

THE
BABYLONIAN
GILGAMESH
EPIC

INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL EDITION
AND CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Volume I

A. R. George

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is fundamentally a work of textual reconstruction. It seeks to establish an accurate text of the Babylonian Gilgameš for use as a tool in the study of ancient Mesopotamian literature and thought. I have not brought to it the fashionable methodologies of modern literary criticism; that is for others to do. The research that underpins the editions of texts given in the following pages has already generated a translation published three years ago in Penguin Classics. That rendering was aimed at a non-specialist audience and concessions were made in the interests of readability. The translation that accompanies the editions offered below is for Assyriologists and scholars in related fields. Consequently it is in many places less fluent but I hope it is also more exact.

The volume is the culmination of more than sixteen years' personal labour, but it builds on the engagement of others with the text of the epic over a much longer period. Professor W. G. Lambert has been a ceaseless searcher after Gilgameš for almost fifty years. In the 1960s, especially, his publication of tablets from Babylon and Nineveh greatly added to our knowledge of the text and fuelled his intentions of writing a new edition to replace the obsolete book by R. Campbell Thompson. Dr I. L. Finkel's appointment to the staff of the British Museum in 1979 produced another spate of discoveries, which led to a tacit agreement with Lambert to edit the whole poem in partnership. When I arrived in London in 1985, looking for a new research topic, Lambert very generously invited me to join their effort, first by copying the Kuyunjik tablets and subsequently by beginning to write the editions. Both Lambert and Finkel placed at my disposal material they had already produced.

Lambert furnished me with his unpublished copies of the Old Babylonian tablet now split between Berlin and London (OB VA + BM), the two tablets from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₁₋₂), the Middle Babylonian tablet from Ur, since published (MB Ur), Assyrian MS x, and six sources of the Standard Babylonian epic (SB MSS a₁₋₂, c₂, d, d₂, w₁₋₂ and z). During the course of my work he drew my attention to still more manuscripts that he had identified (Assyrian MS z and SB MSS E₄, V₄, Z₂, EE, i, s, t and v, as well as parts of F₁, W₂, P and d₁). He also provided me with his personal transliterations of OB Harmal₁ and MB Ur.

Finkel made available to me several more sources of the Standard Babylonian epic that he discovered in the British Museum (SB MSS e, k, m₁, p, the larger parts of c and h and, at the last moment, a new piece of n), and also passed to me his copies of two stray fragments from Emar (MB Emar₂ b and c). Though other commitments prevented Lambert and Finkel from contributing more than these materials, nevertheless the debt that the work owes to both is very considerable. To them both I express especial gratitude.

Others, too, have been kind enough to contribute primary materials. Professor Aage Westenholz allowed me use of his copies of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II), a second piece

in Philadelphia (OB UM), the tablet from Nērebtum (OB Ishchali), and Middle Babylonian fragments from Ur, Nippur and Megiddo (MB Ur, MB Nippur₁, MB Megiddo), most of which have since been published in *Studies Lambert*. Professor Aaron Shaffer granted me use of his unpublished copy of the Yale tablet (OB III). Professor Egbert von Weiher allowed me access to his copies of three fragments from Uruk, well before their appearance in *Uruk IV* (SB MSS aa, cc and ee), and sent me unpublished photographs of two of them. Likewise Father Werner R. Mayer passed to me photocopies of J. van Dijk's copies of two pieces from Babylon in advance of their publication in *VAS XXIV* (SB MSS x and y), and Professor Stefan M. Maul made available to me photographs and copies of several tablets from Aššur before their publication in *MDOG* (Assyrian MS y₁₋₂, SB MSS c₁ and c₃). Professor Niek Veldhuis sent me his copies of Middle Babylonian exercises later published in *BiOr* 56 and *JCS* 52 (MB Nippur₂₋₄). Professor J. N. Postgate led me to the fragment here booked as SB MS W₃. Dr T. Kwasman shared with me his discovery of Rm 956, now part of SB MS d₁. Takayoshi Oshima sent me his copy of MB Megiddo.

Several scholars have generously allowed me to use drafts of unpublished articles. Professor Jacob Klein sent me his forthcoming study of Gilgameš's oppression of Uruk. Professor Michael Schwartz forwarded to me on request a paper on Gilgameš in Arabic magic. Professor W. G. Lambert furnished me with a draft of his treatment of an incantation in which Gilgameš appears as an underworld god, and with his edition of a fragment of Atra-ḥašis now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Professor Gonzalo Rubio made available to me two papers on Sumerian literary fragments of the Ur III period. Dr Douglas R. Frayne sent me a draft manuscript on the Sumerian Gilgameš.

