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The God Asar/Asalluḫi
in the Early Mesopotamian Pantheon



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University of Tartu, School of Theology and Religious Studies

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INTRODUCTION

The original idea for this dissertation was to write a parallel study on the deities Marduk and Asalluḫi from the earliest times when written sources appear up to the end of the Old Babylonian period, and to reconsider the process of identification between the two divine concepts. Based on the available evidence, this identification took place sometime during the Old Babylonian period (ca. 2000–1600).¹ However, as reading on the subject and preparatory work on the topic progressed it seemed reasonable to limit research to only one of the two gods.

There were several reasons for the decision to abandon the idea of a comparative study of Asalluḫi and Marduk. If one had wanted to adhere to the timeframe then one would be in a very difficult situation as the textual data available is very unevenly balanced for the different periods under review. For example, on the one hand sources for Marduk from the third millennium are few, dubious and convey too little information on this deity to provide a basis for comparison with Asalluḫi for whom there is a considerable amount of data available. On the other hand, for the first half of the second millennium sources available for both deities are relatively extensive and would have been difficult to cover in the scope of a single study.

The god Marduk has been studied in several monographs before.² Since the publishing of these books there has been no major influx of new textual data that might allow substantial reconsideration of the early biography of this deity. Thus, recognising this inability to find anything genuinely new regarding Marduk's beginnings that would constitute more than sheer speculation, I decided to abandon a thorough study of Marduk and focus on the god Asar/Asalluḫi.

Scope and Objectives

The timeframe of the study covers ca. one millennium beginning with the earliest sources available for Asar/Asalluḫi from ca. 2600–2500 and spanning to the middle of the second millennium (ca. 1600–1500). The development of the divine figure of the deity will be charted based on the traditional division of this one thousand-year period of Mesopotamian history into Early Dynastic, Old Akkadian, Lagaš II, Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. Each of these periods will be treated in a separate chapter. This study is diachronic in the sense that different periods of Mesopotamian history will be dealt with in chronological order and traceable developments of the divine figure of Asar/Asalluḫi in each period will be discussed. In terms of geography, the study focuses on the region of Mesopotamia proper and does not systematically deal with material originating from the wider ancient Near Eastern region.

¹ All datings in this study are BCE.

² Sommerfeld 1982, Oshima 2011, Barberon 2012.

The main objective of this thesis is to outline the divine roles attributed to the god Asar/Asalluḫi in each period under study based on an analysis of various types of textual sources written in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages. To phrase this objective as a question: *How was the deity described in texts written in Sumerian and Akkadian and what kinds of characteristics were attributed to him?* The first step towards achieving this goal is to gather, systematise and interpret passages of texts in which the deity appears.

However, when one looks at the textual material assembled for Asar/Asalluḫi it becomes clear that the approach outlined in the previous paragraph cannot be fully applied. The reason for this is that, especially for earlier periods covered in this study, descriptive material for Asar/Asalluḫi is scarce and he often appears in various types of lists of deities whose names are presented without any additional information. In the case of this type of text the context in which the deity's name appears will have to be put under closer scrutiny. This context is above all formed by other minor deities, by Mesopotamian standards, who appear in proximity to Asar/Asalluḫi in these sources. Using the comparative descriptive evidence available for these deities from other sources, an attempt will be made to evaluate the reasons for Asar's/Asalluḫi's specific positioning in these lists, however speculative the conclusions may be at times.

In addition to his relations to minor deities, Asar's/Asalluḫi's role needs to be assessed through his relations to some of the "great gods" of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Undoubtedly the most important deity for outlining Asar's/Asalluḫi's role is his father Enki. This father and son pair had many characteristics in common and were often described in such similar terms to the point that one modern researcher named Asalluḫi the "second Enki".³ This claim deserves closer scrutiny, and thus one important question posed in this study is: *Is there any evidence for Asar/Asalluḫi having independent characteristics that are not shared with his father Enki?* Asar/Asalluḫi also had close relations to some other prominent deities such as Utu, Marduk and Iškur. In the current study an attempt will be made to give an outline of the relationship Asar/Asalluḫi had to these deities based primarily on texts in which he appears with them.

One characteristic of Asar/Asalluḫi that has been repeatedly stressed in scholarly literature is his benevolence towards humans. This assessment is largely based on the role that Asar/Asalluḫi has in incantations where he (together with Enki) comes to the aid of humans, however, such a conclusion may overlook evidence from texts of a different character. To shed light on the matter the following research question is postulated for this thesis: *Is there any evidence for Asar/Asalluḫi being a deity hostile towards humans?* Asar's/Asalluḫi's relations to humans will also be discussed from another viewpoint, namely through his relationship to the human incantation priest with whom Asar's/Asalluḫi's roles sometimes overlapped.

The deity under study is a divinity of several names, most prominently Asar and Asalluḫi but, to a lesser degree, also Asaralimnuna and some others. While

³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 569

these names were in some sources undoubtedly used as bynames for one and the same deity, doubts have been raised in scholarly circles about whether these name forms could have originally stood for separate gods. Therefore, another question posed in this study is: *Did the name forms Asar/Asalluḫi/Asaralimmuna initially represent independent deities?* To answer this question, one needs to determine the period and context in which each of these names first appeared and then discuss the possible etymologies of each name.

Previous Research on the God Asar/Asalluḫi

Discussions on Asar/Asalluḫi have so far appeared as parts of articles and in more voluminous works dedicated to various topics. More than a hundred years ago, in his book *Pantheon Babylonicum*, A. Deimel collected the appearances of the theonyms Asar and Asalluḫi (that he interpreted as ^dasar-lù-šar) and the further bynames ^dasar-alim-nun-na and ^dasar-alim from sources known at the time without making any comment on the nature of the deity.⁴ In another study published in the last year of the Second World War Deimel briefly discussed the sign asar (URU×IGI).⁵ In his study of Gudea's cylinders in 1966 A. Falkenstein discussed the name Asar with a few comparative sources known to him at the time.⁶ T. Jacobsen has briefly discussed the meaning of the name Asalluḫi in several studies. He translated the name as “Man-Drenching Asal” and promoted the idea that Asalluḫi was a god of storm and rain.⁷ In an article published in 1969 H. Sauren provided the personal name ur-^dasar-lú-ḫi as an example of a non-orthographic writing of the deity's name.⁸

In 1971, in the introduction to his edition of a collection of Mesopotamian incantations based on the final element ḫe(ḫi) in Asalluḫi's name, J. van Dijk argued that the deity was of Hurrian origin.⁹ In her doctoral thesis *Eridu in Sumerian Literature* published in 1975, M. W. Green gave a short overview of sources and discussed matters related to Asalluḫi.¹⁰ In 1977, T. S. Frymer-Kensky examined Asalluḫi in her doctoral thesis entitled *The Judicial Ordeal in the Ancient Near East*.¹¹

In a book published in 1985 M. J. Geller discussed Asalluḫi's role in incantations directed against udug-ḫul demons.¹² One of the important – however debatable – conclusions made by Geller is that in Old Babylonian incantations

⁴ Deimel 1914, 66.

⁵ Deimel 1945, 260–263.

⁶ Falkenstein 1966, 62.

⁷ Jacobsen 1968, 107, n. 10; 1970, 22–23; 1987, 428. For further on Jacobsen's ideas concerning Asalluḫi, see sub-chapter 4.2.1 below. For a discussion on the possible etymologies of the name Asar, see the introduction to chapter one below.

⁸ Sauren 1969, 28.

⁹ van Dijk 1971a, 9. See further van Dijk 1982 and sub-chapter 4.2.1 below.

¹⁰ Green 1975, 91–93.

¹¹ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 564–571.

¹² Geller 1985, 12–15.

the incantation priest assumes the role of Asalluḫi, while in first millennium canonical versions of these incantations the incantation priest assumes the role of Asalluḫi's messenger.¹³ Other important monographs on early Mesopotamian incantation literature have been written by G. Cunningham and N. Rudik.¹⁴ In both of these books discussion on Asar/Asalluḫi related to his role in incantations is included in various sections throughout.

In his study on the Ur clergy during the century of Ḫammurabi D. Charpin published an edition of the only Old Babylonian hymn (Asalluḫi A) dedicated to Asalluḫi and added some insightful commentary on the deity.¹⁵ In monographs dealing with the god Enki/Ea by H. Galter and P. Espak short treatments on Asalluḫi are included that emphasise the latter's relation to Enki/Ea, his importance as a god of magic and incantations, and his identification with Marduk.¹⁶ One valuable addition is a brief study on Asalluḫi given in W. Sommerfeld's 1982 monograph on Marduk which collects personal names with the theophoric element Asalluḫi.¹⁷ Two other monographs dealing with Marduk from different viewpoints offer a short analysis of Marduk's identification with Asalluḫi.¹⁸

Finally, the prominent Assyriologist W. G. Lambert discussed the god Asar/Asalluḫi in two pages of his posthumously published book *Babylonian Creation Myths* (2013).¹⁹ Perhaps the most interesting part of his analysis involves one possible etymology of the deity's name. Lambert connects the elements lú and ḫi in the god's name to the Sumerian verb luḫ "to wash".²⁰ The rest of the extant secondary literature on Asalluḫi is scattered across bits and pieces of a large number of different studies that are too numerous to be accounted here.

Novelty of the Current Study

Probably the longest discussion to date on the god Asar/Asalluḫi (8 pages!) appears in T. S. Frymer-Kensky's 1977 PhD thesis mentioned above. Frymer-Kensky comments: "Despite Asarluhi's prominence in the magical literature and his close association with Enki, very little is known about him."²¹ Despite the more than forty years that have passed since then the situation has not much improved; in the meantime numerous studies have been devoted to the investigation of matters and deities that Asalluḫi was closely connected to, such as incantation literature, Asalluḫi's divine father Enki/Ea, and his doppelgänger

¹³ Geller 1985, 14.

¹⁴ Cunningham 1997, Rudik 2011.

¹⁵ Charpin 1986, 357–366. See further 5.4.2.3 below.

¹⁶ Galter 1983, 138–139 and 141; Espak 2015, 117–119.

¹⁷ Sommerfeld 1982, 13–18.

¹⁸ Oshima 2011, 42–48; Barberon 2012, 134–140.

¹⁹ Lambert 2013, 480–481.

²⁰ For further discussion on this etymology and other possible etymologies of the name Asalluḫi, see sub-chapters 2.1.2.2 and 4.2.1 below.

²¹ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 565.

Marduk.²² However, none of these have dealt with the divine figure of Asar/Asalluḫi himself in greater detail by collecting together available sources on the deity and offering an extensive analysis. Therefore, the main novelty of the study lies in the fact that it is the first book-length treatment of the god Asar/Asalluḫi.

Sources and Methods

For the study of relatively minor Mesopotamian deities such as Asar/Asalluḫi the investigator does not have the luxury of only choosing certain types of sources and dismissing other kinds altogether. Therefore, all available textual material that seems to be of any use in shedding light on the divine figure(s) of Asar/Asalluḫi will be taken into consideration. The current study focuses above all on god-lists, lexical texts, administrative documents, literary texts, royal inscriptions, letters, and incantations. For each source its origin and date are marked (when known).

That various types of texts will be discussed does not imply, however, that every single cuneiform document mentioning the deity which dates to the third or to the first half of the second millennium will be taken into consideration. For example, incantations featuring Asar/Asalluḫ are too numerous for each text to be studied separately. However, as these texts are very formulaic, they will be divided into separate groups according to the role in which the deity under study appears and they will be approached in this manner. To provide a better overview, tables specifying Asar's/Asalluḫi's roles in incantations from different periods will be appended to the study.

Methodologically, this study follows several others written in the field of Assyriology that are concerned with the history of a single deity/divine concept.²³ These studies are mostly chronological collections of sources that are interpreted in a descriptive manner with the purpose of composing a “divine biography” for the deity in question, the results obtained from different periods then being synthesised in the conclusion. The philological method is followed in a general sense as the study deals with original documents written in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages. However, due to restrictions of space, *in extenso* philological analysis will not be ventured into.

It needs to be added that I am well aware of the limitations of the approach to study Mesopotamian deities based primarily on their names appearing in texts.²⁴ However, for the study of a minor deity for whom there is little mythological and descriptive evidence available, the name and the context in which it appears remains the foundation for the discussion. The name-focused studies could, in addition, prove helpful resources for future studies that investigate deities by their functions.

²² For these studies, see above.

²³ See, e.g., von Weiber 1971, Pomponio 1978, Annus 2002, De Clercq 2003, Wang 2011, Espak 2015.

²⁴ Cf. Annus 2002, 4: “I think that the author must look for the divine personality itself and not care about names.” Cf. also Lambert 1973, 355–356.

Structure

Structurally, the study is divided into five chapters in chronological order ranging from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian periods. Each chapter is in turn divided into sub-chapters based on the type of sources examined. Sources – if available – are treated in the following order: god-lists, lexical texts, administrative documents, literary texts, royal inscriptions, letters, and incantations.²⁵ In the sub-chapters texts are presented in chronological order whenever possible. However, as most of the texts relating to the god Asar/Asalluḫi are not precisely datable, chronological order can only be followed for certain types of texts, e.g., royal hymns that mention kings and precisely dated administrative documents.

Chapter one of the study discusses Early Dynastic material for the deity. Only the name Asar appears in this era. Many Early Dynastic texts are listings of deities and texts written in the almost incomprehensible UD.GAL.NUN-orthography, thus most sources from this period convey little descriptive information on the deity. Asar also appears in an Early Dynastic cycle of hymns among which a short hymn of three lines is dedicated to him and his cult centre Ku'ara. Perhaps most importantly, the god Asar appears in two recently published incantations dating from this period. In one of them he appears in a divine dialogue with his father Enki, a role of Asar/Asalluḫi that became widespread in the first half of the second millennium.

The second chapter primarily deals with the two texts available for Asar/Asalluḫi from the Old Akkadian period. Both texts are incantations and in both the deity appears in a similar role as part of the closing formula. The name form Asalluḫi appears for the first time in one of these incantations, while the other retains the Early Dynastic form Asar.

In chapter three texts from the Lagaš II period are discussed. The deity appears in two texts from this period under the name Asar. In addition to *Gudea's Temple Hymn*, there survives an offering list from Lagaš that mentions Asar.

Chapter four is dedicated to sources for Asar/Asalluḫi that date from the Ur III period. More texts from this period are available for Asar/Asalluḫi, mostly in the form of offering lists and incantations. In addition to these genres the god also appears in another cycle of hymns that is dedicated to the temples of Mesopotamia.

The fifth and final chapter of the main part of this thesis is dedicated to the god Asar/Asalluḫi in the Old Babylonian period. This is by far the most voluminous chapter of the study as there is a wealth of textual sources available from this period in the form of several god-lists and lexical texts, administrative documents, literary texts (laments, hymns, prayers, myths), a single royal inscription, letters, and numerous incantations.

²⁵ Note, however, that evidence for Asar/Asalluḫi in all these genres is available only for the Old Babylonian period.

1. EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

In the sources that date to the Early Dynastic period only the name form Asar appears for the deity studied in this thesis. The name Asar is written with the composite cuneiform sign URU×IGI. The basic meaning for the sign URU is “city” and for the sign IGI, “eye”. The meaning of asar is so far uncertain, as there exists no ancient explanation of the name or its translation into Akkadian that would specify it.²⁶ The bulk of information for this deity in the Early Dynastic period comes from texts that were excavated at Fāra (Šuruppak) and Abū Salābīḥ, situated in the central region of ancient Sumer.²⁷ The texts excavated from these sites are approximately contemporary and have been dated to the middle of the third millennium (Early Dynastic IIIa (ca. 2600–2500), i.e. the Fāra period).²⁸ The texts from Abū Salābīḥ are considered to be slightly later than the texts from Fāra based on the more developed writing system.²⁹ Texts

²⁶ In *Enūma eliš*, col. vii, ll. 1–2 (Lambert 2013, 124–125) Asar (^dasar-re) is described as an agricultural deity explained in Akkadian based on dividing asar-re into elements a (“water”), sar (“garden, greenery”) and rig₇ (“to donate”) in Sumerian (see Deimel 1945, 262–263). This, however, is in all probability a later scholarly pseudo-etymological speculation that has little to do with the original meaning of the name asar. V. V. Emelianov (personal communication) has taken the element -re that at times appears after the sign asar to denote a hidden participle: asar-re(d), and divided asar into a “seed” and sar “swift, quick”. In his interpretation the name asar would thus mean “quick/swift seed/progeny”. This interpretation would suit an active youthful deity like Asar/Asalluḥi well. For this note the incantation CUSAS 32 1f in which the venom of a snake is said to run away (sar) by means of water (a) of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers poured by Asar (possibly a wordplay based on the name of the deity). For asar as “quick seed”, note the suggestion by K. V. Zand for the use of sign ASAR in the UD.GAL.NUN-texts: “Das Zeichen ASAR scheint ebenfalls ein Verbum Movendi wiederzugeben” (Zand 2009, 231). Note also the divine name ^da-sar appearing in an inscription on a calcite cup (UET 1 12) from the Early Dynastic IIIb period Ur. In this text no further information is given on this deity and it is impossible to tell if there exists any connection to the god ^dasar. This cannot, however, be excluded. G. J. Selz (personal communication) – as another possibility – has connected the theonym asar(i) to the verb a ri, “to impregnate” and interpreted the name as “water/seed (a) impregnating (a-ri) the field plots (sar)”. As comparative evidence Selz brought out the hymn Nanna A, ll. 46–48 (ETCSL 4.13.01): a ra èš kug-ga-àm saman za-gin-na / dumu ur-saĝ ^dnin-líl-le tud-da / ^dnanna a-gàr a ru-a ki áĝ an ⁷kug-ga⁷ (“seed engendered in a holy shrine, shining halter / heroic child born by Ninlil! / Nanna, seed engendered in the fields, beloved of holy An!”).

²⁷ Fāra (Arabic for “mouse”), ancient Šuruppak, is located ca. 45 km southeast from Nippur. The ancient name for Abū Salābīḥ, a site located ca. 20 km to the northwest from Nippur is not certain. Keš, Ereš and Ġišgi have all been claimed as the ancient name for this site (see further Krebernik 1998, 254). *Salābīḥ* refers to “knobbly lumps of clinker” in plural in the local dialect of Arabic, see Postgate and Moorey 1976, 134. According to Krebernik 1998, 306, the published non-administrative texts form less than a quarter of the Fāra textual corpus; in the Abū Salābīḥ corpus, on the other hand, the number of lexical and literary texts discovered is almost 500 with only ca. 30 administrative texts found.

²⁸ For further information on dating the Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ texts, see Biggs 1966, 75–77; OIP 99, 24–26; Krebernik 1998, 157–159; Lambert 2008, 27.

²⁹ Krebernik 1998, 258.

from these early sites are in general still hard to interpret and translate – mostly due to the defective nature of the orthography of the early cuneiform writing and the lack of parallel texts from other sites. Despite these difficulties, the texts from Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ give us a peek into the Mesopotamian religion in the middle of the third millennium and allow us to make some assumptions – although speculative at times – concerning the relations among the deities in the pantheon and their possible hierarchy. In addition to the Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ material in the form of a god-list, lexical texts and literary texts in the UD.GAL.NUN orthography, the name Asar appears in three offering lists from Lagaš, in two incantations on a collective tablet from an unknown location and in a few personal names.

1.1 God-lists

1.1.1 The Great God-list from Fāra (SF 1)

The lists of deities are a common genre in all periods of cuneiform writing. The early god-lists from Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ are simple, one-columned lists of divine names.³⁰ There seem to be two major and intertwined problems concerning the interpretation of these early lists of deities. Firstly, the attempts to comprehend them are impaired by the lack of context, as many of the divine names listed are not known from other sources. Secondly, modern scholars are not able to fully grasp the organising principles of these lists, and – generally – comprehend the purpose that they were compiled for. Things are further complicated by the fact that modern researchers have since long ago noticed that instead of following only one organising principle, the ancient compilers of these lists have combined several of them in the frame of one list.

Following G. Rubio, one can distinguish between at least three main principles of organisation in the Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ god-lists: 1) graphic, 2) phonetic and 3) conceptual-semantic with the first principle being the most prominent.³¹ Thus, some kind of hierarchical or “thematic” ordering is probably not dominating the early god-lists from Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ and it is complicated to glean any unambiguous information from them. However, in certain parts of these lists interpretable clusters of meaning are traceable that according to Rubio’s division fall under the conceptual-semantic ordering. To give only a few examples, in both main lists from Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ the most prominent

³⁰ For the great Fāra god-list (SF 1), see Krebernik 1986, 168–188; Mander 1986, 77–102. For the Abū Salābīḥ list, see Alberti 1985; Mander 1986, 1–69. Differing from the Fāra list that appears on one big tablet (SF 1), the main god-list from Abū Salābīḥ is reconstructed based on several tablets. For other Fāra god-lists, see Krebernik 1998, 338.

³¹ Rubio 2011, 99. Cf. Selz 1992, 197, who also considers mythology, theology, cult-topography and cult-practice as organising principles for these lists.

deities of the pantheon are given at the beginning and both document the theogony of the premier god Enlil.³²

The god-list from Fāra possibly contained ca. 600 names and of them 421 have at least partly survived; in comparison, the Abū Salābīh god-list hypothetically consisted of ca. 430 divine names of which 306 are at least partially legible.³³ According to P. Mander's analysis 80 names appear in both lists.³⁴ When one considers the number of more or less extant names in both lists, this number is surprisingly low. Based on this statistical input one could pose a question regarding the types of pantheons that these lists represent, i.e. whether they represent pantheons of local importance, or encompass the wider, *gesamtsumerisches* pantheon. Scholars have expressed varied opinions in this matter. Concerning the Fāra list, E. F. Weidner writing in 1925 claimed that the deities listed belong to the local cult of Šuruppak,³⁵ or, as he elaborates, to "Lokalkulten des religiösen Einflußgebietes von Šuruppak."³⁶ W. G. Lambert has opposed this view, asserting that the idea that the Fāra lists are "based on local cults in particular lacks any foundation."³⁷ However, the meagre number of identical deities appearing in both lists should make Lambert's conclusion seem too categorical and should indicate that local traditions must have had at least some role in these list. However, at present it is impossible to specifically assess the role of local influences and it should also be kept in mind that the ancient compilers might have had some other considerations remaining unfathomable for us for listing the deities in such an order.

Of the main two god-lists, the deity ^dasar appears only in the Fāra list. In this list influences from the city of Uruk seem to dominate, as a good deal of the names in the list consist of components unug or kul-ab₄. This has led M. Krebernik to conclude that this list traces back to the city of Uruk or at least that this city held a prominent position during the composition of this list.³⁸ In addition to the beginning of the text where the most prominent deities are listed,³⁹ one can trace some conceptually ordered clusters of deities in the Fāra list, e.g., the listing of administrative personnel in col. viii, ll. 5–9 and traces of

³² For Enlil's theogony, see, e.g., Lambert 2008, 27.

³³ Mander 1986, 117.

³⁴ 46 names are identical, 6 names appear to be identical on the basis of integration, 15 names occur with some variations in graphics, and an additional 13 names are probably the same but presented graphically or conceptually different, or are lacunous (Mander 1986, 111–114).

³⁵ Weidner 1924–1925, 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, n. 2.

³⁷ Lambert 1957–1971, 473.

³⁸ Krebernik 1986, 166. Krebernik convincingly backs his argument of the Urukean dominance with the fact that Uruk's tutelary deity Inanna is listed third among the premier deities of the pantheon, some other Urukean goddesses hold prominent positions and the texts also mention the legendary Urukean rulers ^dlugal-bàn-da (col. vii, l. 15) and ^dbil-ga-mes (col. xiii, l. 7'). Cf. Selz 1992, 199.

³⁹ The list begins with an / ^denlil / ^dinanna / ^den-ki / ^dnanna / ^dutu / AN.MEN_x / ^dBAR.MEN_x / nísaba / ^dnanibgal_x / ^dnin-UNUG / ^dnin-girim_x / ^dnin-gal.

the theogony of Enlil in col. vi, ll. 25–28.⁴⁰ ^dasar appears in col. xi of the Fāra god-list, and – at least at first glance – in no obvious conceptual cluster of deities.⁴¹

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ^d ME.TE.E[N] | 17. ^d dam-g[al [?] -nun [?]] |
| [ll. 2–5: lacuna with a few traces] | 18. ^d nun-g[al] |
| 6. ^d en-Ú.ŠÈ | 19. ^d M[UŠ].ir.ḫa.TIN.2- <i>tenû</i> |
| 7. ^d en-lú-nu-gíd | 20. ^d MUŠ.ir-ḫa.TIN.BALAG.UD? |
| 8. ^d en-nun-ḫul | 21. ^d kuš ₇ -ba-ba ₆ |
| 9. ^d en-URU×X | 22. ^d IM.LU.LU |
| 10. ^d en-BUR.GU[R ₈ [?]] | 23. ^d MUŠ (^d nirah) |
| 11. ^d en-x.NU[N] | 24. ^d MUŠ.ŠÀ.DA.DU |
| 12. ^d en-é-si | 25. ^d abzu-ta-è |
| 13. ^d ba-ba | 26. ^d MUŠ.X.GAL-abzu |
| 14. ^d asar ⁴² | 27. ^d ŠEŠ.IB.GAL |
| 15. ^d AN.UD.UD | 28. ^d KA.NUN.BAR |
| 16. ^d MÁ[Š].ZU.DA.KAS ₄ | 29. ^d GÁNA.NUN |

^dba-ba, the divine name immediately preceding ^dasar in col. xi of the list can be taken as an early phonetic variant for the name of ^dba-Ú, a goddess from Lagaš.⁴³ No clear connection of Asar/Asalluḫi to this goddess can be found from other sources. One may hypothesise that the two deities are here listed next to each other because both were connected to healing. However, the problem with this interpretation is that there seems to be little evidence for

⁴⁰ Krebernik 1986, 164–165.

⁴¹ For transliterations of col. xi, see Krebernik 1986, 179–180; Mander 1986, 84–85 and CDLI: https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P010566 (last visited 01.09.2018). For a hand copy by M. Krebernik, see https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P010566_1.jpg (last visited 01.09.2018). For photos, see Mander 1986, tablet X and https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P010566_d.jpg (last visited 01.09.2018).

⁴² Note that Krebernik 1986, 179 restored this name as AN.ASAR on the basis of another text from Fāra (SF 57, col. vi, l. 16) which in most cases omits the divine determinative in front of the name retains the sign AN for this deity. However, as some other names also seem to retain the divine marker in this text the validity of this suggestion is not certain. For a discussion on SF 57, see 1.2.2 below.

⁴³ Roberts 1972, 17. The most common readings of ^dba-Ú are ^dba-ba₆ or ^dba-ú. For the readings of this name, see further Marchesi 2002; Rubio 2010, 35–39. Note that Mander 1986, 84, v. I, l. 12[?] has ^dba^{ku6} instead of ^dba-ba. This reading is followed by G. Marchesi who by comparing it to an entry in the Ebla Fish list (cf. MEE 3, 101, no. 75) interprets the name as “The-Turtle-(-God)” (Marchesi 2002, 162). However, as was noted already by G. Rubio 2010, 35, from the photo and drawing of SF 1 (drawing by M. Krebernik) available in CDLI (photo: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P010566.jpg> (last visited 10.09.2018); drawing: https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P010566_1.jpg (last visited 10.09.2018)) it is reasonably clear that the third sign is BA and not ḪA. Note further that G. J. Selz has considered this deity’s connection to ^dba-ba₆ (= ^dba-Ú) “unwahrscheinlich” and has indicated on the possible Semitic origin of this deity (Selz 1992, 213).

^dba-Ú as a healing goddess before the Ur III period.⁴⁴ In the context of SF 1, col. xi one can add that ^dba-Ú in Lagaš was possibly connected to the netherworld as witnessed by her presence in documents recording offerings to the dead in Early Dynastic Lagaš and by the similarity of month names in Lagaš that include her name with the month names in Ur in which (netherworld god) Ninazu’s name is included.⁴⁵

The deity who appears immediately after ^dasar, ^dAN.UD.UD has also been interpreted in various ways. M. Krebernik read ^dAN.UD.UD as ^dšerida, the spouse of Utu the sun-god.⁴⁶ P. Mander interpreted this theonym as NAP.UD.UD without the divine determinative.⁴⁷ The closeness of ^dAN.UD.UD to Asar in this list, however, makes it tempting to interpret the signs UD.UD in this name as dadag, “(to be) bright, to brighten”, as this verb is often used in connection with Asar/Asalluḫi and his activities as the one dealing with ritual purification in Old Babylonian incantations.⁴⁸ The sign AN could thus here denote the sky, similarly as in the recurrent formula in Old Babylonian consecration incantations that has the following part: “may it/he brighten like the centre of heaven” (šà-an-na-gin₇ ḫé-em-dadag-ge).⁴⁹ The name ^dAN.UD.UD could here perhaps be interpreted as “(the one who) brightens the heaven” or the like and could stand for a byname of Asar.

In the same column the god ^dabzu-ta-è (col. xi, l. 25) is presented after a section in which some ophidian deities appear, traceable approximately in ll. 19–24. This deity is among the triad whose name is written with the component abzu (ZU.AB) in this list with the name ^dMÛŠ.X.GAL-abzu appearing next (col. xi, l. 26), and ^dNÁM.ABZU in the following column (xii, l. 18).⁵⁰ On the

⁴⁴ See Böck 2014, 13–14; Ceccarelli 2009, 39. Note that ^dba-Ú appears as a-zu-gal-saḡ-gi₆-ga, “the great healer of the black-headed” in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, l. 268 (see Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 32).

⁴⁵ See Cohen 1993a, 53–54; Selz 1995, 32 and 37–38.

⁴⁶ Krebernik compares the writing AN.AN.UD.UD that appears in SF 1, col. xi with the writing ^dUD^{sir-ri-da}AN.UD in a later god-list (CT 25, plate 9, l. 12), see Krebernik 1986, 202. However, M. A. Powell, who has studied the consort of the sun-god in more detail, considers this reading uncertain (Powell 1989, 448, n. 6). Note also that Šer(i)da, written as ^dšè-NIR, already appears in col. x, l. 3 of SF 1. For the connection of Asar/Asalluḫi and Šerida in other listings of deities note that in an Old Babylonian god-list TIM 9 86 (see 5.1.7 below) Enki (listed with three names) and Asalluḫi are followed by the mention of Utu and his spouse, who appears under two name-forms: Šerida and Aya. For Asalluḫi’s relations to Utu, see 4.3.2.1, 5.4.2.3 and 5.7.7 below.

⁴⁷ Mander 1986, 84, v. I, 14’. For four possibilities to transcribe NAP, see *ibid.*, 48–50. As one of them, one could read NAP as mul_x, “star” to gain the meaning “bright star” for NAP.UD.UD but in this context this is speculative.

⁴⁸ See 5.7.4 below.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Old Babylonian incantations DME 239 and DME 272. See also Emelianov 2003, 224–225.

⁵⁰ G. J. Selz translates the name ^dNÁM.ABZU as abstract “the Function/Office (of) the Abzu” (Selz 1997, 171), the name could also have the meaning: “the lord of Abzu”, cf. *ibid.*, 191, n. 89; for the reading of NÁM, see Lambert 1976, 431, n. 3.

basis of analogy with the name ^dmes-lam-ta-è-(a), the name ^dabzu-ta-è could be translated as “(the one who) comes out from the abzu”.⁵¹

The snake deities with some documented history in ll. 19–24 are Irḥan, who hides behind the writings in ll. 19–20, and Niraḥ (l. 23) whose name is written as ^dMUŠ.⁵² The former is a deity associated with the river Euphrates,⁵³ who in the *Zami Hymns* appears together with the goddess Ningirim.⁵⁴ The latter, whom the later tradition knows as either the protective genius of the Ekur temple or the minister of the god Ištaran of Dēr also has connections to Enki and the abzu.⁵⁵ Especially meaningful could be the passage in Gudea cylinder A, l. 733: ^dniraḥ kù abzu dar-a-àm (“it is pure Niraḥ who splits the abzu”) describing a rope or a cord tied to a door.⁵⁶ Both the name ^dabzu-ta-è and the characterization given in Gudea A for ^dniraḥ could thus reflect snakes who are slithering upwards from underground. In the myth *Enki’s Journey to Nibru*, l. 83, Niraḥ serves as Enki’s snake-shaped punting pole or the mast of Enki’s boat.⁵⁷

Between Irḥan and Niraḥ appear ^dkuš₇-ba-ba₆ and ^dIM.LU.LU (ll. 21–22), who – deciding by their position – could perhaps be ophidian in shape as well. ^dkuš₇-ba-ba₆ is in all probability connected to ^dba-ba who appears in col. xi, l. 13, as in the god-list from Abū Salābīḥ ^dba-ba₆ and ^dkuš₇-ba-ba₆ appear in consecutive lines.⁵⁸ The element kuš₇ has the Akkadian equivalent *kizū* that can be translated as 1. herdsman(?) or 2. groom, personal attendant.⁵⁹ ^dkuš₇-ba-ba₆ could thus perhaps be rendered as “the herdsman of Baba” or “the personal attendant of Baba”.⁶⁰ For ^dIM.LU.LU I managed to find no parallels or a

⁵¹ Meslamtaea who occurs in SF 1, col. xiv, l. 4’ was an underworld deity who probably during the Ur III times was identified with Nergal (see von Weiher 1971, 7). F. Wiggermann claims that ^dmes-lam-ta-è-(a) (“who has come out of the Meslam”) might be a war god if Meslam is to be interpreted as a toponym with the meaning “place of peace” (Wiggermann 1998–2001a, 217). Cf. the name NINA-ta-è in SF 1, col. ix, l. 12. Cf. also the deity ^dkur^{ki}-ta-è who appears in a text from Fāra (TŠŠ 629) and kur-è, possibly a short form of the latter that occurs in the Abū Salābīḥ god-list (see Alberti 1985, 13, l. 316; Mander 1986, 30, l. 339).

⁵² For Irḥan, see McEwan 1983, 223–226; Krebernik 1984, 298–300. For Niraḥ, see McEwan 1983, 218–223. For both deities, see Wiggermann 1998–2001d, 570–574. Note that in the *An = Anum* god-list the writing MUŠ stands for the god Ninazu, see Wiggermann, 1998–2001b, 332.

⁵³ McEwan 1983, 217.

⁵⁴ For ^dMUŠ.ir-ḥa.TIN.BALAG.UD and his connection to the goddess Ningirim in the *Zami Hymns*, see OIP 99, 51, ll. 160–162. Note that (Nin)girim and Irḥan also appear together in another Fāra-document SF 40 (see Krebernik 1984, 246) and in an Old Akkadian or Ur III period copy of a name list from the Fāra period (Cohen 1993b, 80, text A, ll. 28–29).

⁵⁵ In an Old Babylonian incantation DME 210 (=VAS 17 1, col. iv, l. 1) Niraḥ serves as the *gudu*-priest of the abzu: ^dniraḥ *gudu*₄-abzu-ke₄. See also McEwan 1983, 222.

⁵⁶ See ETCSL 2.1.7.

⁵⁷ See Ceccarelli 2012, 95 and 105, l. 83; cf. Al-Fouadi 1969, 74 and 82, l. 87.

⁵⁸ OIP 99, plate 82, obv. col. iv, ll. 21–22. For ^dba-ba, see above.

⁵⁹ CAD K, 477.

⁶⁰ Cf. the translations offered in Selz 1995, 157. Note that M. Krebernik gives the reading ^dIŠ-ba-Ú (Krebernik 1986, 180). kuš₇ has also been translated as “equerry” (Spar 1988, 46–47), “Herdenwächter” (Behrens 1998, 128–129), “animal-trainer” (Michalowski 2011, 15).

coherent explanation.⁶¹ ^dMUŠ.ŠÀ.DA.DU who appears between ^dniraḥ and ^dabzu-ta-è deciding by the sign MUŠ is in all probability also a snake-shaped deity but the writing seems to be without parallels and cannot be explained at present. The deity who appears right after ^dabzu-ta-è, ^dMUŠ.X.GAL-abzu could – in addition to the component abzu – have a phonetic connection to the preceding names written with MUŠ.

Col. xi ends with the names ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL, ^dKA.NUN.BAR and ^dGÁNA.NUN. Their connection to the names that appear before them is, however, not clear. Tentatively one could consider the possibility that the triad represents deified physical entities. Thus, ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL and ^dKA.NUN.BAR might perhaps be buildings or parts of buildings and ^dGÁNA.NUN might be a deified field. *ib-gal* in ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL can be taken to stand for the temple of goddess Inanna that is documented in Lagaš, Umma and Isin.⁶² ^dKA.NUN.BAR might perhaps be a deified gate, to be translated as “the outer princely gate”(?). Both ^dKA.NUN.BAR and ^dGÁNA.NUN (perhaps to be translated as “princely field”), could be connected to “the prince”, i.e. Enki.⁶³ These explanations are, however, far from being certain. For example, one could consider the alternative possibility that ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL reflects a familial relation with the goddess Ninibgal, i.e., that the carrier of this name – whoever he might be – is the brother of Ninibgal.⁶⁴ Another option is that *šeš-ib* in ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL stands for a cultic profession and is to be translated as “brother of the shrine”.⁶⁵ ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL would thus perhaps give the meaning “great brother of the shrine”, perhaps denoting a higher rank of this office in some way. Although this office is in the Ebla documents often mentioned in connection with gods and sacred buildings,⁶⁶ it remains unsure why this office – if it is meant here – appears as deified. Yet another option is that ŠEŠ.IB is simply an early writing for *šeš*, “brother, colleague”.⁶⁷

For the attestation of this deity in Lagaš, see Selz 1995, 157 with notes 667 and 668; these examples seem to indicate the deity’s connection to cattle.

⁶¹ Note that in some manuscripts of the myth *Enki’s Journey to Nibru*, the name *Niraḥ* is replaced with IM.DU.DU (see ETCSL 1.1.4, l. 86) that is vaguely similar to IM.LU.LU. However, due to the many possible readings of the sign DU this connection with *Niraḥ* remains very speculative.

⁶² For the deity ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL, see Krebernik 2009–2011a, 405. Cf. the similar name ^dŠEŠ.IB.MI in the Abū Salābīḥ god-list (given as ^dŠEŠ+IB.gi₆ in Mander 1986, 30, l. 300; see also Alberti 1985, 13, l. 282). For *ib-gal*, see Krecher 1976–1980, 8.

⁶³ For the intimate connection of the sign NUN to the cult of Enki, see, e.g., Heimpel 1998–2001b, 378.

⁶⁴ For *Ninibgal*, see Richter 2004, 236–237. Note that the first sign *nin* is in some cases omitted in the writings of the name of the goddess, see Sallaberger 1993 I, 247. One possible candidate to carry the name ^dŠEŠ.IB.GAL would perhaps be MŪŠ.X.GAL-abzu who appears in the previous line.

⁶⁵ For *šeš-ib*, see Alberti and Pomponio 1986, 63–64; see also Cohen 1993b, 81–82. For *šeš-II-ib* as “a religious confraternity” in Ebla, see Archi 2002, 23–56.

⁶⁶ See Alberti and Pomponio 1986, 63.

⁶⁷ This was claimed by T. J. H. Krispijn on the basis of archaic texts from Ebla and Ur (Krispijn 2004, 108 with n. 29).

It is not an easy task to find further – even if hypothetical – conceptual linkages between deities appearing in col. xi. ^den-lú-nu-gíd, possibly an early writing name for Enlil’s throne bearer Ennugi (later commonly written as ^den-nu-gi₍₄₎) or a different deity with a similar name, ^den-nu-gi₄-gi₄ who had intimate relations to the netherworld as a door- or gatekeeper, appears in col. xi, l. 7.⁶⁸ The ^den-lú-nu-gíd appearing in the Fāra list could – deciding by the deities appearing in col. xi – have more in common with the “netherworldly” gatekeeper. As ^den-lú-nu-gíd appears second among seven divine names beginning with en (ll. 6–12), this section could be composed on graphic or phonetic principles. One, however, notices the conspicuous similarity of the selection of en-deities with the seven gatekeepers of the netherworld listed in the late version of the myth *Nergal and Ereškigal*, five of whom share en- as the first sign in the writings of their names with ^den-nu-gi₄-gi₄ being listed seventh.⁶⁹ However, besides ^den-lú-nu-gíd no outright parallel names can be found in the two heptads of deities. Perhaps only ^den-URU×X could be viewed as a parallel to ^dne-ru-ul-la/^den-[uru-ul-la] in *Nergal and Ereškigal*. This argument is also weakened by the gap appearing in the Fāra god-list right before the first en-name (^den-Ū.ŠÈ) and there could have been more en-names listed in the beginning of the column.⁷⁰ This would lose the important part of the argument of seven as the common number of gatekeepers and the frequent symbolism of number seven in ancient Mesopotamia in general.

Perhaps conceptually ordered – in opposite directions – are the names that appear directly before the section of serpents: ^ddam-g[al[?]-nun[?]] and ^dnun-g[al] (xi 17–18).⁷¹ The former, if it is indeed the divine consort of Enki, Damgalnuna here, is separated from Asar, her son according to later tradition, by two names⁷²;

⁶⁸ For two (or three) different Ennugis, see Lambert and Millard 1969, 147–148; for Ennugi in Nippur, see Richter 2004, 91–92.

⁶⁹ The five en-names in *Nergal and Ereškigal* are ^d(en)-ki-šár, ^den-da-šurim-ma, ^dne-ru-ul-la/^den-[uru-ul-la], ^dne-ru-bàn-da/^den-^ruru! (copy: ^rTUR^r)-[bàn-da], ^den-du₆/du₁₃(TUR)-kù-ga (Streck 2014–2016, 164). In the late text KAR 142, the five gatekeepers beginning with en are ^den-da-šurim-ma, ^den-uru-ul-la, ^den-du₆-kù-ga, ^den-du₆-ŠUBA and ^den-nu-gi₄-gi₄, cf. Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 224. In the god-list *An = Anum*, tablet 5, ll. 223–225 (see Litke 1998, 189), ^den^r-[nu]-^rgi₄-gi₄ appears as one of the two doorkeepers of Ereškigal together with the deity whose name is only partially preserved, perhaps ^dbí-[du₈-an]-ki-<šár> (R. L. Litke gives the reading ^dne-[du₈-an]-ki-<šár>).

⁷⁰ ^dME.TE.EN, the first name in col. xi does not allow an explanation at present, M. Krebernik (1993–1997, 147) suspects that it could be identical with ^dEn-TE+ME in the Abū Salābīḥ list (cf. Mander 1986, 27, l. 124: ^den-me:te).

⁷¹ Readings by Krebernik 1986, 179. Note that P. Mander interprets the names as ^ddam-^ré[?] and ^dnun.^ré[?] (Mander 1986, 84).

⁷² For Damgalnuna in the Early Dynastic sources, see Alberti and Pomponio 1986, 51; Steinkeller 1995, 279 with n. 23. The filiation between Asar and Damgalnuna is not explicitly documented for the Early Dynastic period. In two Old Babylonian incantations (CUSAS 32 6c and Meturan I) Damgalnuna appears as ama ^dasar/^dasal-lú-ḫi ^ddam-gal-nun-na, “Damgalnuna, mother of Asar/Asalluḫi”.

the latter, the goddess Nungal,⁷³ a chthonic deity, is in a suitable position to introduce a section of snake gods.

The closeness in this section of both the deities with a connection to the netherworld as well as to the abzu leads one to the question about the relations between these two cosmic regions in ancient Mesopotamian religious thought in the third millennium.⁷⁴ There are several examples in the early texts where the borders between abzu and the netherworld are fuzzy. For example, P. Steinkeller has claimed that abzu, as it appears in the *Zami* hymn preceding the hymn dedicated to Asar can be considered synonymous (“virtually identical”) with the netherworld, i.e., the land of the dead.⁷⁵ W. G. Lambert has also noted that “Apsû and the netherworld are occasionally confused.”⁷⁶

A deity named ^dnin-ASAR, a possible female (artificial?) counterpart to ^dasar also appears in the Fāra list (col. v, l. 11’) among the myriad of deities whose name begins with the sign nin.⁷⁷ However, as the names ^dasar and ^dnin-ASAR do not occur close to each other, the context reveals nothing about their relations. It also seems to be the only occurrence of the name ^dnin-ASAR in the presently available sources. In sum, little certain can be said about the surroundings of Asar in col. xi except that it lists some deities with clear connections to the netherworld and to the abzu, among them possibly Damgalnuna, who according to later tradition is Asar’s/Asalluḫi’s mother.

1.2 Lexical Texts

1.2.1 List of Cities (SF 23)

There are two lexical texts among the Fāra and Abū Salābīḫ material in which the deity ^dasar appears. One of these texts has been traditionally called the *List of Cities*, although it also lists theonyms. For this list it needs to be stressed that it has a very long, more than a thousand-year history that harks back to the

⁷³ For the only known hymn dedicated to Nungal, the goddess of prisons, see Sjöberg 1973a.

⁷⁴ Note that D. Katz is sceptic about the possibility to find groupings of netherworld deities in the the Fāra and Abū Salābīḫ god-lists: “The earliest god-lists of Early Dynastic Fara and Abu-Ṣalabikh add the problem of readings to the complicated structure: many god names cannot yet be identified. Some netherworld deities were detected but not grouped together and other well-known netherworld deities do not seem to appear in the lists, such as the name Ereškigal” (Katz 2003, 384).

⁷⁵ Steinkeller 2005, 21, n. 23.

⁷⁶ Lambert 1987–1990a, 138. Lambert adds that Lugalgal-abzu in a post-Old Babylonian god-list (CT 25 36, col. iii, l. 3=37:1) is a name of Nergal, the ruler of the netherworld.

⁷⁷ Cf. the writing ^d[ni]n-šilig given in Mander 1986, 80 (r. v, l. 14’). In the abundance of the nin-names and in the high position of Inanna, M. Krebernik sees the dominance of the feminine element in the list (Krebernik 1986, 165).

Jemdet Nasr period of Uruk and extends to the Old Babylonian period.⁷⁸ This list is very difficult to interpret as many geographical names are unknown, and the compositional principles are not clear.⁷⁹ For these reasons the following commentary will be kept to a minimum. ^dasar is mentioned in the third column of SF 23, among names of locations, buildings (temples?) and deities:⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The duplicates of SF 23 are ATU 3, 145–150 (from the Jemdet Nasr period Uruk); SF 24; IAS 21–22 (from the Fāra period) and UET 7 80 (from the Old Babylonian period Ur, for the transliteration of this text, see MSL 11, 62). Note that of these texts the sign ASAR appears only in the archaic text from Jemdet Nasr period Uruk. In this version of the text there is no AN sign in front of ASAR, see ATU 3, 148. Editorial activity could be suspected behind this change, perhaps ASAR in the archaic list represented something different and was not understandable to the scribes in the Fāra period, who interpreted this sign as Asar, the deity. Another possibility is to interpret ASAR in the archaic Uruk list as a diri-writing for Asar's city Ku'ara (see Marchesi 2006, 23, n. 94). The sequence listed in SF 23, col. iii approximately corresponds to the 18 names listed in ATU 3, 147–148, ll. 38–55: NINLIL / SAL GA_{2b}+DUB_a URI_{3a}.PAP_a / E_{2b}+AŠ_c / X X [] / NA_a E_{2a} / GIŠIMMAR_{a2} / AB_a.gunû / SIG₇ NIĠIR / U_{2b} NAGA_a MUŠEN ZATU 647 BA / IM_a AD_a / AN NI_b / ASAR / [] AN BU_a DU_{6a} / GI TAK_{4a} / BU_a ŠA_{3a1} / SI AN PAP_a [] / AN SI / AN EZINU_a. Note that the writing ASAR appears in two other texts in ATU 3. In Geography 1 (tablet W 21208,50) 'ASAR PAP_a KI_a' appears among the last seven names (or toponyms?) in the tablet: [] 'KI_a' / 'PAP_a PIRIG_{b1} KI_a' / 'ASAR PAP_a KI_a' / 'SAG KI_a' / 'PIRIG_{b1} KI_a' / 'NAM₂[?] GI KI_a' / [] (ATU 3, 160). In Unidentified 78x (tablet W 24004,14a) ASAR appears as first of only two names: [] 'ASAR' / 'GAL_a ŠAGAN' (ATU 3, 175). As modern scholars are still largely at a loss in interpreting these archaic texts, they will not be further treated in this study. Note that the early writing of the sign ASAR looks more like NIM×IGI than the later URU×IGI (see ATU 2, 176, no. 36).

⁷⁹ Cf. Nissen 1985, 227: "Die Liste ist insgesamt schwer zu interpretieren, da keineswegs alle bekannten babylonischen Ortsnamen enthalten sind, viele Ortsnamen unbekannt sind und wir kein Prinzip erkennen können, nach dem die Namen angeordnet sind." Note that the scholarly discussion has so far centred on the beginning of the list where some important cities of early Mesopotamia are listed (see, e.g., Green 1977; Englund 1988, 131–133, n. 9; Matthews 1993, 39–40). The question remains that in which sense these cities were important, as this is hard to conclude on the basis of a list of names with no additional information, i.e. were the locations listed based on political, cultic, or religious hierarchy or some other principle? No concrete proof can be presented but several theories have been postulated. E.g., R. K. Englund stressed that as "many of the toponyms contain elements of divine names [...] or are coterminous with divine names, [they – A. J.] may reflect a mythological or cultic hierarchy, that is, beginning with the household of the moon god Nanna, followed by that of the earth god Enlil, the sun god Utu and so on" (Englund 1998, 92).

⁸⁰ For transliterations of this text, see DCCLT: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/eb1a/P010600/html> (last visited 04.09.2018) and https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search_results.php?SearchMode=Text&ObjectID=P010600 (last visited 04.09.2018). For a handcopy by M. Krebernik, see https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P010600_1.jpg (last visited 04.09.2018). For a photo, see https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P010600_d.jpg (last visited 04.09.2018).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. nin-líl | 11. AN.NI |
| 2. SAL PAP ² iri-dub-bu | 12. ^d asar |
| 3. É×PAP | 13. AN&AN nin TAB+LAGAR ^{gunú} |
| 4. é-dur | 14. EŠ.ŠU-gi |
| 5. é-na | 15. bu-LAK050-nun ^{ki} |
| 6. é-PA.SA ₆ ^{ki} | 16. bu-LAK051-nun-TAR |
| 7. AB×NUN ^{tēnū} | 17. BU ^{gunú} -PA-EL |
| 8. niġir:sig ₇ | 18. ^d BU ^{gunú} -PA-EL |
| 9. uga _x (NAGA) ^{mušen} -zu | 19. ^d ézinu |
| 10. aš ₈ -gi ₄ -AD | |

Of the deities appearing in col. iii of the Fāra period version of this list, only Asar, BU^{gunú}-PA-EL and Ezinu are possibly provided with divine determinatives.⁸¹ Tenth in this column is probably an alternative name for Ašgi, the city god of Adab.⁸² For the deity who appears next between Ašgi and ^dasar, P. Mander has interpreted the sign AN as a determinative and gained the reading ^dià.⁸³ As noted by R. D. Biggs the signs appearing in l. 14 also occur together in the *Zami hymns* (ll. 140–141), in a hymn possibly dealing with Enki’s mother, the goddess Namma.⁸⁴ At least two further deities with some documented history appear in this list. These are niġir:sig₇ (l. 8) and ^dézinu (l. 19). Niġirsig is the captain of Enki’s boat in the myth *Enki and the World Order*,⁸⁵ Ezinu/Ašnan is the goddess of grain.⁸⁶

1.2.2 List of Cultic Personnel (SF 57)

SF 57 is a text of 15 columns that has been thought to at least partly list cultic and palace personnel.⁸⁷ In addition to these offices some “proper” divine names are listed. Beginning with col. xiii, l. 18 to the end of the text (col. xv, l. 18) all the entries begin with the sign ME. ^dasar appears in the penultimate, xivth column of the text:⁸⁸

⁸¹ Cf., e.g., l. 1 in which Enlil’s consort Ninlil’s name could appear without the divine marker. For the reading of AN.NI, see 1.2.2 below. Note that J. Lisman considers this list to have no divine determinatives at all (Lisman 2013, 89 with n. 353).

⁸² For one possible explanation for the connection between Asar and Ašgi, see 1.4.2.5 below. For Ašgi, see further Such-Gutiérrez 2005–2006, 6–8. In literary sources Ašgi appears in the *Zami Hymns* (OIP 99, 48, ll. 72–74), the temple hymn dedicated to Ninġursaġ (hymn no. 29, see Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 39. l. 375), and in the *Keš Temple Hymn* (Gragg 1969). For Ašgi and Asar appearing in proximity in a UD.GAL.NUN text CUT 93, see 1.4.2.5 below. For the Pre-Sargonic readings of the name Ašgi, see Biggs 1971.

⁸³ Mander 1980, 190.

⁸⁴ See OIP 99, 55.

⁸⁵ See *Enki and the World Order*, ll. 113 and 184 (Benito 1969, 92 and 95).

⁸⁶ For Ezina/Ašnan, see, e.g., Selz 1995, 25–26.

⁸⁷ See OIP 99, 38.

⁸⁸ For transliteration of col. vi of this text, see Mander 1986, 104. For an image, see https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P010647_d.jpg (last visited 06.09.2018).

- | | |
|--|--|
| [1. lacuna] | 12. ME nu-sag |
| 2. ME nin-kiš | 13. ME nu-muš.DU |
| 3. ME NI.NA | 14. ME PAP niġir-saġ |
| 4. ME EN:TI | 15. ME pa ₄ -šeš UD |
| 5. ME súd | 16. ME ^d asar |
| 6. ME nin.peš ₁₁ -LAK 247.LI.AB | 17. ME BU×BU.NÁ |
| 7. ME LAK 210 | 18. ME AN.NI |
| 8. ME ^d SIG ₇ | 19. ME ^d aš ₈ -gi-AD |
| 9. ME ŠĖ.LU.KU ₆ | 20. ME ^d men |
| 10. ME na:rú | 21. ME LIBIŠ |
| 11. ME gal-X | |

The first aspect that requires explanation for this part of the list is the meaning of ME as the first sign of all entries. One possibility is to interpret ME signs as išib/išippu, a designation for a priest.⁸⁹ D. O. Edzard convincingly rejected this possibility, interpreted ME nu-sag (l. 12) as a genitive construction (me-nu-sag(a)), “‘göttliche Kräfte’ des nu-sag-Priesters”, and attributed the same meaning for all the occurrences of ME in the ending part of SF 57.⁹⁰ Thus, in Edzard’s interpretation the logogram ME in this list stands for me-s, i.e., the divine powers.⁹¹ If this is correct, then what could be the relation between divine powers and the following cultic officials and deities?

One possibility is to interpret this listing in a similar vein to the list of me-s that appears in the myth *Inanna and Enki*.⁹² Among the more than hundred divine powers listed in this myth there appear some me-s for priestly offices such as en-priest, lagar-priest, egir-zid-priestess, nin-diġir-priestess, išib-priest, lu-maġ-priest, gudu₄-priest, kur-ġara-priest. Could a similar listing of divine powers of cultic functionaries appear in SF 57? One problem with this comparison is that all the named offices in *Inanna and Enki* are constructed with nam-, the nominal prefix for creating abstracts, while in SF 57 the sign nam does not appear. This may, however, be simply a matter of different expressions in different periods.⁹³

It still needs to be considered how some deities named in the listing of me-s fit into the picture. For example, one could consider the possibility that the deities listed here are not deities “in their own right” but the writings are elliptical and these entries in truth represent the cultic personnel of the gods mentioned.

⁸⁹ For the išib/išippu priests, see Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 631.

⁹⁰ Edzard 1962, 102 with n. 57. Edzard’s line of argument is that if nu-sag (col. xiv, l. 12) is also a designation for a priest (as is ME = išib) than it would make no sense to form constructions such as “priest X of priest Y”.

⁹¹ For a thorough treatment on the category of me-s in Sumerian literary traditions, see Emelianov 2009, 40–186.

⁹² For *Inanna and Enki*, see Farber-Flügge 1973.

⁹³ One could view this part of the list as to reflecting the bestowing of me-s as divine powers on cultic officials and deities by a higher authority, with the god Enki as the keeper of me-s in the abzu (Farber 1987–1990, 610) being the possible bestower. Note that the god Enki is not named among the entries beginning with ME nor in other parts of SF 57. Note also the personal name me-^den-ki from Adab (Pomponio, Visicato and Westenholz 2006, 263).

However, perhaps a better option is that the deities themselves are presented as cultic officials in this list, as there is ample proof that deities were viewed to hold cultic offices.⁹⁴ To give some examples for deities who appear in col. xiii, l. 18–col. xv, l. 18 of SF 57 and in other sources are known to perform the duties of cultic personnel one can name Nanše (col. xv, l. 2) and Ningublaga (col. xv, l. 13).⁹⁵

Two entries that precede ^dasar in this column probably reflect (human?) cultic personnel, PAP niĝir-saĝ is approximately “chief herald” although in this case the sign PAP is difficult to explain.⁹⁶ pa₄-šeš is a designation for a priestly office with the basic meaning “older/oldest relative”.⁹⁷ pa₄-šeš UD here could be interpreted as “priestly office (“older relative”) of (the god) Utu”, although in this case the deity’s name is written without the divine determinative.⁹⁸ pa₄-šeš priests of other deities like An, Su’en, and Lugal-kalam have been attested.⁹⁹ As both the office of pa₄-šeš and the deity Asar are connected to rituals of purification this could be the reason why they are listed next to each other in this list.

As was noted by P. Mander the proximity of ^dasar, AN.NI and ^daš₈-gi-AD in both SF 23 and SF 57 is conspicuous.¹⁰⁰ It can be added that both Asar and Ašgi appear together in a literary (UD.GAL.NUN) text CUT 93.¹⁰¹ It is also interesting that BU×BU.NÁ that appears between Asar and AN.NI occurs in the

⁹⁴ See Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 619. For išib and išib-maḥ used as epithets for deities (Ninisina, Ninurta, Enki, Ningirsu, Ningišzida, Dingirrigalla) in Sumerian literary texts, see Renger 1969, 125, n. 637.

⁹⁵ The goddess Nanše appears in Gudea cylinder A (col. ii, ll. 1 and 17 (see RIME 3/1, 70); iii 26; iv 12 (see RIME 3/1, 71)) as a dream interpreter (ensi/šā’ilu), the god Ningublaga appears as a maš-maš-priest in *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, l. 133 (see Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 26).

⁹⁶ Note that the epithet NIĜIR.GAL is used for the sun-god in text IAS 326, col. i, l. 18 (=ARET 5 6, col. ii, l. 6: *na-gār-ga-ra*). Note also that in a royal inscription of En-anatum I (En-anatum I, text 2, col. i, l. 2 (see RIME 1, 171)) GAL.NIĜIR abzu, “chief herald of the abzu” appears as the epithet of the god Ĥendursaĝa. Cf. also the personal name niĝir-saĝ-ezen in CUSAS 16 96, col. ii, l. 11 (read as niĝir-saĝ-kèš in Notizia 2013, 166).

⁹⁷ Krispijn 2004, 109.

⁹⁸ However, in the Fāra period the sun-god’s name was often written without the determinative (see Krebernik 1998, 284). Note also that some other deities in the ME-listing are written without the determinative: see, e.g., col. xiii, l. 9: ME nin:gal; xv 2: ME nanše; xv 13: ME nin-gublaga.

⁹⁹ See the table in Krispijn 2004, 109. Krispijn demonstrated that pa₄-šeš in Akkadian texts appears as an equivalent to Sumerian gudu₄. Akkadian term *pašišu* (a common translation of gudu₄ in Old Babylonian times) is, in turn, an early loanword from pa₄-šeš.

¹⁰⁰ Mander 1980, 190–191. Note that in Adab in the Old Akkadian period, AN.NI appears together with Ašgi in an administrative document (BIN 8 7) that reflects the appointment of workforce for temples and deities. The sequence of deities is: ^dAšgi, ^dInanna, ^dEnki, é-dam-[gal-nun] (temple of Damgalnuna?), bára-^den-lil-GAR, ^dx-é-si, AN.NI. Cf. the offering list CUSAS 11 216 (Ašgi not mentioned): ^de[š-peš], [^dišk]ur, ^den-ki, AN.NI, é-dam-[gal-nun], ^dx-é-si, bára-^den-lil-GAR. These documents reflect a connection of AN.NI and according to BIN 8 7 also of Ašgi to the Eridu deities. Note that M. Such-Gutiérrez proposes that AN.NI is a mother-goddess (Such-Gutiérrez 2005–2006, 5).

¹⁰¹ For this text, see 1.4.2.5 below.

beginning (l. 14) of both the archaic list of cities and SF 23 and could thus possibly indicate a city or town of some importance in southern Mesopotamia. Regarding some other entries in col. xiv of SF 57, nu-muš.DU could be interpreted as Numušda, the god of the northern city of Kazallu.¹⁰² SIG₇ could perhaps be elliptical writing for Niġirsig.

1.3 Administrative Documents

1.3.1 Offering Lists from Lagaš

The only offering lists from the Early Dynastic period known to me in which the god Asar is mentioned come from Lagaš. According to three lists from this location ^dasar receives 1 sila of oil and 1 sila of dates together with 18 other recipient deities during a festival celebrated for the goddess Nanše in the latter's city NINA/Niġin.¹⁰³ In the texts that reflect this event,¹⁰⁴ Asar is listed together with minor deities of NINA: deified cultic symbols, musical instruments and the statue of Ur-Nanše, the king of Lagaš.¹⁰⁵ That all three texts seem to list the same deities with slight differences in their sequence, only one of the lists (TSA 1, col. viii 1–col. ix 14) is presented here:¹⁰⁶

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. ^d ama-nu-mu-dib | 11. ^d ÈŠ-ir-nun-èš |
| 2. ^d nin-tu-zà-ga | 12. ub ₅ -kù |
| 3. ^d dumu-zi-gú-en | 13. gal-balag |
| 4. ^d nin-tu-ama-uru-da-mú-a | 14. gišimmar-urudu |
| 5. lagaš ^{ki} -šè NINA ^{ki} | 15. na-rú |
| 6. ^d nin-šubur | 16. ^d iškur |
| 7. zú-si | 17. ^d PA-KAL |
| 8. du ₆ | 18. ^d asa[r] |
| 9. TAR-SAR-a | 19. alan-ur- ^d nanše |
| 10. ^d PA-igi-du | |

^dasar is in these lists grouped together with the deities ^diškur and ^dPA.KAL.¹⁰⁷ One notices little concurrences between the Lagaš lists and the Fāra lists treated above. Only na-rú-a, “stele”, seems to have a counterpart in SF 57, col. xiv, l. 14: me-na:rú. Of Asar's connections with the deities appearing in the Nanše-

¹⁰² For Numušda, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001i.

¹⁰³ Selz 1995, 25; see also table VIII (ibid., 359).

¹⁰⁴ TSA 1, DP 53, Nik. 1 23.

¹⁰⁵ Bauer 1998, 509. The “minor” receivers of offerings named in these lists were formally kept apart from the important deities of NINA/Niġin (e.g., Ašnan, Esirnun, Gantura, Ninura, Šulutul, MesanDU) whose names in the offering lists are listed separately divided by offerings brought to each of them.

¹⁰⁶ Following Selz 1995, 359; cf. Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 231–234.

¹⁰⁷ Note that in DP 53 and Nik. 1 23 the sequence of these three deities is ^diškur, ^dasar, ^dPA-KAL; in TSA 1: ^diškur, ^dPA-KAL, ^dasar.

lists, his relations to the weather god Iškur seem most notable. The connections of Asar/Asalluḫi to Iškur are mirrored in several other sources from various periods.¹⁰⁸ In addition, one could mention the Lagaš II offering list MVN 6 528 and the Ur III incantation TMH 6 19² in which Asar appears in proximity with Ninšubur.¹⁰⁹ Regarding the mention of alan-ur-^dnanše, “the statue of the king Ur-Nanše” one can draw a parallel with the Ur III material. According to texts from this period Asar/Asalluḫi seems to have had a special connection to (deceased?) kings such as Šulgi and Amar-Su’en who are mentioned in Ur III incantations.¹¹⁰ Šulgi also appears in proximity to Asar in several offering lists and in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*. Further links in this list to Asar are obscure, as are most of the entries.

1.3.2 Administrative Document from Umma (CUSAS 33 120)

CUSAS 33 120, an administrative document that lists the allotment of garments (^{túg}aktum_x(SU)) to several officials (e.g., maškim, sukka) and their wives. The writing for the god Asar appears on the reverse of the tablet:

- rev. i
- [1. lacuna]
- 2. géme il[?]
- 3. ^dasar LÚ[?] [x]

géme and il could stand for female and male workers related to the deity. Although l. 1 of the reverse that probably mentions the allotment(s) has not preserved, it is highly probable that we are dealing with the same garments (^{túg}aktum_x(SU)) the mention of which occurs seven times in this short document of 23 lines. It is interesting that the editors of CUSAS 33 have emended l. 3 of rev. col. i as ^dasar-lú[?]-[hi]. In this case it would be the first appearance of this writing for the deity already in the Early Dynastic IIIb period. This emendation is, however, problematic, as in no other of the 12 Early Dynastic documents that mention ^dasar are the signs lú-ḫi attached to the theonym. Another option is that, as in the *Zami Hymns*, the deity’s name in CUSAS 33 120 should be read as ^dasar-lú-KAL.¹¹¹ The component lú-KAL, “strong man” was possibly later detached from the name of the deity and continued its existence as an epithet

¹⁰⁸ For example, in the Old Babylonian god-lists TIM 9 86 and UM 55-21-351, plate XXVII, Asalluḫi is listed close to Iškur and his spouse Šala. In the myth *Enki and the World Order* the elements -lú-ḫi are added to Iškur’s name (although in the case of the latter the interpretation lú-du₁₀ “the good one” is possible as well). In addition to this contextual evidence, Asalluḫi in *Sumerian Temple Hymns* is described in terms of a fierce storm god. For further discussion, see 4.2.1 below.

¹⁰⁹ See 4.3.3 below.

¹¹⁰ See 4.1 and 4.3 below.

¹¹¹ For the *Zami Hymns*, see the next sub-chapter.

(lú-KAL-KAL) for Asalluḫi in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*.¹¹² Yet another option is that the scribe has made a mistake and rev. col. i, l. 3 should be read as lú-^dasar, a personal name documented twice in the Ur III period.¹¹³

1.4 Literary Texts

1.4.1 The Zami Hymns from Abū Salābīḫ

The composition known as the *Zami Hymns* is a more than 230-line text that can be divided into 69 short pieces that have as common elements a place name connected to a deity and a short, refrain-like ending: GN + zà-mì (“praise!”). The parts of texts between the place name and the deity’s name are mostly epithets of the deity or of the temple.¹¹⁴ The designation *Zami Hymns* was coined by R. D. Biggs, the editor of the Abū Salābīḫ material.¹¹⁵ Biggs associated the *Zami Hymns* with the tradition of the *Keš Temple Hymn* and the later *Sumerian Temple Hymns*.¹¹⁶

No modern scholar has so far ventured to publish a full translation of this collection. Nevertheless, a few translations have been offered for the first, considerably longer section (consisting of as much as 14 lines) that deals with to the god Enlil of Nippur. Understanding this introductory piece – especially ll. 11–14 – seems to be crucial for interpreting the rest of the text:¹¹⁷

11. ^den-líl a-nun
12. ki mu ḡar-ḡar
13. dingir-gal-gal
14. zà-mì mu-du₁₁

According to the translation of W. G. Lambert: “Enlil, a seed which the noble / established / spoke praise / of/concerning the great gods (as follows).”¹¹⁸ Thus,

¹¹² See 4.2.1 below. Unfortunately, during the preparation of this thesis the copy of the tablet CUSAS 33 120 was not available for me to study and a better assessment of the problem was thus not possible.

¹¹³ The following Early Dynastic personal names with the theophoric component (^d)asar are known to me: ur-^dasar (“man/dog/servant of Asar”) in three texts from Fāra (SF 36, 69, 77) and KAB-^dasar (?) in three texts from Zabalam (CUSAS 14 139, 147, 158). For personal names with the theophoric component Asar/Asalluḫi from other periods, see 2.1.2.2 (Old Akkadian), 4.1 (Ur III) and 5.3 (Old Babylonian) below.

¹¹⁴ Krecher 1992, 292.

¹¹⁵ The tablets are IAS 257–277. For the transliteration and commentary, see OIP 99, 45–56.

¹¹⁶ OIP 99, 45. Note that in subsequent studies doubts have been raised whether calling these very short, 2–3-line compositions hymns does justice to their character (see, e.g., Krecher 1992, 292–293). Litanies has been claimed to be a more accurate term for defining these vignettes (Rubio 2011, 102).

¹¹⁷ Following OIP 99, 46. For the first hymn note the comments of M. Krebernik: “...sie ist die ausführlichste, besteht aus mehreren Sätzen und spielt für das Verständnis der ganzen Komposition eine entscheidende Rolle” (Krebernik 1994, 152).

¹¹⁸ Lambert 1976, 430, n. 1.

Lambert saw Enlil here praising all the deities that appear in the following hymns.¹¹⁹ Differently, F. d’Agostino interpreted Enlil not as “the seed” himself, but as the one who disperses the seed and then distributes the gods with their distinguishing features: “11. Enlil / (12.) verstreute / den prächtigen Samen / 12. auf der Erde; 13. (dann) / (14.) teilte er / den grossen Göttern 14. die (/ihre) Kennzeichnen zu.” Hence, d’Agostino sees in this part a kind of a theogony of the great gods begotten by Enlil himself.¹²⁰

J. Krecher considered *zà-mì* to be a scribal abbreviation standing for the formula that appears in ll. 11–14 of the text.¹²¹ Thus, the actual recurring “chorus” of the text should in Krecher’s interpretation be: “the Anunna gods have, o Enlil, founded it (=the city), / the great gods have said (to you? to it = to the city?) ’hail!’.”¹²² Finally, M. Krebernik offered a translation: “Enlil hat (dort) die Anunna-Götter / in ihre (Kult-)Orte eingesetzt, / und die großem Götter haben ihn gepreisen.”¹²³ In Krecher’s and Krebernik’s interpretation (*contra* Lambert and Biggs!) it is thus the gods who praise Enlil, not the other way around, although their interpretation for the previous lines is different.¹²⁴ Later studies seem to reject Lambert’s and Biggs’ understanding and follow Krecher’s or Krebernik’s versions in the matter of who is praising who in this text.¹²⁵

Regardless of whether the deities praise Enlil or vice versa, their sequence should be of some importance here.¹²⁶ The hymn to Enlil is followed by those dedicated to ^dnin-unug (ll. 15–18), ^dinanna (ll. 19–29), ^den-nu-de₄-mud (ll. 30–32, an early writing for Nudimmud = Enki¹²⁷), ^dasar (ll. 33–34), ^dnanna (ll. 35–36), ^dutu (ll. 37–38), ^dningal (ll. 39–40), an (ll. 41–43) and ^ddam-gal-nun (ll. 44–45).

¹¹⁹ R. D. Biggs (OIP 99, 45) is also of the opinion that Enlil is the one who is praising.

¹²⁰ d’Agostino 1988, 81.

¹²¹ Krecher 1992, 293.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Krebernik 1994, 154.

¹²⁴ The translation by Alster 1976, 121 is also in line with Krecher’s and Krebernik’s interpretation.

¹²⁵ Cf. Wang 2011, 99: “For the interpretation of the relevant lines, most if not all of scholarly views now seem to prefer taking Enlil as the recipient of praising rather than the one who took the active.”

¹²⁶ Unfortunately, the “total” interpretation of the ordering of deities, is, again – as is the case with various Early Dynastic lexical lists – hindered by the modern interpreter’s lack of understanding the principles of organisation. R. D. Biggs has noted regarding the sequence: “Deities whose cult cities are near each other are often in proximity in the hymn as well, but since deities from Uruk/Kullaba occur in three widely separated parts of the hymn collection, it is clear that the principle of organization was not mainly geographical. Deities known from myths and epics to be in a close relationship are often grouped together in the hymn collection. A number of deities are attested elsewhere only in the lists of deities from Fara and Tell Abū Salābīkh” (OIP 99, 45).

¹²⁷ See Lambert 1976, 430; Krebernik 1994, 154. Selz 1992, 200 sees in the *zà-mì* composition an underlying theological and political purpose to place Enlil at the top of the *gemeinsumerischen* pantheon that is emphasised by the downgrading of the roles of Enki (named only with his byname Nudimmud) and An (named ninth in ll. 41–43).

Thus, Asar appears as fifth in the sequence of deities. To him the following short hymn is dedicated:¹²⁸

33. 𒀠A.A ir-nun

34. ^dasar lú-KAL zà-mi

33. (In) Ku'ara, (a place of) princely aroma 34. Asar, the strong/precious one, praise!

When compared to the god-list SF 1, lexical texts SF 23 and SF 57 and the offering lists from Lagaš in which no other information besides the name of the deity was given, in the two lines additional minute pieces of information about the deity appears. While one of these (ir-nun) is surely an epithet that stands for the toponym 𒀠A.A (Ku'ara), the matters concerning lú-KAL appearing in l. 34 are more problematic.¹²⁹ In the translation above the deity's name is given as ^dasar and lú-KAL is interpreted as an epithet standing apart from the name. In this case the reading of the name would result in the deity ^dasar whose name appeared in the Fāra god-list and lexical texts. Another option, however, is to include the following two signs LÚ and KAL to the deity's name. In this case the result would be the divine name ^dasal-lú-KAL.¹³⁰ In any case it is certain – by the mention of Ku'ara and the position of the hymn in the cycle – that we are dealing with the writing for the same divine figure that has been variously called Asar, Asalluḫi and Asaralimnuna.

The opinions of scholars differ in the matter of lú-KAL. G. J. Selz translated ll. 33–34 as: “(In) Ku'ara, (dem Heiligtum mit) fürstlichem Wohlgeruch sei asarilu-KAL Preis!”¹³¹ Thus, he considers lú-KAL to be a part of this divine name. The option to consider lú-KAL as an epithet for the god ^dasar was supported by W. G. Lambert who translated lú-KAL as “the strong/precious one” and rejected its connection to -lú-ḫi in the later name Asalluḫi.¹³² It should be noted that the same combination of signs (lú-KAL) – if read in the right sequence – appears in *Zami Hymns* in a section dedicated to the god An, most probably as an epithet.¹³³ In the later *Sumerian Temple Hymns* Asalluḫi (^dasal-lú-ḫi) is provided with the epithets lú-kal-kal (“the very strong one/man”) and nun-kal-kal (“the very strong prince”).¹³⁴ To interpret kal in the temple hymns as “strong” (instead of “precious”) seems to fit better the fierce tonality of how the deity is depicted in his temple hymn. It cannot, however, be excluded that

¹²⁸ Following OIP 99, 47. These lines appear in tablets IAS 258 and 266–268.

¹²⁹ Note that on two tablets of the text the writing seems to be not lú-KAL but lú-GURUŠ (see Krebernik 1984, 321, n. 125). Although the meaning of ḡuruš as “young adult male” would suit Asar/Asalluḫi well, the signs KAL and GURUŠ are very similar and this is in all probability a scribal mistake. Cf. the transliteration ^dasar-lú-GUR in Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 80, n. 43.

¹³⁰ For the possibility that this name appears in the administrative text CUSAS 33 120 from Umma, see the previous sub-chapter.

¹³¹ Selz 1995, 25, n. 67.

¹³² Lambert 2013, 481. Cf. Green 1975, 92 who is in doubt whether KAL is part of the name.

¹³³ OIP 99, 47, l. 42.

¹³⁴ Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 25, l. 140.

the writing was deliberately ambiguous and hinted at both the “good” and “bad” characteristics of Asalluḫi as a deity associated with water and (stormy) weather.

Considering the presented evidence, one could entertain the possibility that in the *Zami Hymns* lú-KAL was considered to be a part of the divine name that in the temple hymns was separated from it and survived as an epithet. One could further hypothesise that this modification of names had something to do with developments in the functions of the deity. Perhaps when the deity became more dominating in the sphere of incantations – as is visible in the Ur III and Old Babylonian data – it made no sense anymore to call him “the strong one” and his name was “revalued” as ^dasal-lú-ḫi.¹³⁵

ḪA.A in l. 33 should be taken as a toponym that stands for the city of Ku’ara that was associated with Asar/Asalluḫi in later times.¹³⁶ In assyriological scholarship there has been some confusion between the toponyms ḪA.A^(ki) and A.ḪA^(ki) that were in earlier scholarly literature both thought to stand for Asar’s/Asalluḫi’s Southern hometown read variously as Ku’ara/Kuwaru/Kuara. In the first millennium sources the writing A.ḪA^{ki} indeed stood for the city of Asalluḫi.¹³⁷ However, by combining evidence from different periods, P. Steinkeller has demonstrated that all the attestations of ḪA.A^(ki) from the third millennium should be interpreted as ku₆-a^(ki), i.e. the southern city of Ku’ara.¹³⁸

For the Southern locale Ku’ara that is connected to Asar in the *Zami Hymns*, parallel evidence from the Early Dynastic period is scarce. Administrative

¹³⁵ For the possible meanings of lú-ḫi, see 2.1.2 and 4.2.1 below.

¹³⁶ The name for Ku’ara is here written without the determinative ki, as are many locations mentioned in the *Zami Hymns*.

¹³⁷ This is witnessed in a bilingual *Canonical Udug-ḫul* incantation CT 16 6 that for Sumerian A.ḪA^{ki} has *šu-ba-ri* in the Akkadian line (ll. 239–240; for a recent translation, see Geller 2016, 126). T. Jacobsen emended the first sign in the Akkadian line from *šu* to *ku* – based on the similarity of the signs – and gained the reading *ku-ba-ri* (Jacobsen 1939, 88, n. 126). Another witness is a bilingual fragment of the canonical lamentation *eden-na ú-saḡ-ḡá* (2 MSs: BA 5, 675, ll. 25–26; SBH 80, ll. 8–9) in which Akkadian reading *ku-u₈-a-ra* stands for Sumerian A.ḪA^{ki} (for transliteration, see Cohen 1988, 682–690; note also the comments in Heimpel 1980–1983, 256: “Die Belege aus *eden-na ú-saḡ-ḡá* weisen zwar nicht direkt auf die südab. Stadt hin; da die Serie aber den Tod Dumuzis zum Thema hat, erwartet man einen Ort im Süden”).

¹³⁸ Steinkeller 1980, 27–30. See also Steinkeller 1995, 276. Cf. Heimpel 1980–1983, 256. Steinkeller based his conclusion on the three similar toponyms appearing in a lexical list known as Nippur Forerunner to HAR-ra XX-XXII (MSL 11, 102) that had the following sequence: 181. A.ḪA^{ki} 182. A.ḪA^{ki} 183. ḪA.A^{ki}(ku₆-a^{ki}). Old Babylonian Diri of unknown origin (MSL 15, 63) has: 05’. [ḪA].A^{ki} = ‘x’-[]06’. ḪA.A^{ki} = ‘x’-[]07’. ḪA.A^{ki} = *ku-[a-ra]* (cf. the readings in Steinkeller 1980, 28, section c: ḪA.A.KI = ‘x’-[...], ḪA.A.KI = ‘tu’-[ba], ḪA.A.KI = *ku-[u-a-ra]*, thus Steinkeller connects the second entry with Tuba, a district of Babylon). The later Diri III (MSL 15, 146) has: 202. []-‘ri?’ = A.ḪA^{ki} 203. []-ba = A.ḪA^{ki} 204.[x-ú?]-a-ra = A.ḪA^{ki}. According to Steinkeller the writing A.ḪA^(ki) in the third millennium stands for a city in Northern Babylonia, and possibly also for a third unrelated toponym (Steinkeller 1980, 30). Cf. Carroué 1993, 48 who comments for A.ḪA^{ki}: “Ti/u-wa^{ki}, près de l’id-Zubi dans le Nord Mésopotamien.”

document TŠŠ 247 from Fāra records the provisions of grain and emmer in 𒀠.A.^{ki} (rev. col ii, l. 4). amar-𒀠.A.^{ki}, amar-𒀠.A.A, amar-𒀠.A.A.DU and 𒀠.A.A-ki-du₁₀ are attested as personal names in administrative documents.¹³⁹ The document IAS 43, col. i, ll. 3–5 lists 𒀠.A.A.DU, 𒀠.A.A.DU.ME and 𒀠.A.A.LAK63.¹⁴⁰ F. N. H. Al-Rawi and J. Black interpreted this document as a geographical list and these writings to stand for three different cities: 𒀠.A.^{rá}, 𒀠.A.^{du.me} and 𒀠.A.^{idigna}, and placed the last location to the Tigris river in the north.¹⁴¹ P. Steinkeller has convincingly argued that IAS 43 is not a geographical list but a word list and because of that there is no reason to interpret these entries as three separate toponyms but they should all stand for the Southern Babylonian Ku'ara.¹⁴² Thus, only a handful of Early Dynastic references to 𒀠.A.^(ki) have survived and except the *Zami Hymns* none of them connect this toponym to the deity Asar. Ku'ara seems to have been a town or a village of modest size.¹⁴³ The site of Ku'ara has thus far not been localised with certainty.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ See RGTC 1, 96 for the references, to these should be added amar-𒀠.A.A.DU from Adab (CUSAS 11 184 rev. col. i, l. 1) and amar-𒀠.A.A from Fāra (Visicato and Westenholz 2000, 1114, col. 4, l. 2). Note that Steinkeller 1980, 30 reads 𒀠.A.A.DU in amar-𒀠.A.A.DU as ku₆-a-rá. For the personal names constructed with amar as the first element, see Limet 1968, 69–70 and 327–328; for x-ki-du₁₀, a common construction for personal names up to the Ur III period, see Alberti and Pomponio 1986, 49–50.

¹⁴⁰ The duplicates of this text are IAS 39–42 and BiMes 1 9 from Fāra.

¹⁴¹ Al-Rawi and Black 1993, 148.

¹⁴² Steinkeller 1995, 276. He interprets the three entries as Ku₆-a-rá, Ku₆-a-rá me and Ku₆-a-<râ> dalla.

¹⁴³ Cf. Steinkeller 1995, 277: “Since the mentions of Kuwara in administrative and historical texts are exceedingly rare, it must have been a relatively small settlement.”

¹⁴⁴ The written sources indicate Ku'ara's location in the south, somewhere in the region of Eridu and Ur. The temple hymns placed the city of Ku'ara between Ur and Ki'abrig, *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur* between Eridu and Ġišbanda. F. Carroué has placed Ku'ara on the canal that joins Išan Khaibar on the Euphrates – perhaps ancient Enegi (thus Frayne 1983, 96; Carroué 1993, 49–50) to Eridu and considered sites 7, 84, 141 in the site catalogue by H. T. Wright (Wright 1981, 338–345) as possible locations for ancient Ku'ara (Carroué 1993, 49). Of these three sites, Carroué claimed that site 84 is the best candidate for ancient Ku'ara. Wright describes site 84: “Apparently a circular mud-brick platform, perhaps Early Dynastic in date, once covered with Ur III–Early Larsa refuse, now completely levelled by erosion” (Wright 1981, 341). D. Frayne (in RIME 3/2, 28) – based on a royal inscription of Ur-Nammu (Ur-Nammu 6) that reports the building of a temple to the goddess Ninsun and very probably comes from the site Rajībah – has placed Ku'ara slightly southwards from site 84 and has considered nearby sites 4 and 5 (ca. 11 km northwest of Eridu and 15 km southwest of Ur) in Wright's catalogue as locations for Ku'ara and KI.KAL, the city of which patron deity was the goddess Ninsun. Frayne comments: “[...] KI.KAL and Ku'ar may have been two quarters of a city conglomeration (sometimes subsumed in Ur III texts by the designation Ku'ar) that is marked by the modern mounds of Rejībah Jinub and Rejībah Shamal. If our understanding is correct, the original situation was one in which the god Asarluḫi and his wife Nin-damgal-ana were the chief gods of Ku'ar, and the gods Ninsuna and Lugalbanda were patron deities of the neighbouring mound of KI.KAL” (ibid.). See, however, Richter 2004, 322, who places KI.KAL^{ki} “in der näheren Umgebung von Uruks oder gar in der Stadt [...]” Based on an inscription by the Old Akkadian king

Man-ištūšu that commemorates the building of a temple of the goddess Ninḥursaġ in 𒄩A.A^{ki} (see RIME 2, 80, Man-ištūšu 6; Al-Rawi and Black 1993), P. Steinkeller (1995, 281) has hypothesised that Ku'ara might be either 1) one of the neighbouring sites of Tell 'Ubaid, or 2) Tell 'Ubaid itself. Steinkeller's line of argumentation for the two possibilities is the following: 1) as goddess Ninḥursaġ was in the South known to be worshipped and have a temple in Tell 'Ubaid (6 km northwest from Ur) that was rebuilt by Šulgi and in the vicinity of Ur she is also known to have the sanctuary Nutur (to which Šulgi installed a statue of Ninḥursaġ and possibly also rebuilt the temple) then Tell 'Ubaid could be ancient Nutur and Ku'ara could be one of its neighbouring sites. 2) Steinkeller tries to combine the evidence of the Man-ištūšu inscription and the previous argumentation on the shrines of Ninḥursaġ and asks whether the temple of Ninḥursaġ built by Man-ištūšu in Ku'ara could be the same temple that was located in Tell 'Ubaid = Nutur. To solve this puzzle, Steinkeller has taken the view that Nutur was to Ku'ara similarly what Tummal was to Nippur, i.e. a holy site within a bigger district and could thus "be described as being located "in Kuwara"." Steinkeller tries to strengthen his argument about similarities between Tell 'Ubaid and Ku'ara with the evidence that there existed an Early Dynastic temple to Damgalnuna in Tell 'Ubaid and possibly also a cult of Enki (for references, see *ibid.*, 279). Of the two arguments presented by Steinkeller the first one seems more convincing. Similar suggestions have also been made by Sallaberger 1993 I, 59, n. 246 and Heimpel 1998–2001b, 379. The weak point in the second argument – as the author himself admits (Steinkeller 1995, 280) – is that no corroborative evidence for his thesis appears neither in the Ur III administrative documents nor in *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur* and both sources keep Nutur and Ku'ara clearly apart. If Nutur would be a part of the larger Ku'ara district, then one would expect to see Nutur listed right after Ku'ara but in the lamentation Nutur is listed before Ku'ara with Ġišbanda, the city of Ninġišzida separating the two locations. In addition, the evidence that there existed a cult of Damgalnuna and Enki in Tell 'Ubaid cannot be taken as evidence for similarities in cultic activities for this site and for Ku'ara. In Ku'ara, as witnessed by the administrative documents from the Ur III period (see further 4.1 below) ^den-ki was not the object of offerings at all (he possibly appeared under the name 𒄩aia). For a possible archaic evidence on Ku'ara note that M. Lambert identified one of the so-called city seal impressions from Jemdet Nasr to stand for Ku'ara (Lambert 1970, 189, see further Matthews 1993, 34–36). Note that M. Lambert's assessment was later challenged (see McEwan 1981; Green 1986). Note also UET 2 112, an archaic text from Ur that in rev. col. vi, l. 8 could have an archaic writing for Ku'ara. Note further that in one recension of the *Antediluvian King List* (W-B 62=OECT 2, plate VI), a text that was later incorporated into the *Sumerian King List*, Ku'ara is listed as the first city instead of the traditional Eridu. The sequence of cities in W-B 62 is Ku'ara / Larsa / Badtibira / Larak / Sippar / Šuruppak instead of the common ordering Eridu / Badtibira / Larak / Sippar / Šuruppak. For that, T. Jacobsen has commented: "The difference must be due to a natural tendency in the narrator or scribe who was handing on the tradition to locate the first kings in his own city [...]. Most likely the tradition was original in Ku'a(ra) and was in early times adopted – and adapted – in Eridu(g)" (Jacobsen 1939, 70, n. 5). Note also that according to the *Sumerian King List*, the divine king "Dumuzi, the fisherman whose city was Ku'ara, reigned 100 years" is listed among the kings of Uruk between Lugalbanda and Gilgameš (Glassner 2004, 120–121; note that in one of the manuscripts Dumuzi is said to rule for 110 years (*ibid.*, 151)). C. Wilcke has noted that this breaks the common father and son sequence between Lugalbanda and Gilgameš (Wilcke 1987–1990, 131). For the business title "fisherman", Wilcke has commented: "Das Dumuzi-Epitheton „Fischer“, das in der Literatur sonst kein Echo findet, könnte (ad hoc) von den Ortsnamen Kuara abgeleitet sein" (*ibid.*). The name Dumuzi is mentioned in this king list for the second time with a connection to the antediluvian city Bad-Tibira where Dumuzi, the shepherd is said to rule for 36 000 years (Glassner 2004, 118–119).

The epithet *ir-nun* used for Ku'ara (ĤA.A) should probably be interpreted as “princely aroma/fragrance”.¹⁴⁵ ĤA.A *ir-nun* could be perhaps compared to *abzu-ir-nun*, a personal name found in two legal texts from Fāra that connects the “princely aroma” to *abzu*.¹⁴⁶ Based on the epithet and the personal name it seems that during the Early Dynastic period both Ku'ara and the *abzu* were associated with a pleasant aroma. One cannot help but think that this characterisation has something to do with “fragrant” ritual activities that both the city of Ku'ara and the *abzu* and their deities Asar/Asalluḫi and Enki, “the king of *abzu*”, were related to, most prominently in incantations.¹⁴⁷

The father and son relationship between Enki and Asalluḫi in the Early Dynastic period and their connection to healing/purification rituals is now explicitly documented in a single surviving incantation from the era that features the pair working in tandem in healing a patient who is suffering from a snakebite.¹⁴⁸ This filiation is also present in the *Zami*-series as the hymn (ll. 30–32) that precedes the one devoted to Asar is dedicated to ^den-nu-de₄-mud (Nudimmud), a byname of Enki.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Note that the sequence of signs in exemplaries A and H of the *Zami Hymns* is *ir-nun* and in exemplaries B and C *nun-ir*. The writing ĤA.A *ir-nun* also appears in two UD.GAL.NUN texts: CUT 19/19A col. 8, l. 21' and CUT 9/9A col. 7.1, l. 17 (=NTŠ 82 (plate XXXIV), the latter's partial duplicate is CUT 9/9B (=IAS 199)), see Krecher 1992, 299, n. 45. Note also *i-ir-nun*, “perfumed oil” (Lambert 1989, 10) that Gudea uses to smear the foundation deposits of Gatumdu's temple in Gudea Statue F (see RIME 3/1, 46–47).

