**Abhandlung**

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# Any Evil, a Stalking Ghost, and the Bull-Headed Demon

**Abstract:** Based on first-millennium cuneiform manuscripts from Aššur, Babylon, and Uruk, this article offers an edition of a ritual against an illness conceptualized as the demon 'Any Evil'. The text sheds light on how the catch-all figure Any Evil corresponds to the idea of a universal cure for any physical ailment, and how the rhetoric of the incantation articulates this relationship and facilitates the active participation of the patient. The ritual instructions of this and a closely related text show that Any Evil is envisaged as a bull-headed, male demon. This points to an adaptation of motifs that are typically associated with ghosts in ancient Mesopotamian thought and raises questions concerning the pictorial representation of Any Evil and its conceptual foundations.

The demon 'Any Evil' is the personification of the phrase *mimma lemnu (muṣabbit amēlūti)* "any evil (that can seize a human)" that is often found in Akkadian incantations as a summary term for the various harms that have befallen the patient or ritual client.[1] Indefinite by its very nature, *mimma lemnu* in incantation texts often oscillates between generic phrase and personal name, and also the descriptions of the demon Any Evil are heterogeneous and lack the kind of detailed, standardized set of motifs that is characteristic of demons such as Lamaštu, Ardat-lilî, or Pazuzu.[2] Any additional information on the concepts and images associated with Any Evil must therefore be welcome.

The Akkadian incantations that are addressed directly to Any Evil usually open with the phrase *attamannu mimma lemnu* "whoever you are, Any Evil" and then continue with a description of the demon's actions and appearance.[3] The most extensive incantation of this type has long been known from a single-column tablet written by Nabû-kabti-

aḫḫēšu, a seventh-century exorcist of the Aššur temple in Aššur (Ass. 13955 fm; A 392).[4] Apparently based on the excavation photographs (Ass. Ph. 4126; K 239–240), F. Köcher published a hand-copy of the tablet (BAM 3, 212), which, in turn, provided the basis for M. Geller's recent edition of the text.[5] This edition also took into account the two more fragmentary duplicates BAM 3, 213 and LKU 37, which were already indicated by Köcher (BAM 3, p. XIII). The identification of a further duplicate of the text in the Babylon collection of the British Museum and collation of the two Aššur manuscripts housed in the Archaeological Museums, Istanbul, now allow a more complete presentation of the text and give the opportunity to investigate in more detail the conceptual foundations that inform the incantation text and its ritual setting.

# 1 Edition of A 392 and its duplicates

## 1.1 Table of manuscripts

A    Museum number: A 392
      Excavation number: Ass. 13955 fm

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**2** Schwemer 2018, 183–189.
**3** See in particular the Ḫulbazizi incantations nos. 24–27 (Finkel 1976, 44–45. 98–103).

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**4** Nabû-kabti-aḫḫēšu, son of Aššur-kēnu, grandson of Kēnu?-[...]; see *infra*, 1.2.1, lines 56–59; cf. Maul (2010, 212, fn. 77)
**5** Geller (2014, 9–14) with a reproduction of Köcher's hand-copy, a transliteration of BAM 3, 212 (including restorations based on the duplicates), and a translation.

Provenance: Aššur, house of the exorcist (Pedersén 1986, 63, N4: 153)
Date: Neo-Assyrian, probably seventh century BC
Hand-copy: BAM 3, 212; here figs. 1–2
Photographs: Ass. Ph. 4126; K 239–240; here figs. 3–4

B    Museum number: A 376
Excavation number: Ass. 13956 w
Provenance: Aššur, house of the exorcist (Pedersén 1986, 66, N4: 280)
Date: Neo-Assyrian, probably seventh century BC
Hand-copy: BAM 3, 213 (collated, 24 ix 2019)
Photographs: Ass. Ph. 4243; K 535–536; here figs. 5–6

c    Museum number: BM 41291 = 1881-4-28, 839
Provenance: Babylon (or Borsippa; Reade 1986, xxx–xxxi)
Date: Late Babylonian; Achaemenid or Hellenistic period
Hand-copy: figs. 7–8
Photographs: figs. 9–10

d    Museum number: VAT 14510
Provenance: Uruk, north-eastern perimeter of the Eanna district
Date: Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenid period
Hand-copy: LKU 37 (only obverse)
Photographs: Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (https://cdli.ucla.edu) P414179



**Fig. 1:** A 392 (ms. A) obv.; hatched areas are lost today and were drawn on the basis of the excavation photograph Ass. Ph. 4126 (hand-copy by the author)



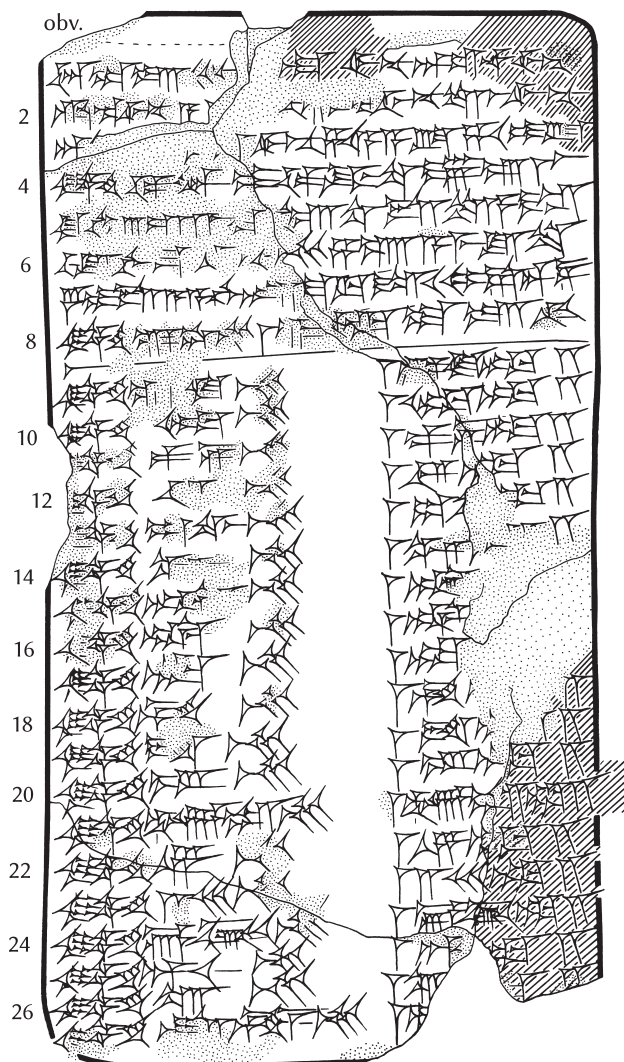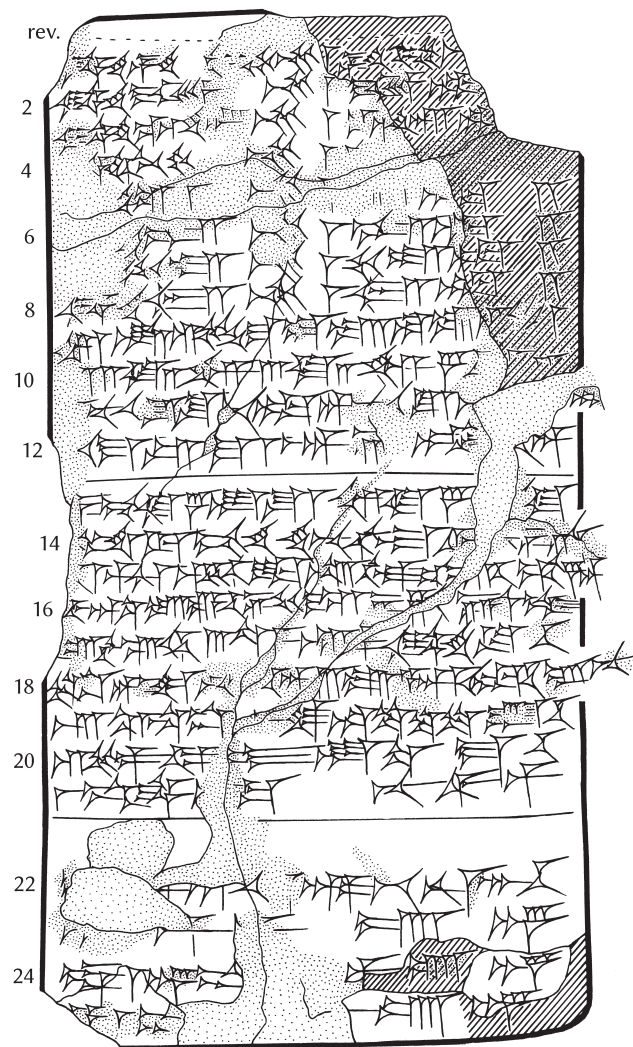**Fig. 2:** A 392 (ms. A) rev.; hatched areas are lost today and were drawn on the basis of the excavation photograph Ass. Ph. 4126 (hand-copy by the author)

