

*Disease, Disorder and Disruption in the É:*

**Mapping the House in Mesopotamian Incantation Literature**

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## 1.0 Introduction

In ways which often go understated, the empirical realities of urban Mesopotamia engaged with the religio-magical worldview of the Mesopotamians, providing much of the impetus behind the fears, paranoias and supernatural terrors that stalked the streets and lurked in the shadows. Realities such as contagious diseases, poor sanitation, poisonous creatures *etc.* were dangerous phenomena that required an explanation and a resolution. In these remote times, diseases were personified, attributed their own agency, named, and their etiological myths were known to the ritual specialists who opposed them: the exorcists. The following paper will undertake to examine the texts belonging to these incantation specialists, with a focus on urban lexemes and the structure of the house. It will not emphasize the house as something empirically measured, but will focus on the experience of those who lived within the house, and on a fear which undoubtedly colored the native urban experience: the fear of demonic invasion.

Using Mark Geller's recently published partitur (Geller 2016), a careful examination of household terminology was made with the intention of isolating any lexical variation between Uduḡ-ḫul forerunners (UHF) and the later Uduḡ-ḫul canonical tablets (UH). Tablets 3-8 were selected for study, the portion of the series in which surviving portions of UHF and UH overlap. From the later corpus, tablets in the Babylonian dialect, mainly from Late Babylonian Uruk, Babylon, Sippar and Borsippa, were favored (Geller 2007: xii). In addition, and to establish a comprehensive list of urban lexemes current in incantation lore, a study was made of the entire Old Babylonian incantation corpus, which comprises some 168 texts in Sumerian and 146 texts in Akkadian. Only those texts available in translation were considered for this study.

Please note, an incantation catalogue has been included in the appendix. This catalogue is largely indebted to that published in Cunningham 1996 p. 131. However, additions have been made to that list, most notably, the 54 Old Babylonian incantations published in CUSAS 32 (2016). The text numbers used throughout the paper refer to the entries in the catalogue: **A1** to **A167** refer to the Sumerian corpus; **B1** to **B6** refer to the bilingual corpus; **C1** to **C146** refer to the Akkadian corpus. The incantations of UHF are cited by their FAOS 12 line number. The incantations of UH are cited by their UH line number.

## 2.0 Kur vs Kalam: Intruders in the House!

While stemming from a magico-religious worldview that is both extremely venerable and extremely conservative, the concept of demonic beings in Mesopotamia proceeded through distinct phases of development. In the Early Dynastic incantation corpus, scholars have noted (with some consternation) that the sole occurring demon was the Udug demon. More often, the incantations were directed against the harmful effects of snake and scorpion (Krebernik 1984; Cunningham 1996: 36). A recently published ED incantation adds some variety and references the evil eye, evil man, the udug and the evil god (igi ḫul, lú ḫul, udug ḫul, dingir ḫul) (George 2016: 78, No. 1c).

In the study of Mesopotamian demonology, the Udug represents an enigma: its ubiquity led the early exorcists to adapt the word udug as a generic designation for all demons. This ubiquity helped to generate its “faceless” persona, and the defining attributes of the Udug are difficult to define for today’s scholarship (Geller 2011: 333). While it is no definitive solution it is interesting to note that, in the ED corpus, the sign UDUG is indistinguishable for the GIDIM (‘ghost’) sign:



**Figure 1:** A. UDUḪ.ḪUL “evil demon” (BFE 24). B. SILA + SAḪAR, Archaic form.

Manfred Krebernik, the original editor of the corpus, explained to the present writer that his choice to render UDUḪ.ḪUL rather than GIDIM.ḪUL was contextually based: UDUḪ.ḪUL is expected on the basis of later textual material (M. Krebernik – personal communication – April 2015). It seems reasonable to suggest that the archetypical Mesopotamian demon may have had some conceptual common ground with the ghost.<sup>1</sup> Mark Geller observed that ancient commentators graphically analyzed the UDUḪ/GIDIM sign as 2/3 SAḪARxSILA ‘two thirds street dust’ and as 1/3 SAḪARxSILA ‘one third street dust’ respectively. Figure 1b depicts archaic SILA and SAḪAR side by side, for the sake of comparison. While the exact implication is uncertain, the implied imagery may have been a whirlwind seen as a wrath (Geller 2011: 334; Verderame 2012: 125). Significantly, this correlates with the fact that the Uduḫ demon was a prolific stalker of the streets (see 5.2 below).

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<sup>1</sup> The connection between the uduḫ demon and the gidim ghost seems further strengthened by the fact that these two classes occur in complimentary distribution: for example, in the Ur III period, the uduḫ demon features in incantation texts, while the gidim is absent (Geller 2007: 1); in the first millennium, the gidim appears in non-canonical incantation texts and in diagnostic texts as a symptom, while the uduḫ does not (Geller 2011: 340).

In the Ur III period, demons such as Namtar, Asag and Ningir make an appearance. However, it isn't until the Old Babylonian period that the characteristic demonic line up appears in its developed format: the *udug ḫul*, *ala ḫul*, *gedim ḫul*, *galla ḫul*, *dingir ḫul*, *maškim ḫul*, *dim-me* and *lil-lá* demons (Geller 2003: 2). Sometimes they were grouped in seven by ancient theologians, discussed simply as “the seven” in modern literature.

So if these were the intruders in the house, where are we to place them within the magico-religious worldview of the Mesopotamians? Textual attestations culled mainly from the late canonical series *Utukkū Lemnūti* (Sum. *Udug-ḫul*) indicate that demons were considered to be semi-divine, their names often marked with the divine determinative. However, they do not feature in the god-lists, nor did they receive cult offerings or shrines. They were the seed of the god *Anu*, but they were something less than gods, as UH XII 15 states: “He [the demon] is not a god, but his voice is loud and his *melammu* is lofty” (Verderame 2012: 118).

It should also be noted that the appellation “demon,” in the modern sense is not a perfect fit for this class of beings, not all of them were intrinsically evil. Verderame astutely points out that the ethical descriptions “good” and “evil” themselves do not fit with Mesopotamian thinking, according to which, a supernatural being may be the cause of something and also its solution - it may create a dilemma and simultaneously represent the power to resolve the dilemma (Verderame 2012: 119 n.8). In the list of demonic beings given above, most demonic entities take the qualifying adjective *ḫul* ‘evil,’ a sign that the being in question also had the capacity to perform beneficent acts. A recurring theme in *Utukkū Lemnūti* is for the exorcist to invoke the ‘good *udug*’ and the ‘good *lamma*’ (adjective: *sa6/damqu* or *sig7/tābu*) to be at his side while he exorcises the evil *udug*. An example occurs in UH 2 112:

112. udug sig<sub>5</sub>-ga <sup>rd</sup>lamma sig<sub>5</sub>-ga á-mu hé-e[m-  
ta-gub]

112. May the good udug and the good  
lamma be present at my side.

source: Geller 2016:113

An invocation calling the good udug and the good lamma to be present occurs already in Gudea Cylinder A, col. 3, lines 20-21. It should be noted that some demonic beings do not take the qualifying adjective *ḫul*, “evil,” because they were unambiguously evil: specifically, the Aḫḫāzu, Lamaštu and Labašu demons, and the *lil* class of demons (Geller 2016: 11).

A distinction may be made between a ‘professional’ and an ‘amateur’ class of demons. This division remains hypothetical, as it is not based on native terminology. Demons belonging to the professional class are, suggestibly, the Nimgir (lit. ‘herald’) demon, the *maškim/rābišu* (lit. ‘bailiff’) demon, and the *gallû* (lit. ‘sheriff’) demon. These entities represented the malignant power of the corrupt official, taking their names from real flesh and blood functionaries in Mesopotamian society. Like his mundane counterpart, the supernatural official may function in a beneficent or hostile manner (Geller 2011: 337). An ‘amateur’ class of demonic entities is evident in such beings as *Ardat lili*, the vengeful spirit of a maiden who was never loved by a man; or the *gidim ḫul*, the angry ghost who did not receive a proper burial or his due in terms of funerary offerings (*kispum*), a failure of the domestic cult.<sup>2</sup> Geller has suggested that while ‘professional’ demons were sent by the gods to do harm, ghosts and ‘amateur’ demonic spirits pursue their own agenda when they inflict harm (Geller 2007: 1). A focused study on the agency of demons may help to clarify these issues.

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<sup>2</sup> UH tablet 4 lines 130-132 state: “Whether you are a ghost who rises up from the Netherworld, or whether you are the *Lilû*-demon who has no bed, whether you are a *virgo intacta*...” (Geller 2016 p. 156); The plight of the *Ardat lili* is articulated in detail in the OB incantation YBC 9841, SEAL 5.1.24.1.

Of central interest to this study is the relationship between the intruder and the house, between the demon and the urban environment. Demons seem to come mainly from the steppe, but also from the desert, the mountains, the sea, the underworld, and the sky. Hence, it is reasonable to subsume these diverse origins under the native term that encompasses all that is other: *kur* (Wiggermann 1996: 211).<sup>3</sup> Despite this origin in peripheral regions, the locus of demonic activity was in the urban heartland, the *kalam*. As has been observed, their function was essentially to disrupt the order of mankind (thus they served aetiologically as an explanation for disorder and disease). Having an aerial nature,<sup>4</sup> demons were the nomads of the steppe country, attacking urban life and blowing about the streets and thoroughfares. As hostile winds, demons were seen to attack the home at its most vulnerable points, at the threshold, the doors and the windows, as well as lurking in its corners (Rendu Loisel 2011: 327). Threats from the outside both “real” and “imagined” extended to all corners of Mesopotamian civilization simultaneously, at the state level, at the temple of the city god, and in the streets and houses of the individual city dweller.

