Evil Witches, Apotropaic Plants and the New Moon

Two anti-witchcraft incantations from Babylon (BM 35672 and BM 36584)

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Summary

This article offers a commented edition of two hitherto unknown anti-witchcraft incantations preserved on first-millennium cuneiform tablets from Babylon. BM 36584 is a typical anti-witchcraft ritual to be performed in the morning before the Sun-god; it is characterised by the use of purifying plants and figurine magic, both features that have close parallels in other anti-witchcraft rituals including Maqlû. The text preserved on BM 35672 belongs to a group of incantations against witchcraft that were recited over plants, stones or other apotropaic substances. The incantation on the present tablet was to be recited over anhullû, a plant that was known to be especially effective against witchcraft.

1. Figurine magic before Šamaš

BM 36584 (1880-6-17, 311) is a reasonably well-preserved one-column tablet, inscribed in an elegant Babylonian hand. According to the colophon, the text was copied from a tablet from Babylon, and the collection context at the British Museum suggests that the present tablet too comes from Babylon. BM 36584 probably dates to the Neo-Babylonian or Persian period, but characteristics of its script, spelling conventions and language indicate that the tablet derives from a Middle Babylonian original and that the text itself reaches back to the Old Babylonian period.

The script, on the whole, is Neo-Babylonian, but the writing of ki and di with only one initial Winkelhaken looks Middle-Babylonian. The fact that the scribe used the typical Neo-Babylonian ki with two pronounced initial Winkelhaken in the colophon (rev. 7’) suggests that he imitated the script of an older original in the body of the text (but note the slight slips in obv. 17 and rev. 3’) and fully reverted to his own style only in the colophon; the ‘extravagant’ forms of gim

1 Abbreviations follow AHw and CAD; in addition note CMAwR 1: T. Abusch – D. Schwemer, Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals, vol. 1 (AMD 8/1), Leiden – Boston 2011. I would like to thank the colleagues and students at the London Cuneiform with whom I had the opportunity to read the texts edited here. I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM 35672 and BM 36584 here. Mark Weeden kindly checked the English of this article.

2 For the 1880-6-17 collection at the British Museum, see J. Reade, in E. Leichty, Catalogue of the Babylonian tablets in the British Museum 6 (Tablets from Sippar 1), London 1986, xxx.
(obv. 15, 17) and il (obv. 26) may also be owed to the older original from which the scribe was working.

The tablet is further characterised by some orthographic features that are unusual for a first-millennium manuscript: the preposition *ina* is almost consistently written as *i-na* (*ina* only in rev. 5'), *ellu* “pure” is written with the logogram *sikil* (rather than *kū*, see obv. 4, 5, 6), the name of the *ilikulla* plant shows the rare spelling *ù-i-li-kul-la* (rather than *ù-el-kul-la* or *ù-eli-kul-la*) and, finally, the ritual instructions use *banū* (*dûm*) rather than common *epēšu* (*dû*) with reference to the fabrication of figurines (obv. 15, 17). Further archaic features are the use of *qū* (obv. 3, 13, 26, rev. 3') and *pī* (obv. 28).

Linguistically, uncontracted *našì’aku* (instead of *našaku*, obv. 7) points to a pre-Middle Babylonian origin of the text. The unusual form *asā’īka* (instead of *asēka*, obv. 9) would represent an archaism even in an Old Babylonian text; of course one could argue that *a-sā-i-k[a]* is simply a corrupt spelling, but it is difficult to see a motivation for this mistake.

The text itself is subdivided into three parts: (a) a prayer to the rising Sun-god, followed by an *usṣurruda* rubric which indicates its use as an anti-witchcraft incantation within the present text (obv. 1–14); (b) the pertinent ritual instructions (obv. 15–rev. 5'); the ritual instructions include (c) a second prayer addressed to Šamaš which was recited during the presentation and symbolic imprisonment of seven figurines representing the witches (obv. 19–rev. 4'). A catchline refers to another Šamaš-prayer, the well-known anti-witchcraft incantation *Bêl bēlī šar šarrī Šamaš*.4