**Fig. 3:** A 392 (ms. A) obv. in its present state (photo by the author)

**Fig. 4:** A 392 (ms. A) rev. in its present state (photo by the author)

**Fig. 6:** A 376 (ms. B) rev. (photo by the author)

**Fig. 5:** A 376 (ms. B) obv. and lo. e. (photo by the author)

**Fig. 7:** BM 41291 (ms. c) obv. (hand-copy by the author)



**Fig. 8:** BM 41291 (ms. c) rev. (hand-copy by the author)



**Fig. 9:** BM 41291 (ms. c) obv. (photo by the author)



**Fig. 10:** BM 41291 (ms. c) rev. (photo by the author)

## 1.2 Synoptic transliteration

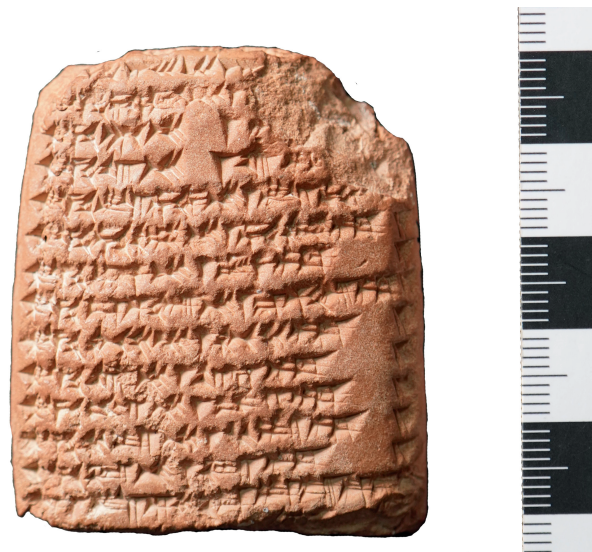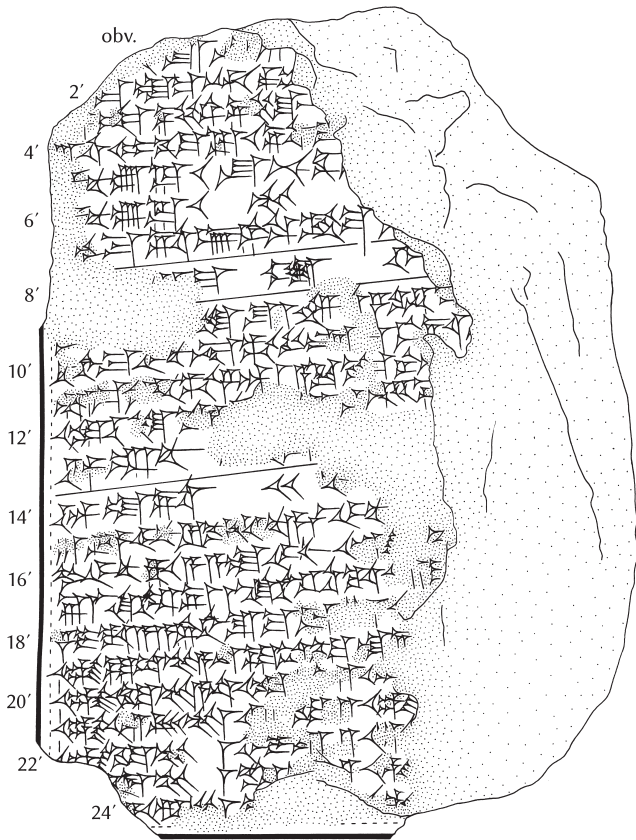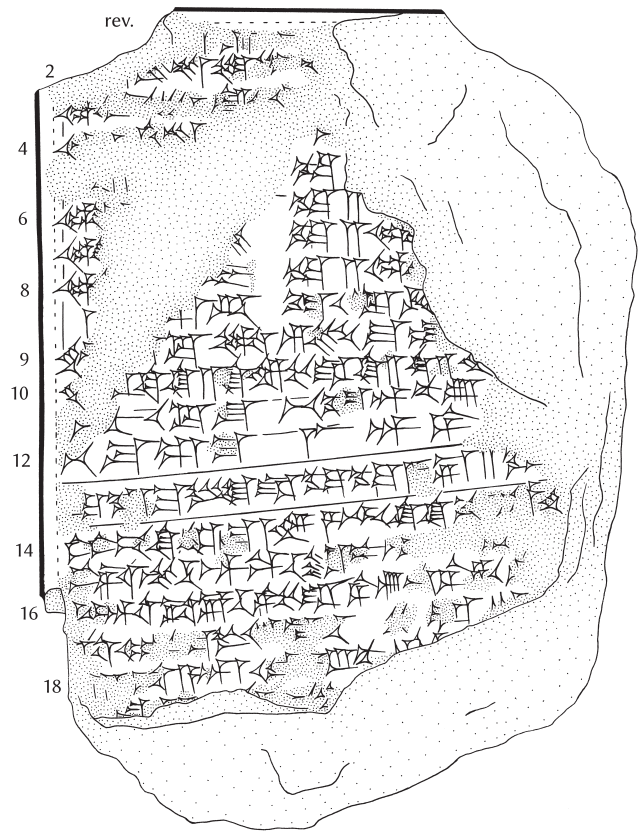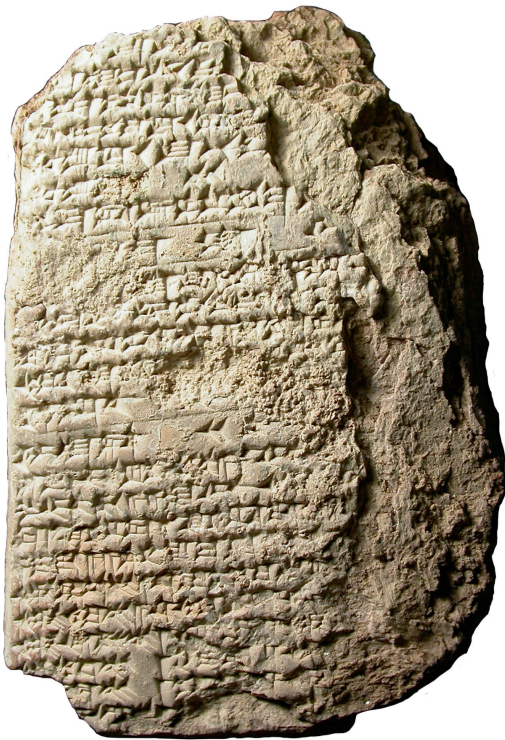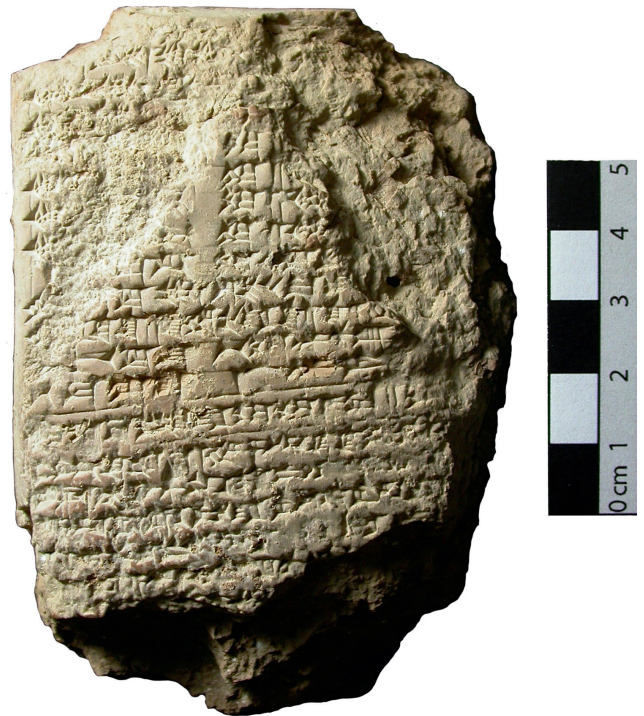Signs that are not present any more today in ms. A, but were included in Köcher's hand-copy based on the excavation photograph are underlined in the transliteration.[6]

Ms. d rev. 1–3 are included based on the published photographs; the lines in ms. d rev. 4–9 are undecipherable, but it is clear that they contained in principle the same text as the duplicates.

### 1.2.1 Mss. A // B // c obv. 14′–rev. 19 // d

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | A obv. 1 | ÉN ⸢at⸣-ta-⸢man-nu⸣ [mi]m-ma lem-nu ᵈALAD lem-nu |
| | c obv. 14′–15′ | ÉN at-ta-man-⸢nu⸣ [          ] / ⸢ᵈALAD⸣ lem-⸢nu⸣ → |
| 2 | A obv. 2 | GIDIM lem-nu ⸢A⸣.L[Á lem-n]u ⸢UDUG⸣ lem-nu GAL₅.LÁ lem-nu |
| | c obv. 15′ | UDUG ⸢lem⸣-nu A.LÁ lem-nu [                    ] → |
| 3 | A obv. 3 | DINGIR l[em-nu] ⸢MAŠKIM⸣ lem-nu ḫa-a-a-ṭu ḫa-i-ṭu |
| | c obv. 15′–16′ | [          ] / LÚ lem-nu ḫa-a-a-aṭ lem-nu → |
| 4 | A obv. 4 | GIG di-i'-i di-lip-tú → |
| | c obv. 16′ | ⸢GIG⸣ [d]i-'[u          ] |
| 5 | A obv. 4–5 | ˡᵘLÍL.LÁ /KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ ⸢KI.SIKIL⸣.UD.DA.KAR.RA |
| | c obv. 17′ | LÍL.LÁ KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ KI.SIKIL.UD.DA.⸢KAR⸣.R[A] → |
| 6 | A obv. 6 | ⸢ù mim-ma lem-nu mu⸣-ṣa-bit a-me-lu-te |
| | c obv. 17′ | [                         ] |
| 7 | A obv. 7 | šá i-da-a-a rak-⸢su⸣-ma ur-ra u GE₆ ÚS-an-ni |
| | c obv. 18′ | šá i-da-a-a ir-rak-su-ma ⸢ur-ra u⸣ [          ] |
| | d obv. 2′–3′ | [                    ] / [Ú]S.MEŠ-an-⸢ni⸣ → |
| 8 | A obv. 8 | GIG SAG.DU.MU a-na ⸢SAG.DU⸣-ka(ḫul) at-ta-⸢din⸣ |
| | B obv. 1′ | [               SAG.DU-k]a a[t-ta-din] |
| | c obv. 19′ | GIG SAG.DU.MU a-⸢na⸣ SAG.DU-ka ⸢at⸣-t[a-din] → |
| | d obv. 3′ | [                              ] → |
| | AB | ──────────────────────────────── |
| 9 | A obv. 9 | GIG ⸢SAG⸣.KI.MU ana ⸢SAG⸣.KI-ka MIN |
| | B obv. 2′ | [G]IG SAG.K[I.M]U ana SAG.KI-ka MIN |
| | c obv. 19′ | [                         ] |
| | d obv. 4′ | GIG SAG.KI.MU ⸢ana⸣ [          ] |
| 10 | A obv. 10 | GIG UGU.MU ana UGU-ka MIN |
| | B obv. 3′ | [GI]G ⸢UGU⸣.MU ana UGU-ka MIN |
| | c obv. 20′ | GIG UGU.MU a-na UGU-⸢ka MIN⸣ → |
| 11 | A obv. 11 | [G]IG pa-ni-ia₅ ana pa-ni-ka MIN |
| | B obv. 4′ | [GI]G pa-ni-ia₅ ana pa-ni-ka MIN |
| | c obv. 20′ | G[IG                    ] |

