

Muššu'u, Qutāru, and the Scribe Tanittu-Bēl

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To MC, in friendship and admiration,
and in gratitude for all the MSL days.
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In the course of catalogue work on the Babylonian tablets of the 81-7-28 collection of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum, the writer has discovered that this relatively small but interesting group of 260 numbered pieces (and some unnumbered fragments) contains an almost complete set of the elusive therapeutic incantation series *Muššu'u*, "Rubbing". The tablets are the work of the very accomplished scribe Tanittu-Bēl, son of Bēl-aba-ušur, descendant of Ša-nāšišu, who flourished at Babylon at least during the reign of Alexander the Great, since several of his colophons are dated to "year 13 of Alexander, king of the lands", i.e. 324-323 B.C.¹ Thus this scholar's output dates from relatively near the end of the cuneiform tradition, but his accurate and reliable manuscripts preserve texts that in most cases can be supported from copies dating to much earlier in the millennium. In addition to the *Muššu'u* tablets, Tanittu-Bēl's surviving *oeuvre* also includes a large tablet of *Qutāru* incantations², a two-

1. The Tanittu-Bēl son of Bēl-aba-ušur who functioned as *kalū* in year 6 of Antigonus (312-311 B.C.) (CT 44 no. 84 rev. 10) is probably not the individual who wrote the *Muššu'u* tablets discussed here. As J. Oelsner points out, the tablets in this library are more appropriate for an *āšipu* than a *kalū*. It is not improbable that the Seleucid scribe Tanittu-Bēl son of Bēl-aba-ušur who occurs in administrative texts from 33-54 S.E. (CT 49 nos. 108, 121 and 172; cf. also nos. 104 and 114) represents a later descendant of the same line.

The name Tanittu-Bēl is evidently not uncommon in the late period; compare CT 49 no. 105, son of Bēl-uballissu, with his own son Bēl-ušuršu; *ibid.* no. 111, son of Dummuqu; and *ibid.* no. 107 (now joined to BM 32170 (76-11-17, 1897) by the present writer), with a son Marduk-erība, the scribe. (These references were kindly supplied by Dr R.B. van der Spek.)

Note also BM 54783 (82-5-22, 1112), a fragment of *EAE*, where the colophon reads: [DUB n.KAM UD.AN.^dE]N.LÍ.LÁ ZU-a ana ZU-a li-kal-lim [GIM KA DU]B ^{md}AMAR.UTU--u₇-mu-MU A-šú šú ^mta-nit-tu₇-^dE[N GIM SUMUN-šú šá-ti]r IGI<.KÁR> ŠU^{ll} ^{md}IDIM-DIN-su-E DUMU ^mx [...].

2. See below, p. 103.

tablet set of *Marduk's Address to the Demons*, a large tablet of *Lamaštu* incantations, at least Tablets II and V of *Utukkī Lemnūti*, and a literary account of an elaborate dream.

The same 81-7-28 collection also includes two important new tablets in very similar clay which restore much of the text of the so-called *Love Lyrics*, from the hand of a scribe called [...]iddin. The second of these, BM 45390+, as now reconstructed by the present writer, measures some 22.0 × 33.0 × 4.3 cms., and happens to be the largest tablet so far identified among the British Museum "Babylon" collections. Tanittu-Bēl himself tended to a broad and generous script, so that many of the texts from his hand are of sizeable proportions, and the 81-7-28 collection is additionally bolstered by a run of unusually bulky school exercise tablets, so it is more than probable that the group is to be identified with a collection found at Babylon by Hormuzd Rassam in 1880 and briefly described by him as follows (quoted after J.E. Reade, in *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* vol. VI p. xxii):

"at Babylon we came upon a heap of very large inscribed clay tablets some of which are about 10 inches long by seven wide; but these, I am sorry to say, broke to pieces on being removed".

It seems likely that the tablets, greatly broken when registered by T.G. Pinches in 1881 but now largely rejoined by the present writer, must have been found in Tanittu-Bēl's house, or in a library of some sort, more or less in the state in which they had once been abandoned. It also seems probable that the whole set of *Muššu'u* tablets once lay together in the ground, and although two of the nine tablets themselves are now lacking, the correct sequence of incantations tablet by tablet is now established thanks to Rassam's discovery.

It seems to be without parallel for archaeology to have uncovered a (nearly) complete set of any cuneiform composition from the hand of one identifiable individual, and dated to boot, although the final publication of the Sippar library as recently described by J.A. Black, *Iraq* XLIX (1987) 248-249, may come to challenge this claim in time.

Several of the pieces from the 81-7-28 collection described below have now been joined to pieces registered in the far larger 81-7-1 collection. There is a small spill-over between the two batches, with sundry tablets properly belonging in each located in the other.

The series *Muššu'u* is so far best known from a section of the Assur incantation catalogue VAT 13723+, transliterated and discussed by F. Köcher in conjunction with the ritual tablet to the series in *AfO* 21 (1966) 13-20. Col. i 20-28 of this catalogue give the constituent elements of the series, the order of which corresponds with the opening sequence of incantations prescribed in the *Muššu'u* Ritual Tablet, as already fully demonstrated by Professor Köcher, *op. cit.* These lines from the Assur catalogue are here quoted again, with the help of a collation kindly made available by M.J. Geller.

A second incantation catalogue in Neo-Babylonian script found at Nippur, to be published by the last-named scholar in a forthcoming study of incantation catalogues, is 12N T657³. The obverse of this catalogue is directly relevant, since it also lists the incipits that make up the series *Muššu'u*, but it differs from the usual type of catalogue in that in addition to the "starting" or "primary" incipit to each tablet it also quotes the incipits to the subsequent incantations within the constituent tablets, without distinguishing them as such. The following scheme juxtaposes the information from these two catalogues [(a) and (b)] which, as will be demonstrated below, correlates in a most satisfactory fashion with the tablets written in 324-323 B.C. at Babylon by Tanittu-Bēl [(c)].

3. Known to the present writer from a cast in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago kindly made available by M. Civil. A copy and full edition will be given by M.J. Geller, whom it is a pleasure here to thank for his help in the preparation of this article. Thanks are also due to J. Oelsner and R. Borger for help with several points.