¹⁴⁶ MVN 10 82 and 83. Cf. the personal name *é-ir-nun* from Lagaš (OrNS 42, 236, obv. col. iii, l. 10, see Hallo 1973, 235–238). References to *ir-nun* have been collected in Sjöberg 2004, 270–271. Note, however, that although the *abzu* is in most cases connected to Enki, his relationship to the *abzu* is not exclusive and other deities are also connected to the *abzu* (see PSD 1 A/II, 189–194).

¹⁴⁷ Although Asar's/Asalluḫi's main “element” in incantations was water, there is some proof in the Old Babylonian incantations that this water was at least in some cases infused with several aromatic substances. Thus, e.g., in incantation DME 98 against demons, the water from the pure quay (a *kar sikil-la-ta*) used by Asalluḫi was infused with several plants such as tamarisk, *innuš*, “horned alkali”, *šulḫi*-reed, juniper and white cedar plus several types of stones that no doubt formed quite a fragrant mixture (for the relevant lines, see Geller 1989, 195–196 and 199, ll. 21–25). Note that exemplary d of DME 98 has *esir kar sikil-l[a.]* (“bitumen from a pure quay”) instead of a *kar sikil-la-ta*. Although fumigation as a ritual activity is rare for Asalluḫi, in DME 97, another Old Babylonian incantation, after Enki tells Asalluḫi to infuse tamarisk and *innuš*-plant into water, he is further instructed to bring out the incense burner (*níg-nam*) and a torch (*gi-izi-lá*) with the purpose to exorcise the Namtar-demon from the patient's body with smoke (for the relevant lines, see Geller 1985, 60–61, ll. 670–674). For this note that according to lexical evidence *ir* has an Akkadian counterpart *armannu* (see CAD A2, 291): “a tree and the aromatic substance obtained from it”, thus a tree that creates aromatic smoke while burned that was used in fumigation (purification) rites. *ir* can also be taken as Akkadian *erešu* A (CAD E, 280–281), “smell, scent, fragrance”.

¹⁴⁸ CUSAS 32 1f. See further 1.5.1 below.

¹⁴⁹ In the transliteration and translation by Å. W. Sjöberg (PSD 1 A/II, 185): 30. *abzu* *ki kur-gal* 31. *men-nun-an-ki* 32. ^den-nu-de₄-mud *za₃-me*, “the *abzu*, the place, the great ‘mountain’, the princely crown of heaven and earth, (to) En-Nudemud, praise!”. For Nudimmud, see Espak 2015, 42, n. 7 with further references.

1.4.2 Literary Texts in the UD.GAL.NUN Orthography

There are five literary texts composed in the so-called UD.GAL.NUN orthography in which the divine name Asar is probably mentioned.¹⁵⁰ UD.GAL.NUN was an alternative orthography that deviated from the standard orthography of Sumerian by the simple substitution of signs. It was in use mainly for literary texts and a few lexical texts in documents found from Early Dynastic Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ with two texts coming from Old-Akkadian Nippur.¹⁵¹ Scholars have expressed varied opinions in relation to UD.GAL.NUN and its purposes. The debate has centred on the questions whether: 1) the texts in UD.GAL.NUN writing represent an orthography or a dialect?; 2) is UD.GAL.NUN orthography by nature a cryptography (for keeping “secret knowledge” away from the uninitiated) or a “learned” allography (as an esoteric system created by erudite scribes)? While most of scholarly opinions agree that UD.GAL.NUN is an orthography that differs from the standard Sumerian one, there exist varied statements on the purpose of its conception.¹⁵² Although UD.GAL.NUN writing has so far not been deciphered sufficiently enough to translate and fully interpret texts written in it, in the following treatment an attempt is made to generally outline the context in which Asar appears in the texts.

1.4.2.1 CUT 19

This text is the longest in the corpus of UD.GAL.NUN texts.¹⁵³ In regard to its genre and content, J. Krecher has claimed that this text is “standing between word-list and literary composition proper” and “that it seems to be built on names of cities and sanctuaries.”¹⁵⁴ Asar appears twice, first in col. ii of the text:¹⁵⁵

26. UD SIG A ĜISAL NU RU [...]
27. DÙN LAK142 'NUN' [...]
28. ^dasar É-NUN-ta 'LÀL?' [...]
29. amar kúnga PA.ŠA₆.KI 'u₅'
30. KAM EN 'ĤI?' A.'EDIN KAD₄'

¹⁵⁰ CUT 19, CUT 23, CUT 6, CUT 16, CUT 93.

¹⁵¹ For UD.GAL.NUN orthography, see Biggs 1966, 81; OIP 99, 32; Lambert 1976, 430–432; Lambert 1981; Krecher 1978; Krecher 1992; Alster 1982; Krebernik 1984, 267–286; Rubio 2009, 36; Zand 2009; Johnson and Johnson 2012. The term UD.GAL.NUN for this group of texts was coined by R. D. Biggs on the basis of a frequently recurring sequence of signs (UD.GAL.NUN) in these texts but Biggs could not interpret the meaning of this chain (Biggs 1966, 81; OIP 99, 32). In a lecture given in 1975, J. Krecher – based on the text CUT 6B (for this text, see 1.4.2.3 below) – determined that UD.GAL.NUN is the writing for the god Enlil with UD replacing the sign AN (divine determinative), GAL replacing EN and NUN replacing LÍL (in writing, see Krecher 1978, 155).

¹⁵² For a recent overview of the debate, see Zand 2009, 46–52 and 86–97.

¹⁵³ Manuscripts NTSS 168+269+300+328+978+979+980.

¹⁵⁴ Krecher 1992, 293–294.

¹⁵⁵ Following Zand 2009, 406–407.

In an otherwise murky context one finds É.NUN (l. 28) that is often associated with Enki and his circle of deities (including Asar/Asalluḫi), abzu and Eridu.¹⁵⁶ In this text Asar is, in all probability, said to leave the É.NUN as the latter is followed by the ablative case marker -ta (although LĀL, the next sign cannot be explained at present). The compound É.NUN can be read either as agrun, é-nun or é-gar.¹⁵⁷ In a mythological context such as here the reading should probably be agrun.¹⁵⁸ In mythology agrun can denote the underworld in a general sense, i.e., the place where the sun goes during night time and the dwelling of the netherworld deities and demons.¹⁵⁹ As was often the case in the theology of Mesopotamia, the mythological and divine concepts and even structures were mirrored by earthly ones. Thus, there existed several temples with the element É.NUN present in their names.¹⁶⁰ There was also a terrestrial construction in the form of a reed-hut that was called É.NUN and in which incantations were performed.¹⁶¹ If the actor in l. 29 is still Asar, then one could imagine him leaving the É.NUN mounted on an equid (amar kúnga) and perhaps with the location PA.ŠA₆^{ki} as destination. The same sequence of signs appeared as a toponym in text SF 23 as part of a temple name (é-PA.ŠA₆^{ki}) in proximity to the mention of ^dasar.¹⁶² For A.EDIN note that in the Old Babylonian period it is the writing for Asar's/Asalluḫi's spouse Eru(a).¹⁶³ However, in CUT 19 the divine determinative is not written in front of these signs.

In col. vii of the text Asar appears in the following context:¹⁶⁴

- 28. abzu LÚ.KA.ZI
- 29. E ĜÁ SAR ^dasar
- 30. é-šà LAK358.nu₁₁
- 31. DÚB SIG₄ kur-M[Ú]Š.DU

¹⁵⁶ See, e.g., *A Šir-namšub to Inanna* (Inanna G), l. 5 (Kramer 1963, 503); *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, l. 492 (Vanstiphout 2003, 84–85).

¹⁵⁷ Caplice 1973, 300.

¹⁵⁸ For references, see PSD 1 A/III, 65–68.

¹⁵⁹ Caplice 1973, 302–303. For references that connect agrun and the sun(-god), see *ibid.*, 303, n. 20. For further writings and references on agrun, see Attinger 2005, 268. Akkadian equivalent for agrun is *kummu* (see CAD K, 533–534) that next to the meaning a) “abode of deities or a specific part of a temple” has more earthly meanings: b) “a part of a palace” and c) “a private residence”. For lexical references, see Cunningham 1997, 12, n. 6. For É.NUN as the temple of Ningal in Ur, see Charpin 1986, 211–213.

¹⁶⁰ See George 1993, 133–134.

¹⁶¹ In a lexical text from Ebla É.NUN has Semitic equivalents *ši-du-gu-um*, *šu-du-gu* and *ši-du-núm* (MEE 4, 235), later appearing as *šutukku* in Akkadian (see CAD Š3, 411–412).

¹⁶² PA.ŠA₆ appears in some later lexical sources (see Taylor 2008, 207). Two texts from Ur (UET 7 86 and U. 30497) give the information that PA.ŠA₆ is to be read *tidim*. The canonical *lú = ša* has the translation *ki-sal-lu-ḫu*, “courtyard sweeper” (MSL 12, 116). Another lexical text (Old Babylonian) UET 7 93 rev., l. 29 has: PA^{e-ri-da}ŠA₆ = *ki-sà-lu-ḫu-um* and thus offers the reading *erida* for PA.ŠA₆. Whether this lexical information is somehow related to the toponym PA.ŠA₆^{ki} is unknown.

¹⁶³ Appears in the god-list TCL 15 10, col. ii, l. 43 (see 5.1.1 below).

¹⁶⁴ Following Krebernik 1984, 201 and Zand 2009, 411.

For these lines M. Krebernik has commented: “Aus literarischen Kontexten ergibt sich – wenngleich zusammenhängende Übersetzungen noch kaum möglich sind – eine Beziehung von LAK358 vor allem zu der wahrscheinlich mit späterem ^dasar-lú-ḫi zu identifizierenden Gottheit ^dASAR und dem wohl in deren Bereich gehörigen abzu/É.NUN, ferner aber auch zu der Göttin Inanna.”¹⁶⁵ Krebernik, on the basis of a syllabic writing from Ebla (en-nu-ur) and the use of LAK358 outside of opening formulae, considered LAK358 to be a (cultic) toponym formed with the word é, “house”.¹⁶⁶ In the closeness of é-ša (“temple interior” (*Tempelinnere*) or “cella”) and LAK358.nu₁₁ in col. vii, l. 30 Krebernik saw further evidence for LAK358 to be a cultic toponym and specified the meaning of this sign as a temple or a part of a temple.¹⁶⁷

The possible connection of LAK358 to Inanna is substantiated by Krebernik based on the parallel appearing in the *Zami*-hymn dedicated to this goddess where sig₄-kul-aba (“brickwork of Kulaba”) is mentioned.¹⁶⁸ As kur-M[Û]Š in this text is preceded by the sign sig₄, together the signs could stand for “the brickwork of kur-MÛŠ”, a designation that probably had to do with some kind of cultic building or a part of a cultic structure with a connection to the goddess Inanna.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Krebernik 1984, 200. It is worth noting that the sign LAK358 – that graphically looks like the ligature of the signs ŠÚ+AN+É – in the third Millennium formed a part of the opening formulas of incantations. Whilst the opening formula was in later times syllabically written as én-é-nu-ru, in the Fāra incantations it was written with only one sign: LAK358 instead of én-é (ibid., 197). Varied readings and meanings have been attributed to the opening formula én-é-nu-ru as whole and to the single sign LAK358. Scholars writing in earlier times have thought that behind the opening formula of incantations hides the designation for the temple of Ea in Eridu (so, e.g., Falkenstein 1931, 6). J. van Dijk interpreted the rubric én-é-nu-ru as a genitive relation and compared it to compounds like *ši-pat* ^dda-mu and *ši-pat* ^dgu-la, “incantation of Damu, incantation of Gula” (van Dijk 1985, 4). van Dijk also compared it to names of Enki such as ^den/nin-ùri (ŠEŠ) and ^dén-é-nu-ru but considers this to be a later connection based on the fact that Enki was the god of magic (ibid., 5). So, én-é-nu-ru (or, more accurately, én é-nu-ru) should have the meaning “incantation of é-nu-ru”. Further, van Dijk’s cautiously considered é-nu-ru to be a syllabic writing for en_x-uru_x and concluded that the latter “should be connected with some symbol of the abzu and with the ùri-gal, the hut in which ill people were confined” (ibid.).

¹⁶⁶ Krebernik 1984, 200.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 201.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. sig₄-kul-aba appears in l. 19 of the *Zami Hymns*: šà-é (or é-ša?) sig₄-kul-aba (OIP 99, 46). For other texts that relate LAK358 to Inanna, see Krebernik 1984, 203–205. Note also that LAK358 has a connection to trees (ibid., 205) and that the sign LAK358 occurs as part of a divine name in the great god-list from Fāra SF 1, col. i, l. 16 as ^dnin-LAK358 (a manifestation of Inanna?).

¹⁶⁹ Krebernik 1984, 201. Krebernik also notes that In a Fāra incantation (8/2), kur-MÛŠ(.DU?) has a connection to Enki. For references to kur-MÛŠ in Sumerian literature, see Wilcke 1969, 200–202.

1.4.2.2 CUT 23

The writings for Asar, LAK358, abzu (with the epithet TIR GAL, “great forest”¹⁷⁰), Inanna and É.NUN appear close to each other in CUT 23 (=SF 56), another UD.GAL.NUN text. While it is difficult to grasp the subject matter of this composition, one notices the frequent mentions of the goddess Inanna (together with her common epithet kù) and the occurrence of some buildings and temples.¹⁷¹

col. v

18. ʾkù^d inanna SIG₇ʾ
19. LAK358^{ud} asar^ʾ
20. KÈŠ šim ʾURUDUʾ
21. abzu TIR GAL dùl
22. SUG.MUŠ SUG.NUN
23. ʾa kù a an_(UD)-dùlʾ

col. vi

1. ŠID ŠE ʾUD SUGʾ. NUN
2. ARĦUŠ ME EREN SIG₇
3. ŠID LAGAB ʾTUKU₄ GU₄ʾ
4. èš nám-TU kar(TE.A) GA gu₇
5. LAK358 UB NUN DÙL TIR
6. É.NUN ĞIŠGAL abzu
7. EN TUR NUN ŠU

It needs to be noted, however, that the interpretation of the sign that possibly stands for the deity Asar is doubtful and should perhaps be interpreted as ĞIŠGAL+SIG₇ instead.¹⁷² Due to this uncertainty the speculative nature of the following discussion needs to be stressed. As LAK358 and the hypothetical Asar appear in the same line one suspects a genitive construction between them.¹⁷³ Thus, this line could be interpreted as a “temple/part of temple of (the god) Asar”. If it is indeed the temple or cella of Asar that is mentioned here, then šim in the next line could have an interesting connection to the section dedicated to Asar in the *Zami Hymns* where ir-nun can be interpreted as “princely aroma/fragrance”.¹⁷⁴ The word šim occurring in the line after LAK358^{ud} asar could have a similar meaning, as it can be translated as “aromatic substance”.¹⁷⁵ However, this interpretation is not certain and leaves the other signs appearing in l. 20 unexplained.¹⁷⁶ Alternatively, šim URUDU could – with a different order of signs – be interpreted as^{urudu} šim “copper basin”,¹⁷⁷ perhaps either a cultic vessel or possibly a small artificial pond that was situated in LAK358 of^d asar. This rendering would suit the watery context that appears in ll. 22–23 in which SUG

¹⁷⁰ Cf., perhaps, Ğiš₇ tir gal-gal-la in Šulgi R (ETCSL 2.4.2.18, l. 8).

¹⁷¹ Following Krebernik 1984, 201–202; Zand 2009, 445.

¹⁷² As transliterated in Zand 2009, 445.

¹⁷³ The sign UD here possibly denotes the divine determinative.

¹⁷⁴ See 1.4.1 above.

¹⁷⁵ Note that in SF 1, col. viii, l. 24^d šim-ki (“incense”) occurs. M. Krebernik (1986, 202) interprets it as an untraditional writing for^d šem-gig (*Weihrauch*). For the analogous use of ir-nun and šim in Gudea’s texts statue C and cylinder B, see Conti 1997, 259.

¹⁷⁶ The reading of KÈŠ as a toponym for the city of Keš is a hypothetical possibility, see Krebernik 1984, 202.

¹⁷⁷ Note that Krebernik 1984, 207 takes *Becken/Hor* belonging to the sanctuary (“das den unterirdischen Bereich des Apsu repräsentierte”) as a possible meaning of LAK358.

with the possible reading sug, “marsh, reed-bed”, and a kù a an_(UD)-dùl, “pure water, protective water” appear.¹⁷⁸ As the context of abzu, aromatic substances, reed-beds and purifying water would suit Asar well, perhaps one could consider the gunû sign (SIG₇) in the name of Asar to be a superfluous expansion of the sign IGI by the scribe and one could still interpret this writing as the deity Asar.

Col. vi of the text is mostly unintelligible. Another SUG appears in the first line and in the second line possibly eren, “cedar” is written.¹⁷⁹ Another mention of LAK358 occurs in col. vi, l. 5 of this text and abzu and É.NUN appear together in l. 6. One can speculate that if it is indeed Asar who is mentioned in col. v and in the beginning of col. vi he is still the actor, then EN.TUR could be his title “young lord”, as in *A Letter-prayer of Šin-iddinam to Ninisina*.¹⁸⁰

1.4.2.3 CUT 6

This text that has survived in two manuscripts¹⁸¹ possibly deals with the construction of a building named RU.¹⁸² Like in the two UD.GAL.NUN texts treated previously it has ^dasar and LAK358 appearing in proximity:¹⁸³

CUT 6A

- col. iv
 24. ʾUD UŠʾ xʾ NUN
 25. ḥe-ʾma(SUḤUR)-du₁₁
 26. [...] ʾgi₄ ḡiš(NU11)-iš₁₁ TAB
 27. ʾLAK358-ʾnu-ru
 28. KI.ʾA ḥe-ma-ʾḤI
 29. áb ʾx KI LAK 56ʾ

CUT 6B

- col. v
 1. ʾGALʾʾ [...]
 2. ḥe-ʾma-ʾ[du₁₁]
 3. ʾgiʾ [...]
 4. ʾiš₁₁ʾ [...]
 5. ʾLAK358ʾ [...]
 6. KI.A ḥe-ma-ʾḤIʾ
 7. ME ʾLAK53ʾ [...]

¹⁷⁸ Note that a kù (“pure water”) is a substance used by Asalluḫi in later incantations See, e.g., CUSAS 32 5f.

¹⁷⁹ Note that Krebernik (1984, 203) suspects that in l. 4 the consumption of milk could be described.

¹⁸⁰ For this text, see 5.4.3.1 below.

¹⁸¹ SF 60 (CUT 6A) and IAS 136 (CUT 6B).

¹⁸² Krebernik 1998, 301, n. 670. K. V. Zand comments: “Das zentrale Thema der Komposition scheint der Bau eines als RU bezeichneten Gebäudes zu sein. Der Wunsch nach dem Bau des Ru wird geäußert [...], sowie dessen Ausführung [...]. Das RU-Gebäude wird im Zuge dessen mit literarischen Stilmitteln beschrieben, [...] die auch aus dem späteren sumerischen Literatur bekannt sind. In dem erhaltenen Teil der Komposition nimmt bisher keine Gottheit die Rolle des Protagonisten ein, der Wunsch nach dem Bau des RU scheint jedoch von Enlil geäußert zu werden [...]” (Zand 2009, 36).

¹⁸³ Following Zand 2009, 280; Krebernik 1984, 206.

col. v

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1. IL.ĪI 'ĥe-si(KU)' | 8. [...] |
| 2. ^d asar | 9. 'asar' |
| 3. nin-ġir-[su] | |
| 4. GIGIR ĥe- [...] | |
| 5. ŠU 'x' [...] 'x' | |
| 6. 'SUĤUR ĪI' AB MÍ.UŠ | |
| 7. an(UD) 'ki(UNU)' sikil | |
| 8. SIG ₄ ĥe-RU | |

For this part of the composition it is noticeable that the sign ĪI appears after each few lines and could perhaps be interpreted as instructions given in the precative mood in a similar manner that ritual instructions are given in some incantations. So perhaps here one deity is instructing the other (or others – if Ningirsu is named in col. v 3, l. 3 of CUT 6A) either in relation to a temple building or rituals that accompany the construction. In this light the line right after LAK358 for which appear the signs KI.A ĥe-ma'-ĪI, may perhaps to be translated as: “may he/she mix earth and water for me.”¹⁸⁴ Whether the lines before the actual mention of Asar by name relate to him and/or his activities is difficult to say. Perhaps they refer to the desired activities of some other deity mentioned previously.¹⁸⁵

For the lines after the mention of Asar it should be noted that the word sikil (l. 7) in later incantations often denotes the purifying activity of Asar/Asalluĥi. One could, for example, imagine that this line has to do with the consecration incantations (*Kultmittelbeschwörungen*) in which various substances are said to purify heaven and earth.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps in l. 6 one of these purifying substances is mentioned? An exact interpretation of these lines is currently not possible. The sign ASAR also appears in unclear contexts in col. vii, l. 12 and col. viii, l. 17 but there without the divine determinative.

1.4.2.4 CUT 16

In the first half of the text (CUT 16A ca. col. ii, l. 4–col. iii, l. 5) there seems to appear a conversation between Enki (UD.GAL.UNU) and his messenger Isimud (PAP.SIG₇.NUN.ME).¹⁸⁷ The text also features other deities such as ^dTU and

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Krebernik 1984, 206. Krebernik brings out other possible readings for KI.A: piš₁₀, “Ufer” and ki-duru₅, “feuchter Boden”.

¹⁸⁵ Before these lines the last “legible” deities appearing in col. iv are ^dTU (l. 8), Inanna (l. 11) and Enlil (l. 12). ^dTU could be either Nintu or Tu(tu) (see Krebernik 2014–2016, 152–153). In this text she/he seems to be associated with incantations: ^dTU TU.TU ĥe-GAR₅, “^dTU may place the incantation”. GAR₅ here is probably an allogram for ġar, “to put, place, lay down”, see Zand 2009, 116.

¹⁸⁶ E.g., dairy products in CUSAS 32 17c and oil in Geller 2001.

¹⁸⁷ Zand 2009, 39. The three manuscripts of the text are IAS 133, 167 and 194.

Nanna. Asar first appears in the fourth column of CUT 16A, probably in association with the deity ^dTU.¹⁸⁸

CUT 16A

col. iv

1. ʾAʾBUʾ [...]
2. ^dTU MUL.KU ʾxʾ mu(NUN)-du₁₁
3. ĜAR ʾAʾ KU ʾHI GIM
4. ĜÁ A ʾHI GIM
5. ^{d(UD)}TU MUL.KU
6. ^dasar ʾGALʾ mu(NUN)-LAGAB
7. SIG₇.NUN.DÙ A.NUN TA ŠÙDʾ
8. ʾAʾ UDʾ AŠʾ NUN ʾGAL TAʾʾ KU
9. [...] UD NUN KUM

CUT 16C

col. i

1. ^{d(UD)}ʾTUʾ
2. UD MUL.ʾKUʾ
3. ^drASAR mu(NUN)ʾ[...]

The proximity of Asar and ^dTU in this text is interesting. As was noted above, ^dTU was in another UD.GAL.NUN text (CUT 6) probably associated with incantations. This deity has further connections to the sphere of incantations, as in an Ur III incantation ^dTU appears together with Asalluḫi, Ningirim, Nunura and Gibil in the frame of ritual instructions uttered by Enki to Asalluḫi.¹⁸⁹ In this text this deity is called the “great purification priest of heaven” (maš-maš gal an-na-ke₄). In the current UD.GAL.NUN text one can suspect that the repeated sequence MUL.KU behind the name ^dTU is an epithet of the deity. Based on the similarity of the names and connection to incantations M. Krebernik hypothesises that ^dTU might be a forerunner to the later god Tutu.¹⁹⁰ Whether incantations form the basis for the proximity of ^dTU and Asar in this text has to remain open for the time being. For the second time – after some missing lines – Asar appears in col. v, l. 3 of CUT 16A:¹⁹¹

col. v

1. ʾIGI GALʾ x xʾ [...]
2. má-šè mu-na₅-u₅
3. da(GAL)-ga(TUKU) ^dasar
4. má saĝ(DU₆) mu(NUN)-na₅(ŠA)-rig₉(LAGAB)
5. ^{d(UD)}en(GAL)-ki(UNU)
6. ZI.ZI.A NUN DÙLʾ IGI TAB
7. ʾIMʾ GAL nám-DÙ
8. NUN isimu₄

¹⁸⁸ Following Zand 2009, 399.

¹⁸⁹ DME 51; see also van Dijk and Geller 2003, 75.

¹⁹⁰ Krebernik 2014–2016, 153.

¹⁹¹ Following Zand 2009, 400.

Here Asar is named two lines before Enki who appears in l. 5. After Enki his messenger Isimud appears once more. The preceding lines (2–4) have something to do with boats (má). In l. 2 someone is probably riding a boat. In l. 3 possibly appears the destination of the boatripe, the “side of Asar”.¹⁹² Whether this “side of Asar” has something to do with the kar^dasar “quay of Asar” that appears in an Old Babylonian incantation CUSAS 32 6c¹⁹³ and probably in an Ur III offering list TAD 49¹⁹⁴ remains unclear, however possible. In l. 4 it appears that a boat is given as a gift (the compound verb saġ rig_o, “to bestow”) to someone (“to him”), perhaps to Enki whose name occurs in the next line. The rest of the context is unintelligible.

1.4.2.5 CUT 93

CUT 93¹⁹⁵ is an UD.GAL.NUN literary text that features the god Ašgi.¹⁹⁶ As was explained above, Asar appeared close to Ašgi in two lexical texts (SF 23 and SF 57). These connections between Asar and Ašgi could be interpreted in the light of several administrative documents from Old Akkadian Adab where Ašgi appears in close vicinity to Iškur, the weather god.¹⁹⁷ Although currently impossible to describe in any detail the possible functional link between Ašgi and Asar could thus be that both deities shared the functions of weather/storm deities as their characteristics. In addition to the connection to Ašgi, Asar once again appears in proximity to abzu (col. xi, l. 15) in this text:¹⁹⁸

col. xi	4. IGI UM ‘x’
14. UNU GAL LAGAB	5. ^d asar’
15. ^d asar abzu UD LAK383	6. ‘KU’ [?] UD x ME’
16. lú(PA)-gal(NUN) SIG ₇ KAB	7. ‘HI’ ^d aš ₈ -gi énsi-gal’
17. ZĀ mu-GAL-LAGAB	8. ^d aš ₈ -gi zà-me’
18. UD GAL [...]	9. ^d aš ₈ -gi
col. xii	10. ‘LAGAB’ [?] AN x’
1. UD.SIG UD.NI	11. IRI UD ‘KIŠ’
2. ‘AN’ [?] MUŠ ‘GĀR’ [?] NU ‘x’	12. SUM _{nutillā} MA
3. ^d nisaba	

¹⁹² I thank V. V. Emelianov for the suggestion to interpret GAL.TUKU here as da-ga (from dag, “side, vicinity”).

¹⁹³ See 5.7.4 below.

¹⁹⁴ See 4.1.1.1 below.

¹⁹⁵ =IAS 254.

¹⁹⁶ See Krebernik 1998, 365.

¹⁹⁷ A 752 (=SIA, p. 324): Ašgi, Iškur, Inanna; OIP 14 96 (=SIA, pp. 376f.): Ašgi, Iškur, Inanna; OIP 14 143 (=SIA, pp. 302f.): Ašgi, Iškur, Inanna, Enki, Ninšubur, Meslamtaea, é-dam; CUSAS 20 282: sanga Ašgi, sanga Iškur; NES 98-06-182 (for this document, see Such-Gutiérrez 2005–2006, 7): Enki, Enlil, Ašgi, Inanna, Iškur; Lippmann Coll 073: temple of Ašgi, ki-an, Iškur; CUSAS 20 045: Iškur, Inanna, é-dam, Enki, Ašgi, Ninmuga. For Ašgi’s relations to Iškur, see further Schwemer 2001, 85 with n. 573; Such-Gutiérrez 2005–2006, 7.

¹⁹⁸ Following Zand 2009, 541.

The goddess Nisaba appears in the later part of this text that ends with a doxology to Ašgi, similar to the ones appearing in the *Zami hymns*. Enlil and Inanna are also mentioned in this text.¹⁹⁹ The context in which these deities appear is obscure.

1.5 Incantations

Incantations in Mesopotamian context are in general short texts that describe the use of several magico-manipulative, manual and oral means with the purpose to change a current dangerous situation or impure state for a better or purer one.²⁰⁰ The help of deities is used in the process to remedy the situation. Asar is still a minor character in incantations from the Early Dynastic period as he appears only in two Sumerian incantation texts of ca. 90 incantations (ca. 70 Sumerian and 20 Semitic) that date to the era.²⁰¹ The two texts are written in Sumerian and are found on the same collective tablet of unknown provenance.²⁰²

1.5.1 Divine Dialogue Incantation Against Snakebite (CUSAS 32 1f)

One of the two Early Dynastic incantations in which Asar appears, offers unique early evidence for a dialogue between Asar and Enki that became common in incantations of the later Ur III and Old Babylonian times. This dialogue as an important feature of many incantations up to the first millennium first became known in the ground-breaking work of A. Falkenstein in 1931 under the name *Marduk-Ea-Formel*.²⁰³ In Falkenstein's terminology incantations with this

¹⁹⁹ Enlil possibly gives a city to Ašgi in col. iii, ll. 14–16.

²⁰⁰ For Early Dynastic incantations, see Krebernik 1984; Michalowski 1992; Cunningham 1997, 5–43. For further on Mesopotamian incantations and their typology, see the sub-chapters on Ur III (4.3) and Old Babylonian (5.7) incantations. The abbreviations for incantations – as far as possible – are in the current study given after the table in G. Cunningham's 1997 book *Deliver me from Evil: Mesopotamian incantations 2500–1500 BC* (=DME). For concordance, see the tables in the appendix of the current study.

²⁰¹ G. Cunningham in 1997 in his catalogue listed 31 Sumerian and 15 Semitic incantations dating to the Early Dynastic period (Cunningham 1997, 40–43). To this number another ca. 40 Sumerian and a few Semitic incantations can be added. N. Rudik in 2011 listed 51 Early Dynastic Sumerian incantations (Rudik 2011, 507–510). 24 of these 51 incantations come from Fāra, one from Abū Salābīḥ, 20 from Ebla, one from Lagaš, two from Ġirsu and for three incantations the provenance is unknown. To this number can be added ca. 20 Sumerian incantations with unknown provenance published by A. R. George in CUSAS 32 (2016). The Early Dynastic Semitic incantations come from Ebla with one exception that originates from Mari (see Bonechi and Durand 1992, 152–153). For some additions to the catalogue of Semitic incantations by Cunningham, see SEAL (*sub* Archaic/Old Akkadian/Ebla incantations – last visited 21.02.2019).

²⁰² CUSAS 32 1d and 1f.

²⁰³ See Falkenstein 1931, 53–58

dialogue were known as *Marduk-Ea-Typ* of incantations.²⁰⁴ As time passed and more incantation texts came to light, it became clear that the term *Marduk-Ea-Typ* is not representative for the material at hand, especially for earlier times, as, for example, in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods the main participants in these dialogues were not Marduk and Ea but Asar/Asalluḫi and Enki, whom Falkenstein identified with the former pair without considering the independent origin of the latter two deities.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, this special feature of a dialogue between deities in incantations was revealed to have even earlier forerunners when M. Krebernik in 1984 published a collection of Early Dynastic Fāra and Ebla incantations in which appeared another pair of conversing deities: Enlil, and in all probability Ningirim.²⁰⁶ As several pairs of deities appear in this type of dialogue a more general term “divine dialogue” – used by G. Cunningham in his monograph on incantations²⁰⁷ – seems to fit better and is employed in the present study. Correspondingly, the incantations that contain the divine dialogue have been treated here as divine dialogue incantations.²⁰⁸

To give a brief description: a divine dialogue is a conversation between two deities, a senior deity and a junior deity that appears as a distinct section in divine dialogue incantations. The divine dialogue incantations – whether they are provided with an opening formula or not – usually begin with an introduction of the present unwanted or dangerous situation in which the object of the incantation (=the patient) has found himself/herself (e.g., illnesses, attacks of demons and dangerous animals, problems at childbirth, etc), and matters associated with these “evils”.²⁰⁹ Then the junior deity is described to take notice of the situation but is unable to resolve it. He reports the situation to the senior deity either by sending a messenger, or – according to the later tradition – by hastening to the senior deity himself and bemoaning his helplessness to act. Then the senior

²⁰⁴ Falkenstein divided the then known incantations into four main types: *Legitimationsstyp*, *Prophylaktischer Typ*, *Marduk-Ea-Typ* and *Weihungstyp*.

²⁰⁵ See Geller 1985, 12; Rudik 2011, 46.

²⁰⁶ Krebernik named this dialogue a *lú-gi₄-Formular*, see Krebernik 1984, 211–225. See also Cunningham 1997, 79. For the role of Enlil in incantations, see Ceccarelli 2015.

²⁰⁷ Cunningham 1997.

²⁰⁸ N. Rudik has argued that Cunningham’s definition of discussion between the deities as a divine dialogue is too general and has offered the term *Konsultationsschema* for the dialogue and *Konsultationsformular* for the whole incantation that contains this dialogue (Rudik 2011, 46–47). She has created a more specified division of sub-parts and a new terminology for both the *Konsultationsschema* and *Konsultationsformular* in general and studied the third millennium Sumerian incantations based on this outline (see *ibid.*, 47–48 for the structure of these incantations). The elaborate structural considerations of Rudik concerning the divine dialogue seem relevant and have been taken into account in the current work. However, the present work has no ambition for settling the problems with typology of early incantations and terminological issues will be more thoroughly discussed here only when they seem to be useful tools for shedding light on the role of Asar/Asalluḫi in early incantations. The terminology used for incantations in this work will thus be presented in somewhat broader strokes than in Rudik’s work.

²⁰⁹ There follows in some texts the descriptions of demons, dangerous animals and other actors and in some cases also mythical introductions and aetiologies for the evildoers.

deity speaks and encourages the junior deity by rhetorical questions and claims that he has nothing left to teach him and that the junior deity already knows as much as himself. The senior deity then orders the junior deity to go and deal with the matter at hand and utters to the junior deity the so-called ritual instructions, implementation of which should turn the situation for the better. The instructions usually involve different magical manipulations with various substances together with spells.

In addition to discussing the “technicalities” of the divine dialogue incantations one should ask the important question – what, then, could be the purpose of this rather peculiar method of problem-solving? Scholars have expressed varied interpretations regarding the *Sitz im Leben* of divine dialogues.²¹⁰ However, the consensus seems to be that the formulaic dialogue as such is only used to give divine legitimation to the following unformulaic ritual instructions and the latter form the real “kernel” of incantations. In the words of I. Finkel who has postulated the collecting of medical treatments as the main purpose for divine dialogues:

[...] the whole beginning section plus the Marduk-Ea formula is merely a vehicle for the preservation and transmission of medical praxis. This explains why in the early incantations no separate “ritual” is given to accompany the “incantation”. The concluding section as prescribed by Marduk [no doubt that Ea/Enki is meant here – A. J.] is what was actually performed, while the function that was later seen as the “magical” section at the beginning was not to serve for recitation out loud simultaneously as an incantation itself, but rather to lend authority to the following ritual.²¹¹

The Early Dynastic divine dialogue incantation CUSAS 32 1f that features Asalluḫi is probably directed against snakebite, a common problem in incantations from different periods:²¹²

- col. vi
- 7. é-n-é-nu-ru
- 8. ^dasar mu nun GÍR MU GÍR (=mu-gír-gír)
- 9. mu gal uš mu-GĀR
- 10. a-ni ^den-ki-šè lú mu-da-ra-šè-gi₄

²¹⁰ For divine dialogues, see further Geller 1985, 12–15; Geller 2016, 28; Maul 1994, 41; Mander 2010.

²¹¹ Finkel 1980, 51. Cf., similarly, Krebernik 1984, 224 (for Early Dynastic divine dialogues): “Der eigentliche Gegenstand der Antwort Enlils ist der erwünschte Zweck der Beschwörung und was dafür zu tun ist [...]” Cf. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 196, n. 30 (on text BL 3=DME 149): “D’un point de vue fonctionnel, la formule «Marduk-Ea», dans le cas de BL III en particulier (mais dans bien d’autres cas aussi), fonctionne simplement comme une introduction au rituel.”

²¹² Transliteration George 2016, 100. For further incantations against snakes that feature the god Asar/Asalluḫi, see TMH 6 7a, 12; DME 58, 63, 66 (Ur III), DME 147, 169, 180, 186, 211, 258 (Old Babylonian).

11. a-ne a-na! nu-zu
 12. gá a-na pàd
 col. vii
 1. a idigna a buranun ù-ma-dé
 2. lú-kúr mu-ni-nag ní-g ní-bi
 3. ḫa_x(DU)-mu-ta-sar
 col. vi 7. Enenuru 8. Asar (was out walking): a big snake was slithering along.
 9. The big snake produced venom. 10. (Asar) sent a man to his father Enki
 11. (Enki:) What does he not know? 12. What can I teach him? col. vii 1. Pour
 the water of Tigris and the water of Euphrates for me 2. give it to the bitten
 person to drink! The thing of its own accord 3. may run away!

The lines pertaining to the divine dialogue in this incantation are col. vi, l. 10–col. vii, l. 3. On the basis of these lines one can construct the following scheme:²¹³

1. Creating contact (col. vi, l. 10)
2. Enki's speech (col. vi, l. 11–col. vii, l. 3)
 - 2.1 Enki's encouragement of Asar (col. vi, ll. 11–12)
 - 2.2 Ritual instructions (col. vii, l. 1–3)

In relation to Asar/Asalluḫi, the discovery of the early incantation CUSAS 32 1f is important for two reasons. Firstly, it establishes the explicit father and son filiation between Enki and Asar to an earlier time than was known before, as until recently it was thought that the deity known as either Asar or Asalluḫi appears as the son of Enki in incantations only from the Ur III period onwards.²¹⁴ Secondly, in the words of A. R. George this divine dialogue incantation “pushes their version of the formula much further back in history, and shows that the mythology of magic in the mid-third millennium was not as different from later periods as previously thought.”²¹⁵

Besides the presented incantation that features the god Asar eight other Sumerian incantations and possibly also three Semitic incantations are available from the Early Dynastic period that have divine dialogues incorporated in them.²¹⁶ For the eight Sumerian texts it is reasonably clear that the role of the

²¹³ Cf. the schemes in the chapters for the Ur III (4.3.1.1) and Old Babylonian (5.7.1.2) periods.

²¹⁴ For example, Cunningham 1997, 76 (writing for the Ur III period): “The deities invoked in incantations in this period show an expansion in the prominence of the Eridu pantheon, with Enki's son Asalluḫi and his mother Nammu making their first attested performances.” For two incantations that feature Asar/Asalluḫi and probably date to the Old Akkadian period, see 2.1 below.

²¹⁵ George 2016, 3.

²¹⁶ Six of the eight Sumerian incantations are from Fāra and Ebla and are directed against illnesses. Texts DME 1, DME 14 (both against šà-gig, “internal illness”), DME 15a (against ḡeštu lá lá, “hanging ears”, i.e. ear illness (see Rudik 2011, 175)), DME 15b (igi-gig, “eye illness”) come from Fāra and DME 29, DME 21 from Ebla (both against “internal illness”). To these six texts two unprovenanced divine dialogue incantations can now be added. Both are published in CUSAS 32 and – deciding by the orthography – are probably later than the

senior deity in them was played by Enlil.²¹⁷ That it is Ningirim who takes the part of the junior deity is not explicitly expressed in any of the eight texts although her name is mentioned in three of them.²¹⁸ Ningirim's identity as the junior deity in Fāra and Ebla divine dialogue incantations was first claimed by M. Krebernik:

Der auffallendste Unterschied zum späteren Formular besteht darin, daß in unseren Beschwörungen Enlil an der Stelle von Enki/Ea erscheint: „zu seinem/ihrem Vater Enlil“ sendet - wie man wohl annehmen muß - eine Gottheit einen Boten(?), um Rat zu holen. [...] Die explizit nicht genannte Gottheit, welche den Boten(?) sendet, ist möglicherweise Ningirima, die einmal, in Beschw.11 (k), in Enlils Antwort genannt wird; in ihrer Rolle finden wir später Asarluḫi/Marduk. Außer dem Vorkommen Ningirimas in Beschw.11 (k) könnte als Argument für die These, daß sie es ist, die zu Enlil sendet, auch ihre Nennung in der Schlußformel [...] dienen.²¹⁹

While the argument that Ningirim appears in the closing formulae might not be very convincing, as the formulae seem to stand apart from the rest of the text,²²⁰ for DME 1 (=Krebernik's no. 11) indeed it seems that after the divine dialogue it is Ningirim to whom Enlil shares his ritual instructions.²²¹ G. Cunningham seems to be in agreement with these assessments by Krebernik on the identity of the junior deity as Ningirim but has also hinted at the possibility that it might be the deity NE.DAG who takes this role.²²² The deity NE.DAG, however, appears only in one of the nine divine dialogue incantations (DME 14). In this text the divine name NE.DAG occurs in the last lines of the text in the part that forms the closing formula, more specifically the formula of effectiveness.²²³ As closing formulae seem to stand apart from the preceding plots of incantations and NE.DAG does not appear in the other seven divine dialogues in any form it seems unlikely that NE.DAG is the deity who appears in dialogues.

N. Rudik has attributed the role of the junior deity in another text (DME 15b) to Enki: “Das KS [=Konsultationsschema – A. J.] überrascht mit einem Rollenwechsel: statt Ningirim erscheint wohl an ihrer Stelle die jüngere Gottheit Enki. Möglicherweise ist er oder sein Verhalten für die Krankheit verantwortlich, was

Fāra texts, perhaps contemporaneous with the Ebla texts or slightly later. One of these (CUSAS 32 1g) is also directed against internal illness, the other on the fragmentary collective tablet CUSAS 32 3 (col. v', l. 7–col. vi', l. 5) is perhaps directed against scorpions (so if the signs in v' 13: ḡir-ḡir can be interpreted as “scorpions”). Three Semitic incantations from Ebla (DME 32, 33, 34) are possibly directed against unspecified illnesses.

²¹⁷ Although Enlil is not mentioned in texts DME 14, 15a and 21, based on the close similarity of these text to the other five one can presume that Enlil was thought to feature in them.

²¹⁸ DME 1, 21 and 29.

²¹⁹ Krebernik 1984, 211.

²²⁰ For closing formulae, see 2.1.1 below.

²²¹ That these are in all probability ritual instructions can be deduced from the fact that the verb (ḡa-mu-ta-ni-DU.DU) is given in the precativ.

²²² Cunningham 1997, 24 with n. 4. For further on NE.DAG, see 2.1.2.2 below.

²²³ For this type of closing formula, see 2.1.2 below.

ihn veranlasst, sich ins Problem einzumischen.”²²⁴ As alluded by Rudik: in some Early Dynastic incantations the bringer of illness indeed seems to be the god Enki whilst Enlil is the deity who counteracts this “evil” side of Enki.²²⁵ However, the usual logic of incantations does not seem to support Rudik’s assessment that Enki caused the problem and afterwards took part in its solution by having the conversation with Enlil. It seems more likely that the junior deity here is still Ningirir and the lack of expressing it (as in other texts) results from the elliptical nature of writing in Early Dynastic incantations, detectable both in Fāra and Ebla texts and in two unprovenanced incantations. Accordingly, none of the eight texts make an explicit mention of the deity who sends the messenger to the senior god. In summary, the currently available evidence seems to suggest that Ningirir plays the role of the “main” junior deity in Sumerian divine dialogue incantations of the Early Dynastic period. In the divine dialogues of Semitic incantations (DME 32, 33? and 34) from Ebla the messenger is also sent to Enlil (^d*i-li-lu*), this time by a deity named Kakkabu; alternative possibility is that Kakkabu takes the role of the messenger.²²⁶ The deity named Asar does not feature in Semitic texts.

Although no conclusive proof can be offered based on the relatively meagre number of available texts it seems that the only divine dialogue incantation that features Asar and Enki does not represent the mainstream of the Early Dynastic incantation tradition according to which Enlil and probably Ningirir are the actors in divine dialogues. One could suspect that after the Fāra period parallel traditions of Sumerian incantations existed with Enlil and Ningirir being prominent in the areas near Nippur, and Enki and Asar in the southernmost parts of the land near Eridu and Ku’ara. Perhaps during the Early Dynastic IIIb period took place a gradual paradigmatic change that settled Enki in his role as the main authority to come to the aid of humans in divine dialogue incantations and Asar as his assistant. The reasons why Enlil gradually lost his importance as the main patron of divine dialogue incantations remain enigmatic. In any case, the similarity between the divine dialogues makes it reasonably clear that both traditions had common roots.²²⁷

Whether these text indicate that there existed a rivalry between the Northern (Nippur) tradition and Southern (Eridu) tradition of incantations and that these competing theologies were connected to the supposed early rivalry between

²²⁴ Rudik 2011, 180

²²⁵ See, e.g., DME 15b and 20. For Enki’s role as the bringer of illness, see Krebernik 1984, 49, 61–62, 212–213; Cunningham 1997, 35–38; Rudik 2011, 121.

²²⁶ Cunningham 1997, 24.

²²⁷ In the light of this discussion one can further speculate that the collective tablet CUSAS 32 3 perhaps represents the (earlier?) Nippurean tradition as it is heavily focused on the god Enlil (cf. George 2016, 28). The two traditions might already be mixed in the other recently published collective tablet CUSAS 32 1 that features both Enki (text CUSAS 32 1f) and Enlil (CUSAS 32 1g) as the senior deities and Asar and implicitly Ningirir as the junior deities in the frame of divine dialogues.

Enlil and Enki has to remain open for now.²²⁸ The fact that both types of incantations appear on the same collective tablet (CUSAS 32 1) speaks against this assumption and it seems that at least during the unknown time in the Early Dynastic period when this tablet was covered with writing both types of incantations enjoyed a peaceful co-existence.

1.5.2 Incantation with Unknown Purpose (CUSAS 32 1d)

The other incantation from the Early Dynastic period that features Asar and is written on the same collective tablet than CUSAS 32 1f is only partially understandable. It is directed against an unknown evil called KAK or amar-KAK that comes out from the netherworld (col. iv, l. 9: ki-ta è-a).²²⁹ As in the first line of the incantation (after the formula én-é-nu-ru) the sign KAK is followed by the sign GI (col. iv, l. 8: KAK GI BAR NE TUR) one might suspect that GI is to be taken as a syllabic rendering of gig, “illness”.²³⁰ This would define KAK-gi as an unidentified illness. After two unintelligible lines, Asar is in l. 12 said to come out of the abzu: ^dasar abzu ĝiri ì-ma-TAG.²³¹ In the next line Asar is said to come from kur, “mountain” (or “netherworld”?): u₄ kur-ta ĝen-an-ni, “when he came from the mountain”. Following that (in l. 14) he is probably said to have bound the evildoer: amar-KAK bí-kéš, “he bound amar-KAK”. The understanding of the last two lines before the rubric of the incantation (col. v, ll. 1–2: kur-ta en-na-DU / amar-GAG ba-DU) is hampered by the fact that both end with the polyvalent sign DU. By analogy with the incantation CUSAS 32 1h perhaps DU in l. 2 is a syllabic reading for du₈, “to release”. In CUSAS 32 1h šà-gig and libiš-gig are first “bound” (kéš) by the god Baĥar-Enunzaku and later “released” (du₈) by Ningirim in the netherworld.²³² Thus, in this incantation Asar perhaps first neutralises an illness and then releases it in the netherworld.

1.6 Conclusions

Only the name Asar is known from Early Dynastic period and there is no evidence for the name Asalluĥi. During that era Asar was a patron deity of a small settlement named Ku’ara in Southern Mesopotamia. According to the *Zami Hymns* this location was associated with a good aroma that could also be an indication on Asar’s role as a ritual worker in incantations where he (in later

²²⁸ For the supposed rivalry between Enki and Enlil, see, e.g., Kramer 1970, Lisman 2013, 151–155, Espak 2015, 189–207.

²²⁹ A. R. George comments: “Sumerian incantation of uncertain topic; the key words are KAK and amar KAK, which like many evil things are described as (iv 9) ki-ta è-a “coming forth from the netherworld”” (George 2016, 26).

²³⁰ Cf. Krebernik 1984, 174.

²³¹ Cf. George 2016, 26, who compares the verb ĝiri TAG here to ĝiri-ul₄, “to hasten, to rush”.

²³² For the use of kéš and du₈ as antonyms in DME 20, see Krebernik 1984, 151.

texts) uses several fragrant substances to implement magic rituals. From the Early Dynastic period only two incantations that feature Asar have survived. In one he appears as the son of the god Enki and latter's assistant in the divine dialogue type of incantations. All the other evidence available for Asar as the son of Enki offered in various types of listings of deities is circumstantial. However, in several sources Asar is connected to mythological domains of the abzu and É.NUN that are known to have intimate connections to Enki. In a text written in the UD.GAL.NUN orthography Asar appears in proximity to the god Ašgi of Adab. This relation could mirror the connection of both deities to Iškur. In two lexical lists both Asar and Ašgi are connected to the deity named AN.NI. Asar's cult is documented in the administrative documents from Lagaš, however, as he appears only in a few lists his cult seems to have been of little importance there. In these lists Asar is most notably associated with the weather god Iškur.

2. OLD AKKADIAN PERIOD

2.1 Incantations

Sources for the deity Asar/Asalluḫi dating to the Old Akkadian period are scarce as he only appears in two incantations and in a handful of personal names. No divine dialogue incantations featuring the deity have survived from the Old Akkadian period. Both name-forms Asar and Asalluḫi appear in one incantation each in similar contexts – in the frame of a closing formula in an incantation.

2.1.1 Closing Formulae of Incantations

The closing formulae are commonly present in the final lines of incantations. W. G. Lambert has emphasised the special role of these formulae: “The closing words are part of the incantation, specifying the divine origin to guarantee its effectiveness. Though it incidentally marks the end of the incantation, that was not its actual purpose.”²³³ N. Rudik has – more specifically – differentiated between three types of closing formulae: *Legitimationsformel*, *Bekräftigungsformel* and *Lobformel*.²³⁴

2.1.2 Formula of Effectiveness

In the two Old Akkadian incantations, the names Asar and Asalluḫi appear in parts that in N. Rudik’s interpretation are called *Bekräftigungsformel*.²³⁵ According to the characterisation of W. G. Lambert presented above the formula of effectiveness could be offered as an English counterpart to *Bekräftigungsformel*. N. Rudik has defined this formula in the following manner: “Unter diesem Titel sind die Schlussformeln gesammelt, die in erster Linie dafür bestimmt sind, die Beschwörungswirkung zu bekräftigen und auf Dauer unauflösbar zu machen.”²³⁶ This type of formula appears in many incantations from the Old Akkadian period onwards, sporadically in third millennium incantations but becomes more common and standardised in the Old Babylonian times.

²³³ Lambert 2008, 93.

²³⁴ Rudik 2011, 29.

²³⁵ Ibid., 34. W. Schramm has dubbed the same formula a *Unlösbarkeitsformel*, see Schramm 2001, 13–18.

²³⁶ Rudik 2011, 34.

2.1.2.1 Incantation with Unknown Purpose (OrNS 54, p. 57)

This text that mentions Asar belongs among the texts that were dubbed non-canonical incantations by J. van Dijk.²³⁷ Opinions concerning the dating of this text cautiously suggest that it is from the Old Akkadian or Lagaš II period. Thus, N. Veldhuis has dated the tablet to “around the time of Gudea.”²³⁸ W. W. Hallo seems to suggest an even earlier, Early Dynastic III date based on the peculiar lentil-shaped tablet that the text was written on and the ductus that is similar to Early Dynastic III period’s ductus from Lagaš.²³⁹ N. Rudik has opposed the dating by Hallo but has left open whether the text is from the Old Akkadian or Ur III period.²⁴⁰ It is not possible to surely determine the provenance of the tablet but Lagaš has been considered to be a viable option, as the goddess Nanše appears in the last line of this text.²⁴¹ In this study the incantation has been tentatively treated as dating to the Old Akkadian period. The text is not easy to interpret and three scholars who have dealt with it do not agree even on the basic content of the text, let alone some specific details. The understanding of the text seems to largely depend on the first line in which the Sumerian word for “palace”: *é-gal* is mentioned.²⁴²

In any case, essential for the deity under consideration are the last three lines of the text in which his name (Asar) appears together with those of Enki and Nanše.²⁴³

²³⁷ J. van Dijk used this designation for all the incantations that are not part of the later fixed canonical series (see van Dijk 1971a, 7; van Dijk 1985, 1).

²³⁸ Veldhuis 2003b, 1. Note, however, Veldhuis’ caution that “the lack of comparable texts makes any more precise dating rather hazardous, so that an Ur III date is certainly not excluded.”

²³⁹ Hallo 1985, 56–58. Lentil shaped tablets were mainly used in scribal schools of the Old Babylonian era and earlier in the Ur III period, but Hallo follows Pettinato 1969, 5, who showed that the lentil shaped tablets had forerunners that were used for field surveying in Old Akkadian and Ur III Lagaš.

²⁴⁰ Rudik 2011, 18, n. 39: “Der Duktus des Textes ist aber eher neusumerisch, höchstens späaltakkadisch.”

²⁴¹ See Veldhuis 2003b, 1; Hallo 1985, 56–58 – based on the similar ductus mentioned above – also supports Lagaš to be the site of origin.

²⁴² Cf. Rudik 2011, 429: “„Palast“ [...] ist das Schlüsselwort für das Textverständnis.” W. W. Hallo and N. Veldhuis have both interpreted the text metaphorically. The former considers *é-gal* to stand for a colloquial word for “prison” and thus understands the text to be a prayer of a person who is incarcerated in this prison to get out (Hallo 1985, 60). The latter considers *é-gal* to stand for “palace Ganzer”, the entrance to the netherworld (Veldhuis 2003b, 3), and considers the text to be a “prayer for a dead person pleading to be admitted to the netherworld” (Veldhuis 2003b, 1). N. Rudik has interpreted this text in a more literate and mundane manner and considered it to be dealing with social problems, more exactly as commoner’s fears of authority emanating from the social strata of rulers residing in the palace (Rudik 2011, 429).

²⁴³ Following Hallo 1985; Veldhuis 2003b; Rudik 2011, 428–433. For a different understanding and translation of ll. 17–18, see Schramm 2001, 13.

16. èš^den-ki^dasar-re abzu-na

17. nam-mu-da-búr-e

18. da-mu^dnanše al-me-a

16. (In) the shrine of Enki, Asar in his abzu 17. should not release (my incantation) 18. Nanše is at my side

The name Asar appears here at the end of the text as part of the closing formula. The formula appearing in ll. 16–17 is, in essence, similar to the one appearing in the following text DME 59 (ll. 23–27).²⁴⁴ In OrNS 54, p. 57, however, the formula of effectiveness appears in an abridged form, as the nam-šub of Eridu is not mentioned and Asar is not provided with his common epithet “son of Eridu” (dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄) as he is in DME 59. In addition, in this extract of the last lines of the incantation two separate formula are combined. The formula of effectiveness that features Asar (ll. 16–17) is in l. 18 followed by another formulaic part. According to N. Rudik’s terminology in l. 18 appears another type of closing formula that she calls the formula of legitimation (*Legitimationsformel*).²⁴⁵ In this short formula Nanše appears, the goddess usually connected to the city of NINA/Niĝin in the state of Lagaš.²⁴⁶

2.1.2.2 Incantation Against Samana (DME 59)

This incantation is directed against the demon who inflicts Samana – a skin disease on humans, animals, plants and even buildings in the shape of mold.²⁴⁷ I. Finkel has argued for an Old-Akkadian date for this text.²⁴⁸ The text comes from Nippur and describes the Samana demon coming down from the mountains to “fall” (i.e. “attack”) the breast of a woman, the neck of a young man, the yoke of a donkey and the horn of a bull, thus inflicting them with the Samana disease. As was Asar in the previous text, the name Asalluĥi appears as part of the formula of effectiveness in the last five lines of the text.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ See the next sub-chapter.

²⁴⁵ According to Rudik’s definition, Rudik 2011, 29–30: “Die Legitimationsformel ist die kürzeste und die universellste. Mit ihr werden die Beschwörungen bis zum Ende dieser Textgattung in Mesopotamien versehen. Sie ändert sich mit der Zeit.” Problems with these definitions are further complicated by the fact that the earlier legitimation formula in the Old Akkadian period became a part of the *Bekräftigungsformel*, see Rudik 2011, 31.

²⁴⁶ Though scholars have translated this line differently, the basic idea here seems to involve the goddess in affirming the divine origin of the incantation and to protect the performer of the incantation. Cf. the translations of Hallo 1985, 59; Veldhuis 2003b, 1 and Rudik 2011, 430.

²⁴⁷ For Samana, see Stol 2006–2008, 609–611.

²⁴⁸ Finkel 1998, 76. This dating is supported by Rudik 2011, 241: “Auch die Schlussformel und die Schreibweise des Wortes e₁₁ „hinuntergehen“ [...] weisen Züge älterer Beschwörungen auf. Die Beschwörung ist also das älteste Exemplar der bekannten Samana-Beschwörungen.“

²⁴⁹ Following Finkel 1998, 76–78; Rudik 2011, 240–244.

23. nam[?]-šub[?] eri^{ki}-du₁₀-ga
 24. mu-mu-ĝu₁₀
 25. ^dasal(URU×IGI^{gunú})-lú-ĥ[i]
 26. dumu ^den-ki-k[a]
 27. abzu nu-mu-d[a-búr-re]
 23. incantation of Eridu, 24. my incantation, 25. Asalluĥi, 26. son of Enki,
 27. should not release in the abzu.

Regarding the early history of the divine figure of Asar/Asalluĥi this text is important because it has: 1) the first occurrence of the name Asalluĥi (the first sign of the name is here written as URU×IGI^{gunú}) in incantations, and 2) the first mention of Asalluĥi as the son of Enki.

No ancient etymology nor explanation for the name ^dasal-lú-ĥi is known to me and the name has rarely been discussed by modern scholars. That the first sign in the name was probably to be read as asal can be deduced from some phonetic writings such as ^da-sal-lú-ĥi (ASJ 2 160 – Ur III, unknown origin), ^da-sa-lu-ú-ĥa (DME 156 – Old Babylonian, unknown origin), ^da-sa-lú-ĥi (DME 351 – Old Babylonian, probably from Umma). However, there also exists evidence of reading asar: the personal name ur-^dsar-lú-ĥi-ke₄ (Ur III administrative text NRVN 1 204 from Nippur),²⁵⁰ ^dÉ.ŠÁRA-lú-ĥi (Ur III offering list Nebraska 16 from Umma). Thus, it is possible that the versions were interchangeable, in the words of T. S. Frymer-Kensky: “it is likely that the two liquids were in flux.”²⁵¹

One of the possible interpretations for the elements lú-ĥi was offered by W. G. Lambert who connected it to the verb luĥ, “to wash, purge”: “The root luĥ “purge” has a range of meanings suitable for the exorcistic activity of Asalluĥi in incantations, where he is commonly the doer, and so appears with an agentive element. Thus -lú-ĥi could be a petrified writing of luĥ-e, used without regard to its grammatical origin.”²⁵² The word luĥ appears in connection to

²⁵⁰ Quoted in Sauren 1969, 28. The following Old Akkadian personal names with the theophoric component ^(d)asar are known to me: i-lí-asar (“my god is Asar”) in three texts from Umma (JCS 32 123 2; RA 008 158; Nik. 2 043 – the first two are duplicates) and probably a variant i-li-asar (TMH 5 35) from Nippur; puzur₄-^dasar (“shelter of Asar”) in a text from Nippur (RIME 2 2.01.04.06 (p. 105)); asar-ré-bàra (“Asar spreads out(?)”) from an unknown location (ViOr 6 03). In two cases it is doubtful whether we are dealing with personal names. These are MUNUS-^dasar (perhaps a defective writing for géme-^dasar?) from Tutub (IMGULA 3/1 7) and KAB-^dasar (?) from Umma (USP 05). In addition note that in three broken personal names (texts NES 98-08-127, NES 99-09-114, NES 98-10-104) from Adab(?) only the component asar has survived (in Such-Gutiérrez 2005–2006, 6, the name in the text NES 99-09-114 has been restored as ^rUr[?]-^dASARI). For personal names with the theophoric component Asar/Asalluĥi from other periods, see 1.3.2 (Early Dynastic) above and 4.1 (Ur III) and 5.3 (Old Babylonian) below.

²⁵¹ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 565.

²⁵² Lambert 2013, 481

Asalluḫi in an Old Babylonian text DME 128.²⁵³ In this text a motif appears according to which Asalluḫi is instructed to wash (luḫ) the patient like a vessel.²⁵⁴

Another possibility, however, is to connect ḫi in the deity's name to the verb "to mix". This interpretation seems to work well with the activities of Asalluḫi in incantations in which he – by the orders of Enki – mixes together different ingredients to be used in magic rituals. Although the use of the verb ḫi itself in relation to Asalluḫi is rare (interestingly it appears in the same incantation with the word luḫ (DME 128)), in many of the instructions given by Enki to Asalluḫi from the earliest times, it seems to be implicitly suggested that the different ingredients had to be mixed in order to be used in rituals.²⁵⁵ One can thus speculate that lú-ḫi ("the one/man who mixes, the mixer") based on this kind of activity first became an epithet of the god whose name was originally simply Asar.²⁵⁶ The epithet was later, probably during the Old Akkadian period fused into one with the original name Asar.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Possibly also in the bilingual text DME 313 that parallels DME 128 but the pertinent lines in the former are broken.

²⁵⁴ For Asalluḫi and luḫ note also that according to an administrative document BBVO 11 261, a person named ur-^dasal-lú-ḫi acted as a kisal-luḫ abzu ("courtyard sweeper of the abzu") in Nippur.

²⁵⁵ See the Early Dynastic incantation CUSAS 32 1f in which Asar is instructed to pour and probably mix the water of Tigris and Euphrates to give as a drink to a person who was bitten by a snake. The more or less synonymous verb lu ("to stir, to mix") appears in connection to Asalluḫi in a text from Meturan (Meturan VI, MS A, l. 22): "stir him like water" (e-gin₇ ú-me-lú-[l]u⁷). For examples of the use of the verb ḫi in the ritual instructions of the first millennium, see Geller 2016, 492, l. 242' and CT 17, plate 22, l. 134. Both texts have tēš-bi u-me-ni-ḫi-ḫi ("mix together").

²⁵⁶ Note also the curious divine name ^dA.ḪI (commonly transliterated as ^da-šár) appearing mainly in administrative texts from Ur III Umma (in more than 200 texts) and only in personal names (the only exception could appear in text MVN 21 219 in which du₆-^dA.ḪI could signify a field name "mound of ^dA.ḪI"). One possibility to interpret the name (if it is indeed Sumerian) would be "mixed water" (a, "water" + ḫi or šár, "to mix"). Thus, it could be taken to mean "potion" or similar. Based on the writing, readings (^da-šár and ^da-ḫi) and possible meaning one could ask whether this ^dA.ḪI in Umma was not the same deity who was elsewhere known as Asar/Asalluḫi? In addition, it is interesting to note that the short form ^dasar does not seem to appear in the Ur III period texts from Umma (the only dubious case is the text Nisaba 11 08, in BDTNS 057404 (last visited 25.09.2019) interestingly transliterated as ur-^dasar¹⁹ (= "papsukkal"), note that this deity is in the previous line preceded by the name ur-^dA.ḪI! – unfortunately, the copy of this tablet was not available for me to check). One could bring out some Ur III Umma texts in which the name ^dA.ḪI could be conceptually connected to the god Enki (and thus to Asar). Most notably, perhaps, the text Nisaba 11 18, in which the géme-names ("female worker of...") of both deities are mentioned in consecutive lines (col. ii, ll. 22–23): géme-^den-ki / géme-^dA.ḪI. Note also that in Nisaba 11 08, a text mentioned above, a personal name with the theophoric element ^dA.ḪI is listed together with onomasticon built with the names of messenger deities (Ninšubur, Papsukkal) as elements (rev. col. i, ll. 12–15): lú-^dnin-šubur¹ / šu-ú-ú / ur-^dA.ḪI / ur-^dpapsukkal. This could be hypothetically viewed as a conceptual link to the god Asar/Asalluḫi in his manifestation as a messenger. Note further that the Umma personal names ^da-sa-lú-ḫi and

What is the role of the god Asar/Asalluḫi in formulae of effectiveness such as the ones appearing in OrNS 54, p. 57 and DME 59? Is it possible to give a specific description? Firstly, it is interesting to note that a similar type of formula existed in the Early Dynastic period but instead of Asar/Asalluḫi it featured another deity whose name was written as ^dNE.DAG.²⁵⁸ That this deity was connected to Eridu was witnessed by the use of the epithet dumu NUN (“child of Eridu”) in three instances.²⁵⁹ It is not certain whether ^dNE.DAG is male or female.²⁶⁰ ^dNE.DAG appeared in the god-lists from Fāra and Abū Salābīḫ.²⁶¹ Contextual evidence from SF 1 that lists ^dNE.DAG together with several fire

^dÉ.ŠÁRA-lú-ḫi mentioned above could be interpreted as if there was some confusion between writing the elements Asar and a-šár in this location. However, this connection between Asar/Asalluḫi and ^dA.ḪI has to remain hypothetical for now. Note also that a-šár could be compared to the term ki-šár. In this case it could mean “the whole water” or the like.

²⁵⁷ For yet another possible etymology for Asalluḫi offered by G. J. Selz, see 4.2.1 below.

²⁵⁸ The deity NE.DAG appears in five Early Dynastic incantation texts (DME 7, 9, 12, 14, CUSAS 32 1b) with two of them (DME 9 and 12) extant in two manuscripts. The formula of effectiveness that features ^dNE.DAG appears in texts DME 7, 9a/b, 12a/b, 14. For example, in DME 9a the rubric of the incantation that features Ningirim (l. 9) is in ll. 6–8 preceded by a formula of effectiveness: ^dNE.DAG / é-gùn na / ḫa-mu-ta-TAG. é-gùn is here NE.DAG’s temple (“das Bunte Haus”, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001a; Rudik 2011, 35, n. 81). Krebernik 1984, 18 has taken na to mean Bann (“spell”) and offers the translation: “^dNE.DAG lasse aus dem ...-Haus (vielleicht: bunten, gùn) den Bann hervorgehen...” Rudik 2011, 144–145 takes na (in é-gùn-na) as a personal pronoun with locative and the ailing patient as the object of the sentence and reads: “Nedag hat (den Patienten) mit (dieser) Beschwörung in ihrem bunten Haus wahrhaftig berührt!”. In DME 14 (col. IX, ll. 6–7) the formula of effectiveness is written as: ^dNE.DAG dumu eridu / a TU₆ nam-TAG. The translations of scholars differ also in case of this text. Rudik 2011, 120 offers a similar translation that she did for DME 9a: “Nedag, das Kind von Eridu, hat (den Patienten) mit Beschwörungswasser wahrhaftig berührt!”. Krebernik 1984, 52 translates: “^dNE.DAG möge die Beschwörung aus dem Wasser nicht herausgehen lassen”. In this case, by taking nam- to be a verbal prefix denoting negation, Krebernik’s interpretation seems more in line with later incantations that feature Asar/Asalluḫi. For ^dNE.DAG, see further Krebernik 1984, 263–264; Krebernik 1998–2001, 206; Rudik 2011, 34–35; Andersson 2013, 99–100.

²⁵⁹ DME 12A, 12B, 14. However, one could argue that this is not direct proof to consider ^dNE.DAG to be Enki’s child and perhaps dumu means only the “citizen” of Eridu, i.e. a deity related to the Eridu circle of deities, cf. Green 1975, 94. On the other hand, as the writing is dumu NUN it is also possible to interpret it as “son/daughter of the prince”, i.e. Enki. Although this could be purely a chance of discovery, it is noteworthy that before the Ur III period and despite all his connections to the abzu and Enki, Asar is not once called “the child of Eridu”. From the Ur III period onward this becomes his common epithet in incantations.

²⁶⁰ N. Rudik (2011, 34) considers this deity to be a goddess. However, I am not aware of evidence that would determine the gender of the deity as female. N. Rudik perhaps comes to this conclusion by comparing NE.DAG’s temple é-gùn with the name of the goddess Nineguna (^dnin-é-gùn-a), probably a byname of Geštinanna, and é-gùn-na = *bīt bi/urmi*, the temple (of Ištar?) in Mari (see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001a, 347–348). Temples with the same name (é-gùn) were later dedicated to the goddesses Geštinanna and Inanna.

²⁶¹ SF 1, col. ix, l. 23; IAS 83, rev. col. iii, l. 5.

deities has led scholars to assume that ^dNE.DAG is by form a deified torch.²⁶² This would be suitable in the context of incantations but is not supported by direct evidence from the Early Dynastic incantation DME 9a where the formula of effectiveness seems to have more to do with water (a TU₆, “incantation water”) than with fire. The joint use of both important elements (water and fire) could, however, be imagined in incantations – perhaps in DME 9a a torch was thought to keep guard by the water to not let the incantation “escape”.²⁶³ Water is a common substance associated with Asar/Asalluḫi in incantations but is lacking in both formulae of effectiveness from the Old Akkadian period and from numerous parallels of formulae from later periods.

In any case, the attachment of this type of formula to two Old Akkadian and numerous later incantations indicates that the positive outcome of incantations was thought to depend on the god Asar/Asalluḫi. Although the exact meaning of the verb *búr* in the formula of effectiveness is not clear – as is witnessed by several differing translations²⁶⁴ – the most viable option seems to be to interpret the verb in a general sense as “to release, to cancel, to undo” etc.²⁶⁵ Thus, the formula hints at Asalluḫi’s ability to release, i.e. to cancel incantations for reasons that are unspecified in the texts themselves. One could imagine, for example, ritual impurity and incorrect implementation of a ritual on the part of the presenter of the plea (incantation priest or patient) who asks Asalluḫi not to reject his/her incantation. The formula of effectiveness is – in all probability – also connected to Asalluḫi’s ability to deter harmful spells, i.e. witchcraft and sorcery in post-Old-Akkadian incantations.²⁶⁶ There exists, however, at least thus far no corroborative evidence for “failed” incantations, i.e. spells that Asar/Asalluḫi has “released”. The released spells as such are, of course, the

²⁶² Krebernik 1998–2001, 206; Andersson 2013, 99.

²⁶³ For the formula of effectiveness in text DME 9a, see 2.1.2.2 above.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Schramm 2001, 13. PSD 2 B, 192–193 gives the meaning “to nullify” in relation to the meaning of the verb *búr* in incantations; ePSD offers “spread” as the basic meaning for *búr* and adds “to release, free; to reveal; to spread out; cover”; Cunningham 1997, 84 translates the verbal chain as “not be undone”; Rudik 2011, 36 translates *búr* as “auflösen”.

²⁶⁵ A somewhat differing possibility would be to translate *búr* as “reveal” in the sense as secrets are revealed (see the examples in PSD 2 B, 192). This would assume that incantations belonged to the sphere of secret lore, i.e. they needed to be secret to be effective.

²⁶⁶ One may suspect that there is a genealogical connection of this formula to the later *nam-búr-bi* rituals. The term *nam-búr-bi* has been variously translated as “dessen Lösung” or “die zugehörige Lösung” (Maul 1994, 11), “its (the omen’s) undoing” (Rochberg 2004, 50), “its dissipation” (Steinkeller 2017, 18). In these texts it was Asalluḫi who (now under his new name Marduk) together with Ea and Šamaš was responsible for thwarting evil omens by “rejecting” or “dissipating” them. For an edition of the *nam-búr-bi* rituals, see Maul 1994. Note the comments of W. Farber on the impossibility to make a difference between black and white magic in Mesopotamia: “It has to be stressed, however, that black magic as a category never existed in Mesopotamia; sorcerers used exactly the same techniques and spells for their legitimate purposes that the victims might use to defend themselves legitimately. The only difference is that evil sorcery was done by secretly invoking the gods or manipulating other supernatural powers, while the defense relied on the openness of its acts” (Farber 1995, 1898).

ones that – in general – fail to alter the dangerous situation or impure state for the better/purer one. In the case of illnesses, for example, the result was probably often fatal for the patient.

The formula of effectiveness makes clear that the ultimate destination of incantations was Enki’s cosmic region of the abzu. Corroborative evidence can be found in the myth *Enki and the World Order*, l. 6, in which the protagonist Enki proclaims: “pure song (and) incantation stretched over my abzu” (abzu-gá šèr-kù nam-šub ma-an-lá).²⁶⁷ In terrestrial terms the abzu probably meant a kind of a cultic installation in the temple, probably a water basin.²⁶⁸ By comparison with l. 6 in *Enki and the World Order* it could be interpreted as an installation in the temple by which incantations were uttered and hymns were sung to Enki and Asalluḫi.

2.2 Conclusions

Based on the material currently available the name-form Asalluḫi appears in incantations for the first time during the Old Akkadian period. The name occurs in a similar context to the appearance of the name-form Asar in the same period as part of the formula of effectiveness appended to incantations. This makes it clear that Asar and Asalluḫi were considered to be one and the same deity in the Old Akkadian period and in the frame of the two survived incantations this deity takes over the role that was in the Early Dynastic period attributed to the deity named NE.DAG. In the Old-Akkadian formulae of effectiveness appearing in incantation texts Asar/Asalluḫi is described as the deity responsible for the positive outcome of spells. In addition to incantations, the short form ^(d)asar appears in a handful of Old Akkadian personal names.

²⁶⁷ Benito 1969, 91.

²⁶⁸ Possibly comparable to the water basin found in the *Steinstifttempel* at Uruk. For the connection of this basin to goddess Ningirim (functionally parallel to Asalluḫi), see Krebernik 1998–2001c, 365. For the water basin, cf. perhaps ^{urudu}šim in the UD.GAL.NUN text CUT 23 (see 1.4.2.2 above); cf. also: dubsig(ĪL)-bi alan ʾabzuʾ-ka[m] (“its brick basket is the image of abzu”) in an Ur III incantation TMH 6 19² (for this text, see 4.3.3 below).

3. LAGAŠ II PERIOD

In the Lagaš II period sources Asar/Asalluḫi appears in two texts: in an offering list and in *Gudea's Temple Hymn*.²⁶⁹

3.1 Administrative Documents

3.1.1 Offering List from Lagaš (MVN 6 528)

The only offering list of the Lagaš II period in which the god Asar is mentioned comes from Ĝirsu. The text is not dated. It lists seven deities in the following order: Gatumdu, Bagara, Ibgal, Nin-MAR.KI, Šagepada, Ninšubur, Ninagal, Asar. Five of these deities receive an offering of one sila of princely oil (i-nun) and one sila of dates. As the beginning of the tablet is broken, the amount of offerings to Gatumdu have not survived. Different from the five other deities Šagepada receives one sila of princely oil and five sila of dates. Of the six deities appearing before Asar, Ninšubur is connected to him in some other sources.²⁷⁰ Whether with Ibgal the shrine of Inanna or the goddess Ninibgal in whose name the sign Nin- is sometimes omitted is not certain.²⁷¹ Ninagal (^dnin-á-gal), the god who immediately precedes Asar is the blacksmith deity who in the Old Babylonian god-list TCL 15 10 (col. v, l. 35) is listed in the circle of Girra and Gibil, the fire-gods.²⁷² Like other gods of handicraft he is often associated with Enki.²⁷³

3.2 Literary Texts

3.2.1 Gudea's Temple Hymn

In Gudea cylinder B, col. iv, ll. 1–6, Asar appears as first of a group of five deities (followed by Ninmada, Enki, Nindub and Nanše) who are making preparations in the Eninnu temple for the arrival of the divine pair Ningirsu and Baba.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Note also the writing ^dasar LÚ (rev. col. ii, l. 11) in an administrative text RTC 254 from the Lagaš II period Ĝirsu. This text records the allotment of various boats to individuals and officials. As no other deities appear in this text, it seems possible that the scribe made a mistake and wrote the signs backwards. ^dasar LÚ should thus probably be interpreted as a personal name lú-^dasar.

²⁷⁰ E.g., Ninšubur and Asar are invoked together in an Ur III incantation (TMH 6 19²).

²⁷¹ See Sallaberger 1993 I, 247. Cf. also the name ŠEŠ.IB.GAL in SF 1, col. xi, l. 27.

²⁷² For Ninagal, see further Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001k.

²⁷³ See, e.g., the Ur III administrative document ITT 4 07310 in which the two deities appear in one line (obv. col. ii, l. 14): é ^den-ki ^dnin-á-gal. As in this text some “other types” of Enkis are mentioned, the writing in col. ii, l. 14 could indicate that Enki in his manifestation as Ninagal is meant.

²⁷⁴ Following RIME 3/1, 90 and ETCSL 2.1.7.

1. é-e^dasar-re šu si ba-sá
 2. ^dnin-ma-da-ke₄ na de₅ mi-ni-ĝar
 3. lugal^den-ki-ke₄ eš-bar kíĝ ba-an-šúm
 4. ^dnin-dub išib maḥ eridug^{ki}-ga₁₄-ke₄
 5. na-dè ba-ni-sig₉
 6. nin ĝarza kal-la-ke₄ ^dnanše šir kù inim-zu é-e ba-an-dug₄
1. Asar put the house in order 2. Ninmada gave advice²⁷⁵ 3. king Enki gave an oracular decision 4. Nindub, the great purification priest of Eridu 5. piled up incense²⁷⁶ 6. the lady of the precious rites, Nanše, who knows the words of pure songs, performed them to the temple

The description of Asar's part in these preparations is very laconic.²⁷⁷ It is possible that all the five deities here are engaged in specific magic rites²⁷⁸ and this can be proven in the description of activities of Enki, Nindub and Nanše. For Asar and Ninmada this is less clear. Asar who is named first can be interpreted to be an administrator of the ritual and thus the other deities act as his instruments. In Gudea B, col. vi, ll. 11–12 there is probably a reference to the five deities as a group: é-ninnu im-ta-sikil-e-ne / im-ta-dadag-ge-éš (“they cleaned and brightened the Eninnu”), both verbs (sikil and dadag) are commonly used for Asalluḫi's consecrational activities in incantations. It is clear that the preparations take place on the fourth day of the new year (Gudea B, col. iii, ll. 7–8) when Ningirsu is said to come from Eridu (Gudea B, col. iii, l. 9).²⁷⁹ It is king Gudea himself who begins the preparations, by turning carnelian and lapis lazuli into paste and placing it into the corners and sprinkling precious oil on the floor of the temple (Gudea B, col. iii, ll. 13–15), guiding the workforce out of the temple (col. iii, ll. 16–17) and preparing a luxurious meal for the deities (col. iii, ll. 18–23). Only then is Gudea joined in preparations by the five deities mentioned above. The deity mentioned after Asar, Ninmada appears as both a male and

²⁷⁵ For an alternative translation (“Ninmada put the consecration into it”), see Sallaberger 2005, 240–241.

²⁷⁶ On the reading of na-IZI, see Veldhuis 2003a.

²⁷⁷ The Sumerian compound verb šu si sá used here is also used, e.g., in the myth *Enki and the World Order*, l. 104, where priestly officials enkums and ninkums seem to be engaged in some kind of ritual activities in honour of Enki, in ETCSL 1.1.3 it is restored: enkum ṛninkum^ṛ-e-ne šu si [ša]-ṛma^ṛ-an-sá-[e-eš], but the object of this action is lacking (cf. Benito 1969, 91).

²⁷⁸ See Suter 2000, 97.

²⁷⁹ Green 1975, 269 differentiates between two cultic journeys of Ningirsu to Eridu. She considers the first trip to be “a single historical event, the inauguration of a new residence” and the second one (Gudea B, col. viii, ll. 12–15) “apparently a periodic journey by Ningirsu to Eridu and back, a celebration for which the cultic setting is unknown.” See also Suter 2000, 97, n. 129, who offers an option that the return of Ningirsu could also be a part of the current story, as the primeval temple was located in Eridu. R. E. Averbeck 2010, 31 comments: “Ningirsu may have travelled to Eridu to report to Enki and enlist his support in the necessary purification procedures.”

female deity in other sources.²⁸⁰ The name Ninmada can thus be translated as either “lord of the land” or “lady (mistress) of the land”. It is difficult to say whether Ninmada appears as a male or a female deity in Gudea B.²⁸¹

As Enki appears third in the list, the listing of deities does not seem to be hierarchical but could follow some kind of a ritual order. After Enki occurs Nindub, who is also present in other parts of the Gudea cylinders.²⁸² Nanše is also an actor in other parts of the text. She is the sister of Ningirsu and her main role in the cylinders seems to be that of a dream interpreter (ensi).²⁸³ Although not explicitly stated in the Gudea cylinders,²⁸⁴ Nanše seems to be the daughter of Enki in this text. She is explicitly named “daughter of Enki” in later sources.²⁸⁵

The question remains whether these five deities are named here in connection with the fact that Ningirsu took a journey to Eridu, as all seem to be connected to the Eridu pantheon in one way or the other. Another option – however, overlapping with the first one, as Eridu was a place intimately connected with magic – is that the five deities are named because of their relation to magic and their ability to perform magical rites.

²⁸⁰ As male, e.g., in the myth *How Grain Came to Sumer*, ll. 14 and 21 (see ETCSL 1.7.6). As female, e.g., in the myth *Enki and Ninmah*, l. 34, where Ninmada is one of the mother goddesses (see Ceccarelli 2016, 25–26), and in MSL 4 (The Emesal Vocabulary), 5, no. 28, where Ninmada’s form in emesal is given as ^dgašan-ma-da (thus female) and described as “snake charmer of Enlil”.

²⁸¹ Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001c, 462 prefer to interpret Ninmada as male deity in this text: “Der männliche N. is wohl in Gudea, Zyl. B iv 1–3, gemeint, wo N. zusammen mit Asari, Enki, und Ninduba eine Rolle bei den Vorbereitungsriten zum Bau des Eninnu spielt.” A different opinion was offered by T. Jacobsen who translated the name of the deity as “lady of the level lands” and commented: “She served as snake charmer of Enlil and introducer of supplicants to An. Here [in Gudea B – A. J.] she conceivably checked the house for snakes” (Jacobsen 1987, 428, n. 12).

²⁸² In Gudea A, col. vi, ll. 3–5, Nindub appears as a hero who is holding a lapis lazuli tablet in which he draws the plan of a temple, thus one of his areas of responsibility in addition to being an incantation priest is architecture. In Gudea B, col. vi, ll. 3–7, Nindub causes loud noise in the shrine, the serving of bread and milk day and night and wakes Ningirsu up from his sleep.

²⁸³ For Nanše as a sister of Ningirsu, see Selz 1995, 211–212; see also Heimpel 1998–2001a, 155. For Nanše’s role as a dream interpreter, see, e.g., Gudea A, col. ii, ll. 1–3, where Gudea states: “dream interpreter, the wise, appropriate for me / Nanše, my divine sister from Sirara / it’s meaning [lit. “heart“] may she explain [lit. “find, discover”] for me” (ensi kù-zu me-te-na-ĝu₁₀ / ^dnanše nin₉ dingir sirara₆-ta-ĝu₁₀ / šà-bi ħa-ma-pàd-dè (ETCSL 2.1.7)). See also Gudea A, col. iv, ll. 9–13: “mistress who like Enlil decides destinies / my Nanše, your word is truthful / you have raised to the head / you are the dream interpreter of the gods / you are the mistress of the lands, mother, my matter today is a dream” (nin ^den-líl-gin₇, nam tar-tar-re / ^dnanše-ĝu₁₀ dug₄-ga-zu zid-dam / saĝ-bi-šè è-a-àm / ensi diĝir-re-ne-me / nin kur-kur-tar-me ama inim-ĝu₁₀ ud-da ma-mu-da (ETCSL 2.1.7)).

²⁸⁴ In the cylinders Nanše is referred to as dumu eridu^{ki}-ke₄, “daughter of Eridu” (cylinder A, col. xx, l. 16) and dumu eridu^{ki}-ge tud-da, “a child given birth in Eridu” (cylinder A, col. ii, l. 16).

²⁸⁵ E.g., in a hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), l. 61 (see Heimpel 1981, 84) and in the *Canonical Udug-ĥul*, tablet 5, l. 58 (Geller 2016, 187).

3.3 Conclusions

According to an offering list from the Lagaš II period Asar receives offerings of oil and dates together with six other deities. In *Gudea's Temple Hymn*, cylinder B he together with four other deities (including Enki) participates in the consecration rituals for Eninnu, the temple of Ningirsu in Lagaš. In an administrative document from Ĝirsu Asar probably appears as part of a personal name (lú-^dasar). There are no traces for the name-form Asalluĥi from the Lagaš II period.

4. UR III PERIOD

A handful of administrative documents from the Ur III period shed light on the cult of Asar/Asalluḫi. He also appears in *Sumerian Temple Hymns* and in a number of incantations and personal names. When compared to earlier periods there is much more data available for Asar/Asalluḫi in the Ur III period.

4.1 Administrative Documents

Both name-forms Asalluḫi and Asar appear in the administrative documents from the Ur III period. One can make a distinction between the occasions in which the god or a cultic profession connected to that god is mentioned, and the cases in which Asar/Asalluḫi appears as a theophoric element in personal names.²⁸⁶ I managed to ascertain 16 documents among the vast Ur III administrative corpus that mention either names of the deity not as a part of a theophoric name, i.e. in texts in which the gods themselves or the officials serving them are named. Majority of the administrative texts (11) that mention either Asalluḫi or

²⁸⁶ I am aware of seven forms of Ur III personal names with the theophoric element Asar or Asalluḫi. The most numerous are the common ur- (“man/dog/servant of ...”), lú- (“man of ...”) and géme- (“female worker of ...”) names: ur-^dasal-lú-ḫi (27 texts: nine from Ĝirsu (CT 5 26, CT 9 24, CUSAS 16 126, MVN 6 369, MVN 15 178, PPAC 5 0315, PPAC 5 0694, TCTI 1 00855, UNT 008), seven from Umma (BPOA 2 2383, MVN 8 244, Nisaba 24 19, Nisaba 24 23, OrSP 47-49 399, SAT 3 1887, SNAT 395), seven from Puzriš-Dagān (Fs. Lipinski 215, MVN 13 662, MVN 18 550, OIP 121 102, PDT 1 571, PDT 1 591, Princeton 1 045), two from Nippur (BBVO 11 261, NRVN 1 204), two from Ur (UET 9 0839, UET 9 0939)), ur-^dasar (13 texts: 11 from Ĝirsu (CT 3 31, CT 10 24, HLC 2 021, MVN 6 285, MVN 6 445, Orient 16 085 127, PPAC 5 0250, PPAC 5 1258, SNAT 265, UCP 9/2 1 002, WMAH 175), one from Nippur (NATN 503), one from Ur (TCS 1 005)), lú-^dasal-lú-ḫi (four texts from Puzriš-Dagān: AAICAB 1/1 Ashm 1923–420, ASJ 14 102 4, OIP 115 210, PDT 2 0958), lú-^dasar (two texts: one text from Ĝirsu (PPAC 5 0332), one from Ur (UET 3 1390)), géme-^dasal-lú-ḫi (one text from Nippur (Iraq 05 168 1)). In six texts (five from Garšana (CUSAS 3 0381, 0386, 0387, 0396, 0397) and one from Nippur (NATN 503 – the name ur-^dasar also appears in this text)) the writing is ur-^dasal-lu-ḫi. In one text from Nippur (NRVN 1 204 – ur-^dasal-[lú-ḫi] also appears in this text) the writing is unusual: ur-^dsar-lú-ḫi. Interesting is the personal name lú-^dur-^dasar that occurs in 16 documents from Ĝirsu (AnOr 45 354 61, BPOA 2 1840, ITT 5 06903, MVN 6 141, MVN 6 399, MVN 22 019, Nisaba 18 066, PPAC 5 0768, PPAC 5 1463, PPAC 5 1554, RA 67 187, SNAT 154, Fs. Sigrist 103 T.10, TCTI 1 00911, TUT 094, WMAH 038), note also the forms lú-ur-^dasar (texts MVN 22 190, TUT 118) and lú-^dur-^dasar (HLC 2 067), also from Ĝirsu, probably erroneous writings for lú-^dur-^dasar. There seems to be only one administrative document (UNT 016) in which the deity ^dur-^dasar appears not as a part of a personal name but as a “deity proper” in a list of offerings to deities. In this list the deity is placed into the local pantheon of Urub, a town in the Lagaš region (for Urub (URU×*ganatenū*), see Volk 2014–2016). Judging by the name, ^dur-^dasar might have been a deified (local) ruler. The possible relations of this deity to Asar/Asalluḫi remain inexplicable for now. For personal names with the theophoric component Asar/Asalluḫi from other periods, see 1.3.2 (Early Dynastic) and 2.1.2.2 (Old Akkadian) above and 5.3 (Old Babylonian) below.

