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## THE DOGS OF NINKILIM, PART TWO: BABYLONIAN RITUALS TO COUNTER FIELD PESTS

By A. R. GEORGE and JUNKO TANIGUCHI

with a contribution by M. J. GELLER

*I say unto you, O bugs, behave yourself one and all, and leave your abode for this night and remain quiet in one place, and keep your distance from the servants of God.*

*The Apocryphal Acts of John 60, transl. M. R. James (Reiner 1996: 353)*

This article presents editions of all the extant Babylonian incantations against field pests. The sources date to the first millennium BC and many have not been published before. They are mostly tablets of the Neo-Assyrian period, from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh, but the corpus also contains some Neo-Babylonian fragments from Nineveh, as well as a tablet from Sultantepe (ancient Huzirina) and two Late Babylonian tablets from southern Mesopotamia. Some of the pieces certainly belong to a series called in antiquity *Zu-buru-dabbeda* "To Seize the Locust-Tooth", a compendium of incantations and rituals designed to combat by magic means the destruction of crops by locusts, insect larvae and other pests; other pieces are parts of related and similar texts. Some of the rituals require the observation of the Goat-star rising above the eastern horizon, which suggests they were performed at night as a precautionary measure during the winter months of the barley-growing season.

### *Prolegomenon*

"May your beans always be broad!" With this benediction, composed by Roger Matthews, friends of David Hawkins wished him well on his retirement from the School of Oriental and African Studies at a party in our back garden at Buckhurst Hill in June 2005. The benediction forms the central message of a commemorative ceramic plate signed by all present. The message had in mind David's house in Minster Lovell, where he fights with mostly unseen foes an unending battle for control of his garden, particularly the parts of it where the beans should be broad. Lately David's friends have heard him lament that moles, rabbits, field mice and other of nature's creatures are getting the better of him and ruining his crops. He puts this down to the passing of the orphaned cat ("Beryl the feral") which for many years occupied his shed as an uninvited guest and tyrannized any moving thing that was less than half her size. We think there may be another explanation. The author of the apocryphal *Acts of St John* knew that the apostle's power over nature came through his special relationship with God. The Babylonians understood likewise, that to work effective magic you have to enlist the aid of the appropriate divine powers, in word and in deed. What we should have painted on the plate we presented to David was, "By command of the god So-and-so [choose one of many], may your beans always be broad!" It is too late for that now, so we encourage David to find for himself, somewhere in these old texts from Babylonia, *dicenda et agenda* that he can easily perform in Oxfordshire.

### *Introduction*

The Babylonian incantations and rituals against field pests have been described in a preliminary paper read to the 41st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Berlin in 1994 and published five years later (George 1999). That article gave an introduction to the cuneiform series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* "To Seize (i.e. Paralyze) the Locust-Tooth". The series is the main source of Babylonian incantations and rituals against field pests, including locusts, grasshoppers, insect larvae, weevils and other vermin. In that article the reading of the series' title *zú-buru<sub>5</sub>-dab-bé-da* was defended,

its contents briefly described, and the image of the field pests as the “great dogs of Ninkilim” explored.<sup>1</sup>

The god Ninkilim is well attested as a deity with special responsibility for wildlife in general and vermin in particular. Though Ninkilim is feminine in the great god-list, *An* V 33 (ed. Litke 1998: 171), the field-pest incantations know him as masculine, as do other texts of the later periods. His epithet en a.za.lu.lu “lord of teeming creatures” // *bēl nammašti* “lord of wild animals”, which often occurs in the field-pest incantations (texts Nos. 8: 22 // 9: 1, 10: 14', 11: 5', 21 obv. 6', 22: 7, 13), is also given him in an incantation against sickness, *Šurpu* VII 69: [<sup>d</sup>nin.ki]lim en a.za.lu.lu = <sup>d</sup>MIN *be-el nam-maš-ti* (ed. Reiner 1958: 38). This epithet is essentially a reinterpretation of his Sumerian name, Nin-kilim “Lord Rodent” as a genitive compound, nin kilim-a(k), with reference to the lexical equation kilim = *nammaštu*.<sup>2</sup>

The present article cannot deal with all aspects of field pests in ancient Mesopotamia and the magic used against them, for this is a large and multidisciplinary topic in which Assyriology feeds such other disciplines as social and economic history, the histories of religion and agriculture, and paleozoology.<sup>3</sup> It does not add to the recent edition of a Sumerian field-pest text from Tell Haddad (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002), nor does it edit the fragmentary field-pest incantations on Old Babylonian tablets excavated in 1912 at Babylon and published by van Dijk in *VAS* XXIV (1987).<sup>4</sup> Instead it will be limited to a philological edition of the series *Zu-buru-dabbedā* and related texts of the first millennium. The edition is followed by a short discussion of what these texts reveal about when the rituals were performed.

Few of these texts have been published before. The credit for identifying most of the previously unpublished sources lies with W. G. Lambert, especially, whose list of manuscripts in the British Museum formed the basis of this work. He, Marten Stol and Werner R. Mayer are thanked for their generous interest in furthering knowledge of this understudied genre of the Babylonian magic repertoire. Tablets in London are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The Sultantepe tablet (*STT* 243) is republished by the kind offices of the Director of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. First-hand study of it in 1992 was facilitated by research grants from the British Academy and the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London.

The series *Zu-buru-dabbedā* is entered in two first-millennium catalogues of exorcistic texts: (a) the list known as the Exorcist's Manual, which has survived on tablets from Nineveh, Aššur, Babylon, Sippar and Uruk and was evidently in wide circulation (Geller 2000: 248 l. 22), and (b) a catalogue of apotropaic and prophylactic rituals (*namburbi*) surviving on two copies from Nineveh (Maul 1994: 197 l. 4, coll., read ka.inim.ma zú.bu[ru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da]; copy Geller 2000: 255). In the former it follows the generic title ud.dè.ra.ra dab/dib.bé.da, which probably denoted a composition to avert that other bane of Babylonian farmers, storm-damage to crops.<sup>5</sup>

In the Nineveh catalogue *Zu-buru-dabbedā* is paired with the incantation incipit *Išgum nēšu kalab Ištar* “Roared the Lion, Hound of Ištar”, which is used against field pests in one of the

<sup>1</sup> We may add that in this reading of the series' name, the emphasis is on disabling the field pests' weapons of destruction (zú “teeth”, see further below, the note on No. 17 ii 17'). By contrast, the well-known magic practice of ka.dab.bé.da “seizing the mouth” disables the victim's power of speech (Schwemer 2007: 15). Since the latter strategy is clearly inappropriate to field-pest magic, we find a further reason to read zú.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da rather than ka.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da.

<sup>2</sup> *Ea* I 199: <sup>ki-lim</sup>kilim = *nam-maš-tu*. For kilim “rodent” see Civil 1994: 87; for the homograph (<sup>d</sup>)nin.ka<sub>6</sub> “mongoose” see now Veldhuis 2002: 67–9. On Ninkilim's name see further Krebernik 1984: 287–97, George 1999: 296–7, Heimpel 1995: 424.

<sup>3</sup> It may be useful to present a roll-call of relevant literature not cited in George 1999. On the destruction of crops by locusts in eighteenth-century Qaṭṭunan see further Ziegler 1999–2000: 329–30, van Koppen 2001: 496–9. For the behaviour and zoology of locusts reported in the Mari

letters see Heimpel 1996, Lion and Michel 1997. A locust plague in the Habur basin in the twelfth century, reported in letters from Dūr-Katlimmu, is examined alongside other such events in ancient Mesopotamia by Radner 2004. On practical agricultural responses to field pests in third and second-millennium Mesopotamia see Wasserman 1999. Wolfgang Heimpel's articles on insects (1976–80) and mice (1990) offer an entry to the paleozoology of some relevant vermin. For locusts as a culinary treat see Lion and Michel 1997, Radner 2004. Note a common trio of other field pests in a newly published oracle question, where they are mentioned as a threat to a successful harvest (Lambert 2007: 84 ll. 5–6): *mu-nu [a-ki-lu] mu-bat-ti-ru*.

<sup>4</sup> See M. J. Geller's new copies of *VAS* XXIV 46 + 47, 48 + 51, 50 and 45 + 52 + 61 at the end of this article.

<sup>5</sup> “To stop/avert Udde-rara (the storm)”: see Schwemer 2001: 62–3 with fn. 359; otherwise Geller 2000: 245 sub 22. One text that would fall under this rubric is K 151//*CTN* IV 96, on which see Schwemer 2003.

rituals edited below (No. 24 i 24, 30–1). The incipit may thus be the opening line of the entire series, which, as we shall see, remains lost. The following line of the Nineveh catalogue pairs the incantation incipit *én baqbaqu* “O *baqbaqu*-fly” with the generic title *ka.inim.ma mu-nu a-[ki-lu . . .]*, where *mūnu* “grub, insect larva” and *ākilu* “devourer-pest” are field pests frequently encountered in *Zu-buru-dabbeda*. The generic title clearly denotes a composition or series that is concerned with field pests, but the incipit refers to an insect that afflicts field-workers rather than crops.<sup>6</sup> Neither this latter incipit nor its generic title exactly matches any incipit or rubric in the material published here. This points to the existence of texts that were thematically related to the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* but not formally incorporated in it.

According to a subscript appended to the final tablet of *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, the series was attributed to one Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni, a scholar and cleric of Babylon and Borsippa (see No. 18 iii 18'). However, text belonging to *Zu-buru-dabbeda* is so far known only from Nineveh. No Babylonian tablet bearing comparable material finds a definite place in the series. At Nineveh the series was inscribed on tablets of two columns each side, at least four of them bearing the same colophon of King Ashurbanipal (Type c). The series is insufficiently preserved to allow complete knowledge of its contents and is reconstructed below not as a connected text but in a sequence of interrupted passages. These passages are presented as texts Nos. 1–18. The order of these snatches of text can be determined for some by the presence of catch-lines, rubrics or incipits, for others by content and place on the tablet (Nos. 1–9, 18), but many remain unplaced and their ordering in the present edition is provisional (Nos. 10–17). A working scheme of the series' reconstruction is given in Table 1. As currently understood the beginning of the series comprises a sequence of incantation-prayers for use against field pests (Nos. 1–7, 10–14), while later parts of the text are a mixture of incantations and rituals (Nos. 8–9, 15–18).

The best-preserved part of the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* is a tablet that begins with an incantation-prayer to Ninurta and is known from seven fragments, which provide seven disconnected passages comprising between them some one hundred and twenty lines of text (Nos. 2–8). Only in this tablet is there any overlap between fragments: texts Nos. 2, 6 and 8 are reconstructed from two sources each. The duplication of text and the fragments' physical characteristics allow us to place them in groups. K 3270+ and K 6888+ would join, if more clay survived at their point of contact, and K 9210 certainly belongs to the same tablet; this tablet is lightly pierced and its column dividers were ruled with a narrow cord that split the tablet's central margin into unequal parts. K 4456+ is from the middle of the obverse of a pierced tablet whose column dividers were achieved with a thicker cord and more equally spaced, and it therefore represents a second exemplar. K 5315, also pierced, has no preserved ruling and could be the top-left corner of either K 3270+ or K 4456+; on handling the fragments, the latter seemed a better match. 79-7-8, 219 duplicates K 5315 but cannot be part of K 3270+ either, for its reverse is physically incompatible with K 9210; it thus represents a third manuscript. K 8123 duplicates K 3270+ and cannot be part of it; in any case it is from the reverse of a tablet whose column dividers were made with a thick cord and spaced equally as on K 4456+. A lack of piercings makes K 8123 a poor partner for K 4456+ and K 5315, and it may belong to the same tablet as 79-7-8, 219. From first-hand study of the fragments it appears that the royal libraries of Nineveh held at least three copies of this part of *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, which in the following we provisionally identify as Tablet II (Table 2).

This tablet of seven disconnected passages is not the beginning of the series, for a small fragment is extant on which its incipit is given as the catch-line (No. 1). The position adopted here as a working assumption is that fragment No. 1 is part of Tablet I of the series – indeed, the only extant source identifiable as such. Consequently the tablet that begins with Ninurta's incantation (No. 2) is taken to be Tablet II. The catch-line of the latter is the incipit of an incantation-prayer to Ninkilim, which thus opens what is here identified as Tablet III. The beginning of the incantation is extant (No. 9) but the rest of Tablet III cannot be reconstructed at present. Several of the pieces

<sup>6</sup>The word *baqbaqu* is a hapax legomenon usually explained as a derivative of *baqu*. The latter is conventionally rendered “gnat, midge” (e.g. *CAD* B 100), but its equivalence with Sumerian *nim.tur.saĝar.ra* “little dust fly”

in *Urra* XIV 306 (ed. Landsberger 1962: 34) suggests that it may rather be *Phlebotomus papatasi*, the sand fly that so bothers those who work in the open in southern Iraq – archaeologists among them.

TABLE 1: Sequence of extant passages of the series *Zu-buru-dabbedā*, as far as it can be determined from their labelling, content and physical location on the tablet.

<i>Label</i>	<i>Genre, content or label</i>	<i>Tablet and column</i>	<i>Text no.</i>
rubric	incantation-prayer to Marduk	I iv	1
catch-line	incantation-prayer to Ninurta	I iv	1
colophon	[Tablet <i>n</i> , <i>Zu</i> ]- <i>buru-dabbedā</i>	I iv	1
incipit	incantation-prayer to Ninurta	II i	2
(content)	incantation-prayer to [Adad]	II i	3
(content)	incantation-prayer to Adad	II i	4
rubric	incantation-prayer to the [south wind]	II ii	5
incipit	incantation-prayer to the north wind	II ii	5
rubric	incantation-prayer to the [north wind]	II iii	6
incipit	incantation-prayer to the east wind	II iii	6
rubric	incantation-prayer to the [east wind]	II iii	6
incipit	incantation-prayer to the [west wind]	II iii	6
(content)	incantation-prayer to the west wind	II iii	7
rubric	incantation-prayer to the west wind	II iv	8
incipit	incantation <i>Tutu-anna ḥursangake</i>	II iv	8
(content)	ritual, dais of Ninkilim	II iv	8
catch-line	incantation-prayer to Ninkilim	II iv	8
colophon	[Tablet <i>n</i> + 1, <i>Zu</i> ]- <i>buru-dabbedā</i>	II iv	8
incipit	incantation-prayer to Ninkilim	III i	9
(content)	incantation-prayer to an unidentified god	unplaced, ii or iii	10
(content)	incantation-prayer to an unidentified god	unplaced	11
incipit	exorcist's incantation-prayer to the Igigi gods	unplaced, i	12
(content)	incantation-prayer to an unidentified god	unplaced, i	13
(content)	client's incantation-prayer to the Igigi gods	unplaced, ii	14
(content)	ritual	unplaced, ii	15
rubric	[ <i>n</i> ]th section of <i>Zu-buru-dabbedā</i>	unplaced, ii	15
(content)	ritual	unplaced, iii	15
(content)	incantation-prayer to an unidentified goddess	unplaced, iii	16
(content)	incantation-prayer to [Kusu]	unplaced, ii	17
rubric	incantation-prayer to Kusu	unplaced, iii	17
(content)	ritual	unplaced, iii	17
(content)	incantation-prayer to an unidentified goddess	Concluding tablet, ii	18
(content)	rituals	Concluding tablet, ii–iii	18
rubric	<i>Zu-buru-dabbedā</i> , concluded	Concluding tablet, iii	18
(content)	ritual apparatus and ingredients	Concluding tablet, iii–iv	18
colophon	[Tablet <i>x</i> , series of <i>Zu-buru</i> ]- <i>dabbedā</i>	Concluding tablet, iv	18

TABLE 2: The probable division of the seven surviving fragments of *Zu-buru-dabbedā* II among three manuscripts.

<i>MS</i>	<i>Museum number</i>	<i>Columns divided by</i>	<i>Pierced</i>	<i>Extant columns</i>	<i>Text no.</i>
A <sub>1</sub>	K 3270 + 7829 + 8151	thin cord	+	i, iii, iv	3, 6, 8 + colophon
A <sub>2</sub>	K 6888 + 8113	thin cord	+	iii, iv	6, 8
A <sub>3</sub>	K 9210	thin cord	+	iii, iv	7 + colophon
B <sub>1</sub>	K 4456 + 5897 + 11709	thick cord	+	i, ii	4, 5
B <sub>2</sub>	K 5315	[?]	+	i	2
C <sub>1</sub>	K 8123	thick cord	–	iii, iv	6, 8
C <sub>2</sub>	79-7-8, 219	[?]	–	i, iv	2 + colophon

published here as unplaced fragments of *Zu-buru-dabbedā* (Nos. 10–17) may belong in Tablet I or Tablet III, but we do not know how many tablets the series comprised, and it may be that some of these pieces bear witness to one or more later tablets. The final tablet of the series, which may be Tablet III, IV, V, VI or more, is represented by a large piece with a colophon that explicitly

identifies it as the series' conclusion (No. 18). An interesting feature of the final tablet is the appendix that lists the apparatus and magic ingredients required in the rituals (No. 18 iii–iv).

The catch-line of the final tablet is damaged, but mentions rodents (No. 18 iv 22') and so reveals that the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* was followed by incantations against other destructive animals. The rituals of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* were carried out in the field and make it clear that the series was a weapon against vermin that destroyed growing and standing crops, or the threat of the same. Perhaps in what followed attention was turned to those creatures that caused losses in storage, among whom rodents would have been prominent.

Related material in Babylonian and Assyrian copies is presented as texts Nos. 19–25. These fragments are mostly a mixture of rituals against field pests and short incantations embedded in the rituals, and some of them appear to run parallel with the Nineveh series. Consequently they confirm what was suggested by the Nineveh catalogue of *namburbi*: the existence of texts that have no certain place in the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, as it now stands, but are nevertheless of the same genre. It seems that several different bodies of material of this kind were extant in first-millennium Mesopotamia, and not all of them were organized in the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*.

Three less closely related fragments from Nineveh are appended as texts Nos. 26–8; they are exorcistic in character and refer to fields and Ninkilim. Also distantly related to the field-pest incantations is a prophylactic ritual to counter the prospect of damage to crops by storm, extant on the Nineveh tablet K 151 (Schwemer 2001: 678–83, 1023–4) and a tablet from the library of Nabû at Kalaḥ (*CTN IV 96*, see Schwemer 2003). The text is noteworthy in the present context because the god Ninkilim is there, as in some of the material published here, invoked as a deity with power over cultivated land (K 151 obv. 10 // *CTN IV 96* obv. 3'): [d<sup>ni</sup>]n-kilim bēl(en) ugāri(a.gàr) “Ninkilim, lord of the arable land”.

#### Catalogue of texts

<i>Text no.</i>	<i>Museum no.</i>	<i>Content</i>
1	Sm 1250	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> I end
2	K 5315 // 79-7-8, 219 obv.	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II A
3	K 3270 + i	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II B
4	K 4456 + i	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II C
5	K 4456 + ii	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II D
6	K 3270 + // 8123 iii	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II E
7	K 9210 iii	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II F
8	K 3270 + // 8123 iv	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> II G
9	K 2783	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> III A
10	K 8072	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
11	K 6945	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
12	K 2629	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
13	80-7-19, 189	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
14	82-5-22, 532	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
15	81-2-4, 319	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
16	81-2-4, 260	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
17	K 2546	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (unplaced)
18	K 2596	<i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i> (conclusion)
19	BM 123370	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
20	Rm II 359	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
21	K 2775	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
22	K 9611	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
23	S.U. 52/214 = <i>STT</i> 243	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
24	BM 45686 + 55561	Text related to <i>Zu-buru-dabbeda</i>
25	A 44250 (1 NT 25)	Field-pest incantation, to Alulu
26	K 13301	Ritual mentioning Ninkilim
27	K 5905	<i>Namburbi</i> mentioning Ninkilim
28	Sm 1277	Ritual with an agricultural setting

I. *Zu-buru-dabbeda* Tablets I–III (Texts Nos. 1–9)

No. 1

*Zu-buru-dabbeda* I end (Sm 1250)

Fig. 1

This fragment of six lines from the middle of a tablet from Nineveh concludes with a catch-line and library colophon of Ashurbanipal, and thus clearly derives from the tablet's reverse. The subscript and catch-line (ll. 3'–4') were already made public in Bezold's monumental *Catalogue* (1896: 1473). The subscript indicates that the immediately preceding text was an incantation-prayer to Marduk (fragment L in Kunstmann's list, 1932: 98, no. 20 in Mayer's catalogue, 1976: 397). The catch-line addresses Ninurta and is the incipit of a tablet of the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, here represented by texts Nos. 2–8. The colophon identifies Sm 1250 as a witness to the same series. It is assumed that the fragment is all that can so far be identified of Tablet I.

	[én <sup>d</sup> marduk . . .
1'	[ina qí-bit ilu-ti-ka] ṛrabiti(gal) <sup>ti</sup> šá la innennû(kúr)ṛ[ú]
2'	[ina di-ni?-ka da-a]n-nim šá là ibbalakkatu/uštalbalkatu(bal)ṛ[ <sup>tu</sup> ]
<hr/>	
3'	[ka.inim.ma š]u.íl.la <sup>d</sup> amar.utu.k[e <sub>4</sub> ]
<hr/>	
4'	[én <sup>d</sup> nin-urta bēlu(en) ašarē]d([sag.kal]) é.kur dan-dan-nu šur-bu-u gít-ma-lu ši-i-r[u]
5'	[dub 1?.kam éš.gàr zú].buru <sub>5</sub> .dab.bé.da.k[e <sub>4</sub> ]
6'	[é.gal <sup>m</sup> an.šár-dù-ibila] ṛšàr kiššati(šú) <sup>1</sup> [ . . .

[Incantation. O Marduk, . . . (*long gap*) 1' By your] great [divine personage's command,] which cannot be altered, 2' [by your] stern [decision,] which cannot be overturned!

3' [Incantation-formula,] *šulla*-prayer to Marduk.

4' [Incantation. O lord Ninurta, foremost] one of E-kur, almighty, most great, superb, exalted!

5' [Tablet I(?), series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*.

6' [Palace property of Ashurbanipal,] king of the world, [ . . .

No. 2

*Zu-buru-dabbeda* II A (K 5315 // 79-7-8, 219)

Fig. 1

The catch-line of No. 1 tallies with the incipit of two further fragments from Nineveh, which are thus identified as holding the opening lines of the succeeding tablet of *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, here identified as Tablet II. K 5315 was previously published by K. D. Macmillan in *BA* V (1906: 673 no. 29); it is a fragment from the top edge of a large library tablet, with parts of eighteen lines preserved. The duplicate, 79-7-8, 219, is from the top left-hand corner and holds a few signs of each of the opening ten lines only. On its reverse are the beginnings of three lines from the end of a standard colophon of Ashurbanipal, either Type c or Type e in Hermann Hunger's catalogue of colophons (Hunger 1968: 98 ll. 10–12).

Together K 5315 and 79-7-8, 219 provide much of a short incantation-prayer to Ninurta, the divine ploughman and patron of agriculture (booked as Kunstmann 1932: 101 Ninurta 2; Mayer 1976: 405 Ninurta 7). In it he is invoked first as a mighty warrior and victor over the forces of disorder, then as the god of Nippur with responsibility for safeguarding the insignia of mortal kingship, next as a farmer and stockman, who keeps the temples supplied with grain and meat, and finally as a merciful protector. Thus extolled in his power and reminded of his goodwill, Ninurta is presented with an offering of food and asked, in return, to free an infested field from vermin. The end of the prayer is lost but can be restored after any one of the similar incantations whose conclusions are preserved, e.g. texts Nos. 6 and 10 below.

In the following transliteration B = K 5315 and C = 79-7-8, 219. The two manuscripts do not agree on the place of the line divisions. Here the divisions, and consequently also the line-numbers, follow B.

BC	1	én <sup>d</sup> [ni]n-urta bēlu(en) aš[arēd(sag.kal)] é.kur]
BC	2	[dan-dan-n]u šur-bu-u gít-ma-l[u ši-i-ru]
C	3	[ne-ir a]n-zi-i x[ . . . ]
BC	4	da-i[k] ṛa <sup>1</sup> -sak-ki m[u- . . . ]
BC	5	qar-ra-du šit-ra-ḥu i-l[it-ti . . . ]

BC	6	<i>bīnūt</i> (dù) <sup>ut</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>en-lil</i> u <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-lil</i> <i>šá ra-x</i> [ . . . ]
BC	7	<i>bēl</i> (en) <sup>giš</sup> [ <i>haṭṭi</i> (gidru) <sup>g</sup> ] <sup>is</sup> <i>kussī</i> (aš.te) <i>palē</i> (bala) <sup>e</sup> <i>ku-dūr-r</i> [ <i>e-e-ti</i> ]
BC	8	<i>šá-pik zēr</i> (numun) <sup>d</sup> <i>a-la-la ana ki-x</i> [ . . . ]
BC	9	[ <i>na-di</i> ] <i>n isqi</i> (giš.šub) <i>nindabē</i> (nidba) <i>mu-pal-liq al</i> [ <i>pi</i> (gu <sub>4</sub> ) u <i>immeri</i> (udu)]
BC	10	[x (x) ]x <i>ti-ra-nu-u šá šu-lul-š</i> [ú <i>ta-a-bu</i> ]
BC	11	<i>ana-ku āšīpu</i> (maš.maš) <i>šá</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>é-a</i> u <sup>d</sup> <i>asal-lú-ḥe al-si-ka a</i> [ <i>rad</i> (ir)?- <i>ka</i> ?]
BC	12	<sup>r</sup> <i>ar-kus</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>ka rik-sa ella</i> (kù) <i>nī-qu-u eb-bu ú-šam-ḥi-ra ma-ḥ</i> [ <i>ar-ka</i> ]
B	13	[ <i>aq-q</i> ]- <i>i-ka da-áš-pa ku-ru-na si-mat ilu</i> (dingir)- <i>ti-k</i> [ <i>a</i> ]
B	14	[ <i>mu-ḥ</i> ] <i>ur</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-urta ašarēd</i> (sag.kal) <i>é.kur</i>
B	15	[ <i>a-ku</i> ] <i>l tāba</i> (du <sub>10</sub> .ga) <i>ši-ti da-áš-pa</i>
B	16	[ <i>sa-l</i> ]- <i>i-ma ana eqel</i> (a.šà) <i>ugāri</i> (a.gār) <i>an-né-e ri-ši-ma</i>
B	17	[ <i>šu-l</i> ]- <i>i-šu</i> -< <i>nu-ti</i> > <i>kalbī</i> (ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>mes</sup> <i>rabūti</i> (gal) <sup>r<sup>mes</sup>1</sup> <i>šá</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-kilim</i>
B	18	[ <i>e-re-b</i> ] <i>u</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>a</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>k</i> [ <i>i-lu šá p</i> ]- <sup>r</sup> <i>i-šú-nu a-bu-bu</i> <sup>1</sup>

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[ka.inim.ma šu.íl.la <sup>d</sup>nin.urta.ke<sub>4</sub>]

---

<sup>1</sup> Incantation. O lord Ninurta, foremost [one of E-kur, <sup>2</sup> almighty,] most great, superb, [exalted, <sup>3</sup> slayer of] Anzû, [ . . . ,] who defeated the *Asakku*-demon, who [ . . . ,] <sup>5</sup> proud warrior, offspring [of . . . ,] <sup>6</sup> progeny of Enlil and Ninlil, who . . . [ . . . ,] <sup>7</sup> lord in charge of [staff,] throne, *palū*-insignia (and) boundary markers, <sup>8</sup> who heaps up the seed of Alala for [ . . . , <sup>9</sup> who delivers] temple-income and offerings, who slaughters oxen [and sheep,] <sup>10</sup> compassionate [ . . .] whose shelter [is sweet,] <sup>11</sup> I, an exorcist of Ea and Asalluḥe, hereby call on you (as) [your slave(?),] <sup>12</sup> arrange for you a sacred ritual apparatus, present before [you] a pure offering, <sup>13</sup> [pour] for you a libation of sweet wine worthy of your divine personage. <sup>14</sup> Accept, O Ninurta, foremost one of E-kur! <sup>15</sup> Eat the tasty food, drink the sweet drink! <sup>16</sup> Show goodwill towards this plot of farmland and <sup>17</sup> [expel] them(!), the great dogs of Ninkilim, <sup>18</sup> locust (and) “devourer”-[pest whose] mouths are the Deluge! (*remainder lost*)

[Incantation-formula, *šulla*-prayer to Ninurta.]

#### Notes

1. The epithet *ašarēd Ekur* is routine in field-pest incantations, being attributed to Ninurta in texts Nos. 23 obv. 12' and 24 ii 33, and probably also in Nos. 6 iii 1', 28'; 10: 20'.

7. For Ninurta as the custodian of regalia see George 1996: 383–5, Annus 2002: 51–5.

8. The “seed of Alala” is a literary expression for barleycorn, which is thus characterized as the product of the work-song of the harvesters (*alāla*). The prefixing of this *alāla* with the divine determinative also occurs in manuscripts of *Maqlū* VI 49 // IX 104, VIII 51 // IX 175, *Ludlul* I 101 and Erra III A 18, and implies that the work-song is identified with the homophonous primeval deity Alala.

11. The end of the line might also be read as a vocative <sup>r</sup><sup>d</sup>[*nin-urta*], but *aradka* finds support in the parallel passages Nos. 4 i 7', 13: 4'.

17. For the dogs of Ninkilim as a metaphor for field pests see George 1999: 296–8. The expression occurs outside the genre of field-pest incantations in a Neo-Assyrian copy of a medical prescription from Aššur, where *tu-lim* ur.gi<sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin.kilim “Dog of Ninkilim’s spleen” signifies a herb or other ingredient in a medicine to be taken for an enlarged(?) spleen (*BAM* 77: 30'; ref. courtesy M. Stol).

18. On the *ākilu* see *Urra* XIV 279–82. Marten Stol suggests to us privately that an Old Babylonian incantation found at Mari and published by Thureau-Dangin (1939: 11–12 obv. 11), which is usually understood to have no specific aim (Farber 1981: 53 C5, Foster 1996: 119, Cunningham 1997: 151 no. 340), was directed against this pest; he reads the concluding line *a-ki-la amtaḥaš lētkā*. In this and similar lines of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* which pair *abūbu* with *mehū* (Nos. 4: 17'; 6: 19'–20'; 7: 48'–9'; 11: 3'), the “deluge and tempest” are metaphors that evoke the most destructive forces of nature; in a fable the wolf uses the same expression about a treacherous ally, the fox (Lambert 1960: 208 obv. 20): *ib-ru-ut-ka mi-ḥu-ú a-bu-bu* “making friends with you was a tempest and a deluge”.

#### No. 3

#### *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II B (K 3270 + i)

#### Fig. 1

The best-preserved manuscript of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh survives in three pieces made up of six fragments, K 3270 + 7829 + 8151, K 6888 + 8113 and K 9210 (MS A in Table 2); its reverse is given below as texts Nos. 6–8. The obverse is largely



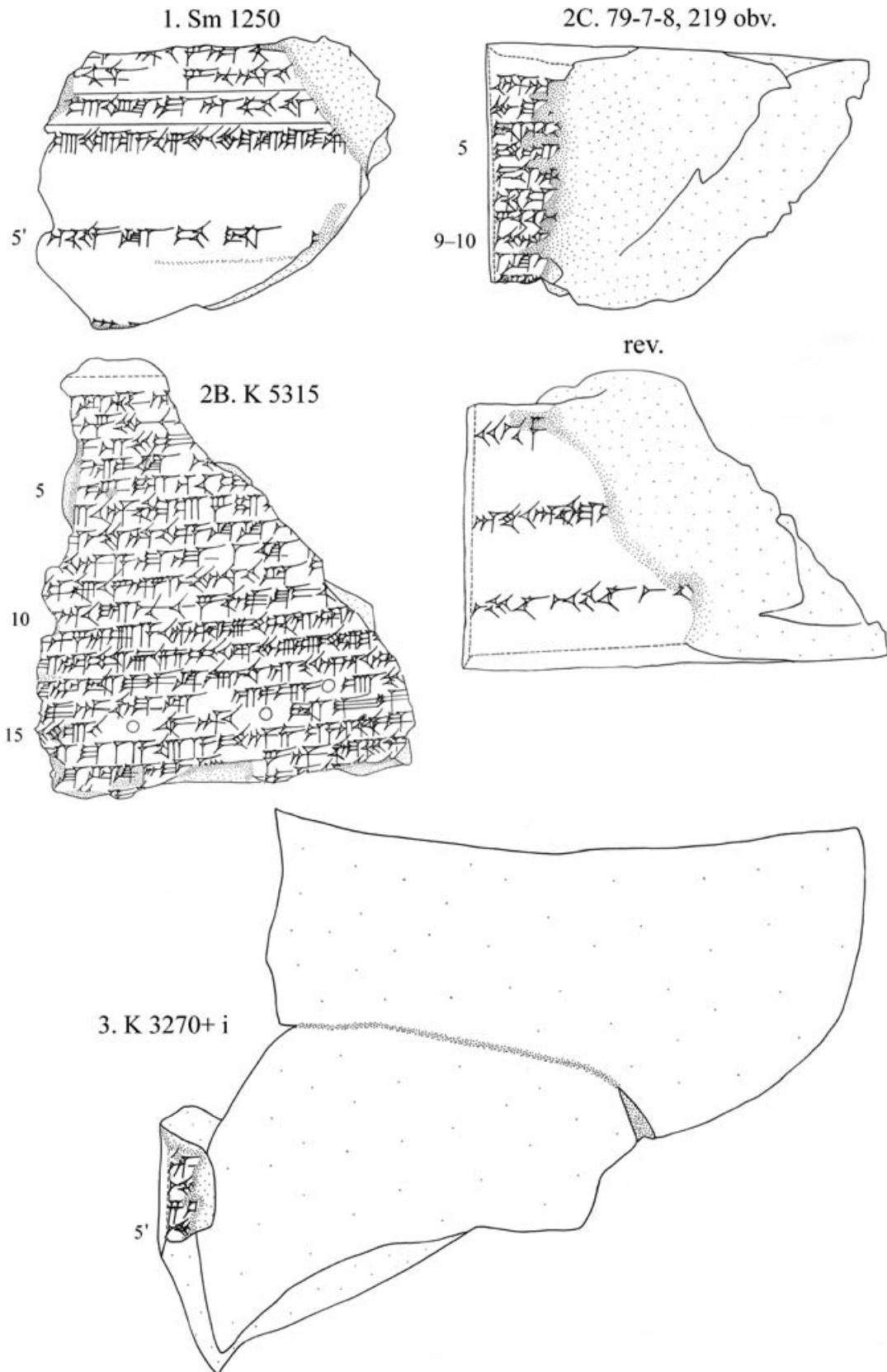


Fig. 1 Texts Nos. 1-3. Drawn by Taniguchi



8A. K 3270+ iv

6A. K 3270+ iii

8A. K 9210 iv

7. K 9210 iii

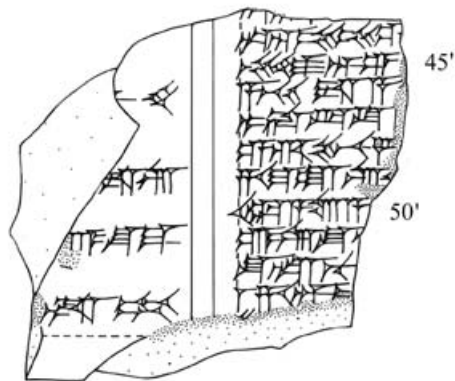


Fig. 2 Texts Nos. 6A, 7 and 8A. Drawn by Taniguchi

destroyed but traces of a few lines from the lower part of col. i survive at the tablet's left edge, and will belong in the break that follows passage No. 2. The remaining text includes a succession of participles, presumably epithets of a god addressed, but they do not match the corresponding passage of the incantation to Ninurta (No. 2: 1–10). For this reason it can be identified as a remnant of the incantation to Adad. What little survives may overlap with the opening of fragment No. 4.

i	1'	x[. . .	4'	ša-b[it? . . .
	2'	<sup>d</sup> [. . .	5'	mu-[. . .
	3'	mu-[. . .		