Comparison of Incantation Catalogues with *Muššu'u* Incipits

(a) VAT 13727+ col. i	(b) 12N T657 Obverse	(c) Tanittu-Bēl's Sequence ⁴
20 7' ÉN sag-gig-ga-meš	1 ÉN sag-gig [é-kur]-'ta' nam-è	I
	2 ÉN sag-gig an-ta 'mu'-kéš	IIa
	3 ÉN sag-gig mul-an-gin, an-na edin-na	IIb
	4 ÉN sag-gig mu-un-dib-ba	IIc
	5 ÉN sag-ki-ta mu-u[n-dib]	IId
	6 ÉN sag-gig gú-sa-a MIN	IIIa
	7 ÉN á sag-kal gú-en-na	IIIb
21 ÉN a-nam-di ÉN	8 ÉN a-nam-di-ka ÉN ta-ri-dat kal mar-ša-[a-ti]	IVa
	9 ÉN at-ta-di-ka ÉN ta-ri-dat kal mar-ša-[a-ti]	IVb
	10 ÉN maš-maš ^d i-gi-gi ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^d AMAR.UTU	IVc
	10 É[N DINGIR gaš-ri DINGIR.MEŠ ^d AMAR.UTU]	IVd
	11 ÉN ú-tal-lil EN maš-maš DINGIR.MEŠ bu-kír ^d [...]	IVe
	12 ÉN mur-šu mi-šit-tu le-e-bi di-'u	IVf
	13 ÉN id-di ^d IDIM ru-'u-tu ^d IDIM	IVg
22 ÉN ^d nin-i-si-in-na	14 7'ÉN ^d nin-EZEN ama-kalam-ma-ke ₄	Va
	15 [ÉN te-e AN]-e te-e ^d IDIM ABGAL DINGIR.[MEŠ]	Vb
	16 [ÉN iš-t]u AN-e 'LUGALxME'.RU u[r-du]	Vc
23 ÉN úš hul-gál		[VI]
24 ÉN ^d en-ki en tu ₆ -nam-ti-la-ke ₄		VIIa
25 ÉN udug hul edin-na DU-a		VIIb

4. Note that only one of these manuscripts, Tablet III, actually carries a tablet series number. Note the variation between IM and ŠU^{II} in these colophons, a distinction which has sometimes been thought to reflect ownership as opposed to having written out the manuscript, a distinction which evidently does not apply in this case.

26 ÉN *šim-ma-tu₄ šim-ma-tu₄*

VIII

27 ÉN *ki-ma AN-ú ù KI-tu₄*

IX

28 PAP 8 *muš-šu-ú*

According to the Assur tradition, therefore, *Muššu'u* consisted of "seven SAG.GIG incantations", and seven subsequent single tablets. The Nippur catalogue distinguishes these SAG.GIG incantations, providing a sequence of seven corresponding incipits.

At this point it is helpful for comparison to lay out the order of incantations for the series SAG.GIG:

- I ÉN sag-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-è
- II ÉN sag-gig mul-an-gin₇ an-edin-na gurud-da nu-ub-zu
- III ÉN sag-gig gú-sa-àm gú-sa-àm
- IV ÉN sag-gig an-na edin-na i-du₇-du₇ tu₁₅-gin₇ mu-un-ri-ri⁵
ÉN sag-gig hur-sag-gin₇ tuku₄-da nu-ub-zu-a
- V ÉN sag-gig lú-ra ša mu-un-gá-gá
ÉN sag-gig an-ta mu-un-kéš
- VI ÉN sag-gig an-ta mu-un-kéš
ÉN sag-gig an-ta mu-un-kéš
- VI ÉN sag-gig dib-ba hur-sag-gá LÚ.NU.UB-da nu-ub-zu
ÉN sag-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-è⁶
- VII ÉN *a-nam-di ÉN ta-ri-da-at kal mar-ša-a-ti*

Details of Tanittu-Bēl's Edition of *Muššu'u*

Note: in the following descriptions the incipits are quoted as they are now preserved or are to be restored with certainty on the Tanittu-Bēl tablets.

Tablet I: [ÉN sag-gig é-kur-ta nam-ta-è]

Source: BM 46301 (81-7-28, 26), incorporated in *CT* 17, 25-26. Incipit lost, but to be restored after K 2869+5025+14847+19423, K 4840(+9303 (largely in *CT* 17, 25-26), etc.

Contents: the whole tablet consists of this single incantation.

Catchline: [ÉN sag-gig] an-ta mu-un-[kéš]

Colophon: [GIM SUMUN]-šú SAR-ma IGI.TAB ŠU^{II} ^mtan-itti(KI)-^dEN A-šú ^mdEN-AD-ŠEŠ DUMU š[á? ... ITU.x UD n.KA]M MU 13.KAM ^ma-lik-sa-an-dar LUGAL KUR.KUR pa-liḫ EN(sic) ^u GAŠAN-i[á? ...] (correct accordingly H. Hunger, *AOAT* 2 no. 169).

N.B. This incantation constitutes SAG.GIG I, in which series it is followed by the incantation ÉN sag-gig mul-an-gin₇ an-edin-na gurud-da nu-ub-zu (K 8386, BM 42350, *CT* 17, 14).

5. This incipit is, rather unexpectedly, quoted as catchline in E. von Weiher, *SpBTU* III no. 82 (*Hulbazizi*), which evidently must be read ÉN [sa]g-gig [an¹-na¹-edin¹-na¹ i-du₇¹-du₇¹ tu₁₅-gin₇ mu-un-ri-ri.

6. Different to that in SAG.GIG I. K 3128+ (*CT* 17, 14) styles this DUB VI.KAM.ME SAG.GIG.MEŠ, but according to K 3169 (*CT* 17, 24) it is DUB IX.KAM.ME SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ. The reason for this discrepancy is that the latter tablet comes from a SAG.GIG set in which each incantation was written out on a single tablet: it is indeed the ninth incantation of the compilation.

Note the previously misunderstood writing ^mtan-itti(KI)-, attested only in this source. Tanittu-Bēl exhibits the odd puckish quirk in other colophons; note *up-pū-úš* in BM 45393 below, and seemingly unparalleled, *ina qē-reb_x* (GAL) in BM 45405+ and 46297+, and *ina šur_x* (SAR)-*qi* in BM 46299+, also below.

