; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

8). The signs on D, col. II line 12' are -š1a-me ana, not -fu a-na as DB, p. 341 read.

9). The last sign ūu- of DB, p. 341 on D, col. II line 13' should be read lip-.

12). Read G1š for the Màšš of DB, p. 341 on D, col. II line 16'.

13). The lipšur-phrase associated with G1ššÀ.GISIMMAR is an unusual one, and the writer has been unable to find another attestation.
The verbal form should be a third singular preceptive, corresponding to the other forms in lines 10-3. ku is a definite scribal mistake. B. Landsberger [1967, p. 14, n. 37] suggested the form *li1(ku)-qad1 (šu)-diš-an-ni used here.

16). Read 'SIGš-tu1' on A, col. II line 16, not -ti as in KAR.
17). E, obv. 4 has the variant [liu ane] 'LAG1 ... lu ane ... ., "either to a lump ... or to ... .".
19-20). See col. IV line 42 and page 184.
20). The third sign is -'ub1, not -lu4 as in KAR.

25). Read ŠU-su for KAR's la su.
26). Read SIGš-ta instead of KAR's SIGš-tú.
28). In some way the kušāru was regarded as being parallel to the GISMA.NU of the subsequent lines (p. 301).
37). The expression nam.tar literally means "to determine the fate of". Lines 37 and 39-46 are requesting various deities to empower the ēru-wood/kušāru, and the translation is a development of the nuance "to confer an object's characteristic qualities" (see F. Rochberg-Halton [1982], p. 365).
52). J. Krecher [1978, pp. 66-7] argued that gissu was to be read ġissu(-n), in which case it cannot be followed by .ga.
58). f, obv. 1 has the variant dam-qa-at, "favourable".
Throughout f DB, p. 342 transliterated -mi- for -mi-; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
59-60). See a similar passage at col. I, lines 9-10.
59). dam-qa of f is a third feminine plural stative, compared with the singular verbal form on A. The subject in f is either "dreams", which appeared in the singular in line 58, or egirrū and šuttu
together, with the feminine unusually predominating over the masculine noun *egirru*. The different genders of these nouns were carefully distinguished in line 58.


The sign on A, col. II line 60 is ['šar]-, not šir- as in *KAR*.

61). The obverse of *f* has the following variants in the middle of the line:

\[ f^4 \]. [ša] ina ba-lu-uš-ša ši-ma-t ma-ti (f19: šamē (AN-e) u erşetim(KI-tim)) la iš-šim-mu

Without whom the fate of the land (f19: of heaven and earth) cannot be determined.

*DB*, p. 342 transliterated -sim- for -šim- on f, obv. 19.


63). *da-am-qá-nim* is a third feminine plural stative with the ventiva ending with an understood amātu in the plural as its subject: see the use of nīg in the similar phrases in col. I line 77 and col. III lines 12 and 14.

64). The emendation of *f*, obv. 8 follows *AHw* 2, paṭāru, N 56d, p. 851a.

69). The sign is ga on f, obv. 12, not GĀ as *DB*, p. 342 read.


**Column III**

1). On *f*, obv. 14 the signs are actually IGI ZI-*ma*, not the IGI.DUs-*ma* of *DB*, p. 342; and the preposition is ina not ana. ZI has been emended to DUs instead of being read itebbī, "he gets up", but see K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058, lines 7'-8' (p. 407), which have ina te-bi-šū, "upon his arising".

2). *DB*, p. 342 transliterated *f*, obv. 15 as ina SAG GIŠ.NÁ TU₅ ŠU₂-šū ÉN. R. Borger [1957–8, p. 418] had already altered this reading, but NAGA and LUH are not as clear as he implied.

NAGA was rarely used in rituals, the more usual ingredient being uhūli qarnāti(NAGA.SI) [AHw 3, pp. 1404–5].

3a). *DB*, p. 342 omitted GİR before ZAG-*ka*. 
3b). \textit{itqūru} is normally translated as "spoon" [\textit{CAD} I/J, p. 302a; \textit{AHw} 1, p. 404b], but here some type of wooden bowl is meant.

R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418] suggested \textit{te-me-sî} as the reading of the verb.

3c). \textit{DB}, p. 342 restored \textit{[la-mal} at the beginning.

3f). \textit{DB}, p. 342 read \textit{X} as \textit{sa}.

4-17). See col. I lines 73-8 where the same \textit{ŠU.ÍLÁ}-incantation (in Sumerian only) and ritual occur (pp. 206-7).

Lines 5, 7, 9, and 11 appear on K. 11406, col. I lines 5'-8' (p. 418).

4). \textit{G} contains an incantation to Ziqiqu (\textit{ZD}) at obv. 1-7, before this one to Shamash. The former incantation appears in two Sumerian proverb collections, and comprises the first incantation of \textit{The Dream-Book} (p. 400). Although there is no dividing line on \textit{G}, the two incantations have been treated separately.

8). A, col. I, line 75 had concluded with \textit{nig.sigs.ga.šaš gub\?ba-ab}, but here it has an unclear variant.

9). A, col. III line 9 should begin with \textit{šunašt} instead of \textit{šutti}.

The restorations at the ends of lines 9, 11, and 13 come from \textit{BMS} 6, rev. 115-8 and its duplicates (especially \textit{PBS} 1/1, No. 12, obv. 25 to rev. 2; \textit{SpTU} 2, No. 18, rev. 18'-20'; and \textit{STT} 60, rev. 21-4):

115). \textit{lid-mi/mi-qe šunātu(MĀŠ.GE₆.MEŠ)-ū-a}

116). \textit{šunašt(MĀŠ.GE₆) at-ṭu-la ana damiqiti(SIG₅-ti) šuk-na}

117). \textit{i-šá-riš lul-lik tap-pe-e lu-uk-šu-ud}

118). \textit{ša u₄-me-ia lu-u damiqti(SIG₅-ti)}

\textit{STT} 60, rev. 22 has this variant for line 116 above:

22). \textit{šuttu(MĀŠ.GE₆) a-na da-[X¹-[X¹]-tú damiqti (SIG₅) tir-ri}

10). I, rev. col. II lines 12'-3' occur in a separate ruled-off section.

18). It seems as if the Mesopotamians expected to be able to recall a dream next morning, and therefore equated not having seen a dream with not remembering one.

_DB_, p. 340 read the end of B, col. III line 4' as _la BIUR(?)._  

19). On B, col. III line 5' the third PI of _DB_, p. 340 should be _-ši._

20). The Cedar Mountain is normally located either at Mount Hermon on the borders of Lebanon and Syria (M. B. Rowton [1967], pp. 266-7) or at Mount Amanus in Turkey [ibid., pp. 268, 270]. This would mean that the sun is described here as rising in the West! W. Heimpel [1986, p. 144] suggested that the Cedar Mountain in this passage should be understood as a general term for high tree-covered mountains, rather than a specific geographical location.

The second sign of B, col. III line 7' is _fit1-, not _ta- as _DB_, p. 340 read, and as is grammatically correct; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418]. The final signs on B, col. III line 8' are _a-me-[lu]-te1_, instead of _DB's a-me-[l]ut-tú_; the last sign could possibly be _-tú_. Note that _DB_, p. 301, n. 205 read _a-me-lu-tú_, but there is no LÚ.DIDLI in the other texts.

22). The _D-stem_ of _lapānu_ is rarely attested [CAD L, p. 82b; _AHw_ 1, p. 534b]: _A_ uses the _D-stem_ verbal adjective, "very poor", as opposed to that of the _G-stem_ on the duplicates.

24). H, line 7 contains a broken personal name and an expanded identification of the supplicant:

7).  

[X X] 'X'-iddina(AS?) mār(DUMU) ili(DINGIR)-šú  

[...]. -iddina, the son of his personal god,

25). A sub-incantation to The Clod begins here, within the incantation to Shamash.

28). _at-ta_ is an incorrectly used nominative personal pronoun, since _LAG_ is the object of the verb _ŠUB_. Elsewhere the correct accusative _ka-(a)-šá-ma_ is used.

29-31). See the note on col. II lines 2-6.
33). A sub-incantation to The Ram Of The Storm begins here: see also col. III lines 52-5. It is difficult to see how a dream could be destroyed by wind.

34). Perhaps the argument is that the dreamer saw the dead performing these actions in his dream, but from now on his dream is insubstantial and harmless.

38). K, obv. 1' contains a trace which may or may not be parallel to this line.

39). K and M cannot belong to the same tablet, as claimed by STT vol. 2, p. 12, since they duplicate the same passage, ADRC, col. III lines 39-46.

40). A contains an abbreviated version of this line, and the variants e-piš ú-sa-tel, "the giver of help", and pa-ri-is purussa(ES). BAR) šá ili(DINGIR) u amēli(LÚ), "the maker of the oracular decision(s) concerning god and man".

   j has a dividing line between obv. 6 and 7; i.e., between ADRC, col. III lines 40-1.

41). See page 176 for the view that mūšu annu, lit. "this night", must mean "last night" in such contexts.

43). ma- is used to introduce direct speech, but not normally within an incantation as here (CAD M1, mā, pp. 1-4).

   The sign on A, col. III line 43 is -μq-, not -ni- as in KAR.

44). DB, p. 343 only restored ili1m- at the beginning of j, obv. 9, but there is room for more, as indicated.

46). K, rev. 4 is very fragmentary, and may be a variant.

   The phrases at the ends of lines 46 and 51 appear to have become confounded (p. 166).

45a). This alternative rubric does not suit a clod substitution ritual.

46a). There is no ruling between obv. 11-2 on j but, since an incantation starts at obv. 12, the following lines have been treated separately.

   DB, p. 343 read NAM ina lib-bi at the end of j, obv. 11.

47). DB, p. 338 omitted this line on N, so line x + 1 is really line 2'.
50). *e-mu-ru* is an Assyrian form: see also col. I line 7.

51). *DB*, p. 338 omitted the dividing line between lines 5' and 6' on n; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

See the note on line 46.

52-5). Basically the same incantation occurs in col. III lines 33-6, with a different rubric, and involving a clod substitution ritual instead. The incantation has become muddled here: line 52 has *ta-ab-hu* (a *G*-stem third plural stative verbal form) instead of the *G*-stem imperative in the ventive, *tu-ub-ha*; and *ik-ka-lu* of line 53 should be NAG-ú.

53). See the note on col. III line 41.

54). Instead of the *na-qab* of *DB*, p. 338, read *na-kap* (*q̱ab*) on N, line 9'; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

57). The BI of N, line 12' is not as clear as *DB*, p. 338 makes out; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

59-60). The *u BÛR-ab* of *DB*, p. 338 at the beginning of line x + 12 on N in fact belongs to line 15'; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418]. The latter is to be read *u BÛR-at ana SIG₅ u H[UL . . . .]

61). The sign at N, line 16' is *pár-*, not the *par-* of *DB*, p. 338; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

63). *The Practical Vocabulary Of Ashur* (*AFO* 18 [1957-8], pp. 328-41), line 109 equates *ú.babbar*, "the white plant", with *hi-[]_*šar-bat-te*, "the sap of the Euphrates poplar" (also see *CAD Š*, *šarbatu*, p. 109). Yet, it seems unlikely that a liquid (however viscous) would have been placed in a leather bag charm.

The phrase *ina maški(KUŠ) ina kišādi(GÚ)-šú tašakkan(GAR-an)*, "You place (the charm's ingredients) in a leather bag around his neck", is often abbreviated to *ina KUŠ*, as here and in subsequent lines (*CAD M, mašku*, p. 379a).

### Column IV

1-4). These charms probably refer back to the title of col. III line 64: "If a man saw frightening dreams".

3). KUŠ has a šá at the end, not shown in *KAR*.
7). On A₁ a dividing line comes either side of col. III line 18, i.e.,
ADRC, col. IV line 7. Lines 20-2 on A₁ contain another dream
charm (p. 258). This second charm can be found also on B₁, col.
I lines 28'-30' (thus before ADRC, lines 5-7), and on C₁, rev. 1-5
(again beforehand).

Dreams were rarely described as dalhāti, "confused" (pp. 67,
68). The charm list A₁, col. III line 18 has the variant 5
abnu(NA₄) šunāti(MĀŠ.GE₆.MEŠ) pār-da-te, "five stones (for a
charm against) frightening dreams".

BAM vol. 4, p. XXV stated that one should compare A₁, col. III
lines 16-8 with BAM 316, col. II lines 2'-3'. However, the latter
is a completely different charm, and unconnected with dreams.

8). The i in KAR is part of [Il]um.

9). The translation of nullātu follows that of AHw 2, nullātu,
p. 803a "Niedertract, Gemeinheit" rather than that of CAD N₂,
nullātu, pp. 333-4 "foolish talk, foolishness".

The sign is -ti instead of DINGIR šū in KAR.

12). There is a change of subject in this line, since te-e-ri is a
feminine singular imperative, perhaps referring to the otherwise
unknown consort of Anzagār.

14). See pages 262-4 for the reasoning behind the translations of mēlu
and takšīru.

21). The order of A has been followed from here on, although
differences occur on P, D₁, and E₁, as will be seen from the
table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ADRC</th>
<th>lines 21-2</th>
<th>23-5</th>
<th>25a-d</th>
<th>26-7</th>
<th>28-9</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>30a-b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>obv.</td>
<td>3'-7'</td>
<td>1'-2'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4'-7'</td>
<td>8'-10'</td>
<td>11'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D₁</td>
<td>col. IV</td>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13-5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E₁</td>
<td>rev.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9-14</td>
<td>15-6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22). Read ana DINGIR at the beginning of A, col. IV line 22 instead
of KAR's ÉN.

23). E₁, rev. 3 has the variant šāl.zi.da dingir.mu [hlē.silim.mā.
mu, "May my personal god become reconciled with me on the
right!". The scribe wrote one hē.silim.mā.mu too many, since
personal deities stood (gub) at a person's side: e.g., ADRC, col. II line 34.


25). D1, col. IV line 5 has the variant inim nu.si.sā, "dishonest word(s)".

The imperative on A is that of rágu, "to come to someone's help", while P and E1 have the imperative of rágu, "to help".

25a). The phrase ina GÚ.BA GAR is used in several places on D1 for the more normal ina GÚ-šú GAR-an.

30a-b). The different ritual on D1 probably involved a clod. Both the ritual and the desired ritual result do not suit the preceding incantation.

34). The restoration comes from W. G. Lambert [1974], p. 276, line 47, with a change of gender.

35). The correct Gtn third masculine singular preterite form of efēqu in the Neo-Assyrian period was e-te-te-eq.

39). It is very unusual to have one Akkadian word (išši) amongst a line of Sumerian as all the texts have.

41b). P, obv. 17 introduces this line with the variant KA.INIM.MA, "incantation rubric".

42). See col. II lines 19-20 and page 184.

P, obv. 19-21 goes on to NRFD, obv. 39 and then obv. 51a, before rejoining A.

44). Q, edge 12 has the variant là ṭehé(TE-ɛ), "does not come near".

45). še-ra of P must be the same word as sīru, "plaster" of the other texts. This is apparently the first attestation with initial š [CAD S, sīru A, pp. 319-20; AHw 2, sīru(m), p. 1050bl.

P and Q have the variant ereb šamši(4UTU.ŠÚ.A), "west".

P and Q continue with different incantations; on Q with no dividing line. P, rev. 7-9 is an abracadabra incantation. Q, rev. 15-21 is very fragmentary: line 16 may address Sin, and line 17 possibly refers to a dream. The incantations on both texts may have been intended to appease an angry personal deity, following on from the last section on ADRC.
Colophon of A

49). H. Hunger [BAK], No. 236 on p. 80 read [ša] i t a b b a l u (Tūm) at the beginning of the line.


57). H. Hunger omitted the first sign.
K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 AND

NADR

TEXTS

DB, pls. 1-2 (photographs)

STUDIES

The three tablets have been joined since A. L. Oppenheim’s study:
K. 3333 = his Fragment 4; K. 8583 = Fragment 3; and Sm. 1069 = Fragment 2 — DB, p. 298; p. 300, notes 199-200; p. 301, n. 205; pp. 339–41


K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 forms manuscript B of ADRC. Only column II lines 1-18 (with the relevant part of 79-7-8, 77), which constitute the Nusku Apotropaic Dream Ritual (NADR), are dealt with here. The cuneiform text appears on plates 3-4.

* * *

OBVERSE

Column I

1'). One trace at the end of the line
2'). One trace at the end of the line
3'). One trace at the end of the line

Gap of about fifteen lines

19'–22' = ADRC, col. I lines 2 and 4–6

23'). [ . . . . . . .] i k1-šú
24'). [ . . . . . . . ] UD
25'). [ . . . . . . . ] GAR
26'). [ . . . . . . . ] } (X)
27'). [ . . . . . . . ] } (X)
The rest of the column is broken away

Column II
Lines 1-18 = NADR
A = K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069
b = 79-7-8, 77 rev. 3'-17' (lines 4-15 and 18)

LINE 1
A). [ana] pān(1GI) [nu-ri] qān(G1) ki-iṣ-ri i-¹ na gi? ku zi]

LINE 2
A). imitti(ZAG)-šu i-bat-taq-ma ana pān(1GI) nu-ri ū-kaĺ(e) ki-
a-am iqabbī(DUG₄.GA₁)

LINE 3
A). um-ma šu-ma dNusku tap-pe-e dŠamaš(UTU) at-[tal]

LINE 4
da-a-na-ta di-ni di-in šutu an-ni-[tū]
A). da-a-na-ta
di-ni di-in MĀṢ.GE₆ an-ni-[tū]
b). [ ( . . ) da-a-[a₁-na¹(la)-ta [di]-[ ]

LINE 5
ša ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-[ri]
A). ša ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-[ri]
b). [ ] EN.NUN.AN.US[AN EN.NUN.MIURUB₄.BIA EN.NUN.U₄.ZAL.LE]
LINE 6
ib-bab-lam-ma šá at-ta tīḏū ana-ku la i-du-[ú]
A). ib-bab-lam-ma šá at-ta ī.ZU ana-ku la
i-du-[ú]
b). [bl-a-ab-l]am- / šá [at-]la ti-du-[ú] [a]-na-[ ]
[i]-d[u-]}

LINE 7
šum-ma dam-qat du-muq-šā a-a i-ši-ṭa-al[n-ni]
A). šum-ma dam-qat du-muq-šā a-a i-ši-ṭa-al[n-ni]
b). šum-ma damiqti(SI[Gs-til]) du-muq-šā [ia]-ú iš-[ ]

LINE 8
šum-ma lemnet lumun-šā a-a ik-šu-dan-ni
A). šum-ma HUL HUL-ša a-a ik-šu-dan-[ ]
b). šum-ma [lemutti(HUL-til)] HUL-ša ia-ú ik-[š]u-dan-ni

LINE 9
la ia-ut-tu-un ši-i ki-ma qanû an-nu-u na-ṣ̣ pu-ma
A). la ia-ut-tu-un ši-i ki-ma G1 an-nu-u na-ṣ̣ pu-[ ]
b). la ia-ut-[ ] / GIM > 'an-nu-[ú] na-ṣ̣ pu-ma

LINE 10
ana ašri-šū lá iturrû ū kîma Tūgis-sik< -tu> an-ni-tú ina ṣubāti-
lá bat-lqatl-ma
A). ana Kl-šu lá GUR ū TUGSIG an-ni-tú ina TUG-ia bat-lqat-ma
b). [ni-it-pi-šu la i-]tu-rul / GIM Tūgis-sik< -tu>
an-ni-ti bat-qa-tu-ma
K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069 And NADR

LINE 11
ana šubāti-ia kIma ib-bat-|qā-|-
ma1 lā iturru lumun šatti (an-ni-ti)
A). ana TŪG hi-pi GIM ib-tu-qu-ma lā GUR HUL MĀŠ. GEš
| an-ni-ti |
B). ana TŪG ia GIM ib-bat-|qā-|-
ma1 | 1 | MĀŠ. GEš
| an-ni-ti |

LINE 12
šā ina ba-ra-ar-ti ina qab-li-ti ina šat uIr-ril ib-|bab-lam-mal
A). šā ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti
šat uIr-ril ib-bab-lam-mal
B). šā (ana) ina EN.NUN.AN.USAN ina |EN| |NUN.MURUB| |BA| ina
| EN| |NUN.Us.ZAL.| |LE| |ib-| |ba-ab- |

LINE 13
a-a ik-šū-dan-ni la ia-tu-un ši-i hi-pi |eš-šū |GI| |X| TŪG ber nu šā
ul ma? GIš
A). la ia-tu-un ši-i GI| |X| | |L| |
B). a-a ik-šū-dan-ni la ia-tu-un ši-i / hi-pi |eš-šū | TŪG ber
nu šā ul ma? GIš

LINE 14
qanā ana 2-šū (b: 3-šū) i-ha-lam|meš-ma| hi-pi |eš-šū | |TU|G|si-is| sik-
ta ilammi |ka|ma-ta ka-la-ta ka-sa-tal (ka) hi-pi |eš-šū | |ana| pān|
išti-ka rabīti a-qal-liš
A). GI| |a-na| 2-šū i-ha-[mi]-liš . . . . . . . . . .
B). GI| |a-na| 3-šū i-ha-lam|meš-ma| / hi-pi |eš-šū | |TU|G|si-is| sik-ta
|NIGIN-mi| |ka|ma-ta ka-la-ta ka-sa-tal (ka) / hi-pi |eš-šū | |ana|
|GI| |DINGIR-ti-ka GAL-ti a-qal-liš

LINE 15
[kli-|a-am iqabbi-ma qaqqara |tla|lap-pat-ma| ana nūri ta-q[lad|]
A). [kli-|a-am |TU|G|GA| ]
| |
B). DUG|GA-ma |K| |t|la|lap-pat-ma ana ZĀLAG ta-q[lad|]
LINE 16
A). \([X X] \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \]  

LINE 17
A). \([\text{in}la \ p\text{an}(|\text{GI}) \ nu-\text{ri}l] \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \]

LINE 18
\(\text{ana ili-ka} \ \text{dištari}-\text{[ka]} \ u \ nu-\text{ri} \ ta-\text{kar-rab}l\)-\text{ma išallim} \)
A). \(\text{ana} \ u \ nu-\text{ri} \ i-\text{klar}l\)
\(b). \ \text{ana DINGIR-ka} \ \text{dES}_{18}.\text{TÁR}-\text{[ka]} \ u \ nu-\text{ri} \ ta-\text{kar-rab}l(\text{[zag]}\)-\text{ma}
\)

\(\text{SILIM.MA} \)

19-23 = \(\text{ADRC, col. I lines 7-12} \)

24-30 = \(\text{ADRC, col. I lines 12a-g} \)

The rest of the column is broken away

REVERSE

Column III

Break

1'-2' = \(\text{ADRC, col. III lines 15-6} \)

3' = \(\text{ADRC, col. III line 17} \)

4'-6' = \(\text{ADRC, col. III lines 18-9} \)

7'-16' = \(\text{ADRC, col. III lines 20-8} \)

Column IV

Uninscribed

* * *

Page 395
OBVERSE

Column I

The lines not discussed under ADRC or NADR (i.e., col. 1 lines 1'-3' and 23'-7') are too fragmentary to translate. DB, p. 339 omitted lines 25'-7'.

Column II

Lines 1-18 = NADR

1-2). before the lamp a reed joint . . . . . . . He cuts off (a piece of) his right [hem], and he holds (the hem and reed) before the lamp. He says as follows,

3). (he speaks) thus: "O Nusku, you [are] the companion of Shamash!

4). You are the judge! Judge my case! This dream,

5-6). which was brought to me during the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch, and (about) which you yourself understand, (but) I do not -

7). if (this dream) is favourable, may its good luck not ignore [me]!

8). if it is bad, may its evil not reach me,

9). (also may) it (the bad dream) not be mine! Just as this reed was torn out, and

10). cannot return to its place, and just as this hem was cut off from my garment, and

11). cannot return to my garment, because it was cut off - (so may) the evil of this dream

12). which [was brought] to me during the first watch (of the night), during the middle watch, (or) during the third watch,

13). may (its evil) not reach me! (May) it (the bad dream) not be mine! New break . . . . . .

14). He snaps the reed into two (b; three) pieces, and New break. He wraps the hem around (the reed. He says: "Now) you (the evil of the dream) are captured. You are imprisoned. You are chained up. New break I will burn it (the parcel) [before] your (Nusku's) great divinity."

15). He speaks thus. You touch the ground, and you light the lamp.
16). \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldot
14). b. rev. 13'-5' contains an expanded ritual. A part of the first "new break" is [TUG si-\textit{is}], and [ana IG] occurred in the second "new break".

Read \textit{a-na} on A, col. II line 14, instead of \textit{ana} as in \textit{DB}, p. 340; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

The last sign on b, rev. 14' is -\textit{ka}, not \textit{-ta} as in \textit{DB}, p. 343, and as would be grammatically correct.

15). \textit{DB}, p. 343 omitted -\textit{ma} on b, rev. 16'; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

Previously the verbs on b had been written out syllabically in the third person singular, from now on the ritual expert is addressed via second person singular forms.

18). \textit{DB}, p. 343 read u \textit{EŠ}4 on b, rev. 17', instead of \textit{dEŠ}1₃.

A, col. II line 18 has the variant \textit{ana nu-ri i-k\textit{ar-rab-mal}}, "He prays to the lamp".
K. 3758 AND ZI

TEXTS

*DB. pl. 1 (photograph of A)*

*FES 13, No. 38 (I; correct to CBS 14188)*

*PBS 12/1, No. 29 (II)*

STUDIES

* C. J. Gadd (1948), p. 74

*E. I. Gordon (1960), pp. 129-30, n. 57 (Proverb Collections 11 and 18)*

* A. L. Oppenheim (DE, pp. 296-7, 338*

K. 3758 forms manuscript G of ADRC. Obverse 1-7 is an incantation to Ziqiqu (ZI), with duplicates on two collections of Sumerian proverbs (I and II). Its colophon states that it was the first tablet of the series dZiqiqu, as found in Ashurbanipal's Library at Kuyunjik. The cuneiform text appears on plate 5.

* * *

Page 399
OVERSE

Lines 1-7 = ZI

A = K. 3758, obv. 1-7
1 = PBS 13, No. 38, lines 5-10
11 = PBS 12/1, No. 29, col. III lines 6'-10'

LINES 1-2

A). [ĒN Zi-q]i-qu Zi-[qi]\-qu g\-Ma-mú ilu(DI\-NGIR) šé [šunāti(MÁŠ. GEŠ.MEŠ)]
/ [ane A]-[ga]-dē\-K1 šš-[ur-ko]
1). si.si.ig a.ga.dēk•.šē i.gi4.ša1
11). sig.sig a.ga.dēk•.šē i.gi4.in (sic.)

LINE 3

A). [i\-ne A]-[ga]-dēk1 mi-na-e te-[pu-uš]
1). a.ga.dēk•.a a.na.âm mu.e.e.ni.âk
11). a.ga.dēk•.a / a.na.âm i.âk

LINE 4

A). [šunāti(MÁŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ) pár-da-e-ti áš-[ta-kān3]]
1). máš.ges lul.â la im.ma.an.na.gar
11). máš.ges zî•.da

LINE 5

A). [u]-pa-šir-ši-na-[me ( . . . )]
1). lôbûr.ru.bi bi.in.tuku1

LINE 6

A). [a\-ne : URU]-[ga]-dē\-k1 ki-i3[ . . . . . . . . . ]
1). [a].ga.dēk•.a a.[bi/ga X1 X1 a.gim

LINE 7

A). [i\-ne ra-mi]-[ni]-šú-m[a] [tu]-[ . . . . . . . . ]
1). [X1 X1 [ . . . . . . . . ] [tuku]
8-11 = ADRC, col. III lines 5, 7, 9, and 11
The rest of the tablet is broken away.

REVERSE

Break

1'). [ . . . .M]ÅŠ.[GE6 . . . . . . . . . . . .]
2''). [X1 'X (X)1.MEŠ ana libbi(ŠA) 'X1 [ . . . . . . . . . . . .]

3'). sumer(DIŠ) amēlu(NA) ine šutti(MÂŠ.GE6)-šú 'X1 [ . . . . . . . . . . . .]
4'). DUB.1.KÂM iškar(ĒŠ.GÎ|R) dZi-qí-qu
5'). ēka(KUR) =Aššur(AN.ŠÂR)-bān(DU)-spli(A) šalra kiššati(ŠÚ) šalra mēš(KUR) Aššur(AN.ŠÂR)K1

* * *

OBVERSE

Lines 1-7 = ZI

1-2). O Sigsig, whom I sent to Agade! (Akk.: [Incantation:] O ZiqiQu, O ZiqiQu, Mamu, the god [of dreams]] I sent [you] to Agade.)
3). What have you done in Agade?
4). I inflicted upon him (the sufferer) a false (II: reliable) dream (Akk.: frightening dreams).
5). (However,) he/Agade had an interpreter for them (Akk: I interpreted them, [and ( . . . . . )]).
6). When to Agade [ . . . . . . . . . . . .]
7). by itself/himself . [ . . . . . . . . . . . .]

8-11 = ADRC, col. III lines 5, 7, 9, and 11.
The rest of the tablet is broken away.
REVERSE

Break

1'-2' are too fragmentary to translate

3'). If a man in his dream ...
4'). Tablet one of the series [dZiqiqu]
5'). The palace of Ashurbanipal, king [of the world, king of Assyria]

* * *

NOTES

Obverse

1-7). E. I. Gordon [1960, pp. 129-30, n. 57] suggested that the original Sumerian proverb may have contained an allusion to Naram-Sin as "the luckless ruler" of Agade.

1). E. I. Gordon [1960, pp. 129-30, n. 57] restored [d!] at the beginning of A, obv. 1, following the colophons of The Dream Book. However, when Ziqiqu is repeated in this line, there is no divine determinative. The library catalogues discussed on pp. 33-4 list the series both with and without the divine determinative. The restoration of DB, p. 338 has been followed here.

See p. 121 on the apparent use of two names of the Dream God on the Akkadian version.

2). DB, p. 338 restored [URU] at the beginning of A, obv. 2, instead of [tann], which corresponds to the Sumerian .šē.


3). DB, p. 338 restored [URU] at the beginning of A, obv. 3, instead of [tian], corresponding to 'a in the Sumerian; and read te-[zi]-ib l at the end of the line instead of a form of epēšu, corresponding to Sumerian .ak.

šakānu(GAR) is required, following the Sumerian verbal prefix .im.ma.

The sign is pâr- on A, obv. 4 not par- as in DB, p. 338; see already R. Borger (1957-8, p. 418).

5). The trace at the beginning of A, obv. 5 is definitely ʾu1-, not mu-, although the latter would correspond to the Sumerian.

DB, p. 219 stated that Ziqiqu was asked to dispel the dreams, which is not immediately obvious from the tablets.

DB, p. 338 read ʾšar- for ʾšir- on A, obv. 5.

6). On A, obv. 6 read ana : URU for the URU <<m>> of DB, p. 338.

7). One would like to be able to read nîte at the beginning of I, line 10, corresponding to Akkadian ramānu, but the traces do not agree.

Reverse

1'). A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 338] omitted this line in his transliteration, so line x + 1 is really line 2'.

2'). DB, p. 338 read the first sign as ana.

3'). This line presents the incipit of Tab. 2, the start of the omen section of The Dream-Book.

