

Studies in Mesopotamian Demonology

by

Marie Barkowsky

Dissertation submitted for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near and Middle Eastern Studies to the School for
Languages, Literatures and Cultural Studies,
Trinity College Dublin

Supervisors: Frank Simons, Martin Worthington

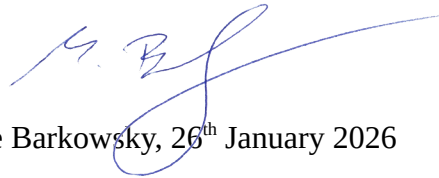
Submitted: 25th January 2026

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work. I confirm that the work has been completed in full compliance with relevant university policies, including the Academic Integrity policy, the Trinity Policy on Good Research Practice, and the guidance on AI and GenAI in Teaching, Learning, Assessment and Research.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).



Marie Barkowsky, 26th January 2026

Summary

This thesis studies the role of demons within the ancient Mesopotamian genre of ritual literature (*āšipūtu*). It presents three contributions to that field.

The first is an investigation of the history and internal makeup of a standardised demon sequence that is used in most major incantation series. It surveys 65 attestations across 11 ritual series from the 1st and late 2nd millennium BCE, as well as 20 Old Babylonian attestations. A comparison and interpretation of these two bodies of text finds that the sequence is not governed by a single mythological principle, but by multiple different traditions that merged over time.

The second contribution pertains to the understanding of the Ritual Tablet of the series *Lamaštu*. The ritual instructions in the Ritual Tablet and in the rubrics of the Incantation Tablets are discussed individually and in contrast to one another. It is found that apparent deficiencies or contradictions in the Ritual Tablet are resolved if it is not treated as containing a separate ritual tradition—as has been previously assumed—but as a supplement to the ritual instructions already given in the Incantation Tablets.

Finally, the dissertation offers an edition of the bilingual ritual series *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*. It adds seven further manuscripts (as well as two new joins of smaller fragments) to the ten manuscripts published in previous editions. All currently known manuscripts of the series are organised and transliterated in a text partitur. In line with modern editorial standards, the composite text translates Sumerian and Akkadian separately, highlighting numerous differences in the two versions. An extensive introduction analyses the composition, the ritual, and the titular demons.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without its two co-supervisors, Frank Simons and Martin Worthington. Both patiently read drafts of various parts of this thesis—often several completely different drafts of the same chapter—and offered helpful comments and constructive criticism. Frank was the one who originally suggested that I attempt a new edition of the text *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*. He also brought numerous potential fragments of the series to my attention (usually in 12 consecutive text messages received between two and three in the morning) and was always available to answer a question or offer some input when needed. Martin encouraged submissions to journals and conferences, corrected my Sumerian, Akkadian and English where necessary, and allowed me to discuss a grammatical problem in a single line for two hours with him on more than one occasion. He did his best to coach me to present research in an intelligible way, and if he did not succeed, it is entirely my own fault.

Frances Reynolds and Henry Stadhouders were not only kind examiners during the viva, but provided a number of helpful suggestions and corrections. I am particularly grateful to the former for her close reading of the edition, catching mistakes in the nicest possible way, and to the latter for adding several new ideas and drawing my attention to points that could be developed much further.

The entire dissertation, including chapters published as articles, is the result of work carried out under the auspices of the project Mesopotamian Psychiatry, funded by the Irish Research Council under grant number 21/Path-A/9412.

Wolfgang Schramm kindly shared his unpublished edition of the series a_2 - sag_3 *gig-ga*, which was used for research on the standardised demon sequence. I would also like to thank Willemijn Waal for arranging access to the notes of the late Frans Wiggermann on the series *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*, and owe gratitude to Frans Wiggermann himself for permitting me to use them.

I am indebted to Daniel Schwemer and Anne Noster of the MagEIA project for facilitating a six-week research stay in Würzburg in 2024; to Michael Streck, who allowed me extensive use of the Leipzig library during several summer stays in Leipzig (and whose reading classes inspired a lasting love of Akkadian); to the Heidelberg Research

Laboratory for the Ancient Near East for an intensive course in editing and *āšipūtu* in 2022; and to the staff at the British Museum and Juliane Eule of the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin for access to manuscripts.

Elyze Zomer read a draft of the *Lamaštu* paper and, alongside Jennifer Edmond, provided numerous helpful comments as a member of my dissertation committee. Gina Konstantopoulos and Seth Richardson also gave valuable input on *Lamaštu*; Walther Sallaberger provided useful notes on the standardised demon sequence. In Würzburg, Gaby Abou Samra and Dan Levene both shared material on related demons in their areas of expertise, and Jon Beltz shared his dissertation on Namtar. In Leipzig, I profited from discussions with Taichuan Tang (who also read a draft of the *Lamaštu* article) and Jonathan Jarfe; Hannes Leonhardt answered any Neo-Assyrian grammar queries. In London, Mark Geller was kind enough to discuss Eṭel and Ardat Lilī with me over tea and point out the importance of studying diagnostic material alongside ritual texts. Johannes Hackl answered questions on Late Babylonian epigraphy and orthography.

Last but not least, thanks to my parents, my brother, and my grandmother for their support; and to Elion, for keeping me sane.

Table of Contents

I: Introduction.....	3
The source material.....	4
II: A standardised demon sequence.....	6
Old Babylonian sequence versions.....	11
The Old Babylonian development of the later sequence: “evil” demons.....	12
Expanding the sequence of evil demons.....	15
From pairs to groups of three.....	17
Summary.....	20
III: Ritual Instructions in the Series <i>Lamaštu</i>	22
The ritual according to the rubrics.....	23
The ritual according to the rubrics.....	25
Excursus: Inc. 5.....	27
The ritual according to the rubrics (ctd.).....	29
The ritual tablet.....	31
The ritual according to the ritual tablet.....	33
Internal problems of Lam. III.....	36
Cross-referencing rubrics and ritual tablet.....	39
Conclusion.....	40
IV: The series <i>Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî</i>	42
Introduction.....	42
Research History.....	43
1886–1971: The “series of paradigms”.....	43
Lackenbacher (1971).....	48
The 1980s.....	50
The present edition.....	53
Division of the series.....	57
The Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî layout.....	57
The Ninevite 2-Tablet set.....	58
Two Tablets—or five?.....	62
Estimating the age of the series.....	66
Dating the manuscripts.....	66
Dating the Akkadian version.....	68
Sumerian and Akkadian.....	72
Dating the Sumerian version: Akkadianising characteristics.....	74
Dating the Sumerian version: The udug ḫulu incantation Inc. 4.....	76
Dating the Sumerian version: Akkadian variation.....	83
Summary: Dating individual parts of the text.....	85
The demons Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî.....	87
The Lilû-group.....	87
The basic concept of Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî.....	89
Eṭel Lilî as Ardat Lilî’s masculine counterpart.....	92
Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî as multiple possible figures.....	94
The complexity of Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî.....	99
Are Eṭel and Ardat Lilî demons?.....	101
The diagnosis of a case of Eṭel or Ardat Lilî.....	102
Summary.....	105
The purpose of <i>Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî</i>	107
Ritual content in Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî.....	107
Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî according to its Marduk-Ea ritual instructions.....	108
The rituals Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî and Lamaštu.....	111

Used for educational purposes (?).	113
Manuscripts	117
Overview of manuscripts of the series E ^{te} l L ⁱ l ⁱ , A rd at L ⁱ l ⁱ .	117
Manuscripts outside the series.	118
Description of manuscripts.	118
Text Partitur	124
Manuscript placement within Tablet I.	124
Text Partitur of Tablet I.	124
Manuscript placement within Tablet II.	138
Text Partitur of Tablet II.	138
Colophons.	156
NinNA4 vi.	156
UrkNB1.	157
Composite Text and Translation.	158
Commentary	184
General notes.	184
Commentary for Tablet I.	187
Commentary for Tablet II.	217
V: Conclusion	241
Appendix	243
Bibliography	244
Editions used.	244
Works cited.	246
Dictionaries.	255

I: Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed a heightened interest in the study of Mesopotamian demonology. The present dissertation contributes to this research endeavour by targeted studies in two main areas. The first area relates to the structure of the texts through which we encounter Mesopotamian demons as viewed by ritual practitioners (*āšipū*). This, structural, aspect of the dissertation folds into two parts.

The first part relates to a standardised demon sequence encountered in almost every major ritual series. So ubiquitous is this standardised sequence that many interesting questions about it have never been asked: Why is there a standardised sequence in the first place? Why are some demons included and not others? Why do variants occur, but only rarely? How did it come about in the first place? All of these questions will be investigated and an answer to them proposed.

The second aspect relating to structure investigates the ritual *Lamaštu*. This time, the investigation embraces a much larger portion of text than just the few lines of the standardised demon sequence, indeed encompasses the ritual as a whole. The purpose of the investigation will be to unpick the logic of the Ritual Tablet, which at first glance appears to contradict the foregoing matter of the first two Incantation Tablets. What is the relation between the instructions in the Ritual Tablet and the ritual procedures in the Incantation Tablets? Does it all add up to one ceremony that makes sense? Or is it a series of disjointed parts? And why are there so many peculiar repetitions? Again, a cohesive model for how the Ritual Tablet works will be proposed, resulting in a clarified understanding of *Lamaštu* as a whole.

The second facet of Mesopotamian demonology to which the present dissertation contributes is text editorial. This part of the dissertation will edit and attempt to clarify the series known today as *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. This series has not received a full edition since 1971, when only a fraction of the material that has surfaced since was available. Drawing on unpublished manuscripts and improved philological understanding, the second part of the dissertation will present it afresh, in transcription and transliteration, with philological and content-based commentary. In addition to attempting to elucidate *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* on a line-by-line basis, the dissertation will also target the overall logic of the ritual series, thereby cohering with the research endeavour in chapters 2 and 3. I will explore questions such as what logic governs the sequence of the incantations? How can different parts of the

series usefully be compared to shed light on each other—and what is going on overall? Again, do we have a series of disjointed parts or one cohesive ritual? While the fragmentary state of the evidence renders all discussions of such matters provisional, I will nonetheless argue for one particular model.

In sum, while the dissertation has no single overall argument, it consists of several interlocking parts. Chapters 2 and 3 have been published as papers in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* and the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, while Chapter 4 extends their methods while applying them to a text whose editorial history has remained chequered.

The overall content of the dissertation thus relates to and advances studies of Mesopotamian demonology in multiple ways.

A theme that runs through much of the dissertation is the question of whether there is a tension between three aspects that each play a role in the composition of Mesopotamian incantations and ritual series. On the one hand, there are the practical aim of expelling a demon in a particular situation and individual ritual traditions that are established to serve that need. On the other, there is the traditional conception of the demon within *āšipūtu* and the wider Mesopotamian cosmos. In theory, one might expect that there be no tension between these two different aspects. I will, however, suggest that there is a tension, and that investigating and exploring this tension can lead to useful insights which shed light on all three aspects: practical, traditional, and mythological.

The source material

As a genre, *āšipūtu* is loosely defined: it describes texts that relate to the *āšipu*'s line of work.

A glance at the *Exorcist's Manual*, a self-proclaimed complete curriculum of exorcistic compositions,¹ reveals a wide and varied field. Among other texts, one finds rituals that relate to the building and fitting-out of temples,² prayers,³ royal rites,⁴ diagnostic texts,⁵ omen collections,⁶ and a range of incantations and rituals to protect private persons against supernatural evil or illness.⁷

1 Geller (2018) 292.

2 *Exorcist's Manual* 2.

3 *Exorcist's Manual* 4.

4 *Exorcist's Manual* 5.

5 *Exorcist's Manual* 6.

6 Ibid.

7 *Exorcist's Manual* 7–20.

Nor can this curriculum present us with the full scope of the *āšipu*'s work; as a catalogue of texts, it is necessarily limited to knowledge set down in writing. A letter from a Mesopotamian scholar informs us that in order to understand these written sources, even if one could read them.⁸ Apart from that, most of the texts listed in the curriculum give us little or no informations on the actions that would have accompanied prayers or rituals.

The modern researcher attempting to reconstruct the *āšipu*'s understanding of demons is therefore simultaneously overwhelmed by the vastness of the source material and severely restricted by the source material's limits.

The present dissertation addresses these difficulties by focusing on 'canonised' ritual series—that is to say, *āšipūtu* compositions that were copied throughout Mesopotamia. These ritual series are largely known from 1st millennium BCE sources, and present several advantages to the student of demonology.

First of all, their standardisation and dissemination makes their contents representative for more than a single scribe or region. As these texts were copied by a multitude of scholars in a number of locations, their contents would have reflected, formed, or at least influenced these scholars' beliefs.

As they were compiled to include more than one incantation, each ritual series also offers us a substantial amount of material governed by a single aim or theme. Thereby, a ritual series presents us with more than the text of its incantations (often obscure); we can attempt to understand the logic behind its composition. This logic is more directly informed by the science of *āšipūtu* than an individual incantation can be. A line or phrase may be included in an incantation because it is stylistically pleasing, traditional, or a variation on a familiar theme; a complex ritual against a demon, on the other hand, should be constructed to counter that demon to the best of an *āšipu*'s knowledge.

8 ABL 688 reverse 1.

II:⁹ A standardised demon sequence¹⁰

The following chapter deals with a standardised sequence of demons used in numerous Mesopotamian incantations.

This sequence can be found across multiple ritual series. It is known from Sumerian, bilingual, and Akkadian incantations; we find it from the Old Babylonian period up until the late first millennium. It can be used as a plain list (“Evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, evil Gallû, evil God, evil Rābišu...”)¹¹ or integrated into longer phrases (e. g. “Evil Utukku, go out! Evil Alû, go out! Evil Ghost, go out! Evil Gallû, go out! Evil God, go out! Evil Rābišu, go out!”).¹²

The existence of this sequence is well known. While it has never been discussed in depth, research on Mesopotamian incantations often refers to it in passing.¹³ However, depending on the publication, the sequence can be either six,¹⁴ twelve,¹⁵ 15,¹⁶ or even 34¹⁷ evil entities long: an apparent contradiction that has neither been addressed or resolved.

The purpose of this chapter is to first isolate the sequence itself by proposing a maximum length of the sequence that is still standardised. Thereafter, the chapter will discuss the

9 Published in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 114 (2024) 192–202. Full citation under Barkowsky (2024a) in the bibliography. Slight modifications were made for the sake of internal coherence of the dissertation as a whole.

10 All cuneiform texts quoted follow the respective tablet and line counts of the edition cited in the bibliography; abbreviations follow the RIA list of abbreviations; references to a_2 - sag_3 gig - ga are based on an unpublished 2011 edition by Wolfgang Schramm, which he kindly shared. References to *Bīt rimki* are based on an unpublished and undated edition by Rykle Borger from his notes stored in the collections of Trinity College Dublin. Both sets of references are marked with an asterisk, as the line counts may be changed by future publications.

11 E. g. *Šurpu* IX 81.

12 E. g. *udug ḫulu* IX 78'–83'. Baragli (2022) 447 notes that the demons are usually described with the same verbs; there seems to be no rule to this. The verb used — and whether the same verb is used to describe every demon, or whether the demons are integrated into different sentences with a common theme — seems to depend largely on the aim and narrative of the individual incantation. There are too many different phrases to include here; for a catalogue of attestations, see App. 1.

13 Thompson (1903) XXIV speaks of the demons evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, evil Gallû, evil God, and evil Rābišu, “frequently amplified by the additions” Lamaštu, Labāšu, Aḫḫāzu, Lilû, Lilītu and Ardat Lilī; de Jong (1959) 33 talks of the same demons, but counting the sequence from Lamaštu to Ardat Lilī as part of the enumeration; Schramm (2001) 65 lists attestations for “similar enumerations of demons” from *udug ḫulu* and *Bīt rimki* for an enumeration of 15 demons altogether (the twelve already referred to as well as the closing line of evil Fate, sickening Asakku, and unfavourable Illness); Geller (2007) XIII mentions only the first six demons listed by Thompson as “the standard and oft-repeated list of demonic adversaries”; Geller (2016) 28, however, refers to “a customary listing of demons, illnesses and misfortunes, all appearing in a fixed sequence” — presumably based on the 34 evil entities listed in *udug ḫulu* II 63–71, as this is the only *udug ḫulu* passage that includes all the types of evil mentioned in Geller’s description. The most recent discussion by Baragli (2022) 445–447 compares a sequence of evil supernatural influences in *Bīt Rimki* Kiutus to such sequences in other series; the sequence in the *Bīt Rimki* Kiutus includes Thompson’s “amplified” sequence of twelve demons.

14 Geller (1985) 96; Geller (2007) XIII; Geller (2011a) 333; Geller (2011b) 256.

15 Thompson (1903) XXIV; de Jong (1959) 33.

16 Schramm (2001) 65.

17 Geller (2016) 28 (presumably based on *udug ḫulu* II 63–71, the only *udug ḫulu* incantation that contains all evil entities mentioned in Geller’s description).

shorter sequences that use only the beginning of the proposed longest version. Finally, it will be attempted to trace the development of the sequence from the Old Babylonian period onwards to determine how it took its later shape.

The longest version of the sequence that can still be called “standardised” (i.e., is used in this order in a number of different incantations across various incantation series) names 15 different evil entities:¹⁸

1. udug ḫulu $\approx$ *utukku lemnu* (evil Utukku)¹⁹
2. a-la₂ ḫulu $\approx$ *alû lemnu* (evil Alû)
3. gidim ḫulu $\approx$ *eṭemmu lemnu* (evil Ghost)
4. gal₅-la ḫulu $\approx$ *gallû lemnu* (evil Gallû)
5. diḡir ḫulu $\approx$ *ilu lemnu* (evil God)²⁰
6. maškim ḫulu $\approx$ *rābišu lemnu* (Evil Rābišu)
7. ^dkamad²¹-me $\approx$ *lamaštu* (Lamaštu)
8. ^dkamad-me-a $\approx$ *labāšu* (Labāšu)
9. ^dkamad-me-LAGAB $\approx$ *aḥḥāzu* (Aḥḥāzu)
10. lu₂ lil₂-la₂ $\approx$ *lilû* (Lilû)
11. ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ $\approx$ *lilītu* (Lilītu)
12. ki-sikil-u₄-da-kar-ra $\approx$ *ardat lilî* (Ardat Lilî)
13. nam-tar ḫulu ḡal₂ $\approx$ *namtaru lemnu* (evil Fate)

18 *Bīt rimki* III 49–52; *Bīt rimki* VI 32–35* (citation based on Borger’s unpublished edition); saḡ-ba, saḡ-ba I 15–22; udug ḫulu II 63–66; udug ḫulu III 138–141; udug ḫulu VI 40–45; udug ḫulu VI 58–61; udug ḫulu IX 78’–88’; udug ḫulu XIII–XV, 137–139; udug ḫulu XIII–XV, 221’–224’; udug ḫulu XVI, 168’–171’.

19 For the sake of consistency, all translations are based on the Akkadian demon name rather than the Sumerian one. This is purely because the majority of the material used comes from the first millennium BCE, when Sumerian was no longer a living language. While technically more accurate, it seems unnecessarily confusing to refer to ^dkamad-me $\approx$ *lamaštu* as “Kamadme” in translations of Sumerian and “Lamaštu” in translations of Akkadian incantations. It also leaves one with the problem of how to translate demon names in bilingual texts.

This is not to imply that an Akkadian term always corresponds perfectly to a Sumerian one, or that there is no argument for using Sumerian terms as basis for translations.

20 Unlike the other names in the list, “evil God”, “evil Ghost”, “evil Fate”, and “unfavourable Illness” have been translated fully, to reflect that both adjective and noun were widely used outside the context of demonic illnesses. This is not to say that the terms that have not been translated *cannot* be translated, or that “evil God”, “evil Ghost”, “evil Fate”, and “unfavourable Illness” are not personified supernatural entities in the context of the demon sequence.

21 For the reading “^dkamad-me” instead of “^ddim₃-me”, see George (2018).

14. a_2 -sag₃ gig-ga $\approx$ *asakku maršu* (sickening Asakku)

15. tu-ra nu-du₁₀-ga $\approx$ *muršu lā tābu* (unfavourable illness)

The oldest currently known attestations of the full 15-demon-sequence are Middle Babylonian or Middle Assyrian.²²

There are certain chains of evil entities that regularly follow the 15 demons named above. Examples of such chains are “uš₁₁ ḫulu uš₁₁-zu uš₁₁-ri-a”, “niḡ₂-gig niḡ₂-AK-a niḡ₂-ḫulu dim₂-ma”, and “lu₂ ḫulu igi ḫulu ka ḫulu eme ḫulu” (various terms for witchcraft, witches, and witchery), as well as “saḡ-gig zu₂-gig šag₄-gig libiš-gig” and “aš-ḡar aš-ru a-ḡa-an-tum₃ u₄-šū₂-uš-ru teḡi₂-dim₂-ma bar-ḡeš-ra” (various disease terms).

However, these chains do not form a fixed body of text that was reproduced in the same form across multiple text passages.²³ The two udug ḫulu passages that do use all of them use them in different order;²⁴ other passages use only some of the chains, in varying combinations and orders.²⁵

The 15-demon-sequence, however, knows no such instability. Although many text passages use only the first four/the first six/(etc.) demon names, the sequence always begins with the evil Utukku and continues in the order shown above until it is cut off. The enumerated demons do not change positions; nor are extraneous evil entities inserted into the enumeration.

This can be observed in at least 65 text passages across eleven major ritual series, several of which use the demon sequence more than once.

22 BAM 8 pl. 116–119, a Middle Assyrian manuscript of udug ḫulu XIII–XV; VAT 10786+10871, ditto; VAT 11029, a Middle Assyrian manuscript of saḡ-ba, saḡ-ba I; KUB 37, 101+102, “a possible non-canonical Udug.ḫul incantation” (Zomer (2018) 307) from Ḥattuša. See also Emar 729b, a forerunner to Udug.ḫul III from Emar, which uses an unorthodox form of the 15-demon-sequence (with unusual spellings of the kama-d-me-demons and a fourth Lilû-demon).

23 An overview over different orders of internally stable chains of evil supernatural influences — including this standardised demon sequence — has been put together by Baragli (2022) 445f.

24 udug ḫulu II 67–70; udug ḫulu XIII–XV 225′–228′.

25 a_2 -sag₃ gig-ga XI 36′*; *Šurpu* IX; udug ḫulu III 141–44; udug ḫulu V 105; udug ḫulu VI 62f; udug ḫulu XIII–XV 140f; udug ḫulu XIII–XV 180; udug ḫulu XVI 172′–75′.

Fig. 1: number of sequence attestations per ritual series²⁶

udug ḥulu	44
a ₂ -sag ₃ gig-ga*	5 (+1)
Schramm's "Compendium"	3 (+1)
<i>Bīt rimki</i> *	3
<i>Maqlû</i>	2
nam-erim ₂ -bur ₂ -ru-da	2
<i>Šurpu</i>	2
<i>Muššu'u</i>	(+1)
<i>Bīt mēseri</i> *	1
saṇ-ba, saṇ-ba	1
<i>Šēp lemutti</i>	1

As many ritual series are still unedited and therefore difficult to access, the above survey of attestations is in no way exhaustive; but it serves to present us with a workable number of demon sequence attestations.

Noteworthy is, of course, that the vast majority of first millennium attestations are in udug ḥulu incantations. However, there is still a significant number of attestations in incantations that are — as far as currently known — unconnected to udug ḥulu.

The text passages are almost all composite texts, i. e. transmitted on several manuscripts, not just a single cuneiform tablet.

Out of a total of 233 manuscripts (with an average of three manuscripts per text passage), 221 preserve the order of the demon sequence exactly as listed above: that is to say, *as far as the preserved text shows*, they begin with the evil Utukku, follow with the evil Alû, and so on, until the cut-off point. It is important to stress that many manuscripts are badly damaged and some preserve only a single demon name; but the very small number of manuscripts that deviate from the expected order of the sequence is still impressive. The

²⁶ The references for the attestations in question can be found in App. 1.

Ritual series marked with an asterisk are either unpublished or published only in outdated or incomplete editions; the ritual series in question therefore may well contain more (unknown) attestations of the sequence and the line counts, as taken from the edition cited in the bibliography, may be changed significantly by future editions.

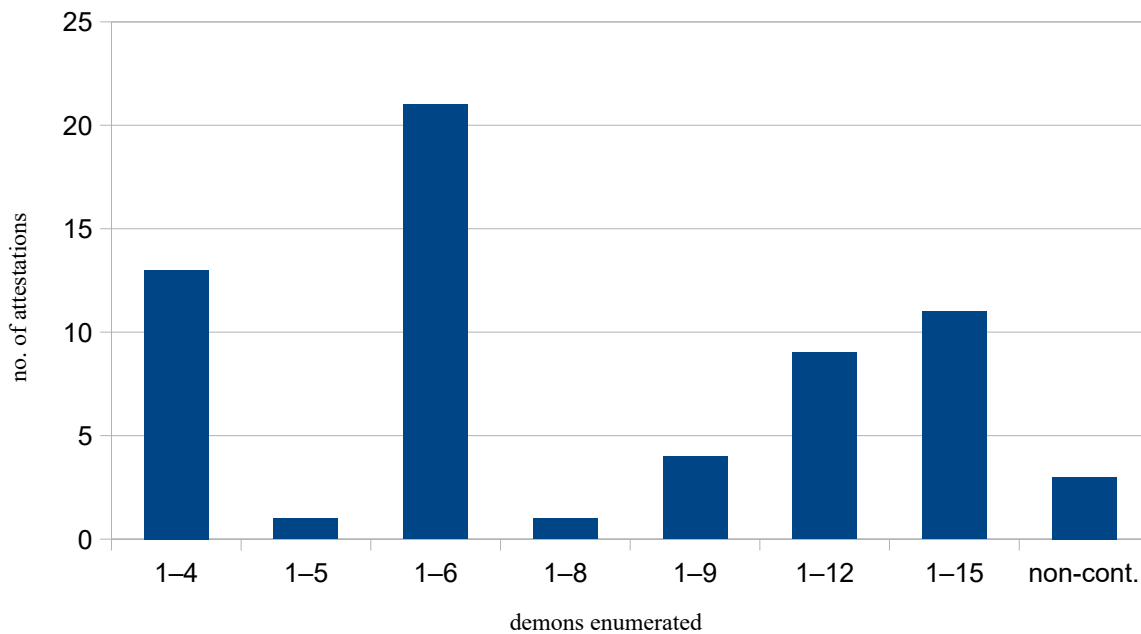
Attestation numbers marked with a + denote duplicates: Schramm's "Compendium" is listed as having 3 (+1) attestations because one of the total 4 is a duplicate to an incantation already counted among the 44 udug ḥulu attestations; the same is true for the Muššu'u-attestation. Two of the a₂-sag₃ gig-ga incantations are duplicates of each other.

ten manuscript variants that do change the order of the demon sequence can be attributed to scribal mistakes and peculiarities of two individual incantations.²⁷

Apart from these few manuscripts, we are left with an extraordinarily large number of manuscripts (ca. 95%) that list demons in a fixed sequence; neither inserting any demons into the sequence nor changing the expected order in any way.

While the order of the demons is largely fixed, the cut-off point of the sequence — as already mentioned above — varies frequently. The distribution of different sequence lengths across the 65 text passages is represented below:

Fig. 2: Distribution of sequence lengths in first millennium sources



Except for the three text passages subsumed as “non-continuous”, all attestations begin with the evil Utukku (demon no. 1) and continue in the expected order until their respective cut-off points (demon no. 4: evil Gallû; no. 5: evil God; no. 6: evil Rābišu; no. 8: Labāšu; no. 9: Aḥḥāzu; no. 12: Ardat Lilî; no. 15: unfavourable Illness). The non-continuous passages *also* all begin with the evil Utukku and list further demons in the expected order; however, they omit one or several demons that normally form part of the sequence.

²⁷ The variants occur in: *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga* IV, 3’-7’* (both existing manuscripts insert *alad ḥulu* = *šēdu lemnu* in between evil Alû and evil Ghost, likely because the incantation begins with a different list of demons that does include the evil Šēdu); *Bīt rimki* III 21–30* (one out of the total seven manuscripts has *gidim* instead of *udug*, likely a scribal mistake as the Akkadian translation is still *utukku*); *Bīt rimki* III 49–52* (one out of the total six manuscripts has *gidim* instead of *udug*, likely a scribal mistake as this is the same manuscript that also has a variant for *Bīt rimki* III 21–30*, K. 4872+); *Muššu’u* VII 61 (one out of the total five manuscripts has *mimma lemnu* instead of *utukku*, presumably an accidental repetition of the beginning of the preceding line); *Šurpu* IV 45–54 (all five manuscripts add *rābišu kišitti ilišu* between *rābišu lemnu* and *lamaštu*).

Interestingly, the few non-continuous versions of the demon sequence are all part of (or based on) lists of seven demons.²⁸ These irregularities may be traced back to the development of the demon sequence in the Old Babylonian period.

Old Babylonian sequence versions

As already noted by Geller,²⁹ there are no attestations for the standardised sequence in Ur III incantations. The earliest examples we find are from Old Babylonian texts — largely, but not exclusively, from *udug ḥulu* Forerunners.

Out of the 20 Old Babylonian attestations that were identified for the purpose of this study, 17 are from *udug ḥulu* Forerunner texts;³⁰ another is from an “incantation of the torch” (*ka-inim-ma gi-izi-la₂*);³¹ one from an “incantation for the dough” (*ka-inim-ma niḡ₂-silaḡ-ḡa₂*);³² and the final one from a *Lamaštu* incantation.³³

The distribution of different sequence lengths is quite different from what we find in the later material.

The Old Babylonian incantations only contain three different versions of the sequence: the sequence naming demons 1–4 (evil *Utukku*, evil *Alû*, evil *Ghost*, and evil *Gallû*) is by far

28 *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI, 28'f** and *34'f** give demons 1–3 (evil *Utukku*, evil *Alû*, evil *Ghost*) followed by demons 7–8 (*Lamaštu* and *Labāšu*), omitting evil *Gallû*, evil *God* and evil *Rābišu*. As these attestations are in the same incantation and in close proximity to one another, one is likely to be a repetition of the other (or both are taken from the same source material). *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI, 28'f** forms part of a list that contains, in sum, seven demons. The third non-continuous attestation is *udug ḥulu III 31–35* with demons 1–4 (evil *Utukku*, evil *Alû*, evil *Ghost*, and evil *Gallû*) followed by demons 7–8 (*Lamaštu* and *Labāšu*) and followed by *Lilû*-demons (addressed as a group; demons 10–12 of the sequence lists *Lilû*, *Lilîtu*, and *Ardat-Lilî* as individual demons). This, too, is a passage with seven entries of demons (though one entry is a demon group addressed as a single demonic force).

29 Geller (2011) 333f.

30 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: i 14–18; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: v 148; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 164; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 170–173; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 182–183; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 203–206; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vii 220–224; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 435f; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: vii 643; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: viii 681–683 // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 1–4 // FAOS 12 pl. 18: 681–683 // KUB 37, 143: 9'f; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 692f // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 21–25; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 701f; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iii 768 // FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: iii 768; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 788; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 791; [FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: v 829]; FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: vi 842f.

31 CBS 1384 rev. 9'f, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/CBS.1384>), accessed 04/08/2023. The title of the incantation is quoted after CBS 1384 rev. 15'. Suggested reading for the two lines in question (based on CDLI photo and eBL edition): 'udug' ḥulu a-'la₂ ḥulu gidim' ḥulu gal₅-la ḥ[ul] / di[ḡir] ḥulu 'maškim' ḥulu lu₂ ḥulu igi ḥu[lu]. Thanks to F. Simons for pointing out the sequence in the text.

32 YOS 11, 90: 16f, edited by Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi (1995) 178–181. This proposes a slightly different reading from that of Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi's edition — reading l. 16 “*a₂-sag₃ nam-tar d'udug' a-la₂*” rather than “*a₂-sag₃ nam-tar diḡir 'ḥulu' a-la₂ [ḥulu]*”. The argument for the reading used here is: As only the outline of the sign in question is visible, both readings are possible (compare the outline of *gidim* in the following line); *diḡir* would be unusual in this place whereas *udug* is expected; the only entirely legible evil entities in the line are not described with the word *ḥulu*; the line would be no shorter than other preceding lines (compare l. 14).

33 TIM 9, 63 rev. 13, edited by Tonietti (1979) 304–323.

the most common and accounts for 14 of the 20 attestations.³⁴ The most common sequence in later series, on the other hand — naming demons 1–6 (demons 1–4 followed by evil God and evil Rābišu) — is attested only twice.³⁵ The remaining four Old Babylonian attestations are all non-continuous (i.e. leave out demon names that the later material would lead us to expect).³⁶

This means that we find more attestations for non-continuous sequences in the Old Babylonian incantations than in all later material. There are also more attestations for the sequence version limited to demons 1–4 in the *udug ḫulu* Forerunners than there are in the entire 16-tablet standardised series known from Middle Assyrian, Middle Babylonian, and first millennium sources: The Forerunners use this version of the sequence 13 times, the standardised series only twelve times (eight of which are parallels to forerunner attestations).³⁷

There is no attestation for any of the longer continuous versions of the demon sequence. It is therefore likely that the fixed sequence of 15 demons was a later expansion of the 4-demon-sequence that dominates the Old Babylonian material.

The Old Babylonian development of the later sequence: “evil” demons

There is an obvious difference between the demon names that are attested in the oldest fixed version of the sequence compared to the later entries: only the demons that are already attested in the Old Babylonian period as a fixed sequence (Utukku, Alû, Ghost, Gallû, God, and Rābišu) are described as “evil” (*ḫulu* = *lemnu*).

In the existing literature, the common explanation for this is that the following demons (e.g. Aḫḫāzu, Lamaštu, and Labāšu) do not need the descriptor “since they are all intrinsically evil”.³⁸

34 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: v 148; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 164; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 170–173; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 182–183; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 203–206; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: vii 643; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 692f // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 21–25; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 701f; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iii 768 // FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: iii 768; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 788; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 791; [FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: v 829]; FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: vi 842f; YOS 11, 90: 16f.

35 FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: viii 681–683 // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 1–4 // FAOS 12 pl. 18: 681–683 // KUB 37, 143: 9f; CBS 1384 rev. 9f.

36 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: i 14–18; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vii 220–224; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 435f; TIM 9, 63 rev. 13f.

37 *udug ḫulu* VI 95' = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: vii 643; *udug ḫulu* VII 27f = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 692f // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 21–25; *udug ḫulu* VII 39f = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 701f; *udug ḫulu* VII 69 = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iii 768 // FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: iii 768; *udug ḫulu* VII 88 = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 788; *udug ḫulu* VII 91 = FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 791; *udug ḫulu* VII 126 = [FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: v 829]; *udug ḫulu* VII 152f = FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: vi 842f. For the *udug ḫulu* attestations for the 4-demon-sequence that are not known from Old Babylonian forerunners, see App. 1.

38 Geller (2016) 11.

The flip side of this would be that the first six are morally ambivalent — but that is not quite true. While the good Utukku is well-attested³⁹ and ghosts and gods can be benevolent as well as harmful,⁴⁰ the same is not true for Alû, Gallû, and Rābišu. We might argue that the term maškim = *rābišu* was also used for official representatives until the middle of the second millennium⁴¹ and that gal₅-la was a term for a 3rd millennium court bailiff.⁴² But there are no known attestations for a good or morally ambivalent Alû. This is all the more striking as the evil Alû is the second demon in the sequence, and thereby occurs in the earliest sequence attestations.

The matter may be explained by another well-known incantation formula that is attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards.⁴³ This also makes use of the evil Utukku and the evil Alû, but lists no further evil entities:

^dudug ḫulu a-la₂ ḫulu bar-še₃ ḫe₂-em-ta- May the evil Udu⁴⁴ and the evil Ala stand aside,
gub

^dudug sag₉ ^dlamma sag₉ ḫe-en-da-sug₂- May the good Udu⁴⁴ and the good Lamma always
sug₂-ge-eš be present with (the patient)!

The formula is still in common use as what Falkenstein calls a “Schlussthema”⁴⁵ in bilingual first millennium *āšipūtu* texts, i.e. it is used as a standard final phrase to close an incantation.

In this formula, designating Utukku and Alû as evil makes perfect sense: the undesirable evil Udu⁴⁴ and Ala are to be replaced by the protective Udu⁴⁴ and Lamma. The adjective ḫulu (evil) stands in opposition to sag₉ (good) in the following line, as the verb bar-še -- gub (stand aside) stands in opposition to the following verb sug₂-sug₂ (be ever present). The protective spirits, Udu⁴⁴ and Lamma, are not only a popular pairing in incantations, but also in literary texts;⁴⁶ as a pair of benevolent entities, they must be mirrored by two malevolent ones.

³⁹ Konstantopoulos (2015) 40–44.

⁴⁰ The possibility of a good ghost is briefly discussed by Baragli (2022) 448.

⁴¹ CAD 14 (1999), 21f *rābišu*.

⁴² Attinger (2021), s.v. gal₅-la, 511.

⁴³ YOS 11, 43: 14f; YOS 11, 51: 7–10.

⁴⁴ Udu⁴⁴ and Ala are not referred to as Utukku and Alû here to preserve the parallel evil Udu⁴⁴ / good Udu⁴⁴ in the Sumerian text. An artificial Akkadian translation of the full clause would turn the good Udu⁴⁴ into the good Šēdu, obscuring the underlying parallel.

⁴⁵ Falkenstein (1931) 30, 62.

⁴⁶ Konstantopoulos (2014) 40–44.

This phrase is used by some manuscripts for *udug ḥulu* incantations that otherwise make use of the demon sequence:⁴⁷ while the five first millennium manuscripts for *udug ḥulu* VII 126 call for the evil *Utukku*, evil *Alû*, evil Ghost, and evil *Gallû* to leave and stand aside, the Old Babylonian forerunner to the incantation calls for the evil *Utukku* and the evil *Alû* to stand aside and for the good *Udug* and the good *Lamma* to always be present.⁴⁸ This slightly shifts the intent of the entire incantation — by replacing the two protective entities with two further evil ones in the formula, the incantation becomes purely exorcistic rather than exorcistic-protective. The adapted version of the incantation is already known from another Old Babylonian forerunner. Although the line that must have contained the 4-demon-sequence is unfortunately lost, there is enough left of the following line to recognise that the “Schlussthema” is not the *Udug-and-Lamma* clause, but an exorcistic stock phrase.⁴⁹ The shift in intent is thus not a first millennium development, even though that was when it became prevalent.

Furthermore, two further Old Babylonian demon sequence attestations appear to have inserted the standardised sequence into the *Udug-and-Lamma* clause. They first call for the demons of the standardised sequence to go away and then ask for the good *Udug* and *Lamma* to be there instead.⁵⁰

This connection between the two ritual staples could indicate that the standardised sequence evolved out of the *Udug-and-Lamma* clause.

This would explain two things. Firstly the question why the demons of the oldest attested versions of the fixed sequence (1–4 and 1–6) are all described with the adjective *evil*: because the phrasing was adapted from an antithesis of evil and good. Secondly the question why the most common Old Babylonian version of the sequence is the 4-demon-sequence rather than the 6-demon-sequence (which is more frequent in the first millennium): because a phrase talking about two evil and two good supernatural entities (i.e. 4 supernatural entities in total) was adapted to talk about evil only.

This theory is, of course, impossible to prove with finality, as both clauses appear alongside one another in the Old Babylonian period. However, it is further supported by the names of the two demons chosen to follow evil *Utukku* and evil *Alû*.

47 For *udug ḥulu* VII 126, one out of six manuscripts uses the *Udug-and-Lamma* clause, the other five calling for the 4-demon-sequence to go away (compare Geller (2016) 277); for *udug ḥulu* XIII-XV 221'–224', three out of five manuscripts use the *Udug-and-Lamma* clause, the other two calling for the 15-demon-sequence to go away (compare Geller 2016) 489.

48 FAOS 12 pl. 12: iii 5f.

49 FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: v 829–831.

50 TIM 9, 63 rev. 13–17; CBS 1384 rev. 9'–14'.

While Utukku and Alû are frequently associated in incantations, evil Ghost and evil Gallû are not commonly found together outside the standardised sequence. They are, however, excellent choices to mirror the evil Utukku and evil Alû. The Sumerian signs for Utukku and Ghost — udug and gidim — are graphically almost identical: the only difference between the two is that udug begins with the sign-element 2/3 (ŠANABI) while gidim begins with the sign-element 1/3 (ŠUŠANA). The writings for Alû and Gallû, on the other hand, end in the same sign (LA₂).

Furthermore, one of the graphically oldest⁵¹ attestations for the standardised demon sequence — the Lamaštu incantation TIM 9, 63, which inserts the sequence into the Udug-and-Lamma clause — writes Utukku and Ghost with the divine determinative DIĜIR, but Alû and Gallû without it. In the Old Babylonian attestations for the Udug-and-Lamma-clause, the evil Utukku is written with the divine determinative, but the evil Alû is not.⁵²

This suggests that the association between the pairs Utukku — Alû and Ghost — Gallû is “vertical” rather than “horizontal” — i.e., the evil Ghost and the evil Gallû were chosen to follow the evil Utukku and evil Alû because the Ghost is (graphically) like the Utukku and the Gallû is (graphically) like the Alû. This reflects the Udug-and-Lamma clause, which mirrors two entities rather than listing four.

Expanding the sequence of evil demons

The Old Babylonian sources show two different ways of expanding the sequence of evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, and evil Gallû.

One, already mentioned above, adds another pair of supernatural evil entities — evil God and evil Rābišu — to the existing two pairs. This creates the 6-demon-sequence that dominates the later material. It is observable in two of the 20 Old Babylonian attestations for the standardised demon sequence.⁵³

The other mode of expansion can be found in two of the non-continuous Old Babylonian attestations.⁵⁴

51 Van Dijk distinguishes between a “later cursive” — Old Babylonian texts from the time of Hammurapi onwards up until the Middle Babylonian period — and an “earlier cursive” dating into the preceding centuries from the Ur III period onward (van Dijk/Hussey (1985) 3). Only two of the Old Babylonian texts mentioned here are written in the “earlier cursive”: the Lamaštu incantation TIM 9, 63 and the “incantation for the dough” YOS 11, 90. Both use the 4-demon-sequence (though the Lamaštu incantation TIM 9, 63 then enumerates Lamaštu and Labāšu and is therefore counted as non-continuous above). Every other Old Babylonian attestation is written in the “later cursive”.

52 YOS 11, 51: 7; YOS 11, 43: 14.

53 FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: viii 681–683 // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 1–4 // FAOS 12 pl. 18: 681–683 // KUB 37, 143: 9’f; CBS 1384 rev. 9’f.

54 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: 14–17; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 435f.

The first of these begins with demons 1–4 (evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, and evil Gallû) and then adds demons 7–8 (Lamaštu and Labāšu) and “the Lilû-demons”.⁵⁵ These Lilû-demons are not named individually, as they are in demons 10–12 of the later standardised sequence; the text passage talks only of *lil₂-la₂*, governing a verb in the plural. The result is an enumeration of seven entries.

The second attestation is in the Old Babylonian Forerunner to an *udug ḫulu* incantation titled “They are seven, they are seven” (*imin-na-meš imin-na-meš*). Unsurprisingly, this too is a set of seven demons: demons 1–4 (evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, and evil Gallû) followed by demons 7–9 (Lamaštu, Labāšu, and Aḫḫāzu).⁵⁶ The enumeration is almost — but not entirely — identical with the previous one — replacing the collective Lilû-demons with the Aḫḫāzu-demon to reach the number 7.

7 is well attested as a magic number; the significance of the number can already be seen in pre-sargonic incantations⁵⁷ and remains a common trope in Mesopotamian literature.⁵⁸ It is not surprising that an Old Babylonian (or earlier) composer of an incantation would choose seven demons to address rather than — for instance — five.

The three observed “non-continuous” sequence attestations in the later standardised series can be traced back to this principle: two, one in *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI* and one in *Udug ḫul*, also form lists of seven demons in total, only beginning with part of the standardised sequence and adding other demons to it;⁵⁹ a second attestation in *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI* copies the list of seven demons used above, but adds further demons to it, thereby obscuring the underlying magic number.⁶⁰

The Old Babylonian 7-demon-sequences, while also non-continuous, foreshadow the later form of the standardised 15-demon-sequence: the enumeration of evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, evil Gallû, Lamaštu, Labāšu, and the Lilû-demons in particular already shows the framework on which the later sequence was built. By combining this enumeration of seven demons with the 6-demon-sequence, and by expanding Lamaštu, Labāšu and the Lilûs into two groups of three demons each (Lamaštu, Labāšu, Aḫḫāzu; Lilû, Lilîtu, Ardat-Lilî), the later standardised sequence takes shape.

55 *udug ḫulu* III 1–4 // FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: 14–17.

56 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: 14–17; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 435f.

57 Cunningham (1997) 109, fn. 1.

58 Konstantopoulos (2015) 15–18.

59 *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI*, 28’f*; *udug ḫulu* III 31–35.

60 *a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI*, 34’f*; see fn. 28 above.

From pairs to groups of three

This marks a shift in the way the standardised demon sequence was divided.

As we have seen, the oldest fixed versions of the sequence either consisted of two pairs (evil Utukku and evil Alû; evil Ghost and evil Gallû) or, sometimes, three pairs (adding evil God and evil Rābišu).

This is reflected in the way the standardised sequence was distributed across lines of text. The Old Babylonian attestations of the 4-demon-sequence are mostly written on one line — which could still easily be done as long as no additional text was inserted between the four demon names.⁶¹ If the demon names were integrated into sentences and those sentences became too long to fit comfortably on the same line, there were two options available to the scribe: distribute the four demons of the sequence across four individual lines, each as head noun of their own phrase,⁶² or distribute the four demons across two lines, dividing the demons into two pairs that served as joint head nouns (evil Utukku and evil Alû [do X] / evil Ghost and evil Gallû [do Y]).⁶³

The as yet uncommon 6-demon-sequence, on the other hand, is divided into three pairs (each with their own line) in an Uduḡ ḫul Forerunner attestation: “May the evil Utukku and the evil Alû depart / may the evil Ghost and the evil Gallû depart / may the evil God and the evil Rābišu depart!”⁶⁴ The torch incantation writes evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost and evil Gallû together on one line — preserving the integrity of the 4-demon-sequence — and adds evil God and evil Rābišu at the beginning of the following line.⁶⁵

There is a slight but significant shift in the evidence after the Old Babylonian period.

A Babylonian purifying incantation from the early first millennium still appears to have *meant* to write all six demons on one line. However, as each demon is the subject of its own sentence (“Evil Utukku — depart! Evil Alû — depart! Evil Ghost — depart! Evil Gallû — depart! Evil God — depart! Evil Rābišu — depart!”), this was no longer possible within the confines of the column. The scribe already reached the edge of the column with evil Ghost (the third in the sequence) and had to write the remaining three demons on the next line, visibly set back from the rest of the text to indicate that this “sub-line” was still

61 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: v 148; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 164; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: vii 643; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iii 768 // FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: iii 768; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 788; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: iv 791; [FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: v 829].

62 FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 170–173; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 182–183; FAOS 12 pl. 1–2: vi 203–206.

63 FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 692f // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 21–25; FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: ii 701f; FAOS 12 pl. 5–6: vi 842f; YOS 11, 90: 16f.

64 FAOS 12 pl. 3–4: viii 681–683 // FAOS 12 pl. 9: iii 1–6 // FAOS 12 pl. 18: 681–683 // KUB 37, 143: 9’f (only the first two pairs preserved before the break of the tablet).

65 CBS 1384 rev. 9’f.

part of the line above and not a line of its own.⁶⁶ This makes clear that all six demons were still to be understood as a single group and not as two groups of three.

In a Ninevite Neo-Assyrian parallel to the purifying incantation, the six demons are — again — split across two lines of three demons each. Here, however, the second line is not set back; the distinct treatment of the six demons as one group is lost.⁶⁷

As a group of six demon names is difficult to squeeze onto a single line of cuneiform text, it makes sense to split the line in two halves of identical lengths. This can be seen in some first millennium ritual series passages: the majority of manuscripts write the first six sequence demons on one line, but individual manuscripts with less line space wrote them across two. The impression created is that the evil Utukku, evil Alû, and evil Ghost are one group, while evil Gallû, evil God, and evil Rābišu are another.⁶⁸ Such an impression would easily have led incantation composers to expand the kamad-me and lil₂-la₂ demons (Lamaštu, Labāšu, Aḥḥāzu / Lilû, Lilîtu, Ardat Lilî) — which already followed the standardised sequence in some Old Babylonian incantations — accordingly into groups of three.

The result would have been four lines with three demons each — a total of twelve demons.

In the ritual series attestations, the 6-demon-sequence is still almost always written together as a group (either on a single line or across six parallel individual lines). Out of the five attestations after the Old Babylonian period that *do* divide the six demons into groups, two divide them into pairs (evil Utukku — evil Alû, evil Ghost — evil Gallû, evil

66 CBS 6895A+N 1269 ii' 4, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/CBS.6895.A>), accessed 04/08/2023. Dated into the early first millennium by T. Mitto; collated from photos taken by A. Glenn; pointed out to the present writer by F. Simons. Differing from the eBL edition, I would read lines 4–6 as “‘udug' [ḥulu] 'e₃'-ba-ra a-la₂ ḥulu 'e₃'-[ba-ra gidim ḥulu e₃-ba-ra] / ga[l₅-la] ḥulu e₃-ba-ra diḡir ḥulu 'e₃'-b[a-ra maškim ḥulu e₃-ba-ra] / mu₇'-mu₇ in-kug-ga mu₇-mu₇ in-sikil-la [mu₇-mu₇ in-dadag-ga] / 'eme'-ḥulu'-ḡal₂ bar-še₃ ḡe₂-em-[ta-gub]”. This lengthens the manuscript's columns by about a third, but seems likely as udug ḥulu — a-la₂ ḥulu / gal₅-la ḥulu — diḡir ḥulu / kug — sikil are not normally used as pairs in parallel constructions, but as groups of three (udug ḥulu — a-la₂ ḥulu — gidim ḥulu / gal₅-la ḥulu — diḡir ḥulu — maškim ḥulu / kug — sikil — dadag); compare FAOS 12 pl. 15–16 rev. 353, as well as the non-Udug ḥul incantations CUSAS 32, No. 6: iii 40–42 and iv 3f. Assuming one further parallel construction in each line is also supported by spatial considerations: in line 6, there is a large gap before any further infixes and the verbal base lost in the break, presumably to align the end of the verb with the end of the line (compare the neatly aligned line ends of the previous column). If line 5, above it, already ended with the fully visible verb in-sikil-la, the final sign of the verb in the line below (either -gub or -ta-gub) should at least be partially visible before the break. The addition of a third clause in line 6 is corroborated by the at least partially parallel Neo-Assyrian fragment K 13550, which has three clauses beginning with mu₇-mu₇ in i' 4'–6' (eBL edition <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.13550>, accessed 04/08/2023).

67 K 13550, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.13550>), accessed 07/11/2023.

68 For example VAT 11029, a manuscript of saḡ-ba, saḡ-ba I 15–22, which clearly divides an originally continuous Akkadian line containing evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, evil Gallû, evil God, and evil Rābišu into two lines containing three demons each: The bilingual fragment always follows up a Sumerian line with an Akkadian one, with a dividing line above and below the two lines to show their interdependence, but for this line only, Akkadian follows Akkadian with no dividing lines in between.

God — evil Rābišu), in keeping with the Old Babylonian material and the history of the sequence.⁶⁹ Three attestations, however, divide them into groups of three (evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost — evil Gallû, evil God, evil Rābišu).⁷⁰

The longer versions of the sequence add on lines of three demons (Lamaštu, Labāšu, Aḫḫāzu / Lilû, Lilîtu, Ardat-Lilî / evil Fate, sickening Asakku, unfavourable Illness) rather than lines of demon pairs — even when the first six demons of the sequence are written together on a single line.

There is no known Old Babylonian attestation for the 15-demon-sequence in its fixed later form. However, one attestation for a non-continuous version of the sequence in Uduḡ ḫulu shows that its skeletal structure was established in the Old Babylonian period, even if it was not yet fixed:

FAOS 12 pl. 1-2: vii 220-24⁷¹

220	“[udu]g ḫulu a-la ₂ ḫulu ḡidim ¹ ḫulu	evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost
221	[gal ₅ -la] ḡ ¹ [ulu (diḡir ḫulu) maškim ḫu]lu	[evil Gallû, (evil God?), evil Rābišu,]
222	^d kamad-me	Lamaštu,
223	{ {me} } ^d ḡkamad ¹ -[me]-LAGAB lu ₂ lil ₂ -la ₂	{ {superfluous sign} } Aḫḫāzu, Lilû
224	[[x]] ḡki-sikil lil ₂ ¹ -[la ₂] u ₄ -da-kar-ḡra ¹	[[erasure]] Lilîtu, Ardat-Lilî
	^d nam-tar ḫulu ḡa ₂ ¹ -[sa]g ₃ gig tu-ra	evil Fate, sickening Asakku, Illness
	[[x x x x]] nu-duḡ ₃ -ga i ₃ -ḡdab ₅ ¹	[[erasure]] that is unfavourable seized him

The text passage lists most of the demons present in the later 15-demon sequence. However, while the gaps and erasures in the text leave some room for interpretation, it is clear that not *all* of them are present. Yet the closing line of the later 15-demon-sequence — the fatal line of “evil Fate, sickening Asakku, unfavourable Illness” — is the same as in the later sequence attestations, as is the order of expected demons.

The state of the manuscript leaves unclear whether this is a faulty first attestation of the 15-demon-sequence or a non-continuous precursor. What the passage makes clear is that the leap from three pairs of demons to five groups of three demons can be traced back to the Old Babylonian period — as can the general order of the longer sequence.

69 Compendium IX 32–34; *Maqlû* II 52–56.

70 *Bīt mēseri* II 80–84; *Šēp lemutti* 1–4; uduḡ ḫulu XI 1–4.

71 The transliteration below builds on Geller’s transliteration and copy in FAOS. The reading differs in some details: there appears to be enough space in the gap in l. 221 to at least tentatively restore all three expected demons where Geller restores only Gallû and Rābišu; the gap in l. 224 seems too small to restore three signs; the line makes more grammatical sense if the sign NI at the end of l. 224 is taken as a verbal prefix (“it has seized him”) rather than reading the entire sequence of signs as a description of an illness (“his serious illness being virulent”, transl. Geller).

Summary

This paper has analysed a phenomenon that has long been hiding in plain sight, but has so far not been subject to detailed analysis. By looking at its textual history, we have observed that the standardised sequence grew over time, and that it adapted and combined several different conventions of organising demons.

The most commonly attested Old Babylonian version of the sequence, using the first four demons, appears to have grown out of a widely used “Schlussthema” that called for the evil Utukku and evil Alû to remove themselves and let the good Uduḡ and the good Lamma be present. Instead of mirroring the evil Utukku and evil Alû with two positive entities like the “Schlussthema”, the standardised sequence mirrors them with two further evil demons that are graphically similar to Utukku and Alû. The resulting sequence of two demon pairs described as “evil” (evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, and evil Gallû) was augmented, already in the Old Babylonian period, by a third pair of “evil” demons: evil God and evil Rābiṣu.

An alternative way of expanding the four demons into a longer sequence was to add three other demons to reach the magic number seven: Lamaštu, Labāṣu, and the Lilûs or Lamaštu, Labāṣu, and Aḥḥāzu. As these additional demons vary, they do not appear to have been “fixed” in the Old Babylonian material. However, they largely show the same structure as the later sequence: evil demons followed by kamad-me demons followed by lil₂-la₂ demons.

These various conventions of organising demons in incantations were combined and solidified into the later, longer form of the standardised sequence: enumerating evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil Ghost, evil Gallû, evil God, evil Rābiṣu, Lamaštu, Labāṣu, Aḥḥāzu, Lilû, Lilîtu, Ardat-Lilî, evil Fate, sickening Asakku, and unfavourable Illness, a total of 15 entities.

An incantation that *uses* this long version of the series is no longer concerned with juxtaposing two evil entities with two good ones, or giving a magic number of seven demons, or a round number of six. Nor does the presence of six “evil” demons at the beginning necessarily suggest that they were not considered inherently evil in the way the later demons were, as has been assumed. The sequence of 15 demons consists of a number of different constituent parts, each with its own logic and cultural history, going all the way back to the short 4-demon-sequence of the Old Babylonian period.

Our sequence therefore provides a very interesting case study for the categorisation of demons in ancient Mesopotamian incantations. The way demons were grouped appears both very flexible and markedly stable. Flexible, in that incantations merge various

traditions of grouping demons; yet stable in that they re-use these merged groupings in exactly the same form, over and over again — thereby creating a fixed group of demons by implication.

III.⁷² Ritual Instructions in the Series *Lamaštu*

Our understanding of Mesopotamian rituals has advanced greatly in the last few decades. This is largely thanks to the publication of several ritual series that belonged to the standard repertoire of the 1st millennium incantation priest (*āšipu*)⁷³ but had been inaccessible to a wider readership of modern scholars for lack of comprehensive editions.⁷⁴ The series targeted in this paper is that which recorded a complex ritual against the demon *Lamaštu*, who was thought to prey on pregnant women and small children.⁷⁵ Its best-attested recension derives from manuscripts found at Nineveh and Sultantepe.⁷⁶ The purpose of the ritual recorded by the series was to cure a baby's illness. Though the *Lamaštu* series was known to Assyriologists already since 1902, the current edition, by Walter Farber, only appeared in 2014.⁷⁷

Like other ritual series, *Lamaštu* prescribes a combination of ritual actions and incantations. The instructions for these are distributed across two different textual typologies found within *Lamaštu*: a) incantations followed by rubrics which prescribe magical actions (*Lam.* Tablets I-II) and b) a 'ritual tablet' (*Lam.* III), which also prescribes magical actions.

In the case of *Lamaštu*, however, it is not immediately apparent how these two sets of instructions (those in the rubrics and those in the ritual tablet) relate. Most of the instructions on *Lam.* I-II can also be found, verbatim, on the ritual tablet. However, the ritual tablet gives them in a very different order, making it seemingly impossible to reconstruct the ritual without directly contradicting the rubrics. This was already noted by

72 Published in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 83 (2024) 197–209. Full citation under Barkowsky (2024b) in the bibliography. Slight modifications were made for the sake of internal coherence of the dissertation as a whole (citation conventions).

73 As outlined in the much-quoted “Exorcist’s Manual” KAR 44 and its duplicates, known to Assyriologists for over a century (Zimmern (1915–16) 204–228) but most recently edited in Geller (2018) and Heeßel (2023).

74 Among the ritual series edited in the last twenty years are the series *Lamaštu* (Farber (2014)) – the topic of this study — as well as the series *Bīt Rimki* (Schwemer (2019)), *Bīt salā’ mē* (Ambos (2013)), *Maqlû* (Abusch (2016)), and *udug ḫulu* (Geller (2016)).

75 Farber (1980–1983) 444. *Lamaštu* was also thought to attack victims beyond pregnant women and small children. For her wider activity against other people see Wiggerman (2000) 231 and 236f.

76 For the *pirsu* and *tuppu* recensions (used in Nineveh/Sultantepe and Aššur/Babylonia respectively), see Farber (2014) 17–21. This article deals mainly with the *pirsu* recension, because it is known from a significantly larger number of manuscripts than the *tuppu* recension. As Farber notes, the textual differences are minimal. As far as attested, both recensions appear to contain the ritual instructions in the rubrics and in the ritual tablet, making the problem dealt with here unlikely to be a result of Nineveh compilation activity. The order of incantations, however, differs slightly — this is relevant to the understanding of the ritual *Lamaštu* and is therefore discussed below, p. 6.

77 The first published edition is Fossey (1902), followed (in the same year) by the more influential Myhrman (1902). This was succeeded, in 1949, by Köcher’s dissertation — this edition of the series was, however, never published. The most recent (and by far most detailed) *Lamaštu* edition to date is Farber (2014).

Sam Mireleman in the only publication that addresses this issue: “the sequence of incantations and rituals in *Lam. I* and *II*, when compared with the ritual section (*Lam. III*), cannot be explained as the result of divergent recensions”.⁷⁸ At least two known manuscripts (K 2482+ and K 8138+) write *Lam. I–III* on a single multi-column tablet, so the differing sets of ritual instructions are certainly part of the same text.

What are we to make of this situation? To Mirelman, the discrepancies imply “that the series as it stands does not make sense as a reference work produced solely for the performance of a single, extended *Lam.* ritual.”⁷⁹ He interprets the two sets of ritual instructions as the product of different textual traditions: an older ritual copied into the rubrics of *Lam. I* and *II* so as not to disturb the textual integrity of the incantations, and the actual contemporary ritual practice in Nineveh outlined in the ritual tablet *Lam. III*.⁸⁰ In other words, Mirelman’s explanation is that the compilers of the series knowingly produced a text that does not make sense: the rubric following an incantation is always introduced as “DU₃.DU₃.BI”: “its (i.e. the incantation’s) ritual” but the reader is not informed that the rubrics represent a supposedly older ritual and are meant to be ignored.

This study advances a different line of explanation: it seeks to demonstrate that *Lamaštu* is not, in fact, internally contradictory. It proposes that the ritual instructions given in the ritual tablet expand on and add to the information given in the rubrics of *Lam. I–II*. It will be argued that the perceived discrepancies between *Lam. I–II* and *Lam. III* result from our notions of what a ritual tablet is supposed to be rather than from actual inconsistencies within the text.

The ritual according to the rubrics

First let us look at the ritual instructions given in the rubrics and those given on the ritual tablet separately. This is necessary to determine whether each could have been, theoretically, used on its own to guide the reader through a ritual. It is also useful to illustrate the difference in how rubrics and ritual tablet organise ritual information.

It should be mentioned that no part of *Lamaštu* clarifies who its instructions were addressed to. They are given to a grammatical second person singular masculine (“you do X, then you do Y”) and thereby assume that the recipient and the person carrying out the ritual are identical. Whether this was actually the case cannot be resolved here, as it requires a much wider study of the work of ritual professionals and its relationship to ritual

⁷⁸ Mirelman (2018) 361.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 364f.

texts. The question of whether *Lamaštu* presents one coherent ritual or a compilation of different ritual traditions does not depend on the identity of the addressee of the text, as he (the unspecified grammatical second person) is spoken to in both the rubric's and the ritual tablet's instructions, often in parallels that describe the same ritual action.

From here on, the ritual's imagined reader will be called "the *āšipu*," as this professional is the most likely candidate for putting a ritual of this complexity into practice. However, it must be stressed that the identity of the person(s) who carried out the ritual cannot be deduced from internal evidence.⁸¹

Fig. 2 shows the ritual instructions given in the rubrics after each of the thirteen incantations on *Lam. I–II*. The first column gives a very abbreviated form of the ritual steps to be carried out alongside the individual incantations. The second column indicates from which line on the incantation tablets *Lam. I–II* the ritual steps are taken; the third column notes parallels on the ritual tablet *Lam. III* (if there are any) to illustrate the different order of the ritual steps there.

Fig. 3: ritual content of the *Lam. I–II* rubrics⁸²

ritual instruction	<i>Lam. I–II</i> line	<i>Lam. III</i> parallel
Inc. 1		
amulet cylinder with Inc. 1 written on it, to be attached to the neck of the baby	Lam. I 10	/
Inc. 2		
figurine ritual, days 1–3 (figurine 1)	Lam. I 23–31	Lam. III 110–118
anointment of the body of the baby with salve ingredients 1–12	Lam. I 32–36	Lam. III 64–66 (ingredient list only)
Inc. 3		
figurine ritual, day 4 (figurine 2)	Lam. I 47–57	Lam. III 119–129
neck plaster	Lam. I 58f	Lam. III 44f
fumigation of the baby with fumigants 1–2	Lam. I 60	Lam. III 74 (ingredient list only)

81 One of the anonymous reviewers suggested that the ritual may have been the collaborative work of *asû* and *āšipu*, with the *asû* responsible for salves, stones, and fumigations. This is an interesting idea and calls for a wider study of the relationship between *asûtu* and *āšipûtu* than possible here. The text itself does not suggest it, as the identity of the second person addressee is never indicated to change. However, addressing all instructions of a ritual to a single second person recipient is likely to be a textual convention rather than a practical reality of rituals. Many incantations, from at least the Old Babylonian period onwards, outline ritual actions as instructions given by Enki/Ea to his son Marduk (in the so-called Ea-Marduk-Dialogue), whom the person(s) carrying out the actions in reality are thereby suggested to represent. In the letter SAA X 255, an *āšipu* speaks of a plural of persons (including himself) conducting a ritual action, even though that ritual action is directly stated to be based on written texts (obv. 5-13) and therefore likely to be addressed to only one individual. Unfortunately, the ritual in question is not named.

82 Mirelman (2018) 368f contains a table (17.3) that also outlines the ritual content of the rubrics.

anointment of the body of the baby with salve ingredients 13–14	Lam. I 61 ⁸³	Lam. III 66–67 (ingredient list only)
Inc. 4		
figurine ritual, days 5–7 (figurine 3)	Lam. I 94–99	Lam. III 130–135
Inc. 5		
additional figurine ritual (figurine 4)	Lam. I 220–232	/
Inc. 6		
anointment of the body of the baby with salve ingredients 15–19	Lam. II 28–30	Lam. III 67–68 (ingredient list only)
fumigation of the baby with fumigants 3–9	Lam. II 32f	
Inc. 7		
amulet tablet with Inc. 7 written on it, to be hung over the head of the bed; dog figurines (made from the same material as the amulet tablet), to be placed next to doors and windows	Lam. II 61–83	Lam. III 8–28
Inc. 8		
coil necklace, to be attached to the neck of the baby	Lam. II 113–118	Lam. III 30–43 (more detailed preparation instructions)
Inc. 9		
(no ritual instructions)		
Inc. 10		
(no ritual instructions)		
Inc. 11		
(no ritual instructions)		
Inc. 12		
(no ritual instructions)		
Inc. 13		
anointment of the body of the baby with additional salve ingredients when the baby has a fever	Lam. II 210–211	/
14 pieces of <i>azallû</i> -plant, to be placed on the baby's neck	Lam. II 212	Lam. III 45f (more detailed preparation instructions)

The ritual according to the rubrics

Taken on their own, the incantations and the rubrics that follow them could have been used as instructions for a coherent ritual.

⁸³ As the first 12 ingredients in the *Lam. III* list of salve ingredients were used for the preceding salve, and the final 5 are used for the following salve, we would expect the two ingredients in this ritual instruction to be identical with the two remaining ingredients in the middle of the list: two plants called *aprušu* and *azallû* (*Lam. III*, 67). However, only *aprušu* is preserved on the two badly damaged manuscripts that have the relevant passage of *Lam. I*, 61 (K 2016+ and VAT 10353). Of the ingredient that precedes (!) it, only one manuscript preserves any trace at all (BM 76642+), and Farber reads the only recognisable sign *saḥ*, for *saḥ-l[é²-e²]*. The fact that one of the expected two ingredients is legible on both of the badly preserved manuscripts, and that the unexpected ingredient is only preserved by one sign on one of them, combined with the use of the remaining salve ingredients in the expected order in the expected place, makes it extremely likely that *aprušu* and *azallû* were used for a salve in this ritual step.

This “*Lam. I–II* ritual” would begin with the *āšipu* writing Inc. 1 on a cylinder seal and attaching it to the baby’s neck. Inc. 1 gives Lamaštu seven names and adjures her to fly away;⁸⁴ it is brief enough to fit on a cylinder seal and would be a conceivable beginning of an exorcism.

The rubric to Inc. 2 describes the first three days of a seven-day figurine ritual. It revolves around a figurine of an imprisoned Lamaštu holding a figurine of a black dog.⁸⁵ It is placed at the head of the baby’s bed for three days, during which the *āšipu* is instructed to recite “the incantation” (Akk. *minûtu*) in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. This refers beyond reasonable doubt to Inc. 2, as the text of the incantation says that the speaker has given Lamaštu a black dog,⁸⁶ a direct reference to the figurine described in the ritual instructions.

The instructions suggest that this ritual step transfers the demon Lamaštu (and, with her, the illness) from the body of the baby into the figurine. The piglet’s heart placed in the figurine’s mouth is presumably a substitute for the heart of the baby (which Lamaštu really wants to eat). Burying the figurine in a corner of a wall outside disposes of the demon at a safe distance to the baby.⁸⁷

Inc. 3 accompanies the second step of the figurine ritual. This involves a figurine of “the daughter of Anu” (Akk. *mārat Anu*, i.e. Lamaštu). The figurine is taken out into the wilderness, where the *āšipu* “makes her swear the oath of heaven, earth, and the Anunnaki” (Akk.: *nīš šamê eršeti u Anunnakī tutammāši*). This may refer to the recitation of Inc. 3, but that is not made explicit; the text of Inc. 3 — a rather generic Lamaštu incantation — does not refer to making the demon swear the oath of heaven, earth, or Anunnaki, though this is a standard incantation formula.⁸⁸ Inc. 3 does, however, end in a call to Šamaš (the

84 *Lam. I* 1–8.

85 The black dog has been identified as either Lamaštu’s enemy (in Farber’s translation of Inc. 2 in Farber (2014) 147) or her companion (Wiggerman (2000) 234). The Akkadian term used to describe the dog in *Lam. I* 14 — *gallâki* — is ambivalent, literally translating to “your Gallû-demon”. It certainly denotes the black dog as a hostile figure, but does not clarify whether it is hostile to Lamaštu or generally hostile because it is Lamaštu’s helper. The evidence quoted by Wiggermann — an Old Babylonian ritual in which an incantation against Lamaštu is followed by an incantation against a dog — supports his description of the black dog as Lamaštu’s companion. The ritual instructions *Lam. III* 15–28 (and their parallel in the Inc. 7 rubric) use dogs as protective figures against Lamaštu, but there is no particular reason to assume that these dogs have anything to do with the black dog of Inc. 2.

86 *Lam. I*, 14.

87 Scurlock gives a brief interpretation of this incantation and its rubric according to K 2971 (+) K 2986 i 11–30: “Lamaštu is provided with a husband and provisions on the condition that she go away and leave the patient alone” (Scurlock (2014) 681). She treats *Lamaštu* incantations as separate rituals against different illnesses instead of regarding the series as one large ritual against Lamaštu. Therefore she categorises Inc. 2 as a healing ritual against fever, no doubt because of its subscript “incantation to remove fever and Lamaštu” (KA.INIM.MA *umma lazza u Lamaštu nasāhi*, *Lam. I* 22).

88 Falkenstein even suggested that the Sumerian version of this formula (“Die zi-pad₃-Formel”) was added at the end of all incantations orally even if it was not written down, as he believes that only this “Schlussthema” turned a text into an incantation (Falkenstein (1931) 34f). This theory would help to tie

sungod and the god of justice),⁸⁹ and it is noteworthy that the figurine is turned to face the sun when it rises the following day.

The imagery suggests the removal of Lamaštu, who had already been pulled out of the body in the previous step, to a place even further away — not only from the baby, but from civilisation as a whole. There, she is detained (by a rope and a flour circle), and left for Šamaš to deal with.

The third step of the figurine ritual, accompanying Inc. 4, again stretches over three days. In it, another figurine of Lamaštu is placed at the head of the baby for three days, stabbed with a dagger, and then buried in a corner of an outside wall.

Once again the rubric does not say explicitly when the incantation is to be recited. Inc. 4, however, fits well into this place of the “*Lam. I–II* ritual” as a whole. Inc. 2 called for Lamaštu to be removed from the body of the child and not return while the *āšipu* physically removed the demon into the figurine and took it outside. Inc. 3 called on Šamaš (the sungod and god of justice) to establish his ruling power while the *āšipu* placed Lamaštu in the wilderness to face the sunrise. Now Inc. 4 adjures Lamaštu by several gods to never again approach the patient (named explicitly for the first time in the ritual),⁹⁰ be removed, and stay away.⁹¹

The accompanying ritual action, according to the rubric, essentially repeats the removal of Lamaštu from the body of the baby in the first step of the figurine ritual. Unlike the previous steps of the figurine ritual, however, this third step suggests finality by eventually stabbing the figurine. Lamaštu also receives no further provisions or substitutes for the baby’s life, as she did in the rubrics to Inc. 2 and 3. It appears that now that Šamaš has exerted his rulership, she can be fully defeated by the *āšipu*.

Excursus: Inc. 5

The last incantation on *Lam. I*, Inc. 5, is somewhat set apart from the previous ritual steps.

First of all, it is one of two incantations an alternative recension of *Lamaštu* takes out of the (otherwise stable) order of Incs. 1–13: This recension consists of one Tablet with Incs.

Inc. 3 (or indeed any other incantation) to the rubric, but seems to somewhat overestimate the importance of the clause, common as it is.

⁸⁹ *Lam. I* 45.

⁹⁰ *Lam. I* 77 and *Lam. I* 90.

⁹¹ *Lam. I* 76–90.

1–4, 6, and 8–13 and a second Tablet with Incs. 5 and 7.⁹² That would indicate that if the rubrics on *Lam. I–II* did form an independent ritual, Inc. 5 had no fixed position inside it.

Furthermore, Inc. 5 is longer than all previous incantations put together. Its accompanying ritual is an additional figurine ritual — a ritual step that exceeds the magic number of seven days, and is not included in the direct parallels to the ritual instructions for the seven-day figurine ritual on *Lam. III*. This additional figurine ritual combines elements of the first two steps of the seven-day figurine ritual, but includes none from the third.

The ritual instructions in the rubric instruct the *āšipu* to make a figurine of the “Daughter of Anu” and provide it with a clay donkey and numerous travel provisions (as in the second step of the figurine ritual). A piglet is slaughtered and its heart placed in the mouth of the figurine; the *āšipu* is told to recite “the incantation” (Akk. *šiptu*) — presumably Inc. 5 — three times a day (both as in the first step of the figurine ritual, although the figurine is not placed anywhere near the baby here; the baby is not mentioned at all). After three days of this, the *āšipu* takes the figurine into the wilderness, places it on the ground facing the rising sun, surrounds it with a flour circle, and ties it to a bush (again echoing the second step of the figurine ritual).

The incantation talks of the difficulty of burying a baby that has been killed by *Lamaštu*: even though the baby is dead, *Lamaštu* is still present in the body, so it cannot be buried in the family house as appropriate, but would have to be taken out into the wilderness “in a red leather bag, as if storing provisions” (transl. Farber, Akk.: *kīma šāpik šidīti ana luppi šāmi liškunū*) and left there.⁹³

The incantation then beseeches *Lamaštu* to drop “this flesh not fit for eating” (transl. Farber, Akk.: *šira ša lā akāli*)⁹⁴, remove herself from the house into the wilderness, and not come back.⁹⁵ The text of the incantation strongly suggests that this was not, in fact, an incantation to cure a baby of a *Lamaštu*-induced illness, but an incantation to remove *Lamaštu* from a baby’s corpse in order to provide the baby with a proper burial: The incantation provides for the possibility that the ritual was unsuccessful and the baby had

92 Farber (2014), 17. The three manuscripts for the first Tablet – BM 46281+, CBS 13939, and BM 76642+ – are all preserved well enough to establish that Incs. 5 and 7 are missing from the expected order of *Lamaštu* incantations. The two manuscripts for the second Tablet — VAT 10327+ and LKU 33 — are preserved well enough to establish that Incs. 5 and 7 were written on them. As Farber notes, the catchline on the reverse of LKU 33 does not lead to *Lamaštu* incantations or rituals, and the only manuscript for Farber’s third Tablet (the ritual tablet) of this recension — VAT 595 — is fragmentary enough that it may in fact have belonged to the *pirsu* recension. It is therefore possible that the “*tuppu* recension” may have been “integrated into a larger series of which it occupied the first sections numbered as *tuppu* / DUB” (Farber (2014) 17, fn. 33).

93 *Lam. I* 155–166.

94 *Lam. I* 191.

95 *Lam. I* 189–216.

died. Considering the comparatively high infant mortality rate in ancient societies, this must have happened at least occasionally.

This interpretation would explain several problems with Inc. 5 and its rituals.

Firstly, why Inc. 5 could be taken out of the expected order of incantations by a different text recension: It was not a fixed part of the ritual, but used if necessary. It would have been added to the end *Lam. I* because this Tablet dealt with figurine rituals, not because this was its place in the order of ritual actions.

Secondly, why the ritual combines elements of the first steps of the figurine ritual, intended to remove Lamaštu from the baby's body and put her in the wilderness, without ever placing a figurine near the baby: if the baby had died, it might not have been desirable to keep the corpse on the bed for three days.

Thirdly, why the ritual does *not* use elements of the final step of the figurine ritual, which defeated Lamaštu and thereby guaranteed she would never return to the baby: it was already impossible that Lamaštu would return to the baby, as she had already killed it.

Finally, the theory would explain why the three steps of the seven-day figurine ritual are given verbatim on *Lam. III*, but this fourth step is not included in the paragraph in question (or anywhere else on *Lam. III*).⁹⁶

The ritual according to the rubrics (ctd.)