Tablet II: ÉN sag²-g[ig an-ta] ṛmu-un-kéš² : dī-²u² [i]na AN-e ra-kis

Source: BM 46330+46391+46476 (81-7-28, 55+117+202+81-7-28 unnumbered fragment), BM 46424 (81-7-28, 150) (no join), and BM 46487 (81-7-28, 213) + 81-7-28 unnumbered fragment (no join).

- Contents: (a) ÉN sag-gig an-ta mu-un-kéš (part preserved)
 (b) [ÉN sag-gig] mul-an-gin₇ an-edin (part preserved)
 (c) [ÉN sag-gig mu-un-dib-bal]
 (d) [ÉN sag-ki-ta mu-un-dib

Catchline: [ÉN sag-gig gú²-sa-àm [gú²-sa-àm]

Colophon: [GIM SUMUN]-šú ba-ár u up-pu-uš ŠU^{II} ^mt [a-nit-tu₄-^dEN ITU AP]IN ṛUD 22². [KAM ...] ṛa-lik-sa-anan²-[dar ...].

A duplicate to this tablet is W 22668/2 (E. von Weiher, *SpBTU* III no. 65), which confirms the restoration of the incipit in (d), only partly preserved in 12N T657 5, and is itself certainly to be classified as a copy of *Muššu'u* Tablet II. The catchline in this Uruk tablet is therefore to be read [ÉN sag]-gig ṛgú²-sa-a ṛsag²-gig² ṛgú²-sa²-a. These four incantations are quoted with accompanying rituals in BM 41271+, a composition of the type discussed below in fn. 16. Incantation (a) is also to be found in BM 50886.

N.B. The incantation ÉN sag-gig an-ta mu-un-kéš constitutes SAG.GIG V/2 (K 3169+; *CT* 17, 22-23). For the incantation ÉN sag-gig mul-an-gin₇ an-edin-na gurud-da nu-ub-zu as SAG.GIG Tablet II, see above. Incantations (c) and (d) do not form part of SAG.GIG.

Tablet III: ÉN sag-gig gú²-sa-a : d[ī-²u mu-tu₄ a-ḫi da-da-nu]

Source: BM 45395+46472+46527 (81-7-1, 3156 + 81-7-28, 198+253) + 81-7-28 unnumbered fragments.

- Contents: (a) ÉN sag-gig gú²-sa-a
 (b) ÉN an-na sa[g-kal á-gùb-bu] (cf. 12N T657 7: ÉN á sag-kal gú-en-na, and BM 66565+ 11' quoted below).

Catchline: ÉN a-nam-di-ka šip-tu₄

Colophon: IM ṛIV².KAM.MA É[Š.GĀR muš-šu-ú GIM SUMUN-šú ba-ár] ù up-pu-uš IM ^mta-nit-tu₄-^dE[N ... ITU x] UD 13.KAM ṛMU² [n]+1.KAM ^ma-lik-sa²-a[n-dar LUGAL KUR.KUR (...)]

N.B. A complete duplicate from the same 81-7-28 collection but from a different scribe is BM 45385+46291+46358+46388+46439 (81-7-1, 3146 + 81-7-28, 16+83+114+165); 46291+46358 only, *CT* 17, 12-13.

Catchline: ṛEN a-nam-di-ka² šip²-tu₄ IM ṛIV (sup. ras.; collated) KAM.MA ÉŠ.GĀR muš-šu-ú [...]

Colophon: [...] SAR-ár ù up-pu-uš IM ^mdEN-NUMUN-GIŠ ṛDUMU-šú šá² ^mxx^dxx [...] E.KI ITU.KIN UD 17.KAM MU 10.KAM ^ma-lik-sa-an-dar LUGAL ṛKUR.KUR² (correct accordingly H. Hunger, *AOAT* no. 175).

- Contents: (a) ÉN 'sag-gig' [gú-sa-a]
 (b) ÉN an-na sag-kal á-gùb-bu

It will be observed that Tanittu-Bēl has styled this "Tablet IV" of *Muššu'u*, whereas his extant tablets show that it is actually the third of the series in his edition. The explanation for this is undoubtedly that the source from which he was working had the four incantations that he wrote out on BM 46330 (Tablet II) above on *two* tablets (incantations a, and b-d), so that he recorded the tablet number found in his original, IV, rather than making the adjustment to III. A similar question in manuscript distribution occurs below. In the case of 45385+ just described, the same sequence must have reached four tablets by this point.

It will have been remarked that none of Tanittu-Bēl's manuscripts identifies itself as belonging to the series *Muššu'u*, with the apparent exception of this case, which seems very likely to require restoring after BM 45385+ as shown above. The fact that this latter manuscript written by Bēl-zēru-lišir comes from the same small collection suggests very strongly that BM 45385+ was the actual text used by Tanittu-Bēl to produce his own manuscript, reproducing the pattern of colophon in 45385+ that did not exist in the other *Vorlage* at his disposal. Note especially in this regard the writing KAM.MA in both manuscripts⁷.

A further passage from an incantation catalogue may be adduced here to demonstrate existing variety in order. This is BM 66565+66608 (A.H. 82-9-18, 6558+6601), likewise to be published by M.J. Geller. Here one finds in obv. i the following section:

- 9' [ÉN] sag-gig é-kur-ta
 10' [ÉN s]ag-gig mul-an-gin,
 11' [ÉN s]ag-gig an-ta kés
 12' [ÉN s]ag-gig gú-sa-a
 13' [ÉN á sag]-kal' gú gùb nu (sic)

Line 11' here shows probably that this sequence refers to a form of *Muššu'u* rather than SAG.GIG, since that incantation would be far out of place in SAG.GIG terms (Tablet V/2).

Also to be noted here is BM 91011 (A.H. 83-1-18, 1856), already incorporated in *CT* 17, 12-13, giving the text of incantation (a). This tablet ends ÉN [*a-nam-di*]-ka ÉN DUB III.KAM ÉN sag-gig é-kur-[ta nam-ta-è] ÉŠ.GÀR [*muš-š*]u-ú x (x) NU AL.TIL. Here then the relationship is encapsulated: in both series incantation (a) represents Tablet III, but (b) is not included in the SAG.GIG tablet BM 91011.