### 3.0 Domestic Religion – the *Ili Bītim*

Domestic religion in Mesopotamia is necessarily obscure owing to the fact that modern scholarship must confront a twofold obstruction: firstly, the ancient scribes were not motivated to record the facts about private household religion. Secondly, modern archaeology has focused largely on monumental state and temple architecture, instead of digging in the private sphere. A

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the *Kur/Kalam* dichotomy, the reader may consult F.A.M Wiggermann’s seminal article, Wiggermann 1996.

<sup>4</sup> See UH tablet 5 153 where all demonic entities (ironically dubbed “heros” here) are described as “wraiths (*zaqīqu*) who flit about”. (Geller 2016 p. 207).



level of pessimism has persisted among some Assyriologists, a type of minimalism typified in A. Leo Oppenheim's famous book chapter "*Why a Mesopotamian Religion Should Not Be Written.*" In this chapter, the author laments how little we know the common man, who nonetheless represents the most important unknown element in Mesopotamian religion (Oppenheim 1964: 181).

Despite the difficulties, some basic facts can be assembled about Mesopotamian house gods. Private religion was predicated on the maintenance of three types of entity within the house. The first two types received regular cult offerings: house gods and ancestors (Sum. *GIDIM*, Akk. *eṭemmu*). A third category, protective spirits (i.e. the *šēdu* and the *lamassu*), did not receive cult offerings (van der Toorn 1996: 69).

### **Situating the God of the House:**

The God of the House (*ili bītīm*) was not a divine being (or beings) found only in the private sphere. Rather, the *ili bītīm* was also common to institutions subsumed under the Mesopotamian categorization *É/bītum*: for example, the literature attests to a house god in the temple, akin to a protective spirit, and distinct from the resident high god (van der Toorn 1996: 70-71). The first reference to the *ili bītīm* of the private house has long been recognized as occurring in an Old Babylonian incantation [TEXT C20]:

12' *im-ḥa-aš-ma i-še-er-ta-am*  
13' *i-ta-ši ì-lí bi-tim*

12' After she struck down the sanctuary,  
13' the god of the house has gone out.

15' *i-na-ša mu-li-ṭa-ab-ta-am*  
16' *pâša(KA-ša) mu-li-a di-ig-ma-a[m]*  
17' *il bi-it-im li-tu-r[u?]*  
18' *ši-ip-tum ša i-ni-[in?]*

15' Fill (pl.) her eyes with salt!  
16' Her mouth fill (pl.) with ashes  
17. May the god of the house return(?)!  
18. Incantation (against) the (Evil) Eye.

SEAL 5.1.7.2

The identity of the demonic antagonist in this particular incantation has been the subject of some uncertainty. While some scholars have seen Lamaštu as the agent, others have suggested that it was the Evil Eye that had attacked the household shrine (the *išertum*), in line with the reconstructed rubric above. Further clinching this identification, is the recent publication of an OB incantation which also features an attack against the *išertum* and a confrontation between the *ili bītim* and the Evil Eye [TEXT C63]:

12' *iš-tu ke-e-nu-ú-na-am*

13' *ú-sà-ap-pi-ḥu-ú-maḥ*

14' *il-li-ik ip-[s]ú-sà-am*

15' *i-ši-ir-ti bi-ḥ-[t]im*

19' *i-li bi-tim i-na-am li-še-ši-a-[a]m*

12'-15' After it scattered the hearth, it went and smashed up the household shrine.

19' May the house god expel the eye outside!

**CUSAS 32 31c**

It follows from both episodes that the *ili bītim* was to be found at the house center, passed the hearth and within the *išertum* itself (van der Toorn 1999: 141).

### **Identifying the God of the House:**

The identity of the *ili bītim* remains highly problematic. Competing explanations presented by J. Scurlock and K. van der Toorn will briefly be considered below. The key data comes from two Old Babylonian baby incantations (concerned with mitigating the disruptive noise of the child) [TEXTS C78, C27]:

5. ì-li bi-tim te-ed-ki ku-sa-ri-[k]u-u[m] i-gi-il-TIM

5. You have awakened the god(s) of the house, the Kusarikum has aroused:

SEAL 5.1.2.3

11. i-na ri-ig-mi-ka i-li bi-tim

12. ú-ul i-ša-al-la-al

13. iš-ta-ar bi-tim

14. ú-ul i-ḫa-az ši-it-tim

11-12. Through your crying the god of the house cannot sleep!

13-14. Slumber does not catch the goddess of the house!

SEAL 5.1.2.1

**Text C78** pairs the *ili bītim* with the *kusarikkum*, the protective door spirit. This pairing was interpreted by van der Toorn as forming an opposition between entrance way and house center: throughout the entire house, there was turmoil (van der Toorn 1999: 141-142). In **TEXT C27**, the wailing of the child disturbs not only the *ili bītim*, but the rarely mentioned (and correspondingly obscure) house goddess, the *ištar bītim*.<sup>5</sup> For van der Toorn, these nameless divinities are to be viewed through the lens of family religion: they were the dead ancestors of the resident patriarch, who were (according to Mesopotamian funerary custom) typically buried underneath the floor boards of the house (van der Toorn 1999: 145).

Rejecting van der Toorn's analysis, J. Scurlock proposed an alternative interpretation formulated on a single NAM.BÚR.BI text dating to the Neo-Assyrian period. The text informs the reader that, in order to ward off encroaching *katurru*-fungus, the ritual specialist should make offerings to a series of divinities. Scurlock then posits that these divinities are, each in turn, the *ili bītim*. They are: Gula, Ištar, Išum, the Pleiades, Šulak, the gate guarding *kusarikku*, as well as "the divine protectors of other, lesser, parts of the house" (Scurlock 2003: 106). Among other issues, this view lacks the structured understanding brought to bear by van der Toorn. In short, it fails to distinguish between house god and protective spirits (and other entities); that such a dichotomy

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<sup>5</sup> For a recent discussion of human noise and how it effects the sleep of the greater gods, see now Oshima 2014.

existed seems evident in a first millennium house ritual which stipulates that three tables should be set up for “the god of the house, the goddess of the house, and the *lamassu* of the house” (Wiggermann 1992, p. 16). The inclusion of Šulak, not supported by any evidence cited by the author, and in apparent afterthought, is contrary to all expectations. Indeed, the demon’s mythical opponent, the *ur-maḥ-lú-u18-lu* (the Lion Centaur), would have made a more convincing suggestion (George 2015a, p. 89-90). Furthermore, a strong argument has recently been made for the god Isum as a night-watchman, a god of street-lighting - or even the street lamp incarnate (George 2015b).

#### 4.0 The Structure of the Babylonian House

Typical houses throughout the Babylonian period were courtyard type houses, defined by their central courtyards surrounded by rooms on all sides. Medium sized houses ranged from 100 to 200 square meters (Stone 2005: 146). This basic typology applies both to Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian structures, however it is notable that the native terminology for individual rooms and sections within the house differs drastically from the early to the later period (Baker 2015: 374). In the following discussion, an attempt will be made to relate these early and late terms to each other with particular attention to those parts of the house which repeatedly occur in the incantation corpus.



**Figure 2a: Old Babylonian House “Old Street 1” (adapted with modifications from Tricoli 2014:48); 2b: Neo-Babylonian house “Merkes 1” (adapted from Baker 2015:278)**

The houses in figure 2 represent an example of an OB and a NB house. These examples are not intended as a statement about the ‘average Babylonian house’ (something prone to great variation), but serve here as functional models of Babylonian domestic space. The following parts of the house occur with frequency in the incantation corpora:

i) **The Entrance:** Indicated in blue in figure 2 above, the entrance included the threshold (*kuḡ/askuppum*), which was raised to prevent the rubbish of the street from spilling into the house (Guinan 1996: 63). The single door entrance was positioned in front of a bent access entryway, preventing visual access to the interior; in the incantation texts, anxiety about infiltration by supernatural forces is indicated by frequent incidents at the door (*ig/daltu*), the door pivot (*zara/šerru*), door jam (*gurum/giškanakku*), and the bolt (*suhub/mēdelu*).

ii) **The Courtyard:** It is obvious that any demonic entity, having crossed the threshold and entrance way, would need to access the courtyard to gain entry to the other areas of the house. Curiously, the courtyard (*tarbašu*) is only mentioned (elliptically) in a single incantation.

iii) **The Lavatory:** Not all Babylonian houses had a lavatory, although some houses in the medium to large range did. In fig. 2a, the lavatory was identified by Leonard Woolley as being room 4 to the SW of the courtyard. In fig. 2b, the NB house, the location of the lavatory is more problematic. It may have been attached to the main living area in the *bīt iltānu* suite (Baker 2015: 378).

iv) **The ‘Guesthouse’/‘chapel’:** According to Woolley, the rooms indicated in grey in fig. 2a (rooms 5 and 6) represent the ‘guesthouse’ and the ‘chapel’, respectively (Woolley 1976: 124). In a recent study on family cult and its position in the OB house, Sara Tricoli proposed that, according to native terminology, room 5 may be understood as the *é.pa.pah/papahum*, while room 6 is the *ki tuš/šubtum*, which included the *išertum* (Tricoli 2014: 55-56). Recent studies of the *papahum* have upheld the notion that it was a ‘guestroom’ (‘Empfangsraum’), a place to receive visitors for “various purposes” (Jahn 2005: 131). More particularly, it may have hosted clan members during monthly or yearly *kispum* offerings to the dead (Tricoli 2014: 66). The *ki-tuš/šubtum* was of primary importance, it was the ‘dwelling place’ that is, the bedroom. It also contained, at least in fig. 2a, the *išertum*, the shrine to the god of the house. It seems to have been of central importance to the family, and it was bequeathed to the first son - the primary heir - upon the death of the patriarch (Tricoli 2014: 65). Turning to the later house pictured in fig. 2b, the OB room combination *papahum/šubtum* seems to find its most direct correlation in the *bīt ilāni*, which is properly understood as a suite of rooms. Heather Baker stresses the use of the *bīt ilāni* as living space, while acknowledging that to a lesser extent, it may also have served as a meeting space in line with its frequent description: ‘Empfangsraum’ (Baker 2015: 377). That it also served as the

seat of the head of the household and his family indicates that it would be the most likely location of the *išertum* as well.