The first incantation on *Lam. II*, Inc. 6, seemingly picks up where Inc. 4 left off: it talks of Lamaštu taking symptoms of disease from the baby's body, discussed as "those around you, which walk before and behind you" (Akk. *šūt paniki ša ina paniki u arkiki illakū*), away with her.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Scurlock (2014) interprets this incantation twice, once on pp. 590-592 according to K 2971 (+) K 2986 ii 28-33 completed by LKU 33 2'-45' — two manuscripts that combined give *Lam. I* 100-148 (the first 48 lines of Inc. 5) — and once on pp. 678-681 according to KAR 239 ii-iii — a manuscript preserving *Lam. I* 173-231 (the second half of Inc. 5 and its rubric up to the second to last line).

Scurlock categorises the first 48 lines of the incantation as a ritual against miscarriage caused by typhoid because of the description of Lamaštu preying on pregnant woman about to give birth in part of the epic prologue describing Lamaštu's various evil habits (Scurlock, *Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine* (2014), 590). However, this prologue also describes Lamaštu's habit of killing or hurting young men (*Lam. I* 128), young women (*Lam. I* 129), and small children (*Lam. I* 139). Furthermore, the descriptions of various evil deeds (*Lam. I* 115-136) are all in the present tense, suggesting they are various things that Lamaštu is in the habit of doing or generally does. The narrative of Lamaštu killing a small boy, putting the family into mourning, and not allowing the child to be buried (*Lam. I* 137-173), on the other hand, are in the perfect or past tenses, suggesting a chain of events that has just happened.

The second part of Inc. 5 up to the rubric is categorised as another healing ritual against fever (Scurlock (2014) 678).

⁹⁷ *Lam. II* 1-26; direct quote *Lam. II* 16.

The ritual steps in the rubric are the anointment of the baby with a mixture of 5 further ingredients and another fumigation using 7 ingredients, split into 3 separate fumigations. It is worth remembering here that the ritual instructions after Inc. 2 (the first step of the figurine ritual) and Inc. 3 (the second step of the figurine ritual) both include anointing the baby with salves, the latter also including a fumigation. The third step of the figurine ritual, in the rubric of Inc. 4, does not, making the rubric of Inc. 6 a plausible continuation to that of Inc. 4.

Inc. 7 accompanies a number of protective ritual steps around the house: the *āšipu* mixes various types of dust with clay and forms an amulet tablet and several dog figurines with it. He draws various divine symbols and inscribes Inc. 7 on the tablet, then hangs it over the sickbed. The purpose of the incantation is to keep Lamaštu away; she is adjured to go to the mountains and not approach the door of the house.⁹⁸

The dog figurines are then positioned near the doors and windows of the house, equally suggesting that they were supposed to protect the house against Lamaštu (rather than remove her from it).

Inc. 8 adjures Lamaštu to not return to the house and let the baby sleep peacefully until the next morning.⁹⁹ According to the rubric, the *āšipu* fashioned a necklace out of various fibres, hairs, and splinters and put it around the baby's neck; the accompanying incantation suggests that this is a protective measure for the baby, but it is unclear when the incantation is supposed to be recited.

The next four incantations — Incs. 9–12 — do not have rubrics with ritual instructions.

The final incantation on *Lam. II*, Inc. 13, is followed by a rubric which tells the *āšipu* to anoint the baby with a salve made from two ingredients “when fever seizes him (= the baby)” (Akk.: *enūma ummu iṣbassu*).¹⁰⁰ As the *āšipu* would not have been able to predict when, or how often, the child would develop a fever, it seems unlikely that this ritual step was chronologically the final ritual step of *Lamaštu*. It may have been added at the end of *Lam. II* as an incantation to be used according to necessity (comparable to what was suggested above for Inc. 5, the final incantation of *Lam. I*).

98 *Lam. II* 41–48 seem to give instructions for a figurine ritual that match no ritual instructions in this version of *Lamaštu*. The passage describes Asalluḫi's actions against Lamaštu as building a boat for her to board with two white and two black dogs; she is then supposed to sail away to the open sea. Somewhat contradictorily, Asalluḫi then informs Lamaštu that he has bound her feet to a tamarisk and surrounded her with a magic circle. The descriptions may be entirely metaphorical or the incantation may have been used in a different ritual context before it was integrated into the series *Lamaštu*. Building a boat for the figurine of an unwanted supernatural actor and sending it off down a river features in other ritual instructions, compare Ambos (2004) 91.

99 *Lam. II* 105–111.

100 *Lam. II* 211.

In that case, the ritual — according to the rubrics — would end with protective measures for the house (Inc. 7) and for the baby’s sleep until morning (Inc. 8), a plausible conclusion. The rubrics do not mention any ritual steps to accompany Incs. 9–12; if the rubrics present a complete description of an older ritual, as suggested by Mirelman, this would suggest that these four incantations were simply recited at the end.

The ritual tablet

As already visible in Fig. 2 above, the ritual tablet includes most of the *Lam.* I–II ritual steps, often in word-for-word identical phrasing. However, as we can see in Fig. 3, the organisation of information is very different.

The first column of Fig. 3 gives, again, an abbreviation of the ritual instruction. The second column gives the lines on *Lam.* III the ritual step in question is taken from, while the third column lists parallels on *Lam.* I–II (if there are any).

Fig. 4: ritual content of *Lam.* III compared to subscripts on *Lam.* I–II¹⁰¹

ritual instruction	<i>Lam.</i> III line	<i>Lam.</i> I–II parallel
(headline “when you perform <i>Lamaštu</i> ”)	<i>Lam.</i> III 1	/
drawing of <i>Lamaštu</i> by the door	<i>Lam.</i> III 2–7	/
amulet tablet with Inc. 7 written on it to be hung over the head of the bed; dog figurines (made from the same material as the amulet tablet) to be placed next to doors and windows	<i>Lam.</i> III 8–28	<i>Lam.</i> II 61–83 (rubric Inc. 7)
(one line broken, likely the first line of the enumeration of stones)	<i>Lam.</i> III 29	/
preparation instructions for a stone and coil necklace	<i>Lam.</i> III 30–43	<i>Lam.</i> II 113–118 (rubric Inc. 8)
preparation instructions for a plaster for the neck of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 44f	<i>Lam.</i> I 58f (rubric Inc. 3)
14 pieces of <i>azallû</i> -plant to be placed on the neck of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 45f	<i>Lam.</i> II 212 (rubric Inc. 13)
preparation instructions for a stone and coil bracelet for the right hand of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 47–50	/
preparation instructions for a stone and coil bracelet for the left hand of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 51f	/
preparation instructions for a stone and coil anklet for the right foot of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 53f	/
preparation instructions for a stone and coil anklet for the left foot of the baby	<i>Lam.</i> III 55f	/
text of a short incantation	<i>Lam.</i> III 57–60	/
text of another short incantation	<i>Lam.</i> III 61f	/
instruction to recite both incantations seven times over the stones (presumably all the stones mentioned in <i>Lam.</i> 30–56)	<i>Lam.</i> III 63	/

¹⁰¹ Mirelman (2018) 370f contains a table (17.4) that also outlines the ritual content of the ritual tablet.

list of 19 ingredients labelled “ointment”	Lam. III 64–68	ingredients 1–12: Lam. I 32–36 (rubric Inc. 2) ingredients 13–14: Lam. I 61 ¹⁰² (rubric Inc. 3) ingredients 15–19: Lam. II 28–30 (rubric Inc. 6)
instructions to recite Incs. 2, 3 and 6 three times over the ointment	Lam. III 69–73	/
list of 9 ingredients labelled “fumigation”	Lam. III 74–75	fumigants 1–2: Lam. I 60 (rubric Inc. 3) fumigants 3–9: Lam. II 32f (rubric Inc. 6)
(headline “when you anoint the baby”)	Lam. III 76	/
instructions matching each incantation from Inc. 1 to Inc. 13 (in that order) to a part of the baby’s body (from head to toe) over which it is to be recited during the anointment of the baby	Lam. III 77–97	/
instruction to recite Inc. 3 over an unspecified fumigation and place it on the right side of the door	Lam. III 98f	Lam. I 60 (rubric Inc. 3: instructions for fumigants 1–2)
instruction to recite Inc. 6 over three unspecified fumigations and place them to the left of the door, at the head of the bed, and at the foot of the bed	Lam. III 100–102	Lam. II 32f (rubric Inc. 6: instructions for fumigants 3–9 divided into three separate fumigations)
instructions to place pieces of wood near the head of the baby and recite the (non- <i>Lamaštu</i>) incantation “udug ħul ġal ₂ saġ.gaz zid-a” ¹⁰³	Lam. III 103–106	/
instructions to draw a flour circle around the bed and recite the (non- <i>Lamaštu</i>) incantations “saṇ-ba, saṇ-ba”, “ <i>tummu bītu</i> ”, “ab-ta nam-mu-un-da-ku ₄ -de” and “ ^d En.ki lugal abzu-ke ₄ sa ₇ pad ₃ -da” ¹⁰⁴	Lam. III 107–109	/
figurine ritual, days 1–3 (figurine 1)	Lam. III 110–118	Lam. I 23–31 (rubric Inc. 2)
figurine ritual, day 4 (figurine 2)	Lam. III 119–129	Lam. I 47–57 (rubric Inc. 3)
figurine ritual, days 5–7 (figurine 3)	Lam. III 130–135	Lam. I 94–99 (rubric Inc. 4)
instruction for the nurse of the child to keep the salves ready while the previous ritual instructions are being carried out (end of day 7 of the figurine ritual)	Lam. III 136f	/
(heavily damaged) instruction mentioning a door and a plural of dogs	Lam. III 138	/

102 For the problems in restoring the two ingredient names, see above, fn. 83.

103 According to SpTU III 69, §9, this incantation also features in the ritual series *Bīt Mēseri*. There, the incantation’s ritual is the placement of apotropaic (Seidl/Sallaberger (2005–2006) 67) twin figurines at the head of the sickbed.

104 Restored after Schwemer (2023) 63, which gives the same sequence of 4 incantations. The full title of the final incantation is given in l. 4 on the reverse of Schwemer’s *Bīt mēseri* ritual tablet.

The first thing that should become immediately apparent in comparison to Fig. 2 is that, while most of the instructions in the *Lam. I–II* rubrics have parallels on the ritual tablet *Lam. III*, the ritual tablet gives a significant number of instructions that cannot be found in the rubrics. 13 lines of *Lam. I–II* rubrics have no parallel (direct or indirect) on the ritual tablet, while almost 60 lines of text on the ritual tablet cannot be connected to any ritual instructions given in the *Lam. I–II* rubrics. The ritual tablet contains more ritual information than the rubrics do.

The ritual according to the ritual tablet

If we attempt to read the ritual tablet as a continuous ritual narrative, the ritual looks very different from what is described in the *Lam. I–II* rubrics. Furthermore, there are a number of logical problems with the ritual tablet that we do not find in the *Lam. I–II* rubrics.

First, the *āšipu* is instructed to secure the bedroom of the patient against *Lamaštu* with the help of a protective drawing, an amulet tablet featuring Inc. 7, and guard dogs (as in the rubric of Inc. 7). All this happens before any exorcistic action is mentioned. That means that if this were the first action taken during the ritual, the bedroom in which *Lamaštu* is currently present would be secured against *Lamaštu* entering it.

Next the *āšipu* is instructed how to make the necklace mentioned in the rubric of Inc. 8. These instructions are much more detailed than those in the rubric and focus on a large number of different stones that are threaded on cords and wrapped with the coils of wool, fibre, and splinters mentioned in the rubric of Inc. 8. The following two ritual steps also deal with materials to be attached to the patient's neck — the neck plaster mentioned in the rubric of Inc. 3 and the 14 pieces of *azallû*-plant placed on the baby's neck in the rubric of Inc. 13. Then a number of the same stones already mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph, in connection to the necklace from the rubric of Inc. 8, are used in four very similar ritual steps: stones are threaded on cords and wrapped in wool to create a bracelet for the patient's right hand, a bracelet for the patient's left hand, an anklet for the patient's right foot, and an anklet for the patient's left foot. It is noteworthy that on *Lam. I–II*, Inc. 8 is followed by four incantations without ritual instructions. The parallel on *Lam. III* is very similar to, and listed in the same paragraph as, four ritual steps that have no equivalent in *Lam. I–II* rubrics.

The passage ends in two short incantations not known from *Lam. I–II*, written out in full and separated from the rest of the text with dividing lines, with the subscript that they are to be recited seven times “over the stones” (Akk.: *ina muḥḥu abnī*). “The stones” are

presumably the stones used for the necklaces, bracelets, and anklets described in the preceding passage.

Up until this point (line 63 on *Lam. III*), the ritual tablet does not mention a single *Lamaštu* incantation as having to be recited by the *āšipu*. It only gives instructions how to fashion “Ritualmittel”, and where those “Ritualmittel” are supposed to be used (in the patient’s house or on the patient’s body).

The following passage appears to be a list rather than a sentence. It enumerates the ingredients used for salves in the rubrics of Incs. 2, 3, and 6, and simply ends in the word “ointment” (Akk.: *napšaltu*). No part of this passage gives any ritual instruction. Nor does it imply that some of the ingredients are supposed to be used together while others are not. It ends in a subscript in dividing lines that lists the incipits of Incs. 2, 3, and 6 and instructs the *āšipu* to recite them three times over the ointment. The passage contains no instruction to actually use the ointment on the patient. The instructions in the rubrics of Incs. 2, 3, and 6 divide the ingredients clearly: ingredients 1–12 are used for a salve after the first step of the figurine ritual in the Inc. 2 rubric, ingredients 13–14 for a salve after the second step of the figurine ritual in the Inc. 3 rubric,¹⁰⁵ and ingredients 15–19 for a salve after the third step of the figurine ritual in the Inc. 6 rubric.

Next comes a similar list, this time of ingredients used as fumigants in the rubrics of Incs. 3 and 6. This list ends in the words “this (is) fumigation” (Akk.: *annû qutāru*). Again there is no indication that any of these ingredients are to be used separately from others, even though the rubrics divide them (using fumigants 1–2 for the fumigation in the Inc. 3 rubric and fumigants 3–4, 5–6, and 7–9 for the three fumigations in the Inc. 6 rubric). The passage quotes no incantations and gives no ritual instructions; it is a plain list.

After another dividing line we have a passage titled “when you anoint the baby” (Akk.: *enūma šerra tumašša²u*). It instructs the *āšipu* to recite *Lamaštu* Incs. 1–13, one after the other in that order, over a bodypart of the patient each. The headline leads us to assume that this happens while the bodypart in question is anointed with a salve, but this is not stated explicitly, nor are any salve ingredients named. From the evidence of the ritual tablet alone, we must assume that all ingredients listed as “ointment” above are mixed into one salve.

After the last incantation incipit is assigned to a bodypart, the *āšipu* is instructed to recite Inc. 3 “over the fumigation” (Akk.: *ina muḥḥi qutāri*) and place the fumigation to the right of the door. The ingredients for the fumigation in question are not named.

¹⁰⁵ For the problems in restoring the two ingredient names, see above, fn. 83.

Then, the *āšipu* is told to recite Inc. 6 “over three fumigations” (Akk.: *ina muḥḥu šalāšat qutārī*) and place them to the left of the door as well as head and foot of the bed. Again, it is not said what ingredients are used for the fumigations, but it is explicitly said that there are three (as in the Inc. 6 rubric, which explicitly states what ingredients are supposed to be used for which fumigation).

The end of the passage “when you rub the baby” is taken up by standard concluding rites that are used in other rituals to secure the patient and the patient’s house against further demonic attacks: a piece of *e²ru*-wood and a palm shoot are pointed at the patient’s head, an *Udug hul*-incantation is recited, the patient’s bed is surrounded with a flour circle and four (also non-*Lamaštu*) incantations protecting sickbed and house are recited.¹⁰⁶

It is striking that the passage begins with “when” (Akk. *enūma*) you anoint the baby (you do X, Y, and Z), rather than “then you anoint the baby” as a plain instruction. Combined with the dividing lines before and after the text passage, this separates the described ritual actions from those that precede and follow. It is not suggested that the sickroom is fumigated, incantations are recited, and then the baby is anointed. Rather, the ritual tablet tells the reader what incantations to recite over the assembled fumigants, then gives a list of salve ingredients, and afterwards instructs the reader how to use fumigants and salve ingredients *when* they are used.

Following the dividing line, the next passage of the ritual tablet tells the reader how to conduct the three steps of the figurine ritual. These instructions are almost entirely identical to those given in the rubrics of Incs. 2, 3, and 4. The only difference is that the *Lam. III* parallels begin each ritual step with a day count — that is, “on the first day, [instructions for the 1st figurine]; on the fourth day, [instructions for the 2nd figurine]; on the fifth day [instructions for the 3rd figurine]” (Akk. *ina ūmi maḥri ... ina rebī ūmi ... ina ḥanši ūmi*).¹⁰⁷

After another dividing line, it is said that while the *āšipu* carries out the final instructions for the third step of the figurine ritual, the baby’s nurse is to keep the ointment ready. The following, final few lines of the ritual tablet are heavily damaged; they mention a door and several dogs. Farber estimates that “if this text [manuscript E]¹⁰⁸ contained neither

106 The four final incantations can be found, in the same order, at the conclusion of a ritual on the Aššur *Bīt mēseri* ritual tablet (Schwemer (2023) 65, obv. 58–rev. 5); the first three of them and a weapon made of *e²ru*-wood deposited at the patient’s head conclude the ritual on the *Muššu²u* ritual tablet (Böck (2003) 38–42); the first two of them conclude the part of *Maqlû* that is conducted at night (*Maq. Rit.* 136’f). The relevant *Muššu²u* and *Maqlû* passages also begin with surrounding the sickbed with a flour circle.

107 *Lam. III* 110–135.

108 Sm 2056+.

catchline nor colophon, a maximum of 5 lines of average length could thus be missing until the end of Tablet III”.¹⁰⁹

Internal problems of Lam. III

Lam. III shows several peculiarities in comparison to other ritual tablets.

The expected pattern of a ritual tablet — according to ritual tablets of other series such as *Bīt rimki*,¹¹⁰ *Bīt salā² mē*,¹¹¹ *Maqlû*,¹¹² *Mīs pî*,¹¹³ *Muššu²u*,¹¹⁴ and *Šurpu*¹¹⁵ — is roughly this: It begins with an introductory line “when you perform (name of ritual)” (Akk. *enūma nēpeša ša* [name of ritual] *teppušu* or similar). Then it describes the ritual from beginning to end,¹¹⁶ pairing ritual steps with the instruction “you recite (incantation incipit)” (Akk. [incantation incipit] *tamannu* or similar) to inform the ritual performer when one of the series’ incantations is to be recited.

Lam. III begins with the expected introductory line and is addressed to the ritual practitioner in the 2nd person singular, but it does not present one continuous ritual narrative structured around incantation incipits. As we have seen, *Lam. III* only instructs the ritual performer to recite *Lamaštu* incantations in *Lam. III* 69–102, two paragraphs concerning three incantations that are to be recited over the various salve ingredients and the recitation of all 13 *Lamaštu* incantations during the anointing of the baby.

It is true that these 33 lines of the (at least) 138-line tablet thereby contain every single *Lamaštu* incipit. This would lead us to assume that *Lam. III* delineates a ritual that heals a baby by thoroughly anointing it with a salve while reciting Incs. 1–13 over the individual

109 Farber (2014) p. 141.

110 Edited in Schwemer (2019).

111 Edited in Ambos (2013).

112 Edited in Abusch (2016).

113 Edited in Walker/Dick(2001).

114 Edited in Köcher (1966) and more recently Böck (2003).

115 Edited in Reiner (1958), but note that while the obverse of the ritual tablet behaves as one would expect, a passage on the reverse separated by dividing lines lists *Šurpu*-incantations in a different order, without ritual instructions, and with an entirely different Tablet numbering (Reiner (1958) 4f).

116 Mirelman points to LKA 91, the ritual tablet of *Šurpu*, as evidence that ritual tablets do not always correspond to incantation tablets (Mirelman (2018) 355). However, while a section on the reverse of LKA 91 certainly lists *Šurpu*-incantations in a drastically different order from that known from the incantation tablets, the ritual instructions on the obverse under the heading *enūma nēpeša ša Šurpu teppušu* do use *Šurpu* incantations in the expected order (with the exception of one incantation omitted from Tablet IV). The relationship between obverse and reverse is unclear, as the lower edge of the tablet is missing. As the two sections are divided by a double line, they appear to be separate textual entities. The relevant section of the reverse of LKA 91 includes no ritual instructions at all, instead assigning *Šurpu*-incantations to Tablet numbers (also not corresponding to the numbers of the Tablets the incantations can be found in on the known incantation tablets of *Šurpu*) and ending in a note to next recite the series *Ilī ul īde*. Because of this, Simons (2024) considers this part of LKA 91 a catalogue (of a different version of *Šurpu* that combined it with at least one other ritual series) rather than a ritual tablet.

body parts from head to toe, comparable to the *Muššu²u* ritual tablet.¹¹⁷ Yet, as we have seen, even this comparatively complete guide through a ritual step lacks information: while it tells the reader to place four separate fumigations around the sickroom, it does not say which of the various fumigants listed above are supposed to be burned. This information is only given in the rubrics of the incantations that *Lam. III* instructs the reader to recite over the fumigations.

Even more importantly, the ritual tablet does not tell the *āšipu* at what point of the ritual the baby is supposed to be anointed. According to the rubrics on *Lam. I–II*, the baby is anointed three times: after each step of the figurine ritual. As the instructions on *Lam. III* are given conditionally (“when you anoint the baby, you do X, Y, Z”), both sets of ritual instructions are actually compatible. In that case, the *āšipu* would, in the anointment of the baby, recite all thirteen *Lamaštu* incantations one after the other whenever a step of the figurine ritual was completed. The ritual step would thereby reproduce the entire ritual *Lamaštu* over the body of the sick baby in a condensed form¹¹⁸ whenever a *Lamaštu* figurine has been disposed of.¹¹⁹

The figurine ritual itself must have taken up, by mere day count provided by *Lam. III*, significantly more time than the anointment ritual. Yet none of the instructions given in its description at the end of the ritual tablet mention a single *Lamaštu* incipit.

Even more strangely, these final 30 lines begin with “on the first day, at dawn” (Akk. *ina ūmi maḥrî ina šēri*). The ritual tablet, however, has already given 109 lines of ritual instruction up to this point — including the recitation of all 13 incantations on *Lam. I–II* during the anointment of the baby. Considering the length of the 13 incantations, this must have taken up a significant amount of time.

Furthermore, the last step of the figurine ritual is directly followed by references to ointment, a door and dogs — which otherwise play a role in instructions in previous passages of the ritual tablet (the dog figurines described in *Lam. III* 15–28 and the instructions for the anointment of the baby on *Lam. III* 76–109).

¹¹⁷ Böck (2003) 8f.

¹¹⁸ I.e. only the incantations would have been recited during the anointment, one by one, whereby their magical power was invoked even if the accompanying ritual actions (according to the *Lam. I–II* rubrics) were not repeated. The latter seems obvious here, as several of the rubric’s ritual actions stretched across multiple days, which would have slowed down the anointment to no end.

¹¹⁹ Furthermore, as described above, the text of the individual *Lamaštu* incantations sometimes match the ritual steps in their rubrics. The most striking example is Inc. 2, which mentions giving *Lamaštu* a black dog and libating water, and is followed by a rubric that instructs the *āšipu* to give a figurine of *Lamaštu* a figurine of a black dog and libate water. The text of the incantations does not reference specific body parts of the patient, let alone those the *āšipu* is supposed to anoint with salve while reciting them.

If we combine this passage with the information provided by the rubrics of *Lam.* I–II, the order of the ritual steps makes sense. The first step of the figurine ritual (beginning, according to the ritual tablet, on the evening of the first day) is given in the rubric of the second incantation of the series. The rubrics of Incs. 3 and 4 give the next two steps of the figurine ritual, combined with anointments and fumigations; then the rubric of Inc. 6 leads from the last step of the figurine ritual into a final anointment of the baby, and Inc. 7 instructs the *āšipu* to place dog figurines near doors and windows. This order of events also makes more logical sense as an exorcism: the demon is first driven from the house and *then* the house is protected against her return, rather than the other way around as the order of ritual steps on *Lam.* III would suggest.

Finally, the figurine ritual does mention recitations of incantations. It only neglects to give the incipits that would tell the *āšipu* which incantation is meant. This, on its own, makes it impossible to use *Lam.* III as a guide through the ritual *Lamaštu*. The necessary information is only provided by the rubrics on *Lam.* I–II, where the individual steps of the figurine ritual are spread across the rubrics of Incs. 2–4 as “its (the incantation’s) ritual”. Here, there is no question which incantation is referred to when the instructions tell the *āšipu* to recite “the incantation”.

All of the above suggests that *Lam.* III was no “traditional” ritual tablet that provided a guide through a ritual from beginning to end.

Rather, *Lam.* III appears as a supplement to the ritual instructions provided in the rubrics of *Lam.* I–II.

It first assembles, in one place, all the “Ritualmittel” used during the ritual, with instructions how to prepare them (*Lam.* III 2–75). It then explains in detail how to anoint the baby with the various salves, and where to place the various fumigations that accompany the anointments (*Lam.* III 76–109). Finally, it describes the figurine ritual as a whole, explaining how the ritual steps relate to each other chronologically (“on the first day, ..., on the fourth day, ..., on the fifth day, ...”); the broken end of this description appears to lead into the final anointing of the baby and the various protective measures that follow it (*Lam.* III 110–138).

Having all “Ritualmittel” that needed to be prepared or assembled beforehand in one place needs no further explanation. This is simply practical.

As for the rest of the ritual tablet: The form of the rubrics make them unsuitable to communicate the information added in *Lam.* III 76–138. The beginning of each rubric tells

us that it contains “its (the incantation’s) ritual” (DU₃.DU₃.BI). The rubric following Inc. 4 therefore tells us that the *āšipu* should leave a figurine of Lamaštu near the baby’s head for three days. It does not mention that these three days begin on the fifth day of the figurine ritual as the whole: that would relate to other incantations (namely Incs. 2 and 3).

The ritual tablet provides the necessary additional information by tying the ritual steps together through the small but significant addition of a day count (“on the first day [rubric of Inc. 2]”, “on the fourth day [rubric of Inc. 3]”, and “on the fifth day [rubric of Inc. 4]”). It then leads over into the anointment of the baby and (presumably, though this is heavily broken) the protective measures around the house. This implies that the rest of the ritual was carried out at the end of the final day of the figurine ritual (day 7). No further information is needed to understand how the various ritual steps work together chronologically.

Cross-referencing rubrics and ritual tablet

If we combine the information given in the rubrics with that added by the ritual tablet, the result is a fairly complete picture of a complex ritual:

Fig. 5: Sources of ritual information

Inc.	information from <i>Lam. I–II</i> rubrics	information added by <i>Lam. III</i>
1	cylinder attached to baby’s neck	<i>not mentioned</i>
2	1 st figurine 1 st anointment and which ingredients to use for the salve	near-parallel, adds absolute chronology (1 st figurine = ritual days 1–3) incantations for salve ingredients and how often to recite them
3	2 nd figurine neck plaster 1 st fumigation and which ingredients to use 2 nd anointment and which ingredients to use for the salve	near-parallel, adds absolute chronology (2 nd figurine = ritual day 4) near-parallel, adds no information ¹²⁰ incantation for fumigants and placement of fumigations in sickroom incantations for salve ingredients and how often to recite them
4	3 rd figurine	near-parallel, adds absolute chronology (3 rd figurine = ritual days 5–7)
5	figurine ritual in case baby dies	<i>not mentioned</i>

¹²⁰ However, the parallel for the “Ritualmittel” used for the plaster is contained within the passage on materials to be attached to the baby’s neck, arms and feet. The passage as a whole does add information to *Lam. I–II* — see Incs. 8–13.

end of Tablet I		
6	3 rd anointment and which ingredients to use for the salve	absolute chronology (carried out directly after 3rd figurine sub-ritual) incantations for salve ingredients and how often to recite them
	2 nd fumigation and which ingredients to use for the salve	incantation for fumigants and placement of fumigants in sickroom
7	amulet tablet, dog figurines	parallel for amulet tablet and dog figurines, adds that a drawing of Lamaštu is to be drawn near the door
8	coil necklace for patient's neck	parallel for coils, adds what stones are to be wrapped with the coils and what incantations to recite over the stones
9	<i>no rubric</i>	stone bracelet for patient's right hand and what incantations to recite over the stones
10	<i>no rubric</i>	stone bracelet for patient's left hand and what incantations to recite over the stones
11	<i>no rubric</i>	stone anklet for patient's right foot and what incantations to recite over the stones
12	<i>no rubric</i>	stone anklet for patient's left foot and what incantations to recite over the stones
13	anointment and pieces of <i>azallû</i> plant for patient's neck in case patient develops fever	near-parallel for pieces of <i>azallû</i> plant, adds no information ¹²¹
end of Tablet II		

This combination of both sets of ritual instructions includes every ritual instruction given on *Lam. I–III*; it also results in a logical exorcism, beginning with the removal of Lamaštu from the body of the patient and ending with protective measures to ensure that Lamaštu does not return.

Conclusion

What exactly are the ‘ritual tablets’ at the end of Mesopotamian magical series? In most cases they seem (at least in theory) to have been guidelines to be followed, step by step, from the beginning of the ritual to its end. This paper has argued that the ritual tablet of *Lamaštu* is different: as we have seen, it leaves out so much information that it is almost impossible to use it as a guideline. Most notably, the final part of the ritual tablet is explicitly said to contain instructions for the beginning of the ritual's first day. We have suggested instead that the *Lamaštu* ritual tablet is a collection of additional information

¹²¹ However, the parallel is contained within the passage on materials to be attached to the baby's neck, arms and feet. The passage as a whole does add information to *Lam. I–II* — see Incs. 8–13.

which was placed on a separate Tablet because it did not suit the format of the ‘incantation tablets’. In other words, the user was expected to combine the ritual instructions on *Lam. I–II* with those on the ritual tablet (*Lam. III*). Thus, the series’ use of parallel text passages makes it easier for the user to find the sets of information that belong together on the three *Lamaštu* Tablets.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that, as the present paper has observed, the parallel ritual instructions in the rubrics (*Lam. I–II*) and the ritual tablet (*Lam. III*) are almost never identical. For example, when the ritual tablet repeats the rubrics’ instructions for the figurine ritual, it provides every step of this ritual with a precise date — information lacking in the rubrics. Conversely, when the ritual tablet lists ointments and fumigants to help the *āšipu* prepare, it presents the same names in the same order as the rubrics, but without telling the reader how the ingredients should be combined: this is unnecessary in a part of the ritual tablet that merely collects the “Ritualmittel” to be used.

Cross-referencing *Lamaštu*’s two sets of ritual instructions in the way the paper has suggested not only solves the internal problems of the ritual tablet: it also gives the two seemingly contradictory sets of ritual instructions a coherent logic. The incantations and their ritual steps belong together, and they follow an order dictated by the logic of the ritual as a whole.

Indeed the ritual, as here reconstructed, has a strong central narrative. The demon *Lamaštu* is taken from the body of the baby; she is banished into the wilderness and subjected to the judgement of Šamaš; she is defeated by the *āšipu*. Finally, the body of the baby and the house of the family are protected against her return. While the basic idea that a baby’s illness was caused by demonic possession seems irrational after thousands of years of subsequent medical discoveries, the methods developed to get rid of the demon do not.

IV: The series *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*

Introduction

The present chapter presents a new edition of the series *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*. It is a mid-sized series of what must have been about 240 lines of bilingual text to exorcise the demons *Eṭel* and *Ardat Lilî*.

Due to its fragmentary state of preservation, no complete edition has been attempted for over 50 years.¹²² However, the material that has surfaced since vastly outweighs the material known at the time, and two important publications have changed our understanding of the series' structure.¹²³ Hence, the new edition can, for the first time since 1971, present and analyse the entire known text of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* in the correct order.

Throughout its history, this composition has been known under a number of names. In a Neo-Assyrian catalogue, we find it cited under the Sumerian names of the two demons: *ḡuruš lil₂-la₂ ki-sikil lil₂-la₂*.¹²⁴ At the time of its modern rediscovery, it was first known as “a series of grammatical paradigms.”¹²⁵ In modern Assyriology, it has usually been referred to under the Akkadian name *Ardat Lilî* alone.¹²⁶ To balance intelligibility with historical accuracy, the present edition uses the title *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*.

The series contains six incantations and gives the text of each of these incantations in Sumerian and Akkadian. Only the first incantation deals with *Eṭel Lilî* (“the Young Man of the *Lilû*-demons”); the rest of the series discusses only *Ardat Lilî* (“the Young Woman of the *Lilû*-demons”). However, there are a number of parallels that link Inc. 1 with the incantations against *Ardat Lilî*, so these two parts of the text are not as separate as this might suggest.

As we will see in more detail below, the series describes *Eṭel* and *Ardat Lilî* as having died at a young age and without starting a family of their own. Instead of moving on to the netherworld, they keep returning to the realm of the living, where they choose a human spouse. In order to cure a patient from the resulting illness, the ritual goes through several steps to break the demons' hold on the patient and send them into the netherworld where they belong.

¹²² Lackenbacher (1971).

¹²³ Geller (1988), Farber (1989).

¹²⁴ VAT 13723 (+) VAT 14096 + VAT 14101 (+) VAT 14097 (+) VAT 14103 iv 17; the incipit in the preceding line has been collated from the tablet to verify that it is indeed the incipit of our series.

¹²⁵ Bezold (1886), Falkenstein (1931), with the variation “the bilingual phrase-tablet” in Pinches (1893).

¹²⁶ Lackenbacher (1971), Geller (1988), Farber (1989).

Research History

1886–1971: The “series of paradigms”

Within the field of Assyriology, the series *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* has been known for over a century.

It was referred to as “a series of paradigms” in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹²⁷ This somewhat opaque title can be traced back to a side note in an 1886 overview of Babylonian and Assyrian literature by Carl Bezold. In his catalogue of texts, he lists a Ninevite manuscript fragment of our series (Sm. 5, NinNA2 in the present edition) with a brief physical description and Friedrich Delitzsch’s comment “enth. Paradigmen” (“contains paradigms”).¹²⁸ It seems unlikely that either Bezold or Delitzsch intended the remark as a classification of the entire group of texts for almost 90 years to come; but due to a process of repetition not uncommon in academia, their “paradigms” only disappeared from discussions of the series after Lackenbacher’s 1971 edition.

A note by Pinches from 1893 serves to illustrate the much more nuanced understanding usually hidden behind early assyriologists’ vague references to their “series of paradigms”:

“The text in question [*BM 42338, BabaNB1 in the present edition*] is one of great importance. [...] The tablet seems, at first sight, to be one of those containing pattern phrases to be learned by Babylonian students preparing for the position of priest or scribe, the phrases being of a very miscellaneous nature, though they all seem to be classified. The text probably belongs, however, to a certain series of incantations, of which fragments have been found on the site of Nineveh, and to which the attention of scholars has already been directed.”¹²⁹

The “pattern phrases” (presumably a reference to Delitzsch and Bezold’s “paradigms”) draw an analogy to lexical lists like *ur₅-ra=hubullu*. These, too, present Sumerian phrases on the left opposite their Akkadian equivalents on the right. The assumption that the series at hand was also used as a glossary to prepare scribal students for higher offices is therefore unsurprising, particularly as it pertains to smaller fragments of the series with little context.

127 “Paradigmenserie” in Falkenstein (1931) 4.

128 Bezold (1886) 317.

129 Pinches (1893) 143.

With the arrival and gradual investigation of the shipments from Hormuzd Rassam's excavations in Babylonia and Assyria in the 1880s, the British Museum saw an enormous influx of tablets. Therefore, Pinches, who worked in the Department of Egyptian and Babylonian Antiquities at the time of writing,¹³⁰ could already correct Delitzsch's impression that Sm. 5 presented a list of unconnected phrases six years later: More material (including BM 42338, a fragment of Inc. 1 which Pinches discussed in his publication) had become available, and it was now clear that the phrases were not only connected, but part of a series of incantations.¹³¹

It may be that the only reason the "series of paradigms" survived into the early 20th century was Delitzsch's choice of words in his communication to Bezold. The word "paradigm"—both in German and English—can be used in a number of ways. It is most commonly used in the philosophical senses of "a typical example, pattern, or model of something" and "a world view underlying the theories and methodology of a scientific subject."¹³²

What Delitzsch meant was the grammarian's paradigm (a table of inflected forms or phrases¹³³), and in the context of the small fragment he had seen, this was logical. The fragment in question, Sm. 5, preserves only a few lines, the most legible of which are identical in structure and differing only regarding which body part is mentioned (I 7.20–23, in which a demon seizes the hand, foot, and head of the patient, to then place them on his own hand, foot, and head). Taken by itself, and especially in the *Eṭel Lilī*, *Ardāt Lilī* table format, this does indeed look very much like a lexical list manipulating a stock phrase by exchanging a single word (hand) for a similar one (foot, head).

Bezold, however, copied Delitzsch's impression of Sm. 5 into his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Koyunjik Collection of the British Museum* in the 1890s,¹³⁴ by which time several more manuscripts (and the incantation context) had become known. Accordingly, all similar manuscripts were equally labelled as containing "grammatical

130 Pinches (1893) 123.

131 It is, perhaps, worth noting that even though Pinches was the first scholar in Assyriology to pronounce these texts as a series of incantations (indeed predating his successor Falkenstein by almost 40 years), subsequent research literature has posited that it was Meißner (1920) 48–53 who finally "showed [Pinches' 'Wedding Text'] to be part of an incantation" (Greengus (1966) 55 fn. 1). This is a misunderstanding of Pinches' position, because while he does believe that Tablet II 2.2–9 narrates a marriage rite, he is clear on the ritual context of the text passage; compare Pinches (1893) 143–145. Meißner essentially argues for Delitzsch's and Bezold's original position (perhaps unsurprisingly in a self-published volume dedicated to Delitzsch on the occasion of his 70th birthday), see discussion of Meißner (1920) below.

Greengus re-evaluated the text passage in Greengus (1969) 516, agreeing with Pinches (1893) that it appears to describe a marriage rite.

132 Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008)¹¹, s. v. paradigm.

133 Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008)¹¹, s. v. paradigm, a looser use of meaning 4.

134 Bezold (1896) 1372.

paradigms” in the catalogue.¹³⁵ As the catalogue otherwise only uses the phrase for lexical lists¹³⁶—and *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* is quite clearly not a lexical list—the term was treated as if it were a specific designation for the series by some subsequent publications.¹³⁷

The first attempt at an edition of the series was a brief article by Stephen Langdon in 1911, titled “Grammatical treatises upon a religious text concerning the *ardat lilî*.” Langdon understood the manuscripts he published as commentaries on a Sumerian text on Ardat Lilî, but offers no analysis or interpretation beyond that statement.¹³⁸ The edition encompasses two of the larger fragments of Tablet II:

Fig. 6: Manuscripts included in Langdon (1911)

mscr. included	position within series	present edition
K. 4355 + Sm. 1981	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5
Sm. 49 + Sm. 752	upper edge of obverse and reverse of Tablet II (beginnings of col. i, ii, iii and ends of col. iv, v, vi)	NinNA4

The edition does not attempt to join the two individual fragments into a single text, but notes that they were “originally composed on the same plan.”¹³⁹

Several of the manuscripts that Bezold’s catalogue already (correctly) points out as appearing similar to Langdon’s were not included.¹⁴⁰ As the article goes into little detail, it is unclear whether Bezold’s suggestions had been discarded by Langdon or whether he simply had not consulted the catalogue.

Following Langdon, Theophile Meek included several more manuscripts of the series in his publication of copies of “some explanatory lists and grammatical texts.”

135 K.4355+Sm.1981 in Bezold (1891) 623—NinNA5 in the present edition. K. 5443 in Bezold (1891) 720—NinNA6. Sm. 10 in Bezold (1896) 1372—NinNA3. Sm. 16 in Bezold (1896) 1373—NinNA8. Sm. 20 + Rm. 614 in Bezold (1896) 1373—NinNA5. Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 in Bezold (1896) 1376—NinNA1. Sm. 49 + Sm. 752 in Bezold (1896) 1376—NinNA4. Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 in Bezold (1896) 1389—NinNA3. Sm. 1128 in Bezold (1896) 1465—NinNA3.

136 For instance K.4350.

137 Prominently in Falkenstein’s “‘Paradigmenserie’, die vollständige Beschwörungen enthält,” Falkenstein (1931) 4.

138 Langdon (1911) 187.

139 Langdon (1911) 187.

140 Bezold’s note on Sm. 49 + Sm. 752 points out the similarity of Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 (left part of the lower edge of Tablet I), see Bezold (1896) 1376; a note on the latter connects it to Sm. 10 (central part of the lower edge of Tablet II), see *ibid.*; from Sm. 10, Bezold referred back to K. 4355 + Sm. 1981, see Bezold 1896 (1372).

Fig. 7: Manuscripts included in Meek (1920)

mscr. included	position within series	present edition
K. 5443	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5
Sm. 10	part of the upper left corner of Tablet II (col. i, ii, vi)	NinNA3
Sm. 20 + Rm. 614	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5

Again, a primarily educational function was presumed, but not discussed.¹⁴¹ Meek offered no comments on the copies he published, and did not attempt to connect individual fragments as manuscripts of a single text; nor did he draw parallels to Langdon's "grammatical treatises." His aim seems to have been only to present copies of the remaining unpublished "Explanatory Lists, together with some Grammatical Texts, and a few Syllabaries" in the British Museum.¹⁴² However, the inclusion in the publication makes it clear that the manuscripts were not (with Pinches) understood as one continuous text, but—with Delitzsch—as a list of stock phrases.

Meißner's contemporaneous discussion of Pinches' fragment of the series (Tablet I 2.1–9, which Pinches described as a "Wedding Text")¹⁴³ is entirely in agreement with Meek. In fact, Meißner's argument is an expanded reprisal of Delitzsch's 1886 "contains paradigms" on the occasion of the latter's 70th birthday.

By "proving" in a single sentence that the text passage is "a duplicate with several omissions of *udug.ḫul.a.meš* tb. 4 col. V, 56ff,"¹⁴⁴ Meißner concludes with equal confidence that Tablet II 2.1–9 must therefore be a "textbook for writers of tablets who needed beautiful phrases for incantation texts."¹⁴⁵ He reinforces his argument by pointing out that the *udug ḫulu* "parallel" lacks the proper plural endings we find in Pinches' text, suggesting that the latter is written in better Sumerian and the former is the product of Neo-Assyrian scribes' less capable handling of the textbook phrases.¹⁴⁶

While the text passage he refers to, *udug ḫulu* IV 170'–181', indeed shows similarities to Inc. 1 (a fragment of which Pinches was discussing), other manuscripts show that the two

141 Meek (1920) 117.

142 Meek (1920) 117.

143 Pinches (1893) 143–145.

144 Original quote: "Aber ein Blick auf die Serie *udug.ḫul.a.meš* lehrt, dass unsere Kol. IV ein Duplikat nur mit einigen Auslassungen von *udug.ḫul.a.meš* Tf. 4 Kol. IV, 56ff ist. Damit ist mit einem Schlage die Stellung und der Inhalt von 81-7-1, 98 klargestellt."

145 Original quote: "Es ist ein Lehrbuch für Tafelschreiber, die schöne Phrasen für Beschwörungstexte brauchten."

146 Meißner (1920) 49.

texts belong to separate incantation series.¹⁴⁷ The lack of Meißner’s beautiful Sumerian plural endings in *udug ħulu* can now be explained more simply; the *udug ħulu* incantation does not have a plural agent.¹⁴⁸

Meißner’s study is, however, worth pointing out as the only expansive discussion of purpose and content of the series to date.

The final publication discussing the series as a text of “paradigms” is Falkenstein’s 1931 *Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung*. It refers to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* as “the ‘series of paradigms,’ containing complete incantations (presumably used for educational purposes).”¹⁴⁹

His overview of fragments belonging to the series contains, for the first time, more than one or two individual fragments:

Fig. 8: Manuscripts included in Falkenstein (1931)

mscr. included	position within series	present edition
BM 42338	upper half of a tablet containing Inc. 1 (= obverse of Nineveh Tablet I) ¹⁵⁰	BabaNB1
K. 4355 + Sm. 1981	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5
K. 5443	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5
Sm. 5	central part of the lower edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA2
Sm. 10	part of the upper left corner of Tablet II (col. i, ii, vi)	NinNA3
Sm. 20 + Rm. 614	part of the right edge of the reverse of Tablet II (col. iv, v)	NinNA5
Sm. 48	central part of the lower edge of Tablet I (col. ii, v)	NinNA1
Sm. 49 + Sm. 752	upper edge of obverse and reverse of Tablet II (col. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi)	NinNA4

147 The Ninevite manuscript NinNA1 for Tablet I, for example, preserves part of Inc. 1 on its obverse (NinNA1 i and ii) and an *Ardat Lilî* rubric on its reverse (NinNA1 v 2). Further evidence are the text passages Tablet I 7.20–22 and Tablet II 6.9–12, both of which use variations of the same theme Meißner recognises in *udug ħulu*, but belong to different incantations in *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

148 Compare Geller (2016) 165–168 (2nd person singular endings on the Sumerian verbs and 2nd person singular pronouns in the Akkadian version).

149 Falkenstein (1931) 4. Original quote: “die ‚Paradigmenserie‘, die vollständige Beschwörungen enthält (vermutlich zu Schulzwecken verwendet).”

150 The manuscript does not use the Ninevite 2-Tablet-format, see discussion below, p. 117.

Falkenstein published no complete transliteration or translation of all manuscripts, and only cites them in passing in his discussion of Marduk-Ea-type incantations.¹⁵¹ However, he was the first researcher to collect all manuscripts that had been published to date; and although he followed his predecessors in classifying the series as educational material, he also drew on Pinches' assessment that the text was a series of incantations.

Thereby, Falkenstein's overview forms the basis of Lackenbacher's 1971 edition.

Lackenbacher (1971)

Sabine Lackenbacher's 1971 article "Note sur l'Ardat Lilî" remains, to date, the only publication exclusively devoted to the series that edits more than two manuscripts.

While almost¹⁵² all material Lackenbacher edited had already been identified by Falkenstein, it fell to her to place Falkenstein's eight manuscripts within a single text, as well as to transliterate and translate a number of fragments that had only been published in copy. Considering that the two most substantial manuscripts of the series—providing 58 continuous lines of text—were yet to be published,¹⁵³ Lackenbacher's accuracy in reconstructing the series' structure is a remarkable achievement.

The edition splits the text into three groups, each of which is numbered by manuscript column rather than as a continuous text:

1. Groupe 1 "tablette de l'eṭlu" (BM 42338, K. 5443—BabNB1 and NinNA6 in the present edition)
2. Groupe 2 "tablette de l'ardat lilî" (Sm. 49 + Sm. 752, Sm. 10, Sm. 20 + Rm. 614—NinNA4, NinNA3, and NinNA5 in the present edition)
3. Groupe 3 (Sm. 48, Sm. 5—NinNA1 and NinNA2 in the present edition)
4. Note complémentaire (Sm. 207 + Sm. 590—NinNA3 in the present edition)

The corresponding lines in the present edition are therefore organised by Lackenbacher's columns below.

¹⁵¹ Falkenstein (1931) 44–74.

¹⁵² The fragment added as a "note complémentaire"—Sm. 207 + Sm. 590—was not included by Falkenstein. Although it had already been identified as also containing "grammatical paradigms" by Bezold in 1896 (see above, fn. 135), Bezold had not explicitly connected it to any other manuscript of the series.

¹⁵³ In von Weiher (1983): IM 77002 (the present edition's UrkNB1) as SpTU II 6 and IM 76957 (the present edition's UrkNB2) as SpTU II 7.

Fig. 9: Concordance of line numbers

Lackenbacher (1971)	present edition
Groupe 1	
obv. i	Tablet I, text block 1
obv. ii	Tablet I, 2.1–10
rev. i	Tablet I, 3.1–10
rev. ii	Tablet I, 4.1–8
Groupe 2	
obv. i 1–8; 1'–11'	Tablet II, 1.1–4; Tablet II, 1.17–21
obv. ii 1–9; 1'–12'	Tablet II, 1.22–26; Tablet II, 2.11–13
obv. iii 1–13; 1'–27'	Tablet II, 3.1–6; Tablet II, 5.3–13
rev. i 1'–27'; 1"–9"	Tablet II, 5.18–26; Tablet II, 6.1–2
rev. ii 1'–8'; 1'–9'	Tablet II, 6.15–16; Tablet II, 7.1–3
rev. iii	Tablet II, 7.4–9
Groupe 3	
obv. i	Tablet I, 2.9–10
obv. iii	Tablet I, 3.12
rev. i	Tablet I, 6.1–5
rev. ii, 1–13	Tablet I, 7.1–5; Tablet I, 7.18–22
rev. iii	Tablet I, 7.23–25
Note complémentaire	
1-3	Tablet II, 1.14–16

Overall, Lackenbacher placed the nine manuscripts available to her in almost the same order as the 17 manuscripts available today would suggest. The only difference is the placement of “Groupe 2,” which is now known to be part of the same Tablet as her “Groupe 1,” and the join of the fragment she published as a “note complémentaire” to Sm. 10 (part of her “Groupe 2,” i.e. Tablet II).

What is entirely absent from Lackenbacher’s publication, however, is an analysis of the series’ contents. Her only comment is a brief definition of the series’ subject as “incantations et rituels bilingues contre des démons, en particulier l’*ardat lilî*.”¹⁵⁴ While this suggests that she understood the text as a collection of separate exorcistic rituals with a shared interest in Ardat Lilî, the article does not elaborate. The “paradigm” theory is no longer mentioned by Lackenbacher.

¹⁵⁴ Lackenbacher (1971).

The 1980s

The following decade saw three major publications in relation to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

The first of these was Egbert von Weiher's second volume of Late Babylonian texts from Uruk (SpTU II) in 1983 with two manuscripts of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

The tablets in question—IM 77002 (SpTU II 6; UrkNB1 in the present edition) and IM 76957 (SpTU II 7; UrkNB2 in the present edition) are both manuscripts of Inc. 5 and 6 from the library of Iqīšā (a member of the Ekur-zakir family and an *āšipu* in Uruk in the late 4th century BCE).¹⁵⁵ As they overlap, they allow the complete reconstruction of two formerly fragmentary incantations (Inc. 3 and 4) and present us with almost 60 lines of continuous text corresponding to the end of Tablet I and the beginning of Tablet II in the Ninevite tradition.

While von Weiher offers no analysis of the contents of either text beyond an identification with Lackenbacher's corpus,¹⁵⁶ his publication allowed Mark Geller to reconstruct the Ardat Lilî-related material in the series to a far greater degree of completion. With the texts from SpTU II as well as Lackenbacher's edition, Geller was able to identify a number of new fragments in the British Museum, some of which joined directly with existing manuscripts. The previously unidentified fragments are written in bold characters below:

Fig. 10: Manuscripts included in Geller (1988)

mscr. included	position within series	present edition
IM 77002	tablet containing Inc. 3, 4, and the beginning of Inc. 5 (= reverse of Nineveh Tablet I and beginning of obverse of Nineveh Tablet II) ¹⁵⁷ , missing only the lower right corner	UrkNB1
IM 76957	central part of a tablet containing Inc. 5 and 6 (= Nineveh Tablet II) ¹⁵⁸	UrkNB2
K. 2507+ ¹⁵⁹	Tablet V of udug ḫulu ¹⁶⁰	

¹⁵⁵ Hoskins (2024) 158f.

¹⁵⁶ von Weiher (1983) 41 and 45.

¹⁵⁷ The manuscript does not use the Ninevite 2-Tablet-format, see p. 122.

¹⁵⁸ The manuscript does not use the Ninevite 2-Tablet-format, see p. 122.

¹⁵⁹ Mistakenly referred to as K. 2057+ in Geller (1988) 7, but the identification as CT 16 16 col. vi clarifies which text is meant.

¹⁶⁰ While the end of Tablet V of udug ḫulu contains an incantation that is largely parallel to Inc. 4 of the present series, the manuscript belongs to a distinct textual tradition, see discussion in p. 84.

Sm. 5	central part of the lower edge of the reverse of Tablet I (col. iv, v)	NinNA2
(+) Sm. 16	central part of the upper edge of the reverse of Tablet I (col. iv, v)	NinNA8
(+) Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347	left part of the lower edge of Tablet I (col. i, ii, v, vi)	NinNA1
K. 4355 + Sm. 1981 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614	part of the lower right edge of Tablet II (col. ii, iii, iv, v)	NinNA5
(+) Sm. 10	part of the upper left corner of Tablet II (col. i, ii, vi)	NinNA3
(+) Sm. 49 + Sm. 752	upper edge of Tablet II (col. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi)	NinNA4
(+) Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128 ¹⁶¹		
K. 20547	manuscript fragment preserving some lines from the end of Inc. 5	BabaNB3
Ni. 631	udug ḫulu Forerunners 451–466 ¹⁶²	

As only manuscripts that duplicate parts of SpTU II 6 and SpTU II 7 are relevant to the article—“New Duplicates to SBTU II”—the vast majority of manuscripts for Tablet I are not included in the edition.

Geller’s joins close several gaps in the text, and are accompanied by illustrations of where he has placed them within the 2-Tablet set he proposes.¹⁶³ The product is a much more coherent text for Tablet II (and the reverse of Tablet I) than Lackenbacher could provide, and by far the best edition of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* to date (if only a partial one). The composite text of the present edition confirms Geller’s placement of fragments; for the more cautious approach to indirect joins (i.e. the treatment of fragments as separate manuscripts as long as they cannot be proven to belong to the same tablet through a direct connection), see p. 62 below.

Fig. 11: Concordance of line numbers

line numbers in Geller (1988)	present edition
1–54	Tablet I, 7.3–Tablet II, 1.27
gap of 2 ³ lines	gap of ca. 3 lines, Tablet II 2.1–5
55–68	Tablet II, 2.6–13; very short or no gap;

¹⁶¹ Joins directly to Sm. 10 (as recognised by Geller and depicted in the illustration of these fragments in Geller (1988) 13) and is therefore not treated separately in the table. The comment on NinNA3 also applies to these fragments.

¹⁶² Forerunner to the end of Tablet V of *udug ḫulu*, see above, fn. 160.

¹⁶³ Geller (1988) 10, 13, and 16.

	Tablet II 3.1–6
gap of 7 lines	gap of less than 4 lines
69–81	Tablet II, 5.2–14
K. 20547 (included as a possible duplicate by Geller, placed by the present edition)	
1'-7'	Tablet II, 5.15–18
K. 13537 (included as a possible duplicate by Geller, but not included in the present edition)	
1'-10' ¹⁶⁴	diḡir ḫulu ¹⁶⁵
Sm. 918 (included as a possible duplicate by Geller, but not included in the present edition) ¹⁶⁶	
1'-3'	

However, as the article is not primarily concerned with the series, the edition only covers part of it (as illustrated by Fig. 11 above, Tablet I 1.1–7.2 and Tablet II 5.19–7.9 were excluded). Geller also offers no textual analysis beyond a footnote considering the potential merit of Bezold’s “grammatical paradigm” theory (it “may not be far from the truth, since the Akkadian translation of the Sumerian is often too literal”).¹⁶⁷

The final major publication on the structure of the series was published by Walter Farber in 1989. As he considered the recent publications by Lackenbacher and von Weiher as providing adequate access to the series, he did not edit any part of the series. Instead, the article offered the author’s thoughts on the reconstruction of the series.

Farber, for the first time in the series’ research history, explicitly stated that the Koyunjik material can be split into two large library tablets of a single series. He also suggested that the double rulings in the Ninevite manuscript divide text passages that were originally copied from individual Tablets, positing an older 5-Tablet structure that may be partially preserved by the Uruk manuscripts.¹⁶⁸

Most importantly, Farber points out that the obverse of the Ninevite Tablet I (his “Tablet A”) duplicates a text passage from Lackenbacher’s “tablette de l’eḡlu,” concluding that the incantation against Eḡel Lilî certainly must have been a fixed part of the composition.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ The transliteration in Geller (1988) 20 ends at 3’.

¹⁶⁵ Since joined to K. 7602. The relevant lines are edited as zi-pad₃ I 136–143 in Borger (1969), identified as part of the composition diḡir ḫulu in Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5.

¹⁶⁶ First suggested to be part of Falkenstein’s “Paradigmenserie” in Borger (1969) 3. It is still unclear what composition this manuscript belongs to. No manuscript evidence has since surfaced that would allow its placement; the reference to Dumuzi in line 3’ may suggest that it is not part of *Eḡel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*, as discussed below, p. 61f.

¹⁶⁷ Geller (1988) 7 fn. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Farber (1989) 23f and 31.

¹⁶⁹ Farber (1989) 25 and 31.

While Farber and Geller came to almost the same understanding of the series' structure simultaneously,¹⁷⁰ Farber explicitly outlined the reasoning behind it. He also clarified that the portions of *Eṭel Lilî* (which Geller excludes)¹⁷¹ are indeed part of the series, and considered the series' compilation history. Both articles—especially when considered together—significantly contributed to future research on *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

The present edition

The above overview demonstrates that a large amount of work on the series has already been accomplished in the last 150 years.

However, it is equally clear that a study that unites all separately published elements of the series is overdue. For instance, the approximately 60-line-long incantation against *Eṭel Lilî* has not been re-edited since 1971, a decade before the discovery of SpTU II 6 and SpTU II 7 clarified the order of the *Ardat Lilî* incantations. As a glance at the composite text will tell, the *Eṭel Lilî* and *Ardat Lilî* incantations have numerous parallels and require joint consideration. The prologue of Inc. 1 has numerous (content-)parallels¹⁷² to the prologues of Incs. 5 and 6, and the preserved Marduk-Ea dialogue ritual instructions of Inc. 1 have striking similarities to those of Inc. 5. These have never been studied systematically.

Nor has there been any proper discussion of the composition as a whole, although it prompts a number of questions. For instance:

1. What was the purpose of the series?
2. How old are the incantations, and do any of them predate the composition of the series as a whole?
3. Why do so many text passages across the series parallel others in content?
4. Why are these (content-)parallel text passages phrased slightly differently from one another?

None of these questions can be adequately addressed without an edition that integrates all known parts of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. But, as Fig. 12 demonstrates, every existing publication that included an edition of the series lacks significant portions of the text—

170 Farber was unaware of Geller's work until the article was completed, but points out that the two separate studies serve to confirm one another.

171 Note, however, that Geller intentionally only dealt with the reverse of Tablet I, as the obverse had no parallels in von Weiher's Uruk texts. His reconstruction of the reverse of Tablet I suggests that he, too, took Inc. 1 as part of the same composition, but this is not stated as clearly as in Farber's article.

172 Hardly any line in the series is an exact duplicate of another, but many communicate the exact same contents in the exact same order with small changes in vocabulary, hence the differentiation between "(content-)parallels" and complete parallels.

either because of manuscripts that only subsequently became available, or because only part of the composition was relevant to individual authors' research.

Fig. 12: Overview of editions

present edition	Lackenbacher (1971)	von Weiher (1984)	Geller (1988)
Tablet I			
1.1–12	<i>Groupe 1</i> , obv. i 1–24	(not included)	(not included)
gap of ca. 7 lines	(undefined gap)		
2.1–11 (2.9–10A:)	<i>Groupe 1</i> , obv. ii 1–20 (NinNA1 i: <i>Groupe 3</i> , obv. i)		
gap of ca. 16 lines	(undefined gap)		
3.1–10	<i>Groupe 1</i> , rev. i 1'–24'		
3.11	(not included) ¹⁷³		
3.12	<i>Groupe 3</i> , obv. iii		
gap of ca. 6 lines	(undefined gap)		
4.1–9	<i>Groupe 1</i> , rev. ii 1'–20'		
gap of ca. 7 lines	(end of <i>Groupe 1</i>)		
5.1–4	(not included)		
6.1–5	<i>Groupe 3</i> , rev. i 1'–10'		
gap of ca. 4 lines	(undefined gap)		
7.1–2	<i>Groupe 3</i> , rev. ii 1'–3'		
7.3–6	<i>Groupe 3</i> , rev. ii 4–13 ¹⁷⁴	SpTU II 6, 1–7	1–4

¹⁷³ Only one sign of the end of the line is preserved.

¹⁷⁴ Lackenbacher's *Groupe 3*, rev. iii 13 only reads the first sign of I 7.6, as the rest of the line is preserved on UrkNB1 (SpTU II 6).

7.7–17	(undefined gap)	SpTU II 6, 8–20	5–14
7.18–25	Groupe 3 , rev. ii 1'–15' Groupe 3 , rev. iii 1–8	SpTU II 6, 21–29	15–22
7.26–31	(not included)	SpTU II 6, 30–35	23–27
Tablet II (no Tablet break in von Weiher's edition, Tablet break implied in Geller's)			
1.1–4	<i>Groupe 2</i> , obv. i 1–8	SpTU II 6, 36–40	28–31
1.5–9 (1.8–9:)	(undefined gap)	SpTU II 6, 41–45 (SpTU II 7, x+1–3)	32–36
1.10–16		SpTU II 7, 4–11	37–43
1.17–21	<i>Groupe 2</i> , obv. i 1'–11' (Akkadian only)	SpTU II 7, 12–16	44–48
1.22–27	<i>Groupe 2</i> , obv. ii 1–13	SpTU II 7, 17–23	49–54
gap of ca. 3 lines	(undefined gap)	(undefined gap)	gap of 2 ⁷ lines
2.1–5			(not included)
2.6–13			55–58
2.10–13	<i>Groupe 2</i> , obv. ii 1'–12'		59–62
very short or no gap	(undefined gap)		(no gap assumed)
3.1–6	<i>Groupe 2</i> , obv. iii 1–13		63–68
short gap (certainly less than 4 lines)	(undefined gap)		gap of 7 lines
4.1–3			
short gap (certainly less than 4 lines)			
5.1–2		SpTU II 7, rev. x+1–2	
5.3–13	<i>Groupe 2</i> , rev. i 1'–27'	SpTU II 7, rev. 3–13	70–80
5.14	(undefined gap)	SpTU II 7, rev. 14	81

5.15–17			K. 20547 1'–7'
5.18–26			
gap of 1 line			
6.1–2	<i>Groupe 2</i> , rev. i 1"–9"		
6.3–14	(undefined gap)		
6.15–16	<i>Groupe 2</i> , rev. ii 1'–8'	(not included)	(not included)
gap of ca. 5 lines	(undefined gap)		
7.1–9	<i>Groupe 2</i> , rev. ii 1"–9"; <i>Groupe 2</i> , rev. iii 1–16		
(ca. 8 lines of the end of Tablet II missing)	(end of <i>Groupe 2</i>)		

What should be equally visible in Fig. 12 is the lack of clarity in the series' current state of publication. Geller's edition of duplicates to SpTU II 6 and 7 shows the least differences from the structure of the same text passages in the current edition.¹⁷⁵ Yet one must consult Farber to understand that Lackenbacher's *tablette de l'eṭlu* forms part of the obverse of his manuscript D, and read Lackenbacher carefully to see that a large part of the reverse of her *Groupe 2* should be added to the end of Geller's text. If one looks for an interpretation of any part of the text's contents, one's only point of call is Meißner's 1920 comment on Inc. 1,¹⁷⁶ which is not only outdated by more than a century, but based on an incorrect assumption.¹⁷⁷

The present edition adds nine fragments¹⁷⁸ that were not included by Geller or Lackenbacher and includes two new joins.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ The only significant structural changes are the result of two new manuscripts for the relevant text passages, NinNA7 and UrkNB3.

¹⁷⁶ Meißner (1920) 48–52. While the composition is also mentioned in Greengus (1966) 55, Finkelstein (1967) 132, Landsberger (1968) 45 and Greengus (1969) 516, this brief surge of interest in the text in the 1960s is entirely confined to articles discussing Mesopotamian marriage practices, and the purpose of the text passage within the series itself is not considered beyond an aside in Greengus (1969) 516 stating that the "metaphor of espousal is often employed to describe the relationship of demonic spirits to their victims."

¹⁷⁷ See above, p. 47f.

¹⁷⁸ BM 40531, identified by Zsombor Földi in the Electronic Babylonian Library (eBL); BM 39768, identified by Frank Simons and kindly pointed out to me; K. 20547, identified in the notes on the series *Eṭel Lilī*, *Ardat Lilī* of the late Frans Wiggermann, which he kindly shared; IM 67547, identified in Wiseman/Black (1996) 19 no. 98; Sm. 643, identified by the writer of the present study; BM 123443, ditto; K. 13341, identified in Lambert (2002) 203; Sm. 1477, identified by Zsombor Földi in the Electronic Babylonian Library (eBL); IM 135177 (published as SpTU 5 226 and attributed to a₂-sag₃ gig-ga), identified by the writer of the present study.

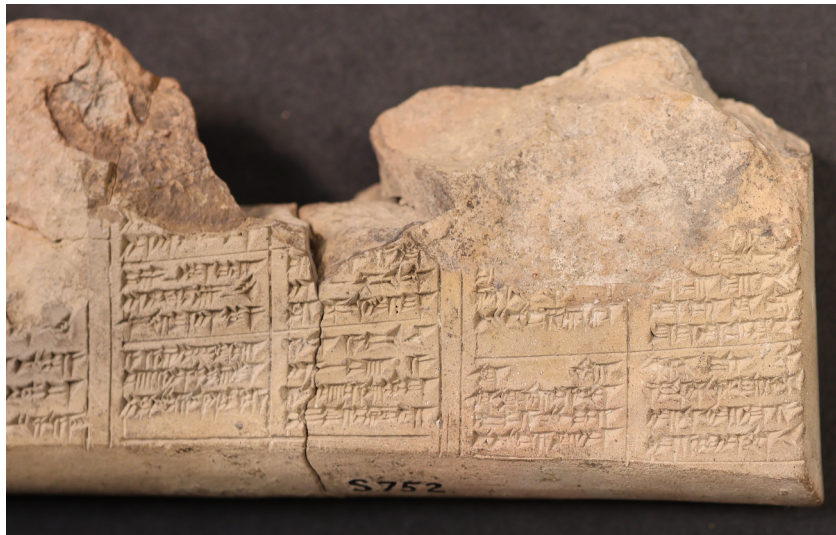
¹⁷⁹ BM 39768 to K. 20547 and Sm. 48+ to Sm. 643.

Division of the series

The Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî layout

One of the reasons that parts of the series could already be identified by Bezold in the 19th century is its very distinct format. With one exception,¹⁸⁰ all manuscripts of the series, both from Babylonia and Assyria, write the bilingual text in an unusual “table” format reminiscent of lexical lists. Instead of inserting indented Akkadian translations after the Sumerian lines, *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* is written in double-columns—the Sumerian text on the left, and the Akkadian on the right side. Individual lines are written inside ruled “boxes,” and usually, due to the layout’s shortened column-widths, include several rows of signs. Fig. 13 below presents a few example lines in this characteristic layout:

Fig. 13: The *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* layout (Sm. 49 + Sm. 752)



As pictured above, individual lines are usually separated by rulings. The double rulings in between the double-columns are only characteristic of the Ninevite manuscripts; the Babylonian manuscript BM 42338 retains no visible rulings in between columns.

It is important to note that any reference to a line of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* within the present study refers to a “text box.” As Fig. 13 shows, these lines do not have a fixed individual height, and may contain multiple rows of signs depending on the length of the clause and the number of columns in the manuscript. Therefore, the number of lines in a column can vary significantly, and any estimated gap length (“gap of ca. 5 lines”) is only intended to give the reader an idea of the amount of textual space that is lost.

The main reason to count lines of the present series by text boxes rather than rows of signs is that, while the number of text breaks within a box can vary from manuscript to

180 The Kalḫu manuscript KalNA1 (IM 67547).

manuscript, the text within the box does not. Take, for instance, line I 7.23. The line is attested on a manuscript from Nineveh with six double-columns and a manuscript from Uruk written in a single double-column. Of course, the Ninevite columns have only a fraction of the length of the Uruk ones. Therefore, the Ninevite text box breaks the text across three rows of signs (nam-be₂-še₃ | ŋi₆-par₃ ki kug-ga | im-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄) while the Uruk text box can fit the entire sentence into a single row (nam-be₂-še₃ ŋi₆-par₃ ki kug-ga im-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄).

If we were to count lines by individual rows of signs, I 7.23 would be three lines long in the Ninevite manuscript, and only one line long in the Uruk manuscript. This would make it impossible to provide representative information on the amount of text lost within any gap. If I 7.23 was not preserved on either manuscript, the estimate that one text box is lost is true for both. On the other hand, if one were to suggest that based on the Ninevite manuscript, three rows of text are lost, the size of the gap in the Uruk manuscript would be erroneously tripled.

The Ninevite 2-Tablet set

The present edition divides *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* into two Tablets—that is to say, two distinct textual units within the composition that were written on two separate physical clay tablets.¹⁸¹ As outlined above, the idea that the Nineveh manuscripts are all fragments of two large library tablets is by no means new. It was proposed by Lackenbacher,¹⁸² underlay Geller’s reconstruction,¹⁸³ and was argued convincingly by Farber.¹⁸⁴

No manuscripts that would stand at odds with this theory have emerged since.

The present edition adds four small Nineveh fragments in Neo-Assyrian script to this probable Tablet set: Sm. 1477¹⁸⁵ (NinNA10) adds two lines to col. vi of Tablet I, Sm. 643 joins NinNA1 with two more lines of the same column, BM 123443¹⁸⁶ (NinNA7) adds three lines to col. ii of Tablet II, and K. 13341¹⁸⁷ (NinNA9) adds two and three lines

181 If the present dissertation speaks of a “Tablet” it is therefore referring to a textual entity (similar to a modern chapter) within a composition, whereas a “tablet” refers to one tablet made of clay (which, as in the case of the Uruk manuscripts of the present series, may compile text from more than one Tablet).

182 Lackenbacher (1971) 120–123.

183 Compare the copies in Geller (1988) 10, 13, and 16 (the obverse of Tablet I does not duplicate any texts in SpTU II and was therefore not included).

184 Farber (1989) 23–31.

185 Identified as a potential fragment of the same *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* tablet as Sm. 48 by Zsombor Földi through the Electronic Babylonian Library.

186 Identified by the writer of the present study.

187 Suggested as an additional fragment of the incantation series published by Lackenbacher in Lambert (2002) 203.

respectively to the very top of col. iv and v of Tablet II. As these are comparatively small changes, there is no reason to replicate Geller's still excellent illustrations of the 2-Tablet-set's structure.¹⁸⁸ However, since Geller did not deal with the entire series, a short overview can be found below. Manuscripts that were not previously included in the series are highlighted by bold characters; the estimated gap sizes are based on evidence from outside of Nineveh, compare the composite text and commentary.

***Tablet I (obverse):**

- col. i ca. 26 lines missing from the beginning of the column; NinNA1¹⁸⁹ preserves the bottom edge with the last 2 lines
- col. ii ca. 27 lines missing from the beginning of the column; NinNA1¹⁹⁰ preserves the bottom edge with the last 3 lines
- col. iii ca. 10 lines missing from the beginning of the column; NinNA6¹⁹¹ preserves 4 lines from the lower half (no edges); ca. 7 lines missing from the end of the column

***Tablet I (reverse):**

- col. iv ca. 1 line abraded at the beginning of the column; NinNA8¹⁹² preserves the top edge with 4 lines after the abrasion; ca. 8 lines missing from the middle of the column; NinNA2¹⁹³ preserves the last 5 lines at the end of the column, with virtually no space for further lines¹⁹⁴
- col. v NinNA1¹⁹⁵ preserves the top edge with 6 (Sumerian) lines at the beginning of the column (NinNA8¹⁹⁶ adding final signs at the end of the Akkadian lines); 10 lines missing from the middle of the column; NinNA2¹⁹⁷ preserves the bottom edge with the final 5 lines of the column
- col. vi NinNA1¹⁹⁸ preserves the top edge with the first 3 lines of the column; 2 lines are missing below NinNA1; **NinNA10**¹⁹⁹ preserves 2 lines from the upper half of the column; 2 more lines are missing before the colophon

188 Geller (1988) 10: reverse of Tablet I; *ibid.*, 13: obverse of Tablet II; *ibid.*, 16: reverse of Tablet II.

189 Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 + Sm. 643.

190 Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347.

191 K. 5443.

192 Sm. 16.

193 Sm. 5.

194 The composite text operates on the more cautious assumption that all fragments that cannot be directly connected could be fragments of different tablets of a similar layout. The calculated gap of a maximum of 4 missing lines in between text blocks I 6 and I 7 is included in the composite text for that reason; if NinNA2 and NinNA1 are part of the same column, any lines in the gap would have had to be squeezed onto the bottom edge.

195 Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 + Sm. 643.

196 Sm. 16.

197 Sm. 5.

198 Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 + Sm. 643.

199 Sm. 1477.

***Tablet II (obverse):**

- col. i NinNA4²⁰⁰ preserves the top edge with the first 4 lines of the column; 9 lines are missing below NinNA4; NinNA3²⁰¹ preserves the bottom edge with the final 8 lines of the column
- col. ii NinNA4²⁰² preserves the top edge with the first 4 lines of the column; ca. 10 lines are missing below NinNA4; NinNA5²⁰³ preserves two Akkadian line ends from the middle of the column; NinNA3 preserves 6 lines at the end of the column, with virtually no space for further lines
- col. iii NinNA4²⁰⁴ preserves the top edge with the first 6 lines of the column; after a short gap (certainly no more than 6 lines), **NinNA7**²⁰⁵ adds 3 more (Sumerian) lines from the upper half of the column; after a short gap (certainly no more than 6 lines), NinNA5 preserves the right and bottom edge with the last 10 lines of the column

***Tablet II (reverse):**

- col. iv **NinNA9**²⁰⁶ preserves the first 2 lines at the top of the column; 2 lines missing below NinNA9; NinNA5²⁰⁷ preserves the right edge with 9 lines of the upper half of the column; 1 line missing; NinNA4²⁰⁸ preserves the bottom edge with the final 2 lines of the column
- col. v **NinNA9**²⁰⁹ preserves the first 4 lines at the top of the column; 8 lines missing below NinNA9; NinNA5²¹⁰ preserves 2 lines from the lower half of the column; ca. 5 lines missing below NinNA5; NinNA4²¹¹ preserves the bottom edge with the final 3 lines of the column
- col. vi NinNA3²¹² preserves the top edge with the first 6 lines of the column; ca. 8 lines missing below NinNA3; NinNA4²¹³ preserves the bottom edge with the final lines of the colophon

The column lengths can vary from 30 lines (*Tablet I ii) to 21 lines (*Tablet I v) on obverse and reverse of the same tablet. This is not necessarily problematic: As mentioned above, every “line” of the present edition refers to an *Eṭel Lili*, *Ardat Lili* “box” of text. Depending on the length of the sentence in that “box,” the vertical length of one “line” can be a single row of signs, four rows of signs, or more. If a column contains multiple lengthy

200 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

202 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

201 Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128.

203 K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614.

204 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

205 BM 123443.

206 K. 13341.

207 K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614.

208 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

209 K. 13341.

210 K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614.

211 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

212 Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128.

213 Sm. 49 + Sm. 752.

sentences, it is likely to have significantly fewer “lines” than a column that consists entirely of short sentences.²¹⁴

More importantly, no two known Ninevite fragments in Neo-Assyrian script overlap, meaning that every Neo-Assyrian manuscript from Nineveh can still be placed within one 2-Tablet-set from the Aššurbanipal library.

As has already been alluded to above, the present edition refrains from treating these Ninevite tablets as proven fact. That is to say, as long as two fragments do not physically connect to one another (for example NinNA4 and NinNA5, which are separated by a gap of at least 3 lines), they are treated as separate manuscripts in the edition.

The reason for this is that while it is *likely* that the Ninevite fragments are the remnants of the same two library tablets, it remains entirely possible that there was more than one manuscript of each Tablet of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* in the Ninevite library. If two fragments from separate original tablets in the same format are confused, this could negatively impact the reliability of the composite text. For example, one manuscript A could have written line I 3.1 in the middle of Tablet I col. ii, and another manuscript B could have written it closer to the bottom of Tablet I col. ii because the scribe had written the same text across vertically longer “boxes.” If we only had line I 3.2 from manuscript A, and I 3.1 from manuscript B, the two lines would end up in the wrong order in the composite text—because of the assumption that a line from the bottom half of the column had to be a later part of the text.

The small fragment K. 20547 is a manuscript from the Koyunjik collection in Neo-Babylonian (rather than the usual Neo-Assyrian) script. It, too, is written in the *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* “box”-format. If it did not use a different ductus, one would be tempted to propose a join to NinNA9, as the text does not overlap and the edges have a similar shape. Yet the ductus of K. 20547²¹⁵ leaves no doubt that this 3-line-fragment is indeed the only remnant of a separate manuscript in the Koyunjik collection. Comparison to BabaNB3²¹⁶ reveals that the fragments join directly, suggesting that K. 20547 was placed with the Nineveh material by mistake.²¹⁷

Ninevite fragments that do not join directly are numbered separately as a precaution to avoid such errors.

²¹⁴ See above, p. 58.

²¹⁵ Most clearly visible in the sign TA in line 3', which is certainly Neo-Babylonian rather than Neo-Assyrian.

²¹⁶ BM 39768.

²¹⁷ As proposed by Lambert (1992) ix (though not with direct reference to the fragment in question).

Two Tablets—or five?

