

## THE OLD ASSYRIAN INCANTATION TABLET KT 91/K 502

N. J. C. KOUWENBERG\*

The Old Assyrian (henceforth: OA) tablet Kt 91/k 502 contains two incantations, the first of which concerns a *diqārum*, a kind of a pot or jar, and the second a *libbum* ‘heart’ or ‘belly’ (see Section 5). Their combination on a single tablet suggests that they are related in contents, but they both raise serious problems of interpretation, and the text itself offers very few clues about their function. It is mainly on the basis of Babylonian parallels that we can surmise that they have a medical purpose.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. *Find spot and archive*

Tablet Kt 91/k 502 (48 x 48 x 12 mm) belongs to the archive of the OA trader Elamma, son of Iddin-Suen, which was recently edited by K. R. Veenhof (2017). The archive, excavated in 1991, was situated in Elamma’s heavily burnt and damaged house in grid square LXVI/127-128 of what is called level II of the lower town of Kültepe/Kanesh. According to the excavator, Elamma’s tablets were found “along the base of the east wall of room 3 and in rooms 4-5, in groups once packed in boxes, bags, sacks and straw mats.” (T. Özgüç 1994, 369; see *ibid.* 371 and Veenhof 2017, XXV for a ground plan of the house). Unfortunately, in the absence of an excavation report it is unknown in which room and where exactly this incantation tablet, which is by nature different from the archival texts reflecting the owner’s business, was found.

### 2. *Transliteration and translation*

The two incantations of Kt 91/k 502, which are separated by a double lining, will be indicated here as A (lines 1-15) and B (lines 16-31).

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\* N. J. C. Kouwenberg, Bloemendaal; author’s e-mail: bertkouwenberg@gmail.com.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Klaas Veenhof for allowing me to edit this tablet from the Elamma archive, which he published in AKT 8 (Veenhof 2017) and to use his photographs and copy. I also thank several other colleagues for help: Jan Gerrit Dercksen for directing me to relevant but non-obvious literature and a critical reading of the manuscript; Hakan Erol for providing additional photographs of the tablet; Cécile Michel for critical comments and useful suggestions; Marten Stol for lexical assistance; and Nathan Wasserman for reading the manuscript and in particular for pointing out to me the relevance of the Babylonian incantation CT 4, 8a for the text published here. Abbreviations are those current in Assyriological literature (GOA = Kouwenberg 2017).



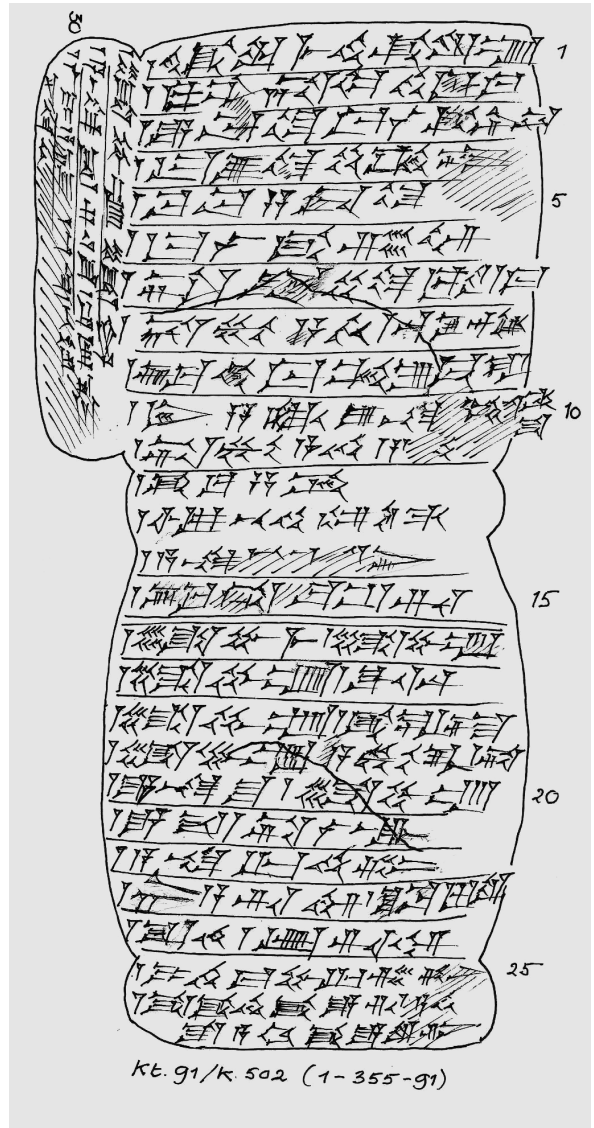
Obverse



Reverse



Left edge



Kt. 91/k. 502 (1-355-91)

Transliteration:<sup>2</sup>

Obv.1 | *dí-qá-ru-mì dí-qá-ru-um*  
 | *ku-ub-ta-ki!*(sign DI) *tí-lu-ma*  
 | *e-pá-ki ma-lá ga-ni-nem*  
 | *ma-ú-ki tí-am-tum*  
 5 | *Ba-Ba-Za-tù-ki*  
 | *ma-lá Ga-Ze-em*  
 | *ta- x -DÍ-ki Ku-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 | *ta-mu-a-tí : AN ú AN-tám*  
 | *La<sub>1</sub>-aḥ-ma-am ú Du-ra-/am*  
 10 | *er-ša-tám ú na-<sup>r</sup>i-le<sup>1</sup>-/ša*  
 | *ta-mu-a-tí : a-<sup>r</sup>dí<sup>r</sup>*  
 Lo.E. | *Ga-Ku-Za-am*  
 | *ù pì-tí-il<sub>5</sub>-tám*  
 | *a-na-<sup>r</sup>dí-ú-ke<sup>1</sup>-ni*  
 Rev.15 | *la<sub>1</sub> ta-pá-šé-ri*

(double lining)

| *li-bu-mì : li-bu-um*  
 | *li-bu-um : da-an*  
 | *li-bu-um qá-ra-ad*  
 | *li-bu-um a-mu-ra-ta*  
 20 | *e-na-šu : li-bu-um*  
 | *e-iš ta-lá-ak*  
 | *a-na ur-de<sub>8</sub>-tem*  
 | *ni-a-re-em : ŠU BA LU RU*  
 | *iš-té : IB-re-em*  
 U.E.25 | *i-dí-ma pu-ur-sí-DIM*  
 | *ša qá-té-kà e-ri-<sup>r</sup>a-té<sup>r</sup>*  
 | *ša a-ḥe-kà e-ru-tem*  
 LE. | *li-bu-um li-tur<sub>4</sub>*  
 | *a-na iš-ri-šu : ší-ip-tum*  
 30 | *lá i-a-tum <sup>r</sup>ší-pá-at<sup>1</sup>? be-el*  
 | *Ni-<sup>r</sup>ki-li<sup>1</sup>?-[il<sub>5</sub>?]*

## Translation of A (lines 1-15):

<sup>1</sup>Pot, oh pot! <sup>2</sup>Your weight is (like that of) a tell; <sup>3</sup>your bulk is equal to a storeroom; <sup>4</sup>your water is the sea; <sup>5</sup>your ...s are <sup>6</sup>equal to ...; <sup>7</sup>your ... is .... <sup>8</sup>You have been made to swear by Anum and Antum, <sup>9</sup>by Laḥmum and Durum, <sup>10</sup>by the earth and its water courses: <sup>11</sup>you have been made to swear (that) until <sup>14</sup>I put <sup>12</sup>a lid(?) and <sup>13</sup>a string on you, <sup>15</sup>you shall not come loose(?).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The vertical slash | at the beginning of each line of the transliteration represents the vertical wedge which starts each line on the tablet and which is more common as a word divider (also in this text, indicated as :). Capital letters in the transliteration indicate that the nature of the stop or sibilant in question is unknown: G = k/g/q, Z = s/z/š, etc.