4'-5'). These lines have been restored from other extant colophons of The Dream-Book (pp. 32-3).
K. 5175 + 6001

TEXTS

DB, pl. 2 (photograph)

STUDIES

A. L. Oppenheim [DB, pp. 301, n. 205; 341 (= Fragment 5)]

K. 5175 + 6001 forms manuscript D of ADRC. The cuneiform text appears on plate 7.

* * *

Column 1

Break

1'). [ ......... ] 'X] hé.a.ni

2'). [ ......... ] hé.el.m.ta.ē

3'). [an.gim hé.en.ku.ga kli.gim hé.en.sikil]

4'). [eme hul.gál balr.ē hé.em.ta.gub

5'). [ika.inim.ma máš.ges hul bûr].ru.da.kám

6'-9' = ADRC, col. 1 lines 73-7

10' = ADRC, col. 1 line 78

11'). [ ......... ] 'X] sá.sā.e.ne

12'). [ ......... ] 'X X dug.ga'l.mu' (dus)

13'). One trace at the end of the line

The rest of the column is broken away.
Column II

Break

1'). [ . . . . ] III(DINGIR)-š[u u 3štarî(ŠEŠ;š).T[AR]-š[u . . . . . .

2'). [ana'1] [ . . . . ] [š]-ni-š [ . . . . ]

3'-16' = ADRC, col. I line 79 to col. II line 13
The rest of the column is broken away

* * *

Column I

Break

1'). [ . . . . . . . . ] . . . .
2'). [ . . . . . . may] it depart!
3'). [May he become as pure as heaven! May he become as clean as the earth!]
4'). May [the evil tongue] stand [aside]"

5'). [Incantation rubric:] It is (the text) [to dissolve a bad dream].

6'-9' = ADRC, col. I lines 73-7.

10' = ADRC, col. I line 78

11'-3' are too fragmentary to translate.
The rest of the column is broken away.

Column II

Break

1'). [ . . . . . ] his personal god and [his personal] goddess [ . . . . . .]

2'). In order to? [ . . . . . ] second [ . . . . . ]
3'-16' = ADRC, col. I line 79 to col. II line 13.  
The rest of the column is broken away.

* * *

NOTES

Column I

4'). DB, p. 341 omitted [ba]r.sè.

11'). 'X' does not resemble the INJu of DB, p. 341.

Column II

2'). DB, p. 341 omitted the dividing line between lines 2' and 3'; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058

TEXTS
DB, pl. 1 (photograph)

STUDIES
J. Bottéro [1985], pp. 53-4 (lines 15'-23', correct from line 24')
A. L. Oppenheim [DB], pp. 302-3, 339 (= Fragment 1)

K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 forms manuscript C of ADRC. The cuneiform text appears on plate 8.

* * *

Break
1'-4' = ADRC, col. I lines 66-70

5'-6' = ADRC, col. I lines 71-2

7'). šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(LÚ) ina mu-ši-ti-šú šutta(MÁŠ.GEs) lemonu(HUL-ta) ittu(IG1)-ma uš-t[a-di-ir]

8'). ina še-ri har-pi ina te-bi-šú la-am šēp(GIR)-šú ana qaqqari(K[I] iškunu(GAR-nu)]

9'). 1 Gīši-li(DALLA) Gīšišimmari(GIŠIMMAR) ša ištāni(IM.SI.SÁ) teleqqi(TI-qi) šišpušikka(GA.[ZUM.AK(,.A)]

10'). talammi(NIGIN-mi) šamma(1+GIŠ) ta-šab-bu nu-ra ta-qad ana nu-ri ki-a-em taqabbil(DUG4.GA)]

11'). dGī-bil bēlu(EN) ruššu(HUŠ) dannu(KALA.GA) tap-pe-e dŠamaš(UTU) šår IX at-tal

12'). šur-[bla-ta ba-il-la-ta ina ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) ahhē(SE[D.MEŠ])-kal
13'). [klůl-lat šuttīja(MĀṢ.GE₆.MU) ša ana-ku 'i-l-[du-u(-ma)]

14'). at-ṣa ti-du-u a-mu-ru ana-ku [ . . . ]

15'). šumma(DİŠ) amēlu(LŪ) ina muš̄iti(GE₆) šutta(MĀṢ.GE₆) lemutta (HUL-ta) 'i-t-tūl X1 [ . . . ]

16'). ištēniš(1-nīš)-ma i-pa-šā-aš ana šīt šamši(U₄.TU.É.[A]) eli (UGU) DUG ḥašbi(ŠIKA) URUDU 'X X1

17'). ana šu kir-ba-nu ki-a-am iqabbī[DUG₄.GA] kir-ba-nu ina kir-ṣi-ka


19'). šutta([MĀṢ].GE₆) ma-la i-t-tūl lu a-na kir-ba-ni i-pa-šā-šar

20'). [kīma(GIM)] kir-ba-nu ka-a-ša ana mē(A.MEŠ) a-nam-du-ka-ma

21'). [tal]-ha-ra-me-ṭu tap-pa-sa-ṭas-su lumun(HUL) šutti(MĀṢ.GE₆) ma-la aṭṭul(IG1.GĀL)

22'). [lu] hal-qat lu na-har-mu-ṭa-at 1 ŠU bēru(DANNA) ina zumrīja (SU.MU) lu na-sa-at

23'). [ana] kirbānī([LA]G) iqabbī(DUG₄.GA) ma ana mē(A.MEŠ) inaddi (ŠUB) ma i-ti-iq-ṣu

24'). [šumma(DİŠ) <amēlu(LŪ) ina] šutti([M]AŠ.GE₆)-ṣū šutta(MĀṢ. GE₆) lemutta(HUL-ta) 'i-t-tūl anaš(ina) la kašādi(SĀ.SĀ)-ṣū

* * *

1'-4' = ADRC, col. 1 lines 66-70

5'-6' = ADRC, col. 1 lines 71-2

7'). If a man saw a bad dream during his night's rest, and became worried:

8'). In the early morning, upon his arising, (but) before he has placed his foot upon the ground,
9'-10'). you take a thorn of the date palm of the north side. You wrap (this thorn in) combed [wool], (then) you soak (it) in oil. You light a lamp [You say] as follows to the lamp:

11'). "O Gibil, the red/glowing (and) powerful lord! [You are] the companion of Shamash, king of [X].

12'). You are very grand. You are very powerful amongst the gods, [your] brothers.

13'). All of my dream(s) which I myself [know, (and)]

14'). (which) you yourself know, (and which) I myself have seen [ . . .

15'). if a man saw a bad dream during the night . . . . .

16'). together, and he anoints (X with this mixture). To the east, over a potsherds . . .

17'). He says as follows to the clod: "O Clod! In the part of you

18'). (which) is pinched off, part of me is pinched off, (and) in the part of me (which) is pinched off (is) your pinched-off piece.

19'). He reports to the clod as many dreams as he saw. (Then he says):

20'). "[Just as] I will throw you, O Clod, into the water, and

21'-2'). [you] will crumble (and) disintegrate - (so) [may] the evil of all the dream(s) which I saw disappear! May it dissolve! May it withdraw sixty 'miles' (lit., double-hours) from my body!"

23'). He says (this) [to] the clod, and he throws (it) into the water. (The evil of the dream) will by-pass him.

24'). [If <a man>] saw a bad dream [in] his dream - In order that (its evil) does not reach him:

*   *   *
NOTES
7'-14'). See ADRC, col. I lines 19-27 (pp. 319-20) for a similar ritual involving a lamp.
10'). The first sign is NIGIN not NIGIN₂ as DB, p. 339 read; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
12'). The sign is -il-, not -il- as DB, p. 339 read; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
13'). See the note on ADRC, col. I line 25 (p. 379) about the rare following of kullatu by a genitive singular noun.

    Read klil- for the kul- of DB, p. 339, and ša ana-ku if⁻ вместо ša ana-ku X; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
14'). This ritual is incomplete, needing the conclusion of the incantation and, probably, a desired ritual result.
15'). The ritual began at the end of this line with some ingredient(s) being either mixed (bullulu) or pounded (sāku).
16'). The .A is not extant, and DB, p. 339 read URUDU as D[UL.]
17'). The kirbānu is not the same as the ḏūgŠīKA, but both are clay.
19'). Read a-na for the ana of DB, p. 339; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
22'). The last signs are definitely na-sa-st, not ne- as DB, p. 339 read. See AHw 2, nesû II, pp. 781-2 for occasional writings with na-.
24'). See S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, pp. 47-8] on the interchanges between ana and insa in the Neo-Assyrian period.
TEXTS

LB, pl. 2 (photograph)

STUDIES

A. L. Oppenheim (DE II, p. 300, n. 202; 303-4; pp. 342-3 (= Excerpt 1)

79-7-8, 77 forms manuscript f of ADRC. Reverse 3'-17' constitute manuscript b of NADR. Only rev. 18' to left edge 26' are dealt with here. The cuneiform text appears on plates 9-11.

* * *

OBVERSE

1-12 = ADRC, col. II lines 58-70

13 = ADRC, col. II line 71

14-5 = ADRC, col. III lines 1-3

15 = ADRC, col. III line 3a

17-25 = ADRC, col. II lines 58 and 60-70

26 = ADRC, col. II line 71

27-32 = ADRC, col. III lines 3b-g

33-4 = ADRC, col. III lines 52-3

The rest of the tablet is broken away
REVERSE

Break

1'). [ . . . . . . . ] 'X ra' [ . . . . . . . ]

2'). [ . . . . . . . ] 'X se [ . . . . . . . ]

3'-17' = NADR, lines 4-16 and 18

18').  šumma(DIS) amēlu(LU) šutta(MAŠ.GE6) lemutti(HUL-ti) Imur

(IG1)-ma ul-ta-di'-ir(bei) ana ta-'(ri)-ti qanf(IG1) šutta(MAŠ.

GE6)-šù 'lip'[šur]

19'). ina isṭi(IZI) li-iq-li ina pi-i-šù i-nap-pah-ma pāsīr(BUR-

i[r])

20'). KIMIN (i.e., DIS LÚ MAŠ.GE6 HUL-ti IG1-ma ul-ta-di'-ir) ina

še-e-ri šumma(IG1šù) ḫība(DUG.GA) qa-ti-šù tapaššat(SES)-ma

pāsīr(BUR-i[r])

21'). KIMIN 7 ku-pa-tin-nu šal(id) šiṭṭi(IM) tu-kap1-pat šutta

(MAŚ.GE6) ma-la ḫū-šū sebišu(7-šù) ana lib-ši lip-šur

22'). a-na sūq erbetti(E.SĪR.KA.LĪM.MA) ta-sā-pah mahar(IG1) šamaš

(UTU) (kI)-a-am iqabbi(DUG4.GA)(ni)

23'). šunat(MAŚ.GE6) aṭ-tū-lu a-šar? su am li-il-liš sebišu(7-šù)

iqabbi(DUG4.GA)-ma pāsīr(BUR-i[r])

LEFT EDGE

24'). KIMIN 14 klīl-pa-tin-nu šal šiṭṭi(IM) (tu-kap1-pat šutta

(MAŚ.[GES]) ma-la ḫū-šū-lu 14-šù)

25'). ana muhhi(UGU) lip-šur anaš(ina) sūq erbetti(E.ŚĪR.K[A.LĪM.

[MA]) ta-[šal]-[pah-ma]

26'). pāsīr([BUR]-i[r])

* * *

Page 412
REVERSE

Break

1'-2' are too fragmentary to translate

3'-17' = NADR, lines 4-16 and 18

18'). if a man saw a bad dream, and became worried: He should recount his dream to a tarītu of reed (reed fibre?).

19'). (Then) he should burn (the tarītu) in a fire. He blows (on the fire) with his mouth. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

20'). Ditto (i.e., if a man saw a bad dream, and became worried): You anoint his hands with choice oil in the morning. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

21'). Ditto: You roll seven clay pellets. He should recount as many dreams as he saw to (the pellets) seven times.

22'). You scatter (these pellets) at a cross-roads. He says as follows before Shamash:

23'). "May the dream which I saw go to a place . .!" He says (this) seven times. It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

LEFT EDGE

24'-5'). Ditto: [You] roll fourteen clay pellets. He should recount [as many] dreams [as he saw] over (the pellets) [fourteen times]. You scatter (these pellets) at a cross-roads.

26'). It (the evil of the dream) will be dissolved.

* * *
NOTES

Reverse

27'). DB, p. 343 read the first 'X' as ri.

18'). DB, p. 343 omitted 1GI-ms; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418]. The final sign is not extant.

20'). The sign is ŠES not ŠES as in DB, p. 343; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

22'). The sign is SIR not SIR as in DB, p. 343; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

23'). Read the eighth sign as su, not šu as in DB, p. 343.

Left Edge

23'). The sign is SIR not SIR as in DB, p. 343; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].
81-2-4, 233

TEXTS

_DB, pl. 3 (photograph)

STUDIES

A. L. Oppenheim [DB], p. 302, n. 208; pp. 343-4 (= Excerpt 2)

81-2-4, 233 forms manuscript j of ADRC. The cuneiform text appears on plate 13.

* * *

OBVERSE

1). [ . . . . . ] DÎUG.GA! \(X\) ši.lu-a-e-rum ba-lu pa-tan

2). [ . . . . . ] \(X\) u d\([X]\) šipta(ÉN) ša ša šiššu(3-šū) tamannu(ŠID-nu) ana nāri(ÍD) tanaddi(ŠUB)-ma\(l\) lumnū\(HUL\)\(l\) pašir\(BÚR\)

3-9 = ADRC, col. Ill lines 39-41 and 43-4 (where there is no dividing line as here, between lines 6 and 7).

10-1 = ADRC, col. Ill lines 45a and 46a. (There is no dividing line after line 11.)

12). [én . . . . . ] hul da en gal den.ki.k(\(e\) m\(l\)u.un.ši.in.gin.na

13). [ . . . . . . ] \(X\).a.ni duš.àm

14). [ . . . . . . ] \(X\) X\(\(X\)\) X dug(\(g\) a) dasal\(\(l\)ú.hi.ke\(k\) )

15). [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ] \(X\) d( . . . . )

The rest of the tablet is broken away
REVERSE

Break

1'). [k]i-[i] p[i(KA)] Giši'[i(Ll.Us.UM)] 'la-bi-ri]-[šu šaṭiɾ bari]

* * *

OBVERSE

1. [......].... in the morning, without having eaten
2. [.....] ... and you recite (this) incantation three times.
   You throw (it) into the river. The evil (of the dream) will be
dispelled.

3-9 = ADRC, col. III lines 39-41 and 43-4

10-1 = ADRC, col. III lines 45a and 46a

12). [Incantation: ". ....] evil, great lord Enki, it/he will go to
13). [.....] ....
14). [.....] . . . ( . ) ... Asalluhi
15 is too fragmentary to translate.
   The rest of the tablet is broken away

REVERSE

Break

1'). [Written (and) collated] according to the text (lit., mouth) of
[its] ancient wooden writing-board.

* * *

NOTES

Obverse

1-2). The ritual, as it stands today, is incomplete, since we do not
possess the incantation to be recited, nor is it clear what is to
be thrown into the river (probably a clod).

1). DB, p. 343 omitted this line; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

2). DB, p. 343 began transliterating the line from ÉN.

Reverse

1'). DB, p. 343 read [UGIU GIS li-us-um SAI R].

Fragments of at least sixteen writing-boards made of walnut wood covered with beeswax were excavated from the North West Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud. Both these and sixteen ivory writing boards are examined in M. Howard [1955] and D. J. Wiseman [1955].
The cuneiform text of K. 11406 is a Geers Copy.

* * *

**Column I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Break</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1'. One trace at the end of the line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rest of the tablet is broken away

* * *
Column I

Break

1'-2' are too fragmentary to translate

3'). [ . . . . ] may [your emotions] calm down!

4'). [ . . . . . . . . . . . ]

5'). [O Shamash, you are the judge!] Judge my [case]!

6'). [You are the maker of the oracular decision(s)!] Make [the oracular decision] regarding me!

7'). Turn [the dream which I saw into good] luck!

8'). [May I prosper!] May I obtain [a friend]!

9'). [ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] when soaked (in) its water the dream (X?)

10'). [ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]

11'). [ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] like the clod in water [ . . . . (to throw)]

12'-5' are too fragmentary to translate

The rest of the tablet is broken away

*   *   *

NOTES

A clod is mentioned in col. I, line 11', but the preceding incantation phrases raise problems. Col. I line 3' addresses an angry deity, while lines 5'-8' appear in a ŠU.Í.LLÁ-incantation to Shamash (see ADRC, col. III lines 5, 7, 9, and 11; pp. 339-40.

Lines 12'-5' have no obvious parallels in the dream texts. So, although K. 11406 is probably a clod substitution ritual, it does not correspond with the other examples, which form a group (p. 225).

Only one trace remains of column II.
NUSKU RITUAL FOR A
FAVOURABLE DREAM (NRFD)

Only KAR 58, obverse 39 to reverse 18 has been studied, together with the tablets duplicating these lines.

TEXTS
CT 51, No. 149 (G)
KAR 58 (A)
LKA 132 (F)
SpTU 2, Nos. 8-10 (d, a₁, and b₁ respectively)

STUDIES
R. Borger [1974], p. 191 (bit mēseri connections)
H. Donner [1957-8], p. 392 (A, obv. 39 and 44)
E. Ebeling [AGH], pp. 36-43 (edition of A)
E. Ebeling [1918] (edition of A)
A. Falkenstein und W. von Soden [SAHC], Nos. 77-8 (trans. of rev. 1-17 and obv. 39-50 of A respectively)
W. Mayer [UFBG], pp. 485-6, Nusku 4 (transl. of NRFD, obv. 39-50)
A. L. Oppenheim [DB], p. 298 (obv. 19' of F)
M.-J. Seux [1976], pp. 254-5, 320-1 (trans. of a, obv. 39-50 and rev. 1-17 respectively)
E. von Weiher [SpTU 2], pp. 48-59 (editions of d, a₁, and b₁)
The reverse of NRFD occurs only on A, rev. 1-18.

C (R. Borger's 1974, p. 1911, exemplar v) indicates by its colophon that it belongs to the bit méseri series, as does d (R. Borger's exemplar Uruk a), both forming part of Piece 5 of Tablets 3 and 4 (see ibid. on E and f, under his exemplar x).

K. 7664 and K. 9302 have been joined (B) since the edition of W. Mayer [UFBG], who omitted to use b₁ and d.

Correct E. von Weiher [SpTU 2], p. 54 to either No. 10, lines 7'-16' or No. 9, obv. 8'-17'.

KAR 58, obv. 39-51 does not mention dreams, but has been studied because:

i). The ritual on A indicates a continuation on to the incantation of rev. 1-17, which mentions Anzagar and dreams.

ii). Its incipit occurs on F, which contains rituals to obtain favourable dreams (ADRC), and one to appease an angry personal goddess.

The whole complex NRFD has been treated as a ritual to obtain a
favourable dream, although it differs from the pattern of those on ADRC (Table 11 on p. 298), since a dream is requested. A. L. Oppenheim [DB, p. 298] regarded F as containing a ritual against bad dreams, but there is no mention of nightmares.

* * *

OBVERSE

LINE 39

ÉN ₅Nusku šâr mu-ši mu-nam-mir uk-lî
A). ÉN ₅Nusku šâr mu-ši mu-na-mir uk-lî
B). [ Nûsku šâr GEš mu-na-mir uk-[ ]
C). [ÉN] ₅Nusku šâr GEš mu-na-mir uk-[ ]
d). ÉN ₅Nusku š[âr . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
E). ÉN ₅Nûsku [ ]
F). ÉN ₅Nûru(ZÁLAG) (UTU) šâr mu-ši mu-nam-mir 'uk-lî-1
a1). [ ] ₅Nûku šâr mu-ši mu-nam-mîr . . . . . . . .
b1). [ . . . . . . . . ] 'X'ú mu :

LINE 40

ta-az-za-az ina mu-ši-ma ni-ši ta-bar-ri
A). ta-za-az ina mu-ši-ma UN.MEŠ ta-bar-ri
B). [GUB-az ] 'mu-ši UN'1.MEŠ (ta)-bar-ri
C). tazzaz ([G]UB-az1) ina mu-ši UN.MEŠ ta-bar-[ ]
E). GUB-az [ ]
b1). ta-az-za-az ina mu-ši ni-ši ta-[ ]
LINE 41

ina ba-li-ka ul šakin nap-tan ina É-kur

A). ina ba-li-ki ul GAR-in nap-tan ina É-kur

B). [ ul

    nadin(SUM-in)

C). [ ina ba-li-ka šip-ṭu pursû(ES.BAR) ul

    [X]-[ ]

    d). ina ba-li-ka [ ]

    E). ina ba-li-ki šip-ṭu [ ]

    a1). [ ]

    b1). [ ] pu-ru-us-su-ú ul[ ]

LINE 42

dše-e-du ha-a-a-ṭu al-lu-hap-pu hab-bi-lu gal-lu-u rābiṣu ilu lem-nu

A). dALAD ha-a-a-ṭu al-lu-hap-pu hab-bi-lu gal-lu-u

    MÂŠKIM DINGIR lem-nu

B). [ MÂŠKIM

    DINGIR lem-nu

    d). še-e-du al-lu-h(a[p- . . . . . ] [X1 ] [X ] [X1 ] [ . . .

   . . . ]

    E). še-e-du a[l]-lu-ha-pu ha-[a]-[ ]

    a1). [ ]-e-[a]-du al-lu-hap-pé ha-[a]-[ ]

    b1). [ ]-a-ṭu : ra-bi-iṣ

    i l U DINGIR.MEŠ [ ]

Page 423
LINE 43

ů-tuk-ku LULILU MILITU im-me-du pu-zur šá-ha-ti
A). ῦ-tuk-ku LULIL.LÁ MILIL.LÁ im-me-du pu-zur
   šá-ha-ti

B). [ ] -rla
   u šá-ha-tu

d). [ ] im-mé-du pu-zur
   u šá-[hat]

e). ÿ-tuk-[ LIL.LÁ MILIL.LÁ ] i(m-
   ]

a1). [galls-lu-ú li-li-tú àr-dalt ]

b1). [ ] li-li-i : im-mid pu-uz-ru
   [ ſ ſ[−−] ]

LINE 44

ina pān dNūri-ka šu-ši sag-hul-ha-zu ῦu-ru-ud ÿ-tuk-ku kušud lem-nu
A). ina IGI dZÁLAG-ka šu-ši sag-[hul-ha]-za1 ῦu-ru-ud
   ÿ-tuk-ku KUR-ud lem-nu

B). [ . . . . . . . . ] ÿ-tuk-ka lem-nu

d). ina IGI1 nūri(IZ1.GAR)-ka šu-ši sa[g-
   ] ſ[−−]tuk-ku lem-nu

E). [ ]-ši sag-hul-ha-[ . . . ]

a1). šu-šu sag-hul-ha-zu [ ]

b1). [ ] ῦu-ru-du
   [ ]
LINE 45

\(d\)Šu-lak (E adds: [illu] mut-tal-lik mu-ši ša li-pit-su mu-tú a-mur-ka-me a-sa-hur ilüt-ka):

A). \(d\)Šu-lak mut-tal-lik mu-ši ša TAG-su mu-tú
     a-mur-ka-me a-sa-hur DINGIR-ut-ka

B). [ ] ša TAG-su ŪŠ /
     [ ] DINGIR-ut-ka

d). \(d\)Šu-lak mut-tal-lik GEš ša li-pit-šu ] /
     a-mur-ka-me as-hur [X] DINGIR-ut-ka

e). [ ] DINGIR mut-tal-lik mu- ] /
     [ ]-me as-[ ]

a). \(d\)Šu-lak mut-tal-lik mu-ši [ ] /
     a-mur-ka-me a-sa-hur DINGIR-úu(t- )

     [ ]-ka :

LINE 46

me-šar šul-me u balāṭi šu-kun eli-ias

A). me-šar šul-me u TI.LA šu-kun UGU-ias

B). [ ]-šu-kun UGU-ias]

d). EN.NUN šu-lum u. T[N šu-kuln ]

e). [ ]-ša]r šul-me [u] [ ]

b). EN.NUN šu-lul-mi [ ]
LINE 47

\[\text{dše-e-du na-ši-ru} \ u \ ilu \ mu-šal-li-mu \ šu-uz-ziz \ ine \ rēšīje\]

A). \[\text{dALAD} \ na-ši-ru \ DINGIR \ mu-šal-li-mu\]
\[šu-ži-iz \ ine \ SAG.MU\]

d). \[\text{dše-e-du na-ši-ru} \ u \ DINGIR \ mu-šal-li-mu\]
\[šu-uz-ziz \ ine \ [\]

e). \[\text{nla-ši-re} \ DINGIR \ [\]
\[\]

a1). \[\text{dALAD} \ na-ši-ru \ u \ ilū(DINGIR.MEŠ)\mu-ša{l-}\]

b1). \[\]
\[šu-uz-[\]

LINE 48

\[\text{lit-tar-ru-u'-in-ni} \ \text{kal} \ mu-ši \ a-di \ na-ma-ri\]

A). \[\text{lit-tar-tar} \ ru-ni \ \text{kal} \ mu-ši \ a-di \ na-ma-ri\]

d). \[\text{lit-tar-ru-u'-in-ni} \ \text{kal} \ GEŠ \ a-di-i \ šat \ ur-ra\]

e). \[\]
\[\]

G). \[\]

a1). \[\text{lit-tar-ru-u'-in-nu} \ \text{kal} \ [\]

b1). \[\]
\[\]

LINE 49

\[\text{dNusku} \ \text{-git-ma-lu} \ \text{be-el} \ \text{ta-šim-ti} \ \text{nar-bi-ka} \ \text{lu-šé-pi}\]

A). \[\]
\[\text{git-ma-lu} \ \text{EN} \ \text{ta-šim-ti} \ \text{nar-bi-ka} \ \text{lu-šé-pi}\]

d). \[\text{dNusku} \ \text{git-ma-lu} \ \text{EN} \ [\]
\[\]
\[\text{/nar-bi-ka} \ \text{lu-šé-pi}\]

e). \[\]
\[\text{X pu} \ [\]

G). \[\]
\[\]

a1). \[\text{dNusku} \ \text{git-ma-lu} \ \text{be-lu} \ \text{ta-šim-} \ \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\]

b1). \[\]
\[\text{-šim-tú :} \ \text{nar-bi-ka} \ [\]
\[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\]

Page 426
LINE 50

mahar ẞamaš ud-de-kám te [ÈN]
A). [ ] dUTU ud-de-kám
b). IGIG dUTU ud-de-kám te [ÈN]
E). traces of two or three signs
G). [( . . . ) i]na pān(IGI) [††[ . . . ]

LINE 51

A). [kI]ma annItem iq6u LÜŠipu(MAŠ,MAŠ) q š t(ŠU) Lûmarşî(IGI)
işabbât(DAB) - ma ana pān(IGI) dNasku šalâštî(3-šû) iqabbï
(DUG4,GA)

LINE 51a

F). ina pān(IGI) nu-ri nignaq(NIG,NA) Glśburâši(LI) / tašakken
(GAR-an) šipta(ÈN) šalâštî(3-šû) tamunnu(ŠID-NU)
G). [ . . . ] [X1 ina pān(IGI) dNûri(ZÁ[LAG]) . . . . ] / [ . . .
. . . ] [X úl [ . . . ]

REVERSE

1). [ÈN ẞ]Nasku sukkallu(SUKKAL) ġi-ru mu-tal-[ . . . ]
2). [X X X] [X1 ilâni(DINGIR,MEŠ) ša kib-ra-a-ti bēl(ÈN) emûqān
(USU) ġîrāšu(MAH,MEŠ -t[ù])
3). ša i-na ru-qâl - ti te-ni-še-e-ti ri-gim-šu i-še-mu-û
4). ana-ku annenne(NENNI) mār(A) annenne(NENNI) utl(te)-nin-klâ
[X1 di-ni-ia uzân(GESTUG1)-ia pu-te-i
5). [aš]-šum di-ni-[li re-e-mlu] (lû šur-ši-i
7). [ina māşarat(ÈN,NU[N) ba-ra-ri-tû māşarat(ÈN,NU[N) qab-li-tû
māşarat(ÈN,NU[N) šat ur-ri
9). [AN],ZAG,GAR,RA AN,ZAG,GAR,RA ba-bi-lu a-me-lu-ti
10). mār(DUMU) šip-ri ša ru-bi-i 4 Marduk
11). mu-ši-tu pu-luh-tu ša li-la-a-ti
12). 3 maṣṣarāti(EN.NUN.MEŠ) ša mušīti(GEš-ti) e-ra-a-ti na-aš-ra-a-te dal-pa-a-te la ṣa-li-l-a-ti
14). dal-pā-ti-na la ṣa-li-la-ti-[n]а
15). a-na e-ri ṣal-li purussā(EŠ.BAR-a) ta-nam-din-na
16). te-ep-pu-ša ṣi-bu-ut-ku(-nu) ta-bar-ra-a kal mu-ši a-di maṣṣarat(EN.NUN) šat ʿur-ri
17). šutta(<MĀŠ>GEš) lib-lam-ma dâ-li-lí-ka lud-lul
18). KA.INIM.MA ṢU.ĪL.LÁ 4NUSKU.KĀM

* * *

OVERSE
39). Incantation: "O Nusku, the king of the night! The illuminator of darkness!
40). You are present (lit., stand) during the night, and you watch over mankind.
41). A meal cannot be prepared in Ekur without you.
42). The šēdu-demon, the haḫḫu-du-demon, the alluhappu-demon, the habbilu-demon, the gallu-demon, the raḫḫu-demon, 'the evil god',
43). the utukku-demon, the lišu-demon, (and) the lištu-demoness (all) cower away (lit., take refuge) in secret nooks
44). before your divine light. Send away the saḫḫulhaḫtu-demon! Drive away the utukku-demon! Defeat the evildoer!
45). O Shulak, (E adds: the god), the one who roams around at night, (and) whose touch (is) death! I looked at you, and I appeal to your divinity.
46). Establish a guardian of well-being and health for (lit., over) me!
47). Make a protecting šēdu and the god who keeps (one) well stand at my head (while I sleep)!
48). May they constantly guide me all through the night, until dawn!
49). O noble/perfect Nusku, the lord of understanding, (do this, and) I will extol your greatness
50). all day long before Shamash!" [Incantation] formula.

51). [When he has said this] the exorcist takes the hand of the invalid, and he says (the following incantation) three times before Nusku:

51a). You set out a censer of juniper before the lamp. You recite the (above) incantation three times.

---

REVERSE

1). [Incantation:] "O Nusku, the august vizier;...
2). [ . . . ] of the gods of the four quarters (of the world)! The lord of overpowering strength.[ . . ]
3). whose voice mankind hears from afar!
4). I myself, X, the son of Y, beseech you (to) grant me knowledge of my situation!
5). Cause (the judge) to have [mercy] regarding the verdict [(on) me]!
7). [During] the first watch (of the night), the middle watch, (or) the third watch
8). may X bring me [a (favourable) dream], and I will proclaim your glory!
9). O Anzagar! O Anzagar, the bringer (of dreams) to mankind!
10). The messenger of prince Marduk!
11). O Night, the terror of the evening!
12). O (you) three watches of the night, awake, watchful, remaining awake, (and) not lying asleep!
13). While you (fem. pl.) are awake, watchful,
14). remaining awake, (and) not lying asleep,
15). you give oracular decision(s) to those awake or sleeping.
16). You carry out your purpose. You watch all night until (the end of) the third watch.
17). May X bring me a (favourable) dream, and I will proclaim your (masc. sing.) glory!"

18). Incantation rubric: It is (the text of) a ŠU.ILLÁ-incantation to Nusku.