What is clear from the Nineveh evidence, however, is that the fragments (no matter from how many original clay tablets they might individually have come) present us with the text of two Tablets of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

There is no substantial evidence for the existence of further Tablets. So far, only one 3-line fragment in the “box” format has been proposed but not upheld as a potential part of the two Tablet series: Sm. 918, which Geller included as a possible further duplicate, but which is markedly different in content:

Sm. 918²¹⁸

1'	[x x x] 'x'	<i>a-na dam-qu-ti a-na ba-nu-ti-ša₂</i> For handsomeness, for her beauty
2'	[ḫi-li] 'e ₃ ' [ḫi-li nam-e]n-na	<i>ku-uz-ba ḫi-it-lu-pat</i> << <i>ku-zu-ub be-lu-te</i> >> she was clad in charm, <<the charm of lordship>>
3'	[x x x] 'x' [x x x]-'maḫ ²¹	<i>ku-zu-ub be-lu-ti</i> <i>zu-²-u₂-na-at</i> she was adorned with the charm of lordship.
4'	[amaš kug-g]a [amaš ^d dumu-z]i [x x x x]	<i>ana su-pu-ri el-li</i> <i>su-pur ^ddumu-zi</i> 'iṭ-ṭe ₂ '-ḫe-e She approached the pure sheepfold, the sheepfold of Dumuzi.

The above suggests a description of Ištar rather than Ardat Lilî. Note, too, that *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* almost never breaks a clause across multiple “text boxes” (as the first two legible lines of Sm. 918 do), and that the reference to a sheepfold (amaš = *supūru*) in II 5.14 does not resemble that in Sm. 918 at all.²¹⁹ Furthermore, the “box” format is not exclusive to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.²²⁰ At present, Sm. 918 is therefore probably not an unknown part of the series, but a fragment of a text about Ištar and Dumuzi.

218 The transliteration is based on the copy in Geller (1988) 20. Note that Geller’s transliteration omits the third line and jumps directly to the fourth, perhaps because the first row of signs in 3' is a repetition of the immediately preceding last row of signs in line 2'.

219 Ardat Lilî is adjured with: “You shall approach your sheepfold [like a ...]sheep” in II 5.14, and the sheepfold is certainly not that of Dumuzi. The only context in which the lines could have been integrated would be the beginning of Ardat Lilî’s courtship of the patient in II 6.9–13, where Ardat Lilî’s approach of the patient is described, but the text passage is too well preserved by KalNA1 (a manuscript not included in Geller’s edition) to contain a poetic comparison of Ardat Lilî and the patient to Ištar and Dumuzi.

220 For example, K. 156+, a manuscript of the composition *diṅir ḫulu* (see Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5 for the identification of the series and Borger (1969) for the text), also has Sumerian “text boxes” on the left and Akkadian “text boxes” on the right of its double columns.

All existing manuscript evidence accordingly points to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* having been written on two library tablets (and two library tablets only) in Nineveh. The problem that remains is whether these were *Tablets*, in the sense of separate subsections or “chapters” of the series, or *tablets*, in the sense of mere “hard copies” of the series that could have compiled multiple subsections.

Walter Farber has suggested that the double rulings in the Ninevite text point to an original structure of five Tablets.²²¹ In his view, BabaNB1 (the Babylonian manuscript containing only Inc. 1) is evidence for Tablet I, and the Uruk manuscripts UrkNB1 and UrkNB2 for Tablets III and IV.²²²

This is problematic. The most obvious issue is that UrkNB1 and UrkNB2 overlap in part—UrkNB1 containing Incs. 3, 4, and the beginning of 5, and UrkNB2 containing only Inc. 5. Farber resolved this by interpreting the double ruling in between Incs. 4 and 5 on the copy of UrkNB1²²³ as a Tablet break. However, this disregards the fact that the copy also shows a double ruling in between the much shorter incantations 3 and 4. By Farber’s logic, UrkNB1 would have to be a compilation of not two, but three Tablets, the first of which consisted of only 12 and 14 lines.

It is important to note that whenever any incantation ends in *any* existing manuscript of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* we see a double ruling,²²⁴ and that no manuscript preserves a double ruling in any other context. By Farber’s logic, the series should therefore have consisted of six Tablets, not five. The only manuscripts supporting his theory would be BabaNB1 and UrkNB2; but these are manuscripts of single incantations rather than of a series. In fact, Farber’s working theory that double rulings mark original Tablet breaks would leave us with no series at all, as the incantations would never have been written together in the first place.

What is also pertinent here is that the incantation division by single rulings in other series—such as *Lamaštu* and *udug ḥulu*—does not lend itself to the format of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. An extra single ruling cannot be drawn on a tablet that already uses clearly visible single rulings to divide one “text box” from the next. If we disregard the rulings that

221 Farber (1989) 24.

222 Farber (1989) 31.

223 SpTU II 6.

224 For Inc. 2* and 3, there is a double ruling between NinNA1 ii 2 and 3 and NinNA8 ii 2 and 3; for Inc. 3 and 4, there is a double ruling between UrkNB1 13 and 14; for Inc. 4 and 5, we find another double ruling between UrkNB1 28 and 29, while the Ninevite manuscripts place Inc. 5 at the beginning of a new Tablet, see NinNA4 i 1; for Inc. 5 and 6, there is a double ruling between NinNA5 iv 1' and 2'. No tablet preserves the end of Inc. 1 and beginning of Inc. 2.

separate the individual “boxes,” all double rulings become single rulings—and *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* divides incantations in the exact same way as other series.

Discarding the 5-Tablet-hypothesis, the Ninevite 2-Tablet-structure is the only attested way of dividing the series. The only manuscript from outside of Nineveh that preserves more than one incantation—UrkNB1—ends a few lines into Inc. 5 and adds a rubric to state that “these incantations are not complete.”²²⁵

While UrkNB1 clearly divides the series in a different way from the Ninevite fragments (writing at least Incs. 3–5 together instead of dividing 1–4 from 5–6), it is insufficient evidence to restore a different Babylonian recension. It also demonstrates that Incs. 3–5 are rather too much text to fit onto a single tablet: the rest of Inc. 5 fills the entire manuscript UrkNB2, which must have been at least as large as UrkNB1 (if not larger). The only hypothetical Babylonian Tablet structure that would suggest itself would be a 4-Tablet-series:

1. Inc. 1
2. Inc. 2–4
3. Inc. 5
4. Inc. 6

Each Tablet would thereby have roughly 60 lines of text. However, the only manuscript for this division would be BabaNB1 (which, as already pointed out, could just as well be a simple copy of one incantation *from* the series).

This leaves the Ninevite 2-Tablet-structure as the only well-attested, intentional division of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* into subsections. Accordingly, the present edition divides the text as follows:

Tablet I:

- Inc. 1: en₂ ṇuruš sila sig₃-ga... (“Inc.: The young man in the street in absolute silence...”)
- Inc. 2*²²⁶ (incipit not preserved)

225 UrkNB1 38: *šipāti annīti ul qati*.

226 The incantation is extremely damaged and the incipit is not preserved. As the possibility that the existing text passages represent more than one incantation cannot be excluded, the edition refers to it as “Inc. 2*” rather than “Inc. 2.”

- Inc. 3: en₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra... (“Inc.: The young woman, when he carried her off today...”)²²⁷
- Inc. 4: en₂ ki-sikil e₂-gal eden-na-ta... (“Inc.: The young woman—from the wild pastures...”)

Tablet II:

- Inc. 5: en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂-e... (“Inc.: Young woman of the wilderness, for the breeze...”)
- Inc. 6: en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂... (“Inc.: Young woman of the wilderness, breeze...”)

²²⁷ The incipits of the Ardat Lilî-portion of the series are often difficult to translate. Textual problems are discussed in the commentary to the individual lines.

Estimating the age of the series

Dating any composite literary text—especially a bilingual one—is inherently complicated by the artificial nature of the language.

Eṭel Lili, *Ardat Lili* has been grouped among “later compositions” (i.e. texts thought to originate in the late 2nd or early 1st millennium) for two reasons. The first is, of course, the age of the existing manuscripts; the second is the language of the Akkadian text.

Dating the manuscripts

It is an unusual luxury for any editor of a Mesopotamian literary text to be able to date most manuscripts with some precision, as early excavations rarely recorded the archaeological context of individual tablets²²⁸ and literary manuscripts can usually only be dated through their colophons (if at all). Fortunately, the present series provides us with an unusually high number of dateable fragments, and no manuscript is from an earlier period than the 1st millennium BCE.

The Aššurbanipal colophon on NinNA4 allows us to date the Ninevite fragments in Neo-Assyrian script to the 7th century. Even in the event that not all Ninevite fragments are pieces of the same two original tablets, ductus and format are too similar to assume a large difference in age. We can therefore be certain that the 10 fragments NinNA1–10—more than half of our manuscripts—date to the reign of Aššurbanipal from 669 to 631 BCE.

We are equally lucky with the large Uruk manuscripts UrkNB1–3. All stem from the so-called “house of the *āšipu*,” or more precisely from the library of the *āšipu* Iqīšā,²²⁹ who is mentioned as the tablet’s owner in the colophon of UrkNB1.²³⁰ Iqīšā—from the Ekur-zakir family—is actively attested as a scribe in 322–315 BCE.²³¹ UrkNB1 is a student text, written by Iqīšā’s son Ištar-šum-ēreš at Iqīšā’s instruction,²³² and thereby falls within Iqīšā’s lifetime. UrkNB2 is part of the same dossier and likely part of the same tablet as the

228 For example, Rassam’s large-scale excavations in the late 1870s and early 1880s—the source of a vast number of the British Museum’s cuneiform tablets—packed all items into large boxes, and usually only noted object provenances by site (*if* provenance was noted). As the British Museum struggled to keep up with the influx, “a very considerable time” could pass between any shipment’s arrival and the processing of its contents, leading to the displacement of individual objects. Furthermore, provenance marks regularly went unnoticed by the registrar. In consequence, it is often impossible to allocate an individual tablet to a more precise location than “Babylonia”. See Reade (1986) xxv–xxviii.

229 Hoskins (2024) 158f.

230 UrkNB1 39.

231 Hoskins (2024) 81–83.

232 As indicated by the reference to Iqīšā as owner and Ištar-šum-ēreš as the copyist in UrkNB1 39f, see the discussion of the formula in Hoskins (2024) 106.

fragment UrkNB3.²³³ Thus, all three Uruk manuscripts date into the final decades of the 4th century.

The only non-Ninevite manuscript in Neo-Assyrian script—KalNA1—was recovered from the debris above the floor of a corridor adjoining the sanctuary of Tašmetum in the temple of Nabû at Kalḫu.²³⁴ This is somewhat unfortunate, as no other literary text seems to have been discovered there, isolating KalNA1 from the rest of the temple library to a degree. The main library was probably in active use from ca. 800 BCE until the destruction of Kalḫu in the late 7th century; the three dated literary tablets from the temple were written during Kalḫu's time as the capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the 9th to 7th century BCE.²³⁵ KalNA1 may therefore be slightly older than the Ninevite fragments; it does not (yet?) use the “box” format, but the more usual bilingual style in which the Akkadian translations are written underneath the Sumerian lines.

The three remaining manuscripts in Neo-Babylonian script (BabaNB1–3) cannot be dated with any certainty. None of them retains a colophon, and they are all assigned to different shipments from Rassam's large-scale excavations in Babylonia in the early 1880s.

BabaNB1 was part of the 1st July 1881 consignment (accession no. 1881-7-1, 98), which consisted of four cases of tablets from various sites across Babylonia (including Babylon, Sippar, and Kutha);²³⁶ the register offers no more specific provenance for the fragment.²³⁷

BabaNB2 comes from the 28th April 1881 consignment (accession no. 1881-4-28, 72), and, according to the register, was excavated in Babylon.²³⁸

BabaNB3 presents us with the additional difficulty that while part of it (BM 39768) received the accession number 1880-11-12, 1655, another was assigned to the Koyunjik Collection as K. 20547. The former fragment is explicitly described as coming from Babylon in the register,²³⁹ while the latter was only attributed to the Nineveh material when it was discovered in a box of forgotten fragments in the 1970s.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, it was already noted by Lambert that some of the fragments added to the Koyunjik Collection by his 1992 supplement to the catalogue may have been displaced from other collections.²⁴¹ It

233 See discussion of manuscripts below, p. 120f.

234 Wiseman/Black (1996) 40 (with plan of the temple facing p. 1) and Oates (1957) 28.

235 Wiseman/Black (1996) 4.

236 Reade (1986) xxxi.

237 Leichty et al. (2016) 506.

238 Leichty et al. (2016) 446.

239 Leichty et al. (2016) 381.

240 Preface by J.E. Curtis in Lambert (1992) v.

241 Lambert (1992) ix–x.

is thus more likely that K. 20547 was mistakenly removed from the 1880-11-12 collection than the other way around, and BabaNB3 is named accordingly.

None of this provides information that would aid in the dating of any of the Babylonian fragments. The Neo-Babylonian ductus, unfortunately, is no more helpful, as scribes from the Late Persian and Hellenistic periods are known to have written scholarly texts in an archaising style.²⁴² All three manuscripts can therefore only be said to date to the 1st millennium BCE.

Dating the Akkadian version

Most existing attempts to classify the text have confined themselves to describing it as “younger”²⁴³ or “jungbabylonisch.”²⁴⁴ While the former may refer to both the manuscripts and their language, the latter is a reference to the dialect known in English as Standard Babylonian, and thereby primarily to the classification of the Akkadian text.

Standard Babylonian is an artificial literary language, widely assumed to emulate an Old Babylonian ideal.²⁴⁵ It is thought to have come into use in the second half of the 2nd millennium, culminating in the Neo-Assyrian “canonisation” of many well-known literary texts.²⁴⁶ It therefore retains archaising forms, but is primarily influenced by later periods of Akkadian.

This is clearly visible in the present series.

For example, 1st millennium Babylonian increasingly dropped derived stems (D-, Š-, and N-stem as well as passive or reciprocal -t-stems and iterative -tan- stems) and replace them with adverbial constructions.²⁴⁷ *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*, on the other hand, is a sheer paradise for grammarians with a love for derived stems, as it uses a rich variety of them. To name only a few examples, we find:

1. *ittanablakkattu*, “she who keeps crossing [from roof to roof],” a subjunctive Ntn-stem form of *nabalkutu* (II 1.26B)
2. *šūṣât*, “she is cast out,” a feminine stative of *(w)aṣû* in the Š-stem (II 1.18B)

242 Kindly pointed out to me by Johannes Hackl.

243 Foster (1996) 855 presents the composition as part of a collection of incantations from 1000–100 BCE, Hecker (2008) 125 among his “Jüngere Beschwörungen und Rituale.”

244 Farber (1989) 14.

245 Maul (2001) 118f.

246 Hess (2020) 474–481.

247 Hess (2021) 1414f.

3. *nāṣât*, “she is being cast out,” a feminine stative of the same verb in the N-stem (II 6.8B).

The composition even deploys forms that are so rare the relevant grammars and dictionaries do not list them, such as *uḫīršima* (“she has made [the man, son of his god] marry her,” a D-stem of *ḫâru*—the basic meaning of which, “to pick as a mate,” is more commonly used with masculine subjects, hence the causative form with a feminine one in II 6.9B).²⁴⁸

Another old (or archaising) form can be found in the incipit of Inc. 5, which retains the Old Babylonian spelling of the word *awēlu* (*a-we-li* in II 1.1B, as opposed to the “M”-spelling that dominates from the late Old Babylonian period onwards²⁴⁹ which we find in *a-me-[lu]* in I 4.8B).

On the other hand, Old Babylonian word-final mimations are completely absent (for instance, the singular nominative ending we find throughout the text is *-u* instead of *-um*,²⁵⁰ the Dative pronoun is spelled *-šu* instead of *-šum*,²⁵¹ etc.).

Interestingly, the Akkadian text of two lines uses a particular grammatical form that is characteristic of Middle Babylonian: 3rd person singular feminine stative forms with the subjunctive suffix *-u*.²⁵² The lines are:

line	mscr.	Akkadian
II 1.2B	NinNA4 i 2B	MIN ša ₂ ki-ma sin-niš-ti la-a re-ḫa-tu (the young woman) who was not inseminated like a woman
II 1.3B	NinNA4 i 3B	MIN ša ₂ ki-ma sin-niš-ti la naq-pa-tu ₂ (the young woman) who was not deflowered like a woman

The manuscript for both lines is part of a Neo-Assyrian library tablet, so we do not expect overhanging vowel spellings. We do, however, expect a subjunctive here (as it is used for

²⁴⁸ Entirely unattested according to the CAD; see the commentary for the relevant line.

²⁴⁹ Streck (2022) 218 fn. 723.

²⁵⁰ For instance, *eṭlu* “the young man” in I 4.6B (et passim).

²⁵¹ For instance, *iqbišu* “she said to him” in II 6.14f.

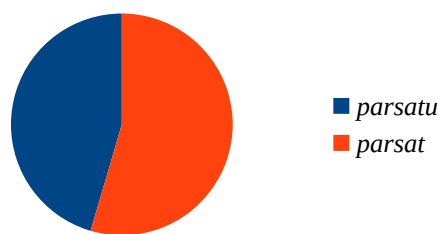
²⁵² von Soden (1995)³ §83.1, who also notes that the form is (rarely) attested in the Old Babylonian period, but does not link it to Standard Babylonian or to any 1st millennium Akkadian dialect. While Schwemer (2017) notes the recurrent addition of an overhanging vowel to closed word-final syllables lengthened through contraction particularly in the 3rd person singular feminine stative in Neo-Assyrian manuscripts, this would only explain one of the noted forms (*reḫātu*, II 1.2B).

all following non-stative forms in the text passage, see the preserved verbal forms in I 1.8–26B).

The Middle Babylonian feminine subjunctive stative form is not deployed consistently in the rest of the text; compare, for instance, *ek-me-et* in the same text passage (II 1.17B, preserved on NinNA3 so probably from the same original tablet as the above lines). We do, however, see a marked tendency to 3rd person singular feminine subjunctive stative forms in the Late Babylonian manuscript UrkNB2. The latter writes 3 out of its 5 feminine stative forms in subordinated clauses with a final *-u* in this text passage, and none with any other overhanging vowel.

Fig. 14 illustrates the distribution of *parsatu*- and *parsat*-forms among the 11 subordinated feminine statives in the text passage:

Fig. 14: Subordinated feminine stative forms in Inc. 5 across all manuscripts



Of course, the three Late Babylonian forms could be explained as overhanging vowel spellings, but it is conspicuous that the overhanging vowel should be *u* in each case.

The existing *parsatu*-forms in the Ninevite manuscript remain unexplained. The CDA cites “girl *ša lā reḥātu* ‘has not been inseminated’ ” under *reḥû* as if it were a common phrase,²⁵³ but the AHW (on which the CDA is largely based) only cites the present text for the *parsatu*-form and does not analyse it.²⁵⁴ The CAD lists the line in question in the bilingual section for *reḥû*, but offers no further comment.²⁵⁵ While Landsberger discussed the lines, he proposed no analysis either.²⁵⁶

This may be because the Middle Babylonian form was immediately obvious to the scholars in question, but leaves us with the question why we find 5 *parsatu*-forms and 6 *parsat*-forms within one text passage (and, in the case of the Ninevite fragments, 2 *parsatu*-forms and 4 *parsat*-forms on the same original tablet of the said text passage).

²⁵³ CDA (2000)², s.v. *reḥû* 2.

²⁵⁴ AHW 2 (1972), s.v. *reḥû* 1a.

²⁵⁵ CAD 14 (1999), s.v. *reḥû* 252.

²⁵⁶ Landsberger (1968) 45.

The theory that the entire composition dates from the 1st millennium²⁵⁷ does not seem to hold up: The change within the same incantation and manuscript seems to suggest an originally Middle Babylonian text influenced by the spoken language of later copyists. If Inc. 5 was originally Neo-Assyrian, it would be strange if only *some* forms had been archaised to follow Middle Babylonian grammar.

The opposite, on the other hand, can easily be explained—by Neo-Assyrian scribes “correcting” the endings of the verbs they recognised (and could therefore easily identify as statives), but leaving the unfamiliar forms *re-ḥa-tu* and *naq-pa-tu₂* unchanged.²⁵⁸ A Late Babylonian scribe, of course, would have lost no sleep over an additional *-u*, as overhanging vowel spellings had become common (and are used repeatedly in the manuscript UrkNB2).

If part of the Akkadian text dates back at least as far as the Middle Babylonian period, it does not necessarily follow that the entire Akkadian version of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* is as old as that.

In the case of a more well-documented bilingual series—udug ḥulu—we find partial Akkadian translations as early as the Middle Babylonian *Forerunner* Ni. 2676+. They are Akkadian glosses of some (perhaps particularly difficult) Sumerian words or phrases rather than full translations. Most of the text remains monolingually Sumerian (as is the case in the Old Babylonian *Forerunners*).²⁵⁹ However, these small snippets of Akkadian sometimes survive into the Akkadian version of the bilingual 1st millennium series.²⁶⁰ The Sumerian incantations were only translated gradually, as they became less and less understandable to Akkadian scribes over the course of the 2nd millennium. The comparison of the *Forerunner* in question to the later udug ḥulu Tablet VII also illustrates that existing incantation sequences had become significantly expanded by the 1st millennium.

Unfortunately, we lack evidence to determine how much of the Akkadian version of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* may date back to the Middle Babylonian period. Even 1st millennium

²⁵⁷ As classified in Foster (1996).

²⁵⁸ The rare verb *naqāb/pu*, “to penetrate (sexually)” has a different vowel class (*a/u*) from the more common *nakāpu*, “to push” (*i/i*). That the first verb was unknown to some copyists is also supported by the (content-)parallel in the following incantation, II 5.22B *la-a i-ki-pu-ši*, derived from a different verb (*ekēpu*), while *reḥû* remains unchanged. For the confusion surrounding *naqāb/pu*, see also Landsberger (1968) 45. The verb *reḥû*, on the other hand, is inflected as the Babylonian form in the preterite and therefore remains unchanged in the parallel II 5.21B (*la-a ir-ḥ[u-u-ši]*). The Assyrian stative, however, would be *raḥi* (fem. *raḥât*) rather than *reḥi* (fem. *reḥât*, with MB subjunctive *reḥātu*)—compare von Soden (1995)³ Paradigm 31.

²⁵⁹ Geller (1985) 7f.

²⁶⁰ Compare the amount of overlap between the *Forerunner* (oc in Geller’s partitur) and the Akkadian of the 1st millennium manuscripts in Geller (2016) 257–260 (lines 31–40), 271 (lines 103–105), 279 (lines 128f), and 283–285 (lines 154–162).

manuscript sources are much rarer than they are for *udug ḫulu*; the 17 separate text fragments of our series likely come from no more than five or six individual Tablet sets.²⁶¹ An absence of evidence can therefore not be interpreted as evidence of absence.

Sumerian and Akkadian

A point particularly worthy of consideration, but hardly addressed by the existing literature, is the relationship of the Akkadian version of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* to the Sumerian.

The issue was really only acknowledged by Geller, who noted in a footnote that “the Akkadian translation of the Sumerian is often too literal.”²⁶² Yet all existing studies of the text offer a joint translation that is primarily based on the Akkadian column, and no author but Geller adds a second translation in brackets if the Sumerian deviates very significantly.

The particularly difficult incipit II 1.1 is a good example to illustrate the problem:

	mscr.	Sumerian column	Akkadian column
II 1.1	NinNA4 i 1	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ab lil ₂ -la ₂ ke ₄ -de ₃ ki-sikil-la na-nam	ar-da-at li-li-i ina ap-ti a-wi-li iz-zi-qa ar-da-tu ₂ la še-em-ta
	UrknB1 29	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ -e ab lil ₂ la ₂ -e-de ₃ ki-sikil-la o o o o o o o o ba-zi-ga	ar-da-at l[i-li-i] la []

Lackenbacher (1971), “L’ardat lilî s’est glissée par la fenêtre de l’homme, la jeune fille (qui) n’(a) pas (eu) une vie normale”²⁶³

von Weiher (1984), UrknB1: “Beschwörung: *Ardat lilî*, die durch das Fenster des Menschen weht, das Mädchen, das keine Schicksalsbestimmung^(?) hat,”²⁶⁴

Geller (1988): “Incantation. The maiden Lilî who blew into a man’s window, the maiden (Sum.: The maiden of the steppe, when blowing through the window in the wind, is the maiden who flitted about. Var.: The Maiden(-demon))

²⁶¹ One from Kalḫu, one from Nineveh, one from Uruk, and two or three from Babylonia (depending on whether BabaNB3 was or was not part of the same Tablet set as either BabaNB1 or BabaNB2).

²⁶² Geller (1988) 7 fn. 5.

²⁶³ Lackenbacher (1971) 139, Face col. I 1–3. While she notes in her comment on the same line—Lackenbacher (1971) 141 n. 2—how very different Akkadian and Sumerian seem to be, and that the Sumerian may be corrupted, she does not indicate any of the major differences in commentary or translation.

²⁶⁴ von Weiher (1984) 43, line 36.

is actually a maiden of the steppe who blows in the wind in the ‘phantom’s window’.)”²⁶⁵

Foster (1996):

“Ardat-lili wafts through a man’s window:
The girl who has no (natural) destiny(?)”²⁶⁶

Hecker (2008):

“Beschwörung. Die Ardat-lilî blies ins Fenster des Menschen, das Mädchen”²⁶⁷

The two most striking differences between Sumerian and Akkadian text are that the Sumerian does not speak of “Ardat Lilî” (ki-sikil lil₂-la₂) but of “the young woman” (ki-sikil), and does not even mention any “man” (lu₂). This, however, is completely ignored by four of the five translations. One look at Geller’s translation, on the other hand, reveals that the line is not only problematic, but also subject to significant variation.

It could be argued that the problematic line is the reason for this neglect of the Sumerian text—Lackenbacher, at least, notes that the Sumerian may be corrupted.²⁶⁸ But compare a much more straightforward Sumerian line, I 3.4 (unfortunately excluded from most of the above translations):

	mscr.	Sumerian column	Akkadian column
I 3.4	BabaNB1 iii' 4'	^{kuš} r a-ṭa ₂ ¹ -la ₂ keše ₂ -da-ne ₂ ²⁶⁹ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in-si ₃	na-ru-qa ra-kis-tu i-din-šu-nu-ti-ma

Lackenbacher (1971):

“Donne-leur une besace fermée”²⁷⁰

The Sumerian line has a singular pronoun after “tied leather bag” (^{kuš}r a-ṭa₂¹-la₂ keše₂-da-ne₂). While this is clearly visible on the manuscript, Lackenbacher’s transliteration omits it (^{kuš}r a-ṭa₂¹-la₂ u₃-mu-un-ni-in-si₃), and her translation follows the Akkadian pronouns.

A large number of similar deviations can be found, but the two examples above should suffice to illustrate that the Sumerian version of the text often differs significantly from the Akkadian, and that a joint translation prioritising the Akkadian often obscures this.

²⁶⁵ Geller (1988) 12, line 28.

²⁶⁶ Foster (1996) 856, line 1f.

²⁶⁷ Hecker (2008) 126, line 28.

²⁶⁸ Lackenbacher (1971) 141 n. 2, following Jacobsen (1970) 340.

²⁶⁹ Visible on the manuscript, but not included in Lackenbacher’s transliteration.

²⁷⁰ Lackenbacher (1971) 29, Revers col. I.

Translating primarily (or only) the Akkadian text suggests that *this*, the Akkadian version, is *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*—and that any deviating Sumerian form is a mistake. Some of the translators quoted above seem to be of this opinion: Foster (1996) places the text among his incantations of “The Late Period,” and Hecker (2008) similarly includes it in a chapter on “Younger Incantations and Rituals.”²⁷¹

Others, however, argue precisely the opposite. We have already seen that Geller suggested that the Akkadian translation is often incorrect. Lackenbacher, too, proposed this in her commentary on II 1.1: “One even has the impression that the Akkadian scribe misunderstood the Sumerian,”²⁷² and this impression may have contributed to the longevity of the theory that the text constitutes a “series of paradigms” at the beginning of the previous century.²⁷³

If the Akkadian is indeed a sometimes faulty translation of an existing Sumerian incantation series, however, we are not dealing with one text, but with two: The Sumerian original’s series, and the Akkadian translation’s interpretation of the same.

Each would of course be altered by centuries of copying (and likely adding to) the text, and this complicates the distinction. Yet the very fact that the Akkadian version differs grammatically from the Sumerian indicates that the Sumerian was still diligently copied—even where it was not understood. Hence the Sumerian text should not be dismissed, especially when its grammar is internally unproblematic.

Dating the Sumerian version: Akkadianising characteristics

An attempt to determine which version of a bilingual *āšipūtu* composition came “first” is approximately as scientifically sound as the chicken-and-egg dilemma.

It has already been mentioned above that incantation series were expanded over time; while one line of an incantation may date back to a Sumerian incantation from the Old Babylonian period, the next may be 1000 years younger. In addition, even in the Old Babylonian period, Sumerian was a dead language that was used and passed on in a bilingual environment.²⁷⁴ There is, therefore, no Sumerian without Akkadian in this context, whether Akkadian was present in writing or not.

271 Original chapter title: “Jüngere Beschwörungen und Rituale.”

272 Lackenbacher (1971) 141 n. 2. Original quote: “On a même l’impression que le scribe akkadien comprenait mal le sumérien.”

273 See above, p. 44.

274 Michalowski (2020) 87f.

It is improbable that significant parts of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* were composed by Sumerian native speakers. If we compare the standardised demon sequence discussed elsewhere, the collective Lilû-demons make their first appearance in the Old Babylonian period.²⁷⁵ This does not rule out older oral traditions—and indeed, in the case of Old Babylonian incantations, the written material seems to be a by-product of a tradition that was primarily passed on orally by specialist practitioners.²⁷⁶ However, we see strong influences of Akkadian throughout the Sumerian text.

The following is a brief, non-exhaustive summary of Akkadianising elements in the Sumerian of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*.

- Instances of confusion between pronouns and personal infixes of the human and non-human classes (most prominently the use of {be} instead of {ane}) occur in multiple parts of the text. This is a common mistake after the death of Sumerian as a spoken language, as the differentiation would have been unintuitive to Akkadian speakers.²⁷⁷ See the commentary for I 1.6A, I 4.1A, I 4.2A, I 5.3A, II 1.21A, II 2.7A, and II 7.3A.
- The sign -ke₄ is equally used to mark genitives throughout the series, a well-known feature of Sumerian texts from the Old Babylonian period onwards,²⁷⁸ when scribes became increasingly less aware that the sign originally designated the combination of the genitive {ak} with a following {e} in word-final position. See the commentary for I 1.11A, I 3.10–12A, I 7.4A, II 1.18A, II 1.22A.
- The phrase gig-ga šag₄-ne₂, “the illness <of> her heart,” follows the Akkadian *murū libbiša*; in Classical Sumerian, we find the phrase šag₄ gig-ga (“the sick heart”). See the commentary for II 1.21A.
- The Akkadian line *kīma inib kirî ana šâši lalê ulallîši*, “like a fruit of the orchard he endowed her well,” is a double entendre, playing with the dual meanings of *inbu* (“fruit” as well as “sexual attractiveness”) and *lalû* (“wealth” as well as “desire”). The Sumerian of the same line, *gurun* ^{neš}kiri₆-gen₇ niṅ₂-la-la im-mi-in-ṅar, does not cover this, and even seems to mimic *lalû* in the spelling of niṅ₂-la-la (“[he provided] the *lalû*-thing” instead of niṅ₂-ṅal₂-la “[he provided] possessions”). The sexual undertone of the line is central to its meaning, as the

²⁷⁵ See p. 44.

²⁷⁶ Michalowski (2020) 88.

²⁷⁷ Thomsen (1984) 72.

²⁷⁸ Huber (2001) 177.

demon asks the patient to be his wife in the previous line. See the commentary for I 2.9.

Dating the Sumerian version: The udug ḫulu incantation Inc. 4

While there is no reason to propose any part of *Eṭel Lili*, *Ardat Lili* is *older* than the Old Babylonian period, at least part of the Sumerian version of the composition is attested in the Old Babylonian period: the incantation ki-sikil e₂-gal eden-na-ta (Inc. 4).

The incantation ki-sikil e₂-gal eden-na-ta, “The Young Woman—from the wild pastures,” is attested on the udug ḫulu *Forerunner* Ni. 631 from Old Babylonian Nippur.

The relevant passage in the *Forerunner* is badly damaged. It has been poorly joined²⁷⁹ and was not particularly well-written to begin with,²⁸⁰ both of which complicate the reading of the incantation. However, enough is preserved to prove that the incantation is the same we find in the present series. There appear to be some differences in the text, but not only are changes unsurprising after 1000 years, the greatest divergences occur where the manuscript is the most damaged and the readings are tentative; compare the two versions below.

Ni. 631 ²⁸¹	1 st millennium <i>Eṭel Lili</i> , <i>Ardat Lili</i> mscrs. ²⁸²
[en ₂] ‘e ₂ ’-[nu]-‘ru’ [ki-sik]il e ₂ -gal ede[n]-‘ta’ ²⁸³ -na’ [x x]-‘x-x’-[x] ²⁸³	en ₂ ki-sikil e ₂ -gal eden-na-ta udug ḫulu mu-un-da-ru-us ₂ <i>The young woman—from the wild pastures, the evil Udug-demon returned with her!</i>

279 Geller (1985) 7.

280 The lines are irregularly spaced, the final signs of each do not line up, the size of signs varies extremely, and there are visible erasures, compare Geller (1985) Pl. 3.

281 The transliteration is based on the copy in Geller (1985) Pl. 3 as well as the transliteration in Geller (2016) pp. 214–216 (slightly adapted to fit the conventions used in the present study). Note that the tablet could not be collated from a photo or the original for the sake of this study, so all suggestions are speculative and should be understood as such.

282 Compare composite text, I 7.17–31A, and commentary for the translation of problematic lines.

283 Geller restores the line [ki-sik]il e₂-gal ‘eden-ta’²⁸³ [u]d[ug ḫulu mu-un]-‘da-ab’-x’. The copy suggests NA after TA (unless EDIN is interpreted as having been written very broadly, which is unlikely, but would mean that only NA is visible). The broken middle of the line does not seem to allow for much more than MU and UN, especially considering the size of DA after the break. Both Geller’s suggestion AB’ and an alternative reading TA are grammatically problematic, and the sign is too damaged to rule out the possibility that part of it is already the verbal base. Note that the entire line is heavily abraded and problematic.

[lu ₂ s]a ₁ - ₂ ta nu in-[sa ₄ im-ma-an]- ¹ us ₂	lu ₂ sa ₁ -ta nu-sa ₄ -a im-ma-an-us ₂ <i>The one who was unnamed from the beginning has attached himself to (the patient);</i>
[lu ₂] ¹ su ¹ -ta nu- ¹ e ₃ -da im-ma-an-us ₂	lu ₂ su-ta nu-e ₃ -de ₃ im-ma-an-us ₂ <i>the one who will not go out of a body has attached himself to him.</i>
[š]u-ne ₂ ¹ in-ra u ₃ šu-ne ₂ -a im-mi-in- - ₁ ar	šu-ne ₂ in-ra šu-a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in- - ₁ ar <i>He struck his (the patient's) hand; he placed it on his hand,</i>
[₁ ir]i ₃ -ne ₂ in-[ra u ₃ ?] ¹ iri ₃ -ne ₂ -še ₃ im ¹ -[mi-in- ₁ ar]	iri ₃ -ne ₂ in-ra iri ₃ -a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in- - ₁ ar <i>he struck his (the patient's) foot; he placed it on his foot,</i>
[sa ₁ - ₂]a ₂ -[ne ₂ in-ra] ²⁸⁴ ¹ sa ₁ -ne ₂ -še ₂ im ¹ -[mi-in- ₁ ar]	sa ₁ - ₂ ne ₂ in-ra sa ₁ -a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-us ₂ <i>he struck his (the patient's) head; he made it follow his head.</i>
[nam-be ₂ -še ₃] i ₆ - ¹ par ₃ ki ¹ kug-ga im-ma-an- ¹ ku ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃ -de ₃	nam-be ₂ -še ₃ i ₆ -par ₃ ki kug-ga im-ma-da-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄ <i>To that end he repeatedly entered the Gipar, the pure place, with him.</i>
[munus-e an] ¹ mu-un ¹ -dub ₂ ¹ ki mu ¹ -un-[sag ₃]	munus-e an mu-un-dub ₂ ki-a mu-un-sag ₃ <i>The woman shook the sky, she stomped on the earth—</i>
[gaba- ₂ al ₂ kug ²⁸⁵ ^d inann]a an-na-ke ₄ i[nim] ¹ nam [?] -mu ¹ -[un]-da-ab-g[i ₄ -g]i ₄ [x x x x x x x] in-[x]	gaba- ₂ al ₂ kug ^{d+} inanna-ke ₄ an-na gu ₃ mi-ni-in-ra ki-a gu ₃ mi-ni-in-r[a] <i>forceful, holy Inanna roared in the sky, she roared on the earth.</i>

284 There does not appear to be enough space for U₃, which Geller tentatively adds in the break (following the previous two lines).

285 Geller does not restore this, but there seems to be space enough.

[x x x x x x x x] ²⁸⁶	izi in-ra izi im-ma-an-su[r ₈] <i>She struck fire, she made it rain fire.</i>
[ka ₂ e ₂ -an-na-ke ₄] saṇ-ba [x (x [?])] ²⁸⁷	ka ₂ e ₂ -an-<na>-ke ₄ saṇ-ba ba-[a [?]] <i>By the gate of the Eanna, an oath was [made[?]]:</i>
[udug ḫulu a-la ₂] ²⁸⁸ ḫulu ¹ e ₂ -a ba-ra-an-k[u ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃]	udug ḫulu a-la ₂ ḫulu e ₂ -a ba-ra-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃ <i>“The evil Udug and evil Ala must not enter the house!</i>
[udug ḫulu dab-ba]-ne ₂ bar-še ₃ ḫe ₂ -em-ta-g[ub]	udug ḫulu dab-ba-a-ne ₂ bar-še ₃ ḫe ₂ -em-ta-gub <i>The evil Udug that seized him shall stand aside!</i>
[udug sag ₁₀ -a ^d lamm]a ḫe ₂ -en-da-su ₈ -su ₈ -g[e-eš]	udug sag ₁₀ -ga ^d lamma sag ₁₀ -ga ḫe ₂ -em-da-ḫu ₈ -su ₈ -ge-eš <i>May the good Udug and the good Lamma always stand by him!”</i>
k[a-inim-ma udu]g ḫulu-a-kam	ka-inim-ma ki-sikil li[l ₂ -la ₂ -kam] <i>It is the wording of: Ardat Lilî</i>

In his edition of *udug ḫulu*, Geller translates differently. He interpreted the passage as a reference to *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld*, where she is being attacked by demons, who she then shakes off with an oath. As it protected Inanna, the quoted oath is intended to protect humans.²⁸⁹

This presents us with several problems. For one thing, in *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld*, demons cannot be banished; Inanna must provide a substitute (Dumuzi) that will take her place among the dead.²⁹⁰ For another, Ardat Lilî plays no particular role elsewhere in *udug ḫulu*, and only features in the first line of the incantation at hand—

286 The transliteration in Geller (2016) suggests that there is nothing here, but judging from the copy, one would assume at least one further line. Note, too, that the damaged sign IN on the previous line is a much better match for the end of [ki-a gu₃ mi-ni]-ḫu¹-[ra] or a variation thereof, and that Geller’s interpretation of the relevant line would suggest that this half of the line is missing from the *Forerunner*.

287 While the signs of this line are spaced far apart, BA is fully visible before the break, and on the same height as RA in the line below. There would be ample space for two further signs.

288 Geller only restores [udug], but the visible signs of the line are spaced closely together and the break at the beginning of the line ends in the same place as that of the line below, where the sign udug and four following signs are restored.

289 Geller (2016) 215 fn. for lines 189–92.

290 Sladek (1974) 86.

after which it deals only with the evil Udug. That the incipit's *ki-sikil*, “young woman,” was originally meant to be Inanna seems to be unlikely, as she is introduced as *munus*, “woman,” later on in the text. Geller, too, understands *ki-sikil* as a reference to Ardat Lilî. Furthermore, the Akkadian translators of both series certainly did not read the incantations as Geller does:

udug ḥulu (K. 2507+)²⁹¹	1st millennium <i>Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî</i> mscrs.²⁹²
<i>[ardat lilî ištu ekal šēri] u₂-tuk-ku lem-nu i-ta-ru-uš</i>	EN ₂ <i>ar-d[a-at li-li-i ištu ekal šēri utukku lemnu itarrušu]</i>
[The Young Woman Lilû] brings the evil Utukku back [from the wild pastures:]	The Young Wo[man Lilû brings the evil Utukku-demon back from the wild pastures:]
<i>[ša itti r]e-‘šī’ la na-bu-u ir-te-di-šu₂</i>	‘ša’ i[t-ti rēši] la-a n[a-bu-u] iṭ-ṭe ₂ -ḥ[a-a]
[The one who]was unnamed [from the be]ginning has followed him,	The one who was un[named] fr[om the beginning] has appr[oached],
<i>ša₂ ina zu-mur la šu-pu-u ir-te-di-šu₂</i>	<i>ša ma-am-ma ina qa-ti-š[u₂] la ip-par-ra-šu iṭ-ṭe₂-ḥa-a</i>
the one who did not manifest from a body has followed him.	the one from who[se] hand nobody can escape has approached.
<i>qa-as-su im-ḥaṣ-ma ana qa-ti-šu₂ iš-kun</i>	<i>qa-as-su il-pu-ut-ma a-na qa-ti-šu iš-ta-kan</i>
He struck his hand and placed it on his hand,	He touched his (the patient’s) hand and has placed it on his hand,
<i>še-ep-šu₂ im-ḥaṣ-ma ana še-pi-šu₂ iš-kun</i>	GIRI ₃ ^{II} -šu ₂ <i>il-pu-ut-ma a-na GIRI₃^{II}-šu iš-ta-kan</i>
he struck his foot and placed it on his foot.	he touched his (the patient’s) foot and has placed it on his foot,
<i>qaq-qa-su im-ḥaṣ-ma ana qaq-qa-di-šu₂ iš-‘kun’</i>	<i>qaq-qa-su il-pu-ut-ma qaq-qa-as-su uš-‘tar’-[di]</i>
He struck his head and placed it on his head.	he touched his (the patient’s) head and made it follow his head.

291 The transliteration follows Geller (2016) 214–216. Own translation, as Geller’s is a joint translation of Sumerian and Akkadian.

292 The transliteration below follows the (better preserved) Ninevite manuscripts, compare partitur for I 7.17–30B.

<i>ana</i> ʿšim¹-t[i ...] For [that?] fa[te ...]	<i>aš-ša-at-ti</i> <i>ana gi-pa-a-ri el-l[i]</i> <i>e-ru-ub-ma</i> For this, he entered the pur[e] Gipāru, and
[...]	MUNUS AN- <i>e</i> <i>u</i> ₂ - <i>r</i> [<i>ab</i>] KI- <i>ta</i> <i>u</i> ₂ - <i>ne</i> ₂ - <i>r</i> [<i>i-iṭ</i>] the woman made the sky tremble, she shoo[k] the earth—
[...]	<i>ga-pu-uš-tu</i> ₂ <i>u</i> KUG- <i>tu</i> ^d <i>iš-tar</i> <i>ina</i> AN- <i>e</i> <i>is-si</i> [<i>ina</i> K]I-ʿ <i>ti</i> ₃ ʿ <i>is</i> ¹-s[<i>i</i>] great and pure Ištar roared in the sky, she roared on the earth,
[...]	[...]
[...]	[...]
<i>u</i> ₂ - <i>tuk</i> -ʿ <i>ku</i> <i>lem</i> ¹-[...] Evi[l] Utukku [...]	[<i>u</i> - <i>tuk</i> - <i>ku</i> <i>le</i>]m- <i>nu</i> [<i>ana</i>] E ₂ -š _u [<i>la</i> t]er- <i>ru</i> - <i>ub</i> -š _u ₂ Ev[il] U[tukku]—you will not enter into his house!
<i>u</i> ₂ - <i>tuk</i> - <i>ku</i> <i>lem</i> - <i>nu</i> <i>ka</i> - <i>mu</i> -š _u ₂ <i>ina</i> a-ḥa- <i>ti</i> li-iz- <i>ziz</i> The evil Utukku, his captor, shall stand aside!	ʿ <i>u</i> ¹- <i>tuk</i> - <i>ku</i> <i>lem</i> - <i>nu</i> [š]a šab- <i>tu</i> -š _u ₂ [<i>ina</i>] ʿ <i>a</i> ¹- <i>ḥi</i> - <i>ti</i> li-iz- <i>ziz</i> The evil Utukku who seized him shall stand aside!
[...]	še- <i>ed</i> <i>dum</i> - <i>q</i> [<i>i</i> ₂ ...] The go[od] Šēdu [...]

However much they diverge,²⁹³ the Neo-Assyrian manuscripts for both series clearly speak of the evil Utukku having seized “him”—that is to say, the unnamed patient.

Although she is named prominently in the incipit of the series, Ardat Lilî features as a mere vehicle: she has brought the Utukku back into civilisation with her. *He* takes over the (unnamed) patient, enraging Ištar and prompting the oath that banishes him permanently from the patient.

This can be explained by a particular feature of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* incipits: they each begin by naming Ardat Lilî (except for the *Eṭel Lilî* incantation, which names him). Taken

²⁹³ The cross-series variation is discussed below, p. 84.

together, they tell the mythical backstory of Ardat Lilî, summing up each incantation's mythical prologue:

Inc. 2*	[...]	(incipit not preserved)
Inc. 3	en ₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra nu-gig ud-da kar-ra-zu-ne	Incantation: The young woman, when he carried her off today,—nu-gig, today, when you were carried off, [...]
Inc. 4	en ₂ ki-sikil e ₂ -gal eden-na-ta udug ĥulu mu-un-da-ru-us ₂	The young woman—from the wild pastures, the evil Udug-demon returned with her!
Inc. 5	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ -e ab lil ₂ la ₂ -e-de ₃ ki sikil-la ba-zi-ga	Incantation: The Young Woman of the wilderness, who, so that the breeze may breeze (in) the window, rose up in a pure place, [...]
Inc. 6	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ki- sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ ab-ba gur-gur-kam	Incantation: Young Woman of the wilderness, breeze; the Young Woman who is a continuously returning breeze in the window, [...]

The grammar of the incipits is difficult (and in the case of Inc. 5, may be corrupted); for a discussion of the Sumerian grammar, see the commentary for the relevant lines. However, enough remains to recognise Ardat Lilî's advance:

1. (unpreserved incipit; as the only lines of the Eṭel Lilî prologue that have no parallel in Ardat Lilî deal with his birth, it is likely that part of the lost incantation would have referenced the birth and mother of Ardat Lilî)
2. Ardat Lilî is carried off (by Namtar, as described in the incantation—i.e., she dies)
3. Ardat Lilî brings the evil Utukku back into civilisation as a side-effect
4. Ardat Lilî comes through the window (in order to make the patient ill)
5. Ardat Lilî keeps returning

In the incipits, Ardat Lilî comes progressively closer to the patient,²⁹⁴ until the final incantation keeps her from ever returning.

This would suggest that even the version of the incantation that is preserved in the Old Babylonian udug ĥulu *Forerunner* follows the pattern of incipits in the later *Eṭel Lilî*,

²⁹⁴ I would like to thank Martin Worthington for drawing my attention to this.

Ardat Lilî series. It explains why Ardat Lilî is brought up in an incantation to banish the evil Utukku without playing a role in the incantation itself. This does not mean that the exact same ritual we know from 1st millennium sources predated the udug ḫulu *Forerunner*. It does, however, indicate that the incantation was incorporated into udug ḫulu because it is the part of an Ardat Lilî ritual that deals with the evil Utukku.

This is by no means unique to rituals against Ardat Lilî. The series *Maqlû*, too, contains incantations that deal with supernatural “side-effects” of a witch’s magic,²⁹⁵ as does the series *Lamaštu*.²⁹⁶ Among such “side-effects,” the evil Utukku has a prominent place: The incantation udug ḫulu eden-na-zu-še₃ (“Evil Udug—to your steppe”) is employed after the central burning ceremony in *Maqlû*.²⁹⁷ In *Muššu²u*, we find udug ḫulu-ḡal₂ gidim idim kur-ra (“Evil Udug, furious ghost of the netherworld”), and after the massage therapy in *Lamaštu*, we find the incantation udug ḫulu-ḡal₂ saḡ-gaz zid-a (“Evil Udug, true head-crusher”).²⁹⁸

That the evil Utukku (and the evil Alû) played a particular role within exorcisms from at least the Old Babylonian time can be observed in the ancient “Schlussthema” that calls for the good Šēdu and the good Lamassu to take their place at the patient’s side.²⁹⁹ If someone was affected by a supernatural evil, the two demons were imagined to stand to their left and right, which—in a healthy person—were guarded by the personal god and goddess.³⁰⁰

The theme is picked up in the exorcisms of both titular demons in the Sumerian version *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*, where the hands and feet of the patient—his two sides—are taken over by multiple actors, while his head is occupied by the demon the incantation primarily deals with.³⁰¹ Note that this scene only occurs once for each demon, in Inc. 1 (the sole incantation against Eṭel Lilî) and Inc. 6 (the incantation against Ardat Lilî). Inc. 4, against the evil Utukku, ends in the Schlussthema calling for evil Utukku and Alû to be replaced by the benevolent Šēdu and Lamassu at the patient’s side, and uses the very same image. However, it describes the evil Utukku as taking only *one* hand and foot of the patient.³⁰²

295 *Maqlû* V 57–75.

296 *Lamaštu* Inc. 6.

297 *Maqlû* Rit. 92’.

298 *Muššu²u* Rit. 34; *Lamaštu* III 105.

299 See p. 14.

300 Stol (1993) 33.

301 See commentary on I 2.5f.

302 Inc. 4, I 7.20B: *qāssu ilputma ana qātīšu ištakan* (“he (the Utukku) touched his (the patient’s) hand and has placed it on his (own) hand”) vs. Inc. 1, I 2.3B: “*qātīšunu ana qātīšu iškunū*” (“they placed their hands on his hands”).

I 7.20 (Inc. against the evil Utukku)	I 2.3 (Inc. against Eṭel Lilî)
šu-ne₂ in-ra šu-a-ne₂-še₃ im-mi-in- ṇar qa-as-su il-pu-ut-ma a-na qa-ti-šu iš-ta- kan Sum.: “He (the Utukku) struck his (the patient’s) hand, he has placed it on his (own) hand.” Akk.: “He (the Utukku) has touched his (the patient’s) hand and has placed it on his (own) hand.”	šu-ne-ne-a šu-ne₂ ba-an-ṇar-re-eš qa-ti-š[u₂-nu] ana qa-ti-šu₂ [iš-ku-nu] Sum.: “They placed his hands on their hands.” Akk.: “They placed their hands on his hands.”

The text passages are not syntactically parallel; that is to say, Inc. 1 does not copy Inc. 4. Rather, they employ the same motif. Utukku and Alû having taken up the patient’s side is *a central part of Eṭel (or Ardat) Lilî’s grasp on him*, not an additional evil that may or may not afflict him.

If we accordingly consider the incantation preserved in the Old Babylonian *Forerunner* as deeply embedded within the series *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*, it becomes likely that at least parts of the Sumerian version of Ardat Lilî may have significantly predated the Akkadian.

Dating the Sumerian version: Akkadian variation

The final argument for an older, but not preserved, monolingually Sumerian version of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* has already been mentioned above; it is what Geller referred to as the “often too literal” Akkadian translations.³⁰³

We have already seen multiple instances in which the Akkadian diverges significantly or insignificantly from the Sumerian. In I 2.3, the Sumerian Uduḡ and Ala place the patient’s hands on their hands while the Akkadian Utukku and Alû place their hands on the patient’s hands; in II 1.1, the Akkadian incipit for Inc. 5 introduces multiple words that do not even have an equivalent in the Sumerian one.

Some of these divergences could be signs of an Akkadian text being badly translated into Sumerian by copying existing Sumerian phrases from a different context.³⁰⁴ Yet the previous chapters suggest that *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* may be much older than has previously

³⁰³ Geller (1988) 7 fn. 5.

³⁰⁴ Maul (1988) 5 fn. 14 suggests this as an explanation for strange Sumerian in bilingual er₂-šag₄-ḥun-ṇa₂ prayers.

been assumed, calling for a closer look at what one might otherwise term its “bad Sumerian”.

There are too many instances of the Akkadian not matching the Sumerian to enumerate in their entirety. But what is particularly striking is the one preserved instance where a Sumerian line with a divergent Akkadian version is intentionally repeated later on in the incantation:

	Sumerian	Akkadian
II 5.19 (incipit of Inc. 6)	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ ab-ba gur-gur-kam	<i>ardatu ša bīt zaqīqī ana ardati ina apti ittanurru</i> The Young Woman whom the house of the spirits has repeatedly sent back to the young woman through the window,
II 7.4 (repetition of the incipit)	[a]-a-ḡu ₁₀ ki-sikil [e]den- na lil ₂ -la ₂ [k]i-sikil lil ₂ - la ₂ [a]b-ba gur-gur-kam	<i>abī ardatu ša ina bīt zaqīqī ana ardāti ina apti ittanurru</i> “My father, the Young Woman who, from the house of the spirits, keeps returning to the young women through the window, ...”

As we can see, the Sumerian incipit (II 5.19A) is identical to its repetition (II 7.4A) when Marduk relates the prologue of the incantation to his father Ea to ask his advice.

The Akkadian differs. The subject of the Akkadian incipit is *bīt zaqīqī*, “the house of the spirits.” In the repetition, Ardat Lilī is not returned *by* this “house of the spirits,” but she returns *ina bīt zaqīqī*, “from the house of the spirits.”

Additionally, in the incipit, where the following Akkadian line speaks of Ardat Lilī returning through the window to “the young man,” (II 5.20B), she appears to attack a young woman. In the repetition, which only gives the incipit and leaves the next line of the prologue implied, but unwritten, the Akkadian plene spelling indicates that Ardat Lilī returns to young *women*, plural. And while this last point may be attributed to ambivalent

orthography (*ana ar-da-tu* in II 5.19B could be read as *ana ardāti* without the clarifying plene spelling), the other two divergences cannot.

Neither version of the Akkadian is an accurate translation of the unchanged Sumerian line; both versions are different attempts to make sense of it. As they come from the same incantation and probably the same (Ninevite) tablet, it seems unlikely that the compilers unthinkingly merged two different textual traditions. Instead, it suggests that the original translator(s) went through the Sumerian text line-by-line, translating the same difficult line first in II 5.19B, and again—but somewhat differently—when they encountered it again in II 7.4.

The diverging Akkadian versions of Inc. 4 in *udug ḫulu* and *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* (compared in the previous chapter) are actually a case in point. While both (more or less) match one Sumerian incantation,³⁰⁵ they are clearly two separate translations of it. For instance

- the translations for *lu₂ su-be₂ nu-e₃-de₃*, “the one who will not go out of this body,” are completely different: *udug ḫulu* v 185 translates *ša ina zumur lā šūpû* (“the one who was not made manifest by a body” while *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* I 7.19B has *ša mamma ina qātiš[u] lā ipparrašu*, (“the one from whose hand nobody can escape”).
- *udug ḫulu* v 186–188 equate Sumerian *ra*, “to strike,” with *maḥāṣu*, while *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* I 7.20–22B uses *lapātu*.
- *udug ḫulu* v 186–188 thrice translates the perfective *im-mi-in-ṇar*, “he placed (on),” with Akkadian preterite forms (*iškun*), *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* I 7.20–22B employs perfects (*ištakan*).

Both instances of Akkadian variation on a stable Sumerian text demonstrate that an existing monolingual incantation was translated into Akkadian later in its textual history.

Summary: Dating individual parts of the text

What we have seen above is that we are not dealing with one version of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*, but at least two: a monolingually Sumerian source (or sources) and its later Akkadian interpretation(s). Part of the Sumerian source material can be demonstrated to date as far

³⁰⁵ The Sumerian for both can easily be compared in Geller (2016) 214–216, as he cites *Ardat Lilî* manuscripts alongside the *udug ḫulu* ones.

back as the Old Babylonian period, but appears to have already been composed by Akkadian native speakers.

The oldest dateable parts of the Akkadian text are Middle Babylonian translations. This does not necessarily mean that all of the Akkadian text is this old or older. In fact, it is unlikely, as *udug ḫul*, of which Old Babylonian predecessors are preserved, demonstrates that source material could be greatly expanded by the 1st millennium. The *udug ḫulu* material also suggests that younger translations could have built on Middle Babylonian glosses—with larger portions of the text being translated as Sumerian became progressively less well understood.

While the anteriority of the Sumerian text has already been implied by some scholars (notably Geller), the age of the series has never been discussed in any detail. Furthermore, the composition has also been classed as a “younger” or 1st millennium text—the latter being patently false, the former at least misleading.

This may have contributed to the continuous prioritisation of the Akkadian columns in translations. Yet taken side by side, both versions of the series reveal a complex textual history that is an entire millennium older than the oldest surviving manuscripts.

The demons Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî

The Lilû-group

In the last decade, a number of specialised studies have helped shed light on individual demons such as Lamaštu,³⁰⁶ the Sebettu,³⁰⁷ and Namtar.³⁰⁸ Unfortunately, no similar study of Eṭel and Ardat Lilî has yet been attempted.

This is not for lack of scientific interest. Eṭel and Ardat Lilî hold an exceptional place within demonology: as their names indicate, they are part of a wider group, the lil₂- or Lilû-demons. Unlike the Sebettu, this group encompasses not only the two titular demons of our series, but at least two more figures that are often encountered independently from them:

1. Lilû (“Lilû-demon”)
2. Lilîtu (“female Lilû-demon”)
3. Ardat Lilî (“young woman of the Lilû-demons”)
4. Eṭel Lilî (“young man of the Lilû-demons”)

We have few descriptions of the (singular) Lilû, apart from a largely broken comparison in *Lamaštu* that “[Lamaštu] is fitted with wing(s) and [.....] like *Lilû*.”³⁰⁹ Lilîtu is even less tangible as an individual entity,³¹⁰ rarely featuring in descriptive texts outside of enumerations of demons—particularly the standardised sequence of demons discussed above.

As outlined there, demon groupings are subject to a great degree of flexibility. Although the order of the standardised demon sequence is fixed, the number of included demons could be adapted according to the requirements of the incantations that made use of it. That is to say, while the sequence looks like a stable grouping of demons, it does not present us with a particular category *of* demons, but rather a tool to outline the category “demon” itself. The evil Utukku and Lamaštu have little in common apart from being harmful supernatural entities, and enumerating them together makes it clear that a broad spectrum of harmful supernatural entities is meant.

This makes the Lilû-group stand out: It is one of few actual “classes” of demons. Within the standardised sequence, we first see it as an undifferentiated collective. Yet although the

306 Farber (2014).

307 Konstantopoulos (2023).

308 Beltz (2023).

309 *Lamaštu* I 114, translation Farber (2014).

310 Farber (1987–1990) 23.

individual Lilû-demons only appear among the later additions to the standardised sequence, they, too, are already present in the Old Babylonian period.

They are primarily distinguished by gender (lu₂ lil₂-la₂, “male lil₂-demon,” and ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ “young woman of the lil₂-demons”). Secondly, in Akkadian translations, they are differentiated by age (the age-neutral *lilû* and *lilîtu* are followed by *ardat lilî*, “the young woman of the lil₂-demons”).

The Akkadian distinction by age may be a product of the “triplet”-pattern within the demon sequence. The Sumerian ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ already refers to a “young woman,” and in *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*, the elusive ud-da-kar-ra is a mere epithet of the same demon. *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* plays with it by integrating it into the incipit of Inc. 4 as a phrase rather than a name. As an independent demon, ud-da-kar-ra (or ki-sikil ud-da-kar-ra) is virtually unknown and difficult to interpret.³¹¹

ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ and ki-sikil ud-da-kar-ra may have been treated as separate entities in the sequence because its later format requires additions in groups of three. This could suggest that lu₂ lil₂-la₂ and ḡuruš lil₂-la₂ are not independent figures either; and in our series, ḡuruš, rather than lu₂, is the complement of ki-sikil.³¹²

It remains questionable whether Lilû and Lilîtu were consistently considered to be separate entities from Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî. The question deserves more detailed consideration elsewhere, particularly with regard to diagnostic texts, which mention Lilû and Lilîtu more frequently.³¹³

What is worth noting is that there is no known enumeration of all four Lilû-demons together. Outside the standardised sequence, where three demons are needed to complete an existing pattern, it seems more usual to put two Lilûs in gendered opposition with one another (Lilû/Lilîtu; Lilû/Ardat Lilî; Eṭel Lilî/Ardat Lilî). There is no known text passage, on the other hand, that contrasts two Lilûs based on the apparent differentiation by age (Lilîtu/Ardat Lilî; Lilû/Eṭel Lilî).

311 The Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 54716—published by Lambert (2002) 205f—contains an incantation that repeatedly references ki-sikil lil₂-la₂. It is too damaged to make sense of, and does not appear to relate to the present series, but contains the sequence of signs lu₂-ud-da-kar-ra. As the context is lost, it is unclear whether this should be interpreted as a phrase (lu₂ ud-da kar-ra), a demon name (lu₂-ud-da-kar-ra), or a combination of both (lu₂ ud-da-kar-ra).

312 We see further parallels between *lilû* and *eṭel lilî* in the very brief descriptions of *lilû* as an independent demon. As mentioned above, *Lamaštu* references *lilû* as a flying supernatural evil, and immediately after *Lamaštu* is compared to him, she is said to return to a woman every night (*Lamaštu* I 114–116). The series *udug ḡulu* mentions *lilû* in an enumeration of ghosts or revenants and speaks of him as “the Lilû-demon who has no bed” (*udug ḡulu* IV 131', translation Geller (2016)). While neither text passage is expansive, they suggest that the demon behaves essentially like a male version of Ardat Lilî.

313 See below, p. 105.

The following chapters will discuss that Eṭel and Ardat Lilî are defined not only by their gender, but also their youth. It is doubtful that adulthood is central to the conception of Lilû and Lilîtu: Lilîtu as an equivalent of ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ (“Young Woman Lilû”) in the standardised demon sequence suggests the opposite.

The basic concept of Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî

The most basic description of the two titular Lilû-demons of our series can be found within an enumeration of evil supernatural entities in the composition diġir ħulu:³¹⁴

Sumerian	Akkadian
ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ dam nu-tuku-a	ardat lilî ša muta lā īšû
the Young Woman Lilû who has no spouse	the Young Woman Lilû who has no husband
ḡuruš lil ₂ -la ₂ dam nu-tuku-a	eṭel lilî ša aššata lā aḫzu
the Young Man Lilû who has no spouse	the Young Man Lilû who is not married to a wife

The two figures—defined only by being unmarried—are listed among persons who have died an unhappy death or who received no burial.³¹⁵ Significantly, Ardat Lilî is mentioned first.

Although concise, these points are central to our understanding of Eṭel and Ardat Lilî, and underlie much of the present series. At their core, both demons are imagined as persons who once lived, but died in their youth before they could have a family of their own:

	Sumerian	Akkadian
II 1.16	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-tuku-a ... [the young woman] who had no [spous]e, had no child,	ardatu ša muta lā īšû mārā lā īšû ... the young woman who had no husband, had no son,
[...]		

³¹⁴ The transliteration is based on the manuscript K.156+ 103f, edited as zi-pad₃ I 103f in Borger (1969). Compare Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5 for the identification.

³¹⁵ K.156+ 95–108, edited as zi-pad₃ I 95–108 in Borger (1969)

II 1.19	[ki-sikil] ab-ta im-gen ₇ im-ma-ra-e ₃ [the young woman] was cast out through the window like the wind!	<i>Ardat Lilî ša kīma šāri ina apti šūšât</i> the Young Woman Lilû was cast out through the window like the wind!
II 1.20	[ki-sikil x x] du ₁₁ -ga ka-ta nu-ṣal ₂ - la [The young woman] whose spoken [...] through (her) mouth did not exist,	<i>ardatu ša eṭemmaša ina pî lā ibšû</i> The young woman whose ghost was not present in (her) mouth,
II 1.21	[ki-sikil g]ig-ga šag ₄ -ne ₂ ki-še ₃ ba- ab-tum ₂ -mu [the young woman] whose heartache brought her into the earth,	<i>ardatu ša muruṣ libbiša ana erṣeti ubluši</i> the young woman whose heartache carried her into the earth,
II 1.22	ki-sikil šu ^{d+} inanna-k[e ₄] gud ₃ -ta de ₆ -[a] the young woman [whom] the (disease) Hand o[f] Iṣtar carried out of the nest,	<i>ardatu ša qāt Iṣtar ina qinni urâšši</i> the young woman whom the (disease) Hand of Iṣtar brought out of the nest,
II. 1.23	ki-sikil eden-na d[aṣal-la] bar-ta niṣin-ni[ṣin-ne] the young woman who, from the periphery, is constantly roaming the wide wilderness, ...	<i>ardatu ša ina ṣēri rapši ina aḥāti issanaḥḥuru</i> the young woman who keeps roaming the wide wilderness from the periphery, ...

There is a deeper mythological reason why a young man or woman who died unmarried and without issue should return to haunt the living. The Mesopotamian netherworld was imagined to be a terrible place where the deceased entirely depended on their descendants' funerary offerings for nourishment. The more children one had, the better off one would be after death.³¹⁶ The unhappy fate of those who died without procreating is related in a conversation between the titular heroes in *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld*:³¹⁷

“‘Did you see the palace *eunuch*?’ ‘I saw him.’ ‘How does he fare?’

‘Like a useless *alala*-stick he is propped in a corner.’

‘Did you see the woman who had not given birth?’ ‘I saw her.’ ‘How does she fare?’

316 Groneberg (1990) 260.

317 *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 268–285.

‘Like a *defective* pot she is discarded with force, no man takes pleasure in her.’

‘Did you see the young man who had not bared the lap of his wife?’ ‘I saw him.’ ‘How does he fare?’

‘He is finishing a hand-worked rope, he weeps over that hand-worked rope.’

‘Did you see the young woman who had not bared the lap of her husband?’ ‘I saw her.’ ‘How does she fare?’

‘She is finishing a hand-worked reed mat, she weeps over the hand-worked reed mat.’”³¹⁸

The same conversation relates:³¹⁹

“‘Did you see the shade [gidim / *eṭemmu*] of him who has no one to make funerary offerings?’ ‘I saw him.’ ‘How does he fare?’

‘He eats scrapings (as) bread rations, a *stick* tossed away in the street.’”³²⁰

To add insult to injury, Ardat Lili³²¹ is described as unable to go into the netherworld: having been cast out through the window, her *eṭemmu* is not present in her mouth.³²² Consequently, it does not enter the earth when her material body is buried,³²³ but roams the outskirts of civilisation³²⁴—hence the epithet *ki-sikil eden-na*, “the young woman of the wilderness.”³²⁵

The Sumerian version of Inc. 3 details how, instead of being carried into the netherworld by Namtar alongside the rest of the departed,³²⁶ the young woman is carried into the

318 Translation George (2003) 775, b1–e2.

319 *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 292f.

320 Translation George (2003) 776, q1–q2.

321 The relevant lines in the *Eṭel Lili* incantation are unfortunately broken, but the preceding four lines of the prologue all have parallels in the prologue of Inc. 5. The last line before the gap parallels the last line before the description of Ardat Lili’s death and return cited above (see the commentary for the gap between text blocks I 1 and I 2). There is therefore no reason to assume that the mythological background of *Eṭel Lili* differed from that of Ardat Lili.

322 II 1.19f.

323 The respective purpose of material and immaterial part of the first human has been discussed many times; an overview of the debate can be found in Jiménez/Rozzi (2024) line 211. Following Bottéro, Veenhof has argued convincingly that the *eṭemmu*, the remnant of a slain god, was present in the first human so that humans would not be forgotten upon death—even when the material part (the human body made of clay) had decomposed in the earth from which it was taken. Like a god, the *eṭemmu* would be immortal and require sacrifices. Equally like a god, a disrespected *eṭemmu* could enact its vengeance by returning to haunt the living, guaranteeing that one’s descendants would not abandon one’s memory (compare Veenhof (1990) 185f; similarly, Groneberg (1990) 252–254).

324 II 1.23f.

325 For example in II 5.19, the incipit of Inc. 6.

326 I 7.5f.

wilderness by the wind and becomes a Lilû.³²⁷ From there, she is able to return to civilisation to hunt for a human spouse.

Eṭel Lilî as Ardat Lilî's masculine counterpart

The series' sole incantation dedicated to Eṭel Lilî presents him as a sort of afterthought to Ardat Lilî; an option to cover in the way that *Maqlû* generally assumes a witch to be a woman, but the ritual counters the actions of both male and female witches.³²⁸

The somewhat secondary nature of Eṭel Lilî can be observed in Ardat Lilî's precedence in the diṇir ḥulu incantation mentioned above. We can also see it in the relative room both demons take up in the series *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*: While the first incantation is devoted to Eṭel Lilî, the following five no longer mention him and appear to deal exclusively with Ardat Lilî. In terms of space, Inc. 1 takes up approximately 60 lines, while the Ardat Lilî incantations take up 180.

Textual parallels also indicate that Inc. 1 combines elements of all Ardat Lilî incantations to deal with Eṭel Lilî in a single ritual step:

Fig. 15: Content-parallels between Inc. 1 and the rest of the series

text passage	Inc. 1 (Eṭel Lilî)	Inc. 2*–6 (Ardat Lilî)
birth and nature of Eṭel Lilî	I 1.1–7	[Inc. 2?] ³²⁹
unmarried, childless state of Eṭel Lilî	I 1.8	Inc. 5, II 1.15 Inc. 6, II 6.6
virgin state of Eṭel Lilî	I 1.9f	Inc. 5, II 1.4f Inc. 6, II 5.23f
expulsion from the in-laws' house	I 1.11	Inc. 5, II 1.18
[death and demonic return]	[gap between text blocks I 1 and I 2]	Inc. 5, II 1.19–24 Inc 6, II 6.8
attack of the patient with	I 2.2–6	Inc. 4, I 7.20–22

327 I 7.4A.

328 Contrast *Maqlû* I 4f: *aššu kaššāptu ukaššipanni / elēnītu ubbiranni*, “Because a witch has bewitched me, a deceitful woman has accused me” with *ēpuš šalam kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, “I have made a figurine of my warlock and witch” in the same incantation, *Maqlû* I 15 (normalisation and translation Abusch (2016) 285).

329 As the following incantations' incipits deal with Ardat Lilî's death (Inc. 3), her return from the wilderness (Inc. 4), her attack of the patient (Inc. 5), and her continuous return (Inc. 6), the prologue of Inc. 2 would be expected to deal with similar themes as Eṭel Lilî I 1.1–7; however, as we are missing the incantation's entire prologue, this cannot be established conclusively.

accompanying demons		Inc. 6, II 6.9–13
Eṭel Lilî marries the patient	I 2.7–10	Inc. 6, II 6.14–16
Marduk sees the patient’s fate and asks Ea for help	[gap between text blocks I 2 and I 3]	[Inc. 2*, gap between text blocks I 4 and I 5] Inc. 5, II 2.5–II 3.1
Ea tells Marduk to fashion several figurines	[gap between text blocks I 2 and I 3]	Inc. 5, II 4.2
Ea tells Marduk to give the figurines travel provisions	I 3.1–5	Inc. 5, II 4.3–[gap between text blocks II 4 and II 5]
Ea tells Marduk to make the offerings for the dead	I 3.6	Inc. 5, II 5.9
Ea tells Marduk to place the figurines to face the setting sun and surround them with a <i>zisurrû</i>	I 3.7f	Inc. 2*, II 5.3f Inc. 5, II 5.8
Eṭel Lilî is made to swear the oath of the great gods to leave the patient	I 3.9	Inc. 5, II 5.11–13
Eṭel Lilî is adjured to not return to the house	I 3.10–4.8	Inc. 3, I 7.8–13
call for the patient to be pure	I 4.8	Inc. 5, II 5.16

Except for Inc. 2*, of which only 4 fully legible lines³³⁰ survive, each of the Ardat Lilî incantations is demonstrably represented by at least one theme in the Eṭel Lilî incantation that does not occur elsewhere in the series. Adjurations protecting specific parts of the house are only cast in Inc. 3; to understand why more than one demon takes the hands and feet of the patient one needs to refer to Inc. 4; offerings for the dead are made in Inc. 5, and the “marriage” of the demon and the patient is only described in Inc. 6.

Particularly the attack of unnamed demons on the patient in the Eṭel Lilî incantation is telling. The scene is parallel to Ardat Lilî taking over the patient in Inc. 6, which builds on an image that was established earlier in the series by Inc. 4: the evil Utukku and Alû, whom Ardat Lilî has brought back with her from the wilderness, taking up position at both sides of the patient.

The image is not exclusive to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*; we also find it in an udug ḫulu incantation with a number of other similarities. However, the latter does not have plural

330 I 5.2–4, I 7.1.

agents taking over the patients' two hands and feet: the evil supernatural entity addressed by the udug ḫulu incantation is adjured to not take over the patient's head, hand, and foot (in that order).³³¹ The plural forms are *only* present in the Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî incantations Inc. 1 and Inc. 6, *only* with reference to hands and feet, and can *only* be explained by the use of the same theme in Inc. 4.

This is no issue at all in Inc. 6, which comes after Inc. 4. But it does mean that the understanding of the Eṭel Lilî incantation hinges on the Ardat Lilî parts of the series, even though the former precedes it in the Ninevite text. In other words, the Eṭel Lilî incantation depends on the Ardat Lilî incantations, not vice versa.

Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî as multiple possible figures

Both the incantation against Eṭel Lilî and the incantations against Ardat Lilî aim to expel the titular demon from a patient they only describe as an anonymous man.

The Eṭel Lilî incantation calls him “the man” (lu₂)³³² or “the young man—the man, son of his god” ([ḡuruš u₁₈]-lu [dumu diṅir-r]a-na / eṭlu awēlu mār ilišu).³³³ The Ardat Lilî incantations speak of “the patient” ((lu₂) tu-ra / maršu)³³⁴ or “the man” (lu₂-u₁₈-lu / awēlu).³³⁵ For most of the Eṭel and Ardat Lilî parts of the series, the patient is only represented by pronouns: masculine in the Akkadian, singular human in the Sumerian.³³⁶

Foster's partial translation of the Eṭel Lilî incantation gives the impression that it describes Eṭel Lilî attacking a woman.³³⁷ This is demonstrably not the case, as here, too, the patient is referred to as “the (young) man.” However, a passage in the Akkadian version of Inc. 1 does give a somewhat misleading impression:

I 2.7B	ma-ru ru-be ₂ -e ʾa-na-ku iq-bi-išʾ	“I am a son of princes,” he said to h(im).
I 2.8B	KUG.BABBAR KUG.GI su-un-ʾkaʾ u ₂ - ʾmalʾ-lu	“They will fill your (masc.) lap with silver and gold!

331 The relevant lines are udug ḫulu iv, 179'–181'. The order head—hand—foot is also noteworthy, as it is the usual sequence of body parts in *āšipūtu*: progressing from the top of the body to the feet.

332 I 2.10.

333 I 4.8. The full line reads [ḡuruš u₁₈]-lu [dumu diṅir-r]a-na [ḡe₂-en-kug ḡe₂-en-s]ikil ḡe₂-en-dad]ag / eṭlu awēlu mār ilišu līlil lībib lim[mir], “The young man—the man, son of his god—shall be clean, he shall be pure, he shall be radiant!”—it is therefore clear that the patient, and not Eṭel Lilî, is meant.

334 II 2.5–7A, II 5.13, II 7.2. II 2.5–7A is equated to *awēlu* in the Akkadian version.

335 II 2.12, II 3.6, II 5.15f.

336 I 2.3–8B in Eṭel Lilî; I 7.13–14B, I 7.20–22B, I 7.28–29B, II 2.8–10B, II 6.12–15B.

337 Foster (1996) 855.

I 2.9B	<i>at-ta 'lu¹-u₂ as₂-ša₂-tu₂ ana-ku lu-u₂ mu-ut-ka 'iq¹-bi-ši</i>	“You (masc.) shall be the wife, I shall be your (masc.) husband!” he said to her .
I 2.10B	<i>ki-ma i-ni-ib ki-ri-i ana ša-a-ši la-'le-e¹ u₂-lal-li-ši</i>	Like a fruit of the orchard he endowed her well.
I 2.11B	<i>LU₂ 'ra-ma¹-[an-šu₂ ...]</i>	The man [... his] self [...]

In I 2.9–10B, where Eṭel Lilî addresses the patient (represented up until then by masculine or gender-neutral pronouns) as his wife, the pronouns referring to the patient are briefly feminine.

The problem does not so much pertain to the identity of the patient—“the man” in the following line and everywhere else in Inc. 1—but to Akkadian grammatical gender. Sumerian does not differentiate between masculine or feminine forms, so there is no difference in gender between the word for “spouse” (dam) and the pronouns and infixes used for said spouse (singular human).