## No. 4

*Zu-buru-dabbeda* II C (K 4456+ i)

K 4456 + 5897 + 11709 is a fragment from the middle of the obverse of a two-column tablet from Nineveh, put together from three separate pieces. K 5897 was first published in transliteration and photograph by Richard Caplice in his study of the *Namburbi* texts (1971: 155–6 and pl. 9); the additional fragments were subsequently joined by Werner Mayer and W. G. Lambert (Schwemer 2001: 682 fn. 5611). The whole is now published in cuneiform by Daniel Schwemer (2001: 1020). The text contained in col. i is eighteen lines from an incantation-prayer to the storm god, Adad (Mayer 1976: 378 Adad 7). The incipit of this prayer is restored from text No. 17 (K 2546 iii 5), where it appears in a ritual. It attributes to Adad an epithet, *šar hengalli* “king of plenty”, that he commonly bears in *Zu-buru-dabbeda* and related texts (also l. 11' and texts Nos. 8 iv 2 and 23 obv. 12' for certain, restored in the incantation-prayers addressed to the winds and others). The epithet is traditional; in the god-list *An* III 234 it occurs in Sumerian as one of Adad's names, <sup>d</sup>lugal.ḫé.gál.(la) (see further Schwemer 2001: 65, 715). Little remains of the invocation that followed the incipit, but the exorcist's self-identification and request for his client are well preserved. The end of the incantation, containing the adjuration, is lost.

For col. ii of this fragment see below, text No. 5. The tablet has been collated, and an asterisk marks signs so observed.

		én <sup>d</sup> adad šar hengalli . . .
		break
i	1'	. . . -t]i
	2'	. . . n]a- <sup>r</sup> piš-ti māti(kur) <sup>1</sup>
	3'	. . . p]a-ti-qu ur-qí-ti
	4'	. . . š]i]k-nat na-piš-ti
	5'	. . . x ili(dingir) <sup>meš</sup> <sup>d</sup> í-gì-gì
	6'	[mu?-u]m- <sup>r</sup> mid <sup>1</sup> x[ x (x) x g]ugalli(gú.gal) <sup>meš</sup> at-ta
	7'	[ana-k]u āšipu(maš.maš) šá <sup>d</sup> r <sup>r</sup> ea(60) <sup>1</sup> [u <sup>d</sup> asal-lú-ḫe a]l-si-ka arad(ir)-ka
	8'	[a]r-kus-ka ri[k-s]a el-la
	9'	[ni-q]u-ú eb-bu ú-šam- <sup>r</sup> ḫi <sup>1</sup> -ra ma-ḫar-ka
	10'	[aq-q]í-ka da-áš-pa ku-ru-un-na si-mat ilu(dingir)-ti-ka
	11'	[m]u*-ḫur <sup>d</sup> adad(iškur) šàr hengalli(ḫé.gal) bēlu(en) rabû(gal) <sup>u</sup>
	12'	[a-k]ul tāba(du <sub>10</sub> .gā) ší-ti da-áš-pa
	13'	[s]a-lim-ma ana eqel(a.šà) ugāri(a.gār) an-né-e ri-ši-ma
	14'	[x]x-du be-lum šá ib-na-a qa-ta-k[a]
	15'	[x x]- <sup>r</sup> du <sup>1</sup> kalbī(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal) <sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>d</sup> r <sup>r</sup> nin* <sup>1</sup> -k[ilim*]
	16'	[e-re-b]u-u a-ki-lum mu-nu mu-b[at-ti-ru]
	17'	[šá pi-šú-nu] me-ḫu-ú a-bu-bu [šin-na?-šú-nu]
	18'	[ina lib-bi eqli] š[u-l]i-š[ú-nu-ti]?
		break

---

[ka.inim.ma šu.íl.la <sup>d</sup>iškur.ke<sub>4</sub>]

---

[Incantation. O Adad, king of plenty, who . . . <sup>2'</sup> . . . ] the life of the land, <sup>3'</sup> [who . . . , who] fashions vegetation, <sup>4'</sup> [who . . . all] living creatures, <sup>5'</sup> [. . . of] the Igigi gods, <sup>6'</sup> [who] props up [. . . ] canal-inspectors, (such) are you. <sup>7'</sup> I, an exorcist of Ea [and Asalluḫe, hereby] call on you (as) your slave, <sup>8'</sup> arrange for you a sacred ritual apparatus, <sup>9'</sup> present before you a pure offering, <sup>10'</sup> pour for you a libation of sweet wine worthy of your divine personage. <sup>11'</sup> Accept, O great lord Adad, king of plenty! <sup>12'</sup> Eat the tasty food, drink the sweet liquid! <sup>13'</sup> Show goodwill towards this plot of farmland and, <sup>14'</sup> [. . . ,] O lord, that you yourself created, <sup>15'</sup> [. . . ] the great dogs of Ninkilim, <sup>16'</sup> [locust,] “devourer”-pest, grub, *mubattiru*-[bug, <sup>17'</sup> whose mouths] are a tempest and [their teeth(?)] a Deluge: <sup>18'</sup> expel them [from the field!] (*remainder lost*)

[Incantation-formula, *šulla*-prayer to Adad.]

#### Notes

6'. The first word is open to other readings, e.g. [*muš-t*]a-<sup>f</sup>*ziz*<sup>1</sup>, [*muš-t*]a-<sup>f</sup>*mit*<sup>1</sup>. After the break a reading . . . x *rabūti*(gal)<sup>mes</sup> seems unlikely when x ≠ meš; [g]ú.gal<sup>mes</sup> recommends itself because Adad is well known as the divine *gú.gal* = *gugallu* “canal-inspector” (see the epithets collected by Schwemer 2001: 701, 708). If the restoration is correct the line refers to his patronage of human members of the profession.

16'. The conventional English translation of *mūnu* is “caterpillar”, i.e. the larva of butterflies and moths, following Landsberger 1934: 128 “Raupe”. Heimpel’s study of insects in Sumerian and Akkadian sources proposed a more general identification of *mūnu* as the active larva of any insect (1976–80: 106). “Caterpillar” is too specific a translation for a word that was equated variously by ancient philologists with Sumerian *uḫ* “bug”, *níg.ki* “ground-vermin”, *za.na* (the diet of crows, according to the hymn to *Ḫendursanga*, Edzard and Wilcke 1976: 148 l. 80) and even *ušum* “snake”, and with Akkadian *ākilu* “devourer-pest” and *erebu* “locust” (for references see *CAD* M/2: 207). Among the common pests of barley are the larvae of beetles and other insects – the click beetle (wireworms), crane fly (leather jackets), hessian fly and gout fly – as well as true caterpillars like cutworm and armyworm. A widespread plague of the latter in the African state of Liberia in January 2009 demonstrated the armyworm’s extreme powers of destruction of cereal crops and the rapid mobility of its swarms, compelling the authorities to declare a state of emergency. Certainly an invasion of armyworms would have had Babylonian farmers queuing at the local exorcist’s door. Nevertheless, it seems probable that *mūnu* refers generally to any longish crawling or slithering thing found in fields, especially plump invertebrates like insect larvae. Therefore in English we favour the non-specific translation “grub”.

#### No. 5

#### *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II D (K 4456+ ii)

The second column of K 4456+ contains a short snatch of text that begins with the rubric of a lost incantation and continues with the opening twelve lines of an incantation-prayer to the north wind. The lost incantation that preceded it was addressed to the south wind, for it is expected that the winds appear in the standard sequence: south, north, east, west. The rubric is restored accordingly. The incipit of the incantation-prayer to the south wind can be restored from the Sultantepe tablet, text No. 23 (*STT* 243 obv. 13'), where this wind bears the epithet *mušappikat ugāri* “that piles up (grain in) the arable land”. This epithet alludes to the fact that in Iraq a southerly wind predominates during the end of the growing season and the barley harvest.

The incipit of the incantation-prayer to the north wind is likewise restored from the same source (No. 23 obv. 13'), where it is dubbed *mukīn karāši* “that keeps the (army’s) camp in good order”. The reference is to the fact that northerly winds predominate in Iraq during the summer months, a season when in antiquity the harvest was in, little agricultural activity took place and men were often occupied by military service. In referring to the storage of grain the following lines confirm this seasonal allusion, for this was an activity that was completed as the harvest period came to an end (Hruška 1990: 109). Traces of the very end of the incantation to the north wind and its rubric survive on No. 6 (K 3270+ iii 1'–2').

[én *šūtu*(im.u<sub>18</sub>.lu) *mušappikat ugāri* . . .  
break

---

ii 1' ka.inim.ma [šu.íl.la im.u<sub>18</sub>.lu.ke<sub>4</sub>]

---

2' én *iltānu*(im.si.sá) *šāru*(im) *m[u-kín ka-ra-ši]*  
3' *mu-šaq-qu-u iš-pik ḫ[e-gal-li . . . ]*

- 4' *mu-gar-ri-nu ka-re-e mu\*-x[...]*  
 5' *ša ina za-qī-šú ta-a-bi ú-[...]*  
 6' *ina ha-a-ṭi-šú elli(kù) x[...]*  
 7' *ú-ṭ[a-aḥ-ḥ]a-d[a!...]*  
 8' *šammī(ú)<sup>b</sup>[<sup>a</sup>...]*  
 9' *šal-mat qa[qqadi(s[ag.du])...]*  
 10' *mār(dumu)<sup>d</sup>[nin-lil?...]*  
 11' *ana-ku āši[pu(maš.ma[š]) šá<sup>d</sup>é-a u<sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḥe al-si-ka (aq-ri-ka)]*  
 12' *ina u[<sub>4</sub>-me annē(šeš)<sup>e</sup> arkus(kéš)-ka riksa(kéš) ella(kù) niqâ(siskur) ebba(kù) ušamḥir(gaba.ri) pāni(igi)-ka]*  
 13' *i[na maḥar(igi)<sup>d</sup>marduk(amar.utu)<sup>d</sup>adad(iškur)<sup>d</sup>nin-urta ili rabūti?]*  
 14' *[aqtīška qīšta simat ilūtika]*  
 break

[Incantation. O South Wind, that piles up (grain in) the arable land, . . . (*remainder missing*)]

<sup>1'</sup> Incantation-formula, [*šūilla*-prayer to the south wind.]

<sup>2'</sup> Incantation. O North Wind, wind that [keeps the camp in good order,] <sup>3'</sup> that piles high the grain bins of [plenty . . . ,] <sup>4'</sup> that stocks the granaries, that [. . . ,] <sup>5'</sup> that [. . . ] with its sweet breeze, <sup>6'</sup> [that . . . ] with its pure probing, <sup>7'</sup> [that] makes plentiful [. . . ,] <sup>8'</sup> hay [. . . ] <sup>9'</sup> the human [race . . . ] <sup>10'</sup> son of [Ninlil(?) . . . !] <sup>11'</sup> I, an exorcist [of Ea and Asalluḥe, hereby call on you.] <sup>12'</sup> On [this] day [I hereby arrange a sacred ritual apparatus for you, present you with a pure offering,] <sup>13'</sup> in [the presence of Marduk, Adad and Ninurta, the great gods(?), bestow on you a gift worthy of your divine personage . . . ] (*gap, then conclusion and rubric in No. 6: 1'–2'*)

#### Notes

6'. For *ḥātu* “to scrutinize, seek out” as an action associated with the blowing of the wind, see Erra I 36, which sets out the destiny of the fifth of Erra’s seven weapons thus: *ki-ma šāri(im) zi-iq-ma kip-pa-ta ḥi-i-ta* “Blow like the wind, explore the whole world!” The nuance of exploration in which no place is left unvisited is made very clear in SB Gilgameš I 5: [*i-ḥi-i*]t-ma mit-ḥa-riš pa-r[ak-ki] “he explored everywhere the seats of power”, as at long last definitively restored from the newly published Ugarit tablet (George 2007: 239).

10'. The restoration of Ninlil as the north wind’s mother is based on their pairing in several scholastic texts, according to which the south wind was associated with Ea, “father of the gods” (where *abu* “father” is perhaps a mistake for *apkallu* “sage”), the east wind with Enlil, “lord of all, var. winds”, the north wind with Ninlil, “lady of airs”, and the west wind with Anu, also “father of the gods”; the sources are quoted by George 1992: 152–3 §11, 447–8. Note that the incantation-prayer to the east wind reports it as the son of Enlil (No. 6: 10'), in accordance with the scholastic tradition. However, other traditions existed in which the north wind was associated (a) with Adad and Ninurta and (b) with Sin (Livingstone 1986: 74–6). In Esarhaddon’s time the association was expressed more concretely: the south wind was *ma-nit<sup>d</sup>é-a* “Ea’s breath” (Borger 1956: 45 ii 3), so it can be assumed that the scholarly texts allude to the idea that the winds were each the breath of a god.

12' ff. Restored from No. 6 (K 6888+ iii 12'–14' // 8123 iii 2–4).

#### No. 6

#### *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II E (K 3270+ // 8123 iii)

Figs. 2–3

The latter part of Tablet II survives on two different manuscripts from Ashurbanipal’s library. The larger manuscript comprises the three pieces K 3270+, K 6888+ and K 9210 (MS A in Table 2). These give parts of forty-two lines in col. iii and twenty-one (including catchline) in col. iv, to which is appended a standard colophon of Ashurbanipal. The colophon is Type c in Hunger’s catalogue (1968: 97–8). K 9210 was partly transliterated by R. Borger fifty years ago (1957: 3). K 6888 was subsequently published in transliteration and photograph by R. Caplice (1971: 155 and pl. 9). The two assemblages K 3270+ and 6888+ touch in col. iii but cannot be glued without plaster reinforcement. For the moment they are stored separately but the copy published here shows them as if joined (Fig. 2). The other source for the latter part of this tablet of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* is K 8123, a fragment from the top edge of the reverse inscribed with seventeen lines in col. iii and the ends of fourteen in col. iv (Fig. 3).

Col. iii of K 3270+ contains a trace of the very end of an incantation-prayer and its rubric, then an incantation-prayer to the east wind, and its rubric, and the opening line of a third

incantation-prayer, also addressed to a wind (iii 30: én i[m]). It can safely be assumed that the sequence of winds follows the usual order, so that the first rubric of the column will identify the preceding text as an incantation to the north wind, i.e. the missing end of text No. 5. For the same reason the incantation following that addressed to the east wind must have been addressed to the west wind. The middle of this fourth incantation to a wind is partly preserved on K 9210 (text No. 7), and traces of the end appear on col. iv (text No. 8).

According to the incipit of the incantation-prayer to the east wind, restored from l. 16' and the Sultantepe tablet (text No. 23 obv. 14'), it bears the epithet *mušētiq riḥṣi* "which averts storm-damage". This phrase would indicate that an easterly wind, blowing from the Zagros, carried little threat of damage to crops. Other phrases in the invocation to this wind report the gentle character and health-enhancing properties of its mountain air (ll. 4'–9').

In the following transliteration A = K 3270 + 7829 + 8151 (+) 6888 + 8113 and C = K 8123. The line division and numeration follow A. The passage here given as ll. 11'–18' has already been translated by W. G. Lambert (1990: 126).

A	iii	1'	<i>ina</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>qī</i> - <i>b</i> [ <i>it</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-urta a-šá-red é.kur</i> ]
<hr/>			
A		2'	<i>ka.inim.m</i> [ <i>a šu.íl.la im.si.sá.ke<sub>4</sub></i> ]
<hr/>			
A		3'	<i>én šadû</i> ( <i>im.kur.ra</i> ) <i>m</i> [ <i>u-še-ti-iq ri-iḥ-ṣi</i> ]
A		4'	<i>e-mu-qa-an rab-ba-tu</i> [ <i>m . . .</i> ]
A		5'	<i>mu-rab-bi-bu mu-šá-áš-x</i> [. . .]
A		6'	<i>šá-ḥi-il nag-bi šadi</i> ( <i>kur</i> ) <i>x</i> [. . .]
A		7'	<i>re-é-um bu-lì</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>šakkan</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>x</i> [. . .]
A		8'	<i>na-din bu-a-ri ana qa-x</i> [. . .]
A		9'	<i>ra'-im ḥur-šá-ni</i> <i>x</i> [. . .]
A		10'	<i>mār</i> ( <i>dumu</i> ) <sup>d</sup> <i>en-líl šur</i> -[ <i>bu-u . . .</i> ]
AC		11'	<i>ana-ku āšipu</i> ( <i>maš.maš</i> ) <i>šá</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>ea</i> (60) <sup>d</sup> [ <i>asal-lú-ḥe</i> ] <i>al-si-ka aq-ri-ka</i>
AC		12'	<i>ina u<sub>4</sub>-me annê</i> ( <i>šeš</i> ) <sup>e</sup> <i>arkus</i> ( <i>kéš</i> )- <i>ka riksa</i> ( <i>kéš</i> ) <i>ella</i> ( <i>kù</i> ) <sup>u<sup>d</sup></sup> <i>niqâ</i> ( <i>siskur</i> ) <i>ebba</i> ( <i>kù</i> ) <i>ušanḥir</i> ( <i>gaba.r[i]</i> ) [ <i>pāni</i> ( <i>igi</i> )- <i>ka</i> ]
AC		13'	<i>ina maḥar</i> ( <i>igi</i> ) <sup>d</sup> <i>marduk</i> ( <i>amar.utu</i> ) <sup>d</sup> <i>adad</i> ( <i>iškur</i> ) <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-urta</i> [ <i>ili</i> ( <i>dingir</i> ) <sup>mes</sup> <i>rabûti</i> ( <i>gal</i> ) <sup>mes?</sup> ]
AC		14'	<sup>r</sup> <i>aqtiš</i> ( <i>nig.ba</i> )- <i>ka qišta</i> ( <i>nig.ba</i> ) <i>si-mat il</i> [ <i>u-ti-ka</i> ]
AC		15'	<i>ayyal</i> ([ <i>d</i> ] <i>àra.maš</i> ) <i>kaspi</i> ( <i>kù.babbar</i> ) <i>lulim</i> ( <i>lu.lim</i> ) [ <i>ḥurāṣi</i> ( <i>kù.sig<sub>17</sub></i> )]
AC		16'	<i>mu-ḥur šadû</i> ( <i>im.kur.ra</i> ) <i>mu-še-ti-[iq ri-iḥ-ṣi</i> ]
AC		17'	<i>a-kul ṭāba</i> ( <i>du<sub>10</sub>.ga</i> ) <i>ši-ti</i> [ <i>da-áš-pa</i> ]
AC		18'	<i>purus</i> ( <i>kud</i> ) <sup>us</sup> <i>kalbi</i> ( <i>ur.gi<sub>7</sub></i> ) <i>rabûti</i> ( <i>gal</i> ) <sup>mes</sup> <i>šá</i> [ <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-kilim</i> ]
AC		19'	<i>e-re-bu-u šá pi-(i)-šú-nu a-b</i> [ <i>u-bu me-ḥu-u?</i> ]
AC		20'	<i>ḥa-ma-ṣi-ru-u šá pi-šú-nu a-b</i> [ <i>u-bu me-ḥu-u?</i> ]
AC		21'	<i>eli</i> ( <i>ugu</i> ) <i>eqel</i> ( <i>a.šà</i> ) <i>ugāri</i> ( <i>a.gār</i> ) <i>an-né-e suḥ<sub>4</sub>?</i> -[ <i>ra-am-ma?</i> ]
AC		22'	<i>ú-ru-šú-nu-ti</i> [. . . . .]
AC		23'	<i>qat-su-nu ṣa</i> -[ <i>bat šu-li-šú-nu-ti</i> ]
AC		24'	<i>ana ḥa-an-duḥ šamê</i> ( <i>an</i> ) <sup>r<sup>e</sup>1</sup> [. . .]
A		25'	<i>ši-mi-šú-nu-ti</i> [. . . . .]
AC		26'	<i>ina qí-bit</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>mard</i> [ <i>uk</i> ( <i>amar.[utu]</i> ) <i>bēl</i> ( <i>en</i> ) <i>a-ši-pu-ti</i> ]
AC		27'	<i>ina qí-bit</i> <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup> <i>a</i> [ <i>dad</i> ( <i>iškur</i> ) <i>šār ḥengalli</i> ( <i>ḥé.gál</i> )]
A		28'	<i>ina qí-bit</i> [ <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-urta a-šá-red é.kur</i> ]
<hr/>			
A		29'	<i>ka.ini</i> [ <i>m.ma šu.íl.la im.kur.ra.ke<sub>4</sub></i> ]
<hr/>			
A		30'	<i>én i</i> [ <i>m.mar.dú . . .</i> ] break

Variant. 14' A: [*a*]*q-tiš!-ka qí-[iš-ta]*

[By command of Marduk, lord of exorcism, by command of Adad, king of plenty,] <sup>iii</sup> 1' by command of [Ninurta, foremost one of E-kur!]

<sup>2'</sup> Incantation-formula, [*šuilla*-prayer to the north wind.]

<sup>3'</sup> Incantation. O East Wind that [averts storm-damage,] <sup>4'</sup> great power [...] <sup>5'</sup> that brings softness, that [...] <sup>6'</sup> filtered by mountain springs [...] <sup>7'</sup> shepherd of Šakkan's herds [...] <sup>8'</sup> that conveys healthiness to [...] <sup>9'</sup> that loves the mountain ranges [...] <sup>10'</sup> most [great] son of Enlil [...] <sup>11'</sup> I, an exorcist of Ea and [Asalluḫe,] hereby call and invite you! <sup>12'</sup> On this day I hereby arrange a sacred ritual apparatus for you, present [before you] a pure offering. <sup>13'</sup> In the presence of Marduk, Adad, Ninurta, [the great gods(?),] <sup>14'</sup> I have bestowed on you a gift worthy of [your divine personage:] <sup>15'</sup> a silver deer, a [golden] stag. <sup>16'</sup> Accept, O East Wind that averts [storm-damage!] <sup>17'</sup> Eat the tasty food, drink [the sweet liquid!] <sup>18'</sup> Get rid of the great dogs of [Ninkilim,] <sup>19'</sup> locusts whose mouths are a Deluge, [a tempest,] <sup>20'</sup> mice whose mouths are a Deluge, [a tempest!] <sup>21'</sup> Come [around] to this plot of farmland and <sup>22'</sup> lead them [away . . . !] <sup>23'</sup> Seize them by the hand, [take them away! <sup>24'</sup> Take them off] to the latch of the heavens! <sup>25'</sup> Roast them, [. . . them!] <sup>26'</sup> By command of Marduk, [lord of exorcism,] <sup>27'</sup> by command of Adad, [king of plenty,] <sup>28'</sup> by command of [Ninurta, foremost one of E-kur!]

<sup>29'</sup> Incantation-formula, [*šuilla*-prayer to the east wind.]

<sup>30'</sup> Incantation. O [West Wind . . .] (*gap, then continued on No. 7*)

### Notes

1'. This and the preceding two lines can be restored from ll. 26'-8' // No. 8: 1-3.

10'. For the connection between the east wind and Enlil see the note on No. 5: 10'.

24'. The expression *handuḫ šamê* "latch of heaven" alludes to the ancient notion that passage of the celestial bodies across the sky was guarded by bolted gates (Heimpel 1986: 132-40, Horowitz 1998: 266-7). It otherwise occurs in two protases of the astrological omen tablet VAT 9436 (Weidner 1941-4 pl. 16 rev. 9 and 12), where it is a figurative, literary expression for some observable feature of the night sky.

### No. 7

### Zu-buru-dabbeda II F (K 9210 iii)

### Fig. 2

Col. iii of K 3270+ continues after a break with K 9210, whose col. iii provides twelve more lines from the incantation to the west wind. The length of the gap in the text between K 3270+ and K 9210 can be estimated from col. iv, where four widely spaced lines of Ashurbanipal's colophon Type c are missing between the two pieces. On this evidence it can be judged that twelve lines of text are missing between them in col. iii, so that a consecutive numeration of lines can be employed in which K 9210 iii 1' is K 3270+ iii 43'. Some of the missing lines can be restored from similar passages in other incantation-prayers of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (ll. 39'-42' // Nos. 5: 11'-14' // 6: 11'-14'; cf. Nos. 2: 11-13 // 4: 7'-10' // 10: 4'-8').

- 39' [anāku āšipu ša Ea u Marduk alsika (aqrika)]  
 40' [ina ūmi anni arkuska riksa ella niqâ ebba ušamḫir pānika]  
 41' [ina maḥar Marduk Adad Ninurta ili rabûti(?)]  
 42' [aqtiška qišta simat ilûtika (rabîti)]  
 43' ban[duddê ('ba.an<sup>1</sup>.[du<sub>g</sub>.du<sub>g</sub>]) kaspî? . . . ]  
 44' banduddê (ba.an.du<sub>g</sub>.du<sub>g</sub>)<sup>e</sup> [ḫurāšî? . . . ]  
 45' mu-ḫur <sup>d</sup>amur[ru(mar.[dú]) . . . . . ]  
 46' a-kul ṭa-a-b[u ši-ti da-áš-pu]  
 47' purus(kud)<sup>us</sup> kalbî(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>m</sup>[<sup>eš</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim]  
 48' e-re-bu-u šá [pi-i-šú-nu me-ḫu-ú]  
 49' ḫa-ma-ši-ru-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> [šá pi-i-šú-nu a-bu-bu]  
 50' eli(ugu) eqel(a.šà) ugā[ri(a.[gàr]) an-né-e suhramma?]  
 51' ú-ru-šu-n[u-ti . . . . . ]  
 52' qat-su-nu [ša-bat-ma šu-li-šú-nu-ti]  
 53' ana ḫa-an-d[uḫ šamê(an)<sup>e</sup> . . . ]  
 54' <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-[mi-šú-nu-ti . . . ]  
 break

[. . . 39' I, an exorcist of Ea and Marduk, hereby call (and invite) you! 40' On this day I hereby arrange a sacred ritual apparatus for you, present to you a pure offering. 41' In the presence of Marduk, Adad, Ninurta, the great gods(?), 42' I have bestowed on you a gift worthy of your (great) divine personage:] 43' a bucket [of silver(?) . . . ,] 44' a bucket [of gold(?) . . . ] 45' Accept, O West [Wind that . . . !] 46' Eat the tasty [food, drink the sweet liquid!] 47' Get rid of the [great] dogs [of Ninkilim,] 48' locusts whose [mouths are a tempest,] 49' mice [whose mouths are a Deluge!] 50' [Come around] to this plot of farmland and 51' lead them [away . . . ! 52' Seize] them by the hand, [take them away! 53' Take them off] to the latch [of the heavens!] 54' Roast [them, . . . them!] (continued on No. 8)

**No. 8** *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II G (K 3270 + (+) 6888 + // 8123 iv)

**Figs. 2–3**

The last two lines and rubric of the incantation to the west wind occur on K 3270 + 7829 + 8151 (+) 6888 + 8113 at iv 1'–3'. From this it appears that the incantation closed with the same three-line adjuration as its immediate predecessors. Further comparison indicates that this passage probably followed *šimīšunūti* (iii 54') without any intervening text (as in No. 6: 25'–6'), so that only one line of tablet is lost at the top of col. iv.

The incantation to the west wind is followed by a mixed-language incantation, *Tutu-anna hursangake*, which is also encountered in texts Nos. 23 rev. 6–10 // 24 iii 8'–10', and then by a magic ritual that concludes with a prayer to Ninkilim. The ritual directs the farmer (indicated by the 3rd person verbs) to place figs in the field affected by pests, to construct a ritual platform (*parakku*) for Ninkilim, the god responsible for field pests, and to make a bonfire. Then, having waited for the Goat-star to rise, he beats his bared breast and calls on Ninkilim, thus symbolically fed, to round up his creatures by the light of the fire and depart. Thematically the ritual is a parallel to the ritual set out in texts Nos. 23 rev. 11 ff. // 24 iii 11'–23', but the details are different. A closer passage is the more fragmentary text No. 20: 3'–6'.

As in col. iii (text No. 6), K 3270 + (Fig. 2) is duplicated by K 8123 (Fig. 3). In the following transliteration A = K 3270 + and C = K 8123.

	iv	1	[ina qí-bit <sup>d</sup> marduk bēl(en) a-ši-pu-ti]
A		2	[ina qí-bit <sup>d</sup> adad šàr] hengalli(ʿhē <sup>1</sup> .g[ál])
A		3	[ina qí-bit <sup>d</sup> nin-urta a-šá-re]d é.k[ur]
<hr/>			
A		4	[ka.inim.ma šu.íl.la i]m.mar.dú.ke <sub>4</sub>
<hr/>			
A		5	[tu.tu.an.na hu]r.{x}.sag.ga.ke <sub>4</sub>
A		6	[kalbū(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>meš</sup> rabūtu(gal) <sup>me</sup> ]šá <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim
A		7	[ki-is-sat-ku-nu mah-r]a-tu-nu at-la-a
<hr/>			
A		8	[ka.inim.ma mu-na š]á eqli(a.šà) šu-li-i
<hr/>			
AC		9	[dù.dù.bi <sup>lú</sup> ikkaru(engar) x ]x ileqqe(ti)-ma e-ma eqli(a.šà) i-za-qáp
AC		10	[x x x x x x x x ]x tubuq(ub) eqli(a.šà) eliš(an.ta) u šapliš(ki.ta) i-ʿti <sup>1</sup> -mer
A		11	[x x x x x x x x t]i-it-ta 1.ta.à[m išakkan(gar) <sup>a</sup> ] <sup>n</sup>
C			[e-ma . . . ] it-me-ru / [. . . à]m išakkan(gar) <sup>an</sup>
AC		12	4 miris(ʿninda.ì <sup>1</sup> .[dé.a]) [dišpi(làl) himēt]i([i.nun.n]a) išakkan(gar) <sup>an</sup>
AC		13	parakki(bára) <sup>d</sup> nin-kil[im la] ʿi <sup>1</sup> -kaš-ma inaddi(šub)-ma [ab-ra i-še-en]
AC		14	ab-ra ana <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim ki-i [erēb šamši( <sup>d</sup> utu.šú.a)? inap]pah([sa]r) <sup>ab</sup> -ma
AC		15	e-nu-ma <sup>mul</sup> en[zu(ùz) ina šit šamši( <sup>d</sup> utu.è.a)] ippuha(kur) <sup>ba</sup>
AC		16	akla(ninda) bi-ra-a là ikkal(gu <sub>7</sub> ) qaqqad(sag.du)-s[u ipaṭṭar(duḥ) šubāt(túg)-s]u ú-ḥa-ma-aš
AC		17	irat(gaba)-su ipettā(gál.tag <sub>4</sub> ) <sup>a</sup> -ma [tulā(ubur)?-šu] imahḥaṣ(sig) <sup>as</sup>
AC		18	<sup>d</sup> nin-kilim ki-is-sat-ka mah-r[a]-ta
AC		19	kalbī(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>meš</sup> -ka ši-is-si-ma at-la-a



A	20	<i>kīma</i> (gim) <i>an-n</i> [ <i>a-a</i> ] <sup>1ú</sup> <i>ikkaru</i> (engar) <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-kilim iqbû</i> (dug <sub>4</sub> ) <sup>ú</sup>
A	21	<sup>1ú</sup> <i>ra</i> <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>ši-pu ana</i> ] [ <sup>d</sup> <sup>1</sup> <i>nin-kilim 3-šú kī'am</i> (ur <sub>5</sub> .gim) <i>iqabbi</i> (dug <sub>4</sub> .ga)
A	22	[ <sup>én</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-kilim bēl</i> (en) <i>nam-maš-ti qa-q-a-ri ba-nu-u mim-ma šum-šú</i>
A	23	[ <i>dub.2?.kam.ma éš.gàr zú</i> ].buru <sub>5</sub> .dab.bé.da.ke <sub>4</sub>

Variant. 10 C: <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*tem-mer*

Colophon. A iv 24–8 (+) K 9210 iv = Asb colophon c (Hunger 1968: 97–8 no. 319), 1–4, 9–12. Variants from Hunger's edition: 1 *kiš-šá-ti*, 3 *geštug*<sup>min</sup>, 11 *lis-kip*]-<sup>r</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-*šu-ma*

<sup>iv</sup> <sup>1</sup> [By command of Marduk, lord of exorcism, <sup>2</sup> by command of Adad, king of] plenty, <sup>3</sup> [by command of Ninurta, foremost] one of E-kur!

<sup>4</sup> [Incantation-formula, *šulla*-prayer to the] west wind.

<sup>5</sup> [*Tutu-anna* of the] mountain range! <sup>6</sup> [O great dogs] of Ninkilim, <sup>7</sup> you have [received your fodder!] Be gone!

<sup>8</sup> [Incantation-formula] for expelling [grubs] from a field.

<sup>9</sup> [Its ritual: The farmer] takes [. . .] and stands (it) upright wherever the field is. <sup>10</sup> He buries [. . . at] the corners of the field, top and bottom. <sup>11</sup> [Wherever] he buried [the . . .] he places one fig each. <sup>12</sup> He places four date-[cakes made of syrup and ghee. <sup>13</sup> Without] delay he lays down a plinth for Ninkilim and [makes a brushwood bonfire.] <sup>14</sup> As [the sun goes down(?)] he lights the bonfire for Ninkilim and, <sup>15</sup> after the Goat-star has risen [in the east,] <sup>16</sup> he must not eat anywhere. [He uncovers] his head, strips off his [garment,] <sup>17</sup> bares his chest and beats [his breast(?):] <sup>18</sup> "O Ninkilim, you have received your fodder! <sup>19</sup> Summon your dogs and be gone!"

<sup>20</sup> When the farmer has said this to Ninkilim, <sup>21</sup> the exorcist says three times to Ninkilim as follows:

<sup>22</sup> [Incantation. O Ninkilim,] lord of the animals of the earth, creator of everything.

<sup>23</sup> [Tablet II, series *Zu*]-*buru-dabbeda*.

#### Notes

5–8. Restored from Nos. 23 rev. 6–10 // 24 iii 8'–10', q.v.

15. On the Goat-star and its rising, see the commentary on the timing of field-pest rituals at the end of this article.

19. The first verb is *šisi*: see the better-spelled parallel, text No. 24 iii 23'.

22. On this epithet of Ninkilim, see the note on No. 9: 1.

#### No. 9

#### *Zu-buru-dabbeda* III A (K 2783)

#### Fig. 3

K 2783 is the top-left-hand corner of a multi-column tablet from Ashurbanipal's library. We thank Werner Mayer for finding it among the Geers copies and sending us his annotations. The obverse contains parts of the first seven lines of an incantation-prayer to Ninkilim (booked as Mayer 1976: 403 Ninkilim(?) 1). The incipit is probably the same as the catch-line of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II, as preserved on text No. 8 iv 22. For this reason we provisionally identify K 2783 as a manuscript of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* III. Like K 3270+ (No. 8), 81-2-4, 260 (No. 16) and K 2596 (No. 18), K 2783 concludes with a Type c colophon of Ashurbanipal.

obv.

1	<sup>én</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-kilim bēl</i> (en) <sup>r</sup> <i>nammašti</i> (ùz.LU) <i>qa-q-a</i> <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>ri ba-nu-u mim-ma šum-šú</i> ]
2	<i>be-el eqli</i> (a.šà) <i>ugāri</i> (a.gàr) <i>ušalli</i> ( <sup>r</sup> <i>ú</i> <sup>1</sup> .[sal]) [. . . . .]
3	[ <i>p</i> ]- <i>a-qí-du</i> x te x [. . . . .]
4	[ <i>mu</i> ]- <sup>r</sup> <sup>1</sup> - <i>ir eršeti</i> (ki) <sup>r</sup> [ <sup>i</sup> . . . . .]
5	[ <i>mu-kil</i> ] <i>šer-ret</i> [. . . . .]
6	[x x] <sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>be-let</i> uš [. . . . .]
7	[x x x] <sup>r</sup> <i>ú</i> <sup>1</sup> ri [. . . . .]

break

<sup>1</sup> Incantation. O Ninkilim, lord of the animals of the earth, [creator of everything,] <sup>2</sup> lord of field, farmland, meadowland [. . . ,] <sup>3</sup> who looks after . . . [. . . ,] <sup>4</sup> who directs the earth [. . . ,] <sup>5</sup> who holds] the nose-ropes of [all creatures . . . ,] <sup>6</sup> . . . of] the Lady of [. . . (*remainder lost*)

rev. = Asb colophon c 8–12 (Hunger 1968: 98 no. 319). Variants from Hunger’s edition: 10 [ba]l?-*lu* for *itabbalu*, *it-ti*, 11 *mir-iš* for *ezziš*, *lis-kip-ú-[šū-ma]*.

#### Note

1. If this incipit repeats the catch-line of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II, we are confronted by a new equation,  $\dot{u}z.LU = nammaštu$  “animals”. The compound of  $\dot{u}z$  (or  $ud_3$ ) “goat” and  $LU = udu$  “sheep” is probably a learned etymology of the conventional Sumerian equivalent of *nammaštu*, *a.za.lu.lu*. Such an etymology might have been partly substantiated in antiquity by the lexical passage *Urra* XIV 404–6, where  $\dot{u}z$  and *nammaštu* are thrice associated:  $n\acute{ig}.g\acute{ir}.\dot{u}z$ ,  $anše(g\acute{ir} + PA).\dot{u}z$ ,  $mir.\dot{u}z = nam-maš-tu$ . A longer name of Ninkilim is  ${}^d$ nin.kilim.ki.dù (*An* V 34), which clearly lies behind the extended form of the god’s Akkadian epithet *bēl nammašti* in the present line: *nin = bēlu*, *kilim = nammaštu*, *ki = qaqqaru*, *dù = bānū* (*mimma šumšu*).