## 5.0 Study: The House in Mesopotamian Incantation Lore

The following sections present an accounting of urban lexemes which occur in Old Babylonian Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations (5.1). Presented separately (5.2), a select portion of Uduḡ-ḫul series was studied in detail, comprising 6 tablets which are preserved both in the Uduḡ-ḫul Forerunner series (UHF) and the later canonical series on tablets from first millennium Babylonia (UH).

The criteria for inclusion was formulated as follows: all lexical items referring to the house as a whole, or to parts of the house, which were involved in a demonic attack or which were invoked in the defense against such an attack, were charted. This accounts for nearly all instances of the relevant terminology in the corpora studied, however there were a few exceptions which were not included (for example, **TEXT C127** references the threshold by way of analogy: “Sit down! I will walk through you like a threshold.”) In cases where a demon attacks and threatens a certain part of the house and the same line is repeated as part of the exorcist’s response, both iterations are treated as a single incident and the lexeme was recorded only once. Instances of the street were included as the street represents important urban space and demonic presence on the street pre-empts demonic invasion of the home.

In 5.1 below, the data from Old Babylonian incantations will be presented and briefly summarized. In 5.2 the data from the UHF and UH series, representing texts from the OB to LB periods, will be presented and summarized.

## 5.1 Sumerian and Akkadian Old Babylonian Incantations

<b>Old Babylonian Sumerian Incantation Corpus</b> <b>(168 catalogued – 156 consulted - 128 available in translation)</b> <b>15 lexical items in 128 texts considered</b>		
<i>Catalogue #</i>	<i>Urban Lexeme</i>	<i>Agent</i>
A164 6	silá (street)	the e <sup>ru</sup> stick (personified)
A115 18	silá (street)	Lamaštu
A111 19	esir (street)	the evil eye
A5 191	ká (gate)	various demons
A5 192	idib (threshold)	various demons
A5 193	ig (door)	various demons
A5 194	suhub/ <i>mēdulum</i> (bolt)	various demons
A5 195	saġkul/ <i>sikkūrum</i> (bolt)	various demons
A3 150	é (house)	the dead man
A5 166	ab (window)	various demons
A5 171	ab lá (window)	various demons
A5 174	ab x-x/ <i>apti nappāši</i> (ventilation window)	various demons
A5 167	ab-ti-ta/ <i>apti šēti</i> (opening in the bathroom)	various demons
A5 168	ab-ti-ta bar/ apti šēli ahitum (opening in the courtyard)	various demons
A5 170	ab sag (opening in the roof)	various demons

**Summary:** Outside of one divergent OB Sumerian text (**TEXT A5**), which at one point reads like a checklist of household structural elements, the house does not feature prominently in this corpus. In **TEXT A115** Lamaštu is called ‘the daughter of the streets of Ur’. In **TEXT A111** the evil eye stands in the street, opposing the young man with no god. It is unexpected that, outside of **TEXT**



A5, the Sumerian corpus does not depict demonic entities entering the home with any frequency.

It should be noted that OB Sumerian incantations in the Udug-hul forerunner group break this pattern, and are dealt with separately below (see section 5.2).

<b>Old Babylonian Akkadian Incantation Corpus</b> <b>(146 catalogued – 145 consulted - 138 available in translation)</b> <b>31 lexical items in 138 texts considered</b>		
<i>Catalogue #</i>	<i>Urban Lexeme</i>	<i>Agent</i>
C99 3	sūqum (street)	scorpion
C99 4	šulûm (alley)	scorpion
C102 2	šulûm (alley)	<i>maškadum</i> disease
C71 9	askuppum (threshold)	wasps(?)
C71 2-4	askuppum (threshold)	wasps(?)
C80 5-6	askuppum (threshold)	dog
C88 4	askuppum (threshold)	dog
C104 27	askuppum (threshold)	the threshold (personified)
C111 22-23	askuppum (threshold)	witchcraft (ritual against)
C115 7	askuppum (threshold)	Lamaštu
C42 28'	bābu (door)	the evil eye
C20 4-7	bābu (door)	the evil eye
C124 6	bābu (door)	Lamaštu
C111 17-19	šerri daltum (doorpost/socket)	witchcraft (ritual against)
C124 7-8	šerri daltum (doorpost/socket)	Lamaštu
C42 27'	E2/ <i>bītum</i> (house)	the evil eye
C17 15	E2/ <i>bītum</i> (house)	sorcery (affecting the household)
C28 28-29	E2/ <i>bītum</i> (house)	<i>Ardat Lili</i>
C111 20	E2/ <i>bītum</i> (house)	witchcraft
C57 18	gušūrim (rafters)	snake
C36 7	šippum (roof beams)	snake
C57 19	aptum (window)	snake
C20 8	bīt qûm (storeroom)	the evil eye
C63 12	kinīnum (hearth)	the evil eye
C8 10-11	kinīnum (hearth)	the evil eye
C51 4	kinīnum (hearth)	the evil eye
C20 10	kinīnum (hearth)	the evil eye
C111 22-23	kinīnum (hearth)	witchcraft (ritual against)
C63 15	išertum (household shrine)	the evil eye
C8 10-11	išertum (household shrine)	the evil eye
C20 12	išertum (household shrine)	the evil eye

**Summary:** There are significantly more threats to the home apparent in the Akkadian corpus than in the Sumerian corpus. Creatures such as the snake, dog and scorpion should not be taken as pests, they were treated with the same measures as were divinized demonic entities. As was noted earlier, instances of harmful snakes and scorpions significantly outnumber those of demons in the earliest incantation texts. Particularly menacing in the current corpus are instances of the evil eye which does not stop at the threshold, but penetrates to the center of the house: to the hearth and the household shrine.

## 5.2 Udug-hul Incantation texts (UHF + UH series, tablets 3-8)

<b>UHF – Old Babylonian - Sumerian</b> <b>UH – First Millennium Tablets – Bilingual Sum./Akk.</b> <b>UH 3 – 198 lines; UH 4 – 198 lines; UH 5 – 196 lines; UH 6 – 187</b> <b>lines; UH 7 – 167 lines; UH 8 – 52 lines.</b>  <b>77 lexical items in 998 lines of text considered</b>			
<i>UH #</i>	<i>Urban Lexeme UHF</i>	<i>Urban Lexeme UH</i>	<i>Agent</i>
UH 3 3	n/a	sila/sūqu (street)	udug
FAOS 12 158	sila (street)	n/a	the exorcist (benign)
FAOS 12 170-174	sila (street)	n/a	evil udug, alû, gidim, galla, the one who lurks
FAOS 12 219-225	sila (street)	n/a	evil udug, evil alû, evil ghost, evil Galla, evil maškim, dimme (Lamaštu), dimme-lagab, lîl, (female lîl), kisikil-lîl-la, evil Namtar, the asag.
UH 4 70	n/a	sila/sūqu (street)	evil utukku, evil alû, evil ghost, evil galla, evil god, evil maškim, Lamaštu, labāšu, dimme-lagab (jaundice)
FAOS 12 557-558 UH 6 18-19	sila (street)	sila/sūqu (street)	evil udug

UH 6 88	silā (street)	silā (street) – n/a	evil robber <i>utukku</i> , evil <i>maškim</i> , evil ghost, evil <i>galla</i>
FAOS 12 647	silā + esir (street + thoroughfare)	silā/sūqu + esir/sulu (street + thoroughfare)	evil <i>udug</i>
FAOS 23 692-693 UH 7 27-28	silā + esir (street + thoroughfare)	silā/sūqu + esir/sulu (street + thoroughfare)	The evil <i>utukku</i> , evil <i>alû</i> , evil <i>galla</i>
FAOS 12 733 UH 7 52-53	silā, esirra (street + throughfare)	silā + silā (street + street)– n/a + n/a	evil <i>utukku</i> , <i>aluu</i> , evil ghost, and <i>galla</i> demons
FAOS 12 111	ki DU DU (footpath)	n/a	unnamed demon
FAOS 12 79 UH 3 15	kā (gate)	kā/bābum (gate)	the exorcist (benign)
FAOS 12 731 UH 7 53	kā bar bar (outer gate)	kā barbar /bāb kamā (outer gate)	ritual instruction (benign)
FAOS 12 80 UH 3 16	kuḡ (threshold)	kuḡ/askuppu (threshold)	the exorcist (benign)
FAOS 12 115 UH 3 158	kuḡ (threshold)	kuḡ/askuppu (threshold)	unnamed demon
FAOS 12 559 UH 6 20	kuḡ (threshold)	kuḡ/askuppu (threshold)	evil <i>udug</i>
FAOS 12 78 UH 3 14	ig (door)	[ig]/daltu (door)	the exorcist (benign)
UH 3 74	n/a	ig/daltu (door)	evil <i>utukku</i> , evil <i>alû</i> , evil ghost, evil <i>galla</i> , evil god, evil <i>maškim</i> , <i>Lamaštu</i> , <i>labašu</i> , <i>dimme-lagab</i> (jaundice)
FAOS 12 369-370 UH 5 13/14	ig (door)	ig/[daltu] (door)	evil <i>udug</i> , evil <i>Namtar</i>
FAOS 12 732 UH 7 51	ig (door)	ig/daltu (door)	ritual instruction (benign)
UH 7 57	ig (door)	ig/daltu (door)	unspecified evil
Ni 630 84 (FAOS 12 appendix)	ig (door)	ig/daltu (door)	evil ghost
UH 3 75	n/a	<i>zara/šerru</i> (door pivot)	evil <i>utukku</i> , evil <i>alû</i> , evil ghost, evil <i>galla</i> , evil god, evil <i>maškim</i> , <i>Lamaštu</i> , <i>labašu</i> , <i>dimme-lagab</i> (jaundice)
UH 5 15	n/a	<i>zara/šerru</i> (door pivot)	evil <i>udug</i> , evil <i>Namtar</i>
Ni 630 36 (FAOS 12 appendix)	<i>zara</i> (door pivot)	n/a	unknown demons
FAOS 12 738 UH 7 58	suhub (bolt/lock)	suhub/mēdelu (bolt/lock)	evil
Ni 630 84 (FAOS 12 appendix)	suhub (bolt/lock)	n/a	evil ghost
FAOS 12 8 UH 3 11	é (house)	é/É (house)	the exorcist (benign)
UH 3 23	n/a	é/É (house)	evil <i>utukku</i> , <i>alû</i> , ghost, <i>galla</i> , god, <i>maškim</i>