The Akkadian either resolves this conflict by intentionally changing the patient’s pronouns to feminine ones after Eṭel Lilî has turned him into his wife by declaration, or is confused by the word *aššatu* and the exclusively masculine forms surrounding it. As most of the pronouns referring to the patient in I 2.9B are masculine, the intentional gender transformation seems more likely.

Irrespective of what the case may be, the patient reverts to anonymous masculinity in the following line (and, in a less broken context, in I 4.8, where the incantation culminates in a call for “the young man—the man, son of his god” to be pure).

As outlined above, the incantation against Eṭel Lilî compiles elements of all Ardat Lilî incantations into a single, reduced ritual narrative. This opens up two possibilities—that the Eṭel Lilî incantation is adapted to a female patient, as suggested in the partial translations, or that both Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî were countered by a single, complex ritual. Since the gender of the unnamed patient is uniform throughout, the former option can be discarded: *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* appears to be composed with a single patient in mind.

This means that Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî were imagined as attacking humans regardless of their gender. The proportionally much greater space afforded to Ardat Lilî by the series indictates that Ardat Lilî was assumed to be the more likely culprit. Yet, clearly, this does not mean the demons could not affect humans of their own gender. We also see this spelled out at the beginning of the Akkadian version of Inc. 6:

II 5.19B	<i>Ardatu ša bīt zaqīqī ana ardati ina apti ittanurru</i>	The Young Woman whom the house of the spirits has repeatedly sent back to the young woman through the window,
II 5.20B	<i>Ardat Lilî ša ina apti bīti ana awēli iṣruru</i>	The Young Woman Lilû, who seeps through the window of the house towards the man, (...)

That the series provided for multiple potential attackers is equally visible in the prologues of Incs. 1, 5, and 6. All three begin with a long text passage that describes Eṭel or Ardat Lilî as “the young man/woman who (...),” and many of these descriptions are mutually exclusive.

For example, both Eṭel and Ardat Lilî are referred to as “the young man/woman who did not have a spouse” (I 1.8 for Eṭel Lilî; II 1.14 and II 6.5 for Ardat Lilî). Yet the longer and more completely preserved text passages dealing with Ardat Lilî also describe her as “the young woman who was deprived of her husband” (II 1.17 and II 6.4) and “the young woman who was deprived of her husband in her private quarters” (II 1.13). Although Ardat Lilî is “the young woman who was not penetrated like an adult woman” (II 1.2) and “the young woman who had no child” (II 1.16), she is also “the young woman who was deprived of her child” (II 1.17 and II 6.4) and “the young woman whose breast had no milk, but produced noxious water” (II 1.7 and II 5.26).

The ritual actions against Eṭel and Ardat Lilî deal with multiple Eṭel and Ardat Lilîs, too. In the Marduk-Ea dialogues of Inc. 5, Ea advises Marduk to fashion not one, but *seven* figurines of Ardat Lilî (II 4.2). The ritual steps are taken against all seven Ardat Lilîs, although only one (presumably the unknown Ardat Lilî who was tormenting the patient) is verbally adjured to go back to where she belongs (II 5.14). The Eṭel Lilî incantation, too, talks of several figurines (I 3.8, although the precise number is lost), but directly addresses just one demon (I 3.9).

This means that Ardat Lilî and Eṭel Lilî were not understood as one specific supernatural entity, but a number of unknown supernatural actors who acted in the same manner. Considering they were imagined as deceased humans with no one to provide for their ghosts, this is logical; the idea can be fulfilled in a variety of different ways, and there was surely more than one person in Mesopotamian history who died young and without issue.

The effect of Ardat Lilî on the patient is portrayed as the same no matter whether she became Ardat Lilî by not having penetrative sex or by being unable to lactate. She takes control of his entire body, makes him ill and miserable, and threatens his life:

II 2.7A	t[u-ra s]a ₇ -alan-be ₂ tug ₂ -gen ₇ ʾbi ₂ ¹ -in-dul	Regarding the patient—she has covered his features like a garment.
II 2.8A	ugu-na dur ₂ -a ḡissu-na bi ₂ -in- [šū ₂]-šū ₂	Sitting on his head, she kept covering his shadow,
II 2.9A	su-be ₂ a-ḡe ₆ -a-g[en ₇] ʾmu-un- du ₇ ¹ -[du ₇]	[against his] body she kept crashing like a wave,
II 2.10A	a ₂ -šū-ḡiri ₃ -b[e ₂] b[i ₂ -i]n-da ² -a- [x] ba ² -ab ² -x-[...]	his extremities, which she [...], she [...].
II 2.11A	ud ba-ʾda-an-er ₂ -ra ¹ ḡi ₆ ba-da- an-er ₂ -ra	As he was crying about it by day, as he was crying about it by night,
II 2.12A	lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu dumu diḡir-ra-na zi- ne ₂ -ta ^{u2} NUMUN ₂ -am ₃ [x]-ʾx ¹ - [x]-bur ₂ -re [^{u2} NUMUN ₂]-am ₃ [x x x z]i ₂ -e	the man, the son of his god—she [t]ears [him] from his life like (<i>a rush</i>), she [pluc]ks [him] like [(<i>a rush</i>)]!

Both demons’ initial attacks on the patient are described as a sort of marriage proposal. The better preserved version deals with Eṭel Lilî and was already cited above in Akkadian.

I 2.7A	dumu nun-na ḡa ₂ -ʾe ¹ -me-en ba- ni-ʾin-du ₁₁ ¹	“I am the son of a prince,” he said to him about it.
I 2.8A	kug-sig ₁₇ kug-babbar ur ₂ -zu ba- ni-ʾin ¹ -si	“He (the prince) will fill your lap with gold and silver!
I 2.9A	dam-ḡu ₁₀ ḡe ₂ -me-en ḡa ₂ -e dam- zu ḡe ₂ -a mu-ʾun ¹ -na-ab-be ₂	“You shall be my spouse—I shall be your spouse!” he says to him.
I 2.10A	gurun ^{ḡeš} kiri ₆ -gen ₇ niḡ ₂ -la-la im- mi-in-ḡar	Like fruits of the orchard he provided him with possessions.

The demon treats the patient as his bride. He offers the patient riches, declares the patient to be his spouse, and then delivers on his promises in a line that plays with its dual senses—Eṭel Lilî assigns his new spouse property of her own, or provides the spouse with sexual pleasure.

The respective line in the Ardat Lilî parallel does not have the sexual dimension, instead describing her as a wife bringing valuable property of her own into her husband's household upon marriage.³³⁸

II 6.14B	[<i>mārat rubê i</i>]qbiš[u]	[“I am the daughter of a prince,” s]he said to hi[m].
II 6.15B	[<i>lū aššatka[?] a</i>]‘nāku ¹ [<i>lū mutu[?]</i>] ‘attā ¹ <i>mi</i> [<i>i</i>]qbišu	“I [<i>shall be your wife—</i>] you [<i>shall be the husband!</i> ” she s]aid to him.
II 6.16B	[<i>kaspa</i>] u <i>hurāša</i> [<i>ina q</i>]anniša [<i>irt</i>]akas	[She ha]s knotted [silver] and gold [into] her hem.

The social positions of demon and patient have been reversed, with the patient treated as the husband.³³⁹ As a husband would not have received valuable gifts from his young bride, but only from her family, her riches are described in the terms of a woman receiving personal property: they are “knotted into her hem.”³⁴⁰

As noted above, demon and patient need not necessarily be of opposite genders. Ritual series do not tend to refer to any individual patient by name; instead, they employ anonymous terms like “the man, son of his god” that could easily be adapted to any practical application. We know, however, that the masculine gender of this imaginary anonymous patient does not dictate ritual practice.

One of the few instances in which we have both an anonymised ritual tablet with instructions and an amulet fashioned for a named individual patient based on the instructions is an amulet against fever published by Finkel.³⁴¹ The ritual tablet providing the amulet's incantation refers to the patient as *annanna mār annanna* (“so-and-so, son of so-and-so”),³⁴² yet the amulet was made for a woman called Bāba-ētirat, daughter of Bānitay.³⁴³

The series itself indicates that Ardat Lilî attacked young women as well as men, and Eṭel Lilî was perfectly capable of choosing a man as his wife. Accordingly, there is no particular reason to assume that “the man” *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* intends to save from the titular demons was anything more than a generically masculine placeholder.

338 Only the Akkadian version is cited below, as the Sumerian column is almost entirely missing.

339 Interestingly, he is *made* to take her as a wife in the Akkadian version, with an otherwise unattested D-stem of *aḥāzu*; see commentary for II 6.9B.

340 See commentary for II 6.16.

341 Finkel (2018) Amulet 1.

342 Finkel (2018) 253, rev. 9–11.

343 Finkel (2018) 239, Amulet 1, 2f.

The complexity of Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî

Eṭel and Ardat Lilî have been compared to the much younger Western demons incubus and succubus.³⁴⁴ This focuses on the sexual aspect of the Lilû-demons, which—as noted—is indeed prominent in the series. Frans Wiggermann described them as follows:

“*Lilîtu* (also *Ardat Lilî*), the “Spectre(-Damsel)”, and her male counterpart *Lilû*, “Spectre,” form a sub-class of dissatisfied ghosts, the souls of those who died in a state of virginity and never knew the pleasures of love-making and family life. Trying to make up for their unsatisfactory lives, they visit the living at night, and select a mate: *Lilîtu* is a succuba, and *Lilû* an incubus.”³⁴⁵

Yet, although the series’ depiction of Ardat Lilî is certainly rooted in a patriarchal view of women as potential sexual partners and mothers, the possible origins of Ardat Lilî offer a more complex picture of youth and femininity.

Ultimately, it is her “sickness of the heart” (or “distress”)—šag₄ gig-ga / *muṣ libbi*—that brings about her early death (II 1.21, II 6.8). In listing the various things that may have caused a young woman distress, the series gives us an inverted image of how it envisaged a satisfactory life for a young woman. Within the theme of sexuality, the incantations not only mention a young woman who remains unmarried or a virgin, but also one who received no pleasure from sex with her husband (II 1.4, II 5.23) or whose desire was left unsatisfied by a young man’s lack of passion for her (II 1.8).

Outside the themes of sexuality, marriage, and motherhood, there are a range of causes for a young woman’s distress:

	Sumerian column	Akkadian column
II 1.9	the young woman who had no private quarters, who was named “non-	the young woman who had no private quarters, whom they did not call the

³⁴⁴ Patai (1968) 207; Wiggermann (1983) 99; Farber (1987–1990) 24 notes this regular comparison without employing it himself.

³⁴⁵ Wiggermann (2000) 227.

	mother”,	name “mother,”
II 1.10	[the young woman] whose [chee]k was soured in dejection,	the young woman who has spoiled (her) cheeks by dejection,
II 1.11	[the young woma]n who was not happy with the (other) young women,	the young woman who was not happy with the (other) young women,
II 1.12	[the young woman] <whom> (nobody) saw at the [festiv]al of her city, [...] <who> did not raise [...] towards its [...], (...))	the young woman who was not seen at the festival of her city, who does not lift (her) eyes, (...))

Here, the incantation also considers a young woman without privacy, one that was depressed, one that did not enjoy herself with her peers, or one who did not take part in the public life of her hometown.

Nor are these themes unique to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. An Old Babylonian incantation against Ardat Lilî contrasts her with other girls:

“They (Pl. fem.) have time to play, play day by day, jump about *in exuberance*, the street echoes with their screams.”³⁴⁶

The less expansive prologue of the *Eṭel Lilî* incantation also contains a number of lines that are unrelated to virginity or the lack of wife or child:³⁴⁷

I 1.1B	[eṭlu ša ina s]ūqi šaqummiš [ēdiš]šišu ittanaššabu	[A young man who] sits [on his] own [in the s]treet in absolute silence,
I 1.2B	[e]ṭlu ša ina qāt Namtarišu maršiš inuqqu	a [young] man who groans like a sick man in the clutch of his personal fate,
I 1.3B	eṭlu ša ina šīmtišu šaqummatu raksat	the young man in whose destiny absolute silence is bound,
I 1.4B	eṭlu ša ina sūq bikīti ummašu uldušu	the young man whose mother bore him on a mourning street,
I 1.5B	eṭlu ša nissatu zumuršu iṣrupu	the young man whose body was fired by sadness,
I 1.6B	eṭlu ša ilšu 'lemni'[š i]kmûšu	the young man whose god [cap]tured him [as] if (the young man was) evil,

³⁴⁶ Translation Farber (1989) 17. Original (German) translation: “Sie (Pl. fem.) haben Zeit zum Spielen, spielen Tag für Tag, springen *im Überschwang* herum; von ihrem Geschrei hallt die Straße wider.”

³⁴⁷ Too much of the Sumerian column is lost for it to be helpful, so only the Akkadian text is cited below.

Eṭel Lilî, too, is not reduced to virginity or a lack of wife or child. He is described as intrinsically doomed—something we also see in the Ardat Lilî incantation Inc. 3—, a child from an unhappy background, depressed, or isolated before the text moves on to the familiar themes of being a virgin, unmarried or without issue.

Are Eṭel and Ardat Lilî demons?

What the descriptions of Eṭel and Ardat Lilî also demonstrate is a certain blurring of the line between beings we would describe as ghost and demon.

The difficulty—if not to say futility—of defining “demons” as an emic category in Mesopotamia has only recently been discussed by Gina Konstantopoulos.³⁴⁸ The trouble is precisely that “demon” is *not* an emic category. Neither Akkadian nor Sumerian have a word for “demon” that is not itself the name of a specific supernatural entity.³⁴⁹ We can see a system that encompasses evil supernatural entities in the standardised demon list above; but here, too, individual beings are named to indicate the whole, rather than subsumed under a catch-all term.

They have similarities; and if supernatural beings that harm humans are meant, an enumeration can indicate them. Yet they also have differences that would distinguish them if we were to try and separate them into “divinities” or “demons” or “witches” or “ghosts.” Some of them are sometimes written with the divine determinative (such as Utukku or Lamaštu); some of them are not. Some of them have once been human (or, in the case of witches, are still human to at least a degree);³⁵⁰ some of them are not. This is unproblematic in *āšipūtu*, which does not try to separate them into named categories in the first place.

Ardat Lilî and Eṭel Lilî are not ghosts in the Mesopotamian sense of the word *gidim* / *eṭemmu*. They are not referred to as such, we have seen them listed alongside the Eṭemmu

³⁴⁸ Konstantopoulos (2023) 13–22.

³⁴⁹ The terms *udug* / *utukku* or *gal₅-la₂* / *gallû* are sometimes translated to simply “demon”—see for instance Geller’s translation of the *udug* ḫul *Forerunners* line 381 “Whatever demon [udug] of the highway, whatever demon [udug] of the crossroad” in Geller (2016) 381, or “My companion has become a wretch [*lemnu*] and a devil [*gallû*]” in Lambert/Gurney (1954) 73 line 85. However, both are individual evil entities that can act in their own right and are mentioned alongside demons like Lamaštu and Ardat Lilî in the standardised demon list, see above, p. 7f. The use of the *udug* / *utukku* in particular to designate “demon” generically is discussed in Geller (2011a) 336.

³⁵⁰ That witches, too, had a “demonic” aspect (at least by the 1st millennium) has been demonstrated in Abusch (1989) 39–47.

(or types of Eṭemmus) within *āšipūtu*; Ardat Lilî is even described as having an Eṭemmu of her own (*eṭemmaša* in II 1.20B). They are ghosts in the modern sense that they are described as young people who once lived, died, and returned to haunt the living in an incorporeal form.

Nor are Eṭel and Ardat Lilî intrinsically “demonic” in the way that Lamaštu or the evil Utukku—who have never been human—are. Yet they are described as different from ordinary humans from birth, are enumerated alongside intrinsically “demonic” beings like Lamaštu and Utukku, and can be countered by means (figurines, *zisurrûs*, incantations) that were also employed against Lamaštu and Utukku. If they act and are countered like demons, it makes sense to describe them as such in English; we must bear in mind that “having once been human” and “being a supernatural evil” are not mutually exclusive within Mesopotamian cosmology.

In modern terms, Eṭel Lilî and Ardat Lilî can be described as ghosts (spirits of the dead) and demons (harmful supernatural entities that are neither divine nor human). We can compare them to the Western concept of succubus and incubus (in that they attempt to mate with humans and are gendered). In Mesopotamian terms, they are none of the above; they are Lilûs.

On the other hand, a complete avoidance of modern terminology is not only inaccessible to non-specialist; it also falsely implies that modern terms present the reader with clear categories. A look at the usage of the English term “ghost” is enough to shatter the assumption. Surely, the Bible’s Holy Ghost and the ghosts in the 1984 movie *Ghostbusters* are quite different, and both entirely distinct from non-corporeal manifestations of deceased people; and yet an English language speaker has no problem using the word “ghost” in all these contexts.

As Konstantopoulos pointed out: it is simpler “to explain what demons *do*, rather than what demons *are*.”³⁵¹

The diagnosis of a case of Eṭel or Ardat Lilî

It has been discussed above that Eṭel and Ardat Lilî look for a human they can mate with, an act described in terms of a marriage between demon and patient.³⁵²

351 Konstantopoulos (2023) 13.

352 I 2.7–10; II 6.14–16.

This is partially reflected in the symptoms that are associated with the demons in diagnostic texts. For instance, four diagnoses of patients affected by Ardat Lilî in the *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* give the following disease pattern:

1. *šumma muḥḥašu [inâš?] qaqqassu iḥammassu libbašu ittanaššī kīma ša ana muḥḥi sinništi imqutu nīš libbi iraššī qāt Ardat lilî*—“[If] the top of his head [shakes], his head burns, he continually has sexual desires, (and) like one who lays himself down on top of a woman, he has an erection, ‘hand’ of Ardat lilî.”³⁵³
2. *[šumma muḥḥašu] kal mūši? [mithāriš?] inâš libbašu ittanaššīšu majjālšu ittanassukšu kīma ša ana muḥḥi sinništi imqutu nīš libbi iraššī qāt Ardat lilî* —“[If the top of his head] continually shakes all [night? long], he continually has sexual desires, and the bedding is continually turned around him, (and) like one who lays himself down on top of a woman, he has an erection, ‘hand’ of Ardat lilî.”³⁵⁴
3. *šumma ina qablīti ša šibtu iṣṣanabbassu enūma iṣabbassu qātāšu u šēpāšu kašâ magal ūteteṭṭe pīšu ipteneṭṭe ināšu sāmā u arqā qablāšu ittanaddi qāt Ardat lilî* “If that which afflicts continually afflicts him during the middle watch of the night (and) when it afflicts him his hands and his feet are cold, he has become darkened (i.e., passed out), he continually opens his mouth, his face flushes and turns pale, (and) he continually lets his hips drop, ‘hand’ of Ardat lilî. If it is prolonged, he will die (var. for a woman, a *lilû*; for a man, a *lilītu*).”³⁵⁵
4. *šumma kišassu itarrak qaqqassu imtanaqqut qātāšu u šēpāšu ittanašgagā u ana qaqqaru uḥannaš Ardat lilî šabtassu* “If his neck throbs, his head continually falls (i.e., he lets his head drop), his hands and feet are continually stiff, and he humps the ground, Ardat lilî afflicts him.”³⁵⁶

353 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* III 12. Normalisation Schmidtchen (2021) 257 line 12, translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 273, 12.73.

354 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* III 13. Normalisation Schmidtchen (2021) 257 line 13, translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 273, 12.74.

355 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* XXVI 45'–47'. Normalisation from the transliteration in Heeßel (2000) 282, translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 445, 19.59.

356 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* X 8. Normalisation Schmidtchen (2021) 441 line 8, translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 96, 4.30. The translation has been changed to better accommodate the verb *ḥanāšu*. Scurlock and Schmidtchen both translate *u ana qaqqaru uḥannaš* with “and he rubs (them) on the ground” (in Schmidtchen’s case tentatively); however, the usual meaning of the verb is “to rub (said of male animals, as part of the body),” see CAD (1956), s. v. *hanāšu*. Considering this is written in a series of diagnoses that recall seizures (compare *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* X lines 7, 9, 10, 11,

While the translation “he continually has sexual desires” is not entirely certain,³⁵⁷ the symptoms of 1. and 2. have a clear sexual connotation. In both cases, Ardat Lilî is depicted as returning to the patient every night, and her “bridal” presence is assumed to be the reason for his arousal. In the third, the sexual element of Ardat Lilî’s attack may have been suggested by the constant jerking of the man’s hips during the night, but the described symptoms are more diverse; the attribution of the illness to Ardat Lilî may be largely based on the nightly recurrence of the symptoms.

Moreover, the diagnosis of Ardat Lilî is not limited to symptoms with a sexual connotation:

1. *šumma tem[šu nakir am]ātūšu itteneprekkâ ețemmu mušamšû ișšabassu [...]*
Ardat lilî šumma lilû. “If [his] mentation [is altered] (and) his words hinder each other in his mouth, a ghost wandering by night has seized him [... alternatively:] *Ardat lilî* or *lilû*.”³⁵⁸
2. *šumma murussu irrub u ușši pardiš iddanabbub qāt Ardat lilî* “If his illness enters and leaves (and when his confusional state comes over him), he continually talks in a frightful manner, ‘hand’ of *Ardat lilî*.”³⁵⁹

Notably, none of the many diagnoses studied in Scurlock/Andersen (2005) mention Ețel Lilî. Conversely, mentions of Lilû and Lilîtu—so rare in descriptive literary texts—abound. The variant in one of the lines quoted above, which instead of Ardat Lilî diagnoses Lilû for a male and Lilîtu for a female patient,³⁶⁰ may strengthen the argument that Ețel Lilî and Ardat Lilî are fundamentally interchangeable with Lilû and Lilîtu. This, however, would require a more detailed study of references of Lilû and Lilîtu than the scope of the present dissertation allows.

12), and considering the lack of a pronoun denoting the patient’s hands and feet as the direct object, the usual intransitive use of *hanāšu* D (literally “to rub against sth.,” translated above as “to hump” for clarity, always constructed with *ana* as here) in the sexual meaning seems justified. Note the similar understanding in Labat (1951) 81 line 12: “si, à même le sol, il s’assouvît (?)” with fn. 156.

357 Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 732 n. 63. Schmidtchen translates “his stomach continually rises,” but notes the alternative “sexual desire rises within him”—see Schmidtchen (2021) 257 line 12f with n. 32f.

358 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* XXII 51f. Normalisation based on transliterations in Heeßel (2000) 255 and Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 435, 19.22; translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 435, 19.22.

359 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* XVII 40. Normalisation based on transliteration in Heeßel (2000) 199; translation Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 338, 13.265.

360 *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series* XXVI 45’–47’ (Heeßel (2000) 282) from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 445, 19.59.

One of the Lilû/Lilîtu diagnoses must be mentioned, as it has interesting implications for the question of whether male Lilû-demons were often thought to affect men:

šumma ina šallūtīšu iṣabbassuma šābissuma ipallas irehḫišumma ramānšu imašši kīma ša idkûšu iparrud ittenebbi : enūma iddekûšu reḫi qāt lilû sarru ana sinniṣti lilû ittenebbi “If it afflicts him in his sleep and he gazes at the ones who afflict him, it flows over him and he forgets himself, he shudders like one whom they have awakened (and) he can still get up (var. when they try to wake him, he is drenched), false ‘hand’ of *lilû*. For a woman, (it is) a *lilû*; she can get up (afterward).”³⁶¹

The illness is caused by a Lilû if the patient is a woman. Yet the same illness may also be present in a man. Scurlock translates the name of the man’s disease (“ŠU LIL₂.LA₂.EN.NA sar-ru”) as “false ‘hand’ of *lilû*,” Nils Heeßel chose “hand of a criminal Lilû-demon.”³⁶² While the latter is more accurate (the masculine adjective *sarru* matches Lilû rather than the feminine noun *qātu*, “hand”), a combination of the two translations—“Hand of a false Lilû”—is perhaps preferable. The man is certainly diseased (as it is not the “hand” that is false), and the diagnosis is the same as that for a woman with the same symptoms. The subsumption under the same entry strongly suggests that the treatment of the disease would be the same. The terminological difference is that the man is not affected by an ordinary Lilû, but seized by a fraudulent one.

Summary

What we have seen above is that Eṭel and Ardat Lilî are spirits of the dead which, instead of departing into the netherworld, lead a demonic existence on the fringes of the civilised world. A young man or woman could turn into Eṭel or Ardat Lilî in several ways, largely (but not exclusively) related to dying childless, unmarried, or a virgin.

The conception of both demons is connected to Mesopotamian cosmology, in which the spirits of departed humans lead an unpleasant existence in a barren netherworld unless they are nourished by their descendents’ offerings. As persons who died young and without

³⁶¹ *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series XXVI* 48’–49’. Normalisation based on the transliteration in Heeßel (2000) 282; translation adapted from Scurlock/Andersen (2005) 272, 12.71. The word “groggy” has been substituted by “drenched” here (as *rehû* does not denote tiredness).

³⁶² Heeßel (2000) 289, 48’–49’.

issue would have had nobody to provide these offerings, they were liable to become displeased with the living. This would have become particularly dangerous if they were not trapped in the realm of the departed.

Therefore, Eṭel and Ardat Lilî were imagined as returning through the window to mate with humans—usually, but not necessarily, humans of the opposite gender. A person who was thought to have been picked as Ardat Lilî's spouse became sick—often, but not always, presenting symptoms that suggested nightly sexual activity with an invisible entity to the diagnostician.

The purpose of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*

It has at various times, starting with Delitzsch, been suggested that *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* served educational purposes. This is, of course, a concept that requires definition, since, in some sense, the entire genre of *āšipūtu* served educational purposes. However, a number of scholars³⁶³ have suggested that the series was in some way special—partly owing to the early theory that it was used for instruction in the Sumerian language. In the following, the arguments in favour of this view will be considered with a view of refuting them.

Ritual content in Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî

The two central methods of communicating practical ritual information seen above in the ritual *Lamaštu*—rubrics and a Ritual Tablet—are entirely absent from the surviving *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* material. The rubrics contain no more than the name of the demon the preceding incantations counter, and no Ritual Tablet has been discovered to date.³⁶⁴

Irrespective of this, a significant part of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* consists of ritual instructions. They are not communicated directly to the ritual professional, however; each is part of an incantation's narrative, integrated into a Marduk-Ea dialogue.

The Marduk-Ea incantation format is an ancient part of Mesopotamian magic and can be traced as far back as the Early Dynastic Period in the 3rd millennium BCE, when Sumerian was still a living language.³⁶⁵ Its most common form, as studied by Falkenstein (1931), is that a supernatural problem is narrated, Asalluḫi/Marduk takes notice, approaches his father Enki/Ea, asks him for help, and receives instructions for the ritual in return. The narrative prologue begins with a present-tense description of the offending demon's general mythical background and moves into a past-tense description of the demon having attacked the specific patient in question; in the dialogue between Marduk and Ea, the beginning of the prologue is quoted to indicate that Marduk repeats it to his father. Ea then explains the right course of action to Marduk in verbs that use the relative anteriority prefix {u} ("after you have done X, Y, Z") and culminate in imperfective calls for the positive outcome of the ritual ("... (then) the patient shall be pure!"). In its entirety, the formula offers a literary legitimisation of the act of magic that is simultaneously put into practice by the *āšipu*, and each part is both grammatically and functionally relevant to the whole. The

363 Bezold (1886) 317; Meißner (1920) 49. Partially or tentatively, Falkenstein (1931) 4; Geller (1988) 7 fn. 5.

364 Geller (2016) 5f.

365 George (2016) 2.

format was so well-known that shorter incantations can condense its formula into a few words to indicate what is meant.³⁶⁶

Ea's ritual instructions to Marduk use an otherwise rare type of verbal construction beginning with the Sumerian prefix {u}. The prefix indicates its relative anteriority to the incantation-final calls for the positive consequences of the ritual ("After you have done X, Y, and Z—the patient *will/shall* be pure!").³⁶⁷ This makes them extremely easy to recognise in even the most broken incantations, and serves our present purpose: although none of the ritual's longer incantations that use the Marduk-Ea theme (Incs. 1, 2*, 5, and 6) are fully preserved, it can always clearly be determined whether a text fragment contains ritual instructions or not.

Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî according to its Marduk-Ea ritual instructions

1. Inc. 1: en₂ ĩuruš sila sig₃-ga... ("Inc.: The young man in the street in absolute silence...")

The introduction to the Marduk-Ea instructions (Marduk's approach of Ea and his repetition of the prologue) is lost in the gap between text blocks I 2 and I 3. Alongside it, we are also missing the first ritual instructions Ea gives; but as the ritual instructions deal with a plural of objects, we can assume that, analogously to Inc. 5, Marduk is to begin by fashioning several (probably 7) statues of Eṭel Lilî.

The first preserved instructions already contain a significant difference between Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the text. The Sumerian instructions in I 3.2–4A tell Marduk to dress one person—whom we may assume to be the patient—in a belt and sandals, and provide him with a tied leather bag. I 3.5A instructs to tie a bag of gold and silver to the fringes of *their* (the figurines') clothes; then *he*, the patient, is to lay out the offerings for the dead in the wilderness at Marduk's behest (I 3.6A). In I 3.7–8A, Marduk is told to place something (analogously to Inc. 2* and 5 as well as the figurine ritual in *Lamaštu*, we may assume the statues) at the base of a u₂-ĩiri₃-bush to face the setting sun and surround them with a magic flour drawing (*zisurrû*). Then, the incantation quotes an adjuration (the conditions Marduk is required to make the offending demon swear to) against Eṭel Lilî verbatim. This (3.10–4.7A) is interpolated into the usual Marduk-Ea pattern—breaking its

³⁶⁶ Falkenstein (1931) 45–66.

³⁶⁷ Falkenstein (1931) 58f and 62.

grammatical formula to indicate that it is not yet the consequence of the ritual instructions, but a spell quoted within them. It adjures Eṭel Lilî to leave the patient, no longer cross the patient's threshold, and remove himself from the civilised parts of the world.³⁶⁸

This short spell within the incantation is followed by the incantation-final theme that complete the formula with the (grammatical and functional) consequence of the ritual instructions: “[*after* all this is done], the young man, son of his god, shall be clean, he shall be pure, he shall be radiant!”

2. **Inc. 2*** (incipit not preserved)

Most of this incantation (including the entire prologue and the introduction to the Marduk-Ea formula) is currently still missing. The three well-preserved lines of the Sumerian column of text block I 5 (2–4A) contain instructions for Marduk to tie white hair and black hair around the head of one person (the patient, or a single Ardat Lilî figurine?) and turn *them* (several figurines’, or a mistake in the Sumerian for a single Ardat Lilî figurine?) to face the setting sun. Then, another spell directed at the demon (“I have made you swear the oath of the great gods, you shall go away!”) is quoted, and the text breaks.³⁶⁹ A few badly preserved ritual instructions in the following text block (I 6.1–5A) mention one or more figurines and goats’ hair. In analogy to Inc. 5, we could perhaps suggest that differently coloured goats’ hair is supposed to be hung over the figurine’s (or figurines’?) arm, but too little is left of the relevant lines for certainty.

3. **Inc. 3: en₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra... (“Inc.: The young woman, when he carried her off today...”)**

A short incantation that does not use the Marduk-Ea formula and adjures Ardat Lilî to stay away from the patient, and especially his house and furniture.

4. **Inc. 4: en₂ ki-sikil e₂-gal eden-na-ta... (“Inc.: The young woman—from the wild pastures...”)**

³⁶⁸ See commentary for I 3.9.

³⁶⁹ As in the previous incantation, the Akkadian pronouns do not match the Sumerian ones; however, as so much of Inc. 2* is lost, it is difficult to determine whether the Akkadian diverges from the (internally cohesive) Sumerian, or whether the single mismatched pluralic pronoun in I 5.3A is simply a mistake in the Sumerian version. In the Akkadian, all three lines deal with a figurine of Ardat Lilî (as indicated by the 3rd person singular feminine pronouns).

A short incantation that does not use the Marduk-Ea formula, but describes how the evil Utukku (whom Ardat Lilî has brought back with her from the wilderness) strikes the patient, angering Ištar, who adjures the evil Utukku and the evil Alû to stay away, and the good Šēdu and Lamassu to stand by the patient instead.

5. Inc. 5: en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂-e... (“Inc.: Young woman of the wilderness, for the breeze...”)

The start of the Marduk-Ea formula is preserved in II 2.13, and the (damaged) beginning of Ea’s instructions in II 3.2–6. After two unclear lines and a call for someone to carry Ardat Lilî into the netherworld (II 3.4), Marduk is told to make a sacrifice and position the patient to face Šamaš (II 3.5f). The last line would suggest that this part of the ritual takes place during the day—when the sun is present in the sky—, and that the sacrifice is meant for Šamaš, who is asked to convey Ardat Lilî into the netherworld with him when he enters it at sunset.

After a short break in the text, we have damaged instructions to fashion seven figurines of Ardat Lilî and pour water into seven waterskins (II 4.2f). The text briefly breaks again, and picks up with instructions to hang something (presumably animal hairs) over the figurines’ arms, pluck black and white hair from a virgin kid, spin triple-threaded twine with it, and tie it around the figurines’ heads (II 5.4–7).

In II 5.8, Marduk is told to make the figurines face the setting sun and surround them with a *zisurrû*. Then, the dialogue part of the formula is closed with the ritual actions’ consequences: the figurines shall sit in place while the offerings for the dead are made for them (II 5.9), and Ardat Lilî (the one Ardat Lilî that has been torturing the patient) shall leave the patient through the gate into the netherworld (II 5.10).

In this incantation, the short adjurations that are spoken directly to the offending demon close the incantation in II 5.11–16 (rather than being integrated into the instructions as in Incs. 1 and 2*). Ardat Lilî is told to release the patient, return to where she belongs, and not come back; thereby, the patient shall be purified.

6. Inc. 6: en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂... (“Inc.: Young woman of the wilderness, breeze...”)

The final incantation in the series preserves the entire introduction to the Marduk-Ea dialogue, alongside the first two ritual instructions at the beginning of the last

column of the Ninevite Tablet II. Ea tells Marduk to take clay from the Abzu, and have a sculptor fashion figurines of Lilû and Ardat Lilî (II 7.7f); then, unfortunately, the series breaks off entirely, with about eight more lines missing before the colophon and the end of Tablet II.

These last eight lines must have contained the remaining ritual instructions as well as all adjurations or incantation-final themes, so there cannot have been many further instructions. The two figurines of Ardat Lilî and the masculine Lilû may suggest that the ritual ended in marrying Ardat Lilî to Lilû to permanently prevent her from reclaiming the patient. This would tie nicely into the overall theme of Ardat Lilî marrying the patient, and rituals that marry two figurines to each other to substitute a demon's hold on the patient exist elsewhere.³⁷⁰ Unfortunately, we cannot prove this without a manuscript for the end of the incantation.

The rituals Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî and Lamaštu

What we have seen above presents a number of similarities to the ritual *Lamaštu*.

Three ritual stages of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* (Incs. 1, 2*, and 5) involve the placement of a figurine facing the setting sun, suggesting that the ritual stretched across at least three days—if not more. It may be recalled that *Lamaštu* has three ritual stages, stretching across seven days, each culminating in the disposal of a new figurine that is placed outside the house and surrounded with a *zisurrû*.³⁷¹

Another similarity are the multiple figurine rituals themselves. *Lamaštu* exorcises the titular demon with three separate figurines, each of which is connected to a different stage of the exorcism—*Lamaštu* is drawn from the patient, she is removed from the house and into the netherworld, and she is finally “stabbed” to prevent her return.³⁷² A moveable ritual step, to be used when necessary, combined elements of all three stages in the eventuality that the patient died and *Lamaštu* had to be exorcised from the corpse.³⁷³

Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî also describes four separate figurine rituals, one of which combines elements of the other three. The three figurine rituals against Ardat Lilî can be found in Inc. 2*, which is unfortunately too damaged to interpret; Inc. 5; and Inc. 6.

370 Compare the instructions for the *nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da* ritual published as No. 3 in Maul (2019) 99–109, lines 13–21 and the following incantation, particularly lines 28–30. Divorcing the patient from the *Māmītu*-demon is a recurrent theme in *nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da*, as is marrying someone or something else to either the demon (a figurine, no. 3) or the patient (a piglet, no. 14–15); compare Maul (2019) 20f.

371 See above, Chapter III.

372 See above, Chapter III.

373 See above, Chapter III.

In Inc. 5, seven figurines of Ardat Lilî are used to banish the offending Ardat Lilî (out of all the various possible Ardat Lilîs described in the prologue)³⁷⁴ into the netherworld. The ritual step first appeases Šamaš with sacrifices and calls for him to carry Ardat Lilî under the ground with him, before providing all the Ardat Lilîs with water (and presumably other provisions) for their journey, surrounding them with a *zisurrû* while facing the setting sun, and making the offerings for the dead for them.

For Inc. 6—which, according to its incipit, deals with Ardat Lilî's *repeated* attacks against the patient—we again lack much of the ritual. What is left may suggest that a figurine of Ardat Lilî is married to a figurine of Lilû, destroying Ardat Lilî's claim on the patient and thereby preventing her return permanently.

As in *Lamaštu*, the second and third figurine rituals thus seem to aim at taking Ardat Lilî into the netherworld and then conquering her with lasting effect. The first is too damaged to establish whether it was meant to draw Ardat Lilî out of the patient's body, but the remaining also provides no reason to rule it out.

Inc. 1, the incantation against Eṭel Lilî, combines elements of all following incantations, while its ritual largely resembles the banishment of Ardat Lilî into the netherworld. Unlike *Lamaštu*'s fifth incantation, Inc. 1 provides no grounds to assume that it was only used if necessary. It is overall more likely that it was placed at the beginning of the ritual to rule out the possibility that the patient had been attacked by the male (rather than the more likely female) version of the demon before Ardat Lilî was attended to.

Much like *Lamaštu*, the various ritual steps outlined in the Marduk-Ea dialogues of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* appear to serve different purposes within one overarching ritual, rather than presenting multiple varying versions of a ritual to the same purpose. In the various ritual descriptions for *nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da*, where the latter seems to be the case, the core element of divorcing the patient from the Māmītu-demon (to break her hold) and burying her in the wilderness (to send her into the netherworld) are usually present, but carried out in various ways.³⁷⁵ Here, on the other hand, Ardat Lilî is only sent into the netherworld by Inc. 5, the house is only protected against her by Inc. 3, and the hint at an alternative marriage to break the demon's hold can only be found in the very last incantation at the end of the series.

³⁷⁴ See above, p. 97.

³⁷⁵ Maul (2019) 18–23.

Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî thereby seems to provide us with a fully-rounded ritual that could have been carried out as it is set down in the Marduk-Ea dialogue.³⁷⁶

Used for educational purposes (?)

One major difference between *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* and *Lamaštu* is, of course, that the latter communicates ritual information directly to the practitioner.

There is so far no known Ritual Tablet for *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*. Considering the generally sparse number of manuscripts for the series, this need not mean that no Ritual Tablet existed. However, as noted by Geller, it is at least a curious coincidence that this is the case for all the bilingual incantations that share material with *udug ḫulu*.³⁷⁷

It is also worth noting that in *Lamaštu*, the ritual information communicated directly to the practitioner can directly contradict ritual information that is indirectly communicated by an incantation. In Inc. 7, for instance, a spell attributed to Asalluḫi within the text of the incantation outlines very different ritual steps to what the following rubric describes as its actual ritual. In Asalluḫi's spell, *Lamaštu* is made to board a boat and sail away down the river; an instruction that is indeed attested in other rituals, where a figurine sails off on a boat.³⁷⁸ This, however, is not part of the instructions for the series *Lamaštu*, and both the rubric and the Ritual Tablet only use the incantation as the text of an amulet that is hung over the head of the patient's bed.³⁷⁹

This may be testimony of an older incantation being repurposed by a newly structured ritual series; spells against *Lamaštu* are numerous, often go back into the 2nd millennium, and are well-attested in contexts outside the “canonical” *Lamaštu* ritual.³⁸⁰ The incipits of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî*, on the other hand, all begin with either *ḡuruš* or *ki-sikil* and each tell a small part of *Ardat Lilî*'s myth. They are unified in a way the *Lamaštu* incantations are not, and only the incantation against the evil *Utukku* is attested in another context—the series *udug ḫulu*, which it fits irrespective of its role within *Ardat Lilî*. In other words, it is possible that a significant part of the incantations in *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* were composed as parts of a connected ritual, rather than being compiled from separate sources. If the

³⁷⁶ This is true for both the contents of the Sumerian and that of the Akkadian column. Although differences in pronouns sometimes change individual steps in the Akkadian version of the ritual (for example, sandals being put on figurines rather than on the patient, see commentary for I 3.2–8), the differences do not prohibit the execution of the ritual as a whole.

³⁷⁷ Geller (2016) 5f.

³⁷⁸ Ambos (2004) 91.

³⁷⁹ See above, Chapter III.

³⁸⁰ Farber (2014) 8–10.

incantations were part of an overarching ritual to begin with, and the ritual remained unchanged, there may have been no need to add clarifying rubrics.

Yet there are signs of later clarifications within the surviving text. By the 1st millennium, scribes had added Akkadian translations to explain the meaning of the Sumerian incantations' text. This was necessary as Sumerian had become increasingly difficult to understand, even for scholars.³⁸¹ But as far as the surviving material can tell us, nobody felt the need to explain the ritual directly, in the way the *Lamaštu* rubrics and Ritual Tablet do. Questions such as how much time passed between the enactment of each individual incantation's ritual step, or whether there were ritual steps that are not outlined in the Marduk-Ea dialogues (or even disagree with them) remain unanswered by the written tradition.

Does this mean that the ritual was no longer in active use by the time the 1st millennium version was compiled?

There are certainly indicators that some of the few existing manuscripts were written down by a student training to become an *āšipu*. The Uruk manuscript UrkNB1 ends in a student's colophon, stating that it was copied diligently by Ištar-šum-ēreš under the instruction of his father, the Late Babylonian *āšipu* Iqīšā,³⁸² and Ištar-šum-ēreš did in fact become an *āšipu* himself.³⁸³ The other two Uruk manuscripts are probably parts of the same tablet, which continues the text of UrkNB1 (which, as noted by Ištar-šum-ēreš, had not been completely copied when he reached the end of the tablet)³⁸⁴ from the beginning of the incantation that UrkNB1 had left unfinished. UrkNB1–3 may, therefore, have all been part of the same training exercise of a young *āšipu* at the start of his career, and UrkNB1 certainly was.

The Ninevite Tablet set is a copy from the library of Aššurbanipal;³⁸⁵ the remaining manuscripts (the Kalḫu manuscript, and the 2–3 Babylonian manuscripts from outside of Uruk) do not preserve any statement as to what purpose they may have been written for.

This means that we have one indication that the text was copied by an *āšipu* as part of his training, and none that the text was copied for a specific application of the ritual.³⁸⁶

Another piece of evidence that *Eṭel Lili*, *Ardat Lili* was a relevant part of an *āšipu*'s education is the so-called *Exorcist's Manual*, a text that proclaims to contain a fixed,

381 Compare the discussion of diverging Akkadian translations above, p. 82.

382 See above, fn. 232.

383 Hoskins (2024) 96.

384 UrkNB1 38.

385 See the rest of the Aššurbanipal colophon in NinNA4 vi.

386 As we find in the colophons of other ritual texts, for instance nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da no. 14–15 in Maul (2019) 136–141, colophon A.

complete curriculum of compositions “for study and reading” of prospective *āšipus*.³⁸⁷ It includes *ḡuruš lil₂-la₂-meš ki-sikil lil₂-la₂-meš*³⁸⁸—a composition or compositions referred to as “Young Man Lilû, Young Woman Lilû.”

This matches the title assigned to the first incantation of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* in an incipit catalogue from Aššur: *en₂ ḡuruš sila sig₃-ga / ka-inim-ma ḡuruš lil₂-la₂ ki-sikil lil₂-la₂*.³⁸⁹ Inc. 1 deals only with *Eṭel Lilî*; the line can therefore be understood to refer to the name of the composition as a whole, not only the demon the cited incantation counters.

Taken together, both texts tell us that *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* was a composition an *āšipu* was expected to be familiar with in the mid-1st millennium, when the *Exorcist's Manual* was copied across various cities in Assyria and Babylonia.³⁹⁰

It is therefore entirely certain that the series was used in teaching future *āšipus*. It does not, however, answer the question what the series was meant to teach.

The theory of the series as a compilation of grammatical paradigms suggested that it was, essentially, meant to teach students the Sumerian used in incantations.³⁹¹

While the point deserves a study of its own, this would mean that the entire series was faithfully copied across a geographical area ranging from Nineveh to Uruk for a millennium purely to teach a skill that was already a crucial part of the curriculum.³⁹² It would also raise the problem why divergences between Sumerian and Akkadian were not corrected (or at least why we do not see more cases of varying translations) if gaining an understanding of Sumerian was the main object of study.

As *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* presents us with a complex ritual of multiple incantations that share themes and build on one another, it seems extremely unlikely that it was never meant to be put into practice; at least the underlying Sumerian text seems to present us with an actual ritual. Furthermore, the bilingual series was part of the 1st millennium curriculum of active ritual practitioners, we have manuscripts from a practising *āšipu*'s library in Uruk, and “*Ardat Lilî*” is a well-attested diagnosis in the *Diagnostic and Prognostic Series*.

Incantations and rituals were studied and taught largely orally by ritual practitioners until the Old Babylonian period, when they began to be put down in writing with greater

387 Geller (2018) 292.

388 *Exorcist's Manual* 10.

389 VAT 13723 (+) VAT 14096 + VAT 14101 (+) VAT 14097 (+) VAT 14103; collated from the tablet.

390 Geller (2018) 296 lists manuscripts from 7th century Aššur, 6th–5th century Sippar, 4th century Babylon, 1st millennium Babylon, and late 5th century Uruk.

391 See above, p. 44.

392 Compare the large number of bilingual compositions attested elsewhere in the *Exorcist's Manual*.

regularity.³⁹³ Manuscripts of Ritual Tablets are comparatively rare even for series that were much more widely copied than *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. The series *Šurpu* is attested on more than 275 manuscripts, while there are currently two known manuscripts of its Ritual Tablet.³⁹⁴ This surely does not mean that most people who copied *Šurpu* did not know how to perform it, but that the related ritual actions were usually taught orally.

The present edition assumes that the series was originally composed, in Sumerian, as an exorcistic ritual against *Eṭel* and *Ardat Lilî*. It was demonstrably used for educational purposes, but the fact that it was studied by active ritual practitioners (rather than advanced scribal students in general) indicates that it remained part of a living ritual tradition.

³⁹³ Farber (2014) 9; Michalowski (2020) 88.

³⁹⁴ One is edited as Tablet I in Reiner (1970) 11f, one is currently being prepared for publication by Frank Simons (who kindly provided the number of manuscripts for the series as a whole).

Manuscripts

Overview of manuscripts of the series Eṭel Lili, Ardat Lili

Below are the manuscripts that form part of the composite text. All fragments that do not join directly are treated as separate manuscripts (probable indirect joins are discussed below).

Manuscript sigla roughly follow the conventions of the Electronic Babylonian Library. The first part of each sigil denotes the site the manuscript came from (Baba = Babylonia,³⁹⁵ Kal = Kalḫu, Nin = Nineveh, Urk = Uruk), the second the rough period of the script (NB = Neo-Babylonian, NA = NeoAssyrian).³⁹⁶

The nine fragments that were not included in previous editions are highlighted in cursive script.

manuscript	museum no.
BabaNB1	BM 42338
<i>BabaNB2</i>	<i>BM 40531</i> ³⁹⁷
<i>BabaNB3</i>	<i>BM 39768</i> ³⁹⁸ + <i>K. 20547</i> ³⁹⁹
<i>KalNA1</i>	<i>IM 67547</i> ⁴⁰⁰
NinNA1	Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 + Sm. 1547 + <i>Sm. 643</i> ⁴⁰¹
NinNA2	Sm. 5
NinNA3	Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128
NinNA4	Sm. 49 + Sm. 752
NinNA5	K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614

395 BabaNB2 and BabaNB3 are listed in the British Museum register with the provenance “Babylon;” see Leichty et al. (2016) 446 for BabaNB2 and Leichty et al. (2016) 381 for BabaNB3. The fact that a fragment that directly joins BabaNB3 (K. 20547) was assigned to the Koyunjik collection, however, indicates how easily fragments from Hormuzd Rassam’s late 19th century excavations at multiple sites in Babylonia were mixed with other material upon arrival at the British Museum; see above, fn. 228. Because of this, and so as not to lead to confusion between BabaNB1 and the partially parallel BabaNB2, the present edition refrains from identifying BabaNB2 and BabaNB3 as BabNB1 and BabNB2.

396 As Late Babylonian scribes are known to have used archaising signs for literary texts, and some of the Babylonian manuscripts are unprovenanced, the sigla do not differentiate between Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian, see above, p. 69.

397 Identified as paralleling BabaNB1 by Zsombor Földi on the Electronic Babylonian Library.

398 Identified as a potential fragment of the series and kindly pointed out to me by Frank Simons.

399 Identified in the notes of the late Frans Wiggermann, which he kindly shared for the purpose of the present PhD project. Joined to BM 39768 by the writer of the present study.

400 Identified as “*ardat lili* incantations” in Wiseman/Black (1996) 19 no. 98.

401 Identified and joined to Sm. 48+ by the writer of the present study.

NinNA6	K. 5443
<i>NinNA7</i>	<i>BM 123443</i> ⁴⁰²
NinNA8	Sm. 16
<i>NinNA9</i>	<i>K. 13341</i> ⁴⁰³
<i>NinNA10</i>	<i>Sm. 1477</i> ⁴⁰⁴
UrkNB1	IM 77002
UrkNB2	IM 76957
<i>UrkNB3</i>	<i>IM 135177</i> ⁴⁰⁵

Manuscripts outside the series

VAT 13723 (+) VAT 14096 + VAT 14101 (+) VAT 14097 (+) VAT 14103

Catalogue of incipits from the large magico-medical library in the “House of the *āšipu*” at Aššur in Neo-Assyrian script;⁴⁰⁶ cites the incipit of I 1.1 in iv 16.

Sm. 918

Included in Geller (1988) as a possible duplicate. Small fragment from Nineveh in Neo-Assyrian script. Contains 5 lines of a Sumerian-Akkadian double-column. While the fragment appears to have been written in the *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* format, it cannot currently be placed anywhere in the series, and what remains of the text does not thematically resemble any known part of it.⁴⁰⁷

Description of manuscripts

BabaNB1	(museum no. BM 42338, accession no. 1881-7-1, 98)
----------------	---

402 Identified by the writer of the present study.

403 Suggested as an additional fragment of the incantation series published by Lackenbacher in Lambert (2002) 203.

404 Identified as a potential fragment of the same *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* tablet as Sm. 48 by Zsombor Földi on the Electronic Babylonian Library.

405 Identified by the writer of the present study.

406 Pedersén (1986) 66 (291). The catalogue was last edited in Geller (2000) 227–234. A new edition is currently being prepared by Tonio Mitto and the writer of the present study.

407 See above, p. 63.

1 st millennium	width: 12.7cm* ⁴⁰⁸	length: 9.2cm*	thickness: 3cm
----------------------------	-------------------------------	----------------	----------------

Photo: BM.42338, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.42338>), accessed 21.11.2025

Unprovenanced fragment from Babylonia in Neo-Babylonian script. Approximately the upper half of a 4-column tablet, individual column width ca. 6cm.⁴⁰⁹ *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* layout. The tablet appears to have contained only Inc. 1.

BabaNB2 (museum no. BM 40531, accession no. 1881-4-28, 72)

1 st millennium	width: 4.3cm*	length: 3.3cm*	depth: 3cm*
----------------------------	---------------	----------------	-------------

Photo: BM.40531, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.40531>), accessed 21.11.2025

Fragment from Babylon⁴¹⁰ in Neo-Babylonian script. Contains the beginning of 5–6 Sumerian lines. The thickness of the fragment this close to the left edge indicates a probably substantial original size. Left edge partially preserved. *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* layout. The visible text on the obverse and reverse preserve text blocks I 2 and I 3 of Inc. 1, with a gap of some 24 lines. As lines that are split across two rows of signs in BabaNB1's 6cm-columns are not split here, we can assume that the entire text was written in a single double-column. It is unlikely that a tablet in this layout contained more than Inc. 1.

BabaNB3 (museum nos. BM 39768, accession no. 1880-11-12, 1655 + K. 20547)

1 st millennium	width: 3cm*	length: 4cm*	thickness: 1.8cm*
----------------------------	-------------	--------------	-------------------

Photo BM.39768, K. 20547: eBL editions BM.39768, K.20547 (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.39768>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.20547>), accessed 21.11.2025

The two directly joining fragments were attributed to Babylon⁴¹¹ and Nineveh⁴¹² respectively; as both are written in Neo-Babylonian script, K. 20547 was probably mixed

⁴⁰⁸ Measurements marked with an asterisk do not indicate the full width, height or thickness of a fragment in cases where the full width, height or thickness is not preserved (in case of thickness, this also indicates if the middle of the tablet is not preserved to measure the largest possible thickness from). All measurements were taken from the largest preserved part of the fragment.

⁴⁰⁹ Lackenbacher (1971) 120.

⁴¹⁰ Leichty et al. (2016) 446.

⁴¹¹ In the British Museum's register, see Leichty et al. (2016) 381.

⁴¹² Lambert (1992) 50.

up with Koyunjik material by mistake.⁴¹³ One side contains the beginning of 5 Sumerian lines, the other is broken off. Left edge partially preserved. *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* format. Tablet II, text block 5. The column width of only 2.5cm and minuscule script recall the Ninevite layout rather than that of BabaNB1 or BabaNB2. Note, however, that the text parallels lines from the fourth columns of the Ninevite manuscripts (end of Inc. 5).⁴¹⁴ Considering the length of Inc. 5, we are probably dealing with the final column on the reverse rather than the first column on the obverse.

KalNA1

(museum no. IM 67547, excavation no. ND 4342)

ca. 9th–7th century⁴¹⁵

width: 7.5cm*⁴¹⁶

length: 13cm*⁴¹⁷

thickness: ?⁴¹⁸

Photo: IM.67547, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/IM.67547>), accessed 21.11.2025

Copy (obverse only): Wiseman/Black (1996), pl. 60

Fragment from Kalḫu in Neo-Assyrian script. Discovered in the debris above the floor of a corridor adjoining the Tašmetum-sanctuary of the temple of Nabû.⁴¹⁹ One side contains the end of 13 lines, the other too strongly abraded to be legible and identifiable for the purpose of the present edition (unclear which side is the obverse). Right edge partially preserved. Intralinear bilingual format with some shorter lines combining Sumerian and Akkadian. Curve of the break may suggest an originally 4-column tablet. Tablet II, text block 6.

Nineveh Tablet I

7th century

width: 17.2cm⁴²⁰

length:

ca. thickness: 3.2cm

413 Noted as a possibility for some of the Koyunjik-fragments forgotten and re-discovered in the British Museum collection by Lambert (1992) ix.

414 II 5.15 and 5.18.

415 Wiseman/Black (1996) 4.

416 Source of measurement: Electronic Babylonian Library (eBL), <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/IM.67547>. Accessed 27/08/2025.

417 Ibid.

418 No measurement published. The tablet could not be collated in person, and no photo available to the writer of the present study showed the tablet's edges in full.

419 Wiseman/Black (1996) 40 (with plan of the temple facing p. 1) and Oates (1957) 28.

420 Calculated by adding the distance of the left edge to the mid-column iii ruling when NinNA1 and NinNA6 are lined up (14.6cm) to the distance of the mid-column iii ruling and the first sign of the Akkadian version of column iii on NinNA6 (2mm) to the estimated size of the Akkadian column (ca. 2.1cm; note that at least the last sign of the line is broken on every preserved part of NinNA6, but as the writing is rather squeezed towards the end of the Akkadian column, it is unlikely that we must add more than 3mm to the 1.8cm preserved) to the distance of the left edge to the beginning of col. i (3mm) as an estimate for the distance from end of col. iii to the right edge (note that this is not exact, but that the distances in between columns (mid-column, column-to-column, column-to-edge) never differ by more than 2mm on any preserved part of either Tablet I or Tablet II).

	24cm? ⁴²¹	
Photo Sm. 5, Sm. 16, Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347, Sm. 643, Sm. 1477, K. 5443: eBL editions Sm. 5, Sm. 16, Sm. 48, Sm. 643, Sm. 1545, K. 5443, Sm. 1477 (https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.5, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.16, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.48, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.643, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.1477, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.1545, https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.5443), accessed 21.11.2025 Copy obverse Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347: Geller (1988) 8; K. 5443: Meek (1920) 148 Copy reverse Sm. 5, Sm. 16, Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347: Geller (1988) 10 No copy: Sm. 643; Sm. 1477		

Aššurbanipal library tablet(s) in Neo-Assyrian script. 6 columns in *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format. Individual column width ca. 2.4cm.

Fragments: **NinNA1** (museum no. Sm. 48 + Sm. 799 + Sm. 1017 + Sm. 1347 + Sm. 1547 + Sm. 643), **NinNA2** (museum no. Sm. 5), **NinNA6** (museum no. K. 5443), **NinNA8** (museum no. Sm. 16), **NinNA10** (museum no. Sm. 1477). Out of these, at least NinNA1 and NinNA6 certainly join indirectly.⁴²²

For the placement of the fragments, see p. 60f.

Column length: ca. 21 lines. If NinNA1 v (upper edge) and NinNA2 v (lower edge) were indeed part of the same tablet, the additional evidence of UrkNB1 tells us that *Tablet I column v was 21 lines long. Note that the lines in one column can vary considerably in the *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format (compare the ca. 28 lines that can be calculated for NinNA1 i).

Nineveh Tablet II

7 th century	width: 16.95cm ⁴²³	length: 24cm? ⁴²⁴	ca. thickness: 3.3cm
-------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------

⁴²¹ Too little is preserved of Tablet II to measure or calculate its full length. As the calculated width of Tablet I differs from that of Tablet II by only 2.5mm, it is very likely that the lengths were equally similar. Note that even on Tablet II, the length is only an estimate and depends on the distance between NinNA5 and NinNA4 (here presumed to be as small as physically possible).

⁴²² Compare the identical spacing of the double ruling in between I 7.2 and I 7.3 on both fragments, the identical height of the vacant line above the double ruling and of the rubric in the Sumerian column of NinNA1, as well as the shape and thickness of the broken back of NinNA6 in comparison to the shape of what remains of the right edge of NinNA1 (both of which combine to the exact depth of the original tablet, although the break is not clean and does not allow for a direct join).

⁴²³ Measured from NinNA4.

⁴²⁴ This is the minimal length of the Tablet, measured by putting NinNA5 and NinNA4 as closely together as physically possible (they do not join directly). As enough space for a line is abraded at the top of NinNA4, and the distance between the respective text blocks 5 and 6 is unlikely to be more than one line (compare commentary on that gap in the text edition), this is not an unlikely reconstruction of the relative positions of both fragments on Tablet II, compare the relative shapes of both fragments' breaks where

Photo Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128, Sm. 49 + Sm. 752, K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614, K. 13341, BM 123443: eBL editions Sm.10, Sm.49, K.4355, K.13341 Bm.123443 (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.10>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/Sm.49>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.4355>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.13341>, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.123443>)

Copy Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128, Sm. 49 + Sm. 752, K. 5344 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614 Geller (1988) 13, 16

No copy: K. 13341, BM 123443

Aššurbanipal library tablet(s) in Neo-Assyrian script. 6 columns in *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format.

Fragments: **NinNA3** (museum no. Sm. 10 + Sm. 207 + Sm. 590 + Sm. 1128), **NinNA4** (Sm. 49 + Sm. 752), **NinNA5** (K. 4355 + Sm. 20 + Sm. 1981 + Rm. 614), **NinNA7** (BM 123443), **NinNA9** (K. 13341).

For the placement of the fragments, see p. 61.

Column length: ca. 21 lines. If NinNA4 i (upper edge) and NinNA3 i (lower edge) were indeed part of the same tablet, the additional evidence of UrkNB1 and UrkNB2 tells us that *Tablet II column i was 21 lines long.

UrkNB1 (museum no. IM 77002, excavation no. W. 22653)

late 4 th century BCE	width: 7.8cm ⁴²⁵	length: 8.9cm ⁴²⁶	thickness: ? ⁴²⁷
----------------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

Copy: von Weiher (1983) 243

Tablet from the library of the *āšipu* Iqīšā (Ekur-zakir family)⁴²⁸ in Neo-Babylonian script. Lacks bottom right corner, otherwise completely preserved. *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format. Contains 41 lines (including colophon) in a single bilingual double-column. Fully preserves Inc. 3, Inc. 4, and the first nine lines of Inc. 5.

they are closest to each other. It is worth noting that Geller (1988) 16 assumes a similar positioning of NinNA5 and NinNA4.

425 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1983) 41.

426 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1983) 41.

427 No measurement published. The tablet could not be collated in person, and no photo available to the writer of the present study showed the tablet's edges in full.

428 Hoskins (2024) 158f.

UrkNB2 (museum no. IM 76957, excavation no. W. 22729/11)

late 4 th century BCE	width: 7.6cm ⁴²⁹	length: 9cm ⁴³⁰	thickness: ? ⁴³¹
----------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------

Copy: von Weiher (1983) 244

Large fragment from the library of the *āšipu* Iqīšā (Ekur-zakir family)⁴³² in Neo-Babylonian script. Misses top edge (first 7 lines of Inc. 5), bottom edge, and left edge. *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format. Obverse contains 19 lines in a single bilingual double-column, reverse 14. The tablet appears to have contained only Inc. 5.

UrkNB3 (museum no. IM 135177, excavation no. W. 22670/1)

late 4 th century BCE	width: 3.5cm ⁴³³	length: 9cm ⁴³⁴	thickness: ? ⁴³⁵
----------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------

Copy: von Weiher (1998) 152

Probably the bottom edge of **UrkNB2** (indirect join). The fragment was discovered at the same site and during the same campaign as UrkNB2, a tablet from the library of Iqīšā.⁴³⁶ As the Ninevite parallels in II 2.6–10 attest, the fragment does not belong to a₂-sag₃ gig-ga,⁴³⁷ but to *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. It is written in the *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* format we see in UrkNB2, has a similar width, and a similar way of irregularly glossing Sumerian terms.⁴³⁸ The placement of the 10-line bottom edge fragment in II 2 would fit well into the gap of the obverse of UrkNB2 in II 1 and its reverse in II 5. The widths (fully preserved for both tablets) are identical to the millimeter.

429 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1983) 45.

430 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1983) 45.

431 No measurement published. The tablet could not be collated in person, and no photo available to the writer of the present study showed the tablet's edges in full.

432 Hoskins (2024) 158f.

433 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1998) 11.

434 Source of measurement: von Weiher (1998) 11.

435 No measurement published. The tablet could not be collated in person, and no photo available to the writer of the present study showed the tablet's edges in full.

436 Von Weiher (1979) 98–100.

437 As assumed in von Weiher (1998) 11.

438 Compare [e z e]n^{ri-zil-in} in UrkNB2 5A' and ^{ke-eš}ki-še₃ in UrkNB2 14A' to dur₂-a^{du-ra} in UrkNB3 8A'.

Tablet I

Manuscript placement within Tablet I

BabaNB1	1.1–12; 2.2–10; 3.1–10; 4.1–9
BabaNB2	2.1–6; 3.8–12
NinNA1	2.1–6; 3.11–12; 7.1–6, 23–26
NinNA2	6.1–5; 7.18–22
NinNA6	4.5–8
NinNA8	5.1–4; 7.1–4
NinNA10	7.28–29
UrkNB1	7.3–39

Text Partitur of Tablet I

line-count	mscr line-count	A: Sumerian
1.1	BabaNB1 i 1A	[...]
	VAT 13723 iv 15	en ₂ ḡuruš sila ¹ sig ₃ -ga (...)
1.2	BabaNB1 i 2A	[...]
1.3	BabaNB1 i 3A	[...-n]a [... keš-d]a
1.4	BabaNB1 i 4A	[... er ₂]-ra [... t]u- ¹ ud-da ¹
1.5	BabaNB1 i 5A	[...] ¹ x ¹ -e [...] ¹ si ¹ -ga
1.6	BabaNB1 i 6A	[ḡuruš diṅi]r-be ₂ [...-e]š ¹ dab-be ₂ -da ¹
1.7	BabaNB1 i 7A	[ḡuruš] ^{d+} inanna-be ₂ [... s]i-il-la
1.8	BabaNB1 i 8A	[ḡuruš da]m nu-tuku [dumu n]u-e ₃ -a
1.9	BabaNB1 i 9A	[ḡuruš u]r ₂ dam-ta [ḡi-l]i šu nu-tag-ga
1.10	BabaNB1 i 10A	[ḡuruš u]r ₂ -dam-a-na-ka ₁₃ [tug ₂ nu]-un-sig ₃ -ga
1.11	BabaNB1 i 11A	[ḡuruš e] ₂ ušbar-ra-na-ke ₄ [im-m]a-ra-e ₃

line-count	mscr line-count	B: Akkadian
1.1	BabaNB1 i 1B	[eṭ-lu ša ₂ ina s]u-qu ša ₂ -qu-um-meš [e-diš]-ši-šu ₂ it-ta-na-aš ₂ -ša ₂ -bu
1.2	BabaNB1 i 2B	[e]ṭ-lu ša ₂ ina qa-at nam-ta-ri-šu ₂ mar-ši-iš i-nu-uq-qu
1.3	BabaNB1 i 3B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ ina šim-ti-šu ₂ ša ₂ -qu-um-ma-tu ₂ rak-sa-at
1.4	BabaNB1 i 4B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ ina su-qi ₂ bi-ki-tu ₂ um-ma-šu ul-du-šu
1.5	BabaNB1 i 5B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ ni-is-sa-tu ₂ zu-mur-šu ₂ iṣ-ru-pu
1.6	BabaNB1 i 6B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ DINGIR-šu 'lem-ni'-[iṣ i]k-mu-u ₂ -šu
1.7	BabaNB1 i 7B	eṭ-l[u ša ₂] ^{r^d} iš-tar-šu is-'li-tu'-uš
1.8	BabaNB1 i 8B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ aš ₂ -ša ₂ -tu ₂ la i-ḥu-zu ma-ru la u ₂ -rab-bu-u ₂
1.9	BabaNB1 i 9B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ 'ina su-un aš ₂ -ša ₂ -ti-šu ₂ ' ku-zu-'ub la il-pu-tu'
1.10	BabaNB1 i 10B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ ina 'su-un' aš ₂ -ša ₂ -ti-šu ₂ ṣu-ba-ta 'la iṣ-ḥu-tu'
1.11	BabaNB1 i 11B	eṭ-lu ša ₂ ina E ₂ 'e-mu'-ti-šu ₂ šu-ša-[a]

Tablet I

1.12	BabaNB1 i 12A	[...] 'x x x' [...] 'x'
gap of ca. 7 lines		
2.1	BabaNB2 1A'	'ḡuruš x x x' [...]
2.2	BabaNB1 ii 1A	'ḡuruš' diḡir nu-[[un]]-tuku-ra gaba im-ma-an-re-eš
	BabaNB2 2A'	ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku-ra 'gaba im'-m[a-x-x-x]
2.3	BabaNB1 ii 2A	šu-ne-ne-a šu-ne ₂ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš
	BabaNB2 3A'	šu-ne ₂ -ne-ne šu-ne ₂ 'ba-an'-[x-x-x]
2.4	BabaNB1 ii 3A	ḡiri ₃ -ne-ne-a ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš
	BabaNB2 4A'	'ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ -ne-ne ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ ' ba-an-[x-x-x]
2.5	BabaNB1 ii 4A	gu ₂ -ne ₂ gu ₂ -da 'im'-ma-an-ḡar
	BabaNB2 5A'	[g]u ₂ - 'ne ₂ ' gu ₂ -da im-ma-an-[x]
2.6	BabaNB1 ii 5A	ni ₂ -te-a-ne ₂ šu-bala ba-ab-ši-'in-ak-a'
	BabaNB2 6A'	[x x x x x-bal]a b[a-x x x x x]
2.7	BabaNB1 ii 6A	dumu nun-na ḡa ₂ - 'e'-me-en ba-ni-'in-du ₁₁ '
2.8	BabaNB1 ii 7A	kug-sig ₁₇ kug-babbar ur ₂ -zu ba-ni-'in'-si
2.9	NinNA1 i 1A'	[...] mu-un-n[a-ab-be ₂]
	BabaNB1 ii 8A	dam-ḡu ₁₀ ḡe ₂ -me-en ḡa ₂ -e dam-zu ḡe ₂ -a mu-'un'-na-ab-be ₂
2.10	NinNA1 i 2A'	gurun ^{ḡeš} k[iri ₆ -gen ₇] [n]iḡ ₂ -la-l[a] [i]m-mi-in-ḡ[ar]
	BabaNB1 ii 9A	'gurun' ^{ḡeš} kiri ₆ -gen ₇ niḡ ₂ -la-la im-mi-in-ḡar
2.11	BabaNB1 ii 10A	'lu ₂ '-u ₁₈ -lu ni ₂ -te-a-ne ₂ 'ba-ši-in'- 'bala' ²¹

1.12	BabaNB1 i 12B	<i>eṭ-¹lu¹ š[a₂ ...] ¹x¹ [...]</i>
gap of ca. 7 lines		
2.1	BabaNB2 1B'	[...]
2.2	BabaNB1 ii 1B	<i>la be-el ¹DINGIR¹ im-taḥ-ḥa-ru-[u]</i>
	BabaNB2 2B'	[...]
2.3	BabaNB1 ii 2B	<i>qa-ti-š[u₂-n]u ana qa-ti-š_{u₂} [iš-ku-nu]</i>
	BabaNB2 3B'	[...]
2.4	BabaNB1 ii 3B	<i>še-pi-[š_{u₂}-nu] ana še-¹pi¹-š[u₂ iš-ku-nu]</i>
	BabaNB2 4B'	[...]
2.5	BabaNB1 ii 4B	<i>ki-š[a-da-ti-š_{u₂}-nu] ¹it-ti¹ ki-ša₂-¹di-š_{u₂}¹ [GAR]</i>
	BabaNB2 5B'	[...]
2.6	BabaNB1 ii 5B	<i>ra-ma-an-[š_{u₂}] uš-te-pel-lu</i>
	BabaNB2 6B'	[...]
2.7	BabaNB1 ii 6B	<i>ma-ru ru-be₂-e ¹a-na-ku iq-bi-iš¹ </i>
2.8	BabaNB1 ii 7B	<i>KU₃.BABBAR u KU₃.SIG₁₇ su-un-¹ka¹ u₂-¹mal₂¹-lu</i>
2.9	NinNA1 i 1B'	[...]
	BabaNB1 ii 8B	<i>at-ta ¹lu¹-u₂ as₂-ša₂-tu₂ ana-ku lu-u₂ mu-ut-ka ¹iq ¹bi-ši</i>
2.10	NinNA1 i 2B'	[...]
	BabaNB1 ii 9B	<i>ki-ma i-ni-ib ki-ri-i ana ša-a-ši la-¹le-e¹ u₂-lal-li-ši</i>
2.11	BabaNB1 ii 10B	<i>LU₂ ¹ra-ma¹-[an-š_{u₂}] [...]</i>

Tablet I

gap of ca. 16 lines		
3.1	BabaNB1 iii 1A'	[...] 'u ₃ ¹ -'[...]
3.2	BabaNB1 iii 2A'	^{kuš} e-'ib ₂ ¹ m[urub ₄ -ba-n]'a ¹ u ₃ -mu-'un ¹ -n[i-in]-keš ₂
3.3	BabaNB1 iii 3A'	^{kuš} e-sir ₂ ḡiri ₃ -[n]a u ₃ -mu-un-ni-i[n-s]i
3.4	BabaNB1 iii 4A'	^{kuš} r a-ḡa ₂ ¹ -la ₂ keše ₂ -da-ne ₂ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in-si ₃
3.5	BabaNB1 iii 5A'	^{kuš} niḡ ₂ -na ₄ kug-sig ₁₇ kug-[babb]ar ^{tug²} siki-be ₂ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in-keš ₂
3.6	BabaNB1 iii 6A'	ki-si ₃ -ga eden-na ḡa-ba-ra-ab-la ₂ -e
3.7	BabaNB1 iii 7A'	dur ₂ ^{ḡeš¹} u ₂ -ḡiri ₃ -še ₃ 'u ₃ ¹ -[m]u-un-ni-in-gub
3.8	BabaNB1 iii 8A'	igi-be ₂ ^d utu-šuš ₂ -a-še ₃ u-me-ni-in-ḡar zi ₃ u-me-ni-ḡur
	BabaNB2 1A"	[x x x x x x x] 'u-me ² -ni ² -ḡar ¹ zi ₃ [x x x x]
3.9	BabaNB1 iii 9A'	zi diḡir gal-gal-e-ne i-ri-pad ₃ [ḡ]a-'ba ¹ -ra-du-un
	BabaNB2 2A"	[zi] 'diḡir gal-gal ¹ -e-ne-ke ₄ i-ri-pa[d ₃ x x x x x]
3.10	BabaNB1 iii 10A'	[zi ₃ -sur-r]a ^{d+} en-ki-ke ₄ [^{gi}]šutug šub-ba ^{rd¹} asal-lu ₂ -ḡi 'dumu ¹ eridu ^{ki} -ga-ke ₄ na ^{!an} -an ^{!na} -ta-bala-e
	BabaNB2 3A"	zi ₃ -'sur-ra ¹ ^{d+} en-ki-ke ₄ ^{gi} š[utug x x] ^d asal-lu ₂ -ḡi dumu eridu ^{ki} -ga-k[e ₄ x x x x x]
3.11	NinNA1 ii 1A'	[...]
	BabaNB2 4A"	^{ḡeš} ig e ₂ -a-ke ₄ ba-[ra- x x x x x]
3.12	NinNA1 ii 2A'	[...]-'ke ₄ ¹ [...]-dib-be ₂
	BabaNB2 5A"	'ḡeš-kan ₄ - ¹ [na x x x x x x]
gap of ca. 6 lines		
4.1	BabaNB1 iv 1A'	[x-t]a 'ab ²¹ -'ta ¹ 'en ²¹ -[na ²] [ba]-ra-<<ba>>-an-'x-x-na ¹

gap of ca. 16 lines

3.1	BabaNB1 iii 1B'	[...]
3.2	BabaNB1 iii 2B'	[...] [...] <i>ru-ku-u[s-ma]</i>
3.3	BabaNB1 iii 3B'	<i>še-e-nu ana še-^rpe-šu₂-nu^r še-in-ma</i>
3.4	BabaNB1 iii 4B'	<i>na-ru-qa ra-kis-tu i-din-šu-nu-ti-ma</i>
3.5	BabaNB1 iii 5B'	<i>ki-su ku₃.babbar ku₃-gi ina si-sik-ti-šu₂-nu ru-ku-us-ma</i>
3.6	BabaNB1 iii 6B'	<i>ki-is-pa ina še-e-ri li-kal-lim-ka</i>
3.7	BabaNB1 iii 7B'	<i>ina i-^ršid^r a-ša-a-gi šu-z[i-i]s-su-nu-ti-ma</i>
3.8	BabaNB1 iii 8B'	<i>pa-ni-š[u₂-n]u a-na e-^rreb^r ^dutu ta-[ša]k-kan-ma qe₂-ma te-^reš^r-[ši-ir-ma]</i>
	BabaNB2 1B''	[...]
3.9	BabaNB1 iii 9B'	<i>ni-ši DINGIR^{meš} GAL^m[^{eš}] u₂-tam-mi-ka lu-u₂ ta-at-tal-^rla^r-a[k]</i>
	BabaNB2 2B''	[...]
3.10	BabaNB1 iii 10B'	<i>ZI₃.SUR.RA ša₂ ^dr^re₂^r-[a] ^ršu-tuk-ku^r [x x x] ša₂ ^dAMAR.UTU [DUMU ERIDU^{ki}] la ta-[ba-lak-kat]</i>
	BabaNB2 3B''	[...] [...]
3.11	NinNA1 ii 1B'	[... -a]r- ^r ri-ik ^r
	BabaNB2 4B''	[...]
3.12	NinNA1 ii 2B'	<i>giš-ka₂-na-ki E₂ la ta-pa-ar-ri-ik</i>
	BabaNB2 5B''	[...]