Tablet IV: [ÉN *a-nam-di-ka šip-tu, ta-ri-dat kal mar-ša-a-ti*]

Source: BM 45405+46289+46361+46387+46416+46419+46446+46509 (81-7-1, 3166+81-7-28, 14+86+113+142+145+172+235) + 81-7-28 unnumbered fragments. An unjoined piece belonging to the top edge is 46458 (81-7-28, 184).

- Contents: (a) [ÉN *a-nam-di-ka šip-tu, ta-ri-dat kal mar-ša-a-ti*] (part preserved)
 (b) [ÉN *at-ta-di-ka šip-tu, ta-ri-dat kal mar-ša-a-ti*]

7. It is interesting here to compare Tanittu-Bēl's copy of *Utukkī Lemnūti* V, BM 46296+46408 (81-7-28, 21+134), of which the lower third alone survives. The text runs out in the middle of a line at the top of rev. iii, and the whole extant remainder of the reverse is uninscribed. The small noted *he-pi* found in the obverse to this tablet shows that in this case his source was broken, and it is possible that this latter manuscript was left unfinished because of the inadequacy of the sources at his disposal. On grounds of script it is possible that BM 46288 (81-7-28, 13 = *CT* 17, 3) from the same collection, now joined to BM 46355+46362+46390+46392+46405+46413+46447+81-7-28 unnumbered fragments, represents the work of this same Bēl-zēru-lišir.

- (c) [ÉN *maš-maš* ^d*i-gi-gi* ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^dAMAR.UTU]
 (d) [ÉN DINGIR] *gaš-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ ^dAMAR.UTU
 (e) ÉN *ú-tal-lil be-lu₄ maš-maš* DINGIR.MEŠ *bu-kúr* KI¹ x [...]
 (f) ÉN *mur-šu mi-iq-tu₄ li-'bi di-'i*
 (g) ÉN *id-di* ^d*é-a*
 (h) ÉN kak-kib kak-kib lugal ka-na-kak-kib

Catchline: [ÉN ^dnin-E]ZEN: ^d[*nin-i-si-na/gu-la*] *um-mu ma-a-tú: ama-kalam-ma-ke₄*

Colophon: 'GIM' [SUMUN-š] *ú ba-ár u up-[pu-uš* I]M ^m*ta-nit-tu₄* ^dEN A-šú ^mdE[N-AD-ŠEŠ ...] *pa-liḫ* ^d[E]N u ^dGAŠAN-*ia* u ^rdAG u ^d*taš-me-tu₄* [...] x *ina qé-reb* (GAL) NU TÛM-[šú] ... ITU X UD n.KAM] MU 11+[n.KAM] ^m*a-lik-sa-an-dar-'ri'*-[iš³⁸ LUGAL KUR.KUR]

For incantation (g) see Köcher *BAM* 473 (catchline) and 475 (incipit, *in extenso*), and further refs. *ibid.* XXII sub 475. Add also K 3305 (*BE* 31 no. 58) + 7994 + 9658 (*AMT* 88: 1) 6'-9' (*šimmatu* in right side of the body); dup. K 7098. Elsewhere (g) and (h) form a single incantation⁹.

N.B. This sequence of incantations (a)-(g), with the exception of the final incantation (attested as *Hulbazizi* no. 20 and found elsewhere in several medical and magical contexts) constitutes SAG.GIG Tablet VII (*BAM* 388, *STT* 137 (+) 138 (+) 139) etc.

Tablet V: ÉN ^dnin-i-si-'in' ama-kalam-ma-ke₄

Source: BM 46276 + 46278 + 46341 (81-7-28, 1+3+66)

- Contents: (a) ÉN ^dnin-i-si-in ama-kalam-ma-ke₄
 (b) ÉN *te-e* AN-^r*e'* *te-e* ^dIDIM ABGAL DIN[GIR.MEŠ]
 (c) ÉN ^dAMAR.UTU *ina qí-bi-ti-ka*
 (d) ÉN TA AN-*e* LUGAL×ME.RU¹⁰ *ur-du*
 (e) ÉN LÚ DUMU DINGIR-šú *šá* AN u *an-tu₄ šu-ú*
 (f) ÉN ŠUB¹-*ka*² [.....]-*su-u li-is-suḫ-ka* *ina* SU-šú
 (g) [ÉN] LÚ.TUR DUMU DINGIR-šú ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ ^dAMAR.UTU
 (h) [É]N ^dAMAR.UTU EN *el-lu* ABGAL D[UMU².NITA² ^d*é-a*].

Catchline: [ÉN *úš hul-gál*] *an-ki-b[i-d]a*

Colophon: GIM SUMUN-šú [*ba*]-*ár u up-pu-uš* IM ^m*ta-nit-tu₄* ^dE[N A-šú *šá* ^mdEN-AD-ŠE]Š 'DUMU ^m*šá-na-ši-šú pa-liḫ* 'EN' [u] ^dGAŠAN-*ia* *ina qé-reb* NU TÛM-šú E.KI ITU.G[U₄² UD] 26.KAM MU 13.KAM [^m*a-lik*]-*sa-an-dar* LUGAL KUR.KUR

8. For this spelling of the name of Alexander (if correctly restored) compare for example A.J. Sachs, H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* vol. I 190 Left edge 1.

9. An interesting text should be noted here, in the form of BM 47755 (81-11-3, 460), which belongs with BM 47913 (81-11-3, 620). Here the incipit reads: [ÉN *a*]-*nam-di-ka*^r-šip^r-[*tu* (*taridat kal maršāti*), and the catchline [ÉN ^dnin-i-si-nu [...], while the catchline is preceded by the incantation ÉN kak-kib, i.e. (h) above. The intervening material in this tablet, however, is quite different both from *Muššu'u* IV and SAG.GIG VII. The tablet contains three sections of one-line recipes for salves, a section where the incantations of *Šurpu* IX are quoted by incipit against paired numbers up to twelve, and a section of astrological medicine duplicating in part BM 56605 (for which for the moment see the present writer in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham J. Sachs* 147 fn. 29).