12 A obv. 12  [G]IG ⸢IGI^II.MU⸣   ana IGI^II-*ka*  MIN  
   B obv. 5′  [G]IG ⸢IGI^II⸣.MU   ana IGI^II-*ka*  MIN  
   c obv. 21′ GIG ⸢IGI^II.MEŠ.MU ana ⸢IGI^II-*ka* MIN⸣ →  
   d obv. 6′  GIG IGI.MU      ana IGI-*ka*   MIN →

13 A obv. 13  [G]IG *ap-pi-*⸢*ia₅*⸣ ana *ap-p*[*i-k*]*a* MIN  
   B obv. 6′  ⸢GIG *ap-pi-ia₅*⸣ ana *ap-pi-ka*  MIN  
   c obv. 21′ GI[G                ]  
   d obv. 6′  ⸢GIG⸣ [

14 A obv. 14  GIG ⸢GÉŠTU^II.MU ana GÉŠTU^II-⸢*ka*⸣ MIN  
   B obv. 7′  ⸢GIG GÉŠTU^II.MU ana GÉŠTU^II-*ka*  MIN  
   c obv. 22′ ⸢GIG⸣ KA.MU      ana ⸢*pi*⸣-*i*-⸢*ka*⸣  MIN →

15 A obv. 15  ⸢GIG NUNDUM⸣.MU ana NUND[UM-*ka*    ]  
   B obv. 8′  GIG [NUN]DUM.MU ana NUNDUM-*ka* MIN  
   c obv. 22′ GI[G                        ]

16 A obv. 16  ⸢GIG⸣ EME.MU  ana EME-[*ka*      ]  
   B obv. 9′  GIG EME.MU   ana EME-*ka*   MIN  
   c obv. 23′ [GIG E]ME.MU ana ⸢EME⸣-*k*[*a*] ⸢MIN⸣ →

17 A obv. 17  GIG ⸢KA⸣.MU *ana* KA-[*ka*    ]  
   B obv. 10′ GIG KA.MU   *ana* KA-*ka*  MIN  
   c obv. 23′ GI[G                    ]  
   d obv. 5′  GIG KA.MU   *ana* K[A-*ka*

18 A obv. 18  GIG GÚ.MU    *ana* GÚ-*k*[*a*] MIN  
   B obv. 11′ GIG GÚ.MU    *ana* GÚ-*ka*  MIN  
   c obv. 24′ [      *k*]*ir-*⸢*ri-ia₅ ana*⸣ *k*[*ir-ri-ka*    ] →

19 A obv. 19  GIG ⸢Á⸣.MU  *ana* Á-[*k*]*a* MIN  
   B obv. 12′ ⸢GIG Á^II.MU *ana* Á^II-[*k*]*a* [  ]  
   c obv. 24′ GI[G                    ]  
   d obv. 7′  GIG *a-ḫi-ia₅ ana a-ḫi-ka* MIN    →

20 A obv. 20  GIG KIŠIB.MU *ana* KIŠIB-*ka* MIN  
   B obv. 13′ [GI]G KIŠIB.MU *ana* KIŠIB-*ka* [  ]  
   c rev. 1   [          ] ⸢*ana* KIŠIB⸣-*k*[*a*  ] →  
   d obv. 7′  GIG x [

21 A obv. 21  GIG UMBIN.MU *ana* UMBIN-*ka*   MIN  
   B lo. e. 1 [  UM]BIN.MU *ana* U[MBIN-*ka*   ]  
   c rev. 1   [                          ]

22 A obv. 22  GIG 15.⸢MU⸣ *ana* 15-*ka*   MIN  
   B lo. e. 2 [GI]G 15.MU *ana* 15-*k*[*a*    ]  
   c *caret*

23 A obv. 23  GIG ⸢150.MU⸣ *ana* 150-*ka* MIN  
   B rev. 1   [G]IG 150.MU *ana* 15[0-*ka*   ]  
   c *caret*

24 A obv. 24  GIG UBUR.⸢MU⸣ *ana* UBUR-*ka* MIN  
   B rev. 2   GIG UBUR.MU  *ana* U[BUR-*ka*  ]  
   c rev. 2   [  UB]UR.MU  *ana tu-l*[*i*]-*k*[*a*  ] →  
   d obv. 8′  GIG *tu-lì-ia₅*   *ana* UBUR-*ka*  MIN →

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 24a | A *caret* | |
| | B *caret* | |
| | c rev. 2 | [GIG …*ya ana* …*ka* MIN] |
| | d obv. 8′ | G[IG |
| | | |
| 25 | A obv. 25 | GIG TI.MU *ana* ⸢TI⸣-[*k*]*a̱* MIN |
| | B rev. 3 | GIG TI.MU *ana* T[I-*ka* ] |
| | c rev. 3 | ⸢GIG TI!?⸣.MU *ana şe-li*⸣-*k*[*a* ] → |
| | d obv. 9′ | GIG *şe-li-ia₅ ana şe-li-ka* MIN → |
| | | |
| 26 | A obv. 26 | GIG ŠÀ.MU *ana* ŠÀ-[*k*]*a̱* ⸢MIN⸣ |
| | B rev. 4 | GIG ŠÀ.MU *ana* ŠÀ-*k*[*a* ] |
| | c rev. 3 | [ ] |
| | d obv. 9′ | G[IG |
| | | |
| 27 | A obv. 27 | GIG ⸢LI⸣.DUR.MU *ana* L[I.DUR-*ka* ] |
| | B rev. 5 | GIG LI.DUR.MU *ana* LI.DUR-⸢*ka* MIN⸣ |
| | c rev. 4 | ⸢GIG LI.DUR.MU *ana*⸣ [LI.DUR-*k*]*a* [ ] → |
| | | |
| 28 | A rev. 1 | GIG ⸢GÚ.MURGU⸣.MU *ana̱* GÚ.MURGU-*k*[*a* ] |
| | B rev. 6 | GIG GÚ.MURGU.MU *ana* GÚ.MURGU-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 4 | [ ] |
| | | |
| 29 | A rev. 2 | GIG MÚRU.MU ⸢*ana*⸣ MÚRU-*k*[*a* ] |
| | B rev. 7 | GIG MÚRU.MU *ana* MÚRU-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 5 | [GI]G M[ÚRU.MU MÚRU]-*ka* [ ] → |
| | | |
| 30 | A rev. 3 | GIG GIŠ.⸢KUN⸣.MU *ana* ⸢GIŠ⸣.KUN-*k*[*a* ] |
| | B rev. 8 | GIG GIŠ.KUN.MU *ana* GIŠ.KUN-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 5 | [ ] |
| | | |
| 31 | A rev. 4 | GIG TUGUL.MU *ana* T[UGUL-*ka* ] |
| | B rev. 9 | GIG TUGUL.MU *ana* TUGUL-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 6 | GIG Ú[R.MU ÚR]-*ka* ⸢MIN⸣ → |
| | | |
| 32 | A rev. 5 | [GI]G ⸢PEŠ₄.MU *ana* PEŠ₄⸣-*ka̱* MIN |
| | B rev. 10 | GIG PEŠ₄.MU *ana* PEŠ₄-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 6 | [ ] |
| | | |
| 33 | A rev. 6 | [GI]G ⸢ÚR.MU⸣ *ana* ⸢ÚR⸣-*ka̱* MIN |
| | B rev. 11 | GIG ÚR.MU *ana* ÚR-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 7 | ⸢GIG⸣ [TUGUL.MU TUGU]L-*ka* MIN → |
| | d obv. 10′ | GIG ÚR.MU *ana* ÚR-*ka* MIN → |
| | | |
| 34 | A rev. 7 | [GI]G *kìn-*⸢*şi-ia₅*⸣ *ana kìn-şi-ka̱* MIN |
| | B rev. 12 | GIG *kìn-şi-ia₅ ana kìn-şi-ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 7 | GI[G ] |
| | d obv. 10′ | GI[G ] |
| | | |
| 35 | A rev. 8 | ⸢GIG⸣ GÌRᴵᴵ.MU *ana* GÌRᴵᴵ-*ka̱* MIN |
| | B rev. 13 | GIG GÌRᴵᴵ.MU *ana* GÌRᴵᴵ-*ka* MIN |
| | c rev. 8 | ⸢GIG⸣ [ G]ÌR-*ka* MIN → |
| | d rev. 1 | ⸢GIG⸣ x-x-⸢MU *ana*⸣ x-x-⸢*ka*⸣ MIN → |

35a A *caret*
B *caret*
c rev. 8    GI[G *zumrīya u mešrêtīya*] \ *ana* [*zu-u*]*m-ri-ka* ⌜*ù*⌝ *meš-*[*re-ti-ka* MIN]
d rev. 1    G[IG

36 A rev. 9    ⌜IM⌝.DIŠ    *li-zi-qam-ma*  *at-ta*  *la* ⌜*ta*⌝-*zi-*⌜*qa*⌝
B rev. 14    IM.DIŠ    *li-zi-qam-ma*  *at-ta*  *la ta-zi-qa*
c rev. 9    I[M].⌜U₁₈⌝.LU *li-zi-qam-ma*  *a*[*t-ta*            ]
d rev. 2    ⌜IM.U₁₈.LU⌝  *li-zi-qam-ma*⌝ *at-t*[*a*           ]

37 A rev. 10   ⌜I̠M⌝.MIN  KI.MIN  ——   →
B rev. 15   [    KI.M]IN  ——   →
c rev. 10   I[M.S]I.SÁ KI.MIN  KI.⟨MIN⟩ →
d rev. 3    ⌜IM.SI.SÁ  MIN    MIN⌝   →

38 A rev. 10   IM.EŠ₅     KI.MIN  ——   →
B rev. 15   I[M.EŠ₅        ]  ——   →
c rev. 10   IM.KUR.RA KI.MIN KI.MIN →
d rev. 3    ⌜IM.KUR.RA MIN    MIN⌝   →

39 A rev. 10   IM.LIMMU  ⌜KI.MIN⌝  ——
B rev. 15   ⌜IM.LIMMU  KI.MIN⌝  ——
c rev. 10   I[M.MAR.TU KI.MIN   KI.MIN]
d rev. 3    [IM.MAR.TU  MIN    MIN]

40 A rev. 11   [*a*]*n-nu-u* ⌜*lu šu*⌝-*bat-ka*  *an-*⌜*nu-u*⌝  *lu* m[*u-šab*]-*k*[*a*]
c rev. 11   *a*[*n-n*]*u-u lu šu-bat-ka*   *an-nu-ú*  [           ]