gap of ca. 6 lines

4.1	BabaNB1 iv 1B'	[...] ^r la ^r [...]
-----	----------------	--

Tablet I

4.2	BabaNB1 iv 2A'	[e ₂]-a en- ¹ na ¹ [ba]-ra-an-ta-ri-na
4.3	BabaNB1 iv 3A'	[uru]- ¹ a ¹ en-na [ba-r]a-an-zi-ga-en-na
4.4	BabaNB1 iv 4A'	[ninda ba]-ra-an-da ^{1BA} - ¹ ab-gu ₇ ¹ -en [a ba]-ra-an-da-ab- ¹ na ₇ ¹ -en
4.5	NinNA6 1A'	[x x x x x x x] [a ^{id}] ² idi[gna] [a] ^{id2} buranun-na ¹ a ¹ pu ₂ -ta a id ₂ -da ba-ra-an-šu ₂ -šu ₂ -de ₃ -en
	BabaNB1 iv 5A'	[a a-a]b-ba a du ₁₀ -a [a šeš-a] a ^{id2} ¹ idigna ¹ [a] ^{id2} buranun [a pu ₂ -ta] a ¹ id ₂ -da ¹ [ba-ra-an]-šu ₂ -šu ₂ -de ₃ -en
4.6	NinNA6 2A'	an-še ₃ ba-dal-e-en pa na-an-tuku-tuku
	BabaNB1 iv 6A'	[an-še ₃ ba]-dal-en [pa na-an-tuk]u-tuku
4.7	NinNA6 3A'	[ki]-a ba-gub-be-en [tuš na]-ab- ₂ na ₂ -an
	BabaNB1 iv 7A'	[ki-a ba-gub-b]e ₂ -en [tuš na-ab- ₂ na ₂]- ¹ na ₂ ¹
4.8	NinNA6 4A'	[₂ uruš u ₁₈]-lu [dumu di ₂ ir-r]a-na [₂ e-en-kug ₂ e-en-s]ikil [₂ e ₂ -en-dad]ag
	BabaNB1 iv 8A'	[₂ uruš u ₁₈ -lu dumu di ₂ ir-r]a- ¹ na ¹ [₂ e ₂ -en-kug ₂ e ₂ -en-sikil]
4.9	BabaNB1 iv 9A'	[...]
gap of ca. 7 lines		
5.1	NinNA8 iv' 1A'	¹ x ¹ [...] ¹ u ₃ ¹ -[...]
5.2	NinNA8 iv 2A'	siki-[...] siki ₆ ni ₆ sa ₂ na ₂ -na u ₃ -me-ni-keš ₂
5.3	NinNA8 iv 3A'	igi-be ₂ ^d utu-šuš ₂ -a-še ₃ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in- ₂ na ₂ zi ₃ u ₃ -me-ni- ₂ hu ₂ - ₂ hu ₂
5.4	NinNA8 iv 4A'	[zi di ₂ ir]r-e-ne-ke ₄ [...-p]ad ₃ [₂ ha-ba-ra-du-u]n
gap of ca. 8 lines		
6.1	NinNA2 iv 1A'	[x x x x x] ¹ u ₃ ¹ -[x x x x]

4.2	BabaNB1 iv 2B'	<i>a-^rdi¹ [i-na E₂] la-a [ta]-^ras-su-u₂¹</i>
4.3	BabaNB1 iv 3B'	<i>a-di ^ri-na¹ URU la ta-^ras¹-su-ḫu</i>
4.4	BabaNB1 iv 4B'	<i>a-ka-lu la-a ta-^rka¹ A^{meš} la ta-šat-ta</i>
4.5	NinNA6 1B' BabaNB1 iv 5B'	<i>[x x x x x x] [x x x x x x] A^{[meš} x x x x x] A^{m[^{eš} x x x x]} la-a te-l[e-em] A^{meš} tam-tim A^{meš} ta-bu-tu₂ A^{meš} mar-ru-tu₂ A^{meš} i-di-iq-lat A^{meš} ^rpu-rat¹-tu₂ A^{meš} bu-ri A^{meš} na-a-ri la te-le-me</i>
4.6	NinNA6 2B' BabaNB1 iv 6B'	<i>a-na AN-e nap-riš-[ma] kap-pa e tar-[ši] a-na AN-e nap-riš-^rma¹ kap-pa e tar-ši</i>
4.7	NinNA6 3B' BabaNB1 iv 7B'	<i>ina KI-tim nak-li-[ma] šub-ta e taš-ku-[un] i-na KI-tim nak-^rli¹-ma šub-ta e taš-kun</i>
4.8	NinNA6 4B' BabaNB1 iv 8B'	<i>eṭ-lu a-me-[lu] DUMU DINGIR-[šu] ^rli¹-[lil li-bi-ib] ^rli¹-[im-mir] ^reṭ¹-lu LÚ DUMU DINGIR-šu [l]i-[l]il li-bi-ib</i>
4.9	BabaNB1 iv 9B'	<i>[x x x x]-^rx¹-am-tu₂[?]</i>
gap of ca. 7 lines		
5.1	NinNA8 iv 1B'	<i>[...]</i>
5.2	NinNA8 iv 2B'	<i>ša[r-tu₂ ...] šar-t[u₂ ...] qa-qa-sa t[a-...]</i>
5.3	NinNA8 iv 3B'	<i>pa-ni-ša₂ ana e-reb ^rd¹[utu-ši] ta-ša-a[k-ka-an] ZI₃-DA te-e[š-šir-ma]</i>
5.4	NinNA8 iv 4B'	<i>ni-iš dingir^{meš} [gal^{meš}] u₂-tam-m[i-ki] lu ta-at-[tal-la-ki]</i>
gap of ca. 8 lines		
6.1	NinNA2 iv 1B'	<i>[...]</i>

Tablet I

6.2	NinNA2 iv 2A'	ala[n x x x x] alan [x x x x]
6.3	NinNA2 iv 3A'	siki u[z ₂ [?] x x x] siki [x x x x] u ₃ -me-[x x x]
6.4	NinNA2 iv 4A'	a ₂ -l[a ₂ [?] x x x] u ₃ -me-[x x x]
6.5	NinNA2 iv 5A'	u[dug x x x] 'x' [x x x x]
gap of max. 4 lines		
7.1	NinNA1 v 1A	lu ₂ ħul zi an-na ħe ₂ -pad ₃ zi ki-a i-pad ₃
	NinNA8 v 1A	[...]
7.2	NinNA1 v 2A	ka-inim-ma ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ -kam
	NinNA8 v 2A	[...]
7.3	NinNA1 v 3A	en ₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra-n[e ₂] nu-gig ud-da kar-ra-zu-ne
	NinNA8 v 3A	[...]
	UrknB1 1A	en ₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra-ne ₂ nu-gig ud-da kar-ra-zu-ne
7.4	NinNA1 v 4A	lu ₂ lil ₂ -la ₂ -ka eden-na mu-un-de ₆ im gu ₂ -gu ₂ -na ħe ₂ -en-de ₆
	NinNA8 v 4A	[...]
	UrknB1 2A	lu ₂ lil ₂ -la ₂ -ke ₄ eden-na mu-un-de ₆ im gu ₂ -gu ₂ - na ħe ₂ -en-de ₆
7.5	NinNA1 v 5A	nam-tar lu ₂ -kiġ-gi ₄ - ^r a ¹ ^d ereš-ki-gal-l[a-ke ₄]
	UrknB1 3A	nam-tar lu ₂ -kiġ-gi ₄ -a ^d ereš-ki-gal-la-ke ₄
7.6	NinNA1 v 6A	dag-g[a ...]
	UrknB1 4A	dag-ga-am ₃ -zu ud-da kar-ra-zu su lu ₂ gu ₃ su ₃ - su ₃
7.7	UrknB1 5A	ab-ba šu ₂ -šu ₂ ub-da gub-gub ub- da ba-an- dur ₂ -dur ₂ -ru

6.2	NinNA2 iv 2B'	[...]
6.3	NinNA2 iv 3B'	[...]
6.4	NinNA2 iv 4B'	[...]
6.5	NinNA2 iv 5B'	[...]
gap of max. 4 lines		
7.1	NinNA1 v 1B	[...]
	NinNA8 v 1B	[...]
7.2	NinNA1 v 2B	[...]
	NinNA8 v 2B	(blank)
7.3	NinNA1 v 3B	[...]
	NinNA8 v 3B	[...-a]r-ši [...-m]a [...-š]a
	UrkNB1 1B	<i>ar-da-at ša₂ u₄-ma i-ḫi-ru-ši qa-diš-tu₄ ša₂ u₄-ma i-na ḫa-ri-i-šu₂</i>
7.4	NinNA1 v 4B	[...]
	NinNA8 v 4B	[... EDE]N [...]
	UrkNB1 2B	<i>a-na li-li-i ša₂ ina EDEN i-šar-ra-bu zi-qi-qi-tu₂ al-ki-tu₂ lik^{IB}-lu-ku</i>
7.5	NinNA1 v 5B	[...]
	UrkNB1 3B	<i>nam-ta-ru dumu šip-ri ša₂ ^dereš-ki-gal</i>
7.6	NinNA1 v 6B	[...]
	UrkNB1 4B	<i>it-ti mu-par₂-ki-i u₄-ma i-ḫar-ki ina zu-mur ni-ši u₂-ša₂-as-sa-ki</i>
7.7	UrkNB1 5B	<i>ina a-pa-ti ta-at-ta-na-at-ba-ku ina tu-bu-^rqa-a-ti^l [u] ina ša₂-ḫa-a-ti ta-ta-na-[aš₂-ša₂-bi]</i>

Tablet I

7.8	UrknB1 6A	ḡešig-e nu-gi ḡeššu-diš nu-gi
7.9	UrknB1 7A	ḡešsaḡ-kul nu-gi ḡešsi-ḡar nu-gi
7.10	UrknB1 8A	^{an} usan an-na mu-un-dab an-bar ₇ kur-ra-ke ₄ mu-un-šab
7.11	UrknB1 9A	mu-un-ba [?] nu-mu-un-da-gid ₂ -de ₅
7.12	UrknB1 10A	o o o o o o ^{ak-kil} akkil mu-un-nud sa [?] in [?] -ni [?] -nud nu-mu-un-da-su ₃ -su ₃
7.13	UrknB1 11A	ḡešgu-za-na ba-ra-an-da-tuš-e-en
7.14	UrknB1 12A	ḡeš-nud-da-na ba-ra-an-da-nud-de ₃ -na
7.15	UrknB1 13A	zi an-na ḡe ₂ -pad ₃ zi ki-a ḡe ₂ -pad ₃
7.16	UrknB1 14	ka-inim-ma [[ki-sikil]] • ki-sikil-lil ₂ -[la ₂ -kam]
7.17	UrknB1 15A	en ₂ ki-sikil e ₂ -gal eden-na-ta udug ḡul mu-un-da-ru-uš :
7.18	NinNA2 v 1A'	[...]-'a' [...]-'us ₂ '
	UrknB1 16A	lu ₂ saḡ-ta nu-sa ₄ -a im-ma-an-us ₂
7.19	NinNA2 v 2A'	[...]-ta [...]-'e ₃ '-de ₃ [...-a]n-us ₂
	UrknB1 17A	lu ₂ su-be ₂ nu-e ₃ -de ₃ im-ma-an-us ₂
7.20	NinNA2 v 3A'	[...-n]e ₂ in-ra [š]u-ne ₂ -še ₃ [i]m-mi-in-ḡar
	UrknB1 18A	šu-ne ₂ in-ra šu-a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-ḡar
7.21	NinNA2 v 4A'	ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ in-ra ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-ḡar
	UrknB1 19A	ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ in-ra ḡiri ₃ -a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-ḡar
7.22	NinNA2 v 5A'	saḡ-ḡa ₂ -na [i]n-ra [sa]ḡ-ḡa ₂ -ne ₂ -še ₃ [im-m]i-in-us ₂
	UrknB1 20A	saḡ-ḡa ₂ -ne ₂ in-ra saḡ-a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-us ₂

7.8	UrkNB1 6B	^{neš} ig la ta-kal-le-e me-d[e-la la ta-kal-le-e]
7.9	UrkNB1 7B	sik-ku-ra la ta-kal-le-e si-g[ar ₃ -ra la ta-kal-le-e]
7.10	UrkNB1 8B	ina ši-mi-tan ta-kam-mi-ni ina mu-u[š-la-li ...]
7.11	UrkNB1 9B	tu-na-aš ₂ -ša ₂ -ru la [...]
7.12	UrkNB1 10B	ik-ki- ta-RU-[x x] la-a ta-nu-ḫi la-a [...]
7.13	UrkNB1 11B	ina ku-us-si-šu ₂ l[a ...]
7.14	UrkNB1 12B	ina er-ši-šu ₂ l[a
7.15	UrkNB1 13B	niš AN-e lu [
7.16	UrkNB1 14	(Sumerian continued)
7.17	UrkNB1 15B	EN ₂ ar-d[a-at li-li-i ...]
7.18	NinNA2 v 1B'	'ša' i[t-...] la-a n[a-...] iṭ-ṭe ₂ -ḫ[a-a]
	UrkNB1 16B	ša ₂ it-[ti ...]
7.19	NinNA2 v 2B'	ša ma-am-ma ina qa-ti-š[u ₂] la ip-par-ra-šu iṭ-ṭe ₂ -ḫa-a
	UrkNB1 17B	ša [...]
7.20	NinNA2 v 3B'	qa-as-su il-pu-ut-ma a-na qa-ti-šu iš-ta-kan
	UrkNB1 18B	ŠU ^{II} -[šu ₂ ...]
7.21	NinNA2 v 4B'	GIRI ₃ ^{II} -šu ₂ il-pu-ut-ma a-na GIRI ₃ ^{II} -šu iš-ta-kan
	UrkNB1 19B	GI[RI ₃ ^{II} -šu ₂ ...]
7.22	NinNA2 v 5B'	qaq-qa-su il-pu-ut-ma qaq-qa-as-su uš-'tar' ¹ -[di]
	UrkNB1 20B	[...]

Tablet I

7.23	NinNA1 vi 1A	nam-be ₂ -še ₃ ŋi ₆ -par ₃ ki kug-ga im-ma-da-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄
	UrknB1 21A	nam-be ₂ -še ₃ ŋi ₆ -par ₃ ki kug-ga im-ma-da-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄
7.24	NinNA1 vi 2A	munus-e 'an' 'mu'-un-dub ₂ ki-a 'mu-un'-sag ₃
	UrknB1 22A	munus-e an mu-un-'dub ₂ ki'-a mu-un-[sag ₃]
7.25	NinNA1 vi 3A	gaba-'ŋal ₂ ' kug ^{d+} inanna-ke ₄ an-na gu ₃ mi-ni-in-ra' ki-a šeg ₁₀ mi-'ni-ib ₂ '-g[i ₄]
	UrknB1 23A	gaba-ŋal ₂ -a ^{d+} inanna-ke ₄ an-na gu ₃ mi-ni-in-[ra] ki- • a • gu ₃ mi-ni-in-r[a]
7.26	NinNA1 vi 4A	izi in-r[a] [iz]i 'im-ma'-a[n-sur ₈]
	UrknB1 24A	izi in-ra izi im-ma-an-su[r ₈]
7.27	UrknB1 25A	ka ₂ e ₂ -an-<na>-ke ₄ saŋ-ba ba-[a [?]]
7.28	NinNA10 1A'	[...]
	UrknB1 26A	udug ħul a-la ₂ ħul e ₂ -a ba-ra-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃
7.29	NinNA10 2A'	[...]
	UrknB1 27A	udug ħul dab-ba-a-ne ₂ bar-še ₃ ħe ₂ -em-ta-gub
7.30	UrknB1 28A	udug sag ₁₀ -ga ^d lamma sag ₁₀ -ga ħe ₂ -em-da-'su ₈ '-su ₈ -ge-eš
7.31	UrknB1 29	ka-inim- • • • ma ki-sikil li[l ₂ -la ₂ -kam]

7.23	NinNA1 vi 1B	<i>aš-ša-at-ti ana gi-pa-a-ri el-l[i] e-ru-ub-ma</i>
	UrknB1 21B	[...]
7.24	NinNA1 vi 2B	MUNUS AN-e u_2 -r[ab] KI-ta u_2 -ne $_2$ -r[i-iṭ]
	UrknB1 22B	[...]
7.25	NinNA1 vi 3B	<i>ga-pu-uš-tu₂ u KU₃-tu ^diš-tar ina AN-e is-si [ina K]I-</i> <i>^rti₃^r is^r-s[i]</i>
	UrknB1 23B	[...]
7.26	NinNA1 vi 4B	[...]
	UrknB1 24B	[...]
7.27	UrknB1 25B	[...]
7.28	NinNA10 1B'	<i>[u-tuk-ku lem-n]u [a-lu-u le]m-nu [ana] E₂-šu [la</i> <i>t]er-ru-ub-šu₂</i>
	UrknB1 26B	<i>^ru₂^r-[tuk-ku lem-nu ...]</i>
7.29	NinNA10 2B'	<i>^ru^r-tuk-ku lem-nu [š]a šab-tu-šu₂ [ina] ^ra^r-ḫi-ti li-iz-ziz</i>
	UrknB1 27B	<i>u-tu[k-ku lem-nu ...]</i>
7.30	UrknB1 28B	<i>še-ed dum-[qi₂ ...]</i>
7.31	UrknB1 29	(Sumerian continued)

Tablet II

Manuscript placement within Tablet II

BabaNB3	5.14–18
KalNA1	6.2–14
NinNA3	1.14–21; 2.7–13; 7.4–9
NinNA4	1.1–4 22–25; 3.1–4; 6.1–2; 7.1–3
NinNA5	2.6–7; 5.3–13, 19–26; 6.15–17
NinNA7	4.1–3
NinNA9	5.14–15; 6.3–6
UrknB1	1.1–9
UrknB2	1.8–27; 5.1–14
UrknB3	2.1–10

Text Partitur of Tablet II

line-count	mscr line-count	A: Sumerian
1.1	NinNA4 i 1A	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ab lil ₂ -la ₂ ke ₄ -de ₃ ki-sikil-la na-nam [?]
	UrknB1 29A	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ -e ab lil ₂ la ₂ -e-de ₃ ki-sikil-la o o o o o o o o ba-zi-ga
1.2	NinNA4 i 2A	ki-sikil munus-am ₃ [ŋ]eš ₃ nu-dug ₄ -ga
	UrknB1 30A	ki-sikil munus-am ₃ ŋeš ₃ nu-dug ₄ - • ga
1.3	NinNA4 i 3A	[ki]-sikil munus-ʽam ₃ ʽ [ŋe]š ₃ [?] ʽnuʽ-ge ₄ -a
	UrknB1 31A	ki-sikil munus • -am ₃ ŋeš nu-ge ₄ ħe- • pi ₂
1.4	NinNA4 i 4A	[... d]am-d[a ...]
	UrknB1 32A	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-da ħi-li šu <nu>-tag-tag
1.5	UrknB1 33A	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-ke ₄ tug ₂ nu-un-sig ₉ -ga
1.6	UrknB1 34A	ki-sikil ŋuruš sag ₁₀ -ga ŋeš [?] dalla ₂ -a-ne ₂ nu-duh-a
1.7	UrknB1 35A	ki-sikil ubur-a-ne ₂ ga nu-ŋal ₂ -la a gig-ga i-i

line-count	mscr line-count	B: Akkadian
1.1	NinNA4 i 1B	<i>ar-da-at li-li-i ina ap-ti a-we-li iz-zi-qa ar-da-tu₂ la še-em-ta</i>
	UrkNB1 29B	<i>ar-da-at l[i-li-i] la []</i>
1.2	NinNA4 i 2B	MIN <i>ša₂ ki-ma sin-niš-ti la-a re-ḥa-tu</i>
	UrkNB1 30B	<i>ar-dat ša₂ ki-ma [...]</i>
1.3	NinNA4 i 3B	MIN <i>ša₂ ki-ma sin-niš-ti la naq-pa-tu₂</i>
	UrkNB1 31B	MIN <i>ša₂ ki-ma sin- [...]</i>
1.4	NinNA4 i 4B	[MI]N <i>š[a₂ ina su-un m]u-^rti¹-[ša₂] [x x x x x]</i>
	UrkNB1 32B	MIN <i>ša₂ ina su-un mu-ti-[</i>
1.5	UrkNB1 33B	MIN <i>ša₂ ina su-un mu-ti-š[u</i>
1.6	UrkNB1 34B	MIN <i>ša₂ eṭ-lu dam-qa ši[l-...]</i>
1.7	UrkNB1 35B	MIN <i>ša₂ tu-li-šu₂ ši-zib-ba [...]</i>

Tablet II

1.8	UrknB1 36A	ki-sikil ur ₂ ħi-li ħuruš-e si nu-si-sa ₂ la-la-a-ne ₂ na-ba-ge ₄ -a :
	UrknB2 1A'	[...] [...]-'ne ₂ ' nam-b[a]-'ge ₄ '-a
1.9	UrknB1 37A	ki-sikil itima nu-tuku mu nu ama pad ₃ -da
	UrknB2 2A'	[x x] nu-tuku mu nu ama pad ₃ -da
1.10	UrknB2 3A'	[x x un]u ₂ ^{ur} ur ₅ -ra ba-an-da-šeš-a
1.11	UrknB2 4A'	[x x k]i ki-sikil-e-ne nu-un-ħul ₂ -la
1.12	UrknB2 5A'	[x x eze]n ^{ri-zi¹-in} iri-a-na-še ₃ igi nu-mu-un-ni- in-duh [x x -b]e ₂ -e in-il ₂
1.13	UrknB2 6A'	[... am]a ₅ -a-ne ₂ dam kar-ra
1.14	NinNA3 i 1A'	[...] [...] nu-u ₃ -tu-ud]-'da'
	UrknB2 7A'	[... da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-u ₃ -tu-ud-da
1.15	NinNA3 i 2A'	[ki-siki]l 'dam nu-tuku'-a [dumu] nu-e ₃ -a
	UrknB2 8A'	[... da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-e ₃ -a
1.16	NinNA3 i 3A'	[ki-sikil d]am nu-tuku-a [dumu n]u-tuku-a
	UrknB2 9A'	[... da]m nu-tuku dumu nu-tuku-a
1.17	NinNA3 i 4A'	[...]
	UrknB2 10A'	[... da]m kar-ra dumu kar-ra
1.18	NinNA3 i 5A'	[...]
	UrknB2 11A'	[...] ušbar-ra-na-ke ₄ im-ma-ra-e ₃
1.19	NinNA3 i 6A'	[...]
	UrknB2 12A'	[...] ab-ta im-gen ₇ im-ma-ra-e ₃

1.8	UrkNB1 36B	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina su-un eṭ-lu kuz-ba la [...]</i>
	UrkNB2 1B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina 'su-un eṭ'-l[i kuz-b]a 'la im'-lu-u₂ la-la-a la iš-bu-u₂</i>
1.9	UrkNB1 37B	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>maš-ta-ki la i-šu-u₂ šu-um 'um-mi' N[U i]z-kur</i>
	UrkNB2 2B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>maš-ta-ki la i-šu-u₂ šu-um um-mi la iz-ku-ru</i>
1.10	UrkNB2 3B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina q_{i3}-da-a-ti u₂-suk-ki ul-ta-mi-nu</i>
1.11	UrkNB2 4B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>it-ti ar-da-a-ti la iḥ-du-u₂</i>
1.12	UrkNB2 5B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina i-sin-ni URU-šu₂ la in-nam-ru IGI^{II} la i-na-aš₂-šu-u₂</i>
1.13	UrkNB2 6B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina maš-ta-ki-ša₂ mu-tu ek-me-et</i>
1.14	NinNA3 i 1B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-t[a la i-šu₂-u] ma-[a-ra] la u[l-du]</i>
	UrkNB2 7B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-tu la i-šu-u₂ ma-ra la ul-du</i>
1.15	NinNA3 i 2B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-ta l[a i-šu₂-u] ma-a-[ra] [l]a [u₂-ra]b-b[u-u₂]</i>
	UrkNB2 8B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-tu la i-šu-u₂ ma-ra la u₂-rab-bu-u₂</i>
1.16	NinNA3 i 3B'	[MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-ta la</i>] <i>'i'-šu₂-u [ma-a-r]a [la i-š]u₂-u</i>
	UrkNB2 9B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-tu la i-šu-u₂ ma-ra la i-šu-u₂</i>
1.17	NinNA3 i 4B'	[MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-ta ek-me</i>]- <i>'et' [ma-ra e]ṭ-'re-et'</i>
	UrkNB2 10B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>mu-tu ek-me-tu ma-ra ek-me-et</i>
1.18	NinNA3 i 5B'	[a]r-da-tu ₂ [$\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina</i>] <i>'E₂ e'-mu-ti-ša₂ [š]u-ša-a-at</i>
	UrkNB2 11B'	MIN $\check{s}a_2$ <i>ina E₂ e-mu-ti-ša₂ šu-ša-a-tu</i>
1.19	NinNA3 i 6A'	[MIN] $\check{s}a_2$ <i>'ki'-ma ša₂-a-ri [i]na ap-ti [š]u-ša-a-at</i>
	UrkNB2 12B'	<i>ar-da-at li-li-i ša₂ ki-ma ša₂-a-ri ina ap-tu₂ šu-ša-a-tu₂</i>

Tablet II

1.20	NinNA3 i 7A'	[...]
	UrknB2 13A'	[...] dug ₄ -ga ka-ta nu-ḡal ₂ -la
1.21	NinNA3 i 8A'	[...]
	UrknB2 14A'	[... g]ig-ga šag ₄ -ne ₂ ^{ke-eš} ki-še ₃ ba-ab-tum ₂ -mu
1.22	NinNA4 ii 1A	ki-sikil šu ^{d+} inanna-k[e ₄] gud ₃ -ta de ₆ -[a]
	UrknB2 15A'	[... g]ud ₃ ^r gu-u ₂ -tu ¹ -t[a ...] x
1.23	NinNA4 ii 2A	ki-sikil eden- ^r na ^r d[aḡal-la] bar-ta niḡin-ni[ḡin-ne]
	UrknB2 16A'	[...]
1.24	NinNA4 ii 3A	ki-sikil [x x x]da-ta di[b-dib-be]
	UrknB2 17A'	[...]
1.25	NinNA4 ii 4A	[k]i-s[ikil ...]
	UrknB2 18A'	[...]
1.26	UrknB2 19A'	[...]
1.27	UrknB2 20A'	[...]
gap of ca. 3 lines		
2.1	UrknB3 1A'	^r x ^r [...]
2.2	UrknB3 2A'	ḡeš-g[e ...]
2.3	UrknB3 3A'	a ₂ -ḡa ₂ [?] -be ₂ x [...]
2.4	UrknB3 4A'	saḡ-be ₂ nu-mu-u[n ...]
2.5	UrknB3 5A'	tu-ra saḡ-gig saḡ-ḡa ₂ -n[a ...]

1.20	NinNA3 i 7B'	[M]IN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2 \text{\textit{e-}\textit{\text{te}}_2\text{-em-ma-}\textit{\text{ša}}}$ [<i>i</i>]na pi- ^r i la ib- $\text{\textit{\text{šu}}}$ -u ^r
	UrkNB2 13B'	MIN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2 \text{\textit{e-}\textit{\text{te}}_2\text{-em-ma-}\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ ina pi-i la ib- $\text{\textit{\text{šu}}}$ -u ₂
1.21	NinNA3 i 8B'	[M]IN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2 \text{\textit{mu-ru-u}\textit{\text{ṣ}}}$ lib ₃ -bi- $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ [<i>an</i>]a er- $\text{\textit{\text{še}}}$ -ti ub-lu- $\text{\textit{\text{ši}}}$
	UrkNB2 14B'	MIN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2 \text{\textit{mu-ru-u}\textit{\text{ṣ}}}$ lib ₃ -bi- $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ ana KI-tim ub-lu- $\text{\textit{\text{ši}}}$
1.22	NinNA4 ii 1B	[...]
	UrkNB2 15B'	MIN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ ŠU ^{II} ^d 15 ina qin-ni u ₂ -ra-a $\text{\textit{\text{š}}}_2$ - $\text{\textit{\text{ši}}}$
1.23	NinNA4 ii 2B	[...]
	UrkNB2 16B'	MIN $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ ina $\text{\textit{\text{še-ri}}}_3 \text{\textit{rap-}\textit{\text{šu}}}_2$ ina a- $\text{\textit{\text{ḫa-a-ti is-sa-na-}\textit{\text{ḫu-ru}}$
1.24	NinNA4 ii 3B	[...]
	UrkNB2 17B'	[<i>ar-da-tu</i> ₂] ^r $\text{\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ ina a- $\text{\textit{\text{ḫa-a-ti ip-ta-na-a}\textit{\text{š}}}_2\text{-}\textit{\text{ša}}}_2$ -ri
1.25	NinNA4 ii 4B	[...]
	UrkNB2 18B'	[x x x x x] ^r x ^r -DI it-ta-nam-za-zu
1.26	UrkNB2 19B'	[... - $\text{\textit{\text{ḫ}}}$]u ² -ru u ₂ -ri ana u ₂ -ri x ² [... it-ta-n]ab-lak-ka-t[u ...]
1.27	UrkNB2 20B'	[...] ^r x ^r
gap of ca. 3 lines		
2.1	UrkNB3 1B'	[...]
2.2	UrkNB3 2B'	[...]
2.3	UrkNB3 3B'	[...]
2.4	UrkNB3 4B'	[...]
2.5	UrkNB3 5B'	[...]

Tablet II

2.6	NinNA5 ii 1A'	[...]
	UrknB3 6A'	'tu'-ra me-dim ₂ -a-ne ₂ ba-an-'x-x-be'
2.7	NinNA3 ii 1A'	t[u-ra ...] t[ug ₂ ...]
	NinNA5 ii 2A'	[...]
	UrknB3 7A'	[x x s] _{a7} -alan-be ₂ tug ₂ -gen ₇ 'bi ₂ '-in-dul
2.8	NinNA3 ii 2A'	'ugu-na' [x x x] ηissu-na bi ₂ -[x x]
	UrknB3 8A'	ugu-na dur ₂ -a ^{du-ra} ηissu-na bi ₂ -in-[š _{u2}]-'š _{u2} '
2.9	NinNA3 ii 3A'	su-[ne ₂] 'a'-ηi ₆ -a-g[en ₇] 'mu-un-du ₇ '-[du ₇]
	UrknB3 9A'	su-be ₂ a-ηi ₆ -a-gen ₇ 'mu-un-du ₇ -du ₇ '
2.10	NinNA3 ii 4A'	a ₂ -š _u -ηiri ₃ -n[e ₂] ^{ηe} [š _{ra}]b-maḥ-a-[x] ba-an-ni-'x'-[x]
	UrknB3 10A'	a ₂ -š _u -ηir ₃ -b[e ₂ ...]
2.11	NinNA3 ii 5A'	ud ba-'da-an-er ₂ -ra' ηi ₆ ba-da-an-er ₂ -ra
2.12	NinNA3 ii 6A'	lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu dumu diḡir-ra-na zi-ne ₂ -ta ^{u2} NUMUN ₂ -am ₃ [x]-'x'-[x]-bur ₂ -re [^{u2} NUMUN ₂]-am ₃ [x x x z] _{i2} -e
2.13	NinNA3 ii 7A'	[^d asal-lu ₂ -ḡi igi im-m]a-an-s[ig ₁₀]
very short or no gap		
3.1	NinNA4 iii 1A'	[...]
3.2	NinNA4 iii 2A'	[...]
3.3	NinNA4 iii 3A'	[...]
3.4	NinNA4 iii 4A'	[...]-'an-tum ₂ '
3.5	NinNA4 iii 5A'	[sišku]r 'gal'-e-meš [u ₃ -m]e-ni-dug ₄

2.6	UrkNB3 6B'	^r ša ¹ [LU ₂] <i>bi-i[n-...]</i>
	NinNA5 ii 1B'	[ša L]U ₂ [...]-šu [...]-IG
2.7	NinNA3 ii 1B'	[...]
	NinNA5 ii 2B'	[ša L]U ₂ [...]-šu ₂ [...]-bat [...]
	UrkNB3 7B'	ša ₂ LU ₂ <i>bu-un-na-ne₂-e-šu₂ ki-ma šu-bat ik-ta-ta[m-šu₂]</i>
2.8	NinNA3 ii 2B'	[...]
	UrkNB3 8B'	<i>e-li-šu₂ ir-bi²-iṣ-ma ṣil-la-šu₂ ik-ta-ta[m-šu₂]</i>
2.9	NinNA3 ii 3B'	[...]
	UrkNB3 9B'	^r zu ¹ -mur-šu ₂ <i>ki-ma a-ge-e u₂-še-zib₂-[šu₂]</i>
2.10	NinNA3 ii 4B'	[...]
	UrkNB3 10B'	[x x x x x] x x x x [x x]
2.11	NinNA3 ii 5B'	[...]
2.12	NinNA3 ii 6B'	<i>a-[wi-lu DUMU DINGIR-šu₂] n[a-piṣ-ta-šu] ^rki¹-m[a x x x] is-[su-uḫ] ^rki¹-ma [x x x] ib-q[u₂-šu]</i>
2.13	NinNA3 ii 7B'	[...]
very short or no gap		
3.1	NinNA4 iii 1B'	(blank)
3.2	NinNA4 iii 2B'	[...]- ^r x ¹ ša [... n]a-ta [...]- ^r x ¹ -ta [...]- ^r x ¹ -ni
3.3	NinNA4 iii 3B'	[...]-iṣ [...]- ^r x ¹ -šu
3.4	NinNA4 iii 4B'	[ar]-da-tu ^r ana ¹ ^r KI ¹ -ti lit-bal
3.5	NinNA4 iii 5B'	<i>ni-qa-a ra-ab-bi-iṣ i-qi₂-ma</i>

Tablet II

3.6	NinNA4 iii 6A'	[lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu-b]e ₂ [igi ^d utu(-ke ₄) ...]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
4.1	NinNA7 1A'	[...] u ₃ -[...]
4.2	NinNA7 2A'	7 ala[n x x] ki-sikil lil ₂ -[la ₂ -ke ₄ -ne] u ₃ -me-n[i-x]
4.3	NinNA7 3A'	7 ^{kuš} u[mmud [?] x x] a u ₃ -m[e-x-x]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
5.1	UrknB2 1A"	[...]
5.2	UrknB2 2A"	[...]
5.3	NinNA5 iii 1A'	[... u ₃ -me-ni]- ^r ḡar ^r
	UrknB2 3A"	[...]
5.4	NinNA5 iii 2A'	[... a ₂ -n]e-ne-a ^r u ₃ ^r -[me-ni]-la ₂ -la ₂
	UrknB2 4A"	[...]
5.5	NinNA5 iii 3A'	s[iki uzud ḡeš ₃] ^r nu ^r -zu ba[bbar ḡi ₆]-be ₂ ^r u ₃ ^r -[me-ni]-zi
	UrknB2 5A"	[...]
5.6	NinNA5 iii 4A'	^r gu 3 ^r -tab-ba ^r u ₃ ^r -me-ni-nu
	UrknB2 6A"	[...]
5.7	NinNA5 iii 5A'	[al]an-ne-ne-a [sa]ḡ-ne-ne-a [u ₃]-me-ni-keš ₂
	UrknB2 7A"	[...]
5.8	NinNA5 iii 6A'	[igi]-be ₂ [^d utu-šuš ₂ -a]-še ₃ [u ₃ -me-n]i-ḡar [zi ₃ u ₃ -me-ni-ḡur]-ḡur
	UrknB2 8A"	[...]

3.6	NinNA4 iii 6B'	<i>a-mi-la</i> [<i>pa-n</i>] <i>a-at</i> ^d <i>r</i> š <i>a-maš</i> ¹ [...]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
4.1	NinNA7 1B'	[...]
4.2	NinNA7 2B'	[...]
4.3	NinNA7 3B'	[...]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
5.1	UrkNB2 1B"	[...] ^r <i>x</i> ¹ [<i>x</i> ² (<i>x</i> ² <i>x</i> ²)]
5.2	UrkNB2 2B"	[<i>x x x x x x x-l</i>] <i>i</i> -[<i>x</i> ² (<i>x</i> ² <i>x</i> ²)]
5.3	NinNA5 iii 1B'	[...]
	UrkNB2 3B"	[<i>x x x x x x x</i>]- <i>li</i> -[<i>x</i> ² (<i>x</i> ² <i>x</i> ²)]
5.4	NinNA5 iii 2B'	<i>i-d</i> [<i>e-šu-nu-ti</i>] <i>te-ed-di-i</i> [<i>r-ma</i>]
	UrkNB2 4B"	[... <i>i-de-š</i>] <i>u</i> ₂ - <i>nu-ti</i> [<i>teddirma</i>]
5.5	NinNA5 iii 3B'	š <i>a</i> ₂ - <i>rat u</i> ₂ - <i>ni-^rqi</i> ₂ ¹ <i>la pe-ti-ta</i> <i>pa-ši-ta u ša-lim-ta</i> <i>ta-na-saḥ-ma</i>
	UrkNB2 5B"	[... <i>pe-ši-t</i>] <i>a u ša-lim-ta ta-na-saḥ-ma</i>
5.6	NinNA5 iii 4B'	<i>qe</i> ₂ - <i>e eš-pi</i> <i>ta-ṭa-mi-ma</i>
	UrkNB2 6B"	[...]- <i>ma</i>
5.7	NinNA5 iii 5B'	š <i>a</i> ₂ <i>šal-me šu</i> ₂ - <i>nu-ti</i> <i>ina qa-qa-de-šu</i> ₂ - <i>nu</i> <i>ta-ra-kas-ma</i>
	UrkNB2 7B"	[... <i>ta-ra</i>]- <i>kas-ma</i>
5.8	NinNA5 iii 6B'	<i>pa-ne</i> ₂ -š <i>u</i> ₂ - <i>nu</i> <i>a-na e-reb</i> ^d UTU-š <i>i</i> <i>ta-šak-kan-ma</i> <i>qe</i> ₂ - <i>ma te-eš-šir</i>
	UrkNB2 8B"	[...] <i>qe</i> ₂ - <i>me te-eš-šir</i>

Tablet II

5.9	NinNA5 iii 7A'	[ki-sig ₁₀]- ^r ga'-ne-ne-a [ki-še ₃ b]i ₂ -dur ₂ -ru-ne-eš
	UrknB2 9A"	[...]
5.10	NinNA5 iii 8A'	[ka ₂ ^d a-nun-na-k]e ₄ -ne [ḫe ₂ -en-si-l]e- ^r e'
	UrknB2 10A"	[...]
5.11	NinNA5 iii 9A'	[...] [...] [...]
	UrknB2 11A"	[zi ^d a-nun-na-ke ₄]- ^r ne' [diḡir gal-gal-meš i-ri-pad ₃]
5.12	NinNA5 iii 10A'	[zi an-na zi k]i-a [i-r]i- ^r pad ₃ '
	UrknB2 12A"	[zi an-ki-be ₂ -d]a i-ri- ^r pad ₃ '
5.13	NinNA5 iii 11A'	[lu ₂ tu-ra] ^r a ₂ '-la ₂ -a-ne ₂ [ḫa-ba-a]n-duh
	UrknB2 13A"	[lu ₂ tu-ra a ₂ -la ₂ -a-ne ₂] ḫa-ba-an-duh
5.14	BabaNB3 1A'	[...] udu [...] amaš-zu-še ₃ g[ur-ra ...]
	NinNA9 iv 1A'	k[i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂] udu [x(x)-gen ₇] amaš-z[u-še ₃] gur-ra [...]
	UrknB2 14A"	[... gur [?] -r]a [?] ḫa'- ^r ab [?] -teḡ ₃ [?] -teḡ ₃ [?]
5.15	BabaNB3 2A'	ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ l[u ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu dumu] dumu diḡir-ra-[ne] ba-ra-na-teḡ ₃ -ḡe ₂₆ -de ₃ -e[n] ba-ra-na-ge ₄ -ge ₄ -de ₃ -e[n]
	NinNA9 iv 2A'	ki-sikil l[il ₂ -la ₂] lu ₂ -u[₁₈ -lu] dumu diḡir-r[a-ne ₂] ba-ra-[na-teḡ ₃] -teḡ ₃ -ḡe ₂₆ [-de ₃ -en] b[a-ra-na-ge ₄ -ge ₄ -de ₃ -en]
5.16	BabaNB3 3A'	lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu-be ₂ ḫe ₂ -sikil ḫe ₂ -dada[g]
5.17	BabaNB3 4A'	eme ḫul-ḡal ₂ bar-še ₃ [ḫe ₂ -e]m-ta-gub
5.18	NinNA5 iv 1A'	[ka-inim-ma ki-sikil lil ₂ -l]a ₂ -kam o o o o o
	BabaNB3 5A'	[ka-inim]- ^r ma' ki-sikil li[l ₂ -la ₂ -kam]

5.9	NinNA5 iii 7B'	<i>ana ki-si-ge-šu₂-nu aš₂-riš li-ši-bu-ma</i>
	UrknB2 9B"	[... <i>l</i>]i-ši-bu-ma
5.10	NinNA5 iii 8B'	<i>ina KA₂ ^da-nun-na-ki lid-da-pi-ru</i>
	UrknB2 10B"	[... <i>lid-d</i>]a-pi-ru
5.11	NinNA5 iii 9B'	[niš ^d a]- ^r nun ¹ -na-ki ^r DINGIR ^{1meš} GAL ^{meš} tum ₃ -me- šu ₂ -nu-ti-ma
	UrknB2 11B"	[... <i>tu</i>]m ₃ -me-šu ₂ -nu-ti
5.12	NinNA5 iii 10B'	<i>niš AN-e u KI-ti₃ tum₃-me-šu₂-nu-ti-ma</i>
	UrknB2 12B"	^r niš ^r [šamê] u KI-ti ₃ tum ₃ -me-šu ₂ -nu-ti
5.13	NinNA5 iii 11B'	<i>mar-šu i²-il-ta-šu₂ li-ip-pa-ṭi₂-ir</i>
	UrknB2 13B"	<i>mar-šu i-il-ta-šu₂ lip-pa-ṭir</i>
5.14	BabaNB3 1B'	[...]
	NinNA9 iv 1B'	[...]
	UrknB2 14B"	^r KI [?] -SIKIL [?] li [?] -li [?] ki [?] -ma [?] ^r im ¹ - ^r me ¹ -ri ana su-pu-ri li- tu [?] -ur
5.15	BabaNB3 2B'	[...]
	NinNA9 iv 2B'	[...]
5.16	BabaNB3 3B'	[...]
5.17	BabaNB3 4B'	[...]
5.18	NinNA5 iv 1B'	(blank)
	BabaNB3 5B'	[...]

Tablet II

5.19	NinNA5 iv 2A'	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ ab-ba gur-gur-kam
5.20	NinNA5 iv 3A'	[k]i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ [a]b-ba e ₂ -ta [o] sur-ra-ab
5.21	NinNA5 iv 4A'	[ki-siki]l munus-ta-am ₃ [nita ₂ nu-r]i-a-be ₂
5.22	NinNA5 iv 5A'	[ki-sikil] 'munus-ta-am ₃ ' 'nita' ŋeš nu-ge ₄ -a
5.23	NinNA5 iv 6A'	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-na-kam ħi-li šu nu-tag-ga • • •
5.24	NinNA5 iv 7A'	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-ne ₂ -kam tug ₂ -ba šu nu- sig ₉ -ga
5.25	NinNA5 iv 8A'	ki-sikil ^{1u2} guruš sag ₁₀ -ga dalla ₂ -a-ne ₂ [š]u 'nu-mu-un'-duh-a
5.26	NinNA5 iv 9A'	[ki-sikil ub]ur-a-ne ₂ [ga nu-ŋal ₂ -l]a [a gig-ga i-i]
gap of 1 line		
6.1	NinNA4 iv 1A'	[...] 'x' [...] ama 'mu nu-pad ₃ -a' mu nu-un- ŋa ₂ -ŋa ₂
6.2	KalNA1 1A'	[x x x ki-sikil]-e-n[e] 'sila ^{?'} 'e ^{?'} -[sir ₂ -ra x x x x x]
	NinNA4 iv 2A'	ki-sikil ki ki-sikil-e-ne 'sila' e-sir ₂ -ra nu- mu-un-dib-ba
6.3	KalNA1 2A'	[x x x x] iri-na-še ₃ igi nu-mu-u[n-ni-duh-a]
	NinNA9 v 1A'	[...]
6.4	KalNA1 3A'	[x x x nu]-un-tuku-a dam 'mu'-un-[kar-a]
	NinNA9 v 2A'	[...]
6.5	KalNA1 4A'	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-u ₃ -tu-ud-da- [a]
	NinNA9 v 3A'	[...]
6.6	KalNA1 5A'	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-e ₃ -a
	NinNA9 v 4A'	[...]

5.19	NinNA5 iv 2B'	<i>ar-da-at</i> <i>ša</i> E ₂ <i>za-qi₂-qi₂</i> <i>ana ar-da-tu</i> <i>ina ap-ti it-ta-^rnu¹-ru</i>
5.20	NinNA5 iv 3B'	<i>ar-da-at li-li-i</i> <i>ša₂ ina ap-ti</i> E ₂ <i>ana</i> LU ₂ <i>iš-ru-ru</i>
5.21	NinNA5 iv 4B'	<i>ar-da-t[u]</i> <i>ša₂ ki-ma sin-niš-[ti]</i> NITA ₂ <i>la-a ir-ḥ[u-u-ši]</i>
5.22	NinNA5 iv 5B'	MIN <i>ša₂ 'ki-ma sin-niš- 'ti '</i> NITA ₂ <i>la-a i-ki-pu-ši</i>
5.23	NinNA5 iv 6B'	MIN <i>ša₂ ina su₂-un</i> <i>mu-ti-ša₂</i> <i>ku-uz-ba</i> <i>la il-pu-tu₂</i>
5.24	NinNA5 iv 7B'	MIN <i>ša₂ ina su₂-un</i> <i>mu-ti-ša₂</i> <i>šu-bat-sa</i> <i>la iš-ḥu-tu</i>
5.25	NinNA5 iv 8B'	MIN <i>ša₂ eṭ-lu dam-qu</i> <i>šil-la-ša₂</i> <i>la-a ip-tu-ru</i>
5.26	NinNA5 iv 9B'	MIN <i>ša₂ ina muš-ši-ša₂</i> <i>ši-iz-bu la ib-šu₂-u</i> [<i>me-e mar-ši u₂-šu</i>]- ^r u ¹
gap of 1 line		
6.1	NinNA4 iv 1B'	[...] ^r x x x ¹ [x] ^r la ¹ <i>i-pu-šu₂</i> ^r šu-um ¹ <i>um-mu</i> ^r la ¹ <i>iz₂-ku-ru</i> <i>šu-ma la iš-ku-nu</i>
6.2	KalNA1 1B'	[x x x x <i>ar</i>]- <i>da-te</i> <<ana>> <i>su-qa u 'su¹-l[a-a x x x x x]</i>
	NinNA4 iv 2B'	<i>ar-da-tu₂</i> <i>ša₂ it-ti ar-da-a-ti</i> <i>su-qa u su-la-a</i> <i>la-a i-ba-²-u</i>
6.3	KalNA1 2B'	[x x x x <i>i-sin-n</i>] <i>i</i> URU- <i>ša la i[n-nam-ru-ši]</i>
	NinNA9 v 1B'	[<i>ar-da</i>]- ^r tu ₂ <i>ša₂ ni-ši¹</i> [<i>ina i-sin-n</i>] <i>i</i> URU- <i>ša</i> [<i>la i</i>] <i>n-nam-ru-ši</i>
6.4	KalNA1 3B'	[x x x]- ^r ka ¹ <i>la i-šu-u₂ mu-ta e[k-me-et]</i>
	NinNA9 v 2B'	[... <i>maš-t</i>] <i>a-ka la i-šu₂-u</i> [...] <i>ek-me-et</i>
6.5	KalNA1 4B'	[x x x x] <i>la i-šu-u ma-ra la ul-d[u]</i>
	NinNA9 v 3B'	[...] ^r la <i>i-šu¹-u</i> [...- <i>d</i>] <i>u</i>
6.6	KalNA1 5B'	[x x x x] <i>la i-šu-u₂ ma-ra la u₂-re-bu-u</i>
	NinNA9 v 4B'	[...]- <i>u</i> [...] - ^r x ¹

Tablet II

6.7	KalNA1 6A'	[ki-sikil li] _{l2} -gen ₇ ab-ba lu ₂ e ₂ -ta ba-ra-e ₃ -en
6.8	KalNA1 7A'	[ki-sikil gig-g]a ki-še ₃ mu-un-tum ₃ -tum ₃ -mu
6.9	KalNA1 8A'	[x x x x x im]-mi-in-ra-ra
6.10	KalNA1 9A'	[x x x x] 'šu ^{III} ba-an-ḡar-re-eš
6.11	KalNA1 10'	[x x x x x] ba-an-ḡar-re-eš
6.12	KalNA1 11'	[...] (Akkadian)
6.13	KalNA1 12'	[...] (Akkadian)
6.14	KalNA1 13A'	[x x x x x x x-i]n-du[g ₄]
6.15	NinNA5 v 1A'	[...]
6.16	NinNA5 v 2A'	[...]
6.17	NinNA5 v 3A'	[...]
gap ca. 4 lines		
7.1	NinNA4 v 1A'	K[A ...] ba-an-'x-na'
7.2	NinNA4 v 2A'	lu ₂ tu-ra ^d asal-lu ₂ -ḡi igi im-ma-an-sig ₁₀
7.3	NinNA4 v 3A'	a-a-ne ₂ ^d en-ki-ke ₄ e ₂ -a ba-ši-in-ku ₄ gu ₃ mu-un-na-an-de ₂ -e
7.4	NinNA3 vi 1A	'a'-a-ḡu ₁₀ ki-sikil [e]den-na lil ₂ -la ₂ [k]i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ [a]b-ba gur-gur-kam
7.5	NinNA3 vi 2A	[a]-ra ₂ min-kam-ma 'u ₃ '-bi ₂ -in-du ₁₁
7.6	NinNA3 vi 3A	^{d+} en-ki dumu-ne ₂ ^d asal-lu ₂ -ḡi mu-un-na-ni-ib ₂ -ge ₄ -ge ₄
7.7	NinNA3 vi 4A	im abzu-ta [u ₃ -me-n]i-teḡ ₄ -ḡa ₂
7.8	NinNA3 vi 5A	[lu ₂]-'tibira' [al]an lil ₂ -la ₂ [ki-s]ikil-lil ₂ -la ₂ [ḡe ₂ -i]b ₂ -dim ₂ -ma

6.7	KalNA1 6B'	[x x x x š]a-a-ri ina ap-ti E ₂ na-a-ša-at
6.8	KalNA1 7B'	[x x x x an]a 'er-še-ti' ub-lu-ši
6.9	KalNA1 8B'	[x x x i-šu]- ^r u ₂ ' u ₂ -hi-ir-ši-ma
6.10	KalNA1 9B'	[x x x x x] il-ta-ka-an
6.11	KalNA1 10'	[...] (Sumerian)
6.12	KalNA1 11'	[x x x x a]- ^r na' ki-GU ₂ -šu ₂ e-te-d[ir ²]
6.13	KalNA1 12'	[x x x x x x] uš-te-pel ₂ -šu
6.14	KalNA1 13B'	[x x x x x x i]q-bi-š[u]
6.15	NinNA5 v 1B'	[lu DAM-ka a]- ^r na-ku' [lu mu-tu (?)] 'at-ta'-mi [o ² D]UG ₄ -bi-šu
6.16	NinNA5 v 2B'	[KU ₃ .BABBAR] u ₃ KU ₃ .SIG ₁₇ [ina q]a-an-ni-ša [ir-t]a-kas
6.17	NinNA5 v 3B'	[x x x x-u]n- ^r nu' [...]
gap ca. 4 lines		
7.1	NinNA4 v 1B'	[...]
7.2	NinNA4 v 2B'	ma[r-ša š]a ₂ -a-tu ^d amar.utu ip-pa-lis-su-ma
7.3	NinNA4 v 3B'	a-na a-bi-šu ₂ ^d e ₂ -a 'a-na' E ₂ e-ru-ub-ma i-ša-as-si
7.4	NinNA3 vi 1B	a-bi ar-da-tu ša ₂ ina E ₂ za-qi ₂ -qi ₂ ana ar-da-a-ti ina ap-ti it-ta-nu-ru
7.5	NinNA3 vi 2B	a-di ši-na ina qa-bi-e
7.6	NinNA3 vi 3B	(blank)
7.7	NinNA3 vi 4B	ti ₂ -iṭ a[p-si-i] gi-r[i-iš-ma]
7.8	NinNA3 vi 5B	qur-[qur-ru] ša-lam [x x] u ₃ [x x x x] li-[pu-uš]

Tablet II

7.9	NinNA3 vi 6A	[...]-a
-----	--------------	---------

break (ca. 8 lines of the end of Tablet II missing)

7.9	NinNA3 vi 6B	AŠ ₂ [...] x x [...]
-----	--------------	-----------------------------------

break (ca. 8 lines of the end of Tablet II missing)

Colophons

NinNA4 vi

(Nineveh *Tablet II), Hunger (1968) Asb. Typ c

line no.	transliteration
NinNA4 vi 1'	¹ i-ḥu ¹ -[zu IGI ^{min} na-mir-tu ₄]
NinNA4 vi 2'	ni-si[q ṭup-šar-ru-ti]
NinNA4 vi 3'	ša ₂ ina LUGA[L ^{meš} -ni a-lik maḥ-ri-ia]
NinNA4 vi 4'	mam ₂ -ma šip-r[u šu-a-tu la i-ḥu-zu]
NinNA4 vi 5'	ne ₂ -me-qi ₂ ^{d+} AG t[i-kip sa-an-tak-ki ma-la ba-aš ₂ -mu]
NinNA4 vi 6'	ina DUB ^{meš} aš ₂ -ṭur a[s-niq ab-re-e-ma]
NinNA4 vi 7'	a-na ta-mar-ti ši-t[a-as-si-ia]
NinNA4 vi 8'	qe ₂ -reb E ₂ .GAL-'ia ¹ [u ₂ -kin]
NinNA4 vi 9'	NIR.GAL ₂ .ZU NU TEŠ ₂ 'LUGAL DINGIR ^{meš} AN.'ŠAR ₂
NinNA4 vi 10'	man-nu ša ₂ TUM ₃ u ₃ lu-u MU-šu ₂ KI MU-ia
NinNA4 vi 11'	i-šaṭ-ṭa-ru AN.ŠAR ₂ u ^d NIN.LIL ₂ ag-giš
NinNA4 vi 12'	ḪUŠ-iš lis-ki-pu-šu ₂ -ma MU-šu ₂ NUMUN-šu ₂ ina KUR ḪA.A ^{meš}

Translation: [...] who h[as sharp eyes;] ^{2'} the highest le[vel of the scribal arts] ^{3'-4'} as nobody among the kin[gs who came before me grasped this ski]ll. ^{5'} The wisdom of Nabû, the c[uneiform signs—as many as are created—] ^{6'} I wrote on tablets, I c[hecked, I collated, and] ^{7'} for the purpose of reading (them and) having (them) r[ead to me] ^{8'} I permanently set (them) up within my palace. ^{9'} Who trusts in you will not come to shame, Aššur, king of the gods! ^{10'-12'} The one who removes (it) or writes his name next to my name—may Aššur and Ninlil furiously and angrily overthrow him and may they destroy his name (and) his seed in the land!

line no.	transliteration
UrkNB1 38	• • EN ₂ <i>an-ni-ti ul qa-ti up-puš₄ u</i> IGI.TAB
UrkNB1 39	GIM SUMUN-š _{u2} SAR- <i>ma ba-ru₃</i> IM ¹ BA-š _{a2} - <i>a bu₁₂-kur₂</i> ^{1d+} INANNA-MU- KAM ŠAG ₄ -BAL-BAL ^{1e2} - <i>kur-za-kir</i> ^{1u} MAŠ-MAŠ GIŠ • • • • • • • • • •
UrkNB1 40	^{1d+} INANNA-MU-KAM DUMU-A-NI <i>pa-liḥ</i> ^d a-nu-um ^d NAGA u ^d IDIM NU TUM ₃ -š _{u2} <i>ina me-reš-ti-š_{u2} la u₂-šam-kiš-š_{u2}</i> • • • • • • • • • •
UrkNB1 41	<i>ina</i> TE-š _{u2} <i>ana</i> E ₂ UMUN-š _{u2} ḪE ₂ -GUR-š _{u2} š _{a2} <i>i</i> -TUM ₃ -š _{u2} ^d IM u ^d ša-la ¹ <i>lit-</i> <i>bal-š_{u2}</i> •

Translation: ³⁸ This incantation is incomplete. Properly written and collated. ³⁹ Written according to its original and collated. Tablet of Iqīšāya, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of Ekur-zakir, *mašmaššu*. Writer, ⁴⁰ Ištar-šum-ēreš; his son. The one who fears Anu, Nisaba and Ea will not remove it, will not intentionally *destroy* it. ⁴¹ In bringing it close to the house of his lord, he shall (instead) return it. The one who removes it shall (himself) be removed by Adad and Šala.

Tablet I

Composite Text and Translation¹

line-count	A: Sumerian	A: Translation
Tablet I		
<i>Inc. 1: descriptive prologue, Eṭel Lili's life</i>		
1.1	en ₂ ḡuruš sila sig ₃ -ga [...]	The young man in the street in absolute silence [...],
1.2	[...]	[...]
1.3	[ḡuruš ...-n]a [... keš-d]a	[the young man] who [was b]ound in [...] his [...],
1.4	[ḡuruš ... er ₂]-ra [... t]u- ¹ ud-da ¹	[the young man who ... mour]ning [...] gave birth,
1.5	[ḡuruš ...]-e [... s]i-ga	[the young man who ...] was filled,
1.6	[ḡuruš diṅi]r-be ₂ [ḡul-le-e]š ¹ dab-be ₂ -da ¹	[the young man whom] his [go]d held captive as i[f (the young man was) evil],
1.7	[ḡuruš] ^{d+} inanna-be ₂ [... s]i-il-la	[the young man whom] his goddess [... c]ut off,
1.8	[ḡuruš da]m nu-tuku [dumu n]u-e ₃ -a	[the young man] who did not have a s[pouse, the young man] who did not produce a [child],
1.9	[ḡuruš u]r ₂ dam-ta [ḡi-l]i šu nu-tag-ga	[the young man] who did not obtain [pleasur]e from a spouse's [la]p,
1.10	[ḡuruš u]r ₂ dam-a-na-ka ₁₃ [tug ₂ nu]-un-sig ₃ -ga	[the young man] who [did not undr]ess in his spouse's [la]p—
1.11	[ḡuruš e] ₂ ušbar-ra-na-ke ₄ [im-m]a-ra-e ₃	[the young man] was expelled from the [hous]e of his in-laws,
<i>Inc. 1: descriptive prologue, Eṭel Lili's death</i>		
1.12	[...] ¹ x x x ¹ [...] ¹ x ¹	[...]
gap of ca. 7 lines		
2.1	¹ ḡuruš x x x ¹ [...]	the young man [...]

¹ General notes on the composite text are given at the start of the commentary, see p. 186 below.

line-count	B: Akkadian	B: Translation
Tablet I		
<i>Inc. 1: descriptive prologue, Eṭel Lili's life</i>		
1.1	[eṭlu ša ina s]ūqi šaqummiš [ēdiš]šīšu ittanaššabu	[A young man who] sits [on his] own [in the s]treet in absolute silence,
1.2	[e]ṭlu ša ina qāt Namtarišu maršiš inuqqu	a [young] man who groans like a sick man in the clutch of his Namtar,
1.3	eṭlu ša ina šīmtišu šaqummatu raksat	the young man in whose destiny absolute silence is bound,
1.4	eṭlu ša ina sūq bikīti ummašu uldušu	the young man whose mother bore him on a mourning street,
1.5	eṭlu ša nissatu zumuršu iṣrupu	the young man whose body was fired by sadness,
1.6	eṭlu ša ilšu 'lemni'[š i]kmûšu	the young man whose god [cap]tured him [as] if (the young man was) evil,
1.7	eṭl[u ša] iṣtaršu is'litu'šu	the young m[an whose] goddess cut him off,
1.8	eṭlu ša aššata lā iḥuzu māra lā urabbû	the young man who did not take a wife, who did not bring up a son,
1.9	eṭlu ša 'ina sūn aššatišu' kuzba lā ilputu	the young man who did not obtain passion from his wife's lap,
1.10	eṭlu ša ina 'sūn' aššatišu ṣubāta 'lā iṣḥuṭu'	the young man who did not take off his dress in his wife's lap,
1.11	eṭlu ša ina bīt 'emū'tišu šūṣâ	the young man (who) is expelled from the house of his in-laws,
<i>Inc. 1: descriptive prologue, Eṭel Lili's death</i>		
1.12	eṭ'lu' [ša ...] 'x' [...]	the young man [who ...]
gap of ca. 7 lines		
2.1	[...]	[...]

Tablet I

<i>Inc. 1: Eṭel Lilī attacks the patient</i>		
2.2	ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku-ra gaba im-ma-an-re-eš	(The group of demons) confronted the young man who has no god.
2.3	šu-ne-ne-a šu-ne ₂ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš	They (evil Utukku and Alû ²) placed his hands on their hands,
2.4	ḡiri ₃ -ne-ne-a ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš	they placed his feet on their feet,
2.5	gu ₂ -ne ₂ gu ₂ -da im-ma-an-ḡar	he (Eṭel Lilī) placed his neck near (the patient's) neck.
2.6	ni ₂ -te-a-ne ₂ šu-bala ba-ab-ši- ^r in-ak-a ¹	When he affected the change of his (the patient's) self for it:

Inc. 1: Eṭel Lilī chooses the patient as his wife

2.7	dumu nun-na ḡa ₂ - ^r e ¹ -me-en ba-ni- ^r in-du ₁₁ ¹	“I am the son of a prince,” he said to him about it.
2.8	kug-sig ₁₇ kug-babbar ur ₂ -zu ba-ni- ^r in ¹ -si	“He (the prince) will fill your lap with gold and silver!
2.9	dam-ḡu ₁₀ ḡe ₂ -me-en ḡa ₂ -e dam-zu ḡe ₂ -a mu- ^r un ¹ -na-ab-be ₂	“You shall be my spouse—I shall be your spouse!” he says to him.
2.10	gurun ^{ḡeš} kiri ₆ -gen ₇ niḡ ₂ -la-la im-mi-in-ḡar	Like fruits of the orchard he provided him with possessions.
2.11	^r lu ₂ ¹ -u ₁₈ -lu ni ₂ -te-a-ne ₂ ba-ši-in- ^r bala ^{2,1}	The man, his self was changed for it.

gap of ca. 16 lines

Inc. 1: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions

3.1	[...] ^r u ₃ ¹ -[...]	[...]
3.2	^{kuš} e- ^r ib ₂ ¹ m[urub ₄ -ba-n] ^r a ¹ u ₃ -mu- ^r un ¹ -n[i-in]-keš ₂	after you have tied a belt around h[is wais]t,
3.3	^{kuš} e-sir ₂ ḡiri ₃ -[n]a u ₃ -mu-un-ni-i[n-s]i	after you have put sandals on h[is] feet,
3.4	^{kuš} ^r a-ḡa ₂ ¹ -la ₂ keš ₂ -da-ne ₂ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in-šum ₂	after you have given him his tied leather bag,
3.5	^{kuš} niḡ ₂ -na ₄ kug-sig ₁₇ kug-[babb]ar ^{tug²} siki-be ₂ u ₃ -mu-un-ni-in-keš ₂	after you have tied a bag of gold and silver to the fringe of their clothes,
3.6	ki-si ₃ -ga eden-na ḡa-ba-ra-ab-la ₂ -e	he shall lay out the offering for the dead in the wilderness for you!

Inc. 1: Eṭel Lilī attacks the patient

2.2	<i>lā bēl [ili] imtaḥḥarū</i>	They (<i>the group of demons</i>) confront the one without [a god]:
2.3	<i>qātīš[un]u ana qātīšu [iškunū]</i>	[They (<i>Utukku and Alū</i> ²) placed thei]r hands on his hands,
2.4	<i>šēpī[šunu] ana šē^rpī^rš[u iškunū]</i>	[they placed their] feet on [his] feet,
2.5	<i>kiš[ādātišunu²] 'itti^r kišā^rdisu^r [iškunu²]</i>	[they placed their] n[ecks] near [his] neck.
2.6	<i>ramān[šu] uštepel^rlū^r</i>	They change [his] self:

Inc. 1: Eṭel Lilī chooses the patient as his wife

2.7	<i>mār rubē^ranāku iqbiš^r</i>	"I am a son of princes," he said to h(im).
2.8	<i>ḥurāša u kaspa sūn^rka^r u^rmal^rlū</i>	"They will fill your lap with silver and gold!
2.9	<i>attā^rlū^r aššatu anāku lū mutka^riq^rbiši</i>	"You shall be the wife, I shall be your (masc.) husband!" he said to <i>her</i> .
2.10	<i>kīma inib kirī ana šāši la^rlē^r ulallīši</i>	Like a fruit of the orchard he endowed <i>her</i> well.
2.11	<i>awēlu^rramā^r[nšu ...]</i>	The man [... his] self [...]

gap of ca. 16 lines

Inc. 1: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions

3.1	[...]	[...]
3.2	[...] <i>ruku[sma]</i>	[...] ti[e, and]
3.3	<i>šēnī ana šē^rpēšunu^r šēnma</i>	put shoes on their feet, and
3.4	<i>narūqa rakista idinšunūtima</i>	give them a tied leather bag, and
3.5	<i>kīs kaspi ḥurāši ina sissiktišunu rukusma</i>	tie a bag of silver and gold into the fringe of their clothes, and
3.6	<i>kispa ina šēri likallimka</i>	then he shall lay out the offering for the dead in the wilderness for you!

Tablet I

3.7	dur ₂ ^{ηeš} u ₂ -ηiri ₃ -še ₃ ^r u ₃ ¹ -[m]u-un-ni-in-gub	After you have made (them) stand at the base of an <i>ašāgu</i> /u ₂ -ηir ₂ -bush,
3.8	igi-be ₂ ^d utu-šuš ₂ -a-še ₃ u-me-ni-in-ηar zi ₃ u-me-ni-ηur	after you have placed them to face the sunset, after you have drawn with flour:
3.9	zi diηir gal-gal-e-ne i-ri-pad ₃ [h]a- ^r ba ¹ -ra-du-un	“I made you swear the oath of the great gods; you shall go away!
3.10	zi ₃ - ^r sur-ra ¹ ^{d+} en-ki-ke ₄ ^{gi} šutug šub-ba ^d asal-lu ₂ -ηi dumu eridu ^{ki} -ga-ke ₄ na ¹ -an ¹ -ta-bala-e	The <i>zisurrû</i> of Enki, the reed hut set down by Asalluḫi (lit.: the set-down reed hut of Asalluḫi), Son of Eridu, do not cross!
3.11	^{ηeš} ig e ₂ -a-ke ₄ ba-[ra-x x x x x]	You must n[ot ...] the door of the house!
3.12	^r ηeš-kan ₄ ¹ -[na e ₂ -a-]ke ₄ [x x]-dib-be ₂	You must not [<i>pass</i>] the door jamb of [the house!]

gap of ca. 6 lines

4.1	[x-t]a x-ta en ² -n[a ² ba]-ra-an-ta ² -zi ₂ -[e]n ²	[as long as you do n]ot <i>remove</i> from the [...] and from the [...]
4.2	[e ₂]-a en- ^r na ¹ [ba]-ra-an-ta-ri-na	as long as you are not distant from the house,
4.3	[uru]- ^r a ¹ en-na [ba-r]a-an-zi-ga-en-na	as long as you do not withdraw from the city,
4.4	[ninda ba]-ra-an-da ^{1BA} - ^r ab-gu ₇ ¹ -en [a ba]-ra-an-da-ab- ^r na ¹ -en	you must not eat bread with him! You must not drink water with him!
4.5	[a a-a]b-ba a-du ₁₀ -a [a šeš-a] a ^{id2} ^r idigna ¹ [a] ^{id2} buranun-na ^r a ¹ pu ₂ -ta a id ₂ -da ba-ra-an-šu ₂ -šu ₂ -de ₃ -en	You must not consume se[a water], sweet water, b[itter water], the water of the Tigris, [the water] of the Euphrates, water from a well, or river water!
4.6	an-še ₃ ba-dal-e-en pa na-an-tuku-tuku	(When) you fly to the sky, you may not have wings!
4.7	[ki]-a ba-gub-be-en [tuš na]-ab-ηa ₂ -ηa ₂ -an	(When) you stand on [the earth,] you may [no]t make [a home!]”

Inc. 1: Marduk-Ea dialogue, desired outcome

4.8	[ηuruš u ₁₈]-lu [dumu diηir-r]a-na [ηe ₂ -en-kug ηe ₂ -en-s]ikil ηe ₂ -en-dad]ag	The young man, son of his god, shall be clean, he shall be pure, he shall be radiant!
4.9	[...]	[...]

3.7	<i>ina i'šid' ašāgi šuz[is]sunūtima</i>	Make them stand at the foot of an <i>ašāgu</i> /u ₂ -ḡir ₂ -bush, and
3.8	<i>pānēš[un]u ana e'reb' šamši ta[ša]kkanma qēma 'te'š[šir]</i>	you will place them facing the setting sun, and you will dr[aw] with flour.
3.9	<i>nīš ilī rab[ûti] utammika lū tattal'la'[k]</i>	“I made you swear the oath of the great gods; you shall go away!
3.10	<i>zisurrâ ša 'E'[a] 'šutukka' [nadâ] ša Marduk [mār Eridu] lā ta[b]balakkat</i>	The <i>zisurrû</i> of Ea, the reed hut set down by Marduk, [the son of Eridu], you must not cross!
3.11	<i>[... lā taparr]'ik'</i>	[... you must not obstru]ct!
3.12	<i>giškanak bīti lā taparrik</i>	You must not obstruct the door jamb of the house!

gap of ca. 6 lines

4.1	<i>[...] 'lā' [...]</i>	[...] not [...]
4.2	<i>a'di' [ina bīti] lā [tassû]</i>	as long as you have not removed from the house,
4.3	<i>adi 'ina' āli lā ta's'suḥu</i>	as long as you have not moved out of the city,
4.4	<i>akāla lā tak'kal' mē lā tašatti</i>	do not eat bread! Do not drink water!
4.5	<i>mē tâmti mē ṭābūti mē marrūti mē idiqlat mē 'purat'ti mē būri mē nāri lā telēm</i>	Do not consume sea water, sweet water, bitter water, the water of the Tigris, the water of the Euphrates, well water or river water!
4.6	<i>ana šamē napriš'ma' kappā ē tarši</i>	Fly to the sky, but do not acquire wings!
4.7	<i>ina eršeti nak'li'ma šubta ē taškun</i>	Be held back on the earth, but do not establish a home!”

Inc. 1: Marduk-Ea dialogue, desired outcome

4.8	<i>eḡlu awēlu mār ilišu līlil lībib lim[mir]</i>	The young man—the man, son of his god—shall be clean, he shall be pure, he shall be ra[diant!]
4.9	<i>[...]-'x'-am-tu₂'</i>	[...]

Tablet I

gap of ca. 7 lines

Inc. 2*: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions

5.1	ʿx ¹ [...] ʿu ₃ ¹ -[...]	after [...],
5.2	siki [babbar ²] siki ŋi ₆ saŋ-ŋa ₂ -na u ₃ -me-ni-keš ₂	after you have tied [<i>white</i>] hair and black hair around her head,
5.3	igi-be ₂ ^d utu-šuš ₂ -a-še ₃ u ₃ -mu-un- ni-in-ŋar zi ₃ u ₃ -me-ni-ḫur-ḫur	after you have turned <i>her</i> ² to face the setting sun, after you have drawn with flour:
5.4	[zi diŋi]r-e-ne-ke ₄ [i-ri-p]ad ₃ [ḫa- ba-ra-du-u]n	“[I have] made you swear the oath of the great gods, y[ou shall go away!]”

gap of ca. 8 lines

6.1	[...] ʿu ₃ ¹ -[...]	after [...],
6.2	ala[n ...] alan [...]	[after ...] statue [...] statue [...]
6.3	siki u[z ₂ ² ...] siki [...] u ₃ -me-[...]	after [...] hair of a <i>g[oat ...]</i> hair [...],
6.4	a ₂ -l[a ₂ ² ...] u ₃ -me-[...]	after [...] <i>shackles</i> [...],
6.5	u[dug ...] ʿx ¹ [...]	the U[dug-demon ...]

gap of max. 4 lines

Inc. 2*: incantation-final themes

7.1	lu ₂ ḫul zi an-na ḫe ₂ -pad ₃ zi ki-a i-pad ₃	the evil one shall swea[r] the oath of heaven, will swea[r] the oath of the earth!
-----	--	--

Inc. 2*: rubric

7.2	ka-inim-ma ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ -kam	It is the wording of: Young Woman Lilû.
-----	--	--

Inc. 3: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili is selected by Namtar

7.3	en ₂ ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra nu-gig ud-da kar-ra-zu-ne	Incantation: The young woman, when he carried her off today,—nu-gig, today, when you were carried off,
-----	--	--

gap of ca. 7 lines

Inc. 2*: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions

5.1	[...]	[...]
5.2	<i>šār[ta pešīta] šārt[a šalimta] qaqqassa t[arakkasma]</i>	[white?] ha[ir] and [black] hai[r] y[ou fasten to] her head,
5.3	<i>pāniša ana ereb šamši tašakkan qēma teš[šir]</i>	you will turn her face towards the setting sun, you will draw (with) flour!
5.4	<i>nīš ilī [rabûti] utamm[iki] lū tat[tallakī]</i>	I made you swear the oath of the great gods, you shall g[o away!]

gap of ca. 8 lines

6.1	[...]	[...]
6.2	[...]	[...]
6.3	[...]	[...]
6.4	[...]	[...]
6.5	[...]	[...]

gap of max. 4 lines

Inc. 2*: incantation-final themes

7.1	[...]	[...]
-----	-------	-------

Inc. 2*: rubric

7.2	[...]	[...]
-----	-------	-------

Inc. 3: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili is selected by Namtar

7.3	<i>Ardatu ša ūma iḥârši qadištu ša ūma ina ḥârīša</i>	The young woman, when he selects her on this day— <i>Qadištu</i> , whom on this day, by selecting her,
-----	---	--

Tablet I

7.4	lu ₂ lil ₂ -la ₂ -ke ₄ eden-na mu-un-de ₆ im gu ₂ -gu ₂ -na ħe ₂ -en-de ₆	he took you to the male Lilû in the wilderness; the wind truly carried you (away) on his shoulders!
7.5	nam-tar lu ₂ -kiñ-gi ₄ -a ^d ereš-ki-gal-la-ke ₄	Namtar, the envoy of Ereškigal—
Inc. 3: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî as a demon		
7.6	dag-ga-am ₃ -zu ud-da kar-ra-zu su lu ₂ gu ₃ su ₃ -su ₃	you (= Ardat Lilî) <i>are like one who has perished</i> , on this day that he carried you off: (<i>like</i>) one who keeps making the bodies of men wail,
7.7	ab-ba šu ₂ -šu ₂ ub-da gub-gub ub-da ba-an-dur ₂ -dur ₂ -ru	one who keeps dripping in the window, one who keeps standing in the corner, you keep sitting in the corner!
7.8	ḡeš ^ḡ ig-e nu-gi ḡeš ^ḡ šu-diš nu-gi	The door does not turn you away, the lock does not turn you away,
7.9	ḡeš ^ḡ sañ-kul nu-gi ḡeš ^ḡ si-ḡar nu-gi	the bar does not turn you away, the bolt does not turn you away!
7.10	^a nusan an-na mu-un-dab an-bar ₇ kur-ra-ke ₄ mu-un-šab	You snatch him in the evening, you reap him at midday,
7.11	mu-un-ba [?] nu-mu-un-da-bu-re	you weaken him, you will not come out of him,
7.12	^{ak-kil} akkil mu-un-nud sa [?] in [?] -ni [?] -nud nu-mu-un-da-su ₃ -su ₃	you <i>stifle</i> wails, <i>you cast a net over him</i> , you will not remove from him!
Inc. 3: desired outcome		
7.13	ḡeš ^ḡ gu-za-na ba-ra-an-da-tuš-e-en	You must not sit with him on his chair!
7.14	ḡeš ^ḡ -nud-da-na ba-ra-an-da-nud-de ₃ -na	You must not lie in his bed with him!
7.15	zi an-na ħe ₂ -pad ₃ zi ki-a ħe ₂ -pad ₃	You shall swear the oath of heaven, you shall swear the oath of earth!
Inc. 3: rubric		
7.16	ka-inim-ma ki-sikil lil ₂ -[la ₂ -kam]	It is the wording of: Young Woman Lilû.

Tablet I

7.4	<i>ana lilî ša ina šēri išarrabu ziqīqītu alkitu liklûki</i>	he (<i>leads?</i>) to the Lilûs in the wilderness: wandering breeze, they shall detain you!
7.5	<i>Namtaru mār šipri ša Ereškigal</i>	Namtaru, the envoy of Ereškigal,

7.6	<i>itti mupparkî ūma iḥârki ina zumur nišī ušassaki</i>	alongside the departed, on this day he selects you; he calls you out of the body of mankind!
------------	---	--

Inc. 3: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî as a demon

7.7	<i>ina apāti tattanatbakī ina tubu^r qāti^r [u] ina šaḥāti tattanaššabī</i>	From the windows you keep being spilled, in the corners and crevices you keep sitting!
7.8	<i>dalta lā takallê mēd[ela lā takallê]</i>	You will not block the door! You will not block the lock!
7.9	<i>sikkūra lā takallê sig[ara lā takallê]</i>	You will not block the bar! You will not block the bolt!
7.10	<i>ina šimītān takammīni ina mu[šlāli ...]</i>	You bind in the evening, at mid[day you ...,]
7.11	<i>tunaššarī lā [...]</i>	you weaken! [You do] not [...]
7.12	<i>ikki<llī> ta-RU-[...] lā tanuḥḥī lā [...]</i>	you [...] noise, you do not relent, [you] do not [...]