Many scholars have contributed in other ways. The late Professor O. R. Gurney sent me an unpublished photograph of the Sultantepe tablet, SB MS f. Professor W. G. Lambert collated several signs on the same tablet during a visit to Ankara and passed to me prints of old photographs of George Smith's flood tablets (SB MSS C, J₁ and W₁). He also provided me with Edward Chiera's unpublished collations of the Pennsylvania tablet, as entered in the margins of Chiera's copy of *PBS X/3* and photocopied by David I. Owen. Professor Erle Leichty supplied me with prints of photographs of the Pennsylvania tablet (OB II). Dr Laith M. Hussein passed on prints of photographs of the more poorly preserved tablet from Tell Harmal (OB Harmal₂). Dr Eleanor Robson took and transmitted to me digital photographs of a Nimrud tablet in Baghdad (Assyrian MS z). Mr Daniel A. Nevez performed the same task in regard to a cast held by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (MB Nippur₂). Dr Rene Kovacs provided me with digital photographs of one of the tablets in the Schøyen Collection (OB Schøyen₂). She and Professor Jens Braarvig, in charge of the collection's publication, expedited my visit to the collection. Professor Miguel Civil sent me a photograph of the Schøyen collection's Sumerian fragments utilized in Chapter 12. Dr Tallay Ornan of the Israel Museum provided me with a photograph of the terracotta published in fig. 14 and drew my attention to the existence of a similar object in the Iraq Museum. Professor Aaron Shaffer gave me a copy of Haupt's *Nimrodepos*. Professor Stephen J. Tinney and Kevin Danti answered several requests for collation and other information relating to the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia. Other

colleagues who responded to queries were Dr Jeanette Fincke, Professor Robert Englund, Professor Manfred Krebernik, Professor Klaas R. Veenhof, Professor Alfonso Archi, M. Dominique Charpin, Dr Graham Cunningham, Dr Heather Baker, Dr John Merkel, Professor Miguel Civil, Professor Pietro Mander, Professor Karl Hecker, Professor Richard L. Zettler, Dr Yuval Goren, Dr Wayne Horowitz, M. J.-Cl. Margueron, M. Yves Calvet, Mr Terence Mitchell, Dr Stephanie Dalley and Mme Florence Malbran-Labat.

In the course of writing this book I have benefited hugely from the advice of those with more experience of Gilgameš than I. Most of the text of the epic was read in seminar with Professor J. D. Hawkins and Professor M. J. Geller between 1985 and 1991. The first draft of the text editions that make up Chapters 5, 6 and 11 was read by Professor Aage Westenholz between 1988 and 1994. The edition of SB Tablet I was read by the late Professor Thorkild Jacobsen in 1991. A large part of the whole book was read by Professor W. G. Lambert in 1998–9. The composite edition of the Standard Babylonian epic in Chapter 11 is derived from synoptic ('score') transliterations of all twelve tablets prepared at the outset of the project. In 1998 these transliterations were checked against the cuneiform copies by Mrs Janet Politi. It is hoped that eventually they will be posted in electronic form on an internet site. All these exercises led to very welcome improvements in my understanding of the text of the epic.

For the first time since Haupt's *Nimrodepos* the individual cuneiform text of every available piece of the Babylonian Gilgameš is given in the plates. The copies are largely from my hand, and all but one prepared from first-hand study of the original tablet, but I did not find it necessary to make new copies of everything. Those Late Babylonian sources published by Lambert in *CT* 46 and not recopied since are reproduced here. So too are Finkel's copy of SB MS q, originally published in *A/O* 29–30, von Weiher's copy of SB MS ee from *Uruk IV*, Maul's copies of the tablets from Aššur in recent issues of *MDOG* and Oshima's copy of MB Megiddo. In addition I have been glad to include Lambert's previously unpublished copies of OB VA + BM, OB Harmal₁₋₂, SB c₂ and w₁₋₂ and Finkel's unpublished copies of all the fragments identified by him.

It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to the authorities of the many museums visited during the course of the writing of this book, to their trustees, directors and curators for permission to study and publish objects held in their keeping and to individual members of staff for assistance kindly given during my visits: the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr Terence Mitchell and Dr John Curtis, successive Keepers of the Department of the Ancient Near East (formerly Western Asiatic Antiquities), Mr C. B. F. Walker and Dr I. L. Finkel; Dr L. Jakob-Rost, Dr E. Klengel-Brandt and Dr Beate Salje, successive Directors of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, and Dr J. Marzahn, curator of cuneiform tablets; Professors J. A. Brinkman and W. Farber, successive curators of the tablet collections of the Oriental Institute Museum, the University of Chicago, Messrs John Nolan and Jonathan Tenney, assistant curators, and Mr John A. Larsen, museum archivist; Professors Åke W. Sjöberg, Erle Leichty and Stephen J. Tinney, curators of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia; Professors W. W. Hallo and Benjamin R. Foster, curators of the Babylonian Collection, the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, and Dr Ulla

Kasten; the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum and Dr Helen Whitehouse, Assistant Keeper, Department of Antiquities; Dr Veysel Donbaz and Dr Fatma Yıldız, curators of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; the Director and staff of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara; the curator of the Site Museum, Boğazkale, and Mr Peter Neve of the German archaeological expedition; the authorities of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and Dr Osnat Misch-Brandl, Curator of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages; Professor Sultan Mohesen and Dr Abdal Razzaq Moaz, successive Directors-General of Antiquities, the Ministry of Culture, Damascus, Dr Waheed Khayata, Director of the National Museum, Aleppo, and Dr Nasr Sharaf, curator of cuneiform tablets; Dr Muayyad Sa'id Damerji, formerly Director-General of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture, Baghdad, Dr Rabi' al-Qaisi, successive Directors of the Iraq Museum, Dr Bahija Khalil Isma'el and Dr Nawala al-Mutawalli, successive heads of the cuneiform section, Dr Donny George Youkhanna and Dr Ahmed Kamil Mohammed; Mr Martin Schøyen, proprietor of the Schøyen Collection, Norway, and Mrs Elizabeth Sørensen, librarian.