### II. Unplaced tablets of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (Texts Nos. 10–17)

#### No. 10

#### K 8072

K 8072 is a fragment of twenty-one lines from the right edge of a tablet from Ashurbanipal’s library. It was first recognized as a close parallel to K 5315 (MS A of text No. 2) by R. Borger, who transliterated part of it (Borger 1957: 3). It was eventually published in cuneiform by Daniel Schwemer (2001: 1021). The content is an incantation to a deity whose name is absent, but who is addressed as masculine. The opening invocation to this god is all but lost, with traces of only three lines surviving, but the exorcist’s self-identification and request for help with banishing pests from his client’s field are almost entirely preserved. The text has been collated.

- 1' . . . ]x [x]  
 2' . . . ] *šat-tu*[*k-ki*?]  
 3' . . . *šá šu-lul-šú t*] *a-a-bu*  
 4' [*ana-ku āšipu*(*maš.maš*) *šá*  ${}^d$ *é-a u*  ${}^d$ *asa*] *l-lú-h*[*e*]  
 5' [*al-si-ka iš-tu šamē*(*an*)]<sup>e</sup> *šá*  ${}^d$ *a-n*[*im*]  
 6' [*ar-kus-ka ri*] *k-sa el-l*[*u*]  
 7' [*ni-qu-u eb-bu*]  ${}^r$ *ú*<sup>1</sup>-*šam-ḫi-ra maḫar*(*igi*)-*k*[*a*]  
 8' [*aq-qí-ka da-áš-pa k*] *u*<sup>\*</sup>-*ru-⟨na⟩ si-mat ilu*(*dingir*)-*ti-ka rabīti*(*gal*)<sup>i</sup>[<sup>i</sup>]  
 9' [*mu-ḫur*  ${}^d$ x x x ] *x a-kul tāba*(*du*<sub>10</sub>-*ga*) *ši-ti da-áš-p*[*u*]  
 10' [*sa-li-ma ana eq*] *el*([*a.š*]à) *ugāri*(*a.gàr*) *an-né-e ri-ši-ma*  
 11' [*šu-li-šu-nu-ti kal*] *bi*([*ur*].*gi*<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> *rabūti*(*gal*)<sup>meš</sup> *šá*  ${}^d$ *nin-kilim*  
 12' [*e-re-bu a-k*] *i-lu mu-nu mu-bat-ti-ru ar-ra-bu*  
 13' [*sa-ma-nu? ina lib-bi e*] *qel*( ${}^r$ *a*<sup>1</sup>.*šà*) *ugāri*(*a.gàr*) *šá ta-ra-mu šu-li-šú-nu-ti*  
 14' [*ana*  ${}^d$ *nin-kilim bēl*(*en*) *nam-m*] *a*- ${}^r$ *áš-ti*<sup>1</sup> *pi-qid-su-nu-ti*  
 15' [x x x x *x-šú*]-*nu-ti bāb*(*ká*)-*šú-nu li-dil*  
 16' [*qa-ti-šú-nu li-i*] *š-bat-ma li-še*<sub>20</sub>-*li-šú-nu-ti*  
 17' [*ina qí-bit ilu-ti-k*] *a rabīti*(*gal*)<sup>ti</sup>  
 18' [*ina qí-bit*  ${}^d$ *é-a*] *šar*<sub>4</sub> *apsí*(*abzu*)  
 19' [*ina qí-bit*  ${}^d$ *marduk bēl*(*en*)] *āšipu*(*maš.maš*)-*ti*  
 20' [*ina qí-bit*  ${}^d$ *adad šār ḫengalli ina qí-bit*  ${}^d$ *nin-urta a-šá-red é.ku*] *r?*  ${}^r$ *tu*<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>.*én*  
 21' [*ka.inim.ma šu.íl.la*  ${}^d$ . . . .*ke*] <sub>4</sub>  
 break

[Incantation. O DN, who . . . <sup>2'</sup> . . . ] offerings, <sup>3'</sup> [. . . whose shelter] is sweet, <sup>4'</sup> [I, an exorcist of Ea and] Asalluḫe, [hereby call you down from the heaven] of Anu, <sup>6'</sup> [arrange for you a] sacred ritual [apparatus,] <sup>7'</sup> present before you [a pure offering, <sup>8'</sup> pour for you a libation of sweet] wine worthy of your great divine personage. <sup>9'</sup> [Accept, O . . . !] Eat the tasty food, drink the sweet drink! <sup>10'</sup> Show [goodwill towards] this plot of farmland and <sup>11'</sup> [expel them, the] great dogs of Ninkilim. <sup>12'</sup> [Locust, “devourer”]-pest, grub, *mubattiru*-bug, cricket, <sup>13'</sup> [red-bug(?)] expel them

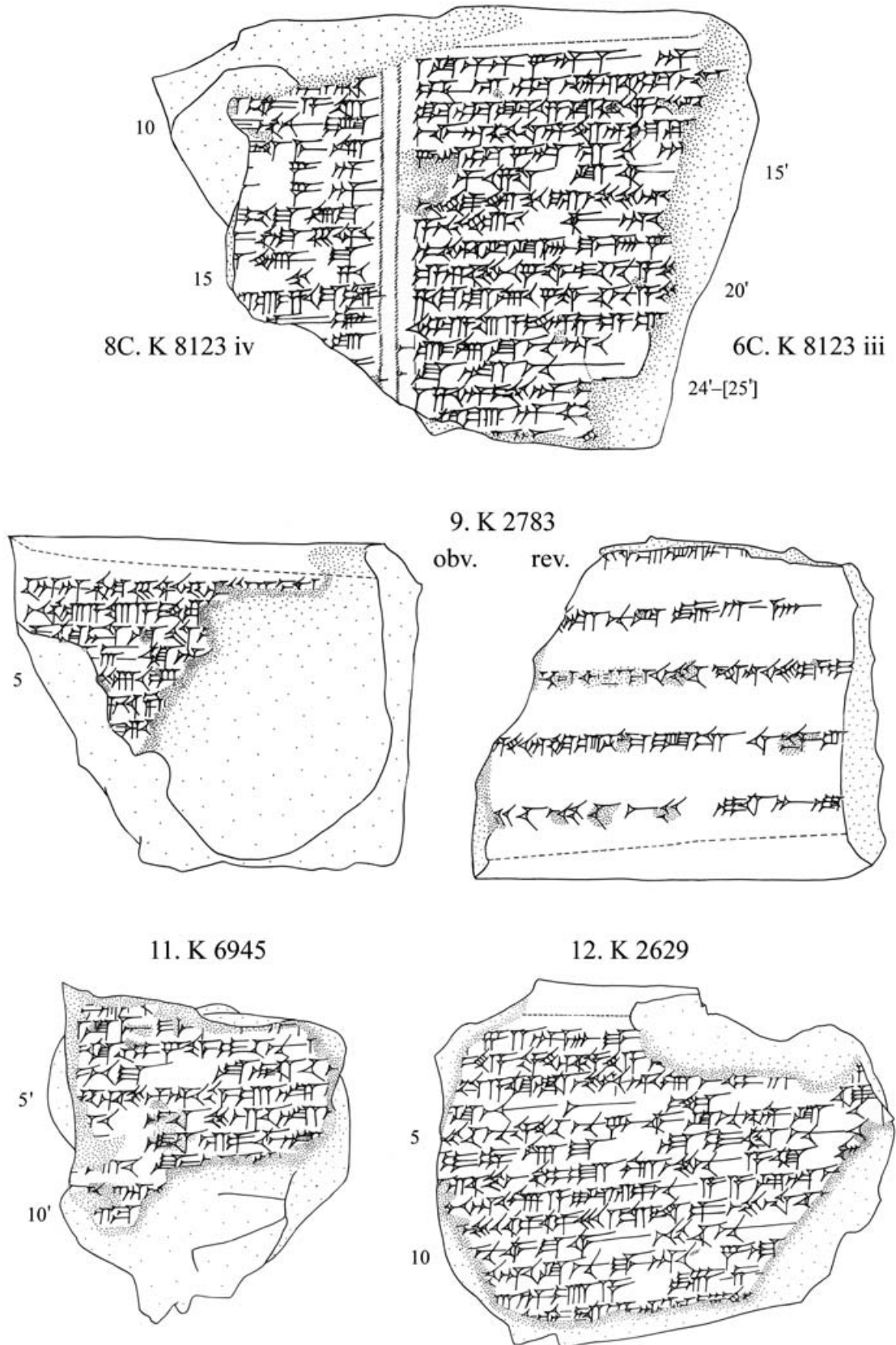
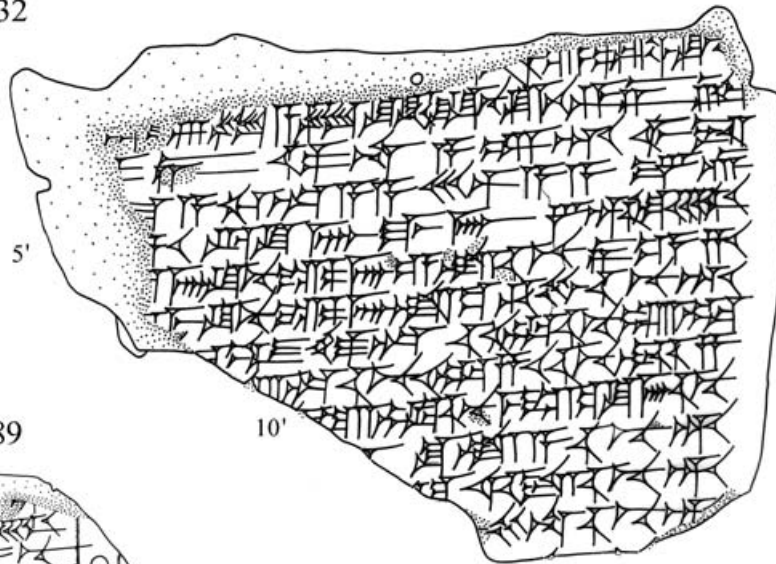
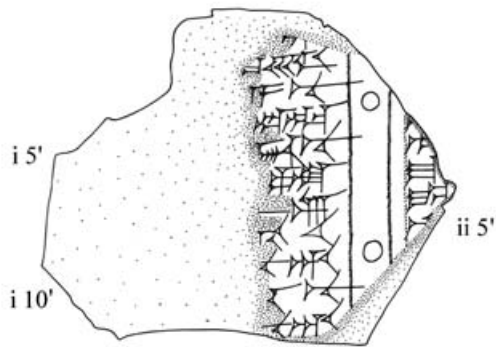


Fig. 3 Texts Nos. 6C, 8C, 9, 11 and 12. Drawn by Taniguchi

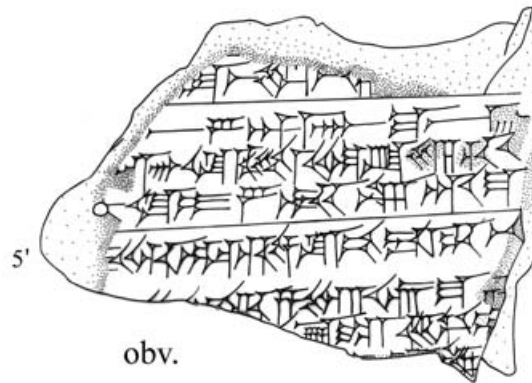
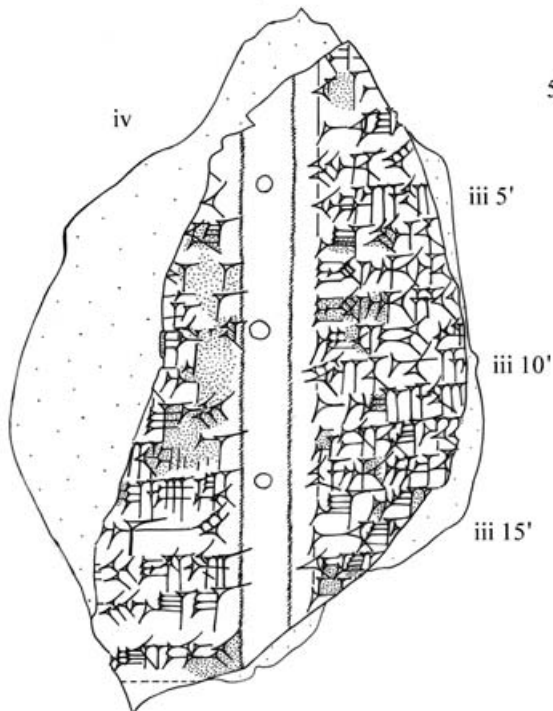
14. 82-5-22, 532



13. 80-7-19, 189



16. 81-2-4, 260



15. 81-2-4, 319

rev.

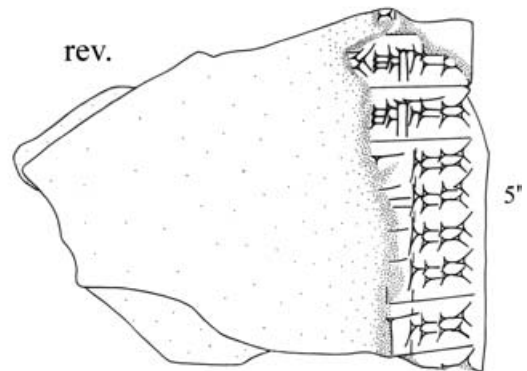


Fig. 4 Texts Nos. 13–16. Drawn by Taniguchi

[from the] plot of farmland that you love! <sup>14'</sup> Place them in the charge of [Ninkilim, the lord of the] animals, <sup>15'</sup> [so he can . . .] them, lock them up (*lit.* bolt their gate), <sup>16'</sup> seize [them by the hand] and take them away! <sup>17'</sup> [By command of] your great [divine personage, <sup>18'</sup> by command of Ea,] king of the Apsû, <sup>19'</sup> [by command of Marduk, lord of] exorcism, <sup>20'</sup> [by command of Adad, king of plenty, by command of Ninurta, foremost one of E]-kur! Incantation-spell.

[Incantation-formula: *šuilla*-prayer] to [the god . . .]

#### Notes

3'. Restored from No. 2: 10.

18'–19'. Restored after similar exorcistic passages, e.g. in an incantation-prayer to propitiate an estranged god (Lambert 1974a: 274 ll. 17–18): <sup>d</sup>*é-a šâr apsi* [<sup>u</sup><sup>d</sup>*a*]*sal-lú-ḥe bēl a-ši-pu-ti*.

20'. See No. 8: 2–3.

#### No. 11

#### K 6945

#### Fig. 3

This is a fragment from the middle of a tablet from Ashurbanipal's library, containing ten lines of text that yield a passage similar to the *Zu-buru-dabbeda* incantations but not yet placed in the series. Here another masculine-singular divine power is asked to have Ninkilim take his creatures to the netherworld and hand them over to the deities of Ereškigal's infernal realm, who will ensure their death and eternal captivity.

- 1' [x x x x x] x x <sup>1</sup>uš? <sup>1</sup>[. . .  
 2' [<sup>š</sup>u-li-šú-nu-ti k]albī(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>rmeš</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>[<sup>nin</sup>-kilim]  
 3' [e-re-bu] <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ki-lum šá pi-i-šú-nu <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[bu-bu me-ḥu-ú]  
 4' [qat-su-nu š]a-bat-ma šu-li-šú-n[u-ti]  
 5' [ana <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim bē]l(en) nam-maš-ti pi-qid-su-n[u-ti]  
 6' [ana er-še-t]i li-še-ri-su-n[u-ti]  
 7' [mahar(igi) <sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-ga]l? li-šak-ši-su-[nu-ti]  
 8' [ana <sup>d</sup>nam-tar?] <sup>1</sup>šukkalli(sukkal)<sup>1</sup> lip-<sup>1</sup>qid-su<sup>1</sup>-[nu-ti]  
 9' [x x x x] x x <sup>d</sup>b[<sup>i</sup>-du<sub>8</sub> . . .]  
 10' [x x x x x] x x [. . .

[. . . 2' Expel them, the] great dogs of [Ninkilim! 3' Locust,] “devourer”-pest, whose mouths are a [Deluge, a tempest:] 4' seize [them by the hand] and take them away! 5' Place them in the charge [of Ninkilim, the] lord of the animals, 6' so that he can send them down [to the netherworld,] 7' so that he can have them arrive [before Ereškigal(?),] 8' so that he can place them in the charge of the minister [Namtar(?), 9' so that he can have] Bidu [bar his gate on them! (*continuation lost*)

#### Notes

2'–3'. Restored after Nos. 2: 17–18 and 10: 11'–12', but note that No. 4: 15' offers some other word instead of *šūlišumūti*.

8'. For Namtar as the *šukkallu* of Ereškigal and the netherworld, see Klein 1998, Katz 2003: 390–1.

9'. Bidu(h), formerly read Nedu, was the *idugallu* “chief gatekeeper” of the netherworld; see Deller 1991, George 1991, 2003: 128–30, Katz 2003: 401.

#### No. 12

#### K 2629

#### Fig. 3

K 2629 is from the top or bottom edge of a two-column tablet from Ashurbanipal's library, near a left-hand corner but extending as far as the column-divider on the right. The preserved side is thus either col. i or col. iv. The fragment's flat surface suggests the obverse rather than the reverse. It holds thirteen lines of an incantation-prayer to the Igigi gods. The content makes an attribution to *Zu-buru-dabbeda* certain. Probably the column begins with the incantation's incipit, a coincidence more likely on col. i than col. iv. Accordingly, this piece represents the beginning of a tablet other than II and III, which began with incantation-prayers to Ninurta and Ninkilim respectively.

The incantation-prayer to the Igigi is not composed according to the structure observed in the incantations to Adad, Ninurta and the winds (texts Nos. 2–8), but is in essence a running commentary on a magic ritual that aims to inhibit the reproduction of field pests by burning a

representative sample of pests. No doubt the incantation was employed as part of the ritual it describes. It concludes with the usual invocation of selected divine authorities.

col. i

- 1 [én] <sup>d</sup>ḡ-gì-gì ilī(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal)[<sup>meš</sup> ša šamê(an)<sup>e</sup>]  
 2 [ereb]u(buru<sub>5</sub>)<sup>bá</sup> pelû(nunuz) erebi(buru<sub>5</sub>)<sup>bá</sup> á[r-ra-bu? ħum-ši-ru?]  
 3 [mul]-num a-ki-li mu-bat-ti-ru ina müši(gi<sub>6</sub>) <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[ne]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>  
 4 [maḥa]r(igi)-ku-nu ina išāti(izi) aqlu(gibil)  
 5 [z]ēru(numun)-šú-nu pelû(nunuz)-šú-nu šá ina pāni(igi)-ku-nu aq-lu-u  
 6 [l]a i-tur-ru-ma la i-ban-nu-u  
 7 <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-re-bu ħum-ši-ru mu-nu a-ki-lu[m]  
 8 [m]u-bat-ti-ru a-šar šak-nu a-a ib-ba-n[u-u]  
 9 [l]i-mu-u ři-de-eš ana eper(saḥar) asakki(á.sàg) mu-na-šú-n[u-ti]  
 10 [šum-š]ú-nu lim-ma-ši zēru(numun)-šú-nu [liḥ-liq]  
 11 [ina qí-b]i-ti-ku-nu rabûti(gal)<sup>ti</sup> šá la [innennû(bal)<sup>ú</sup>]  
 12 [ina qí-b]it <sup>d</sup>é-a šar né-[me-qí]  
 13 [ina liḥ-bi ki]kkiṭṭê(ki)d.<sup>r</sup>kid.da<sup>e</sup> <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḥe<sup>1</sup> š[ar āšipūt?]  
 break

<sup>1</sup> [Incantation.] O Igi, great gods [of heaven,] <sup>4</sup> in your presence I hereby burn in fire <sup>2-3</sup> this night locust, egg of locust, [dormouse(?), rat(?),] grub, “devourer”-pest, *mubattiru*-bug. <sup>5-6</sup> Their seeds and eggs that I hereby burn before you shall never be spawned again. <sup>7</sup> May locust, rat, grub, “devourer”-pest, <sup>8</sup> *mubattiru*-bug, not survive (*lit.* be created) where they are set down. <sup>9</sup> May they turn to clay! Reckon them as tabooed soil! <sup>10</sup> May their [names] be forgotten and their offspring [perish! <sup>11</sup> By] your great command that cannot [be revoked, <sup>12</sup> by] command of Ea, king of wisdom, <sup>13</sup> [by means of the] ritual of Asalluḥe, king [of exorcism(?)] . . . (*remainder lost*)

Notes

5. “Seeds and eggs”: locust eggs are laid enclosed in oval or cylindrical cases, like peas in a pod but more closely packed. The terminology employed here is easily explicable: the locust’s “seeds” are the actual eggs, while its “eggs” are the pod-like egg-cases. At Mari the word used for locusts’ egg-cases is *luppum*, literally “pod, bag” (Heimpel 1996: 104).

6. *i-ban-nu-u* is a defective spelling of the IV/1 *ibbannû*, as becomes clear from l. 8, *ib-ba-n[u-u]*. That *banû* “to create” could refer to spawning was the insight of Benno Landsberger in his discussion of *binitu* “fish roe” in *MSL VIII/2* (1962: 105: *banû* “obviously ‘to lay eggs’”).

No. 13

80-7-19, 189

Fig. 4

This fragment is from the middle of the obverse of a two-column library tablet. It was excavated at Nineveh by Hormuzd Rassam late in 1880. The tablet is pierced by drying holes in the margin between the two columns, and the columns are defined by lines made with a cord instead of a straight edge. It may be part of the same tablet as two other pieces found by Rassam the same year: most probably the reverse fragment 81-2-4, 260 (No. 16), which is similarly pierced and ruled by a cord, and possibly also the right-edge fragment 81-2-4, 319 (No. 15). What survives of col. i is evidently part of an incantation-prayer intended for use against field pests; some of the lines can be restored individually after parallels elsewhere in the corpus, but the results are very provisional. Col. ii offers remains too meagre to permit any identification as prayer or ritual.

col. i

- 1' . . . ]-<sup>r</sup>ti?<sup>1</sup>  
 2' . . . kalbī rabûti ša <sup>d</sup>ni]n-kilim  
 3' . . . ]-a-nu  
 4' [anāku āšipu ša Ea u Asalluḥe alsīka] arad(ir)-ka  
 5' . . . <sup>m</sup>ēš-šú-nu  
 6' . . . ]-pa-tu  
 7' . . . ]x-ru  
 8' [ina qibītika rabīti ša la innen]nû([ba]l)<sup>ú</sup>  
 9' [qāssumu šabatma šu-li-šú-n]u-ti

col. ii

- 1' x[ . . .  
 2' x[ . . .  
 3' ma-[ . . .  
 4' ra-[ . . .  
 5' ina [ . . .

10' [šabat šinnašunu šabat lišānšunu šabat <sup>giš</sup>kakkī(tukul)<sup>meš</sup>]-šú-nu  
 11' [ana DN . . . pi-qid-su-n]u-ti  
 break

<sup>i</sup> 2' . . . the great dogs of] Ninkilim. <sup>3'-4'</sup> [. . . I, an exorcist of Ea and Asalluḫe, call on you] as your slave! <sup>5'</sup> [. . .] their [. . . <sup>6'-8'</sup> . . . By your great command that cannot be] revoked, <sup>9'</sup> [seize them by the hand and take] them [away! <sup>10'</sup> Seize their teeth, seize their tongues, seize] their [weapons! <sup>11'</sup> Give] them [into the charge of the god . . . ! (*remainder lost*)

#### Notes

- 4'. Restored after No. 2: 11, etc.  
 9'-11'. Cf. No. 14: 10'-12'.

#### No. 14

82-5-22, 532

Fig. 4

This is a flake from the right-hand column of the obverse of a two-column tablet from Ashurbanipal's library, deriving from Hormuzd Rassam's work at Nineveh in 1882 and probably, like much of the 82-5-22 collection, from the South-West Palace on Kuyunjik. The fragment holds parts of thirteen lines, some of them almost complete. They give part of the text of an incantation-prayer addressed to a plurality of deities. The desired outcome is once again the expulsion of the Dogs of Ninkilim, so that the place of the fragment in *Zu-buru-dabbeda* is assured. The likely divine groups to which the prayer is addressed are the Igigi of heaven, who are also invoked in text No. 12, and the Anunnaki of the netherworld. As we restore it, the gods addressed are begged to lead field pests into the care of the Anunnaki (l. 12'), i.e. to lock them up in the netherworld, from whence they cannot return (cf. No. 11). If the restoration is correct, the Anunnaki cannot also be the gods who are addressed in the prayer as a whole, so probably this is a prayer to the Igigi. Although an incantation-prayer to the Igigi occurs elsewhere in the series, and is here edited as text No. 12, the two are not mutually exclusive. The difference between the two is one of voice and genre. In No. 12 the speaker describes the magic ritual he performs, and the prayer is most appositely spoken by an exorcist demonstrating his professional expertise. The present passage, by contrast, is no magic spell but a supplicant's prayer, in which the speaker identifies himself by name. This last detail confirms what the content suggests, that the supplicant is not the exorcist but his client, the farmer whose crops were judged to be in peril.

#### col. ii

1' [. . . . . -k]u-<sup>l</sup>nu-šī<sup>l</sup> ú-sap-pi-ku-n[u-ti]  
 2' [ana]-<sup>l</sup>ku! <sup>lú</sup>annanna(nenni) mār(a) annanna(nenni) sissikta(túg.síg)-ku-nu  
 asbat(dib)<sup>bat</sup> rišā(tuk)-ni rēma(arḫuš)  
 3' [d]i-ni di-na a-lak-ti lim-da  
 4' [š-i-m]a-a qa-ba-a-a purussā(eš.bar)-a-a pur-sa  
 5' [us-ḫ]a kalbī(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabūti(gal)<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup>nin-kilim  
 6' [<sup>giš</sup>kak]kī([tuk]ul)<sup>meš</sup>-ku-nu ezzūti(šúr)<sup>meš</sup> e-li-šú-nu né-e-ḫa  
 7' [me-la]m-me-ku-nu ezzūti(šúr)<sup>meš</sup> li-is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti  
 8' [šá-qu]m-<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-tum ḫur-ba-šú eli(ugu)-šú-nu tub-ka  
 9' [su-uh-la? l]ib-ba-šú-nu muḫ-ḫa-šú-nu mah-ša  
 10' [šab-ta šinna(zú)-šú-nu ša]b-ta lišān(eme)-šú-nu šib-ra <sup>giš</sup>kakkī(tukul)<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu  
 11' [qat-su-nu šab-ta-m]a šu-li-a-šú-nu-ti  
 12' [ana <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-k]i piq-da-šú-nu-ti  
 13' [li-mu-ú ṭi-de-eš ana eper(saḫar) asakki(ā.sàg) m]u-na-šú-nu-ti  
 14' [. . . . . -n]a?-[šú-n]u-[ti]  
 break

[Incantation. O Igigi gods, . . . <sup>1'</sup> I hereby pray to] you, hereby beseech you! <sup>2'</sup> [I,] So-and-So son of So-and-So, hereby grasp the fringe of your garment. Take pity on me! <sup>3'</sup> Hear my case, learn my predicament! <sup>4'</sup> Listen to what I have to say, give me a verdict! <sup>5'</sup> [Uproot] the great dogs of Ninkilim! <sup>6'</sup> Let fly your furious weapons against them! <sup>7'</sup> Let your fierce radiant auras overwhelm them! <sup>8'</sup> Pour out on them [desolate] silence and shivers of fear! <sup>9'</sup> [Pierce] their hearts,

smite their skulls! <sup>10'</sup> [Seize their teeth,] seize their tongues, break their weapons! <sup>11'</sup> [Seize them by the hand] and take them away! <sup>12'</sup> Give them into the charge of the [Anunnaki gods! <sup>13'</sup> May they turn to clay!] Reckon them [as tabooed soil! <sup>14'</sup> . . .] them! (*remainder lost*)

### Notes

5'. The imperative *ushā* is restored after No. 16 iii 4'.

6'. The plural imperative written *né-e-ḥa* is an archaic spelling of Standard Babylonian *nē'ā* from *nē'u* "to turn aside". The verb is rare in the meaning "to loosen, set loose" but occurs as a technical term in retuning a musical instrument by loosening its strings (see now Mirelman and Krispijn 2009). The image suggested by *kakka nē'u* is thus the discharge of a bow by releasing the bowstring.

7'–8'. When used as a weapon the *melammū* of a god leaves the victim insensible, like Bilgames on Ḫuwawa's mountain (A 67–8): *ní.te.ni m[u].n[a].ra.an.lá /<sup>d</sup>[bil.ga.mes . . .]x 'ú'.sa.gim ba.an.dab<sub>5</sub>* "He launched against him his (auras of) terror; Bilgames was overcome [with a stupor], as if asleep" (text after Edzard 1991: 190). Thus l. 8' is consequent upon l. 7'.

10'–11'. Restored from No. 17 ii 17'–18'.

### No. 15

### 81-2-4, 319

### Fig. 4

This piece is a modest fragment from the right-hand edge of a Neo-Assyrian library tablet excavated at Nineveh by Hormuzd Rassam late in 1880. It may be part of the same tablet as Nos. 13 and 16. We are grateful to Werner Mayer for sharing it with us.

The obverse begins with four lines of ritual instructions for a procedure that takes place at dawn and includes an invocation to a deity. A rubric states that these lines conclude part of the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*. The following lines thus start a new section, which begins with an address to the field pests themselves. The reverse contains only the very ends of nine lines, but enough is preserved to show that the topic is a magic ritual that involves setting up apparatus, and perhaps other objects, facing the four cardinal points of the compass. Presumably this takes place in the threatened or affected field after dawn.

obv.

1' . . . -t]u ina še-rim x x[ x x x]

2' . . . rab]û([ga]l) šá ili(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>meš</sup>

3' . . .]x<sup>meš</sup> ašar(ki) 1 niqû(siskur) 1-niš la ṭu-uh-ḫu-u

4' . . . mi-nu-su-n]u ki-i šá mah-ru-ti-ma

5' . . .]-'ú' nis-ḫu zú.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da al.til

6' [e-re-bu mu-nu a-ki-lu ] 'mu-bat-ti'-ri ša-šir sa-ma-'ni'

7' . . . ḫumširu?] arrabu(pé)š.[ù]r.ra pērūrūtu(péš.tu[r])

8' ]x 'ḥa?-az'-[x]

gap

rev.

1' . . .]x [tar-kás?]

2' . . . riksa . . . ana i]m.kur.ra tar-kás

3' . . . riksa . . . ana im.kur].ra tar-kás

4' . . . riksa . . . ana im.u<sub>18</sub>.l]u tar-kás

5' . . . riksa . . . ana im.si.s]á tar-kás

6' . . . riksa . . . ana im.kur.r]a tar-kás

7' . . . riksa . . . ana im.mar.d]ú tar-kás

8' . . .]x tar-kás

9' . . . tar-k]ás

break



obv. 1' . . . ] at dawn [ . . . ]  
 2'-3' ["O god . . . ,] great [ . . . ] of the great gods!" 3' [ . . . ] where sacrificial offerings are not presented singly, 4' [ . . . The recitations for] these (rituals are) as before.  
 5' [ . . . The] nth section of *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, completed.  
 6' [O locust, grub, "devourer"-pest,] *mubattiru*-bug, cricket, red-bug, 7' [ . . . , rat,] dormouse, mouse, 8' [ . . . ] . . . (*long gap*)  
 rev. 1' [You set up a ritual apparatus(?) . . . ]  
 2' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] east.  
 3' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] east.  
 4' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] south. 5' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] north. 6' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] east. 7' You set up [a ritual apparatus . . . facing the] west.  
 (*Two similar lines follow, then the text breaks off*)

## No. 16

## 81-2-4, 260

## Fig. 4

This fragment is a flake from the reverse of a two-column library tablet from Ashurbanipal's library, excavated at Nineveh by Hormuzd Rassam late in 1880. On physical grounds it very likely belongs to the same tablet as the obverse fragment 80-7-19, 189 (No. 13), which is also pierced and ruled with a cord; possibly 81-2-4, 319 (No. 15) makes up a third surviving fragment.

The right-hand column (col. iii) of 81-2-4, 260 contains the beginning of seventeen lines from an incantation-prayer that uses feminine-singular imperatives and is thus addressed to a goddess. The left-hand column (col. iv) contains in ll. 3'-14' the remains of a Type c colophon of Ashurbanipal. Lines 1'-2' contain the slightest traces only, probably of the tablet's catch-line and description. The latter is no doubt the end of the generic series name, [zú.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da.ka]m. We considered restoring l. 1' as *bānū mimma šum-šú*, i.e. the catch-line of Tablet II (= III 1), as given above in text No. 8 iv 22. However, the third column of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II is comparatively well preserved in manuscripts from Ashurbanipal's library, and does not include any incantation-prayer addressed to a feminine subject. Accordingly it is assumed here that the catch-line of 81-2-4, 260 is of some later tablet of the series, and its identification is left open.

## col. iii

1'	<i>d[?]- . . .</i>	
2'	<i>ki-x[ . . .</i>	
3'	<i>ina qí-b[it . . .</i>	By command [of the god . . .
4'	<i>us-ḫi-[šú-nu-ti . . .</i>	Uproot [them . . .
5'	<i>eli(ugu) eqel(a.š[à]) [ugāri(a.gār) . . .</i>	Upon [this] plot [of farmland . . .
6'	<i>šu-us-[si-šu-nu-ti . . .</i>	Remove [them . . .
7'	<i>it-ti iṣṣūr(mušen) [šamê . . .</i>	With the birds [of heaven . . .
8'	<i>it-ti nūn(ku<sub>6</sub>) t[am-ti . . .</i>	With the fish of the [sea . . .
9'	<i>li-bi-r[u . . .</i>	May they pass across [the ocean . . .
10'	<i>šār(im)-šú-nu a-n[a? . . .</i>	[Turn] their breath into [ . . .
11'	<i>ina zumur(su) eqli(a.š[à]) [anní . . .</i>	[Expel them] from within [this] field!
12'	<i>nī-iš-ki kab-[tu-ti ša šinnišumu? pursī?]</i>	[Stop] the grievous biting of [their teeth(?)]!
13'	<i>šab-ti šinna(zú)-šú-[nu . . .</i>	Seize their teeth [ . . .
14'	<i>qat-su-[nu šabtīma šūlišumūti]</i>	[Seize] them by the hand [and take them away!]
15'	<i>ina qí-b[it . . .</i>	By command [of the god . . .
16'	<i>ù [ . . .</i>	and [ . . .
17'	<i>i[na qí-bit . . .</i>	By [command of . . .
	break	

## col. iv

1' [(catch-line) . . . ]x  
 2' [dub.x.kam.ma éš.gār zú.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da.ka]m

iv 3'-14' = Asb colophon c 1-12 (Hunger 1968: 97-8 no. 319). Variant from Hunger's edition:  
 6' *ša]r-ru-tú*

## Note

iii 11'. For *zumru* "body" in the sense of the interior of a space see also the expression *zumur biti* in an incantation from the series *bit mēseri*, e.g.: *mimma lem-nu šá ina zumur(su) biti(é) an-ni-i bašú(gál)*"Everything evil that exists within this house" (Meier 1941–4: 146 l. 110, and similarly ll. 122, 124, 129).

## No. 17

## K 2546

## Fig. 5

K 2546 is a large fragment from the bottom right-hand corner of a two-column tablet from Ashurbanipal's library. It holds traces of six lines from col. i and a run of thirty-two consecutive lines, some complete, in cols. ii and iii. The fragment was published long ago by A. H. Sayce, who misidentified it as an "historical legend" (1915: 195–7), although its contents had already been correctly recognized as incantation and ritual by Bezold (1891: 453). No doubt Sayce was encouraged in this error by George Smith's pencil marking, M 25, which adorns the fragment's bottom edge and signifies Smith's generic alignment of the piece with texts of broadly mythological content. The text was identified more closely as related to K 5315, 8072 and 9210 by R. Borger (1957: 3–4, 11).