Inc. 3: desired outcome

7.13	<i>ina kussīšu l[ā tuššabī]</i>	In his chair [you must] n[ot sit!]
7.14	<i>ina eršīšu l[ā tanâlī]</i>	In his bed [you must] n[ot lie!]
7.15	<i>nīš šamê lū [tamāti nīš eršeti lū tamāti]</i>	[May you] be [adjured] by heaven, [may you be adjured by the earth.]

Inc. 3: rubric

7.16	[Sumerian line continued]	[see Sumerian]
-------------	---------------------------	----------------

Tablet I

Inc. 4: descriptive prologue, the Utukku follows Ardat Lili and attacks the patient

7.17	en ₂ ki-sikil e ₂ -gal eden-na-ta udug ħul mu-un-da-ru-us ₂	The young woman—from the palace of the wilderness, the evil Udug-demon returned with her!
7.18	lu ₂ saṇ-ta nu-sa ₄ -a im-ma-an-us ₂	The one who was unnamed from the beginning has attached himself to (the patient);
7.19	lu ₂ su-ta nu-e ₃ -de ₃ im-ma-an-us ₂	the one who will not go out of the body has attached himself to him.
7.20	šu-ne ₂ in-ra šu-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in- ṇar	He struck his (the patient's) hand; he placed it on his hand,
7.21	giri ₃ -ne ₂ in-ra giri ₃ -a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im- mi-in-ṇar	he struck his (the patient's) foot; he placed it on his foot,
7.22	saṇ-ṇa ₂ -ne ₂ in-ra saṇ-a-ne ₂ -še ₃ im-mi-in-us ₂	he struck his (the patient's) head; he made it follow his head.

Inc. 4: Ištar is alerted

7.23	nam-be ₂ -še ₃ ṇi ₆ -par ₃ ki kug-ga im-ma-da-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄	Because of this, he (the patient) repeatedly entered the Gipar, the pure place, with him (the demon).
7.24	munus-e an mu-un-dub ₂ ki-a mu- un-sag ₃	The woman shook the sky, she stomped on the earth—
7.25	gaba-ṇal ₂ kug ^{d+} inanna-ke ₄ an-na gu ₃ mi-ni-in-ra ki-a gu ₃ mi-ni-in- r[a] (Nineveh variant: ki-a šeg ₁₀ mi- ni-ib ₂ -g[i ₄])	forceful, holy Inanna roared in the sky, she roared on the earth. (Nineveh variant: ..., she made noise on the earth.)
7.26	izi in-ra izi im-ma-an-su[r ₈]	She struck fire, she made it rain fire.
7.27	ka ₂ e ₂ -an-<na>-ke ₄ saṇ-ba ba-[a [?]]	By the gate of the Eanna, an oath was [made]:

Inc. 4: desired outcome

7.28	udug ħul a-la ₂ ħul e ₂ -a ba-ra-an- ku ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃	“The evil Udug and evil Ala must not enter the house!
7.29	udug-ħul dab-ba-a-ne ₂ bar-še ₃ ḫe ₂ -em-ta-gub	The evil Udug that seized him shall stand aside!
7.30	udug sag ₁₀ -ga ^d lamma sag ₁₀ -ga ḫe ₂ -em-da- ^r su ₈ -su ₈ -ge-eš	May the good Udug and the good Lamma always stand by him!”
7.31	ka-inim-ma ki-sikil li[l ₂ -la ₂ - kam]	It is the wording of: Young Woman Lili.

Inc. 4: descriptive prologue, the Utukku follows Ardat Lilî and attacks the patient

7.17	EN ₂ Ard[at Lilî ištu ekal šēri utukka lemna itarrušu]	The Young Wo[man Lilû brings the evil Utukku-demon back from the wild pastures:]
7.18	ša it[ti rēši] lā n[abû] iṭṭeḥâ	The one who was unnamed from the beginning has approached (the patient),
7.19	ša mamma ina qātiš[u] lā ipparrašu iṭṭeḥâ	the one from who[se] hand nobody can escape has approached.
7.20	qāssu ilputma ana qātišu ištakan	He touched his (the patient's) hand and has placed it on his hand,
7.21	šēpšu ilputma ana šēpišu ištakan	he touched his (the patient's) foot and has placed it on his foot,
7.22	qaqqassu ilputma qaqqassu uš ^r ter ¹ [di]	he touched his (the patient's) head and made it follow his head.

Inc. 4: Ištar is alerted

7.23	aššatti ina gipāri el[li] īrubma	Because of this, he (the patient) entered the pur[e] Gipāru:
7.24	sinništu šamê ur[īb] eršeta unar[riṭ]	The woman made the sky tremble, she shoo[k] the earth—
7.25	gapuštu u elletu Ištar ina šamê issi [ina erš] ^r eti iss ¹ [i]	great and pure Ištar roared in the sky, she roared on the earth,
7.26	[...]	[...]
7.27	[...]	[...]

Inc. 4: desired outcome

7.28	^r u[tukku le]mnu ana bītišu [lā t]errubšu	E[vil] U[tukku]! Ev[il Alû!] You will not enter into his house to him!
7.29	utukku lemnu [š]a šabtušu [ina] ^r a ¹ ḥīti lizziz	The evil Utukku who seized him shall stand aside!
7.30	šēdu dum[qu ...]	The go[od] Šēdu [...]
7.31	[Sumerian line continued]	[see Sumerian]

Tablet II

Tablet II		
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilī's life		
1.1	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ -e ab lil ₂ la ₂ -e-de ₃ ki sikil-la ba-zi-ga	Incantation: The Young Woman of the wilderness, who, so that the breeze may breeze (in) the window, rose up in a pure place,
1.2	ki-sikil munus-am ₃ ḡeš ₃ nu-du ₁₁ -ga	the young woman who was not penetrated like an adult woman,
1.3	ki-sikil munus-am ₃ ḡeš ₃ nu-ge ₄ -[a]	the young woman who was not penetrated repeatedly like an adult woman,
1.4	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-da ḡi-li šu <nu>-tag-tag	the young woman <who did not> find (lit.: touch) pleasure in the lap of a husband,
1.5	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-ke ₄ tug ₂ nu-un-sig ₉ -ga	the young woman who did not undress for the lap of a husband,
1.6	ki-sikil ḡuruš sag ₁₀ -ga ḡeš ₃ dalla ₂ -a-ne ₂ nu-duh-a	the young woman whose garment-pin no good young man opened,
1.7	ki-sikil ubur-a-ne ₂ ga nu-ḡal ₂ -la a gig-ga i-i	the young woman whose breast had no milk, (but) produced noxious water,
1.8	ki-sikil ur ₂ ḡi-li ḡuruš-e si nu-si-sa ₂ la-la-a-ne ₂ nam-ba-ge ₄ -a	the young woman who did not give a young man an erection, whose desire was not returned,
1.9	ki-sikil itima nu-tuku mu nu ama pad ₃ -da	the young woman who had no private quarters, who was named “non-mother”,
1.10	[ki-sikil un]u ₂ ur ₅ -ra ba-an-da-ses-a	[the young woman] whose [chee]k was soured in dejection,
1.11	[ki-sikil k]i ki-sikil-e-ne nu-un-ḡul ₂ -la	[the young woma]n who was not happy with the (other) young women,
1.12	[ki-sikil eze]n iri-a-na-še ₃ igi nu-mu-un-ni-in-duh [...] in-il ₂	[the young woman] <whom> (nobody) saw at the [festiv]al of her city, [...] <who> did not raise [...] towards its [...]
1.13	[ki-sikil am]a ₅ -a-ne ₂ dam kar-ra	[the young woman] who was deprived of her husband in her [women's quar]ters,
1.14	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-u ₃ -tu-ud-da	[the young woman] who had no [husban]d, who bore no child,

Tablet II		
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî's life		
1.1	<i>Ardat Lilî ina apti awêli izziqa ardatu lā šīmat</i>	The Young Woman Lilû hissed through the window of the man; the young woman is without a fate,
1.2	<i>ardatu ša kīma sinništi lā reḥātu</i>	the young woman who was not inseminated like a woman,
1.3	<i>ardatu ša kīma sinništi lā naqpatu</i>	the young woman who was not deflowered like a woman,
1.4	<i>ardatu ša ina sūn muti[ša kuzba lā ilputu]</i>	the young woman who [did not obtain pleasure] from the lap of her husband,
1.5	<i>ardatu ša ina sūn muti[ša šubāssa lā išḫuṭu]</i>	the young woman who [did not shed her clothing] in the lap of her husband,
1.6	<i>ardatu ša eṭlu damqu šil[lāša lā ipturu]</i>	the young woman whose garment-pin [no] good young man [opened],
1.7	<i>ardatu ša tulêša šizibba [...]</i>	the young woman whose breast [did not ...] milk, [but ...],
1.8	<i>ardatu ša ina sūn eṭli kuzba 'lā im' lû lalâ lā išbû</i>	the young woman who was not full of passion into the lap of a young man, who did not satisfy (her) desire,
1.9	<i>ardatu ša maštaka lā išû šum ummi lā izkurû</i>	the young woman who had no private quarters, whom they did not call the name "mother,"
1.10	<i>ardatu ša ina qiddāti usukkī ultamminu</i>	the young woman who has spoiled (her) cheeks by dejection,
1.11	<i>ardatu ša itti ardāti lā iḥdû</i>	the young woman who was not happy with the (other) young women,
1.12	<i>ardatu ša ina isinni āliša lā innamru īnī lā inaššû</i>	the young woman who was not seen at the festival of her city, who does not lift (her) eyes,
1.13	<i>ardatu ša ina maštakiša muta ekmet</i>	the young woman who was deprived of (her) husband in her private quarters,
1.14	<i>ardatu ša muta lā išû mārā lā uldu</i>	the young woman who had no husband, bore no son,

Tablet II

1.15	[ki-siki]l 'dam' nu-tuku-a dumu nu-e ₃ -a	[the young woman] who had no [husban]d, who produced no child,
1.16	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-tuku-a	[the young woman] who had no [husban]d, had no child,
1.17	[ki-sikil da]m kar-ra dumu kar-ra	[the young woman] who was deprived of (her) [husban]d, deprived of (her) child—
1.18	[ki-sikil e ₂] ubar-ra-na-ke ₄ im-ma-ra-e ₃	[the young woman] was cast out of [the house] of her in-laws,
1.19	[ki-sikil] ab-ta im-gen ₇ im-ma-ra-e ₃	[the young woman] was cast out through the window like the wind!
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili's death		
1.20	[ki-sikil x x] dug ₄ -ga ka-ta nu-ḡal ₂ -la	[The young woman] whose spoken [...] through (her) mouth did not exist,
1.21	[ki-sikil g]ig-ga šag ₄ -ne ₂ ki-še ₃ ba-ab-tum ₂ -mu	[the young woman] whose heartache brought her into the earth,
1.22	ki-sikil šu ^{d+} inanna-k[e ₄] gud ₃ -ta de ₆ -[a]	the young woman [whom] the (disease) Hand o[f] Ištar carried out of the nest,
1.23	ki-sikil eden-na d[aḡal-la] bar-ta niḡin-ni[ḡin-ne]	the young woman who, from the periphery, is constantly roaming the wide wilderness,
1.24	ki-sikil [...] da-ta di[b-dib-be]	the young woman [who ...] is constantly unleashed from the brink,
1.25	[k]i-s[ikil ...]	the [y]ou[ng woman ...]
1.26	[...]	[...]
1.27	[...]	[...]
gap of ca. 3 lines		
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili affects the natural world		
2.1	'x ¹ [...]	
2.2	ḡeš-g[e ...]	
2.3	a ₂ -ḡa ₂ [?] -be ₂ x [...]	

1.15	<i>ardatu ša muta lā iṣū māra lā urabbû</i>	the young woman who had no husband, never raised a son,
1.16	<i>ardatu ša muta lā iṣū māra lā iṣū</i>	the young woman who had no husband, had no son,
1.17	<i>ardatu ša muta ekmet māra ekmet</i>	the young woman who was deprived of (her) husband, deprived of (her) son,
1.18	<i>ardatu ša ina bīt emūtēša šūṣât</i>	the young woman who was cast out of the house of her in-laws,
1.19	<i>Ardat Lilî ša kîma šâri ina apti šūṣât</i>	the Young Woman Lilû was cast out through the window like the wind!
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî's death		
1.20	<i>ardatu ša eṭemmaša ina pî lā ibṣû</i>	The young woman whose ghost was not present in (her) mouth,
1.21	<i>ardatu ša muruṣ libbiša ana erṣeti ubluṣi</i>	the young woman whose heartache carried her into the earth,
1.22	<i>ardatu ša qât Iṣtar ina qinni urâšši</i>	the young woman whom the (disease) Hand of Iṣtar brought out of the nest,
1.23	<i>ardatu ša ina ṣêri rapši ina aḥâti issanaḥḥuru</i>	the young woman who keeps roaming the wide wilderness from the periphery,
1.24	<i>[ardatu] 'ša' ina aḥâti iptanaššaru</i>	[the young woman] who is constantly unleashed from the periphery,
1.25	<i>[...] ittanamzazzu</i>	[the young woman] who keeps standing [...],
1.26	<i>[ardatu ša issanaḥ]ḥuru ūra ana ūri [ittan]ablakkat[u]</i>	[the young woman who keeps roam]ing, [who keep]s cross[ing] from roof to roof,
1.27	<i>[...] 'x'</i>	[...]
gap of ca. 3 lines		
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî affects the natural world		
2.1	<i>[...]</i>	[...]
2.2	<i>[...]</i>	[...]
2.3	<i>[...]</i>	[...]

Tablet II

2.4	saṇ-be ₂ nu-mu-u[n-...]	did not [...] their heads [...]
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili affects the patient		
2.5	tu-ra saṇ-gig saṇ-ṇa ₂ -n[a ...]	Regarding the patient—[...] headache o[n] his head [...]
2.6	ʿtu ¹ -ra me-dim ₂ -a ² -ne ₂ ² ʿba ² -an ² - ʿdub ² -dub ² -be ¹	Regarding the patient—she keeps <i>making</i> his limbs <i>tremble</i> ,
2.7	t[u-ra s]a ₇ -alan-be ₂ tug ₂ -gen ₇ ʿbi ₂ ¹ -in-dul	Regarding the patient—she has covered his features like a garment.
2.8	ugu-na dur ₂ -a ṇissu-na bi ₂ -in- [šu ₂]-šu ₂	Sitting on his head, she kept covering his shadow;
2.9	su-be ₂ a-ṇi ₆ -a-g[en ₇] ʿmu-un- du ₇ ¹ -[du ₇]	[against his] body she kept crashing like a wave;
2.10	a ₂ -šu-ṇiri ₃ -n[e ₂] ^ḡ e[šra]b-maḥ-a- [gen ₇ ²] ba-an-ni-ʿx ¹ -[x]	his extremities she [kept ... <i>like</i>] a noose.
2.11	ud ba-ʿda-an-er ₂ -ra ¹ ṇi ₆ ba-da- an-er ₂ -ra	As he was crying about it by day, as he was crying about it by night,
2.12	lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu dumu diṇir-ra-na zi- ne ₂ -ta ^{u2} NUMUN ₂ -am ₃ [x]-ʿx ¹ - [x]-bur ₂ -re [^{u2} NUMUN ₂]-am ₃ [x x x z]i ₂ -e	the man, son of his god—she [t]ears [him] from his life like (<i>a rush</i>), she [pluc]ks [him] like [(<i>a rush</i>)]!
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea dialogue, introduction		
2.13	[^d asal-lu ₂ -ḥi igi im-m]a-an- s[ig ₁₀]	Asalluḥi saw him:
very short or no gap (max. 2 lines)		
3.1	[...]	[...]
3.2	[...]	[...]
3.3	[...]	[...]
3.4	[...]-ʿan-tum ₂ ¹	[...] he [shall] carry her [...]!
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions		
3.5	[sišku]r ʿgal ¹ -gal-meš [u ₃ -m]e- ni-dug ₄	[After] you have made great [sacrifi]ces,

2.4	[...]	[...]
Inc. 5: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lili affects the natural world		
2.5	[...]	[...]
2.6	ʿša¹ [awē]li bin[īssu ...]-IG	Regarding the man—his limbs [...]
2.7	ša awēli bunnanēšu kīma šubāti iktata[mšu]	Regarding the man—she has shrouded his features like a garment!
2.8	elišu irbišma šillašu iktata[mšu]	She sat on him and has covered up his shadow,
2.9	ʿzu¹muršu kīma agê ušēzib[šu]	she made him leave his body like a wave,
2.10	[x x x x x] x x x x [x x]	[...]
2.11	[...]	[...]
2.12	a[wēlu mār ilišu ina] n[apištišu] kīm[a x x x] is[suḥšu] ʿkī¹ma [x x x] ib[quššu]	the man, son of his god—she ripped [him] from his life like [(a rush)], like [(a rush)] she p[lucked him]!
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea-dialogue, introduction		
2.13	[Marduk ippalissuma]	[Marduk saw him:]
very short or no gap		
3.1	(blank)	
3.2	[...]-ʿx¹ ša [... n]a-ta [...]-ʿx¹-ta [...]-ʿx¹-ni	[...]
3.3	[...]-iš [...]-ʿx¹-šu	[...]
3.4	[ar]datu ʿana¹ ʿerše¹ti litbal	He shall carry the Young Woman into the netherworld!
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions		
3.5	niqâ rabbīš iqima	Make an immense sacrifice,

Tablet II

3.6	[lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu-b)e ₂ [?] [igi ^d utu(-ke ₄) ...]	[after you have ...] t[his man, facing the sun]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
4.1	[...]u ₃ -[...]	after you have [...]
4.2	7 ala[n x x]ki-sikil lil ₂ -[la ₂ -ke ₄ -ne] u ₃ -me-n[i-x]	after you have [...] 7 figurine[s ... of] Ardat Lil[î],
4.3	7 ^{kuš} u[mmud ...] a u ₃ -m[e-x x]	after you have [...] water into 7 w[ater]skins,
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 6 lines)		
5.1	[...]	[...]
5.2	[...]	[...]
5.3	[... u ₃ -me-ni]- ^r ηar ^r	[after you have] placed [...],
5.4	[... a ₂ -n]e-ne-a ^r u ₃ ^r -[me-ni]-la ₂ -la ₂	[...] after you have hung [...] on their [arm]s,
5.5	s[iki uzud ηeš ₃] ^r nu ^r -zu ba[bbar ηi ₆]-be ₂ ^r u ₃ ^r -[me-ni]-zi	after you have plucked the hair of a virgin kid, black and white,
5.6	^r gu 3 ^r -tab-ba ^r u ₃ ^r -me-ni-nu	after you have spun triple-threaded twine (with it),
5.7	[al]an-ne-ne-a [sa]η-ne-ne-a [u ₃]-me-ni-keš ₂	[after] you have tied it around these [sta]tues' heads,
5.8	[igi]-be ₂ [^d utu-šuš ₂ -a]-še ₃ [u ₃ -me-n]i-ηar [zi ₃ u ₃ -me-ni-ηur]-ηur	[after] you have placed them [facing] towards [the setting sun], after you have drawn with [flour],
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea dialogue, desired outcomes		
5.9	[ki-sig ₁₀]- ^r ga ^r -ne-ne-a [ki-še ₃ b]i ₂ -dur ₂ -ru-ne-eš	they will sit [ther]e during their [offerings for the de]ad!
5.10	[ka ₂ ^d a-nun-na-k]e ₄ -ne [ηe ₂ -en-si-l]e [?] - ^r e ^r	S[he shall withdraw from him] into the [gate of the Anunnak]i!
Inc. 5: incantation-final themes		
5.11	[zi ^d a-nun-na-ke ₄]-ne [dijir gal-gal-meš i-ri-pad ₃]	[I have made you swear the oath of the Anunnak]i, [the great gods!]
5.12	[zi an-na zi k]i-a i-ri- ^r pad ₃ ^r	I have made you swear the [oath of heaven, the oath of the ear]th!

3.6	<i>awēla [pān]āt ʿŠamaš</i> [...]	[...] the man [fac]ing Šamaš [...]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 4 lines)		
4.1	[...]	[...]
4.2	[...]	[...]
4.3	[...]	[...]
gap size unclear (probably very short, certainly less than 4 lines)		
5.1	[x x x x x x x]-ʿx ¹ -[x ² (x ² x ²)]	[...]
5.2	[x x x x x x x l]i-[x ² (x ² x ²)]	[...]
5.3	[x x x x x x x]-li-[x ² (x ² x ²)]	[...]
5.4	<i>id[īš]unūti teddi[rma]</i>	[...] you will tie their arms, and
5.5	<i>šārat unīʿ qīʿ lā petīta pešīta u šalimta tanassaḥma</i>	you will tear out hair of a virgin kid, white and black, and
5.6	<i>qê ešpi taṭammima</i>	you will spin twined string (with it), and
5.7	<i>ša šalmī šunūti ina qaqqadēšunu tarakkasma</i>	regarding these statues: you will tie (it) to their heads, and
5.8	<i>pānēšunu ana ereb Šamši tašakkanma qēma teššir</i>	you will place them facing the setting sun and draw with flour!
Inc. 5: Marduk-Ea dialogue, desired outcomes		
5.9	<i>ana kisiggēšunu ašriš lišibūma</i>	They shall sit there for their offerings for the dead,
5.10	<i>ina bāb Anunnakī liddappirū</i>	they shall withdraw from the gate of the Anunnaku!
Inc. 5: incantation-final themes		
5.11	<i>[nīš A]ʿnunʿnakī ʿilīʿ rabūti tummešunūtima</i>	Make them swear the [oath] of the [A]nunnaku, the great gods;
5.12	<i>nīš šamê u eršetī tummešunūtima</i>	make them swear the oath of heaven and earth!

Tablet II

5.13	[lu ₂ gig] ʿa ₂ ¹ -la ₂ -a-ne ₂ [ḥa-ba-a]n-duh	You shall release the patient from his fetters!
5.14	k[i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂] udu-[x(x)-gen ₇] amaš-zu-še ₃ gur-ra ḥa-ab [?] -teḡ ₃ [?] -teḡ ₃ [?]	Young Woman Lilû—having turned back, you shall approach your sheepfold [like a ...] sheep!
5.15	ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ lu ₂ -u[₁₈ -lu] dumu diḡir-ra-[ne ₂] ba-ra-na-[te]ḡ ₃ -teḡ ₃ -ḡe ₂₆ -de ₃ -e[n] ba-ra-na-ge ₄ -ge ₄ -de ₃ -e[n]	Young Woman Lilû—you must not approach the man, the son of his god! You must never return to him!
5.16	lu ₂ -u ₁₈ -lu-be ₂ ḥe ₂ -sikil ḥe ₂ -dadag	The man shall be pure, he shall be radiant!
5.17	eme ḥul-ḡal ₂ bar-še ₃ [ḥe ₂ -e]m-ta-gub	The evil tongue [shall] stand aside!
Inc. 5: rubric		
5.18	[ka-inim]-ma ki-sikil li[l ₂ -l]a ₂ -kam	It is the wording of: Young Woman Lilû.
Inc. 6: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilî's life		
5.19	en ₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil ₂ -la ₂ ki-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ ab-ba gur-gur-kam	Incantation: Young Woman of the wilderness, breeze; the Young Woman who is a continuously returning breeze in the window,
5.20	[k]i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ [a]b-ba e ₂ -ta sur-ra-ab	[this Young W]oman Lilû, who seeps through the window of the house,
5.21	[ki-siki]l munus-ta-am ₃ [nita ₂ nu-r]i-a-be ₂	[this young woma]n is the one among the women whom [no man insemi]nated,
5.22	[ki-sikil] ʿmunus-ta-am ₃ nita ¹ ḡeš nu-ge ₄ -a	[the young woman] is the one among the women whom no man penetrated repeatedly,
5.23	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-na-kam ḡi-li šu nu-tag-ga	the young woman is the one who never obtained pleasure in her husband's lap,
5.24	ki-sikil ur ₂ dam-a-ne ₂ -kam tug ₂ -ba šu nu-sig ₉ -ga	the young woman is the one who never undressed in her husband's lap
5.25	ki-sikil ^{lu2} ḡuruš sag ₁₀ -ga dalla ₂ -a-ne ₂ [š]u ʿnu-mu-un ¹ -duh-a	the young woman whose garment-pin no good young man ever [o]pened,
5.26	[ki-sikil ub]ur-a-ne ₂ [ga nu-ḡal ₂ -l]a [a gig-ga i-i]	[the young woman] whose [br]east h[ad no milk, (but) produced noxious water,]

Tablet II

5.13	<i>maršu i²iltašu lippaṭir</i>	The patient shall be released from his bond!
5.14	<i>Ardat² Lilī² kīma² immeri ana supūri litūr</i>	<i>The Young Woman Lilû shall return to the sheepfold like a sheep!</i>
5.15	[...]	[...]
5.16	[...]	[...]
5.17	[...]	[...]
Inc. 5: rubric		
5.18	(blank)	(blank)
Inc. 6: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilī's life		
5.19	<i>Ardatu ša bīt zaqīqī ana ardati ina apti ittanurru</i>	The Young Woman whom the house of the spirits has sent back to the young woman through the window,
5.20	<i>Ardat Lilī ša ina apti bīti ana awēli iṣruru</i>	The Young Woman Lilû, who seeps through the window of the house towards the man,
5.21	<i>ardat[u] ša kīma sinniš[ti] zikaru lā irḥ[ûši]</i>	the Young Woma[n] whom no man has inse[minated] like an adult wom[an],
5.22	<i>ardatu ʿša¹ kīma sinniš¹ ti¹ zikaru lā īkipuši</i>	the Young Woman whom no man approached sexually like an adult woman,
5.23	<i>ardatu ša ina sūn mutiša kuzba lā ilputu</i>	the young woman who did not obtain pleasure from her husband's lap,
5.24	<i>ardatu ša ina sūn mutiša ṣubāssa lā iṣḥuṭu</i>	the young woman who did not take off her dress in the lap of her husband,
5.25	<i>ardatu ša eṭlu damqu ṣillāša lā ipturu</i>	the young woman whose garment-pin no good young man ever opened,
5.26	<i>ardatu ša ina muššiša ṣizbu lā ibšû [mê marṣāti ūṣ]¹ ū¹</i>	the young woman in whose breast was no milk, [(and only) noxious water came o]ut,

Tablet II

gap of 1 line		
6.1	[...]ama 'mu nu-pad ₃ -a' mu nu-un-ḡa ₂ -ḡa ₂	[...] who was not called mother, who established no reputation,
6.2	ki-sikil ki ki-sikil-e-ne 'sila' e-sir ₂ -ra nu-mu-un-dib-ba	the young woman who did not wander street and thoroughfare with (other) young women,
6.3	[ki-sikil ezen] iri-na-še ₃ igi nu-mu-u[n-ni-duh]	[the young woman] whom nobody [saw] at the [festival] of her city,
6.4	[ki-sikil ama ₅ nu]-un-tuku-a dam 'mu'-un-[kar-a]	[the young woman] who had [no women's quarters], [who] was [deprived of] a husband,
6.5	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-u ₃ -tu-ud-da-[a]	[the young woman] who had no husband, bore no child,
6.6	[ki-sikil da]m nu-tuku-a dumu nu-e ₃ -a	[the young woman] who had no [husba]nd, produced no child—
6.7	[ki-sikil li]l ₂ -gen ₇ ab-ba lu ₂ e ₂ -ta ba-ra-e ₃ -en	[Young Woma]n, like [a breeze]e in the window of a man, you are cast out of the house!
Inc. 6: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilī's death		
6.8	[ki-sikil ša ₃ gig-g]a ki-še ₃ mu-un-tum ₃ -tum ₃ -mu	[The Young Woman—distres]s carries her into the earth.
Inc. 6: Ardat Lilī and accompanying demons attack the patient		
6.9	[ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku im]-mi-in-ra-ra	She strikes [the young man who has no god]:
6.10	[šū-ne-ne-a] 'šū ^{III} ba-an-ḡar-re-eš	They (<i>evil Uduḡ and Ala</i>) placed (his) hands [on their hands],
6.11	[ḡiri ₃ -ne-ne-a ḡiri ₃ ^{II}] ba-an-ḡar-re-eš	They placed [(his) feet on their feet],
6.12	[...] (Akkadian)	[...],
6.13	[...] (Akkadian)	[...],
Inc. 6: Ardat Lilī chooses the patient as her husband		
6.14	[...-i]n-d[ug ₄]	[...] she sai[d],

gap of 1 line		
6.1	[ardatu ša ...] lā īpušu šum ummi lā izkurū šuma lā iškunu	[the young woman who ...] did not make, whom they did not give the name “mother,” who established no reputation,
6.2	ardatu ša itti ardāti sūqa u sulâ lā ibā ² u	the young woman who did not walk street and thoroughfare with (other) young women,
6.3	[arda] ^r tu ša nišū ¹ [ina isinn]i āliša lā innamrūši	the young woman whom the people did not see at the festival of her city,
6.4	[ardatu ša mašt]aka lā iṣū muta ekmet	[the young woman] who did not have [private qu]arters, who was deprived of (her) husband,
6.5	[ardatu ša muta] lā iṣū mārā lā uldu	[the young woman] who never had [a husband], who never bore a son,
6.6	[ardatu ša muta] lā iṣū mārā lā urabbû	[the young woman] who never had [a husband], who never raised a son,
6.7	[ardatu ša kīma š]āri ina apti bīti nāṣât	[the young woman who] is cast out through the window of the house [like the w]ind,
Inc. 6: descriptive prologue, Ardat Lilī's death		
6.8	[ardatu ša muruṣ libbiša an]a ^r erṣeti ¹ ubluši	[the young woman whose distress] carried her [int]o the earth—
Inc. 6: Ardat Lilī attacks the patient		
6.9	[ša ila lā iṣ] ^r ū ¹ uḥīršima	she made the one who has no god marry her.
6.10	[qāssa ana qātišu] iltakan	She has placed [her hand on his hand],
6.11	(Sumerian)	(Sumerian: they placed [(his) feet on their feet]),
6.12	[kišādiša a] ^r na ¹ kišādišu ēted[ir]	she has pres[sed her neck again]st his neck,
6.13	[ramānšu] uṣtepêlšu	she changes his [self]:
Inc. 6: Ardat Lilī chooses the patient as her husband		
6.14	[mārat rubê i]qbiš[u]	[“I am the daughter of a prince,” s]he said to hi[m].

Tablet II

6.15	[...]	[...]
6.16	[...]	[...]
6.17	[...]	[...]
gap ca. 5 lines		
7.1	K[A ...] ba-an- ^r x-na ¹	as he [...],
Inc. 6: Marduk-Ea dialogue, introduction		
7.2	lu ₂ tu-ra ^d asal-lu ₂ -ḫi igi im-ma-an-sig ₁₀	the sick man—Asalluḫi saw him.
7.3	a-a-ne ₂ ^d en-ki-ke ₄ e ₂ -a ba-ši-in-ku ₄ gu ₃ mu-un-na-an-de ₂ -e	He went into the house to his father Enki, he calls to him:
7.4	a-a-ḡu ₁₀ ki-sikil [e]den-na lil ₂ -la ₂ [k]i-sikil lil ₂ -la ₂ [a]b-ba gur-gur-kam	“My father—the Young Woman of the wilderness, the breeze, the Young Woman is a breeze that keeps returning through the window, ...”
7.5	[a]-ra ₂ min-kam-ma ^r u ₃ ¹ -bi ₂ -in-du ₁₁	After he repeated it to him,
7.6	^{d+} en-ki dumu-ne ₂ ^d asal-lu ₂ -ḫi mu-un-na-ni-ib ₂ -ge ₄ -ge ₄	Enki answers his son Asalluḫi:
Inc. 6: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions		
7.7	im abzu-ta [u ₃ -me-n]i-tiḡ ₄ -ḡa ₂	“After you have taken clay from the Abzu,
7.8	[lu ₂]-tibira [al]an lil ₂ -la ₂ [ki-s]ikil-lil ₂ -la ₂ [ḫe ₂ -i]b ₂ -dim ₂ -ma	a sculptor shall fashion a figurine of Lilû and Ardat Lilî,
7.9	[...]-a	[...]
break (ca. 8 lines of the end of Tablet II missing)		

Tablet II

6.15	[lū aššatka ² a]ʿnāku ¹ [lū mutu ²] ʿattā ¹ mi [i]qbišu	“I [shall be your wife—] you [shall be the husband!]” she s]aid to him.
6.16	[kaspa] u ḥurāša [ina q]anniša [irt]akas	[She ha]s knotted [silver] and gold [into] her hem.
6.17	[x x x x-u]n-ʿnu ¹ [...]	[...]
gap ca. 4 lines		
7.1	[...]	[...]
Inc. 6: Marduk-Ea dialogue, introduction		
7.2	mar[ša š]ātu Marduk ippalissuma	tha[t si]ck man—Marduk saw him.
7.3	ana abišu Ea ʿana ¹ bīti īrubma išassi	He went into the house to his father Ea, he calls:
7.4	abī ardatu ša ina bīt zaqīqi ana ardāti ina apti ittanûru	“My father, the Young Woman who, from the house of the wind, keeps returning to the young women through the window, ...”
7.5	adi šina ina qabê	At the second telling,
7.6	(blank)	(see Sumerian)
Inc. 6: Marduk-Ea dialogue, ritual instructions		
7.7	īt A[psû] gir[išma]	“Pin[ch off] clay of the Apsû and
7.8	qur[qurru] šalam [Lilî] u [Ardat Lilî] lî[puš]	let a craftsman make a figurine of [Lilû] and of [the Young Woman Lilû],
7.9	AŠ ₂ [...] x x [...]	[...]
break (ca. 8 lines of the end of Tablet II missing)		

Commentary

General notes

Summary: The composite text is an artificial, modern creation for the reader's convenience, and while it illustrates the reasoning behind any given translation, the individual manuscript spellings in the partitur are the actual reflections of the original text(s). The composite text erases many of the inherent peculiarities of this Standard Babylonian text, namely the fact that it does *not* consistently conform to any one system of Sumerian or Akkadian grammar.

The composite text requires some explanation. First of all, it is intended largely for the reader's convenience—it is easier to grasp the *meaning* of a single line of composite text than that of two or three lines of manuscript transliterations stacked on top of each other. While the small number of manuscripts barely justifies a text partitur, a page combining two lines of manuscript transliterations for a line in two different languages with separate translations would be difficult to decipher. Having a composite text here also allows for a partitur without too many artificial reconstructions in the brackets that may accurately reflect the contents of a line in the “canonic” series, but might not reflect what we are actually missing from one particular manuscript. Another large benefit of a composite text is that it informs the reader of the rationale behind a translation. This is particularly the case in the normalised Akkadian text, which includes vowel lengths and contractions to indicate, for example, that *šu-ša-at* and *šu-ša-a-tu* in the two manuscripts for II 1.18 both refer to a 3rd ps. sg. f. Š stative of (w)ašû, “to leave”—*šūšât*—rather than some form of a fictional root *ššt.

It is important, however, to remember that a composite text is by necessity artificial. The manuscripts in no way present us with a single, coherent text tradition. Forms vary both from manuscript to manuscript and even—on rare occasions—from incantation to incantation within a single manuscript. All of these problems are intrinsic to the artificial literary dialect “Standard Babylonian”, which merges 2nd and 1st millennium BCE forms as well as Babylonian and Assyrian ones.

1. **Dialectal spellings:** An obvious example of this is the Babylonian verbal form *īrub* (3rd ps. sg. G pret. of *erēbu*: he/she/it entered), which is spelled *ērub* in the surviving Assyrian manuscripts (see for instance I 7.23, NinNA1). In attempting to consolidate Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts of the same series, I have chosen to artificially “de-Assyrianise” such forms. That means that even when only one

manuscript of a line with the form *īrub* exists, and that manuscript is Assyrian and clearly spells the verbal form *e-ru-ub*, the present composite text will translate this into the Babylonian form *īrub*, under the common assumption that the Standard Babylonian language emulates an Old Babylonian “ideal” (see Hess (2021) 1421). The reason for this is, again, greater accessibility to the reader, as *īrub* and *ērub* are different dialect spellings of the same verbal form.

If the composite text did not “normalise” dialectal spellings, the form *urabbû* (3rd ps. sg. D pret. subjunctive of *rabû*: he/she/it that raised) would be spelled *urabbû* in I 1.8B and II 1.15B, but *urebbû* in II 6.6B (the latter only drawing from KalNA1, which uses the Standard Babylonian analogue spelling *u₂-re-bu-u*, see von Soden (1995)³ §105m). On the one hand, that would obscure the direct parallel between II 6.6 and II 1.15. On the other, such a composite text could not accommodate new manuscripts with ease, as it would suggest to the reader that a new manuscript for II 6.6B should spell out the verbal form *urebbû*, whereas it is very likely that non-Kalḫu manuscripts of the line would have spellings like *u₂-rab-bu-u₂*, as seen in UrkNB2 I 1.15B and BabaNB1 I 1.8B.

2. Archaising spellings: We encounter a similar issue in the various spellings for the word *awēlu/amīlu/amēlu*, “man”. NinNA4 II 1.1B has *a-we-li*; NinNA6 I 4.8B has *a-me-[lu]*; NinNA4 II 3.4B has *a-mi-la*; BabaNB1 I 2.11B, BabaNB1 I 4.8B, UrkNB3 II 2.7B and NinNA5 II 5.20B use the logogram LU₂. The frequent logographic spellings require a decision as to what version of the word one should use in the normalisation, and none of the forms *awēlu*, *amīlu* and *amēlu* is attested more frequently than any other. The underlying issue is that the Old Babylonian dialect used the sign PI to reflect the consonant /w/, but by the Middle Babylonian period, M-signs were more common, the traditional normalisations for Old Babylonian forms and later ones traditionally being *awīlum* and *amī/ēlu* respectively (see Streck (2021) 70 with fn. 19, who himself assumes the post-Old Babylonian pronunciation /awēlu/).

The choice between *awēlu*, *amīlu*, or *amēlu* in a text that is neither strictly speaking Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian, but an artificial literary melting pot of all of them, is therefore somewhat arbitrary. Following Streck (2021) 70, I have chosen *awēlu*, but note that the other normalisations would be equally possible (Abusch (2016), for example, uses *amēlu*, see p. 315 line 181).

3. Accusative ending *-a*: Where they occur, the normalisation amends Akkadian singular accusatives ending in *-u* to the older *-a*. The ending *-a* occurs more often in manuscripts of this text, and almost never in nouns that are *not* in the accusative case, so assuming an ending *-a* in the composite text even where a Late Babylonian manuscript has an ending *-u* seems preferable to “amending” the numerous intentional *-a* endings to the later nominative/accusative *-u*.
4. **Sumerian**: There is no comparable system to Akkadian normalisations for the Sumerian language. The only option of a “normalisation” would be providing glosses, for example *dam=ane=ak=ʾam* for *dam-a-na-kam*. This seems inadvisable in a text that does not conform to a grammatical system established with classical Sumerian in mind.

Using the same example, in classical Sumerian, the spelling *-kam* would reflect a morpheme ending in /k/ followed by the 3rd ps. sg. h. copula = ʾam. In the line in question, however, it is used to reflect a genitive ending followed by a locative. The gloss *dam=ane=ak=ʾam* is therefore inaccurate, as in this line, *-kam* does not spell out the copula. The alternative, *dam=ane=ak=a*, is dangerous, as it would reflect a fictional “original” Sumerian text (using a single, consistent grammatical system) that only survives in heavily corrupted form in the recorded series. There are no large-scale analyses of Sumerian grammar after the 2nd millennium, so even if it were possible to establish what that single, consistent grammatical system would have been, it would go far beyond the topic of the present thesis. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether, in the case of the series at hand, this “original” Sumerian text actually existed for every line of every incantation. It is entirely possible (and, indeed, likely) that, during the compilation process, existing incantations were expanded by scribes who had a different understanding of Sumerian grammar from the authors of the previous texts.

Where multiple manuscripts exist and diverge, the Sumerian composite text follows the manuscript that is grammatically closest to the understanding of the line, with the alternative spellings (and, where applicable, alternative translations) noted in the commentary.

Glosses are provided in the commentary if necessary (preceded by * if the analysis is ungrammatical).

All Sumerian readings follow the electronic PSD 2nd edition unless indicated otherwise.

- 1.1B** *ittanaššabu*—3rd ps. sg. Gtn impf. subjunctive of (w)ašābu.
- 1.2B** *Namtarišu*—As is the case for a lot of divine or supernatural figures, *namtaru* is both “personal fate” and the divine agent Namtar that personifies it. A more prominent example of the same principle would be the use of ^dšamaš to refer to both “the sun” and “the sun god” Šamaš.
Note, however, the prominent role that Namtar plays in Inc. 3, where Namtar, in his role as envoy of the netherworld goddess Ereškigal, selects Ardat Lilî for death.
maršiš—Besides the present understanding, the terminative could be translated adverbially to “sickly” (and has accordingly been translated to “douloureusement” in Lackenbacher (1971) 128 line 3f). However, comparing the young man to a sick *person* here (as suggested to me by Martin Worthington) gives greater meaning to the clause rather than merely providing colour. This part of the prologue still describes Eṭel Lilî’s life, not his later demonic activities (see for comparison the similar incantations on Ardat Lilî II, where the lines describing Ardat Lilî’s death end the text passage, in particular II 1.19B, which explicitly marks the change of theme by naming Ardat Lilî fully instead of simply speaking of *ardatu*). Of course, Lackenbacher’s translation can be understood the same way, but this way of translating seems clearer: *While still alive and young*, Eṭel Lilî groans like a sick person because he is soon to die, rather than the demon groaning sickly around the house postmortem like the Canterville Ghost. As making disturbing noises is a common description of demons in Mesopotamian texts, the distinction is important.
inuqu—Subordinated 3rd ps. sg. G weak imp. of *nâqu* A; for the weak inflection before a vowel ending see von Soden (1995)³ §98g.
- 1.4B** *ina sūq bikīti*—The BabaNB1 spelling *ina su-qi₂ bi-ki-tu₂* goes against the interpretation of two nouns in a genitive construction (lit.: “on a street of mourning”). However, overhanging vowel spellings are common in Neo-Babylonian manuscripts, the Sumerian line ending [er₂-r]a could indicate a genitive as well as a locative or a subordinated verbal form, and *bikītu* is attested as “weeping” but would be difficult to explain as an adverbial form. Lackenbacher (1971) translates Sumerian and Akkadian phrase together as “en pleurs,” which works well for [er₂-r]a, but would raise the question whether *bi-ki-tu₂* can be understood as a locative *bikītum* in a late spelling without the expected mimation. Technically, the locative is no longer active in this period, and a Standard Babylonian spelling *bi-ki-tum* would seem more likely if this was a locative. However, the interpretation of the phrase as a genitive construction equally hinges on a late spelling that disregards final vowels (common in this particular manuscript), so both interpretations are possible.
- 1.5B** “whose body was fired by sadness”—The Akkadian *ša* is difficult to translate into English in this phrase; the closest approximate would be “a young man for whom it is true that sadness fired his body.” *nissatu* (“sadness”) is the subject of the subordinate clause, while *eṭlu* (“young man”) is both the nominative

head noun *outside* and the accusative object *inside* the subordinate clause.

- 1.6A** -**be₂**—While, in classical Sumerian, this pronoun was used either as a possessive pronoun for a 3rd ps. nh. or collective or as a demonstrative pronoun (see Jagersma (2010) 214 and 220), {ane} (3rd ps. h.) and {be} were often used interchangeably after the Old Babylonian period, as the spoken language of the scribes—Akkadian—did not distinguish a human and non-human class (see Thomsen (1984) 72).

dab-be₂-da—It is clear that the form is non-finite, and that the first suffix after the verbal base {dab} (“to seize”) is the imperfective suffix {ed}.

The final -da seems most likely to spell out the nominalising suffix {a} in analogy to the verbal forms at the end of lines I 1.7–10. This would not conform to the use of both suffixes in classical Sumerian, where they only follow each other in a specific construction (commonly called “pronominal conjugation”) that would require a following pronoun; otherwise, a final -da in constructions like the above spells out a case or pronominal ending (see Jagersma (2010) 671f). In Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, a final -da in this type of construction is also a regular variant for -de₃ (=ed=e) (see Thomsen (1984) 265). As mentioned above, a nominaliser {a} in analogy to the lines below seems most likely, in which case the scribe must have understood that {ed} could indicate both an action in the present or future tense and, in this context, a state (“[the young man] who is in a state of captivity”). The nominaliser {a} must then have been understood as being similar to the Akkadian subjunctive, which can be formed, whatever a verb’s tense, by attaching the subjunctive marker.

*

dab	-ed	-a
seize	-impf	-nmls

- 1.6B** *lemniš*—The word could also be translated adverbially, and has been in Lackenbacher (1971) 129 line 11f (“hostilement”). The distinction is that an adverbial translation could imply that Eṭel Lilî’s *god* is the evil party in this line (“the young man whose god ensnared him evilly”) when it is much more probable that the young man is treated by his god as if he was evil.

- 1.7A** -**be₂**—See above, commentary to 1.6A.

- 1.8** Parallel in content to II 1.15 and II 6.6, which deal with Ardat Lilî.

- 1.9f** Parallel in content to II 1.4f and II 5.23f, which deal with Ardat Lilî.

- 1.10B** *ina sūn aššatišu šubāta lā iṣḥuṭu*—By itself, this phrase could also be translated as “who did not take the dress from his wife’s lap,” but in the Ardat Lilî parallel in II 5.23, the pronoun on *šubassa* makes it clear that the subject of the line is not undressing *herself* in a spouse’s lap. The pronoun could admittedly be omitted intentionally in this line because its subject is a man, but as this would mean that not only *šubāta/šubāssa* have to be interpreted differently, but also the structurally identical phrase *ina sūn aššatišu/mutiša*, the composite text translation seems more likely.

- 1.11** Parallel in content to II 1.18, which deals with Ardat Lilî.

- 1.11A e₂ ušbar-ra-na-ke₄**—From the Old Babylonian time onwards, -ke₄ is regularly used as a genitive marker without regard for the {e} ending (see Huber (2001) 177). The expected ablative case ending {ta} was simply not written.

e ₂	ušbar	=ane	=ak	=ta
house	in-laws	=poss. pron. 3 rd ps. sg. h.	=gen	=abl

im-ma-ra-e₃—Both this part of the text and the parallel talking about Ardat Lilî in II 1.18–19 switch from non-finite to finite forms here. This may reflect the Akkadian shift from subjunctive forms to stative forms in II 1.17–1.19; note, however, that the Sumerian verbs in 1.17 are still non-finite. In the less damaged Ardat Lilî parallel on Tablet II, the shift coincides with the progression of the prologue’s narrative from general descriptions of the demon’s anomalous life (milestones the demon did not reach) to descriptions of the demon’s death. But note also that the descriptions of the demon’s death (which continue until II 1.22) do not uniformly employ finite forms; rather, after the general descriptions, the Sumerian verbal forms are no longer constructed in neat parallels.

i-	m-	ba-	ta-	e ₃	-∅
vp-	vent-	mid-	abl-	go out	-3 rd sg.

- 1.11B šūṣâ**—3rd sg. m. Š stative of (w)aṣû.

bīt emūtišu—Based on the observation that the “bridal chamber” could refer to both bride and groom’s families, Finkelstein (1967) 132 proposes the translation “bridal chamber” instead of “house of the father-in-law”. The gender-neutral translation “house of the in-laws”, however, poses none of the problems of “house of the father-in-law”. It can also be more easily reconciled with the basic meaning of *emu*, which usually refers to relatives via marriage (compare CAD 4 (1958) s.v. *emu* 154–156).

This does not change the meaning of the present sentence in any significant way. A groom could be cast out of his in-laws’ house before, during, or after the marriage; the expulsion from the in-laws’ family certainly signifies the end of the spousal relationship here. As the series considers both the possibility of the demons dying unmarried (I 1.8, II 1.14–16) and deprived of an existing spouse (II 1.17), a translation of I 1.11 that covers both possibilities seems preferable without further context.

- gap (ca. 7 l.) Contents**—The Ardat Lilî parallel would suggest something similar to II 1.19–26 and the beginning of text block II 2, i.e. descriptions of the untimely death of Eṭel Lilî, his return to the civilised world as a demon, and—finally—his attack on the patient. As the attack is narrated in the 3rd person plural, one would expect that the missing lines combine this with something similar to the short Ardat Lilî incantation at the end of Tablet I, which details that several other demons follow her from the wilderness (I 7.28A speaks of Uduḡ and Ala, although the Akkadian versions of both lines only deal with one Utukku).

Estimated gap size—The lost lines between the columns of BabaNB1 can be calculated on the basis of three facts:

1. The bottom of the 4-column tablet BabaNB1 has broken off cleanly, so the gap between the last preserved line of the beginning of column ii (on the obverse) and the first preserved line of the end of column iii (on the reverse) must be twice as long as the gap between the last preserved line of the beginning of column i and the first preserved line of the beginning of column ii.
2. The gaps between NinNA1 i and ii are the same size, with 2 lines preserved at the end of each.
3. The end of NinNA1 i lines up with BabaNB1 ii 7; added to the 12 lines preserved on BabaNB1 i, that means we are missing 18 lines before the first preserved line of NinNA1 i, as well as whatever is lost in the gap between BabaNB1 i and ii (x). The end of NinNA1 ii directly follows on BabaNB1 iii 10, so we are missing 10 lines before the first preserved line of NinNA1 ii, as well as whatever is lost in the gap between BabaNB1 i and ii (2x).

i.e. $18+x=10+2x$ which means $8+x=2x$ which means that $x=8$.

At the beginning of text block 2, BabaNB2 1 sets in a line before BabaNB1 ii, so we are missing 7 lines in between text blocks 1 and 2.

2.2–9 A similar episode can be found in II 6.9–16 (with the roles somewhat reversed because Ardat Lilī is looking for a husband rather than a bride). The attack on the patient is occurs twice in the incantations dealing with Ardat Lilī, split into the evil Udug’s attack in I 7.20–22 (roughly parallel in content to I 2.3–5) and Ardat Lilī’s attack in II 6.9–13 (parallel in content to I 2.2–6). The acting group of demons here is discussed in the commentary for I 2.5f.

2.2 **ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku-ra / lā bēl ili**—In this line, the phrase “ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku-ra” refers to the patient rather than Eṭel Lilī, although the latter is called ḡuruš at the start of the incantation. The same phrase occurs outside the series at hand—for example in a₂-sag₃ gig-ga III (compare IM.67625 15’ and duplicates) or ḡulu ba-zi-zi 342—to describe the afflicted rather than a demonic evil. See also the second of the two Ardat Lilī parallels, II 6.9, where “the one who has no god” equally refers to the patient (picked up after the description of the attack at the beginning of the Marduk-Ea dialogue in II 7.2 as *marṣu šātu*, “that sick man”). While both passages are damaged, the gap between II 6.16 and II 7.1 (as calculated by the rough length of the columns of NinNA4) would not have been long enough to allow for the attack scene to still be part of the demon’s mythological background and a completely separate description of the demon attacking the patient.

im-ma-an-re-eš / imtaḥḥarū—It is unfortunate that the immediately preceding text passage is not attested on any currently known manuscripts. The subject in both the Akkadian and the Sumerian line is 3rd ps. pl., and the unnamed group attacking the patient would have been introduced in the gap between I 1 and I 2. In the first of the two Ardat Lilī parallels, I 7.17–22, the incantation describes that the Utukku- and Alû-demon have followed Ardat Lilī out of the wilderness and attacked the patient, so what one would expect in the gap is a description of a group of demons that accompanies Eṭel Lilī on his return to the civilised world.

gaba =ø	i-	m-	ba-	n-	ri	-eš
chest =abs	vp-	vent-	mid.-	3 rd h.-	strike	-3 rd pl.

imtaḥḥarū—3rd pl. Gt impf. of *maḥāru*. The verb is probably in the imperfective because the (past) confrontation of the man without a god follows in the text, similar to imperfective introductions of a following direct speech. A good longer example for this is the narration of how Anu proclaimed the fate of each of the Sebettu in *Epic of Erra* I 31–38, where introductory verbs are imperfective if they refer to a *following* direct speech and in the preterite tense if the direct speech *precedes* them, even though the overall sequence of events is narrated as a past action.

- 2.3A** **šu-ne-ne-a**—BabaNB2: šu-ne₂-ne-ne. It appears the scribe added the 3rd pl. h. pronoun to the 3rd sg. h. pronoun, but left out the locative. This manuscript also writes the 3rd pl. h. pronoun (+ locative) as -ne₂-ne-ne in the following line.

*

šu	=ane	=anēnē
hand	=poss. pron. 3 rd sg. h.	=poss. pron. 3 rd pl. h.

This odd spelling is also attested in the Old Babylonian sales tablet HS.2121, line 16: kišib-ba-a-ne₂-ne-ne (pointed out to me by Martin Worthington).

- 2.5f** **group of demons**—The edition assumes that the incantation speaks of three demons attacking the patient—Eṭel Lilî, the main agent, and the evil Utukku and Alû who accompany him.

The reason is that the Sumerian verb suggests a switch in subject, with a singular human agent placing *his* neck near another neck (without specifying via a pronoun whose neck it is). Alongside the following lines, this would suggest that the switch from plural to singular forms already takes place here, rather than in the following line where it is certainly preserved in the Akkadian.

The Ardat Lilî parallel II 6.12 provides little help, as the only manuscript for the line (KalNA1) does not preserve any part of the Sumerian line and the incantation does not mention any demon groups that would necessitate a switch from plural to singular in the first place.

Crucially, the only group of demons that is preserved anywhere on the surviving manuscripts of the series is a group of two in I 7.28A: the evil Utukku and evil Alû, exorcised in an incantation that deals with what we might call “side-effects” of Ardat Lilî (compare above, p. 81). The hypothesis that the unnamed group here is *also* the duo evil Utukku and Alû would help us solve a huge issue underlying this text passage: Why does the text begin to talk about Eṭel Lilî (and stop talking about several demons) without notice?

The most obvious difference between hand and feet on one side and neck on the other is that the human patient has two of each of the former, but only one of the latter. If we assume that our unnamed plural of demons is the evil Utukku and Alû, we can propose that while all three (Eṭel Lilî and his “side-effects”) attack the patient, the Utukku and Alû take up position at the patient’s left and right, while Eṭel Lilî himself takes over the patient’s head—and thereby his self (I 2.6). This simultaneously explains why this text passage talks of the demons’ *hands and feet* (phonetic spellings *qa-ti-š[u₂-nu]* and *še-pi-[š_u₂-nu]* for I 2.3–4B in BabaNB1) and the thematic Ardat Lilî parallel I

7.20B (in which only the evil Utukku is acting) of the demon's *hand* (*qa-as-su*).

The assumption is substantiated by the closer thematic Ardat Lilî parallel II 6.9–12, which also speaks of multiple agents taking over the hands and feet of the patient, but only one affecting the neck.

I 2.2–5 (<i>Eṭel Lilî</i>)	II 6.9–12 (<i>Ardat Lilî</i>)	I 7.19–22 (<i>evil Utukku</i>)
ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku- ra gaba im-ma-an-re- eš (The group of demons) confronted the young man who has no god.	[ḡuruš diḡir nu-tuku im]-mi-in-ra-ra She strikes [the young man who has no god:]	lu₂ su-ta nu-e₃-de₃ im-ma-an-us₂ the one who will not go out of a body has attached himself to him (the patient).
šu-ne-ne-a šu-ne₂ [šu-ne-ne-a] ba-an-ḡar-re-eš They (<i>evil Utukku and Alû</i>?) placed his hand on their hands,	šu-ne₂ [šu-ne-ne-a] 'šu¹¹ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš They placed (his) hands [on their hands],	šu-ne₂ in-ra šu-a- ne₂-še₃ im-mi-in-ḡar He struck his (the patient's) hand; he placed it on his (the patient's) hand,
ḡiri₃-ne-ne-a ḡiri₃- ne₂ ba-an-ḡar-re-eš they placed his foot on their feet,	[ḡiri₃-ne-ne-a ḡiri₃¹¹] ba-an-ḡar-re-eš They placed [(his) feet on their feet],	ḡiri₃-ne₂ in-ra ḡiri₃- a-ne₂-še₃ im-mi-in- ḡar he struck his (the patient's) foot; he placed it on his (the patient's) foot,
gu₂-ne₂ gu₂-da im- ma-an-ḡar he (<i>Eṭel Lilî</i>) placed his neck near (the patient's) neck.	(Akk. only: [<i>kišādiša a</i>] 'na' kišādišu ēted[ir]) (Akk. only: she has pressed her neck against his neck)	saḡ-ḡa₂-ne₂ in-ra saḡ-a-ne₂-še₃ im-mi- in-us₂ he struck his (the patient's) head; he made it be next to his (the patient's) head.

What substantiates this theory further is that the three text passages are clearly not copied from each other (which might have prompted an unusual shared mistake), but deploy different vocabulary (and sometimes grammar) to express a shared underlying theme.

This could be an image in *āšipūtu* which we usually only see in reversed form: the evil Utukku and Alû taking up the position at the afflicted's side that should be occupied by the protective Šēdu and Lamassu (compare I 7.30A and p. 12). It might equally relate to the abandonment of the patient by his personal god and goddess (as described in I 1.6f), as these, too, are usually imagined as stand at the patient's left and right (see Stol (1993) 33).

Most likely, the two are not mutually exclusive, as the underlying problem seems to be that the patient is unguarded (whether by his god and goddess or his Šēdu and Lamassu). The patient's abandonment by his god and goddess is emphasised in the prologue of the present incantation (I 1.6f) and is brought up again at the very beginning of the attack scene in I 2.2 ("they confront the one without a god"). The thematic Ardat Lilî parallel I 7.20–22 is asking for the evil Utukku, who has seized the patient's hand, to be replaced by the good

Šēdu (I 7.29f, the Sumerian replaces Utukku and Alû with Šēdu and Lamassu).

Something similar can be observed in *Lamaštu*, where the first incantation on the second Tablet of recitations deals with demonic “side-effects” of *Lamaštu*, who are split into two groups and described as *ša ina pāniki u arkiki illakū*, “the ones who walk in front of you and behind you” (*Lam.* II 16).

2.6A **ba-ab-ši-in-ak-a**—The final /a/ is unexpected, as the preceding and following lines use finite verbal forms. The Ardat Lilî parallels offer no help, as none of them preserves the Sumerian verb.

The Akkadian line is more illuminating, as its imperfective verb provides a connection to the following line (compare commentary for I 2.6B). Therefore, the following line is a continuation of the present clause, and the nominaliser {a} ought not to be dismissed as a scribal mistake, but should be the Sumerian method of linking the two actions:

ba-	b-	ši-	n-	ak	-a	=a
3 rd	nh. 3 rd nh.-	term.-	3 rd h.-	make	-nmls.	=loc.
io.-						

The non-human indirect object is *ni₂-te-a-ne₂*, the patient’s “self” (as the direct object slot is already taken by *šu-bala*); the non-human terminative might refer to the following action, and the case ending is certainly a temporal locative, as nominaliser and locative in sequence only appear as a single {a} in writing (compare Jagersma (2010) 642) and the temporal locative provides the coordination of I 2.6A and I 2.7A that the Akkadian suggests.

This also helps explain why I 2.11A repeats the contents of this line in the past tense: I 2.6 and I 2.11 frame the action of twisting the patient’s self (“When he affected the change of his self for it: [...] The man, his self was changed for it.”).

In classical Sumerian, the non-human prefix {b} would not be written after {ba}.

2.6B **uštepellū**—3rd pl. Gt. pres. of *šupêlu*. As in line 2.2, the reason for the imperfective here seems to be that it refers to the immediately following action; the unnamed group of supernatural agents change the patient’s self, enabling Eṭel Lilî to pick him as his wife as described in the following three lines.

2.7–10 **iqbiš, sūnka, attā, mutka, iqbiši, šāši, ulallīši**—The only known source for this text passage, the Neo-Babylonian manuscript BabaNB1, changes the gender of the pronouns halfway through it. This would not normally be of interest; later Neo-Babylonian manuscripts are unreliable sources for final vowels, as particularly the final vowels of the 3rd sg. accusative suffixes -*šu* and -*ši* appear to have been pronounced as /š^(a)/ (see Hess (2021) 1412 and Hackl (2021) 1447). That being said, the indifference to word-final vowels affects short rather than long vowels; the spelling of the independent pronoun **attā** in 2.9 (*at-ta*) should therefore be reliable even if we were to disregard the final vowels of the pronominal suffixes in BabaNB1. This means that the male speaker (unnamed, but without a doubt Eṭel Lilî) asks a male addressee to be his wife and promises to be his husband.

In the context of the ritual series, this makes perfect sense, as the unnamed patient throughout the series and in all incantations (including the present one) is referred to as a man (I 2.2, I 2.11, I 4.8, to name only the occurrences in the Eṭel Lilî incantation) and by male pronouns. This is the norm within *āšipūtu*, irrespective of what the gender of the actual client may be (see especially Amulet 1 and the corresponding ritual description's line 7f in Finkel (2018) 239 and 252). Eṭel Lilî is described in a demon list in *diġir ħulu* (mscr. K.156+ 104, compare Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5) as *ḡuruš lil₂-la₂ dam nu-tuku-a / eṭel lilî ša aššata lā aḡzu*, “the Young Man Lilî who has no wife/did not marry a wife.” As a demonic being, he is largely defined by his lack of a wife (as Ardat Lilî in the previous line is defined by her lack of a husband). Irrespective of who the patient may be, a wife is what Eṭel Lilî is looking for. Differing from the translation of the same passage in Foster (1993) 855, the present translation therefore considers the pronoun shift as intentional. It occurs in a conspicuous position, directly after Eṭel Lilî has announced to the unnamed (up to this point male) addressee “You shall be the wife—I shall be your husband!”, and it affects a person whose self has been said to be changed in the immediately preceding, and grammatically connected, passage (I 2.6). It appears—from the only currently known manuscript and in the context of the incantation—that the patient is, in the context of the demonic marriage described in 2.7–9, Eṭel Lilî's wife.

Gender of the addressee in the Sumerian lines: The gender of the addressee in the English translation follows the Akkadian (as outlined above). Note, however, that Sumerian has no grammatical distinction between male or female, so the gender of every pronoun in the English translation (here and elsewhere) is an interpretation from context rather than something that is specifically expressed by Sumerian pronouns.

2.7B *iqbiš(u)*—3rd sg. G pret. of *qabû* with abbreviated 3rd sg. m. dative pronominal suffix (the gender of the pronoun is discussed in the commentary for I 2.7–9 above).

2.8A *ba-ni-in-si*—The interpretation of this verb depends on what level of knowledge of classical Sumerian verbal infixes one assumes in the author(s) of this line. The verbal form certainly presents issues irrespective of whether one assumes that the scribe simply copied a Sumerian form without adapting it to the line at hand, or whether one assumes that the infixes were chosen with intent.

The translation assumes that the Sumerian verb confuses a perfective for an imperfective form:

ba-	ni-	n-	si	-Ø
mid.-	loc.-	3 rd h.-	fill	-3 rd sg.

This seems the simplest explanation, as the 2nd sg. possessive suffix just before the verbal form clearly signals that this is direct speech (addressed to the patient in the 2nd person) rather than 3rd person narrative. The fact that the Sumerian line has only one prince providing riches for the prospective bride, whereas the Akkadian line speaks of several, is a divergence of both texts that we encounter elsewhere in the series (compare the consistent singular forms in the Sumerian lines of I 3 as opposed to the consistent plurals in the

corresponding Akkadian forms). This explanation also requires no assumption of further mistakes.

The fact that the incantation at hand (in the same manuscript BabaNB1) contains regular Sumerian plural forms that are translated by Akkadian plural forms is likely a result of compilation activity.

2.8B *umallû*—3rd pl. D impf. of *malû*; the plural subject are the princes (*rubû*) the demon claims as his ancestors at the beginning of the same line.

2.9A *mu-un-na-ab-be₂*—The verbal base *e* is either the perfect plural or the imperfective stem of *du₁₁* (see Attinger (2021) 284), neither of which fits the position of the verb here. As the direct speech precedes the verb, and the agent is singular, one would expect a perfective singular form in classical Sumerian (see Jagersma (2010) 376). The most likely reason is confusion of the exact significance of the two different verbal stems used to express the Akkadian *qabû*.

mu-	nna-	b-	e	-∅
vent-	3 rd sg. h. io.-	3 rd nh.-	say (impf)	-3 rd sg.

he₂-a—This form is usually analysed as a 3rd sg. form (“it shall be”):

ha-	² a-	(me)	-∅
mod.-	VP-	be	-3 rd sg.

See Jagersma (2010) 680f (also source of glossing above).

It is clear from the surrounding pronouns that the verb should have a 1st sg. agent (*he₂-me-en*). The present spelling may have been used to differentiate the two verbs, to make it completely clear to the reader that the intended meaning is not “You shall be my wife—you shall be your husband!”.

2.9B *aššatu*—As the only existing manuscript is Neo-Babylonian (BabaNB1), the spelling *aš₂-ša₂-tu₂* could also be interpreted as an unorthographic writing of *aššatî*; however, as the 1st person possessive pronominal suffix has a long vowel (*-ā* in Late Babylonian), it would be somewhat surprising (though not impossible) if it vanished entirely. Without further manuscripts to aid our understanding of the line, the composite text retains *aššatu*.

iqbiši—The gender of the pronoun is discussed in the commentary for I 2.7–9 above.

2.10 *kîma inib kirî ana šâši lalê ulallîši*—The English translation for this line is rather free. The difficulty is that the entire Akkadian line plays with double entendre: *inbu* means “fruit,” but also “sexual attractiveness”, and *lalû* denotes both “wealth/abundance” and “desire”. The line translates to “like a fruit of an orchard he lavished riches on her” as well as “he made her desire desire (figura etymologica) like the lusciousness of an orchard”. The Akkadian line thereby toys with both the theme of gifts presented by a husband-to-be as a bridal prize (already introduced in I 2.7) and with the sexually charged concept of *Eṭel Lilî* (as outlined in I 1.9f and, in more detail, in the *Ardat Lilî* parallels). Put simply, *Eṭel Lilî* pulls out all the stops to seduce his chosen wife.

ulallîši—3rd sg. D pret. of *lalû* with 3rd sg. f. accusative pronominal suffix (the

gender of the pronoun is discussed in the commentary for I 2.7–9 above).

gurun ^{neš}**kiri₆-gen₇ ni₂-la-la im-mi-in-**ḡar****—Interestingly, this brilliant use of double entendre is confined to the Akkadian line. In this line, it is quite clear that the Sumerian text was a translation of a primarily Akkadian image: it has been attempted to reproduce the figura etymologica *lalê ulallîši* by an unusual spelling of the word ni₂-ḡal₂-la, “possessions” (lit.: “things that exist”) that suggests an Akkadianism ni₂-la-la--ḡar “place the *lalû* thing (on somebody)”.

ḡurun	kiri ₆	=ak	=gen	ni ₂ -la-la	=ø
fruit	orchard	=gen.	=equ.	possessions	=abs.

i-	m-	bi-	n.-	ḡar	-ø
vp.-	vent.-	loc.-	3 rd h.-	put	-3 rd sg.

- 2.11A** While this line is badly damaged on the only manuscript that preserves it, the traces suggest that it a repetition of I 2.6 in the past tense—whereas I 2.6 introduces the description of the demon twisting the patient’s self to let the demons in (“When he affected the change of his self for it: ... The man, his self was changed for it.”).

gap **Contents**—The precise contents of this gap are not entirely clear. As text (ca. 16 l.) block I 2 appears to narrate Eṭel Lili’s attack of the patient, the following lines should describe how the demon affects the patient; possibly including symptoms of illness (see Falkenstein (1931) 51). What is certainly missing before the beginning of text block I 3 is the full introduction of a Marduk-Ea-dialogue, as I 3.1 already gives Marduk-Ea-dialogue ritual instructions (see commentary for I 3.2–8).

Estimated gap size—For the estimated size of the gap between BabaNB1 ii (ending in I 2.11) and BabaNB1 iii (beginning in I 3.1), see commentary for the gap between text blocks 1 and 2. As BabaNB1 ii is the beginning of the last column on the obverse and BabaNB1 iii the end of the first column on the reverse of a 4-column tablet, what we are missing here is double the size of the gap between BabaNB1 i and BabaNB1 ii.

- 3.2–8** **u₃-... “after you have...” / (imperative)+ma “..., and”**—The Old Babylonian pattern of Marduk-Ea-dialogues has Ea give Marduk ritual instructions using verbal forms with the prefix {u} to communicate a temporal anteriority. These instructions culminate in imperfective forms expressing the intended outcome(s), here beginning in I 3.9. See already Falkenstein (1931) pp. 58f and 62. Note, however, that the interacting forms are used somewhat differently here, using them to indicate consecutive ritual steps; see commentary for I 3.6A.

While the Akkadian language cannot replicate this exactly, Akkadian versions usually employ imperative forms with enclitic *-ma* or 2nd sg. forms; text block I 3 uses the former. This demonstrates a fascinating level of understanding of the function of the Sumerian prefix {u}, as the enclitic *-ma* attempts to replicate its coordinating function while the imperatives imply that the prefix marks a type of command. The latter is an understandable conclusion, as most (Akkadian-speaking) scribes from the Old Babylonian period onwards would only have encountered this rare prefix in the context of Marduk-Ea-dialogues or the letter introduction u₃-na-a-du₁₁ (lit. “after you have said (x) to (y)...,”

in Akkadian the imperative form *qibima* (“speak (x)”)—both of which communicate instructions. Jagersma (2010) 526 concludes from the equation with the imperative that {u} must be a way of giving polite instructions in this context.

-a-ne₂ / Akkadian plurals—On consistent Sumerian 3rd sg. spellings opposite Akkadian 3rd pl. forms, see commentary for I 2.7A.

The assumption underlying the translation of the (gender-neutral) Sumerian 3rd sg. forms in this passage as 3rd sg. masculine is that the Sumerian ritual instructions deal with the patient alongside several figurines of E₂el Līlī.

The Akkadian version of the same text passage diverges from the Sumerian in a way that seems less internally cohesive. Here, the figurines are shod with sandals, provided with a tied leather bag, and then have another bag of silver and gold tied to the fringe of their clothes (I 3.3–5B). The instruction to have the patient lay out the offering for the dead in the wilderness seems disruptive in this context, as he is not mentioned before; it also seems odd that the figurines are first given a leather bag, and then have another (different type of) bag tied to them.

- 3.2–5A u₃-mu-un-ni-in-...**—The 3rd h. agent before the verbal base would be a mistake by the rules of classical Sumerian: what the lines require is {e}, a 2nd h. agent, and a compressed spelling of the locative {ni}—under the assumption that the (often unwritten) 2nd h. had no infix that would have come between locative and verbal base—could not have followed the 3rd sg. h. oblique object {nni}.

Note that the entire (surviving) text contains not a single classically spelled final person prefix of the 2nd person, and that 2nd person suffixes are only spelled out periodically; the Marduk-Ea-dialogue verbs usually (but not necessarily) have a single consonant /n/ before the base, although they normally have a 2nd person agent.

- 3.6A ḥa-ba-ra-ab-la₂-e / likallimka**—Instead of the regular Marduk-Ea-convention of an imperfective “Schlussthema” following the Sumerian relative past forms (see above, commentary for I 3.2–8), this incantation appears to use the imperfective forms to divide different ritual steps (in this case dressing the figurine(s), followed by the imperfective form that marks the transition to ritual steps undertaken in the wilderness, followed by more imperfective forms continuing this next chronological step of wilderness ritual actions).

likallimka—3rd sg. m. G prec. of *kullumu* with 2nd sg. m. dative pronominal suffix. *kullumu* is to be understood in the sense of “to offer to a god” rather than in the sense of “to show/teach somebody something”; for the Standard Babylonian dative suffix form *-ka(m)* (dropping the mimation in word-final position) see von Soden (1995)³ §42 k 8.

- 3.7B šuzissunūtima**—2nd sg. m. Š imp. of *izuzzu* with 3rd pl. m. accusative pronominal suffix and enclitic *-ma*.

- 3.8 zi₃ u-me-ni-ḥur / qēma teṣṣir**—Both in the Sumerian and Akkadian lines, the word for “flour” takes the direct object position (lit.: “you draw flour”). But while this is the usual phrasing for protective flour drawings in *āšipūtu*, it does not translate well into English; hence the translation as “draw with flour”.

- 3.8B teṣṣir**—No enclitic *-ma* is assumed, as the fully preserved parallel in II 5.8

does not have it. If we can trust the parallel, the Akkadian version of the text passage presents us with the first non-coordinated verbal form rather than the last coordinated one (the Sumerian being *u-me-ni-ḥur*).

The coordinated Sumerian verb seems intentional, as it still forms part of the previous ritual step rather than a transition to the following one (see also commentary for I 3.9B). The Akkadian version, on the other hand, replicates the grammatical format of I 3.6, in which both the Sumerian and the Akkadian version employ imperfective forms to indicate the end of a ritual step and the beginning of another (see commentary for I 3.6).

This is curious. I 3.6 shifts the location of the ritual action into the wilderness, but there is no particular reason why turning the figurines to face the sunset in I 3.8 should be differentiated grammatically from setting them down at the foot of an *ašāgu*-bush.

The reason may thought to be found in the following line, which, rather than another coordinated ritual instruction, is directed at the demon in direct speech. The Akkadian seems to be imitating the usual structure of the Sumerian Marduk-Ea-dialogue, which requires an imperfective verbal form to express the outcome of the coordinated relative-past ritual instructions (see commentary for I 3.2–9). As the following line does not present us with this final imperfective form, the Akkadian translator(s) may have introduced it here. On the reason for the unexpected direct speech, see commentary for I 3.9).

However, the parallel in II 5.8 is *not* followed by an unexpected direct speech, but by an entirely appropriate imperfective (Sumerian *bi₂-dur₂-ru-ne-eš* translated into an Akkadian precative *lišībūma*). It is therefore more likely that the translator(s) of the series interpreted the Sumerian verbal forms with the prefix {u} as a series of coordinated sentences, and therefore stopped coordinating the Akkadian sentences at the last Sumerian {u}.

- 3.9 i-ri-pad₃ / utammika “I made you swear”**—What would be expected after the ritual instructions is an imperfective form (as found at the end of the line) expressing the outcome the ritual aims at, see commentary for I 3.2–8. Instead, the text interpolates the adjuration directed at the demon in the 2nd person (ending in I 4.7).

This is interesting if we compare the ritual *Lamaštu*. Here, too, we find a ritual in which a figurine is manipulated and removed into the wilderness (*Lam.* III 119–126, compare p. 27). At this point, the *Lamaštu* ritual instructions begin to match the Marduk-Ea instructions of this incantation almost exactly: the figurine is set down beneath an *ašāgu*/*u₂-ḡiri₃*-bush, turned to face the setting sun and surrounded with a flour *zisurrû* (*Lam.* III 127f). The only difference between the two rituals is that the *Lamaštu* figurine also has a rope tied around her waist (*Lam.* III 127). After the *āšipu* has drawn the *zisurrû* around *Lamaštu*, he is instructed to **adjure her**: “*nīš šamê erṣeti u Anunnakī tutammāši.*” The construction is precisely what we find here, except that *Lamaštu* substitutes different divinities by whom to “adjure” the demon (lit. “make her swear the oath of”).

This suggests that I 3.9 is not the beginning of the incantation’s *Schlussstema*, but still part of the ritual instruction Ea relates to Marduk: after having drawn the *zisurrû* with flour, the demon is adjured. The difference from what we have seen in *Lamaštu* is only that the adjuration is presented to Marduk in full, rather than communicated in abbreviated form as an instruction to the *āšipu* (“you adjure her”). This is unsurprising, considering *Lamaštu* communicates

the information on a ritual tablet rather than through a Marduk-Ea-dialogue. In this light, the use of a single perfective form directly after the ritual instructions appears fully intentional rather than caused by a fundamental misunderstanding of the Marduk-Ea-dialogue's grammatical construction. By interpolating it at the beginning of the text of the adjuration, it is clear that the grammatical sequence of the Marduk-Ea-dialogue is interrupted here. This ensures that the following imperfective forms are not understood as the desired outcome of the ritual steps, but as the spell cast over the *zisurrû* Marduk has been told to draw in the previous line. The connection between the flour drawing in 3.8 and the spell is made even clearer by the next line, 3.10, where the spell prohibits E $\dot{t}$ el Lilî from crossing it. The real Schlussthema instead seems to begin in I 4.8 and calls for the patient's purity. This is not, therefore, a case in point for George's attestation that many scribes as early as the Old Babylonian period no longer really understood the grammar of the Marduk-Ea-dialogue (see George (2016) 3f), but rather the opposite: an example of the grammar not only being understood, but adapted to the purpose at hand.

i-	ri-	(?)-	pad ₃	-Ø
vp.-	2 nd sg. oo.-	1 st sg.-	adjure	-3 rd sg.