41 A rev. 12   [*š*]*um₄-ma* GUR-*ma* LÁ-*an-*⌜*ni*⌝ T[U₆] ⌜ÉN⌝
c rev. 12   *šum₄-ma*   GUR-*ma* LÁ-*an-ni* [      ]
Ac    _____

41a A *caret*
c rev. 13   ⌜KA.INIM⌝.MA ˡút u - r a  d u₁₁ - d u₁₁ -⌜a⌝- k e₄ ⌜MIN⌝ T[U₆ *mim-ma lem-ni*]
c    _____

42 A rev. 13   [DÙ].DÙ.BI KI.GAR  *tu-qad-dáš*     →
c rev. 14   DÙ.DÙ.BI   KI.⟨GAR⟩  ⌜*tu*⌝(sar)-*qad*⌝-*dáš* →

43 A rev. 13   IM KI.GAR  [T]I-*qé*
c rev. 14   IM ⟨KI⟩.GAR  TI-*qé*  →

44 A rev. 14   —— [DU]Ḫ.LÀL  TÉŠ.BI  ḪE.ḪE  →
c rev. 14   KI ⌜DUḪ.LÀL⌝ ——    Ḫ[E.ḪE] →

45 A rev. 14   NU *mim-ma lem-*[*n*]*u*  ⌜DÙ-*uš*⌝
c rev. 14–15   [              ] / ⌜DÙ⌝-*uš* →

46 A rev. 15   [MU-*š*]*ú ana* BAR.SÌL    GÙB-*šú* SAR    →
c rev. 15   MU-*šú*  *ina* BAR.SÌL-*šú* ——    SAR-*ár* →

47 A rev. 15   *ina*  ŠÀ  *ṣu-*⌜*up-ri*⌝ GU₄ GAR-*an*
c rev. 15   ⌜*ina*⌝ š[À UMB]I[N               ]

48 A rev. 16   [   ] IGI ᵈUTU *ta-dan-šú* →
c rev. 16   ⌜*ana* IGI⌝ ᵈUTU *ta-dan-šú* →

| 49 | A rev. 16–17 | Ì.KUR.RA ——       ⌜ì⌝ KU₆ KÀŠ⌝ ANŠE / [t]a-sal-làḫ-šú → |
| | c rev. 16 | Ì.KUR.RA Ì.NUN.⌜NA⌝ ì KU₆ K[ÀŠ           ] |

| 50 | A rev. 17 | 3 U₄-⌜me⌝ ina ⌜SAG⌝ GIG   TUŠ-šú |
| | c rev. 17 | ⌜3 U₄-mi ina SAG⌝ ˡú⌜GIG TUŠ-šú⌝ → |

| 51 | A rev. 18 | še!(te)-⌜rim⌝ AN.BAR₇ US[AN]  ÉN ⌜3⌝.TA.ÀM ana UGU-šú ŠID-nu |
| | c rev. 17–18 | ⌜še-ra⌝    A[N.BAR₇     ] / [ ] ⌜3.TA⌝.ÀM ana ⌜UGU   ŠID⌝-nu → |

| 52 | A rev. 19 | ina 3     U₄-me È → |
| | c rev. 18 | ina ⌜šal⌝-š[i     ] |

| 53 | A rev. 19 | ⌜ina⌝ ḫar-ba-te te-te-⌜mer⌝-šú |
| | c rev. 19 | traces |

| 54 | A rev. 20 | zi-pa-di-⌜i⌝ tu-tam-ma-šú |

| 55 | A rev. 21 | ana EGIR-⌜ka⌝ NU IGI.BAR |
| | A | ———————————————————————————— |

| 56 | A rev. 22 | ⌜ú⌝-[ì]l-⌜tì ⁱⁱdMUATI−IDIM−PAPᵐᵉš-šú |

| 57 | A rev. 23 | ⌜ˡúMAŠ.MAŠ⌝ É aš-šur |

| 58 | A rev. 24 | DUMU ⁱaš-šur−GI[N MAŠ].MAŠ É aš-šur |

| 59 | A rev. 25 | ⌜A ⁱⁱGI[N?−x MAŠ.MA]š É ⌜aš-šur⌝ |

## 1.2.2 Ms. c obv. 1′–13′

| 1′ | c obv. 1′ | [x x ] x ⌜SU⌝ x x [ |
| 2′ | c obv. 2′ | [ana?] ⌜ma⌝-ḫir-ti MAŠ[KIM? |
| 3′ | c obv. 3′ | [ana?] ⌜d⌝bí-du₈ ì-du₈-gal [KI-tim lu-u paq-da-ta(?)] |
| 4′ | c obv. 4′ | ⌜ú⌝-tam-mi-ka lu-u ⌜ta⌝-m[a-ta x x x (x)] |
| 5′ | c obv. 5′ | [a]n-nu-ú lu-u šu-bat-k[a (...)] |
| 6′ | c obv. 6′ | [a]n-nu-ú lu-u mu-[šab-ka] |
| 7′ | c obv. 7′ | [š]um-ma ta-sa-ni-qa-am-ma x [x x x (x)] |
| | | ———————————————————————————— |
| 8′ | c obv. 8′ | [KA.INI]M.MA TU₆ m[im-ma lem-ni] |
| | | ———————————————————————————— |
| 9′ | c obv. 9′ | D[Ù.DÙ.BI KI.GAR] tu-qad-dáš → |
| 10′ | c obv. 9′ | IM [K]I.GAR KÍD-i[ṣ] → |
| 11′ | c obv. 9′ | [DUḪ.LÀL ḪE.ḪE(?)] |
| 12′ | c obv. 10′ | NU mim-ma ⌜lem-nu⌝ GIM GU₄.LÚ.⌜U₁₈⌝.[L]U DÙ-uš → |
| 13′ | c obv. 10′ | M[U-šú ina BAR.SÌL SAR-ár(?)] |
| 14′ | c obv. 11′ | ⌜ina⌝ ŠÀ ⌜UMBIN!⌝(GAD.⌜KÍD⌝) GU₄ GAR-an → |
| 15′ | c obv. 11′ | ana ESIR ⌜KÚM⌝ Ì.SU[MUN? ŠUB-ma(?)] → |
| 16′ | c obv. 11′–12′ | [x x x] / UGU-šú ⌜tu-naq-qa⌝-[ma] → |
| 17′ | c obv. 12′ | [ina(?)] ⌜GE₆⌝? UMBIN!⌝(⌜GAD.KÍD⌝) x [ |
| 18′ | c obv. 13′ | ÉN ŠID-nu x x x [ |
| | | ———————————————————————————— |

## 1.3 Transcription and translation

### 1.3.1 Mss. A // B // c obv. 14′–rev. 19 // d

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | ÉN *attamannu* [*mi*]*mma lemnu šēdu lemnu* |

Incantation: "Whoever you are, [A]ny Evil, an evil *šēdu*-demon,

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 | *eṭemmu lemnu alû lemnu utukku lemnu gallû lemnu* |

an evil ghost, an evil *alû*-demon, an evil *utukku*-demon, an evil *gallû*-demon,

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 | *ilu l*[*emnu*] *rābiṣu* (ms. c: *amēlu*) *lemnu ḫayyāṭu ḫā'iṭu* (ms. c: *lemnu*) |

an e[vil] god, an evil *rābiṣu*-demon, a stalking (ms. c: evil) stalker,

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 | *murṣu di'u diliptu* |

an illness, headache, insomnia,

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 | *lilû lilītu ardat-lilî* |

a male *lilû*-demon, a female *lilû*-demon, the *lilû*-girl,

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 | *ū mimma lemnu muṣabbit amēlūti* |

or any evil that can seize a human,

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 | *ša idīya raksuma* (var.: *irraksuma*) *urra u mūša irteneddânni* |

that has been fastened to my sides and keeps persecuting me day and night:

| | |
|---|---|
| 8 | *muruṣ qaqqadīya ana qaqqadīka attadin* |

The illness of my head I have given to your head,

| | |
|---|---|
| 9 | *muruṣ nakkaptīya ana nakkaptīka attadin* |

the illness of my temple I have given to your temple,

| | |
|---|---|
| 10 | *muruṣ muḫḫīya ana muḫḫīka attadin* |

the illness of my skull I have given to your skull,

| | |
|---|---|
| 11 | *muruṣ pānīya ana pānīka attadin* |

the illness of my face I have given to your face,

| | |
|---|---|
| 12 | *muruṣ īnīya ana īnīka attadin* |

the illness of my eyes I have given to your eyes,

| | |
|---|---|
| 13 | *muruṣ appīya ana appīka attadin* |

the illness of my nose I have given to your nose,

| | |
|---|---|
| 14 | *muruṣ uznīya ana uznīka attadin* |

the illness of my ears I have given to your ears,

| | |
|---|---|
| 15 | *muruṣ šaptīya ana šaptīka attadin* |

the illness of my lip(s) I have given to your lip(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 16 | *muruṣ lišānīya ana lišānīka attadin* |

the illness of my tongue I have given to your tongue,

| | |
|---|---|
| 17 | *muruṣ pîya ana pîka attadin* |

the illness of my mouth I have given to your mouth,

| | |
|---|---|
| 18 | *muruṣ kišādīya ana kišādīka attadin* |

the illness of my neck I have given to your neck,

| | |
|---|---|
| 19 | *muruṣ aḫīya ana aḫīka attadin* |

the illness of my arm(s) I have given to your arm(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 20 | *muruṣ rittīya ana rittīka attadin* |

the illness of my hand(s) I have given to your hand(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 21 | *muruṣ ṣuprīya ana ṣuprīka attadin* |

the illness of my nail(s) I have given to your nail(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 22 | *muruṣ imnīya ana imnīka attadin* |

the illness of my right I have given to your right,

| | |
|---|---|
| 23 | *muruṣ šumēlīya ana šumēlīka attadin* |

the illness of my left I have given to your left,

| | |
|---|---|
| 24 | *muruṣ tulîya ana tulîka attadin* |

the illness of my breast I have given to your breast,

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 | *muruṣ ṣēlīya ana ṣēlīka attadin* |

the illness of my rib(s) I have given to your rib(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 26 | *muruṣ libbīya ana libbīka attadin* |

the illness of my abdomen I have given to your abdomen,

| | |
|---|---|
| 27 | *muruṣ abunnatīya ana abunnatīka* [*attadin*] |

the illness of my navel I have given to your navel,

| | |
|---|---|
| 28 | *muruṣ eṣemṣērīya ana eṣemṣērīka attadin* |

the illness of my back I have given to your back,

| | |
|---|---|
| 29 | *muruṣ qablīya ana qablīka attadin* |

the illness of my hips I have given to your hips,

| | |
|---|---|
| 30 | *muruṣ rapaštīya ana rapaštīka attadin* |

the illness of my pelvis I have given to your pelvis,

| | |
|---|---|
| 31 | *muruṣ gilšīya ana gilšīka attadin* |

the illness of my hip bone(s) I have given to your hip bone(s),

| | |
|---|---|
| 32 | *muruṣ biṣṣūrīya ana biṣṣūrīka attadin* |

the illness of my genitalia I have given to your genitalia,

| | |
|---|---|
| 33 | *muruṣ sūnīya ana sūnīka attadin* |

the illness of my crotch I have given to your crotch,

| | |
|---|---|
| 34 | *muruṣ kinṣīya ana kinṣīka attadin* |

the illness of my knees I have given to your knees,

| | |
|---|---|
| 35 | *muruṣ šēpīya ana šēpīka attadin* |

the illness of my feet I have given to your feet,

| | |
|---|---|
| 35a | *mur*[*uṣ zumrīya u mešrêtīya*] *ana* [*zu*]*mrīka u meš*[*rêtīka attadin*] |

the ill[ness of my body and my limbs I have given] to your [bo]dy and to [your] lim[bs]!