An incantation ÉN *ta-ri-da-at* DÛ.A.BI GIG occurs in a recipe against strangury ([BA]D NA *ši-na-ti-šu ana ta-ba-ki* NU *i-le-e*) in a medical compilation in second millennium "Syrian" script that was brought for examination to the British Museum some years ago.

10. The compound ^dLUGAL×ME.RU, apparently confirmed by 12N T657 16, belongs with the group ^dDĪM.ME = *Lamaštu*, ^dDĪM.ME.A = *Labaštu*, and ^dDĪM.ME.LAGAB = *Aḫḫāzu*, but seems to be unparalleled, and the Akkadian equivalent is unknown.

The Late Assyrian tablet DT 48 (parallel K 4639(+)-16958+21755) edited by E. Ebeling, *TuL* 156-158 now emerges as a certain copy of *Muššu'u* Tablet V, since the incantation in col. ii referred to by F. Köcher, *op. cit.* 19 (Z.9) is incantation (d) here, preceded by the end of (c). As already indicated by Ebeling, the Assur text *KAR* 41 and 242 are duplicates, and are therefore also to be identified as copies of *Muššu'u* Tablet V. Ebeling's reconstruction of the incipits in *KAR* 242 rev.(!) (*TuL* 159) can now be corrected with the help of BM 46276+ in accordance with incantations (e)-(h). For *AMT* 93:3 also edited by Ebeling see below.

A further fragmentary Late Babylonian source that exhibits the two incantations (d)-(e) in this order is BM 77221 (83-6-30, 1), likely therefore to be a copy of *Muššu'u* Tablet V. The Late Assyrian ND 4405/40 from Nimrud has (d) on the obverse and (e) on the reverse, and is probably likewise to be seen as *Muššu'u* Tablet V.

Incantation (b) occurs in BM 45566 (81-7-1, 3327) obv.; the rev. bears part of an unplaced bilingual incantation not, however, included in this *Muššu'u* tablet.

Incantation (e) alone appears as a literary extract in the Late Babylonian BM 54743+55418 (82-5-22, 1071+1751), and is also all that is preserved in the Late Assyrian fragment *KAV* 154¹¹. Note that E. von Weiher, *SPTU* III no. 72, quotes as line 6 the incipit of incantation (e). It is uncertain whether just this incipit is involved, or whether lines 7-14 there are the continuation of an incantation which would otherwise be quite different after the first line; cf. fn. 9 above.

Tablet VI: [ÉN úš hul-gál an-ki-bi-da]

Source: Not apparently attested in the 81-7-28 collection. The missing tablet containing a single incantation exists, however, in a copy from Kuyunjik, namely K 5111, now joined by W. Schramm to Sm 28, Sm 1298 and Sm 1580, as already adduced by F. Köcher, *op. cit.* p. 19 (Z.10). In this Late Assyrian manuscript, duplicated by K 12919 (with *CT* 51, 182), the incipit is lacking, but it is fully preserved in the Old Babylonian version *CT* 4, 3 (classed as nam-erím-búr-ru-da; dup. *TIM* 9 no. 56); see F. Köcher, *ibid.*, and A. Falkenstein, *LSS NF* 1 93-99, but K 5111 considerably furnishes the required catchline: ÉN ^den-ki en tu₆ nam-ti-la-ke₄.

Tablet VII: [ÉN ^den-ki en tu₆ nam-t]i-la-[ke₄]

Source: BM 46297+46328 (81-7-28, 22+53) + 81-7-28 unnumbered fragment with BM 46295 (81-7-28, 20); actual join possible but uncertain.

Contents: (a) [ÉN ^den-ki en tu₆ nam-t]i-la-[ke₄]
 (b) ÉN udug hul edin-na DU-a

Catchline: [ÉN šim]-mat 'šim'-mat šim-mat UZU šim-mat SA.A šim-mat ...]

Colophon: [GIM SUMUN-šú] ba-úr u up-pu-uš IM ^mta-nit-t[u₄-^dEN A-šú šá ^mdEN-AD-ŠEŠ pa-liḫ EN u] 'GAŠAN-ia ina qé-reb_x(GAL) NU TŪM-šú ITU.Š[U UD n.KAM MU n.KAM ^ma-lik-sa-an-dar LUGAL KUR.KUR]

As indicated above, the Assur catalogue VAT 13723+ 24-25 lists incantations (a) and (b) as constituting successive tablets. A similar situation prevailed at Kuyunjik, in the small single-column tablet K 5004, already adduced by F. Köcher, *op. cit.* 19 (Z.11), to which W. Schramm has also made a very helpful join in K 5275. Although lacking its catchline this tablet evidently only carried the first incantation, but

11. BM 77221 and 54743+ were drawn to the writer's attention by W. G. Lambert.

part of the colophon is now preserved, showing that this tablet is to be reckoned as a *Muššu'u* manuscript, since it explicitly reads [... DUB n.KA]M *muš-šu-ú*.

N.B. The incantation ÉN udug hul edin-na DU-a constitutes *Utukkī Lemnūti* VII/4 (CT 16, 37 14, now restored, courtesy M.J. Geller).

Tablet VIII: [ÉN šim-mat šim-mat ...]

Source: BM 45483+46299+46319+46367+46394+46397+46507+46525 (81-7-1, 3244+81-7-28, 24+44+92+120+123+251) + 81-7-28 unnumbered fragment. BM 46306 (81-7-28, 31) belongs but doesn't join.