Translation of B (lines 16-31):

<sup>16</sup>Heart, oh heart! <sup>17</sup>The heart is strong; <sup>18</sup>the heart is heroic; <sup>19</sup>the heart, radiant(?) are <sup>20</sup>its eyes. <sup>21</sup>“Heart, where are you going? <sup>23</sup>In order to kill <sup>22</sup>a/the young woman?” <sup>23</sup>Put ... <sup>25</sup>together <sup>24</sup>with dust(?) (in?) a bowl (made) <sup>26</sup>of your empty/bare hands, <sup>27</sup>of your ... arms: <sup>28</sup>may (then) the heart go back <sup>29</sup>to its place. The incantation is <sup>30</sup>not mine, (it is) the incantation of the lord <of incantations>(?), Nikkilil.’

### 3. Structure

Before embarking on a detailed philological commentary, it seems useful to discuss the structure of the two incantations brought together on Kt 91/k 502 and its commonalities with other incantations. This structure contains the following elements:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) An invocation that consists of noun + *-mi* + noun, which introduces the topic of the incantation in the form of a vocative, hence the use of *-mi* (Wasserman 2012, 188-193). OA parallels are *e-nu-mi* | *e-nu-um* ‘Eye, oh eye!’ (Kt 94/k 520: 1) and *gi-mi g[i]* ‘Reed, oh reed!’ (Kt a/k 320: 1). Babylonian parallels include *er-šé-tum-mi er-šé-tum* ‘Earth, Oh earth!’ (Landsberger and Jacobsen 1955, 15: 1) and [*ú-zu*]-*ú-mi ú-z[u-um]* ‘Fury, oh fury!’ (UET 6, 399: 1). In Babylonian, instances without *-mi* occur as well, e.g. *uz-z[u-u]m uz-zu-um* (Wilcke 1985, 202: 85).<sup>4</sup>
- (2) A description of features, activities and/or the habitat of the topic entity.
- (3) A passage stating the purpose of the incantation. In the case of evil powers, the topic entity is exhorted, asked or commanded to go away or cease its activity (Kt a/k 611: 22-24 and Kt 94/k 520: 16-24, but missing in Kt 94/k 821).
- (4) Finally, a formulaic coda, which usually states that the incantation is not “mine”, i.e. of the person who recites the text, but of a god, the “*šiptum*-phrase”. This is lacking in A, perhaps because its inclusion in B was deemed sufficient for the whole tablet. The name of the god in question is only partly preserved, see the comments below.

A typical element that is conspicuously lacking on Kt 91/k 502 is the “*mannam lušpur* formula” (OA *mannam lašpur*), studied by Farber (1990). It occurs in four other OA incantations: BM 113625 (CCT 5, 50e): 5’-13’; Kt 94/k 429: 6-13; Kt 90/k 178: 8-12; and Kt a/k 611: 8-16. The first three are actually variations on the same theme, see Barjamovic 2015, 55-59.

Thus, our two incantations can be divided as follows:

- A: Invocation (line 1), description of properties (weight, size, capacity) and/or habitat (?) (2-7), a reminder that the pot is under oath (8-15).

<sup>3</sup> The OA incantations are referred to here by their museum number and can be found in the following publications: Kt a/k 320 in Hecker 1996; Kt a/k 611 in Veenhof 1996; Kt 90/k 178 in Michel 2004; Kt 94/k 429 in Barjamovic 2015: 75-76; Kt 94/k 520 in Barjamovic and Larsen 2008; Kt 94/k 821 in Michel 1997; BM 113625 (CCT 5, 50e) in Kouwenberg and Fincke 2012/13; and NBC 3672 (BIN 4, 126) in von Soden 1956.

<sup>4</sup> Other OA incantations introduce their topic without *-mi*, but accompanied by one or more nouns that are etymologically related to the topic noun or by a play of words (paronomasia): *da-mu-um da-ma-mu-um* (Kt a/k 611: 1, an incantation against a dog, with *damum* = ‘blood’?); *ar-ḥu-um a-ra-aḥ a-ra-aḥ-tum ar-ḥa-at* (Kt 90/k 178: 1-2, an incantation to ease child-birth, where *arḥum* seems to be a word play with the homonyms *arḥum* ‘cow’ and *arḥum* ‘quick’ in Masc and Fem (Michel 2004, 401-404); *e-er-qú-um e-ri-iq e-ri-iq-tum e-er-qá-at* (ibidem 24-25, a similar play on words with *erqum* = *warqum* ‘green, yellow’). The OA incantations against the Lamaštum-demon show a different incipit: they start with a description of Lamaštum (NBC 3672: 1-7 and Kt 94/k 821: 1-4).

B: Invocation (line 16), description of habitat and properties (17-20), a question about its intentions (21-23); a kind of ritual (24-27); a wish that the “heart” will go back to its right place or condition (28-29); and finally the *šiptum*-phrase (29-31).

#### 4. *Philological commentary to incantation A:*

A *diqārum* (mostly feminine gender, plural *diqārātum*) is a clay or bronze pot or bowl with a round bottom (so that it requires a stand), mainly used for cooking and preparing potions (CAD D, 157-159; A. Salonen 1966, 71-79; Sallaberger 1996, 82-83, with a photograph on Tf. 4 No. 2). However, a comparison with incantations with a similar topic suggests that the *diqārum* meant here is a large pot used for beer making, which in Babylonian is called *nam-zītum*, see Section 6 below.<sup>5</sup>

Line 1. *diqārummi diqārum* ‘Pot, oh pot!’

See above for this kind of incipit. It should be noted, that in OA the use of *-mi* is otherwise almost unattested, with only one possible instance outside the incantations (*e taqbi ša-zu-uz-tù-mì anāku* (*-mì* coll. J. G. Dercksen) ‘do not say: “I am an agent”’ (AKT 3, 98: 17-18). In literary Babylonian, it is quite common, see Wasserman 2012, 179-205.

*Diqārum* is a rare word in OA: apart from this instance, it only occurs in a list of household utensils: *4 dī-qá-ra-tem* ‘4 *diqārum*-pots’ (BIN 4, 118: 4 = Ulshöfer 1995, 270). This may not be very significant, however, since the OA merchants are only rarely concerned with mundane objects without commercial value.