While the ritual as a whole is not known from other sources, both the prayer texts and the ritual proceedings are not without parallels. According to the text of the opening prayer the ritual client greets the rising Sun-god carrying purifying plants on his head and in his hands and mouth (*ilikulla*-plant on the head, tamarisk wood and palm shoots in his hands and cedar wood in his mouth). This is comparable to a well-known rite during which the victim of witchcraft, standing on basalt, welcomes the Sun-god in the morning holding *tarmuš*-plant in his mouth and *imḥur-līm*-plant and beer in his hands; this rite is foremost associated with the Šamaš-prayer *Bêl bēlī šar šarrī Šamaš* which is referred to in the catchline of our tablet.5 The same prayer (and the texts related to it) also describe the Sun-god being welcomed by cool libation water:  *Šamaš ina asêka mē kaṣūtī limḫurūka* “Šamaš, when you rise, may cool water

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3 As mentioned above, the form of *dûm* with an inserted vertical and only one *Winkelhaken* is rather unusual; but an analysis of the sign as a ligature of *dû-ùš* can be safely excluded (cf. the form of *dû* in rev. 5').

4 „Šamaš 98‘; for an edition of this incantation and further references, see CMAwr 1, text 9.2 (since the publication of CMAwr, one new manuscript of this text was identified by the author: BM 40657).

5 See CMAwr 1, p. 128a, comment on text 7.5: 5'–10' with the relevant references; for the text of *Bêl bēlī šar šarrī Šamaš*, see CMAwr 1, text 9.2.
welcome you” (line 10). A similar motif seems to be used in the fragmentary second half of the present text (obv. 9–12) where bodies of water and liquids typically used for libations are mentioned in connection with the rising of the sun.

The ritual instructions are quite brief: seven figurines representing the witches are made of various materials, all of which are attested in numerous anti-witchcraft and other rituals as typical materials for the fabrication of figurines. The number seven represents totality and is attested elsewhere in similar ritual contexts, even though pairs of figurines are more commonly used. The incantation text to be recited during the manipulation of the figurines includes a list of the client’s enemies (obv. 20–21). It is odd that this list – bēl ikkiya, bēl diniyā, bēl šerriya, bēl rīdiya, bēl lemuttiya – names only five enemies, while the ritual instructions prescribe the use of seven figurines; it is also unusual that the list of enemies is not introduced by the pair kaššāpu “warlock” and kaššāptu “witch.” One is tempted to conclude that the scribe by mistake omitted ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya “of my warlock and witch” between obv. 19a and 20. If so, the number of enemies named in the incantation would originally have corresponded to the number of figurines employed in the ritual; but, obviously, this remains uncertain.

The maltreatment and elimination of the enemy figurines seems to be restricted to their symbolic imprisonment. They are locked in like with a fetter (kannu) and trapped like in a bird-snare (ḫuhårū; obv. 17–18). The pair kannu and ḫuhårū is known from one other anti-witchcraft ritual: in Si 1 rev. 4′–5′ // Si 738: 3′–4′ (coll.) the following treatment of the figurines of warlock and witch is prescribed: kīma(gim) kan-ni ta-ka[n-na-an-šu-nu-ti], kīma(gim) ḫu-ḥa-ri ta-saḥ-[hāp-šu-nu-ti] “You lock [them in] like with a fetter, you trap[them] like with a bird-snare.” In the corresponding passage of the pertinent incantation one can probably read: [ka]-an-ni ʾak-nun-šu-[nu]-ti, [ina] ḫu-ḥa-ra ʾasʾ-ḫu-up-[šu-nu]-ti “I have locked them in with a fetter, I have trapped them in a bird-snare” (Si 1 obv. 12–13). The motif of imprisoning and overwhelming the enemies like a trap reverberates in the final passage of the Šamaš-prayer, where the motif of the witches being covered, held down and forever imprisoned by a mountain is used (rev. 1′–2′). The lines offer a variation of stock phrases that are well known from Maqlû V 149–57 and the related text CTN 4, 92 + 145 + 147 obv. II 36–39.