- Contents: (a) [ÉN šim-mat šim-mat] (partly preserved)
 (b) ÉN 'sa' [hul du₈-ù-da]
 (c) 'ÉN i-ba-aḥ' MIN
 (d) 'ÉN ni-ip-pa-aḥ' MIN
 (e) 'ÉN' ab-ba [ti-ra-aḥ]
 (f) [ÉN pa-ru-un-na] (= STT 136 iii 14-17)
 (g) [ÉN ...] (= STT 136 iii 18-20)
 (h) [ÉN kab-tu?] (= STT 136 iii 21-ca. 27)
 (i) [ÉN a ra si ...] (= STT 136 iii 28-31)
 (j) [ÉN ki]r-ri-giš ...¹² (= STT 136 iii 32-iv 2)
 <(k) ÉN is hu ú > (= STT 136 iv 3-16)
 (l) ÉN šu-'u šum-[šu] (= STT 136 iv 17-20)
 (m) ÉN x-x-tu-um MIN (= STT 136 iv 21-22)
 (n)-(r)/(s) five or six short incantations whose incipits are broken (i.e. duplicating STT 136 IV 23-25)

Catchline: 'ÉN ki-m[a AN-u u KI-t]u₄ a-na 'áš-š[u]-'tu?' in-na-aḥ-'zu'

Colophon: GIM SUMUN-šú S[AR ... IM ^mta-nit-tu₇-^dEN A ^{cmd}[EN-AD]-ŠEŠ DUMU ^mša-n/a-ši-šú ... pa-liḥ ^dE]N u ^dGAŠAN-ia ina 'šur_x (SAR)-qí NU TUM²-[šú ...] ... E.K[I ITU.x UD n.KAM MU n.KA]M ^ma-lik-sa-an-dar L[UGAL KUR.KUR]

As indicated above a partly broken duplicate to this tablet exists in the Late Assyrian STT 136, from which the omission of the incantation here inserted as <k> becomes evident. STT 136 furnishes the complete catchline ÉN ki-ma AN-u u KI-tu₄ a-na áš-šu-ti in-na-aḥ-'zu', confirmed also by the catchline in the additional Late Babylonian fragmentary duplicate BM 38786+38857 (80-11-12, 670+472), which reads [... 'áš-š[u-t]u₄ in-na-aḥ-zu. This tablet is described in its colophon as [I]M 9.KAM *muš-šu-'u* ÉŠ.GĀR [maš-ma]š-ú-ti¹³, and so also comes from a set in which one of the preceding sequences was written out over two tablets rather than one.

Incantation (a) has been partly edited by W. von Soden, *JNES* 33 (1974) 341-344, with the help of the Kuyunjik duplicates K 9587 and K 8939; cf. R. Borger, *HKL* II 93, and R.D. Biggs, *Nippur* 2 75 n. 35. An extract (= STT 136 i 1-15) appears in BM 40177 (81-3-24, 43) obv. 8-15. F. Köcher has indicated related incantations in his introductory notes to *BAM* 398, and add now the Middle Babylonian version from Meskene in D. Arnaud, *Emar* VI.2 p. 453, edited *Emar* VI.4 342-345. A further duplicate is IM 55829 = 4N T43. K 9077 has in rev. iii incantations (d), (e) and (f) in the right order, and represents an

12. STT 136 ii 32 reads ÉN ki-r²-giš (i.e. *girgiššu?*) di-pa^r-a^r-ri; cf. *ibid.* 42: *kir-giš di-pár*, the second occurrence in BM 46299 + reads *ki-ir-giš di-pa-ri*.

13. It is interesting that *Muššu'u* like *Qutāru* is not included among the incantation categories in *KAR* 44.

additional Kuyunjik copy of *Muššu'u* Tablet VIII. BM 48397 (81-11-3, 1107) has incantations (e) - (f) in rev. col. iii, and part of one of the short incantations in rev. col. iv, here is also *Muššu'u* Tablet VIII.

Note that incantations (a), (b), (f) and (k) are prescribed by incipit in the *Muššu'u* Ritual Tablet (see below).

Incantation (h) apparently occurs also in *KAR* 255 ii 8'-11'.

Tablet IX: [ÉN *ki-ma* AN-*u* ù KI-*tu*, *a-na* áš-*šu-ti in-na-aḥ-zu*]

Not identified in the 81-7-28 collection, nor apparently anywhere else as yet, although it is more than probable that some of the contents of this tablet is already known to Assyriology.

The Incipits from the *Muššu'u* Ritual Tablet

It is appropriate at this point to survey the incantation incipits prescribed in Professor Köcher's *Muššu'u* Ritual Tablet. This involves a total of 31 incipits, presented with slight variations and in some cases more than once:

1. ÉN gá-e lú kù-ga me-en
2. ÉN Ī.GIŠ KÙ
3. ÉN sa ḥul du₈-ù-da
4. ÉN "sag-gig-ga"
5. ÉN "sag-gig gú-sa-a"
6. ÉN "*a-nam-di-ki* ÉN"
7. ÉN "^dnin-ì-si-in-na"
8. ÉN úš ḥul-gál
9. ÉN "^den-ki en tu₆ nam-ti-la-ke₄"
10. ÉN "*šim-ma-tu*₄ MIN"
11. ÉN *kiš-pu zi-ru-tu*₄
12. ÉN GIM AN-*ú* u KI-*tu*₄
13. ÉN izi ḥuš
14. ÉN me-šè ba-da-ri
15. ÉN i-ba-aḥ MIN
16. ÉN *lib-li* ^dGIŠ.BAR
17. ÉN *šu-ú šum-šú*
18. ÉN a-ra-na-ḥu-un-na / pa-ra-na-ḥu-un-na
19. ÉN suḥḥuš dalla kù-ga
20. ÉN mu-ḥul-bi sar-a
21. ÉN su₈-ba gig-ga
22. ÉN an-bar₄ gig-ga
23. ÉN zà-ḥi-li.SAR ú.kur-ra.SAR
24. ÉN ^den-ki-e-ne
25. ÉN udug ḥul-gál gidim-idim-kur-ra
26. ÉN an ki ba lú ki ba
27. ÉN *a-nam-di* ÉN *ana pu-ḥur* DINGIR.MEŠ
28. ÉN *a-nam-di* A.MEŠ *ša maš-maš* DINGIR.MEŠ
29. ÉN sag-ba sag-ba
30. ÉN tùm-mu É
31. ÉN ab-ta nam-mu-un-da-ku₄-ku₄-e-dè

Of these, nos. 1-2 (also found in other contexts) are obviously included for general purification purposes.

Nos. 4-10 are drawn from the series SAG.GIG, although in the absence of tablets such as those of Tanittu-Bēl no-one would have suspected that item "4" actually reflects two full tablets of SAG.GIG involving five separate incantations, and that item "5" covers two incantations, item "6" eight incantations, item "7" eight incantations, item "9" two incantations, and item "10" seventeen or eighteen incantations. That the series *Muššu'u* is structured "from head to foot" as are many texts within the medical sphere¹⁴ makes it of course quite intelligible that the initial material should draw so heavily on SAG.GIG.