# # #

NOTES

Obverse

39). F, obv. 19' has the variant dNūru(ZALAG Δ), but is still addressing Nusku, since his symbol was a lamp.

b1, line 7' appears to have a different incipit, but the rest of the extant text corresponds to NRFD; see E. von Weiher [SpTU 2, p. 58] for a possible reading of this beginning.

d, col. III lines 1'-2' possibly refer to this incantation, since there is no dividing line:

1'). ana 'X [ . . . . . . . . . .]
2'). kīma(GIM) an-n[am . . . . . . . . . .]

41). All the other manuscripts have the variant ina ba-li-ka šip-šu u pu-ru-us-su-ú ul nadin(SUM-in), "Divine judgement and oracular decision(s) cannot be given without you."

A and E incorrectly use the second feminine personal suffix -ki.

42-3). The manuscripts list the demons differently.

43). E. von Weiher [SpTU 2, p. 59] suggested that the last sign on b1, line 10' was II[GI].

B, d, and b1 have an unnecessary u/ú after pu-zur.

45). It is unclear why the demon Shulak, the overseer of the lavatory (TDP, p. 188, line 13), appears in connection with Nusku.

d, col. III line 8' has the incorrect variant as-hur, "I appealed".

48). d, col. III line 10' has the variant šat ur-ri, "(the end of) the third watch (of the night)".
NRFD

G has a dividing line between rev. 1' and 2'; i.e., between 
NRFD, lines 48-9.

i.e., EN] after Nusku, which is unsupported by the SpTU texts.

50). E. Ebeling [AGH, p. 40] restored [a-di šít] at the beginning of 
A, obv. 50; a restoration again unconfirmed by the SpTU texts.

51). The restoration on A, obv. 51 comes from E. Ebeling [AGH, 
p. 40].

Reverse

1). An obvious restoration for the end of the line is mu-tal-lik mu-
šil, "the one who roams around [at night]", but this epithet 
usually applies to demons or unpleasant deities (p. 75).

2). E. Ebeling [AGH, p. 40] restored [nūr] at the beginning of 
this line, which does not fit with the traces. At the end he restored 
[sp]-kal-lul, but there appears to be room for only one more 
sign at most.

4). In the middle of the line E. Ebeling [AGH, p. 40] restored [aš-
šum, but the trace does not resemble -šum.

5). The restoration comes from AHw 2, rašši, 56 10, p. 962b. E. 
Ebeling [AGH, p. 40] read [di-nū]-l instead, translating [ibid., 
p. 41] the whole line as "was [meinen] Prozeß angeht, laß (mich) 
mein Recht! bekommen!"

ibid., p. 41] "Sprich(?) das Wort: Ich habe [ihn] mißachtet!". 
[1]a ta-a-lak, "Ne va pas [âl un autre judgement"; stating that 
he had followed the translation of A. Falkenstein and W. von 
Soden [SAHG, p. 352]: "zu einem anderen Prozeß mögest du 
nicht hingehen".

p. 320, n. 10] suggested [šut-t]u, however, šuttu appears more 
usually written out as šu-ut-tu [AHw 3, pp. 1292-3].

It is not clear who is to bring the requested dream.
9). A sub-incantation appears to begin in this line, addressed to Anzagar, personified Night and the three Watches of the Night (the last four being feminine).

16). The pronominal suffix -ku<-nu> should read -kina (second feminine plural).

17). The restoration comes from M.-J. Seux [1976, p. 321, n. 16], following that of rev. 8.

As in rev. 8, it is not clear who was to bring the desired dream.
SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN DREAM

RITUAL (SDR)

TEXTS

ABL 450 (G₁)
BMS 1 (A₁)
LKA 39 (F₁)
LM 1-2 (B₁, now + K. 17283; and E₁ respectively)
STT 56 (C₁)

R. F. Harper [1898-9], p. 130 (G₁)
S. Langdon [1918], pl. 7 (A)
J. N. Strassmaier [AV], Nos. 6700 (lines 1-7), 7845 (lines 23-5),
8063 (lines 21-10), and 8297 (lines 1-4), (all for A₁)

STUDIES

E. Behrens [1906], pp. 8 (G₁, rev. 5-9), 17-8 (G₁, obv. 8-18)
E. Combe [1908], Nos. 2 and 6 (editions of A₁ and b respectively,
noting E₁ and G₁)
J. A. Craig [1894-5] (edition of A₁)
E. Ebeling [AGH], pp. 6-9 (edition of A₁, obv. 1-29, using A and b;
correct W. Mayer [UFBG], p. 494)
A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden [SAGH], No. 52 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-
27, using an unpublished duplicate)
H. Hunger [BAK0], No. 407 on p. 120 (colophon of C₁)
M. Jastrow [1905], pp. 299-300 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-7, 9-11, 20-1)
L. W. King [BMSI], No. 1 (edition of a, using the part of B₁ known to
him (K. 3332) and E₁)
W. G. Kunstmann [1932], pp. 69-70 (ritual), and p. 103
R. Labat [1970], pp. 284-5 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-27, with unspecified
duplicates)
S. Langdon [1918] (edition of A, noting the existence of b, A₁, and G₁)
W. Mayer [UBFBG], Sin 1 on pp. 490-5 (translit. of lines 1-28, using A-c and A₁-F₁; correct his manuscript K (c here) to lines 26 onwards)
W. Mayer [1980], p. 422 (corrections to B₁).
B. Meissner [BuA 2], p. 322 (trans. of G₁, obv. 8-18)
A. T. Olmstead [1923], p. 407 (trans. of G₁, obv. 8 to rev. 9)
A. L. Oppenheim [DB], p. 233 (ritual)
A. L. Oppenheim [1941], p. 253 (trans. of G₁, obv. 8 to rev. 9)
S. Parpola [LAS], No. 219 (edition of G₁)
E. G. Perry [1907], No. 2 (edition of A₁, obv. 1-28)
R. H. Pfeiffer [SLA], No. 292 (edition of G₁)
M. V. Scheil [SFS], No. 18 on p. 104 (description of b)
M.-J. Seux [1976], pp. 278-80 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-27, using A, b, C₁, and F₁)
F. J. Stephens [ANET], p. 386 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-27)
L. Waterman [RCAE], No. 450 (edition of G₁)
H. Zimmern [1911-2], pp. 4-5 (trans. of A₁, obv. 1-27)
### MANUSCRIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Museum No.</th>
<th>Publication Number</th>
<th>Relevant Lines</th>
<th>Lines on SDR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>BM 78432 (Bu. 88-5-12, 335)</td>
<td>S. Langdon [1918], and pls. 1-2</td>
<td>obv. 1' to rev. 16</td>
<td>7-8, 19-20b, 21-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Si 18</td>
<td>E. Combe [1908], No. 6</td>
<td>obv. 1 to rev. 10</td>
<td>8, 19-20b, 21-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Si 904</td>
<td>Geers copy</td>
<td>lines 1'-7'</td>
<td>26-31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| A1 | K. 155 | BMS 1 | obv. 1-28 | 1-13, 14-5, 16-8, 19, 20, 21-8 |
| B1 | K. 2823 + 3332 LM 1 (and 11347 + 11722 extra) + 15427 + now 17283 | obv. 1 to rev. 8 | 1-13, 14-15, 16-8, 19, 20, 21-8 |
| C1 | S.U. 51/107 STT 56 | obv. 19 to rev. 37 | 1-11, 14, 15a, 17-9, 20b-c |
| d1 | Si 884 | Geers copy | obv. 1-7 | 1-7 |
| E1 | Sm. 1382 LM 2 | lines 1'-5' | 4-8 |
| F1 | VAT 14060 LKA 39 | obv. 1'-7' | 10-11, 13a-15, 16 |
| G1 | K. 898 | ABL 450 | obv. 9-17 | 29, 31, 34, 36 |

The writer has been unable to consult the unpublished tablet VAT 13854, mentioned as a duplicate to BMS 1, obv. 1-28 by R. Borger [HKL 2, p. 123].

Only manuscripts A, b, and c connect the incantation and ritual, both of which mention the Dream God Anzagar (SDR, lines 25 and 32 respectively). A and b were intended for the use of Shamash-shum-ukin (SDR, line 19a), hence the name of this ritual to obtain a favourable dream.

S. Langdon [1918, p. 105, and n. 6] stated that only the obverse of A was preserved; however, see his edition and his pl. 7. Rev. 13ff. appears to offer a very broken second or alternative ritual.

b has only been published in transliteration. Occasionally the rendition of E. Combe [1908], No. 6 has been emended according to the other duplicates, and following the edition of W. Mayer [UFBG], pp. 490-4, since W. von Soden collated the text (W. Mayer's text H) after Photo K. 389f.
E. Combe's transliteration has been left unaltered for *SDR*, lines 29-32 (i.e., the ritual).

The colophon of *A₁* tells us that this tablet formed part of the *bīl rimki* series as collected in Ashurbanipal's Library. The incantation line numbering of *SDR* follows that of *A₁*. *B₁* and *E₁* only contain the incantation, but probably also belong to this series. *K. 17283* has been joined to *B₁* since the copy of *LM 1*.

*C₁* is a collection of incantations, with obv. 1-18 addressing Ea, and rev. 38 citing the incipit of one to Adad.

*d₁*, rev. 1'-'3' presents a broken ritual, which seems to differ from that of *SDR*.

*F₁* only covers the incantation. Obv. 3'-'4' mentions Ashurbanipal, which may cause confusion in the context of *SDR* (see lines 13a-c and 19a), since Assyrian and Babylonian versions of the same incantation have been merged.

*G₁* is a Neo-Assyrian letter written by the exorcist Nabu-naser to Esarhaddon, concerning the prince Ashur-mukin-palu'a (pp. 453-5).

* * *

**LINE 1**

**ÉN dSin dNannaru šu-pu-u ašarid ilāni**

*A₁*). ÉN d30 dNANNA-ru šu-pu-ú

*B₁*). 1EN1 d30 dNANNA-ru

*C₁*). 1ÉN1 d30 NAN[N]A]-r[u] šu-pu-ú

*d₁*). [ šu-pu-u SAG.KAL DINGIR.MES

**LINE 2**

*dSin ed-deš-šu-ú mu-nam-mir uk-li*

*A₁*). d30 ed-deš-šu-ú mu-nam-mi[r] 1

*B₁*). 1d130 ed-deš-šu-ú mu1-

*C₁*). [ ed-deš-šú1-ú mu-na-[mir] uk-í lu1

*d₁*). [ ] mu-nam-mir uk-li

--

Page 436
**LINE 3**

ša-ki-in na-mir-ti a-na nišē a-pa-a-ti

A₁). ša-ki-in na-mir-ti a-na UN.MEŠ [ ]
B₁). ša-ki-in na-mir-ti [ ]
C₁). [ ] mana-[mir]-te ana [ ] UN.MEŠ a-pa-[ ]
D₁). [ ] UN.MEŠ a-pa-a-ti

**LINE 4**

ana nišē ṣal-mat qaqqadi uš-šu-ru šé-ru-ru-k[al]

A₁). ana UN.MEŠ ṣal-mat SAG.DU uš-šu-ru šé-[ ]
B₁). ana UN.¬MEŠ ṣal-mat SAG.DU [ ]
C₁₂₃). [ ] MEŠ ṣal-mat SAG.DU uš-šu-ru šé-[u] [ ]
D₁). [ ] uš-šu-ruš šé-ru-ru-k[al]
E₁). [ ] uš-šu-ruš [ ]

**LINE 5**

nam-rat gesture ina ūmē el[i-lu-ti]

A₁). nam-rat UD.DA-ka ina AN-e [X₁ [ ]
B₁). nam-rat UD.DA-ka [ ]
C₁₂₂). [ ] rlat UD.DA-[ka ina] [A]N₁-e el[l-lu-ti]
D₁). [ ] ina AN-e [X₁-[ ]
E₁). [ ] ina AN-e [ ]

**LINE 6**

šar-hat di-pa-ra-ka kīma d'Girra [X₁ [ . . . ]]

A₁). šar-hat di-pa-ra-ka GIM dGirra [X₁ [ . . . ]
B₁). šar-hat di-pa-ra-ka [ ]
C₁₂₄). [ ] ġet(UD.DA)-ka GIM dGirra [X₁ [ ]
D₁). [ ] GIM dGirra [X₁ [ ]
E₁). [ ] -k[a GIM dGirra [ ]

Page 437
LINE 7

ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ru-ka erṣeta rapāš [ta]
A1). [ K1-1-ta X1 [ ]-t ti? ]
B1). ma-lu-ú nam-ri-ru-ka KI-[1 ta] [ ]
d1). [ -kla KI-tim DAGAL- ]
E1). [ -rl-u-ka [ ]

LINE 8

šar-ha nišū ug-da-šē-ra ana a-ma-ri ka-α-[ta]
A1). [ ] ana a-λ ma-ri [ ka-α-[ta] ]
b1). [ ] -r]e ana a-ma-ri [ ]
A1). šar-ha UN.MEŠ ug-da-šē-ra ana a-ma-ri ka-[ ]
B1). [ ] k]e-a-ašē
E1). Trace

LINE 8a

C1). [X X] 'ana1 ilūt(DINGIR-ut)-ka u-paq-[qu1 ka-λ a?1-[α-na] ]

LINE 9

'dA-num šamē šē le i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šū me-a[m-men]
A1). 'dA-num AN-e šē le i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šū me-a[m-men]
B1). 'dA-num AN-e šē le [i1-[ ]
C1). [ ]-l-am-ma-du mi-lik-šū ka-b-[X X X]

LINE 10

šu-tu-rat ḡēt-ka kīma 'dŠamaš bu-uk-ri-[ka]
A1). šu-tu-rat UD.DA-ka GIM dUTU bu-uk-ri-[ka]
B1). [ -t]u-f rat1 UD.DA-ka [X ] [ ]
C1). [ ]-DA? ]-ka GIM d[UT]U [ ]
F1). [ ] -kla GIM [ ]
LINE 11
[\textit{kām}]-su [\textit{ma-hlar}]-ka ilānu rabūtu purussū mātāti [\textit{šē-kin}] ina pāni-
\[ka\]
A1). [\textit{kām}]-su [\textit{IGI}-ka] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ\ EŠ.BAR\ KUR.KUR
\[\text{GAR-in ina IG}-\{ka\}\]
C1). [ ma-hlar-ka DINGIR.MEŠ G]AL. ] / [ ]
\[\textit{šē-kin} ina IG}-\{ ]
F1). [ .BA]\R\ KUR.KUR
\[\text{GAR-in [ ]}\]

LINE 12
\textit{ina lumun attalī dSin šē ina arhi annanna ūmi annanna iššakn[a]}
A1). \[\text{ina HUL AN.GE}d 430 šē ina ITI NENNI U4 NENNI GAR-n[a]
B1). [ HUIL AN.G[ ]

LINE 13
\textit{lumun idāti ittāti lemniṭi lā ūbāṭi šē ina ekkallīja u mātīja ibṣa}
A1). \[\text{HUL} A.MEŠ GISKIM.MEŠ HUL.MEŠ lā DUG.MEŠ \[šē ina
\[É.GAL.MU u KUR.MU GÁL-\{a\}\]
B1). [HU]L Á ] / [ ]\na
\[É.\[GAL]\{ ]

LINE 13a
F1\{3\}). \[\text{ana-ku mdAššur1-bān(D1Ũ)-apli(A) mār(DU[MU]\)} ili(DINGIR)-
\śū]\n
LINE 13b
F1). [\textit{šē ili(DINGIR)-śū dAš-šur}] 4dilṭar (EŠtA.TÂR)-śū dAš-šur-
\[\{i\}]\{ ] / [ tum ( . . .\}]

LINE 13c
F1). [ . . . . \textit{pal-ha-ku (u) ald-ra-ku u šu-ta-d[ ]u-ra-ku]
LINE 14

išul mu šal-qua ma ta-nam-[din] mil-ka

A1). DINGIR.MES GAL.MES išul-qua ma SUM-in mil-ka
B1). [ ] .MEŠ
C1). [ ] .MEŠ išul-qua ta-nam-[din]
F1). [ ] -lu-qua ma SUM-in

LINE 15

uš1-bu pu-ur šu-šu-nu uš-qa mu-ù ina šepli-ka

A1). uš1 (GUB) - bu pu-ur šu-šu-nu uš-qa mu-ù ina Kl.TA-[ka]
B1). 'uš1-[ ]-ka
F1). [ ] -nu uš-qa mu-ù ina Kl.

LINE 15a

C1(32). [ . . . . ] u_di-gi-gi šul-šer-[ka] [XX]

LINE 16

šul-pu-ša É-kur išul-qua ma ta-mit ilání tenaddin

A1). šul-pu-ša É-kur išul-qua ma ta-mit DINGIR.MES
B1). šul-[ ]-ka / t[a-
F1). Trace

LINE 17

(um) bubbul u4-um ta-mit-ti-ke pi-riš-ti ilání rabùti

A1). UD.NÁ.AM u4-um ta-mit-ti-ke pi-riš-ti DINGIR.MES GAL, [ ]
B1). ?ID. 1-ti-ke / pti- [ ] GAL.MEŠ
C1(33). [ ] 'u4-um purussē(EŠ.BAR) ša DINGIR.MEŠ [ ]

LINE 18

uš4.30.KAM1 i-sin-qa ka išul-um ta-šil-ti ilútĭ-ke

A1). uš4.30.KAM1 i-sin-qa ka išul-um ta-šil-ti DINGIR-t[ ]
B1). [ ] -na-ka / [ ] -ka
LINE 18a
Ci³). [ . . . . ] te-diš-ti i-quṣ-lu-ka

LINE 18b
C₁). [ . . . . ] 'X X X X X ¹ [(X)]

LINE 19
⁹Namraṣīt e-muq la ša-na-an ša la i-lam-ma-du mi-lik-šū ma-am-man
A). [ ]-muq la ša-na-an / [ ]-l du
   mi³-lik-i šū⁵ ma-am-
B). ⁹Namraṣīt el-muq la ša-na-an ša la i-l[iam-]
   mi-lik-šū [ ]
A₁). ⁹Namraṣīt BABBAR e-muq la ša-na-an ša [i]la i-lam-ma-du
   mi-lik-šū ma-al[m-
B₁). [ ]-l na¹-an / šla
   mi-am-man

LINE 19a
ana-ku ⁹Šamaš-šum-ukin arad-ka
A). [ ]-M1U-G1.NA [R]-ka
B). ana-ku ⁹G1š.NU1-MU-G1.NA [R]-

LINE 20
as-ruq-ka ši-riq mu-ši el-la aq-qī-ka re-eš-ta-a ši-kar da-ēš-pa
A). [ ]-ši'-riq mu-ši el-la / [ ]-eš-ta-a
   ši-kar da-ēš-pa
B). as-ruq-ka ši-riq mu-ši e[l]-lu / aq-qī-ka re-eš-ta-a
   ši-kar [ ]
A₁). as-ruq-ka ši-ri[q] GEš e[l]-lu aq-qī-ka re-eš-ta-a
   ši-kar [ ]
B₁). a[g-] [ ]-l lu / a[q-q]l re-[eš]-[ ]
LINE 20a
ina GÎŠGÂN.LAGAB? qud-du-ši šum-ka az-kur
A). [ l-ši MU-ka az-kur
b). ina GÎŠGÂN.LAGAB? qud-du-ši MU-ka az-[ ]

LINE 20b
al-si-ka be-1î ina qé-reb šamê elliî
A). [ -1î ina qé-reb AN-e KÜ.MEŠ
b). al-si-ka be-1î ina qé-reb AN-e K[U.]
C1). [ 1{-s1]-ka EN ina qé- ]

LINE 20c
C137). [(X)] X1 ana ilâni(DINGIR.MEŠ) an na 'ana šu-te- X1 [(X X)]

LINE 21
kâm-{š}a-ku az-za-az a-še-'e ka-a-šá
A). [ až a-še-'e ka-a-šá
b). [ l-ku a-za-az a-še-'e ka-[ ]
A1). kâm-sa-ku az-za-az a-[šel'-e (ka) ka-[ ]
B1). kâm-{ -k}u az-za-az [a1-[ ]

LINE 22
egirré dum-qî u ml-šá-ri šu-kun eli-1â
A). [ ] u ml-šá-ri šu-kun UGU-1â
b). [ ] dum-qî u ml-šá-ri šu-kun UGU-[ ]
A1). INIM.GAR 'dum1-qî u ml-šá-ri GAR-un UGU-[ ]
B1). INIM. [ dum1-qî u ml1(a)-šá-ri [ ]
LINE 23

ištari ša iš-tu ūmē ma-a'-du-tū is-bu-su eli-Ša
A). [ iš-tu U4.MEŠ ma-a'-du-tū
      is-bu-su [UGU-nu]

b). [ ] iš-tu u4-mu ma-a'-du [X]
      is-bu-su [ ]

A1). DINGIR.MU u 4Eš18.TAR<.MU> ša iš-tu u4-um ma-du-ti
       is-bu-su [ ]

       is-bu-su UGU-[ ]

LINE 24

ina kit-ti u [mil]-ša1-ri lis-li-mu itti-ias : ur-hi lid-mi-iq pa-da-
   ni li-šir
A). [ ]-ša1-ri li-is-li-mu KI-ia / [ pa-da-nu li-šir

b). [ ]-ti u mil- ]-is-li-mu [ ]

A1). ina kit-ti u NIG.SI.SÁ lis-li-mu KI-iš : ur-hi
       lid-mi-iq pa-da1(iš)-ni [i- ]

B1). ina kit-ti < > NIG.SI.SÁ lis-[li1-mu KI-[iš] / ur-hi
       lid-mi-iq pa-da1-ni li-ši[r

LINE 25

úma-'i-ir-me AN.ZA.GAR ilQ. ša šunšt1
A). [ ]-me AN.ZA.GAR ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) ša MĀŠ.GEŠ.MEŠ

b). [ ]-ir-me AN.ZA.GAR [ ]

A1). úma-'i-ir-me AN.ZA.GAR DINGIR ša MĀŠ.GEŠ.[ ]

B1). úma-'i-ir-me AN.ZA.GAR DINGIR ša MĀŠ. GE[. ]
LINE 26

ina šat mu-ši-im li-paṭ-ṭi-ra ār-ni-iaš lu-uš-me šèr-ti lu-ta-līl
ana-ku
lu-ta-līl [ ]
c). ina šat mu-ši-im / lu-uš-me šèr-ti

A1). ina šat GES Dûš. MÊŠ ār-ni-iaš lu-uš-me šèr-ti
lu-ta-līl [ ]
B1). ina šat GES Dûš. MÊŠ ār-ti / lu-uš-me šèr-ti
lu-ta-līl [ ]

LINE 27

ana dà-ra-ti lud-lul dà-lī-lī-ka
A). [ ]-lu-šašu-līl dà-lī-lī-ka
b). [ ]-r-a-ti lud-šašu-lu-dà-lī-lī-ka

c). ana da-ra-a-ti lud-[la]-

A1). ana dà-ra-ti lud-lul dà-lī-lī-[ ]
B1). 'ana1 'dà-ra-ti [ ]-lu-dà-lī-ka-

LINE 28

KA.INIM.MA ŠU.ÍL.Á lá dûEN.NA.KÁM
A). [ ]-lál lá dûEN.NA.KÁM
b). [ ]-INIM.MA ŠU.ÍL.Á dûEN.NA.[ ]

c). KA.INIM.MA ŠU.ÍL.[lā]

A1). KA.INIM.MA ŠU.[lā] dûEN.[KÁM]
B1). KA.INIM.MA [ ]-ZUE[N].NA.KE4
LINE 29
DÛ.ĐU.BI GISpaššur GISbi-ni ana pän 4Sîn tara-kâs 12 akal ha-še-e 12 akal šamaššami
A). [ ŠIŅIG tašakkan(GAR-an) 12
NINDA ha-še-e 12 [NINDAŠE.GIŠ.]
b). kikiṭṭu isubînu tašakka-an 12
AZAG(?)-ŠÉ / 12 GAR ŠAR
c). DÛ.ĐU.BI GISBÂNŠUR ŠIŅIG! [ ]
G1) GISBÂNŠUR bi-ni ana IGI d30 tara-kâs

LINE 30
suluppâ sesqâ tasarraq miris dišpi himēti tašakken
A). [ 1-šaq1 NINDA.111.DÉ LÀL 1.NUN GAR-an
b). suluppu KU-A-TER tasarraq / miris bîni himēti
c). [ZÛ1.LUM.MA zîfEŠA1 DUB-saq1 [ ]

LINE 31
šikāra tanaqqi [šipta šalāšīš]u tamannu nignaq Š1Mburâši e-na
AN.ZA.GÂR ina rēš erši-šú tašakken
A). [KAŠ BAL-q1 ÉN 3-šl Š1D-šnu1 ina SAG GIŠ.NÅ-šú ena AN.ZA.GÂR
b). šikari tanaqqi / pän 11u[ZA.KAR] / ina rēš sîšir[ši(?)]
c). [ BAIL-šq1 [ Š1ID?-[ ]
G1). NĪG.NA Š1MLI e-na AN.ZA.GÂR / ina SAG GIŠ.NÅ tašakkan(GAR-en)

LINE 32
AN.ZA.GÂR na-âš-pâr-ti 4Nannari
A). [nignaq(NĪG.NA) Š1Mburâši(L1) tašakkan(GAR-en)
AN.ZA.GÂR na-âš-pâr-ti 4NANNA-r[í]
B). nîkka(?) burâši [tašakkan] /
11u[ZA.KAR] na-âš-pâr-ti 11u[Nannaru]
LINE 33
A).  [ . . . . . ] 'X X X X 1 - ma uzna(GESTUG.C11. MEŠ) liptettâ(BAD. MEŠ) taqabbi(TE DUG4.GA1) - l - ma

LINE 34
ina ûáp-ru-sâ qul-qú-la-ni qâta-šú u šêpê-šú tamessi
A).  [ . . . . . . ] DIA ŠUL\|- šú 1 [ GI'R1\|- šú ú-šah-hat-ma
G1).  ina ûáp-ru-sâ qul-qú-la-ni / ŠUL\|- šú  u GI'R1\|- šú
LUH-si

LINE 35
A).  [Ú.MEŠ DINGIR.ŠA.DIB.BA] GUR.RU.DA.KÂM

LINE 36
kur-ba-ni ūšbti ŠIM qul-qú-la-ni ŠIM buräši kurbân bâbî ke-mi-i ina TUGši-ši-ik-ti-šú tara-kás
A).  [ . . . . . ] 'X (X) '1 LAG KÂ.AN.AŠ.A.AN
ina TUGŠÍG-šú ['KEŠDA11
G1).  kur-ba-ni MUN / ŠIM qul-qú-la-ni ŠIMLI / LAG KÂ ke-mi-i /
ina TUGši-ši-ik-ti-šú tara-kás

LINE 37
A13).  [ . . . . . . . ] 'X1 lu ina ITI? be n[é] 'e1

LINE 38
A).  [ . . . . . . . ] 'X X1 GIŠBANŠUR tašakkan(GAR-an)

LINE 39
A).  [ . . . . . . . ] 'X1 ku da

LINE 40
A).  [ . . . . . . . . ] 'X1 su
The rest of the tablet (A) is broken away
TRANSLATION

1. Incantation: "O Sin, the brilliant luminary, the foremost of the gods!
2. O Sin, (the one who is) constantly renewed! The illuminator of darkness!
3. The provider of light to numerous mankind!
4. Your rays are released towards the black-headed people.
5. Your shining appearance is bright in the [pure] heavens.
6. Your torch is dazzling, like Girra. [. . . .].
7. Your splendour fills the wide earth.
8. The proudest of the people vie with one another for the sight of you.
8c. [ . . . . ] they constantly pay attention to your divinity
9. O Anu of the heavens, whose instruction(s) nobody can understand,
10. your shining appearance is pre-eminent like (that of) Shamash, [your] son.
11. The great gods kneel before you. The oracular decision(s) of the lands is placed before [you] (for approval).
12. As a result of the ill portent of a lunar eclipse which occurred in month X, on day Y,
13. (and because of) the evil of unfavourable (and) unpleasant ominous happenings (and) signs which are (occurring) in my palace and (throughout) my land,
13a. [I myself Ashurbanipal, the son! [of his personal god],
13b. [whose personal god (is) Ashur], (and) whose personal goddess is Ashuritum [. . . .]])
13c. [. . . . I am afraid, (and)] I am worried, and [I am] constantly terrified.
14. The great gods ask you, and you give advice.
15. They sit (in) their assembly, (and) debate under [you(r leadership)].
15a. [The Anunnaki] and the Igig Igig[rant]ed you [X X].
16). O Sin, the brilliant one of Ekur! They ask you, and you give the oracle of the gods.

17). The day of the new moon (is) the day of your oracle, the secret of the great gods.

18). The thirtieth day (is) your festival, the day of delight for your divinity.

18a). [ . . . . ] they pay attention to your renewal,

18b). [ . . . . ] . . . . [(X)].

19). O Namrasit, unrivalled (in) strength; whose instruction(s) nobody can understand!

19a). I myself, Shamash-shum-ukin, your servant,

20). scattered a pure offering of the night for you. I libated sweet first-class beer for you.

20a). I invoked you by holy . . .

20b). I called out to you, my lord within the pure heavens.

20c). [(X)]. to the gods . . . . [(X X)]

21). I am kneeling, I am standing, (and) I am seeking you.

22). Establish an oracular utterance of good luck and justice for me!

23-4). May my personal god and <my> personal goddess, who have been angry with me for many days, become reconciled with me through my truth and justice! May my way be favourable! May my path be straight!

25). He (Sin) sent Anzagar, the god of dreams,

26). so that during the night he will absolve me of my sin(s), I shall hear my punishment; (and) I shall be cleansed of my transgression.

27). (Then) I will proclaim your (Sin's) glory for ever!"
31-2). You libate beer. You recite the (above) incantation three times. You set out a censer of juniper at the head of his bed for Anzagar. "O Anzagar, the medium of Nannaru, 

33). [.....]... and let me hear!" you say. 

34). You wash his hands and his feet in the plants apruṣu (and) qulqullānu. 

35). They are (the plants) for the appeasement (lit., the turning back) [of an angry god]. 

36). You tie lumps of salt, quṣulqulānu-plant, juniper, (and) a clod from (the region of) the outer gate onto his hem. 

37). [..............] Ishtar or in the month? ...

38). [..................].. you place (on) a table. 

39-40 are too fragmentary to translate. 

The rest of the tablet (A) is broken away 

*   *   *

NOTES 

Sin was the Moon God, and various logograms indicate his different stages: 

i). The common logogram is d30 (a lunar month is 29½ days) - SDR, line 18 states that Sin's festival was the thirtieth of the month. 

ii). dNamrašTt(AS.IMG.BABBAR), the new moon (the beginning of the lunar cycle), is used on SDR, line 19.

iii). dZUEN, of which the Akkadian dSin is an abbreviation, denotes the crescent moon (both waxing and waning; i.e., days 7/8 and 21/2 respectively) - SDR, line 28. 

iv). dNANNA(-ru), the full moon (days 14/5), occurs on SDR, lines 1 and 32.

The moon disappeared from the sky around the twenty-eighth of the month and visited the Underworld (S. N. Kramer [1960], p. 54, line 90), judging the newly arrived dead. The day of the new moon was called UD.NÁ.ÁM (SDR, line 17), and was identified either with the rebirth of
Sin (K. 2164 + 2195 + 3510 (Babylonaica 6 [1912], pls. 1-2), rev. 25-31), or with death and funerary offerings (CT 18, pl. 23, line 13).

1). This incipit occurs elsewhere (pp. 204-6). It is possible that the end of c, obv. 19 is different.

   See ABZ, p. 259 regarding W. Mayer's [UFBG, p. 491] note on the different versions of NANNA.