Asar originate in Puzriš-Dagān (modern Drehem), the administrative centre of the Ur III state that was founded by king Šulgi in his 39th year.²⁸⁷

Although the documents were found in Puzriš-Dagān, they also reflect aspects of the cult in other locations of the Ur III state. In addition to the Drehem documents the name of the deity occurs in two texts from Ĝirsu, two from Umma and one from Nippur. The earliest datable source (CT 1 94-10-15, 4) for Asalluḫi/Asar from the Ur III period comes from Ĝirsu and dates to the 35th year of king Šulgi, the latest (TCL 2 5514) dates to the second year of king Ibbi-Su'en and originates from Puzriš-Dagān. For three of the sources the datable year-name has not survived.

4.1.1 Offering Lists

Of the 16 texts that mention Asar or Asalluḫi, 11 are offering lists by genre. When compared to other types of administrative documents – e.g. the listings of revenues – the offering lists provide first-hand evidence for the organisation of cults and the hierarchy of deities. They do not, however, give concrete information on the character and divine attributes of deities and information on these aspects can only be gleaned from the deities' position vis-à-vis other deities, the naming of temples in different locations, and the amounts of offerings.²⁸⁸ In the following treatment, the offering lists are analysed by locations in which Asar/Asalluḫi was brought offerings. Of the 11 texts, six list offerings in Ku'ara, three in Nippur, one in Umma and one probably in Puzriš-Dagān. The ordering of texts for two locations (Ku'ara and Nippur) from where there is more than one text available is presented chronologically.

4.1.1.1 Ku'ara

AUCT 1 488

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān

Date (YY-MM-DD): Amar-Su'en 03-10-14

In this text, the offerings for deities in Ur and Ku'ara are listed. In Ku'ara, Ninsun, Lugalnitazi and Ĝeštinanna received offerings in the temple of Ninsun. These offerings were followed by offerings to Asalluḫi and the deceased deified king Šulgi in a temple in Ku'ara that is left unspecified in this text:

²⁸⁷ Puzriš-Dagān was located a little more than 10 km southeast from Nippur (Sallaberger 1999, 238).

²⁸⁸ Cf. Sallaberger 1993 I, 98, n. 423: "Die Mengen an Opfermaterie zeigen sehr deutlich die Rangordnung der Götter [...]."

obv.

- 13. [x] máš é^dnin-sún
- 14. [x] gu₄-niga 6 udu 2 sila₄
- 15. ^[d]nin-sún
- 16. [x] sila₄ ^dlugal-nita-zi
- 17. [x] máš ^dġeštin-an-na
- 18. [x] šà é^dnin-sún

rev.

- 19. [x] gu₄-niga 3 udu 1 sila₄
- 20. ^[d]asal-lú-ġi
- 21. [x] sila₄ ^dšul-gi
- 22. [šà] ku₆-a^{ki}
- 23. lugal-ku₄-ra

13. [x] goat(s) to the temple of Ninsun 14. [x] fattened ox(en), six sheep, two lambs 15. to Ninsun 16. [x] lamb(s) to Lugalnitazi 17. [x] goat(s) to Ġeštinanna 18. [x] in the temple of Ninsun 19. [x] fattened ox(en), three sheep, one lamb 20. to Asalluġi 21. [x] lamb(s) to Šulgi 22. in Ku'ara 23. the king enters

The location in which Asalluġi and Šulgi receive offerings is in all probability the temple of Asalluġi. This is made explicit in a similar text TCL 2 5482 that lists approximately a similar sequence of deities.²⁸⁹ Rev., l. 23 has “the king enters” (lugal-ku₄-ra). This means that the king was present during the offering ceremonies.²⁹⁰

TAD 49

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān
Date: Amar-Su'en 06-12-28

This text deals with “bathing rites in the pure river” (rev., l. 34: sízkur a-tu₅-a i₇ kù-[ga]), a festival that was celebrated in Uruk, KI.KAL, Ku'ara, Eridu and Ur.²⁹¹ W. Sallaberger has convincingly claimed that these rites took place in the form of a cultic procession that visited these locations in the given order.²⁹² In the Ku'ara section the deities Asalluġi, Ninsun and A.TE Asar are named:

obv.

- 17. 1 gu₄ 2 udu 1 sila₄
- 18. ^dasal-lú-ġi

20. nin-sún [x]

- 21. 1 udu 1 sila₄
- 22. kar[?](A.TE) ^dasar
- 23. šà ku₆-a^{ki}

rev.

- 19. 1 gu₄-niga 2 udu 1 sila₄

17. one ox, two sheep, one lamb 18. to Asalluġi 19. one fattened ox, two sheep, one lamb 20. to Ninsun 21. one sheep, one lamb 22. to the quay[?] of Asar 23. in Ku'ara

²⁸⁹ See below.

²⁹⁰ See Sallaberger 1999, 263.

²⁹¹ Sallaberger 1993 I, 224.

²⁹² Ibid.

Based on the equal amounts of offerings to Ninsun and Asalluḫi in this text, T. Richter has claimed that the cult of these deities was considered equally important.²⁹³ However, according to three other offering lists for Ku'ara in the Ur III period (AUCT 1 488, Fs. Pettinato 163 167 09, TCL 2 5482) the amounts of offerings to Ninsun surpasses the amounts given to Asar/Asalluḫi. TAD 49 is also exceptional among the offering lists that reflect the cultic activities in Ku'ara because unlike this text all the other five documents list Ninsun before Asalluḫi. Nevertheless, the mention of Asalluḫi before Ninsun in TAD 49 might be due to the predetermined itinerary of the cultic procession.²⁹⁴

The separation between Asalluḫi and the deified A.TE Asar is remarkable in this text.²⁹⁵ Based on the quantity of offerings Asalluḫi received, he was considered more important than A.TE Asar. The meaning of the signs A.TE has not been determined with certainty. Several scholars have interpreted A.TE as a-ša (a-ša₄) that has the basic meaning “field” or “terrain”.²⁹⁶ I do not know of any other mentions of a-ša^dasar or a-ša^dasal-lú-ḫi and the sign that appears after A in TAD 49 is clearly TE and not ŠÀ. It seems almost certain that A.TE^dAsar is some sort of a cultic toponym related to the god Asar.²⁹⁷ This toponym might so far be unknown from other sources, or, perhaps the better option is that the cultic toponym “quay of Asar”, kar(TE.A)^dasar was meant to be written but

²⁹³ Richter 2004, 324: “Der Umfang der Opferlieferungen an Ninsuna in TAD 49 läßt vermuten, daß ihr Kult als ebenso wichtig erachtet wurde die derjenige des Asalluḫi.” The goddess Ninsun was in addition to Ku'ara revered in several other locations, e.g. in Lagaš, KIKAL, Uruk, Ur, Umma, ^{ḫi}U-suḫ₅ (see Wilcke 1998–2001, 503–504). Scholars have expressed different opinions regarding Ninsun's original or “main” hometown. Thus, T. Richter suggests that Ku'ara is the original hometown of Ninsun (see Richter 2004, 324 with references to further literature). C. Wilcke has preferred the option that KIKAL was the main cult site of the goddess (Wilcke 1998–2001, 503).

²⁹⁴ For TAD 49 it is conspicuous that offerings for Ninsun appear in all the places except Eridu (for Eridu only a mention of offerings to Enki and Utu is made, see TAD 49, rev., ll. 24–27). Note also that in KIKAL (obv., ll. 15–16) Ninsun is the only deity who is given offerings. Ninsun is also the only deity in this text who is named more than once. This may point out the overall importance of the goddess in the Southern region or indicate some kind of special role played by Ninsun during these festivities that cannot be determined exactly.

²⁹⁵ Based on this text, T. Richter has suggested that the Asalluḫi and Asar were still seen as separate deities during the Ur III period (Richter 2004, 324, n. 1385). However, based on other Ur III evidence it does not seem likely, as both name-forms appear in similar contexts. W. Sallaberger has raised the question whether not to read ^dasar-[lú-ḫi] in rev., l. 22 instead of ^dasar: “[...] obwohl [the original publisher of the text – A. J.] St. Langdon an dieser Stelle keine Beschädigung der Tafel anzeigt, darf vielleicht ^dAsar-[lú-ḫi] ergänzt werden [...]” (Sallaberger 1993 I, 224, n. 1074). However, deciding by the photograph in CDLI (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P131091.jpg> – last visited 07.11.2018) there seem to be no traces of damage and no space available for the signs LÚ and ḪI.

²⁹⁶ Thus, Å. W. Sjöberg offered the reading a-ša-^dasar for A.TE Asar (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 80); the same reading (with an exclamation mark) was given by Frymer-Kensky 1977, 580, n. 18 and Michalowski 1989, 92; Steinkeller 1995, 277, n. 11 also gave the reading a-ša₄ (with a question mark).

²⁹⁷ Cf., e.g., ká^dNin-sún, “the gate of Ninsun” in TCL 2 5482, TCL 2 5514, AUCT 1 488.

the scribe made a mistake and wrote the signs for “quay” in reversed order.²⁹⁸ Needless to say, the mention of a quay would perfectly fit the procession with the name “bathing rites in the pure river”.

Fs. Pettinato 163 167 09

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān

Date: Šu-Su'en 08-06-06

This text reflects offerings in Eridu, Ku'ara and Ur. For Eridu, offerings to the abzu, in the courtyard, and to dub-lá-maḥ of Enki are mentioned.²⁹⁹ There follows a short section with offerings in Ku'ara:

obv.

9. 2 udu-niga gu₄-e-ús-sa

10. ^dnin-sún

11. 1 udu-niga gu₄-e-ús-sa ^dasar

12. šà ku₆-a^{ki}

9. two fattened gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep 10. to Ninsun 11. one fattened gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep to Asar 12. in Ku'ara

In this text only Ninsun and Asar are the recipients of offerings of the fattened gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep in Ku'ara and Asar receives only half the amount that is given to Ninsun.³⁰⁰ There follows a section reflecting the offering of one goat to Ninsun in the courtyard of Nanna in Ur.

TCL 2 5482

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān

Date: Ibbi-Su'en 01-07-13

In this text the offerings in Ku'ara are preceded by many offerings in an unnamed location, perhaps Ur.³⁰¹ It is reported that in the temple of Asalluḫi in Ku'ara, in addition to Asalluḫi himself the deified (deceased) king Šulgi was given offerings. Offerings in other temples of Ku'ara are also mentioned:

²⁹⁸ The “quay of Asar” appears in incantation CUSAS 32 6c, a text that deals with the consecration of the same “cosmic” quay kar ^dasar. Quays in relation to Asalluḫi – although not explicitly named as kar ^dasar – also appear in texts CUSAS 32 12b, 12h and the bilingual text DME 313. In the latter text Enki instructs Asalluḫi to fill a vessel with the “water from the clean quay” (a kar sikil-la-ta/me-e kar-ri el-lim). Note the suspiciously similar name kar-a-sar, perhaps “the quay of running water” in the myth *Enlil and Ninlil*, l. 6 (see Behrens 1978, 15; ETCSL 1.2.1). For an attempt to explain a-sar in kar-a-sar based on Akkadian, see Behrens 1978, 66–68.

²⁹⁹ For dub-lá-maḥ, “the place where justice is rendered”, see, e.g., Michalowski 1989, 103, n. 438.

³⁰⁰ For the gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep (sheep fed with a mixed diet of barley and grass), see Sigrist 1992, 26.

³⁰¹ As “sheep of Ur” are mentioned in rev., l. 3.

- | | |
|---|---|
| rev. i | 15. 1 udu 1 sila ₄ |
| 4. 1 máš ká ^d nin-sún | 16. ^d šul-gi |
| 5. 2 udu 2 sila ₄ | 17. šà é ^d asal-lú-ḫi |
| 6. ^d nin-sún | 18. 1 sila ₄ ^d ha-ia |
| 7. 1 sila ₄ ^d lugal-bànda ^{da} | 19. 1 sila ₄ ^d nin-dam-gal-nun-na |
| 8. 1 sila ₄ ^d šu- ^d su'en | 20. 1 sila ₄ ^d mar-tu |
| 9. 1 sila ₄ ^d ab-ú | 21. šà é ^d nin-dam-an-na |
| 10. 1 sila ₄ ^d dumu-zi | 22. 1 sila ₄ ^d nin-ġiš-zi-da |
| 11. 1 sila ₄ ^d ġeštin-an-na | 23. 1 sila ₄ ^d lugal-uru-saġ |
| 12. šà é ^d nin-sún | 24. lugal ku ₄ -ra |
| 13. 2 udu 1 sila ₄ | 25. šà ku-a ^{ki} |
| 14. ^d asal-lú-ḫi | |

4. one goat to the gate of Ninsun 5. two sheep, two lambs 6. to Ninsun 7. one lamb to Lugalbanda 8. one lamb to Šu-Su'en 9. one lamb to Abu 10. one lamb to Dumuzi 11. one lamb to Ġeštinanna 12. in the temple of Ninsun 13. two sheep, one lamb 14. to Asalluḫi 15. one sheep, one lamb 16. to Šulgi 17. in the temple of Asalluḫi 18. one lamb to Ḫaia 19. one lamb to Nindamgalnuna 20. one lamb to Martu 21. in the temple of Nindamana 22. one lamb to Ninġišzida 23. one lamb to Lugalurusaġ 24. the king enters, 25. in Ku'ara

Preceding the offerings in the temple of Asalluḫi, offerings in the temple of Ninsun are listed (to the gate of Ninsun, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Šu-Su'en, Abu, Dumuzi, Ġeštinanna). Following the offerings in the temple of Asalluḫi the offerings in the temple of Nindamana occur (to Ḫaia, Nindamgalnuna, Martu).³⁰² This makes Ninsun, Asalluḫi and Nindamana the three temple-owning deities in Ku'ara. Additionally, the deities Ninġišzida and Lugalurusaġ are reported to receive one lamb each, but in their case a temple is not mentioned.³⁰³ W. Sallaberger has claimed that Ninġišzida had a temple of his own in Ku'ara.³⁰⁴ Although this is possible, the temple of Ninġišzida in Ku'ara is not explicitly mentioned in the Ur III administrative documents. One notices the peculiar name Nindamgalnuna that is the only reference to a deity of that name in the Ur III administrative corpus. As the offerings are given in the temple of Nindamana one would expect to see the temple-owner among the receivers of offerings. Thus, Nindamgalnuna here probably refers to the goddess Nindamana, perhaps by being her byname or – alternatively – a scribal mistake. In this text the goddess is associated with the gods Ḫaia and Martu. That the offerings listed and perhaps Asalluḫi might have had something to do with incantations can be concluded on the basis of the occurrence of an incantation priest (lú-mu₁₃-mu₁₃) named Bululu (rev. col. ii, l. 3) in the text who authorises (maškim) the offerings.

³⁰² Note that the offerings to Martu appear twice in this text. For the first time he is offered a lamb in Ur(?), this time immediately preceded by Enki who is also given one lamb as an offering.

³⁰³ Cf. text TCL 2 5514 below.

³⁰⁴ Sallaberger 1993 I, 224. Cf. Wiggermann 1998–2001c, 373, who seems to be in agreement with Sallaberger.

In this text the offerings to Ninsun, Asar and Nindamana in Ku'ara are mentioned:

1. 1 gu₄-niga ^dnin-^rsún[?]
2. 1 gu₄ ú ^dasar
3. 1 gu₄ ú ^dnin-dam-an-na
4. šà ku₆-a^{ki}

1. one fattened ox to Ninsun 2. one grass fed ox to Asar 3. one grass fed ox to Nindamana 4. in Ku'ara

One notices that deities are named in the same order as the temple-owning deities in the previous text (TCL 2 5482). Thus, this text is a kind of an abbreviation of the previously treated document.³⁰⁵ Note that when compared to the oxen offered to Asar and Nindamana, Ninsun is offered an ox of superior quality.³⁰⁶ The offerings in Ku'ara are followed by offerings in Eridu (to Enki) and Ur (to Nanna, to the kitchen (é-muḫaldim)).

The sequence of deities of Ku'ara – preceded here by offerings to several deities in Ur – is in this text approximately similar to the one in text TCL 5482,³⁰⁷ although the temples of Asalluḫi and Nindamana are not explicitly mentioned:

- | | |
|--|--|
| obv. | 25. šà é ^d nin-sún |
| 16. 1 máš ká ^d nin-sún | 26. 2 udu 1 sila ₄ ^d asal-lú-ḫi |
| 17. 2 udu 1 sila ₄ ^d nin-sún | 27. 1 sila ₄ ^d šul-gi |
| 18. 1 sila ₄ ^d lugal-bànda ^{da} | 28. 1 sila ₄ ^d nin-dam-an-na |
| 19. 1 sila ₄ ^d lugal-nita-zi | 29. 1 sila ₄ ^d ensí-maḫ |
| 20. 1 máš ^d ab-ú | 30. 1 sila ₄ ^d ḫa-ià |
| rev. | 31. 1 sila ₄ ^d nin-ḡiš-zi-da |
| 21. 1 sila ₄ ^d ḡeštín-an-na | 32. 1 sila ₄ ^d lugal-uru-[saḡ] |
| 22. 1 sila ₄ ^d dumu-zi | 33. lugal ku ₄ - ^r ra [?] |
| 23. 1 sila ₄ ^d šul-gi | 34. šà ku ₆ -a ^[ki] |
| 24. 1 sila ₄ ^d šu- ^d su'en | |

³⁰⁵ Cf. table 77 in Sallaberger 1993 II, 134.

³⁰⁶ For the sequence of quality grades for cattle, see, e.g., Sigrist 1992, 24.

³⁰⁷ See table 77 in Sallaberger 1993 II, 134. TCL 2 5514 additionally mentions Lugal-nita-zi and Šulgi among the receivers of offerings in the temple of Ninsun. The sequence of deities of Ku'ara is slightly different in the two texts. In truth, the temple of Ninsun seems a more suitable place for Šulgi when one takes into account other evidence, as in several of his hymns Šulgi claimed that he is the son of Ninsun (see, e.g., Vacín 2011, 179–180 with references). The process of claiming the divine motherhood of Ninsun (and fatherhood of Lugalbanda and thus also the brotherhood of Gilgameš) for the Ur III kings began with Šulgi's father Ur-namma (ibid., 194).

16. one goat to the gate of Ninsun 17. two sheep, one lamb to Ninsun 18. one lamb to Lugalbanda 19. one lamb to Lugalnitazi 20. one goat to Abu 21. one lamb to Ĝeštinanna 22. one lamb to Dumuzi 23. one lamb to Šulgi 24. one lamb to Šu-Su'en 25. in the temple of Ninsun 26. two sheep, one lamb to Asalluḫi 27. one lamb to Šulgi 28. one lamb to Nindamana 29. one lamb to Ensimaḫ 30. one lamb to Ḫaia 31. one lamb to Ninġišzida 32. one lamb to Lugalurusag 33. the king enters 34. in Ku'ara

In this text Asalluḫi and Ninsun are given an equal amount of offerings of two sheep and one lamb. Asalluḫi is here once again followed by the deceased king Šulgi. Curious here are the next three deities: Nindamana, Ensimaḫ and Ḫaia. As W. Sallaberger has demonstrated this trio of deities corresponds to Ḫaia, Nindamgalnuna and Martu who were placed to the temple of Nindamana in TCL 5482.³⁰⁸ Sallaberger has pointed out that based on the later god-list *An = Anum*, tablet 2, l. 293,³⁰⁹ Ensimaḫ was equated with the god Martu.³¹⁰ Sallaberger also considered Nindamana the only possible candidate among the deities appearing in the sources to be the wife of Asalluḫi, “[...] vorausgesetzt, sie werde (vergleichbar Ninlil in Nippur) in einem eigenen Tempel neben dem Asarluḫis verehrt.”³¹¹

Another and in my opinion a more probable option is that the wife of Asar/Asalluḫi is not mentioned at all in the Ku'ara lists and Nindamana's husband in texts TCL 2 5482 and 5514 is Ḫaia who is identified with both Ea and Enki. M. Civil has commented on the name Ḫaia: “Originally, the name may have been a variant spelling of é-a and therefore identical with Enki [...] Note that while offerings are made to Ḫaia, especially in Ur, in the Ur III period, at that time Ea appears only in personal names.”³¹² On the basis of the last argument by Civil it seems safe to claim that Ḫaia who in the Ku'ara offering lists was brought offerings in the temple of Nindamana was identified with Ea.³¹³ However, that both Ḫaia and Ea are identified with Enki in the eyes of the scribe who wrote the text TCL 2 5482 can be argued on the basis of the peculiar name Nindamgalnuna which thus seems to be a version of the name of Ḫaia's spouse Nindamana.³¹⁴ Considering the similarity of names, Nindamgalnuna seems to be the local manifestation of Enki's wife Damgalnuna in Ku'ara.

³⁰⁸ See table 77 in Sallaberger 1993 II, 134.

³⁰⁹ See Litke 1998, 102.

³¹⁰ Sallaberger 1993 I, 225, n. 1075.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 224, n. 1072. Cf. Michalowski 1989, 92: “Of these deities [mentioned in the Ur III administrative documents dealing with Ku'ara – A. J.] only Nindamgalnuna and Nindamana are possible candidates for the role of wife of Asaluḫi.”

³¹² Civil 1983, 44. For the identification of Ḫaia – who elsewhere is mainly the husband of Nisaba with the Sumerian name Indagra – with Ea and Enki, see Green 1975, 75; Galter 1983, 6 and 134–136, Espak 2015, 115–117.

³¹³ A possible explanation of the merger of Ea and Ḫaia is given by P. Espak: “It seems possible that the Sumerian scribes might have integrated the Akkadian *é-a* into the Sumerian pantheon under the name of Haia as an adoption of a Semitic (god)name into the Sumerian pantheon” (Espak 2015, 117).

³¹⁴ It is conspicuous that in offering lists for Ku'ara the god Enki is not mentioned at all.

The argument that the name Ȝaia denotes the god Enki can be supported by the fact that in several other Ur III economic documents Martu (=Ensimah) is named immediately after Enki.³¹⁵ The fact that Ȝaia seems here to be identical with the god Enki/Ea could add weight to the theory that both names Ea (é-a, *Ȝajja) and Ȝaia (Ȝa-ià) are derived from the semitic root *Ȝyy, “to live”.³¹⁶

What is then the identity of the enigmatic Martu/Ensimah in these administrative texts? According to the different parentage appearing for Martu/Amurru, the Amorite deity in the literary texts of the Old Babylonian period, one might consider a different personality for the deity whose name is written as ^dmar-tu in the Ur III administrative documents. Based on the similarity of the names and divine parentage one could see ^dmar-tu as an early writing for the god Marduk and the appearance of both Asalluȝi and Martu in Enki’s circle an early association between Asalluȝi and Marduk. The name ^damar-utu is otherwise conspicuously lacking in the vast Ur III documentation. One could further hypothesise that as a result of some yet inexplicable theological reform during the (early) Old Babylonian period, the writing ^dmar-tu was reserved for the god of the Amorites (=Amurru) with a different parentage (An and NinȜursaȝ/Uraš) and identity to the one of the deity appearing as ^dmar-tu in the Ur III administrative documents. The god Martu who appeared as the son of Enki (=Ȝaia) and (Nin)damgalnuna (=Nindamana) in Ur III documents was, in turn, in the Old Babylonian material called Marduk (^damar-utu).

If on the basis of six offering lists from Ku’ara presented here one would venture to ask whether Ninsun or Asalluȝi was a more important deity in this location in the Ur III period, then one would have to choose Ninsun. Ninsun is mentioned before Asar/Asalluȝi in five of the six texts,³¹⁷ and in three texts (AUCT 1 488, Fs. Pettinato 163 167 09, TCL 2 5482) the amount of offerings to Ninsun surpasses the amount of offerings to Asar/Asalluȝi.³¹⁸ Nindamana and

³¹⁵ Martu appears immediately after Enki in texts TCL 5482 (possibly reflecting offerings in Ur, see above) and NYPL 349, MVN 13 124, AUCT 2 97 (all from Puzriš-Dagān). Note that in text ITT 3 5280 from Ĝirsu, ^dmar-tu is preceded by ^ddam-gal-nun. Circumstantial evidence for Martu’s connections to Damgalnuna/Damkina appears in text MVN 15 362 in which the official who provided the sacrificial lamb for Martu was named Šu-Damkina (cf. Sharlach 2002, 96–97). The close connection between Martu and Enki in the Ur III period offerings has been stressed before by D. O. Edzard (Edzard 1987–1990, 436).

³¹⁶ For this, see in detail Selz 2002, 663–671.

³¹⁷ Only in TAD 49 Asalluȝi is named first but this might be due to topographical reasons (see above).

³¹⁸ Note the better quality of the ox offered to Ninsun in AUCT 2 308 compared to the ox offered to Asar. As circumstantial evidence for the higher importance of Ninsun vis-à-vis Asalluȝi one might take into account other Ur III administrative documents that mention Ninsun in relation to Ku’ara but in which Asar/Asalluȝi does not appear. See, e.g., UET 9 903, a text from Ur that records regular offerings (sá-du₁₁) to Ninsun in Ku’ara; texts MVN 15 282 and AUCT 3 380 from Puzriš-Dagān that reflect similar amounts of offerings to Ninsun both in Ur and Ku’ara; MVN 3 344 from Puzriš-Dagān that list offerings delivered to the temple of Ninsun in Ku’ara. See also the document UET 3 702, l. 9: níȝ-gur₁₁ ^dnin-sún ku₆-a šà é-kišib-ba [x].

Ninġišzida are clearly inferior in rank to Ninsun and Asalluġi based on the quantities of offerings in Ku'ara offering lists.

4.1.1.2 Nippur

Princeton 2 002

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān

Date: Šu-Su'en 05-01-00

The offerings to deities Nintinuga, Dumuzi, x, Šul-[gi]³¹⁹, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Pabilsag, Ninimma, Lugalġusisu appear before the offerings to Enki and Asalluġi in this text

rev. i	16. ^d pa-bil-sag
1. 1 udu niga [gu ₄ -e-ús-sa [?]]	17. 1 gu ₄ niga
2. ^d nin-tin-[ug ₅ -ga]	18. 2 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa
3. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa	19. ^d nin-im-ma
4. ^d dumu-zi	20. 1 gu ₄ niga
5. 1 udu niga ^d []	21. 1 udu [niga [?]]
6. 1 gu ₄	22. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa
7. 1 udu	23. ^d lugal-gu ₄ -si-su
8. 1 udu niga [gu ₄ -e-ús-sa [?]]	24. 1 gu ₄ niga 4-kam-ús
9. ^d šul-[gi] [?]	25. 1 udu niga
10. 1 gu ₄ niga 4-am-ús	26. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa
11. 1 udu ^d nin-sún	27. ^d en-ki
12. 1 gu ₄	28. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa
13. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa	29. ^d asal-lú-ġi
14. ^d lugal-bàn-da	30. šà é ^d En-ki
15. 1 udu niga gu ₄ -e-ús-sa	
1. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa [?] -sheep 2. to Nintinuga 3. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 4. to Dumuzi 5. one fattened sheep to [x] 6. one ox 7. one sheep 8. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa [?] -sheep 9. to Šulgi 10. one fattened ox of the fourth quality 11. one sheep to Ninsun 12. one ox 13. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 14. to Lugalbanda 15. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 16. to Pabilsag 17. one fattened ox 18. two fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 19. to Ninimma 20. one fattened ox 21. one fattened [?] sheep 22. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 23. to Lugalġusisu 24. one fattened ox of the fourth quality 25. one fattened sheep 26. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 27. to Enki 28. one fattened gu ₄ -e-ús-sa-sheep 29. to Asalluġi 30. in the temple of Enki	

³¹⁹ In BDTNS 061043 (last visited 25.09.2019) this deity is restored as Šul-[pa-è] but in PPAC 4 298, a text that closely parallels the sequence of deities in Princeton 2 002, Šulgi is listed immediately before Ninsun. For this reason it seems more probable that it is Šulgi who appears in this text. However, the name of the deity who appears right before Šulgi in Princeton 2 002 cannot be restored on the basis of PPAC 4 298, as in the latter text Šulgi appears directly after Nintinuga.

Although other temples are not mentioned in this extract it is unlikely that the deities who precede Enki and Asalluḫi are also given offerings in the temple of Enki in Nippur.³²⁰ Both Enki and Asalluḫi are offered one fattened gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep. Enki, in addition, is offered two animals of better quality: one fattened ox of the fourth quality and one fattened sheep. The offerings to Enki and Asalluḫi are preceded by offerings in other temples and places in Nippur (in temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Ninḫursaĝ and in a “cultic place” (šà gán-da)), and followed by the ones to Nintinuga, Annunitum, Ulmašitum, Ninegal and Nanna on behalf of the king (mu-lugal-šè) in the cattle-pen (é-tùr) and to Ninurta and Ninnibru on behalf of the king’s daughter in an unknown location.

BiOr 9 173 1 Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān
 Date: Šu-Su’en 08-01-21

This text is also dealing with offerings in the temple of Enki that seem to be connected to the preceding part of the text in which the new statue of queen Kubatum is placed at the “gate of Enlil”.³²¹

obv.	rev.
15. 1 udu niga alan gibil <i>ku-ba-tum</i>	20. 1 udu niga 4-kam ús
16. ká ^d en-lil-lá	21. 1 udu niga ^d dam-gal-nun-na
17. ur- ^d šára sagi maškim	22. 1 udu niga ^d asal-lú-ḫi
18. 1 udu niga 4-kam ús	23. 1 udu niga ^d ki-za
19. 1 udu niga ^d en-ki	24. šà é en-ki ¹ -ka

15. one fattened sheep to the new statue of Kubatum 16. (at the) gate of Enlil
 17. cup-bearer Ur-Šara was the authoriser 18. one fattened sheep of the fourth quality
 19. one fattened sheep to Enki 20. one fattened sheep of the fourth quality
 21. one fattened sheep to Damgalnuna 22. one fattened sheep to Asalluḫi
 23. one fattened sheep to Kiza 24. in the temple of Enki

In this text in addition to offerings to Enki and Asalluḫi, offerings to Damgalnuna and Kiza are reported. Considering the quantity of offers it seems that Enki and Damgalnuna were treated as more important deities vis-à-vis Asalluḫi

³²⁰ Cf. Sallaberger 1993 I, 98, n. 425, who has doubted that all the deities who are listed before the remark “in the temple of GN” were actually worshipped in this temple. Sallaberger comments: “Inhaltlich naheliegender und aufgrund des Datenvergleichs einzig möglich ist folgende Analyse: nur diejenigen GNN gehören in den Tempel von GN_I, die zwischen der Hauptgottheit GN_I und dem Vermerk „im Tempel von GN_I“ angeführt sind (Ausnahme: An im Inannatempel von Nippur steht in der Regel vor Inanna).” Thus, in the case of Princeton 2 002 it is clear that Enki and Asalluḫi are given offerings in the temple of Enki and comparative material shows that the preceding gods were possibly brought provisions in other temples that are not mentioned in this text.

³²¹ This part is in turn preceded by the offerings made in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil in the presence of the king (lugal ku₄-ra). The text Princeton 2 002 also begins with offerings in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil, although in this text the presence of the king is not mentioned.

and Kiza. W. Sallaberger has suspected that Enki's circle appears here in connection with rites of purification that have to do with the inauguration of the queen's statue.³²² *ki-za*, probably the phonetic variant of the goddess *Kiša* (^dki-ša₆), in the Old Babylonian Weidner god-list appears as the spouse of *Id/I(d)lurugu*, the god of the river-ordeal.³²³ As *Ilurugu* in the Old Babylonian hymn *Asalluḫi A* is equated with *Asalluḫi*, *Kiza* in *BiOr* 9 173 1 probably appears as *Asalluḫi's* wife.³²⁴

AUCT 3 465 Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān
 Date: Šu-Su'en 09-04-02?

Enki,³²⁵ *Damgalnuna* and *Asalluḫi* are named as recipients of offerings in the temple of Enki in *Nippur* in this text. The two sheep given to *Asalluḫi* are of a lower quality than the ones given to Enki and *Damgalnuna*:

- 8. 2 udu-niga ^den-[ki]
 - 9. 2 udu-niga ^ddam-gal-[nun-na]
 - 10. 2 udu-niga gu₄-e-^ʿús^ʿ-[sa]
 - 11. ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 - 12. šà é ^den-ki-^ʿka^ʿ
8. two fattened sheep to Enki 9. two fattened sheep to *Damgalnuna* 10. two fattened gu₄-e-ús-sa-sheep 11. to *Asalluḫi* 12. in the temple of Enki

This part is preceded by offering to *Ninlil* and another deity whose name is given before *Ninlil* (*Enlil?*). In l. 13 there follows the mention of the bathing of the king (*a-tu₅-a lugal*) in the temple of *Enlil*.³²⁶ *Enki* and *Damgalnuna* – but probably not *Asalluḫi* (though the text is damaged) – appear once again later in the text (rev., ll. 29–30).

³²² Sallaberger 1993 I, 99: “[...] die Feiern beschließen Opfer an Enki und seine Gemahlin *Damgalnuna*, sowie *Asaruḫi* und ^dKl.ZA im Enki-Tempel von *Nippur*. Das Auftreten Enkis und seines Kreises erklärt sich aus seiner Funktion als Gott der kultischen Reinheit und der dafür erforderlichen Beschwörungen, die beim Errichten einer neuen Statue sicher vonnöten waren.”

³²³ Note that in the Weidner list, *Id* (listed between *Enki* / *Damgalnuna* / *Damkina* and *Asalluḫi* / *Marduk* / *Šarpanitum*) is presented as an independent divine figure (see 5.1.5 below). In *An = Anum*, tablet 2, ll. 261–265 (see Litke 1998, 98), *Kiza* is also paired with *Id*. For *Kiša*, see further Lambert 1976–1980, 620.

³²⁴ Note that in *A Letter-prayer of Šîn-iddinam to Ninisina* (see 5.4.3.1 below) the identity of *Ilurugu* is more ambiguous: according to one manuscript he is equated with *Enki*, according to another with *Asalluḫi*.

³²⁵ BDTNS 030211, obv., l. 8 has: “2 udu-niga ^dEn-[líl]” but considering the following deities it should be restored as ^dEn-[ki].

³²⁶ Cf. TAD 49 above. For bathing rites of the king, see Sigrist 1992, 138–139.

4.1.1.3 Umma

Nebraska 16

Provenance: Umma

Date: Šu-Su'en 09-05-22

This text – different from all the other Ur III offering lists that feature Asar/Asalluḫi – records offerings of various types of flour to deities.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| obv. | 6. ^d asal'(É.ŠÁRA)-lú-ḫi |
| 1. 6 sila zì 4 sila A. | 7. 3 sila zì 2 sila eša |
| 2. 'TIR' (eša) | 8. ^d nin-giš-zi-da |
| 3. ^d en-ki ^d dam-gal- | 9. 3 sila zì 2 sila eša |
| 4. nun-na | 10. ^d inanna šu-a 'ge'-na |
| 5. 6 sila zì 4 sila eša | |
1. six sila of flour, four sila of emmer wheat 2. flour 3. to Enki and Damgal-
4. nuna. 5. six sila of flour, four sila of emmer wheat flour 6. to Asalluḫi 7. three
sila of flour, two sila of emmer wheat flour 8. (to) Ningišzida 9. three sila of
flour, two sila of emmer wheat flour 10. to Inanna, established delivery

There follow additional offerings to Ningišzida, Inanna and an offering to the magur-boat. The offerings are said to be issued by Abbagena in the palace (e₂-gal). Note the untraditional writing of the name Asalluḫi: ^dÉ.ŠÁRA (LAGAB×IGI^{gunû})-lú-ḫi in this text.³²⁷

4.1.1.4 Puzriš-Dagān

SAT 3 1882

Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān

Date: Šu-Su'en 09-11-20

In this text Enki, Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi each are offered a lamb, together with a sheep offered to ^dur-saĝ-7, “seven divine heroes”:

26. 1 sila₄ ^den-[ki]
27. 1 sila₄ ^ddam-gal-nun-na
28. 1 sila₄ ^dasal-lú-ḫi
29. 1 udu ^dur-saĝ-7
30. šà giš-kin-ti

The text begins with offerings to the kitchen (é-muhaldim), then follow the offerings to several deities and deified cult objects in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur (with some similarity to the offerings in the beginning of texts Princeton 2 002 and BiOr 9 173 1) and an offering to Nanna in the cattle-pen in the presence of the king (ll. 18–19). The writing šà nibru^{ki} appears in l. 20 which

³²⁷ Note that in the Old Akkadian incantation DME 59 from Nippur Asalluḫi's name is also written with the gunû-sign: ^dasal(URU×IGI^{gunû})-lú-ḫ[i].

seems to indicate that all the preceding offerings took place in Nippur and the following offerings take place in another location. After that offerings to four deities (Nungal, Ĝeština, Dumuzi and Ninlil) for “rites in the palace” (šázkur šà é-gal) are listed (ll. 21–25).

The following offerings to Enki, Damgalnuna, Asalluĥi and the seven heroes take place in giš-kin-ti, with the literal meaning “the craft workshop”.³²⁸ The whereabouts of this workshop is not explicitly stated but as ll. 33–34 have “overseer of weavers / in Puzriš-Dagān” (ugula uš-bar / šà puzur^{is}-^ddagan) one might suspect that it was the workshop of weavers located in Puzriš-Dagān. That there was a giš-kin-ti in Puzriš-Dagān situated among the buildings of the royal palace-complex was assumed by P. Paoletti based on the text DCÉPHÉ 206.³²⁹

4.1.2 Other Administrative Documents

Besides the offering lists that mention Asar/Asalluĥi there are five other administrative documents that refer to this deity. One of the documents dates to the reign of Šulgi, another from the reign of Šu-Su’en; the three remaining documents are not dated.

4.1.2.1 Ĝirsu

CT 1 94-10-15, 4 Provenance: Ĝirsu
 Date: Šulgi 35-??-??

According to a document from the Ur III period Ĝirsu, Asar receives regular offerings in this city. In the catalogue of Babylonian tablets in the British Museum this text is described as: “Account of grain delivered into the granary with names of farmers.”³³⁰ This and the following text offers evidence that Asar was continued to be worshipped in Ĝirsu during the Ur III period:

³²⁸ Note that É-giš-kin-ti is a writing for Enki’s temple. In the Lagaš II year-name of Ur-Baba: mu é-^den-ki giš-kin-ti ba-dù-a, “Year: “The temple of Enki, the giškinti, was built”” (FAOS 7, 58).

³²⁹ Paoletti 2012, 273–274. In this case it would be possible that the “rites in the palace” mentioned in SAT 3 1882 (ll. 21–25) took place in the same palace-complex in Puzriš-Dagān. Note that in text AUCT 1 647 (l. 2) an offering of a grass-fed calf to Enki in giš-kin-ti (^den-ki šà giš-kin-ti) is mentioned but in this case the location is not named (the text is from Puzriš-Dagān). Another option is that this workshop was located in Ur as in text MVN 13 724 (obv., l. 4–rev., l. 1) in which a mention is made of “regular offerings to Enki (in) giškinti / in Ur” (sá-du₁₁ ^den-ki giš-kin-ti / šà ur₅^{ki}-ma). For the giš-kin-ti in Ur, see Neumann 1993, 35–37. Yet another giš-kin-ti-workshop was located in Isin (see van de Mieroop 1987a, 8).

³³⁰ CBT 2, 83, no. 4.

rev. i

14. 6.1.0 gur

15. sá-du₁₁ iti 31-kam

16. ^dasar šà lagaš^{ki}

14. 6.1.0 gur 15. regular offerings for 31 months 16. to Asar in Lagaš

The text does not give any additional contextual information for the mention of Asar and no other offerings to deities seem to be mentioned, although some cultic officials appear (e.g., Ma-an-sa₆, the sanga of Ĥendursaġa in rev. col. i, ll. 8–9).

MVN 6 547 Provenance: Ĝirsu
Date: ???

This text names a field belonging to Namĥani, the gudu₄ priest of Asalluĥi in Ĝirsu:

obv. iv

9. a-šà nam-ĥa-ni gudu₄ ^dasal-lú-ĥi

4.1.2.2 Nippur

TMH 1-2 340 Provenance: Nippur
Date: ???

rev.

1' [...] ^dasar(-)lu-[ĥi]

It is not sure whether in this tiny fragment only Asar is named, or an untraditional writing for Asalluĥi, ^dasal-lu-ĥi appears, written with the sign LU instead of LÚ.

4.1.2.3 Umma

Nisaba 26 008 Provenance: Umma
Date: ???

The text from Umma mentions “regular offerings” (sá-du₁₁) of barley and emmer wheat to Asalluĥi:

obv. ii

4. 7.4.0 še g[ur]

5. 3.0.0 zíz gur

6. sá-du₁₁ ^dasal-lú-[ĥi]

It is noteworthy that in this text Asalluḫi again probably appears close to the deified king Šulgi whose regular offerings are listed immediately before the ones to Asalluḫi (obv. col. ii, ll. 1–2).³³¹ There follow mentions of regular offerings to gir₁₃-ḡi^{ki} (obv. col. ii, l. 10) and to Inanna of Zabalam (obv. col. ii, l. 14).

4.1.2.4 Unknown

OrSP 47–49 122 Provenance: Puzriš-Dagān
Date: Šu-Su'en 01-09-00

The restoration of obv., l. 10: 2 gu₄-amar-ga níg-gur₁₁ ereš-dingir ʿasal^ʿ-lu^ʿ-ḫi could be translated as: “two bull-calves, the property of ereš-dingir-priestess of Asalluḫi.” However, because this part of the text is damaged it is doubtful that this document from the first year of Šu-Su'en mentions Asalluḫi at all. If it indeed is Asalluḫi, he appears here as a part of a name of a cultic profession: the ereš-dingir priestess.³³² In the text, however, the location where this priestess works is not mentioned.

To sum up the role of Asar/Asalluḫi on the basis of Ur III administrative documents, one could still agree with T. S. Frymer-Kensky, who wrote in her PhD thesis in 1977: “Asarluhi appears in a small number of Ur III economic texts, but he cannot be considered a major god of the Ur III pantheon [...]”³³³ In the Ur III period Ku'ara, however, Asar/Asalluḫi was among the two most prominent deities, although seemingly only second in rank to the goddess Ninsun. He had the closest relation to the deified king Šulgi who was honoured in Asalluḫi's temple as a lesser deity. Ninsun and Nindamana also had temples of their own in Ku'ara where other deities were brought offerings. Nindamana was probably identified with Enki's wife Damgalnuna, while Ḫaia who was worshipped in the same temple was probably identified with Ea and Enki, whose “real” name is not once mentioned as a receiver of offerings in Ku'ara.

In Nippur, Asalluḫi is most closely connected to Enki and Damgalnuna who always precede Asalluḫi, while the little-known deity Kiza is listed after Asalluḫi in one text, probably as his wife. The hierarchy of the deities is also stressed by the quantity and quality of the offerings. In one text Enki and in another Enki and Damgalnuna are given bigger amounts of offerings when compared to offerings given to Asalluḫi. The offerings to Enki and Damgalnuna are of higher quality than the ones to Asalluḫi, while similar amounts of offerings of the same quality are presented to Asalluḫi and Kiza. The only surviving texts that record offerings to Asalluḫi in Umma and Puzris-Dagān resemble the three texts that list offerings to Asalluḫi in Nippur, as in all the three cities Asalluḫi formed a trio of deities with his parents Enki and Damgalnuna (the Puzris-Dagān text adds Ursaḡ-7). Judging by the amount and

³³¹ So according to the restoration in Al-Rawi, Gorello and Notizia 2013, 53.

³³² For this cultic official, see Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–2005, 627.

³³³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 565.

quality of offerings Asalluḫi was considered equal to Enki and Damgalnuna in importance in Umma and Puzriš-Dagān, although it is not possible to give conclusive results based on a single text from both locations.

Other administrative documents besides offering lists give evidence for the cult of Asalluḫi in Umma where regular offerings of grain are brought to him, and in Ġirsu, where regular offerings are brought to Asar and a gudu-priest of Asalluḫi owns a field. An ereš-dingir priestess of Asalluḫi was active in an unknown location.

4.2 Literary Texts

4.2.1 Sumerian Temple Hymns

The *Sumerian Temple Hymns* is a collection of 42 short hymns to the temples of Sumer and Akkad that belongs to the same stream of tradition with other early Sumerian hymns dedicated to temples such as the *Zami Hymns* or the *Keš Temple Hymn*. The earliest beginnings of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* could date back to the Old Akkadian dynasty.³³⁴ The main argument for this dating is the subscript of the text that attributes its authorship to Old Akkadian king Sargon's daughter Enheduanna.³³⁵ However, this dating is at least partly anachronistic, as for some parts of the text it is clear that they are later additions to the hypothetic original from the Old Akkadian period. Thus, the ninth hymn of the series is dedicated to the deified king Šulgi of the Ur III dynasty,³³⁶ the 12th hymn (dedicated to Nanna in Gaeš) mentions a ġipar built by king Amar-Su'en of the same dynasty,³³⁷ and the 20th hymn (dedicated to Ningirsu in Lagaš) mentions the Eninnu temple built by Gudea of the Lagaš II dynasty.³³⁸ However, the oldest surviving manuscripts of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* – two joining fragments from Nippur – date to the Ur III period.³³⁹ For this reason

³³⁴ For the dating of the temple hymns to the Old Akkadian period, see Lambert, 2013, 252; Hallo 2010b, 62.

³³⁵ See ll. 543–544 of the temple hymns (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 49).

³³⁶ Note that the hymn to Šulgi is equipped with the subtitle “addition” (daḫ-ḫu-um), “which clearly shows that this hymn to the Eḫursag of the deified Šulgi originally did not belong to the canonical collection” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 8).

See also Hallo 2010b, 64.

³³⁷ See Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 8; Hall 1985, 439.

³³⁸ See Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 10.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6. All the other manuscripts date to the Old Babylonian period, as the tradition of this series of hymns was forgotten after this period (Hallo 2010b, 64). Note the comments of Å. W. Sjöberg on the dating of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*: “[...] there are in the collection of Sumerian temple hymns some internal indications which support a dating of some hymns to the Ur III period although it is not certain whether a series of Sumerian temple hymns existed in this period; the two ‘Neo-Sumerian’ texts (A₁ and A₂) which contain the first two hymns of the collection might support the assumption that such a series did exist in this period” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 7).

the hymns are treated in the Ur III chapter in the study. The *editio princeps* of the entire series of *Sumerian Temple Hymns* by Å. W. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann was based on 34 tablets from Nippur and three tablets from Ur.³⁴⁰

As in most of the listings of deities in god-lists, literary texts and royal inscriptions, in this text a tendency appears to list most prominent deities first, in some few cases with their courtiers added. After the most important deities, the listing seems to become based on a geographical principle following the direction from south to north of Babylonia. So, the hierarchical and geographical principles of organisation are combined for the sequence of deities in this work.³⁴¹ The temple hymn to Asalluḫi of Ku'ara appears as tenth in the series and is preceded by hymns to Enki (Eridu), Enlil, Ninlil, Nuska, Ninurta, Suḫianna (all from Nippur),³⁴² Ninḫursaĝ (Keš), Nanna, Šulgi (both from Ur), and followed by hymns to Ningublaga (Kiabrig), Nanna (Gaeš), Utu (Larsa), Ninazu (Enegi), Ningišzida (Ĝišbanda), Inanna (Uruk), Dumuzi (Badtibira), Ninšubur (Akkil), Ningirim (Murum) and Ningirsu (Lagaš). The position of Asalluḫi seems somewhat peculiar in this text when one considers the fact that his father Enki is listed first.³⁴³

Scholars have proposed various solutions to the problem why this collection of hymns begin with Enki instead of Enlil, who was the premier god and should have been listed first. Perhaps the most “classical” option was offered by Sjöberg who considered the supposed “honourable” antiquity to be the reason why Eridu and Enki were elevated to the first position in this text.³⁴⁴

P. Espak has opposed the view of Eridu as the most ancient city and has interpreted this elevation of Eridu (and Enki) as a religious invention by Šulgi.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 14–16. For an updated list of tablets, see ETCSL 4.80.1.

³⁴¹ Cf. Sallaberger 2003–2005, 303 with the table in p. 302. See also the table in Wilcke 1972a, 40–41.

³⁴² The cultic centre of Šuḫianna, the second wife of Enlil is actually Gagimaḫ but this place seems to be situated in Nippur or in close vicinity to Nippur.

³⁴³ Note that Enki's wife and Asalluḫi's mother Damgalnuna does not appear in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*.

³⁴⁴ Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 7: “The opening hymn of the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns is dedicated to Enki's temple (“house”, é) in Eridu, perhaps, because Eridu was considered to be one of the oldest cities in Mesopotamia and is mentioned first among the antediluvian cities in the Sumerian story of the Deluge.” Cf. Wilcke 1972a, 46, who does not offer any concrete answers for the question but simply asks whether this elevation of Enki has to do with a theology that for some reason preferred Enki to Enlil: “Unklar bleibt, warum die Reihe mit Eridu beginnt und Nippur auf den zweiten Platz verweist. Steht dahinter eine Theologie, die Enki den Primat vor Enlil zuweist?”

³⁴⁵ Espak 2015, 57: “It seems that a certain new religious program is introduced by Šulgi influencing the theology and ideology of his reign. The concept of considering Eridu the most ancient city of Sumer is clearly expressed in the opening lines of the Sumerian King List. The earliest known tablets of the list date from the Ur III period but it cannot be excluded that the list had earlier versions or prototypes. The mentioning of Eridu as the pre-eminent city at the beginning of the list fits the context of the ideology of Šulgi.” See, however, a recently published Ur tablet of the *Sumerian Flood Story* (Peterson 2018) that names Asalluḫi in connection with the first city the name of which has unfortunately not

Based on this viewpoint, Espak has commented on the changing positions of Enki and Asalluḫi in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* vis-à-vis their position in the Early Dynastic *Zami Hymns*:

When considering that Enki’s hymn was moved from its “original” Early Dynastic position directly preceding the god Asaluhi to the first position even preceding Enlil, it becomes understandable why Enki’s circle deity Asaluhi – otherwise not forming a part of the major gods of the pantheon of the period – is strangely situated directly after Šulgi and Ur’s main deity Su’en. Šulgi’s own hymn is later added to some form of previously existing larger composition of hymns. After the moon god comes the Eridu circle deity Asaluhi, whom one would expect to find directly behind Enki, similar to how the Nippur circle deities are sectioned together after the hymn of Enlil. [...] The hymn to Asaluhi of Kuara, which most probably was originally situated just following Eridu and Enki like we can find in the *Za-me* hymns, was placed after the city god of Ur Su’en. This was most likely done because a minor deity – Asaluhi preceding the most important deity of the city of Ur – seemed inappropriate.³⁴⁶

A certain elevation of Enki and Eridu is visible from some texts dating to the reign of Šulgi,³⁴⁷ so the explanation offered by Espak seems possible, although a more specific reason for why Šulgi undertook such an ideological reform remains unclear.³⁴⁸

However, on the basis of the offering lists treated above one perhaps cannot dismiss the connection between Asalluḫi and Šulgi and could consider the option that the closeness of the two in this temple hymn could have something to do with their proximity in the cult, as it was expressed in Ur III administrative documents in which both Šulgi and Asalluḫi were brought offerings in the temple of Asalluḫi in Ku’ara (although listed there in reverse order) and regular offering to Šulgi (sá-du₁₁) were probably listed immediately before the ones to

survived (for this text, see 5.4.4.2 below). As noted above, Ku’ara is also the first city named in manuscript W-B 62 of the *Sumerian King List*.

³⁴⁶ Espak 2019, 19. Note that Espak suspects the original position of Enki in the temple hymns to be situated between Ninḫursaĝ and Nanna.

³⁴⁷ For example, Šulgi maintained a special relation with Eridu, that is expressed, e.g., in the hymn Šulgi E, l. 9 (see ETCSL 2.4.2.05) according to which Šulgi was crowned in Eridu. For further examples of Eridu’s and Enki’s more important position in the pantheon during Šulgi’s reign, see Espak 2015, 55–57. As noted by L. Vacín, through his incorporation into the divine family of Urukian deities, Šulgi also became identified with Dumuzi, and thus became not only the brother of Ĝeštinanna and husband of Inanna, but also the son of Enki (Vacín 2011, 215). Vacín connects the episode of Šulgi’s crowning in Eridu in Šulgi E with the fact that Dumuzi was Enki’s son. Thus, Šulgi was implicitly also Asalluḫi’s brother.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Espak 2016, 103: “Šulgi’s reasons for elevating Eridu to the status of the primeval Sumerian city of kingship must have had something to do with his wish to find for the nam-lugal of Ur and his own dynasty a certain legitimate starting point other than the state capitals submitted to the rule of Ur in his recent history and possibly also with a wish for a hypothetical ancient Sumerian past different from the Dynasty of Akkade, Keš [should be replaced with Kiš – A. J.], or Uruk.”

Asalluḫi in Umma. It is, however, difficult to precisely explain this matter due to the lack of corroborative material from other types of sources in addition to the administrative documents.³⁴⁹ One also needs to note that the cult of the living as well as the dead king Šulgi during the Ur III period is widespread in the number of his statues in temples of other deities as well as in temples he had ordered to be built for himself.³⁵⁰

In the temple hymn dedicated to him, Asalluḫi, his city and temple are portrayed in the following manner:³⁵¹

135. uru abzu-ta še-gin₇ sur-ra
 136. eden IM.DUGUD šà-ta me šu-ti
 137. HA.A^{ki} temen-unú-zi-zu
 138. en nì-šu nu-gi₄ u₆-e àm-ma-gub
 139. abgal-imin-e sig-nim-ta šu mu-ra-ni-in-mú-uš
 140. nun-zu nun-kal-kal^d asar-lú-ḫi lú-kal-kal
 141. ur-saḡ nun gir₁₅ tu-da piriḡ-tur kar dab₅-bé
 142. ud-du₇-du₇-gin₇ ki-bal-da du₇-du₇
 143. en-na nu-še-ga eme-sig-ga ná-a
 144. ^dasar-alim-nun-na dumu-abzu-ke₄
 145. é-HA.A^{ki} mùš-za é bí-in-gub bára-za dúr bí-in-gar
 146. é-^dasar-lú-ḫi HA.A^{ki}

135. O city from the abzu, pressed(?)³⁵² like barley. 136. The steppe of heavy storm,³⁵³ accepting the me-s from its centre. 137. Ku'ara, your true foundation and dwelling. 138. The lord, who does not reject the goods, stands in admiration. 139. The seven abgals from lowlands and highlands pray for you everywhere.³⁵⁴ 140. Your prince, the very strong³⁵⁵ prince, Asalluḫi, the very strong man/one.

³⁴⁹ Note that Šulgi also appears in an Ur III incantation TMH 6 2b (see 4.3.1 below).

³⁵⁰ For Šulgi's cult during and after his lifetime, see Pitts 2015, 39–43.

³⁵¹ Cf. Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 25. For additional philological notes, see Wilcke 1972a, Wilcke 1972b, Heimpel 1972. Note that according to V. V. Emelianov the poetic fantasy of the author of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* reaches its climax in this hymn (Emelianov 2009, 126).

³⁵² This translation is tentative. It is meant that the city is pressed or squeezed upwards (=grows) from the soil like barley plants with the source of both's growth being the abzu. Cf. the translation “twinkle” for sur-ra given in George 1993, 68. Some earlier translations are collected in Sjöberg 1960, 19.

³⁵³ For alternative translations, see Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 25 (“Plain (with) heavy clouds”); ETCSL t.4.80.1 (“cloudy plain”); Emelianov 2009, 126 (“туманная равнина”). For IM.DUGUD in the sense of “hard clay”, see Heimpel 1972, 287; see also OB Nippur Ura 2 (DCCLT): <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/Q000040/score> – last visited 19.12.2018; Finkel 2016, 142.

³⁵⁴ The translation of šu mú follows Karahashi 2000, 164. The term abgal here seems to denote cultic functionaries – as in the hymn to Asalluḫi A (see 5.4.2.3 below) – and thus praying seems to be a suitable activity for them. For the meanings of abgal, see 5.1.1 below. Cf. the translations for “enlarge” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 25) and “purify” (Green 1975, 105) for šu mú. For sig-nim as “lowlands and highlands”, see Crisostomo 2019, 101.

³⁵⁵ Alternatively: “the very precious prince”. The translation “strong” has been preferred here because of the following that stresses the violent characteristics of the deity.

141. The hero, the native-born prince,³⁵⁶ a leopard who seizes prey(?).³⁵⁷ 142. Like a whirling storm he gores the rebellious land. 143. Until it does not obey, it is laid in slander. 144. Asaralimmuna, son of the abzu, 145. o temple of Ku'ara, in your holy area, he has established a house; in your dais, he has taken a seat. 146. The temple of Asalluḫi in Ku'ara.

T. S. Frymer-Kensky has commented that Asalluḫi in his temple hymn is a “fierce god who can be portrayed in the imagery of the storm.”³⁵⁸ The idea of Asalluḫi as a storm (and rain) god was also presented by T. Jacobsen who translated his name as “Man-Drenching Asal”,³⁵⁹ or “Asal the drenching man”.³⁶⁰ Jacobsen’s argument seems to be at least partly based on the fact that Asalluḫi shares the elements *lú-ḫi* in his name (read by Jacobsen as *lú-ḫe* and defined as an epithet) with Iškur, the storm god (as *iškur-lú-ḫe*) in the myth *Enki and the World Order*.³⁶¹ By combining this with evidence from the divine dialogue incantations in which Asalluḫi/Asar is the deity who notices problems and reports them to his father Enki, Jacobsen hypothesises that Asalluḫi does it “perhaps in his role of thundercloud surveying the world from on high.”³⁶² This interpretation of Jacobsen was opposed by A. Falkenstein who preferred to interpret the signs *LÚ.ḪI* appearing after the divine name ^d*iškur* as an epithet *lú-du*₁₀, “the good one”.³⁶³ In ETCSL 1.1.3.1, l. 316 the emendation ^d*iškur lú ḫe*-<*ḡál*> (“Iškur, the bringer of plenty”, or perhaps simply “Iškur one/man of plenty/abundance”) is added. G. J. Selz has seen in this – or in the emendation *lú ḫe*-<nun> which he prefers – the best available etymology for *lú-ḫi* in the name Asalluḫi.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁶ Cf. Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 25: “born to⁷ (be) a prince”.

³⁵⁷ As noted by Å. W. Sjöberg, his interpretation of *kar* as “prey” is a guess. G. J. Selz (personal communication) has tentatively suggested *kar* to be a short form of *lú-kar*-(re), “fugitive(?)” (see MSL 12, 167, l. 323).

³⁵⁸ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 569.

³⁵⁹ Jacobsen 1970, 22.

³⁶⁰ Jacobsen 1968, 107, n. 10. Jacobsen later repeats his idea that Asalluḫi was a rain god in Jacobsen 1987, 59. Another translation for the name Asalluḫi was offered in van Dijk 1971a, 9: “der zum Gott Asari gehörige.” Van Dijk considers the name to be of non-Sumerian (Hurrian) origin. For a convincing critique of this assessment by van Dijk, see Geller 1985, 13.

³⁶¹ Jacobsen 1968, 107, n. 10. See *Enki and the World Order*, l. 315 (Benito 1969, 102): ^d*iškur-lú-ḫi dumu-an-na-ke*₄.

³⁶² Jacobsen 1970, 22–23. The imaginative and thought-provoking idea of Jacobsen about Asalluḫi as a thundercloud who notices the problems of troubled humans has an interesting parallel in the belief of the all-seeing sun-god that is related to the latter’s role as a divine judge. This parallel finds its expression in a first millennium composition *An Address of Marduk to the Demons* (Lambert 1954–1956), text C, l. 5: “I am Asalluḫi, who, like Šamaš, surveys the lands” (*ana-ku*^d *asal-lú-ḫi šá ki-ma*^d *šamsi*^{si} *i-bar-ru-u mātāti*).

³⁶³ Falkenstein 1964, 81: “Die Lesung ^d*iškur-lú-ḫi* nachdem Muster von ^d*asar(i)-lú-ḫi* > ^d*asal-lú-ḫi* [...] ist wenig wahrscheinlich, da nach den Epitheta der Z. 311 — 313 gewiß *iškur* selbst gemeint ist. Danach ist wohl *lú-du*₁₀ „der Gute“ zu lesen.”

³⁶⁴ Personal communication. Selz rightly noted that *ḫi* and *ḫé* frequently alternate in early sources. For example, the writings *ḫé-ḡál* and *ḫe-ḡál* appear as variants in Ur III administrative documents from Ġirsu and Umma, see, e.g., the personal names *an-na-ḫé-ḡál* (Nisaba 24 23, SAT 2 0625) and *an-na-ḫe-ḡál* (e.g., in NYPL 252, SAT 3 1811, SNAT 379, altogether

Asalluḫi has several other ties to Iškur, the storm-god. These connections are primarily documented in various listings of deities.³⁶⁵ It is also noteworthy that both the signs IM (^dIM is the writing for Iškur) and ASAR (=URU×IGI) in the post-Old Babylonian lexical texts are given the phonetic rendering *ilumer*.³⁶⁶ This refers to the god ^d(ilu)m/wēr (from North Babylonia, Middle Euphrates), who in the Old Babylonian period is paired with Adad and thus is proven to be a storm god himself.³⁶⁷ However, whether the shape of Asalluḫi as a weather god is the thundercloud as was proposed by Jacobsen has to remain hypothetical.³⁶⁸

In Mesopotamian mythology there often appears a connection between the imagery of storms and bovine animals.³⁶⁹ Thus, the fierce character of Asalluḫi could in the temple hymn be expressed by his byname Asaralimnuna that can be interpreted either as “Asar, the princely bison” or “Asar, the bison of the prince”.³⁷⁰ In all probability it is because of this bovine characteristic that this byname is named shortly after l. 142 where the deity is said to carry out a storm-like goring (du₇) of the rebellious land.³⁷¹ Moreover, the naming of

11 texts). I was not able to ascertain, however, the variant lú-ḫe-ḡál of of the name lú-ḫe-ḡál. The latter is a relatively common name in the third millennium, attested since the Early Dynastic IIIb period (in texts TMH 5 1, 21, 23, 102, 137). As far as I know, lú-ḫe-nun or lú-ḫé-nun do not appear as personal names. For other possible etymologies for Asalluḫi, see 2.1.2 above.

³⁶⁵ For the Early Dynastic offering lists from Lagaš, see 1.3.1 above; for the Old Babylonian list TIM 9 86, see 5.1.7 below; for another Old Babylonian list UM 55-21-351, plate XXVII (from Nippur), see 5.1.4 below.

³⁶⁶ For IM appears in a lexical list Ea 07, l. 172 (CUSAS 12 1.1.2, rev. col. i, l. 48’); for ASAR appears in *An = Anum*, tablet 3, l. 275 (see Litke 1998, 145; see also Schwemer 2001, 27 (no. 271)).

³⁶⁷ For ^d(ilu)m/wēr, see Schwemer 2001, 200–210.

³⁶⁸ As an alternative hypothesis one could imagine Asalluḫi embodied by a strong wind that in incantations is capable of quickly mediating messages between the suffering patients and his father Enki.

³⁶⁹ See, e.g., ^dalim-dāra, the name for Iškur in god-list *An = Anum* (tablet 3, l. 228). For this name, see Schwemer 2001, 63 with notes 365 and 366.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Peterson 2015, 103.

³⁷¹ Although this or similar imagery admittedly does not appear in Šulgi’s temple hymn that is dedicated to the description of Šulgi’s temple and not to his deified figure, it is interesting to note that goring is also not an alien activity to this king (whose temple hymn precedes the one to Asalluḫi), as in the hymn Šulgi F he says of himself: du₇-du₇-me-en, “I am the one who gores” (see Lämmerhirt 2012, 16). Could this small piece of comparative information add to the evidence that the Asalluḫi temple hymn was created by a poet in the royal office of Šulgi and that it dates to his reign? However, as the name Asaralimnuna does not appear in the Ur III manuscripts of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, it might alternatively be considered an invention from the Old Babylonian period. Note that *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, manuscript A has ^dlú-asar-nun-e. Cf., e.g., the Asalluḫi-names in the Enki section of the Old Babylonian god-list TCL 15 10: 89) ^dasal-lú-ḫi, 90) ^dasar, 91) ^dasar-alim-nun-na. Note also the bovid imagery related to Enki who in the later *An = Anum* god-list (tablet 2, ll. 148–150) has the names ^dalim-nun-na, ^dalim-bàn-da, ^dalim-si-ke. In *A Šulgi Hymn to Enki* (Cohen 2005), l. 31 Enki is called “Nudimmud, the great bull of the abzu” (nu-dím-mud gu₄-gal-abzu-a). Enki appears as a bull on two more occasions in *A Šulgi Hymn to Enki* (ll. 3 and

Asaralimnuna in a temple hymn immediately preceding the one dedicated to Ningublaga could in this sense be significant, as the latter is first and foremost a bovine cattle deity.³⁷²

By being called “bison” (alim) Asalluḫi is in addition connected to the god Martu/Amurru who together with three other deities (Iškur, AN-Martu and Saman) is named alim-ma in a lamentation, although all the manuscripts of this text have survived from the first millennium.³⁷³ Note that the Akkadian equivalent for alim is *ditānu* that also stands for gentilics such as Sutean, Tidanum and Tidnum (closely related to the Amorites)³⁷⁴ and thus there exists a possibility that the component alim in the divine name Asaralimnuna has a connection to Amorites and the god Martu/Amurru.

The imagery of bisons is also connected to Utu, the sun-god, whose standard (šu-nir) according to *Gudea’s Temple Hymn* (cylinder A, col. xxvi, l. 4) is saḡ alim-ma, “head of the bison”.³⁷⁵ In the hymn Utu E appears a chorus-like chant e-lum e-lum e-la-lu on three occasions (ll. 10, 17, 22),³⁷⁶ here e-lum (alim) can be interpreted as an epithet for Utu. In literature, the sun-god is also connected to gud-alim, “bison-bull” (*kusarikku*), who is best known as the adversary of Ninurta/Ningirsu.³⁷⁷ According to F. Wiggermann alim in Mesopotamian art is depicted as a bison with a human face.³⁷⁸

That the epithets “the very strong prince” (nun-kal-kal); “the very strong one/man” (lú-kal-kal) are in all probability related to Asar’s epithet lú-KAL appearing in the *Zami Hymns* was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. Other characterisations that appear in the temple hymn to Asalluḫi express the aggressive nature of this god: he is described as a “warrior” (ur-saḡ) and a “leopard who seizes prey” (piriḡ-tur kar dab₅-bé).³⁷⁹ The aggressive characteristics of Asalluḫi: the fierceness of the storm, the bovine imagery, the epithet “warrior” and the constant battering of rebellious lands in Mesopotamian mythology has a connection to the so-called young warrior type of gods of

34). In Inanna G, l. 43 (see 5.4.2.1 below), Enki is called the “wild bull of Eridu” ([^dam]-an-ki am-uru-zé-ba).

³⁷² For Ningublaga, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001b. As noted by M. J. Geller it is curious that different from Asalluḫi who in this temple hymn has no epithets connecting him to the sphere of magic, Ningublaga is on the contrary in l. 153 called maš-maš, “incantation priest” (Geller 1985, 13).

³⁷³ For this text, see Cohen 1988, 427–439.

³⁷⁴ CAD D, 165. See also Wiggermann 1992, 174–175.

³⁷⁵ See RIME 3/1, 85.

³⁷⁶ See Kramer 1985, 120.

³⁷⁷ In the hymn Utu B, l. 6 (transliteration follows ETCSL 4.32.2): “Utu, the bison-bull striding swiftly over the mountains” (^dutu gud-alim kur-ra dub₃ ba₉-re₆), probably a poetic reference to sunrise.

³⁷⁸ Wiggermann 1992, 174. For further links between Utu and bisons (and bulls), see *ibid.*, 174–176; Suter 2000, 64–65; Woods 2009, 189.

³⁷⁹ For interpreting piriḡ-tur as leopard, see Butz 1977, 289; Potts 2002, 348–349.

whom Ninurta is the most notable representative.³⁸⁰ Thus, a certain similarity can be traced between the traits of Asalluḫi as they are described in his temple hymn and in several hymns and myths devoted to Ninurta. One might entertain the possibility that the supposed ideological reform of Šulgi to elevate Enki described above also had its influence on the divine figure of Asalluḫi. While it did not move him to the very top of the pantheon, i.e. to the second place after Enki – perhaps to avoid outright religious conflict with Enlil and the lesser deities of his circle (or, to put it better – cultic officials as their representatives) – the theologians of Šulgi simply tried to make Asalluḫi a more Ninurta-like figure in the temple hymns.³⁸¹

The description of Asalluḫi in his temple hymn begs the question whether it has anything at all to do with the way this deity is depicted in the vast incantation literature from different periods.³⁸² It needs to be noted that as Asalluḫi is in incantations often associated with water as a healing and purifying substance and in this temple hymn – although eclipsed by the violent characteristics of the storm – life-giving and fertile aspects of water seem to be at play as well. For example, in the (growing) barley mentioned in l. 135 one could see a hint at the power of agricultural fertility extant in water, the main substance that Asalluḫi effectively uses in incantations. Another link to incantations could be found in the “slander” (eme-sig-ga) mentioned in l. 143. This slander could probably be interpreted as harmful incantations that also belong to the area of responsibility of Asalluḫi. A possible parallel can be found in *A Letter-prayer of Šin-iddinam to Ninisina*, l. 22 where Asalluḫi is probably associated with tu₆ ḫul, “evil incantation”.³⁸³ In both sources the magic of the spoken word is used against enemies.

³⁸⁰ All the listed characteristics appear, for example, in Lugal-e (see van Dijk 1983). Note, however, that this comparison does not work well for the temple hymn dedicated to Ninurta (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 20–21) that does not use similar descriptions for him besides the ever-present epithet ur-saĝ. For the relations between Asalluḫi and Ninurta one could also entertain the possibility that Uršaĝ-7 (“seven divine heroes”) appearing in the Ur III offering list SAT 3 1882 are related to the “slain heroes” of Ninurta in Lugal-e. For youthful warrior gods (such as Ninurta, Ningirsu, Pabilsaĝ, Uraš, Zababa and in the first millennium Nabû), see Sallaberger 2003–2005, 298.

³⁸¹ Although one has to admit that the language of Mesopotamian hymns to deities is very “standardised” and different epithets and descriptions can be too easily “traded” between deities to make far-reaching conclusions. In this sense, for example, the epithet “warrior, hero” (ur-saĝ) is no basis for comparing deities, as it is used several hundreds of times in the Sumerian literary corpus.

³⁸² It has been pointed out that Asalluḫi’s role in this temple hymn is not similar to his character in the genre of incantations in which he prominently appears from the Ur III period onwards, see Geller 1985, 13.

³⁸³ For the letter-prayer, see 5.4.3.1 below.

4.3 Incantations

Asalluḫi/Asar became a prominent character in incantations from the Ur III period onwards. Of the ca. 65 Ur III incantation texts that have survived,³⁸⁴ 21 explicitly mention the divine name Asar or Asalluḫi, or in two texts both name-forms.³⁸⁵ The short name Asar is present in seven incantations,³⁸⁶ while the writing Asalluḫi dominates, appearing in 16 texts.³⁸⁷ Both name-forms are featured in text TMH 6 4 and probably also in TMH 6 3.³⁸⁸ In five other incantations³⁸⁹ he is not explicitly mentioned but it is probable that this is due to lacunae or abridgments appearing in the texts and the god Asalluḫi/Asar was indeed originally present in them without being referred to by name in the surviving parts. Thus, there are 26 Ur III incantations that either explicitly or implicitly feature Asar/Asalluḫi.

The lion's share of the texts (19) come from Nippur,³⁹⁰ one text from Puzriš-Dagān (in the close vicinity to Nippur), Umma and Ešnunna (Tell-Asmar) each; the provenance is unknown for four texts. Thus, the picture obtained from the majority of Ur III incantations is inevitably very "Nippurean". Although Nippur was an important cultic centre at the time no generalisations can be made for larger areas in Mesopotamia and other locations could have had their own distinctive traditions of incantations. Concerning the toponyms appearing in the texts themselves it is interesting to note that while the city of Eridu is mentioned in ten of these texts,³⁹¹ the mentions of Ku'ara are completely lacking in Ur III incantations. Thus, the role of Asalluḫi in this genre of texts seems to be centred on Eridu and his sonship of Enki with no mention made on his other, and probably original, hometown Ku'ara. This hints at the loss of independent importance of the city of Ku'ara for the god Asar/Asalluḫi as a god of incantations during Ur III times. Several scholars have proposed that the town of Ku'ara was in the beginning an independent entity that was sometime drawn

³⁸⁴ For a list of Ur III incantations, see Rudik 2011, 510–514. To the texts listed there CUSAS 32 4 should now be added.

³⁸⁵ Texts TMH 6 1 and 7 have been recovered on two duplicates, all four manuscripts are from Nippur. For TMH 6 1 both duplicates have ^dasal-lu(LU)-ḫi, For TMH 6 7: duplicate a has [^dasal]-'lú-ḫi' while for duplicate b is broken and this part of the text has not preserved. TMH 6 8 is a badly damaged collective tablet of incantations and only in the first incantation (TMH 6 8¹=obv. col. i, l. 1–rev. col. v, l. 9') have the remains of a divine dialogue survived. On tablet TMH 6 11 parts of two incantations have survived: 11¹ (obv. col. i, l. 1–col. ii, l. 8) and 11² (rev. col. iii, l. 1'–col. iv, l. 3'). On tablet TMH 6 19 only 19² (rev. col. iii, l. 5'–col. iv, l. 18') is relevant to this study, on the obverse of this tablet only few fragmentary lines have survived.

³⁸⁶ DME 58 (in this text without the divine determinative), 60; TMH 6 3, 4, 11¹, 16, 19².

³⁸⁷ ASJ 2 160; DME 51, 57, 61, 63, 66, 71; TMH 6 1a/b, 3, 4, 7a, 9, 11², 12, 15, 22.

³⁸⁸ See van Dijk and Geller 2003, 19–20.

³⁸⁹ DME 64; TMH 6 6, 8¹; Fs. Borger 102; Fs. Sigrist 24.

³⁹⁰ Without counting the duplicates for texts TMH 6 1 and 7.

³⁹¹ ASJ 2 160; DME 51, 57, 58, 63; TMH 6 1a/b, 4, 7a/b, 12, 16.

into the orbit of Eridu and as a result Asar/Asalluḫi became the son of Enki.³⁹² One can only speculate whether the god Asar of Ku'ara had any connections to magic and incantations at all prior to his joining the Eridu circle of gods or did he obtain these traits after his merger with Enki and other deities of his circle.³⁹³ On the other hand, however, the mentions of Ku'ara resume in incantations and other texts in the Old Babylonian period.

4.3.1 Divine Dialogue Incantations

Among the Ur III incantations in which Asalluḫi/Asar appears there are sixteen texts that feature a divine dialogue.³⁹⁴ As discussed above the role of a junior deity for Asar in a divine dialogue is already known from a single text from the Early Dynastic period. This role for Asalluḫi/Asar is thus far unknown from incantations from the intermediary Old Akkadian and Lagaš II periods, as in two incantations that come from this time he only appeared as part of the closing formula.³⁹⁵

4.3.1.1 Structure of the Ur III Divine Dialogue

Instead of analysing each of the sixteen divine dialogue texts from the Ur III period separately, here an attempt will be made to tackle them as a group based on a “full” form of an Ur III incantation that can be reconstructed on the basis of all texts with the divine dialogue that survive from the Ur III period.

1. ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e
2. a-ni ^den-ki-šè lú mu-ši-gi₄-gi₄
3. a-a-ḡu₁₀ REPETITION
4. a-rá íb-ak-na-bi nu-zu me-a ba-da-DU-e

³⁹² Thus, Lambert 1975, 193: “Asalluḫi was to begin with god of a small town Kuar/Kumar near Eridu. It is possible that originally he was unrelated to Eridu and its god Enki, but if so then in very early times he was drawn into the pantheon of Eridu and became Enki’s son.” J. Bottéro (1995, 234) has proposed that Ku'ara was annexed by Eridu.

³⁹³ Cf. Geller 1985, 13: “[...] the possibility may be entertained that Asalluḫi’s role as exorcist may have stemmed from the proximity of Ku’ar to Eridu, which resulted in the merging of the Eridu and Ku’ar pantheons, with the two patron gods of each city, Enki and Asalluḫi, becoming associated as father and son. Once Asalluḫi of Ku’ar was known as a citizen (or son) of Eridu and chief son of Enki, he shared the task of exorcism with Enki, whose own participation in incantations and magic is unquestionably early.”

³⁹⁴ DME 51, 61, 63, 64, 66, 71; TMH 6 1a/b, 4, 6, 7a, 8¹, 9, 11¹, 15; Fs. Borger 102; Fs. Sigrist 24. 11 texts make an explicit mention of the name Asalluḫi or Asar while five texts (DME 64; TMH 6 6, 8¹; Fs. Borger 102; Fs. Sigrist 24) do not. The latter consist of at least some – in a few texts doubtful – remains of a divine dialogue that in the Ur III period is in all probability performed by no other deities than Enki and Asalluḫi.

³⁹⁵ For Old Akkadian incantations, see 2.1 above.

5. ^den-ki-ke₄ dumu-ni mu-na-ni-gi₄-gi₄
6. dumu-ġu₁₀ a-na nu-zu a-na-ab-taḥ-e
7. níġ i-zu-a a-ne in-ga-an-zu
8. ġen-na

9ff. RITUAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Asalluḫi 2. sends a messenger to his father Enki 3. “My father! REPETITION
4. I do not know what to do about it! Where should I go with him?” 5. Enki answered his son: 6. “My son! What does he not know? What can I add for him?
7. What I know, he knows too. 8. Go!” 9ff. RITUAL INSTRUCTIONS

In the following treatment the divine dialogue is divided into three basic sub-parts:

1. Creating contact (ll. 1–2)
2. Asalluḫi’s speech (ll. 3–4):
 - 2.1 Asalluḫi’s address (l. 3)
 - 2.2 Asalluḫi repeats the problem to Enki (l. 3)
 - 2.3 Asalluḫi’s bemoan (l. 4)
3. Enki’s speech (ll. 5–8):
 - 3.1 Enki’s address (l. 5–6)
 - 3.2 Enki’s encouragement of Asalluḫi (ll. 6–7)
 - 3.3 Enki orders Asalluḫi/the messenger to go (l. 8)
 - 3.4 Ritual instructions (9ff.)

1. Creating contact

1. ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e
2. a-ni ^den-ki-šè lú mu-ši-gi₄-gi₄
1. Asalluḫi
2. sends a messenger to his father Enki

The divine dialogue proper in this text begins with Asalluḫi sending a messenger (literally lú, “man”) to his father Enki (ll. 1–2). This type of communication is used in seven divine dialogue-texts,³⁹⁶ mostly with minor orthographic differences. Another possibility for Asalluḫi to create contact with Enki is to appear in person and speak to Enki directly. This version appears in incantations TMH 6 9 and 15. In the latter text:

- obv. ii
2. ^dasal-lú-ḫi
3. a-a-ni ^den-ki-šè
4. é-a mu-ši-ku₄
5. ġù mu-na-dé-a
2. Asalluḫi 3. to his father Enki 4. in the temple entered 5. and spoke to him:

³⁹⁶ DME 61, 63, 64, 66, 71; TMH 6 1a/b, 11¹.

This type of formula becomes common in the following Old Babylonian period. The third and, thus far, unique way of describing the beginning of communication between Asalluḫi and Enki could appear in TMH 6 4. In this text a more poetic description is possibly given to begin Enki's and Asalluḫi's conversation:³⁹⁷

obv.

7. ^den-ki-ra abzu eridu^{ki}-[ka gù túg-gin₇] mu-ni-dul gada-gin₇ [mu-ni-búr]

7. For Enki in the abzu of Eridu, voice like a garment covered, like linen spread out

N. Rudik takes the voice mentioned here to be Asalluḫi's, she translates: "Für Enki hat seine (Asalluḫis) Stimme den abzu von Eridu wie eine Bekleidung bedeckt; hat sich (über den abzu) wie ein Leinenstoff verbreitet."³⁹⁸ It is, however, not certain that this line indeed belongs to the divine dialogue. A different interpretation was offered by M. J. Geller who considers this line to be a part of the introductory part of the incantation that in his interpretation "appears to combine the themes of childbirth and snakebite, suggesting some connection between these two types of 'ailments'."³⁹⁹ The explanation that this incantation at least partly deals with childbirth is in line with a few of the later Old Babylonian childbirth-incantations in which the cries of child-bearing women are thus described,⁴⁰⁰ and, as TMH 6 4 seems to deal with childbirth it is probably not Asalluḫi whose voice is poetically described to reach Enki in l. 7.

In the remaining six texts,⁴⁰¹ the description of the beginning of the communication is lacking and neither of the three options presented above appears. In two of these six texts,⁴⁰² the pertaining parts are very fragmentary and the possibility that the beginning of the divine dialogue was originally present cannot be excluded.

2. Asalluḫi's speech

2.1 Asalluḫi's address

3. a-a-ĝu₁₀

3. "My father!"

After the description of creating contact in l. 3 appears Asalluḫi's address to Enki: a-a-ĝu₁₀, "my father", followed in the same line by Asalluḫi's repetitive description of the problem. In DME 66 and 71 the situation is similar and the

³⁹⁷ For the reconstruction of this line, see van Dijk and Geller 2003, 21; Rudik 2011, 303.

³⁹⁸ Rudik 2011, 305. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 21: "It covered Enki in the Abzu of Eridu like a [garment], and [enveloped] him there like a linen cloth." For this expression, see further George 2016, 68.

³⁹⁹ van Dijk and Geller 2003, 23.

⁴⁰⁰ DME 62 and 106b, cf. Rudik 2011, 307.

⁴⁰¹ DME 51; TMH 6 6, 7a/b, 8¹; Fs. Borger 102; Fs. Sigrist 24.

⁴⁰² TMH 6 7a/b, 8¹.

address “my father” is followed directly by the description of the problem. Instead of a direct address of Asalluḫi to Enki, in TMH 6 1a appears Asalluḫi’s address to the messenger: a-a-ĝu₁₀-ra ù-na-[a-d]u₁₁, “to my father, please tell him!” followed by the repetition of the problem.⁴⁰³ DME 66 and 71 thus seem to be abridged versions of TMH 6 1, as in all three texts the messenger formula was used and it would have made little sense for Asalluḫi to turn to Enki directly. Thus, the part in which Asalluḫi specifically asks the messenger to address his father is simply left out in DME 66 and 71. In the remaining 13 texts Asalluḫi’s address to Enki does not appear. Three texts (TMH 6 7a/b, 8¹, 11¹) are broken in the pertinent parts.

2.2 Asalluḫi repeats the problem to Enki

The repetition of the problem follows Asalluḫi’s address and appears in some form in eight of the sixteen texts.⁴⁰⁴ The length of the repetition in the surviving Ur III incantations is varied. It appears in more or less verbatim form in five of the eight texts,⁴⁰⁵ varying in length from two to 12 lines. In text TMH 6 1a (this part has not survived in 1b) the repetition is an abridged version of the problem, first two lines instead of the six presented in the beginning. In TMH 6 4 the longer repetition is replaced with only the first line of the problem that amounted to five lines in the introductory part, followed by šu-níĝin-dam, “total, sum”, a word that here indicates that this is a repetition of the problem described in the beginning. In text DME 61 the word šu-níĝin-dam is written between the part that describes sending the messenger and the part in which Asalluḫi bemoans his helplessness (see the next point), thus šu-níĝin-dam in this text stands for the whole introductory part of the incantation that the scribe for some reason did not consider necessary to repeat. In text Fs. Borger 102 the repetition is the only part of the divine dialogue that is present. In texts TMH 6 7a/b, 8¹, 11¹ that are lacuneous in this part no sign of the repetitions has preserved. In the lacunae in these texts there is enough room to fit in at least šu-níĝin-dam.

2.3 Asalluḫi’s bemoan

4. a-rá íb-ak-na-bi nu-zu me-a ba-da-DU-e

4. “I do not know what to do about it! Where should I go with him?”

The repetition is followed by Asalluḫi’s formulaic confession regarding his inability to deal with the situation at hand (l. 4). The formula appears in seven incantations: DME 61, 63, 64, 66, 71, TMH 6 4, 7a (in 7b this part has not survived), 15.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ In TMH 6 1b this line is fragmentary and only has [...]ĝu₁₀-ra [...].

⁴⁰⁴ DME 61, 63, 64, 66, 71, TMH 6 1a, 4, Fs. Borger 102.

⁴⁰⁵ DME 63, 64, 66, 71, Fs. Borger 102.

⁴⁰⁶ Texts DME 61; TMH 6 4, 15 have the word a-rá (“way”) instead of a-na (“what?”) and extend the formula by another line. E.g., in TMH 6 15 (others similar): me-a ba-da-[DU]-e,

While DME 61, 66; TMH 6 7a and 15 are similar and show signs of mainly orthographic differences, in three other texts a more idiosyncratic expansion on the motif of Asalluḫi's bemoan appears. Thus, text TMH 6 4 exceptionally repeats Asalluḫi's bemoan two times. The two occasions are separated by the partial repetition of the beginning (with *šu-níġin-dam*) and another line preceding it that could be an uncommon part of Asalluḫi's bemoan, probably related to the problem described in the beginning of this incantation (related to childbirth) and presented as a question: *a-ba-kam lú ka-izi-gi[n₇ ḫé]-em-bar₇-ra-a'-[x]*.⁴⁰⁷

In text DME 63, a hard to interpret line *nu-mu-ġar ne-e dab-ba-e* appears between creating contact (by sending a messenger) and the following repetition that can be interpreted as a non-traditional description of Asalluḫi being at a loss to deal with the situation, in this case with the attack of the mythological *ušumgal*-snake. N. Rudik translates: "Es wurde nicht (fest)gestellt. Das ist zu fangen?"⁴⁰⁸ However, as the line is hard to interpret it could alternatively be an extension of the messenger formula preceding it.

In text DME 64 the introductory description of the problem and Asalluḫi's bemoan seem to be intertwined and twice repeated in a non-formulaic shape, as in the introduction Asalluḫi probably confesses his inability to deal with the problem⁴⁰⁹ – in this case the continuing bleeding during a complicated childbirth:⁴¹⁰

2. *idim-da a ba-di-ni-è nu-mu-da-úš-a*

3. *idim-gal-da a ba-di-ni-è nu-mu-da-úš*

2. The water is running out of the stream, I could not block it. 3. Great water is running out of the stream, I could not block it.

In the repetitive part this description is repeated in a slightly modified form: the lines now begin with *idim-me*, that could either mean "our stream" (with a possessive pronoun)⁴¹¹ or it is to be taken as a locative form: "in the stream."⁴¹² The second option seems to be more probable.

"where should I go with him (the patient)?" A similar piece of text appears in TMH 6 7a, though here only signs *me-a ba* have survived and the end of the line is unintelligible, this text retains *a-na* ("what?").

⁴⁰⁷ van Dijk and Geller 2003, 21: "Whose (child) is it who will be warming (her) like a hot fire?"; Rudik 2011, 305: "Wessen ist er, (dieser) Mensch, der wahrhaftig wie ein Feuer-schlund brennt?"

⁴⁰⁸ Rudik 2011, 283. Cf. Conti 1997, 268: "Sa tentative de prendre celui-ci (le griffon) était (un effort) inégal pour lui."

⁴⁰⁹ Asalluḫi's name is not mentioned in this text. However, based on the surviving parts of divine dialogue that reflect a god whose father is Enki, it is certain that it is Asalluḫi who is meant.

⁴¹⁰ Following Rudik 2011, 332–333. Cf. Finkel 1980, 45–46.

⁴¹¹ So Rudik 2011, 333.

⁴¹² So Finkel 1980, 46.

3. Enki's speech

3.1 Enki's address

5. ^den-ki-ke₄ dumu-ni mu-na-ni-gi₄-gi₄
5. Enki answered his son:

In four Ur III divine dialogues at this point a pause is made in the direct speech and it is said that Enki turns to Asalluḫi. In TMH 6 15, a text in which the messenger formula was not used and Asalluḫi addressed Enki in person (see above), it is said that “Enki spoke to his son Asalluḫi” (^den-ki-ke₄ dumu-ni ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e gù mu-na-dé-e). The description is similar in DME 51, a text in which this is the only line of the divine dialogue present. Thus, in both texts Enki seems to address Asalluḫi directly. In TMH 6 1a (this part is lacking in manuscript b) Enki probably answers Asalluḫi via the messenger but only ^ddumu-ni has survived. In TMH 6 6 mu-na-ni-gi₄-gi₄ that that denotes Enki's answer is also the first line of the whole divine dialogue. The description that Enki is turning to Asalluḫi is in l. 6 followed by Enki's direct address to Asalluḫi: dumu-ḡu₁₀, “my son”. The same address appears in 11 texts.⁴¹³ Of the remaining five texts, four⁴¹⁴ skip this address and TMH 6 11¹ is broken in this part.

3.2 Enki's encouragement of Asalluḫi

6. dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na nu-zu a-na-ab-taḫ-e
7. niḡ i-zu-a a-ne in-ga-an-zu
6. “My son! What does he not know? What can I add for him?
7. What I know, he knows too.”

In ll. 6–7 follows Enki's encouragement of the bemoaning Asalluḫi who doubts his abilities to deal with the problem at hand.⁴¹⁵ The most deviating versions appear in texts TMH 6 1a and DME 64. TMH 6 1a, rev., ll. 1–2 has: [du]mu-ḡ[u₁₀ a-na nu-z]u / ^ra-na šu-n[i x] NE-ḡar / a-na ì-ma-ši-tak₄, “My son! What does he not know? / What his hand placed? What has he left behind for me?”⁴¹⁶ The latter text (DME 64) uniquely has: dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na nu-zu a-na a-na-ab-taḫ / idim-e a-na nu-zu a-na a-na-ab-taḫ / idim-gal-e a-na nu-zu a-na a-na-ab-taḫ, “My son, what does he not know? What can I add for him? / Concerning the stream what does he not know? What can I add for him? / Concerning the great stream, what does he not know? What can I add for him?”⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ DME 61, 63, 64, 66; TMH 6 1a, 4, 6, 7a, 8¹, 9, 15.