Line 2. *Ku-uB-Ta-ki<sup>1</sup> tí-lu-ma* ‘your weight is (like that of) a tell’

The second part of this incantation describes properties and/or the habitat of the *diqārum*, but lexical problems make part of it incomprehensible. For the first word of line 2, *Ku-uB-Ta-ki<sup>1</sup>*,<sup>6</sup> a derivation from *kubtum* imposes itself, an abstract noun corresponding to *kabtum* ‘heavy’, parallel to *urkum* ‘length’, *rupšum* ‘width’, etc. (GOA § 4.2.2.8), and thus basically meaning ‘heaviness’, hence ‘weight’.<sup>7</sup> If so, this seems to be the first instance with this meaning.<sup>8</sup>

However, the interpretation of *Ku-uB-Ta-ki<sup>1</sup>* as *kubtāki* ‘your (Fem) heaviness’ is formally irregular in two respects. First, the regular construct state would be *\*kubutki*, like *urukša* ‘its length’ (*ú-ru-uk-ša* AKT 6C, 533: 32) and *rupuššu* (*ru-pu-šu* ‘its width’ TC 3, 17: 37). Second, we would expect the epenthetic *ā* to be assimilated to the vowel of the suffix: *kubtīki*, like *libbiki* ‘your heart’, *tuppiki* ‘your tablet’, etc. For both irregularities parallels can be

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to C. Michel for suggesting this.

<sup>6</sup> Actually, the tablet shows DI (with the syllabic value *sá*) rather than KI. This would give *KuBTassa* ‘her ...’ from *\*KuBTātum*, which is in itself a plausible noun form (cf. *uṭṭātum* ‘grain’), but can hardly be an abstract noun corresponding to *kabtum* ‘heavy’. However, the third person ‘her’ between the initial vocative and the second person ‘your’ (Fem) in the rest of the text is hard to accept. Therefore, the small correction to KI seems mandatory.

<sup>7</sup> However, the usual word for ‘weight’ is *šūqultum* in Akkadian.

<sup>8</sup> So far, *kubtum* was only attested as an epithet of a person in OA (*A-šur-na-da ku-ub-tù-um* ‘Aššur-nādā, the heavyweight’ in AKT 6E, 902: 24 (= Kt 94/k 1749), quoted by courtesy of M. T. Larsen), and elsewhere in Akkadian in secondary derived meanings: ‘lump of earth or metal’ and ‘rich tribute’ (CAD K, 487a). In Mari, there is a noun *kubdum* ‘weight’ (as an object) (Durand and Joannès 1990). ‘(Lehm-)Klumpen’ (AHw 498a). I ignore here the problematical items *kuptu* A and *kuptu* B in CAD K, 555b.



adduced. For the irregular construct state, we find *e-er-šu-šu* ‘his bed’ (AKT 3, 80: 31; POAT 25: 8), i.e. *eršūšu* < *eršāšu* from *eršum* ‘bed’, but this is quite exceptional and perhaps motivated by this particular form: the regular *\*eraššu* may be lacking in transparency (GOA § 5.5.1.4.1). The absence of vowel assimilation is less problematic, since there are several parallels (GOA § 3.4.9.5), such as *li-ba-šu* ‘his heart’ (AKT 9A, 158: 21) instead of *libbušu*.

For the second word of line 2, *Dí-lu-um*, the best option seems *tillum* ‘tell, (ruin) mound’.<sup>9</sup> *Tillum* also figures in Kt a/k 611: 4 (as the haunt of a dog) and in the adverb *tí-li-šu* ‘into a ruin mound’ in Kt 94/k 520: 7. The comparison of the weight of a pot with that of a tell seems a crass hyperbole, but perhaps not more so than that of its capacity with a sea in line 4.

It is unclear why both this line and line 8 end with *-ma*, whereas the other lines of the descriptive part do not.

Line 3. *e-pá-ki ma-lá ga-ni-nem* ‘your bulk is equal to a storeroom’

There is no obvious interpretation for *E-Ba-Ki*.<sup>10</sup> It is tentatively derived here from the verb *epāqum* ‘to be solid, massive’ (Bab *epēqum*, see CAD E, 183-184 s.v. *e. A*) in the infinitive (*epākki* < *epāq-ki*), or from the derived noun *\*epqum* in the construct state (*epakki* < *epaq-ki*) ‘compactness’, hence perhaps ‘mass, bulk’.<sup>11</sup> Since the use of the infinitives as an abstract noun is unusual in Akkadian, *\*epqum* may be the more likely option, but this interpretation remains conjectural as long as no other instances of *\*epqum* are found.<sup>12</sup>

For *Ga-ni-nem*, the best option seems *ganīnum* ‘storage room, part of a temple’, mainly attested in Old Babylonian (or OB) (CAD G, 42 s.v. *ganūnu* A 1).<sup>13</sup> The dictionaries also have *qanīnu* ‘nest’, which only occurs in a lexical list (*qa-ni-nu* = *qin-nu* Malku = Šarru I 246, see Hruša 2010: 48), but this seems implausible.

Line 4. *ma’ūki tiamtum* ‘your water is the sea’

By way of exception, this line is fairly straightforward. After weight and size, “water” may be assumed to stand for capacity (rather than contents). See below for a parallel in the Sumerian incantation YOS 11, 57: 1.

<sup>9</sup> Other theoretical options are *tillum* ‘(military) equipment, weaponry’ (CAD T, 411a), *dīlum* ‘irrigation’ (CAD D, 142b); *dēlum* ‘single (man)’, from Sum. *dīli* ‘single’ (CAD D, 19a). They do not seem to lead us anywhere.

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Dercksen points out that *e-ZU-ki* is also possible, since a small vertical wedge seems to be visible in the horizontal one. There is, however, no obvious interpretation for *e-ZU-ki* either.

<sup>11</sup> For *\*epaq* as construct state of *\*epqum*, cf. *eqal* from *eqlum* ‘field’, *ebal* from *eblum* ‘rope’, etc., see GOA § 5.5.1.4.1 (p. 177).

<sup>12</sup> The verb *epāqum* is not attested with certainty in OA, but there is a derived noun *upqum* (a type of package to load on a donkey) and a D-stem *eppuqum* ‘to pack tightly’, which may be denominal (Veenhof 1972, 3-4; Dercksen 2004, 279-283).

<sup>13</sup> The treatment of *ganīnum* in the dictionaries is blurred by the interference of a putative *ganūnu*, e.g. in CAD G, 42-43 s.v. *ganūnu*. It seems that all Babylonian instances of *ganūnum*, glossed as “living quarters” and “part of a palace or temple”, actually belong to the noun *kinūnum* ‘hearth’, which has the form *kanūnum* in Assyrian. So, these forms are Assyrianisms. The confusion is augmented by the fact that OB *ganīnum* is a borrowing of Sumerian *ganun* and therefore has the logogram *gá.nun(na)*. In her discussion of these words, J. Goodnick-Westenholz (2000), does not consider the possibility that *ganūnum* is actually Assyrian *kanūnum* ‘hearth’.

Lines 5-6. *Ba-Ba-Za-tù-ki ma-lá Ga-Zi-im* ‘your ...s are equal to ...’

*Ba-Ba-Za-tù-ki* is completely obscure. The plural points to a countable object (rather than a mass noun), which could be masc (*BaB(B)ă/lăZum*) or fem. (*BaB(B)ă/lăZtum*), since many nouns without the suffix *-t* have a fem. plural. The dictionaries offer *pappāsu* ‘porridge’ and *pappasītu* (a white mineral), which do not seem helpful.

For *mala Ga-Zi-im*, options are *gaššum* ‘gypsum’, *kāsum* ‘cup, goblet’, *kasû* ‘mustard’ (? or some other spicy plant?), and *kašû* ‘steppe’, of which only the former two have any plausibility, *kāsum* as a plausible *comparātum*, and *gaššum* because gypsum was used in ancient Mesopotamia to make vessels: “[G]ypsum (...) may be either the natural stone cut to shape or plaster-of-Paris moulded and occasionally inscribed” (Moorey 1994, 51).<sup>14</sup>

Line 7. *ta-DU<sup>??</sup>-DÍ-ki Ku-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ma* ‘?’