4-5). C₁, obv. 22-3 reverses the order of these lines.

5). W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 419] suggested the reading DIAGAL.MESI at the end of the line.

6). C₁, obv. 24 has the variant šēš(UD.DA)-ka, "your shining appearance".

   The trace at the end of A₁ has given rise to different restorations:

   i). E. Ebeling [AGH, p. 61]: hi-[mi-it-ka], "your fire" (himtu literally means "scorching, fever").

   ii). S. Langdon [1918, p. 107]: ruš-ši], "blazing".

   iii). W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 491]: hi-[mi-t-ka]?


   v). M.-J. Seux [1976, p. 278, n. 11]: bi[r-bir-ru-ka], "your rays". The writer agrees with W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 491] that there is hardly room on a for all this.

   The final traces on C₁, obv. 24 and on d₁, obv. 6 are not the same as each other or as A₁.

8). The correct second singular accusative and genitive personal pronoun was kāti or kāta (A), but in late texts the dative kāšī or kāša (B₁) was also used for the accusative [CAD K, p. 288a].

9). W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 492] suggested restoring the end of C₁, obv. 27 as kab[l-tú mamma(n)]?

11-9). The order of lines 11-3, 14-7, and 18-9 appears to have become muddled, at least going by their sense, although all the manuscripts containing these lines follow the same pattern. Two emended arrangements have been suggested: the more preferable
12-3). $A_1$ and $B_1$ insert the attalû-formula (p. 205) about a lunar eclipse because they were intended for use in the bit rimki ritual.

13a-c). See page 436.

15). The first sign on $A_1$, obv. 15 is definitely GUB, despite W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 493], which is to be corrected to $uš$-, following $B_1$, obv. 16.

17). $C_1$, rev. 33 has the variant $u₄₁$-$um$ purussê(EŠ.BAR) šá ıšâni (DINGIR.MEŠ) rabûti(GIALL.MEŠ), "the day of the oracular decision of the great gods".

19a). See page 436.

20a). The reading of $b$, obv. 6 follows that of W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 493, n. 1 on his Einschab DH], after collation by W. von Soden.

The last sign on $A$, obv. 8' is -kur, not -niš as S. Langdon [1918] copied.

23). The expected form is dEŠ₁₈.TÁR.MU, parallel to DINGIR.MU. J. A. Craig (1894-5, p. 102) read -ya, and S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, p. 213] -MU, but this sign is not extant on $A_1$, obv. 23.

The $'X'$ of $b$, obv. 10 is probably -tú, see $A$, obv. 12'.

25). Various subjects have been proposed for ú-ma'-i-ir-ma, namely, who sends Anzagar to the petitioner:


iv). I (the petitioner) - E. Ebeling, A. Falkenstein und W. von Soden, R. Labat, S. Parpola, M.-J. Seux. The argument seems to be that the practitioner is commissioning Anzagar by this ritual, on behalf of the petitioner.

26). The transliteration of $b$, rev. 2 follows that of W. Mayer [UFBG,
b has been collated as *lu-ta-līl*, see W. Mayer [UFBG, pp. 494-5].

28). W. Mayer [UFBG, p. 494] restored the end of b, rev. 5 as LKE41, but A and b are very close in their sign usage.

29-31). The nambubi against a lunar eclipse, Cap. 65, which also cited the incipit of *SDR*, contains a ritual closely resembling that of *SDR*. Cap. 65, obv. 9'-14':

9'). \[kīm(a(GIM') an-nam i-te-ep-šū ina U₄.₄.KĀM 2 paṭTra(GI.DUG)\]

10'). \[ana dSin(ZUEN') tašakkan(GAR-an) 5 kurummatu (ŠUKU.MES) 12 TA.ÅM akal(NINDA) isqūqi (ZIKUM) tašakkan(GAR-\[\text{'an}']\)]

11'). \[suluppa(ZU.UUM'.MA) sašaq(ZI1EŠA) tasaqqaq (DUB-aq) miris(NINDA.1.DÉ.A) dišpi(LAL) himāti (I.'NUN.NA) tašakkan(GAR\[\text{'an}']\)]

12'). \[DUg adagurru(A.DA.GURS) tukān(DU-an) nignaq (NĪ.GNA) šIM burāšī LI tašakkan(GAR-an) šikāra (rēšā)(KAŠ.SΓAG) tanaqqi([BAI]-\[\text{'q}']\)]

13'). \[ana pān(IG1) dSin(30) dSin(ZUEN) dNannaru (NANNA-\[\text{'ru}\]) šu-pu-\[\text{'u}\]

14'). \[šašašašu(3-šū) tu-šam-na-šu\]

9'-10'. When he has done this, on the fourth day you place two reed alters before Sin. You set out five food portions and twelve loaves of *isqūq*—flour.

11'. You scatter dates and *sašaq*—flour. You set out a confection (made of) honey (and) ghee. 12'. You correctly install an *adagurru*-vessel. You set out a censer of juniper. You libate (first-class) beer. 13'-4'. You make him (the petitioner) recite (the incantation) "O Sin, the brilliant luminary" three times before Sin.

Both rituals have been elaborated from the very simple one of *bit rimki* (which is the same for all the incantations in this section), which also cites this incipit: *BBR* 26, col. III lines 52-3:

52). \[ana pān(IG1) dSin(30) nignaq(NĪ.GNA) šIM burāšī\]
(L1) tašakkan(GAR-an) šikāra (rēšūdā)(KAŠ.SAG)
tanaqqi(BAL-[qī])

53). ŠIN dSin(30) manāru(U4.SAKAR) šu-pu-ū šallāšīšu
(3-šū) tamannu(ŠID-nu)

52 You set out a censer of juniper before Sin. You libate
(first-class) beer. 53 You recite the incantation "O Sin,
the brilliant luminary" three times.

The letter LAS 219 (G1) shows us that the ritual of SDR was
actually performed in Neo-Assyrian times. Obv. 8 assigns the

ceremony to the sixteenth of Ululu (see p. 300). The line
numbers used here are those of LAS.

31-2). All three manuscripts vary for these lines. A has been followed
for the beginning of line 31, then G1, returning to A for line 32.

34). A, rev. 10 has the variant ú-šah-hat-ma, "you rinse".

noted an erasure between -ni and MUN on G1, obv. 14. Although
there is a gap here, there is no evidence that the surface has
been touched.

* * *

APPENDIX: LAS 219

OBVERSE

1). [a-na šarri(LUGAL) be-[I]-ia]
2). [uraš(IR)-ka =Nabû(AG) -nēšir(PAP-er)]
3). [dNabû(AG) u dMarduk]
4). [a-na šarri(LUGAL) bēli(EN)-ia a-dan-niš]
5). [lik-rul-bul1 šul-mu a-dal-[niš]
6). a-na =Aš-šur-mukīn(š-mu-keb-[niš]) -palūša([BAL]-u-e)
7). lib-bi ša šarri(LUGAL) bēli(-EN)-ia lu [ tàn-ab-šū]
9). GISH.pāšūr(BANŠUR) bi-ni ena pān(IG1) dSin(30) tara-kās
10). nignaq(NIG.NA) šIm-brūršī(L1) a-na AN.ZA.GAR
11). ina rēš(SAG) erši(GIŠ.NA) tašakkan(GAR-an)
12). ina ū-ap-ru-ša qul-qū-la-ni
13). qāṣū(ŠULI)-šū u šēpē(GIRI)-šū tamessi(LUH-si)
14). kur-ba-ni tābti(MUN)
15). šīk-gul-qa-la-ni šīm-burāši(LI)
16). kurbān(LAG) bābi(KĀ) ka-mi-ı
17). ina TUG-ši-ı-k-ti-šū tara-kās
18). re-e-ı ni-it-ti-ı

REVERSE
1). né-ep-pa-aš
2). ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) ša šarri(LUGAL) bēlí(EN)-ia
3). šum-ma issi(TA) =Aš-šur-mukīn(mu-kin)ı-palū’a(BAL-u-a)
4). la-ku-ú šu-tu-u-ni
5). a-di Aš-šur bēlí(EN) u dNabū(AG)
6). ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ-ni)-ka issi(TA) nišē(UN.MEŠ)
7). im-nu-šu-ú-ni
8). u4-mu u urhu(ITI) la ni-ib-ți-li
9). ša la dul-lu u né-pe-ši

OBVERSE
1). [To the king, my lord,]
2). [(from) your servant Nabu-nasir:]
3-5). May [Nabu and Marduk greatly] bless [the king, my lord]! (There is) great health
6). to Ashur-mukin-palu’ā (i.e., he is very well),
7). (so) the heart of the king, my lord, may be happy!
8). The ritual(s) of Ululu: On the sixteenth day . . . .
9-17 = SDR, lines 29, 31, 34, 36
18). We have prepared (for the ritual).

REVERSE
1). We are going to do it.
2). (I swear by) the gods of the king, my lord,
3). if, since Ashur-mukin-palu’ā
4). was an infant (lit., weak)
5). until Ashur, Bel, and Nabu,
6-7). your gods, counted him amongst the (adult) people,
8). we did not cease day or month
9). (from) any (lit., no) rite or ritual.

NOTES

Obverse
1-4). These lines have been restored after LAS.
8). Ashur-mukin-palu'a was a son of Esarhaddon, see S. Parpola [LAS vol. 21, p. 25.

Reverse
3-9). These lines contain an oath which has been rendered in various ways. S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, p. 214] regarded the lakû as a different person to Ashur-mukin-palu'a, and who had to be protected from potential infection from the latter. This "baby" had recently aged enough to be able to speak for himself, and so was counted amongst the people. This view is opposed to that of CAD L, lakû, §2a, p. 46b which stated that Ashur-mukin-palu'a was an infant, who had become an adult. The writer does not understand why lakû cannot refer to the named prince.

E. Behrens, A. L. Oppenheim [1941], R. H. Pfeiffer, and A. T. Olmstead took this passage to refer to a weak (i.e., ailing) Ashur-mukin-palu'a, who is (only just) being counted amongst living men. Only CAD B, baštâlu, §5', p. 175b could be taken as suggesting that this prince had died recently, not the first three as S. Parpola [LAS vol. 2, p. 214] implied.
SULTANTEPE INCUBATION RITUAL

(SIR)

TEXTS
CT 51, No. 103 (d)
LKA 138 (A1)
STT 73 (A)
UET 7, No. 118 (b)
YOS 11, No. 75 (c)

STUDIES
R. Borger [1961], p. 153 (A, line 16)
H. Hirsch [1968–9], p. 50, n. 135 (A, lines 33, 35, and 73)
H. Hunger [BAK], No. 380 on p. 116 (colophon of A)
E. Reiner [1960a] (edition of A, mentioning A1; correct p. 28 to obv. 1–5)

E. Reiner [1965], p. 248 (line 82)
### MANUSCRIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Museum No.</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
<th>Relevant Lines</th>
<th>Lines on SIR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>S.U. 51/1 + 25</td>
<td>STT 73</td>
<td>1-138</td>
<td>1-138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>UET 7, No. 118</td>
<td>obv. 1'-2'</td>
<td>46-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4'-7'</td>
<td>48a-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8'-10'</td>
<td>61-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11'</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12'-16'</td>
<td>65a-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17'-20'</td>
<td>71-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21'</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22'-3'</td>
<td>77-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24'</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25'-7'</td>
<td>81a-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>YBC 9884</td>
<td>YOS 11, No. 75</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>77-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>81a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>81b-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>BM 35182</td>
<td>CT 51, No. 103</td>
<td>1'-2'</td>
<td>86-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'-6'</td>
<td>88-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>VAT 13615</td>
<td>LKA 138</td>
<td>obv. 2-5</td>
<td>88-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>85-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A is the only source for lines 1-41 and 92-138. c is the only source for lines 81b-d.

The reverse of the Neo-Babylonian tablet b is very fragmentary, and we cannot tell if it is related to SIR or not. Correct UET 7, p. 2 to lines 46-84.

Obv. 1 of A1 possibly contained a title for the whole tablet. The reverse contains more rituals, apparently seeking omens. The language of these lines is difficult to understand. Rev. 3-6 describes the achievement of a purpose according to the flight of certain birds. The section also appears on CT 39, pl. 24, lines 28-9 (correct LKA, p. XIII).

* * *

### OBVERSE

Column I

1A). [ÈN i1-tu4] réme-ni-tu4 mu-bal-li-ţa-at mîtî(ADê)

2). [šá šap]-[l]-[u]-[us-sal] ba-la-ţu u na-ás-hur-šá šá-la-[š]mu

3). [ap-ka-l-lat] ilâni(DINGIR. MEŠ) ga-me-rat ab-ra-ä-[ti]
4) [ṣa-bi-ta-āt mar-ka-[s k]ip-pat šamē(AN-e) u erṣetim(KI-tim)]
5) [mu-ki]-[l]at mar-ka-[s]l rabī(GAL-i) ša Ė-šar-ra
6) ina šamē(AN-e) šu-tur manzāz(K1.GUB)-ki ina ʾdāʾiṣtātī(EŠ18.TAR.MEŠ) ša-qa-a re-ša-a-ki
7) ʾA-nu ʾEnli(BAD) u Ė-ʾa ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) abbē(AD1(GAL).MEŠ)-ki
8) [ina ba-l]i-ki ul i-ša-ka-nu ur-ʾta
9) [X (X) ʾuš?] bul ša e-la ša-ša la ʾibbanna(DŪ-a) ab-ra-a-ti
10) [ʾu purussē(EŠ.BAR)] šamē(AN-e) u erṣetī(KI-tī) lā ipparrasu (TAR-su)
11) [ana-ku al-sli-ki du-uš-mu-ū pa-lih-k[i]
12) ša marši(NIG.GIG) ilm-hur-an-ʾni]-ma [ina ša-p-li-ki ak-mi-su
13) [ṭe-em ilūtī(DINGIR-ti)-ki rabītī(GAL-ʾti)] ʾāš-šu līb-luṭu
14) [ta-re-min]-ʾni]-ma ta-ṭe-min-nī
15) [ki-i anna](NENN!1) mār(A) anna(NENN!1) murṣa(GIG) a[n]-na-a ša mar-ṣu
16) ša marši(GIG) an-nil-i tu!ʾ(ʾšu!)-ṣat-bi-i ana ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) abbē(AD1(GAL).MEŠ)-ki a-bu-su ta-ṣab-ba-ti-ma
17) ša qī-bi-ti-ki ʾṣir-ti ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) abbē(AD1(GAL).MEŠ)-ki i-qul-lu-ma
18) [. . . .] [X1 i-gam-me-lu-šu u sūq(SILA) ʾāli(URU)-šū ina šul-me ū-šak-ba-stu]
19) [ki-i šal] ta-re-min-ni-ma ṭe-em ilūtī(DINGIR-ti)-ki rabītī (GAL-ti) ta-ṭe-min-nil
20) [ṭe-em] ilūtī(DINGIR-ti)-ʾki rabītī(GAL-ti) šup-rim-ma pl (KA)-ias lu-še-gi
21) EN i1-tu! réme-ni-tu! mu-bal-li-ʾṭal-ʾat mīti(ADs) šā nap-lu-us-sa ba-la-ṭu u na-ʾes-hur-šā šā-la-mu
22) ap-kal-lat ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) ga-me-rat ab-ra-a-ṭi1 ša-bi-ta-āt mar-ka-[s k]ip-pat(AN-e)-1-tim]
25). mu-kil-lat mar-ka-si rabī([GAL]-i) ša Ē-l šárl-ra
26). ina šamē(AN-e) šu-tur manzāz(KI,'GUB\1')-fki ina d\1ištartāti
   (EŠ\18,TĀR,MEŠ) šá-qa-a re-šá-a-ki
27). A-nu d\1[Enl]i(BAD) ul  dĒ-a ilāni(DINGIR,MEŠ) abē(AD,MEŠ)-
   ki
28). ina ba-\1-ki\1 ul i-šá-ke-nu 'ur\1-t[a]
29). [X (X)] 'uš?] bu [šā] e1-la šá-še la ibbannâ(DŪ-a) ab-ra-a-
   t[i]
30). ū purussē(EŠ,BAR) šamē(AN-e) <u> ergeti(KI-ti) lā ipparrasu
   (TAR-[s]u)
31). ana-ku al-si-ki du-uš-mu-ū pa-lih-ki
32). ana marušti(NĪG,GI\1G) im-hur-an-ni-ma ina šap-li-ki ak-
   mi\1(mu)-su
33). ū-te-em ilūti(DINGIR-ti)-ki rabīti(GAL-ti) ēš-šu mi-fit\1-ti
34). ta-re-min-ni-ma ta-ū-te-min-ni [t] ki-i annanna(NENNI) mār(A)
   annanna(NENNI) murṣa(GI\1G) šá mar-šu murṣa(GI\1G) an-'nam\1 nīn\1
   ū
35). ū-ru-uh-šū ana KUR,NU,GI4,A šu-uh-mu-ṭa-šat
36). Anunnakū(DIŚ.U) šu-ut ku-dūr-ra ša LĪL annanna(NENNI) ik-di-
   ru ū\1-ru-uh KUR,NU,GI4,A na-šu-šu
37). i(DINGIR)-šū u 4ištart(XV)-šu u4-um-šu ū šim-ta-šu
38). ū-μaš-ši-[rul]-šu-ma ur-ḥa šu-te-šu-ra : ū\1 ḫer-ra-an la ta-
   ri(te-бу)-ū
39). süq(SILA) šlí(URU)-šū [zul]-mu-ma a-na du-ur da-ri la i-kab-
   ba-su
40). ki-i ša ta-re-min-ni-ma ū-te-em ilūti(DINGIR-ti)-ki rabīti(GAL-
   ti) ta-ū-te-min-ni
41). ū-tē-em ilūti(DINGIR-ti)-ki rabīti(GAL-ti) šu\1-l-im-ma pf(KA)-
   ia lu-še-ši

Column II
42A). KA,INIM,MA E1Š,BAR [GI,DU\18 DU,DU,B1] la-n\1 pān(GI) [ . . .
   . . tašakkan(GAR)-an) šikāra(KAŠ) tanaqqi (BAL-qī) 2 ú-il-
   ti te-\1-i-li[l]
43). \( \text{ina pān}(\text{IGI}) \text{ MUL}[X XI] \{X\} \text{ mu kil ana } [X\} \text{ en } [X\} \{ \ldots \ldots \}
\text{tal}-\text{šak}-\text{kan}-\text{ma puru}{\text{s}}\text{ā}(\text{ES.BAR}) \text{ tammar}(\text{IGI.DU}_\text{a})

---

**LINE 44**

A). \([\text{ÉN}] \text{ at-[tu]-nu} \text{kakkabānu(MUL.MEŠ)} \text{ šá mu-ši-t[i]} \{d\} \text{En.bi.}
\text{luh } \text{dN[\{\{\}]} \text{luh } \{d\} \text{En.bi.luh.ha}

---

**LINE 45**

A). \([\text{u}] \text{ mu-ši-tu₄ kal-la-tu₄ kut₄(nu)} \{\text{um}₄ \text{-}t₄\} \text{u₄} \{\text{É} \text{-a [šar₄]}
\text{apsf(\text{A[BZU]}) tuk-lat Éri₄-du₄o}

---

**LINE 46**

\( \text{išt Sibitti } \text{dVII a-šib šá-ma-[mi } \text{il₃]nu ellu₄tu } \text{ia-[a]-t[i]} \text{ arad-ku-nu}

A). \([\text{DINGIR} \text{IMIN} \text{BR}\} \text{dVII a-šib šá-ma-[mi DINGIR]} \text{MEŠ KU} \text{.MEŠ}
\text{ia-[a]-t[i]} \{\text{É} \text{-R₁-ku-nu}

b). \[
\text{-}[\text{ku₃-nu}

---

**LINE 47**

\( \text{itti ili₃-₄₅ u } \text{dI₃₉₄bi} \{\text{bil}-\text{[ } \text{ba} \text{-} \text{in} \text{i₃} \text{-ni-me : lu-ú adi kṣ₃d₅ku } \text{di-ni } \text{li-di-nu } \text{lu-ú } \text{dan-ne ana-ku puru₃₄-s₄-a } \text{lip₁₃-ru₃₄-su}

A). \([\text{KI} \text{ DINGIR-₃₄₅ } \text{dXV-₃₄₅ } \text{šu-ud-[ } \text{ba} \text{-} \text{in} \text{i₃} \text{-ni-me :}
\text{lu-ú EN KUR-ku } \text{di-ni } \text{li-[ } \{\text{lu₃-ú } \text{dan} \text{-ne ana-ku}
\text{E₃₅.BAR-a- } \text{lip₁₃-ru₃₄-su}

b). \[\text{KI DINGIR-₃₄₅ u dINANNA-₃₄₅ } \text{[ -u₃d-[ } \text{bil}-\text{[ ] /}
\[\text{[ -ku₃ du-i-ni } \text{li-di-nu } \text{lu-ú } \text{dan-ne [ ]}

---

**LINE 48**

\([\text{KI} \text{A.IMIN} \text{.MA ES.BAR MĀŠ.GE₅ } \text{[IGI.DU₉]}

A). \([\text{KI} \text{A.IMIN} \text{.MA ES.BAR MĀŠ.GE₅ IG}_\text{I.DU₉]}

b). \[
\text{[ ] ES.BAR MĀŠ.GE₅ [ ]}
LINE 48a
DÜ.DÜ.BI  'ina1 muššīti ana pān kakkēbañī muššīti
A).  DÜ.DÜ.BI  'ina1 GEš ana IGI MUL.MEŠ GEš-ti
b).  [ ] ana IGI MUL.MEŠ GEš-ti

LINE 49
nignaq ṣīm1 burṭāši tašakkan šipltu1 an-ni-tu4 šalāššū ana muhhi
gišbi-nī tamānu-ma
A).  [ ] [NA]  ṣīm1 GAR-an ÉN1 an-ni-tu4 3-šū ana UGU
gišbi-nī ŠID-nu-ma
b).  NĪG.NA  ṣīm1 [I]  / [ ] 3-šū ana UGU
gišbi-nī ŠID-ma

LINE 50
[ . . . . ] tašakkan ina ṛēš ēṛšī-ka
A).  [ . . . . . ] GAR-an ina SAG GIŠ.NĀ-ka
b).  ina SAG GIŠ.[ ]

LINE 51
[ . . . ] k[a ili ram-ma-ni šá mašhata te-šir tañal-ma purussā tammar
A).  [ . . . . . . ] šá ZÌ.MAD.GÁ te-šir
    NĀ-ma  EŠ.BAR IGI.DUs
    [ -m]a EŠ.BAR IGI.[ ]

52A).  [ÉN ra-am]-ku šá 4É-a mār(DUMU) šiḥ-ri šá 4Aša]-lū-hi ana-ku
    ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) muššīti(GEš-ti) ina [ . . . . . . ]
53).  [dEn.bi.luḫ] 4Nīn.bi.luḫ  ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ)  ṣāš(EN.MEŠ)
    muššīti(GEš-ti) mu-ši-tu4 kel1(e)-la-tu4 k[lut-tum-tu4]
54).  [d]É-a  šar  aps(ABZU) tuk-lat ēri4-du40 ilānu Sibitti
    (DINGIR.IMIN.BI) 4VII e-šib šá-ša-mi ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ)
    [ellūtu(KÙ.MEŠ)]
55). ia-[a-ti] arad(İ)R)-ku-nu itti(KI) ilî(DINGIR)-ιας δισται
(XV)-ιας šu-ud-bi-ba-nin-ni-ma lu-u adi(EN) kašdāku(KUR-ku)
dî-nî li-di-nu purussū(EŠ.BAR)-lā-[a lip-ru-su]

56). KA.INIM.MA itti(KI) ilî(DINGIR)-šû u δισται(EŠ18.TAR)-šû da-
ba-bi-im-ma arkat(EGIR) ramāni(ŊI)-šû pa-ra-si

57). DÛ.ÂBî-ramān(ŊI)-ka1 tubbi̇b(DAGAD) ina1 SAG eb-bi u
eb-bi-ti usur̄ti(GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ)

58). ša dÉ-a u 4Asel-lū-hi te-šir-ma itti(KI) ilî(DINGIR)-ka u
δισται(XV)-ka

59). ta-IX (X) X X (X)1 arkat(EGIR) ramāni(ŊI)-ka i-par-ra-su-ka

60). usurta(GIŠ.[HUR]) [an-ni-tlu ša e-[gš]1-ru1 lu([kla) te-šir

LINE 61
ÉN MULereqqi ša-ma-mi ša ni-ir-ša 4 Nin-urta
A). ÉN MULMAR.GÍD.DA MUL?MAR.GÍD.DIA 1-mi ša
ni-ir1(ŋi)-ša 4 Nin-urta
b). [ MULMAR.GÍD.DA.AN.NA MULMAR.GÍD.DA 4 ša-ma-mi ša
ni-ir-ša 4 Nin-urta

LINE 62
ma-šad-da-ša 4 Mari(uk bu-blai)-tul-ša mārāt 4 A-nim ša šamē ellūti
A). ma-šad-da-ša 4 Mari(uk bu-blai)-tul-ša mārat(D[UHU.MUNUS])
4 A-nim ša AN-e KU.MEŠ
b). ma-šad-da-ša 4 Mil(Marduk) / [ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ
4 A-nu-l um1 ša AN-e KU.MEŠ

LINE 63
ana pān 4 AššurK1 nap-ha-tu4 ana pān BābiliK1 pānū-ša šak-nu
šak-nu
b). ana IGI AN.ŠÁR nap-ha-tu4 ana IGI KÁ.DINGIR.RA IGI-ša
[ ]
LINE 64
ki-i annanna mär annanna i-bal-lu-ṭu i-ṣal-li-mu šuma-šu li.b-lam-ma šutta limur
A). ki-i NENNI A 'NENNI' i-bal[l]-l[u]-[ṭ]u i-ṣal- MU-šu
   lib-lam\(kid\)-ma MÅŠ.GEš IGI
b). [ NENNI\(i\) i-bal-lu-ṭu i-ṣal-li-mu MU-šu
   lib-lam-ma MÅŠ.GEš [ ]

LINE 65
KA.INIM.MA EŠ.BAR IG\(I\).(DU\(8\)
A). KA.INIM.MA EŠ.'BAR IG\(I\).(DU\(I\).(DU\(8\)
B). [ EŠ.BAR [ ]

LINE 65a
DU.DU.BI š(e-elm) ša 1 har-bi teleqqi ištēnā te-bi-ir
A). DU.DU.BI š(e-elm) ša 1 'har1'-bi TI-qī 1.TA.ĀM te-bi-ir
B). [ har-bi TI-qī 1.TA.ĀM te-bi-ir

LINE 66
še bi mi tu na kar rib L[Ū]ğehru še sinništa lā İdū iṭēn ana pān
MULereqqi
A). še bi mi tu na \(X\) L[ŪTU]R še Mī lā ZU-u ĀRA-en ana
   IG\(I\) MULMAR.GI\(D\).DA
B). še mi tu na kar rib TUR ĀRA-e[\(n\)] / [ .D]I

LINE 67
ūra tašabbit mē ell[UṬ]il tasallah su-ur-ta tu-se-ar nīnaq šIM burāši
u mašhat tašakken
A). ÚR SAR 'A.MEŠ\(I\) Kū.MEŠ\(I\) SUD su-ur-ta tu-se-ar NĪ.G.NA ŠIMLI u
   ZĪ.MAD.GÁ GAR-an
B). ÚR SAR A Kū SUD su-ur-ta tu-se-år NĪ.G.NA ŠIMLI u
   ZĪ.MAD.[ ]
LINE 68
šipta šalēššu tam annu itti Lūm am man la tadabbub tanāl-me šutta
tammar
A).  ĖN 3-šú ŠID1-nu KI LÚNI[A].ME lâ DU11.DU11-ub NÁ-me MĀŠ.GE6
GI1
b).  KII NA.ME lâ DU11.DU11-ub NÁ-me MĀŠ.GE6
GI1-mar

LINE 69
šum-ma mim-ma iddinū-šū marṣu iballuṭ šum-ma mim-ma la iddinū-šū
marṣu imāt
A).  šum-ma mim-ma SUM-šū GIG TI1 šum-ma mim-ma la SUM-šū GIG
USH
b).  šum4-ma mim-ma SUM-šū GIG TI / [ -š]ú GIG
BA.USH

LINE 70
šum-ma ana epēš šibūṭi teppuš šum4-ma mim-ma iddinū-šū šibūṭ-su
ikaššad šum4-ma mim-ma la iddinū-šū la ikaššad
A).  šum-ma ana DŪ-es Ā.ĀŚ DŪ-ulā milm-ma SUM-šū ĀŚ-su KUR-ād
la SUM-šū la KUR-ād
b).  šum4-ma ana DŪ-es Ā.ĀŚ DŪ-uš / [ -š]ú kaššad(KUR-ād)
šibūṭi(ĀŚ) šum4-ma mim-ma la SUM-šū la KUR-ād ĀŚ

LINE 71
ÈN at1-ti MUL-ereqqu šá šamē KI-ti ni-ir-ki 4Nin-urta ma-šad-da-ki
4Marduk
A).  ÈN at1(mar)-ti MULMAR.GĪD,DA[I] šá AN-e KI-ti
ni-ir-ki 4Nin-urta ma-šad-da-ki 4Marduk
b).  [ MULMAR.GĪD.DA.AN.NA šá AN-e GAL-ti ; at-ti
ni-ir-ki 4Nin-urta ma-šad-da-ke 4Marduk
LINE 72
[bul]-ba-tu-ki märät 4-A-n[im] ša šamē ellūti ina mēt Aš-šurKI nap-ha-ti
A). [bul]-ba-tu-ki märät(DUMU.MUNUS) 4-A-n[im] ša AN-e KÜ.MEŠ ina KUR Aš-šurKI nap-ha-ti

LINE 73
ina BābiliKI pānū-ki šaknū ina [bla-li-ki mītu là imāt ū Lūbalṭu har-
ra-an là ḫabbat
b). ina KĀ.DINGIR.MEŠ IGI-ke GAR-an / [ ADše là BA.ŪŠ ū LŪTI.LA KASKAL là DAB-bat

LINE 74
š[um-m]a harrān te-ba-ku ʾši-[bu-t]i akeššad mim-ma li-di-nu-ni
A). š[um-m]a KASKAL te-ba-ku ʾši-[bu-t]i KUR-ād mim-ma
li-di-nu-ni
b). [ ÂŠ] KUR-ād mim-ma
lid-di-nu-ni

LINE 75
šuma-ma harrān te-ba-ku ʾši-[bu-t]i là akeššad mim-ma lim-hu-ru-nin-ni
A). š[um-m]a [ ] te-[bla-ku ʾši-[bu-t]l] là KUR-ād mim-ma
lim-hu-ru-nin-ni
b). šuma-ma KASKAL te-ba-ku ÂŠ là KUR-ād mim-ma
lim-hur-ú-in-ni

LINE 76
[KA.IN]IM.MA šumma amēlu ana şibūti te-bi purussā amārī
A). [KA.IN]IM.MA ana [Â] [ ] te-[bi EŠ.BAR IGI.DUš
b). [ ] DIŠ NA ana Â.AŠ te-bi EŠ.BAR IGI.DUš

Page 465
LINE 77
ÉN MUL ereqqu mārat ₄₄-₄₄{nl}im rabītu kal-lat É-kur kul-lul-tu
A). ÉN MULMAR.GİD.DA DUMU.MUNUS -n{nl}im GAL-₄₄ kal-lat
É-kur 'kul-lul-tu
b). [(A'-nu GAL-tu kal-lat
É-kur kut-₄₄ tum₄-tu
c). ÉN MULMAR.GİD.DA DUMU.MUNUS ₄₄-₄₄{nl} kal-lat kul-lul-tu

LINE 78
mu-šim-tu šá šīmāti u mu-za-e'-iz-tu šá kurummati at-ti
b). mu-šim-tu šá NAM.MEŠ mu-za-e'-iz-tu šá
PAD.MEŠ at-ti
c). mu-šim₄₄ / u mu-za-e'-iz-tu₄₄ šá
PAD.HĀ at-ti

LINE 79
šum-ma mim-ma ki-[a₁}{am šal} damqāti zitte lid-di-nu-ni
A). šum-ma mim-ma ki-[a₁}{am šal} SIG₄₄.MEŠ HA.LA lid-di-nu-ni
b). [ H]A.LA lid-di-nu-ú-ni

LINE 80
šum-ma mim-ma ki-a-am šé ahīti ši-i-tu₄₄ li-ṣi
A). šum-ma mim-ma ki-a₄₄[m ] BAR-ti ši-i-ti li-ṣi
b). šum₄₄-ma mim-ma ki-a-am šé BAR-ti ši-i-tu₄₄ li{še}-ṣi

LINE 81
KA.INIM.MA EŞ.BAR ỊGI.ĐU₄₄
A). KA.INIM.MA EŞ.BAR ỊGI.ĐU₄₄
b). [ ] EŞ.BAR ỊGI.ĐU₄₄

LINE 81a
c). KA.INIM.MA MĀŞ.GE₅₅ HUL SIG₅₅.GA.KE₄
LINE 81b

c). DŰ.DŬ.BI mē(A.MEŠ) ana pān(IG1) M.Lerpeqqi(MAR.GĬ.D.DA)

LINE 81c

c). tanaddi(SUB-di) šipta(ĔN) šalāšīšu(3-šū) tamannu(ĔD)-ma
    tanēl(ŎA)-ma

LINE 81d

c). purussă(EŠ.BAR) ĵutta(MĂŚ.GĔ6) ta-am-mar

LINE 81e

[DŬ.DŬ].BI mušīta, tu-šam-šal ĜĬR? MAN ka taperras
b). [ -a[s]

REVERSE

Column III

LINE 82

e-nu-ma nišū găl-şu-me qu-ľu šaknu e-diš-ši-ke ina ŭri tazzaz-ma
A). e-nu-ma UN.MEŠ găl-šu-me [qu-ľu] GAR-nu e-diš-ši-ke ina
    ŭR GŬB-az-ma
b). e-nu-ma UN.MEŠ găl-šu-me qu-ľu [GĂR1-] [ ]

LINE 83

mē ellūtī ana pān M.Lerpeqqi šalāšīšu ana pān ăE-ru-[ū]-a šalāšīšu1
    til-lish mašhata
A). A.MEŠ KŬ.MEŠ ana IGI MŬLMAR.GĬĐ.DIA 3-šū ana IGI ăE-ru-[ū]-a
    [311]-šū til-lish ŬŬ.R.MĂD.GĂ
b). [ ] MŬLMAR.GĬĐ.DA 3-šū ana IGI ăE-[ ]
LINE 84

tanassuk e-nu-ma tassukū an-nam tāqabbī tanāl-ī namā purussā tammar

A). ŠUB-uk e-nu-ma ŠUB-ku an-nam DUG₄.GA NĀ-ī namā EŠ.BAR
IGI.DUG₈

b). [ -ulk e-nu-ma ŠUB-ku an-nam DUG₄.GI₈ ]

LINE 85

EN d Nin-līl be-let šamē u erṣetim um-mi ilāni rabūti

A). d Nin-līl be-let AN-e ēl KI-tim AMA DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

A₁₆). EN d Nin-līl be-let AN u KI-tim um-mi DINGIR.