For consenting to the reproduction of printed materials over which they have rights, acknowledgements are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, the editors and publishers of *Archip für Orientforschung*, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Baghdad and its director, Professor R. M. Boehmer, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and its secretary, Professor H. Freydank, and the Cuneiform in the Land of Israel project of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and its director, Dr Wayne Horowitz.

Finally I record my debt to those institutions and funding bodies that have contributed monies to enable me to study at first hand so many different sources in so many different countries: the British Academy, for awards in support of visits to the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, in March 1987, the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in April 1987, the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, in September 1991, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, in September 1992, the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, in September 1997, and the University Museum, Philadelphia, in June 2001; the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for awards in support of study in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, in September 1988 and May 1993, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, in September 1992, the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn., in September 1996, the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in September 1997, the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in the Septembers of 1998 and 1999, and the Schøyen Collection, Spikkestad, in July 2001; and finally the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, for grants in aid of study in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, and the National Museum, Aleppo, in September to October 1999 and March 2001.

In Baghdad I enjoyed in 1987 and 1989 the hospitality of the British Archaeological Expedition under successive directors, Dr J. A. Black and Dr Roger Matthews, and with the help of Dr Graham Philip. In Turkey in 1992 I had the use of the facilities of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Travel to Berlin in May 1993, March 1998 and December 2000 was expedited by the Freie Universität Berlin, and a visit to Philadelphia in September 1996 by the Kevorkian Fund of the University of Pennsylvania. Longer periods of leave abroad that greatly expedited my research and writing were spent in Iraq and the

United States of America in January to August 1989, funded by the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in Germany in October to December 2000, made possible by a Visiting Professorship at the Seminar für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, by kind invitation of Professor Stefan M. Maul. Research leave spent in the United Kingdom was underwritten by the School of Oriental and African Studies in January to March 1996 and September to December 1999, and by the Arts and Humanities Research Board in January to March 2001.

To those named in the preceding paragraphs, institutions and individuals, as well as to those whose names should have appeared but were omitted by oversight, go my heartfelt thanks. All of them have helped in one way or another to make this book. None of them is responsible for those errors of fact and opinion that surely lurk within.

The inception of my labour on Gilgameš coincided with the appearance of an extraordinary spoof article in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 4 October 1985 (Michael Krüger, 'Das 12. Buch: Entdeckungen der Gilgamesch-Forschung', brought to my attention by Professor Aaron Shaffer), which reported a loan by the Iraq Museum to the University of Washington of '13 Tontafeln mit bisher unbekannten Texten aus dem Umfeld der Gilgamesch-Legende', and described the astonishing 'discovery', made on the basis of the supposed new material, that the epic's original ending had the god of the heavens, Anu, make Gilgameš immortal as his son and substitute. The following years produced surprises but nothing to match that either in boldness or in invention.

More solid developments greeted the closing stages of the book's preparation, with the discovery of the important early Neo-Assyrian fragments in Berlin and the exciting Old Babylonian pieces in Norway. Indeed, the spate of new sources for the epic—more recently a flood—shows no sign of drying up. On this account this book does not quite succeed in its objective, to bring together in one place all the currently extant sources of the Babylonian Gilgameš. Already another manuscript from Aššur is known, a source for SB Tablet I that Professor Stefan M. Maul discovered too late for inclusion here. A more intriguing tablet of Gilgameš is reported to have been unearthed in 1994 in the Late Bronze Age house of Urtenu at Ugarit. Enquiries about this text met with no reply, but I understand that M. Daniel Arnaud of the Sorbonne will publish it in due course. Other sources will surely follow.