⁴¹⁴ DME 51, 71; Fs. Borger 102; Fs. Sigrist 24.

⁴¹⁵ This formula appears in ten of the 16 texts: DME 61, 63, 64, 66; TMH 6 1a, 4, 6, 7a, 9, 15.

⁴¹⁶ Following Rudik 2011, 231–232. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 11–12.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Finkel 1980, 45–46; Rudik 2011, 332–333.

3.3 Enki orders Asalluḫi to go.

8. ḡen-na

8. “Go!”

This sub-part (l. 8) of the divine dialogue that dominates in the later Old Babylonian incantations is in most cases missing from the Ur III incantations and appears only in two texts. TMH 6 8¹ might have simply ḡen-na, “go!” However, the text is very fragmentary and ḡen-na is the only surviving writing in the line. The line should perhaps be expanded to ḡen-na dumu-ḡu₁₀ ^dasal-lú-ḫi, “Go, my son Asalluḫi!”.

Text Fs. Sigrist 24 has: ga-na lú ^den-ki, “Go, man of Enki!” That this is the only line in this text that is related to the “idealistic” form of the Ur III divine dialogue as presented above and Asar/Asalluḫi is not mentioned, makes it admittedly doubtful that this is a genuine divine dialogue text. However, as this line is followed by something that is very similar to other ritual instructions – ll. 12–13 are given in precativè – there seems to be a connection between this text and the other divine dialogue incantations. Here, however, the instructions are explicitly given to the incantation priest (lú enki) without the mediation of Asalluḫi.

3.4 Ritual instructions

Enki, despite encouraging Asalluḫi and telling him that he has nothing to add, ends the divine dialogue by communicating ritual instructions to his son. The activity described in this part was needed to provide a solution for the problem presented at the beginnings of the texts.⁴¹⁸ Incantations were thus, in the words of G. Cunningham: “concerned with converting an undesirable condition into a desirable one.”⁴¹⁹

Together with the repetition, ritual instructions belong to the non-formulaic parts of the divine dialogue. The reason for this is obvious: as the problems differed, they demanded varied ritual solutions as well. However, in some Ur III examples – in incantations directed against the same troublemakers, the instructions were repeated verbatim,⁴²⁰ or described by similar means of treatment in a general sense.⁴²¹ It is also noteworthy – as text DME 66 suggests – that problems such as snake and dog bites and scorpion stings were treated with identical means of cure by letting the bitten/stung person drink water that was previously purified and had its curing power enhanced by an incantation uttered over it by

⁴¹⁸ In some divine dialogue incantations the problem was repeated to Enki by Asalluḫi as part of the dialogue (see point 2.2 above).

⁴¹⁹ Cunningham 1997, 32.

⁴²⁰ As in, e.g., texts DME 71 and Fs. Borger 102 that are both directed against the Samana demon.

⁴²¹ As in, e.g., texts DME 63; TMH 6 4 and 12 that are all directed against snakes.

Asalluḫi.⁴²² Thus, a conceptual similarity for the ancients between the attacks of these dangerous animals is traceable.⁴²³

The ritual solutions offered by Enki to Asalluḫi consisted of means that in scholarship have traditionally been described as magical.⁴²⁴ Accordingly, the ritual instructions appearing in Ur III incantations included various types of manipulations with ritual paraphernalia and substances such as different types of purifying water, cultic vessels (e.g., anzam-vessel, a-lá-vessel), plants (e.g., juniper, tamarisk, reed and objects made of reed), animals (cows, bulls, goats), foodstuffs (fruit, oil, dairy products), incense, etc. Some incantations were specifically dedicated to purifying this kind of ritual helper (German *Kultmittel*, thus the incantations are called *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, in English known as consecration incantations) that were later, in turn, used in purifying rituals, i.e. the items were considered to have purifying power that needed refreshing in order to be used in incantations.⁴²⁵

In some cases, the ritual description contains therapeutic elements that are similar with the modern understanding of medical therapy. To give only one example from the Ur III material: in text TMH 6 15 a compress of tree sap – probably with curing attributes – is instructed to be put on the forehead of the patient; however, to the modern enquirer the treatment also retains its magical nature, as it is instructed that the compress should be rolled with the left hand. Thus, as the incantations on one hand can be called magico-religious, on the other they can also be defined as magico-medical, as has sometimes been done.⁴²⁶

For some Ur III incantations it seems that only the power of the spoken word was considered enough to dispel the malignant forces and no manipulations were considered necessary. This seems to be the case in the ritual instructions in

⁴²² Cf. the similar treatment by Asalluḫi of a snakebite patient in Early Dynastic incantation CUSAS 32 1f.

⁴²³ Cf. Veldhuis 1993, 164–166.

⁴²⁴ Or, in lack of a better term and due to overlaps with religion: magico-religious (thus, e.g., Rudik 2011, 7–9). The endless debate on the topic of relations between magic and religion in the ancient world will not be taken up in depth here. For a recent overview of magic in the Ancient Near East, see, e.g., Schwemer 2015. Note that G. Cunningham considers Mesopotamian incantations to be more religious than magical, see Cunningham 1997, 165–166 and 179–183.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Geller 2001, 226: “*Kultmittelbeschwörungen* are incantations intended to purify ritual objects or the ingredients of ritual offerings, to insure their effective use.” For *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, see Falkenstein 1931, 76–81, who used the term *Weihungstyp* for this type of incantations. For consecration, see further Emelianov 1993; Emelianov 1998; Emelianov 2003, 224–236.

⁴²⁶ Note, e.g., the name of the book by J. Scurlock: “*Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia*” (Scurlock 2005). For the thin line between the modern notions of magic and medicine when applied to ancient Mesopotamian magic, see Farber 1995, 1901–1902. Note that incantations have also been classified by the function of the ritual. Thus, G. Cunningham divides incantations into four types: formulae of analogy, transfer of positive attribute to recipient, symbolic identification, transfer of negative attribute to neutral carrier; according to Cunningham the first three appear in the Ur III period texts. For the types of Ur III rituals, see Cunningham 1997, 86–88.

two Ur III incantations (DME 71 and Fs. Borger 102) against Samana in which the demon is compared to natural phenomena and adjured to be destroyed of its own accord.

The names Asalluḫi and Asar usually do not appear in Ur III incantations in the sections in which ritual instructions are given. The main indicator that it was namely this god who was considered responsible for carrying out the specific actions instructed by Enki is the preceding dialogue. The instructions themselves are usually given in prospective.⁴²⁷ However, in a few Ur III incantations, the name of the deity appears in the frame of ritual instructions. The most obvious case seems to be text TMH 6 1 in which Asalluḫi is explicitly mentioned among the instructions as “Asalluḫi, son of Enki”, ^dasal-lu-ḫi dumu ^den-ki-ke₄. Asalluḫi in this text deals with ritual substances such as purified water and fat of a pure cow. Interestingly, he is reported to rub the purified water on the skull (of the statue?) of the deified king Amar-Su'en.⁴²⁸ Another text in which Asalluḫi may appear in ritual instructions is TMH 6 3. However, as the name is followed by a lacuna, his actions in this incantation remain unknown.

Asalluḫi's explicit role in rituals in these few available cases strengthens the view of him as the executor of the divine orders given by Enki. However, none of these examples give a reason to call him a divine expert of magic or in similar terms, as has sometimes been done. In fact, in incantations he is even stressing his helplessness and is clearly only fulfilling Enki's orders and does not show any initiative of his own.

A lot of unanswered questions remain about the connections the written incantations had to actual ritual activities, i.e., how were these texts put into practice. On the basis of plain written text one cannot even decide which parts of the text were recited and which parts were enacted in ritual. The evidence in the shape of some form of separate ritual description is lacking for the Ur III period. At the very least there seems to be a certain consensus among the scholars that these incantations were recited in some form and the temple personnel was responsible for carrying out the rituals.⁴²⁹ For divine dialogue incantations one

⁴²⁷ For prospective in Sumerian, see Thomsen 1984, 208–211; for the use of prospective in Sumerian incantations, see Maul 1994, 41; Geller 2016, 22.

⁴²⁸ It is one of the two texts among the Ur III incantations in which Neo-Sumerian kings appear with the other being TMH 6 2b (=col ii, ll. 13–28) in which a reference to Šulgi (appearing as a patient!?) is found. In the latter texts could appear an Ur III example of Enki as the bringer of illness, a motif known from the Early Dynastic period (for this, see Rudik 2011, 276).

⁴²⁹ See, e.g., Veldhuis 1993, 165: “No doubt the text of the incantation is related to the performance of the ritual.” Cf. Rudik 2011, 13: “Für das Rezitieren der Beschwörungen und die Ausübung der angemessenen Riten war das Tempelpersonal zuständig.” P. Michalowski is, however, more sceptical regarding the ability of modern researchers to assess incantations as a genre and to reconstruct their ritual setting. He has raised doubts whether written incantations were enacted in actual rituals at all and were not only part of the scholarly tradition: “[...] it remains to be established whether the preserved texts were used in rituals during any given period, or whether they were part of a scholarly or pedagogic tradition. It is usually taken for granted that the “scholarly” and pedagogic uses of incantations was

could also envisage a ritual drama with several actors playing the roles of Asalluḫi and perhaps other deities mentioned in incantations and in the Ur III type of formula also the messenger (lú).⁴³⁰ The role of statues and other symbolic representations of various characters in incantations can also be imagined,⁴³¹ perhaps even for animals and demons who inflicted the problems.⁴³²

In addition to the difficulties with the ritual setting in general, from the Ur III period and earlier times there is little evidence available regarding who exactly were engaged in performing the ritual activities attributed to Asalluḫi in incantations, as the texts themselves offer little evidence for this.⁴³³ Thus, only guesses can be made on the identity of the performer. The most obvious choice for this actor in the ritual setting would be one of the members of the cultic personnel whose designations are known from the Ur III period, some of them appearing in incantations. In incantations in which Asalluḫi appears the following cultic functionaries besides “messenger” (lú) are mentioned: en (DME 57), išib (lugal nam-išib-ba), maš maš gal, nar-kur-ku₅ (DME 51), nu-bar, nu-gig (DME 71). However, none of them is named in a specific relation to Asalluḫi. Thus, the question regarding which type of cultic official impersonated Asalluḫi in rituals prescribed in the Ur III incantations remains unanswered for the time being.

4.3.2 Closing Formulae of Incantations

In the ten remaining Ur III incantations in which the divine dialogue does not appear,⁴³⁴ Asalluḫi/Asar steps up in various roles. In four texts his name probably appears as part of the closing formula.⁴³⁵ The closing formulae of incantations from the Ur III period show a high degree of variability in terms of orthography.

secondary as they had begun their life in an oral ritual context. This point of view is based primarily on intuitive reasoning and may very well be close to the mark. It is equally possible that all of the extant texts of this type may have had no other life at all, and they were products of a written tradition that had little, if anything, to do with the actual world of ritual and healing, where other texts – similar, or quite different – were used by illiterate specialists” (Michalowski 1992, 307).

⁴³⁰ Cf. Veldhuis 1993, 165: “Obviously, behind the mythological disguise (or better: in this mythological disguise) a ritual actor is supposed to execute these instructions in reality, thereby taking the role of Asarluhi. Does the “messenger” variant of the Asarluhi-Enki formula imply that another ritual actor is supposed to identify himself with this messenger?”

⁴³¹ For the statue(?) of king Amar-Su'en in TMH 6 1, see above.

⁴³² Note that for text DME 51 one could visualise an especially elaborate ritual (probably before a military campaign against Elam and Anšan) that involved many deities in some form (as statues?).

⁴³³ Cf. G. Cunningham's assessment of this problem for the Early Dynastic period: “The incantations do not specify who was responsible for performing them” (Cunningham 1997, 13).

⁴³⁴ ASJ 2 160; DME 57, 58, 60; TMH 6 3, 11², 12, 16, 19², 22.

⁴³⁵ DME 57, 58, 60; TMH 6 12.

4.3.2.1 Formula of Effectiveness

In three of these four occasions Asalluḫi appears in formulae of effectiveness that are similar to the ones in which Asalluḫi appeared in two Old Akkadian incantations:

DME 58:⁴³⁶

rev.

4. du an-LAK397-nu-ru

5. nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga mu_x-mu_x(KAxGÁNA_{tenü})-ĝu₁₀ asar-e abzu-a

6. nam-mu-da-[bú]r-e

4. Incantation, 5. the spell of Eridu, my incantation, Asar in the abzu, 5. should not release!

TMH 6 12.⁴³⁷

obv.

13. [nam-šub] eridu^{ki}-ga [d^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu erid]u^{ki}-<ga>-ke₄

rev.

1. [na]m-mu-da-búr-[re]

obv. 13. [The spell] of Eridu, [Asalluḫi, son] of Eridu, rev. 1. should not release!

DME 57:⁴³⁸

rev.

7. d^dasal-lú-ḫi

8. dumu d^den-ki abzu / UD.U.KIB eridu^{eri ki}-ga

9. [empty line]

10. na-mu-da-bu₇[!](GAL)-ré-e

7. Asalluḫi, 8. in the abzu of Eridu 9. [empty line] 10. should not release!

The formula of effectiveness seems to be an alternative divine legitimising mechanism to the divine dialogue, as generally the two means of legitimation do not appear together in incantations.⁴³⁹ The word nam-šub that probably appeared in Old Akkadian incantation DME 59 and is commonly – although somewhat differently⁴⁴⁰ – used in Old Babylonian incantations in these texts stands for “spells” (Akkadian *šiptu*).⁴⁴¹ The text TMH 6 12 is extraordinary

⁴³⁶ Following Rudik 2011, 278. Cf. Cunningham 1997, 83–84.

⁴³⁷ Following Rudik 2011, 298–299. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 48.

⁴³⁸ Following Rudik 2011, 350–351. Cf. Michalowski 1985, 219; Cavigneaux 1995, 90.

⁴³⁹ There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule, as in the Early Dynastic incantation DME 14 and two Old Babylonian incantations (DME 250=DME 300 and CUSAS 32 19b) combine both methods of divine legitimation.

⁴⁴⁰ See 5.7.5 and 5.7.6 below.

⁴⁴¹ For nam-šub in the Old Babylonian period, see 5.7.5 and 5.7.6 below. An interesting case concerning the use of the term nam-šub is presented in the epic *Enmerkar and the Lord*

among incantations, as after the formula of legitimation, it continues with a colophon written in the name of scribe Addakalla who invokes Nisaba, the goddess of scribes. This text is finished with the remark bala sig₅, “good!”, most probably written by a teacher at a scribal school.

The formula of effectiveness is probably connected to a non-formulaic statement concerning Asalluḫi appearing in Ur III incantation TMH 6 11². In this text Asalluḫi’s activity in releasing incantations is compared to the rising sun.⁴⁴²

rev.

2. ^dasal-lú-ḫi <<a>> dumu ^den-ki-ka-ke₄

3. du₆-du₆ búr ^dutu-è-è-gin₇

2. Asalluḫi, son of Enki 3. released incantations like the rising sun

Different from the three formulae of effectiveness presented above, the activity of Asalluḫi in TMH 6 11² seems to be connected to “malignant” spells, as Asalluḫi is not asked “not to release” the spell, but – on the contrary – his ability to release spells is declared. Thus, one might speculate that this fragmentary incantation was directed against witchcraft, i.e. an evil spell by a sorcerer. An alternative interpretation offered by M. J. Geller is that du₆-du₆ must not be taken as a syllabic writing for tu₆-tu₆, “incantation, spell” but instead should be interpreted as du₆-du₆ and translated as “broke through the mounds”.⁴⁴³

4.3.2.2 Formula of Praise

In the remaining closing formula (in text DME 60) Asar appears together with Enki and Namma as one of the deities praised.⁴⁴⁴

12. [diḡir] lú-ba-ke₄ ^den-ki ^dnamma

13. [^dasa]r dumu eridu^{ki}

14. [me téš] ḫé-i-i

12. the god of this man Enki, Namma 13. and Asar, son of Eridu, 14. may praise!

In three other texts (TMH 6 4, 11², 15) only Enki and Namma are praised using this formula.⁴⁴⁵

In text TMH 6 7a a non-formulaic praise-like description of Asalluḫi appears through his comparison to gold:⁴⁴⁶

of Aratta (see Vanstiphout 2003). In this literary work this word has a central but somewhat elusive meaning. It appears as “nam-šub of Nudimmud”, see *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, l. 135 (Vanstiphout 2003, 64–65).

⁴⁴² Following Rudik 2011, 172–173. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 42–43.

⁴⁴³ van Dijk and Geller 2003, 47.

⁴⁴⁴ Following Rudik 2011, 267–268; Cf. van Dijk 1985, 48.

⁴⁴⁵ TMH 6 4 is broken and only the sign -ki is extant, but in all probability, ^den-ki ^dnamma is written.

⁴⁴⁶ Following Rudik 2011, 206 and 209. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 32–33.

rev. iv

42. níĝ kù-gin₇ dumu níĝ kù-ga-gin₇

43. dumu níĝ kù-si₂₂ im-dú-da-gin₇

44. [^dasal]-^rlú-ĥi^r-e a-rá-zu [(x) šà^r x]-ma-ni-ib-ĥuĝ-e

42. Like a pure thing, son (is) like a pure thing. 43. A son is like a thing (made) of raw gold.⁴⁴⁷ 44. Asalluĥi (with) supplication pacifies the heart² for me.

The comparison of Asalluĥi to a pure thing made of gold probably alludes to his and thus probably also human exorcist's impeccable ritual purity that was an indispensable prerequisite for a successfully conducted ritual.⁴⁴⁸ Asalluĥi is also connected to the imagery of gold in the Old Babylonian hymn dedicated to him (Asalluĥi A), l. 10: lú-zi kù-sig₁₇ mu-un-dadag-g[e-en], "The righteous man you brighten (like) gold". Note that the metal imagery in incantations is not restricted to only Asalluĥi and gold, as, e.g., in an Old Babylonian incantation epithet zabar kù-ga, "pure bronze", is used for Útu, the sun-god.⁴⁴⁹

4.3.3 Other Incantations

In three texts (ASJ 2 160; TMH 6 3, 19²) the name Asar/Asalluĥi seems to appear as part of ritual instructions. In TMH 6 3 both name-forms Asalluĥi and Asar may appear as part of the ritual.⁴⁵⁰

rev. ii

1. ^rd¹a[sar-e k]i-tuš k[i-...] ĥa-mu-da-^rx^r [x]

2. ^rpa₄^r-[ĥ]al-la ĥa-mu-d[a]-DU.D[U-a]

3. [x l]ú ĥé-[si]g₅-[g]a ĥé-[...]

4. ^rd¹[asal-l]ú-ĥi ĥ[é-x] ĥé-[x]

5. d[iĝir] ^rlú-ùlu^r sis[kur a-rá²]-z]u-a ĥé-g[ub]

⁴⁴⁷ For a similar writing kù-si₂₂ ù-tu-da that stands for raw gold, see Reiter 1997, 64–65; Mittermayer 2009, 237; Rudik 2011, 212. Alternatively, this incantation can be taken as dealing with childbirth and so the description in ll. 42–43 is given for the newborn and not Asalluĥi, cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 33. M. J. Geller also considers the possibility that in ll. 42–43 there might appear proverbial sayings (ibid., 36). However, as in l. 44 Asalluĥi appears, it seems more probable that namely he is described in ll. 42–43.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Maul 1994, 40: "Da der Beschwörer im Ritual als Handelnder in gewisser Weise Asalluĥi selbst vertrat [...] und somit dem Bereich des Göttlichen sehr nahekam, was seine kultische Reinheit für das Gelingen des Rituals von elementarer Wichtigkeit." Note that in a first millennium ritual for the inauguration of a *nêšakku*- or *pāšišu*-priest among other requirements it is said that the body of the fledgling priest had to be as pure as a statue of gold (see Borger 1973, 164, col. i, 1ff.; see also Maul 1994, 40, n. 29).

⁴⁴⁹ See CUSAS 32 10f, l. 8^r. Note also that in the *Šurpu* appendix (ll. 6–29), Gibil, the fire god alloys (ĥi) copper and tin (ll. 16–17) and refines gold and silver (ll. 17–18), see also *Šurpu*, col. ix, ll. 107–118 (for *Šurpu*, see Reiner 1958). For the deity named Kusigbanda (ku₃-si₂₂-ban₃-da), "little gold", see Rubio 1999, 245–246.

⁴⁵⁰ Following van Dijk and Geller 2003, 19–20. Cf. Rudik 2011, 219–220.

Unfortunately, the text is badly damaged and its interpretation is complicated. As many as six precative-prefixes (ḥa-) have survived from the verbal chains but only two verbal bases: sig₅ (“(to be) good, (to be) well”) that could reflect the healing process of the patient, and DU.DU that due to the numerous possible readings and the broken text is difficult to interpret. In any case, Asalluḥi seems to be instructed, or – probably more correctly here – invoked to help a patient. The mention of a personal god in l. 5 could hint that the patient is recuperating from his infirmity.

The text TMH 6 19² has been interpreted as a ritual for constructing a figurine,⁴⁵¹ or, in other interpretations, production of a statue, a ritual concerning a temple building, or blessing for the first brick.⁴⁵² Asar appears in the part immediately after én-é-nu-ru, the introductory formula. He is invoked in precative mood together with three other deities: Enki, Nunura⁴⁵³ and Ninšubur:⁴⁵⁴

5. én-é-nu-r[u]
 6. im ḥé-du₁₀-g[e]
 7. áb munzer (AN.ŠEŠ.KI) ṽx-[x]
 8. ^den-[ki]-ṽke₄ x x ḥéṽ-m[a-x-(x)]
 9. ^dnunura(BÁḤAR)-ṽNUN.É.ZA.KUṽ iri ḥé-ma-ku₄-ku₄
 10. ^dnin-šubur ^dasar bi-[x]
 11. é-e ḥé-ma-DU.DU
 12. á kal-le ḥé-a[k]-dè
5. én-é-nu-r[u] 6. May the clay be good, 7. may a licorice-fed cow... 8. May Enki ... for me. 9. May Nunura-Nunezaku enter the city for me. 10. May Ninšubur and Asar... 11. come⁷ to me to the temple. 12. May be done with great strength.

In the following eight lines (14–21) several items and materials connected to building activities are named, e.g., im, “clay”; šeg₁₂, “brick”; u₅-šub, “brick mold”; dubsig, “brick basket”. The latter appears in l. 21: dubsig(ĪL)-bi alan ṽabzuṽ-ka[m], “its brick basket is the image of abzu”. Thus, it appears that something (perhaps a representation of abzu?) is being constructed and the help or blessing of the four deities is sought for the project to succeed or for the consecration of the cultic object/building that is being built.

N. Rudik has compared this incantation to Gudea cylinder A, col. xviii, ll. 19–28.⁴⁵⁵ One may add that the scene is also reminiscent of Gudea cylinder B IV, 1–6 where five deities (Asar, Ninmada, Enki, Nindub and Nanše) are preparing the temple for the arrival of Ningirsu.⁴⁵⁶ Thus, this incantation probably has less to do with neutralising evil or disease but more with performing the

⁴⁵¹ So van Dijk and Geller 2003, 65.

⁴⁵² So Rudik 2011, 424. For this ceremony, see Sallaberger 1993 I, 235.

⁴⁵³ The logogram BÁḤAR has many readings (see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001j, 620) but to interpret it as Nunura, the god of pottery, seems to fit the context here.

⁴⁵⁴ Following Rudik 2011, 422 and 424. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 65–66.

⁴⁵⁵ See Rudik 2011, 423.

⁴⁵⁶ See 3.2.1 above.

correct rituals to consecrate a cultic object or a building. Although only two deities (Enki and Asalluḫi) active in Gudea B, col. iv, ll. 1–6 are present in this text, in some incantations (e.g., THM VI 19², DME 65) Nunura has the epithet *lugal nam-išib-ba*, “the king of the incantation-priesthood”,⁴⁵⁷ that suits the activities connected with consecration. Based on the fact that in some incantations Nunura appears together with Enki in the role of an incantation priest, Rudik has suggested that Nunura partly took over the role of Asalluḫi.⁴⁵⁸ In this text the closeness of Asar to Ninšubur is conspicuous.⁴⁵⁹ One might entertain the possibility that the reason for their closeness in some texts is their shared function as mediators/messengers.⁴⁶⁰ For Ninšubur, this is the only known appearance in incantations of the third millennium.

The text ASJ 2 160 is a previously unpublished ritual text from an unknown location, note the untraditional writing of Asalluḫi: ^da-sal-lú-ḫi:⁴⁶¹

11. ^da-sal-lú-ḫi
12. ĜEŠ[?].TUR[?] šu kù-ga
13. ga[?]-lam[?]-bi za-gìn.

In this text Asalluḫi is probably dealt with in the following line(s) but the exact meaning remains unintelligible. Perhaps Asalluḫi in l. 12 is described to have a pure hand(s). In l. 13 probably some object made of lapis lazuli (*za-gìn*) is mentioned.

In incantation TMH 6 16 Asar appears in the lines following the introductory formula ([én-é-nu-[ru]):⁴⁶²

2. ^dasar GIR-šè du-né
 3. ʾxʾ [t]a GIR-gal-šè du-né
2. Asar went to the GIR. 3. From ... he went to the great GIR.

As is visible from the presented writing, the problem in these lines is how to interpret GIR. The options offered by scholars vary from a “calf”,⁴⁶³ a syllabic writing for ĝír, “scorpion”,⁴⁶⁴ an unknown toponym,⁴⁶⁵ or “a vessel.”⁴⁶⁶ It is

⁴⁵⁷ For later examples of the use of this title for Nunura, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001j, 621. Nindub, rather similarly, is in Gudea B, col. iv, l. 4 titled *išib maḫ eridug^{ki}-ga₁₄-ke₄*, “the great *išib*-priest of Eridu”.

⁴⁵⁸ Note that in Ur III incantations Nunura had a connection to music (see Rudik 2011, 86), cf. Gudea cylinder B, col. iv, l. 6 where it is the goddess Nanše who is reported to perform “pure songs” (*šir kù*) to the temple.

⁴⁵⁹ For Asar and Ninšubur appearing in the same texts, see the offering lists from Early Dynastic (TSA 1, DP 53, Nik. 1 23) and Lagaš II (MVN 6 528) period Lagaš above.

⁴⁶⁰ For Ninšubur’s functions, see Wiggermann 1998–2001e, 496–498.

⁴⁶¹ Following Rudik 2011, 474.

⁴⁶² Following *ibid.*, 292–293. Cf. van Dijk and Geller 2003, 57–58.

⁴⁶³ van Dijk and Geller 2003, 57.

⁴⁶⁴ Rudik 2011, 293.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁶ Ferwerda 1985, 27.

noteworthy that in this incantation it seems to be the senior deity Enki himself who performs the ritual directed against the bite (of a scorpion?) by serving purified water to the bitten patient.⁴⁶⁷

TMH 6 22 is a small fragment with six lines. The text mentions ^rĝeš⁷ig dag-à[m], “door of a dwelling” (l. 2) and gi ^ra[?], “reed of water?” (l.3).⁴⁶⁸ The incantation possibly deals with knee problems.⁴⁶⁹ Asalluḫi appears in the fourth line but as only his name has partially survived (^dasal-lú-[ḫi]), nothing specific can be said about his activities in this text.

4.4 Conclusions

On the basis of the administrative texts one might suggest the existence of a mythology for Asar/Asalluḫi in Ku’ara that differs from the common or *gesamtsumerisches* one according to which Asar/Asalluḫi was – first and foremost – the son of Enki and Damgalnuna.⁴⁷⁰ One might speculate that this has to do with the dominating Urukean influence over Ku’ara that is expressed by the appearance of several Uruk-related deities in the offering lists. However, due to the lack of comparative evidence it is unsure how Asar/Asalluḫi fits into the picture of this hypothetical Urukean influence.⁴⁷¹ In the documents that reflect the cultic life in Ku’ara, Enki was probably worshipped under the name Ḫaia with Nindamana (=Nindamgalnuna) as his wife and ^dmar-tu (perhaps the deity who is later known as Marduk, i.e. ^damar-utu) as their son.

The name-forms Asalluḫi and Asar are alternately used in Ur III sources. However, as both appear in very similar contexts in Ur III texts there seems to be no basis for the assumption that they were originally different deities. One could view the interchanging use of the two names as an indication of a gradual process of name-changing that took place during the Ur III period, as in the following Old Babylonian period, the name Asalluḫi is much more frequent. It can also be suspected that at times the name Asar was used as an abbreviation for the longer name-form Asalluḫi. In the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* another byname of Asalluḫi, Asaralimnuna appears for the first time, probably to be translated as “Asar, the princely bison”. In the temple hymns another facet of Asalluḫi is revealed that is unknown in incantations and is similar to the role of the so-called young warrior gods (e.g., Ninurta). The name Asaralimnuna might be connected to this manifestation of Asalluḫi. Possible hints at connections

⁴⁶⁷ Note that in DME 66 it is Asalluḫi who is instructed to treat the patient by giving him water to drink.

⁴⁶⁸ Note that gi a also appears in an Old Babylonian incantation DME 242.

⁴⁶⁹ So Rudik 2011, 473.

⁴⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that in the Ur III incantations – the main source for Asar/Asalluḫi – no mention is made of Ku’ara.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Carroué 1993, 49: “Ces données, ainsi que les mentions du toponyme [Ku’ara^{ki}] en compagnie d’Eridu, suggèrent ne proximité non seulement de la ville d’Enki, mais aussi de la zone d’influence culturelle d’Uruk, avec la présence du culte rendu à ^dnin-sun [...]”

with the gods Martu/Amurru and Utu can also be found in this bovide manifestation of the god. Also traceable in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* are Asalluḫi's conceptual connections to Iškur, the weather god.

Based on incantations of the Ur III period there is little reason to call Asalluḫi/Asar an expert of magic, the great exorcist or similar, as has sometimes been done. His part in incantation is not that of an expert but only as a subordinate who is following the orders of a senior deity (Enki). Asalluḫi's/Asar's role remains similar throughout the divine dialogue incantations, with some minor changes (often abridgements in formulaic parts). In incantations without the divine dialogue Asalluḫi steps up in varying roles. For example, he – together with other deities (Enki, Nunura, Ninšubur) – participates in rituals conducted in the event of construction of a new building. He also appears in formulaic endings of incantations – three times as part of the formulae of effectiveness and once – together with Enki and Namma – in the formula of praise. In some Ur III incantations rare descriptions of Asalluḫi are included. In one text he is compared to the rising sun(-god) and in another he is likened to raw gold.

5. OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Compared to earlier periods there is a wealth of material available for Asalluḫi from the Old Babylonian era. The god appears in god-lists and lexical, literary and administrative texts, one royal inscription, personal names, and most notably in more than 150 incantations. The name-form Asalluḫi in this period dominates over other forms Asar and Asaralimmuna. As has been discussed on several occasions before, sometime during the Old Babylonian period the divine figure of Asalluḫi became merged with the one of Marduk, the premier god of the city of Babylon and the Ḫammurabi dynasty.⁴⁷² The details of this merger are not yet fully intelligible, mainly due to the lack of information on the independent divine figure of Marduk before his identification with Asalluḫi.

5.1 God-lists

As far as is known to me, Asalluḫi appears in seven god-lists of the Old Babylonian period: TCL 15 10; Nippur list; Weidner list; Isin list; the recently published so-called non-standard Nippur god-lists N 1012 + N 3316A + N 3387; and UM 55-21-351, plate XXVII; and the unprovenanced god-list TIM 9 86. Each of these lists follows a separate, probably mostly local tradition,⁴⁷³ and none of them has much in common with the Early Dynastic Fāra and Abū Salābīḫ god-lists.

5.1.1 God-list TCL 15 10

It seems reasonable to begin the discussion of the Old Babylonian lists with the god-list TCL 15 10,⁴⁷⁴ as it is the most well-preserved (473 names written on a large tablet numbered AO 5376 that was long thought to be the only extant manuscript of this god-list⁴⁷⁵), it contains the most names for *Götterkreis* connected to Asalluḫi and among the Old Babylonian lists is the easiest to place into the stream of tradition. The reason for the latter is that the list is long known to be a forerunner to the later – from Middle Babylonian times onwards –

⁴⁷² For the identification of Asalluḫi with Marduk, see Sommerfeld 1982, 13–18; Geller 1985, 12–15; Oshima 2011, 42–47; Barberon 2012, 135–138.

⁴⁷³ Cf. Peterson 2009a, 1: “A general impression of the highly localized nature of godlist traditions in this period, which arises from the presence of unique godlists from Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Mari, Susa, and, perhaps, Ur, still remains, however.” The exception to this “localized nature” is god-list TCL 15 10 that seems to represent a more general pantheon.

⁴⁷⁴ By the name of the editor of the *editio princeps* of this list it is also known as the Genouillac god-list, see Genouillac 1923.

⁴⁷⁵ For another possible manuscript of this list, a small fragment from Nippur, see Peterson 2009a, 79–80.

god-list known as *An = Anum*.⁴⁷⁶ W. G. Lambert dates TCL 15 10 to ca. 1700–1600.⁴⁷⁷ The list seems to be a systematic listing of a “general pantheon” and not an expression of any local pantheon.⁴⁷⁸ T. Richter has emphasised that many North-Babylonian, the Diyala region and Syrian deities are either missing in this list or appear only in marginal roles.⁴⁷⁹ Thus, the focus of the list lies in the south of the land. The origin of the main manuscript of TCL 15 10 is, however, unknown.⁴⁸⁰

The list begins with a lengthy so-called “theogony of Enlil” (col. i, ll. 1–30) that was already present in Early Dynastic Fāra and Abū Salābīḥ god-lists.⁴⁸¹ This is formed of pairs of deities whose names begin with en- and nin- with the second part of the name of each pair being the same (e.g., ^den-ki-^dnin-ki, ^den-mul-^dnin-mul, ^den-ul-^dnin-ul, etc.), followed by the theogony of An (col. I, ll. 31–37) and only then by the names of Enlil and his spouse, children and courtiers (col. i, l. 38–col. ii, l. 25). Then comes the section for Enki (10 names) together with his wife Damgalnuna (three names) and children and courtiers (col. ii, l. 39–col. iii, l. 14) of whom Asalluḫi is listed first:

col. ii	47. ^d é[nsi-ga]l-abzu
39. ^d asal-lú-ḫi	col. iii
40. ^d asar	1. ^d abgal
41. ^d asar-alim-nun-na	2. ^d sig ₇ -niḡir
42. ^d pa ₄ -nun-an-ki	3. ^d sirsir
43. ^d e ₄ -ru ₆	4. ^d igi-ḫé-gál
44. ^d ur-e ₄ -ru ₆	5. ^d ka-ḫé-gál
45. ^d al-[e ₄ -r]u ₆	6. ^d la-ḫa-ma-abzu
46. ^d é[ns]i-maḫ	

Here three well-known names for the deity (Asalluḫi, Asar and Asaralimnuna) appear, followed by his spouse Panunanki and Eru(a), probably another name for Asalluḫi’s wife.⁴⁸² Asalluḫi and Panunanki are followed by lesser courtiers of Enki. Most of the deities who follow in col. ii, l. 44–col. iii, l. 6 are known from other sources, however varied these might be. Judging by the name, ^dur-e₄-ru₆ might be a servant of the previously mentioned Panunanki and Eru.

⁴⁷⁶ Lambert 1957–1971, 475.

⁴⁷⁷ Lambert 2007, 28. However, as Asalluḫi and Marduk do not seem to be “entirely” identified yet (see below), one might consider this list to be somewhat earlier.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. Richter 2004, 13, n. 52, who compares TCL 15 10 to the Isin god-list: “Anders als bei der Götterliste aus Isin [...], die durch die Gestaltung des Kreises der Heilgöttin und des Nergal deutlich als lokales Produkt zu erkennen gibt, zeigt TCL 15, 10 weder im Aufbau noch in der Anordnung der Gottheiten innerhalb eines Götterkreises lokale Züge.”

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁸⁰ See further *ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁸¹ See 1.1.1 above.

⁴⁸² This can be concluded on the basis of the first millennium god-list CT 25 35 in which both Panunanki (CT 25 35, obv., l. 8) and Eru (CT 25 35, obv., l. 14) appear as bynames for Šarpanitum, cf. Richter 2004, 106. For Eru(a), see Green 1975, 93–94.

Both Eru and Ur-Eru are known to be bull-headed harps in the later *An = Anum* god-list.⁴⁸³ ^dal-[e₄-r]u₆ could also have a connection to Eru as an independent deity. Another option is to consider all the names appearing in ll. 42–45 to stand for Asalluḫi’s wife. The signs A and EDIN with which the name ^de₄-ru₆ is written might give a hint about the sphere of responsibility of the goddess (water and steppes).

Ensimah appeared as a minor deity in an Ur III offering list that reflected offerings in Ku’ara.⁴⁸⁴ This deity was probably during the Ur III times already identified with the god whose name was written as ^dmar-tu, as the evidence from two of the lists (TCL 2 5482 and TCL 2 5514) indicates.⁴⁸⁵ The question whether the divine figures of Ensimah and Ensigalabzu were at some point considered separate has been discussed with varied results.⁴⁸⁶ The occurrence of the god Martu/Ensimah in close connections to Asalluḫi in the two offering lists and in other contexts has raised interesting questions about the relations between the two deities and the possible influence of the god Martu on the divine figure of the god Marduk. Thus, T. Sharlach, based on the reading of Martu’s name, ^ddingir-mar-du-ak “(divine name) The God of the Amorites” emphasises the “intriguing similarity” between this form and the name Marduk (^damar-utu or ^d(a)mar-ud).⁴⁸⁷

The term abgal (Akkadian *apkallu(m)*) in Sumerian signified: 1) a profession, 2) a cultic functionary, 3) a mythological sage, 4) depicted as having long hair hanging down, 5) the figurine of an abgal, 6) used in reference to deities.⁴⁸⁸ It is often difficult to make a distinction between these meanings in different texts. The abgal, probably as mythological figures, “the seven sages”, appear in the section dedicated to Asalluḫi in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* and in the hymn Asalluḫi A. In TCL 15 10, however, as the name is written with the divine determinative, one might perhaps suspect a deified cultic official, as abgals as mythical sages never seem to be deified.

^dsig₇-niḡir and ^dsirsir are both boatmen-deities. The former appears in close contexts to Asar in the Early Dynastic lexical lists.⁴⁸⁹ Both deities appear in the

⁴⁸³ Richter 2004, 106.

⁴⁸⁴ See 4.1.1.1 above.

⁴⁸⁵ For juxtaposition of this pair of deities in TCL 2 5482 and TCL 2 5514, see Sallaberger 1993 II, 134. Note that in the later, first millennium manuscripts of the *An = Anum* god-list, both Ensimah and Ensigalabzu are identified with Martu/Amurru, in CT 24 16, col. iii: 38. [^dé]nsi-gal-abzu = AN.AN-mar-tu (^ddingir-martu?) 39. [^dé]nsi-mah = ^dmar-tu. For the various readings of these names, see Maul 1988, 182.

⁴⁸⁶ Richter 2004, 107 considers Ensigalabzu to be initially an independent deity; Durand 1976–1977, 172 considers Ensigalabzu only as a byname for Ensimah.

⁴⁸⁷ Sharlach 2002, 98; Cf. Richter 2004, 107, n. 479, who, based on the epithets attributed to Ensigalabzu (i.e. Martu) in a text that describes king Samsu-iluna’s crowning (TCL 16 43), comments: “In diesem Zusammenhang spielt die frage nach der Einordnung des Martu/Amurru in den Enki/Ea-Kreis bzw. dessen Verhältnis zu Asalluḫi eine Rolle [...]” For Martu, see also Edzard 1987–1990 and 4.1.1.1 above.

⁴⁸⁸ PSD 1 A/II, 175.

⁴⁸⁹ See 1.2 above.

myth *Enki and the World Order*, ll. 113 and 184, where ^dniġir-sig₇ (written in reverse) is reported to be the “captain” (énsi) of Enki’s barge (“Stag-of-the-abzu”) who is holding the golden sceptre for Enki,⁴⁹⁰ and Sirsir appears in l. 182 in a broken context probably simply as a boatman (má-[laḥ₅]).⁴⁹¹

Igiḥegal and Kaḥegal (“eye (or face?) of plenty” and “gate (or mouth?) of plenty”) also appear as a pair in the god-list from Isin that adds another name, simply Ḥegal to the duo.⁴⁹² The pair also appears in a few literary texts: *The Eridu Lament* (*kirugu* 3, l. 3 and l. 9 of the Ur recension)⁴⁹³ and *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur* (l. 224),⁴⁹⁴ in the former they appear as “doorkeepers of the house” (i-du₈ é-a) in Eridu and in the latter in a broken context.⁴⁹⁵ Either Laḥama-abzu or Laḥama-engur appear in groups of 50 in literary texts, for example, in the myth *Enki and the World Order*, where 50 Laḥamas of engur are said to speak “right praise” (mí zid) to Enki (l. 186).⁴⁹⁶ The previous deities Igiḥegal and Kaḥegal are counted among the laḥamas of the abzu in later material.⁴⁹⁷ It remains open whether in TCL 15 10 Laḥama-abzu denotes a generic name for a group of (lesser) deities or a single separate deity.

The lesser deities associated with Asalluḫi are in the next eight lines followed by the circle of the god Marduk.⁴⁹⁸ Although Asalluḫi and Marduk are listed in close vicinity to each other in TCL 15 10, this list still makes a clear distinction between the two deities.⁴⁹⁹ However, despite the fact that Asalluḫi and Marduk are not considered to be the same deity, their closeness in this list shows that in the eyes of the compiler they had some connections, perhaps as two still separate but most important sons of Enki. That the process of identifying Asalluḫi and his family and court with the ones of Marduk was not finished is also visible from the fact that Panunanki and Šarpanitum were still listed separately.⁵⁰⁰

Although, as mentioned above, the number of North-Babylonian deities in this list is meagre, the addition of as much as eight names for the god Marduk

⁴⁹⁰ Benito 1969, 92 and 95; see also Krebernik 1998–2001b, 319.

⁴⁹¹ Benito 1969, 95. See also Krebernik 2009–2011b. Sirsir is probably depicted as a *Mischwesen* of a snake and a man that together form a boat (see Green 1993–1997, 261–262; Pientka-Hinz, 2009–2011, 215).

⁴⁹² For Igiḥegal and Kaḥegal, see Falkenstein 1964, 71; see also Richter 2004, 107.

⁴⁹³ See Green 1978, 134–135 and 158–159.

⁴⁹⁴ See Michalowski 1989, 50–51.

⁴⁹⁵ Note that Igiḥegal and Kaḥegal (in reversed order) are listed among the eight gatekeepers in *An = Anum*, tablet 2, ll. 318–325. The six other gatekeepers (whose names begin similarly with either igi or ka) do not appear in TCL 15 10.

⁴⁹⁶ See Benito 1969, 95.

⁴⁹⁷ See, e.g., RA 17, 132, ll. 7–9; see also Falkenstein 1964, 71.

⁴⁹⁸ TCL 15 10, col. iii, ll. 7–14: ^damar-utu / ^dtu-tu / ^dšar-pa-ni-tum / ^dnin-bára-gi₄-si / ^ddumu-zi-abzu / ^{dr}zu⁷-ki-gu-la / ^dna-bi-um / ^dtaš-me-tum.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Green 1975, 93: “Note, however, that the OB Godlist list Asarluhi and Marduk separately, perhaps implying an as yet incomplete syncretism.” Cf. Oshima 2011, 42, n. 14.

⁵⁰⁰ As was noted above, in the first millennium Panunanki became a byname for Šarpanitum.

and his entourage is conspicuous. What could be the reason for the addition of this northern deity? W. G. Lambert has seen the origin of this list from the city of Babylon.⁵⁰¹ T. Richter has expressed a different view and based the addition of the Marduk-names with the already prominent position of Marduk in the southern regions of the land.⁵⁰²

5.1.2 The Nippur God-list

The Nippur list is preserved on more than 30 tablets and lists ca. 270 names.⁵⁰³ Different from TCL 15 10 and the Weidner list the Nippur god-list has thus far no firm place in the stream of tradition in the sense that it has no obvious successors. Another major difference from TCL 15 10 is that instead of the detailed naming of the ancestors of Enlil (the en- and nin-pairs), as in the beginning of this text, the Nippur list *in medias res* begins with naming the sky god An (paired with *An-tum* and *Uraš*), followed by a short Enlil-section.

It is difficult to fathom what type of pantheon – local or general – the Nippur god-list represents. It would be difficult, for example, to accept that it stands for the local pantheon in Nippur, as, for example, the major deities of Nippur such as Enlil (ll. 4–6) and Ninurta (ll. 34–37) – deciding by the number of names listed – are underrepresented when compared to a few clusters of some other deities, e.g., at least nine names for Inanna in ll. 54–62.

According to W. G. Lambert this list is “arranged largely on theological principles, though toward the end some lexical grouping seems to occur.”⁵⁰⁴ The problem with this description is that not long after the beginning some sections start to appear in which the theological principles are not easy to explain. This holds true – among other deities – for Asalluḫi whose divine circle in the Nippur list is given in seemingly less systematic form than in TCL 15 10. Thus, the names for Enki and Damgalnuna are given some 130 names before Asalluḫi.⁵⁰⁵ The following arbitrary section (ll. 158–189) probably features four Asalluḫi-names in ll. 165–168:⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰¹ Lambert 2013, 149.

⁵⁰² Richter 2004, 14: “Der Grund dafür ist aber wohl weniger in einer Herkunft des Textes aus Babylon bzw. Nordbabylonien als vielmehr in der schon zur Entstehungszeit großen Bedeutung Marduk’s zu sehen, der in Südbabylonien bereits bekannt gewesen sein muß.”

⁵⁰³ J. Peterson has recently published a new edition of the Nippur god-list together with other types of god-lists found in Nippur, many of them previously unpublished (Peterson 2009a). For the list of sources (together with the ones not used for Peterson’s publication), see *ibid.*, 10–13. For an earlier edition (now somewhat obsolete), see Jean 1931. The discussion here relies mainly on the composite edition in Peterson 2009a, 14–16.

⁵⁰⁴ Lambert 1957–1971, 474.

⁵⁰⁵ ^den-ki / ^dnu-dím-mud / ^dam-an-ki / ^dara / ^ddam-gal-nu-na (ll. 22–26).

⁵⁰⁶ Following Peterson 2009a, 15–16.

158. ^{daš} aš ₇ -gī ₄	173. (not preserved)
159. ^d barag-niĝin-ĝar-ra	174. ^d nin-mug [?]
160. ^d lum-ma	175. ^d nin-SAR
161. ^d ha-da-ni-iš	176. ^d nin-ti
162. ^d guggim/gaggim	177. ^d nin-MUŠ-a (^d Nin-dar-a [?])
163. (not preserved)	178. ^d nin-gal-laḥ ₄
164. ^d an-nu-um	179. ^d nin-LUL-lil-lá
165. ^d asar [?]	180. ^d nin-sún
166. ^d asar [?] -sag ₉	181. ^d gu-nu-ra
167. ^d asal-lú-ḫi	182. ^d al-lá
168. ^d asar-alim-ma	183. ^d TU
169. ^d nin-ĝedru	184. ^d TU-ZI
170. ^d nin-maš	185. ^d ĝeštin-an-na
171. ^d nin-x	186. ^d niraḥ
172. ^d nin-x-gal	187. ^d iš-ḫa-ra

When compared to the names given in TCL 15 10, the Nippur list gives another Asalluḫi name Asarsag, that can be interpreted as “the good Asar”. This name – if read correctly – is otherwise unattested. In addition, the Nippur list differs from TCL 15 10 by abbreviating the name Asaralimnuna to Asaralima (“Asar of the bison”) and by beginning the four Asalluḫi names with Asar instead of Asalluḫi.⁵⁰⁷ It seems that the ancient compiler ignores most of the names that appear close to Asalluḫi in TCL 15 10. Thus, neither of Asalluḫi’s wives in TCL 15 10, Panunanki and Eru appear in the Nippur list at all. As do none of the deities who in TCL 15 10 (col. ii, l. 44–col. iii, l. 6) occur between the names of Asalluḫi and his spouses and Marduk and his entourage.⁵⁰⁸

The arbitrary section presented here that includes the Asalluḫi names begins with the god Ašgi whose name occurs close to Asar in two Early Dynastic lists from Fāra (SF 23, SF 57) and in the UD.GAL.NUN text CUT 93. As shown by Richter the deity in the next line is the daughter of the mother-goddess and her spouse Šulpae and thus Ašgi’s sister.⁵⁰⁹ The next two deities Lumma and Hadaniš belong to the entourage of Enlil in TCL 15 10, col. ii, ll. 3–4 and are from elsewhere known as the guardians of the Ekur temple.⁵¹⁰ Guggim/Gaggim (^dMUG, l. 162), a god of handcraft, and Annum (l. 164) seem to give few hints regarding the context of the following Asalluḫi names.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ Note that the sign for the reading Asar as the editor himself admits: “is not decisively preserved” (Peterson 2009a, 65). Cf. Richter 2004, 98, n. 430 who reads the sign in l. 165 (=SLT 124, col. vi, l. 16) as kù.

⁵⁰⁸ Note that the boatman deity Sirsir appears on one of the three fragments of another Old Babylonian god-list, see Peterson 2009a, 85–92.

⁵⁰⁹ Richter 2004, 386–387.

⁵¹⁰ See, e.g., *An = Anum*, tablet 1, ll. 188–190 (Litke 1998, 42). For Lumma, see Marchesi 2006.

⁵¹¹ For Guggim/Gaggim, see *An = Anum*, tablet 2, ll. 349 and 352 (Litke 1998, 108–109) and col. vi, ll. 224–225 (Litke 1998, 216); see also Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001f,

The last Asalluḫi-name Asaralimma is in ll. 169–180 followed by at least 11 names that begin with the word nin. Thus, one might suspect mainly lexical ordering behind this part of the text. Nin-ĝedru or Nin-PA should probably be interpreted as “the lady of the sceptre”.⁵¹² On an unpublished tablet of the Middle Babylonian *An = Anum*, this deity is connected to the god Nuska.⁵¹³ Nin-maš, a deity who often appears together with another goddess Nin-PIRIĜ probably is first and foremost connected to incantations. She appears in the Early Dynastic Fāra god-list, in one Early Dynastic and several Old Babylonian incantations.⁵¹⁴ J. Peterson supposes that “The juxtaposition of ^dNin-maš to the divine name ^dNin-PA here is presumably based on the graphic similarity of the PA and MAŠ signs.”⁵¹⁵

The following three missing or half-preserved signs are not of much help in clarifying the context. After this occurs Ninmuga, a goddess of handicraft and a helper in childbirth and the spouse of the god Ĥendursaĝa.⁵¹⁶ For the deity Nin-SAR note that the sequence Ninmuga followed by Nin-SAR appears in the great god-list from Fāra (SF 1), in the Fāra-list of the so-called *fischessender Gottheiten* (SF 5–6) the pair appear in reversed order.⁵¹⁷ Nin-SAR is the divine butcher, in *An = Anum* she is the wife of Erragal who is identified with Nergal.⁵¹⁸ Ninti, according to the hymn to Ninkasi (Ninkasi A), is together with Enki, Ninkasi’s parent. In this hymn Ninti is called “the queen of abzu” (nin abzu-a).⁵¹⁹ This is in agreement with *An = Anum*, tablet 2, l. 179 where Ninti is identified with Enki’s spouse Damgalnuna-Damkina.

The three following deities (ll. 177–179) are relatively obscure.⁵²⁰ Ninsun in l. 180 is the well-known goddess who in Ur III times shared prominence over Ku’ara with Asalluḫi. Gunura is known as the daughter of Ninisina and the sister of Damu.⁵²¹ Alla is a deity with a connection to the netherworld.⁵²² ^dTU could stand for either NIN-tu, the mother-goddess, or could be a male deity who appears in the *Zami Hymns* and in a Ur III incantation where he is mentioned together with Ningirim and is called “the great maš-maš priest of heaven” (maš-

473. Note that according to T. Richter the names that appear before Asalluḫi in the Nippur god-list, belong to the circle of the mother-goddess (Richter 2004, 57).

⁵¹² For this deity, see Selz 1995, 263; Selz 1997, 172–173; Such-Gutiérrez 2003, 356–357. Note that Nin-PA appears in proximity to Asalluḫi in an Old Babylonian administrative document ARN 58 + Ni. 2181 (see 5.3.2 below).

⁵¹³ Peterson 2009a, 65.

⁵¹⁴ For Ninmaš, see Krebernik 1984, 34–35; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001d.

⁵¹⁵ Peterson 2009a, 65.

⁵¹⁶ For Ninmuga, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001f.

⁵¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 471–472. For Nin-SAR, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001g.

⁵¹⁸ *An = Anum*, tablet 1, l. 328 (Litke 1998, 60).

⁵¹⁹ For the hymn to Ninkasi, see Civil 1964. For Ninti, see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001h.

⁵²⁰ For possible readings and references, see Peterson 2009a, 66.

⁵²¹ See Richter 2004, 210–211 with references.

⁵²² See van Dijk 1960, 27; Richter 2004, 489.

maš gal an-na-ke₄).⁵²³ By the similarity of the names and the responsibility for incantations, Krebernik suspects that this might be the same deity than the later Tutu from Borsippa.⁵²⁴ For the reason that goddess Ĝeštinanna is mentioned next (l. 185), M. Krebernik claims that ^dTU-ZI in this list stands for Dumuzi, Ĝeštinanna's brother (with a contracted form Dûzi).⁵²⁵ During the Ur III period both Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna received offerings together with Asalluḫi in Ku'ara.⁵²⁶ The excerpt is concluded by the deities Niraḫ and Iṣḫara who both have connections to snakes.⁵²⁷ Different from TCL 15 10 the Nippur god-list does not reflect any connections between Asalluḫi and Marduk. The latter deity is listed some seventy names before Asalluḫi. Marduk is preceded by netherworld deities and is followed by two names of the goddess Nanše, her daughter Nin-MAR.KI and a few deities associated with beer.⁵²⁸

5.1.3 Non-standard Nippur God-list N 1012 + N 3316a + N 3387

In the first of the two non-standard Nippur god-lists the name Asalluḫi begins the third column:⁵²⁹

col. iii	7. ^d aš-ra- ^r tum ^r imin!
1. ^d asal-lú-ḫi	9. ^d ebiḫ
2. ^d r ^r nin ^r -di-da	10. ^r d ^r íd-lú- ⁵³⁰ -ru-gú
3. [^d]alamuš(LÀL)	11. ^d bí-zil-lá
4. [^d]lú-làl	12. ^d ŠAG ₄ -ma-at
5. [^d]kulla	13. ^d šar-pa-ni- ^r tum ^r
6. [^d]imin-bi	14. ^d sirsir _x (BU-B[U-E])

The principles of ordering are not clear. The ordering is probably not mainly theological, as, for example, Asalluḫi's mother Damgalnuna appears in the first column of the list. In places, for example, between the third and fourth name in col. iii, alamuš(LÀL) and lú-làl, one can suspect lexical ordering. Deities with some connections to Asalluḫi in other contexts are Ilurugu, Šarpanitum and

⁵²³ Krebernik 2014–2016, 153.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. For ^dTU and ^dTU-ZI, cf. the comment of J. Peterson: “It is unclear if these entries bear any theological association or if they are here according to strictly graphic principles” (Peterson 2009a, 67).

⁵²⁶ See 4.1.1.1 above.

⁵²⁷ For Niraḫ, see the discussion above (1.1.1) for the Early Dynastic god-list SF 1. For Iṣḫara, see Prechel 1996.

⁵²⁸ Ll. 88–105: ^dḫendur-saḡ-ḡa / ^dnin-ḡiš-zi-da / ^dḡiš-bàn-da / ^da-zi-mú-a / ^ddim-PI-kug / ^dnin-a-zu / ^dkulla / ^dnu-muš-da / ^dḫu-ma-at / ^damar-utu / ^dna-zi / ^dnanše / ^dnin-MAR.KI / ^dnin-ti-ḫal / ^dsiraš / ^dnin-ka-si / ^dšakkan / ^dDUL.

⁵²⁹ Following Peterson 2009a, 87.

⁵³⁰ Note the remark at this point in *ibid.*: “erasure of RU?”.

Sirsir. Although Šarpanitum is present, the god Marduk does not appear in the surviving parts of the non-standard Nippur god-lists treated here.

5.1.4 Non-standard Nippur God-list UM 55-21-351, Plate XXVII

Asalluḫi appears in the second column of this list, together with four other deities. Asalluḫi's mother Damgalnuna is listed immediately after him:⁵³¹

- obv. ii
1. not preserved
 2. ^dpa₅-[^din[?]]-dùg
 3. ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 4. ^{dr}dam[?]-gal-nun-na
 5. [^d]iškur
 6. [^d]ša[?]-la

As noted by J. Peterson, this list seems to follow the theological ordering of deities.⁵³² However, due to the fragmentary nature the ordering is not very informative, as the remainder of the column after the occurrence of storm god Iškur and his spouse Šala is missing. ^dpa₅-[^din[?]]-dùg (in *An* = *Anum*, tablet 1, l. 334: ^dpa-ḡeštin-dùg) was connected to the circle of the beer goddess Ninkasi.⁵³³ Peterson suspects that this deity is listed before Asalluḫi for lexical reasons, as both names share 𒀵 as the final sign.⁵³⁴

5.1.5 The Weidner God-list

The earliest fragment of this list (VAT 6563 (AfK 2, 6)) with an unknown origin was dated by the list's first editor E. F. Weidner to the Ur III period.⁵³⁵ However, in more recent studies an Old Babylonian date is preferred for the manuscript.⁵³⁶ There are other Mesopotamian fragments from the first half of the second millennium: a bigger fragment VAT 7759 that formed the basis for Weidner's edition of the list, probably originating from Umma.⁵³⁷ Additional Old Babylonian manuscripts are VAS 24 20 and VAS 24 21 from Babylon, OECT 1 22 (=W-B 9) and RA 23, 48 from unknown locations and Tab T07-1 from Tell Taban on the Habur river.⁵³⁸ That the Weidner list was considered

⁵³¹ Peterson 2009a, 101.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ See Litke 1998, 61, n. for l. 334.

⁵³⁴ Peterson 2009a, 103.

⁵³⁵ Weidner 1924–1925, 2; this opinion was followed in Lambert 1957–1971, 474.

⁵³⁶ Pomponio 1998–2001, 21; Veldhuis 2003c, 628.

⁵³⁷ Weidner 1924–1925, 2 dates it to the Isin period; Lambert 1957–1971, 474 dates the list to the Isin-Larsa period.

⁵³⁸ For an edition of the Tell Taban manuscript, see Shibata 2009.

important in ancient traditions is proven by its many “ancient editions” from the wider Near-Eastern region during the two millennia BCE.⁵³⁹

The purpose of the text is purportedly scholarly.⁵⁴⁰ This view is supported by the fact that on the other side of two tablets (OECT 1 22 and the Neo-Assyrian manuscript KAV 65) the so-called Syllabary A, a text used by beginning students has survived.⁵⁴¹ However, the fact that the text was studied in ancient schools as a workbook of sorts does not in itself mean that this was its original purpose and for this list – as for several other god-lists – one can suspect a theological speculation of scholars as its initial purpose.

The list follows theological ordering and Asalluḫi appears in the Enki section of the list. The following composite excerpt of the list is based on the seven Old Babylonian manuscripts listed above:⁵⁴²

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. ^d en-ki | 14. ^d šilluš-ṭāb |
| 2. ^d é-a | 15. ^d ištaran (KA.DI) |
| 3. ^d dam-gal-nun-na | 16. ^d kur-gal |
| 4. ^d dam-ki-na | 17. ^d niraḫ (MUŠ) |
| 5. ^d id | 18. ^d i-šar-ma-ti-šu ₁₁ |
| 6. ^d ki-ša ₆ | 19. ^d i-šar-ki-ti-šu ₁₁ |
| 7. ^d asal-lú-ḫi | 20. ^d i-šar-bé-ri-šu ₁₁ |
| 8. ^d amar-utu | 21. ^d i-šar-li-šu ₁₁ |
| 9. ^d šar-pa-ni-tum | 22. ^d nè-eri ₁₁ -gal |
| 10. ^d na-bi-um | 23. ^d èr-ra |
| 11. ^d taš-me-tum | 24. ^d ir-ra-gal |
| 12. ^d ma-mi-e | 25. ^d ma-mi |
| 13. ^d a-ra-aḫ-tum | 26. ^d ma-ma |

Enki is identified with Ea in this list and his spouse Damgalnuna with Damkina. Asalluḫi is no longer a brother of Marduk as in TCL 15 10 but seems to be identified with the latter, as no mention is made of Asalluḫi’s wife Panunanki, and two Asalluḫi names are followed by Šarpanitum. This makes it probable that the Weidner list is a later invention than TCL 15 10. Interesting here is the intrusion of the river god Id who cannot be interpreted only as a byname for Enki/Ea, but – as the names of Enki’s wife are already mentioned – has to be considered an independent deity. According to manuscript VAS 24 21, ll. 1’–2’,

⁵³⁹ For example, from Emar, Ugarit and Amarna.

⁵⁴⁰ See Weidner 1924–1925, 2: “Es handelt sich um eine Kompilation für Schulzwecke, die den Tempelschüler und jungen Priester in die Geheimnisse des vielgestaltigen babylonischen Pantheons einführen sollte.”

⁵⁴¹ For school tablets with excerpts from the Weidner god-list, see Gesche 2000, 75–76.

⁵⁴² The numbering does not comply with any of the manuscripts and is given only for the sake of clarity. For a parallel presentation of this part in various manuscripts of the Weidner list, see Cavigneaux 1981, 84–87.

Id is to be equated with Ilurugu,⁵⁴³ the divine river-ordeal who appears in intimate context with Asalluḫi in other Old Babylonian sources.⁵⁴⁴

Asalluḫi's/Marduk's wife Šarpanitum is followed by the pair Nabium and Tašmetum. Nabium/Nabû during the Old Babylonian period was Marduk's minister and scribe. His sonship of Marduk is a later development, possibly from the Kassite period onwards.⁵⁴⁵ For Nabium and Tašmetum there are some differences between the Old Babylonian manuscripts of the Weidner god-list. Thus, VAS 24 21 has a name that has not survived (ÁG?) between Nabium and Tašmetum and RA 23, 48 (which has not survived in this portion) lists Tašmetum as part of the following Nergal circle. Mami is described as Marduk's sister in *An = Anum*, tablet 2, l. 252.⁵⁴⁶ Araḫtum is a name for a canal in Babylon, a branch of the river Euphrates.⁵⁴⁷ Šilluš-ṭāb is according to *An = Anum*, tablet 2, ll. 260–262 one of the two hairdressers of Šarpanitum.⁵⁴⁸

W. G. Lambert has considered the Marduk-names that appear in the god-list TCL 15 10, as an intrusion, i.e. an addendum made by a later editor of the list.⁵⁴⁹ Similar treatment could be considered for this part of the Weidner god-list. If the names connected to Marduk, from ^damar-utu to ^dšilluš-ṭāb would be removed it would leave Asalluḫi close to Ištaran, the snake-shaped deity from the city of Dēr,⁵⁵⁰ and his minister Nirah, who appeared not long after Asar in SF 1 together with other snake-shaped deities. This would make the sequential logic between the two lists somewhat similar. There follow four deities whose names begin with Išar (who also appear in the non-standard Nippur list N 1012 + N 3316A + N 3387, col. iv, ll. 11–13) and then Nergal and other deities from his netherworld circle.

5.1.6 The Isin God-list

The Isin god-list does not add much information on the context of Asalluḫi names, as the names Asalluḫi and Asaralimnuna appear in a fragmentary context.⁵⁵¹

A V 17 ^dnin?-ti-x-IR?
 A V 18 ...-tu
 A V 19 ...-tu
 A V 20 ^dra-aš-UR-ba?-tu
 A V 21 ...-ba

⁵⁴³ Only the signs ʾru-gú have survived at the end of the line in VAS 24 21, l. 1'.

⁵⁴⁴ For Ilurugu in the hymn Asalluḫi A, Šin-iddinam's letter-prayer and Old Babylonian incantations, see below.

⁵⁴⁵ Pomponio 1998–2001, 21.

⁵⁴⁶ See Litke 1998, 97.

⁵⁴⁷ For Araḫtum, see George 1992, 351–356.

⁵⁴⁸ For the reading of the name *Šilluš-ṭāb*, see Krebernik 2009–2011c.

⁵⁴⁹ Lambert 2013, 252.

⁵⁵⁰ Note that both Ištaran and Id(lurugu) are connected to judicial functions.

⁵⁵¹ Following Wilcke 1987, Abbildung 9.

A V 22 [^dx-x]-BÁRA.KI-ta[?]-x
 A V 23 [^dasal]-lú-ḫi
 A V 24 [^dasar-al]im-nun-n[a]

The name Marduk has not preserved in the Isin god-list.

5.1.7 God-list TIM 9 86

In the three-columned god-list TIM 9 86 the god Asalluḫi appears after Ninurta, his wife Ninnibru and Enki/Ea/Nudimmud and is followed by Utu and two names for his spouse⁵⁵² and Iškur and Ningirsu who are listed together with their wives:

col. I	9. ^d utu
3. ^d nin-urta	10. ^d šer ₇ -da
4. ^d nin-nibru ^{ki}	11. ^d a-a
5. ^d en-ki	12. ^d iškur [?]
6. ^d nu-dím-mud	13. ^d ša-la [?]
7. é-a	14. ^d nin [?] -ḡír-su
8. ^d asal-lú-ḫi	15. ^d ba-Ú

One notes that for all the deities except Enki and Asalluḫi a spouse is named. The ordering seems to be theological in this section of the list. This part looks like the theology of Asalluḫi in a nutshell, as his relations to all the male counterparts of the pairs are well documented elsewhere.⁵⁵³ Asalluḫi's links to Ningirsu are perhaps the least documented. For these note Asalluḫi's depiction as a young warrior god,⁵⁵⁴ and *Gudea's temple hymn* in which Asar is one of the five deities who makes cultic preparations for the arrival of Ningirsu.⁵⁵⁵ Note also that in the god-list *An = Anum*, tablet 2, l. 297,⁵⁵⁶ Ningirsu is called *lugal-nir-gál* while Asalluḫi is named with the epithet *nir-gál* in the hymn Asalluḫi A. The god Marduk is not mentioned in the surviving part of TIM 9 86. As the provenance of the list is unknown further comments are difficult to give.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵² Note that in the Fāra period god-list SF 1 (see 1.1.1 above) the name Asar is possibly followed by a writing for Šerida.

⁵⁵³ For the ever-present relations between Asalluḫi and Enki, see especially 5.4.2.3; for Asalluḫi and Ninurta, see 4.2.1 and 5.4.2.5; for Asalluḫi and Utu, see especially 5.7.7; for Asalluḫi and Iškur, see 1.3.1 and 4.2.1.

⁵⁵⁴ See 4.2.1.

⁵⁵⁵ See 3.2.1.

⁵⁵⁶ See Litke 1998, 102.

⁵⁵⁷ For the connection of this list to other god-lists, see Simons 2017, 91–92.

5.2 Lexical Texts

5.2.1 Old Babylonian Diri from Nippur

The Old Babylonian version of the lexical series Diri from Nippur is a two columned lexical list that has the logographic writing in the left column and the Akkadian translation in the right column. In the Old Babylonian Diri the deities relevant to the current study are presented in the following sequence:⁵⁵⁸

10.42	^d en-ki	<i>é-a</i>
10.43	[^d x.L]UL	<i>é-a</i>
10.44	^d asar(ĜIŠGAL×IGI)	<i>ma-ru-tu-uk</i>
10.45	^d asal-lú-ḫi	<i>a-sa-lu-úh</i>
10.46	^d en-líl	<i>^den-líl</i>
10.47	^d nin-líl	<i>^dnin-líl</i>
10.48	^d ŠEŠ.KI	<i>^dEN.ZU</i>

The composer of this lexical series makes a clear distinction between Marduk and Asalluḫi, as is visible from the Akkadian column. However, when compared to the god-list TCL 15 10, the Diri text probably represents a further stage in the process of assimilation of Asalluḫi and Marduk. While the god-list gives the Asalluḫi names first, the Akkadian column of Diri first gives ^dasar = *ma-ru-tu-uk*, followed by ^dasal-lú-ḫi = *a-sa-lu-úh*. The Sumerian counterparts of the Akkadian names *ma-ru-tu-uk* and *a-sa-lu-úh* show a seemingly somewhat artificial distinction between ^dasar (written as ĜIŠGAL×IGI, a graphic variant of URU×IGI) and ^dasal-lú-ḫi, names that were indiscriminately alternating in other sources, at least from the Ur III period onwards. Thus, the two name-forms were in the Diri probably used only as means to differentiate between Marduk and Asalluḫi.⁵⁵⁹

5.2.2 KÁ gal = *abullu*

The lexical list Ká gal = *abullu* catalogues the “great gates” (ká gal) of the main deities:⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ MSL 15, 36. Cf. Oshima 2011, 195, who restores the name in l. 10.43 as Enbilulu. The section presented here is before the end of the tablet followed by another two names for the moon-god and three names for Ninurta.

⁵⁵⁹ For the comparison of the juxtapositions given here with the ones given in the prayer Samsu-iluna G, see 5.4.3.4 below.

⁵⁶⁰ MSL 13, 228.

col. I	
5. ká-gal- ^d en-líl-lá	^d <i>en-líl</i>
6. ká-gal- ^d nin-líl	^d <i>nin-líl</i>
7. ká-gal- ^d dumu-nun-na	^d EN.ZU
8. ká-gal- ^d utu	^d ‘UTU’
9. ká-gal- ^d šu-nir-da	^d <i>a-a</i>
10. ká-gal- ^d asar-lú-ḫi	^d <i>marduk</i>
11. ká-gal- ^d inanna	^d <i>iš[tár]</i>

Contrary to the Nippur Diri list, in this list the deities Asalluḫi and Marduk are clearly treated as one and the same deity. This setting is in agreement with the Late Old Babylonian dating of the text: by then the process of assimilation of the two deities had been accomplished.⁵⁶¹

5.3 Administrative Documents

I managed to identify five Old Babylonian administrative texts in which the name Asalluḫi occurs not as part of a personal name.⁵⁶² One text (BLMJ 3127) is from Larsa, one from Ur (UET 3 270) and three closely paralleled texts (UM 29-13-375, UM 29-13-819 and UM 29-13-515) from Nippur.

⁵⁶¹ MSL 13, 227. Note the listing of Asalluḫi/Marduk directly after the sun-god and his spouse.

⁵⁶² I am aware of the following Old Babylonian personal names with the theophoric component ^dasal-lú-ḫi: ^dasal-lú-ḫi-*bāni*, “A. is creator” (three texts: one text from Isin, one from Nippur, one from an unknown location); ur-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “man/servant/dog of A.” (one text from Lagas); ^dasal-lú-ḫi-*muballit*, “A., the one who revives” (one text from Larsa); lú-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “man of A.” (26 texts: four texts from Larsa, two from Ur, one from Babylon(?), two from Dilbat, five from Kiš, seven from Sippar, five from unknown locations); ^dšu-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “one of A.” (one text from Larsa); ^dšilli-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “my protection is A.” (one text from MAŠ.MAŠ.EN.E^{ki}); ^dasal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-šúm, “A. has given to me” (two texts: one from Kiš, one from Sippar); ^dasal-lú-ḫi-lú-T[I?], “A. revives the person?” (one text from an unknown location); ^dasal-lú-ḫi-ša₆-ga, “the good A.” (one text from an unknown location). For references to all the names listed above and their datings, see Sommerfeld 1982, 14–15. For references to the 14 texts in which the name géme-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “female worker of A.” occurs (with datings), see the table in Barbeon 2012, 139 (ten texts from Sippar, one from Babylon, one from Isin, two from unknown locations). To the names collected by W. Sommerfeld and L. Barberon should be added 12 texts mentioning lú-^dasal-lú-ḫi (CUSAS 8 59, 60, 61, 62, 71, 75, 89 (from Dūr-Abī-ēšuh); MHET 2/4 475 (from Sippar); PBS 8/2 255 (from Ur); UET 5 692 (from Ur); CTMMA 1 056 (origin unknown); RIME 4 4.2.14.2002 (p. 304) (origin unknown)), one text mentioning ^dasal-lú-ḫi-ma-an-šúm (AbB 10 178 (origin unknown)), see also the doubtful writing in MHET 2/2 238 (in CDLI emended as ^dasal[?]-lú[?]-ḫi[?]-ma[?]-[an-šúm]), one text mentioning *i-din*-^dasal-lú-ḫi, “A. has given” (SANER 2 28 from Uruk) and one text mentioning géme-^dasal-lú-ḫi (AbB 13 176 (from Babylon(?)). The only Old Babylonian personal name I managed to find which is built with the short form ^dasar (inim-^dasar, “the word of A.”) occurs is BIN 7 63 (from Isin). For personal names with the theophoric component Asar/Asalluḫi from other periods, see 1.3.2 (Early Dynastic), 2.1.2.2 (Old Akkadian) and 4.1 (Ur III) above.

5.3.1 Offering Lists

5.3.1.1 Offering List from Larsa (BLMJ 3127)

Both text BLMJ 3127 and UET 3 270 record foodstuffs issued for offerings. BLMJ 3127, a single copy of a lengthy text of more than 630 lines in nine columns from Larsa records offerings to the statues of deities in the course of a ritual with unknown purpose and with allocations to the temple personnel of the deities.⁵⁶³ The ritual took place in the month of Šabātu probably in various temples in Larsa.⁵⁶⁴ The editors of the text date it to the second year of Rīm-Sîn (1822–1763).⁵⁶⁵ The texts belonged to the archive of one Balamunamḥe, son of Sîn-nūr-mātim, who acted as the administrator of Enki’s temple in Larsa.⁵⁶⁶ The first editor of the text named it “A Seven Day Ritual in the Old Babylonian Cult at Larsa”.⁵⁶⁷ However, as was noted by the editors of a more recent edition, the rituals actually lasted for eight days.⁵⁶⁸

Each cultic day recorded in the text began in the evening (á-u₄-te-na) of one day and ended in the evening of the following day.⁵⁶⁹ In general, every day of the ritual was dedicated to one deity. After an introductory section that is dedicated to Ninsianna there follow sections to Enki/Ea, Utu/Šamaš, Inanna/Ištar, Nanaya, Ninegal, Dingir-maḥ and Paniğara, and the deified (deceased) Larsa king Sîn-iddinam.⁵⁷⁰ Thus, the second day of the ritual was dedicated to Enki. In some of the sections dedicated to a “important” deity some lesser deities of the main deities’ circle appear,⁵⁷¹ among them Asalluḥi who is mentioned thrice in the Enki section of the text:⁵⁷²

⁵⁶³ For the editions of this text, see Kingsbury 1963 and Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 3–81. See further Shehata 2009, 136–146.

⁵⁶⁴ Šabātu was the eleventh month of the calendar of Nippur that was used in Larsa from the reign of the king Warad-Sîn (1834–1823). For the month Šabātu, Sumerian *ziz-a*, see Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 26–27; for the *Festkalender* of Larsa in the Old Babylonian period, see Richter 2004, 401–405.

⁵⁶⁵ For a justification of this dating, see Kingsbury 1963, 1–3; Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 7.

⁵⁶⁶ For this official and his archives, see van de Mierop 1987b; Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 7–8 with further references.

⁵⁶⁷ Kingsbury 1963.

⁵⁶⁸ Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 4, n. 2. Note that the later editors suspected that in its original form the text was written on three tablets with the first and third tablet not extant and that it recorded expenditures for the whole month of Šabātu (*ibid.*, 5).

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁷⁰ According to the incipit of each section: *kaš-dé-a DN*, “banquet of DN”, only the deities Dingir-maḥ and Paniğara appear as a pair.

⁵⁷¹ Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 8: “Accompanying the central deities are secondary deities – spouse, child or minister.” Thus, in the section dedicated to Inanna appears her aide Niṣubur; in the Nanaya section appears her husband Muati (col. vi, l. 27) (note that in the next line after the incipit of the Nanaya section (col. vi, l. 32: *kaš-dé-a^dna-na^a*) after an empty space a similar entry for the god Nergal seems to appear (col. vi, l. 33: [*kaš-dé-a^dnè*]-*ir₁₁*-gal) but no further information is given on offerings and rituals regarding this deity, could this be an abbreviation of sorts?); in the section concerning Ninegala appears her vizier

obv. i

18. 2 udu sískur^den-ki

19. 1 udu^dasal-lú-ḫi

18. two sheep for the siskur-offering of Enki 19. one sheep to Asalluḫi

Like in the case of Ur III offering lists, the amounts of offerings here seem to reflect the hierarchy of the deities. Thus, Asalluḫi, the son and a less important deity receives only half the quantity of offerings dedicated to his father. Additional offerings to Asalluḫi together with some other recipients appear in the last lines of the first column:⁵⁷³

obv. i

42. [u₄]-16-kam

43. [x udu] *i-na* é-muḫaldim

44. [x udu] sískur lugal

45. [x] udu^den-ki

46. [x udu]^dasal-lú-ḫi

42. on the 16th [day] 43. x sheep in the kitchen 44. x sheep for the kingly siskur-offering 45. x sheep to Enki 46. x sheep to Asalluḫi

Unfortunately, the amount of sheep offered in the kitchen, for sískur lugal, to Enki and to Asalluḫi has not survived.⁵⁷⁴ A. and J. G. Westenholz have suggested that: “It seems as though the king is being honoured at the same level as Enki and Asarlūhi.”⁵⁷⁵ Without further evidence it is, however, not possible to prove nor disapprove this claim.

In the course of the ritual various garments are allocated to deities and cultic workers, including Enki and Asalluḫi.⁵⁷⁶

obv. ii

18. 1 túg.a-dugud 1 saġ-níta

19. niġ-ba^den-ki

20. 1 túg.a-ḫuš-a^dasal-lú-ḫi^ˁ

21. 1 gada-SAR-SAR^{ġis}tukul^den-ki

Dikum (col. vii, l. 48); in the section devoted to Dingir-maḫ and Paniġara, the former’s husband and latter’s father Šulpae (col. viii, l. 37’) is mentioned. However, in the section dedicated to Utu his usual courtiers do not appear but the Larsa kings Sîn-iqīšam (1840–1836) and Warad-Sîn (col. iii, ll. 46–47), who had their statues erected in the Utu temple (ibid., 12). Note that differently from text UET 3 270 (treated next), Asalluḫi’s mother and Enki’s spouse Damgalnuna does not appear in BLMJ 3127.

⁵⁷² Following ibid., 38–39.

⁵⁷³ Following Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 40–41.

⁵⁷⁴ For sískur lugal the recent editors of the text have commented: “sískur lugal is an ambiguous term. It can designate either the royal offering brought by the king, or the offering made to the king’s royal statue” (ibid., 68–69). For further on the possible interpretations for sískur lugal, see ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Following ibid., 40–41.

22. *ša i-na bi-tim iz-[za-zu]*

18. one heavy garment, one man 19. as a present to Enki 20. one reddish garment to Asalluḫi 21. one bright⁷ linen for the weapon of Enki 22. that stands⁹ in the temple

While a “heavy garment” (túg.a-dugud) together with a person is presented to Enki and other prominent deities to whom separate days of the ritual are devoted,⁵⁷⁷ Asalluḫi and some other attendant deities are presented with a “reddish garment” (túg.a-ḫuš-a).⁵⁷⁸ A linen garment is in addition offered for Enki’s weapon.⁵⁷⁹

5.3.1.2 Offering List from Ur (UET 3 270)

This text on a single manuscript “lists the quantities of several varieties of grains and vegetables used principally as ingredients in meal offerings,”⁵⁸⁰ that are brought during two months in the Ekišnugal, the temple complex of the moon-god Nanna in Ur. The main staple for preparing these offerings is flour, five types of which is listed.⁵⁸¹ The dating of the tablet is lost, as the last column of the text in which it probably appeared has not survived. The text was excavated from the so-called House no. 7 in the Quiet Street in Ur that belonged to a purification priest active in the temple of the moon-god Nanna. Based on this it has been convincingly claimed that this priest was the provider of the offerings listed.⁵⁸²

It is notable that Enki, Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi, the main triad of the Eridu deities are the only divinities named in the text, with the other “recipients” being

⁵⁷⁷ túg.a-dugud is given as a gift to Inanna (col. v, l. 2), Nanaya (col. vi, l. 24) and Dingir-maḫ (col. viii, l. 33’). The only minor deity who receives the “heavy garment” is Inanna’s minister Ninšubur (col. vi, l. 24). For male (saġ-níta) and female (saġ-mi) persons as gifts to deities, see *ibid.*, 71, n. 18.

⁵⁷⁸ For túg.a-ḫuš-a, see Waetzoldt 1972, 51, who hypothesises that clothes made of this material were only meant for gods and rulers. túg.a-ḫuš-a is in addition to Asalluḫi offered to unknown recipient (col. vi, l. 23); to Nanaya’s husband Muati (col. vi, l. 27); to the gold statues (alan kù-sig₁₇) of kings Sîn-iqīšam and Warad-Sîn (col. vi, ll. 28–29); to Ninegala’s vizier Dikum (col. vii, l. 48); to Dingir-maḫ’s husband Šulpae (col. viii, ll. 36’–37’) and son Paniġara (col. viii, ll. 40’–41’), and to king Sîn-iddinam (col. ix, ll. 46–47). Note that some cultic workers receive a garment designated as túg.bar-dul₈, a third type of ritual garment occurring in the text. For this type of garment, see Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 70, n. 14.

⁵⁷⁹ For the reading of SAR.SAR, see Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 71, n. 21 with references.

⁵⁸⁰ Levine and Hallo 1967, 20. Note that the point of origin of the foodstuffs offered is not mentioned in this text (van de Mieroop 1992, 101).

⁵⁸¹ Charpin 1986, 313–314.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*; van de Mieroop 1992, 102.

various doorlocks (si-ĝar-meš).⁵⁸³ D. Charpin explains the occurrence of only three deities from Eridu with the fact that the findspot of the text was the dwelling of a family of abrigs, a type of cultic workers who were intimately connected to Enki and his sphere of deities.⁵⁸⁴ So, what could have been the meaning of these offerings presented to doorlocks? Charpin has claimed that one of the responsibilities of the abrigs in Ekišnugal was to make a nightly tour in the temple to close doors and to deposit offerings to their locks with the goal to propitiate the protective powers.⁵⁸⁵ This nightly tour also passed the cella (or cellae?) of Enki, Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi in which offerings were made as well.⁵⁸⁶ According to UET 3 270 the following offerings were provided in the cella:⁵⁸⁷

- col. iii
1. 2 sila zigu *a-na* ninda i-dé-a i-nun
 2. 2 sila ar-za-na še-bi 3 sila
 3. *a-na* útu-HA
 4. 3 sila zi-gu *a-na* si-ĝar-meš
 5. igi ^den-ki ^ddam-gal-nun-na
 6. 2 sila zi-gu *a-na* ninda sal-la
 7. 2/3 sila zi-kum *a-na* ninda i-dé-a i-nun
 8. igi ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 9. á-u₄-te-na
 10. 0,0.4 zi-gu
 11. 0,0.1 zi-kum *a-na* ninda sal-la
 12. 2 sila zi-kum *a-na* ninda i-dé-a i-nun
 13. 1/3 sila 4 gín eša *a-na* HAR-ziz-a
 14. 2 sila zi-gu-la *a-na* si-ĝar-meš
 15. igi ^den-ki ^ddam-gal-nun-na
 16. 2 sila zi-gu *a-na* ninda sal-la
 17. 2/3 sila zi-kum *a-na* ninda i-dé-a i-nun
 18. igi ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 19. á-ge₆-ba
 20. 2 sila zi-gu
 21. 1 sila eša
 22. *a-na* ninda-du₈-a
 23. *ša i-na mu-ši-im*
 24. igi ^den-ki ù ^ddam-gal-nun-na

⁵⁸³ van de Mieroop 1992, 102. Note that the document also lists foodstuffs allocated for several festivals but does not go into specifics about the distribution of the foodstuffs during these events.

⁵⁸⁴ Charpin 1986, 317.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 318. Cf. van de Mieroop 1992, 102: “The doorlocks may have been sealed by him at that moment, and with the offerings he urged them to protect the temple.” For another view on the si-ĝar, see Levine and Hallo 1967, 48–50.

⁵⁸⁶ Charpin 1986, 318.

⁵⁸⁷ Following *ibid.*, 312. Due to many uncertainties with the interpretation of these foodstuffs, a full translation of these lines is not given here. For possible translations and comments, see Levine and Hallo 1967, figures 1 and 2; Charpin 1986, 314–315.

While it is difficult to say anything certain regarding the quality of the flours and dishes prepared from them,⁵⁸⁸ it becomes clear from this excerpt that Asalluḫi is given less offerings than to the older generation of Eridu deities Enki and Damgalnuna. It is important to differentiate between offerings at three different times: 1. á-u₄-te-na, “in the evening” (l. 9), 2. á-ge₆-ba, “at night” (l. 19), 3. *ša i-na mu-ši-im*, “during the night” (l. 23). Asalluḫi is brought offerings only on the first two occasions while he misses the third nightly snack that is only served to Enki and Damgalnuna. In addition, during the meal “at night” (á-ge₆-ba) only two dishes are served to Asalluḫi while Enki and Damgalnuna enjoy three different dishes. This evidence, again, signals the lesser importance of Asalluḫi when compared to his divine parents.

In addition, based on this excerpt one might consider the possible option that Asalluḫi had a separate (unlocked?) room for offerings as in the text Enki and Damgalnuna are given offerings as a pair (with the mention of si-ĝar-meš), while Asalluḫi is provided with separate offerings (without the mention of a lock).

5.3.1.3 Offering Lists from Nippur

Asalluḫi is named in three parallel texts that list deities who are brought offerings in Nippur probably during the reign of Warad-Sîn of Larsa (1834–1823).⁵⁸⁹ The tablets themselves lack any dating, a date was offered by the editor of the text on the basis of the mention of the copper statues of Warad-Sîn and his father Kudur-mabuk in text UM 29-13-515.⁵⁹⁰ The first of the texts gives the most numerous amount of deities, the other texts remove some deities but the sequence remains approximately similar. The list begins with the name ^dkur-igi-gál that according to M. Sigrist is the home of Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur that houses all the following deities listed.⁵⁹¹ ^dkur-igi-gál is followed by the listing of divine couples.⁵⁹² After the divine couples mention is made of goddess Nintinuga. Then the following deities are listed:⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁸ Note that Charpin differentiates between fine flours (zi-gu, zi-kum, eša) and incompletely ground (coarse) flours (ar-za-na, ni-àr-ra) (Charpin 1986, 313–314). The only incompletely ground flour that is used for preparing a dish to Enki and Damgalnuna is ar-za-na in l. 2. However, as at the end of the l. 3 sila is written, there might be another type of flour missing that should be following the writing 3 sila.

⁵⁸⁹ Sigrist 1980, 104.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 105.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., 106.

⁵⁹² Based on the composite evidence from all three lists there are possibly nine divine couples listed: ^den-lil-kur-igi-gál—^dnin-lil-kur-igi-gál; dingir-maḫ—^dsul-pa-è; ^den-ki—^ddamgal-nun-na; ^dEN.ZU—^dnin-gal; ^dutu—^da-a; ^dadad—^dša-la; ^dnè-iri-gal—^dma-mi-tum; ^dinanna—^ddumu-zi; ^dgu-la—^dpa-bil-saĝ. For concordances between the three lists, see the table in *ibid.*, 108.

⁵⁹³ Following *ibid.*, 108–109.

UM 29-13-375	UM 29-13-819	UM 29-15-515
^d tišpak	^d tišpak	
^d tir-an-na		
^d nin-mè	^d nin-mè	^d nin-mè
^d nin-é-gal		^d nin-é-gal
^d nisaba		^d nisaba
^d asal-lú-ḫi	^d asal-lú-[ḫi]	[^d asal-lú-ḫi]
^d BIL.GI		
		nin-in-si-na
^d nin-šubur	^d nin-šubur	^d nin-šubur

Sigrist fails to see any common denominator shared by the deities appearing in this part of the list.⁵⁹⁴ Asalluḫi might be listed next to the fire-god Gibil for the reason that both deities were connected to rites of purification in incantations and other texts.⁵⁹⁵ With Ninisina Asalluḫi shares healing and incantations as common denominators.⁵⁹⁶ With Ninšubur Asar/Asalluḫi appears in proximity in some other sources, although all these convey little specific information regarding the relations of the two.⁵⁹⁷

The goddess of grain and writing Nisaba could be listed next to Asalluḫi because both had connections to wisdom. For example, both deities are said to grant wisdom to kings.⁵⁹⁸ Nisaba probably has this trait through her capacity as a goddess of writing, and Asalluḫi inherited this characteristic from his father Enki. Another possibility is that Asalluḫi is linked to Nisaba through Ḫaia who in the Old Babylonian period is usually known as her spouse. Asalluḫi and Ḫaia appear in close contexts in two Ur III offering lists that reflect offerings in Ku'ara (TCL 2 5482, TCL 2 5514).⁵⁹⁹ Of the deities that appear before both Ninme and Ninegal are manifestations of Ištar.⁶⁰⁰ What is the logic behind uniting Tišpak and Tiranna to the two Ištar-manifestations and the following deities is difficult to say.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁴ Sigrist 1980, 106. Sigrist only notes that Tišpak, Ninisina and Gula (Gula appears before the excerpt presented here) are “divinites guerisseuses”.