LINE 86

šā ina ba-li-šā d En-līl be-el(1) šīmāti la NAM.MEŠ ki-i annanna mār

annanna

A). šā ina ba-li-šā d En-līl be-el(1) NIAM.MEŠ la NAM.MEŠ
ki-i NENNI A NENNI

d). [ . . . . . . . . . . ]-lu₄ NIAM(?).

A₁). šā ina ba-li-šā d En-līl be-el(1)(lit) NAM.MEŠ [ ] /
ki-i NENNI A NENNI

LINE 87

šibūt-su i-kaš-šā-du kakkab iṣtu imitti-ias lil-su-ma-am-ma ana
šumēli-ia liṭiq

A). AŠ-su i-kaš-šā-du MUL [TI]A ZAG-ias lil-su-ma-am-ma ana GŪ-B-ia
DIB-iṭiq

d). [ TI]A¹ XV-ia [ l ūl-š[u]-m[a?]- ]

A₁). AŠ-su kaš-du MUL TA ZAG-ias [ l ūl-su-[ ]
LINE 88
KA.INIM.MA KA.AŠ.BAR BAR.RE DÛ.DÛ.BI še’a rabâ teleqqi Lûşehru šá
sinništâ là īdû
A). KA.INIM.MA KA.AŠ.BAR BAR.RE DÛ.DÛ.BI ŞE GAL TI-qî
LÛTUR ša Mî là ZU
[ ]
A1). KİD.[KİD].Bİ ŞE GAL[ -qî]
LÛTUR ša Mî là ZU

Line 89
ina ūmi šemi ū-ta-lal i-ṭe4-en-ma ina muşîtî ina ú-ri ana pân
müleqqi
A). ina U₄ ŞE.GA i-’ul-ta-lal i-’ul-ṭe4-en-ma ina GE₆ ina ÜR
ana IGI MULMAR.GÎD.DA
"
A1). ina U₄ ŞE.GA [ ] / i-ṭe4-en-ma i-na GE₆ i-na ú-ri
ana IGI MULMAR.GÎD.DI[A]

LINE 90
nignaq šimburâši u mašhati an-nî-tû Lûşehru ú-nam-mar-ma aḥâti izzaz
A). NÎG.NA šim< > u ZÎ.MAD.GÁ an-[n]i-tû LÛTUR ú-nam-mar-ma
BAR.BAR GUB.BA
d). [ ]LI u ZÎ.MAD.GÁ LÛTUR ú-na[m-
"
A1). [ ] / u ZÎ.MAD.GÁ an-nî-tû LÛTUR ú-nam-mar-ma
BAR.[ ]
LINE 91
šipta an-ni-tu šalašišu ana pān MuLereqqi tamannu me ellaṭi tanaqqī-
ma purussā tammar
Kū.MEŠ BAL-qī-ma EŠ.BAR IGI.DUš
D). [% -ṭlū [31-šū ana IGI MuLMAR.GĪD.DA šID
A1). EN an-ni-tu 31-šū ana IGI MuLMAR.GĪD.DA šID-nu a. MEŠ
Kū.MEŠ BAL-[

92A). EN ilānu[(DINGIR.(MEIŞ)] rabūtu(GAL.MEŞ) Šu-ut dA-tnim ilānu
[(DINGIR.MEŞ) rabūtu(GAL.MEŞ) Šu-ut dEn-lī(50) ilānu[(DINGIR.
MEŞ) rabūtu(GAL.MEŞ) Šu-ut dÉ-a
93). Šu-ut dA-nim al-si-ku-nu-šli Šu-ut dEnli(50) na-as-hu-ra-ni
94). Šu-ut dÉ-a Kīna(“ši”) ṣun-qī-ku-nu qu-la-ni
95). ana-ku ananna(NENN)] šē a [n]a a [n]? lu-me-ši-ku-nu šit-
ku-nu pa-nu-ū-a
96). an-na Kīna(GI.NIA) apāl(si)-la-l-a1-nil-nil-ja ina libbi(ŠĀ)
Kakkab(MU.L.MEŞ) šamē(AN-e) lā manūti(ŠID.MEŞ)
97). Kab-ṭu-ti [. .. šar-h][u]-ti šar-ru-ti mi-ih- rat irāti(GAB.
MEŞ)-ku-nu
98). Kakkabu(MUL) ištu(TA) iimittīja(ZAG.MU) li]-su-ma-am-ma a-na
šumHīja(150.MU) ḫītīq(DIB-IQ)
99). šu[ml-ma ana šūbūti(Á.AS) ištu(TA)] arkatīja([EG]IR.MU) a-na
pānīja(IG1.MU) ḫītīq(DIB-IQ)

100). KIA.INIM.MA KA.A.S.BAR.BAR.[R]E (DIŠ) DŪ.DŪ.BI še-am ša 1 har-
bi teleqqi(TI-qī)
(MĪ) lā ḫīd(ZU) īṭēn(ĀRA-en)
102). ana pān(IGI) MuLereqqi(MAR.GĪD.DA) nignaq(NĪG.NIA)
Šīm burāši(šI) taṣakkan(GAR-en) GĪR? MAN1 ka taparras(TAR-as)
103). [X] [. . . . . .] šipta('ĒN]) šalašišu(3-šū) ana pān(IGI)
MuLereqqi(MAR.GĪD.DA) tamannu(ŠID)-ma
104). šulm-ma kakkabu(MUL) īṣtu(TA) imitti(ZAG)-k1a a-ne šumēli (150)-ka ṭiti(DīB-iq) damiq(SIG15)

105). šulm-ma kakkabu(MUL) īṣtu(TA) šumēli(150)-k1a a-ne imitti (ZAG)-ka ṭiti(DīB-iq) lē damiq(SIG15)

106). šum-mla kakkabu(MUL) īṣtu(TA) pāni(1GI)-k1a a-ne arkatī (EGIR)-ka ṭiti(DīB-iq) lē damiq(SIG15)

107). šum-mla kakkabu(MUL) īṣtu(TA) arkatī(EGIR)-k1a a-ne pāni (1GI)-ka ṭiti(DīB-iq) damiq(SIG15)

108). šum-[la ... ] [X1 WULereqqi(MAR.GĪ.D.DA) ṭiti(DīB-iq) damiq (SIG15)

109). šum-[la X X] šakin([GAR]-ma ana libbi(ŠA) WULereqqi(MAR.GĪ.D. DA) Irub(TU) damiq(SIG15)

110). ĖN [a]ll-si-ku-nu-ši ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) dejānu(DI.KU5.MEŠ) ina šamē(AN-e) rabūti(GAL.MEŠ)

111). ina slu²-pel²-e šul-ke-ni ak-te-nar-rab-ku-nu-ši


113). [ana dia]l-a-nu-ti-ku-nu nišū(UN.MEŠ) il-qu-lu : ana purussē (EŠ.'BAR1)-ku-nu i-kan-nu-uš en-šu

114). ilānu(DINGIR.MEŠ) da-a-a-nu šā [lla innennū(BAL-ű) qī-bit-su-un]

115). ina šat mu-ši an-nē-e mē(AMEŠ) nagbi(IDIM) ellūti(KU.MEŠ)

116). ina šat mu-ši an-nē-e mē(AMEŠ) nagbi(IDIM) ellūti(KU.MEŠ)

117). šum-ma annanna(NENNI) mār(A) annanna(NENNI) šibūt(ĀS)-su i- keš-šā-du alpu(GU4) purussē(EŠ.BAR) lid-di-ne TU6 ĖN

118). DŪ.DŪ.BI ina ūmi(U4) šemi(ŠE.GA) tel-te-ad-da-ad DUG/ahenna (LA.HA.AN) ši !šu (X)1 mu teleqqi(TI-qī)

119). Lūgehru(TUR) šā sinništā(MI) lē ṭi(U2) ina nāri(ĪD) mē(AMEŠ) i-sab-ba nīnq(NG.NA) šimburāši(LI) u mašati(ZL. MAD.GA)
Column IV

120. ana pān(IG1) ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ) muššiti(GEš-ti) tesarraq (DUBI(UM)-aq) šikāra (rēštā)(KAš.SAG) tanaqqi(BAL-qi) mē(A. MEŠ) šu-nu-te tasašši(IL)-ma

121. šipta(EN) šalāššīšu(3-šū) tamannu(ŠID-nu) ana pu-ut alpi(GU4) rab-ši šalāššīšu(3-šū) tanaqqi(BAL-qi)-ma purussā(Eš.BAR) tammar(IG1.DUš)

122. šum-ma alpu(GU4) is-su-us-ma it-bi kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

123. šum-ma alpu(GU4) is-su-us-ma là it-bi là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

124. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma lēt(TE)-su ana imitti(15)-šū iddi(ŠUB) là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

125. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma lēt(TE)-su ana šumēli(150)-šū iddi(ŠUB) kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

126. šum-ma alpu(GU4) šinnā(ZU.MEŠ)-šū im-ruq-ma it-bi kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

127. šum-ma alpu(GU4) šinnā(ZU.MEŠ)-šū im-ruq-ma là it-bi là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

128. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma ana pān(IG1)-šū illsi(GIN) kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

129. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma ana arkatı(EGIR)-šū illsi(GIN) là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

130. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma ana imitti(ZAG)-šū illsi(GIN) là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

131. šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma ana šumēli(150)-šū illsi(GIN) kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

132. [šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma is-si kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

133. [šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma ha-ru-up-pa-šū ušaqqi(LAL-qi) kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

134. [šum-ma alpu(GU4) it-bi(ZI)-ma ha-ru-up-pa-šū ušt-ep-pîl šu-uz-zu-šu1 [lā] kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)

135. [šum-ma alpu(GU4) itbi(ZI)-ma eperē(SAHAR.HÁ) ana muḫḫi (UGU)-šū is-šu là kašād(KUR-ad) šibûti(Âš)
136). [šum₄-ma alpu(GU₄) itbi(ZI)-ma ina qaran(SI)]
imitt[ZAG]-sú eperē(SAHAR.HÁ) is-lu kašād(KUR-ad) šibūti(ĂŞ)
137). šum₄-ma alpu(GU₄) itbi(ZI)-ma ina qaran(SI) šūmēlī(150)-sú
eperē(SAHAR.HÁ) is-lu lā kašād(KUR-ad) šibūti(ĂŞ)
138). šum₄-ma alpu(GU₄) itbi(ZI)-ma ina šēpā(GİR)-sú mah-ra-a-
ti eperē(SAHAR.HÁ) ana arkati(EGIR)-sú is-lu lā kašād(KUR-ad)
šibūti(ĂŞ)

139). gebarī(GABA.RI) É-sa-baš šā-tīr ūmāt Nabū(PA′(ÂŞ))-šab-šī
Lū šamallū(ŠAMAN.LÂ) śehrū(TUR)
140). mār(DUMU) ma Nabū(PA)-ēriba(SU) LŪ ūpšarru(A.BA)

* * *

OVERSE

Column I

1). [Incantation: "O! merciful [goddess], the one who heals the
dying;]
2). [whose favourable glance] (is) life, and whose favourable attention
(brings) well-being!
3). [The wise woman] of the gods (and) the controller of mankind!
4). [The holder] of the cable of the circumference of heaven and
earth;
5). [the holder] of the great cable of Esharra!
6). Your position is pre-eminent in heaven. Amongst the goddesses
your head is high(est).
7). Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the gods, your fathers,
8). cannot establish the command [without] you.
9). [.] [.] [.] in whose absence mankind cannot be created,
10). [and the oracular decision(s)] of heaven and earth cannot be
decided.
11). [I myself], the slave, the one who fears you, [called out to] you.
12). I knelt before you in supplication [on account of the difficulty]
confronting me.
SIR

13–6). [(Previously) you took pity upon (lit., had pity for)] me, and you looked after me [(regarding) the decision of] your great [divinity] as to whether he will recover. [(Namely,) whether] you will allow (lit. to cause) [X], the son of Y, this patient who isailing,
to recover (lit., to rise) [from] this [disease]. You can intercede (for him) to the gods, your fathers!, and

17). the gods, your fathers!, will pay attention [to] your august [speech].

18). [.....] they will spare him, and they will allow (lit., cause) (him) to walk about the street(s) of his city in good health.

19). [Just as (previously) you took pity upon me, and looked after [me] (regarding) the decision of your great divinity,

20). (so, this time) send me the (favourable) decision of your great divinity, and I will pronounce (it) (lit., cause it to leave my mouth)!

21). Incantation: "O merciful goddess, the one who heals the dying;

22). whose favourable glance (is) life, and whose favourable attention (brings) well-being!

23). The wise woman of the gods (and) the controller of mankind!

24). The holder of the cable of the circumference of <heaven> and earth;

25). the holder of the [great] cable of Esharra!

26). Your position is pre-eminent in heaven. Amongst the goddesses your head is high(est).

27). Anu, [Enlil, and] Ea, the gods, your fathers,

28). cannot establish the command without [you].

29). [. (. )] . . . in whose absence mankind cannot be created,

30). and the oracular decision(s) of heaven <and> earth cannot be decided.

31). I myself, the slave, the one who fears you, called out to you.

32). I knelt before you in supplication on account of the difficulty confronting me.
33-4). (Previously) you took pity upon me, and you looked after me
(regarding) the decision of your great divinity about a dying man.
(Namely,) whether X, the son of Y, who is ailing (from) . . .
disease, and
35). whose path to the Underworld is being hastened;
36). for whom the Anunnaki, who establish the boundary of . . ., raise (i.e,
produce) the path of the Land Of No Return (i.e., the
Underworld);
37-8). whose personal god and personal goddess release (prematurely)
for him the day of his fate (lit., his day and his destiny);
39). he will be deprived of the street(s) of his city, and he will never
tread (them again).
40). Just as (previously) you took pity upon me, and looked after me
(regarding) the decision of your great divinity,
41). (so, this time) send me the (favourable) decision of your great
divinity, and I will pronounce (it)!

Column II
42). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) [to see] an oracular [decision.
its ritual:] Before […] you place]. You libate beer. You
draw up two tablets (lit., you tie up two 'bindings').
43). Before the […] star …………. […] you place]. You
will see an oracular decision.

44). Incantation: "O you stars of the night; Enbiluh; Ninbiluh;
Enbiluhha;
45). [and] Night, the veiled bride; Ea, [the king of the Apsul, the
support of Eridu;
46). the Sibitti, the divine Seven, who dwell in the heavens, the pure
[gods]! (Regarding) myself, your (pl.) servant,
allow (lit., cause) me to speak with my personal god (and/or) my personal goddess and, either may they pass judgement concerning (whether or not) I will attain (my desire), or may they make the oracular decision concerning me, (namely, whether or not) I will be strong (i.e., recover!)

Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to see] an oracular decision (and/or) a dream.

Its ritual: [You set out] a censer of juniper during the night, before the stars of the night. You recite this incantation three times over (a piece of) tamarisk.

You place [ . . . . . . ]. At the head of your bed

[ . . . . ] You draw (your) own personal god (out) of cheap scented flour. You lie down, and you will see an oracular decision.

[Incantation:] "I am [the (ritually) bathed] of Ea, the messenger of Asalluhi. O gods of the night . [ . . . ( . . . )];

[Enbiluh; Ninbiluh; the gods, the lords of the night; Night, the [veiled] bride;

[Ea], the king of the Apsu, the support of Eridu; the Sibitti, the divine Seven, who dwell in the heavens, [the pure] gods!

(Regarding) myself, your servant, allow me to speak with my personal god (and/or) my personal goddess and, either may they pass judgement concerning (whether or not) I will attain (my desire), (or) [may they make] the oracular decision concerning me!"

Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to speak with his personal god and his personal goddess, and to learn (i.e., discover) his future.
57-9). Its ritual: You cleanse yourself... You draw pure (masc.) and pure (fem.) sketches of Ea and Asalluhi. You... with your personal god and your personal goddess. They will decide your own future for you.

60). You draw [this] sketch which I draw (accompanying diagram on the tablet).

61). Incantation: "The Wain constellation, the waggon of the heavens: whose yoke (is) Ninurta;
62). whose pole (is) Marduk; (and) whose axles (are) the daughters of Anu of the pure heavens;
63). who rises before Ashur, (and) sets its face (lit., faces) before Babylon.
64). May it (the constellation) bring his name (as to) whether (or not) X, the son of Y, will live (and) be well. May he see a dream!"

65). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to see an oracular decision.

65a). Its ritual: You take corn of one harbu. Once you...
66). ... A youth who has not known a woman grinds (the corn). Before the Wain constellation
67). you sweep the roof. You sprinkle pure water (to) make a circle. You set out a censer of juniper and cheap scented flour.
68). You recite the (above) incantation three times. (After performing this ritual) you (must) speak with no one. You lie down, and you will see a dream.
69). If (in the resultant dream) they (the dream visions) give him something - The invalid will recover. If they do not give him anything - The invalid will die.
70). If you are performing (this ritual) for achieving a desire, (then) if they give him something - He will achieve his purpose. If they do not give him anything - He will not achieve (his purpose).
Incantation: "O you! Wain constellation of the heavens: your yoke (is) Ninurta; your pole (is) Marduk;

(and) your axles (are) the daughters of Anu of the pure heavens.

You rise in Assyria, (and)

set your face in Babylon. Without you the dying cannot die and the living cannot go on a journey.

If I will achieve my purpose on the journey I am preparing to start,

may they (the dream visions) give me something!

If I will not achieve my purpose on the journey I am preparing to start,

may they receive something from me!"

Incantation rubric: (It is the text) if a man (wants) to see an oracular decision upon starting on an enterprise.

Incantation: "O Wain constellation, the eldest daughter of Anu; the veiled bride of Ekur!

You are the one who determines the fates, and the distributor of food portions!

If (there is to be) anything thus of good fortune, (then) let them give me a share!

If (there is to be) anything thus of misfortune, (then) may expenditure go out!"

Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to see an oracular decision.

Incantation rubric: It is (the text) to make a bad dream favourable.

Its ritual: You sprinkle water in front of the Wain constellation. You recite the (above) incantation three times. You lie down, and

you will see an oracular decision (and/or) a dream.
81e). Its ritual: You spend the night. You cut your ...

**REVERSE**

**Column III**

82). When people are sleeping, and there is silence, you stand all alone on the roof.

83-4). You sprinkle pure water three times before the Wain constellation (and) three times before the goddess Eru'a. You scatter cheap scented flour. When you have scattered (this flour), you say this (above incantation). You lie down, and you will see an oracular decision.

85). Incantation: "O Ninlil, the lady of heaven and earth; the mother of the great gods;

86). without whom Enlil, the lord of destinies cannot . .! If X, the son of Y,

87). will achieve his purpose, may a star shoot from my right, and may it pass by to my left!"

88). Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to make an oracular decision.

Its ritual: You take full-grown (lit., large) barley. A youth who has not known a woman

89). cleanses himself on an auspicious day. He grinds (the barley). During the night, on the roof, before the Wain constellation,

90). the youth sets fire to a censer of juniper and this cheap scented flour. (Then) he stands on the outskirts (of the ritual area).

91). You recite this (above) incantation three times before the Wain constellation. You libate pure water. You will see an oracular decision.

92). Incantation: "O great gods, those (of the path) of Anu! O great gods, those (of the path) of Enlil! O great gods, those (of the path) of Ea!"
93. I call out to you (of the path) of Anu. Those (of the path) of Enlil turn with favour to me!
94. Those (of the path) of Ea please pay attention to me!
95. (As for) myself, X, whose face is set towards... your lumāšu-(stars),
96. reply to me (with) an unambiguous assent! (Thus,) from amongst the stars of heaven, (which are) innumerable,
97. glowing, shining, and twinkling (lit., flashing), (which are) in front of you (lit., confront your chests)
98. [may] a star shoot [from my right], and may it pass by to my left!
99. If [(this ritual is being performed) regarding an aim], may it [the star] pass [from] behind me to in front of me!"
100. [Incantation rubric: (It is the text) to make an oracular decision.] Its ritual: You take corn of one harbu.
101. . . . . . . . . . . . A youth who has not known a woman grinds (this corn).
103. . . . . . . you recite the (above) incantation three times before the Wain constellation.
104. If [a star] passed by [from] your [right] towards your left - Favourable.
105. If [a star] passed by [from] your [left] towards your right - Unfavourable.
106. If [a star] passed by [from in front of] you to behind you - Unfavourable.
107. If [a star] passed by [from behind] you to in front of you - Favourable.
108. If . . . . [it passed the Wain constellation] - Favourable.
109. If [ . . ] there was, and it entered into the Wain constellation - Favourable."
110). Incantation: "I'll called out to you, O gods, the judges (dwelling) in the great heavens!

111). I constantly pray to you in supplication? (and) prostration.

112). O bright torch (i.e., Shamash), which is within the heavens! (The world) strives for your light.

113). Mankind pays attention [to] your judicial role. The weak man bows down to your (pl.) oracular decision.

114). O gods, the judges whose command cannot be altered,

115). during this night I will cause pure spring water to flow (down) onto the forehead of an ox.

116). Let me see your unambiguous verdict and the oracular decision of your great divinity, (so that) I may establish the prognosis!

117). If X, the son of Y, will achieve his purpose, let the ox (by its movements) give (him) the oracular decision!" Incantation formula.

118). Its ritual: You withdraw (lit., drag yourself) (to a suitable ritual site) on an auspicious day. You take a bottle . . . .

119). A youth who has not known a woman draws up water from a river. A censer of juniper and cheap scented flour

Column IV

120). you swing around (lit., scatter) before the gods of the night. You libate (first-class) beer. You lift up that (river) water, and

121). you recite the (above) incantation three times. You pour out (the water) three times onto the forehead of a recumbent ox. You will see an oracular decision.

122). If the ox grunted, and got up - Achievement of purpose.

123). If the ox grunted, and did not get up - Non-achievement of purpose.

124). If the ox got up, and lowered its cheek to its right - Non-achievement of purpose.

125). If the ox got up, and lowered its cheek to its left - Achievement of purpose.
126). If the ox ground its teeth, and got up - Achievement of purpose.
127). If the ox ground its teeth, and did not get up - Non-achievement of purpose.
128). If the ox got up, and went forwards (lit., to its front) - Achievement of purpose.
129). If the ox got up, and went backwards (lit., to its back) - Non-achievement of purpose.
130). If the ox got up, and went to its right - Non-achievement of purpose.
131). If the ox got up, and went to its left - Achievement of purpose.
132). If the ox got up, and lowered - Achievement of purpose.
133). If the ox got up, and raised its hip - Achievement of purpose.
134). If the ox got up, and lowered its hip - Great vexation.
135). If the ox got up, and stirred up dust in front of itself - Non-achievement of purpose.
136). If the ox got up, and stirred up dust with its right horn - Achievement of purpose.
137). If the ox got up, and stirred up dust with its left horn - Non-achievement of purpose.
138). If the ox got up, and stirred up dust behind itself with its feet - Non-achievement of purpose.

139). Written (according to) the exemplar of Esabad (by) Nabu-shabshi, the young apprentice (scribe),
141). the son of Nabu-eriba, the scribe.

* * *

NOTES

Lines 1-12 and 19-20 duplicate lines 21-32 and 40-1, and have been used to amend and restore each other.
1). The two incantations are addressed to a "merciful goddess", il-tu₄ rēme-ni-tu₄. This is almost certainly Gula (the goddess of
medicine), in whose temple the original tablet was found (see the note on line 139). Gula describes herself in line 187 of the hymn edited by W. G. Lambert [1967] as \( \text{il-tu} \text{ re-me-ni-tu} \text{ dNin-lil} \text{ a-na-ku-ma} \), "I am the merciful [goddess] Ninlil"; and as \( \text{re-me-na-ku} \), "I am merciful" in line 88. Both lines occur in passages recounting her healing abilities (lines 178-87 and lines 79-91 respectively). In addition, \( \text{mu-bal-li-fa-at} \text{ mi-}t\text{i} \text{(AD6)} \) is the Akkadian rendition of \( \text{d} \text{nin.tin.ugs.ga} \), a name for Gula. STT vol. 1, p. 6 misinterpreted this epithet, describing the first two incantations of SIR as addressing the goddess Antum.

7). The emendation of GAL to AD\ is comes from line 27. The scribe was consistent in his 'confusion' throughout the first incantation: see lines 16-7 also.

11). \( \text{dušmú} \) replaces the more usual \( \text{ardu(} IR \) \) in this phrase.

16). The restoration at the beginning of the line follows E. Reiner [1960a, p. 31].

She read [1960a, p. 31] \( \text{ina mahar} \), with a note (n. 12) that something like this was required for the sign AD. R. Borger [1961, p. 153] mentioned that AD was in fact \( \text{-i ana} \).

See the note on line 7.

17). See the note on line 7.

18). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32] restored \( \text{[DINGIR.MEŠ-]} \text{u} \) at the beginning of this line.

31). See the note on line 11.

33). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32] read \( \text{mi-}t\text{í} \), with n. 14 stating that that the sign was like \( \text{tu} \). H. Hirsch [1968-9, p. 50, n. 135] favoured the reading \( \text{mi-t} \text{úti} \). However, a late orthographical practice was to write a long open syllable as a short closed one, by adding an extra consonant at the end, thus \( \text{mi-it-ti} \) for \( \text{mi-ti} \). This practice is especially noticeable in tablets from Sultantepe (W. G. Lambert [1959], p. 125).

34). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32 and n. 15] emended the end of the line to \( \text{GIG an-nam } \text{<mar>-gu-ú} \).

36). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32 and n. 16] read LIL, stating that this had
been collated, but perhaps was to be omitted.

The Anunnaki and the Mother goddess Mammitum are described as determining life and death in The Epic Of Gilgamesh, Tab. 10, col. VI lines 35-8:

35). \( ul-tu \ ik-ru-bu \ [X (X)] \)
36). \( \text{d}A-nun-na-ki \ il\text{"nu}(\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}) \ rab\text{"tu}(\text{GAL.MEŠ}) \ pa\text{[h-ru]} \)
37). \( \text{d}Ma-am-me-tum \ ba-na-at \ šim-ti \ it-ti-šú-nu \ ši-\text{ma-tú} \ i-\text{ši[m-mí]} \)
38). \( iš-tak-nu \ mu-ta \ u \ ba-la-[ţa] \)

35 After they blessed (me) [. . .], 36 the Anunnaki, the great gods, assembled, (and) 37 Mammetum, the creator of destiny, determines fates with them. 38 They have established death and life.

(See B. Kienast [1965] on the Anunnaki.)

LÍL corresponds to salā'u, "to become ill, to enter into a critical stage of illness [CAD S, salā'u A, pp. 96-7]. Only the stative of the G-stem is attested. Perhaps one could read šá salîh(LÍL) "annanna(NENNI), and translate as "the Anunnaki, who establish the boundary (of life) for (lit., of) the critically ill X". Another option is sili'tu, "illness", which often occurs in parallel with murṣu (CAD S, p. 264a).

Column II

43). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32] read ina IGI MUL IX inal še-rim ana ʻÁ X X1 AN at the beginning of the line. However, the sign is mu, not še-.

See pages 141-2 on the relationship between šuttu and purussu in this text.

44). It is unclear who the triad Enbiluh, Ninbiluh, and Enbiluhha are. They surely have some astral significance, considering the context. E. Reiner [1960a, p. 32, n. 17] suggested that these may have been cryptic names for, perhaps, Sin (as the moon), Ishtar (as the planet Venus), and Shamash (as the sun).