A. R. George

London
26 April 2002

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool)
AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes</i>
AASF	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
AB	<i>Assyriologische Bibliothek</i>
AbB	<i>Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung</i> I: Kraus, <i>Briefe aus dem British Museum</i> (CT 43 und 44) II: Frankena, <i>Briefe aus dem British Museum</i> (LIH und CT 2–33) VI: Frankena, <i>Briefe aus dem Berliner Museum</i> VIII: Cagni, <i>Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum</i> (TIM II) XI: Stol, <i>Letters from Collections in Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley</i> XII: van Soldt, <i>Letters in the British Museum</i> [1]
Abel-Winckler, KGV	Abel and Winckler, <i>Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen</i>
ABL	Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i>
ACh Istar	Virolleaud, <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne</i> . Fascicles 3 and 7. <i>Ishtar</i>
ACh Šamaš	Virolleaud, <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne</i> . Fascicles 2 and 6. <i>Šamash</i>
Acta Acad. Scient. Hung.	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
Acta Or	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
Acta Sum	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
ADD	Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i>
ADFU	<i>Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka</i>
AfK	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
Ali, 'Letters'	Fadhil Abdulwahid Ali, 'Sumerian Letters'
Alster, Proverbs	Alster, <i>Proverbs of Ancient Sumer</i>
AMT	Thompson, <i>Assyrian Medical Texts</i>
ANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
ANET	Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (cuneiform texts) II: Jean, <i>Lettres</i> V: Dossin, <i>Lettres</i> X: Dossin, <i>La correspondance féminine</i> XIV: Birot, <i>Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Sagarâtum</i> XXVI/1: Durand, <i>Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1</i>
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (text editions) XXI: Durand, <i>Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies 11: Jacobsen, <i>The Sumerian King List</i> 16: Güterbock and Jacobsen, <i>Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger</i>
Aula Or	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft V/5: MacMillan, <i>Some Cuneiform Tablets Bearing on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria</i> X/1: Meek, <i>Cuneiform Bilingual Hymns, Prayers and Penitential Psalms</i>
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
Bagh. Mitt.	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAM	Köcher, <i>Die babylonische-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
Bauer, Asb	Bauer, <i>Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i>
Bauer, AWL	Bauer, <i>Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch</i>
BAW	Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
BBR	Zimmern, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion</i>
BBSI	King, <i>Babylonian Boundary Stones</i>
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Cuneiform Texts I: Hilprecht, <i>Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur</i> VI/1: Ranke, <i>Babylonian Legal and Business Documents</i> XIV: Clay, <i>Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur I</i> XXXI: Langdon, <i>Historical and Religious Texts</i>

Behrens, <i>Ninegalla</i>	Behrens, <i>Die Ninegalla-Hymne</i>
Bezold, <i>Cat.</i>	Bezold, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection</i>
Biggs, <i>Šaziga</i>	Biggs, <i>Ša.zi.ga. Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations</i>
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies II: Nies and Keiser, <i>Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities</i> III: Keiser and Shin Theke Kang, <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem</i> IV: Clay, <i>Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia</i> VIII: Hackman, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Birot, <i>Tablettes</i>	Birot, <i>Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babylonienne ancienne</i>
BMS	King, <i>Babylonian Magic and Sorcery</i>
Böck, <i>Morphoskopie</i>	Böck, <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie</i>
Böhl	Böhl, <i>Het Gilgamesj-epos</i>
Böhl, <i>Leiden Coll.</i>	Böhl, <i>Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties</i>
Boissier, <i>Choix</i>	Boissier, <i>Choix des textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne</i>
Boissier, <i>DA</i>	Boissier, <i>Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages</i>
Böllenrücher, <i>Nergal</i>	Böllenrücher, <i>Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal</i>
BOR	<i>Babylonian and Oriental Record</i>
Borger, <i>BAL</i>	Borger, <i>Babylonische-assyrische Lesestücke</i>
Borger, <i>BIWA</i>	Borger, <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</i>
Borger, <i>Esarh.</i>	Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</i>
Borger, <i>Zeichenliste</i>	Borger, <i>Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste</i>
Bottéro	Bottéro, <i>L'épopée de Gilgameš</i>
Braun-Holzinger, <i>Weihgaben</i>	Braun-Holzinger, <i>Mesopotamische Weihgaben der frühdynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit</i>
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan IV: Clay, <i>Epics, Hymns, Omens, and Other Texts</i>
BSA	<i>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Bulletin CSMS</i>	<i>Bulletin</i> , (Canadian) Society for Mesopotamian Studies
CAD	Oppenheim et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
Cavigneaux, <i>Gilgameš et la Mort</i>	Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, <i>Gilgameš et la Mort</i>
Cavigneaux, <i>Textes scolaires</i>	Cavigneaux, <i>Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša ḫarē</i>

- Cavigneaux, *Uruk* Cavigneaux, *Uruk. Altbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat Pe XVI-4/5*
- CDOG Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
1: Wilhelm, *Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch*
2: Renger, *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*
- Chicago Hittite Dictionary Güterbock and Hoffner, *The Hittite Dictionary*
- Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies* Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559-520)*
- Cohen, *Eršemma* Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: the Eršemma*
- Cohen, *Lamentations* Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Mesopotamia*
- Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions* Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions 1. Presargonic Inscriptions*
- CRAI *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- Craig, *ABRT* Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*
- CRRA *Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*
17: Finet, *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*
19: Garelli, *Le palais et la royauté*
26: Alster, *Death in Mesopotamia*
28: Hirsch and Hunger, *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. RAI*
30: Veenhof, *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*
32: Hecker and Sommerfeld, *Keilschriftliche Literaturen*
43: Prosecký, *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East*
44: Milano et al., *Landscapes*
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
5, 13, 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 34: King, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
6: Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23: Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
28, 30, 31: Handcock, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
38, 39, 40, 41: Gadd, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
42: Figulla, *Cuneiform Texts* ...
43: Figulla, *Old Babylonian Letters*
44: Pinches, *Miscellaneous Texts*
46: Lambert and Millard, *Babylonian Literary Texts*
50: Sollberger, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Economic Texts*
52: Walker, *Old Babylonian Letters*
58: Alster and Geller, *Sumerian Literary Texts*
- CT Index Walker, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Index to Parts I-L*
- CTH Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*
- CTMMA Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

- CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
- Dalley IV: Wiseman and Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*
Dalley, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh', pp. 39-153 in ead., *Myths from Mesopotamia*
- Dalley, *Edinburgh* Dalley, *A Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Collections of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh*
- Dandamaev, *Slavery* Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia*
- David *AV* Ankum et al., *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino David dedicatae*
- Deimel, *Fara* Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara*
- Deimel, *ŠL* Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*
- Delitzsch, *AL* Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*
- van Dijk, *Götterlieder II* van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder 2*
- van Dijk and Mayer, *Rē-Heiligtum* van Dijk and Mayer, *Texte aus dem Rē-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka*
- DP Allotte de la Fuje, *Documents présargoniques*
- Durand, *Catalogue EPHE* Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*
- EA Knudtzon et al., *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*
- Ebeling, *Handerhebung* Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'*
- Essays Emerton Day et al., *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*
- Essays Pope Marks and Good, *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East*
- Falkenstein, *Götterlieder I* Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder 1*
- Falkenstein, *Inschriften Gudeas* Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš 1*
- Falkenstein, *Topographie* Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk 1. Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit*
- FAOS Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
4: McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*
5/I-II: Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*
9/I-II: Steible, *Die Bau- und Weihinschriften der Lagaš-II- und Ur-III-Zeit*
- Farber, *Baby-Beschwörungen* Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*
- Farber, *Ištar und Dumuzi* Farber, *Beschwörungrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi*
- Festschrift Friedrich von Kienle et al., *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich*
- Festschrift von Soden Dietrich and Loretz, *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament*
- 1995

- Finkelstein Mem. Vol. Ellis, *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*
- Florilegium Durand, *Florilegium marianum. Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury*
- Florilegium marianum 1
- Florilegium marianum 2 Charpin and Durand, *Florilegium marianum 2. Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot*
- Flückiger-Hawker, Urnamma Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*
- Foster, *Before the Muses* Foster, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*
- Frahm, Sanherib Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*
- Fs Boehmer Finkbeiner et al., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens*
- Fs Borger Maul, *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*
- Fs Oelsner Marzahn and Neumann, *Assyriologica et Semitica*
- Fs Renger Böck et al., *Munuscula Mesopotamica*
- Fs Römer Dietrich and Loretz, *Dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik*
- Fuchs, Sargon, GAG Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*
- Garelli, Gilg. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*
- Geller, UHF Garelli, *Gilgameš et sa légende*
- George, Penguin Geller, *Forerunners to Udu-gul*
- George, Topog. Texts George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*
- Gesche, Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*
- Schulunterricht
- Gray, Šamaš Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*
- Grayson, BHLT Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*
- Grayson, Chronicles Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*
- Greengus, Ishchali Greengus, *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity*
- Gurney, MB Texts Gurney, *The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur*
- Güterbock, Kumarbi Güterbock, Kumarbi, *Mythen vom churritischen Kronos*
- Haupt, ASKT Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*
- Haupt, Nimrodepos Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos*
- HAV Hilprecht Anniversary Volume
- Hecker Hecker, 'Das akkadische Gilgamesch-Epos', in *TUAT* III/4, pp. 646-744
- Hecker, Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik*
- Untersuchungen
- Heidel Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*
- Horowitz, Cosmic Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*
- Geography
- HSAO Heidelberg Studien zum alten Orient

- I: Edzard, *Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient, Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966*
- HSS Harvard Semitic Series
- 14: Lacheman, *Excavations at Nuzi 5*
- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual
- Hunger, Kolophone Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*
- Hunger, Uruk I Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
- ISET Çiğ et al., *Sumer Edebi Tablet ve Parçaları*
- Isin II Hrouda et al., *Isin-Išān Baḫrīyāt 2. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1975-1978*
- Isin III Hrouda et al., *Isin-Išān Baḫrīyāt 3. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-1984*
- ITT Inventaires des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman
- V: de Genouillac, *Époque présargonique, époque d'Agadé, époque d'Ur*
- Jacobsen Mem. Vol. Abusch, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places*
- Jacobsen, Harps Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once . . .*
- Jacobsen, Treasures Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*
- JASOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
- Jean, Tell Sifr Jean, *Tell Sifr, textes cunéiformes conservés au British Museum, réédités*
- JEOJ Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, «Ex Oriente Lux»
- Jeremias, Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod, eine altbabylonische Heldensage*
- Izdubar-Nimrod
- Jestin, NTSS Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*
- Jestin, TSS Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*
- Jeyes, OB Extispicy Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen Texts in the British Museum*
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JRAS (NS) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (new series)
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
- KAJ Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*
- KAR Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*
- KAV Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
- KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
- KBo VI/1: Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*
- Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