FAOS 12 51 UH 3 75	é (house)	é (house) – n/a	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim
FAOS 12 81 UH 3 107	é (house)	é/É (house)	the exorcist (benign)
FAOS 12 113	é (house)	n/a	unnamed demon
UH 4 30-31	n/a	é/É (house)	unnamed demons
UH 4 78	n/a	é/É (house)	evil <i>utukku</i> , evil alaa, evil ghost, evil galla, evil god, evil maškim, Lamaštu, labašu, dim- me-lagab (jaundice)
UH 5 12	n/a	é/É (house)	evil udug and Namtar demons
FAOS 12 373 UH 5 18	é (house)	hepi(?)/ <i>bītu</i>	evil udug and Namtar demons
UH 5 110	n/a	é/É (house)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim, the rogue with evil face, evil mouth, evil tongue
UH 5 127-128	n/a	é/É (house)	the galla demon
FAOS 12 735- 736 UH 7 55-56	é (house)	é/ <i>bītu</i> (house)	evil
UH 7 123	n/a	é/[É] (house)	namtar
UH 7 145	n/a	é (house) – n/a	head ache
Ni 630 123-124 (FAOS 12 appendix)	é (house)	n/a	unnamed demon
UH 3 24	n/a	ùr/ <i>ūru</i> (roof)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim
FAOS 12 52 UH 3 76	ùr (roof)	ùr/ <i>ūru</i> (roof)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim
FAOS 12 347 UH 4 188	ùr (roof)	n/a - <i>ūru</i> (roof)	various demons
FAOS 12 368 UH 5 11	ùr (roof)	ùr/ <i>ūru</i> (roof)	evil udug, namtar demons
UH 5 111	n/a	ùr/ <i>ūru</i> (roof)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim, the rogue with evil face, evil mouth, evil tongue
FAOS 12 742 UH 7 65	ùr (roof)	ùr (roof) – n/a	unnamed demon
Ni 630 37 (FAOS 12 Appendix)	ab (window)	n/a	unknown demon
FAOS 12 52 UH 3 76	é ki tuš	é ki tuš/É <i>šubtu</i>	Evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim
FAOS 12 112	ki tuš	n/a	unnamed demon
FAOS 12 348 UH 4 189	é ki tuš	n/a – [E2] <i>šubtu</i>	various demons
UH 6 105	n/a	é ki tuš	unnamed demons
FAOS 12 743 UH 7 66	e2 ki tuš	e2 ki tuš - n/a	unnamed demon

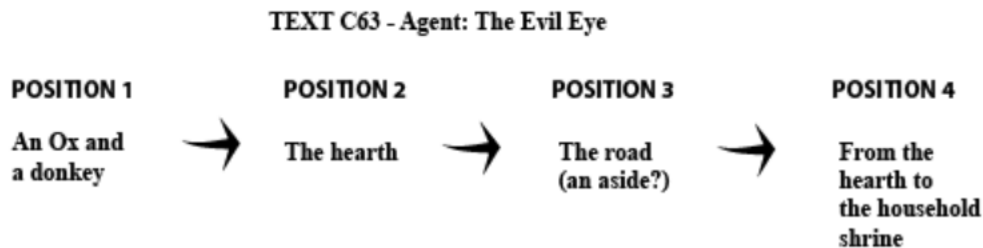
Ni 630 81-83 (FAOS 12 appendix)	n/a	e2 ki tuš	unnamed demon
FAOS 12 273 UH 4 29	(broken)	ama/ <i>maštaku</i> (women's quarter)	unnamed demons
FAOS 12 775 UH 7 76	ama (women's quarter (lit. 'mother'))	n/a	Evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla demons
<b>Assyrian exemplars (No UH Babylonian text available)</b>			
UH 5 178	silā	silā/ <i>sūqu</i>	the seven
UH 6 135	idibs	kuṣ/ <i>askuppu</i>	evil <i>utukku</i> , and evil ghost, Namtar, evil tongue
UH 6 134	giškanak (door jam)	<i>gurum/giškanakku</i> (door jam)	evil <i>utukku</i> , and evil ghost, Namtar, evil tongue
FAOS 12 600 UH 6 167	šed7 (var. of zadu?) (door jam)	<i>zadu/sippu</i> (door jam)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, and maskim demons
FAOS 12 346 UH 4 187	é (house)	é/ <i>bītu</i>	various demons
FAOS 12 577 UH 6 67	[é] (house)	é/É (house)	unnamed demon, evil one whose face, mouth and tongue are evil, spell, sorcery, magic and evil practices
FAOS 12 606 UH 6 173	é (house)	é/É (house)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim demons
FAOS 12 710 UH 7 35	é (house)	é/É (house)	unnamed demon
FAOS 12 582 UH 6 72	[ùr] (roof)	ùr/ <i>ūru</i> (roof)	unnamed demon, evil one whose face, mouth and tongue are evil, spell, sorcery, magic and evil practices.
UH 6 104	n/a	ùr (roof)	unnamed demons
FAOS 12 574 UH 6 64	(broken)	ab/ <i>aptu</i> (window)	unnamed demon
UH 3 25	n/a	é ki tuš/É <i>šubtu</i>	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim
UH 5 112	n/a	é ki tuš/É <i>šubtu</i>	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, maškim, the rogue with evil face, evil mouth, evil tongue
FAOS 12 583 UH 6 73	n/a	é ki tuš/ <i>šubtu</i>	unnamed demon, evil one whose face, mouth and tongue are evil, spell, sorcery,

			magic and evil practices
UH 8 42	n/a	dingir é/DINGIR É (shrine of the family god)	evil alû
UH 8 43	n/a	é ub/ É <i>tubqu</i> (corner of the house)	evil alû
FAOS 12 608 UH 6 175	úr é-gar (lower course/latrine)	úr é-gar/ <i>asurrû</i> (lower course/latrine)	evil <i>utukku</i> , alû, ghost, galla, god, and maškim demon

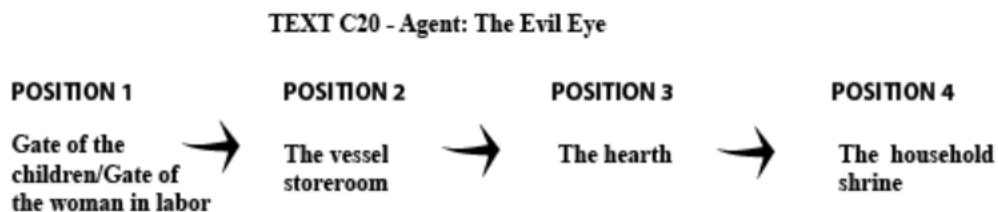
**Summary:** It is clear that the ratio of incantations featuring urban lexemes in UHF is significantly higher than other OB Sumerian incantations. Likewise UH, the series which shares much material with UHF, shows a far greater concern with the house than the OB Akkadian incantation corpus. In order of highest frequency, the principal urban features appearing in tablets 3-8 of Uduġ-ġul are: the house (19 times); the door/door pivot/door bolt (13); the street (9); the é ki tuš (9); the roof (7); the threshold (4). It is interesting to note the intrusion of demons into the é ki tuš, a feature of this series but not of the other OB texts. The Uduġ demon does seem to have a strong presence in the streets, which speaks to the ancient interpretation of its nature as ‘2/3 street dust’ as was discussed in section 2.0 above (see also Verderame 2012: 119). In general, the series shows a marked tendency to list demons as a group. Perhaps this allowed for the wider application of the incantations and/or increased their applicability in the event that the demonic threat had not been identified.

### 5.3 Mapping Intrusions into the House: Spatial Sequences

In section 3.0 above, a recently published OB incantation [TEXT C63] was briefly discussed for its relevance to the house god. Another angle to consider the same portion of text from is to consider route that the demonic agent took while entering the home and look for clues about the structure of the house:



As the evil eye moves toward the center of the house it disrupts an ox and a donkey, it disrupts the hearth; the texts then states that it disrupts the road (possibly an aside); it then passes from hearth to shrine and disrupts the shrine. According to the editor, A. George, the evil eye is passing from the courtyard (where the animals are stationed) to the interior of the house (George 2016: 94).<sup>6</sup> The end point is presumably the *ki tuš*. Accepting that this line inquiry has some validity, a number of similar spatial sequences will be briefly considered below.