| | |
|---|---|
| 36 | *šūtu lizīqamma attā lā taziqqa* |

May the south wind blow to me, but you must not blow to me,

| 37 | *iltānu lizīqamma attā lā taziqqa* | May the north wind blow to me, but you must not blow to me, |
| 38 | *šadû lizīqamma attā lā taziqqa* | May the east wind blow to me, but you must not blow to me, |
| 39 | *amurru lizīqamma attā lā taziqqa* | May the west wind blow to me, but you must not blow to me! |
| 40 | *annû lū šubatka annû lū m[ūšab]k[a]* | May this (figurine here) be your abode, may this (figurine here) be [yo]ur dw[elling place]! |
| 41 | *šumma taturramma taḫiṭṭanni* T[U₆] ÉN | You must not stalk me again!" Incant[ation] formula. |

| 41a | KA.INIM.MA <sup>lú</sup>t u - r a  d u₁₁- d u₁₁- a - k e₄ MIN T[U₆ *mimma lemni*] | Wording (of an incantation) to be recited by the patient. Ditto of a sp[ell against Any Evil]. |

| 42 | DÙ.DÙ.BI *kullata tuqaddaš* | Its ritual: You purify the clay pit. |
| 43 | *ṭīd kullati teleqqe* | You take clay from the clay pit, |
| 44 | *iškūra ištēniš* (var.: *itti iškūri*) *taballal* | you mix (it) together with wax, |
| 45 | *ṣalam mimma lem[n]u teppuš* | you make a figurine of Any Ev[il] (out of it), |
| 46 | *šumšu ana* (var.: *ina*) *naglab šumēlīšu* (var.: *naglabi*) *tašaṭṭar* | (and) write his name on his left (var.: – ) shoulder. |
| 47 | *ina libbi ṣupur alpi tašakkan* | You place (him) inside the hoof of a bull. |
| 48 | *ana maḫar Šamaš tadânšu* | You convict him before Šamaš. |
| 49 | *napṭa šaman nūni šināt imēri [t]asallaḫšu* | You sprinkle him with naphtha, fish oil, (and) donkey urine. |
| 50 | *šalāšat ūmī ina rēš marṣi tušeššebšu* | You have him sit at the patient's head for three days. |
| 51 | *šēra muṣlāla ši[mētān] šipta šulušā ana muḫḫīšu* (var.: *muḫḫi*) *tamannu* | In the morning, at midday, (and) in the ev[ening] you recite the incantation over him three times (on) each (occasion). |
| 52 | *ina šalši ūmi tuṣṣi* | On the third day, you go out |
| 53 | *ina ḫarbāte tetemmeršu* | (and) you bury him in a deserted area. |
| 54 | *zipadî tutammāšu* | You adjure him with the *zipadû* incantation formula. |
| 55 | *ana arkīka lā tappallas* | You must not look behind you. |

## 1.3.2  Ms. c obv. 1′–13′

Lines 1′–2′ too fragmentary for transcription and translation.

| 3′ | [*ana*] *Bidu idugal* [*erṣeti lū paqdāta*(?)] | [*To*] Bidu, the head doorkeeper [*of the netherworld you are truly entrusted*], |
| 4′ | *utammīka lū tam[âta  …  ]* | I have adjured you! You are truly ad[jured  …  ]! |
| 5′ | [*a*]*nnû lū šubatk[a (…)]* | May [t]his (figurine here) be yo[ur abode [(…)], |
| 6′ | [*a*]*nnû lū mū[šabka]* | may [t]his (figurine here) be [your] dwelling [place]! |
| 7′ | [*š*]*umma tasanniqamma …* [  …  ] | You must not come near me and … [  …  ]!" |

| 8′ | [KA.INI]M.MA TU₆ *m[imma lemni]* | [Word]ing of a spell against A[ny Evil]. |

| 9′ | [DÙ.DÙ.BI *kullata*] *tuqaddaš* | [Its ritual]: You purify [the clay pit]. |
| 10′ | *ṭīd* [*k*]*ullati takarri[ṣ]* | You pinch off clay of the [cl]ay pit, |
| 11′ | [*iškūra taballal*(?)] | [*you mix (it) with wax*], |
| 12′ | *ṣalam mimma lemni kīma gulullî teppuš* | you make a figurine of Any Evil in the shape of a bull-man (out of it), |

| | |
|---|---|
| 13′ | šu[mšu ina naglabi tašaṭṭar(?)] | [(and) write his] na[me on (his) shoulder]. |
| 14′ | ina libbi ṣupur alpi tašakkan | You place (him) inside the hoof of a bull. |
| 15′ | ana iṭṭê emmi luš[î tanaddīma(?)] | [You put (him)] in hot bitumen (and) grea[se and] |
| 16′ | [ ... ] elīšu tunaqqā[ma] | you pour [ ... ] over him. [Then], |
| 17′ | [ina] mūši(?) ṣupur ... [ ... ] | [in] the night, [ ... ] the hoof ... [ ... ] |
| 18′ | sipta tamannu ... [ ... ] | you recite the incantation ... [ ... ]. |

## 1.4 Philological notes on the texts edited in 1.2 and 1.3

**1** In the middle of ms. A obv. 1 a small fragment containing the sign sequence *aš-šur* (twice) was wrongly (and upside down) attached to the tablet. This fragment actually belongs to the reverse of the tablet where it forms part of the colophon (rev. 24–25 = lines 58–59).

**3** The mention of *amēlu lemnu* (ms. c) within the present list is highly unusual. Possibly LÚ *lem-nu* is a mistake for ˡᵘMAŠKIM *lem-nu*, but when referring to the demon of this name, *rābiṣu* is rarely written with a determinative. The epithet *ḫāʾiṭu* in ms. A shows that *ḫa-a-a-ṭu* // *ḫa-a-a-aṭ* stands for *ḫayyāṭu* "stalker" rather than the sometimes homonymous *ḫayyattu* "terror". For the significance of the inclusion of *ḫayyāṭu* in the present list, of which it is not a standard element, see *infra*, section 3.

**8–35** The sequence of body parts is identical in mss. A and B, which form the basis of our transcription and translation. The Babylonian sources mss. c and d show a slightly different sequence, but do not agree with each other either. Since mss. c and d are both fragmentary, the entire sequence of body parts cannot be reconstructed for either of these two tablets.

**18** Probably ms. c had *kerru* "(area of the) collarbone" instead of *kišādu* "neck", but it is not entirely excluded that ms. c included a reference to *kišādu* in one of the broken passages that have been assigned to other lines here.

**24, 32** The references to *tulû* "breast" and *biṣṣūru* "genitalia" appear to be gendered as feminine. Akkadian *tulû* may refer to the male breast (see attestations in CAD T 469a bottom and 469b top), but usually designates, like its Sumerian equivalent u b u r, the female breast, not least in the context of nursing a baby. The word *biṣṣūru* (Civil 2006) is one of the terms for the female sex organ; its spelling here with the Sumerogram PEŠ₄ is otherwise attested only in the names of the shells *biṣṣūr tâmti* and *biṣṣūr atāni* (Schuster-Brandis 2008, 439). There are no indications that the present incantation and ritual were composed specifically for female patients; on the contrary, the ritual instructions reflect, as usual in non-gynaecological rituals and prescriptions, the assumption of a male patient. It seems therefore most likely that *tulû* and *biṣṣūru* here refer to "breast" and "genitalia" generally. This usage is not attested elsewhere for *biṣṣūru*, but well known for its synonym *ūru* (see CAD U and W 266a). Geller (2014, 13) translates "vagina", but does not comment on the problems this raises with regard to the sex of the presumed patient.

**24a** In contrast to mss. A and B, the Babylonian sources mss. c and d both have an entry between the *tulû-* and the *ṣēlu-*line. Due to their fragmentary state, the specific contents of the line cannot be reconstructed, and thus it is not entirely clear whether line 24a represents an additional entry or a line that mss. A and B have in a different position.

**35–35a** The traces in ms. d rev. 1 cannot be deciphered with certainty. A reading *kìn-ṣi-ia₅*, *kìn-ṣi-ka* seems possible; if so, the broken second half of ms. d rev. 10′ would not correspond to the text in line 34. It is therefore also uncertain whether ms. d included the additional line 35a, which is attested in ms. c and summarizes the preceding sequence of statements.

**41a** The restoration of the second half of the line follows ms. c obv. 8′, which, however, is also partly restored.

**42–43** The three mistakes in ms. c rev. 14 were triggered by an extended misreading and misinterpretation of the beginning of the ritual instructions as *qaqqara*(KI) *tašabbiṭ*(SAR) *qāta*(ŠU) *ana ṭīdi*(IM) *tašakkan*(GAR) *teleqqe*(TI-*qé*) "You sweep the ground, you put the hand to the clay (and) take (it)".

**47** Very little is preserved of UMBIN in ms. c rev. 15. Note that in obv. 11′ and 12′, the scribe of ms. c

writes umbin with the signs GAD.KÍD instead of
expected GAD.KÍD.ÚR (see 1.2.2: 14′, 17′).