6 For the use of various sets of seven figurines representing the witches, see CMAwR 1, texts 8.7.1 and 8.7.2.
7 Cf. the similar lists in CMAwR 1, text 8.3: 12–15, Maqlû I 75–86, II 39–50; but, admittedly, “warlock and witch” are missing in some shorter lists (see CMAwR 1, text 8.4: 28–29 and text 10.2: 7′–8′).
8 A full edition of Si 1 and Si 738 will be given in CMAwR 2.
9 Edited in D. Schwemer, Abwehrzauber und Behexung. Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien (Unter Benutzung von Tzvi Abuschs Kritischem Katalog und Sammlun-
Like in many other anti-witchcraft texts the day of the new moon is recommended as the suitable time for the performance of the ritual. Possibly, this was considered to be a period of time during which the witches had only limited power to respond to the patient’s counter-attack and defense against his bewitchment. Anti-witchcraft rituals show that witches were thought to perform specific forms of witchcraft before the moon and other astral bodies, especially during their setting. Perhaps it was assumed that the witches were deprived of some of their powers during the absence of the moon. But, of course, one must not forget that anti-witchcraft rituals against black astral magic were performed before the same astral bodies, such as the moon, Scorpius or Ursa Major. Moreover, the new moon, at the end of each month, coincided with the time of the funerary offerings; so one could argue that the time of the new moon was regarded as auspicious for anti-witchcraft rituals rather because it was a time of contact between the upper and the lower world and therefore ideally suited for sending one’s witches to the netherworld.

Transliteration (copy: figs. 1 and 2)

obv. 1 ḍšamaš⁵(UTU) bēl⁵(EN) e-lā-ti ṣap-la-a-ti
2 al-si-ka ḍšamaš(UTU) ši-ma-an-ni
3 al-si-ka ḍšamaš⁵(UTU) ana di-ni-ia qū-lam
4 ḍšamaš⁵(UTU) giš⁵erēnu⁴(EREN) ellu⁴(sikil) i-na pi⁴(KA)-ia
5 bi₅nu⁶(sini₅) ellu⁶(sikil) i-na imitti(zi₅g)-i[a]
6 giš⁵ṣuḥuṣšu⁶(GISSIMMAR.TUR) ellu⁶(sikil) i-na šumēli(GUB)-[ia]
7 [gi]š⁵i₅-r₅-in₅-ku₅-la₅ i-na re₅šī(ṣa₅g)-ia na-š[i-a-ku]
8 [ʃida(VM) šāishments] ki₅[brī₅(v)š₁₅] nāri(‘ID’)[k]i₅-lal-le-e aš-ṣ[a-bat(?)]
9 [lim₅-šu₅-ru₅-ka(?)] ḍšamaš⁵(UTU)[u³] i-na a₅-ša₅-i₅-k[a]?
10 [’id₅idiqlat⁵(idigna)] ṣ(UTU)[u³] i₅-na a₅-ša₅-i₅-k[a]?
11 [x₅x₅x₅x₅] x₅ x₅billatu⁵(DI₅DA) dami₅q₅tu⁵(sig₅₅) kurun₅tu⁵(KURU₅[NAM])
12 [x₅x₅x₅x₅] x₅ el₅-ši₅(-)[x(₅)]
Translation

obv. 1 “O Šamaš, lord of the upper and lower world,
2 I call upon you, Šamaš, hear me,
3 I call upon you, Šamaš, pay heed to my case!
4 O Šamaš, [I call upon you,] Šamaš, pay heed to my case!
5 pure tamarisk wood in my right hand,
6 pure palm shoot in [my] left hand,
7 ilikulla-plant on my head.
8 I have [taken clay from] both [ba]nks of the river.
9 [Šamaš], when you rise, [may]
10 [Tigris] and Euphrates, the ocean, [the wide sea],
11 [ ... ], good beer mixture, kururnu-beer
12 (and) pure [ ... greet you].
13 O Šamaš, pay heed to [my case], let me [find justice] through your judgement.”

14 [It is] the wording (of the incantation) for undoing witchcraft.
15 Its ritual: You form seven figurines: you form one of clay, one of dough,
16 one of tallow, one of wax, one of sesame pomace, one of ta[marisk wood],
17 one of cedar [wood]; then you surround them like with fetter(s),
18 [and] you surround them [lik]e with a trap. You [speak] thus:
19 “[O Šamaš], these figurines are (representing) whom you know
20 (but) I do not know,
21 [the one who] is furious with me, my accuser, [my] enemy,
22 my [persecutor] and [my] adversary,
23 [who] has performed [sortile]ge, rebellion and evil [against me],
24 [who] has formed [figurines representing me, [has imitated my] fea[tures],
25 [has taken] my [measure]ments,
26 has [gathered a clu]mp of dirt touched by my feet,
27 [who] has taken my spittle, wh[ ... ],
28 [who] has torn off (threads from) [the fringe] of my (garment),
29 who
30 [ ... ] … [break of approx. 1–2 lines]
rev. [break of approx. 6 lines]
1’ [May] the massive [moun]tain [fall] upon you, [may the mountain cover you],
2’ may [the mountai]n smother you, [may the mountain grip you].
3’ May your evil [steadily rise into the sky] like smoke,
4’ like an uprooted tamarisk tree [may it not return to its place]!”
5’ You perform it at new moon, then the w[itchcraft will be undone].