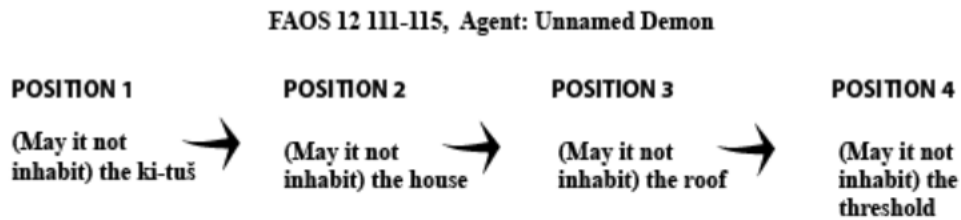
**TEXT C20** presents a similar sequence with the evil eye again proceeding from exterior to the very center of the house. It has been suggested that the ‘gate of the woman in labor’ is related

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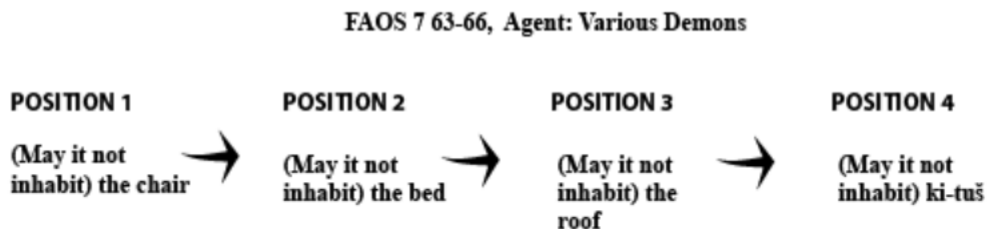
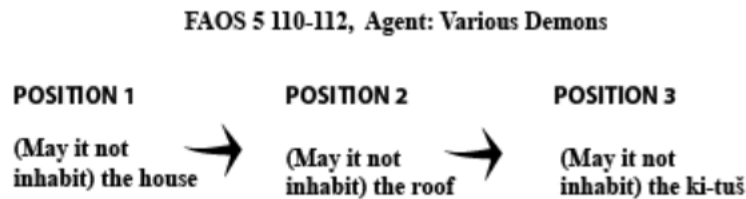
<sup>6</sup> For another incantation featuring an attack by the evil eye on animals apparently stationed within the household, see **TEXT C8**. A similar scenario occurs in **TEXT C42**. Of course, the double value of Akk. *tarbašum* as ‘animal stall, courtyard’ presents another argument that animals were, in some contexts, stationed inside the house.

to the practice of isolating women at the exterior of the house for a period of time following labor. The practice has to do with concerns of ritual purity (van der Toorn 1999: 142).

It cannot be argued that all spatial sequences in incantation texts follow an intuitive logic, wherein the action flows seamlessly from exterior to interior. Some sequences demonstrate curious inversions:



Granted, the above sequence is not a strict description of the demon’s movement, as the earlier examples were, but represents four locations which the exorcists sequentially forbids the demon from entering. Positions 1 and 4 represent inner and outer fringes of the house. A few similar passages from UH contain a house – roof – ki tuš sequence:





Since the roof is consistently listed after the house, these sequences indicate the existence of some internal access to the roof i.e. access by stairs.

## 6.0 Conclusions

At the outset of this study, it was hoped that a close study of the recently published Udug-hul partitur (Geller 2016) would reveal the emergence of Neo-Babylonian household terminology: in the best case scenario, that instances of the *bīt šadī*, *bīt amurri*, *bīt iltāni*, or *bīt šūti* may crop up in the Hellenistic Babylonian tablets redacted by late period scribes. The limitations of a canonical series for such an investigation has become apparent however, and there were precious few textual variations. In each case, the variation was between the OB Sumerian item and the corresponding Sumerian term used in the late bilingual text:

<b>FAOS 12 733</b> - esirra	<b>UH 7 53</b> – sila
<b>FAOS 12 373</b> - é	<b>UH 5 18</b> – hepi(?)
<b>UH 6 134</b> - giškanak	<b>UH 6 134</b> – gurum
<b>FAOS 12 600</b> - šed <sub>7</sub>	<b>UH 6 167</b> – zadu

Turning to the house as locus of supernatural confrontation, it was observed that the spread of urban lexemes occurs quite unevenly between the three corpora under consideration. For the Sumerian language corpus, three factors may go some of the way in explaining this phenomena: **i)** numerous incantation text types do not concern demonic threats (for example, Kultmittelbeschwörung type aim to consecrate *materia magica*); **ii)** Sumerian language incantations seem, in general, to have a more abstract or cosmological focus, to the possible

exclusion of more material urban imagery; **iii**) in the third millennium, the exorcists were clearly members of the priestly class, the išib and gudu<sub>4</sub> priests. In the early second millennium, the *āšipu/mašmaššu* specialist emerged, and it is relatively clear that he did ‘house calls’: he visited the house of the sick patient, searching for omens on his way and treating the patient with a combined magico-medical approach upon his arrival (Geller 2016: 38). That much of the Sumerian corpus (outside of UHF) lacks attention for household threats may reflect the limited concerns of early functionaries.

That the UHF/UH texts have a significantly higher ratio of urban lexemes than other incantation texts studied is explainable in light of the *sitz im Leben* of the series: UH was recently defined by Geller as being essentially a ‘healing art’ in nature. Unlike other series, the exorcist deals specifically with the sick man, the ‘patient’ (Geller 2016: 33), and so the place where the disease was thought to be contracted features more often.

While any intrusion into the house by demonic forces was a serious matter, the most egregious in the date considered were perhaps those which caused disruption to the *ki tuš* and particularly to the household shrine. The interior of the house was integral to the maintenance of the family hierarchy (Guinan 1996: 63) as well the domestic cult and the identity of the clan. As was born out in sections 5.1 and 5.2, various demons may attacked the *ki tuš*, but it was the evil eye (and in one UH instance, the evil *alû* demon) who attacks the household shrine. The nature of this entity has been recognized, essentially, as being an extension of the evil sorcery, of the witch (Thomsen 1992). This position is still maintained today.<sup>7</sup> It is perhaps against this backdrop that

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<sup>7</sup> For example, see N. Wasserman’s footnotes to SEAL entry 5.1.7.1.: <http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de/>. The evidence is also apparent in the primary sources. **TEXT B5** line 1-2 reads: “The evil one whose eye is evil, the child-snatcher, chases after sorcery and magic and wanders about like a male wraith.”

the greater witchcraft paranoia of the second and first millennium BC would emerge, leading ultimately to the development of late anti-witchcraft incantation series like Maqlu.

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# Appendix

Key:

Label in grey = Text is not published in Translation

Label in Bold = Not consulted in this study

Old Babylonian Sumerian Incantation Corpus					
	Author	Tablet / Publication #	Cunningham #	SEAL #	CDLI #
A1	Alster 1972 C	VS 17 25	247		
A2	Alster 1972 p. 352	VS 17 24	246		
A3	Alster 1991 and 1992 text A	ASJ 15 p 267-272, CBS 563	148		
<b>A4</b>	Alster 1993 no 4	ASJ 15 p. 7, YBC 6707	147		
A5	Borger 1969a, text F (also Borger 1969b) and van Dijk 1985 no 93.	CT 44 32+33 I 1' - 6' 125b: YOS 11 93 BM 17305	125a		
A6	Borger 1969a, p. 2	CT 44 32+33 v 7 - vii 27'	126		
<b>A7</b>	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b p. 193	STVC 10 I 2' - iv 8'	109		
<b>A8</b>	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993B text Z	YOS 11 72	295		
A9	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994 p. 77-78	PBS 13 33	105		
A10	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994 p. 79	YOS 11 66 1-13	282		
<b>A11</b>	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994 p. 79	YOS 11 66 14-27	283		
A12	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994 p. 81-82	YOS 11 67 obv	284		



A13	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994 p. 81-82	YOS 11 67 rev	285		
A14	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995 D, C	128a CT 44 34, 128b: CT 58 79	128a 128b		
A15	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995 p. 32-33	YOS 11 70 iii 16-30	293		
A16	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995 p. 37	VS 17 29	250		
A17	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995 p. 37	YOS 11 80	300		
A18	Conti 1988 p. 118-119	VS 17 14	240		
A19	Conti 1988 p. 116	VS 17 15	241		
A20	Conti 1988 p. 124	YOS 11 48	269		
A21	Cooper 1971 A	CT 4 3	115		
A22	Falkenstein 1931 p. 45	209a: VS 10 202, 209b: VS 10 203	209a 209b		
A23	Falkenstein 1931 p. 77	VS 10 187 ii' 1' - 10'	202		
A24	Falkenstein 1931 p. 99-100	Ni 2399 v. 2-12 Unpublished?	113		
A25	Falkenstein 1931 p. 79	Ni 2399 v 3-22 Unpublished?	114		
A26	Falkenstein 1931 p. 49/ Geller 1985 p. 112-117	CT 4 4 rev.	117		
A27	Falkenstein 1964 p. 113 A, B (Leick 1994 p. 196-197)	150a: BL 4, 150b: JCS 8 p. 146, Williams College 3	150a 150b		
A28	Farber, G. 1984	JNES 43 p. 312, E 47.190	156		
A29	Finkel 1980 A, B; YOS 11 40	CBS 10489 + ST/C 16	73a		
A30	Finkel 1980 text C i	AfO 27 p. 38, CBS 1509 i	143		
A31	Finkel 1980 text C ii	AfO 27 p. 38, CBS 1509 ii	144		
A32	Finkel 1980 text C iii	AfO 27 p. 38, CBS 1509 iii	145		
A33	Finkel 1980 text C iv	AfO 27 p. 38, CBS 1509 iv	146		
A34	Geller p. 112-17	TCL 16 63 obv.	182		