Both words are enigmatic. The reading of the first word is uncertain. Final *-DÍ-ki* allows for a structure *CaCDiki*, for which the dictionaries offer *daltum* ‘door’, *ṭābtum* ‘salt’,<sup>15</sup> and *dabtum* ‘a slab or the like’ according to CAD D, 16-17 (but this noun seems to be missing in AHw). None of these offers a ready association with a pot.<sup>16</sup> If the problematic sign is a CV-sign, the noun ends in a geminate dental because of *-DÍ-ki*, i.e. probably *-Vttum*, so *t/d/ṭaC(C)Vttum*, where C stands for any consonant. The only nouns of this form currently attested in OA are *takīttum* ‘confirmation’ and *taḥḥittum* ‘instruction, order’, both clearly unsuitable.

In the second word, *-ma* may be the well-known connective particle (as it probably is in line 2) or an inherent part of a noun *Ku-ru-ma*. Since in line 7 clearly a new episode begins, the latter seems more likely at face value, but there is no obvious candidate.<sup>17</sup> If we take *-ma* as the enclitic particle, there seem to be three options:<sup>18</sup>

- *kurrum*, the well-known capacity measure, often rendered “kor” in our editions (CAD K, 564-565 s.v. *kurru* A). In OA, it is hardly attested and not used as a capacity measure.<sup>19</sup> However, the likely occurrence of its Sumerian equivalent *gur* in the Sumerian parallel YOS 11, 57: 3 níĝ-ār-ra-zu *gur-gur*<sup>2</sup>-àm, whatever it may mean (see section 5 below) may strengthen its credentials.

- *kūrum* ‘crucible, kiln, brazier’ (CAD K, 571 s.v. *kūru* B), which in OA occurs in TC 3, 11: 8 *ina ku-re-em* in the context of melting gold, and perhaps in a few other places.

- *kurunnu* “a choice kind of beer or wine” (CAD K, 579-580) would be possible if we interpret *ku-ru-ma* as a stative + *-ma* with assimilation of *-n*: *kurum-ma* < *kurun-ma*.

<sup>14</sup> Vessels of gypsum are reported as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Moorey 1994, 39: Uruk period (o.c. 42); Ur of early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (o.c. 44), and Early Dynastic Ur (o.c. 45).

<sup>15</sup> The other meaning of *ṭābtum*, ‘goodness’ (*ṭābtu* B in CAD Ṭ, 15-18), is always plural in OA.

<sup>16</sup> The best candidate (and most common word), *daltum* ‘door’, is not used for the opening of a pot according to the description in CAD D, 52-56.

<sup>17</sup> That is, if we disregard *kurummatum* ‘food allowance’ as both semantically and morphologically implausible, although it is attested a few times in OA (e.g. *ku-ru-ma-sū* ‘his food allowance’ CCT 1, 26b: 15, see Ulshöfer 1995, 246). There are no parallels for *kurumma* as an absolute state of *kurummātum*.

<sup>18</sup> Disregarding *kūrum* ‘daze, depression, stupor’ (CAD K, 570-571 s.v. *kūru* A) as semantically inappropriate, and some nouns that are only marginally attested: *kurrum* as a part of the human body (CAD K, 565b s.v. *kurru* B); *kūrum* (or *kurrum*) ‘log, thick piece of reed’ or a plant (CAD K, 571-572 s.v. *kūru* C); *kūrum* ‘a short reed mat’ (CAD K, 572 s.v. *kūru* D); *gurru* (MA) (mng. uncertain, perhaps a container) (CAD G, 140b); *gūru* ‘blades of reed plants’ (CAD G, 141-42); and OB *ina ku-ur-ri-im* in the enigmatic proverb ARM 26/1, 6: 16-19.

<sup>19</sup> As far as I know, only *ku-ru-um* (ATHE 65: 8).

However, statives derived from nouns are in OA more or less restricted to animate nouns, except when subject and predicate are the same noun, as in the well-known expression *šattum šanat*, which means something like ‘this is the right time or season to act’ (GOA § 19.4.2). Also, *kurunnu* has so far only been attested in Standard Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, the options that present themselves (none very convincing) are: ‘your ... is a *kor*-measure’, ‘your ... is a crucible’ or the like, and ‘your ... (contents?) is choice beer/wine’.

In sum, the meaning of lines 5-7 almost completely eludes us.

Lines 8-10. *Tammuāti Anam u Antam Laḥmam u Duram eršatam u na’ilēša* ‘you have been made to swear by Anum and Antum, by Laḥmam and Durum, by the earth and its water courses’.

The 2fs stative D *tammu(?)w)āti* literally means ‘you have been made to swear’, but as a resultative, ‘you are under an oath by ...’ is perhaps closer to the actual meaning.

The same formula with just a slightly different spelling occurs in Kt 94/k 520: 20-23 (with *A-nam* for AN and *A-na-tám* for AN-*tám*). Adjurations of the entity addressed by means of the primordial divinities, by the earth and by water occur in Old Babylonian incantations as well (see also CAD T, 167 and Wasserman 2003, 80):

*ut-ta-mi-ka er-še-tam ù ḥa-am-mé-e* ‘I herewith adjure you by the earth and the pools’ (YOS 11, 12: 8; AHw 317b s.v. ‘etwa Teich, Tümpel’; van Dijk *et al.* 1985, 22: ‘I adjure you by earth and lakes’)

*ú-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>r</sup>-am-[m]i-i-ki<sup>i</sup> A-na-am e[r-še]-<sup>r</sup>tam<sup>r</sup> na-[ra]-am E-en-še<sub>20</sub>-e<sup>2</sup>-da ù Ḥa-da-ni-i-iš* ‘I herewith adjure you by Anum, the earth, the river, Enšēda and Ḥadaniš’ (YOS 11, 92: 25-27; see van Dijk *et al.* 1985, 51 about these gods).

Elsewhere, other, more popular, gods are mentioned, as in:

*[ú-t]a-mi-ka<sup>d</sup> Utu qú-[r]a-da* ‘I herewith conjure you by Šamaš, the valiant’ (HTS 2: 28, see Goetze 1955, 11)

*[ú-ta]m-mi-ka<sup>d</sup> Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár ù<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi* ‘I herewith conjure you by Ištar and Dumuzi’ (Sb 12630: 8, see Cavigneaux 2003, 61),

and in the Sargonic love incantation MAD 5, 8: 33-34:

*<sup>d</sup>Inanna ù<sup>d</sup> Iš-ḥa-ra ù-tám-mi-ki* ‘I herewith conjure you by Ištar and Išḥara’ (see J. and A. Westenholz 1977, 201-203).

Cf. also the Sumerian parallel YOS 11, 57, where the god invoked is Enki, see below.

Of the deities Laḥmam and Dūrum, the former is the well-known mythical creature that in Enūma Eliš is coupled with Laḥmamum as one of the three primordial pairs of ancestors of Anum (Apsū and Tiāmat, Laḥmu and Laḥamu, Anšar and Kišar), see Lambert 1985, 190 and 2013, 417.