6’ “Lord of lords, king [of kings, Šamaš].”
7’ According to the wording of a tablet … [ ... ],
Notes

obv. 1–2: The incipit Šamaš bēl elāti u šaplāti alsīka Šamaš šimānni is so far only attested here.

obv. 8: For the use of clay from both banks of the river for the fabrication of figurines, cf. CMAwR 1, text 8.3: 107–8, 9.3: 4′–5′ and CAD K 356. The use of šabātu (rather than leqū or karāšu) in the present context is unusual, but the signs preserved seem to admit no other restoration. Contextually, the whole sentence is oddly isolated. One would it expect to be followed by a description of the fabrication of figurines. But here the following fragmentary lines mention bodies of water and liquids used for libations. It seems therefore not excluded that line 8 referred to fetching water from the river rather than to acquiring clay; but there are no parallels that could support such an assumption.

obv. 9–12: The tentative restoration proposed above is based on a comparison of the present passage with the phrase Šamaš ina ašēka mē kašāti limḫurūka “Šamaš, when you rise, may cool water welcome you” (see supra). But both the reading at the beginning of line 9 and the assumption that a series of libation liquids is to be restored in lines 11–12 remain uncertain. For the unusual form a-sā-i-k[a]?, see the comments in the introduction to the text. The sign -k[a] at the end of the line does not fill the entire space up to the right margin; since the scribe otherwise seems to make an effort to spread the signs over the whole line, one should, as pointed out to me by C.B.F. Walker, consider a restoration a-sā-i-ṣ-e-k[a].

obv. 13: The restoration at the end of the line assumes that the scribe wrote on the edge of the tablet; for the formula, see W.R. Mayer, Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen “Gebetsbeschworungen” (StP 5), Rome 1976, 223–24.

obv. 19–20: See the discussion in the introduction to the text for the possibility of an emendation <ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya> ša bēl ikkīya … . The sentence beginning in line 19 consists of nominal clauses whose predicates are formed by a free-standing attributive clause (ša attā tidā anāku lā īdā) and by free-standing nominal attributes in the genitive (ša bēl ikkīya etc.); a literal translation would be “these figurines are whom you know (but) I do not know, (they are) of my bēl ikki, of my …”.

8′ a copy from Babyl[on, written and collated].
9′ … [ … ] reverse breaks
obv. 22: Usually, the sequence is *ipšu bārtu u amāt lemutti* (cf. Schwemer, *Abwehrzauber und Behexung*, 108–9, 208); here we seem to have a slight variation of this formula.

obv. 23–29: The restorations follow parallels such as *Maqlû* I 131–33 and CMAwR 1, texts 8.3: 33, 8.4: 30–34, 8.7: 49′–51′, 9.1: 17–19. The restoration of the second half of line 23 is uncertain. The parallel texts have *bunnanniya umāsshilu* “they imitated my (facial) features” in this context (*Maqlû* I 131, cf. I 96, VII 59, 66), but this phrase is excluded by the traces preserved at the break of line 23. It is tentatively assumed that the present text used *pānu* “face” instead of *bunnannu* “features”, “face”.

rev. 1′–2′: For the parallels to these two lines, see the discussion in the introduction to the text. The use of *ḫursānu* instead of *šadī* in one of the sentences of this standard passage is attested only here.

rev. 9′: The first two signs could be read *ṭup-ṭi*; this should be followed by the name of the scribe, which is difficult to reconcile with the clearly preserved *an* that immediately follows the first two signs of the line.