	*See now Schramm 2008 p. 255				
A35	Geller 1985 1-12 A	<i>FAOS 12 A</i>	74		
A36	Geller 1985 13-54 A	<i>FAOS 12 A i 13 - ii 19</i>	75		
A37	Geller 1985 55-72 A	<i>FAOS 12 A ii 20'-37'</i>	76		
A38	Geller 1985 73-89	<i>FAOS 12 A ii 38' - iii 2'</i>	77		
A39	Geller 1985 90-98	<i>FAOS 12 A iii 3'-9'</i>	78		
A40	Geller 1985 99-119	<i>FAOS 12 A iii 10'-27'</i>	79		
A41	Geller 1985 120-128	<i>FAOS 12 A iv 1' - 9'</i>	80		
A42	Geller 1985 129-138	<i>FAOS 12 A iv 10' - v 5'</i>	81		
A43	Geller 1985 139-152	<i>FAOS 12 A v 6' - 19'</i>	82		
A44	Geller 1985 153-168	<i>FAOS 12 A vi 1-16</i>	83		
A45	Geller 1985 169-208 A	<i>FAOS 12 A vi 17-55</i>	84		
A46	Geller 1985 209-233 A	<i>FAOS 12 A vii 1-28</i>	85		
A47	Geller 1985 246-296 A	<i>FAOS 12 A vii 43-viii 35</i>	86		
A48	Geller 1985 376a=84B	<i>FAOS 12 B i 1-11</i>	87		
A49	Geller 1985 385-399 B	<i>FAOS 12 B i 1-11</i>	88		
A50	Geller 1985 400-419 B	<i>FAOS 12 B i 29-49</i>	89		
A51	Geller 1985 420-450 B	<i>FAOS 12 B i 50-ii 26</i>	90		
A52	Geller 1985 451-467 B	<i>FAOS 12 B ii 27-43</i>	91		
A53	Geller 1985 691-746 B	<i>FAOS 12 B ii 44 - iii 45</i>	92		
A54	Geller 1985 767-795 B	<i>FAOS 12 B iii 46 - iv 24</i>	93		
A55	Geller 1985 585-595 B	<i>FAOS 12 B vi 1' - 11'</i>	94		
A56	Geller 1985 596-615 B	<i>FAOS 12 B vi 12'-47'</i>	95		
A57	Geller 1985 616-645 B	<i>FAOS 12 B vii 1'-32'</i>	96		
A58	Geller 1985 646-690	<i>FAOS 12 B vii 44' - viii 38'</i>	97		
A59	Geller 1985 298-357 H	<i>CT 44 30 obv.</i>	124		
A60	Geller 1985 511-22 F (Roemer 1987 p. 194-195)	<i>PBS 1/2 128 iii 8' - iii 22'</i>	174		

A61	Geller 1985	<i>PBS 1/2 128 iii 23' - iv 25'</i>	175		
A62	Geller 1985	<i>PBS 1/2 128 vi 1' - v 25'</i>	176		
A63	Geller 1985	<i>PBS 1/2 128 vi 1' - vi 16'</i>	177		
A64	Geller 1985 p. 112-117	YOS 11 70 ii 8' - iii 15	292		
A65	Geller 1985 358-376	<i>TIM 9 62 obv.</i>	185		
A66	Geller 1989 D, C	Geller 1989 pp204-05, d, c CBS 11933, 98b: Af0 24 table 2, John Rylands Library, Box 24 P28	98a		
A67	George 1989 p. 379	VS 24 46+47+48+50+51 obv	132		
A68	George 1989 p. 379	VS 24 46+47+48+50+51 rev	133		
A69	George 2016 5 b,f-g,l II.A.2,II.A.3,II.A.4	MS 2789			P251835
A70	George 2016 6 c,e- g,h,i,p,r,s,t II.A.5-12	MS 3089			P252107
A71	George 2016 7b,f,h,i,j,l,q II.B.2;D.6;E.3-6;J.1	MS 3097			P252106
A72	George 2016 8b,e,k,l II.D.6;E.6;J.1;E.5	MS 3085			P252094
A73	George 2016 9k II.I.1	MS 3088			P252907
A74	George 2016 10g II.B.8	MS 3089+3102			P252098
A75	George 2016 11f,h II.A.15	MS 3091 + 3092			P252100
A76	George 2016 12a,d,f,g II.B.5,B.6,B.7	MS 3096			P252105
A77	George 2016 13	MS 3100			P252109
A78	George 2016 14	MS 3105/2			P431789
A79	George 2016 15	MS 3095			P252104
A80	George 2016 16	MS 3090			P252099
A81	George 2016 17 a,b II.A.13	MS 3087			P252096
A82	George 2016 18	MS 3427			P342702
A83	George 2016 19 a,d II.D.4;D.5	MS 2353			P251572
A84	George 2016 20d II.J.2	MS 3086			P252095

A85	George 2016 21b II.G.3	MS 3084			P252093
A86	George 2016 22c,d I.B.8	MS 3105/1			P252114
A87	George 2016 23a,b II.F.1;II.I.2	MS 3062			P252071
A88	George 2016 24a,b II.D.11	MS 3059			P252068
A89	George 2016 25a,b II.E.6;II.D.14	MS 2780			P251829
A90	Jacobsen 1987 p. 32 n 28	VS 10 187 ii 11' - 19'	203		
A91	Jestin 1947 1b	RA 23 p. 42 11-19	180		
A92	Kramer 1964 and 1970 no 6	CT 42 6 i 16' - 32'	151		
A93	Kramer 1964 and 1970 no 6	CT 42 6 i 33' - ii 22	152		
A94	Kramer 1964 and 1970 no 6	CT 42 6 ii 1 - iv 1	153		
A95	Kramer 1964 and 1970 no 6	CT 42 6 iv 11 - 31	154		
A96	Kramer 1976 no 19	OECT 5 19	162		
A97	Kramer 1976 no 20	OECT 5 20	163		
A98	Kramer 1976 no 23	OECT 5 23	168		
A99	Kramer 1976 no 24	OECT 5 24	169		
A100	Krebernik 1984 p. 83/ Charpin 1986 p. 389	VS 17 39	239		
A101	Krebernik 1984 p.232	PBS 13 33	104		
A102	Michalowski 1993 B,C, A	<i>Michalowski 1993, p. 162, N 4237, 102b: Features praise of torch as divine purifier Michalowski 1993 p162, BM 29383, 102c: YOS 11 53</i>	102a		
A103	Michalowski 1981 B, D, A, C, E	<i>Text 103a: Or 41 p. 357, N 1266, 103b: ZA 71 p. 14, CBS 10474, 103c: Or 41 p357, BM 47859, 103d: Or 41 p358, IM 44468, 103e: RA 53p123, K9141+K2841</i>	103a, 103b, 103c		
A104	Michalowski 1981 p.17	STVC 11	110		
A105	Nouhayrol 1972 no 4 1-6	RA 66 p. 141, AO 7682 1-6	181		
A106	Owen 1981-82 p. 42-43	VS 17 13	238		

A107	Sauren 1968 (see also van Dijk 1985 no 90) See now Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1993b D	<i>Geneva NS 16 p. 110, MAH 16003</i>	155		
A108	Thomsen 1992 no. 1	<i>YOS 11 70</i>	289		
A109	Thomsen 1992 no. 2A,2b	2B: <i>YOS 11 70   15'-23'</i> ; 2A <i>YOS 11 71</i>	290a 290b		
A110	Thomsen 1992 no. 3	<i>YOS 11 70   24' - ii 7'</i>	291		
A111	Thomsen 1992 no 4 (also Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b p. 175 and 195)	<i>TCL 16 89</i>	184		
A112	Thomsen 1992 no 5 (see also Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b p. 195)	<i>BL 3</i>	149		
A113	Tonietti 1979 A 1'-5' P223432	<i>TIM 9 63 1'-5'</i>	187		
A114	Tonietti 1979 6' - 16' P223432	<i>TIM 9 63 6'-16'</i>	188		
A115	Tonietti 1979 texts A 17'-46' B P223432	<i>189a TIM 9 63 17'-46' 189b OECT 5 55</i>	189a 189b		
A116	Van Dijk 1967 p. 259/ Kramer and Maier 1989 p. 110	<i>CT 44 27 1-19</i>	120		
A117	Van Dijk 1967 p. 244-45	<i>CT 44 30 obv.</i>	122		
A118	Van Dijk 1967 p. 263	<i>VS 17 28</i>	249		
A118a	Peterson 2009 p. 125	UM 29-13-569			
A119	Van Dijk 1969 A	<i>RA 23 p. 42 1-10</i>	179		
A120	Van Dijk 1969 B	<i>YOS 11 34</i>	261		
A121	Van Dijk 1969 C	<i>YOS 11 33</i>	260		
A122	Van Dijk 1969 C	<i>YOS 11 32</i>	259		
A123	Van Dijk 1969 B	<i>YOS 11 34</i>	261		
A124	Van Dijk 1971b p.10 no 1	<i>VS 17 1   1' - ii 19'</i>	210		
A125	Van Dijk 1971b p. 10 no 1	<i>VS 17 1 iv 13-17</i>	212		

A126	Van Dijk 1971b p. 10 no 2	VS 17 3	215		
A127	Van Dijk 1971b p.11 no 32	VS 17 32 44-65	256		
A128	Van Dijk 1971b p. 11 no. 33, van Dijk 1975 p. 62	<i>SLTNI 49, 106b: VS 17 33</i>	106a		
A129	Van Dijk 1972 p. 342	YOS 11 57 11-15	277		
A130	Van Dijk 1973a (Roemer 1987 p. 169ff)	YOS 11 42	263		
A131	Van Dijk 1975 p. 65	YOS 11 85	304		
A132	Van Dijk 1975 p. 69	<i>AfO 24 table 3, John Rylands Library, Box 24 E6+24</i>	142		
A133	Van Dijk 1985 p. 7	<i>CT 44 27 20-35</i>	121		
A134	Van Dijk 1985 no 5 32-26	218a: VS 17 10 9-15 218b: VS 17 10 117-124, 218c: YOS 11 5 23-26	218a 218b 218c		
A135	Van Dijk 1985 no 33	YOS 11 33	259		
A136	Van Dijk 1985 no 34	<i>PRAK 1 B86</i>	140		
A137	Van Dijk 1985 no 35	<i>Strassburger Keilschrifttexte 4</i>	141		
A138	Van Dijk 1985 no 36	YOS 11 36	262		
A139	Van Dijk 1985 no 43	YOS 11 43	264		
A140	Van Dijk 1985 no 44	YOS 11 44	265		
A141	Van Dijk 1985 no 45	YOS 11 45	266		
A142	Van Dijk 1985 no 46	YOS 11 46	267		
A143	Van Dijk 1985 no 47	YOS 11 47	268		
A144	Van Dijk 1985 no 49 1-8	YOS 11 49 9-14	270		
A145	Van Dijk 1985 no 49 15-24	YOS 11 49 15-24	272		
A146	Van Dijk 1985 no 51	YOS 11 51	273		
A147	Van Dijk 1985 no 54	YOS 11 54	274		
A148	Van Dijk 1985 no 56	YOS 11 56	275		
A149	Van Dijk 1985 no 59 And Conti 1988 p. 121	YOS 11 59	278		