49 The addition of ì.NUN.NA "ghee" (ḫimētu), a sub-
stance associated with purity, in ms. c shows that
the scribe of this tablet had a limited understand-
ing of the symbolism of the present rite for the
defilement of the figurine of Any Evil.

51 A reading *imannu* "he (i.e., the patient) recites"
cannot be excluded (cf. the rubric, line 41a). The
reading *tamannu* "you recite" can of course be
interpreted as an instruction for the recitation of
the incantation by the patient under the guidance
of the ritual expert (as explicitly stated in instruc-
tions like *tušamnāšu* or *tušadbabšu*, which are
well known from other ritual texts).

58–59 See note on line 1.

8′ The traces after TU₆ hardly admit any other iden-
tification of the fragmentary sign than MUNUS. In
view of the main purpose of the ritual, the availa-
ble space in the break, and the distribution of the
signs over the line the restoration m[im-ma lem-ni]
seems certain.

11′ For the tentative restoration, cf. line 44.

12′ The word *gulullû* (GU₄.LÚ.U₁₈.LU) is attested here
for the first time. Its formation follows the pattern
known from *girtablullû* (GÍR.TAB.LÚ.U₁₈.LU) "scor-
pion-man", *kulullû* (KU₆.LÚ.U₁₈.LU) "fish-man",
and *urmaḫlullû* (UR.MAḪ.LÚ.U₁₈.LU) "lion-man"
(see Wiggermann 1992, 180–183). For the identifi-
cation of the *gulullû* "bull-man" and its distinction
from the protective spirit *kusarikku* "bison-man",
"bull-man" (Wiggermann 1992, 174–179), see
section 3.

14′, 17′ See note on line 47.

## 2 Incantation rhetoric and ritual symbolism

The linguistic form of the Akkadian incantation edited
in section 1.3.1 reflects the ritual's objective to remove any
evil that may have befallen the patient and caused an
illness. The indefinite nature of the attack is spelled out
in the opening lines (1–7). This first part of the recitation
is framed by the generalizing phrases *attamannu mimma
lemnu* "whoever you are, Any Evil" (line 1) and *mimma
lemnu muṣabbit amēlūti* "any evil that can seize a human"
(line 6). Its conclusion turns the focus on the suffering of
the patient, who is presented, as is common in texts of
this genre, as the first-person speaker of the incantation:

*ša idīya raksuma urra u mūša irteneddânni* "that has been
fastened to my sides and keeps persecuting me day and
night" (line 7). Within this framework stands a standard
list of demons and illnesses that lends concrete, exem-
plary form to the indeterminate evil affecting the patient
(lines 1–5).

The central part of the incantation (lines 8–35a) sets
out the indefinite nature of the patient's suffering in the
form of a litany in which the patient transfers any illness
from which he may be suffering body part by body part
onto the figurine of the demon Any Evil to whom the
incantation is addressed. The incantation's concept of the
body and its various parts, which are arranged from head
to foot, reflects traditional Mesopotamian lore and closely
resembles the organisation of the Diagnostic Hand-
book.[7] In contrast to the two Aššur manuscripts, the Late
Babylonian ms. c concludes the litany with a summary
phrase that refers to the patient's body (*zumru*) and limbs
(*mešrêtu*) as a whole (line 35a); this summary can proba-
bly also be reconstructed in ms. d, which dates to the Late
Babylonian period too.

The incantation ends with a standard apotropaic
formula (lines 36–39),[8] a plea for the transfer of the
miasma onto the figurine of Any Evil (line 40), and a final
adjuration against the return of the evil to the patient
(line 41).[9]

On the whole, the composition of the incantation is
characterized by a transparent overall structure, short,
concrete statements with a simple syntax, a wealth of rep-
etition, and numerous parallelisms. Such a linguistic form
facilitates the active and conscious participation of the
patient in the recitation. The rubric in ms. c, which desig-
nates the incantation as "to be recited by the patient" (line
41a), shows that this use of the litany form, of parallelism,
and of transparent syntax and structure is by no means

---

**7** The anatomic sequence here is (according to mss. A and B):
head – temples – skull – face – eyes – nose – ears – lips – tongue –
mouth – neck – arms – hands – nails – right – left – breast – ribs –
abdomen – navel – back – hips – pelvis – hip bones – genitalia –
crotch – knees – feet. The structure of the Diagnostic Handbook
reflects the same organising principles (cf. Scurlock/Andersen 2005,
575–630); tablet III: head – skull – hair; tablet IV: temples; tablet V:
eyes; tablet VI: nose – lips – teeth; tablet VII: tongue – mouth; tablet
VIII: ears; tablet IX: face; tablet X: neck – throat – arms; tablet XI:
hands – fingers; tablet XII: breast – ribs; tablet XIII: abdomen; tablet
XIV: hips – genitalia – crotch – knees – feet.
**8** For the four winds formula, see Schwemer (2007b, 87); CAMwR 1,
text 7.9, 4. rev. 1–4; CMAwR 2, texts 8.25: 133–34; 8.38: 20′–22′; Jiménez
(2013, 33–44. 469–471; 2018a, 322).
**9** For the use of oath-like formulae of this type at the end of incanta-
tions, see, e.g., CMAwR 1, text 8.7.1: 139″″; CMAwR 2, texts 8.25: 222;
8.29, 1.: 81, 113.

coincidental, but reflects the author's intention and the recitation's ritual function.

Whereas the incantation's rhetoric emphasizes the indeterminate nature of the evil affecting the patient, the symbolism of the ritual conveys the idea of containing the indefinite evil in the figure of one specific demon called Any Evil, who can be addressed in the incantation and be dispelled by manipulating a figurine representing him. The fabrication, naming and conviction before Šamaš of the figurine of Any Evil follows standard *āšipūtu* procedures.[10] Also the defilement of the demon's figurine with black naphtha, malodorous fish oil, and pungent donkey's urine has many parallels in comparable contexts.[11] The presence of the figurine at the head of the bedridden patient for three days enacts the transfer of the miasma from the patient onto the figurine of the demon and thus reflects Mesopotamian concepts of contagion.[12] The burial of the figurine outside the city, its final adjuration, and the instruction not to look back when leaving the place of the disposal of the figurine again reflect standard *āšipūtu* practices.[13]

## 3 Any Evil and the stalking ghost

For all the emphasis on the indefinite nature of the evil afflicting the patient, the incantation text and the symbolic actions of the ritual edited in section 1.3.1 contain a number of features that lend the 'Any Evil' addressed in the ritual proceedings a surprisingly specific profile. The standard list of agents of evil in lines 1–6 includes *ḫayyāṭu ḫāʾiṭu* (// *lemnu*), the "stalking (// evil) stalker" (line 3), who is usually not found in standard lists of this type. The word

*ḫayyāṭu* "spy", "stalker" (the evil perversion of the office of the night watchman) and its near-homonym *ḫayyattu* "terror", "fit"[14] commonly occur in anti-ghost rituals, both as designations of the ghost and within descriptions of the patient's symptoms. It is not always easy to decide which of the two words is meant, and sometimes the ambiguity seems to be intended. Here the epithet *ḫāʾiṭu* and the final prohibition *šumma ... taḫiṭṭanni* (line 41) show that *ḫa-a-a-ṭu* // *ḫa-a-a-aṭ* in line 3 represents *ḫayyāṭu* "spy", "stalker".[15]

The symbolic gestures of the ritual reveal further ghost-like features of the demon Any Evil within the present ritual: The conclusion of the ritual with the *zipadû* formula,[16] the use of a bull's hoof, and, in particular, the representation of Any Evil by a figurine in the design of a bull-man (1.3.2: 12′), all point to the symbolic imagery that is typical of anti-ghost rituals. There, bovine horns and hoofs are frequently used;[17] once a figurine of a ghost is prepared from a mixture of clay and bull's blood.[18] As has been variously discussed,[19] the 'Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince' describes the demonic, evil ghost as having a human body and a bull's head,[20] a concept that is also reflected in the logogram GIDIM₇ (= GU₄ "bull") for Akkadian *eṭemmu* "ghost".[21] A patient who was butted

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**10** See Schwemer 2007a, 200–201. 206–207.

**11** The use of fish oil for defiling figurines is well attested; see CMAwR 1, texts 8.1: 51″, 58″; 8.4: 59; 8.14: 10′; CMAwR 2, texts 8.17: 16; 11.3, 1.: 42; 11.5: 8. For references to bitumen (or naphtha) and donkey's urine as disgusting substances, see the curses in Parpola/Watanabe 1988, no. 2 rev. iv 14–15 and no. 6: 491.

**12** Concepts of contagion in ancient Mesopotamia are discussed by Farber (2004); Scurlock/Andersen (2005, 17–19); Feder (2013; 2016).

**13** For the burial of substitute figurines, see Scurlock (2006, 50–53), Schwemer (2007a, 98-99. 201; 2010, 65–67). The use of the *zipadû* formula is a common feature of anti-ghost rituals, but occurs also in rituals against demons; see in particular Scurlock (2006), no. 11: 5 and no. 218: 25; cf. the discussion *ibid.*, 25–26 with further related attestations. The prescription not to look back on the way back to the city can often be found; for attestations in various types of rituals, see Schwemer (1998, 125–126, fn. 313); see also CMAwR 1, text 7.7: 36; CMAwR 2, texts 8.23: 39′; 8.28: 100; and, for anti-ghost rituals, Scurlock 2006, 57 with fn. 883.

**14** The meaning of *ḫayyāṭu* and *ḫayattu* and their mutual relationship are discussed by Stol (1993, 42–46). Scurlock (2006, 16–17. 357, and passim) translates *ḫayyaṭu* (thus her normalisation) always as "confusional state".

**15** For *ḫayyāṭu ḫāʾiṭu*, cf. Udug-ḫul V 142: n í ĝ - è   n í ĝ - è   n í ĝ - n a m - m a   ú s - b i – *ḫayyāṭu ḫāʾiṭu murteddû mimma šumšu* "The stalking stalker who is always pursuing something" (Geller 2016, 205 with a slightly different translation).

**16** See fn. 13.

**17** See Scurlock 2006, 47. Libations from a bull's (or bovid's) horn (*qaran alpi*) can be found in no. 4: 5, no. 7: 2–3, 6, no. 8: 3–4, 11; for the use of a bull's (or bovid's) hoof (*ṣupur alpi*), see no. 3: 6; no. 5: 7, no. 6: 5. In the following prescriptions *ṣupur alpi* is used as an ingredient: no. 65: 2, no. 159: 6, no. 208: 1, no. 290: 5, no. 334: 1.