The traces of col. i convey ritual instructions. As the rubric at the top of col. iii reveals, the content of the immediately preceding part of col. ii is an incantation-prayer to Kusu (booked as Mayer 1976: 393 Kù-sù 1). This deity was the chief purification priest (*sánga.maḥ*) of Enlil's divine court (*An I 324*, ed. Litke 1998: 59; Krecher 1966: 133–4; Michalowski 1993: 158–9) and, according to a ritual commentary, symbolically manifest in the exorcist's censer (Livingstone 1986: 172 l. 8: *nignakku(nig.na) d kù-sù*). In this role Kusu is male, as distinct from the goddess Kusu, whose gender is established by her role as wife of the divine breed-bull Indagar and syncretism with the cereal goddess Nissaba (e.g. *An I 298*; see in detail Krecher 1966: 133).

The invocation to Kusu is almost entirely lost (ii 1'–3') but the exorcist's self-identification and prayer are quite well preserved (ii 4'–iii 1). The prayer asks that Kusu lie in wait for the pests for a full watch and drive them off should they appear. On this occasion the hope is not that they are roasted alive in the zenith (Nos. 6–7), nor consigned to the netherworld (Nos. 11, 14), but carried so far away on the wind that they can never find their way back again. The incantation's rubric (iii 2) is followed by two rituals (iii 3–12). The first ritual is well preserved and noteworthy for the requirement that the men working in the field where the ritual is performed are all to be given shares of the ritual food-offering.

## col. i

1' . . . ]x

space for 5 lines

7' . . . ] *tanakkis?*(kud) you cut(?) [ . . .

8' . . . ] *tanaddi*(šub)<sup>di</sup> you set in place [ . . .

9' . . . ]x<sup>2</sup>

10' . . . ]x-ri

11' . . . -n]u

long gap

## col. ii

1' . . . ]x[ . . .

2' [i-ziz-z]a-am-ma be-lum <sup>d</sup>kù<sup>1</sup>-[sù . . . . .]

3' [li-l]i-iš libba(šà)-k[a . . . . .]

4' [mār(dumu) š]ip-ri šá <sup>d</sup>é-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫe ana-ku]

5' <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>é-a u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫe [ . . . . .]

6' ú-kan-ni-ka al-s[i-ka ina kussi . . .]

7' ú-še-šib-ka 1 maššarat(en.nun) [mūši(gi<sub>6</sub>)? ti-šab-ma?]

8' áš-šú kalbī(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabūti(gal)<sup>meš</sup> [šá <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim]

9' 1 maššarat(en.nun)-ka ti-šab-ma <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[taq-qí-šú-nu-ši]

10' ar-ka-su-nu ša-bat-ma ru-kub-šu-nu-t[i]

11' tu-ru-su-nu-ti-ma kušud(kur)-su-nu-t[i]

- 12' *ma-ḥaṣ muḥ-ḥa-šú-nu né-'-i irat(gaba)-su-un*  
 13' *gír-ru il-la-ku a-a itūrū(gur)<sup>meš</sup>-ni*  
 14' *ḥar-ra-nu iṣ-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> a-a iṣhurū(nigin)<sup>meš</sup>-ni*  
 15' *it-ti šāri(im) lil-li-ku it-ti me-ḥe-e li-nu-šú*  
 16' *ḥarrān(kaskal)-šú-nu ṣa-bat-ma a-lak-ta-šú-nu purus(kud)<sup>us</sup>*  
 17' *ṣa-bat šinna(zú)-šú-nu ṣa-bat lišān(eme)-šú-nu ṣa-bat <sup>gis</sup>kakkī(tukul)<sup>meš</sup>-šú-nu*  
 18' *qat-su-nu ṣa-bat-ma šu-li-šú-nu-ti*  
 19' *ina qí-bit <sup>dé</sup>-a bēl(en) né-me-qí*  
 20' *ina qí-bit <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) bēl(en) elāti(an.ta)<sup>meš</sup>*  
 col. iii  
 1 *[ina q]i-bit <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḥe bēl(en) āšipu(maš.maš)-ti én*  


---

 2 *[kīma(gim) a]n-na-a ana pān(igi) <sup>d</sup>kù-sù 3-šú tamtanū(šid)<sup>u</sup>*  


---

 3 *[x x x]x šú-a-tú tušabšal(šeg<sub>6</sub>)<sup>sal</sup> ina muḥḥi(ugu) <sup>gis</sup>paššūri(bánšur) tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup>*  
 4 *[niḡnak(niḡ.na) <sup>ši</sup>]m<sup>m</sup>burāši(li) tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup> ṭābta(mun) ta-sár-raq*  
 5 *[3-šú? én] <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>adad(iškur) šār ḥegalli(ḥé.gál) ta-qab-bi*  
 6 *[x x x (<sup>gis</sup>)]karāna([geš]tin) ulušinna(ulušin) tanaqqi(bal)<sup>al</sup>-ma tuš-ken*  
 7 *[<sup>gis</sup>paššūra(bánšur)] là ta-paṭ-ṭa-ram-ma <sup>lu</sup>ummānu(um.me.a) <sup>lu</sup>šābū(érin)<sup>meš</sup>*  
 8 *[šá ina eqli(a.šà)? šu]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub> i-zi-zu ú-za-a-zu ikkalū(gu<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>*  


---

 9 *[kīma(gim) an-na]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> te-te-ep-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>*  


---

 10 *[x x x x n]e-pe-ši-ma [ . . . ]*  
 11 *[x x x x x]-ta šá <sup>1</sup>[<sup>u</sup>ikkari(engar)? . . . ]*  
 12 *. . . ]x x[ . . . ]*  
 break

[Incantation. O Kusu, . . . <sup>ii</sup> 2' Be ] present, O lord Kusu, [. . . <sup>3'</sup> let] your heart rejoice [. . . ! <sup>4'</sup> I am a] messenger of Ea [and Asalluḥe.] <sup>5'</sup> Ea and Asalluḥe [. . . ] <sup>6'</sup> I hereby honour you (and) call [on you,] <sup>7'</sup> I seat you [on a throne of . . . Sit there] for one watch [of the night(?)]! <sup>8'</sup> With regard to the great dogs [of Ninkilim] <sup>9'</sup> sit there for one watch and [wait for them!] <sup>10'</sup> Seize their backsides and mount them! <sup>11'</sup> Drive them off and chase them away! <sup>12'</sup> Smite their skulls, turn them back! <sup>13'</sup> May they not return by the way they go, <sup>14'</sup> may they not come back by the road they take! <sup>15'</sup> May they move with the wind, may they travel with the storm! <sup>16'</sup> Seize their road and cut off their path! <sup>17'</sup> Seize their teeth, seize their tongues, seize their weapons! <sup>18'</sup> Seize them by the hand and take them away! <sup>19'</sup> By command of Ea, lord of wisdom, <sup>20'</sup> by command of Šamaš, lord of the zenith, <sup>iii</sup> 1 [by] command of Asalluḥe, lord of exorcism! Incantation.

<sup>2</sup> [When] you have recited this three times before the god Kusu:

<sup>3</sup> You heat up that [. . . ] and place it on a tray. <sup>4</sup> You set up [a censer of] juniper and sprinkle salt. <sup>5</sup> [Three times(?)] you say [the incantation] "O Adad, king of plenty!" <sup>6</sup> You pour a libation of [. . . ,] wine and emmer beer and you prostrate yourself. <sup>7</sup> You do not clear away [the tray], so the craftsman and labourers <sup>8</sup> [who were present in] that [field(?)] can divide and eat.

<sup>9</sup> [When] you have done [this:]

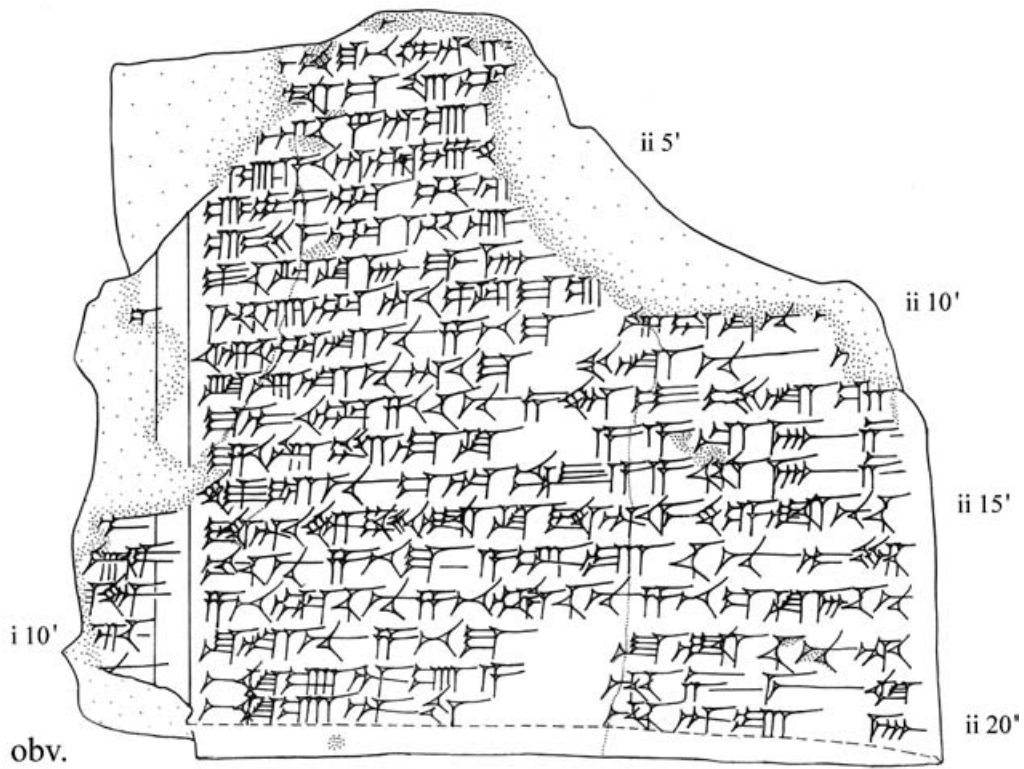
<sup>10</sup> [. . . ] rituals [. . . <sup>11</sup> . . . ] of the [farmer(?) . . . (remainder lost)]

### Notes

ii 9'. For the restoration compare the voluntative version of the verbs in the Old Babylonian lovers' dialogue (Held 1961: 8 iv 5): *lu-ši-ib lu-te-eq-qí* "I will sit and wait".

ii 10'. The masculine singular imperative of *rakābu* "to mount" is normally *rikab*, but a variant form *rukub* underlies the feminine singular *rukbi* in a Lamaštu incantation (IV R<sup>2</sup> 56 iii 48, ed. Myhrman 1902: 162 l. 28: *šá-da-ki ru-uk-bi* "ride off to your mountain").

ii 11'. The logogram *kur* = *kašādu* "to reach, conquer" could perhaps be read instead in the II/1 stem, *kuššid*, for this stem is well known to have the meaning "chase away". However, there are other instances



17. K 2546

rev.

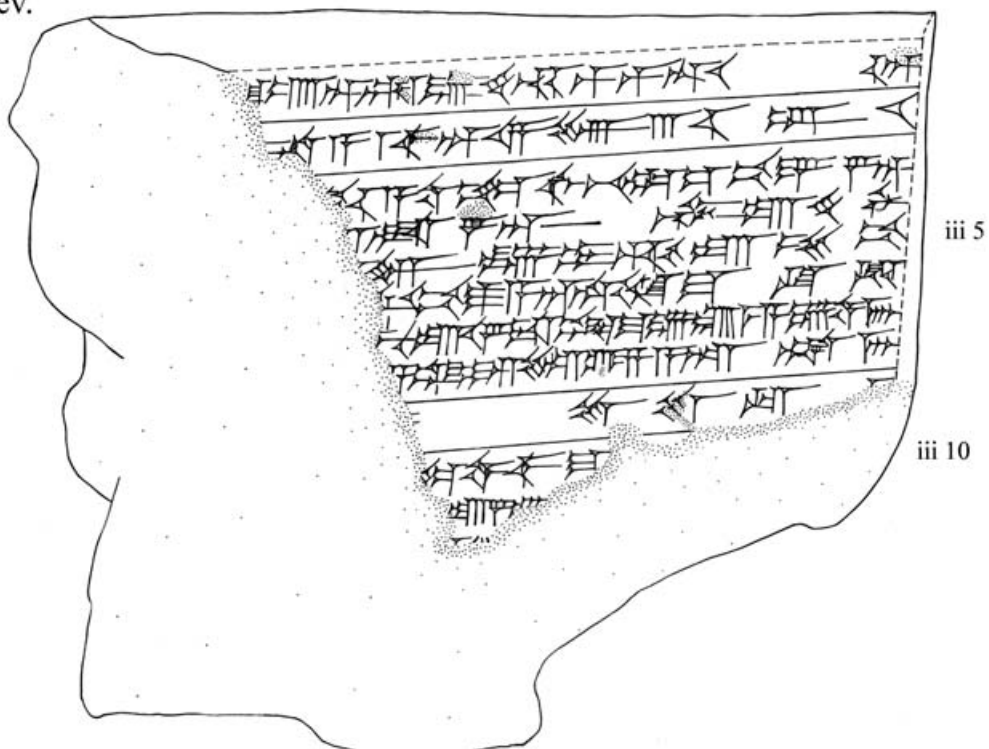


Fig. 5 Text No. 17. Drawn by Taniguchi

of *kašādu* I/1 in the company of *tarādu* that seem to demand a translation “chase away” rather than “capture”: (a) in an incantation to the fire-god Nuska as the effective power wielded by the nightwatchman’s torch, whose light does not capture evil but banishes it to the shadows (*KAR* 58 obv. 44, ed. Mayer 1976: 485): *tu-ru-ud ū-tuk-ku kušud(kur)<sup>nd</sup> lem-nu* “drive away the *utukku*-demon, chase off the wicked!”; and (b) in the names of two canine magic figurines that keep evil at bay like real guard dogs (*KAR* 298 rev. 19, ed. Wiggermann 1992: 14–15 ll. 200–1): *ta-rid asakki(á.sàg) . . . ka-šid a-a-bi* “Demon-Pursuer and Foe-Chaser”.

ii 15'. The verb *nāšu* (ū) “to quiver, shake loose” is here one of more extended motion, as in the synonymist *An IX 52: nu-a-šu = a-la-a-ku* “to go”. The Chicago *Assyrian Dictionary* translates it in the present passage as “recede” (*CAD* N/2: 114).

ii 17'. In this line and similar passages we read *šimnu*(zú) “tooth” rather than *pû*(ka) “mouth” because (a) *zú-buru<sub>5</sub> // šimni erebi* “locust tooth” is a figurative expression for damage to crops in the bilingual Farmer’s Instructions and other Sumerian texts (Civil 1994: 43 l. 9/66, *PSD* B 208), and (b) the title of the series, *zú-buru<sub>5</sub>-dab-bé-da* “to seize the locust tooth”, substantiates the phrase “seizing teeth” as an image conveying the arrest of the locusts’ jaws by magic means (see further George 1999: 295; *šabātu* “to seize” was much used of parts of the body in the meaning “to paralyze”, especially in magic contexts).

iii 5. The incantation-prayer *Adad šar hengalli* is partly extant as texts Nos. 3–4.

### III. The concluding tablet of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (Text No. 18)

No. 18

K 2596

Figs. 6–7

The major part of a two-column library tablet survives in this large fragment from Ashurbanipal’s library at Nineveh. The obverse is poorly preserved: almost nothing survives of col. i and, while parts of thirty lines are extant in col. ii, very little connected text can be reconstructed from them. The reverse is in better shape, especially the latter part of col. iii, where many lines are nearly complete. It is surprising that such a large piece as K 2596 is published here for the first time, but many passages of the text have been quoted in the Chicago *Assyrian Dictionary*.

The content of col. i is unknown. Col. ii begins with an incantation-prayer to a goddess (ii 1'–14'), for it includes feminine-singular imperatives and ends with the standard promise *daliliki ludlul* “I will sing your (fem. sing.) praises!” (ii 14'). Line 3' speaks of “Ereškigal, the mistress of the populous netherworld”, but this is not the prayer’s incipit and so it is unlikely that the incantation is addressed to her. Instead the context is probably the citation of the authority of the queen of the netherworld in seeking the removal of the pests to her realm. The following passage corroborates this reading, for it contains a plea for the goddess addressed to hand the pests over (ii 4' [*piqd*]šunūti, 2 f.sg) to a plurality of gods, with the intention that they should conduct them down somewhere (ii 6' [*lišēr*]idūšunūti, 3 pl.), presumably to the netherworld. As the divine residents of the netherworld, the Anunnaki gods would be best able to do this and can be restored as the subjects of the plural verb. It is then significant that the prayer to the goddess is followed by a ritual in which the same netherworld gods are involved, presumably partaking of the offering (ii 15'–18'). The ritual takes place at dusk, which in Babylonian magic procedure was considered an opportune moment to dispose of malignant forces, by sending them down to the netherworld with the setting sun. Perhaps the incantation was addressed to the goddess Ištar as the evening star, which follows the sun to the western horizon.

The prayer to the goddess and accompanying ritual involving the gods of the netherworld are followed by a suspension of activity that lasts for seven days (ii 19'–20'). Then follows a ritual in which a bonfire is prepared on purified ground next to a watercourse, a lamb slaughtered, aromatics burned on the fire, and flasks filled with seven different liquids (ii 21' ff.). All this is an offering to a god, the traces of whose name suggest Adad (ii 21'). The rest of the ritual is lost.

When the text resumes near the top of col. iii it is night. The beginning of the ritual is very damaged. As we restore it, the exorcist purifies the ritual location, identifies himself to some plural beings and calls on them to obey the divine command (iii 2'–6'). These plural beings must be the field pests. The farmer probably places more aromatics on the bonfire and makes a libation of the seven liquids (iii 7'–10'). The exorcist repeats incantations that he has previously recited and then takes down the flasks and other ritual apparatus (iii 11'). An instruction follows not to throw away the remains of the bonfire, for they need special treatment. Someone, probably the farmer,

covers the ashes with soil, no doubt to contain or neutralize their magic (iii 12'–13'). The section ends with a statement that the problem under treatment will not return (iii 14'–15'), a prediction that reminds us of the conclusions of Babylonian medical recipes stating that the patient will get better.

To the rubric announcing that the preceding section concludes the series proper (iii 16') the text appends two highly interesting additions. First is a colophonic passage that records the text's attribution to a scholar of Babylon, Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni, and gives stern warnings to the would-be user in regard to guarding the ritual purity of his person, identifying propitious timing through celestial observation, and restricting access to the text to those with appropriate knowledge and skills (iii 17'–30'). Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni is a person otherwise known from a bilingual list of scribes and ancestors (see the note on iii 18'–20'). Evidently he was one of those men, like Esangil-kin-apli, who were credited with the work of establishing the texts of the scribal tradition. The second addition is a long list of equipment and materials that are needed to conduct the rituals (iii 31'–iv 21'). Both additions were traditionally attached to the series, for they are followed by its catch-line (iv 22'). The text concludes with the tablet's formal series rubric and a standard Type c colophon of Ashurbanipal (iv 23'–8').

col. i

1' . . . ]-šú  
2' . . . ]-mi

short gap

col. ii

1' . . . ] lib-b[a? x x x]  
2' . . . ḥar-ra-an la ta-a-ri li-šá]-aš-bit-su-nu-[ti]  
3' [ina qí-bit? <sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-ga]l be-let eršeti(ki)<sup>ti</sup> ra[pašti(dagal)<sup>ti</sup>]  
4' [ana <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki . . . . . piq-d]i-šú-nu-[ti]  
5' . . . ]-šú-nu-[ti]  
6' . . . li-še-r]i-du-šú-n[u-ti]  
7' . . . ri-t]i-de-šú-[nu-ti?]  
8' . . . ]-pat puḥādi(sila<sub>4</sub>)<sup>[meš?]</sup>  
9' . . . ]x ud <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
10' . . . ]-su-[nu-ti]  
11' . . . ]-šú-nu-[ti]  
12' . . . ] šá x[ x]  
13' . . . ]-šú? u x[ x]  
14' . . . dā-l]i-<sup>r</sup>li-ki lud<sup>1</sup>-lul é[n]

15' [dù.dù.bi . . . . . ina muḥḥi a-k]i-lu ta-ra-a-a[k]  
16' . . . ana maḥar(igi) <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>anunnaki(GÉŠ.Ṫ) teleqqe(ti)<sup>[qé]</sup>  
17' [an-ni-tú la-am] ereb šamši(<sup>d</sup>utu.šú.a) tuqatta(til)-[ma]  
18' [ultu(ta) eqli(a.šà) ta-n]a-muš ana arki(egir)-ka la ta[mmar(igi)]

19' [kīma(gim) né-pe]-ši an-nu-ti tētepuš(dù)<sup>šú</sup> là <sup>r</sup>teppuš(dù)<sup>1</sup>  
20' [7 u<sub>4</sub>-m]e tu-qa-a kīma(gim) 7 u<sub>4</sub>-me im-ta-l[u-ú]  
21' [ina tē]ḥ(da)? nāri(id) qaqqara(ki) tašabbīṭ(sar) mē(a) ellūti(kù) tasallah(sud) 1 ab-ru  
ana <sup>d</sup>a[dad(iškur)]  
22' [lu-t]e-e šar-bat te-še-en puḥāda(udu.<sup>r</sup>sila<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>) <sup>r</sup>pešā(babbar)<sup>1</sup> tan[aqqi(bal)<sup>qí</sup>]  
23' [sa-a]s-qí riqqī(šim)<sup>bá</sup> rabūti(gal)<sup>meš</sup> 1 qa murra(šim.š[eš]) [1 qa? qēma(zid)]  
24' [š]á zikaru(nita) i-te-nu ina muḥḥi(ugu) ab-r[i tašakkan(gar)<sup>am</sup>]  
25' <sup>r</sup>7<sup>1</sup> <sup>du</sup>gku-ku-bi šizba(ga) <sup>r</sup>šikara(kaš.sag) karāna(geštin)<sup>1</sup> [ulušinna(ulušin) dišpa(làl)  
ḥimēta(i.nun)]  
26' [šamna(i)?] labira(sumun) tumalla(sa<sub>5</sub>)-ma b[i . . . . .]  
27' mu-ḥur <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[adad(iškur) šār ḥengalli(ḥé.gál) bēlu(en) rabū(gal)<sup>u</sup>]

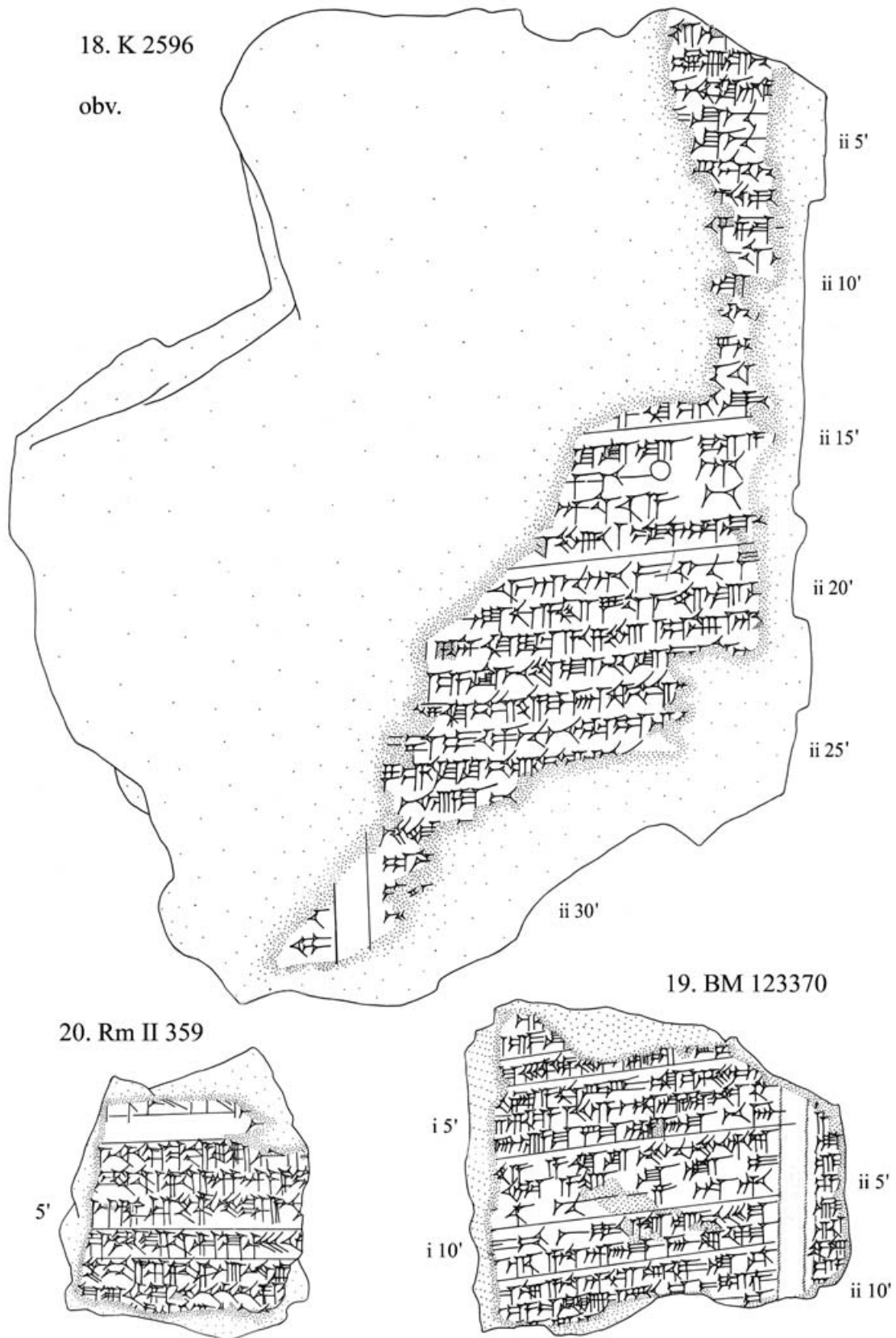


Fig. 6 Texts Nos. 18 obv., 19 and 20. Drawn by Taniguchi



Fig. 7 Texts Nos. 18 rev., 26 and 27. Drawn by Taniguchi



28' *ab-r[u tanappah] . . .*29' *x x[ . . .*30' *x[ . . .*

short gap

col. iii

1' *x x[ . . .*2' *ina mūši(gi<sub>6</sub>) x[ . . .*3' *akalu(ninda) ana<sup>d</sup>[ . . .*4' *tatâr(gur)-ma ina x[ . . .*5' *elli(kù) tu-ḥab maš.[maš . . .*6' *nīš(mu) ili(dingir)<sup>mes</sup> [rabûti lû tamâtumu? . . .]*7' *it-ti riqqî(šim)<sup>ba</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>m</sup>[eš . . . . .]*8' *ina muḥḥi(ugu) ab-ri šû-nu-t[i . . . . .]*9' *mi-ih-ḥa šizba(ga) šikara(kaš) karāna(geštin) ulušinna(ulušin) ṛdišpa(làl)<sup>1</sup> ḥ[imēta(i.nun) šamna labira(i?.sumun)]*10' *inaqqi(bal)<sup>ai</sup>-ma uš-ken mi-nu-ṛsu-nu<sup>1</sup> ki-[i šá maḥ-ru-ti-ma]*11' *tamannu(šid)<sup>nu</sup> rik-si<sup>udu</sup>niqi(siskur) 1-niš [tupaṭṭar(duḥ)-ma? x x]*12' *qī-lu-tum šá ab-ri tēteṣṣu(dù)<sup>sū</sup> là {ina} ina[ddi(šub)<sup>di</sup>-ma ina lib-bi]*13' *eperi(saḥar)<sup>ba</sup> itâr(gur)-ma ukattam(du<sub>6</sub>)-am-m[a x x x x]*14' *erebû(buru<sub>5</sub>)<sup>ba</sup> mu-nu a-ki-lu mu-ba[t-ti-ru arrabu? ḥumširu?]*15' *pērūrûtu(pēš.tur) mim-ma šab-ru ipparras,(kud)-ma u[l i-tur-ru-ni]*16' *zú.buru<sub>5</sub>.dab.bé.da zag.til.l[a.bi.šè]*17' *kikkīṭṭé(kid.kid.da)<sup>e</sup> tamarāti(igi.du<sub>8</sub>.a)<sup>mes</sup> lat-ku-ti ṛšá<sup>1</sup> p[i(ka) tuppi(dub)]*18' *<sup>as.d</sup>sukkal-dug<sub>4</sub>-nu.bal.bal tu[pšar(dub.sar)]*19' *šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup> zabardab(zabar.dab.ba) <sup>d</sup>na-bi-um [u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a?]*20' *pašiš(gudu<sub>4</sub>) é.sag.íl u é.zi.da ki-ṛi<sup>1</sup>-[niš šat-ru]*21' *u<sub>4</sub>-ma kikkīṭṭé(kid.kid.da)<sup>e</sup> an-nu-ti ana e-pe-[ši šaknāta(gar)<sup>ta</sup>?]*22' *ú-tal-lil ú-tab-bi-ib ú-[sur ramān(ní)-ka?]*23' *it-id pit-qad la te-gi la te-mé!-[eš x x]*24' *nipiḥ(kur) <sup>d</sup>šamaš u kakkabi(mul) ušur(uru)-ma x[ x]*25' *pirišti(ad.ḥal) apkalli(abgal) niširti(pap.ḥal) aši[pu(maš.maš)-ti]*26' *ummānu(um.me.a) apkallu(abgal) ḥa-as-su mūdū(zu)<sup>u</sup> ṛana<sup>1</sup> [mūdē(zu)<sup>e</sup>]*27' *er-šú ḥa-as-si li-kal-lim ummānu(um.me.a) la ḥa-a[s-su]*28' *šá šipir(kin) né-me-qí uzun(geštu) ni-kil-ti là idū(zu)<sup>u</sup> là imm[ar(igi)<sup>mar</sup>]*29' *ikkib(níg.gig) <sup>d</sup>a-nim <sup>d</sup>en-lil <sup>d</sup>adad(iškur) bēlet-ili(dingir.maḥ) <sup>d</sup>nissa[ba]*30' *<sup>d</sup>é-a <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḥe ili(dingir)<sup>mes</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>mes</sup>*31' *šum<sub>4</sub>-ma is-ḥa šá ne-pe-ši an-nu-ti*32' *ma-la ba-šu-u a-na amāri(igi.lá)-ka*33' *1 šalam(alam) erī(urudu) ša 17 ṛubān(šu.si) la<sup>1</sup>-a[n-šu]*34' *agû(aga) imšukku(im.šú) ab-ru [x x x x x]*

35' (traces)

short gap

col. iv

1' . . . ]x

2' . . . ]x parzilli(an.bar)

3' . . . ] ḥurāši(kù.sig<sub>17</sub>)

4'	... x <sup>g</sup> ]guḥšē (guḥšu) <sup>meš</sup>
5'	... <sup>giš</sup> p]aššūr (bānšur) <sup>giš</sup> bi-ni
6'	... ]x ša <sup>giš</sup> erēni(eren)
7'	... <sup>g</sup> ]išerēni(eren)
<hr/>	
8'	... i]nib(gurun) <sup>giš</sup> kiri(kiri <sub>6</sub> ) kalāma(dù.a.bi)
<hr/>	
9'	... dup-r]a-nu <sup>sim</sup> asu(gír)
10'	... qanû (gi) ṭāb]u(dùg.ga) murru(šim.šeš)
11'	... g]a <sup>sim</sup> he-me-mu
12'	... <sup>sim</sup> ]burāšu(li) šammu(i + giš) ḥašū(bára.ga)
13'	[x x x x x x] gaššu(im.babbar) uḥūlu qarnānu(naga.si) kib-rit
<hr/>	
14'	[x x x x x ul]ušinnu(ulušin) šikar(kaš) lapti(še.sa.a)
15'	[x x x x x] namru(zálag) šizbu(ga) dišpu(làl) ḥimētu(i.nun.na)
<hr/>	
16'	[x x x x x] iš(giš) pišri(búr) šuruš(suḥuš) <sup>giš</sup> pillê(nam.tar) <sup>r</sup> zikari(níta)! <sup>1</sup>
17'	[x x x i]rrû(úkuš.ḤAB) lipi(i.udu) <sup>ú</sup> ir-re-e
18'	[x x x]- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> <sup>ú</sup> kamūnu(gamun) <sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup> ninû(kur.ra)
19'	[x x x] <sup>ú</sup> šamaškillu(sum.sikil) <sup>sar</sup> <sup>ú</sup> kāsû(gazi) <sup>sar</sup>
20'	[x x x x l]ummû/ḥammu(mul.da.mul) mūr-mê(ama.a) ḥamitu(num.ur <sub>4</sub> .ur <sub>4</sub> )
21'	[x x x x <sup>giš</sup> g]išimmari(gišimmar) <sup>r</sup> rubuṣ(šurun)! <sup>?</sup> laḥri(u <sub>8</sub> ) <sup>1</sup> alpi(gu <sub>4</sub> ) tup-šik-ku
<hr/>	
22'	[x x x x p]éš. <sup>r</sup> a.šà.ga <sup>1</sup> pēš.giš. <sup>r</sup> ur.ra <sup>1</sup>
23'	[dub.x.kam.ma éš.gàr zú.buru <sub>5</sub> .d]ab.bé.da.kam

iv 24'–8' = Asb colophon c 1–5 (Hunger 1968: 97–8 no. 319). Variant from Hunger's edition: 2 tak-lu<sub>4</sub>

[Incantation. O goddess ... <sup>ii</sup> 2' ... May ... make] them take [the Road of No Return! <sup>3'</sup> By command(?) of Ereškigal,] the mistress of the populous netherworld, <sup>4'</sup> give] them into the charge [of the Anunnaki ... , <sup>5'</sup> so that they ... ] them, <sup>6'</sup> [so that they take] them down [into the netherworld, <sup>7'</sup> ... keep] pursuing them, <sup>8'</sup> [... like] lambs(?), <sup>9'–10'</sup> [...] them, <sup>11'</sup> [...] them, <sup>12'–14'</sup> [...] and] I will sing your praises.

<sup>15'</sup> [Its ritual:] You smear [...] on a “devourer”]-pest, <sup>16'</sup> [...] you take [before] the Anunnaki. <sup>17'</sup> [This] you must complete [before] sunset [and <sup>18'</sup> then] leave [the field,] not looking behind you.

<sup>19'</sup> [When] you have conducted these rituals, you do not do (anything more). <sup>20'</sup> You wait [for seven days.] When the seventh day has passed, <sup>21'</sup> you sweep the ground [next] to(?) a watercourse. You sprinkle holy water. A bonfire for the god [Adad] <sup>22'</sup> you load up with twigs of poplar. You [sacrifice] a white lamb. <sup>23'</sup> Offering-flour, large aromatic leaves (and) a litre of mock-myrrh, [a litre(?) of flour] <sup>24'</sup> that a male has milled [you place] on top of the bonfire. <sup>25'–6'</sup> You fill seven flasks with milk, beer, wine, [emmer-beer, syrup, liquid ghee and] old [oil(?)] and [you ... Then you say:] <sup>27'</sup> “Accept, [O great lord Adad, king of plenty!”] <sup>28'</sup> You light the] bonfire ...

<sup>iii</sup> 2' At night [...] <sup>3'</sup> a bread-loaf to the god [...] <sup>4'</sup> you go back and in [...] by means of a] <sup>5'</sup> pure [...] you consecrate [...] You say:] “An exorcist [of ... am I! <sup>6'</sup> Be you (pl.) adjured by the [great] gods!” [The farmer ... ] <sup>7'</sup> with the large aromatic leaves [...] <sup>8'</sup> on top of those bonfires [...] <sup>9'</sup> The mixture of milk, beer, wine, emmer-beer, syrup, [liquid ghee and old oil(?)] <sup>10'</sup> he pours in libation and prostrates himself. The recitations (that go) with these (ritual actions) <sup>11'</sup> you perform [as before. You clear away(?)] the ritual apparatus of the sacrifice all together [and ... ]

<sup>12'</sup> The charred remains of the bonfire that you made he (or you) must not discard, [with] <sup>13'</sup> soil he (or you) shall cover them up again and [... , and then] <sup>14'</sup> locust, grub, “devourer”-pest, *mubattiru*-[bug, dormouse, rat,] <sup>15'</sup> mouse (and) anything bad – they will be stopped and will not [come back.]

<sup>16'</sup> *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, [up to its] conclusion.