⁵⁹⁵ See the discussion on *The Myth of Girra and Elmatum* below (5.4.4.1).

⁵⁹⁶ E.g., see the discussion below (5.4.3.1) for *A Letter-prayer of Šin-iddinam to Ninisina* that features both Asalluḫi and Ninisina.

⁵⁹⁷ For the relationship of Asalluḫi and Ninšubur, see the discussion on Ur III incantation TMH 6 19² above.

⁵⁹⁸ Nisaba is said to grant wisdom to king Šulgi in Šulgi B, ll. 18–19 (see ETCSL 2.4.2.02); Asalluḫi grants wisdom to Enlil-bāni in Enlil-bāni A, ll. 35–36. For the latter text, see 5.4.2.2 below.

⁵⁹⁹ See 4.1.1.1 above.

⁶⁰⁰ For Ninme (“the lady of battle”), see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001e; Richter 2004, 366–368. For Ninegal (“lady of the big house”), see Behrens and Klein 1998–2001; De Clercq 2003; Richter 2004, 368–371.

⁶⁰¹ For Tišpak, the snake-shaped city-god of Ešnunna, see van Dijk 1969; Stol 2014–2016, 64–66. For Tiranna (Akkadian Manzi’at/Mazzi’at), the Elamite goddess of the rainbow, see Lambert 1987–1990b; Richter 2004, 161.

5.3.2 List of Temple Prebends from Nippur (ARN 58 + Ni. 2181)

The two texts belong to a group of documents that deal with the division of temple prebends among the members of a family of cultic officials in Nippur.⁶⁰² Four generations of this family have been reconstructed. The oldest known member of the family Lu-Ninurta (I)⁶⁰³ was a “singer of Ninurta” (nar⁴nin-urta-ke₄) during the reign of Ur-Ninurta (1923–1896), the king of Isin. The last known members of the family are from the time of Enlil-bāni (1860–1837) of Isin.⁶⁰⁴

The documents ARN 58 and Ni. 2181 list the prebends of the nar (singer) offices of many deities, among them Enki and Asalluḫi who are listed together.⁶⁰⁵ ARN 57 is another text that parallels ARN 58 and Ni. 2181 but Asalluḫi and Enki are not mentioned in this text.⁶⁰⁶ F. R. Kraus has considered the text ARN 58 and Ni. 2181 to be drafts that were composed with the goal to divide the prebends into three shares between the heirs,⁶⁰⁷ while ARN 57 is more of an official document that, contrary to the two drafts, seems to divide the inheritance between only two parties.

In ARN 58 the following deities are listed: 1. section:⁶⁰⁸ x, Lugalbanda, Išum, Ninsianna, Ninmaškuga, Guanungia, Šulpaedara; 2. section: Enki and Asalluḫi, Lugalbanda, Lugal-tilla, Gibil, Šulpae, Šulpaedara, Igišagšag; 3. section: Enki and Asalluḫi, Lisi, Martu, Nin-PA,⁶⁰⁹ Išum, Gula, Irda, Šulpaedara.

Ni. 2181 lists: 1. section: Ninmaškuga?, Šulpaedara?; 2. section: Enki and Asalluḫi, Lugalbanda, Ninedara, Lisi, Nin-PA, Igišagšag.

ARN 57 lists: 1. part of the inheritance: Martu, Hendursaġa, Ninmaškuga, Gibil, Nininsina, Šulpae; 2. part of the inheritance: Ninsianna, Gudanungi, Irda.

Regarding ARN 58 it is conspicuous that some divine names appear in several sections (Asalluḫi and Enki, Lugalbanda, Išum in two, Šulpaedara in three parts). Perhaps it denotes that the prebends of the office of one deity was divided between the relatives.

According to D. Shehata the prebends were not only granted for the temple of Ninurta but to several sanctuaries in Nippur.⁶¹⁰ Thus, the place of worship of Enki was situated in the Ešumeša temple of Ninurta.⁶¹¹ Although – as noted by

⁶⁰² For the list of documents, see Kraus 1951, 184; see also Shehata 2009, 172–174.

⁶⁰³ There existed another Lu-Ninurta in this family who belonged to the third generation.

⁶⁰⁴ For the family tree, see Kraus 1951, 186; Kalla 2002, 149.

⁶⁰⁵ Ni. 2181 is published in Kraus 1951, 185.

⁶⁰⁶ Note, however, that all three manuscripts are fragmentary.

⁶⁰⁷ Kraus 1951, 200: “[...] das hier keine rechtsgültige Urkunde, sondern eine private Aufzeichnung vorliegt, vielleicht der Entwurf zu einer Erbteilungsurkunde. Der Verfasser hat offenbar die Aufgabe zu lösen versucht, eine gegebene Erbschaft theoretisch in drei Teile zu zerlegen, die er einfach als Erbteil 1, 2 und 3 bezeichnet.” See also *ibid.*, 201.

⁶⁰⁸ The sections are divided by the remarks ḫa-la ba x-àm, “this is its first/second/third share”.

⁶⁰⁹ Note that Nin-PA (or Nin-ġedru) immediately follows the Asalluḫi-names in the Nippur god-list (see 5.1.2 above).

⁶¹⁰ Shehata 2009, 174.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 173–174.

Shehata – the place of worship for Asalluḫi is not known, one can surmise that it was located in the Ešumeša together with Enki.

5.3.3 List of Temple Inventory from Sippar (PBS 8/2 194)

This text is from Sippar and is dated to either the 14th or the 24th year of the king Samsuiluna. It is an inventory list that was composed after an apparent looting in the cella of Ea and Damkina in the Annunītum temple in Sippar-Amnānum.⁶¹² The first column deals with the damage done to the thrones of Ea and Damkina. Asalluḫi appears in the second column of the text:

12. *ni-di* ^dasal-lú-ḫi
13. *ni-di* AN.TA
14. 1 ^{ḡis}dúr-ḡar GAZ
15. *ni-di* kù-babbar kù-sig₁₇ ḡar-ra

The writing here seems to be elliptical and it is not entirely clear what is meant. Thus, the translation of these lines will not be given. As *nīdi kussī*(GU.ZA) in Akkadian commonly designates the “base of the throne”,⁶¹³ perhaps the writing for the chair/throne is missing/left out between *ni-di* and the name of the deity in l. 12?⁶¹⁴ ^{ḡis}dúr-ḡar GAZ in l. 14 seems to designate a broken (vandalised) chair. Perhaps this seat is the seat of Asalluḫi and the “base” of ^{ḡis}dúr-ḡar is meant in l. 12?⁶¹⁵ In any case, the writing in l. 15 probably means that the silver and gold looted from the base of this seat needs to be replaced (ḡar-ra). An alternative interpretation would be that the base of the statue of Asalluḫi is meant in l. 12 although no parallel evidence seems to be available for this. Despite the several difficulties in understanding this part of the text, it seems safe to conclude that Asalluḫi is mentioned here because the act of vandalism committed on his cultic inventory.

5.4 Literary Texts

Asar/Asalluḫi appears in several literary texts dating to the Old Babylonian period, specifically in six hymns, four prayers, two myths and a city lamentation. As far as it is possible, the texts of each genre are listed in chronological order.

⁶¹² Harris 1975, 81.

⁶¹³ See CAD N2, 210 (*nīdu* A 4); CAD K, 592–593 (*kussū* 4).

⁶¹⁴ Perhaps *ni-di* AN.TA in l. 13 could be an “upper part of the base (of the throne)”? For AN.TA in the meaning “upper”, see col. iii, l. 9 of the same text and the interpretation given in CAD K, 21 *sub* kablu a: 1 ^{ḡis}gu-za GĀR.BA 4 SAĜ.DU *kab-li* AN.TA, “one chair with knobs, four upper “heads” of legs”.

⁶¹⁵ Note, however, that ll. 12–13 and 14–15 are separated by a boundary line on the tablet.

In some of these texts there are indications that Asalluḫi was already identified with Marduk.⁶¹⁶

5.4.1 City Lamentations

5.4.1.1 *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur*

According to P. Michalowski, the editor of this lamentation, there are 47 manuscripts of the text, most of them date to the reigns of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa and Samsu-iluna of Babylon, with 31 tablets from Nippur, 13 from Ur, one from Larsa and two from unknown sites.⁶¹⁷ Most of the surviving tablets of the text are one-columned school exercise tablets “that contained, when complete, from thirty to sixty or so lines of text.”⁶¹⁸

Like for other city lamentations, the central topic of *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur* is the chaos and destruction falling upon the cities of Sumer, most notably to Ur, the capital of the Neo-Sumerian state. In the eyes of ancient theologians, disastrous events like these often coincided with the departure of patron deities from their temples and cities, i.e. the removal of divine care from the city and its people. This *topos* is known in scholarship as the divine abandonment motif.⁶¹⁹

In *The Lamentation for Sumer and Ur* the divine abandonment motif is expressed through gods who are said to leave their dwellings while goddesses are said to weep over the ruins of their cities.⁶²⁰ The deities appear in the geographical order of their respective cities in this text: divinities from the north are listed first, beginning with the cities of Kiš and Kazallu and their respective divine pairs Zababa and Bau and Numušda and Namrat. Compared to *Sumerian Temple Hymns* the geographical locations are listed in reversed geographical order.⁶²¹

The part dealing with Asalluḫi and Ku’ara is in this text preceded by parts dedicated to cities of Enegi (the name of the city is, however, not mentioned) and Ĝišbanda and their respective patron deities, netherworld gods father and son Ninazu and Ninĝišzida who are paired with the mother-goddess Ninḫursaĝ and the goddess Azimua respectively. This could – in addition to geographical sequence – place Asalluḫi in a wider context of chthonic and procreational (or

⁶¹⁶ The texts that deal only with Marduk (Ḫammurabi A, Samsu-iluna B, Abī-Ešuḫ A and B, *A Hymn to Marduk for a King, Prayer to Marduk no. 1*) and do not mention Asalluḫi are not treated in greater detail in this study.

⁶¹⁷ Michalowski 1989, 16.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶¹⁹ For this motif in later texts that feature the god Marduk, see Johandi 2016.

⁶²⁰ Exceptions to this rule are goddesses Ninzuana and Inanna who are also said to be departing.

⁶²¹ See the comparative table in Wilcke 1972a, 40–41.

vegetational) deities. Asalluḫi appears in the text together with three other deities from Ku'ara:⁶²²

214. u₄-bi-a u₁₈-lu lú gi₆-a ba-an-dúr-ru-ne-eš
215. ku'ara^{ki} ḫul-ḫul-lu-dè lú gi₆-a ba-an-dúr-ru-ne-eš
216. ^dnin-é-ḪA-ma ní-te-na ér gig mu-un-še₈-še₈
217. a úru gul-la é gul-la-mu gig-ga-bi im-me
218. ^dasar-lú-ḫi ul₄-ul₄-la túg ba-an-mu₄ LUL.KU mu-un-DU
219. ^dlugal-bàn-da ki-tuš ki-ág-gá-ni giri kúr ba-ra-an-dab₅
220. a úru gul-la é gul-la-mu gig-ga-bi im-me

214. On that day, the storm forced people to live in darkness 215. In order to destroy Ku'ara, it forced people to live in darkness 216. Nineḫama in fear wept bitter tears, 217. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed temple!" bitterly she cries. 218. Asalluḫi put his robes on with haste [...], 219. Lugalbanda took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved dwelling, (1 manuscript has: Ninsun [...]) 220. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed temple!" bitterly she cries.

Contrary from other places named in the text that have just one pair of deities, two pairs: Asalluḫi – Nineḫama and Ninsun – Lugalbanda have been mentioned in connection to the city of Ku'ara.⁶²³ The pair Lugalbanda and Ninsun were associated with Ku'ara in the Ur III offering lists and thus had earlier ties to Asalluḫi who also appears in these lists as a receiver of offerings.⁶²⁴ However, the mention of two pairs of deities for Ku'ara and taking into account the overall religious system of patron deities of Mesopotamian city-states brings to mind the possibility that one of the pairs had to be the original pair, and the other pair could be a later "intrusion" to the local pantheon of Ku'ara.

The understanding is exacerbated by the fact that the identity of Asalluḫi's partner Nineḫama is enigmatic here. P. Michalowski considers the name to stand for the spouse of Asalluḫi.⁶²⁵ This assessment is probably correct as other gods are also listed together with their spouses in the lamentation. However, the name of the goddess does not lead one closer to identifying her. Scholars have opted for different options. Thus, T. S. Frymer-Kensky took the actual name to be Nin é-HA.A-ke₄, "lady of the temple of Ku'ara".⁶²⁶ M. W. Green equated ^dnin-É.HA here with Šarpanitum.⁶²⁷ Note that in the Old Babylonian god-list TCL 15 10 (col. vi, l. 37), Nineḫama appears in the entourage of Inanna/Ištar with whom she is identified in the the later *An* = *Anum* god-list (tablet 4, l. 42).⁶²⁸

⁶²² Transliteration and translation by Michalowski 1989, 48–51.

⁶²³ Cf. Richter 2004, 324.

⁶²⁴ See 4.1.1.1 above.

⁶²⁵ Michalowski 1989, 91, n. 216.

⁶²⁶ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 567. Frymer-Kensky further commented: "Nin-É.HA.A "lady of the temple of Ku'ara" [...] could be anyone, but is probably a name for the wife of Asaruhi, i.e., Ganunanki Šarpanitum" (ibid., 581, n. 25).

⁶²⁷ Green 1975, 114.

⁶²⁸ Litke 1998, 171.

The Ku'ara section is followed by a longer but a rather fragmentary section dedicated to the city of Eridu. In this part the little-known deities of the Eridu circle, Kaḫegal and Igiḫegal are mentioned but unfortunately the context is broken. The pair are also present in the god-list TCL 15 10.⁶²⁹

5.4.2 Hymns

5.4.2.1 A *Šir-namšub to Inanna (Inanna G)*

There are several hymnal texts extant dedicated to various Mesopotamian deities with the ancient label *šir-namšub*.⁶³⁰ The literal meaning of this ancient definition is “song of incantation”. According to A. Löhnert the compositions with this label “seem solely to celebrate the gods’ cultic journeys.”⁶³¹ This *šir-namšub to Inanna* has survived in a single manuscript of unknown origin.⁶³² It is difficult to claim anything certain about the dating of the text, as there is no reference to any rulers or to other historical information that would allow a precise placing in time.

Asalluḫi is mentioned twice in this difficult to interpret hymn written in the emesal dialect. In both cases Asalluḫi is named following his divine parents Enki and Damgalnuna, forming a triad of Eridu deities common already in earlier times, e.g., in Ur III administrative documents from Nippur, Umma and Puzriš-Dagān.⁶³³ The first mention of Enki, Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi occurs in ll. 13–15.⁶³⁴ The context is not entirely clear, but the passage seems to deal with Inanna’s cultic visit to the abzu and Eridu. As witnessed by ll. 16–17, the goddess has brought with her a dog, a lion, boxwood and ḫalub-wood, probably as cultic gifts.⁶³⁵

The second mention of the Eridu family of deities occurs in ll. 43–45.⁶³⁶ Asalluḫi is named “son of Eridu” (^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu-uru-zé-ba), while Enki (l. 43) is called the “wild bull of Eridu” ([^dam]-an-ki am-uru-zé-ba) and Damgalnuna (l. 44) is called the “mother of the E-maḫ” ([nin]-é-maḫ-a).⁶³⁷ Here the three deities seem to arrive to the bank of the Euphrates where Enlil is said to be eating and drinking, possibly some kind of offering rites are described but their specific nature remains obscure.

⁶²⁹ See 5.1.1 above.

⁶³⁰ For a brief overview of this genre, see Shehata 2009, 270–272.

⁶³¹ Löhnert 2011, 404.

⁶³² CT 42 13.

⁶³³ See 4.1.1 above.

⁶³⁴ See Kramer 1963, 503.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 503–504.

⁶³⁷ The same epithets for Enki and Asalluḫi probably appear in *The Cult Song to Damu* (TCL 15 8). For this text, see 5.4.2.6 below.

5.4.2.2 A Praise Poem of Enlil-bāni (Enlil-bāni A)

This poem dedicated to praising Enlil-bāni, the king of Isin (1860–1837) has survived in 18 manuscripts.⁶³⁸ Asalluḫi is mentioned only once in this text. He is here responsible for granting wisdom (ġéštu) to the king:⁶³⁹

35. ^dasal-lú-ḫi

36. ġéštu mu-ra-an-šúm

35. Asalluḫi 36. gave you wisdom.

Although Asalluḫi is not the only god besides Enki who has the ability to grant wisdom, it seems significant that in this composition wisdom is bestowed on the king by Enki's son, i.e. the son seems here to have taken over his father's role.⁶⁴⁰ Following receiving wisdom from Asalluḫi, the king receives "advice" (ad gi₄-gi₄), "response" (ba-an-gi₄) and "insight" (nam-igi-ġál) from the goddess Nisaba. This sequence of deities (Nisaba following Asalluḫi) seems logical, as both deities are associated with intelligence.⁶⁴¹

It is also worth mentioning that Enlil-bāni claims the divine fatherhood of Enki in this text. Thus, he is called "the great son of Enki" (dumu maḫ ^den-ki-ke₄) in l. 19 and a "shepherd" (sipad) and "expert" (mas-su) in the following line.⁶⁴² One may wonder whether the sonship of the king to Enki was also intended to denote the king's implicit brotherhood to Asalluḫi.⁶⁴³ Some other deities are also associated with Enlil-bāni in this poem. In the beginning of the text (ll. 4–6) it is said that he was "created by An" (šu dug₄ an-na), "elevated by Enlil" (^den-líl-le íl-la) and is compared to Utu (^dutu-gin₇).⁶⁴⁴ In the preceding line (34) to the mention of Asalluḫi it is said that Enlil-bāni is the "husband of holy Inanna".⁶⁴⁵

⁶³⁸ For a full list of manuscripts, see CDLI (search "Enlil-bani A" as sub-genre in full search); six manuscripts are from Nippur, four tiny school fragments are from Uruk, three manuscripts probably from Sippar, one each from Ur and Isin and provenance for three texts is unknown. For the editions of Enlil-bāni A, see Kapp 1955 and ETCSL 2.5.8.1.

⁶³⁹ Following ETCSL 2.5.8.1.

⁶⁴⁰ For the ability of Enki to grant wisdom, see Green 1975, 139. Espak 2015, 23 characterises granting wisdom as "the most important characteristic of Enki in the Early Dynastic era."

⁶⁴¹ For Asalluḫi's connections to Nisaba's husband Ḫaia, see 4.1.1.1 and 5.3.1.3 above.

⁶⁴² One manuscript has gal-zu, "wise, knowing, skilful" instead of sipad, "shepherd".

⁶⁴³ Note that the vegetational abundance coming from the abzu is mentioned, bestowed on the king by Enki under his moniker Nudimmud: 147. ^dnu-dím-mud 148. diġir saġ dù-zu 149. abzu-ta 150. ḫé-ġál ma-ra-taḫ, "Nudimmud, / your divine begetter, / from the abzu / increased abundance for you."

⁶⁴⁴ Below, in l. 25 the king is also said to be "summoned by great An" (an gal-e pàd-da) and Enlil appears once again in l. 12 of the text where Enlil-bāni is said to be "watched over" by Enlil.

⁶⁴⁵ The deities Ninlil, Ninurta, Nuska, Dingir-maḫ, Nanna and Ninisina also appear in supportive roles to the king in this composition.

5.4.2.3 A Hymn to Asalluḫi (Asalluḫi A)

This hymn is extant on a single tablet of an Old Babylonian date excavated in Ur.⁶⁴⁶ D. Charpin compared Asalluḫi A with the hymn dedicated to the god Ḫaia for Rīm-Sîn originating from the same findspot: House no. 7 in Quiet Street in Ur, and dated both compositions to the reign of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa (1822–1763).⁶⁴⁷ As the final lines of the Ḫaia-hymn contain a prayer of intercession for the king Rīm-Sîn, Charpin hypothesises that it is probable that the hymn to Asalluḫi had a similar part at the end that has not survived.⁶⁴⁸ In 36 surviving lines this hymn is the longest text dedicated to Asalluḫi.⁶⁴⁹

- [First five lines missing]
6. [x x] gibil²-l[a ...]
7. inim maḫ [...]
8. i₇-lú-ru-gú a-rá-maḫ x x AN [...]
9. mu-šè mu-ri-in-s[a₄]
10. lú-zi kù-sig₁₇ mu-un-dadag-g[e-en]
11. lú-érim-e u₄-za-ḫa-al-e ba-ab-šúm-m[u-un]
12. umuš galga dím-ma ga zi-dè-eš gu₇
13. e-ne ad gal du₁₁-du₁₁
14. gal-zu maḫ dumu-saḡ^den-ki-ke₄
15. [...] ù-tu₄ kilib-ba-bé mu-e-šúm-m[u]
16. ^dasal-lú-ḫi ḡéštu-bad a-a-ni-gin₇ gal-[zu]
17. igi-gál-tuku ni-nam ʾbùr-bùr'-e e-ne[...]
18. nír-gál dumu-abzu ḡéštu kù šu-du₇^dam[ar-u]tu galga túm

⁶⁴⁶ U.7758. The tablet is lacking both the beginning and the end. According to the marks that appear on the left side of the tablet after every ten lines (at ll. 5 and 15 of the obverse of the copy UET 6/1 69), D. Charpin has claimed that the fifth line given in the edition (UET 6/1 69) was actually the tenth line, rather than the twentieth – thus the gap in the beginning is ca. five lines (Charpin 1986, 357). Charpin's numbering has been followed here. T. S. Frymer-Kensky has tentatively dated the hymn to the Neo-Sumerian period (Frymer-Kensky 1977, 563). However, elsewhere in the same study she has acknowledged the Old Babylonian dating of the manuscript based on orthography and stated: "It may be that the tablet is an Old Babylonian copy of a much earlier text" (ibid., 569). Cf. Charpin 1986, 365: "Ces remarques paléographiques ne valent toutefois que pour la date de tablette, qui n'est pas forcément celle de la composition elle-même." The Old Babylonian dating indeed does not mean that this text did not have any forerunners in the Ur III period or even earlier. However, another indicator for the Old Babylonian origin of the text is that the writing ^dam[ar-u]tu which appears in l. 18 rendering the dating of this recension to earlier times is unlikely, as the latter writing of the deity's name is so far probably completely missing from Ur III texts (see, however, the dubious mention of amar-utu (without the divine marker) in Scheil 1896, 265).

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. Espak 2015, 117: "The Asaluhi hymn is one among the texts found from Ur and presumably dated from the same period as the hymn to Haia for Rim-Su'en." For several stylistic traits in common between the two hymns, see Charpin 1986, 365.

⁶⁴⁸ Charpin 1986, 366. For the cultic setting of the hymn Charpin proposes its recital during king Rīm-Sîn's visit to a chapel dedicated to Enki, Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi in the Ekišnugal, the temple of Nanna in Ur.

⁶⁴⁹ Following ibid., 358–359 and ETCSL 4.01.1.

19. alan-maḥ an-ki-a me-ni-nam-ma igi zu-zu
20. dumu ḡéštu-dagal šu-du₇ a-rá si-gal gi-ḥal-ḥal-la-ke₄
21. ^dasar-lú-ḥi uru₅-maḥ nam-gal tar-re
22. šu-bar a-rá ni-nam nu-zu-zu
23. AN-gal an-ki-šè me ba-a
24. tu₆-tu₆ mu-e-šub-eš
25. dingir-igi-sa₆ igi-niḡin nam-lú-ùlu
26. uktin ḥi-li sud tibira^{ra} gal-an-zu kin-gal-le AK
27. ad gal di-kud èš-maḥ-a inim-ma nu-kàm-me
28. a-rá-ni maḥ šir-ra-ni ga-àm-e₁₁ mu-ni pa ga-àm-è
29. saḡ-gùn-gùn-nu abzu sukkal-maḥ-eridu^{ki}-ga
30. ^dasal-lú-ḥi nir-ḡál
31. [en]kum ninkum
32. abgal ábrig SAL.LAGAR.BE SAL.LAGAR.ME EN 'x' [...]
33. ka-kù-ba-a-zu igi-bi ḥu-mu-un-š[i-ḡar]
34. u₄-šú-uš-e è-bi za-ra ḥu-mu-ra-an-si-k[a]
35. šu-sikil gir-sikil ni-nam kù-kù-ug šu-luḥ dadag-ga
36. nam-šita₄-é-abzu ka-kéš-bi za-e-me-en
37. HA.A^{ki} uru-ki-áḡ-šà-ge-pà-da-zu
38. ḥúl-la ḥu-mu-u₈-da-an-tuš
39. ^dasal-lú-ḥi nun šà-dagal mu-šè mu-ri-i[n-sa₄]
40. múš-bi-šè mi-ni bí-in-ag⁷
41. [...b]a-an nam-NIN-e [...]
6. new (?) 7. great word(s) 8. Ilurugu, the great (water)course 9. for your name has called. 10. The righteous man you brighten (like) gold, 11. the wicked man you give to disappearance. 12. In the right way feeding on understanding, advice and planning (like) milk. 13. he speaks (with) a loud voice. 14. greatly knowing one, firstborn son of Enki, 15. You gave ... to everyone who is born. 16. exceedingly wise (“open-eared”) like his father, greatly knowing one. 17. The owner of insight, he breaches everything, he ... 18. The authoritative one, son of the abzu, equipped with pure wisdom. (He is) Marduk, the one who brings advice. 19. Great statue who in heaven and earth can see all the me-s 20. The son equipped with broad wisdom (“wide-eared”), (his) ways are (the ways of) big horns in split reeds. 21. Asalluḥi, great flood that determines eminent destinies, 22. released and not knowing any (water)course. 23. When An, the great allotted the me-s for heaven and earth, 24. incantations fell to you. 25. God with a favourable look, (his) gaze encircling humankind. 26. With a charming physiognomy, experienced sculptor/metalworker, accomplishing great works. 27. Great voice, judge. (His) word in the great shrine does not alter. 28. His ways are great, his song I will exalt and his name I will dignify. 29. The multicolored head of the abzu, the great vizier of Eridu, 30. Asalluḥi the authoritative one. 31. Enkums and ninkums, 32. abgals and abrigs, ... priestesses, ... priestesses [...] 33. When you open your pure mouth, they pay attention, 34. daily when they go out, they circle around you. 35. The one with clean hands and clean feet, purifying everything, the one who brightens the rites of ritual cleansing. 36. you are the support of the namšita-priests of the E-abzu. 37. Ku'ara, your beloved city which you have chosen in your heart, 38. dwells in joy together with you. 39. the wide-hearted prince (Enki) named Asalluḥi as your name 40. ... 41. ...

There are some well-known characteristics of Asalluḫi to be found in this hymn. Among them are his connections to incantations,⁶⁵⁰ rites of purification,⁶⁵¹ and priestly officials with various designations, known already in the section dedicated to Asalluḫi in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*.⁶⁵² His sonship of Enki and connections to Enki's city Eridu (l. 29), the abzu (ll. 18 and 29) and the E-abzu temple (l. 36) are also previously well documented, as well as his connection to the city of Ku'ara (l. 37). As noted above, Asalluḫi is identified with Marduk in this text, as in l. 18 it is said of him: "(He is) Marduk, the one who brings advice" (^dam[ar-u]tu galga túm). T. S. Frymer-Kensky has noted that several characteristics that are usually common to Enki are used to describe his son Asalluḫi in this composition.⁶⁵³ This metastasis of traits is perhaps most explicitly expressed in l. 16 where Asalluḫi's wisdom is equated with the wisdom of his father.⁶⁵⁴ Note also that in l. 12 Asalluḫi is said to be fed with understanding (umuš), advice (galga) and planning (dím-ma), all common characteristics of Enki,⁶⁵⁵ the god of cunning. In l. 14 the epithet "greatly knowing one" (gal-zu-maḫ) is used for Asalluḫi, that in another text, a *Letter-prayer of Sîn-šamuh to Enki* is used for Enki.⁶⁵⁶

The most obvious explanation for the similar traits of Asalluḫ and Enki seems to be a phenomenon that one could call "hereditary characteristics", i.e.

⁶⁵⁰ In ll. 23–24 it is stated that incantations are Asalluḫi's "share" of me-s divided by An.

⁶⁵¹ In l. 36 Asalluḫi is named the "support of the namšita-priests of the E-abzu" (nam-šita₄-é-abzu ka-kéš-bi). For ka-kéš, see Gragg 1969, 185.

⁶⁵² The priestly officials enkum, ninkum, abgal, abrig, SAL.LAGAR.BE and SAL.LAGAR.ME are mentioned in ll. 31–32. SAL.LAGAR is a designation for a high priestess of Enki, in Akkadian *enum ša* ^dEa. According to lexical texts collected in Renger 1967, 115, SAL.LAGAR has three readings: murúb, usuḫ and emeš (Green 1977, 222 and Charpin 1986, 363 have mistakenly added emezi that should be written SAL.LAGAB and not SAL.LAGAR). The role of the listed priestly officials in this text depends on the interpretation of l. 33. M. W. Green interprets the beginning of the line: ka-kù ba-a as a reference to ceremony of the mouth-opening. D. Charpin opposes this view and, instead, interprets l. 33 as a simple expression for speaking or giving orders: "Le plus simple est de voir dans ka--ba l'expression qui signifie «ouvrir la bouche (pour parler) < donner un ordre»" (Charpin 1986, 363). The priestly officials probably also appear as subjects in l. 34 where they are said to "circle around" Asalluḫi. Charpin interprets it as implying a daily rite of the named officials going around the statue of the deity.

⁶⁵³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 571: "From this text it is clear that Asarluhi's similarity to Enki is not restricted to his prominence in magic. Like Enki, he is a great craftsman god, a god of wisdom, a dispenser of the me's, and a god intimately connected with Eridu, the abzu and the Ilurugu."

⁶⁵⁴ Note that in l. 15 Asalluḫi is said to give something (perhaps "wisdom" (ḡéštu)?) "to everyone who is born" (ù-tu₄ kilib-ba-bé mu-e-šúm-m[u]).

⁶⁵⁵ For the parallel use of umuš, galga and dím-ma, see Sjöberg 1961, 58, n. 15 and hymn Išme-Dagan X, l. 12 (see Sjöberg 1973b, 41, l. 12). For zi-dè-e/éš, see Jagersma 2010, 283.

⁶⁵⁶ For the letter-prayer, see Hallo 1968, 82–87 and 5.4.3.2 below.

that a descendant deity rather indiscriminately inherits traits from his parent.⁶⁵⁷ These similarities with Enki make one consider the possibility that before merging with Marduk, Asalluḫi's was often presented only as a sort of a doppelgänger of Enki.⁶⁵⁸ In addition to sharing several traits with Enki, Asalluḫi in this hymn also shares characteristics with some other deities of the Eridu circle, namely his sister Dumuziabzu, as in l. 13 it is said "he speaks (with) a loud voice" (e-ne ad-gal du₁₁-du₁₁),⁶⁵⁹ and Ara/Usmu/Isimud who (like Asalluḫi in l. 29) is the vizier (sukkal) of Enki/Eridu.

There are also some indications that Asalluḫi has several traits common with the sun-god Utu-Šamaš in this text. Most notably, in l. 27 Asalluḫi is called "judge" (di-kud), a common epithet for the sun-god in his capacity as the all-seeing celestial body. The term *dím-ma* is used in relation to Utu in l. 11 of *Gilgameš and Huwawa*.⁶⁶⁰ The epithet "greatly knowing one" (gal-zu maḫ) is in addition to Enki also used for the sun-god in the series *bīt rimki*.⁶⁶¹ As noted by Charpin in *bīt rimki* the god Šamaš is described in similar terms as Asalluḫi in l. 22 of the current text: "released and not knowing any (water)course" (a-rá ni-nam nu-zu-zu).⁶⁶²

What remains somewhat enigmatic in this text is Asalluḫi's connection to Ilurugu, the god of the river-ordeal. As will be discussed below, in *A Letter-prayer of Šin-iddinam to Ninisina*, Ilurugu was probably used as a byname for Enki. For Asalluḫi A – although the passage is broken and the end of l. 8 is missing – it seems more likely, that it is Asalluḫi himself who is equated with Ilurugu.⁶⁶³ The most obvious choice for the deity who could give names to Asalluḫi would be his father Enki, as was claimed by Å. W. Sjöberg.⁶⁶⁴ Then it

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Frymer-Kensky 1977, 569 according to whom this hymn "portrays Asarluhi in terms reminiscent of Enki and indicates that Asarluhi should, in fact, be considered a "second Enki"."

⁶⁵⁸ This aspect also brings to one's mind Asalluḫi's granting of wisdom to the king in the hymn Enlil-bāni A.

⁶⁵⁹ As noted by Charpin, this epithet is used for Dumuziabzu (of Kinirša) in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* (Charpin 1986, 358). Cf. the translation of Charpin: "lui, il donne de grands conseils" (ibid.). A similar translation of this line was given by Frymer-Kensky 1977, 571: "he indeed counsels greatly." Note l. 27 of Asalluḫi A: "great voice" (ad gal).

⁶⁶⁰ See Edzard 1991, 171–172.

⁶⁶¹ See Borger 1967, 3, l. 10.

⁶⁶² Charpin 1986, 362. A similar line is to be found in Læssøe 1955, 53, l. 3: dingir a-rá-bi na-me [nu-(un)-zu].

⁶⁶³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 563 also considers Ilurugu here to be a name given to Asalluḫi. Note that in a Neo-Assyrian bilingual incantation, Asalluḫi/Marduk is called the "overseer of Ilurugu", see Ebeling 1953, 363, l. 47–48: šid-dù [(d)id-]lú[-ru-]gú = *pa-qid* ^(d)nāri(ĪD). However, the Sumerian version is open to more than one interpretation, according to Frymer-Kensky 1977, 573, n. for ll. 48–49: "The Sumerian in this passage is ambivalent, and the two terms may be in apposition, i.e., "overseer, Ilurugu," indicating an equation of Asarluhi and Ilurugu in the text. [...] The Akkadian, however, is unambiguous, for the use of the construct *pa-qid* indicates that the translation should be "overseer of Ilurugu"."

⁶⁶⁴ Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969, 61. The idea that Enki is the subject of mu-ri-in-sa₄ is also supported by Charpin 1986, 360, n. for l. 9. Note that another case of name-giving occurs in

would be another case of hereditary characteristics, i.e. Enki hands down his role (known from the letter-prayer) as the god of the river-ordeal to his son Asalluḫi. In l. 21 Asalluḫi is called “great flood that determines eminent destinies” (uru₅-maḫ nam-gal tar-re), Charpin claims that Asalluḫi as the deluge that determines destiny here is explainable by the fact that he is identical with the river of the ordeal.⁶⁶⁵ Note, however, the possibility that the flood of Asalluḫi has to do with the god Martu/Amurru as the eponymous deity of the Amorites whose excursions to Mesopotamia were figuratively compared to floods.⁶⁶⁶

Another interesting expression for Asalluḫi appears in l. 10 of the hymn where Asalluḫi is said to “brighten the just man (like) gold” (lú zi kù-sig₁₇ mu-un-dadag-g[e-en]).⁶⁶⁷ In an incantation from the Ur III period a figurative statement comparing Asalluḫi to gold is found.⁶⁶⁸ Perhaps this also has a connection to Asalluḫi as the “experienced sculptor/metalworker” (tibira^{ra} gal-an-zu), as he is described in l. 26 of this hymn. Charpin compares this epithet of Asalluḫi to the one used for Enki: “carpenter of Eridu” (nagar-eridu^{ki}).⁶⁶⁹ As Asalluḫi has the ability to free one from guilt, he also has the contrastive competence to punish the wicked, as becomes clear from l. 11.⁶⁷⁰ Asalluḫi’s benevolence towards humans is stressed in l. 25 of the hymn where it is stated that Asalluḫi is keeping his eyes on humankind. Charpin connects it to the role Asalluḫi/Marduk played in the divine dialogue type of incantations.⁶⁷¹

5.4.2.4 A Hymn to Enlil for Samsu-iluna (Samsu-iluna F)

The provenance of the only surviving tablet (BM 96573) of this hymn is unknown.⁶⁷² The editors of this composition and the prayer Samsu-iluna G have with caution dated the two texts to the Old Babylonian period.⁶⁷³ The hymn

l. 39 of the text: ^dasal-lú-ḫi nun šà-dagal mu-šè mu-ri-i-[n-sa₄]. Alternative to the translation given above, the nun šà-daḡal (“wide-hearted prince”) could here represent Asalluḫi and not Enki, thus Charpin 1986, 359 translated: “Asalluḫi, «prince au cœur large», tel est le nom qu’il t’a donné.”

⁶⁶⁵ Charpin 1986, 362. Cf. the imagery of storms in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*.

⁶⁶⁶ For Martu/Amurru as the flood, see, e.g., Hallo 1990, 195–197.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. Charpin 1986, 358: “l’homme juste, le purifiant, tu le laves des son accusation.”

⁶⁶⁸ See 4.3.2.2 above.

⁶⁶⁹ Charpin 1986, 362. Enki appears as the “carpenter of Eridu” in a hymn to Nisaba (Nisaba A), see Hallo 2010a, 30, l. 38. Note that the epithet tibira (translated variously as “metalworker”, “coppersmith” or “sculptor”) is not exclusively used for Asalluḫi, as, e.g., in *Enki and the World Order* it is used for the goddess Ninmuga, Enki’s sister, who in l. 408 is called “the metal-worker of the land” (tibira kalam-ma), see Benito 1969, 109.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Charpin’s translation of u₄-za-ha-al-e, “au jour de perdition” (Charpin 1986, 358).

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 362: “Sans doute s’agit-il ici du rôle fréquemment décrit dans le incantations du type « Marduk-Ea » où Marduk (Asalluḫi) apparaît comme celui qui, gardant l’œil sur l’humanité, décide aussitôt un problème qu’il soumet à Ea.”

⁶⁷² Alster and Walker 1989, 10.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11: “To judge by both their script and their content these tablets are most likely to be dated to the Old Babylonian period.” However, the editors also stress “an aberrant scribal

begins with descriptions of king Samsu-iluna's serene relations with the gods An and Enlil. After that he is lauded as the righteous servant of the deity Asalim:⁶⁷⁴

11. engar gin₆-na é^da-sa-lim-a-ka-am

12. níĝ-nam nu-si-li-ge₁₈ é-saĝ-il₅-la-ak-ki-im

11. the trustworthy farmer of the house of Asalim, 12. who takes care that provisions do not cease in Esagila

T. Oshima has taken the name Asalim to be an ellipsis for the name ^dasar-alim that appears in *An = Anum*, tablet 2, l. 189 and *Enūma eliš*, col. vii, l. 12.⁶⁷⁵ However, if Samsu-iluna F and G really date to the Old Babylonian period then it seems more reasonable to consider it an abbreviation for ^dasar-alim-nun-na, the longer version of the name, as ^dasar-alim seems to appear only in texts written after the Old Babylonian period.⁶⁷⁶ In any case, as Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon is mentioned, the name Asalim seems to be a byname for Marduk in this text.⁶⁷⁷

The name Asalim appears once again in a short listing of deities.⁶⁷⁸

16. inim dug₄-ga ^den-líl ^den-ki-kà-ta ú ^da-sa-lim ^dza-ba-ba ^dlugal-gú-dù-a lugal é!-a mu-dù-a

16. at the word spoken by Enlil, Enki, and Asalim, Zababa, Lugalgudua, the king who built the temple

Asalim is listed immediately after Enki that reflects the father and son relations between the two. The gods Zababa and Lugalgudua listed after the pair could be an indication that the text is from the northern part of Babylonia, as all three deities listed after Enlil and Enki are resident in the cities located north from Nippur.

5.4.2.5 A Hymn to Marduk from Sippar

This Akkadian composition was found in the northern city of Sippar and dates to the reign of Samsu-iluna. It was discovered together with a private archive of a priestess (*harimtu*) and the documents in the archive were provided with the

tradition” and list many peculiar writings that leads them to another possibility for the dating of Samsu-iluna F: “the tablet may not be Old Babylonian at all, but perhaps rather a late copy which seeks to imitate an Old Babylonian tablet.” For Samsu-iluna G, see 5.4.3.4 below.

⁶⁷⁴ Following *ibid.*, 11–12.

⁶⁷⁵ Oshima 2011, 195.

⁶⁷⁶ Note, however, the name ^dasar-alim-ma in the Nippur god-list (see 5.1.2 above). Nevertheless, this name could also be interpreted as a short form for Asaralimmuna.

⁶⁷⁷ Asalim also appears in Samsu-iluna G, see 5.4.3.4 below.

⁶⁷⁸ Following Alster and Walker 1989, 12.

year-name for the seventh (or eight?) year of Samsu-iluna.⁶⁷⁹ The hymn praises the god Marduk mainly in military terms, e.g., in line six as the “lord of battle” (*bé-el tu-ḡú-um-tim*). As noted by T. Oshima, many of the epithets and descriptions used for Marduk in this hymn are similar with how Ninurta was described in Sumerian texts.⁶⁸⁰

One might add that Marduk, as he is described here, is similar with Asalluḫi in the section devoted to the latter in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*. The intermingled notions of storms and war, especially in sense of punishing rebellious lands and enemies seems to be the most important topic for both compositions. In addition, the “handling” of me-s (Akkadian *parṣu*) also unites both texts. In the ninth line of the text Marduk is explicitly identified with Asalluḫi and in addition with An, the sky god.⁶⁸¹

9. *i-na el-lim ap-si a-sa-lu-uḫ e-li-iš i-na ša-ma an šum-šu*
9. in the pure abzu Asalluḫi, above in heaven An his name

This could be interpreted as an early expression for absorbing the identities of other deities by Marduk. While his identification with Asalluḫi is known from Old Babylonian bilingual incantations, his equation with An is – as far as I know – unique for this period. Even Marduk’s equation with more than one deity in the frame of one text does not appear in other Old Babylonian compositions.⁶⁸² T. Oshima interprets Marduk’s identification with An in this hymn as a sign of Babylon’s primacy over An’s city Uruk.⁶⁸³

5.4.2.6 The Cult Song of Damu (TCL 15 8)

Asalluḫi appears in the eleventh ki-ru-ḡú (ll. 216–231) of the lengthy emesal hymn that deals with the god Damu as a manifestation of Dumuzi.⁶⁸⁴ The text is extant on three unprovenanced manuscripts: TCL 15 8, CT 15 26–27 and 30. No specific information can be given about the dating of the manuscripts,

⁶⁷⁹ Al-Rawi 1992, 79, n. 1. T. Oshima dates the text between the seventh and ninth year of Samsu-iluna (Oshima 2011, 196).

⁶⁸⁰ Oshima 2011, 191: “In this hymn, one can also identify some attempts to transfer Ninurta’s attributes to Marduk; in particular, the reference to the ‘mountains’ in line 1 and to “the destroyer of the Mountains” in line 12 may allude to the tradition known from *Lugale* and *Angimdimma*. In addition, a “bird of the land of disobedience” in l. 8 may be related to Anzû.”

⁶⁸¹ Following Al-Rawi 1992, 79–82. Cf. Oshima 2011, 192–193. See also Sommerfeld 1987–1990, 368.

⁶⁸² The process of Marduk’s identification with other deities reached its climax ca. half a millennium later when fifty names were attributed to him in *Enūma Eliš*.

⁶⁸³ Oshima 2011, 196.

⁶⁸⁴ Römer 1992, 637.

except that they are all Old Babylonian in date. Asalluḫi appears as one of the seven deities listed in ll. 223–229.⁶⁸⁵

224. [^dasal]-lú-ḫi dumu-úru-zé-ba-ra a-ra-zu dè-ra-ab-bé

224. To Asalluḫi, son of Eridu, may speak a prayer of intercession for you

Asalluḫi's name occurs after another Eridu deity, whose name has not survived, possibly Amanki, the emesal writing for the god Enki (or – alternatively – Damgalnuna?). After Asalluḫi there follow deities Mullil, Martu, Šulpae, x-lil and Nanna. The function for this listing of deities is not clear.⁶⁸⁶ The editor of the text offers two possibilities: 1) en-priest or en-priestess (mentioned in l. 222) is asked to give a prayer of intercession to the listed deities for Damu (the line featuring Asalluḫi is translated by following this option); or, 2) the deities themselves are asked to give a prayer of intercession for Damu.⁶⁸⁷ The identity of the asker is not clear as well.

5.4.3 Prayers

5.4.3.1 A Letter-prayer of *Sîn-iddinam* to *Ninisina*

This composition belongs to the genre of letter-prayers also known as letters of petition.⁶⁸⁸ *Sîn-iddinam* (1849–1843), the ninth king of the Larsa dynasty appears as a sender in two letter-prayers. In the current composition he addresses *Ninisina*, the patron goddess of the city of *Isin*, in another one *Sîn-iddinam* addresses *Utu*, the sun-god.⁶⁸⁹ There are six extant manuscripts of this composition, one each from *Ur*, *Kiš* and *Nippur* with three additional tablets of unknown origin.⁶⁹⁰ One of the three unprovenanced tablets bears a dating of the first year of the king *Samsu-iluna*, i.e. probably the year 1749,⁶⁹¹ for other manuscripts dating that accurate is not possible. Note that in one small fragment of the text from *Ur*,⁶⁹² the name *Asalluḫi* is replaced with the name *Marduk* (^damar-utu), indicating that – at least according to this rendition of the text – the two were already thought of as the same god. *Asalluḫi*'s title “king of *Babylon*” (appears in l. 16) has also been taken to be the *terminus ante quem* for the identification of *Asalluḫi* and *Marduk*.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁵ Following Römer 1992, 653 and 666.

⁶⁸⁶ Note, however, once again the closeness of *Asalluḫi* and *Martu*. For this, see 4.1.1.1 above.

⁶⁸⁷ Römer 1992, 678–679.

⁶⁸⁸ For this genre, see Hallo 1968, 75–80.

⁶⁸⁹ For *Sîn-iddinam*'s letter prayer to *Utu*, see Brisch 2007, 158–178.

⁶⁹⁰ For the list of manuscripts and joins, see *ibid.*, 147.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁹² UET 6/3 575.

⁶⁹³ Richter 2004, 139–140.

The composition begins with a praise to Ninisina, the patron goddess of the city of Isin (ll. 1–9). After the introduction of direct speech (ll. 10–11), in ll. 12–15 *Sîn-iddinam* claims that he was given the rule over the land by the sun-god *Utu*, the patron deity of Larsa and that he has always served the gods with proper offerings and prayers that according to him was so much hard work that he could not even sleep. In ll. 16–18 appears *Asalluḫi*, who is named both the “king of Babylon” and “son of *Ilurugu*” and his city is said to be evilly plotting against the city of Larsa and its king. In l. 19, *Sîn-iddinam* states that he has not done anything evil to Babylon’s food offerings,⁶⁹⁴ an activity that his rivals from that city implicitly seem to accuse him. In ll. 20–22 the king gives a description of a vision he had in his sleep: he saw a young man at his bedside who looked at him with a terrible glance and cast an evil spell. In ll. 23–25 the king describes his physical distress after the vision that was seemingly caused by the spell of the young man.⁶⁹⁵

12. u₄ tu-da-mu-ta ^dutu-ra ù-na-a-dug₄ nam-sipa kalam-ma-ni ma-an-šúm
 13. [gú-mu] nu-^ršub^r-bu-dè-^ren^r ^rgá^r-e ù nu-ku-ku nam-ti-[la^r ⁱkin-kin]
 variant: zi-mu-šè nu-še-bi-dè-en ù ^rdùg nu^r-[mu]-^rda^r-ku nam-ti-^rla^r ⁱkin-[kin]
 14. dingir-re-e-ne-ra maḫ-bi KA sa₆-sa₆-^rge^r-mu-da
 15. sízkur nidba-bi ⁱkin-en níg-nam nu-mu-ne-kéš
 16. [^dasa]l-lú-ḫi lugal ká-dingir-ra^{ki} dumu ^díd-lú-ru-gú x x (?) u₄ zal
 17. iri-bi ir-mu-šè u₄-šú-uš-e sá si-si-ge
 18. lugal-bi lugal larsa^{ki}-šè níg-ḫul-dib-bé ⁱkin-kin
 19. sipa kalam-bi nu-me-en-na nidba-bi la-ba-an-x
 20. šul gá-ra gi₆ ma-mú-da gíri-ta mu-un-da-gub-ba
 21. saḡ-gá im-mi-gub igi ḫuš-bi gá-e igi mu-ni-du₈
 22. [^{ges}g]isal ⁱd^r-[da tùm tu₆ ḫul-bi si-[ga]
 23. u₄-bi-ta nam-šul-mu si nu-sá kišib-ni mu-un-dab₅-bé-en
 24. ní-tuku-mu-ta ní-mu la-ba-ra-è tu-ra gig ba-an-dab₅-bé-en
 25. tu-ra-mu kúkku nu-zalag-ge gar-ra-àm lú igi nu-mu-un-ni-in-du₈-^ra^r

12. After I was born, when you spoke to Utu, he gave me the shepherdship over his land 13. I was never neglectful, I never got to sleep; all my life I am working. (variant MS has: For (all) my life I have never been disdainful, I never get any sleep, all my life I am working) 14. So that I should pray magnificently/frequently to the gods, 15. I am searching for the sacrifices and food-offerings; I did not keep anything from them (?) 16. *Asalluḫi*, the king of Babylon, son of *Ilurugu*, [...] ..., 17. While that city is plotting daily against my city, 18. Their king searches (to do) evil against the king of Larsa. 19. Not being their shepherd of the land, I did not [...] their food-offerings. 20. A young man, who came to my side at night in a dream, 21. He stands at my head (?) and looks at me with a terrible glance, 22. Bringing oars of the river (?), casting an evil spell. 23. After that, my virility was not all right anymore, his grip had seized me. 24. Since I

⁶⁹⁴ The verb is missing in this line. Hallo 1976, 217 restores the missing verb as *gi*, “to covet” with a question mark.

⁶⁹⁵ Transliteration and translation by Brisch 2007, 142–143 with minor modifications; cf. Hallo 1976, 216–217.

became fearful, I cannot go out by myself anymore, a bitter sickness has seized me.
25. My sickness is like a darkness that never becomes light; no one can see it.

Asalluḫi's role in this passage is not easily explainable. N. Brisch has for this text stressed Asalluḫi's role as the god of incantations and thus his connection to the healing goddess Ninisina, who also had the ability "to cure by means of incantations."⁶⁹⁶ Brisch's assessment may be supported by the fact that Asalluḫi's name appears again in the last line (l. 52) of the text that could be interpreted as an invocation to this deity, similar to the ones that appear in incantations: [d]asal-lú-ḫi dumu 'd[í d-lú-r]u-gú na-ab-d[ug₄-ga] ḫu-mu-un-ti-le, "When Asalluḫi, son of Ilurugu, speaks[?] may he live." However, the portrayal of Asalluḫi in this text is different from his usual role in incantations, where he appears as a deity who acts benevolent towards humans.⁶⁹⁷ Thus, the assessment by Brisch that Asalluḫi appears here because he is the god of incantations needs further explanation. The interpretation of this matter relies on the identity of the "young man" (šal gá-ra) who probably caused the illness and misery of the king with his spell. T. Jacobsen has proposed that this young man could be Asalluḫi himself. The basis for this claim is the oar/rudder (^{ḡeš}ḡisal) mentioned in l. 22 of the text.⁶⁹⁸ If this deity causing calamities to the king is indeed Asalluḫi, then his role here would be the opposite to the one of the god of incantations, as in this case he would be the god who inflicts illness (or harm in general) on people, not the one who saves from people from hardship. This imaginary discrepancy between the "good" and "evil" side of Asalluḫi, however, probably was of no concern for the ancients who made no distinction between the modern categories of white and black magic.⁶⁹⁹ One needs to remember that incantations had a specific purpose of turning the "bad" situation for the better and thus it is obvious that the harmful side of Asalluḫi is not visible in these texts.

W. W. Hallo had a different explanation for the matter at hand; for ll. 16–18 of Šin-iddinam's letter-prayer he has commented: "These lines are crucial but difficult. Do they allude to the dispute between Babylon and Larsa which, according to the name of Šin-iddinam's fourth year, led to a defeat of Babylon by Larsa in 1847, three years before the end of Sumu-la-el's reign?"⁷⁰⁰ If one follows Hallo's line of argumentation then it could be that this dispute and conflict between Babylon and Larsa has an "historical kernel" and found in this text an expression as contest between deities connected to incantations with Asalluḫi/Marduk representing Babylon and Ninisina – although a patron

⁶⁹⁶ Brisch 2007, 76–77.

⁶⁹⁷ It goes without saying that this benevolence does not extend to the human witches who are Asalluḫi's adversaries in incantations.

⁶⁹⁸ For l. 22, T. Jacobsen has commented: "The oar is probably meant to identify him as belonging to the circle of í d - l ú - r u - g ú (i.e. Enki) if not as a form of Asalluḫe himself" (Jacobsen *apud* Hallo 1976, 223).

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. Farber 1995, 1898 (quoted in 2.1.2.1 above).

⁷⁰⁰ Hallo 1976, 223.

goddess of the city of Isin – representing the kingdom of Larsa.⁷⁰¹ If this interpretation is correct than one could easily base the rare expression of the “evil side” of Asalluḫi with the fact that this text is written from the viewpoint of his and his city’s bitter enemies at the time, the city of Larsa and its king.

Asalluḫi’s sonship to Ilurugu, the god of the river-ordeal is unusual, if the name Ilurugu here does not simply denote the manifestation of his father Enki.⁷⁰² Accordingly, T. S. Frymer-Kensky claimed here an “absolute identity between Enki and the Ilurugu.”⁷⁰³ T. Jacobsen has also equated Ilurugu here with Enki.⁷⁰⁴ Note, however, that only one manuscript has *dumu* and another has *en-tur*, “young lord” instead. D. Charpin suspects in *en-tur* a second epithet of Asalluḫi.⁷⁰⁵

As noted by Oshima, the letter-prayer of *Sîn-iddinam* has connections to the pious sufferer theme that appears most prominently in later compositions such as *Ludlul bel nēmeqi*.⁷⁰⁶ As is written in the portion of the text presented above, the king – in his own words – has done everything right in cultic matters and should be considered a truly pious ruler. Thus, the suffering he later had to face that was probably caused by the divine punishment executed by Asalluḫi/Marduk is in *Sîn-iddinam*’s view completely unfair.

5.4.3.2 A Letter-prayer of *Sîn-šamuh* to Enki

This text is another letter prayer that features the deity under scrutiny – here under the name *Asaralimnuna* – in this thesis, although only passingly. Three unprovenanced manuscripts in the Yale Babylonian Collection date to the Old Babylonian period.⁷⁰⁷ Different from the letter-prayer of *Sîn-iddinam*, the sender was not a member of royalty but worked as a scribe. Like *Sîn-iddinam*, *Sîn-šamuh* is one of the many “pious” sufferers of Mesopotamian literature who was afflicted with several physical and social calamities and begged for mercy from Enki in the form of a written letter. *Asaralimnuna* is here paired with his mother *Damgalnuna*. Both are described to act as proxies between *Sîn-šamuh* and Enki, as the sufferer asks the mother and son pair to recite his laments to Enki:⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰¹ One might consider the possibility that *Ninisina* in this text represents the most important deity connected to incantations in the kingdom of Larsa at the time.

⁷⁰² Note that *Ilurugu* in the hymn *Asalluḫi A* seems to be equated with *Asalluḫi* (see 5.4.2.3 above). *Ilurugu* is also an actor in Old Babylonian incantations, see, e.g., the bilingual incantation DME 313, l. 68: ‘ur[?]-saḡ[?] d[?]id-lú-r[u-gú], “hero[?] *Ilurugu*”.

⁷⁰³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 561.

⁷⁰⁴ Jacobsen *apud* Hallo 1976, 223.

⁷⁰⁵ Charpin 1986, 359: “[...] mais il pourrait fort bien s’agir d’une deuxième épithète d’*Asalluḫi*: «*Asalluḫi*, roi de Babylone, le jeune seigneur *Ilurugu* ».”

⁷⁰⁶ Oshima 2011, 46.

⁷⁰⁷ YBC 4620, 7205, 8639

⁷⁰⁸ Following Hallo 1968, 83–84 and 86; cf. Takai 2009, 100.

41. ^ddam-gal-nun-na nitalam ki-áĝ-zu
 42. ama-mu-gin₇ ĥa-ra-da-túm ér-mu ĥu-mu-ra-ni-ib-ku₄-^rku₄⁷
 43. ^dasar-alim-nun-na dumu abzu-ke₄
 44. a-a-mu-gin₇ ĥa-ra-da-túm ér-mu ĥu-mu-ra-ni-ib-ku₄-ku₄
 45. ér šà-ne-ša₄-mu ĥu-mu-ra-[ab]-bé ér-mu ĥu-mu-ra-ni-ib-ku₄-ku₄
 41. Damgalnuna, your foremost wife, 42. may she bring it to you as if she were my mother, may she convey my lamentation before you. 43. Asaralimnuna, son of the abzu 44. may he bring it to you as if he were my father, may he convey my lamentation before you. 45. my lamentation and supplication may he speak to you, may he convey my lament to you

The relation of the sufferer to Damgalnuna and Asaralimnuna is presented as a very personal one as Sîn-šamuh equates them with his mother and father. Asaralimnuna's mediating role in this letter-prayer is similar to the one this deity under his several names has in incantations. The main difference with incantations is that when in those the problems are conveyed to Enki by Asalluĥi in a descriptive manner, here Damgalnuna and Asaralimnuna are asked by the sufferer to communicate his own words of lament to Enki.

5.4.3.3 A Prayer to Asalluĥi for Ĥammurabi (Ĥammurabi D)

This text is extant on two fragments: the larger one from Nippur and smaller one from Kiš.⁷⁰⁹ Asalluĥi and Marduk are clearly equated in this fragmentary text, as both names are used for one and the same deity. The prayer starts with a supplication to the gods for Ĥammurabi in ll. 1'–6'. Then the attention turns to Asalluĥi in l. 7' followed by a complicated scheme of different actors (Asalluĥi/Marduk, the great gods, the supplicant?) addressing each other. Due to the inconsistent use of singular and plural for verbal persons and lacunae it is difficult to be certain on who is addressing who in some lines:⁷¹⁰

- 7'. ^dasal-lú-ĥi ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi-gu₁₀-úr na[m]
 8'. an ^den-líl ^den-ki e-ne-bi-da KA x[.....]
 9'. šà-ga-ne-ne-šè ù-mu-ni-in-SUM nì x[.....]
 10'. dingir-gal-gal kilib-ba-bi ^damar-utu-ra ĥúl-le-eš mu-n[i-.....]
 11'. sipa-šà-ga-zu nam-en-kalam-ma ak-dè mu-e-ni-i[n-...]
 12'. nam-a-ni gal-le-eš tar-re-en-zé-en KA-kù-za x[.....]
 13'. inim-zu BA⁷ AŠ-a ba-an-ši-gar-re-en-zé-en sipa mùš nu-túm-m[u]
 14'. lugal-ra im-mi-in-sa₄-en-dè-en ub-ta 4(diš)-ba x x E NE⁷ [...]
 7'. Asalluĥi, for my Ĥammurabi a destiny [...] 8'. An, Enlil and Enki ... 9'. When they had decided ... 10'. All the great gods rejoicingly to Marduk ... 11'. (great gods to Marduk:) You have ... the shepherd of your heart to perform the rulership over the land. 12'. (Marduk to great gods:) Decide (2 pp) greatly his destiny! In your (2 ps) holy mouth ... 13'. Place (2 pp) your word for him, the

⁷⁰⁹ For the tablets, see Sjöberg 1972, 58.

⁷¹⁰ Following *ibid.*, 61 and 64.

shepherd who does not cease to work. 14'. (great gods speak:) For the king we call in the four [quarters of the world].

In l. 7' of the above excerpt someone (the supplicant?) asks a great (or good?) destiny for “my Ḥammurabi” from Asalluḫi. This is followed in the next three fragmentary lines probably by a description of the convening of the assembly of the great gods who in l. 11' speak to Marduk. For ll. 12'–13' it seems that Marduk is speaking and pleading to the assembly of gods to determine Ḥammurabi's destiny. In l. 14' – judging by the lpp form used – it seems probable that the assembly of gods speaks again to begin to give the verdict concerning Ḥammurabi. In the following lengthy speech of the great gods (ll. 15'–25') Ḥammurabi is given the kingship and praised in exuberant terms, e.g., by comparing him to the storm-god Iškur and assigning him the help of the gods Utu and possibly also Erra. In l. 28' the attention turns once again to Asalluḫi but as the line is fragmentary the context is not clear: 28' ^dasal-lú-ḫi, mu-ru-ub-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne uru²[xx]x ga IM² [...], “Asalluḫi, among the great gods...” As in the next two lines Babylon, the city of Asalluḫi/Marduk is praised, the mention of uru, “city” in l. 28' probably refers to Babylon. Possibly Asalluḫi/Marduk is here “exalting” his city among other cities.

According to W. Sommerfeld the role of Marduk in this prayer is to be the mediator between the great gods and king Ḥammurabi.⁷¹¹ This role could very well be taken up here because of the mediating role between the divine and mundane spheres that Asalluḫi had by then played in incantations for a long time. This option can be supported by the fact that Asalluḫi and not Marduk is mentioned first in the surviving part of the text. The situation, however, is different from the one that appears in incantations. Instead of mediating various hardships of humans to his father Enki as he does in incantations, Asalluḫi here acts as a mediator between the ambitious human ruler and the assembly of the great gods.

Similarities with the prologue of the *Laws of Ḥammurabi* are explicit in the episodes concerning the mediating role of Asalluḫi/Marduk.⁷¹² However, Asalluḫi does not appear in the *Laws*, probably because Asalluḫi's mediating role was already so much absorbed into Marduk's divine figure as a middleman between the great gods and royalty, the composer of Ḥammurabi's laws felt no need to use the older name-form. It is also possible that as the language of the laws was Akkadian and the name Marduk in Akkadian was commonly “translated” to Sumerian as Asalluḫi in bilingual texts, the name Asalluḫi was probably less known and (deliberately) less used in Akkadian contexts.

It is difficult to determine whether Asalluḫi/Marduk the god or Ḥammurabi the king is described in the concluding part of the prayer, e.g., in the fragmentary ll. 31'–34'. For example, when in l. 33' the great gods give someone the “Enlilship over the totality of people” (nam-^den-líl-un-šár-ra), it is not clear

⁷¹¹ Sommerfeld 1982, 78.

⁷¹² Cf. *ibid.*, 79: “Die Parallelität dieser Passage zum Prolog des KH ist offensichtlich.”

whether Marduk or Ḫammurabi is meant as the receiver of the Enlilship. Å. W. Sjöberg claimed that it was Ḫammurabi who was given the Enlilship.⁷¹³ W. Sommerfeld has opposed this view and was certain that it is Marduk who is rewarded with Enlil-powers because in his view *Enlil-würde* can only be bestowed on deities and not on human actors.⁷¹⁴ Although it is not possible to decide the matter conclusively, the comparative evidence suggests that it is Asalluḫi/Marduk on whom the nam-^den-lil is bestowed on here.⁷¹⁵

5.4.3.4 A Prayer for Samsu-iluna (Samsu-iluna G)

The provenance of the only surviving tablet (BM 96603) of this prayer is unknown.⁷¹⁶ In the beginning (ll. 1–3) of this bilingual text king Samsu-iluna is said to greet three great gods:⁷¹⁷

1. ^den-<ki> ^da-sa-lim ù ^ddumu eridu^{ki}-ga
2. é-a ^damar-utu ù ^da-sa-lu-ḫa
3. dingir-gal-gal-e-ne šu-du-um-mu-un-na-an-^rra[?]

1. Enki, Asalim and Dumu-Eridu 2. Ea, Marduk and Asalluḫi 3. the great gods, he greeted[?]

Enki of the Sumerian version is here equalled with Akkadian Ea, ^da-sa-lim with Marduk (^damar-utu) and ^ddumu-eridu^{ki}-ga with ^da-sa-lu-ḫa. Thus, the two prominent sons of Enki are listed in close vicinity but are still considered to be separate deities.⁷¹⁸ As Marduk is listed before ^ddumu-eridu^{ki}-ga = ^da-sa-lu-ḫa, Samsu-iluna G seems to represent a later stage in the process of fusion of the divine figures Asalluḫi and Marduk than the god-list TCL 15 10 that lists Asalluḫi's names first. This makes the interpretation in this text similar to the one given in the Old Babylonian Nippur Diri.⁷¹⁹ Similar to the Diri, in the Samsu-iluna prayer two important sons of Enki are listed with the Marduk-name listed first.

The main differences between Samsu-iluna G and the Nippur Diri are that in the prayer the syllabic writing for Marduk is not used and the logographic writing ^damar-utu is equated not with ^dasar but with ^da-sa-lim. Thus, at least two only slightly different theological speculations existed for placing the two important sons of Enki/Ea into the pantheon. This makes it improbable that one

⁷¹³ See Sjöberg 1972, 60.

⁷¹⁴ Sommerfeld 1982, 79. One could also consider the possibility that the Enlilship was bestowed on both Marduk and Ḫammurabi and the expression of this was deliberately vague.

⁷¹⁵ For nam-^den-lil, see further Johandi 2018, 565–566

⁷¹⁶ Alster and Walker 1989, 11.

⁷¹⁷ Following Alster and Walker 1989, 16.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. Oshima 2011, 195 on the juxtapositions of names in Samsu-iluna G: “[...] Marduk had, with certainty, already taken his place in the Eridu circle by the reign of Samsu-iluna but [...] the Marduk=Asalluḫi syncretism had not yet gained canonical status in this period.”

⁷¹⁹ MSL 15, 36. For this text, see 5.2.1 above.

or the other of the two interpretations was an *ad hoc* creation of some imaginative scribe and increases the possibility that speculations like these on Enki's successors played a wider role in the theological thinking of the times. ^ddumu-eridu^{ki}-ga, a common epithet of Asalluḫi, was in the prayer possibly used instead of the proper theonym with the purpose to avoid confusion with the similar name Asalim.

The fact that in the Samsu-iluna prayer Asalim is equated with Marduk is in line with the hymn Samsu-iluna F in which Asalim (=Marduk) was associated with the Esagila temple.⁷²⁰ After the juxtaposition of deities in Samsu-iluna G, in ll. 4–8 the text continues with the praise of the king. Then, in ll. 9–11 the dual kingship over the southern cities of Ur and Larsa and over the whole of Sumer and Akkad is attributed to Samsu-iluna. The mention of the cities Ur and Larsa could be important here.

As is well known, the southern cities – especially Larsa – were centres of rebellions during the reign of Samsu-iluna.⁷²¹ Thus, this text might come from the period when Samsu-iluna had already reconquered Larsa. As the deities Asalluḫi and Marduk were known to be identified in the letter-prayer of Sîn-iddinam approximately a century before Samsu-iluna,⁷²² one can speculate that keeping the two gods apart in a text praising himself was a deliberate policy of Samsu-iluna to reclaim his authority in the newly subjugated southern cities.

Thus, Samsu-iluna might have needed the support of Asalluḫi (and Enki), a deity associated with the southern regions of the realm to restore order and (re)legitimise his rule, while also needing to preserve the approbation of Marduk, the god of his own city Babylon. The theological picture presented in this prayer was even more “coherent”, as both Asalluḫi and Marduk were the sons of Enki. However, even if this speculation is true, the reason why in Sumerian renditions exactly the name Asalim was chosen for Marduk is not clear. Perhaps a name similar to southern Asalluḫi/Asar/Asaralimnuna was used to familiarise the southern deity to the northern audience with a long-term goal to eventually fuse Marduk and Asalluḫi when Samsu-iluna has managed to restore his grasp over the realm and the political situation pacified.

⁷²⁰ For Samsu-iluna F, see above. It is difficult to grasp the logic behind the following statement made by the editors of the two texts: “That the god ^da-sa-lim mentioned in BM 96573 [=Samsu-iluna F – A. J.] and in BM 96603 [=Samsu-iluna G – A. J.] is identical with Asalluḫi can be deduced from BM 96603:1-2. ^da-sa-lim is equated there with ^dmarduk, and ^ddumu-eridu-ki-ga with ^da-sa-lu-ḫa” (Alster and Walker 1989, 11). It seems more likely that in this manner a deliberate distinction is made between the two deities with Asalim being the name of Marduk (Enki's son and the god of Babylon) and dumu-eridu-ki-ga, the name of Asalluḫi (another son of Enki and the god connected to Eridu).

⁷²¹ For the rebellion of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa in the ninth year of Samsu-iluna, see, e.g., Stol 1976, 44–58.

⁷²² This practice was continued in texts like Asalluḫi A and Ḫammurabi D (see above).

5.4.4 Myths

5.4.4.1 The Myth of Girra and Elmatum

Only the very ending of this Akkadian myth that features Girra, the god of fire and light as a hero, has survived. The text is extant on a single tablet (BM 78962), probably originating from either Sippar or Sippar-Amnanum (Tell ed-Der). The myth originally had ca. 350 lines and was written on seven tablets. The editor of the text dates it approximately to the reign of king Ammī-šaduqa (1646–1626).⁷²³

Asalluḫi appears only once in this text, among the lines that describe Girra as a lightbringer of the deities, without whom the latter were unable to eat and drink.⁷²⁴

28. a-^ˉdi^ˉ <at-ta> ta-ak-ka-lu-nim a-ia i-ku-lu

29. i-lu aḫ-ḫu-ka

30. a-di at-ta ˉta^ˉ-ša-at-tu-nim

31. a-ia iš-tu-ú i-lu aḫ-ḫu-ka

32. a-di nu-ra-am ˉtu^ˉ-ka-ˉal^ˉ-la-mu-šu-nu-ti

33. a-ia ut-te-er ba-ˉat^ˉ DINGIR.DIDLI aḫ-ḫi-ka

34. it-ti^d asal-lú-ḫi maš-maš DINGIR.DIDLI ba-a'-ma

35. i-na É DINGIR ù LÚ li-ib-ši šum-ka

28. Until you eat 28./29. may your brother gods not eat. 30. Until you drink 31. may your brother gods not drink. 32. Until you show them light 33. may the vigil of your brother gods not be illuminated. 34. Walk with Asalluḫi the exorcist of the gods 35. and let your name be present in the house of god and man.

The mention of Asalluḫi in connection with Girra seems to result from the fact that both deities are intimately connected to the rites of purification and both feature in incantations.⁷²⁵ Note that the activities of both as the gods active in purification are described in a similar manner, i.e. using the same Sumerian verbs for purification: kù, sikil and dadag.⁷²⁶ The main difference between the deities lies in their respective elements. While Girra implements purification by fire, Asalluḫi is mainly related to purifying with water and other liquids.

⁷²³ Walker 1983, 145.

⁷²⁴ Transliteration and translation: *ibid.*, 148–149.

⁷²⁵ For Girra/Gibil as a deity of purification note the comments by P. Michalowski: “The purificatory aspects of this god is central to the text under discussion here [=The Myth of Girra and Elmatum – A. J.] and is abundantly documented. This was his main role in the cultic sphere: it provided him with a place in the Eridu pantheon, among the divinities associated with magic and religious ritual” (Michalowski 1993, 157).

⁷²⁶ For the use of these verbs in relation to Girra, see, e.g., the Old Babylonian incantation YOS 11, 59 (edited in Conti 2000, 125–128).

5.4.4.2 Ur Version of the Sumerian Flood Story

Asalluḫi appears in the recently published Ur version of the *Sumerian Flood Story*.⁷²⁷ Here the treatment of antediluvian cities and their deities is somewhat different than in the earlier version.⁷²⁸ The important difference between the two recensions is that while in the earlier version the first city Eridu was given to Enki under his name Nudimmud, the first city in the Ur recension is given to Asalluḫi:⁷²⁹

rev.

1'. [diš_x (U)-ka-ma-še[?] ... ^dasa]-lú-ḫi-še [mu-na-ni-ib-šú]m-mu

2'. [mìn-kam-ma-še ...]-ki [mu-na-ni-ib-šú]m-mu

3'. eš-kam-ma-[še la-ra-ak^{ki} ^dpa-bíl]-saĝ-ĝá-ra [mu-na-ni-ib]-šúm-mu

4'. limmu-kam-ma-še [... mu]-na-ib-šúm-mu-ne

5'. ia_x (NINNU)-kam-ma-še S[U.KUR.RU ... mu-na-ni]-ib-šúm-mu

1'. First, ... were giving [Eridu, Ku'ara?] to Asalluḫi, 2'. Second, ... were giving [Bad-tibira to the nugig-midwife[?]], 3'. Third, ... were giving [Larak] to Pabilsaĝ, 4'. Fourth, ... were giving [Sippar to Utu[?]], 5'. Fifth, ... were giving Š[uruppak[?]] to [Sud[?]].

Unfortunately, the name of the first city itself has not preserved and it remains open whether it is to be restored as Eridu or Ku'ara. The first option is supported by most of the documents that list Eridu as the first city. The second option is supported by the text W-B 62 (=OECT 2, plate VI), a version of the *Antediluvian King List* that lists Ku'ara / Larsa / Bad-tibira / Larak / Sippar / Šuruppak as the first cities.

5.5 Royal Inscriptions

5.5.1 Royal Inscription of Ammī-Ditāna (RIME 4, pp. 411–412)

It is rather astonishing that Asalluḫi's name appears only once among the corpus of Old Babylonian royal inscriptions. The only occurrence appears in one of the two extant royal inscriptions for king Ammī-Ditāna (1683–1647).⁷³⁰ In this text Asalluḫi appears as a part of a name of a city wall:

⁷²⁷ Peterson 2018.

⁷²⁸ Civil 1969.

⁷²⁹ Transliteration and translation by Peterson 2018, 42–43.

⁷³⁰ The inscription has survived in two copies. One manuscript (BM 38308) of unknown provenance is from H. Rassam's collection dating to the Neo-Babylonian times, the other (BE 36067) is from Babylon's Merkes district.

- 4'. bād-bi
 5'. ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 6'. lú IM-a bí-in-búr-ru-da-a
 7'. IM ki-a ḫa-ra-ab-gá-gá
 8'. mu-bi-I[M]

The lengthy name for the wall appears in ll. 5'–8' but these lines are difficult to interpret as becomes clear from the differing interpretations of scholars. For this excerpt, the reading of the sign IM in ll. 6–7 is crucial. IM has several readings and if one leaves aside some possibilities that seem less likely, it can be interpreted either as im (*tīdu* “clay, mud”; *tuppu* “tablet”; *zunnu* “rain”; *šāru* “wind”), tumu/tum, (“wind”) or ní (*puluhtu* “fear, aura”; *ramānu*, “self”).⁷³¹ D. Frayne took these lines to be a curse formula and interpreted the sign IM in both lines as “clay”: “The name of the wall is ‘May Asarluḫi turn into clay in the underworld the one who makes a breach in the clay (of the wall)’.”⁷³² T. S. Frymer-Kensky interpreted the second sign in line six as ní instead of im and translated the whole passage as: “Asarluhi, the one who ‘dissolves’ (spells, etc.) by himself, who establishes awe in Ku’aru” (^dAsar-lú-hi lú ní-a bí-in-búr-ru-da-a ní ku’ar-ra (A.HA-ra) ab-gá-gá).⁷³³ Å. W. Sjöberg transliterated the passage as bād-bi ^dasal-lú-ḫi lú im-a bí-in-búr-ru-da-a IM ki-a ḫa-ra-ab-gá-gá mu-bi-im and partly translated it as “the name of the wall is ‘Asarluḫi, the only one who can undo (evil), will ... for you’.”⁷³⁴

None of the translations is without problems. It seems that as the verb *búr* (“to release, free; to spread out, cover”) is often used in the ending formulae of incantations,⁷³⁵ both Frymer-Kensky and Sjöberg were on the right track by attributing the ability to “dissolve spells” or “undo evil” to Asalluḫi.⁷³⁶ Frymer-Kensky and Sjöberg in unison consider lú IM-a to represent Asalluḫi (both interpret ní with the basic meaning “self”: “by himself” and “the only one who” respectively).⁷³⁷

The interpretation of the following two lines is even more complicated. Sjöberg does not offer any translation at all (except interpreting ra as a verbal

⁷³¹ On the problems regarding the readings of the sign IM, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 188–190, n. 11.

⁷³² RIME 4, 412.

⁷³³ Frymer-Kensky 1977, 566.

⁷³⁴ PSD 2 B, 193. Cf. Pientka 1998 I, 222: “Möge Asalluḫi, der einzige, der (Böses) ungeschehen machen kann, für dich ...!”

⁷³⁵ For a discussion on this verb, see 2.1.2.2 above.

⁷³⁶ Frayne’s interpretation of l. 6’ and the whole passage as a curse formula does not seem to be correct as there seems to be no basis for interpreting the verbal chain as “to make a breach”.

⁷³⁷ Perhaps, however, there is a possibility that not Asalluḫi but the troubled patient known from incantations is meant here with lú IM-a and IM should be instead read as ní, “fear” and the whole translated approximately as: “Asalluḫi frees/releases the one in fear”. One could speculate that Asalluḫi here releases the “patient” from the fright of enemy attacks on Babylon, now that the city is safely guarded by a new wall.

infix for dative: “for you”).⁷³⁸ While Frymer-Kensky does not seem to be right in interpreting the signs KI A 𒀠 RA in l. 7’ as ku’ar-ra (A.HA-ra),⁷³⁹ one could perhaps modify her translation and simply translate as: “may he establish awe in the land”.⁷⁴⁰ One could also try to read IM in this line as “clay”,⁷⁴¹ read KI as “land” or “country” and translate the line as “may he set in place the clay of the land for you.”⁷⁴² One could also try to interpret ki gá-gá as a compound verb ki gar, “to found” but the a behind ki would in this case be difficult to interpret. Thus, ll. 7’–8’ cannot be translated with certainty. The problem noted above, namely the absence of Asalluḫi from royal inscriptions, can perhaps be explained by the provenance of the royal inscriptions of the Old Babylonian kings from the northern regions where Asalluḫi never became an important deity in his own right nor even as a byname used for the god Marduk – at least not in royal contexts.⁷⁴³

5.6 Letters

5.6.1 AbB 7 165

This is the only Old Babylonian letter known to me in which Asalluḫi appears in the blessing formula. Nothing certain can be said regarding the provenance of the text based on its contents. W. Sommerfeld has suggested that it originates from Northern Babylonia.⁷⁴⁴ As Šamaš and Marduk are named later in the text in connection with personal piety, the document should probably be dated to the reign of Ḫammurabi or later when the cult of Marduk had gained wider promi-

⁷³⁸ PSD 2 B, 193.

⁷³⁹ The sequence of signs is problematic in Frymer-Kensky’s translation, as the determinative KI stands in front of the geographical name and not after it, as it should. For the writing HA.A^{ki} for Ku’ara in the third millennium, see 2.1.2 above.

⁷⁴⁰ Admittedly the question concerning the verb in the next line will in this case remain unanswered, also the dative infix -ra would in this case be difficult to interpret.

⁷⁴¹ As does Frayne in RIME 4, 412.

⁷⁴² The verb in the next line seems, again, superfluous in this case.

⁷⁴³ The name Asalluḫi appears only as a theophoric component in the personal names in Old Babylonian royal inscriptions. W. Sommerfeld substantiates this “inactivity” of Asalluḫi in royal texts by connecting his activities mainly to the sphere of magic; Sommerfeld further claims that Marduk, on the contrary, had many other divine responsibilities he obtained in the Old Babylonian period: “Die Tätigkeit Asalluḫi’s was weitgehend auf das Gebiet der Magie beschränkt. Marduk gewann dagegen im Zuge des politischen Aufstiegs von Babylon zunehmend an Bedeutung und war unter Hammurabi Landesgott eines großen Gebietes, dem abgesehen von der Magie noch viele andere Bereiche unterstanden und dem im Laufe der Zeit vielfältige Züge zugeschrieben wurden. Dementsprechend wird Marduk außerhalb der Beschwörungsliteratur – z.B. in offiziellen Inschriften – nur sehr selten mit Asalluḫi gleichgesetzt” (Sommerfeld 1982, 28).

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 14, n. 1: “[...] der Brief stammt wohl aus Nordbabylonien”.

nence outside of his hometown Babylon.⁷⁴⁵ Asalluḫi in this text follows another deity whose name has not survived.⁷⁴⁶

1. [ᵈx] ù ᵈasal-lú-[ḫi]
2. [ba-la-aṭ u]₄-mi da-ru-tim li-id-d[i-nu-kum]
3. [la-ma-a]s-sà-am e-te-el-le-tam
4. li-iš-ru-ku-kum
5. dingir-ka ba-nu-ka ma-ḫar ᵈutu ù ᵈamar-utu
6. [x] x ša i-ga-ar-ri-a-ka

1. x and Asalluḫi, 2. life of long-lasting days may they give you! 3. Lordly lamassu 4. they entrusted to you, 5. your god, your creator 6. who 5. before Utu and Marduk 6. gives you a good report[?].

That the text is probably late (i.e. from the time when Asalluḫi and Marduk were already identified as one deity) and the fact that Marduk is mentioned make it a viable option that Asalluḫi appears here only as a byname for Marduk. The deity whose name has not survived in the beginning could thus be Utu/Šamaš with whom Marduk was often paired in blessing formulae of letters.⁷⁴⁷ If it is true that Šamaš and Asalluḫi (=Marduk) are mentioned in the beginning, one could further ask why the name Asalluḫi was used here in place of Marduk.

W. Sommerfeld has offered a thesis that apart from Šamaš and Marduk the letters – as a rule – only mentioned deities with whom either the sender and/or the addressee had special relations with. For these special relations he offered three criteria: 1) the person(s) mentioned belonged among the cultic personnel of the deity; 2) the deity was a tutelary deity of their hometown; 3) the deity was the personal deity of the person or his/her family.⁷⁴⁸ For the mention of Asalluḫi in this letter (as well as for the mention of Ištar and Tašmētum in another letter) Sommerfeld cannot decide the reason why namely these deities are mentioned.⁷⁴⁹

One can probably exclude the second option offered by Sommerfeld as this letter probably is from the Northern Babylonia and Eridu and Ku'ara, both hometowns of Asalluḫi were in decline and had little importance during the Old Babylonian period. The third option is not likely, as it is Asalluḫi who together with another deity is asked to present a personal deity to the addressee of the

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Sommerfeld 1982, 122. For the importance of Šamaš and Marduk for the personal piety in Northern Babylonia, see *ibid.*, 121. Note that only a few letters in which Šamaš and Marduk appear in connection with personal piety can be – even approximately – dated by their contents. Thus, e.g., the text AbB 2 82 which mentions Dūr-Ammišaduqa has to be dated to the reign of Ammī-šaduqa (1646–1626), or later.

⁷⁴⁶ Following Kraus 1977, 142–143.

⁷⁴⁷ The mention of Šamaš and Marduk in this order in the blessing formula became widespread from the reign of Ḫammurabi (see Dalley 1973, 80; Sommerfeld 1982, 113).

⁷⁴⁸ Sommerfeld 1982, 118.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 119, n. 3: “Nur bei Ištar und Tašmētum (AbB 7, 129) sowie [] und Asalluḫi (165) läßt sich den Briefen nicht entnehmen, ob sie in einem besonderen Schutzgottverhältnis zu den Korrespondenten standen bzw. aus welchen anderen Gründen sie genannt werden.”

letter and thus Asalluḫi himself cannot here act as the personal deity. The first option thus seems the most probable.

However, one can perhaps suggest a broader definition and claim that perhaps either the sender or the addressee was somehow connected to Asalluḫi in his role as a deity of healing and thus having the ability to grant a long life to the addressee as the blessing formula insists.

5.6.2 AbB 2 118

AbB 2 118 together with 18 other letters (AbB 2, letters 117–129; AbB 13, letters 54–59) belongs to a group of texts that originates from either Kisurra or Umma.⁷⁵⁰ As in one letter belonging to this group (AbB 2 122) the Babylonian king Sumu-abum (1894–1881) is probably mentioned, the letter AbB 2 118 can be approximately dated to the same time.⁷⁵¹ This letter that has so far received little attention in connection with the god Asar/Asalluḫi seems to be a rare piece of evidence that contrary to his widespread role as a benevolent deity in incantations the ability of Asar/Asalluḫi to inflict harm on human beings was also seen as one of the characteristics of the deity.⁷⁵²

obv.	rev.
1 <i>a-na li-pí-it-ištar</i>	12 [ša ^d a]sar [x-x]
2 <i>ù lú-^dba-ba₆</i>	13 [na-g]r ⁱ -ru[-um]
3 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	14 [l]i-iš-si-ma
4 <i>um-ma a-ḫu-um-ma</i>	15 <i>ta-ap-ḫu-ri</i>
5 <i>mu-ta-a-nu</i>	16 <i>i-na iš-ri-im</i>
6 <i>a-nu-um-ma</i>	17 <i>a-na^dasar</i>
7 <i>i-na a-li-im</i>	18 <i>šu-uk-na-a-ma</i>
8 <i>i-ba-aš-šu-ú</i>	19 <i>i-la-am su-ul-li-ma</i>
9 <i>mu-ta-a-nu</i>	20 <i>i-lu-um</i>
10 <i>ú-la ša^d nè-iri₁₁-gal</i>	21 <i>li-nu-úḫ</i>
11 <i>[m]u-ta-a-nu</i>	22 <i>a-di ta-ap-ḫu-ri-šu</i>

1. To Lipit-Ištar 2. and Lu-Baba 3. speak 4. as follows (says) Aḫuma: 5. plague 8. is 6. at the moment 7. in the city, 9. plague 10. is not of Nergal, 11. plague (is) 12. of Asar. 13. Herald 14. may announce: 18. organise 15. assemblies of supplicants 16. in the village 17. for Asar, 19. appease the god, 20. may the god 21. be pacified 22. (by) assemblies of supplicants (organised) for him.

⁷⁵⁰ W. Sommerfeld locates the texts to Kisurra (Sommerfeld 1983, 205) while W. H. van Soldt prefers Umma as the point of origin (van Soldt 1994, ix and 49, n. a).

⁷⁵¹ For Sumu-abum in Kisurra, see Sommerfeld 1983, 220–221 with n. 51. Sommerfeld argues that Sumu-abum managed to establish his power over Kisurra in his 12/13th year. An early date of this text is also supported by the lack of the blessing formula. According to Sommerfeld the blessing formula came into use in the decades before Ḥammurabi (Sommerfeld 1982, 112).

⁷⁵² Following Frankena 1966, 82–83.

As the date of the letter is early, it suggests that this “evil” side of Asalluḫi existed even before his divine figure was identified with the one of Marduk, the earliest concrete evidence for which comes at least thirty years later from the reign of Sîn-iddinam.⁷⁵³ This evidence seems to oppose the conclusions by T. Oshima on his discussion on the divine figures of Asalluḫi and Marduk before their identification.⁷⁵⁴ Oshima seems to insist that Marduk after he absorbed the divine figure of the god Asalluḫi became some sort of composite figure between the “evil” Marduk and the “good” Asalluḫi. In his analysis of the incantation DME 84 in which the still separate figures of Marduk and Asalluḫi appear, Oshima argues:⁷⁵⁵

Asalluḫi, by contrast to Marduk, is indeed capable of rescuing the dying man on his way to the Land of No-Return, i.e. the *Totenreich*, although no other god or gods would/could come to his aid. Marduk however, does not come to the aid of the victim in this case; indeed, quite the contrary, it seems that he rather entraps the victim between the two worlds and does not let him move in either direction. It would seem, therefore, that, the ancients here probably meant to express the notion that, while Asalluḫi had the power to cure illness and thus could overcome death, Marduk’s role was to impose illness or even death on people.

This interpretation seems to overestimate the genre-specific and conservative qualities of incantations in which Asalluḫi without exceptions appears as a helper of humans; and underestimate the more contradictory and ambivalent quality of Asalluḫi (and Mesopotamian deities in general). Although the evidence for the “evil” side of Asalluḫi is admittedly scarce, one cannot rule out some other texts in addition to the letter AbB 2 118 that could accentuate this different side of Asalluḫi.⁷⁵⁶

5.6.3 AbB 13 5

AbB 13 5 is one of the 98 letters sent by king Ḥammurabi to Sîn-iddinam, the governor of the province of Larsa.⁷⁵⁷ The text deals with problems concerning canal openings. The part (ll. 5–12) in which Ḥammurabi quotes the letter written to him by one Ubalanamḫe in l. 5 mentions “The Asalluḫi wall of Kar-Šamaš” (bād^d asal-lú-ḫi ša kar-utu^{ki}) that – according to Ubalanamḫe – together

⁷⁵³ For the *Letter-prayer of Sîn-iddinam to Ninisina*, see 5.4.3.1 above.

⁷⁵⁴ See Oshima 2011, 42–48.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁷⁵⁶ See, e.g., the treatment on *Sumerian Temple Hymns and Letter-prayer of Sîn-iddinam to Ninisina* above, see also l. 11 of the hymn Asalluḫi A.

⁷⁵⁷ For governor Sîn-iddinam, see Charpin 2003; for the list of letters addressed to and sent by Sîn-iddinam, see Stol 2009–2011, 518; see also Michalowski and Streck 2016–2018, 384.

with two dams mentioned in ll. 6–7, “have not been attended to”.⁷⁵⁸ Ḫammurabi is in ll. 14–9’ giving instructions to Sîn-iddinam on how to deal with the matter. This letter presents one of the two pieces of evidence for Asalluḫi’s connection to city walls with the other being the royal inscription treated in 5.5.1 above. It seems probable that the element Asalluḫi in names for city walls is connected to Asalluḫi’s abilities in defensive magic as they are expressed in incantations.