No. 11, already identified by F. Köcher, is apparently just a single incantation.

Item 12, *Muššu'u* IX, may be taken to reflect a group of incantations too. Since nos. 15, 17 and 18 fall within item 10, *Muššu'u* VIII, it is likely that some of the individual incipits covered by nos. 11, 13 and 18-31 were included within *Muššu'u* IX; see presently.

Line 32 of the Ritual Tablet marks a new therapeutic approach, the use of fumigation: *iš-tu an-na-a te-te-ep-šū qu-ta-ri tu-qat-tar*. The following four incantations, nos. 23-26, are thus prescribed to be used in conjunction with incense. As already communicated by F. Köcher, a separate portion of the Assur incantation catalogue VAT 13723+ quoted above lists a group of four incantations as a separate series of which the first three are nos. 23-25, while the fourth is broken and the rubric only fragmentary. Although these incantations appear in a different order as part of the series *Utukkī Lemnūti* (nos. 23-25 are Tablet "XV" and no. 26 Tablet VI), at least one composition can now be identified as corresponding to this catalogue entry in VAT 13723+. This is BM 60886+ (with many joins), to be included in M.J. Geller's forthcoming edition of *Utukkī Lemnūti*, to which BM 41191 (81-4-28, 738) is a small duplicate, whose contents are:

(a) [ÉN zà-ḫi-li.SAR] (*in extenso*)

ÉN an-ni-ta ana UGU K[Û.GI ...]

(b) ÉN ^den-ki-e-ne (*in extenso*)

KA.INIM.M[A] ʾUDUG ḫUL ʾ.BÍ LÚ.TU.RA SAR.RA.K[E₄]

ÉN an-ni-ta ʾana UGU ʾ[KÛ.GI]I UD.UD.ME ŠID-ma ina sip'-pu KÁ.MEŠ ta-šak-kan

(c) ÉN lem-nu lem-nu (*in extenso*)

(d) [ÉN udug ḫul-gál] ʾgidim ʾidim kur-ra (*in extenso*)

In view of this one may look again at the passage from the Assur incantation catalogue VAT 13723+ i 29-33, proposing its restoration as follows:

29 ÉN zà-ḫi-li ú.kur-ra.SAR
 30 ÉN ^den-ki-e-ne [^dnin-ki-e-ne]
 31 ÉN udug ḫul-gál gidim idim [kur-ra]
 32 [ÉN an ki ba lú ki ba]¹⁵

33 PAP 4 ʾqut^r-r[i[?]-nu šá[?] GI.IZ]I.LÁ[?]

14. See the present writer in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham J. Sachs* 149 fn. 63 and refs.

15. This restoration was already advocated by F. Köcher, *op. cit.* 15 fn. 16.

This interpretation of line 33 is very provisional, but at any rate the series involved here must evidently be *Qutāru*, at which a further look will be taken below with the help of an additional tablet from the hand of Tanittu-Bēl.

In view of this it is possible that some or all of the incantations in the Ritual Tablet that precede nos. 23-26 which still fall within the specifically *Muššu'u* instructions, i.e. nos. 11, 13, 16 and/or 19-24, actually were included within *Muššu'u* IX.

The sequence 19-26 in fact are all to be found within *Utukkī Lemnūti* (nos. 19-22 are also found in Tablet "XV"), and so the overlap with *Utukkī Lemnūti* parallels closely the overlap already traced with the series SAG.GIG.

Some few points regarding the remaining incantations may be added to complement those identifications already noted in *A/O* 19:

No. 28: also attested in BM 35733 (Sp III 255), preceded by part of another incantation, possibly no. 27 (?).

No. 30: as already noted, G. Meier has given a Late Assyrian commentary to the incantation in *A/O* 12 (1937-1939) 237-246, where he notes other contexts prescribing this incipit. Eleven lines from an incantation beginning ĒN tùm-mu É 'qaq-qa'-[ru] šu-ta-as-suk are quoted in the Late Babylonian school text BM 87225 (1900-10-13, 5), but what survives cannot be reconciled with the extracted lines in Meier's commentary. The explanation is probably provided by *RitAcc* 141, 355, which mentions a plurality of ĒN.MEŠ tùm-mu É; cf. Meier, *op. cit.* 240 fn. 27.

No. 31: see now R. Borger, *AOAT* 1 10-12 (§ XXI). Nos. 30 and 31 are prescribed in the same order, with somewhat related ritual instructions, in K 3443 6' and 8', a ritual tablet mentioned by R. Borger, *WdO* 5 (1969-1970) 172, and edited by R. Caplice, *OrNS* 40 (1971) 168.

It is, of course, always possible that others of these incipits also represent full tablets with more than one incantation, but the likelihood is that originally the whole *Muššu'u* sequence was limited to the material in Tanittu-Bēl's Tablets I-IX, and that the elaborate ritual as it is now known from the Ritual Tablet has been extended by further incantations drawn from the series *Qutāru* and other sources.

General Remarks on the Series *Muššu'u* and *Qutāru*

The series *Muššu'u* then is one of two first millennium compositions that take the form of a long sequence of incantations collected from various sources and put together for a specific type of therapeutic practice. The second example is *Qutāru*, "Fumigation", as will be briefly discussed below. The *Muššu'u* incantations are as just demonstrated drawn from a variety of sources, chiefly *Dī'u* (SAG.GIG) and *Utukkī Lemnūti*, and relevant manuscripts that should be attributed to this form of *āšipūtu* take four distinct forms:

1. *Catalogue Tablets* that give the sequence of incantations by incipit, either by initial tablet incantation only, or also with subsequent incantations from within a tablet. The three examples of such catalogues noticed above also give information concerning other quite different magical compositions.

2. *Ritual Tablets*, giving the complete range of incantations by incipit only and the sketchiest outline of how they are to be used. The two examples of this category are those from Assur and Kuyunjik edited by F. Köcher, *op. cit.*

3. *Series Tablets*, giving the full text of the incantations one after the other with no associated ritual instructions at all. As demonstrated above, Tanittu-Bēl's standard set now establishes all but a few of these incantations, and allows us to identify other long-known incantation sources as specifically *Muššu'u* Series Tablets.