<sup>17'</sup> Reliable rituals and readings that <sup>20'</sup> were accurately [recorded] <sup>17'</sup> according [to a tablet of] <sup>18'</sup> Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni, scribe [of] <sup>19'</sup> Babylon, cup-bearer of Nabû [and Nanay(?),] <sup>20'</sup> *pašišu*-priest of the temples E-sangil and E-zida. <sup>21'</sup> When [you are engaged(?)] to perform these rituals, <sup>22'</sup> make yourself pure and clean and be [on your guard!] <sup>23'</sup> Be attentive, be careful, do not be negligent, do not ignore [. . . !] <sup>24'</sup> Observe the rising of the sun and stars and [plan accordingly!] <sup>25'</sup> Secrets of the sage, reserved lore of the [exorcist's craft!] <sup>26'-7'</sup> A scholar (who is) a sage, knowledgeable and learned, may disclose (it) to [the learned,] wise and knowledgeable. An ignorant scholar, <sup>28'</sup> who does not know the wise arts and is not skilled in wisdom, must not see (it)! <sup>29'</sup> (Under) the taboo of Anu, Enlil, Adad, Bēlet-ili, Nissaba, <sup>30'</sup> Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe, the great gods.

<sup>31'</sup> If (you proceed, the following is) the necessary equipment for these rituals, <sup>32'</sup> to the last item, that you must procure.

<sup>33'</sup> One copper figurine, seventeen inches (lit. “fingers”) high.

<sup>34'</sup> A crown, a clay lid (*or* chamber pot), a bonfire [. . .

<sup>iv</sup> . . . <sup>2'</sup> [. . .] of iron, <sup>3'</sup> [. . .] of gold.

<sup>4'</sup> [. . . *n*] reed altars, <sup>5'</sup> [. . . *a*] tray of tamarisk wood, <sup>6'</sup> [. . .] of cedar, <sup>7'</sup> [. . . of] cedar.

<sup>8'</sup> [. . .] garden fruits of every kind.

<sup>9'</sup> [. . .] *duprānu*-juniper, myrtle, <sup>10'</sup> [. . .] “sweet [reed],” (mock) myrrh, <sup>11'</sup> [. . .] *hemēmu*, <sup>12'</sup> [. . .] *burāšu*-juniper, “pressed” oil, <sup>13'</sup> [. . .] gypsum, “horned” alkali, sulphur.

<sup>14'</sup> [. . .] emmer-beer, roast-barley-beer, <sup>15'</sup> [. . .] bright [. . .] milk, syrup, ghee.

<sup>16'</sup> [. . .] “(spell)-undoing” wood, root of the male *pillû*-plant, <sup>17'</sup> [. . .] coloquith, pith of coloquith, <sup>18'</sup> [. . .] cumin, *ninû*-plant, <sup>19'</sup> [. . .] shallot, bindweed, <sup>20'</sup> [. . .] *lummû*-insect, “water-foal”-insect, *hamitu*-insect, <sup>21'</sup> [. . . fronds(?)] of the date-palm, dung(?) of ewe and ox, hod-basket.

<sup>22'</sup> [. . .] field-mouse, dormouse.

<sup>23'</sup> [Tablet *n*, series *Zu-buru*]-*dabbeda*.

#### Notes

ii 7'. I/3 fem. sing. imperative: *riteddê-šunūti*; but other solutions are possible.

ii 14'. For the use of the closing formula *dalitika/i luhlul* in incantation-prayers see Mayer 1976: 310–23.

ii 25'. Restored from iii 9'.

ii 27'. See No. 4: 11'.

iii 12'. The redundant *ina* may result from a false dittography of the opening two syllables of the verb, somewhere in the text's transmission; if so, the verb will be third person (*inaddi*) rather than second person (*tanaddi*), and the task of clearing up the bonfire will be the farmer's, not the exorcist's. Such seems more likely in any case.

iii 18'–20'. These lines are quoted by Irving Finkel (1988: 149 fn. 57), where what follows the personal name in l. 18' is read *u[m-mat . . .]*, because of the parallels (a) in the noble titles of Esangil-kin-apli listed in a colophon that reports his editorial work on the diagnostic omen series (ibid. 148 B 21'): *um-mat* <sup>d30</sup> <sup>dli9</sup> <sup>si4</sup> *u* <sup>dna-na-a</sup> *bār-sipa*<sup>ki</sup> *i reš-ti-i* “*ummatu* of Šin, Lisi and Nanay, leading citizen of Borsippa”, and (b) in the titles of Nebuchadnezzar I in his literary bilingual (Lambert 1974b: 436 l. 12): *um-mat* <sup>dadad</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>dgu-la</sup> . . . *pīr-i ni-ip-pu-ru* “*ummatu* of Adad and Gula . . . , scion of Nippur”. The problem with reading *ummat* in the present, quite well-spaced line is that so little room remains in the break for (a) the god or gods whom the *ummatu* might have served and (b) a further noun to connect the personal name to Babylon (*šu-an-na*<sup>ki</sup>) in l. 19'. A restoration *u[m-mat ili(dingir)] šu-an-na*<sup>ki</sup> “*ummatu* [of the god(s) of] Babylon” would provide a solution but seems improbable when *ummatu* as a title is elsewhere followed by proper nouns. We have adopted a simpler solution.

As Finkel notes, Papsukkal-ša-iqbû-ul-inni is the name of a scholar famous enough to have an entry in the bilingual list of scribes and ancestors (V R 44 iii 51, ed. Lambert 1957: 13): <sup>md</sup>nin.šubur.dug<sub>4</sub>.nu.bal.bal = <sup>md</sup>pap-sukkal-ša-iq-bu-ul-i-ni. The use of Aš as a determinative before a masculine personal name, instead of DŠ, is learned archaizing deriving ultimately from the mid-third millennium, when the numeral sign LAK-820<sup>II</sup> was so employed (Krecher 1974: 161). This old usage was acknowledged in the later lexical lists as <sup>di-li</sup>Aš = *a-mi-lu* “man” (*Lu* I 17), and would also have been known to first-millennium scribes through paleographic study.

iii 23'. Quoted by Maul 1994: 40, in the context of the exorcist's ritual purity. Similar injunctions to would-be users of prescriptive scholarly texts occur in (a) the colophon about Esangil-kin-apli (Finkel 1988: 148 B 26'–7'): *it-id* <sup>i</sup>*pir*<sup>1</sup>-[*qad* *nig.z*] *u.zu.šè nam.ba.še.bi.da* = *it'id pitqad ana ihzika lā teggi* “pay attention, be careful, do not neglect your knowledge!”, (b) the diviner's manual (Oppenheim 1974: 200 l. 71): *it-i-id la te-eg-gi* “pay attention, do not be negligent!” and (c) a *namburbi* to counter the ill omen of a broken chariot

(Caplice 1971: 171 l. 19): *ana iḫ-zi-ka la te-eg-gi* “do not neglect your knowledge!” The sign before the break looks more like *lum* than *mi*, but we cannot parse a verb written *te-LUM*-[(x)].

iii 25'. The Sumerian compound *pap.ḫal* usually has the Akkadian equivalence *pušqu* “straits” but that is not useful here. See instead *Antagal G 208*: *pap.ḫal* = *ni-šir-tum*.

iii 30'. Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe are a triad often invoked in exorcism; see below, the introduction to No. 24.

iii 33'. The figurine is specified as  $\frac{17}{30}$  cubit tall, about 28 cm.

iii 34'. For the various homonyms *imšukku* see George 1993: 70–1.

iv 11'. The aromatic <sup>sim</sup>*ḫe-me-mu* seems to be a hapax legomenon; cf. Syriac *ḫammîmâ* “hay”?

iv 22'. Field-mouse and dormouse appear in the same order in text No. 22: 6.

#### IV. Texts related to *Zu-buru-dabbedā* (Texts Nos. 19–24)

No. 19

BM 123370 (1932-12-10, 313)

Fig. 6

This is a fragment from the middle of a two-column Neo-Assyrian library tablet excavated at Nineveh by R. Campbell Thompson in 1932. Parts of two columns are preserved: much of fourteen lines of the left-hand column and the beginning of nine lines of the right-hand column. The remaining surface is probably the tablet's obverse, so that the two columns are cols. i and ii. The rulings that separate them were executed with a cord, not a straight edge. Thompson's copy of the text was published posthumously as *CT 51* no. 201 (Walker 1972 pl. 70).

The left-hand column is divided into short sections by rulings. Its content is a sequence of rubrics, rituals and incantation-prayers against field pests. The rubrics and prayers mention the insects that preoccupy the series *Zu-buru-dabbedā* (i 7': *ākilu mīnu mubattiru*), and various rodents (i 3': *perūrūtu arrabu*). The right-hand column also mentions both insects (iv 6': *samānu*, 9': *kalmatu*) and rodents (iv 8': *perūrūtu*). Rodents do occur occasionally in *Zu-buru-dabbedā* but, according to the catch-line of text No. 18 (iv 22'), the series was followed by incantations directed against rodents. Thus it is uncertain whether the present piece should be placed in *Zu-buru-dabbedā* or among the related pieces.

The rituals of col. i display well the twofold approach of the Babylonians to the elimination of evil, whether visible, like field pests, or perceived, like demonic seizure. The first ritual is practical, prescribing a potion to poison the field pests (i 4'–6'). The second is magic, invoking divine aid in the form of the god Nergal, god of the netherworld and divine huntsman, who is attracted by an offering of incense (i 10'–14'). Nergal's function in the expulsion of the pests from the field is clearly signalled by the display there of his weapons. His task is to pursue the pests like a hunter chasing his prey.

col. i

- 1' [x x] r[i . . .  
2' [da-r]i-šam š[u-li-i-šu-nu-ti]
- 
- 3' [ka.ini]m.ma *perūrūtu*(pěš.tur) <sup>r</sup>*arrabu*(pěš.giš.ùr.ra)<sup>1</sup> x x x [x x]
- 
- 4' [dù.dù.b]i *mūr-mê*(ama.a) *ḫamīta*(num.ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>) *šuruš*(suḫuš) <sup>giš</sup>*pillē*(nam.tar) *zikari*(ní[ta])  
5' [<sup>u</sup>i]r-re-e 1-niš *tasāk*(súd) *ina* <sup>urudu</sup>*tangussi*(šen.tur) *tušabšal*(šeg<sub>6</sub>)<sup>šal</sup>  
6' [x x]<sup>meš</sup> *tumalla*(sa<sub>5</sub>)-*ma tašakkan*(gar)-*ma išattū*(nag<sub>4</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>-*ma imuttū*(ug<sub>5</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>
- 
- 7' [*ana erebī*(buru<sub>5</sub>)]<sup>bá</sup> *a-ki-lu mu-nu mu-bat-ti-ru*  
8' [*sa-ma-nu?* *ina*] *muhḫi*(ugu) *eqli*(a.šà) *šu-li-i*  
9' [*ana šinn*]i(zú)-*šu-nu ša-ba-ti*
- 
- 10' [dù.d]ù.bi *ina pūt*(zag) *eqli*(a.šà) *ta-bé-eš-ma*  
11' [*pa-áš-š*]u-ri *a-na ili*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *rabūti*(gal)<sup>meš</sup> *tanaddi*(šub)<sup>di</sup>-*ma*
- 
- 12' [<sup>giš</sup>ušša(gag)?] *tilpānu*(gešpu) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>*nergal*(u.gur) *tanaddi*(šub)<sup>di</sup> *tu-ḫab*  
13' [x x]x-e <sup>giš</sup>*erēni*(eren) <sup>giš</sup>*šurmēni*(šur.mìn) <sup>giš</sup>*dáp-ra-ni*  
14' [x x x]x <sup>r</sup>*immera*(udu)<sup>1</sup> *sāma*(sa<sub>5</sub>)? *ina pān*(igi) <sup>d</sup>*nergal*(u.gur) *tanak*]kis(kud)<sup>is</sup>  
gap

col. ii

1'	x[. . .	7'	tal- <sup>l</sup> a <sup>l</sup> -[šú . . .
2'	a-[. . .	8'	pe-ru-[ru-tu . . .
3'	l[i- . . .	9'	kal-[mat eqli(a.šà) . . .
4'	ú-[. . .	10'	「šá」[. . .
5'	e-r[e-bu . . .		break
6'	sa-m[a-nu . . .		

i . . . 2' Expel [them] for [ever!]

3' [Incantation]-formula [to get rid of] mice and dormice.

4'-5' Its [ritual:] You pound together “water-foal”, *hamītu*-insect, root of male *pillū*-plant, coloquith. You boil them up in a little kettle. 6' You pour (the potion) [into vessels] and set them in place. They will drink it and die.

7'-8' [In order to] expel [locusts,] “devourer”-pest, grub, *mubattiru*-bug, [red-bug(?) from] a field (and) 9' [to] seize their [teeth.]

10' Its ritual: You move away from the side of the field and 11' set up trays for the great gods.

12' You set down a bow [and arrow(?)] for Nergal and consecrate (them). 13'-14' [You . . .] cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper, [. . .] you slaughter a brown(?) sheep [before Nergal . . .

(gap)

ii . . .] 5' locust [. . .] 6' “red”-[bug . . .] 7' barley-[weevil . . .] 8' mouse [. . .] 9' field]-weevil [. . .] 10' which [. . . (remainder lost)

## Notes

i 4'-5'. The plants and insects used in this ritual are all listed as prerequisites for performing rituals in *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (No. 18 iv 16'-20').

i 12'. For *uššu* and *tilpānu* in this order, see the hymn to Ninurta on BM 52657 rev. 14 (quoted by CAD T 415 sub e).

i 14'. Compare, in a *namburbi* to avert evil portended by an outbreak of mildew, the ritual prescription *immera*(udu.nita) *sāma*(sa<sub>3</sub>) : *arqa*(sig<sub>7</sub>) *ana pān*(igi) <sup>d</sup>*i-šum* [i]-<sup>l</sup>*na<sup>l</sup> libbi*(šà!) *šá bi-ti inakkis*(kud)<sup>is</sup> “inside that house he slaughters a brown (var. yellow) sheep before Išum” (Maul 1994: 358 ll. 29'-30').

## No. 20

## Rm II 359

## Fig. 6

This is a fragment from the middle of a tablet excavated by Hormuzd Rassam at Nineveh in 1878. We are grateful to Werner Mayer for communicating to us his knowledge of it. Only one surface survives, inscribed in a fine early Neo-Babylonian script with a text divided by rulings into short sections. No. 21 may be another piece of the same tablet. On this fragment parts of nine lines are extant. Some of them can be restored by comparison with text No. 8 above (*Zu-buru-dabbeda* II G). The content is incantations and rituals to expel the Dogs of Ninkilim from a field. The first three sections compare closely with *Zu-buru-dabbeda* II G, concluding in a ritual in which the farmer places figs in the corners of his field and waits for nightfall. In No. 8 the ritual is followed by an incantation-prayer to Ninkilim. Here the ritual leads to a very short address to Ninkilim, and then the exorcist recites an incantation addressed to Alulu; it is very similar to that quoted among rituals in text No. 24 ii 21-7 and given in isolation in No. 25, q.v.

1'	[x x x x x] <sup>l</sup> kalbū(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>mes</sup> rabūtu(gal) <sup>mes</sup> šá <sup>l</sup> [ <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim at-la-a?]
2'	[ka.inim.ma mu-na šá eqli(a.šà)?] š[u-li-i]
3'	[dù.dù.bi <sup>lu</sup> ikkaru(engar) x ]x ileqqe(ti) e-ma tubuq(ub) eqli(a.šà) ú- <sup>l</sup> za-qá <sup>p</sup> x[ x x x x x]
4'	[x x x x x ti]-it-tú 1.ta.àm išakkan(gar) <sup>am</sup> miris(ninda.i.d[é.a]) [dišpi(làl) himēti(i.nun.na)]
5'	[išakkan(gar) <sup>am</sup> e-nu-ma <sup>m</sup> en <sup>u</sup> zū(ùz) ip-pu-ḥa bi!(tablet: mu)-ra-a là i[kkal(gu <sub>7</sub> ) x x x kām iqabbi]
6'	[ <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim ki-is-sat-k]a maḥ-ra-tú kalbī(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>mes</sup> š[i!-si-ma at-la-a]
7'	[én a-lu-lu šarru(lugal) šá la-am a]-bu-bi a-kil šizbi(ga) himēti(i.nun.na) sa?-[x x x x x]
8'	[x x x x x mu-nu a-k]i-lu ù mu-bat-ti-ru x[ x x x x x]
9'	[x x x x kalbū(ur.gi <sub>7</sub> ) <sup>mes</sup> rabūtu(gal) <sup>me</sup> š šá [ <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim <sup>l</sup> k[i-is-sat-ku-nu]
10'	[maḥ-ra-tu-nu . . .]
	break

- 1' . . . ] O great dogs of [Ninkilim, be gone!]  
 2' [Incantation-formula] for [expelling grubs from a field(?).]  
 3' [Its ritual: The farmer] takes [ . . . ,] he stands (them) upright at every corner of the field.  
 [ . . . 4' . . . ] he places one fig each. Date-cake [made of syrup and ghee 5' he sets in place. After]  
 the Goat-star has risen he must not eat anywhere(!) [ . . . He says as follows:]  
 6' [O Ninkilim,] you have received your [fodder, summon] the dogs [and be gone!]  
 7' [Incantation. O Alulu, king from before the] Deluge, who consumes milk, ghee, [ . . . 8' grub,  
 "devourer"]-pest and *mubattiru*-bug, [ . . . 9' . . . O great dogs] of Ninkilim, 9'-10' [you have received  
 your fodder! Be gone! . . . (remainder lost)

#### Notes

- 1'-2'. Compare No. 8: 6-8.  
 3'-5'. The ritual abbreviates No. 8: 9-17, whence the emendation from *mu-ra-a* to *birâ*.  
 6'. // No. 8: 18-19.  
 7'. Restored from No. 24 i 35 and ii 21.  
 8'. Restored after No. 24 ii 22-3.  
 9'-10'. See No. 24 ii 25-6.

#### No. 21

#### K 2775

#### Fig. 8

This is a fragment from the right edge, towards the bottom, of a tablet from Nineveh that, like No. 20, is inscribed in a fine early Neo-Babylonian script. The text is divided by rulings into short sections and the content is similar to No. 20. It seems likely that they are surviving parts of a single tablet. In this piece there are successive ritual offerings and short addresses to Ninkilim, Šara, Adad, the northern circumpolar Wagon constellation (Ursa major) and Ninurta, the last curiously using a mixture of masculine and feminine forms. Invocations to Ninkilim, Adad and Ninurta occur in *Zu-buru-dabbeda* because of these gods' connections with pests, winds and fields. The warrior Šara, here addressed as the son and beloved of Ištar, may be called on because his name evoked the idea of wind (*šāru*), and winds were instrumental in carrying airborne insects away (George 1999: 299). A Babylonian god-list seems to make the same connection in glossing the storm god Adad as ša-ra, and placing him in the company of Šara (CT 29 46 iii 18-20, on which see further Schwemer 2001: 87).

A central piece of apparatus in the ritual that intervenes in this text between the addresses to Ninkilim and Šara is a "house of <sup>d</sup>*kù-BU*". It also occurs in a ritual in text No. 24 (i 8-12). In the first millennium the deity written <sup>d</sup>*kù-BU* is normally identified as the divine *kūbu*, a demonic force inherent in a stillborn baby or miscarried foetus, which was held to be malevolent and in need of propitiation (Römer 1973, Lambert 1981, Scurlock 1991: 151-3, Stol 2000: 28-32). Probably the same demon was believed to inhabit the afterbirth (*ipu, silitu*), which as a baby's dead twin or double posed a danger similar to a dead foetus, and which, together with the ritual birth-brick, was subject to a magic procedure to neutralize its threat to the living (Scurlock 1991: 153). This post-partum ritual, involving the brick and afterbirth, might then help to explain why *Kūbu* had to be appeased in the rituals that attended the production of glazed bricks (Oppenheim 1970: 32-3, Kilmer 1987). Other rituals, known from texts excavated in the Hittite capital, address *Kūbu* firmly in the context of magic responses to miscarriage and locate his "house" in the netherworld (Schwemer 1998: 55-7). A Babylonian incantation against witchcraft cites burial of images "under *Kūbu*" and "in *Kūbu*'s house" as magic practices intended to do harm (Lambert 1957-8: 292 ll. 30, 33, 38). The underlying principle was that symbolic propinquity to the dead *Kūbu* would place the witch's victim in harm's way (Schwemer 2007a: 98). A house-building ritual prescribes offerings to *Kūbu*, probably to placate him for any intrusion into the netherworld (Ambos 2004: 132-3 ll. 5'-6'). In short, rituals involving *Kūbu* have to do either with the dangers of birth and miscarriage or with his chthonic power to transmit ill.

The present rituals against field pests, this and No. 24, have no evident connection with the matters that concern *Kūbu* in the passages just reported. For this reason we have elected to read <sup>d</sup>*kù-BU* in the field-pest rituals as <sup>d</sup>*kù-su*<sub>13</sub>. This is an old-fashioned spelling of <sup>d</sup>*kù-sù*, whose masculine manifestation has already appeared as the object of ritual attention in the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (text No. 17 ii-iii). <sup>d</sup>*kù-su*<sub>13</sub>(BU) is a routine spelling down to the Old

Babylonian period (Michalowski 1993: 158), but is unusual in the first millennium. However, Late Babylonian copies of the Weidner god-list note both spellings of this divine name, in the company of Indagar, husband of the female Kusu (Cavigneaux 1981: 94 ll. 170–2): <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub>, <sup>d</sup>kù-sù, <sup>d</sup>indagar(NÍNDA × GUD).<sup>7</sup>

In the context of rituals conducted on farmland, the “house of Kusu” is inherently unlikely to be a permanent structure, and a wider enquiry confirms this. A “house of Kusu” occurs as the scene of ritual actions in the other Babylonian rites of exorcism, including the rituals for bathing the king (*bīt rimki*) (Zimmern 1901: 126 and pl. 51, no. 26 iii 27), and the rituals for consecrating divine statues (*mis pī*) (Walker and Dick 2001: 38 l. 23, 71 l. 15). In the latter the phrase “house of Kusu” seems to designate a temporary hut of reed (*šutukku*) erected in the temple garden (ibid. 37 ll. 11–12). In the field-pest rituals it is no doubt a small symbolic structure set up for the purposes of the ritual.

obv.

- 1' . . . ] di [ . . .  
 2' . . . ] *šaman*(i.giš) *er*[ēni(eren)] x[ x x x ]  
 3' . . . ] *ilī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *r*[*abūti*(gal)<sup>meš</sup>]
- 
- 4' . . . *ana* <sup>d</sup>x] <sup>1</sup>ū<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim *bēli*(en)<sup>meš</sup> *ugāri*(a.gār) <sup>1</sup>*bēli*(en)<sup>meš</sup> <sup>1</sup>[*eqli*(a.šà)?]  
 5' . . . ]x *labira*(sumun) *tasarraq*(dub) nīg.AN.ra (= *munda*?) *miris*(ninda.i.dé.a) *dišpi*(lāl) *hīmēti*(i.nun.[na])  
 6' [*tašakkan*? . . . *ana* <sup>d</sup>nin-ki] *lim* *bēl*(en) *nammašti*(a.za.lu.lu) *bēl*(en) *a-ki-li u mu-bat-tir tuš-ken-m*[*a! kam taqabbi*(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga)]  
 7' [*ša-bat šinna*(zú)-šú-nu *ša-bat lišān*(eme)-šú-nu] *ša-bat kak-ki-šú-nu*
- 
- 8' . . . *ana*] <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim *bēl*(en) *ur-qí-tú niqā*(siskur) *teppuš*(dù)<sup>uš</sup> *ga!?*-<sup>1</sup>*me?*<sup>1</sup>-*er*
- 
- 9' . . . *tar*] *ammuk*(tu<sub>5</sub>) *ina muhhi*(ugu) *bīt*(é) <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub> <sup>giš</sup>*erēna*(eren) *tu-rat-tu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>sim</sup>*burāša*(li)  
 10' . . . *tušab*] *šal*(šeg<sub>6</sub>) *i-na ūr*(ūr) *bīt*(é) <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub> *tašakkan*(gar)<sup>am</sup> *kām*(ur<sub>5</sub>.gim) *taqabbi*(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga)  
 11' . . . ] *lil-li-lu*
- 
- 12' . . . ]x *a-na* <sup>d</sup>šāra *mār*(dumu) <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-*tār u* <sup>d</sup>adad(*iškur*) *gú-gal šamē*(an)<sup>e</sup> *u eršeti*(ki)  
 13' . . . ] *kām*(ur<sub>5</sub>.gim) *taqabbi*(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga) <sup>d</sup>šāra *na-ram* <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-*tār ki-ma* <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-*tār i-ram-mu-ka*  
 14' . . . ] x x x x
- 
- 15' . . . *ana* <sup>d</sup>adad(*iškur*) *g*] *ú-gal šamē*(an)<sup>e</sup> [*u eršeti*(ki) *kām taqabbi*]  
 16' . . . ]x *ina lib-bi* <sup>1</sup>*eqli*(a.šà)<sup>1</sup> x[ . . .  
 gap
- rev.  
 1' . . . ] <sup>d</sup>1n<sup>1</sup>nin-ur[*ta* . . .  
 2' . . . ] (*vacat*) [ . . .
- 
- 3' . . . ] (*vacat*) [ . . .  
 4' . . . <sup>im</sup>ilt] *āni*(si.sá) <sup>giš</sup>*erequ*(mar.gíd.da) *ha-a-<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>tu!* <sup>giš</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[*gíd.da šamē*(an)<sup>e</sup>?]  
 5' . . . ] x x [x]  
 6' . . . *mu-š*] *im ši-ma-a-tum bēl*(en) *mātāti*(kur.kur) *bēl*(en) *ilī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *rabūti*(gal)<sup>meš</sup> *a-bi ilī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> *ki-<sup>1</sup>ma?* x x<sup>1</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Another instance of <sup>d</sup>kù-BU in a first-millennium ritual context is BBR 68 edge 2, where the exorcist is instructed to sing a song of praise to the deity (Römer 1973: 314). This may also be Kusu, rather than Kūbu. Similarly, the six cult-stations of <sup>d</sup>kù-BU in Babylon listed in *Tintir* V 87

(George 1992: 68–9) could also belong to Kusu, not Kūbu as previously supposed. On the other hand, <sup>d</sup>kù-SUD paired with the divine sorceress Ningirim in a *namburbi* ritual from Nineveh is certainly Kusu not Kūbu (contra Caplice 1967: 19 rev. 12: <sup>d</sup>Kū-bu<sub>x</sub>).

7'	... qibītka rabi(gal)]-tu kima(gim) šadī(kur) <sup>i</sup> mu-niš-šá a-a ir-ši a-na <sup>d</sup> nin-urta <sup>1</sup> kam <sup>1</sup> taqabbi(du <sub>4</sub> . <sup>1</sup> ga <sup>1</sup> )
8'	... ] bēlti(gašan) rabīti(gal) <sup>tim</sup>
9'	... ] à ku-bu-ut-ta-a liš-kun-ma
10'	... ]-a <sup>d</sup> nissaba ta-ḥa-am-ma it-ti mìn-de-e teleqqe(ti) <sup>ae</sup>
11'	... ] maṣḥata(zì.mad.gá) ta-lam-mám!
<hr/>	
12'	... ]x.ba šá ina muḥḥi(ugu) tu-še-ši-bu a-na maškani(ki.UD) tu-še-el-lu
13'	... ] u <sub>4</sub> -mi-šam-ma tattanaddi(šub.šub) <sup>di</sup>
<hr/>	
14'	... si-ḥ]ir-ti ta-ḥab tum lu ḥar? 1 maṣṣarta(en.nun) ka-la te-zi- <sup>1</sup> ib! <sup>1</sup>
15'	... ] ki-x[ x x x]
16'	... ] x[ x x x x x]
	break

obv. 2' ... ] oil of cedar [... 3' ... ] the great gods.

4' [For DN] and Ninkilim, lords of the farmland, lords of [the field(?), 5' ... ] ... you strew old [... ] Groats(?), date-cake made with syrup and ghee 6' [you set in place(?) ... To] Ninkilim, lord of the animals, lord of “devourer”-pest and *mubattiru*-bug, you prostrate yourself and [say as follows: 7' “Seize their teeth, seize their tongues,] seize their weapons!”

8' [... to] Ninkilim, lord of vegetation, you make a sacrificial offering. *Finis*(?).

9' [... you] bathe. You fix cedar on top of Kusu's house. Juniper [... 10' you] warm up. You place it on the roof of Kusu's house. You say as follows: 11' [Let the gods/stars ... ] make it pure!”

12' [... ] to Šara, the son of Ištar, and Adad, the canal-inspector of heaven and earth, 13' [ you make a sacrificial offering(?). To Šara] you say as follows: “O Šara, beloved of Ištar, just as Ištar loves you, 14' [... ] ... ”

15' [... To Adad, the canal]-inspector of heaven [and earth, you say as follows: 16' “O Adad, ... ] from within the field [... ]” (*gap*)

rev. 1' ... ] Ninurta [... ]

4' “O ... of the] north, Wagon (constellation) that watches at night, wagon [of the skies ... 6' O god ... who] determines destinies, lord of the lands, lord of the great gods, father of the gods, ... 7' [... ] like a mountain let [your great command] permit none to move it!” To Ninurta you say as follows: 8' “[O Ninurta ... , son of the] great lady 9' [Ninlil(?), ... ] let it bring about an abundant yield!” 10' [You ... ,] you consecrate the barleycorn and take it away with your due measure, 11' [you ... ,] you chew the offering-flour.

12' [... The] ... on which you seated (it) you take away to the threshing floor. 13' [... ] you set down every single day.

14' [... all] round you consecrate ... For one whole watch you leave it. 15' [... (*remainder lost*)

### Notes

obv. 5'. The correct logogram for *mundu* is nig.àr.ra.

obv. 7'. // No. 17 ii 17'.

rev. 4'. The Wagon constellation is likewise called “wagon of the skies” in an incantation-prayer to induce a dream included in a Standard Babylonian fortune-teller's manual (*STT* 73: 61 // *UET* VII 118 obv. 8: én<sup>mul</sup>mar.gíd.da.†an.na<sup>1</sup> [(<sup>mul</sup>)ma]r.gíd.da šá-ma-mi, ed. Butler 1998: 355).

### No. 22

### K 9611

### Fig. 8

This is a fragment from near the left edge of the reverse, to judge by the curvature, with part of the tablet's bottom edge preserved at its top. The piece comes from Nineveh. Parts of fourteen lines are preserved, written in a fine early Neo-Babylonian script similar to that displayed by Nos. 20 and 21, but not identical with it. The first twelve lines are the remains of a ritual that mentions rodents, continues with a standard sequence of ritual actions and culminates with an offering to the rodent-god Ninkilim, who is then addressed in an incantation-prayer. Field-mouse and dormouse (l. 6) occur together in the same order in the catch-line of the last tablet of the series



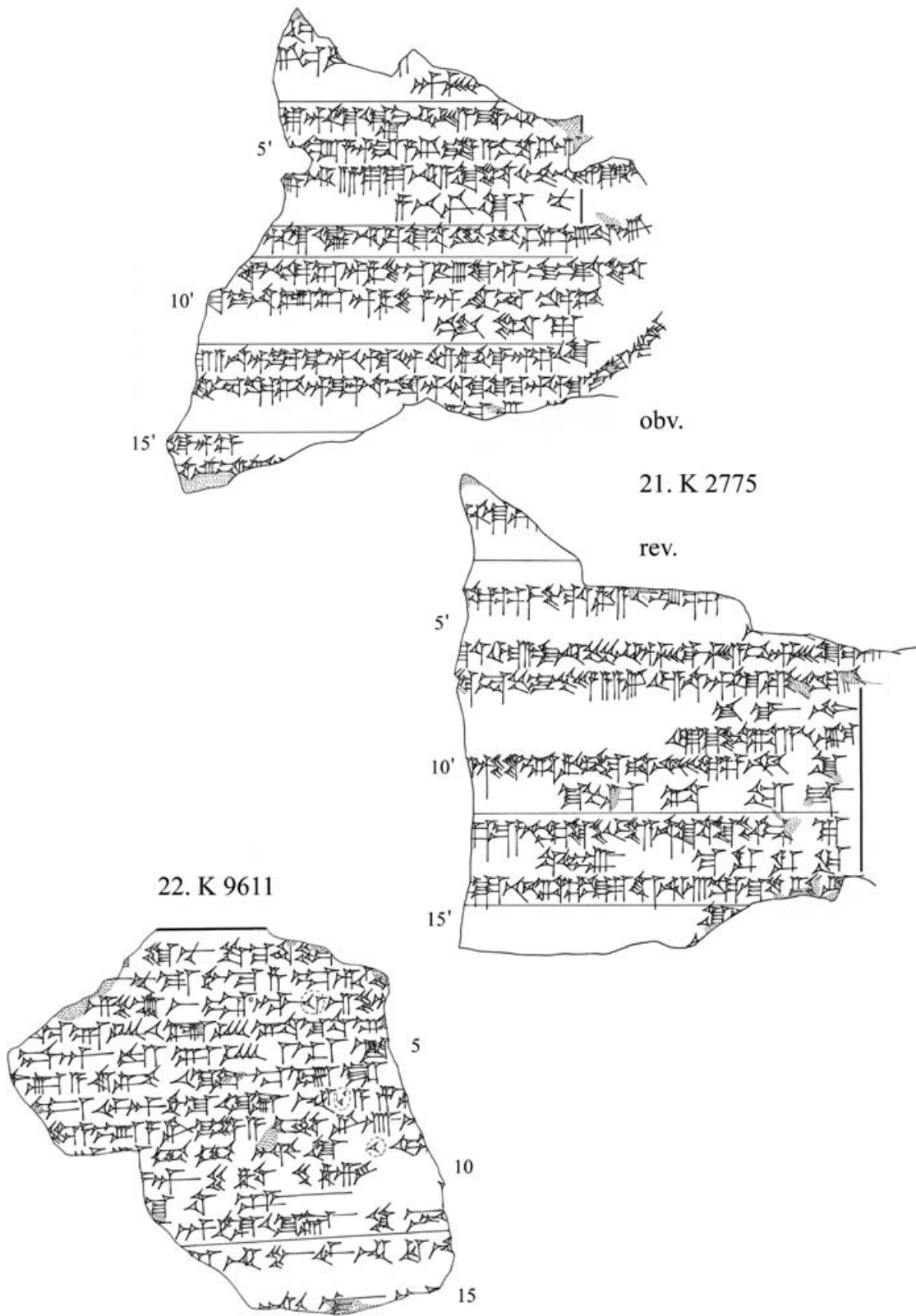
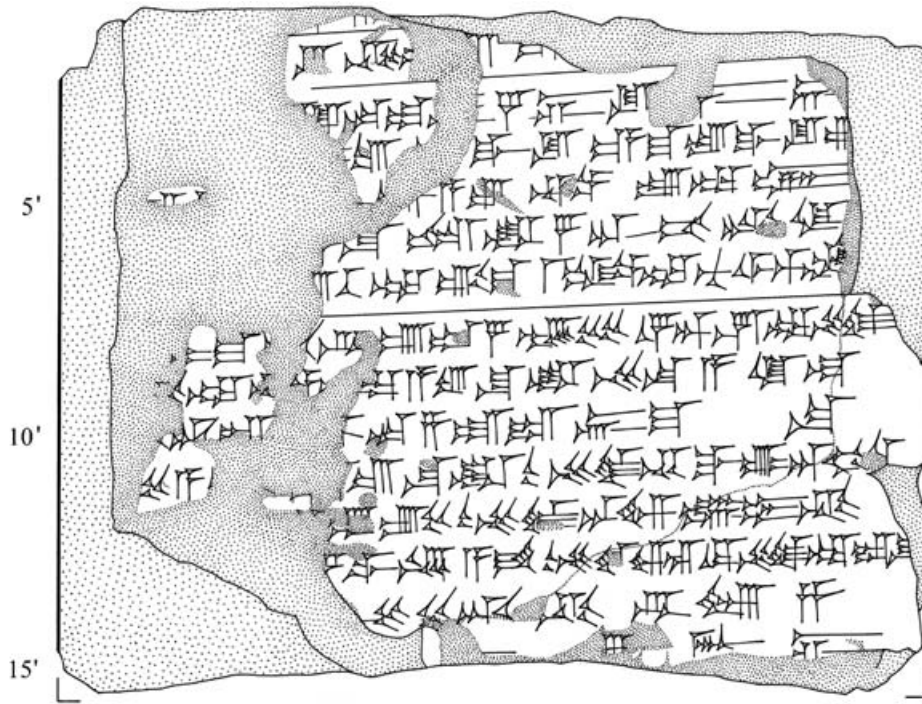


Fig. 8 Texts Nos. 21-2. Drawn by George



obv.