Translation “make swear”— Instead of the traditional translation “adjure (sb.) by (divinities)”, the literal translation “**make (sb.) swear the oath (of)**” has been chosen here. The reason for this is that, before what we might call the conditions of the treaty with the demon are outlined (the demon may not cross the *zisurrû* and so on, I 3.10–12), the adjuration is phrased as a promissory oath in the present line. “zi (divine name)” marks the beginning of the promissory oath in direct speech (see Edzard (1976) 81f, who also notes the close relationship between incantation and promissory oath). The free translation “adjure (sb.) by (divinities)” obscures this very interesting link between exorcisms and the legal sphere.

There are few surviving long Sumerian promissory oaths in direct speech (see Edzard (1976) 81). The most prominent lengthy one is the stela of Eanatum (often referred to as “Geierstele”) that contains a bilateral peace treaty as part of its narrative. It is more than a millennium older than the present series, but —interestingly—the promissory oaths (guaranteeing that all leaders will respect the others' territory by evoking divine punishment in the event of transgression) follow the same pattern we see here:

1. As in the present line, “The life of (divinity)” is invoked (*Geierstele* obv. xvi 21, xvii 30, xviii 33, xx 10; rev. i 11, iii 11).
2. As in the second half of the present line up until I 4.1, the conditions the swearing party submits to are enumerated (*Geierstele* obv. xvi 21–33, xvii 31–41, xviii 34–45, xx 13–xxi 3; rev. i 13–23, iv 1–5).
3. As in I 4.2–7, the swearing party curses themselves in the event of transgression, beginning with a subordinated temporal clause naming the transgression (as found in I 4.2–3 and *Geierstele* obv. xvi 34, xvii 42, xix 1, xxi 4; rev. i 24, v 6) and ending in the terrible fate called upon the transgressor (I 4.4–7 in our text, *Geierstele* obv. xvi 35–40, xvii 43–47, xix 2–7, xxi 5–11; rev. i 25–30, v 7–16) In the stela, it is clear that the gods evoked at the beginning are meant to enact the punishment upon transgression; in the present text, this is not spelled

out.

It must be stressed, however, that the stela is a literary text narrating Eanatum's victory rather than a properly documented treaty. While no known text before the Old Babylonian period documents this pattern in exorcistic texts, the possibility that the stela likens the territorial conditions imposed on Eanatum's enemy to the expulsion of a demon cannot be excluded. The issue would merit further investigation.

Within the realm of *āšipūtu*, there are at least two longer incantations that employ this pattern (with several parallels to lines in text block I 4). One is the composition *diḡir ḫulu* (see Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5; edition in Ebeling (1953) 361–381). The other is *udug ḫulu* v 1–75. In both incantations, the above construction is not part of a Marduk-Ea-dialogue, but used throughout an entire incantation; before the line “*zi an ki-be₂-da-ke₄ i-ri-[pad₃] / nīš šamê u erṣeti [utammika]*” (Ebeling (1953) 380 line 26f) we find an enumeration of oaths by various divinities which the supernatural evil is told to swear (using the precative *ḫe₂-pad₃* rather than the perfective). The difference is therefore that the *diḡir ḫulu* and *udug ḫulu* incantations begins by making their addressee swear, whereas the Marduk-Ea ritual instructions here assume that Eṭel Lilî has already been “sworn in,” probably by the already completed ritual action of drawing a *zisurrû*. Neither the *diḡir ḫulu* nor the *udug ḫulu* incantation contains any reference to ritual instructions or a *zisurrû*.

The conception of the flour *zisurrû* as a type of sworn treaty imposed on a supernatural evil is most prominent in the series *saḡ-ba*, *saḡ-ba* (see Schramm (2001) 3). Note too that the final line of *saḡ-ba*, *saḡ-ba* is an exact parallel to the present line (*saḡ-ba*, *saḡ-ba* II 75); another parallel is *udug ḫulu* IX 76', where the line also immediately follows on lines about protective flour drawings.

3.9B *lū tattallak*—2nd sg. m. Gt fient. prec. of *alāku*. For the rare Standard Babylonian occurrences of 2nd person fientic precatives using imperfective forms, see von Soden (1995)³.

3.10-12A *-ke₄*—On the use of *-ke₄* as a genitive marker, see commentary for I 1.11A.

3.10B *šutukka nadû*—While the verbal adjective *nadû* is not preserved on any surviving manuscript of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*, the phrase is common enough to be safely restored; see for example *Mīs Pī* I/II 19 (although the verb is finite there).

lā tabbalakkat—2nd sg. m. N prohibitive of *nabalkutu* (N-class quadriradical verb).

3.11-12A *-ke₄*—This is probably no instance of a simple genitive, but for once (as the spelling suggests) a genitive followed by the directive {e}, as *dīb* in the meaning of “to pass” is usually constructed intransitively (compare Attinger (2021) 247).

gap **Contents**—As I 4.1 appears to follow the same pattern as 3.12, it is likely that the gap contained further clauses prohibiting Eṭel Lilî to approach the house of the patient.

(ca. 6 l.)

Estimated gap size—The estimated size of the gap between BabaNB1 iii and iv is 8 lines (see commentary for the gap between text blocks 1 and 2). As

BabaNB2 adds two lines to the end of text block 3 after BabaNB1 iii has broken off, we are left with about 6 missing lines.

4.1–7 en-na ba-ra-(...) / adi lā ...—As discussed in the commentary for I 3.9, the subordinated temporal clauses form the first half of the curse called upon the demon if he transgresses his oath.

4.1A ba-ra-an-ta-zi₂-en—The traces on the manuscript are unclear in many parts of this line. That the upper row of signs contains several ablatives is relatively clearly visible, as is the verbal base; however, note that the verbal forms in this text passage have several issues. For instance, the much more intelligible verb ba-ra-an-da-ab-ku₂-en in I 4.4A is actually written ba-ra-an-BA-ab-ku₂-en on the same manuscript.

4.1B It would be tempting to restore this line after the diŋir ḫulu incantation which parallels the following two lines (identification Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5, edition Ebeling (1953) 380 lines 30f). However, while the phrase “regarding the body of the man, son of his god” (CBS 13858+ iv 27f: [e]n² su lu₂-u₁₈-lu dumu diŋi[r-ra-ne₂-ke₄ ...] / adi zumru awēli mār ilišu lā [...], <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/CBS.13858> slightly amended; compare also the same line in the same sequence in udug ḫulu v 67) would not be out of place here, and may have been lost in the gap in between text blocks I 3 and I 4, the Sumerian version of this line does not allow it. While the two incantations share several lines with the present one, none of them is exactly parallel to another. Judging by what is left of the Sumerian line, this line is probably the last line stipulating rules for the demon, see commentary for I 3.9.

4.2–4 Partial parallel in udug ḫulu V 68f and diŋir ḫulu (identification Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5, edition Ebeling (1953) 380 line 30–32).

4.2f It is unusual that the Sumerian version of the lines have locatives rather than ablatives. For I 4.2, one could propose reading the verb RI / šasû instead (“until you no longer shout in the house”), but zi.g / nasāḫu in the following line is difficult to reconcile with a locative (“until you no longer tear out in the city” would lack a direct object). Therefore, the translation assumes that the locative in the Sumerian line is modelled on ina in the Akkadian, in agreement with Lackenbacher (1971) and Geller (2016). There is some confusion between locative and ablative in the verbal chains, too; whereas 4.2 has the ablative infix {ta} (for the human prefix, see commentary for I 1.6A), 4.3 has a locative (reduced to /n/ immediately before the base).

4.2B The restoration follows udug ḫulu. The translation of adi ... lā ta... with “as long as you have not” follows the translation in Geller (2016) 165 line 171, because it is an elegant way of phrasing this type of oath language.
tassû—2nd sg. G pret. subjunctive of nesû.

4.3A ba-ra-an-zi-ga-en-na—Intransitive verbal form with shortened locative; -ga seems to be understood as part of the verbal base.

*

bara-	ni-	zi-ga	-en	-a
cat.neg.-	loc-	abl.	-2 nd sg.	-nmls.

- 4.5–8 Largely parallel to udug ḫulu v 71–74. In content similar (but not parallel) to the diḡir ḫulu incantation already mentioned above, Ebeling (1953) 380 line 34f:

gub-zu-še₃ ḫa-ba-ra-du-un na-an-tuš-en / *ana manzazika tazzaz lā tuššab*

“(When) you are standing in your standing place—do not settle down!”

- 4.5B *lā telēm*—2nd sg. m. G prohib. of *lêmu*. The final /e/ in *te-le-me* in the Neo-Babylonian manuscript BabaNB1 is an overhanging vowel rather than part of the verbal root.

- 4.6B *naprišma*—2nd sg. m. N imp. of *naprušu* with enclitic *-ma*.

- 4.7B *naklima*—2nd sg. m. N imp. of *kalû* with enclitic *-ma*.

- 4.8 The chain of kug / *elēlu*, sikil / *ebēbu*, and dadag / *namāru* is a common Schlussthema in *āšipūtu*. An unconnected example would be udug ḫulu vii 137.

gap (ca. 7 l.) Contents—As the previous line commonly occurs at or near the end of an incantation, it is likely that the incantation ends either directly or shortly after I 4.8. The incantation udug ḫulu v 1–75, which shares several lines with text block I 3 and I 4, also ends one line after ki-a ba-gub-be-en tuš na-ab-ḡa₂-ḡa₂-an (the diḡir ḫulu incantation with similarities in the final themes unfortunately breaks before the end).

As the following text block picks up with ritual instructions in relative past verbal forms in the Sumerian version, one would also expect a brief prologue and the introduction to another Marduk-Ea-dialogue. Both can be written in abbreviated form; compare udug ḫulu vii 1–10, where the prologue takes up eight lines, the entire introduction of the Marduk-Ea-dialogue is sketched in only one, and line 10 already contains ritual instructions.

Estimated size of the gap—The estimated size is calculated as follows:

NinNA1 is part of an originally six-column manuscript, of which the right column (columns iii on the obverse and iv on the reverse) has broken off. The six-column Nineveh manuscripts have a column length of ca. 21 Eṭel/Ardat-Lilī-lines. As the manuscript preserves both the last line of column ii and the first line of column v, ca. 42 lines are lost between I 3.12 (end of NinNA1 ii) and I 7.1 (first line of NinNA1 v).

The estimated gap between text blocks 3 and 4 is 6 lines (see commentary for that gap) and text block 4 is 8 lines long, both of which we must deduct from the 42; this leaves us with 28 missing lines between I 4.8 and I 7.1.

The gap between NinNA8 iv 1' (I 5.1) and NinNA8 v 1' (I 7.1) is the estimated Nineveh column size of 21 lines.

If 28 lines are lost between I 4.8 and I 7.1, and 21 lines are missing between I 5.1 and I 7.1, the gap between text blocks I 4 and I 5 is 7 lines.

- 5.2A **white**—White and black hair (of an animal previously specified) would be a likely pair here—see also II 5.5—but 5.2 could also be restored differently (hair of another colour or specification of the animal the black hair is taken from).

her head—The gender of the pronoun is based on the Akkadian version of text block 5, assuming in both that this incantation already talks of Ardat Lilī, who is represented by a figurine in these lines.

- 5.2B** Restorations based on the Sumerian version of the same line as well as II 5.5B and II 5.7B.
- 5.3A** **-be₂**—For the confusion between human and non-human pronominal suffixes, see above, commentary for I 1.6A.
- 5.4** See commentary for the Eṭel Lilî parallel in I 3.9.
- 5.4B** *utammiki*—See commentary for the Eṭel Lilî parallel in I 3.9B.
lū tattallakī—See commentary for the Eṭel Lilî parallel in I 3.9B.
- gap (ca. 8 l.)** **Contents**—The contents of this gap could either be similar to the Eṭel Lilî parallel 3.11–4.1, i.e. a continuation of the stipulations imposed upon the demon after she has been adjured to go away, or only Marduk-Ea ritual instructions (as at the beginning of the next text block) without the lengthy speech to the demon, or a combination of both.
Estimated gap size—As discussed in the commentary for the previous gap, there are approximately 21 lines between I 5.1 and I 7.1. Text block 5 has 4 and 6 has 5 lines, leaving us with 12 lines to distribute across the two gaps between I 5 / I 6 and I 6 / I 7.
NinNA2, as a manuscript in the Nineveh layout, should have columns of approximately 21 lines, meaning that NinNA2 iv 1 should be ca. 21 lines before I 7.1 (NinNA2 v 17); however, NinNA2 v 1 is actually on the same height as NinNA2 iv 2 on the tablet (the break is uneven), leaving ca. 20 lines. Text block 7 has 16 lines preceding NinNA2 v 1, so the estimated gap size between I 6 and 7 is 4 lines.
If the gaps between I 5 / I 6 and I 6 / I 7 are about 12 lines in total, and the gap between I 6 / I 7 is 4 lines long, that leaves us with roughly 8 missing lines in the gap between I 5 / I 6.
- 6.1–5** The Ardat Lilî Marduk-Ea ritual instructions in II 5.4 also speaks of tying hair to figurines' arms, but there is not enough left of the text passage at hand to restore any of its instructions.
The final line, I 6.5, appears to begin with the sign UDUG. This may indicate that the line in question is already part of the incantation-final themes. As the first preserved line of I 7 describes that “the evil one shall swear the oath of heaven,” this line may be a similar formula targeting the evil Udug.
- gap (max. 4 l.)** **Contents**—The other Marduk-Ea ritual instructions in the series culminate in turning the face of the figurine(s) in question towards the setting sun (compare I 3.8, I 5.3, and II 5.8) and drawing a *zisurrû*. As the present incantation ends in I 7.1, it is unlikely that many Marduk-Ea ritual instructions follow before the incantation-final themes. Furthermore, the final visible line (I 6.5A) is most likely already an incantation-final adjuration, as the sign UDUG at the beginning is difficult to explain otherwise.
Estimated gap size—NinNA2, as a manuscript in the Nineveh layout, should have columns of approximately 21 lines, meaning that NinNA2 iv 1 should be ca. 21 lines before I 7.1 (NinNA2 v 17); however, NinNA2 v 1 is actually on the same height as NinNA2 iv 2 on the tablet (the break is uneven), leaving ca. 20 lines. Text block 7 has 16 lines preceding NinNA2 v 1, so the estimated gap size is 4 lines. Note, however, that if NinNA2 and NinNA1 formed part of the same tablet (rather than being two manuscripts in a similar format) there may not have been a gap at all, since NinNA2 preserves part of the bottom edge of

col. v and NinNA2 iv 5 is on the same level as the final line of col. v.

Note, however, that NinNA2 does not preserve the bottom edge of *this column*; one or two more lines could have been written on the edge.

- 7.1** **lu₂ ḫulu**—The “evil one” or “evil man” of this line is probably not Eṭel Lilî. Not all the incantation-final themes deal exclusively with Eṭel and Ardat Lilî, though they are the main target of the series. The final incantation on Tablet I also deals with entirely different supernatural entities in its final themes (compare I 7.28–30), calling for the evil Udug/Utukku (and, in the Sumerian, the evil Ala) to stand aside and protective spirits to take their place.

As argued in the commentary for the gap between text blocks I 4 and I 5, the Eṭel Lilî incantation appears to end either with or directly after text block 4. The incipit of the present incantation is lost, but it seems to already be dealing with Ardat Lilî. The Marduk-Ea ritual instructions of text block I 5 use feminine pronouns for the figurine under discussion (I 5.2 *qa-qa-sa*, I 5.3 *pa-ni-ša₂*). The figurine is adjured to go away, so it is not a stand-in for the patient, but a supernatural evil; and as the manuscript is from Nineveh and written in the Neo-Assyrian script, the pronominal endings cannot be disregarded. Furthermore, the following line clearly labels the incantation as an Ardat Lilî incantation (I 7.2).

The series udug ḫulu devotes a short incantation to lu₂ ḫulu (udug ḫulu xvi 200'-213'), interestingly described as ka-inim-ma diṇir ḫulu ku₅-ru-da-kam₂, “It is the wording of: Cutting off the Evil God.” As the prologue of the incantation exclusively describes lu₂ ḫulu, the “evil man” of the incipit appears to be the Evil God. It is described that “that man is the evil man among mankind” (udug ḫulu xvi 201'), suggesting witchcraft; elsewhere, lu₂ ḫulu appears in the enumeration lu₂ ḫulu igi ḫulu ka ḫulu eme ḫulu / *lemnu ša pāni lemni pū lemnu lišānu lemnu*, “the evil one of the evil face, the evil mouth, the evil tongue.” It is unclear if what is meant is *the* Evil Man (a distinct supernatural evil that both udug ḫulu and Eṭel Lilî/Ardat Lilî speak of), or simply a generic “evil one” (which need not be the same from one incantation to the next). The description “of the evil face” is also found in the udug ḫulu incantation “cutting off the Evil God” (udug ḫul xvi 206'): ^dalad₃ igi ḫulu diṇir ḫulu dim₂-ma / *šēdu ša pāni lemni ilu [lemnu ...]*, “the evil spirit of the evil face, the god who causes evil.”

- 7.3–6** The lines are difficult to understand, and no existing explanation solves all their issues. It seems advisable to first go through the three fundamentally different existing translations, outlining their interpretation and its problems, and then explain the approach of the present translation.

1. **von Weiher (1983)**—The first editor of the Late Babylonian manuscript UrkNB1, von Weiher, translates “Mädchen, das sich den Lieblingsbruder auswählt, Hierodule, die, / wenn sie sich den Lieblingsbruder auswählt / für Lilû, der in der Steppe läuft, / möge man dich, die wehende Sturmdämonin, zurückhalten” (see von Weiher (1983) 42, lines 1–4).

This disregards the gender of the accusative pronominal suffix -ši as a Late Babylonian spelling and understands *ūmu* as the direct object of the verb *ḫāru* A. As the verb means “to pick someone as a mate” (CAD translation), this understanding would require ud-da / *u₂-ma* to be a person or personified concept Ardat Lilî can marry. Von Weiher solves this by reading TAM.MA (*talīma*), “favourite brother,” which lexical

lists sometimes equate with *ud* (but usually with *tam-ma* and never with *ud-da*). However, unlike Latin words for “brother” (compare the use in Petron. 9), the Akkadian honorific *talīmu* is not known to have a sexual connotation (compare CAD 18 (2006) s. v. *talīmu* 94–96, although von Weiher’s reading would make the war between Aššurbanipal and his *talīmu* Šamaš-šuma-ukīn a great deal more interesting).

2. **CAD 18 (2006) s. v. *talīmu* 94–96**—Following von Weiher, the CAD cites the passage under *talīmu*, but translates much more cautiously: “girl whom a ... selected, *qadištu* whom, when a ... has selected her (?), ...” This takes the gender of the pronominal suffixes seriously and inverts von Weiher’s subject and object. As TAM.MA would then be a logographic spelling, this would make sense for both lines under discussion. But, even leaving aside that the CAD hesitates to propose a translation, this would make lines I 7.5f difficult to understand: “Namtaru, the envoy of Ereškigal, / with the departing, the TAM.MA selects you (fem.). He calls you (fem.) out of the body of mankind!” TAM.MA would then either have to be an (unattested and inexplicable) epithet of Namtaru, or the line naming Namtaru would simply be interpolated without being tied into the sentence.
3. **Geller (1988)**—Like the CAD, Geller takes the spelling of the pronominal suffixes in UrkNB1 seriously, but understands the consistent rendering of *ūmu* as *u₂-ma* as Late Babylonian unorthographic spellings, translating: “O Maiden, whom the storm-demon chose, O *qadištu*, who, when the storm-demon made his choice, / you took yourself to Lilī in the steppe, you were carried off in his shattering wind. (Akk.: you, errant ghost ... to Lilī who walks about in the steppe.)” (Geller (1988) 7f, lines 1f).

This poses the same problem as the CAD-translation in I 7.5f, which Geller appears to solve by taking the feminine pronominal suffixes in I 7.6 (his line no. 5) as unorthographic spellings for masculine pronominal suffixes referring to Namtar: “Fate (Namtar), the messenger of Ereshkigal, / the storm demon chooses you from among (?) ..., he banishes you from the body of people.”

Understanding Namtaru as the addressee in I 7.5f poses difficulties in the following lines (7.8f, which are addressed to a feminine 2nd person—spelled out very clearly by the repeated /ê/ plene spellings in *ta-kal-le-e* (as opposed to the 2nd sg. m. *takalla*). One could argue that I 7.7’s *ta-at-ta-na-at-ba-ku* and I 7.11’s *tu-na-aš₂-ša₂-ru* are not feminine forms either, but the plene spellings in I 7.8f seem more likely to be intentional than the two verbal forms I 7.7 and I 7.11; particularly since the latter would have to be written with overhanging vowels even if they were masculine forms, as neither a subjunctive or a plural form would make sense here.

The present translation is a fourth option. It understands the first three lines of the incantation as an example of a stylistic device that is prominent in Mesopotamian literary texts: leaving the divinity of whom a sentence talks anonymous in the first lines to then dramatically reveal the name in the following line through a parallel construction (compare the Standard Babylonian *Gilgameš* I 1–3 or the *Epic of Erra* I 1–4). Whereas the first line of

the incantation at hand only says that *he* selected the Young Woman, I 7.5 discloses that it is *Namtaru* who selects her—meaning that she has not married, but died. Within the series, we see this in the introduction of an unnamed “woman” in I 7.24, who is revealed to be Inanna/Ištar in the following line.

This makes sense of the feminine accusative pronouns in I 7.3 (corroborated by the line endings provided by NinNA8 v), the consistent spelling *u₂-ma* (as it is understood as the adverb *ūma*, “now” or “today,” rather than as the subject of the clause), and the question why *Namtaru* is introduced so prominently if he plays no role in the narrative. The remaining issue is the subjunctive verb in I 7.4, *išarrabu*, which is not attested in the meaning “lead” anywhere else—however, it is not attested in the meaning “roam” anywhere else either (compare CAD 17/2 (1992) s. v. *šarābu* 36, which only cites the present passage and two lexical lists equating *šarābu* with *alāku*). The present understanding seems likely, however, as the Sumerian line does not subordinate the verb *mu-un-DU* (as would be expected for von Weiher’s “(the one) who walks”); see also Geller (1988) 8 line 2, who seems to interpret the Sumerian (though not the Akkadian) verb similarly.

- 7.3 nu-gig / qadištu**—The “*qadištu*” (Sumerian *nu-gig*) has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars who connect her to the cultic prostitution described by Herodotus (Hdt. 1, 199)—for an overview of such literature, see Goodnick Westenholz (1989) 246 fn. 1. However, as argued by Goodnick Westenholz (1989), this theory has very little base in Mesopotamian sources. The translation “Hierodule” chosen by von Weiher (1983) 42 would be paradoxical in this context, as the text goes on to characterise Ardat Lilî at length as a young woman who has *not* had sex (II 1.2–6, II 5.21–25) or has not reached the milestones an adult woman is expected to have gone through. In Herodotus’ description, he characterises cultic prostitution as precisely that type of milestone, something performed by “*every woman of the land*” (πᾶσαν γυναικα ἐπιχωρίην, Hdt. 1, 199). So even if we were to trust Herodotus’ expertise of Mesopotamian womanhood, we would not expect Ardat Lilî to be described as a “hierodule”. To cite Goodnick Westenholz: “The popular translation ‘hierodule’ has been hallowed by tradition and is applied even in passages where it patently does not make sense” (Goodnick Westenholz (1989) 256).

The history of the terms *nu-gig* / *qadištu* is long and stretches across several cultures and two millennia, so it is hard to ascertain which aspect of the role is pertinent here. Goodnick Westenholz’ discussion cites several texts that connect *nu-gig* or *qadištu* to the delivery of children, but there is no reason to assume that Ardat Lilî is described as a type of midwife here.

In *Maqlû*, *nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da* and *Šurpu*, the *qadištu* is mentioned alongside other types of priests or priestesses (*Maqlû* VI 27 and 37, *nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da* 4–10 29, *Šurpu* III 116f and V 69). This would suggest that she is distinguished from ordinary women by a greater level of ritual purity. This could potentially explain why the term is used as a synonym for *ki-sikil* here, as *sikil* translates to “pure”. Yet Attinger translates the Sumerian term *nu-gig*, along with “*prêtresse*”, as “*celle qui rend malade (celui que la touche)*”, suggesting the opposite (see Attinger (2020) 817f). The term is a composite noun derived from *gig* “illness, to be ill” (see Edzard (1962) 104). Note that both *nu-gig* and *qadištu* could get married and have children (Goodnick Westenholz (1989) 252 and 260), prohibiting the interpretation of

virgin priestesses, whose untouchability and ritual purity could have been connected.

What is applicable here is that the *qadištu* appears to be located outside of households, sometimes in the street. In Sumerian and Akkadian texts, they act (and are treated) as individuals, independent of family structures (see Goodnick Westenholz (1989) 251 and 258).

The lack of family protection is prominent in *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*; the final description of both, before their death is narrated, is that they were “cast out of the house of [their] in-laws like the wind” (I 1.11 and II 1.18f). This is an important point in the exorcism, too, as *Eṭel* and *Ardat Lilî* are provided with *ki-sig₁₀-ga / kispu* (I 3.6 and II 5.9), a type of offering for the dead that is traditionally made by the family for their departed to ensure their goodwill for the living (see Jonker (1995) 200). That *Ardat Lilî* has no husband or children means that she has nobody to carry out these offerings for her; it would seem that it is her position outside family structures that is stressed by calling her a *nu-gig / qadištu*, not her sexuality.

- 7.3A ki-sikil ud-da kar-ra**—The composite text follows UrkNB1; NinNA1 writes *kar-ra-n[e₂]*. There is no apparent reason for adding a 3rd h. pronominal suffix here; the most probable explanation is that the pronominal suffix on the subordinated verb was added to match the Akkadian form (*kar+{a}+{ane} = *iḥīr*+{u}+{ši}).

Sumerian does not know adverbs as such (see Jagersma (2010) 83), but the noun phrase *ud-da* (lit. “on the day”) is used to express the meaning “now” or “today” (compare Attinger (2021) 1085) in a similar way as Akkadian *ūma*.

ki-sikil	ud	=a	kar	-a
young woman	day	=loc.	take away	-nmls.

- 7.3B Ardatu**—The only source for this word, UrkNB1, spells it *ar-da-at*—possibly suggesting that it is treated as a name (status absolutus) rather than an ordinary noun (status rectus = subject to declension)—similarly to *Māmītu*, which is often spelled *ma-mit* whether it is in the construct state or not. However, there is no other known evidence for this, so the composite text ascribes the spelling to the Late Babylonian indifference to short word-final vowels (see above, commentary for I 2.7–10).

ina ḥāriša—UrkNB1 writes *-šū₂*, but the indirect join of NinNA8 v to NinNA1 v certainly disagrees with a reading *-šū₂* or *-šū* (a Winkelhaken near the top of the line followed by two standing wedges are visible after the break, strongly suggesting *-ša*; the ruling below makes it clear that this is the final word of this line, so this cannot be a pronominal suffix attached to a different noun).

- 7.4A lu₂ lil₂-la₂-ke₄**—NinNA1 has *lu₂ lil₂-la₂-ka*. *-ke₄* seems to be used purely as a genitive marker (see above, commentary for I 1.11A). A double genitive or a genitive followed by a locative could not be explained in this noun phrase. **mu-un-de₆ ... ḥe₂-en-de₆**—We are lacking the 2nd sg. suffix required for the translations “he took you (to) ... he truly carried you”. However, we would also lack the nominaliser required for von Weiher’s translation “für Lilû, der in der Steppe läuft” for the first verb. The assumption of a non-written 2nd sg. agrees with Geller’s understanding of it (other than that the present translation

takes Ardat Lilî as the object of a transitive rather than the subject of an intransitive clause, see commentary for 7.3–6). For another verb with an apparently unwritten 2nd h. suffix, see commentary for I 4.1A.

What the spelling suggests (in both manuscripts) are clauses with a 3rd h. subject and 3rd sg. object: “The Young Woman (whom ...)—he took her to the Lilû of the wilderness, the wind truly carried her on his shoulders!” However, this does not agree with the 2nd person form in the previous line (which is also clearly spelled as such in both manuscripts). It seems preferable to assume a defective spelling here rather than an interpolation of a full clause in the previous line.

mu-	n-	de ₆	(-en)
vent.-	3 rd h.-	bring	(-2 nd sg.)

- 7.4B** *išarrabu*—3rd sg. G impf. subjunctive of *šarābu*. Unlike previous translations (see above, commentary for I 7.3–6), the present one understands this as the end of the second relative clause begun in the previous line rather than connecting it to *ana lilî ša*.

Outside this line, the verb is only attested in lexical lists, where it is equated with *alāku* (see CAD 17/2 (1992) s. v. *šarābu* 36), so its precise meaning is difficult to determine. The alternative—assuming that this verb is to be understood as intransitive and similarly to a Gtn-form of *alāku* as “to the Lilû who moves about in the wilderness”—would require the second relative clause of the previous line to continue until the end of this line (as *liklûki/u* could also be understood as a subjunctive form). This seems impossible to translate comprehensibly, and would mean something like “*qadištu*, whom today in selecting you, to the Lilû who roams the wilderness (you) wandering breeze he shall detain”. The invocation “wandering breeze!” almost at the end of such a long clause seems syntactically impossible.

Therefore, the present understanding (though problematic and unattested elsewhere) seems preferable for the time being.

liklûki—3rd pl. G prec. of *kalû* with 2nd sg. f. accusative pronominal suffix. This reading requires two emendations; one needs to read the first sign UR rather than IB (though the copy in SpTU II suggests the latter) and assume a late spelling of the word-final short vowel of the pronominal suffix (written *-ku*).

- 7.6–9** The Sumerian and Akkadian lines diverge in meaning (though the vocabulary is roughly similar), probably because of an Akkadian misunderstanding of the difficult Sumerian lines. While the Akkadian version clearly moved into exorcistic themes (calling for the demon to stay away), the Sumerian text appears to still describe Ardat Lilî’s demonic nature. The interpretation of the current edition is that “the one who keeps making the bodies of men wail, the one who keeps seeping through the windows, the one who keeps standing in the corner” is “the one who has departed” that Ardat Lilî is being likened to now that Namtaru has carried her off (see commentary for 7.6A). The seemingly unnecessary repetition “... (like) the one who keeps sitting in the corner, you keep sitting in the corner!” can thereby be explained as part of the comparison.

- 7.6A** *dag-ga-am₃-zu*—The form is problematic. *dag* can be an equivalent of

Akkadian *naparkû* (particularly in the meaning “unceasing”, nu-dag / *lā naparkû*, see CAD 11/1 (1980), s. v. *naparkû* 279), so we can (tentatively) apply the interpretation of *naparkû* as a euphemism for death in the Akkadian version here. See also Attinger (2021) 232, which lists the translation “cesser (d’exister).” The 3rd sg. copula is often used in place of the equative {gen}, which seems the most likely explanation for {am} in this noun phrase, see Thomsen (1984) 276.

su lu₂ gu₃ su₃-su₃—The spelling of this line in UrkNB1 offers at least two possible readings. The interpretation chosen in the present translation, su lu₂ gu₃ su₃-su₃ agrees with von Weiher’s transliteration (von Weiher (1983) 41 line 7). It suggests that this part of I 7.6A is already part of the *following* theme, as the reduplicated non-finite verbal form su₃-su₃ parallels the structure of I 7.7A, but cannot be understood as the end of its own sentence for lack of a predicate.

This would mean that the Akkadian version misunderstands the Sumerian line structure as well as the meaning of the phrase. While *ina zumur nīši ušassûki*, “he calls you out of the body of mankind,” does suggest that the sign combination KA--SUD-SUD in the Sumerian line was read as a compound verb that means “to call” (i.e. gu₃ su₃-su₃), the Akkadian phrase clearly refers to Ardat Lili’s removal from the world of the living by Namtar. The parallel to the following line, however, suggests that the Sumerian phrase is already talking about Ardat Lili’s demonic behaviour.

This confronts us with the same problem the Akkadian-speaking scribes apparently encountered, i.e. what su lu₂ gu₃ su₃-su₃ is supposed to mean without any case endings to connect the three nouns su, “body,” lu₂, “man,” and gu₃, “voice.”

The compound gu₃--su₃-su₃ is found in hymn Ninisina A 77, where it is used to say that the goddess makes healthy new-borns wail (lit.: “make the voice long”). This, together with the parallel constructions in the following line, is what the present translation is based on.

Geller (1988) 8 line 4 reads su lu₂-ka su₃-su₃, a reading that provides the missing genitive ending for “the body of (the) man,” but also adds a locative ending that has to be explained away as an ungrammatical spelling. In this reading, the misunderstanding of the scribes would be exactly the reading of KA discussed above, i.e. the translation *šasû* would mistake a genitive case ending for gu₃.

The issue here is that su₃-su₃ is non-finite and cannot really be taken as “he banishes you,” unless we assume a significant grammatical mistake. The two following reduplicated non-finite verbal stems without ending would be a strange coincidence.

Therefore, the present edition (cautiously) follows von Weiher’s transliteration, though with a differing translation:

su	lu ₂	=ak	=e	gu ₃	=∅	su ₃ -su ₃
body	man	=gen.	=dir.	voice	=abs.	lengthen-impf.

This connects the half-line to the following line rather than the first half of I 7.6A. That the Akkadian does not understand the Sumerian is true no matter how we interpret I 7.6A. This reading merely assumes that the misunderstanding predates the compilation of the series in the present “box-”format, so that su lu₂ gu₃ su₃-su₃ moved into the wrong line. The

spelling is defective (with genitive and directive after lu_2 unwritten) rather than incorrect.

7.6B *mupparkî*—Understood as a plural participle of *naparkû* (N-class quadriradical verb), “the ones who have ended/stopped/ceased/left,” to refer to the dead taken away by Namtaru; suggestion Martin Worthington. While this seems to be the best explanation with regards to spelling, grammar, and contents of the text passage, note that *naparkû* is not usually used to refer euphemistically to death (compare CAD 11/1 (1980) s. v. *naparkû* 279–282).

7.7–12A **2nd person verbs**—Orthographically, all verbs in I 7.7–7.12 appear to speak of Ardat Lilî in the 3rd person (with the 3rd sg. {n} before the imperfective verbal base if she is the direct object, and only /e/ after the imperfective verbal base if she is the subject). However, the spelling of 2nd person verbal infixes is unreliable throughout the text (compare the commentary for I 3.2–5A), and I 7.6 and I 7.13 certainly have 2nd person forms. The translation therefore assumes ungrammatical spellings of the 2nd person rather than several switches from the 2nd person to the 3rd and back.

As I 7.8 spells out the ergative {e}, it seems clear that in the Sumerian line, it is the door that fails to turn the demon away (rather than the demon being prohibited from blocking the door as in the Akkadian, in which case one would expect the prefix {nan} or {bara} in the verbal chain and the absolutive zero-ending after ig).

*

ba-	n-	dur ₂ -dur ₂	-e
mid.-	3 rd sg.-	sit(impf.)-pl.	-3 rd sg.

7.7B *tattanatbakî*—2nd sg. f. GtN impf. of *tabāku*. UrkNB1 spells the final vowel -u, but as a 2nd sg. m. with subjunctive makes little sense here, this must be a vowel-indifferent late spelling.

tattanaššabî—2nd sg. f. GtN impf. of (w)*ašābu*.

7.10B *takammîni*—2nd sg. f. G impf. of *kamû* with ventive. -ni could also be understood as a 1st sg. accusative pronominal suffix (“you bind me”), but as this would be the only instance of the series referring to the afflicted person in the 2nd rather than the 3rd person (and the same incantation speaks of the patient in the 3rd person in lines 7.13f), a ventive seems more likely.

7.11–12A **{da} infixes**—From context, one would expect the ablative infix {ta} instead of the comitative {da}, but after the death of Sumerian as a spoken language, the latter can sometimes replace the former (see Thomsen (1984) 227).

7.12 The way this line is written on the only existing manuscript (UrkNB1), with a large amount of empty space at the beginning of the line, is strange. As it is, the line is also difficult to interpret, and the reading could not be improved after collating the tablet from a photo. It is not out of question that the line is bilingual (one possible explanation for why the Sumerian column contains only one word written across the final third of the line).

7.12A *akkil mu-un-nud sa[?] in[?]-ni[?]-nud*—The suggested reading is based on the copy of SpTU II 6, and could only be collated from a photo, not the tablet. Going purely by the copy, the nu_2 seems to be clearly legible two times within

one line.

The basic meaning of nud is “to lie down (for sleep)” and the same sign is used in mu-nud, Emesal for 𒍪š-nud “bed” (compare Attinger (2021) 822 and 495). Connected with akkil, “noise”, one would expect something along the lines of “your clamour does not let the patient sleep in his bed,” but the intermediate signs do not allow it. The signs immediately preceding both nu₂-signs are more suggestive of verbal prefixes than nouns or nominal suffixes, and the sign eBL suggests to read SA (and the present edition reads accordingly) cannot be interpreted as part of the first or second verb. The structure of the Sumerian line should thereby be noun+1st finite form of nud—noun+2nd finite form of nud—nu-mu-un-da-su₃-su₃; three phrases each with their own predicate. The Akkadian line, too, appears to have three finite verbal forms.

sa--nud is a phrase for casting a net to catch a bird (compare Attinger (2021) 823), and the analogy of a bird-net is not unusual in *āšipūtu* (for example in saḡ-ba, saḡ-ba I 13f, where the *zisurrū* is described as a throw-net, sa-par₃, that catches evil). The second clause can thereby be reasonably translated to “you cast a net over him” (lit. “you make the net lie on him).

The construction akkil--nud, on the other hand, is not commonly known, and can only be understood as a parallel image to the second clause; the demon covers the patient with her wails (lit. “lays down wailing”) as with a net. Without further attestations, this is admittedly something of a stretch, but note that the akkil / *ikkillu* of Anzû is described as being “cast down” (*nadû*) in an Old Babylonian text (*OB Anzû* II 49).

*

akkil	=∅	mu-	n-	nud	-e
noise	=abs.	vent.-	3 rd h.-	lie down	-3 rd sg.

*

sa	=∅	i-	nni-	n-	nud	-e
net	=abs.	vp.-	3 rd sg. h. oo.-	3 rd h.-	lie down	-3 rd sg.

For the lack of 2nd sg. infixes, see commentary for I 7.7–7.11A.

7.13Bf Restored after udug ḫulu VI 71f.

7.14A **ba-ra-an-da-nud-de₃-na**—The only manuscript for the line has an unexpected /a/ after the 2nd person singular suffix {en}. A possible reason might be the final consonant of nu₂, written with an additional sign after the base that already contains the /e/ of {en} (-de₃), which could have lead to an overhanging vowel spelling in the Late Babylonian manuscript.

7.15A For the lack of 2nd person infixes, see commentary for I 7.7–7.12A.

7.15B Restored after udug ḫulu X 77'.

7.17–30 This entire incantation is also in udug ḫulu V 183–195, though it differs in minor details and the udug ḫulu manuscript give it the rubric ka-inim-ma udug ḫulu-a-kam. The incantation is also already part of the Old Babylonian udug ḫulu *Forerunners* (452–466).

The reason for this is very clear from the content of the incantation: It exorcises the evil Udug/Utukku, who has been brought back to civilisation by Ardat Lilî. In the context of Ardat Lilî, the evil Udug/Utukku appears as a

side-effect of Ardat Lili's return from the realm of the dead and demonic to the world of the living; in *udug ḫulu*, it is of course relevant because it is an incantation against the *udug ḫulu*. Compare also pp. 72–84.

7.17A e₂-gal eden-na—The translation “wild pastures” is rather far removed from the literal meaning of *e₂-gal eden-na*: “palace of the wilderness.” However, the translation seems the most fitting both in this context and in other known attestations.

Further attestations: We find the term in at least two literary texts dating into the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium: *Inanna and Šukaletuda* (preserved on Old Babylonian manuscripts, compare Volk (1995) 3) and the *Ninegalla-Hymn* (known from Old Babylonian manuscripts from Nippur, compare Behrens (1998) 43). It also occurs in the later *diḡir ḫulu* manuscript K.156+ (series identification Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5).

1. Out of the three attestations, only the 1st millennium *diḡir ḫulu* incantation is clear as to what the phrase denotes: a list of evil supernatural entities mentions 'dumu' lugal eden-na-ke₄ e₂-gal eden'-na-ta-šub-ba / *mār šarri ša ina šēri u namê nadû*, “a son of a king who fell in the wilderness or the pasture land” (K.156+ 85f). The text passage as a whole deals with various types of ghosts, so the lines must refer to princes who died outside the civilised world (and without proper burial, thereby posing a risk to the living). *e₂-gal eden-na* is mentioned alongside eden “the wilderness” and equated with *namû*, which the CAD (1980) 249 terms “pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas as habitat of nomads:” we are dealing with a physical location outside inhabited areas.
2. The first Old Babylonian attestation, *Inanna and Šukaletuda*, describes how Inanna, tired from an expedition into the mountains, is raped by a man called Šukaletuda, who has found her sleeping on the edge of his plot of land (compare the summary in Volk (1995) 4f). Šukaletuda tries to escape Inanna's wrath, but is eventually killed by her. At the end of the composition, it is said that while Šukaletuda has been killed, the song about his fate will be sung in the palace of the king, by churning shepherds, and by the young shepherd in the place where he lets his sheep graze. The *e₂-gal-eden-na*, “palace of the wilderness,” shall now be Šukaletuda's home (*Inanna and Šukaletuda* 296–301, the relevant line 301 reading *e₂-[gal]⁷ eden-na e₂-zu ḫe₂-a*). In his edition of the text, Volk notes that the meaning “pasture” would fit the context, but discards the parallel in K.156+ with reference to its much later date; see Volk (1995) 212. He comes to no definite conclusion what the “palace of the wilderness” refers to.
3. The final literary parallel, the Old Babylonian *Ninegalla-Hymn*, is the least helpful. The hymn praises Inanna by describing various locations in Sumer and calling each her home in a brief refrain, compare Behrens (1998) 13. The text passage mentioning the “palace of the wilderness” is very badly preserved; in fact, the relevant line 18 (ending the description of the first location in the hymn) is its most intelligible part: *e₂-[gal] eden-na ki ni₂ dub₂-bu-za šu-si ma-ra-ni-in-sa₂*, “The ‘palace of the wilderness’, your resting place, was put in order for you.” The previous line preserves the word *maš₂*, “goat,” in an

uncertain context.

On the current evidence, “wild pastures” seems to best describe the meaning of *e₂-gal eden-na*. It is unambiguously the meaning of the term in attestation no. 1, and although this is a later text whose composer may no longer have understood Sumerian well, this understanding of *e₂-gal eden-na* perfectly fits the context of attestation no. 2.

In four subsequent lines, the song about Šukaletuda is said to be sung in the king’s palace (line 298), by the churning shepherd (line 299), and in the place where the shepherd lets the sheep graze (line 300); after this progression from palace, to the shepherd’s home, to the shepherd’s pastures, the *e₂-gal eden-na* is declared Šukaletuda’s home (line 301). If we take the later equation with *namû* seriously, the king’s palace in line 298 etymologically links to *e₂-gal eden-na* (as the “palace of the wilderness”), while the sheep’s grazing place in line 300 semantically links to *e₂-gal eden-na* as a term that denotes pasture land. Line 298 and 300, on the other hand, are linked by the middle line (299) about the churning shepherd: the song moves from the palace of civilisation into the home of a man who inhabits both civilised and non-civilised spaces (the place where butter is churned and the place where sheep graze respectively). Thereby, the song reaches the palace of the wilderness; the lushest part of the non-civilised world.

On the other hand, the only reason to disregard the equation with *namû* is its later date. And while this is sensible in an ambiguous context, no alternative meaning for the term is attested, and the meaning of *namû* is not only plausible, but actively helpful to the understanding of the text passage. Attestation no. 3 is preceded by a largely illegible line mentioning goats in some way; while this is no conclusive proof for the meaning “pasture,” it does not point to an alternative translation, either.

Therefore, “wild pastures” is the only identifiable ancient understanding of *e₂-gal eden-na*.

Term for the netherworld: The term *e₂-gal eden-na* is mentioned, in passing, as a name for the netherworld in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, see Postgate (2005) 199. Postgate cites a footnote in a 1934 publication on Sumerian and Akkadian names for the netherworld by Knut Tallqvist, who in turn cites Hugo Radau’s 1913 publication *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumu-Zi or Babylonian Lenten Songs*, see Tallqvist (1934) 32 fn. 8. Radau posits that the Mesopotamian netherworld was thought to contain a special building for Dumuzi, referencing the existence of the term *e₂-gal eden-na* rather than interpreting it; i.e., because the term “palace of the wilderness” is attested in a text (incidentally, the manuscript of *diñir ħulu* discussed above), there must have been a mythical palace of the wilderness, compare Radau (1913) 19. As Radau comes to this conclusion in a discussion of eden as a synonym for the netherworld, the *e₂-gal eden-na* became a part of the netherworld in subsequent research.

As the ultimate cited reference for this understanding of *e₂-gal eden-na*—Radau (1913)—discusses neither the term nor its context and attestations, but merely points to its existence, it does not hold up to scrutiny.

However, the wilderness is regularly referred to as the natural haunt of ghosts and demons. As the entire prologue of the preceding incantation deals with Ardat Lili’s mythical removal from the realm of the living into the wilderness

(eden), it is relatively clear that the incipit of the present incantation describes Ardat Lilī's return from the uncivilised into the civilised world. It seems that, similarly to the diŋir ḫulu line, *Eṭel Lilī*, *Ardat Lilī* uses the wild pastures (e₂-gal eden-na) as an alternative term for the wilderness (eden). Compare also the incipits of Inc. 5 and 6, both of which speak of Ardat Lilī as ki-sikil eden-na, the Young Woman of the wilderness.

For /nda/ instead of expected /nta/ in the verbal chain, see commentary for I 7.11–12A.

mu-un-da-ru-us₂—Pascal Attinger kindly shared his thoughts on the verb, and proposes a translation “se jeter (tous ensemble) sur (qc.)” for the verbal base ru—based not only on the present line, but also the same spelling in udug ḫulu III 5, and the use of the verbal base in udug ḫulu III 53, VII 5, and the udug ḫulu *Forerunners* 35. The reading would, accordingly, be mu-un-da-ru-uš, I 7.17A's udug would have to be understood as a collective, and the verb must be intransitive: “The Young Woman—from the wild pastures, the evil Udug-demon's threw themselves on her!”:

mu-	n-	da-	ru	-eš
vent.-	3 rd sg.	com.-	throw (oneself)	3 rd pl.

The other attestations of the verb (udug ḫulu III 53, VII 5, and the udug ḫulu *Forerunners* 35) all list several demons or diseases before the line with the verbal form that speaks of them collectively.

The reason Attinger's reading is preferable is that the interpretation of the present edition is grammatically impossible in classical Sumerian. The underlying analysis is:

*

mu-	n-	da-	ta-	us ₂	-∅
vent.-	3 rd sg.-	com.-	abl.-	follow	-3 rd sg.

The ablative infix {ta} is spelled {ra} after the vowel /a/, but, in classical Sumerian, it does not assimilate to a following vowel (compare Jagersma (2010) 454–456).

However, the context of I 7.17 is different from the other udug ḫul attestations in two ways. First, there is no previous enumeration of demons, and the Udug-demon is spelled without any kind of plural marker in the line. But, much more importantly, the following two lines also end in UŠ, neither indicating a plural ending, but the verb us₂, “to follow”. It would, in my opinion, be stranger for three consecutive lines to speak about a demon with a verb ending in UŠ, but for one line to express a plural ending and two a verbal base, than to have an ungrammatical ablative spelling that is not attested anywhere else.

Note, too, that the Akkadian translation *tarû* (“to follow”) is a good approximation of an intransitive us₂ (the transitive us₂-forms in the following two lines are translated with *teḫû*, “to approach”), though the Akkadian is not necessarily reliable.

To sum up: While the edition suggests an ungrammatical singular reading of the verb, paralleling the following two lines, a classical Sumerian reading of the line would be possible, and would suggest the translation outlined above.

7.17B Restored after udug ḫulu V 183.

- 7.18f** These lines speak of the evil Utukku, whom Ardat Lilî has brought into civilisation with her (I 7.17), attaching himself to the (unnamed) patient; compare the final themes in I 7.28f, which call for the evil Udug to stay away from the patient.
- 7.18fB** *iṭṭehâ*—3rd sg. G perf. of *ṭehû* with ventive. The ventive seems to be written to stress that the verb is transitive (the demon is not merely on the approach, it is approaching the patient in particular); compare the Sumerian.
- 7.19B** *ipparrašu*—3rd sg. N impf. of *naprušu*.
- 7.20–22** Similar in I 2.3–6 (Eṭel Lilî) and II 6.10–12 (though the former describes several demons attacking the patient and both are content-wise closer to each other than to the present text passage).
- 7.20B** The only phonetic spelling for this is *qa-as-su* (NinNA2), singular. Interestingly, the same text writes the logogram for foot below GIRI₃^{II}, suggesting that MIN is (at least in this particular scribe’s opinion) part of the logogram for *šēpu* irrespective of whether one or both feet were meant.
- 7.22B** *ušterdi*—The manuscript (NinNA2) actually writes the Assyrian form, *uštardi*; for the “babylonisation” of Assyrian forms in the composite text, see “dialectal spellings” in the introduction to the commentary.
- 7.23** **subject**—It is unclear if the subject of this line is the evil Utukku or the patient, as both are only referred to in 3rd person singular verbal or pronominal forms. This poses the question whether Ištar acts because the patient repeatedly entered the ritually clean (ki kug-ga) Gipāru to ask her for help, or whether she is angered because a demon has entered a holy site. Marti (2007) 21 discusses the Middle Assyrian usage of the term for a type of reception (or dining) room as opposed to the living quarters of the house. Considering the *gipāru* is designated as kug-ga / *ellu*, “pure,” however, it seems highly unlikely that this line refers to a secular space. The alternative, the *gipāru* as “residence of the *enu*-priest or *entu*-priestess,” is considerably more probable and explains the transition from the attack of the patient to Ištar’s anger. As suggested in CAD (1956) 84, the line should be understood as “therefore he (or: she) entered the *g.*, the pure place, (and invoked Inanna).” In the wider context of the incantation, this would indicate that the patient enters Ištar’s temple to seek divine help for his predicament. In a way, this recalls the basic idea of the Marduk-Ea formula as we find it in II 7.2f: lu₂ tu-ra ^dasal-lu₂-ḫi igi im-ma-an-sig₁₀ / a-a-ne₂ ^den-ki-ke₄ e₂-a ba-ši-in-ku₄ gu₃ mu-un-na-an-de₂-e, “the sick man—Asalluḫi saw him. He went into the house of his father Enki, he calls to him: (...).” Instead of Asalluḫi taking note, the patient himself enters the house of the senior divinity (Ištar) to alert her and prompt the ritual action—in this case, Ištar’s oath at the gate of the Eanna, which the incantation repeats as a divinely legitimised measure against Utukku and Alû. Compare also the discussion of earlier forms of the formula, in which a junior divinity or messenger ask Enlil for help, in George (2016) 2f; further the Ur III incantation Ist-PD.unk.1 already discussed in Falkenstein (1931) 57f and published in Conti (1997) 268, in which Marduk sends a man to Ea instead of asking personally.

The translation interprets the comitative {da} in the verbal chain as referring to the patient:

i-	m-	ba-	da-	n-	ku ₄ -ku ₄	-∅
vp.-	vent.-	mid.-	com.-	3 rd h.-	enter-pl.	-3 rd sg.

Note that the Old Babylonian manuscript for the udug ḫulu parallel (Ni 631) does not contain the comitative-infix (see Geller (1985) 46 line 458); however, it is impossible to tell whether the comitative-infix is an incorrect addition in Ardat Lili, or whether its omission is a mistake in udug ḫulu.

7.23B *īrubma*—The manuscript (NinNA1) actually writes the Assyrian form, *ērubma*; for the “babylonisation” of Assyrian forms in the composite text, see “dialectal spellings” in the introduction to the commentary.

7.24B *unarriṭ*—The manuscript (NinNA1) actually writes the Assyrian form, *unerriṭ*; for the “babylonisation” of Assyrian forms in the composite text, see “dialectal spellings” in the introduction to the commentary.

7.25A ki-a šeg₁₀ mi-ni-ib₂-gi₄—The variant was collated from the tablet and is clearly visible on NinNA4. A photo of UrkNB1 indicates that this manuscript, too, is unambiguous.

7.27B *saṇ-ba ba-[aʔ]*—The broken end of the Sumerian column in the only manuscript for this line leads to some uncertainty whether the line ends with “ba,” or whether there is one more sign in the very small gap between the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the incantation. The latter would be more convenient, as ba on its own is difficult to interpret as a predicate and the next line certainly begins a new sentence. However, the verbal chain would have to be very short (perhaps consisting of only {ba} and the broken verbal base). A verb introducing the direct speech in the following two lines would be most likely; possibly ba-[a]:

ba-	a(k)	-∅
mid.-	make	-3 rd sg.

Compare Attinger (2005) 54 on 2nd millennium ba-a as a perfective form of ak (referencing the Ur III text BCT 2, 3 line 12, where the form is exactly what is analysed above: an intransitive, i.e. passive, perfective with a 3rd person non-human absolute).

The passage was collated from a photo of the tablet; the ends of two verticals might be discernible below the break, but could also be scratches.

- 1.1A Manuscript divergence**—While the Akkadian version of this line is straightforward, the Sumerian poses seemingly endless difficulties. The line presents the most significant divergence between manuscripts of any line in the serie; a divergence that is not limited to orthography, but has significant impact on the translation. For simplicity's sake, the composite text follows UrkNB1 (because it is the more translatable of the two versions), but neither version is without issues.

NinNA4:

en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂ ab lil₂-la₂ ke₄-de₃ ki-sikil-la na-nam

UrkNB1:

ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂-e ab lil₂ la₂-e-de₃ ki sikil-la | o o ba-zi-ga

1. lil₂-la₂ ab lil₂-la₂ ke₄-de₃ / lil₂-la₂-e ab lil₂ la₂-e-de₃

What both phrases have in common is that they end in /ede/, the combination of the imperfective {ed} and the directive {e}, suggesting that we are dealing with a subordinated clause in the directive (“so that ...”). On that assumption, both manuscripts seem to express “so that the breeze will breeze in the window,” except that NinNA4 augments lil₂-la₂ (treated as a compound noun in the absolutive) with the modal verb {ak} (for ke₄-de₃ instead of *ak-e-de₃, see Jagersma (2010) 674), whereas UrkNB1 splits it into the noun lil₂ (“wind, phantom, Lil-demon”) and the verb la₂ (“hang”).

Note that UrkNB1, too, treats lil₂-la₂ as a compound noun at the beginning of the phrase, were the ergative -e follows directly on lil₂-la₂ without interpolating the final /k/ of the underlying genitive (lil₂=ak=e). The UrkNB1 spelling lil₂ la₂-e-de₃ is in fact the only instance in the entire series of lil₂ being written without la₂. For other instances of lil₂-la₂ as a compound noun, compare the incipit of II 5.19, where ki-sikil and lil₂-la₂ are separated by eden-na, itself a noun in the genitive (or possibly locative) case. Outside of the series, compare udug ḫulu III 35: lil₂-la₂ eden-na i₃-bu-bu-de₃-eš, “the Lilûs who flit about in the wilderness”.

Farber (1989) 33 suggested to read lil₂-la₂ ab lil₂-la₂ si-de₃, following CAD 1/2 (1968) s. v. *aptu* 198. However, Geller's reading KID (Geller (1988) 12 line 28) seems more appropriate for NinNA4 (a third vertical is visible), and the Farber/CAD-reading would only change the meaning in so far as it introduces a third possible verbal base (“so that the breeze will *fill* the window with a breeze”).

2. ki-sikil-la na-nam / ki sikil-la | o o ba-zi-ga

NinNA4 ends in a negated finite noun, seemingly matching the Akkadian version “the Young Woman is without a fate” as nam roughly translates to *šīmtu*. However, ki-sikil-la is written with a final /a/ that makes it impossible to understand the form as the absolutive of an intransitive verb.

UrkNB1, on the other hand, ends in a subordinated perfective form of zi.g, “to rise”: “who rose up”. This would suggest a translation of the final /a/ in ki sikil-la as a locative: “who rose up in a pure place,” evoking the previous incantation's line I 7.23 in which the evil Udug

angers Inanna/Ištar by entering the pure (ki kug-ga) Gipar(u) and simultaneously toying with the word ki-sikil.

In a Neo-Assyrian hand, the two variants are orthographically very close. BA and NA can be mistaken for one another (in fact, on NinNA4, some BAs look very much like NAs, compare NinNA4 v 1A'). The same can be said for NAM and ZI (NAM has an additional winkelhaken between the two standing verticals of ZI). One could hypothesise that an original spelling was misinterpreted. As this is only true for Neo-Assyrian, NinNA4 would be the more likely candidate for a misreading, suggesting that UrkNB1 may preserve an older spelling. However, the Akkadian clause is negated in both manuscripts, so either ZI was misinterpreted as NAM multiple times (first when the Akkadian translation that survives in both NinNA4 and UrkNB1 was made, but while the Sumerian was still copied as ZI rather than NAM, and again when an Assyrian scribe adjusted the Sumerian accordingly to NAM). **The alternative to this unlikely scenario would be that neither manuscript has the correct spelling, but both offer a re-interpretation of ki-sikil la-ba-nam, “the young woman has no fate” (*ardatu lā šīmat*), as the change of {nu} before {ba} was difficult to understand for Akkadian-speaking scribes.** As this hypothetical phrase survives on no existing manuscript, the edition refrains from putting it in the composite text; but it seems the most likely explanation of the currently existing manuscript spellings.

If further manuscripts for the line become known, they should shed significant light on these issues.

1.1B *šīmat*— 3rd sg. f. G stat. of *šīamu*. Compare von Soden (1995)³ 35* Verbalparadigma 28 for the Assyrian stative form *šēmat*; for the Babylonian spelling in the composite text, see introduction to the commentary, dialectal spellings. The spelling *še-em-ta* may be an instance of Neo-Assyrian inverse spellings, compare Leonhardt (2024) 40f.

1.2–7 Parallel in content to II 5.21–26.

1.2-3A *-am₃*—For the ungrammatical use of {am₃} for Akkadian *kīma*, see Thomsen (1984) 276.

1.2B *reḥātu*—3rd sg. f. G stat. subjunctive of *reḥû*. The feminine stative can take the subjunctive suffix *-u* in Middle Babylonian and (sometimes) Old Babylonian manuscripts, see von Soden (1995)³ §83.1. This dates the incantation (or at least these particular lines) roughly to the mid-2nd millennium BCE; it is certainly older than the Neo-Assyrian period.

1.3A Literally “the young woman to whom no man returned the penis like a woman”.
ge₄ suggests the lack of repeated sex, differentiating the line from the preceding in Sumerian, while the Akkadian rather superfluously paraphrases Ardat Lili’s virginity.

1.3B *naqpatu*—3rd sg. f. G stat. subjunctive of *naqāb/pu*. For the feminine stative with the subjunctive suffix *-u*, see commentary for II 1.2B.

- 1.4f** In content parallel to I 1.9f (Eṭel Lilî) and II 5.23f.
- 1.4A** **ur₂ dam-da**—One would expect an ablative {ta} as in the Eṭel Lilî parallel I 1.9, but both manuscripts (NinNA4 and UrkNB1) write the comitative {da}. For the ungrammatical use of the comitative for an expected ablative, see the commentary for I 7.11–12A.
<nu>-tag-tag—Not only is the expected nominaliser {a} unwritten—perhaps because the verbal base has a final /a/, though in classical Sumerian, it should still be written—the only manuscript that preserves the end of the line, UrkNB1, also misses the negative prefix {nu}. The Eṭel Lilî parallel, I 1.9, writes the expected šu nu-tag-ga, and in the middle of a longer text passage that describes Ardat Lilî in subordinated sentences, any other explanation than a mistake is improbable. The tablet could not be collated, but looking at the copy, one could suggest that what is copied as a reduplicated tag is actually ga (if the two small wedges of ga are not level). Pending collation, however, the composite text and partitur follow the editions, as an ancient scribe might have swapped ga for a second tag.
- 1.4B** Restored after I 1.9 and II 5.23.
- 1.5A** **ur₂ dam-a-ke₄**—The parallel in I 1.10 would suggest a locative ending {a}; for the use of {ke₄} to mark the genitive, see commentary for I 1.11A.
- 1.5B** Restored after I 1.10 and II 5.24; I 1.10 has the pronominal suffix, II 5.24 does not, so both options are plausible.
- 1.6B** Restored after II 5.25.
- 1.7A** **i-i**—Attinger (2021) 542 lists i as a stative verb (with the finite form i-i), which seems to work better in this context, as we are missing a nominaliser. ePSD2 understands i-i as an alternative base for e₃.
- 1.7B** Note that the content-parallel in II 5.26 uses different vocabulary and can therefore not be used as a basis for restoration—though the meaning should be similar.
- 1.8A** Literally “who did not make the lap of pleasure of a young man vertical.”
ur₂ ħi-li ħuruš-e—The translation assumes that this is an (unwritten) double genitive, with a directive {e} referring back to ur₂.
si nu-si-sa₂—The nominal part of the compound verb si--sa₂ has been doubled, taken as both the direct object *and* part of the verbal base. This is not uncommon after Sumerian had died out as a spoken language, compare Edzard (2000) 66.
nam-ba-ge₄-a—For the assimilation of the final n in {nan} before a labial, see Jagersma (2010) 566.
- 1.9** **mu nu ama pad₃-da / šum ummi lā izkuru**—The phrases are ambivalent, and could refer to a young woman who could not invoke the name of *her* mother—presumably for her own protection. In that case, one would assume that not having a *maštaku* refers to her lack of basic amenities and family protection. The longer parallel in II 6.1 would suggest that this line, too, speaks of childlessness (see also commentary for II 1.9B). However, it is worth mentioning that the following lines (II 1.10–12) talk of a young

woman's daily life rather than her family or lack thereof. The Sumerian line, which negates the word *ama*, “mother,” rather than the verb, could equally translate to “who invoked no mother.”

- 1.9B** *maštaku*—The word can apply to both the women (and small children)'s quarters of a house and a shrine for a male deity, compare Groneberg (1997) 43 n. 68. The line's connection to motherhood may suggest that having a *maštaku* (rather than merely living in that set aside for one's mother?) was a privilege of mothers. Unlike the parallel in II 6.1, however, the present line could also mean that the young woman is not adequately provided for, which could be because she has no mother to look out for her (compare commentary for II 1.9). For young women (*ardātu*) described as living in a *maštaku*, see CAD 10/1 (1977) s. v. *maštaku* 393. Note that the Sumerian equivalent, *itima*, is graphically close to the Sumerian sign for mother (GA₂xMI instead of GA₂xAN).

- 1.10A** **ba-an-da-ses-a**—Within the subordinated clause, the verb is understood as intransitive, with a human-class personal infix to refer back to *ki-sikil*, and *unu*₂ as the subject. Following this interpretation, all prefixes in the verbal chain are meaningful rather than superfluous, with {ba} to make clear that the verbal form is passive-intransitive and {da} to connect to Ardat Lilî:

ba-	n-	da-	ses	-a
mid.-	3 rd sg. h.-	com.-	bitter	-nmls.

- 1.11** **who was not happy**—The present translation has chosen the stative translation for *hul*₂ / *hadû* instead of the previously used “rejoice” (Geller (1988) 15 line 38), as the contrast to *ur*₅ / *qiddātu* “dejection” in the previous line seems to be more clearly expressed by it. The non-stative “rejoice” could suggest a link to the following line (rejoicing because the city celebrates a festival) for which there is no apparent ground. II 1.10f deal with the expectation that young people get to enjoy themselves, which Ardat Lilî could not.

In the parallel passage in text block II 6, the corresponding line (II 6.2) speaks of Ardat Lilî not roaming the city with other young women.

- 1.11A** **ki**—Classical Sumerian would not express this with a preposition, but with a comitative. However, the parallel II 6.2A uses *ki* (an extremely common logogram for *itti* in Akkadian texts) as a preposition, employing Akkadian syntax rather than Sumerian. This can be observed in texts as old as the Ur III period; Edzard (2003) 146 observed the transposition of the Akkadian phrase *itti* PN *leqû* on Sumerian administrative documents expressing “receiving (sth.) from PN” with *ki* PN rather than PN-*še*₃.

- 1.12** The first half of the line is parallel in content to II 6.3; the second half has no parallel elsewhere in the series.

- 1.12A** The verbs lack the subordinator and are technically finite forms. As the previous and following lines are subordinated (as is the Akkadian version), there seems to be no apparent reason for this line not to be. Pending further manuscript evidence, the composite text assumes that this is a mistake.

- 1.13** The line has been interpreted differently in its various translations. Von Weiher (1983) 46 line 8 translates “dem in seinem Gemach der Gatte weggenommen wurde”—i.e. Ardat Lilî is deprived of her spouse *in* her private quarters. Geller (1988) 15 line 40 translates “the maiden (is one) from whose (own) room she is snatched away from (her) spouse,” i.e. Ardat Lilî is abducted *from* her husband *from* her private quarters. Similarly, Foster (1996) 856 line 5 translates “who was taken away from her husband in the bedchamber”. Foster’s and Geller’s understanding seems less plausible. Although the feminine stative form makes it clear that Ardat Lilî is the subject, *mutu* (“the husband”) must be the direct object. Therefore, we must be dealing with *ekēmu* in the transferred meaning “to deprive (sb.) of (sth.)” (see CAD 4 (1958) s. v. *ekēmu* 67). If Ardat Lilî was abducted *from* her husband, one would expect a preposition before *mutu* (for instance *ištu*, “from”). The alternative reading *ina maštaki ša muti ekmet*, “who was abducted from the private quarters of her husband” is orthographically possible, but unlikely considering the Sumerian line writes *ama₅=ane*. There is no reason to assume an anticipatory genitive emphasising “private quarters” over “husband”.
- 1.13A** *ama₅ / maštaku*—Note that the Sumerian line employs a slightly different term from line I 1.9, but the Akkadian translates both as *maštaku*.
- 1.14f** Parallel to II 6.5f. The corresponding Eṭel Lilî line (I 1.8) only parallels the second line.
- 1.17B** *māra ekmet*—The Ninevite fragment NinNA3 has a variant of this phrase. As already suggested by Geller (1988) 15, line 44, the final row of signs must read [*ma-ra e*]ṭ-*re¹-et*, “(whose) son was taken away from her.” The signs, albeit damaged, cannot be reconciled with a reading [*ma-ra*] *ek-me-et*. *A₂* is clearly visible at the end of the line, written across enough space to exclude the possibility that the preceding signs could be IG and ME squeezed together; the traces only allow RI. The remaining traces of the previous sign, on the other hand, do not match RA for [*ma-r*]a; two winkelhaken and a final vertical are clearly visible.
- 1.18–1.19** These lines present us with a change in verbal forms. The Sumerian text has two finite forms, both *im-ma-ra-e₃*, which contrast with the non-finite forms in II 1.2–17A (see commentary for II 1.12 and II 1.4 for the two exceptions). The change is less clear in the Akkadian, as II 1.17–19B all have stative verbs and the Akkadian stative forms are not subordinated throughout the incantation. This is probably because verbs that already have an ending, such as the 3rd sg. f. stative {at}, were not written with a subjunctive {u} throughout most of the history of the Akkadian language (see von Soden (1995)³ §83a), so the unusual Middle (or possibly Old) Babylonian stative forms we see in II 1.2–3B gradually lost their {u} over the centuries. It is also possible that the lines with stative forms without {u} were added to the text at a later date. Be that as it may, we cannot be sure if 1.18–19B are intentionally written without {u} because they are the main clauses all previous relative clauses lead into, or whether they were also understood as relative clauses by the Akkadian scribes. Von Weiher (1983) 46 line 12–14, Geller (1988) 15f line 44–6, and Foster (1996) 856 line 8–10 assume the latter in their translations.

However, a case can be made for an intentional change in the text: I 1.19B begins with *ardat lilî* rather than *ardatu* (as II 1.2–18). This coincides with a thematic shift from the descriptions of the young woman’s life towards the description of her death as well as with the transition from the prologue’s more general “present-tense theme” to the case-specific “preterite theme” (compare Falkenstein (1931) 46–51). The only difference to the Sumerian version is that the Akkadian text progresses to the next theme in II 1.19 rather than in II 1.18. Therefore, the composite text assumes that the finite forms in II 1.18–19A and the introduction of *Ardat Lilî* in II 1.19B are intentional and signal the beginning of the new theme.

1.18A -**ke₄**—For the ungrammatical use of -**ke₄** to mark the genitive, see commentary for I 1.11A. The expected ablative case ending {ta} is not written, but present in the verbal chain.

1.18B **šūṣât**—3rd sg. Š stat. of (w)aṣû.
On the meaning of *bīt emūti*, see commentary for I 1.11B.

1.19B **šūṣât**—See above, commentary for II 1.18B.

1.20A The meaning of the line is not clear, and may diverge significantly from that of II 1.20B. Instead of *eṭemmu*, the Sumerian seems to mean that something that is spoken (du₁₁-ga) from or by the mouth does not exist (or is not present) in the young woman. As there are no attestations of a ghost that is spoken through the mouth, the meaning of the Sumerian line cannot be interpreted without further manuscripts.

1.20B The line describes Ardat Lilî’s death by saying that her ghost is not in her mouth (anymore).

Atraḫasīs specifically mentions the *eṭemmu* of the slain god used to create the first human (II 98 Standard Babylonian / I 211 Old Babylonian), but its meaning has been much debated. An overview of the debate whether *Atraḫasīs* uses the word *eṭemmu* that also denotes the ghost of a deceased person can be found in Jiménez/Rozzi (2024) line 211.

Veenhof interpreted the *Atraḫasīs* passage (in accordance with an earlier interpretation by Bottéro) assuming that the *eṭemmu* remained in the flesh of the slain god (and thereby in the bodies of human beings created from it). This was necessary as the first human was created by mixing clay with the remains of the dead god, and the clay would re-integrate into the earth when a deceased person was buried, leaving no trace. The godly element, on the other hand, would continue to demand offerings (*kispu*) from the living descendants. Thereby, no human would be forgotten after death (Veenhof (1990) 185f).

This interpretation is not only compelling within the context of the creation of mankind from clay and the corpse of a god, but also in the myth of Eṭel and Ardat Lilî. They are (originally) humans with no descendants to provide for them after death (as discussed above, p. 90). If their *eṭemmu* has left their mouth, it can no longer sustain itself through food intake, but instead depends on the offerings for the dead (ki-sig₁₀-ga / *kispu*)—which, in the absence of descendants, the ritual must provide to appease them (Eṭel Lilî I 3.6, Ardat Lilî II 5.9).

1.21A **gig-ga šag₄-ne₂**—The construction seems to mimic the Akkadian *murūṣ libbiša* (“illness of her heart”) rather than the (attested) Sumerian šag₄ gig-ga

(“heartache”). The final consonant of *šag*₄ and the genitive {ak}, both of which should be written before the pronoun, are neglected.

Alternatively, the line could be split into two phrases (“the young woman who was ill, whose heart carried her into the earth”), but an Akkadianism seems more likely.

ba-ab-tum₂-mu—Understood as a subordinated imperfective with {ed} assimilated to the /u/ in the verbal base; for confusion of the human prefix {n} with the non-human {b}, see commentary for I 1.6A.

- 1.22** **šu^d inanna.k / qāt Ištar**—It is tempting to connect the Hand of Ištar, the goddess of love and sexuality, with Ardat Lilī’s lack of a husband or sexual experience. It does not seem too far-fetched to connect Ardat Lilī’s “heartache” in II 1.21 with her being struck down young by “the Hand of Ištar” in II 1.22, considering that she returns to find herself a husband. Note that “Hand of Ištar” is connected to numerous other illnesses; it can also be the cause of a man’s impotence or venereal diseases (Stol (1993) 36) or the fatal illness of a baby (Heeßel (2007) 123f).

On the Mesopotamian idea that “Hand of DN” diseases were caused by the tutelary deities’ anger, see Heeßel (2007) 129.

For the use of -ke₄ as a genitive marker, see commentary for I 1.11A.

- 1.22B** **urâšši**—3rd sg. G pret. of (w)arû with ventive and 3rd sg. f. accusative pronominal suffix.

- 1.23A** **ki-sikil eden-na daḡal-la**—In classical Sumerian, one would expect the locative ending after the adjective. It is most likely an orthographical mistake caused by the multiple occurrences of the sequence ki-sikil eden-na in the text (for instance in the incipit of the same incantation, II 1.1A).

- 1.25B** **ittanamzazzu**—3rd sg. Gtn pres. subjunctive of izuzzu.

- 1.26B** The restoration of the line follows Geller (1988) 17 line 53. Its main issue is that the copy shows another sign after *ana ūri*, which is unaccounted for in this reading. It is also strange that the word *ittanablakkatu* should be written in small script close to the edge if there is a large amount of empty space at the beginning of the line in UrkNB2, but this can be explained by the scribe having misjudged the amount of space the long verb would need.

ittanablakkatu—3rd sg. Ntn pres subjunctive of *nabalkutu* (N-class quadriradical verb).

- gap (ca. 3 lines)** **Contents**—Both the last lines of text block II 1 and the first lines of text block II 2 describe Ardat Lilī’s demonic behaviour after her return to the realm of the living, but still only insofar as they affect animals and nature (in other incantations, the preserved first words of II 2.2 and II 2.4 can be found in the descriptions of demonic attacks on animals, see commentary for these lines). The first line that deals with the specific case at hand—Ardat Lilī’s attack on the patient that lead to his illness—is II 2.5.

What one would expect in the gap are therefore further descriptions of Ardat Lilī’s effect on the world at large.

A phrase comparable to the first legible part of text block II 2 (II 2.2) can be found in *udug ḫulu* XII 8. It is an incantation-prologue line beginning with *ḡeš-ge*, “reed thicket,” and ending in a pluralic verb: *ḡeš-ge-a ge-ur₂ šu₂-šu₂-‘de₃’*, “who is constantly spilling out into reed bed and reed thicket” (the

translation closely follows Geller's in Geller (2016) 401 line 8, but is slightly adapted as Geller translates Sumerian and restored Akkadian together). All preceding lines of the prologue talk of the destructive effect the demon in question has on various parts of the uninhabited wilderness and cultivated pastures, as well as the animals that inhabit them (udug ḫulu XII 1–7). As in text block 2, the udug ḫulu passage leads into a Marduk-Ea dialogue (udug ḫulu 13) when Marduk observes the demon's activities.

While the incantation is certainly not parallel to the incantation at hand, the contents of the text passage give an idea of the type of demonic description that is to be expected between our two text blocks.

Estimated gap size—The estimated size of the gap is based on the gap size of NinNA3.

NinNA3 is a manuscript for Tablet II, but misses the first 13 lines; as it preserves 8 lines of the 1st column up to the bottom edge, the tablet should have had the usual ca. 21 lines in every column in unbroken state. Its 1st column ends in II 1.21, and its 2nd begins in II 2.7.

Following this estimate, and considering that column i of NinNA3 preserves two more lines than column ii (the break is not even), there should have been approximately 15 lines in the gap between the end of NinNA3 i (II 1.21) and the first preserved line of column ii (II 2.7). Other manuscripts provide us with 6 lines after the end of NinNA3 i and 6 more before the first preserved line of column ii, leaving 3 lines of the approximate column length of NinNA3 unaccounted for.

- 2.2A** **ḡeš-ge**—Within incantation prologues, the term ḡeš-ge is “reed bed” or “reed thicket” (compare Attinger (2021) 491) is found in text passages describing a demons destructive effect on the environment. As already discussed in the commentary for the gap before the present text block, the udug ḫulu line udug ḫulu XII 8 describes the evil Utukku as constantly spilling out onto the reed thickets, paralysing the sinews of fish and birds in consequence (udug ḫulu XII 9).
- 2.3A** **a₂-ḡa₂[?]-be₂**—The pronominal suffix indicates a collective, in the context of the previous line probably referring to animals inhabiting the marshes (compare commentary for II 2.2A). The form may relate to the compound verb a₂--ḡar, “to defeat,” but the beginning of the following line (saḡ-be₂, “their heads”) could also suggest that we should take a₂, “arm,” more literally. Compare also the similar udug ḫulu text passage mentioned in the commentary for II 2.2, in which the mention of the marshes precedes a description of the evil Utukku binding the sinews of the fish and birds that live there (though it must be reiterated that the text passage is in no way parallel to the present incantation).
- 2.4A** A similarly beginning prologue line can be found in an unpublished incantation (BM 38422 and duplicates), which describes a demon affecting the animals of the wilderness so that they can no longer lift their heads (saḡ-be₂ nu-mu-un-il₂, BM 38422 ii 5').
- 2.5–7** The three lines are constructed similarly, marking the shift from general descriptions towards the illness of the patient by emphasising tu-ra / ša awēli with anticipatory genitive constructions. The translation “regarding the patient” attempts to replicate this emphasis without doing too much damage to

the English language, somewhat obscuring the underlying genitive construction in Sumerian and Akkadian.