A150	Van Dijk 1985 no 61	YOS 11 61	279		
A151	Van Dijk 1985 no 5	TIM 9 62	186		
A152	Van Dijk 1985 no 77 16-26	190a TIM 9 64, 190b YOS 11 77 16-26	190a 190b		
A153	Van Dijk 1985 no 63	YOS 11 63	281		
A154	Van Dijk 1985 no 69	YOS 11 69 obv.			
A155	Van Dik 1985 no 69 rev. 1'-7'	YOS 11 69 rev. 1'-7'			
A156	Van Dijk 1985 no 79	YOS 11 79	299		
A157	Van Dijk 1985 no 83	YOS 11 83	302		
A158	Van Dijk 1985 no 86	YOS 11 86	305		
A159	Van Dijk 1985 no 90	YOS 11 90	307		
<b>A160</b>	Van Dijk and Mayer 1987 p. 11	VS 4 45 rev 1' - 9'	131		
<b>A161</b>	Van Dijk and Mayer 1987 p. 11	VS 24 52 rev I' 1 - ii' 10'	135		
A162	Veldhuis 1992 no 1.1	VS 17 1 ii 20' - iv 12	211		
A163	Veldhuis 1992 p, 34 n. 1	YOS 11 30	257		
A164	Wiggermann 1992 p. 82-83	V208a: VS 10 92, 208b: VS 17 18	208a 208b		
A165	Wilcke 1985 1-8 and p. 208	ZA 75 facing p. 208, IB 1554 1-8, 137b: YOS 11 50 7-13 (Emesal Sumerian)	137a		
A166	Wilcke 1985 73-77	ZA 75 facing p. 208, IB 1554 73-77	138		
A167	Wilcke 1985 122-124	ZA 75 facing p. 208, IB 1554 122-124	139		

<b>Old Babylonian Bilingual Incantation Corpus</b>					
	<b>Author</b>	<b>Tablet / Publication #</b>	<b>Cunningham #</b>	<b>SEAL #</b>	<b>CDLI #</b>
B1	Lambert 1991/Foster 1991 no II.32	<i>PRAK</i> 2 C1	309	5.1.10.1	
B2	Geller 1985 p. 140	<i>FAOS</i> 12 D	310		
B3	Cohen, S. 1976 p. 102-103/Foster 1993 no II.19	<i>CT</i> 4 8a	311		
<b>B4</b>	Alster 1990 no 10	<i>CT</i> 58 10	312		
B5	Geller 1989 text b	<i>PBS</i> 1/2 122	313		
B6	Cohen, M. 1976 p. 133/Finkel 1980 p. 41 n.4/Farber, G. 1984 p. 311 n. 3	<i>RA</i> 70 p. 135-137, <i>AUAM</i> 73.3094	314	5.1.3.4	

<b>Old Babylonian Akkadian Incantation Corpus</b>					
	<b>Author</b>	<b>Tablet / Publication #</b>	<b>Cunningham #</b>	<b>SEAL #</b>	<b>CDLI #</b>
C1	Böhl 1954 p. 82-83/Foster 1993 no II II.15b	<i>BiOr</i> 11 p.82 - LB 1001	338	5.1.6.5	
C2	Böhl 1954 p. 92/Whiting 1985 182-183/Geller and Wiggermann 2008 p. 153-156	<i>BiOr</i> 11 - LB 1000	339	5.1.6.6 5.1.5.2	
C3	Cavigneaux 1994 155-157	M. 15289		5.1.19.4	
C4	Cavigneaux 1994 156-157	M. 15289		5.1.5.5	



C5	Cavigneaux 1999 258-261	H 72		5.1.17.1	
C6	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 88-89	Fs. De Meyer - CBS 10455 (S 2/531)		5.1.13.1	
C7	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 87-88	Fs. De Meyer - IM 90647 (S 2/532)		5.1.27.5	
C8	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 85-87	Fs. De Meyer - IM 90648 (S 2/532)		5.1.7.1	
C9	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 85-87:16-28	Fs. De Meyer - IM 95317 (S 7/1600)		5.1.9.2	
C10	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 82-85: 29-31	Fs. De Meyer - IM 95317 (S 7/1600)		5.1.6.7	
C11	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 1994 p. 82-85: 32-40	Fs. De Meyer - IM 95317 (S 7/1600)		5.1.4.2	
C12	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 2002 p. 10-11	YOS 11 69a - YBC 4594	401	5.1.15.3	
C13	Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi 2002 p. 10-11	YOS 11 69b - YBC 4594	402	5.1.16.1	
C14	Cavigneaux 2003 61-62	Fs. Wilcke - Sb 12360		5.1.20.2	
C15	Collins 1999 234-235	A 663		5.1.15.1	
C16	Couto-Ferreira 2014	YOS 11 17 - YBC 5630	393	5.1.3.6	
C17	Farber 1981 no C20/Cavigneaux and Donbaz 2007 332-335	UET 6/2 193 obv.	334	5.1.27.35	
C18	Farber 1981 57-58	OECT 11 11 - Bod AB 215		5.1.27.32	
C19	Farber 1981 p. 57-58	OBTI 302 - A 21959		5.1.6.9	
C20	Farber 1981 p. 60 / Foster 1993 no II.27	ZA 71 p. 62 - BM 122691 obv.	327	5.1.7.2	
C21	Farber 1981 p. 60	ZA 71 p. 62, BM 122691 rev 13-19	329	5.1.6.13	
C22	Farber 1981 p. 72 n.3	CT 42 6 iv 2-10	349	5.1.9.1	
C23	Farber 1981 no C18a	TIM 9 73	325	5.1.6.11	
<b>C24</b>	Farber 1981 no C31	PIHANS 44 302	343		
C25	Farber 1981 and 1984 no C1	PBS 7 87	356	5.1.27.34	

C26	Farber 1985 no. 14	YOS 11 14 rev. 7-11 - YBC 4599	390	5.1.12.1	
C27	Farber 1989 no 3.1.1/Foster 1993 no II.31/Farber 1990a p.140	ZA 71 p. 62/BM 122691 rev. 1-12	328	5.1.2.3	
C28	Farber 1989b p. 16	YOS 11 92 - YBC 9841	406	5.1.24.1	
C29	Farber 1990b no 1.1(Foster 1993 no I.7)	Kultepe 1948 611 B (Assyrian)	337		
C30	Farber 1990b no. 2.7/Veldhuis 1990 text A/Foster 1993 no. 28/Veldhuis 1993b p. 50	YOS 11 11	383	5.1.11.1	
C31	Finkel 1999a p. 215-218	BM 79125 (Bu 89-4-26, 422)		5.1.6.2	
C32	Finkel 1999a p. 218-219	BM 79938 (89-10-14, 486)		5.1.6.3	
C33	Finkel 1999a p. 218-219	BM 79938 (89-10-14, 486)		5.1.27.1	
C34	Finkel 1999a p. 223-226	CBS 7005		5.1.20.1	
C35	Finkel 1999a p. 235	FM 22878		5.1.19.1	
C36	Foster 1993 no II.23a/Finkel 1999a p. 226-229	<i>TIM</i> 9 65 ; <i>TIM</i> 9 66 1- 28 IM 51292; IM 51328	323a 323b	5.1.20.3	
C37	Geller/Wiggermann 2008 p. 156-160	CT 42 32 - BM 17305		5.1.5.1	
C38	George 2009 p. 69-70	CUSAS 10 11 - MS 2920		5.1.14.2	
C39	George 2009 p. 156	CUSAS 10 19 - MS 2949		5.1.19.2	
C40	George 2016 7c - II.J.3	MS 3097		5.1.27.20	
C41	George 2016 7e - II	MS 3097		5.1.27.21	
C42	George 2016 7g - II.C.1	MS 3097		5.1.27.22	
C43	George 2016 7m - II.E.7	MS 3097		5.1.27.23	
C44	George 2016 7o - II.E.8	MS 3097		5.1.27.25	
C45	George 2016 7p - II.E.9	MS 3097		5.1.27.24	
C46	George 2016 8d - II.E.10	MS 3085		5.1.27.16	

C47	George 2016 8h -	MS 3085		5.1.27.17	
C48	George 2016 23b -II.I.2	MS 2062		5.1.14.3	
C49	George 2016 20a	MS 3086		5.1.27.18	
C50	George 2016 20d - II.J.2	MS 3093		5.1.27.19	
C51	George 2016 21f -	MS 3084		5.1.27.14	
C52	George 2016 21l -	MS 3084		5.1.27.15	
C53	George 2016 22.a	MS 3105/1		5.1.27.29	
C54	George 2016 24a-b - II.D.11	MS 3059		5.1.27.10	
C55	George 2016 25 II.E.6	MS 2780		5.1.27.6	
C56	George 2016 26a - II.G.2	MS 3387		5.1.3.3	
C57	George 2016 26c - II.E.13	MS 3387		5.1.27.32	
C58	George 2016 27 - II.D.8	MS 2791		5.1.27.100	
C59	George 2016 27c - II.D.8	MS 2791		5.1.27.101	
C60	George 2016 28a - II.G.1	MS 3067		5.1.3.2	
C61	George 2016 30 - II.D.10	MS 3093		5.1.27.104	
C62	George 2016 31 -	MS 3103		5.1.27.105	
C63	George 2016 31c - II.C.2	MS 3103		5.1.27.26	
C64	George 2016 31d - II.C.2	MS 3103		5.1.27.27	
C65	George 2016 31e - II.H.2	MS 3103		5.1.27.28	
C66	George 2016 32a - II.E.12	MS 2822		5.1.27.7	
C67	George 2016 32b - II.E.12	MS 2822		5.1.27.8	
C68	George 2016 32c- II.E.12	MS 2822		5.1.27.9	
C69	George 2016 48 - II.D.7	MS 3070		5.1.27.103	P252079
C70	George 2016 49 - II.D.9	MS 3060		5.1.27.11	P252069
C71	George 2016 50 a,b - II.D.12/13	MS 3073		5.1.27.106	P252082
C72	George 2016 51 II.D.13	MS 3061		5.1.27.12	P252070
C73	George 2016 59 II.K.2	MS 3419			P252360
C74	George 2016 60 II.K.6	MS 3949			P253038