23. S.U. 52/214 = STT 243

rev.

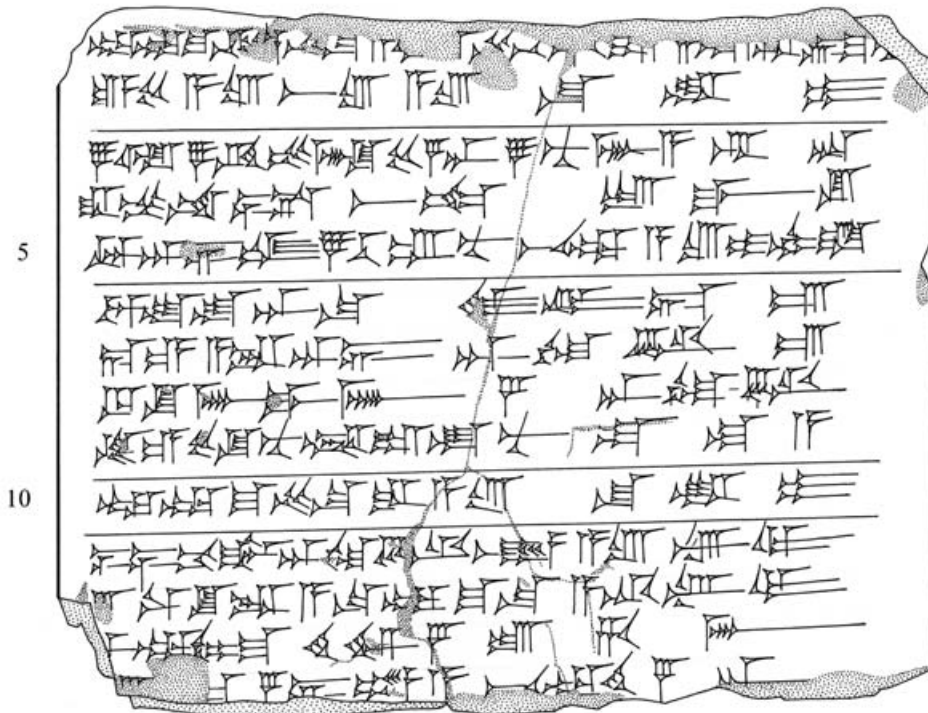


Fig. 9 Text No. 23. Drawn by George

*Zu-buru-dabbeda*, from which it appears that the field-pest series was followed by a composition concerning rodents, no doubt incantations and rituals directed against vermin that depleted the granaries. This fragment might be assigned to such material.

1	... ]x-tu-nu te-et- <sup>r</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> [-...]
2	... in]a là idê(zu) mim-ma ša-ab-ri t[u- ...]
3	... ] lissuḥ(zi) <sup>ub</sup> ina ap-pi (sup. ras.) zi-x[...]
4	[... e]li(ugu) bītāti(é) <sup>mes</sup> u ūri(ūr) <sup>mes</sup> ta-ša-t[a-a? ...]
5	[... ] tukân(gub) <sup>an</sup> eperī(saḥar) bītāti(é) <sup>mes</sup> ana qaran(si) laḥr[i(u <sub>8</sub> ) x x x]
6	[... ] ḥ]arriru(pěš.a.šà.ga) arrabu(pěš.giš.ūr.ra) [x x x]
7	[... ] šalmu(gi <sub>6</sub> ) ana maḥar(igi) <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim bēl(en) namma[šti(a.za.lu.lu) x x x]
8	[suluppī(zú.lum.ma) <sup>zid</sup> sa]sqâ(eša) tasarraq(dub) miris(ninda.î.dé.a) dišpi(lâl) ḥimēt[i(i.nun.na) tašakkan(gar) <sup>an</sup> ]
9	[nignak(níg.na) <sup>sim</sup> burāši(li) tašakkan(gar)] <sup>an</sup> udu <sup>1</sup> niqâ(sískur) tanaqqi(bal) <sup>qí</sup> <sup>r</sup> ù <sup>?</sup> [x (x) x]
10	... taša]kkan(gar) <sup>an</sup> še kaspā(kù.babbar) še! ḥurāša(kù.sig <sub>17</sub> ) [x (x) x]
11	... t]u-tam-mar x [x x]
12	... an]a <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim kâm(ur <sub>5</sub> .gim) [taqabbi(dug <sub>4</sub> .ga)]

---

13	[én <sup>d</sup> nin-kilim bēl(en) nammašt]i(a.za.lu.lu) bēl(en) bu-lim bēl(en) šik-n[a-at napišti]
14	[... ] (vacat) [... ]
15	... ] <sup>r</sup> bal ár-ra <sup>1</sup> -[bu? ...]

break

<sup>2</sup> ... ] unwittingly, something bad you [... <sup>3</sup> ... let x time] pass(?), from the tip of [... <sup>4</sup> ... ] over the rooms and roofs you string a thread(?) [... <sup>5</sup> ... ] you fix in position. House dust on a ewe's horn [... <sup>6</sup> ... ] field-mouse, dormouse [... <sup>7</sup> ... ] a black [... ] before Ninkilim, lord of the animals [... ] <sup>8</sup> You strew [dates and *sašqû*]-flour. Date-cake made of syrup and ghee [you set in place. <sup>9</sup> You set] up [a censer of juniper.] You sacrifice a sheep [... <sup>10</sup> ... you set] in place. A grain of silver, a grain(!) of gold [... <sup>11</sup> ... ] you bury [... <sup>12</sup> ... ] to Ninkilim [you say] as follows: <sup>13</sup> [Incantation. O Ninkilim, lord of the animals,] lord of livestock, lord of living [creatures, <sup>15</sup> ... ] dormouse(?) [... (*remainder lost*)

#### Note

8–9. Restored after the many other instances of this sequence of ritual acts, e.g. in the *mis pi* ritual (Walker and Dick 2001: 58 ll. 73–5). Often libation of beer replaces the spilling of lamb's blood, e.g. in No. 23 obv. 6'; see Stefan Maul's discussion of this ritual sequence in the *namburbi* rituals (Maul 1994: 51–2).

#### No. 23

#### S.U. 52/214 = STT 243

#### Fig. 9

This is the lower one-third of a single-column tablet with twenty-nine lines of Neo-Assyrian script remaining. It was excavated in 1952 at Sultantepe, near Urfa in south-east Turkey, among the remains of a seventh-century scholar's library and published by O. R. Gurney in 1964 as STT 243 (Gurney and Hulin 1964 pl. 203). A brief synopsis of its contents was given by Erica Reiner in her review of that volume (Reiner and Civil 1967: 189–90), and again by George in the first part of the present study (1999: 295–6).

In the latter article the tablet was understood to hold an abbreviated version of the rituals of the incantation series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, as known from contemporaneous tablets from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh (George 1999: 295). Further study of the text, especially in the light of a previously unpublished Late Babylonian manuscript of field-pest rituals that is a partial duplicate (No. 24), suggests that the relationship between the two sets of material is not so simple.

The extant text opens with a rubric mentioning locusts (obv. 2'). A ritual follows (3'–7'), which combines sympathetic magic (the destruction of tallow models and living representatives of the problem) and inducement (currying divine favour by offering incense and libations). The beginning of the ritual is similar to text No. 24 i 23–4, after which we have restored it. In both rituals effigies are burned in the four corners of the field. In the present text the exorcist skins a locust on each

occasion. Then he sets up ritual apparatus to attract the gods' attention and says an unidentified incantation or prayer three times. The Late Babylonian text prescribes a more elaborate ritual that ends with the recitation of four incantations, which are there identified by four different incipits (No. 24 i 29–31).

The text next gives an incantation-prayer addressed first to a divine shepherd whose name is damaged, and then to a series of deities, asking that they accept the offering: Marduk, Ninurta, Adad, [south wind,] north wind, east wind and [west wind] (8'–15'). This sequence of deities matches those addressed in consecutive incantation-prayers extant in the Nineveh edition of *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, as determined above on formal grounds and first observed by W. G. Lambert (1990: 126): Marduk, Ninurta, Adad and the four winds in their traditional order, south, north, east and west (the surviving passages are texts Nos. 1–8).

The Sultantepe text continues with (a) a brief ritual in which the exorcist burns seven wax images of locusts and the client buries them in the affected field (rev. 3–5), (b) the mixed-language incantation beginning *Tutu-anna ħursangake* and its rubric (6–10), and (c) its accompanying ritual, to be performed in the affected field at a “dais of Ninkilim” (11–14). The text is then interrupted by the break in the tablet. The incantation *Tutu-anna ħursangake* and its ritual occur in almost identical form in the Late Babylonian tablet (No. 24 iii 8'–23'). The Nineveh edition, by contrast, moves straight from the incantation to the west wind to the incantation *Tutu-anna ħursangake*, follows it with a ritual that involves the “dais of Ninkilim” but is worded differently from the corresponding ritual of the Sultantepe and Late Babylonian tablets, and continues with an incantation to Ninkilim (texts Nos. 8–9). The two bodies of material are thus similar, but not sufficiently closely related for the Sultantepe text to be viewed as a “digest” of the Nineveh series. More exactly, it is a briefer account of a version of a field-pest ritual similar to one elaborated in *Zu-buru-dabbeda*. Note that the imperative clauses *šabat šinnašunu*, *lišānšunu*, *kakkšunu* so characteristic of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* are absent from texts Nos. 23 and 24. This is a formal indication that the two corpora were probably of separate origin.

obv.

1'	traces
2'	[ka.inim.ma] x buru <sub>5</sub> [a.š]à.g[a . . . ]
3'	[dù.dù.bi 28 tam-š]i-lu ba-at-x šá lipî(î.udu) teppuš([d]ù) <sup>u</sup> [š]
4'	[x x x x x] eqli(†a <sup>1</sup> .šà) t[a]-qal-lu e-ma ta-qal-lu-†ú <sup>1</sup>
5'	[x] x x [x x in]a †libbi(šà)? <sup>1</sup> eqli(a.šà) ereba(buru <sub>5</sub> ) ta-ka-aš
6'	[x x x x ni]gnak([nī]g.na) <sup>šim</sup> burāši(li) tašakkan(gar) <sup>am</sup> šikara(kaš) tanaqqi(bal) <sup>ai</sup>
7'	[én? x x x] †3 <sup>1</sup> -šú taqabbi(dug <sub>4</sub> .ga)-ma ana arki(egir)-ka là tapallas(igi.bar) t[u <sub>6</sub> (.én)]
8'	[én <sup>d</sup> x-ma-†tī? <sup>1</sup> re-é-†um <sup>1</sup> šá <sup>d</sup> bēl māṭāti(kur.kur) nindabâ(nidba)-ka mu-ħur
9'	[ni-šī-i]k šinni(zú) erebi(†buru <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup> ) †ina muħħi(ugu) <sup>1</sup> eqli(a.šà) šu-li mu-na a-ki-la
10'	[mu-ba]t-ti-r[a e-r]e-ba ša-ši-ra sa-ma-na
11'	[kal]-mat eqli(a.š[à]) [ina] †muħħi(ugu) <sup>1</sup> eqli(†a <sup>1</sup> .šà) šu-li : mu-ħur bēlu(en) rabû(gal) <sup>ai</sup> <sup>d</sup> marduk(amar.[u]tu)
12'	[mu-ħur <sup>d</sup> ninurta(maš) a-š]á-†red <sup>1</sup> é.kur : mu-ħur <sup>d</sup> adad(iškur) šar ħengalli(ħé.gál)
13'	[muħ-ri šūtu(im.u <sub>18</sub> .lu) mu-š]á-pi-kât ugāri(a.gār) : mu-ħu[r] iltānu(im.si.sá) mu-kín ka-ra-š[u]
14'	[mu-ħur šadû(im.kur.ra) m]u-še-ti-iq ri-iħ-ša
15'	[mu-ħur amurru(im.mar.dú) x x ]x x <sup>meš</sup> -ni
rev.	
1	ka.inim.ma †ereba(buru <sub>5</sub> ) mu-na a-ki-la mu <sup>1</sup> -bat-†ti-ra ša-ši-ri <sup>1</sup> sa-ma-n[u]
2	kal-mat eqli(a.šà) ina libbi(šà) eqli(a.šà) šu-li-i

- 3 7 ù 7 paṭīri(gi.du<sub>8</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> maṣḥati(zì.mad.<gá>) tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup> 7 ṣalmī(nu)<sup>meš</sup> a-ri-ba  
 4 ša iškūri(duḥ.lál) teppuṣ(du)<sup>us</sup> ina išāti(izi) ta-qal-lu  
 5 šipta(én) an-ni-tum 7-šú tamannu(šid)<sup>mu</sup> ina muḥḥi(ugu) eqli(a.šà) i-tem-mer
- 
- 6 én tu.tu.an.na ḥur.sag.gá.ke<sub>4</sub>  
 7 gá.e a.da.an.ni <sup>d</sup>nin.kilim.ke<sub>4</sub>  
 8 kalbū(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabūtu(gal)<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim  
 9 qe-e-sat-ku-nu maḥ-ra-tu-nu at-la-a
- 
- 10 ka.inim.ma mu-na ša eqli(a.šà) šu-li-i
- 
- 11 dù.dù.bi parak(bára) <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim ina qabal(murub<sub>4</sub>) eqli(a.šà) tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup>  
 12 <sup>r</sup>7<sup>1</sup> qa(sila) qēma(zíd.da) a-na ka-ma-na-a-ti tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup>  
 13 <sup>r</sup>0.0.1<sup>1</sup> suluppī(zú.lum.ma) ḥi-im-šá-ta nūnī(ku<sub>6</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>  
 14 [1] <sup>r</sup>akala(ninda)<sup>1</sup> [1 q]a mersa(ninda.ì.dé.a) ina muḥ-ḥi tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup>  
 break

obv. 1' (illegible traces of the last line of an incantation)

2' [Incantation-formula to . . .] . . . locusts of a field.

3' [Its ritual:] you make [twenty-eight] effigies . . . out of tallow, 4' you burn [them in the four corners(?) of the] field. Wherever you burn one, 5' [you . . . and within] the field you peel the skin from a locust, 6' [. . .] you set up a censer of juniper, you pour a libation of beer, 7' three times you say "[. . .]" and you do not look behind you. Incantation [formula.]

8' [Incantation. O] . . . , shepherd of the Lord of the Lands, accept your food-offering! 9' Expel [the bite of] locusts' tooth from the field! 9'-11' Expel from within the field grub, "devourer"-pest, *mubattiru*-bug, locust, cricket, red-bug and field-weevil! Accept, O great lord Marduk! 12' [Accept, O Ninurta,] foremost one of E-kur! Accept, O Adad, king of plenty! 13' [Accept, O South Wind, that] piles up (grain in) the arable land! Accept, O North Wind, that keeps the camp in good order! 14' [Accept, O East Wind, that] averts storm-damage! 15' [Accept, O West Wind,] . . . !

rev. 1-2 Incantation-formula to expel locust, grub, "devourer"-pest, *mubattiru*-bug, cricket, red-bug and field-weevil from within a field.

3-4 Twice seven portable altars you provide with coarse flour. You make seven wax figurines of locusts. You burn them in fire. 5 You recite this incantation seven times. He buries (the remains) at the top of the field.

5 Incantation. *Tutu-anna* of the mountain range, 7 I am the *adanni* of Ninkilim. 8 O great dogs of Ninkilim, 9 you have received your fodder! Be gone!

10 Incantation-formula for expelling grubs from a field.

11 Its ritual: you set up a plinth for Ninkilim in the middle of the field. 12 You put there seven litres of flour for bread-cakes. 13-14 You place on top ten litres of dates, chopped fish, [one] loaf of bread, [one] litre of date-cake [. . . (*remainder lost*)

### Notes

obv. 3'. The parallel Late Babylonian text refers to 28 *tamšili ša lipi* (text No. 24 i 23). Here the additional word *ba-at-x* between *tamšil(u)* and *ša lipi* is either an adjective of quality or, more probably, the object the tallow figurines are to replicate (surely some sort of field pest). A reading *ba-at-<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>* "rough" is not impossible. Alternatively the three signs are corrupt for *mubattiri*, i.e. <mu>-*ba-at-t[i]r!*, although this tablet elsewhere displays the conventional spelling (obv. 10', rev. 1: *mu-bat-ti-ra*). A more certain lipography occurs in rev. 3, zì.mad for zì.mad.gá.

8'. The first visible sign of the divine name is l]um, m]i or k]ud, but we are unable to read the name as a whole (*x-māti?*). *Bēl-mātāti* "Lord of the Lands" is well known as an old title of Enlil, later adopted for Marduk. In other literature Enlil's herdsmen are Ninmalulu and Ninamaškuga (*An* I 349-50, ed. Litke 1998: 63; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2000, 2001a). *An* II does not list any shepherd in Marduk's household.

11'. On *kalmat eqli* as a specific insect see *Urra* XIV 256, further Lion and Michel 1997: 720-2.

13'-14'. On the epithets of the south and north winds see the introduction to text No. 5, on that of the east, the introduction to text No. 6.

rev. 6–7. We are undecided as to the linguistic affiliation of tu.tu and a.da.an.ni. The former may be a phonetic spelling of <sup>d</sup>TÚG.TÚG, a name of Ninkilim (*An* V 37, ed. Litke 1998: 37; *CT* 25 11: 33). The latter looks Akkadian, *adanni* “deadline”, but with what sense as a complement to Sumerian gá.e “I”? In this uncertainty we leave them untranslated.

13. “Chopped fish” is a provisional translation. *ḫimšat nūni* is to be compared with *ḫi-im-ša-at* <sup>giš</sup>*gišimmari* “*ḫ*. of date-palm”, which is explained in a cultic-calendrical commentary as worn like the “crown of Anu” (*SBH* VIII ii 26, ed. Çağırğan 1976: 173–4) and translated by von Soden as “abgeknickte Palmzweigen” (*AHw* 346). *ḫimištu* is cognate with *ḫamāšu*, a verb in the semantic field of cutting whose exact meaning remains unclear.

**No. 24****BM 45686 + 55561****Figs. 10–13**

This is the major part of a large two-column tablet, some 4.7 cm thick, comprising two joining fragments inscribed in Late Babylonian script. The central part of the tablet is BM 45686 (81-7-6, 91), part of a consignment of Babylonian tablets bought from a Baghdad dealer, probably Joseph Shemtob, by the British Museum in 1879 but not accessioned until two years later (Reade 1986: xv). The top left-hand corner is BM 55561 (82-7-4, 151), purchased from Spartali and Co. by Hormuzd Rassam on the museum’s behalf in 1882 (Reade, loc. cit.). The join was made with typical genius by I. L. Finkel, who spotted George reading BM 45686, matched it in his memory with BM 55561, and speedily reunited the pair after their century-long separation. The 81-7-6 and 82-7-4 collections consist overwhelmingly of Late Babylonian tablets from Babylon, which flooded on to the Baghdad antiquities’ market in the late 1870s, so Babylon is almost certainly the provenance of BM 45686+.

A short colophon declares that the tablet was copied from an exemplar from the town of Dēr, in north-eastern Babylonia (iv 30’). This is a rare attribution, to be added to only six Late Babylonian colophons so far known that document scribal activity in Dēr (Oelsner 1995). The previously known colophons state either that they were written at Dēr and deposited in the great temple there,<sup>8</sup> or that their writer or owner was from Dēr. Two tablets bearing such colophons were excavated in the library of a fourth-century exorcist’s house at Uruk, and Oelsner argues that at least one other, and probably all six, derive from the same location. These colophons speak for an intellectual interaction between the scribes of Uruk and their counterparts at Dēr. The present addition to the corpus is briefer than any other but is enough to demonstrate that scholars of Babylon, as well as Uruk, benefited from knowledge guarded by the scribal families of Dēr.

The condition of BM 45686 is particularly poor, but most of the text is decipherable. The text opens with a ritual in which, on a day determined as favourable, no doubt before dawn, the exorcist sets up his holy-water vessel and lays out a ritual apparatus to three gods: Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe (Marduk) (i 1–2). Many Babylonian incantation-prayers are addressed jointly to this trio (catalogued by Mayer 1976: 382–4). Some of them were used in apotropaic or prophylactic contexts, but the commonest was best suited by content to ritual purification and deployed to that purpose in the consecration of divine statues at dawn on the second day of the *mīs pī* ritual (Walker and Dick 2001: 131–5 ll. 6–41; Shibata 2008: 193–5). Ea and Asalluḫe work magic; Šamaš, the rising sun, brings the purity of night-expelling light and banishes evil. Here the task of these great powers is evidently to lead the divine forces who will be enlisted to free the field of pests, or the threat of pests.

Having engaged the attention of Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe, the exorcist makes an offering to the gods who hold sway over the field, including sixteen who are named (2–7). These sixteen make an interesting group. The group begins with the trio Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe. Nine of the remaining thirteen – in itself a number of mystic power – have strong associations with agriculture (documented in the textual notes). Enbilulu is a divine irrigator; Ningirsu, accompanied by his

<sup>8</sup>Specifically in the temple’s library, reading *é im.ḡú.lá* where Lambert (1971: 346 l. 35) and Oelsner (1995: 266–7) read *būt(é) iltāni(sí.sá)*. The resulting statement, in the colophons of *Uruk* IV 185 (von Weiher 1993: 202) and the Converse Tablet (Lambert 1971: 343), is *ina gerginakki [(ša)] é.dim.gal.kalam.ma bīt bēlūtišu ukin* “he deposited

it in the library of E-dimgal-kamma, the temple of his majesty”. Compare in colophons of tablets of Ashurbanipal from Nineveh the like statement *ina gerginakki(im.gú.lá) bīt Nabū* (var. *é.zi.da*) . . . *ukin* (Hunger 1968: 102–6 nos. 327: 15, 328: 17–18, 338: 12–14, 339: 2).

consort, Bau, is a ploughman and husbandman; Alala is a primeval deity whose name is homophonous with the farmhands' worksong; Uraš, also accompanied by his consort, was equated with the farmer Ninurta and, as a god of the earth itself, had special power to act against crawling things; Lā-gamāl and Ipte-bit belong to Uraš's household; Ennugi is another god of irrigation.

The storm god Adad, listed with his spouse Šala, was an ambiguous figure. His violent downpours were as much a threat to crops as field pests were. His river-borne flood was a double-edged sword: a threat to the harvest but also an event recognized as necessary for the land's fertility. The many epithets that report Adad's provision of *hengallu* "abundance" acknowledge him as a positive force in the production of food. There is less obvious justification for claiming the remaining two deities as "lords of the field". Sîn, the moon, is generally benevolent but without any especial role in agriculture. Lugaledinna is more a demonic power, whose name "King of the Steppe" locates him not in arable fields but in the untilled hinterland.

This part of the ritual ends, if we have restored it correctly, with *dicenda*, an injunction to get rid of the pests, presumably addressed to those gods who have just been treated to offerings. Having appeased the field's divine controllers, the exorcist then sets up a "house of <sup>d</sup>kù-BU", buries food at its corners, censes it with juniper-incense, and before it makes offerings of beer and flour to the antediluvian king Alulu (i 8–11). As in text No. 21, the god's name is read <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub>; Kusu is a divine exorcist in Enlil's court whose help in ridding a field of pests is invoked in *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (No. 17 ii–iii).

A second ritual follows, introduced by KIMIN, which probably signifies that it is to be performed in the same circumstances as the previous ritual, i.e. in the middle of the field. The second ritual is badly damaged, but enough is preserved to show that it involved the manufacture of four model grubs for Kusu, the placing of foodstuffs in various locations by night, and the burying of something, perhaps tablets inscribed with an ultimatum, at the four corners of the field (i 13–22). The foodstuffs are a symbolic substitute for the farmer's crops and intended to suppress the pests' appetite for them. The strategically placed tablets (if that is what they are) act as instruments to remove or keep the pests away. Both exorcist and client take part in this ritual.

The next ritual begins with a short illegible passage that may prescribe a standard act, the strewing of dates and flour. It continues by directing the exorcist to manufacture twenty-eight tallow figurines and melt them in fire to the accompaniment of the recitation of an incantation (i 23–5). Because twenty-eight is four times seven, and seven was a commonly used number in magic and ritual, we suppose that the figurines are burnt in four batches, facing north, south, east and west. This presumption is supported by the unusual fourfold repetition of the word *tamannu* "you recite". The incantation so recited is *Išgum nēšu kalab Ištar* "Roared the Lion, Hound of Ištar", which is suspected of opening the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda* and providing its incipit. It probably invoked Ištar's "hound" as a supernatural ally in the field pests' destruction. The burning is followed by the preparation and deployment of a magic concoction (i 26–7).

A second ritual for the same eventuality follows, but without a ruling, which suggests that it is an alternative to the prescriptions in i 23–7. This alternative ritual prescribes the preparation of a concoction of different ingredients, the purification of the field with smoke and flame, and the recitation of four spells: (a) the first incantation of Alulu, (b) an incantation whose incipit is broken away, (c) the incantation about Ištar's lion, and (d) the second incantation of Alulu (i 27–31). Probably these four incantations are to be recited facing the four points of the compass, as was explicitly prescribed in the first version of the ritual.

A new section of ritual starts, which can be taken as the continuation of the two alternative rituals set out in the preceding section. The text prescribes offerings of food and beer and the fashioning of a symbolic object, perhaps a sun-disk, and concludes, after a break, with an injunction that the exorcist must not look back (i 32–4). This final instruction suggests that the ritual is over and the exorcist now leaves the field, and we have restored accordingly.

The next section gives the text of the first incantation to Alulu (i 35 ff.). The spell begins by addressing Alulu but damage sets in and the text is interrupted by a gap of more than fifteen lines. It seems that the incantation is still in progress when the text resumes in col. ii. The incantation now calls on natural forces to destroy the field pests, the four winds to blow them

away, and on the triad of senior gods, Anu, Enlil and Ea, and also the sun-god Šamaš, to revoke the orders on which the pests act (ii 10–18). Anu, Enlil and Ea between them control the three levels of the Babylonian cosmos, and the sun travels everywhere, so these four deities are well suited to countermanding the pests' offensives across the entire universe.

The ritual that accompanies the first incantation of Alulu is a brief variant of the more elaborate ritual already set out in two versions in i 23–34. It prescribes the modelling in tallow of a single cricket, which is burned to the accompaniment of the incantation (ii 19–20).

Next is another incantation of Alulu (ii 21–7), presumably that which the text has already referred to as the second such spell (i 31). The incantation is more fully preserved on text No. 25, q.v. for commentary.

The text continues with an incantation addressed to the shepherd of Bēl-mātāti, a title of first Enlil and then Marduk (ii 28–37). A version of the same incantation occurs on the Sultantepe tablet (No. 23 obv. 8'–15'). Unfortunately the shepherd's name is damaged in both sources. He is asked to remove the pests, who are enumerated. The incantation continues with requests that each deity, in turn, accept the offering made to him, but damage means that little is legible. The deities include Ninurta and Adad, and probably occur in the same sequence as that found on text No. 23. The latter part of the incantation is mostly lost in the gap, probably of ten lines or more, between the end of col. ii and the beginning of col. iii.

Col. iii opens with the very end of an incantation (iii 1'–2'), about which nothing can be said except that this is probably the conclusion of the incantation that started in ii 28. The accompanying ritual is very damaged: something is buried, something else wrapped in linen (iii 3'–7'). From the parallel we learn that wax effigies of locusts were burned and their remains buried in the field (No. 23 rev. 3–5); probably the same occurred here, though the number of effigies is not specified and the wording clearly differs. There follows the short mixed-language incantation *Tutu-anna hursangake* (iii 8'–10'). This can be restored from the Sultantepe tablet (No. 23 rev. 6–9), where it is perfectly preserved, and later in the present tablet, where it recurs (iii 25'–6'). As in the Sultantepe tablet, the incantation *Tutu-anna* is accompanied by a ritual in which the exorcist makes a little shrine to Ninkilim in the middle of the field, and equips it with precisely measured quantities of foodstuffs (iii 11'–13'). Here both texts are true duplicates, as far as each is preserved. The present text continues where the Sultantepe tablet is broken, stipulating that the exorcist will then bury the food at the corners of Ninkilim's shrine, enclose the shrine with a magic circle of flour and present further offerings of food (iii 11'–20'). We also learn that the farmer participates in the ritual (iii 20'–1'). The ritual concludes with someone reciting the standard short injunction to Ninkilim, to accept the food and call off his dogs, that is, take away the field pests (iii 22'–3'). Because the next prescription refers specifically to the exorcist, who is forbidden to eat foodstuffs that will render him impure (iii 24'), we can be sure that it denotes a change of subject and that the person who is required to address Ninkilim is the farmer; the formula he must speak is suitably simple. The column ends with a repetition of the incantation *Tutu-anna* (iii 25'–6').

Col. iv begins, after a break of perhaps fifteen lines, with the end of what may be a third instance of the incantation *Tutu-anna*, or with an incantation that closes similarly (iv 1'–2'). What follows is a bilingual incantation to the god Ennugi (iv 3'–23'). It follows the pattern of the Marduk-Ea type of incantations, which employ a standard historiola: a problem arises, Asalluḫe sees it, reports it to his father, Enki, and Enki tells him the ritual with which to counter the problem (see further the textual note on iv 10). In the present instance the problem is that pests are eating the crops and, if one follows the Akkadian lines, the historiola begins with Ennugi creating them; the Sumerian differs and may be partly corrupt. Enki's remedy is to mix clay from the field with soil and water from hallowed ground, make tablets from it, inscribe them with an incantation and bury them in the four corners of the field, so effecting the pests' departure.

The incantation's accompanying ritual follows (iv 24'–6'). Unsurprisingly, it prescribes the same response as that handed to Asalluḫe by Enki in the historiola. The ritual closes with a prediction of success.

The text concludes with a short ritual that prescribes the erection in the field of a magic enclosure marked out by thirteen standards (*urigallu*), with an opening in the direction of the sunrise; these actions are concluded by a short prayer (iv 27'–9').