**18** See Scurlock 2006, no. 226: 4, and, more complete, Ambos 2013, 146: 4.

**19** Scurlock 1995, 1890; Steinert 2012, 299–315, especially 311.

**20** VAT 10057 rev. 6: *eṭemmu*(G[IDI]M?) *qaqqad*(SAG.DU) *alpi*(GU₄) 4 *qātā* (ŠUᴵᴵ) *šēpā*(GÌRᴵᴵ) *amīlūtu*(LÚ.MEŠ) "The ghost: the head (was) of an ox; the four hands (and) feet were human" (ed. Livingstone 1989, 72). The reading of the fragmentary sign at the beginning of the line as GIDIM was first proposed by von Soden (1936, 16) based on the excavation photograph, which shows the tablet in a more complete state than it is preserved today.

**21** The traditional Sumerogram for *eṭemmu* is GIDIM, which is attested since the Fāra period (Foxvog 2000–2001, 175) and was only later differentiated from UDUG (occasionally GIDIM₄). The spelling ŠU.GU₄.MA indicates that also GU₄ was read GIDIM in these contexts, i. e., ŠU.GIDIM₇.MA (see MesZL, no. 472). The origins of the logogram GÍDIM (MAŠ.U) are unclear. While the sign looks similar to GU₄, it is

by an ox or even only saw an ox's horn would surely die according to the Diagnostic Handbook.[22]

One anti-ghost ritual, which has been known for a long time, shows even more specific parallels to the two rituals edited here. The text is known from an almost completely preserved tablet written by the seventh-century Aššur scholar Kiṣir-Aššur[23] as well as from several duplicates, both from Aššur[24] and Nineveh.[25] Ebeling's pioneering transliteration and translation of the main manuscript was superseded by Scurlock's (2006) full edition of the text and all its manuscripts.[26] Since then, an additional Late Babylonian source, probably from Uruk, has become known that transmits essentially the same ritual text with some variants and a different arrangement of its individual parts.[27]

The ritual is directed against a patient who is persistently afflicted by a ghost-induced ailment and suffers from ḫayyatti eṭemmi "terror caused by a ghost".[28] The ritual employs a figurine of the evil ghost that is formed from a mixture of wax, clay, and tallow. This figurine is equipped with bull's horns and a human face;[29] then it is inscribed with its name. A prayer addressed to Šamaš is recited, and the subsequent burning of the figurine is accompanied by a prayer to Girra. While many details of the ritual differ from the two texts edited here in sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2, the use of a figurine made of wax and clay that has bovine features constitutes a close parallel. The naming of the figurine of the ghost in KAR 267 // provides a further connection. The figurine is called variously ṣalam ḫayyatti "figurine of the stalker"[30] and ṣalam ḫayyatti "figurine of the terror";[31] in some places eṭemmi "of the ghost" is inserted between ṣalam and ḫayyatti[32] (or ḫayyatti[33]). Not least the variants in the spelling of ḫayattu/ḫayaṭṭu show that the ritual, in its desire to construct a relation between the symptoms of the patient and the designation of the ghost, uses the near-homonymy between ḫayyattu and ḫayyāṭu/ḫayyaṭṭu. The ḫayyaṭṭu-ghost, the "stalking ghost", who causes terror and confusion (ḫayyattu), is represented by a bull-headed figurine, just as is the case in the ritual edited here in section 1.3.2 and as can probably also be presupposed for the parallel ritual edited in 1.3.1.

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never conceptualized as a variant or partial version of GU₄ in the ancient sources. The commentary SpTU 1, 49 rev. 35–36 interprets GÍDIM as a combination of BAR = *petû* "to open" and BÙR = *uznu* "ear" (cf. Scurlock/Andersen 2005, 437 with fn. 29), an interpretation that is triggered by the base text of the commentary that refers to ringing ears as a symptom of a ghost-induced illness. Ea I 294 includes GÍDIM in the MAŠ section and interprets it as *maš gešpû* "MAŠ with a *Winkelhaken*" (Civil 1979, 191).

**22** See George 1991, 148 f./157, lines 18–19; Frahm 2011, 233. For other omens that reflect negative associations with the presence of a bull or ox, see Šumma ālu V 51 (Freedman 1998, 92–93), XIX 41′–43′ (*ibid.*, 278–279).

**23** VAT 8237; hand-copy: KAR 267; Pedersén 1986, N4: 69.

**24** VAT 8229; hand-copy: LKA 85; Pedersén 1986, N4: 81.

**25** K 3398 + 6015 (= AMT 97/1) + 7186 + 14166 + 16803; K 9261.

**26** See Ebeling 1931, 138–140; Scurlock 2006, 352–358, no. 119.

**27** E 47-190 Otago Museum (E2014.6), ed. Zilberg/Horowitz (2016). I would like to thank Peter Zilberg for providing me with high-resolution photographs of the tablet. Zilberg/Horowitz (2016, 182–183) point out the parallels between the text on the reverse of the Otago Museum tablet and Scurlock (2006) no. 119, but do not make full use of the parallels in their reconstruction of the text: Rev. 1′–2′ are the first two lines of the Šamaš prayer and can be fully restored based on KAR 267 obv. 12–13 //. At the end of rev. 4′, I would read [ … *ub-b*]*a*\*-⌈*lu*⌉\* UZU.MEŠ.MU (// KAR 267 obv. 13–14 //). Rev. 5′–6′ run parallel with KAR 267 rev. 14–17 and will mostly have had the same text. Rev. 7′–9′ are fully preserved and represent a parallel of KAR 267 rev. 17–26, though the text on the Otago Museum tablet is much shorter and shows some variants. Instead of *ib-ni-ma* in rev. 8′, which is contextually problematic, I would propose to emend and read *ṣabtan-ni*(DAB!-*ni*)-*ma* "keeps hold of me" (cf. *iḫiṭṭanni dummânni ḫummânni šumruṣanni* in KAR 267 obv. 21 //). The ritual instructions in rev. 10′ correspond to those in KAR 267 obv. 9–10 //. The following Girra prayer (rev. 11′–14′) duplicates KAR 267 obv. 27–30 //. The final ritual instructions in rev. 14′–15′ correspond to KAR 267 obv. 11. In this light, I would propose to read: ¹⁴′*dà-lí-lí* DINGIR-*ti-ka* GAL-*tum lud-*⌈*lul* ÉN*⌉\*¹ *an-nam* 3-*šú* ¹⁵′šID-*ma* ⌈*ṭi*\*-*ik*\*¹⌉-{*ṭi-*⌈*ik*\*¹⌉}-⌈*me*\*¹⌉-*en ana*\* ⌈*ḫar*⌉\*¹-[*ba*\*-*t*]*e*\* ⌈*ta*⌉¹-*na-*[*d*]*i*\* " ' … I will sing the praise of your great divinity! Incantation (formula).' You recite this three times, then you discard the ashes in waste land." Zilberg/Horowitz read ⌈GIM⌉¹ *an-nam* 3-*šú*

¹⁵′šID-*ma*; this is epigraphically plausible, but one would then expect šID-*ú* (*tamtanû*) instead of *tamannūma*. The sentence *ṭikmēna ana ḫarbāte tanaddi* would correspond to *qilûta ana ḫarbāti tanaddīma* in KAR 267 obv. 11 //.

**28** Purpose clause in KAR 267 obv. 2: *ḫa-a-a-at-ti* GIDIM₄; and the corresponding rubric in K 3398+ rev. 37: *ḫa-a-a-at-ti* GIDIM. Scurlock (2006, 357) translates "confusional states (caused by) a ghost".

**29** *qaran*(SI) *alpi*(GU₄) and *pān*(IGI) *amēli*(LÚ) in KAR 267 obv. 5 //; I assume that *qaran alpi* here stands for a pair of horns.

**30** NU *ḫa-a-a-aṭ-ṭi* in K 3398+ rev. 40; LKA 85 rev. 28; KAR 267 obv. 12 // LKA 85 rev. 1 (// fragmentary K 3398+ rev. 16 and K 9261 rev. 7′).

**31** NU *ḫa-a-a-at-ti* in KAR 267 obv. 9.

**32** NU GIDIM₄ *ḫa-a-a-aṭ-ṭi* in KAR 267 obv. 6 // fragmentary NU GIDIM *ḫ*[*a-a-a*]-⌈*aṭ*⌉¹-[*ṭi*] in K 3398+ rev. 41.

**33** NU GIDIM₄ *ḫa-a-a-at-ti* in KAR 267 obv. 5.

**Fig. 11:** Drawing on E 47-190 Otago Museum (E2014.6) (photo by Peter Zilberg)



**Fig. 12:** Detail of the drawing on E 47-190 Otago Museum (E2014.6) (photo by Peter Zilberg)
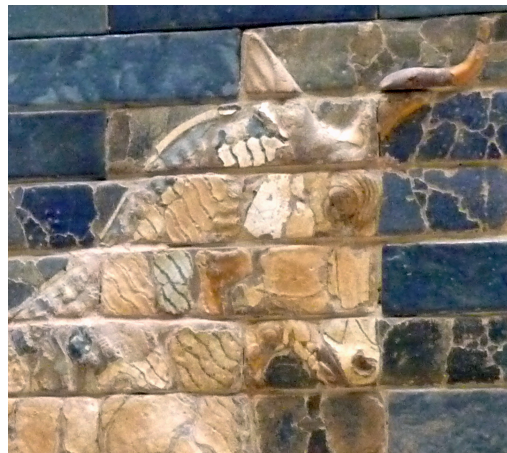


**Fig. 13:** Bull's head; detail of a glazed brick relief, Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (photo by Greta Van Buylaere)

**Fig. 14:** Drawing of Taurus; detail of VAT 7851, an astrological cuneiform tablet, Uruk, Seleucid period, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (photo: detail from Weidner 1967, pl. 1)



**Fig. 15:** Drawing of Taurus; detail of O 175, a cuneiform commentary to the kettledrum ritual, Uruk, Seleucid period, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (photo: detail from Crüsemann et al. ²2013, 302, fig. 53.2)

A figurine of a bull-headed ghost has not survived – perhaps not surprisingly, since all rituals of this type prescribe the destruction of the figurine representing the evil ghost. The Late Babylonian source from Uruk, however, shows a drawing of an animal-headed demon (see figs. 11–12). The editors of the tablet proposed that the drawing represents the goat-headed *māmītu*-curse,[34] but the curved horns opposite backwards pointing ears, the large eyes, and the retracted head fit the ancient Near Eastern iconography of bulls much better (see figs. 13–15), so that I would suggest that the drawing represents none other than the bull-headed stalking ghost of our ritual texts. If so, the drawing also gives an indication of the

iconography associated with the *gulullû* bull-man referenced in BM 41291 obv. 12′ (1.3.2: 12′). It would correspond closely to the description of the bull-headed evil ghost in the 'Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince' and be markedly different from the iconography of the protective spirit *kusarikku*, a human-faced bison often referred to as 'bull-man'.[35] The attestations discussed here indicate, however, that the iconography of the bull-headed evil ghost or demon was not entirely uniform: Whereas the 'Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince' describes a monster with a bull's head and human hands and feet, the ritual instructions in KAR 267 // describe a figurine with bovine horns, but with a human face. The drawing on the Late Babylonian parallel text shows a human figure with a bull's head, but also with hoofs, not human feet. All these slightly varying representations were probably considered to be *kīma gulullî* "like a bull-man" (1.3.2: 12′).