45). Personified Night is called "the veiled bride", an epithet leading
SIR

us to discover a number of links between the supernatural beings frequently invoked in SIR, namely, between Gula, Ninlil, Night, and the Wain constellation. These connections include:

i). The epithet "the veiled bride" is used to describe both Night (LKA 135, rev. 9) and the Wain constellation (SIR, line 77). Rev. 4–6 of the commentary tablet (KAR 94) of Maqilu (restored by Assur Photo K 182, see G. Meier [1966], p. 70) associates Gula with Night, "the veiled bride" (Maqilu, Tab. 1, line 2).

ii). The Wain constellation is called "the eldest daughter of Anu, the veiled bride of Ekur" on SIR, line 77. On Cap. 38, obv. 13 Night is called "the bride/daughter-in-law of Anu" (kallatu can mean both) (see also rev. 23).

iii). There were associations between the Wain constellation and Ninlil (e.g., KAV 218 (Astrolabe B), col. B III line 10), and the city of Nippur (e.g., CT 19, pl. 19, rev. col IV line 59).

iv). The Gula incantation edited by W. G. Lambert [1967, especially pp. 109–12] syncretised various goddesses with Gula (e.g., Baba and Ninlil), and gods with her consort Ninurta (e.g., Ningirsu). "The Lady/Queen of Nippur", bēlet/šarrat Nippuri (NIN.NIBRUK1), was the original consort of Ninurta, before she was assimilated to Gula (see W. G. Lambert [1982], p. 179). This title was applied to both Gula (e.g., O 175 (RA 16 [1919], p. 145), obv. 10) and to Ninlil in the BALAG-incantation dūtu.gīn.tă, line b + 260 (CLAM 1, pp. 95–119).

v). We do not know if it is relevant that the three constellations mentioned in SIR are the first three of the Mesopotamian group of stars called 'The Six Women Of The Palace' [RLA 3, p. 81]; components of which were identified with Gula and Ninlil. The six constellations were:

i). MUL.E-ru-ú-a  Coma Berenices and
   Canes Venatici  Zarpanitum

ii). MULMAR.GÍ.DA  Ursa Major  Ninlil

iii). MULMAR.GÍ.DA.AN.NA  Ursa Minor  Damkina

iv). MULLAHAR dA-a  η Ursae Majoris  Aja

v). MULUZA  Lyra  Gula
vi). \texttt{MULBALTEŠA}

\textit{Corona Borealis} Nanaja

46). The Sibitti appear here as the Pleiades constellation.

48-a). These form one line on A.

48b-51). Both A and b contain the diagrams to be drawn, see the plates in \textit{STT} and \textit{UET} 7 for details.

52-3). These lines form basically the same incantation as lines 44-7. The difference being that the latter were spoken by the petitioner, and the former by the ritual expert. This is shown by the use of the legitimizing formula at the beginning of line 52.

55). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 33] restored \textit{ia-[ti]} at the beginning of this line, but see line 46.

56). The phrase \textit{arkata parāsu} usually means "to decide the past", in the sense of investigating the circumstances surrounding a lawsuit, or an individual's suffering, as on \textit{Ludlul bēl nēmeqi}, Tab. 2, line 6:

6). \texttt{Lùbârû(HAL) ina bi-ir ār-kât ul ip-ru-us}

The haruspex cannot investigate (my) circumstances by extispicy.

Three Mari letters contain this expression when describing the use of various divinatory techniques to confirm messages received in dreams: by extispicy, \textit{ARM} 10, No. 94, rev. 9'-12', and A. 15 (\textit{RA} 42 [1948], pp. 128 and 130), edge 43-4 (pp. 150-1); and by augury, A. 222 (\textit{RA} 69 [1975], p. 28), edge 20-1 (p. 157).

The whole of \textit{SIR} is designed to obtain omens, so here \textit{arkata parāsu} has the sense of discovering the future (see also A. Goetze [1957], p. 96, n. 41).

E. Reiner [1960a, p. 27] believed that these were direct nocturnal apparitions of the personal deities, rather than dreams, as at line 68.


59). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 33] read \textit{ta-n[am-m]ar-ma}, "you will see . . . face to face" \textit{[ibid.], p. 27}, at the beginning of the line, but the traces do not agree.

60). The sketch is given to the right of the section lines 57-60, see the plate in \textit{STT} for details.
61). MULMAR.GID.DA is the Plough or Charles' Wain constellation, "the waggon" in Akkadian. b, obv. 8' has the variant [MULMAR.GID.DA.AN.NA, or Little Bear constellation.

62). Anu had many daughters, and it is not clear which ones are meant here. The Wain constellation herself is called a daughter of Anu in line 77.

65-a). These form one line on A.

69-70). These lines contain dream omens, presenting the relevant meanings in advance, thus dispensing with the need for an interpreter (E. Reiner [1960a], p. 31). See also lines 74-5 (in an incantation), 98-9 (in an incantation), 104-9, and 122-38. Tablet B of The Dream-Book contains the 'kenning' iddinnu(SUM)-šú, "(If) they gave X to him" [DB, pp. 322-6].

70). b, obv. 16' has the variants (lā) kašād(KUR-ād) šibūti(ĀŠ), "(Non-)achievement of purpose".

71-3). These lines form basically the same incantation as in lines 61-3, except that here the Wain constellation is addressed in the second person. b incorrectly uses the second masculine pronominal suffix -ka.

There is no ritual appended to this incantation, so presumably that of lines 65-8 sufficed (E. Reiner [1960a], p. 27).


b, obv. 17 addresses the Little Bear constellation, and presents two variants, rabūti(GAL-ti) : št-ti. There are a few references elsewhere to "the great heavens": e.g., SIR, line 110, and the Gula hymn edited by W. G. Lambert [1967], line 120 (and the note on ibid., p. 131):

120). né-bu-ū GABA šá šamē(AN-e) rabūti(AN.MEŠ) uš-ta-nam-da-nu-uš d{l}-gi-gi

"The Igigi take counsel with him (Ninurta), the shining . of the great heavens."

The phrase also occurs on KAR 109, obv. 8, and on K. 6177 + 8869, obv. 8' (Iraq 48 [1986], p. 135).

73). b, obv. 18' has the variant taškanan(GAR-an), "you set".
The 'kenning' imhur, "he received X", occurs on Tablet B of *The Dream-Book* [DB, p. 326].

The dividing line after line 80 does not occur on the plate of A, but E. Reiner [1960a, p. 27] put one there after collation.

81a and e). These lines form one line on A.

81c). *YOS* 11, p. 47 incorrectly stated that the end of line 6 offered two alternative readings: *tamannu*-ma*/tazakkars*ri ma.

81e). The dividing line after A, line 81 is unnecessary since the ritual continues over onto line col. III line 82.

E. Reiner [1960a, p. 34] emended the end of the line to *ar(!)-kat(!)-ka* TAR-as (see n. 22), "you will find out your future" (ibid., p. 27). The same phrase occurs at line 102, a fact which argues against emendation.

Column III

83). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 27, n. 9] suggested that the Eru'a constellation was intended (see p. 485).

84). Disregard *CAD* S, sarāqu A, p. 172a and p. 173b, which state that this verb is written ŠUB in A, since the verb in *SIR* is *nasāku* instead. The second person present of the G-stem of sarāqu should be *tasarraq*, not *-uq* in any case.

85-91). The order of these lines is reversed on A1, obv. 2-8.

86). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 34] read the middle of A as *be-et[ ] NAM.MEŠ NAM.MEŠ la NAM.MEŠ*. However, there is no room for this restoration, which is also unsupported by A1, obv. 7. We want a translation along the lines "without her Enlil cannot determine the fates", but NAM is not the usual logogram for šamu.

88). The incantation rubric is slightly odd, because we expect EŠ.BAR IGI.DU₅, "to see an oracular decision", as before.

91). The next section on A₁, obv. 9-12 again reverses the order of an incantation and its ritual (see *SIR*, lines 85-91). The incantation address the Wain constellation, but it is not clear whether or not
these lines should be inserted into SIR.

d, lines 7'-9' are very fragmentary, with a mention of the Wain constellation.

92). All the stars known to the Mesopotamians were arranged into three bands or "paths". The 'Path of Anu' was in the middle, spanning the Equator; to the north was the 'Path of Enlil; and to the south, that of Ea [RLA 3, p. 76].

93). The N-stem imperative of sahāru should be nashir.

94). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 34] restored the middle of the line as 'gi-mi-ir1-ku-nu, but the traces do not agree.

95). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 34] read ana-ku NENNÍ šá a UD a-{na(?)} lu-.

The meanings of the term lumāšu vary with the date of the text [RLA 3, p. 80].

96). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 34] read an-na ki(!)-na(!) ap(!)-li-nin-, with n. 23 stating that the text had an-na di ud la i, which is not obvious from the copy.

97). E. Reiner [1960b, p. 34] read nam-r[u(!)-tt] at the beginning of the line.

The restoration comes from Ahw 3. šarhu III, p. 1085b.

100). See the note on line 88 about this incantation rubric.

102). See the note on line 81e about E. Reiner's [1960b, p. 34] emendation.

104-7). The section stating the omens in advance begins at line 104, correct E. Reiner [1960a], p. 23.

110-4). The divine judges are Shamash and Adad, with "the torch" of line 112 being Shamash. Line 1:2 is a direct quotation of The Shamash Hymn, line 52 (with -ku-nu instead of -ka).

110). E. Reiner [1960a, p. 35] emended GAL.MEŠ to KU.MEŠ, but see the note on line 71.

Column IV

139). Esabad was a temple of Gula's, probably the one at Ashur [RLA 2, p. 474].

See H. Hunger [BA], No. 380 for the reading of the personal name.
Sm. 543

TEXTS

DB, pl. 1 (photograph)

STUDIES

A. L. Oppenheim [DB], pp. 341-2 (= Fragment 6)

The cuneiform text of Sm. 543 appears on plate 5.

* * *

Break

1'). [lú.uıs.lu dumu dingir.ria.'na' [hè.en.kù.ge hé.en.sikil hé. en.dagad]

2'). [dusbur.šaka]n.gim [ù.me.ni.luh.luh]

3'). [dusbur.i.nun].na.gim [ù.me.ni.su.ub.su.ub]

4'). [du]tu sag.kal1 dingir.re.e.'ne1.[ke4 šu.na ù.me.ni.sum]

5'). [dutu sag.kal1 dingir.re.e.ne.[ke4 silim.ma.na šu saš.ga]


7'). [ka.in]lim.ma măš.ge6 hu[1 bûr.ru.da.kám]

8'). [én ši]šinig giš.dili [an.edin.na mú.a]

9'). [x(x)š]tukul ši[3]rin'an.na [.....]

10'). One trace at the end of the line

The rest of the tablet is broken away

* * *
Break

1'). 
"[May the man, the son of] his [god, become pure! May he become clean! May he be cleansed!]

2'). 
[May he be washed] like [a pūru-vessel for oil!]

3'). 
[May he be scrubbed] like [a pūru-vessel for ghee!]

4'). 
[Entrust the man (i.e., the petitioner) to Utu, the foremost] amongst the gods!

5'-6') (Then) may [Utu, the foremost] amongst the gods, [return] (this) man to [the favourable hand(s)] of his [personal god for his well-being]!

7'). 
[Incantation] rubric: [It is (the text) for dissolving] a bad dream.

8'). 
[Incantation:] 'A solitary tamarisk [growing in the open country]

9'). 
 [. (.) ] weapon of cādar? [. . . ]

10' is too fragmentary to translate.

The rest of the tablet is broken away.

* * *

NOTES

Apart from [INIM.INI.MMA in line 7′, none of the restorations were noted in DB, pp. 341-2]

2′-6′). These lines appear at the conclusion of other incantations (p. 206).

6′). DB, p. 342 read this line as [ al-na-ku HÉ.É.N.SIGs ].

8′). This incipit appears elsewhere (pp. 202-3).
TEXT

SpTU 2, No. 21

STUDIES

E. von Weiher [SpTU 2], pp. 104-8

The obverse of the Seleucid tablet SpTU 2, No. 21 contains a detailed ritual (with two alternatives in lines 31-5 and lines 36-40) to deal with the repeated appearances of a young man in a person's dreams. The fragmentary reverse does not appear to be connected with dreams but with the appearance of ghosts. Rev. 26' states that this tablet was left unfinished.

* * *

OBVERSE

1). \[\summa(DIŠ) . . . . . . . . \] amēli(LÚ) ina šutti(MAŞ.GEš)-šú
\[\text{ītanammar(IGI.IGI-mar)}\]

2). \[. . . . . . . . \] \[X1 İL-šú \]

3). \[DÜ.DÜ.BI ɢalam(NI.U?) LŪgehri(TUR) šá iškūri(DUH.LÂL) teppuš
\(\text{(DÙ-uš)}\)\]

4). \[\sum(MU)-šú inal naglabi([MAS].SÌLA) šumēli(GÙB)-šú tašāt\[\text{ṭar}
\(\text{(SAR-ār)}\) \(\text{ana pán(IGI)}\) \(\text{dīŠamaš(UTU)}\) rīkṣa(KEŠDA) tarakkas
\(\text{(KEŠDA)}\)\]

5). \[\text{nignaq(NI.G.NA) Š1]Mburēši(L1) tašekkan(GAR-en) šikāra(KAŠ) u}
\(\text{kerāna(GEŠTIN)}\) tanaqqi(BAL-qí)

6). \[\text{ana pán(IGI)] dîŠamaš(UTU) ki-a-em taqabbī(DUG₄.GA)}\]
7)  \(\text{EN} \quad d\text{Šamaš(UTU)} \quad \text{ana} \quad d\text{Í-gi-gi suh₄-hu-ru pa-nil}_κ \quad \text{ka}\)

8)  \(\text{ana} \quad d\text{A-a kal-lat pa-nu-ka šak-na}\)

9)  \(\text{ra-ás-bu kun-nu-ú i-lit-ti} \quad d\text{A-nu-um}\)

10) \(\text{ana-ku annannann(NEFFI)} \quad mār(A) \quad \text{annannann(NEFFI)} \quad šá Lūšehri(TUR) \quad \text{ina šutti(MAŠ.GE₅-i) ias itti(KI) ias rak-su-ma úl ippaṭṭaru (DU₅-ru)}\)

11) \(d\text{Šamaš(UTU) bēlu(EN) rebū(GAL-ű) áš-šú parāsi(TAR-si) am-hur-ka}\)

12) \(\text{an-nam ana pān(IGI) dŠamaš(UTU) šalāššu(3-šū) taqabbī (DUG₄.GA) ma šalma(NU) šu-a-tū}\)

13) \(\text{Lūmarṣu(TU.RA) ina qāti(ŠU)-šū šá šumēlī(150)-šū inašši(ÌL)-me ina imitti(15)-šū}\)

14) \(\text{ana dŠamaš(UTU) idabbub(DU₁₁.DU₁₁) dŠamaš(UTU) i-šem-me amat (INIM)-su}\)

15) \(i-ta-ma-ma e-na mehri(GABA.RI) ana šalmi(NU) ki-e-am iqabbī (DUG₄.GA)\)

16) \(\text{EN at-ta man-nu šá ina śutti(MAŠ.GE₅) u bi-ri ittamammaru (IGI.IGI-ru) itti(KI)-iāš}\)

17) \(\text{ina-an-na ina pān(IGI) dŠamaš(UTU) tab-la-ta ek<me>-ta u kuš-šu-da-ta}\)

18) \(ú-lid-ka šēru(EDIN) kīma(GIM) a-bi-ka\)

19) \(ú-kan-ni-ka qer-bet kīma(GIM) um-mi-ka\)

20) \(mut-tal-lik qer-bē-e-tū muš-te'-ē-ū ur-he-e-tū\)

21) \(mu-šap-ri-su a-lak-ta at-ta-me\)

22) \(is-suh-ka-ma ina zumri(SU)-iāš dŠamaš(UTU) dajān(DL.KU₅) ili (DINGIR) u amēlī(LÜ)\)

23) \(niš ilī(DINGIR.MEŠ) na-es-ha-te-ma a-lak-te-ka liprus(TAR-us)\)

24) \(\text{[šar-rat] } \text{dErēš-witheshgal ina qī-bi-ti-šē a-lak-te-ka liprus (TAR-us)}\)

25) \(\text{[dAsal]-lū-hi meṣ-meṣ ilī(DINGIR.MEŠ) rabūti(GAL.MEŠ)}\)

26) \(\text{[X X]-e šā dEa(IDIM) a-lak-te-ka liprus(TAR-us) te EN}\)

27) \(\text{an-nam} \quad šalāššu(3l-šū) \quad \text{ana} \quad šalmi(NU) \quad iqabbī(DUG₄.GA)\)
28). [qāte(šul)šu] ana1 muhi(UGU)šu ana elēnu(UGU-nu) imessi
(LUH-si)

29). [....] Xî- ma ana tubqāt(UB) dūri(BĀD) te-qeb-ber-šu
zisurrā(Zi.SUR.RA-a) šá qām(ZI) šigūšī(ŠE.MUŠš)

30). [....] ina u4-me-šu-ma paris(TAR-š)

31). [.....] kla gu la ana(over erasure) muhi(UGU) teššir
(HUR-ir)

32). [.....] šalam(NU) Lūšehri(TUR) šāl itti(KI)-šu ittanammaru
(IGl.IGI) ina muhi(UGU) tu-šar-kab

33). [.....] ana pān(IGI) šamaš(UTU) tamannu(Š1D-nu) e-ma
tamtanū(Š1D-nu-u)

34). [.....] Xî-šu a-di u4-um baršt(NI.LA)

35). [.....] IGI.IGI-mar šalmu(NU) ana nāri(ÍD) tanaddi
(ŠUB-di)

36). [.....] ta-nam-bi nu li! 'i DUš!

37). [.....] ŠUB šalāš(išu) šu taqabb(N1G4.GA)-ma

38). [.....] lē ma ina muh-šu šu tuš-ta-haz

39). [.....] ad ne ina libbi(ŠA) tali(k(GLN-ak)

40). [.....] šalm0(NU) ana nāri(ÍD) tanaddi(ŠUB-di)

The rest of the tablet is broken away.

*  *  *

**OBVERSE**

1. [If .........] he repeatedly sees a man in his dream(s)

2. [..........]...

3. [Its ritual:] You make a wax figurine of a young man.

4. You write [his name upon] its left hip/shoulder. You install a
cultic arrangement before Shamash.
6). You say as follows [before] Shamash:

---

7). Incantation: "O Shamash! Your countenance is turned towards
the Igigi.
8). Your countenance is directed towards Aja, (your) bride.
9). (You are) the awesome (and) honoured offspring of Anu.
10-1). I myself, X, the son of Y, pray to you regarding separation, O
Shamash, the great lord, because a young man is bound with me
in my dream(s), and will not be detached."

---

12-3). You say this (incantation) three times before Shamash. The
sufferer raises that figurine in his left hand and (then) in his
right.
14). He speaks to Shamash (in his own words, and) Shamash will hear
his speech.
15). He swears an oath, and he says as follows to the replica,
(namely,) to the figurine:

---

16). Incantation: "Whoever you are, who are repeatedly met by me
in dream(s) and vision(s),
17). now, before Shamash, you are removed (from me). You are
forcibly taken away, and you are driven away.
18). The open country begot you like your father.
19). The pasture land treated you kindly like your mother.
20-1). You are the roamer (of) the fields, the seeker (of) the paths,
(and) the one who blocks the roads!
22). Shamash, the judge of god and man, expelled you from my body.
23). You are expelled (from my body by) the (oath) of the life of the
gods. May (Shamash) divert/block your course (to me)!
24). May [queen] Ereshkigal divert your course by her command!
25-6). May Asalluhi, the exorcist of the great gods (and) the [, .]. of
Ea, divert your course!" Incantation formula.

---

27). He says [this (incantation)] three times to the figurine, and
28). he washes [his hands] over it, (namely,) above (the figurine).

29). [ . . . . ] and you bury it (the figurine) at a corner of the wall. A magic flour circle of šigūšu-flour

30). [ . . . . ] on that day. He (the dream apparition) will be separated (from the sufferer).

31). [ . . . . . ]... you draw upon (it).

32). [ . . . the figurine of the young man who] is repeatedly met by him you cause to ride upon (it).

33). [ . . . . . . ] you recite [before] Shamash. Wherever you have recited

34). [ . . . . . . ]... until the day of (his) recovery

35). [ . . . . . . ] . . . You throw the figurine into the river.

36). [ . . . . . . ] you invoke/name . . .

37). [ . . . . . . ] . . you say three times, and

38). [ . . . . . . ] ... over/upon it you . .

39). [ . . . . . . ] . . . you go inside

40). [ . . . . ] you throw [the figurine into] the river.

The rest of the tablet is broken away.

* * *

NOTES

4). See pages 246-7 on the different translations of naglabu.

7). As E. von Weiher [SpTU 2, p. 107] noted, the form should be pa-nu-ka, as on obv. 8.

15). mehru does not usually occur in rituals, normally referring to written copies or to people of equal rank [CAD M2, mihr N, pp. 54-60].


26). Asalluhi/Marduk is frequently described as the son of Ea.
30). The verb at the beginning of the line is either ḫēnu, "to draw", or lamū, "to surround", probably the latter.

31-35). This appears to be an alternative ritual. It involves the use of a figurine, and an unknown piece of apparatus (a mat?) upon which the figurine rides, i.e., is carried on.

33). ēma means "whenever, wherever", and is not normally used with verbs of speaking [CAD E, p. 136b; AHw 1, p. 210b].

38). The Š-stem of ahāzu is rarely attested in cultic contexts [CAD A1, pp. 180-3]. E. von Weiher [SpTU 2, p. 106] translated this line as "... und darüber zündest(?) du an". However, the noun išātu usually precedes ahāzu when the meaning of "to kindle a fire" is meant.
TEXTS
DB, pl. 3 (photograph)

STUDIES
A. L. Oppenheim (DB), pp. 306-7, 344
M.-J. Seux [1976], pp. 371-2 (trans. of obv. 12 to rev. 15)

The cuneiform text of 81-2-4, 166 appears on plate 12.

* * *

OBVERSE
1). [šumma(DIŠ) amēlu(LU) lu] ina šutti(MAS.IGE) lu [. . . . . . ]
2). [. . . . ] [X1] lu mu-du-šu1 [lu la mu-du-u ( . . . . . . )]
3). [epere(SAHAR) ana mulh-šu  iddi(SUB-di) [. . . . . ]
4). [. . . . ] mu qaṭṭu(SU1) -šu DINGIR [. . . . ]

5). [DÚ.DÚ.BI anla pān(IG) dŠamaš(UTU) ıštēn(1-en) paštre (GI. [DU₇] tukān(DU-an))]
6). nīqa([SIS]KUR) tanaqqi(BAL-qi) ímitta(ZAG) [UZU himša(ME.HER)]
7). [UZ]U šumā(KA. NE) tu-ṭah-hi [. . . . ]
8). [Z]Išesqa(EŠA) miris(NINDA. I.DÉ. A) dišpi(LAL) [himšēti(1.NUN (.NA)) tašakkan(GAR-an)]
9). nīgnaq(NIG.NA) šimburāši(LI) tašakkan(GAR-an) šikāre (rēšā) (KAŠ. [SAG] tanaqqi(BAL-qi)]
10). amēlu(LU) šustu(BI) mīs pī(KA.LUH.Ü. DA) îppuš(DÚ-[uš](-mė)]
11). ina pān(IG) dŠamaš(UTU) ızzaš(GUB) -me kam iqabbī(DU[G₄.GA])

Page 499
12). EN dŠa sodium(DI.KUš) Ši-[i-ru]
13). bēl(EN) šamē(AN-e) erṣētim(KI-t[iim])
14). bēl(EN) elāti(AN.TA.MEŠ) u šapiṭti(KI.TA.MEŠ)
15). nu-ūr dí-gi-[gi u dA-nun-na-ki]

REVERSE
1). pa-ri-is purussē(EŠ.BAR) ili(DINGIR.MEŠ) rabīṭti(GAL.MEŠ)
2). at-ta-ma ana-ku [annanne(NENNI) mār(A) annanne(NENNI)]
3). ardu(IR) pa-lih ilūti(DINGIR-ti)-ka rabīṭti(GAL-ti)
4). am-hur-ka dŠamaš(UTU) re-[me-nu-ú]
5). epere(SAHAR) ša ina šutti(MĀŠ.GEš) lu ina [ . . . ]
6). ana muhhi(UGU)-a na-du-u lu ili-b-ru]
7). lu tap-pu-u lu ru-u-a lu [u . . . ]
8). lu mudū(ŽU-u) lu là mudū(ŽU-u) lu [X1 [ . . . ]
9). ša epere(SAHAR) ana muhhi(UGU)-a iddū(ŠUB-u) lu ŠTU . . . ]
10). išš-še-šu ina pf(KA)-šū qa [ . . . ]
11). utl([lun]-nin ina pān(IGI) ilūti(DINGIR-ti)-ka rabīṭti(GAL-ti) ( . . . ))
12). [ina] muhhi(UGU) šalme(NU)-šū mē(A.MEŠ) e-ram-[mu-uk]
14). šammu peṣū(Ū).BABBAR) liballīṭ(TIN)-an-ni-me ʾišš-me kut . . . ]
15). [X1] [X1 din ka dā-lí-li-li-ka lud-lul]
16). [kam] iqabb[(DU)G4.GA]-ma uš-ken ina pān([IGI) dŠamaš(UTU)]

UPPER EDGE
17). [šalamNU] zikari(NĪTA) [lu₁ šalamNU) sinniṭti(MĬ) še tiṭti (IM) ippuš(DU-[uʃ])
18). [ena] muhhi(UGU) irammuk(TUš)-m[a . . . ]
19). [X (X) jātē((ŠI)ULI)-šū DINGIR išš-[ . . . ]
* * *

OVERVERSE

1. [If a man, either] in a dream or [ . . . . . ]
2. [ . . . . . . ] either an acquaintance, [or someone unknown ( . . . . . )]
3. throw [dust/earth] upon him [ . . . . . ]
4. [ . . . . . . ] the god [ . . . . . ] his hands.
6-7. You perform a sacrifice. You offer the shoulder, [the fatty tissue around the intestines], (and) roasted meat [ . . . . . ]
8. [You set out] šasqo-flour (and) a confection (made) of honey [(and) ghee].
9. You set up a censer of juniper. [You libate (first-class)] beer.
10. (Then) that man (i.e., the dreamer) performs the mouth-washing (ritual).
11. He stands in front of Shamash, and he says as follows:

12. Incantation: "O Shamash, you are (from rev. 2) [the exalted] judge;
13. the lord of heaven (and) earth;
14. the lord of (the regions) above and [below];
15. the light of the Igigi [and of the Anunnaki];

REVERSE

1. the decider of the oracular decision(s) concerning [the great] gods!
2. I myself, [X, the son of Y],
3. the servant who fears your [great] divinity,
4. I pray to you, [O merciful] Shamash,
5. (because of) the earth which in a dream or in [ . . . . . ]
6. was thrown upon me. Whether (it was) [a colleague],
7. or a companion, or a friend, or [ . . . . . ],
8). or an acquaintance, or someone unknown, or . [ . . . ]
9). who threw (this) earth upon me, or . [ . . . ]
10). raised/carried (it), or in his mouth . [ . . . ]
11). I pray before your great divinity [ . . . ]
12). I bathe in water over his (the thrower's) figurine.
13). May the tamarisk purify me! [May] the maštakal-plant [absolve me!]
14). May 'the white [plant] heal me! Haar . [ . . . ]
15). [ . . ] . . . [I will proclaim] your glory!"

16). He speaks [thus], and he prostrates himself before [Shamash].

**NOTES**

**Obverse**

1). DB, p. 344 restored [ina bi-ri] at the end of the line. The experiences šutru and biru are discussed on pages 136-41.
2). DB, p. 306 restored "[somebody]" at the beginning of this line.
3). DB, p. 344 restored [ina muh]-hi, but see rev. 9, where ana occurs.
   DB, p. 306 restored "[and he has become depressed(?)]" at the end of the line.
4). DB, p. 344 read the first sign as niš, but it is a clear mu.
5). DB, p. 306 wanted the verb "to scatter", but, in this context the verb is usually šakenu, "to place" [CAD M2, p. 109].
6). DB, p. 344 restored [GEŠTIN] at the end of the line.
7). Contrary to DB, p. 344 the last .TA.MEŠ is not extant on the
tablet; see already R. Borger [1957-8, p. 418].

15. The second -gi is not extant, contrary to DB, p. 344.

Reverse

5. DB, p. 344 restored [bi-ri] at the end of the line.

9. DB, p. 344 restored Š[U2] at the end of this line.

10. DB, p. 344 restored Š[U2] at the end of the line, but the sign is definitely not ŠUB.

14. See the note on Ú.BABBAR at ADRC, col. III line 63 (p. 387).

DB, p. 344 read lim-me-ru, but the sign is not -ru.

15. Akkadian incantations concluded with various phrases (discussed by W. Mayer [UFGS], pp. 307-61), but the traces do not agree with any of the common expressions. The sentence normally preceding dà-li-š-ke lud-lul was nar-bi-ka lu-šá-pi. Phrases involving balātu(TIN) were usually written out syllabically: a-di u4-um bal-šu-ku or lu-ub-luṭ.

See also the works listed under Abbreviations.

A). REFERENCES

(1) T. ABUSCH

B. ALSTER (ed.)

M. M. AUSTIN

M. BAYLISS

E. BEHRENS

C. A. BENITO
P.-R. BERGER


R. D. BIGGS


J. BÖLLENRÜCHER


R. BORGER


J. BOTTÉRO


Bibliography


J. A. BRINKMAN


E. D. VAN BUREN


S. M. BURSTEIN


L. CAGNI


R. I. CAPLICE


M. COGAN AND H. TADMOR


E. COMBE


P. C. COUPRIE


J. A. CRAIG

Bibliography

J. CURTIS

A. DEIMAL

W. C. DEMENT

G. DEVEREUX

J. J. A. VAN DIJK

H. DONNER

G. VAN DRIEL, T. J. H. KRISPIJN, M. STOL, AND K. R. VEEHOF

J.-M. DURAND
E. EBELING


F. ELLERMEIER


M. DE JONG ELLIS (ed.)


A. FALKENSTEIN


A. FALKENSTEIN AND W. VON SODEN


W. FARBER


A. FINET

I. L. FINKEL


J. G. FRAZER


C. J. GADD


M. J. GELLER


A. R. GEORGE


A. GOETZE

[1939] Cuneiform Inscriptions From Tarsus. JAOS 59, pp. 1-16.

C. H. GORDON


E. I. GORDON

Bibliography


C. D. Gray


A. K. Grayson


S. Greengus


G. E. Von Grunebaum And R. Caillois (eds.)


O. R. Gurney


J. A. Hadfield


M. Hamilton


R. F. Harper


W. Heimpel


M. Held

Bibliography

G. HERRMANN

H. HIRSCH

M. HOWARD

H. HUNGER

T. JACOBSEN

H. JACOBSON

M. JASTROW

U. JEVES

B. KIENAST

B. KILBORN

L. W. KING
Bibliography

E. G. KLAUBER

       Eduard Pfeiffer, Leipzig.

J. KLEIN


H. KLENGEL

[1959-60] Neue Lamaštu-Amulette aus dem Vorder-asiatischen
       Museum zu Berlin und dem British Museum. Mitteilungen des Instituts
       für Orientalforschung 7, pp. 334-55.

J. A. KNUDTZON

[AGS] Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches
       Eduard Pfeiffer, Leipzig.

F. KÖCHER

[KADF] Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und
       Pflanzenkunde: Texte der Serien uru.an.na : maltakal, HAR.ra : hubullu

[1963] Ein verkannter neubabylonischer Texte aus Sippar. AFO 20,
       pp. 156-8.

[1966] Die Ritualtafel der magisch-medizinischen Tafelserie

W. KRACKE

[1987] Myths In Dreams, Thought In Images: An Amazonian
       Contribution To The Psychoanalytic Theory Of Primary Process. Pages
       31-54 in B. Tedlock [1987].