- VI: Hrozný, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*
 VIII: Otten, *Texte der Grabungen 1953 und 1954*
 IX: Otten, *Vorwiegend Texte der Grabungen 1955 und 1956*
 X: Güterbock and Otten, *Texte aus Gebäude K, 1*
 XIII: Otten, *Texte aus Stadtplanquadrat L/18, 2*
 XIX: Otten, *Aus dem Bezirk des Grossen Tempels* [1]
 XXII: Otten and Rüster, *Aus dem Bezirk des grossen Tempels* [2]
 XXXII: Otten and Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt*
 XXXVI: Wilhelm, *Literarische Texte in sumerischer und akkadischer Sprache*
 King, *Cat. Suppl.* King, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, Supplement*
 King, *STC* King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*
 Klein, *Šulgi* Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*
 Koch-Westenholz, *Liver Omens* Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*
 Kovacs Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*
 Kramer *AV* Eichler, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*
 Kraus *AV* van Driel et al., *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus*
 KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
 IV: Weidner, *Keilschrifturkunden* . . .
 VIII: Weidner, *Keilschrifturkunden* . . .
 XVII: Ehelolf, *Mythen und Rituale*
 XXX: Ehelolf, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* . . . seit 1931 [2]
 XXXIII: Otten, *Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache*
 XXXIV: Ehelolf, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* . . . 1931 und 1932
 XXXVI: Otten, *Vorwiegend Mythen, Epen, Gebete und Texte in althethitischer Sprache*
 XXXVII: Köcher, *Literarische Texte in akkadischer Sprache*
 LX: Klengel, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*
 Kutscher *Mem. Vol.* Rainey, *kinattūtu ša dārāti*
 Labat Labat, 'L'Épopée de Gilgamesh', in id. et al., *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*
 Labat, *Commentaires* Labat, *Commentaires assyro-babyloniens sur les présages*
 Labat, *TDP* Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*
 Laessøe, *Bit Rimki* Laessøe, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual bit rimki*
 Lafont and Yıldız, *Tello Istanbul* Lafont and Yıldız, *Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul*
 Lambert, *BWL* Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*

- Lambert, *Catalogue*, 3rd *Suppl.* Lambert, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection. Third Supplement*
 Lambert, 'Love Lyrics' Lambert, 'The problem of the Love Lyrics', in Goedicke and Roberts, *Unity and Diversity*
 Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫašīs* Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫašīs. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*
 Lambert and Millard, *Catalogue*, 2nd *Suppl.* Lambert and Millard, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection. Second Supplement*
 Landsberger, *Date Palm* Landsberger, *The Date Palm and its By-Products According to Cuneiform Sources*
 Langdon, *BL* Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*
 Leichty, *Catalogue* VI-VIII Leichty et al., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* VI-VIII
 Leichty, *Izbu* Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*
 Lie, *Sar.* Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*
 LIH King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*
 Limet, *Lanthroponymie* Limet, *Lanthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d'Ur*
 Limet, *Métal* Limet, *Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la III^e dynastie d'Ur*
 Limet, *Sceaux cassites* Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites*
 Litke, *God-Lists* Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*
 Livingstone, *Court Poetry* Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*
 Livingstone, *Mystical Works* Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*
 LKA Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*
 LKU Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*
 LSS Leipziger semitische Studien
 LTBA Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrier in den Berliner Museen
 I: Matouš, *Gegenstandlisten*
 II: von Soden, *Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten*
 MAD Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
 II²: Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*. 2nd edn
 III: Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*
 MAOG Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
 12/II: Ebeling, *Bruchstücke eines politischen Propagandagedichtes*
 MARI Mari. *Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*
 Matouš *Festschrift* Hruška and Komoróczy, *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*

- Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen* Maul, 'Herzberuhigungsklagen'. Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete
- Mayer, *Gebetsbeschwörungen* Mayer, Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“
- MCT Neugebauer and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
- II: Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques, première série*
- XXII: Scheil, *Actes juridiques susiens*
- XXVII: van der Meer, *Textes scolaires de Suse*
- MEE Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
- Meissner, BAW Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch
- Mélanges Birot Durand and Kupper, *Miscellanea babylonica*
- Mélanges Finet Lebeau and Talon, *Reflét des deux fleurs*
- Mélanges Garelli Charpin and Joannès, *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs*
- Mélanges Limet Tunca and Deheselle, *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad*
- Menzel, Tempel Menzel, *Die Assyrische Tempel*
- Mesopotamian Epic Literature Vogelzang and Vanstiphout, *Mesopotamian Epic Literature*
- Mesopotamian Magic Abusch and van der Toorn, *Mesopotamian Magic*
- MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
- MRS Mission de Ras Shamra
- MSL Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
- IV: Landsberger et al., *Emesal Vocabulary, Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts*
- V: Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets I-IV*
- VI: Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets V-VII*
- VII: Landsberger, *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets VIII-XII*
- VIII/1: Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia 1. [HAR-ra = hubullu] Tablet XIII*
- VIII/2: Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia 2. HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets XIV and XVIII*
- IX: Landsberger and Civil, *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablet XV and Related Texts*
- X: Landsberger et al., *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets XVI, XVII, XIX and Related Texts*
- XI: Reiner and Civil, *The Series HAR-ra = hubullu Tablets XX-XXIV and Related Texts*
- XII: Civil et al., *The Series Lu = ša and Related Texts*
- XIII: Civil et al., *Izi = išāu, Kā-gal = abullu and Nig-ga = makkūru*