24. BM 45686+55561 i

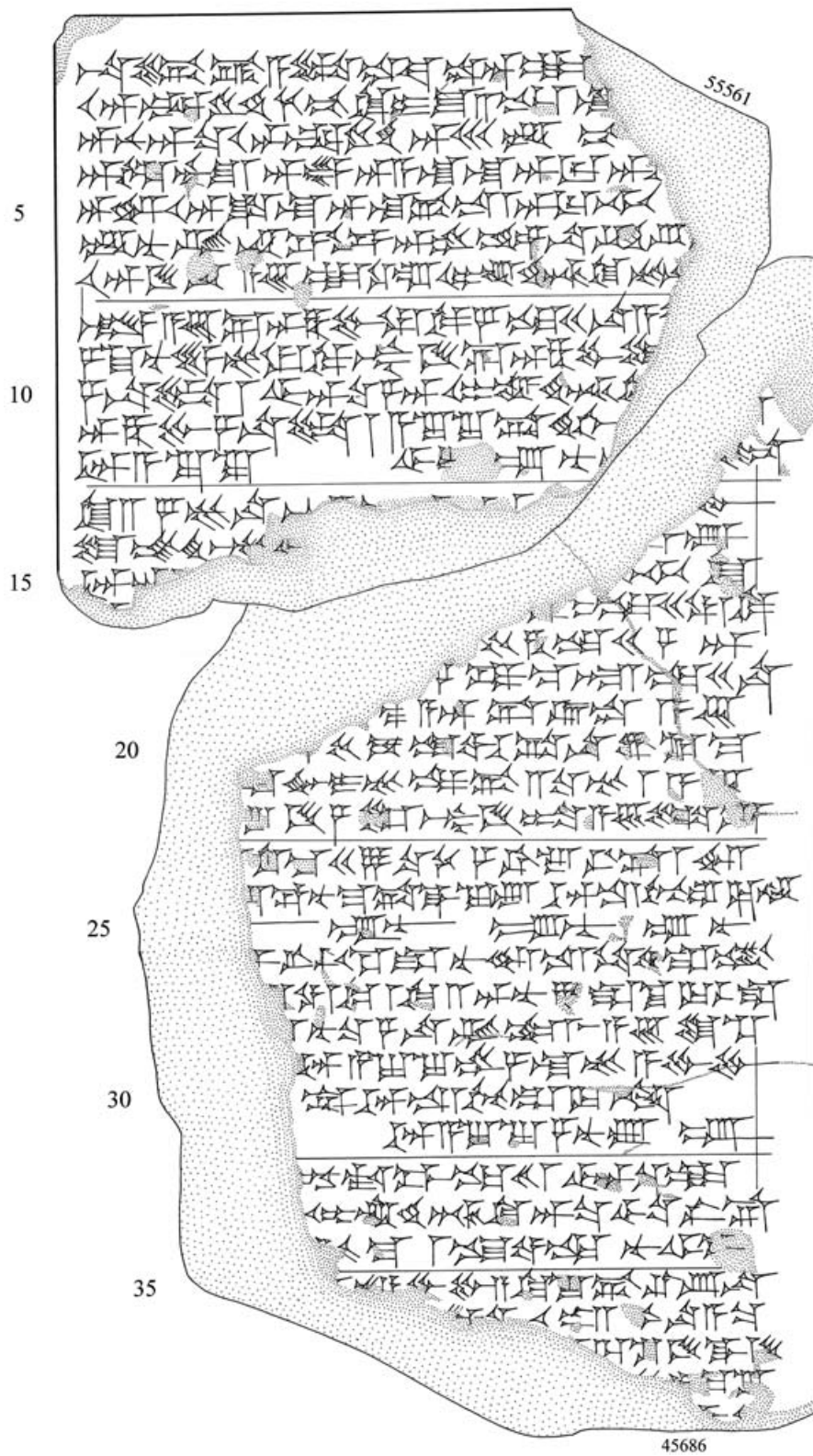


Fig. 10 Text No. 24 col. i. Drawn by George

24. BM 45686+55561 ii

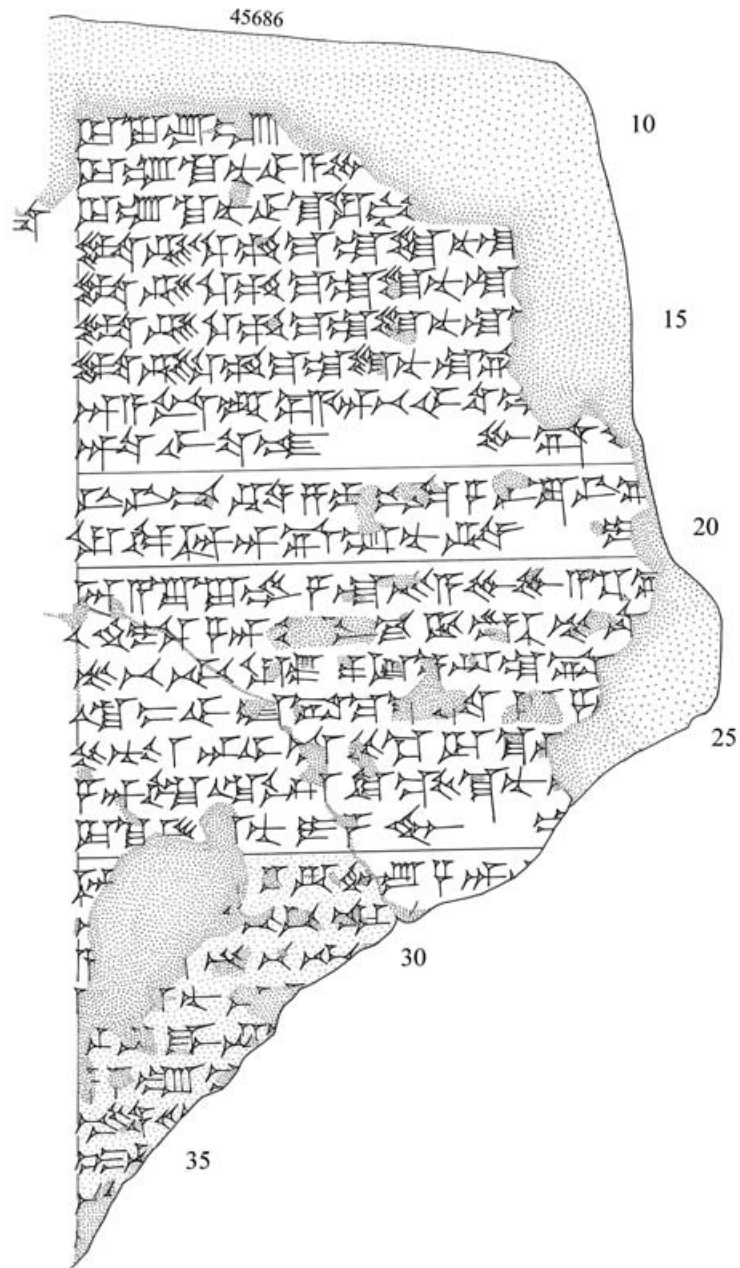


Fig. 11 Text No. 24 col. ii. Drawn by George

## col. i

- 1 *ina ūmi(ud) magri(še.ga) <sup>du</sup>egubbâ(a.gúb.{gub}.ba) tukân(gub)<sup>an</sup> riksa(kéš)*  
[*ana <sup>d</sup>ea(idim) <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu)*]
- 2 *u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫe tar-kas ki-i qātā(šu)<sup>min</sup>-ka la?-[x (x) ana pān(igi)]*  
3 *<sup>d</sup>ea(idim) <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) u <sup>d</sup>asal-lú-ḫe <sup>d</sup>sîn(30) <sup>d</sup>en-bi-[lu-lu]*  
4 *<sup>d</sup>nin-gír-su <sup>d</sup>bābu(ká) <sup>d</sup>a-la-la <sup>d</sup>uraš <sup>d</sup>n[in.uru]*  
5 *<sup>d</sup>adad(iškur) u <sup>d</sup>ša-la <sup>d</sup>la-ga-mil <sup>d</sup>ip-ti-[bīt(é)]*  
6 *<sup>d</sup>en-nu-gi bēl(en) iki(e) palgi(pa<sub>5</sub>) <sup>d</sup>lugal-edin-na mut-tal-l[ik sēri(edin)]*  
7 *u ili(dingir)<sup>mes</sup> <sup>r</sup>bēl(en)<sup>1</sup> eqli(a.šà) sîr-qa tasarraq(dub) mi-iḫ-ḫi tanaqqi(bal)<sup>qi</sup>*  
*mu-n[a šu-la-?]*
- 
- 8 *ina qabal(murub<sub>4</sub>) eqli(a.šà) bīt(é) <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub> tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup> 4 ka-man-na-a-t[u]*  
9 *šá zíd.nu.šúm.mu tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup> ina tubqāt(ub)<sup>mes</sup> bīt(é) <sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub> t[u-tam-mar?]*  
10 *nignak(níg.na) burāši(li) ana pān(igi) <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup> mi-iḫ-ḫi*  
*tanaqqi(bal)<sup>qi</sup> ana pān(igi) bīt(é)]*  
11 *<sup>d</sup>kù-su<sub>13</sub> nignak(níg.na) burāši(li) ana a-lu-lu ta-sár-raq [šikara(kaš) tanaqqi(bal)<sup>qi</sup>]*  
12 *én a-lu-lu mahrû(igi)<sup>ri</sup> tamannu(šid)<sup>nu</sup> m[u-nu i-tel]-li*
- 
- 13 KIMIN 4 *mu-na x x <sup>r</sup>teppuš(dù)<sup>us</sup>-ma? ana<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>kù]-su<sub>13</sub>*  
14 *tu-ṭah-ḫe ina <sup>r</sup>mu-šî<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x]x-ú*  
15 *én <sup>d</sup>x[... ..] teleqqe(ti)<sup>qe</sup>*  
16 *x[... ..] x ka-man tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup>*  
17 *[e-nu-ma <sup>mul</sup>x x x] ippuḫa(kur)<sup>ba</sup> ka-man tašakkan(gar)<sup>an</sup>*  
18 *[x x x x x] šá qaqqad(sag) <sup>gi</sup>epinni(apin) ka-man-na*  
19 *[x x x x x ul]ušennu(ulušin) itê(ús.sa.gub) eqli(a.šà)*  
20 *[<sup>ú</sup>ikkaru(engar) inaqqi(bal)<sup>qi</sup>-m]a kur-ban arki(egir)-šú ta-na-as-suk-ma*  
21 *[x x x r]a-<sup>r</sup>i-mu taqabbi(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga) 2 u<sub>4</sub>-mu ana eqli(a.šà)*  
22 *[ina muḫḫi(ugu) 4 ṭu]ppi(dub)<sup>mes</sup> {GAR} tašaṭṭar(sar) ina tubqāt(ub)<sup>mes</sup> erbetti(limmu)<sup>te</sup>*  
*eqli(a.šà) tu-tam-<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>*
- 
- 23 *[suluppî(zú.lum.ma)? <sup>zid</sup>sasq]â([eš]a)? <sup>r</sup>tasarraq(dub)?-ma<sup>1</sup> 28 tam-šil šá lipî(i.udu)*  
*teppuš(dù)<sup>us</sup> ana šār(im)*  
24 *[erbeti(4) ta-qal-l]u e-nu-ma ta-qal-lu-ú én iš-gu-um nēšu(ur.maḫ)*  
25 *[tamannu(šid)<sup>n</sup>]u tamannu(šid)<sup>nu</sup> tamannu(šid)<sup>nu</sup> tamannu(šid)<sup>nu</sup>*  
26 *[x x x-a]n-ni u<sub>5</sub>-ra-nu gabû(im.saḫar.na<sub>4</sub>.kur!.ra) taḫaššal(gaz)*  
27 *[x x x]x tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup> DIŠ KIMIN alluḫaru(an.nu.ḫ[a].ra) zê(še<sub>10</sub>) barbari(ur.bar.ra)*  
28 *[x x šammî(ú)<sup>bá</sup> a]n-nu-tú nignak(níg.na) gizillê(gi.izi.lá) eqla(a.šà) tu-ḫab*  
29 *[x x x]x én a-lu-lu šarru(lugal) šá la-mu a-bu-bu*  
30 *[mahrû(igi)<sup>ri</sup> én x x] uš!/ta? én iš-gu-um nēšu(ur.maḫ)*  
31 *[kalab(ur.gi-<sub>7</sub>) <sup>d</sup>iš-tar] én a-lu-lu šá-nu-ú tamannu(šid)*
- 
- 32 *[ul-tu an-ni-tú t]ag-da-mar ka-man ana pān(igi) <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) tarakkas?(kéš)*  
33 *[sîr-qa ta-sár-raq] mi-iḫ-ḫi tanaqqi(bal)<sup>qi</sup> <sup>d</sup>šamša(utu)<sup>si</sup> pešâ(babbar) teppuš(dù)<sup>us</sup>*  
34 *[ina lib-bi eqli(a.šà)? tete]bbe(zi)-ma ana arki(egir)-ka là tammar(igi)<sup>mar</sup>*
- 
- 35 *[én a-lu-lu šarru(lugal) šá l]a-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> a-bu-bu a-ki-lu šizbi(ga) ḫimēti(i.nun.na)*  
36 *[x x x x x x a-ki]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> u x x-na-a-tú*  
37 *...]x kalbî(ur.gi-<sub>7</sub>)<sup>mes</sup> rabûti(gal)<sup>mes</sup>*  
38 *[šá <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim ... ..]x a x lu*  
39 *...] x x*
- break
- col. ii
- 1–9 missing
- 10 *liq-lu-ú x x[...]*

- 11 *liq-tup-ku-nu-ši a-bu-[bu . . .*  
 12 *liq-tup-ku-nu-ši šu-ru-up-p[u-ú . . .*  
 13 *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu l[a ta-ziq-qa-ni?]*  
 14 *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu la [ta-ziq-qa-ni?]*  
 15 *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu la t[a-ziq-qa-ni?]*  
 16 *li-zi-qa-am-ma at-tu-nu la t[a-ziq-qa-ni?]*  
 17 <sup>d</sup>a-num <sup>d</sup>en-lil u <sup>d</sup>ea(idim) *ši-pir-tu[m pu-uš-še-ra]*  
 18 <sup>d</sup>šamas(utu) *ši-pir-tum pu-uš-š[e-er]*
- 
- 19 *dù.dù.bi šāsira(buru<sub>5</sub>.za.pa.ág) šá lipî(†<sup>1</sup>.udu) teppuš(dù)<sup>u</sup>[<sup>š</sup> ina išāti(izi)]*  
 20 *tanaddi(šub)<sup>di</sup> šiptu(én) an-nit tamannu(šid)<sup>mm</sup> erebu(buru<sub>5</sub>) i-[tel-li]*
- 
- 21 *én a-lu-lu šarru(lugal) šá la-mu a-bu-bu a-kil šiz[bi(ga) himēti(i.nun.na)]*  
 22 *u hī-i-qa šá <sup>d</sup>nissaba<sup>1</sup> šarratu(gašan) ik-kib-šú mu-na [a-ki-la]*  
 23 *mu-bat-ti-ru-ú <ina> haṭ?-tu <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri at-ta [a-lu-lu šār maḥ-ra?]*  
 24 *tul-tab-ši at-ta-ma <sup>r</sup>šu-li<sup>1</sup> x šá <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[lugal-edin-na]*  
 25 *zēra(še.numun) ana <sup>d</sup>nergal(igi.†du<sup>1</sup>) še-rim kalbū(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>m[es]</sup> rabūtu(gal)<sup>mes</sup>]*  
 26 *šá <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim ki-is-sat-ku-nu m[aḥ-ra-tu-nu]*  
 27 *kalbī(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>mes</sup>-[k]u-nu i-šá-’ d[up-pi-ra-’]*
- 
- 28 *én [<sup>d</sup>x x] x re-’-ú šá <sup>d</sup>b[ēl(en)-mātāti(kur.kur) nindabâ(nidba)-ka]*  
 29 *m[u-ḥur n]i-’še<sup>1</sup>-ik šinni(zú) e[rebi(buru<sub>5</sub>) ina muḥḥi(ugu) eqli(a.šà) šu-li mu-nu]*  
 30 *a-[ki-l]u <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-bat-ti-[ru a-ri-bu ša-ši-ru]*  
 31 *s[a-m]a-nu <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>!-[mat eqli . . . mu-ḥur]*  
 32 *<sup>r</sup>d[bēlu(en)<sup>1</sup> rabū(gal) bēl(en) x[ . . . <sup>d</sup>marduk(amar.utu) mu-ḥur <sup>d</sup>nin-urta]*  
 33 *<sup>r</sup>a-šá<sup>1</sup>-red <sup>r</sup>é.[kur mu-ḥur <sup>d</sup>adad(iškur) šār ḥengalli(ḥé.gal) bēlu(en) rabū(gal)<sup>u</sup>]*  
 34 *edin/mul-ḥur! x[ . . .*  
 35 *ḥé.g[ál? . . .*  
 36 *m[u-ḥur? . . .*  
 37 *x[ . . .*  
 break
- col. iii  
 1’ *x[ . . .*  
 2’ *gu-x[ . . .*
- 
- 3’ *kid.kid.bi e[rebi(buru<sub>5</sub>)<sup>bá</sup> šá iškūri(duḥ.làl) teppuš(dù)<sup>us</sup> . . .]*  
 4’ *ina <sup>r</sup>muḥḥi(ugu)<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu te-e[s-šir . . . ina tubqāt erbetti]*  
 5’ *eqli(a.šà) tu-tam-<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup> x[ . . .]*  
 6’ *qītma(im.saḥar.gi<sub>6</sub>.kur.ra) <sup>r</sup>gašša(im.babbar)<sup>1</sup> i[m . . .]*  
 7’ *ina <sup>túg</sup>kitê(gada) tar-kas e-ma i[l-la-ku . . .]*
- 
- 8’ *én tu.†tu<sup>1</sup>.an.na ḥur.sa[g.gá.ke<sub>4</sub> gá.e a.da.an.ni]*  
 9’ *<sup>d</sup>nin.kilim kalbū(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>m[es]</sup> rabūtu(gal)<sup>mes</sup> š[á <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim]*  
 10’ *ki-is-sat-ku-nu maḥ-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-tu-nu [at-la-’]*
- 
- 11’ *dù.dù.bi parak(bára) <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim [ina qabal eqli tanaddi sebet qa]*  
 12’ *qēma(zid.da) ana ka-man-na-a-tú tanaddi(šub)<sup>d</sup>[<sup>i</sup> 0.0.1 suluppī himšat nūni]*  
 13’ *1 akala(ninda) 1 qa mersa(ninda.i.dé.àm) ina m[uḥ-ḥi tašakkan ina tubqāt(ub)<sup>mes</sup>?]*  
 14’ *p[arak(bára) <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim te-te-[mir . . . urigallī itē parak]*  
 15’ *<sup>d</sup>nin-kilim ta-za-qá[p . . . zisurrā parak]*  
 16’ *<sup>d</sup>nin-kilim talammi(nigin)<sup>mi</sup> x[ . . .]*  
 17’ *u tur-ra ta-ra-sa-an [ . . .]*  
 18’ *ina muḥḥi(ugu) tašakkan(gar)-ma a-na šār(im) [erbetti . . .]*  
 19’ *mersa(ninda.i.dé.àm) u ka-man-na [ . . .]*

24. BM 45686+55561 iv

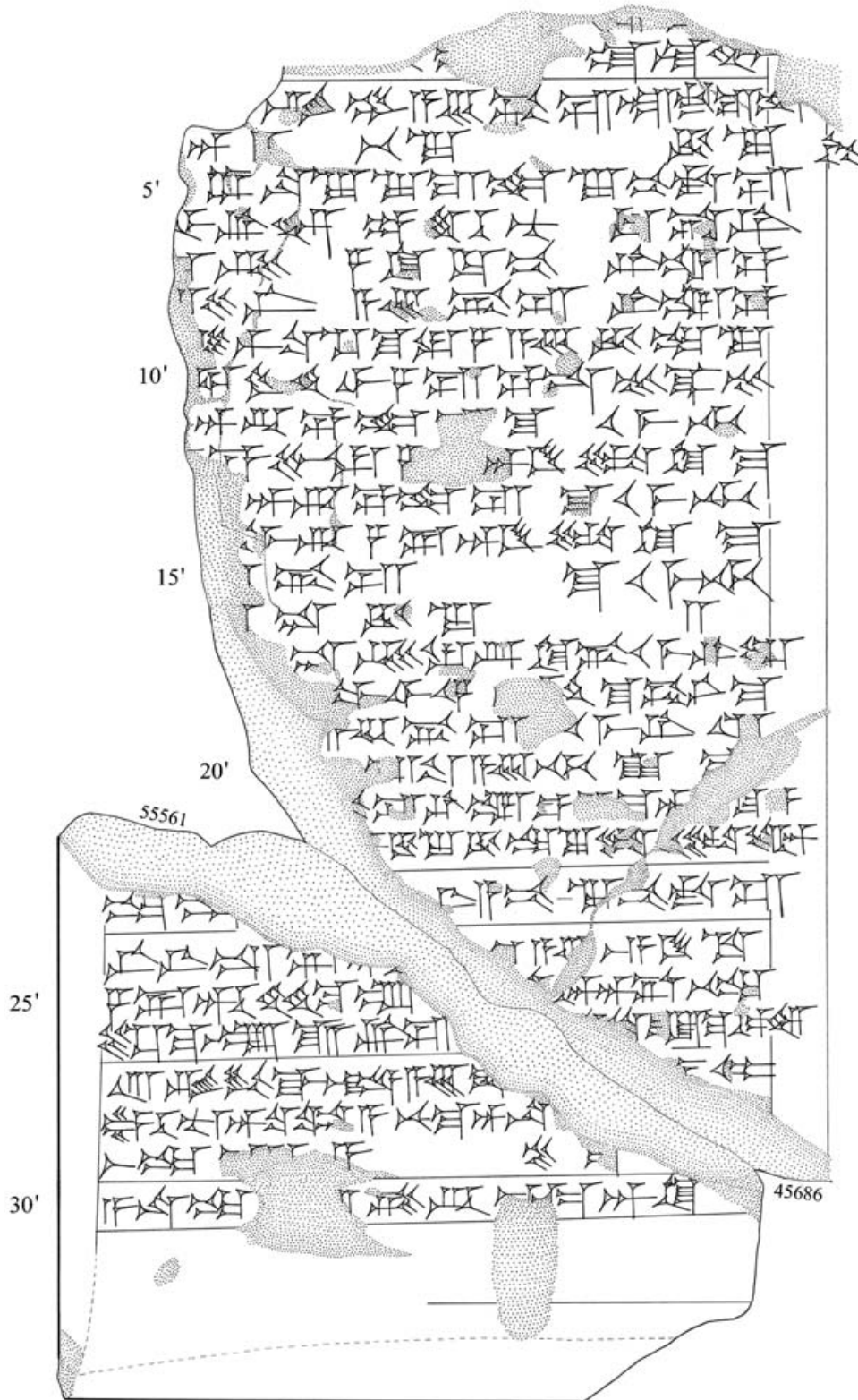


Fig. 12 Text No. 24 col. iv. Drawn by George

24. BM 45686+55561 iii

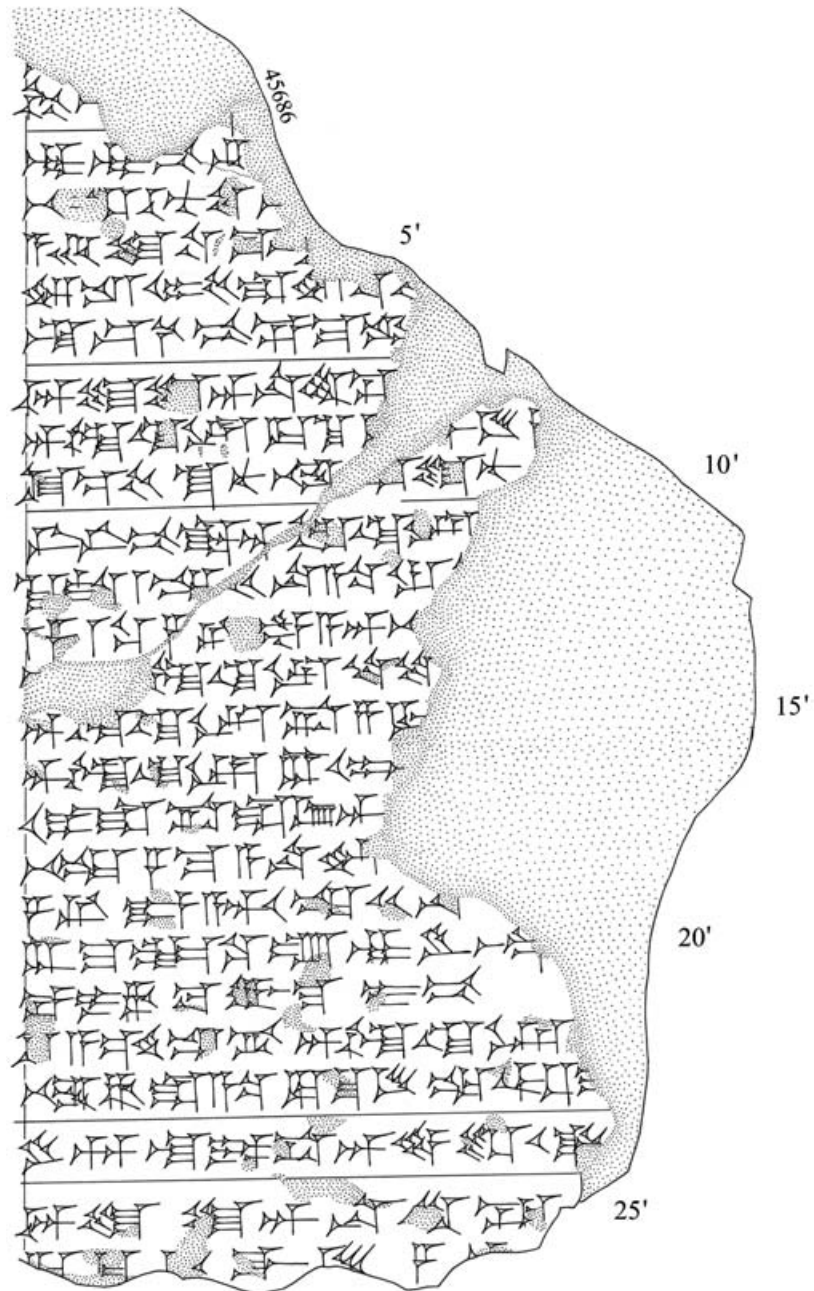


Fig. 13 Text No. 24 col. iii. Drawn by George

- 20' *talammi(nigin)-ma sir-qa tasarraq(dub)<sup>aq</sup> amēlu(lú) ina ki[p-pat . . .]*  
 21' *ika(e) i-ḥa-ba-aš-ma i-kaš [. . .]*  
 22' <sup>†</sup>*ki<sup>1</sup>-a-am iqabbi(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga) <sup>d</sup>nin-kilim [ki-is-sat-ka]*  
 23' *maḥ-ḥa-ra-a-tú kalbī(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>-ka ši-si-m[a at-li]*
- 
- 24' <sup>lú</sup>*āšipu(maš.maš) la i-pa-ta-an šūmi(sum)<sup>sar</sup> u sa[ḥlê(zà!.ḥi.li) lā ikkal]*
- 
- 25' *én tu.tu.an.na [ḥur<sup>1</sup>.sag.[gá.ke<sub>4</sub> gá.e a.da.an.ni <sup>d</sup>nin.kilim]*  
 26' <sup>†</sup>*kalbū(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabūtu(gal)<sup>meš</sup>1 šá <sup>†d</sup>[<sup>d</sup>nin-kilim kissatkunu maḥrātunu atlā]*  
 break
- col. iv
- 1' . . . ] x x [x]  
 2' *[ki-is-sat-ku-nu ma]ḥ-r[a-tu-nu] at-la-'*
- 
- 3' *[én <sup>d</sup>en.nu].gi lugal a.šà.ga.ke<sub>4</sub> apin.DA.ke<sub>4</sub>.n[e]*  
 4' <sup>d</sup>*MIN be-lu eq-lu*  
 5' *[uzu im] nigin.na lu.lu.ke<sub>4</sub>.ne dib.bé.da.ke<sub>4</sub>*  
 6' *ši-ir ṭīdi(im) nap-ḥar-šú-nu ib-ta-ni*  
 7' *[x ]x.zi níg.ki téš.bi ì.gu<sub>7</sub>.e*  
 8' *[níg.k]i ḥenbur(ŠE!.KAK) a.šà.ga.ke<sub>4</sub> ì.gu<sub>7</sub>.e*  
 9' *[n]am-maš-tú ḥab-bur!(šU)-ru šá eqli(a.šà) ik-ka-lu*  
 10' *[<sup>d</sup>as]al.lú.ḥe igi níg gá.e gin.mu dumu.mu*  
 11' *[a pú] dingir.re.e.ne.<sup>†</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> šu u.me.ti*  
 12' *[m]e-e bu-ru šá [bit(é)] ili(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> li-qé-ma*  
 13' *[saḥar é] dingir.re.e.ne.ke<sub>4</sub> šu u.me.ti*  
 14' *[e]-pe-ri šá bit(é) ili(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> li-qé-ma*  
 15' *[im a.š]à.ga.ke<sub>4</sub> šu u.me.ti*  
 16' *[ti-i]d-du eq-lu MIN*  
 17' *[dub u.me].gub nam.šub eridu<sup>ki</sup>.ga u.me.ni.sar*  
 18' *[e-pùš? tu]p-pi ši-pat <sup>†</sup>erī<sup>1</sup>-dùg šu-tur-ma*  
 19' *[ub.limmu.ba] <sup>†</sup>a<sup>1</sup>.šà.ga.ke<sub>4</sub> u.me.ni.<sup>†</sup>dul<sup>1</sup>*  
 20' *[ina tub-qát er]-<sup>†</sup>bet<sup>1</sup>-tú eqli(a.šà) ti-mer-m[a]*  
 21' *[níg.ki ḥenbur a.šà.g]a.ke<sub>4</sub> ì.gu<sub>7</sub>.e <sup>†</sup>ḥa.ma<sup>1</sup>.an.[ta].<sup>†</sup>e<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>*  
 22' *[nam-maš-tú šá ḥab-bu]r eq-lu ik-ka-lu li-<sup>†</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-li te.én*
- 
- 23' *ka.ini[m.ma níg.ki?] dù.a.bi dib.bé.da.ke<sub>4</sub>*
- 
- 24' *dù.dù.<bi> eper(saḥar) <sup>†</sup>bit(é) ili(dingir)-šú<sup>1</sup> [ti-i-d]i eqli(a.š[à]) ina mé(a)<sup>meš</sup> būrti(pú)*  
 25' *šá bit(é) ili(dingir)-šú tuballal(ḥi.ḥi)-ma tuṭpī(dub)[<sup>meš</sup> teppuš(dù)<sup>u</sup>]š šipta(én) an-nit ina muḥḥi(ugu)*  
 26' *tašaṭtar(sar)-ma ina tub-qát er-bet-[tú eqli(a.šà) t]e-<sup>†</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-mer-ma išallim(sá)<sup>im</sup>*
- 
- 27' *13 <sup>†</sup>urigalli(ùri.gal) ina qabal(murub<sub>4</sub>) eqli(a.šà) tuzaq[qa]p(gub!)<sup>ap</sup> qēma(zíd.da) talam]mi(nigin)<sup>mi</sup>*  
 28' *bāb(ká)-šú-nu ana šīt šamši(<sup>d</sup>utu.è.a) tepette(bad)-ma an-na-[a ta-qab-bi]*  
 29' *ina KA X X A še!<sup>†</sup>e<sup>1</sup> [liš-lim?]*
- 
- 30' *ana pī(ka) [tu]pp[i](dub) gaba-ri dēr(<sup>†</sup>bād<sup>1</sup>.an)<sup>ki</sup>*

<sup>i 1-2</sup> On a propitious day you set up a holy-water basin and arrange a ritual apparatus [for Ea, Šamaš] and Asalluḥe. After(?) your hands are [. . .] <sup>7</sup> you strew a strewn-offering <sup>3</sup> before] Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḥe, Šin, Enbilulu, <sup>4</sup> Ningirsu, Bau, Alala, Uraš, Ninuru, <sup>5</sup> Adad and Šala, Lā-gamāl, Ipte-[bit,] <sup>6</sup> Ennugi, lord of dike and ditch, Lugaledinna, who roams [the steppe,] <sup>7</sup> and

the gods who own the field. You make a libation of *mihhu*-beer, (saying:) “[Expel(?) the] grubs!”

<sup>8-9</sup> In the middle of the field you place a “house of Kusu”. You set down four bread-cakes of *zidnušummu*-flour. You [bury (them)] at the corners of Kusu’s house. <sup>10-11</sup> You set up a censer of juniper facing the sun, make a libation of *mihhu*-beer, sprinkle (incense) [before] Kusu’s [house] on the censer of juniper for Alulu, [make a libation of beer and] <sup>12</sup> recite the first incantation of Alulu. The [grubs will go] away.

<sup>13-14</sup> Ditto. [You] make(?) four grubs . . . , and present them [to] Kusu. In the night [. . .] <sup>15</sup> You recite] the incantation “O god [. . . ],” you take [. . .] <sup>16</sup> . . . you set down a bread-cake. <sup>17</sup> [After the constellation . . .] rises you set down a bread-cake <sup>18</sup> [. . .] of the top part of a plough, a bread-cake <sup>19-20</sup> [. . . The farmer pours libations of] emmer-beer around the field and you throw clods of earth after him, <sup>21</sup> saying “O loving [. . . !]” “Two days at the field!” <sup>22</sup> you write [on four] tablets, you bury (them) at the four corners of the field.

<sup>23-4</sup> You strew(?) [dates(?) and *sasqû*-flour(?),] make twenty-eight effigies from tallow and burn (them) in [the four] cardinal directions. When you burn them, the incantation “Roared the lion!” <sup>25</sup> [you recite,] you recite, you recite, you recite. <sup>26</sup> You crush [. . .] . . . , fennel (and) alum. <sup>27</sup> You set down [. . .]. ¶ ditto: *alluharu*-dye, wolf-turd <sup>28</sup> [. . . with] these [herbs] you exorcize the field (by) censer and torch. <sup>29</sup> [. . .] the incantation “O Alulu, king from before the Deluge”, <sup>29</sup> [first (version), the incantation . . .] . . . , the incantation “Roared the lion, <sup>31</sup> [hound of Ištar!],” the incantation “O Alulu”, second (version), you recite.

<sup>32</sup> [After] you have finished [this,] you arrange a bread-cake facing the sun. <sup>33</sup> [You strew a strewn-offering,] make a libation of *mihhu*-beer, make a white(?) sun-disk(?), <sup>34</sup> [and] leave [the field(?),] not looking behind you.

<sup>35</sup> [Incantation. O Alulu, king from] before the Deluge, who consumes milk, ghee, <sup>36</sup> [. . . “devourer”]-pests(?) and . . . <sup>37</sup> [. . .] the great dogs <sup>38</sup> [of Ninkilim . . .]

<sup>ii</sup> <sup>10</sup> May [. . .] burn . . . [. . . !] <sup>11</sup> May the Deluge pick you (masc. pl.) off! [. . .] <sup>12</sup> may the frost pick you off! [. . .] <sup>13</sup> may it blow so [that you cannot blow back!] <sup>14</sup> May it blow so that [you can] not [blow back!] <sup>15</sup> May it blow so that you cannot [blow back!] <sup>16</sup> May it blow so that you cannot [blow back!] <sup>17</sup> O Anu, Enlil and Ea, [cancel the (field pests’)] mission! <sup>18</sup> O Šamaš, cancel the mission!

<sup>19-20</sup> Its ritual. You make a cricket out of tallow, throw [it into fire and] recite this incantation. The locusts will [go away.]

<sup>21</sup> Incantation. O Alulu, king from before the Deluge, who consumes milk, [ghee] <sup>22-4</sup> and *hiqu*-beer, to whom the queen Nissaba is an abomination! Grub, [“devourer”]-pest and] *mubattiru*-bug, with(!?) a wand of cornel wood you, [Alulu, a king of old(?),] have brought into being! Do you (now) take them away! O . . . of [Lugaledinna,] <sup>25</sup> clear the ploughland of weeds for Nergal! O [great] dogs <sup>26</sup> of Ninkilim, you [have received] your fodder! <sup>27</sup> Take your dogs and be [off with you!]

<sup>28-9</sup> Incantation. [O . . . ,] shepherd of the Lord [of the Lands,] accept [your food-portion, take away from this field the] bite of [locust]-tooth! [Grub,] <sup>30</sup> “devourer”-[pest,] *mubattiru*-[bug, locust, cricket,] <sup>31</sup> “red bug”, field-[weevil . . . [. . . Accept,] <sup>32</sup> O great lord, lord of [. . . , Marduk! Accept, O Ninurta,] <sup>33</sup> foremost one of E-[kur! Accept, O great lord Adad, king of plenty!] <sup>36</sup> Accept [. . .]

<sup>iii</sup> <sup>3</sup> Its ritual. [You make] locusts [of wax, . . .] <sup>4</sup> on them you draw [. . . and in the four corners] <sup>5</sup> of the field you bury [them . . .] <sup>6</sup> black dye, whitewash, [. . .] <sup>7</sup> you tie in a linen cloth. Wherever he [goes . . .]

<sup>8</sup> Incantation. *Tutu-anna* of the mountain [range, I am the *adanni* of] <sup>9</sup> Ninkilim. O great dogs of [Ninkilim,] <sup>10</sup> you have received your fodder, [now be gone!]

<sup>11-14</sup> Its ritual. [You place] a plinth for Ninkilim [in the middle of the field.] You place [there seven litres] of flour for bread-cakes. [You put] on top [ten litres of dates, chopped fish,] one bread-loaf (and) one litre of date-cake, you [bury it at the corners of] Ninkilim’s plinth. You plant [*x* standards around] <sup>15</sup> Ninkilim’s [plinth . . . ,] <sup>16</sup> you surround Ninkilim’s [plinth with a flour-circle . . .] <sup>17</sup> and again you steep [. . . ,] <sup>18</sup> you put [. . .] on top and in [the four] cardinal directions [you . . .] <sup>19</sup> date-cake and bread-cake, [. . .] <sup>20</sup> you surround and strew a strewn-offering. The man [will . . .] with/in a loop [. . .] <sup>21</sup> he will squash (a bit of) the dike flat and



linger [. . .] <sup>22'-3'</sup> He will say as follows: “O Ninkilim, you have received [your fodder,] summon your dogs and [be gone!]”

<sup>24'</sup> The exorcist must not dine. [He must not eat] garlic and *sahlû*-[spice.]

<sup>25'</sup> Incantation. *Tutu-anna* of the mountain range, [I am the *adanni* of Ninkilim.] <sup>26'</sup> O great dogs of [Ninkilim, you have received your fodder, (now) be gone! . . .]

<sup>iv</sup> . . . <sup>2</sup> You [have received your fodder, (now)] be gone!

*Sum.* <sup>3'</sup> [Incantation.] Ennugi, lord of field (and) of ploughmen(!), <sup>5'</sup> created(!) teeming, [soil]-prowling [flesh.] <sup>7'</sup> Grubs were eating [the crops] *en masse*, <sup>8'</sup> [grubs] were eating the green shoots of the field.

*Akk.* <sup>4'</sup> Ennugi, owner of the field, <sup>6'</sup> created “flesh” (i.e. fleshy creatures) in the soil, all of them, <sup>9'</sup> the creatures began eating the green shoots of the field.

<sup>10'</sup> Asalluḫe noticed, (went inside to his father Enki and said: “Ennugi etc.” He said it a second time, adding “I do not know what to do, how should I respond?” His father answered him, “My son, what don’t you know? What can I add? Asalluḫe, what don’t you know? What can I add? What I (know, you also know!) Come, my son! <sup>11'-12'</sup> Take well-[water] of the gods (*Akk.* house of the gods), <sup>13'-14'</sup> take dust of the house of the gods, <sup>15'-16'</sup> take clay of the field, <sup>17'-18'</sup> make [tablets,] inscribe an incantation of Eridu (on them), <sup>19'-20'</sup> bury [them in the four] corners of the field and <sup>21'-2'</sup> [the grubs] eating the field’s [green shoots] should go away.” Incantation-spell.

<sup>23'</sup> Incantation to make all [grubs(?)] pass on by.

<sup>24'-6'</sup> Its ritual. You mix dust from his (the client’s) god’s house [and clay] of the field with well-water from his god’s house and [make] tablets with it. You write this incantation on them, and bury them in the four corners of the field, and it will be well.

<sup>27'</sup> You [stand] thirteen standards in the middle of the field, surround [them with flour,] <sup>28'</sup> open their gate to the sunrise and [say] this: <sup>29'</sup> “By weevils’(?) teeth [may] my barley [be unharmed!(!)]”

<sup>30'</sup> According to the wording of a tablet, a copy from Dēr.

### Notes

i 2. The phrase *kī qātika* might alternatively mean “in your own way”: compare *ki-i qa-at pa-ni-ma* “in the same way as before” in a glass-making recipe (Oppenheim 1970: 48 §18: 14; Nineveh manuscript). The sign read *la* is written over an erasure.

i 3. Enbilulu’s function in agriculture is as an irrigator, a role noted in the god-list *An = Anu ša amēli* 110 (ed. Litke 1998: 237), where he is Marduk *ša pa-ta-ti* “of canals”, but given fullest expression in *Enūma eliš* VII 57–69.

i 4. As a manifestation of Ninurta, Ningirsu is too well-known a husbandman to need more documentation than his epithet *bēl me-reš-ti* “master-ploughman” (*Šurpu* IV 101, ed. Reiner 1958: 29, Borger 2000: 72). Primeval Alala became identified with the farmer’s worksong (see text No. 2: 8). Uraš is explicitly associated with agricultural work in the god-lists *CT* 25 11 ii 25 // 15 iii 15 and *An = Anu ša amēli* 71 (ed. Litke 1998: 233), in which he and the divine ploughman <sup>d.ū-rū</sup>uru<sub>4</sub> alternate as Ninurta *ša al-lī* “of the mattock”. The goddess Ninuru (or Bēlet-āli “Mistress of the City”) is restored to make a pair with her consort, Uraš (*An* V 44, ed. Litke 1998: 172). On this goddess see further Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2001b. Uraš and his family follow Ninkilim directly in the god-list *An* V 42, an order which probably demonstrates a connection between them and adds resonance to the present passage.

i 5. *Lā-gāmīl* “Merciless” is a variant of the usual *Lā-gamāl* “No Mercy” (on whom see Lambert 1983). *Lā-gamāl* and *Ipte-bit* are respectively the son and minister of Uraš (*An* V 45–6, ed. Litke 1998: 172).

i 6. In this line the gods have epithets that explain their characters. Ennugi is the chamberlain (*guzalū*) of Enlil’s court at Nippur (Lambert and Millard 1969: 147–8) but, importantly for his presence in this line as a “god of the field”, and in the text’s final incantation as “lord of the field” (iv 3’–4’), he is also a deity with agricultural expertise, being also *bēl(en) iki(e) u palgi*(paš) “lord of dike and ditch” in *Šurpu* IV 103 (ed. Reiner 1958: 29, Borger 2000: 72).