S. N. KRAMER


F. R. KRAUS


Bibliography

J. KRECHER

W. G. KUNSTMANN

R. LABAT

S. LACKENBACHER

J. LAESSØE

W. G. LAMBERT
Bibliography


W. G. LAMBERT AND A. R. MILLARD

B. LANDSBERGER
[1967] The Date Palm And Its By-Products According To The Cuneiform Sources. AfO Beiheft 17.

B. LANDSBERGER AND O. R. GURNEY

S. LANGDON

R. J. LAU AND J. DYNELEY PRINCE

E. LEICHTY
[1977] Literary Notes. Pages 143-6 in M. de Jong Ellis [1977].
Biblography

J. LEWY

A. LIVINGSTONE

S. LLOYD

D. D. LUCKENBILL

H. F. LUTZ

M. E. L. MALLOWAN

M. MALUL

S. M. MAUL
M. MAUSS

W. MAYER

G. J. P. McEWAN

G. MEIER

B. MEISSNER

J. NOUGAYROL

D. OATES

A. T. OLMSTEAD

A. L. OPPENHEIM
[1941] Idiomatic Akkadian. JAOS 61, pp. 251-71


B. PARKER


S. PARPOLA


O. PEDERSÉN


E. G. PERRY


R. H. PFEIFFER


J. N. POSTGATE


E. REINER

AfO Beiheft 11.

E. K. RITTER
Complementary Professions In Babylonian Medicine. Assyriological 
Studies 16, pp. 299-321.

D. RITTIG
[1977] Assyrisch-babylonische Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 
13.-6. Jh. v. Chr. Münchener Universitäts-Schriften Phil. Fachbereich 
12, Münchener Vorderasiatische Studien 1. Uni-Druck, Munich.

F. ROCHBERG-HALTON
[1982] Fate And Divination In Mesopotamia. Pages 363-71 in AfO 

W. H. P. RÖMER
[1971] Frauenbriefe über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Mari: 
Untersuchungen zu G. Dossin, Archives Royales de Mari X (Paris 1967). 
AOAT 12.

G. ROUX
Harmondsworth.

M. B. ROWTON
[1967] The Woodlands Of Ancient Western Asia. JNES 26, pp. 261- 
77.

H. W. F. SAGGS

J. M. SASSON
BIBLIOGRAPHY

(SHEIL) V. SCHMIDT


E. F. SCHMIDT


W. SCHRAMM


J. A. SCURLOCK


M.-J. SEUX


A. SHAFFER


W. VON SODEN


E. SOLLBERGER

I. STARR

J. V. STRASSMAIER

M. STRECK

K. L. TALQVIST

B. TEDLOCK

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

M.-L. THOMSEN
A. TSUKIMOTO
[1985] Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien. AOAT 216.

H. VORLÄNDER

L. WATERMAN

M. M. WATKINS

H. WEBSTER

E. F. WEIDNER

E. VON WEIHER

F. H. WEISSBACH

F. A. M. WIGGERMANN

C. WILCKE
Bibliography

J. V. KINNIER WILSON

D. J. WISEMAN

C. L. WOOLLEY

H. ZIMMERN

B. OTHER WORKS CONSULTED

J. BOTTIÉRO

E. D. VAN BUREN

E. EBELING
C. J. GADD

P. KEMP

D. W. MYHRMAN

S. J. TAMBIAH

J. V. KINNIER WILSON
# INDEX OF TEXTS MENTIONED

*JRSA Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society.*

*OIP* The University Of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications.

*(P)* Photograph.

*T* Transliteration.

## A). PUBLISHED TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL 4</th>
<th>see LAS 137.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL 18</td>
<td>see LAS 173.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 22</td>
<td>see LAS 179.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 23</td>
<td>see LAS 185.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 76</td>
<td>see LAS 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 183</td>
<td>see LAS 138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 355</td>
<td>see LAS 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 391</td>
<td>see LAS 246.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 450</td>
<td>see LAS 219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 453</td>
<td>see LAS 186.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 778</td>
<td>obv. 5-6: 128-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 779</td>
<td>obv. 5-7: 128-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 923</td>
<td>see LAS 117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 970</td>
<td>see LAS 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL 1021</td>
<td>see LAS 294.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

ABL 1133

ABL 1336

ABL 1347

ABL 1381

abnu šikinšu

ABRT 1, pp. 5-6

ABRT 1, pp. 56-9, now + JNES 15 [1956], p. 149 - T

ADD 738

ADD 869

ADD 943

ADD 944

ADD 980

ADD 1040

ADRC - T

ADRC, col. I - T

obv. 7-8: 128-9.

see LAS 288.

see LAS 217.

see LAS 82.

216.

obv. 7-26: 116.

rev. 6-8: 61.

obv. 13: 106.

138.

obv. 5’ to rev. 8’: 139, 140.

see S. Parpola [1983], No. 2.

see S. Parpola [1983], No. 1.

see S. Parpola [1983], No. 1.

see S. Parpola [1983], No. 2.

rev. 3: 270.

34-5, 37, 38, 219, 295, 313-90.

lines 1-6: 171, 175, 273.

line 5: 175, 176.

line 6: 162, 163, 165, 169.

lines 7-12: 67, 171, 207-8.

lines 8-9: 175.

lines 9-10: 181, 189, 203.

line 12: 165.

lines 12a-g: 67, 170, 171, 207.

line 12a: 176.

line 12b: 177.

lines 12d-g: 187, 189.


line 13: 161, 175.

line 14: 233.

line 15: 165.

lines 16-8: 171, 273.

line 18: 165.


line 20: 176.

line 23: 178, 183.


Page 525
Index Of Published Texts

**ADRC, col. I - T**

- line 27: 165.
- lines 28ff.: 204.
- lines 36-41: 189, 191, 194.
- lines 43ff.: 189, 191.
- line 50: 168.
- lines 54ff.: 187, 189, 191, 201, 229.
- line 59: 164, 198.
- line 60: 203.
- line 66: 204.
- line 71: 226.
- line 72: 166, 177.
- lines 73-8: 171, 206-7.
- lines 73-7: 35, 187, 188, 191, 195, 204.
- line 75: 195.
- line 78: 166, 177, 185.

**ADRC, col. I line 79 to col. II line 71 - T**

- col. I line 79 to col. II line 14: 195, 229.
- col. II lines 1-16: 204.
- lines 2-4: 97.
- lines 6-9: 227.
- lines 9-14: 194.
- line 12: 245.
- line 13: 194.
- lines 14-6: 191, 195, 204, 229.
- line 18: 165, 226.
- lines 19-23: 133, 169, 170, 171, 241, 243, 244, 246, 249.
- lines 19-20: 184, 188.
- lines 22-3: 176, 177.
- lines 24-57: 170, 172, 293, 297-301.
- lines 24-5: 294.
Index Of Published Texts

ADRC, col. I line 79 to col. II line 71 - T

line 24: 125-6.
line 25: 127.
lines 27-8: 301.
line 27: 300.
line 28: 300.
line 29: 204.
line 32: 301.
line 37: 301, 382.
line 38: 182, 300, 301.
lines 39-46: 381.
line 39: 201.
line 47: 127, 294.
line 48: 300.
line 49: 300.
line 50: 126, 299.
lines 51-5: 188, 190, 191, 194, 299.
line 51: 201.
lines 56-7: 164, 294, 295.
line 57: 127.
line 58 to col. III line 3g: 171, 236, 239.
lines 58-60: 66, 203, 207.
line 58: 203, 239.
line 62: 239.
line 63: 197, 203.
lines 64-5: 197.
line 66: 181, 203.
lines 68-70: 191, 203.
line 71: 105, 162, 163, 169.

ADRC, col. III - T

lines 1-3: 236-8.
line 1: 175, 176.
line 2: 177.
line 3: 167, 169.
line 3a: 236, 237, 239-40.
lines 3b-g: 236-8.
lines 4-17: 171, 206-7.
lines 4-15: 35, 37, 187, 188, 191, 195.
lines 4-7: 141.
lines 4-5: 174, 203, 207.
lines 8-9: 195.
lines 10-5: 197.
lines 12-5: 203.
ADRC, col. III - T

line 16: 162, 169.
line 17: 166, 169, 185.
lines 18-9: 125, 171, 235, 274.
line 19: 167, 177.
lines 20-4: 191, 200, 229.
line 20: 203.
line 25: 200-1, 226, 245.
lines 26-38: 171.
line 27: 225-6.
lines 29-30: 97.
line 37: 67, 169, 226.
line 38: 166, 169.
lines 39-46a: 171, 223-30
lines 39-44: 188, 195, 229.
line 39: 199.
line 40: 200.
lines 41-2: 79, 192.
line 41: 176.
lines 43-4: 191, 229, 230.
line 43: 79, 196.
line 45: 162, 163, 169, 226.
lines 45a-46a: 222.
line 45a: 162, 163, 169.
line 46: 166, 168, 169, 274.
line 46a: 166, 168, 169, 229.
lines 47-61: 37.
lines 47-8: 188, 195, 273.
line 47: 191, 198.
line 48: 194, 196.
line 49: 163, 169.
line 50: 175, 176.
line 51: 166, 169, 274.
lines 52-8: 171, 237, 238-40.
line 52: 203.
line 56: 163, 169, 238.
line 58: 166, 169.
lines 59-60: 103-4, 171, 172.
line 60: 164.
lines 61-8: 171, 255, 256.
lines 61-3: 255.
line 61: 32.
lines 62-3: 266, 267.
lines 64-6: 255.
**Index Of Published Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ADRC, col. III - T</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lines 65-6:</td>
<td>266, 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 67-8:</td>
<td>255, 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 67:</td>
<td>272.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ADRC, col. IV - T</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lines 1-4:</td>
<td>171, 255-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 1-2:</td>
<td>255, 266, 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 3:</td>
<td>255, 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 4:</td>
<td>255, 266, 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 5-7:</td>
<td>68, 86, 171, 255, 257, 258, 265, 266, 268.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 7:</td>
<td>67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 8-14:</td>
<td>119, 169, 171, 255, 257, 262, 265.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 8-13:</td>
<td>86, 188, 189-90, 195.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 8-12:</td>
<td>191.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 8:</td>
<td>200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 11-2:</td>
<td>195.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 13:</td>
<td>191.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 17-20:</td>
<td>127, 172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 21-41b:</td>
<td>127.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 21-30b:</td>
<td>172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 21-30:</td>
<td>126, 185, 293, 297-301.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 21-2:</td>
<td>126.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 21:</td>
<td>300-1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 23:</td>
<td>199.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 25a-d:</td>
<td>172, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 26-7:</td>
<td>299.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 27:</td>
<td>300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 28:</td>
<td>123, 198.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 30:</td>
<td>165, 167, 295.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 30a-b:</td>
<td>172, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 30b:</td>
<td>165-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 31-41b:</td>
<td>126, 172, 185, 293, 295, 297-301.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 31-7:</td>
<td>187, 188, 191, 194.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 38:</td>
<td>199.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 39:</td>
<td>121.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 41a:</td>
<td>162, 163, 295, 247.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 41b:</td>
<td>162, 167, 295, 249, 301.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| lines 42-7:           | 127, 172, 222.  |
| lines 42-3:           | 184, 187.       |
| line 45:              | 226.            |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Lines/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| AEM 1/1, No. 82 (P, on microfiche) | lines 5-9: 149, 151-2.  
| | line 7: 66.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 142 (P, on microfiche) | lines 20-3: 50-1, 149, 151.  
| | line 23: 67.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 196 (P, on microfiche) | obv. 7-10: 147.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 200 (P, on microfiche) | lines 22-4: 152.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 204 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 81.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 207 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 4.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 212 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 6.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 227 (P, on microfiche) | lines 6-10: 55.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 229 (P, on microfiche) | see RA 69 [1975], p. 28.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 232 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 100.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 233 (P, on microfiche) | see RA 42 [1948], pp. 128, 130.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 234 (P, on microfiche) | see ARMT 13, No. 112.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 236 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 10.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 237 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 50.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 238 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 51.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 239 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 94.  
| AEM 1/1, No. 240 (P, on microfiche) | see ARM 10, No. 117.  
| AfO 12 [1937-9], pls. 1-2, now + K. 9276 | see sf Ritual Tablet.  
| | 31.  
| | col. I lines 31-2: 124.  
| | col. III lines 28-35: 82, 84-5, 103.  
| AfO 18 [1957-8], pls. 5-9 | see Substitute King Ritual.  
| AfO 18 [1957-8], pl. 10 + AfO 19 [1959-60], p. 119 | col. I lines 7-8: 270.  
| | col. I line 12: 270.  
| | col. I lines 27-8: 270.  
| | col. I line 29: 270.  
| | col. I lines 32-3: 270.  
| | col. II line 3: 270.  

Page 530
## Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Pages/Sections</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>AfO</em> 18 [1957-81], pls. 17-20</td>
<td>col. II line 23: 270.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AfO</em> 18 [1957-81], pp. 81-6 - <em>T</em></td>
<td>col. II line 26: 270.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AfO</em> 19 [1959-60], pp. 55-60 - <em>T</em></td>
<td>see igi.dus.a = <em>tāmartu</em>, Short Version.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AfO</em> 19 [1959-60], p. 119</td>
<td>line 1: 300.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AfO</em> 29-30 [1983-43], p. 51</td>
<td>see <em>Practical Vocabulary Of Ashur</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 17 + 18 + <em>PRT</em> 9 (I. <em>Starr</em> [SAA 5], No. 63 - <em>T</em>)</td>
<td>see <em>AfO</em> 18 [1957-81], pl. 10 - T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 18</td>
<td>see <em>AGS</em> 17 +.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 50 + <em>PRT</em> 26 (I. <em>Starr</em> [SAA 5], No. 108 - <em>T</em>)</td>
<td>rev. 2: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 60</td>
<td>rev. 7-8: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 68</td>
<td>see <em>AGS</em> 17 +.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 84</td>
<td>rev. 8-9: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 86</td>
<td>rev. 4-5: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 98</td>
<td>rev. 5: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 104</td>
<td>rev. 3-4: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 142 (+) <em>PRT</em> 99 (I. <em>Starr</em> [SAA 5], No. 56 - <em>T</em>)</td>
<td>rev. 6-7: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 145</td>
<td>rev. 4'-5': 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 146</td>
<td>obv. 6': 155.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 147</td>
<td>rev. 4-5: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 148</td>
<td>rev. 6: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AGS</em> 150</td>
<td>rev. 5: 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Page 531*
Index Of Published Texts

AGS 152  
rev. 5:  81.

AGS 153  
rev. 2:  81.

AJSL 15 [1898-91, p. 130 
see LAS 219 - T (ABL 450).

AMT 29/1  
see K. 2175 +.

AMT 38/6  
see K. 2175 +.

AMT 47/1 + 56/5 + 53/1 + 58/1 +  
DB, pl. 4 + AMT 56/2  
32.

AMT 53/1  
see AMT 47/1 +.

AMT 56/2  
see AMT 47/1 +.

AMT 56/5  
see AMT 47/1 +.

AMT 58/1  
see AMT 47/1 +.

AMT 79/1 (and others)  
col. IV line 47':  94-5, 104.

AMT 86/1  
col. II lines 3-7:  91, 94.

AMT 89/3  
see K. 2175 +.

col. II lines 32'-3':  184.

AMT 103  
lines 83-6:  102-3, 214.

21-2 (P)  
see Cuthaean Legend Of Naram-Sin.

AnSt 5, pp. 98-108 - T  
see Nabonidus 24.

AnSt 8 [1958], pls. 4-8  
see Nabonidus 25.

AnSt 8 [1958], pls. 9-16  
278, 282, 283, 284, 289.

AnSt 33 [1983], p. 79  
rev. 5'-8':  282-3.
Index Of Published Texts

AnSt 33 [1983], p. 79

rev. 5': 284.
rev. 6': 116-7.
rev. 9': 176.

an.ta.gál = šaqa (MSL 17) - T

Tab. 3, line 172: 231.
Tab. 8, lines 262-4: 136.
C, line 40: 48.

ARM 10, No. 4

obv. 3-11: 145-7.

ARM 10, No. 6

rev. 1'-2': 146, 147.

ARM 10, No. 10

61, 72.
obv. 6-7: 290

ARM 10, No. 50

56, 58, 61.
obv. 13: 51.
obv. 14: 55.

ARM 10, No. 51

56.

ARM 10, No. 81

edge 22-5: 151, 152.

ARM 10, No. 94

152.
rev. 9'-12': 149, 150-1, 486.

ARM 10, No. 100

56, 72, 290-1.
obv. 7-8: 290-1.

ARM 10, No. 117

obv. 9-11: 291.

ARMT 13, No. 112

56, 74.

ArOr 17 [1949], pp. 190-2 - T


Ashurbanipal Annals (Rassam Cylinder)
col. II line 97: 55, 56, 72.
col. III lines 118-21: 55-6, 72.
col. V lines 97-9: 41, 56.

Ashurbanipal Cylinder B
col. V lines 49-84: 55, 57.

Ashurnasirpal II Annals

see A. K. Grayson [AR/ 2].

ASKT 9


ASKT 11, now + RA 17 [1920], p. 146
+ K. 10369


Atra-hasis

Tab. 1, lines 189-256: 225.
Tab. 1, lines 198-203: 226.
Tab. 1, line 256: 226.
### Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atra-hasis, Text S</td>
<td>col. III lines 5-14: 225.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atra-hasis, Nippur fragment</td>
<td>rev. 2: 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atra-hasis, Ugarit version</td>
<td>obv. 12-3: 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA 5 [1906], pp. 655-6</td>
<td>line 7: 117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA 5 [1906], p. 701</td>
<td>see BBR 11, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 155</td>
<td>col. II lines 2'-3': 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 205</td>
<td>lines 19'-21' = duplicate of STT 95 + 295: 100-1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 215</td>
<td>238. obv. 4: 211. obv. 6: 299-300. obv. 20: 211. obv. 29: 299-300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAM 323</td>
<td>251.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| BAM 376 | 38.  
  col. I lines 28'-30': 38, 171, 255, 258, 265, 266, 267, 268.  
  col. I line 31' = manuscript B₁ of ADRC. |
| BAM 377 | 38.  
  col. III lines 16-8 = manuscript A₁ of ADRC: 68, 86.  
| BAM 384 | 38.  
  rev. 6-7 = manuscript C₁ of ADRC. |
| BAM 400 | col. II line 5': 257, 268.  
  col. II line 8': 257-8, 268.  
  col. II line 9': 257-8, 268.  
  col. III line 1': 34, 38, 171, 255, 257-8, 265, 266, 267, 268. |
| BAM 574 | lines 14-6: 240  
  line 69: 155.  
  line 149: 155. |
| BBR 1-20 |  |
| BBR 11, now + BA 5 (1906), p. 701 | col. II line 20': 212. |
| BBR 26, now + K. 10131 | col. III lines 52-3: 205, 452-3.  
  col. IV lines 78-81: 185. |
| BBR 75-8 | obv. 13-7: 238.  
  obv. 14: 155. |
| Babylonian Expedition Of The University Of Pennsylvania (Series D) 5, end of book (and P) | see Atra-haššu, Nippur Fragment.  
  see Enki And Ninmah.  
  see Enki And The World Order.  
  see Verse Account. |
| C. A. Benito [1969], pp. 21-33 - T |  |
| C. A. Benito [1969], pp. 85-113 - T |  |
| BHT, pls. 5-10 |  |
| R. D. Biggs [OIP 99], No. 114 | obv. 1-28 = manuscript A₁ of SDR: 38.  
  rev. 54: 204. |
<p>| BMS 1 |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Pages/Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMS 22, now + Sm. 1359</strong></td>
<td>rev. 22: 64, 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMS 48</strong></td>
<td>rev. 17': 208-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMS 53</strong></td>
<td>obv. 6'-8': 98-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMS 61</strong></td>
<td>line 20: 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BMS 62</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>OECT 6, pl. 22 +</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R. Borger [1956], p. 2 92 - T</strong></td>
<td>see Esarhaddon Assur A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BRM 4, No. 17</strong></td>
<td>obv. 1: 202.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pl. 19</strong></td>
<td>93 obv. 7': 94, 210.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 1-4, 15-7, 73</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Ludiiūl bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 1</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 4-11, 15-7</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Ludiiūl bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 2</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 12-3, 15-7</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Ludiiūl bēl nēmeqi, Tab. 3</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 13-4</strong></td>
<td>rev. 11-2: 76-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 27-9</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Counseils Of Wisdom</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pl. 30</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Counseils Of A Pessimist</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BWL, pls. 33-6, 73</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Shamash Hymn</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L. Cagni [1970]</strong></td>
<td>see <strong>Epic Of Irra</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 1-5, and III</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 1 + 3</td>
<td>obv. 3-4: 49, 221.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 4</td>
<td>line 6: 67, 221.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 9</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 10</td>
<td>rev. 17-9: 257-8, 268.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 12</td>
<td>227, 251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 15</td>
<td>227, 251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 19</td>
<td>line 9: 234-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 20</td>
<td>obv. 4'-6': 257, 264, 268.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 16'-9': 264.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 25</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 35</td>
<td>220, 251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lines 9-11: 273.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 37</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 23: 485.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 40</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 31 to rev. 6: 237.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 4-6: 251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 42</td>
<td>219.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 55</td>
<td>rev. 7 10': 220.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap. 65</td>
<td>220.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 9'-14': 205, 297, 452.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 14': 205.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAM 1, pp. 95-119 - T</td>
<td>line b + 260: 485.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAM 1, pp. 222-52 - T</td>
<td>a + 4 to a + 5: 285.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clod Incantation - T</td>
<td>160, 187, 190, 193, 196, 200, 204, 225, 227, 229.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Combe [1906], No. 6 - T</td>
<td>manuscript b of SDR: 38.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages/Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Counsels Of A Pessimist</em></td>
<td>obv. 17 to rev. 21: 77, 78. obv. 18-9: 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Counsels Of Wisdom</em></td>
<td>lines 135-41: 123.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 11, pl. 46</td>
<td>col. I lines 30-6: 304.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 15, pl. 49, now + CT 46, pl. 6</td>
<td>see <em>Atra-hasis</em>, Text S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 16, pls. 1-8</td>
<td>lines 86-7 (pl. 3): 302. lines 280-3 (pl. 8): 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 16, pl. 15</td>
<td>col. V lines 37-40: 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 16, pl. 27 (with unpublished duplicates)</td>
<td>lines 18-23: 101. lines 22-3: 75. lines 32-3: 83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 17, pl. 25</td>
<td>lines 5-7: 83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 17, pl. 35</td>
<td>col. I lines 4-10: 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 18, pl. 14</td>
<td>rev. n-s: 48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 18, pl. 23</td>
<td>rev. o: 80, 81.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 19, pl. 19</td>
<td>line 13: 450.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 22, No. 1</td>
<td>rev. col. IV line 59: 485.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 23, pls. 15-22, now + K. 2431 + AMT 29/1 + 89/3 + 38/6</td>
<td>33, 303. obv. 14-5: 303.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 24, pls. 20-46</td>
<td>see K. 2175 +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 34, pls. 26-37</td>
<td>rev. 9: 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 37, pl. 38</td>
<td>see Nabonidus 4*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 39, pl. 24</td>
<td>lines 28-9: 457.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Pages/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CT 39, pl. 36</td>
<td>line 109: 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 39, pls. 41-2</td>
<td>lines 1-33: 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 39, pls. 44-6</td>
<td>line 9 (pl. 44): 101-2. lines 25-7 (pl. 45): 102. line 28 (pl. 45): 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 40, pls. 12-4</td>
<td>31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 40, pls. 15-8</td>
<td>31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 41, pl. 23</td>
<td>col. 1 lines 6-15: 219-20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 41, pl. 43</td>
<td>obv. 9: 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 43, No. 24</td>
<td>obv. 7-8: 128.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 46, pl. 6</td>
<td>see CT 15, pl. 49, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 51, No. 103</td>
<td>lines 1'-6' = manuscript d of SIR: 38. lines 7'-9': 489.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT 51, No. 190</td>
<td>rev. 1'-5' = manuscript G of NRFD: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthaean Legend Of Naram-Sin</td>
<td>see Cap. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthaean Legend Of Naram-Sin</td>
<td>27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthaean Legend Of Naram-Sin</td>
<td>see pls. 3-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pls. 1-2 (P; K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069, unjoined)</td>
<td>see pl. 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 1 (P; K. 3758)</td>
<td>see pl. 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 1 (P; K. 4103 + 13330)</td>
<td>see pl. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 1 (P; K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058)</td>
<td>see pl. 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 1 (P; Sm. 543)</td>
<td>see pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 2 (P; K. 5175 + 6001)</td>
<td>see pl. 9-11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 2 (P; 79-7-8, 77)</td>
<td>see pl. 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 3 (P; 81-2-4, 166)</td>
<td>see pl. 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 3 (P; 81-2-4, 233)</td>
<td>see AMT 47/1 +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB, pl. 4 (P; K. 14216)</td>
<td>see AMT 47/1 +.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

DB, pl. 5 (P; Babylon 35383) obv.: 35-6.
DB, pls. 6-7 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. A.
DB, pls. 8-10 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. B.
DB, pl. 9 (P; K. 14884) col. IV lines 1'-4': 36.
DB, pl. 10 (P; VAT 14279) 36.
DB, pls. 11-2 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. C.
DB, pl. 13 (P; K. 273 + 1944b + 9064) 146.
DB, p. 192 - T see Nabonidus 23.
col. IV line 4: 28.
Door Of The Kiln see Glass Texts.
Dream-Book
DB, pl. 5 (P; Babylon 35383) obv.: 35-6.
DB, pls. 6-7 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. A.
DB, pls. 8-10 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. B.
DB, pl. 9 (P; K. 14884) col. IV lines 1'-4': 36.
DB, pl. 10 (P; VAT 14279) 36.
DB, pls. 11-2 (P) see The Dream-Book, Tab. C.
DB, pl. 13 (P; K. 273 + 1944b + 9064) 146.
DB, p. 192 - T see Nabonidus 23.
col. IV line 4: 28.
Door Of The Kiln see Glass Texts.
Dream-Book

EA 25

es A = náqu (MSL 14) - T

EA 25

col. I lines 16-7: 269.
col. I lines 19-20: 269.

Es A = náqu (MSL 14) - T

EA 25

EA 25

Tab. 4, line 273: 285.
Tab. 4/4 = 25, line 193: 285.

Enki And Ninmah

lines 373-9: 174.

Enki And The World Order

225.

Enúma Anu Enlil

27.

Epic Of Gilgamesh

Tab. 1, col. V line 25 to col. VI line 30: 58.
Tab. 4, repeated incubations: 60, 65, 69, 103, 278.
Tab. 4, lines 79-100: 172, 278-80, 283, 284, 289.
Tab. 4, line 80: 284.
Tab. 4, line 83: 284, 285.
Tab. 4, lines 85-6: 284.
Tab. 4, line 87: 283.
### Index Of Published Texts

**Epic Of Gilgamesh**

- Tab. 4, lines 88-90: 284, 286.
- Tab. 4, lines 92-3: 284-5.
- Tab. 4, line 93: 76.
- Tab. 4, line 98: 79.
- Tab. 7, col. II lines 20-2: 80.
- Tab. 7, col. II line 20a: 66.
- Tab. 7, col. II line 21a: 66.
- Tab. 10, col. VI lines 33-5: 88.
- Tab. 10, col. VI lines 35-8: 484.
- Tab. 11, lines 15-9: 287.
- Tab. 11, lines 19-20: 287.
- Tab. 11, lines 186-7: 58, 287, 296-7.
- Tab. 11, line 201: 76.
- Tab. 12, lines 20-1: 302-3.
- Tab. 12, lines 83-4: 112-3.
- Tab. 12, line 84: 99.

**Epic Of Irra**

- Tab. 1, line 21: 75.
- Tab. 5, lines 42-4: 48, 70, 71-2.
- Tab. 5, line 43: 71.

**Epic Of Tukulti-Ninurta I**


**erim.huš = anantu (MSL 17) - T**

- Tab. 1, line 216: 86, 118, 119.
- Tab. 2, lines 261-3: 47-8.

**Esarhaddon Assur A**


**W. Farber [SKS] - T**

- §25, lines 368-70: 194.
- §32, lines 12-4: 194.
- §34, lines 16-7: 194.

**Gilgamesh, Enkidu, And The Netherworld**

- lines 242-3: 112-3.

**Glass Texts**

- 238, 269-70.

**C. H. Gordon [1952], No. 46**

- rev. 13: 106.

**E. I. Gordon [1958] - T**

- 5.76: 42.

**A. K. Grayson [AR/2] - T**

- p. 102, §470: 119-20.

**S. Greengus [1979], pl. 12 (No. 23)**

- obv. 12'-4': 148.
Index Of Published Texts

Gudea Cylinder A

igi.duš.a = tāmartu. Short Version

Inanna And Bilulu

Iraq 14 [1952], pl. 2 (P)

Iraq 18 [1956], pl. 25

Iraq 25 [1963], pl. 23

Iraq 31 [1969], pl. 36 (P)

Iraq 31 [1969], pls. 38-40

Iraq 48 [1986], p. 135

izi = ištātu (MSL 13) - T

JAOS 38 [1913], pp. 82-5

JCS 11 [1957], p. 90

JCS 12 [1958], p. 54 - T

JCS 16 [1962], p. 60

JCS 37 [1985], pp. 206-7

JCS 37 [1985], pp. 208-10

JCS 37 [1985], p. 217

JNES 12 [1953], pls. 66-8

JNES 15 [1956], pp. 132-9 - T

JNES 15 [1956], p. 149 - T

Col. I line 27: 106.
Col. I line 29: 105-6.

Lines 96-7: 136.

Line 103: 286.

Col. II lines 88-9: 272.
Col. II line 92: 272.

86, 95, 179.
Col. VI lines 9-13: 114-5.

Lines 1-4: 108.

36.

Lines 36'-9': 87, 106.

Obv. 8': 487.

Tab. A, col. II lines 15': 118.

70, 154-5.
Obv. 9-12: 153.
Obv. 18: 155.
Obv. 25: 155.
Obv. 32: 155.

155.
Obv. 11-2: 153.

See E. I. Gordon [1958].

See W. G. Lambert [1962], No. III.

See RA 14 [1917], p. 146.

155.
Obv. 1-4: 152-3.
Obv. 16: 153.
Obv. 23: 153.

Tab. A, col. II lines 15': 118.

155.
Rev. 7': 153.

See Inanna And Bilulu.

Lines 100-2: 237.

See ABRT 1, pp. 56-9, now +.
INDEX OF PUBLISHED TEXTS

JNES 33 [1974], p. 290 - T
see W. G. Lambert [1974].

JNES 42 [1983], p. 13 (P)
see S. Parpola [1983], No. 1.

JNES 42 [1983], p. 17 (P)
see S. Parpola [1983], No. 2

Journal Of Semitic Studies 5 [1960], p. 116
see Atra-hasîš, Assyrian recension.

JRAS 1904, p. 415, now + Sm. 2116
obv. 9': 292.

JRAS 1920, pp. 566-7

JRAS 1929, p. 283 (rev. only)
rev. 6: 213-4.

KAR 21
rev. 7-20: 99.
rev. 19: 212.

KAR 26
130-1.
obv. 4-5: 130.
obv. 46-51: 130-1.
rev. 9: 131.
rev. 11-2: 131.

KAR 36 + 261
obv. 13: 212.

KAR 44
71.
obv. 4: 185.
obv. 5: 300.
obv. 6: 179.
obv. 10: 179.
obv. 14: 34, 35, 179, 194.
rev. 2: 29, 141-2.
rev. 3: 179, 264.
rev. 6: 179, 220.

KAR 53
obv. 1 to rev. 15 = manuscript Q
of ADRC: 38.
rev. 15′ff.: 187, 389.