5.7 Incantations

For the Old Babylonian period there is a wealth of incantation texts available. G. Cunningham in his important work on early Mesopotamian incantations counted as many as 376 incantations in Sumerian (236), bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian (6), Akkadian (92) and in other languages (42) as written in the Old Babylonian period.⁷⁵⁹ During the more than twenty years that have passed several new single texts have been published,⁷⁶⁰ but a major contribution to the field was made in 2016 by A. R. George who published approximately 245 “new” Old Babylonian incantations belonging to the Schøyen collection in Oslo in the volume CUSAS 32. This collection in addition to other valuable information on incantations sheds new light on Asar/Asalluḫi,⁷⁶¹ who appears in some 51 Sumerian and 9 Akkadian incantations in this volume.

Among these numerous Old Babylonian incantations a number as high as ca. 170 texts either mention the god Asalluḫi, one of his bynames,⁷⁶² several writings

⁷⁵⁸ For the location of Kar-Šamaš, W. H. van Soldt (AbB 13, 7, n. 5b) has commented: “Since both the Kar-Šamaš of the itinerary to Emar, and the one which apparently lay near Sippar-Jaḫrurum are too far to the north, one probably has to think of the Kar-Šamaš close to Maškan-šapir, northeast of Nippur on the Tigris” [...]; see further Charpin 1986, 156, n. 1. Note that three Old Babylonian kings have mentioned the wall of Kar-Šamaš in their year-names. Sabium, the third king of the dynasty reports the building of the Kar-Šamaš wall in his second year (see Horsnell 1999 II, 65). Ḫammurabi himself in his 42nd year reports that he “raised (the top) of the great wall (on) the bank of the Tigris as high as a mountain, named its name Kar-Šamaš” (ibid., 164). The ninth king Ammī-Ditāna in his 11th year claims that he built the city wall of Kar-Šamaš on the Euphrates (see ibid., 285). The last two walls were thus built in different locations with the same name. The location of Sabium’s wall is not specified in the year-name. Ammī-Ditāna’s wall is probably not the Asalluḫi-wall mentioned in Ammī-Ditāna’s royal inscription (see 5.5.1 above), as the latter text seems to focus on the king’s undertakings in the city of Babylon.

⁷⁵⁹ See the table in Cunningham 1997, 131–159. Note that the numbers given here do not include the duplicates that several of these incantations have. Note that SEAL (last visited 21.01.2019) currently lists 164 Akkadian incantations dating to the Old Babylonian period.

⁷⁶⁰ See, e.g., Hallo 1999, 278–279; Geller 2001; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002; Geller and Vacín 2017.

⁷⁶¹ The most important discovery made in CUSAS 32 regarding the current study is that Asar, the son of Enki was an actor in the divine dialogues in the Early Dynastic period, as became clear from an incantation CUSAS 32 1f. For this text, see 1.5.1 above.

⁷⁶² The short form ^dasar occurs in ten texts (DME 159, 184, 190, 227, 250=300, 267; CUSAS 32 5b, 5f, 6c; Meturan Ia). The syllabic writings of the short form of the name appear in texts from Meturan: Meturan Ia/b and ASJ 17 97 have a-sa-ri without the determinative, ASJ 17

of the name of the deity are present in the same text,⁷⁶³ or there is a reason to believe that the deity appears in the text but the name is not extant due to lacunae or the abbreviated nature of the text.⁷⁶⁴ As most of the incantation texts were acquired on the black market the provenance is only known for a relatively small number of Old Babylonian incantations.

For texts that deal with the deity under study the provenance is known or probable for ca. 63 manuscripts of single texts (without counting the number of collective tablets). As it was in the Ur III period, Nippur is the main known findspot for the Old Babylonian texts. Of the texts that mention the deity in question 22 texts come from Nippur,⁷⁶⁵ 16 texts probably from Sippar,⁷⁶⁶ eight texts are from the peripheral Meturan,⁷⁶⁷ four texts from Babylon,⁷⁶⁸ two from either Sippar or Babylon,⁷⁶⁹ five texts from Larsa or the Larsa area(?),⁷⁷⁰ two from Ur⁷⁷¹ and a single text is extant from Umma(?),⁷⁷² Kiš,⁷⁷³ Shaduppum⁷⁷⁴ and from the Diyala region(?).⁷⁷⁵

99 has e-sar-ri. In DME 156 the name is written phonetically as ^da-sa-lu-ú-ḫa; in Meturan Vc as a-sa-lú-ḫi; in Meturan VIIa as a-sa-al-lu-ḫi (the last two without the determinative). In two Akkadian texts the name is written phonetically: DME 351 has ^da-sa-lú-ḫi and CUSAS 32 24h has a-sà-lu-uḫ without the determinative. There are four other Akkadian texts with unusual writing: AMD I 287 has ^dlú-asal-ḫi; CUSAS 32 45a and CUSAS 32 45b have ^dasal-lú, while DME 375 has ḠIŠ.AB-lú-ḫi. Meturan Ic has ^dršar⁷-lú-ḫi. CUSAS 32 5b, 11g; UET 6/3 623 and probably DME 125a have ^dasar-alim-nun-na. CUSAS 32 10f has ^dasar-nun-na, DME 102a has ^dasar-a-nun-a.

⁷⁶³ E.g., in DME 120 both name-forms ^dasal-lú-ḫi and ^dasar are mentioned, DME 250=300 mentions both ^dasar-re and ^dasal-lú-ḫi, DME 190a has both ^dasar and ^dasal-lú-ḫi, CUSAS 32 5b has both ^dasar-e and ^dasar-alim-nun-na, CUSAS 32 10f has both ^dasal-lú-ḫi and ^dasar-nun-na, DME 125 probably has both [^dasar-alim-nu]n-na and ^dasal-lú-ḫi, Meturan Ia has three versions of the name: a-sa-ri, ^dasal-lú-ḫi and ^dasar.

⁷⁶⁴ E.g. DME 104; CUSAS 32 9m, 12f, 46.

⁷⁶⁵ For the provenance of texts DME 73a, 76, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92a, 93, 96, 97a, 98a, 104, 106a, 110 from Nippur, see Cunningham 1997, 98 with n. 3; for DME 62, see *ibid.*, 65; for DME 102b, see Michalowski 1993, 153; for possible provenance of DME 150 from Nippur, see Römer 1987, 208; for possible provenance of DME 249b and JANER 9, p. 126 (written on the same tablet) from Nippur, see Peterson 2009b, 125.

⁷⁶⁶ For the possible provenance of DME 97b/c, 102c, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 125a, 126, 128a, 143, 144, 146, 311 from Sippar, see Cunningham 1997, 98–99.

⁷⁶⁷ In this study treated as Meturan I, III, IV, V, VI, VII; ASJ 17 97, ASJ 17 99. Exact references to the Meturan tablets are given in table IV in the appendix.

⁷⁶⁸ For the provenance of DME 131, DME 132, DME 133, DME 135 from Babylon, see Cunningham 1997, 99.

⁷⁶⁹ For the possible provenance of DME 362 from Sippar or Babylon, see SEAL, no. 5.3.15.10; for the possible provenance of HSAO 1, pp. 267–268 from Sippar or Babylon, see van Dijk 1967, 266.

⁷⁷⁰ For the provenance of text DME 339 from Larsa, see Cunningham 1997, 99; for the possible provenance of text DME 375, 397 and 404 from the Larsa area, see SEAL nos. 5.1.27.35, 5.1.27.41 and 5.1.3.8 respectively (last visited 21.01.2019).

⁷⁷¹ UET 6/3 623 and 666.

⁷⁷² For the possible provenance of DME 351 from Umma, see SEAL no. 5.1.5.5 (last visited 21.01.2019).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to exactly determine the dating for the bulk of Old Babylonian incantations.⁷⁷⁶ There are, however, some exceptions to this rule, for four texts (three incantations and the ritual text (HSAO 1, pp. 267–268) closely related to incantations) it is possible to establish the approximate date or at least the *terminus post quem* based on the mention of a king of the Old Babylonian dynasty in the colophon of the text. Thus, one incantation (DME 304) is from the reign of Samsu-iluna (1749–1712), three texts (incantations DME 191, DME 249 and ritual HSAO 1, pp. 267–268) are from the hand of a single scribe who was active during the reign of Abiešuh (1711–1684),⁷⁷⁷ Samsu-iluna’s son, and another text (DME 148) is from the reign of Ammī-šaduqa (1646–1626).

In addition to the increase in the number of texts when compared to earlier periods, the Old Babylonian incantations are characterised by a wider thematic range of problems described in the beginnings of incantations.⁷⁷⁸ Among the new topics that appear in incantations featuring Asalluḫi are, e.g., witchcraft, evil eye, agricultural problems (field pests), pacifying restless babies, a love charm, an incantation that deals with an eclipse, etc.⁷⁷⁹ A number of previously unknown designations for demons also appear in the Old Babylonian incantations.⁷⁸⁰

In the following investigation of the role of Asalluḫi in the Old Babylonian incantations the incantations are firstly approached “generically” based on the typological standards set by A. Falkenstein and modified by other scholars thereafter. The chapter begins with the study of the most numerous sub-genre of divine dialogue incantations and is followed by incantations dealing with priestly legitimation, divine legitimation and consecration. Secondly, the Old Babylonian incantations are approached by dealing with some recurring motifs (nam-šub formula, closing formulae, the motif of Asalluḫi and Utu) that feature the god Asalluḫi. Language-wise, each sub-chapter will begin with the discussion of material written in Sumerian, as the bulk of Asalluḫi-related incantational material is written in this language.⁷⁸¹ Bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian and monolingual Akkadian incantations, altogether much fewer in number, will be studied thereafter.

⁷⁷³ For the provenance of DME 309 from Kiš, see Cunningham 1997, 99.

⁷⁷⁴ For the provenance of DME 186 from Shaduppum, see Geller 2016, 11.

⁷⁷⁵ For the possible provenance of the tablet CUSAS 32 19 from the Diyala region, see George 2016, 44.

⁷⁷⁶ It is even uncertain whether all the texts really date to the Old Babylonian period, as no clear differentiation can be made between the Old Babylonian incantations and the texts from Ur III period on one side of the timeline and on Middle-Babylonian period on the other.

⁷⁷⁷ See van Dijk 1967, 233 and van Dijk 1976, xii.

⁷⁷⁸ For specific purposes of Old Babylonian incantations, see tables IV–VI in the appendix.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. Cunningham 1997, 100.

⁷⁸⁰ Regarding different types of demons in Old Babylonian incantations, not discussed here in detail, see further *ibid.*, 100–104.

⁷⁸¹ The only type of incantations in which Akkadian dominates over Sumerian are the divine legitimation incantations, see 5.7.3 below.

5.7.1 Divine Dialogue Incantations

The divine dialogue between Enki and Asalluḫi continues to be one of the main features of incantations in the Old Babylonian period.⁷⁸² Ca. 87 of the 152 Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations, all four bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian and possibly eight of the 17 Akkadian incantations in which the god Asalluḫi appears preserve at least some elements of the divine dialogue.⁷⁸³ The dialogue of the Old Babylonian period has its differences with dialogues from earlier times, as will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

5.7.1.2 Structure of the Old Babylonian Sumerian Divine Dialogue

As this mass of 87 Sumerian divine dialogue incantations is impossible to tackle separately in this study, with combined evidence from all the incantations available – as was done for the incantations of the Ur III period – one can reconstruct a “full” form of an Old Babylonian divine dialogue incantation:

1. ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e igi im-ma-an-sì
2. a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku₄
3. gù mu-un-na-dé-e
4. a-a-ĝu₁₀ REPETITION⁷⁸⁴ a-rá-mìn-kam-ma-aš ù-ub-du₁₁
5. a-na íb-ak-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na ba-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
6. ^den-ki-ke₄ dumu-ni ^dasal-lú-ḫi mu-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄
7. dumu-ĝu₁₀ a-na nu-e-zu a-na a-ra-ab-taḫ-e
8. ^dasal-lú-ḫi a-na nu-e-zu a-na a-ra-ab-taḫ-e
9. níĝ ĝá-e zu-a-ĝu₁₀ ù za-e in-ga-e-zu
10. ù za-e ì-zu-a-ĝu₁₀ ĝá-e in-ga-e-zu
11. ĝen-na dumu-ĝu₁₀ ^dasal-lú-ḫi
- 12ff. RITUAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Asalluḫi saw it, 2. to his father Enki in the temple entered 3. and spoke to him: 4. “My father!” REPETITION (Asalluḫi) speaks for the second time: 5. “What should I do with it? I don’t know. What would reverse it (the situation)?” 6. Enki answered his son Asalluḫi: 7. “My son, what do you not know? What can I add for you? 8. Asalluḫi, what do you not know? What can I add for you? 9. What I

⁷⁸² In the Old Babylonian period the role of the junior deity is in addition to Asalluḫi performed by Dumuzi in a partly bilingual love incantation CT 58 10 and the Wise One in DME 309 (see Cunningham 1997, 120). In an Old Babylonian bilingual hemerology from Sippar (for an edition, see Cavigneaux and Donbaz 2007, 304–321) in a similar manner to messenger formulae of incantations Enki is said to send a messenger to the goddess Nisaba (see *ibid.*, 308, ll. 17–18; see also Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993a, 96, n. 11). Note that a few lines later Asalluḫi appears who is said to “determine the destiny” (l. 18. B r.4’: ^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-k[e₄] / nam-mi-ni-ib-tar-re). The context of this statement is, however, not clear. See the comments in Cavigneaux and Donbaz 2007, 314.

⁷⁸³ For the doubtful Akkadian texts DME 375, CUSAS 32 50b and 51, see 5.7.1.3 below.

⁷⁸⁴ The length of the repeated part varies in incantations. In some texts only the first line is given, in others the repetition is given in full.

know, you know 10. and what you know I know (too). 11. Go, my son Asalluḫi!”
12ff. RITUAL INSTRUCTIONS

This artificial form of an Old Babylonian incantation can be divided into basic sub-parts (in brackets appears the pertaining line(s) in the artificial construction):

1. Asalluḫi catches sight of the problem (l. 1)
2. Creating contact (ll. 2–3)
3. Asalluḫi’s speech:
 - 3.1 Asalluḫi’s address (l. 4)
 - 3.2 Asalluḫi repeats the problem to Enki (l. 4)
 - 3.3 Asalluḫi’s bemoan (ll. 4–5)
4. Enki’s speech:
 - 4.1 Enki’s address (l. 6)
 - 4.2 Enki’s encouragement of Asalluḫi (ll. 7–10)
 - 4.3 Enki orders Asalluḫi to go (l. 11)
 - 4.4 Ritual instructions (12ff.)

1. Asalluḫi catches sight of the problem

1. ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e igi im-ma-an-si
1. Asalluḫi saw it,

Divine dialogues of the Old Babylonian period usually begin with the assertion that Asalluḫi has noticed the problem. This is a new feature in incantations that in earlier periods was not written down, although undoubtedly the idea behind the narrative was that the junior deity noticed the troubled situation. One can surmise that this line was added to smoothen the narrative flow by making explicit why Asalluḫi next rushes to his father Enki (see point 2 below). The writings for this part are mainly uniform and differences between texts lie mainly in orthographical details. For example, the ergative marker *e* is added to the name in six texts;⁷⁸⁵ and in some texts the common second component *si* of the complementary verb *igi si* is replaced with another sign.⁷⁸⁶

However, there are also a few notable exceptions in content for this part. Perhaps the most interesting of these appears in texts DME 128 and Meturan III that deal with the harmful effects of witchcraft.⁷⁸⁷ In this text preceding the divine dialogue appears another section according to which it was Enki and not Asalluḫi who first noticed the patient, a bewitched person: “Enki, having come from Eridu, saw the sick man” (^den-ki eridu^{ki}-ta è-a-ni / lú-tu-ra igi im-ma-an-

⁷⁸⁵ DME 142, 149, 150a, 209a/b, 290a; Fs. Wiggermann 84–85A.

⁷⁸⁶ Thus, in DME 62, 156, 304 it is *zi*; in DME 182 RU (probably to be read as *šub*); in CUSAS 32 7h, 7i, 7q=8k, 10a sig₇; in CUSAS 32 9c, 9h *ši* (probably a phonetic rendering of *si*); in CUSAS 32 10c, 19b (a corrupt text) and Fs. Wiggermann 84–85A *gar*.

⁷⁸⁷ For a composite edition of DME 128 and Meturan III, see AMD 8/2, 135–145.

si).⁷⁸⁸ What follows (ll. 16–22) is even more intriguing, as Enki acts as a physician who inspects the patient by touching him, and after excluding other possible causes (asag demon, ghost, “blow of a god”) he identifies the “tongue of man” (eme nam-lú-ùlu), i.e. witchcraft, as the source of illness.

In text DME 180 it seems that both Asalluḫi and Enki noticed the problem: ^den-ki ^dasal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-si, “Enki and Asalluḫi saw it”. As this is the only line in this text that represents the divine dialogue (it is followed directly by the rubric) it seems to be a unique abbreviation of the whole divine dialogue. Another option is that this could simply be an erroneous writing.⁷⁸⁹ In DME 246 this line is also the only constituent part present of the full divine dialogue, albeit in this case in its common form, as Asalluḫi alone is reported to notice the situation (^dasal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-si).

In DME 106 the phrase is preceded in the same line by mu-zu ba-da-bal that J. van Dijk has translated as “Le sage y passa”.⁷⁹⁰ N. Rudik offers the translation “er ging Vorbei” for ba-da-bala and considers mu-zu to be an epithet of Asalluḫi (“der, der Namen kennt”).⁷⁹¹ Hence, the approximate English translation of the line would be: “The sage (“The one who knows the name”) went by, Asalluḫi saw it”. Perhaps the epithet mu-zu alludes to the closeness of Asalluḫi to human beings in the sense that he knows all his patients by name.⁷⁹² In DME 264 only the sign zu appears before the phrase. In this case the line is very fragmentary and only the divine determinative and the beginning of the following sign asal are extant. N. Rudik reconstructed the whole line as [mu]-zu ^da[sal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-si] and noted that this form might be related to the use of mu-zu in text DME 106.⁷⁹³ Thus in DME 264 only the epithet could precede the phrase.

In CUSAS 32 7q the phrase ^dasal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-sig₇ uncommonly appears twice: once in its usual position as the first line of the formula and for the second time after Asalluḫi has repeated the problem to Enki. So, in that case – if it is not an error caused by the absent-mindedness of the scribe – Asalluḫi seems to speak about himself in the third person. In the text Meturan I the line that reports the deity noticing the problem also appears twice. Here it is Asar(i) (a-sa-ri) who notices the deeds of Namtar and first reports the issue to the primeval Enki and Nunki deities, attributed with the epithet “fathers/elders of Eridu”, according to MS B, l. 25: en ad-da eri-dùg-ga-ke₄-ne-šà-mu-un-n[i-x]-gi (“to the lords, elders

⁷⁸⁸ Ll. 15–15a (MSs C and D) in the edition by T. Abusch and D. Schwemer in AMD 8/2, 137. Cf. the Akkadian parodical incantation DME 309 in which it is also Enki who notices the problem.

⁷⁸⁹ Thus Rudik 2011, 51, who draws attentions to the singular verbal form.

⁷⁹⁰ van Dijk 1975, 64.

⁷⁹¹ Rudik 2011, 51.

⁷⁹² CUSAS 32 does not add any light to this question as all the incantations in which this line is extant begin with Asalluḫi’s name.

⁷⁹³ Rudik 2011, 51.

of Eridu (a message) he sent”⁷⁹⁴). It is interesting to note that according to l. 27 of Meturan I the primeval deities do not answer Asar(i) but instead “send/return word” (MS B: inim mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-[gi₄]) to “Damgalnuna, mother of Asar(i)” (ama a-sa-ri dam-gal-nun-na).⁷⁹⁵ The second occasion in which the deity notices the problem in Meturan I appears in l. 32: ^da[sar igi] im-ma-an-si. It is followed in ll. 33–38 (MSs A and B) by the common divine dialogue of the Old Babylonian period with some orthographical characteristics peculiar to texts from Meturan. In text Meturan VII the line (col. ii, l. 6) in which the statement that Asalluḫi has noticed the problem is combined with the topic of the incantation – the field pests – and thus it is stated that “Asalluḫi noticed the fields” (a-sa-al-lu-ḫi a-ga-ar a-ga-re / i-gi im-ma-an-si).

2. Creating contact

2. a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku₄

3. gù mu-un-na-dé-e

2. to his father Enki in the temple entered 3. and spoke to him:

After the statement that Asalluḫi has noticed the problem his next move is to visit his father Enki in the temple. This type of formula is known on two occasions in Ur III period incantations.⁷⁹⁶ During the Old Babylonian period it became the standard formula.⁷⁹⁷ A slightly different wording of the common Old Babylonian formula of creating contact appears in text Fs. Wiggermann 84–85A: a-a-ni [^den-ki-r]a ig[i-šè] ^ba-an³-ta-ḡen gù mu-na-dé-e, “He went before his father and spoke to him”. An unconventional writing can also be found in text DME 118 where Asalluḫi appears in two lines in a row (obv., ll. 9–10): ka-bi-ta ^dasal-lú-ḫi im-ma-ni³-[...] / ud-da ^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu ^den-ki-ga-ke₄. As the verbal root is missing in l. 9 it is difficult to say whether this line forms the unusual first line of the divine dialogue or belongs to the preceding part that in this incantation deals with a dove somehow “infected” with witchcraft.⁷⁹⁸ The phrase ka-bi-ta (“from its mouth?”) seems more likely to belong to the preceding part of the text perhaps describing some kind of activity of Asalluḫi.⁷⁹⁹ That l.10 begins with ud-da, “when”, it seems more likely that divine dialogue begins

⁷⁹⁴ The translation follows the one given in Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 183. Note that the other possibility would be to take the line as an elliptical version of the messenger formula, in this case written without the sign lú, “man, messenger”.

⁷⁹⁵ A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi explain it by stating that Asalluḫi is too young to be the direct interlocutor with the primeval deities (ibid., 189).

⁷⁹⁶ Texts TMH 6 9 and 15.

⁷⁹⁷ The formula appears in its standard form with minor orthographical differences in texts DME 62, 73a/b, 84, 97a/d, 98b, 116, 128, 150a, 156, 162, 168, 173, 182, 197, 198, 210, 237, 287, 290b, 292, 304, 307; CUSAS 32 7i, 7q=8k, 9c, 9h, 10b, 10c, 11h, 11k, 12c, 12e, 12g; Meturan IV, V.

⁷⁹⁸ For the differing interpretations of this incantation, see Veldhuis 2004, 290–291 and Schwemer 2007, 26–27.

⁷⁹⁹ Note that Veldhuis 2004, 291 reads inim-bi-ta and translates “because of this”.

with this line. L. 11 of DME 118 continues the text in a more conventional manner although the usual ending of the line is lacking: a-a-ni^den-ki-ra é-a ba.⁸⁰⁰

The formerly common messenger formula is almost completely forgotten in the Old Babylonian period with only few exceptions. Thus, in text CUSAS 32 16b=VAS 24 61 the older version of the formula appears in a slightly modified form, as the line is repeated twice using the parallelism ur-saĝ/Asalluĥi. According to CUSAS 32 16, col. iv, ll. 10⁷–11⁷ (cf. VAS 24 61, ll. 4–5): ur-saĝ a-a-ni-ra lú mu-un-ši-[gi₄-gi₄] / ^dasal-lú-ĥi a-a-ni-ra lú mu-un-ši-[gi₄-gi₄] (“The hero sends a man to his father / Asalluĥi sends a man to his father”). In a text from Meturan (Meturan VI) directed against Namtar both the older and newer formula are combined: the common Old Babylonian version of the divine dialogue (beginning with ^dasal-lú-ĥi igi im-ma-an-si) is preceded in MS A of Meturan VI by a section of three lines that begins with (l. 8): nun-e nun-ši lú mu-ši-en-gig-gig (“The prince sends a man to the prince”). Whilst the next line (NUN.NUN-ra-ke₄ ^den-ki-ke₄-ra lú mu-ši-en-gig-gig) makes it clear that the second prince to whom the messenger is sent is Enki, the identity of the first prince is not clear.⁸⁰¹ In any case, in this incantation two sources (the first prince in l. 8 and Asalluĥi in l. 11) inform Enki about the troubles with Namtar.⁸⁰²

These modifications in the use of formulae could signal a change in the implementation of ritual activities. The exact nature of this is, however, difficult to ascertain, as there are no extant ritual texts that would describe the proceedings of the ritual in detail.⁸⁰³ Some divine dialogues are abbreviated and omit the part that describes Asalluĥi’s visit to Enki altogether.⁸⁰⁴ This could hint that for scribes the more important part of the divine dialogue is not the part that describes creating contact with Enki but the first line in which it is stated that Asalluĥi has noticed the problem. The reason for this seems obvious, as the statement that Asalluĥi has noticed the situation forms the first line of the standard formula and the importance of first lines in Mesopotamian scribal culture is well known.

⁸⁰⁰ The copy of text DME 118 (CT 44 25) does not note any lacunae in the text for this line.

⁸⁰¹ For some possible interpretations to read the name of the first prince, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 203–204.

⁸⁰² For yet another version of creating contact, see text DME 250=DME 300 treated in 5.7.6.1 below.

⁸⁰³ The only exception is HSAO 1, pp. 267–268, a ritual involving the king.

⁸⁰⁴ DME 92b, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 209a/b, 246, 290a, 293, 294, 298, 303; CUSAS 32 7h, 8k. CUSAS 32 11b retains only a latter part of the formula (col. i, ll. 19⁷–20⁷): ^dasal-lú-ĥi igi im-ma-an-si / gù im-ma-dé-e. Text DME 104 has only the line ^den-ki-šè é-a mu-ši-ku₄ from the formula. Text DME 117 has only the first line and a-a-ni^den-ki-ra from the whole dialogue. In CUSAS 32 10a this line is fragmentary and only signs ʾé-šèʾ and [k]u₄ survive. In CUSAS 21a only signs ʾki-ra éʾ are visible. In CUSAS 32 22e only ʾgù muʾ survives in the second line.

3. Asalluḫi's speech

3.1 Asalluḫi's address

4. a-a-ĝu₁₀
4. "My father!"

In Old Babylonian incantations Asalluḫi commonly addresses his father in a similar manner as he did in three Ur III texts (TMH 6 1a; DME 66, 71).⁸⁰⁵ CUSAS 32 19b, a corrupt text, has a-a-DU instead of a-a-ĝu₁₀. In the remaining texts this address does not appear.

3.2 Asalluḫi repeats the problem to Enki

As was the case with Ur III incantations, Asalluḫi's address to Enki in the full form of an Old Babylonian divine dialogue incantation is followed by the repetition of the problem that appeared in the beginning of text. As the problems appearing in the introductions of incantations were different, the repetitions uttered by Asalluḫi to Enki were different as well. Accordingly, the repetitive parts together with ritual instructions were the two non-formulaic ingredients of the divine dialogues, that differed from text to text. Although in some cases when incantations were directed against analogous problems the repetitions showed close similarities.⁸⁰⁶ The scope of repetitions in Old Babylonian incantations is varied: in some texts the description of the problem is repeated verbatim or with minor changes in the orthography, in others, only one, i.e. the first line is repeated.⁸⁰⁷ As the collective tablets show certain consistency in writing repetitions, the choice about the length of the repetition was probably up to the scribe writing the text,⁸⁰⁸ or – as one might surmise – in some cases his

⁸⁰⁵ This address appears in DME 62, 73a/b, 84, 97a/d, 98b, 116, 118, 128, 150a, 162, 197, 198, 210, 237, 287, 290b, 292, 304, 307; CUSAS 32 10b, 11b, 12c, 12e, 12g, 19b, 22e; Fs. Wiggermann 84–85A; Meturan Ia/c, IIIa, IV, Va/b, VIa, VII.

⁸⁰⁶ See, e.g., the incantations dealing with complications at childbirth (point 4.4 below).

⁸⁰⁷ Thus, for example, only one line of the beginning is repeated in CUSAS 32 10b, 11b, 11k, 21a. CUSAS 32 11b and possibly 22e repeat two lines. CUSAS 32 42 repeats four lines. For CUSAS 32 7i, the text with the interpolated divine dialogue (see George 2016, 124) it is probable that the first nine lines (col. iv, ll. 20'–28') of the text are repeated, as it would make little sense to repeat next three lines (col. iv, ll. 29'–31') that describe countermeasures against the gall, the evildoer in this incantation.

⁸⁰⁸ E.g., the scribe who wrote CUSAS 32 12, a collective tablet that contains incantations against Namtar, preferred to repeat only one line of the problem. From certain consistencies as they appear on collective tablets of incantations, one can notice the personal preferences of individual scribes in their choice of which parts to write and which parts to omit from divine dialogues.

instructor in the scribal school. Repetitions are preserved in some form in at least 29 of the 87 Old Babylonian divine dialogue incantations written in Sumerian.⁸⁰⁹

To give only two examples, in text CUSAS 32 7q that deals with an uncertain malignant force possibly coming from the steppe, the repetition is given in verbatim form:⁸¹⁰

col. vii

18. a-a-ĝu₁₀ ba-an-gi-eš-àm ba-an-gi-eš-àm

19. níĝ naĝa KA ki gu-gu `KA`

20. ba-an-gi-eš-àm

21. níĝ-nu-ĝar-ra ki ĝiri kud-da

22. ba-an-gi-eš-àm

23. uga^{mušen} edin-na gum `gig` kur-ra

24. máš-anše níĝ-úr-límmu ĝù-ĝù ba-ni-in-ĝar

18. My father, they are back, they are back... 19. ... 20. they are back. 21. Nasty things (from) where access is cut off, 22. they are back. 23. The crows of the steppe, ... of the uplands, 24. the animals and creatures cried out.

In DME 150, a text in which the introduction does not deal with a problem as such but with the description of a prostitute one man is craving for, her physical charms and probably also her professional abilities are described.⁸¹¹ The repetition in 150a abbreviates the introductory part of 20 lines to only the first line:

22. a-a-ĝu₁₀ ki-sikil-ša₆-ga sila-a gub-ba

22. My father, a pretty girl stands on the street

In text Meturan VII that deals with field pests, after “my father” Asalluĝi does not give a repetition as such but instead pleads with Enki (l. 7): “my father! do not let him/her pass!” (a-ia-ĝu₁₀ ú na-am-mu-ni-in-di-bi). This he or she mentioned is probably Ninkilim (in this text named Ningilinnanna), the patron deity of field-pests.

3.3 Asalluĝi’s bemoan

4. a-rá-mìn-kam-ma-aš ù-ub-du₁₁

5. a-na íb-ak-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na ba-ni-ib-ĝi₄-ĝi₄

4. He (Asalluĝi) speaks for the second time:

5. “What should I do with it? I don’t know. What would reverse it (the situation)?”

⁸⁰⁹ The problem is repeated in texts DME 62, 73a, 84, 97a/d, 116, 118, 128, 150a, 197, 198, 210, 237, 287, 290b, 292, 304, 307; CUSAS 32 7q, 10b, 11b, 12c, 12e, 12g, 22e; Meturan Ia/c, IIIa, IVa, Va/b, VIa.

⁸¹⁰ Transliteration and translation by George 2016, 149–150, with minor modifications.

⁸¹¹ See Leick 1994, 293, n. 3.

After Asalluḫi has repeated the problem to Enki, he complains that he is helpless to deal with the situation at hand and asks for advice from his father.⁸¹² Some texts have interesting variations concerning this part.⁸¹³ For example, in DME 73b (directed against complications at childbirth):

9. a-a-ĝu₁₀ nam mu-ĝar nam dib¹(SU)-bé
 10. a-ĝin₇ nam ak-na-bi nu-e-zu
 11. a-na ba-ni-ib-ĝi₄-ĝi₄
 9. “My father! What is set for me? What can I take? 10. Like water(?), what to do with it, I don’t know. 11. What would reverse it (the situation)?”

These lines are very difficult, as the diverging interpretations of scholars demonstrate. J. van Dijk translated ll. 9–10 as “my father, what is put to me, what is its... / what I must do in this situation, I do not know.”⁸¹⁴ N. Rudik translated: “Mein Vater! Was wurde (fest)gestellt? Was ist zu fangen[?] / Wie (mit[?]) Wasser, was mit ihm zu tun ist, weiß ich nicht. Was wird den (früheren Zustand) wiederherstellen?”⁸¹⁵ G. Conti interpreted l. 9 as: “que m’arrive-t-il (*qu’est-ce qui est mis pour moi*)? Que puis-je prendre?”⁸¹⁶

In DME 98b (directed against witchcraft):

15. a-a-ĝu₁₀ lú-uš₇-ri-a a-^ˉna ba-an-ak^ˉ-e ĝa-e ba-da-lá-e-en
 16. a-na ib-bé-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na ^ˉba-ni-ib^ˉ-ĝi₄-ĝi₄
 15. “My father! 16. What should I do with the bewitched? I am bound. 16. What should I say about it, I don’t know. What would reverse it (the situation)?”

These lines are also difficult to interpret. Thus, C. Wilcke offered a different translation: “Mein Vater, der Mensch, der mit Geifer bespritzt ist: was ich tun soll, wirst du mir zeigen. / Was du sagen wirst, weiß ich nicht. Was wirst du darauf antworten?”⁸¹⁷ M. J. Geller translated: “my father, [only] you can show me what you would do for the bewitched man”.⁸¹⁸ Cf. the translation by N. Rudik: “Mein Vater! Was soll ich mit dem Verhexten tun? Ich bin hand-

⁸¹² This part appears in full form in DME 92a, 93, 97a/d, 128, 150a, 173, 197 (traces), 237, 290b; CUSAS 32 11k, 12c, 12e, 12g, 12h; Meturan Ia/c, IIIa, IVa, Va/b, VIa. In texts DME 62, 84, 93, 162, 198 the first line of this part is not present; in texts DME 73a, 287, 304; CUSAS 32 11b, probably also in 11h? (only sign ù has been preserved) the second line of this part is not present, i.e. Asalluḫi’s question is omitted.

⁸¹³ The versions that differ from the common form were collected in Rudik 2011, 60. No substantially different variations appear in CUSAS 32, except perhaps CUSAS 32 19b, a corrupt text that has ib-bé-NI-na-a-ĝu₁₀ nu-zu in the pertinent part (l. 17). In the Meturan orthography the writings are relatively uniform, e.g., Meturan IVa, ll. 20–21: a-rá min-kam-šu-ub-tu / a-na bi-na-bi nu-zu a-na ba-ni-ib-ki-gig.

⁸¹⁴ van Dijk 1985, 32.

⁸¹⁵ Rudik 2011, 60. This translation is followed here.

⁸¹⁶ Conti 1997, 269.

⁸¹⁷ Wilcke 1973, 12.

⁸¹⁸ Geller 1989, 199.

lungsunfähig (wörtlich: „gebunden/gefesselt“). / Was ich da sagen soll, weiß ich nicht. Was wird den (früheren Zustand) wiederherstellen?“⁸¹⁹

In DME 307 (directed against an unknown disease):

9. a-na ab-ba-ak-en ġa-e ba-da-lá-e

9. What should I do? I am bound.

In this text the approach is similar to the one that appears in DME 98b. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi translated: “Je ne sais que faire, je suis embarrassé.”⁸²⁰

In DME 116 (directed against headache):

22. a-na íb-pà-di-in-na-bi nu-ub-zu a-na ba-ni-íb-[gi₄-gi₄]

22. What should I choose? I don't know. What would reverse it (the situation)?”

N. Rudik translated: “ Was ich wählen soll, weiß ich nicht. Was wird den (früheren Zustand) wiederherstellen?“⁸²¹

In DME 142 (directed against complications at childbirth):

6'. a-rá-min-kam-ma-su-ub-du₁₁

7'. ^{na⁴}gug nu-zu ^{na⁴}za-ġin nu-zu

8'. a-na íb-bé-en-<na-bi nu-zu a-na ba-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄>

6'. He (Asalluġi) speaks for the second time:

7'. “I don't know carnelian, I don't know lapis lazuli!

8'. What should <I say? I don't know. What would reverse it (the situation)?”>

J. van Dijk, who considered the woman in labour to be the one who does not know the precious stones, translated: “après avoir dit (cela) pour la deuxième fois (il continua:)/‘elle ne connaît pas la cornaline, elle ne connaît pas le lapis/Ce que je dois dire, <je ne sais pas, ni ce que je dois répondre>”.⁸²² N. Rudik translated: “(Man sage es ein zweites Mal) ich kenne nicht Karneol, ich kenne nicht Lapislazuli; was ich sagen soll ...”⁸²³

DME 142 is one of the incantations dealing with childbirth in which the woman in labour is compared to a boat that is laden with precious materials⁸²⁴ carnelian and lapis lazuli, two precious stones mentioned here by Asalluġi are by some scholars thought to be signifying whether the baby to be born is a boy or a girl. There is, however, no consensus between the scholars whether carnelian

⁸¹⁹ Rudik 2011, 60. This translation is followed here.

⁸²⁰ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 180.

⁸²¹ Rudik 2011, 60. This translation is followed here.

⁸²² van Dijk 1975, 70.

⁸²³ Rudik 2011, 60.

⁸²⁴ The topic of a woman giving birth being compared to a boat filled with carnelian and lapis lazuli (in some texts other materials are included) is also known from an Ur III text (DME 70), Old Babylonian Sumerian texts DME 62, 106, 156, 304 and from an Old Babylonian bilingual text DME 314.

denotes a boy and lapis lazuli the girl or vice versa.⁸²⁵ Asalluḫi, by stating that he does not know carnelian and lapis lazuli is probably declaring his ignorance about the gender of the baby to be born or perhaps about the process of birth in general, i.e. his inability to independently provide help in delivery, or perhaps his inability to magically determine the baby's gender?

In DME 305 (directed against Lamaštu or Asag demon?):

36. ní-ḡu₁₀ mu-un-du₇-du₇
36. She gored me, myself!

N. Rudik interpreted: “Sie greift mich selbst an!”.⁸²⁶ J. van Dijk translated: “she attacks me, myself”.⁸²⁷

4. Enki's speech

4.1. Enki's address

6. ^den-ki-ke₄ dumu-ni ^dasal-lú-ḫi mu-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄
6. Enki answers his son Asalluḫi

In texts where this description of Enki's address is extant it is presented with no major exceptions.⁸²⁸ In three cases is the verb to answer (gi₄) substituted with the verb “to say” (ḡù dé).⁸²⁹ In text DME 287 dumu-MU is written instead of dumu-ni, probably a scribal error. Text DME 289 omits dumu-ni and has a lacuna after ^dasal-lú-ḫi. Text DME 118 also has a lacuna after ^dasal-lú-ḫi.

4.2 Enki's encouragement of Asalluḫi

7. dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na nu-e-zu a-na a-ra-ab-taḫ-e
8. ^dasal-lú-ḫi a-na nu-e-zu a-na a-ra-ab-taḫ-e
9. níḡ ḡá-e zu-a-ḡu₁₀ ù za-e in-ga-e-zu
10. ù za-e ì-zu-a-ḡu₁₀ ḡá-e in-ga-e-zu
7. “My son, what do you not know? What can I add for you? 8. Asalluḫi, what do you not know? What can I add for you? 9. What I know, you know 10. and what you know I know (too).”

⁸²⁵ For a brief overview of the differing opinions in this matter, see Bergmann 2008, 43–44. One could also consider the opinion that the process depicted in these incantations could perhaps have the purpose to determine the desired gender of the baby by magical means. See Krebernik 1984, 45–46 for this proposal for an Early Dynastic text (DME 13) where the items symbolising the female gender are a spindle and a hair-clasp, and the male gender a throwstick and a mace.

⁸²⁶ Rudik 2011, 60.

⁸²⁷ van Dijk 1985, 49.

⁸²⁸ DME 62, 84, 92a, 93, 97a/d, 98, 116, 128, 150a, 198, 210, 237, 290b, 304, 307; CUSAS 32 7h (lacks dumu-ni), 7i? (only the sign ib is present), 7q=8k, 9h (lacks ^dasal-lú-ḫi), 10b, 11k, 12a, 12e, 12g, 12h, 21a, 42; Fs. Wiggermann 84–85A (has only ṛgi₄-gi₄).

⁸²⁹ DME 73a, 120, 249.

Most of the versions of Enki’s encouraging words are relatively similar.⁸³⁰ Differences mostly appear in the shape of minor orthographic nuances or ellipses and at times the idiosyncratic style of a certain scribe is detectable.⁸³¹ A. R. George, however, has compared the writings of the final part (ll. 9–10) of the encouragement formula in CUSAS 32 and incantations from Tell Haddad and due to the many differing versions has concluded that “understanding of the formula was severely limited.”⁸³² In any case, there seem to be no major inventions or divergences in the content of the encouragement formula. Thematic variations appear only in texts DME 198, 249 and 289. In DME 198 Enki seems to speak of Asalluḫi in the third person singular: “My son, what does he not know? What can I add for him?” (dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na nu-zu a-na na-ab[-tah]-e). In DME 249 Enki tells Asalluḫi: “My son, I have sought the speech for you” (dumu-ḡu₁₀ níḡ-du₁₁ a-ra-ab-kíḡ-ḡá). Text DME 289: NE-šè dumu-ḡu₁₀ ḫul NE-[xxx] / ^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu-ḡu₁₀ ‘ù’-[x]. The exact meaning of these lines remains unclear. ḫul probably refers to the evil eye against whom the incantation is directed. The last signs beginning with ù (prospective) probably signal the beginning of ritual instructions.

4.3 Enki orders Asalluḫi to go

11. ḡen-na dumu-ḡu₁₀ ^dasal-lú-ḫi
11. “Go, my son Asalluḫi!”

This formula appears in its full form as ḡen-na dumu-ḡu₁₀ ^dasal-lú-ḫi.⁸³³ In some other incantations it is abbreviated to ḡen-na dumu-ḡu₁₀, “go, my son!”⁸³⁴ There seem to be no remarkable variations to the content of this formula.

4.4 Ritual Instructions

As in the Ur III period, the divine dialogue of the Old Babylonian period ends with ritual instructions given to Asalluḫi by Enki.⁸³⁵ Similar to the Ur III period

⁸³⁰ The full form appears in texts DME 62, 84, 92a, 97d, 98b, 116, 128a/b, 150a, 162, 210, 237, 287, 290b; CUSAS 32 7h, 7i, 7q=8k, 10b, 11k, 12a, 12e, 12g, 12h; and in bilingual texts DME 311 and 313. Other texts, as, e.g., DME 83, 142, 209b, 304, 298, 307 give more elliptical forms (if not broken). In Meturan texts (Meturan Ia, IIIa, IVa, Va/b, VI) the presentation of this part is nearly uniform and only the first three lines appear (Meturan VIb differs somewhat), e.g., in Meturan VIa, ll. 15–17: dumu-mu a-na ne-zu a-na-ra-ab-ta-ḫe / ^dasal-lú-ḫi a-na ne-zu a-na-ra-ab-ta-ḫe / níḡ iz-zu-a-ḡu₁₀ ú za-e èḡ-ga-e-zu.

⁸³¹ As, for example, in texts DME 290a, 292, 294, all from the same collective tablet (YOS 11 70) for which the scribe abbreviated the full form to níḡ ḡá-e za-ḡu₁₀ ù za ḡá-e (DME 290a adds zu to the end of the line).

⁸³² George 2016, 3–4.

⁸³³ The full form appears in DME 83, 84, 92a/b, 97a/d, 116, 120, 128a, 143, 144, 146; CUSAS 32 7h, 7i, 7q=8k.

⁸³⁴ Appears in DME 162, 210, 237, 264, 287, 290b (in 264, 290b the writing is ḡá-na dumu-ḡu₁₀); CUSAS 32 9h, 9m, 10b, 12a, 12e. No traces of point 4.3 appear in texts from Meturan.

material, in the texts of this period a correlation is traceable between the problems presented in the beginnings of incantations and ritual actions prescribed by Enki to Asalluḫi that end the divine dialogue. As examples a group of ten incantations that deal with complications at childbirth can be presented.⁸³⁶ Regarding ritual instructions it seems to be a relatively homogenous group among the divine dialogue incantations. All but two (DME 73, 146) of the listed childbirth incantations list fat of a pure cow and cream of a šilam-cow (i-áb-kù-ga ga-^{áb}šilam-ma) as substances used in rituals.⁸³⁷ The use of these dairy products is in these incantations combined with the use of other ritual paraphernalia such as red wool (^{sig}hemeda) in DME 73, 143, 144, 146; a cylinder seal made of ašubastone (^{na4}kišib á-šuba) in DME 73, 143, 146 and kabazum-stone (^{na4}ka-ba-zum) in DME 144; “standing” potsherd from the crossroad (šika-kud-da gub-ba e-sír ka-limmu₅) in DME 143, 144; “mighty” manu-wood (^{gi5}ma-nu kalag-ga) in DME 73; “reeds from the small marsh of Eridu” (gi-sú-ug-bàn-da eri₄-du₁₀-ga / qá-na-a ša sú-ug-bàn-da ša eri₄-du₁₀-ga) and “dust lying in the street” (saḥar sila šub-bé / e-pi-ir su-qi ir-bi-iš) in DME 314.⁸³⁸ In addition, in seven of these incantations,⁸³⁹ Asalluḫi is instructed by Enki to recite the incantation of Eridu. For example, in DME 142:⁸⁴⁰

rev.

10'. i-áb-kù-ga ga-^{áb}šilam-ma

11'. šu ù-me-ti

12'. nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga ù-me-šub

13'. igi ka saḡ gal₄-la-ni

14'. um-ta-e-gur₈

10'. Fat of a pure cow, cream of a šilam-cow, 11'. take in your hand. 12'. cast the incantation of Eridu (over it). 13'. Her eyes, mouth, head and vulva 14'. rub with it.

As an example of an Old Babylonian incantation that involves similar manipulations with dairy products but is not dealing with childbirth, one can present text DME 150a in which the divine dialogue is preceded by the description of

⁸³⁵ For Old Babylonian ritual instructions, see Cunningham 1997, 124–127.

⁸³⁶ Sumerian texts DME 62, 73, 106, 142, 143, 144, 146, 156, 304 and a bilingual text DME 314 on the similar topic. For childbirth in Mesopotamia in general, see Stol 2000.

⁸³⁷ The dairy products are according to texts DME 62 and 106 said to be received in the “erected dwelling of the agrun” (dag-agrun-na-ka).

⁸³⁸ For an example on the implementation of these ritual helpers together with the nam-šub formula, see the ritual instructions of DME 143 presented in 5.7.5 below.

⁸³⁹ DME 62, 73b, 102, 106b, 142, 143, 144.

⁸⁴⁰ Following Wilcke 1973, 13–14 and van Dijk 1975, 69–70. Note that ll. 10'–13' in the transliteration by Wilcke do not correspond to the copy of the tablet in Wilcke 1973, Tafel III and the lines should be 10'–14' (as in van Dijk 1975, 69). For the nam-šub of Eridu “cast” by Asalluḫi, see further 5.7.5 below.

the problem: the yearnings of a man for the love of a young woman who works as a prostitute:⁸⁴¹

29. i-áb-kù-ga ga-^{áb}šilam-ma

30. i-áb-a i-áb-bar_x(=BABBAR)-ra

31. ^{na4}bur šakan-sig₇-sig₇-ga a-ba-ni-dé

32. gaba-ki-sikil-la-ka a-mi-in-[gur₈']

29. Fat of a pure cow, milk of a mother-cow, 30. fat of a cow, butter of a white cow. 31. Pour it into a bowl, a green *šakan*-vessel, 32. rub⁷ it to the chest of the girl.

In addition to the same ritual “helpers” used in manipulations, it is noteworthy that both the woman in labour and the coveted prostitute are similarly dealt with by rubbing or sprinkling them with the fat of a pure cow.⁸⁴² This makes one wonder whether there was some kind of common concept behind both types of problems.⁸⁴³ However, the use of these substances was not restricted to incantations dealing with childbirth and unanswered love as the fat of a pure cow and milk of a mother-cow (i-áb-kù-ga ga-^{áb}šilam-ma) were also used in a ritual in text CUSAS 32 11b that is directed against ku₆ an-na, “fish of heaven”, probably a star of a demonic quality.⁸⁴⁴ G. Cunningham has proposed that the dairy products “appear to have an activating quality appropriate to rites of passage in general.”⁸⁴⁵ Although in this case in CUSAS 32 11b the relation of them to the fish star would be difficult to explain.

In addition to the dairy products that played a prominent role in rituals in Sumerian divine dialogue incantations related to childbirth, one of the substances that Asalluḫi is instructed to conduct ritual activities with is (lustration) water, a or a-gúb-ba.⁸⁴⁶ Beer is another liquid that finds ritual use in incantations.⁸⁴⁷ Other non-liquid substances and objects used in Old Babylonian ritual instructions are, e.g., bread dough, various plants, salt, several types of trees and stones, flour and circles of flour, reed and reed objects,⁸⁴⁸ wood and wooden objects, several types of containers for water, etc. Often different methods of magical manipulation are combined in the ritual instructions of a single incantation.

⁸⁴¹ Following Falkenstein 1964, 116–117.

⁸⁴² For DME 150a it is interesting to hypothesise how this procedure was thought to be conducted: openly or in secret from the prostitute. When it was planned openly than it would presuppose the consent of the prostitute. Or perhaps the ritual was to be conducted by the unhappy lover himself while using the prostitute’s services?

⁸⁴³ Perhaps the ultimate goal of the man in love was to have children with the prostitute?

⁸⁴⁴ See George 2016, 40.

⁸⁴⁵ Cunningham 1997, 87.

⁸⁴⁶ For example, in text DME 92, an incantation against various demons, Asalluḫi is instructed to fill the saḥar-vessel with the “lustration water of Enki” (a-gúb-ba ^den-ki-ke₄) and sprinkle the bed of the patient with it.

⁸⁴⁷ For example, in text CUSAS 32 42 beer is mixed with the milk of a wet nurse and given to drink to a restless baby.

⁸⁴⁸ E.g., a reed mat in CUSAS 32 7q=8k.

5.7.1.3 Structure of the Old Babylonian Akkadian Divine Dialogue

The Akkadian version of the divine dialogue featuring Asalluḫi appears in three bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian and possibly in eight monolingual Akkadian incantations.⁸⁴⁹ The most well-preserved version of the Akkadian divine dialogue appears in the bilingual text DME 311 – an incantation directed against constipation that probably originates from Sippar:⁸⁵⁰

6. ^dasal-lú-ḫi igi-ni im-ma-an-si
6. ^damar.utu *ip-pa-li-ís-sú-ma*
7. a-a-ni ^den-ki-ke₄ gù mu-un-na-dé-e
7. *a-na a-bi-šu ^dé-a i-^rša ^rás-si*
6. Asalluḫi noticed it 7. and spoke to his father Enki

The main difference between the Sumerian and Akkadian renditions in this bilingual is that the name Asalluḫi in Sumerian is “translated” in the Akkadian part as Marduk (^damar.utu). The name Marduk appears in some other Old Babylonian incantations, bilingual, Akkadian as well as Sumerian. In another bilingual text DME 314 the name Asalluḫi is also rendered in the Akkadian version as Marduk. However, in yet another partly bilingual text DME 313 the dialogue is only given in Sumerian and only the name Asalluḫi occurs. In the Sumerian incantation DME 84 from Nippur the two deities are still clearly separated as they appear in roles that seem diametrically opposite: Marduk possibly as a divine punisher and Asalluḫi in his usual role in incantations as a helper of humans.⁸⁵¹ In an Akkadian text DME 356, however, only the name Marduk appears in connection with incantations: *ši-ip-tum an-ni-tum [š]a ^damar.utu i-na ma-tim ^rú^r-ša-ab-šu-^rú^r*, “The incantation that Marduk created in the land”.⁸⁵² This evidence from incantations indicates the complicated process of identification between the two deities. As the origin and dating for most of the pertaining texts are lacking this process cannot be followed in detail.

Besides the differentiation between names of the junior deity the lines written in Akkadian in DME 311 show no major divergences from the Sumerian part of the text. The following five lines (8–12) of DME 311 are a verbatim repetition of the problem that appeared in the beginning of the text (ll. 1–5). There follows Enki’s/Ea’s answer to Asalluḫi/Marduk:⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ The bilinguals are DME 311, 313, 314, the Akkadian incantations are DME 362, CUSAS 32 211, DME 404, CUSAS 32 26a, CUSAS 32 28a, DME 375, CUSAS 32 50b, CUSAS 32 51. For the doubtful connection of the last three texts with the divine dialogues, see below.

⁸⁵⁰ For a recent edition, see Steinert and Vacín 2018, 720–732. Pp. 720–721 of this edition is followed for ll. 6–7.

⁸⁵¹ For the contrary roles of Asalluḫi and Marduk in DME 84, see Geller 1985, 15; Oshima 2011, 44–45.

⁸⁵² DME 356 (=PBS 7 87 rev.), ll. 3–5. This incantation probably deals with stomach problems, see Collins 1999, 129–130.

⁸⁵³ Following Steinert and Vacín 2018, 720–721.

13. ^den-<<líl>>-ki-ke₄ ^dasal-lú-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
 13. ^dé-a ^dAMAR.UTU *i-ip-pa-al*
 14. ^dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-na-àm nu¹(NE)-zu a-na-àm ma-ra-ab-daḫ-e
 14. *ma-ri mi-i-na la ti-di-ma mi-i-na-ma lu-ši-ib-šu*
 15. níḡ ḡá-e zu-ḡu₁₀ ù za-e ḡá-zu
 15. *ša a-na-ku i-du-ú <<ú>> at-ta ti-di*
 16. ù za-e ḡá-zu níḡ ḡá-e zu-ḡu₁₀
 16. *ša at-ta ti-du-ú a-na-ku i-di*
 13. Enki answered Asalluḫi: 14. “My son, what do you not know? What can I add for you? 15. What I know, you know 16. and what you know I know (too).”

The monolingual Akkadian incantation DME 362 is targeted against the Lamaštu demon. The provenance of the text is unknown. According to W. Farber the text is to be dated either to the very end of the late Old Babylonian period or even to the Middle Babylonian era.⁸⁵⁴ The divine dialogue is limited to four lines in this incantation.⁸⁵⁵

- col. i
 22. *i-mu-ur-ši-i-ma* ^dasal-lú-ḫi DUMU *é-a ap-k[a]l-li*
 23. *a-na é-a a-bi-šu a-ma-tam iz-za-a[k-ka]r*
 24. *a-mu-ur* DUMU.MUNUS AN-*ni ša ú-šab-ba-šu la-a-ú³-tim*
 25. *a-lik ma-ri a-ša-re-du* ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 22. Asalluḫi, the son of Ea, the sage saw her 23. and addressed his father Ea:
 24. “I saw the Daughter-of-Anu rounding up babies!” 25. (Ea answered:) “Go, my foremost son Asalluḫi!”

In this text in place of the repetition (l. 24) stands a one-lined summary of the lengthy description of the monstrous nature and child snatching activities of Lamaštu given in ll. 1–21. The approach of this rephrasing is thus different from the Sumerian incantations that only repeat one or several lines from the beginning of the text.⁸⁵⁶

The following main building blocks appear in the presented Akkadian divine dialogues:

1. Asalluḫi catches sight of the problem (DME 311, l. 6; DME 362, l. 22)
2. Creating contact (DME 311, l. 7; DME 362, l. 23)
3. Asalluḫi’s speech:
 - 3.1 Asalluḫi repeats the problem to Enki (DME 311, ll. 8–12; DME 362, l. 24)
4. Enki’s speech:
 - 4.1 Enki’s address (DME 311, l. 13; DME 362: not present)
 - 4.2 Enki’s encouragement of Asalluḫi (DME 311, ll. 13–16; DME 362: not present)

⁸⁵⁴ Farber 2014, 48.

⁸⁵⁵ Following the transliteration by Farber 2014, 122–124 and translation by Farber 2014, 181.

⁸⁵⁶ For the exception that appears in text Meturan VII, see above.

- 4.3 Enki orders Asalluḫi to go (DME 311: not present; DME 362, l. 25)
 4.4 Ritual instructions (DME 311, ll. 17–18; DME 362, col. i, l. 26–col. ii, l. 3)

In two other texts (DME 314, CUSAS 32 211) only small fragments of the Akkadian dialogue have survived that cannot add much to the analysis.⁸⁵⁷

Curious is the bilingual text DME 309, a single incantation extant from Kiš that should probably be interpreted as a parody or a humorous variation on the theme of divine dialogue.⁸⁵⁸ This text is exceptional in the otherwise very conservative scheme of divine dialogues and does not fit into the scheme of subparts presented above. Asalluḫi does not appear in this text. In his place steps up “the wise one” (lú-kù-zu/*e-em-qá-am*) with an unclear identity.⁸⁵⁹ However, it seems safe to assert that if this character is not to be identified with Asalluḫi himself, he is at least influenced by Asalluḫi’s numerous appearances in divine dialogues.

Regarding this text it is interesting that it is Enki himself who notices the problem. The latter is presented as a personal concern for Enki, as a bleating goat is said to disturb his sleep (l. 11). Then Enki acts and orders “the wise one” to deal with the goat.⁸⁶⁰

9. ^den-ki-ke₄ igi-du₈-^ran-ni[’]-ta
 9. ^dea(en.ki) i-na a-ma-ri-š_u
 10. lú-kù-zu gù ba-an-dé á-gal ba-an-ši-in-ag
 10. *e-em-qá-am i-si-ma ra-bi-iš ú-te-e-er*
 9. When Enki saw him 10. he summoned the wise one and mightily⁸⁶¹ instructed him

⁸⁵⁷ The majority of the divine dialogue is lost both in Sumerian and Akkadian for text DME 314. What survives is the first line in Sumerian (l. 24): ^dasal-lú-ḫi igi im-ma-an-s[i] and in the next line a tiny upper part of the divine name [^d]amar.utu[’]. l. 40 has [x x x ti]-du-ú a-na-ku lu [x-x-x], “[what] you know, I know[’] [x x x]” (although the sign LU seems out of place here). Some lines of the ritual instruction have survived as well. Text CUSAS 32 211 has *ša a-na-ku i-du-ú at-ta ti-de*, “what I know, you know (too)” in l. 28. Only fragments of other parts of the divine dialogue have survived, the name of the junior deity in this text is not extant. In DME 313, a text that is only partly bilingual the Akkadian version of the divine dialogue is omitted and only the Sumerian version appears. In this text the name Marduk does not occur.

⁸⁵⁸ That this text might be a parody was probably first noted by W. von Soden (von Soden *apud* Groneberg 1971, 23).

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. Falkenstein 1931, 69; cf. Lambert 1991, 418: “whether a divine sage or a human exorcist is not clear.” M. Guichard and L. Marti render kù-zu as “(the one) who knows what is ‘bright’/‘pure’/‘sacred’” and take it to be a term that denotes scholars, “of ‘very intelligent’, or even of ‘cunning’”; they bring out goddesses Nanše and Inanna and king Gudea as examples to whom this characterisation has been attributed (Guichard and Marti 2013, 53–54). Note also that lú-kù-zu appears as a personal name in Ur III administrative documents from Umma (see, e.g., SAT 3 1404) and Ur (UET 3 1211). Another text that features a different actor in place of Asalluḫi in a divine dialogue is a partly bilingual text CT 58 10 that features Dumuzi.

⁸⁶⁰ Following Lambert 1991, 416–417. For a Sumerian incantation in which Enki notices the problem, see the treatment of text DME 128 above.

⁸⁶¹ Cf. the translation “solemnly” given for *rabīš* in CAD R, 25.

There follow instructions that involve tucking of dung into the ear of the noisy goat that causes the animal to die (ll. 13–15, see Lambert 1991, 417). This bizarre method of problem-solving is probably one of the reasons why this text has been considered a parody. Another reason for considering this text parodical might be that the sleep of a deity was disturbed by something as banal as a bleating goat. This can be interpreted as a deliberate degradation of the motif of disturbing the sleep of deities, an important *locus communis* in Mesopotamian mythology that appears most prominently in *Atraḥasis* and *Enūma eliš*.⁸⁶²

Akkadian parallel texts DME 404, CUSAS 32 26a and CUSAS 32 28a – all three dealing with complications at childbirth – seem to be connected to divine dialogues. However, the only element extant of the divine dialogues in these three texts is the line that describes Asalluḫi noticing the situation (given above as point 1: Asalluḫi catches sight of the problem):

DME 404, l. 11: *i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^d*asal-lú-ḫi ma-ri* ^d*en-ki*
 CUSAS 32 28a, l. 8: *i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^d*asal-lú-ḫi*
 CUSAS 32 26a, l. 3': [*i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^d*asa*]*l-lú-ḫi*
 “Asalluḫi [DME 404: son of Enki] saw it”

The following lines describe Asalluḫi’s gynaecological work in tandem with the mother goddess who acts as the midwife. According to CUSAS 32 28a, the most well-preserved of the three texts:⁸⁶³

9. *ip-te-šum tù-da-am pa-[d]a-n[a-am]*
 10. *iš-ku-un-šu[m]*
 11. *ša-ki-in-kum pa-da-nu-u[m]*
 12. *pe-ti-ku-um tù-ú-d[u-um]*
 13. *wa-aš-ba-at-ku-um bēlet-ilī(dingir-m[aḫ])*
 14. *ba-ni-a-at a-wi-lu-tim*
 9. he opened a way to him, a path 10. he set for him. 11. “A path is set for you, a way opened for you. 13. Belet-ili is waiting for you, 14. who created humankind.”

Different from the majority of Old Babylonian divine dialogue incantations, the actions of Asalluḫi are given in an indicative mood and there appears no meddling of Enki in this text to give ritual instructions as was the case with Sumerian childbirth incantations treated above. The god Enki/Ea appears only as part of the common epithet of Asalluḫi (*ma-ri* ^d*en-ki*, “son of Enki”) in DME 404.

There is another triplet of thematically-linked Akkadian incantations (DME 375, CUSAS 32 50b, CUSAS 32 51) that all feature Asalluḫi and might be related to divine dialogue. Text DME 375 is possibly from the Larsa area, the origin of the other two texts is unknown. Text CUSAS 32 50b has an obscure

⁸⁶² For this motif, see Oshima 2014; for sleeping disorders in Mesopotamia in general, see Guinan 2009–2011, 198–200.

⁸⁶³ Transliteration and translation by George 2016, 141, with minor modifications.

rubric ka-inim-ma ni-im-bu. A. R. George has taken ni-im-bu to designate wasps.⁸⁶⁴ Two of these texts make a mention of Asalluḫi “entering”,⁸⁶⁵ as it is common in the Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations where Asalluḫi entered to his father Enki in the temple (a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku₄):

DME 375: 26. ^dasal-lú-ḫi DUMU ^den-ki i-ir-ru-ba-am
 CUSAS 32 51: 3. *mārat*(DUMU.MUNUS) é-a ^dasal-lú-ḫi 4. a-na me-e ra-ma-ki-
 im i-ir-ru-ub

While DME 375 is to be translated simply as “Asalluḫi, son of Enki is entering” without any specification of the building he entered, the translation of the pertinent line in CUSAS 32 51 gives a much more interesting result: “Asalluḫi, the daughter of Ea / for bathing in water is entering”. A few lines later (ll. 5–6) one learns that the house that Asalluḫi entered is called é e-sikil-la (“pure house”) and that Ea resides in it. Although as noted by A. R. George Enki’s daughter Asalluḫi finds a parallel in a text from Ugarit,⁸⁶⁶ in Mesopotamian contexts this is the only occasion when there is reason to suspect that Asalluḫi is female and thus one probably has to consider this writing a scribal mistake, moreover, that in close parallel texts DME 375 and CUSAS 32 50b Asalluḫi is clearly DUMU and not DUMU.MUNUS. It also becomes clear from CUSAS 32 51 that Asalluḫi enters the temple not to report to Enki regarding some problem as he does in divine dialogues but for a ritual bath. However, the description of Asalluḫi entering is suspiciously similar to the corresponding line in divine dialogue incantations.⁸⁶⁷

The entering of Asalluḫi is in these texts preceded by a statement that seems to have to do with the troublemakers in this text (wasps?) who probably prevent Asalluḫi from enjoying his bath and are adjured to leave the temple, according to text DME 375:⁸⁶⁸

26. *as-ku-up-pa-tum šu-te-ri-bi ma-re-e-ki*
 26. Take your children over the threshold!

The longest ritual instructions in Old Babylonian Akkadian incantations appear in text DME 362, col. i, l. 26–col. ii, l. 3. In this text the demon Lamaštu is

⁸⁶⁴ A. R. George considered the context of incantations DME 375 and CUSAS 32 50b that appear on collective tablets and concluded that “one might consider that the ni-im-bu in No. 50b is some creature harmful to human beings that was a nuisance at home” (George 2016, 117). By comparing ni-im-bu with lexical evidence he further claimed that the nuisance in these texts could be a type of wasps (Akkadian *ḫawītum*).

⁸⁶⁵ Note that this phrase does not appear in other Old Babylonian Akkadian divine dialogues besides these two texts.

⁸⁶⁶ George 2016, 118, n. 3. George refers to a syllabic Sumerian incantation from Ugarit that has: in-ki dumu-munus-a-ni ^dasal-lú-ḫi (see Nougayrol 1968, 32–33; Arnaud 2007, 79).

⁸⁶⁷ Note that besides these two texts in the Old Babylonian period incantations this line exists only in Sumerian divine dialogues.

⁸⁶⁸ Following van Dijk 1985, 20.

deterred by first letting her sit on a travel bundle, then by giving her various gifts such as a comb, a distaff, a pin, shoes and sandals. After that seven canals are dug and seven mountains erected as protective measures. Lamaštu is then adjured not to approach the patient and finally the naming of several gods are used as a deterrence against Lamaštu. The sequence of listed deities is interesting as both the gods Asalluḫi and Marduk are named.⁸⁶⁹

col. ii

5. *i-tab-bal-ki* AG.AG ^dAG *i-kab-ba-as-ki i-na* ÍD *i-re-eḫ-ḫi-ki*

6. *tu-um-ma-a-ti* DUMU.MUNUS AN-*ni a-ša-re-da* ^d*asal-lū-ḫi*

7. *i-ma-aḫ-ḫa'-ar-ki é-a* [š]ar <šⁱ?>-*ma-a-ti*

8. *i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar-ki a-[š]a-re-du* ^d*nin-urta*

9. *i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar-ki* ^dAM[AR.UTU [ù] ^d*šar-pa-ni-tum*

10. *i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ar-ki ša-a[r-ru]m* ^dUTU

5. [...] Nabû will remove you: he will trample on you, overcome you in the river.

6. You are conjured, Daughter-of-Anu, by the foremost Asalluḫi! 7. Ea, the king of fate¹, will confront you. 8. The foremost Ninurta will confront you. 9. Marduk [and] Šarpanitum will confront you. 10. King Šamaš will confront you.

Although there are doubts that the text could be Middle Babylonian,⁸⁷⁰ it probably represents an earlier tradition when Asalluḫi and Marduk were still seen as separate deities. Otherwise it would make little sense to mention Marduk again after only two other deities (Ea and Ninurta) listed between him and Asalluḫi. The instructions are preceded by, in the Old Babylonian context, a unique summing-up of the following activity, as Enki tells Asalluḫi (l. 26): “Hurry to her with an incantation and a ritual” (*i-na šip-ip-ti ù né-pe-ši ti-ḫa-áš-ši-im-ma*).⁸⁷¹

Concerning ritual instructions in bilinguals and Akkadian texts, in ll. 17–18 of the bilingual text DME 311, after stating that this method of healing works on humans, cattle and sheep alike, Enki suggests a lump of salt and thyme as a proper means of curing constipation. As the endings of these lines are missing it is not entirely clear how the salt and thyme are to be used.⁸⁷² In the text CUSAS 32 211 a *mannam lušpur*-formula is included according to which the daughters of Anu serve water of wells (or the Euphrates?) to the patient stung by a scorpion.⁸⁷³ The strange method used on the goat in DME 309 was described

⁸⁶⁹ Transliteration and translation by Farber 2014, 123–124 and 180–181, with minor modifications.

⁸⁷⁰ See *ibid.*, 48.

⁸⁷¹ See *ibid.*, 122 and 180–181.

⁸⁷² A. R. George has suggested based on comparative evidence that salt and thyme are symbolically hurled away so that the illness would leave the body in the same manner (George 2016, 7). U. Steinert and L. Vacin prefer to interpret salt and thyme here to be eaten (Steinert and Vacin 2018, 726).

⁸⁷³ For the *mannam lušpur* formula, see Cunningham 1997, 121–122. Cunningham views this formula to be an Akkadian counterpart to divine dialogues. Note that during earlier

above. In the three Akkadian incantations dealing with childbirth (DME 404, CUSAS 32 26a and CUSAS 32 28a) there are no ritual inscriptions given at all, Asalluḫi is described to act as a sort of a divine gynaecologist but the specific “mechanics” of his activity are not specified. Finally, the incantations probably directed against wasps (DME 375, CUSAS 32 50b, CUSAS 32 51) do not contain any specific measures given for rituals and the insects are simply adjured to leave the temple.

5.7.2 Priestly Legitimation Incantations

The god Asalluḫi appears in 11 Old Babylonian incantations in which the phrases of the so-called priestly legitimation are included.⁸⁷⁴ According to these phrases the priest claims in the first person that he is the representative of the deities. Most commonly the cultic official relates himself to the deities of the Eridu circle – Enki, Asalluḫi and their female relatives Damgalnuna and Namma. A. Falkenstein assembled the incantations that included phrases expressing this legitimation under the label *Legitimationstyp* that he considered to be one of the four main categories of Sumerian incantations.⁸⁷⁵ He stressed the increase of the power of the incantation priest – and the force behind his incantations – and the divine protection of his persona from demons as the main functions of the priestly legitimation.⁸⁷⁶ The second thesis presented by Falkenstein seems to be proven by the fact that in most cases in which the priestly legitimation is used in Old Babylonian incantations the spells are directed against various demonic forces.⁸⁷⁷ Thus, there exists a connection between the phrases of priestly legitimation and the purpose of incantations, i.e. most of the legitimating phrases appear in incantations that are dealing with warding off demons.

Increasing the patient’s hope in regaining health and the trust of the patient in the incantation priest and his activities could be other important purposes for the use of this motif, in the words of M. J. Geller with the *Legitimationstyp*-incantation “incantation priest [is – A. J.] establishing his own credentials vis-a-vis the patient, in order to make the patient believe in the effectiveness of the incantations prescribed or recited.”⁸⁷⁸ The English term priestly legitimation used in this study has been adopted from G. Cunningham,⁸⁷⁹ who – in addition

periods the bites of dangerous animals were cured by Asalluḫi by serving purified water for the stung/bitten man to drink (see 1.5.1 and 4.3.1.1 above).

⁸⁷⁴ DME 76, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 152, 173, 191, 251; CUSAS 32 11j?.

⁸⁷⁵ See Falkenstein 1931, 20–34.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸⁷⁷ This was noted by Cunningham 1997, 118: “Incantations featuring such passages are primarily directed against evil daimons.” However, text DME 218 in which the priest legitimises himself as a representative of the goddess Namma is not directed against demons but against scorpions.

⁸⁷⁸ Geller 2016, 9.

⁸⁷⁹ Cunningham 1997, 118.

to associating the legitimating phrases with the purposes of presenting the priest as the representative of deities and receiving divine protection – posits that priestly legitimation provided the incantation priest with the capability “to mediate between the temporal and divine domains.”⁸⁸⁰ This, as will be discussed below, is an important definition in relation to the god Asalluḫi who in the sections of incantations that deal with priestly legitimation shows his fluid nature by crossing the borders between the categories of temporal – divine, human – divine, priest – deity.

According to the evidence currently available, priestly legitimation appears for the first time in the Old Babylonian period and is a feature only in incantations written in the Sumerian language.⁸⁸¹ Among the Old Babylonian incantations, priestly legitimation has survived in its longest expression in text DME 85. In this incantation the priest associates himself with five deities and gives his cultic titles with some further self-characterisations.⁸⁸²

col. vii

2. gá-e ʾlú^den^ʾ-ki-ga me-en
3. gá-e ʾkù-gá^ddam-nun-na me-ʾen^ʾ
4. gá-e [lú]^dasal-lú-ḫi me-en
5. gá-e [lú]^dnamma me-en
6. gá-e ʾlú^dnanše^{-ki^ʾ} me-en
7. gá-e g[ud]u₄ saḡ-gam-maḫ zu ʾme-en^ʾ
8. gá-e ʾlú^dasilal₄(EZENxA+LÁ)^{ki} me-en
9. gá-e ka-pi[riḡ] ʾA^ʾ-HA^{ki} hé-sikil-la hé-ʾga^ʾ-dadag-ga me-[en]
10. gudu₄ susbu^den-ki-ga me-en

2. I am the man of Enki, 3. I am the purifier of Dam(gal)nuna, 4. I am the [man] of Asalluḫi, 5. I am the man of Namma, 6. I am the man of Nanše, 7. I am the gudu-priest, the knowledgeable šangamaḫ. 8. I am the man of Asilal^ʾ, 9. I am the incantation priest of Kuʾara, who indeed cleansed and brightened. 10. I am the gudu-susbu-priest of Enki

Asalluḫi appears here as third on the list after his divine parents Enki and Dam(gal)nuna and before Namma and Nanše.⁸⁸³ The sign written in front of

⁸⁸⁰ Cunningham 1997, 118.

⁸⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 169.

⁸⁸² Following Geller 1985, 32–33.

⁸⁸³ The writing ʾlú^dnanše^{-ki^ʾ} in l. 6 could be a corrupt writing both for the divine name Nanše or for the toponym Nina/Niḡin (see Geller 1985, 97, n. 214). Making the choice between the two possibilities is complicated by the fact that both names of gods and names of places appear in this context. In addition, Geller suspects a conflated writing of lú^dnanše nin(u)a^{ki}. The last option mentioned could very well be the case, as both the divine name and toponym for Nanše’s city are written with the same signs AB×HA. Listing Asalluḫi after Enki and Damgalnuna is a common practice in phrases of priestly legitimation in later texts (*ibid.*, 95, n. 160). The texts of the Old Babylonian era reflect more variety: in DME 84 the ordering of the three deities is the same, in DME 83 Asalluḫi is listed between Enki and Damgalnuna, in DME 251 Namma is listed after Enki and before Damgalnuna and Asalluḫi, while the surviving part DME 82 lists only Asalluḫi first and Namma second.

Asalluḫi has not survived but it is quite certainly lú, as in most cases here, except for Dam(gal)nuna. Thus, the priest identifies himself as the representative of Asalluḫi. In the following lines he attributes to himself the common priestly titles gudu₄, sanga-maḫ, ka-piriḡ and gudu₄ susbu and associates himself with the toponyms Asilal and Ku'ara.⁸⁸⁴

G. Cunningham suspects on the basis of the content of incantations and incantation rubrics that the texts that included priestly legitimation “were probably recited prior to the priest’s departure to visit the patient.”⁸⁸⁵ He uses the rubric from text DME 83: “It is an incantation formula for going down the street” (ka-inim-ma e-sír dib-bé-da-kam) as evidence.⁸⁸⁶ According to this interpretation the claim of the priest that he is the representative of the gods connected to magic served the purpose for the priest to defend himself from the attacks of demons that endangered him on his way to heal the patient. This explanation seems to be suitable for the text DME 85 that after the beginning formula opens with ten lines of priestly legitimation that is followed by a line that in first person describes the priest walking the streets.⁸⁸⁷ This is followed by listing of demons, their adjuration with the zi-pà formula in the name of heaven, earth, Ḫendursaḡa and the great gods.⁸⁸⁸ The mention of Ḫendursaḡa alludes that the exorcist is taking a nightly stroll in this incantation.⁸⁸⁹ The text ends with the priest giving a spell (tu₆). The problem with Cunningham’s definition is that the ailing patient or activities associated with healing/exorcism are not mentioned at all in this text, so one cannot be certain that it was exactly the priest’s visit to the patient that was reflected in this text.

Neither of the texts DME 83 and 84 that have the same rubric are fully preserved. In DME 83 the narrator determines himself as the “man of” Enki, Asalluḫi and Damgalnuna.⁸⁹⁰

col. vi

7. gá-e lú ^den-ki-[ga] ṛšú silim-bi me-e[n]

8. lú ^dasal'-lú-hi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga me-en

9. ṛlú x' ^ddam-gal-ṛnun'-na me-en

7. I am Enki’s man – this healing hand, 8. I am the man of Asalluḫi, son of Eridu, 9. I am the man ... of Damgalnunna.

⁸⁸⁴ Note that in the Ur III incantations the toponym Ku'ara was not mentioned. For Asilal, note the divine name ^dnin-asilal₄ in the *Canonical Uduḡ-ḫul* (Geller 2016, 151, l. 96).

⁸⁸⁵ Cunningham 1997, 118.

⁸⁸⁶ Incantations DME 84, 85 and possibly also the fragmentary text DME 80 have the same rubric.

⁸⁸⁷ Geller 1985, 32–33: “When I would pass along the street, in my going in the thoroughfare” (ṛgá-e[?] e-sír-r[a di]b-bé-da-mu-da [s]ila-a ṛgen'-na-mu-dè).

⁸⁸⁸ For zi-pà formulae, see Falkenstein 1931, 34–35; Borger 1969.

⁸⁸⁹ For Ḫendursaḡa as the watchman god associated with street lighting, see George 2015.

⁸⁹⁰ Following Geller 1985, 28–29.

For text DME 84 it is noteworthy that different from DME 85 and 83, the first-person narrator defines himself not as the man (lú) but as the messenger (lú-kin-gi₄) of Enki, Damgalnuna, and Asalluḫi:⁸⁹¹

47. gá-e lú-kin-gi₄-a ^den-ki-ga me-en hé-^reb^ˊ-[bé]

48. gá-e lú-kin-gi₄-a ^ddam-gal-^rnun^ˊ-na ^rme^ˊ-e[n]

49. ^rgá-e^ˊ lú-kin-gi₄-a ^dasal-l[ú-ḫi me-en]

50. ^rgá-e lú eridu^{kiˊ}-ga me-en hé-[eb-bé]

47. then let him [say]: “I am Enki’s messenger, 48. I am Damgalnunna’s messenger 49. I am Asalluḫi’s messenger.” 50. Let [him say], “I am the man of Eridu.”

In M. J. Geller’s translation of text DME 84 the lú-kin-gi₄-a in ll. 47–48 is interpreted as a messenger of Enki and Damgalnuna respectively but the same word in l. 49 as the messenger himself would be Asalluḫi (“I am the messenger, Asalluḫi”).⁸⁹² Thus, Geller claims a full identity between the narrator and the deity. However, the logic of the narrative does not seem to support this translation as will be discussed next.

Text DME 84 is one of the three incantations (with two others being DME 83 and 173) in which the phrases of priestly legitimation appear together in the same text with the divine dialogue. Thus, the two legitimisation mechanisms that usually appear in separate incantations occur together in these texts. DME 84 begins with the description of the harmful activity of various demons and is followed by a depiction of a man who is troubled by their actions. That this happens on a pitch-dark night with neither the sun- nor moonlight present becomes clear in ll. 188–189.⁸⁹³ There follows the divine dialogue that ends with Enki’s following instructions to Asalluḫi:⁸⁹⁴

197. ḡen-na dumu-mu ^dasal-lú-ḫi

198. lú-^rùlu^ˊ lú-didli lú-ge₆-sá-a sila-a ḡen-a-na

197. Go, my son Asalluḫi! 198. A man, a lonely man, the one who walks in the street at night

These lines are followed by the priestly legitimation formula that designates the narrator as the messenger of the Eridu deities. According to this scheme it seems that Enki is instructing Asalluḫi to in turn teach this unidentified nightly traveller to avert demons by claiming to be the representative of the Eridu deities. If one would follow Geller and identify the messenger here with Asalluḫi than one would reach a rather absurd chain of events according to which Enki

⁸⁹¹ Following Geller 1985, 30–33.

⁸⁹² Ibid., 33.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 30–31, ll. 188–189: “He raised his eyes, but Utu did not wait, / Sin was not born, nor did Nanna emerge” (igi-ni mu-un-il ^dutu nu-gub / ^dzuen nu-tu-ud ^dnanna nu-^rè’).

⁸⁹⁴ Following ibid., 30–31.

instructs Asalluḫi to teach a man to be Asalluḫi.⁸⁹⁵ The identity of the nightly traveller is another conundrum appearing in this text. As no priestly titles are mentioned,⁸⁹⁶ one might doubt whether this legitimising spell always had to do with incantation priests and their visits to patients at all and whether it was a universal spell for lone night-time travellers, whoever they might be by vocation.⁸⁹⁷

As further evidence for the thesis that in Old Babylonian the priest was identified with Asalluḫi, Geller uses the priestly legitimation appearing in text DME 76:⁸⁹⁸

col. ii

24. [a]-r̄ da-pà` [abgal eridu^{kj}]-ga me-en

25. [gá-e lú[?] d^as]al-lú-ḫi me-en

26. [nig-tu-ra-ni lú til-la-n]i-šè

27.–28. [en-gal^d en-ki-ke₄ mu-un-ši-in-g]en-àm

24. I am Adapa, [sage of Eridu], 25. [I am the man of[?]] Asalluḫi. 26. To [cure the man in his illness], 27.–28. [Enki the great lord sent] me.

If Geller's reconstruction is correct, ll. 27–28 seem to hint at the possibility of the priest as Asalluḫi who is on his way to cure the man in his illness on the orders of Enki, as the statement “Enki the great lord sent me” matches the order “Go, my son Asalluḫi!” (ḡen-na dumu-ḡu₁₀^dasal-lú-ḫi) uttered by Enki in divine dialogue incantations.⁸⁹⁹ An argument against this possibility is that in the previous line the priest has already identified himself with Adapa, the abgal of Eridu, as it seems unlikely that the priest would claim the identity of both Adapa and Asalluḫi in the frame of one text.

Similar phrases to the one appearing in ll. 26–28 in DME 76 also occur in texts DME 74, DME 75 and DME 176. In DME 74 the narrator associates himself with Enki and Damgalnuna:⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁵ For texts DME 83 and 85 treated above there also seems no reason to assume that the narrator in the priestly legitimation formulae claims the identity of Asalluḫi.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf., for example, the text DME 85 above in which titles of cultic officials such as gudu₄, sanga-maḫ, ka-piriḡ and gudu₄ susbu were listed.

⁸⁹⁷ Cf. Alster 1986, 567. Note that if the main character is not a priest in this text then it would make little sense to define the phrase in this text as a “priestly legitimation”.

⁸⁹⁸ Following Geller 1985, 22–25; for the text of the canonical version, see Geller 2016, 107, ll. 81–85.

⁸⁹⁹ Geller 1985, 14: “the oft-repeated line, “the great lord Enki has sent me” [...] expresses the incantation priest's claim to be sent directly by Enki, in the same way that Enki so frequently says, “go my son, Asalluḫi...” For the divine dialogue incantations, see 5.7.1 above.

⁹⁰⁰ Following Geller 1985, 20–21.

4. [gá-e lú^de]n-ki-ga me-en
 5. [gá-e lú^dda]m-gal-nun-na me-en
 6. [en-gal^den-ki-ke₄ mu-un-ši-in-g]i₄-en-àm
 7. [lú-tu-ra-šè mu-un-ši-in-g]i₄-en-àm
4. [I] am Enki's [man], 5. [I] am Damgalnuna's [man], 6. [the great lord Enki has sent] me. 7. It [is I who was approaching the sick man]

In DME 75 the narrator describes himself as the “man of” and “messenger” of Enki:⁹⁰¹

36. [gá-e lú] ^den-ki-ga me-en
 37. [gá-e] lú kin-gi₄-a-ni me-en
 38. [níĝ-tu-ra-(a)-ni] lú til-la-ni-šè
 39. [en-gal^den-ki-ke₄ m]u-un-ši-in-gi₄-en-àm
 40. [tu₆ kù-ga(-a)-ni tu₆]-gá gál-la-na
36. [I] am Enki's [man], 37. [I] am his messenger. 38. To heal the man [in his illness], 39. [the great lord Enki] sent me. 40. Since he made [his holy incantation] into my [incantation]

In DME 176 the narrator defines himself as the lú-mu₇-mu₇ and sanga_x maḥ of Enki:⁹⁰²

567. gá-e lú-mu₇-mu₇ sanga_x(ÍL) maḥ^den-ki-ga me-en
 568. en-e mu-un-ši-in-ge-en
 569. gá-e sukka^l engur-ra-ka mu-un-ši-in-ge-en
567. I am the incantation priest, the sangamaḥ of Enki, 568. the lord (Enki) sent me to him, 569. The vizier⁷ of engur sent me to him

Based on the examples given by Geller it does not seem possible to give a decisive answer to the question whether the priest is identified with Asalluḫi in these texts. While this option seems possible there exists no explicit evidence in Old Babylonian incantations, comparable, for example, to the statement in the first millennium series *Bīt mēseri* in which the incantation priest appears as the “image” (alan/*šalam*) of Asalluḫi/Marduk.⁹⁰³ One might speculate that the theologians of the Old Babylonian period were perhaps intentionally vague in their expressions for the roles of the god Asalluḫi and the human incantation priest. This was possibly done with the purpose to keep the identity of his character fluid for allowing him to freely “oscillate” between divine and human realms.

The formula of priestly legitimation appears in DME 152. The contents of this text remain largely incomprehensible and the text is difficult to the point

⁹⁰¹ Following Geller 1985, 22–23.

⁹⁰² Following *ibid.*, 52–53.

⁹⁰³ tu₆-tu₆ tu₆ ^dasar-re^{lú}ka-piriĝ alan^dasal-lú-ḫi/*šip-tum ši-pat* ^dAMAR.UTU *a-ši-pu ša-lam* ^dAMAR.UTU, “The incantation is the incantation of Asar/Marduk, the incantation priest is the image of Asalluḫi/Marduk” (cf. Meier 1941–1944, 150).

that it is unclear whether it is a “proper” incantation or a hymn or a prayer.⁹⁰⁴ The first halves of the lines pertaining to the priestly legitimation are fragmentary and it remains uncertain in which capacity someone connects himself to the deities:

- col. ii
 5. KA BI KA ^den-ki-kam-me-en
 6. KA MU NA ^dutu me-en
 7. x IGI ZA ^dasal-lú-ḫi me-en
 8. xxx ^dnamma me-en

The major difference of this priestly legitimation from the ones presented above is that Utu appears in the place that based on comparative evidence should be reserved for the goddess Damgalnuna.⁹⁰⁵

Asalluḫi appears in some further texts in which the phrases of priestly legitimation are included, albeit in some cases the presence of this formula is doubtful. The surviving part of the text DME 82 begins *in medias res* of the legitimation phrase. Here the goddess Namma and Asalluḫi appear as deities with whom the incantation priest associates himself:⁹⁰⁶

- col. v
 11. lú ^{dr}asal-l[ú-ḫi]
 12. lú ^{dr}namma[. . . .]
 13. ka-^rpiriḡ me-en[. . . .]
 14. tu₆-g[ál⁷ me]-en[. . . .]
 11. The man of Asalluḫi [. . . .] 12. The man of Namma⁷ [. . . .] 13. I am the exorcist [. . . .] 14. I am the incantation priest [. . . .]

By comparison with DME 85 it can be suspected that originally the priest’s self-characterisation as the “man of” Enki and Damgalnuna preceded the extant lines in this incantation.

It is possible that in ll. 3–4 of the very damaged text DME 191 the priestly incantation formula appears,⁹⁰⁷ as both lines begin with the sign lú and seem to have the writing me-en (l. 3 has only the sign me in the surviving part). In l. 4 the appearance of the name Enki would be suitable in the context of a priestly legitimation formula.⁹⁰⁸ The name Asalluḫi appears in l. 8 of this text (“Asalluḫi, son of Eridu”), outside of the possible priestly legitimation. In the

⁹⁰⁴ Note that S. N. Kramer has designated this text as “hymnal prayer to Asaruḫi” (Kramer 1964, 40).

⁹⁰⁵ For the close relations between Asalluḫi and Utu in incantations, see 5.7.7 below.

⁹⁰⁶ Following Geller 1985, 28–29.

⁹⁰⁷ So Cunningham 1997, 140, no. 191.

⁹⁰⁸ However, another possibility is that in the beginning of this text appears hymnal praise to the god Ḫendursaġa, whose name appears twice in the opening part of this incantation (ll. 2 and 6), cf. another incantation TIM 9 74 in the beginning of which a three-line hymnal praise to Ḫendursag appears (for an edition of this text, see George 2015, 6).

next line occurs a verbal chain *mu-un-da-DU* that possibly reflects that *Asalluḫi* is going (*DU* as *ĝen*) somewhere, perhaps together with the gods *Ḫendursaĝa* and *Nergal* who appear in l. 6.

In the following two texts the presence of priestly legitimation is doubtful as well. If it does appear the motif is expressed differently from the common form as it appears in texts DME 82–85. According to J. van Dijk the text DME 251 belongs among the incantations with priestly legitimation.⁹⁰⁹

1. an lugal dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
2. ^den-ki lugal kur-kur-ra-ke₄
3. ama ^dramma ama abzu-ke₄
4. ^ddam-gal-nun-na ṛgá-da ḫe-è
5. ^dasal-ṛlú-ḫi tu₆-tu₆ šà-ṛzu
6. ṛka-ṛinim-ma za-a-kam a-ĝúb-ba za-a-kam
7. x UD x e bí-in-ĝar

1. An, the king of the gods, 2. Enki, the king of the lands, 3. mother Namma, the mother of abzu, 4. (and) Damgalnuna may go out with me 5. Asalluḫi, incantations of your heart 6. incantation formula is yours, lustration water is yours 7. xxx he placed

In the first four lines of the text the deities An, Enki, Namma and Damgalnuna are invoked to accompany someone, perhaps again on dangerous (nightly?) travels.⁹¹⁰ Then appears *Asalluḫi*, who in ll. 5–6 is associated with incantations, incantation formulae and lustration water.⁹¹¹ In l. 7 it is possibly *Asalluḫi* who is said to place (*ĝar*) something.