Dūrum is part of the divine pair Dūrum and Dārum. In the form <sup>d</sup>*Du-rí* and <sup>d</sup>*Da-rí*, they are attested as ancestor(s) of Laḥmu and Laḥamu in KAR 22: 23-25, see Lambert 1985, 190.

<sup>20</sup> If we regard *kurunnu* as morphologically possible, we should not omit *g/qurunnu* ‘heap, mound’ (CAD G, 142, from OB on) and *galurunnu*, a small jug (CAD G, 52a s.v. *garunnu*, but only NB), and the adjective (*išpalurtu*) *qu-ru-un-[na-tum]* quoted in CAD Q, 320a s.v.



Lambert plausibly interprets the names as coming from the nouns *dūrum* and *dārum* ‘eternity, era, long duration’, respectively, hence “Ever and Ever, i.e. Eternal Time.”<sup>21</sup>

For the interpretation of *na-i-le-ša*, the parallel use of *ha-am-me-e* in YOS 11, 12: 8 and of *na-[ra]-am* in YOS 11, 92: 26, both quoted above, suggests that *na-i-le-ša* comes from *na’ilum*, a kind of water course according to CAD N/1, 150b s.v., rather than being a participle of *na’alum* or *nialum* ‘to lie’, as suggested by Barjamovic and Larsen 2008, 147: ‘the netherworld and those who lie in it’.<sup>22</sup>

11-15. *tammuāti adi kakkūsam u pitiltam anaddiūkenni la tappaššerī* ‘you have been made to swear (that) until I put a ... and a string on you, you shall not come loose’.

Most words of this clause are fairly clear: for *pitiltum*, CAD P, 435-36 gives ‘palm fiber’, hence ‘cord, rope, string’; *a-na-<sup>r</sup>dī-ú-ke<sup>1</sup>-ni* consists of a 1<sup>st</sup> p. Sg present of *nadā’um* ‘to lay down, to put down, to throw’, the subjunctive ending *-u*, a 2<sup>nd</sup> p. Fem Sg dative suffix *-kem*,<sup>23</sup> and the subjunctive particle *-ni*. The form *la<sub>1</sub> ta-pá-šé-ri* is a 2<sup>nd</sup> p. Fem Sg prohibitive of *pašārum* ‘to loosen’ in the G-stem (*tapaššerī*) or the N-stem (*tappaššerī*). The interpretation suggested above takes *ta-pá-šé-ri* as a medio-passive N-stem, hence ‘do not come loose’, apparently more specifically referring to or addressing the lid of the pot.<sup>24</sup>

This leaves us with the unknown *Ga-Ku-Za-am*, for which the dictionaries only mention the rare noun (or nouns?) *kakkūsum* or *kakkussum*. CAD K, 60 separates them into three different nouns: A) a domesticated plant; B) a legal obligation incumbent on the owner of a field; C) a precious stone. AHW 423a has only one noun *kakkūsu(m)*, *kakkussu* and combines 1) and 2) into a single meaning “etwa (Erbsen-)Gestrüpp” (s.v. 1) and adds “ein Stein” (s.v. 2). It is not attested in OA.<sup>25</sup> The apparent contradiction between the proposed vegetal and the mineral meanings may be solved by Schuster-Brandis’s (2008, 422) suggestion that *kakkūsum* (by-form *kakkusakku*) as a stone (used as part of an amulet chain) actually refers to the stone of a fruit.

<sup>21</sup> See also Lambert 2013, 411, pointing to *tu-ri ta-ri* and *ta-ri ta-ri* in an Old Babylonian incantation written in phonetic Sumerian, and *Du-úr ù Da-ar / Lu-úh-mu ù Lu-ḫu-mu* in the recently published “incantation prayer” CUSAS 32, 154: ii 6’-7’.

<sup>22</sup> Admittedly, *hammu* is an obscure noun, which mainly occurs in lexical lists. CAD H, 69a s.v. *ḫ*. B glosses it as (1) an aquatic plant; (2) swamp (containing such aquatic plants?). The association with water seems assured, however, cf. also *ḫ*. C, interpreted as “an aquatic animal” (also only lexical lists). For *na’ilum*, see also Lambert 1959-1960, 117 ad line 32 *na-<sup>2</sup>i-lu ša ki-tim gal-ti* ‘the stream(?) of the great underworld’ and his discussion of *na’ilu* in Lambert 1960, 292.

<sup>23</sup> A double accusative with *nadā’um* is unusual (but see 23-25 of this text?), so *-KI-ni* is likely to contain the dative suffix *-kem* (< *-kim*) rather than the accusative suffix *-kī*, although the dative suffix pronoun is usually *-akkum*, *-akkem*, etc. (GOA § 9.6.3).

<sup>24</sup> According to CAD P, 237a s.v. *pašāru* 1a and 436 s.v. *pitiltu* b and d, *pitiltam pašārum* is ‘to unravel/to take apart a rope (of date palm fibers)’ as a symbolic ritual act, so it is possible that *pitiltam* is to be understood as direct object of *lá ta-pá-šé-ri*: ‘until I put a ... and a string on you, do not unravel it!’ (?). A final option, suggested to me by J. G. Dercksen, is that *pašārum* refers to the oath itself (see CAD P, 240a s.v. 5b): ‘you have been made to swear. Until I put a ... and a string on you, you shall not be released (from this oath)’. In this interpretation, the contents of the oath are left unexpressed.

<sup>25</sup> There is, however, an instance of a noun *kakkušum* corresponding to Babylonian *kukkušu*, a cheap type of flour (CAD K, 500): *kà-ku-uš al-ma-tem* ‘*kakkušum*-flour off/for the widow’ (AKT 6B, 473: 10). Because of the alternation of *s* and *š* in several OA nouns, such as *ḫušā’u* and *ḫusā’u* ‘metal scraps’, *āsum* and *āšum* ‘myrtle’, and *šiparrum* and *šiparrum* ‘bronze’ (GOA § 3.2.5.1), *kakkušum* may also correspond to the Babylonian noun(s) with *s*. Unfortunately, this does not offer any plausible interpretation of the clause.

It is hard to see how any of these meanings can be fitted into the present context. Rather, the occurrence of *Ga-Ku-Za-am* in the phrase *Ga-Ku-Za-am u pitiltam nadā'um* ‘to apply/put on a ... and a string’ (on the *diqārum*) suggests that *kakkūsum* may refer to a kind of lid, plug, or stopper. However, there does not seem to be any support for this in the Akkadian vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

### 5. Philological commentary to incantation B

Incantation B on Kt 92/k 502 comprising lines 16-31 has *li-Bu-um* as topic. At face value, this spelling renders the well-known noun *libbum*, which denotes the “inner body”, the internal organs of the human and animal body.<sup>27</sup> This causes an awkward translation problem: “heart” or “belly”? In this incantation, nothing militates against the usual translation “heart”, which will therefore be adopted, but if the Babylonian text CT 4, 8a to be discussed in Section 6 is really a parallel, it is rather the belly that is the topic of incantation B.

16. *libbummi libbum* ‘heart, oh heart!’: see the comments on *-mi* ad line 1 above.

17. *libbum dan* ‘the heart is strong’.

18. *libbum qarrād* ‘the heart is a hero/heroic’.

19-20. *libbum a-mu-ra-ta ēnāšū* ‘the heart, its eyes are radiant(?)’.