- XIV: Civil et al., *Ea A = nāqu, Aa A = nāqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts*
- XVI: Finkel and Civil, *The Series SIG, ALAN = Nabnūtu*
- XVII: Cavignaux et al., *The Series Erimhuš = anantu and An-ta-gal = šaḡū*
- SS 1: Civil et al., *The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts*
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
- 1/I: Messerschmidt, *Die Inschriften der Stele Nabuna'id*
- 12/III: Meissner, *Assyriologische Studien 4*
- 33: Eisser and Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe 1*
- MVN Materiali per il vocabulario neo-sumerico
- X: Grégoire, *Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes 1*
- XIII: Sigrist et al., *The John Frederick Lewis Collection 2*
- NABU Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
- Nasrabadi, Bestattungssitten Nasrabadi, *Untersuchungen zu den Bestattungssitten in Mesopotamien*
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
- I: Langdon, *The H. Weld-Blundell Collection*
- IV: van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B' and B with Miscellaneous Lexicographical Texts*
- VI: Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*
- VII: Langdon, *The Herbert Weld Collection*
- XI: Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- 2: Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*
- 53: Delougaz and Jacobsen, *The Temple Oval at Khafājah*
- 78: McCown and Haines, *Nippur 1*
- 99: Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*
- 104: Gelb et al., *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East*
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
- OLP Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
- OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
- OPBF Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund; Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
- Oppenheim, Dreams Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams*
- Or (NS) Orientalia (nova series)
- Or Suec Orientalia Suecana

- Owen, *Nippur*
 PAOS Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*
 Papers Porada Farkas et al., *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*
 PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
 Parpola, *LAS* Parpola, *Letters of Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*
 Parpola, *SAA Gilg.* Parpola, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh*
 PAW Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
 PBS Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
 I/1: Myrhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*
 I/2: Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*
 II/2: Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers* [3]
 V: Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*
 X/3: Langdon, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*
 XV: Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon*
 Pettinato Pettinato, *La saga di Gilgamesh*
 Pohl, *Rechtsurkunden* Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*
 Postgate, *Palace Archive* Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*
 Postgate, *Royal Grants* Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees*
 Prosopography *NA Empire* Radner and Baker, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*
 PRU *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*
 IV: Nougayrol, *Textes accadiens des archives sud*
 V: Schaeffer, *Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*
 PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
 PSD Sjöberg et al., *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Philadelphia*
 R Rawlinson et al., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*
 I: Rawlinson and Norris, *A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldea, Assyria, and Babylonia*
 II: Rawlinson and Norris, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*
 III: Rawlinson and Smith, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*

- IV¹: Rawlinson and Smith, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*
 IV²: Rawlinson and Pinches, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*
 V: Rawlinson and Pinches, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*
 RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
 RAcc. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*
 RB *Revue biblique*
 Reclam^{2,4,5} *Das Gilgamesch-Epos. Neu übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Albert Schott.*
 Durchgesehen und ergänzt von Wolfram von Soden, 2nd Reclam edn, 1958. Neu herausgegeben von Wolfram von Soden, 4th Reclam edn, 1982. 5th Reclam edn, 1989
 Reiner, *Šurpu* Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*
 Rép. géogr. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*
 II: Edzard and Farber, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur*
 III: Groneberg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit*
 V: Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*
 VIII: Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*
 RHA *Revue hittite et asianique*
 Richter, *Panthea* Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit*
 Riftin Riftin, *Staro-Vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniakh SSSR*
 RIMA Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
 1: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC*
 2: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 1. (1114–859 BC)*
 3: Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 2. (858–745 BC)*
 RIMB Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
 2: Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia (1157–612 BC)*
 RIME Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
 2: Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)*
 3/I: Edzard, *Gudea and his Dynasty*
 3/II: Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)*
 4: Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*

RLA	Ebeling et al., <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
Römer, SKIZ	Römer, <i>Sumerische Königshymnen der Isin-Zeit</i>
RTC	Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria I: Parpola, <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, 1. Letters from Assyria and the West</i> II: Parpola and Watanabe, <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> III: Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea</i> VI: Kwasman and Parpola, <i>Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh 1. Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon</i> VII: Fales and Postgate, <i>Imperial Administrative Records 1. Palace and Temple Administration</i> VIII: Hunger, <i>Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings</i> IX: Parpola, <i>Assyrian Prophecies</i> X: Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> XII: Kataja and Whiting, <i>Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> XIII: Cole and Machinist, <i>Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> XIV: Mattila, <i>Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh 2. Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun</i>
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria, Bulletin
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
Sallaberger, Kalender	Sallaberger, <i>Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit</i>
Salonen, Landfahrzeuge	Salonen, <i>Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, Türen	Salonen, <i>Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, Vögel	Salonen, <i>Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien</i>
Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge	Salonen, <i>Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien</i>
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBH	Reisner, <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i>
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 10: Owen and Wilhelm, <i>Nuzi at Seventy-Five</i>
Schwemer, Rituale	Daniel Schwemer, <i>Akkadische Rituale aus Hattuša</i>
Sefati, Love Songs	Sefati, <i>Love Songs in Sumerian Literature</i>
Selz, Götterwelt	Selz, <i>Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš</i>