Lugaledinna is a deity of wild asses and other quadrupeds that graze the steppe, one of the seven (or nine) manifestations of the *Asakku*-demon and also a name of Nergal (see Lambert 1987). In one list the *Asakku*-demons are summed up as *kī-šit-ti* <sup>d</sup>nin-urta *ša šu-bat-su-nu a-ḫat āli*(ur[u]) “conquered by Ninurta, whose dwellings are outside the city” (George 1992: 154–7 §13a). Their place of residence is explicit in Lugaledinna’s name, “Lord of the Steppe”, and his epithet in this line is restored accordingly; space for [edin] is short, but the scribe may have run on to the margin between the columns, as he does in i 24. Lugaledinna occurs in the context of field pests’ destruction in the second incantation to Alulu (ii 24 // No. 25: 7).

i 8. On *bīt* <sup>d</sup>kū-su<sub>13</sub> in exorcistic rituals see the introduction to text No. 21.

i 9. The Sumerian expression *zid.nu.šum.mu* literally means “undistributed flour”, i.e. a special flour kept in reserve?

- i 14. *tu-tah-ḥe* is a common late spelling of the present tense, *tuteḥḥe*.
- i 17. Cf. No. 8: 15: *enūma en[zu ina šit šamši] ippuḥa* and No. 20: 5': [*enūma*] *enzu ippuḥa*.
- i 18. See *Urra V* 135: <sup>si</sup>sag.apin = *qaq-qa-du* “head”, among parts of the plough.
- i 24. The incantation cited here recurs as *Išgum nešu* [*kalab Ištar*] in i 30–1. There is no space in the present passage for *kalab Ištar*. Elsewhere its incipit is listed in full extent in the *namburbi* catalogue K 2389+ (Maul 1994: 197 l. 4: *én iš-gu-um ur.maḥ ur.gi<sub>7</sub> iš-tar*; copy Geller 2000: 255), and in abbreviated form in a library catalogue from Aššur (Geller 2000: 230–1 iv 5: [é]n *iš-gu-um ur.maḥ*). The former pairs the incipit with the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, a match that suggests that the incantation opened the series.
- i 32. *tag-da-mar* is a late spelling for subordinative *tagdamru*.
- i 33. Alternatively after *tanaqqi*(bal): *ki<sup>d</sup>utu igi utu teppuš* “you perform a *ki'utu* facing the sun”, but the passage may be corrupt (D. Schwemer).
- i 36. If we judge the context correctly the last word should be a pest. It might just be read *ši-in-na-a-tú*, and perhaps connected with *šinnarabû*, var. *šimmarbu*, a large type of locust according to its Sumerian equivalents (*Urra XIV* 228–9: *buru<sub>5</sub>.sag, buru<sub>5</sub>.gal = ši-in-na-ra-bu-ú*).
- ii 11–12. Or *lik-rit-ku-nu-ši* “let the Deluge/frost strike you!”
- ii 13–16. Parallels to this passage are the incantations *KBo* 36 29 rev. iv 17'–19' (ed. Schwemer 1998: 99 ll. 183'–5') and *KAL* 2 33 rev. 2'–4' (ed. Schwemer 2007b: 85–7). In the present instance of the formula the names of the four winds are expected but inexplicably absent.
- ii 20. For the restoration of *itelli* see i 12.
- ii 21–7. See No. 25.
- ii 28–36. See No. 23 obv. 8'–15'.
- iii 3'. Restored from the parallel, No. 23 rev. 3–4: *7 šalmi aribi ša iškūri teppuš*.
- iii 8'–10'. // iii 25'–6' // No. 23 rev. 6–9.
- iii 11'–13'. // No. 23 rev. 11–14, from which the text is completed.
- iii 23'. *maḥ-ḥa-ra-a-tú*: a late spelling of Standard Babylonian *mahrāta*.
- iii 24'. Prohibitions that ban ritual participants from eating noxious foods like garlic and *sahlū*-spice (cress seed?) are a matter of ritual purity; see Maul 1994: 39. A fuller list of foodstuffs whose ingestion results in impurity is given in *Šumma ālu* (*CT* 39 36: 107 // 38 rev. 11): *diš amēlu*(na) *KIMIN* (= *ana bit ilišu itbe*) *karaša*(garaš)<sup>sar</sup> *sahlē*(zā.ḥi.li)<sup>sar</sup> *šūmī*(sum)<sup>sar</sup> *šamaškilla*(sum.<sup>f</sup>sikil)<sup>sar</sup> *ikkašir*(uzu) *alpi*(gud) *šir*(uzu) *šahē*(šaḥ) *īkul*(gu<sub>7</sub>)-*ma ul el* “¶(If) a man setting out for the shrine of his god eats leek, cress-seed(?), garlic, onion, beef or pork, he will be unclean”.
- iv 3'–4'. *apin.DA* is presumably an error for *apin.lá* “ploughman”. The Akkadian translation ignores it.
- iv 5'–6'. Our translation has in mind *nigin = saḥāru* “to go around”, although the ancient scholar decided on *nigin = napharu*. The end of the Sumerian line appears to be corrupt; *dib.bé.da.ke<sub>4</sub>* recurs in the rubric, where it belongs (iv 23'), but here intrudes in place of a finite verb. The plural suffix *-e.ne* (the source of the Akkadian possessive *-šumu*) is misconceived and probably derives in part from the lost verb's prefix chain. The good sense of the Akkadian translation *ibtani* then encourages us to propose as the Sumerian line's original conclusion the word *bi.in.dim* “he created”.
- iv 7'–9'. Lexical texts (e.g. *Urra XIV* 401a) commonly make *nig.ki* the counterpart of *nammaštu*, i.e. animals in general, and that is how the ancient scholar took it in the present passage. But there is evidence that *nig.ki* had specific reference to creeping things that live in or on the soil: it is glossed *mu-nu-um* “grub” in *Nigga* 141 and equated with “vermin of the ground” in *Urra XIV* 402–3: *nig.ki = zer-man-du, nig.ki ki.a = MIN qaq-qa-rum*.
- iv 10. This line is a highly abbreviated form of the common introductory formula that characterizes what Falkenstein called the “Marduk-Ea-Typ” in his study of the literary structures of Sumerian incantations (Falkenstein 1931: 53–8): (a) *igi* stands for *igi im.ma.an.šum* “he noticed”, (b) *Asalluḥe's* entrance before Ea and report of trouble are omitted entirely, (c) *nig.gá.e* stands for *nig.gá.e i.zu.a.mu ù za.e in.ga.e.zu* “what I know you also know”. This abbreviation is conventional in first-millennium copies. In addition, *gin.mu* in the present example is an error for *gin.na* “come!”
- iv 17'–18'. The restoration of the Akkadian is put forward with some reservation, because it presumes that object and verb are transposed. This unusual grammar is forced on us because we can find no imperative ending *-pi* that makes a good counterpart to Sumerian [u.me].*DU*. For *tuppa epēšu* as a technical term see iv 25' below (partly restored), *Nabnitu* VII 123, and an Old Babylonian school text in which a teacher gives instructions on how to make a tablet, first in Akkadian and then in Sumerian (Civil 1998: 1 ll. 8' // 17'); in both bilingual passages the Sumerian counterpart of *epēšu* is *dim*, however.
- iv 27'. On the use of *urigallu* (standards of bundled reed) in making magic enclosures see Wiggermann 1992: 71. The verb *tuzaqqaq* is usually spelled syllabically, but note <sup>si</sup>uri.gal . . . *gub-ap* in the *bit rimki* ritual *BBR* 26 iii 24–5, ed. Zimmern 1901: 126 and pl. 41. The enclosing of a ritual space in a circle of flour, *zissurrú*, was standard practice in Babylonian exorcism; the exact formulation restored here, *qēma talammī*, also occurs in a *namburbi* performed when preparing to dig a new well and appended to *Šumma ālu* XVII (Caplice 1971: 150 l. 28' // 1973: 513 rev. 10': *zid.da nigin-mi*).
- iv 29'. Apparently not *zú* 'buru<sub>5</sub>.<sup>1</sup>.a = *šinni erebi* “locust tooth”. A possible emendation is *šinni*(*zú*) <uḥ>. 'gu<sub>7</sub>.<sup>1</sup>.a = *kalmati* “weevil's tooth”. The *uḥ.gu<sub>7</sub>.a* is a generic term for field pests attested in the Old Babylonian analogues of *Zu-buru-dabbeda* (George 1999: 293; below, Figs. 15 VAT 17131+ xii 14', 17 VAT 17137+ vi 7').

## No. 25

## A 33250 (1 NT 25)

This piece, excavated at Nippur in 1948 and now in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, is a small tablet in landscape format, damaged on the right edge and lacking both its lower corners. It was inscribed with eleven lines of Neo-Babylonian cuneiform, parts of all of which survive. The text was published by Daniel Weisberg as *OIP* 122 no. 168 (2003: 187 and pl. 67), but not recognized there as more than a “literary text”. Eckart Frahm subsequently identified it as a duplicate of incantations addressed to Alulu in BM 45686, which he knew from Lambert and Millard’s quotation of their incipits (Frahm 2009: 141).

Now that BM 45686 is published, as part of our text No. 24, it can be seen that the incantation written on A 33250 is the shorter and second of two incantations to Alulu deployed in the fight against field pests. In this edition of the field-pest rituals the incantation occurs in No. 24 ii 21–7, and probably also in the very fragmentary passage No. 20: 7’–10’; from these parallels the text of the present tablet can be almost completely restored. The tablet’s small size and landscape format suggest that it was created specifically to hold only this single incantation, either as a scribal training exercise or for use in the field.

This second incantation to Alulu begins in the same way as the first, by addressing Alulu as a king of the antediluvian age who enjoys liquids like milk, ghee and a certain kind of beer but finds barley (“Queen Nissaba”) odious. The incantation then asks Alulu, as one who created the pests with the wave of a magic wand, to remove them and kill them, a process imaginatively described as “weeding” the field for the lord of the netherworld. The incantation continues by appealing directly to the pests with the observation that they have been ritually fed, implying that they should therefore take no more interest in the field and its crops. This appeal occurs in other incantations against field pests, and usually ends simply, *atlā* “now be gone!”. Here another command intrudes, “take your (masc. pl.) dogs”, which should be addressed to Ninkilim but instead presupposes a plural agent who, in the context, can only be the pests themselves.

According to the incantation Alulu cannot himself abide the cereals on which the pests feed, but prefers a liquid diet. We suspect there is a reversal here, in which the food that Alulu finds repulsive is what his creatures love. Conversely one can propose that the liquids he enjoys should be repugnant to the pests. Thus we may conclude that when libations of these liquids occur in the rituals against field pests it is as offensive weaponry, unlike solid foodstuffs, which are used to buy the pests off. This strategy may have a basis in nature. Many insects and grubs are disabled by contact with liquids, especially sticky varieties.

The incantation’s addressee is a rare figure and needs some explanation. Alulu is the Babylonian form of Alulim (á.lu.lim), king of Eridu and the first of the antediluvian kings in the Sumero-Babylonian traditions of early human history (Lambert and Millard 1969: 27, Frahm 2009: 141). As such he appears not only in the antediluvian king-lists and in Berossus’s *Babyloniaca* (as Aloros), but also in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*, a wisdom text that observes how even the mightiest heroes of old have vanished from the face of the earth:

[me.a a.lu.lim lu]gal.e mu 36,000.àm in.ak  
me-e ᵐa-lu-lu m[u . . .]  
[a-l]e-e ᵐa-lu-lu [ša ešret šār šanāti šarrūta ipušu]

After Alster 2005: 301 l. 9

Where is Alulu, who was king for ten myriad years?

Alulu’s extraordinary length of reign was referred to as proverbial by the seventh-century Babylonian astrologer Ašarēdu, who in a letter to the Assyrian king called for the gods of Babylon to bless him with the “years of Alulu” (*SAA* X 158: 4: *šanāti*(mu)<sup>meš</sup> šá ᵐa-lu-[lu], see Frahm 2009: 141).

Alulu has a twofold association with magic and exorcism: (a) he was king of Eridu, the city of Ea, the god of those arts, and (b) he received pristine wisdom and know-how from the sage Adapa, sent by Ea to civilize mankind. The latter connection is elaborated in the apocryphal message of Adapa to Alulu embedded in a sequence of incantations (*STT* 176: 14’–21’ + 185 rev. 1’–4’, see Veldhuis 1990: 40 sub 3.4). But the reason for Alulu’s particular appearance in field-pest incantations is that, according to the better-preserved of the two incantations that invoke

him, he was himself blamed for the creation of field pests and so also had the power to get rid of them. Other agents were also held responsible for the pests' existence, specifically the gods Ninkilim (*passim*) and Ennugi (No. 24 iv 3'–6'), but it is not clear to us why Alulu should have been added to their number.

The transliteration that follows has benefited from a collation of Weisberg's copy with photographs of A 33250 kindly provided by Walter Farber, Curator of the Oriental Institute Museum's cuneiform tablets, with the assistance of Andrew Dix, Tablet Room assistant.

obv.

- 1 *a-lu-lu šarru(lugal) šá la-mu a-b[u-bi]*  
 2 *a-kil šizbi(ga) ḫimēti(i.nun.na) ḫ[īqi(kaš.bir<sub>8</sub>)]*  
 3 *šá<sup>d</sup>nissaba ša[r-ra-tú ik-kib-šú]*  
 4 *ṛmu<sup>1</sup>-nu a-kil mu-ba[t-tir ina ḫat-ṭi e-ri]*  
 5 *[at-t]a! a-lu-lu šá[r maḫ-ra?]*  
 6 *[tu-š]ab-ši at-ta-[ma šu-li]*  
 7 *[x šá] ṛ<sup>d</sup>lugal-edi[n-na]*  
 8 *[zēra(še.numun) ana] ṛ<sup>d</sup>ner[gal(igi.du) šī-rim]*

edge

- 9 *[kalbū(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup> rabūti(gal)]<sup>meš</sup> [šá<sup>d</sup>nin-kilim]*

rev.

- 10 *[ki-is-sat-k]u-nu m[aḫ-ra-tu-nu]*  
 11 *[kalbi(ur.gi<sub>7</sub>)<sup>meš</sup>-ku-nu] ṛ<sup>i</sup>-šá-<sup>3</sup> d[up-pi-ra-<sup>3</sup>]*

<sup>1</sup> O Alulu, king from before the Deluge, <sup>2</sup> who consumes milk, ghee (and) [*ḫiqu*-beer, <sup>3</sup> to] whom the queen Nissaba [is an abomination!] <sup>4</sup> Grub, “devourer”-pest, *mubattiru*-[bug, with a wand of cornel-wood <sup>5</sup> you,] Alulu, a king [of old(?), <sup>6</sup> brought] into being! Do you (masc. sing.) (now) [take them away! <sup>7</sup> O . . . of] Lugaledinna <sup>8</sup> [clear (masc. sing.) the ploughland of weeds for] Nergal! <sup>9</sup> [O great dog]s [of Ninkilim, <sup>10</sup> you (masc. pl.) have received] your [fodder!] <sup>11</sup> Take [your (masc. pl.) dogs] and be [off with you!]

Note

7–8. Lugaledinna and <sup>d</sup>igi.du are both names of Nergal, but they have different roles here: Lugaledinna is one of the divine owners of the field, as in No. 24 i 6, while <sup>d</sup>igi.du is Nergal in his capacity as lord of the netherworld, standing ready to receive the dead insects into his custody. The expression *zēra šarāmu* (restored from No. 24 ii 25) also occurs in a Neo-Babylonian farming contract, where it seems to mean clearing weeds from tilled land (*TuM* 2–3 no. 140: 8: *zēru i-ši-ri-ma*; see *CAD* S 300 s.v. *sippiḫu*).

#### V. Other texts (Texts Nos. 26–8)

No. 26

K 13301

Fig. 7

K 13301 is a small flake from a Neo-Assyrian library tablet, with meagre parts of seven lines preserved. The content is ritual and Ninkilim is mentioned in l. 6'.

- 1' . . . ]x x[ . . .  
 2' . . . ] ku ina ki-[ . . .  
 3' . . . n]u? šimid(níg.lal)-su ḫu-[ . . .  
 4' . . . šipāti(síg)] sāmāti(sa<sub>5</sub>) taṭammi(nu.nu) te-šip ana pī(ka) [ . . .  
 5' . . . ] kur ina qāt(šu) imitti(15)-šú tašakkan(gar)<sup>am</sup> pī(ka)-[ . . .  
 6' . . . <sup>d</sup>n]in-kilim šá arki(egi[r])[ . . .  
 7' . . . ]x[ . . .

. . . <sup>3'</sup> . . . ] his bandage [ . . . <sup>4'</sup> . . . ] you spin red [wool], twist it, on the mouth [ . . . <sup>5'</sup> . . . ] you place in his right hand, the mouth of [ . . . <sup>6'</sup> . . . ] Ninkilim, which behind [ . . .

No. 27

K 5905

Fig. 7

K 5905 is a fragment from the middle of a Neo-Assyrian library tablet, on which parts of ten lines are preserved. The content of the first few lines is a Sumerian incantation or exorcistic

formula in which Ninkilim is mentioned (l. 4'). After a rubric occurs a bad omen from *Šumma ālu* in which a king or nobleman cuts his head in a driving accident (*//CT* 40 35: 1–4, ed. Nötscher 1930: 19). The quotation of such an omen determines that K 5905 is a fragment of a collection of apotropaic and prophylactic rituals (*namburbi*), a genre of which *Zu-buru-dabbeda* is a subset. However, the rubric in l. 6' makes a reference to protection from malign forces in a court of law, not a field, so it may be that the preceding text has nothing to do with field pests, despite the presence of Ninkilim.

- 1' . . . ]x x ʿda<sup>1</sup> x[ . . .  
 2' . . . ]x ʿlú.nita<sup>1</sup> túg.ʿsíg.mu<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] (interlinear gloss: *mi-mi* or *gi<sub>6</sub>.gi<sub>6</sub>*)  
 3' . . . ]x ud.da.bi hé.e[b?<sup>?</sup>dib . . .  
 4' . . . ]x <sup>d</sup>nin.kilim igi.ni.šè x[ . . .  
 5' . . . ]x.bi ti x[ . . .
- 
- 6' [ka.inim.ma . . . in]a *dīni*(di) là [te]hê(te)<sup>e</sup>
- 
- 7' [*šumma šarru u lū rubû narkabta irk*]ab(u<sub>5</sub>)-ma ana imitti(zag)-šú imqut(šub)-ma  
 ma-gar imit[ti(zag) u lū]  
 8' [sisû ša imitti qaqqassu iššīma dāmu usš]â(è)<sup>a</sup> qāt(š)u <sup>d</sup>šamaš(utu) u <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[iš<sub>8</sub>-tār]  
 9' [Šamaš u Ištar išabbatū]-š) me-si-ru dan-nu išabbat(dib)-su-m[a ina muršišu imât?]  
 10' (vacat)  
 11' illegible traces, then broken

. . . 2' . . . ] male, the fringe of my garment [ . . . 3' . . . ] may its evil consequences [be averted . . .  
 4' . . . ] Ninkilim before him [ . . .

6' [Incantation-formula so that a bad portent(?)] has no [effect] on a law-case.

7' [If the king or a noble goes] driving and falls out to his right and the right-hand wheel [or 8' right-hand horse cuts his head and blood comes] out: it is the Hand of Šamaš and [Ištar. 9' Šamaš and Ištar will seize] him. Big trouble will afflict him and [he will die(?) of his sickness.] (*Remainder lost*)

## No. 28

## Sm 1277

This is a fragment of ten lines from the middle of a library tablet in Neo-Assyrian script, found at Nineveh by George Smith in 1874. The left break is straight and probably follows the course of a column ruling. The piece was published by Heinrich Zimmern in his book of sources for Babylonian religion, *BBR* 40 (1901: 146 and pl. 49) and again, after a century's interval, in an improved transliteration by Daniel Schwemer (2001: 683 fn. 5612). As Schwemer notes, the fragment is no close relation to any known part of the series *Zu-buru-dabbeda*, but its content and vocabulary are such that it could well belong to the genre of magic against field pests. The matter at hand is a ritual in which an exorcist calls on Adad, as a god with special responsibility for the client's field, to accept what he has been offered (cf. Nos. 4: 11', 23 obv. 12'), next strips his client, wraps a red cloth around his head, and performs various magic acts on a figurine. The god Kusu figures in the ritual, as in texts Nos. 17, 21 and 24, but in an uncertain capacity.

It is unnecessary to repeat Schwemer's transliteration here, and the text is presented in translation only.

1' . . . ] you knot. Each time you make a knot, [you say] this [three(?) times:] 2' "Accept, O great lord Adad, lord of [this] plot of [farmland!]" 3' You strip his body and [you . . . ] Kusu. 4' [You wrap] his head with a sash of red wool, [ . . . ] 5' you twist strands of white, red and blue wool, [ . . . ] 6' you stand him on a fine plinth. [You . . . ] seven pegs of cedar wood [ . . . ] 7' you place before him, facing west. [You perform] the mouth-cleansing ritual, 8' [you set up] two reed altars

in front of him . . . [ . . . ]<sup>9'</sup> [you set out] date-cake, syrup, ghee, <sup>10'</sup> you sacrifice a . . . lamb [ . . . (remainder lost)]

#### Notes

- 1'. Read <sup>1</sup>*tarakkas*(kēs)-*ma e-ma tar-kus an-na-a*<sup>1</sup> [3?-šú *taqabbi*(dug<sub>4</sub>.ga) (coll.).
- 2'. Restore *bēl*(en) *eqli*(a.šà) *u*[*gāri*(a.gār) *annī*].
- 4'. Restore *qaqqad*(sag.du)-*s*[*u tar-kas*].
- 5'. At end: *tatammi*(nu.[nu]).
- 7'. Restore *mīs pī*(ka.luḫ.ù<sup>1</sup>.[da]) [*teppuš*(dù)<sup>us</sup>].

#### *Field-pest rituals and the Babylonian agricultural year*

As observed in the first part of this study (George 1999: 292), the Sumerian Farmer's Instructions specifically recommend that field-pest rituals be performed early in the growing season, when the first green shoots appear (Civil 1994: 30–1 ll. 64–6). From this it seems that in that early period, around the beginning of the second millennium when the Farmer's Instructions were composed, routine performances of field-pest rituals were customarily taken as prophylactic measures at a set time of year. The first-millennium texts add more on the subject of when exorcists deployed their magic armoury against locusts and other pests.

The only extant text on which the beginning of a field-pest ritual survives is a Late Babylonian ritual (text No. 24 above), which merely specifies that the exorcist choose a propitious day on which to start. This suggests that the field-pest rituals could be conducted as and when needed, i.e. whenever any crop was attacked or threatened by pests, provided only that the ritual began on a suitable day. However, there is other evidence to consider. An event that punctuates some of the rituals published above is the rising of the Goat-star, which the exorcist must await before proceeding with the ritual (texts Nos. 8: 15, 20: 5', probably also 24 i 17). The Goat-star (<sup>mul</sup>*enzu*, strictly speaking “nanny-goat-star”) was identified with the goddess Gula and regularly appears in rituals in which healing ingredients were exposed to the star's influence at night, a standard process of Babylonian magic that the late Erica Reiner called “stellar irradiation” (Reiner 1995: 52–5). The Goat-star signifies the constellation Lyra, often more specifically Lyra  $\alpha$  = Vega, the fifth brightest star in the sky, which is omnipresent as a circumpolar star in the northern sky but sets for increasingly long periods the further south the observer's latitude.

In latitudes where it is not a circumpolar star, Vega rises at the same time every solar year, and the Babylonians themselves very helpfully report this. According to the astronomical treatise <sup>mul</sup>*Apin* I (ed. Hunger and Pingree 1989: 18–69), the Goat-star's heliacal rising (i.e. first visibility above the eastern horizon at dawn) occurred on 15 Araḥsamna (VIII) in the ideal Babylonian year (iii 4, iv 26). At dawn on 5 Abu (V), when the Bow-star rose (ii 44), the Goat-star was visible setting in the west for the first time in its cycle (iii 19). This period stretches roughly from early November to late July in the modern calendar. During the first half of the period, the event cited by the rituals, i.e. the Goat-star's rising above the eastern horizon (*napāḫū*), could be observed to take place progressively earlier every night, from just before dawn to just after dusk. Later in the period the coming of dusk would find it already risen, and Vega's presence high in the sky after dusk is indeed a beacon of summer in the northern hemisphere. If the verb *napāḫū* is interpreted strictly, rituals that directed participants to await the Goat-star's rise were only practicable during those months in the first part of the period, when it could still be observed crossing the eastern horizon nightly.

It is no accident that the time in its annual cycle when the Goat-star could be seen to rise in the east coincided with the months when the main field crops were growing. As tabulated by the late Blahoslav Hruška (1990: 108–9), the ancient Mesopotamian barley season extended from sowing in Araḥsamna (VIII, October–November), to the emergence of green shoots in Šabātu (XI, January–February), to harvest in Ayyaru (II, April–May). The crop was especially vulnerable to pests while green, i.e. in Šabātu, Addaru and Nisannu (XI–I, January–March). The Goat-star's rising was a prominent nocturnal event at exactly this time. The timing of field-pest rituals by this very event suggests to us that the early practice documented in the Farmer's Instructions, of conducting rituals against field pests as a matter of precaution when the green shoots of barley broke the surface, continued to be customary in much later periods.

*Index of museum numbers*

<i>Museum no.</i>	<i>Text no.</i>	<i>Museum no.</i>	<i>Text no.</i>
K 2546	17	Rm II 359	20
K 2596	18	79-7-8, 219	2
K 2629	12	80-7-19, 189	13
K 2775	21	81-2-4, 260	16
K 2783	9	81-2-4, 319	15
K 3270 + 7829 + 8151	3, 6, 8	81-7-6, 91	= BM 45686
K 4456 + 5897 + 11709	4, 5	82-5-22, 532	14
K 5315	2	82-7-4, 151	= BM 55561
K 5897	see K 4456 +	1932-12-10, 313	= BM 123370
K 5905	27	BM 45686 + 55561	24
K 6888 + 8113	(+) K 3270 +	BM 55561	see BM 45686 +
K 6945	11	BM 123370	19
K 7829	see K 3270 +	A 33250	25
K 8072	10	S.U. 52/214	23
K 8113	(+) K 3270 +	VAT 17131 + 17152 + 17397	Figs. 14–15
K 8123	6, 8	VAT 17137 + 17231	Figs. 16–17
K 8151	see K 3270 +	VAT 17152	see VAT 17131 +
K 9210	7	VAT 17180 + 17404	Figs. 16–17
K 9611	22	VAT 17185	Fig. 18
K 11709	see K 4456 +	VAT 17231	see VAT 17137 +
K 13301	26	VAT 17397	see VAT 17131 +
Sm 1250	1	VAT 17404	see VAT 17180 +
Sm 1277	28		

*M. J. Geller's copies of VAS XXIV 46 + 47, 48 + 51, 50 and 45 + 52 + 61*

Appended hereto are M. J. Geller's copies of rejoined fragments of two Old Babylonian collective tablets now in Berlin, which include Sumerian incantations against field pests, *uḫ.gu<sub>7</sub>.a*, among other incantations (Figs. 14–18). Joins made by George among the fragments of one tablet were reported in a review of *VAS XXIV* (George 1989: 379–81: *VAS XXIV* 46 + 47 (+) 48 + 51 (+) 50). Geller subsequently made further joins among fragments of another tablet (*VAS XXIV* 45 + 52 + 61), as now recorded in Olof Pedersén's catalogue of the tablets found by Koldewey (Pedersén 2005: 24 no. 53). Regrettably other commitments prevented Geller from writing up the results for the present volume. See the comments of Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 8–9, 42.

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A. R. George  
SOAS, University of London  
Thornhaugh Street  
London WC1H 0XG  
ag5@soas.ac.uk

Junko Taniguchi  
Buckhurst Hill  
Essex  
England  
jtaniguchigeorge@ntlworld.com

M. J. Geller  
Freie Universität Berlin  
Topoi Haus, Hittorfstrasse 18  
14195 Berlin  
mgeller@zedat.fu-berlin.de

VAT 17131+17152+17397 obv.



Fig. 14 VAT XXIV 45 + 52 + 61 obv. Drawn by M. J. Geller

VAT 17131+17152+17397 rev.

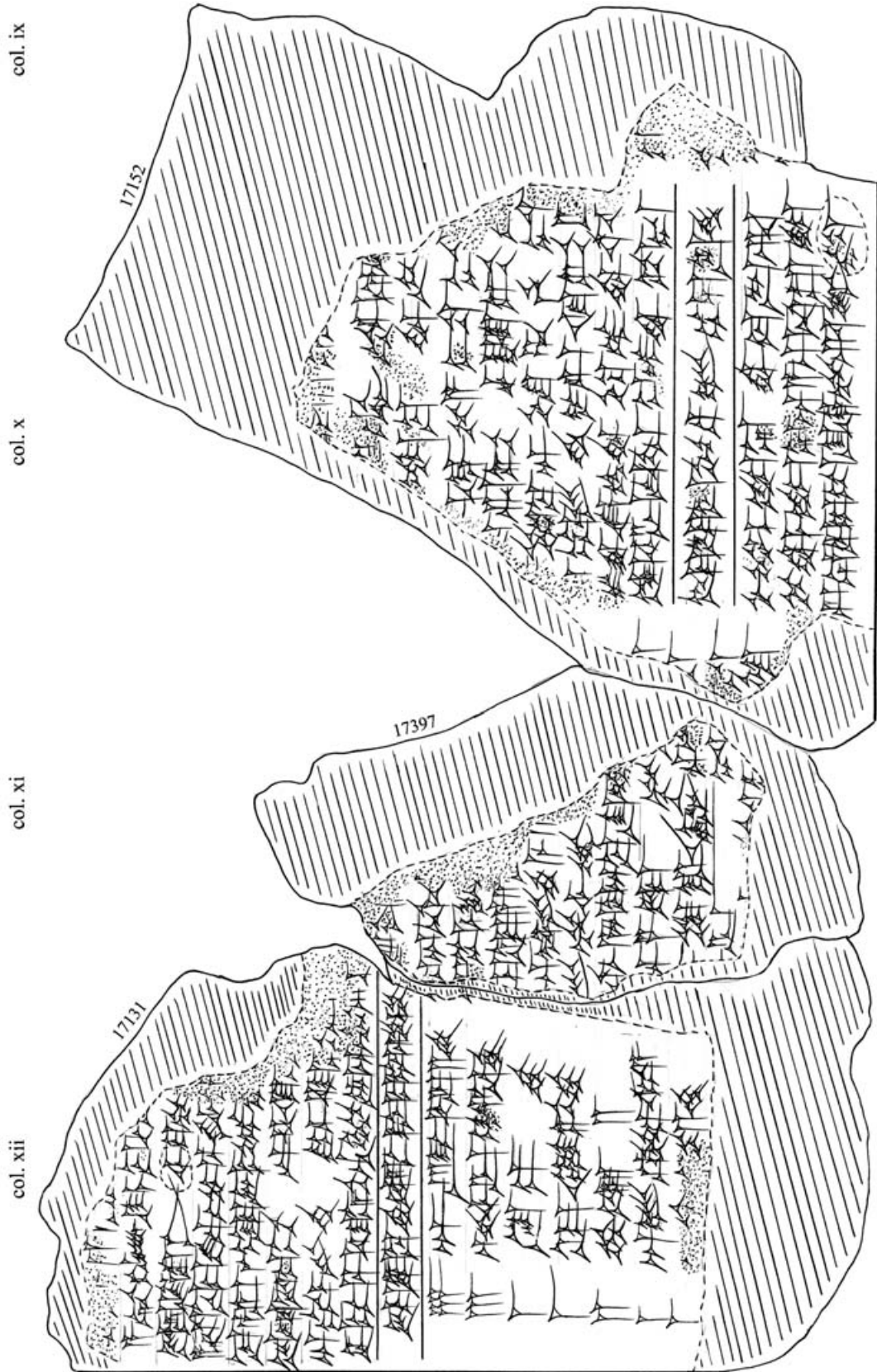


Fig. 15 VAT XXIV 45 + 52 + 61 rev. Drawn by M. J. Geller

## VAT 17137+17231 (+) 17180+17404 obv.

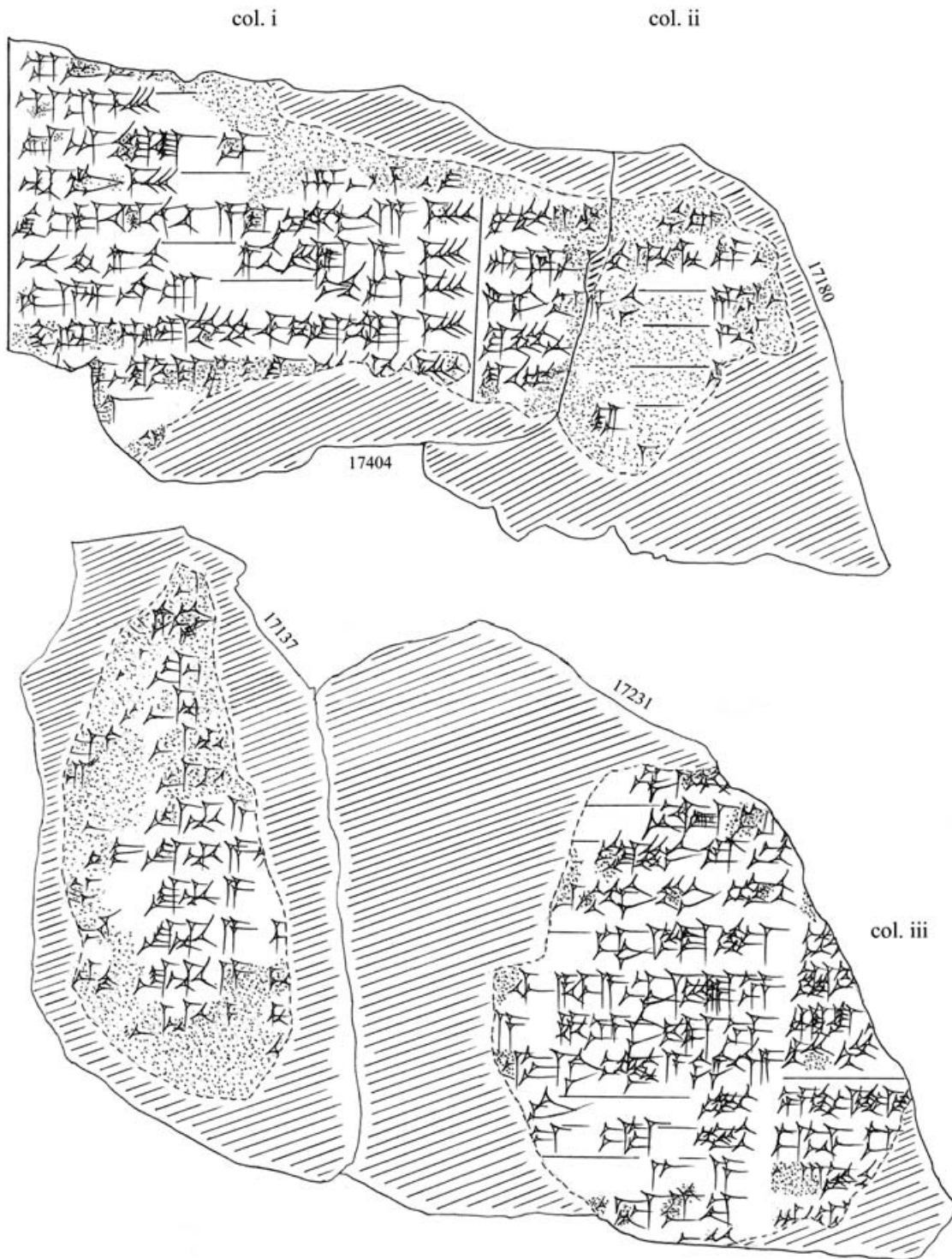


Fig. 16 VAS XXIV 46 + 47 (+) 48 + 51 obv. Drawn by M. J. Geller

VAT 17137+17231 (+) 17180+17404 rev.

col. vi

col. v

col. iv



Fig. 17 VAS XXIV 46 + 47 (+) 48 + 51 rev. Drawn by M. J. Geller

## VAT 17185

obv.



rev.



Fig. 18 VAT XXIV 50. Drawn by M. J. Geller