Babylonian phrases reminiscent of this line are *a-mu-ra-at* in YOS 11, 20: 3, which is said of Lamaštu, and *na-mu-ra-ta ināšū* ‘his eyes are of awesome radiance’ (TIM 9, 65: 12 // 66: 24). In his translation of YOS 11, 20, van Dijk (van Dijk *et al.* 1985, 26) renders *a-mu-ra-at* ‘she is an Amorite’, which is formally and semantically unlikely (one would expect a *nisbe* adjective *amur(r)iat*). More promising is the second parallel, which contains the adjective *namurru* ‘with awesome radiance’, one of a small number of literary adjectives that GAG<sup>3</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Standard Babylonian incantations use *purussu* in this context, see CAD P, 529b s.v. C. Michel (p. c.) points out that the mention of a string may imply that the stopper could also be a piece of textile that is fastened with a string (to which a clay sealing may be attached).

<sup>27</sup> Other nouns covered by the spelling *li-Bu-um* are *li<sup>7</sup>bum* A, *li<sup>7</sup>bum* B, *lipûm*, *lipum*, and *lippu*. The first three can be ruled out for formal reasons: *Li<sup>7</sup>bum* A (the name of a disease which often occurs in medical texts and omens, see CAD L, 181-182 s.v. and Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 29-32 and 482-485) and *li<sup>7</sup>bum* B, glossed “physical beauty” in CAD L, 182a, only attested in a lexical list, occur in Babylonian in the spellings *li-ih<sup>7</sup>-bu-um* (CH § 148: 68 and 76) and *li-i<sup>7</sup>-bu*. This militates against equating it with our *li-Bu-um*, because words that in Babylonian show alternation of spellings with <sup>7</sup> and *h* or with and without *h*, regularly show *h* in OA, e.g. Bab *adārum* ‘to become worried’ versus OA *\*hadārum* (only attested as Š-stem), and Bab *na<sup>7</sup>ādum* ‘to care for, to pay attention’ versus OA *naḥādum*. Thus, we would expect *\*li<sup>7</sup>bum* for OA. There are, however, a few exceptions, see Kouwenberg 2010, 525. The third word, *lipûm* ‘adipose tissue, fat, tallow’, has a contracted vowel in the final syllable according to several spellings (e.g. OB Acc. *li-pi<sup>7</sup>-a-am* (AbB 3, 11: 24) and elsewhere, SB *li-pu-ú*, *li-pa-a*, see CAD L, 202-205 s.v. *lipû*). Therefore, the expected OA form would be *\*lipium*. Finally, *lipum* and *lippu* are unlikely for semantic reasons (although *lipum* actually occurs once in OA: *li-pè-e* ‘children’ ICK 1, 3: 8). However, a possible candidate not (yet) included in the dictionaries is the OA *hapax legomenon* *liBum* (Pl. Nom. 2 *li-Bu* kt c/k 1517: 12, quoted in Dercksen 1996, 77). It occurs in a list of bronze vessels, between two types of *kāsum* ‘cup, goblet’ and thus may be a kind of cup itself (Dercksen 1996, 77 glosses it “2 *li-bu* cups”). It would go nicely with the *diqārum* in the first half of the tablet, but it is far too rare to be a likely topic for an incantation that is clearly dependent on a Babylonian tradition. Therefore, the following comments will be based on the assumption that the topic of incantation B is *libbum* ‘heart, belly’.

§ 55p qualifies as “mit numinosem Bedeutungsgehalt”. It should probably be associated with *nawārum* ‘to shine’ in spite of *w > m*, which mostly post-dates Old Babylonian (GAG § 21d). The present form may be a variant of *namurrum*, perhaps due to a secondary association with *amārum* ‘to see’.<sup>28</sup>

The stative *a-mu-ra-ta* and its Old Babylonian counterpart *na-mu-ra-ta* are 3<sup>rd</sup> p. Fem dual, an exceptional form in Akkadian, see Kouwenberg 2010, 179.

21. *libbum êš tallak* ‘heart, where are you going?’

*Êš* (spelled *e-iš*) is remarkable because it is specifically Babylonian (< *ayyiš*): OA does not have directional adverbs with the suffix *-iš*, but uses *-ēšam* instead (*ayyēsam*), see Kouwenberg 2012, 60.<sup>29</sup>

22-23. *ana urdetem niārem* ‘in order to kill a/the young woman?’

*Niārum* (or *neārum*) corresponds to Bab *nērum* ‘to kill’ (GOA § 18.8). This is its only OA attestation. Since also *urdātum* (< *wardātum*) is rare in OA,<sup>30</sup> the whole phrase may be borrowed from a Babylonian model and “translated” into OA.

23-25. *ŠU BA LU RU ište eprem idīma pursitam ša qātēka eriāte ša aḥēka e-ru-tem* ‘put ... together with dust(?) (in?) a bowl (made) of your empty/bare hands, of your ... arms’

It seems that in 23 a short ritual starts against the affliction of the *libbum*, but it is riddled with difficulties, in particular the enigmatic sequence *ŠU BA LU RU*. What we expect here is an object or a substance which can be put together with *eprum* in a bowl to perform some kind of ritual or magical act. However, the only word that is even remotely similar to *ŠU BA LU RU* is the Babylonian noun (*is*)*pallurtu* (with many variants), which according to the dictionaries denotes a cross, a cross-shaped design or object, and a cross-roads (CAD I/J 253 s.v. *išpalurtu*) with a rare by-form *palluru* (CAD P, 69b). On Neo-Assyrian seals, it represents a Y-shaped symbol that is associated with the crown-prince (Radner 2008, 502-6). This does not seem to be helpful at all.

If *ŠU BA LU RU* is indeed a noun, the entity it denotes is the direct object of the imperative *idi*, which means that the nominative is irregular. However, nominative forms as a direct object are not uncommon in OA, see GOA § 6.6.

*IBrum* presumably represents *eprum* ‘soil, dust’ (corresponding to Bab *eperum*, see GOA § 3.4.8 note 77) rather than *eprum* ‘food (ration)’ or *ebrum* ‘colleague, partner’.

*Pursitum* is a common term for a kind of bowl (CAD P, 523-524 s.v. *pursitu*; Sallaberger 1996: 98-99; Guichard 2005: 261-263), but so far unattested in OA. Since a genitive is

<sup>28</sup> Another variant may occur in the OA Lamaštum-incantation published in Michel 1997: *na-ma-ra-at* ‘she (Lamaštum) is dazzling’, where *na-ma-ra-at* may represent *namarrat* (for *namurrat*?), but *nammarat* (for *nammurat*?) is also conceivable, not to mention the possibility that we should rather read *na-ku'-ra-at* ‘she is strange of appearance’ or ‘hostile’, as suggested by G. Kryszat *apud* W. Mayer 2008, 95.

<sup>29</sup> A very similar phrase also occurs in the Old Babylonian love incantation first published in Wilcke 1985, 202, lines 62-71 and recently re-edited in Wassermann 2016, 266-267 in line 62: *a-i-iš li-ib-ba-ka* [ ( x x ) ] *i-il-la-ak* ‘where is your heart going?’, with the Archaic Babylonian form *ayyiš*.