- 2.6A** The reading is based on the copy of UrkNB3 (SpTU V 226), but could not be collated from the tablet or a photo. While the imperfective form would not match the perfective verb in the following line, it does agree with the pluralic imperfective forms of the preceding prologue theme describing Ardat Lilī's effect on the world.
- 2.7A** **-be₂**—For the confusion of human and non-human possessive pronoun, see commentary for I 1.6A. Alternatively, one could assume a demonstrative meaning “these features” here, but considering the Akkadian line writes *bunnanêšu*, a mistake seems more likely. It is noteworthy, however, that II 2.8A has the expected human possessive pronoun in UrkNB1 (the only manuscript that clearly presents the non-human pronominal suffixes). What remains of the pronoun on NinNA3, II 2.10, is more suggestive of NI (compare commentary for this line in the partitur), so the confusion appears to be limited to UrkNB1.
- 2.9A** **-be₂**—See commentary for II 2.7A.
- 2.9B** **ušēzibšu**—Von Weiher suggests a so far unattested Š of *ezēqu* (CAD: *esēku*), “to engrave” but observes that the meaning does not fit the context well and that the expected Akkadian equivalent of *du₇* would be *nakāpu* (von Weiher (1998) 12).
The sign ZIG can be read *ziq*, *zik*, *zib₂*, *šib₂*, *šip₂*, *ḥaš₂*, *ḥas₃*, and *ḥiš₂*. *u₂-še* would suggest a root that has a weak first radical in the Š-stem; unless that first radical is *w, the verb should have an /e/ vowel. Unless we assume a hapax legomenon, the existing dictionaries give us only two options—*ezēbu* and von Weiher's suggestion *esēku*.
The composite text assumes a form of *ezēbu*, because it presents us with the least difficulties: *u₂-še-zib₂* is the expected 3rd sg. Š preterite and the verb is well-attested in the Š-stem. The issue with *ezēbu* is its meaning: *šūzubu* is most commonly used in the meaning “to save” or “to spare,” the opposite of what one would expect in this context. And while *šūzubu* does not always have a positive connotation (the meaning “cause to leave behind,” which is assumed here, is attested elsewhere, compare CAD 4 (1958) s. v. *ezēbu* 5a–c), “she made him leave his body behind like a wave” is still unusual. Especially in light of the II 2.9A, the comparison with a wave should refer to the force of a wave rather than to a wave that is receding.
Note, however, that the meaning of *esēku* is no more fitting for a comparison with a wave or flood. Von Weiher's translation “Seinen Körper ließ er schwinden wie eine Flut” (i.e. “to diminish”) is an extremely loose interpretation of *esēku* “to engrave” and not attested outside this line (as he himself points out in his commentary for the line, see above).
Alternatively, the sign may have been misinterpreted because it is written near the break, but this theory would require collation or further manuscript evidence.
- 2.10B** The reading of the Akkadian line is extremely uncertain, as only part of the upper half is preserved. Von Weiher reads *ir-b[i-...]*, but does not suggest a translation. His copy of SpTU V 226 does not suggest IR, but rather GIŠ

(iz, iṣ, etc.). As the manuscript could not be collated from either tablet or photo, and von Weiher himself deviates from his copy in his reading, no reconstruction can be suggested at present.

- 2.11A** **ba-da-an-er₂-ra**—That both phrases are temporal relative clauses is clear, as the head of each designates a time. The 3rd nh.

ba-	da-	n-	er ₂	-a	=a
3 rd nh. io.	com.	3 rd h.	cry	-nmls.	=loc.

The relative clauses mark the transition from Ardat Lilî's attack of the patient to Marduk noticing it (II 2.13).

- 2.12** The tentative restorations follow lugal-e 564f: ^{u2}NUMUN₂-gen₇ mu-e-sig₃-ge-en-ze₂-en ^{u2}NUMUN₂-gen₇ mu-e-bu-re-[en]-ze₂-en *kīma šuppatti tannashani kīma elpeti tabbaqmani*, “You are torn out like a reed, you are plucked like alfalfa grass.” Note that the remaining sign of *nasāhu* in NinNA3 (*is*-[...]) makes it clear that this is a preterite form; the accusative pronominal suffix is assumed based on the amount of space left in the break. A ventive (as in the lugal-e line) would be possible, and it is unclear whether *baqāmu* was written with a final *m* or *n* (the latter is assumed in the composite text but need not be correct).

Several types of rushes could be meant; NUMUN₂ is equated to several Akkadian terms for rushes or grass, for instance *urbatu* and *šuppātu* (Römer (2001) 126f); the lugal-e line equates it to both *šuppātu* and *elpetu*, though we may have to assume different readings for the two instances of NUMUN₂. As the Akkadian version is broken, and the bilingual line—although strikingly similar—is not identical to lugal-e XIII 8, a generic translation of the ambivalent Sumerian term seems preferable, and the exact Akkadian words cannot be restored with certainty. For the various possible readings of ^{u2}NUMUN₂, see Attinger (2021) 825.

However, the general meaning of the line (Ardat Lilî ripping the patient out of his life like a mere weed) is clear.

- 2.12A** **-am₃**—For the use of the copula in place of the equative, see commentary for I 7.6A.

- 2.12B** **ibquššu**—3rd sg. G pret. of *baqāmu* (*baqānu*) with 3rd sg. m. accusative pronominal suffix; on the restoration, see commentary for 2.12.

- 2.13** Standardised Marduk-Ea-dialogue introduction (see Falkenstein (1931) 54f), for a bilingual example see CMAwR II 7.11 line 6. As no manuscript preserves the Akkadian column, it is unclear whether the Akkadian was spelled out or left blank because of the pervasiveness of the clause.

very short or no gap **Contents**—As the last preserved line in text block II 2 is the introduction of the Marduk-Ea-dialogue (Marduk noticing the patient's predicament), and as the first preserved line in text block II 3 must be the introduction to Enki's speech to Marduk (see discussion of the estimated gap size below), the only lines that could be lost would also form part of the Marduk-Ea-introduction. It is very likely that the introduction is written in so abbreviated a form that we are not missing any text; and indeed, Geller (1988) 18 line 62f assumes that II

2.13 leads directly into II 3.1.

Nonetheless, a small chance remains that one or two more lines of Marduk-Ea-introduction were squeezed onto the bottom edge of NinNA3 ii (see below in the discussion of the estimated gap size).

Estimated gap size—The third column of NinNA4 should set in approximately where text block II 2 ends, so it is likely that there is no gap between II 2.13 and II 3.1 at all.

There are 18 lines between NinNA4 columns i (II 1.1–4) and ii (II 1.22–25). After the break of column ii in II 1.25, UrkNB2 adds two more lines, and NinNA3 leads us to expect about three further lines in the gap between text blocks II 1 and II 2. The manuscripts for text block II 2 add 13 more lines, meaning that 18 lines after the end of NinNA4 column ii should be accounted for.

An even stronger argument for text block II 2 leading directly into II 3 is that NinNA3 and NinNA4 are highly likely to join indirectly. As NinNA3 squeezes the last line of II 2 onto the bottom edge under the end of column ii, and NinNA4 preserves the top edge of column iii, there could not be more than two lines in between II 2.13 and II 3.1—and that only if those lines were very short and squeezed onto the bottom edge of NinNA3 ii.

Furthermore, the first preserved line of NinNA4 iii is a blank Akkadian line. We only find blank lines in the Ninevite manuscripts of the series if no Akkadian translation was necessary. The only example of this *within* an incantation (i.e. outside of rubrics) is the introduction to the Marduk-Ea ritual instructions in column vi of NinNA3, where ^{d+}en-ki dumu-ne₂ ^dasal-lu₂-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-ib₂-ge₄-ge₄ (“Enki answers his son Asalluḫi:”) is only written in the Sumerian column (II 7.6). The only reason that comes to mind is that the line is common enough not to require an Akkadian translation, suggesting that the present line, too, should be the introduction of Ea’s speech to Marduk.

Geller (1988) seems to have drawn the same conclusions, but suggests a restoration [a-a-ne₂ ^den-ki-ke₄ e₂-a ba-ši-in-ku₄ gu₃ mu-un-na-an-de₂-e], “[he went to his father Enki in the temple, saying,]” (Geller (1988) 18 line 63). As II 3.5 already gives ritual instructions, however, it is unlikely that Marduk is speaking.

- 3.1** The blank Akkadian line strongly suggests that this is the introduction of Ea’s speech to Marduk (discussed in the commentary for the gap before text block II 3).

The “text box” of this line is not particularly high, allowing for only one row of signs in the broken Sumerian column. The introductory sentence ^{d+}en-ki dumu-ne₂ ^dasal-lu₂-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-ib₂-ge₄-ge₄ (“Enki answers his son Asalluḫi:”) takes up two rows in NinNA3 (II 7.6). There is a slim chance of it fitting here if the ruling below the line slants upwards more strongly than the preserved portion suggests, but it seems more likely that the formula is written in its abbreviated form (^dasal-lu₂-ḫi igi :niḫ₂-ḫa₂-e : gen-na dumu-ḫu₁₀, “(What do I know that you do not know?) Go, my son,” or similar). On the common abbreviated form, see Falkenstein (1931) 57.

If II 3.1A only contained niḫ₂-ḫa₂-e : gen-na dumu-ḫu₁₀ (or similar), it would be more understandable that the scribe of NinNA3 squeezed the line ^dasal-lu₂-ḫi igi im-m]a-an-s[i₃] below the bottom ruling of the column: The scribe would have simply forgotten the first part of the line, and added it where there was still space. But as this also depends on the indirect join between NinNA3 and NinNA4, it cannot be proven without further manuscript

evidence.

- 3.2f** At the current level of preservation, little can be said about the contents of these lines. They are no longer part of the introduction to the Marduk-Ea-dialogue and appear to belong to Ea's speech to Marduk. However, they do not seem to form part of the ritual instructions either (as the series equates the {u}-forms of the Sumerian Marduk-Ea-dialogue with imperatives with enclitic *-ma*, and neither line ends in *-ma*).
- 3.4** **tum₂ / litbal**—It is unclear what supernatural agent is called upon to carry Ardat Lilî into the netherworld, but both verbs are clearly transitive. The line preserves no agent or direct object other than *ardatu*, so the agent is presumably a god or divinity mentioned in one of the broken preceding lines. Šamaš would be the most likely candidate, as he is brought up again in II 3.6 and as the sun was thought to move from the sky into the netherworld every day at sunset. ^dUTU would also fit most easily into the broken line beginnings in II 3.2–3f without leaving a trace on the preserved right edge of the line.
- 3.5A** **-meš**—The use of the 3rd ps. pl. copula {meš} to mark a plural is a common Akkadianism in later Sumerian texts (see Thomsen (1984) 63).
- 3.5B** **rabbīš**—The adverbial form of *rabbû* in the middle of a figura etymologica is difficult to translate into English. The literal translation would be “hugely sacrifice a sacrifice”.
iqima—2nd sg. m. G imperative of *naqû* with enclitic *-ma*.
- gap size unclear** **Contents**—Text block II 3 holds the first few lines of Marduk-Ea ritual instructions of a complex ritual before Šamaš involving sacrifices, and text block II 4 talks of fashioning figurines and giving them travel provisions. If text is missing in the gap, it would certainly contain further ritual instructions (possibly already connected to the figurines, for example an instruction to purify a clay pit and take clay from it, compare *Lam.* III 130).
Estimated gap size—As the only manuscript for text block II 4 has only one column, the text block is difficult to place with any precision (although its placement between text blocks II 3 and II 5 is assured by its introduction of the 7 figurines of Ardat Lilî that are discussed in text block II 5).
UrkNB2 preserves II 1.8–27 and II 5.1–14. We can assume that the tablet begins with the incantation that is written on it, i.e. the obverse of UrkNB2 had 27 lines before the break. Text blocks II 2–4 add 22 lines of known text into that gap. The break on UrkNB2 is uneven and the reverse preserves the edge, but no text, for about 6 lines, leaving ca. 16 lines to distribute evenly across the end of the reverse and the beginning of the obverse (note that UrkNB3, II 2.1–10 is very probably the bottom edge of the same tablet, see p. 122f.) Added to the 27 lines, the tablet must have held at least 35 lines *without* any possible lines missing in the gaps between text blocks II 1 and II 5. As UrkNB2 is a single-column tablet, and its “text boxes” largely hold only one row of signs, 35–40 lines are not an unrealistic size for a literary text, but the tablet could not have been endless, either.
NinNA4 provides a more precise frame of reference. As discussed, the approximate column size of NinNA4 is 22 lines (see commentary for gap between text blocks II 2 and 3), in accordance with the general assumption of ca. 21 lines on manuscripts in the Nineveh format. NinNA4 iii preserves the 6

of text block II 3, so we can estimate 16 broken lines until the end of the column; as NinNA4 also preserves 2 lines of column iv (II 6.1–2), we can estimate 20 lines above. The approximate size of the gap between II 3.6 and II 6.1 is therefore 36 lines. Other manuscripts provide us with the 3 lines of text block II 4 and the 26 lines of text block II 5; therefore, we have approximately 7 lines left to distribute across the 3 gaps between text blocks II 3/4, II 4/5, and II 5/6. The last of these gaps probably only held a single line, leaving 6 lines to distribute across the gaps II 3/4 and II 4/5. Assuming this gap held all 6 lines and the following one none, we arrive at the maximum of 6 lines, though it is equally possible that both gaps held 3 lines etc.

There is a Ninevite tablet fragment in Neo-Babylonian script (BM 98626) that preserves two lines of (otherwise unrelated) ritual content that appear similar to II 3.6 and II 4.1: [...] 'x' ina 'IGI' [:?] 'd'XX-še₃? '[:?] 'x x x x x' [...] / [... K]ID₃.KID₃.BI : 7 alan AN 'x' [...], “[...] before Šamaš [...] / [...] its [r]itual: 7 figurines of [...].

The text is heavily damaged and does not appear to be related to the present series—for one thing, no known manuscript of *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* communicates ritual instructions through rubrics—but the tenuous parallel *might* indicate that II 3.6 is in fact identical with II 4.1 and we need not assume a gap at all. However, as no other line in BM 98626 appears to parallel the ritual content of the present text passage, the argument is too weak to eliminate the gap in the composite text at present.

4.2A There should only be 2–3 signs missing between alan and ki-sikil, suggesting a descriptor (perhaps the material of the figurines).

4.3A The line presumably instructs to fill the waterskins with water, but as this could be expressed by several different verbs (a--bala, de₂, si) , the verbal base has not been restored in the composite text.

gap size unclear **Contents**—As text block II 4 speaks of seven figurines of Ardat Lilî and the first legible line of text block II 5 instructs to “tie their arms,” all lines that may be lost in the gap are probably further ritual instructions that revolve around the figurines. After II 4.3 (instructing Marduk to provide the figurines with waterskins), one would expect at least one more instruction that deals with travel provisions and provides food to all figurines (compare the juxtaposition of water and bread in I 4.4, as well as the provision of soup, bread and oil alongside water in *Lam.* III 113–115).

Estimated gap size—See commentary for the gap between text blocks II 3 and II 4, as the same assumptions apply here.

5.1–3B The copy of UrkNB2 (the only manuscript for these lines) only preserves a single sign at the end of each row of signs, with only one ruling (between 5.1 and 5.2B) and no enclitic *-ma*. The line divisions assumed here may therefore be incorrect, and two or more of the “lines” on UrkNB2 might form a single *Eṭel Lilî, Ardat Lilî* “text box”.

Note, however, that NinNA5 clearly divides 5.3B and 5.4B with a ruling even though the copy of UrkNB2 shows none. Furthermore, UrkNB1 is a single-column manuscript and rarely resorts to splitting one line across two rows of signs (let alone three or four). The composite text therefore assumes that the enclitic *-ma* we expect at the end of each line of Marduk-Ea ritual instructions was written on the right edge of the tablet, and is therefore missing from the

copy. As this seems to be the case for the entire verb *teddirma* in II 5.4B, we may be missing as many as three signs, not only *-ma*. On the other hand, II 5.4 suggests that UrkNB2 divides these lines differently from NinNA5 (see commentary for that line).

It is even possible that one or more of these Akkadian lines are the Akkadian version of one or more lines of text block II 4. However, as we currently only know the Sumerian version of the latter and only a single sign of the Akkadian here, this cannot be proposed with any certainty at present.

- 5.4B** *idīšunūti teddirma*—The copy of UrkNB2 does not show *teddirma*. It is also curious that *-šunūti* is already visible on the preserved right edge of the line on UrkNB2, considering that NinNA5 presents no more text in this line than these two words. If UrkNB2 divided the text in the same way as NinNA5, it would mean that the entire broken part of the line (space for at least 7 signs) only held *i-di* (possibly *i-di-i* or *i-de-e*), and that the scribe then squeezed the pronominal suffix as well as the verb onto the right edge even though he would have had ample space for both to begin with. Assuming this level of poor spatial planning would surely be an insult to the most inexperienced of Late Babylonian scribes, so it seems rather more likely that UrkNB2 merged the present line with whatever sentence NinNA5 would have held in the preceding text box. This opens up the possibility of *teddirma* not being written on the edge at all, but in the following row of signs, which would then also have to be counted as a single line on UrkNB2.

The copy shows no rulings that would prevent this interpretation, but the manuscript is badly damaged and could not be collated from either the tablet itself or a photo, so there is at present little base it on.

- 5.5** *uzud 𒌶š, nu-zu / unīqu lā petītu*—The hair of a virgin kid would be a fitting decoration for the heads of Ardat Lilī-figurines, as the same incantation describes the demon as having died a virgin in its second line (II 1.2).

While this is likely to be the association here, virgin goats are not necessarily connected to virgin humans (or demons). For example, a Ninevite ritual against a ghost (*eṭemmu*) requires the sacrifice of a virgin kid (see Farber (1977) 56 lines 14 and 20).

- 5.8B** *teššir*—On the lack of an enclitic *-ma* to coordinate this line with the following one, see commentary on I 3.8B.

- 5.9B** *kisiggēšunu*—The Eṭel Lilī parallel in I 3.6 has *kispu* rather than *kisiggû*, although the Sumerian versions of both lines speak of *ki-sig₁₀-ga*. There is no doubt that *kisiggû* is simply a direct translation of *ki-sig₁₀-ga* into Akkadian, but it still begs the question whether *kisiggû* and *kispu* are synonymous designations of the same type of funerary offering, or whether *kispu* is a different type of offering that had no Sumerian equivalent. While they are etymologically separate terms, Tsukimoto (1985) 34–38 concludes that both refer to the cult of the dead as well as the offerings brought within it. As this is undoubtedly what is meant here, there is no reason to assume that the Ardat Lilī ritual instruction II 5.9B and the Eṭel Lilī ritual instruction I 3.6 call for different types of offerings. In both cases, multiple figurines of the demon are turned to face the sunset, surrounded by a *zisurrû* (I 3.8 / II 5.8), and adjured to remove themselves permanently (I 3.9–4.7 / II 5.14–15) so that the patient can be ritually clean once more (I 4.8 / II 5.16).

5.10 ka₂ ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne / ina bāb Anunnakī—There is no apparent ablative in the Sumerian to suggest a translation “*from* the gate of the Anunnaki” (as we see in the Akkadian *ina*, and as Geller (1988) 19 line 77 translates).

The ablative {ta} may simply be unwritten (as it is, for example, in I 1.11A). Yet a directive {e} (“*towards* the gate of the Anunnaki”) is rather more comprehensible.

This ritual step aims at permanently keeping Ardat Lilī away from the patient (II 5.14f). From the Kassite period onwards, the Anunnaki are said to reside exclusively in the underworld (as opposed to 300 Anunnaki in heaven and 300 in the netherworld in earlier periods, see Horowitz (1998) 122 and 143f). Directing Ardat Lilī *towards* the gate of the Anunnaki is therefore a sensible way of keeping her in her place: the underworld is, after all, where the deceased belong, and the funerary offerings made in II 5.9 exist to keep the dead content and at a distance from the living (compare commentary for I 7.3).

One could also argue that previous ritual steps have already placed Ardat Lilī in the underworld; this is implied by the past forms in II 5.14–15A. Directing her *away* from the gate of the Anunnaki could be a way of barring her from exiting the underworld again in the future, and this may well be the meaning of the Akkadian version of the line.

However, placing figurines of Ardat Lilī to face the sunset (II 5.8) suggests that she is still present, but being sent off into the netherworld, which strengthens the case for understanding the Sumerian version of the phrase orthographically as a directive.

5.10A ḥe₂-en-si-le-e—The form is written with a 3rd ps. imperfective agent, so the composite text treats it as such, reading the line as the last line before the speech directed at Ardat Lilī. The /n/ before the verbal base would suggest that the verb is transitive and the patient is the direct object, although an ablative would be more intuitive.

*

ḥa-	n-	si-le	-e
mod.-	3 rd sg. h.	split-impf.	- 3 rd sg.

Alternatively, it could be interpreted as a defective spelling of the 3rd ps. pl. agent, transitive {ene} or intransitive {eš}. Geller (1988) 19 line 77 translates it accordingly, but Geller gives one translation for both the Akkadian and Sumerian version of the line, and may simply be prioritising the less ambivalent Akkadian.

The following lines treat Ardat Lilī as *one* entity, and the previous line explicitly spells out the plural ending (albeit the intransitive one). Therefore, the composite text works with the assumption that while the ritual action encompasses multiple statues of multiple possible Ardat Lilīs (“the young woman who had no child” of II 1.16 as well as “the young woman who was deprived of her child” of II 1.17), this is less relevant to the incantation, which speaks to the one Ardat Lilī that is affecting the patient (whichever she may be). Therefore, while the various Ardat Lilīs sit in place to receive their funerary offerings (II 5.9), the patient’s Ardat Lilī is the one who must vacate him and is addressed in the 2nd ps. singular in the following lines.

The Akkadian *liddappirū* clearly still deals with multiple Ardat Lilīs in this line and only switches to a single addressee in II 5.14, but the Sumerian

certainly shifts earlier, unambiguously addressing a single Ardat Lilî in II 5.12 (i-ri-pad₃).

- 5.11–12 i-ri-pad₃ / tummêšunūtima**—The Akkadian and Sumerian versions still diverge (see also commentary on II 5.10A). While the Sumerian addresses Ardat Lilî directly (expressed by the 2nd sg. oblique object in the verbal chain, “I have made *you* swear the oath”), the Akkadian is an instruction from Ea to Marduk on how to deal with the seven Ardat Lilî figurines (“Make *them* swear the oath!”).

The Eṭel Lilî parallel in I 3.9 presents the same peculiarity—an adjuration that Ea gives to Marduk verbatim, so that he may use it against Ardat Lilî. However, in the parallel Akkadian and Sumerian correspond with one another. The difference between the two passages is that the more concise Eṭel Lilî incantation transitions directly from Marduk-Ea style ritual instructions with the prefix {u} into the direct speech to the demon, which leaves the formula incomplete and makes it clear that what Ea is telling Marduk is something *he* should say during the ritual (see commentary on I 3.9). The longer Ardat Lilî incantation, on the other hand, first completes the formula with the imperfective forms that express the outcome of the ritual instructions (see commentary on I 3.2–8): “After you have (done X, Y, and Z), *they shall sit there for their offerings*.” With no change in formula to give the translator(s) pause, the Akkadian does not follow the counter-intuitive switch from talking about the demon to talking to the demon.

i-ri-pad₃—See commentary on I 3.9.

- 5.12A ki-a**—UrkNB2: ki-be₂-da. The phrase zi an-ki-be₂-da-ke₄ i-ri-pad₃ also occurs in a diḡir ḡulu, (identification Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5, edition Ebeling (1953) 380 line 26). {be} and {da} appear to link an with ki in the suffix chain (“the oath of heaven-with-its-underworld” as an expression for “the oath of the entire world”). The Ninevite variant prioritised in the composite text means essentially the same, but separates it into the two genitive constructions “the oath of heaven” and “the oath of the earth”.

- 5.13 a₂-la₂-a-ne₂ / i²iltāšu**—The words for “bond” are probably to be taken literally in the sense of “fetters.”

The Akkadian *i²iltu* (from *e²elu*, “to tie, bind”) has the transferred meaning “(legal) obligation” in the Old Babylonian period (see CAD 4 (1958) 52), and is used elsewhere in *āšipūtu* (K.3507 obv. 22', see eBL <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.3507>) alongside *uzzu*, *libbātu*, and *nekelmū*—terms that unambiguously denote divine wrath or displeasure in a magical context.

The Sumerian term a₂-la₂ (literally “arm-tie”), however, is not used in any other meaning than “fetters” or “chains (that tie someone’s arms)”. It occurs multiple times in *Dumuzi’s Dream* (65, 163, 190, [225]), every time in a variation of the sentence a₂-zu a₂-la₂-e ba-e-la₂, “fetters will bind your arms” in parallel to šu-zu šu-du₃-a ba-e-dab₅, “handcuffs will bind your hands”.

The scene in *Dumuzi’s Dream* is, of course, symbolically charged, and speaks of Dumuzi’s coming death at the hand of the demons sent to drag him into the underworld. It is therefore not surprising that it makes use of some of the same words as exorcistic incantations. But as legal metaphors and terms play a prominent role in Mesopotamian magic (to such a degree that Maul (2013) 38f

argued in his discussions of divination that illness or health and luck or misfortune were generally seen as the result of a divine judgement), and we do see legal mechanisms in the present series (in the idea of a demon being “married” to the patient), it is worth noting that “bond” is not primarily denoting a legal obligation in this line.

Both Sumerian and Akkadian version of the line treat “bond” as the direct object, which the English translation must unfortunately obscure.

- 5.13A** ḥa-ba-an-du₈—The 2nd person ending {en} is not written, but can be assumed based on the 2nd person forms in the previous and following lines (i-ri-pad₃ and amaš-zu-še₃). Note that the following line, II 5.14, does not have a written {en} either, while II 5.15 spells it out in both of its verbs.
- 5.14B** *Ardat Lilī kīma (...)*—The reading of the beginning of the line is at present only a suggestion based on the copy of SpTU II 7 and requires collation.
- 5.19A** It is extremely curious that the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the line are so different, with no equivalent to the Akkadian *bīt zaqīqī*. The other incipit of the series that speaks of Ardat Lilī as ki-sikil eden-na, II 1.1, does not translate it in the Akkadian version either. The incipit in I 7.17, on the other hand, translates e₂-gal eden-na-ta as *ištu ekal šēri* without issues. As the Sumerian version is repeated in the Marduk-Ea dialogue in II 7.4, but the Akkadian version of the repetition is syntactically different from that of the present line, it can be presumed that Akkadian-speaking translators struggled to make sense of the Sumerian grammar. For a comparison of the two lines, see the commentary for II 7.4.
- 5.19B** *ana ardati*—While the term ki-sikil does occur twice in the Sumerian line, it seems to designate Ardat Lilī both times (the Young Woman of the wilderness ..., the Young Woman Lilī ...). The Akkadian, on the other hand, uses it as a parallel to *awēlu* in the following line: Ardat Lilī is sent back to the young woman, she is sent back to the man. In this instance, the Sumerian seems to be anterior to the Akkadian, with the Akkadian reinterpreting phrases scribes no longer understood. First and foremost, if the Sumerian had been based on the Akkadian sentence, the lines surely would not diverge as wildly as they do. It would also be an uncharacteristically feminist choice to have the incipit of an incantation that otherwise describes Ardat Lilī’s attack of a man (II 7.2) prioritise Ardat Lilī’s role as an attacker of women. Furthermore, if the lines were originally constructed as parallels, one would expect the pair ki-sikil / *ardatu ḡuruš / eṭlu*, not ki-sikil / *ardatu* (no mention of a man) / *awēlu*.
- 5.20A** **ab-ba e₂-ta**—The spelling of ab-ba suggests that the word is either in the genitive or in the locative case. If we are to take this as a genitive construction (as the Akkadian *ina apti bīti* clearly does), the genitive case ending should be in between e₂ and the ablative ending closing the nominal chain (ab e₂=ak=ta). In all probability, the genitive would not be written in this position. It is most likely that the scribe took ab-ba to be the basic form of the noun. The incipit at the beginning of this tablet has ab by itself, and the ablative of ab-ba is written as ab-ta in II 1.19. However, that may be explained as a by-product of the compilation process (i.e. a different origin of the spelling of this

line) or simply as a scribal mistake.

Alternatively, we could assume that *ab-ba e₂-ta* is *not* a genitive construction, but that causes more issues than it resolves. It should be noted that *sur-ra-ab* looks more like an imperative than a subordinated verb, as the demonstrative pronoun {be} (which we also find at the end of the following line) should not be written without its vowel according to the rules of classical Sumerian. Yet in that case, *sur* must be transitive with a non-human 3rd person object, as the locative {be} should not be reduced to a consonant either (see Attinger (2004) 75).

This would lead us back to the problem that *ab-ba* has a case ending that cannot be explained away by shifting the genitive construction from *ab-ba e₂-ta* to *ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ ab-ba* (“Young Woman Lilû of the wilderness;” on *lil₂-la₂* as the basic form of *lil₂* throughout the series, compare commentary for II 1.1A): in that case, the sentence would be intransitive and require no {b}.

And even if we again assume that a scribe understood *ab-ba* as the basic form of the noun or added BA by mistake, *sur* would no longer fit any of the known meanings of the verb: Attinger (2021) 950f knows three different bases with this form, which transitively mean “to press (sth. to extract a liquid),” “to braid,” and “to break” (the latter being the transitive version of a basic meaning “to be separated”). ePSD has even more options (including “to form,” “to smile,” and a tentative “to be silent?”), none of which make any more sense than “Ardat Lilî, braid the window away from the house!”

sur-ra-ab—As just described, the demonstrative pronoun {be} should not lose its vowel here. However, an imperative form is extremely unlikely for the reasons outlined above. Note that at least in the Late Babylonian understanding of UrkNB2 (+) UrkNB3, some case endings were pronounced without their original final vowels (compare the annotation ^{ke-eš}ki-še₃ in II 1.21 UrkNB3; for the indirect join between the two manuscripts, see p. 122f).

5.21–26 Parallel in content to II 1.2–7.

5.21–2A **munus-ta-am₃**—The Akkadian versions of both phrases translate *kîma sinništi*, reading {am} as an equative marker (compare commentary for I 7.6A). This parallels II 1.2–3B, which express the same meaning in different words.

The spelling *munus-am₃* is attested on both a Ninevite and a Babylonian manuscript for II 1.2–3A.

Geller (1988) 7 proposes an indirect join of NinNA4 (the Ninevite manuscript for II 1.2–3) and NinNA5 (the Ninevite manuscript for the present line). And while the present edition is extremely cautious in joining fragments indirectly for the reasons outlined above (p. 60), there is no material objection to Geller’s join; it is very likely, if at present not verifiable. If the two fragments are indeed part of the same manuscript, the same phrase would be written with an ablative on two lines on the reverse and without an ablative on the obverse; if not, the two variants at least exist within the same textual tradition.

If we are to believe the orthography of the present line, the phrase would be a nominal predicate (“the Young Woman is the one among the women whom no man inseminated”). With no other manuscript to contradict this, the composite text translates accordingly. However, the meaning of the line is substantially the same. The diverging phrasing may even have served to differentiate the two incantations.

5.21A nu-ri-a-be₂—The pronominal suffix is interpreted as a demonstrative referring back to Ardat Lilî to emphasise the beginning of the new theme (descriptions of Ardat Lilî). However, as discussed in the commentary on II 5.20, both lines could be understood as ending in {be}. This, however, would render both pronouns virtually meaningless, and raise the question why no further line ends in {be}.

5.22A See commentary for II 1.4A.

5.22B īkipuši—3rd sg. G pret. subjunctive of *ekēpu* with 3rd sg. f. accusative pronominal suffix. The change in verb from the (content-)parallel II 1.3B *naqpatu* may have been caused by the rarity of the verb *naqāb/pu*, “to penetrate,” see fn. 258. Note that Landsberger (1968) 45 interprets *īkipuši* as a form of *nakāpu*, “to pierce,” instead; both are possible and do not affect the meaning of the line in the slightest, but the Neo-Assyrian spelling *i-ki-pu-ši* is more suggestive of *īkipuši* than *ikkipuši*.

5.25A The determinative *lu₂* on ^{lu₂}ḡuruš, “young man” (which does not normally need to be qualified as referring to a human) may have been written to clarify that this does not refer to Eṭel Lilî.

gap of 1 line Contents—The parallel (in content, but not phrasing) II 1.2–7 has only a single line between the line talking of the woman’s inability to breastfeed (II 1.7) and her reputation (II 1.9):

ki-sikil ur ₂ ḡi-li ḡuruš-e si nu-si-sa ₂ la-la-a-ne ₂ na-ba-ge ₄ -a	the young woman who did not give a young man an erection, who did not have her desire returned,
--	---

<i>ardatu ša ina sūn eṭli kuzba 'lā im'lū lalā lā išbū</i>	the young woman who did not pour passion into the lap of a young man, who did not satisfy (her) desire,
--	---

Estimated gap size—II 1.2–9, which parallel II 5.21–26 and II 6.1, suggests a gap of only one line. Note that II 6.1 is significantly more expansive than II 1.9, so it is entirely possible that the missing line is much longer than II 1.8.

6.1A mu nu-pad₃[?]-a—For the verbal base to be pad₃, the surface of the manuscript must be strongly abraded here, and based on the photo, this is the case (with traces of a bottom horizontal after IGI and clear signs of damage to the surface). The IGI-element is largely visible (with a clear winkelhaken, vertical and the head of the horizontal).

6.2A ki ki-sikil-e-ne—The sign KI is used, as logographically in Akkadian texts, as a preposition replacing the comitative {da}; see commentary for II 1.11A.

6.4 While this line shares the vocabulary of II 1.13 ([ki-sikil am]a₅-a-ne₂ dam kar-ra / *ardatu ša ina maštakiša muta ekmet*, “the young woman who was deprived of her husband in her women’s quarters,” the difference in construction also changes the meaning. Instead of the young woman being in her private/women’s quarters at the moment of her husband’s abduction (see commentary for II 1.13), this line implies that she does not have private/women’s quarters *because* of her husband’s abduction.

The shift in meaning is interesting, as the text passages are otherwise rephrased, but largely parallel.

- 6.7A** The odd writing *ab-ba lu₂ e₂-ta* recalls II 5.20. Here, too, the Akkadian version suggests that *ab-ba* should be in the ablative case, while in the Sumerian, *ab-ba* has the appearance of a genitive or locative. Similarly to II 5.20, the composite text assumes that *ab-ba* was interpreted as the basic form of the noun. Here, the genitive construction is probably *ab-ba lu₂(=ak=a)* “in the window of a man” rather than the nonsensical *ab-ba lu₂ e₂(=ak=ak)=ta* “out of the window of a man of a house.”
- 6.8B** *nāṣât*—3rd sg. f. N stat. of *(w)aṣû*.
- 6.9** Restored after I 2.2. As the lines are not entirely parallel, the exact wording may differ (the verb in I 2.2A being *gaba--ri* as opposed to the imperfective of *ra-ra* here).
- 6.9–6.12** For the shift from singular to plural forms and back again, compare the Eṭel Lilî parallel in I 2.2–5. As discussed in detail in the commentary on I 2.5, only the body parts of which the patient would have had two are affected by multiple actors, whereas the neck is affected by one. This suggests that both sides of the patient—normally protected by the personal god and goddess or the benevolent spirits Šēdu and Lamassu—are taken over by the evil Utukku and Alû (directly addressed in the Sumerian version of I 7.28A).
- 6.9B** *uḥīršima*—3rd sg. D pret. of *ḥâru* with 3rd sg. f. dative pronominal suffix and enclitic *-ma*. Note that the CAD does not give a D-stem form of *ḥâru*, but there seems to be little doubt that this is what we see in this particular context. The verb is clearly not a direct translation of *ra-ra*, “to hit”, so one expects some other way of describing that the demon proceeds to attack the patient in this text passage. The verb *ḥâru* is used prominently elsewhere in the series to describe how Namtaru took Ardat Lilî from the world of the living (see II 7.3–6B), and a causative form rather than a G-stem works well with the reversed marital roles of demon and patient as opposed to the thematic Eṭel Lilî parallel. On the latter, see commentary for II 6.15f.
- 6.12f** The right edge of the manuscript only preserves an apparently monolingual Akkadian line. The signs for these Akkadian lines are written more closely together than they are when Akkadian follows Sumerian, suggesting that the lines originally combined Sumerian and Akkadian (dividing them across the left and right side respectively).
For lack of further manuscript evidence, the composite text does not restore the Sumerian lines, but it should be noted that it is very unlikely that these two lines were monolingually Akkadian in the overall bilingual text of the incantation. While Sumerian-only lines can occur (compare the blank Akkadian line of the standard Marduk-Ea dialogue introduction II 7.6), Akkadian-only lines in an otherwise bilingual text would be unusual.
- 6.13B** *uštepêlšu*—3rd sg. Gt. imperf. of *šupêlu* with 3rd sg. m. acc. pronominal suffix. It is interesting that the difference between this form and the parallel’s *uštepellû* (I 2.6B) hinges on two signs that (especially if partially damaged, as in this line) can easily be mistaken for one another.
Comparing the traces on manuscript KalNA1 to the sign forms of ŠU and LU

elsewhere on a photo of the same tablet, it is extremely unlikely that the sign in question in this line is LU. Traces of LU's two additional verticals could be discerned, but their near-invisibility would have to be attributed to an unlikely combination of bad lighting on the photo and damage to the manuscript. Note how clearly discernible the final vertical among the traces (as well as the upper horizontal) are. Therefore, it does not seem justified to amend the reading of the sign to *lu'*.

There is, however, another major difference between the Eṭel Lilî parallel on Tablet I and the text passage at hand. Whereas the Akkadian version of I 2.2–5 largely retains the plural forms of the Sumerian lines (see commentary for lines I 2.2–5), this text passage seems to disregard the Sumerian plurals. Whereas the only preserved Sumerian verbal form (line II 6.11A) has the expected plural agent, the Akkadian verbal forms in II 6.9B and II 6.12B do not. As the compiler(s) of the Akkadian version appear to have understood the text passage as referring to the single entity Ardat Lilî throughout, the form *uštepellū* would make little sense. One could even imagine a copyist re-interpreting a slightly damaged writing *uš-te-pel-lu* accordingly.

For the assumed imperfective (instead of preterite *uštepēlšu*) preceding the direct speech in II 6.14f, see commentary for I 2.6.

6.14–15B Tentative restorations following I 2.7B with inverted gender.

- 6.16** The difference between the otherwise (as far as they are preserved) similar text passages II 6.9–16 and I 2.2–2.10 is that Ardat Lilî is portrayed as a bride on the hunt for a husband, whereas Eṭel Lilî is portrayed as a groom looking for a wife.

This is the defining trait of both demons elsewhere in *āšipūtu*: *diṅir ḫulu* (identification Beltz (2025) 99 fn. 5, edition as *zi-pad₃* I 103f in Borger (1969)) describes them only as *ḡuruš lil₂-la₂ dam nu-tuku-a / Eṭel Lilî ša aššata lā aḫzu*, “Eṭel Lilî who has no spouse (Akk.: is not married to a wife)” and *ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ dam nu-tuku-a / Ardat Lilî ša muta lā iṣū*, “Ardat Lilî who has no spouse (Akk.: husband)” within an enumeration of evil supernatural entities.

This is the underlying reason why the exchange of goods during the “marriage” of each demon with the patient diverges:

I 2.10 (Eṭel Lilî)

gurun ^{ḡeš}*kiri₆-gen₇ niṅ₂-la-la* [...] *im-mi-in-ḡar*

Like fruits of the orchard he provided him
with possessions.

kīma inib kirî ana šâši la^rlê^r ulallîši

Like a fruit of the orchard he endowed her
well.

II 6.16 (Ardat Lilî)

[...] *[kaspa] u ḫurāša [ina q]anniša*
[irt]akas

[She ha]s knotted [silver] and gold [into] her
hem.

Whereas Eṭel Lilî presents the patients directly with an abundance of gifts, Ardat Lilî knots precious metals into her hem, a phrase used to assign personal property to a woman (see CAD 13 (1982) s. v. *qannu* B 83f). The phrase is not related to a woman's dowry; rather, Ardat Lilî presents herself as a rich bride

to win the patient. Any possessions given directly to the groom would have been handed over by a young woman's family, not by the bride herself. Compare Westbrook (2003) 397 on gifts that changed hands before a wedding in the Old Babylonian Period: "At the time of transfer of the dowry, the bride's father could return the *terḫatum* ["bride-price" or gift, given by the groom to the bride's family] as dowry property, which he symbolized by wrapping it in her hem."

**gap
(ca. 4
lines)**

Contents—As there is no extant parallel to the lines that would have immediately followed II 6.17 (text block I 2 provides us with only one line after the "marriage", which closes the formula and does not seem to match the traces at the end of II 6.17), and the text passage is not formulaic, nothing can be added to what we already assumed in the commentary on the gap between text blocks I 2 and 3. What one would expect is a description of the patient's suffering before the introduction to the Marduk-Ea-dialogue we see in II 7.2.

Estimated gap size—The estimated size of the gap is based on the column length of NinNA4 (ca. 22 lines, see commentary for gap between text blocks II 2 and 3). NinNA4 col. iv ends in II 6.2, and the first 3 lines of text block II 7 are the final lines of NinNA4 col. v. Therefore, there should be about 19 lines in between II 6.2 and II 7.1. Additional manuscripts provide us with 15 more lines of text block II 6, leaving a gap of approximately 4 lines.

7.1 ba-an-x-na—The sign that is not read in the present edition strongly resembles AK (as written in the colophon in the left-hand column of the same manuscript). While only the lower half of the sign is preserved, this appears to consist of a single horizontal followed by a winkelhaken on the lower end of a vertical and two successive horizontals that largely obscure another thin vertical. This is exactly what the lower half of every other AK on the tablet looks like, and is not particularly suggestive of any other sign.

This presents two difficulties: A construction gu_3 [...] ba-an-ak seems to only be attested in a legal context (in *ana ittišu*, where gu_3 ḡal₂-la ba-an-ak is the Sumerian equivalent of *rugumma irtaši*, "to have a claim (on sb.)"—compare VAT 8875 ii 10). This does not fit the current context, where we might expect something in the manner of "the patient constantly lamented/shouted/cried" etc. Furthermore, the more legible sign NA would be grammatically unlikely to immediately follow the verbal base AK, which ends in a consonant and should therefore be followed by either -ka-na or -a-na if we were dealing with a subordinated verb with the pronoun {ane} and the locative {a} ("as he did ..."). Hence, the reading AK has not been included in the edition, but may perhaps be considered if further evidence for the line should surface.

7.2–6 Standard Marduk-Ea introduction formulae, see Falkenstein (1931) 54f.

7.3A ^den-ki-ke₄—The manuscript either adds the (classically non-human) directive {e} to enki.k instead of the terminative {ši} we see in the verbal chain or understands Enki as a genitive construction "Lord of the Earth" (with -ke₄ as a genitive marker, see commentary for I 1.11A). Either way, this is an ungrammatical spelling.

mu-un-na-an-de₂-e—The personal prefix before the verbal base (referring to gu_3) ought to be {b} rather than {n}. For confusion between human and non-human class, see commentary for I 1.6A.

7.4 Note that the Akkadian repetition of the incipit translates the Sumerian incipit differently from II 5.19:

II 5.19 en₂ ki-sikil eden-na lil₂-la₂ *Ardatu ša bīt zaqīqī ana ardati*
 ki-sikil lil₂-la₂ ab-ba gur-gur- *ina apti ittanurru*
 kam

Incantation: Young Woman of the wilderness, breeze; the Young Woman who is a continuously returning breeze in the window,

The Young Woman whom the house of the spirits has sent back repeatedly to the young woman through the window,

II 7.4 [a]-a-ḡu₁₀ ki-sikil [e]den-na *abī ardatu ša ina bīt zaqīqī ana*
 lil₂-la₂ [k]i-sikil lil₂-la₂ [a]b- *ardāti ina apti ittanurru*
 ba gur-gur-kam

“My father—the Young Woman of the wilderness, the breeze, the Young Woman is a breeze that keeps returning through the window, ...”

“My father, the Young Woman who, from the house of the spirits, keeps returning to the young women through the window, ...”

Both manuscripts are Ninevite (NinNA5 for II 5.19, NinNA3 for II 7.4), and the Sumerian versions are identical. The Akkadian, on the other hand, changes

1. the subject (*bīt zaqīqī* in II 5.19, *ardatu* in II 7.4)—but note that one would expect *tāru* to be transitive, potentially suggesting that the incipit merely omitted *ina* before *bīt zaqīqī*
2. the number of the indirect object (II 5.19 writes *ana ar-da-tu*, “towards the young woman,” II 7.4 writes *ana ar-da-a-ti*, “towards the young women”); while *ana ar-da-tu* could also be normalised as *ana ardāti*, this interpretation is unlikely, as *ana ardāti* seems to be juxtaposed with *ana awēli*, “towards the man” in the following line.

It is therefore likely that the Sumerian version is anterior to the Akkadian, and that the original compiler(s) of the bilingual version struggled to translate the more complicated lines.

7.6A **mu-un-na-ni-ib₂-ge₄-ge₄**—The locative in the verbal chain refers to the matter at hand (“Enki returns (the following) to him in it”), but is difficult to translate into English.

7.6B The line was presumably left untranslated because it is a standard part of the Marduk-Ea formula that would have been immediately understandable to any ritual practitioner. The only other untranslated lines in the series are another line of Marduk-Ea dialogue introduction (see commentary for II 3.1) and the incantation rubrics (which are only ever written in Sumerian).

7.7A **u₃-me-ni-tiḡ₄-ḡa₂**—As the verbs are already part of the Marduk-Ea ritual instructions, one would expect them to be written with the relative past prefix {u}, which is not usually combined with the nominaliser {a}. Nor is any reading of TI and DA a normal equivalent for *g/karāšu* (“to pinch off”)—one would expect *kid₂*, compare the similar line *im ab-zu-ta u-me-ni-kid₂ / kirišma* in K.1284 obv. 30.

For the reading *tiḡ₄* instead of *teḡ₃* in perfective forms, see Attinger (2021) 1033 fn. 3251.

7.8A **ḡe₂-ib₂-dim₂-ma**—As noted in the commentary for the previous line, there

is no apparent reason for the verb to be subordinated here.

break (ca. 8 lines) **Contents**—We are missing the end of the incantation begun in II 5.19. As the colophon took up some space at the end of the Ninevite column, there are only about 8 lines left for further ritual instructions given by Ea to Marduk and the final themes describing the desired outcome (presumably the patient’s restored health or purity).

Estimated break size—As NinNA3 vi and NinNA4 vi almost certainly give us the beginning and end of the last column of the same Ninevite tablet, the number of lines we are missing can be calculated based on the estimated column size.

NinNA4 vi preserves a standard Ashurbanipal library colophon (Asb c-e 4-8 in Hunger (1968)). While we are missing 3 1/2 lines of Hunger’s Ashurbanipal library colophon, NinNA4 splits the text from Hunger’s edition; one Hunger line fills at least two lines of NinNA4 vi, adding about 7 lines of colophon to the preserved 12. However, the 12 lines of colophon cover the same amount of space as only ca. 5 lines of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* “boxes”. Accordingly, the missing 7 colophon lines should not cover more than 3 “boxes”.

The entire colophon should have therefore taken up about 8 lines in the series’ usual format. NinNA3 vi preserves 6 lines of the beginning of the same column and, because of the extremely similar spacing (down to the slant of the ruling in between columns v and vi), is highly likely to join NinNA4 indirectly. As discussed in the commentary for the gap between text blocks II 2 and 3, the approximate column size of NinNA4 (and therefore NinNA3) is 22 lines. We are therefore missing about 8 lines at the end of the incantation.

V: Conclusion

This dissertation has presented three discrete contributions to the understanding of Mesopotamian demonology.

Chapter II discussed demons as anonymous parts of a “ritual building block” that, over time, gained its own magical significance. Here, the individual characteristics of all demons in the standardised sequence are subordinated to the requirements of the incantation they are incorporated into. Mythology appears to be less important than *form*, and form is a result of various traditions, each governed by their own principles. This fusion of different sequences, however, had grown into a tradition of its own by the end of the Old Babylonian period—thereby becoming an established grouping of demons.

Chapter III examined the overall logic of the ritual series *Lamaštu*, suggesting that it was not compiled blindly by copying rubrics that would disagree with the Ritual Tablet, but that both sets of ritual instructions were included purposefully, to describe a single ritual. This, in turn, allows us to reconstruct the course of a ritual previously assumed to be incoherent. It presents *Lamaštu* as a mythological narrative with an internal logic, encompassing multiple cycles, rather than a collection of unconnected ritual activities.

Chapter IV edited and commented upon the ritual series *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî*. The text was presented in partitur, normalisation and translation, with separate renditions of the Akkadian and Sumerian in line with best editorial practice. In addition to the ten manuscripts already included in previous publication, Chapter IV presented seven more manuscripts and two new joins, as well as a number of major suggestions for new understandings of known text.

Beyond the edition itself, Chapter IV discussed several issues that remained unaddressed by previous treatments of the series. It proposed that the series is older than previously assumed, and that a version of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* may already have existed in the Old Babylonian period. The large number of content parallels between different incantations has been argued to be a feature of coherent composition rather than a product of copying. It was put forward that the series as a whole was intended to counter the two demons *Eṭel Lilî* and *Ardat Lilî* within a single ritual, and that its use for educational purposes lies in the nature of the *āšipūtu* tradition. Chapter IV refuted the traditional view of *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* as a mere “series of paradigms.”

The introduction of this dissertation also anticipated that a theme running through the dissertation's various parts would be the interplay between composition for practical purpose, composition guided by tradition, and mythological conception of the demon. I would here like to highlight two points where I believe this tension to be particularly interesting.

First, the existing interpretation of the standardised demon sequence was suggested with a view to the mythological conception of the demons enumerated: Discussing the sequence as a group of demons that might or might not do harm (and are therefore specified as evil in this context), as opposed to demons that are intrinsically evil and need no such specification.⁴³⁹ Chapter II has suggested that the origin of the two different ways of describing demons instead lies in the combination of different textual traditions. While it is the traditional element itself that obscures this—as the evil/unspecified dichotomy eventually became a tradition of its own—the standardised sequence was not formed by selecting demons under a single criterion. Whether only the “evil” demons are enumerated or further demons are included may be governed by more practical considerations such as the length of the incantation as a whole.

Second, the ritual narratives reconstructed for *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* illustrate the importance of the mythological conception of the demon to the composition. The harmful bond between patient and demon is dissolved as if the latter had married the former, and the demon is sent into the netherworld by providing the funeral offerings that would have ordinarily been given by descendants. Both ritual steps are informed by the idea of *Eṭel* and *Ardat Lilî* as young persons who died without issue.

On the other hand, we have seen that the idea of a demon on the hunt for a spouse and family is itself subordinated to the practical importance of securing the patient's recovery in all possible ways. As demonstrated by diagnostic literature, there is a certain degree of gender polarity in diagnoses of a male or female *Lilû*—but there are also instances of *Lilû*-diseases that are not gender-specific. Similarly, the series *Eṭel Lilî*, *Ardat Lilî* frees the patient not only from the evil effects of *Ardat Lilî*, but also from those of *Eṭel Lilî*.

While the main contribution of this dissertation to the field of Mesopotamian demonology rests on its three individual parts, the thesis as a whole therefore supports the idea that discussions of a demon's role should not only take into consideration the demon's mythological conception, but also the history and specific individual purpose of the text under discussion.

⁴³⁹ Geller (2016) 11.

App. 1: demon sequence attestations in ritual series after the Old Babylonian period

demons 1–4	demons 1–6	demons 1–12	demons 1–15	demons 1–5
a ₂ -sag ₃ gig-ga IV 3'-7*	a ₂ -sag ₃ gig-ga III 32"*	Bit mēseri II 80–84	Bit rimki VI 32–35*	a ₂ -sag ₃ gig-ga IX 5-14* //
			Bit rimki III 49–52*	a ₂ -sag ₃ gig-ga X 5–14*
Compendium 6: 1–8	Compendium 21: 1–12 // udug ħul VII 152f	Maqlû II 52–56	udug ħul XVI 162'	
	Compendium 9: 1–4	Maqlû V 60–67	Sag-ba I 15–22	
Muššu ^u VII 61 //				
udug ħul VII 126	Compendium 9: 32–34	Šēp lemuti 1–4	udug ħul II 63–66	demons 1–8
udug ħul VII 27f	nam-erim ₂ -bur ₂ -ru-da 40–44: 36–41	udug ħul X 23–34	udug ħul III 138–41	udug ħul VII 20–22
udug ħul VII 52f	nam-erim ₂ -bur ₂ -ru-da 40–44: 50–55	udug ħul X 51–62	udug ħul VI 40–54	
udug ħul VII 69	Šurpu IX 81	udug ħul X 7–19	udug ħul VI 58–61	demons 1–9
udug ħul VII 88		udug ħul XI 1–4	udug ħul IX 78–88'	Bit rimki III 21–30*
udug ħul VII 91				
udug ħul VII 126 //	udug ħul III 72	udug ħul XIII–XV 177–79	udug ħul XIII–XV 137–39	Šurpu IV 45–54
Muššu ^u VII 61			udug ħul XIII–XV 221'–24'	udug ħul IV 68f
udug ħul VII 128f	udug ħul III 90		udug ħul XVI 168'–71'	udug ħul XII 99f
udug ħul VII 134	udug ħul III 113			
udug ħul VII 140–44	udug ħul III 118			
udug ħul VII 152f //	udug ħul V 91			
Compendium 21: 1–12				
udug ħul XVI 102'	udug ħul V 104			
udug ħul XVI 152f	udug ħul VI 177'			
	udug ħul IX 19'			
	udug ħul XIII–XV 110'			
	udug ħul XVI 93'			
	udug ħul XVI 132'			
	udug ħul XVI 186'			

non-continuous

a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI 28f*
(1–3, 7–8)
a₂-sag₃ gig-ga XI 34f*
(1–3, 7–8)
udug ħul III 31–35
(1–4, 7–8, 10)

Bibliography

Editions used

- ABL 688 S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (= State Archives of Assyria 10), Helsinki 1993.
- a₂-sag₃ gig-ga W. Schramm, *Sumerisch-akkadische Beschwörungstexte. Die Serien Ersatzbildnis und Schlimmer Asag*. Göttingen (unpublished manuscript).
- Bīt mēseri II G. Meier, “Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14 (1941–1944), pp. 140–152.
- Bīt rimki R. Borger, unpublished and undated edition of Bīt rimki, ms. stored in the collections of Trinity College Dublin.
- CMAwR II T. Abusch/D. Schwemer, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Volume 2* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 8/2), Leiden/Boston 2016.
- Compendium W. Schramm, *Ein Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen* (= Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 2), Göttingen 2008.
- Epic of Anzû B. Hruška, *Der Mythenadler Anzu in Literatur und Vorstellung des alten Mesopotamien*, Budapest 1975.
- Epic of Erra L. Cagni, *L’Epopée di Erra* (= Studia Semitica 34), Rom 1969.
- Geierstele D. R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)* (= The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods Volume 1), Toronto/Buffalo/London 2008, pp. 126–140.
- Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld A. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, critical edition and cuneiform texts. Volume II*, Oxford 2003.
- Hdt. A. D. Godley, *Herodotos: Historien* (= Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Mass./ London 1920.
- Inanna and Šukaletuda K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes* (= Santag 3), Wiesbaden 1995.
- Lamaštu W. Farber, *Lamaštu. An edition of the canonical series of Lamaštu incantations and rituals and related texts from the second and first millennia B.C.* (= Mesopotamian Civilizations 17), Winona Lake 2014.
- lugal-e J. van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL. Le récit épique et didactique des Travaux de Ninurta, du Déluge et de la Nouvelle Création. Texte, traduction et introduction*, Leiden 1983.

<i>Maqlû</i>	T. Abusch, <i>The Magical Ceremony Maqlû</i> (= Ancient Magic and Divination 10), Leiden/Boston 2016.
<i>Mīs Pî</i>	C. Walker/M. Dick, <i>The induction of the cult image in Ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian Mīs Pî Ritual. Transliteration, translation, and commentary</i> (= State Archives of Assyria. Literary Texts 1), Helsinki 2001.
<i>Muššu²u</i>	B. Böck, <i>Das Handbuch Muššu²u "Einreibung."</i> Eine Serie sumerischer und akkadischer Beschwörungen aus dem 1. Jt. vor Chr (= Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 3), Madrid 2007.
<i>Muššu²u</i> Rit.	B. Böck, "When you perform the ritual of "Rubbing": On medicine and magic in ancient Mesopotamia," <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> 62 (2003), pp. 1–16.
nam-erim₂-bur₂-ru-da	S. Maul, <i>Bannlösung (nam-érim-búr-ru-da). Die Therapie eines auf eidliche Falschaussage zurückgeführten Leidens</i> (= Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 155), Wiesbaden 2019.
<i>The Ninegalla-Hymn</i>	H. Behrens, <i>Die Ninegalla-Hymne. Die Wohnungnahme Inannas in Nippur in altbabylonischer Zeit</i> (= Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 21), Stuttgart 1998.
Petron.	K. Müller/W. Ehlers, <i>Satyrice: Schelmenszenen</i> , 1995.
saṅ-ba, saṅ-ba	W. Schramm, <i>Bann, Bann! Eine sumerisch-akkadische Beschwörungsserie</i> (= Göttinger Arbeitshefte zur altorientalischen Literatur 2), Göttingen 2001.
SAA 16	M. Luukko/G. van Buylaere, <i>The political correspondence of Esarhaddon</i> (= State Archives of Assyria 16), Helsinki 2002.
Standard Babylonian <i>Gilgameš</i>	A. George, <i>The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, critical edition and cuneiform texts. Volume I</i> , Oxford 2003.
<i>Šēp lemutti</i>	F. A. M. Wiggermann, <i>Mesopotamian protective spirits. The ritual texts</i> (= Cuneiform Monographs 1), Groningen 1992.
<i>Šurpu</i>	E. Reiner, <i>Šurpu. A collection of Sumerian and Akkadian incantations</i> (= Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 11), Osnabrück 1970.
udug ḫul	M. J. Geller, <i>Healing magic and evil demons. Canonical Uduḫul incantations</i> (= Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 8), Boston/Berlin 2016.
udug ḫul <i>Forerunners</i>	M. J. Geller, <i>Forerunners to Uduḫul. Sumerian exorcistic incantations</i> (= Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 12), Stuttgart 1985.

Works cited

- Abusch (1989) T. Abusch, “The demonic image of the witch in Standard Babylonian literature: The reworking of popular conceptions by learned exorcists,” in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Religion, science, and magic in concert and in conflict*, New York/Oxford 1989, pp. 27–58.
- Abusch (2016) T. Abusch, *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû. A critical edition* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 10), Leiden/Boston 2016.
- Ambos (2004) C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Dresden 2004.
- Ambos (2013) C. Ambos, *Der König im Gefängnis und das Neujahrsfest im Herbst. Mechanismen der Legitimation des babylonischen Herrschers im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. und ihre Geschichte*, Dresden 2013.
- Attinger (2004) P. Attinger, “Les préfixes personnels finaux,” in *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (2004) fasc. 3, pp. 75–77.
- Attinger (2005) P. Attinger, “A propos de AK ‘faire’ (I),” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 95 (2005), pp. 46–64.
- Attinger (2021) P. Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*, Wiesbaden 2021.
- Baragli (2022) B. Baragli, *Sonnengrüße. Die sumerischen Kiutu-Gebetsbeschwörungen* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 19), Leiden/Boston 2022.
- Barkowsky (2024a) M. Barkowsky, “A standardised demon sequence,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 114 (2024), pp. 192–202.
- Barkowsky (2024b) M. Barkowsky, “Ritual instructions in the series *Lamaštu*,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 83 (2024), pp. 197–209.
- Behrens (1998) H. Behrens, *Die Ninegalla-Hymne. Die Wohnungnahme Inannas in Nippur in altbabylonischer Zeit* (= Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 21), Stuttgart 1998.
- Beltz (2023) J. Beltz, *Namtar: Deity, Demon, Agent of Fate*, dissertation at Yale University, New Haven 2023.
- Beltz (2025) J. Beltz, “Everyday magic? Four Sumerian *zi ... pa*₃ incantations on amulets,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 77 (2025), pp. 97–121.

- Bezold (1886) C. Bezold, *Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur nebst einem chronologischen Excurs, zwei Registern und einem Index zu 1700 Thontafeln des British-Museum's*, Leipzig 1886.
- Bezold (1891) C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. Volume II*, London 1891.
- Bezold (1896) C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. Volume IV*, London 1896.
- Böck (2003) B. Böck, “‘When you perform the ritual of “Rubbing”’: On medicine and magic in ancient Mesopotamia,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62 (2003), pp. 1–16.
- Borger (1969) R. Borger, “Die erste Teiltafel der zi-pà-Beschwörungen (ASKT 11), in: W. Röllig (ed.), *lišān mithurti. Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19.VI.1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern* (= *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 1), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, pp. 1–22.
- Bottéro (1987–1990) J. Bottéro, “Magie A. In Mesopotamien,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (1987–1990), pp. 200–234.
- Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi (1995) A. Cavigneaux/F. N. H. Al-Rawi, “Textes Magiques de Tell Haddad,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 85, pp. 169–220.
- Conti (1997) G. Conti, “Incantation de l’eau bénite et de l’encensoir et textes connexes,” *Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires* 8 (1997), pp. 253–272.
- Cunningham (1997) G. Cunningham, “*Deliver me from evil.*” *Mesopotamian incantations 2500–1500 BC* (= *Studia Pohl series maior* 17), Rome 1997.
- Dijk/Hussey (1985) J. van Dijk/M. I. Hussey, *Early Mesopotamian incantations and rituals* (= *Yale Oriental Series* 11), New Haven/London 1985.
- Ebeling (1953) E. Ebeling, “Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln teils in sumerisch-akkadischer, teils in sumerischer oder akkadischer Sprache,” *Archiv Orientalní* 21 (1953), pp. 347–423.
- Edzard (1962) D. O. Edzard, “Sumerische Komposita mit dem ‘Nominalpräfix’ nu-,” in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 55 (1962), pp. 91–112.

- Edzard (1974) D. O. Edzard, "Zum sumerischen Eid," in: S. J. Lieberman (ed.), *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday. June 7, 1974* (=The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Assyriological Studies 20), Chicago/London 1976, pp. 63–98.
- Edzard (2000) D. O. Edzard, "Wann ist Sumerisch als gesprochene Sprache ausgestorben?" *Acta Sumerologica* 22 (2000), pp. 53–70.
- Falkenstein (1931) A. Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht* (= Leipziger Semitistische Studien Neue Folge 1), Leipzig 1931.
- Farber (1977) W. Farber, *Beschwörrungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi. attī Ištar ša ħarmaša Dumuzi* (= Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission 30), Wiesbaden 1977.
- Farber (1987–1990) W. Farber, "Lilû, Lilîtu, Ardat lilî," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7 (1987–1990), pp. 23–24.
- Farber (1989) W. Farber, "(W)ardat lilî(m)," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 79 (1989), pp. 14–35.
- Farber (2014) W. Farber, *Lamaštu. An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.* (= Mesopotamian Civilizations 17), Winona Lake 2014.
- Finkel (2018) I. Finkel, "Amulets against Fever," in: S. Panayotov/Luděk Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 14), Leiden/Boston 2018, pp. 232–271.
- Finkelstein (1967) J. J. Finkelstein, "ana bīt emim šasū," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 61 (1967), pp. 127–136.
- Fossey (1902) C. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne. Étude, suivie de textes magiques transcrits, traduits et commentés* (= Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences religieuses 15), Paris 1902.
- Foster (1993) B. Foster, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, Volume 2, Bethesda 1993.
- Foster (1996) B. Foster, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, Volume 2, Bethesda 1996 (2nd ed.).
- Geller (1985) M. J. Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-Hul. Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations* (= Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 12), Stuttgart 1985.

- Geller (1988) M. J. Geller, “New Duplicates to SBTU II,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 35 (1988), pp. 1–23.
- Geller (2000) M. J. Geller, “Incipits and rubrics,” in: A. R. George/I. Finkel (eds.): *Wisdom, gods and literature. Studies in Assyriology in honour of W. G. Lambert*, Winona Lake 2000, pp. 225–258.
- Geller (2007) M. J. Geller, *Evil demons. Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu incantations* (= State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 5), Helsinki 2007.
- Geller (2011a) M. J. Geller, “The faceless Udug-demon,” *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 77 (2011), pp. 333–341.
- Geller (2011b) M. J. Geller, [review of Schramm 2008], *Archiv für Orientforschung* 52 (2011), pp. 252–257.
- Geller (2016) M. J. Geller, *Healing magic and evil demons. Canonical Udug-hul incantations* (= Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 8), Boston/Berlin 2016.
- Geller (2018) M. J. Geller, “The Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44),” in U. Steinert (ed.): *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues. Medicine, Magic and Divination* (= Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9), Boston/Berlin 2018, pp. 292–312.
- George (2003) A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, critical edition and cuneiform texts*, 2 volumes, Oxford 2003.
- George (2016) A. R. George, *Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (= Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 32), Bethesda 2016.
- George (2018) A. R. George, “Kamadme, the Sumerian counterpart of the demon Lamaštu,” in: G. van Buylaere et al. (eds.), *Sources of evil. Studies in Mesopotamian exorcistic lore* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 15), Leiden/Boston, 150–155.
- Goodnick Westenholz (1989) J. Goodnick Westenholz, “Tamar, *qēdēšā*, *qadištu*, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia,” *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989), pp. 245–265.
- Greengus (1966) S. Greengus, “Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20 (1966), pp. 55–72.
- Greengus (1969) S. Greengus, “The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969), pp. 505–532.
- Groneberg (1990) B. Groneberg, “Zu den mesopotamischen Unterweltsvorstellungen: Das Jenseits als Fortsetzung des Diesseits,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 17, 244–261.

- Groneberg (1997) B. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar. Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin. Tanatti Ištar* (Cuneiform Monographs 8), Groningen 1997.
- Hackl (2021) J. Hackl, “Late Babylonian,” in: J.-P. Vita (ed.), *History of the Akkadian Language* (= Handbook of Oriental Studies 152), Volume 1, Leiden/Boston 2021, pp. 1431–1458.
- Hecker (2008) K. Hecker, “Jüngere Beschwörungen und Rituale,” in: T. Abusch et al. (eds.), *Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen* (= Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments Neue Folge 4), Gütersloh 2008, pp. 76–127.
- Heeßel (2000) N. P. Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik* (= Alter Orient und Altes Testament 43), Münster 2000.
- Heeßel (2007) N. P. Heeßel, “The Hands of the Gods,” in: I. Finkel/M. J. Geller (eds.), *Disease in Babylonia* (= Cuneiform Monographs 36), Leiden/Boston 2007, pp. 120–130.
- Heeßel (2023) N. P. Heeßel, “Der ‘Leitfaden der Beschwörungskunst’ in Assur,” in kullat tupšarrūti: *Festschrift für Stefan M. Maul*, C. Ambos et al. (eds.), Wiesbaden 2023, 289–305.
- Hess (2020) C. W. Hess, “Standard Babylonian,” in: R. Hasselbach-Andee (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages* (= Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Hoboken 2020, pp. 473–488.
- Hess (2021) C. W. Hess, “(Early) Neo-Babylonian,” in: J.-P. Vita (ed.), *History of the Akkadian Language* (= Handbook of Oriental Studies 152), Volume 1, Leiden/Boston 2021, pp. 1396–1430.
- Horowitz (1998) W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian cosmic geography* (= Mesopotamian Civilizations), Winona Lake 1998.
- Hoskins (2024) A. Hoskins, *Living in a Culture of the Past: The Life and Work of a Scribe in Hellenistic Uruk*, dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley 2024.
- Huber (2001) F. Huber, “La Correspondance Royale d’Ur, un corpus apocryphe,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 91 (2001), pp. 169–206.
- Hunger (1968) H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (= Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968.
- Jacobsen (1970) T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture* (Harvard Semitic Series 21), Cambridge, Mass. 1970.
- Jagersma (2010) B. Jagersma, *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, dissertation at the University of Leiden, Leiden 2010.

- Jiménez/Rozzi (2024) E. Jiménez and G. Rozzi, *Story of the Flood (Atraḥasīs) Chapter Old Babylonian I. With contributions by A. C. Heinrich and F. Müller. Translated by Benjamin R. Foster*, electronic Babylonian Library (2024), <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/1/1/OB/I> Consulted 19th June 2025.
- Jonker (1995) G. Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance. The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (= Studies in the History of Religions 68), Leiden/New York/Köln 1995.
- Köcher (1966) F. Köcher, *Beschwörungen gegen die Dämonin Lamaštu*, dissertation at the [Humboldt-]Universität zu Berlin, Berlin 1949.
- Konstantopoulos (2023) G. Konstantopoulos, *The Divine/Demonic Seven and the Place of Demons in Mesopotamia* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 20), Leiden/Boston 2023.
- Lackenbacher (1971) S. Lackenbacher, “Note sur l’Ardat Lili,” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 65 (1971), pp. 119–154.
- Lambert (1992) W. G. Lambert, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. Third Supplement*, London 1992.
- Lambert (2002) W. G. Lambert, “A rare exorcistic fragment,” in T. Abusch (ed.), *Riches hidden in secret places. Ancient Near Eastern studies in memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, Winona Lake 2002, pp. 203–209.
- Lambert/Gurney (1954) W. G. Lambert/O.R. Gurney, “The Sultantepe Tablets (continued). III. The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer. ‘I will praise the lord of wisdom’,” *Anatolian Studies* 4 (1954) pp. 65–99.
- Landsberger (1968) B. Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema ‘Beilager und Eheschliessung’,” in J. A. Ankum et al. (eds.), *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino David dedicatae*, Leiden 1968, pp. 41–105.
- Langdon (1911) S. Langdon, “Grammatical treatises upon a religious text concerning the *ardat lili*,” *Babyloniaca* 4 (1911), pp. 187–191.
- Leichty et al. (2016) E. Leichty et al., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Volumes 4–5* (= dubsar 10), Münster 2019.
- Leonhardt (2024) H. Leonhardt, *Neuassyrische Grammatik* (= Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 16), Wiesbaden 2024.
- Luukko/van Buylaere (2002) M. Luukko/G. van Buylaere, *The political correspondence of Esarhaddon* (= State Archives of Assyria 16), Helsinki 2002.

- Marti (2007) L. Marti, "Des sissiktum à Munbâqa," *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2007, pp. 20–21.
- Maul (1988) S. Maul, 'Herzberuhigungsklagen'. *Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete*, Wiesbaden 1988.
- Maul (2013) S. Maul, *Die Wahrsagekunst im Alten Orient. Zeichen des Himmels und der Erde*, München 2013.
- Maul (2019) S. Maul, *Bannlösung (nam-érim-búr-ru-da). Die Therapie eines auf eidliche Falschaussage zurückgeführten Leidens* (= Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 155), Wiesbaden 2019.
- Meek (1920) T. J. Meek, "Some explanatory lists and grammatical texts," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 17 (1920), pp. 117–206.
- Meißner (1920) B. Meißner, *Assyriologische Forschungen II* (= Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen II, 1), Breslau 1920.
- Michalowski (2020) P. Michalowski, "Sumerian," in: R. Hasselbach-Andee (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages* (= Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Hoboken 2020, pp. 85–105.
- Mirelman (2018) S. Mirelman, "Mesopotamian magic in text and performance," in S. V. Panayotov/L. Vacín (eds.), *Mesopotamian medicine and magic: Studies in honour of Markham J. Geller* (= Ancient Magic and Divination 14), Leiden 2018, pp. 343–378.
- Myhrman (1902) D. W. Myhrman, "Die Labartu-Texte: Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 16 (1902), pp. 141–200.
- Oates (1957) D. Oates, "Ezida: The temple of Nabu," *Iraq* 19 (1957), pp. 26–39.
- Patai (1968) R. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, New York (1968).
- Pedersén (1986) O. Pedersén, *Archives and libraries in the city of Assur. A survey of the material from the German excavations. Part II* (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 8), Uppsala 1986.
- Pinches (1893) T. G. Pinches, "Notes upon some of the recent discoveries in the realm of Assyriology, with special reference to the private life of the Babylonians," *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 26 (1893), pp. 123–171.

- Postgate (2005) J. N. Postgate, “Palast. Einleitung,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 10 (2005), pp. 195–200.
- Radau (1913) H. Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumu-Zi or Babylonian Lenten Songs from the Temple Library of Nippur* (= The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts 30/1), Munich 1913.
- Reade (1986) J. E. Reade, “Introduction. Rassam’s Babylonian collection: The excavation and the archives,” in: E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Volume VI: Tablets from Sippar 1*, London 1986.
- Römer (2001) W. H. Ph. Römer, *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache* (= Alter Orient und Altes Testament 276), Münster 2001.
- Schmidtchen (2021) E. Schmidtchen, *Mesopotamische Diagnostik. Untersuchungen zu Rekonstruktion, Terminologie und Systematik des babylonisch-assyrischen Diagnosenhandbuches und eine Neubearbeitung der Tafeln 3–4* (= Die Babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 13), Berlin/Boston 2021.
- Schwemer (2017) D. Schwemer, *The anti-witchcraft ritual Maqlû. The cuneiform sources of a magic ceremony from ancient Mesopotamia*, Wiesbaden 2017.
- Schwemer (2019) D. Schwemer, *Der kontraintuitive König: Zum babylonisch-assyrischen Badehaus-Ritual*, Stuttgart 2019.
- Schwemer (2023) D. Schwemer, “Bīt mēseri at Aššur,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 113 (2023), pp. 51–72.
- Scurlock (2014) J. Scurlock, *Sourcebook of ancient Mesopotamian medicine* (= Writings from the Ancient World 15), Atlanta 2014.
- Scurlock/Andersen (2005) J. Scurlock/B. R. Andersen, *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian medicine. Ancient sources, translations, and modern medical analyses*, Chicago 2005.
- Simons (2024) F. Simons, “Šurpu—The missing tablet,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 83 (2024), pp. 277–294.
- Sladek (1974) W. R. Sladek, *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld*, dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 1974.
- Stol (1993) M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (= Cuneiform Monographs 2), Groningen 1993.

- Streck (2021) M. P. Streck, “Akkadian and Cuneiform,” in: J.-P. Vita (ed.), *History of the Akkadian Language. Volume 1* (= Handbook of Oriental Studies 152.1), Leiden/Boston 2021, pp. 66–74.
- Streck (2022) M. P. Streck, *Old Babylonian Grammar. Volume 1* (= Handbuch der Orientalistik 108.1), Leiden/Boston 2022.
- Tallqvist (1934) K. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* (= Studia Orientalia 4), Helsinki 1934.
- Thomsen (1984) M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language. An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure* (= Mesopotamia. Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 10), Copenhagen 1984.
- Thompson (1903) R. C. Thompson, *The devils and evil spirits of Babylonia, being Babylonian and Assyrian incantations against the demons, ghouls, vampires, hobgoblins, ghosts, and kindred evil spirits, which attack mankind. Volume 1: Evil spirits*, London 1903.
- Tonietti (1979) M. V. Tonietti, “Un incantesimo sumerico contro la Lamaštu,” *Orientalia nova series* 48 (1979), pp. 301–323.
- Tsukimoto (1985) A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (= Alter Orient und Altes Testament 216), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985.
- Veenhof (1990) K. Veenhof, “De interpretatie van de Atrachasis-mythe, een Babylonische oergeschiedenis,” in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 44 (1990), pp. 177–197.
- von Soden (1995)³ W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (= Analecta Orientalia 33), Rome 1995 (3rd revised ed.)
- von Weiher (1983) E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Teil II* (= Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 10), Berlin 1983.
- von Weiher (1998) E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18. Teil V* (= Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte 13), Mainz 1998.
- Volk (1995) K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes* (= Santag 3), Wiesbaden 1995.
- Walker/Dick (2001) C. Walker/M. Dick, *The induction of the cult image in Ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian Miš Pî Ritual. Transliteration, translation, and commentary* (= State Archives of Assyria. Literary Texts 1), Helsinki 2001.

- Westbrook (2003) R. Westbrook, “Old Babylonian Period,” in: R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law. Volume 1* (= Handbuch der Orientalistik 72.1), Leiden/Boston 2003, pp. 361–430.
- Wiggermann (1983) F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Lamaštu, Dochter van Anu,” in M. Stol, *Zwangerschap en Geboorte bij de Babyloniërs en in de Bijbel* (= Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux” 23), Leiden 1983, pp. 95–116.
- Wiggermann (1992) F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian protective spirits. The ritual texts* (= Cuneiform Monographs 1), Groningen 1992.
- Wiggermann (2000) F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Lamaštu, daughter of Anu. A profile,” in M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible. Its Mediterranean setting* (= Cuneiform Monographs, Groningen 2000, pp. 217–253.
- Wiseman/Black (1996) D. J. Wiseman/J. A. Black, *Literary texts from the temple of Nabû* (= Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 4), London 1996.
- Zimmern (1915–1916) H. Zimmern, “Zu den ‘Keilschrifttexten aus Assur religiösen Inhalts’,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 30 (1915–1916), pp. 184–228.
- Zomer (2018) E. Zomer, *Corpus of Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian incantations* (= Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 9), Wiesbaden 2018.

Dictionaries

- AHw *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1958–1981 (3 volumes).
- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, 1956–2010 (20 volumes).
- CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (= SANTAG 5), Wiesbaden 2000 (2nd, corrected printing).
- Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008)¹¹ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 11th edition*, Oxford (2008). Accessed through www.proquest.com.