2. The apotropaic power of the *anḫullū*-plant

BM 35672 (Sp III 189) is the fragment of a small, landscape-format, almost square tablet inscribed in Late Babylonian script. The colophon reveals the name of the scribe as Bēl-uballit, and the collection context at the British Museum suggests that the tablet was found at Babylon or Borsippa. The tablet contains the text of only one incantation against witchcraft, as is often the case with tablets of this type. The rubric in rev. 6 classifies the text as *uṣṣu-būr-ru-da* “to undo witchcraft” and indicates that the incantation was intended to be recited over an *anḫullū*-plant, which then could be used as a medication or as (part of) an amulet. The *anḫullū*-plant is attested in many anti-witchcraft texts and was renowned for being especially effective against witchcraft. Three other uṣburruda-incantations to be recited over *anḫullū* are known; two are quite fragmentary, and one is only known by its incipit, but they certainly do not duplicate each other or the present text. The catchline of the tablet refers to an uṣburruda-incantation to be recited over *imḥur-

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14 For the Spartali collections at the British Museum, see J. Reade, in E. Leichty, Catalogue of the Babylonian tablets in the British Museum 6 (Tablets from Sippar 1), London 1986, xv–xvii.
15 See CMAwR 1, p. 13 with fn. 24.
16 See Schwemer, Abwehrzauber und Behexung, 198.
17 Two uṣburruda-incantations beginning with the word *anḫullū* are attested in CMAwR 1, text 7.8, 4. (lines 54′–55′ and 58′–60′); the incipit *Anāku anḫullū apil(ibila) [x (x)] “I am the anḫullū-plant, son of […]” is quoted in the catalogue LKA 94 rev. iii 8′.
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lim 'heals-a-thousand', another apotropaic plant often used in anti-witchcraft prescriptions. An ušburruda-incantation addressed to imḫur-lım with a very similar incipit forms part of an extensive collection of incantations of this genre, but probably we are dealing with two different texts which are both addressed to imḫur-lım and share a similar opening. 18

In the text of the incantation the anhullû—plant speaks in the first person, a format that is not uncommon for incantations of this type. 19 The plant relates how it steps forward on auspicious days to confront its enemies, it boasts how fear and anger overwhelm the witches at its appearance and, finally, it describes how its power annihilates the witch and her evil witchcraft.

Transliteration (copy: figs. 3 and 4)

obv. 1 [én in-na(?) bi[bli(U4.N)Á.AM] šá iti nisanni BáRA.ZAG.GAR] 2 [i-na(?) U4.1[jul-gâl>] le-e sá iti duꞌuzi (ŠU.NUMUN.NA)] 3 [i-na(?) sebīti ūmi(U4.7(?)KAM)] šá iti tašrīti (DU6.KU)] 4 [x x x (x)] x anûlûlû (AN.HÚ.LA) at-ta-ši ana babî (KÁ)] 5 [i-mu-ra-a)n-ni-ma munus kaššaptû (Uš11.ZU) i-ru-qu pānû (IG1.MEŠ)-šá] 6 [e-piš-ti] u muš-te-piš-ti is-li-ma šap-ta-šá] 7 [x x (x) t]a-mu-ri-in-ni-ma munus kaššaptû (Uš11. `ZU`[(MU)]) 8 [i-ru-q] u pānû (IG1.MEŠ)-ki] 9 [x x x (x) t]i? e ma ḫa id da x 10 [x x x x (x)] `ti` [probably one line is missing at the end of the obverse

rev. 1 [x x x x x] x [x x] 2 [x x x x] x x x [x] 3 [x x] x as-bat-k[i] 4 [û-ter kiš-p]i-ki ana mé-he-em-ma 5 [u a-ma-ti-k]i-ki ana šâri (IM) TU6 ūn


18 The second line of the incantation Attâ imḫur-lım šammu ša ina maḫri ašû “You, ‘heals-a-thousand’-plant, are the herb that emerged in former times,” in CMAwR 1, 7.8, 3.: 17′–30′ is mupaṣṣiru kalâma (line 18′).