<sup>30</sup> It also occurs in the incantation Kt 94/k 520: 12-13 (*tāhuz wa-ar-da-tām iššuwārem* ‘you (i.e. the evil eye) caught the girl during (her) play’); in CCT 6, 10b: 14 (*wa-ar-da-tām la šabittam* ‘an untouched girl’) and perhaps in Prag I 429: 34 (*ana tūg ša ba-ar-de<sub>8</sub>-té* ‘for a garment for a girl’ // *a-šú-ba-tem ša bar-de<sub>8</sub>-té* OIP 27, 55: 63, see Ulshöfer 1995, 447-448).

syntactically impossible here, we have to read *pu-ur-sí-DIM* as an accusative *pursītam*, although the value /tam/ (<tám>) is rare for DIM (GOA § 2.2.2), and an accusative is syntactically not straightforward either. Although OA makes ample use of the accusative of place (GOA § 6.4.3.1), an accusative of place with *nadā'um* ‘to put something in a particular place’ is without parallel: this notion is normally expressed by *ana* or *ina* (GOA §§ 14.4.5 and 14.4.9.1). So, it is not entirely clear if *pursītam idi* is a grammatically correct way to express ‘put (Imp) (something) in a bowl!’.

The position of *pursītam* after the verb is unusual for OA, but reflects the freer word order of Babylonian poetry, which is also found in other OA incantations (GOA § 22.4.1 end).

26-27. *ša qātēka eriāti ša aḥēka* 'e<sup>1</sup>-ru-tim ‘of your empty hands, of your ... arms’ (i.e. ‘a bowl formed by your empty/bare hands?’).

'e<sup>1</sup>-ru-tim is difficult: derivation from *erium* is precluded (or at least unlikely) because there is no reflex of the final weak consonant. Alternatives (from Babylonian) are *ēru* ‘awake, vigilant’ (CAD E, 326),<sup>31</sup> *erru* ‘parched, dry’, and, since *e* before *r* may come from *a*, *arru* ‘cursed’. None of these options leads to a satisfactory interpretation. Note also that *aḥum* (perhaps rather *āḥum*) ‘side, flank, arm’ is virtually unattested elsewhere in OA, except in the adverbial Acc. Sg. *aḥamma* ‘apart, separately’.

28-29. *libbum litūr ana išrīšu* ‘so that the heart goes back to its place’, or metaphorically ‘returns to its original state/condition’ (for *išrum* = *ašrum*, see GOA § 3.4.9.1).

29-31. *šiptum la iātum šipat* «be-el» *Ni-ki*<sup>2</sup>-[li-il<sub>5</sub> be'el šipātīm] ‘the incantation is not mine, (it is) the incantation of Nikkilil, the lord of incantations’, assuming that the writer got mixed up and wrote *be-el* too early.

This formula recurs in three other OA incantations:

Kt 94/k 821: 17-22 *šī-ip-tum lá i-a-tum* <sup>18</sup>*šī-pá-at Ni-ki-li-il<sub>5</sub>* <sup>19</sup>*be-el šī-pá-tem* <sup>20</sup>*Ni-kà-ra-ak* <sup>21</sup>*ta-dí-šī-ma* <sup>22</sup>*a-na-ku al-qé-šī* ‘the incantation is not mine, (it is) the incantation of Nikkilil, the lord of incantations. Nikkarrak has cast it, I have received it’

Kt 90/k 178: 20-23 *šī-ip-tu[m]* <sup>21</sup>*lá i-a-tum : šī-pá-at Ni-ki-[li-il<sub>5</sub>]* <sup>22</sup>*be-el šī-pá-tem ù be-el té-i-em* <sup>23</sup>*be-lá-at ša-sú-ra-tem l[i-dí]* ‘the incantation is not mine, (it is) the incantation of Nikkilil, the lord of incantations and the lord of spell(s). Let the lady of the birth goddesses cast it.’

Kt 94/k 520: 17-19 *šī-ip-tum* <sup>18</sup>*la<sub>1</sub> i-a-tum : šī-pá-at* <sup>19</sup>*É-a : be-el šī-pá-tem* ‘the incantation is not mine, (it is) the incantation of Ea, the lord of incantations’.

Apart from Ea, the well-known god of incantations, the gods mentioned are Ni(n)karrak and *Ni-ki-li-il<sub>5</sub>*. Ninkarrak in Kt 94/k 821: 20 is a healing goddess often equated with Gula (Goodnick Westenholz 2010).

*Ni-ki-li-il<sub>5</sub>* is the OA syllabic spelling of the god <sup>d</sup>Nin.kilim/n (nin.PÉŠ with numerous variants, see Krebernik 1984, 287-297), who is associated with mungoes (<sup>d</sup>nin.PÉŠ is also ‘mungo’) and snakes, see Krebernik, o.c. 295-297. It is possible that her/his appearance here is due to a confusion with the well-known “Beschwörungsgöttin” Nin-girima (Krebernik

<sup>31</sup> Also attested in the copy of the royal inscription of Erīšum: stat. 2ms. *aksuppum lu e-ra-at šumšu* ‘the threshold, its name is “be vigilant!”’ (RIMA 1, 20: 18-19).

1984, 233-262 and 2000, 363-367). Nin-girima occurs in Babylonian incantations, such as UIOM 1059: 31-35 (Goetze 1955, 11, OB) and BAM 6, 510: iv 38-39 (Krebernik 1984, 238-39, SB).

### 6. General discussion of the incantations

On the basis of just the text, the purpose of the two incantations on Kt 91/k 502 is not very clear. It is therefore worthwhile to look for possible parallels in other dialects of Akkadian and in Sumerian.

As to incantation A, there are several other incantations with pots or earthenware in general as topic. There is at least one other incantation about a *diqārum*, but it is in Sumerian and only partly understood: YOS 11, 57 (MLC 1871), edited in Sallaberger 1996, 86-87. It is difficult to read and Sallaberger stresses that his transliteration is provisional (a “Diskussionsgrundlage”). It begins like incantation A with <sup>DUG</sup>utul<sub>2</sub> <sup>DUG</sup>utul<sub>2</sub> ‘pot, oh pot!’, but is characterised in the last line as ka.inim.ma <sup>DUG</sup>dúr.bùr ‘incantation about a fermenting vat’ (gakkul, Akk. *kakkullum* or *namzītum*), thus it concerns a vat for making beer (cf. also kaš.zu ‘your beer’ in line 10). Subsequently, it introduces the potter as the one who addresses the pot (line 1: baḥar<sub>2</sub>.me.en ‘I am the potter’) and offers the customary description of the entity that is the topic. Sallaberger’s translation renders this as follows:

- <sup>1</sup>Topf, Topf, ich bin der Töpfer: dein Wasser (= Inhalt) ist ein riesiger Sumpf,  
<sup>2</sup>dein Rohr(ständer) ist ein Rohr-Torbau?, dein Fuß? ist dessen bronzener ‘Sitz’,  
<sup>3</sup>dein Geschrotetes ist (eine Menge von) Kor um Kor –<sup>32</sup> (...)

Apart from the parallel between the end of line 1 a.zu sug.maḥ.àm ‘your water is a huge swamp’ and line 4 ma-ú-ki tí-a-am-tum ‘your water is the sea’ of Kt 91/k 502, there are no other commonalities, and the Sumerian does not seem to offer any aid for the clarification of the obscure words in Kt 91/k 502.