# 4 Screaming Ghosts, Ringing Ears, and Bellowing Bulls

Whereas the bovine features and connotations of evil ghosts are well known, the rationale why this type of evil demon was considered to be bull-headed seems never to have been addressed in Assyriological studies, perhaps because hybrid monsters are such a common occurrence in the Mesopotamian 'pandemonium'.[36] Indeed there is – to my knowledge – no text from ancient Mesopotamia that would explain which feature connected the concept of an evil ghost with bulls or oxen, nor is there any evidence that bovines would have been associated with the netherworld or dead people in any particular way. Horns, to be sure, are an iconographic signature of divinity in ancient Mesopotamia, but a presentation of ghosts, and of evil ghosts in particular, with the horned cap of divinity would make little sense within the framework of Mesopotamian theology and cosmology.

The therapeutic rituals and prescriptions against ghost-induced ailments suggest a different explanation of the bull-headed depiction of evil ghosts and, within the texts edited here, of the demon Any Evil with his ghostly features. While visual apparitions of ghosts are a common complaint, many texts demonstrate that evil ghosts were

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**34** The hypothesis that the drawing represents *Māmītu* was based on the reading of what seemed to be a caption of the drawing, but has turned out to be a colophon unrelated to the drawing (Jiménez 2018b).

**35** See Wiggermann (1992, 174–179; 1996, 217 f.). It is of course also different from the iconography of the apotropaic human-headed winged bulls (cf. Engel 1987; Frahm 1997, 84; Heimpel 1998).
**36** See in particular Wiggermann (1994; 2011).

also an aural phenomenon.[37] There are specific rituals for a patient who hears the screaming of a ghost,[38] a whole sequence of omens is concerned with the screams of ghosts,[39] and tinnitus-like symptoms like the hearing of a roar or ringing without the presence of an external sound were considered as indicators of a ghost-induced affliction.[40] What did the screaming of an ancient Mesopotamian ghost sound like? We will never know for certain, but I would like to suggest that the utterances of a bull-headed evil ghost very much sounded like a bellowing bull; or, to put it differently: the bull's head served as the visual expression of the aural experience that was associated with an evil ghost and the harm that this demon could cause. It seems telling that according to Šumma ālu LVIII 25′ a date palm that was making sounds like a bellowing bull was considered an evil omen portending the dispersal of a man's house[41] – exactly the same prognosis as that associated with the apparition of a ghost in Šumma ālu XIX 44′.[42] The notion that demons made animal-like

noises was certainly not unfamiliar to Mesopotamian exorcists. In Udug-ḫul XI, section II, 41–59, animal-like features are attributed to the addressed demons, among them barking like dogs, moaning like badgers, and roaring like lions.[43] An Akkadian prayer addressed to Lugalirra, which was recited in the course of the *Bīt mēseri* ritual, enumerates the various demons that threaten the patient and his house and includes a comparison with a bull. Even though line 102, which attributes bovine behaviour to the demons, poses a lexical problem, the passage deserves to be quoted in full by way of conclusion to this article:[44]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 102 | *lū ša kīma alpi išannâ* | or (a demon) that *bellows*[45] like a bull, |
| A₁ obv. 31′ | *lu-u šá* GIM GU₄ *i-šá-an-na-a* → | |
| C₂ obv. I 35′ | [          *i-šá-a*]n-⌈na⌉-a → | |
| G₁ obv. II 26 | *lu-ú š*[*á*          ] → | |
| **a** obv. II 4′ | *lu-u šá* GIM GU₄ *i-šá-an-na-a* → | |
| f obv. II 5′ | *lu-ú šá* GIM GU₄ *i-šá-*[*an-na-a*] → | |
| 103 | *lū ša kīma immeri ilebbû* | or (a demon) that baas like a sheep, |
| A₁ obv. 31′ | *lu-u  šá* GIM UDU.NÍTA *i-leb-bu-*⌈*u*⌉ | |
| C₂ obv. I 35′ | ⌈*lu*⌉*-u šá* GIM UDU.NÍTA *i-leb-bu-u* | |
| G₁ obv. II 27 | *lu-ú* [          ] | |
| **a** obv. II 4′ | *l*[*u-u*          ] | |
| f obv. II 5′ | [          ] | |

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**37** See Scurlock (2006, 8) with the relevant attestations.

**38** See Finkel 1983–84, 11 f.; Scurlock 2006, 178–182, nos. 1–2.

**39** Šumma ālu XIX 46′–47′, 49′–50′, 52′–68′ (Freedman 1998, 278–281).

**40** See Scurlock 2006, 14 with the relevant attestations. Cf. also *supra*, fn. 21, and the omens in Šumma ālu XIX 53′–56′ (Freedman 1998, 280–281), which are concerned with a ghost entering the ear of a person.

**41** *šumma gišimmaru ina kirî kīma alpi issi bīt amēli issappaḫ* "If a date palm in a grove bellows like a bull, the house of the man will be dispersed" (Freedman 2017, 117).

**42** *šumma ina bīt amēli eṭemmu innamir sapāḫ bīt amēli* "If a ghost appears in a man's house, dispersal of the house" (Freedman 1998, 278 f.).

**43** Geller 2016, 374–378, in particular 375: 44–46.

**44** Line count according to my reconstruction of the text, corresponding to Meier 1941–44, 146–147: 102–105 (cf. Borger 1974; Wiggermann 1992, 105–117). Sigla: A₁: K 2407 + 2522 + 8767 + 11817 + Sm 2006; C₂: K 3622 + 5195 + 5306 + 5313 + 5324 + 7429 + 10615 + 11931 + 12829 + 14701 + 19341 + 1876-11-17, 156 = BM 30430; G₁: K 4644 + 4810 + 5269 + 8114+ 9927 + 12031 + 13336 + 16705 + Ki 1902-5-10, 19; **a**: VAT 13666 + 13680; f: 1882-9-18, 6589 = BM 66596 (identification E. Jiménez).

**45** CAD Š/I, 409 and AHw. 1167 assign the present attestation to *šanû* "to run". This seems contextually unlikely, since the parallel structure of lines 102–107 suggests a verb that refers to the sounds produced by the respective animal (cf. Meier 1941–44, 147: "brüllt"; CAD A/I, 365: "lows"). It seems therefore possible that *išannâ* here is derived from *šanāʾu, šanû* "to obstruct, to irritate the throat" (CAD Š/I, 370 f., AHw. 1162), which is equated with *saʾālu* "to cough" in Malku IV 68 (Hrůša 2010, 96 f.: 383). Note, however, that a comparable passage in Udug-ḫul VIII 13 (Geller 2016, 290) has k a s₄ // *šanû*, which may confirm the meaning "to run" (cf. CAD Š/I, 409a, lexical section), but was differently interpreted by Geller (2016, 290, fn. 19: "urinate").

| 104 | | *lū ša kīma enzi inabbuzu* | | or (a demon) that bleats like a goat, |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A₁ obv. 32′ | *lu-u šá* GIM ÙZ *i-nab-bu-zu* | → | |
| | C₂ obv. I 36′ | [ *i-na*]*b-bu-⸢zu⸣* | → | |
| | G₁ obv. II 28 | *lu-ú* [ ] | | |
| | **a** obv. II 5′ | *lu-u* ⸢*šá* GIM⸣ ÙZ ⸢*i*⸣-[*nab-bu-zu*] | | |
| | **f** obv. II 6′ | *lu-ú šá* GIM ⸢ÙZ *i*⸣-[*nab-bu-zu*] | → | |
| 105 | | *lū ša kīma imēri inamgugu* | | or (a demon) that brays like a donkey, |
| | A₁ obv. 32′ | *lu-u šá* GIM ANŠE *i-nam-ga-g*[*u*] | | |
| | C₂ obv. I 36′ | ⸢*lu*⸣-*u šá* GIM ANŠE ⸢*i*⸣-*nam-ga-gu* | | |
| | G₁ obv. II 29 | *lu-ú* [ ] | | |
| | **a** obv. II 6′ | *lu-u* ⸢*šá* GIM ANŠE⸣ *i-nam-ga-g*[*u*] | → | |
| | **f** obv. II 6′ | [ ] | | |
| 106 | | *lū ša kīma kalbi inabbuḫu* | | or (a demon) that barks like a dog, |
| | A₁ obv. 33′ | *lu-u šá* GIM UR.GI₇ *i-nab-bu-ḫ*[*u*] | | |
| | C₂ obv. I 37′ | [ *i-na*]*m-bu-ḫu* | → | |
| | G₁ obv. II 30 | *lu-ú š*[*á* ] | | |
| | **a** obv. II 6′ | *lu-u š*[*á* ] | | |
| | **f** obv. II 7′ | *lu-ú šá* GIM UR.G[I₇ ] | → | |
| 107 | | *lū ša kīma šaḫî inamzuzu* | | or (a demon) that squeals like a pig, … |
| | A₁ obv. 34′ | *lu-u šá* GIM ŠAḪ *i-nam-zu-z*[*u*] | | |
| | C₂ obv. I 37′ | *lu-u šá* GIM ŠAḪ *i-nam-zu-zu* | | |
| | G₁ obv. II 31 | *lu-ú š*[*á* ] | | |
| | **a** obv. II 7′ | *lu-u* ⸢*šá* GIM ŠAḪ⸣ *i-nam-zu-zu* | → | |
| | **f** obv. II 7′ | [ ] | | |

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