C75	Goetze 1955 text A/Foster 1993 no. II.14a/Farber 1990b no. 2.3	JCS 9 p.9a/Spurlock Museum 1913.14.1465 (previously UIOM 1059)	351	5.1.5.3	
C76	Goetze 1955 text B/Foster 1993 no. II.14a B/Farber 1990b n 2.4	JCS 9 p. 10b, HTS 2	352	5.1.5.4	
C77	Goetze 1955 text C/Foster 1993 no II.14a.C;Farber 1990b no. 2.4	YOS 11 8 - NBC 6321	379	5.1.5.6	
C78	Gurney 1989 no. 2/Farber 1989a no. 3.1.2/Farber 1990a p. 142 and 1990b no. 2.8	OECT 11 2	353	5.1.2.1	
C79	Gurney 1989 p.21 no 3/Foster no II.18/Veldhuis 1993b p. 52	OECT 11 3 - Bod AB 214	354	5.1.4.3	
C80	Gurney 1989 p. 22-23 no. 4	OECT 11 4 - Bod AB 217	355	5.1.6.10	
C81	Hallo 1999 p. 278-279	MLC 1614		5.1.25.1	
C82	Hallo 1999 p. 276-277	YBC 8041		5.1.13.1	
C83	Hallo 1999 p. 276-278	YBC 8041		5.1.27.3	
C84	Hallo 1999 p. 277-278	YBC 8041		5.1.6.4	
C85	Landsberger and Jacobsen 1955 no 1/Foster 1993 no II.16/Veldhuis 1993b p. 48	JNES14 p. 15 Ish-35-T.19	342	5.1.21.1	
C86	Landsberger and Jacobsen 1955 p. 14 n. 7/Farber 1981 no C8	UET 5 85 - U.17204 c	333	5.1.12.1	
C87	Nougayrol 1972 no 4 7-9/Foster 1993 no IV 41a	RA 66 p.141, AO 7682 7-9	357	5.1.19.3	
C88	Sigrist 1987 p. 86/Foster 1993 no. II 22a	VS 17 8 = VAT 8355	364	5.1.6.12	
C89	Sigrist 1987 p. 87	Fs. Pope - AUAM 73.2416	358	5.1.6.8	
C90	Sullivan 1980 131-134	CT 4 8a - BM 92518 (88-5-12,51)		5.1.4.1	
C91	Tonietti 1979 text A left edge	TIM 9 63 left edge - IM 21180	359	5.1.13.4	

C92	Thureau-Dangin 1939 no 3 obv./Foster 1993 no. II. 15a	RA 36 p.12 obv.	340	5.1.23.1	
C93	Thureau-Dangin 1939 no 4 obv./Foster 1981 no C6, 1990 no 2.1	RA 36 p.15 obv.	341	5.1.2.2	
C94	Van Dijk 1967 p. 238-239/Wilcke 1985 p. 208/Cavigneau 1999 264-265	TIM 9 73 rev. 4-10 - IM 52546	326	5.1.17.2	
C95	Van Dijk 1969 p.540-541/Foster 1993 no II.23b	VS 17 4 - VAT 8363	363	5.1.20.4	
C96	Van Dijk 1971b p.11 no 23/CAD under sangu	VS 17 23 - VAT 8354	366	5.1.14.4	
C97	Van Dijk 1972 p. 343/Foster 1993 no. II. 30a/Farber 1990b no. 2.6	VS 17 34 - VAT 8539	367	5.1.3.5	
C98	Van Dijk 1985 no. 1	YOS 11 1 - YBC 5620	368	5.1.19.6	
C99	Van Dijk 1985 no. 2/Foster 1993 no. II 4	YOS 11 2 - YBC 5090	369	5.1.19.7	
C100	Van Dijk 1985 no. 3	YOS 11 3 - NBC 8957	370	5.1.26.1	
C101	Van Dijk 1985 no.4 23-28	YOS 11 4 23-28 - YBC 4593	372	5.1.19.9	
C102	Van Dijk 1985 no. 4 11-19	YOS 11 4 11-19	371		
C103	Van Dijk 1985 no. 5 9-14	YOS 11 5 9-14 - YBC 4616	374	5.1.19.10	
C104	Van Dijk 1985 no. 5 27-28	YOS 11 5 27-28 - YBC 4616	375	5.1.27.37	
C105	Van Dijk 1985 no. 7/Foster 1993 no II.29	YOS 11 7 - YBC 5640	378	5.1.18.1	
C106	Van Dijk 1985 no. 9 1-8/Farber 1985 no. 9 1-8	YOS 11 9 1-8 - YBC 5619	380	5.1.5.7	
C107	Van Dijk 1985 no. 12 29-37	YOS 11 12 29-37 - YBC 4625	386	5.1.22.1	
<u>C108</u>	Van Dijk 1985 no. 13/Farber 1985 no. 13	YOS 11 13 - YBC 9117	387	5.1.11.3	

C109	Van Dijk 1985 no. 14/Farber 1985 no. 14/Foster 1993 no II.20	YOS 11 14 rev 1-6 - YBC 4599	389	5.1.15.2 5.1.12.2	
C111	Van Dijk 1985 no. 15 1-16 and 29 23-27	YOS 11 15 1-16 and YOS 11 29 23-27 YBC 4588/YBC 4597	391a 391b	5.1.25.3	
C112	Van Dijk 1985 no. 16 and 77 10-15	YOS 11 16 392b and YOS 11 77 10-15 YBC 5328/YBC 9898	392a 392b	5.1.27.42 5.1.27.41	
C113	Van Dijk 1985 no. 19/Foster 1993 no II.26b	YOS 11 19a - YBC 4601	394	5.1.13.5	
C114	Unpublished-	YOS 11 19b - YBC 4601	395	5.1.20.5	
C115	Van Dijk 1985 no. 20	YOS 11 20 - YBC 9846	396	5.1.13.6	
C116	Van Dijk 1985 no. 21 1-9	YOS 21 1-9	397	5.1.27.43	
C117	Van Dijk 1985 no. 35	YOS 11 35 1-5 - YBC 9899	400	5.1.19.11	
C118	Van Dijk 1985 no. 87/Foster 1993 no. II.33a	YOS 11 87 - MLC 1299	405	5.1.14.6	
C119	Van Dijk 1973b p. 503/Foster 1993 no. II.30b	YOS 11 86 1-28 - YBC 4603	404	5.1.3.7	
C120	Veldhuis 1990 text B/Veldhuis 1993b p. 51	YOS 11 12a 1-15 - YBC 4625	384	5.1.11.2	
C121	Veldhuis 1993b p. 45/Foster 1993 no II.17	YOS 11 5 1-8 - YBC 4616	373	5.1.26.2	
C122	Veldhuis 1993b p. 42/Foster 1993 no. II.24	YOS 11 6 rev. - NBC 7967	376	5.1.8.1	
C123	Von Soden 1954/Foster 1993 no II.26a	<i>BIN</i> 2 72	346		
C124	Von Soden 1956/Foster 1993 no I.6	<i>BIN</i> 4 126 - NBC 1265(Assyrian)	347	5.1.13.2	
C125	Von Soden 1961/Foster 1993 no. II 23b	<i>CT</i> 42 32	350		
C126	Wasserman 2008 331-333	BM 115745 (=1923-1-13,26)		5.1.3.1	
C127	Whiting 1985 A	ZA 75 p. 184 - Tell Asmar 1930-T117	344	5.1.1.4	

C128	Whiting 1985 text B/Foster 1993 no II.21	<i>TIM</i> 9 72 - IM 51207	324	5.1.1.1	
C129	Whiting 1985 text C, p. 180-181	<i>UET</i> 6/2 399 - U.16892D	335	5.1.1.2	
C130	Whiting 1985 p.182-183/Foster 1993 no II.25b	<i>BiOr</i> 11 p.82, LB 2001	348		
C131	Wilcke 1973 10-13/Geller 1989	<i>PBS</i> 1/2 122 - CBS 332	313	5.1.25.2	
C132	Wilcke 1985 198-200: 9-37/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 9-37	315	5.1.14.7	
C133	Wilcke 1985 200: 38-41/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 38-41	316	5.1.14.8	
C134	Wilcke 1985 200: 42-52/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 42-52	317	5.1.14.9	
C135	Wilcke 1985 200: 53-61/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 53-61	318	5.1.14.10	
C136	Wilcke 1985 200:62-72/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 62-72	319	5.1.14.11	
C137	Wilcke 1985 202:73-77/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 73-77	320	5.1.27.46	
C138	Wilcke 1985 202-204:78-99/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 78-99	320	5.1.1.3	
C139	Wilcke 1985 100-108/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 100-108	321	5.1.14.12	
C140	Wilcke 1985 109-121/Foster 1993 no.II.33b/Scurlock 1989-90	ZA 75 p. 208, IB 1554 109-121	322	5.1.14.13	
C141	Wilcke 1985 p 208-209	<i>YOS</i> 11 21 13-25	398		
C142	Wilcke 1985 p. 208-209	<i>YOS</i> 11 21 26-30 - YBC 4598	399	5.1.14.5	

C143	Wu 2001 34/Whiting 1985 p.183/Finkel 1999, p. 214	A 704		5.1.6.1	
C144	Ungnad 1920 266 (87)	<i>PBS</i> 7 87 - CBS 1690	356	5.1.27.34	
C145	Unpublished	VS 17 9	365	5.1.27.36	
C146	Unpublished	YOS 11 10	382	5.1.5.8	