The potter continues with: ‘the lord (...) sends me to you; from your heart ... does not come out, it does not come out’,<sup>33</sup> followed by two fragmentary lines. The next parallel is in line 8, where the pot is asked to swear an oath by Enki, but a quite different one from that of incantation A:

- <sup>8</sup>Bei Enki, dem Herrn, dessen Ausspruch recht (ist), sei es beschworen!  
<sup>9</sup>Ton des Abzu, Ton, dem Enki das Los bestimmt hat, – zu dir schickt er mich.  
<sup>10</sup>Dein Bier soll über seine (des Gefäßes) Öffnung nicht überfließen!<sup>34</sup>

Then follows the rubric already mentioned above, which refers to a <sup>DUG</sup>dúr.bùr, a ‘fermenting vat’ or a ‘mash-tub’ for making beer.

Thus, at face value it seems that the parallel between YOS 11, 57 and incantation A on Kt 91/k 502 hardly goes beyond the “title” and the rather trivial statement that the pots contain water, although the uncertainty of some lines in incantation A may hide additional common ground, e.g. between its line 7 and line 3 of YOS 11, 57, see the comments to line 7 above.

<sup>32</sup> Sallaberger’s transliteration is: <sup>1</sup> <sup>DUG</sup>utul<sub>2</sub> <sup>DUG</sup>utul<sub>2</sub> <sup>DUG</sup>baḥar<sub>2</sub>-me-en a-zu sug-maḥ-àm <sup>2</sup> gi-zu gi-‘dub<sup>7</sup>-lá-àm ġiri<sub>3</sub><sup>7</sup>-zu dūr uruda-bi-àm <sup>3</sup> níġ-àr-ra-zu gur-gur<sup>7</sup>-àm (...).

<sup>33</sup> YOS 11, 57: <sup>3</sup> (...) en (...) <sup>4</sup> mu-e-ši-in-ġi<sub>4</sub>-ġi<sub>4</sub> šà-zu-ta nu-è NE NE NE nu.è.

<sup>34</sup> YOS 11, 57: <sup>8</sup> zi <sup>d</sup>En-ki en du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni ‘zi-da’ ħé-pà <sup>9</sup> im abzu im <sup>d</sup>En-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> nam ‘tar-ra’ mu-e-ši-in-ġi<sub>4</sub>-ġi<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>10</sup> kaš-zu ka nam-bi-bar-re.



However, other incantations with the *namzītum* as topic, such as the bilingual incantation CT 4, 8a and some Akkadian incantations recently published by George (2016, 135-138) show that the *namzītum*—with its lid on top and its draining hole at the bottom—may be a metaphor for the stomach and the digestive tract. George (2016, 80) writes that “The brewing jar was a vessel with a lid that was usually kept firmly closed, so that *kakkullum katintum* became a common metaphor for enclosure and confinement,” see CAD K, 59a s.v. *kakkullu*, lex. section, for examples. This characterises these incantations as medical, directed against intestinal disorders.

The mention of a string and the verb *pašārum* ‘to loosen’ with a negation in lines 14-16, whatever their precise interpretation, suggest that the function of incantation A might be similar. More particularly, it may be directed against diarrhea. This claim wins in plausibility, if incantation B concerns intestinal disorders as well, which seems likely.<sup>35</sup>

Although incantation B offers fewer lexical problems than A, its purpose is far from obvious. The injunction to the *libbum* to return to its (original) place or condition (lines 28-29) is too general to be helpful. Here, too, a Babylonian parallel may suggest at least a hypothetical solution, namely the bilingual tablet CT 4, 8a (already mentioned above) with the rubric 2 inim *ša libbi* ‘two incantations for a *libbu*’.<sup>36</sup> The Akkadian text starts as follows (lines 1-5):

<sup>1</sup>The sick belly that is closed up like a basket:<sup>37</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Like the waters of a river, it does not know where it should go,

<sup>3</sup>it has no flow like water of a well,

<sup>4</sup>its orifice is closed like (that of) a fermenting vat

<sup>5</sup>no food and drink can enter it.<sup>38</sup>

This is followed by a dialogue between Marduk and Ea and a partly broken passage which seems to contain a ritual or a prescription and an injunction to come out. The Sumerian text as translated by Steinert and Vacín (2018, 721-722) reads:<sup>39</sup>

<sup>18</sup>When he has added<sup>2</sup> a lump of salt and thyme [...],

<sup>19</sup>May it burst on the ground like dung.

<sup>20</sup>May it burst out like a burp.

<sup>21</sup>Come out like wind from the anus!

<sup>35</sup> Another Sumerian incantation with a kind of pot as topic is edited by George (2016, 57-58). It concerns a <sup>DUG</sup>saḥar<sub>2</sub>.ra, Akk *šaharrum*. It relates the creation of the primordial exemplar in mythical times and suggests that through the water it contains it has a purifying force. It is followed by a short incantation about a <sup>DUG</sup>bur.zi.tur.ra = *saḥharu* (not edited by George, see p. 30a). On another compilation tablet, we find a Sumerian incantation to consecrate a vessel with holy water (p. 34a sub (s) = No. 6: vi 45-49, edited on p. 70-71, no commonalities with OA), and again one about a saḥar<sub>2</sub>-pot (p. 34b sub (v) = No. 6: vii 12-22).

<sup>36</sup> The tablet has recently been (re)edited by Steinert and Vacín (2018, 720-732). The transliterations and translations offered here follow this edition, unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>37</sup> Steinert and Vacín (2018, 720): “The sick belly is closed up like a basket”, omitting *ša* of the Akkadian version. When said of containers, ‘to close’ is a more accurate translation of *katāmu* than ‘to cover’ (also in line 4), pace CAD K, 59a s.v. *kakkullu* lex. section, see George 2016, 80-81, especially in *kakkullu katintu* ‘a closed brewing jar’.

<sup>38</sup> CT 4, 8a: 1-5 (repeated in 8-12): <sup>1</sup>*libbu maršu ša kīma pisanni katmu* <sup>2</sup>*kīma mē nārim ēma illaku ul [īde]* <sup>3</sup>*kīma mē būrti agia ul išu* <sup>4</sup>*kīma kakkulli [pīšu] katim* <sup>5</sup>*akalu u mū ul یرrubūšum*.

<sup>39</sup> Steinert and Vacín’s (2018, 721) transliteration of the Sumerian text is: <sup>18</sup>lag mun ù ḥa<sup>1</sup>-še-na ù-un-daḥ ù-bí-i[n-x-(x)] <sup>19</sup>še<sub>10</sub>-<gin<sub>7</sub>> ki-šè ḥé-si-il-le <sup>20</sup>bu-lu-uḥ-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥé-si-il-le <sup>21</sup>tu<sub>15</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> gu<sup>1</sup>(ŠE)-du-šè è-íb-ta. The badly broken Akkadian version only preserves the beginnings of the corresponding lines. Steinert and Vacín (2018, 721) restore them as follows: <sup>18</sup>*kirbān ṭābtu u ḥašī uš-ša-a*[b<sup>2</sup> x x x] <sup>19</sup>*kīma šī-it-t[im li-id-dī<sup>2</sup>]* <sup>20</sup>*kīma g[i-šu-tim li-ig-šu<sup>2</sup>]* <sup>21</sup>*kīma š[a-ri-im li-še-ší<sup>2</sup>]*.

This suggests that CT 4, 8a is directed against constipation (Cunningham 1997, 148 No. 311).

Both the fact that incantation B on Kt 91/k 502 is combined with A on the same tablet and the parallel with CT 4, 8a suggest that B has a medical purpose as well, although the text does not specify what kind of symptoms it is meant to remedy.

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