In some other texts there appear legitimising phrases in which *Asalluḫi* plays no part. Thus, in DME 77 first the priest associates himself with Enki (ll. 74–75). Later in the text the priest claims that he is encircled by the defensive shield of deities Utu, Nanna, *Nergal* and *Ninurta* (ll. 82–84). In text DME 79 (according to M. J. Geller’s reconstruction⁹¹² based on a later parallel) the narrator connects himself to Enki and Damgalnuna. In DME 195 the priestly formula also possibly appears (see *me-en* in l. 3’) but the text is too fragmentary to restore any divine actors. In DME 218 the priest associates himself with only the goddess Namma. The first halves are lost in text CUSAS 32 11j and only *me-en* on the second half in four lines survives, possibly to be restored as involving the deities Enki, Damgalnuna, *Asalluḫi* and Namma (cf. DME 85 above).

⁹⁰⁹ van Dijk 1971a, 11: “Ist wohl Legitimationstypus”; cf. Cunningham 1997, 144, no. 251.

⁹¹⁰ The rubric is not helpful in determining the purpose of this incantation, as it has only *ka-inim-ma* (“incantation formula”).

⁹¹¹ Note that lustration water (*a-ĝúb-ba*) in Old Babylonian period is associated in addition to *Asalluḫi* with Enki, and in texts that follow the earlier tradition, with *Ningirim* (see Cunningham 1997, 116, n. 3).

⁹¹² See Geller 1985, 24–27, ll. 99–119.

5.7.3 Divine Legitimation Incantations

In addition to appearing in phrases of the priestly legitimation the god Asalluḫi also appears in related phrases that have been called divine legitimation.⁹¹³ While in the former the priest claimed his connection to the deities, in the latter he claims divine origin for his incantations. Divine legitimation is a feature mainly in incantations written in Akkadian.⁹¹⁴ However, one can also find traces of a similar motif in Sumerian texts. Probably the clearest Sumerian example of divine legitimation is found in text DME 79. In this text the divine legitimation is preceded by the priestly legitimation of which only a few traces survive.⁹¹⁵

102. [ĝá-e lú-kin]-^rgi₄-a^r [me-en]

103. [t]u₆-mu tu₆^den-ki-^rga^r-k[e₄]

104. tu₆-tu₆-mu tu₆-tu₆^dasal-lú-ḫi-ke₄

105. ^rĝiš^r-ḫur eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ šu-ĝá ì-ĝál

106. [^gis^{is}ma-nu^g]^{is}tukul kalag-ga šu-ĝá mu-da-ĝál

102. [I am the messenger], 103. my incantation is the incantation of Enki, 104. my incantations are the incantations of Asalluḫi. 105. I have the plans of Eridu in my hand. 106. I have the manu-wood, a mighty weapon in my hand.

Here the messenger claims that his incantations (tu₆) are actually the incantations of Enki and Asalluḫi. It is interesting that seemingly the incantation of Enki is referred to in the singular while the incantations of Asalluḫi appear in plural, as if Enki had only one incantation while Asalluḫi had several. In addition to priestly and divine legitimation, the incantation priest claims that he carries the plans of Eridu and the stick of manu-wood in his hand.⁹¹⁶ Both of

⁹¹³ Asalluḫi appears in divine legitimation in Sumerian texts DME 79 and 75 and in Akkadian texts DME 339, 351 and CUSAS 32 30d. For divine legitimation in the Old Babylonian incantations, see Cunningham 1997, 118–120; see also Biggs 1967, 38–39.

⁹¹⁴ This formula is already known from the Semitic incantations of the third millennium. See, e.g., text BiMes 1 7 in which Ningirim is the deity through whom the divine legitimation is given. In the third millennium Asalluḫi does not appear in this formula. In other Old Babylonian incantations the following deities are invoked in the phrasings of divine legitimation: CT 42 32: Ea; YOS 11 3: Enlil and Šamaš; YOS 11 5 (ll. 1–8): Damu and Gula; YOS 11 5, 9–14: Gula; CUSAS 32 8d: Ningirim; CUSAS 32 30f and g: Enki and Ningirim; CUSAS 32 31d (according to the restoration in George 2016, 96): Enki and Ningirim; RA 88 161: Damu? and Ninkarrak; DME 345: Ninkarrak?; AMD 1 243 (Fig. 1): Damu and Gula; AMD 1 247 (Fig. 12): Ningirim. In Old Assyrian texts: AoF 35 146: Ea; Fs. Larsen 399A: Nikilil; OrNS 66 61: Nikilil and Ninkarrak.

⁹¹⁵ Following Geller 1985, 26–27.

⁹¹⁶ For the ma-nu tree, see below. The basic meaning for ĝiš-ḫur is “plan, design”. At the mundane level ĝiš-ḫur could simply denote architectural plans, e.g., for buildings or towns; at the divine level it denotes plans of deities with “cosmic” functions. The divine plans are most often associated with Enki and his dwelling: “In Sumerian mythology the phenomenon of ĝiš-ḫur is connected with the underground aquifer abzu and its master, the god Enki” (Ootsing-Lüecke 2008, 148). For later, first millennium evidence for ĝiš-ḫur (“plans, design”) in incantations, see the *Canonical Udug-ḫul* incantations, tablet 12, ll. 37–58 (Geller 2016,

these seem to be objects that the incantation priest uses to ward off demons. The manu-instrument appeared in text DME 83 where it was considered to be both a physical object that could probably be fastened to the priest's attire and denoted as one of the incantations (tu_6) that the priest travelling by night held in his possession: "among the incantations in my possession [is] the manu-wood [instrument]" ($\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ [$tukul$] $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ ma-nu tu_6 - tu_6 -a $\check{s}u$ - $\hat{g}á$ i' -[$\hat{g}ál$]).⁹¹⁷ Thus, perhaps in this text both the plans and the manu-wood are considered to belong among the "incantations" of Asalluḫi and this is the reason why incantations in plural are mentioned. How could physical objects be incantations is difficult to explain. Perhaps one should widen the range of meanings for the word tu_6 .

Another Sumerian version of the Old Babylonian divine legitimation might be found in DME 75, albeit in this case doubtful, as the editor has reconstructed the line based on first millennium texts.⁹¹⁸ In this case it seems to be Enki with whose incantation the human actor relates his incantation:⁹¹⁹

40. [tu_6 $kù$ - ga (-a)- ni tu_6]- $\hat{g}á$ $\hat{g}ál$ - la - na
 40. he made [his holy incantation] into my [incantation]

406–410), where Enki/Ea himself is reported to draw up the plans in the Enigara temple (l. 37) and Ninḫursaĝ (in Akkadian manuscripts Bēlet-ilī) the mother goddess is engaged in the process of averting demons by teaching various divine measures to the incantation priest/Marduk (ll. 41–46). The identities of Marduk and the incantation priest are here once again blurry, as right after the segment with Ninḫursaĝ, the god (Asaralimnuna in Sumerian versions, in Akkadian version the name is not mentioned) is probably asked to reveal the plan to the incantation priest (ll. 47–48): "May the foremost son (Marduk), the one whose (divine) plan is found in Eridu / show you, may he show you especially." Note that in the myth *Ninurta and the Turtle*, the monster Anzu moans that Ninurta has hit him with his weapon on Enki's command and as a result the divine principles (me), plans ($\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ - $\check{h}ur$) and the tablet of destinies (dub - nam - tar) have returned to abzu (see Alster 1971–1972, 120, ll. 1–4). Thus, the origin of the $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ - $\check{h}ur$ is Eridu and/or abzu that are seemingly used as synonyms in these two examples. For $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ - $\check{h}ur$, see further Oppenheim 1977, 204; Rochberg 2004, 199; Steinkeller 2017, 9.

⁹¹⁷ Geller 1985, 28–29. For $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ ma-nu and its identification as a type willow (*Salix acmophylla*), see Steinkeller 1987, 91–92 and Powell 1992, 102–103. $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ ma-nu wood was used to make various objects, including weapons such as arrows (Jiménez 2017, 190) and maces (ibid., 218). For the use of this wood in exorcism, see Wiggermann 1992, 65–68 and 79–85. Traditionally, the logogram $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ MA.NU has been identified as *e'ru* in Akkadian. E. Jiménez, on the basis of the disputation *Series of the Poplar* has argued for an Akkadian parallel reading *martū*. Both designations for this wood – *e'ru* and *martū* have connections to magic, especially to magic sticks (*ḥaṭtu*) (Jiménez 2017, 218). In the *Canonical Udug-ḫul*, the Old Babylonian description of this object has been somewhat extended: tablet 3, 66 has $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ ma-nu $\hat{g}i\hat{s}$ $tukul$ $maḥ$ an-na- ke_4 $\check{s}u$ - mu mu - un - da - an - $\hat{g}á$ l, "I hold the mighty *e'ru*-wood sceptre of An in my hand" (cf. Geller 2016, 22). For ma-nu wood in other Old Babylonian incantations, see Geller 1985, ll. 44, 106, 130 (called "pillar of heaven"), 156, 163, 728–729 (used as a drumstick).

⁹¹⁸ For the context of this line in the *Canonical Udug-ḫul*, see Geller 2016, 107–108.

⁹¹⁹ Geller 1985, 22–23.

In Akkadian texts the divine nature of incantations is claimed in a different manner, as negation is used in claiming that the incantation does not belong to the incantation priest himself but to the deity or deities that he names. Thus, the exorcist through negation detaches himself from the “ownership” of the incantation to attribute it to more authoritative divine actors.⁹²⁰ Scholars have also stressed the effect this formula might have had on the patients. Thus, M. J. Geller and F. Wiggermann consider the purpose of this ending to “impress the patient with the efficacy of the magic.”⁹²¹

Phrases of divine legitimation usually appear at the end of incantations and can thus be considered a type of closing formula. Various deities appear in these formulae, either alone or in small groups. One can speculate that perhaps the gods invoked in this ending were influenced by the personal preference of the priest, i.e. the priest chose the gods to whom he felt most close. Asalluḫi appears in divine legitimation formulae in various combinations. In text DME 339 that deals with demons the incantation is attributed to Asalluḫi alone:⁹²²

21. *ši-ip-tum an-ni-tum ú-ul i-ia-at-tum ši-pa-at* ^d*asal-lú-ḫi mār*(DUMU) *é-a ša eridu*^{ki}

22. This incantation is not mine. It is an incantation of Asalluḫi, son of Ea of Eridu.

A more nuanced scheme is presented in text DME 351, an incantation that is directed against various diseases. In this text the incantation is attributed to Enki, Asalluḫi and Ningirim. In addition, using another designation borrowed from Sumerian (*tu-tu*) the incantation is associated with Damu and Ninkarrak in the line that directly precedes the divine legitimation formula “proper”. After that the exorcist claims by negation that Ningirim has “cast” (*i-du-ma*) the incantation while he himself has “taken” (*el-qú-ú*) it.⁹²³

30. *tu-tu ellu*(KÙ) *ša* ^d*da-mu* ^ù ^d*nin-ni-ka-ra-ak*

31. *ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-a-tum*

32. *ši-pa-at* ^d*ni-gi-ri-ma*

33. ^d*en-ki* ^d*a-sa-lú-ḫi*

33. *ša ni-gi-ri-ma i-du-ma*

34. [*a-na-k*] *u el-qú-ú*

30. Pure incantation(s) of Damu and Ninkarrak. 31. The incantation is not mine.

32. It is an incantation of Ningirim, 33. Enki and Asalluḫi 33. which Ningirim

cast 34. (and) I have taken.

⁹²⁰ Cf. the comment of W. G. Lambert on this formula: “An incantation was effective because it was of divine origin and thereby had magic power” (Lambert 1962, 72).

⁹²¹ Geller and Wiggermann 2008, 152.

⁹²² Following *ibid.*, 154–155.

⁹²³ Following SEAL 5.1.5.5.

What could it mean here that Ningirim “cast” the incantation? W. G. Lambert has pondered on the question whether “cast” (*nadûm*) in such phrases could mean that deities are the authors of incantations. He, however, reached a conclusion that “these notes at the end of incantations are not concerned with authorship but with the powers which would be operative when the incantations were recited.”⁹²⁴ Thus, perhaps the authorship as such was not a question for ancient workers of magic who – for gaining divine legitimisation – repeated the incantations they thought were originally presented by deities. Lambert, despite rejecting divine authorship still insisted that deities were the source of incantations for humans: “However, on general grounds we would still expect them to have been revealed to men by a deity.”⁹²⁵ An interesting view on this matter is offered by a recently published incantation CUSAS 32 30g that features Enki and Ningirim (ll 17’–18’): “They recited it / I heard it” (*šū-nu im-nu-ú-ma / a-na-ku e-iš-me*). These lines seem to indicate that the incantation was “revealed” to a human priest by eavesdropping.

In text CUSAS 32 30d that deals with the sting of a scorpion the incantation is attributed to Enki, Asalluḫi and Ensigalabzu.⁹²⁶

9. *ši-ip-tum ʿú-ʿul i-ia-tum*

10. *ši-pa-at^d en-ki^{dr} asal-lú-ḫi*

11. *ù^d en₅-si-gal-abzu*

12. *i-na qí-bi-it^d en-ʿkiʿ*

13. *asal-lú-ḫi ù^d en₅-si-gal-abzu*

14. *ma-aḫ-šú-um li-ib-lu-uṭ-ma*

15. *qí-bi-it^d en-ki l[i-ši-i]r*

9. The incantation is not mine. 10. It is an incantation of Enki, Asalluḫi 11. and Ensigalabzu. 12. By the command of Enki, 13. Asalluḫi and Ensigalabzu 14. may the stung person recover, 15. may Enki’s command come true.

In this incantation another phrase is added that claims that the potential recovery of the patient was a divine order given by the three deities.

5.7.4 Consecration Incantations

There are altogether 22 Old Babylonian consecration incantations in which Asalluḫi appears currently available in published form, nine of these so far only in copies of cuneiform tablets.⁹²⁷ The purpose of this type of incantations was

⁹²⁴ Lambert 1962, 73.

⁹²⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁹²⁶ Following George 2016, 115.

⁹²⁷ These 22 texts are DME 102, 135, 159, 240, 241, 242, 243, 267, 269; CUSAS 32 5b, 5d, 5f, 5h, 6c, 6r, 6t, 6w, 11g, 17c, 33b, 35; UET 6/3 666. The publication of CUSAS 32 was an important step forward in the subject, as before its publication only nine single consecration incantations were known that featured Asalluḫi. Eight of the 22 texts appear on CUSAS 32 5 and 6 – large collective tablets of incantations dealing with consecration of ritual parapher-

preparing objects and materials for ritual use by charging the “everyday” items and matter (such as water, various plants, stones, dairy products, etc.) with energy that would make them suitable for use as ritual paraphernalia.⁹²⁸ This charged state was achieved by lavishing praise on the objects and materials, describing them in larger-than-life mythological terms as unifiers of the temporal world with netherworld regions and heaven,⁹²⁹ and connecting them to deities and cosmic locations.

Different from other types of incantations the consecration incantations do not deal with a specific “problem” such as demons, difficult childbirth or other beings or situations that are endangering the normal state of affairs. The ritual implementation of the consecrated paraphernalia is most clearly visible in ritual instructions appended to divine dialogues that were given to Asalluḫi by his father Enki. The consecration of objects and matter can thus be seen as a precondition of a successfully conducted ritual.

The ritual paraphernalia that is consecrated in the 22 Asalluḫi featured incantations can be divided as follows: five incantations deal with the consecration of lustration water; two incantations each are dealing with consecration of vessels, reed (and lustration water), reed huts, tamarisk plant; one incantation each deals with a torch, a cosmic quay, consecration after stepping in spit, a garment, bread, dairy products, royal linen thread, a statue and body parts.

Asalluḫi’s activities in consecration incantations are often connected to three Sumerian words relating to purity: kù(-g), sikil and dadag (in this study rendered as “purify”, “cleanse” and “brighten” respectively). These words are in widespread use both as verbs and adjectives but in connection to Asalluḫi in consecration incantations they are usually used as verbs. Ancient Mesopotamians’ preoccupation with purity is traceable from the use in their writings of numerous words that share a similar semantic range – the understanding of the specific connotations of these words for the modern scholars is limited at best.⁹³⁰ The discussion here will be limited to the words kù, sikil and dadag.

nalia. Other Old Babylonian collective tablets of consecration incantations have been published in the form of editions (Geller 2001, Farber and Farber 2003 – neither of these make a mention of Asalluḫi) and in a cuneiform copy (MVN 5 302).

⁹²⁸ In scholarly literature texts of this variety are known by the German term *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*. For Old Babylonian consecration incantations, see Cunningham 1997, 116–117. Cunningham treats this type of text under the label “Praise of divine purifiers”. There are 11 consecration incantations surviving from the third millennium (see Rudik 2011, 63–66) with the earliest of these dating to the Fāra period. None of the 11 texts mention the god Asar/Asalluḫi.

⁹²⁹ For some examples, see Cunningham 2017, 116–117.

⁹³⁰ Cf. Wilson 1994, 41: “There are actually several terms in Sumerian that have similar meanings in the sense of “pure”, “clean”, “shining”, “bright”, etc., and it is not easy to distinguish between them in terms of exact meanings and nuances. These include *šen*, *dadag*, *zalag*, *lah* and *sikil*.” For some recent contributions to the problem of purity in Mesopotamia, see Sallaberger 2006–2008, 295–299; Pongratz-Leisten 2009; Guichard and Marti 2013; For a brief overview of recent studies, see Lang 2017, 185–187.

In scholarly literature the word *kù* has been taken to have a close connection to the divine realm, thus it has been commonly translated as “holy” or “sacred”.⁹³¹ The word *sikil* has been commonly interpreted as “pure” in the sense of “virgin” or “untouched”.⁹³² The word *dadag* has been taken to stress the visual side of purity.⁹³³ For the use of *kù*, *sikil* and *dadag* together (in this order) a gradual rise in intensity has been suspected.⁹³⁴ As some scholars have noted, at times these verbs seem to be used synonymously.⁹³⁵ The following discussion tries to answer the question whether a specific interpretation could be given on how these words are used in relation to *Asalluḫi* in consecration incantations.

Text DME 269 that deals with the consecration of lustration water seems to be a suitable starting point for the discussion.⁹³⁶ The beginning of the text praises the waters of the Tigris (described as *sikil*) and Euphrates rivers (described as *dadag*) that are probably taken to flow from the waters of the *abzu* (ll. 1–4).⁹³⁷ In l. 5 of the text the river *ḫal-ḫal* is mentioned with the added epithet “the mother of the mountain” (*ama ḫur-saĝ-ĝá*). According to the evidence collected by G. Conti from incantations and literary texts, ¹⁷*ḫal-ḫal* “designates the subterranean cosmic river.”⁹³⁸ On the other hand, this cosmic river had an earthly counterpart in the form of a canal belonging to the Tigris river or in the Tigris river itself.⁹³⁹ The mention of rivers in DME 269 is followed by the first person plea of a supplicant to *Asalluḫi* to consecrate his body parts:⁹⁴⁰

6. ^den-ki lugal abzu-ke₄

7. ^dasal-lú-ḫi

8. dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄

9. šu-ĝu₁₀ ḫé-em-kù-ge

10. ka-ĝu₁₀ ḫé-em-sikil-e

11. ĝiri-ĝu₁₀ ḫu-mu-un-dadag-ge

6. Enki, king of abzu, 7. *Asalluḫi*, 8. son of Eridu, 9. may purify my hands, 10. may cleanse my mouth, 11. may brighten my feet.

⁹³¹ See, e.g., Cooper 1999, 700; Pongratz-Leisten 2009, 417. Note that Cooper was critical of the numerous different translations for the word *kù* (“bright”, “shining”, “pure”, “brand-new”, “lovely”, “snow-white”, “sacred”) offered by D.O. Edzard in RIME 3/1. Edzard avoided the translation “holy” for *kù*. The word *kù* also has the meaning “precious metal”: see Guichard and Marti 2013, 62.

⁹³² Guichard and Marti 2013, 63. Cf. van Dijk 1985, 35: “Notice that the verb *sikil* is nearly always used in context with the earth, and should perhaps be translated “be or make virginal”.” For examples on the use of *sikil* in Sumerian literature, see Wilson 1994, 41–45.

⁹³³ Cf. Guichard and Marti 2013, 63: “‘luminous’, ‘clear’, perhaps ‘limpid’.” For *dadag* note that the signs UD.UD can be interpreted as *zalag-zalag* (see Pongratz-Leisten 2009, 421).

⁹³⁴ Attinger 1984, 33; see also Guichard and Marti 2013, 62.

⁹³⁵ Sallaberger 2006–2008, 295; Guichard and Marti 2013, 61.

⁹³⁶ The rubric of the text is (l. 13): “It is the incantation formula for lustration water” (*ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-kam*). Note the similarity of this text to UET 6/3 666 from Ur.

⁹³⁷ Cf. George 2016, 61.

⁹³⁸ Conti 1988, 130.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 125; George 2016, 61.

⁹⁴⁰ Following Conti 1988, 124.

Although not explicitly stated the preceding part of the incantation certifies that the water gained from the rivers mentioned was to be used in the consecration procedure by Asalluḫi.⁹⁴¹ The specific (supposedly manual) activity behind kù, sikil and dadag remains unexplained in this incantation. For activities for applying water on body parts, one could consider verbs such as sù/su₁₃ (“to sprinkle”) or su-ub/sub/sub₆ (“to rub”). The use of verbs kù, sikil and dadag in this text seems to be synonymous, as it is difficult to imagine different manual activities used while applying water to body parts. The identity of the supplicant who pleads for consecration remains unknown in this text. One may speculate that it is the ritual specialist himself who needs to be consecrated before attending to his professional duties.

DME 241 is another incantation dedicated to lustration water with rubric identical to the one of DME 269. The name Asalluḫi does not occur in this text. He might, however, be referred to in l. 4 of the text: ¹⁷idigna ama dumu nun-na mí-dug₄-ga, “the mother who cared for the prince’s son”. As noted by A. R. George this seems to implicate that Tigris was the nursemaid, “who bathed the baby Asalluḫe.”⁹⁴² This could be a hint on the mythology of Asalluḫi present during the Old Babylonian period that has not survived in writing. In this incantation it is Enki himself who is said to cleanse (sikil) and brighten (dadag) (l. 4), and this time the object of consecration is not a human but water itself.

Both texts CUSAS 32 5f and DME 240 according to their rubric deal with drawing water. While for DME 240 the rubric is simply “incantation formula for drawing water”,⁹⁴³ in the rubric for CUSAS 32 5f it is specified that the water is later put into ritual use in connection to a reed hut and a reed fence.⁹⁴⁴ For CUSAS 32 5f it is again Asalluḫi (here: Asar) who is engaged in consecration:⁹⁴⁵

col. iii
 17'. ^dasar-e
 18'. nam-šub ba-an-ĝar
 19'. šutug(PAD.UD)⁹⁴⁶ šub-ba im-mi-in-DU
 20'. a-bi a-kù a-dadag
 21'. a-šen-šen' a-sikil-la
 22'. šu-luḫ dingir-^rre^{-e}-ne
 23'. pa-è

⁹⁴¹ It is difficult to decide whether Enki and Asalluḫi together were invoked in this text to be engaged in the activities of consecration. The singular grammatical forms of verbs, however, speak against this assumption. Thus, Enki is possibly mentioned only as a legitimising force behind the incantation.

⁹⁴² George 2016, 61.

⁹⁴³ George has restored: ka-inim-ma a-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-d[a-kam] (ibid., 65).

⁹⁴⁴ The rubric for CUSAS 32 5f is ka-inim-ma a-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-kam šutug!-šub-ba gi-dù-e, translated by A. R. George as “incantation formula for buying (i.e. drawing) water, for use in an erected reed hut and reed fence” (ibid., 31).

⁹⁴⁵ Following ibid., 58 (col. iii, ll. 20'–30').

⁹⁴⁶ For PAD.UD (=PAD.U₄) as a writing for šutug, see Attinger 2001, 135.

- 24'. ʿé dingir-reʿ-e-ne
 25'. dadag-ga-e-dè
 26'. é lugal-la-ke₄
 27'. sikil-la-e-dè
 28'. lú-ùlu dumu dingir-ra-na
 29'. mi-ni-ib-kù-ge-e-dè

17. Asar 18. cast the incantation, 19. he ... the erected reed hut. 20. This water, pure water, bright water, 21. perfect water, clean water 22. ritual cleansing of the gods 23. caused to appear, 24. (for) the houses of the gods 25. will be brightened, 26. palace of the king 27. will be cleansed, 28. the man, the son of his god 29. he (Asalluḫi) will purify.

Here Asar is first stated to cast the incantation (nam-šub).⁹⁴⁷ Next (l. 19') it is him who possibly set up the reed hut and caused the ritual cleansing of the gods to appear. Next, he is said to brighten the houses of the gods and cleanse the palace of the king and purify the patient. A fourth term for purity: šen appears in this text.⁹⁴⁸ As was the case with DME 269 it seems impossible for this text to bring out specific nuances for the words related to purity.

In DME 240 Asalluḫi appears in the last fragmentary lines of the text together with Utu and Enki. Asalluḫi is named last. Unfortunately, the endings of the lines have not survived. The only other sign extant in the line in which Asalluḫi appears, is kù.⁹⁴⁹

16. zabar(UD.KA.BAR)-ra-gin₇ niĝ kù²-ga²[-gin₇ xxx]
 17. ^dutu agrun(É.NUN)-na-ta [ḫe-xxx]
 18. igi-niĝ sa₆-ga-ni ḫ[e-xxx]
 19. inim ^den-ki-ga UD [xxx]
 20. ʿinim²-kù ^dasal-lú-ḫ[i xxx]

16. like bronze, like² a pure² thing [xxx], 17. [may] Utu [come out] of the Agrun, 18. may he look² with his benevolent eyes. 19. The word of Enki ... 20. the pure word² of Asalluḫi ...

For text DME 159, unfortunately, the copy is not of good quality, and the original tablet is reported to be “dispersed.”⁹⁵⁰ The tablet (MVN 5 302 = incantations catalogued by Cunningham as DME 157–161) is a collective tablet of incantations dealing with consecration.⁹⁵¹ A. R. George supposes that the text in col. ii, ll. 1'–11' on the compilation tablet MVN 5 302 might be dealing with

⁹⁴⁷ For the nam-šub formula, see 5.7.5 below.

⁹⁴⁸ M. Guichard and L. Marti point out that as kù, šen has a connection to metals; the other meaning “metal bowl” is related to receptacles used in ritual washing (Guichard and Marti 2013, 62).

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. Wilson 1994, 38–40.

⁹⁵⁰ See https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P274727 – last visited 12.02.2019.

⁹⁵¹ See Römer 1981, 345.

the same topic than CUSAS 32 5d and 6w: the consecration of a reed hut.⁹⁵² The text DME 159 itself could deal with the drawing of water as did the texts DME 240 and CUSAS 32 5f treated above. The rubric of the text has not survived but note col. iv, l. 17: a broken line that seems to have the writing sa₁₀-sa₁₀. Enki and Asar are present in col. iv, ll. 1–2 but their role in this text remains unintelligible for now (1. ^den-ki-ke[?] 2. ^dasar-re ŠÚ 3.NAM ħu.mu.RI-e-x-x). The god Enbilulu also appears in this text (as in DME 240) with his epithet kù-gál íd-da “the canal inspector”.⁹⁵³

The text CUSAS 32 5b deals with the manufacture and consecration of the saĥar-pot, a common device used in incantations.⁹⁵⁴ Asalluĥi is seemingly present in this text under his two guises, as both name forms ^dasar and ^dasar-alim-nun-na appear. The former variant of the name is present in the first lines of this text.⁹⁵⁵

12'. im-abzu-ta
 13'. nun-e mu-un-ni-im-ġar
 14'. ^dasar-e abzu-a
 15'. im-mi-in-è
 12'. Clay from abzu 13' the prince (Enki) provided. 14'. Asar from the abzu 15'. took it out.

This text describes five deities related to Eridu as a team of workers, each having his special task in the process of production. After Asar has carried the clay from the abzu, the clay is “cared for” (mí dug₄) by Damgalnuna and accepted (šū ti) by Kusu who hands it over to Nunurra, the divine potter. The latter shapes a pot (dug díim) out of the clay and heats (šeġ₆) it in a kiln. The second alias for Asalluĥi (^dasar-alim-nun-na) appears as the last deity named in the text. Following his common action in the Old Babylonian period this deity is said to place an incantation over the pot.⁹⁵⁶

28'. ^dasar-alim-nun-na
 29'. dumu abzu-ke₄
 30'. ^{dug}sáĥar-ra šu um-me-ti

⁹⁵² George reads the rubric as ka-inim-ma! ^{gi}šutug šub!-kam (George 2016, 31). Note that G. Cunningham treats col. i, l. 1'–col. ii, l. 11' of MVN 5 302 as a single text that he catalogued as DME 157. The next text (col. ii, l. 12'–col. iii, l. 5'=DME 158) on this collective tablet probably deals with the consecration of dairy products, as witnessed by its incipit i-ab-kù-ga-ke₄. Thus it seems safe to assume that the thematic sequence of MVN 5 320 is not parallel to collective tablets CUSAS 32 5 and 6; for the thematic sequence on those tablets, see George 2016, 30–34.

⁹⁵³ For the translation of lines related to Enbilulu in DME 159, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 177. Note that the same epithet for Enbilulu appears in the myths *Enki and the World Order* (l. 272, see Benito 1969, 100) and *Enlil and Ninlil* (l. 142, see Behrens 1978, 43).

⁹⁵⁴ The rubric of the text is ka-inim-ma ^{dug}sáĥar-ra šu te-gá/-da-kam, “incantation formula for accepting a saĥar-pot”.

⁹⁵⁵ Following George 2016, 57.

⁹⁵⁶ Following George 2016, 57. For the nam-šub formula, see the next sub-chapter.

31'. nam-šub ka-inim-ma

32'. mi-ni-in-ĝar

28'. Asaralimnuna, 29'. son of the abzu, 30'. received the saĝar-pot, 31'. incantation and incantation speech 31'. cast on it.

After that the purposes of the cultic vessels are revealed and it is said to cleanse the sufferer (l. 33': dug-bi ʾlú-ùluʾ pap-ĥal¹-la mi-ni-in-sikil) and brighten the gods' houses (é diĝir-re-e-ʾneʾ dadag, cf. CUSAS 32 5f, ll. 24'–25' above).

Text DME 267 deals with the consecration of ^{dug}a-gúb-ba, a pot used as a container for lustration water:⁹⁵⁷

6. ^dasar dumu nun-na ^{dug}a-gúb-ba

7. [b]ur-zi u₄-sáĥar ki-sikil šú-šú-a-ba

8. mu-un-sikil mu-un-dadag

6. Asar, son of the prince, pot of lustration water, 7. in a clean place, in a crescent-shaped burzi-vessel immerse! 8. So he cleansed and brightened (the pot of lustration water).

In addition to ^{dug}a-gúb-ba another vessel named bur-zi u₄-šakar is mentioned, a designation in which (^{dug})bur-zi is the vessel itself and (u₄-)sáĥar(SAR) is the qualifying adjective.⁹⁵⁸ The understanding of these lines and the activity of the deity under study is hampered by the difficulties to grasp the relation between the two vessels. In the tentative translation given here the situation has been interpreted as if Asar is ordered by Enki⁹⁵⁹ to immerse the ^{dug}a-gúb-ba into bur-zi u₄-sáĥar with the intention to purify it.⁹⁶⁰ The basis for this conjecture is a line that appears in texts DME 98, 313 and partly in CUSAS 21 in which Enki instructs Asalluĥi to fill the šakar-pot with water at the pure quay: “When you

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. van Dijk 1985, 35. The incantations has the rubric ^{dug}a-gúb-ba bur-zi šú-šú-ba, “incantation formula for “sinking” the lustration water into the burzi-vessel”. For ^{dug}a-gúb-ba (Akkadian *agubbû/egubbû*), see PSD 1 A/II, 197–198; CAD E, 50–51.

⁹⁵⁸ For ^{dug}bur-zi (Akkadian *pursîtum*), bowls that were made of various materials (e.g. alabaster, wood) and decorated with precious materials (gold, silver, precious stones), see PSD 2 B, 189–190; CAD P, 523–524; Sallaberger 1996, 98–99. For šakar (Akkadian *šaharru*), possibly a pot made of raw, porous clay (thus Landsberger 1938, 139, n. 25), see CAD Š 1, 80; Sallaberger 1996, 47, n. 217. The addition of u₄(UD) in front of šakar might have been a secondary addition influenced by u₄-šakar, “crescent moon” (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002, 55). A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi interpreted u₄-šakar as “lumière nouvelle?” and claimed its use in magic as a “recipient qui ne contient pas de résidu pouvant contaminer la substance magiquement active” (ibid.). For *šaharru*, see also Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 34.

⁹⁵⁹ Enki appears in l. 5 of this text as the creator of clean water and lustration water (a-sikil a-gúb-ba im-ma-ni-in-dím).

⁹⁶⁰ Is the verb used here šúš, “to sink down” or šub, “to drop, to lay (down)”? Note that in some exorcistic incantations a different ritual purpose is given to this pot, as the demon is said to be “broken” or “killed” (gaz) like a šakar-pot (see the Neo-Sumerian incantations TMH 6 1 and 10). The accompanying ritual activity probably involved an act of sympathetic magic – breaking the šakar-pot on the floor.

have filled a porous pot with water from a pure quay” (a kar sikil-la-ta ^{dug}šakar ù-ba-e-ni-si).⁹⁶¹ Perhaps the (smaller?) a-gúb-ba vessel was then “cleansed and brightened” in the šakar-pot?⁹⁶² This hypothesis, of course, presupposes the identity between the [^{dug}]bur-zi u₄-sáḥar and ^{dug}šakar vessels.

A similar motif of consecration is expressed in text DME 102c that deals with the consecration of a torch.⁹⁶³ The name of the deity – based on the comparison with DME 267 – could be written as ^dasar here, with the added epithet a-nun-na, “princely seed”. The lines that refer to him are written as follows:⁹⁶⁴

14. ^dasar a-nun-na kaš-gin₇ a-gúb-ba

15. bur-zi u₄-sáḥar ki-sikil šà-bi

16. mu-un-sikil mu-un-dadag

14. Asar, the seed of the prince, (has taken) the lustration water like beer 15. and the crescent-shaped burzi-vessel, whose midst is pure (or: in the midst of a pure place), 16. he purified and brightened.

Interpretational problems abound for this excerpt. For example, a-gúb-ba is missing the determinative dug (cf. DME 267) and it is difficult to tell whether lustration water or a vessel containing it is meant. The translation offered is based on the premise that, different from the previous text, the saḥar-pot itself is consecrated.

Texts DME 242 and 243 deal with the consecration of reed as a divine purifier.⁹⁶⁵ Text DME 242 begins with praising the physical properties and other magnificent qualities of reed and proceeds to associate the plant with four deities of the Eridu circle:

1. gi-gal gi-gíd-da gi-ḡiš-gi kù-g[a]

2. gi-bar gi-a gi-èn-[bar]

3. gi-zi gi-dù-g[a]

4. gi ^dnamma gi ^dna[nše]

5. gi ^denki gi ^dasal-l[ú-ḥi] dumu ^den-ki-ga

6. gi sikil na de₅-[ga]⁹⁶⁶

7. ḡèštu-gin₇ ḡé-[...]

8. ḡé-kù ḡé-sikil ḡé-da[dag]

9. a-gúb-ba ^dnin-gir[im-ma-ke₄]

10. abgal-kù šu-sikil-la bí-i[n-...]

⁹⁶¹ Quoted from DME 313, following Geller 1989, 195 and 199. Note that text DME 98a has bitumen instead of water, probably a corruption.

⁹⁶² Or was the lustration water for ^{dug}a-gúb-ba drawn from the šakar-pot?

⁹⁶³ The rubric of the text is ka-inim-ma gi-izi-lá-[kam], “[it is the] incantation formula for a torch”.

⁹⁶⁴ Following Michalowski 1993, 153–156.

⁹⁶⁵ Both texts end with the same rubric: ka-inim-ma gi-šul-ḥi a-gúb-ba-kam, “incantation formula for šulḥi-reed (and) lustration water”.

⁹⁶⁶ For the verb na de₅(-g) in relation to consecration, see Sallaberger 2005, 239–242.

1. great reed, long reed, reed of the pure reedbed,⁹⁶⁷
2. reed peel, reed of water, marsh-reed,
3. true reed, good reed
4. reed of Namma, reed of Nanše,
5. reed of Enki, reed of Asalluḫi, son of Eridu,
6. clean consecrated reed,
7. like wisdom may ...
8. may purify, may cleanse, may brighten,
9. lustration water of Ningirim
10. pure abgal ... in (his) clean hands.

The four deities are probably mentioned here for lending authoritative power to reed as a divine purifier. Asalluḫi is the only deity who is equipped with an epithet. Here, it is reed itself and not the deity who is engaged in purifying, cleansing and brightening, albeit the object of this action is obscure.

Incantation DME 243 also begins with the praise-like description of reed. Of the Eridu deities only Enki and Asalluḫi appear in this text:

1. gi-šul-ḫi kù-bi¹ gi-dadag-ge
2. gi-èn-bar a-ab-ba-ke₄
3. gi-^rsur^r-bàn-da^den-ki-ga-ke₄
4. gi-šul-ḫi na de₅-ga en[gur]-ra
5. gi^dasal-lú-ḫi ^ršu[?] ša₆^r-ga-ke₄
6. ki sikil-le m[u-u]n-gub
7. ḫé-kù ḫé-sikil ḫ[é-d]adag

1. Its pure šulḫi-reed, bright reed,
2. marsh-reed of the sea.
3. Reed of the small marsh of Enki,
4. šulḫi-reed consecrated in the engur,
5. the reed of Asalluḫi, (the one) with benevolent hands[?],
6. (that) stood in a pure place.
7. May purify, may cleanse, may brighten.

The god Asalluḫi in this text is called “(the one) with benevolent hands”. Here – as in DME 242 – the purifying activities are attributed to the reed itself.

Text CUSAS 32 6r is related by content to text DME 269 treated above, as it is another text that deals with the removal of impurity from a human being – in this case purifying spittle after stepping in it.⁹⁶⁸

39. ^dutu mùš-kù-ke₄ igi mu-un-pàd
40. ^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ka
41. uš mu-un-kù-ge uš mu-un-sikil-e
42. uš mu-dadag-ge

39. Utu, the one with the shining appearance, noticed it.
40. Asalluḫi, son of Eridu,
41. will purify the spittle, will cleanse the spittle,
42. will brighten the spittle.

One notices the similarity of the beginning line of this scene with the common first line of Old Babylonian divine dialogue according to which Asalluḫi is the one who notices the problem, in the common Old Babylonian version: ^dasal-lú-ḫi-e igi im-ma-an-sì. The idea expressed in CUSAS 32 6r, that Utu is the one

⁹⁶⁷ Alternative translation for gi-ḡiš-gi would be “node of reed”, see Walker and Dick 2001, 53.

⁹⁶⁸ Following George 2016, 69–70. Rubric: ka-inim-ma ḡiri ús-sa, “incantation formula for treading upon something”.

who notices the problem could be influenced by the widespread circulation of the divine dialogue. However, according to the numerous occurrences of the dialogue in which Enki and Asalluḫi participated, the verb *pàd* was never used. A. R. George claims that *igi pàd* is here used for *igi bad*, “to open the eyes”.⁹⁶⁹

The text CUSAS 32 6c deals with drawing lustration water at the cosmic quay and with consecrating the quay itself.⁹⁷⁰ The text begins by attributing the quay to various deities and cosmic entities:⁹⁷¹

9. kar ^dasar kar abzu-ke₄

10. kar má-gur₈-ra kar ^den-ki-ke₄

11. ^den-ki ^{si-sá?-és} nam dùg mi-ni-^{ib}-tar-re

9. Quay of Asar, quay of abzu, 10. quay of the magur-boat, quay of Enki, 11. where Enki correctly determines good destinies

It is interesting that the quay is firstly described as the quay of Asar, although the rest of the text does not reveal further details regarding this seemingly special relation that Asar had to this structure.⁹⁷² Furthermore, Asar is not described to be actively participating in the activities in this text and Enki’s role remains limited as well – the main character who takes care of the ritual activities is uncharacteristically the former’s mother and latter’s wife Damgalnuna.⁹⁷³ In l. 14 of this text Damgalnuna appears with a characterisation “mother of Asar, Damgalnuna” (ama ^dasar ^{dr}dam-gal’-nun-na).⁹⁷⁴ Thus, Damgalnuna’s motherhood of Asar is stressed for some reason while her “wifeness” of Enki is not

⁹⁶⁹ George 2016, 70. George further comments: “The line thus alludes to the almost unavoidable reflex of someone who has stepped in something disgusting: he raises his foot behind him to get a glimpse of his sole over his shoulder and, as he does so, exposes the soiled skin (or sandal) to full view of the sun.”

⁹⁷⁰ The rubric of this text has only ka-inim-ma. Other Old Babylonian incantations that deal with quays are VAS 10 187, col. ii’, ll. 11’–19’ (=DME 202, for transliteration, see George 2016, 65), CUSAS 32 6f, 6g (latter two are edited in George 2016, 64–66), 9e, 9f.

⁹⁷¹ Following George 2016, 62–63.

⁹⁷² This connection of Asar to the cosmic quay probably appears in text DME 313, a partly bilingual incantation in which Asalluḫi is instructed by Enki to draw water from the “pure quay” (kar sikil-la) for the šakar-pot.

⁹⁷³ Damgalnuna in this text summons the “seven heroes, the sons of abzu” (for seven heroes in relation to Asalluḫi, see 4.1.1.4 above but note George 2016, 63, n. for col. ii, l. 13) to the cosmic quay, deals with the primeval Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses who had fled to the quay, gives the divine pair of deities Nin-DA and Ninbara a dwelling in the middle of the cosmic mountain and at the end of the text conducts rituals on the quay with water, various precious stones and types of wood.

⁹⁷⁴ Damgalnuna as ama a-sa-ri / ama ^dasal-lú-ḫi also appears in two manuscripts of an incantation from Meturan (Meturan I, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993b, 179, l. 27). On other occasions the sonship of Asalluḫi to Damgalnuna is usually only alluded to in sequences (Enki-Damgalnuna-Asalluḫi) of deities in cultic and administrative texts and god lists. Note that the only known hymn dedicated to Damgalnuna (Damgalnuna A, edition: Green 1975, 86–89) makes no reference to Asalluḫi. This hymn is, however, fragmentary.

noted at all. Perhaps this could be interpreted as a by-product of Damgalnuna's general prominence in this text to stress her role as a mother.

In CUSAS 6t Asalluḫi is invoked to consecrate (“purify, cleanse and brighten” – ḫe-em-kù-ge ḫe-em-sikil-e ḫe-em-dadag-ge) a ceremonial mantle prepared by Uttu, the spider goddess and thus an expert of weaving.⁹⁷⁵ Asalluḫi's name is not extant but as this deity is once again called the “son of Eridu” (dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄) there is no doubt that Asalluḫi or one of his bynames was originally present in the place of the lacuna.

The text CUSAS 32 17c has the purpose to increase the purifying ritual potency in dairy products.⁹⁷⁶ First it is in a hyperbolic manner described how in a mythical time these products cleansed and brightened the whole heaven and earth. The claim that the products were once capable of consecrating the whole heaven and earth no doubt was meant to increase the belief in these means of problem-solving for patients and healers alike. This is followed by an invocation to Asalluḫi to “purify, cleanse and brighten” the products in the present time.

CUSAS 32 11g is an incantation that deals with the consecration of bread, but as only the end of the text is extant, the purpose of this text is known only from its rubric: “ka”-inim-ma ninda-“kam”, “it is the incantation formula for bread”.⁹⁷⁷

5.7.5 Nam-šub Formula

Asalluḫi is intimately connected to another formulaic part that frequently appears in Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations, the so-called nam-šub formula.⁹⁷⁸ This formula expresses Asalluḫi's ability to induce or enhance the exorcistic and purifying power by “casting” the nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga, or “the spell of Eridu” as it is commonly translated. The nam-šub formula is a feature that usually appears in

⁹⁷⁵ The rubric of this text is [k]a-in[im-m]a^{tùg}ba₁₃-kam, “incantation formula for a cloak”.

⁹⁷⁶ The rubric of this text is lost, the incipit from the fragmentary first lines is ì áb kù-ga g[á-ra^{áb}šilam-ma], “butter of a pure cow, cream of a šilam-cow” (restored in George 2016, 74). Note the similar beginning of the incipit in the text DME 158 (=MVN 5 302, col. ii, l. 13): ì áb kù-ga-ke₄ that has thus to be determined to be a consecration incantation for dairy products. The dairy products listed in text CUSAS 32 17c also seem to coincide with the ones listed in text DME 150a, ll. 29–30 (see 5.7.1.2 above). The same dairy products appear in incantations directed against complications at childbirth treated in 5.7.2 above.

⁹⁷⁷ For the last five lines of the text that feature Enki, Utu and Asaralimnuna, see 5.7.7 below.

⁹⁷⁸ The namšub-formula appears in connection to Asalluḫi in some 20 incantations: DME 62, 73b, 92, 96, 97, 98, 106, 142, 143, 144, 149, 249, 313 (bilingual); CUSAS 32 5b, 5f, 7f=8b, 7i, 7j=8l, 10f, 21a. The term nam-šub appeared in one Old Akkadian incantation (DME 59). nam-šub also appeared in four incantations (DME 58, TMH 6 12, TMH 6 1a/b, DME 66) dating to the Ur III period. In texts DME 58 and TMH 6 12 as part of the formula of effectiveness, in TMH 6 1a the incantation concludes with the line “this is the incantation of Eridu, the temple of Enki” (nam-šub eridu^{ki} èš-d^e-en-ki-kam). Only in text DME 66 is the formula expressed in a similar manner than in the majority of Old Babylonian incantations: “cast the incantation over this water” (‘a-bè’ nam-šub ù-ma-si).

divine dialogue incantations.⁹⁷⁹ Asalluḫi is in most cases said to cast the nam-šub formula on the orders of Enki who among other ritual instructions communicates to him: “you cast the incantation of Eridu,” nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga ù-me-ni-šub. Thus, the authority over nam-šub formula – similarly to many other characteristics of Asalluḫi – is ultimately derived from his father Enki. In addition, it is Enki himself who is said to cast the nam-šub formula in text DME 173.⁹⁸⁰

So, what exactly is meant with this “spell/incantation of Eridu”? This question is not an easy one to answer as the formula seems never to be described in more detail than the plain mention and thus can only be assessed based on circumstantial evidence. For nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga, I. Finkel has commented:⁹⁸¹

Since the Akkadian translation is known (*šipat Eridu tanaddi*), it is usually assumed that nam-šub (“thing to be thrown”) means an incantation and that šì means, in effect, “to recite”. But what is this nam-šub of Eridu? It is exactly the nam-šub that in original compositions constitutes the oral magic of the whole procedure – as opposed to the written text of the tablet itself – but we are never told what it is. If in fact it does mean an incantation to be recited, was there only one that was always used in such contexts, the magic seal of approval that, due to its association with the gods of white magic and the holy city of Eridu, would always be applied, or was there a whole collection of them? Or was it possibly not a spoken thing at all?

A. R. George has hypothesised – by the same token as Finkel – that the term nam-šub is “possibly signifying some concrete object that can be thrown.”⁹⁸² George has also shown that in some cases an alternative spelling nam-ḡiš-pa was used for the common nam-šub(RU), with the first possibly being the second’s archaic synonym that the Old Babylonian scribes used to demonstrate their superior learning.⁹⁸³ According to ePSD ḡešbu or ḡeš-pa is known to be some kind of a weapon (either a bow, throwstick or javelin, all given with question marks). Based on this evidence one could speculate that the terms nam-ḡeš-pa and nam-šub perhaps signified both the spell, and at least originally also some kind of an object, for example a weapon to be thrown. At some time both activities: the recitation of the spell and the throwing of the weapon could have been implemented simultaneously, with the second accompanying the first as a

⁹⁷⁹ There are four exceptions to this rule: texts CUSAS 32 5b and 5f deal with consecration while DME 96 breaks off two lines after the nam-šub formula with no surviving parts of the divine dialogue. CUSAS 32 10f also does not have the dialogue but the first half of the incantation is missing.

⁹⁸⁰ Thus according to the reconstruction of the fragmentary l. 825 in Geller 1985, 78. Note that in an incantation against the gall (DME 103) Enki is said to “loosen” (du₈) the spells of Eridu: “may Enki, in the dwelling of the agrun, loosen the spells of Eridu,” nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga en-ki-ke₄ dag agrun-na-ka ḫé-em-ma-an-du₈-du₈-e (Michalowski 1981, 16, ll. 11–12 (MSs B and D)).

⁹⁸¹ Finkel 1980, 51–52.

⁹⁸² George 2016, 9.

⁹⁸³ See *ibid.*, 9–10.

symbolic act that corresponded to the content of the spell. The nam-šub-formula was probably part of the secret lore of the ritual workers, as it is, to the best of my knowledge, never written down or explained in more detail. Probably the reason for this secrecy was to hide it from the uninitiated.⁹⁸⁴

To gain more knowledge regarding the “spell of Eridu” one should look for the context in which this term appears in incantations and in other data, e.g., literary texts. While reading Old Babylonian incantations that feature Asalluḫi, one notices the tendency that the “spell of Eridu” (nam-šub or nam-ḡiš-pa eridu^{ki}-ga) in many cases appears in ritual instructions that prescribe manipulations with water, water-based mixtures with other substances included and other liquids such as beer, milk, cream, amniotic fluid, etc. For example: in DME 92 the spell is given over water; in DME 97 over a mixture of water with tamarisk and innuš-plant in the anzam-cup; in DME 98 over a mixture of water from a pure quay with tamarisk, innuš-plant, “horned alkali”, šulḫi-reed, juniper and white cedar in a porous pot; in DME 142 and 143 over the fat of a pure cow; in DME 149 over a mixture of milled barley and cream in a leather pouch. However, the thesis that nam-šub-formula had a strong connection to liquids cannot be taken as a general rule. For example, the formula is not included in text DME 150 that is fully preserved and features manipulations with dairy products. The nam-šub formula is also not included in the text CUSAS 32 42 that deals with soothing a restless baby. The baby in this text is pacified by giving him/her beer froth mixed with milk – a practice that was not out of place in the last quarter of the 20th century AD.⁹⁸⁵

The casting of the nam-šub formula is also common in incantations dealing with complications at childbirth. An interesting example appears in text DME 143:⁹⁸⁶

9. ^{na4}kišib ṛá-šuba šu [ù-m]u-e-ti
10. ^{si8}he-me-da ṛù-[me]-ni-è
11. [šu]-na ṛù-[me-ni]-dù
12. [šika-k]ud-da gub-ba e-sír ka-limmu₅-[ba x x]-x ṛšu ṛù-mu-e-ti
13. [igi] ka ga₄-la-na-ka imin a-rá mi[n-àm ù-um-te-g]e-e[!]
14. [i]-ab-kù-ga ù-[me-ni-tag-ta]g
15. [n]am-šub eridu^{ki}-ga ṛù-[me-ni-s]i

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. Finkel 1980, 52: “It seems quite likely that if the nam-šub of Eridu was an all-powerful magic formula it would simply not be written down, since it would be taught to those who were entitled to learn it, and hidden from those who were not.” Cf. also Bergmann 2008, 18, n. 32: “The nam-šub (Sum.) or šiptu (Akk.) of Eridu is mentioned in a number of texts. It appears to be a spoken magic formula that is never transmitted in writing.”

⁹⁸⁵ See George 2016, 143. From a modern viewpoint these instructions seem to be one of the most “reasonable” and rational among the Old Babylonian corpus as it only includes instructions to mildly intoxicate the baby with a mixture containing alcohol and does not prescribe any means that could be considered “magical” in any sense. This adds strength to I. Finkel’s thesis that the main goal of the divine dialogue incantations was to pass on medical praxis (Finkel 1980, 51).

⁹⁸⁶ Following Finkel 1980, 39–40 and 47–48.

16. [s]aĝ-ĝá-na ʿùʿ-[me-ni-ké]š

9. take the cylinder seal of ašuba-stone, 10. thread it on red wool, 11. place it around her hand. 12. Take the “standing” potsherd from the crossroads of a street, 13. rub the eyes, mouth and vagina of the patient with it twice seven times, 14. smear her with the fat of a pure cow, 15. cast the spell of Eridu over it, 16. tie it on her (the patient’s) head.

If the reconstruction here is correct, the nam-šub could tentatively be taken as an object that Enki instructs Asalluḫi to tie to the patient’s head. This interpretation, however, is not certain, as the object tied to the patient’s head could be one of the ritual helpers mentioned in previous lines: the cylinder seal, red wool, the “standing” potsherd or fat of a pure cow?⁹⁸⁷

nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga does not seem to appear in literary texts. The nam-šub by itself is in most cases connected to Enki and/or his temple. For example, in Ur-Namma B: “With his artful incantations, Enki made the temple resplendent with joy” (nam-šub galam-ma-na ^den-ki-ke₄ é-e ul ba-ni-in-sig₇-ga)⁹⁸⁸; in *Enki’s Journey to Nippur*: “The temple that tunes the tigi-drums correctly and gives incantations” (é tigi-imi-e si-sá-e nam-šub šúm-ma).⁹⁸⁹ What exactly was the connection of these phrases to the nam-šub of Eridu is difficult to say.

Another question is the relation of the “spell of Eridu” to the much discussed “spell of Nudimmud” in the epic *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*,⁹⁹⁰ and to the ancient “genre” of šir-nam-šub. One could further ask what exactly was the relation of nam-šub to other Sumerian designation for incantations such as ka-inim-ma or tu₆?⁹⁹¹ Do they designate different concepts or are they synonymous?⁹⁹² Thus, many unanswered questions remain regarding the nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga. The formula of effectiveness, discussed in the next sub-chapter, is another phenomenon that is connected to the nam-šub formula.

⁹⁸⁷ That this “it” is the cylinder seal threaded on red wool is less likely, as these were already hung on the patient’s hand. DME 143 can be compared with DME 144, another text on the same collective tablet. A passage in DME 144 can be interpreted as the nam-šub is tied to the top of the patient’s head, her throat and limbs.

⁹⁸⁸ Klein 1989, 54, MSs A+C.

⁹⁸⁹ Al-Fouadi 1969, 76, l. 125; cf. Ceccarelli 2012, 96 and 106, l. 122. For the passage mentioning nam-šub in *Enki and the World Order*, see 2.1.2.2 above.

⁹⁹⁰ For the “spell of Nudimmud”, see recently Woods 2009, 205–206; Keetman 2010, 16–25; Peterson 2016, 21–22; Crisostomo 2017, 56–57.

⁹⁹¹ See, e.g. inim tu₆ ĝál eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ “the magic word of Eridu” (DME 118), tu₆[?]-t[u₆[?]]-e asar-re ba-mú-a “the incantation(s) that Asar has set up/grown” (DME 120), tu₆ kù na-de₅-ga-za “(With your) holy incantations you consecrate” (DME 128).

⁹⁹² A synonymous use for nam-šub and tu₆ appears in DME 258 in which tu₆ eridu^{ki}-ga is written instead of the usual nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga. In text DME 175: ka-inim-ma abzu-ke₄ a-ra-ab-sum[?]-mu-dè-en, “I will give you the incantation of the abzu” is said, probably (by Enki?) to a demon. In text CUSAS 32 5b Asalluḫi’s activity is described as: nam-šub ka-inim-ma mi-ni-in-ĝar, “he cast nam-šub and ka-inim-ma”. Could this denote synonymous use of the two words, or is Asalluḫi here casting two types of incantations?

5.7.6 Closing Formulae

In the Old Babylonian period the god Asalluḫi only appears in the type of closing formula that in this study has been called the formula of effectiveness.⁹⁹³ There is no evidence for Asalluḫi's appearance in the formula of praise in which he once appeared in the Ur III period.⁹⁹⁴

5.7.6.1 Formula of Effectiveness

The formula of effectiveness is yet another formulaic part that appears in the Old Babylonian incantations. In the Old Babylonian period this formula appears in 19 texts.⁹⁹⁵ The god Asalluḫi appears in a similar formula in the earlier periods – in two texts from the Old Akkadian period and in three from the Ur III period.

When compared to the formulae of earlier periods the wording of the phrases that express the formula of effectiveness in the Old Babylonian period is somewhat different. The main indicator for this is that the phrases mu_7 - mu_7 - $\hat{g}u_{10}$ as well as the term *nam-šub* are in most cases left out of the formula. That the personal pronoun $\hat{g}u_{10}$ (“my”) does not appear after the lexeme mu_7 - mu_7 seems to signal that the reciter of the incantation (the incantation priest) distances himself from the incantation he recites, i.e. he does not claim that the incantation belongs to him.⁹⁹⁶ This development was probably influenced by the Akkadian divine legitimation formula in which the incantation priest explicitly defied his “ownership” of the incantation he recited and attributed it to various deities.⁹⁹⁷

The missing of *nam-šub* as part of the formula of effectiveness can be explained by the handing over of its function to the *nam-šub* formula.⁹⁹⁸ The

⁹⁹³ For the use of this formula and its functions in earlier periods, see 2.1.2 and 4.3.2.1 above.

⁹⁹⁴ In text 128a in which the motif of Asalluḫi and Utu is included, the formula of praise appears as the final line of the manuscript. Here, however, the name(s) of the single or several gods has not survived. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi have restored the line as if the patient praises Utu (see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 31).

⁹⁹⁵ The formula of effectiveness appears in Sumerian texts DME 98a, 115, 131, 162, 172, 184, 186, 190a/b, 250=300, 251, 258, 259; CUSAS 32 19b, 33b, 37a, 43; ASJ 17 97, ASJ 17 99. In the case of DME 397 the text itself is Akkadian with the added Sumerian formula of effectiveness. The closing formulae have previously been collected and discussed by P. Michalowski, W. Schramm and N. Rudik. Both Michalowski 1985, 223–224 and Schramm 2001, 13–18 dealt with the formulae of effectiveness that they have collected and briefly discussed. Rudik 2011, 29–43 in addition to her thorough analysis of formulae of effectiveness also deals with formulae of divine praise and formulae of legitimation.

⁹⁹⁶ Phrases similar to mu_7 - mu_7 - $\hat{g}u_{10}$ only appear in a few exceptional texts in the Old Babylonian period: in two texts from peripheral Meturan (ASJ 17 97 and ASJ 17 99) where perhaps the Ur III tradition was still dominant, and in a syllabically written incantation DME 259.

⁹⁹⁷ For the formula of divine legitimation, see 5.7.3 above.

⁹⁹⁸ For the *nam-šub* formula, see 5.7.5 above. In the frame of the formula of effectiveness in the incantations of the Old Babylonian period the word *nam-šub* only appears with the writing *nam-ḡiṣ-bu* (for this writing, see the previous sub-chapter) in the syllabically written text DME 259. In this fragmentary text the writing for the god Asalluḫi has not survived.

logic behind this change probably was that nam-šub was no longer seen to be “owned” by the incantation priest and was attributed instead to the deity (Asalluḫi) with the purpose to claim higher, divine prestige for its authority and thus increase its effect.⁹⁹⁹ An example in which the now detached nam-šub formula occurs immediately before the formula of effectiveness appears in text DME 115:¹⁰⁰⁰

32. ^dasal-lú-ḫi nam-šub ba-an-si

33. mu₇-mu₇-e abzu eridu^{ki}-ga nam-mu-un-da-búr-re

34. tu₆ én-é-nu-ru

32. Asalluḫi cast the incantation. 33. Incantation priest in the abzu of Eridu should not release (it). 34. tu₆ én-é-nu-ru

A further reinterpretation of the formula is here traceable in the fact that mu₇-mu₇, taken previously as “spell, incantation”, judging by the added ergative marker (-e) in this and some other Old Babylonian incantations seems to denote “incantation priest, exorcist”.¹⁰⁰¹ This change is – in addition to DME 115 – present in texts DME 190a and DME 172 that add the -e to mu₇-mu₇. This new interpretation of the formula of effectiveness leads to a discrepancy in the logic of the formula: Asalluḫi is first said to cast the incantation and in the next line it is said that the incantation priest of the abzu Eridu (=Asalluḫi himself) should not release it.¹⁰⁰² In the last line of the text appears another closing formula: tu₆ én-é-nu-ru, that is known since the Ur III period.¹⁰⁰³

In text DME 250=DME 300 mu₇-mu₇ also seems to be used as an epithet of Asalluḫi. In this text a unique version of the formula of effectiveness appears in which is included an unusual adaption of the divine dialogue:

3. ^den-ki a-a-ni šeg₁₀(KA×ŠID) mu-da-an-gi₄-gi₄

4. ^dasar-re dumu abzu mu₇-mu₇ eridu^{ki}-ga

5. ^dasal-lú-ḫi dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄

6. nam-mu-da-an-búr-re

3. Enki, his father cried: 4. “Asar, son of the abzu, incantation priest of Eridu.

5. Asalluḫi, son of Eridu 6. should not release (it)!”

⁹⁹⁹ The first documented use of the nam-šub formula appeared in the Ur III text DME 66 in which Enki instructed Asalluḫi to cast the nam-šub over the water that the patient was meant to drink to cure the bite/sting of attacking animals.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Following Cooper 1971, 16 and 18.

¹⁰⁰¹ Rudik 2011, 37.

¹⁰⁰² Note that N. Rudik takes l. 32 (nam-šub formula) here to be “‘eine neue Legitimationsformel’ [...], die vielleicht unter dem Einfluss der akkadischen Legitimationsformel *šiptum ul jattum šipat* GN // GN *šipat iddi* // *anāku ušanni* (passim) entstand” (ibid., 40).

¹⁰⁰³ For this formula, see ibid., 32.

Here the interpretation is that the formula of effectiveness is given in direct speech by Enki.¹⁰⁰⁴ The purpose of adding Enki to the formula probably was to further increase the authority of the incantation.

Further variations on the theme of formula of effectiveness are traceable in two texts originating from Meturan. The formulae in these texts follow the pattern of some third millennium texts in which the 1ps pronoun was added to the lexeme denoting incantation and thus the “ownership” of the spell was attributed to the incantation priest. Note the unique writing e-sar-ri (with ergative marker) in text ASJ 17 99.¹⁰⁰⁵

6'. mu₁₁-mu₁₁-ĝá e-sar-ri ^{zu}abzu(DÉ)¹⁰⁰⁶-a

7'. ^den-ki-ke₄ é engur-ra-ke₄ nam-mu-da-an-búr-re

6'. My spell, Esar in the abzu 7'. and Enki in the house of engur should not release.

In the other Meturan text ASJ 17 97 Asar's name is written as a-sa-ri and Enki's name as i-ni-in-ki-id-ke (both with ergative markers):¹⁰⁰⁷

15. mu-mu-ĝe₆?(LUM) a-sa-ri ab-za-a

16. i-ni-in-ki¹-id-ke¹ e-IA.UG-[ku]-ra-ki[?] nu-um-mu-un-d[a]-'bu¹-re¹

15. My spell, Asar in the abzu 16. and Enki in the house of engur should not release.

These lines, although a part of an incantation from a peripheral region and not representing the mainstream, seem to offer evidence for a rare case in which it is Enki who has “inherited” a function from his son, as Asalluḫi appeared in formulae of effectiveness from the Old Akkadian period onwards and according to the third millennium evidence Enki was only present in formulae in the form of an epithet of Asalluḫi: “son of Enki” and a designation of a temple (ēš ^den-ki).¹⁰⁰⁸

A phrase similar to a formula of effectiveness appears in text CUSAS 32 43. Asalluḫi is here mentioned together with the goddess Namma:¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁴ The interpretation of l. 3 follows the one given in Cavigneaux 1995, 91, n. 52. Cavigneaux further interpreted mu₇-mu₇ based on lexical evidence that associates mu₇-mu₇ with noise (mu-mu-un, Akkadian *riġmum*, *ramīmu*) and translated these lines as “Enki son père cria: Asari-abzu, le grondement/le grondant d'Eridu! Qu'Asarluhi, le fils d'Eridu ne défasse pas!” (ibid., 90–91 with n. 52). For an alternative interpretation of l. 3, see Rudik 2011, 88. Rudik took the sign after a-a-ni as KA×LI and translated the line as: “Er sendet einen Priester zu seinem Vater Enki” (ibid., 88). This would make the line very similar to the messenger formula common in Ur III times with KA×LI replacing lú. However, based on the cuneiform copies of both DME 250 and DME 300 the signs after a-a-ni in both texts are clearly different from two KA×LI signs that appear in the next line (for mu₇-mu₇).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Following Cavigneaux 1995, 90.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For the writing of abzu as DÉ, see Cavigneaux 1986, 46–47.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Following Cavigneaux 1995, 90.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf., however, the text DME 103 according to which Enki is said to “loosen” the spell of Eridu in the dwelling of the Agrun (for this, see 5.7.5 above).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Following George 2016, 150–151.

9. ^dnamma ^rnin ^{eridu}^{ki}-ga-[ke₄]

10. ^dasal-lú-^{hi} ^{dumu} ^den-ki-k[e₄]

11. l[ú na]m-da-búr-re-e

9. Namma, queen of Eridu, 10. Asallu^{hi}, son of Enki, 11. no one should be able to release!

These lines seem to be elliptical as the thing that “no one should be able to release” is missing from the text. A. R. George has translated: “Namma, queen of Eridu, Asallu^{he}, son of Enki: (the spell they have cast) no man shall undo.”¹⁰¹⁰ A similar translation for the verbal chain of a formula of effectiveness has been preferred in PSD 2 B, 192 (for text DME 115): “may no one be able to nullify the incantations of abzu of Eridu.” In PSD a similar basic meaning for the formula of effectiveness seems to be suggested as for the formulae appearing in some other incantations (DME 58 (Ur III), 162, 172, 300) separate translations are not offered. In my opinion, however, the differing writings for formulae of effectiveness in the Old Babylonian incantations show too many differing nuances to be ignored.

It is noteworthy that the usual practice of the scribes who wrote/copied the incantations seems to have been not to combine the formula of effectiveness with the one of divine dialogue. The exceptions to this rule can be found in texts DME 98, 162, 250=300 (see above) and CUSAS 32 19b in which both motifs appear. However, these few texts are to be considered exceptions to the general rule that the motifs of formulae of effectiveness and divine dialogues were not present in the frame of one incantation. The formula of effectiveness in most cases does not appear in incantations with priestly legitimation, nor in consecration incantations. This seems to signal the independent legitimising force behind the formula of effectiveness.

5.7.7 The Motif of Asallu^{hi} and Utu

Utu the sun-god is acting together with Asallu^{hi} in another motif that appears in the concluding part of incantations. In this scene Asallu^{hi} is first instructed by Enki to purify and cleanse the patient after which he is guided to hand him over to Utu. The sun-god, in turn, is pleaded to hand the patient over to the his/her personal god. According to text DME 128a (directed against witchcraft):¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰¹⁰ George 2016, 151. Cf. the translation of J. S. Cooper for the line tu₆-tu₆-e abzu-eridu^{ki}-ga nam-mu-un-da-búr-re in CT 4 3: “May no one be able to nullify the incantation of Apsu-Eridu!” (Cooper 1971, 18).

¹⁰¹¹ Following Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 140–141 and 143; cf. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 28 and 30. In DME 128a in addition to acting together with Asallu^{hi}, Utu also works together with the goddess Ningirim, as in l. 10’ Utu is said to hold up the sky while Ningirim undoes the “knots” of sorcery in the body of the victim: ^dnin-girim_x(^{HA.A.TAR.DU}) ^dutu-an-na-ta zú-kešda-bi ^{hé}-du₈, “Ningirim, while Utu holds up the sky, may release its knots.” The translation follows Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 30: “Ningirim, quand Utu tiendra le

18'. lú-ùlu dumu dingir-ra-na ù-me-sikil ù-me-dadag
 19'. ^{na4}bur-sa-gin₇ ù-me-ni-luḥ-luḥ
 20'. ^{na4}bur i-nun-na-gin₇ ù-me-ni-su-su-ub
 21'. ^dutu saḡ-kal dingir-re-ne-ke₄ šu-na ù-me-[si]
 22'. ^dutu saḡ-kal dingir-re-ne-ke₄ silim-ma-né šu [sa₆-ga]
 23'. [dingir]r-ra-n[a-še] ḥé-en-ši-in-gi-g[i]¹⁰¹²
 24'. [xxx] xx me-téš ḥé-[i-i]

18'. cleanse and brighten the man, the son of his god, 19'. wash him like a šaḡan-bowl, 20'. rub him like a butter bowl, 21'. place him into the hands of Utu, the foremost of the gods. 22'. May Utu, the foremost of the gods, return him safely to [the benevolent] hands 23'. of his personal god. 24'. [...] may he praise.

This scene reflects the reversing of the problematic situation (in this text the effects of witchcraft) to normality, i. e. returning the person to health. By the process described it becomes clear that in the normal circumstances, when the person was safe and healthy, he/she was seen to be taken care of and protected by his/her personal god. When the person had gotten into some kind of trouble, however, both Asalluḥi and Utu were needed to come to the aid. When the normal order of things was restored by the involvement of the deities the human was again placed in the “benevolent hands” of his/her personal god. Asalluḥi’s handing over the patient to Utu could possibly be reflected in this text by Asalluḥi’s (or the exorcist’s) placing of the figurines (dim) of the patient in front of Utu in ll. 11’–14’.¹⁰¹³ Perhaps this was represented in the exposing of figurines to the sun in the course of a ritual that is conducted outdoors. Another possible explanation is that perhaps the meaning of giving the patient into the hands of the sun-god means simply that after his purifying by Asalluḥi the patient had become well enough to rise from the sickbed and go outdoors into the sun.¹⁰¹⁴ Whether this motif of Asalluḥi and Utu acting together had something to do with Asalluḥi’s merger with Marduk (^damar-utu, “the calf of the sungod”) is difficult to tell. One could also find some pre-Old Babylonian hints for the relations between Asalluḥi and Utu.¹⁰¹⁵ However, this identification of the two deities and Marduk’s gain in popularity possibly influenced the spread of this motif in the Old Babylonian period.

haut du ciel, défera ses nœuds.” Note that Ningirim, a prominent character in incantations of the third millennium loses her importance in the Old Babylonian period.

¹⁰¹² This line is restored on the basis of the parallel in DME 128b, l. 51: šu sa₆-ga diḡir-ra-na-še ḥé-em-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄.

¹⁰¹³ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 39. However, the authors also present the possibility that the figurines are here crafted to resemble the witch against whom this incantation is addressed. Cf. Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 145, n. for ll. 45–48.

¹⁰¹⁴ Or, alternatively, is it meant here that the patient goes/is carried outside to recuperate in the sun.

¹⁰¹⁵ See, e.g., incantation TMH 6 11² (see 4.3.2.1 above) in which Asalluḥi is compared to the rising sun and perhaps *Gudea’s Temple Hymn* (see 3.2.1 above) in which Asar is said to “put the house in order” (é-e ^dasar-re šu si ba-sá), an action comparable to the activities of the sun-god as a guarantor of the right order.

The same motif appears in other Old Babylonian incantations with some adjustments.¹⁰¹⁶ One of the alterations can be found in text DME 124, an incantation directed against gidim, the ghost of a dead person. The writing is very similar to the ll. 18'–23' of the previously quoted text DME 128. However, in DME 124 the motif is set in a different context, as witnessed by its first lines:¹⁰¹⁷

352. inim^d ereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄ ʿlú-ùlu dumu^r [di]ngir-r[a-na]

353. ù-me-ni-sikil ù-me-ʿni^r-dadag [ù-me]-ni-k[ù]

352. the order of Ereškigal: the man, the son of his god, 353. cleanse, brighten and purify him.

Here it surprisingly not Enki but uniquely Ereškigal, the queen of the netherworld, who is uttering the instructions. A possible reason for the appearance of Ereškigal is the matter of the incantation that deals with ghosts who are under Ereškigal's jurisdiction as subordinates.¹⁰¹⁸ Asalluḫi is not mentioned in this text and no divine dialogue appears.¹⁰¹⁹ It is difficult to decide whether the one who was thought to carry out the ritual was the ritual worker in his guise as Asalluḫi, although the almost verbatim similarity of these lines to the pertinent part of the text in DME 128a make it likely.

Text CUSAS 32 10f is an incantation without a divine dialogue and is probably directed against an illness.¹⁰²⁰ In this text Asalluḫi probably casts the nam-šub of Eridu (l. 2') and returns the patient to health (ll. 5'–6'). a-bar-ra (l. 4') might indicate the location in which the rituals were conducted, probably to be translated as “on the water's edge” or the like.¹⁰²¹ Next, Utu the sun-god, named with the epithet “pure bronze”, returns the victim to the hands of his personal god. The praise of Asalluḫi (here: Asarnuna) follows:

1'. si^r ḫé-ni [...]

2'. nam-šub [...]

3'. tu₆-du₁₁-g[a]^d [en-ki-ga-ke₄]

4'. a-bar-ra^d asal-lú-ḫi

5'. lú-ʿùlu^r dumu diḡir-ra-ni ḫé-ti

6'. silim-ma-ni-šè ḫé-gi₄

¹⁰¹⁶ At least some remains of the motif of Asalluḫi and Utu appear in texts DME 97a, 98a, 124, 128, 197, 307, 313; CUSAS 32 10f, 11a, 11c, 11g, 21a; UET 6/2 149.

¹⁰¹⁷ Following Geller 1985, 40.

¹⁰¹⁸ Note that M. J. Geller (ibid., 106, n. for l. 352) connects this incantation to the myth *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld*.

¹⁰¹⁹ Neither Asalluḫi nor the divine dialogue appear in addition to DME 124 in texts CUSAS 32 11c, 11g, and UET 6/2 149 that preserve at least some remains of the Utu and Asalluḫi motif. Note however that both 11c and 11g could be continuations of 11b and 11f respectively (George 2016, 40) in both of which traces of dialogue are present and thus Asalluḫi in all probability originally appeared. For 11g, see below.

¹⁰²⁰ A divine dialogue could have originally been present (as surmised by George 2016, 39), but, as the upper part of this tablet has not survived it is not possible to decide for certain.

¹⁰²¹ Cf. Peterson 2019, 826.

7'. ^dutu sag-kal dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
 8'. šu sa₆-ga zabar kù-ga
 9'. šu dingir-ra-ni ħe-em-ši-gi₄
 10'. ^dasar-nun-na dumu-saĝ ^den-ki-ke₄
 11'. sa₆-ga zíl-zíl-bi za-kam
 1'. ... 2'. [may cast the] nam-šub [of Eridu], 3'. incantation speech of Enki.
 4'. On the water's edge Asalluĥi 5' may revive the man, son of his god, 6'. may return (him) to his well-being. 7'. Utu, the foremost of the gods, 8'. of benevolent hands, pure bronze, 9'. may return him to the hands of his god. 10'. Asarnuna, firstborn son of Enki, 11'. it is yours (to be) benevolent and good.

The epithets mentioned here in l. 11' for the deity are yet another example of the many features that Asalluĥi shares with his father Enki.¹⁰²² A very close parallel text to CUSAS 32 10f is CUSAS 32 11g, an incantation that deals with the consecration of bread.¹⁰²³ The differences seem to be that the damaged text 11g omits l. 6' of 10f and the reviving of the man in 11g seems to be carried out by Enki instead of Asalluĥi, as in col. iv, l. 3' it is in all probability Enki who is called “the son of An” (dumu an-^rna). This makes yet another characteristic this tandem of father and son have in common.

The motif appearing in CUSAS 32 10f and 11g is further modified in a very broken text CUSAS 32 11a, directed against the udug, from which only second halves of the last five lines survive. Based on these fragments it can be concluded that the sun-god has been simply left out from a segment otherwise very similar to texts CUSAS 32 10f and 11g.¹⁰²⁴ The patient is also returned to the hands of his personal god by Asalluĥi without the mediation of Utu in text CUSAS 32 21a – a divine dialogue incantation directed against witchcraft, magic and sorcery. The actions of Asalluĥi in this text are preceded by the mention of Gibil and Ilurugu (l. 19'), who probably also take part in the exorcism of witchcraft:¹⁰²⁵

20'. uš₁₁-zu-bi gi-èn-bar-gin₇ ħé-ni-in-ku₅-ru tu₆-du₁₁-ga ^den-ki-ga-kam
 21'. ^dasal-lú-ĥi nam-šub ba-an-sì lú-ùlu dumu dingir-ra-na ħe-em-sikil-e ħe-em-dadag-ge
 22' silim-ma-na šu ^rdingir'-ra-na-šè ħe-em-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
 20'. Let him cut this witchcraft like marsh-reed, incantation speech of Enki:
 21'. Asalluĥi may cast the nam-šub of Eridu, may cleanse and brighten the man, the son of his god 22' and return him safely to the hands of his god

¹⁰²² As noted by George 2016, 77, in another Old Babylonian incantation (MAH 16003; see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 179 for the copy and 181–184 for the transliteration and translation) in which Asalluĥi is not featured, Enki is described in similar terms: 21. ^den-ki lugal abzu-ke₄ 22. zú-kešda-bi ħé-du₈ 23. [s]_{a6}-sa₆-ge zíl-zíl-bi / za-a-kam (21. Enki the king of the abzu 22. may open his knots 23. it is yours (to be) benevolent and good).

¹⁰²³ See the reconstruction in George 2016, 75.

¹⁰²⁴ CUSAS 32 11a repeats ll. 5', 6', 10' and 11' of text CUSAS 32 10f with minor differences.

¹⁰²⁵ Following Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 120 and 129.

Utu also does not appear in DME 97a, in which only the last line of the motif appears (l. 698: [silim-ma-na šu si]g₅-ga dingir-ra-ni-šè' [h_é-en-ši-in-g]i₄-g[i₄]), nor in DME 98a.

5.8 Conclusions

When compared to earlier periods there is a wealth of texts dating to the Old Babylonian period that mention Asalluḫi. The variety of genres of these texts has expanded, giving way to genres such as mythological texts, royal hymns, prayers, letter-prayers, a city lament and a royal inscription. Most of the texts connect Asalluḫi to Enki, Damgalnuna and other deities of the Eridu pantheon. The Ku'ara tradition connecting Asalluḫi to Ninsun and Lugalbanda that was present in the Ur III period administrative documents appears only in a city lamentation and seems to be forgotten after that.

Asalluḫi's relation to his father Enki is a very close one to up to the point that both share similar epithets and roles in some texts (such as hymns and incantations). For example, in a hymn to Enlil-bāni, the king of Isin, Asalluḫi is said to grant wisdom to the king, a role that has usually been reserved for Enki. While in most cases there is reason to believe that Asalluḫi inherited these roles from Enki, that it was originally Enki who bore the epithets and stepped up in these roles, in at least one case – in a formula of effectiveness attached to two incantations – it is Enki who acquired a role that at least since the Old Akkadian period was attributed to Asar/Asalluḫi. Damgalnuna's motherhood of Asar is stressed in two Old Babylonian incantations with the epithet "mother of Asar" (ama^dasar).

Some texts, especially god-lists, lexical lists, hymns and prayers show the god Marduk's gradual nearing to the divine figure of Asalluḫi. The two gods were eventually assimilated and Marduk grew in stature while Asalluḫi remained only a manifestation of his in the Sumerian part of bilingual incantations. Asalluḫi is in the Old Babylonian period far more prominent in royal contexts than in previous periods. In most cases probably in relation to his merger with Marduk.

In incantations, the number of which reaches hundreds in the Old Babylonian period, despite being a relatively conservative genre some minor adaptations are traceable in Asalluḫi's role in the divine dialogues. On the other hand, several new roles for him are introduced in other incantations, for example, as the one who handles consecration of ritual paraphernalia, who is said to "cast" (recite) the incantation and who works in tandem with the sun-god for the benefit of the patient.

CONCLUSIONS

In the Early Dynastic period sources for Asar/Asalluḫi are scarce as he only appears in several non-descriptive listings, texts written in the UD.GAL.NUN orthography that borders on the unintelligible and in a very sparse section of a series of short hymns. In addition to the hymn, the types of texts that fit into the later stream of tradition from the Early Dynastic period are two incantations in which some important features appear such as the deity's "sonship" of Enki and the formulaic dialogue with him, common in later incantations. Only the name-form Asar is known from the Early Dynastic period.

In the following Old Akkadian period, the deity appears in two similar closing formulae attached to incantations. In one he is called Asar and in the other Asalluḫi. The alternate use of the two names in the same context signals that both represent the same deity and, according to the evidence currently available, there is no basis for assuming a separate origin for Asalluḫi. The meaning of both name-forms is so far unknown. The first element asar(-re) could be analysed either as a-sar-(re(d)), "swift seed", or "water/seed (a) impregnating (a-ri) the field plots (sar)". It seems possible that the elements lú-ḫi were first used as an epithet for the deity that was connected to his activities in incantations as the one who mixes ingredients for therapeutic and ritual use (lú-ḫi – "the one who mixes, the mixer"). Another possibility is to take lú-ḫi(ḫe) as an ellipsis for lú-ḫe-ĝál or lú-ḫe-nun, "the one of abundance/plenty".

In the Lagaš II period the god appears in an offering list from Lagaš and, passingly, in the famous temple hymn of Gudea where he participates with other deities in preparations for the arrival of the god Ningirsu and is said to keep the house (temple) in order.

The first source in which Asalluḫi is described at any considerable length appears in the Ur III period in the shape of a hymn of 12 lines that forms part of the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, a cycle of hymns dedicated to the temples of Mesopotamia. It is possible that it is in this text that Asaralimmuna ("Asar, the princely bison"), another name for the deity, occurs for the first time. No separate origin is traceable for Asaralimmuna in the light of evidence currently available as this name appears elsewhere in similar contexts with the other name forms (Asar, Asalluḫi) of the deity. Thus, the question regarding the names of the deity postulated in the introduction (*Did the name forms Asar/Asalluḫi/Asaralimmuna initially represent independent deities?*) should be given a negative answer. In the Ur III period the deity also appears in a handful of administrative documents that mirror two contemporary traditions of divine relations for Asar/Asalluḫi: one as the son of Enki and Damgalnuna and the other in the local pantheon of the town of Ku'ara where Asalluḫi together with the goddess Ninsun was one of the two most prominent deities, although not as important as the latter. In addition, Asar/Asalluḫi is an actor in more than 20 incantations from the Ur III period.

In the Old Babylonian period Asalluḫi appears for the first time in several types of texts such as royal hymns, prayers, a city lament, myths, a royal

inscription, and letters. The only surviving separate hymn dedicated to Asalluḫi also originates from this period. In addition to his first appearance in incantations written in Akkadian, several new roles are attributed to Asalluḫi in Old Babylonian incantations. For the first time he appears in the consecration incantations as a deity who consecrates paraphernalia before its use in rituals. Together with other Eridu deities, he appears in priestly legitimation formulae in which the priest legitimises himself by claiming to be the representative of deities. Asalluḫi's name appears in divine legitimation formulae, a feature appearing mainly in incantations written in Akkadian. During the Old Babylonian period he also appears as the one who is said to recite "the incantation of Eridu" (nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga), a function that in earlier times was attributed to the human priest.

In an attempt to offer a final synthesis, the following discussion accentuates some of Asar's/Asalluḫi's main features as they appear in textual evidence from the earliest periods to the Old Babylonian period.

One of the main characteristics of Asalluḫi is his connection to water, primarily to the healing and purifying properties of water. While Asar/Asalluḫi as the deity who is engaged in consecrating activities often involving water appears in Old Babylonian texts, his association with water as a healing substance comes undoubtedly early as it appears in an incantation from the Early Dynastic period. According to this text Asar was instructed to provide water from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers as a drink for a patient bitten by a snake. Asalluḫi's activities – most prominent in incantations – are also connected to other liquid substances in addition to water such as dairy products and beer. Although not as amply documented as his ties to healing and purifying water in incantations, Asalluḫi also has connections to rainwater and storms in both their life-giving and violent manifestations.

The connection to water is one of the many characteristics that Asar/Asalluḫi shared with his father Enki to whom he was closely connected in all the periods under study. This closeness can be seen in epithets shared by both deities and in similar activities and abilities attributed to them in incantations and other types of texts. In fact, there is very little evidence for the characteristics of Asalluḫi that were not attributed to Enki elsewhere. For most of the characteristics shared by the father and son pair it is probable that they originated from Enki as a deity of superior importance and, in the case of incantations, a supreme authority in magic; it would then follow that Asalluḫi later inherited them as his son.

If one, however, would try to answer the question posed in the introduction: *Is there any evidence for Asar/Asalluḫi having independent characteristics that are not shared with his father Enki?*, then for one phenomenon, namely the formula of effectiveness appearing in incantations, the currently available evidence indicates that this was initially a role belonging to Asalluḫi who appears in this type of formula from the Old Akkadian period onwards. Only later, during the Old Babylonian period, was this role of his shared with Enki. One of the main roles of Asalluḫi in incantations, and probably the only part in which Enki did not appear, was the role of junior deity in divine dialogues. According

to divine dialogue Asalluḫi first noticed the worrisome situation in the human realm and as a next step hastened to the abzu to get help from his father who gave him the “recipe” for the correct rituals to deal with the situation. Based on this scheme of things, it can be suggested that Asalluḫi was Enki’s extension into the human sphere, who besides being the mediator, lacked divine attributes of his own that could be clearly separated from the characteristics of Enki. In this sense Asalluḫi is primarily a liminal deity with the ability to cross boundaries between the divine and human realms.

Asalluḫi’s mediating role is not restricted to divine dialogues as it appears in some other texts. Thus, in a letter-prayer addressed to Enki, the supplicant asks Asalluḫi and Damgalnuna to act as intercessor in front of Enki. In an incantation Asalluḫi also appears as mediator between deities as he is said to carry Enki’s message to the primeval deities Enki (namesake of Asalluḫi’s father Enki(g)) and Ninki. In one prayer (Ḫammurabi D) Asalluḫi/Marduk acts as mediator between the king and the assembly of gods. This mediating role may be the reason why Asar/Asalluḫi in several third millennium sources is mentioned together with Ninšubur, the intercessor and messenger of the Urukian goddess Inanna.

The capacity to transgress borders also seems to appear in Asalluḫi’s relations to the human incantation priest. In Old Babylonian incantations, especially in divine dialogues and formulae of priestly legitimation, there appear some hints that the identity of Asalluḫi is mixed with that of the human incantation priest, that the priest claims the identity of Asalluḫi for himself. This is expressed in rather vague terms and in some passages it is not clear whether it is either the deity or the human priest who is being referred to. One may wonder whether this ambiguity might have been intentional, the expressions being kept vague so as to blur the line between the divine and human actors and their respective spheres. One could imagine the difficulties ancient theologians had to overcome in order to guarantee the successful outcome of a ritual. On the one hand it was not in their power to present the incantation priest as an outright deity; on the other hand, they could not present the main actor as too humanlike as this would have weakened the legitimising force the incantation took on due to its association with deities. Thus, the solution was to keep both possibilities open and the identity of the actor in rituals fluid.

Asalluḫi’s closeness to humans reveals itself in incantations in another manner, namely through his benevolence towards men that is often stressed in scholarly literature as one of Asalluḫi’s important traits – and rightfully so as it is indeed an important characteristic for Asalluḫi in incantations. However, one could wonder whether this “good side” of the deity that appears in hundreds of incantations might not eclipse his other characteristics that are perhaps not quite as benevolent. Thus, the following question was postulated in the introduction of this thesis: *Is there any evidence for Asar/Asalluḫi being a deity hostile towards humans?* The answer to this question seems to be “yes”, as some texts can be put forward for the argument that, – in contrast to incantations – Asalluḫi at times played the role of divine punisher. Evidence for this is most explicit in

an Old Babylonian letter in which the god Asar is described as a bringer of plague. Asalluḫi's role in the formula of effectiveness in incantations can also be highlighted as implicit evidence of Asalluḫi not always being strictly benevolent, or at least of his capacity to "cancel" incantations.

As mythological compositions that describe Asalluḫi at any great length are lacking, one has to further delimit his role based on pieces of information that appear in other types of texts, especially in relation to other deities. One of the "great gods" with whom Asalluḫi shares some common elements is the sun-god Utu. This relationship prominently reveals itself in a mythological scene that appears in several Old Babylonian incantations. According to this motif, Asalluḫi and Utu act together and return the patient to the care of his personal god. The basis for relations between Utu and Asalluḫi is difficult to determine more precisely. Although it seems to be indicated in some sources there is no explicit evidence for a father-son relationship between the two gods. The increase in links between Asalluḫi and Utu visible in the Old Babylonian period could be the result of former's merger with the god Marduk (=d^damar-utu, "the calf of the sun(-god)"). However, some earlier connections between Asalluḫi and Utu are traceable in the third millennium. Thus, in an Ur III incantation Asalluḫi is compared to the rising sun.

In the Old Babylonian hymn Asalluḫi A some judicial epithets of the sun-god are attributed to Asalluḫi. This may not be the earliest case when Asalluḫi is associated with judiciary functions, as in an Ur III period offering list he is catalogued immediately before the goddess Kiza. Kiza (Kiša) is according to the later tradition the spouse of I(d)lurugu, the god of the river ordeal with whom Asalluḫi was identified in the Old Babylonian period. This connection makes it likely that Kiza was Asalluḫi's spouse in the Ur III period. Asalluḫi is not connected to his other known spouses Panunanki, Eru(a) and Šarpanitum before the Old Babylonian period and to the latter only after his merger with Marduk.

The gradual development towards identification of Asalluḫi and Marduk is traceable in some Old Babylonian sources, especially god-lists, lexical texts and hymns. However, since the early "biography" of the god Marduk remains almost completely obscure, it seems impossible to describe the reasons behind the merger of these two deities in any detail. One possible link is that the writing d^dmar-tu (probably Ғaia's/Ea's/Enki's son) which appears in close vicinity to Asalluḫi in an Ur III offering list in this period represents the deity whose name was later written as d^damar-utu (=Marduk).