4. *Therapeutic Tablets*, giving in sequence incantations from the series, but with full accompanying medical rituals, and often embedded in different but related material¹⁶.

Some Remarks on the Companion Series *Qutāru*, "Fumigation"

The series *Qutāru*, "Fumigation", is much less well known than *Muššu'u*, but it represents in some measure a companion work. That a structured series existed under this name at least in the late period is clear from *TCL* 6 no. 34, an Iqīša tablet from Uruk described in its colophon as IM I.KAM KÛ.GI. This and the published related texts (see C.B.F. Walker, *Iraq* XLII (1980) 86 and refs.; R. Labat *RA* 55 (1961) 152-153) give the recipes for the necessary types of incense, mentioning in one case also the incantation ÉN *lem-nu* MIN found in BM 60886+ above, and also gives recipes for *napšaltū*, "salves". A similar unpublished text giving among others a recipe for KÛ.GI UD.UD.MEŠ (compare BM 60886+ above, and cf. F. Köcher, *AFO* 19 20, Z.33 and Z.35) is BM 33438 (80-11-12, 321).

Tanittu-Bēl has bequeathed us an almost complete large tablet, BM 45393+46277+46331 (81-7-1, 3154 + 81-7-28, 2+56), which takes a different form, and parallels BM 60886+ in structure, giving a sequence of twenty-one incantations written out in full for use against six complaints. The first of these is broken, but the following sections are *Lamaštu*, AN.TA.ŠUB.BA, *hīp libbi*, *mišittu* and one unspecified. Here a sequence of some twenty incantations is given, none of which overlap with the list above, subdivided into these groups which bear a summary rubric of the type exemplified by rev. iii 3: 3 ÉN.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ *ana* UGU KÛ.GI šá AN.TA.ŠUB.BA ŠID-*ma ina* IGI-at GIŠ.N[Á GAR-*an*]. This large compilation is duplicated and complemented at various points by several incomplete Late Babylonian sources; copies of all this material will be included in *BAM*. The end of BM 60886+ is missing, and BM 45393+ is not attributed to a series¹⁷, but there can be no doubt that both manuscripts belong to the series *Qutāru*.

It is evident that the relationship between the type of incense, accompanying incantation and the specific disease was clearly established. Compare in this regard BM 73399 (82-9-18, 13410), a small clay stopper originally from an incense bottle, which reads very explicitly:

qu-ta-ri šá ÉN sil₆ 'ú-erím' KÛ.GUR šá *mim-ma lem-nu*

"Incense for the incantation 'Be off O enemy!': - incense against Any Evil"¹⁸

16. Examples of such sources are not especially common, but a good example is K 2542+ (GÚ.GIG.GA), *BE* XXXI no. 60, edited *ibid.* 58-66, now to appear in *BAM*. This tablet prescribes stones and the incantation ÉN me-šē ba-da-ar/ri against *šimmatu* of the right hand, side and foot, and ÉN i-ba-aḥ against *šimmatu* of the left hand and foot; the left side is treated with ÉN sa ḥul du₈-ū-da. Although presented in a slightly different format, the relationship between part of the body and specific incantations is the same as that found in the *Muššu'u* Ritual Tablet (19-21 and 26). Curiously neither passage covers the right hand side. This side was evidently treated in K 8449 (*AMT* 93:3), mentioned above, which had an incantation and ritual for Á 15, now mostly lost, and the incantation ÉN i-ba-aḥ i-ba-aḥ (styled KA.INIM.MA *šim-ma-ti*; dup. K 3305+ 21'-22', where it appears as ÉN É.NU.RU i-bu-uḥ i-bu-uḥ, with same rubric), together with the ritual for *šum-ma* Á GÛB-šú i-šam-ma-am-šú. Compare also 81-7-27, 75, which gives *in extenso* the text of ÉN me-šē ba-da-ri (rev. iii 1'-6'), followed by the rubric [K]A.INIM.MA *ana* UGU NA₄.MEŠ *šim-mat* ŠU 15 Á 15 GĪR 15 [ŠID-*mu*], thus presenting the same information in a more compact form. In the compilation mentioned above in fn. 9 this last incantation (spelt phonetically, ÉN me-šē pa-da-ri i-ki gub-ba-da etc.) is found prescribed against SAḤAR.ŠUB.BA-*nu gi-ri-bi*.

17. The penultimate incantation in this tablet begins ÉN *dup-pir lem-nu* ^dALĀD *lem-nu* (often prescribed with ÉN *mu-šal-lim é-kur-ra*; see Köcher, *BAM* V XX sub no. 469; the latter incantation occurs *in extenso* in the tablet and is *Ḥulbazizi* no. 52). The tablet furthermore carries as catchline the possibly identical incantation ÉN *dup-pir lem-nu*. A curious fact is that *Marduk's Address*, of which (as already remarked) Tanittu-Bēl's copy exists, begins with the identical incantation ÉN *dup-pir lem-nu* ^dALĀD *lem-nu*, and thus it is possible that he considered that the *Qutāru* tablet formed part of a structured sequence with *Marduk's Address*, although it is obviously more probable that the catchline refers to an entirely different incantation.

18. This incantation is *Ḥulbazizi* no. 1, part of a sequence of short incantations against *mimma lemnu*, "Any Evil".

Muššu'u and *Qutāru* can now serve to clarify for us more closely the nature of the classic incantation compilations such as *Di'u*, *Utukkī Lemnūti*, *Asakkī Maršūti*, *Ḫulbazizi* and the like. As a rule these long sequences lack the necessary ritual instructions to show how the individual incantations were to be used. They represent therefore simply a series of convenient collections of material that could be drawn on for a specific purpose or purposes, and in themselves do not represent in any respect a consecutive practical ritual.

In the light of this situation it becomes much easier to establish how a given incomplete tablet with incantations that overlap between say, SAG.GIG and *Muššu'u*, should be properly categorised. The order demonstrated by the immediate context (i.e. preceding or subsequent incantation), the presence of any medical-type ritual or, of course, a concluding rubric should immediately clarify whether an individual witness represents a "canonical" incantation reference series tablet or a functional ritual tablet drawing on it.