19 Cf. the incipit Anûku anhullû apîl(IBILA) [x (x)] in LKA 94 rev. iii 8′; for other incantations of this type, cf., e.g., Anûku ašgulâlu šammu ša ina qereb tâmti ašû (CMAwR, 1, 7.8, 6.: 14′–24′), Anûku is pišî ellu ša ina Ulaya ašû (ibid., 7.8, 4.: 69′–78′) and Anûku nubattu âbât Marduk (cf. ibid., 7.10.1, Summary 5. ad ms. j obv. 9–17).
Translation

obv. 1 [Incantation: “On the day] of the new moon of the month Nisannu,
2 [on the] Evil [Day] of the month Du ’uzu,
3 [on the seven]th [day] of the month Tašritu,
4 [ … ] I, the anhullû-plant, have come out through the gate.
5 When the witch [saw] me her face became pale,
6 [my sorceress] and my enchantress, her lips turned dark.
7 [ … ] you have seen me, my witch,
8 your face [has become p]ale,
9–10 too fragmentary for translation
probably one line is missing at the end of the obverse

rev. 1–2 too fragmentary for translation
3 [ … ] … I have seized y[ou],
4 [I have turned] your [witch]craft into a gust
6 It is [the wording] (of the incantation) to undo witchcraft by means of an anhullû-plant.

7 [Incantation: “Heals-a]-thousand’-plant that undoes everything”.
8 Written and collated [according to] its [original].
9 [Tablet of] Bêl-uballit.

Notes

obv. 1–3: There is room for about three or four signs in the break at the beginning of these lines. All three lines name a specific day of a certain month; it seems plausible that all three lines have the same basic structure and specify auspicious days for the use of the anhullû-plant, the days when the plant is deployed, or ‘comes out of the gate’ as the texts figuratively puts it. The days specified are the first new moon of the year in the month Nisannu, the ‘Evil Day’ of the fourth month, Du ’uzu, and, if the restoration proposed above is correct, the seventh day of the seventh month, Tašritu. For the significance of the day of the new moon as an auspicious day for performing anti-witchcraft rituals, see the introduction to BM 36584, supra. The uhulgallû, the ‘Evil Day’, coincides with the new moon at the end of the month,20 and the funerary offerings at the end of the month Du ’uzu had a special prominence as the lamentation rites for Dumuzi were

held during this period of time.\textsuperscript{21} The seventh day of the seventh month was a highly significant day; hemerologies warn against all normal activities on this day, on which purification rites are performed and people rid themselves of illnesses.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, it would not be surprising if 7/vii was regarded to be a very fitting date for the performance of anti-witchcraft rituals; the present text would be the first to explicitly state this, but the night of the seventh day as such is mentioned together with the day of the new moon as a day for fighting witchcraft and curse: \textit{ša ina bibli kišpī u ina nubatti sebī ūmi upaššaru mam[āti](?) “(ruʾītu-sulphur) which undoes witchcraft on the day of the new moon and cur[ses] on the vigil of the seventh day!”}.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{obv. 5–8:} For the pale face and the dark lips as the physical expression of rage and fear in females, cf. CMAwR 1, text 7.8, 3.: 21’–23’ (the witch beholding the \textit{imḫur-lîm}-plant) as well as Ereškigal’s fury in \textit{Ištar’s Descent} and \textit{Nergal and Ereškigal} (for the relevant passages, see CMAwR 1, p. 196).

\textbf{obv. 9:} Even though almost half of the line is perfectly preserved I am unable to offer a meaningful and conclusive reading of the signs: \textit{e-ma} may be interpreted as \textit{ēma} or as enclitic \textit{-ma} attached to a noun or verb; \textit{ḥa-it-}\textit{ta} or \textit{ḥa-}\textit{it} could be interpreted as forms of \textit{ḥāʾitu} or \textit{ḥayyāṭu} “watchman” (also the name of a demon).

\textbf{rev. 4–5:} For this formula, cf., e.g., \textit{Maqlû} V 52, VI 29, VIII 59’, 4 R\textsuperscript{2} 59 rev. 13 //, CMAwR 1, text 7.8, 1.: 26’.

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\textsuperscript{22} For the seventh day of Tašritu, see Cohen, Cultic Calendars, 391–92 and A. Cavigneaux – V. Donbaz, Le mythe du 7.VII. Les jours fatidiques et le Kippour mésopotamiens, OrNS 76, 2007, 293–335.

\textsuperscript{23} See CMAwR 1, text 7.8, 3.: 47’–48’; cf. also Schwemer, OrNS 78, 2009, 63–64.
Figure 1
Figure 2
Figure 3

Figure 4
Corrigenda

BM 35672 obv. 1–3: read ša instead of šá

BM 35672 rev. 7: add šammu(ú) "plant" before mu-pa-ši-ru