SEM	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Epics and Myths</i>
Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources'	Shaffer, 'Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgames'
Sjöberg, Mondgott	Sjöberg, <i>Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen</i>
SLT	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Lexical Texts</i>
SLTN	Kramer, <i>Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul</i>
von Soden and Röllig, Syllabar	von Soden and Röllig, <i>Das akkadische Syllabar</i>
Speiser	Speiser, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh', in <i>ANET</i>
SRT	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Religious Texts</i>
Stamm, Namengebung	Stamm, <i>Die akkadische Namengebung</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Stol, Epilepsy	Stol, <i>Epilepsy in Babylonia</i>
Stol, OB History	Stol, <i>Studies in Old Babylonian History</i>
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
Streck, Ash.	Streck, <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige</i>
Streck, Bildersprache	Streck, <i>Die Bildersprache der akkadischen Epik</i>
STT	Gurney et al., <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i>
Studies Diakonoff	Dandamaev, <i>Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East</i>
Studies Greenfield	Zevit et al., <i>Solving Riddles and Untying Knots</i>
Studies Hallo	Cohen et al., <i>The Tablet and the Scroll</i>
Studies Lambert	George and Finkel, <i>Wisdom, Gods and Literature</i>
Studies Moran	Abusch et al., <i>Lingering over Words</i>
Studies Oppenheim	Biggs and Brinkman, <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim</i>
Studies Reiner	Rochberg-Halton, <i>Language, Literature, and History</i>
Studies Sachs	Leichty et al., <i>A Scientific Humanist</i>
Studies Sjöberg	Behrens et al., <i>DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A</i>
Studies Talmon	Fishbane and Tov, 'Sha'arei Talmon'
STVC	Chiera, <i>Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents</i>
Sumerian Gods	Finkel and Geller, <i>Sumerian Gods and their Representations</i>
Symbolae Böhl	Beek et al., <i>Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae</i>
Szlechter, TJA	Szlechter, <i>Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la III^e Dynastie d'Ur et de la I^{re} Dynastie de Babylone</i>
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 71/VII: Klein, <i>The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur</i>
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre I: Thureau-Dangin, <i>Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne</i> III: Thureau-Dangin, <i>Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon</i>

- V: de Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oumma de l'époque d'Our*
 VI: Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres d'Anu au temps des Séleucides*
 XV: de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre* 1
 XVIII: Dossin, *Lettres de la première dynastie babylonienne* 2
 XX: Lewy, *Textes cappadociennes, troisième série* 2
- TCM Textes cunéiformes de Mari
 TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources
- III: Sjöberg and Bergmann, *The Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns*
- Thompson, *DACG* Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*
 Thompson, *Gilgamish* Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*
 Tigay, *Evolution* Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*
 TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum
- II: van Dijk, *Old Babylonian Letters and Related Material*
 IV: van Dijk, *Old Babylonian Contracts and Juridical Texts*
 V: van Dijk, *Old Babylonian Contracts and Related Material*
 IX: van Dijk, *Texts of Varying Content*
- Tournay and Shaffer Tournay and Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*
 TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
 TUAT Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments
- I/4: Borger et al., *Historisch-chronologische Texte* 1
 III/3: Römer and Edzard, *Mythen und Epen* 1
 III/4: Hecker et al., *Mythen und Epen* 2
- TuL Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*
 TuM Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht
 Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
- NF III-IV: Bernhardt and Kramer, *Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur* 1-2
- UCP University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
 IX/6: Lutz, *The Verdict of a Trial Judge in a Case of Assault and Battery*
- UE Ur Excavations
 II: Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery, a Report on the Predynastic and Sargonic Graves*
- UET Ur Excavations, Texts
 I: Gadd et al., *Royal Inscriptions*
 II: Burrows, *Archaic Texts*
 III: Legrain, *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur*
 V: Figulla, *Letters and Documents of the Old Babylonian Period*

- VI: Gadd and Kramer, *Literary and Religious Texts*
 VIII: Sollberger, *Royal Inscriptions, Part II*
 Alberti and Pomponio, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement*
- UET 2 Supplement
- UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*
- Unger, *Babylon* Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt*
- UVB Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen
- 1: Jordan, *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka 1928/29*
 7: Nöldeke et al., *Siebenter Vorläufiger Bericht* . . .
 15: Lenzen et al., *XV. Vorläufiger Bericht* . . .
 18: Lenzen et al., *XVIII. Vorläufiger Bericht* . . .
 29-30: Schmidt et al., *XXIX. und XXX. Vorläufiger Bericht* . . .
- VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
 VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
- II: Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit* 1
 V: Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Urkunden* 3
 X: Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit* 2
 XII: Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna* 2
 XVI: Schroeder, *Altbabylonische Briefe*
 XVII: van Dijk, *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte*
 XXIV: van Dijk, *Literarische Texte aus Babylon*
 van Soldt, *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*
 Volk, *Die Balaḡ-Komposition Ūru am-ma-ir-ra-bi*
- Veenhof AV
 Volk, *Balaḡ-Komposition*
 Wadi Brisa Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II im Wādī Brīsā und am Nahr el-Kelb*
- Walker and Dick, *Mīs Pī* Walker and Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia*
- von Weiher, *Uruk* von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* 2-3
 II-III
- von Weiher, *Uruk* von Weiher, *Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U*
 IV-V 184-5
- Westenholz U. Westenholz and A. Westenholz, *Gilgamesh, Enuma elish*
 Westenholz, *Legends* J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*
 Westenholz, *OSP* 2 A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia* 2
- Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*
 WO *Die Welt des Orients*