KAR 58
obv. 39 to rev. 18 = manuscript A
of NRFD: 38.

KAR 60
261.

KAR 76
obv. 1′-8′: see Lammashtu Amulet.

KAR 94
rev. 4-6: 485.

KAR 109
obv. 8: 487.

KAR 134
obv. 13-6: 231, 232.
## Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KAR 144</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 178</td>
<td>col. V line 49: 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 184</td>
<td>see BAM 323.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 213</td>
<td>see BAM 376.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 228</td>
<td>49. rev. 12-3: 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 234</td>
<td>obv. 14-26: 251. obv. 20-1: 82.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 252</td>
<td>manuscript A of ADRC: 37, 38. col. IV line 57: 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 261</td>
<td>see KAR 36 +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 262</td>
<td>obv. = duplicate of LKA 139. rev. 10': 213.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 267</td>
<td>obv.: 227-8. obv. 17: 228.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 282</td>
<td>side 1 = rev., line 11: 213.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 307</td>
<td>obv. 34: 113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR 470</td>
<td>36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAV 39</td>
<td>138. obv. 1'-5': 139, 140.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAV 63</td>
<td>col. I line 34: 106.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Köcher [KADP], No. 12</td>
<td>col. I line 79: 304.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus No. 54</td>
<td>see K. 3994 +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus No. 59</td>
<td>See K. 3994 +.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

S. Lackenbacher [1971], *ardat līlī* tablet (Group 2)

J. Laessøe [1955], pp. 29-31 - T

W. G. Lambert [1962]

W. G. Lambert [1974] - T

W. G. Lambert [1976], p. 318


Lamashtu Amulet

*Lamaštu*

*LAS 35 - T (ABL 355)*

*LAS 50 - T (ABL 76)*

*LAS 82 - T (ABL 1381)*

*LAS 117 - T (ABL 923)*

*LAS 137 - T (ABL 4)*

*LAS 138 - T (ABL 183)*

*LAS 173 - T (ABL 18)*

*LAS 179 - T (ABL 22)*

*LAS 185 - T (ABL 23)*

rev. col. I lines 2'-5': 285-6.

obv. 24-5: 251.
rev. 26: 251.

III, lines 1-2: 71.

p. 290, line 24: 76.

line 20: 34.

pp. 42-71: see *Atra-hasīs*, Tab. 1.
pp. 72-87: see *Atra-hasīs*, Tab. 2.
pp. 88-105: see *Atra-hasīs*, Tab. 3.
pp. 106-115: see *Atra-hasīs*, Text S.

lines 1-8: 83-4, 272.
line 3: 214, 296.

Tab. 1, col. II lines 20-1: 193.
Tab. 1, col. II lines 23-7: 250-1.
Tab. 2, col. I line 47: 305.
Tab. 2, col. III line 23: 305.
Tab. 3, rev. 34-8: 250-1.

obv. 7-15: 305-6.


obv. 7: 56, 140.

obv. 7-9: 286.

obv. 6-9: 286.

obv. 9-10: 186.

rev. 2-9: 249.
rev. 7-12: 249.

obv. 23 to edge 27: 186.
### Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Reference</th>
<th>Pages/Sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAS 188 - T (ABL 970)</td>
<td>obv. 1': 128-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS 217 - T (ABL 1347)</td>
<td>29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS 246 - T (ABL 391)</td>
<td>rev. 2: 208.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS 288 - T (ABL 1336)</td>
<td>453-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS 294 - T (ABL 1021)</td>
<td>obv. 8: 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. J. Lau and J. Dyneley Prince (1905)</td>
<td>obv. 9-17 = manuscript G1 of SDR: 38, 180, 206, 295.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Leichty (1970), TCS 4 - T</td>
<td>rev. 16-8: 263.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend Of Etana, Late Version</td>
<td>obv. 13' to rev. 1: 56, 57, 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Livingstone (1986), pp. 175-87:</td>
<td>see Nabonidus 1 (Sippar Cylinder).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 29a</td>
<td>see Šumma izbu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 36</td>
<td>Tab. 1/B: 58, 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 39</td>
<td>Tab. 4/B, lines 1-14: 61, 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 50</td>
<td>Tab. 5, lines 2ff.: 62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 51</td>
<td>obv. 54: 302.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 51</td>
<td>rev. 22': 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 97</td>
<td>obv. 5 to rev. 3: 70-2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 128</td>
<td>obv. 1'-7' = manuscript F1 of SDR: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 128</td>
<td>obv. 5'-7' = duplicate of BMS 6: 208-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 128</td>
<td>duplicate of KAR 58: 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 128</td>
<td>obv. 13: 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKA 128</td>
<td>col. II line 21: 194.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index Of Published Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 132</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 1'-18' = manuscript P of ADRC.</td>
<td>38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 19'-21' = manuscript P of NRFD.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 1-6 = manuscript P of ADRC.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 9: 485.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 135</strong></td>
<td>29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 2-8 = manuscript A1 of SIR.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 9-12: 488.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 3-6: 457.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 138</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 26': 67, 212-3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 16 = duplicate of LKA 139: 212-3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 24 to rev. 16: 262.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 8-10: 91.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 140</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 9: 485.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 146</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 26': 67, 212-3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 16 = duplicate of LKA 139: 212-3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 24 to rev. 16: 262.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 8-10: 91.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKA 155</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev. 9: 485.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 1, now K. 17283</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 1 to rev 8 = manuscript B1 of SDR: 38.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lines 1'-5' = manuscript E1 of SDR: 38.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 11</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. 9'-13' = duplicate of BMS 4: 137.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 12</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 23': 205.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 19</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv. = duplicate of BMS 6: 137.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM 44</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 10' = duplicate of BMS 12: 133.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu = šé (MSL 12) - T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excerpt II, lines 121-2: 136.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Babylonian lu A, line 195: 305.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. D. Luckenbill [ARAB 11] - T</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9715: 108.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see Sennacherib Annals.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. D. Luckenbill [OIP 2] - T</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. 93.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab. 1, line 53: 143.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab. 1, line 54: 93.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab. 2, lines 6-9: 115-6.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tab. 2, line 6: 496.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*

Tab. 2, lines 7-8: 93.
Tab. 2, lines 71-2: 76.
Tab. 3, dreams in general: 55, 72, 93, 141, 294.

Tab. 3, lines 7-8: 49.
Tab. 3, lines 21-8: 72.
Tab. 3, lines 23-4: 181.
Tab. 3, lines 35-8: 140-1.
Tab. 3, lines 39-44: 72.
Tab. 3, line 46: 49.

*Lugalbanda And Mount Hurum*

H. F. Lutz [1929], pp. 373-7 and pls. 2-3 (P)

MAOG 12/2 [1938], p. 15 - T

Maqlû - T

121-2.

Maqlû - T

see Epic Of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

G. Meier [1937] and [1966] - T

see Maqlû.

*Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse* 14 [1913], pp. 50 and 55, and pl. 6 (P)

see V. Scheil [1913].

*mīs pi Ritual Tablet*

obv. 27: 210.
obv. 28: 212.

*muššu’u Ritual Tablet*

see BAM 215.

*MVAG 1* [1896], pp. 73-83

see Nabonidus 8.

*Nabonidus 1 (Sippar Cylinder)*

57.
col. I lines 16-33: 57, 73.
col. I lines 16-7: 296.
col. I line 18: 55.
Index Of Published Texts

Nabonidus 4

Nabonidus 8

Nabonidus 23 - T

Nabonidus 24

Nabonidus 25

NADR

NRFD - T

Page 549
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 1: 201.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 4: 192.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 7: 197.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 8: 60, 293.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 9-17: 191.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 9-10: 118-9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 9: 60.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 17: 60, 197, 293.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rev. 18: 162.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRGD, pl. 22 (No. 36)</td>
<td>see ADD 738.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECT 6, pl. 11</td>
<td>obv. 16-7: 129-30.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECT 6, pl. 17</td>
<td>see K. 4637 +.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECT 6, pl. 22 + BMS 62</td>
<td>obv. 10-1: 209.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIP 2</td>
<td>see Sennacherib Annals.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIP 99</td>
<td>see R. D. Biggs [OIP 99].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. L. Oppenheim [1970], pls. 1-10 (P)</td>
<td>see Glass Texts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientalia 31 (1928); 39-42 (1929); 51-4 (1930) - T</td>
<td>see Šumma EMPLU.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 34 (1965), pl. 15 (P, unjoined)</td>
<td>see Cap. 1 + 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 34 (1965), pl. 16 (P)</td>
<td>see Cap. 4.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 34 (1965), pl. 18 (P)</td>
<td>see Cap. 9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 34 (1965), pp. 125-30 - T</td>
<td>see Cap. 10.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pl. 3 (P)</td>
<td>see Cap. 19.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pl. 6 (P)</td>
<td>see Cap. 24.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pp. 1-8 - T</td>
<td>see Cap. 12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pp. 14-7 - T</td>
<td>see Cap. 15.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pp. 24-7 - T</td>
<td>see Cap. 20.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>line 88: 483.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>line 120: 487.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>line 187: 483.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS 36 (1967), pp. 273-8 - T</td>
<td>see Cap. 25.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

OrNS 39 [1970], pls. 1-2 and 8 (P) see Cap. 35.
OrNS 39 [1970], pls. 3-4 (P) see Cap. 37.
OrNS 39 [1970], pp. 134-41 - T see Cap. 40.
OrNS 39 [1970], pp. 142-7 - T see Cap. 42.
OrNS 40 [1971], pl. 10 (P) see Cap. 55.
OrNS 40 [1971], pl. 13 (P) see Cap. 65.
S. Parpola [1983] (P)

PBS 1/1, No. 12
PBS 1/1, No. 15
PBS 1/2, No. 53
PBS 1/2, No. 99
PBS 5, No. 1 and pls. 76-7 (P)
PBS 7, No. 17
PBS 7, No. 105
PBS 10/4, No. 12 (and duplicates)
PBS 12/1, No. 29
PBS 13, No. 38
E. G. Perry [1907], pl. 3
pls. 1-2 (BM 78432)
pls. 3-4 (K. 3333 + 8583 + Sm. 1069)

OrNS 39 [1970], pis. 1-2 and 8 (P) see Cap. 35.
OrNS 39 [1970], pis. 3-4 (P) see Cap. 37.
OrNS 39 [1970], pp. 134-41 - T see Cap. 40.
OrNS 39 [1970], pp. 142-7 - T see Cap. 42.
OrNS 40 [1971], pl. 10 (P) see Cap. 55.
OrNS 40 [1971], pl. 13 (P) see Cap. 65.
S. Parpola [1983] (P)

PBS 1/1, No. 12
duplicate of BMS 6.
obv. 25 to rev. 2: 384.
rev. 34-5: 129.
PBS 1/1, No. 15
see J. Laessøe [1955].
PBS 1/2, No. 53
rev. 22-4: 66.
PBS 1/2, No. 99
27.
PBS 5, No. 1 and pls. 76-7 (P)
see Sumerian Flood Story.
PBS 7, No. 17
rev. 22-5: 95.
PBS 7, No. 105
obv. 11-2: 128.
PBS 10/4, No. 12 (and duplicates)
see A. Livingstone [1986].
PBS 12/1, No. 29
col. III lines 6'-10' = manuscript II of ZI.
lines 5-10 = manuscript I of ZI.
PBS 13, No. 38
lines 1-3: 206.
E. G. Perry [1907], pl. 3
manuscript A of SDR: 38.
pls. 1-2 (BM 78432)
38, 219, 391-8.
col. I lines 19'-22' = manuscript B of ADRC.
col. II lines 1-18 = manuscript A of NADR.
col. II lines 19-24 = manuscript B of ADRC.
col. III lines 1'-16' = manuscript B of ADRC.

Page 551
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Text Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5 (K. 3758) | 35, 38, 399-403.  
|          | obv. 1-7 = manuscript A of ZI.  
|          | obv. 8-11 = manuscript G of  
|          | ADRC.  
|          | rev. 3'-5': 32-3. |
| 5 (Sm. 543) | 491-2.  
|          | lines 1'-6': 187, 189, 191,  
|          | 206.  
|          | line 8': 202.  
|          | lines 8'-10': 187, 189, 191. |
| 6 (K. 413 + 13330 + 15911) | manuscript N of ADRC: 32, 37,  
|          | 38.  
|          | lines 16'-8': 32-3. |
| 7 (K. 3286) | manuscript H of ADRC: 38. |
| 7 (K. 5175 + 6001) | 38, 219, 404-6.  
|          | col. I lines 1'-4': 188, 191.  
|          | col. I lines 3'-4': 206.  
|          | col. I line 3': 239.  
|          | col. I lines 6'-10' = manuscript D  
|          | of ADRC.  
|          | col. II lines 3'-16' = manuscript D  
|          | of ADRC. |
| 8 (K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058) | lines 1'-6' = manuscript C of  
|          | ADRC.  
|          | 38, 219, 407-10.  
|          | lines 7'-14': 170, 171, 232, 235.  
|          | lines 7'-8': 175.  
|          | lines 10'ff.: 233.  
|          | lines 11'-4': 161, 189, 191.  
|          | line 11': 200.  
|          | lines 15'-23': 171, 223-30.  
|          | line 16': 226.  
|          | lines 17'-22': 230.  
|          | lines 17'-9': 187, 189, 191.  
|          | lines 17'-8': 200, 229.  
|          | lines 20'-2': 194, 200, 229.  
|          | lines 20'-1': 187, 189, 191.  
|          | lines 21'-2': 189.  
|          | line 23': 165.  
|          | line 24': 104. |
| 9-11 (79-7-8, 77) | 38, 219, 411-4.  
|          | obv. 1-34 = manuscript f of ADRC.  
|          | obv. 26: 105.  
|          | rev. 3'-17' = manuscript b of  
|          | NADR.  
|          | rev. 18'-9': 171, 223, 224, 232. |
Index Of Published Texts

pls. 9-11 (79-7-8, 77)

rev. 19': 166.
rev. 20': 166, 171, 176, 236-8.

rev. 21'-3': 171, 223, 231-2.
rev. 23': 166, 189, 191, 231.
left edge 24'-6': 171, 223, 224, 231-2.
left edge 26': 166.

pl. 12 (81-2-4, 166)

38, 39, 103, 171, 192, 219, 221, 241, 244, 246, 251, 499-50.
obv. 1-4: 161.
obv. 1-3: 192.
obv. 5-9: 174.
obv. 12 to rev. 15: 189, 191, 195, 196, 197.
obv. 12: 204.
rev. 2: 192.
rev. 4-10: 192.
rev. 13-4: 194.
rev. 17-8: 251.
upper edge 19: 164.

pl. 13 (81-2-4, 233)

obv. 3-11 = manuscript j of ADRC.
38, 219, 415-7.
obv. 12ff.: 187.

pp. 418-9 (K. 11406) - T

col. l lines 3'-4': 189, 191.
col. l lines 5'-8': 189, 191, 195.
col. l line 8': 197.
col. l lines 9'-11': 187, 189, 191.

Practical Vocabulary Of Ashur

PRT 9

see AGS 17 +.
PRT 26

see AGS 50 +.
PRT 57

rev. 2'-3': 81.
PRT 99

see AGS 142 (+).

PSBA 40 [1918], pl. 7

see pls. 1-2.

III R. 28-9, now. + K. 3081 + 3084

rev. 15: 55, 56.

IV. R. 14, No. 2

see ASKT 9.

IV. R. 17, now + K. 3206 + 5326
+ 16854

rev. 15-6: 212, 223.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index Of Published Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| IV. R. 22, No. 2, now + K. 4927 | line 3': 93.  
lines 4'-7': 93-4.  
lines 6'-7': 211.  
line 6': 105.  
col. I lines 14'-5': 238.  
lines 52'-4': 87-8, 211.  
line 53': 105. |
| IV. R. 23, No. 1, now + K. 9421 | see *Lamaštu*, Tab. 1 |
| IV. R. 24, No. 1, now + K. 4925 | see *Lamaštu*, Tab. 2 |
| IV. R. 62 | see *Ashurbanipal Annals* (Rassam Cylinder). |
| IV. R. 63 | see *Nabonidus I* (Sippar Cylinder). |
| IV. R. 65, now. + K. 2423 + 9346 | 155.  
obv. 9: 152.  
obv. 18: 152.  
obv. 10: 485.  
see *ASKT* 11, now. +.  
obv. 21: 131-2.  
see *BAM* 400.  
74, 152.  
edge 43-4: 151, 486.  
rev. 50-2: 87.  
col. II line 74: see J. Bottéro [1949], p. 144, line 74 - T.  
obv. 3: see J. Bottéro [1949], p. 178, obv. 3 -T.  
obv. 12'-3': 221.  
221.  
271.  
see S. Lackenbacher [1971]. |
Index Of Published Texts

RA 69 [1975], p. 28

edge 20-1: 486.

RAcc.

p. 145, line 440: 238.

Recueil de Travaux 19 [1897], pp. 101-4

58-9, 70.

E. Reiner [1958] - T

see Šurpu.

RLA 2, p. 187, No. 223

73.

SA.GIG

71.

V. Scheil [1913], pp. 50, 55, and pl. 6 (P)

36.
col. I lines 16-7: 59.
col. III lines 14-5: 59.

J. A. Scurlock [1988] - T

see K. 2175 +.

SDR - T

lines 1-36: 24, 37, 38, 170, 172, 204-6, 297-301, 433-55.
line 1: 204.
lines 12-3: 192, 205.
lines 13a-b: 192, 436.
line 19a: 37, 205, 435.
line 20: 186.
line 21: 192.
line 22: 149.
lines 23-6: 127, 197.
lines 25-6: 118, 192, 205, 294.
line 25: 435.
line 28: 162.
lines 31-2: 118, 299.
lines 34-6: 299.
lines 34-5: 300.
line 36: 226, 299.
lines 37-40: 172.

Sennacherib Annals

col. V lines 13-4: 27.

A. Shaffer [1963], pp. 48-98 - T

see Gilgamesh, Enkidu, And The Netherworld.

Shamash Hymn

line 52: 489.
lines 53-4: 150, 213.

Sir - T

29, 37, 38, 141-2, 278, 283, 284, 456-90.
lines 1-43: 172, 289.
Index Of Published Texts

SIR - T

lines 1-20: 188, 191, 194, 197.
line 1: 200, 283.
lines 12-8: 289.
lines 13-4: 190.
line 15: 192.
lines 19-20: 190.
lines 21-41: 188, 191, 194, 197.
line 21: 200, 283.
lines 32-9: 289.
line 34: 192.
line 42: 163, 169.
line 43: 167, 169, 284.
lines 44-51: 142, 172.
lines 44-7: 183, 187, 188, 190, 191, 194, 197, 202, 283.
line 44: 199.
line 47: 289.
line 48: 163, 169, 284.
lines 50-1: 284.
line 51: 167, 169, 295.
lines 52-60: 170, 172, 284.
line 53: 289.
line 56: 163.
line 57: 289.

lines 61-70: 142, 170, 172, 178.
lines 61-3: 201.
line 61: 199, 201.
line 64: 192, 197, 289.
line 65: 163.
lines 65a-8: 288.
lines 66-7: 284.
line 67: 284.
line 68: 167, 295.
lines 69-70: 59, 164, 289.
line 70: 289.
lines 71-84: 142.
lines 71-6: 170, 172.
lines 71-3: 201.
line 71: 199.
lines 74-6: 289.
line 76: 164, 169.
line 77: 201.
lines 77-84: 172.
lines 77-80: 188, 191, 194, 195, 197.
Index Of Published Texts

SIR - T

line 81: 163, 169.
line 81a: 163, 169.
lines 81b-84: 288.
lines 81c-d: 167, 169, 295.
line 82: 284.
lines 82-3: 284.
line 84: 167, 169.
lines 85-138: 29.
lines 85-91: 142.
lines 88-91: 288.
lines 92-109: 142.
lines 100-3: 288.
lines 110-38: 142.

SLTN 149

rev. col. II lines 8'-13' = manuscript I of ADRC.

E. Sollberger [1987], p. 381 (and P) 271.

SpTU 1, No. 12

rev. 6-7: 231, 232.

SpTU 1, No. 137

line 3': 213.
line 6': 213.

SpTU 2, No. 8

col. III lines 3'-11' = manuscript d of NRFD: 38.

SpTU 2, No. 9

obv. 8'-17' = manuscript a1 of NRFD: 38.

SpTU 2, No. 10

lines 7'-16' = manuscript b1 of NRFD: 38.

SpTU 2, No. 18

220-1.
rev. 5': 213, 221.
rev. 10'-26' = duplicate of BMS 6.
rev. 18'-20': 384.
rev. 22': 129, 221.

SpTU 2, No. 21

obv.: 38, 39, 103, 171, 192, 241, 243, 244, 246, 250, 493-8.
obv. 1: 140.
obv. 4: 246-7.
obv. 5: 174.
obv. 7: 203.
obv. 10: 192
obv. 14: 198.
obv. 15: 250.
Index Of Published Texts

SpTU 2, No. 21

obv. 16-21: 86.
obv. 16: 137, 140, 199.
obv. 28: 251.
obv. 29: 176, 177, 250-1.
obv. 30: 165.
obv. 31-40: 172, 243, 250, 251-2.
rev. 26': 493.

SpTU 2, No. 22

89
col. I lines 16'-25': 90.
col. I lines 19'-27': 90, 96.
col. I line 19': 96-7.
col. I lines 30'-8': 89.
col. I lines 39'-46': 90.
col. II lines 8'-16': 90.
col. II line 13': 96-7.
col. II lines 15'-6': 90, 92.
col. III line 43: 124.
col. IV lines 5-6: 38, 127, 172, 255, 259, 293.
col. IV line 5: 123, 299.
col. IV line 6: 266.

SpTU 3, No. 66


SpTU 3, No. 80

rev. 30-5: 209-10.
rev. 33: 67, 68.

SpTU 3, No. 81

obv. 6-9: 210-1.

SpTU 3, No. 82

col. II line 25: 194.
col. IV lines 12-5: see Lamashtu amulet.

SpTU 3, No. 84

obv. 44: 202-3.

SpTU 3, No. 85

col. IV line 24': 263.

SpTU 3, No. 107

col. III line 137: 110.
col. III line 170: 117.
col. III line 171: 120.

SpTU 3, No. 108

col. I line 34: 106.

SpTU 3, No. 120

col. I lines 52-5: 46.

I Starr [SAA 5]
p. 399 (No. 202), lines 1'-2': 157.
p. 405 (No. 272), rev. 3': 81.

I. Starr [1977], p. 207

28.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STT 56</th>
<th>obv. 19 to rev. 37 = manuscript C₁ of SDR: 38.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STT 73</td>
<td>manuscript A of SIR: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 107</td>
<td>38. obv. 4' to rev. 11' = manuscript M of ADRC. rev. 12'-6': 171, 255, 257. rev. 14'-5': 267.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 108-9</td>
<td>see abnu šikinšu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 135</td>
<td>obv.? 7: 67, 214.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 245</td>
<td>obv. 1-18 = manuscript E of ADRC: 38. rev. 1'-11' = manuscript E of ADRC: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 246</td>
<td>obv. 1' to rev. 4 = manuscript K of ADRC: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 247</td>
<td>rev. 1-16 = manuscript E₁ of ADRC: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 256</td>
<td>obv. 5: 96-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 275</td>
<td>38. col. IV lines 1-17 = manuscript D₁ of ADRC. col. IV line 23: 76, 171, 255, 258, 265.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STT 295</td>
<td>see STT 95 +.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Substitute King Ritual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sumer 8 [1952], after p. 36</td>
<td>col. VI line 16: 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumer 13 [1957], pl. 12</td>
<td>lines 2-3: 79.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumerian Flood Story</td>
<td>line 149: 105, 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>line 152: 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lines 154ff.: 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVAT 1 - T</td>
<td>138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 14-5: 139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠA.ZI.GA - T</td>
<td>102, 194.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēp lemutti ina bit amēli parāsi</td>
<td>lines 81-3: 245.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠRT, pl. 3</td>
<td>see pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠRT, pl. 7, now + K. 9896</td>
<td>duplicate of LKA 155: 91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šumma šlu</td>
<td>27, 29, 31, 82, 142, 218.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 9 or 11 = CT 40, pls. 12-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 12 = CT 40, pls. 15-8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 95 = CT 39, pls. 41-2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 104 = CT 39, pls. 44-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. ? = CT 39, pl. 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šumma izbu - T</td>
<td>27, 29, 218.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šurpu - T</td>
<td>Tab. 4, lines 21-2: 92, 211.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 5-6, lines 1-6: 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 5-6, lines 11-6: 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 5-6, lines 154-5: 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 7, lines 17-20: 77-8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 7, lines 33-4: 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 7, lines 80-7: 206.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 9, line 1: 202.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tab. 9, lines 102-3: 237.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commentary B, line 20: 48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL 1, No. 53</td>
<td>lines 27-8: 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL 8, pls. 1-30</td>
<td>see Gudea Cylinder A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL 18, No. 152</td>
<td>edge 33-5: 75-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDP - T</td>
<td>p. 38, line 6: 98.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Published Texts

TDP - T
p. 108, line 20: 98.
p. 124, line 26: 98.
p. 158, line 17: 98.
p. 176, lines 1-4: 90.
p. 188, line 13: 430.
p. 190, line 16: 115.

R. Campbell Thompson [EG]
see Epic Of Gilgamesh.

R. Campbell Thompson [PEA], pls.
14-8
col. II lines 14-9: 73, 149, 156.
col. II lines 20-4: 156.

Tukulti-Ninurta II Annals

UET 7, No. 118
obv. 1'-'27' = manuscript b of SIR:
36, 38.

Ugaritica 5 [1968], No. 167
see Atra-has{s}s, Ugarit Version.

UHF - T
lines 155-6: 301.
lines 162-3: 301-2.
lines 354-7: 206.
lines 506-9: 206.
line 512: 99.
lines 727-9: 302.
lines 786-8: 302.
lines 789-90: 250.
lines 792-4: 302.

Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian
Crown Prince
278, 282, 283, 284.
obv. 27-31: 282, 283, 284.
obv. 29-40: 62.
obv. 37: 69, 282.
rev. 1-14: 62.
rev. 1: 47, 282, 296.
rev. 28: 62.
rev. 29: 78.

University Of California Publications In
Semitic Philology 9/5
see H. F. Lutz [1929].

uruanna = maštakah
Tab. 3, line 87: 304.

Verse Account
col. I line 20': 112.
col. I lines 22'-32': 73.
col. VI line 20': 111.

VS 7, No. 27
rev. 16-7: 106.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Page Numbers/References</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt des Orients 17 [1986], p. 11</td>
<td></td>
<td>see C. Wilcke [1986].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. A. M. Wiggermann [1985], Text IB - T</td>
<td></td>
<td>see šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāši.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. V. Kinnier Wilson [1985]</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 10: see Legend Of Etana, Middle Assyrian Version.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 12: see Legend Of Etana, Late Version, Tab. 1/B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pls. 22-5: see Legend Of Etana, Late Version, Tab. 4/B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pl. 30: see Legend Of Etana, Late Version, Tab. 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Wilcke [1986], p. 11</td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 3 to lower edge 7: 86-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 1, No. 39</td>
<td></td>
<td>58, 70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 10, No. 47</td>
<td></td>
<td>158.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>col. IV line 22: 158.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 10, No. 57</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 10, No. 58</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 11, No. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 15-22: 183.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 11, No. 65</td>
<td></td>
<td>lines 10-1: 183.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOS 11, No. 75</td>
<td></td>
<td>manuscript c of SIR: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA 16 [1902], pp. 141-200 - T</td>
<td></td>
<td>see Lamaštu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA 4 [1889], pp. 252-8, now + K. 3193 + 14033 + Sm. 601</td>
<td></td>
<td>col. III lines 141-4: 115.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA 43 [1936], pl. 1-4 (P)</td>
<td></td>
<td>see Underworld Vision Of An Assyrian Crown Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA 70 [1980], p. 59</td>
<td></td>
<td>obv. 9-10: 144-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>line 1: 32, 110-1, 114, 121, 202, 204.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>line 4: 61, 68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZI.PAD Incantations, Tab. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>see ASKT 11, now +.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## B. UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BM 64174 (= 82-9-18, 4143)</td>
<td>line 4: 96-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 66559 (= 82-9-18, 6552)</td>
<td>38-9, 170, 171, 187, 188, 191, 225.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 90980 (= Rm. 1082)</td>
<td>107. obv. 21 to rev. 2: 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM 90981</td>
<td>107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2415</td>
<td>line 5' = duplicate of K. 2175 +: 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2423</td>
<td>see IV. R. 65, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2431</td>
<td>see K. 2175 +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2652</td>
<td>obv. 25 to rev. 11: 55, 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 2781</td>
<td>line 2: 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3081</td>
<td>see III. R. 28–9, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3084</td>
<td>see III. R. 28–9, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3193</td>
<td>see ZA 4 [1889], pp. 252–8, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3206</td>
<td>see IV. R. 17, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3369</td>
<td>see IV. R. 66, No. 2, now +.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 3994 + Kraus No. 54 + K. 5939 + Kraus No. 59</td>
<td>col. II line 17: 95, 130.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index Of Unpublished Texts

K. 4637 + OECT 6, pl. 17
K. 4925
K. 4927
K. 5326
K. 5939
K. 7664 + 9302 + 9494
col. I lines 40'-8' = manuscript B of NRFD: 38.
K. 9000
lines 14'-6' = manuscript C of NRFD: 38.
K. 9276 + ApO 12 [1937-9], pls. 1-2
K. 9302
K. 9346
K. 9421
K. 9494
K. 9896
K. 10131
K. 10369
K. 11406 (Geers Copy)
K. 11631
line 4' = duplicate of ABRT 1, pp. 56-9, now + K. 13246: 106.
K. 11706 + 13288
obv. 1'-13' = manuscript E of NRFD: 38.
K. 11929
see BMS 4, now +
K. 14033
see ZA 4 [1889], pp. 252-8, now +
K. 15538
see BMS 12, now +

Page 564
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Of Unpublished Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. 16854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 17283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. 20155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rm. 1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rm. 1083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 884 (Geers Copy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si 904 (Geers Copy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 1359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm. 2116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT 13854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-3-23, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-9-18, 4143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-9-18, 6552</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INDEX OF AKKADIAN WORDS DISCUSSED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian Word</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abālu</td>
<td>60-1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīru</td>
<td>136-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birūtu</td>
<td>136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit zaqiqi</td>
<td>284-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalāhu</td>
<td>68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egirru</td>
<td>142-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etimmu</td>
<td>98-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilittu</td>
<td>81-2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hištu</td>
<td>47-8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikiltu</td>
<td>68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina KUŠ</td>
<td>261, 387.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itqūru</td>
<td>384.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakku Gišaru</td>
<td>301-3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasū</td>
<td>382.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikkišu</td>
<td>286-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūru</td>
<td>77-8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kušaru</td>
<td>303-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mālelu</td>
<td>264.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašar šulme u balāṭi</td>
<td>128-34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēlu</td>
<td>262-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēitu</td>
<td>98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munattu</td>
<td>47-50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkadian Word</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūšu annū</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nālu</td>
<td>295-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirittu</td>
<td>30-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purussu</td>
<td>141-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qūlu</td>
<td>77-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salā'u/sili'tu = līl</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarāru</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadū erēnu</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamnu pešū</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamū rabdu</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēru (variant of šīru)</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šubru</td>
<td>296-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabrīt muši</td>
<td>46-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takšīru</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ūmu) bubbulu</td>
<td>449-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w)arkatam parāsu</td>
<td>151, 486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaqīqu</td>
<td>111-3, 115-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>