The ties of Asalluḫi to the storm-god Iškur are documented since the Early Dynastic period. The two deities are connected in several god-lists and in post-Old Babylonian lexical evidence. The god Ašgi from Adab is also a possible "functional" connection between Asar and Iškur as weather deities. In *Sumerian Temple Hymns* Asalluḫi is depicted as possessing the violent features of the storm. This trait might in addition to Iškur also be influenced by the divine figure of Ninurta, the youthful warrior *par excellence* in Mesopotamian mythology. The connection to Ninurta may be further strengthened by the mention of

“seven divine heroes” immediately following Asalluḫi in an Ur III offering list (if related to the “slain heroes” of Ninurta in the myth *Lugal-e*).

As the research has demonstrated there is a whole gallery of manifestations traceable behind the divine figure of Asar/Asalluḫi with the executor of magic rituals, the weather god and the messenger being the most prominent – at least for the modern researcher. Although the specific details of these main (and some other) manifestations remain largely in the dark, it is through Asar’s/Asalluḫi’s relations with other – often more prominent – deities that give a glimpse into different characteristics of this god and allow us to see some “patterns” in the complicated network of deities in early Mesopotamian pantheon.

APPENDIX: TABLES

Asar/Asalluḫi in early Mesopotamian incantations: tables

Abbreviations for tables:

DD – divine dialogue

PL – priestly legitimation

DL – divine legitimation

CON – consecration

NŠF – nam-šub formula

FE – formula of effectiveness

FP – formula of praise

MAU – motif of Asalluḫi and Utu

ZP – zi-pàd formula

RI – ritual instructions

NF – non formulaic

Table I: Asar/Asalluhi in Early Dynastic Sumerian incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
1. CUSAS 32 1f, vi 7–vii 4	George 2016, 100–101	against snakes	unknown	^d asar	DD	Enki
2. CUSAS 32 1d, iv 7–v 3	unedited	against illness?	unknown	^d asar	NF	Ningirim

Table II: Asar/Asalluhi in Old Akkadian Sumerian incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
3. OrNS 54, p. 57	Hallo 1985; Veldhuis 2003b	?	Lagaš?	^d asar-re	FE	Inanna, Enki, Nanše
4. DME 59: YOS 11 73 (cf. Fs. Borget, pp. 99–100)	Finkel 1998, 76–78	against Samana-demon	Nippur	^d asal (URU× IGJ ^{Sam})-lú- ^{hi}	FE	Ningirim, Enki

Table III: Asar/Asalluhi in Ur III Sumerian incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
1. TMH 6 11 ¹ (obv. i 1–ii 8)	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 42–47; Rudik 2011, 192–195	against leg disease?	Nippur	^d asar	DD	Enki
2. TMH 6 9	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 39–41; Rudik 199–203	against namtar-demon	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Šakkan, Utu?, Nanna, Enki
3. MS A: TMH 6 7; MS B: TMH 6 8 ³ (rev. vi 1 ² –11 ² +2 ll. on edge) (discussed in this study as TMH 6 7 a and b)	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 31–36; Rudik 2011, 204–212	against snakes	MS A: Nippur; MS B: Nippur	[^d asal]- ¹ lú-ḫi ²	DD	Ninazu, Enki*
4. TMH 6 15	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 54–57; Rudik 2011, 224–227	against bad language-demon	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Bigames?, Enki, Dumuzi, Nanna
5. MS A: TMH 6 1; MS B: Fs. Hilprecht, p. 220 (discussed in this study as TMH 6 1 a and b)	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 54–57; Rudik 2011, 230–236	against headache	MS A: Nippur; MS B: Nippur	MS A: ^d asal-lu-ḫi MS B: ^d asal- [lu ² -ḫi]	DD	Enki, Amar-Su'en
6. Fs. Borger, p. 102	Finkel 1998, 81–83; Rudik 2011, 245–251	against Samana-demon	Ešnunna	–	DD	Utu, Nanna
7. DME 71: ArOr 17, plates III–IV	Finkel 1998, 72–76; Rudik 2011, 252–258	against Samana-demon	unknown	² dasal ¹ -lú-ḫi	DD	Enlil, Enki, Nininsina
8. TMH 6 6	Finkel 1998, 79–81; van Dijk 2003, 26–31; Rudik 2011, 259–263	against Samana-demon	Nippur	–	DD	Enlil, Enki, Ninkarrak
9. DME 63: TD 1	Conti 1997, 268–269; Rudik 2011, 282–287	against ušumgal-snake	Puzriš-Dagān	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki*
10. DME 66: VAS 10 193	Veldhuis 1993, 161–164; Römer 1995, 419–423; Rudik 2011, 288–291	against snakes, dogs and scorpions	unknown	lú-asal-ḫi-e	DD	Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
11. TMH 6 4	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 20–25; Rudik 2011, 303–309	against complications at childbirth and snakes?	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ġi, ^d asar-re	DD, NF	MA.NA?, Enki, Ninazu, Namma?
12. DME 64: VAS 10 189	Finkel 1980, 45–46; Rudik 2011, 332–336	against complications at childbirth	unknown	–	DD	Enki, Ašnan?
13. Fs. Sigris, p. 24	Al-Rawi 2008, 21–23; Rudik 2011, 378–381	against scorpions?	Umma	–	DD	Enki, Eninurim?
14. DME 61: NATN 8	Rudik 2011, 443–448	?	Nippur	^d asal-lú-[ġi]	DD	Inanna
15. TMH 6 8 ¹ (obv. i 1–rev. v 9')	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 36–38; Rudik 2011, 449–450	?	Nippur	–	DD	–
16. DME 51: Anadolu 6, pp. 176–177	Kramer and Eren 1978, 171–177; Rudik 2011, 486–490	against (enemy) lands and their people	Nippur	^d [asal-lú-ġi]	DD	Enki, Ningirim, Tu, Nunura, Ma..., É..., Ġibil, Šul...
17. TMH 6 11 ² (rev. iii 1'–iv 3')	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 42–47; Rudik 2011, 172–174	Illness as a trap?	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ġi	NF	Enki, Utu, Namma
18. TMH 6 3	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 19–20; Rudik 2011, 219–223	asag-demon	Nippur	^{r-d} a[sar]?, ^{-d} a[sal-l]ú-ġi	NF	Ninazu
19. DME 60: YOS 11 81	Rudik 2011, 267–271, cf. van Dijk 1985, 48 (ll. 10–14)	against demons	Nippur	[^d asa]r	FP	Ningirim, Enki, Namma
20. DME 58: PBS 1/2 131 (NATN plate II: photo of obverse)	van Dijk 1969, 539–547; Rudik 2011, 278–281	against a snake with a split tongue	Nippur	asar-e	FE	Ninazu,
21. TMH 6 16	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 57–59; Rudik 2011, 292–295	against attacking animal	Nippur	^d asar	NF	Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
22. TMH 6 12	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 48–50; Rudik 2011, 298–302	against a snake with a split tongue	Nippur	–	FE	Nisaba
23. DME 57: PBS 1/2 130 (cf. OrNS 54, p. 218)	Michalowski 1985, 219–224; Cavigneaux 1995, 75–99; Rudik 2011, 350–356	against scorpions	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ġi	FE	Inanna, Dumuzi, Enki
24. TMH 6 19 ² (iii 5–iv 18)	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 65–68; Rudik 2011, 422–427	?	Nippur	^d asar	NF	Enki, Numura, Ninšubur
25. TMH 6 22	van Dijk and Geller 2003, 73; Rudik 2011, 473	against problems with knees?	Nippur	^d asal-lú-[ġi]	NF	–
26. ASJ 2, p. 160	Rudik 2011, 474–477	ritual text?	unknown	^d a-sal-lú-ġi	NF	An, Enki, Šakkan

* only Enki's answer to Asalluġi has survived

Table IV: Asalluḫi in Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
1. DME 62: OrNS 44, p. 54	van Dijk 1975, 53–62; Cunningham 1997, 69–72	against complications at childbirth	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF	Enki, Gula
2. DME 73: MS A : AFO 27, p. 38; MS B : YOS 11 40	Finkel 1980, 37–38 & 47 (partial translation)	against complications at childbirth	MS A : Nippur MS B : unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF	Enki
3. DME 83: FAOS 12 A, vi 1–16	Geller 1985, 28–29	against demons	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, PL	Enki, Damgalnuna
4. DME 84: FAOS 12 A, vi 17–55	Geller 1985, 30–33	against demons	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, PL	Enki, Damgalnuna, Utu, Su'en, Nanna, Gibil, Marduk
5. DME 92: MS A : FAOS 12 B; ii 44–iii 45; MS B : PBS 1/2 127, iii 20–v 30	Geller 1985, 64–73	against demons	MS A : Nippur MS B : unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF	Enki
6. DME 93: FAOS 12 B, iii 46–iv 24	Geller 1985, 72–75	against demons	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
7. DME 97: MS A : FAOS 12 B, vii 33'–viii 38'; MS B : CT 44 28; MS C : CT 44 29; MS D : PBS 1/2 127, i 1–iii 19	Geller 1985, 56–63	against demons	MS A : Nippur MS B : Sippar MS C : Sippar MS D : unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF, MAU	Enki
8. DME 98: MS A : Fs. Sjöberg, pp. 204–205; MS B : AFO 24, table 2	Geller 1989	against witchcraft	MS A : Nippur MS B : unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF, FE	Enki, Gilgameš, Utu, Nergal, Ningišzida, Gibil, Ninurta, Ilurugu, An
9. DME 104: PBS 1/2 107	Lutz 1919, 61	?	Nippur	–	DD	Enki and Ninki
10. DME 106: MS A : SLTNI 49; MS B : VAS 17 33	van Dijk 1975, 62–65	against complications at childbirth	MS A : Nippur MS B : unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF	Enki*, Gula

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
11. DME 110: STVC 11	unedited	against internal disease	Nippur	[^d asal]-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki*
12. DME 116: CT 4 4, obv.	unedited	against headache	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki
13. DME 117: CT 4 4, rev	unedited	against galla- ^h ul demon	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki
14. DME 118: CT 44 25	Veldhuis 2004, 291 (ll. 1–8)	against witchcraft?	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki
15. DME 120: CT 44 27, 1–19	van Dijk 1967, 259–261	against asag demon	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki, Ningirim
16. DME 128: MS A : CT 44 34; MS B : CT 58 79	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 19–46; Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 135–145	against witchcraft	MS A: Sippar? MS B: Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD, MAU	Enki, Ereskigal, Utu, Ningirim
17. DME 132: VAS 24 46+47+48+50+51, obv.	unedited	against galla- ^h ul demon	Babylon	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki*
18. DME 133: VAS 24 46+47+48+50+51, rev.	unedited	against field pests	Babylon	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki
19. DME 142: AFO 24, table 3: John Rowlands Library, Box 24 E6+24	Wilcke 1973, 13–14; van Dijk 1975, 69–70	against complications at childbirth	unknown	^d asal-lú- ^h ji-e	DD, NŠF	Enki
20. DME 143: AFO 27, p. 39, i	Finkel 1980, 39–40 & 47–48 (partial translation)	against complications at childbirth	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD, NŠF	Enki*
21. DME 144: AFO 27, p. 39, ii	Finkel 1980, 40 & 48 (partial translation)	against complications at childbirth	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD, NŠF	Enki*
22. DME 146: AFO 27, p. 39, iv	Finkel 1980, 40 (only transliteration)	against complications at childbirth	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^h ji	DD	Enki*

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
23. DME 147: ASI 15, p. 7, no. 4	Peterson 2007 (II. 5–7)	against snakes	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki*, Dumuzi
24. DME 149: BL 3	Thomsen 1992, 22–26, Geller 2003, 129–134	against evil eye	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi-e	DD, NŠF	Enki, Nintinugga, Damu, Gusrira
25. DME 150: MS A : BL 4; MS B : JCS 8, p. 146	Falkenstein 1964, 113–129	love charm	MS A : Nippur? MS B : unknown	MS A : ^d asal-lú-ġi-e MS B : ^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Inanna, Enki
26. DME 156: JNES 43, p. 312	Farber 1984	against complications at childbirth	unknown	^d a-sa-lu-ú-ġa	DD	Inanna, Ninġursag, Enki
27. DME 162: OECT 5 19	unedited	against galla demon?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD, FE, ZP	Enki, Enlil, Iškur, Utu, Ningišzida, Pabilsag, Bidu, Uraš, An
28. DME 168: OECT 5 23	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 191 (II. 1–5)	against evil wind bringing illness	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
29. DME 173: PBS 1/2 128, ii' 2'-iii' 7'	Geller 1985, 74–79	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD, PL	An, Enlil, Enki, Ninmah, Ninġursag
30. DME 180: RA 23, p. 42, 11–19	Jestin 1947, 56–58	against snakes	unknown	[^d asal]-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
31. DME 182: TCL 16 63, obv.	Schramm 2008, 255–257	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Ereškigal, Enki
32. DME 197: VAS 2 97+VAS 2 100+VAS 10 185+VAS 10 186	Geller 1985, 46–49	against galla demons	unknown	^d a[sal-lú-ġi]	DD, MAU	Ereškigal, Enki
33. DME 198: VAS 2 98, 1'-16'	unedited	against eye illness	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
34. DME 209: MS A : VAS 10 202; MS B : VAS 10 203	unedited	against asag demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi-e	DD	Enki*

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
35. DME 210: VAS 17 1, i 1'-ii 19'	unedited	against eclipse	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki, Utu
36. DME 237: VAS 17 11	unedited	against illness?/bird?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
37. DME 246: VAS 17 24	Alster 1972, 352 (only transliteration)	against gall	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
38. MS A : DME 249: VAS 17 28; MS B : JANER 9, p. 127 (UM 29-13-569, rev.) (discussed in this study as DME 249 a and b)	Peterson 2009b, 131-140	against curse (nam-kud) or fate (nam-tar)	MS A: unknown MS B: Nippur?	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD, NŠF	Enki
39. JANER 9, p. 126 (UM 29-13-569, obv.)	Peterson 2009b, 128-129	?	Nippur?	[^d]asal-lú-ġi	DD (RI)?	-
40. MS A : DME 250: VAS 17 29; MS B : DME 300: YOS 11 80	unedited	against lung illness	MS A: unknown MS B: unknown	^d asar-re, ^d asar-lú-ġi	DD, FE	Enki
41. DME 264: YOS 11 43	Unedited	against demons	unknown	^d a[sal-lú-ġi]	DD	Enki
42. DME 287: YOS 11 69 obv.	van Dijk 1985, 45 (ll. 1-10)	against field pests	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Ninisia, Ninkilim, Ušumgal, Mebuša, Enki, Ninsar?
43. DME 289: YOS 11 70, i 1'-14'	Thomsen 1992, 28-29	against evil eye	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
44. DME 290: MS A : YOS 11 70, i 15'-23'; MS B : YOS 11 71	Thomsen 1992, 29-30	against evil eye	MS A: unknown MS B: unknown	MS A: ^d asal-lú-ġi-e MS B: ^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Enki
45. DME 292: YOS 11 70, ii 8'-iii 15	Schramm 2008, 258-260	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	DD	Ereškigal, Enki, An

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
46. DME 293: YOS 11 70, iii 16–30	Schramm 2008, 262–263	against udug-ḫul demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
47. DME 294: YOS 11 70, iv 1–22	George 2016, 82–84	against udug-ḫul demon?/namtar demon?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki*
48. DME 298: YOS 11 78	unedited	against headache(-demon)	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki*
49. DME 303: YOS 11 84	unedited	for pacifying a restless baby	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
50. DME 304: YOS 11 85	van Dijk 1975, 65–69	against complications at childbirth	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki, Utu
51. DME 305: YOS 11 86, 29–38	van Dijk 1985, 49	against Lamaštu?/asag-demon?/udug-ḫul?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD?	–
52. DME 307: YOS 11 90	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 178–181	against bad language	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, MAU	Enki, Utu
53. CUSAS 32 7h, iv 1'–19'	George 2016, 122–123	against gall	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
54. CUSAS 32 7i, iv 20'–v 11	George 2016, 123–125	against gall	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, NŠF	Ningirim, Enki
55. MS A: CUSAS 32 7q, vii 8–36; MS B: CUSAS 32 8k, iv 1–19	George 2016, 149–150	against wasting-sickness	MS A: unknown MS B: unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
56. CUSAS 32 9c, ii 2'–14'	unedited	?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
57. CUSAS 32 9h, iv 8'–26'	unedited	against field pests	unknown	^d as[al-]lú-ḫi	DD	Enki
58. CUSAS 32 9m, vii 1'–16'	unedited	?	unknown	–	DD	Enki*

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
59. CUSAS 32 10a, i	George 2016, 74–77	against various illnesses and demons brought by stormwind	unknown	^{r-d} [asal-lú]-h̄i	DD	Enki*
60. CUSAS 32 10b, ii	unedited	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki, Nunurra
61. CUSAS 32 10c, iii	unedited	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki
62. CUSAS 32 11b, i 7'–26'	unedited	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki*
63. CUSAS 32 11h, iv 10'–23'	George 2016, 74–77	against various illnesses brought by stormwind	unknown	^d asal-[lú-h̄i]	DD	Enki*
64. CUSAS 32 11k, vi 1–25	unedited	against demons	unknown	^{r-d} asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki
65. CUSAS 32 12a, i 1'–25'	George 2016, 84–88	against namtar-demon	unknown	^{r-d} asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki
66. CUSAS 32 12b, i 26'–30'	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	^{r-d} asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki
67. CUSAS 32 12c, ii 13'–33'	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	^d as[al-]lú-h̄i	DD	Enki, An, Enlil
68. CUSAS 32 12e, iv 1–27	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-h̄i	DD	Enki, Nintu
69. CUSAS 32 12f, v 1–18	George 2016, 84–88	against namtar-demon	unknown	-	DD(RI)	Nanna, Ašnan, Kusu
70. CUSAS 32 12g, v 19–37	George 2016, 82–84	against namtar-demon	unknown	^d asal- ^r lú-h̄i	DD	Enki
71. CUSAS 32 12h, vi 1–34	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	[^d r ^r asal-lú'-h̄i	DD	Utu, Ĝeštinanna
72. CUSAS 32 19b, 11–31	unedited	against an illness?	Diyala region?	^d asal- ^r lú'-h̄i	DD, FE	Enki, An
73. CUSAS 32 21a, obv. 1'–22'	Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 112–134	against witchcraft	unknown	^d asal-lú-h̄i	DD, NŠF, MAU	Enki, Gilgames, Gibil, Ilurugu
74. CUSAS 32 22e, iii 1'–11'	unedited	?	unknown	^d [asal-lú-h̄i]	DD	Enki*

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
75. CUSAS 32 42	George 2016, 143–144	for pacifying a restless baby (with Akkadian ritual)	unknown	[^d a]sal-lú- <i>hi</i>	DD	Enki*
76. CUSAS 32 45a, obv. 1–rev. 13	unedited	for relieving physical suffering?	unknown	^d asal-lú	DD?	Utu, Enki, Namma
77. CUSAS 32 45b, rev. 14–21	unedited	against demons	unknown	^d asal-lú	DD?	–
78. CUSAS 32 46	George 2016, 84–88	against namtar-demon	unknown	–	DD(RI)	Su'en, Nanna, Ašnan, Kusu
79. Fs, Wiggemann, pp. 84–85A, ll. 1–25	Geller and Vacin 2017, 86–89	against gall	unknown	^d asal-lú- <i>hi</i> -e	DD	Enki*
80. Meturan I (MS A: ZA 83, plate I, i 1–ii 28; MS B: ZA 83, plate IV, i 1–ii 10; MS C: ZA 83, plate VIa, obv. i 1'–14')	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993, 176–195	against namtar-demon	Meturan	MS A: a-sa-ri, ^d asal-lú- <i>hi</i> , ^d asar MS B: a-sa-ri MS C: ^d šar'-lú- <i>hi</i>	DD	Ezinu, Enkis and Nunkis, Enki, Damgalnuna, Su'en, Utu, Kusu?
81. Meturan III (MS A: ZA 83, plate I, iii 6–iv 12; MS B: ZA 83, plate IV, iii 11–32+iv 1'–7')	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a, 19–46; Abusch and Schwemer 2016, 135–145	against witchcraft	Meturan	MS A: ^d asal-lú- <i>hi</i> MS B: not extant	DD	Utu, Ningirim
82. Meturan IV (MS A: ZA 83, plate I, iv 14–v 6; MS B: ZA 83, plate IV, ii 31–32+iii 1'–13')	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 169–178	against bad language	Meturan	MS A: ^d asal-lú- <i>hi</i> MSs B and C: not extant	DD	Enki, Enbilulu
83. Meturan V (MS A: ZA 83, plate I, v 7–30; MS B: ZA 83, plate IV, iv 4–31; MS C: ZA 83, fig. 2, ii')	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 184–195	universal incantation?	Meturan	MS A: ^d asal-lú- <i>hi</i> MS B: a-sa-lu- <i>hi</i>	DD	Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
84. Meturan VI (MS A: ZA 83, plate I, v 31 ff. –whole col. vi; MS B: ZA 83, plate IV, iv (bottom) –whole col. v; MS C: H 84, rev. i 1'–9' (no photo or copy available)	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b, 195–208	against namtar-demon	Meturan	MS A: ^d asal-lú- ^{hi} MSs B and C: not extant	DD	An, Lisi, Ninmah, Ninsikila, Enki, Enlil, Nimli, Enki/Nunki, Enul/Ninul, En- ^{hi} /Nun- ^{hi} , Endugud/Nundugud, Enkud/Nunkud, Endašurima/Nundašurima, Endukuge/Nundukuge, Su 'en, Utu, Nungal, Inanna (or Tišpak?), Šulpae, Damu, Ninšubur, Bitu
85. Meturan VII MS A: ZA 92, pp. 18–21, pl. & fig. I–II; MS B: ZA 92, pp. 22–23; pl. & fig. III; MS C: ZA 92, p. 17, fig. 4	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002, 24–35	against field pests	MSs A and B: Meturan; MS C: Nippur	MS A: a-sa-al-lu- ^{hi} MSs B and C: not extant	DD	Ezinam, Kusu, Ninpirig, Ningilnana, Enki, Geštinanna
86. MS A: CUSAS 32 16b, iv; MS B: VAS 24 61	unedited	against field pests	unknown	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	DD	Enki*
87. UET 6/3 623	Peterson 2019, 793–794	Against namtar-demon	Ur	^d asar-alim-nun-na	DD	Enki
88. DME 76: FAOS 12 A, ii 20'–37'	Geller 1985, 22–25	against demons	Nippur	[^d as]al-lú- ^{hi}	PL	Enkis and Ninkis, Enkum, Ninkum, Enki
89. DME 79: FAOS 12 A, iii 10'–27'	Geller 1985, 24–27	against udug- ^{hul} demon	Nippur	^d asal-lú- ^{hi} -ke ₄	PL, DL	Enki, Damgalnuna?
90. DME 82: FAOS 12 A, v 6'–19'	Geller 1985, 28–29	against demons	Nippur	^d asal' -l[ú- ^{hi}]	PL	An, Namma

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
91. DME 85: FAOS 12 A, vii 1–28	Geller 1985, 32–33	against demons	Nippur	^d asal-lú-ġi	PL	Enki, Damgalnuna, Namma, Nansē, Ĥendursaġa
92. DME 152: CT 42 6, i 33' – ii 22	unedited	against evil eye?/evil?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	PL	Ensigalabzu, Endašurimma, Nindašurimma, Ninegal, Enki, Utu, Namma
93. DME 191: TIM 9 68	unedited	against udug-ġul demon	unknown	^d r ^r asal'-lú-ġi	PL	Ĥendursaġa, Enki, Nergal
94. DME 251: VAS 17 30	unedited	?	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	PL, FE	Enki, Damgalnuna, Nammu
95. CUSAS 32 11j, v 18–32	unedited	?	unknown	–	PL	–
96. DME 269: YOS 11 48	Conti 1988, 124–125; Emelianov 1998, 48	consecration of lustration water	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON	Enki
97. DME 241: VAS 17 15	Conti 1988, 116–121	consecration of lustration water	unknown	–	CON	Enki
98. CUSAS 32 5f, iii 1'–31'	George 2016, 58 (II. iii 20'–30')	consecration of lustration water	unknown	^d asar-e	CON, NSF	–
99. DME 240: VAS 17 14	Wilson 1994, 38–40	consecration of lustration water	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi[j]	CON	Enbilulu, Enki, Utu
100. DME 159: MVN 5 302, iii 6'–v 11'	unedited	consecration of lustration water	unknown	^d asar-re	CON	Enki, Enbilulu
101. DME 267: YOS 11 46	van Dijk 1985, 35; Emelianov 1998, 47	consecration of a vessel of lustration water	unknown	^d asar	CON	Erra?, Mami, Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
102. CUSAS 32 5b, i 11'-39'	George 2016, 57-58	consecration of a ritual vessel (<i>saġhar</i> -pot)	unknown	^d asar-e; ^d asar-a im-nun-na	CON, NŠF	Enki (as nun-e), Damgalnuna, Kusu, Enlil, Ninurra
103. DME 242: VAS 17 16	unedited	consecration of reed and lustration water	unknown	^d asal- ú-ġi	CON	Namma, Enki, Ningirim
104. DME 243: VAS 17 17	unedited	consecration of reed and lustration water	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON	Enki
105. CUSAS 32 5d, ii 8'-40'	unedited	consecration of a reed hut	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON	Nanše, Ninkurra, Enki, Kusu, Enlil
106. CUSAS 32 6w, vii 23-31	unedited	consecration of a reed hut	unknown	^d asal-'lú-ġi	CON	Enki
107. CUSAS 32 5h, iv 2'-44'	unedited	consecration of tamarisk	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON	An, Utu, Enki, Nimlil, Damgalnuna
108. CUSAS 32 33b, 12-21	unedited	consecration of tamarisk	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON, FE	-
109. CUSAS 32 6c, ii 9-iii 8	George 2016, 61-63	consecration of a cosmic quay	unknown	^d asar	CON	Enki, Damgalnuna, seven heroes (sons of the abzu), Enkis and Ninkis, Nin-DA, Nin-BÁRA, Enlil, Nimlil, Inanna
110. CUSAS 32 6r, vi 35-44	George 2016, 69-70	consecration after stepping in spit	unknown	^d asal-lú-ġi	CON	Utu
111. CUSAS 32 6t, vii 1-6	George 2016, 71-72	consecration of a garment	unknown	-	CON	Uttu
112. CUSAS 32 11g, iv 1'-9'	George 2016, 74-77	consecration of bread	unknown	[^d asar-a]im-nun-na	CON, MAU	Enki, An, Utu

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
113. CUSAS 32 17c, rev. 2'–11'	George 2016, 73–74	consecration of dairy products	unknown	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	CON	–
114. DME 102: MS A : YOS 11 53; MS B : Michalowski 1993, p. 162 (N 4237); MS C : Michalowski 1993, p. 162 (BM 29383)	Michalowski 1993, 153–156 (texts B, C, A)	consecration of a torch	MS A : unknown MS B : Nippur MS C : Sippar?	MS A : ^d asar-a-nun-na MS B : - MS C : -	CON	Enki, Gibil
115. DME 135: VAS 24 52, rev. i' 1'–ii' 10'	unedited	consecration of a royal linen thread	Babylon	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	CON	Enki, Ningirim
116. CUSAS 32 35	unedited	consecration of a statue	unknown	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	CON	Ninagal, Aruru, Enlil, Enki
117. UET 6/3 666	Peterson 2019, 826	consecration of body parts	Ur	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	CON	Enki
118. DME 96: FAOS 12 B, vii 1'–32'	Geller 1985, 54–57	against demons	Nippur	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	NŠF	–
119. MS A : CUSAS 32 7f, iii 1'–18'; MS B : CUSAS 32 8b, i 6'–23'	George 2016, 105–106	against rabid dogs	unknown	MS A : ^d asal-lú- ^{hi} MS B : -	NŠF	Nimisina
120. MS A : CUSAS 32 7j, v 12–25; MS B : CUSAS 32 8i, iv 20–31	George 2016, 125–127	against stomach-ache	unknown	MS A : ^d asal-lú- ^{hi} MS B : ^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	NŠF	Enki
121. CUSAS 32 10f, vii 1'–12'	unedited	against illness?	unknown	^d [a]sal-lú- ^{hi} ; ^d asar-nun-na	NŠF, MAU	Utu, Enki
122. DME 115: CT 4 3	Cooper 1971, 12–22	against malevolent oath?/curse?	Sippar?	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	FE, NŠF	Enki
123. DME 131: VAS 24 45,	unedited	against field pests	Babylon	^d asal-lú- ^{hi}	FE	Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
rev. 1'–9'						
124. DME 172: PBS 1/2 127, vi	Geller 1985, 72–73	against udug-ḫul demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	FE	Nanna, Nindagalzu, Ninisina
125. DME 184: TCL 16 89	Thomsen 1992, 31–32	against evil eye	unknown	^d asar-re	FE	–
126. DME 186: TIM 9 62, rev.	unedited	against snakes	Shadup-pum (Tell Harmal)	^d asal-lú-ḫi	FE	Inanna, Enki?
127. DME 190: MS A: TIM 9 64; MS B: YOS 11 77, 16–26	van Dijk 1985, 47	?	MS A: unknown MS B: unknown	MS A: ^d asar, ^d asal-lú-ḫi MS B: [^d as]al-lú-ḫi	FE	Gilgamesh?
128. DME 258: YOS 11 31	unedited	against snakes	unknown	^d r asal-lú-ḫi	FE	Enlil
129. DME 259: YOS 11 32	van Dijk 1969, 541–543 (only transliteration)	against snakes	unknown	-	FE	Ninazu, Ningirim
130. ASI 17, p. 97, 1–16	Cavigneaux 1995, 78–91	against scorpions	Meturan	a-sa-ri	FE	Inanna, Dumuzi, Enki
131. ASI 17, p. 99, rev.	Cavigneaux 1995, 78–91	against snakes and scorpions	Meturan	e-sar-ri	FE	Inanna, Dumuzi, Enki
132. CUSAS 32 37a, obv. 1–10	George 2016, 90	against Lamaštu	unknown	^d asal-lú-ḫi	FE	Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Nergal
133. CUSAS 32 43	George 2016, 150–151	? (entering Ur and Uruk)	unknown	^d asal (URU)-lú-ḫi	FE	Enki, Namma
134. CUSAS 32 11a, i 1'–6'	unedited	against udug-ḫul demon	unknown	–	MAU	–
135. DME 125: MS A: CT 44 32+33 i 1'–v' 6'; MS B: YOS 11 93	Borger 1969	against demons and illnesses	MS A: Sippar? MS B: unknown	MS A: [^d asar-a]im-nu]n-na, ^d asal-lú-ḫi; MS B: - (Utu	NF, ZP	Girra, Enki, Ninurta, Enlil, Inanna, Ningirim, Bau, Gula, Ḫendursaga,

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
				instead of A.)		Utu
136. DME 126: CT 44 32+33, v' 7' -vii' 27'	Borger 1969	adjurations by the name of deities	Sippar?	^d asal-lú-[h]i	ZP	Anšar & Kišar? (not extant), Enlil, Ninlil, Šulpac, Ninḫursag, Enki, Dam(gal)nuna, Nanna, Ningal?, Iškur?, Šuzabarku?, Nergal, Ninniḡingarra, Ninurta, Ninnibru, Inanna, Ea?, Panunanki?
137. DME 148: ASJ 15, pp. 267-272	Alster 1991	incantation to Utu against gidim	unknown	[^d asal-lú]-h]i	NF	Nin-..., Enlil, Utu, Niḡišzida, Bīti, Enki, Šerida, Ninlil, Damgalnuna, Suen, Ningal
138. DME 169: OECT 5 24	unedited	against snakes	unknown	^d asal-[lú]-h]i	NF	Enki, Ningirim
139. DME 187: TIM 9 63, I' -5'	Tonietti 1979, 304-308	against Lamaštu	unknown	^d asal-lú-h]i	ZP	Enlil
140. DME 196: TIM 9 76	unedited	?	unknown	^d asal-lú-h]i	NF	-
141. DME 211: VAS 17 1, ii 20' -iv 12	Veldhuis 1992, 33 (ll. iii 41-48)	against snakes	unknown	^d asal-lú-h]i	NF	Ningirim, Enki, Damgalnuna, Nanše, Nin-MAR.KI, Nin-KASKAL.GA.SAR
142. DME 227: VAS 17 10, 64-69	unedited	against scorpions	unknown	^d asar-re	NF	-
143. DME 229: VAS 17 10, 73-80	unedited	against scorpions	unknown	^d asal-lú-h]i	NF	-

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
144. DME 234: VAS 17 10, 105–116	unedited	against scorpions	unknown	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Enki
145. DME 253: VAS 17 32, 1–20	van Dijk 1971b, 471 (only translation)	against illness?	unknown	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Enki
146. DME 288: YOS 11 69, rev. 1'–7'	Veldhuis 2004, 300 (ll. 2'–7')	against field pests	unknown	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Enki
147. ASI 17, p. 96	Cavigneaux 1995, 93–94	against snakes	Nippur	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF (list of deities)	Utu, Nanna, Ninisina, Nintinugga, Damu
148. CUSAS 32 7a, i 1'–7'	unedited	for safe travelling in the steppe?	unknown	[^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi]	NF	Enki
149. CUSAS 32 13c, ii 1'–30'	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Utu, Enki
150. CUSAS 32 13d, iii 1'–22'	unedited	against namtar-demon	unknown	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Enki
151. CUSAS 32 39	George 2016, 81–82	against demons	unknown	–	ZP	An, Ki, Uraš, Enlil, Ninlil, Amanki, Damgalnuna, Ḫendursaga?, Ningišzida, Ninurta,
152. HSAO 1, pp. 267–268	van Dijk 1967	ritual involving the king	Babylon or Sippar?	^d asal-lú-l̄-ḫi	NF	Enlil, An, Suen, Dumuzi, Enki, Nigirsig

* only Enki's answer to A. has survived

Table V: Asalluhi in Old Babylonian bilingual incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
1. DME 309: PRAK 2 C1	Lambert 1991	against a bleating goat who is distracting the sleep of Enki/Ea (parody?)	Kiš	Wise One (lú.kù.zu/e- <i>em-qá-am</i>)	DD	Enki/Ea, Enlil, Šakkan
2. DME 311: CT 4 8a	S. Cohen 1976, 102–103 (ll. 35–40); Foster 1996 I, 124 (ll. 1–17, only translation)	against constipation	Sippar?	Sum. Text: ^d asa-lú- <i>hi</i> Akk. Text: ^d AMAR. UTU	DD	Enki/Ea
3. DME 313: PBS 1/2 122	Geller 1989	against witchcraft	unknown	^d asa-lú- <i>hi</i>	DD, NŠF, FE, MAU	Enki, Gilgames, Utu, Nergal, Ningišzida, Gibil, Ninurta, Ilurugu, An
4. DME 314: RA 70, pp. 135 & 137	M. E. Cohen 1976, 133–140	against complications at childbirth	unknown	Sum. text: ^d asa-lú- <i>hi</i> Akk. text: [^d J AMAR .UTU]	DD	Enki*

* only Enki's answer to A. has survived

Table VI: Asalluhi in Old Babylonian Akkadian incantations

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
1. DME 339: MLVS 2, 2f. (023–028)	Geller and Wiggermann 2008, 153–156	against several illnesses	Larsa	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DL	Ea, Enlil (Nunammir), Ninkarrak, Damu, Adad, Sumuqan, Id, Šamaš, Išrānu, Divine twins, children of Šin (Šamaš and Ištar), Nanše
2. DME 351: JCS 9, p. 9	Goetze 1955 (text A); Foster 1996, 116–117	against several illnesses	Umma?	^d a-sa-lú-ḫi	DL, NŠF	Daughters of Anu, Damu, Ninkarrak, Ningirim, Enki
3. DME 362: MC 17, pp. 443–444	Farber 2014, 120–125 & 180–181	against Lamaštu	Babylon or Sippar?	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD, CF	Anu, Ea, Nabu, Ninurta, Marduk, Šarpanitum, Šamaš, Šakkan
4. DME 375: YOS 11 5, 27–28	van Dijk 1985, 20	against wasps?	Larsa area?	ĜIŠ.AB-lú-ḫi	DD?	Enki
5. DME 397: YOS 11 21a, 1–9	SEAL no. 5.1.27.41	?	Larsa area?	[^d as]al-lú-ḫi	FE (Sum.)	Su'en, Enki
6. DME 404: YOS 11 86, 1–28	van Dijk 1973; Foster 1996 I, 138 (only translation)	against complications at childbirth	Larsa area?	^d asal-lú-ḫi	DD	Enki, Bēlet-ilī
7. AMD 1, p. 287, rev.	Hallo 1999, 278–279	against fungus?/witch?	unknown	^d lú-asar-ḫi	NF	Ea
8. MS A: CUSAS 32 7o, vi 9–44; MS B: CUSAS 32 8i, ii 40'–iii 38	George 2016, 129–132	against stomach-ache (“heart-grass”)	MS A: unknown MS B: unknown	MS A: ^r d[^d [a]sal-lú-ḫi MS B: ^d as[al-lú-ḫi]	NF	Šamaš, Šin, Enki

Text	Edition (transliteration & translation)	Purpose	Origin	Writing	Deity's role	Other deities mentioned
9. CUSAS 32 211, rev. 24'-35'	George 2016, 45 (II. 32'-34); George 2016, 112 (I. 31'); SEAL no. 5.1.19.3	against scorpions	unknown	-	DD	Sîn, Ea/Enki*
10. CUSAS 32 24a, obv. 1-8	George 2016, 115-116	against scorpions	unknown	a-sà-lu-ùḫ	NF	Ea
11. CUSAS 32 26a, i' 1'-13'	George 2016, 142	against complications at childbirth	Larsa?	^d asal-lu-ḫi	DD	Ninhursāg
12. CUSAS 32 28a, 1-19	George 2016, 140-141	against complications at childbirth	unknown	^d asal-lu-[ḫi]	DD	Belet-ilī
13. CUSAS 32 30a, i 1-10	George 2016, 134	against stomach-ache	unknown	^d asal-lu-ḫi	NF	-
14. CUSAS 32 30d, ii 1-27	George 2016, 114-115	against scorpions	unknown	^d asal-lu-ḫi	DL	Enki, Ensigalabzu
15. CUSAS 32 32a, obv. 1-19	George 2016, 135-138	against problems with stomach and digestive tract	unknown	^d asal-lu-ḫi	NF	Enki/Ea, Nuska, Ištar?
16. CUSAS 32 50b, 6-12	George 2016, 116-118	against wasps?	unknown	[^d]asal-lu-ḫi	DD?	-
17. CUSAS 32 51	George 2016, 116-118	against wasps?	unknown	^d asal-lu-ḫi	DD?	Ea

* only Enki's answer to Asalluḫi has survived

ABBREVIATIONS

- A Tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
- AAICAB 1/1 J.-P. Grégoire, *Contribution à l'Histoire Sociale, Économique, Politique et Culturelle du Proche-Orient Ancien. Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford. I. Les Sources. 1* (Paris 1996)
- AbB Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung, hrsg. von F. R. Kraus (Leiden 1964ff.)
- AbB 2 R. Frankena, *Briefe aus dem British Museum (LIH und CT 2 – 33)* (Leiden 1966)
- AbB 7 F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 52)* (Leiden 1977)
- AbB 10 F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus kleineren westeuropäischen Sammlungen* (Leiden 1985)
- AbB 13 W. H. van Soldt, *Letters in the British Museum: Part 2* (Leiden 1994)
- AfK Archiv für Keilschriftforschung (Berlin 1923–1925)
- AfO Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, Graz, Horn, Wien 1923ff.)
- ALASP(M) Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens (Münster 1988ff.)
- AMD Ancient Magic and Divination (Groningen 1999ff.)
- AMD 1 T. Abusch, K. van der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Groningen 1999)
- AMD 8/2 T. Abusch, D. Schwemer, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals, Volume Two* (Leiden 2016)
- Anadolu Anadolu, Revue annuelle des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie (Paris 1951ff.)
- AnOr Analecta Orientalia (Rome 1931ff.)
- AnOr 45 G. Pettinato, *Texte zur Verwaltung der Landwirtschaft in der Ur-III Zeit* (Rome 1969)
- Annuaire École Pratique des Hautes Études. IV^e section, sciences historiques et philologiques. Annuaire (Paris 1893ff.)
- AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer, Neukirchen Vluyn, Münster 1969ff.)
- AoF Altorientalische Forschungen (Berlin 1974ff.)
- AOS American Oriental Series
- ARN M. Çiğ, H. Kizilyay, F.R. Kraus, *Enski Babil zamanina ait Nippur hukkukî vesikalari: altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur* (Istanbul 1962)
- ARET Archivi reali di Ebla – Testi (Rome 1985ff.)
- ARET 5 D. O. Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes aus dem Archiv L. 2769* (Rome 1984)
- ArOr Archív Orientální (Prague 1929ff.)
- AS Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
- ASJ Acta Sumerologica (Hiroshima 1979ff.)
- ATU Archaische Texte aus Uruk
- ATU 2 M. W. Green, H. J. Nissen, *Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin 1987)

ATU 3	R. K. Englund, H. J. Nissen, <i>Die Lexikalischen Listen der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin 1993)
AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts (Berrien Springs)
AUCT 1	M. Sigrist, <i>Neo-Sumerian account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> (Berrien Springs 1984)
AUCT 2	M. Sigrist, <i>Neo-Sumerian account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> (Berrien Springs 1988)
AUCT 3	M. Sigrist, <i>Neo-Sumerian account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> (Berrien Springs 1988)
AuOr	Aula Orientalis (Barcelona 1983ff.)
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie (Leipzig 1890ff.)
BaFo	Baghdader Forschungen (Mainz 1979ff.)
BAM	Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen (Berlin 1963ff.)
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Berlin 1982ff.)
BBVO 11	R.L. Zettler, <i>The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur. The Operation and Organization of Urban Religious Institutions in Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium B.C.</i> (Berlin 1992)
BDTNS	Base des Datos de Textos Neosumerios (Madrid)
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, siglum
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu 1975ff.)
BiMes 1	A. Westenholz, <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Chiefly from Nippur. Part 1: Literary and Lexical Texts, end the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur</i> (Malibu 1975)
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies (New Haven 1917ff.)
BIN 7	J. B. Alexander, <i>Early Babylonian Letters and Economic Texts</i> (New Haven 1943)
BIN 8	G. G. Hackman, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts from Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty</i> (New Haven 1958)
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden 1943/44ff.)
BL	S. H. Langdon, <i>Babylonian Liturgies</i> (Paris 1913)
BLMJ	Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem
BPOA	Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Madrid, 2006ff.)
BPOA 2	T. Ozaki, M. Sigrist, <i>Ur III Administrative Tablets from the British Museum. Part Two</i> (Madrid 2006)
BM	British Museum (London), siglum
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture (Cambridge 1984ff.)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago 1956ff.)
CBT	Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London)
CBT 2	M. Sigrist, H. H. Figulla, C. B. F. Walker, <i>Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. II</i> (London 1996)
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, http://cdli.ucla.edu/
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden 2000ff.)
CM	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen/Leiden 1992ff.)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London 1986ff.)

- CTMMA Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 1988 ff.)
- CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Bethesda 2007ff.)
- CUSAS 3 D. I. Owen, R. Mayr, *The Garšana Archives* (Bethesda 2007)
- CUSAS 8 K. van Lerberghe, G. Voet, *A Late Babylonian Temple Archive from Dūr-Abiešuḫ* (Bethesda 2009)
- CUSAS 11 G. Visicato, A. Westenholz, *Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic Tablets from Adab in the Cornell University Collections* (Bethesda 2010)
- CUSAS 12 M. Civil, *The Lexical Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (Bethesda 2010)
- CUSAS 14 S. F. Monaco, *Early Dynastic mu-iti Cereal Texts in the Cornell University Cuneiform Collections* (Bethesda 2011)
- CUSAS 16 S. Garfinkle, H. Sauren, M. van de Mieroop, *The Columbia University Tablets* (Bethesda 2010)
- CUSAS 20 F. Pomponio, G. Visicato, *Middle Sargonic Tablets Chiefly from Adab in the Cornell University Collections* (Bethesda 2015)
- CUSAS 32 = George 2016
- CUSAS 33 P. Notizia, G. Visicato, *Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic Administrative Texts Mainly from the Umma Region in the Cornell University Cuneiform Collections* (Bethesda 2016)
- CUT K. V. Zand, *Die UD.GAL.NUN-Texte: Ein allographisches Corpus sumerischer Mythen aus dem Frühdynastikum* (PhD Thesis, Jena 2009)
- DCCLT Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts, UC Berkeley, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/>
- DCÉPHÉ J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IVe section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Tome 1: catalogue et copies cunéiformes* (Paris 1981)
- DME G. Cunningham, 'Deliver Me from Evil': *Mesopotamian incantations 2500–1500 BCE* (Rome 1997)
- DP F.-M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques* (Paris 1908-1920)
- ETCSL Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>
- FAOS Freiburger altorientalische Studien (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart)
- FAOS 7 I. J. Gelb, B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des Dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1990)
- Fs. Borger Ed. by S. M. Maul, *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994. tikip santakki mala bašmu* (Groningen 1998)
- Fs. Hilprecht *Assyriologische und archäologische Studien Hermann V. Hilprecht zu seinem fünfundzwanzigsten Doktorjubiläum und seinem fünfzigsten Geburtstag (28. Juli) gewidmet von seinen Kollegen, Freunden und Verehren* (Leipzig 1909)
- Fs. Larsen Ed. by J. G. Dercksen, *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen* (Leiden 2004)
- Fs. Lipinski Ed. by K. van Lerberghe, A. Schoors, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipinski*. OLA 65 (Leuven 1995)

- Fs. Pettinato Ed. by H. Waetzoldt, *Von Sumer nach Ebla un Zurück: Festschrift Giovanni Pettinato zum 27. September 1999 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (Heidelberg 2004)
- Fs. Sigrist Ed. by P. Michalowski, *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist* (Boston 2008)
- Fs. Wiggermann Ed. By D. Kertai, O. Nieuwenhuyse, *From the Four Corners of the Earth: Studies in Iconography and Cultures of the Ancient Near East in Honour of F. A. M. Wiggermann* (Münster 2017)
- GAAL Göttinger Arbeitshefte zur altorientalischen Literatur (Göttingen 2000ff.)
- GBAO Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient
- HSAO Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
- HSAO 1 *Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966* (Wiesbaden 1967)
- HLC Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh (Philadelphia 1905–1914)
- HLC 2 G. A. Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh, Part II* (Philadelphia 1909)
- HUCA Hebrew University College Annual (Cincinnati 1924ff.)
- IAS = OIP 99
- Imgula W. Sommerfeld (ed.), *Imgula* (Münster/Marburg 1996ff.)
- Imgula 3/1 W. Sommerfeld, *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit. 1. Das Dijala-Gebiet: Tutub* (Münster 1999)
- IrAn *Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden 1961ff.)
- Iraq Iraq: British School of Archaeology in Iraq (London 1934ff.)
- ITT Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservés au Musée Impérial Ottoman (Paris 1910–1921)
- ITT 3 H. de Genouillac, *Textes de l'époque d'Ur* (Paris 1912)
- ITT 4 L. Delaporte, *Textes de l'Époque d'Ur* (Paris 1912)
- ITT 5 H. de Genouillac, *Époque Présargonique, Époque d'Agadé, Époque d'Ur* (Paris 1921)
- JANER *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* (Leiden 2001ff.)
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven 1843/49ff.)
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven 1947ff.)
- JCS SS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplement Series*
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden 1957/58ff.)
- KAV O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920)
- LAK A. Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen* (Leipzig 1922)
- LSS NF *Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge* (Leipzig 1931–1932)
- Lippmann Coll M. Molina, *Sargonic Cuneiform Tablets in the Real Academia de la Historia: The Carl L. Lippmann Collection* (Madrid 2014)
- Mäetagused Mäetagused, *Journal of Folkloristics. Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu.*
- MAH Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (Geneva), siglum
- MARI Mari: *Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* (Paris 1982ff.)
- MC *Mesopotamian Civilizations* (Winona Lake 1989ff.)

- MC 17 W. Farber, *Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.* (Winona Lake 2014)
- MEE
MEE 3 G. Pettinato, *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla* (Napoli 1979ff.)
MEE 4 G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769. Parte I: Traslitterazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE* (Napoli 1982)
- Mesopotamia
MHM Mesopotamian History and Environment, Memoirs (Ghent)
MHET Mesopotamian History and Environment, Texts (Ghent)
MHET 2/2 L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents. Part 2: Documents from the Reign of Hammurabi* (Ghent 1994)
MHET 2/4 L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum. Part 4: Post-Samsu-iluna Documents* (Ghent 1995)
- MLVS Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschriftinscripties (Amsterdam 1933-1936).
- MSL
MSL 4 B. Landsberger, R. T. Hallock, T. Jacobsen, A. Falkenstein, *Emesal-Vocabulary; Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts; Neobabylonian Grammatical Texts* (Rome 1956).
MSL 11 E. Reiner, M. Civil, *ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu. Tablets XX - XXIV. Miscellaneous Geographical Lists* (Rome 1974)
MSL 12 M. Civil et al, *lú = ša and Related Texts* (Rome 1969)
MSL 13 M. Civil et al, *Izi = išātu, Ká-gal = abullu, and Níg-ga = makkūru* (Rome 1971)
MSL 15 M. Civil, *The Series DIRI = (w)atru* (Rome 2004)
- MVN
MVN 3 D. I. Owen, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection* (Rome 1975)
MVN 5 E. Sollberger, *The Pinches Manuscript* (Rome 1978)
MVN 6 G. Pettinato, H. Waetzoldt, F. Pomponio, *Testi economici de Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul. Parte I: La. 7001–7600* (Rome 1977)
MVN 8 D. Calvot, *Textes économiques du Selluš-Dagan du Musée du Louvre et du Collège de France* (Rome 1979)
MVN 10 J.-P. Grégoire, *Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes* (Rome 1981)
MVN 13 M. Sigrist, D. I. Owen, G. D. Young, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection – Part II* (Rome 1984)
MVN 15 D. I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from American Collections* (Rome 1991)
MVN 18 M. Molina, *Tablillas administrativas neosumerias de la Abadía de Montserrat (Barcelona). Copias Cuneiformes* (Rome 1993)
MVN 21 H. Waetzoldt, F. Yildiz, *Die Umma-Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul. Band II. Nr. 601–1600* (Rome 1994)
MVN 22 M. Molina, *Testi amministrativi neosumerici del British Museum. BM 13601–14300* (Rome 2003)
- MWM Melammu Workshops and Monographs
- NABU N. A. B. U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires (Rouen, Paris 1987ff.)

NATN	D. I. Owen, <i>Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur</i> (Winona Lake 1982)
NATU	Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts kept in the British Museum (Messina 2005ff.)
Nebraska	N. W. Forde, <i>Nebraska Cuneiform Texts of the Sumerian Ur III Dynasty</i> (Lawrence 1967)
NES	Department of Near Eastern Studies, Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), siglum
Nik.	M. V. Nikol'skij, <i>Dokumenty chozjajstvennoi otčetnosti drevnejšej. Vostočnoj Komisii Imperatorskago Moskovskago Archeologičeskago Obščestva</i>
Nik. 1	M. V. Nikol'skij, <i>Dokumenty chozjajstvennoj otčetnosti drevnejšej ěpochi Chaldei iz sobranija N. P. Lichačeva</i> (St. Petersburg 1908)
Nik. 2	M.V. Nikol'skij, <i>Dokumenty chozjajstvennoj otčetnosti drevnej Chaldei iz sobranija N. P. Lichačeva Čast' II</i> (Moscow 1915)
Nisaba	Studi Assiriologici Messinesi (Messina 2002ff.)
Nisaba 11	F. N. H. Al-Rawi, L. Verderame, <i>Documenti amministrativi neo-sumerici da Umma conservati al British Museum (NATU II)</i> (Messina 2006)
Nisaba 18	A. Anastasi, F. Pomponio, <i>Neo-Sumerian Girsu Texts of Various Contents kept in the British Museum (with an Appendix of Stefania Altavilla)</i> (Messina 2009)
Nisaba 24	F. N. H Al-Rawi, F. D. D'Agostino, J. Taylor, <i>Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from Umma kept in the British Museum, Part Four (NATU IV)</i> (Messina 2009)
Nisaba 26	F. N. H. Al-Rawi, F. Gorello, P. Notizia, P., <i>Neo Sumerian Administrative Texts from Umma Kept in the British Museum, Part Five (NATU V)</i> (Messina 2013)
NRVN 1	M. Çig, H. Kizilyay, H., <i>Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-urkunden aus Nippur I = Yeni Sumer Cagina ait Nippur Hukukı ve Idarı Belgeleri I</i> (Ankara 1965)
NTŠŠ	R. Jestin, <i>Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul</i> (Paris 1957)
NYPL	H. Sauren, <i>Les Tablettes Cuneiformes de l'Epoque d'Ur de la New York Public Library</i> (Louvain-la-Neuve 1978)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg Switzerland 1973ff.)
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts (Oxford 1923ff.)
OECT 1	S. Langdon, <i>The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean, vol I: Sumerian and Semitic Religious and Historical Texts</i> (Oxford 1923)
OECT 2	S. Langdon, <i>The Weld-Blundell Collection, vol II: Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B 444</i> (Oxford 1923)
OECT 5	O. R. Gurney, S. N. Kramer, <i>Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum</i> (Oxford 1976)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago 1924ff.)
OIP 14	D. D. Luckenbill, <i>Inscriptions from Adab</i> (Chicago 1930)
OIP 99	R. D. Biggs, <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh</i> (Chicago 1974)

- OIP 115 M. Hilgert, *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, vol. 1: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi* (Chicago 1998)
- OIP 121 M. Hilgert, *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, vol. 2: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena* (Chicago 2003)
- OLA Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta (Leuven 1975ff.)
- OPKF Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund (Philadelphia 1988ff.)
- ORA Orientalische Religionen in der Antike (Tübingen 2009ff.)
- OrAn Oriens antiquus: rivista del Centro per la antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente (Rome 1962–1990)
- Orient Orient. Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan (Tokyo 1960ff.)
- OrNS Orientalia, Nova Series (Rome 1932ff.)
- OrSP Orientalia, Series Prior (Rome 1920–1930)
- PAPS Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia 1838ff.)
- PBS The University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum – Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia 1911ff.)
- PBS 1/2 H. F. Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Philadelphia 1919)
- PBS 8/2 E. Chiera, *Old Babylonian Contracts* (Philadelphia 1922)
- PDT Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen
- PDT 1 A. Salonen, M. Çiğ, H. Kizilyay, *Teil I: Nrr. 1–725* (Helsinki 1954)
- PDT 2 F. Yildiz, T. Gomi, *Teil II: Nrr. 726–1379*. FAOS 16 (Stuttgart 1988)
- PIHANS Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul (Leiden 1956ff.).
- PPAC Periodic Publications on Ancient Civilisations (Changchun: The Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations, 1989ff.)
- PPAC 4 T. Ozaki, M. Sigrist, *Tablets in Jerusalem: Sainte-Anne and Saint-Étienne* (Changchun 2010)
- PPAC 5 T. Ozaki, M. Sigrist, *Administrative Ur III Texts in the British Museum*, 2 Volumes (Changchun 2013)
- Princeton 1 M. Sigrist, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary. Époque d'Ur III* (Philadelphia 1990)
- Princeton 2 M. Sigrist, *Tablets from the Princeton Theological Seminary. Ur III Period. Part 2*. (Philadelphia 2008)
- PSD The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia 1984ff.)
- RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale (Paris 1886ff.)
- RGTC Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (=Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B Nr. 7, Wiesbaden 1974ff.)
- RGTC 1 D. O. Edzard, G. Farber, E. Sollberger, *Die Orts- und Gewässername der präargonischen und sargonischen Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1977)
- RIME The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods (Toronto 1990ff.)
- RIME 1 D. R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)* (Toronto 2008)

- RIME 2 D. R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)* (Toronto 1993)
- RIME 3/1 D. O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty* (Toronto 1997)
- RIME 3/2 D. R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)* (Toronto 1997)
- RIME 4 D. R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595)* (Toronto 1990)
- RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie) (Berlin 1928ff.)
- RTC F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes* (Paris 1903)
- SAALT State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts (Helsinki 2001ff.)
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies (Helsinki 1992ff.)
- SANER Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Boston/Berlin 2012ff.)
- SANER 2 A. Seri, *The House of Prisoners: Slavery and State in Uruk during the Revolt against Samsu-iluna* (Boston/Berlin 2013)
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago 1931ff.)
- SAT Sumerian Archival Texts (Bethesda)
- SAT 2 M. Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections, Part I* (Bethesda 2000)
- SAT 3 M. Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection, Part II* (Bethesda 2000)
- SBH A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin 1896)
- SBL WAW Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World Series (Atlanta 1990ff.)
- SCCNH Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians (Winona Lake 1981ff.)
- SEAL Sources of Early Akkadian Literature, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, University of Leipzig, <http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de>
- SEL Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Verona 1984ff.)
- SIA Yang Chi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab* (Changchun 1989)
- SF A. Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara* (Leipzig 1923)
- SLB Studia ad Tabulas Cuneiformas collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl Pertinentia (Leiden 1952ff.)
- SLT E. Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur* (Chicago 1929, =OIP 11)
- SLTN S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul* (New Haven 1944)
- SNAT T. Gomi, S. Sato, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum* (Chui-Gakuin University 1990)
- StMes Studia Mesopotamica: Jahrbuch für altorientalische Geschichte und Kultur (Münster 2014ff.)
- StP s.m. Studia Pohl, series maior (Rome 1969ff.)
- StSem Studi Semitici (Rome 1958ff.)
- STVC E. Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (Chicago 1934)
- TAD S. Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem* (Paris 1911)
- TBC Texts from the Babylonian Collection (New Haven 1986)
- TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre (Paris 1910ff.)
- TCL 2 H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem publiées avec inventaire et inventaire et tables* (Paris 1911)

TCL 15	H. de Genouillac, <i>Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre</i> (Paris 1930)
TCL 16	H. de Genouillac, <i>Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre</i> (Paris 1930)
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources (New York 1966ff.)
TCS 1	E. Sollberger, <i>The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur</i> (Locust Valley 1966)
TCTI 1	B. Lafont, F. Yildiz, <i>Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul: datant de l'époque de la IIIe Dynastie d'Ur</i> . Tome I (Leiden 1989)
TD	H. de Genouillac, <i>La trouvaille de Dreheim</i> (Paris 1911)
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad/Wiesbaden 1964ff.)
TIM 9	J. van Dijk, <i>Texts of Varying Content</i> (Leiden 1976)
TLB	Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae (Leiden 1954ff.)
TMH	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
TMH 1-2	A. S. J. Pohl, <i>Rechts und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur</i> (Leipzig 1937)
TMH 5	A. Pohl, <i>Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte</i> (Leipzig 1935)
TMH 6	J. van Dijk, M. J. Geller, <i>Ur III Incantations from the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Collection, Jena</i> (Wiesbaden 2003)
TSA	H. de Genouillac, <i>Tablettes sumériennes archaïques</i> (Paris 1909)
TSO	Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, Hildesheim
TSS	R. Jestin, <i>Tablettes sumériennes de Shuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul</i> (Paris 1937)
TUT	G. Reisner, <i>Tempelurkunden aus Telloh</i> (Berlin 1901)
U.	Ur (London/Philadelphia/Bagdad), siglum
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley 1907ff.)
UCP 9/2	H. Lutz, <i>Sumerian Temple Records of the Late Ur Dynasty, Parts 1-2</i> (Berkeley 1928)
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts (London 1928ff.)
UET 1	C. J. Gadd, L. Legrain, <i>Royal Inscriptions</i> (London 1928)
UET 2	E. Burrows, <i>Archaic Texts</i> (London 1935)
UET 3	L. Legrain, <i>Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur</i> (London, Philadelphia 1937)
UET 5	H. H. Figulla, W. J. Martin, <i>Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian Period</i> (London 1953)
UET 6/1	C. J. Gadd, S. N. Kramer, <i>Literary and Religious Texts, First Part</i> (London 1963)
UET 6/2	C. J. Gadd, S. N. Kramer, <i>Literary and Religious Texts, Second Part</i> (London 1966)
UET 6/3	A. Shaffer, <i>Literary and Religious Texts, Third Part</i> (London 2006)
UET 7	O. R. Gurney, <i>Middle Babylonian Legal Documents and Other Texts</i> (London 1974)
UET 9	D. Loding, <i>Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty</i> (Philadelphia 1976)
Ugaritica	Ugaritica. Mission de Ras Shamra (Paris 1939–1978)
UM	University Museum (Philadelphia), siglum

- UNT H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie* (Rome 1972)
- USP B. R. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (Hamden 1982)
- VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin (Leipzig (1907–1917), Berlin (1971ff.))
- VAS 2 H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit. Erste Reihe* (Leipzig 1912)
- VAS 10 H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit. Zweite Reihe* (Leipzig 1913)
- VAS 17 J. van Dijk, *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte* (Berlin 1971)
- VAS 24 J. van Dijk, *Literarische Texte aus Babylon* (Berlin 1987)
- ViOr Vicino Oriente: annuario dell' Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente dell' Università di Roma (Rome 1978–2000)
- W Tablets excavated at Warka, siglum
- W-B The H. Weld-Blundell Collection (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), siglum
- WMAH H. Sauren, *Wirtschaftsurkunden aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur im Besitz des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf* (Naples 1969)
- YBC Yale Babylonian Collection (New Haven), siglum
- YOS Yale Oriental Series (New Haven 1915ff.)
- YOS 11 J. van Dijk, A. Goetze, M. I. Hussey, *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals* (New Haven, London 1985)
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie (Leipzig, Berlin 1886ff.)

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Jumal Asar/Asalluḫi varajases Mesopotaamia panteonis

Doktoritöö kuulub laiemalt orientalistikateaduse Lähis-Ida uuringute harusse ning kitsamalt Vana-Lähis-Ida usundiloo valdkonda. Kuna põhiallikatena on kasutatud kiilkirjatekste, kuulub töö ka assürioloogia ehk muistsete kiilkirjakultuuride uurimise alale. Dissertatsioon esindab sellist tüüpi nn jumalate „biograafiaid“, mis keskenduvad ühe jumaliku kontseptsiooni üksikasjalikule uurimisele. See on assürioloogiateaduses levinud žanr, mida viljeletakse peamiselt just dissertatsioonide vormis. Doktoritöodes, mida on kaitstud nii Saksamaa, Prantsusmaa, Itaalia, Soome kui ka Eesti ülikoolide juures, on uuritud paljusid Mesopotaamia ja ka muude ümberkaudsete regioonide nii panteoni tippu kuuluvaid kui ka selles vähem olulist rolli täitvaid jumalusi.

Asari/Asalluḫi käsitlemine assürioloogiateaduses on oluline eelkõige seisukohast, et kuigi see jumal ei kuulunud Mesopotaamia panteoni kõige tähtsamate jumalate hulka, oli ta lähedalt seotud mitmete Mesopotaamia usundiloo sõlmküsimustega nagu loitsukirjandus ja mitmete n-ö „suurte jumalate“ (Enki/Ea, Marduk) arengulugu. Käsitluse muudab uudseks asjalolu, et tegu on esimese põhjalikuma, monograafia vormis uurimusega, mis jumal Asari/Asalluḫi kohta on kirjutatud. Siiani on temat käsitletud ainult enamasti väga nappides kokkuvõtetes mitmesugustele muudele küsimustele pühendatud artiklite ja monograafiade raames. Nii on pikim seni Asari/Asalluḫi kohta kirjutatud käsitlus kaheksa lehekülge(!) T. S. Frymer-Kensky 1977. aastal valminud doktoritöös *Judicial Ordeal in the Ancient Near East (Kohtulik ordaal muistses Lähis-Idas)*.

Töö ajaraam katab tuhatkond aastat alates ajast u 2600–2500 e.m.a, kust pärinevad varaseimad allikad töös käsitletud jumala kohta, ulatudes teise eelkristliku aastatuhande keskpaika (u 1600–1500 e.m.a). See ajavahemik on töös traditsiooniliste Mesopotaamia ajalooajalooperioodide alusel jaotatud viieks peatükiks, mis käsitlevad vastavalt Varadünastilist, Vana-Akkadi, Lagaši II, Uri III ja Vana-Babüloonia ajastut. Töö geograafiliseks raamistikuks on muistse Mesopotaamia piirkond, mis asub peamiselt tänapäeva Iraagi aladel. Laiemast Lähis-Ida regioonist pärinevaid allikaid töös süstemaatiliselt ei uurita.

Töö peamine eesmärk on uurida, kuidas seda jumalust on muistsetes tekstides kirjeldatud ning piiritleda rollid, mida jumal Asarile/Asalluḫile igal vaatluse all oleval perioodil omistati. Eesmärgi täitmiseks tuli esmalt kokku koguda ja süstematiseerida tekstilõigud kiilkirjatekstides, milles töös käsitletava jumaluse nimi esineb ning kogutud materjali seejärel lähemalt analüüsida.

Nagu tekstimaterjali kogumise ja süstematiseerimise juures ilmnes, ei ole paljud Asari/Asalluḫi kohta käivad, eriti varasematest ajastutest pärinevad tekstid kirjeldavat tüüpi. See kehtib eriti mitmesuguste jumalate nimekirjade kohta, kus jumaluste nimed on reastatud ilma täiendava informatsioonita. Et anda hinnang Asari/Asalluḫi positsioonile seda tüüpi nimistutes, tuli arvesse võtta konteksti, millesse ta neis loeteludes asetati. Seega eelkõige teisi jumalaid, kes nimekirjades tema lähedal paiknesid. Konteksti hindamiseks tuli mainitud,

enamasti Mesopotaamia oludes vähem oluliste jumaluste kohta omakorda kasutada muid allikaid, mis antud jumalate kohta enam kirjeldavat informatsiooni sisaldaksid.

Lisaks kokkupuudetele vähem oluliste jumalustega, on Asari/Asalluhi rolli hindamise seisukohalt eri perioodidel olulised ka mitmed Mesopotaamia panteoni tippu kuuluvad jumalad. Eriti tähtsad on Asari/Asalluhi rolli piiritlemisel tema suhted oma isa, maagia, tarkuse ja vetejumal Enkiga, kellega Asaril/Asalluhil oli sedavõrd rohkelt ühiseid tunnusoone, et tema kohta on teaduskirjanduses kasutatud ka määratlust „teine Enki“. Kuna jumal Enki on selles töös uuritava jumala rolli hindamise juures väga oluline, sai üheks töö uurimisküsimuseks püstitatud küsimus: *Kas allikates on tõendusmaterjali jumal Asari/Asalluhi selliste tunnusoonte kohta, mis ei kattu jumal Enki tunnusoontega?* Lisaks Enkile oli Asar/Asalluhi lähedalt seotud ka mõnede teiste Mesopotaamia olulisemate jumalustega nagu päiksejumal Utu ja hilisem Mesopotaamia panteoni peajumal Marduk. Ka Asari/Asalluhi suhted nende jumalatega on töös vaatluse alla võetud.

Lisaks suhetele Enkiga on üks omadus, mida on Asari/Asalluhi kohta käivas teaduskirjanduses korduvalt rõhutatud, tema heatahtlikkus inimeste suhtes. Sellist tüüpi hinnangud põhinevad suuresti rollil, mis omistati Asarile/Asalluhidele arvukates loitsudes, kus teda ja Enkit on tõepoolest kirjeldatud kui hädasolevate inimeste abistajaid. Samas võib seda liiki iseloomustusi pidada mõneti ühekülgselt ning Asari/Asalluhi jumalike karakteristikute kirjeldamiseks tuleks lisaks loitsutekstidele lähemalt uurida ka muud tüüpi tekste, mis võiksid Asari/Asalluhi karakteri kohta teistsugust teavet anda. Et seda probleemistikku lähemalt valgustada, on töös püstitatud küsimus: *Kas kasutatud allikates esineb tõendusmaterjali selle kohta, et Asari/Asalluhi on inimeste suhtes vaenulikult meelestatud?*

Töös käsitletud jumala kohta oli kiilkirjatekstides käibel mitu nimevormi, kõige levinumatena neist Asar (^dasar) ja Asalluhi (^dasal-lú-^{hi}) ning vähemal määral ka Asaralimnuna (^dasar-alim-nun-na). Kuigi neid nimesid kasutati mõnedes tekstides vaieldamatult kui nimevorme ühe ja sama jumala kohta, on teaduskirjanduses püstitatud ka hüpoteese, et mainitud nimetused tähistasid algselt eri algupäraga jumalusi. Selle probleemi lähemaks uurimiseks on töös püstitatud uurimisküsimus: *Kas nimekujud Asar/Asalluhi/Asaralimnuna tähistasid algselt eraldiseisvaid jumalusi?* Sellele küsimusele vastamiseks tuleb kõigepealt määratleda kontekst, kus mainitud nimed esimest korda esile kerkisid ning arutleda ka nimekujude võimalike etümoloogiate üle.

Allikatena on töös kasutatud eri žanritesse kuuluvaid ning varem kiilkirjatekstide koopiatena avaldatud sumeri- ja akkadikeelseid tekste. Enamik töös käsitletud tekstidest on varem avaldatud ka latiniseeritud translitereeringutena ning tõlgetena inglise, saksa, prantsuse, itaalia ja vene keelde. Neid väljaandeid on töös translitereeritult ning tõlgitult esitatud tekstilõikudes ka arvesse võetud. Leidub ka mõningaid tekstilõike, mis seni on ilmunud ainult kiilkirjatekstide koopiatena ning mille töö autor on ise translitereerinud ja tõlkinud. Kuna, nagu eespool mainitud, ei ole Asari/Asallu näol tegu Mesopotaamia panteoni tippu

kuuluva jumalaga, ei saa uurija allikatena kasutatavate tekstitüüpide osas olla liialt valiv ning peab pruukima mistahes tüüpi allikaid, mis käsitletava jumala tunnusjoontele valgust heidavad. Seetõttu on töös lähema vaatluse alla võetud nii jumalate nimistud, leksikaalsed tekstid, administratiivdokumendid, kirjan-duslikud tekstid, kuninglikud raidkirjad, kirjad kui loitsutekstit. Iga üksiku allika juurde on lisatud – juhul, kui need on teada – ka teksti leiukoht ja dateering.

See, et uuritud on mitmesugust tüüpi tekste, ei tähenda siiski, et iga üksikut Asarisse/Asalluhsisse puutuvat muistset teksti oleks ühe doktoritöö raames võimalik üksikasjalikult käsitleda. Näiteks loitsutekste, milles jumal Asar/Asalluhi figureerib, on maapõuest leitud sedavõrd arvukalt, et iga üksikut teksti ei saa eraldi vaatluse alla võtta. Samas on muistse Mesopotaamia loitsud laadilt vormelikud ning motiivistik neis tihti korduv. Seetõttu on loitsutekste töös käsitletud alamtüüpideks grupeerituna ning jaotuse aluseks on võetud mitme-sugused rollid, mida jumal Asar/Asalluhi seda tüüpi tekstides täidab. Iga sellist rolli on käsitletud eraldi alapeatükis. Parema ülevaate andmiseks u kahesajast loitsust on dissertatsiooni lõpus lisadena ära toodud tabelid, mis lisaks muule infole annavad ülevaate Asari/Asalluhi rollidest loitsutekstides töös käsitleta-vatel ajastutel.

Metodoloogilises plaanis järgib töö teisi assürioloogilisi uurimusi, mis tege-levad ühe jumaliku kontseptsiooni üksikasjaliku käsitlemisega. Seda tüüpi uurimustes on allikad harilikult ajalooperioodide alusel kronoloogiliselt reas-tatud, neid on seejärel deskriptiivselt analüüsitud ning töö lõppjärel on eri ajaperioodidest hangitud tulemuste põhjal esitatud käsitletava jumaliku kont-septsiooni süntees. Siinses töös kasutatav metodoloogia on seega kogutud, süstematiseeritud ja interpreteeritud originaalallikate põhjal koostada Asari/Asalluhi „jumalik biograafia“. Töös on kasutusele võetud ka filoloogiline meetod laiemas plaanis, sest jumal Asarit/Asalluhit analüüsitakse sumeri- ja akadikeelsete originaaltekstide põhjal. Samas ei viljeleta filoloogiliselt sügavuti minevat ana-lüüsi, sest see ei mahuks allikate rohkuse tõttu ühe doktoritöö raamidesse.

Töö viis peatükki on liigendatud alapeatükkideks analüüsitud tekstitüüpide järgi. Juhul kui on võimalik, on üht tüüpi tekste analüüsitud kronoloogilises järjestuses. Ometi tuleb tõdeda, et enamikku käsitletavatest tekstidest ei ole ühe ajastu raames võimalik täpsemini dateerida. Siinkohal moodustavad erandi näiteks hümnid ja palved, mis mainivad kuningaid, kelle valitsemisaastad on teada, ning kuupäeva täpsusega dateeritud administratiivtekstit.

Doktoritöö esimene peatükk tegeleb Varadünastilise ajastuga (u 2800–2350 e.m.a). Sellest perioodist (täpsemalt ajavahemikust u 2600–2500 ehk nn Fāra ajastust) on pärit varaseimad allikad töös käsitletava jumala kohta, kes antud ajastul esineb ainult nime all Asar. Paljud Varadünastilisest ajastust pärinevad tekstid ei ole uuritava jumala seisukohalt informatiivsed. Nt on tegu mitut tüüpi nimekirjadega, milles ei esine kirjeldavat teavet jumal Asari kohta, ning teksti-dega, mis on kirjutatud tänapäeval peaaegu täiesti mõistetamatus kirjaviisis (nn UD.GAL.NUN-ortograafia). Lisaks esineb jumal Asar ka Varadünastilises hümnitsükli, milles talle ja tema kultuskeskusele Ku'ara linnale on pühendatud kolm rida. Ilmselt kõige olulisem informatsioon Asari kohta Varadünastilisest

ajastust pärineb kahest säilinud loitsutekstist, mis tema nime mainivad. Ühes neist astub Asar koos oma isa Enkiga üles nn „jumalikus dialoogis“, millest saab hilisemates Uri III dünastia ning Vana-Babüloonia ajastu loitsudes peamine Asari/Asalluhi seotud motiiv.

Teine peatükk tegeleb allikatega, mis pärinevad Vana-Akkadi ajastust (u 2350–2150 e.m.a). Sellest perioodist on Asari/Asalluhi kohta lisaks üksikutele teofoorsetele isikunimedele säilinud vaid kaks loitsuteksti. Ühes neist on jumala kohta tõenäoliselt esimest korda kasutusel nimi Asalluhi. Kuna teises sama ajastu loitsus on sarnane roll omistatud jumalale nimega Asar, võib kindlusega väita, et need kaks nime on kasutusel ühe ja sama jumaliku kontseptsiooni kohta. Kummagi nimevormi (Asar/Asalluhi) tähendus ei ole kindlalt teada. Nime Asar(-re) saab sumeri keele baasil analüüsida kui a-sar, „kiire seeme“ või „vesi/seeme (a), mis viljastab (a-ri) põllulappe (sar)“. Võib arvata, et elemendid lú-hi olid kõigepealt kasutusel jumal Asari epiteedina, mis on seotud viimase tegevusega loitsudetekstides, kus Asar/Asalluhi valmistab mitmesuguseid koostisosi segades ette (ravimi)segusid terapeutiliseks ja rituaalseks tarvitamiseks. Nii saab elemente lú-hi tõlkida kui „see, kes segab; segaja“. Teine võimalus on elemente lú-hi(he) tõlgendada kui väljajätelist vormi mõistetest lú-še-ğál või lú-še-nun, umbkaudu „see, keda iseloomustab küllus/ rohkus“.

Kolmas peatükk tegeleb Lagaši riigi II dünastia (22. saj. e.m.a teine pool) ajast pärinevate allikatega. Ka sellest perioodist on säilinud vaid kaks teksti, mõlemas esineb nimekuju Asar. *Kuningas Gudea templihümnis* osaleb Asar koos nelja teise jumalusega Eninnu templis tehtavates rituaalsetes ettevalmistustes Lagaši peajumala Ningirsu saabumiseks. Asari nime kohtab ka ühes Ğirsu linnast pärinevas ohvrinimekirjas.

Neljas peatükk tegeleb Uri III dünastia ajastust (u 2112–2004 e.m.a) pärinevate allikatega. Sellest ajastust on pärit juba arvukamalt tekste, milles Asarit/Asalluhit on mainitud, eelkõige administratiivdokumente ning loitse. Lisaks on Mesopotaamia templihümnide tsükliis Asalluhidele pühendatud 12-realine hümn, milles teda on peamiselt kirjeldatud kui noort ja agressiivset sõjajumalat. Hümnis on jumala kohta kasutusel ka nimekuju Asaralimnuna, mida võib tõlkida kui „Asar, printslik piison“ või „Asar, printsi (e jumal Enki) piison“. Ka selle nimekuju taga ei ole praegu kättesaadava allikmaterjali põhjal võimalik tuvastada eraldiseisva algupäraga jumalat, sest tekstides esineb nimi sarnastes kontekstides kui nimekujud Asar ja Asalluhi. Nii tuleb eespool püstitatud uurimisküsimusele *Kas nimekujud Asar/Asalluhi/Asaralimnuna tähistasid algselt eraldiseisvaid jumalusi?* vastata eitavalt. Uri III dünastia ajastust pärineb ka mitmeid administratiivdokumente, peamiselt ohvrinimekirju, milles jumal Asarit/Asalluhit on mainitud. Nende alusel võib väita, et Uri III dünastia ajal oli Asari/Asalluhi kohta käibel mitu traditsiooni. Neist ühe põhjal oli Asar/Asalluhi Enki ja jumalanna Damgalnuna poeg, teise traditsiooni järgi aga Eridu naabruses asuva Ku'ara linna üks olulisemaid jumalusi koos jumalanna Ninsuniga, kuigi tõenäoliselt mitte nii oluline kui Ninsun.

Töö viimane, viies peatükk tegeleb Vana-Babüloonia perioodiga (u 2000–1600 e.m.a). Antud perioodist pärineb töös käsitletud ajastute võrdluses enim

allikaid, seetõttu on tegu ka kõige mahukama peatükiga. Vana-Babüloonia perioodil esineb jumal Asar/Asalluhi eriilmelistes allikates nagu mitmesugused jumalate nimistud ja leksikaalsed nimekirjad, administratiivdokumendid, kirjanduslikud tekstid (hümnid, palved, müüdid, nutulaul), säilinud on ka ainuke Asarit/Asalluhit mainiv kuninglik raidkiri, kolm kirja ja arvukalt loitse. Vana-Babüloonia loitsudes on Asarile/Asalluhidele omistatud mitmeid uusi rolle.

Nii tegeleb Asar/Asalluhi nn pühitusloitsudes rituaalsete tarvikute ja substantside pühitsemisega, mis valmistab ette nende kasutamist terapeutilistes ja apotropailistes rituaalides. Tema nimi esineb ka nn preesterliku legitimeerimise vormelites, mille järgi inimesest preester legitimeerib end kui jumalate esindajat. Asar/Asalluhi on ka üks paljudest jumalustest, kes astub üles nn jumaliku legitimeerimise vormelites, milles loitsupreester kinnitab, et tema kasutatav loits ei kuulu mitte talle, vaid jumalatele, keda ta loetleb. Lisaks esineb Asari/Asalluhi nimi ka paljudes loitsudes esinevas vormelis, mis sedastab, et Asalluhi „deklameerib Eridu loitsu“.

Töö kokkuvõttes on kogutud materjali sünteesides välja toodud lõppjäreldused, mis rõhutavad jumal Asari/Asalluhi peamisi tunnusoone nii nagu need töös käsitletud perioodidel ilmnevad. Ühe olulise järeldusena on välja toodud, et jumal Asari/Asalluhi üks peamisi karakteristikuid oli tema seotus vee kui raviva ja (rituaalselt) puhastava materiaga. Kui Vana-Babüloonia pühitusloitsudes on kirjeldatud, kuidas Asar/Asalluhi kasutab vett kui rituaalselt puhastavat substantsi, siis vee kui raviomadustega aine kasutuse kohta on tõendeid juba ühest Varadünastilise ajastu loitsust, mille järgi Enki instrueerib Asarit pakkuma Tigrise ja Eufrati jõgede vett joomiseks patsiendile, keda oli salvanud madu. Lisaks veele on Asalluhi loitsudes tihti seotud ka muude rituaalset väge omavate vedelikega nagu mitmesugused piimatooted ja õlu. Kuigi andmeid selle kohta on vähem, võib leida tõendust ka Asalluhi seotuse kohta vihmavee ja tormidega, nii viimaste viljastavates kui ka destruktivsetes ilmnemismoodides.

Seotus veega on üks paljudest tunnusoontest, mis ühendab Asarit/Asalluhit tema isa Enkiga, kellega Asar/Asalluhi oli tihedalt seotud kõigil töös uurimise all olnud perioodidel. See lähedus tuleb esile nii epiteetides, mida mõlema jumala kohta tarvitati kui ka rollides, mida neile mitmesugustes allikates omistati. Enamiku ühiste tunnusoonte kohta võib arvata, et algselt oli tegu Enki kui kahest jumalast prominentsema karakteristikutega, mille Enki hiljem pojale „pärandas“. Ühe Asari/Asalluhi tunnusoone kohta, mis on talle omistatud nn efektiivsusvormelites, võib praegu olemasolevate andmete valguses siiski väita, et algselt oli tegu Asalluhi rolliga, mille Enki hiljem pojalt üle võttis.

Üks Asari/Asalluhi põhiroll loitsutekstides ning tõenäoliselt ka ainuke funktsioon, mida ta Enkiga ei jaganud, tuleb esile nn „jumalikes dialoogides“. Jumalikul dialoogil kujutavad endast Asari/Asalluhi ja Enki kahekõnet, mis oli Mesopotaamia loitsudes laialt kasutatust leidnud motiiv. Selle motiivi järgi märkas Asar/Asalluhi kõigepealt mingit inimeste sfääris esinevat probleemi (nt mitmesuguste deemonite ja loomade rünnakud, haigused, probleemid sünnitusel, põllukahjurid jm), millest ta Enki juurde viimase kosmoloogilisse elupaika Abzusse teatama ruttas. Pärast vormellikku dialoogi isa ja poja vahel andis Enki

pojale toimimisjuhised, mis koosnesid peamiselt mitmesugustest maagilistest manipulatsioonidest, mida rakendades pidi Asar/Asalluhi probleemi lahendama. Selle skeemi põhjal võib Asarit/Asalluhit iseloomustada kui Enki laiendust inimsfääri, kellel jumaliku dialoogi motiivis ilmnenud vahendajarolli kõrval ei olnud muid Enki omadest selgelt eristuvaid tunnusoone. Nii võib väita, et Asari/Asalluhi näol on tegu jumalaga, kes on võimeline ületama inimlike ja jumalike sfääride piire. Siiski tuleb Asari/Asalluhi ja Enki suhete kohta püstitatud uurimisküsimusele (*Kas allikates on tõendusmaterjali jumal Asari/Asalluhi selliste tunnusoonte kohta, mis ei kattu jumal Enki tunnusoontega?*) vastata jaatavalt, sest puuduvad andmed, et Enkile oleks vaatluse all olevatel perioodidel omistatud poja roll jumalikes dialoogides.

Asari/Asalluhi vahendajaroll ei piirdu ainult jumalike dialoogidega loitsudes, vaid tuleb esile ka mitmes muus Vana-Babüloonia ajastust pärinevas tekstis. Nii on jumal Enkile adresseeritud palvekirjas palutud Asalluhit ja tema ema Damgalnunat, et viimased oleksid kirjasaatja eestkostjateks Enki palge ees. Ühes loitsutekstis on Asarit/Asalluhit kirjeldatud ka kui vahendajat Enki ja ürgjumaluste Enki (Asalluhi isa nimekaim) ja Ninki vahel. Ühes Hammurabi ajast pärinevas palvetekstis toimib Asalluhi vahendajana kuningas Hammurabi ning jumalate koosoleku vahel.

Piiride ületamise võime ilmneb ka Asari/Asalluhi suhetes inimesest loitsupreestriga. Vana-Babüloonia loitsudes, eriti jumalikes dialoogides ning presteerliku legitimeerimise vormelites esineb mitmeid viiteid selle kohta, et loitsupreestritele on omistatud Asalluhi identiteet.

Siiski on seda identiteedi ülekandumist kirjeldatud ebamääraselt ja mitmete tekstikohtade suhtes pole täit kindlust, kas mõeldud on parajasti jumalat või inimesest loitsupreestrit. Võib kahtlustada, et sellised hämaravõitu väljendused on esitatud taotluslikult eesmärgiga hägustada rituaali jumalatest ja inimestest osatäitjate ning vastavate sfääride vahelisi piire. Ebamäärase väljenduslaadi võis tingida asjaolu, et ühelt poolt ei saanud loitsupreestrit kujutada kui „päris“ jumalat, ning teisalt ei oleks piisanud sellest, et kujutada preestrit kui inimest, sest tulemuslikuks rituaaltegevuseks oli tarvilik jumaliku väe kohalolu, mis rituaalseid toiminguid legitimeeriks. Nii oli lahenduseks jätta mõlemad võimalused avatuks ning rituaali teostajate identiteet ebaselgeks.

Asari/Asalluhi lähedus inimestele ilmutab end tekstides veel ühel viisil, nimelt tema heatahtlikkuse kaudu inimeste suhtes. Seda omadust on teaduskirjanduses ka tihti rõhutatud kui Asari/Asalluhi jumaliku karakteri üht olulisemat tunnusoont. Arvukates loitsutekstides on Asarit/Asalluhit tõepoolest kujutatud kui inimeste abistajat hädas. Mõne muud tüüpi teksti puhul võib siiski kahtlustada, et talle omistati vahel ka karakteristikuid, mis ei olnud alati sedavõrd heatahtlikud. Selgeim tõestus sellele avaldub ühes Vana-Babüloonia ajastust pärinevas kirjas, mis kujutab Asarit kui katku põhjustajat. Seega peab uurimisküsimusele *Kas kasutatud allikates esineb tõendusmaterjali selle kohta, et Asari/Asalluhi on inimeste suhtes vaenulikult meelestatud?* andma jaatava vastuse.

Kuna mütoloogiline kirjeldav materjal Asari/Asalluhi kohta on kasin, tuleb tema rolli tihti piiritleda tema suhete kaudu teiste jumalustega. Üks nn „suurte

jumalate“ esindaja, kellega Asalluḫil jagas mitmeid ühisjooni, oli päikesejumal Utu. Nii on ühes Uri III dünastia ajastust pärinevas loitsus Asalluḫit võrreldud tõusva päikesega. Asalluḫile pühendatud Vana-Babüloonia hümnis on talle omistatud ka mõningad päikesejumala kui taevase kohtuvõimu kandja epiteedid. Kahe jumala seosed avalduvad kõige selgemini Vana-Babüloonia loitsudes esinevas mütoloogilises motiivis, mille järgi Asalluḫi ja Utu tegutsevad koos patsiendi tervenemise huvides. Kuigi mõningate allikate põhjal näib, et Utule ja Asalluḫile on viidatud kui isale ja pojale, ei ole isa ja poja suhe nende jumalate vahel allikates siiski selgesõnalist väljendust leidnud.

Hümnis Asalluḫi A on Asalluḫile omistatud mõningaid päikesejumala kohtuvõimuga seotud epiteete. Seos jumaliku kohtuvõimuga näib Asalluḫi puhul siiski juba varasemal ajal rolli mängivat. Nii on teda ühes Ur III perioodi ohverdusnimekirjas tõenäoliselt abikaasana seostatud jumalanna Kizaga, kes oli hiljem tuntud kui jõeordaali kehastava jumala I(d)lurugu naine. Asalluḫi ja Mesopotaamia panteoni hilisema peajumala Marduki vaheline järkjärguline lähenemine on täheldatav mõnede alliktekstide (nt jumalate nimekirjad, leksikaalsed tekstid ja hümnid) põhjal. Siiski pole kahe jumala samastumisprotsessi praegu kättesaadavate andmete põhjal võimalik detailsemalt kirjeldada, sest Marduki varasem arengulugu on allikate puudumise tõttu senimaani selgusetu.

Lisaks eelmainitutele on Asaril/Asalluḫil dokumenteeritud seoseid ka ilmastikujumal Iškuriga, kellega teda mainitakse koos juba Varadünastilisest ajastust pärinevates jumalate nimekirjades ning hilisemates leksikaalsetes tekstides. Funktsionaalselt võis Asalluḫit ja Iškurit ühendada ka Adabi linnajumal Ašgi, kelle nimi mitmes allikas Asari/Asalluḫi läheduses esineb. Sumeri templihümnide tsükliis on Asalluḫit kirjeldatud kui noort destruktiivsete omadustega tormijumalat. Siin võib lisaks Iškurile näha ka jumal Ninurta mõju, kes oli noore sõjajumala tuntuim kehastus Mesopotaamia mütoloogias.

Nagu uurimusest ilmnes, on Asari/Asalluḫi taga peidus terve rida jumalikke manifestatsioone. Olulisemad nende hulgas on Asalluḫi kui maagiliste rituaalide teostaja, ilmastikujumal ja taevane saadik. Kuigi nende manifestatsioonide üksikasjad jäävad tihti kaasaegsete uurijate eest varjatuks, võimaldavad just suhted teiste jumalatega sissevaadet Asalluḫi mitmesugustele tunnusjoontele ja näitavad teatud seaduspärasusi Mesopotaamia polüteismi keerukas jumaluste võrgustikus.

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